

## CHAPTER SIX

### MEDIAEVAL NAGARA: THE LOCAL TRADITION

The final portion of the Nagara "chronicles" as we have them rapidly becomes much more "historical" than the "legendary" and "northern" traditions presented in the previous two chapters. We term it "historical" primarily because it is grounded in a concrete period of time, relating a reasonable sequence of events to which are attached dates which make sense in the context of other information available concerning circumstances in this period.

The wealth of material presented in this portion of the "chronicles" may be regarded as belonging to the two hundred or so years prior to 1500, although only the last half-century is clearly and consecutively dated. It has a dual focus, on the Great Reliquary and associated economic arrangements, and on the disruption of those arrangements by the intrusion of external forces by warfare and the actions of Ayudhyā. In addition to standing in their own right as important historical records, the episodes included here assist also in establishing the historicity of the Bādaluṅ monastery endowment records discussed earlier, as they cover several events in common.

This "local tradition" is presented in two separate but closely related documents, Versions B and B<sub>1</sub>, of which we have access only to a manuscript of the latter. The version translated here is a composite of B and B<sub>1</sub>, with non-duplicated additions from B<sub>1</sub> given in italics.

EPISODE XIX: LĀNTAKĀ AND SRAH<sup>1</sup>

There was a Śrī Mahārāja, son of nāy Nak, a brewer,<sup>2</sup> who with [a party of] 100 men and women established himself at the end of a landing, calling it mo'añ Lāntakā. From him was born a son called brah Hlā, and from brah Hlā a son called Śrī Mahārāja who became master in mo'añ Lāntakā.<sup>3</sup> There was a khun Śrī Pèt Òm Sèn Mo'añ Khvāñ in mo'añ Srah.<sup>4</sup> There were eight hunters who, following game, found an old cetiya, so their leader returned to tell khun Śrī Bala<sup>5</sup> Pèt Òm Sèn Mo'añ Khvāñ. Mo'añ Srah was tributary to mo'añ Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja, and Srah became afflicted by an epidemic;<sup>6</sup> so mè nāñ Èt fled from Srah to the mo'añ [Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja] and established the royal level lands<sup>7</sup> southwest of the city.

EPISODE XX: ABORTIVE RE-DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT RELIQUARY<sup>1</sup>

There was a Thai chief<sup>8</sup> of Kruñ Śrī Ayudhyā who came touring on a boat in the estuary of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja. The chief released a kite, and the kite broke loose. Following it, he found the original cetiya [of the Great Reliquary]. Then he met two monks,<sup>9</sup> one called mahāthera Buddhasāda, and the other called mahāthera Brahmasuriya, who were going about seeking alms. The Thai chief related his tale to the monks, and they had him lead them to see the old cetiya. Then the Thai

<sup>1</sup>Version B only.                      <sup>2</sup>nāy nak krahdā surā.

<sup>3</sup>Compare above, Version A, p. 119 (lines 7-8), which has a brah Hlān ruling in Lānsakā.

<sup>4</sup>Could this be the "village by the pond," nān cañ srah?

<sup>5</sup>This word added to his title here.                      <sup>6</sup>khai hā

<sup>7</sup>Probably a toponym, Duñ Hluan.

chief left in his boat. Later the two monks encountered the Great Reliquary, destroyed down to its platform, where there appeared the tracks of tigers who had brought meat up to eat there. The two monks then returned to their former monastery.

EPISODE XXI: RE-DISCOVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GREAT RELIQUARY<sup>10</sup>

Once, there was a white-robed ascetic, *Āriyabaṅṣa*, the nephew of [1B] the elder white-robed ascetic *Āriyabaṅṣa*, who came from Kruṅ Śrī Ayudhyā in a boat to the estuary of the Braḥyā River and there met the two monks. He said, "My name is pakhāv *Āriyabaṅṣa*. I come from Kruṅ Deba-mahānagara, and my boat is moored in the estuary of the Braḥyā River." The ascetic continued, "Formerly an elder one named pakhāv *Āriyabaṅṣa* came from *Haṅṣāvātī* to live in this mo'ān." / Furthermore, the ascetic [2A] said that he had found an historical text<sup>11</sup> in mo'ān Nagara stating that the elder ascetic long ago had constructed a great reliquary in this mo'ān. The mahāthera said, "[Yes,] we have found it." So the white-robed ascetic asked the two mahāthera, "Did you find it to the south of your own monastery?" And the monks replied that the mo'ān had been deserted for a long time, and the Great Reliquary long since had fallen down / to its base. *Banyan and sacred-fig trees had grown [2B] up [around it] and it was a jungle. So the ascetic invited the monks to go and see it.* The ascetic and the monks were induced to go and clear [the site] and mark out the length and breadth of its foundations, the Buddha images, the *cetiya*, and the boundaries and walls of the

<sup>8</sup> nāy daiy.

<sup>9</sup> cau daiy.

<sup>10</sup> Version B, para. 18; MS. B<sub>1</sub>, ff<sup>o</sup> 1B1-9B3. Text provided only in B<sub>1</sub> is printed in italics, while duplicated matter and material unique to Version B is in Roman type. Marginal pagination is from B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>11</sup> tāmra baṅṣavatār.

- mo' an. Deciding that [their results] should be presented to the King, Āriyabaṅṣa the white-robed ascetic took leave of the mahāthera, went
- [3A] down to his boat, and went to Kruṅ Śrī Ayudhyā. / So the ascetic presented to the King the results of his search. The King was pleased to command<sup>1</sup> that braḥ mahā p̄arian Daśasī, a man of Haṅṣāvati who had gone to live in Nagara Hluāṅ<sup>2</sup> and then had come to live in Kruṅ Śrī Ayudhyā, be invited. So a royal command was issued that Āriyabaṅṣa the white-robed ascetic should extend the invitation to braḥ mahā p̄arian Daśasī.
- [3B] Daśasī / accepted the king's invitation, and the king had a lictor bear the royal command and accompany them. Braḥ mahā p̄arian Daśasī and Āriyabaṅṣa the ascetic were allowed to invite all the monks whom the King wanted invited, to receive the royal command inviting them to establish the religion<sup>4</sup> and [re]build the Great Reliquary, after which
- [4A] they might all return / to their original monasteries. So Āriyabaṅṣa the ascetic and mahā p̄arian Daśasī did accordingly, ordering the lictor to take out and present the letters [of invitation] with mahā p̄arian Daśasī. So the King had the lictor carry out the royal command and invite all the monks, and have them call up<sup>5</sup> their monastery slaves to
- [4B] go and maintain the Great Reliquary. / Maha p̄arian Daśasī, Āriyabaṅṣa the ascetic, and the lictor went out and invited all the monks whom

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<sup>1</sup>B, rāp sāṅ; B<sub>1</sub>, braḥ p̄andūr (p̄andūr).

<sup>2</sup>Note that B<sub>1</sub> clearly distinguishes between Nagara Hluāṅ (which could be read "the capital"<sup>3</sup>) and Ayudhyā: the same distinction occurs in the royal chronicles; where Nagara Hluāṅ denotes Angkor before c.1440.

<sup>3</sup>braḥ rāja-oṅkāra, apparently interchangeable with braḥ p̄andūr here (but not usually).

