INTRODUCTION

1. From the late thirteenth to the mid-sixteenth century, at least intermittently, the kingdom of Lannâ Dai (Lan Na Tai) in northern Siam was suzerain over a good many Shan and other Tai states in territories that are now parts of Burma, China or Laos. Among the most important of these was Keng Tung, about 300 kilometers north of Chieng Mai (Jyan Hmai). The population of Keng Tung was, and still is, largely composed of a branch of the Tai called Khlin, whose language is closely allied to the Tai Yuan (Dai Yvan) of Lannâ. The kings of Keng Tung were related to the kings of Lannâ, as both lines were descended from King Mân Rây who founded Chieng Mai in 1296 A.D.; and their relationship was doubtless reinforced by frequent intermarriage.

At Keng Tung, as at Chieng Mai, there were at least three orders of Theravâda Buddhist monks.

The first, consisting mainly of Nagaravâsi or Gâmavâsi ('Town' or 'Village Dwellers'), was probably an offshoot of the one that had prevailed at Harippunjaya before the Tai conquest. This order occupied the most conspicuous place in Lannâ until 1370, and remained the most numerous for centuries.

Another order, consisting of Arahâvâsi ('Forest Dwellers') who professed to follow the monastic discipline as interpreted by the Mahâvihâra at Anurâdhapura in Ceylon, and more particularly its forest-dwelling branch at the Udumbaragiri in the province of Polonnâruva, was established at Martaban in Lower Burma in the fourteenth century. It was favored by royalty at Sukhodaya; and in 1370 it was introduced by the Mahâthera Sumana into Lannâ, where the kings held it in high esteem for more than 50 years\(^1\). This order, which we shall call the 'Old Ceylon Sect' for convenience, was later introduced into Keng Tung.

The 'New Ceylon Sect' of Forest Dwellers originated as follows. Around 1420, several monks at Chieng Mai began to suspect that they, and a great many other members of the Saṅgha, had not been properly ordained: an ordination, if it was to be valid, had to be per-

formed without a flaw in the required ritual, in a duly consecrated place, by a chapter of five monks who themselves had been validly ordained, through an unbroken succession of monks extending backward in time to those ordained by the Buddha in person. In 1423, in order to satisfy their doubts, 25 Mahātheras from Chiang Mai, led by the Mahātheras Dhammagambhīra and Medhanākara, and accompanied by eight Mahātheras from Ayudhāya, traveled to the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura, the validity of whose monastic succession was generally acknowledged to be unassailable. Upon discovering that their own ordinations were invalidated by irreparable flaws, they retired from the monkhood, and were then ordained in the Ceylon order with the ritual specified by the Vinaya, as interpreted at the Mahāvihāra. After returning to southeast Asia, they spent some years at Ayudhāya, Sajjanālāya, Sukhodāya and other places.

In 1430 the group headed by Dhammagambhīra and Medhanākara returned to Chiang Mai, and established the New Ceylon Sect there. The members of this order prided themselves on their knowledge of the Pali language, their strict adherence to ‘forest dwelling’, their observance of all the monastic rules, and their meticulous performance of the rites they had learned in Ceylon. Their principles attracted a good deal of support among laymen, and persuaded a good many monks of the old established sects at Chiang Mai to retire from the monkhood and request ordination in the new one.

The New Ceylon monks, whose headquarters were at the Red Forest Monastery (หมู่มณี), several kilometers from Chiang Mai, were inclined to be stiff-necked and arrogant, openly denouncing the ways of the Old Ceylon Sect. The latter had its headquarters at the Flower Garden Monastery (ของดอกคุณภพ), about half a kilometer from the city wall of Chiang Mai. The orthodox rule in Ceylon, however, specified that a monastery could not qualify as a residence of Forest Dwellers unless it was located at least 500 bow-lengths (about one kilometer) from the nearest town or village, so their ‘forest dwelling’ was asserted by the New Ceylon monks to be no more than a sham.

It must be confessed that many of the Old Ceylon monks took a relaxed view of monastic discipline; they were not above trying to enrich themselves; their knowledge of Pali was weak; and they performed the rites carelessly. But it was the custom for one of their number to be appointed as the royal chaplain (รัจกรู), and the reigning king, Sām Fhān Kēn, favored them. Fearing an open schism, he expelled the New Ceylon monks from the capital, though permitting them to continue their activities in other parts of the kingdom. In 1441 he was deposed by his son Tilokarāja, who thereupon mounted the throne. Tilokarāja favored the New Ceylon Sect and showered it with honors.2

According to Jinakālamāli3, ‘the Thera Somacittā introduced the religion of Sihāla [sc. the New Ceylon Sect] into Khemaraṭṭha [Keng Tung] in CS 810’. That year corresponds for the most part to 1448 A.D.

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2 See Coedes’s translation of the pertinent portion of Jinakālamāli, BEFEO (XXV/1, pp. 104 ff.), which gives the story from the point of view of the New Ceylon Sect. The story from the point of view of the Old Ceylon Sect will be found in ตบานุกรมศิลปะ (Bangkok, Department of Fine Arts: B.E. 2582; second edition, Chiang Mai, B.E. 2513).

3 Coedes, loc. cit., p. 109.
The formal purpose of the inscription we are about to discuss is to record a series of benefactions made in 1451 A.D. to the Jayamantārāma, a monastery of the New Ceylon Sect near the town of Keng Tung. The account of the benefactions is preceded by a short history of the monastery, beginning at a time when it belonged to an older sect.

We have worked chiefly from photographs of a set of rubbings (figs. 1-3). The rubbings were made by Professor Gordon H. Luce’s driver, Maung Sein, found in 1938. The location of the inscription is given, in English, on one of the rubbings: ‘behind the Hall and the painting at Wat Ba Lyan, beyond the East Gate on the way to Lwei Mwe’. Mr Luce sent the rubbings to Professor George Coedes, who then forwarded them to the Department of Fine Arts in Bangkok. We have consulted these rubbings, as well as new rubbings (of two faces only) sent from Keng Tung to the Historical Commission in Bangkok in 1973, and a set of photographs kindly furnished us by Professor Søren Egerod of the University of Copenhagen.

For the following information about the names pencilled on the photograph we are indebted to the former Chief Education Officer of the Shan State, Sao Sai Ming (in Siamese transcription, พระศิษย์มึง), a son of the late ruler of Keng Tung. ‘Wat Ba Lyan’ represents the Khun name Wat Pâ Dé̄n, ‘Red Forest Monastery’ (equivalent to Siamese วัดป่าแดง), as it would be pronounced by a partially ‘Burmanized’ Shan or by a Burman. Shans usually make no distinction between the sounds of ū and р. In the Khun script, the letter ‘D’ (= Siamese Ѳ), stands for the same sound as Siamese Ѳ, approximately that of English ‘D’. But no symbol for this sound exists in the Shan script; Shans who have never learned Burmese or English cannot pronounce it; and they regularly replace it with the sound of ‘L’ (ъ or Ѳ). A Shan would say Ѳъъъ instead of Ѳъъъ (ъъъъ); and a Burman might say Ѳъъъ, as the insertion of Ѳ sound is characteristic of the Burmese pronunciation of certain Shan words.

‘Lwei Mwe’, the name of the place where the road leads to, means ‘Foggy Mountain’ (แฝด in Shan = Tai Yuan แฝด, ‘mountain’, while мве = Tai Yuan мве, ‘mist’ or ‘fog’). When Sao Sai Mêng visited Wat Pâ Dé̄n in 1971, he saw the inscription outside the vihara, and urged the abbot to put it inside the building for protection. We do not know whether this was done.

The two new rubbings received by the Historical Commission in 1973 were sent by the Siamese Consul General at Keng Tung, together with a statement in Siamese that they were made from the inscription at อันติบัน, ‘about half a kilometre from the Consulate General’ (see Bulletin of the Historical Commission [abbrev. BHC], ปฐมนิธิการสถานศึกษา สถานศึกษา ปฐมนิธิการ vol. VII no. 2, Bangkok, B.E. 2516, p. 1 ff.). These rubbings, as well as the old photographs, were used as the basis of a preliminary transcription of the text into modern Siamese letters by Messrs Kôn-kêv Vîráprâkaśa and Prasâra Puñârêkha, published in BHC VII/2. Because face I is almost completely illegible, these authors count faces II, III and IV as I, II and III respectively; and the only photograph included in their article is of the rubbing of one of the faces, not identified by number, which corresponds to the one we designate as face III. ’
In the present paper we have arrived at a good many readings that seem to give a more satisfactory sense than those of Messrs Kon-kev and Prasara, and we have tried to provide a better chronology than they proposed.

