FOOTPRINTS OF THE BUDDHAS OF THIS ERA IN THAILAND

Virginia McKeen Di Crocco

FOOTPRINTS OF THE BUDDHAS OF THIS ERA IN THAILAND

and

the Indian Subcontinent, Sri Lanka, Myanmar

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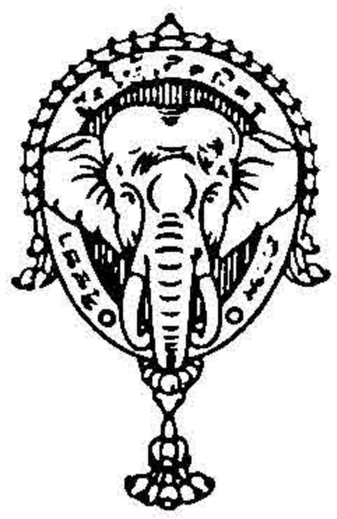

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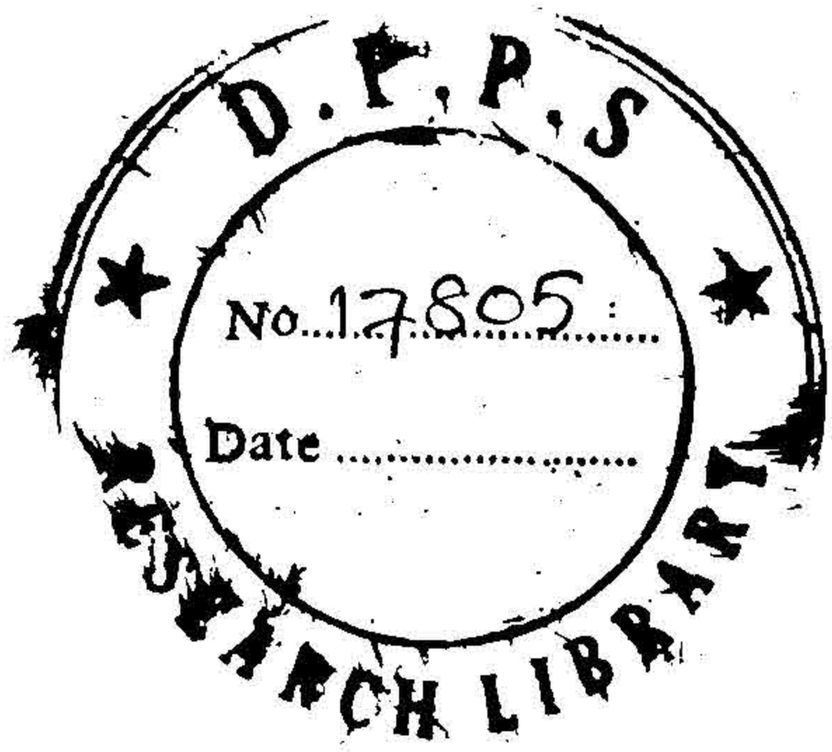

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Preface

The publication of this splendid book is part of a project that began fourteen years ago. In December 1990, the Siam Society held an exhibition of Footprints of the Lord Buddha arranged by Dr. Waldemar Sailer. The exhibition featured a wax model of a Footprint made from a set of moulds carved during the reign of King Rama V. Some members of the Society enthusiastically supported the idea of casting a version of this Footprint to preserve its artistic beauty. It was decided to cast the footprint in gold with a bronze gilded base in honor of Her Majesty the Queen's Fifth Cycle (60th birthday) in 1992.

Her Majesty graciously gave her consent to the project. An illustrious Organizing Committee was formed under the chairmanship of His Excellency Mr Sanya Dharmasakti, Presdent of the Privy Council. The President of the Siam Society at that time, Mr Bangkok Chowkwanyun, provided much of the driving force in the project's early stages. Funds were raised to support the project. The great grandson of the artist who had carved the original moulds took charge of casting this magnificent Footprint. Details of the casting and installation of the Footprint can be found in this book.

As part of the same project, the Siam Society decided to commission research on the history of Footprints of the Buddha, especially those found within the area of present-day Thailand. A long-time resident of Thailand, expert on Buddhist art, and very loyal member of the Society, Virginia McKeen Di Crocco, was entrusted with this project, along with the Society's honorary photographer, Mr. Dacho Buranabunpot.

I suspect that if Virginia had been able to foresee the scale and difficulty of this project, she might not have been so keen. The Siam Society, and all readers of this book, are greatly indebted to her for the dedication she has shown to produce this work. The initial conception of the book was a lot more modest than this final product. Virginia has not only tracked down the important Footprints in Thailand and the surrounding region, but has produced an analysis of their history and meaning which is not only fascinating but also of great academic value.

I would like to thank Dr Chris Baker for helping to prepare the final manuscript for publication.

I personally am enormously pleased to see this project completed, and I congratulate Virginia Di Crocco and all others connected with this project for producing such a splendid result.

Bilaibhan Sampatisiri
President of the Siam Society
24 July 2004

Introduction

The aim of this research has been to secure detailed information about the history and development of Buddha Footprints in Thailand. The research includes both imprints of the Buddha Gotama and Footprints of the Four Buddhas created in Thailand, the Indian Subcontinent, Sri Lanka and Myanmar, and background information from Bamiyan, Afghanistan. The research explores the early development of Buddhist sects and concomitant creation of large Buddha Footprints, early Buddhism in Sri Lanka and the writing of texts crucial to the understanding of the meaning of Buddha Footprints, early Buddha Footprints in Sri Lanka and their influence on Buddha Footprints in Thailand, the introduction of Buddha Footprints in Bagan with 108 auspicious symbols and the resulting influence on Buddha Footprints created in what is now Thailand, the introduction of Lanka style Buddha Footprints with 108 auspicious symbols and Footprints of "the Thai Design". Much emphasis is placed on the changes in the design and meanings of the 108 auspicious symbols placed on the Buddha Footprints over the centuries and the dating of those Footprints. Throughout the book, transcriptions from Pali follow current conventions.

Acknowledgements

This report would not be possible without the generous assistance of the following persons. Special thanks are given to the epigraphist Acharn Term Meetem, without whose help in the dating of inscriptions this report could have been written. Also of great assistance was Dr. Hans Penth whose advice about the epigraphy of inscriptions on Northern Thai Buddha Footprints and the dating of the Footprints has been essential to this research. In 1992 Dacho and Busakorn Buranabunpot traveled extensively throughout the Thai kingdom looking for and photographing Buddha Footprints and querying Lord Abbots of wats and other concerned individuals about them. Their report has been a very important source for this research. I am most grateful to John Reid for reading my initial text and offering helpful suggestions. I would like also to thank Acharn Phuthorn Bhumadhon who has given me valuable information about Buddha Footprints in Thailand and provided slides of Buddha Footprints for my study and use. I am grateful to Peter Skilling, Michael Wright and Martin Perenchio who advised texts that have proved significant to the study. The former also read an earlier version of my manuscript giving suggestions and encouragement. The directors and staff of the following museums have been most helpful in granting permission and assisting in the photography of Buddha Footprints in their collections: The Bangkok National Museum, the Chantara Kasem National Museum, Ayudhya, the Phra Narai Rajaniwet National Museum, Lopburi, the Ramkhamhaeng National Museum, Sukhothai, and the U Thong National Museum, U Thong. The Lord Abbots of many wats throughout the country have been most gracious in giving permission to photograph Buddha Footprints. U Thaw Kaung, former head of the Universities Library, Yangon, Myanmar, kindly supplied material important to the understanding of Bagan period Buddha Footprints. Euayporn Kerdchuay who supervised the production of the Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa created by The Siam Society under Royal Patronage for the 60th birthday of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit graphically explained the process. My research assistant, Chanchana Koldchaluk, has provided invaluable service in searching for and finding texts in Thai about Buddha Footprints. Gaynor de Wit was of great assistance in the initial research.

Dr. Hermann and Mrs. Monique Heitmann's constant encouragement is much appreciated as well as Mrs. Heitmann's taking photos of Buddha Footprints in several countries for me to study and use. Miss Jane Porter Allison also has been supportive and has taken photos of Buddha Footprints for me to peruse and use. Peter Rogers and Harvey Weintraub read earlier versions of the text and made pertinent suggestions. Thanks also go to the National Library, the Cornell University Library, James V. Di Crocco, U Zaw Lwin, Noppadol Nimmanee, Henri Pagau-Clarac, Dr. John Listopad

and Dr. Waldemar C. Sailer for allowing the use of their photographs and drawings; and to Sharon O'Toole, the Honorary Librarian of the Siam Society under Royal Patronage, for making printouts of Buddha Footprints.

Lastly I would like to thank my husband, James V. Di Crocco, who has patiently waited while I researched and wrote, and my son and daughter-in-law whose kind invitations to visit I had always to turn down in order to finish the research.

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The life cycle of a universe is a kappa.
The present kappa is a Bhaddakappa in which
five Buddhas will appear. Four have appeared,
Kakusandha, Konagamana, Kassapa and Gotama;
the fifth, Metteyya, has yet to appear

Chapter I: The Gold Footprint of the Four Buddhas, who have appeared in this Bhaddakappa, created in Honor of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit's 60th Birthday

For the auspicious occasion of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit's 60th royal birthday anniversary in 1992, The Siam Society Under Royal Patronage jointly with the public and private sectors and with His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch presiding as Ecclesiastical Chairman and the President of the Privy Council, His Excellency Sanya Dharmasakti, as Chairman of the Organizing Committee, arranged the casting of a Gold Footprint of the Four Buddhas who have appeared in this Bhaddakappa for presentation to Her Majesty (Plate 1).

His Royal Highness Crown Prince Vajiralongkorn, Vice Patron of the Siam Society, represented His Majesty King Rama IX the Great at the Gold-Casting Ceremony for the Buddha Footprint Project on 25 December 1992 (Plate 2). His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch Somdet Phra Nyanasamvara performed the ritual at Wat Bovornivet Vihara. His Excellency Air Chief Marshal Siddhi Savetsila, Member of the Privy Council and Acting Chairman of the Organizing Committee, participated in the ceremony along with many palace and government officials, principal donors and President Piriya Krairiksh and advisers and members of the Siam Society Council, including MR Putrie Viravaidya, Mr. Bangkok Chowkwanyun and Mr. Athueck Asvanund, leading figures in the project.

His Majesty the King presided over the Royal Consecration Ceremony of the Gold Footprint of the Four Buddhas at the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in the Grand Palace on 22 June 1994 (Plate 3).

The Gold Footprint incorporates 108 auspicious symbols, each of which was cast in relief on a separately moulded gold plate, and contains some 30 kilograms in gold (Plate 4). The Footprint rests on a brass base 65 cm. high and 170 cm. long made from a single mould. It has an overall weight of approximately 500 kilograms and was made by the lost wax method from moulds which were carved by Nai Charoen Pattananggoon during the reign of King Rama V. The artisan who cast the Footprint is Nai Surapun Atichatanan, the great grandson of Nai Charoen Pattananggoon.

Following the consecration ceremony, His Majesty the King graciously permitted the Gold Footprint to be transferred permanently to the Monthientham Hall in the grounds of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha where it can be viewed by the public. For more details concerning the Gold Footprint see Chapters XI and XII.

Plate 1. The wax model for the Gold Buddha Footprint made by Nai Surapun Atichatanan.

Plate 2. HRH Prince Vajiralongkorn pouring gold at the Gold-Casting Ceremony, 25 December 1992, casting the gold cakka for the center of the Footprint.

Plate 3. His Majesty King Rama IX the Great presiding over the consecration of the Gold Footprint at the Temple of the Emerald Buddha.

Plate 4. The Gold Footprint created in honor of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit's 60th birthday, length: 1.70 meters.

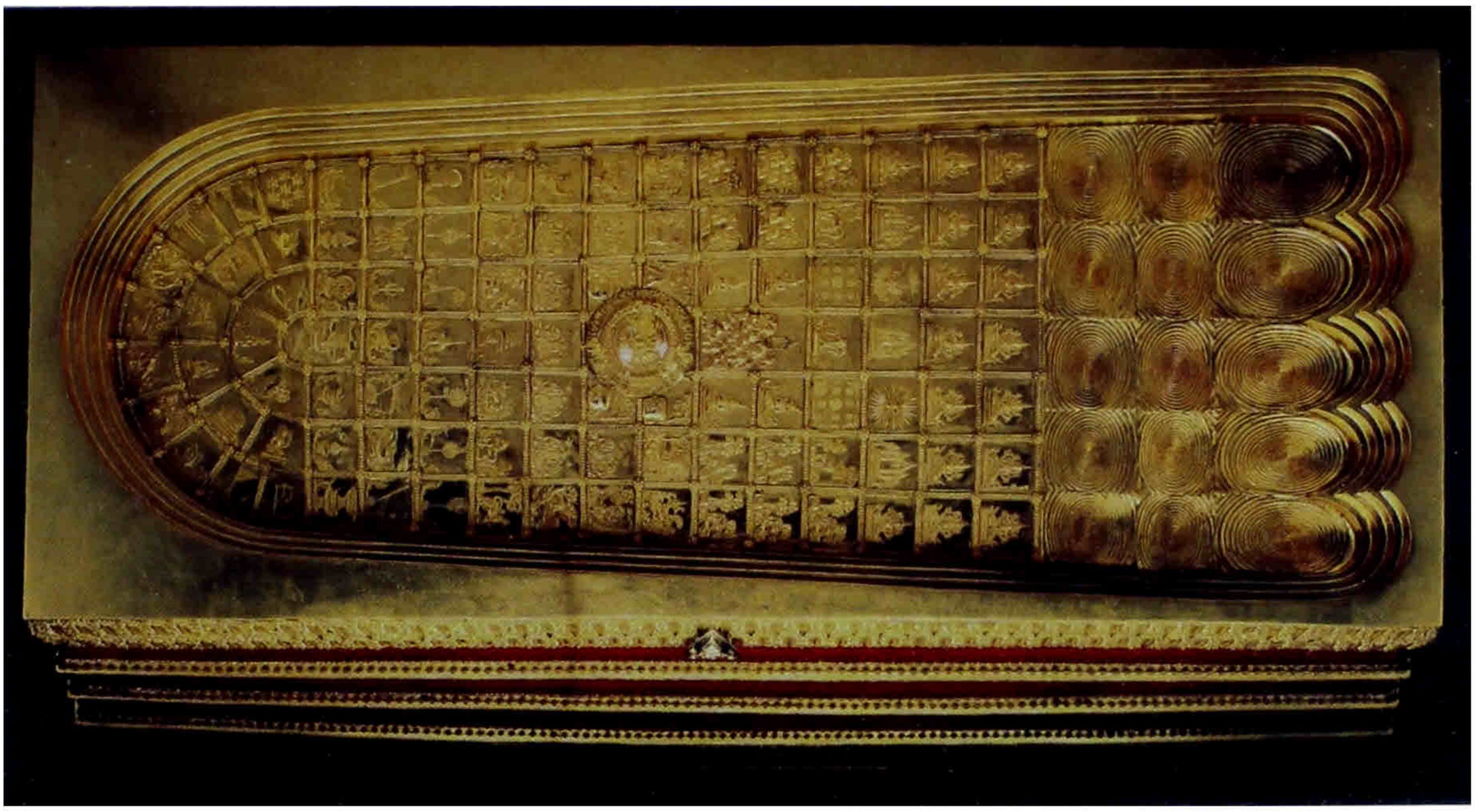


Plate 4a. Top view of the Gold Footprint in Plate 4.

Chapter II: Early Buddha Footprints in the Indian Subcontinent and Sri Lanka

The First Buddhist Council was held soon after the Buddha Gotama's *parinibbana*. Ananda, the Buddha's constant companion, recited his discourses; these would later be codified as the *Sutta-pitaka*, one of the three books of the *Ti-pitaka*. Upali, the foremost Vinayist, recited the disciplinary rules prescribed for the observance of monks and nuns, later to be codified into the *Vinaya-pitaka*. As yet the basic tenets of what would be the third book of the Ti-pitaka, the *Abidhamma-pitaka*, had not been set forth. In this early phase of Buddhism there was unanimity among the *Sangha*. The Buddha was considered a human being but one who possessed omniscience, supernatural powers and other attainments. The accounts of the life of the Buddha usually commenced from the time of Prince Siddhatta's retirement from the palace to his attainment of Enlightenment. The *Jataka*, stories of the Lord Buddha's previous lives, had not yet appeared in a separate collection. The goal of life was *Arahathood* or rarely *Paccekabuddhahood* but not Buddhahood (Dutt 1978, 218-222).

The spread of Buddhism was at first confined to a few villages and towns situated in the central belt of India from Rajgriha and Bodhgaya in the east to Mathura in the west. Gandhara and Uddiyana (modern Swat) to its north had no adherents as yet (ibid.) (Plate 5).

During the Second Buddhist Council held at Vaisali a few decades before the coronation of Emperor Asoka (r. ca. 272/3-237 B. C. E.), a schism occurred over interpretations of the Vinaya rules and doctrinal viewpoints relating to Arahats. The order divided into two schools: the progressive Mahasanghika and the conservative Sthaviravada. This schism would lead to further divisions until there were eighteen or twenty schools. Of these schools, the Theravada, Sarvastivada, Sautrantika and Sammatiya are all of Sthaviravada lineage and the Mahasanghika, Lokattaravadin, Ekavyaharika and Kaukutika are of the Mahasanghika lineage (Hirakawa 1990, 2 and 261).

By the time of King Asoka there had been four or five generations of the Sangha and the propagation of Buddhism in Kashmir had begun. In the south, Buddhism had spread to the Deccan Plateau. According to Lankan traditions during Asoka's reign missionaries were sent to various parts of India. It was at this time that Theravada Buddhism was brought to Sri Lanka by Asoka's son, the monk Mahinda, and to Suvannabhumi in Southeast Asia by the monks Sona and Uttara. The Third Council held during the reign of King Asoka is mentioned only in Sinhalese Theravada sources and not in the literature of the other schools. Thus it apparently only involved the Theravada School. A thousand Arahats were assembled to compile a Theravada

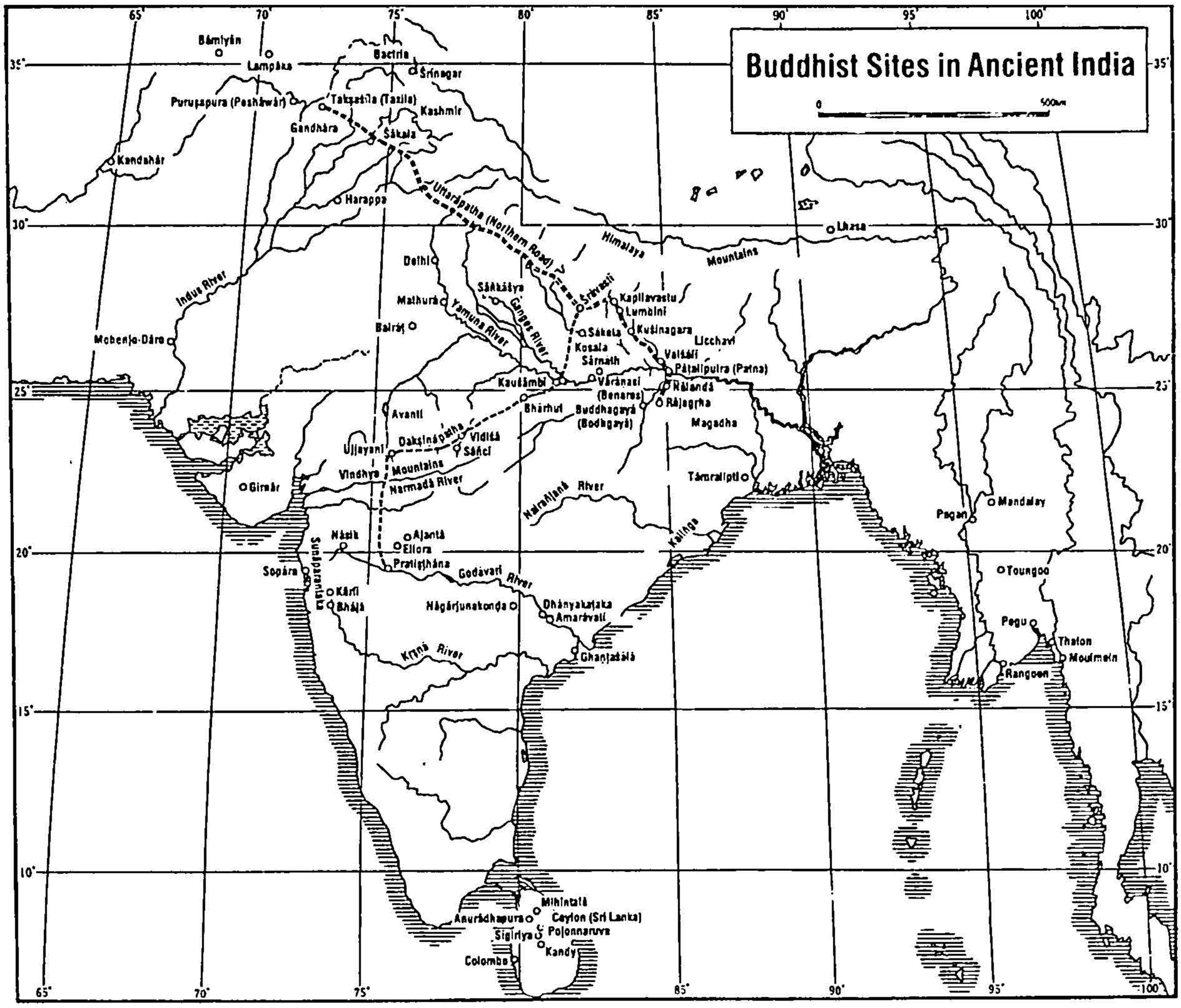


Plate 5. Buddhist sites in Ancient India, after Hirakawa 1990, opposite page 1.

version of the Dhamma (Hirakawa, op. cit. 109). The texts would be passed down orally from generation to generation.

In the following century the first as yet known depiction of Footprints of the Buddha Gotama appeared. These were in reliefs on the Bharhut Stupa, Madhya Pradesh, India. The Footprints are very small and stylized and have at the center of their footsoles a multispoked cakka (wheel of the law) complete with hub and rim at the center. A relief on the Ajatasutru Pillar of the stupa depicts the god, Mahesvara, accompanied by a host of gods, kneeling in reverence to the new-born Bodhisatta, Siddhattha, who is represented by his Footprints in front of a richly decorated throne (Plate 6). In another relief, also on the same pillar, two Footprints, one on the highest rung of a triple ladder and the second on the lowest, illustrate Buddha's descent from Tavatimsa Heaven where he had spent three months preaching to his deceased mother. The gods are shown venerating him (Snellgrove ed. 1978, 30 and Plates 8 and 9)

Plate 6. The veneration of the newborn Bodhisatta by gods, relief on the Ajatasatru Pillar from the Bharhut Stupa, 2nd century B. C. E., now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, stone, height 0.60 meters, after Snellgrove, ed. 1978, 30, Plate 8

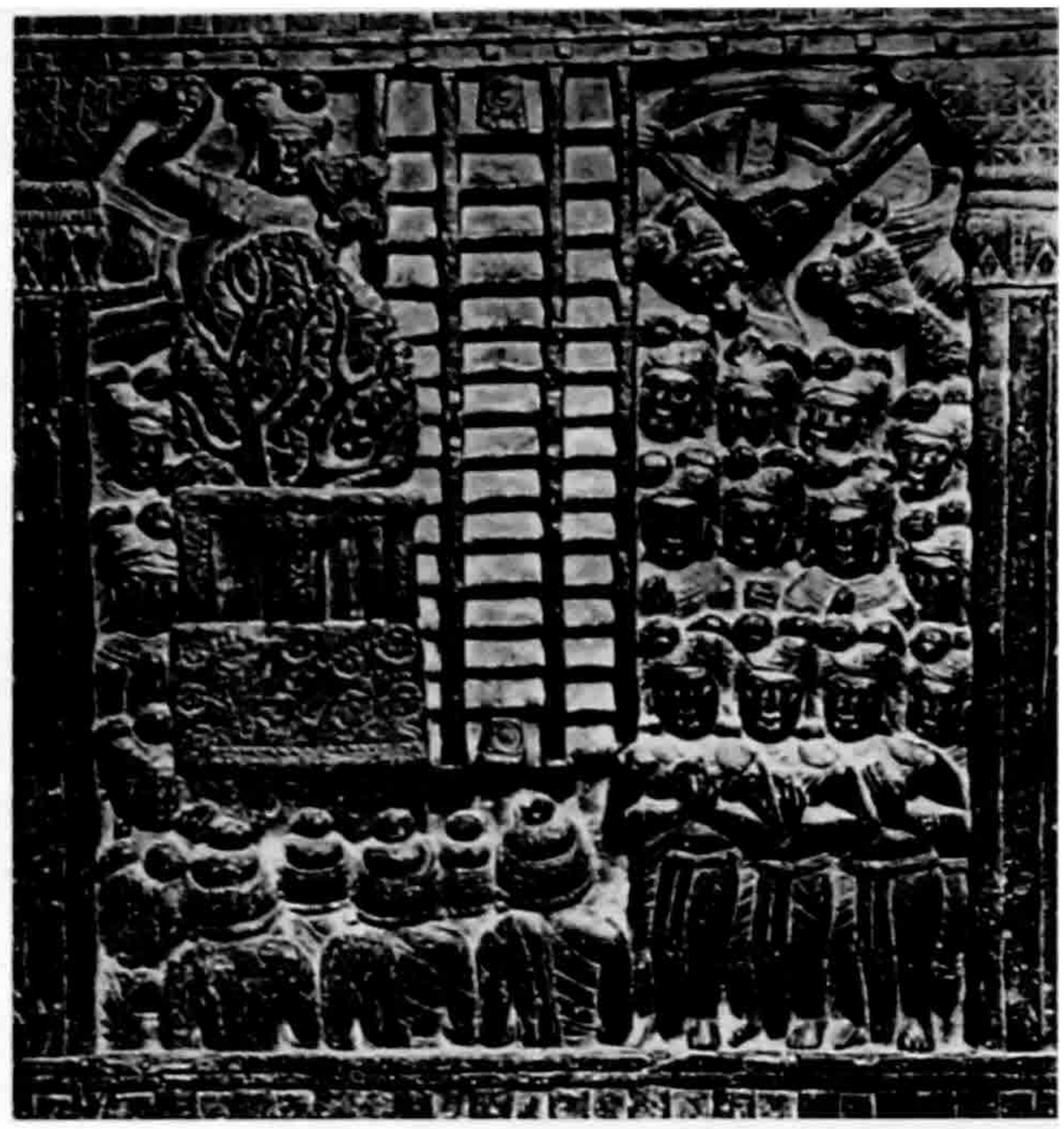


Plate 7. The descent of the Buddha from Tavatimsa Heaven, relief on the Ajatasatru Pillar from the Bharhut Stupa, 2nd century B. C. E., now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, stone, height 0.60, after Snellgrove, ed. 1978, 30, Plate 9.

Plate 8. The pair of Footprints of the Buddha from Tirat now in the Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif, Swat, Pakistan, 1st Century B. C. E., stone, each Footprint, length 0.67 meters, width 0.37 meters, after Chutiwongs 1990 in Thai, Plate 1.

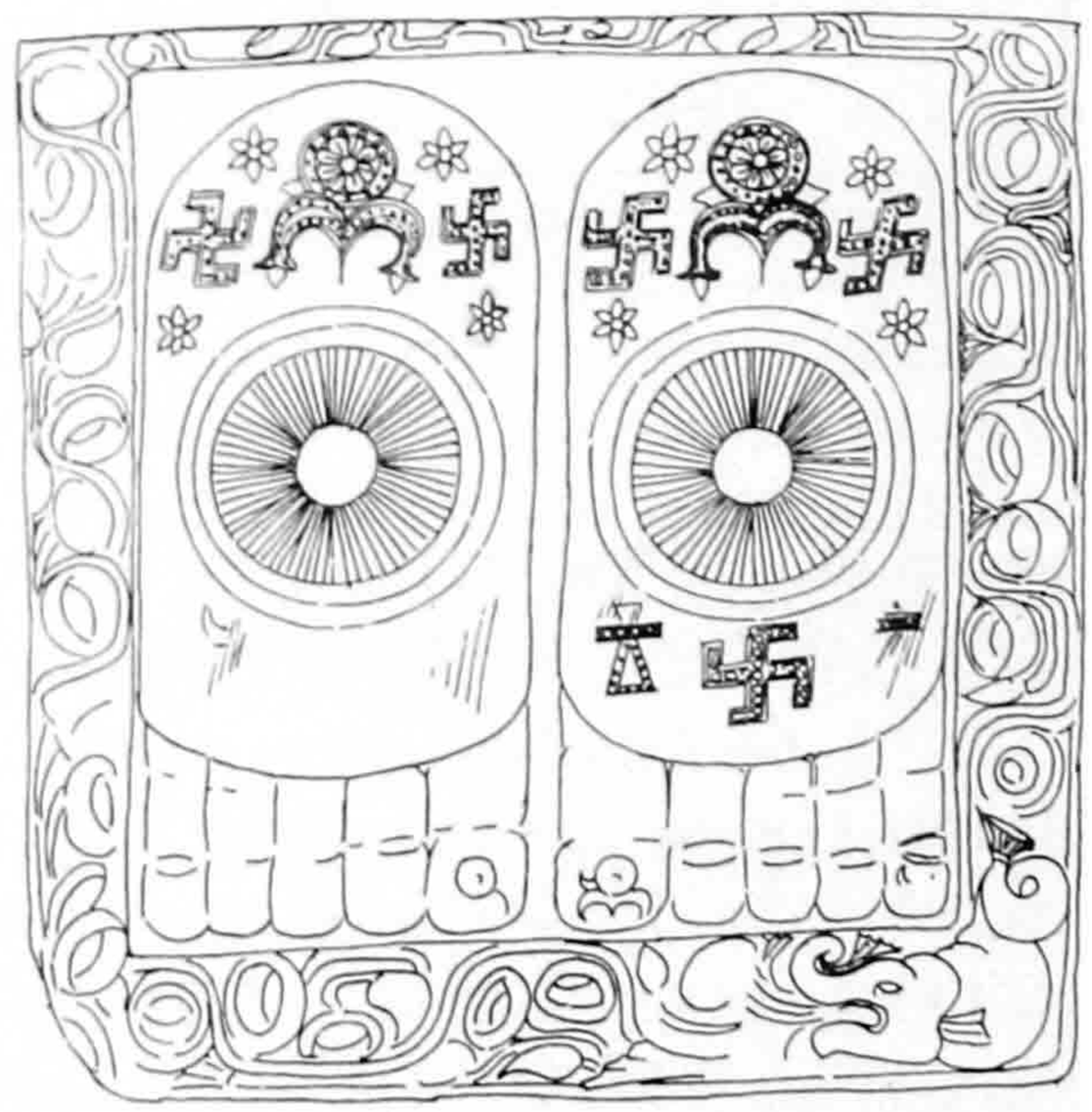


Plate 9. A pair of Buddha Footprints from the Great Stupa, Amaravati, ca. 1st century, B. C. E., now in the British Museum, stone slab, length 0.675 meters, width 0.46 meters, after Knox 1992, 213 and Plate 121.

(Plate 7). Each of the reliefs is approximately 0.60 meters in height. As yet the Bharhut Stupa has not been identified with any particular school.

The Buddha was worshipped in other symbolic forms as well: the throne, the flaming tree, the cakka, the Bodhi tree, the stupa etc. The creation of reliefs with such symbols continued in India until at least ca. the fifth century C. E. Curiously such reliefs have not been found in Sri Lanka (Chutiwongs 1990, 62). Both the small representations of the Buddha in reliefs and the large Buddha Footprints that would replace them are aniconic since they are not anthropomorphic.

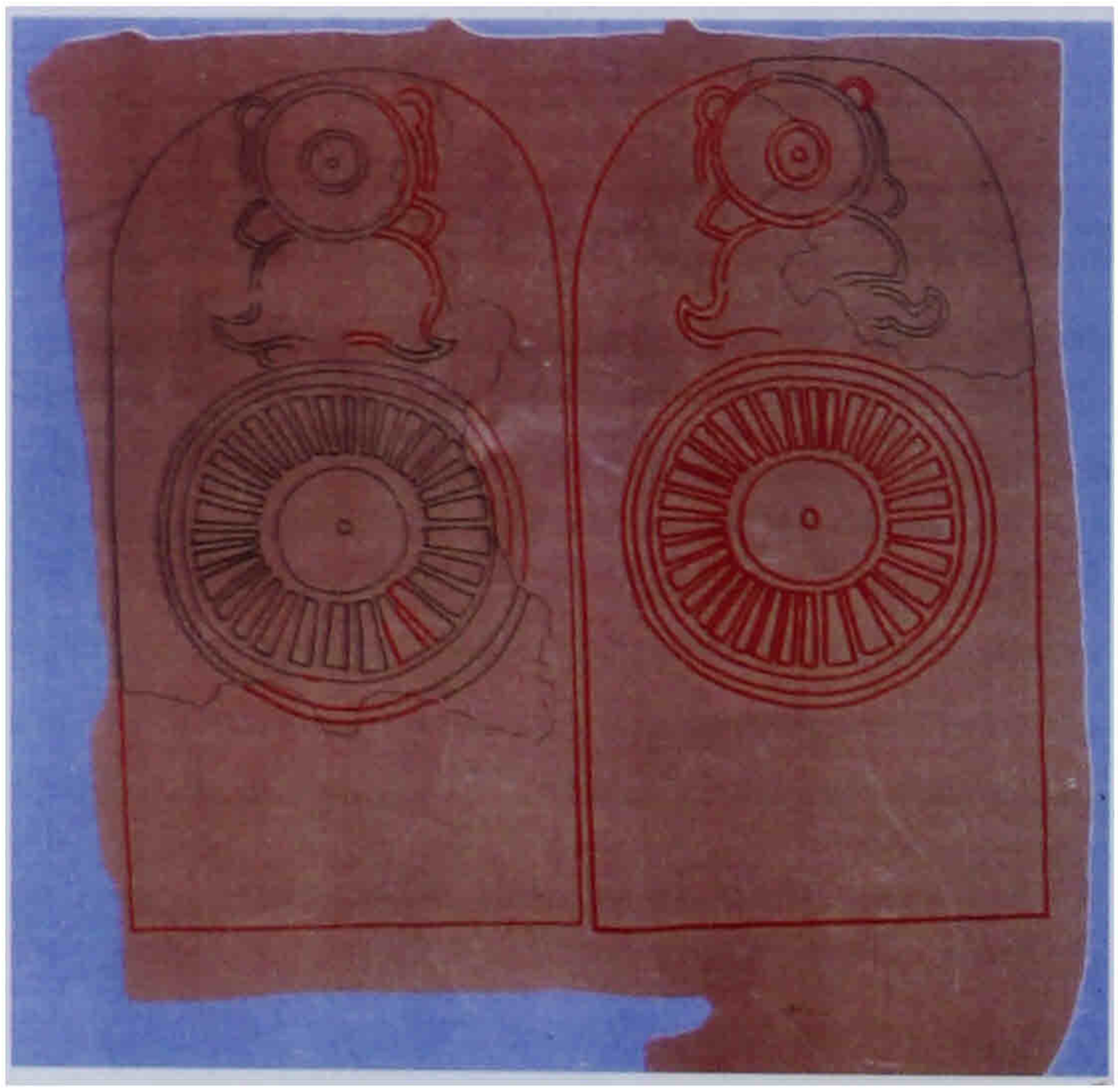
In the 1st century B. C. E. dramatically larger Footprints of the Buddha were created. A pair of Footprints from Tirat, Uddiyana, now in the Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif, was incised on a stone slab measuring in length 0.90 meters (Plate 8). Each Footprint is 0.63 meters in length and 0.27 in width (Khan 1993, 26). The design of the Footprints follows closely that of those on the reliefs on the Bharhut Stupa. At the center is a large multispoked cakka with hub and rim. An inscription in the Kharosthi script was engraved in front of the toes and faces the viewer, indicating that the Footprints should be placed with that area immediately in front of the viewer. The inscription reads "Buddha Sakamunisa padani," which translates as "The feet of the Buddha Sakyamuni." The Footprints have been dated to the first century B. C. E. based on S. Kanow's 1927 epigraphical dating of the Kharosthi in the inscription (Quagliotti 1998, 51).

Another large pair of Buddha Footprints, dated ca. the 1st century B. C. E., was created far across the Indian subcontinent on the southeastern coast (Plate 9). It was found at the Great Stupa on the outskirts of Amaravati, which is on the Krishna River. The Great Stupa was the glory of ancient India, surpassing all other monuments of the age in its huge size and elaborate sculpture. The Footprints are stylized with even sides and toes and at the center of each is a finely spoked cakka with hub and a plain double rim. On the rear of each footsole is a large three-pronged auspicious symbol often referred to as a *triratana*, a symbol indicating the Three Gems, the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. It has recently been identified as *nandyavarta*, the meaning of which at that period is still uncertain (see Quagliotti, op. cit., 14-66 and 79-89). On each side is a *svastika*, a symbol of blessing. A large svastika has been incised on the front of the soles as well; and on each side of the svastika is an incised hourglass-shaped object, which may be the auspicious symbol, *bhaddapittha*, i.e., throne. The toes are of the same length and their lenticular wrinkles at the joints are clearly delineated. A nandyavarta symbol was placed on each of the big toes. The length of each Footprint probably would be well over 0.40 meters in length.

A pair of Footprints of the Buddha was created at Kirinda on living rock overlooking the ocean on the southeastern coast of the island of Sri Lanka (Plate 10). It too dates ca. 1st century B. C. E. The design on the Footprints has been degraded by the weather but the shape can still be determined as well as the designs of the large multispoked cakka at the center and the nandyavarta auspicious symbol on the lower part of each footsole. The overall design bears such similarity to that of the first century B. C. E. pair of Buddha Footprints found in Amaravati, described above, that the design must have been influenced by it and by another pair of similar design and date found at that site. This is not surprising since there could well have been much ocean traffic between the Krishna River area and southeastern Sri Lanka. The Kirinda Buddha Footprints are 0.30 meters in length. Incised on the rock at considerable height above them is an inscription in the Brahmi script, which reads, "In the boundless universe there is none equal to the Buddha. (He) is of all objects, the most difficult of attainments. (He) is the one who has no superior, the great refuge (and) the eye of the world." Chutiwongs has aptly commented that "the inscription appears to describe that Footprint as standing for a Buddha in his timeless cosmological body and not an impression made by his physical self" (Chutiwongs, op. cit. 65 and fns. 47 and 67).

All the 1st century B. C. E. pairs of Footprints of the Buddha described above are of a size far greater than those of most human beings. The Buddha Gotama was now being represented not as a human but as a deity. This startling change may be explained as follows: The Theravadins and Sarvastivadins along with their offshoots conceived of the Buddha as a human being who attained perfection (Buddhahood) and became omniscient at Bodhgaya. Until then he was subject to all human frailties common to a pious and meritorious person. The Mahasanghikas did not subscribe to

Plate 10. The pair of Buddha Footprints, Kirinda, Sri Lanka, ca. 1st century B. C. E., stone, length 0.30, drawing by Muang Singh, courtesy of Waldemar C. Sailer.



this view. They contended that one who was the best of all divine beings in merit and knowledge in his existence just prior to his birth as Prince Siddhattha could not become an ordinary human being. Hence his position in the mortal world was only fictitious in order to follow the ways of the world. He had achieved all perfections in his previous existences as a Bodhisatta. Thus the Buddha is *lokottara,* i.e. supra-mundane. His true body has nothing worldly about it, being pure and indestructible. His created body, however, can be either large or small and exist in any number. And in this body he can appear anywhere in the universe. It is in this body that he descends to earth. Thus he is cosmological (Dutt, op. cit., 71-73, Jones 1949, I, 76 and 78, and Sangarakshita 1985, 64).

One of the few surviving literary works of the Mahasanghikas is the *Mahavastu,* a compilation by the Lokattaravadins, a branch of the Mahasanghikas, who lived in Bamiyan in what is now Afghanistan. It may have been begun in the 2nd century B. C. E. (Jones 1949, I, XI and Nakamura 1996 rep. 130). In it the concept of a transcendent Buddha who descends to the earth is given. Bamiyan in those days as now would have been accessible to Tirat through passes in the Hindu Kush Mountains (*see* Klimburg-Salter, 1989, 19-24). It therefore is perfectly possible that the creators of the Tirat Footprints were knowledgeable about the concept of the Buddha as a divine being who descends to the earth and thus created Footprints to fit that concept of the Buddha.

The Mahavastu also states "The soles of the feet of former Buddhas are adorned with a wheel and svastikas and the toes with nandyavarta" (Jones 1953, II, 286 and Quagliotti, op. cit., 85 and fn. 7 and 87). These symbols, svastika and nandyavarta, adorn the ca. 1st century B. C. E. Footprints of the Lord Buddha created at the Great Stupa, Amaravati. Their appearance as auspicious symbols would have resulted from the fact that the most important Buddhist sect in Amaravati was a sub-sect of the Mahasanghikas related ideologically to the writers of the Mahavastu, namely the Caitikas. Their existence is well known from several inscriptions found at the stupa (Sivaramamurti 1942, 283-284 and Knox, 1992, 9).