<sup>4</sup>lo'k brasāśanā, a phrase often used in records of this sort.

<sup>5</sup>B<sub>1</sub> consistently writes dhu where B has rū.

the king wished invited to call up their monastery slaves and go and maintain the Great Reliquary. So *mahāthera* Suddhijātibaṅsa was invited to come from Khanò<sup>6</sup> with his monastery slaves: *nāy* Phòñ, the *hua bñ*, was in charge of the *brai suay*; and *bñ* Kraibalathān came and built Vāt Māṅguta. / *Mahāthera* Hemarāṅsī was invited to gather up his monastery slaves [under] gram Tèñ Siddhi<sup>7</sup> from Oñ Bathān and build Vāsa Khanun. *Mahāthera* Beja was invited to come from Yāy Glāñ, gathering his monastery slaves and *brai suay* [under] *bñ* Śrī Janā<sup>7</sup> to build Vāt Cādamaulī. *Mahāthera* Māṅgalācāra [was invited] to gather his monastery slaves from Kuṭī Hluan [under] *nāy* Ta.. as *hua pāk* *suay* to come and build Vāt Haratī Braḥdhātu. *Mahāthera* Joṭipāla was invited to gather up his monastery slaves and *brai suay* under *nāy* Mandasuri as *hua pāk* and come from Pātavoka Khau Braḥpāda to build / Vāt Fāñ. *Mahāthera* Sarrbejra was invited to gather up his monastery slaves and *brai suay* [under] *bñ* Śrī Janā and come from Oñ Baṭān to build Vāt Āgane Braḥdhātu. *Mahāthera* Uṅarud(dha) was invited to gather up his monastery slaves<sup>8</sup> and come from Yaśśodara<sup>9</sup> to build Vāt Praḥtū. *Mahāthera* Baṅsā was invited to gather up his monastery slaves and come from Bejrapurī to build Vāt Tanot,<sup>10</sup> / north of the Great Reliquary. Then *mahā parian* Daśasī constructed monastic cell(s?) northwest of the Great Reliquary. *Mahāthera* Maṅgala took a cutting from the Great Bodhi tree, placed it in a golden bowl, and shipped it aboard

<sup>6</sup>B<sub>1</sub>: gannòm.

<sup>7-7</sup>B<sub>1</sub> has dropped this line, which B repeats below, line 15.

<sup>8</sup>B<sub>1</sub> frequently writes nāti prañuan, where B has nātiyoma.

<sup>9</sup>Where is this place? Yaśodharapura was one of the names for the Cambodian capital at Angkor.

<sup>10</sup>Not to be confused with the town of Raḥnot, south of Nagara.

a sampan, using monastery slaves, from Lāṅkā.<sup>1</sup> He built a *monastery* called Vāt Blāp to enshrine the Great Bodhi tree, to the north of the Great Reliquary, and planted it there/ together with the golden bowl. Then they erected a bench around it *on all four sides*, and Buddha images on three sides. To the east of the Great Reliquary they constructed a reclining Buddha image, surrounded by a gallery with 28 rooms; and mahā Maṅgala gave it the name "Brah Bodhimandian." Then, mahā pariaṅ Daśasī, Āriyabaṅsa the white-robed ascetic, and the lictor invited / brah mahā-thera Buddhasāgara of Vāśa Brah To'm to be the monk to succeed the two theras as pā kəv<sup>2</sup> by royal command through an ecclesiastical ordinance.<sup>3</sup> The king had the palace women<sup>4</sup> receive the Buddha images<sup>5</sup> and place them on their various pedestals; and he sent a written command<sup>6</sup> that the palace women and / 40 hua nān should be monastery slaves by his meritorious gift. Then all the monks, and Śrī Mahārājā, the ruler of mo'oi Lāntakā,<sup>7</sup> and the chief concubines, induced the people of the caves of the water-courses and mountains to come out and adorn the Great Reliquary, from its spire down to its base. It was then consecrated. The Brah Śrī

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<sup>1</sup>B<sub>1</sub> orders these clauses differently.

<sup>2</sup>An order of the Thai Buddhist monkhood was known by this name, and the reference here is to its (local) patriarch. According to Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, this was the Gāmvāsī sect of the "right hand" into which King Paramatrailokanātha was ordained in the fifteenth century (Tāmnān gaṇaḥ saṅgha, Bangkok, 1923, pp. 13-14.)

<sup>3</sup>B<sub>1</sub>: buddhatikā.

<sup>4</sup>B<sub>1</sub>: nān mē cau ro'an hluān.

<sup>5</sup>B<sub>1</sub> has an obvious mistake here: buddharāja for buddharūpa.

<sup>6</sup>B<sub>1</sub>: tāmrā brarāja-onkāra.

<sup>7</sup>B<sub>1</sub> here and below has Lāṅkā -- Ceylon!

Mahārājā built Vāśa Haratī Braḥdhātu.<sup>8</sup> *Brah mahāthera / Maṅalaprahjā* [8A]  
 came out from Kruṅ Deba Brah Mahānagara. Śrī Mahārājā invited him to  
 live in [Vāśa Haratī Braḥdhātu], in [a building] called the "Nine-roomed  
 Chinese cell." Brah Śrī Mahārājā built an altar and a *vihāra*, and then  
 he died. His son, *khun* Indarā, then ruled Lāntakā. / His wife was named [8B]  
*nān* O'ay, his son *nāy* Śrī, and his daughter *nān* Rāma. A royal command  
 arrived, demanding that *khun* Indarā present his daughter to the king.  
*Khun* Indarā sent the daughter of an elephant doctor<sup>9</sup> instead, and the  
 elephant doctor accompanied her. The elephant doctor reported to the  
 king that *khun* Indarā had not sent his own daughter to be presented.  
 The king had a royal commissioner, *nāy Dharmarān* take the elephant doc-  
 tor and his daughter and go and investigate/ the allegations of the [9A]  
 elephant doctor in mo'añ Lānsaka. Interrogated, *khun* Indarā admitted  
 the truth as the elephant doctor had reported it. So *nāy Dharmarān*  
 took the written report of his testimony under oath and reported it  
 to the king, as he had been commanded. The king had *khun* Indarā beaten  
 [to death] by the Nun's Landing gate,<sup>10</sup> and had his children and wives  
 brought in as [royal] slaves. *Nāy Dharmarān* / did as the king had [9B]  
 commanded, as he was a royal servant.<sup>11</sup> The king appointed him *nāy* Śrī  
*Danū*.<sup>12</sup> From that time Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja was deserted for a long  
 time. No one ate the *mo'añ* for a long time.

<sup>8</sup>B<sub>1</sub> transposes this sentence onto r<sup>o</sup> 8A.

<sup>9</sup>*hmò jān*, an expert on the care and training of elephants.

<sup>10</sup>*prahtū dā jī* in B; *dā jaiya* in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>11</sup>Unclear: *jāv dūn*.

<sup>12</sup>B<sub>1</sub> is contradictory here: below, Śrī Danū is the son of Indarā.

