THE EPIGRAPHY OF MAHÄDHARMARĀJĀ I
OF SUKHODAYA

Epigraphic and Historical Studies No. 11 Part I

by

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1.

We have six stone inscriptions of Mahādharmarājā I, five of them in Siamese (Nos. 3, 5, 7, 8 and Face I of No. 11) and one in Khmer (No. 4), plus an inscription in Pali composed in his honor by the Patriarch of the Forest-Dwelling monks (No. 6). No. 3 dates from 1357, Nos. 4-7 date from 1361, and the other two are undated.

His personal name was Ṣidaiya, and his full title was Brahm Śri Sūryavamśa Rāma Mahādharmarājādhīhirāja. He was a son of King Lōdaiya and grandson of King Rāma Gaṅghēṅ. In 1340 his father appointed him Uparāja at Sajjanālaya, where he composed a celebrated treatise on Buddhist cosmology, the Tebhūmikāthā or, as it is more commonly known, Traibhūmikāthā. This work, based on a wide range

1) In this paper we have regularized the spelling of most personal names, titles, toponyms, and so on. Mahādharmarājā's personal name is written Ṣidaiya (rṅh) in Inscrs. 3 and 5 (3: I/3; 5: I/4), Ṣidaiya in the Khmer Inscription (4: I/1), Ṣidaiya in the Pali inscription composed by the Mahāsāmi Saṅgharāja (6: I/7), and is lacking in Inscrs. 7, 8 and 11. The Khmer inscription gives the title as brah pāda kāmraṭān an śri sūryavāṃśa rāma mahādharmarājādhīhirāja (4: I/12), while the Siamese inscriptions give it as brahm śri sūryavāṃśa rāma mahādharmarājādhīhirāja (5: I/13 f., III/29 f.) or some abbreviation of the same thing (3: I/6 f., etc.; 5: III/38 f.; 7: II/31 f., etc.; 8: I/28 f., III/9 f.; 11: I/3 f.). In the epigraphy of Mahādharmarājā I, the names Sukhodaya and Śri Sajjanālaya are variously written: sukhoḍaṭiya (3: I/4, II/56), sukhoḍaṭiya (4: I/9, II/11, 16, 32) and sukhoḍai (8: II/1, III/16); śṛṣṭaṭjaṭnaṭiya (3: I/4, II/55; 5: I/6), śṛṣṭaṭjaṭnaṭiya (4: I/3), śṛṣṭaṭjaṭnaṭiya (4: II/11) and śṛṣṭaṭjaṭnaṭi (8: III/4).

2) For these two monarchs see our Epigraphic and Historical Studies Nos. 9 and 10 (JSS 59/2 and 60/1).

3) Tebhūmikāthā (Pali, 'Discourse on the Three Worlds') is the real title of the work; Traibhūmikāthā is the Sanskritized form. As it is attributed to Brah ḍ Rvāṅ (Prā Rvāṅ), the somewhat legendary ruler who is a conflation of several kings of Sukhodaya, particularly Rāma Gaṅghēṅ and Lōdaiya, it is popularly known as Traibhūmi Brah ḍ Rvāṅ. For the edition we use, see Bibliography, p. s.v. Traibhūmikāthā.
of Pali sources, was completed in a year of the cock, sixth year of his reign as Upāraja, i.e. 1345 A.D. The exordium adds that the year was 'sakara 23', perhaps meaning the twenty-third year of his life; if that is right, he must have been born in 1323.

Rāma Gāmphēn had expanded the kingdom of Sukhodaya until, at the end of his life in 1298, it included most of central Siam, all of the Malay Peninsula and Lower Burma, and parts of Laos. But after his death it shrank rapidly. Lōdaiya was an incompetent ruler, who lost most of the tributaries; by the 1340's he controlled little more than the provinces of Sukhodaya and Sajjanālaya; and the kingdom was on the verge of collapse.

It appears that Lōdaiya died in 1347; Lōdaiya, whom he evidently regarded as his heir-apparent, was still at Sajjanālaya at the time; and the throne was usurped by a man called ānu Nam Tam, of whom we know practically nothing. Was Lōdaiya assassinated? In any case it

4) Traibhūmikathā, p. 11 of the introductory material; cf. Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, pp. 8, 9 (in the last line of the text, p. 8, read '23' instead of '25'), also p. 8, note 4 and p. 9 note 1). Of course the text may be corrupt; and in any case the era may not be based on his birth at all (for a discussion of another possibility, see Prasert na Nagar, Social Science Review, Special Issue, June 1966, p. 46); so the suggestion that he was born in 1323 is no more than a conjecture. But there is nothing inherently improbable about it. Sixteen was the age at which a prince was regarded as having achieved manhood; and as Lōdaiya was heir-apparent to the throne of Sukhodaya nothing would be more natural than to appoint him Upāraja at Sajjanālaya at the age of sixteen or seventeen. In the traditional arithmetic, any part of a year counts as a whole one.

5) JSS 60/1, pp. 26-47.

6) The only epigraphic reference to him is in the list of ancestral spirits of the Sukhodayan royal family in Inscription 45 (I/10), where he appears between Lōdaiya and Mahādharma rājā. (See JSS LVII/1, pp. 68, 75 and 82.) The name, written sivasāma (ānu mām tham), is apparently equivalent to modern śivasāma (śiva sāmā dvam). The first term, śiva, shows that he was the fifth son of his father; mām means 'submerged in water' or 'flooded'. This reminds us of similar appellations, given in Pali form in Jinakālamalī (J) and Sihinganadāna (S) as belonging to one of the kings of Sukhodaya, in each case in a rather muddled list of the rulers who did homage to the image called Buddha Sihlinga, which was the palladium of the kingdom. J which calls this ruler Udākajhotthata (udaka + ajhotthata 'covered with water'), describes him as the son and successor of Pālarāja [sc. Pān Mōāh Bhn Miàng], and the predecessor of Lōdaiya [in this context, sc. Lōdaiya]. S. which calls him Dakosita [daka + usada, 'overflowing with water']?, describes him as the son and successor of Līdeśya
seems certain that he died very suddenly; otherwise Lidaiya would have been present at his deathbed, for there was an excellent road, the 'Pra Ruang Highway', between Sajjanalaya and Sukhodaya, by which he could have reached Sukhodaya on horseback in a few hours.

Upon learning the news, Lidaiya mustered his troops as quickly as possible and marched on the capital. On Friday, the fifth day of the waxing moon of Jyaiśtha, 1269 śaka, a year of the boar, i.e. in May or June of 1347 A.D., he entered the city by force, dislodged the usurper, and immediately received the investiture as king from his vassals and supporters, together with the title Śri Sūryavamsa Rāma Mahādharmarājakāñhā. As far as we know he was the first king of Sukhodaya to bear the title Mahādharmarājakāñhā, though his father Lōdaïya bore that of Dharmañā. It will therefore be convenient to retain the usual designation Mahādharmarāja I for Lōdaïya.

Because we have more information about his religious activities than his political ones, he has until recently been regarded as a pious but weak monarch. An entry in the Chinese 'Description of the Barbarians of the Southern Islands' (Tao-i-chih-lieh) by Wang Ta-yüan

[sc. Lōdaïya] and the predecessor of Atthakalideyya [sc. Lōdaïya]. See Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, pp. 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45. The author of J has a well-deserved reputation as a careful historian, but his 'inserted narratives', such as the account of the Buddha Śīlāgā, being taken over from other sources which he was not able to check, are not always up to the standard of his main narrative. In this case we may assume he was betrayed by his source, because we know from Inscr. 1 that Pan Mōn was succeeded by Rāma Gāṅghūn, not Nvva Nām Tham. S, on the other hand, puts Dakosita between Lādaïya and Lōdaïya (Mahādharmarāja I), which is just where Inscr. 45 puts him. We therefore think it possible that in this instance S is right. Nvva Nām Tham may have been an elder half-brother of Lōdaïya, perhaps the son of one of Lōdaïya's minor wives, while Lōdaïya was doubtless the son of his chief Queen.

7) Mr Roger Billard, of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, who has kindly examined this date for us, informs us that the fifth day of the waxing moon of Jyaiśtha did not fall on a Friday in either 1269 or 1270 śaka, but that it did fall on a Friday in 1271 śaka (May 22, 1349 A.D., Julian). The context of Inscr. 4 (4/1-6), from which we have taken this date, shows clearly that it is really intended to be in 1269 śaka; so we must conclude either that there is a mistake in the day of the month or the week, or a misreading, or perhaps the most likely that it is based on the faulty calendar that prevailed at Sukhodaya before Mahādharmarāja reformed it; cf Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, p. 14 note 1 (it should be observed that Coedès's calculations are based on the reading 'kattika' for the name of the month in Inscription 6 at 1/2-3, which is no longer tenable).
led to the belief that Mahādharmanarāja I lost his independence two years after his accession: in May-June, 1349, according to Wang Ta-yüan, ‘Hsien submitted to Lo-hu.’ As Hsien (the Chinese rendering of ‘Syām’) usually means Sukhodaya, and Lo-hu means Lavo (Labapuri, Lopburi), the statement seemed to mean that Mahādharmanarāja became a vassal of Rāmaḍhipati in that year. Rāmaḍhipati, who had inherited the principality of Subarṇapuri from his father-in-law and that of Lavo from his father, formed the kingdom of Ayudhya in 1351 by consolidating his two inheritances, and several recensions of the Annals of Ayudhya list Sukhodaya, Bīṣṇuloka, Svargaloka (Sajjanālaya) and Gampeng Pet among his tributaries at the time of his abhiṣeka. But the list is obviously a later interpolation, for it includes Malacca which had not yet been founded. AA/LP, the most authoritative recension of the Annals of Ayudhya, has no such interpolation: it places Sukhodaya’s submission to Ayudhya in 1378. The whole tenor of the inscriptions indicates that Sukhodaya remained independent until about that time; and there is no epigraphic evidence whatever to suggest that Mahādharmanarāja I ever submitted. Professor Wolters has given good reasons in favor of another interpretation of Wang Ta-yüan’s statement, which fits the facts much better. Wang Ta-yüan was a merchant who, as Mr Wolters says, ‘should no more be regarded as an expert in historical geography than in the political happenings in 1349.’ Though in Rāma Gamphēn’s time Hsien certainly meant Sukhodaya, Mr Wolters continues, the term seems to have been used later by the Chinese to describe parts of the Mē Nām basin which were west of the river and not subject to Lavo. Mr Wolters concludes: ‘It is difficult to resist the identification of Wang Ta-yüan’s “Hsien” with Subarṇapuri, though one need not commit oneself on the location of its capital city in the middle of the fourteenth century.’


9) See JSS 60/I, pp. 29-39.

We conclude that Wang Ta-yüan’s statement has nothing to do with Sukhodaya at all, but refers to some change in the relationships between Subarnapuri and Lavo in 1349¹. At that time Rāmdhipati was reigning at Debanagara, the capital where his father had reigned, which we have proposed to identify with Labapuril². When Rāmdhipati moved there upon his father’s death in 1344/45, he presumably left his brother-in-law Paramarājā to rule Subarnapuri as his vassal, an appointment which he confirmed in 1351 when he received the abhiṣeKa as King of Ayudhya. Wang Ta-yüan’s statement may therefore simply refer to Rāmdhipati’s consolidation of his two inheritances, Lavo and Subarnapuri, to form the kingdom of Ayudhya.

Another interpretation is also possible. It is hard to believe that Paramarājā, who had doubtless hoped to inherit Subarnapuri from his father as a sovereign state, would be satisfied with ruling it as a vassal of Rāmdhipati; so it would not be at all surprising if he revolted. Equating Hsien with Subarnapuri and Lo-hu with Lavo, we might understand the statement ‘Hsien submitted to Lo-hu’ in May-June 1349 as meaning that Rāmdhipati crushed Paramarājā’s revolt at that time.

Mahādharmarājā was one of the most learned men of his day. In addition to the Pali literature of Theravāda Buddhism, he was deeply versed in the natural and speculative sciences of the Sanskrit Brahmanical tradition, from astronomy to hydraulic engineering, military strategy and statecraft. The high classic style of Sukhodaya art, chiefly Buddhist, but to some extent Brahmanical, came into full flower in his reign¹³.

He seems to have been a man of great energy, tact and courage. As a statesman and warrior, he was a worthy grandson of Rāma Gaṃhēn. His gains were much smaller than Rāma Gaṃhēn’s but they were nevertheless considerable, and he had greater odds against him. The kingdom was on the verge of extinction before the end of Lödniya’s reign; and Mahādharmarājā, who first had to fight for his throne, then had to face the complex task of bringing as many vassals back under a suzerainty his father had discredited.

¹ For the probable meaning of the reference in Sibhiṣyanidāna to an oath sworn by Lödniya to Rāmdhipati, which some scholars take for an oath of vassalage, see below, p. 78.
¹² JSS 60/1, p. 37 f.
¹³ See Griswold, Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art, pp. 30-47.
In 1347 when he acceded to the throne the home provinces must have been in chaotic condition; cities within 50 km. of the capital had broken away; and there was not much left of the kingdom beyond the provinces of Sukhodaya and Sajjanalaya, though Fhāṅ (thā, near Uttaratittha) and Sūṅ Gvē (Biṣṇuloka) very likely remained friendly if not actually tributary to him. Sukhodaya’s alliance with Lān Nā was a thing of the past; Lān Nā had gained at the expense of Sukhodaya by taking the province of Ṭāk and perhaps other territories. Rāma Gāmpāhēn’s possessions north and east of Uttaratittha were lost, having presumably split up into petty states that were frequently at odds with one another. A similar fate had overtaken the cities along the Ping. Further west the kingdom of Rāmaṅnahadesa in Lower Burma, which had been tributary to Sukhodaya ever since 1287, had asserted its independence in the 1320’s. Most of central Siam south of Brah Pān (Nagara Svarga) belonged, either directly or through feudatory princes, to Rāmādhipati 14.

Paramarājā was bitterly hostile to the House of Sukhodaya and eager to destroy it by any possible means. The chronicles contain allusions to a series of intrigues which we suspect were organized by Paramarājā to weaken Sukhodaya and Sukhodaya’s friends; and while they say nothing about Nvva Nām Tham’s usurpation of the throne, it seems possible that Paramarājā had a hand in the plot.

The most urgent task facing Mahādharmarājā upon his accession was to reform the administration, for unless he could assure his kingdom of security and just rule there would be little chance of attracting the lost vassals back into the fold. In order to do so he had to restore the lustre of the Hindu cults which were an indispensable support of royalty and strong government. In 1349, as we know from Inser. 4 (I/52 f.), he founded an image of Maheśvara (Śiva) and one of Viṣṇu, and placed them in the Devālayamahākṣetra (Brahmin temple) in the Mango Grove west of Sukhodaya, where the Brahmins and ascetics were to perform the rituals of the cult in perpetuity. These two great bronzes, about 3 metres in height, are among the chief glories of Sukhodaya art 15.

14) JSS 60/1, pp. 26-47.
15) See Griswold, Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art, Figs. 25, 26.
The magico-religious center of the kingdom was the Buddhist monument of the Mahādāhu at Sukhodaya, facing the Royal Palace. The chief feature of this monument, which had been rebuilt by Lūdaiya near the end of his reign to enshrine two miraculous relics of the Buddha brought from Ceylon, was a tall ‘lotus-bud tower’, an architectural form otherwise known as तलाँति. Surrounding it, and standing on the same platform at the cardinal and sub-cardinal points, were eight lesser towers, four of them with scenes from the Buddha’s life in the tympana, and all of them with images of the Buddha in niches, together with a profusion of architectural ornament designed to shower wealth on the kingdom16. In the principal cities of his realm Mahādharmarājā built copies of the central ‘lotus-bud tower’, as if to establish a spiritual link between these cities and the capital, assuring their rulers of his benevolence and protection, and him of their loyalty17.

By 1357, as we gather from Inscr. 3, Mahādharmarājā had restored peace and prosperity in the home provinces; the cities along the Ping, from Chieng Tōng in the north (probably not far from the present town of Tak18) to Brah Pāni in the south, had submitted to him; he was safely in control of Fhān, as well as of Sralvān (between Sukhodaya and Sōn Gvè); and it seems likely he controlled Sōn Gvè too. We do not know how he achieved these gains, but it may be guessed he did so by means of a judicious combination of arms and persuasion, defeating the stubborn in battle, attracting the hesitant by the spectacle of prosperity and good government in his kingdom, and extending his protection to those who sought it. He fought successful campaigns at Brē (Brē) in 1359, and in the Nān region and the Sāk valley around 1362. By 1370, if not before, his kingdom stretched from the mountains on the present border between Burma and Siam on the west all the way to Hnôn Gāy (Nong Kāi) on the east. See Inscrs. 8, 9.

16) ibid., pp. 18-27 and Figs. 14-21.
17) ibid., 33, 34, and Figs. 22-a, 27, 32.
18) Old Tak, now called ᵇǔ̍ŋn, is on the right bank of the Ping, about 25 km. upstream from the present town. Old Tak remained under the control of Lan Nû until about 1373, when it seems to have been ceded to Sukhodaya. See Griswold, Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art, p. 41 f.
Though we have no direct evidence, it seems pretty certain that Rāmādhipati and Mahādharmarājā were united by a pact in which each agreed to respect the other’s frontiers. That would give Rāmādhipati a chance to organize the far-flung and heterogeneous kingdom he had pieced together, to limit the power of his vassals, and to establish himself in unshakeable authority. At the same time it would give Mahādharmarājā a chance to regain any vassals that had broken away from his father but had not been absorbed by Ayudhya. The pact may have gone further: it is possible that Rāmādhipati and Mahādharmarājā undertook to come to each other’s aid in case Paramarājā should make trouble by revolting against his sovereign or by attacking Sukhodaya.

In this paper we are greatly indebted to Mr Roger Billard of the Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient for investigating the calendrical information for us and transposing dates into terms of the Western calendar.
2.

Of Mahādharmarājā I's dated inscriptions, the earliest that survives is No. 3, which dates from 1357. It is engraved on both faces of a slab of black schist 1.93 m. high, 47 cm. wide and 6 1/2 cm. thick. Face I has 78 lines, of which all but the last 10 are in good condition. Face II, which has the remains of 58 lines, is badly damaged, most of the right half being flaked off. The language is Siamese. The script is the same as that of Inscription 2, but the letters are more elegantly executed. The mai-hān-akāśa (ॄ) does not occur. Neither does the vowel ृ; ृ occurs only three or four times; for the most part ृ and ृ serve not only for themselves but also for ृ and ृ. The choice between ृ and ृ is not very logical, the short being often put for the long and vice versa, though the little vertical line that distinguishes them is so faintly engraved that it is sometimes uncertain which of the two is intended. The accents । and + (the latter for ।), are used quite irregularly. In some passages they are found in the words where we should expect them, but the same words in other passages occur without them; and several passages have no discernible accents at all. This distribution makes us suspect that two or more different engravers with different habits worked on the inscription. Here is a list of places where the accents are found:

- । (ॄ) = ।, I/20
- । (ॄ) = ।, I/23, 39
- ।, I/23 (twice)
- ।, I/21, 76
- ।, I/9
- ।, I/10, I/50
- ।, I/11
- ।, I/5
- ।, II/6
- ।, I/1
A transcription of Face I in modern Siamese spelling appeared in the Vajiravijana Magazine in 1884, and has been several times reprinted.

In 1898 the French missionary Pere Schmitt published a Romanized transcription of Face I, and a French translation which, though it contains many imperfections, conveys the general purport fairly well: when we remember that the scientific study of Siamese epigraphy was still in

its infancy, his attempt must be awarded honorable mention. This work reappeared in 1908, together with an attempt by the same author to decipher and translate Face II; but the latter was too fragmentary for him to get any coherent sense out of it. A number of other scholars worked on the inscription later, for better or worse.

A great advance was made in 1919, when the late Professor George Coedes published a long article in JSS XIII/3, containing a much better reading and translation, copious notes on the decipherment and interpretation, and an introduction discussing the work that had appeared on the subject up to that time. His translation reappears, with minor amendments, together with a Romanized transcription and a short introduction, in Recueil des inscriptions du Siam; while the Siamese section of the same work, prepared by Pvan Induvaṁśa (now Luang Boribul Buribandh), gives the text in Siamese characters plus an introduction and notes.

In the present translation it will be obvious how deeply we are indebted to Coedes's work; and if we have ventured to differ from him here and there, it is only because more recent studies in Sukhodayan history and epigraphy have suggested new solutions to certain problems.

The inscription was brought to Bangkok in 1886 at the same time as the famous bronze statue of Śiva from Kāmbeṇ Bejra (Gampeng Pet), and deposited in the Museum of the Vān Na. It was later transferred to the Vajirāṇa Library, and is now in the Vajirāṇa Hall of the old National Library building. No record of its exact provenance was kept; it was known to have come from somewhere in the Municipal District of Kāmbeṇ Bejra, and the text (1/8) shows that it originally stood at Nagara Jūp; but the location of Nagara Jūp long remained a mystery. This was solved in 1922 by Prince Damrong Rājanubhāb, when he made a visit to Vāt Paramadhātu, across the River Ping from the town of Kāmbeṇ Bejra and a little upstream from it. The Abbot of the monastery, who had lived there ever since 1880, showed him the ruins of a

3) Fournereau, Le Siam ancien, II, pp. 10-34.
vihāra in which he had often seen the inscription in situ; he showed him the laterite pedestal, with a mortise into which the base of the stone had been fitted; and when the measurement was taken it was found to correspond exactly. Nearby, said the Abbot, three old ruined monuments were formerly visible, but they were now covered over by the huge stupa of Burmese style which had been built a few years before the Prince's visit. One of the three, it appears, was of the type we have called a 'lotus-bud tower' (cf. above, p. 77).

If we read Inscr. 3 with care, we may find a hint in it of the serious difficulties Mahādhamrāja had in attracting the lost vassals to return. Nagara Junīp is less than 75 km. from Sukhodaya, yet it seems to have taken him nearly 10 years to regain it; at least the text suggests that in 1357 he had only recently regained control of the cities along the Ping.

The formal purpose of the text is to commemorate the King's enshrinement of a relic at Nagara Junīp. The text opens with the date, which Mr Roger Billard kindly informs us corresponds to Friday, June 23, 1357 A.D. (Julian). Then comes a long periodic sentence (1/2-8), stating that Braṇā Lidaiyarāja brought 'this precious great relic' to enshrine in 'this city of Nagara Junīp' in that year; inserted between the subject of the sentence and the verb is a relative clause stating that he is the son of Braṇā Lidaiya and grandson of Braṇā Rāmarāja (Rāma Gaṁḥē), and that upon his accession he received the rajabhīṣeka or consecration as king from a whole assembly of rulers residing at the cardinal points, who conferred the title Śri Śūrvavacṣa Mahādhamrājajādirāja upon him. Similar passages recur in Inscriptions 4 (1/9 f.) and 5 (1/12 f.): the rulers at the cardinal points confer the consecration and the title in all three inscriptions. Their presence is a magic formula; like Mount Meru surrounded by its four lesser peaks, and like the Mahādhātu with its lesser towers at the cardinal and sub-cardinal points, Sukhodaya had to be surrounded by a strong system of vassals in every direction, all standing on the same firm base (the cardinal points subsume the sub-cardinal and the infinity of space). In plain fact, however, most of the vassals had broken away, and the rulers who gave him the investiture were perhaps no more than the governors of four cities.

7) Coedes, Recueil, 1, p. 77.
The term ‘precious great relic’ (brah śri ratanamahādhātu) apparently designates one of the Buddha’s major bodily relics, as distinguished from the 84,000 ‘miscellaneous’ particles into which King Asoka of India divided the relics he disinterred in order to send them to different cities to be enshrined.8

The relic that Mahādharmarājā was enshrining at Nagara Jum had been brought from Ceylon together with some seeds of the bodhi tree under which the Buddha was sitting when he defeated the army of Mara and attained Enlightenment; and a tree grown from one of these seeds was planted behind the reliquary tower (1/8-12).

It is obvious that this tower was the one described by the Abbot of Vāt Paramadhātū, and that it had been built by Mahādharmarājā to receive the relic. In erecting it he was not only making a handsome donation to religion, but also setting the seal of his authority on the right bank of the Ping; and by depositing a genuine relic of the Buddha in it he was activating its magical potentiality. Anyone who comes to worship the relic and the bodhi tree which is planted behind it, he says at 1/12 f., will get the same advantage from his meritorious action as those who worshiped the Buddha in person; and he adds, so that there can be no possible doubt about the matter, ‘We are not making this statement on our own authority: indeed the words were spoken by our Lord the Buddha himself’ (1/14 f.). We have not been able to discover this precise statement in the Canon, but something very much like it is implied there, and the Commentarial literature is even more specific.

At 1/15 he introduces a new subject, to which his reference to the bodhi tree in the previous passage forms a natural transition. The traditional date when Gotama achieved Buddhahood under the bodhi tree at Bodhgayā corresponds to 589 B.C. At that time, says Mahādharmarājā, the human life-span was 100 years; but it decreased to 99 years in the year of the hare, 139 years before the reliquary tower at Nagara Jum was built, in other words in 1219 A.D. He is speaking of the Hindu doctrine of the gradual reduction in men’s life-span, accompanied by a corresponding deterioration in their intellectual and moral qualities, which continues throughout the Kaliyuga, the age in which we live (see p. 96 and note 31). In ‘minus 3101 A.D.’ (3102 B.C.) when the Kaliyuga

8) cf. JSS 60/1, pp. 126 ff., especially note 149.
began, the human life-span was still a full 100 years. The Kaliyuga will last 432,000 years from that date, during which the life-span decreases imperceptibly but inexorably until finally it is no more than 10 years. At the end of each 1/100 of the Kaliyuga, i.e. at the end of each 4320 years, it will have declined by one full year. In the traditional arithmetic, part of a year counts as a whole one, so that in 589 B.C. the life-span was still '100 years'; but by 1219 A.D., i.e. the year 4320 of the Kaliyuga, it had been reduced to 99 years. In that year, he adds, the aristocracy of caste and learning began to lose their standing. The late Professor Coedes suggested that Mahādharmarāja may be referring to some specific event that occurred in Cambodia in 1219 A.D., perhaps the death of Jayavarman VII. We agree that this is possible; but we are persuaded that such an allusion, if that is what it is, must be secondary; the primary consideration was the theoretical one: that at that time the life-span had decreased by one full year from the figure that prevailed at the beginning of the Kaliyuga, the decrease being accompanied by a corresponding deterioration in man's intellectual and moral qualities, and consequently in the social order.

At I/24-31 Mahādharmarāja gives the exact length of time—calculated first in years, then in months, and finally in days—that have elapsed between the Buddha's Enlightenment (589 B.C.) and 'the present' (1357 A.D.).

At I/31-56 he rehearses the old prophecy according to which the Buddhist religion will suffer a progressive decline until it finally disappears. According to this prophecy the religion will decline in successive stages. It will disappear completely in the year 5000 of the Buddhist Era, when all the Buddha's relics will spring out of the monuments in which they are enshrined, fly through the sky, assemble together in Ceylon at the Mahāthilpa, and then fly to the scene of the Enlightenment at Bodhgaya, where they will be consumed in a holocaust. After the present Buddhist religion has disappeared, there will be an immensely long period of hopeless degradation, in which mankind, being unable to distinguish right from wrong, will commit all sorts of evil deeds and inevitably be reborn in hell.

Instead of being discouraged by this bleak prospect, people should accept it as a challenge. This theme is developed in the passage at I/56-63, which should be understood as follows. As the present generation of men have the immense advantage of being born at a time when the Buddha’s teachings are still known, they should make haste to perform all sorts of good actions, so as to accumulate enough merit to be reborn in heaven and remain there, relatively safe from temptations, throughout the immense period of ignorance that will begin in the year 5000 of the Buddhist Era. Eventually—far, far in the future—this dreadful period will end; Ariyametteyya, who is now waiting in the Tusita Heaven until the proper time, will descend to earth, be reborn as a human being, become a Buddha, and establish a new dispensation. Those who have made enough merit to be reborn as men at the same time will be able to listen to his preaching and enter the path to nibbāna.

