Introduction

The old city of Haripuñjaya, now known as Lampûn, was the capital of the Môn kingdom of Haripuñjaya from the 8th century until 1292. In that year it was conquered by the Tai under Mang Rai, the founder of the kingdom of Lân Nâ. Though he established his capital at Chieng Mai in 1296, Haripuñjaya remained the cultural capital of Lân Nâ for at least 75 years longer.

Wat Pra Yûn, the 'Monastery of the Standing Buddhas,' is located about a kilometre east of Lampûn. On the basis of some scattered hints in the Lampûn Chronicle and Mûlasaññâ, Griswold has pieced together the early history of the site. Before 1250 there was a forest monastery there, in which one of the Môn kings of Haripuñjaya erected a colossal statue of the standing Buddha; but the monastery was later abandoned, perhaps during the hard times just before or after the Tai conquest; and by the 1360's there was little or nothing left of it except the colossal statue.

In 1369 Mang Rai's great-great-great-grandson Kilanâ (Gû Nâ), who reigned over Lân Nâ from 1355 to 1385, decided to rebuild the monastery for the Mahâthéra Sumana, the celebrated monk from Su-khodaya whom he had persuaded to settle in the northern kingdom in order to establish a community of Forest-dwelling Sihalabhikkhus there. Sumana arrived at Haripuñjaya in December 1369 (see below, p. 133, n. 26).

The inscription of Wat Pra Yûn commemorates Kilanâ's building operations there, particularly the erection of a huge cetiya which he began on Friday, January 11, 1370 A.D. (Julian) at Sumana's instigation, and

2) For Sumana, see above, pp. 93 f., 97 f., 107 f.; and JSS 60/1, pp. 51-72.
completed on Thursday, May 9, 1370 (Julian). The ruins of the cetiya are now completely hidden by the temple built over them in the early years of the 20th century A.D.; Kilanā’s other buildings at the monastery disappeared long ago, and have been replaced by newer structures.

The inscription (Figs. 1, 2), which was presumably engraved soon after the cetiya was dedicated, is set up on a low pedestal near the present temple. It was first published in 1925, by the late Professor George Coedès, with a Romanized transcription and a French translation (BEFEO XXV, 195 ff.). The late Mahā Chām Doṅgāṃvarṇa published a transcription in Siamese letters, together with notes and a parallel version in modern Siamese spelling, in Śilpakara, I/1 (May, 1957); reprinted, with a few amendments, as No. 62 in Prajum Śilācārik, Vol. III (1965). The text we print below follows Mahā Chām’s reading in the main, but with some changes based on a more recent re-examination of the rubbings.

The slab of sandstone bearing the inscription is 95 cm. high and 55 cm. wide. Face I has a line of Pali and 40 lines of Siamese; Face II, not counting a few illegible letters at the top, has 41 lines of Siamese; both faces may originally have had a few more lines at the bottom. Except where the stone is broken, most of the writing is well-preserved and distinct. The language and script are the same as in the Sukhodayan inscriptions of the reign of Mahādharmarājā I. The nominal author is King Kilanā, who is introduced at I/2-3 as Cau Dāv Sōn Sēn Nā ann Dharmikarāja. It seems likely, however, that much of the text, if not all, was actually composed by Sumana. Coedès (BEFEO XXV, 195) notes the ‘effroyable incorrection’ of the Sanskrit and Pali terms scattered through the text, which may give a just measure of Sumana’s scholarship.

For the most part the spelling is like that of Inscriptions 2 and 3 (see JSS 60/1 pp. 83-107, and 61/1 pp. 79 ff.). The mai-hān-ākāsa ("\") is completely lacking, though it had been in fairly frequent use at Sukhodaya since 1361; perhaps Sumana, being an old man, refused to depart at all from the old method of expressing the sound of ā by

3) Figs. 1 and 2 were made before the bottom part of the stone was embedded in cement to fix it to the pedestal, which now hides some of the writing.
reduplicating the final consonant. Except for two very doubtful cases (at I/23, which may really be नं, and ऊ at I/26, which may really be ऊ ), the vowels and do not occur, their place being taken by and । The accent (for ) occurs in at I/36, though elsewhere the same word is written without it. As well as we can make out, the mai-ek ( ’ ) occurs seventeen times : न [ = फ्यो ], I/5; न, I/35, II/23; न [ = नं ], I/31, 32; II/16; न [ नं ], II/19; नं, II/9; ऊ [ = जि ], I/23; ऊं [ = ऊं ], I/15; ऊ [ = ऊं ], I/35; ऊंस [ ऊंस ], I/11; ऊंसा [ = ऊंसा ], I/8, 11; ऊं [ = ऊं ], I/26; ऊंसनं [ = ऊं सनं ], I/15; ऊंसेस [ = ऊं सेस ], I/15. In some cases it is a tone-marker, e.g. फ्यो, न; in others, e.g. ऊं, it appears to be a separation-marker, as it sometimes is in Sukhodayan and Ayudhyan inscriptions; ऊ [ ऊं ] is an alternative form for ऊं। Rather unexpectedly, ऊ stands for ऊं in ऊंसा, Pali अंबदनः; it stands for ऊ in ऊंसनं, Pali इरुपथा, and in ऊंसेस, Pali इंद्रिया; and it stands for ऊं in ऊं, Siamese �। There are several other oddities of spelling, e.g. गशेशा, krataṇāt (I/16) for Pali katasītā (cf. Skt. krtajña), পৃণর্বাশু, pūrnarrbasu (II/14) for Skt. punarvasu, and সিসিল্ডুরা, sīsīldhūrā (II/30), presumably for sīrindhūrā। In our translation we have regularized the spelling of most proper names, and of loanwords from Sanskrit or Pali. The style of composition is straightforward enough, but rather gushing; and the intensifier नंसा (नंसा) is used no less than ten times (I/6, 12, 14, 34; II/5, 23, 26, 28, 31, 36). This intensifier is common enough in the Sukhodayan inscriptions; but No. 2 is the only one we recall in which it is used with such exaggerated frequency. Sumana may have caught the habit from the author of No. 2. The chronicle Mūlasāsanā (M) gives a lot of information about Wat Pra Yün; and we have accounts, obtained in 1961, from three elderly monks who were well acquainted with the ruins of the old cetiya before they were covered over by the present temple. As this material, which is discussed by Griswold in a paper scheduled to appear later,4 will help us to understand the inscription, we shall summarize part of it here.