EPISODE XXII: THE REVIVAL OF NAGARA ŚRĪ DHARRMARĀJA<sup>1</sup>

[10A] In 1415<sup>2</sup> of the *Mahāśākara*<sup>3</sup> a royal command appointed *nāy* Śrī Danū, the son of khun Indarā, / to [the title of] khun Indarā to come and eat *mo'ari* Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja, and *nān*<sup>4</sup> Dhātu, the wife of khun Indarā, was made to come and live in the palace.<sup>5</sup> *Mahā parian* Daśasī and all the monks, [including] monks in outside monasteries, drafted a petition<sup>6</sup> which Āriyabaṅṣa the ascetic and the lictor joined in presenting [to the king]. By royal command, craftsmen took copper and cast a [10B] spire for the Great / Reliquary, and then it was fully gilded. The king had Āriyabaṅṣa the ascetic take the spire for the Great Reliquary back [to Nagara]. So khun Indarā, *mahā parian* Daśasī, and all the monks fell to organizing the raising of the spire of the Great Reliquary. Then the king ordered *nāy* Sām Rājahaṅṣa, under royal authority, to go [11A] out [to Nagara] and compile a written register / of all the slaves attached to the monks, exempting them from the *suay* and all taxation, making them securely and hereditarily slaves of the monks. So *nāy* Sām Rājahaṅṣa compiled the register of all the monastery slaves who were attached<sup>7</sup> in that place. Gathered together,<sup>8</sup> they built a gallery around the Great Reliquary, and constructed a wall around all four sides

<sup>1</sup>Version B, paras. 19-20; MS. B<sub>1</sub>, ff<sup>o</sup> 9B3-17A1.

<sup>2</sup>Written clearly in B<sub>1</sub>; B has 1815.

<sup>3</sup>Only B<sub>1</sub> specifies the era, equivalent to A.D. 1493.

<sup>4</sup>B<sub>1</sub> has *nāy*, obviously a mistaken

<sup>5</sup>As security for her husband's behavior?

<sup>6</sup>*dām ronān rāv* in B; *dām khanuan* in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>7</sup>*rī mā yū nān* (B<sub>1</sub>): better, "who had been brought together."

<sup>8</sup>*mā jum trīrī kāl*: better, "Gathered together, they decided...."

of the gallery. Then the rooms of the gallery / were assigned to the monks by royal invitation. *All of those [assignments] are listed here:*<sup>9</sup> [11B]

from the northeast corner,

15 rooms to *mahā Maṅgala*,

12<sup>10</sup> rooms to *mahā Jotipāla*,<sup>11</sup> including<sup>12</sup> the gate;

3 *sālā* to *mahāthera Hemarāśrī*;<sup>n</sup>

15 rooms to *mahāthera Sutibaṅsa*,<sup>13</sup> as far as the southeast corner.

*From there,*

17 rooms to *saṅghathera Beja*,

1 room to *khun Jaiya-/-kumāra*, the governor of *mo'arī Pāndāy Thamò*,<sup>14</sup> [12A]

6 rooms to *mahāthera Sārrbejra*,

9 rooms to *brah Dharmakālyā*, to the southwest corner.

*From there,*

5 rooms to *Śrī Sultān*, the governor of *Jai*,<sup>15</sup>

1 room to *thera Nan*,<sup>16</sup>

2 rooms to *mahāthera Māṅgalācāriya*,

10 rooms to *Nandasāriya*, including the gate,

1 room to *nāia/ jīy Kèv*,

[12B]

3 rooms to *Krahyāmitra*,

<sup>9</sup>Here tabulated, though in narrative form in both texts.

<sup>10</sup>Twenty rooms in B<sub>1</sub>; but this would add to the wrong figure.

<sup>11</sup>Jotipāla in B.

<sup>12</sup>B misreads dāñ as khāñ.

<sup>13</sup>Suddhibāṅsa in B.

<sup>14</sup>Pāndāy Samò in B.

<sup>15</sup>I.e., Drai (pron. sai), Kedah.

<sup>16</sup>This monk's name also occurs in Version C, f<sup>o</sup> 34A1, so it is not a mistake.

4 rooms to *khun* Jaiyasurā, the governor of *mo'āi* Sāya,  
 6 rooms to *rājā* Śrī Devā, the governor of Krahlāntān,  
 4 rooms to *khun* Śrī Baladeba Pēt Òm Sèn Mo'ān Khvān, the govern-  
 or of *mo'āi* Srah, [and]  
 7 rooms to *mè nāi* Uadòn and *nāy* Rāma, in charge of the *suay brd-*  
*धिपāda*, to the northwest corner.

*From there,*

- [13A] 5 rooms/to *khun* Pēt Srah, the governor of *mo'āi* Trān,  
 6 rooms to *rājā* Bāddhayā, the governor of *mo'āi* Bādaluñ,  
 1 room to *khun* Culā, the governor of *mo'āi* Lanū,  
 1 room to *rājā* Rāta, head<sup>1</sup> of *mo'āi* Saiya, *khun* Indarā the gov-  
 ernor joining in as well,  
 3 rooms jointly to the ships' masters and clerks and *khun* Indarā,  
 2 rooms to *nāy* Nī Nòy the *hua bān suay*,  
 1 room [jointly] to *nāy* Còm Śrī and *nāy* Nòy Yòt Muan, /  
 [13B] 1 room to *nāy* Tām,<sup>2</sup> the *hua pāk*,  
 1 room to the women of the ruler's household,  
 [2 rooms]<sup>3</sup> to the *thera*, together with *khun* Indarā,  
 10 rooms to *mahā pāriān* Daśasi, Āriyabañsa the ascetic, and *nāy*  
 Buddhaśara,<sup>4</sup>  
 3 rooms to *mahāthera* Uṇaruda,<sup>5</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup>hua, not ordinarily taken as a title or rank.

<sup>2</sup>Spelled according to B; Thām in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup>Or perhaps one room: figure not given in B<sub>1</sub>. Whatever the figure, the totals are unsatisfactory: see note 6 below.

<sup>4</sup>Bhudapòn in B<sub>1</sub>, reading unclear.

<sup>5</sup>Anuruddha in B.

3 rooms to *khun* Grōṅ Bala, [back] to the northeast corner.

Figuring up the room assignments, / there were 165<sup>6</sup> rooms, and bronze [14A]  
Buddha images (cast) for each room, [making] 165 Buddha images, on all  
four sides [of the gallery].

Then *mahā pariaṇ* Daśasī, all the monks, Āriyabaṅsa the ascetic, [14B]  
and *nāy* Sām Rājahaṅsa had the wall around the gallery on all / four  
sides apportioned to all the monks and those assigned image rooms; 4 *sen*  
13 fathoms on the eastern side, from the northeast corner:

1 *sen* 6 fathoms to Baṅsa Blai Bhojamalḍiara,<sup>7</sup>

1 *sen* 4 fathoms to *nāy* Rātanabaṅsa of Jottipāla,<sup>8</sup>

7<sup>9</sup> fathoms to *nāy* Rāta [of] *mahāthera* Hemarāṅśrī, up to the

Dharrmaśālā,

19 fathoms to / *mahāthera* Suddhijātibaṅsa of Vāt Māṅguta, [15A]

9 fathoms to the Vihāra Hluṅ, to the southeast corner.

