Inscriptions of Indradevī, Chulalak, and Sujātā: Three Buddhist Queens from Cambodia and Thailand

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Abstract: This article offers new transliterations, translations, and interpretations of three of the most important inscriptions by or about elite Buddhist women between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries in mainland Southeast Asia. The first inscription (K. 485 from Phimeanakas), in eloquent Sanskrit verse from late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Cambodia, is an extensive eulogy and list of donations penned by Indradevī, a Mahāyāna Buddhist queen betrothed to Jayavarman VII. The second (No. 93/Sukhothai 26 from Wat Asokārāma), in Thai prose and Pali verse from today's north-central Thailand, offers a detailed record of donations and aspirations in the voice of Chulalak, a queen of the Sukhothai kingdom who lived in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The third (K. 303/IMA 2 at Angkor Wat), composed in an elevated style of Middle Khmer prose, records the pious deeds and aspirations of the Cambodian queen-mother Sujātā in the late sixteenth century. Taken together, the three inscriptions provide insights into changing notions of Buddhist queenship, gendered soteriologies, and authorial voice during a period of religious and political transition in Southeast Asia.

Keywords: epigraphy, Buddhism, women, Pali, Sanskrit, Khmer, Thai

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Extended compositions by or about women are rare in Buddhist epigraphs from Cambodia and Thailand. This article offers new translations and interpretations of three of the most important inscriptions that were wholly or partially composed by Buddhist women between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries in mainland Southeast Asia. The first inscription (K. 485), in eloquent Sanskrit verse from late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Cambodia, is an extensive eulogy and list of donations penned by Indradevī, a Mahāyāna Buddhist queen betrothed to Jayavarman VII, the powerful monarch who ruled the Angkorian empire at its height. The second (No. 93/Sukhothai 26), in Thai prose and Pali verse from today's north-central Thailand, offers a detailed record of donations and aspirations in the voice of Śrī Cuḷālakṣaṇa (hereafter Chulalak, following Thai convention), a queen of the Sukhothai kingdom who lived in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The third (K. 303/IMA 2), composed in an elevated style of Middle Khmer prose from early modern Cambodia, records the pious deeds and aspirations of the queen-mother Mahākalyāṇavattī Śrīsujātā (hereafter Sujātā), who made a pilgrimage to Angkor Wat in 1577 in connection with her son Jayajeṭṭha I's lavish restoration of the site.

Spanning almost four centuries and straddling a regional transition from Sanskrit-centred Brahmanism and Mahāyāna Buddhism to Pali-centred Theravāda Buddhism, these three inscriptions encompass a wealth of detail on Southeast Asian religious practices, orientations, and materialities.[1] My reasoning for selecting them here is twofold: one, to highlight some common orientations and aspirations shared by female elites in the region, and two, to show how these women's horizons changed from the late medieval to early modern periods. All three women were among the most prominent Buddhist patrons of their time, using their wealth and power to further Buddhist institutions as well as their own soteriological goals. Indradevī and her younger sister Jayarājadevī were instrumental in

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[1] On this transition, see Pou, 'Sanskrit, Pāli and Khmero-Pāli'; Thompson, 'Early Theravādin Cambodia: Terms of Engagement'; and the essays gathered in *idem*, ed., *Early Theravādin Cambodia: Perspectives from Art and Archaeology*.

the education of Buddhist nuns and laywomen in Cambodia. By contrast, both Chulalak and Sujātā aspired for rebirth as men in the time of the next Buddha, Metteyya, so as to achieve arhatship under his guidance or receive a prediction of future buddhahood.

The three inscriptions also capture some gendered dimensions of the linguistic transitions taking place during this era. Indradevī composed in the South Asian prestige language of Sanskrit, a language she evidently received extensive training in alongside her native Khmer. Though in subsequent centuries a few Buddhist women in Southeast Asia did study Pali, an Indic scriptural language closely related to Sanskrit, almost all records of women's writing after Indradevī are in local vernaculars.[2] The long Pali verse portion of Chulalak's inscription was explicitly composed by a male court poet, even though much of it speaks directly in the queen's first-person voice. As for the vernacular portions of Chulalak and Sujātā's inscriptions, in Thai and Khmer, respectively, we cannot be certain of their authorship. At the very least, the two queens surely played key roles in inspiring, shaping, and approving the inscriptions carved in stone on their behalf.

In what follows, I present each inscription in turn, preceded by a brief introduction that situates each record in its physical, geographic, historical, and religious context. All three have already been translated into modern languages such as French, English, Khmer, and Thai.[3] I have translated them afresh here with several distinct aims

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[2] For more recent examples of women mastering Pali in Southeast Asia, see Collins and McDaniel, 'Buddhist "nuns"', 1384–400; Kaloyanides, 'The Women Who Mastered Pāli'; and Seeger, 'The (Dis)Appearance of an Author', 504–19.

[3] Indradevi's inscription is accessible in complete French translation in Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 2, 173–81 and in partial English translation in Thompson, *Engendering the Buddhist State*, 124–133 and Walker, 'In Praise of Sister Queens'. A short except translated into Khmer appears in Lī, *Aksar-sāstr khmaer*, 67–68, with more extensive excepts appearing in Thai in Nipat and Chirapat, 'Cāriṅ ṗrāsād bimān ākāś'. The second text, Chulalak's inscription, appears in complete English translation in Griswold and Prasert, 'The Asokārāmā Inscription', 44–56, and in complete Thai translation in Kram

in mind: one, to maintain the verse format lost in prior translations, where applicable, and to otherwise let the inscriptions' literary merits shine; two, to make Buddhist terms, references, and frameworks as clear as possible for a general Buddhist studies audience who might be less acquainted with Southeast Asia; three, to divide the inscriptions into discrete, labelled sections to facilitate their use in the classroom as well as for comparative research; and four, to improve on a few areas where I disagree with the readings found in previous scholarship. I have confined discussions of my interpretative choices to the footnotes, in an effort to leave the text as clean as possible for the reader.[4] Following this presentation and translation of the three inscriptions, I present my synthetic and comparative remarks in the conclusion.

For readers seeking access to the original texts, appendices I–III provide my new transliterations of each of the three inscriptions. While existing transliterations are generally reliable, my updated versions include a range of minor improvements based on my reading of the estampages as well as other published and unpublished images.[5]

śilpākar, *Praḥjum cāṛik bhāg dì 8*, 398–401, 408–10. Finally, Sujātā's inscription is available in complete French translation in Lewitz, 'Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor 2 et 3', 103–06, and Thompson, 'Mémoires du Cambodge', 412–13. A complete translation into modern Thai appears in Uraisi, *Cāṛik nagar văt*, 147–48, and in a complete modern Khmer version in Vong, *Silācāṛik*, 114–16.

[4] In terms of conventions, I use square brackets to indicate words in my translation that I have supplied for clarity, curly brackets for my suggested reconstructions of lacunae due to damage to the stone, and rounded parentheses for glosses, line numbers, and other parenthetical remarks.

[5] For Indradevī's inscription (K. 485), a transliteration is provided in Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 2, 171–73. My transliteration is based on the plate of the estampage for Face D reproduced in Figures 2–3. For Chulalak's inscription (No. 93/Sukhothai 26), the most reliable version to date is that published in Kram śilpākar, *Praḥjum cāṛik bhāg dì 8*, 398–401, 403–07; some alternate readings appear in Griswold and Prasert, 'The Asokārāmā Inscription', 39–43. The published images found in Kram śilpākar, *Praḥjum cāṛik bhāg dì 8*, 396, 397, and 402 are currently the best available; lower quality images of the estam-

In the case of the third inscription, my readings are based on photographs I took of the inscription *in situ* in 2014 (Figures 5–6).[6] Rather than phonetic transcription, I have followed the norms of Southeast Asian epigraphical studies in providing graphic transliterations for most Indic and Southeast Asian names and terms, except for those in common usage.[7]

I: Phimeanakas Inscription

K. 485, Sanskrit, late twelfth–early thirteenth century, attributed to Queen Indradevī

Situated at the heart of Yaśodharapura, the capital of the Angkorian empire and near the modern city of Siem Reap, Cambodia, the four-sided stone pyramid known to local Khmer speakers as Phimeanakas is part of a walled compound identified as the ancient royal palace. In 1916, during an initial excavation of the site, two inscriptions were discovered and dated on palaeographical grounds

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pages are hosted online at https://db.sac.or.th/inscriptions/inscribe/image_detail/25706 (Face A) and https://db.sac.or.th/inscriptions/inscribe/image_detail/25707 (Face B). I am grateful to several unnamed colleagues who kindly shared other unpublished images of this inscription, which allowed me to verify most of my readings, though some passages remain obscure.

[6] Other sources for the study of this inscription include the rubbings published in Ang, *Silācāriḳ aṅgar vatt*, 88–89; and the transliterations found in Krassem, *Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor*, 2–4; Pou, 'Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor 2 et 3', 102–03; Uraisi, *Cāriḳ nagar vāt*, 39–41; and Vong, *Silācāriḳ*, 110–13.

[7] For Appendices I–III as well as for all romanized text in Khmer, Thai, Pali, and Sanskrit throughout the article, I follow the system laid out in Walker, 'A Unified Transliteration System for Mainland Southeast Asian Scripts', which matches the ISO 15919:2001 system for Pali and Sanskrit, closely adheres to existing conventions for Khmer, and presents a revised model for working with Thai/Siamese and other Tai languages.

FIG. 1 Phimeanakas Temple, Siem Reap, Cambodia (Photo by the author, 2025).

to the era of King Jayavarman VII (r. 1181–1218).[8] The first inscription, K. 484 of unknown authorship, presents a succinct praise of the Bodhi tree in both Sanskrit and Khmer.[9]

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[8] Marchal, 'Dégagement du Phimànakas', 57–58. On Jayavarman VII's reign, see Chandler, *A History of Cambodia*, 66–80.

[9] For an edition and French translation, see Cœdès, 'Etudes cambodgiennes', 9–12; Pou, 'L'inscription de Phimeanakas', 92–93; and Chhom, 'Le rôle du sanskrit', 332–40. For an English translation, see Walker, 'Inscription: Hymn to the Tree of Awakening'.

The second, much longer inscription, known as the 'great stele' of Phimeanakas, is signed as the work of the Buddhist queen Indradevī. Carved in Old Khmer script on four faces of a large piece of schist, roughly 1.7 meters tall, the composition runs to 102 stanzas in a variety of Sanskrit meters.[10] However, extensive damage to the rock, particularly on the first three sides, means that most of the stanzas are too damaged to read or translate in full. My translation therefore focuses on Face D, namely the final twenty-four stanzas (79–102), the only long section that has survived unscathed.

Among the portions I have not translated, stanzas 1–3 form an opening Buddhist invocation, 4–29 a praise of King Jayavarman VII, and 30–78 a long praise of his first wife, Queen Jayarājadevī, including a short section (59–60) on how she was brought into the Buddhist fold by Indradevī, her older sister. This pivotal event in the religious life of the two sisters evidently took place during Jayavarman's military campaign against the rival kingdom of Champa (in today's south-central Vietnam) prior to his ascension to the throne in 1181.[12] The undamaged section, translated here, picks up with a continued eulogy of Jayarājadevī's pious acts (79–94) along with those of the poem's author, Indradevī (95–102), who rises to queen after her younger sister's death.[13]

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[10] Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 2, 161.

[11] A French-language synopsis of the inscription appears in ibid., vol. 2, 161–63; for an English translation of the same, see Thompson, *Engendering the Buddhist State*, 120–22. Scholars have taken a variety of approaches to the inscription. Nipat Yamdate and Chirapat Prapandvidya argue that it presents some of the best evidence for how Jayavarman VII was praised as an ideal king, in both Buddhist and Brahmanical modes ('Cāṛik ṗrāsād bimān ākāś', 137). Ashley Thompson, on the other hand, uses the inscription to probe how Jayarājadevī's conversion to Mahāyāna Buddhism troubles simple binaries of masculine and feminine as well as active and passive (*Engendering the Buddhist State*, 137–41).

[12] Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 2, 162–63; Nipat and Chirapat, 'Cāṛik ṗrāsād bimān ākāś', 112–13; Thompson, *Engendering the Buddhist State*, 134.

[13] The undamaged portion is translated in full in Cœdès, *Inscriptions du*

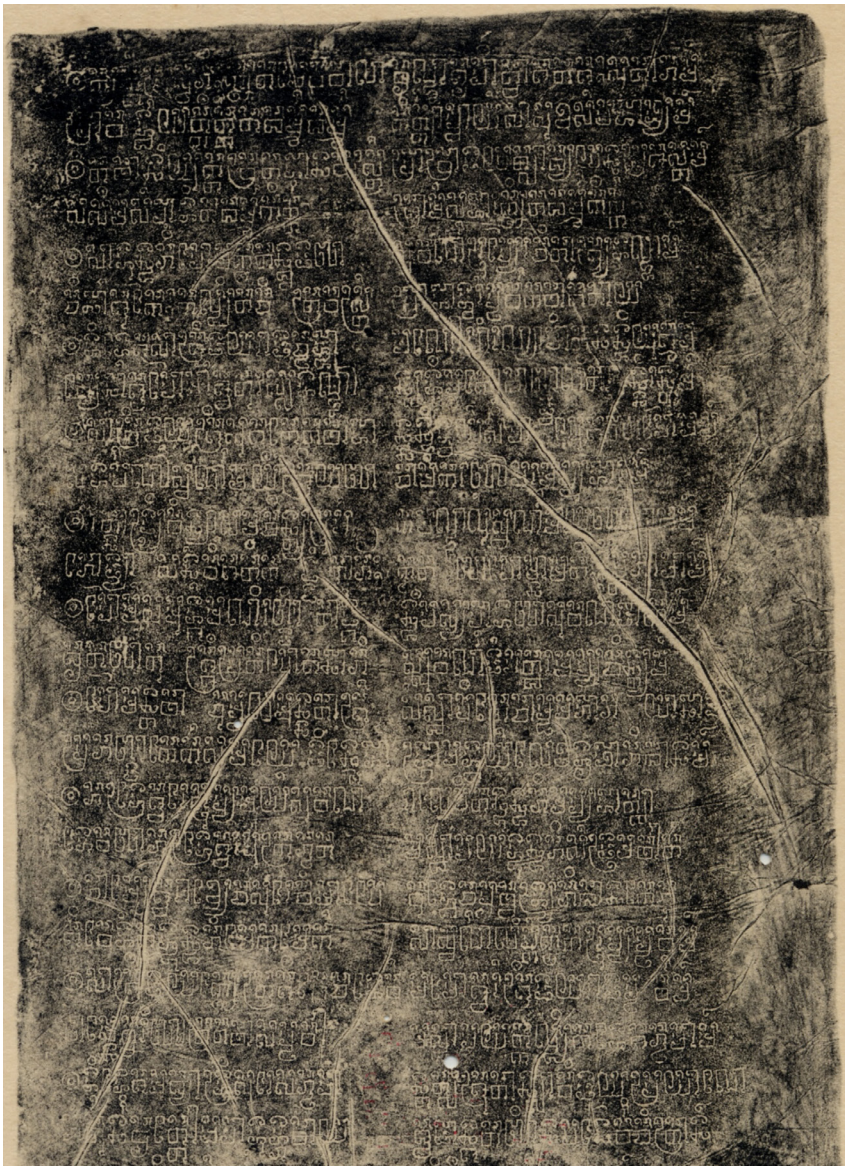

FIG. 2 Estampage of K. 485, face D, lines 1–24. Image © École française d'Extrême-Orient (photo by Dominique Soutif), used with permission.

