

## CHAPTER 10

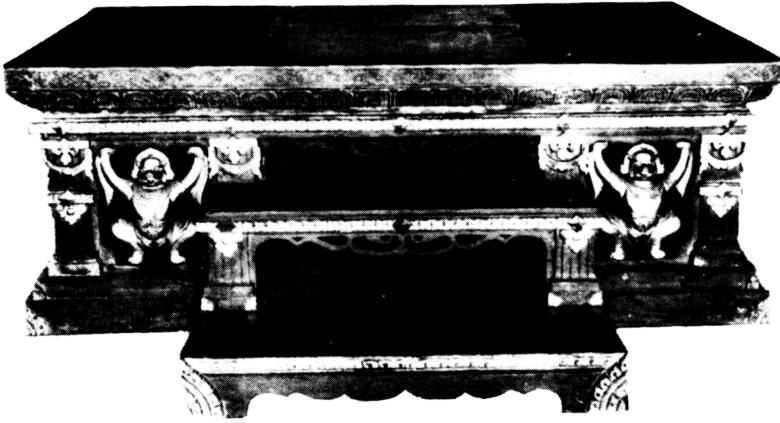
# RAM KHAMHAENG'S INSCRIPTION: THE SEARCH FOR CONTEXT

Hiram W. Woodward, Jr.

One reason why the date of the inscription of Ram Khamhaeng has become a debatable issue is that scholars concerned with cultural history have never sufficiently given the document a context – a sense of the period in which it was produced so strong that the inscription could no more be lifted into another era than could the Magna Carta or the American Declaration of Independence. This paper deals with three aspects of cultural context, in an effort to show how the inscription is very much a document of its time. There is first the matter of sacred Buddhist geography and of the relationship of this geography to architectural traditions, to the language of the inscription, and most importantly, to Ram Khamhaeng's throne and his name for it, the *Manañilāpātra*. Secondly, there is the matter of the sort of Buddha image that was being made in the Ram Khamhaeng period. And thirdly there is a cultural aspect that is merely Tai, there to be illustrated by a discussion of the word *Klāng*, "in the middle of." This word appears to reflect pre-Sukhothai traditions.

These matters will not be discussed in such a way as to prove the authenticity of the inscription. This authenticity is taken for granted. Nevertheless the paper includes evidence for genuineness that may be added to arguments found elsewhere in his volume.

The purpose of the inscription of Ram Khamhaeng was the foundation of a stone platform or throne, the *Manañilāpātra* as



**Fig. 1.** The Manasīlapātra. Royal Palace, Bangkok. (Photo after a Fine Arts Department publication.)

the text names it. The throne survives and is now in Bangkok (fig.1). In 1923, George Coedès proposed that the compound Manasīlapātrā was derived from the name Manosilā, a site in the sacred geography of the Himalayas.<sup>1</sup> This sacred geography has never been sufficiently explored. It provides clues to the content of Sukhothai Buddhism in the time of Ram Khamhaeng as well as to the style of the inscription.

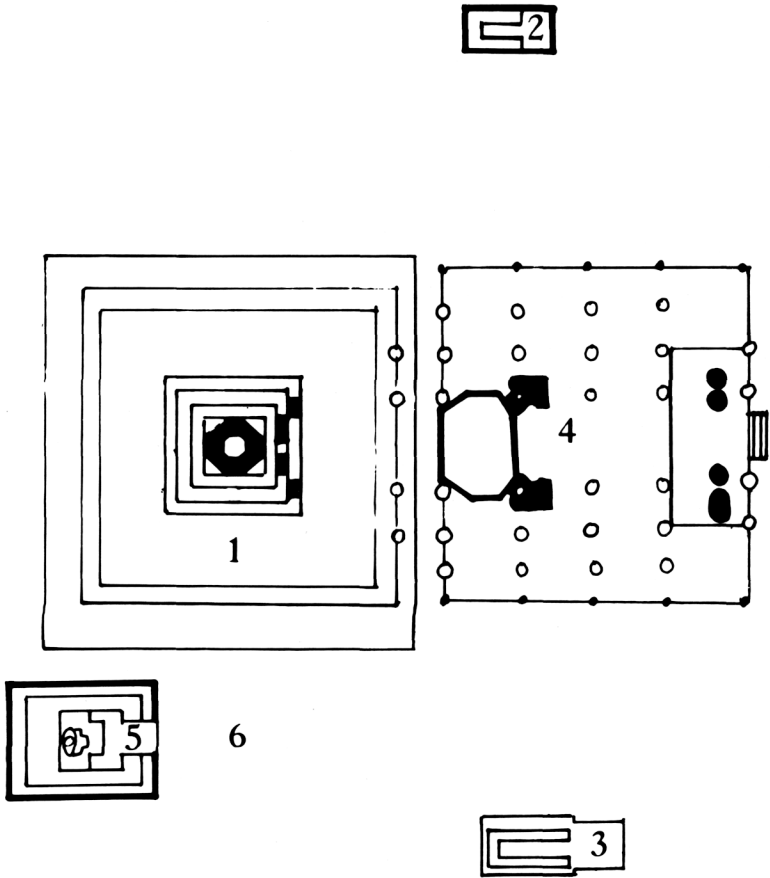
The mythical site Manosilā may be obscure, but it stands beside the lake – Anavatapta in Sanskrit, Anotatta in Pali – that is perhaps the best known spot in the sacred Himalayas of the Buddhists. This lake is the source for the rivers of India. In the time of Jayavarman VII of Cambodia, about a century before Ram Khamhaeng, the lake was recreated at the pond-and-temple site of Neak Pean in the city of Angkor.<sup>2</sup> Allusion to Himalayan geography was an element shared by the Buddhism of Jayavarman VII and of Ram Khamhaeng.