In the last 15 lines of Face I and the first 11 lines of Face II, Mahādhammarājā tells his readers about his own accomplishments and qualities. As everyone knows, eulogy (praśasti) is an essential ingredient of epigraphy in the Indianizing world; but here it is given an unusual and interesting turn. Unlike the conventional eulogies in many of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia which give little or no real information about the ruler who is being eulogized, the accomplishments and virtues claimed by Mahādhammarājā are strictly personal to himself; he could demonstrate that he actually possessed them; and every one of them would be of value for the practical purpose he had in mind, which was to impress his readers with his ability to rule justly, wisely and firmly. He is able to rule justly, because he adheres steadfastly to the Buddhist principles of right conduct (I/68 f.); wisely, because of his knowledge of mathematics (I/63 f.), astrology, geography and science (I/76 f.); firmly, because of his knowledge of military tactics and yantras, his skill in elephantry, his bravery and courage (II/2-5). When he speaks of his competence in hydraulic engineering, it is because it will bring a prosperous agriculture; when he speaks of the protection he assures any prince who becomes his vassal, and of his mercy towards those who have wronged him, he is quite obviously congratulating and reassuring the vassals who have recently returned to the Sukhodayan orbit, and inviting others to do the same (II/7-11).

At II/12 ff. he reminds his readers of the greatness and prosperity of the kingdom in the time of Rāma Gāmphēn. Then he speaks of its decline after Rāma Gāmphēn’s death. He says many of the vassals broke
away and formed independent states, so the country was torn into many fragments and pieces. Their perversity, he implies, brought nothing but misery to themselves and others.

At 11/23-34 he tells us what has happened since he himself mounted the throne as his father's and grandfather's successor. He rules with justice; the territories along the Ping have returned to him, as far south as Nagara Svarga; he has reclaimed a lot of waste land and (if we may restore the lacuna on the analogy of Inscription 8), built irrigation ditches to feed water to upland and lowland farms, fruit-groves, and fish-ponds, so that the people will be happy and contented everywhere. In short, he has brought back order and prosperity to the kingdom. To show how he has restored the happy conditions of Rama Gāmpheū's reign, which people during the time of troubles must have looked back on as a kind of legendary Golden Age, he orchestrates his theme by using a good deal of the same phraseology that Rama Gāmpheū used in Inscription 1.

At 11/34-47 he gives the vassal rulers a stiff lecture: they must act in accordance with the Dharma; they must pay homage to stupas and bodhi trees; they must show respect to the monks, affection toward their relatives, and deference to their elders; they must be kind to the common people, and set reasonable limits on the corvee; they must keep ample reserves of rice and salt on hand; and they must pass a decedent's properties on to his heirs. Any ruler who follows these principles, he concludes, will remain in office a long time; any ruler who neglects them will not last long.

If his readers want any further information on the subject, he adds (II/47 ff.), they may consult the inscriptions he has set up elsewhere, which he goes on to list.

It appears that the primary text—the inscription as it was when Mahādharma-rāja erected it in 1357—ended at II/47, and that the passage from the middle of II/47 to the end, listing the other inscriptions, etc., is a postscript which he himself added around 1360. It refers to a stone Footprint on Mount Sumanakīśa near Sukhodaya, which as appears from Insr. 8, was not installed until 1359 and not completed until a little later, presumably in 1360. There is no mai-hān-ākāśa in the words which, in the Tai inscriptions of 1361 (Nos. 5 and 7) are sometimes written with it. The letters at the beginning of the postscript are a little larger and more deeply engraved than in the primary text, though after two or three lines they become smaller again, probably for want of space on the stone.
Text

(๑) ศักยศิลปะ ๒๒๙ ปี (ก) เกิดในปัจจุบันที่มีการสุภาษิตในหอที่ตั้ง

(๒) ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː 部副

(๓) ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː ː 部副

(๔) ː ː ː ː 部副

(๕) ː ː 部副

(๖) ː 部副

(๗) ː 部副

(๘) ː 部副

(๙) ː 部副

(๑๐) ː 部副

(๑๑) ː 部副

(๑๒) 部副

(๑๓) 部副

(๑๔) 部副

(๑๕) 部副

(๑๖) 部副
(๑) ยกย่องคุณ.epamท่านได้เป็นต้นโพนในạngภาพที่เมื่อที่
(๒) ไปเมืองแวง (เก็บ) ได้เป็นต้นที่มีความน่าสนใจต่อการถ่ายหนัง

(๓) ยกยองคุณ邯ทันกั้นท่านได้เป็นต้นโพนในางภาพที่เมื่อที่
(๔) นพ.กู่หยางธนิชานถกพวกเจ้าหน้าที่andatoryในที่
(๕) ที่มาเสบียงกับดีอยู่ผ่านนั้นได้ไปเป็นต้นที่เมื่อที่
(๖) ผู้เจ้าพุทธที่เหมือนสรรพสิ่งจากแปลงสถานเปิดกิจขั้นแสนแห่ง
(๗) ประเทศไทยก็ขอภายใต้ยุทธการยุทธค์แห่งแต่ที่ได้
(๘) ยึดถือเกณฑ์ที่มีเส้นแน่นและเจ้าที่เป็นพระพุทธในที่
(๙) พระศรีนิยมที่ยิ่งใหญ่เข้าว่าพระศรีพุทธคุณธาตุได้ให้
(๑) ได้หรือบางผู้พุทธที่แต่งอยู่เป็นต้นที่เมื่อที่
(๒) ผู้มีที่ยินดีพุทธภิกษุที่ ๐ เทียบoverlapในพระพุทธ
(๓) พระศรีนิยมที่มีเส้นแน่นและเมื่อที่เมื่อที่
(๔) มีต้นcharsetเป็นความแน่นพระพุทธผูกท่านในรูป
(๕) มุทธขณะที่ว่ารูปผู้ ๐ ก็มีเกณฑ์สมฐานพระพุทธเชี่ย
(๖) องค์อาคารที่ยินต้องว่าการองค์ที่ยินต้องสถานปฏิบัติทาง
(๗) ราชยูทิศของนี้สมพันธ์กิจทางอริยสถานปฏิบัติ
(๘) เจ้า ๐ ยกย่องคนเป็นคนที่สูงปรารถนาเพื่อแก้ไข
(๙) เทียบการถ่ายในที่ถูกยุทธการยุทธค์อยู่ทางที่
(๑) กดที้กิจทางอริยสถานเกี่ยวกับแนวคิดทางเลข
(๒) หลายๆเหตุการณ์ที่เกิดขึ้นเป็นตนเองที่เกิดขึ้นโดยผู้ที่
(๓) เนื่องเนื่องทางภาษาได้กล่าวว่าพจนานิafiaสื่อภูมิ
(๔)
(๔๔) เทพบัญญานั้นแฝงอยู่ในกุลเดชที่เมื่อคนแต่เดิมนี้
(๔๕) คนไทยคนนี้ได้เห็นของสุขโภคในเจ้าติดในคดีถูกล่าอยู่ไม่มี
(๔๖) กษัตริย์คนนั้นกษัตริย์คนนี้ได้เห็นนั้นเมื่อคนนี้
(๔๗) คนนั้นขอลาะล้างธรรมโรคเห็นแล้วในสุขโภค
(๔๘) คนนี้เห็นให้ข้าพเจ้าเป็นเจ้ากษัตริย์เห็นกําลัง
(๔๙) โทษแผ่นเป็นเครื่องจักรกุลเดชที่ผลกระทบกัน
(๕๐) บางไม้ได้เห็นของกุลเดชที่เห็นกับกัน
(๕๑) คนนี้ในกษัตริย์คนนี้เห็นกูจึงได้เห็นในสุขโภค
(๕๒) โทษแผ่นเป็นเครื่องกู้ภัยกุลเดชที่ผลกระทบ
(๕๓) โทษแผ่นเป็นเครื่องกู้ภัยกุลเดชที่ผลกระทบ
(๕๔) โทษแผ่นเป็นเครื่องกู้ภัยกุลเดชที่ผลกระทบ
(๕๕) คนไทยคนนี้ได้เห็นในสุขโภค
(๕๖) เทพบัญญานั้นแฝงอยู่ในกุลเดชที่เมื่อคนแต่เดิมนี้
(คว่) กรมบางคนทั้งหมดเห็นว่าจะให้ใช้ต่อหางหน้าที่มัน
(๒๐) กรมทหารครับกริยาทหารครมตาใส่เธอแม่เมียบงกตัน
(๒๑) พระเจ้าหลิวหลิ้นต่อไปยัง (ก) ถ้าคุณเจ้าอาค่งหนึ่งเรียกพระบรม
(๒๒) น้ำไปแก่เนื้ออย่างฟ้า... ครอบพระคริสต์อย่างไม่ได้ถึงแบบ
(๒๓) พระพุทธธรรมดังที่เนื้อฉันคบคอกี่อย่างถึงมีกัด
(๒๔) มองไม่เห็นต่อรั้วไปบรรยากาศเป็นต่อหนึ่งกันมาเย็นเท่า
(๒๕) องค์อนุสรณ์ที่ทรงเจ้าดีเล็กผู้ดีทรงเจ้าดีเล็กผู้ดีจง
(๒๖) นั่นถ้าเราคงรู้สึกอย่างเช่นพิจารณาคุณเกิดพระญาติ
(๒๗) โทพะสมรมราชีราชภัณฑ์พระสมรมราชาน
(๒๘) อยู่หนึ่ง 묘ที่ช่วยทำงานที่ยิ่งใหญ่ในขณะที่ทรงใหญ่
(๒๙) ราชานุสรณ์กษัตริย์หูเกียบอย่าง... ส... ในราชานุ (ก)๐
(๓๐) ราชอนุสรณ์กษัตริย์เกี่ยวกับ... ท้องทะเล (ล๓)
(๓๑) บังสรวัสดิที่อยู่ที่นี้... อยู่เอ (๘๑)
(๓๒) นั่นในกษัตริย์ที่มีอยู่เล็กน้อย... (๘๒)
(๓๓) พระพุทธิภูมิอยู่บ้านกู่สุดท้ายแหล่งใหญ่...
(๓๔) สมปองแห่งบ้านเกิด... กลายเป็นบ้านเกิด... (๑๗)
(๓๕) ทำไมแน่ใจได้... ฟ้าอย่างวิจักษ์คน...
(๓๖) นั่นไม่เห็นกันเป็น... จักลัดเกิดใจงก..
(๓๗) จักกันเป็น... ปากอง... ซึ่งพักท.. 
(๓๘)
(๑) เมืองธนบุรีกรุงศรีอยุธยา
(๒) อุทยานธนบุรีกรุงศรีอยุธยา (๖)
(๓) คลองบัวเลขกรมปิ่นประชก
(๔) ถนนฯบัวเลขกรมปิ่นประชก
(๕) ถนนแก้วทองหน้าที่พระ
(๖) ถนนพระรามที่หนึ่ง
(๗) มีจุดเริ่มต้นทางจุดหนึ่ง (๗)
(๘) ถนนทรงจินทร์
(๙) มิตรกุดรักคุณภาพ (๘)
(๑๐) ถนนราชพฤกษ์
(๑๑) ตลาดใหม่กิ่งแก้ว
(๑๒) ถนนจักร_WIDTH_(๘)
(๑๓) ถนนจรัญธารกับกัน (๙)
(๑๔) ทำสีต้นเหมืองทุกแห่ง (๑)
(๑๕) ถนนพระรามที่หนึ่ง
(๑๖) ถนนพระรามที่หนึ่ง (เป็น)
(๑๗) ถนนพระรามที่หนึ่ง (สุด)
(๑๘) ถนนพระรามที่หนึ่ง (เหมือง)
(๑๙) ถนนพระรามที่หนึ่ง (ระยอง)
(๒๐) เมืองชลบุรี
(๒๑) แป่นชุมเนื้อเมืองบางพานทาน (แป่นชุมเนื้อเมือง) ... (ตามบันทุน)
(๒๒) แป่นเมืองบางพลีบางปานชุมนี (๓) ..............................
(๒๓) จราจย่าเนื้อทำแทนยาภายนอก
(๒๔) น้ำใสมีชมที่กิจยุทธ์เพาะ
(๒๕) แป่นเจ้าแป่นชุมนีแกลงกิจยุทธ์ (๔)
(๒๖) ราชครอบทำพันธุ์ราชชุม
(๒๗) คนที่เก่าบางกษัตริย์คืนพื้น
(๒๘) ปลูกมากกว่าราษฎรมากบางทุ่ง (แห่ง)
(๒๙) แป่นแป่นแป่นแป่นโพงบาง
(๓๐) มิตรช่วยแซ่แป่นเมืองยุ้งแซ่สมร
(๓๑) แสงใหญ่ชุมเนื้อคลุมพันทบาน
(๓๒) งี่พระเจ้าใหญ่เรือไปสามารถไป (ชาย)
(๓๓) ท่องใหญ่ใจเพื่อนอยู่มาถูก
(๓๔) ราชมนตรีข้าวผัดผืนสนิท
(๓๕) ไก่ยินใหญ่ใหญ่ใหญ่ใหญ่ใหญ่ใหญ่ (ห้ำ)
(๓๖) คูบเจ้าพวกคริสต์ใหญ่
(๓๗) แผลใหญ่พวกข้าพเจ้าใหญ่ใหญ่ใหญ่ใหญ่ใหญ่ (ครู)
(๓๘) หน้าอยู่มากกับใหญ่ใหญ่ใหญ่ใหญ่ใหญ่
(๓๙) ท่านใหญ่个百分ย้อยใหญ่ใหญ่ใหญ่ใหญ่
(๔๐) หน้าอยู่หน่อยใหญ่ใหญ่ใหญ่ใหญ่ใหญ่
(๔๑) ทรงบานตาเนื้อเมืองกษัตริย์ใหญ่

A. B. Griswold and Prasert na Nagara
(๔๒) วิสัยทัศน์ปัจจุบันเมื่อก่อนท่านก็คุณกันไม่

(๔๓) ฝันสก์ใส่ใจพวกข้ากรุณานุภาพ

(๔๔) ใจสุขใจอยู่ใจเรียนสุขบาทใจไว้ใจ
(กุลกิจภักดีใหญ่)

(๔๕) หลวงชุมนุมใหญ่กิจทัวยุทธ์บรรลุ
(เล่น)

(๔๖) กินเมืองทิ้งแม่น้นแก้วใหญ่กิจทัวยุทธ์บรรลุ
(เล่น)

(๔๗) บัณฑิตย์เมื่อถึงบ้านเลี้ยงค์กิจทัวยุทธ์บรรลุ
(เล่น)

(๔๘) ผู้พิเศษสำนักใหญ่ใจที่กินนั้นไม่มีเมืองเรื่อยๆ (๑)

(๔๙) ราชกวินท์ชุมนุมในใจที่กินนั้นไม่มีเมืองเรื่อยๆ

(๕๐) ผู้พิเศษสำนักใหญ่ใจที่กินนั้นไม่มีเมืองเรื่อยๆ (๒)

(๕๑) ผู้พิเศษสก์ใจที่กินนั้นไม่มีเมืองเรื่อยๆ

(๕๒) ผู้พิเศษสก์ใจที่กินนั้นไม่มีเมืองเรื่อยๆ

(๕๓) ผู้พิเศษสก์ใจที่กินนั้นไม่มีเมืองเรื่อยๆ

(๕๔) ผู้พิเศษสก์ใจที่กินนั้นไม่มีเมืองเรื่อยๆ

(๕๕) ผู้พิเศษสก์ใจที่กินนั้นไม่มีเมืองเรื่อยๆ

(๕๖) ผู้พิเศษสก์ใจที่กินนั้นไม่มีเมืองเรื่อยๆ

(๕๗) ผู้พิเศษสก์ใจที่กินนั้นไม่มีเมืองเรื่อยๆ

(๕๘) ผู้พิเศษสก์ใจที่กินนั้นไม่มีเมืองเรื่อยๆ
Translation

[I/1-2.] Šakarāja 1279, year of the cock, eighth month, fifth day of the waxing moon, Friday, a ‘katt rau’ day in the Tai reckoning, (the moon being in) the nakṣatra of Pūrvaphalgunī. The hour of the enshrinement is on the sixth day.¹¹

[I/2-15.] Braṭā Liḷaiyārāja—who is the son of Braṇā Lōdaïya and grandson of Braṇā Rāmarāja, and who, when he acceded to supreme power in the land of Śri Sajjānālāya Sukhodāya, received the rājabhiṣeka¹³ from the throng of rulers¹⁴, his vassals¹⁵ residing at the four cardinal points, who, having provided ritual offerings¹⁶ and gifts of fruit and

11) The 5th day of the eighth month of M.S. 1279 (see above, p. 82) corresponds to Friday, June 23, 1357 (Julian), and the 6th obviously means the following day. Coedes suggests that, as such ceremonies normally lasted two days, the 5th day of the month was devoted to the recitation of religious formulas (vrān̄a), and the relic was actually enshrined (sthāpanā) on the 6th (JSS XIII/3, p. 20, note to line 2). This seems very plausible; but why are none of the other dedicatory inscriptions of Sukhodaya dated in this fashion? Alternatively we might suppose that the relic was enshrined at an hour which was part of the fifth day according to popular reckoning, but part of the sixth lunar day (tithi) as calculated by the astrologers. We are indebted to Mr Roger Billard for the following comment: ‘In fact the 6th real tithi began about 1.30 p.m., before the moon left the Pūrvaphalguninakṣatra, so it is possible that this reference is intended to give the hour on Friday, June 23, between 1.30 and 3 p.m., when the relic was enshrined. But I should think that in that case Liḷaiya would have said “tithi” instead of “gāp” (6); and furthermore we have no other examples of a detail of this sort.’ Recognizing the pertinence of Mr. Billard’s comment, we feel obliged to leave the question open.

12) Rāma Gaṁhēn.


14) ivaikhaya (1/4-5), dāya braṭā. Though the same expression at 1/6-7 obviously means a sovereign monarch (see note 19), it here refers to Mahādhrarāja’s vassals who came to do him homa (1iv, 1/6) and confer the abhiṣeka on him as a sovereign monarch.

15) mitraśāhīya (1/5), a Skt. compound which here must mean vassals (mitra, ’companion,’ ’associate,’ ’friend’; sahīya, ’companion,’ ’follower,’ ’adherent,’ ’ally’).

16) minnavay (1/5-6). In Siamese this means food, provisions, articles or utensils (McFarland), though in Khmer krayī generally means food only. In Khmer tānvā or tānvāy is a noun, meaning offerings to a god, to the king, or to monks (Guesdon, Dictionnaire Cambodgien-Français, Paris, 1930, p. 605). It is an expanded form of the verb thvāy, to adore, salute, offer, or consecrate to (ibid., p. 759); but in Siamese the distinction has been lost, both ṭhē and ṭen being verbs meaning ‘to present’ (to princes or monks). Cf. Coedes, JSS XIII/3, p. 21 f.
fish, came to do him homage and to confer the abhiṣeka on him as King, giving him the title Sri Suryavamsa Mahādharmanarājadhirāja—brought this precious relic to enshrine in this city of Nagara Jum in that year. This precious relic is not an ordinary one, but a genuine relic (of the Buddha) brought from far-away Lankādvipa. Some seeds from the śrīmahābodhi tree under which our Lord the Buddha was sitting when he defeated the army of King Mārādhāṛāja and attained the omniscience of Buddhahood have also been brought here and planted behind this reliquary monument. If anyone salutes and worships this precious relic and śrīmahābodhi tree, he will get the same advantage (from his

17) ha (I/6). Though it is quite possible that some independent monarchs who were friends of Lādaiya were present at the abhiṣeka, they would simply be honored guests who would certainly not do homage to him. For that reason we do not think they are mentioned at all in this passage.

18) ṛhūrā (I/6) stands for the Pali nouns niṭṭi, 'announcement', yaṇa, 'a sacrifice', and abhiṣeka, 'anointing', 'consecration (as king)'; but the whole expression is here used as a verb. Cf. Coedes, JSS XIII/3, p. 22 f.

19) dīnavarā (I/6-7), literally 'as Dāy and as Brāṇi'.

20) Grammatically the whole passage, from the last word in I/2 to the middle of I/3, is a single sentence, the main clause of which is 'Brāṇi Lādaiyaraja... brought this precious relic to enshrine in this city of Nagara Jum in that year', i.e. M.S. 1279 = 1357 A.D. His consecration as king, referred to in the dependent clause that intervenes between the subject and the verb of the main clause, occurred ten years earlier, in 1347. Such long periodic sentences as this, articulated with meticulous accuracy, occur fairly often in Mahādharmaṇāya's prose style, no doubt reflecting his familiarity with inflected languages such as Sanskrit and Pali, contrasting not only with Rāma Gāndhāra's short simple sentences, but also with the alternation of ellipses and rambling digressions of inscr. 2.

21) The word ha (I/4) here has its old negative sense ('is not'). Cf. Coedes, JSS XIII/3, p. 25, note to lines 8-9.

22) Ceylon. The word na (I/9), here used as an asseverative adverb which can best be omitted in translation, means 'surely', 'as much as that', or 'only that'. Cf. Tai Ynam a'na, 'certainly'; and sāna, equivalent to Siamese nā. See Coedes, JSS XIII/3, p. 25, note to line 9.

23) The reliquary monument (brah māhāhātu, I/12), built by Lādaiya to enshrine the precious relic (brah śrīraññamahāhātu). The tree referred to is the ficus religiosa at Bodhgaya under which Gotama attained Enlightenment after putting Māra's armies to flight. Mahādharmaṇāya must have obtained the seeds from the ficus religiosa at Anurādhapura in Ceylon which had been grown from a layering of the original tree at Bodhgaya.

24) il (I/13), = nī. Here, as often in the Sukhodaya inscriptions, it serves to mark the end of a conditional clause. Elsewhere, as at 1/15, it is merely a concluding asseverative particle, 'indeed', 'in fact', 'in truth'. Cf. Coedes, JSS XIII/3, p. 26, note to line 13.

25) nāna (I/14-15). In this context nāna seems to mean 'same' (cf. Tai Ynam nā, 'corresponding to'); nā means 'equal'.

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meritorious action) as if he had also26 worshipped our Lord in person. We are not making this statement on our own authority: indeed27 the words were spoken by our Lord the Buddha himself28.

[1/15-24.] At the time our Lord attained Buddhahood29, our human life-span was still a hundred years. Between that time and this, it has decreased to ninety-nine years30. If anyone asks, 'How many years have elapsed since it decreased from a hundred years to ninety-nine?', let him be told this: 'In the year of the hare, a hundred and thirty-nine years before Braññā Mahādharmarāja built this reliquary monument, the human life-span decreased from a hundred years31. From that year on, the
princes, Brahmans and śresthins gradually lost their high standing; the men who were learned in astrology and medicine lost their standing; from that time on, they were no longer favored or respected.

1968, i, pp. 6-8. The life-span of man, which was of immense duration at the beginning of the Mahāyuga, declines progressively until it is only 10 years. (See Spence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, London, 1853, pp. 6-8.) At the beginning of the Kaliyuga it had declined to 10 years; during the first 4320 years or 1/100 of the Kaliyuga, it declined by one year; and during each further 4320 years it will decline by one more year until finally it is only 10 years. In 544 B.C., when the Buddha entered parinibbana, the human life-span was still '100 years' (since any part of a year counts as a whole one); but by the year of the hare, 1219 A.D., it had declined to 99 years; and it was still '99 years' in 1357 A.D., when the inscription was composed. Cf. Inscription 7 (IV/12 ff.), composed in 1361 A.D., in which Mahādharmarāja refers to something which will occur 427,539 years after the date at which he is writing, i.e. the destruction of the world. In the present inscription, which does not look so far into the future, the reference to a decline in the human life-span from 100 years to 99 in 1219 A.D. (IV/19 ff.) is part of the same purely theoretical idea.

32) śresthi (I/22), for śresthin, which usually means a rich merchant, a man of property, but may also mean any person of rank or authority, etc. (Monier-Williams, Skt.-Eng. Dict., p. 1102); in the inscriptions of Cambodia, the word designated a certain rank of officials (see Coedes, JSS XIII/3, p. 25; BEFEO XVIII/9, p. 6; and L'année du livre 1219 A.D., India Antiqua, Leyden, 1947, p. 85).

33) vi (I/22). For vi in the sense of 'gradually', 'little by little', see Coedes, JSS XIII/3, p. 30.

34) mānadharmamudās, (I/22), 'receded from being the aristocracy'. The obsolete word māna is compared by Coedes to the expression śāmanā, 'a person of good society', 'a gentleman' (JSS XIII/3, p. 30).

35) śrāvaṇ (I/23); ś, for ś; for māna, see JSS 59/2, p. 212, note 80.

36) ṣrāvaṇ (I/23); ṣr, for ś; ṣrāv, 'astrologer'; ṣr, 'to predict'; ṣrāvaṇ, modern ṣrāvaṇ, 'medicines'. Cf. Coedes, L'année du livre, loc. cit., p. 85.

37) As Coedes remarks, these five categories of persons — princes, Brahmans, śresthins, astrologers and doctors — correspond to the ruling classes in Cambodia at the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century. It seems to us that Mahādharmarāja was thinking of the decline in their standing, whether in Cambodia or elsewhere, in purely theoretical terms as part of the general physical and moral deterioration of mankind that accompanies the decline in human life-span (see above, note 31). Coedes suggested that he may have been referring to a real series of events that began in 1219 (see his L'année du livre, loc. cit.: pp. 85 ff.). An inscription in one of the corner pavilions of Angkor Thom, cited by Coedes (ibid., p. 88) says that in the reign of Jayavarman VII, who 'swept away the evils of the Kaliyuga and brought back the Krta yuga on earth', the human life-span was 100 years. Jayavarman VII was born in 1125 or earlier; he was still alive in 1200; but it is not known how long he lived after that. Coedes thought 1219 may have been the approximate date of his death, followed not long afterwards by the establishment of the Tai kingdom of Sukhodaya and later on by the decline of...
If anyone asks, further, 'How long has it been, from the day our Lord attained Buddhahood under the Śrīmahābodhi tree, up to the day this precious relic is being enshrined?', let this answer be given him: 'Counting by years, it is one thousand nine hundred and forty-six years; the year he reached Buddhahood was a year of the monkey. Counting by months, it is twenty-four thousand and sixty months; the month he reached Buddhahood was the sixth month, on the day of the full moon. Counting by days, it is seven hundred and ten thousand, four hundred and sixty-eight days; the day he reached Buddhahood was Wednesday, a “tau ni” day in the Tai reckoning.'

If anyone asks, 'How much longer will the Lord's religion survive?', let this answer be given him: 'Three thousand and ninety-nine years after this relic is enshrined, the Lord's religion will come to an end.

Cambodia. We agree that a date shortly before 1219 is plausible for Jayavarman VII's death: if he was over 99 years old when he died, it would serve to confirm Mahādharmaśārja's view, based on theoretical considerations, that the decline in the human life-span from 100 to 99 was not completed until the year of the hare, 4320 of the Kaliyuga (1219 A.D.), though we believe that the theoretical considerations were paramount in Mahādharmaśārja's mind when he made the statement about the decrease that occurred in that year. We agree, too, that the death of a king of Cambodia would provide the opportunity for the Trzi to throw off Khmer suzerainty; but we think it more probable that they did so after the death of Jayavarman VII's successor, Indravarman II, in 1243.

Gotama is supposed to have renounced the princely life at the age of 29, attained Buddhahood at the age of 35, and died in 544 B.C. at the age of 80. That would mean he attained Buddhahood in 589 B.C., which would be 1946 years before the enshrinement of the relic at Nagara Jum.