On the south side,

1 *sen* 2 fathoms to *saṅghathera* Bejra,

9 fathoms to <sup>10</sup>the ruler of <sup>10</sup>*mo' ai* Pāndāy Thamò,

19 fathoms to *mahāthera* Sarrbabeja,

1 *sen* 2 fathoms to *mahāthera* Dharrmakālyā,<sup>11</sup> to the southwest corner.

<sup>6</sup>Rooms listed here total only 160: 45 on the east side, 33 on the south side, 43 on the west, and 39 on the north. One might expect them to balance, assuming the gallery to be squarely rectangular! If buildings interrupt the gallery, however, the rooms might not balance out. I neglected to count the gallery rooms, but was told there were 158.

<sup>7</sup>Better: Bodhimaṅdiara, as on B<sub>1</sub>, f<sup>o</sup> 6B.

<sup>8</sup>The various men who are *nāy* "of" various monks might have been the officers who managed their monastery slaves and endowments.

<sup>9</sup>Nine fathoms in B. <sup>10-10</sup>Omitted in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>11</sup>Dāmapāla (i.e., Dharrmapāla, Dhammapāla) in B<sub>1</sub>.

On the west side,<sup>i</sup>/

[15B]

8 fathoms to the Vihāra Hluan̄,

9 fathoms to Śrī Sultān,<sup>1</sup> the ruler of *mo'āñ* Draiy,

5 fathoms to *mahāthera* Rājasenā,

2 fathoms to *mahāthera Nana*,<sup>2</sup>

4 fathoms to *mahāthera* Māṅgalācāriya,

19 fathoms to *mahā* Nandasāriya,

12 fathoms to Kālyamitra, including the gate,

[16A]

9 fathoms to *khun* Jaiyasurā, / <sup>3</sup>including one side of the  
gate,

9 fathoms to *rājā* Śrī Devā, the ruler of Kaḥlāntān̄,

9 fathoms to *khun* Śrī Bala Pēt Òm Sèn Mo'āñ Khvāñ, the ruler  
of *mo'āñ* Srah,

12 fathoms to Uadōñ [and] *nāy* Rāma, [in charge of] the *suay*  
*br̄ddhipāda*, to the northwest corner.<sup>3</sup>

On the north side,

8 fathoms to *khun* Pēt Sarr, of *mo'āñ* Trāñ,

10 fathoms to *rājā* Bāddhayā,<sup>4</sup> ruler of *mo'āñ* Bādaluñ

8 fathoms to *khun* Culā, ruler of *mo'āñ* Lanū,

2 fathoms to *mo'āñ* Draī Ratha,<sup>5</sup>

6 fathoms to the ships' masters and clerks, *khun* Indarā

<sup>1</sup>Śrī Saranātāra in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup>B<sub>1</sub> has simply m-n-n, while B has mahāthera with no name.

<sup>3-3</sup>This entire section is omitted in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>4</sup>Bhadayā in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>5</sup>This and the following item not in Version B. Draī Ratha could also be read draī raka. Meaning not clear, unless Kedah.

*assisting them,*

<sup>4</sup> 4 fathoms to *nāy* Nī Nōy, the *hua pāk suay*, /

2 fathoms to *nāi*<sup>1</sup> Còm Śrī and *nāy* Nōy Yòt Muan̄,

[16B]

2 fathoms to *nāy*<sup>2</sup> Tām,<sup>3</sup> the *hua pāk suay*;

5 fathoms to the ladies of the ruler's palace, *khun* Indarā

*assisting them,*

<sup>4</sup> 15 fathoms to mahāthera parian *Daśāsrī* and *Āriyabaṅṣa*,<sup>4</sup>

9 fathoms to *mahāthera* Anuruddha,<sup>5</sup> and

4 fathoms to *khun* Buan Gròṅgabala,<sup>6</sup> to the northeast corner.

All together, the four sides / of the wall amounted to 17 *sen* 1 fathom.<sup>7</sup>

[17A]

### EPISODE XXIII: FURTHER LAND REGISTERS AND RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS<sup>8</sup>

Then all the monks petitioned, asking to be granted true deeds to land which their monastery slaves could make into paddy fields and grow rice for the monasteries, and for the gallery. So *khun* Indārā<sup>9</sup> and all the monks drew up a petition<sup>10</sup> for *nāy* Sām Rājahaṅṣa and *Āriyabaṅṣa* the ascetic to present [to the king]. So the king commanded / that *khun* In-

[17B]

<sup>1</sup>*nāy* in B, and above, f<sup>o</sup> 13A. <sup>2</sup>Word omitted in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup>Here the spelling of B<sub>1</sub> follows B, and not as on f<sup>o</sup> 13B above.

<sup>4-4</sup>Sentence omitted in B.

<sup>5</sup>Here B<sub>1</sub> spells this name almost correctly!

<sup>6</sup>B has *khun* Glòṅ Bala.

<sup>7</sup>The total of the measurements given in printed Version B is 15 *sen* 1 *vā* (fathom), and of B<sub>1</sub>, 14 *sen* 11 *vā*. The composite version translated here, including lines missing from one or the other version, comes to a total of 16 *sen* 10 *vā*, i.e., about 660 metres.

<sup>8</sup>Version B, paras. 21-22; MS. B<sub>1</sub>, ff<sup>o</sup> 17A1-26A4, 28B1-30B2.

<sup>9</sup>B<sub>1</sub> consistently spells this name "Indarā," not "Indārā."

<sup>10</sup>B has *dām kraḥpuan*; B<sub>1</sub> has *bā khnuan*. The former might better translate as "made up a delegation."

dārā and the monks be sought and brought forth. *Khun* Indārā and the monks entered, and the king ordered that *khun* Rāṭanākara,<sup>1</sup> with three hundred men under him, be appointed to govern *mo'oi* Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja. Then His Majesty ordered the appointment of *khun* Indārā as Śrī Mahārājā.<sup>2</sup> Śrī Mahārājā then reported to him on religious / and monastic affairs and the appointment of patriarchs, and presented the petition and the great register of all the monks, and reported concerning the request for true deeds to land for the monastery slaves of all the monks, on which they could plant gardens and fields for the monasteries, for the Buddha image rooms, and for all the monks. His Majesty had *nāy* Sām Còm take down his orders. Śrī Mahārājā<sup>3</sup> had a register compiled of all lands on both sides of the sea<sup>4</sup> and land granted to the monks/ on which their slaves could plant gardens and fields for the Buddha image rooms and the monks, in Mahāśākarāja 1550.<sup>5</sup> Then Śrī Mahārājā and *nāy* Sām Còm distributed jungle land of the *hua pāk nāy* Gām,<sup>6</sup> 150 *sen* to the Great Reliquary; in the east, 9 *sen* to *am̄təñ* Sākhā to care for and 5 *sen* to *nāy* Śrī Rāk to care for; one strip<sup>7</sup> of paddy land for the monasteries to eat<sup>8</sup> to *nāy* Dòn Sai *hua pāk*, of the / Bodhimaṇḍiara. Land was mea-

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Version A, p. 110, and n. 4 above.

<sup>2</sup>Which suggests that this appellation denotes a senior semi-retired local ruler? But cf. p. 144, lines 1-2.

<sup>3</sup>B<sub>1</sub> leaves out this name, suggesting that the king had the register compiled.