The New Ceylon Sect, wherever it was introduced, favored the name 'Red Forest Monastery'; and the Keng Tung monastery of that name, where the inscription is located, served as its local headquarters. Its earlier name was Jayamantarāma; and this name continued to be used for an unknown period of time after it was officially changed to Vat Phên. The stone has evidently been preserved there ever since 1451 when it was erected.

The height of the inscribed portion of the stone is about 90 centimeters; its width, on the obverse and reverse, is about 50 centimeters, and on the narrow edges, about 27 centimeters. Face I, engraved on one of the narrow edges, has the remnants of a horoscope and about 19 lines of writing which are almost wholly illegible; face II, the obverse, has 34 lines of writing; face III, on the other narrow edge, has 27; and face IV, the reverse, has 38. Much of the writing is in very poor condition, and our readings are often doubtful.

The language of the inscription is practically the same as Tai Yuan, which is not surprising for a place where the upper classes were so closely associated with Chieng Mai, and where a dialect so similar to Tai Yuan is still generally spoken. The text is written in the monumental script which was used in Lân Nâ for recording donations and other important matters. This script, introduced into Lân Nâ from Sukhodaya by the Mahāthera Sumana in 1370, underwent a few modifications to adapt it to the needs of the Yuan language. The text is composed in a kind of rhyming free verse which the Siamese call jîhêpt. In several places where it would otherwise be uncertain where one clause ends and a new one starts, the rhyming supplies the answer.

The toponyms used in the inscription require a word of explanation. The name 'Khemaratja', which we have regularized to Khemarattha, means Keng Tung. In one passage, however, Keng Tung is called Jyañ Hmai (Chieng Mai), a name reserved at present for the former capital of Lân Nâ, but in the past sometimes used as an appellation of Keng Tung and perhaps some other cities too. In this inscription the capital is called Nabapuri or Navapurinagara (?), both of which, like the name Chieng Mai itself, mean 'new city'.

The inscription contains nine legible dates. Two of them give the month and day as well as the year; the others give the year only. The year is designated by its Tai name in the 60-year cycle, or by its Siamese name in the 12-year cycle, or both; no dates in the Culasakaraja (CS) or any other era appear. As every year in the CS has its equivalent in the system of the 60-year cycle, the former can be transposed into the latter with certainty by consulting the tables of correspondences; but transposing in the opposite direction is done at the theoretical risk of going wrong by precisely 60 years, or a multiple of 60 years. Internal evidence in the inscription, however, as well as its historical context, reduces this risk practically to zero.

The two chief benefactions the inscription commemorates were both made in a 'rważ met' year which must be CS 813. These dates are as follows:

4 In transliterating the text of the inscription into modern Siamese letters, we place a dot under a consonant which in the original is conjunct with another.
(1) Year of the Goat (mamê), ‘rvañ met’ year, eighth day of the waning moon of the seventh month, Sunday;

(2) ‘Rvañ met’ year, tenth day of the waxing moon of the ninth month, Friday, a ‘kat set’ (n̄m̄ṣā) day in the ‘Tai reckoning, when the moon was in the nakkhata of Viṣākhā.

Mr Roger Billard of the Ecole Française d’ Extrême-Orient, to whom we are indebted for examining these dates for us, wrote us as follows on 18 July 1976 (our translation from the French):

‘In answer to your letter of 12 July, I begin with your second date, which gives the larger amount of information, and ought to be decisive. In 813 CS, which was a rvañ met and mamê year, the only day which could be both Friday and kat set (n̄m̄ṣā) is Friday, 11 June 1451 A.D. (Julian). At the beginning of that day, the real moon was indeed in the nakṣatra of Viṣākhā, and this “ninth month” gives no difficulty in view of the difference of two months [which is usual between the calendar of Lån Nâ and that of central Siam] which you mention (it was preceded by an “eighth month” followed by an adhikamāsā or intercalary “eighth month”). But “tenth day of the waxing moon” won’t do; it should be the twelfth or thirteenth of the waxing moon . . . .

‘In your first date, if the year is really 813 CS, there is the same discrepancy of two days. Sunday, 25 April 1451 A.D. (Julian), was the tenth, and not the eighth, day of the waning moon of the “seventh month” in that year. . . .

In the inscriptions of Siam we have sometimes encountered this sort of apparent discrepancy, amounting to one or two days, which may be due to our uncertainty about the use of intercalary months or days at particular places. In general we have found that they can be safely disregarded when the other elements of the date are right. There are similar uncertainties in the Keng Tung calendar; and in this case the second date is confirmed by the presence of the moon in the nakṣatra of Viṣākhā.

Having warned the reader of these difficulties, we shall trouble him no further with them, but take it for granted that the ‘rvañ met’ year is CS 813, and transpose the dates as 25 April 1451 (Julian calendar) and 11 June 1451 (Julian).

The other seven legible dates, giving the year only, precede these two dates, and run towards them in chronological order (though no dates at all are given for several of the intervening entries). All the dates fall within the lifetime of the author of the inscription. We shall therefore transpose them into CS within the same 60-year cycle. We shall then transpose them into the Christian Era by adding 638, which in a few cases may give a result that is wrong by one year (the CS year did not change on 1 January, but a few months later).

The purpose of the inscription is to commemorate the rebuilding of the ‘cetiya in the form of a stupa’ in the Jayamantārāma in 1451, the deposit of three relics of the Buddha in it in the same year, and certain other benefactions made to the monastery at the same time.

The author of the text is the Mahāthera Khemamaṅgala, Abbot of the Jayamantārāma, who was ordained in the New Ceylon Sect by the Mahāthera Dhammagambhira in 1434.
The legible portion of the inscription opens earlier in Khemamaṅgala’s career, in the Year of the Hare [CS 785, 1423 A.D.], when he is a Mahāthera in some other sect, and already Abbot of the Jayamantarāma (the New Ceylon Sect was still unknown at Keng Tung at that time). He causes a bronze image of the Buddha to be made, and deposits it in the ‘cetiya in the form of a stūpa’ in the Jayamantarāma. He is supported by the Queen of Keng Tung, Lady Siridīghā, who makes a series of benefactions to the monastery from the ‘kā hmasu’ year [the same as the ‘Year of the Hare’ already mentioned, [CS 785, 1423 A.D.] up to the ‘kāp ăi’ year [CS 796, 1434 A.D.]. (II/1-8.)

Then, evidently in the year just mentioned, Khemamaṅgala goes to be ordained in the community of Cau Dhammagambhiṟa, who had ‘brought the religion from Lāṅkā to the Tai country’ (II/8-10), i.e. to establish the New Ceylon Sect among the Tai.

In an unspecified year, probably CS 804 or 805 (1442 or 1443), Dhammagambhiṟa gives Khemamaṅgala authority to perform the Acts of the Saṅgha, and sends him back to live at Keng Tung. There, as Abbot of the Jayamantarāma in the New Ceylon Sect, he asks Queen Siridīghā where she would like him to establish a consecrated place for the Acts of the Saṅgha. The Queen has simā boundary stones brought, and Khemamaṅgala installs them with the orthodox ritual of the New Ceylon Sect. (II/10-15.)

In the ‘kā gai’ year [CS 805, i.e. 1443 or 1444 A.D.], Cau Braṅā Śrī Saddhammarājaquilaṁaṇi accedes as King of Keng Tung and receives the investiture as a vassal of the King of Lāṅkā (Tilokarāja, r. 1441-87). At an unstated date, probably in CS 806 or 807 (1444 or 1445), Saddhammarājaquilaṁaṇi retires temporarily from the throne, and is ordained as a monk in the community of the Mahāthera Khemamaṅgala at Keng Tung. (II/16-19.) In CS 808 (1446) he leaves the monkhood and resumes the throne.