According to the Sukhodaya reckoning the year the relic was enshrined, 1357 A.D., was the year 1901 of the Buddhist Era. The answer, 3099 years, is 1901 subtracted from 5000. According to an old prophecy, recorded in Buddhaghoṣa's Mūlaśrīsūtraratnasāraṇī, the religion established by the Buddha Gotama will decline progressively in each 1000 years after his parinibbāna and disappear altogether in the 5000th year; see Coedès, Le 2500e anniversaire du Bouddha, loc. cit., pp. 4 ff.; Spence Hardy, Eastern Monachism, London, 1850, pp. 427 ff. These successive declines or 'disappearances' are as follows. During the first 1000 years, the power to become an arahant will disappear; during the second, the monks will tend more and more to neglect the rules of the Vinaya, and eventually even the moral precepts; during the third, the sacred scriptures will be lost, beginning with the last book of the Abhidhamma,
[I/34-39.] ‘In the year of the boar, ninety-nine years from the year this relic is enshrined⁴¹, the Three Piṭakas will disappear⁴². There will be no one who really knows them, though there will still be some who know a little bit of them⁴³. As for preaching the Dharma, such as the Mahājātakas⁴⁴, there will be no one who can recite it; as for the other Dharma-jātakas⁴⁵, if the beginning is known the end will not be, or if the end is known the beginning will not be; and as for the Abhidhamma collection, the Paṭṭhāna and the Yamaka⁴⁶ will disappear at that time.

continuing retrogressively with the other six, then the Vinaya, then the Suttas, and finally even the Jātakas will be forgotten; during the fourth, the monks will forget the proper way to carry the almsbowl or wear the yellow robe, until finally they suspend the almsbowl from a carrying-pole and retain only enough yellow cloth to wrap around the neck, the wrist or the ear; during the fifth, the Buddha’s bodily relics will be less and less honored, until at last, 5000 years after the parinibbāna, all his relics will spring out of the reliquaries in which they are enshrined; they will fly to Anurādhapura in Ceylon, where they will assemble at the Mahāthīpā; then they will fly from there to Bodhgyā, the scene of the Buddha’s Enlightenment, form themselves into a semblance of the Buddha himself, and be consumed in a great holocaust.

41) A more literal translation would be: ‘One more thing: counting from the year of enshrining this relic, going forward for ninety-nine years up to the year of the boar . . . ‘

42) Piṭakāṭrai (I/35), Pali Tipitaka, the sacred scriptures. In 1357, when the relic was enshrined, the first ‘disappearance’ — that of the ability to become an arahant — had long since occurred. The second would become complete in the year of the boar (1456 A.D.), 99 years after the relic was enshrined. In rehearsing the prophecy Mahādharmarāja was apparently relying on a text which was analogous to Buddhagosa’s but not identical to it, because he reverses the order of the second and third disappearances (see above, note 40). For Mahādharmarāja, the second disappearance is that of the Tipitaka, while the third is that of the monastic rules and the moral precepts.

43) मुखनिर्णय (I/36). Coedès takes मू (mū) to mean ‘very’, but if it had that meaning it should come after the expression it modifies. As it comes before, we take it to be equivalent to Tai Yuan DoubleClick, ‘rather’. The expression मुखनिर्णय, ‘a little bit’, is a contraction of मुखनिर्णयिनी.

44) The Vessantara-jātaka.

45) Jātakas; as Coedès observes, the unusual expression Dharma-jātaka appears in the introduction to the Traibhūmi-kathā, among the list of Pali texts used by the author for his compilation; see JSS XIII/3, p. 31, note to line 37.

46) The Paṭṭhāna and the Yamaka are the last two books of the Abhidhamma.
A thousand years later there will still be monks who observe the [first] four moral precepts\(^47\), but there will be none at all who observe a great number of monastic rules\(^48\).

A thousand years later\(^49\) there will be no monks at all who wear the \(c\text{\i\v\a}\)\(^50\), but\(^51\) there will still be some who have a little bit of yellow cloth to stick behind the ear\(^52\) so that the Lord’s religion may be recognized.

A thousand years later there will be no \(c\text{\i\v\a}\) whatever and no monks at all (by which the religion) can be recognized; but our Lord’s relics, both here and at other places, will still endure. Last of all, in the year when the Lord Buddha’s religion will disappear altogether, a year of the rat, on Saturday the full moon day of the sixth

\(^47\) \(c\text{s\k\p\a} (1/40)\). \(c\text{s\k\p\a}\) means ‘moral practice’, etc.; \(s\k\p\a\) is a partially Sanskritized form of Pali \(s\k\p\a\), ‘precept’. The \(\text{p\a\s\k\p\a}\) or five moral practices, which all Buddhists are supposed to follow, are: abstention from taking life, from stealing, from adultery, from lying, and from intoxication. The \(\text{d\a\s\k\p\a}\) or five precepts are identical to the \(c\text{s\k\p\a}\). The \(\text{d\a\s\k\p\a}\) or ten moral practices are the same as the first four of the \(c\text{s\k\p\a}\), plus abstention from slander, from harsh speech, from frivolous talk, from covetousness, from malevolence, and from heretical views. The \(\text{d\a\s\k\p\a}\) or ten precepts consist of the first five, plus abstention from eating at the wrong hour, from worldly amusements, from using unguents or ornaments, from sleeping on a high bed, and from accepting gold or silver. See Pali Text Society’s Pali-English Dictionary, s.v. \(c\text{s\k\p\a}\).

\(^48\) In contrast to its meaning at 1/40 (see the preceding note), the word \(s\k\p\a\) at 1/40-41 obviously cannot refer to the five or the ten precepts, for neither five nor ten could be regarded as a ‘great number’ relative to four. Here it must mean the 217 rules (\(s\k\p\a\)) of the \(\text{P\t\i\m\k\k}\) as given in the \(\text{S\t\v\i\b\h\a}\) in the \(\text{V\i\n\y\a\p\t\a}\) or Book of Monastic Discipline. See I.B. Horner, The Book of the Discipline, Vol. I, London, 1949, p. viii, and Vol. II, London, 1940, pp. v, XXIX.

\(^49\) In translating we have omitted \(\text{\i\h\h}\) (1/42). McFarland defines \(\text{\i\h\h}\) as ‘an ancient form for the beginning of an explanation, speech or address’.

\(^50\) \(c\text{i\v\a}\) (1/42) is for \(c\text{i\v\a}\), the monk’s upper garment of yellow cloth, or for \(\text{i\v\a}\), the monk’s three garments of the same material.

\(^51\) ‘\(\text{\m}\)’ (1/42). One of the meanings of \(\text{\m}\) now obsolete, was ‘but’; see JSS XIII/3, p. 32, note to line 42.

\(^52\) ‘\(\text{\m}\)’ is an idiom meaning to stick something behind the ear, such as a pencil or a cigar. Coedes, apparently being unaware of the idiom, translates this passage: ‘il y aura un tout petit peu d’étoffe jaune, (juste assez) pour se boucher le trou de l’oreille,’ which accords less well with the quotations he very pertinently cites at JSS XIII/3, pp. 32-33, note to lines 42-43.
month, a "rāyā san" day\(^{53}\) in the Tāi reckoning, when the moon is in the rākṣa of Baisākha, on that day all the Lord's relics on this earth, as well as in the Devaloka and the Nāgaloka\(^{54}\), will fly\(^{55}\) through the sky, assemble together in Lāṅkādāvīpa, enter\(^{56}\) the Ratanamālikamahāstūpa\(^{57}\), and then fly to the Śrīmahābodhi tree\(^{58}\) where the Lord Buddha attained the omniscience of Buddhahood long ago\(^{59}\). Then a huge fire\(^{60}\) will consume all the relics completely, and the flames will leap up to the Brahmāloka\(^{61}\): the Buddha's religion will disappear on that day as declared. From that time on there will be no one at all among mankind who is acquainted with the various (sorts of) meritorious action; people will constantly\(^{62}\) commit sins and be reborn in hell\(^{63}\).

53) \text{vināraṅga (I/47) =} ārāma, "a rāyā san" day'; cf. JSS XIII/3, p. 33, note to line 47.

54) Devaloka means any of the six 'heavens of desire', particularly the Tāvatimśa: more loosely used, it can include the sixteen Brahmdheavens, or 'heavens of form' which are higher than the heavens of desire; and legend specifies certain relics of the Buddha which are worshiped in the Tāvatimśa and the Brahmd-heavens. The Nāgaloka is the subterranean realm of the Nāgas or serpent divinities, who also possess a number of relics.

55) \text{vināraṅga (I/47), modern \textit{vināraṅga}, 'to fly by supernatural means.'}

56) \text{vināraṅga (I/50) means 'enter into the hollow interior', presumably the relic-chamber of the stupa.} Prajum I (1957) has \textit{vināraṅga} (page 40), which is a misprint (cf. ibid., p. 43).

57) The Mahāsthūpa at Anurādhapura in Ceylon; see above, note 40.

58) At Bodhagayā; see above, note 40.

59) \text{vināraṅga (I/52), i.e. \textit{vināraṅga}, 'at that time in the past.'}

60) \text{vināraṅga (I/52-53), for Skt. \textit{kāla}, the fire which, according to Hindu belief, will destroy the world (see JSS XIII/3, p. 33, note to line 52); here, transposed into Buddhist terms, the holocaust that will destroy the last remains of the religion.}

61) The sixteen heavens of the Brahms, high above the heavens of desire.

62) \text{vināraṅga (I/55) 'regularly,' 'normally,' 'as a matter of course,' 'always'; cf. modern \textit{vināraṅga}, \textit{vināraṅga}, 'habitually,' 'according to custom'; \textit{vināraṅga}, 'it is commonly said or reported'; \textit{vināraṅga}, 'generally seen,' 'usually noticed'.}

63) There will be five Buddhas in the present kappa (aeon). Four of them have already passed into parinibbāna; the fifth, Ariyametteyya, is still to come. The religions preached by the first three have long since disappeared; that preached by our Buddha, Gotama, will finally disappear when his relics are destroyed, 5000 years after his parinibbāna. During the immense interval of time which will elapse between that moment and the establishment of Ariyametteyya's dispensation on earth, mankind will have no guide to teach the difference between meritorious and sinful actions, and so will inevitably be doomed to hell.
‘From now on, all good people should make haste to perform meritorious actions in (accordance with) the Buddha’s religion while it still survives. The present generation has the immense advantage of being born in time (to know) the Lord’s religion; so everyone should be assiduous in doing homage to stupas, cetiyas and śrīmahābodhi trees, which is the same as (doing homage to) our Lord in person. If anyone (when doing homage to them) makes a wish with perfect faith, it will come true, even if he makes the wish that he will be reborn in heaven, (that he will stay there) until Śri Āriyānītri comes down (to

64) อดิน (I/58), modern อดิน, ‘while we still have it, until the day (when it disappears).’ Alternatively we might adopt Coedes’s interpretation (JSS XIII/3, p. 34), putting a full stop after อดิน, ‘while we still have it’, ‘while it still survives’, and beginning a new sentence with แต่, ‘but’ (see above, note 51).

65) สุรินทร (I/51), modern สุรินทร, ‘our generation at the present time’.

66) Literally ‘merit’; by extension, the advantage accruing from merit made in past lives. Unless the present generation had made great merit in past lives, they would not have been rewarded by being born as human beings at a time when there is still a chance to make further merit and gain further rewards in future lives.

67) A ‘cetiya’ is a Reminder of the Buddha in the broadest sense, including bodily relics, relics by association, bodhi trees grown from seeds or layerings of the original bodhi tree at Bodh gaya and its descendants, architectural monuments containing relics or copied from those containing relics, bas-reliefs or paintings of scenes from the Buddha’s life, and any sort of image of the Buddha. A stupa is a particular form of cetiya, generally a monument having a solid dome as its main feature. We take สวาม (I/60) to mean ‘stupas and (other) cetiyas’, but it could equally well be a compound, สุปัตติ, ‘cetiyas in the form of stupas’. On the analogy of II/35 f., we construe stupas, cetiyas and śrīmahābodhi trees as plural, though it is possible that ‘cetiyas’ refers more particularly to the reliquary monument built by Mahādharma-rāja at Nagarā Jup, and that the tree is the one planted behind it.

68) Literally ‘with faith like that’; i.e. faith that by worshiping stupas and bodhi trees he will earn as much merit as if he had been among those who worshiped the Buddha in person; see above, 1/13-15, and note 28; also JSS XIII/3, p. 34.

69) สูบิน (I/63), i.e. สูบิน.

70) แต่ (I/61), ‘even if’ (JSS XIII/3, p. 34).

71) ... สวาม (I/62); the lacuna doubtless contained some expression meaning ‘to remain there’; สวาม is for สวาม, ‘until’. 
earth) to become a Buddha, and that he will be reborn\(^\text{72}\) on this earth at the same time\(^\text{73}\).

[1/63-78.] If anyone asks, further, ‘How\(^\text{74}\) can anyone know the number\(^\text{75}\) of years, months, days and nights of the decline so exactly? Who made the investigation and the reckoning\(^\text{76}\), who calculated\(^\text{77}\), so as to know it so exactly and so thoroughly?’, let this answer be given: ‘The person who calculated, reckoned and investigated is\(^\text{78}\) Braṇā Śrī Śrīyavamsa Mahādharmārajaḥdirāja himself.’ ‘And what other qualities is Braṇā Mahādharmāraja known to possess?’, let this answer be given: ‘Braṇā Dharmāraja observes the five precepts\(^\text{79}\) at all times.

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72) वृद्धिः (1/63), i.e. वृद्धिः, ‘come to be born’. We take वृद्धिः to be an emphatic auxiliary, which we have omitted from our translation; but cf. Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 34, note to line 63.

73) During the long period of ignorance between the end of the present Buddhist religion and the beginning of the new one which will be established by Ariyametteyya (Śrī Ariyamaitri), the person who makes the wish will be waiting in one of the heavens. By being reborn as a man when Ariyametteyya is about to reestablish the Dhamma, he will be among the first to listen to his preaching and be able to earn more merits which will help him along the road to nībbāṇā. We have translated दुर्योगः (modern दुर्योगः) at 1/63 as ‘at the same time’, i.e. that he will be reborn at the same time that Ariyametteyya is living on earth; but cf. Coedès at JSS XIII/3, p. 35, note to line 63. In the Trāibhīlīmikā (p. 579) दुर्योगः means ‘at the same time’.

74) For the expression तु (1/64), ‘how’, which appears in the form ‘तु’ in the Trāibhīlīmikā, see Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 35.

75) तत् (1/64), modern तत्. The present meaning of the word is ‘pattern’, ‘example’ or ‘model’, none of which makes any sense in the context. As Coedès says, the word is of Khmer origin. In modern Khmer it has the same meaning as in Siamese, but there are plenty of examples of Old Khmer words which have passed into Siamese and been given a new meaning, only to be taken back again into Khmer with the same meaning as in Siamese. Considered purely from the morphological point of view, रप is derived by means of the labial infix from the Khmer verb रप, ‘to count’, so it must originally have been a noun meaning ‘count’ or ‘number’, which fits very well with the sense of this passage. See Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 35, note to line 64.

76) विधादनं (1/65), i.e. विध, ‘to make’; विधानं, Skt.; Pali ‘consideration’, ‘investigation’; साक्षया, Skt. ‘reckoning’.

77) ज्ञ (1/65), i.e. ज्ञ, which now means ‘to multiply’; cf. Skt. गुप्त, ‘a multiplier’, ‘a coefficient’, and गुमण ‘multiplication’, ‘enumeration’. We take the word to be equivalent to Khmer ग्वर, ‘to calculate’; Khmer gaṃvar, the expanded form of ग्वर, has the same meaning. Siamese จำนวน means ‘to calculate’, ‘mathematics’, etc. Cf. Coedès, JSS XIII/3, pp. 35-36.

78) न (1/66), i.e. ने.

79) पञ्चसिला, the five moral practices, identical to the पञ्चसिक्षपद or five precepts; see above, note 47.
He pays homage in the Royal Palace, never missing a single day or a single night. On full-moon days he goes to worship the relics which he himself has enshrined. He listens to the preaching of the Dharma, gives alms. On uposatha days he always observes the eight precepts. Moreover, he is well versed in the Three Pitakas, able to teach all the monks so that they are entirely, as theras and mahatheras, all sorts, in great number, cannot be counted. He knows the skies, more than a thousand names. He can predict if there will be a tempest or a fire... if there will be a... or if there will be a... spoken, just as... He gets up to look at... Whatever countries there are, he knows them completely; he knows the sāstras, medicines, he knows how to play ska and caturanga, how to...

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80) uumu (I/70), i.e. uūna.
81) The Buddhist holy days (śāmkas), the 8th and 15th days of the waxing moon and the 8th and 15th of the waning moon. We have conjecturally supplied this expression in the lacuna for reasons which appear in the next note.
82) aśṭāṅgikāsāla (I/73), Pali āṭṭhāṅgikāsāla, the popular name for the first 8 of the dassassikkhāpada (see above, note 47); recommended for Buddhist laymen to observe on uposatha days (punas).
83) Conjectural restoration of part of the lacuna.
84) Here the account of the King's moral and religious qualities terminates and the account of his secular accomplishments begins.
85) so, of heavenly bodies?
86) sc. his predictions, based on his study of the heavenly bodies, will come true.
87) mami (II/1), for sāstra, Indian technical manuals on a wide variety of subjects.
88) mami (II/1-2); see above, note 36.
89) nemi (II/2). Apparently a is for aśa, 'to fight', hence 'to play'. According to McFarland's dictionary, a is a backgammon-like game. The word ska is borrowed from Khmer; according to Guesdon (Dictionnaire Cambodgien-Français) it is equivalent to skār or paskā, which he defines as 'jeu de dames', i.e. draughts or checkers. Caturanga is the Skt. term for the four branches of an army —— elephantry, chariotry, cavalry and infantry. In ancient India, according to Walker (Hindu World, London. 1968. 1. p. 366), caturanga was a dice-game for two players, played on a board marked with squares, on which were placed pieces representing a king, an elephant, a chariot and four foot-soldiers, whose moves were determined by the throw of the dice; later on, when the use of dice was abandoned, the game passed into chess. It is not clear whether ska and caturanga in the present context mean two different kinds of game or only one; perhaps ska, meaning any sort of game played on a board marked with squares, is more precisely defined by caturanga. If, as seems likely, the main purpose of the game (or games) Mahadharmarāja is referring to was to simulate military strategy, his boast would not be so frivolous as one might think at first glance.
make yantras\textsuperscript{90}, how to ride elephants \textsuperscript{91}, how to lasso elephants \textsuperscript{91} the Briddhipāsāstra\textsuperscript{92}, reckon up the total\textsuperscript{93} of his accomplishments, there is much more. He has no equal in bravery and courage\textsuperscript{94} \textsuperscript{95} He knows how to control himself and how to control others, he knows how to \textsuperscript{96} how to dig irrigation ditches and build weirs\textsuperscript{97}. He is merciful ["to all his subjects\textsuperscript{98}]. \textsuperscript{99} When rulers come to him to place their cities under his protection, he always \textsuperscript{99} \textsuperscript{100} \textsuperscript{101} When he catches people who cheated or betrayed him, or who stole his goods, he never ["kills them or beats them\textsuperscript{100}]. ["Those
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who have done him harm [he has set free so many times that they cannot be counted]. The reason why [he shows such forbearance in cases that would make most people angry] and shows kindness and compassion is because [he has resolved to become a Buddha and to lead all living creatures beyond these miseries of transmigration].

[II/12-14.] In the time of Brańa Rāmarāja [the kingdom] was vast, extending (afar) in every direction [and his vassals] came to salute him and do homage to him everywhere.

[II/14-23.] everywhere, because fathers and sons, elder [and younger] brothers, as princes and rulers. The country was torn into many fragments and pieces into many fragments and pieces, for example the lord of... became a ruler, the lord...
of Jyān Dōn became a ruler, the lord of............ [became a ruler, the lord of] Pāh Bān [became a ruler], the lord of............ [became a ruler], the lord of Pāh Chīlān became a ruler,.................,113, each of them acting independently114.

in medieval Siamese could mean either the king or the kingdom (in the 15th-century poem Yuan Pāi, ฤๅ regularly means 'king'); besides in YP, นิยาม means governor or ruler of the city. The word นิยาม is an intensifying particle, apparently used to emphasize the individuality of each of the persons enumerated.

113) Several places on this list can easily be identified. See JSS 57/1, pp. 30, 31, Maps 1 and 2. Braj. Pān is Pra Bān, which was located at or near Nagara Svarga (Nalāṅ Svarga), at the junction of the Pīng and the Nān; Gandī is Konti on the Pīng, halfway between Nagara Svarga and Nagara Jum; Jyān Dōn is Chīng Tōng, which was on the Pīng, probably not far from the present town of Tāk; Pāh Bān is Bāng Pān, on the Pra Ruang Highway between Gāmpēng Pet and Sukhodaya, less than 50 km. from Sukhodaya. Pāh Chīlān, Bāng Chālīn, is mentioned in Insr. 2 (1/8) after Sukhodaya and before Sajjānilaṇī, which may or may not give a clue to its location. Taking into account the length of each lacuna, the list appears to have contained the names of either nine or ten miangs, each of which had its own ruler:

1. Miāng ........ ;
2. Miāng ........ ;
3. Miāng Konti Pra Bān, comprising the lower valley of the Pīng;
4. Miāng ........ ;
5. Miāng Chīng Tōng;
6. Miāng ........ ;
7. Miāng Bāng Pān;
8. Miāng ........ ;
10. (?)

These places are certainly listed in some sort of logical order, but the lacunae prevent us from knowing just what it was. On the whole it seems likely to be the order in which a traveler would reach them if he left Sukhodaya and went down the Yom and the Nān to Nagara Svarga, then up the Pīng to Chīng Tōng, then overland to the Pra Ruang Highway, and finally north along that highway.

If that is right, Numbers 1 and 2 would be somewhere on the Yom or the Nān (No. 1 appears to begin with the letter น, but the reading is uncertain); No. 4 would be on the Pīng somewhere near Gāmpēng Pet and Nagara Jum; No. 6 would be at or near Pra Nāḍā (Pra Nāḍā) or perhaps — though it seems less likely — Bāng Jān (Bāng Jān); No. 8 would be between Bāng Pān and Bāng Chālīn, but that does not help us much, as we cannot locate Bāng Chālīn with any confidence.

114) We restore the passage at 11/22-23 as (นิยาม) ........ , i.e. นิยาม ........ . For the syntax, cf. such an expression as คือ, 'each person going independently.' We take นิยาม to mean 'acting independently' or 'making himself appear independent' (cf. นิยาม, 'to make oneself appear as'). We take นิยาม, 'their', to be a modifier of นิยาม and นิยาม; for นิยาม, see above, note 110.
having mounted the throne as successor to his ancestors\[16\], forced \[all\] those lords and rulers \[to submit\]\[17\]. He wields the royal power in accordance with the Dasabidharajadharma\[18\] to all the way to Gandi Bra! Pan downstream\[19\] at the foot of this River Bij\[20\]. He plants coconuts and jackfruit everywhere \[where the land\] is overgrown with forest and brush, he causes it to be cleared\[21\]. In the time of that Dharmikara jal\[22\] the country is tranquil, extending \[after in every

115) We restore line — at II/23 as \(\text{u},\) an expression which is still used in \(\text{T}a\text{i} Y\text{u}a\text{n}\) with the meaning 'afterwards'. The word \(\text{u},\) lacking in modern Siamese, means 'after' or 'past' in Lao, Shan and Ahom; cf. Coedès, JSS XIII/3, p. 40, note to line 34.

116) Literally 'acceded to the royal power as successor to his grandfather and grandmother, and his father and mother'. The reference to the ladies, which is unusual in the context, may be intended to draw attention to the royal lineage of Mahādharmarāja's grandmother and his mother, who were presumably Rāma Gāmbhā's and Lūdāiya's chief queens (possibly in contrast to Nīva Nām Thǎm, who may have been the son of a minor wife of Lūdāiya).

117) There must have been some word like \(\text{u},\) at the end of II/24, connecting with the first words at II/25 to form the expression \(\text{u},\) 'all those lords and rulers,' i.e. the lords and rulers who had been acting independently. As this expression can hardly be the subject of the sentence, the lacuna at II/24 must also have contained a verb which had the King for subject and the lords and rulers for object. The phrase \(\text{u},\) 'by force' (II/25), suggests the verb was \(\text{u},\) 'to conquer,' 'to receive the submission of'. Hence our translation. This seems to mean that Mahādharmarāja had to fight to regain the lost vassals, or at least some of them.

118) The ten principles which a monarch is supposed to follow.

119) i.e. downstream on the Ping from Nagara Jum; as Coedès observes, \(\text{u},\) (II/27) is the Khmer word for 'below' (JSS XIII/3, p. 40, note to line 27).

120) The Ping, which flows past the sites of Nagara Jum and Konti (Gandi); Pra Bāng (Brah Pān) lay 'at the foot of this River Ping', i.e. at its confluence with the Nām. Evidently Konti and Pra Bāng were ruled by the same person, who we should doubtless understand placed his state under Mahādharmarāja's protection shortly before 1357.

121) \(\text{u},\) (II/28-29). Cf. Inscription 8 (III/16-19), in which Mahādharmarāja builds an irrigation ditch 'in order that water could be fed to upland and lowland farms, areca palms could be planted (after clearing away) the jungle and weeds and rattans, and fish could be caught to eat, so that people would be happy and contented everywhere'. This may give a clue to the contents of the lacunae at II/27-30 of the present inscription.

122) Mahādharmarāja I.
direction). He causes his elder and younger brothers who are rulers, his sons and his grandsons to... The people go by boat to trade or ride their horses to sell. Anyone who tries to interfere with them when it catches his fancy cannot do so because of the authority of that Dharmika-raja.

[II/34-47.] From now on if any ruler... in this city he must do what is right... he must do homage to stupas, cetiyas and śrīmabhodhi trees [along the banks of] this River Biś without missing a single time; he must respect the monks, [honor his parents, love his elder and] younger brothers, and respect the aged. He must be kind to the common people; [if they are strong enough to perform a certain] task, he may use them for it, but if they are not strong enough he must not use them, [and those who are too old should be allowed to do as they please]. He must...
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(keep) reserves of rice and an abundance of salt\(^137\) in his Mōañ; if [he does so] \[the rulers of\] other countries will come to rely and lean upon him; but if [he does not, he himself (may have to) seek help from the countries of other rulers, who will treat him with contempt\(^138\) and \[516\] him\(^139\) besides. When commoners or men of rank [die] \[517\] he must not seize their estates\(^140\): when a father dies, (the estate) must be left ["to the sons; when an elder brother dies, it must be left to] the younger\(^141\). Any ruler who acts in accordance with these principles \[518\] will rule this Mōañ for a very long time\(^142\); any (ruler) who acts in violation of them will not last\(^143\) long at all.

\[11/47-58.\]\(^144\) This statement is rather\(^145\) brief, but there is a detailed statement in an inscription at Sukhodaya \[520\] at the Mahādhātu\(^146\). There is an inscription at Mōañ \[521\], there is

\(137\) चु (11/40), modern चु, 'in abundance', 'overflowing', etc. As Coedes observes, the words चुमंचुमं form a rhyming jingle suggesting the well-being of people for whom rice and salt are the essential minimum for food; JSS XIII/3, p. 42, note to line 40.

\(138\) सं (11/42), modern सं, 'to insult', 'to treat with insolence or contempt' (McFarland, p. 333).

\(139\) sc. refuse him? or impose ruinous conditions on him for the loan?

\(140\) दच्चध्रप्रग्रस्वम (11/44) is a rhyming jingle; ह, 'to get'; च, equivalent to Tai Yuan ह, 'to tyrannize', 'to oppress', 'to mistreat'; चित, 'to take'; सित, 'to bend down or drag down by force'; दस्ति, 'house' (in this context, sc. the decedent's whole estate; see JSS 59/2, p. 206 note 28); हन, 'their'. We have interpreted this passage differently from Coedes; cf. JSS XIII/3, p. 42, note to line 44.

\(141\) We have restored the lacuna with the aid of Inscr. 5 (1/18-19); cf. also Inscr. 1 (1/21-24).

\(142\) चिन्ह (11/46) = रिन्ह.

\(143\) दब (11/47) = दबि.

\(144\) We believe the postscript to the inscription begins here.

\(145\) चिन्ह (11/47) = Tai Yuan ह, 'rather.'

\(146\) Coedes plausibly suggests that चिन्ह (चिन्ह) at the beginning of 11/49 may be the last part of a word like चिन्ह or चिन्ह, 'residence' (JSS XIII/3, p. 42, note to line 49). He thought this passage might refer to Inscr. 2, which originally must have been erected at the Mahādhātu (see Recueil, 1, p. 89 note 1). To us, however, it appears that Mahādharmarājī is referring to an inscription in which he himself discusses in detail some of the subjects he has touched on more briefly here; whereas Inscr. 2, which was composed in the reign of Lōdāyā (either by the Mahāthera Śrīsrañcā or by Lōdāyā himself) deals with entirely different matters (see JSS 60/1, pp. 75-134). If we are right, the inscription referred to at 11/48 has not been recovered.