In the next three centuries more auspicious symbols were added to the Amaravati-Kirinda type Buddha Footprints, but the two symbols, svastika and nandyavarta continued to be the dominant ones after the cakka. This style of Footprint has been found in limited numbers at sites in Sri Lanka (Von Schroeder 1990, 72-73 and Plates 6D, 6E and 6F) and at sites across the Indian Subcontinent from Amaravati to Gandhara (Quagliotti, op. cit., 17-64). After the 3rd century Footprints in this style disappeared in the Indian Subcontinent and Sri Lanka. Their creation passed to the Mahayanists in Japan (Quagliotti op. cit., 144-168 and Ooka 1973, Plate 17). The reason for this was that the concept of the transcendent Buddha of the Mahasanghikas had been adopted by the Mahayanists and became the foundation stone of their concept of the Buddha.

Why was this style Footprint no longer made in its initial homelands? One may speculate that it was because the adherents of the Mahasanghika lineage began to create Buddha images instead. Warder (1980, 276-277) points out that the first appearance of the Buddha image in north and central India in the 1st century C. E. was linked to the Mahasanghika notion of a transcendent superhuman Buddha, and Bareau (1955, 171-172) has suggested that the colossal Buddhas at Bamiyan were an expression of Lokattaravadin, that is to say Mahasanghika, doctrines. Most recent assessments conclude the Bamiyan site dates from the 4th to the 7th century C. E. The Eastern Great Buddha which measured 38 meters has been dated to the 4th century and the Western Great Buddha, measuring 58 meters, to somewhat later (Rhie 1999, 212 and 236). It will be shown later that the production of such large images of the Lord Buddha was in keeping with measurements describing the sizes of various Buddhas and consequently their Footprints.

In the meantime more conservative Buddhist sects had begun to create large Buddha Footprints. A pair excavated at Site 38, Nagarjunakonda, somewhat northwest of Amaravati, bears an inscription dated to the mid-3rd century C. E. (Plate 11). The inscription states that the pair was installed in the monastery, now Site 38, by Theravadins-Vibhajjavadins (Ghosh ed., 1955-1956 and Sarkar, 1960, Plate XXXVIII). The symbols, svastika and nandyavarta, are still included among the auspicious symbols but not preeminent. A very large cakka with the usual hub, spokes and rim dominates the footsole. A svastika marks the top of the large toes, next to it are the symbols *maccha-yugala* (a pair of fish), then bhaddapittha (throne), ankusa (elephant goad) and *mani* (jewel). Between the cakka and toes are symbols, *punna-kalasa* (vase of plenty), svastika and what may be *dhaja* (flag). On the heel appears what may be a *vajra* (thunderbolt), a pair of fish, another throne, a nandyavarta and

Plate 11. Pair of Buddha Footprints, Site 38, Nagarjunakonda, India, mid 3rd century C. E, stone, at the side is a bas relief of the Bodhi tree with two human figures, after Sarkar 1960, Plate XXXVII.

an elephant hook. These symbols, as we shall see later, are auspicious symbols, which with the exception of svastika will appear in lists of symbols on the Footsoles of the Buddha written by adherents of the Theravada school. In the Nagarjunakonda area three other pairs of Footprints of the same style and having similar auspicious symbols have been found. Unfortunately there are no inscriptions giving the name of the sect for which they were made (Quagliotti op. cit., 40-43).

What is important about the dated pair of Footprints at Site 38 is that they are large in size like those at Tirat, Amaravati and Kirinda, indicating that the Theravadins and Vibhajjadins too had come to view the Buddha Gotama as greater than a human being.

Significant developments had occurred concerning the Theravada school in the first century B. C. E. at the Mahavihara, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka, founded by Maha Mahinda: The Theravada Canon, the Ti-pitika, was put into writing for the first time. The language employed is Pali. It has no script of its own and when committed to writing uses that of another language, in this case the local one, Sinhalese (Buddhaghosa, Nanamoli trs. 1964, xii-xiii).

Three *suttas* in the Sutta-pitaka, the first book of the Ti-pitaka, contain the thirty-two major characteristics of a Buddha. They are in the *Lakkhana-sutta*, the *Mahapadana-sutta* and the *Brahmayusutta*. The first two appear in the *Digha-nikaya*, the first collection of suttas in the Sutta-pitaka and the third in the *Majjhima-nikaya*, the second collection. The fact that thirty-two major characteristics are listed indicates that the early Buddhists adhered to the age-old Indian concept that a great man has 108 characteristics, 32 major and 76 lesser ones.

Characteristics pertinent to the Footprints of the Buddha are:

1. He has feet with level tread.

2. On the soles of each of his feet is a cakka (wheel) with rim and hub in every way complete and well divided.

3. He has projecting heels.

4. His fingers and toes are long.

5. His hands and feet are tender.

6. He has net-like hands and feet. [This sixth characteristic has been interpreted in Thailand as the Buddha's having five fingers of equal length and close to each other] (Lakkhanasutta, Digha-nikaya, Rhys Davids, trs. 1965, IV, 137-138).

Not all texts included in the present version of the Ti-pitaka were included in the original. The *Jataka* was not included until the 5th century C. E. Another text scholars hold is a later addition, in the early first millennium, is one of the world's

most important hagiographies, the *Buddhavamsa* (*The Chronicle of the Buddhas*) (Buddhadatta Thera 1978, x). The Mahavastu, which is not included, had given the names of the three Buddhas immediately preceding the Buddha Gotama. In the Buddhavamsa, the Buddha Gotama gives the history of the 24 Buddhas during and subsequent to the declaration of his own future Buddhahood by the Buddha Dipankara, plus three Buddhas prior to Dipankara, totaling 28 Buddhas. In addition, the Buddha Gotama proclaims the future Buddhahood of the Bodhisatta Metteyya (Buddhadatta Thera 1978, 96-97).

In the Buddhist, Hindu and Jain tradition, time is cyclic and has no beginning and no ending. According to the Buddhavamsa, in some *kappas* (vast cyclic periods equivalent to the destruction and renovation of a universe) a Buddha or Buddhas will appear. Our kappa is a *bhaddakappa* in which five Buddhas will appear in our universe. In it there already have been four Buddhas: Kakusandha, Konagamana, Kassapa and Gotama, and the Future Buddha will be the Bodhisatta Metteyya (ibid. and Kloetzli, 1983, 72-76).

Very importantly the Buddhavamsa gives the heights of many Buddhas including those of the Four Buddhas who have lived in this Bhaddakappa. These are as follows:

Kakusandha	forty ratanas	[18.28 meters]
Konagamana	thirty cubits	[13.7 meters]
Kassapa	twenty ratanas	[9.14 meters]
Gotama	sixteen cubits	[7.31 meters]

(Horner, op. cit. 85, 88, 92 and 95). A ratana and a cubit are the same length, namely 45.72 centimeters.

More details on the lives and appearances of the Buddhas were to come. The *Madhuratthavilasini, The Commentary on the Buddhavamsa*, was written at the Mahavihara, Anuradhapura, by Buddhadatta Thera in the fifth century from what Horner concludes was much older material. Its text clarifies and adds to the information in the Buddhavamsa (Buddhadatta Thera, Horner trs. 1978, vi-vii). In it the heights of the first three Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa were confirmed but the height given the Buddha Gotama was changed to 18 cubits, i.e., approximately 8.23 meters (op. cit. 426). This meant that the size of his Foot and Footprint, if in proportion to his body, would be over a meter in length, the usual size of the Footprints of the Buddha Gotama in Southeast Asia.

The two above texts provide definitive information that Theravada Buddhists no longer considered the Buddhas as normal human beings but of superhuman stature.

The size given for the Buddha Gotama in the commentary set the stage for the quest for what would be deemed Sacred Footprints of the Buddha Gotama, Footprints over a meter in length.

Chapter III: Footprints deemed those of the Buddha Gotama

Thai Buddhist monks chant, "I beg to worship the Five Buddha Footprints which are far away, namely at Suvannamalika, at Suvannapabbata, at Sumanakuta, at the town of Yonakapuri and on the shores of the Nammada River" (Bidyalankarana 1935, 1 and Buribandh 1955, 11) (Plate 12).

The earliest extant mentions of the Footprints occur ca. the 5th century C. E., at the time when the height and thus the size of the Footprints of the Gotama Buddha were determined. The Chinese monk, Fa Xian, in his *Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, which decribes his travels in India and Sri Lanka from 399 to 414 C. E., provides information about two Footprints of the Buddha in Sri Lanka. He relates that the Buddha wishing to transform the wicked Nagas planted one foot at the north of the royal city (Anuradhapura) and the other on top of a mountain. Fa Xian adds that over the Footprint north of the royal city the king built a large stupa 400 cubits high, which he adorned with gold and silver and finished with a combination of all the precious substances. By its side he built a monastery called Abhayagiri (Fa Xian, Legge trs. 1965 ed. 102). The Sri Lankan chronicle *Mahavamsa* written a century later relates that circa 89 B. C. King Vattagamani Abhaya founded the Abhayagiri Vihara outside

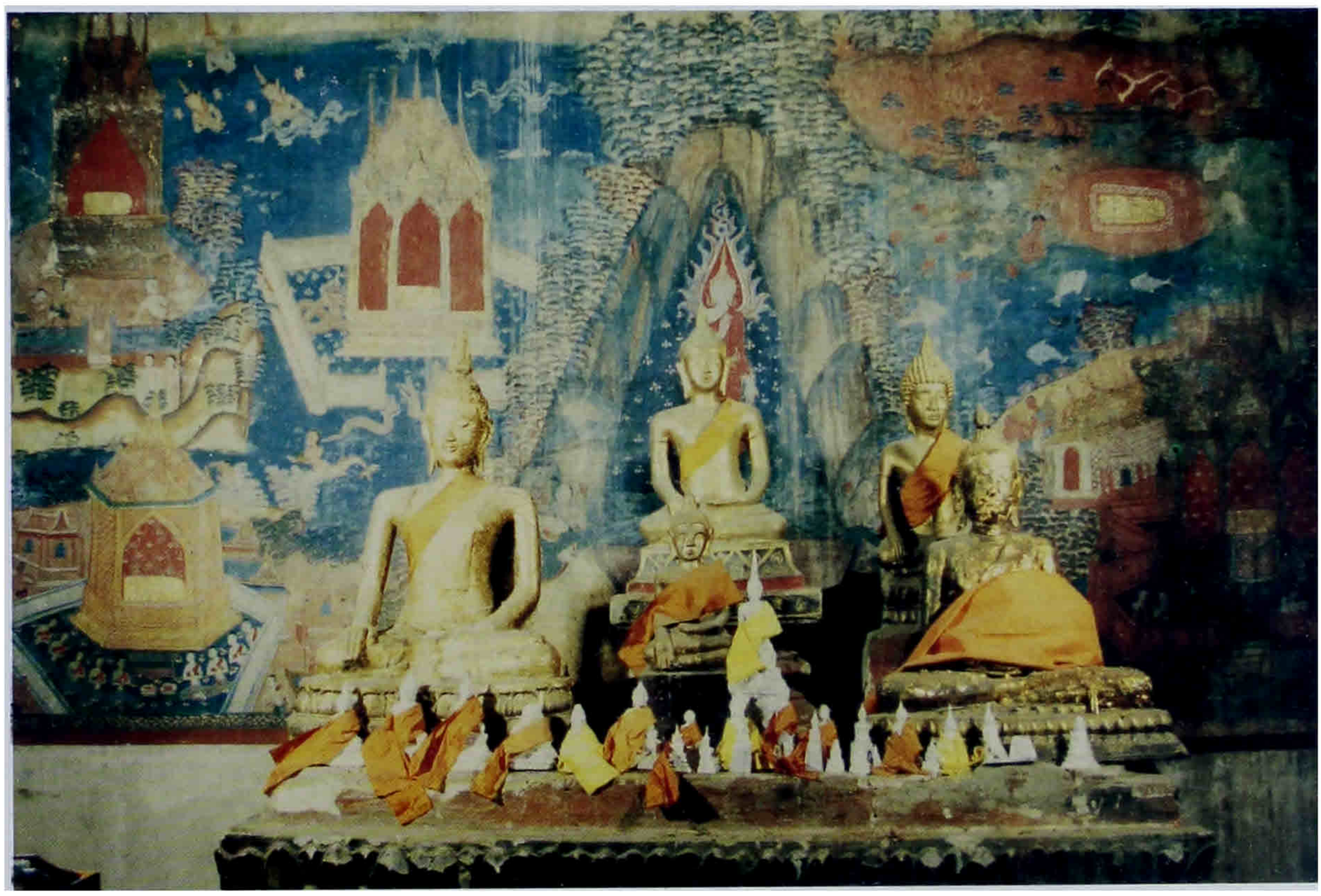


Plate 12. Mural of the Footprints of the Five Buddhas of the Bhaddakappa, Wat Na Phrathat, Patthongchai, Nakhon Ratchasima.

the north gate of Anuradhapura (Geiger 1964, 235 and fns. 1 and 3). Present day research indicates that this king (Von Schroeder op. cit. 572) built the Sila Thupa that forms the core of the present day Abhayagiri Thupa and the monastery. The *Khamhaikan Chao Krung Kao (Statements of the Residents of the Old Capital)*, written by prisoners taken to Myanmar following the fall of Ayudhya in 1767 C. E, gives information that the Footprint of the Lord Buddha at Suvannamalika is in Sri Lanka (FAD 1964, 189). Thus it appears that the Footprint at Suvannamalika is the Footprint of the Buddha Gotama at the Abhayagiri Thupa, Anuradhapura. Unfortunately none of the records give the size and any other descriptive information about the Footprint and to date the Footprint has not been found.

The Mahavamsa provides additional information about the Footprint on the top of Mt. Sumana. It relates that the Naga king of Kalyani invited the Buddha, together with his brotherhood to his country. After the Buddha had preached the doctrine at Kalyani. He arose and "left the traces of his footsteps plain to sight on Sumantakuta." (Geiger op. cit. 8). Although the Mahavamsa mentions "traces of footsteps" only one Footprint has been found there. The late 13th early 14th century Pali text, *Samantakutavannana*, by Vedeha Thera states that the Footprint is that of the Lord Buddha's left foot (Hazelwood trs. 1988, vv. 759-770). The Footprint, an inch or so deep in the rock, measured in 1860 about 1.5 meters in length and about the same in width (Tennant 1860, 2, 140) (Plate 13). A cement rim has regularized the Footprint's form and its present length is 1.62 meters (Chutiwongs op. cit. 64). The length of the Footprint is in proper proportion to the 5th century measurements of the Buddha Gotama given in the Madhurattha Vilasini, a commentary on the Buddhavamsa. One might speculate that the measurements in the commentary were given after the Footprint had been discovered.

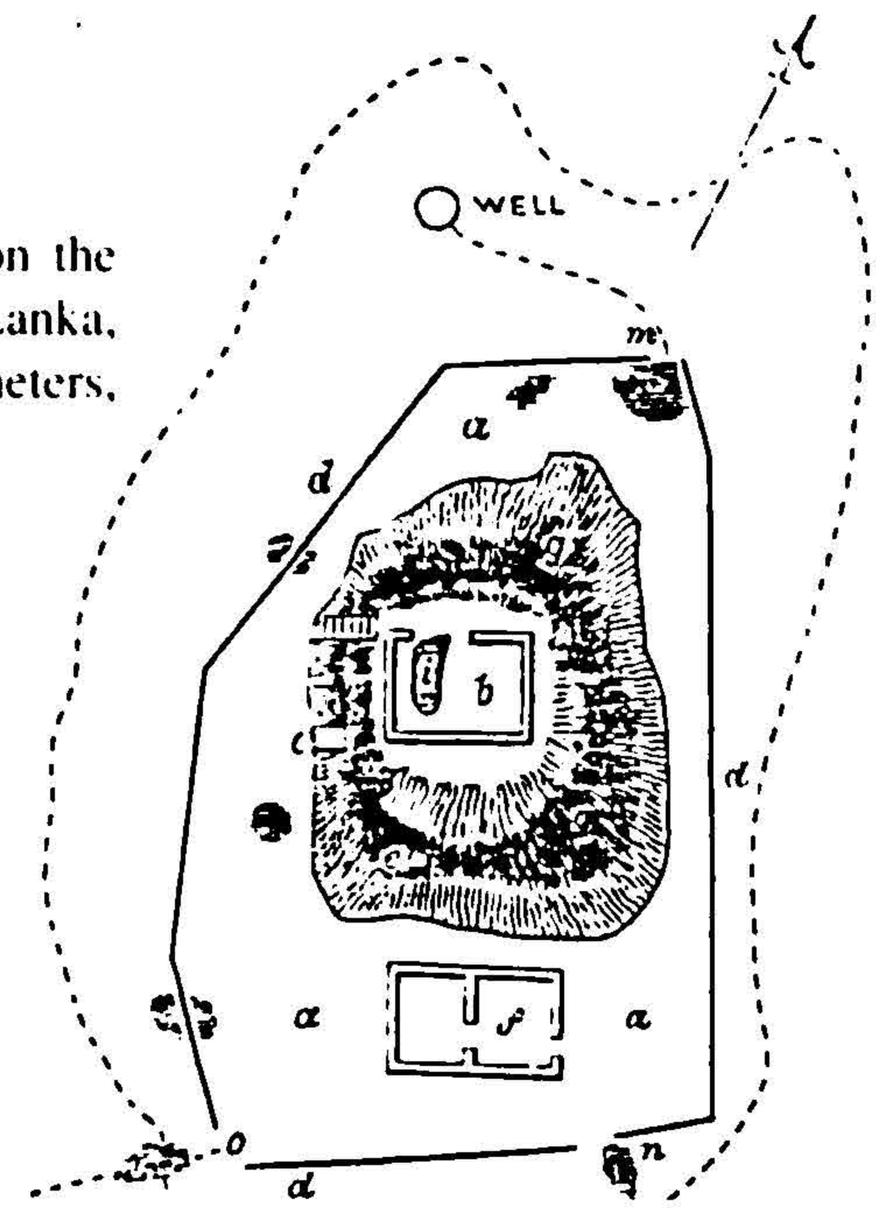
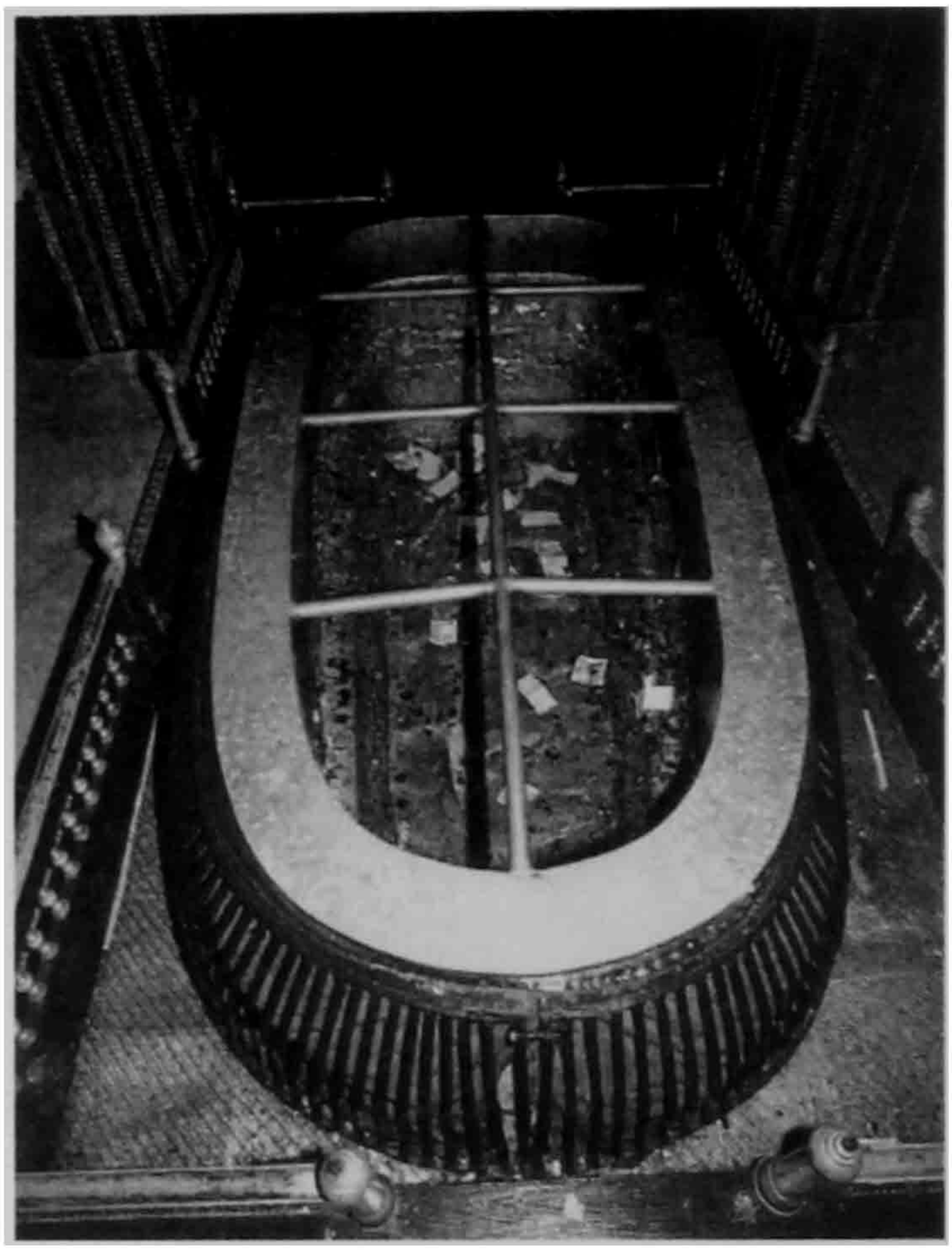


Plate 13. The left Footprint of the Buddha Gotama on the summit of Mt. Sumana (Adam's Peak), Sri Lanka, on stone, length 1.62 meters, width ca. 1.62 meters, after Tennant 1860, 2, 140.

Plate 14. Mural depicting the Nagas venerating the Footprint of the Lord Buddha covered by the waves of the Nammada River, Phra Ubosot, Wat Mahasamanaram, Phetchaburi.

In the 5th century yet another important commentary concerning the Footprints of the Buddha, the *Commentary on the Punnovada-sutta of the Samyutta-nikaya*, was composed by Bhadantacariya Buddhaghosa. The commentary relates that when the Buddha Gotama went with his Disciple Punna to the latter's home village to meet the merchants and preach to them he broke his journey to visit the hermit, Saccabandha, who taught false doctrines to the local people and collected the finest of alms. The Buddha preached the Dhamma to him and he converted and joined the Buddha and his entourage on the journey to Punna's village. Later, on his way back from the village, the Buddha stopped again at the hermit's hill. While he was there Saccabandha asked him for something that he could venerate and the Master made a Footprint on the solid rock. Also on the same journey the Buddha went to a river called Nammada. When he reached its bank, the king of the Nammada Nagas came to meet him. The Buddha preached the Dhamma to the king. As the Buddha was leaving the king also asked the Buddha to give him something he could venerate and the Buddha left his Footprint on the bank of the Nammada River. The Footprint is covered when the waves come up and becomes visible when they withdraw (Plate 14) (Duroiselle 1905, 146-165; Bidyalankarana op. cit. 1-14; Buribandh op. cit. 11-16).

Plate 15. Phra Phutthabat, Wat Phra Phutthabat Raja Wora Maha Wihan, Saraburi, on stone, length 1.75 meters, width 0.748 meters.



The Nammada River is considered by Thais to be the Narmada River in Central India (Bidyalankarana ibid.). The Narmada flows westward from Central India crossing Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujerat before it pours into the Arabian Sea. Thus the Footprint of the Buddha Gotama on the shores of the Nammada River would be in West Central India. The Burmese, however, believe that both the Footprints which the Buddha impressed while returning from the trip to Punna's village are at Shwesettaw near Minbu, Myanmar, and yearly hold a great festival in their honor (Duroiselle op. cit. 155-156).

On the other hand, the Footprint made for the hermit Saccabandha is firmly believed by Thais to be Phra Phutthabat, the Footprint of the Buddha Gotama on Suvannapabbata, Saraburi (Plate 15). According to Ayudhya Chronicles, during the reign of King Songtham (r. 1610-1628) a mission of Thai monks went to Sri Lanka in order to worship the Footprint of the Buddha on the summit of Mt. Sumana. The Sinhalese monks asked them why they came to worship the Footprint when one of the five Buddha Footprints is on the hill of Suvannapabbata in Siam. On their return the monks reported the conversation to the king who ordered a search for the Footprint. A hunter by the name of Pun reported that he had followed a wounded deer who disappeared and then emerged behaving as if not hurt at all. He investigated and found the Footprint on the summit of a hill in Saraburi. He reported that the water in the Footprint had cured both the deer and his own skin disease. King Songtham investigated and recognized the Footprint as that about which the monks in Sri Lanka had spoken (Cushman trs. Wyatt ed. 2000, 209-210).

Only one of the Ayudhya chronicles is thought to date from the Ayudhya period, the *Luang Prasoert Chronicle*, written circa 1680 in the reign of King Narai

the Great (op. cit. 2000, xviii). Curiously no mention is made in it of the discovery of the great Footprint earlier in the century. One would have expected it to include such an important event. Mention of the discovery, however, does occur in the later Ayudhya chronicles that date from the first decades of the Bangkok Period, after 1782 (op. cit. 209-210).

Two texts by former residents of Ayudhya taken to Myanmar give information that differs with that of the Bangkok Period Ayudhya chronicles. The *Khamhaikan Khun Luang Ha Wat (Statement of the King who Sought a Monastery)* by Uthumporn, the next-to-last king of Ayudhya (r. 1758) who was taken captive by the Burmese in 1767, relates that all the kings of Ayudhya prior to King Songtham went to venerate Phra Phutthabat every year without fail. Concerning King Songtham, the text says that the king was very pious and went to venerate Phra Phutthabat only once when he had observed the hardships brought to those who accompanied him (Vivadhanajaya trs. 1959, 201). It makes no mention of Phra Phutthabat having been discovered during King Songtham's reign. The *Khamhaikan Chao Krung Kao* relates similar information about King Songtham and makes no reference to Phra Phutthabat having been found during his reign. The Punnovada-sutta was known in South East Asia at least as early as the 13th century. This is evidenced by a mural at Monument No. 585, north of Minnanthu, Bagan, in which the Buddha is depicted leaving His Footprint while Saccabandha and the Naga king watch (Plate 16). The edifice has been dated ca. 13th century (Pichard 1993, 3, 50). Thus it is possible that Phra Phutthabat was discovered much earlier than the reign of King Songtham and that the revitalization of Sinhalese Theravada Buddhism in Thailand in the latter half of the 13th century which we will address in Chapter V resulted in part from its discovery at that time.

Plate 16. Mural depicting the Buddha Gotama imprinting his Footprint while Saccabandha and the Naga king watch, Monument No. 585, north of Minnanthu, Bagan, ca 13th century. Photo by the author.

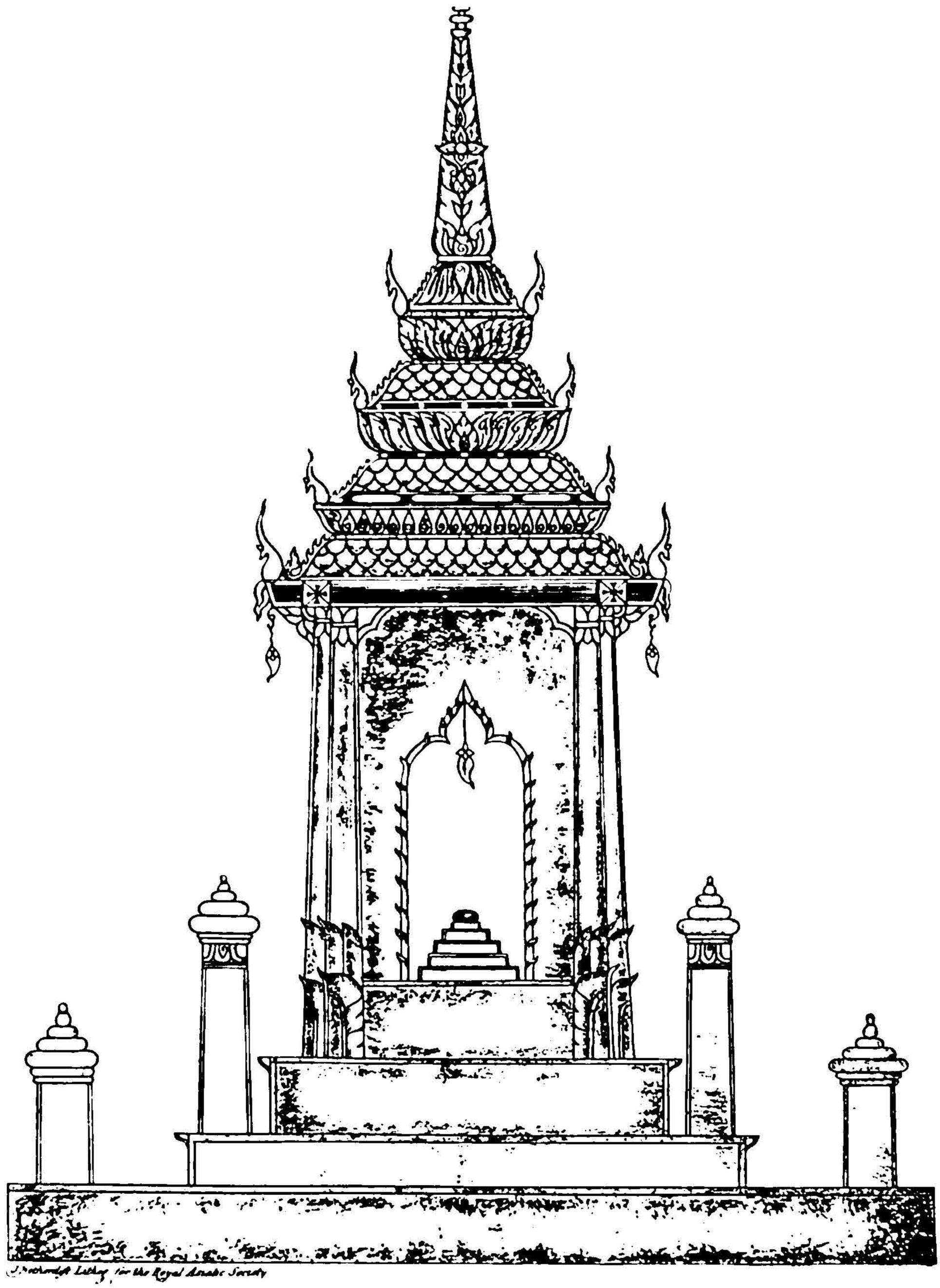


Plate 17. The Footprint of the Buddha Gotama on top of those of the three earlier Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Yonakapuri, at Mong Hang, now in the Shan State, Myanmar, after Low 1831, Plate II, courtesy of the Cornell University Library

Phra Phutthabat is a deep impression of the Buddha's right Footprint in stone. It measures 1.75 meters in length and 0.748 meters in width. The size is in proper portion to the Buddha's height of 8.23 meters.

The remaining Footprint of the Buddha mentioned in the monk's chant is the Footprint at the town of Yonakapuri. An inscription of the Third Reign (King Rama III, r. 1824-1852 C. E,) at Wat Phra Chetuphon identifies the Footprint on Rang Rung as that at Yonakapuri (Plate 17). It says that the Footprint of Yonakapuri is the Footprint on top of Mt. Rang Rung in the country of Chiang Mai (Vajriranana National Library 1974, 103). A Lan Na chronicle, *Phracao Liap Lok*, relates that the Buddha with five hundred disciples went to Veparabanphot (Rang Rung) at Hang, an old city on the west bank of the Salween River about thirty kilometers northwest of Fang. While there he placed his Footprint on top of those of the three earlier Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, i.e. Kakusandha, Konagamana and Kassapa. It also states that during the early years of the Lan Na Kingdom King Mengrai (r. 1259-1317 C. E.) had a permanent covering made for the compound Footprint (Tun Tu Kyu Kyin 1982, 37). The *Khamhaikan Chao Krung Kao* relates that King Naresuan (r. 1590-1605 C. E.) fell ill and died while fighting to capture Hang. His loyal brother Ekatosarot (r. 1605-1610 C. E.) took the city. Afterwards he went to venerate the Footprint of the Four Buddhas on top of nearby Mt. Rang Rung and presented King Naresuan's *sangwan*, a chain of gold which passes from the shoulders across the breast and is fastened in front by a brooch, as a donation for his brother (FAD op. cit. 92).

In addition to the five Buddha Footprints included in the chants of Thai Buddhist monks there are many other Footprints in Thailand deemed to be those of the Buddha Gotama. Among those are the following Buddha Footprints:

The left Footprint of the Buddha on top of Khao Wong Phra Jan (the Mountain of the Shimmering Moon), Lopburi, is imprinted on stone (Plate 18). The toes are long and carefully delineated. The Footprint is a well-known pilgrimage site to which the faithful climb 3,790 steps (Annez 1992, 1-2). A passage written by Nicholas Gervaise in 1688 C.E. after his return from the Ayudhya of King Narai links the Buddha to the mountain but does not specifically mention the Footprint. It says that the Siamese believe that the Buddha jumped first from a mountain near Lavo (Lopburi) to another mountain in Sri Lanka and that as he leapt he impressed his foot on the rock making the Footprint known as Phra Phutthabat (Gervaise, Villiers trs. 1989, 141-142). The Footprint is 1.62 meters in length and 0.62 in width.

A large right Footprint believed to be that of the Buddha Gotama was discovered in 1991 at Wat Phra Phutthabat, Amphoe Paisali, Nakhon Sawan, after the Lord Abbot dreamed of the Footprint's presence (Plate 19). Since that time the faithful have come in large numbers to pay their respects and to outline and cover the Footprint with gold leaf.

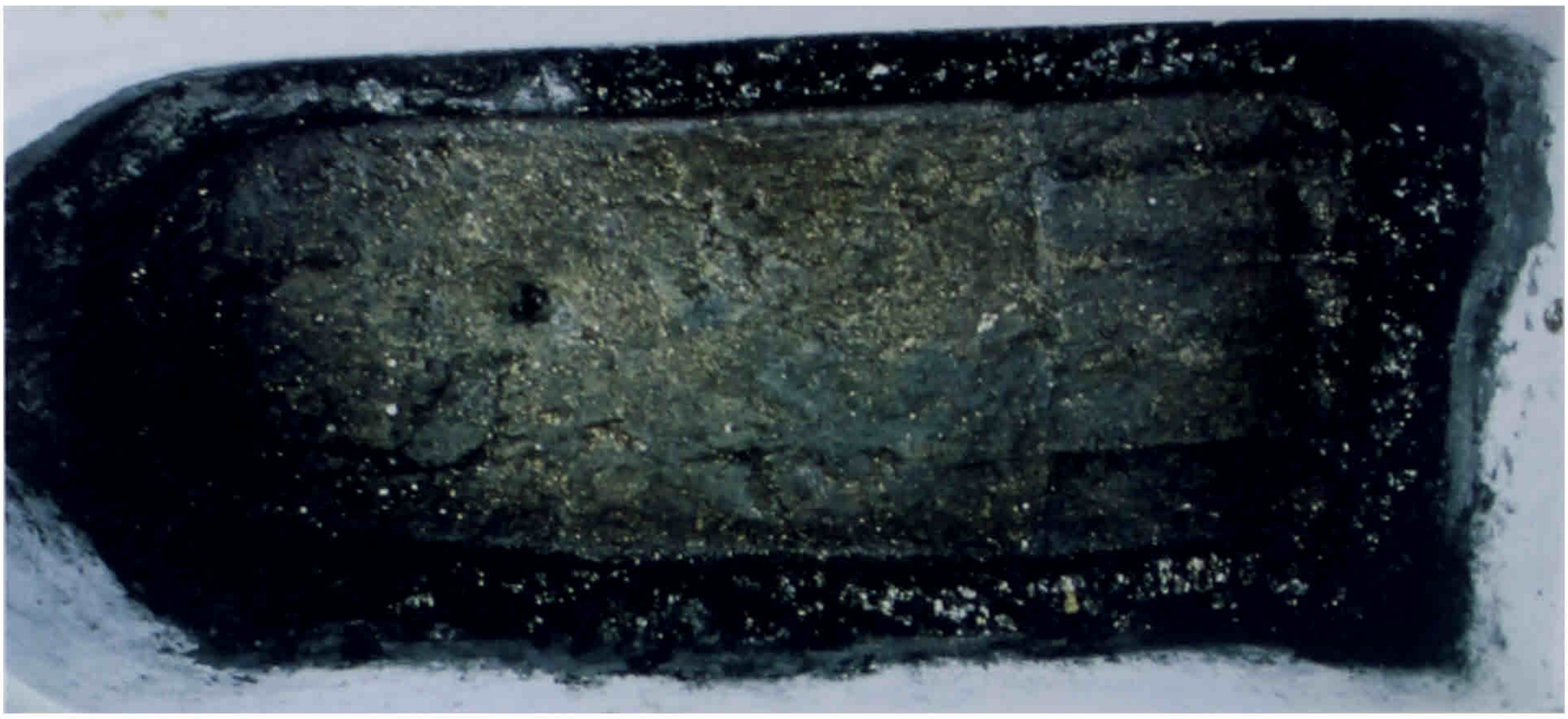


Plate 18. The left Footprint of the Buddha on top of Khao Wong Phra Jan, Lopburi, on stone, length 1.62 meters, width 0.62 meters.

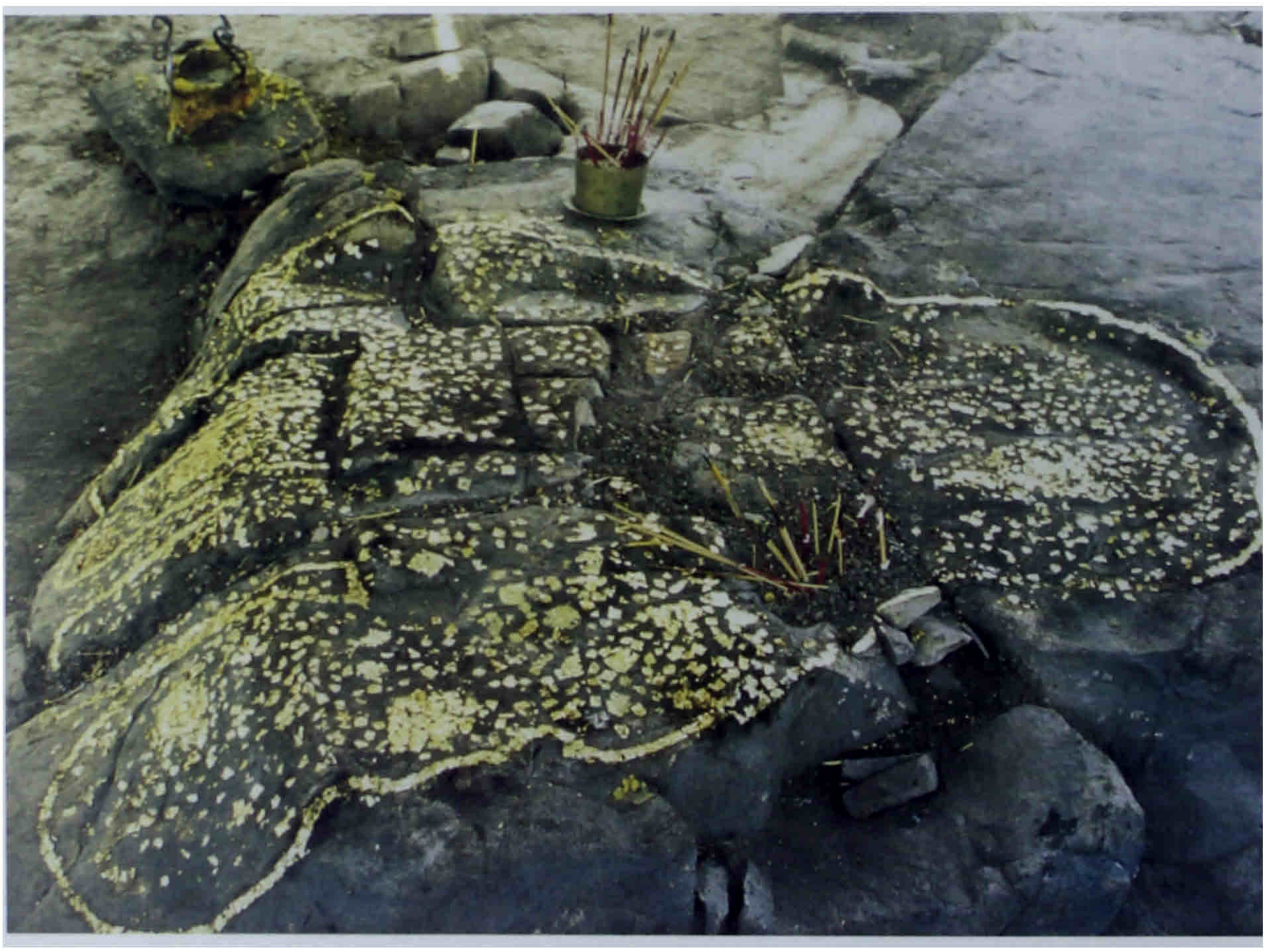


Plate 19. The large right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthabat, Amphoe Paisali, Nakhon Sawan.

The Footprint of the Buddha at Wat Khao Samao Krang, Phitsanulok Province, was impressed horizontally high on the side of a boulder (Plate 20). A cakka is indicated by an indentation near the center and a vertical line suggests the toes. Large numbers of the faithful come in pilgrimage, climb the many steps of the stairway and place gold leaf on the Footprint in veneration.