At some time between CS 808 and CS 811 (1449) he dies5. He is succeeded by his son, who has the same name, and is introduced to us at IV/6-7 as ‘Braṅā Śrī Saddhammarājaquilaṁaṇi Śrī Yauvarāja’; this person takes a relatively small part in the activities recorded in the inscription. From II/23 on, the lead is taken by the late King’s widow, who at IV/15-16 is called ‘Cau Braṅā Śrī Saddhammarājaquilaṁaṇi, the Mahādevi who is the mother named Śrī Saddhammarājīnī Śrī Svastimātā’, but elsewhere (II/22-23, and frequently thereafter) is called ‘Cau Braṅā Śrī Saddhammarājaquilaṁaṇi’, without further qualification. In order to avoid confusing her with her deceased husband, whom the inscription calls by the same name, we shall—by extending the practice we have already adopted for Queen Siridīghā—translate the title Braṅā or Cau Braṅā as ‘Queen’ whenever the context shows it refers to the widow of King Śrī Saddhammarājaquilaṁaṇi.

In CS 811 King Tilokarāja of Lāṅkā sends word to ask Khemamaṅgala to build a cetiya for the relics of the ruler who was his friend and who was the husband of Queen Śrī Saddham-

5 It is clear from the passage at II/21-25 that he is dead in CS 811. The chronicle of Vāt Pā Dēñ, Keng Tung, in which the dates for this period are mostly wrong by a few years, places his death in the ‘rvañ met’ year, i.e. CS 813, at least two years later than that implied in our inscription (see ฐาณกนุษฑา ฐน ฐนิณ ฐนิณ ฐนิณ, Chiang Mai University, January 1976).
marājacakāmaṇi; presumably Tilokarāja means he will defray the cost of the monument as an act of merit. The Queen then deposits her husband’s relics in it. (II/21-25.)

In CS 812 (1450) Khemamaṅgala talks with Queen Śrī Saddhammarājacakāmaṇi about rebuilding the ‘cetiya in the form of a stūpa’ in the Jayamantārāma, and depositing three relics of the Buddha in it. (II/25-29.) This cetiya, which has already been mentioned at II/1-8, is evidently not the one referred to at II/21-25.

On Sunday, 25 April 1451, the Queen builds a relic chamber in the cetiya; she prepares a series of caskets of progressively larger size to enclose one another, with the Buddha’s relics in the innermost; and she places the caskets in a stone box which is painted with scenes from the Buddha’s life. (II/29-34; III/1-21.)

Then comes a description of the relics, and their enshrinement in the cetiya on 11 June 1451 (Julian). (III/21-27; IV/1-10.)

The text concludes with a description of the rebuilt cetiya, together with a wish that it will endure and be properly maintained as long as the Buddhist religion lasts (IV/10-15); a statement of lands and slaves presented to the monastery by the royal family of Keng Tung (IV/15-19); a wish that whoever sees this inscription will rejoice with the king, and another wish that is partly illegible (IV/19-20); a further statement, partly illegible, of properties presented by the royal family, and an admonition to future kings and officials not to seize them (IV/21-25); a statement of the advantages that Khemamaṅgala hopes to obtain in future lives as a result of the merits he earns, which will enable him to obtain Nirvāṇa in the time of the Buddha Metteyya (IV/26-34); and a statement of Queen Śrī Saddhammarājacakāmaṇi’s wish to become a Bodhisattva in some future life in order to accumulate the requisites of Buddhahood (IV/34-38).
Figure 1. The inscription of Wat Pà Lyañ, Keng Tung, face II.
Figure 3. The same, face IV.
AN INSCRIPTION FROM KENG TUNG

TEXT

Face I (illegible)

Face II

1. .................. ต้านานสารใจ

2. (วิจ) อนิณานิปปะ...เดินแล้วนี้นิปปะ และ

3. ควรวัตถุกิจ (ไตร) ............ อุปถัมภ์สิริสวัสดิ์กิจ

4. ใจ (โคสรรยา) .................. (เขา) ที่ดังนี้นิปปะและเครงคม

5. คงจึงหัวภาค (ทรง) ทองอิผิ่นไว้วิมป์ในสุขบุญบุตรได้ในไทย

6. มันตรานิปปะทุ่นนี้นิปปะประกอบเป็นสรัตรเกสรวราช

ประเทศราช

7. (สวีทศ.). ราษฎรนี้มันทุศอกนัญชาติเหล่านี้ในกุศลบุญ

7. (กษิรธ). โภคภูมิใจ (สติภูมิผู้) และ || พาพวก

เอาสรานนิปปะภูมิ

8. (บ) เทศบุญนิปปะเครงคมเคลิ่งเจ้าไทย

ในสุขบุญบุตร

8. (กษิรธ). โภคภูมิใจ (สติภูมิผู้) และ || พาพวก

เอาสรานนิปปะภูมิ

9. ณ (คิน) เทศบุญนิปปะในยอดภูเขาที่ภูมิที่ภูมิ

ทิพภูมิเครงคม

9. ณ (คิน) เทศบุญนิปปะในยอดภูเขาที่ภูมิที่ภูมิ

ทิพภูมิเครงคม

10. ฝไตรคุณนิปปะอันคุณมั่นสติใน

เนรมิตภูมิภูมิทิพภูมิเครงคม

11. น (กษิรธ) นิปปะภูมิทุ่นนี้นิปปะภูมิ

สิริสวัสดิ์กิจภูมิเครงคม

12. น (กษิรธ) นิปปะภูมิทุ่นนี้นิปปะภูมิ

สิริสวัสดิ์กิจภูมิเครงคม

13. บุญบุญภูมิภูมิทุ่นนี้นิปปะภูมิ

เนรมิตภูมิภูมิทิพภูมิเครงคม

13. บุญบุญภูมิภูมิทุ่นนี้นิปปะภูมิ

เนรมิตภูมิภูมิทิพภูมิเครงคม

14. ภูมิผู้ผู้นี้นิปปะภูมิในภูมิภูมิภูมิ

เนรมิตภูมิภูมิทิพภูมิเครงคม

14. ภูมิผู้ผู้นี้นิปปะภูมิในภูมิภูมิภูมิ

เนรมิตภูมิภูมิทิพภูมิเครงคม
6. นับวันปีนี้เมื่อสิ้นปีก้าไก่พระยาสุร

7. ราชบัณฑิตเป็นพระญาเด่นทุกปีนี้

8. สำนวนราชการเป็นเจริญเชนภามภัส

9. เจาที่ในเชนไหมแรมยอดสิ้นปีนี้ (วาไร้พุ่ม)

10. พระราชวิจาร (จำราชจางทามัน) เจาเป็นอาจารีร่วม

11. ทุกปีทรงเสนาณีจำราชจางทามันกุล

12. ก็ให้โดย (เช่น) ให้เจราเจริญทางบัญญัติในทุก

13. (สุด) ที่มักท้าวในทรงเจริญสันติภูมิ (บัญญัติในทุก)

14. ที่ในพระราชพยุทธะขยายในเสนาบดี

15. ให้สิ้นจาก (พุ่ม) สำมิในปีเกิดกันเมื่อนั้น

16. ปีเกิดกันฝ่ายทาย (พุ่ม) ซึ่งสิ้นท่ายมา

17. (ย) จุรีสาสูรพระเจ้าอนันต์นาไก่แอ๊ะ

18. ใกล้แยกอักษรภูมิภูมิเจาะเหลือง

19. เป็นไปตามมาภูมิภูมิเจาะเหลือง

20. (องค์) ไปยุกกลิ่นท้ายสมุทรปราบจด

A.B. Griswold & Prasert na Nagara
AN INSCRIPTION FROM KENG TUNG

31. ....... วางบนแผ่นแหวนแล้วปัดคำที่ได้
วันถวายสถาปตติ

32. ก่อดวงพระพุทธบรมศักดิ์บุรุษ (ห) ตั้งเป็น เจ้าพระยาบรมมณีชัย
ทรีปทุกนิยม

33. ธูปจิตรเจ้า (ใหญ่) ............................ หองหลวงพุทธเจต (ที่)
จัดให้เป็นผูกโบสถ์เจ้า

34. ............... ผ้าด้วยช่อกซ้ายอกมะมี่พูน
วาโกเต (ว) ปท

35. มักที่ ............. แลก็ไกลของอุทิศ
วาโกเต

Face III

1. ผ้ากระดุมเส้นหน้านิ้วถึงเล่าว

2. ท้ายไกลเริน (เรื่องค้อย) ฉบับต่อโสดย

3. แถบแล้วปัดแปลงภาพบนตัวโสดย

4. ทองแสงแปลงประกอบอะไรคลเวลา

5. ........................ เล่าวเลือกที่ให้คัดลับย

6. (อนันเมืองโต๊ะ) มั่นแผ่นหรีเลานไป...