Manosilā, literally “mind stone,” means red arsenic or vermilion. In the Pali scriptures Manosilā-tala, the Manosilā

surface, platform, or flatland, is the name of the spot where the Paccekabuddhas (the “lonely” non-teaching Buddhas) stop after they have finished brushing their teeth in Lake Anotatta.<sup>3</sup> Manosilātala is also a place where lions roar the doctrine, and by extension it is a platform used for preaching. The name Manosilātala appears most frequently in the Jātakas, and translations of passages can be found in the appendix below.

The change from the name Manosilātala to the Manasīlāpātra of Ram Khamhaeng’s inscription can only be hesitantly accounted for. Replacing *tala* (“platform”) as the final element is *pātra*, “vessel” or “begging bowl,” in its Sanskrit spelling. Perhaps the primary distinction between *pātra* and *tala* is simply one of scale. *Manas* replaces *mana*. This is another form of the same word meaning “mind,” with an ending used in the nominative case in Pali but not in compounds. It is as if the deviser of the name wanted to separate the compound *manasilā* into its two parts and to signify to those knowing the rudiments of Pali grammar *mana* in its primary sense as “mind.” The stone platform, therefore, can be construed both as “stone vessel of the mind” and as “the place Manosilā in vessel form.” Was this name Manasīlāpātra the work of someone who had a slapdash way with Indic words? That could be argued, but I would guess not.

According to the inscription, this “stone slab” (ขดวหิน) had two functions. On regular holy days monks (or a monk) sat on it to preach the Dharma, and on other days the king sat on it so that “officials, lords and princes” (which may or may not be an accurate rendering of ผู้ทวยลูกเจ้าลูกขุน) could, in the Griswold and Prasert translation, “discuss affairs of state with him.”<sup>4</sup> Literally, what they did was to “hold the village, hold the city together” (ถือบ้านถือเมืองกัน)—an idiomatic expression the exact nuances of which may be irrecoverable. The throne, in other words, was a symbol of both sacred and secular authority. In the Jātaka, the Manosilātala is a place for authoritative speech, for the discourse of the roaring lion, but it is also merely a place to visit—by Paccekabuddhas, by the Buddha-to-be, and others. The throne, it may be surmised, was given its name in part to



**Fig. 2** Sukhothai, Mahâthât, in the time of Ram Khamhaeng. Conjectural plan, based on the researches of Betty Gosling. 1. Pyramid (later transformed into a lotus-bud tower). 2, 3. Laterite shrines, probably Sālā Brah Māsa and Buddha sālā 4. Wihân. 5. Eighteen-cubit Buddha image. 6. Site of wihân.

provide authority for the speech of the monks and for the speech of Ram Khamhaeng, and in part simply to associate the city of Sukhothai with the Himalayas of scripture.

If the features of this geography are relevant in a general way, it might be asked how this is so. The connection between *Manaññilāpātra* and *Manosilātala* is a certitude; the other connections are speculative. One of the most salient features of 13th-century architecture, especially in Lopburi and Ratburi, is the triple shrine, an architectural feature that may once have been more significant at Sukhothai than is realized.