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\(110\)
one at Moañ Fhánh\textsuperscript{147}, there is one at Moañ Ralvił\textsuperscript{148} 
(near) the highway\textsuperscript{149}, erected beside the sacred Footprint\textsuperscript{150}. (For) 
that Footprint, Braññ Dharmikarāja sent to Śinhala\textsuperscript{151} to make impressions of the trace of . . . . our Lord's Foot which is stamped\textsuperscript{152} on top of Mount Sumanakūṭa\textsuperscript{153}, to measure its size, and to bring (the impressions) back to be copied for everyone [to worship]. . . . . \textsuperscript{154}

One (of the copies) has been placed at Śrī Sujanālaya on top of Mount . . . , one has been placed at Sukhodya on top of Mount Sīma[paśa]\textsuperscript{155}, one has been placed) at Pāh Bān on top of Nān Dōn Hill\textsuperscript{156}, [and one has been placed on top of] the hill at Pāk Braññ Pān\textsuperscript{157}. There is an inscription with (the Footprint) at each of those places.

\textsuperscript{147) Near Uttaratiththa. The inscription has not been recovered.}
\textsuperscript{148) Between Sukhodya and Bitguloka (see JSS 59/2, p. 218 note 129, and JSS 60/1, p. 28). The inscription has not been recovered.}
\textsuperscript{149) nei (II/51) is the Khmer word thā, 'highway', which also appears in Inscr. 13 (line 2; see Coedès, Recueil, I, p. 158, and JSS XIII/3, p. 43). As Coedès observes, the reading nu at the beginning of II/51 is not perfectly certain, and nu, 'way' or 'road', would be in apposition to nei, the common expression nu-.
\textsuperscript{150) Braññ Pādalākṣaṇa (II/51), a copy of the Buddha's Footprint on Adam's Peak in Ceylon, with its 108 auspicious 'marks' (lakṣaṇa). īnuu (II/51) is a demonstrative, equivalent to modern thū, 'that'.}
\textsuperscript{151) Ceylon.}
\textsuperscript{152) nuu (II/53), modern īnuu, 'to step', 'to tread', 'to trample'.}
\textsuperscript{153) According to legend the Buddha visited Ceylon three times. During the course of his third visit he pressed his footsole into the rock on top of Mount Sumanakūṭa (Adam's Peak), leaving the famous Footprint which is still the object of intense veneration in Ceylon. It is a depression in the rock, a little less than 2 metres in length (in proportion to the legendary height of the Buddha, which was nearly 9 m.). The 108 auspicious marks, if they were ever visible on the Footprint itself, were obliterated long ago. Later on, it seems, the Footprint was provided with a protective cover, having a stylized outline of a footsole and the 108 marks engraved on it (see Tennent, Ceylon, London, 1860, Vol. II, pp. 133-141). It was evidently this cover, rather than the depression in the rock, which Mahādharmarāja was having copied. For the 108 marks, see JSS 59/1, p. 172-188; cf. ibid., Figs. 3-a, 3-b, 4.
\textsuperscript{154) Perhaps īnu- (II/54) should be restored as īnuu, 'in place of', i.e. worship the copy in place of the Footprint on Adam's Peak, or in place of the Buddha himself.
\textsuperscript{155) Mount Sumanakūṭa, southwest of Sukhodya, is the hill now called Khau Braññ Pāda Hālin (svamānaśī); see Map 3, JSS LIII/1, p. 34, no. 38). For this Footprint, see Inscr. 8.
\textsuperscript{156) This Footprint was sent to the National Museum in Bangkok in 1923. For Pāh Bān (śīnuu), see note 113, above.
\textsuperscript{157) This Footprint is still in situ on top of Frog Hill (svīnu) at Nagara Svarga; see below, p. 113.}
Inscription 11, now in Vajirāṇāna Hall in the old National Library building at Bangkok, was discovered in 1921 by Prince Damrong Rājanubhāb on top of Frog Hill (vīru), about a kilometre north of the Municipal Administration Office at Nagara Svarga, and about the same distance west of the Ping. The stone slab on which it is engraved is 30 cm. high, 50 cm. wide and 6 cm. thick. Both the top and bottom are broken off, carrying away the beginning of the text on both faces, as well as the end of the Text on Face II but not on Face I. There is no legible date on either face.

The inscription was first published by Coedes in 1924. The two faces bear unrelated texts or, to be more exact, texts that record benefactions by two different persons at different times, though at the same place. In 1924 Coedes ascribed Face I to the reign of Mahādharma-raja IV (1419-38), and believed that Face II was later; but he afterwards changed his mind about Face II and accepted Brahyā Nagara Brahma’s view that the person whose acts of merit it recounts, though the name is lost, is the Mahāthera Śrīrādha-rajaśatādumuni.

We have discussed Face II in a previous article, in which we agree that Śrīrādha is the subject of the text and consider him its author as well, proposing a date in the 1350’s. We now think a date in the 1360’s more probable because of the relatively frequent use of the mai-hānakāsa, and indeed it may be later still as it seems pretty certain that Śrīrādha lived at least to 1376.

We have no hesitation in attributing Face I to Mahādharma-raja IV. The writing is similar to that of his other inscriptions, and the style of composition—direct, orderly and vivid—is characteristically his. While

2) Recueil p. 145. NB; at JSS 60/1, p. 135, paragraph 3, please read: Mahādharma-raja IV, instead of: Mahādharma-raja III.
3) Etats hindouises, 398-9; for the Mahāthera Śrīrādha, see JSS 60/1, p. 75 f., et passim.
4) JSS 60/1, pp. 79-82, 136-144. (At p. 82, line 13, please note that ‘No. 2, is a misprint for No. 11.)
5) JSS 60/1, p. 136.
6) See JSS 60/1, 145-148.
the surviving text is too short to provide any very revealing statistics regarding orthography, it does contain at least two spellings which are characteristic of Mahādharmarāja I's inscriptions (ā, 'hand', at 1/5, vs. ā in Inscr. 2 at II/68; and Ṛ in Ṛ at 1/7, vs. Ṛ which is now considered correct); and there are no spellings in it that would raise any doubt that he was its author. The vowel * and the accent ' do not occur. The vowel * occurs once (ā, I/5), and the accent ' occurs four times ṛ, I/6, 12; ṛ [= ṛ] I/6, 8). The mai-hān-ākāśa, which occurs in his inscriptions sporadically from 1361 on, is completely lacking, as in Inscr. 3. This suggests a date before 1361, perhaps around 1357 like Inscr. 3. But it could easily be two or three years earlier or later.

When Prince Damrong discovered the inscription on top of Frog Hill, it was lying beside a stone Footprint of the Buddha, which is still in situ. The Footprint must have been installed there by Mahādharmarāja himself, as he mentions it in the postscript to Inscr. 3 (see p. 111).

The surviving portion of Face I commemorates Mahādharmarāja's erection of some sort of shelter over the Footprint on the hilltop, and his construction of a monastery 'in the town', which certainly means the town of Brah Pāñ (Nagara Svarga) at the foot of the hill. The place where the inscription was discovered might suggest that the main purpose of Face I was to commemorate the consecration of the Footprint on the hilltop, but there is no reference to that event in any of the legible portions of the text. The surviving text opens with a reference to Brañā Brah Rāma (I/2), to whom the merit of building the monastery in the town is to be dedicated as set forth in the passage at I/8-19. In the intervening passage (I/3-7) Mahādharmarāja is on the hilltop, which is overgrown with shrubbery and strewn with stones and boulders; he has the obstructions cleared away; and then, after taking the necessary measurements with his own hand (who but Mahādharmarāja would have given us this personal detail?), he causes something, doubtless a mandapa, to be built over the Footprint to keep it from getting dirty or tarnished (the 108 supernatural 'marks' engraved on the Footprint were of course originally polychromed). He also builds a cetiya and plants a śrīmahābodhi tree on top of the hill (I/6). But all this seems to be a mere prelude to the main work.
In the middle of the town (i.e. Nagara Svarga, near the foot of Frog Hill) he builds a monastery, giving it the name Rāma-āvāsa, ‘Rāma’s abode’ (I/8 f.). In it he builds a cetiya and a vihāra, which he names the Rāmacetiya and the Rāmavihāra7. In the vihāra he erects an image of the Buddha, which is ‘extremely beautiful to see’. He plants a śrīmahābodhi tree; and he digs a pond, filling it with lotuses and water-lilies of many colors as a ceaseless offering. Finally he holds the dedication ceremony, transferring the merit of the donation to his ‘younger brother’ Brañña Brah Rāma, inviting the guardian divinities everywhere to bear witness to the transaction, and calling on succeeding generations of rulers—sons, grandsons, great-grandsons and all descendants who may be rulers in the future—to follow the example of these two brothers, the elder and the younger, who were so full of affection for each other.

Who was this beloved ‘younger brother’ (ūs) of Mahādharmarāja? The term need not be taken literally. It could mean a cousin belonging to a junior branch of his family, or even some unrelated ruler whose accession occurred later than the author’s. Whoever he was, the text sounds as if he had recently died, for this sort of merit is most often transferred to recently deceased persons. As the name ‘Rāma’ is too common among Southeast Asian royalty to give us any help in the identification, we must look for some other clue.

Brah Pān (Nagara Svarga) was a place of vital importance to Mahādharmarāja, for it could command the riverine communications between the western and eastern halves of his kingdom. But its position was dangerously exposed, being all too easily accessible by river from Subarapuri. We gather from Inscr. 3 that Brah Pān had broken away from Sukhodaya in Lōdaiya’s reign, but returned to the old relationship when the ruler of Gandī and Brah Pān sought Mahādharmarāja’s protection and became his vassal shortly before 1357.

It may well be that Brañña Brah Rāma was this very ruler, towards whom Mahādharmarāja would have every reason to feel grateful. In his reference to him, and in his plea that all their descendants who may be rulers in the future will remain bound to each other by ties of affection,

7) The cetiya and the vihāra may be the ones illustrated in Griswold, Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art, Fig. 40; cf. JSS 60/1, p. 136 note 5.
we feel a sense of warmth and urgency that is very unusual in dedicatory inscriptions—as if Mahādharmanārāja, knowing he could not hold the western half of his kingdom without Braḥ Pan, wanted to make sure it would remain in Sukhodayan hands in the future.8

In this paper we are not concerned with Face II, but we should perhaps say a word about the possible reason the two texts were engraved on opposite faces of the same stone. Face II, which in our present view is probably later than Face I, commemorates the building of a cetiya by Śrīrađdha at a place which, as we have tried to show, was the part of Braḥ Pan at the Foot of Frog Hill. This suggests that Śrīrađdhā may have built his cetiya in the precinct of the Rāma-āvāsa, the monastery founded by Mahādharmanārāja. If so, it would be reasonable enough for him to have the text recording the erection of this cetiya engraved on the reverse of Mahādharmanārāja’s inscription, which would then be left in situ to inform visitors to the monastery of the identity of both donors. Why it should have been moved later on to the top of the hill is not clear.

8) Of course it is possible that Braṇa Braṭ Rāma was one of this ruler’s successors; but if so the sense of warmth and urgency would be harder to explain. If Face I dates from 1369 or later, which is doubtful, Braṇa Braṭ Rāma might be Rāmādhipati as suggested a few years ago by Griswold (Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art, p. 38-40); but this suggestion now seems less plausible, not only because of the probable date, but also because of the titulature (Braṇa Braṭ Rāma seems too modest a title for Rāmādhipati).

9) JSS 60/1, p. 135.
(๑) เส..............................
(๒) พระรามมเหาเนองมาจิยา............... 
(๓) นางสุกานพรหมหมอนครว (ม)...........
(๔) นางทองใหญ่ก่อนทั้งก่อนมา............. 
(๕) วาดเสกวางมามีทานและดึงท้า...........
(๖) นาง下面是小หนึ่งหยิ่งท่านเจ้า....
(๗) นางใหญ่ในหนึ่งขอนเขยขุน............
(๘) นางอย่างใส่ในวาระเจดีย์ราษฎร (ทรง)...
(๙) (พุทธ) ขับกิ้งกุ้งหมาหมาหน้าในพิษ (ร)........ 
(๑๐) ....นาฬิกาซื้อเนาวะหลาย..........
(๑๑) .... (ปราชิต) ฝึกไปเสริมลางแทนถูกทรงนง...........
(๑๒) ....สุนวลทรงสร้างแบบบูชาไทย........
(๑๓) .... แหล่งบ้านวัฒนาไปตกพรหมราษฎร์...........
(๑๔) .... เทพย์อายารักษ์ทรงสดน้อย安东ไก่ถิ่น........ 
(๑๕) .... ลูกพยาบาลหนันแบบพญาไก่เป็นทลาบ........
(๑๖) (หนร) ผ่าพยาบาลหนันแสงที่คู่เดิ่งต้องยุทธชก
(๑๗) (รศ) พระอุปภักดิ์หนันเป็นบุญคุณพระชุดป่าชั้น
(๑๘) (ผศ) กิ่งกุ้งกระเตย.
Translation

[I/1-3.] .................................................. [Brahāi10 Brahma Rāma, his younger brother. May ............... all of them!

[I/3-7.] Brahma Mahādhi(maraṇa jaya) ....... undertook to clear the shrubbery away, to remove the stones and boulders, and to ........ He took measurements with his own hand11, and then built a...[over] this Footprint to keep it from getting dirty or tarnished12, ....... [and planted a Śrī]mahābodhi [tree on top of] Mount Sumana[kūṭaparabata]13, .......

[I/8-19.] In the town14 he caused a Rāmacetiya to be built, and a Rāmavihara15, [erected] an image of the Buddha, which was extremely beautiful to see, in the vihāra, ... [planted a Śrī]mahābodhi [tree] which [had been grown from] a fruit16 taken from .............17 to establish in that Rāma-āvāsa. He dug a pond......... [and filled it with] lotuses and water-lilies18 of many colors as a ceaseless offering ........

10) We have restored the title Brahā on the analogy of 1/14.
11) Literally ‘he himself took measurements with his hand’.
12) We suspect the mutilated statement at 1/5-6 should read something like this: एव महानम सत्तदोभिः || महाश्रुवीरं || तत्तदपूर्वम अविनिव्यते ||, ‘then he built a maṇḍapa over this Footprint to keep it from getting dirty or tarnished’. महानम, श्री पदलक्षपा, means both the Footprint and the 108 marks engraved on it. We assume he built the maṇḍapa over the former to keep the latter from getting dirty or tarnished.
13) The name ‘Sumana[kūṭaparabata]’ seems to have been used at Sukhodaya to refer to any hill on which a Footprint of the Buddha was installed (cf. the opening lines of Inscr. 8). Here it evidently refers to Frog Hill.
14) नागर (1/8), ‘in the middle of the town’. Coedes took it to mean the precinct of the Footprint on the hilltop; but that is impossible as the King could not have dug a pond there (see 1/11). We can hardly doubt that the town at the foot of the hill is meant.
15) The word vihāra at (1/8), and again at 1/9, is spelt bihāra.
16) मुह (1/10), a classifier for fruits, etc.
17) sc. the Śrīmahābodhi tree at Anuradhapura in Ceylon.
18) उष्ण (1/12), modern ु, can mean either lotuses or water-lilie5 As they were ‘of many colors’, we assume there were both lotuses and water-lilies. Lotusese in Siam (apart from relatively recent imports) come only in white and various shades of pink, whereas water-lilies come in pink, red, blue and white. See JSJ 39/1, p. 182.
[planted?] many [trees?] to make (the place) beautiful. Then he held the consecration ceremony, listened to (the preaching of) the Dharma, and dedicated the merit to Braṇa Brah Rāma. May all the guardian divinities [wherever they] dwell. May whatever sons, grandsons and great-grandsons in (our) family lines who become rulers in the future follow the example of these two brothers, the elder and the younger, who loved each other! May their merits, virtues and renown be made known in all the (three) worlds!

19) ‘Planted’ and ‘trees’ are conjectural restorations of lacunae.
20) The lacuna must have contained an expression meaning ‘wherever’, plus an expression meaning to bear witness (see, to the consecration of the monastery and the transfer of the merit accruing from the donation). If that is right, the expression we have translated as ‘all the guardian divinities wherever they dwell’ would be, more literally, ‘all the guardian divinities who dwell wherever’.
21) วิปรุงวัณณ (1/17) is a rhyming jingle meaning ‘afterwards’.
22) Mahādharmarājā and Braṇa Brah Rāma.
23) The ‘three worlds’ are the kāmaloka, the rūpaloka and the arūpaloka; see JSS 57/1, p. 88 note 59.
4.

In 1361 Mahadharmarāja sent a royal pandita to Nagarā Bann to invite a certain Mahāsāmi Saṅgharāja to come and settle at Sukhodaya. Nagarā Bann was the Sukhodayan name for Martaban in Rāmaṇādesa, the Mon country in Lower Burma, where there was a flourishing community of Sīhālabhikkhus or ‘Ceylon monks’ who conformed to the most orthodox Theravādin tradition, and whose leaders were either themselves Sinhalese or else had studied and been re-ordained in Ceylon. Among the Sīhālabhikkhus the most esteemed belonged to a group or sect called Arahānavāsī, the ‘Forest-Dwellers’, who, disdaining the amenities of city life, took up their abode either as hermits in the forest or else as residents of ‘forest monasteries’, located according to the usual rule at least 500 bow-lengths (say a kilometre) from the nearest town or village.

According to M this brotherhood was established at Bann by a monk named Anumati, on whom the King and people bestowed the ‘special name’ Mahāsvāmi Udumbarapūppha soon after his arrival. In Ceylon he had resided at the Udumbaragiri Monastery, the forest-dwelling branch of the great citadel of orthodoxy, the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura. Among the pupils he attracted to Bann were two monks from Sukhodaya, Sumana and Anomadassi. They were re-ordained by him, spent several years of study with him, and received the grade of Thera around 1342. Sumana returned to Sukhodaya, where according to J and M King Lōdaiya installed him in the Mango Grove west of the city, while Anomadassi settled in the Red Forest south of Sajjanālāya. At that time Prince Lōdaiya, the future Mahadharmarāja I, was uparāja at Sajjanālāya, and Anomadassi is one of the authorities to whom he acknowledges his indebtedness for help in composing the Traibhūmikāthā.

It is not known what became of Anomadassi, but Sumana was apparently still residing at Sukhodaya in 1361. Some of the chronicles hint at certain defects in Sumana’s character, such as vanity and greed, and we know from the inscription of Wat Prā Yaḍn at Lamp’in, which was composed with his help in 1370, that his grasp of Pali was feeble at best.

1) See JSS 60/1, pp. 48-74, for Udumbarapūppha’s sect at Bann and the story of Sumana and Anomadassi. For the latter, see especially ibid., p. 79.
Mahādharmarāja, who was a perfectionist, could hardly be expected to overlook such weaknesses, much less to put Sumana in charge of the Forest-dwellers at Sukhodaya, which may be one of the reasons he sent to Bann for the Mahāsāmi Saṅgharāja.

We have four inscriptions dealing with the events of 1361. No. 4, in Khmer, was composed by Mahādharmarāja; Nos. 5 and 7, in Siamese, are by the same author; No. 6, in Pali, was composed by the Mahāsāmi Saṅgharāja.

The inscriptions do not identify the Mahāsāmi Saṅgharāja very clearly: he was probably too well known for it to be necessary. We do not know whether he was a Môn or a Sinhalese, but Nos. 4 and 5 tell us he had resided in Ceylon. No. 4 seems to give his name as ‘Traipiṭaka’, though the term may be intended only as part of an epithet. He may or may not have been the same person as Udumbarapuppha. When Mahādharmarāja says in Inscr. 4 that the Mahāsāmi Saṅgharāja observed the precepts and studied the Three Piṭakas in their entirety, he is probably not exaggerating; he must have investigated his qualifications carefully before inviting him to Sukhodaya; and we can judge his competence in Pali from Inscription 6.

Upon receiving his acceptance, Mahādharmarāja set about preparing a ‘forest monastery’ for him and the monks who accompanied him. It was located in the Mango Grove, not far from the Brahmin temple (see Griswold, Towards a History Sukhodaya Art, Map 2, Nos. 24 and 26). Though its ruins are still visible, we have no means of knowing whether it was an enlargement of the monastery Lōḍaiya built for Sumana or an entirely new one. In any case Mahādharmarāja built a vihāra, an uposatha hall, and a number of kutṭis (wooden huts for the monks to live in).

In putting the Mahāsāmi Saṅgharāja in charge of the Forest-dwellers, if not of the entire Sukhodayan monastery, the King obviously intended to revitalize the religious life of the kingdom. Because of the deep veneration he felt for his grandfather’s memory, we might have expected him to install the Sangharāja at the ‘Araṇṇika’ monastery which Rāma Gāmphēṅ had built for the Forest-dwelling Saṅgharāja from Nagara Ṣrī...
THE EPIGRAPHY OF MAHĀDHARMAṆĀJA I OF SUKHODAYA

Dharmarāja. But that monastery was located on a steep hill about a mile farther away from the city (Map 2, loc. cit., No. 21), and there may have been practical reasons for choosing the Mango Grove instead.

The King sent a group of officials and members of the royal family to Chōt to meet the Saṅgharāja and his suite at the half-way point in their journey and escort them to Sukhodaya. The Saṅgharāja evidently took the usual route from Martaban, going by boat up the River Gyaing to some place near Kawkareik, then overland across the mountains to Chōt (now Mé Sōt), where he was met by the escort sent by the King. The party would then proceed eastward to the port of Jyail Don (Chieng Tōng) on the Ping, from where they could go downstream by boat or raft to Pān Candra (Bāng Jan), the southern terminus of the Pra Ruang Highway near the present town of Gaungpeng Pet; and finally they would follow the highway northeast, via Pān Bān (Bāng Pān, Bāngmū), to Sukhodaya. The Pra Ruang Highway, though leading to Sukhodaya from the southwest, entered the city by the east gate (its route can still be traced); and the Rājamārga or ‘Royal Avenue’, which was magnificently decorated for the occasion, led from the east gate, past the Royal Palace and the Mahādhātu, to the west gate of the city, where it connected with a road leading to the Mango Grove.

Upon the Saṅgharāja’s arrival the King invited him to go into retreat at the Mango Grove ‘for the full three months of the rainy season’ (Inscr. 4). The rainy season retreat begins the day after the full moon day of āśālha, the Siamese 8th month, and monks may choose to spend either three months or four in retreat. In Siam it is usually three, and the retreat comes to an end on the full moon day of the 11th month. As we are told that the retreat referred to in the inscriptions was for three months, it obviously ended on the full moon day of the Siamese 11th month, assayaṇa.

At the end of the retreat, as we know from Insers. 4 and 5, the King performed the Mahādāna, a great offering of gifts to the monkhood usually lasting a week or more, and consecrated a newly cast statue of the Buddha.

2) Cf. above, p. 107, note 113; for the route, see JSS 60/1, pp. 81, 140.
3) See the Pali Text Society’s Dictionary, s.v. maha- and dāna.
After that, on the 8th day of the waning moon, he temporarily renounced the throne to enter the monkhood. On that day he was ordained as a sāmaṇera (novice) in a building in the Royal Palace named the ‘Golden Pavilion’ (hemaprasāda or subarṇaprasāda). Then he proceeded on foot to the Mango Grove, where he was ordained as a bhikkhu (monk), presumably the next day.

Inscription 4 places the King’s ordination as a sāmaṇera ‘after the end of the retreat, on Wednesday the eighth day of the waning moon, in the rākṣa of Punarvasu, in 1283 śaka, a year of the ox’ (4: II/11, II/37 f.). No. 5 gives the same information, except that ‘Wednesday’ is omitted, and the Tai cyclical name for the day, ‘rwan plau’, is given (5: II/19 f., III/22 f.). Mr Roger Billard tells us that, even though the name of the month is not given, the calendrical information is sufficient to establish the date with certainty as Wednesday, September 22, 1361 A.D. (Julian).

The same date is given, in different terms, in Inscr. 6: year of the ox, 1905 of the Buddhist Era, Wednesday the 8th day of the waning moon of a month with a mutilated name ending in ‘-ttikamāsa’. Coedès restored this name as ‘kattikamāsa’4. If that were right, the date would be a week after the full moon day of kattikā, the 12th Siamese month, which would be the conclusion of the four months retreat; but as the retreat we are discussing lasted only three months it came to an end on the full moon day of assayuja, the 11th month. The solution to the dilemma lies in reading the mutilated name as ‘pubbakattikamāsa’, which is an alternative designation of assayuja (when this designation is used, the following month would be called ‘pacchimakattikamāsa’ instead of plain ‘kattikamāsa’)5.

With that our various data fall into line nicely: the three months retreat ended on Tuesday, the full moon day of assayuja, i.e. Tuesday September 14, 1361 (Julian); the Mahādāna lasted a week; and when it was over the King was ordained as a sāmaṇera on Wednesday, the eighth day of the waning moon day of assayuja, i.e. Wednesday September 22, 1361 (Julian).

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4) BEFEO XVII/2, p. 29; Recueil, p. 112.
5) Pali Text Society Dictionary, s.v. kattikā.
Inscr. 4, 5 and 6 are engraved on sandstone pillars shaped much like No. 1, being square in cross-section or nearly so, and having rounded pyramidal tops. No. 7, like No. 3, is engraved on a slab of schist the thickness of which is much less than its breadth. It is not clear why the shapes should be different. In the epigraphy of Sukhodaya only four pillars are known, in contrast to several dozen slabs. For No. 1, Rāma Gamhēn may have chosen the pillar shape as a matter of personal preference, or to give an impression of dignity and stability, or simply because he had a lot to say. If Mahādharmarāja chose the same shape for two of his most important inscriptions, and for a third one on which the Saṅgharāja’s Pali stanzas were to be inscribed, it was almost certainly in imitation of his grandfather’s choice, just as he often repeated statements from his grandfather’s inscription verbatim in his own. Why he chose the slab shape for Nos. 3 and 7 (as well as 8 and 11) is uncertain.

The subject-matter of the four inscriptions is closely related. As usual in Sukhodayan epigraphy, the formal purpose of all of them is to record the performance of ceremonies. Nos. 4 and 5 record the performance of the Mahādāna by Mahādharmarāja, the consecration of the bronze statue, and his ordination as a sanaṅgera at the Royal Palace; nowhere in the surviving portions of either is there any reference to his ordination as a monk at the Mango Grove the next day. No. 6, composed by the Saṅgharāja, celebrates the King’s ordination as a sanaṅgera at the Palace and his ordination as a bhikkhu at the Mango Grove Monastery. No. 7, after listing the buildings the King erected at the Mango Grove for the Saṅgharāja, records his ordination as a bhikkhu there.

No. 4 was discovered in 1833 by Prince Mahāmankuṭa, the future King Rāma IV, at the same time he discovered Rāma Gamhēn’s stone throne and the inscription (No. 1) which records the erection of the throne. We know he found the throne in the ruins of the Royal Palace at Sukhodaya, at the edge of the huge brick platform called STDOUTQ.
which is now all that remains of the palace. While the record does not show exactly where he discovered the two inscriptions, it is obvious that No. 1 was originally set up beside the throne, and there is no reason to believe that it had been moved any appreciable distance before he found it. Coedes concludes, and he is surely right, that No. 4 was discovered at or near the mango tree. He adds, however, that the text shows the inscription was originally set up at the Mango Grove. This opinion has been generally accepted, but we have considerable doubt about it. The evidence of the demonstratives is conflicting: while there is a reference at I/53 to 'this Mango Grove' (braiy svay neh), two other passages (II/15-16 and IV/15-16) speak of 'the Mango Grove west of this (city of) Sukhodaya', implying that the inscription originally stood inside the city. Inscriptions are normally set up near the work whose dedication they commemorate, or at the site of the ceremony they commemorate, not a couple of kilometres away. There is no reason to believe that No. 4 said anything about the King's ordination as a monk; the date given is that of his ordination as a novice. If its formal purpose was to commemorate this event, it must have stood originally at the Royal Palace, near the place where Prince Mahāmaṇīkūṭa discovered it.