The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Dong Lan, Tambon Ban Pin, Phrae Province, was found by two hunters in 1987 (Plate 21).

The Lord Abbot took the Footprint to his Wat where it is greatly venerated. The Footprint is long and narrow and measures 1.27 meters in length and 0.63 in width (Buranabunpot 1992, 7).

The pair of Footprints deemed to be those of the Buddha at Wat Phra Phutthabat, Lampang, measure 1.95 meters in length. In 1931 Khru Ba Sri Vichai commissioned the present covering of the Footprints (Plate 22) (Buranabunpot op. cit. 12)

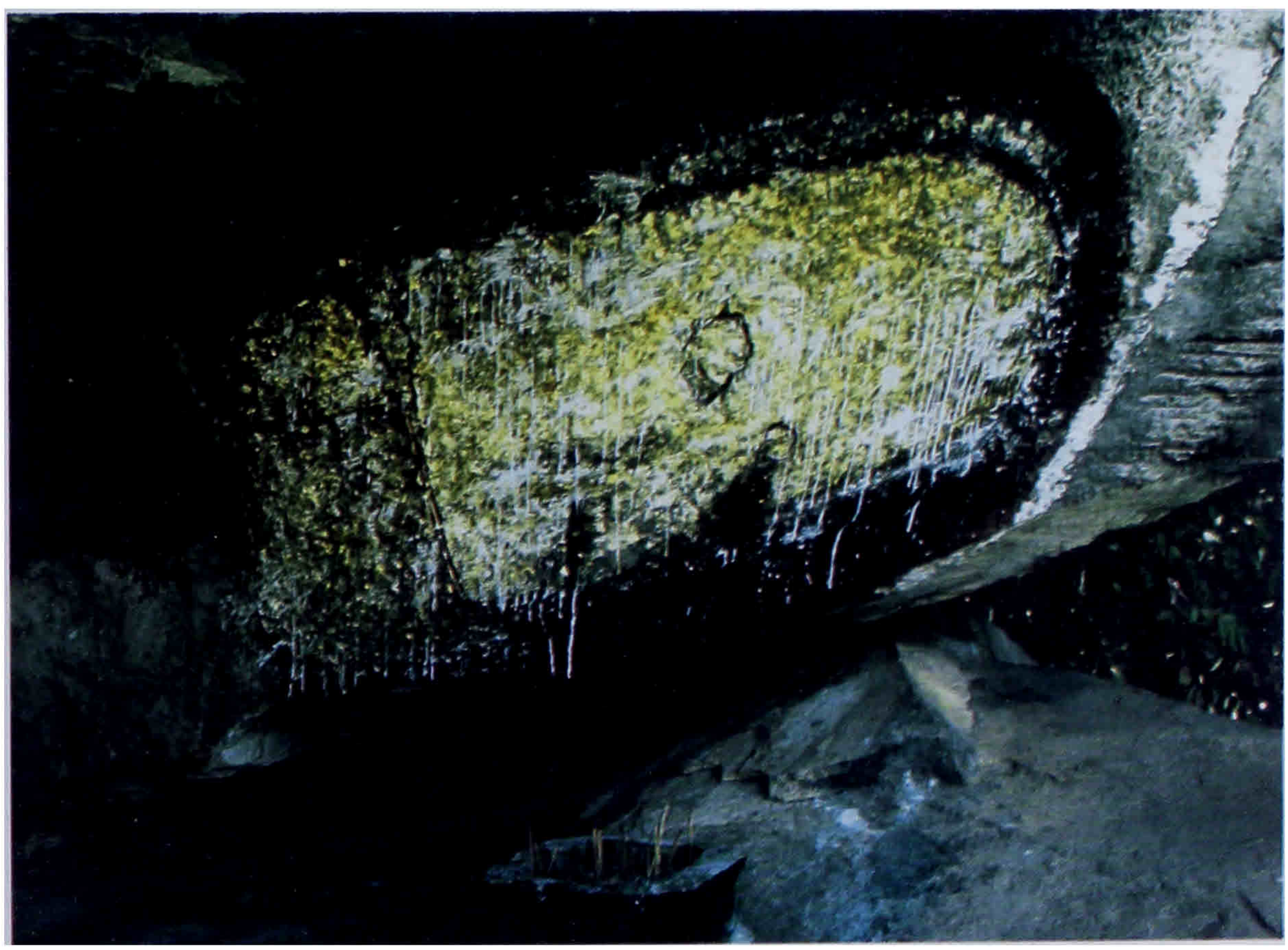


Plate 20. The Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Khao Samao Krang, Phitsanulok.

Plate 21. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Dong Lan, Tambon Ban Pin, Phrae Province, on stone, length 1.85 meters.

Plate 22. The pair of Footprints of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthabat, Lampang, on stone with cement coating, length 1.95 meters.

Plate 23. The left Footprints of the Buddha and his disciple Ananda, Wat Phra Bat Tak Pa, Pa Song District, Lamphun, on stone, length 2.48 meters, width 0.97 meters and length 1.77 meters and width 0.85 meters.

Two left Footprints on stone at Wat Phra Bat Tak Pa, Pa Sang District, Lamphun, are much revered (Plate 23). The larger of the two is believed to be that of the Buddha Gotama and the smaller that of his disciple, Ananda. The former is 2.48 meters in length and 0.97 in width while the latter is 1.77 meters in length and 0.85 in width (Buranabunpot op. cit. 10). Buddhist texts written in Northern Thailand in the 15th and 16th centuries relate that during his lifetime the Buddha and Ananda visited Haripunjaya (Lamphun). A local legend gives further information. It says that in the year 657 C. E. Queen Chamadevi of the Haripunjaya Kingdom erected an *umong* (underground temple) over the two Footprints. Their present sheltering structure is a *vihara* (assembly hall) built in 1929 (Religious Department, Ministry of Education 1981, I, 513).

The Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthabat Ta Moh, Chiang Mai, is long and unadorned save for a heavy coating of gold leaf placed on it by those who come to venerate it (Plate 24). There is a water outlet, which allows the water that the faithful pour over it to drain. The Footprint is of stone and measures 1.58 meters in length and 0.40 in width (Buranabunpot op. cit. 11).

The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Pha Bing, Loei, is located on the stone at the top of the interior of the cave on Pha Bing Hill (Plate 25). It has no cakka or other auspicious symbols.

The Footprint of the Buddha at Wat Phra Kho, Songkhla, was the earliest Footprint discovered in Southern Thailand (Plate 26). Four hills rise dramatically from the Sathing Phra peninsula near Ban Chomphon. Atop the highest hill is the Buddhist monastery, Wat Phra Kho. The Footprint was impressed on the living rock of the hill and is very natural in appearance. According to a local Buddhist legend one Somdej Phra Rajamuni, also known as Somdej Phra Kho and Phra Luang Thuat, had a vision of the Footprint of the Buddha on Suvannapabbata as being on top of what is now Phra

Plate 24. The Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthabat Ta Moh, Chiang Mai, on stone, length 1.58 meters, width 0.40 meters.

Plate 25. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Pha Bing, Loei, on stone.

Plate 26. The Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Kho, Songkhla, on stone.

Plate 27. The Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthabat Sri Surat, Surat Thani, on stone, length 0.43 meters, width 0.25 meters.

Kho Hill. After he found the Footprint, he told the King of Ayudhya who then ordered the building of the monastery. He is thought to have been born either in 1568 or 1637 C. E. (Sathaban Taksin Kedi Suksa 1984, 6, 2631). The Footprint measures 0.43 meters in length and 0.25 in width (Buranabunpot op.cit. 16).

The Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthabat Sri Surat, Surat Thani, was impressed on the rocky surface of a hill reached by 375 steep steps (Plate 27). Discovered recently, the Footprint bears no auspicious symbols and measures 1.43 meters in length and 0.48 in width (Buranabunpot op. cit. 4).

Chapter IV: Buddha Footprints created in Southeast Asia prior to the 13th century and the evolution and meaning of Buddha Footprints with 108 Auspicious Symbols

Only two single Buddha Footprints and one pair created ca. during the first millenium C. E. have as yet been discovered in Southeast Asia. A right Footprint carved from living rock on top a hillside at Wat Phra Phutthachai, Saraburi, bears a cakka around the hub of which eight sections have been incised suggesting the Noble Eightfold Path. A rim encircles the eight sections. The toes consist of a rounded pad at the front and a rectangular area at the rear (Plate 28). During the 6th to the 8th centuries creators of Buddha Footprints in Sri Lanka had eliminated all auspicious symbols except the cakka and incised simple toes with a round pad and short rectangular area to the rear. The overall appearance of the right Footprint on the hillside at Wat Phra Phutthachai follows that of individual Footprints created in Sri Lanka during that period (compare Chutiwongs 1990 (English), Plate 7).

Plate 28. A right Buddha Footprint on living rock, Wat Phra Phutthachai, Saraburi, 2nd half of the first millenium C. E., length 1.80 meters, width 0.70 meters (courtesy of Noppadol Nimmanee).

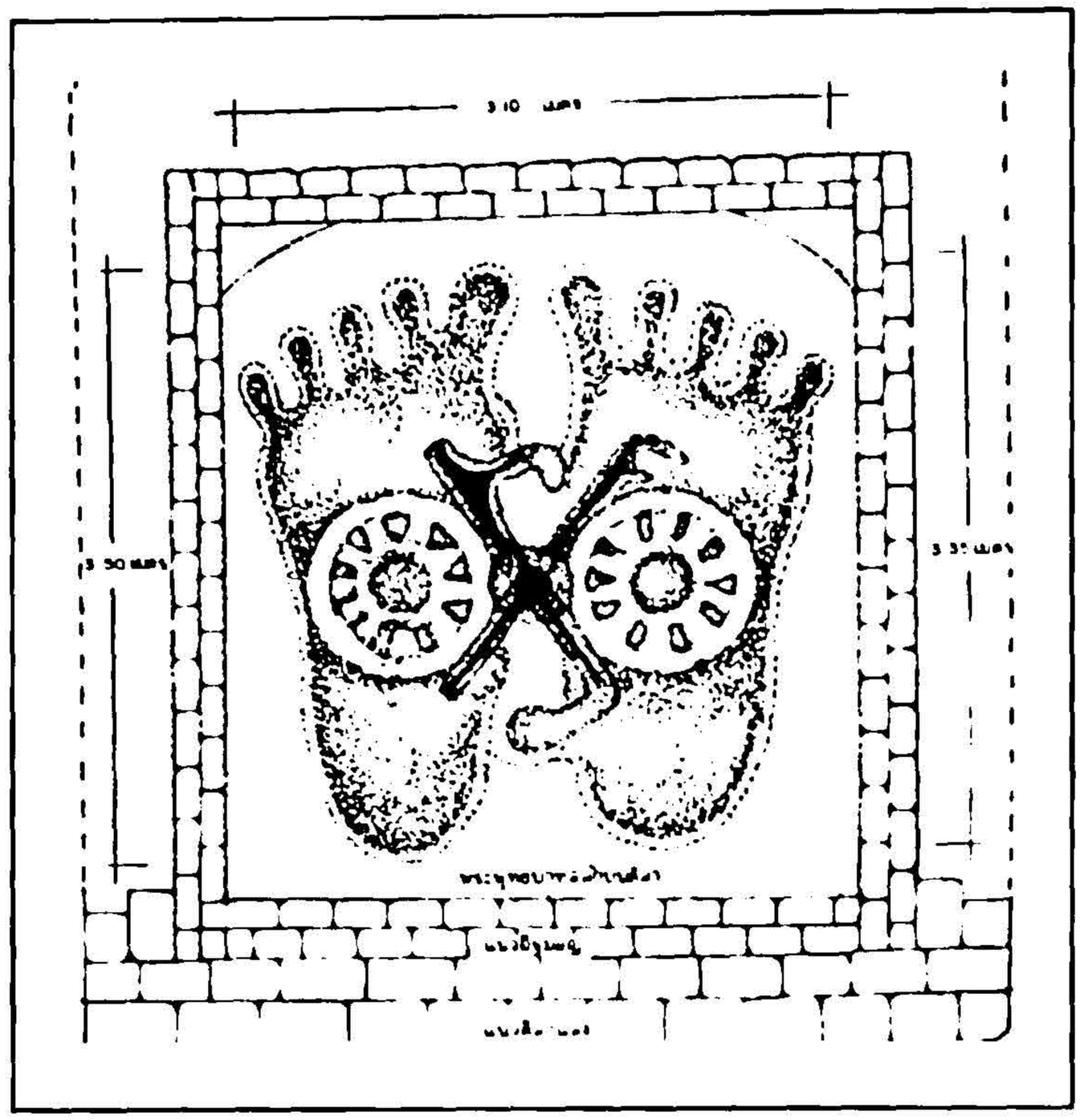


Plate 29. The pair of Buddha Footprints, Wat Sra Morokot, Dong Si Mahaphot, Kok Pip District, Prachinburi, ca. 761 C. E., laterite, length 3.50 meters.

The pair of Footprints mentioned above is that at Wat Sra Morokot, Dong Si Mahaphot, Kok Pip District, Prachinburi, Thailand (Plate 29). The Footprints are unusually large, measuring 3.50 meters in length. That is much greater than that of Footprints consistent with the Buddha Gotama's height set forth in the 5th century *Madhuratthavilasini, The Commentary on the Buddhavamsa*, by Buddhadatta. Its text says that the Buddha Gotama was 18 cubits or approximately 8.23 meters tall (Buddhadatta Thera 1978, 426). This meant that the size of his foot and footprint, if in proportion to his body, would be over a meter in length, the usual size of the Footprints of the Buddha Gotama in Southeast Asia. The Wat Sra Morokot Footprints were carved from a huge block of newly exposed laterite before it hardened. The toes were hollowed out individually, and a ten-spoked cakka was created at the center of each Footprint. A deep indentation was made between the Footprints. The Footprints bear no inscription, but fifty to sixty meters away was found one known as the Noen Sa Bua Inscription, in Pali and ancient Khmer employing the Pallava script. It bears a date equivalent to 761 C. E. Line 26 of the inscription contains the phrase "Phra Pada Pratistha" which means "established a Footprint." Thus the pair of Footprints probably dates to the same time as the inscription. The inscription carries stanzas identical to those of a Pali poem of 98 stanzas known as *Telakatahagatha* in Sri Lanka, indicating Sinhalese Theravada Buddhist influence (Rohandeera 1988, 89-99). The design of the Footprints with no auspicious symbols except the cakka also suggests Sinhalese influence. As indicated above, the creators of Footprints of the Buddha in Sri Lanka had eliminated all auspicious symbols except the cakka at the center in the period 6th to 8th century C. E. Footprints were usually created in pairs. At the same time a new element, an umbrella, was placed between the Footprints forming a pair (Chutiwongs op. cit. 66 and Plates 6, 7 and 8). The Sinhalese Footprints of the 6th to 8th century, however, are much smaller than the size suggested by that given for the Buddha Gotama in the Buddhavamsa commentary and certainly very much smaller that the pair of Footprints

at Wat Sra Morokot. Recent information indicates that the deep indentation between the Footprints at Wat Sra Morokot may not have been for an umbrella: At the Asanaghara complex within the grounds of the Abhayagiri Vihara, Anuradhapura, a large number of stones of different sizes with the imprint of the Buddha's foot have been found. There is evidence that the stone slabs had been used as foundation stones to erect pillars. This is suggested by two carved lines crossing each other at the middle of a slab indicating the center for the location of a pillar (Hettiaratchi and Kulatunge 1993,19-20). The pair of exceptionally large Footprints at Wat Sra Morokot may have been used for the same purpose.

Yet another Buddha Footprint dates to the first millenium, probably the latter part since the toes are more sophisticated than on the three Footprints mentioned above. The Footprint at Wat Phra Phutthabat Nam Phu, Lopburi, was carved from living limestone (Plate 30). Each toe bears two incised whorls. Like the Footprint at Wat Phra Phutthachai, it has only a cakka as an auspicious symbol and that cakka also appears to have been divided into eight segments around the hub reminding the viewer to adhere to the Noble Eightfold Path. The Footprint is very small, measuring 0.38 meters in length and 0.185 in width. In fact it is so small that one would not notice it unless one were specifically looking for it. The Footprint does not comply with the measurements for the Footprint of the Buddha Gotama given in the Madhuratthavilasini. However, the design on the footsole is close enough to that on the Footprint on the hillside at Wat Phra Phutthachai to suggest that Theravadins created it.

One must address the questions: Why have no other Footprints of the Buddha created in the second half of the first millenium been found in Thailand and other parts of South East Asia despite the large number of Buddhists in the area? Is it because there were no others created? Why did the Sinhalese Footprints no longer carry several auspicious symbols? And why were the symbols eventually completely eliminated?

Plate 30. The Buddha Footprint, Wat Phra Phutthabat Nam Phu of living limestone, ca. latter part of the first millenium C. E., length 0.38 meters, width 0.185 meters.

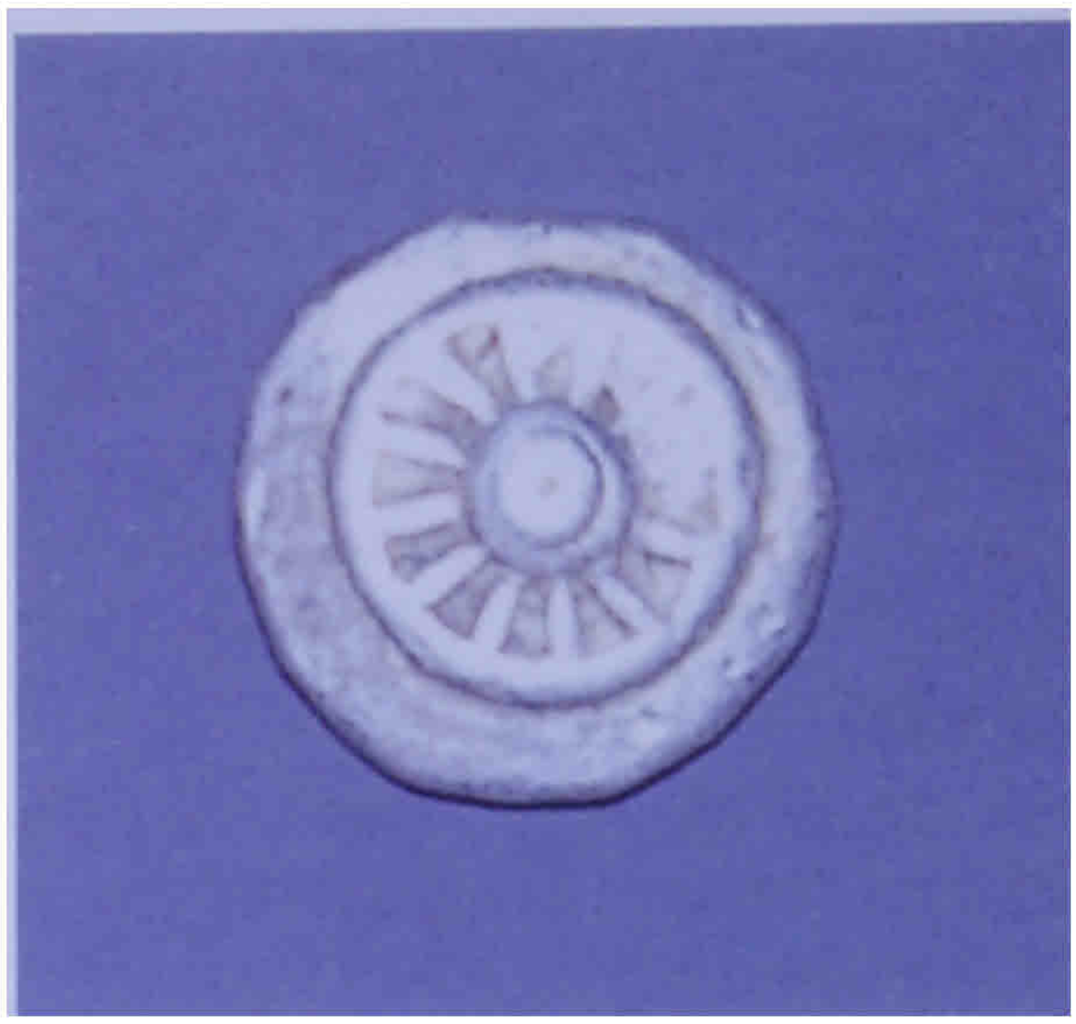


Plate 31. A "coin" bearing a cakka on the obverse and the auspicious symbol, Siri, goddess of prosperity on the reverse, Bago, Myanmar, ca. 5th - 6th century C. E. (photo by the author).

The auspicious symbols employed on Footprints of the Buddha prior to the 5th century C. E. had been ones frequently included in the *astamangala*, a grouping of " eight bringers of good luck" or "eight auspicious things" (Pott 1966, 53-53 and Wicks 1999, 15-17). In the 5th century a momentous step was taken. A Pali commentary on the Mahapadana-sutta of the Digha-nikaya was written in which a list of the auspicious symbols on the Footsoles of the Buddha Gotama was set forth. It says that, besides the wheels complete in themselves in every way, there are on each sole the following:

1. Satti	A spear
2. Sirivaccha (Srivatsa)	Siri, goddess of prosperity (Plate 31)
3. Nandiya (Nandyavarta?)	A rosette with right turning petals (Plate 32)
4. Sovattika (Svastika?)	A throat ornament (According to the Burmese texts, the three folds on the neck of the Buddha)
5. Vatamasaka	An ear ornament
6. Vaddamanaka	A food receptacle
7. Macchayugala	A pair of fish
8. Bhaddapittha	A throne
9. Ankusa	An elephant goad
10. Pasada	A palace
11. Torana	An archway
12. Setacchatta	A white umbrella
13. Khagga	A sword
14. Telavanta	A palm leaf fan
15. Marahattha	A fan made of peacock's feathers

16.	Valabijini	A yak-tail fan
17.	Unhisa	A crown
18.	Mani	A jewel
19.	Patta	A monk's bowl
20.	Sumanadama	A garland
21.	Niluppala	A blue water lily
22.	Rattulala	A red water lily
23.	Setuppala	A white water lily
24.	Paduma	A red lotus
25.	Pundarika	A white lotus
26.	Punnakalasa	A vase of plenty (Plate 33)
27.	Punnapati	A full bowl
28.	Samudda	The ocean
29.	Cakkavala	The mountains that bound the universe
30.	Himava	The Himalayas
31.	Meru	Mt Meru, the center of the universe
32.	Chandama	The moon
33.	Suriya	The sun
34.	Nakkhattam	The constellations
35.-38.	Chaturmahadipa-paritta-dipa	The four great continents each surrounded by 500 small islands

39. etc. (Mya 1930-34, 323, Na Nagara and Griswold 1992, 211-220 and Childers 1974, 256)

Plate 32. A "coin" bearing a rosette with right turning petals, 4th - 6th century, C. E. (photo by James V. Di Crocco).

Plate 33. A "coin" bearing the auspicious symbol punnakalasa, a vase of plenty, ca. 6th - 7th century. Courtesy of the U Thong National Museum (photo by James V. Di Crocco).

Mya interprets the "39 etc." as meaning that besides the 38 auspicious symbols there were others, all pertaining to the *cakkavatin*, the universal monarch, since the 32 symbols given concern the area where he rules. Mya sought to know what the additional symbols were. The only answer he was able to find was in a *tika*, a subcommentary on the commentary. It says that the missing symbols may refer to the whole retinue of the cakkavatin. The retinue consists of the seven treasures of the cakkavatin (Mya op. cit.).

Unfortunately the commentary gives no information on how the symbols were to be placed on the Buddha's Footprint. This lack of information may have been a stumbling block for those wanting to create Footprints and the reason why Footprints of the Buddha created in Sri Lanka and Thailand during the second half of the first millenium have no auspicious symbols except the cakka.

While no Footprints of the Buddha bearing the auspicious symbols given in the 5th century commentary have been found in Southeast Asia, some of its symbols were employed on what have been identified as "coins," mainly of silver. These have been discovered at Oc-Eo, in the Mon cities of Thailand and Myanmar, the Pyu cities of central Myanmar and the cities Dhanyavati and Vaisali in what is now the Rakhine State of Myanmar. In the latter two cities Shaivite rulers issued coins but others with designs similar to those elsewhere in Southeast Asia appear to have been Buddhist (Gutman 1976, I, 131-183).

Although the "coins" may well have been used in trade, most that have been found are curiously in pristine condition (Wicks op. cit. 15). It appears that their owners considered them to be more than just coins. Many have been found in troves and in at least one instance they appear to have been used in a Buddhist consecration ceremony. A trove of gold and silver "coins" plus precious stones was found recently in a foundation stone under the Leikyunsekja Pagoda, Ahpau' Village, in the Twante area of southern Myanmar (Plate 34). One of the meanings of the word *sekja* which appears in the name for the pagoda is a Footprint of the Buddha (Dept. of the Myanmar Language Commission 1993). When included in the name of a pagoda it suggests that there is or was a Footprint of the Buddha at the site. The trove's "coins" include many gold ones with the auspicious symbol for prosperity on the obverse. Also present are gold "coins" with a floral design that may represent the symbol no. 3 on the fifth century list of auspicious symbols, nandiya, a flower with right turning petals. "Coins" of silver bear the symbols indicating a throne, a conch and prosperity. Most "coins" are of two sizes with some very thin and broken. The design of the symbol for prosperity is similar to that on another "coin" from Southern Myanmar dated to 5th-6th century (Wicks op. cit. 13, Figure 3).

Some of the "coins" found in Thailand bear inscriptions and have been termed "medals" (Wicks op. cit. 12-13). These have been found in the Nakhon Pathom area

Plate 34. Part of a trove of gold and silver "coins" bearing the auspicious symbol, Siri, goddess of prosperity, Leikyunseikja Pagoda, Ahpau' Village, Twante, Myamnar, ca. 5th - 6th century (photo by U Zaw Lwin).

of Thailand. All the inscriptions are written in Sanskrit employing the Pallava script except for one employing the Kharosthi script (Kaewglai 1991, 51-68 and Chirawatthana 1991, 69-86). The fact that the inscriptions are written in Sanskrit indicates that the creators were not Buddhists of the Sinhalese Theravada school but more likely Mulasarvastivadins. The latter were an offshoot of the Sarvastivadins who had settled around Mathura and Gandhara. The terracotta and stucco reliefs excavated from the circumambulatory terrace of the Chula Pathom Chedi at Nakhon Pathom show scenes from *Avadana* tales that belong to the Sanskrit canonical literature of the Sarvastivadins. Krairiksh suggests that the Mulasarvastivadins were probably responsible for the erection of the chedi in the 6th century. They used Sanskrit and would have had connections with sectors in the northwestern area of the Indian subcontinent where Kharosthi was used. The inscribed coins may date to the 6th-7th centuries when adherents of the group inhabited the Nakhon Pathom area. In the mid 7th to mid 9th centuries Nakhon Pathom appears, in turn, to have become a center for the Sinhalese Theravada school. At the same time Theravada Buddhism also spread to the Chi River basin in northeastern Thailand (Krairiksh 1999, 10-11) as suggested by the Buddha Footprints extant at Wats Phra Phutthachai and Phra Phutthabat Nam Phu (Plates 28 and 30) in what is now central Thailand. Thus far no medals with Pali inscriptions indicating Theravada manufacture have been found.

Plate 35. "Medal" bearing the auspicious symbol savacchagavi, a cow with calf, ca. 6th-7th century, courtesy of the U Thong National Museum (photo by James V. Di Crocco).

Production of such "coins" stopped in the 10th or 11th centuries. Could new knowledge regarding the placement of the 108 auspicious symbols of a Buddha on a Footprint and the creation of such a Footprint have been responsible?

The appearance of the cow and calf on one of the early "medals" is of interest because it would be one of the symbols appearing in the list of 108 auspicious symbols on the Footsoles of the Metteyya, the Future Buddha (Plate 35).

In what may be the last quarter of the 10th century a Pali commentary was written on the *Anagatavamsa*, a poem devoted to the Metteyya (Norman 1983, 141 and 162). The commentary, known both as the *Anagatavamsa Commentary* and the *Samantabhaddika*, gives the following list of the 108 auspicious symbols on the Footsoles of Metteyya (Mya op. cit. 324).

THE HUMAN REALM

1. Satti	A spear
2. Sirivaccha	Siri, goddess of prosperity
3. Nandiyavatta	A rosette with right-turning petals
4. Sovattika	A throat ornament
5. Vatamsaka	An ear ornament
6. Vaddhamanaka	A food receptacle
7. Bhaddapittha	A throne
8. Ankusa	An elephant goad
9. Pasada	A palace
10. Torana	An archway
11. Setacchatta	A white umbrella
12. Khagga	A sword
13. Talavanta	A palm-leaf fan
14. Morapattam	A fan made of peacock's feathers
15. Chamara	A white yak-tail fan
16. Umhisa	A crown
17. Patta	A monk's alms bowl
18. Mani	A jewel
19. Sumanadama	A jasmine garland

20.	Rattuppala	A red water lily
21.	Settuppala	A white water lily
22.	Niluppala	A blue water lily
23.	Rattapundharika	A red lotus
24.	Pundharika	A white lotus
25.	Punnaghata	A vase of plenty
26.	Punnapati	A full bowl
27.	Samudda	The ocean
28.	Chakkavala-pabbata	The Cakkavala Mountain Range that surrounds the ocean and forms a wall around the universe
29.	Himava	The Himalayas
30.	Meru-pabbata	Mt. Meru, the center of the universe
31.	Suriya	The sun
32.	Chandima.	The moon
33.	Nakkhatta	The constellations
34.-37.	Catumahadipa-paritta-dipa	The four great continents each surrounded by 500 islands
38.	Saparisochakkavatti	The cakkavatin (universal monarch) and his seven treasures
39.	Dakkinavatteseta-sankha	A right-spiraling conch
40.	Suvannacchayugala	A pair of golden fish
41.	Cakkavudha	A weapon of wheel or saw-bladed discus shape
42.-48.	Sattamahaganga	The seven great rivers
49.-55.	Sattamahasela	The seven great mountain ranges
56.-62.	Sattamahasara	The seven great lakes
63.	Supannaraja	The king of the garudas
64.	Samsumarako	A crocodile
65.	Dajapataka	A victory flag and a banner or rectangular flag
66.	Ratanapatanki	A jeweled palanquin
67.	Suvannavalabijani	A golden yak-tail fan
68.	Kelasa-pabbata	Mt. Kelasa
69.	Siharaja	The king of the lions
70.	Byaggharaja	The king of the tigers
71.	Valahakaassaraja	The king of the Valahaka horses
72.	Uposathavaranaraja	The king of the uposatha elephants
73.	Basukiuagaraja	Basuki, the king of the nagas
74.	Hamsaraja	The king of the Brahmani ducks
75.	Usabharaja	The king of the bulls

76. Ervanonagaraja	Eravana, a king of elephants
77. Suvannamakara	The golden makara
78. Chatumukhani sovannnava	A golden boat with four prows
79. Savacchagavi	A cow with a calf
80. Kinnaro	Kinnara, a being half man, half bird
81. Kinnari	Kinnari, a being half woman, half bird
82. Karaviko	The Indian cuckoo
83. Mayuraraja	The king of the peacocks
84. Koncharaja	The king of the herons.
85. Chakkavakaraja	The king of the ruddy geese
86. Jivajivakaraja	The king of the pheasants

THE DEVA REALMS

87.-92. Chakamavachara-devaloka	The Six Deva Realms

THE BRAHMA REALMS

93.-108. Solasabrahmaloka	The Sixteen Brahma Realms

On the surface the purpose of the above list is only to present the most significant elements of the Theravada Buddhist cosmos. The universe described constitutes a vast circular plane covered with water, from the center of which rises Mt. Meru. Encircling Mt. Meru are seven mountains in between which are lakes. Located in the ocean at each cardinal and subcardinal point of the mountain complex is a large continent surrounded by 500 islands. At the south is our continent, Jambudipa, with the shape of a cartwheel hub. To its west is Aparagoyana with the shape of a waning moon, to the north, Uttarakuru with a square shape and to the east Pubbevideha with the shape of a full moon. The ocean is bounded by an iron ring of mountains called the Cakkavala Mountain Range. Circling overhead are the nine planets according to Theravada Buddhism: the sun, the moon, Mars, Mercury, Venus, Saturn, Ketu and Rahu.

The ruler in control is the cakkavatin, the universal monarch. In his entourage are his seven treasures, his queen, crown prince, treasurer, jewel, weapon in the shape of a wheel or saw-bladed discus, elephant and horse. The cakkavatin resides on Jambudipa. Here are the Himalayas, on the slopes of which is the Himavanta Forest, home to various animals and birds and mythical beings such as the kinnara and kinnari. On Jambudipa exist all the accoutrements necessary for life. These are depicted by 86 auspicious symbols that constitute the Human Realm.

The first of the six Deva Realms is that of the Four Great Guardian Kings of the Universe located on top of the highest and innermost of the seven mountains

encircling Mt. Meru. Above Meru's peak is the Tavatimsa Realm of the 33 Devas (gods) ruled by the Deva Indra. The third Deva Realm is that of the Yama Devas and the Fourth Tusita. The Bodhisatta Metteyya resides in the latter realm awaiting the right opportunity to be born a human being and become a Buddha. Above are two higher Deva Realms.

The Human and Deva Realms all belong to the *Kamabhumi*, the lowest plane of existence, that of sensual desire. Included in the plane also are the Four Realms of Woe below the Human Realm, the Hells, the Realm of Animals, the Realm of Suffering Ghosts and the Realm of the *Asura* (demons). These four Realms do not appear on Buddha Footprints, only realms in which one can be reborn favorably appear.

Above the Deva Realms are the Sixteen Brahma Realms. The realms constitute the *Rupabhumi*, the second plane of existence. They are the realms of sentient beings with form that are training to purify their minds through Jhana concentration, also called Dhyani meditation which involves Absorption or Deep Trance. The appearance of the Sixteen Brahma Realms in effect provides a cosmic map of the path to meditation. Four realms of Jhana concentration correlate with the Sixteen Brahma Realms, the first with the three lowest Brahma Realms, the second with the 4th, 5th and 6th Brahma Realms, the third with the 7th, 8th and 9th Brahma Realms and the fourth with the top seven Brahma Realms (Narada Maha Thera 1987, 179-182).

The prerequisites of Jhana are that one must be a monk, that one does not harm any living being, that one does not take anything that is not offered, that one is chaste and that one also respects other ascetic prescriptions (Vetter 1988, xxv).

The first attempt to design Footprints of the Future Buddha based on the commentary seems to have occurred at the Mahabodhi Temple, Bodhgaya. Several hemispherical stones in the form of small votive stupas with an impression of a single Footprint on the flat underside once were clustered on the north side of the temple. Four of the stupas are in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, two are in Berlin's Museum fuer Indische Kunst and others still at the Mahabodhi Temple or in its vicinity (Paul 1985, 117). All the Footprints bear a cakka at the center of each footsole. The toes are long and slender and have a whorl at the end of each pad, two lenticular joints and an engraved line dividing the toes from the footsole. In 1877 Rajendralala Mitra (1972, iii and 127) inspected for the Governor of Bengal the repairs made to the Mahabodhi by Burmese officers sent by their king. While there he sketched and described the Footprints hidden on the bottom of the above-mentioned small stupas that he said had recently been excavated. His sketch of one left Footprint of the Buddha now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, shows a large cakkavudha on the base of the Footprint (Plate 36). That symbol does not appear on the 5th century list of auspicious symbols but is no. 41 on the ca. late 10th century list. In still another sketch of a left Footprint of the

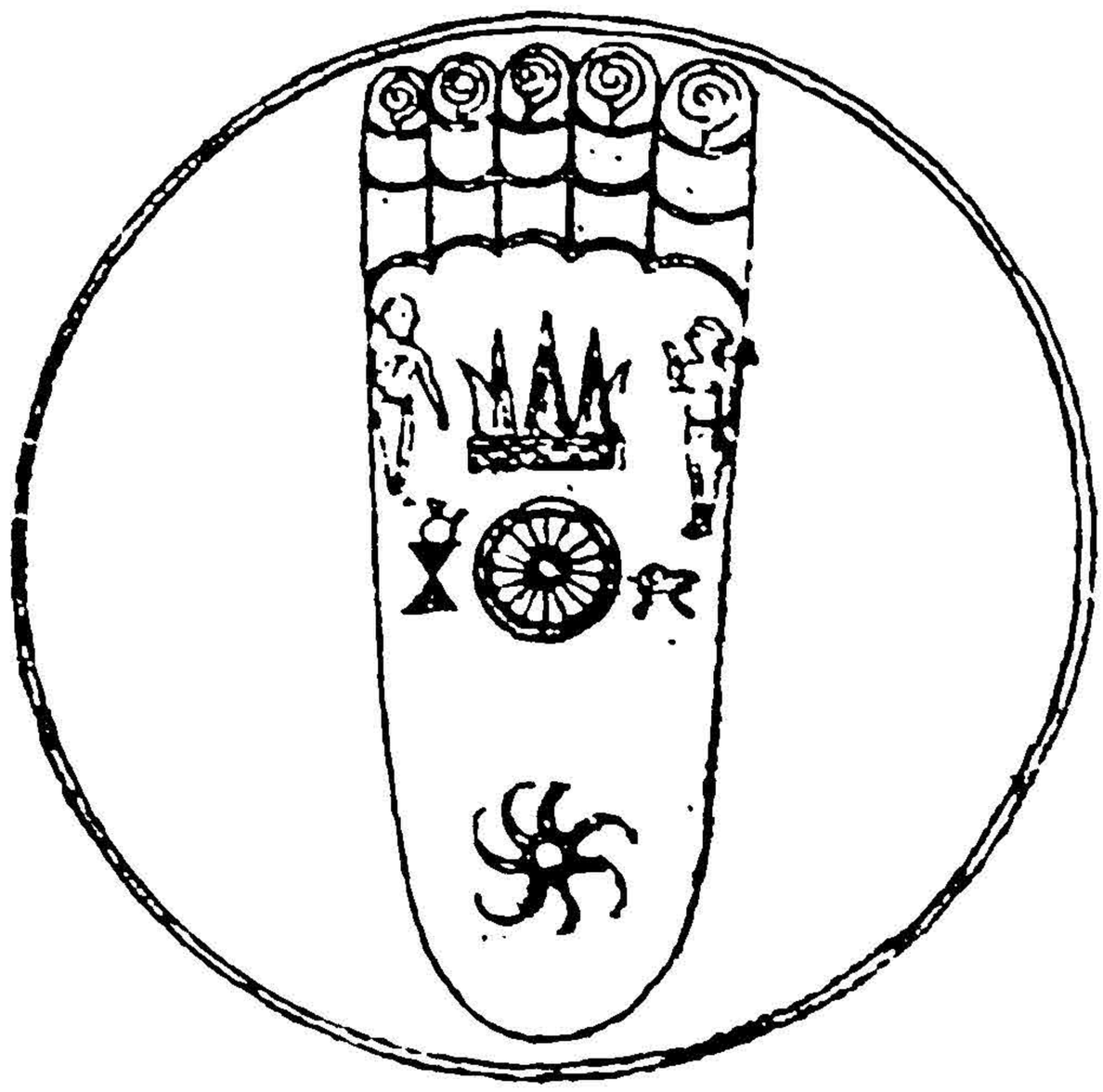


Plate 36. Drawing of the left Footprint of the Future Buddha, Metteyya, depicting a cakkavudha, from the Mahabodhi Temple, Bodhgaya, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, ca. late 10th - 11th century, after Mitra, 1972, Plate XLIII, Figure 3.

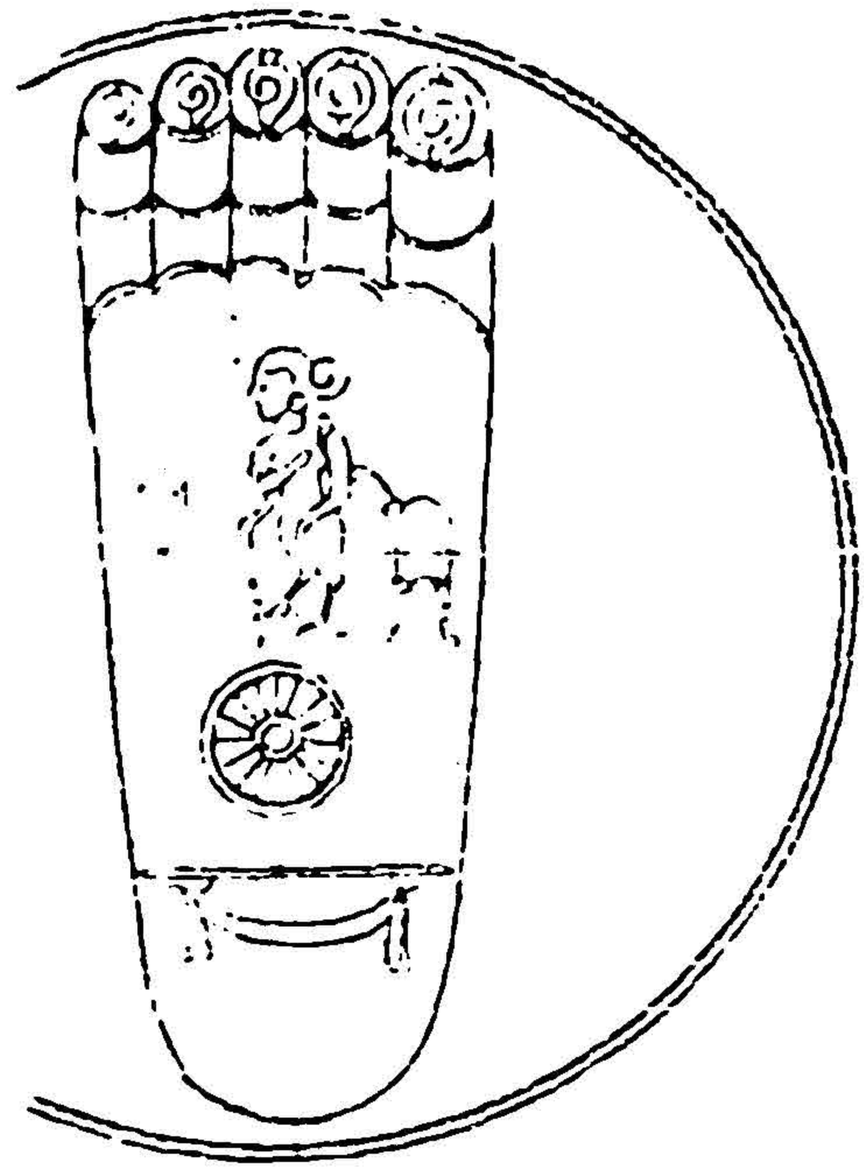


Plate 37. Drawing of a right Footprint of the Future Buddha, Metteyya, depicting a kinnara, from the Mahabodhi Temple, Bodhgaya, now in the Museum fuer Indische Kunst, Berlin, ca. late 10th - 11th century, after Mitra, 1972, Plate XLIII, Figure 5.