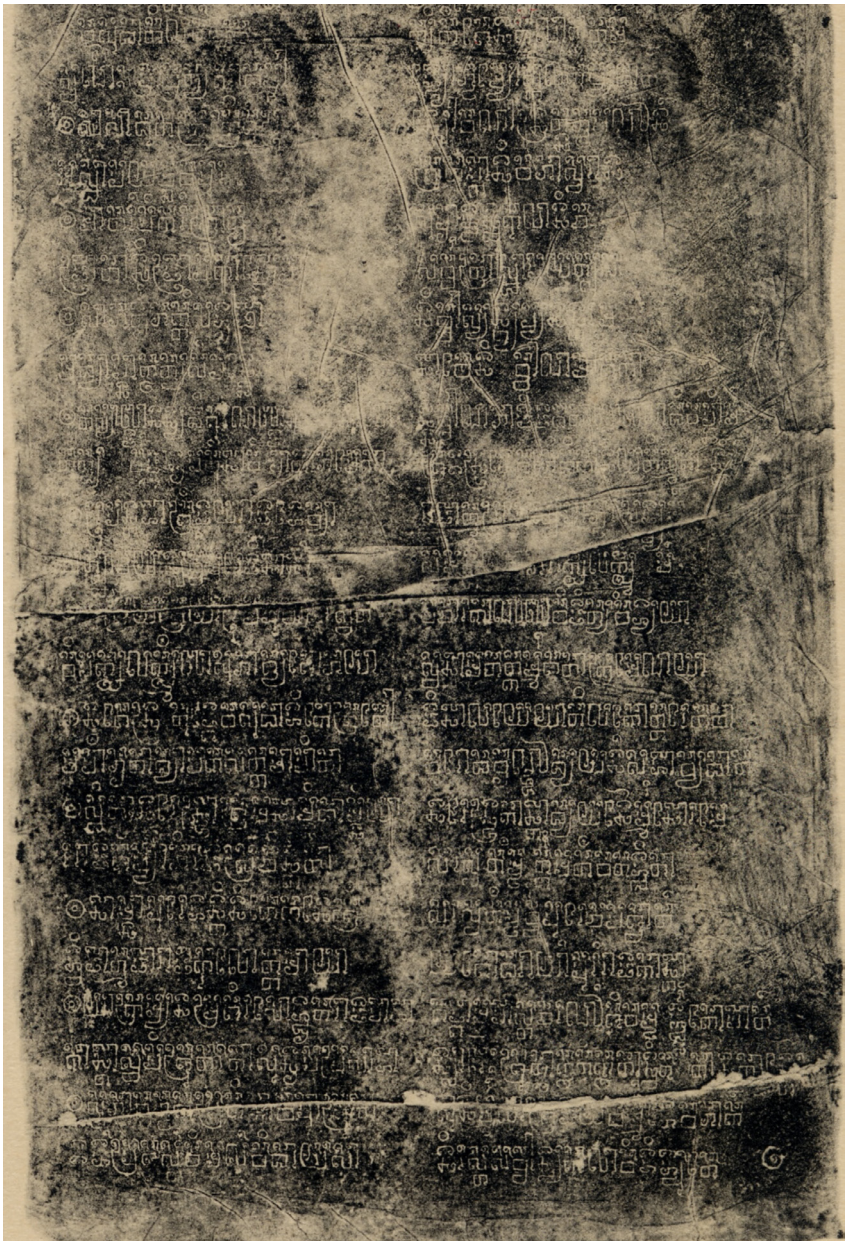

FIG. 3 Estampage of K. 485, face D, lines 25–48. Image © École française d'Extrême-Orient (photo by Dominique Soutif), used with permission.

The only Sanskrit epigraph in Cambodia known to have been written by a woman, Indradevī's composition adopts the *praśasti* genre—praise poems for kings-cum-gods, usually in a Brahmanical context—to her Buddhist faith.[14] Her language is elegant yet straightforward, avoiding the ornate layers of double meanings (*śleṣa*) favoured by other earlier *praśasti* authors in Cambodia.[15] The portion translated here recounts how both Jayarājadevī and Indradevī nurtured Buddhist studies among nuns and women of the court, along with the lavish donations they made to Buddhist and Brahmanical temples.

[1. Pious works of Jayarājadevī, Face D, lines 1–28, stanzas 79–93]

79 (1) Taking as her own issue a flock, hundreds-strong,
of broken-down girls, abandoned by their mothers,
(2) she brought them up as the village called Dharmakīrti,
famed for the Dharma, rich in bliss and success.[16]

80 (3) In this way, with the proper rites, gifts, and robes,
she gave ordination[17] to Dharmakīrti, the village

Cambodge, vol. 2, 178–81. Only three stanzas from this final section (79, 80, and 93) are translated into English by Thompson (*Engendering the Buddhist State*, 132–33).

[14] On the ramifications of Indradevī as author and Jayarājadevī as chief subject of the inscription, see ibid., 122–24. On the *praśasti* genre in Cambodia, including the distinct prominence they afforded queens, see Pollock, *The Language of the Gods*, 125–27.

[15] Ibid., 147.

[16] I am grateful to David Brick for his feedback on my translation (personal communication, December 12, 2023), which greatly improved my understanding of several stanzas.

[17] The verb *prāvrājayat* here, from *pra* + √*vṛj* ('to wander forth, to enter the ascetic life'), is the technical term for novice ordination, suggesting that the girls became Buddhist nuns. This reading is further supported by the invocation of a *sīma*/*sīmā* boundary consecration rite in the following line (*sasīmasaṃpādita*), the presence of which has long been held necessary in Southeast Asia for the

(4) renowned for study, ever guarding the Dharma's fame,
now complete with a consecrated *sīma* (boundary).

81 (5) To [the Buddha named] Pūrvatathāgata,[18]
she gave a golden drum and a fine banner,
(6) its lofty finial crafted from gold and silver,
its coloured cloth woven from Chinese silk.

82 (7) To Śrījayarājacūḍāmaṇi,[19] she granted
a pair of Nandin (bulls), presented in precious gold,
(8) and a quartet of gold eagles, [all four] complete
with their stands and lamps, always ablaze.

83 (9) To Śrījayaśrīsugata,[20] she gave
a pair of Nandin (bulls) and lions in gold;
(10) a golden *śrī* (symbol) and its glowing mirror;
an exquisite fly-whisk, also golden-hued;

84 (11) a bejewelled ottoman, of unthinkable beauty;
a water pot and a cask, each crafted from gold;
(12) a stand for meal-taking, fashioned from
twenty *kaṭṭikā* (weights) of shining, resplendent gold.

85 (13) a golden casket, bedecked with gleaming jewels;
a stand for an oil-lamp, likewise made from gold;

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ordination of bhikṣu/bhikkhu or bhikṣuṇī/bhikkhunī. On these boundaries, see Carbine and Davis, *Sīmās*.

[18] Pūrvatathāgata is presumably the name of the chief Buddha image at this site, after whom the temple is named. By making an offering to the chief deity, she is making it to the temple as a whole. The same holds true for the remaining Buddhas/deities named in the stanzas that follow. According to Cœdès, Pūrvatathāgata was the name of the Buddhist temple known today as Banteay Kdei (*Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 2, 178, n. 4).

[19] The Buddhist temple now known as Ta Prohm (ibid., vol. 2, 179, n. 1).

[20] The Buddhist temple now known as Preah Khan (ibid., vol. 2, 179, n. 3).

(14) an unimaginably [fine] golden slab, held aloft
by quadruple icons of the (goddess) Śrī;

86 (15) and finally a gold, high-peaked *cumbala* (crown).[21]
Before a bronze icon of the Victor, breaker of the
(16) eight great dangers, installed [at that same temple],
she gave two villages, known as Lekha and Dṛḍha.

87 (17) To [the deity named] Bhadreśvara, she gifted
a silver drum, gilded in gold, and erected
(18) a god with the form of Bhadreśvara's son,
known, of course, as Dundubhi ('Drum').

88 (19) At [the shrine of] the god called Cāmpeśvara,
at [the temple of] Buddha Vimāya,[22] and before
(20) the Śiva named Pṛthvadri, she dedicated to each
a drum daubed with gilt along with crafted silver.

89 (21) At [the temple of] Śrījayakṣetraśiva,[23] she established
the deity Maheśvara, whose name begins 'Śrījayarāja',
(22) and in that place an Īśvarī with the same forename,
to whom she dedicated an appropriate plot of land.

90 (23) To better her husband's rebirth, should his time come,
she offered up a hundred ornamented banners,
(24) colourfully woven with Chinese cloth, to the deity
Madhyādri,[24]

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[21] On this term, see Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 1, 43, n. 4.

[22] The Buddhist temple of Phimai, now in Nakhon Ratchasima province, Thailand (ibid., vol. 2, 179, n. 8).

[23] The temple of Basaet in modern-day Battambang province (ibid., vol. 2, 179, n. 10). The area surrounding the temple is the site of an ongoing archaeological project led by Miriam Stark and Alison Carter (https://sites.google.com/view/pteah-cambodia).

[24] A calque on Old Khmer *vnaṁ kantāl* ('central mountain'), known today

just as she vowed during his campaign in Vijaya.[25]

91 (25) What a prior ruler of the land had built in stone,
[this very temple called] Vasudhātilaka,[26]
('Earth-Ornament',) she piously swathed in gold,[27]
making it an ornament of both soil and sky.[28]

92 (26) At Śivapura temple, she righteously
erected icons of her three masters,[29]
golden, adorned with glimmering jewels,
glowing with the fire of the blazing sun.

93 (27) Ever wise, she erected in all places
[images of] her mother, father, siblings,
friends, and relatives, those she knew
and those made known [to her].[30]

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as Phnom Bakheng (Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 2, 180, n. 1; Chhom, 'Le rôle du sanskrit', 314).

[25] Vijaya here refers to the kingdom of Champa in today's south-central Vietnam.

[26] According to Cœdès, this might refer to the temple of Phimeanakas itself, where the inscription was found (*Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 2, 180, n. 2).

[27] Nipat and Chirapat interpret *svarṇaiḥ prāvṛtya* ('having wrapped [it] in gold') as referring to the actions of previous monarchs, not Jayarājadevī herself ('Cāṛḷk ṗrāsād bimān ākāś', 120).

[28] In an earlier publication ('In Praise of Sister Queens'), I translated only from this stanza forward; the present translation differs on almost every stanza and hopefully corrects some of my prior mistakes. I am grateful to Dominic Goodall for pointing out some of my previous errors.

[29] According to Cœdès, these could refer to her father, mother, and spouse, or perhaps her father, mother, and spiritual teacher (*Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 2, 180, n. 4). The former interpretation is backed by a Middle-period didactic poem for young women in Khmer, the version of *cpāṗ srī* attributed to Mai (Walker, 'Code for Girls', 48).

[30] The distinction between the two kinds of relatives invoked here, *jñātāni*

94 (28) Although she was about to pass into nirvāṇa,
she remained firm in fealty to her husband,
so only after her lord finished his midday rites
did she reach herself that state of serenity.[31]

[2. Pious works and eulogy of Indradevī, Face D, lines 29–44, stanzas 95–102]

95 (29) When [Jayarājadevī], who gladdened the people
even more than a mother could, enjoyed nirvāṇa [at last],
(30) her elder sister, crowned by the lord of men as Indradevī,[32]
pacified the people's burning blaze of grief.[33]

96 (31) In every city, Indradevī raised images
of Jayarājadevī, herself, and the king.
(32) Within her own palace she guarded

('those who are known') and *jñāpitāni* ('those who are made known'), is not entirely clear. Thompson prefers 'whom she knew or had heard spoken of' (*Engendering the Buddhist State*, 133).

[31] Cœdès translates *pāda* B (*nirvāsyanty apy anantaram*) differently, taking it as meaning that her fealty (*bhakti*) to her husband was such that it lasted until death ('jusqu'au nirvāṇa'; *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 2, 180). Lī follows Cœdès in this reading, additionally taking *pāda* C (*madhyāhnakṛtyasaṁpanne*) as 'until the king had sincerely devoted himself to the teachings of the Buddha' (*braḥ rājā draṅ̀ thvāy braḥ aṅg ŝaḥ knuṅ buddha ovād sin*; *Aksar-sāstr khmaer*, 67). Nipat and Chirapat adopt a third reading of *pāda* B, taking it as referring to an unending sacrifice (*sīe salaḥ ayàṅ̀ mài mī dì̀ sín sut lév*; 'Cāṛìk ṗrāsād bimān ākāś', 116).

[32] Cœdès reads *-abhidikā* (*Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 2, 172), but the stone is clear as *-abhidhikā*, derived from *abhidhā*, 'name; to be named'.

[33] Cœdès instead understands *jagatāñ jvalitādhivahnim... nayati sma śāntim* as 'appeased the fire (of chagrin) that burned the worlds' (*apaisa le feu (du chagrin) qui brûlait les mondes*; *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 2, 180).

the splendour of the Buddhas.