Inscription 5, the text of which covers much the same ground as No. 4, is said to have been discovered in 1907 by the Lord Lieutenant of Ayudhya, Brahmā Porānarājadhānindra, at Vat Hmai (Wat Mai) north of the city of Ayudhya, and placed by him in the Ayudhya Museum. Lu-net de Lajonquière reports that he saw it in that museum in 1908, but he says nothing about the place where it was discovered. As it is hard to think why anyone should have carried it from Sukhodaya to a monastery near Ayudhya, we suspect the Vat Hmai where it was discovered was the one at Sukhodaya, which is just north of the Royal Palace. In

7) ibid.
8) Recueil, 91.
9) ibid.
10) Coedès, Recueil, pp. 22 and 103; cf. the Siamese section of the same work, pp. 28 and 209; also BEFEO XVII/2, p. 3.
11) BCAI, 1912, p. 52 (1); for the date, see BCAI, 1909, pp. 164-167.
the reign of Rama V a number of antiquities were transported from various parts of the country to the Ayudhya Museum, and the records concerning their origin are sometimes faulty or non-existent. As far as we can make out, the formal purpose of No. 5 is exactly the same as that of No. 4, so we might guess that it was originally erected beside it in the Royal Palace. But as the text opens with the words 'Formerly this place was the royal (garden) of Brañña Ramaraja' (I/1 f.), and a later passage (II/24 f.) says the King built kuñjas and a vihāra 'in this Mango Grove', it seems pretty certain that the inscription originally stood in the Mango Grove Monastery. It may be a partial copy of a lost Siamese inscription that stood beside No. 4; if so, the copy would have been made for the monastery, while the lost original would have put the references to the Mango Grove differently.

However this may be, it seems likely there were originally two inscriptions of similar purport in the Royal Palace: No. 4 in Khmer, and one bearing a Siamese text much like that of No. 5 but not identical to it. It is hard to believe that so important a text would have been placed in the Palace in Khmer only; it must have had a mate in Siamese, so that the two together would constitute a bilingual document. The message in the text is partly religious and partly political. The political part, after reviewing the story of Mahādharmaśa's accession and abhiṣeka, speaks of the restraint, justice and mercy with which he governs the kingdom. The message must have been intended not only for the aristocracy of Sukhodaya and all the vassals who might come to do homage, but for foreign visitors as well. If, as seems likely, Khmer was the language of diplomacy, putting the message in both Siamese and Khmer would make it comprehensible to most of the persons for whom it was intended. Another possible reason for erecting a Khmer inscription at the Palace might be the importance of the Palace Brahmins, many of whom were very likely of Khmer origin.

Nos. 6 and 7 were sent to Bangkok, in 1907 and 1915 respectively, by the Governor of Sukhodaya, without any indication of their exact provenance. But we can hardly doubt that they both originally stood

12) Coedès, Recueil, pp. 111, 117.
at the Mango Grove; No. 6, which commemorates not only the King's ordination as a saṃānera at the Palace but also his ordination as a bhikkhu at the monastery, is almost certainly the inscription referred to in the closing lines of No. 4; while No. 7, in addition to recording his building operations at the monastery, commemorates his ordination there.

13) The word we have translated as 'received his ordination as a bhikkhu' is upasampajji, the aorist of the verb upasampajjati, which the Pali Text Society's Dictionary glosses as 'to attain', 'to enter on', 'to acquire', 'to take upon oneself', and which the วีระคำศัพท์, พระพิมุข, Bangkok, B.E. 2505 (Vol. 4, p. 561) glosses as 'to enter on', 'attain (ordination)', 'become fully ordained.' The word is evidently used in the sense of 'receiving the upasampadi', which the P.T.S. Dictionary glosses as 'taking', 'acquiring', 'undertaking', etc., and (in special sense) 'taking up the bhikkhuship', 'higher ordination', 'admission to the privileges of recognized bhikkhus'. In any case it is clear from 7:131-37 and from the Inscription of Vat Jād Lom, I/11-15 (JSS 59/1, pp. 196 and 202) that Mahādharmaśāja was ordained at the Mango Grove; and as he had already been ordained as a saṃānera at the palace his ordination at the Mango Grove was necessarily the full ordination as a monk.
The stone pillar on which Inscription 4 is engraved is 29 cm. square in cross-section and about 2 m. tall including the tenon, while the surface of each face prepared for engraving is 92 cm. in height. Faces I, II and III each have, or had, 56 lines of writing, while Face IV has 16. As Coedes says, the stone is of very bad quality; the surface is gradually breaking down into fine dust; and except for Face II, which is the best preserved, the text will sooner or later be completely illegible. The old rubbings, made when certain parts could be read which have since become impossible, are therefore particularly valuable.

Together with No. 1, No. 4 was brought to Bangkok in 1833 and installed at Vat Samò Ray (now Vat Ràjådhivåsa), where Prince Mahåmañkuṭa was then residing. Three years later, when he became Abbot of Vat Pavaranivesa, he took both inscriptions with him, and after his accession to the throne he removed them to the Chapel Royal. They remained there until 1924, when they were placed in the Vajjråññä Hall of the old National Library Building.

While No. 1 is now in the Bangkok National Museum, No. 4 is in the Vajjråññä Hall of the old National Library Building.

In 1833, when they arrived in Bangkok, there was no one in the world who had ever tried to read an inscription in Old Siamese or Old Khmer; and the systematic study of Cambodian inscriptions, largely the work of European scholars, did not begin until 1879. In 1836 the task of decipherment was turned over to a Commission of scholars. The head of the Commission, Prince Pavareśvariyalañkaraṇa, who spent his whole adult life in the monkhood, was a distinguished scholar with a remarkable command of languages. His notebook containing scrupulously copied samples of scripts from India, Burma, Siam and Cambodia is now preserved in the National Library, and Lucien Fournereau, who saw it in 1892, reproduces several specimens from it. So much has been learned about Southeast Asian epigraphy in the last hundred years that it is easy enough to point to the imperfections of the Commission's work; but when we remember the total lack of comparative materials available to them at the time we should be more inclined to praise them.

1) Coedes, Rewtd, p. 91.
The script of No. 4 gave less trouble than Râma Gamhêν's, except that three of the consonants were almost impossible to distinguish from one another. There were plenty of scholars in Bangkok who could read modern Khmer; but the language had not remained unchanged over the centuries; and so much of the text was effaced that it was difficult to grasp the sequence of ideas in the rest. Having got as much as they could out of the Khmer text they had it copied in yellow ink on a black wooden pillar made in a form resembling the stone original 4.

They also made a Siamese version, which was first printed in the Vajirârâñâ Magazine in 1884 5. A scholar today who faced such a task would strain to get the exact meaning of every phrase, put the translations of doubtful readings and conjectural restorations in brackets, indicate lacunae by rows of dots, and shun invention. The Commission, on the other hand, aimed above all to produce a complete text that would read smoothly, much in the spirit of a sculptor restoring a mutilated statue. They filled out the lacunae with surmises, apparently based in part on other sources of information such as the Traibhûmikâthâ. This they did with considerable ingenuity; but they failed to show which parts were translation and which were invention.

In 1884 Auguste Pavie published a short account of the Khmer inscription in Saigon, together with a reproduction of a rather poor rubbing of part of Face II, and a transcription and attempted translation by Père Schmitt. As the last digit of the date 1283 śâka (= 1361 A.D.) had disappeared, and Schmitt believed śâka referred to the Buddhist Era, he thought the date worked out to 416 B.C.; he also thought the language was Siamese, and translated it accordingly 6. Etienne Aymonier quickly recognized the language as Khmer, and proposed a new translation of

4) Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, p. 2; Aymonier, Le Cambodge, II, Paris, 1901, p. 90 f. It is not clear whether the wooden pillar was supposed to be a facsimile of the Khmer text or whether the Siamese version was painted on it.

5) Vajirârâñâ, Vol. I, p. 239. Reprinted, together with a mediocre transcription, in Siamese characters, of the legible portions of the Khmer text, in Rōni Moân Sukhodai p. 10 f., and Prajum Budâvatârâ, I, 1914, p. 148 f. The Commission's Siamese version is also printed in Prajum Silâcârik Syâm, p. 104 ff. (cf. the comments, ibid., p. 91 f.).

the passage. Ten years later Père Schmitt made a fresh attempt, which appeared in both the Mission Pavie and Fournereau's Le Siam ancien. His transcription of the legible portions of the Khmer text, apart from a certain number of false readings, is creditable enough; but his French translation was made not from the Khmer text but from the Commission's Siamese version, which he supposed was a faithful rendering of the original made at a time when the stone was in a better state of preservation. Aymonier then re-entered the fray, and produced a new and more complete translation of the original. At the same time he called attention to the discrepancies between the Khmer text and the Siamese version, scornfully denied that they could possibly have been due to any deterioration the stone had suffered since reaching Bangkok, and attributed them instead to the ignorance of the Commission. If Aymonier had realized that the Siamese version was never intended to be an exact translation he might have formed a more just opinion of the Commission's work.

'Even in its well preserved portions,' says Aymonier, 'the reading of the inscription is sometimes difficult and uncertain: the writing is often bad. The virāma, a stroke which the ancient Cambodians regularly placed over the final consonants of words to show that their inherent vowel was silent, is very rarely used, sometimes being omitted, sometimes being replaced by the reduplication of the final consonant. The letters c, p and h everywhere look very much alike. The v, so generally used in ancient Khmer inscriptions, is most often replaced by the b. This is an evidence, among others, that the letters of the inscription belong to a period of transition, moving appreciably toward modern writing. The language shows the same tendency. Many modern turns of phrase appear in it side by side with very archaic expressions. These peculiarities, as well as the fervent Buddhism based on the same Canon as is in use today, reveal the text as intermediate between the ancient epigraphy of Cambodia and the modern inscriptions, dating from the 16th and 17th centuries, which are found on the pillars of the temple of Angkor Wat.'

7) Excursions et reconnaissances, Saigon, Vol. VIII.
10) ibid., p. 84 f.
The first really satisfactory translation of the inscription was published by Coedes in 1917, together with a Romanized transcription of the text, a Lexicon of the Khmer words appearing in it, and a critical review of the work done by his predecessors. This transcription and translation, with some amendments, reappeared with a short introduction in 1924 in *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*.

"From the phonetic point of view," says Coedes, "this mid-14th-century inscription is at the same stage as those in Old Khmer. The vowels a and e are not yet differentiated from e: köt is still written ket, and dél is still written tel. Unaspirated stops are found in consonantal groups which nowadays begin with aspirated ones, for example kse, mæk for modern khse, phnēk. If the language seems more flexible, clearer and easier to understand than in other Khmer inscriptions, it is apparently because this one deals with subjects that are more familiar to us. With only two exceptions (olārika at II/2, and thera, passim) the Indic loanwords are Sanskrit rather than Pali, although the Buddhism with which the whole text is impregnated is Sinhalese Buddhism based on the Pali Canon; even today, in Siam as well as in Cambodia, Buddhist terms [in ordinary usage] are more often Sanskrit than Pali... The chief errors in spelling come from a constant confusion between š, ț and s; we may also note the forms skvrrga at II/29 for svarga, barđha at IV/15 for buddha, and so on... The writing is very similar to that of the large Sanskrit inscription of Angkor Vat. Apart from the frequent difficulty of distinguishing e from p and b, it can be quite easily deciphered."

Coedes's observation about the use of Sanskrit terms in a Theravāda context in Inscr. 4 is well taken. The unwary might suppose they indicated the presence of Mahāyāna Buddhism at Sukhodaya, for which there is not the slightest evidence.

Mahādhamarājā begins the inscription by telling us briefly how he seized the capital in 1347 and received the abhiṣeka as his father's and grandfather's successor (I/1-12). Then comes the eulogy, which, as in No. 3, has the practical purpose of bringing out his personal qualities as a ruler.

11) BEFE O XVII/2, 1 ff.
12) BEFE O XVII/2, pp. 9-10, and note 1 to p. 10.
The mutilated passage at I/47-55 speaks of some statues of Hindu gods he erected, doubtless as part of his program for restoring the kingdom's ceremonial and administration, in which the Brahmins played a leading role. He installed two of these statues in the Brahmin temple in the Mango Grove in 1349. We know from Inscr. 5 that the Mango Grove had been planted by his grandfather Rāma Gāmphēn. Because of the respect and affection in which he held his grandfather's memory it would be a fitting place in which to renew the intellectual vigor that were the source of a kingdom's political strength and material prosperity. The two statues he placed there, one of Śiva and the other of Viṣṇu, still survive (see Griswold, Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art, p. 32 and Figs 25, 26). They are almost certainly idealized portraits of Mahādharmarāja himself, and are among the greatest masterpieces of Sukhodaya's high classic style.

The eulogy continues through I/55-56 and II/1-10, citing Mahādharmarāja's profound knowledge of Buddhist and Brahmanical lore. This time the emphasis is on astronomy; the Sukhodayan calendar had evidently gone wrong during his father's reign and Mahādharmarāja himself, after mounting the throne, made the intricate calculations by which he succeeded in setting it right. This was a vital matter. If the calendar was defective, the astrological predictions that depended on it would be defective too; the resulting mistakes may even have been deemed responsible for the disasters of his father's reign; and Mahādharmarāja's success would augur well for the kingdom. Coedes discusses the probable nature of the defects in the calendar, as well as the method adopted by Mahādharmarāja to correct them (Recueil, p. 98 note 1). While Coedes's discussion is based in part on the belief that the mutilated name of the month in Inscr. 6 (I/2-3) should be restored as kattika rather than pubbakattika (see above, p. 122), his general conclusions may well be right.

From II/10 on, the inscription deals with the events of 1361, which we have already discussed in the preceding section.

For help in interpreting the text of Inscr. 4, we are much indebted to Professor Judith Jacob of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London and to Madame S. Lewitz of the Centre National d'Etude Scientifique. Madame Lewitz, who is preparing a new translation of this inscription for the BEFEO, and a study of it from the linguistic point of view for the Journal Asiatique, has generously discussed with us a number of ideas she now has under consideration.
(1) 1269 saka kur brah pada kamrateh an īdaiya(2)rāja ta jā brah cau ta brah pada kamrateh an śrīrāma(3)rāja nām senā bala byūhā phoṁ anvī śrīṣajanālāniya mau(4)k prat phgaṭ phgaṅ fūṁ bala carat krau . brah visālya nau (5) pañcami ket jaṭha śukrabāra nu kāla stac pandval ta se(6)nā bala phoṁ . cval com cap kap dvāra tiṇi prahāra sa(7)ṭr̥u phoṁ ... hoṅ ◊ toṅ noṅ dep stac lī(8)ā cval svey brah rāja . daya niśvaryādhīpataya ta śruk (9) sukhoḍaya neḥ sなる brah janaka brah ji viṅ rvaṭ ... kṣa(10)tra phoṅ mān ta caturdīśa syāṁ mān ... (11) nāṁ ... makuta ... khan jayaśīś svetachatra ... (12) abhiṣeka oy nāma brah pada kamrateh an śrīśūryya(13)baṅśa rāma mahādharmmarājādhirāja svey ...

(14) ... (15) bvaṁ caṅ yok syāṁ thve saukhya kūn. (16) ... phaṅ bārṇ ... (17) ... neḥ ... (18) ... syāṇ ... (19) ... (20) ... samtec pavitra ... (21) ... oy dāna jivitra noḥ viṅ syāṁ cren ... (22) ... hoṅ ... prāṇi ... (23) ... nāṁ (24) ... phoṅ chłoṅ ... saṁśāradukha ... (25) ... (26) ... nāṁ fūṁ ... pros ... (27) ... (28) ... stac ... (29-32) ... (33) ... (brah pada) kamrateh an śrīśūryya baṅśa rāma (ma)(34)hādharmanarājādhirāja svey ... (35) ... (36) ... svey ... (37-39) ... (40) ... phoṅ ... (41) ... dep stac ... (42) ... śrāmaṇa brahmaṇa tapasvi yati ... (43) ... (44) ... brah cetiya ... (45) ... (46) ... brah buddha ... (47) ... (brah)(48)pada kamrateh an śrīśūryya baṅśa rāma mahādharmmarājādhirāja ... (49) ... neḥ ta nu antardhānta ... (50) ... rūpa brah śāvara ... brah ugra pi paripūrya hoṅ ... (51) ... saka chlu ... dantaṭ keṭaṣṭha śukrabāra purvāṣādha ṛkṣa nā ... (52) ... śrīśūryonnati kāla stac pratīṣṭha brah maheśvara rūpa viṣṭtṝṣa ... (53) ... su devālaya mahākṣetra brai śvāy neḥ ... (54) ... tapasvi brahmana phoṅ pūjā nītya ... dharmma ... (55) ... antardhānta ley ◊ brah pada kamrateh an śrī (36)śūryya baṅśa rāma mahādharmmarājādhirāja draṅ brah piṭakatraya ac ṛyṛaṅ (ca)
II

(1) p ryaṇaḥ brahvinayah brahah abhuḍhimāma tyoy lokācāryyakṛtya
d(ām)2 nep ra tyoy brahmaṇa tapasvi saṃtce paviṭrapañāta beda sa(3)-
strāgama dharmma hūyā phoṇ datnep ra jyoṭisāstra ta gi tāra daṃ...
(4) ti braṣa māṣa śūryagarāsa candragrāsa stec āc tya(ā)n uṣ uṣ(ā)
brah prajña ta olārika ri phālguṇānta ti gvar mok a... kroy nu sa(6)-
karajā ta adhika stec phdik viṇ śrāl gvar pa bi hnas a(c) (t(ya)h braṣa
(7) uṇāḍhikamāsa dīna bāra nākṣatra nu sāṃce pa gūḥ toy nu kārmaṣa-
(ddha) (8) saṃtce paviṭrapañā ta cak ta ācquire pa lek nāṃp... (9) toy nu
siddhi śākti brah karmma sap mātrā prākat śīyusakṛtṛti byat (10) leḥ-
nu barṇanā pi sāṃvartha ley stac gān taṃṇānī svey rājūvibbaba tu (11)
śī saṃjñālaya sukhodaya nau chnāmp 22 lvaḥ tu 1283 śaka chhī saṃtce
(12) paviṭrapra ṭa pārajapādita dau aṅṇaṃ māhāśāmi saṅgharaṇa tu mān śi-
(13) ryaṇaḥ cap brah piṭakapāṇya ta śiṇ nau laṅkādvipa tu mān silācāryya
(14) rū kṣīṇāraḥphaḥ hoṅ bṛṇā anyvī nāgara bām mok lvaḥ tu mārggān-
ṭara dep (15) pere silpi lāṃṭrapa saṅ brah kuṭi vīhāra kamlūḥ brai svāy tu
mān to(16)y disa paścima sukkhodaya neḥ prāp rāp cak ksec samme thve
udaya (17) prabai sap disa rū braḥ visuṃkarmma gīt nārmmanā kāla nā...
nu nā saṃtce (18) brah māhāṭheśa nu bhikṣu saṅgha phoṅ mok brah
pāda kamaṛteṇ aṅ pre (19) lāṃṭrapa sālā lajī dyaṅ dhiṇṭa puspā kalpabṛkṣa
saṅ... thve pūjā trā(20)p mārgga pere amāṭya maṇtri rājākula phoṅ dau
dalval pūjā sa(21)kkāra anyvī suṅk chaut mok lvaḥ jyaṇu dōt tu sruṅ
pān cunra (22) pāṅ bṛrvac lvaḥ sukkhodaya neḥ myav rrvat dep pere
pos kṛā(23)ṣ jamaṇaḥ brah rājāmārgga anyvī dvāra tu pūrva dau lvaḥ
dvāra tu paścima tu la tu (24) brai svāy nā saṅ kuṭi vīhāra sthāna svāh
thve uṣā saṃtce sa(25) bhāvatya cūmā phoṅ kriyā bhavat (26) myav
panlvan javanikā raṇyaṃval vān(26)y trā puṇgap antaraḥa krrā nu bastra
pāṇḍapāṇya bhavat leṇ ti tu bū(27)dhabāda cūh tu ḍharaṇi sap anle thve
braḥ pūjā kriyā phoṅ creṇ (28) bēg bhavat āc ti gaṇāṇā thā pī ḍhī ley doḥ
nu pṛyaṃ mel brah (29) rājāmārgga noḥ prabhā yvār skṛavyaggarbhāna
phāl svargga ṭep āraṇḍhāna ma(30)ḥāṣāmi saṅgharaṇa evaḥ braḥ braṣa
iss traināṣa kāl nu cuṇ bhraḥ (31) braṣā thve mahādāna chhīn brah saṃ-
rit ti ṭi ṭra ṭraḥ braḥ anāga braḥ bū(32)dha kamaṛteṇ an pratiṣṭhitā
duk kantāl suṅk sukkhodaya neḥ (33) toy pūrveṣṭhāna braḥ mahādāhātu
noḥ ṭep dharmaṃ sap thāṅ ai anyvī myav (34) kē lvaḥ pūrṇamī ta gi rā-
III

(1) .... calaca , thñai .... e cuñ .......................... (2)

. r ley .... kala ............................................ (3) . y tá ... ksa ...

. y ......................................................... (4) . noh , dep stac ...

. ......................................................... (5) . ... män nãgarãja ...

. ......................................................... (6) . ... y ........................ (8) ...

. ......................................................... (7) ...........................................

. ......................................................... (9) . ... šavi ................. (10) ...

. ......................................................... (11) . . mahãšcaryya ...

. ......................................................... (12) . . noh pi män ............ (13-45) .......................... (46) ...

. ......................................................... (13) . ... mä ta jã vrddhi ......... (47) (48) ..........................
THE EPIGRAPHY OF MAHĀDHARMAṆĀṆA I OF SUKHODAYA

IV

(1) duk ter jeṇ thheel le thnal dau tal (2) moh
(3) man stac thve (4) kāla noḥ pi mān mahā-
(5) ścuryya rūv noḥ gi (6) (pra)jisthā śīlācarika neḥ leṇ ta janagaṇa
(7) pre prabai punya pāpa rvvat thve punya (8) mān
(9) pramāda sap anak ley na phdai karop (10) ruv neḥ ilū khmi ru
(11) ta māṇ ambe punya dharma pho(12) mun bvaṇṭ tel yeṇ yal ruv neḥ
(13) r yeṇ stap anak(9)k bol kamālin dharma guḥ neḥ ilū pi yal phala
(14) punya (10) ta byat gvar pi janagaṇa phoṇ byāyām . . . sa (11) . . .
(15) sap anak ri pāpa phoṇ bvaṃ gap pi thve ley na(12)(hā)thera
(16) traipiṭaka ta mok aṇqvi laṅkādvipa siṇ nau (13) . . . sidol toj daksinā
(17) brai svāy duk braḥ gā(14)(hā)sa)ser braḥ yaṣaṅkritti phoṇ nā stac thve
(18) braḥ phnva(15)(s) srac cār śīlā duk kamālin bariddhasimā nā brai
(19) svā(16)(y toj) (di)sa paścima sukhodaya neḥ.
Translation

(Passages in brackets beginning with an asterisk are conjectural restorations of lacunae based on apparently similar passages in Inscription 5.)

[I/1-12.] In 1269 saka, a year of the boar, Brahma Pada Kamraten Ahi Lidnigrapha, who is the grandson of Brahma Pada Kamraten Ahi Rama-raya, having led his army out of Sri Sajjanalaya, came up rapidly, with all his troops prepared, (to a point) outside the capital14. On Friday the fifth day of the waxing moon of jyaistha13 he commanded his troops . . . to approach, to surround, to seize, to break open the gates, to attack16, and to strike down all his enemies. Then . . . he entered [the capital] to reign supreme in this land of Sukhodaya, as successor to his father and his grandfather. Quickly . . . all the kings living in the four directions, ["filled with affection towards him"] brought . . . the crown, the [sacred] sword Jayasri and the white parasol17, conferred the abhi~eka on him, and gave him the name Brahma Pada Kamraten Ahi Sri Suryavamsha Mahadharmanrajadhiraiga.

13) Rama Gannhenn.
14) brahavaisaya (1/4), is obviously equivalent to brah nagara, 'the capital'.
15) This date, pa\'ncami ketja\'tha sukrabara (1/5), gives difficulty. Mr Roger Billard, to whom we are indebted for investigating it, tells us that the fifth day of the waxing moon of jyaistha did not fall on a Friday in either 1269 saka or 1270 saka, but it did so in 1271 saka, on a date which corresponds to Friday May 22, 1349 A.D. (Julian). He adds, however, that the information given in the text provides no internal means of cross-checking, and that a mistake in any one of the elements given could throw the whole calculation into disorder. Now it is impossible to read the date at 1/1 as 1271 saka, which in any case was not a year of the boar, and the tenor of the text surely indicates that only a very short time elapsed between Lidaiva's departure from Sajjanalaya and his attack on Sukhodaya, much less than a year. We suspect the date is given in terms of the calendar in use at Sukhodaya in 1347, i.e. before Mahadharmanrajadhiraiga's calendrical reforms, which would account for the discrepancy. We conclude that he made his assault on Sukhodaya around the 5th of jyaistha, 1269 saka, i.e. in May, 1347 A.D. (Julian).
16) Instead of following Coedes, who takes \textit{tirai} at 1/6 to be the word for 'axe', we have adopted a suggestion kindly given us by Madame S. Lewitz, who takes it as meaning 'to resist', 'to attack'; cf. Siamese \textit{na\'n}, \textit{nap\'a}, 'to resist stubbornly', etc. (McFarland's Dictionary, p. 331).
17) The crown, the sword Jayasri and the white parasol constituted the regalia. The sword Jayasri seems to have been the one presented to Pha Moh by the King of Cambodia; see 2 : 1/33.
[I/12-33.] He reigns [*in conformity with the Ten Royal Precepts]

*If he sees someone else’s goods] he does not desire to take them. He makes [his subjects] happy

*When a father dies, his property passes] to the son; [*when an elder brother dies, his property passes] to the younger .

His Majesty has many times spared the lives [*of those who tried to kill him] ......... . He takes compassion [*on all his subjects]. [*The reason he restrains his wrath is that he earnestly desires to become a Buddha] to lead all [beings] and let them pass beyond the sufferings of samsāra .......... lead the throng ...

set free.

the King .... [over four lines illegible] ....

[I/33-47.] Brahma Kamraten Śrī Śrīyavamsā Rāma Mahādhar-
marājādhiraṇāja . . . . [six lines illegible except for a few words] ....

then the King .......... śramaṇas, brahmans, ascetics and anchorites .......... holy cetiyas

... holy [images of the?] Buddha ..........

[I/47-55.] Brahma Kamraten Añ Śrī Śrīyavamsā Rāma Mahā-
dharājādhiraṇāja . . . . here, which was destroyed .........

an image of Iśvara18 .... to bring it to completion ....

In . . śa değ, a year of the ox, on Friday the . .19 of the waxing moon of āśāda20, in the ṛka of pūrvāśāda, at sunrise, the King erected an image of Mahēśvara21 and an image of Viṣṇu in the Dvālayamaḥā-
ḵsetra22 of this Mango Grove . . . . . . for all the ascetics and brahmans to worship forever . . . . the Dharma . . . . . destruction.

[I/55-56.] Brahma Kamraten Añ Śrī Śrīyavamsā Rāma Mahā-
dharājādhiraṇāja has studied the Three Piṭakas completely, [II/1-10] he has studied the Vinaya and the Abhidharma. From the traditional

18) Śiva; brahma ṣaṅga (I/50), which Coedes translates as ‘le saint corps’, appears to be used here as a classifier for images.
19) As Coedes points out, the mutilated word madantap at I/51 could be read either madantap, ‘eleventh’, or pidantap, ‘thirteenth’; see Recueil, p. 98 note 1. (NB: the reference to the month of karṇika in that note is based on a conjectural restoration of a mutilated word in Inschr. 6, I/3, which has since proved untenable; see above, p. 122.)
20) Probably June-July 1349.
21) Śiva.
22) The Brahmin temple.
teachers of Kṛṣṇa, beginning with the Brahmins and ascetics, the King has learned the Vedas, the Śāstras and the Āgamas, the universal law and its applications, beginning with the treatises on astronomy. The years, the months, the eclipses of the sun and moon, the King knows them and all the rest. His knowledge is immense. As the Phālgunānta ought to come after, and the length of the year was being overestimated, the King shortened it so as to set it right again. Knowing clearly the deficient years and the years with an intercalary month, the days of the week and the lunar mansions, the King, to put it briefly, was able to take away, erase and remove (the excess) by means of his authority, completing the work in all its details with entire success redounding to his glory. Whatever he has to explain, he always does so according to the texts.