The colossal statue of the standing Buddha on the site, set up before the Tai conquest, faced eastward; it was made of laterite; and its height

4) See above, note 1. A brief discussion of the subject was given by Griswold at a meeting of the Northern Thai Society, Chieng Mai, on February 21, 1973.
was 18 cubits, say 8.50 m., which was the legendary height of the Buddha Gotama. Sumana, not long after his arrival, conceived a plan for restoring this statue and making it part of a grandiose architectural composition. At his suggestion the King quickly put the plan into effect. He built a huge square cetiya in the form of a maṇḍapa, with a high arched doorway at each face, placed in such a way that the statue would be visible from the outside through the eastern doorway. Then he made three new standing statues of the same height, placed so that one would be similarly visible through each of the other doorways, representing Gotama’s immediate predecessors, the Buddhas Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana and Kassapa. Finally, doubtless in the middle of the maṇḍapa in the space between the four statues, he built a tabernacle in the form of a prāsāda for the miraculous relic which Sumana had discovered long before.\footnote{See above, p. 93 f., and JSS 60/1, p. 60 ff.}
Text

FACE I

1. นิโอสสะทอโค
2. อนุสาวรีย์ศาสตร์การศึกษาการสอนงานอนุกรม
3. เหรียญปั้นผู้บุคคลที่ทรงพระยศเป็นที่นับถือ
4. คำขาดปั้นผู้ทรงพระยศเป็นชัยชนะ
5. มีusterity แบบฝึกหัดหน่วยพันศึกษา
6. ซัยรัศมีสังกัดบุคคลเศรษฐีระดับหน้าที่
7.  xuânมาหารัฐบาลเพื่อแก้ปัญหาต่างๆ
8. ระดับระดับขั้นตอนเจ้าหน้าที่
9. มหาบัณฑิตแพทย์ศาสตร์
10. มีให้ไทยคัดบันทึกลงเมื่อใดเมื่อเวลาอื่นใดให้บ้าน
11. วางสรรพยากรข้อยึดอยู่พระระวัณหยาเดนเจ้าแผ่นดิน
12. รวบรวมบันทึกลงเมื่อใดจึงข่าวจังหวัด
13. มาถวายสัตย์สุจริตที่ปูยามธงแห่งชาติ
14. ร้อยสิ่งที่ข้อมูลพระราชาดีเป็นงานนั้นยอด
15. ทุกอย่างวิสามัญถือข้อมูลที่ย่อมทรงสถานที่
16. ถูกกระทบจากปัญหาปริมาณเสี่ยงต่าง
17. รู้สึกในพระราชธรรมทวยต่าง
18. ข้าไม่ได้สมควรพิจารณาให้ไปในชั้นบ้าน
19. หนุนมักอยู่หน้าทางรวดเร็วต่อขอนแก่น
20. พิวรรธานมาเมื่อข้อมูลเพื่อนันท์ในบ้านเกิดอย่าง