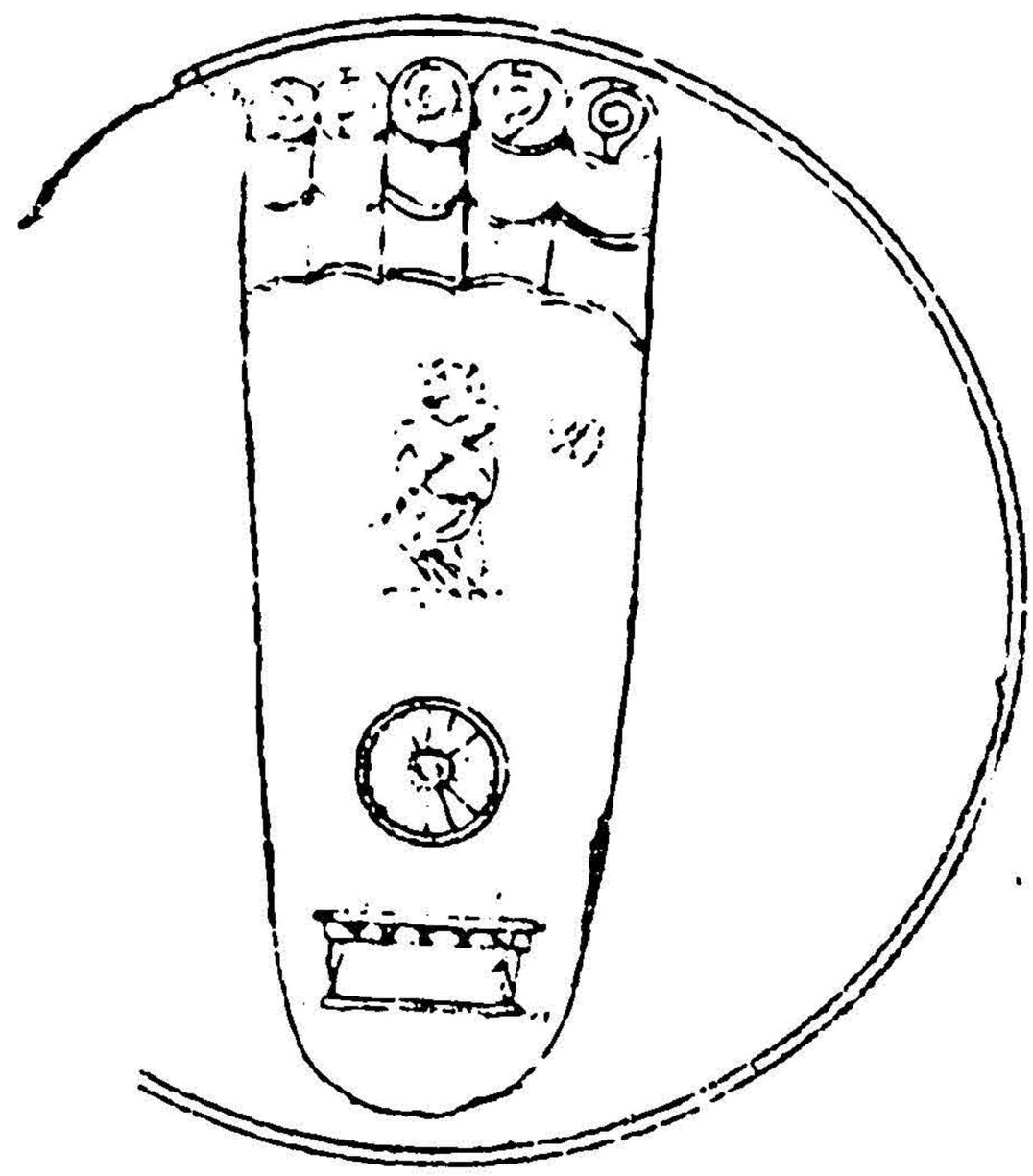


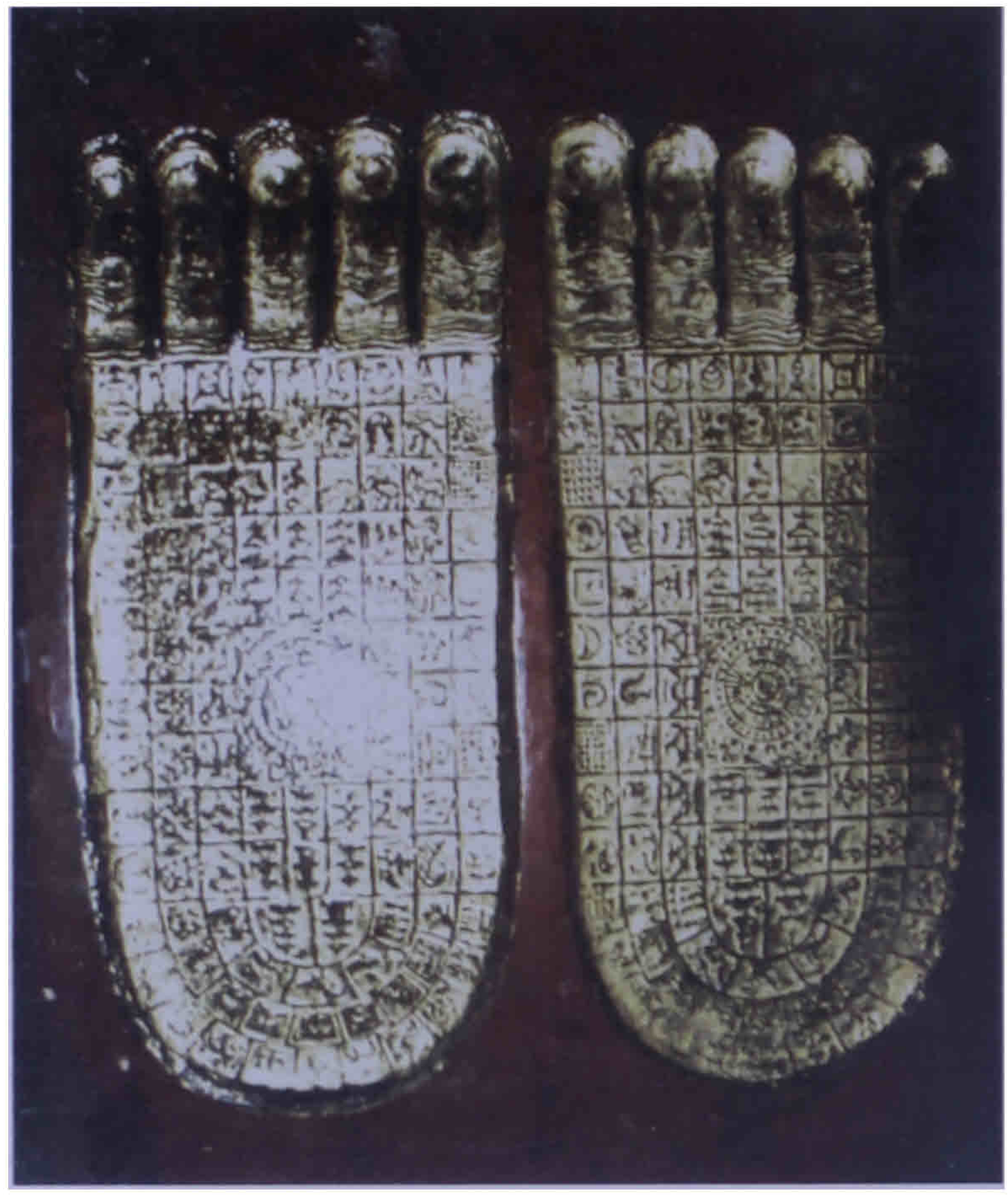
Plate 38. Drawing of a left Footprint of the Future Buddha, Metteyya, depicting a kinnari, from the Mahabodhi Temple, Bodhgaya, now in the Museum fuer Indische Kunst, Berlin, ca. late 10th - 11th century, after Mitra, 1972, Plate XLIII, Figure 7.

Plate 39. The right Footprint of the Buddha, from the Mahabodhi Temple, Bodhgaya, now at Koh Sri Chang, ca. late 10th - 11th century, stone, length 0.88 meters, width 0.38 meters (photo by the author).

Buddha, one now in the Museum fuer Indische Kunst, Berlin (Quagliotti op. cit. 68 and Figs. 46-47), he depicts the figure of a kinnara, a being half bird and half man (Plate 37). This symbol is not given in the 5th century list but is no. 80 in the ca. late 10th century list. And in a sketch of a left Footprint also now in the said Berlin museum (ibid. 69-70 and Figs. 48-50) he depicts a kinnari, a being half bird and half woman, playing a vina (Plate 38). This symbol is no. 81 in the late 10th century list. Considering the above, the Footprints date to ca. the late 10th century or more probably the 11th century. This dating is in agreement with that of Paul (1985, 117), who dates them as being of advanced Pala Dynasty (757-1157) style on the basis of the design of the caitya motif on the small stupas.

At Koh Sri Chang on Thailand's eastern coast there is a Footprint of the Buddha that H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab brought from the Mahabodhi Temple and placed there in 1891 (Plate 39). The Footprint is a right one. It was carved out of a rough surfaced grayish white stone slab and is 0.88 meters in length and 0.38 meters at the toes. The Footprint itself measures 0.65 meters in length and 0.30 meters at the toes. There are no auspicious symbols but it does have very well carved toes with three prominent joints. The Footprint may be one of a pair of Footprints that the Tibetan monk Dharmasvamin saw and described after he visited the Mahabodhi Temple in 1234. He said they were carved a four finger width in depth on a square stone of harsh surface (Quagliotti op. cit. 118). The shape of the Footprint and design of its toes are

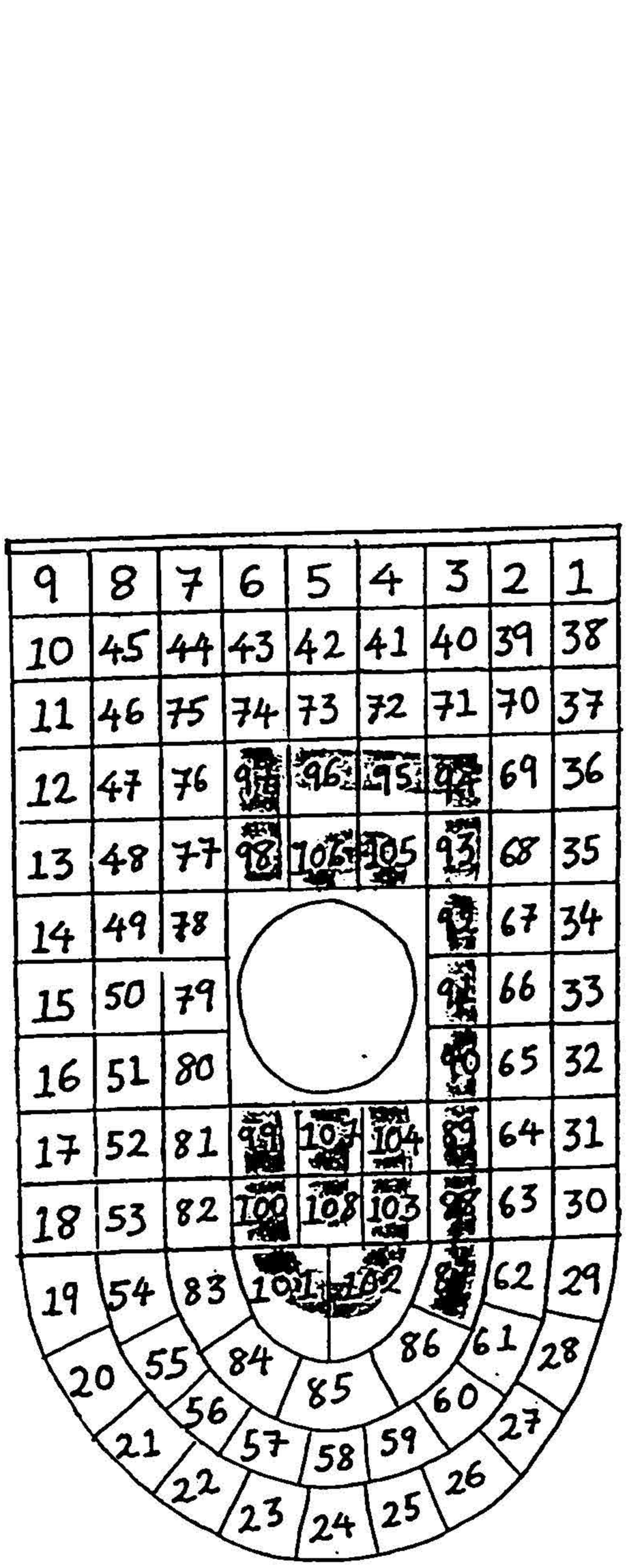
Plate 40. A pair of Footprints of the Future Buddha, Metteyya, Shwezigon, Bagan, early 12th century, stone, length of each 0.88 meters, width 0.38 meters (photo by the author).



similar to those on the small stupas on the bases of the small stupas excavated at the Mahabodhi Temple. Thus the Footprint may well be of the same period.

These Footprints created at the Mahabodhi Temple may have influenced the earliest creation of Footprints of a Buddha in Southeast Asia with 108 auspicious symbols. An inscription by King Kyanzittha of Bagan written in the last decade of the 11th century proclaims that he had collected and purified the three holy Pitakas which had become obscured and had sent a mission to Bodhgaya to repair the Mahabodhi Temple (Duroiselle 1960, 153-168). His mission may have secured the text of the Anagatavamsa Commentary after seeing it contained descriptions of the Footprints with auspicious symbols, such as on the Footsoles of Metteyya. Or the text may have been obtained from Sri Lanka since there was a close relationship between Sri Lanka and Bagan thanks to one of Kyanzittha's predecessors, King Aniruddha, who had assisted the Sri Lanka king to reestablish the monarchy and the Sangha.

King Kyanzittha's knowledge of Buddhist texts was to help him in the creation of the first ever Footprints of the Buddha with 108 auspicious symbols, those at the Shwezigon (Plate 40) and the Ananda (Monuments 1 and 2171), Bagan. The Footprints at these two pagodas were found in situ in pairs. The eminent historian Dr. Than Tun in a comment at a conference on 21 September 1999 in Bagan dated the Shwezigon



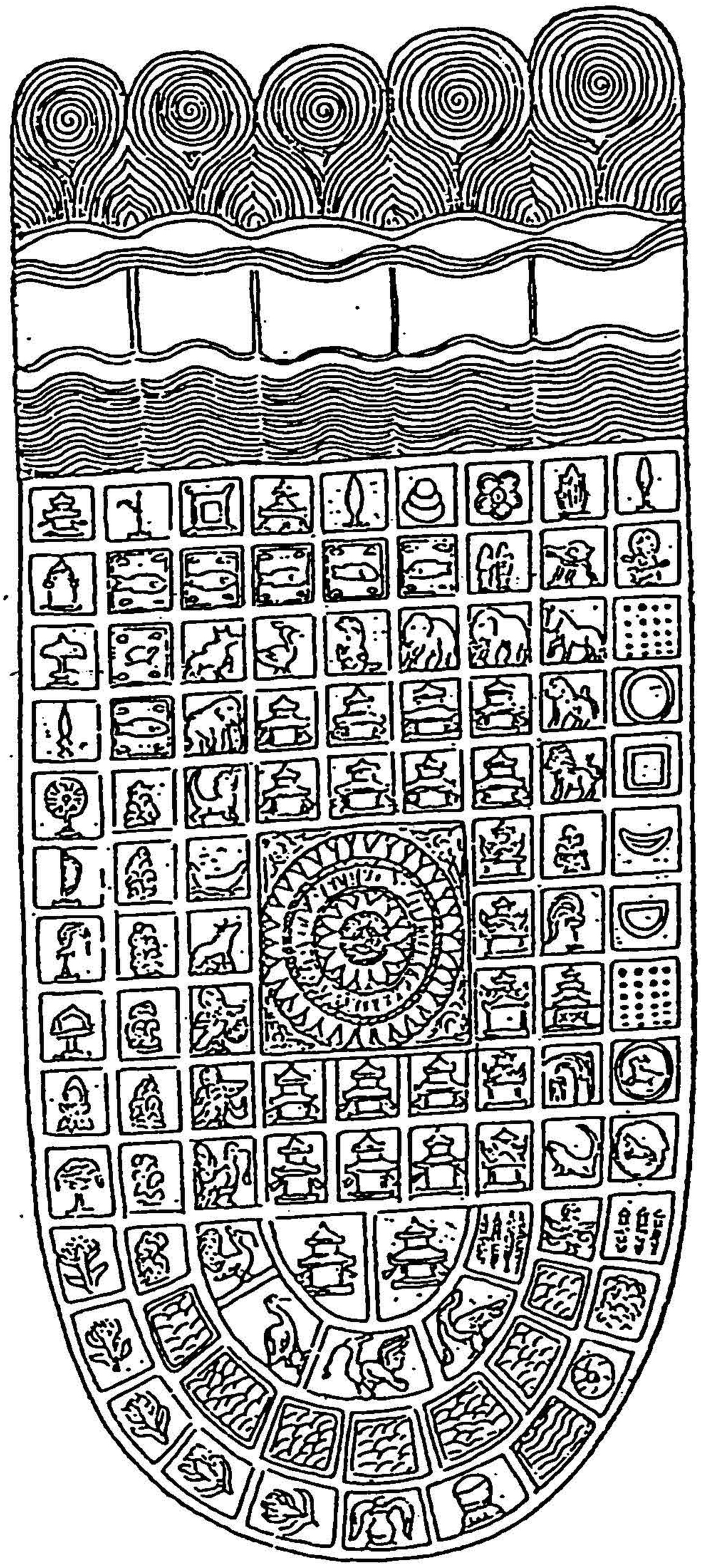


Plate 41. The left Footprint of the Future Buddha, Metteyya, Lokananda Pagoda, Bagan, ca. first half of 12th century C. E., after Mon Bokay 1984, 30-32.

to 1102 and the Ananda to 1104 during the reign of King Kyanzittha (r. 1084-1113). A left Buddha Footprint discovered at the Lokananda (Monument 1023) had earlier been deemed by U Mya (op. cit. 322-324), the oldest extant Buddha Footprint discovered in Bagan based on his dating of the Lokananda to the reign of King Aniruddha (r. 1044-1077). Recently the dating of the Lokananda to the 11th century has been called into question (Pichard 1994, 253). Also a study of auspicious symbols on Bagan Buddha Footprints has revealed that certain symbols on the Shwezigon and Ananda Buddha Footprints are earlier than those on the Lokananda Footprint while those on the latter Footprint are closer to the designs on the pair of Buddha Footprints in the murals of the Lokahteikpan (Monument 1580) (Di Crocco 2004, 33-45). The Lokahteikpan has been dated to the first half of the 12th century (Pal 1999, 81).

The Lokananda Buddha Footprint, however, remains important to the study of Buddha Footprints.

Three small sections of the Lokananda Footprint are missing. In 1984 Mon Bokay, the late epigraphist and Curator of Bagan, rendered a drawing in which he recreated the Footprint by using auspicious symbols from the Shwezigon Footprints to replace those missing. He accompanied it with a diagram giving a list of the 108 auspicious symbols numbered in such a manner that for the first time in modern research a viewer using his diagram as a guide was able to read Footprints with 108 symbols and understand the cosmology thereon (Plate 41). The cosmology is read by beginning with symbol no. 1 in the Anagatavamsa Commentary list, "spear", and reading counterclockwise through the symbols representing the Human Realm to symbol no. 87. Here begin the Deva Realms, depicted by a celestial palace, the first of such palaces of the Devas in the Six Deva Realms. The palace is located on the third vertical grid from the right edge of the footsole and three spaces to the right of the cakka. The Footprint designer has placed them close to the cakka that here represents both the Wheel of the Law and the universe and has sought to suggest the position of the Six Deva Realms on top of Mt. Meru. Reading through six palaces, one reaches no. 93, the lowest symbol of the Sixteen Realms of Brahmas. One then continues to read to the right until reaching the 16th Realm. The Sixteen Realms are clustered around the cakka suggesting their high positions in the universe. The Footprint thus presents the Buddhist world in a hierarchical manner. A right Footprint of the type reads just the opposite, clockwise.

In summary, the list of 108 auspicious symbols on the Footsoles of Metteyya in the Anagatavamsa Commentary and the symbols on the Lokananda Footprint give the viewer assurance of the Buddha's presence and message, provide knowledge about a Buddhist cosmology consisting of two planes of existence and provide in turn a cosmic map whereby a monk engages in Jhana concentration as a means to perfect himself in the path towards nibbana.

Plate 42. On the predella of a seated Buddha image in the Nagayon corridor, the Future Buddha Gotama is depicted as the warrior-noble Vijitavin receiving the prophecy from the Buddha Kondanna that after his striving and carrying out austerities his mother will be Maya and his father Suddhana and he will become the Buddha Gotama (Luce 1970, II, 105 III Plate 195b and Horner trs. 1975, 29-31) (photo by U Zaw Lwin).

Is there yet another message included on the Footprint of a Buddha with 108 auspicious symbols? Does the Footprint suggest only the cosmology of the Buddhist universe or did it have other and greater meanings? We shall argue that the latter case is true and that King Kyanzittha understood them.

The most significant meaning is that it presents for those knowledgeable in Buddhist texts the path by which a Bodhisatta, i.e. a Future Buddha, achieves Enlightenment. An important guide is the text of the Buddhavamsa. It sets forth the first steps a Bodhisatta must take. First, he who would be a Buddha has to make a mental resolve for Bodhisattahood and eventual Buddhahood. Second, he must make an aspiration in the presence of a succession of Buddhas in order to make known his intention to gain Enlightenment. Third, he has to perform an act of *dana* (giving) towards each Buddha as a pledge or guarantee of the deep seriousness of his purpose. Then each Buddha must make a declaration to him that his aspiration will succeed (Horner 1975, xiv-xv). King Kyanzittha obviously knew the text because he included in the corridor of the Nagayon (Monument 1202) built in the latter years of the 11th century 28 Buddha reliefs representing the 27 Buddhas leading up to Gotama plus one for Gotama. Their predellas show the future Gotama in his previous lives either making an act of giving towards a previous Buddha or receiving the prophecy of Buddhahood from a previous Buddha (Plate 42). These illustrations follow closely the text of the Buddhavamsa (Luce 1969, 314 and Tun Thein n. d. 34-38). After the prophecies are received, the now acclaimed Bodhisatta must spend eon after eon striving to fulfill ten *paramis* (perfections): perfect exercise of giving, morality, abnegation of the world and of self, wisdom, energy, patience,

truth, resolution, kindness and resignation. This striving is witnessed by the stories of the 547-500 lives of the Bodhisatta that constitute the Jataka. The Mon Jataka recension includes 500 whereas the later Sinhalese one has 547 (Luce 1969, 169). These stories Kyanzittha too would have known since south of the Nagayon are the Hpetleiks, stupas with 500 plaques depicting the Mon version of the Jataka. After he had achieved the perfections, the Bodhisatta would go to Tusita Deva Realm and await the opportunity for rebirth in the Human Realm. The latter Realm, as we have seen, is important because it is the area in which the Bodhisatta reaches perfection. It has yet another important role for it is the place where the Bodhisatta will be reborn to wealth and position and must decide whether to pursue the life of a cakkavatin or a Buddha. The Buddhavamsa and its commentary, the Madhuratthavilasini, both show that every Buddha has had to follow this path. Kyanzittha would have known from the Ti-pitaka about the formative years of the life of the Buddha-to-be and the Buddha's life. This is depicted in the murals and reliefs of the period. He would also have known that the Sixteen Brahma Realms were correlated with Four Jhana Realms, realms of concentration meditation. When Pyu musicians of Myanmar went to perform at the Chinese imperial court in 802 C. E. one of the tunes they played was "Jhana Concentration" (Ye Htut 1994, 51-52). This indicates that Jhana concentration was well known in the area before Kyanzittha's reign.

What the murals and reliefs and Ti-pitaka do not tell us is exactly how a Bodhisatta finally achieves Enlightenment. The *Nidanakatha*, the introduction of the Jataka in the Sutta-pitaka gives a vivid picture of the Buddha's victory over Mara but provides no further details how his Enlightenment was achieved (Rhys Davids 1925, 190-200). The Mahavastu, to which Kyanzittha may well have had access, on the other hand does include an explanation. It tells how the Buddha Dipankara when a Bodhisatta achieved Enlightenment (all Bodhisattas are Enlightened in the same way). In the middle of a lotus pond the Bodhisatta Dipankara in the yellow robes of a recluse sat cross-legged and entered in the first concentration (Jhana). Then the second concentration, the third and at last the fourth concentration, which is utter purity of equanimity and mindfulness. Then the Bodhisatta, with heart composed, purified, without blemish, free of the lusts, firm and unperturbed in the last watch of the night awakened to the unsurpassed perfect Enlightenment by insight gained in a momentary flash of thought (Jones op. cit. I, 183-185). The 5th century C. E. Madhuratthavilasini (Buddhadatta, Horner trs. 1978, 415) gives the Buddha Gotama's Enlightenment as follows: "...the Great Being, by the might of patience, loving-kindness, energy, wisdom and so forth, having shattered the forces of Mara together with Mara, having recollected former habitations during the first watch (of the night), purified deva-like vision during the middle watch, towards evening entered on knowledge according to the method of conditions (chain of conditioned genesis) customary to all Buddhas. When by in-breathing and out-breathing, making this the basis itself, he had achieved the four meditations, increasing insight, by following the Way he had discovered,

flinging aside all the defilements by means of the fourth Way, penetrating all the special qualities of a Buddha, he uttered the solemn utterance customary to all Buddhas 'through many a birth in samsara...the destruction of cravings'."

In the *Samannaphala Sutta, Digha Nikaya*, the Buddha relates that to enter the Jhanas a monk must sit down cross-legged and upright, establish mindfulness in meditation and dissociate himself from the five aggregates of clinging. Then with a calm mind he will enter the first concentration. Once he has proceeded through the Four Jhanas and his concentrated mind has become purified and imperturbable, the monk then will direct his mind to Insight-Knowledge (Vipassana Meditation) (Burma Pitaka Association 1984, 104-11). The Buddha, however, did not include any information on how Enlightenment was or is achieved. The eminent Buddhologists Tillman Vetter and Richard F. Gombrich assert that the path to Enlightenment would have been through concentration meditation only. Vetter asserts that Enlightenment was not achieved by Vipassana Meditation, not even at the last moment (Vetter 1988 xxi-6). Richard F. Gombrich is in agreement pointing out that the very early Buddhists used concentration meditation, not insight meditation (Gombrich 1996, 96-133).

Here it must be noted that the oldest Abhidhamma texts only included the above-mentioned four Jhana stages that are commensurate with the Sixteen Brahma Realms (Vetter op. cit. xxii and Bronkhorst 1985, 305-320). Later four stages of meditation were added and with them an equal number of additional Brahma Realms, plus other stages.

The Lokananda, Shwezigon and Ananda Footprints are all Footprints of the Bodhisatta Metteyya, the Future Buddha, based on the Anagatavamsa Commentary list. Did King Kyanzittha's deep involvement in their creation indicate that he considered himself a Bodhisatta? Tun Thein (op. cit. 36 and f.n. 91) writes that the prophecy and Buddhahood were probably important to the builder of the Nagayon, King Kyanzittha, who aspired for Buddhahood and that in his Great Inscription of the Shwezigon Pagoda he had claimed himself to be a Bodhisatta whose reign in Bagan had been prophesied by the Buddha Gotama (see also Duroiselle 1960 rep. 112-132). Throughout the following millenium a cakkavatin would be tempted to consider himself both a universal ruler and a Bodhisatta, and perhaps even a Buddha.

The commentary giving the 108 auspicious symbols on the Footsoles of the Bodhisatta Metteyya preceded such a list on the Footsoles of the Buddha-to-be, Prince Siddhattha, by well over a century and a half. In Sri Lanka in 1156 C. E., Buddharakkhita wrote in Pali the *Jinalankara-tika* (Norman 1983, 157). Chapter Ten contains a list of the thirty-two most important characteristics of the Buddha. In the section on the second characteristic, the cakka, the tika gives the auspicious symbols that a Brahman priest saw around the cakka on the Footsoles of the baby Prince Siddhattha when the prince was five days old (Buddharakkhita 1990 ed. 189-190 and Mya op. cit. 324-326). The auspicious symbols are as follows:

THE HUMAN REALM

1.	Satti	A spear
2.	Sirivaccha	Siri, goddess of prosperity
3.	Nandiyavatta	A rosette with right-turning petals
4.	Sovattika	A neck ornament
5.	Vatmasaka	An ear ornament
6.	Vaddhamanaka	A food receptacle
7.	Bhaddapittha	A throne
8.	Ankusa	An elephant goad
9.	Pasada	A palace
10.	Torana	An archway
11.	Setacchatta	A white umbrella
12.	Khagga	A sword
13.	Talavanta	A palm leaf fan
14.	Mayurahatta	A peacock-tail-feather fan
15.	Chamara	A white-yak-tail fly whisk
16.	Unhisa	A crown
17.	Patta	A monk's alms bowl
18.	Mani	A jewel
19.	Sumanadama	A jasmine garland
20.	Niluppala	A blue water lily
21.	Rattuppala	A red water lily
22.	Rattapaduma	A red lotus
23.	Setapaduma	A white lotus
24.	Pundarika	A lotus
25.	Punnakalasa	A vase of plenty
26.	Punnapata	A full bowl
27.	Samudda	The ocean
28.	Chakkavalapabbata	The Chakkavala mountain range that surrounds the ocean and forms a wall around the universe
29.	Himavantapabbata	The Himalayas
30.	Merupabbata	Mt. Meru, the center of the universe
31.	Suriyamandala	The full sun
32.	Candamandala	The full moon
33.	Nakkhatta	The constellations
34.-37.	Saparivara-catumahadipa	The four large continents with each having 500 islands around them
38.	Saparivaro-satta-ratana-samangi cakkavatti	The cakkavatin, the universal monarch and his seven treasures

39.	Dakkhinavattaseta-sankha	A right spiraling conch
40.	Suvannamacchayugala	A pair of golden fish
41.	Chakkavudha	A weapon shaped as a wheel or saw-bladed discus
42.-48.	Sattamahaganga	The seven great rivers
49.-55.	Sattakulapabbata	The seven great mountains ranges
56.-62.	Sattasidantasagara	The seven lakes named Sidanta
63.	Supannaraja	The king of the golden supanna (Garudas)
64.	Samsumara	A crocodile
65.	Dhajapataka	A triangular victory flag and a banner or rectangular flag
66.	Suvannasivika	A golden palanquin
67.	Suvannavalavijani	A golden yak tail fan
68.	Kelasapabbatta	Mt. Kelasa
69.	Siharaja	The king of the lions
70.	Byaggharaja	The king of the tigers
71.	Valahaka Assaraja	The king of the Valahaka horses
72.	Uposathachaddanta-hattiraja	The king of the Uposatha and Chaddanta elephants
73.	Vasukinagaraja	Vasuki, the king of the nagas
74.	Hamasaraja	The king of the Brahmani ducks
75.	Usabharaja	The king of the bulls
76.	Eravanahatthiraja	Eravana, an elephant king
77.	Suvannamakara	The golden makara
78.	Catumukkhanava	The boat with four faces
79.	Savacchakadhenu	The cow and her calf
80.	Kimpuriso	A kinnara, a being half man and half bird
81.	Kinnari	A kinnari, a being half woman and half bird
82.	Kariviko	The Indian cuckoo
83.	Mayuraraja	The king of the peacocks
84.	Koncaraja	The king of the herons
85.	Cakkavakkaraja	The king of the ruddy geese
86.	Jivajivakaraja	The king of the pheasants

THE DEVA REALMS

87.-92. Chadevaloka	The Six Deva Realms

THE BRAHMA REALMS

93.-108. Solasabrahmaloka	The Sixteen Brahma Realms

The listing of the auspicious symbols in the Jinalankara-tika is virtually the same as in the Anagatavamsa Commentary giving the 108 auspicious symbols on the Footsoles of Metteyya, the Future Buddha, with the exception that some of the nomenclature is more descriptive. Thus to identify a Buddha Footprint created after 1156 as that of a particular Buddha with any certainty, there must be an inscription noting that the Footprint is that of a particular Buddha, or there must be an auspicious symbol or other information that signifies a particular Buddha.

There are still extant dozens of Footprints of the Buddha in the 12-13th century Bagan murals. No study has yet determined with certainly which of those painted after 1165 C. E., the date of the Jinalankara-tika, are ones devoted to the Future Buddha or to the Buddha Gotama.

Chapter V: Theravada Buddhism in Thailand and the creation of Buddha Footprints ca. early 13th to mid 14th century

While the Bagan Kingdom was experiencing a tremendous outpouring of Theravada Buddhist faith in the late 11th to the latter part of the 13th century and Footprints of the Future Buddha, Metteyya or the Buddha Gotama were painted over the entrances of most temples, the territory of modern Thailand was in the grip of Khmer control through much of the time. During the period the principal form of Buddhism was Vajrayana (Krairiksh 1999, 15-17). There, however, is evidence that despite Khmer control, Theravada Buddhist influence from Bagan penetrated the area.

The design and inscription on the right Footprint of the Buddha Gotama at Wat Srisuwanwararam (Wat Nong Kha), Sakhon Nakhon Province, attests to this (Plate 43). The Abbot, Phra Niwat Apichato, had heard about the Footprint from a 90 year old monk who had searched for it without success. He took up the search and in 1987 found the Footprint in a cave at Wat Srichard (Wat Rang), Phuphan National Park, registered it with the Fine Arts Department and brought it to his wat. The Footprint measures 0.99 meter in length and 0.49 in width at the toes (Buranabunpot op. cit. 3).

Plate 43. The right Footprint of the Buddha Gotama, now at Wat Srisuwanwararam (Wat Nong Kha), Sakhon Nakhon Province, ca. 1200 C. E., stone, length 0.99 meters, width at the toes, 0.49 meters.

The Footprint was carved from a large rock. The toes were individually sculpted and have prominent lenticular joints. Most importantly on the Footprint are the remains of auspicious symbols placed in a manner emulating that on the said Bagan Footprints (See Luce 1970, III, Plates 92 b and 93 a-c). The cakka has only four spokes. These are used to set apart four inscribed consonants which form a *gatha*, a formula used to indicate a concept. Its language is Pali, written in the Pallava script. The gatha reads counterclockwise from the lower right to the left. The consonants indicate the Buddha's primary message, The Four Noble Truths. The employment of Pali proves that an adherent of Theravada Buddhism created or commissioned the Footprint. The Pallava script reflects its usage in Thailand during Khmer control and may be dated epigraphically to ca. 1200 C. E. (Meetem 25 August 2001). Thus the Footprint would have been created only a few decades after the writing of the earliest known list of the 108 auspicious symbols on the Footsoles of the Buddha Gotama in Buddharakkhita's Jinalankara-tika 1156 C. E. This dating is affirmed by the shape of the vase representing the auspicious symbol, vase of plenty, engraved on the second horizontal line from the top. The shape of the vase is characteristic of the Southern Song Dynasty (1126-1278 C. E.) (Wirgin 1979, 174 and Plate 18 a).

Sakhon Nakhon is located in the most northeastern sector of Thailand. The creation of such a Footprint of the Buddha there means that information had to travel southeast from Bagan across northern Thailand and perhaps central Thailand before it made it its way to Sakhon Nakhon. That indicates that other areas of Thailand may well have had knowledge about Bagan-type Footprints of the Lord Buddha as well.

In the second half of the 13th century the Thais asserted themselves militarily, threw off the Khmer yoke and established kingdoms in various sectors of the country. With the advent of freedom and establishment of kingdoms adherents of Theravada Buddhism came to the fore and began to create Footprints of the Lord Buddha. Their Footprints were either carved out of living rock or stone blocks and all have measurements commensurate in length with the height of the Buddha Gotama given in the Commentary on the Buddhavamsa.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the earliest Footprints is that they have few or no auspicious symbols and may have been created as a result of the find of a Footprint deemed that of the Buddha Gotama or Footprints of the Four Buddhas who have already appeared in this Bhaddakappa. We have already noted in Chapter III that Phra Phutthabat may have been known much earlier than the 17th century and that the Lan Na chronicle, *Phrachao Liap Lok*, provides information about King Mang Rai's placing a permanent covering over the compound Footprint of Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa on Mt. Rang Rung at the old city, Hang, believed to be the Footprint at Yonakapuri. King Mang Rai founded the city of Chiang Rai in 1263 C. E. and ruled

there until 1281 when he moved the center of his kingdom to the west and later founded Chiang Mai in 1296 (Penth 1994, 40). It was probably in the period when he still was ruling from Chiang Rai that he put the covering over the Yonakapuri Footprint. According to the *Chiang Mai Chronicle* (Wyatt and Wichienkeeo 1995, 18), the king went to live during the year 1274/75 in Fang from which Hang, Mt. Rang Rung, and the Yonakapuri Footprint are accessible. Hang, now known as Mong Hang, is about 30 kilometers northwest of Fang across a mountain. If one goes via the pass south of Fang and north of Doi Chiang Dao the distance is considerably further.

King Mang Rai's placement of the cover on the Footprint is further suggested by the presence at Wat Doi Phra Bat, Chiang Rai, of a left Footprint of the Four Buddhas (Plate 44). It is carved from a dark grey stone slab in such a way that the Footprints of the Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, succeeding the earliest, Kakusandha, diminish slightly in size, with that of the Buddha Gotama, the smallest, positioned on top. Presently the Footprint is so worn that the toes of the second Buddha, Konagamana, are hardly discernible.

The Footprint was at the site prior to the founding of the present monastery in the mid twentieth century. Since that time a cement frame and pedestal have been provided and two waterspouts in the form of *theppanoms* have been placed diagonally across from each other at corners. The latter was done to facilitate the pouring of water on the Footprint on important Buddhist holy days as is customary in northern Thailand.

Plate 44. The left Footprint of the Four Buddhas of the Bhaddakappa, Wat Doi Phra Bat, Chiang Rai, ca. 1275/76, stone, length 1.52 meters, width at the toes, 0.63 meters.

The Footprint measures 1.52 meters in length and 0.63 meters in width at the toes (Buranabunpot op. cit 9). It would date to somewhat after King Mang Rai had returned to Chiang Rai ca. 1275/76.

Another Footprint probably created in this period is the right Footprint of the Buddha Gotama at Wat Phra Singh, Chiang Rai (Plate 45). The Footprint was hollowed out from a large stone slab. The toes are suggested only by the outline of their tips. The Footsole is perfectly plain, there being no auspicious symbols. Below the heel and on the border is an inscription in Pali employing what may be the Dhamma script, one used in Lan Na, Lan Chang, the Shan States and Sip Song Pan Na for writing religious texts, though later also for secular texts. Penth writes that the script on the Footprint is unusual for Dhamma, possibly of an archaic variety, or it could be Mon, also of an unusual and early type. The inscription, he says, reads, "Good qualities, bad qualities, indifferent qualities" which constitutes the opening verses of the Abidhamma-pitaka according to the Theravadins. He also reports that locally the Footprint is sometimes called *Roi phra bat Phaya Mang Rai*, which translates "A Footprint of Phaya (King) Mang Rai" (Penth 1998, 1 and 3).

Turning to central Thailand and the Lopburi area, one finds the still extant right Footprint of the Buddha at Wat Rajabuntham, Khao Taphao, Kok Samrong, Lopburi Province (Plate 46). The Footprint was carved in the top of a pink sandstone knoll. Care was taken to delineate the outline of each toe. The Footprint has a small oval depression near the center; this, however, does not appear to have been a cakka. The Footprint measures 1.64 meters in length and 0.67 in width, somewhat less than the size of Phra Phutthabat, which is 1.75 meters in length and 0.748 meters in width.

Plate 45. The right Footprint of the Buddha Gotama, Wat Phra Singh, Chiang Rai, ca. 1275/76, stone, length 1.60 meters.