The central part of what today is called the Mahāthāt at Sukhothai may in Ram Khamhaeng's time have looked something like the plan of fig. 2. This reconstruction is based on the researches of Betty Gosling.<sup>5</sup> On the west, at No. 1, is a laterite pyramid, built before Ram Khamhaeng's time and some decades after his death transformed into a lotus bud stupa. Like the pyramid at Wat Kôn Laeng, identified by Dr. Gosling as the oldest at Sukhothai, this pyramid originally must have served some ritual purpose, probably funerary. In front of the pyramid is a brick image hall or *wihân* (no. 4), possibly dating from the time of Ram Khamhaeng. The pyramid is not mentioned in the inscription; the *wihân* probably is (11.23). North and south of the *wihân*, at Nos. 2 and 3, are two stone shrines that predate Ram Khamhaeng.<sup>6</sup> Dr. Gosling has proposed that these shrines be identified with the *SālāBrah Māsa* and the *Buddhasālā* mentioned toward the end of Face 3 of the inscription.<sup>7</sup>

These two shrines are significant features that bear a relationship both to widespread building practices of the thirteenth century and to Himalayan geography. Nevertheless, there are many gaps in our knowledge. We do not know what stood at point 4 before the brick *wihân* was constructed. Possibly there was a third axial stone shrine. Nor do we know where the *Manaññilāpātra* was originally placed. On the basis of the language of the inscription, Griswold and Prasert suggested that it was set up between the two shrines.<sup>8</sup> Even with these questions unanswered, however, we can safely surmise that Ram Khamhaeng was both working within the framework of the Buddhism

he inherited and pushing it in new directions.

In both Siam and Cambodia the dominant Buddhist sect for the greater part of the thirteenth century was a sect that can be called Lopburi Hīnayāna.<sup>9</sup> Its roots lay primarily in Burma. The sect started to challenge the dominant Mahāyāna of Cambodia toward the end of the twelfth century; it emerged victorious, and it persisted until the middle decades of the fourteenth century, when it was finally supplanted as a result of new ties with Sri Lanka. History books are in general silent about Lopburi Hīnayāna because its existence is documented almost entirely by iconographical features found in art and architecture. These features include the central shrine with two flanking shrines, Buddha images wearing pointed crowns, and standing Buddha images with a right hand on the chest.

Wat Mahāthāt in Lopburi is the central monument of the thirteenth century. It is a laterite shrine, a *prāṅg* that originally had brick wings with flanking shrines. This is a scheme found in countless numbers of votive tablets of the thirteenth century, in which the two flanking shrines hold images of the Buddha, and the whole concept can be traced back to 11th-century Burma. A tablet very similar to Burmese examples was found in the ruins of the Mahāthāt at Sukhothai (fig. 3), and there are reasons to believe that in the twelfth century Sukhothai was a crucible for the development of the Lopburi Hīnayāna traditions of Siam.<sup>10</sup> On this tablet and most others the central shrine is a replica of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh Gaya, site of the Buddha's enlightenment. There are also reasons, however, for associating the concept of flanking shrines with another of the features of the sacred geography of the Himalayas.

A passage in a Thai cosmology compiled in 1802 – but based on much older Pali materials – describes Mt. Gandhamādana:

Mt. Gandhamādana has a projection called Nandamūla. It is the place where all the Pācekabodhis dwell. There are three caves, namely Suvānagūhā the gold cave, Maṅgūhā the gem cave, and Rajatagūhā the silver cave, three caves in all.<sup>11</sup>



**Fig. 3** Votive tablet. Terra cotta. Ht. 13 cm. From Wat Mahâthât, Sukhothai. Ram Khamhaeng Museum, Sukhothai.

According to *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*, a king entreated eight noble saints “to call up by their power the likeness of Nandamula grotto on Mt. Gandhamadana. And they did so.”<sup>12</sup> The monument that was built after this likeness was the Ananda or Nanda temple in Pagan. It is not far-fetched, therefore, to see the three caves as a model for the triple sanctuaries of thirteenth-century Siam. In line with the textual description, we should imagine the central shrine as a gem shrine and the two flanking shrines as gold and silver.

At Sukhothai the two surviving shrines would be the ones of gold and silver. The names for the two shrines in the inscription, *Ṣālā Braḥ Mās*, “the shrine of Lord Gold” and *Buddha-ṣālā*, “the Buddha shrine,” at least partly correspond to such a distinction. At any rate, the fact that Ram Khamhaeng spoke of the shrines in connection with his foundation of the *Manañ-ṣilāpātra* suggests that they were still important to him.