<sup>4</sup>Could mean either the Inland Sea of Saṅkhā-Bādaluñ, or the two coasts of the Malay Peninsula, the former being more likely.

<sup>5</sup>Date written identically and clearly in both versions, n= A.D. 1628.

<sup>6</sup>B<sub>1</sub> reads pān hua pāk gām; B reads pā na hua pāk nāy gām. Might a toponym be intended?

<sup>7</sup>riv (pronounced riu).

sured off to be monastery endowment as "eating" land under the care of the *hua sip*, *nāy* Hmuk<sup>9</sup> [and] *nāy* Dōn Saiya. A true grant of land was made to *brah* Thēm<sup>10</sup> and *mahāthera* Buddhasāgara [and?] *paṇḍit* Bian to care for, in the district west<sup>11</sup> of the *mo'ān*, 2299 *piñ*<sup>12</sup> of paddy land. A true grant of land was made to<sup>13</sup> the gallery and *mahāthera* Suddhijāti-baṅsa. A true grant of land / was made to *mahāthera* Hemarāṅśrī, under the care of *nāy* Bēn, *nāy* Vua, [and] *āntēn* Dā, the younger [sister] of *mahāthera* Hemarāṅśrī, and was developed as "eating" land. A true grant of land was made to *mahāthera* *pariān* Daśasī for 10 rooms in the gallery, under the care of *nāy* Buddhaśara,<sup>14</sup> bordering on the south the Dharrmaśālā, on the east by monastery lands, on the west the Śālā / Hluan, and on the north the river, [amounting to] 11 *sen* and 1 *riṅ* of land; and stone markers were buried on all four corners. A true grant of land was made<sup>15</sup> as monastery endowment land, under the care of the *nāy* *suay* of the white-robed ascetic(s). A true grant of land was made to<sup>15</sup> the *uposatha* of 6 *sen*. A true grant of land was made to *mahāthera* *saṅghathera* Bēja as "eating" land, west and southwest<sup>16</sup> of / the *mo'ān*, 7 *riṅ* broad. A true grant of land was made to the Dharrmaśālā of 8 *sen*, for *mahāthera* Hemarāṅśrī to eat, in the Dā Kaṅsān district. A true grant of land was made to *mahā* *saṅghathera* Beja, in the Dā Jāk district,<sup>17</sup> land

[19B]

[20A]

[20B]

<sup>8</sup>caṅharr, frequently met with here and below. It can mean literally "to eat" but seems also to have the figurative meaning of its secular counterpart kin ("to eat"), used of a governor who "eats" his province.

<sup>9</sup>B has hua sip nāy hmuat nāy dōn saiya.

<sup>10</sup>B has brah to'm.

<sup>11</sup>sataka.

<sup>12</sup>B has 2099 kaḥpiñ.

<sup>13</sup>For?

<sup>14</sup>B<sub>1</sub>: budasōn.

<sup>15-15</sup>Line dropped in B.

<sup>16</sup>pacchima haratī.

<sup>17</sup>B has dā jāk; B<sub>1</sub> dā jā(k?); but C has a locality frequently mentioned, dā jāk, "Washing Landing", which makes more sense.

- [21A] for the monastery slaves to eat,<sup>1</sup> 17 *sen* of land. A true grant of land was made to *nāy* Nòy Dòn Suk. A true grant of land was made to / Bañsa Blai in the area of the Bodhimaṇḍiara. A true grant of land was made to *mahāthera* Jotipāla, under the care<sup>2</sup> of *nāy* Rātabañsa. A true grant of land was made to *brah* To'm,<sup>3</sup> as land for *brah mahāthera* Buddhasāgara<sup>4</sup> to eat, 11 *sen* and 1 *riv* of land east of the *mo'āi*. A true grant of
- [21B] land was made to the gallery,<sup>5</sup> as land for / *mahāthera* Dharrmarāja and *mahāthera* Bejra to eat. A true grant of 2 *sen* of land was made over to the monks,<sup>6</sup> on the southeast side of the *mo'āi*; it was land for the monks given to the patriarch.<sup>7</sup> A true grant of land was made to the gallery as land for *brah mahāthera* Dharrmakālyā to eat, under the care of *pāgū* Rātana.
- [22A] And Śrī Mahārājā and *nāy* Sām Còm measured out the land / and bestowed all of this upon all their relatives<sup>8</sup> to care for. And they allocated all the wall<sup>9</sup> and [rooms of the] gallery as well. They had *khun* Śrī Bala take the people attached to the monks from Vāt Braḥ Gūhā [and?] Vāt Lāmbūn Chavāñ [in] *mo'āi* Srah and bring them to staff the Dharrmaśālā, with *mahāthera* Hemarāñśrī in charge. *Mahāthera* Hemarāñśrī com-

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<sup>1</sup>Both B and B<sub>1</sub> have khau brah where khā brah seems required.

<sup>2</sup>Both B and B<sub>1</sub> make the same slip here, bañā instead of bayāpāla.

<sup>3</sup>The "original monks"?

<sup>4</sup>B<sub>1</sub> here spells this name correctly for the first time!

<sup>5</sup>B has vāt rahbian; B<sub>1</sub> brah rahbian.

<sup>6</sup>nā jonñ gati: meaning highly uncertain.

<sup>7</sup>cau ganah.

<sup>8</sup>nāti; but this may be a slip for nātiyoma, "monastery slaves."d'

<sup>9</sup>B and B<sub>1</sub> have hai bañā/brahyā gāmbèn lè brah rahpian.

plained that the lands that had been distributed were too little, / and [22B]  
 requested additional jungle land<sup>10</sup> in the Pāñ Nām To'm district. So  
 Śrī Mahārājā and nāy Sām Còm had nāy Rātana, the deputy of Śrī Mahārājā,  
 go and measure out additional land<sup>10</sup> at Pāñ Nām To'm, and gave [the land]  
 to mahāthera Hemarāñśrī. [Then] mahāthera Hemarāñśrī had nāy Vua, āmtèn  
 Rā [and] āmtèn Dā, the younger siblings of mahāthera Hemarāñśrī, develop  
 it as land to benefit the [image] rooms.<sup>11</sup> Then āmtèn O'ay / gave it to [23A]  
 nāy Saiya, the elder [brother] of mahāthera Hemarāñśrī, to the head-of-  
 the-bed side of that developed by āmtèn Hrā. Then a true grant of land  
 was made to āmtèn Sāñ, who developed it to be eaten by the monks of the  
 brah cetiya. Then a true grant of land was made to nāy Un to eat, as  
 monastery endowment land. Then a true grant of land was made to nāy  
 Sām Purākṣa and āmtèn Hmai to take care of. / Then a true grant of land [23B]  
 was made to nāy Phèn,<sup>12</sup> as monastery endowment land. Then a true grant  
 of land was made to mahāthera Hemarāñśrī, for nāñ Beñ to develop as land  
 for the monks to eat. Then a true grant of land was made for the endow-  
 ment of the hua sip nāy hmū,<sup>13</sup> for [them to] develop as land for the  
 monks to eat, 9 sen 3 muan,<sup>14</sup> to feed the ecclesiastical dignitaries.<sup>15</sup>  
 Then a true grant of land / in the Dā Jī district was made to the Dharrma- [24A]  
 śālā, for nāy In to develop as land for the monastery slaves,<sup>16</sup> and for

<sup>10</sup>tin pā . . . nā tahon/tadon īk?