Plate 46. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Rajabuntham, Khao Taphao, Kok Samrong, Lopburi Province, ca. the 3rd quarter of the 13th century, pink sandstone, length 1.64 meters, width 0.67 meters (photo by the author).

Carved in relief on the sides of the knoll are eight images of the Buddha. They wear robes in the open mode with a long *sanghati* draped over the left shoulder. Their figures are corpulent and their faces heavy set. Their hair is arranged in horizontal tiers over a wide forehead and merges with a cone-shaped *ushnisa* topped by a gem. The village in which Wat Rajabuntham is situated was a major site for the creation of Buddha images 11th to 13th centuries and continued to be so in the Ayudhya period (Phumpongphet, Phengtako and Chawanakriangkrai 1986, 61-80 and Srisuchat 1991, 25-29).

The basic style of the eight Buddha images derives from that of the Khmer Bayon period. Buddha images of this type created in Thailand have been dated to the third quarter of the 13th century (Krairiksh 1981-1982, 94-99 and Plates 14a and b and 15). Lopburi probably had become independent by mid 13th century and sent several missions to the Mongol court between 1289 and 1299 (Kasetsiri 1999, 65). The Footprint and the eight Buddha images probably date to the same period, the 3rd quarter of the 13th century.

The fragment of a left Footprint of the Buddha created at Khao Taphao, Kok Samrong, Lopburi, and now in the Somdej Phra Narai Rajaniwet National Museum,

Plate 47. Fragment of a left Footprint of the Buddha, Khao Taphao, Kok Samrong, Lopburi Province, ca. the 4th quarter of the 13th century, pink sandstone, width at the toes 0.57 meters, width at cakka 0.57 meters.

Lopburi, further attests to the revitalization of Theravada Buddhism (Plate 47). The left Footprint of the Buddha employs a Bagan-type Footprint grid but it does not use it merely vertically as on Footprints created in Bagan. The Footprint is meant to be venerated both vertically and horizontally. This innovatively designed Footprint was carved with auspicious symbols in relief from a pink sandstone slab. Only three-quarters of the original remains and the Footprint is very worn but enough remains for one to determine that it once had 108 auspicious symbol (Plate 48). The border is decorated with small busts of figures. The toes are unique being formed of one pad only and shaped like a lotus blossom. An upside down stemmed lotus branch divides each toe from the next. The main focus is on the cakka and the figures around it. Figures of Brahmas and Devas are placed around the cakka indicating their importance in the Buddhist world. These eight Brahmas represent the Sixteen Brahma Realms. The Six Deva Realms are symbolized by eight smaller figures positioned between the Brahmas. The auspicious symbols of the Human Realm are placed in the grid. There were eight grid rows containing 86 symbols. These with the sixteen symbols for the Brahma Realms and six for the Deva Realms equaled 108. Normally the auspicious symbols on a left Footprint start at the upper right and read counterclockwise. Symbol No.1 may be that of the auspicious symbol, a gateway. Next to it is No.2, a rosette with

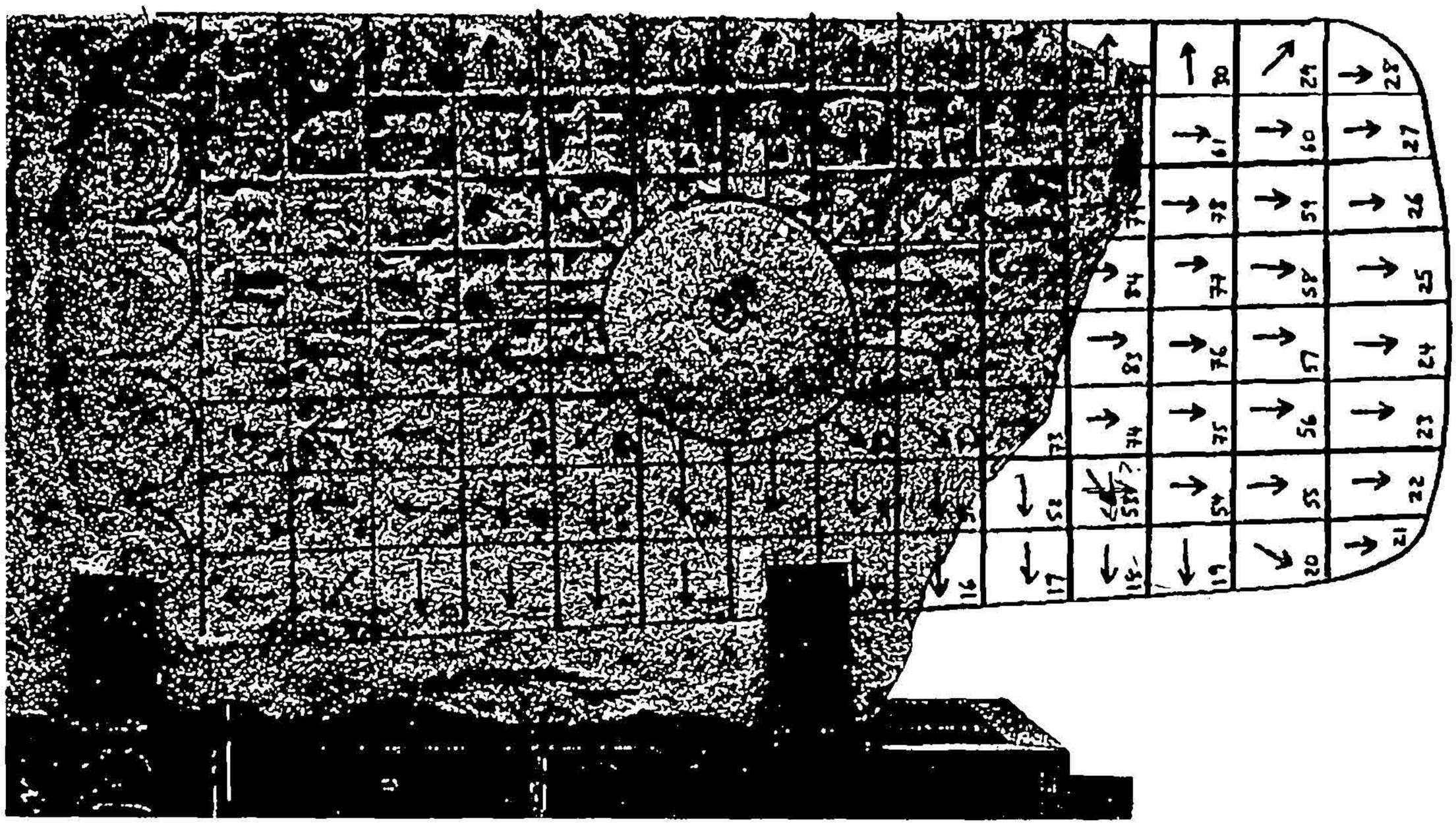


Plate 48. Reconstruction of the Footprint in Plate 47 by Gaynor de Wit.

right turning petals and then No.3, Siri, goddess of prosperity. The symbols do not follow the order given on any list of 108 symbols read by this researcher. But they do follow the pattern set by Bagan Footprints in placing the symbols of the lowest plane in a grid with those of the two higher around the cakka.

The costume of Siri, goddess of prosperity, shows Khmer artistic influence. The goddess is admiring herself in a mirror. She wears a tubular skirt with a long pointed panel at the center similar to those worn by Khmer woman in the Bayon Period (Boissellier 1989, 92 and Figures M-a and M-e). The style of headdress of the Brahmas and Devas is similar to that of the eight Buddha images on the sides of the knoll below the right Footprint of the Lord Buddha at Wat Rajabuntham. The Footprint with its greater sophistication may date somewhat later than those in Plates 44 to 46, to the 4th quarter of the 12th century. The Footprint fragment measures 0.57 meters at the toes.

A second Thai state, known to the Chinese as Hsien-lo, appears to have been in the Suphanburi River basin. It sent missions to the Mongol court in 1292 and 1323 (Kasetsiri, op. cit.). Located in the area is the ancient Mon city of U Thong. The Footprint of the Buddha, Khao Di Salak, U Thong, was discovered only recently

Plate 49. The left Footprint of the Buddha Gotama, Khao Di Salak, U Thong, ca. 2nd quarter of the 14th century, pink sandstone, length 1.18 meters, width at the toes 0.79 meters.

(Vallibhotama 1991, 75-82 and Ophakul 1992, 160-168) (Plate 49). It too had and still has 108 auspicious symbols but was created in a style completely different from that of the left Footprint from Khao Taphao and Bagan Footprints. The design is completely innovative, so much so that it is termed herein the "Thai design". The order in which its auspicious symbols were placed would serve as a model for many later Footprints. The auspicious symbols, set within rondels, are positioned in the following hierachical design: Sixteen Brahmas occupy the two uppermost horizontal rows and the Six Deva Realms have been accorded seven symbols on the third horizontal row while the 85 symbols given the Human Realm start with auspicious symbol No.1, spear, to the far right of the third line and read clockwise encircling the cakka.

Most unusual is the fact that Tavatimsa Realm, the second highest of the Deva Realms, has been accorded two symbols, one for the Deva Indra who rules the Realm and one for the Buddha Gotama, positioned in the third and fourth rondels from the right on the third row behind the toes, respectively. The Buddha is depicted seated on a throne with Brahma on one side and Indra on the other. This represents the Buddha preaching the Abhidhamma-pitaka to his mother and the assembled Devas in Tavatimsa Realm during the seventh rainy season after Enlightenment. His mother, having died shortly after giving birth to the Buddha, had had no opportunity to hear him preach so she came down from Tusita Realm, the fourth highest Deva realm where she abided, to listen to him. This researcher has as yet discovered no list of auspicious symbols on the Footsoles of the Buddha Gotama including a symbol devoted to his preaching in Tavatimsa Realm.

A plain border frames the Footprint within a second adorned by a pattern of incised petals. The toes are of differing lengths; the whorls on the pads at the front are elongated and each line carved in relief. The rear toe area bears an eight-petaled lotus in relief reminding the view of the Noble Eightfold Path. Long-stemmed lotuses separate the toes. This is a stylistic improvement on the lotus branches that separate the toes on the left Footprint from Khao Taphao (Plate 47) and would be employed often on later Footprints. Between the auspicious symbols are four petalled flowers reminding the viewer of the Four Noble Truths. Siri, goddess of prosperity, is depicted facing the viewer and holding a mirror over her head rather than to the side. This depiction of the symbol also would be repeated over the centuries.

The designs of many of the auspicious symbols suggest movement and dynamism. For example, sixteen Brahmas in the first two horizontal rows seem to be rapidly moving through space. Other designs appear archaic and/or simplified. They read as follows starting at the far right of the third horizontal line with no.1, spear.

THE HUMAN REALM

1. A spear
2. Siri, goddess of prosperity.
3. A rosette with right-turning petals.
4. A neck ornament
5. An ear ornament.
6. A food receptacle.
7. An elephant goad.
8. A palace
9. A gateway

10.-17. ??

18. A vase of plenty.
19. A full bowl.
20. A white lotus.
21. A lotus.
22. The ocean, depicted by a human form, an unusual representation.
23. The Cakkavala Mountain Range that surrounds the ocean and forms a wall around the universe.
24. The Himalayas.
25. Mt. Meru.
26. The full moon represented by a rabbit in human form.
27. The full sun represented by a bird.
28. The constellations

29.-32. The four great continents, each having 500 islands.

33. The cakkavatin, the universal monarch, and his seven treasures.

34. A right spiraling conch.
35. A pair of golden fish.
36.-42. The seven great rivers.
43.-49. The seven great mountain ranges.
50.-56. The seven lakes named Sidanta.
57. The king of the golden garudas.
58. A crocodile.
59. A triangular victory flag.
60.-62. ??
63. Mt. Kelasa.
64. The king of the lions.
65. The king of the tigers.
66. The king of the leopards.
67. The king of the Valahaka horses.
68. Vasuki, the king of the nagas.
69. A weapon shaped as a wheel or saw-bladed discus.
70. ??
71. The king of the Brahmani ducks.
72. The king of the bulls.
73. Eravana, an elephant king.
74. The golden makara.
75. The four faces of Brahma.
76. A golden ship with four prows.
77. A golden palanquin.
78. A golden yak tail fan.
79. The cow and her calf.
80. A kinnara, a being half man and half bird, or a kinnari, a being half woman and half bird.
81. The king of the Uposatha and Chaddanta elephants.
82. The Indian cuckoo.
83. The king of the peacocks.
84. The king of the herons
85. The king of the pheasants.

THE DEVA REALMS

86-92. The Six Deva Realms.

THE BRAHMA REALMS

93-108. The Sixteen Brahma Realms.

The 108 auspicious symbols for the most part follow in order in the Human Realm those on the list in the Jinalankara-tika.

Vallibhotama and Ophakul (op. cit.) have suggested that the Footprint at Khao Di Salak belongs to the Dvaravati-Khmer period and was created between the ninth to twelfth centuries C. E. because of the similarity of the rondel designs to those of "coins" of the Dvaravati period and to those stamped on terracotta shards discovered at Singhburi and Nakhon Pathom dated by art historians to that period and in part because of similarities to many of the symbols and their placement on the pair of sandstone Footprints once at Angkor Wat, built in the 12th century. The auspicious symbols, however, are very different from those on the Dvaravati coins. They appear to be based on a completely different set of "coins" some of which still are to be found in the U Thong area (Plate 50). Their existence brings to the fore once again the question whether they were created to serve as coins or merely auspicious symbols associated with the Footprints of the Buddhas. Regarding the two Footprints once at Angkor Wat, they have been dated to the 17th century on the basis of epigraphy (Bizot 1971, 425, fn. 17). As pointed out earlier, the Khao Di Salak Footprint's design would serve as a model for several later Footprints.

Auspicious symbol No.9, palace, connects the Footprint to a Chinese community and perhaps the future king of Ayudhya, King U Thong, for the shape of the palace is that of a Chinese pavilion, similar in basic design to two Southern Song Dynasty pagodas at the Kaiyuan Temple, Fujian, dated 1237 and 1250 C. E. (Chinese Academy of Architecture, 2nd ed. 1986, 119-120). According to Dutch sources U Thong came from China and married a Chinese princess (Van Vliet 1647, Andaya trs., Wyatt ed. 1975, 55-60).

The left Footprint of the Lord Buddha at Khao Di Salak would appear to date to the period in the 14th century prior to King U Thong's founding the Kingdom of Ayudhaya in 1351. It measures 1.18 meters in length and 0.79 in width.

Plate 50. "Coins" with auspicious symbols found in the U Thong area, one with the symbol for a universal ruler like that on Plate 48, a kinnari, four birds and an unidentified symbol (photo by the author).

Plate 51. The obverse of a left Footprint of the Buddha discovered at Ayudhya and now in the Chantara Kasem National Museum, ca. 1351, sandstone, length 1.18 meters, width 0.575 meters.

Chapter VI: Buddha Footprints created in Thailand ca. mid 14th century to 1531

In 1351 King U Thong founded the Kingdom of Ayudhya. One of the most finely wrought of all Footprints of the Lord Buddha may have been created to celebrate that momentous event. The left Footprint of the Lord Buddha was discovered in the ruins of Ayudhya in the early twentieth century and is now at Chantara Kasem National Museum, Ayudhya (Plate 51). It was carved in relief from a sandstone slab. Every detail was worked out imaginatively to create a sense of beauty and a contrast between the static and the dynamic. The focal point once again is the cakka, on which eight crowned Brahmas have been depicted. They appear as if floating through the heavens as do the other eight Brahmas and the six Devas positioned around the cakka. The hub of the cakka is decorated with an eight-petaled lotus. Its presence and that of the flower at the upper right corner suggests the Noble Eightfold Path.

The Footprint was meant to be viewed horizontally and from both sides as well, since a chariot with a twelve-spoked wheel carved apparently at the same time is on the reverse (Plate 51a). Vestiges of red and black lacquer linger on the reverse suggesting both it and the Footprint may have been covered with lacquer at one time. The toes are short, having only two sections, and are extremely well carved with each

Plate 51a. The reverse of Plate 51.

line of the whorls in relief and the direction of the whorl on the forward pad opposite from that at the rear. A long stemmed lotus separates each toe from the next, a motif based on that of the Footprints from Khao Taphao (Plate 47) and on Khao Di Salak (Plate 49). It once had a grid of ten horizontal rows and thirteen vertical ones. It reads counterclockwise horizontally. The auspicious symbols begin with No.1, the spear, located at the top left of the uppermost horizontal row. Immediately below is Siri, goddess of prosperity, then a throne, a palace, a crown, the king of peacocks etc. Very appealing are the auspicious symbols of the sun and the moon. The solar and lunar gods, the third and fourth symbols from the left on the second horizontal row, ride swiftly through the heavens on tiny chariots placed inside rondels. The design of the palace, the fourth symbol to the left of the fourth horizontal row, is that of a Khmer prang with a low cella mounted by a short tower having what may be a niche at each cardinal point and a thick flat finial. Thus far this researcher has not identified such an edifice among those still extant in Thailand. The design of the Brahmas' headdresses too shows Khmer influence. On their foreheads are either a band or small diadem from which rises a cone as on what Boisselier (1975, 164 and Plate 123) identified as 13th century Khmer influenced U Thong A Buddha images. At least one was found in Suphanburi, which like U Thong may have been part of the state known in Chinese as Hsien–lo (see also Kasetsiri 1999, 65). The design of the throne, 3rd symbol from the top on the furthermost left vertical row, is that of a *tang*, here a simple low wooden table fashioned like a Yuan Dynasty (1260-1368) *kang;* i.e. table (Beurdeley 1983, 40 and Plate 13). The Footprint measures 1.18 meters in length and 0.575 meters in width.

As is the case with the left Footprints of the Lord Buddha from Khao Taphao and on Khao Di Salak, the placement of the auspicious symbols of the Human Realm does not completely follow any known textual sequence. Thus the creators of the Footprint either lacked proper texts or used an as yet unknown one. But the use of the grid system reflects influence from early Bagan Buddha Footprints.

The overall style of the Footprint shares design elements from the said Lopburi and the U Thong Footprints described above plus the Footprint at Wat Phra Phutthabat Nam Phu, Lopburi (Plate 30). The basic layout of the Footprint and the form, with short toes, derive from the Footprint at Khao Ta Phao, while the sense of movement comes from the Khao Di Salak Footprint. The toes are reminiscent of those on the Footprints at Wat Phra Phutthabat Nam Phu. The formation of the Kingdom of Ayudhya was based on the integration of the two states, Lopburi and Hsien-lo. The design of the left Footprint represents this integration and the formation of the Kingdom of Ayudhya and may be dated to ca. 1351.

In 1347, shortly before the foundation of Ayudhya, Mahadhammaraja I had acceded to the throne of the Kingdom of Sukhothai. He was a very devout Buddhist and tells us in Sukhothai Inscription No.5 that he had resolved to become a Buddha

(na Nagara and Griswold 1992, 508-510). He was very much concerned to secure evidence about the size and overall appearance of the Footprint of the Buddha Gotama on Sumanakuta (Adam's Peak), Sri Lanka, and its 108 auspicious symbols. What information did the king have about Footprints of the Buddhas and their auspicious symbols? The Prologue and Epilogue of the *Traibhumikatha, The Story of the Three Planes of Existence*, the most detailed explanation of Thai cosmography, attribute it to King Lithai, the future Mahadhammaraja I, in the year reckoned as 1345. At that time Lithai had reigned in Sri Satchanalai prior to his ascending the throne of the Sukhothai kingdom (Reynolds and Reynolds 1982, 5; Thai National Team 1985, 480). Recently the dating of the Traibhumikatha has been called into question (see Vickery 1974, 275-284 and 1991, 24-36). Assuming, however, that the ruler did write the Traibhumikatha, does its text reveal that he had access to lists of the 108 auspicious symbols on the Footprints of the Buddha? The titles of works given in the Prologue and Epilogue reveal that he would have had access to the Buddhavamsa and the Madhuratthavilasini. Thus he would have known the sizes of the Buddhas and the sizes of their Footprints. He also would have had access to the Anagatavamsa and the Jinalankara (Thai National Team 1985, vii and ix and 473-475), but not the commentary on the first or the subcommentary on the second which list the 108 symbols on the Footsoles of the Future Buddha and the Buddha Gotama, respectively. He also would have lacked lists of the 108 written in Sri Lanka ca. the latter part of the 13th century and the early 14th century (see Skilling 1992, 67).

Mahadhammaraja I sent an emissary to Sri Lanka to make impressions of the Buddha's Footprint with 108 auspicious symbols stamped on Sumanakuta to measure its size and to bring them back to be copied for everyone to worship. In an inscription dated 1357 he wrote that when this had been accomplished he had had four impressions made. One of these was placed on top a mountain at Sri Satchanalai, one on a peak in Sukhothai which he named Sumanakuta after that in Sri Lanka, one at the top of Nan Don Hill and one on the hill at Pak Brah Pan. An inscription was erected with the Footprint at each of those four places (na Nagara and Griswold op. cit. 464-465). Prince Damrong Rajanubhab discovered the inscription set up on the hill at Pak Brah Pan in 1921 (ibid. 466-472).

A Footprint of the Buddha found on top of Sumanakuta (known in Thai as Khao Phra Bat Yai) is now at Wat Traphang Thonglang, Sukhothai (Plate 80). A Footprint discovered on top of Nan Don Hill has been identified as that on Nan Rong Hill, Kamphaengphet, and is now in the Bangkok National Museum. The Footprint on Pak Brah Pan has been identified as the one now on Khao Kob, Nakhon Sawan (ibid. 465 and 542) (Plate 82). These three Footprints of the Buddha have been considered the originals placed at the sites by Mahadhammaraja I based principally on the said 1357 inscription.

Plate 52. Two fragments of a sandstone Buddha Footprint of Sinhalese design, now in Chantara Kasem National Museum, Ayudhya (photo by Noppadol Nimmanee).

The three Footprints attributed to Mahadhammaraja I are of a very different style from Footprints one would expect to find. They are fashioned after Footprints first created in Bagan in the late 11th and early 12th centuries. There is no lingering Khmer artistic influence and they do not anticipate the design of the 1426 "twin imprints" of the feet of the Buddha, similar and conforming in size to the Footprint of the Buddha on Mt. Sumanakuta (na Nagara and Griswold, op. cit., 767) now at Wat Bovornivet, Bangkok (Plates 60 and 61). The Sinhalese design on the "twin imprints" is that of a Footprint with the 108 auspicious symbols in concentric rings around a hub forming a large cakka on the footsole, rather than in a vertical grid as on early Bagan style Footprints.

Evidence that Footprints of the Sinhalese Design were created in what is now Thailand in the reign of Mahadhammaraja I of Sukhothai is provided by two small fragments now in the Chantara Kasem National Museum, Ayudhaya (Plate 52). On the fragments the figures of Brahmas are carved around the hub of a cakka as on the 1426 "twin imprints" of Sinhalese design now at Wat Bovornivet, Bangkok, and were encircled on outer concentric rings by symbols from lower realms. Behind the Brahmas, on the second band from the hub, are auspicious symbols from the Human Realm depicting five of the seven mountains around Mt. Meru. On the third band are other symbols from the Human Realm, from left to right the auspicious symbol, a palm leaf fan, a peacock-tail-feather fan and a white-yak-tail fan. The latter are auspicious

symbols 13, 14 and 15 on both the ca. 10th century list of 108 auspicious symbols given in the Samantabhaddika and in the 1156 C. E. Jinalankara-tika. In both those texts the seven mountains are given as auspicious symbols 49-55. The design of the peacock-tail-feather fan is almost identical to that of the fan placed third from the left on the third horizontal line on the ca. 1351 left Footprint now in the Chantara Kasem National Museum, Ayudhaya (Plate 51). But the Brahmas wear crowns closer in design to that worn by a Narayana image discovered at Wat Si Sawai, Sukhothai (see FAD 1969, 27) than those worn by the Brahmas in the left Footprint now in the Chantara Kasem National Museum. The Footprint fragments appear to be of the same stone type as the said ca. 1351 Footprint and thus would have been created at the same site. The Footprint fragments thus indicate Footprints of Sinhalese design were made by Mahadhammaraja I of Sukhothai and that a Footprint of Sinhalese design influenced by those created by Mahadhammaraja I was made for the Ayudhya court.

The creation of Footprints of the Buddha also began in what is now northeastern Thailand in the second half of the 14th century. At Kalasin, an ancient Mon town noted for its bas reliefs on *bai semas,* is one of the most beautifully carved of all Footprints of the Buddha, the right Footprint at Wat Klang (Plate 53). It measures 1.73 meters in length and 0.66 in width at the toes (Buranabunpot op. cit. 4). The Footprint was hollowed out of a large greenish stone slab and the designs that adorn it were sculpted in relief. A large cakka is placed high on the Footprint near the toes. It is decorated with overlapping petals. These appear on the heel as well. A classic scroll of convoluted blossoms and petals also carved in relief decorates the border immediately encircling the Footprint. Beyond this is a border of engraved lotus petals and yet another border of alternating lotus petals and stamens. The classic scroll design derives from that on Yuan Dynasty (1280-1368 C. E.) blue-and-white ceramics. Ceramics of this type have been found at Wat Tha Kan, Sanpatong District, Chiang Mai, Wat Phra Phai Luang, Sukhothai and at Wat Phrathat Haripunjaya, Lamphun (Chandavij 1986, 381 and fig. 223, 399 and fig. 245 and Thammapreechakorn, Lertrit and Pinsri 1996, 97 and figs. 131-132). The start of Chinese blue-and-white exports is currently put to 1328 (Sjostrand and Barnes 2001, 14) while the classic scroll design on them dates no earlier than mid 14th century (Pope 1956, 66-68, 71 and Plate 11). Thus the right Footprint of the Buddha at Wat Klang would date to some time after 1350.

The design of the toes on the Wat Klang Buddha Footprint is important. They and the whole Footprint were carved deeply in the center of the stone block. The toes have a whorl on the front pad but none on the one to the rear. At first glance the toes appear to extend upwards. This plus the depth to which the Footprint was carved out of the stone slab are notable aspects of a Footprint believed to have been imprinted by the Buddha Gotama and now housed within the temple of Phra Bat Phonsan outside of what now is Pakxan, Laos (see Aksland 2001, Plates 5 and 6). The distinctive appearance of the deeply carved toes as well as the whole Footprint also are traits

Plate 53. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Klang, Kalasin, ca. mid 14th century, stone, length 1.73 meters, width at toes 0.66 meters.

Plate 54. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Phra Phutthabat Bua Bat, Phu Phra Bat Historical Park, Udon Thani, ca. mid 14th century.

shared with other Footprints created in northeastern Thailand during the same period and the designs of all may in turn have been influenced by the Footprint deemed to be that of the Buddha Gotama at the temple of Phra Bat Phonsan.

Two other Footprints seemingly of the period are located in Phu Phra Bat Historical Park, Udon Thani. The right Footprint of the Buddha known as Phra Phutthabat Bua Bok (Plate 54), according to a local monk, was originally a Footprint on a large rock. In 1930 Khru Ba Sri That built a Laotian style *phra that* to enclose it. Later, in 1947, Luang Phu Phromma of Phra Bat Tak Pa, Lamphun, commissioned or executed a cover for the Footprint. The Thai Fine Arts Department added the frame (Buranabunpot op. cit. 2). However, there still exists one design which connects the Footprint with the right Footprint at Wat Klang, Kalasin, and the Buddha's Footprint at the temple of Phra Bat Phonsan, namely, that of the toes. A second Footprint in the Historical Park is the left Footprint of the Buddha, Phra Phutthabat Lang Tao (Plate 55) fashioned from a living rock. Its shape is naturalistic. The toes are plain, stylized and blunt at the ends. At the center is a many-petaled cakka. The bluntness of the toes and the small cakka appear to relate it also to the Footprint of the Buddha at the temple of Phra Bat Phonsan.

Further to the northwest and northeast are the right Footprints of the Buddha at Wat Phra Phutthabat Phukwai Ngern, Chiang Khan District, Loei Province (Plate 56) and Wat Phra Phutthabat (Werngum), Sri Chiang Mai District, Nongkhai (Plate 57). The first Footprint was reconstructed by the Thai Fine Arts Department over a decade ago after quarreling villagers destroyed it. It measures in length 1.73 meters and in width 0.66 meter (Buranabunpot op. cit, 1). The shape of the Footprint and

Plate 55. The left Footprint of the Buddha, Phra Phutthabat Lang Tao, Phu Phra Bat Historical Park, ca. mid 14th century, after FAD 1992, 53.

Plate 56. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthabat Phukwai Ngern, Chiang Khan District, Loei Province, ca. mid 14th century.

Plate 57. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthabat (Werngum), Sri Chiang Mai District, Nongkhai, ca. mid 14th century, stone, length 1.73 meters, width 0.66 meters.

especially the toe design relate it to both the right Footprint of the Buddha at Wat Klang, Kalasin, and the Footprint of the Buddha at Phra Bat Phonsan. The right Footprint, Wat Phra Phutthabat (Werngum) is deep in the floor of the monastery. The toes point to Laos. The Footprint was given its present appearance by a Laotian monk, Khru Ba Sri Thad (Ibid.) It too seems originally to have been influenced stylistically by the said imprint of the Buddha at Phra Bat Phonsan.

The earliest inscription bearing a text of the auspicious symbols on the Footprint of the Buddha Gotama yet discovered in Thailand was found in 1908 by Crown Prince Vajiravudh, the future King Rama VI, on a stele in a ruined monastery west of Sukhothai, known as Wat Trapang Chang Phuak (Plate 58). The inscription, formerly known by the name of the wat, has been renamed as Inscription Ba Nang Kham Yoey after the name of the donor. Face I, which records the dedication of a new vihara, uses the Sukhothai Thai language and script of the period but face II which carries a list of the 108 symbols on the Footsole of the Buddha is in the Pali language employing a Khom script. Epigraphists have discovered that the writing on both faces is of the same period and thus the same year, the equivalent of 1379 (FAD 1984, 309-310). The stela on which the inscription was incised was brought to Bangkok and placed in the grounds of the Grand Palace. After a time it was forgotten but His Serene Highness Professor M.C. Subhadradis Diskul rediscovered it in the 1980s.

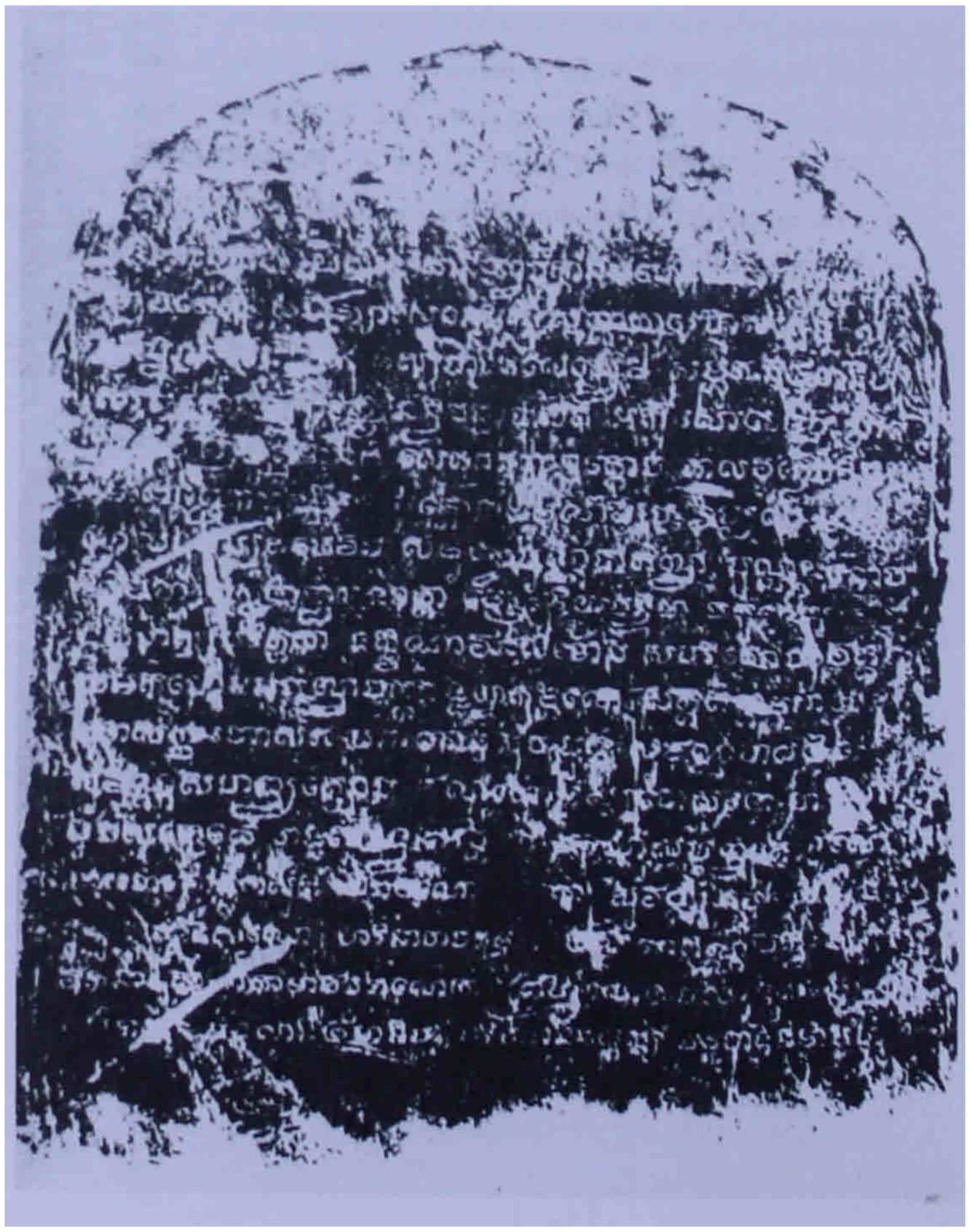


Plate 58. The stele with the Ba Nang Kham Yoey Inscription, 1379, from Khao Phra Bat Noi, Sukhothai, now at the Grand Palace, Bangkok.

The 108 auspicious symbols on face II read in Pali as follows. To the right are English equivalents of the Pali.

1. Sirivaccho	1. Siri, goddess of prosperity
2. Sovatthi	2. A neck ornament
3. Nandivatta	3. A rosette with right turning-petals
4. Vatamsakam	4. An ear ornament
5. Ankuso	5. An elephant goad
6. Pasado	6. A palace
7.	7. .....
8. Vuddhamanakan	8. A food receptacle
9. Setacchattam	9. A white umbrella
10. Khaggo	10. A sword
11. Talavantam	11. A palm leaf fan
12. Vijini	12. A fan
13. Morahatthakam	13. A peacock-tail-feather fan
14. Unhisam	14. A crown
15. Patto	15. A monk's alms bowl
16. Dama	16. A garland
17. Mani	17. A jewel
18. Uppalam nila	18. A blue water lily
19. Uppalam rattanca	19. A red water lily
20. Paduma	20. A lotus
21. Samuddo	21. The ocean
22. Punnapati	22. A full bowl
23. Punnaghato	23. A vase of plenty
24. Himava	24. The Himalayas
25. Cakkavala	25. The Chakkavala mountain range that surrounds the ocean and forms a wall around the universe.
26. Nakkhatta	26. The constellations
27. Meru	27. Mt. Meru, the center of the universe
28. Suriya	28. The full sun
29. Candima	29. The full moon
30.-34. Caturo-mahadipa dvisahassaparittaka	30-34. The four large continents with each having 500 islands around it
35. Dakkinavattassankho	35. A right-spiraling conch
36. Saparisocakkavatti	36. The cakkavatin, the universal monarch, and his seven treasures
37. Yamakam hemamaccham	37. A pair of golden fish
38. Cakka	38. A wheel or discus

39.	Dhaja	39.	A triangular victory flag
40.	Kumbhilo	40.	A crocodile
41.-47.	Sattaganga	41.-47.	The seven great rivers
48.-54.	Mahasela	48.-54.	The seven great mountain ranges
55.-61.	Sattamahasara	55.-61.	The seven lakes named Sidanta
62.	Patako	62.	A flag
63.	Sumsu	63.	?
64.	Patanki	64.	A palanquin
65.	Suvannavalabijani	65.	A golden yak tail fan.
66.	Suvannasiharaja	66.	The king of the golden lions
67.	Suvannabyagghoraja	67.	The king of the golden tigers
68.	Valaho-assoraja	68.	The king of the Valahaka horses
69.	Uposatharaja	69.	The king of the Uposatha elephants
70.	Kelasapabbato	70.	Mt. Kelasa
71.	Hamso	71.	A hamsa (Brahmani duck)
72.	Cakavako	72.	A ruddy goose
73.	Vasuki	73.	Vasuki, the king of the nagas
74.	Eravano	74.	Eravana, an elephant king
75.	Karaviko	75.	The Indian cuckoo
76.	Suvannabhamaro	76.	A golden bee
77.	.....		
78.	.....		
79.	.....		
80.	Kukkusuro	80.	A bird with a spotted chest
81.	Konco	81.	A crane
82.	Harinava	82.	A golden boat
83.	Catummukkha	83.	Four faces
84.	Kinnaro	84.	A being half man and half bird
85.	Kinnari	85.	A being half woman and half bird
86.	Jivanjivaka	86.	A pheasant
87.-92.	Kamavacaraloka	87.-92.	The Six Deva Realms
93.-108.	Brahmaloka ca solasa	93.-108.	The sixteen Brahman Realms

(Meetem 16 February 2002).

The list of 108 auspicious symbols does not completely follow any lists this researcher has read. It does suggest, however, that, in this period, Footprints did not employ the late 11th century list of 108 auspicious symbols on the Footsoles of the Future Buddha Metteyya in the Commentary on the Anagatavamsa or the list of those on the Footsoles of the Lord Buddha in the 1156 C. E. Jinalankara-tika such as created in Bagan. The list on the Sukhothai stele begins with Sirivaccho (Siri, the goddess of prosperity), not with satti, spear, as on the earlier lists. Two lists of 108 symbols

written in Sri Lanka start with the symbol sirivaccha. They are the list in the *Pujavaliya* by Mayurapada Thera, in Pali, dated 1266 C. E. and the list in the *Sumantakuta-vannana* by Vedeha Thera, also in Pali, ca. late 13th early 14th century (Karunaratne 1976, 49-50 and Hazelwood trs. 1986, vv 759-770). The Sukhothai list does not exactly follow either of these two, thus there must have been yet another list from which the Sukhothai list was drawn. By what means did that list arrive in the Sukhothai area? Did it come from Sri Lanka together with the design of the Footprint brought there during the reign of Mahadhammaraja I? If so, that would provide one more piece of evidence showing that Bagan type Footprints were not created in his reign.

Wat Trapang Chang Phuak is located on the side of Khao Phra Bat Noi. Above it, on the summit of the mountain, was discovered the left Buddha Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, now in the Ramkhamhaeng National Museum, Sukhothai (Plate 59). Did the list of the 108 auspicious symbols in the Ba Nang Kham Yoey Inscription list appear on it? That may well have been the case for faint symbols suggest that the worn Footprint once carried a large number of auspicious symbols. The Footprint was carved from the surface of a large greenish stone slab and then engraved in such a manner that the left Footprint of the Buddha Gotama is impressed on those of the three earlier Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa. Engraved arcs at different levels at the heel indicate the Footprints of the latter. Great care was taken to shape each toe individually, dividing each into two parts. Incised whorls mark the pad at the front of the toes and decorate the front part of the footsole. At the center is a small rosette formed of incised lotus petals. Encircling it are narrow bands that form a large cakka with the rosette its hub. Around the cakka is yet another band forming the rim. On the fourth band from the bottom one finds a row of incised water symbols which may be those devoted to the seven great rivers or the seven great Sidanta lakes. Faint auspicious symbols also still remain on other bands but have yet to be identified. A large lotus petal rosette decoration on the heel and a border bearing a motif of lozenges within circles frames the Footprint. A date circa that of the inscription, 1379, is suggested.

The Ba Nang Kham Yoey inscription at Wat Trapang Chang Phuak provides a truncated cosmography consisting of Two Planes of Existence. This raises the question: Are there any texts dateable to the Sukhothai period that provide definitive evidence that the people of the kingdom had knowledge of the Three Planes of Existence? Two inscriptions, not by Lithai but by his son, Prince Sai Lithai, provide this (Reynolds op. cit. 208 and na Nagara and Griswold op.cit. 67-92 and fn. 59). The two inscriptions, Nos. XLV and LXIV record a pact between Sukhothai and Nan. The first dated 1393 was kept in Sukhothai; the other, the date of which has disappeared, was kept in Nan. A passage gives information about the orthodox Pali Buddhist cosmology in general and includes the Three Planes of Existence. These, in vertical

Plate 59. The left Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa from Khao Phra Bat Noi, now in the Ramkhamhaeng Museum, Sukhothai, ca. 1379, stone.

order, are as follows:

III. Arupabhumi: The Four Realms of Brahmas without Form, attainable by persons skilled in the four 'immaterial trances,' i.e. the fifth to eighth Jhana:

Nevasanna-n'asannayatana
Akincannayatana
Vinnanancayatana
Akasanancayatana

II. Rupabhumi: The Sixteen Realms of Brahmas with Form who have achieved different skills in the four meditative practices, i.e. the first to fourth Jhana:

Akanittha
Sudassi
Sudassa
Atappa
Aviha
Asannasatta
Vehapphala

Subhakinha
Appamanasubha
Parittasubha

Abhassara
Appamanabha
Parittabha

Maha Brahma
Brahma Pruohita
Brahma Parisajja

I. Kamabhumi, the 'Sensuous sphere.' which includes the Six Deva Realms, the Human Realm, and the Four Realms of Woe: the Realms of Demons, Ghosts, Animals and Hell.