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๑๒. วันสนวัจนานท่านปานเจรจาบางวันในถนนทานพพ
๑๓. ราชาระมิกราชบัณฑาบวรมหาภูราณโยธาทิณศรี
๑๔. กษาธิกรหุ่นเมาที่บังงานใหม่ให้ถั่วที่เบื้องท้อง
๑๕. กิ่วไทที่เนื้อท้องพันคอกธงยึดเป็นให้เป็นอุไรทาย
๑๖. ทายภูชล ćeลเฝะภูชลละมะพันทองคอกิโยะสังเสียลิส
๑๗. สะกออยท้องคนคนใหม่ที่สารที่ทางทองครรภ์
๑๘. อุไรแจ้งไปปรับพระมหากาเป็นเจ้าอยู่ชองเจนมาก
๑๙. ในพระพุทธาโยท่านลงทงคีสถานอาวาสน์แก่พระ
๒๐. มหาเถรบางเจนกันลังกิเป็นเกิ่งเกิ่งพระมหากาเป็น
๒๑. เจ้าสิ่งลงทงคานหลายจุุสปร้ริยะสอนคนดังกล่อก่อน
๒๒. ของเปาใหญ่ในวรรศึกใหม่พันกีติฝรั่งคนนั้นถึงในเมืองหรี
๒๓. ปลูกไถ่เกิดกิ่งช่มใส่สระพระมหากาเป็นเจ้าบางคนนเท
๒๔. ทวัสสัตว์ถึงกิ่งจุดดังหนักพระมหากาเป็นเจน
๒๕. ตนเองเจ็บป่วยเกิดเป็นภูธรณทกหน้าพระทิศ(กิ่งกัน)
๒๖. เจ้าภญบูญนี่ทานนี้ทานจริงร่างไปมาภักษา(ยา)
๒๗. สำนักพระพุทธบัญญัติยอยจน์สนิทอุปนายกปลำ(ย)
๒๘. ภูชนเจ้าประจำบกฉัตรราชเอาภูชนหรรษา(พิภุ)
๒๙. มหาเถรเป็นเจ้าฝรั่งโดยกิ่งกันปรูณายากก
๓๐. ช ชินกับบูริทังหลาย
๓๑. พระเป็น(เจร) พระเป็น(เจร)
๓๒. ..................................................
FACE II

1. ชัยชนะก้องโพเผาใด
2. ปีราชวันพิจารณการฉลองจักรพรรดิ
3. พระวิชานุสรณ์พระยาสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
4. ออกขุนพระยาคนได้ถึงพระวิมานฯ เฉลิมฉลองจักรพรรดิ
5. หนแนงเย็นลงแก่ศรีษะพระยาคนยันตาจักรพรรดิทรงมีราชการ
6. ถวายบุญพระยาสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
7. บุญบารมีของสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
8. บุญบารมีของสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
9. บุญบารมีของสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
10. บุญบารมีของสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
11. บุญบารมีของสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
12. บุญบารมีของสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
13. บุญบารมีของสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
14. บุญบารมีของสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
15. บุญบารมีของสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
16. บุญบารมีของสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
17. บุญบารมีของสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
18. บุญบารมีของสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
19. บุญบารมีของสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
20. บุญบารมีของสมัยกราชช่วงปีพ.ศ. 2487
[Translation]

[I/1], in Pali: ] Homage to the Blessed One!

[I/2,-7.] (This is) the stone inscription of the ruler Sōn Sēn Nā Dharmikarāja, who is the beloved son of Braññā Phā Yū, the grandson of Braññā Gām Fū, and great-grandson of Braññā Mān Rāy the Great. When the years and months of his father’s life came to an end, he himself inherited the kingdom. He possesses immense honors, merit, fortune, power and bravery. He is a great and righteous king.

[I/7-14.] Filled with zeal for the religion of the Three Gems, he sent an invitation to an exalted Mahāthera named Mahā Sumana Thera, who lived at Nagara Sukhodaya. At that time the Mahāthera did not come. Then, however, (the King) sent an invitation once again, praying and making offerings to the exalted Mahāthera, with

6) อนุสรณ์ (I/2), i.e. อนุสรณ์, is an old form for the opening of a speech or communication (see McFarland, p. 984). We have omitted it in translating, and supplied the words ‘This is’ instead.

7) As King Kilanā (Gū Nū) was Mang Rāi’s great-great-great grandson, the word 茄, ‘great-grandson’, is evidently loosely used here. In the Sukhodayan inscriptions, several relationship-terms, which now have a more precise meaning, are used loosely.

8) More literally, ‘this ruler, at the end of his father’s life-span (= jan-mūvidhi) in years and months like that, then attained to the enjoyment of royal power’ (I/4-6).

9) บุพคป (I/6).

10) สิทธิ (= Skt. śakti, Pali satti), ‘honors’; ปุญ (= P. pūnā), ‘merit’, i.e. a large store of merits earned in previous lives; ศีล (= Skt. rddhi), ‘fortune’, etc.; ไฟ (= P. teja), ‘fire,’ ‘energy,’ ‘supernatural power’; ตาผ (= P. tapa), ‘austerities,’ ‘self-control’, implying bravery. It would be a mistake to insist on the exact meaning of each word in this list (I/6); it is purely conventional.

11) braññā mahādhammikarāja (I/6-7), ‘great king who rules in accordance with the dharma’.

12) In order to preserve the flavor of the original, we translate พระมหากษัตริย์ as ‘exalted Mahāthera.’

13) ศิวิณ (I/10), modern ศิวิณ.

14) บุพคป (I/10), for บุพคป.


16) ศิวิณิศ (I/12).