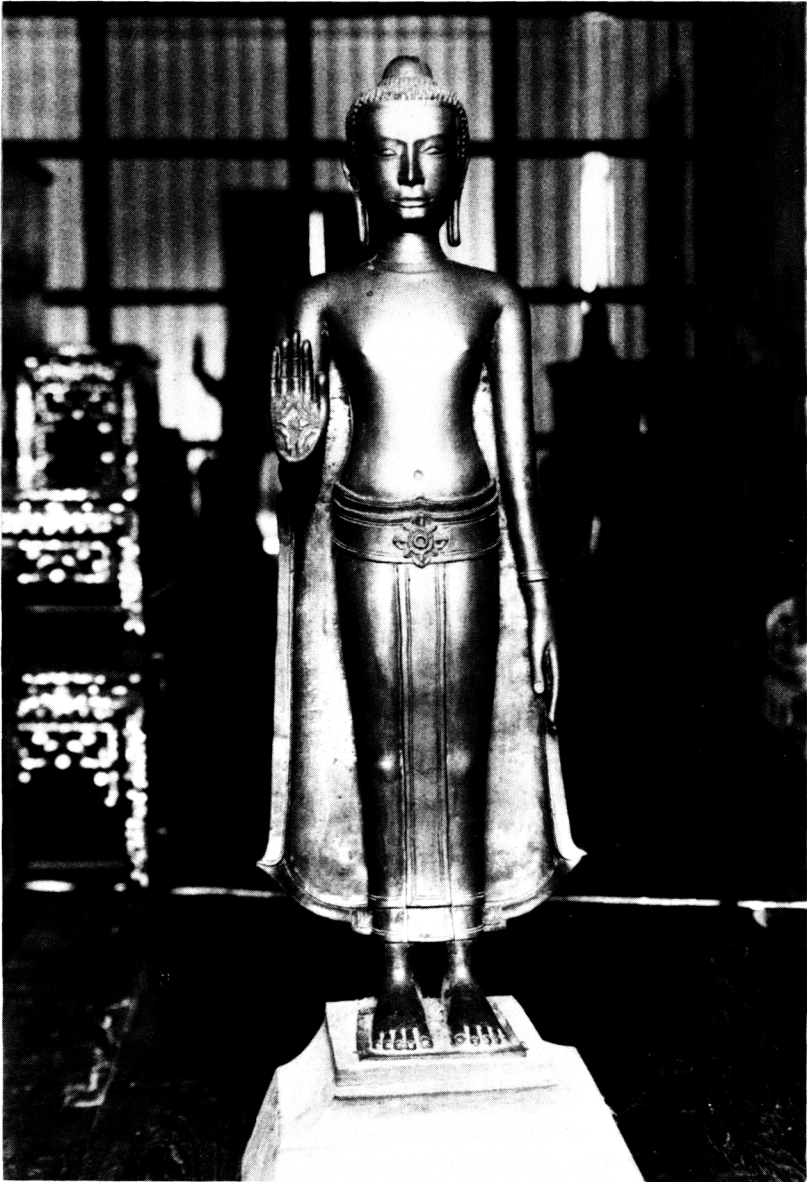
Are there other, more distant echoes of Himalayan geography in the inscription? There probably are, yet their very distance makes proof difficult. It is curious, for instance, that the inscription makes so much of *pā* – forest, groves or orchards – of areca, betel, coconut, mango, tamarind, and sugar-palm trees. Forests (*gahana*) of single species of trees are however, a special feature of the Himalayas.<sup>13</sup> One wonders too, whether the sentence translated by Griswold and Prasert as “Inside this city there is a marvelous pond of water which is as clear and as good to drink as the water of the Mekhong in the dry season” (11.6-7) might not be the straightforward way to suggest a fantastic conceit: Sukhothai’s pond as Lake Anotatta, and the Mekhong flowing out of it (just as do the great rivers of India). Descriptions of the Himalayan lakes, mountains, forests, and caves may be one element in the rhetorical background of the text, but the inscription is very careful not to say anything that we would recognize as fanciful. The same is true of the accounts of social polity. There may well have been an awareness at Sukhothai of the messianic populist idealism of King Kyanzittha of Burma, who according to a prediction, went the claim, would feed and clothe his people.<sup>14</sup> In Ram Khamhaeng’s inscription,



there is mention of generosity, but it is generosity directed toward noblemen who will establish allied states (I. 28-31). It's a little as if Buddhist rhetoric gave to the king a framework rather like an application form stating "List your forests," "List your charitable contributions," and so forth. Ram Khamhaeng filled out this application form entirely honestly – or so he would have us believe.