7. (ปริติ) ดวงเด็กที่นักโยนพิจาร์ (ฟัน)

8. ........ ครั้งเมื่อ พระเจ้าไข่ศรีม์ทราย

9. พิธีลงบั้นบานนิ้วมือ คราววัด ณ ที่นี้

10. ลักษณะอิมมิชั่นที่รูบบัวพื้นเล่า

11. (ปลา) น้ำมีนิ้วฝั่งภูมิทวีทิพย์สบ

12. แค่ทวีสุรศักราช (ห) ปราชะในปราสาททราย

13. (เมื่อ) ยุทธหัตถีจักรีบุญธิบดีกลางท

14. (วัด) ราชสมภารรัฐบุญธิบดีกลางท

15. ฉบับวิหารจากบุญยาบกบิปรารถนา

16. นั่งมึง ... การเมื่อพระเจ้าไข่ศรีม์ทราย

17. ที่ราบสะควรบานแก่สิริมานมุ่ย
AN INSCRIPTION FROM KENG TUNG

1. ด้วยพระเจ้าตีนธมศักดิ์ทรงตอบยอดใจหัวพระธาตุดวง
   ที่กั้นทวีคามเดชของ
2. ต้องบูรณาการกิจของโคคสรณ์ไปแล้ว
3. แก่ผู้ของประสิทธิภาพในพหุสัตว์ธรรมชาติ
   หากได้เป็นท่าน
4. 身躯หมายถึงมีกิจใต้ครูนันเมืองจักร
   ในสำนักงานจังกิ
5. เกดงามตามที่ใช้พิจารณาณฐานที่
   ผ่านใจถึงเมืองทางสิ่ง
6. ตั้งราชสำนักมีมหาวิทยา(แบบรูป) ที่สิ่งที่
   รัชทิศสิ่งดีมีสถานที่รัฐ
7. ราชหนึ่งของข้าอยู่ในคงรูปสัตว์พิมพ์
   ทรัพย์ของผมในสำนักงาน
8. ใหญ่ที่พระเจ้าตีนธมศักดิ์ทรงพร้อมป่วยราง
   ทรัพย์ในที่ที่อุปถัมภ์
9. รับแข้งคู่ใจได้เจ้าหน้าที่ฉัน
   
10. อุตมสาทาวรารัฐองค์ใด
11. พจนานุกรมสำนักงาน
12. ถึงใจที่คุ้มภูมิ
13. สอบหาพระธาตุเมืองที่
14. อุตมสาทาวรารัฐองค์ใด
15. พจนานุกรมสำนักงาน
๒๓. ประกาศติดมือในที่นั่นควบคุมโดยผู้ปิด


โดยทางญาณจูนลิ่มในสังฆรังษี

๒๘. ใดพบพังก์ญาณไม้กัดในถุกตอมนิก


สืบความบังคับยอมรับผู้มีสิทธิ

๒๙. โภคปัฎลิ่มในสังฆมีสิทธิจารมณ์ผู้ใด


ขอทำลายความสุขนิ่มนิดหนึ่ง

๓๐. ให้ผลเวลากิ่งมาตราอินเดีย


มาตรต้นเนืองพุทธสถานจูนตุ้ง

๓๑. ให้บรรหารสถานเด็กภาพทรัพย์


จุกู่ข้าศานามใจค่อนกลาง

๓๒. ร่างเล็กของชำลูกได้สิทธิประสงค์


ผลเก็บทรัพย์สิทธิ์ท่านยามผู้เจ้า

๓๓. อีก (อยู่) กษัตริย์ลิ่มใหญ่ทรัพย์สิทธิ์


บุญทรัพย์ในสังฆมีพระบาทโดยเจ้าไทยทรง

๓๔. นิชทิพญาใดบุญม้าหน้าท่านหนึ่งยักกิ่งไปค่า


พระองค์แห่งพระญาณ

๓๕. ผู้รับของชำลูกมีภัยกั้นเป็นหนึ่ง


ผ่านการพิสัยเครื่องบุญกิ่งสิทธิ์

๓๖. เผยจุกู่เป็นพระพุทธกุลได้สั่งสรรพยาสีวิ


คว้ามี... พระโพธิสัตว์

๓๗. ศิริสัณห์พระเมธะกิ่งกลกิ่งผู้เกิด


(กิ่งที่) หาพุทธปี

๓๘. ให้เป็นนารทิพยาวาที่ด้าน (พระพุทธ)... ทั้งหลายญาณข้าคิด
AN INSCRIPTION FROM KENG TUNG

TRANSLATION

[Face I, which is almost completely illegible, has the remains of a horoscope diagram at the top, presumably the horoscope at the time the relics were deposited in the cetiya: see II/25-IV/10.]

[II/1-2.] ............... the history summed up in this inscription.1

[II/2-9.] In the Year of the Hare2 .... at a month and day when the rksā3 was suitable. In the Year of the [Hare] ......... . the upāsikā, Queen Siridigha4, with her heart full of [faith] .......... royal lineage5. The Mahāthera Khenamaṅgaḷa Cau then caused a bronze [image of the Buddha] to be made, and deposited (it with) sweet-smelling ointments in the cetiya which has the form of a stūpa6, in the Jayamantāraṇa7. The queen whose name is widely known as the good fortune of Khemarājha8, the capable lady who9 is named [SiridighaBJ Rajamātā10, filled with faith, presented11 lands (to the monastery, so as to earn) shares12 of merit, from the ‘kaṁha’ year up to the ‘kapāl’ (year)13. Then also the Mahāthera

1 ณริน (II/1-2), put for ฉริน, 'inscription'. In Keng Tung, as we are informed by Sao Sai Mōng, the word for 'inscription' is constantly spelt ณริน. For Siamese examples of this spelling with the same meaning, see Inscr. 67, 1/12 and 1/16 (Prajum Siācīrik, III, p. 161), and Inscr. 68, 1/2 (Ibid., p. 168).
2 The Year of the Hare (II/2), as will appear from subsequent dates given in other terms, is CS 785. It corresponds for the most part to 1423 A.D.
3 นิล (II/3), used in Tai Yuan for ที่.
4 Upāsikā (II/3) means a female lay-devotee (Pali: feminine of upāsaka, 'male lay-devotee'). The term shows that brajjha (II/3), which usually means a king or prince in the inscriptions of this period, here means a queen or princess. Judging from the context, she was the Queen of Keng Tung, who was either a ruler in her own right or acting as regent. She was probably the mother of Cau Bražha Śrī Saddhammarājācāmaṇī, who became King of Keng Tung in 1443. At II/12 her name is written clearly, Siridigha, which we assume to be put for Pali Siridigha (siri, 'good fortune', etc., + dlgha, 'long', 'long-lasting'). We have regularized the spelling of her name to Siridīgha.
5 (ขว.) ติ่จิ้น (II/4), modern ติ่จิ้น. The word ขว., 'there was', etc., which follows this expression, appears to be used here and in a few other passages as a kind of introductory particle, which is best omitted in translation.
6 ฐฏุมุญจรื (II/5), for stūparāpacetiya (a mixed Sanskrit and Pali compound).
7 Written jaiyamantāraṇa at II/5-6, etc.; we have regularized the spelling (Pali: jaya, 'victory' or 'success' + manta, 'charm' or 'spell', here probably referring to holy water, + arāma, 'pleasure-ground', 'park' or 'garden', or [in the Buddhist sense] 'monastery').
8 Khemaraṇa, the Pali name for Keng Tung, is written Khemarājha in this inscription; we have regularized the spelling. The queen's name, Siridigha, was widely known as the good fortune (सृ, Pali: siri, or Sanskrit: सृ) of Keng Tung because it means 'long-lasting good fortune'.
9 นางนุษฎา (II/6) = นางนุษฎา.
10 Rājāmaṭa means 'royal mother'.
11 อนุญญาติ (II/7), modern, อนุญญาติ, 'to grant', etc., from Pali: anuñjātī, or its past participle anuñhā.
12 koṭṭhāsa (II/7), for Pali koṭṭhāsa, 'share', 'portion'.
13 I.e. from CS 785 to CS 796, say from 1423 to 1434 A.D.
Khemamaṅgala Cau went to be ordained in the community of Cau Dhammagambhira, and lived under (the rules of) the master of clear understanding.