The Six Deva Realms

Paranimmitavasavatti
Nimmanarati
Tusita
Yama
Tavatimsa
Catummaharajika

The Human Realm

The Four Realms of Woe

Asurayoni
Petayoni
Tiracchana yoni
Niraya

Despite the knowledge of the three planes of existence, the creators of Footprints of the Buddha continued to make Footprints with auspicious symbols constituting two planes, following lists of 108 originating in Sri Lanka.

An inscription in Pali on two early 15th century Footprints now at Wat Bovornivet, Bangkok, provides evidence that the design of a Footprint of the Buddha with its 108 auspicious symbols in bands on the cakka stems from Sri Lanka (Plate 60). It describes the Footprints as "twin imprints" of the feet of the Buddha similar and conforming in size to the Footprint of the Buddha on Sumanakuta, and perfect with 108 auspicious symbols (na Nagara and Griswold op. cit. 757-767). The inscription states that the Footprints were made in the reign of Paramapala (Mahadhammaraja IV of Sukhothai) and gives a date equivalent to 11 April 1426. In 1423/24 twenty-five Thai and eight Cambodian monks had gone to Sri Lanka where they were reordained on July 8, 1424. After they had paid homage to the Tooth Relic and Footprint of the Buddha on Sumanakuta 16 monks returned home (Ratanapanna Thera 1968, 129-133). They without doubt would have brought with them designs seen on the great Sumanakuta Footprint. While the employment of auspicious symbols on the cakka stems directly from Sri Lanka, the general shape of the Footprints and their toes reflect influence from Ayudhya, specifically the ca. 1351 Footprint found in Ayudhya (Plate 51). Upon mounting the throne of Ayudhya, King Intraracha (r. 1409-1424) had acted to establish the kingdom's authority in the Sukhothai domains. Thus, when Mahadhammaraja III of Sukhothai died in 1410, he had adjudicated the succession to the Sukhothai throne and installed Mahadhammaraja IV (Wyatt op. cit. 69). The provenance of the Footprints is not known. According to general opinion, they were found in Sukhothai and from there brought to Bangkok in the early 19th century.

The Footprints were hollowed out from the face of a huge block of stone. The toes are short. Each consists of a front pad engraved with a whorl and a rear one ornamented with a lotus blossom. At the center of each is an immense cakka with a cakkavudha at the center encircled by six concentric rings bearing 108 auspicious symbols. The cakka's grid and symbols are all carved in relief. Between the cakka and the toes are transverse rows of lotus blossoms. A wide frame once bore the engraved figures of eighty monks representing the Buddha's eighty principal disciples. Only a small number still remain. The writing between the second and third lines of the border contains their names.

Plate 60. "Twin imprints of the feet of the Buddha," described by Fournereau in 1895 as being at Wat Mahathat, Sukhothai, now at Wat Bovornivet, Bangkok, dated the equivalent of 11 April 1426, green stone, length of stone block 3.60 meters, width 2.77 meters.

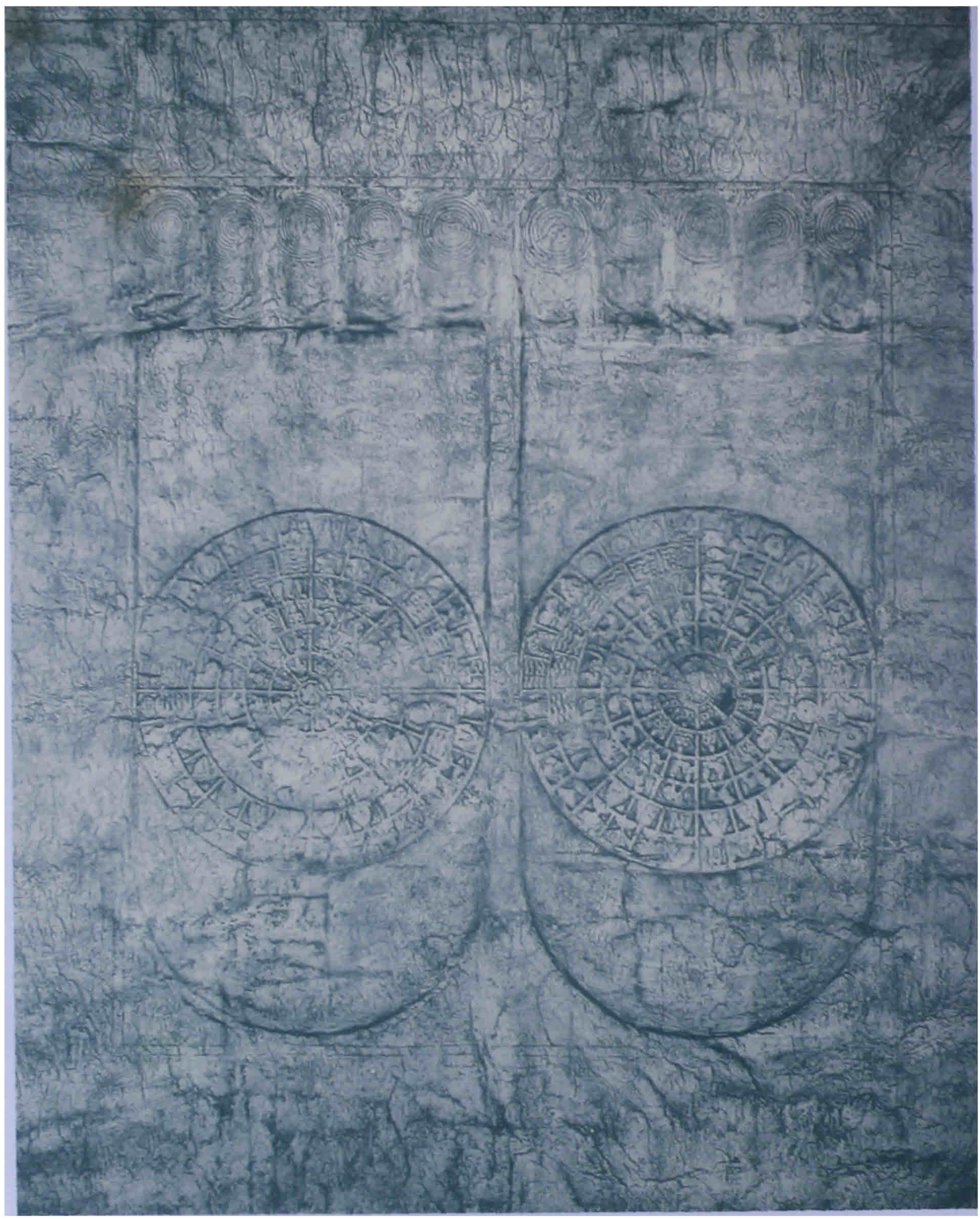


Plate 60a. From a rubbing of the "twin imprints." Fournereau 1895, I, Plate LXVIII.

The 108 auspicious symbols are placed around the cakkavudha, which serves as a hub, in a hierarchical manner as follows: The Realms of the Sixteen Brahmas are represented by sixteen crowned Brahmas seated eight in a row in the first two concentric bands encircling the cakkavudha, while the Deva Realms are represented by four seated Devas in the second concentric band and two on the third band. The symbols of the Human Realm fill out the third concentric band and bands four, five and six.

As indicated above, the inscription states that the Footprints are "twin imprints." This is evidenced by the placement of the auspicious symbols around the cakka. On a "pair" of Footprints, the auspicious symbols on the right Footprint read clockwise while those on the left Footprint read counterclockwise. Here, however, both read clockwise.

Although the auspicious symbols on the cakkas have been greatly damaged, some are still distinguishable. An examination of the Footprints reveals that auspicious symbol No.1 would have been satti, spear, since one can make out the skirt of Siri, goddess of prosperity as No. 2. at the top right of one of the outside concentric bands. Two lists of auspicious symbols now in the National Library, Bangkok, dated ca. 15th century begin with these two auspicious symbols and indicate a change in thinking (National Library 1986, 120-132 and na Bangchang 1990, 282-299). Moving right to the seventh symbol one comes to that of the throne. The lower portion is of block shape and the upper rounded perhaps suggesting a Ming period armchair (Beurdeley 1983, 74 and Plates 92a and b). Next are the universal ruler's elephant goad and palace. The latter is represented by a large tall paddy-heap-shape *dagaba* (stupa) on a low plinth. Around the dagaba's base there are what may be niches. Above its dome is a square enclosed by a railing referred to in Sri Lanka as a "tee" but in Indian art as a *"harmika"*. The pillar that rises from it appears to be topped by a pronged finial. The Thai monks who went to be reordained may have seen such a dagaba at Kalaniya. The dagaba there was of paddy-heap-shape prior to its restoration in the 18th century as was the Thuparama in Anuradhapura prior to its restoration in 1842 (Paranavitana 1946, 27-28 and 31-46).

The depiction of the monks on the frame suggests that Thai art was flourishing at that time. In 1426 five bronze images were cast in Nan, an independent kingdom allied politically and culturally with Sukhothai. Three were images of the walking Buddha (Griswold 1967, 54 and Figure 55b). The posture and robes of the monks engraved on the frame appear to be influenced by those images of the walking Buddha.

A Footprint related in style by the presence of a large cakka is the right Footprint of the Buddha now a Wat Chomphuwek, Nonthaburi (Plate 61). How and when it was placed at the wat is not known. The wat dates back to the late Ayudhya Period but was restored during the First Reign of the Ratanakosin Period by a Mon

Plate 61. The right Footprint of the Buddha, probably from Sukhothai, now at Wat Chomphuwek, Nonthaburi, after National Library 1986, 114, mid 15th century, green stone.

refugee (Na Songkla 1976, 11). The Footprint was incised on slate for which Sukhothai is well known suggesting Sukhothai origin. Lines of various teachings by the Buddha, including the Four Noble Truths, cover the twelve spokes, hub and rim of a large cakka and the areas between the cakka, the toes and the frame. The inscriptions were written in Pali employing the Khom script and have been dated epigraphically to the 15th century (National Library 1986, 113-119).

While Sinhalese Buddhism played a large role in the creation of Sukhothai Footprints of the Buddha in the 14th and 15th centuries, what we have identified as the "Thai design" persisted (see p. 60). A fragment of a right Footprint of the Buddha found at Wat Sri Chum, Sukhothai, bears auspicious symbols in the form of *vimanas* (celestial palaces), representing Brahma Realms on the two remaining top rows (Plate 62). Written in Pali employing the Khmer script are the following names on under the vimanas on line one, Parisajja, Phurohita, Maha Brahma and Vehapphala, the first, second, third and tenth Brahma Realms.

On the second line are Parittabha, Appamanabha and Abhassara, the fourth, fifth and eighth Brahma Realms (Na Bangchang, 1990, 43-46). This indicates that the auspicious symbols were placed in the same hierachial position as on the left Footprint of the Buddha on Khao Di Salak (Plate 49), dating from the second quarter of the 14th century, with those of the highest plane in the top rows, the second plane in the third row and those of the lowest plane following in proper order. The Wat Sri Chum Footprint has been dated epigraphically to the reign of Mahadhammaraja IV of Sukhothai (1419-1438) (Meetem, 15 December 2001). Thus during his reign Footprints of the Lord Buddha of both Sri Lankan style and the "Thai design" were created. The

Plate 62. Fragment of a right Footprint of the Buddha discovered at Wat Sri Chum, Sukhothai, now in the Ramkhamhaeng National Museum, Sukhothai, ca. 1419-1438, stone.

design of the vimanas depicted in the Wat Sri Chum fragment are of interest. They may be the forerunners of the wooden Tai Yai monastery buildings that are still present in the Mae Hong Son area monasteries.

In 1481 a sculptural represen-tation of the Buddha Gotama was commisioned (Plate 63). The sculpture portrays the Buddha Gotama im-pressing his Footprint on those of the Three Previous Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa. It is the only known sculpture of the Buddha both impressing his Footprint and impressing it on the Footprints of those of the three earlier Buddhas. Below the whorls of the toes designating the Footprints of the previous Buddhas, in from the Buddha Gotama's foot and at the side are incised depictions of the celestial palaces of the Brahma Realms. Thus here again the auspicious symbols of the highest plane of existence are placed to the fore of the Footprint and the two lower planes below as on the Khao Di Salak Footprint. The design of the celestial palaces differs from those in Plate 60. The structures are typically Lan Na with roofs that peak at the center, descend in a curve at the side and overhang the side of a building.

The Footprint bears two inscriptions, one in Pali and one in Yuan, with both employing Dhamma letters. The one in Yuan states, "In the year 843 of the Culasakera Era (1481 C. E.) Jao Wichian Pangyou made this Buddha image. May the (future) Buddha, Metteyya predict that I (too) shall become a Buddha." Thus again we have an expression of interest in becoming a Buddha by what must have been an important person.

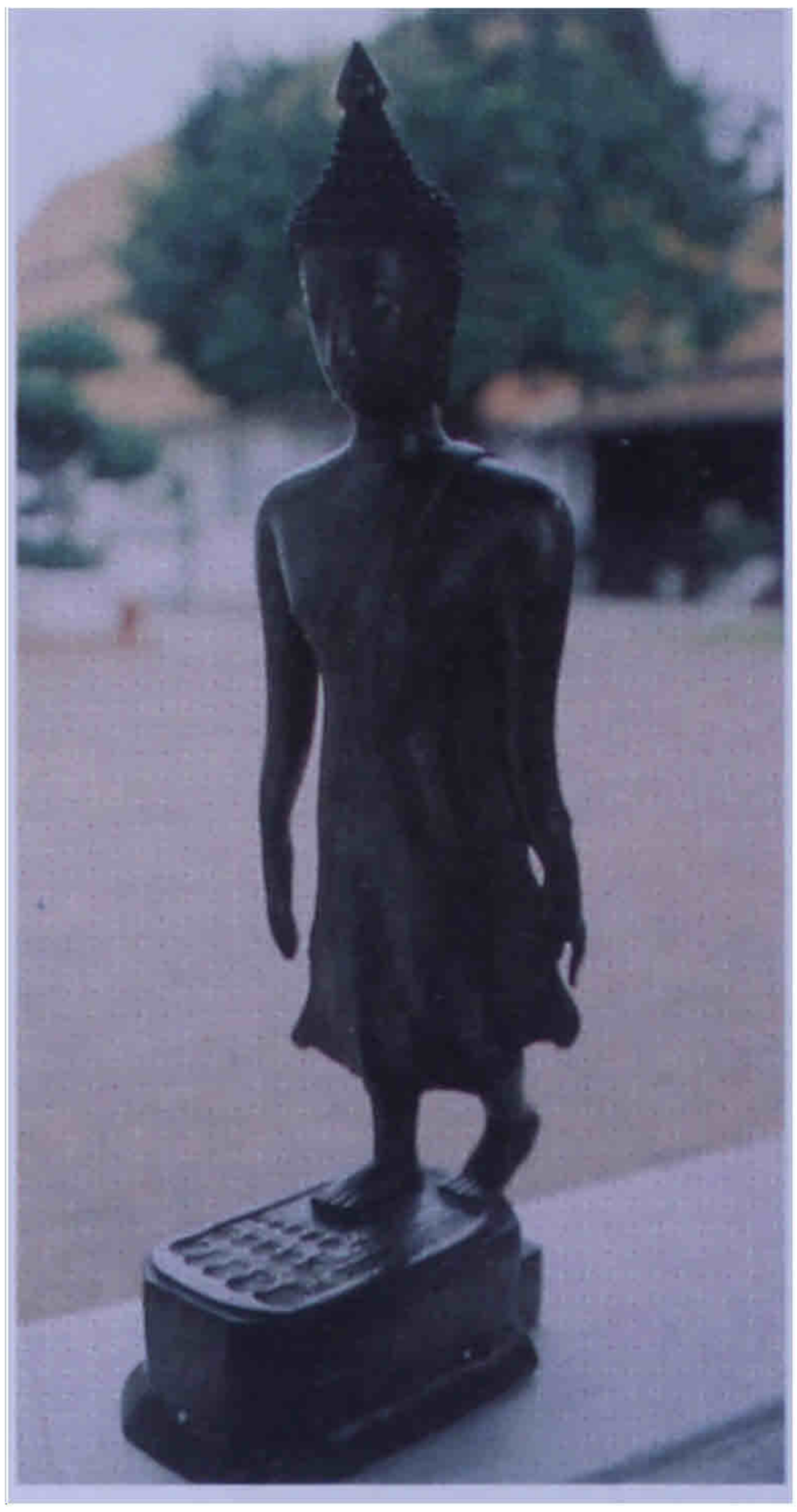


Plate 63. A sculptural representation of the Buddha Gotama impressing his Footprint on those of the Three Previous Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, from Chiang Rai or Phayao, bearing an inscription equivalent to 1481, now in the Bangkok National Museum, bronze, height 0.465 meters.

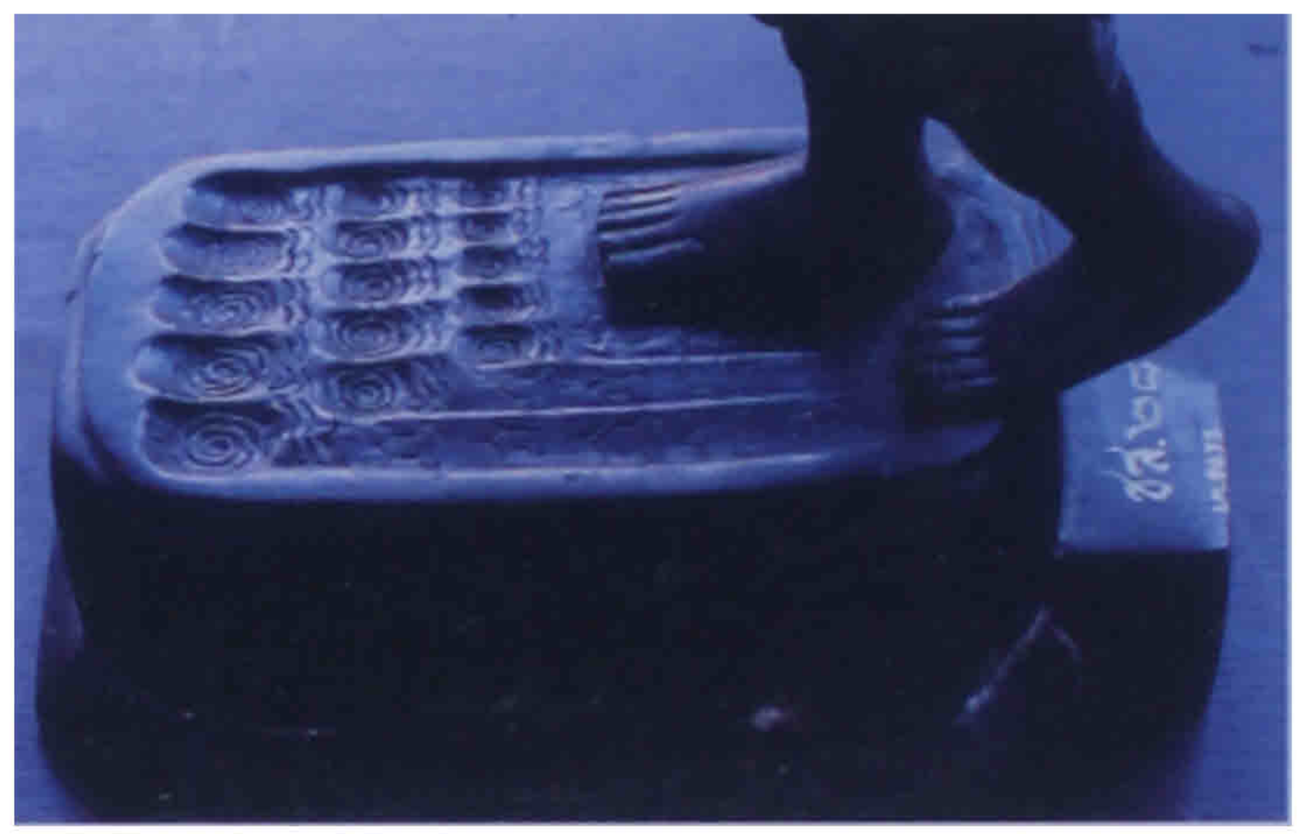


Plate 63a. Close-up of Plate 63.

The sculpture's provenance is uncertain. It was brought to what is now the Bangkok National Museum in 1922 and bears the registration number, CR 15. This indicates that the image came from Chiang Rai although it is possible that it came from either the province of Chiang Rai or Phayao since Phayao was part of Chiang Rai Province until 1977 (Penth 1998, 4).

The Yuan inscription indicates that the sculpture was cast during the reign of Maharaja Tilokaraja of the Kingdom of Lan Na (r. 1441-1487) after the great Buddhist synod held in Chiang Mai in 1475 for the revision of the Pali texts.

Further innovations in Thai architecture are found on a left Footprint of the Buddha now at Wat Cherng Kiri, Sri Satchanalai, that bears an inscription in Thai dating it to the equivalent of 1510 C. E. (Plate 64). The design of the Footprint is based on ones produced in Bagan as of the late 11th and early 12th century. The toes are long and slim. The pad on the front of each toe is decorated with a whorl at the center of which is an upright conch. The cakka is large and imposing. The 108 auspicious symbols have not been placed within the confining lines of a grid although they read as if in a vertically oriented grid. They have been placed in a cosmological diagram in which the celestial palaces representing those of the Sixteen Brahma and the Six

Plate 64. The left Footprint of the Buddha now at Wat Cherng Kiri, Sri Satchanalai, dated the equivalent of 1510, stone, length 1.52 meters, width at toes, 0.65 meters.

Deva Realms have been clustered above and below the cakka and those of the Human Realm placed around them. Auspicious symbol No. 1, spear, appears at the top right. The Footprint reads counterclockwise from the lowest plane through the highest. It measures 1.51 meters in length and 0.65 in width.

The artist who created the Footprint obviously was familiar with the architecture in the area and depicted what he saw. One finds on the Footprint a proliferation of entirely new building styles, all a departure from the architecture of the 15th century as depicted on Footprints of the Buddha of that period. In fact, the Footprint must be counted one of the most important sources of architectural history in Thailand. The variations in palace styles of the palaces of the Brahmas and Devas and that of the cakkavatin, the latter the leftmost symbol on the top horizontal line, reflect the wealth of the area and the society based on ceramic production. They for the most part are edifices consisting of one main cella, in some cases with an entrance at each side and in other cases with a smaller cella at each side; these three unit edifices are placed high on a terrace and may be surmounted by what appear to be miniature Khmer-type prangs. Other buildings have triangular pediments with a makara at each side.

An important question about the Footprint is why at this period was a Bagan style Footprint of the Buddha created in Sri Satchanalai by someone familiar with the architectural styles of the area. It may be that the artisan was a Mon familiar with Bagan style Footprints of the Buddha. Hein and Barbetti (1988, 4, 3, 11) have described some wares produced in the Sri Satchanalai area as "Mon wares" and indicated that this is the local term for wares produced at certain kilns. Vickery (1986, 2, 3, 4-6) has noted that the local term for the kiln sites, *tau thuriang*, means "saucer dish" in the Old Mon language. This suggests a Mon presence in the area. Mon potters are known to have played a large role in ceramic production in southern Myanmar (Di Crocco and Schulz 1985, 1, 4, 6-13) and may have migrated to the Sri Satchanalai area looking for work at that kiln-rich site.

The inscription presents the donor's wish that in the 2946th year of the Buddha Gotama's Parinibbana (2403 C. E.) the Buddha (Metteyya) place His Footprint thereon. The inscription also says it was placed on a hill. Local residents say it was removed from Wat Phra Bat Lang.

A left Footprint of the Buddha, discovered in the Sukhothai area, and bearing an inscription in the Thai language but Khom script and a date equivalent to 1531 is also of Bagan style (Plate 65). According to the Lord Abbot of Wat Mai Thai Chomphon, this Footprint was brought down from Khao Phra Bat Noi, Sukhothai, 70 or 80 years ago and placed at his monastery.

The stone Footprint was clearly designed to stand upright since a support was provided for such at the base. The toes are short, with only one lenticular joint. Two engraved figures adorn the frame at the viewer's right. One can distinguish the figure

Plate 65. A left Footprint of the Buddha from Khao Phra Bat Noi now at Wat Mai Thai Chomphon, Sukhothai, dated the equivalent of 1531, stone, length 1.05 meters, width at toes 0.49 meters.

of a crowned king standing with his hands in the gesture of adoration. Below is the figure of his queen, also standing and with his hands performing the same gesture. The auspicious symbols representing palaces are related to those on the left Footprint now at Wat Cherng Kiri (Plate 64). For the first known time the faces and diadems of their kings represent the auspicious symbols for the four great continents. Two of these appear to the viewer's upper right of the cakka. Two symbols, placed above the cakka, depict a large jar and basin, providing evidence for the dating of such ceramics. The Footprint measures 1.05 meters in length and 0.49 in width at the toes.

Chapter VII: Buddha Footprints created in Thailand in the 17th and 18th century prior to 1767 and the fall of the kingdom of Ayudhya

King Naresuan the Great (r. 1590-1605) who is credited with the restoration of Ayudhya's independence and his loyal brother, King Ekatosarot (r. 1605-1610), do not appear to have created Footprints of the Lord Buddha. Their respect for the Footprints of the Lord Buddha, as we have seen in Chapter III, however, was demonstrated by Ekatosarot's having placed King Naresuan's *sangwan*, a gold chain worn across the body, on top of the Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa on Veparabanphot at Hang. King Song Tham (1610-1628 C. E.) who was noted for this deep devotion to Buddhism is reported to have gone to venerate Phra Phutthabat. No mention is made in the Ayudhya Chronicles nor in the memoirs of ex-King Uthumporn of Ayudhya and those of the former inhabitants of Ayudhya who were taken captive during the 1767 invasion of the city of his having created a Footprint of the Buddha. This is the case also for King Prasat Thong (r. 1629-1656) who, as with all the kings of Ayudhya, is said to have gone to venerate Phra Phutthabat. But a manuscript by the Protestant clergyman, Phillipus Baldaeus (1672, 153-154) provides evidence that in March 1654, during the reign of King Prasat Thong, Siamese monks showed certain Dutchmen who visited Phra Phutthabat a plate of gold of the same length and breadth as the Footprint on Adam's Peak, with 68 varying types of symbols which they said had formerly been seen on the imprint of the Buddha's foot. The dating suggests that King Prasat Thong may have commissioned a gold Footprint of the Buddha to venerate Phra Phutthabat.

The symbols on the Baldaeus list have been translated from the Dutch as on the left by de Wit and Di Crocco. They constitute 108 auspicious symbols. These 108 suggest knowledge of the 1156 C.E. Jinalankara-tika text or a related text giving the 108 auspicious symbols on the footsoles of the Buddha Gotama. The symbols have been interpreted at the right in accordance with those in the 1156 C. E. Jinalankara-tika list.

1. A spear	1. A spear
2. A queen with a ring on her finger	2. Siri, goddess of prosperity
3. Several roses	3. A rosette with right-turning petals
4. A chain	4. A neck ornament
5. An arm	5. An ear ornament
6. A golden bedstead	6. A food receptacle
7. A golden chair	7. A throne

8. An elephant goad	8. An elephant goad
9. A royal palace	9. A palace
10. A golden gun-rack	10. An archway
11. Umbrellas or sunshades	11. A white umbrella
12. A royal sword	12. A sword
13. A fan made from a Palmyra palm	13. A palm leaf fan
14. A peacock-tail fan	14. A peacock-tail fan
15. A royal crown	15. A crown
16. A monk's iron alms-bowl	16. A monk's alms bowl
17. A chain of precious stones	17. A jewel
18. A red water flower	18. A red water lily
19. A white water flower	19. A blue water lily
20. A double red water flower	20. A red lotus
21. A black-centered white water flower	21. A white lotus
22. A double white water flower	22. A white lotus
23. A drinking vessel full of water	23. A vase of plenty
24. A large pan full of water	24. A full bowl
25. The sea	25. The ocean
26. The world	26. The Cakkavala mountain encircling the universe
27. A forest standing beyond the world	27. The Himalayas
28. The greatest mountain in the world	28. Mt. Meru
29. The sun	29. The full sun
30. The moon	30. The full moon
31. The evening star	31. The constellations
32. The supreme god of the heavens	32. The universal monarch
33.-36. The god of the four winds	33.-36. The four continents
37. 2000 servants of the winds	37. The surrounding 2000 islands
38. A conch shell	38. A right-spiraling conch
39. A pair of golden fish	39. A pair of golden fish
40.-46. Seven mother rivers	40.-46. The seven great rivers
47.-53. Seven mountains with stones	47.-53. The seven mountain ranges
54.-60. Seven royal water-tanks	54.-60. The seven Sidanta lakes
61. The king of the beasts	61. The king of the lions
62. The king of the crocodiles	62. The crocodile
63. A banner	63. A banner
64. A paper banner	64. A flag
65. A palanquin	65. A golden palanquin
66. A fan with a long handle	66. A golden yak-tail fan
67. A mountain on an island	67. Mt. Kelasa
68. The king of the serpents	68. Vasuki, king of the nagas

69. The king of the tigers	69. The king of the tigers
70. A jumping horse	70. The king of the Valahaka horses
71. A red elephant	71 The Uposatha elephant family king
72. A white elephant	72. The Chaddanta elephant family king
73. A water snake	73. A makara
74. A king of the white cows	74. The king of the bulls
75. An elephant with three heads and tails	75. Eravana
76. A serpent	76. The golden makara
77. A golden ship	77. A boat with four prows
78. An angel	78. A Brahma
79. A cow nursing a calf	79. A cow with a calf
80. One who is half human and bird	80. A kinnara
81. A female half human and half bird	81. A kinnari
82. A singing bird	82. An Indian cuckoo
83. The king of the peacocks	83. The king of the peacocks
84. The king of the cranes	84. The king of the herons
85. A bird called *krapat*	85. The king of the ruddy geese
86. A bird called *kuyshidt*	86. The king of the pheasants
87.-92. Six heavens	87.-92. The Six Deva Realms
93.-108. Sixteen sorts of heavens	93.-108. The Sixteen Brahma Realms

Unfortunately the Footprint's design was not mentioned. The knowledge that the Jinalankara-tika or a related list was known in the period, however, provides a context for the creation of Footprints of the Lord Buddha in the following reign employing a Bagan type grid system and list of 108 auspicious symbols.

King Narai, later called Narai the Great, succeeded his father, Prasat Thong, in 1656. Relations with the Dutch deteriorated and in 1664 a Dutch fleet blocked the mouth of the Chaophrya River. The king turned to the French in the hope of using them to counteract the Dutch. The Pope had recognized the French Foreign Mission. Monsignor Lambert de La Motte of the Mission settled in the Annamite quarter of Ayudhya in 1663. One year later Pallu, Bishop of Heliopolis, accompanied by four priests arrived and established the headquarters of the Mission in the East in Ayudhya (Launay 1920, 11-8). The king was impressed by their architectural and engineering skills and used them to build forts at Bangkok, Nonthaburi, Ayudhya, and other towns for the defense of the kingdom, plus a new palace, forts and other buildings in Lopburi. As a reward Narai gave them land and houses as well as facilities to build churches, and the Mission and its staff expanded. The Dutch also provided King Narai artisans, including goldsmiths, painters, carpenters, sculptors, doctors, cannoneers, a glass

blower, gunners and powdermakers as well as steersmen right up until 1688. In the meantime the Persian presence had expanded and become a prominent source of architectural designs. The Mon was another community that contributed much to artistic life. A large number of Mons had settled in the immediate vicinity of Ayudhya at the end of the reign of King Naresuan, and during the reign of King Narai a further ten thousand Mons fled their homeland to settle around Ayudhya. Also contributing to the artistic development during the reign of King Narai were skilled artisans and craftsmen whom the king took captive during his war against Chiang Mai early in his reign and brought back to Ayudhya (Listopad 1995, 11-12). Evidence of the artistic influence of these various peoples appears on Footprints of the Buddha.

Narai faithfully went to venerate the famous Footprint of the Buddha Gotama, Phra Phutthabat, annually. The Catholic priest, Nicholas Gervaise, describes in detail the pomp and dignity of a royal riverine procession to the Footprint in the latter years of the reign as follows: "More than two hundred and fifty *balons* [craft made from the hollowed out trunk of a single tree] are first drawn up on either side of the river, as far as possible at an equal distance from one another. Twenty or thirty of these ... precede the royal *balon* in pairs. The king's balon is rowed by six score *braspints* [tattooed arms], who are the most strongly built and the most capable that can be found

Plate 66. Fragments of a copy of Phra Phutthabat which King Narai ordered and had placed at Wat Chulamani, Phitsanulok, 1679.

to be given the honour of this employment. They all wear helmets, cuirasses [armor consisting of a breastplate and backpiece], knee-pieces and armlets of gold. It is a pleasure to watch them row in unison; their oars are all gilded, and the noise they make by striking them gently one against the other, together with the certain songs they sing in a low voice to praise the king, combine to make a concert which the people of the country find extremely enjoyable .... The curtains of the canopy of the king's balon are enriched with precious stones, and six young mandarins of the highest rank remain constantly prostrate on the dais, which is covered with the most sumptuous Oriental carpets. At the stern a small standard made of a thick sheet of gold faces the king and distinguishes his balon from all the others. The balons flank the king's one on either side and they are of equal size and splendor. These are called the balons of the guard. Two other, which are far less magnificent, are kept closed on all sides because it is to these that the king retires from time to time to eat and drink, in which case he will disembark and take his meals there. Fifty more balons, gilded in different designs but scarcely less fine, come after in the same order. They take part in the cortege only for show, for not more than ten or a dozen of those closest to the king's balon are filled by the adopted son of His Majesty, the chief mandarins and the leading officers of the crown who are in attendance on him. The other mandarins, of whom about two hundred are usually in the king's suite on ceremonial occasions, follow in balons which are much less sumptuous, albeit of the same size and almost the same design. They all travel at a speed equal to or sometimes even surpassing that of our fastest posts" (Gervaise 1688, Villiers trs. 1989, 213-214).

Gervaise also reported that Phra Phutthabat was "respectfully covered with a sheet of gold which is enclosed in another sheet of the same metal. It is uncovered only on certain Feast days, or when the King commands it to be uncovered. . . It is their custom to go there every March every year on a pilgrimage." (Gervaise op. cit. 142).

In 1679 King Narai had ordered the making of a copy of Phra Phutthabat and its placement at Wat Chulamani, Phitsanulok (Plate 66). The inscription recording this says that the king ordered this done so that all of those who were unable to make a pilgrimage to Saraburi to venerate the Footprint could worship the Phra Phutthabat at Wat Chulamani. The Footprint was not of one large stone as is the case of the real Phra Phutthabat but was made of stone segments mortised together. Vandals smashed it and now only its stone rim is at the center of the mondop (Listopad op. cit. 174-175).

One of the most important architectural designs of the Narai kingdom is the mondop, a building often employed to house a Buddha Footprint. It is square with an opening in the front, usually in the form of a late 16/17th century ogee arch. Such a building appears to derive from gates as still seen at the Phra Narai Rajaniwet Palace, Lopburi (Plate 67). The prototype for the gate would be the audience hall, the Ali Qupu Gate at Isfahan, the principal gate into the Safavid Palace of Shah Abbas (r. 1587-

Plate 67. One of the several gates with an ogee arch at the Phra Narai Rajaniwet Palace, Lopburi.

1629). It functioned not only as a gateway to the Maidan, the great market and parade ground in front of the palace, but as a review stand and audience hall as well. Bunnag (1994, 225-227) writes that the ogee arch was brought by Iranians first to Southern India and the Deccan. He cites this type of arch in the Palace of Golconda in the Deccan, where it is believed that Sheikh Ahmad Qomi, who was later to be the head of Ayudhya's Minister of Finance and Foreign Affairs, stopped prior to crossing to Ayudhya.

Numerous mondops are depicted on the beautifully and sensitively conceived left Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthabat, Amphoe Paisali, Nakhon Sawan, south of Sukhothai. The Footprint is incised on a black stone slab. The toes are short and decorated with a conch on each front pad and a large lotus blossom in the center of each rear pad. The design of the lotus blossom is reminiscent of that decorating many late Yuan Dynasty blue and white wares (see Pope op. cit. Plates 8-27). Thus one's first impression is that the Footprint was created in the mid 14th century. The cakka is impressive with a lotus rosette at the center, an encircling row of lozenges, and another of overlapping lotus petals from which a multitude of spokes spring to be bounded by a stout band decorated with sections of lotus roundels.

The vertical grid and the placement of the 108 auspicious symbols follows that introduced in Bagan in the late 11th century and may suggest Mon influence. The auspicious symbols read counterclockwise starting on the upper right of the first line. Auspicious symbol No.7, the throne, represented by a bench on which are placed rolled pillows, suggests Persian influence. This is not surprising. Early in the reign of King Song Tham, Sheik Ahmed Qomi, who had arrived in Ayudhya from the Persian Gulf via India, had been appointed to head the *Phrakhlang*, the Ministry of Finance and Foreign Affairs that dealt with Muslim traders from the Archipelago, India and the Middle East. His son succeeded him and served in the position until 1670 and was in turn succeeded by his son (Wyatt 1984, 108). Auspicious symbol No.9, palace, is represented by cella on a waisted throne topped by a two tiered roof and a finial. There is no evidence of a building of this type having been erected in the Paisali area. It was apparently a well known type of edifice in Chiang Mai at the time, however, as is indicated by its employment as the palace design for those of the Devas and Brahmas on the Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa from Wat Phra Singh now in the Chiang Mai National Museum (Plate 70).

The Six Deva and Sixteen Brahma Realms are placed above and below the cakka with those of the Human Realm clustered about them. Each Deva and Brahma is seated within a mondop with a two-tiered roof and an ogee arch like that on the gate at the Phra Narai Rajaniwet Palace (Plate 67a). Each has a tall crown and an elliptical aureole echoing those of the king or Bodhisatta. The employment of the ogee, lotus blossom designs, and throne indicates that the Footprint bears Persian artistic influence and was created during the reign of King Narai.