Just as the myth of Himalayan geography may lie behind words and passages in the inscription and behind certain elements in Sukhothai architecture, so does a lineage of images lie behind the dominant type of Buddha image in Ram Khamhaeng's time. The Aranyik monastery, mentioned by Ram Khamhaeng in the inscription (11.28), has been identified by Dr. Gosling with the site today called Wat Saphan Hin (fig. 4 in Dr. Gosling's article, chapter 5).<sup>15</sup> The inscription mentions the eighteen-cubit Buddha – the actual traditional height of the Enlightened One. The concept of the eighteen cubit Buddha should be considered part of the bundle of Lopburi Hīnayāna beliefs, though it was not a major one. Earlier examples – aside from those in Burma – would include one in Lamphun, built by King Adicca's successor,<sup>16</sup> and one at Kompong Svay in Cambodia.<sup>17</sup> The style of the stucco image cannot be taken as representing the style of Ram Khamhaeng's time, for it was apparently modernized in the period after the Sukhothai style proper developed in the middle years of the fourteenth century, following contacts with Sri Lanka. In the years around 1300, the characteristic Sukhothai modeling and such typical iconic types as the walking Buddha lay in the future. The posture of the Wat Saphan Hin Buddha, with right arm extended, left pendant, on the other hand, should be understood as the original posture. Among the bronze images which are most likely to date from about the time of Ram Khamhaeng a number have exactly this same attitude, and one appears in fig. 4. It may be taken as an indication of the original appearance of the stucco image at Wat Saphan Hin.

There are reasons to associate this posture with Thai speakers. An early instance would be the example carved at Wang Sang near Vientiane in Laos, probably dating from the



**Fig. 4** Standing Buddha, bronze. Formerly Sawankhârâm, Sawankhalok.

year inscribed there—equivalent to A. D. 1006.<sup>18</sup> Although provincial Cambodian in style, this is probably the work of either Mon or Tai speakers. At any rate, examples are isolated up until a period around the final decades of the thirteenth century, when they become rather numerous. The interest in this posture may be taken as a feature distinguishing Ram Khamhaeng's Buddhism from earlier Lopburi Hīnayāna traditions.<sup>19</sup>

If Tai speakers were involved in the creation of Buddha images in the Vientiane area as early as 1006 A. D., then we might also wonder what a look at pre-Buddhist Tai practices in Laos and Vietnam might tell us about Tai beliefs and rhetorical traditions. Questions of social organization and vocabulary have already been much explored by others. Here will be considered a single word, the word *klâng*, which (though translated by Griswold and Prasert as merely "inside") should be taken to mean "middle" in a strong and positive way.

Most of the occurrences of *klâng* in the inscription have already been mentioned in passing: in the middle of the city (*klâng mûang*) there is a pond (11.6); in the middle of the city there is a *wihân* (11.23); in the middle of the Aranyik there is a *wihân* (11.31). Finally, on face four, there is the relic of the sugar-palm grove, there is a slab of stone, the Manasiṣlapātra (111.13). Finally, on face four, there is the relic of the Buddha that is buried in the middle of *mûang* Si Satchanalai (IV.6). All these things-in-the-middle are primary features, and it may well be that the word *klâng* itself should be considered as having an aura around it.

*Without written records, there may always be dispute as to whether this usage of klâng, and especially of klâng mûang, "the middle of the city," can be traced back to a pre-Buddhist past. We may be dealing entirely with adaptations of Indic notions by non-Buddhist Tai in the centuries since Ram Khamhaeng. Here is one such problematic piece of evidence. During the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910), the principality of Thaeng, in the Dienbienphu area, a legendary Tai homeland, put together a chronicle that has been published in Siamese. It describes what happened following the death in time past of a chieftain*

named Đuk Thựang.<sup>20</sup> His male descendants took his body and buried it in the royal enclosure in the middle of the city (*klâng mựang*). Above they built a *sālā* or shrine. Đuk Thựang had told his descendants that when he died he would be joining the *phi fā* or sky spirits, a word the chronicle elsewhere interprets as the “*debyatā*” in heaven. This was probably a privilege reserved for the hereditary nobility. Đuk Thựang said that edible animals should be offered to his corpse: water buffalo, goats, pigs, ducks and chickens. Whoever came to rule the municipality should carry out the sacrifices. Then Đuk Thựang would bestow his blessing on the rulers, and they would long prosper.