17) มหาวิเชิณ (I/10-11) suggests making a sacrifice, accompanied by a prayer, to a god or spirit; Pallegoix glosses both มหาวิเชิณ and รัตถ as ‘sacrifice angelis, genis;’ McFarland equates มหาวิเชิณ with มหาวิเชิณ, ‘to vow, promising a thank-offering if the request is granted.’
immense reverence.\textsuperscript{18} That time his lordship set forth, accompanied by a troop of disciples, all of them worthy and learned monks who observe the precepts with immense strictness.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{[I/14-20]} The exalted Mahāthera, moreover, is characterized by excellent deportment.\textsuperscript{20} He possesses the faculties of gentleness, restraint, endurance, knowledge, and gratitude.\textsuperscript{21} He is endowed with wisdom, adherence to the precepts, and a great store of merit.\textsuperscript{22} He is skilful in expounding all the texts. He knows how to teach people to seek the Three Refuges. If anyone (acts in such a way that he) would sink into (one of) the four woeful conditions, (such as) hell,\textsuperscript{23} his Lordship lifts him out and shows him the path to heaven by getting him to

\textsuperscript{18)  เคารพหนักหนา (I/11-12).
\textsuperscript{19)  ค่วยดีคนล้มลงแต่ยังอยู่ที่บ้านแม่ (I/13-14), which Mahā Chittā renders:  'avec un disciple extrêmement distingué, religieux éminent qui observait les préceptes avec le plus grand soin.' It is not clear from the inscription itself whether the singular or the plural is intended; but the passage in M that describes the same event (M, p. 239) shows that it must be the plural (and indeed there are notable similarities in the wording). We take น 문자 to be equivalent to 'none, not น the classifier for persons, as it is immediately followed by the classifier for monks (ต). We therefore understand 'sissaga9a, 'a troop of disciples'; we take น and ต to be in apposition to sissaga9a; ตแล้ว (ตเมี) must mean 'all of them, without exception'; and ตแล้ว (ตแล้ว) means 'habitually', 'as a matter of course.'
\textsuperscript{20)  ม่ยผ่าน (I/15) is for Pali iriyapatha.
\textsuperscript{21)  ยี่ผ่าน (I/15) is put for Pali indriya, 'faculties'; a term applicable to 22 different phenomena; see Nyanatiloka, Buddhist Dictionary, Colombo, 1950, 57-58. Probably ตแล้ว (I/15) is for Skt. śānta, 'conciliation,' 'mild or gentle language,' etc.; ตแล้ว (I/15) may be for Skt. dānta, 'restrained,' 'patient'; ตแล้ว (I/15), mod. ตแล้ว, which we render as 'endurance,' can mean 'to refrain from,' etc., or else may be equivalent to ตแล้ว, 'to endure,' 'to suffer manfully,' 'to be courageous under difficulties'; ตแล้ว (I/16) is Pali nāha, 'knowledge' or 'wisdom'; ตแล้ว (I/16) is put for Pali kataññapati, 'gratitude.'
\textsuperscript{22)  ปิฏฐู (I/16) is for Skt. prajñā or Pali paññā, wisdom'; sīlācāra (Pali), 'observance of the precepts'; puññasambahāra, Pali puññasambhadhāra, 'a great store of merit' (sc. earned in previous lives).
\textsuperscript{23)  The 'four woeful conditions' (caturāppāya) are rebirth as an animal, a peta (ghost), an asura (titan), or in hell (niraya, naraka).
\textsuperscript{24)  In contrast to its meaning at I/2, the expression ค่ำหงส (ค่ำหงส) at I/19 means 'namely,' 'that is to say.'
observe the precepts, and to practice right effort and mental development.25

[1/20-27.] The time his exalted lordship arrived was in a year of the cock, in the first month, on a Friday.26 On that day, when his exalted Lordship was about to arrive, King Dharmikarāja in person (went to receive him), escorted by a numerous throng of officers, subjects, soldiers, princes, noblemen, and ministers, drawn up in good order.27 He had them carry banners and flags,28 grilled rice and flowers, torches and candles. They struck xylophones, and sounded stringed instruments,29 gongs, drums, clarinets, cattle-horn trumpets, small double-headed drums, curved trumpets, and conchs, together with30 plate-gongs, hand drums,

25) ⁰ (I/20) is for Pali vii, 'energy'. As it is identical with 'right effort,' the sixth item on the Eightfold Path (Nyanatiloka, Buddhist Dictionary, 171), we have translated it so. The Eightfold Path, i.e. the path leading to the extinction of suffering, consists of right understanding, right mindedness, right speech, right bodily action, right livelihood, right effort, right attentiveness, and right concentration (ibid., p. 81). ⁰ is the Pali word bhavanī, which Nyanatiloka glosses as 'mental development' (lit. 'calling into existence'); he adds that in English it is generally, but incorrectly, called 'meditation'; and that it is of two kinds, samathabhavanī (development of tranquillity, i.e. samādhi, concentration); and vipassanabhavanī (development of clear-sight i.e. paññā, wisdom); Nyanatiloka, Buddhist Dictionary, p. 26.

26) ⁰ (I/20), i.e. เดือนช่วง, like the same expression in Lào (Reinhorn, p. 453), is equivalent to-quote, 'the first month' of the year. In the present context we might expect it to mean the first month according to the Chiang Mai calendar, which corresponds to the 11th month of the Sukhodayan calendar, approximately October. But all the dates in the Inscription of Wat Pra Yün are given in terms of the Sukhodayan calendar, in which the first month corresponds to 1-29 December 1369. The day the Mahāthera arrived was in December, 1369 (Julian).

27) ⁰ (I/23); our rendering is based on Mahā Chām’s gloss, เฉลิมราษฎร.