The design of the auspicious symbol, golden palanquin, placed sixth from the top in the second vertical line from the right is of interest for it provides evidence of the type of carriage used by monarchs at the time. The auspicious symbols for the four continents, the fourth to the seventh on the right

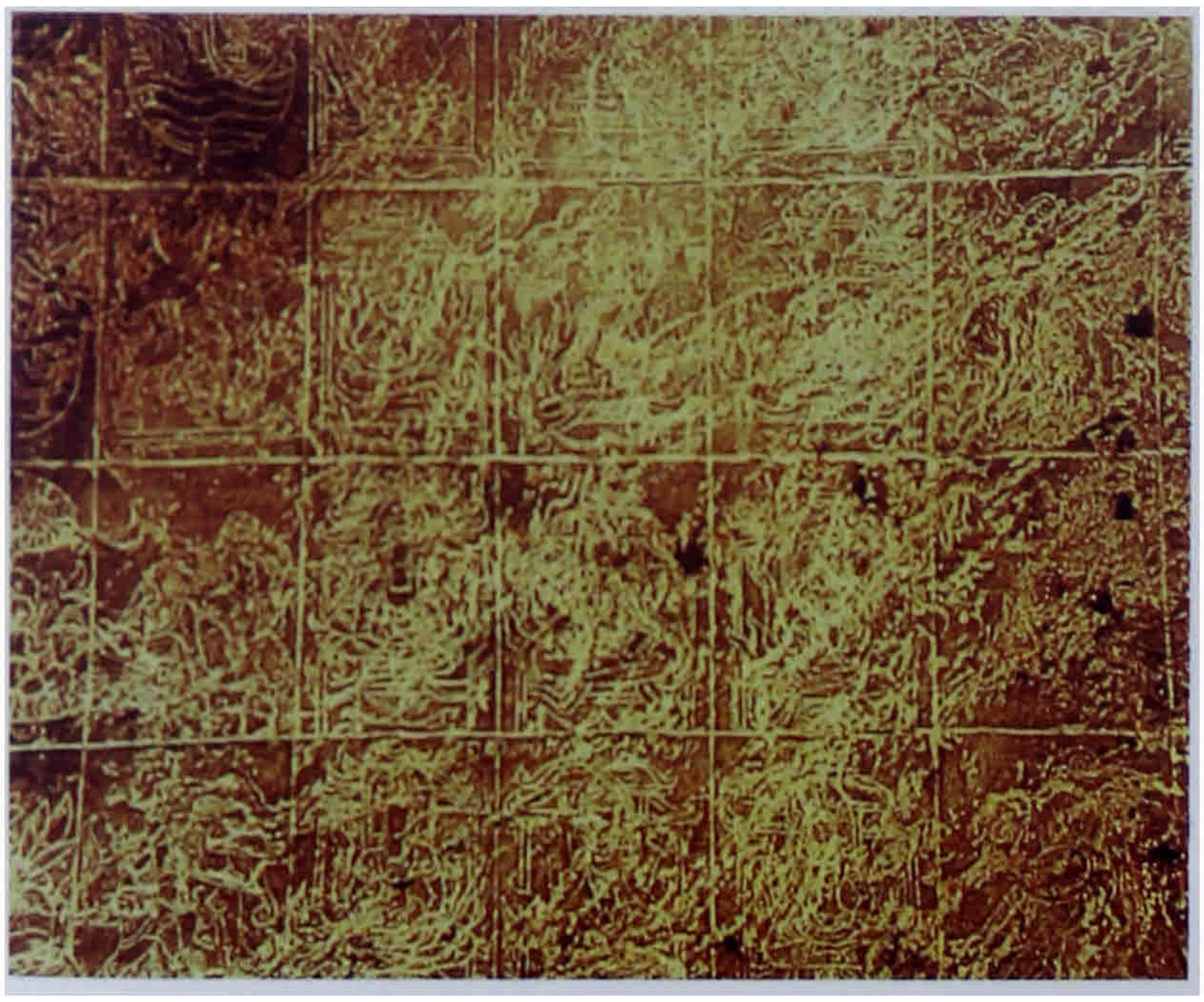
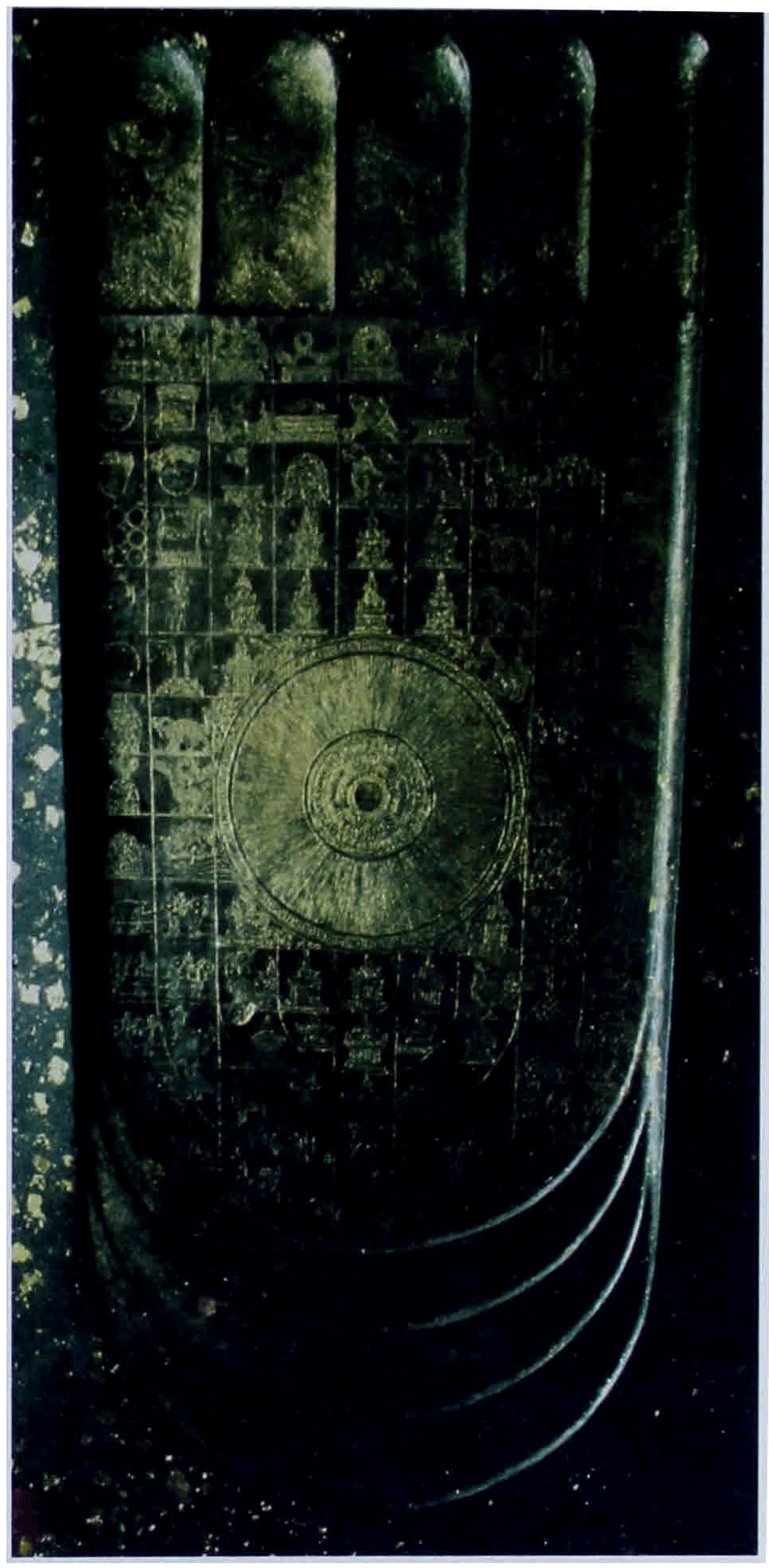


Plate 67a. Mondop with an ogee arch depicted on the left Buddha Footprint at Wat Phra Phutthabat, Amphoe Paisali, Nakhon Sawan, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688) (photo by Noppadol Nimmanee).

Plate 68. The right Footprint of the Four Buddhas who have appeared in this Bhaddakappa now at Wat Sadet, Kamphaengphet, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688), bronze.



vertical column, are each depicted by the crowned head of a king. The one at the bottom wears a crown having a diadem with a flange at each side and two prongs. The fact that there are four differing crowns indicates that several designs were worn in the period. However, the crown with a diadem with a flange at each side and two prongs would most often be associated with King Narai.

An inscription over the cakka is in Thai employing the Khom script. The inscription is illegible but some of the letters and words indicate late Ayudhya period (Meetem March 23, 2002).

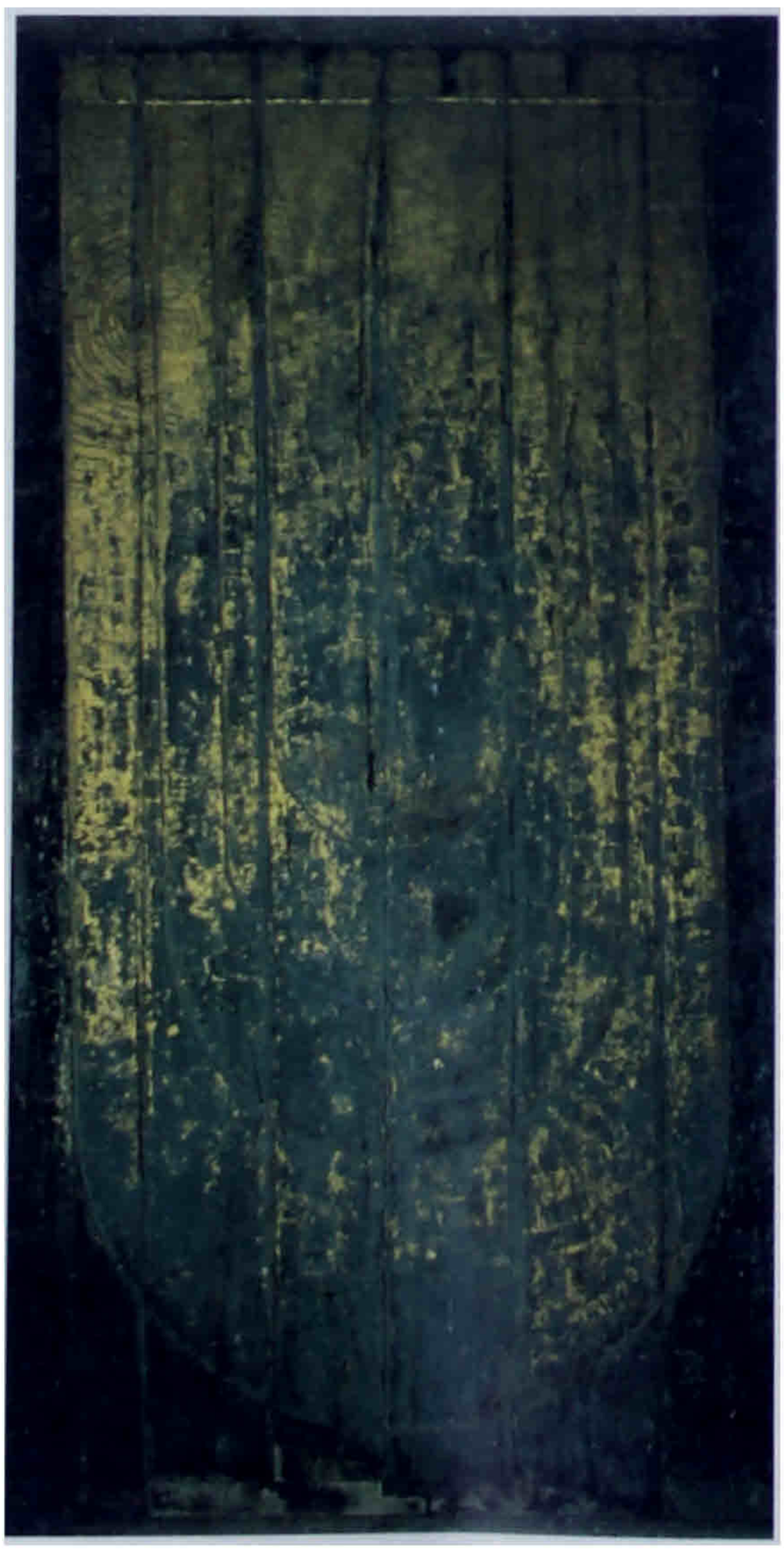
The right Footprint of the Four Buddhas who have appeared in this Bhaddakappa now at Wat Sadet, Kamphaengphet (Plate 68) bears a vertical grid like that on the Amphoe Paisali Footprint. The design of the cakka too is closely related to the Amphoe Paisali Footprint. As at Amphoe Paisali, moreover, the four great continents are represented by the crowned heads of kings, each with a different diadem. The symbols for ushnisa, No.14, placed sixth from top on the right vertical row, however, is still of yet another design as is that of the cakkavatin, second from left on the second horizontal row. Related also to auspicious symbols on the Amphoe Paisali Footprint is the design of the palace, auspicious symbol No.9, placed far to the right on the first horizontal row. Some of the palaces of the Devas and Brahmas appearing below the cakka are of the same basic design.

The presence of the Three Previous Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Kakusandha, Konagamana and Kassapa, is suggested by the three semicircles at the heel, which extend on the sides of the Footsole. The Footprint of the present Buddha, Gotama, has been placed over and at the center of those of the earlier Buddhas. The auspicious

symbol, constellations, third from the top on the furthermost left vertical grid, is now represented by the nine planets originating in ancient Indian astrology (Untracht 1997, 304): Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Saturn, Jupiter, Rahu, Venus and Ketu. This design is well known in Thailand and called *nopparatana*, or "nine gems."

Of special interest are the architectural designs of the palaces of the Deva and Brahma Realms placed immediately above the cakka. Those with extraordinarily high plinths topped by a pediment surmounted by a pillar with a lotus bud finial may represent the original version of the central tower of the stupa complex at Wat Mahathat, Sukhothai. And the others with a plinth surmounted by a single cella topped by a pediment on each side, then a pillar with a lotus bud finial, may represent the towers at the cardinal points of the stupa complex (compare Diskul 1978, 21-23 and Figures 2-3). The pillars and lotus bud finials are reminiscent of those on Islamic minarets (see Hattstein and Celius eds. 2000,182-189).

The Footprint is engraved on bronze and gilded. It is said by local inhabitants to have been brought to Wat Sadet by His Royal Highness Prince Damrong Rajanubhab to replace the metal Footprint once at Wat Sadet (Plate 85). Its provenance is unknown but the design suggests a production in the Sukhothai-Kamphaengphet-Si Satchanalai area. Its relationship to the Amphoe Paisali Footprint indicates a similar dating, to the reign of King Narai.



Another Footprint of the Four Buddhas who have appeared in this Bhaddakappa is the left Footprint of the Four Buddhas, Wat Lampang Luang (Plate 69). Its design was engraved on six large teak boards that were then lacquered and gilded. Only traces of the design remain; however, enough is still extant so that one can determine the Footprint of the Buddha Gotama on top of and smaller than those of the three previous Buddhas, which vary in size.

Plate 69. The left Footprint of the Four Buddhas, Wat Lampang Luang, Lampang, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688), gold leaf and black lacquer on wood, height approx. 4.20 meters.

Plate 70. The left Footprint of the Four Buddhas, Wat Phra Singh, Chiang Mai, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688), wood with red lacquer inlaid with mother-of-pearl and glass, height 1.99 meters.

Wat Lampang Luang is considerably north of Kamphaengphet-Sukhothai-Sri Satchanalai area and in what is now considered northern Thailand. The overall design of the Footprint suggests that it was influenced by that of the Footprint of the Four Buddhas now at Kamphaengphet and thus dates to the King Narai era. It measures approximately 4.2 meters in height.

Related in turn is the left Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Wat Phra Singh, Chiang Mai, north of Lampang, now in the Chiang Mai National Museum (Plate 70). The design of this magnificent Footprint is one of the most intricate of any Footprint and the quality of the artisanship superb. The base of the Footprint consists of a wooden board about two meters high and 0.90 meters wide. Around the Footprint proper is a border with a gilt design on black lacquer. The Footprint itself has a red lacquer background. The design on the footsole is achieved by the employment of hundreds of minute pieces of mother-of-pearl set in the red lacquer.

The cakka serves not only to remind viewers of the Buddha's message, the Dhamma, but depicts vividly the base of the Buddhist universe as well. The large circle of bluish glass at the center represents Mt. Meru. At each cardinal point in the surrounding ocean is a quatrefoil indicating one of the four continents. Eight quatrefoils placed at the cardinal and subcardinal points on the outer concentric band indicate to the viewer the path of the planets, including the sun and the moon, as they revolve around the earth (Buddhists believed and many still believe that the sun and the moon are planets and with the other planets move around the earth). Their path is divided into twelve sections, each called *rasi* in Thai. The sun when moving along in its own orbit requires one month to pass each section. Thus the name of each rasi became the name of each month The four quatrefoils on the inner concentric ring also serve to remind the viewer of the Four Noble Truths and the eight in the outer ring, the Noble Eight-fold Path.

Mt. Meru's bulky peak is also depicted as rising from the great ocean. On each side of Meru appear seven mountain peaks representing the seven mountain ranges and seven concentric lakes that encircle Meru. Situated south of the Meru complex in the great ocean is the southern continent, Jambudipa, recognized by its shape, that of the hub of a cart wheel. At its center sits the universal ruler. Attached below Jambudipa is the square northern continent, Uttarakuru. To the far right is the eastern continent Pubbevideha of full moon shape and to the far left of the ocean the western continent Aparagoyana in the shape of a waning moon. Garudas, makaras and other beings representing auspicious symbols of the Human Realm fly over the peaks on each side of Meru.

The splendid jeweled Vejayanta Palace of Indra, the ruler of the Tavatimsa Deva Realm, rests above Meru. Inside sits the ruler himself. Below the palace is

Indra's mount, the thirty-three headed elephant, Eravana. Here only three of these heads are shown. Above on each side of the palace are Devas and Brahmas, each seated next to his palace the design of which is related to that of the palace on the left Footprint of the Buddha, Amphoe Paisali, and the palaces on the right Footprint of the Four Buddhas now at Wat Sadet (Plate 68). Both of the latter two Footprints have been dated above to the reign of King Narai. Each of the Devas and Brahmas on the Chiang Mai Footprint has an aureole elliptical in form as in the Ayudhya and Sukhothai areas at the time. Thus the Footprint of the four Buddhas dates to the period of the reign of King Narai and incorporates designs suggesting Ayudhya influence.

Many of the auspicious symbols are accompanied by short explanatory legends. These are in Pali and Thai Yuan languages employing the Tham script of the Lan Na variety with the exception of the name of the 16th and highest Brahma Realm which is written in north Indian Pala letters (Penth, Kruathai and Ketphrom 1998, 265-274). At the base of the Footsole are three semicircles, the bottom most of these gives the names of the three earliest Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Kakusandha, Konagamana and Kassapa. The appearance of the three semicircles is as on the Footprint of the Four Buddhas now at Wat Sadet and dated herein to the reign of King Narai (Plate 68).

The following names of auspicious symbols are inscribed on the Footprint:

THE HUMAN REALM

The moon
Eravana
The sun
The Chakkavala Mountain Range
The seven lakes
The seven mountains
Mt. Meru
The constellations
A karaviko
A garuda
A kinnari
A kinnara
A jasmine garland
A palace
A Brahma with four faces
A jewel
A water lily
A water lily
The continent Aparagoyana
A lotus

The continent Jambudipa.
?
A lotus
The continent Pubbavideha
A boat
A makara
A pair of fish
A conch
The continent Uttarakuru
A crocodile
A turtle
Vasuki, king of the nagas
The ocean

THE SIX DEVA REALMS

1. Catummaharajika
2. Tavatimsa
3. Yama
4. Tusita
5. Nimmanarati
6. Paranimmitavasavatti

THE SIXTEEN BRAHMA REALMS

1. Brahma Parisajja 2. Brahma Purohita 3. Maha Brahma 4. Parittabha 5. Appamanabha 6. Abassara 7. Parittasubha 8. Appamanasubha 9. Subhakinna 10. Vehappala 11. Asannasatta 12. Aviha 13. Atappa 14. Sudassa 15. Sudassi 16. Akanittha (Ibid.)

Not identified in the legends but dominating the upper part of the Footprint are the large figures of three Brahmas. Devas and Brahmas each seated next to his palace wear a tubular garment plus sashes that flare at the sides. The central Brahma is in standing position. He is tall and slim. A Brahma of similar size lies at each side. These three Brahmas belong to the Asannasatta Realm, the eleventh Brahma Realm, part of the Fourth Jhana Realm and the realm of the Brahmas without perception. The Traibhumikatha (Reynolds and Reynolds 1982, 248) relates that "The faces and bodies of these Brahma are like golden images that have been newly polished by an artisan, and they look very beautiful indeed. Anyone who dies in a sitting position while he is thinking about being born in this level of the Brahma world will be born there in a sitting position, and will remain in that position until the end of his life-span. Among those in the Brahma world there are also those who die while they are standing and are born as Brahma standing in this Brahma world." This thus indicates that the creator

of the Footprint had access to a Traibhumikatha text. Thus far the Three Planes of Existence, the subject of the Traibhumikatha, had not been depicted on a Footprint of the Buddha. The Wat Phra Singh Footprint is no exception to the case. Only the first and second planes had been shown, with the first consisting of the Human and Deva Realms and the second with the Sixteen Brahma Realms.

The depiction of the three Brahmas evokes the following question: If the creators of the Footprint had access to the Traibhumikatha text, why were not all three planes of existence included? The answer would seem to be that the text was in its initial stage and awaiting completion. We will see that later in the reign of King Narai a text including the Three Planes must have been available. Significantly the earliest version of the Traibhumikatha in what is now northern Thailand dates to 1689 (Vickery op.cit. 284, n 27), shortly after the death of King Narai.

An inscription on the reverse of the Footprint states that in 1794 King Kawila and his family repaired the old Footprint, which was kept at Wat Phra Singh, Chiang Mai (Penth, Khruathai and Katphrom op.cit. 45-46).

A large right Footprint of the Buddha from Wat Suan Chan Nai, Phayao, and now at Wat Sri Khom Khan (Wat Phra Chao Ton Luang), Phayao, was carved out of a large slate slab (Plate 71). The shape of the toes derives from those of the 1510 left Footprint of the Lord Buddha now at Wat Cherng Kiri, Sri Satchanalai (Plate 64). The 108 auspicious symbols have been incised in a vertical grid such as originated in late 11th century Bagan. Two of the auspicious symbols appear in one square, auspicious symbols Nos. 13 and 14. Other Footprints of the period only have 107 squares on their vertical Bagan-grid type Footprints. The palaces of the Devas and Brahmas are tall three-storied edifices topped by a lotus finial. The most unusual aspect of the Footprint is the engraving of twenty-two figures on its frame. At least one is a Brahma; many are *vidhyahara* (celestial beings which have attained wisdom and magical powers and can fly through the air). They are depicted as flying while their hands in the gesture of adoration hold a long stemmed open lotus bud. The lotuses are related in design to those found in the great ocean on the Chiang Mai Footprint of the Four Buddhas (Plate 70) and on the toes of the left Footprint of the Buddha, Amphoe Paisali. The figures on the border drape the material of their lower garments over their loins in the manner of an Indian dhoti and wear dramatic sashes around their waists. The Footprint would date to the same period as the Paisali and Chiang Mai Footprints, to the era of King Narai. It measures 2.2 meters in length and 0.98 in width.

A left Footprint of the Buddha (Plate 72) was engraved on the same large slate slab as the right Footprint now at Wat Sri Kham Khan, Phayao (Plate 71). It measures 1.34 meters in length and 0.59 in width. As on the Footprint on the same slab the 108 auspicious symbols are placed in the Bagan type grid. The Footprint reads counterclockwise beginning with auspicious symbol No. 1, spear. A large Persian type

Plate 71. The right Footprint of the Buddha from Wat Suan Chan Nai, Phayao, now at Wat Sri Khom Khan (Wat Phra Chao Ton Luang), Phayao, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688), stone, length 2.2 meters, width at toes 1.98 meters.

Plate 72. The left Footprint of the Buddha from Wat Suan Chan Nai, Phayao, now at Wat Sri Khom Khan (Wat Phra Chao Ton Luang), Phayao, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688), stone, length 1.34 meters, width at toes, 0.59 meters.

Plate 73. A fragment of a right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Sri Ratana Mahathat, Chalieng, Sri Satchanalai Historical Park, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688).

rolled cushion on a base represents the auspicious symbol golden palanquin. It is positioned below the cakka's lower left side. The design for the water symbols, the seven great rivers and the seven lakes named Sidanta, is very distinctive, consisting of a lone lotus bud, such as on the lotus bud stupas in the Sukhothai-Sri Satchanalai-Kamphaengphet area. Significantly the design of the diadem in the universal monarch's crown (fifth from the top on the right vertical grid) has a flange on both sides and two prongs above at the front. This suggests Ayudhya artistic influence, as does the design of the palanquin. The Footprint dates to the second half of the 17th century, during the reign of King Narai.

A large fragment of a right Footprint of the Buddha is at Wat Sri Ratana Mahathat, Chalieng, Sri Satchanalai Historical Park (Plate 73). It is of slate and the new border framing it is of cement and bronze. The material and the grid system are the same as on the two Footprints now at Wat Sri Khom Kham, Phayao (Plates 71 and 72). When it was created the area was part of the kingdom of Ayudhya and it would date to the second half of the 17th century, during the reign of King Narai.

One of the most famous Sukhothai mondops is that at Wat Sri Chum (Plate 74). The arch which allows the one to view the large seated Buddha image in the atrium at the mondop's center is a very narrow and dramatic in style, similar to the

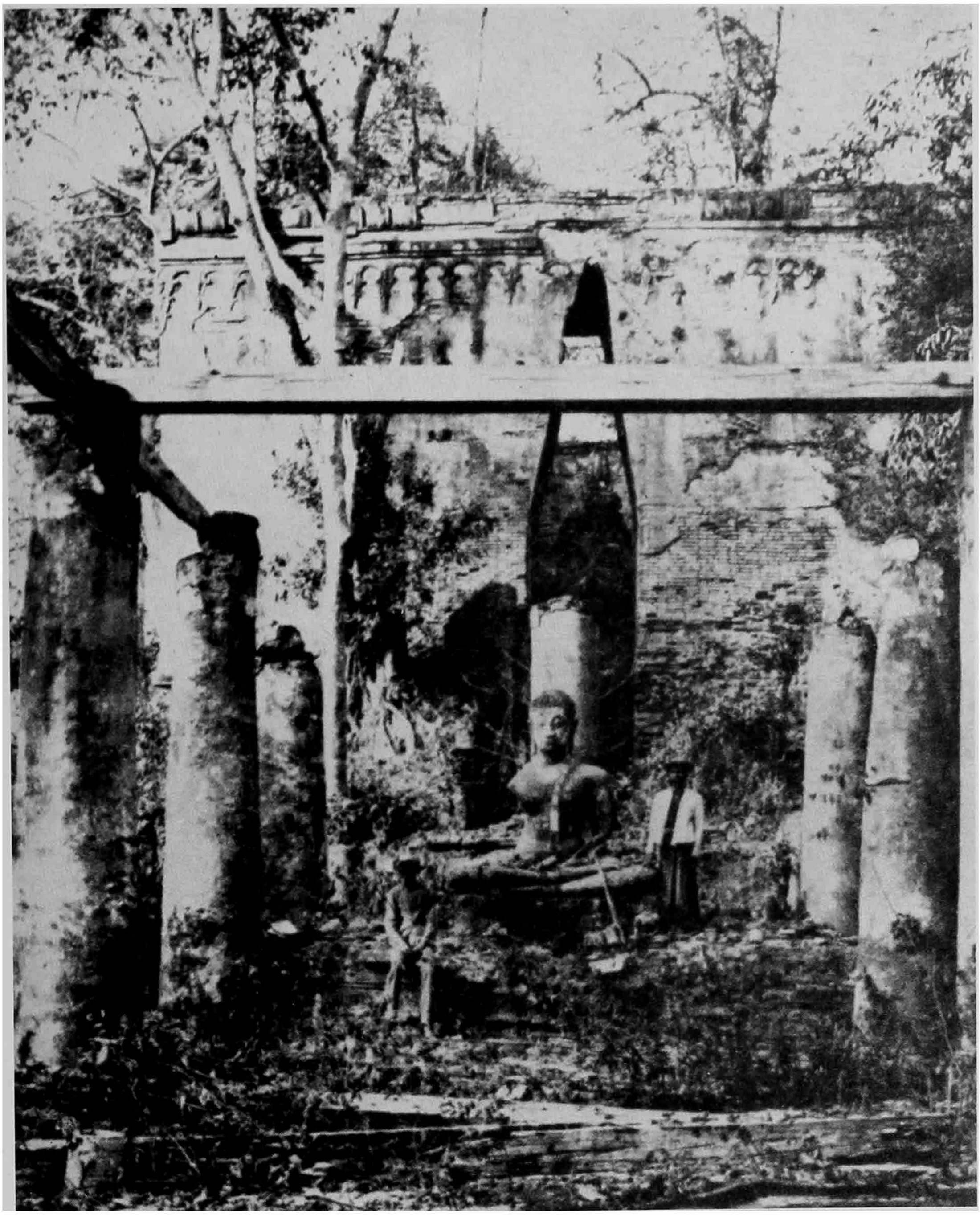


Plate 74. The mondop at Wat Sri Chum, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688), after Office of the Prime Minister 1972, Plate 14.

Plate 75. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Sri Chum Mondop, reign of King Narai (r. 1626-1688), stone, length 1.46 meters, width at toes 0.69 meters.

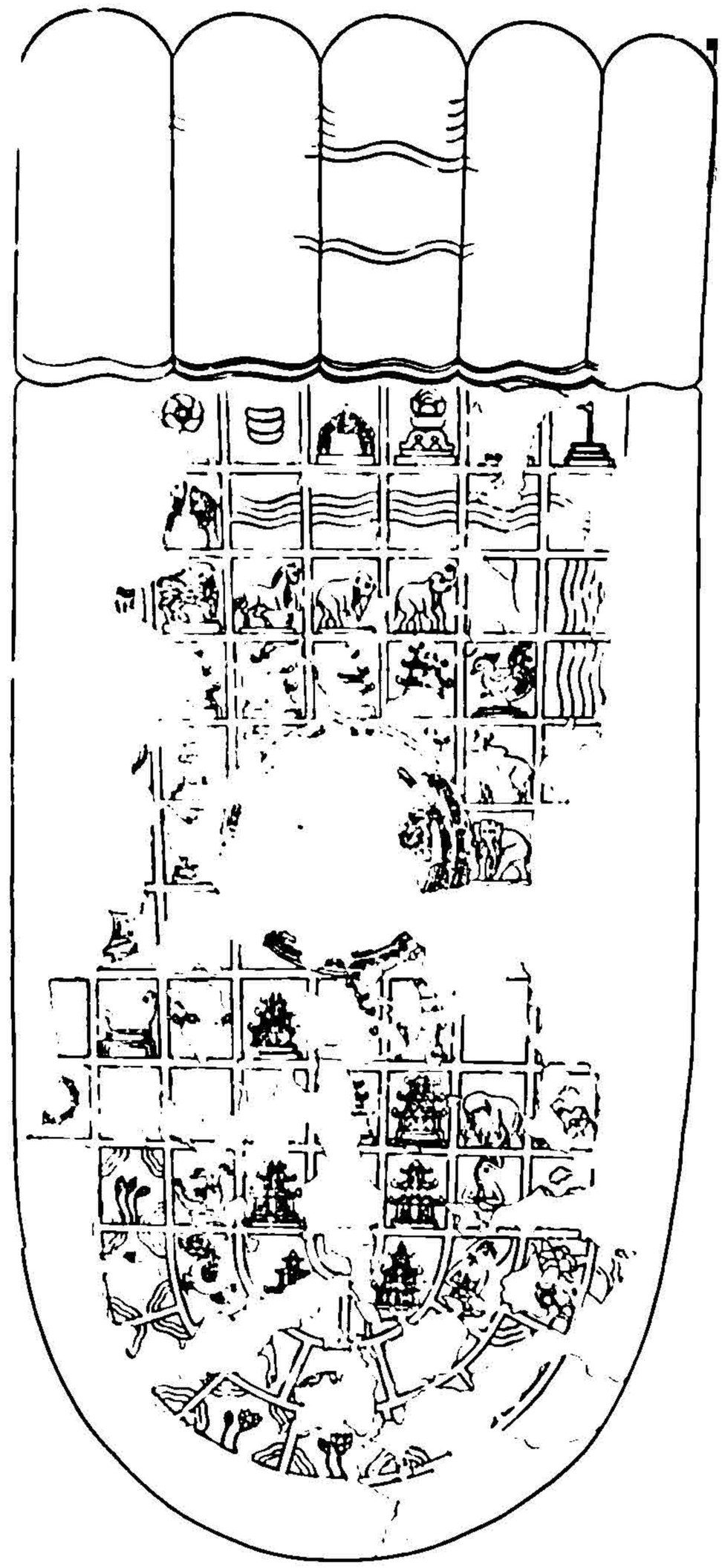


Plate 75a. Drawing of the Footprint in Plate 75, Office of the Prime Minister 1972, between 14 and 16.

pointed arches in the maidan at Isfahan, Iran, dated from 1600 (Hattstein and Delius eds. op. cit. 509).

The building enclosing the Buddha image is but an enclosed passageway. One enters at the right of the Buddha image and climbs a narrow stairway up to the roof and walks on the passageway's roof at the image's rear to another stairway, to the Buddha image's left, to descend. A right Footprint of the Buddha is located in the ceiling of the mondop's staircase to the right of the huge Buddha image (Plates 75 and 75a). The basic shape of the Footprint was first carved from a large green slate slab with care taken to sculpt the toes. It measures 1.46 meters in length and 0.69 meters in width at the toes. The palaces of the sixteen Brahma Realms and the six Deva Realms have been clustered around the cakka while those of the Human Realm have been placed outside of and around the higher realms. The palaces are tall edifices of the same design as on the two Footprints of the Lord Buddha now at Wat Sri Khom Kham, Phayao (Plates 71 and 72). The diadems and aureoles in turn are of the same design as those of the vidyaharas on the border of the right Footprint of the Lord Buddha now at Wat Sri Khom Kham (Plate 71). The grid system of the Wat Sri Chum Footprint, like those at Wat Sri Khom Kham, stems from Bagan. As on the said Phayao Footprints the grid has 107 squares but includes 108 auspicious symbols. The design of symbol No. 4, neck ornament, is significant. It is that of three crescents commonly used for the symbol on some 13th century Footprints and interpreted as "three folds of the neck" (Mya op. cit. 324 and 327; Di Crocco 2004, 51-52). This suggests that the Wat Sri Chum Footprint was carved by a craftsman knowledgeable about Footprints created in what is now Myanmar. He was probably a Mon.

On the sides of the stairwell wherein the Footprint is located, originally there were scenes from sixty Jatakas engraved on heavy slate beams and slate plaques. Each is accompanied by a gloss in Thai. The design of the diadems worn by most of the kings and other figures depicted therein is that of a band surmounted by a large medallion at the center and over each ear. Large earrings of the same medallion design are worn as well. Behind some of the heads is an aureole of elliptical shape (see Fournereau 1895, II, Plates XI (L) and XV (1)). The diadems are of the same design as symbol No. 5, an ear ornament, on the Wat Sri Chum Footprint of the Buddha, and aureoles are identical to those in the designs for the auspicious symbol, kinnara and kinnari in the Footprint. This indicates that the Footprint and Jataka engravings are of the same period and would have been created at the same time. The diadems and aureoles in turn are of the same design as those of the vidyaharas on the border of the right Footprint of the Buddha now at Wat Sri Khom Kham.

Boisselier in 1976 (72 and Plate 39) described the engraving of the Ajanna Jataka, No. 24 (Plate 76), erroneously as the Bhajajaniya Jataka, No. 23. Prominent in it is a beautiful lotus of a Yuan Dynasty design and under the king's carriage a Yuan Dynasty style classic scroll. Boisselier ascribed the floral motif to "Iranian" influence

Plate 76. The engraving on stone of the Ajanna Jataka No. 24, Wat Sri Chum Mondop, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688), after Fournereau 1895 II, Plate XX. It depicts the Bodhisatta as a horse in harness bringing a warrior charioteer to capture a seventh king.

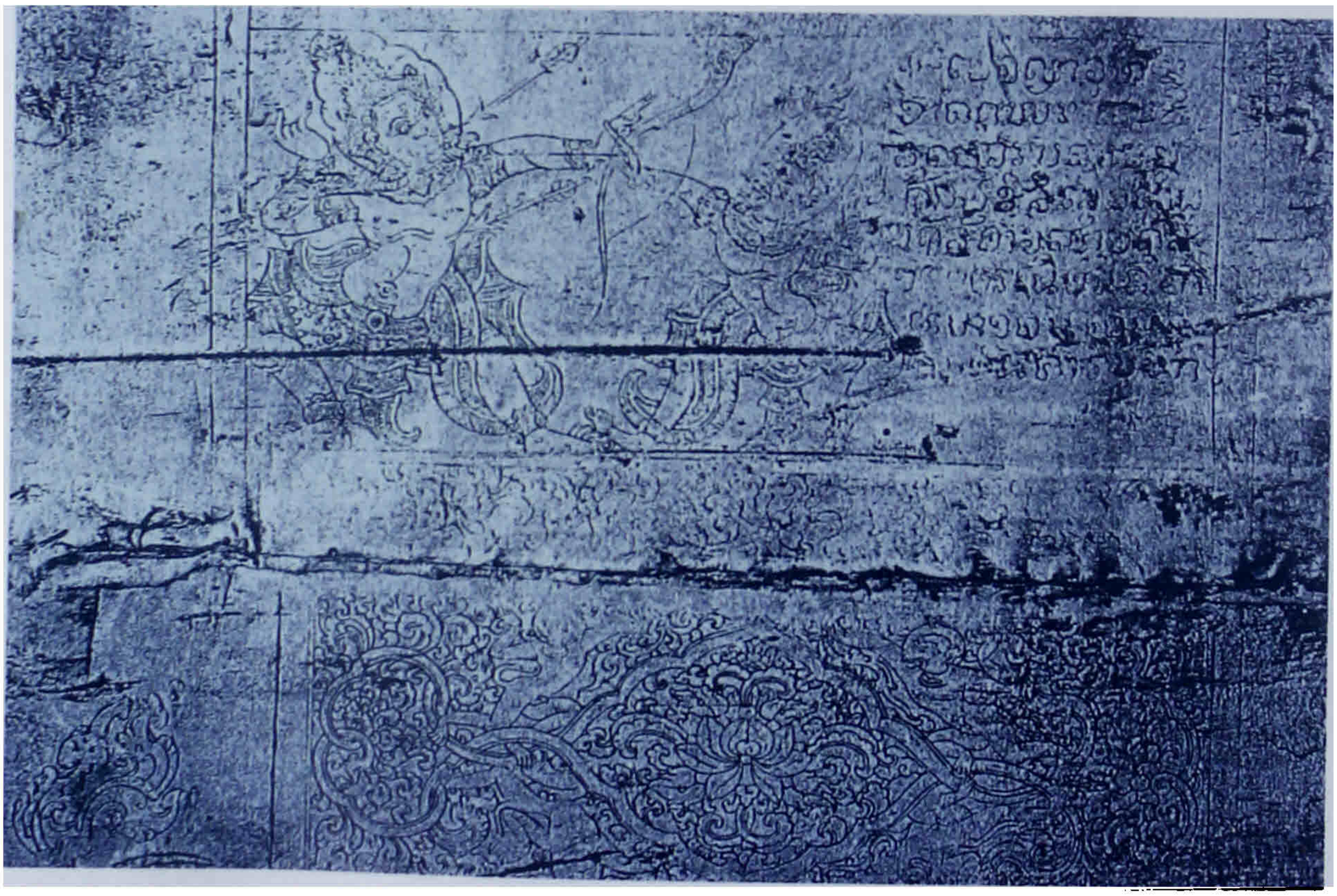


Plate 77. The engraving on stone of the Pancavudha Jataka No. 67, Wat Sri Chum Mondop, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688), after Fournereau 1895 II, Plate XIX. It depicts the Buddha as a Bodhisatta wearing a Narai period costume and crown and possessing five weapons but defeating an enemy not with the weapons but with words of logic.

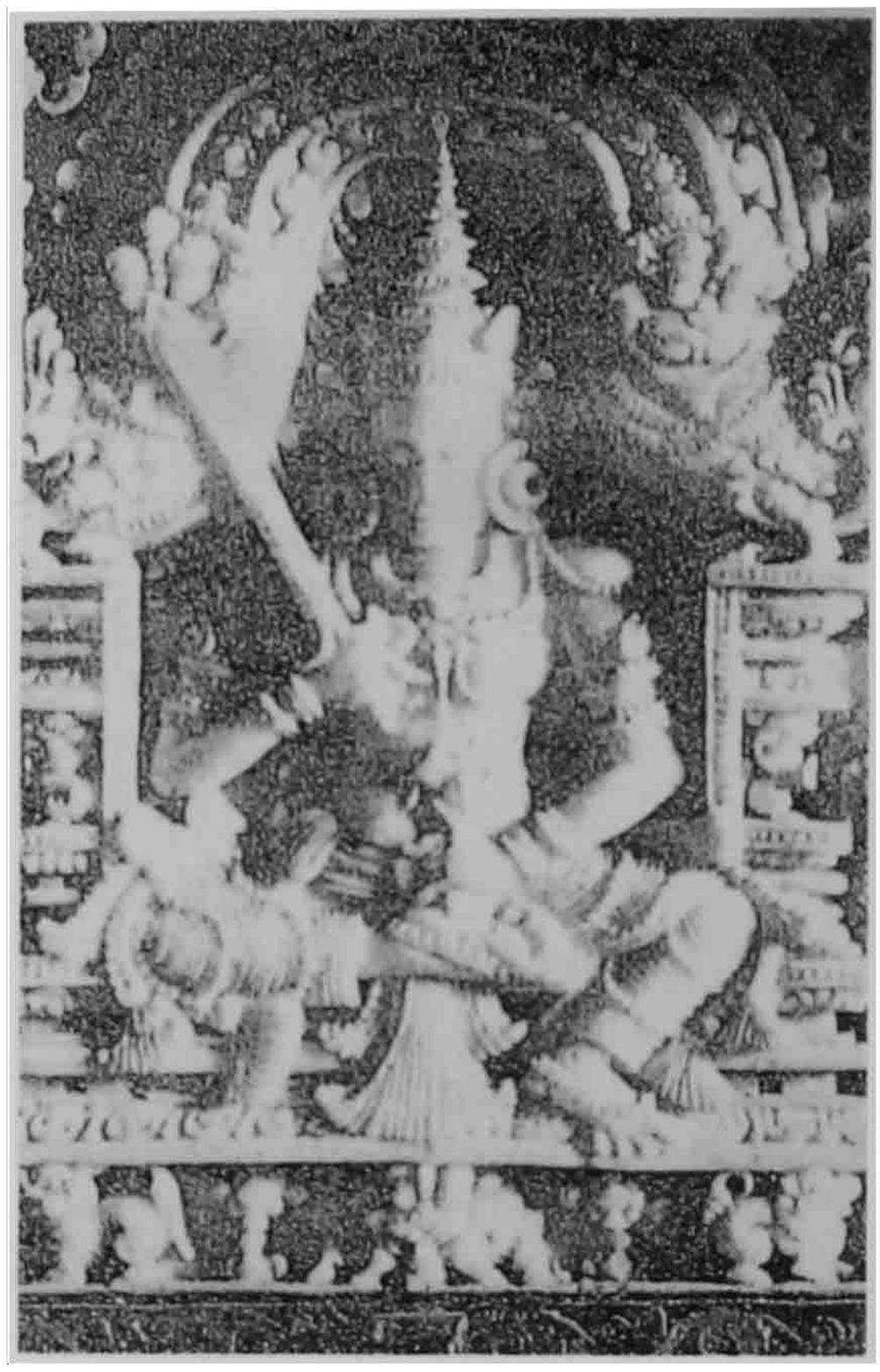
as he did the same motif in the Pancavudha Jataka engraving, No. 55 (Boisselier op. cit. 68 and Plate 37) (Plate 77). Both he too described as being inspired by Sinhalese art. He dated both the two Jataka engravings to mid 14th century, undoubtedly on the basis of the two Persian designs. The Yuan designs rather should have been attributed to the use of Yuan designs on Chinese blue and white wares in the mid to late 17th century (Krahl et. al. 1986 III, 972, Plates 2021 and 2023). Had Boisselier and many others who have striven to date the Jataka plaques looked carefully at the engraving of the Pancavudha Jataka, they would have seen thereon the figure of a king wearing a tall crown with a diadem having a flange at each side and two prongs at the front, the crown of a 17th century Ayudhya king. The king and his opponent with whom he was fighting both were wearing the garments of the period, including flowing sashes (see also Fournereau op. cit. Plate XXVII). Thus Boisselier would have known that the Persian designs were not mid 14th century but ones employed on a 17th century engraving.