True, this is an ambiguous case, but it is arguable that for pre-Buddhist Tai the expression *Klâng mựang* inevitably had certain sacred associations. The element in “the middle of the mựang” had been Đuk Thựang’s grave. At Sukhothai, according to the evidence of the Ram Khamhaeng inscription, one central element was a pond, and one was a *wihān*; at Si Satchanalai – the modern Chaliang – the central element was a relic of the Buddha. An extant structural and spatial framework was given a Buddhist content, and the use of the expression *klâng mựang*, it is proposed, spans both the animist and the Buddhist eras.

The mental climate of the Ram Khamhaeng period can be reconstructed in part by careful attention to such words as *Manaññilā pātra* and *klâng mựang*. And this climate, which archaeological and art historical evidence also reveals, must be distinguished from both that of Khmer civilization of a century earlier and that of mature Sukhothai, as known from the later inscriptions and from most Sukhothai art and architecture. If the current debate regarding the authenticity of Inscription I forces us to define the culture of the Ram Khamhaeng period more precisely, it will not have been a futile scholarly episode.

## Appendix

### The Name Manosilā in the Jātakas

Queen Māya's dream, translation from the introduction to the Jātaka by Henry Clarke Warren (*Buddhism in Translations*, New York: Atheneum, 1963, pp. 42-43).

The four guardian angels came and lifted her up, together with her couch, and took her away to the Himalayan Mountains. There, in the Manosilā tableland, which is sixty leagues in extent, they laid her under a prodigious sal-tree, seven leagues in height, and took up their positions respectfully at one side. Then came the wives of these guardian angels, and conducted her to Anotatta Lake, and bathed her, to remove every human stain. And after clothing her with divine garments, they anointed her with perfumes and decked her with divine flowers. Not far off was Silver Hill, and in it a golden mansion. There they spread a divine couch with its head toward the east, and laid her down upon it. Now the future Buddha had become a superb white elephant, and was wandering about at no great distance, on Gold Hill. Descending thence, he ascended Silver Hill, and approaching from the north, he plucked a white lotus with his silvery trunk, and trumpeting loudly, went into the golden mansion. And three times he walked round his mother's couch, with his right side toward it, and striking her on her right side, he seemed to enter her womb. Thus the conception took place in the Midsummer Festival.

The following quotations are taken from *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, 6 vols. London: Pali Text Society, 1973.

No. 40, *Khadirangāra-jātaka* (vol. 1, pp. 103-4) ...a Pacceka Buddha rising from a seven days' trance of mystic ecstasy...cleaned his teeth with a toothstick made from the betel-vine, washed his mouth with water from Lake Anotatta, put on his under-cloth as he stood on the tableland of Manosilā, fastened on his girdle,

donned his outer-cloth; and, equipped with a bowl which he called into being for the purpose, he passed through the air and arrived at the gate of the mansion just as the Bodhisatta's breakfast was taken in.

No. 172, *Daddara-jātaka* (vol. 2, p. 45)

At this time we hear that there were a number of very learned Brethren in the district of Manosilā, who spoke out like young lions, loud enough to bring down the heavenly Ganges, while reciting passages of scripture before the Community.

No. 183, *Samhāmāvacara-jātaka* (vol. 2, p. 63)

Then he [the Master] pointed out, stretching over sixty leagues, the uplands of Manosilā, the seven great lakes, Anotatta and the rest, the five great rivers, the whole Himalaya highlands, with the magnificent hills named of Gold, of Silver, and of Gems, and hundreds of other lovely spots.

No. 230, *Dutiya-palāyi-jātaka* (vol. 3, p.153)

At that time, the master, with a large company round him, sitting on the beautifully adorned throne of the truth, upon a vermilion dais, was discoursing like a young lion roaring with a lion's roar.

No. 408, *Kumbhakāara-jātaka* (vol. 3, p. 230)

Then one day those four paccekabuddhas, considering that it was time for their rounds, left the Nandamūla cave, having cleansed their teeth by chewing betel in the lake Anotatta, and having attended to their needs in Manosilā, they took the bowl and robe, and by magic flying in the air, and treading on clouds of the five colours, they alighted not far from a suburb of Benares.

No. 497, *Mātanga-jātaka* (vol. 4, p. 238)

He [Mātanga] went through the air to Lake Anotatta, and there washed his mouth, and so forth; standing in the district of Manosilā, he donned the pair of coloured garments, girt his girdle about him, put on the ragged robe, took his earthen bowl, and went through the air to the fourth gateway...