28) ⁰ (I/23), 'banners and flags'; ² = Tai Yuan ขา, 'banners'; ⁰ is for ² 'flags'. Instead of ขา, Mahā Chām reads ขา, sc. กระดาษ; but an examination of the stone shows the first letter is pretty clearly ขา rather than ขา.

29) ⁰ (I/24), i.e. ติ่งจันท์. In colloquial Siamese สAdobe (Skt. 'musical instrument') often means a xylophone; in pre-modern Siamese สAdobe (Skt. चितु, 'the Indian lute') meant a three-stringed fiddle.

30) We follow Māha Chām, who glosses มาม (I/25) as มาม, equivalent to ม, 'to have,' 'there are,' 'with'; cf. Khmer ម, which has the same meaning.
and tabors [?].31 with excellent and re-echoing sound,32 (while) the people also cheered33 loudly,34 almost shaking35 the whole town of Haripūrījaya.

[1/27-30.] Then (the King) went to receive the exalted Mahāthera and invited him to enter the vihāra,36 offering it to him as a gift, and

31) The identification of some of the instruments listed at I/24-25 is easy, but not all. Our translations, several of which are conjectural, are based on the following: Mahā Chām's glosses (Prajum Silācārik, III, p. 143; Dhanit Yupho, Thai Musical Instruments, Bangkok, 1960; McFarland. Thai-English Dictionary, Stanford and London, 1944; Guesdon, Dictionnaire Cambodgien-Français, Paris, 1930; Reinhorn, Dictionnaire Laotien-Français, Paris, 1970; A. Damié-lou, La musique du Cambodge et du Laos, Pondichéry, 1957; and verbal information kindly supplied by Professor Hans Penth of Chiang Mai.

(1) ขว่, modern ขว่, is a gong of the ordinary type, composed of a circular bronze disk with a raised knob in the center of one side, and a deep flange running around the perimeter of the other side (see Dhanit, 21 ff.; and Damié-lou, 23 ff.).

(2) ถ้, is a drum (see Dhanit, 31 f.).

(3) ปั้ง , modern ปั้ง, is a clarinet or oboe, a wooden flute-like instrument of soprano pitch (McFarland; Dhanit, 78 f.). < Persian sofaria.

(4) In the term ปั้ง, ปั้ง is probably equivalent to ปั้ง or ปั้ง, a trumpet made of cattle-born, while ปั้ง, 'victory', is merely a suffix (Mahā Chām; Guesdon, p. 1868).

(5) ทุ่ม (พะทุ่ม, ระทุ่ม), according to Mahā Chām, is equivalent to Pali dindimā, 'a small drum' (PTS Dictionary); 'a two-headed drum, one head being beaten with a drum-stick and the other with the hand' (Mahā Chām).

(6) กาดิ is glossed by Mahā Chām as กาดิ, 'curved trumpet'; for the latter, see Dhanit, 83 f. (the word is obviously Skt. kāhala, which Monier-Williams' dictionary glosses as 'a kind of musical instrument', without specifying what kind).

(7) พระแสง, modern พระแสง, is a conch-shell trumpet (see Dhanit, 85 f.).

(8) The word พระแสง is borrowed from Pali kaṇsatāla, 'bronze gong'. As nearly all gongs are made of bronze, and this one is presumably different from the ordinary type of gong (ขว่), which has already been mentioned, we presume it to be the type known as พระแสง in northern Siam, a flat bronze plate, thicker in relation to its size than a ขว่, usually circular but sometimes of some other shape, and further differing from a ขว่ in the absence of a deep flange around the perimeter (the edging, if any, is no more than a shallow rim). See Penth, Kunst im Lan Na Thai (I), Artibus Asiae XXXII, 4, 307-314, and Figs. 2-6).

(9) พระแสง (Skt. mṛdaṅga, Pali mudiṅga, 'small drum') is glossed by Mahā Chām as พระแสง, which, according to Dhanit is a drum placed on a stand, and played on both heads with the palms of the hands and the fingers (see Dhanit, 35, 36).
also presenting him the kutis and this dwelling-place. Then he provided the exalted Mahāthera and the whole throng of monks with the four requisites, of good and suitable quality.

[1/30-34.] The throng of people living yonder at Gum Gâm and Chieng Mai, as well as the people here in Haripunjaya, were filled with faith in the exalted Mahāthera. Some of them entered the monkhood,
observed the precepts, and practiced right effort in the community of the exalted Mahāthera. From that time on, therefore, an immense amount of merit was earned.

[I/34-41.] Not long after the exalted Mahāthera arrived here to take up his residence, he debated back and forth in his mind, reflecting that this and the statue of the standing Buddha located at the end of this, made and erected long ago by master-craftsmen of old, [was falling into decay?]. The exalted Mahāthera, being able to consider (the matter) with the force of his insight, (decided that he) would all worthy men... the Buddha to attain five thousand years [II/1-4] as supports underneath their feet; and he sent word to inform King Dhammikaraja, the lord of the land, of his plan to make the statues.