23) In this context, non-Buddhist lore.
24) The Śāstras are treatises embodying the whole body of Hindu science and religion; the Āgamas are the scriptures and theological manuals of the principal Hindu sects, including the worshipers of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śakti.
25) dharma nyāya (dharma = law, nyaya = applications). The word Dharma here seems to be used in the sense of Universal Law, i.e. the laws of nature, the great principles that govern the operation of the universe. The word nyāya has a great number of meanings, including the following: method, rule, model, plan, system, justice, policy, axiom, aphorism, logic, syllogism. As it occurs in this passage between 'the universal law' and the phrase 'beginning with the treatises on astronomy', we conjecture that it means 'applications' of the universal law, such as the science of astronomy. Or else dharma nyāya might be a compound, meaning 'the system of the universal law'.
26) According to Aymonier, the Phālgunānta was the Spring Festival (Aymonier, Le Cambodge, II, 87). This was presumably the Hindu spring festival called Holi or Holākā, celebrated during the ten days preceding the full moon of the month of Phālguna (February-March). In some parts of India it corresponds to or immediately precedes the Dolayatrai or Swinging Festival. See Monier Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, pp. 498 and 1306.
27) Literally 'the śakarāja was in excess.'
28) See the glosses given by Coedès in the 'Lexique', BEFEO XVII/2, pp. 17 ff. As Coedès observes (Renell, p. 98 note 3) the word phālik no longer exists in Cambodian, but survives in Siamese in the expanded form phālik, 'to condense,' 'to shorten'.
29) lehh na baranpi pā śānvartha ley. We are indebted to Madame S. Lewitz for this translation, which seems to yield better sense than Coedès's. Recent studies have enabled her to identify the word lehh (sometimes written leha) as an indefinite pronoun, meaning 'whatever' when it occurs as the subject of a sentence. She takes śānvartha as a Skt. compound (sa-nu-artha), which is apparently what Coedès did when he translated it as 'conforme au sens d'un texte'. She tells us that in this context ley means 'always'.
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[II/10-30.] The King had resided, ruled and reigned at Śrī Sajjana-laya Sukhodaya for 22 years when, in 1283 saka, a year of the ox, he sent a royal pāṇḍita to invite the Mahāśāmi Saṅgharāja to come from Nagara Bann90, who observes the precepts, who has studied the Three Piṭakas in their entirety, and who has resided in Laṅkāvīpa where there are teachers of the precepts like the saints of old91. [When the Mahāśāmi] was on his way32 the King sent craftsmen to prepare and erect kuṭiṣ and a vihāra in the Mango Grove west of this (city of) Sukhodaya; he had it leveled, smoothed and covered with sand33; and he made it as beautiful in every part as if it were created by Viṣṇukarma34. When the Saṃtec Mahāthera (Mahāśāmi) was coming with his suite of monks, His Majesty caused areca fruits, grilled rice, candles, incense, flowers and kalpavṛkṣas to be prepared35; he erected ... in his honor all along the road; and he sent ministers, counsellors and members of the royal family to receive him with homage (and escort him) from Chaut to Jyan Doṅ, to Pāṅ Candra, Pāṅ Bār, and finally to this (city of) Sukhodaya36. Then he sent (men) to sweep the Royal Avenue clean from the east gate to the west gate and all the way to the Mango Grove, where the kuṭiṣ and the vihāra had been built. He had awnings of many colors stretched (above the

30) For the sake of clarity, we have placed the expression 'to come from Nagara Bann' earlier in the sentence than it occurs in the original (II/14). In 1361 the King had been reigning at Sajjanalaya since 1340, when he was appointed upārāja there; hence 'for 22 years' (because any part of a year counts as a whole year); though he had been reigning as King of Sukhodaya only since 1347. See Coedes, BEFE O XVII/2, pp. 8-9.

31) Laṅkāvīpa is the island of Ceylon; kṣīṇārāba (II/14), Buddhist Skt. kṣīṇārava, Pali kṣīṇasava, 'one whose cravings have been destroyed', an epithet of the arahants or saints (see Pali Text Society Diet. , s.v. asava).

32) If the King did not really start building operations at the Mango Grove until the Mahāśāmi was 'on his way', it is hard to see how he could have completed them by the time the Mahāśāmi reached Sukhodaya. Presumably the expression is not to be taken literally.

33) cak kseec (I/16), which Coedes translates ('remblayer avec du sable'). To us, 'covered with sand' seems to correspond more closely with the literal meaning of the expression, and to accord better with the usual practice in preparing or maintaining a monastery.

34) Viṣṇukarman, the craftsman of the gods.

35) In Skt. literature the kalpavṛkṣa is a fabulous tree in Indra's heaven that grants all desires. It is represented in Siamese ceremonies by real or artificial trees hung with fruits containing coins, gifts, etc.

36) For the route, see above, p. 121. As Madame Lewitz informs us, mva nbata at II/22, literally 'one time', marks the end of the sentence. (Coedes, putting it at the beginning of the following sentence, translates it 'aussi tôt'.)
Avenue) so as to stop the rays of the sun from penetrating, he took the trouble\(^{37}\) to set up screens and garlands of flowers (on either side), and he caused cloths of five colors to be spread out between so that the Mahāsāmi's feet\(^{38}\) would not touch the ground anywhere. He made so many preparations in his honor that they cannot be counted; if a comparison is needed, that Royal Avenue looked as beautiful as the road to heaven\(^{39}\). Then he invited the Mahāsāmi Saṅgharāja to go into retreat for the full three months of the rainy season.

[[II/30-37.]] When (the Mahāsāmi) came out of retreat, [the King] made a great offering of gifts (to the monkhood), and consecrated a bronze (statue of the) Lord cast to the same size\(^{40}\) as (the statue of?) Our Lord the Buddha, which is installed in the middle of this city of Sukhodaya to the east of the Mahādhātu\(^{41}\). He listened to the (preaching of) the Dharma.

\(^{37}\) Coedes took the word \textit{mvat} at II/25 as an adjective ('hot' or 'scorching') modifying 'rays of the sun'. We have followed Madame Lewitz, who prefers to consider it a verb meaning 'exerted himself to', and going with what follows; we therefore translate 'took the trouble to'.

\(^{38}\) \textit{buddhapāda} (II/26-27), literally 'the Buddha's foot'. The Mahāsāmi was regarded as a saint, or a future Buddha, or both.

\(^{39}\) \textit{skvarggarūhāna phlū svargga} (II/29): \textit{skvarggarūhāna} appears to be a compound in which \textit{skvarga} represents Skt. \textit{svarga}, 'heaven' (see Coedès, BEFEO XVII/2, p. 19 note 1), and \textit{ruhāna} may be for Skt. \textit{rohana}, 'ascending to'. In that case the expression \textit{phlū svargga} would be in apposition to the compound and serve as a gloss to it. Alternatively \textit{ruhāna} might be the Khmer word for 'splendid'.

\(^{40}\) \textit{pralvāh} (II/31), glossed by Coedès as \textit{pralan}, 'étendre' (BEFEO XVII/2, p. 22); Guesdon (Dictionnaire Cambodgien-Français, Paris, 1930, p. 1098) glosses \textit{pralan} as 'essayer', 'mesurer'; cf. \textit{pralan}, 'étendue' (Guesdon, p. 1100). Coedès (Reweil, p. 100) translates the passage as 'fondue sur le modèle de la statue de Notre Seigneur le Buddha', but we are inclined to prefer a more specific rendering, 'cast to the same size', which takes account of a practice intended to transmit the miraculous qualities of the original to the copy.

\(^{41}\) For the Mahādhātu, the monument of the Great Relic, which was the magico-religious center of the kingdom, see JSS 60/1, pp. 72-76 and note 4, p. 76. Coedès understood that the bronze statue was copied from a statue that stood east of the Mahādhātu, but the passage could also mean that the King cast the bronze statue the same size as the Lord Buddha himself (which, according to tradition, was 18 cubits when standing), and placed it east of the Mahādhātu.
every day from the first day of the waxing moon to the full moon day\(^{42}\).

The gifts the King distributed were\(^{43}\): 10 jyau\(^{44}\) of gold, 10 jyan of silver, 10 million khvad\(^{45}\), 2 million areca nuts, 4 bundles of cīvras, almsbowls,

42) As we have seen (p. 122), the first day of the waxing moon and the full moon day referred to here are those of the month of assauja (and not, as Coedès believed, those of the following month, kattikā; cf. BEFEO XVII/2, p. 15 note 6). The fortnight during which, according to Inschr. 4, the King listened daily to the Dharma was therefore the last fortnight of the three months' retreat; and the statue was consecrated soon afterward, some time during the week between the first and the 8th days of the waning moon. The apparent discrepancy with Inschr. 5 (III/12-13), which says the King listened to the Dharma daily for 'a hundred days', puzzled Coedès (BEFEO XVII/2, p. 15 note 6). It can be explained if we assume that the hundred days began a few days before the retreat and continued until the end of it, the preaching during the first 85 days of the period being of a routine character, while that of the last fortnight must have had some special features that caused it to be singled out for mention in Inschr. 4.

43) tāgi rājadṛavya ta jā brāh dāna (II/34); see Coedès, 'Lexique', p. 20 ff.;

44) 10 jyau (II/34) corresponds to 'ten thousand' (weight) in Inschr. 5 (II/14-15). Presumably the unit referred to is the tical, about a half-ounce. At present-day prices, say $70 ounce, the value of the gold he presented would therefore be about $350,000. Of course its real value was many times that, as the purchasing power of gold was much greater in those days.

45) khvad līr 10 (II/35). The expression līr 10 and the following word, sli, are added above the line. As līr corresponds to sū in No. 5 (III/15, III/16) it certainly means 'million'. The meaning of khvad is obscure. The word that corresponds to it in No. 5 (III/13) is sū (modern sū), which usually means 'cowries'. But sū and sū in No. 5 (III/15) evidently mean the same thing as sū and sū in No. 1 (II/14); and as sli (4: II/35) specifically means 'areca' we can be sure that sū, which corresponds to it in No. 5, means areca fruits rather than fruits in general. It therefore seems likely that sū and its Khmer counterpart khvad refer to something used in conjunction with areca nuts in preparing a quid. The first thing that springs to mind in this connection is of course betel leaves; but betel at that time was called sū, just as it is today; see Inschr. 1, II/2 sōm sravāt sū. We take these observations from Coedès (BEFEO XVII/2, p. 18 f.), who leaves the meaning of khvad undecided. We might perhaps guess, because of its similarity to Siamese sū, 'bottle', that it refers to containers of some sort, for example containers for the lime which is chewed with areca and betel. Or else it might perhaps be dischidia rafflesiana (waln), an epiphyte whose roots were folded into the betel quid and chewed to cure coughs (see Burkill, Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula, London, 1935, Vol. 1, p. 847; cf. McFarland, Thai-English Dictionary, p. 593). Another mystery is why Inschr. 4 has 10 million khvad and 2 million areca nuts, whereas Inschr. 5 has ten million sū and ten million areca nuts.
cacu\textsuperscript{46}, pillows, cushions, mattresses, in exactly that quantity\textsuperscript{47}. As for the different accessory offerings\textsuperscript{48}, they were innumerable and of great variety.\textsuperscript{49}

[II/37-56.] After the end of the retreat, on Wednesday the eighth day of the waning moon\textsuperscript{49}, in the r\text{ks}a of Punarvasu, towards evening, Bra\text{h} P\text{a}d\text{a} Kamraten A\text{\textasciitilde} Sri S\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{yav}a\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde} R\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde} Mah\text{\textasciitilde}d\text{\textasciitilde}h\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde}j\text{\textasciitilde}d\text{\textasciitilde}h\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}j\text{\textasciitilde}a undertook to observe the precepts in the garb of an ascetic in the presence of the Golden Statue\textsuperscript{49} which was installed in the Royal Palace where he worshiped every day. Then he invited the Mah\text{\textasciitilde}s\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde} S\text{\textasciitilde}ngh\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}j\text{\textasciitilde}a, the theras, the anutheras and all the monks to enter\textsuperscript{51} the Golden Pavilion in the Royal Palace, and was ordained as a sam\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}g\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}a.\textsuperscript{50} When he was being ordained and undertaking to observe the precepts, Bra\text{h} P\text{a}d\text{a} Kamraten A\text{\textasciitilde} Sri S\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{yav}a\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde} R\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde} Mah\text{\textasciitilde}d\text{\textasciitilde}h\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde}j\text{\textasciitilde}d\text{\textasciitilde}h\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}j\text{\textasciitilde}a, standing up with his hands raised in homage to the Golden Statue, to the Three Pi\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}kas which were kept in the Royal Palace, and to the Mah\text{\textasciitilde}s\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde} S\text{\textasciitilde}ngh\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}j\text{\textasciitilde}a\textsuperscript{52} made this resolve: ‘As the fruit of the merit which I (am earning) by being thus ordained in the religion of Our Lord, I do not thirst for the advantages of a cakravartin or of an Indra or of a Brah\text{m\textasciitilde}m\textsuperscript{53}:

46) The meaning of cacu\text{\textasciitilde} is unknown, and there seems to be nothing to correspond to this word in the list in Inscr. 5. Could it be used to qualify p\text{\textasciitilde}t ('alms-bowls'), denoting the material of which they were made?

47) i.e. enough for 400 monks, as Inscr. 5 (III/16 f.) has ‘four hundred [sets of] civaras, four hundred alms-bowls, four hundred cushions, four hundred pillows, …… [se. four hundred] mattresses.’ Each bundle (k\text{\textasciitilde}sa, II/35) consisted of 100 sets of robes; see Coedes, BEFEO XVII/2, p. 16 note 3.

48) kri\text{\textasciitilde}ya d\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}, ‘offering’; parabara, for Skt. pariv\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}a; ‘accessory’.

49) The date corresponds to Wednesday, September 22, 1361 (Julian).

50) ksam\text{\textasciitilde}dan\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}a s\text{\textasciitilde}la j\text{\textasciitilde} t\text{\textasciitilde}pas\text{\textasciitilde}bs\text{\textasciitilde}a a\text{\textasciitilde}i b\text{\textasciitilde}e\text{\textasciitilde}k\text{\textasciitilde} bra\text{\textasciitilde}h s\text{\textasciitilde}ub\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}p\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde} (II/39-40). We follow Coedes in taking ksam\text{\textasciitilde}d\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}a s\text{\textasciitilde}l\text{\textasciitilde}a as standing for Pali sam\text{\textasciitilde}dd\text{\textasciitilde}na s\text{\textasciitilde}la, ‘taking it upon oneself (to observe) the precepts’ (see BEFEO XVII/2, p. 16 note 5); j\text{\textasciitilde}, ‘to be’, ‘as’; t\text{\textasciitilde}pas\text{\textasciitilde}bs\text{\textasciitilde}a, for Pali t\text{\textasciitilde}pas\text{\textasciitilde}ves\text{\textasciitilde}a (tapasa, ‘ascetic’; vesa, ‘costume’); ai b\text{\textasciitilde}k, ‘under the eyes of’, ‘in the presence of’ (ibid., p. 16 note 6); the Sab\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}p\text{\textasciitilde}t\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde}m or Golden Statue was evidently an image of the Buddha kept in the Golden Pavilion in the precinct of the Royal Palace. The ‘garb of an ascetic’ here means the white robes worn by a candidate for ordination as a sam\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}g\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}a (cf. Coedes, ibid., p. 16, note 7).

51) The word le (II/40) is the usual word for ‘into’ in going ‘into’ a house. The statue was installed in the ‘Golden Pavilion’ (he\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde}p\text{\textasciitilde}r\text{\textasciitilde}s\text{\textasciitilde}d\text{\textasciitilde}a, II/43). It would naturally be placed in the upper storey so as to prevent anyone from committing the sacrilege of walking above the Buddha’s head.

52) The statue, the scriptures and the Mah\text{\textasciitilde}s\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde} represent the Triple Gem: the Buddha, the Dhamma and the S\text{\textasciitilde}ngh\text{\textasciitilde}a.

53) A cakravartin or ‘wheel-turner’ is a monarch who rules over all the territories his chariot-wheels traverse; the Indras are the gods of the Tavati\text{\textasciitilde}m\text{\textasciitilde}sa heaven; the Brah\text{m\textasciitilde}s are the gods of the sixteen higher heavens.
am fully resolved to become a Buddha so as to lead all creatures across the three conditions of existence. After pronouncing this resolve he took the Triple Refuge. At that moment the earth quaked in every direction. When he had taken the resolve he was ordained. Then he went down from the Golden Pavilion, to proceed on foot all the way to the Mango Grove. The earth quaked again in every direction when his foot touched it. During this fortnight of the waning moon, there was a crowd of people, a great prodigy in order that there might be merit and demerit, and hasten to perform meritorious acts.

Let everyone take heed!
... We have heard the Dharma and we now see the good results of meritorious actions... clearly. Everyone should strive to... and avoid doing evil.

[IV/12-16.] The Mahāthera (versed in the?) Traipitaka, who came from Lakhādhipī and resides at... sidol in the southern part of the Mango Grove, has composed a poem to celebrate the glory and renown of the King at the place where he was ordained, and has had it engraved on a stone which has been placed in the sacred enclosure of the Mango Grove west of this city of Sukhodaya.

62) It is possible that ‘the (evident) results of meritorious action’ are the earthquake and other prodigies that resulted from Mahadharmarājā’s ordination; but it also seems possible that they have a more general significance, as at 3: 1/58 f., particularly as the passage follows so closely on the one which we compare with 3: 1/56 f. (see above, note 60).

63) The ‘good results’ (phala, lit. ‘fruits’) are rewards that will automatically accrue, in this life or future ones, as a consequence of doing acts of merit.

64) As Coedes observes, this Mahāthera is obviously the Mahāsāmi Saṅghārāja. The text has: (maha)thera traipitaka (IV/11-12), which Coedes renders as ‘Le mahāthera, (versé dans) les Saintes Ecritures.’ In supplying the words in parentheses he is apparently basing himself on the example of Inscr. 5 (II/20-22). Though the latter appears in a different context, we think Coedes is probably justified in making the insertion and we have followed him in our translation. But as there is no lacuna at this point in the text we should have to assume that an expression meaning ‘versed in’ was omitted by mistake. If, on the other hand, the insertion is not justified, then traipitaka must be in apposition to mahāthera, and traipiṭaka (or rather the Pali form of the word, Tipitaka) must be the Saṅghārāja’s monastic name, which is otherwise unknown to us. For the use of Sanskrit in a Theravādin context in Siam and Cambodia, see above, p.129-130. Another Theravādin monk mentioned in Sukhodayan epigraphy is called by a mixed Sanskrit and Pali name. He composed the Pali face of the Asokārāma inscription of 1399 A.D., in which his name is given as Śrīdharmātrailoka (see JSS LVII/1, p. 38 and p. 43, last line); and he also appears in Inscr. 49, composed around 1417, in which his name is given as Mahāthera Dharmātrailoka (followed by several other syllables, the reading of which is doubtful; see JSS 56/2, p. 233, 1/7-8). He was a younger brother of Mahādharmarājā II’s queen, and in all probability a son of Mahādharmarājā I. 65) This passage, without actually saying so, seems to imply that the Mahāsāmi was a Sinhalese; whereas the passage at II/13 seems to imply that he was not, though he had resided in Ceylon.

66) As the name is mutilated, we cannot guess what it represents; cf. Skt. Dola, a festival held on the 14th of phālguṇa at which images of the boy Kṛṣṇa are swung back and forth in a high swing. As there was a Brahmin temple in the Mango Grove as well as a Buddhist monastery, it is possible that such a swing could have given its name to the locality.

67) Inscr. 6.

68) Kapiḷāḥ baddhāsimā (IV/15), i.e. at the uposathāgāra or ordination hall, which is enclosed in simā boundary stones (baddhāsimā is put for baddhasimā).
The pillar on which Inscription 5 is engraved is much like that of No. 4, but the tenon is shorter and the total height is only 1.15 m. The pillar is 28 cm. square in cross-section, and a surface 78 cm. in height was prepared on each face for the writing. Faces I and III are in a fair state of preservation, and though a break in the stone has carried off the last two or three letters of I/1-11 most of them can be restored from the context. In Face II the same break has carried off a lot more of the text, and the remainder is badly damaged. Face IV is a total ruin, having been used by peasants to sharpen their knives (a widespread belief holds that old inscriptions are particularly good for this purpose). Face I has 35 lines of writing, Face II has 38, and Face III has 42.

After remaining for some time in the Ayudhya Museum, the stone was brought to Bangkok and placed in the Chapel Royal. In 1924 it was removed to the Vajiranaṇa Library. It is now in the Vajiranaṇa Hall of the old National Library.

Prince Damrong Rājanubhāb was the first person to notice that the purport of No. 5, as well as the form of the stone, is much like that of No. 4, and he proposed in 1914 to consider them mates.

The first person to publish No. 5 was Coedes. In 1917 his Romanized transcription and French translation appeared in the BEFEO (XVII/2). In 1924 his transcription reappeared with several better readings and a revised translation.

The script of No. 5 is much like that of No. 3, though written in a more slanting hand. The orthography too is much the same. The vowel  is not found, but  occurs in the following places:

\[ \text{I/13} \]

\[ \text{I/19, 21, 23, 29, II/14, III/3} \]

1) AA/RA, Bangkok, 1914, p. 2; Prajum Bādavaṭāru, I, Bangkok, 1914, preface p. 8.

2) Recueil, 103 ff. The Siamese text appears at p. 108 ff. of the Siamese section of the same work, and was reprinted in Prajum Śilacarīk, Bangkok, B.E. 2500.
While the sound of ච in a closed syllable is usually indicated by reduplicating the final consonant, the mai-khān-ākāśa does occur eight times (II/26, III/17, 18, 33, 38, 40, 41, 42): like the virāma from which it appears to have developed, it is written over the final consonant of the syllable rather than in the position it occupies today. The accents · and • are found in the following words, though several of the same words also occur without them:

- ව ( = ස), I/20, 22, 26, 29, III/22
- ම ( = හ), II/15-16
- ව, I/17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 26, II/36, III/2
- න, I/19, 30, II/10
- ව, II/24
- ව, I/1
- ව, I/27
- ව, II/30 (twice)
- ව, I/17, 18
- ව, I/20
- ව, I/10, 17, 18
- ව, I/22
- ව, I/20, 22, 27
- ව, I/33
- ව, III/2
The text opens with the words ‘Formerly this place was the royal garden of Brahã Rãmarãja the grandfather, who planted this grove of mango-trees …’ — a statement which seems to show that Mahãdharmarãja composed the text while he was a monk in the Mango Grove Monastery in 1361 (cf. above, p. 122, 126). Nothing is said about his seizure of the capital in 1347, perhaps because a battle would not be a fitting subject to dwell on in a monastery. The account of his accession and abhiãeka follows immediately (I/1-14). Then comes the eulogy, with particular emphasis on his forbearance, and certain verbal reminiscences of Rãma Gã phosphate's inscription which, like his reference to the origin of the Mango Grove in the opening lines, serve to link his own reign to his grandfather’s. When he speaks of his mercy toward people who cheated or betrayed him, or people who tried to poison him, it is hard to resist the feeling that he has some specific persons in mind such as officials who cheated him, vassals who threw in their lot with his enemies, and perhaps the usurper Nãvã Nam Thãam.

At II/8-18 there is a brief reference to his reform of the calendar, and to his numerous works of merit in building monasteries and stupas, planting bodhi trees, and so on.

The rest of the inscription, insofar as it survives, is devoted to the events of 1361, in much the same terms as No. 4.
(ย) ยกอนที่หนึ่งพบราช...
(ล) พระนายราษฎร์พบปะ...
(ม) พยาบาทภาคภูมิพราหมณ์...
(น) ıkภูมิพราหมณ์คงอยู่
(บ) แก่กันมีฤดูนี้พระภูมิ (ไทย)
(ข) รูปทรงปั้นโลหะโค้ชิน 1 (สว)
(ค) ราชใหม่ยิ่งชั้นชั้นใหญ่ (ญี่ปุ่น)
(ง) โลหะพ่นแผ่นพู่ อย่าง เป็น (นทา)
(จ) นับพ่นบ่อดินเนื้อ (กัพ)
(ฉ) นับพ่นบ่อดินเนื้อเนื้อ (กัพ)
(ช) ตามธงโค้ชินกังเข่ภูมิ...
(ซ) ยศวิสาทธรรมยาวค์ภูมิ (อิน)
(ด) แสงใหม่ยิ่งชั้นชั้นใหญ่ (สิง)
(ต) หลายชั้นภูมิชั้นชั้นยิ่ง
(ถ) สงครามษ์ธรรมราชราชสว.
(ท) ราชธงก้อยพลับพลาราชสว.
(ธ) รูปปะแก้มปรีฮาไฟทอง
(ธ) ลายเห็นสำนักโดยพิมพ์แห่ง
(ธ) พีภูมิแก้มปรีฮาไฟแดง
(ธ) พีภูมิแก้มปรีฮาไฟแดง
(ธ) รวมทั้งก็ถึงหน้าพืดแห่ง
(ธ) ยังคงภูมิโค้ชินเล็กเล็ก
(1) (เร) พงษ์ศรีสุริยา มณีจำรัส
(2) (เร) คง ศรีวุฒิ
(3) (เร) ผู้ช่วยที่มี

ตามที่ ๒
(๑) ถึง (๓) (ขาวรุ้ง) ........
(๔) ............... มหาศรี
(๕) ............... ช่วง...
(๖) ............... คุณ...
(๗) ............... ศรี...
(๘) ............... พระธาตุ
(๙) (ระพีกรรม) พระธรรมราช (ราชช)
(๑๐) ผาและแก้ว
(๑๑) นน. ตก วา
(๑๒) แบบบูรณแก
(๑๓) พาโปร่สนหนึ่งบาน
(๑๔) (ยา) ตกวันบูรณ์เป็น
(๑๕) เคนเนนท้ายบูรณะภท
(๑๖) (หาย) ถึงซุบเจดีย์ปลูกพระวิริยาภ
(๑๗) (โพธ) คี. หมายแกนลบ
(๑๘) (กันภาน) หยุ่ง (ช่วย) ราชในเมืองศรีสวาง
(๑๙) (นาใหญ่) ศูนย์ (ไทยใหญ่) ผู้ดีบองแรกภ
(๒๐) ข. ๑๒๓ ปีหลังจึงให้ปลูกเจดีย์พาน
(๒๑) (ศี) ทรงราชสมรสอาวุธแพะบก
(๒๒) (ยา) หมาย นำไปปลูกท้ายสมัยคย
(๒๓) หยุ่งใน... ลงท้ายบูรณ์สมรสอาจาริ
(๒๔) (สุกภาน) ราชวันบูรณ์แกเครื่อง
(๒๕) ภูมิทิพายาในป่าวังน้ำสด
(๒๖) ศักดิ์พระพินิจภัณ
(๒๗) พราม
(๒๘) สงหะภลาภยาน
(๒๙) ออกในโกทรง
(๓๐) ป.. ภคพันธุ์ยารพย
THE EPIGRAPHY OF MAHARAJA I OF SUKHODAYA
(1) ทศวรรษศึกษาภาษาคู่ แผนเหล็ก (ดง)
(2) ค่ายธรรมภูมิแผนกวรรณคดี
(3) แลกกระทำพานามแผนกอย้่หนี
(4) นิลงไปเอ้า่เน้นย์ยื้มสิบลานทวาย (กิล)
(5) บ้านเรือนพระสิริอยู่บางศรีอย้่ (หมอบ)
(6) นั่นระยมภูมิน้อยสร้อยพัก ....
(7) เรียนกว่าบุ่ษตาหัวจานท่าน (บกบ)
(8) สมีเห็นเห็นมันอยู่ก้านล้อ ...
(9) มาชย์จัดแผนแพ้หมี่เล่อคม (เก)
(10) ร้องทักบุ่ษชาญาเสงพระจันทร์ (ป)
(11) กับแม่เว่ยนเม็ยย์กัวรยassandra ...
(12) รวมพฤษภทานไทยประจำกรุ (นร)
(13) พงษ์ภูมิทรงคุณนายถ่าน (กุ)
(14) ประชากรประชากรพานเมลลิ (วงน)
(15) มีชิ่นนี้พานการอยู่ที่ ...
(16) มีชิ่นนี้พานการอยู่ที่ ...
(17) มีจาเรย์ชนะพานเมเล่ (เขา)
(18) จำนวนคนพานการอยู่ที่ ...
(19) จำนวนคนพานการอยู่ที่ ...
(20) หน้าหน้าหน้าหน้าหน้าหน้า (ศรีสุ)
(21) ร้อยศิริภูมิราชธิราช ...
(22) ทศวรรษศึกษาภาษาคู่ แผนเหล็ก ...
(23) ทศวรรษศึกษาภาษาคู่ ป (ศิลส)
(๓๓) อาวินทะยักราษฎร์ยังยันคนแตก...
(๓๔) วันหนึ่งแสดงจึงดีเดชยุคมา (สมพิส)
(๓๕) ผู้ราชศวณ์ถ่านเถื่อนก็ (ท) ลงทุ่ง (ภทล)
(๓๖) ถึงเมื่อเดิมราชย์เกิด...ยังจึง...
(๓๗) ยิ่งยิ่งถ้าสามเสถียรเดิมยิ่งยิ่ง...
(๓๙) ถึงเมื่อแรกสมหวังstrcmp (ราช)
(๓๒) ก็ราชช้างกองอยู่สมหวังพระพุทธ (ท)
(๔๐) ทีนั้นถ้าพระปัญญายศ...
(๔๑) ไปในหนึ่งกิ่งพระสมภพ (ทรงท)
(๔๒) ถึงจึงก็อธิศาสนาวาสภิกขุ.