No. 535, *Sudhābhajana-jataka* (vol. 5, p. 210)

At that time Sakka had four daughters, Hope, Faith, Glory, and Honour, who taking with them many a heavenly scented garland came to lake Anotatta, to disport themselves in the water, and after amusing themselves there seated themselves on Mount Manosilā. Just at that moment Nārada, a brahmin ascetic, went to the Palace of the Thirty-Three to rest during the heat of the day and constructed a dwelling-place for the day in the bowers of Cittakūta in the Nanda grove. And holding in his hand the flower of the coral tree, to serve as a sunshade, he repaired to Golden Cave, the place where he dwelt on the top of Manosilā. The nymphs on seeing this flower in his hand begged it from him. The master, to make the matter clearer, said

In Gandhamādana's lordly height,  
These nymphs, great Sakka's care, delight:  
To them a saint of world-wide fame  
With goodly bough in hand there came.

No. 536, *Kuṇāla-jataka* (vol. 5, p. 221)

The Master by his miraculous power caught them all up with him in the air and transported them to the Himalayas and standing in the sky he pointed out to them in a pleasant tract of the Himalayas various mountains, Golden Mount, Jewel Mount, Vermilion Mount, Collyrium Mount, Table-land Mount, Crystal Mount, and five great rivers, and the lakes, Kaṇṇamundḍaka, Rathakāra, Sīhappapāta, Chaddanta, Tiyyagala, Anotatta, and Kuṇāla, seven lakes in all.

No. 546, *Mahā-ummagga-jātaka* (vol. 6, p. 203)

Then, like a lion roaring upon the Vermilion uplands [Manosilātalam], he [the Great Being] cried, "Fear not, sire, but enjoy your royal power."

## Notes

1. G. Cœdès, "Nouvelles notes critiques sur l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng," *Journal of the Siam Society* 17, pt. 3 (1923), pp. 113-20.
2. Jean Boisselier, "Pouvoir royal et symbolisme architectural: Neak Pean et son importance pour la royauté angkoriennne," *Arts Asiatiques* 21 (1970): 91-108.
3. Textual references for the quotations in the appendix were found in G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, 2 Vols. (London: Luzac & Co., 1960) and in *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*
4. A. B. Griswold and Prasert na Nagara, "Epigraphic and Historical Studies No. 9: The Inscription of Ram Kamhaeng of Sukhothai (1292 A. D.)," *Journal of the Siam Society* 59, pt. 2 (July 1971), p. 214.
5. Elizabeth Montgomery Blair Gosling, "The History of Sukhothai as a Ceremonial Center: A study of Early Siamese Architecture and Society." Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1983.
6. Pointed out by Anuvit Charoensupkul, "Kānsuksā rabop khrông sâng lae rabiap kân kô it nai ākhân bôrānsathân" ("The Study of Structure and Brick-Laying of Ancient Monuments"), *Bôrankhadi / Archaeology* 6, no. 3 (May 1976), pp. 61-77, especially p. 64 and fig. 5.
7. Gosling, "Sukhothai as a Ceremonial Center," p. 93.
8. Griswold and Prasert, "Inscription of Ram Kamhaeng," p. 216n. 111.
9. An alternate designation would be *ariya*, the name given to the pre-Sinhalese sect by the 15th-century Kalyani inscriptions of Pegu. C. O. Blagden, "The Mediaeval Mon Records," *Epigraphia Birmanica* 3, pt. 2 (Rangoon, 1928), pp. 195-96. The religious developments of the period are discussed at some length in Hiram W. Woodward, Jr.,



"Studies in the Art of Central Siam, 950-1350 A. D.,"  
 Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, 1975.

10. This tablet is illustrated in color in *Mûang Bôrân*, Vol. 12, no. 1 (Jan.-March 1986), p 42. For Burmese examples, Gordon H. Luce et al., *Old Burma – Early Pagán*, 3 vols., *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 25 (Locust Valley, N. V., 1969-70), Vol. 3. pl. 56.
11. *Traiphumlôkwinitchayakathâ chabap thĩ* 2, 3 vols. (Bangkok: Krom Sinlapâkôn, 1977). Vol. 1, p. 141. The entire passage runs as follows:

As for the mountain Gandhamādanaparvata, when a new-moon day comes it appears bright, like glowing charcoal. The glowing charcoal, which remains bright, can be seen continuously, and when the new-moon day comes again, Gandhamādāna mountain remains the same in appearance. Mt. Gandhamādāna has a projection called Nandamūla. It is the place where all the Paccekabodhis dwell. **Tisso guhā** There are three caves, namely Suvarṇagūha the gold cave, Maṇigūhā the gem cave, and Rajatagūha the silver cave, three caves in all. **Maṇiguhādvāre** In the region near the mouth of Maṇigūha the gem cave there is so broad it extends one yojana. In front of the shadow of the Uloka tree there is a gigantic hall made entirely of gems. You may search the pillars, walls, roof, and floor in vain for any other material. This hall is where the uposatha ceremony of all the Paccekabodhis takes place. On [the holy day of] Wan Phra all the Paccekabodhis carry out the Upostha ceremony here.