[II/4-9.] The King, when he heard that the exalted Mahāthera wanted to make statues like that, was filled with immense faith and

40) (I/33) is for Pali viriya; we translate it as 'right effort' for the reason stated at note 25.
41) (I/33), modern သာဟောင်း. The word now means 'house,' 'dwelling-place,' 'rest-house,' or 'office;' but in Mulasasana, in which it occurs frequently, it obviously means the abode of a religious teacher and, by extension, the whole company of his disciples; cf. JSS 59/1, p. 202, note 14. Here it refers to the order of Forest-dwelling Sīhalabhikkhus, and more particularly to Wat Pra Yūn, which was as yet the order's only establishment in Lān Nā.
42) မြန်မာ (I/34), modern ပေါင်း, 'produced.'
43) Restoring ပန် (I/36) as ပန်.
44) Conjectural restoration of the lacuna.
45) We assume he was planning to ask the King to restore the old statue, make three new ones, and erect the maṇḍapa; see above, p. 125-126.
46) The restored statue and the three new ones were to last until the year 5000 of the Buddhist era when, according to an old prophecy, the Buddhist religion will come to an end (see JSS 61/1, p. 84 and note 10).
47) စိုးမှတ်စေနပ်ပါး (II/1). Both ရန် (here written ရန်) and သာ mean 'support'; the first is the royal word, the second the ordinary one. ပန်, modern ပန်, means 'on the under side,' 'underneath.' The feet evidently belong to the statues, and the supports must be pedestals.
48) မီး (II/4), modern မီး.
49) In our translation we omit ဗိ (II/5), modern မီး, used here as an emphatic particle.
delight; so he commanded a throng of officials to come and stay\textsuperscript{50} to supervise the work in coöperation with the exalted Mahāthera. After that the exalted Mahāthera sent word the throng of devout laymen and laywomen, to all worthy people in general, and to all the throng of wise men,\textsuperscript{51} for laterite to be fetched and made smooth.\textsuperscript{52}

[II/9-14.] Then his Lordship caused the heavenly bodies to be observed,\textsuperscript{53} (to determine) the day of the week, the time, the shadow, the \textit{nādi}, the \textit{triyāṇa}, the \textit{navāṇa}, and the \textit{lagna} that would be most auspicious,\textsuperscript{54} and (at the time thus fixed) he had (the people) begin (making) the arched doorway and putting together the pedestal for this standing statue of the Lord.\textsuperscript{55} (It was) in the year of the cock, in the

\textsuperscript{50} นรคุณี (II/5), i.e. นรคุณีประจวบ

\textsuperscript{51} Perhaps the 'wise men' are the officials who helped the Mahāthera supervise the operation.

\textsuperscript{52} แปลงขวัญ (II/8-9), i.e. แปลงขวัญ, is glossed by Mahā Chām as นวลขวัญ, 'smooth-surfaced.' The word แปลง here means 'to make' (as in Tai Yuan); ขวัญ, the modern form of เขยื้น, means 'level for the full length' (McFarland). When laterite is first removed from the quarry it has the consistency of stiff clay, but after being exposed to the air it gradually takes on a stone-like hardness: while it was still soft enough to be easily fashioned, the people were to make it into blocks suitable for building.

\textsuperscript{53} ในพุทธประภัส (II/9), for ในพุทธคุณิ (Mahā Chām).

\textsuperscript{54} The astrological terms at II/9-10 are Sanskrit, several of them misspelt: \textit{vāra} is for \textit{viira}, ‘day of the week’; \textit{kāla} is \textit{kāla}, ‘time’; \textit{chāya} is \textit{chāya}, ‘shadow’ (the position and length of the shadow cast by a gnomon or post, used as an indicator of time); \textit{nādi} is for \textit{nādi}, 1/60 of a day; \textit{triyāṇa} is for \textit{triyāṇa}, 1/3 of a zodiacal division or 'sign'; \textit{navāṇa} is for \textit{navāṇa}, 1/9 of a 'sign'; \textit{lagna} (from Skt. \textit{lagna}) here means the exact moment.

\textsuperscript{55} Conjectural translation. Let us compare the passage at II/11 with the very similar one at II/14-15:

\textit{(II/11) ในเวรจากบาน บานแห่ง พระยานิปทาน} พระ

\textit{(II/14-15) ในเวรจากบาน ราช พระพุทธบัณฑิตตางสัน} ศาน

(It was this confrontation that led us to the right reading for the word บาน in the first passage, which was read by Coedes as บันย and by Mahā Chām as \textit{บันย}, but which was correctly read by both Coedes and Mahā Chām in the second passage.) The first passage obviously refers to preparing a proper setting for the old statue, facing east, which was now being restored; the second refers to preparing settings for the three new statues which were to face the other three cardinal points. A \textit{maṇḍapa} was to be built over them, in such a
second month, on the third day of the waxing moon, a ‘kap set’ day in Tai, sukra\v{\v{s}}a in M\'on, just before dawn, in the year seven hundred thirty-one 731 of the Era, in the seventh r\'\k{s}a, Pur\'anarasu by name.58