97 (33) Having bested the beautiful with her beauty,
the knowledge of the philosophers with her learning,
(34) and the fortune of her rivals with the lustre of her luck,
in due course she earned her name through her own acts.[34]

98 (35) At the Buddhist temple called Tilakottara,
as lofty in learning as the highest peak to emerge from the earth,[35]
(36) she was installed as supreme teacher by the lord of the land
and ceaselessly taught a throng of women from the inner palace.

99 (37) Based at Narendrāśrama ('The King's Hermitage'),
made lovely by the studies the king so loved,
(38) she shined, her students adoring her without end,
as beneficial to them as if she were Sarasvatī incarnate.[36]

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[34] This could be in reference to the name Indradevī itself, or, as Cœdès suggests, another, otherwise unknown alternative title of Indradevī, such as Śrī Vidyālakṣmī ('beauty-learning-fortune'; ibid., 180, n. 5). In my reading, *pāda* D should be understood as *svanāma tatkarma gatā krameṇa yā*, not *svanāma tat karmagatā krameṇa yā*. My thanks to David Brick for his insight on this stanza in particular.

[35] The first half of the stanza may refer to one or two Buddhist temples (*jinālaya*), either Tilakottara ('Supreme Ornament') alone or Tilakottara along with Nagendratuṅga ('Peak of the King among Mountains'); I have opted for the former interpretation, while Cœdès chooses the latter.

[36] I am grateful to Dominic Goodall (personal communication, November 7 and 19, 2019) as well as David Brick for their suggestions on this stanza and on the three that follow.

100 (39) Born to brahmans and the highest royal line[37]
in the city named Dantiniketana and [educated]
in the glorious city accompanied by learning,[38]
(40) she later became the king's beloved in Yaśodharā.[39]

101 (41) Eclipsing Gaṅgā, who angrily stomped her feet on Śiva's pate,
[Indradevī] lifted the king's soles above her lowered head,
(42) scattering, even among his lovers who longed for learning,
the king's favours in the form of knowledge and lovely treasures.

102 (43) Wise by nature, rich in learning, perfectly pure,
devoted to [King] Śrījayavarmadeva,
(44) having composed this pure paean,
refuting the skills of all others,[40] she gleamed.

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[37] Nipat and Chirapat understand *dvijātmajā rājakulottamā yā* differently as 'the daughter of a brahman, who was the highest in the royal line' (*puṫrī khaṅ brāhmaṇ• ǰïṅ pĕn phŭ̀ dì̀ sūṅ sut nai rājatraḥkūl*; 'Cāṛik ṗrāsād bimān ākāś', 114).

[38] Or in the city whose name begins with 'Śrī Sarasvatī' (*śrīsarasvatīpūrvvapure*); Cœdès translates simply this phrase as 'in the city of Śrī Sarasvatīpura' (*dans la ville de Śrī Sarasvatīpura*; *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 2, 181).

[39] The capital of the Angkorian empire, usually rendered with a short *-a* as Yaśodharapura.

[40] Cœdès takes *nirastasarvvānyakalā* as 'leaving aside all other talent' instead (*laissant de côté tout autre talent*; ibid., vol. 2, 181).

II: Wat Asokārāma Inscription

No. 93/Sukhothai 26, Thai/Pali, early fifteenth century, attributed to Queen Chulalak (Thai) and the court poet Sridhammatrailoka (Pali)

This two-sided stele, some 1.34 meters tall, was unearthed in 1958 in Sukhothai province, Thailand, within the ruins of a monastery identified in the inscribed text as [Wat] Asokārāma.[41] The inscription has been conventionally dated to the first date carved into its schist surface, equivalent to February 1, 1400 of the Julian calendar, but other evidence suggests a somewhat later date, most likely the second decade of the fifteenth century.[42] One side (Face A) is in Thai prose in the distinctive version of Thai script found in most other inscriptions from the Sukhothai kingdom. The other side (Face B) is inscribed in the variant of Khmer script known as Khom, long used for Pali in Central and Southern Thailand. The portion is composed in the simple *siloka* or *anuṭṭhubha* meter, forty-one stanzas in all, plus two short lines outside of this metrical structure.

The Thai and Pali portions are not exactly translations of one another; each contains sections left out in the language, so only together do the records provide a full account of Chulalak's extensive gifts and pious works, her place in the royal genealogy, and her specific religious aspirations.[43] Each side begins with an opening homage, but the full introduction to the inscriptions' purpose appears only in section 1 of

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[41] Griswold and Prasert, 'The Asokārāmā Inscription', 29; Kram śilpākar, *Praḥjum cāṛik bhāg dī̀ 8*, 394–95.

[42] Vickery, 'Sukhothai Historiography', 238–39; Lagirarde, Schnake, and Weerakietsoontorn, 'La stèle 286', 307–08. Griswold and Prasert ('The Asokārāmā Inscription', 37) date the inscription to 1399 by the simple conversion of adding 638 to *cūḷaśakarāja* 761, ignoring that for the month of Phālguna it is necessary to add 639 to arrive at the Julian date.

[43] The two faces were not necessarily written at the same time; the Pali side may have been composed slightly later. This is the interpretation advanced by Michael Vickery in 'Sukhothai Historiography', 239.

FIG. 4 Estampage of No. 93/Sukhothai 26, face A, lines 28–41. Photo by Thanachot Keatnapat, 2025, used with permission.

the Pali side. The Pali continues in sections 2 and 3 with many details regarding Chulalak's consort, a certain king named Mahādhammarājādhirājā, including his ascension to the throne and the extent of the realm.[44] Section 4 of the Pali praises Chulalak and her two sons, the older of whom eventually succeeds his father as king. None of these three parts (sections 2–4 of the Pali) appear on the Thai face.

[44] This is closely tied to a regnal name, Mahādhammarājā, shared by no fewer than four successive kings of Sukhothai (Mahādhammarājā I–IV); determining which Mahādhammarājā is being referred to here has puzzled historians for decades. Here I follow recent arguments made by François Lagirarde, Javier Schnake, and Thissana Weerakietsoontorn, namely that Chulalak was the queen of Mahādhammarājā III. The latter died around 1409–1410 and was outlived by his queen, who would then likely have served as regent for her son (Lagirarde, Schnake, and Weerakietsoontorn, 'La stèle 286', 328–31, 349–50). A different chronology appears in Wyatt, *A Short History*, 309.

The two sides of the inscription are more closely matched for sections 2 and 3 of the Thai, corresponding to 5 and 6 of the Pali side. These sections detail how Chulalak installed two relics in a stūpa at Asokārāma, built a variety of other structures there, and provided the temple with learned monks to chant, preach, and govern the compound; slaves and cropland to produce food for the monastics; and other financial support to maintain the practical and ritual life of the temple. The Thai face, in section 4, includes additional details of other temples sponsored by the queen; these pious acts are not recorded on the Pali side.

The final sections on the Thai (5–6) and Pali (7 and 9) faces record Chulalak's solemn dedication of merit to her deceased family members and a prayer that future monarchs will rejoice in her merit and look after the Buddhist sites she built. Section 8 of the Pali includes a multi-stage aspiration to buddhahood, a common vow among elite Buddhists in Southeast Asia during this period.[45] Chulalak first aspires to be reborn as a man and receive a prediction from Metteyya, the future Buddha. By taking the long path and aiming to fulfil the ten perfections, she endeavours to eventually become a buddha herself, albeit in a male body, fulfilling the ten perfections along the way.

When read in tandem with a closely related Thai and Pali inscription from the nearby temple of Pūrbārāma (S. 286), the two faces of the Asokārāma stele reveal how Chulalak's extensive patronage of the Saṅgha made her a powerful figure in political and religious spheres during the 1410s. Indeed, the Pali face of the Pūrbārāma stele lauds Chulalak as the 'sovereign queen [and] mother of the Saṅgha' (*issariyā saṁghamātāya deviyā*),[46] a fitting summary of how the Asokārāma inscription depicts her works and character. Her full title, given on the Thai faces of both inscriptions, loosely trans-

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[45] Walker, 'Unfolding Buddhism', 588–601; *idem*, *Until Nirvana's Time*, 192–93.

[46] From Face B, line 9 of the Pūrbārāma inscriptions (S. 286) (Winai, 'Cāṛik văt pūrbārām', 42; Lagirarde, Schnake, and Weerakietsoontorn, 'La stèle 286', 317).

lates as 'The Venerable Lord, the Royal Queen Glorious Chulalak ("Marked Crest"), Highest Royal Consort, Bearer of the Divine, Jewel-Ornament, the Pure One' (*samtec braḥ rājadebī śrī culālakṣaṇa agrarājamaheṣī debyadharaṇī tilakaratanapabitr*), mirroring how the Cambodian Buddhist queens Javarājadevī, Indradevī, and Sujātā were depicted in the centuries before and after Chulalak.[47]

Face A (Thai, lines 1–47)

[1. Opening homage, line 1]

(1) Homage to the Three Jewels! [May there be] homage and the utmost blessings!

[2. Chulalak's installation of relics at Wat Asokārāma, lines 1–13]

It can be specified[48] that in seven-hundred (2) sixty-one of the [Lesser] Era, Year of the Rabbit, in the month of Phālguna, the seventh waxing day, at the auspicious hour and precise moment (3) of the lunar day when the planets were in conjunction, Saṁtec Braḥ Rājadebī Śrī Culālakṣaṇa [Agra]rāja{mahesī} (4) Deb[y]adhạra{ṇī Tila}karatana{pabitr who was the beloved wife},[49] who was (5) the dutiful consort of Saṁtec Mahādharmarājādhirāja, endowed with the five graces, [possessed] of conduct, {vigour, and intelligence, (6) having

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[47] For a discussion of her title, see Lagirarde, Schnake, and Weerakietsoontorn, 'La stèle 286', 329.

[48] Taking *pạramān* as *pramān* (modern Thai *p̣raḥmāṇ*), 'determination, specification', in keeping with Winai Pongsiripian's reading of a similar passage in S. 286, line 1 ('Cāṛik văt pūrbārām', 33), and against the *paramān* (as a deformation of *parama*) interpretation adopted by Griswold and Prasert ('The Asokārāmā Inscription', 39, 44).

[49] Interpolating this lacuna with evidence from a similar passage in S. 286, face A, lines 12–14: *saṁtec braḥ [rā]jadevī srī culālakṣaṇa aǧrarājamahiśī debyadharaṇī tilakaraňapabitr p̣en co phū p̣en pādaparicārikā raňajāyā tæ saṁtec mahādharrmarājādhirāj* (Winai, 'Cāṛik văt pūrbārām', 36–37).

made}[50] her heart steadfast in the Teachings of the Victor, erected (7) a stūpa in Wat Asokārāma. Taking two holy relics (8) that came from the upper country[51]—one that was medium in size, like a grain of rice split in half (9) with a crystal hue; the other {small in size, like a mustard seed, with} (10) a bakula-flower hue—she {interred them within the womb of the great stūpa}...[52] (11) this great *cetiya*.

[3. Chulalak's other pious works at Wat Asokārāma, lines 11–27]

After four months had passed, [she erected] a Buddha image... (12) a *kuṭi* for [the monk] Braḥ Srī Mahā Bodhivaṅ[sa] Kramala[ñ]āṇa... (13) a wall, a bridge, and a road, lined with all manner of {trees}. She then (14) set the whole Tipiṭaka in sequence for two preachers of the Dharma— (15) one named *co*[53] Ñāṇavăṅsa Rājapaṇḍita, the other named *có* Srī (16) Văṅ—along with a reciter of the Dharma, whom she named *có* Săṅkhasạra.[54] She then assisted (17) in setting up a group of people, fifty households in all, who were assigned to be appropriate [monastery] slaves, (18) to be supervised by *nāy jiaṅ* Srī Cănd, along with {two hundred million} [cowries of] {rice-fields}... (19) ...twenty-five cartloads of rice at the onset of each year. She

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[50] Interpolating these lacunae with a similar passage in S. 286, face A, lines 14–15: *mī śi[la]biraya[prī]jā tāṁkal caị hmaṅ* (Winai, 'Cāṛịk văt pūrbārām', 37).

[51] The text reads *mæṅ pan*, for modern Thai *mặ̄ạṅ pan*, 'upper country.' This presumably prefers to Laṅkā, as per the use of [Tamba]paṇṇipūra on line 23 of the Pali face and the witness of a similar passage that explicitly mentions relics from Laṅkā in S. 286, face A, line 19; face B, lines 26–27 (Winai, 'Cāṛịk văt pūrbārām', 38, 43).

[52] Interpolating these two lacunae from the Pali side, lines 23–24.

[53] A common Tai/Thai term for 'lord', pronounced *chao*.

[54] The term for 'reciter of the Dharma' used here is *smuat*, an Old Khmer word derived from *suat*, 'to chant'. The term has been lost in modern Thai, but it is retained in modern Khmer as *smūt*, 'to recite melodically' (Walker, 'Unfolding Buddhism', 200). *Săṅkhasạra* is derived from Pali *saṅkhasara*, 'one with a conch-like voice'.

purchased plantations for five million [cowries] (20) as a foundation for preparing curries at the rate of fifty bowlfuls a day, (21) [and] a full set of musical instruments, including horns and conches, for all manner of rites of worship. (22) She arranged for all kinds of rituals and inaugurations, (23) totalling two hundred million [cowries]. After that, she invited (24) a *braḥ mahāthera có*, who was a disciple of Braḥ Mahā (25) Buddhasāgaṛ named Saṛabhăṅgathera and was endowed (26) with excellent conduct, comportment, and practice, to assume the abbacy of (27) Asokārāma.

[4. Chulalak's pious works at other temples, lines 27–36]

Saṁtec Braḥ Rājadebī did not erect only this Asokārāma. (28) [There is] also the Dăkṣiṇārāma, [which] the queen[55] built for Mahā Vănarā- (29) tana Thera and then endowed it with one hundred and one rice-fields, producing ten cartloads of rice, (30) to which ten households of serfs were assigned as slaves for that monastery. [There is] also the Laṅkārāma, (31) along with the Pūrbārāma, plus the completion of the Sīlavisu- (32) ddhāvāsa, where the king,[56] having undertaken his royal monastic vows, performed rites (33) on the Victorious Field. [There is] also Senāṅ, where [the monk] Stec Braḥ Mahā (34) Svāmī *có* resided, which she brought to completion. [There is] also Srī Cūḷāvāsa, the funerary site (35) of [her] royal father,[57] along with

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[55] The inscription reads *stec braḥ mè ayṳ̀ hŭa*. I follow Griswold and Prasert here in taking this as referring to Chulalak in the past ('The Asokārāmā Inscription', 46, n. 29).