ตัวหนังสือ
(ข้ารุค)
Translation

[I/1-4.] Formerly this place was the royal [garden] of Brana Ramaraja, the grandfather, ... [who] planted this grove of mango-trees in rows, exceedingly [beautiful] to look at.

[I/1-14.] Later on when Brana Lijdaiyaraja, who is well versed in the Scriptures, acceded to the throne of Sri Sajjanalaya Sukhodaya as successor to his grandfather and his father, a throng of kings at the east, west, south and north, each one of them filled with affection [toward him], brought the crown, [the sacred sword Jalyaśrī, and the white parasol, and conferred the abhiṣeka on him as King, and all of them in concert bestowed the title Sri Suryavamanṣa Rāma Mahādharmarājadhiraja upon him.

[I/14-35.] He rules in conformity with the Dasabiddharajadharmas. He is merciful to all his subjects. When he sees someone's rice he does not covet it, when he sees someone's wealth he does not get angry. When a father dies [his estate] is left to the son, when an elder brother dies it is left to the younger. When anyone quarrels with him about large matters or small, [the King] does not put him to death.

3) ละา (l/3); modern ละ, 'lines'.
4) Reconstructing the lacuna at l/4 as ละ.
5) श्री सज्जनालायासुक्षोधाया; we regularize the spelling.
6) श्री सज्जनालायासुक्षोधाया (l/7-8).
7) ब्रानाराजासाचरण अपने (l/11-12). See Section 2 note 18, and Coedes at JSS XIII/3, p. 22 f.
8) श्री सज्जनालायासुक्षोधाया (l/12); cf. No. 3, l/6.
9) सुभाषित (l/13) appears to be put for Pali sammata, past participle of sammaññati, 'to assent,' 'to agree to,' 'to authorize,' 'to honor'.
10) Written श्री सुर्याबाङ्गास रामा महाधर्मराजाधिराजा.
11) cf. No. 3, l/2-7 and No. 4, l/7-12.
12) 'dharma' is written धर्मम् throughout the inscription. For the Dasabiddharaja-dharma, cf. Inscr. 3, II/26.
13) उपयुनि (l/16), 'compassion', from Skt. पूणि, 'a living creature'.
14) cf. Inscr. 3, II/7.
15) भ्रान्ति (l/17-18); the expression is repeated verbatim from Rāma Garphē (Inscr. 1, l/27; cf. JSS 59/2, p. 207, note 38).
16) cf. Inscr. 1, l/22 f., and Inscr. 3, II/44 f.
(13) อาไขเหทนาวราชมนทิวิณเดินแหง...
(14) วัณณนัณฑะริจิ่งเอะธมทา (สามแหง)
(15) งามราชตราชเทนุเตจริก (ส.) ทรง หง (บางละ)
(16) ยิ่งเนียรราชมนทิวิ…องจิ่ง...
(17) บวศนะน่านะราชทั้นเนียรฉะ...
(18) ฮี้สัตตัณฑุตราชะสรปะศรัณยธรรม (ราชหา)
(19) ธรรมจิ่งจักกะอิ่งเนียนบ้าะพะระกุ (ส.)
(20) ทองนั้นเคริงปะญะกุศริ....
(21) บั้วทั้นเนียรบั้นหมามหามาต (สงขะ)
(22) ชิ้นจีกอิสิสานวัวคังนิ้ว.

๑๕๓
Translation

[1/1-4.] Formerly this place was the royal [garden] of Braññā Rāmarāja the grandfather, . . . [who] planted this grove of mango-trees in rows3, exceedingly [beautiful]4 to look at.

[1/1-14.] Later on when Braññā La[daiyaraja], who is well versed in the Scriptures, acceded to the throne of Śrī Sajjanālāya Sukhodaya5 as successor to his grandfather and his father, a throng of kings6 at the east, west, south and north, each one of them filled with affection [toward him], brought the crown, [the sacred sword Jalyaśri, and the white parasol, and conferred the abhiṣeka7 on him as King8, and all of them in concert9 bestowed the title Śrī Suryavamśa Rāma Mahādharmarājadhirāja10 upon him11.

[1/14-35.] He rules in conformity with the Dasabuddharājadharma12. He is merciful13 to all his subjects14. When he sees someone's rice he does not covet it, when he sees someone's wealth he does not get angry15. When a father dies [his estate] is left to the son16, when an elder brother dies it is left to the younger. When anyone quarrels with him about large matters or small, [the King] does not put him to death

3) ṣena (1/3); modern ṣena, 'lines'.
4) Reconstructing the lacuna at 1/4 as ṣaraṃ.
5) Written śri sajjanalaiya sukhojaiya; we regularize the spelling.
6) यमुनाध (I/7-8).
7) चक्रमाहीतिः (I/11-12). See Section 2 note 18, and Coedes at JSS XIII/3, p. 22 f.
8) यान्तवान (I/12); cf. No. 3, I/6.
9) राजा (I/13) appears to be put for Pali sammata, past participle of sammanati, 'to assent,' 'to agree to,' 'to authorize,' 'to honor'.
10) Written śri suryabāṇaśa rāma mahādharmarājadhirāja.
11) cf. No. 3, 1/2-7 and No. 4, 1/7-12.
12) 'dharma' is written dharmma throughout the inscription. For the Dasabuddharājadharma, cf. Inscr. 3, II/26.
13) तपस्विः (I/16), 'compassion', from Skt. prāṇi, 'a living creature'.
14) cf. Inscr. 3, II/7.
15) तपस्विः प्राणिः तपस्विः प्राणिः (I/17-18); the expression is repeated verbatim from Rāma Gaṇhē (Inscr. 1, I/27; cf. JSS 59/2, p. 207, note 38).
16) cf. Inscr. 1, 1/22 f. and Inscr. 3, II/44 f.
or injure him\textsuperscript{17}. When he captures enemy warriors, he does not kill them or beat them\textsuperscript{18}, but looks after them well\textsuperscript{19} so that they may not die. When he catches people who cheated or betrayed him\textsuperscript{20}, or people who tried to poison him\textsuperscript{21}, he does not kill them or beat them. Those who have done him harm he has set free\textsuperscript{22} so many times that they cannot be counted\textsuperscript{23}. The reason why he shows such forbearance in cases that

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} We have translated freely. A more literal translation would be: 'If anyone quarrels with him, no matter how [great or?] middle-sized (the matter may be), he never kills him or wounds him... a single time.'
\item \textsuperscript{18} For \textit{...}, cf. Inscr. 1, I/25, and JSS 59/2, p. 207, note 34.
\item \textsuperscript{19} For \textit{...}, cf. Inscr. 1, I/26, and Coedes in JSS XVII/3, p. 117.
\item \textsuperscript{20} We take \textit{...} to be equivalent to \textit{...}, 'large or small'.
\item \textsuperscript{21} \textit{...} is for \textit{...}, 'to kill'; \textit{...} is 'to chop', 'to slash', as with a sword.
\item \textsuperscript{22} \textit{...} (inTai Yuan, a common expression for poison is \textit{...}, and in the \textit{Manraya-śāstra} \textit{...} alone means 'poison'). A more literal translation would be: 'When he captures the throng who put poison in his fish or drugs in his rice for him to eat so as to make him die like that, he never kills and never beats them a single time.'
\item \textsuperscript{23} \textit{...} (I/27-29): \textit{...}, 'always', 'habitually': \textit{...}, 'brings them under his protection and feeds them.'
\item \textsuperscript{24} \textit{...} (I/24): \textit{...}, 'to act', especially to act in a mocking or deceitful manner; \textit{...}, 'crooked', 'dishonest', 'perfidious' (cf. \textit{...}, 'to plot against', 'to be treacherous'); \textit{...}, 'to bend', 'to bow'.
\item \textsuperscript{25} \textit{...} (I/24-27). The mutilated word after \textit{...} was very likely \textit{...}, 'poison' (in \textit{Tai Yuan}, a common expression for poison is \textit{...}, and in the \textit{Manraya-śāstra} \textit{...} alone means 'poison'). A more literal translation would be: 'When he captures the throng who put poison in his fish or drugs in his rice for him to eat so as to make him die like that, he never kills and never beats them a single time.'
\item \textsuperscript{26} \textit{...} (I/27-29): \textit{...}, 'always', 'habitually': \textit{...}, 'brings them under his protection and feeds them.'
\item \textsuperscript{27} \textit{...} (I/28): \textit{...}, 'extremely many times'; \textit{...}, 'if we wish to count'; \textit{...} then it is not complete.'
\item \textsuperscript{28} \textit{...} (I/14): \textit{...} 'much'; \textit{...} 'altogether'; \textit{...}, 'the count is not complete'.
\item \textsuperscript{29} \textit{...} (I/17-18).
\end{itemize}
would make most people angry\textsuperscript{24} is because he has resolved... to become a Buddha and to take all living creatures beyond these miseries of transmigration... not only\textsuperscript{25} not to kill any person at all, but not even... to kill anything whatever that has life... [II/1-7 and the first two-thirds of II/8: illegible except for a few disconnected words; this passage corresponds in part to Inscr. 4, I/27-55, but is much shorter.]

[II/8-18.] Braññā Śrī Sū[ravyāṃśa Rāma Ma]hādharmarāja[dhirā]... counted the days since........ took the years that were too long and changed them back\textsuperscript{26} to short years...... so much that it cannot be counted to the end. As for his meritorious works in building vi[hāras],...... building stupas\textsuperscript{27}, and planting śrīmahābodhi trees........ they cannot be counted.

[II/18-38.] He had been ruling the kingdom of Śrī Saja[nalaya] Sukho[daya] for twenty-two years when, in sakaraja 1283, a year of the ox, he sent [*a royal pa1l-~ita* to in vile a Mahasami Sailgbaraja from Nagara Bann\textsuperscript{28}, distinguished for his moral conduct and his knowledge of the Scriptures\textsuperscript{29}......... many Mahāsāmīs living in... Laṅkādi-

\textsuperscript{24} The reason he restrains himself towards things that ought to cause anger and does not get angry like that.'

\textsuperscript{25} not only.'

\textsuperscript{26} 'overflowing', hence 'too long'; まだ, still used in Tai Yuan to mean 'change back', 'retreat', 'go back'. The reference seems to be to Līdaiya's reform of the calendar; cf. Inscr. 4, II/5 ff.

\textsuperscript{27} We take stupacetiya (II/16) as a compound, and translate the whole expression as 'stupas'.

\textsuperscript{28} For the sake of clarity we have transferred the expression 'from Nagara Bann' to this position in the sentence.

\textsuperscript{29} literally 'who has moral conduct and knows the Three Piṭakas ......'.

4) เครื่องราชพิธีการกษัตริย์พระชนม์พระกุมาร (III/18 f.).
5) ผลไม้ผลไม้ต่างๆ... ขนานหมายถึงผู้ใด (III/19-20).
6) เครื่องบุญช่วยทางราชกุมารบุญกุศล (III/20-22).

24) ที่ผ่านมานั้นได้กิจกรรมเพิ่งจะมาทรงจดจ้องลงบน (I/29-31), 'The reason he restrains himself towards things that ought to cause anger and does not get angry like that.'

25) ตาม (I/34)=อย่าง, 'not only'.

26) สูน (II/13), modern สูน, 'overflowing', hence 'too long'; ยุน, still used in Tai Yuan to mean 'change back', 'retreat', 'go back'. The reference seems to be to Līdaiya's reform of the calendar; cf. Inscr. 4, II/5 ff.

27) We take stupacetiya (II/16) as a compound, and translate the whole expression as 'stupas'.

28) For the sake of clarity we have transferred the expression 'from Nagara Bann' to this position in the sentence.

29) literally 'who has moral conduct and knows the Three Piṭakas ......'.

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pa whose moral conduct is like that of the saints of old.

"When the Mahāsaṃhi was on his way, the King built] kuṭis and a vihāra in this Mango Grove, [making it as beautiful] to see as if the Lord Bīṣṇukarma [had created it].

When the Mahāsaṃhi Saṅgharāja and all his monks were coming, [the King prepared] flowers and fragrant torches to do honor to him, [placing them] on both [sides of the road], appointed officials to go to receive him [and escort him from] Moa Chot to [Jyañ Don, Pān Candra, Pān Bān and all the way to this] city of Sukhodaya.

[He had the road swept] and stretched awnings [of many colors] above, to prevent the sun [from penetrating; he set up screens and garlands] of flowers; he caused beautiful cloths of five colors [to be spread out] so as to prevent [the Mahāsaṃhi's feet from touching the ground] anywhere. As for the preparations

30) We suspect that... 11/22) should be restored as 'abode' or 'community of monks' (the word 'abode' occurs frequently in Mahāsana to refer to a group of monks studying under one particular teacher for a considerable period of time. As we know from Inscr. 4 (11/13) that the Mahāsaṃhi Saṅgharāja had resided in Ceylon we think it likely that the passage meant something like the following: 'who has studied in the communities of many Mahāsaṃhis living in Lāhūkādi pa whose moral conduct is like that of the saints of old.' For kṣiṇirāba (11/24) as an epithet of arahants or saints, see section 5, note 31. This passage suggests that the King of Ceylon was in the habit of bestowing the title Mahāsaṃhi on distinguished Sinhalese monks (and not exclusively on monks from foreign countries who were re-ordained in Ceylon; cf. JSS 60/1, p. 51, note 10).

31) A word meaning 'to be spread out' seems to have been omitted; at least there is no lacuna where we should expect it to come, at III/2 before yhr.

32) To a western reader the statement is confusing, because it seems to say that the King prepared flowers, etc., and, at the same time or a little later, sent officials to Chot to meet the Mahāsaṃhi. As the round-trip between Sukhodaya and Chot would require something like two weeks, it is obvious that the officials set out from Sukhodaya well before the flowers were prepared.

33) We have omitted from our translation the word 'course', 'naturally', etc.

34) The word meaning 'to be spread out' seems to have been omitted; at least there is no lacuna where we should expect it to come, at III/2 before yhr.
made in his honor, they cannot be counted. If we wished to make a comparison, that road was as beautiful to look at as a road in the city of heaven. Then [the King] invited the Mahāsāmi Saṅgharāja to go into retreat for the full three months of the rainy season.

[III/8-22.] At the end of the retreat, [the King] made a great presentation of alms (to the monkhood) and consecrated a bronze statue cast (the statue of?) our Lord the Buddha, erected in the middle of the city of Sukhodaya to the east of the Śrīratanamahādhatu. [For the] consecration he listened to the [preaching of the] Dharma every day for a full hundred days, and at that time he distributed offerings of ten thousand of gold, ten thousand of silver, ten million cowries, ten million areca nuts, four hundred [sets of] robes, four hundred almsbowls, four hundred cushions, four hundred pillows, [four hundred] mattresses, and countless gifts of all sorts. As for the accessory [offerings] brought by members of the royal family

35) We reconstruct ฉบับ (III/3) as ฉบับพุทธศัย, which usually means ‘offerings’; but we translate it in accordance with the corresponding passage in Inschr. 4 (II/27-28), which has a more general meaning.

36) cf. note 23, above.

37) ณ (III/7) must mean ณ, ‘end’, while ณ at III/4 means ‘all’. In modern Siamese both words are written ณ.

38) อัน (III/9-10), modern อันเก่า. We conjecture that the lacuna contained some word with the same meaning as ฉลาด in the corresponding passage in Inschr. 4 (II/31); see above, page 140, note 40.

39) จุฬาลงกรณ์ (III/11 f.); the word ณ in this passage means ‘in the direction of’. It still has the same meaning in Tai Yuan.

40) The Mahādhatu, situated near the geographical center of the city, facing the Royal Palace which lay just east of it. Cf. p. 140 note 41.

41) ครุยิป (III/14), i.e. when the statue was inaugurated.

42) cf. No. 4, II/34 f. and page 141 note 44.

43) As the gifts of almsbowls, cushions, etc., show that he was making provision for 400 monks, we assume that each one received the ticivara or ‘three garments’ (antaravānsa, uttarāsāṅga and saṅghāṭī).

44) ผน (III/17) is a Khmer word meaning ‘mattress’ (Siamese ผน). We restore the preceding lacuna asผน; cf. the preceding note.

and nobility\textsuperscript{46}, they cannot be counted\textsuperscript{47}. And the gifts presented to the Mahāśāmī Saṅgharāha cannot be counted [either].

[III/22-42.] After the end of the retreat..., on Wednesday, a 'vrān plaul' day in the Dai [Tai] reckoning, in the nakṣatra of Punarvasu, towards evening\textsuperscript{48}, one thousand nine hundred and five years... after our Lord the Buddha entered Nirvāṇa, [the King] was ordained\textsuperscript{49}. Counting by days from the Nirvāṇa up to the day of his ordination, six hundred ninety-five thousand, six hundred and one days had elapsed. Brahiś Śrī Sūryavama Rāma Mahādharmarājādhirāja... made the resolve to observe the Ten Precepts as an ascetic... in the presence of the golden statue of the Buddha which was installed in the Royal Palace, and which he himself had caused to be... on that day. Then he invited the Mahāśāmī Saṅgharāha, together with the theras, the anutheras and the assembly of monks, to enter\textsuperscript{50} the Royal Palace... and he received the ordination as a saṃānera there. When he was about to [receive] the Precepts, Brahiś Śrī Sūryavama Rāma Mahādharmarājādhirāja, standing with raised hands\textsuperscript{51}, did homage to the golden [statue of the] Buddha, homage to the Scriptures... which were kept there, and homage to the Mahāśāmī Saṅgharāha. Then he made this wish: 'By means of...' [Face IV: illegible].

\textsuperscript{46) οὐδὲν ἀνατάξησε... μαθητής (III/19-20), modern αὐτός οὐκ εἶχεν τον αὐτόν... μαθητής.}
If, as we suspect, ὀικογένεια means members of the royal family, the mutilated expression that follows very likely meant 'nobility'. Note, however, that the lacuna is rather short to contain the necessary expression, plus ἄνθρωπος which the sense seems to require.

\textsuperscript{47) cf. above, note 23.}

\textsuperscript{48) ἀνατάξησε (III/24). The expression means, literally, 'when the sun is cool.'}

\textsuperscript{49) We have taken some liberties with the syntax of this sentence for the sake of clarity. Coedes translates, more literally: 'depuis le moment où Notre Seigneur le Buddha entra dans le nirvāna jusqu'au jour (oui le roil) reçut l'ordination, il s'est écoulé 1905 années...'}

\textsuperscript{50) 'πάνω οὔθ (III/36), 'to go up to'.}

\textsuperscript{51) δυναμώμενως (III/39)=δυναμώμενος.}

\textsuperscript{52) adhisthāna (III/42), a wish in the form of an 'act of truth'; see JSS 60/1, p. 61 note 33.
Inscription No. 6, containing the Mahāsāmi Saṅgharāja's verses referred to at the close of No. 4, is engraved on a stone pillar shaped much like those of 4 and 5 except that it is not quite square. It is 27 cm. by 33 cm. in cross-section, the surfaces prepared for engraving are 78 cm. in height, and the total height of the stone is 1.30 m. Faces I and III, which are in good condition, each have 24 lines of Pali, in Cambodian characters; Face I is in verse, Face III in prose. Face II is almost wholly illegible, and Face IV completely obliterated.

Upon its arrival in Bangkok in 1909, the stone was deposited in the Vajrānātha Library. It is now in the Vajrānātha Hall of the old National Library building.

The inscription was first published by Coedès, who gave a Romanized transcription and French translation of it in 1917 (BEFEO XVII/2, p. 39 f.). These reappeared, with a few amendments, in 1924 (Recueil, p. 111 f.). The Siamese section of the same work gives the Pali text in Siamese characters, together with a Siamese translation of Face I and paraphrase of Face II; both are reprinted in Prajum Śilācarīk, B.E. 2500.

The writing, says Coedès (BEFEO XVII/2, p. 29), is almost the same as that of the Pali inscriptions on the double Footprint of the Buddha at Vat Pavaranivesa from Sukhodaya [No. XII]. 'It hardly differs,' he adds, 'from the “Khôm” script in use today for Pali manuscripts in Siam and Cambodia. As both the name and the characteristics of the Khôm script prove it to be of Cambodian origin, it is interesting from the paleographic point of view to find, at the same date, . . . a Khmer inscription [No. 4] written in characters which are still closely related to the ancient epigraphic characters, and a Pali inscription [No. 6] written in fully developed Khôm characters.'

The formal object of the inscription, as we have seen, is to commemorate Mahādharmarāja's ordination as a sāmaṇera on September 22, 1361 (Julian), and his ordination as a bhikkhu the next day. Unlike those composed by the King himself, it gives us very little real information about him: it is a purely conventional panegyric composed in high-flown terms.

We wish to express our gratitude to Mr Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, of the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique at Paris, who has proposed certain interpretations that appear to be more satisfactory than Coedès's, and given us much help in analyzing the text.
Text

Face I

[1] / parambana(to) vassasatunadvahassato
uddham[2] pañca u(sabha) ............... 
... ttika [3] māsassa kāḷapakkhasa aṭṭham(e)
buddhavāre (su)nakkhattamu[4]juttakaraṇāditke) 
... tatarād iva dāne vessanta[5]ro yathā 
... āva paññāya sile silavarād i[6]va
pasaṁsitabbo viṁśihi dakkho byākaraṇādike
ti[7]pītakasabhavaṁṇī rājī lideyyanāmako
sāsanassa [8] hitam sabbalokassa ca hitaṁ caram
raje ṭhito pi rā[9]jattanibbindanto gunākaro

nikkhammaninno janako va [10] rājā 
rājāhi macehi ca nāgarehi
mittehi nātīhi nivārito pi II
sa[12]mbodhisattvī jānīci cinṇam
sādā sadacāram apekkhā[13]māno
kāsavavattham rudatam va tesaṁ
acchādayi chaḍiya[14] rājabhāraṁ

tam khaṇaṁ eva saṁkappi dhāretaṁ dharaṇī ta[15]dā 
asaṁkantika tass'eva gunabhāraṁ samantato
[16] pāṭihāriyam anāṁhi ca āsi 'nekaudhāna tadā
esa [17] dhammaniyāmo hi bodhisattvāna kammanī
pabbajitvā[18]na so rājā oruyha sakamandirā
saṭṭhivasso mahāthē[19]ro yathā santindriyo tathā
yugamatāṁ va pekkhanto[20] 'nekapuj̄hi pujito
rudammukhaṁvāhehi vara[21]m ambavanan gato
nānādijanāṇākiṁge ramme nanda[22]nasannibho
muttaraṁjatanāṁvabulakārāsāsa[24]nthate
pavitte ti vivittaṭṭhījanānaṁ āsayaṁrahe
[24] upasampajjī so tattha vasā ambavane vare
laddha
Face II

[illegible, except for the name ‘Lideyya’ at line 12, and a few letters which yield no connected sense]

Face III

Translation

[1/1-9, in vatta metre:] In the year of the ox, nineteen hundred and five years after the Parinibbana .................. on Wednesday the eighth day of the dark half of the month of ........ , at an auspicious time4, King Lideyya2 .......... . (who is) like Vessantara in liberality, like .... in wisdom, and like King Silava in morality4, who deserves the praise of the learned, who is skilled in (sciences) such as grammar5 and deeply versed in the Tipitaka, (and who is) a mine of virtues6 — seeking to benefit the Doctrine and the whole universe, abdicated the kingship in which he was firmly established7.

[1/9-11, in indavajiré metre:] Being bent upon renouncing the world like Janaka8, though urged to refrain by his vassals9, his councilors, his subjects, his ladies as beautiful as celestial beingslo, his friends and

1) More literally, 'at the favorable nakkhatta, mubutta, karana, etc.'. The nakkhat-ta (Skt. nakattra) is a conjunction of the moon with different constellations, and hence a lunar mansion or the constellations of the lunar zodiac; the mubutta (muburta) is the 'moment' or 'hour', one-thirtieth of a day; karana is half a lun­nar day.
2) raja lideyyanam ak(o (1/7) , 'the king named Lideyya', i.e. Mahádharmarajá. This being the subject of the sentence, we have transferred its position for the sake of clarity.
3) råd (l/4, l/6) is for råd, a sandhi form of rå. The latter is an old nominative singular of raja used at the end of a compound.
4) Vessantara, the paragon of liberality, was the penultimate incarnation of Gotama and hero of the Vessantarajáta (No. 547 of the Játa collection); King Silava was an earlier incarnation of Gotama and hero of the MaháSilavajáta (No. 51 of the Játa collection).
5) vyikara, either 'grammar' or 'prediction.'
6) guññakaro (I/9), in apposition to the subject of the sentence.
7) More literally 'even while established in the kingship, turned away from the kingship.'
8) We take nikkhama as a compound (ninna, 'bent upon'; nikkhama, ger. of nikkhamat, 'renounce the world'). Janaka was another of Gotama's previous incarnations; see Mahájanakaáta (No. 539).
9) rañjhā (l/10), 'by the rulers', doubtless refers to Mahádharmarajá's vassals. The term nivârî, which we have translated as 'urged to refrain', is literally 'ob­structed', 'hindered'.
10) devángamabhãhi sundarîhi (l/10-11), instrumental feminine plurals of devânga-nâbha, 'having the splendor (abhã) of the celestial women', and sundara, 'beautiful' (here used as a substantive).
his relatives, the King — [I/11-14, in upajitī metre:] having constantly in view the habitual behavior of the Bodhisattas\(^{11}\) — laid down the burden of kingship and put on the yellow robe while everyone wept\(^{12}\).

[I/14-24, vatta metre:] At that moment the earth quaked\(^{13}\), unable to bear at all places the weight of his virtues\(^{14}\). Then there were all sorts of other miracles: such is the usual course of things in the career of Bodhisattas. After receiving his ordination as a novice, the King went down from his palace as tranquil in mind as a mahāthera of sixty seasons. Looking ahead of him no more than the distance of a yuga\(^{15}\), venerated with innumerable honors by the throng of weeping people, he proceeded to the excellent Mango Grove. In that charming place filled with all sorts of birds like Indra's garden\(^{16}\), strewn with sand the color of pearls and silver, in that excellent Mango Grove, (which) because of its purity\(^{17}\)

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11) In a Pali context, the Bodhisattas are either the previous incarnations of Gotama (such as Vessantara, Silava, Janaka, already referred to) or, in a more general way, anyone who takes the 'great resolve' to become a Buddha in some future life. Though Bodhisattva is the Pali form of Skt. Bodhisattva, there is no reason to believe that the reference is to one of the great mythical Bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna, such as Avalokiteśvara, who have attained Enlightenment but renounced entering Parinirvāṇa in order to keep on being reborn until they have succeeded in leading all sentient beings to Buddhahood.