[II/9-10.] His lordship himself had brought the religion from Laṅkā to the Dai (Tai) country, together with the Buddha’s Vinaya.

[II/10-15.] He himself gave Cau Khemamaṅgala religious instruction, and the authority to perform the acts of the Saṅgha. (Cau Khemamaṅgala) received the (Three) exceptions.

14 See ‘Introduction’ above, p. 70; at II/8 the name is written Dhammagāṁbhira: we regularize the spelling. The word ณ ( = ณ ‘then’) at II/8 implies that Khemamaṅgala’s ordination in Dhammagambhira’s community took place very soon after the conclusion of the queen’s series of benefactions, hence in the ‘kāp hī’ year (CS 796, say 1434 A.D.). According to Jinākalamāḷi, Dhammagambhira and his group of monks were active at Chiang Šēn and Chiang Rāi between 1433 and 1441 (see Coedes, BEFEO XXV/1, p. 107). It was probably somewhere in this area that Khemamaṅgala was ordained in the New Ceylon Sect. In the expression मयाकिरिता (II/8), i.e. तत्थिति, the word तत्थि must mean something like ‘proceeded to’; we have omitted it from our translation. A similar use of तत्थि (II/13), or its equivalent तत्थि (II/13), occurs at II/12, 13, 26, 29, etc.

15 The doubtful reading तत्थि (II/9) probably represents Pali sāththu viṇācita (sāththu, ‘master’; and viṇācita, ‘of uninillusioned understanding’, ‘clear-minded’, ‘unprejudiced’, etc.); see Pali Text Society’s Dictionary, s.v. sāththu and viṇācita; the expression probably refers to Dhammagambhira.

16 तत्थि (II/9) is a respectful pronoun, something like ‘his lordship’, here referring to Dhammagambhira. The next word, तत्थि, is an intensifier, ‘he himself’, ‘he, for his part’, etc. ‘The Buddha’s Vinaya’ (II/29, etc.) is the Pali book of monastic discipline, which was believed to have been preserved in a purer form in Ceylon. ‘Tathāgata’ is an epithet of the Buddha.

17 तत्थि (II/10), for Pali sampada kammasiddhi. The word sampada means ‘attainment’, ‘accomplishment’, etc., particularly a monk’s attainment of progressively higher stages of religious development during the course of his career, e.g. in discipline, meditationlearning, wisdom, etc. (see the Pali Text Society’s Dictionary, s.v.). This probably refers to several years of training Khemamaṅgala received in the New Ceylon Sect under Dhammagambhira, preparing him to be given authority to perform the Acts of the Saṅgha. (तत्थि, an abbreviation of saṅghakammika, ‘acts of the Saṅgha’; and तत्थि, ‘authority’).

The Acts of the Saṅgha are certain monastic rites, such as the establishment of a consecrated place surrounded by boundary stones (smāna), the acts of uposatha and pavāraṇā (the recitation of the Piṭimokkha or precepts of the monastic discipline twice each lunar month and at the conclusion of Vassa), and the ordination of monks. Authority to perform these acts is given only to a Mahāthera, i.e. a man who has become a Thera; for, according to Jinākalamāḷi, when they returned to Siam in 1424, they brought with them two Theras to act as upajjhaya, Mahāvikkamalānu and Mahā-uttamapannā, who had been ordained in Ceylon 15 and 10 years earlier, respectively, (the mention of ‘10 years’ in this context seems significant). For several years after the group reached Siam, one or the other of these two monks must have acted as upajjhaya at ordinations, with other members of the group participating as part of the required chapter of five monks. Jinākalamāḷi, without actually saying so, implies that this was true of the ordinations by which new members were admitted to the group at Ayudhāya, Sajjanīlāya, Sukhodaya, etc., between 1425 and 1430 (see Coedes, BEFEO XXV/1, pp. 105, 106).

The group led by Dhammagambhira and Medhakāraka then went to Chiang Mai, where they spent the seventh and eighth rainy seasons (Vassa) since their ordination; but during this period no ordinations are mentioned by Jinākalamāḷi, from which it should perhaps be inferred that they themselves had not yet received
Gems\(^{18}\) to govern his conduct. (Cau Dhammagambhíra) then sent him back to reside\(^{19}\) at Khemaraṭṭhya in the āvāsa\(^{20}\) of the Jayamantārāma. The Mahāthera (Khemamāṇgala) then asked Queen Siridhīgāri which place here should be given as a semā for reciting the kammavacā\(^{21}\). The zealous queen caused all the rules to be examined, and had stones\(^{22}\) brought (to serve) as markers in all the eight directions, exceedingly well\(^{23}\) set up. At the moment when the throng of monks and workmen touched the ground\(^{24}\), the earth quaked\(^{25}\) miraculously; on the day the semā stones were planted here, there was such (a miracle).

[II/15-16.] After that, an uneventful year passed.

authorization to perform the Acts of the Saṅgha, and that Mahāvīkkamabhāhu and Mahā-uttamapāṇīhā were no longer with them. It was in CS 794 (1423 A.D.), according to Jinakālamāli, that the group performed their first four ordinations—apparently meaning the first four they conducted without Mahāvīkkamabhāhu and Mahā-uttamapāṇīhā. The rites were performed not at Chiang Mai, but on rafts at Lampāṅg, Lampāṅ, and two other places. In the same year, at the beginning of the rainy season, they established a consecrated ground surrounded by simā boundary-stones, in the Upāriśāma (see Coedes, BEFEO XXV/1, pp.106, 107). Jinakālamāli does not tell us who authorized them to perform these acts; but they were certainly performing them less than 10 years after their own ordination in Ceylon.

We cannot be sure when Dhamмагambhíra authorized Khemamāṇgala to perform the Acts. If he followed the precedent he himself had set, it may have been as early as CS 804 (1442). Otherwise it must have been in CS 805 (1443); see below, note 26. In either case, we assume that Khemamāṇgala returned to Keng Tung within a very short time after being given authority to perform the Saṅghakamma.

18 The Buddha, the Dhamma (Buddhist doctrine), and the Saṅgha: the reference is to administering the traditional Pali formula of refuge in the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Monkhood.

19 simā (II/II) = semā.

20 In this context, a residence for a monk.

21 ที่นั่นสมั(สุขกิจกรรม) (II/II); ที่นั่น is for ที่นี้, 'here'; ที่ = นี้; เสมā, Siamese semā, Pali simā, means 'boundary', etc.; ใบ which; คุณ = คำ 'to recite'; ที่มัณฑร = Pali kammavacā. The simā boundary-stones are erected, with due ritual, to delimit a consecrated area as required for the Saṅghakamma; see above, note 17; also Taw Sein Ko, The Kalyāṇī Inscriptions Erected by King Dhammaceti at Pegu in 1476 A.D. (Rangoon, 1892; pp. i-vi). Kammavacā means the words or text of an official Act of the Saṅgha; these texts are embodied in the Vinaya: see the Pali Text Society's Dictionary (part III: p. 18).

22 มีที่ (II/III) = Siamese มี

23 Eight simā boundary stones are planted around an uposathāgāra or other consecrated area, one at each of the cardinal and subcardinal points (with a ninth usually buried in the center). Our restoration of the lacuna at II/14 as 'well' is a conjecture based on the context: it must have contained an expression meaning something like 'well' or 'beautifully', which was modified by the intensifying adverb อย่างนั้น, exceedingly'.

24 เมื่อในกาล (คำกิจกรรม) คุณ ที่มิถอยเป็นมัณฑร (II/14) = เมื่อในกาลศรีสุขที่มัณฑร คุณเมื่อในกาลที่มัณฑร literally: 'At that time the throng of monks and workmen, when their hands reached to the earth', etc. Note that the word มัณฑร must be understood twice, first at the end of this clause, and again as the subject of the following sentence.