[56] The text reads *ba ayṳ̀ hŭa*, which should refer to the reigning king at the time of the inscription. There is some disagreement about the identity of this king; Chand ('Review Article', 277) asks whether he was Mahādhammarāja II instead of Mahādhammarāja III, as argued by Griswold and Prasert ('The Asokārāmā Inscription', 46, n. 32). The confusion persists in a similar passage in face A, line 40 from inscription S. 286 (Lagirarde, Schnake, and Weerakietsoontorn, 'La stèle 286', 313).

[57] The inscription reads *sāṁtec ba ạk*, but there is much disagreement about who is referred to here. In a parallel passage in S. 286 (face A, line 41), the text

Braḥ Dharrmarājapūna, the funerary site (36) of the king's mother,[58] which she likewise brought to completion.

[5. Chulalak's dedication of merit, lines 27–36]

As for the fruits and rewards (37) of all this, Sāṁtec Braḥ Rājadevī *có* solemnly aimed her intention to arrange (38) shares of the merit to be directed to her father—a royal ancestor[59]—(39) [and] mother, along with [her husband] Sāṁtec Mahādhaṁmmarājādhirāj,[60] [the

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reads *ṕū braññā ba ạk* (Winai, 'Cāṛịk văt pūrbārām', 40). According to Lagirarde, Schnake, and Weerakietsoontorn, this may be read as either referring to one person or two separate people; if the latter, then [*sāṁtec*] *ṕū braññā* (modern *ṕṳ̀ braḥyā*) means a paternal ancestor to the reigning king, perhaps Mahādhammarāja I, and *ba ạk* (modern *bạ̀ ạk*) refers to the father of the reigning king ('La stèle 286', 331). However, if the two parallel passages in inscriptions 93 and 286 are meant to convey the same content, this suggests that both versions of the phrase refer to a single person. The full title of this person is provided in face A, line 38 of the Asokārāma inscription as *sāṁtec ṕṳ̀ braññā ba ạk*. Griswold and Prasert ('The Asokārāmā Inscription', 48), Chand ('Review Article', 275–76), Vickery ('Sukhothai Historiography', 235–36), and Lagirarde, Schnake, and Weerakietsoontorn ('La stèle 286', 331) all present different explanations of how to read this phrase. Following Ockham's Razor, the simplest explanation here might be the most fruitful: wherever they occur in Chulalak's two inscriptions, both *sāṁtec ba ạk* and *sāṁtec ṕṳ̀ braññā ba ạk* refer to Chulalak's father (*bạ̀ ạk* in modern spelling), who is qualified as *ṕṳ̀ braññā* since he was also an ancestor in the royal line (*ṕṳ̀ braḥyā*). On the Pali side of the Asokārāma inscription (face B, line 41) the matching phrase to *sāṁtec ṕṳ̀ braññā ba ạk mæ ạk dằn* ('her father—a royal ancestor—[and] mother') is the rather more straightforward mama *mātāpitā ubho* ('both my mother and father').

[58] Thai *sāṁtec brāḥ rājamātā*.

[59] Thai *sāṁtec ṕṳ̀ braññā ba ạk*.

[60] In keeping with the Pali side (*sāmiko me mahādhammarājādhirājanāmako*, lines 41–42), this refers to Chulalak's husband, the recently deceased Mahādhammarājā III. Here my reading follows that of Vickery (Vickery, 'Sukhothai Historiography', 239) and goes against the interpretations proposed

king's mother] Braḥ Srīdharma- (40) rājamātā, [and her other] relatives, reaching all living beings—may [they all] (41) be freed from distress, danger, and disaster, and instead attain bliss, each and every one... (42) [by] the power of this royal merit.

[6. Chulalak's prayer for future kings, lines 42–47]

As another matter, Sāṁtec B{raḥ Rājadebī (43) *cə̀*}[61] declared for the future in [this] inscribed account (44) ...should there be any rulers {or vassal lords}[62] ... {ruling their realms as kings (45) or lords in the city of Sukhothai}[63]...bright in faith... {firmly established, may they not decrease, but instead help}[64]... (46) ... (47) ...

Face B (Pali, lines 1–54, stanzas 1–42)

[1. Opening homage and introduction, lines 1–3, stanzas 1–2]

1 (1–2) Having honoured the Three Jewels,
I speak of the massive merit
made by Rājadevī herself
at the monastery called Asoka.[65]

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by Chand ('Review Article', 275–76) as well as Griswold and Prasert ('The Asokārāmā Inscription', 48, n. 41).

[61] Interpolating from a parallel passage in S. 286 (face A, lines 48–49: *saṁtec braḥ rājadevī co*; Winai, 'Cāṛịk văt pūrbārām', 41).

[62] Interpolating from S. 286 (face A, lines 49–50: *braññā sāmantarāj ṫan taị*; Winai, 'Cāṛịk văt pūrbārām', 41).

[63] Interpolating from S. 286 (face A, lines 50–51: *svøy rāj ṗen dāv ṗen braññā naị mə̄ạṇ sukhōdaiy*; Winai, 'Cāṛịk văt pūrbārām', 41).

[64] Interpolating from S. 286 (face A, line 51: *taň maň ñā haị thạy cuṅ jạ[y]*; Winai, 'Cāṛịk văt pūrbārām', 41).

[65] I am grateful to Anne Blackburn and Javier Schnake for their helpful feedback regarding my translation of several stanzas on the Pali face.

2 (2–3) Listen now to the merit and acts
of excellent people, which deepen joy,
all heaped up to reach Buddhahood,
to be crowned with virtues led by conduct.

How?

[2. Mahādhammarājādhirājā III's ascension to the throne, lines 3–8, stanzas 3–6]

3 (3–4) In seven hundred and thirty
of the [Lesser] Era, as well noted,
in the Year of the Monkey,
the eighth lunar month, on a Tuesday,

4 (5–6) the one called Dhammarājādhirāja,
the great Earth-Holder at the head
of the renowned [royal line]—
emerged safely from the womb

5 (6–7) of his mother, of great merit,
named Sri Dhammarājamātā,
who was the consort of the king
called Lidaya, the Lord of Men.

6 (7–8) Having reached sixteen years of age
and having perfected [his skill in] the arts,
the [new] king took over the kingdom,
guarding the Three Worlds righteously.

[3. The borders of Mahādhammarājādhirājā III's kingdom, lines 8–18, stanzas 7–14]

7 (8–9) When he reached thirty-eight in age,
his wishes all came to fruition
in seven hundred...

of the Lesser Era, as well established,[66]

8 (10–11) the realm's sphere was extensive,
peaceful, and a bringer of prosperity.
The borders of the realm belonging
to that man of merit should be known:

9 (11–12) In the east, he made a border
[at the place] called Nagaradeyya.
In the southeastern quarter, he made it
[at the place] called Vajjapūra.

10 (12–13) Along the banks of the river Ping,
there is [a place] called Uyapabbata,
in the southern quarter;
in that [place] he made a border.

11 (13–14) In the southwest quarter, he made
a border at [the place] called Hemapūra.
In the west, he made a border
at [the place called] {Nāga}pūra.[67]

12 (14–15) Along a tributary of the Yamunā,
known as the Kh[āna][68] river,
the [border] of the [realm] was well-fixed,
established at the city called Lakkhapūra

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[66] The inscription appears to read *suddhipite* here (Kram śilṗākar, *Praḥjum cāṛiḳ bhāg dì 8*, 403), which is nonsensical. I have understood it as an error for *suṭṭhāpite* (*su+uṭṭhāpite*, 'well-established').

[67] Griswold and Prasert read *ṭākapūrañca* instead here, connecting it the modern city of Tak (*ṭāk*; 'The Asokārāma Inscription', 51, n. 58).

[68] *Khudda-* ('minor') is possible (Kram śilṗākar, *Praḥjum cāṛiḳ bhāg dì 8*, 405), but the stone looks more like *khāna-* to me.

13 (15–16) in the northwest quarter—
there he made a border.
In the north, [he made] a [border]
[in]...[69]

14 (16–18) Having established his realm's borders,
he was one who gave bliss to beings,
...by the gods...
...

[4. Praise of Chulalak and her royal issue, lines 18–21, stanzas 15–17]

15 (18–19) That righteous king's own
...
queen, beautiful and lovely,
adorned with the adornment of [conduct],

16 (19–20) endowed with the five graces, great in mind,
[great in] crown, and great in renown,
stilled in her faith in the Three Jewels,
the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha,

17 (20–21) gave birth to two royal sons:
the elder, of great fame, was
known as Dhammarājādhirājā,
the younger was named Asoka.

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[69] For this largely illegible line, Griswold and Prasert suggest *iṭṭhapaṭṭanavhādharaṁ*, corresponding to the Thai city of Tha It (*dā̀ it* 'Brick Port'; 'The Asokārāma Inscription', 41; 51, n. 58). Their restoration of the damaged line might not be correct, however; other readings give [...]*-javājakaṁ* instead (Kram śilpākar, *Praḥjum cārīk bhāg dī̀ 8*, 405).

[5. Chulalak's installation of relics at Wat Asokārāma, lines 21–25, stanzas 18–20]

18 (21–22) In seven hundred and sixty-one
of the [Lesser] Era, as well noted,
in the Year of the Rabbit,
the fourth lunar month, the seventh

19 (22–23) waxing day, a lucky day, having had
relics placed into the womb of the reliquary—
two brought from [Tamba]paṇṇipūra:
one crystal [in hue] and of middling size,

20 (23–25) like a broken grain of rice; another [coloured] like
a bakula flower, small as a mustard seed—[70]
this stūpa was completed
through all kinds of acts.

[6. Chulalak's other pious works at Wat Asokārāma, lines 25–40, stanzas 21–32]

21 (25–26) Having brought to completion a worship hall,
a pavilion and a stūpa,
and having planted a bodhi tree,
she properly constructed the monastery.

22 (26–27) On the inside, a moat;
on the outside, extending long,
a resplendent high wall...
...the realm...

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[70] The language used to describe the relics here comes straight from a set of Pali verses, likely of Southeast Asian origin, that are sometimes tied to the *Buddhavaṁsa* (Lagirarde, Schnake, and Weerakietsoontorn, 'La stèle 286', 345, n. 119) but also circulate independently (Walker, *Until Nirvana's Time*, 246–47).

23 (27–28) burflower, beautyleaf,
bakula, mango, jackfruit,
wood-apple, and coconut
trees... with flowers...

24 (28–29) She made it pleasant,
this monastery called Asoka,
... in which she established
a pandit named Ñāṇavaṁsa

25 (29–31) and another named Srī Vaṁsa
...would speak the meaning here,[71]
and a certain Saṁkhasara,
[who would be the] chanter of the texts.

26 (31–32) Monastic slaves,
in total fifty families,
headed by Srī Canda:
these she provided...

27 (32–33) along with the five kinds
of musical instruments, led by percussion,
including conches, flutes, drums, and gongs,
sounded by those who carried them.

28 (33–35) A field, four hundred fathoms
in length and with the width

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[71] The two-syllable lacuna makes this line (...*atthaṁ vade idha*) hard to interpret. Following the lead of Sæṅ Manavidūr (Kram śilḷākar, *Praḥjum cāṛịk bhāg dì 8*, 409), Griswold and Prasert render this as 'I speak here of the meaning' ('The Asokārāma Inscription', 53, n. 75). I prefer to understand *idha* as 'here' in the sense of 'in this [monastery]', and to take *vade* as a third-person optative singular, rather in than in the first person. The implied division of roles between monks who recite texts and those who expoound their meaning fits the Southeast Asian Buddhist context well.

of two hundred fathoms,
provided an annual yield

29 (35–36) measuring twenty-five cartloads of rice
for the monastic slaves.
She established plantations
for the amount of fifty million [cowries],

30 (36–37) which for the sake of appropriate curries
she granted to those people here.
She endowed fifty shares of constant alms
for the monks in this [monastery]

31 (37–39) through the donation of riches
totalling two hundred million [cowries].
When the rites for the stūpa and the rest were finished,
she sponsored the inauguration ceremony for
Asokārāma.

32 (39–40) A disciple of Buddhasāgara
named Sarabhaṅga,
endowed with virtues such as conduct—
this *thera*, along with his retinue,
she established as abbot
and supplied with requisites.

[7. Chulalak's dedication of merit, lines 40–44, stanzas 33–35]

33 (40–42) 'By means of these acts of merit,
may both my mother and father,
my husband, [the king] named
Mahādhammarājādhirāja,

34 (42–43) '[his mother] Sridhammarājamātā,
and all relatives and non-relatives
all be happy, without exception,
free from suffering and disaster.

35 (43–44) ‘By the power of my merit,
may all those who have passed away
enjoy the attainment of the
six-layered heavens as they please.

[8. Chulalak’s aspirations, lines 44–53, stanzas, 33–42]

36 (44–45) ‘By the power of my merit,
may I be a man in the future.
May I listen to the lofty teachings
of Metteyya Buddha.

37 (45–46) ‘May I accumulate [Chulalak’s][72]
towering heap of merit;[73]

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[72] A crack in the stone appears right on the phrase *tassāpi*, making it appear as tissāpi (for the published image, see Kram śilṗākar, *Praḥjum cāṛịk bhāg dì 8*, 402). Sæ̀ṅ Manavidūr’s Thai translation is based *tassāpi* (ibid., 410); Griswold and Prasert favour *tissāpi* (‘The Asokārāma Inscription’, 43). With the *tissāpi* reading, the sense is clearly in reference to ‘her’, i.e., Chulalak’s merit. The reading *tassāpi* is ambiguous, as it could refer to *tasso* + *api* (‘three’, favoured by Sæ̀ṅ, but highly unlikely), *tassa* + *api* (‘his’, possibly in reference to Metteyya), or *tassā* + *api* (‘her’, equivalent to *tissā*). In the context of this passage (stanzas 36–37: *mama puññānubhāvena / puriso homanāgate / metteyyasseva buddhassa / aggadhammaṁ suṇāmahaṁ | tassāpi puññasambhāra- / m uḷāraṁ pacināmahaṁ / parisāgaṇamajjhamhi / so maṁ buddho pasaṁsatu* |), the pronoun *tassa* or *tassā* could refer to either Metteyya Buddha or to Chulalak. Griswold and Prasert take the genitive pronoun *tissā* (equivalent to *tassā*) as ‘this woman’s’, as in ‘this woman’s accumulated merit’, meaning Chulalak ‘in her present existence... speaking as if she had already been reborn as a male and were viewing the present events in retrospect’ (Griswold and Prasert, ‘The Asokārāma Inscription’, 55, n. 90). My thanks to Anne Blackburn and Javier Schnake for suggesting that a feminine pronoun (*tassā* or *tissā*) is the most likely sceanario here.