<sup>11</sup>nā kāmñān hōñ.

<sup>12</sup>B<sub>1</sub>: nāy tèn.

<sup>13</sup>I.e., the petty foremen of work parties, leaders of tens and (small) groups.

<sup>14</sup>B has hmuat; but B<sub>1</sub> muan is a unit of land measurement.

<sup>15</sup>cau ganah.

<sup>16</sup>Again, khau brah instead of khā brah.

- mahāthera* Hemarāñśrī to eat. Then a true grant of land was made to *nāy* Sām Bejra, *nāy* Nua Tuan, and [their?] two younger sisters, *āmtèñ* O'ay and *āmtèñ* Pūraṇa,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>to construct the Crèḥ canal;<sup>2</sup> land to be eaten by the
- [24B] Dharrmaśālā [and] *mahāthera* Hemarāñśrīn / Then a true grant of land was made to *nāy* Nua and [his?] two younger sisters, *āmtèñ* O'ay and *āmtèñ* Pun, to construct a canal in the Pāntè Mātra district; land to be eaten by the Dharrmaśālā [and] *mahāthera* Hemarāñśrī. Then a true grant of land was made to *nāy* Un and *nāy* Tām Śrī in the Brū Taisata<sup>3</sup> district to develop for
- [25A] *mahāthera* Hemarāñśrī to eatn / Then a true grant of land was made to the "foot-washing people"<sup>4</sup> to construct the Lamuh<sup>5</sup> district. Then a true grant of land was made to *mahāthera* Māṅgalācāriya and *mahāthera* Nandasāriya to construct the Yuan Krahlè Padaḥ<sup>6</sup> district, and *nāy* Ko't was to care for it for the gallery. Then a true grant of land was made to *nāy* Buddhasara and Āriyabaṅṣa the ascetic in the Baṭian district for *parian* Daśasī to eat. /
- [25B] Then a true grant of 3 *riv* of land was made to *nāy* Buddhasara and Āriyabaṅṣa the ascetic to construct the Dā Jī district, as land for *mahā parian* Daśasī. Then a true grant of land was made to *nāy* Buddhasara in the district northwest of the *mo'oi* to build as land for *mahā parian* Daśasī to eatn. Then a
- [26A] true grant of land was made to *mahāthera* Beja / in the Dā Jī district to develop for the gallery. Then a true grant of land was made to *nāy* Gām in the Chalan district. Then a true grant of land was made to *nāy* Deba in the Baṭian district, for the Dharrmaśālā and *mahā parian* Daśasī [and] Hemarāñśrī. All of this forest land was distributed with the consent of Śrī Mahārājā and *nāy* Sām Còm, remaining under their jurisdiction, /7/

<sup>1</sup>B has pun.<sup>2-2</sup>B only.<sup>3</sup>B has brah kraḥset district.<sup>4</sup>jāv lāñ tīn: vassals?<sup>5</sup>B has lamu; B<sub>1</sub> has muḥ.<sup>6</sup>B<sub>1</sub> has nòn krahlè padaḥ.<sup>7</sup>F<sup>o</sup> 26A ends here. F<sup>o</sup> 26B, the last f<sup>o</sup> of the obverse of the MS.,

every group [of men]. So Śrī Mahārājā and *nāy* Sām Còm distributed and registered land on which to build monastic cells for monasteries, which the ladies of the ruler's palace and the *hua sip padār* endowed, and monasteries where those under vows<sup>8</sup> and those monks under the patriarch and in all the outside and non-Buddhist(?) monasteries,<sup>9</sup> in each in accordance with the royal command. *Nāy* Sām Còm / went up to pay homage [to the king], and presented an accounting of the Great Reliquary, the gallery, the Bodhimāṇḍiara, the *brah to'm*, and the monasteries, and registers of all the monastery slaves and true grants of land; and *nāy* Sām Còm [also] reported concerning the *cetiya* and *vihāra*, requesting that individuals and slaves<sup>10</sup> be established as monastery slaves, requesting [additional] true grants of land. / A royal decree was issued praising<sup>11</sup> *nāy* Sām Còm, and ordering a lictor under royal authority to hand over true grants of land and monastery slaves, forbidding all officers of government [from disturbing these grants]: A royal order was issued for the monks and *nāy* Sām Còm [confirming] the true grants of land, the localities and villages,<sup>12</sup> the gallery, and the walls around / the Great Reliquary. Then Śrī Mahārājā constructed a *vihāra* on the south side of the Great Reliquary in the form of a *maṇḍapa* and built a 7-fathom high

[28B]

[29A]

[29B]

[30A]

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is blank, as is f<sup>o</sup> 27A, the first f<sup>o</sup> of the reverse. F<sup>o</sup> 27B is only partly legible. It reads: "I hereby declare . . . . cau bañ . . . .  
 . . . lands . . . listening to the words of . . . . with nāy Am . . .  
 writing [or copying]." F<sup>o</sup> 28A also is blank.

<sup>8</sup>phū grōñ benī.

<sup>9</sup>vāt nōk vāt seśanārāya/saiśanarāya.

<sup>10</sup>A curious distinction made between phū gan and ñāti[yoma].

<sup>11</sup>anumodanān

<sup>12</sup>Reading very uncertain here.

[30B] *cetiya* in the *vihāra*, gilded down to its base. Then he made Buddha images, placed in rows on all four sides, eight to a side, thirty-two all together, / and chief images, one on each of the four sides, making thirty-six all together. *Śrī Mahārājā* appointed a superintendent of the suay for that *vihāra*, and named it the *Vihāra Hluāñ*.

EPISODE XXIV: MARRIAGE RELATIONS<sup>1</sup>

[31A] *Nāñ* Bejra, the daughter of *Śrī Mahārājā*, the king presented to be the wife of *khun Śrī Pāda*, the governor of *mo'āñ* Sukhodaiya. *Nāy* Kumāra, the son of *Śrī Mahārājā*, was by royal command / appointed *khun* Indarā, to eat *mo'āñ* Lāñsakā. And *Śrī Mahārājā* gave the suay register to *nāy* Sām Còm to go and present [to the king]n The [taxes] of Nagara were collected for *nāy* Phala, [his] younger brother, the son of *nāñ* Prañbhāvatī; the suay [taxes] of Banañ were collected for *nāy* Jī, [his] younger brother, the son of *khun* Gròn Bala; the suay [taxes] of Pān(dāy Tha)mò were collected for *nāy* Sām Còm, the son of *nāy* Yèm, who became *khun* Jaiyakumāra; [31B] the suay [taxes] of Debhā<sup>2</sup> were collected for *nāñ* (Nòy?), / the nurse of mè *nāñ* Rātagandhā, [his] younger sister; the *jeñ kutī* were kept for *nāñ* Kòn [and] *nāñ* Dāta, the wives of the late *Śrī Mahārājā*. *Śrī Mahārājā* took *nāñ* Sāñśa to be his wife. *Nāñ* Nòy, the niece<sup>3</sup> of *Śrī Mahārājā*, he presented to be the wife of *khun* Śrī Bala Pèt Òm Sèn *Khvāñ*, the governor of Srah; *nāñ* Su...tta, his niece, he presented to be the wife of *nāy* Sāyadòn, he who was the deputy of *khun* Jaiyakumāra, the governor / of [32A] Pāndāya Damò; *nāñ* Samuda, called *nāñ* Dāta, the younger sister of *nāñ*

<sup>1</sup>B<sub>1</sub> only, ff<sup>o</sup> 30B3-33B1.