[II/14-18.] After that,\textsuperscript{59} in turn,\textsuperscript{60} his exalted Lordship had them begin (making) the arched doorways and putting together the pedestals\textsuperscript{61} way that one of the statues could be seen through each of the doorways. Both passages start with the words និទ្យនាក់. Obviously តួចិត្ត means ‘had them begin’; as នឹង has to be a verb, we conjecture it is equivalent to នឹង as in នឹង, ‘to put up a fence’ (McFarland, p. 369); hence ‘to make’. The word សារ, which now means ‘prison,’ is the Khmer word guk, ‘shrine’ or ‘vault’ (cf. Pali guha, ‘a cave’); and we suppose it refers to the sort of arched doorways we have described. The next word, គឺ, is of uncertain meaning; the ordinary sense of ក្លាយ, ‘to compete,’ will not do; but perhaps we can get a clue from ការដឹក, ‘placed close together,’ ‘to follow in quick succession’, or else from តែ, which now means ‘to patch’, but formerly may have meant ‘to piece,’ ‘to make’, plus នឹង, ‘to collide’. Mahah Ch\'inh glosses គឺ as ឈ្មោះ or ឈ្មោះ, ‘to solder together,’ ‘to join together.’ We conjecturally translate គឺ as ‘putting together,’ i.e. putting blocks of laterite together. The next word, ទ្លាយ (Pali pall\'\r{\r}ika) in the first passage, corresponds to គឺ in the second; in this context, both must mean ‘pedestal.’

56) និទ្យនាក់ (II/12), for sukra\v{\v{s}}a, ‘Friday.’
57) គឺ (II/23), i.e. គឺ; this expression, which we have omitted from our translation, means ‘to concentrate one’s attention on’: sc. ‘if we concentrate our attention on the Era, it was in the year seven hundred thirty-one,’ etc.
58) The name of the r\'\k{s}a is written p\'ur\'anarasu. The date corresponds to Friday, January 11, 1370 A.D. (Julian). Regarding this date we are indebted to the kindness of Mr Roger Billard, of the Ecole Fran\'aise d’Extr\'eme-Orient, for the following observation: ‘Cette date est en toute certitude le vendredi 11 janvier 1370 A.D. julien. Toutes les donn\'ees, y compris les cycles thai, s’y v\'erifient sauf le quatri\'eme lunaire. Le texte doit ou devrait porter 14 (ou, `a la rigueur, 13) de la lune croissante, et non 3. M\'eme si le texte donne indubitablement 3, la s\'ecurit\'e de toute la v\'erification est telle, qu’on est en droit de conclure `a une erreur mat\'erielle de copie ou de gravure.’ Since the number is written out (១១មិថុនា, line 12) there is no chance of a misreading; it is obvious the engraver has simply forgotten to put in the word ១១ in the phrase ១១មិថុនា. The author of M made the same mistake, which shows that he was following the inscription.
59) និទ្យនាក់ (II/14), ‘at a later time’; as we shall see in a moment, it was five weeks later (note 66).
60) គឺ (II/14); cf. above, note 15.
61) See above, note 55.
for standing statues of three (other) Buddhas, at the south side, the north side, and the west side, in the year of the cock, in the third month, on the fourth day of the waning moon, a ‘katt rau’ day in Tai, vāraśukra in Mōn, when the shadow (of the gnomon) cast by the morning sun measured fifteen feet, in the rūṣa of Citra, in the year seven hundred thirty-one, viz. 731, of the Era.

To make these standing images of the Lords, (begun) in the year of the cock and finished in the year of the dog, two years sufficed. During these two years his exalted Lordship had dedication ceremonies held three times. On the occasions when those dedication ceremonies were held, King Dharmikarāja, for his part, (having) caused almsfood and all the eight requisites to be prepared, came and presented them as an offering to the monkhood, not a single misfortune or accident occurred.

62) Literally ‘standing images of Buddhas all three persons, which are on the south side, the north side, and go on to the west side.’ (II/15-16.)
63) vāraśukra (II/17) = śukravāra ‘Friday.’
64) Literally ‘seeing the shadow (of the gnomon) fifteen feet (in length) when the sun was rising.’
65) citraήka (II/17-18) = citraṛkṣa.
66) About 9 a.m. on Friday, February, 15, 1370 (Julian). We are indebted to Mr Roger Billard for calculating this date and hour. It will be observed that work to prepare the settings for the three new statues started just five weeks after that for the old statue.
67) sc. the three new statues, begun in CS 731, were finished in the year of the dog, CS 732. As any part of a year counts as a whole one, the time that elapsed between the beginning of the first of the three new statues and the completion of the last one could be anything between two days and two years; cf. below, note 81.
68) i.e. a ceremony was held at each of the three sides in succession to dedicate the statue on that side when it was finished; नवं at II/19 is the same word as नवं at II/1, but here it means ‘to hold a dedication ceremony.’
69) aṣṭha parikkhāra (II/21), for Pali aṣṭha parikkhā (cf. Skt. aṣṭha pariṣkāra); according to the usual list, the eight requisites of a monk are the three robes, the almsbowl, a razor, a needle, the girdle, and a water-strainer.
70) mahādāna (II/22), the classic meaning of which is a special great offering of food and presents made by a layman to the monkhood, usually lasting a week or more; here it may be used in a less specific sense.
71) i.e. at the side of the manḍapa where that particular ceremony was being held.
72) गंगा II/23, modern गंगा.
73) sc. during the building operations.
The day his Lordship placed the finial on that statue,\(^{74}\) the holy (relic)\(^{75}\) performed a miracle, shooting out a blaze of rays\(^{76}\) of six colors,\(^{77}\) clear and bright\(^{78}\) in appearance in the middle of the sky, beautiful as the rays of a rainbow.\(^{79}\) The whole throng of people who saw\(^{80}\) it were struck with immense astonishment.