[73] Both Sæ̀ṅ Manavidūr and Griswold and Prasert’s readings are based on *puññasambhāraṁ muddhāraṁ* (Kram śilṗākar, *Praḥjum cāṛịk bhāg dì 8*, 404; ‘The Asokārāma Inscription’, 55, n. 90). In their reading, we would need to take

in the midst of his assembly
may the Buddha praise me.

38(47–48) 'In all my lives, may no one best me
in giving and the rest,[74]
and so too in beauty, fame,
longevity, and heaps of wealth.

39 (48–49) 'For these [riches], should I not desire to give [them up],
may no one be able to take [them away].
Moreover, as for my own property,
[may it be] of benefit to the poor.[75]

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muddhāra (*muddhā* + *āra*, 'head-spoke') as an adjective modifying *puññasambhāraṁ*, namely 'a peak heap of merit', but this sense of *muddhāra* is otherwise unattested (the attested sense being a noisemaking spoke on a chariot wheel, written either muddhāra or muṇḍāra). My translation is based on understanding this phrase as *puññasambhāram uḷāraṁ* ('towering' or 'lofty') instead, which appears equally plausible from the published image of the stone, given the subtlety of the potential *niggahīta* and the very similar shape of *ddha* and *ḷa* in the script. If the *uḷāraṁ* reading is correct, then we are dealing with a variant form of *ḷa*, in which the final ascending stroke of this glyph is placed on its side, making it appear like a modified *-dha* conjunct below. I thank Javier Schnake (personal communication, January 3, 2024) for discussing these possibilities with me.

[74] That is, the rest of the ten perfections (*dasapāramī*), a list that begins with the perfection of giving (*dāna-pāramī*).

[75] Stanza 39 of the inscription clearly reads *mesaṁ nādātukāmassa / koci sakkotu gaṇhituṁ / apīca mama santasaṁ / daliddānaṁ payojanaṁ*, which poses several problems. *Mesaṁ* (*'mesaṁ*) is likely a shorted form of *imesaṁ*, conditioned by the preceding *bhave bhave*. *Nādātukāmassa* is likely *na* + *adātukāmassa*, though whether *adātukāmassa* is a genitive absolute or a sandhi form of *adātukāmo* + *assa* is less clear. I am grateful to Anne Blackburn (personal communication, December 28, 2023) for pointing out the cogency of reading *a-dātukāmassa*. The translation given by Griswold and Prasert ('May no one be

40(49–50) ‘Having plunged into that deep, frigid,
shoreless ocean of giving and the rest,[76]
may I attain perfect awakening,
like the Lord of Sages.

[9. Chulalak’s prayer for future kings, lines 50–53, stanzas 41–42]

41 (50–52) ‘May all those mighty kings,
righteous their rule, great their fame,
who come to rule the realm
from this city in times to come

42 (52–53) ‘rejoice in the all the acts of merit
that have been performed by me.
May these sites of worship thrive,
along with those made glad by acts of merit here’.

This was composed by a royal pandit, the poet named Sridhammatrailoka.

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able to deprive me of those things which I wish to give away, and may my possessions be useful to the poor!’; ‘The Asokārāma Inscription’, 55) makes sense in context but does not seem to reflect the grammar of the Pali. Sæṅ confusingly translates the passages into Thai as ‘When I do not give to them, may no one force to accept’ (Kram śilpākar, *Praḥjum cāṛṭk bhāg dī̀ 8*, 410). I follow Griswold and Prasert in reading *santasaṁ* as *santakaṁ* (‘property’; ‘The Asokārāma Inscription’, 55, n. 91).

[76] That is, the rest of the ten perfections (*dasapāramī*), a list that begins with the perfection of giving (*dāna-pāramī*).

III: Angkor Wat Inscription

K. 303/IMA 2, Middle Khmer, 1577 CE, attributed to Queen Mother Sujātā

Built as a Vaiṣṇava temple in the twelfth century, Angkor Wat was gradually converted to Theravāda Buddhist use from the fifteenth century onward, following the relocation of the Cambodian capital from the Angkor region (today's Siem Reap province) to a series of sites near modern-day Phnom Penh. The final text I present in this article is one of the oldest of about forty Middle-Khmer inscriptions at Angkor Wat, left by Cambodian pilgrims who visited the site during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.[77] Many of the inscriptions follow a rigid, almost legalistic structure, consisting of an opening homage, a record of the date, a listing of any witnesses present, an account of all meritorious acts performed, and a set of curses against anyone who dares to take away what the donors have given.[78]

Sujātā's inscription, carved on a pillar in the highest gallery of Angkor Wat, stands out for its distinct structure, closing with a personal aspiration for arhatship rather than a curse. The inscription opens with an extended homage to the Buddha and the Three Jewels (section 1). The following section provides the date (equivalent to June 29, 1577 of the Julian calendar) and ties her pious works to her son's restoration of Angkor Wat. In section 3, Sujātā provides a more specifically Buddhist explanation for her merit-making, acknowledging the marks of impermanence and not-self.[79] She then cuts off her hair to make a Buddha image and vows to become a devoted lay follower. In the closing sections (4 and 5), Sujātā makes clear her aspiration to be born in a male body for the rest of her time in

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[77] Pou, 'Les inscriptions modernes d'Angkor Vat'; Thompson, 'Pilgrims to Angkor'.

[78] Walker, 'Carved Chants', 64–66.

[79] Thompson suggests that Sujātā's viewing of her son's construction/destruction of Angkor was the very site for her realising the Buddhist truth of impermanence ('Mémoires du Cambodge', 190).

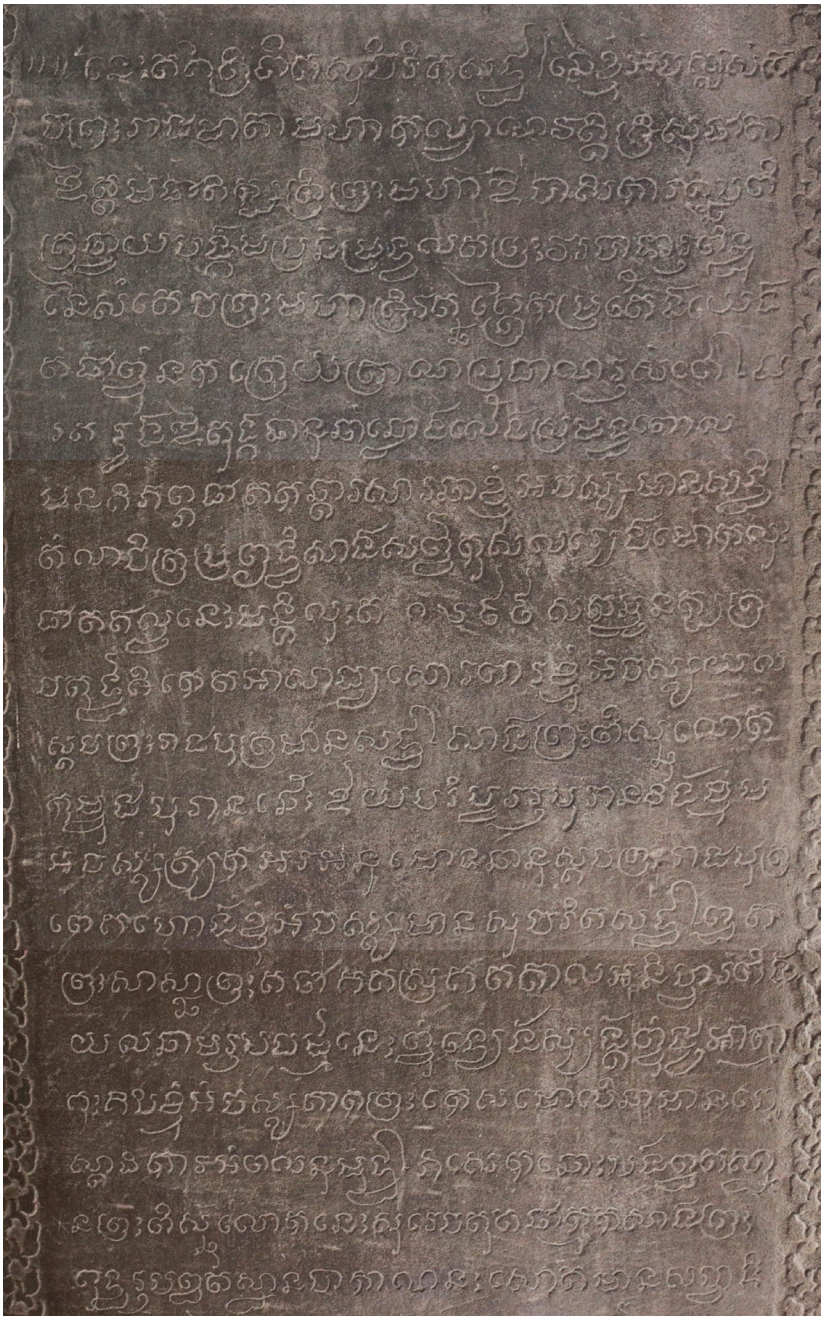

FIG. 5 K. 303/IMA 2, Angkor Wat, Siem Reap, Cambodia, lines 1–21. Composite photo by the author, 2014.

FIG. 6 K. 303/IMA 2, Angkor Wat, Siem Reap, Cambodia, lines 22–42. Composite photo by the author, 2014.

saṁsāra, until she eventually achieves nirvāṇa as a monk—the shaved head echoing her gift in the present life—under the guidance of the future Buddha Metteyya.

Beyond the absence of imprecations, the inscription also stands out for its focus on an elite woman of the period. Her full name and title, provided in the opening lines of the text, roughly translates as, 'The Venerable Lord Queen-Mother Mahākalyāṇavattī Śrīsujātā ("endowed with great beauty, glorious well-born one"), Princess of Highest Birth, the Venerable Jewel among Great Lay Followers, the Pure One' (*saṁtec braḥ rājamātā mahākalyāṇavattī śrīsujātā ūttamajātikṣatri braḥ mahā-ūpāsikāratn pabitr*). She was the mother of a monarch mentioned in another inscription of the same era, King Jayajeṭṭhā I, but apart from this carved pillar little is known of her life. The formulaic nature of Sujātā's inscription, like others at Angkor Wat, makes it hard to make explicit claims of authorship; the Middle-Khmer epigraphical record at the site is marked by intertextual borrowing.[80] Sujātā's aspirations are thus both personal and collective, drawing on ritual and literary norms of how to make Buddhist meaning out of pious acts of donation.

[1. Sujātā's opening homage, lines 1–8]

(1) What follows is the threefold, virtuous faith of I, the Venerable Lord (2) Queen-Mother Mahākalyāṇavattī Śrīsujātā, (3) Princess of Highest Birth, the Venerable Jewel among Great Lay Followers, the Pure One: (4) [I] bow down in homage, lowering my head beneath the supreme lotus-feet (5) of the Venerable Lord, the great, glorious Triple Gem, our master who is the foremost refuge, haven, and protector,[81] comparable to a junk, (7) huge and towering, capable of ferrying [living beings] across the ocean, that is (8) to say, the realm of rebirth, an endless waste.[82]

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[80] Walker, 'Carved Chants', 72–78.

[81] I follow Thompson ('Mémoires du Cambodge', 192, 412) in this triple rendering of *bvuṁnak trey trāṇ*.

[82] The word *sāranā*, perhaps derived from Skt. √*sru*, 'to flow', poses some dif-

[2. Date of inscription and context of the king's restoration of Angkor Wat, lines 8–14]

I, replete with faith (9) and clarity of mind, practiced the accumulation of every kind of merit throughout [saṁsāra] up until (10) this present life, that is to say, in 1499 of the Śaka era, Year of the Ox, (11) on the fourteenth waxing day of Āsādha, a Saturday. Having witnessed (12) my son, the King, himself replete with faith, rebuild Angkor Wat[83] (13) of ancient Cambodia,[84] making it complete again, just like in days of yore, (14) I exultantly rejoiced in him.

[3. Sujātā's realisation, account of merit, and truthful vow, lines 15–24]

(15) I [too] am endowed with virtuous faith in the (16) teachings of the Realised One. Contemplating impermanence, (17) [I] realised that neither mental nor physical phenomena[85] can last, and as such cannot really be the self. (18) I hence dispensed with my topknot—(19) majestic and consecrated by coronation rites—and abandoned it here within the site (20) of Angkor Wat. Then I burned [my topknot] into ash [to make lacquer] to construct (21) a Buddha image

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ficulty, as it is no longer part of the language and found almost exclusively in inscriptions from this period. I take it as an adjective, 'endless,' modifying *kantār* (from Skt. *kantāra*, 'wilderness, waste'). Thompson ('Mémoires du Cambodge, 193, 412) prefers 'flowing' (*coulant*) and Pou prefers 'infinite' (*infinies*, 'Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor 2 et 3', 104), while Uraisi leaves it untranslated. Vong Sotheara takes it with the following sentence instead, understanding it in the sense of *raṁḻk* ('recollection'; Vong, *Silācāriḥ*, 114).

[83] The text reads *braḥ bisnulok*, one of many local names for Angkor Wat during this period (Walker, 'Carved Chants', 63).

[84] *Kumvuj purān*. On this toponym of Cambodia (*kumbuj*, *kambuj*, *kambujā*, etc., from Skt. *kambujā*) in the emerging Buddhist landscape of Southeast Asia in this period, see Thompson, 'Early Theravādin Cambodia: Terms of Engagement', 18.

[85] Middle Khmer *nāmarūpadhaŕmm*, from Skt. *nāmarūpadharma*.

right here in the Pākāṇ.[86] At the same time, I made the solemn vow[87] (22) to become a jewel among lay followers,[88] upholding the five precepts with diligent effort (23) and upholding the eight precepts on every half, full, and new moon, (24) continuously until the ultimate demise of this life.