25 ค่ำไก่กิจกรรม (II/14-15); ค่ำไก่ 'to move'; ไก่ 'to tremble', 'to quiver'. An earthquake of this kind was regarded not as a disaster, but as a spectacular act on the part of the goddess of the earth to celebrate an important event in the history of religion. For another example, see JSS 61/1: p. 143 and note 56.
[11/16-21.] In the ‘kāt gā’ year 26 Cau Brañña Śrī Saddhammarājācālumāni27 became king by the authority of Nabapuri28. Full of faith, and (born) of a splendid royal line, Śrī Saddhammarājācālumāni pen Cau came to be a monk in the community of the Mahāthera Khemamaṅgala Cau at Jayā Hmālī for two years29. In the ‘vṝyā hi’ year30, the Mahāthera (Khemamaṅgala) conferred on Mahābrahmacārī [dhammarājācālumāni] (the title) of Ācāryadhāra Kev-Smut31 endowed with pure moral conduct. The former monk32 of the holy religion, Śrī Saddhammarājācālumāni, resumed the throne in prosperity.

[11/21-25.] In the ‘kāt sāi’ year33, having faith in my words34, the Lord Mahārāja who is Sovereign Monarch [of] Jayā Nabapuri35 asked (me to build) a cetiya to deposit (the relics) of the ruler36 who [was his friend] and [who was the husband] of Queen Srī Saddhammarājācālumāni.

26 CS 805, say 1443 A.D. In note 17, we have suggested that Khemamaṅgala may have received the authority to perform the Sanghakamma and returned to Keng Tung in CS 804. It seems more likely, however, that this did not occur until he had spent ‘10 years’ in the New Ceylon Sect; and the inscription can be so interpreted without violating its chronological framework. The method of calculating a monk’s seniority was based on the number of rainy seasons he had spent in the Order. The rainy season retreat (Vassī) began in June or July, depending on the lunar calendar, and usually lasted three months (see JSS 61/1, p. 122). Khemamaṅgala was ordained in the New Ceylon Sect in CS 796 (see above, note 14); and if his ordination took place before the rainy season of that year, he would have spent ‘10 years’ in it by the end of the rainy season of CS 805. That would still leave him time to receive authorization to perform the Sanghakamma, and to return to Keng Tung towards the end of 1443 A.D. or in early 1444, at any rate before the close of CS 805. In the traditional arithmetic any part of a year counts as a full one; and the ‘uneventful year’ that passed after the sima was established (II/15-16) might in fact have been only a few months.

27 The name is written Srī Saddhammarājācālumāni at II/16, and in various ways in other parts of the inscription. We regularize the spelling, but without reconciling Pali and Sanskritic forms.

28 ^= (II/17). We conjecture that ṛ (ṛ, usually ‘from’) here means ‘by the authority of’. Nabapuri (‘new city’) is Chiang Mai, the capital of Lān Nā. It is not clear whether Saddhammarājācālumāni was at Chiang Mai or at Keng Tung when he received the investiture as King of Keng Tung. If at Chiang Mai, he presumably received it directly at the hands of his suzerain, the Maharaja Tilokarāja (King of Lān Nā, 1441-1487).

29 Jayā Hmālī (II/19) = Chiang Mai; it is clear from the context that the name here refers to Keng Tung rather than the capital of Lān Nā.

30 [dhammarājācālumāni] (II/19), for [dhammarajamani], i.e. CS 808, say 1446 A.D. In referring to a monk, ‘two years’ means an interval that includes two rainy seasons. We infer that Śrī Saddhammarājācālumāni was ordained some time before the rainy season of CS 807 and retired from the monkhood some time after the rainy season of CS 808.

31 Mahābrahmacārīdhammarājācālumāni was evidently the name given to Cau Śrī Saddhammarājācālumāni during his sojourn as a monk (the Pali word Brahmaccari means ‘leading a chaste life’). The title Ācāryadhāra Kev-Smut (II/20), if that is the right reading, is something of a puzzle. We conjecture that Kev-Smut (literally ‘gem books’) refers to the Pīṭaka, and that the title represents a partial Tai translation of a Pali title Ācārya Pīṭakadhāra, ‘teacher who knows the Pīṭaka by heart’. From the context of II/21, we gather that Śrī Saddhammarājācālumāni received this title when he was about to retire from the monkhood.

32 (II/21), an honorific for one who has retired from the monkhood. Apparently Śrī Saddhammarājācālumāni retired from the monkhood in CS 808 (say 1446) and resumed the throne of Keng Tung. According to Jinakālamālī, the Therī Somacittā established the religion at Keng Tung in CS 810 (say, 1448; see ‘Introduction’, p. 67). It is possible that Somacittā and ‘Khemamaṅgala’ are two different appellations for the same monk; but if that is right, why should Jinakālamālī tell us that Somacittā established the religion at Keng Tung in CS 810 (a date which is not mentioned at all in our inscription), whereas the inscription shows that Khemamaṅgala established the sima at Keng Tung several years earlier?

33 CS 811, 1449 A.D.

34 Khemamaṅgala here refers to himself in the first person (m), (II/22).

35 (II/22). The reference is to the Mahārāja Tilokarāja, King of Lān Nā, who was Śrī Saddhammarājācālumāni’s suzerain. The kings of Lān Nā bore the title Mahārāja.

36 King Śrī Saddhammarājācālumāni had recently died; see ‘Introduction’, p. 71.
AN INSCRIPTION FROM KENG TUNG

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... caused her husband's relics to be deposited (in the cetiya).

[II/25-29.] In the 'kat sria' year[38], the Mahāthera (Khemamañāgala) .......... addressed Queen Sri Saddhammarājācu!ami, who possesses unfailing energy[37] in the religion, then .......... 

caused her husband's relics to be deposited (in the cetiya).

[II/29-34.] In the Year of the Goat, in other words[42] ...... the 'va ri met' [year], on the eighth day of the waning moon of the seventh month, a Sunday[43], at the rūka of Purvabhadrapsade, that is ..........[44], the queen, desiring (to perform a work of) much benefit and merit, [caused] .......... in the golden chamber of the holy cetiya as a place to deposit these relics of the Lord .......... (She prepared) a graduated series[45] (of caskets), beginning with a casket[46] of coral .......... and gold; (then) a casket of white appearance throughout[49]; then a casket[II/1-21.] of gem crystal; next in the series[50] a gold casket; then she made a silver casket [with a gold cover]; next in the series, a red sandalwood casket; then she made[51]