<sup>2</sup>Debā, now a small town south of Sañkhilā.

<sup>3</sup>Only hl.. is legible in the text.

Beja, he presented to be the wife of khun Jaiyasenā, the governor of Srāya; *nān* Sān he presented to be the wife of *rājā* Śrī Devā, the governor of Kalāntān; [and] *nān* ....<sup>4</sup> younger sister of *nān* Uan, he presented to be the wife of *rājā* Bāddhayā, the governor of Bāddhaluñ. So all the chief towns were properly organized and pledged themselves to serve the Śrī Mahārājā; and at the new year all the chief towns / came in to lustrate the Śrī Mahārājā. Whenever there was a royal command, all the chief towns came in to present their homage, according to custom, without fail.

[32B]

Furthermore, when *mahāthera* Hemarāñśrī constructed one Buddha image,<sup>5</sup> [the king] ordered that *caubrayā* Śrī Dharrmarāja do likewise, and then the merchants also followed. [The king] appointed *bra* / Dibrāja, the younger brother of the governor of Subān,<sup>6</sup> to come to be the deputy<sup>7</sup> of *hluāñ* Birendradeba, and went in [to the capital] to render homage. Later, a [royal] order arrived to request that *brayā* Śrī Dharrmarāja go in to present homage, so he ordered khun Anācārabrahmabimāna to go in to pay homage. *Brayā* Śrī Dharrmarāja then had the woods cut on the south side, and had a brick wall made.<sup>8</sup> Later there was a / royal command requesting him to go in and render homage.

[33A]

[33B]

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<sup>4</sup>Four aksara illegible at margin.

<sup>5</sup>Text has just brah aṅga.

<sup>6</sup>I.e., Suphanburi.

<sup>7</sup>B reproduces just this much of this sentence below, p. 144.

<sup>8</sup>He clearly interpreted the royal request as a threat, and thus took defensive preparations.

EPISODE XXV: TWO NEW GOVERNORS<sup>1</sup>

Later, Braḥ Śrī Mahārājā died, in the year 1861.<sup>2</sup> The king sent a commissioner down to be Śrī Mahārājā, who decorated the Dharmasālā and built a gallery around the Great Reliquary, and erected a *vassabhā cetiya*. Braḥ Śrī Mahārājā was commanded to go and receive<sup>3</sup> *mo'āi* Lāntakā. When [this] Śrī Mahārājā died, his body was put in the *vassabhā* and nine *cetiya* were erected in the *braḥ to'm*.

In the year 1919,<sup>4</sup> His Majesty appointed *hluan* Śrī Varāvaṅsa to be ruler of the *mo'āi*. He came and built a *vihāra* north of the Great Reliquary; a Buddha image seven elbows high south of the Bodhimandīara; he cast a Buddha image of bronze and placed it to the west, and his wife cast another for the east, [in what was] called the Lacquer Vihāra.<sup>5</sup> Then he dedicated male and female slaves and land to maintain the monks. His Majesty was pleased to appoint *hluan* Birendradeba to come as ruler, and *braḥ* Dibarājā, younger brother of the governor of Subarna, as his deputy.<sup>6</sup> The *Arū*<sup>7</sup> attacked the *mo'āi*, and then captured Bādaluṅ. Dibarājā went as commander of the army to attack them, and regained [the town].

<sup>1</sup>Version B only, paras. 23-24.

<sup>2</sup>Era unspecified. If the digits are correctly read, the date can only be Buddhist Era, n= A.D. 1317.

<sup>3</sup>rāp: could this be rap, "to attack, to fight"?

<sup>4</sup>Again, no era specified. If the digits are correctly read, this date can only be Buddhist Era, n= A.D. 1375.

<sup>5</sup>behāra khian.

<sup>6</sup>Statement duplicated in B<sub>1</sub>: see note 7, preceding page.

<sup>7</sup>Can this be Aru in Sumatra?

EPISODE XXVI: TROUBLES, A.D. 1495-1500<sup>8</sup>

When the Mahāśākarāja had attained the year 2039,<sup>9</sup> in that year *brayā* Baladebarāja was appointed to be *caubrayā* Śrī Suriyapatī Śrī Dharrmarājatejaḥjaiya Abhāyabiriyaparākramabāhu, governor of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja.<sup>10</sup> The ruler ordered walls built and dismissed officials, / and then went in [to the capital] to pay homage, going by land by way of Srah.<sup>11</sup> [34A]

When the Mahāśākarāja had attained 2041,<sup>11</sup> in that year *bra*<sup>12</sup> Śrī Dharrmarājatejaḥ was sent out to eat *mo'wi* Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja. The enemy, Ujañ Tanah,<sup>13</sup> sent the *lakṣamaṇa* with boats large and small, and many troops, to attack; and *khun* Gāmhēn, the deputy [governor] was lost in fighting<sup>14</sup> at the mouth of the Brahyā [River]. The enemy fought up to the foot of the city [walls] on the north side. *Brayā* Śrī Dharrmarāja, / the nephew/grandson, went out to fight the enemy, and the enemy fled,<sup>15</sup> and the *thuśrī* which had fallen down was lost. Then [he] took the black elephant and entered into the [ranks of the] enemy, and they fled. And he was ordered to go and render homage.<sup>15</sup> [34B]

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<sup>8</sup>Version B, paras. 25-27; MS. B<sub>1</sub>, ff<sup>o</sup> 33B1-35B1.

<sup>9</sup>B does not specify the era and B<sub>1</sub> is wrong: it has to be Buddhist Era, n = A.D. 1495.

<sup>10</sup>B does not give his full title.

<sup>11</sup>Buddhist Era 2041 = A.D. 1497.

<sup>12</sup>B has brahyā.

<sup>13</sup>B has ujañ ganah. Ujong Tanah, "land's end," Johore, is meant.

<sup>14</sup>Text has rò, "waiting": a delaying action is suggested.

<sup>15-15</sup>Section omitted in B.

When the Mahāśākarāja had attained 2044,<sup>1</sup> in that year Rāmarāja Dāynām was appointed to come to be <sup>2</sup>*brahyā* Rāmanaraṅgasaṅgramabijaiya Abhāyabiriyaparākramabhāhu,<sup>2</sup> governor of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja. Bring-  
 [35A] ing *khun* Yauvarāja to be / his deputy,<sup>3</sup> he arrived in the *mo'āi*. *Brayā* Śrī Dharrmarāja went to pay homage.<sup>3</sup> Later, the *brahyā* went out in boats to pursue the enemy, went as far as Kalāntān, and then returned and entered *Tānī*.<sup>4</sup> So *caubrayā* Kaurapabijaiya gave up *dāv* *Tāhni*<sup>5</sup> to be the wife of *brayā* Rāma. *Brayā* Rāma then returned to the *mo'āi*.<sup>6</sup> Then there came news of Ujañ *Tanaḥ* [attacking], so the ruler had a moat dug on the eastern side, from the palace landing to the stream on the south side  
 [35B] / Then the ruler went in [to the capital] to pay homage.