[4. Sujātā's aspiration to be reborn as a man, lines 24–30]

O Pure Lord, (25) by grace of the fruit from those karmic benefits, whenever I should abandon the five aggregates (26) of this life to wander back and forth in the realms of saṁsāra across (27) countless lives in the future, may I be a great man[89] in every (28) birth. May I be endowed with the marks of wealth and merit [and] remain true[90]

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[86] The name of the highest gallery at Angkor Wat, where the inscription is carved on a pillar just west of the central shrine. On *khmuk*, the modern Khmer term for lacquer made from resin and ash, see Pou, 'Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor 2 et 3', 104, n. 13).

[87] *saccādhiṭhṭhān*, from Pali *saccādhiṭṭhāna*. A closely related form, *sātapraṇidhān*, presumably from Skt. *satyapraṇidhāna* ('truthful aspiration'), appears in line 29. In other inscriptions at Angkor Wat, another form, apparently derived from Skt. *sādhupraṇidhāna* ('excellent aspiration') appears instead (Uraisi, *Bacanānukram śābd• cāṛik nagar vāt*, 238).

[88] *ūpāsakaratn*. Pou argues that the use of the masculine form, *upāsaka*, instead of feminine *upāsikā*, suggests that Sujātā already thought of herself as a male lay follower (Pou, 'Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor 2 et 3', 104–05, n. 14). Thompson, by contrast, argues that this passage concerns her future lives, not her present birth (Thompson, 'Mémoires du Cambodge', 195–96). I take *upāsakaratna* as a gender-neutral term here, in the sense of 'jewel among lay followers' or 'leading lay follower'.

[89] *mahāpurus*, implying not only maleness but also the perfected physical marks of the *mahāpurisalakkhaṇa*, the 'great man' who is fit to become a buddha or a universal monarch.

[90] *saṁyaks*, from Skt. *samyañc*, 'entirely, correctly, truly'. Uraisi reads this as an adjective (*dīèṅ dé*, 'true') modifying the 'marks of wealth and merit' instead (Uraisi, *Cāṛik nagar vāt*, 148).

(29) within the Teachings of the Realised One in perfect accord (30) with this aspiration.

[5. Sujātā's aspiration to meet the future Buddha and reach arhatship, lines 30–42]

When Venerable (31) Lord Śrī Āryyamaitrī[91] descends to awaken to omniscience (32) in this world, may I serve as a leading lay follower (33) of Venerable Lord Śrī Āryyamaitrī. May I listen (34) to the pinnacle[92] of the Dharma's nectar, that is, the thirty-seven factors of awakening, and swiftly ordain [as a novice] (35) and be ordained [as a monk] through [the formula] 'Come, monk',[93] my head shaved clean, (36) renowned in the midst of the fourfold assembly. (37) [May I then] hone the thirteen ascetic practices and perfect (38) the forty subjects of meditation,[94] and achieve the fruit of arhatship (39) along with the four kinds of analytical knowledge.[95] (40) May I enter nirvāṇa (41) together with Venerable Lord (42) Śrī Āryyamaitrī.

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[91] The common Middle Khmer name for [Ariya] Metteyya, the future Buddha, from Skt. *śrī-āryamaitreya*.

[92] Pou and Uraisi, following an earlier misreading by Krassem, read *khdaṁṅ* instead of the correct *khvuṁṅ* ('summit, pinnacle'). This leads Pou to interpret *khdaṁṅ* as 'rods; sections delimited by rods' (*les barres*; *les sections délimitées par des barres*), which does not fit the context as well (Pou, 'Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor 2 et 3', 105, n. 10).

[93] According to early texts, this was the Buddha's original *upasampadā* formula for the Sangha.

[94] Pali *dhutaṅga* and *kammaṭṭhāna*; these two lists are prominent in the organisation of the *Visuddhimagga*.

[95] *catupitisambhidāñāṇ*, from Pali *catupaṭisambhidāñāṇa*, a special attainment among certain arahants, namely the acquisition of analytical knowledge with regards to meaning (*attha*), phenomena (*dhamma*), language (*nirutti*), and eloquence (*paṭibhāna*).

Conclusion

The three queens whose inscriptions are presented in this article—Indradevī, Chulalak, and Sujātā—are among the most prominent Buddhist women to surface in the historical record of early second-millennium Southeast Asia. Apart from epigraphic evidence, we know almost nothing about their lives. They are not listed in historical chronicles preserved in manuscript form; knowledge of their names and deeds today emanates from academic articles and classroom textbooks rather than oral tales passed from one generation to the next. This fact alone highlights the importance of epigraphy in understanding Buddhist women across time. As this entire special issue makes clear, inscriptions preserve distinct forms of women's religiosity that may not be recorded in other sources. For the tiny echelon of elite women prominent enough in their time to compose or sponsor a grand inscription—a group largely limited to queens in twelfth- to sixteenth-century Southeast Asia—such records are essential for tracing how female donors framed their pious works in Buddhist terms.

Among the three inscriptions, the only one unambigiously composed by a queen is that of Indradevī, who signs off her poem with 'having composed this pure paean' (*idaṁ praśastaṁ vimalaṁ vidhāya sā*), albeit in a third-person construction. Given the praise Indradevī lavishes on her own learning ('she shined, her students adoring her without end / as beneficial to them as if she were Sarasvatī incarnate' [*rarāja śiṣyābhir ajasracintitā / sarasvatī mūrttimatīva taddhitā*]), her training in Sanskrit and her capacities as a poet are not in doubt. Moreover, her emphasis on training Buddhist nuns and laywomen—whether indigent girls or the ladies of the royal harem—suggests that Indradevī's religious achievements were not limited by her female birth. Devotion, patronage, erudition, even the attainment of nirvāṇa—all are shown as possible for women in this inscription, whether for Indradevī, her sister, or her students.

In contrast, the inscriptions of Chulalak and Sujātā make it clear that both women sought to be reborn as men in the future. Chulalak's inscription transpires in two distinct parts. The Thai portion, Face A, focuses on her acts of generosity, offering specific, legally relevant

details for her patronage of Asokārāma and praise for her efforts at other monasteries. While the queen shaped the contents of the Thai face, it unfolds entirely in third-person narrative, as if someone else was asked to tell her story. The Pali portion, on Face B, is explicitly not the work of the queen but rather a male court poet (*kavinā rājapaṇḍitena racitam*). This side of the inscription gives considerable attention to two issues barely addressed in the Thai portion, namely the political ambitions and territorial extent of her husband, King Mahādhammarājādhirājā III (sections 2–3), and Chulalak's aspirations to be reborn as a man, meet Metteyya Buddha, receive a prediction of future buddhahood, and practice the necessary perfections (*pāramī*) along the bodhisattva path (section 8).

In considering the gender dynamics evoked by Chulalak's inscription, it is tempting to label the two dimensions that stand out in the Pali portion—territory and buddhahood—as inextricably male and the product of male authorship. After all, the section on the royal realm is about the king, not Chulalak herself, and the Theravādin path to becoming a buddha requires eventually being born in a male body. At the same time, Chulalak's dedication of merit and bodhisattva vows in Pali (Face B, sections 7 and 8) comprise the only passage, in either face of the inscription, that is articulated as a direct quote in the first person. Section 7 of the Pali overlaps in content with the dedication of merit found in section 5 of the Thai, the only distinction being the grammatical person of the Pali. The bodhisattva aspirations, on the other hand, have no parallel in the Thai.

What to make of these disjunctures between grammar, language, voice, gender, and authorship in Chulalak's inscription? First, grammatical person may be more influenced by aesthetics and established convention than by questions of voice or authorship. That Indradevī's inscription uses the third person exclusively, while the Pali portion of Chulalak's inscription includes passages in first person, does not tell us who wrote each text and with whose voice it purports to speak. Second, the Thai and Pali portions of Chulalak's inscription follow a timeworn convention in Southeast Asia; the vernacular portion speaks to the immediate, real-world legal concerns of property and generosity, while the Indic portion frames the broader political and religious context. That Chulalak presumably asked a

male poet to compose the Pali portion of her inscription signals her respect for this convention. At the same time, it is only these Pali verses that reveal Chulalak's intentions and aspirations in her work of merit-making. Third, the use of first-person, particularly but not exclusively in Pali, is aesthically linked to ritual acts of transferring merit and articulating vows. In mainland Southeast Asia, monastics and laypeople alike use first-person Pali formulae, along with their vernacular parallels, to seal crucial moments when making donations, dedicating merit, and voicing vows and other aspirations. Even when composed by a male poet, we cannot separate these passages in Chulalak's inscription from her own voice. These Pali verses—like chants honed for ritual use—make plain the social and personal reasons for Chulalak's benefaction.

Finally, when turning to Sujātā's inscription, the way in which the language, style, and voice of women's epigraphy changed between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries becomes clear. By the time Sujātā recorded her pious works in 1577, the use of Pali and Sanskrit as inscriptional languages was already in steep decline across the region. Apart from a few passages borrowed from ritual texts, Pali phrases were rarely put in stone, especially in the several dozen IMA texts carved on the pillars of Angkor Wat.[96] Khmer, as a literary vernacular complete with abundant expressive possibilities, had fully come into its own as a lapidary idiom. Sujātā's choice of Khmer reflects how the vernacular came to shape the articulation of religious acts and vows, spheres reserved for Pali in Chulalak's world just a century or two earlier.

Unlike the clear-cut case of Indradevī, we cannot say for sure that Sujātā's inscription was composed expressely by her; much of the epigraphical record from this period in Cambodia reflects a shared aesthetic and a culture of intextual borrowing. Yet the use of the vernacular and a first-person voice throughout suggest a certain intimacy with the queen-mother's particular motivations and aspirations. If we are not reading Sujātā's exact words, we are at least privy to how she wanted her voice presented to the public and to posterity.

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[96] Walker, 'Carved Chants', 72–77.

In multiple respects, Sujātā's text echoes the Pali face of Chulalak's inscription. One, she situates her merit-making within the context of the reigning king, in this case Jayajeṭṭhā I rather than Mahādhammarājādhirājā III. Two, she details the specifics of her pious acts as her own good works in distinction to those of a more famous male monarch the inscription first extols. Three, she lays out her specific vows and aspirations, including her wish to be born as a man and meet Metteyya Buddha, as the summation of her homage, her piety, and generosity. These aspects of Sujātā's inscription represent a mode of Buddhist queenship very much in alignment with that represented by Chulalak.

Other aspects of Sujātā's text advance new directions not found in the inscriptions of Indradevī or Chulalak. In addition to her use of the literary vernacular and a first-person voice, Sujātā frames her acts in several distinct ways. First, her opening homage reads as a declaration of faith in the Buddha and in the efficacy of pious conduct (section 1). Second, before detailing her specific acts of merit making, Sujātā describes her motivation for religious works as rooted in her realization of the impermanence of saṁsāric existence (section 3). Third, her main meritorious work—cutting off her topknot to make a buddha image—is directly tied to her chief aspiration, namely to shave her head and ordain as a monk as a disciple of Metteyya (section 5). These three dimensions—declaring her faith, stating her motivation, and connecting her acts and aspirations—are found on many of the inscriptions subsequently carved into surrounding pillars at Angkor Wat in the late sixteenth through early eighteenth centuries. Since Sujātā's is one of the earliest to follow this formula, it is not implausible that later generations of pilgrims to the site were inspired by the model she laid out. The exceptionally fine work of the lapicide, the stone's proximity to the central shrine of Angkor Wat, and her distinguished profile as queen-mother amidst a sea of largely non-royal donors may have bolstered her inscription's influence.

The twelfth through sixteenth centuries witnessed a remarkable series of religious, linguistic, and political transitions in mainland Southeast Asia. In the areas now occupied by Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand, these transitions included a change in epigraphic habit from Indic verse to literary vernacular prose, the rise in state

patronage of Pali-centered Buddhist lineages, and a shift toward future-oriented religious aspirations involving rebirth in Metteyya's age. Indradevī, Chulalak, and Sujātā each represent distinct moments along this trajectory. At the same time, the three women's inscriptions reveal distinctive features of Buddhist queenship in a changing Southeast Asia. All three texts are rooted in the munificence expected of royal women, their relationship as partners or mothers to reigning kings, the material specificity of their good works as reflections of their broader visions, and the grand ideals ascribed to their character and aspirations. Questions of gender, voice, and authorship are more complex: Indradevī's focus on inculcating her Buddhist erudition in other women stands in contrast to Chulalak's and Sujātā's vows to be reborn in male bodies. Indradevī penned her own words in verse, as Sujātā may have done in prose, while Chulalak's inscription reflects a mix of authorial influences and literary styles. All three women left records in stone that invite further questions about the relationship between their outward acts and inner intentions. While their private views may never be known, these three women bequeathed us with inscriptions that are essential for appreciating the public voice of pious queenship in an unstable world.

Appendix I: Transcription of K. 485 at Phimeanakas

Face D

C = Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 2, 163–73

79
(1) ◎ tyaktaṁ prasūbhiḥ kṣatam eva vālā-
vṛṇḍaṁ gṛhītvā śataśaḥ sutābham·
(2) prāvaiŕddhayat kīŕttitadhaŕmmadhaŕmma- _
kīrttyāhvayaṁ sā sukhasaṁpadāḍhyam·

80
(3) ◎ tathā niyuktavratadānavastraṁ
prāvrājayat sādhyayanapraśastam·
(4) sasīmasaṁpāditadhaŕmmakīrtti- _
grāmaṁ sadā rakṣitadhaŕmmakīŕttiṁ[97]

81
(5) ◎ sā dundabhiṁ hemakṛtan dhvajañ ca
suvaŕṇarūpyai[98] racitāgryadaṇḍam·
(6) cīnāṁśukaiḥ kalpitaci- _ travastraṁ _
prādād varaṁ pūŕvatathāgatāya

82
(7) ◎ dideśa sā śrījayarājacūḍā- _
maṇau[99] hiraṇyāhitanandiyugmam·
(8) śyenāṁś ca haimāṁś caturas sadaṇḍā- _
n sadīpakośāñ jvalitā- _ n nirantam·

83
(9) ◎ sā śrījayaśrīsugate tathādā- _

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[97] C -i[m]

[98] The syllable *rū* is written as *rra*, here and throughout.