[37] อุสสาน (II/24); อุสสาน = Pali usāha, 'energy'; บ ช า = บ ช า.
[38] CS 812, 1450 A.D.
[40] Apparently written navapūrṇāgara (II/27); but the reading is doubtful. If correct, it presumably means Chiang Mai, the capital of Län Nà. 
[41] The 'cetiya in the form of a stupa' at the Jayamantarama is the one already mentioned at II/5 in reference to the deposit of a bronze image in it in 1423. The word ภว (II/29), modern ภว, can mean either to build or to rebuild. As the 'cetiya in the form of a stupa' was presumably still standing in 1450, we think the operation would consist of repairs and beautification, or perhaps encasing it in a larger and more splendid monument. We therefore translate ภว as 'rebuilt'.
[42] ปิกร (II/29); ปิกร = เปลี่ยน, 'to change'; ตั้ง, 'to say'. The author first designates the year by the name used in central Siam, then by that used in Län Nà. 
[43] Sunday, 25 April, 1451 (Julian). The expression วันเดือนธันวา (II/30) = Tai Yuan วันในวันอาทิตย์, 'corresponding to Sunday'.
[44] บ้ำวิทุกคะภทศาป (น.) ตีบี (II/31). We have regularized the spelling of the first expression, but omitted the second, the reading of which is doubtful and which seems to represent something like ภทศาป. The word bhādra is sometimes written, in Old Mon, as phatsa (for phatsi?).
[45] คำวิชวิวัฒน์อภิชาม (III/3) = คำวิชวิวัฒน์อภิชาม.
[46] Relics to be deposited in a stupa were generally enclosed in a series of caskets fitted inside one another; the innermost, containing the relics, was made of the most precious material, and the others of material of progressively less value.
[47] ไทร (III/3, etc.), for Pali kosa.
[48] สแบรปิล (III/33-34): แบรปิ, 'gem'; บ ป แพร, for Pali pavāla or pavāla, 'coral'.
[49] พระ (II/34), Siamese พระ; the word is here used in the sense it has in the Isāna dialect, 'complete', 'altogether', 'throughout'. See มีรวัลลี, พจนานุกรมภาษาไทยและภาษาสกุล (Bangkok, B.E. 2515: p. 284).
[50] กษัติ (III/1) and ภุค (III/2) both mean 'next in the series'.
[51] มีรวัลลี (III/3); see มีรวัลลี, op.cit., p. 269.
an ivory casket; and (finally) a copper casket. She made a stone box\textsuperscript{52} painted\textsuperscript{53} with (scenes from) the glorious [stories]\textsuperscript{54}, and then she had words (of explanation inscribed) in sequence; [above and below], there were stone slabs \ldots \ldots . [set up] with words relating the stories in detail; \ldots \ldots . the scene when the Lord went to preach to Braññá Śri Suddhodanārajā in the palace, with (figures of) Śri Yasodharā, as well as Śāriputta and Moggallāna, and also [Prince] Rāhulakumāra, with pictures of many ladies dancing around, giving praise\textsuperscript{59}, and conversing with the retainers\textsuperscript{60}; (and) on one side was \ldots \ldots . the scene when the Lord went to preach the seven Pakaraṇas of the Abhidhamma to Śri Mahāmāya\textsuperscript{61} under the Pārijātā tree, (while sitting) on the Silāpādā\textsuperscript{62} throne \ldots \ldots . (with figures of) Indra and the Devatās above and below. There were many beautiful stories, all complete\textsuperscript{63}, and also pictures of the sun and moon in color \ldots

\begin{itemize}
  \item\textsuperscript{52} พระพุทธรูป (III/4), 'stone box'. The word พระพุทธรูป or พระพุทธรูป in modern Siamese means 'a vessel mounted on a low base and fitted with a cover which is decorated with a fancy tapering tip' (McFarland, p. 536) or 'a chrysomata cup with base and tapering lip, sometimes used as an urn' (McFarland, p. 543). Neither of these meanings will do in the context; but in Middle Khmer, as we learn from Madame Saveros Pou, pra-ap' meant any kind of box. In this case it was obviously a stone box large enough to contain the succession of caskets enclosing one another.
  \item\textsuperscript{53} พระพุทธรูป (III/4), for Pali; racanā, 'arrangement' or 'composition', or else for Pali: rajana, 'coloring'.
  \item\textsuperscript{54} พระพุทธรูป (III/5) = พระพุทธรูป, probably used as a qualifier in the sense of 'glorious'. The word in the preceding lacuna must have meant something like 'stories'. As we shall see in a moment, the compositions were scenes from the Buddha's life.
  \item\textsuperscript{55} We use the term 'scene when' to translate the expression พระพุทธรูป (III/8, 9-10, and 11) = พระพุทธรูป, literally 'just as when'.
  \item\textsuperscript{56} The incident just preceding the Enlightenment.
  \item\textsuperscript{57} พระพุทธรูป (III/10); พระพุทธรูป, 'enclosed in pictures'; พระพุทธรูป, 'lotuses of fine color'.
  \item\textsuperscript{58} พระพุทธรูป (III/10), Pali: dhammachakka; here referring to the Buddha's First Sermon, which 'set in motion the Wheel of the Doctrine'.
  \item\textsuperscript{59} Conjectural translation of พระพุทธรูป (III-15), which perhaps = modern พระพุทธรูป
  \item\textsuperscript{60} The description of the scenes continues with the Buddha's visit to Kapilavatthu to preach to his father King Suddhodana. During the course of this visit he saw his former wife Yasodharā and their son Rāhula (kumāra means a young boy). Śāriputta and Moggallāna were the Buddha's two chief disciples. At the Buddha's request, Śāriputta ordained Rāhula as a sāmaṇera. The 'many ladies' are presumably King Suddhodana's attendants, 'dancing around' (พระพุทธรูป, III/15, for Pali: paridā-naccā; but the reading is doubtful).
  \item\textsuperscript{61} The Buddha's mother, who had died a week after giving him birth, and been reborn in the Tusita Heaven. The Buddha went to preach to the Abhidhamma to her in the Tāvatimsa Heaven, which she visited in order to hear him. The Abhidhamma (the analytic doctrine of the Buddhist Canon) consists of seven books designated as Pakaraṇas. At the invitation of Indra (Sakka), King of the Tāvatimsa Heaven, the Buddha preached while sitting on the Pāṇḍukāmala-sīlāsana, the throne which was ordinarily occupied by Indra himself. The throne is situated at the foot of the huge coral tree (Erythrina indica) named Pārijātā or Pārīchatl-taka, which is one of the most conspicuous features of the Tāvatimsa Heaven; see Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names (London, 1960; I, p. 1002). In the passage III/12-18 we have regularized the spelling of proper names. In the text, Suddhodana's name is written Brāhmi Śri Suddhodanarāja (III/12); Śāriputta is written Śāriputta (III/13); Moggallāna in written Mogallāna (III/13); Śri Mahāmāya is written Śri Mahāmāya (III/17); Pārijitā (III/11) is written Pārijātā.
  \item\textsuperscript{62} This oddly spelt word, which is preceded by the word พระพุทธรูป (III/18), 'slab', is certainly intended to represent the name of Indra's throne; see the preceding note. Perhaps put for Pali sīlāpāṭṭa or Sanskrit śilāpāṭṭa, 'a stone slab used as a seat', etc., equivalent to sīlāsana in the name of Indra's throne. Cf. Mahāmāya-sīlāsana, the name of Rāma Gāmberi's famous stone throne (JSS 59/2, p. 216 and note 112).
  \item\textsuperscript{63} พระพุทธรูป (III/20), 'complete'; see above, note 49.
III/21-27.] Now we shall speak of the relics of the Lord which were deposited in this cetiya. (There are) three of them, full of color and exceedingly beautiful. One of them, about the size of a single pea, is of a golden color. One of them is of two colors, with one side like mother-of-pearl, and one side like gold. One of them, about the size of a mustard seed, is partly a color like mother-of-pearl and partly like gold emitting rays, with one side like the flower of a bikula, lovely in appearance and beautiful to the eyes. When the queen had finished preparing the golden chamber of the cetiya befittingly to enshrine the Lord’s relics, she who is the scion of kings, together with the Brahā Yauvarāja, and the able counsellors and high officers, as well as the monks (beginning with) the Mahāsāmi Mahāthera Śrī Saddhammālānākā (and) Brahā Śrī Saddhammarājaculāmaṇi Śrī Yauvarāja, lifted the box (containing) the Lord’s relics, and deposited it in this cetiya in the ‘rvañ met’ year, on the tenth day of the waxing moon of the ninth month, corresponding to Friday, a ‘kat set’ day (in the) Dai (reckoning), at the time the moon (was in) the nakkhatta of Visakha. Just at that moment there was a miracle: lightning flashed around in the eight directions when the Lord’s relics were thus enshrined.