The cosmology known as the Traiphum Phra Ruang does not describe the three caves. See G. Coedès and C. Archambault, *Les trois mondes (Traibhūmi Brañh Rvāṇi)*, Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, vol 89 (Paris, 1973), pp. 207-8. The 1802 cosmology appears to make the gem cave primary. That does not appear to be the case, however, in the text translated by R. Spence Hardy from a Sinhalese manuscript. See *A Manual of Buddhism*, rpt. Chowkhamba

- Sanskrit Series vol. 56 (Varanasi, 1967), p. 16: "In the last-named mountain there is a golden cave, and there are two others of silver and gems, provided with seats, which the Budhas [sic] and others frequently visit."
12. *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*, trans. Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce (Rangoon: Rangoon University Press, 1960), p. 110.
  13. *Traiphum*, vol. 1, p. 151.
  14. "King Srī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja with (his) right hand shall give boiled rice (and) bread to all the people, with (his) left hand shall give ornaments (and) wearing apparel to all men." *Epigraphia Birmanica*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (rpt. Rangoon, 1960), p. 117.
  15. Gosling, "Sukhothai as a Ceremonial Center," p. 91; Gosling, "Inscriptions and Art History: The Case of Sukhothai's Inscription II," in *Papers from a Conference on Thai Studies in Honor of William J. Gedney*, ed. Robert J. Bickner et al., Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia no. 25 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, 1986), pp. 149-58.
  16. *The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror*, trans. N. A. Jayawickrama, Pali Text Society Translation Series no. 36 (London, 1968), p. 110.
  17. H. Mauger, {Prāḥ Khā de Kō mpon Svày," *Bulletin de l' Ecole Française d' Extrême-Orient* 39 (1939): 197-220, esp. 211-212.
  18. Well illustrated in Pierre-Marie Gagneux, "Les sculptures rupestres de Vang Sang," *La Revue Française de l'Elite Européenne* 203 (Oct. 1967): 40-43. For other descriptions, Thao Boun Souk (P.-M. Gagneux), *L'Image de Buddha dans l'art lao* (Vientiane, 1971), fig. 12, p. 15; S. Karpelès, "Les grottes sculptées de la province de Vientiane," *France-Asie* 118-19 (1956): 770-72; Ch. Batteur, "Sculptures rupestres au Laos," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d' Extrême -Orient*

25 (1925): 203-204.

19. In general, the sculpture chronology favored here parallels that proposed by Piriya Krairiksh in “*Ṣinlapa haeng daen neramit.../ A New Dating of Sukhothai Art,*” *Mûang Bôrân* vol. 12, no. 1 (Jan.-March 1986), pp 23-49. It might be pointed out that Dr. Piriya convincingly dates the stone wall at the Mahâthât Chaliang to the Ram Khamhaeng period (p. 30). This wall must be the wall mentioned in the inscription at IV.7-8 – yet another instance in which there is no conflict between the evidence of the inscription and of archaeology. In “Where is Ram Khamhaeng’s Stupa?” *Journal of the Siam Society* 76 (1988): 264-74, Betty Gosling demonstrated that the place name Si Satchanalai at IV.6 refers to the area today called Chaliang. It might be asked if Wat Châng Lôm, the central site of the modern Si Satchanalai, could have originally been called Wat Pâ Daeng and have been the monastery of that name mentioned in the northern texts. Such a name could help account for the similarity in form between Wat Châng Lôm and Wat Pâ Daeng in Chiang Mai. See A. B. Griswold and Prasert ñ Nagara, “King Lödaiya of Sukhodaya and His Contemporaries, Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 10,” *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. 60, pt. 1 (an. 1972), pp. 59, 68.
20. *Phongsâwadân Mûang Thaeng*, in *Prachum Phongsâwadân* pt. 9, Khurusaphâ edition vol. 9 (Bangkok, 1964), pp. 110-11.