[99] C maṇav

n nandidvayaṁ siṁha- _ yugañ ca[100] haimam·
(10) sadaŕpaṇāṁ svaŕṇamayīṁ śriyañ ca _
cāmīkarañ cāmaram apy udāram·

84
(11) ◎ ratnāṅghrivinyāsam acintyarūpaṁ _
kamaṇḍaluṁ svaŕṇamayañ ca kośam·
(12) bhojyā- _ sanaṁ viṁśatikaṭṭikābhiḥ _
kṛta- _ ñ ca hemnām atidīptabhāṣām·

85
(13) ◎ haimaṁ samudgaṁ maṇirañji- _ tāṅga- _
n dīpasya pādañ ca suvaŕṇajātam·
(14) dhṛtañ catu- _ śśrīpratiyātanābhi- _
s suvaŕṇajaṁ pattharam apy acintyam·

86
(15) ◎ haiman tathā _ cumvalam unnatāgraṁ _
saṁsthāpite cāṣṭamahābha- _ yānā[m·]
(16) prabhañjake kaṁsamaye _ jine dā- _
d grāmadvayaṁ lekhadṛḍhābhidhānam·

87
(17) ◎ bhadreśvare rūpyamayaṁ suvaŕṇai-[101] _
r ālepitan dundabhim apy adāt sā
(18) devañ ca bhadreśvaraputrabhūta- _
m asthāpayad dundabhisaṁjñam[102] aŕthāt·

88
(19) ◎ cāmpeśvarākhye ca sure vimāye _
vuddhe ca pṛthvadryabhidhānake ca

---

[100] The conjunct form *ñca* is written like *ña*, here and throughout.

[101] The dependent vowel *ai* is appended diacritically after *ŕ* (the *repha* form of preconsonantal *r*), here and throughout.

[102] The conjunct form *jñ* is written as *jr*, here and throughout.

(20) śive diśad dundabhim ekam ekaṁ _
sāsvaṙṇaliptaṁ kṛtarūpyapūṙvvam·

89
(21) ◎ sā śrījayakṣetraśive ca devaṁ
maheśvaraṁ śrījayarājapūṙvām·
(22) nāmneśvarīñ cātra tathāsapūṙvā-
m asthāpayat kalpitadeśabhūmām·

90
(23) ◎ dideśa madhyādrisure sabhūmā- _
n tatsaṁśrūtān sā vijayaprayāṇe
(24) bhaṙtuṙ nivṛttau mahaduddhavāya _
dhvajān śatañ cīnapaṭaiṙ vicitrān·

91
(25)[103] ◎ vasudhātilakaṁ pūṙva- _
kṣitīśena śilākṛtam·
(26) svaṙṇaiḥ prāvṛtya sā dhaṙmmā- _
d dyobhūmyos tilakaṁ vyadhāt·

92
(27) ◎ sā sādhu tatra trigurū- _
n sauvaṙṇān ratnabhūṣaṇān·
(28) asthāpayac chivapur[e] _
prataptān iva bhāsvarān·

93
(29) ◎ mātaraṁ pitaraṁ bhrātṛ- _
suhṛdvandhukulāni ca
(30) jñātāni jñāpitāny e[ṣā] _
saṙvvatrāsthāpayat sudhīḥ

---

[103] From here on, line numbers in C are incorrect.

94
(31) ◎ sā bhaïṭṛbhaktisudṛḍhā _
niïrvvāsyanty apy anantaram·
(32) madhyāhnakṛtyasaṁpanne _
nāthe ni- _ ïrvvāṇam āgatā

95
(33) ◎ tasyāñ jananyadhiguṇañ jana[nandanā]yā- _
n niïrvvāṇabhāji jagatāñ [jva]litādhivahnim·
(34) tatpū- _ ïrvajā nṛpatinā vihitābhiṣekā _
śrī-indradevyabhidikā[104] nayati sma śāntim·

96
(35) ◎ rūpan tadā śrījayarājadevyā _
rājātmarūpais saha bhūrisaṅkhyam·
(36) satsthāpayan saïrvvapure jinānāṁ _
svamandire cābhirarakṣa lakṣmī- _ m·

97
(37) ◎ śrīyaṁ śrīyā rūpajuṣāṁ sarasvatīṁ _
vicārakāṇāñ ca vijitya vidyayā
(38) vipakṣalakṣmīñ ca subhāgyaśobhayā _
svanāma tat kaïrmma gatā krameṇa yā[105]

98
(39) ◎ nagendra- _ tuṅge vasudhādike śrutau _
jinālaye yā tilakottare tathā
(40) mahībhṛtādhyāpakasattam āhitā _
varodhavṛṇḍādhyayanaṁ sadā vyadhāt·

99
(41) ◎ sthitā narendrāśramanāmni dhāmni yā _
narendrakāntādhyayanaiï mmanorame

---

[104] C -abhidikā

[105] C svanāma tat karmmagatā krameṇa yā

(42) rarāja śiṣyābhir ajasracintitā _
sarasvatī mū- _ ṙttimatīva taddhitā

100
(43) ◎ nāmnā pure dantiniketane śrī- _
sarasvatīpūṙvvapure ca paścāt·
(44) dvijātmajā rājakulottamā yā _
yaśodharāyāṁ puri rājakāntā

101
(45) ◎ yākramya namraśirasoddhṛtarājapādā _
gaṅgām apāstacaraṇāṁ śivamūrddhni kopāt·
(46) kāntāsv api śrutaratāsu nṛpaprasādā- _
n sāraiḥ śrutākṛtikṛtān vita- _ tāna kāntaiḥ

102
(47) ◎ svabhāvabhūtapratibhā vahuśrutā _
suniṙmmalā śrījayavaṙmmadevabhāk·
(48) idaṁ praśastaṁ vimalaṁ vidhāya sā _
nirastasaṙvvānyakalā vididyute _ %

Appendix II: Transcription of No. 93/Sukhothai 26 at Wat Asokārāma

Face A

G = Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara, 'The Asokārāmā Inscription', 39–40
K = Kram śilṗākar, *Praḥjum cāriḳ bhāg dī̀ 8*, 398–401
W = Winai Pongsiripian, 'Cāriḳ văt pūrbārām', 33–42 (N.B.: a different inscription with a few parallel passages)

(1) namaśŕi[106] trīraṯna[stu[107] subha]maṅgalōtạr pạramān[108] śaǩarāj tai cet rạ- (2) y hak sip et thōḥ naǩṣatr phaǩguṇamās ạk cet gə̀ṁ tōy ṛkṣ mahurtī <(3) læ> tithī nādī aṅ yōgyayogī saṁteč braḥ rājadebī śrī culạ̄laǩṣaṇa-[arrğa]rā[109]- (4) j [mahesī] debadhạra[ṇī tila]karaṯn[110] [pabitr ṗen co phū ṗen][111] pādaṗari[cārakā raṯ-][112] (5) najāya[113] tæ saṁtec mahādharrmarājādhirāj koṗr tuay ṗaǹcabidhakaĺyāṇī (6) mī [sīlabirayaprījā taṁ]kal[114] caị hmaň naị braḥ jinasāsanā dān ciṅ pratisthā (7) braḥ stūp vái naị vaṯ asōkārām dà̀n o braḥ mahādhātu có sạṅ a- (8) ṅg mā ṫæ mœạṅ pan aṅg nīṅ rām dò met khó sān haǩ groeṅ (9) barrṇ taň phlik raṯn aṅg nīṅ náy ... [barr-] (10) ṇ tăṅ bikul dà̀n prati[sthā garrbh braḥ mahā]... [braḥ ma]- (11) hā cetī ni thœṅ sī tœạn īk braḥ buddharūṗ... (12) n kuṭī braḥ srī mahābōdhivaṅ kramalayāṇ... ṗ- (13) rākār sbān thnal āṁbal túay [mai hlaiy] daň hlāy gāṁnaṗ (14) dān ciṅ lāṁtaṗ ṗiṭak ṫraiy thuan sāṁraṗ kaṗ dharrmakathik sạṅ (15) aṅg aṅg nīṅ jī có ñāṇavaňs rājapaṇḍit aṅg

---

[106] W (l. 1) namaśrī
[107] W (1. 1) trīraṯna suṫa; GK trīraṯna namaštu
[108] W1 ṗramāṇ
[109] GK arggarā
[110] W (l. 13) tilakaraṯn; K [lō]karaṯn; G [...]
[111] W (l. 13) pabitr ṗen co phū ṗen
[112] W (l. 13–14) pādaparicārakā raṯn; GK mādaparavarāk ṗe-
[113] GK na jāyā
[114] W (l. 14–15) mī śī[la]biraya[ṗrī]jā taṁkal; G mī siri... kal ; K mī sīlabara... kal

nīṅ jī có (16) srī vaň mī daň smuat dharrm ṫan háị jī có saṅkhasạr _ lǽv dần kà jày (17) ṗratīstha[115] phứ gan aň ṫæṅ kăpṗikār byāpār daň hlāy hấ sip rœ̄- (18) ạn mī ṗradhān gī nāy jiaṅ srī caňd kaṗ daň [nā sạṅ rạy lấr] ... k- (19) ạr _ khó ñī sip hấ kvian duk rùṅ ṗī dần j́í suan daň hlāy hấ lấ- (20) r _ ṗen sūp byañjanākār tōy ṗraḥmān lǽ vaň lǽ hấ sip pā-[116] (21) ṫr _ bāt thủan sāṁraṗ kaṗ ṫræ saňkh daň kriyā pūjā daň hlāy <(22) lǽ>v dần ciṅ ṫæṅ[117] braḥ dān sap kriyākār chlạṅ daň hlā- (23) y gaṇanā sạṅ rạý lấr lǽv srec dần ciṅ ăñjeñ[118] b- (24) raḥ mahāthera có ṫan nīṅ aň ṗen sīsy hæṅ braḥ mahā (25) buddhasāgạr mī nāmakạr jī sạrabhaňgathera aň koṗr (26) túay sīlamaryād[119] văt pratīpaťtī mā ṗen ṗraḥdhān naị asōkā- (27) rām nī | jàị ṫæ sāṁtec braḥ rājadevi[120] sấṅ asōkārām aň tiav (28) nī dăṅ daǩṣīṇārām[121] stec mæ àyū hŭa ka sấṅ kæ mahāvaňara- (29) ṫnathera lǽv dần ṗratisthā nā rạ́y niṅ[122] ṗen khó sip kvia- (30) [n] _ brài sip rœạn ṫæṅ byāpār vaṫ náñ daň laňkārām ka[123] <(31) lǽ>v gāṁnaṗ[124] kaṗ daň pūrbārām kà lǽv sāṁriddhi daň silavisud[125]- (32) dhāvās di[126] ba àyū hŭa stec svøy braḥ phnuas puas kadāṁ kar- (33) rm naị dàṅ jai ka srec daň dī senāṅ dī stec braḥ mahās- (34) vāmi[127] có dần sthit kà thœṅ dī sāṁriddhi daň srī cūḷāvās dī saṅs- (35) kār sāṁtec ba ạk dần kà sāṁrec daň brạh dharrmarājapūnaḥ di[128] saṅs- (36) kār sāṁtec braḥ rājamātā ka sāṁriddhi lǽv _ | _ aň vā phalānisaṅś (37) tàň nī sāṁtec braḥ rājadevī

---

115 GK ṗratisthā

116 GK læ

117 G ṫæṅ

118 G añjœñ

119 G silamaraḥyā

120 GK rājadevī

121 GK daǩṣiṇārām

122 GK nīṅ

123 G kà

124 K lǽv _ gāṁnaṗ

125 GK sīlavisud

126 GK dī

127 GK vāmī

128 GK dī

có dằn sắṅ klắṅ kaľpanā haị ṗen (38) kōṭṭhāsapuṇy chōdanā ṗai tæ̀ sāṁtec ṗů brañā ba ạk mæ̀ (39) ạk dằn ik sāṁtec mahādharrmarājādhirāj braḥ srī dharrma- (40) rājamātā ñātikul bān bhab sap saľv daň hlāy cuṅ háị (41) bán dukkh bhayaňtarāy tæ̀[129] háị tái luḥ kæ̀ sukkh duk duk ta[130]- (42) [n] .... āṁnāc braḥ rājakusal nī _ | _ mā[t]rā niṅ[131] sāṁtec b- (43) [raḥ]... dằn ñaň ka klāv anāgat vái naị cārik (44) ... phi mi dắv brañā sām grā (45) ... lœạm sai læ tái (46) ... dai (47) ... a

Face B

G = Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara, 'The Asokārāmā Inscription', 41–43
K = Kram śilṗākar, *Praḥjum cāriḳ bhāg dì 8*, 403–07

1
(1) vatthuttayaṁ namitvāna _
asokārāmam avhaye _
vakkhāmi puññasambhāraṁ _
rāja- (2) deviyimaṁ kataṁ[132]

2
suṇātha puññaṁ caritaṁ _
sādhūnaṁ rativaḍḍhanaṁ _
sīlādigu- (3) ṇabhūsāya _
buddhabhāvāya sañcitaṁ _ |

kathaṁ | _

---

[129] GK ṫæ̀
[130] GK g
[131] GK mātrā nīṅ
[132] G rāja-saddhāyimaṁ kataṁ

3
tiṅsādhike[133] sattasate (4)
sakarāje sulikkhite _
kapisaṁvacchare yeva _
āsādhe subhavārake

4
(5) dhammarājādhirājāti _
mahā[134]-ādimhi bhūmipo _
lidayarājino nāma _
narinda- (6) ssa mahesite[135]_

5
sridhammarājamātāti _
nāmena [vissutāmahi][136]_
sotthi- (7) nā mātuyā gabbhā _
mahāpuññābhinikkhami[137]| _

6
soḷasavassiko sippa- _
nippha- (8) ttiṁ pāpuṇāti so[138]_
pattaraṭṭhātilokañ ca[138]_
dhammena rakkhitā rā[jā][140]_

7
aṭṭhatiṅsāyuva[141]- (9) yasā _

---

[133] GK tiṁsādhike
[134] G mahā... [rest of line missing]
[135] G [line missing]
[136] G [line missing]
[137] G [mahāpuññābhinikkhami]
[138] G pāpuṇāti ca
[139] G [line missing]
[140] G [line missing]
[141] GK aṭṭhatiṁsāyuva

paripuṇṇamanoratho[142]_
... sattasate _
sakarāje suddhipite

8
ra- (10) ṭṭhamaṇḍalaviṭṭhāraṁ[143]_
khemañ ca pabhāha[rañ ca][144]_
tasseva puññavantassa _
raṭṭhasīmā (11) vijāniyā _