12) Their grief, like their efforts to dissuade the king from entering the monkhood, is of course not to be interpreted as anti-religious. It was a formality to express their feeling of helplessness when such a good king abdicated, even though they must have been pretty certain that he would return to the throne a few months later.

13) saṃkappī, for saṃkampi.

14) The earth quaked, etc., in order to acknowledge his taking the 'great resolve' to become a Buddha in some future existence; see Inscr. 4.

15) A distance equivalent to the length of a yoke or plough, a little less than 2 m. This is the distance beyond which a monk is not supposed to look when walking: i.e. sufficient to find his way, but not far enough to distract his mind.

16) nandanāsannībhī (I/21-22), 'like the Nandana'. The Nandanāvana is the god Indra's principal park in the Tāvatīṃśa heaven.

17) pavītta ti (I/23); pavītta is not found in the Pāli Text Society Dictionary or in Buddhadatta's Concise Pāli-English Dictionary, but cf. Skt. pavitra, 'pure' (adj.) or 'a means of purification' (nt.).
is worthy to be the abode of solitary mendicants\textsuperscript{18}, he received his ordination as a monk\textsuperscript{19}. Having received it, [Face II] \ldots [Illegible].

\textit{[II/1-24, in prose:]} like \ldots deserving to be praised, in the sky \ldots\textsuperscript{20} \ldots like a corpse with the throat cut, like \ldots in four ways. Rejoicing\textsuperscript{21} in a heart without desire \ldots like a man who perfects himself in the attainment of the path\textsuperscript{22}, like Indra\textsuperscript{23} \ldots in his faith \ldots striving for good, skillful in what he has undertaken \ldots known\textsuperscript{24} as Pallavarāja because he is a scion (pallava) of the entire multitude of trees (to which) good men (are comparable), he is a receptacle of notable virtues, endowed with a retentive, swift, deep, sharp and happy intellect\textsuperscript{25} \ldots of the ten Bodhisattas such as Ariyametteyya who have attained the perfections\textsuperscript{27}. Even while drinking\textsuperscript{26} the essence

\textsuperscript{18} vivittatthi/jāṇānāṃ (I/23), gen. pl. of vivittatthi/jāna: vivitta, ‘solitary’; atthithi/Skt. arthin, ‘mendicant’; jana, ‘people’ (here used in a collective sense).

\textsuperscript{19} upasampajjī, aorist of upasampajjati, to become fully ordained; Buddhavadatta Mahathera, \textit{Concise Pali-English Dictionary}, Colombo, 1949, p. 58.

\textsuperscript{20} The sense of the word pīṇā (III/1) in this context escapes us. It usually means a lump, especially a lump of almsfood; it can also mean a conglomeration, compressed form, or a heap.

\textsuperscript{21} Whereas the preceding passage is too fragmentary to tell what it is about, the text from here on is obviously about King Lideyya. For the sake of clarity we have therefore begun a new sentence at this point.

\textsuperscript{22} sc. the path to Nibbāna.

\textsuperscript{23} piśas asana (III/6), an epithet of the god Indra (see Malalasekera, \textit{Dictionary of Pali Proper Names}, II, 176).

\textsuperscript{24} pasissado (III/9); cf. Skt. prasiddha, ‘accomplished’, ‘celebrated’.


\textsuperscript{26} We can make nothing of -nāgadho (III 12-13).

\textsuperscript{27} This passage would certainly read better if we could make ‘ten’ modify ‘perfections’ rather than ‘Bodhisattas’, for the ‘ten perfections leading to Buddhahood’ are a well-known list (see Nyanatiloka, \textit{Buddhist Dictionary}, Colombo, 1950, p. 110 s.v. pāramīs). As that seems grammatically impossible, we are left wondering who the ‘ten Bodhisattas’ are. In a Pali context we should expect them to be the ten previous incarnations of Gotama who are the subject of the last ten Jātakas; but Ariyametteyya was not one of them. He is the Buddha still to come, the last of the five to appear in the present kappa. Alternatively we might suppose that ‘ten’ is loosely used here for ‘a great number’.

\textsuperscript{28} paribhūjijanto pi (III 17).
of beginning the ascent to Nibbāna\textsuperscript{29} — an essence like divine ambrosia\textsuperscript{30}, worthy to be drunk by the innumerable throng of all the Buddhānubuddhas, the Paccekabuddhas and Sāvakabuddhas\textsuperscript{31}, and which is the supreme happiness of monks\textsuperscript{32} — King Lidyya Dhammarāja\textsuperscript{33} is as if burned by the mountain of flame of his sorrow at hearing the entreaties of all virtuous people . . . . who suffer from the decline of the excellent Doctrine (preached by) the Buddha whose lotus-like feet are worshiped daily by Devas, men, Brahmās, Dānavas, Gardūda and Vāsuki, and who

\textsuperscript{29}) amatāsvāyana-rasā (III 17). Mr Bhattacharya analyzes this term as amatā-śāyana-rasa. The word amatā, 'deathlessness' or 'ambrosia' can also mean Nibbāna (Pali Text Society Dictionary, p. 73, s.v. amatā); śāyana, 'aspiration', 'longing'; ayana, 'entering', 'road'; rasa, 'savor', 'essence', 'juice'. Coedes translates: 'le sue ayant le gout de l'ambroisie' (as if amatā-śāyana-rasā).\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{30}) sudhārasam śiva sudhāsinam (III 13-14): sudhārasa, 'essence of ambrosia'; śiva, 'like'; sudhāsin, 'of the gods' (sudhāsin, sudhāśin=Skt. sudhāśin, 'drinker of ambrosia', hence a god).\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{31}) aparimapaśupatavirahitaśakala-buddhānubuddhapaścekabuddhāsāvakabuddhānām paribhogāraham (III/14-16): aparimā-gaṇa-patha-virahita is a poetic expression meaning 'countless', literally 'unmeasured (aparimā, a peculiar form for aparimita) and exempt (virahita) from the path (patha) of counting (gaṇa); sakala, 'all'; buddhānubuddha in the present context means a Sambuddha or Fully-Enlightened One, i.e. one who in previous incarnations received the Doctrine from the Buddhas of the Past, and who possesses the faculty of preaching it (see Pali Text Society's Dictionary, s.v. anubuddha, p. 40, definition 1 under the sub-heading buddhānubuddha); paścekabuddha, an 'individual or silent Buddha', one who has attained Enlightenment without ever having heard the Buddhist Doctrine from anyone else, and who does not possess the faculty of preaching it; sāvakabuddha, a disciple who has attained Enlightenment as an Arahant (saint); -śāk, the suffix of the genitive plural, applying to the whole compound; paribhogāraham, 'worthy of being enjoyed'.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{32}) atisayayatisukbam (III/16-17): atisaya 'excellence', 'abundance'; yati, 'monk'; sukha, 'happiness'.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{33}) lidyyanāmako dhammarāja (III/13), 'the righteous king named Lidyya'. For the sake of clarity we have transferred the position of this expression, which is the subject of the sentence.
beg for a complete exposition (of the Doctrine). (He is as) sad as a cakravartin who has lost the jewel that is his cakra.

34) In the analysis of these interminable compounds Mr Bhattacharya has again come to our rescue:

suranaradanatana yamamalajaga ruddhabhujagapatipatidinamahitacaranaravindayugadhamunivara (III/17-19): sura, an epithet of the deva-gods; nara, 'human being'; danutanaya, 'offspring of Danu', i.e. the Dānavas (giants who made war against the gods); kamalaja, 'lotus-born', i.e. the Brahmās; garuddha, i.e. Garuḍa, the lord of birds; bhujagapati, 'the lord of serpents', i.e. Vāsuki or Śeṣa; mahita, 'worshiped' (past passive participle of mahati, 'worships'); carana, 'foot'; aravinda, 'lotus'; yuga, 'pair'; munivara, 'the best of ascetics', i.e. the Buddha.

varasasanahānisahitākhilasujana (III/20-21): varasana, 'excellent Doctrine'; hāni, 'decadence'; sahita, 'accompanied by', i.e. suffering from; akhila-sujana, 'open-hearted good people'.

samparidīpanāyācanavacanasavanena (III 21): samparidīpaṇā, 'complete exposition', 'illustration' (samparidīpayati is found in Buddhist Sanskrit); yācana, 'begging', 'entreaty'; vacana, 'utterance', 'word'; savanena, 'because of hearing'.

girisikharasadisasokaggijālīparidayhamāno (III 22-23): girisikhara, 'mountain-top'; sadisa, 'similar to'; soka, 'sorrow'; aggi, 'flame'; jālī, 'fire'; paridayhamāno, for paridayhati, 'to be burned'.

35) The cakra (Pali cakka), 'wheel' or 'discus', is the chief of the seven 'jewels' in which the power of the cakravartin (Pali cakkavattirāja) or universal monarch resides.
Inscription 7 is engraved on a slab of schist 28 cm. wide, 12 1/2 cm. thick and 1.07 m. tall (plus a rough-cut tenon, 25 cm.). The stone, shipped to Bangkok in 1915, was installed in the Vajirañāṇa Library and is now in the Vajirañāṇa Hall of the old National Library building.

The first publication of the inscription was in 1924, when it was edited by Coedès in a Romanized transcription, accompanied by a French translation (Recueil, 117 f.). It was first published in Siamese in the Siamese section of the same work (p. 123 f.); and reprinted in Prajum Silacarik, B.E. 2500, together with a version in modern Siamese spelling.

The writing is completely ruined on the two main faces, but is in fairly good condition on the two narrow ones. We have followed Coedès's numbering: obverse, Face I; first narrow face, II; reverse, III; second narrow face, IV. The text almost certainly began on Face I and ended on Face IV.

The script is the same as in Nos. 3 and 5. The orthography too is much the same. The mai-hān-ākāsa appears three times: at II/7, and at II/14 and II/16, though the latter word is more often written ma; the reduplication of the final consonant is frequent throughout. Except for one doubtful case (at IV/24), the vowels * and * do not occur; the word ma is written m at IV/45; * is often found where we should expect ma. The mai-e shows three times; m at IV/32 and IV/39; mah at IV/1. The accent * does not occur at all.

Though there is no record of the place where the inscription was discovered, the expression meha at II/35-36, 'this Mango Grove', shows where it originally stood. At II/1-19 there is a fairly detailed account of some building operations at the Mango Grove Monastery. These were evidently part of the same program, more briefly referred to in Inscrips. 4 and 5, which was undertaken by Mahādharmarāja in preparation for the Mahāsāmi Saṅgharāja's arrival in 1361. At II/31-36 there is a reference to Mahādharmarāja's ordination as a monk at the Mango Grove, which doubtless took place on Thursday September 23, 1361 (Julian), the day after his ordination as a saṃghera at the Royal Palace. As we know
from IV/10, the text was composed in the same year. Because of the lacunae it is not clear whether its formal purpose was to commemorate the King's ordination or the dedication of the buildings.

Face IV opens with what appears to be a general admonition against evil-doing, though it might possibly be something more specific, such as a curse on anyone in the future who fails to respect the author's foundations in the Mango Grove.

The passage beginning at IV/9 is a prophecy regarding the Kaliyuga, the age of vice in which we are living. As we have seen (p. 83 f.) it began in 'minus 3101 A.D.' (3102 B.C.) and will last 432,000 years, during which there will be a progressive deterioration in the physical and moral stature of mankind, and the human life-span will gradually decline from 100 years to 10. Finally in the year 432,000 of the Kaliyuga, i.e. 428,899 A.D., the world will be destroyed by fire.

At IV/12 the author refers to a disaster that will occur 427,539 years from the time of writing. Obviously, as 4461 years had elapsed between the beginning of the Kaliyuga and the time of writing, and as 4461+427,539 = 432,000, he is talking about the fire that will destroy the world at the end of the Kaliyuga. This reference should be compared with the discussion of the Kaliyuga in Inscr. 3 (I/19 ff.; see Section 2, note 31).
Text

(ตัวหนัง ๑ ชั่วโมง)

(๑) แนวนี้ ไม่เกลื่อนหู
(๒) มหาไพร์ชิสตา
(๓) ภูฏพิทักษ์เหลา
(๔) ทรงเมียวพระวัช
(๕) พันพายกุศินนา
(๖) วัศวรแสงยิ้ม
(๗) ยิ้มเมินชนะ
(๘) บริพารแสง
(๙) ทรงพระอารย
(๑๐) กษัมภารทุกษา
(๑๑) คินพระปธนเจา
(๑๒) ยนตร์ลาภทอก
(๑๓) จากโล่งทองแตก
(๑๔) หางธนุมาสระ
(๑๕) ชัยดีถาวรท้าย
(๑๖) ชาร์ปทิศทางปั่น
(๑๗) (ก) มาตรลูปผิว
(๑๘) (ก) แต่งบานหนา
(๑๙) (พ) ยอนดูยมภู
(๒๐) (พ) จงอนคงปั่น
(101) ปริชญา
(102) คำว่ย
(103) สงเนวะ
(104) พราพบุญ
(105) (ก) ตรายณิกใจ
(106) (บ) วาณเดน
(107) ผงมหารช
(108) (ข) นวลภราภิ
(109) (ค) น
(110) ผานนน
(111) นทนินพธรา
(112) ตรีสุชาติ
(113) จารมภราทิยา
(114) ชยอนหนแสง
(115) แผนดินป่า (ข) ว
(116) ผนิไทย
(117) ผานสาสน
(118) ทางแซน
(119) เลิก
(120) ผนงจาย
(121) ปลาย
(122) 
(123) ผนไหวง
(124) ทางเทยยเห็น

(ค้ำหนังที 3 ข่ารู่จุ)
(๑) ยนเท่าน จ. ป.
(๒) ถอนเวาระโน (ณ)
(๓) (ว) วันไหน ซ (วันที่)
(๔) ฝังเข้า้ก็ไป
(๕) ในกระนั้นพัก
(๖) กลอนแหกิ่ม
(๗) อีกเวลาไชย (มะ)
(๘) ตกเติมเก...
(๙) อนราละเอ (ก)
(๑๐) กทิราลีดูหน
(๑๑) ไฟปั้มธงสลา
(๑๒) ฝิ่น 오히려 (ศ)
(๑๓) แขนภูมิข์กัน
(๑๔) เจตทุนทะร (ย)
(๑๕) สำนักเก็บปืน
(๑๖) โบสถ์บันทันไช
(๑๗) กดเมาจก
(๑๘) อวิคตกษณภิ "เมื่
(๑๙) อนนำแสดง
(๒๐) ทิพย์ชก ....

* ที่เกิ้ก อดีตชตานุลฯ คือ พระเจ้าชิตานุล"
(๑๑) หนังสือ....
(๑๒) ..... (กา)
(๑๓) งนกวางจัก
(๑๔) ... ก....
(๑๕) _FN.
(๑๖) ยอนหนัก
(๑๗) แสบบาง
(๑๘) คารวิน
(๑๙) (เก) หนังกห
(๒๐) นาญยสมาน
(๒๑) ใส....
(๒๒) ยูมกอยะ.สิ
(๒๓) ภัปแสนาย
(๒๔) หาง....
(๒๕) แทกโครง
(๒๖) เที่ยพรหมนา
(๒๗) ธรรมวิชธรา
(๒๘) หนานตรวจสอบ
(๒๙) พรพุทธก
(๓๐) รูปปะรธ
(๓๑) .........
(๓๒) แกว.... ก...
(蜩) ...นิ แท...
(蜩) นิ ใส... 
(蜩) พรหมภูริพ
(蜩) คามเหลว.
(蜩) เทนทวง.
(蜩) โล..มาก...
(蜩) นิ ทองหลาง.
(蜩) ยูนโมทาน...
(蜩 ถึง 蜩) (ข้ารุข)
Translation

[Face I: completely ruined] . . . .

[I/1-19.] this . . . In the Mango Grove, he caused kuñjis to be built, and a vihāra [with scenes] depicting the Lord entering nirvāṇa near Kusināragarā, depicting the throng of saints seated in attendance, depicting Brahmārya Kassapa as well, coming to worship the Lord’s foot-soles which emerged from the golden coffin, and depicting also four Malia princes coming to do homage. He also founded a statue (of the Buddha) and an uposatha hall with boundary stones.

[I/19-44.] The whole assembly of monks who are steadfast . . . . wisdom . . . who have . . . (and) the Saṅgharāja, [well versed in] the Three Piṭakas, who was . . . ordained in . . . the assembly of Ceylon monks . . . . there to that place where Brahmārya Kassapa was ordained, and the earth of this Mango Grove quaked. . . . The monks, both those who . . . uplift . . . . the

1) utthāna (II/3-4), 'recounting'; sc. the King had the interior walls of the vihāra painted with scenes of the Buddha’s death in the grove of sīla trees near Kusināragarā, and the incidents that followed; see Dighanikāya, ii, 156-164; Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, London, 1910, pp. 173-185.

2) viz (II 5), for vihāra, 'close upon' (cf. Tai Yuan, vihāra, ‘in the direction of’.

3) khipāsava (III 7), for Skt. khipāśava, Pali khipāsava, an epithet of the arahants.

4) sīla (II 12). Cf. sīla, utthāna, to force a passage through something.

5) Mahākassapa, who was not present at the Buddha’s death, came soon afterward to do homage to his remains and to light the funeral pyre. After circumambulating the pyre three times, he stopped at the foot of the coffin and made a wish that he might once more see the Buddha’s feet; whereupon, though they were wrapped in many folds of cloth, they miraculously emerged for him to worship. See Spence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, London, 1853, p. 348; Malalasekera, Dictionary of Buddhist Proper Names, London, 1960, Vol. II, p. 479; cf. Dīghanikāya, ii, 163, and Rhys Davids, op. cit., p. 185.

6) The Malia princes who ruled Kusināragarā came to do homage to the Buddha’s remains the day after his death, and prepared the cremation (Dīghanikāya, ii, 159 ff.; Rhys Davids, op. cit., p. 180 ff.).

7) sāma (II 17), 'a place (sāma) for uposatha ceremonies.'

8) The sīlā boundary stones which always surround an uposatha hall.

9) Such appears to be the meaning of utthāna (II 19-20). The expression utthāna can mean ‘great’, ‘very’ or ‘all’, modifying the term that follows (see Coedes, JSS XVII 2, p. 117), or else ‘constantly’, ‘regularly’, ‘normally’, ‘of course’, etc. (cf. Griswold and Prasert, JSS 59/2, p. 211 note 72).
end, ... the end ... . led them, in order that the whole assembly of ... might see [III/1 ff.] ... .

[Face III: completely ruined] ....

[IV/1-9.] [Evil-doers], who are ... . blamed in this life for their wickedness, will go to at least one of the hells in future lives, and henceforth will constantly meet with ... misfortune.

[IV/9-40.] From this year of the ox, 'rvāṇa plau' in the Dai reckoning, counting forward four hundred twenty-seven thousand five hundred thirty-nine years to the year of the hare, 'katt mau' in the Dai reckoning: at that time signs of approaching disaster will be perceived12. Fathers and children, brothers and sisters13 ... just as ... everyone will ... independently ... this. (People's) height will be only one cubit when they are standing up14; if they are very old they will naturally (have to) crawl about on all fours15; and their life-span will naturally [diminish] little by little [until finally they will live only] ten years and then die ... [Statements] like this can be accepted as true because Braṇā Mahādharmārājādhirāja really has a thorough knowledge of the Lord Buddha's Dharma and a thorough knowledge of science16 ...

[IV/40-51.] ... if ... this is true ... then ... the king named ... much ... all of them, rejoicing together.

10) Perhaps this passage meant that the King's ordination at the Mango Grove was witnessed by monks of both the Town-Dwelling and Forest-Dwelling orders.

11) rvāṇa at IV/1 means people in general. We have substituted the passive voice in translating.

12) amritasaṇā (IV 18), for Skt. arisṭasaṇā. Pali aritthaśānā, 'perception (saññā, saññā) of signs of approaching disaster' (Skt. arisṭa, 'boding misfortune', e.g. like birds of ill-omen).

13) ṛṣi (IV 20), 'elder and younger brothers (and sisters)'.

14) We take ṛṣu IV 28 to be the word for 'standing up' (ṛṣu) rather than the word for 'hearing' (ṛṣu).

15) A recent re-examination of the stone showed that the correct reading of the word after ṛṣu (IV 30) is ṛṣu, 'to creep on all fours' (the old reading, ṛṣu, offered no intelligible meaning).

16) Ṛṣi (IV 40), for Skt. praṇā. In the fragmentary passage from here to the end of Face IV, we have omitted several of the words which can be read but which give no connected sense.

17) The name appears to be maṇḍucā (IV 45-46), Nabatala, but the reading is doubtful and no such name is known to us.
Abbreviations and Bibliography


AA/RA. Annals of Ayudhya, Royal Autograph Recension, Bangkok (Odeon), B.E. 2508


J/C. The portion of J dealing with Southeast Asia: Pali text and French translation in Coedès, Documents sur l’histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental, BEFEO XXV/1.


JSS. Journal of the Siam Society, Bangkok.


Prajam, I., ประเทศไทยในสมัยสมเด็จพระปิยมหาราช, Bangkok, B.E. 2467; second edition, B.E. 2500.

Prajam Bañśāvatāra, ประเทศไทยในสมัยสมเด็จพระปิยมหาราช, Bangkok.

Recueil. See Coedès, Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam.

Rōaṅ Mīśaṅ Sukhodāi, ประเทศไทยในสมัยสมเด็จพระปิยมหาราช, Bangkok, 1908; reprinted in ประเทศไทยในสมัยสมเด็จพระปิยมหาราช.

S. Sīhiṅganiṇā. For the Pali text and French translation of the portions of this work dealing with Sukhodaya, see Coedès in BEFEO XVII/2.

Social Science Review. สังคมศาสตร์การค้า, Bangkok.

Tebhūmikathā, Traibhūmikathā, Traibhūmi Brahmaṇā. ประเทศไทยในสมัยสมเด็จพระปิยมหาราช, etc., ประเทศไทยในสมัยสมเด็จพระปิยมหาราช, Bangkok, no date.

YP. Yuan Pāi, ประเทศไทยในสมัยสมเด็จพระปิยมหาราช, Bangkok, B.E. 2509.
ERRATA

P. 71, note 1. The last word of line 6 should read: mahādharma-
marajādhirāja.

P. 72, line 12. For Līdaiya read: Līdaiya.

P. 77, last line of text. For Inscrs., read: Inscrs.

P. 95, note 20, line 2. For Līdaiyaraja, read: Līdaiyarāja.

P. 96, line 9. For Mahādharma, read: Mahādharma.

P. 107, note 60, line 1. For kālāgni, read: kālāgni.

P. 107, line 3. For Chhānā, read: Chhānā.

P. 107, note 113, line 6. For Pan, read Pan.

P. 110, line 3. For [he does not, read: [he does not],

P. 112, line 8. For text, read: text.

P. 115, line 25. For doners, read: donors.


P. 125, line 7. For Rāmarāja, read: Rāmarāja.

P. 133, 9th line from bottom. For vāñ(26)y, read: vāñ(26)y.

P. 135, line 5. Insert the punctuation mark @ after ley.

P. 135, line 6. For śilacarika, read: śilacarika.

P. 136, note 17, next to last line. For Mōan, read: Mōan.

P. 155, note 22, line 1. For ṭs, read ṭs.

P. 156, note 27. For stupacetiya, read: stupacetiya.

P. 160, 8th line from the bottom. For Unlike, read: Unlike.

P. 180, last paragraph, line 2. For neme, read: name.

P. 180, last paragraph, line 7. For pronunciation, read:
pronunciation.
ADDENDUM TO EPIGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL STUDIES NO. 10

by A.B. Griswold and Prasert Na Nagar

We have received a letter, dated March 14, 1972, from Dr S. Paranavitana, the former Commissioner of Archaeology of Ceylon, who is an authority on the epigraphy and history of the island. His letter, for which we wish to express our appreciation, throws new light on the postscript to Inscription 2. The festival described in this postscript, or at least in the first part of it, occurs at a place whose name appears to be ‘Kāmpalai’; but we were uncertain whether or not the name was correctly read, and we were unable to identify any such place; see JSS 60/1, p. 105 f. and p. 133 f.

We learn from Dr Paranavitana’s letter that the reading is acceptable and the name corresponds to Ganipala, the town that became the seat of Sinhalese royalty in 1341. Dr Paranavitana has also been able to identify the monastery of Forest-Dwellers mentioned at II/82.

It is now evident that the Tooth Relic in whose honor the festival was held was Ceylon’s most famous relic, which is still revered in the Temple of the Tooth at Kandy. According to our proposed chronology, Śrīsraddhā lived in Ceylon from about 1333 to about 1343 (see JSS 60/1, p. 24). If he visited Ganipala in 1341, which is quite possible, the festival may have been that in which the Tooth Relic was being enshrined at the new location after being translated from the former capital. If he visited it a year or two later, which would be equally possible, the festival would be, as Dr Paranavitana suggests, on the occasion of a public exposition of the relic. Not unexpectedly, the Givadhātu and another relic fly in from elsewhere to participate in the miracles performed by the Tooth Relic. The account of the festival and the miracles that follow ends at II/87.

It seems likely that the events recounted at I/96-107 and II/88-95 also occur in Ceylon. If so, ‘Mount S…….’ would very likely be ‘Sumanakīṭa’, i.e. Adam’s Peak; the Footprint would be the one on its summit; and the suggestion made at Note 194 would not be valid. The passage is too fragmentary to give us any clear idea of what is going on there or at Anurādhapura.
We are inclined to think that the purpose of the postscript is to repair an omission at the middle of II/45. At least that seems to be the most logical place for it to be inserted; but in view of the author’s eccentricities it is no more than a guess.

The pertinent portions of Dr Paranavitana’s letter follow:

Dear Mr Griswold:

I am very grateful to you for the offprints of ‘Epigraphic and Historical Studies’, contributed to the Journal of the Siam Society by you in collaboration with Professor Prasert ṇa Nagara. ... The paper on the inscription containing an account of the life and activities of Śrīśraddhārājacakālamunī is of particular interest to students of Ceylon history, and it is gratifying to know that no pains have been spared by yourself and your colleague to extract from this fragmentary and most difficult document all the information that it can yield. Your edition is a great improvement on the previous one, and you have correctly interpreted its historical significance.

I have not yet had the time to study this document in detail, but on a cursory reading of it I came across the name Kāmbhalat as that of a place visited by the royal monk from Thailand (see page 133.) This place can be easily recognised as Gañpala, which became the seat of Sinhalese royalty with the accession of Bhuvanaikabahu in 1341. The form that the name has assumed in the Siamese document is very close to its pronunciation when written in Tamil characters. Perhaps the same changes are to be noticed in Siamese phonology too when writing Sinhalese words. Gañpala is still a place of considerable importance, and is twelve miles to the south of Kandy. In going to Mahiyangana from Colombo, one has to pass through Gañpala. Being the royal seat at the time of the Siamese monk’s stay in Ceylon, the Tooth Relic must have been kept in the royal palace there or in the immediate vicinity. The festival witnessed by the royal Siamese monk was probably on the occasion of the public exposition of the Relic. The monastery of Forest-dwellers outside Gañpala was named Malatimālasālī, where the Saṅgharāja Dharmmakīrti resided before the building of the Gadalādenī vihāra. That the name can be satisfactorily identified as it has been read, is an indication that the reading is acceptable.

Yours very sincerely,

S. Paranavitana
CORRIGENDA TO EPIGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL STUDIES
NO. 10, JSS 60/1

Page 82, line 13. For 'No. 11', read 'No. 2'.

Page 135, paragraph 3. For 'Mahādharmarāja III', read 'Mahādharmarāja IV'. (The dates in parentheses are correct.)