When the last standing statue of the Lord was dedicated,\(^{81}\) on the full moon day of the sixth month, a Thursday,\(^{81}\) King Dharmikaraja presented a prāsāda,\(^{81}\) which was built and adorned with (such)

\(^{74}\) The word could be either singular or plural; if singular, it doubtless means the last statue. Probably พระพุทธรูป (II/24), modern พระพุทธรูป, means a flame-finial (raśmi) which most Sukhodayan images of the Buddha have on top of the head.

\(^{75}\) พระพุทธรูป (at the middle of II/24) is the relic which Sumana had discovered long before (see JSS 60/1, pp. 52, 60-65, 67, 68); cf. below, II/29 f., where the relic is mentioned again, this time specifically designated as พระพุทธรูป.

\(^{76}\) พระพุทธรูป (II/24-25); พระพุทธรูป means 'to throw out light', and จัลาราสี, jalarasī, is presumably for Pali raṇisīla, which the PTS Dictionary (s. v. raṇisī) glosses as 'a blaze of rays.'

\(^{77}\) พระพุทธรูป (II/25), 'six kinds.' As the relic was identified with the Buddha, the light it emitted would be equivalent to the buddharasmi (cf. above, note 74), the 'ray of enlightenment' or halo around a Buddha, consisting of six colors (chabbatīlēla; see PTS Dictionary, s.v. raṇisī; cf. JSS 60/1, p. 130 and note 159.

\(^{78}\) พระพุทธรูป (II/25) is certainly the same word as พระพุทธรูป (Insor. 2, II/57), which corresponds to พระพุทธรูป, 'shining' (ibid., I/90); see JSS 60/1, pp. 98, 103, 118 and note 101, p. 130 and notes 150, 159-160. As a color of cloth we hazarded the translation 'iridescent', and by extension used the same translation for one of the six colors of a relic's rays in the same inscription (ibid.); but in the present context we think the word means nothing more specific than 'shining' or 'brilliant'.

\(^{79}\) พระพุทธรูป (II/25), i.e. พระพุทธรูป, which Mahā Chām glosses as พระ (colors of a rainbow).

\(^{80}\) พระพุทธรูป (II/26), i.e. พระ, is equivalent to พระ, 'to see.'

\(^{81}\) The full moon day of the sixth month is the day of the great Buddhist festival of Visākhāpūjī. As we have seen (note 67), the last of the three statues was completed in CS 732. Prasert ṇa Nagarā observes that if CS 731 had an intercalary month, the full moon day of the sixth month of CS 732 would fall on a Thursday, namely Thursday, May 9, 1370 (Julian). This is evidently what happened; and only about three months elapsed between the day the first of the three new statues was begun (February 15, 1370) and the day the last one was dedicated (May 9, 1370).
immense beauty and excellence that, if we are to make a comparison, it was surely like the Mahāvaijayantapraśāda. Then he bathed the relic of the Lord in a stream of perfumed water, and did homage to the relic with many offerings of immense distinction for three entire days. When King Dharmikarāja bathed the relic in a golden vessel the last day, the relic performed a miracle, whirling back and forth in the gold bowl and emitting brilliant rays of light of different colors. The King, filled with faith, invited all the monks to come in and see the miracle, which was so appropriate, so beautiful, and so excellent, that it caused them immense astonishment.

[II/37-41.] erected a great metal image of the Buddha in the eleventh month, on the first day of the waning moon. the Era

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82) ပို (II/29); see JSS 61/1, p. 95 note 2.
83) မြောနာတိုက်ရိုက် (II/29), Skt. mahāvaijayantapraśāda, Pali mahāveja- yantapāsāda, the name of Indra's palace in the Tavatimsa heaven (see Malsekera, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, London, 1938, reprinted 1960, Vol. II, p. 915).
84) စဲးနှင့်စှိုးစိုး (II/30), for sugandhaśrīśindhudhārī (Mahā Chām); Coedès’s reading is a little different, but results in the same translation.
85) မိသိ (II/32); in Sukhodayan inscriptions the word မိသိ usually means ‘later’ or ‘afterward’; in the present context it seems to have a related but slightly different meaning, i.e. the last one of a series (of days) which has just been referred to.
86) မိသိးရာသောစိသောက် (II/34), i.e. ။သောစိသောက်. In modern Siamese သောစိသောက် means ‘to roar,’ ‘to announce loudly,’ or ‘to spread widely’ (usually in connection with a noise or a rumor); here, in connection with rays of light, it means ‘to put forth.’ သောစိ and သောစိ are doublets, both meaning ‘rays of light’: the first representing the Pali form raṃsi, and the second the Skt. form raṃsi.
87) Or images.
88) Without the context, we can extract no satisfactory meaning from the words ။သောစိသောက် (II/37), မိသိးရာသောစိသောက် (?).
Fig. 1. The inscription of Wat Pra Yun, obverse.