EPISODE XXVII: FURTHER WARFARE, A.D. 1532-1553<sup>7</sup>

<sup>8</sup>When the Mahāśākarāja attained 20(7)6,<sup>9</sup> in that year [the king] ordered that *brayā* Rāmarāja Dāynām<sup>10</sup> should become *brayā* Naraṅgasaṅgrāma-bijaiya Abhāyabiriparākramabhāhu, governor of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja. Then a royal command bid him go in and pay homage. And when the era had attained 2079 years,<sup>11</sup> by royal order the *brayā* Śrī Dharrmarāja who had  
 [36A] gone up [to the capital to pay homage]/returned to eat the *mo'āi*.<sup>8</sup>

Later, Ujañ *Tanaḥ*, the enemy, came.<sup>12</sup> The *brayā* had all the provinces man sailing and oared boats, to a force of about 50,000. The

<sup>1</sup>Buddhist Era 2044 = A.D. 1500n B has 2144, but the second digit is absolutely clear in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2-2</sup>Passage omitted in B.

<sup>3-3</sup>Passage omitted in B.

<sup>4</sup>Patani.

<sup>5</sup>Conjectural reading of k yak dā(v) k tā hni.

<sup>6</sup>Sentence omitted in B.

<sup>7</sup>Version B, paras. 28-29; MS. B<sub>1</sub>, ff<sup>o</sup> 35B1-37A1.

<sup>8-8</sup>Paragraph omitted in B, this duplicates the paragraph preceding.

*brayā* had fortifications<sup>13</sup> set up on the north side of the *mo'āi*, and they fought for seven days and seven nights. Then the officers broke off<sup>14</sup> from their troops in the middle of the night, so the enemy was defeated and went for their boats. The enemy burnt the *vihāra* of Vāt Dā Bō.<sup>15</sup> Then the ruler died; / so *bra Śrī Dharrma*<sup>16</sup> and *brayā Kēv*, [36B] his nephews/grandsons, arranged for the funeral ceremonies on the royal parade ground, and erected a Buddha image in the *Dharrmaśālā*, in which they enshrined his ashes.<sup>17</sup>

When the *Mahāśākarāja* had attained 209(7) years,<sup>18</sup> a royal command appointed *bra(yā) Pālarāja*, the governor of Tenasserim, as *caubrayā* *Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja*- / -*tejaḥjaiya Abhāvabiriyaparākramabhāhu*, govern- [37A] or of *Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja*.

The end is here.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Buddhist Era 2076 = A.D. 1532.

<sup>10</sup>A title, so not the individual mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

<sup>11</sup>Buddhist Era 2079 = A.D. 1535.

<sup>12</sup>B dates this in 2171 (A.D. 1627)!

<sup>13</sup>B says a moat.

<sup>14</sup>khun bala khun cā ōk hāk dāp?

<sup>15</sup>B omits mention of the vihāra.

<sup>16</sup>B omits this man.

<sup>17</sup>B just says they "erected a cetiya for his ashes in the *Dharrma-śālā*."

<sup>18</sup>Clearly written in B<sub>1</sub>, where B has "the year 2197;" =A.D. 1553.

<sup>19</sup>In B<sub>1</sub> only.

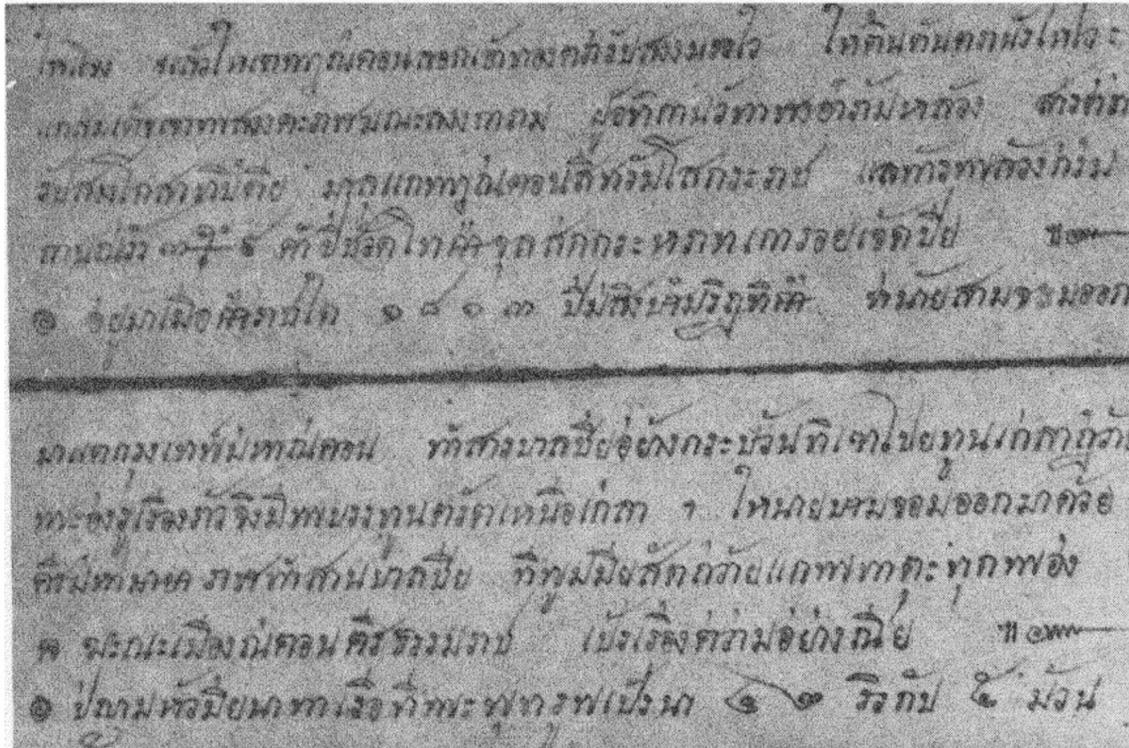


Plate 3/A: Manuscript C, f<sup>o</sup> 28 A&B

๑ พระกัณฑ์มัทรี	ประดู่พันชั่ง	๑๔	ปีกับทอน	๑	
	ชัชวาล			๑	ทอน
	ประดู่พันชั่ง			๓๑	ทอน
	ประดู่พันชั่ง			๑๖	ทอน
๑ มัทรีพันชั่ง	ประดู่พันชั่ง			๑	ทอน
	ชัชวาล			๑๐	ทอน
	ประดู่พันชั่ง			๑๐	ทอน
	ชัชวาล			๑๐	ทอน
๑ พระกัณฑ์มัทรี	ประดู่พันชั่ง			๑๑	ทอน
	ชัชวาล			๕๕	ไร่
	ชัชวาล			๑๑๐	ปี
	ชัชวาล			๑	ทอน
	ชัชวาล			๑๐	ทอน
	ชัชวาล			๑	ทอน
	ชัชวาล			๑	ทอน

Plate 3/B: Manuscript C, f<sup>o</sup> 35 A&B