9
pubbe nagaradeyyāti _
etaṁ raṭṭhasīmaṁ akā _
purimānudisābhāge
(12) vajjapūranti tam akā _

10
biṅgāya nadiyā tīre _
uyapabbatanāmako[145]_
dakkhiṇasmiṁ (13) disābhāge _
etaṁ raṭṭhasīmaṁ akā _

11
dakkhiṇāyānudisāya _
hemapūranti tam akā
(14) pacchime [nāga]pūrañ ca[146]_
etaṁ raṭṭhasīmaṁ akā _

12
yamunāsākhanadiyā _

---

142 G paripuṇṇa... [rest of line missing]
143 G (10) raṭṭha-
144 G khemañca [rest of line missing]
145 G uyyapabbatanāmako
146 G ṭākapūrañca; K nāgaparañca

esā kh[āna][147]- (15) nadivhayā _
lakkhapūranti nagaraṁ _
[tiṭṭhaṁ] tassā sumāpitaṁ _

13
pacchimānudisābhāge _
e- (16) taṁ raṭṭhasīmaṁ akā _
[u]ttarekā[148] va raṭṭhañ ca _
[iṭṭhapaṭṭanavhādharaṁ][149]_

14
raṭṭhasīmaṁ thapetvāna
(17) sattānaṁ sukhadāyako _
devehi[150]...
...[151]

15
(18) tasseva dhammarañño [_]
...[152]
mahesī sundarīkāntā _
s[īlā]- (19) laṅkārabhūsitā[153]_

16
pañcaviti mahāpaññā[154]_
[mahā]moli mahāyasā _
buddhe dha- (20) mme ca saṅghe ca _
pasannā rattanattaye _

---

147 GK [khuddhaṁ]
148 K attarekā
149 G [iṭṭhapaṭṭanavhādharaṁ]; K ...[javājakaṁ]
150 G devehi [ca manussehi]
151 G has (18) beginning in the middle of this lacuna.
152 K te rājā... ; G [this line missing]
153 G sabbe' laṅkārabhūsitā
154 G [pañcaviti mahāpaññā]

17
dhammarājādhirājāti _
jeṭṭhaputtaṁ mahāya- (21) saṁ _
asokan nāma kaniṭṭhaṁ _
rājaputtadvayaṁ labhi _

18
ekasaṭṭhīsattasate _
sa- (22) karāje sulikkhite _
sasasaṁvacchare yeva _
phagguṇasukkhapakkhike _

19
sattame subha- (23) vārasmiṁ _
dhātugabbhamhi dhātuyo _
paṇṇipūrābhatā dve va _
majjhimā bhinnataṇḍulā[155] _

20
pha- (24) likā khuddakā tv ekā[156] _
sāsapā[157] bakulā tathā _
nidahitvāna yaṁ thūpo _
sabbaka- (25) mmena[158] māpito _

21
vihāraṁ [ca maṇḍa]pañ ca _
cetiyaṁ bodhipādapaṁ _
niṭṭhāpetvāna (26) ropetvā _
ārāmaṁ [sammabbakari _]

---

[155] G bhinnataṇḍalā

[156] G tv eva

[157] G sāsapo

[158] G sabbakam(25)mena

22
abbhantaraṁ parikkhañ ca _
bāhiraddīghikaṁ imaṁ _
sobha- (27) mānuccapākāraṁ _
suddha... raṭṭhakaṁ _

23
surabhināgaṁ punnāgaṁ _
bakulambaṁ panasakaṁ _
(28) kapiṭṭhanālikerañ ca _
... mālikaṁ _

24
akāsi rammaṇīyaṁ sā _
aso- (29) kārāmam avhayaṁ _
... yamhekañ ca _
ñāṇavaṅsañ ca paṇḍitaṁ _

25
sr[ī]va[159]- (30) ṅsapaṇḍitañ ce[va][160] [_]
... atthaṁ vade idha _
saṅkhasarañ ca nāmekaṁ _
pāligī- (31) taṁ thapeti sā _

26
(taṁ ārā)mikaṁ kūlaṁ _
paññāsaparimāṇikaṁ _
srīcandavha[161]- (32) ppamukkhañ ca _
... natthum adāsi sā _

27
tāḷādikaṁ hi pañcaṅgaṁ _

---

[159] GK sriva-

[160] G ceva; K ce

[161] GK srīcandavha

turiyaṁ saṅkhava- (33) ṅsakaṁ _
mahābheriṁ mahātālaṁ _
saddhitaggāhakehi[162] ca _

28
khettaṁ catusatabyā- (34) maṁ _
āyāmena viṭṭhārato _
byāmasatadvayantassa _
pañcavīsarathā- (35) vīhi _

29
āya-ārāmikānañ ca[163] _
anuvassaṁ adāpayi _
ārāmavatthuṁ ni- (36) kki _ ṇi _
koṭipañcappamāṇakaṁ _

30
kappiyabyañjanatthāya _
tesaṁ idha (37) adāpayi _
pañcasadhūvapattāsaṁ _
bhikkhūnaṁ idha dāpayi _

31
koṭisatadva- (38) yenāpi _
dhanacāgena sā idha _
thūpādikicce niṭṭhite _
sokārāmamahaṁ a- (39) kā _

32
buddhasāgarasissekaṁ _
sarabhaṅgoti nāmakaṁ _
sīlādiguṇasampannaṁ _
(40) theraṁ saparivārakaṁ _

---

[162] GK sadditaggāhakehi

[163] G āyāmārāmikānañca

ārāmikaṁ thapetvāna _
paccayehi upaṭṭhahi _ ||

33
iminā puñña- (41) kammena _
mama mātāpitā ubho _
sāmiko me mahādhamma- _
rājādhirājanāma- (42) ko _

34
sridhammarājamātā ca _[164]
ye ca ñāti-m-añātikā[165] _
sabbeva sukkhitā ho- (43) ntu _
niddukhā nirupaddavā _

35
mama puññānubhāvena _
sabbe te tidivaṅgatā _
chasu sag- (44) gesu sampattiṁ _
anubhuñjantu kāmato _

36
mama puññānubhāvena _
puriso homa- (45) nāgate[166] _
metteyyasseva buddhassa _
aggadhammaṁ suṇāmahaṁ _

37
tassāpi[167] puñña- (46) sambhāra[168]- _

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[164] From here on, stanza breaks in G are incorrect.
[165] GK ñātī añātikā
[166] G homyanāgate
[167] G tissāpi
[168] GK sambhāraṁ

m uḷāraṁ[169] pacināmahaṁ _
parisāgaṇamajjhamhi _
so maṁ buddho pasaṅsatu

38
(47) dānādinā samo añño _
rūpenāpi yasena vā _
āyunā dhanarāsīhi _
mā (48) me hotu bhave bhave _

39
mesaṁ nādātukāmassa[170] _
koci sakkotu gaṇhituṁ
(49) apica[171] mama santasaṁ _
daliddānaṁ payojanaṁ _

40
gambhīrāpāradānādi- _
sāgare- (50) hi susitale _
nimujjitvā munindā va _
sambodhiṁ pāpuṇām'ahaṁ _

41
imasmiṁ (51) nagare rajjaṁ _
kāressanti anāgate _
khattiyā ceva uggā ca _
dhammikā (52) ye mahāyasā [_][172]

---

[169] GK muddhāraṁ

[170] GK mesaṁnādātukāmassa

[171] G apīca

[172] Since none of the photographs or estampages available to me extended below this point, the punctuation for the last three lines is necessarily speculative, and my readings are based on G and K alone.

42
sabbe te anumodantu [_]
puññakamme mayā kate [_]
(53) pūjāvatthūni vaḍḍhantu [_]
puññakammarattā idhāti [||] [_]

sridhammatrailoka- (54) nāmena kavinā rājapaṇḍitena racitam idaṁ
[||]

Appendix III: Transcription of K. 303/IMA 2 at Angkor Wat

P = Pou, 'Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor 2 et 3', 102–03
U = Uraisi, *Cāṛịk nagar vāt*, 39–41
V = Vong, *Silācāṛịk*, 112–13
K = Krassem, *Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor*, 3–4

(1) || _ || _ neḥ ta gi tribit sucirit[173] saŕddhā nai khñuṁ aṁcass saṁte- (2) c braḥ rājamātā mahākalyāṇavatti[174] śri[175] sujātā (3) ṭṭtamajāti kṣatri[176] braḥ mahā-ṭpāsikāratn pabi- (4) tr thvāy paṅgam pranaṁmr dūl ta braḥ varapādārubindhu _ (5) nai saṁtec braḥ mahā śri[177] ratn ta=trai[178] kamrataeṅ yeṅ (6) ta jā bvuṁnak trey trāṇ pradhāṇ ru saṁbau dha[179] (7) rat rūṅ ṭtuṅg[180] nā[181] nu nāṁ chloṅ laeṅ sramaddh bol _ (8) man gi bhabbhajāt kantār sāranā khñuṁ aṁcasss mān saŕddhā (9) taṁlā citr prabṛddhi sāṅ saŕbv kusal rieṅ[182] mok luḥ (10) jāt ilū neḥ mangi luḥ ta _ 1499 sak chlū nakṣatr[183] _ (11) catuŕddaśi[184] ket āsādhy sorabār khñuṁ aṁcass yal (12) stac braḥ rājaputr mān saŕddhā sāṅ braḥ bisnulok[185] (13) kumvuj[186] purān naeḥ oy paripūr ru purān viṅ khñuṁm (14) aṁcass triak ar anumodanā nu stac braḥ rājaputr (15) beg hoṅ khñuṁ aṁcass mān sucarit saŕddhā ai ta (16)

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[173] U sucarit/sucirit; PV sucarit
[174] PU mahākalyāṇavattī
[175] PUVK śrī
[176] PK ksatri; V kṣatrī
[177] VK śrī
[178] PU ratnattrai
[179] PUVK jā
[180] PUVK [ṭ]tuṅta
[181] PK jā; U jā/nā
[182] U rīeṅ/ryeṅ
[183] PVK naksatr
[184] U caturdḍaśi
[185] V bīsnulok
[186] V kambuj

braḥ sāsaṉā[187] braḥ tathāgat sragat tāl aniccā raṁbiṅ[188] (17) yal nāmarupadhaŕmm neḥ bvuṁ dieṅ[189] siaṅ=ta bvuṁ jū ātmā (18) guḥ gi pi khñuṁ aṁcass tāk braḥ kesamoli[190] nā mān ce- (19) stādhikār aṁbal nu muŕddhābhisek noḥ paṅ ai ta sṭhā- (20) n braḥ bisnulok neḥ surec gut jā kmuk sāṅ braḥ _ (21) buddharup ai ta sṭhān pākāṉ naḥ[191] sot mān saccādī- (22) thṭhān nu jā ūpāsakaratn[192] cāṁ pañcasil[193] vīŕyyabhyāyām[194] (23) cāṁ astāṅgasil ai ta thṅai athṭhamī puŕnamī aṁmābisiyā jā (24) prakṛti luḥ āyukkhayy[195] ta jā pan-iss hoṅ pabitr _ (25) no tejaḥ phalānisaṅs noḥ no kāl=nā paṅ pañcakkhandh (26) a[m]bi[196] jāt pi andol do mok ai ta saṅsārābhabbh[197] ta a- _ (27) nekajāti anāgatakāl sūm jā mahāpurus sapp & _ (28)[198] jāt kaṁnet sūm kopr nu dhañapuñalakṣaṉ[199] saṁ- _ (29) yaks ai ta braḥ sāsaṉā braḥ tathṭhāgat[200] prākaṭ tūc saṁnūm (30) sātapraṇidhāṉ[201] muhni viṅ hoṅ _ no kāl=nā pi saṁtec (31) braḥ śri[202] āŕyyamaitri[203] stac cuḥ mok trass saŕbvajjatāñān[204] (32) ai ta lok neḥ sūṁ[205]

---

[187] PU sāsnā

[188] V raṁbīṅ

[189] U dīeṅ/dyeṅ

[190] PUVK kesamolī

[191] P naeḥ; U naḥ=neḥ; VK n[ae]ḥ

[192] V opāsakakaratn

[193] V pañcasīl

[194] V viŕyyabhyāyām

[195] V yukkhayy

[196] PU aṃbī

[197] PUVK săsārabhabbh

[198] Line number missing in P; subsequent line numbers in P are therefore incorrect.

[199] PK dhañapuñalaksaṉ

[200] P taṭhṭhāgat

[201] PK sātapraṇīdhāṉ

[202] PUVK śrī

[203] PU āryyamaitrī

[204] PU sarbvajjutāñān; VK saŕbvajjutāñān

[205] V sūṁm

khñuṁ aṁcass pān paṁreh jā ūpāsaka[206]- (33) rat nai saṁtec braḥ śrī[207] āĕyyamaitrī[208] sūṁm khñuṁ pān stāpp _ (34) khvuṁṅ[209] dhaĕmmāmṛt gi sattatiṅsa[210] varabodhipakkhi khmi ciñ puas[211] _ (35) pān ûppasaṁmpad[212] nu ehi bhikkhu mān braḥ kes kor khsan[213] (36) tïaṅ prākat ai ta kantāl jaṁ- _ nuṁ nai catubidhaparasatv su- (37) rec phgat terasa dhu- __ taṅg phcaṅ bhāvaṇā _ (38) cattāḷīsa[214] kaṁmathā- ___ n pān[215] arahatta- _ (39) phal aṁbal na[216] ca[217]- ____ tupitisambhidā (40) ñāṇ sūm _____ cūl nīĕrbvān (41) mūy[218] anle _____ nu braḥ śrī ā- (42) ĕyyamaitrī[219] _____ pabitr hōṅ[220]

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[206] V upāsaka
[207] K śri
[208] V āĕyyamaitri
[209] PUK khdaṁṅ
[210] PUVK sattatisă
[211] PUVK pūs
[212] PU oppasaṁmpad; V uppasaṁmpad
[213] P ko khsarn
[214] PUVK cattāḷisa
[215] PK ṭhān; U thān pān
[216] PUVK nu
[217] V cā
[218] U mūy/mvay
[219] V ĕyyamaitri
[220] PUVK hoṅ

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