64 वण (III/22), for, नण, Pali: bhūga, ‘share’ or ‘portion’.
65 ऐन (III/25), Phaseolus mango or Phaseolus radiatus (Reinhorn, Dictionnaire laotien-français, Paris, 1970, p. 1023; Burkill, Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula, London, 1935, p. 1710). Equivalent to Siamese ถั่วลาย (McFarland, p. 384) and Pali māsa (Pali Text Society’s Dictionary, part VI, p. 155). According to Jinakīlamallī, the ‘disintegrated’ or miscellaneous relics of the Buddha, as distinguished from the seven major relics (the four eye-teeth, the two collar bones, and the frontal bone, all of which were preserved intact), are of three sorts, according to size and color. The largest, about the size of split peas, resemble nuggets of gold. The next, the size of grains of rice broken in two in the middle, are like cleansed pearl. The smallest, the size of mustard seeds, resemble jasmine buds. See Jayawickrama’s translation, The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror (London, 1968; pp. 52-53). The description of the three relics at III/22-27 and IV/1-3 seems to be based on a variant of this tradition.
66 ฝั่งนิรมาลศ่ำา (III/26) = ฝั่งนิรมาลศ่ำา.
67 ฝั่งตุ่น (IV/1) ฝั่งตุ่น. The mustard seed (Pali sāsapa) is often mentioned in Buddhist texts. Cf. above, note 65.
68 ฟ้าถุ่น (IV/2). For ถุ่น, see Guesdon, Dictionnaire cambodge-français (Paris, 1930; p. 499), s.v. chhlibh, ‘briller, éclairer, refléter, rejaillir’.
69 Mimusops elengi.
70 Free translation of วันหนึ่ง (IV/3), a Tai Yuan expression meaning ‘worthy to be looked at’.
71 บริเวณ (IV/4) = บริเวณ.
72 Two persons in this inscription have the title Brahā Yauvarāja, the first without further designation (IV/5), and the other called Brahā Śrī Saddhammarājaculāmaṇi Śrī Yauvarāja (IV/6-7). Both are sons of the queen and the late king. The first is listed immediately after his mother, and before the counsellors and high officers; he is probably the younger of the two. The other is presumably the reigning king, who has inherited the kingdom and his name from his late father. As he is listed among the monks, we assume that he has temporarily retired from the throne and been ordained as an act of merit in connection with his father’s death.
73 See the preceding note.
74 Friday, 11 June, 1451 (Julian). We have regularized the spelling of the nakkhatta, which is written Baisakka at IV/9.
75 วันที่ (IV/9) = วันที่.
76 วัน dương (IV/9) = วัน dương.
(Now) we shall go back and tell about the holy cetiya with a gilded spire, so that every one may know about it in detail. It is gilded from the spire down to (the place in the) middle (containing the) relic chamber, wherever one looks, then going on down to the earth.

If there are any eminent persons, born of royal lineage and having much merit, who become kings in the future, or any other willing persons whatever whose hearts rejoice in the religion, let them lead in benefactions to maintain its beauty from now on as long as the earth (endures), until the day!

Furthermore when Queen Braňa Sri Saddhammarājācūmaṇī, the Mahādevī who is the mother named Sri Saddhammarājīni Sri Svastimāta, and both of her sons who have the title of) Braňa Yauvarājā, who (all three) abide in the royal traditions and together have complete faith and reverence for the religion—caused this cetiya to be rebuilt, there were also upland and lowland ricefields and dipterocarpus groves (given to it), and people were assigned to look after the cetiya.

Whoever comes and sees the history summed up in this inscription, let him...
rejoice88 with the queen who is full of faith! Kings born of [royal] lineage [half a line illegible] until the day89!

[IV/21-25.] Now we shall tell of the ... [two and a half lines largely illegible] ... which the queen and her children presented in homage. Whoever becomes king (in the future), or a high officer, let him not29 take away the offerings of homage which have been assigned irrevocably to the Jayamantäräma.91

[IV/26-34.] As for any merit which (may be earned by) me, who am named Khemamangala, born to practise the religion of the Lord up to the rebuilding92 of the cetiya at this place—so long as I have not yet attained nirvāṇa93 but still remain such a long time in samsāra94—let me not encounter men of evil disposition95! Let me not be born in a family96 that does not practise morality97, or a lineage that is destitute98 or holds wrong views99! Let me be born in a lineage that practises morality, holds the right beliefs100, and gives alms without stint101, (so that) I may store up the requisites (for Enlightenment)102 until the Lord Siri Metteyya103 comes to attain omniscience104! (Then) let me (be born on earth) in time to listen to the preaching of the Dhamma from the Lord's own mouth105; Let me enter the

88 อมรุบายา (IV/19), for Pali anumodana, 'thanksgiving', 'rejoicing', 'appreciation', etc.
89 The lacuna may have contained an admonition to future kings to respect the monastery and help maintain it. 'Until the day' means until the day when the religion will disappear, in the year 5000 of the Buddhist Era (see above, note 80).
90 ถ้า (IV/24), modern ถ้า, the negative imperative.
91 More literally: 'vested in the Jayamantäräma, by means of words like this, until the day' (IV-25).

The expression ถ้า = ถ้า used as a final particle.
92 ถ้า (IV/27) = ถ้า.
93 อย่าไปปล่อยให้หนู (IV/27); ถ้า is to be understood as ถ้า, 'not yet'; 'nirvāṇa' is written บุญธรรม (nyarabâna). Khemamangala is speaking in the first person (น).
94 รอบ (IV/27), the round of rebirths.
95 อย่า (IV/28), Pali bâla, 'ignorant', 'evil', 'mischievous'.
96 รอบ (IV/28), = รอบสุค (รอบสุค).
97 ถ้า (IV/28), Pali sâlaçâra.
98 ถ้า (IV/28), for ถ้า.
99 ถ้า (IV/28), for Pali micchâdiçîthi.
100 ถ้า (IV/29), for Pali sammâdiçîthi.
101 ถ้า (IV/29), for Pali sammâdiçîthi.
102 ถ้า (IV/30) is put for Pali (bodhi)sambhâra, 'the requisites for attaining Enlightenment', i.e. the making of enough merit and the acquisition of enough wisdom during countless reincarnations.
103 ถ้า (IV/30), for Pali Siri Metteyya. After the present Buddhist religion disappears (see above, note 80), there will be an immensely long period in which there will be no Buddha to teach the Dhamma, no way for mankind to be aware of the need to make merit, and no means to avoid a progressive increase in ignorance, evil, and suffering from one rebirth to another. Finally the Bodhisatta Metteyya, who is now waiting in the Tusita Heaven until the appointed time, will be reborn as a man and become the fifth Buddha of the present kalpa.
104 ถ้า (IV/30), sânäçâryaçītana, for Pali sabbatthidhāna, 'omniscience'; cf. Siamese ถ้า (IV/30), 'omniscient' and Sanskrit sarvajñâ, 'omniscient' and sarvajñâna, 'omniscience'.
105 Khemamangala is asking, as a reward for the merit he will have accumulated in his various existences, to be reborn on earth at a time when he can grow up in the dispensation of the Buddha Metteyya, so that he can become his disciple.
equanimity (upekkha). See Nyanatiloka, characteristic of a particular kind of person, or 'manner proper to such a person'.

giving and liberality (dana-), morality (sīla-), renunciation (nekkhamma-), morality (sīla-), renunciation (nekkhamma-), wisdom (paññā), energy (vīrya-), forbearance (khanti-), truthfulness (sacca-), resolution (adhisthana-), all-embracing kindness (mettā), and equanimity (upekkha).

After the wish to attain the condition of an Arahant, which already implies celibacy. Despite the spelling, which reflects the Sanskrit form 'Bodhisat' and not 'Bodhisattva', there is no reason to suspect any Mahāyāna tendency. The word is intended to convey exactly the same concept as the Pali form Bodhisattva, as used for Gotama before his Enlightenment and during his previous lives. The religion of this inscription is the orthodox Theravāda; but, as in, many of the terms used are given a Sanskrit or partially Sanskrit form.

May she possess the ten perfections in accordance with the history of all Buddhas without exception!

Free translation of pātisambhūta, 'analytical insight' (see Pali Text Society's Dictionary), or Pali paṭisambhidā, 'analytical insight' (see Pali Text Society's Dictionary), or 'a seton to deposit' the Lord's relics.

Free translation of the ten precepts (for Buddhahood) in accordance with the history of all Buddhas without exception.

May she obtain omniscience in a future life as a result of the merit she has earned by rebuilding the cetiya to deposit the Lord's relics! (May it be) a source of obtaining the requisites (for Buddhahood) in accordance with the history of all Buddhas without exception.

Free translation of pātisambhūta, 'analytical insight' (see Pali Text Society's Dictionary), or Pali paṭisambhidā, 'analytical insight' (see Pali Text Society's Dictionary), or 'a seton to deposit' the Lord's relics.

Free translation of the ten perfections leading to Buddhahood: perfection in alms-giving and liberality (dana-), morality (sīla-), renunciation (nekkhamma-), wisdom (paññā), energy (vīrya-), forbearance (khanti-), truthfulness (sacca-), resolution (adhisthana-), all-embracing kindness (mettā), and equanimity (upekkha).

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