Bauer (1992, 105) wrote about the Wat Sri Chum Jataka glosses: "It has been argued that the Wat Sri Chum glosses show the greatest orthographic and lexical variation in the Sukhothai corpus, but is this kind of variation due to lack of standardization–however defined–or due to the fact that the engravings were the work of several craftsmen? Or can variation be ascribed to interference from another vernacular language?" He concludes that there is interference from another language, in this case Mon (op.cit. 111). His queries all appear to be correct. Since several craftsmen were involved, there was no standardization and there was certainly interference from the Mon vernacular language.

Returning to Boisselier's assertion that these two Jatakas engravings showed Sinhalese artistic influences, he does not explain his statement. Regarding the Ajanna Jataka engraving, examination of the kings' diadems, each having three large medallions, plus large round earrings indicates that they are based stylistically on those worn by Kotte period kings, ca. 1545. These appeared on carved ivory caskets made for export (Plate 78) (de Silva 1975, 48-82 and Plates 18-26; Von Schroeder op. cit. 468-470, Plates 145 A-C and 146 A and B). Additional Sinhalese influence may be seen in the structure of the Wat Sri Chum mondop. Its narrow passages within walls around a square area enclosing a large Buddha image are reminiscent of those of the 1153-1187 Lankatilaka-image house, Polonnaruva. The image in the Lankatilaka originally was the size of the living standing Buddha (Von Schroeder op. cit. 666). The Buddha image at Wat Sri Chum would have been the size of a seated living Buddha.

Within the Wat Sri Chum mondop are remnants of murals. These bear lotus designs similar to those in the Jataka plaques described above. The murals include stupas of bell shape like those of Sri Lanka surmounted by what may be a harmika and tall finial (Plate 79).

Plate 78. Ivory casket made for export featuring a Kotte king ca. 1545 with a diadem and earrings, as on the Wat Sri Chum Buddha Footprint and Ajanna Jataka engraving (de Silva 1975, Plates 27-29).



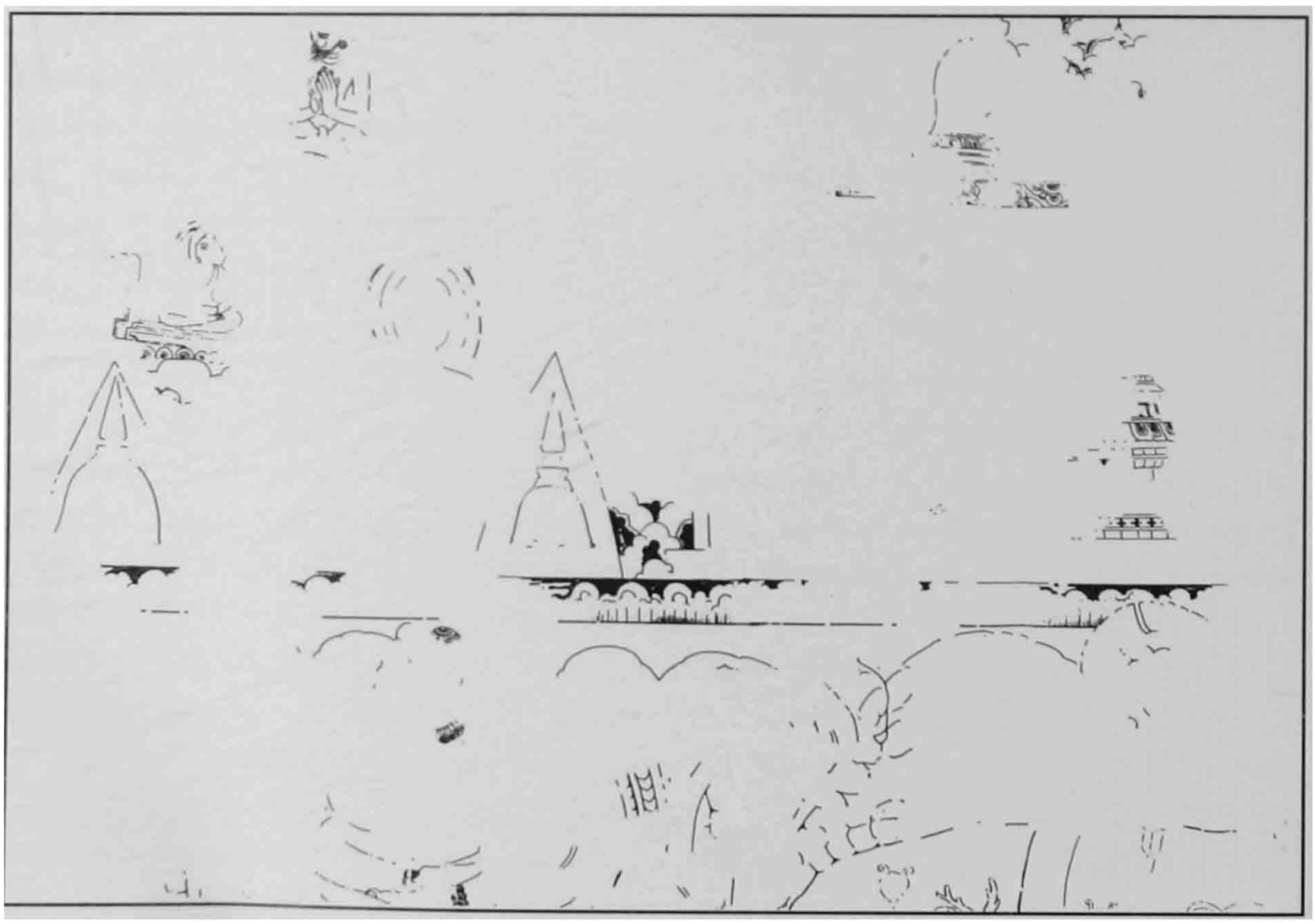


Plate 79. Drawing of a fragment of a mural, Wat Sri Chum Mondop, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688) suggesting Sinhalese artistic influence, Office of the Prime Minister 1972, Plate between pp. 14-16.

By what means had the Sinhalese designs been brought to Wat Sri Chum? This answer may be found in the great Sri Lankan chronicle, *The Mahavama*. It relates that Siri Vijaya Rajasiha ascended the throne of Kandy where he reigned for eight years. When he learned that the Order of the Sangha was almost extinct in the land he sought information from the Dutch. The latter told him that Buddhism prospered in Bago, Rakhine (Arakan) and Ayudhya. Therefore the king sent his ministers to each country to find out for him the state of Buddhism there. When he had determined that the Buddhism as practiced in Ayudhya was pure he sent his ministers back there with a letter and presents and diverse things meant for offerings to fetch a chapter of monks (Wijesingha 1909, 279-283). The Dutch provided a ship. The expedition was disastrous, however, with all but one person perishing at sea. The king then sent another mission to Ayudhya and the king, presumably King Narai, acquiesced to send a chapter of monks. By the time the mission had returned home to inform its king he had died (Malalasekera 1958, 274-276). In the meantime, in 1684, Rakine had sent 40 monks to revive the *upasampada* ordination (it takes five monks to form a chapter able to perform upasampada, a valid ordination and all other rites) (Harvey 1967, 56 and 145). Thus a least some ministers and other persons from Sri Lanka came to Ayudhya during what would have been the reign of King Narai, probably bringing with them offerings bearing Sinhalese artistic designs similar to those on the Footprint of the Buddha, engravings and murals at Wat Sri Chum.

It was King Narai who commissioned the Footprint and the engravings as well as the mondop and the Buddha image at Wat Sri Chum. He obviously was working at great speed to establish his nation as the peer of nations in Europe and the Middle East, about which he had heard and read. The corresponding Footprint of the Buddha and Jataka engravings that would have been placed in the eastern wing of the mondop were never created because of the king's untimely death.

The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Sri Chum, is closely related in design to the right Footprint from Sumanakuta (Khao Phra Bat Yai), Sukhothai, now at Wat Traphang Thonglang, Sukhothai (Plate 80); the left Footprint from Nan Don Hill (Khao Nang Rong), Kamphaengphet, now in the National Museum, Bangkok; and to the Right Footprint of the Buddha, Pak Brah Hill (Khao Kob), Nakhon Sawan (Plate 82). In Chapter IV it was noted that inscriptions by Mahadhammaraja I of Sukhothai (r. 1247-ca. 1368 C. E.) said that he had placed Footprints of the Lord Buddha at the latter three sites. The Sumanakuta and Nan Don Hill Footprints form a pair and each measures 1.7 meters in length and 1.1 meters in width. All three Footprints bear the same Bagan type grid system and 108 auspicious symbols as on the Footprint at Wat Sri Chum dated herein to the reign of King Narai. The 108 with only two exceptions follow the list of auspicious symbols given in the 11th century Jinalankara-tika. Both the right Footprint from Sumanakuta and the left Footprint from Nan Don Hill have a figure of a king or Bodhisatta with hands raised in adoration on the left side of the

Plate 80. The right Buddha Footprint from Sumanakuta (Khao Phra Bat Yai), Sukhothai, now at Wat Traphang Thonglang, Sukhothai, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688), stone, length 1.7 meters, width at toes 1.6 meters (photo by Noppadol Nimmanee).

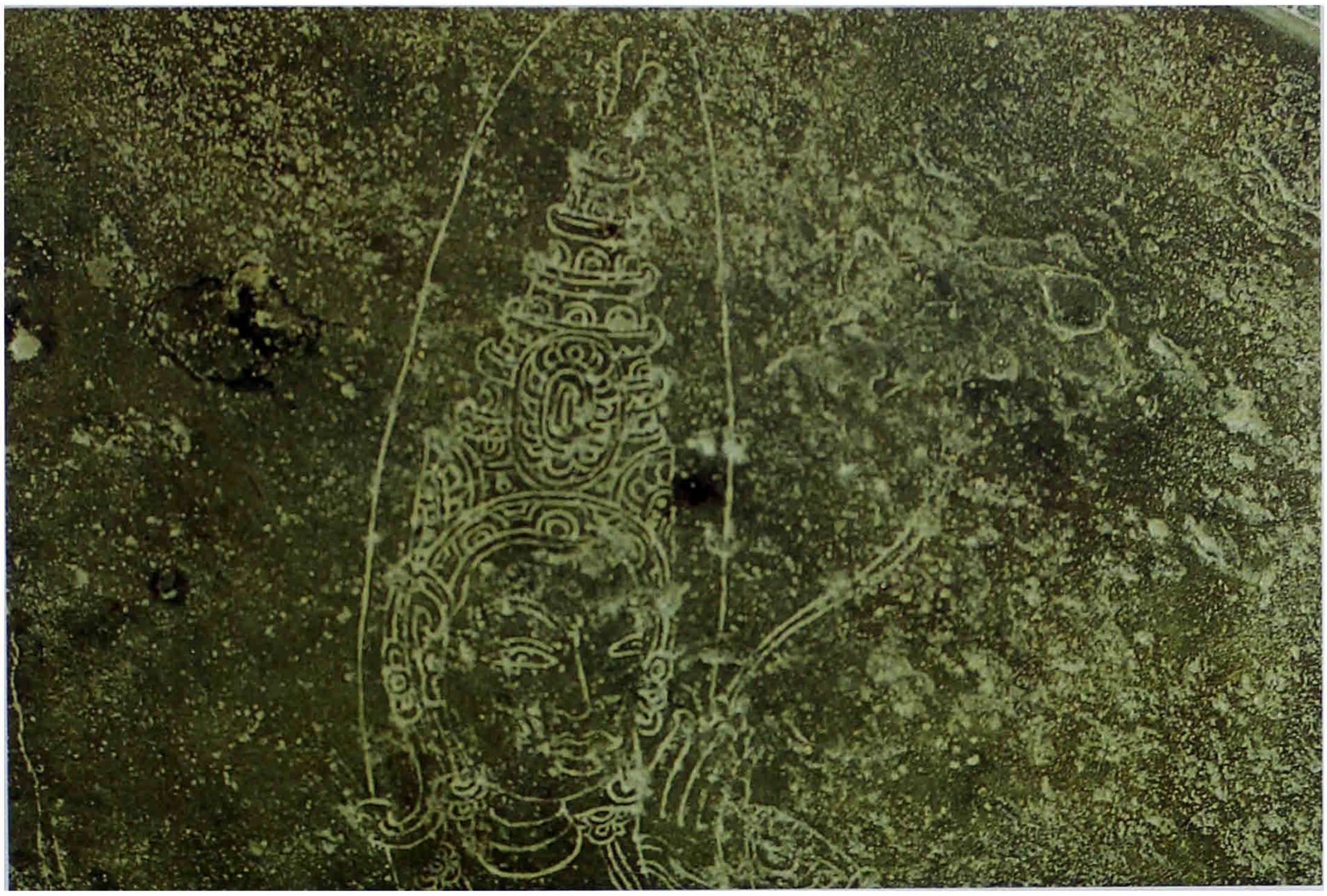


Plate 81. The king from Plate 80 with hairstyle, crown and earrings as in the Wat Sri Chum Buddha Footprint and Jataka engravings (Plate 78) (photo by Noppadol Nimmanee).

Footprint (Plate 81). He wears a high crown with a diadem having three medallions, one at the center and one at each side. It has been noted that such a diadem is worn by many of the kings depicted in the Jataka engravings at Wat Sri Chum dated herein to the reign of King Narai. The diadem in turn is of the same design as that of auspicious symbol No. 4 on the Wat Sri Chum Footprint. On the bottom right on each of the two Footprints is a monk. He holds a long stemmed lotus related in design to the lotus buds on the toes of the Footprint of the Lord Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthabat, Paisali, and to that in the Bhajajaniya and Pancavudha Jataka engravings in Wat Sri Chum, all three of which are dated herein to the reign of King Narai.

The 108 auspicious symbols on all four Footprints would have read as follows:

THE HUMAN REALM

1. A spear
2. Siri, goddess of prosperity
3. A rosette with right-turning petals
4. A neck ornament
5. An ear ornament
6. A food receptacle

Plate 82. The right Buddha Footprint, Pak Brah Hill (Khao Kob), Nakhon Sawan, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688), stone (photo by Noppadol Nimmanee).

7. A throne
8. An elephant goad
9. A palace
10. An archway
11. A white umbrella
12. A sword
13. A palm leaf fan
14. A peacock tail feather fan
15. A white-yak-tail fly whisk
16. A crown
17. A monk's alms bowl
18. A jasmine garland
19. A red water lily
20. A white water lily
21. A blue water lily
22. A red lotus
23. A white lotus
24. A vase of plenty
25. A full bowl
26. The ocean
27. The Cakkavala Mountain Range that surrounds the ocean and forms a wall around the country
28. The Himalayas
29. Mt Meru, the center of the universe
30. The full sun
31. The full moon
32. The constellations

33.-36. The four large continents

37. The 500 hundred surrounding islands
38. The cakkavatin, the universal monarch, and his seven treasures
39. A right spiraling conch
40. A pair of golden fish

41.-47. The seven great rivers

48.-54. The seven great mountain ranges

55.-61. The seven Sidanta lakes

62. The king of the golden garudas
63. A crocodile
64. A triangular victory flag and banner or rectangular flag
65. A golden palanquin
66. A golden-yak-tail fan
67. Mt. Kelasa

68. The king of the lions
69. The king of the tigers
70. The king of the Valahaka horses
71. The king of the Uposatha elephants
72. The king of the Chaddanta elephants
73. Vasuki, the king of the Nagas
74. The king of the Brahmani ducks
75. The king of the bulls
76. Eravana, an elephant king
77. The golden makara
78. The boat with four prows
79. The cow and her calf
80. A kinnara, a being half man and half bird
81. A kinnari, a being half woman and half bird
82. The Indian cuckoo
83. The king of the peacocks
84. The king of the herons
85. The king of the ruddy geese
86. The king of the pheasants

THE DEVA REALMS

87.-92. The Six Deva Realms

THE BRAHMA REALMS

93.-108. The Sixteen Brahma Realms

Thus, all date to the reign of King Narai.

Another Buddha Footprint which dates to the reign of King Narai is the right Buddha Footprint at Wat Salabun, Ayudhya (Plate 83). As on the left Buddha Footprint, Wat Sri Khom Kham, Phayao (Plate 72) the crown for the universal monarch and that of the Brahmas all have a broad diadem with a flange at either side and two prominent prongs at the front. Once again the auspicious symbols are placed within a Bagan type vertical grid and the auspicious symbol for the throne, as on many Footprints of the period, is in the form of a base piled with three rolled cushions of graduated sizes. Mt. Meru and its encircling mountains rise from the base of the Footprint as on the Footprint from Wat Phra Singh, now in the Chiang Mai National Museum, which also dates to the rein of King Narai.

A large cakka dominates the left Footprint of the Lord Buddha, Wat Vorapho (Wat Rakhang), Ayudhya (Plate 84). The Footprint bears a large cakka at the center on

Plate 83. The right Buddha Footprint, Wat Salabun, Ayudhya, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688), stone.

Plate 84. The left Buddha Footprint, Wat Vorapho (Wat Rakhang), Ayudhya, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688), stone, length 1.425 meters, width at toes 0.62 meters.

Plate 84a. Bas-relief on the base of the Footprint in Plate 84

which auspicious symbols have been placed as on the "twin imprints" introduced from Sri Lanka in the early 15th century (Plate 60). However, unlike on those Footprints the auspicious symbols were not selected and arranged to contribute to a hierachical effect. Rather the symbols constitute 46 of those belonging to the Human Realm. They begin with No.1, spear, positioned at three o'clock on the first concentric circle around the cakka's hub and read counterclockwise. The remainder of 108 auspicious symbols is in a grid to the exterior of the cakka. There the Six Deva Realms and Sixteen Brahma Realms that constitute the higher realms are interspersed with symbols from the Human Realm; however, they can easily be distinguished because they are represented by palaces. Their design is that of a stupa placed high on a base and having a small cella with a pediment over each entry on all four sides and a tall finial. It is similar to the design of the "Srivijaya Sri Lanka chedi" at Wat Chedi Chet Thaew and the chedi at Wat Noi, both in Sri Satchanalai, and to the chedis at each subcardinal point of the chedi complex at the center of Wat Mahathat, Sukhothai (compare Diskul 1978, 162 and Figure 71 and 213 and Figure 96 and 21 and Figure 2) suggesting that they were built at that time. Several of the Human Realm symbols are of special interest. The symbols for rosette with right-turning petals and that for a vase of plenty located one below the other in the five o'clock position on the cakka both employ a vase design, called a "baluster vase." This design was introduced in China early in the reign

of emperor Kangxi (r. 1662-1722) (Little 1984, 116-117 and Plate 53-53 b). The design and dating of the vases indicate a dating of the Footprint to the reign of King Narai. The symbols for a full pot placed next to the vase of plenty is in the form of a jar with a globular body, short neck and flaring mouth. Its design provides further information about wares produced at the period. The symbol for constellation, positioned at about nine o'clock on the outer ring to the cakka, is depicted by what appears to be a Western stained window.

The sides of the stone base on which the Footprint rests has a bas relief design divided into four tiers (Plate 84a). On it 108 devas with hands in the gesture of adoration decorate the first, third and fourth tiers while the second bears a pattern of alternating long-stemmed lotus blossoms and intricate v-shaped patterns.

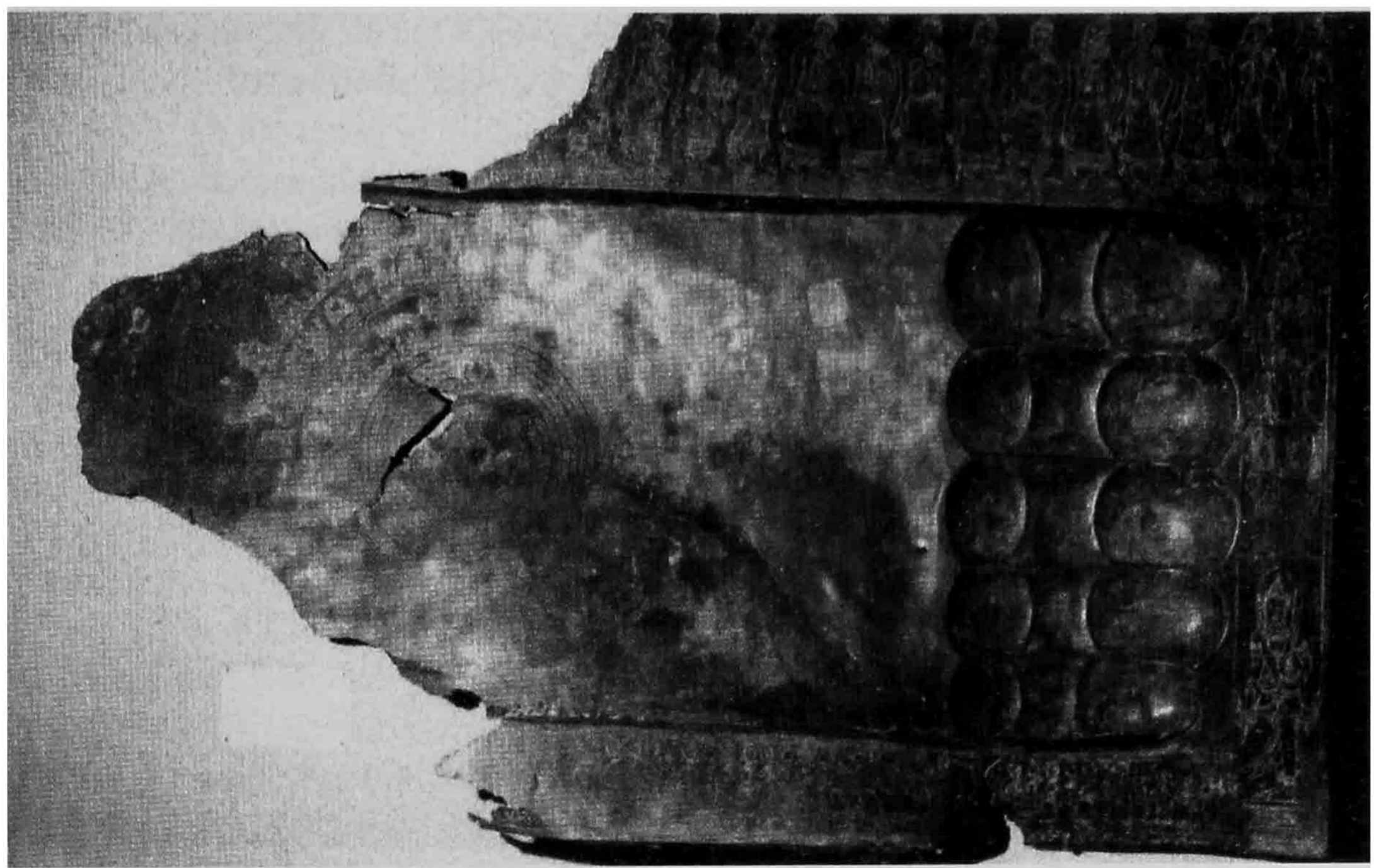
The left Footprint of the Buddha at Wat Vorapho is of green stone and measures 1.41 meters in length and 0.62 in width.

Another Footprint of the same design is in a small building in front of Chedi Phukhao Thong, Ayudhya. Both date to the reign of King Narai and both Wat Vorapho and Chedi Phukhao Thong date to that reign.

Yet another Footprint of the Buddha with a large cakka at the center of the Footsole was once placed on a high stone base of the same design as that of the left Footprint at Vorapho. This was the left Footprint of the Lord Buddha originally at Wat Sadet, Kamphaengphet. A fragment of that important Footprint is now in the Bangkok National Museum (Plate 85). The Footprint was engraved on a metal alloy sheet. Its overall design constitutes one of the ultimate achievements in the creation of Footprints of the Lord Buddha in Thailand.

The Footprint is presented as if it were a map of the universe. Mt. Meru with its encircling mountain ranges and seven lakes is synonymous with the cakka. The sun and moon with a peacock and rabbit inside, respectively, appear at each side of the mountain complex. The auspicious symbols of the Human Realm appear within two concentric bands around the Meru complex. Originally, at each cardinal point on the second row was the outline of a palace with a king seated inside. Each represented one of the four continents. The palaces of the Devas and Brahmas are placed outside of and around the auspicious symbols indicating the Human Realm. Their positioning suggests to the viewer their higher status. Their palaces are of mondop design, immediately suggesting that the Footprint was created during the reign of King Narai.

Significantly for the first time, twenty rather than sixteen Brahmas appear on a Buddha Footprint created in Thailand. Also for the first time, all three planes of existence in Buddhist cosmology are in evidence on a Buddha Footprint; however, they do not include the Four Realms of Woe below the Human Realm. The lowest plane, the Kamabhumi, here contains seven Realms of Sensual Desire, namely the



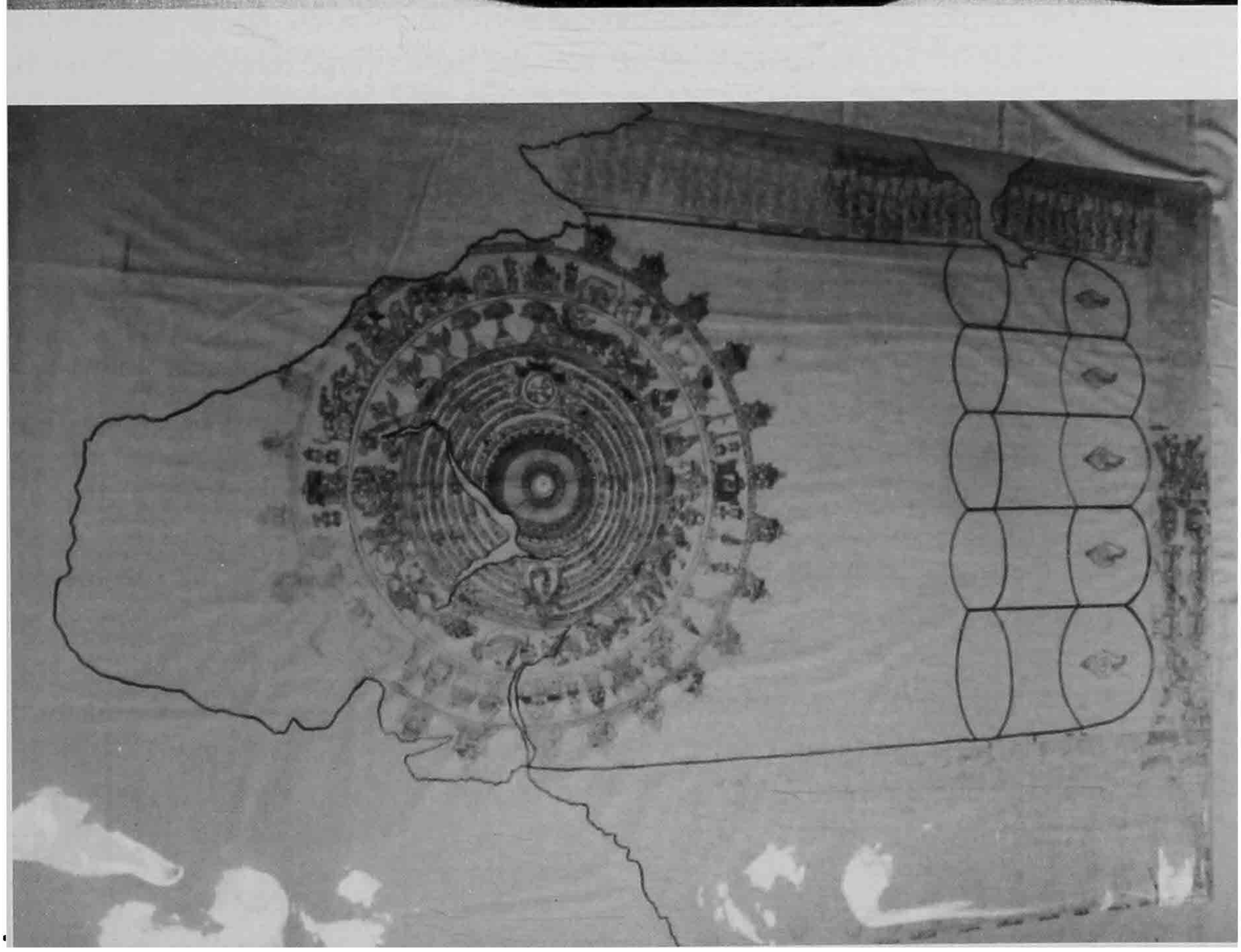


Plate 85 and 85a. The left Footprint of the Buddha originally at Wat Sadet, Kamphaengphet, now in the Bangkok National Museum, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688).

Human Realm and the six Deva Realms. The second plane, the Rupabhumi, is composed of the sixteen Brahma Realms, and the third plane contains the Four Brahma Realms.

As pointed out in Chapter IV, the Brahma Realms play an important role in Jhana meditation. Early Buddhists identified the four stages of Jhana concentration with the four Jhana Realms into which the Sixteen Brahma Realms were divided. Later the four Jhana Realms were expanded into five by dividing the second into two segments. When those in the Sixteen Brahma Realms have reached the highest stage of Jhana by following either the four or five stages of the Jhana, they then may cultivate the first four stages of Jhana correlated with the four higher Brahma Realms. Above the four higher Jhana stages are the four stages of sainthood on the way to reach Nibbana, namely, the stages of the *sotapanna* (streamwinner), *sakadagama* (once-returner), *anagami* (non-returner) and arahat. The *Visuddhimagga*, the classical Theravada treatise on meditation and one of texts mentioned as a source for the Traibhumikatha, sets forth that these four stages are attained both through the mastery of the Jhanas and Vipassana (Insight) Mediation (Buddhaghosa, Nanamoli trs. 1964, XXIII, 18-31). The anagami and arahat experience Nibbanic bliss for seven days. While one is in Nibbanic bliss vitality persists, the heart abides and the faculties are clear, although respiration, observation, and perception are stilled and quiescent. The arahat does not die because the Kammic force which brought about his birth is not spent but lives out his life-span without adding any new Kamma and is indifferent to death (Narada Maha Thera 1987, 216-217). He cannot lead others to Nibbana. The Traibhumikatha relates that only a Buddha who lived a life of service and purity over many eons in arduous pursuit of the ten perfections can do this (Thai National Team op. cit. 471). To achieve this, as shown in Chapter IV, he had first to be a Bodhisatta. Having perfected himself, the Bodhisatta, as a monk possessing the five virtues, now would enter the enlarged number of Jhanas and after passing through them, enter the four stages of sainthood, and go on to achieve Enlightenment (Buddhaghosa op.cit. I, 140). According to a French missionary living in Ayudhya at the time, King Narai considered himself to be a Bodhisatta (Van Der Cruysse 1991, Smithies trs. 2002, 440 and 45).

The Footprint is meant to be viewed horizontally. A line of walking monks wearing their uttarasanga in the open mode with a sanghati folded on the shoulder and with hands in the gesture of adoration were initially engraved on both the top and lower borders. Their names are given in Thai employing the Khom script. A tall figure of a king to the front side of the toes wears a crown with a diadem having a flange at each side and two prongs on top as worn by King Narai. On his chest is a broad necklace with a medallion at the center and on each side.

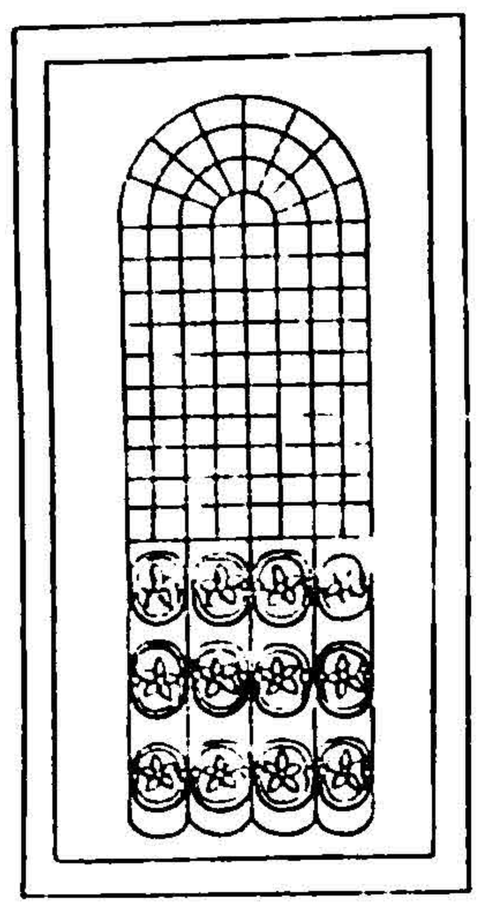
An inscription in Thai employing the Khom script reads, "His Majesty of merit and power throughout the universe employed me of good name, Dhammaruji, to engrave the characteristics of the Footprint of the Omniscient and thus it was done with 36 *damlung* of silver: 10 *damlung* for the caster and 150,000 (sic)" (Office of the

Prime Minister 1965, 91-93). The word, *damlung*, is a term for a weight equal at that time to four baht. During the period this amount would have been considered a very large sum of money only affordable by royalty. The Khom script employed is of the type used during the late Ayudhya period (Meetem, 2 March 2002). The above evidence suggests that the 17th century king who commissioned the left Footprint of the Buddha was King Narai.

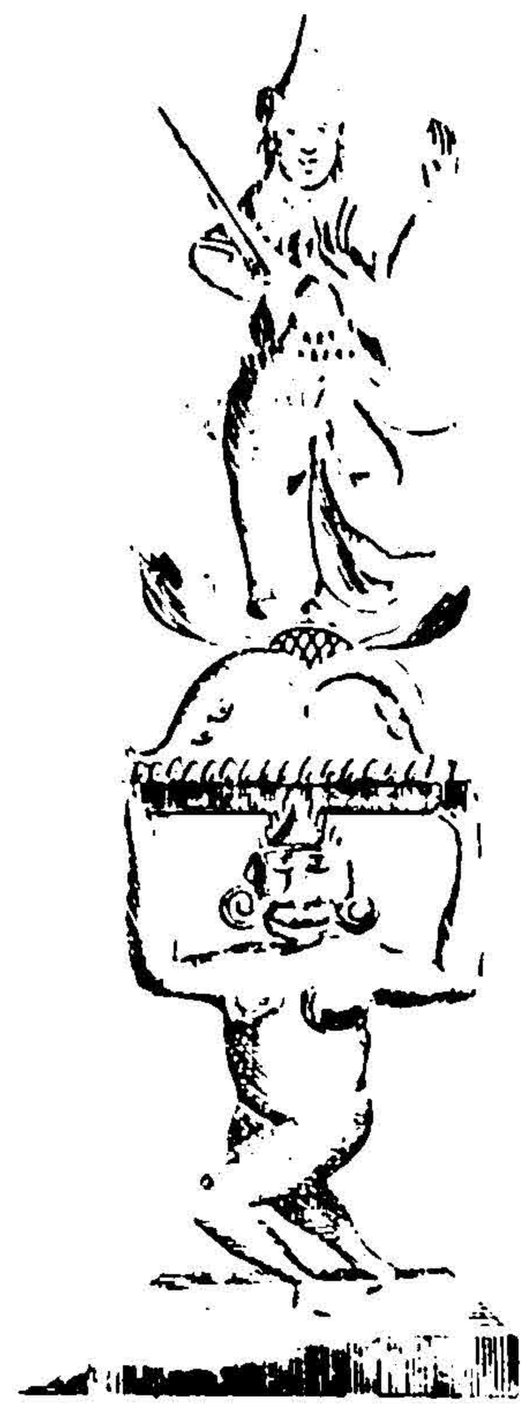
The fact that the Footprint from Wat Sadet is the first known Footprint to include the Four Realms of Brahmas as mentioned in the Traibhumikatha gives credence to queries about it having a mid 14th century dating. And it suggests, moreover, that the text of the Traibhumikatha as known may have first been written during the reign of King Narai.

The Footprint constitutes tangible evidence of the King's knowledge of the higher Jhana realms and his belief in his Bodhisatta attainment. His commissioning of the Footprint establishes his interest in and knowledge of Buddhism that was unrealized by most foreign writers at the time and later and those who would convert him to Christianity or Islam. Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Muhammad, Rabi, the author of the *Ship of Sulaiman*, relates the story of the visit of the envoy of Shah Sulaiman to Ayudhya that began in 1685, late in the reign of King Narai. He wrote about him "...the king of Siam sincerely was interested in raising himself, of acquiring distinction and improving his way of living, his household and his possessions. He was eager to learn about the other kings of the inhabited world, their behavior, customs and principles. He made a great effort to enlighten himself and sent everywhere for pictures depicting the mode of living and the courts of foreign kings" (O'Kane trs. 1972, 99). King Narai's broad interests in the courts of other countries and their religions led foreigners in Ayudhya as well as his subjects to erroneously believe he could be swerved from Buddhism. While Ibrahim too was hopeful on this point, he does remark on the king's strict devotion and the fact that he went to the temple every morning and prostrated himself before the Buddha images (op. cit. 139-140). Regarding King Narai's dress, Mohammed Ibn Ibrahim reported that the king only abandoned his former dress when he saw illustrations showing the magnificence of the court of Shah Sulaiman so much did he emulate foreign kings (ibid.).

Time was running out for King Narai's many building projects and varied intellectual interests, highlighted by contacts with the court of Louis XIV and his association with the French clergy and army and with Constantine Phaulkon. In early February 1688 King Narai fell seriously ill and on either the 10th or 11th of July died. His funeral ceremonies and cremation were held on 10 February 1690. On the following 7th of June, Engelbert Kaempfer arrived in the area (Van Der Cruysse op.cit. 524-525). In describing the Siamese court he provides a drawing of what he calls "Monstrous Idols in the porch of a temple in the Phraklang's temple-court" (Kaempfer



espece de tableau qui est envenerauon chez les Siamois, et ressemble peut etre aux Tabulæ Votivæ.



autres IDOLES des Siamois.

Plate 86. A Footprint of the Buddha with a grid of Bagan style often created during the reign of King Narai and an image of the king as Vishnu on his mount, the garuda, reign of King Narai (r. 1656-1688) from a drawing by Engelbert Kaempfer in 1688, published in 1727. The drawing suggest that at that time Buddha Footprints were positioned with the toes towards the viewer as was the case with the earliest Buddha Footprints.

Plate 87. King Narai as Narayana on seals.

Plate 88. Mural at the Phra Ubosot Wat Koh Kaeo Suttharam, Phetchaburi, depicting Phra Phutthabat and the Footprint of the Buddha on Sumanakuta (Adam's Peak) and Mara's attack on the meditating Bodhisatta prior to his Enlightenment, 1734, early in the reign of King Borommakot (r. 1733-1758).

1987 ed. 56, Figure 14.4) (Plate 86). The idols included one of the Hindu god, Vishnu, on his mount the garuda, and a Footprint of the Lord Buddha with a grid of Bagan style often created during the reign of King Narai. The statue represents Narai as Narayana, an avatar of Vishnu. Thus King Narai considered himself not only a Future Buddha but an avatar of Vishnu as well. On what appears to be his seal is a four-armed Narayana (Plate 87) (Bhumadhon 1994).

Another Ayudhya king, King Borommakot (r. 1733-1758) was greatly committed to Buddhism and the creation of Footprints of the Lord Buddha. The murals in the Phra Ubosot, Wat Koh Kaeo Suttharam, Phetchaburi, were painted in 1734 C. E., one year after King Borommakot ascended the throne. Themes in these early murals of the reign provide information about the concepts on which the king placed emphasis, which would in turn be reflected in part on the Footprints of the Buddha Gotama created during his reign. High on each side of the wall behind the presiding Buddha image are two Footprints of the Buddha. A king, presumably King Borommakot, venerates the Footprint at the viewer's right (Plate 88). The Footprint is Phra Phutthabat and below is a mondop. Borommakot would create a golden Footprint of the Buddha to cover the

great Footprint and refurbish the mondop housing it. On the other side of the wall is yet another Footprint indicating his deep devotion also to the Footprint on Mt. Sumanakuta (Adam's Peak), Lanka, and a prophecy of his future assistance to Buddhism in that country. Behind the Buddha is a large mural depicting Mara with his army attacking the meditating Bodhisatta to prevent his Enlightenment plus Mara's defeat. The latter is brought about by Mae Torani, the earth goddess, who wrings from her hair all the lustral water collected when water had been poured marking each meritorious deed performed by the Bodhisatta in his 547 lives perfecting himself for Enlightenment.

The mural on the wall facing the Buddha shows the Buddha seated on the throne in Indra's Veyajanta Palace in Tavatimsa Realm atop Mt. Meru (Plate 89). The Buddha had gone there during his seventh rainy season to preach the Abhidhamma-pitaka to his mother since she had died shortly after his birth and thus had not heard its message. On the Buddha's right sits the god, Brahma, and on the left Indra. Both the Victory over Mara story and that of the Buddha's visit to Tavatimsa Realm would be introduced on Footprints of the Buddha dated herein to the reign of King Borommakot.

At the top of the mural are the palaces of the higher Realms. They are edifices having one cella on a tiered base. Each is topped by an elongated tower with a many branched metal finial. Also at the top of the mural are Sinhalese type stupas, each with a harmika and tall spire. The two architectural designs foretell two of the principal edifice types that King Borommakot would build or renovate throughout his country.

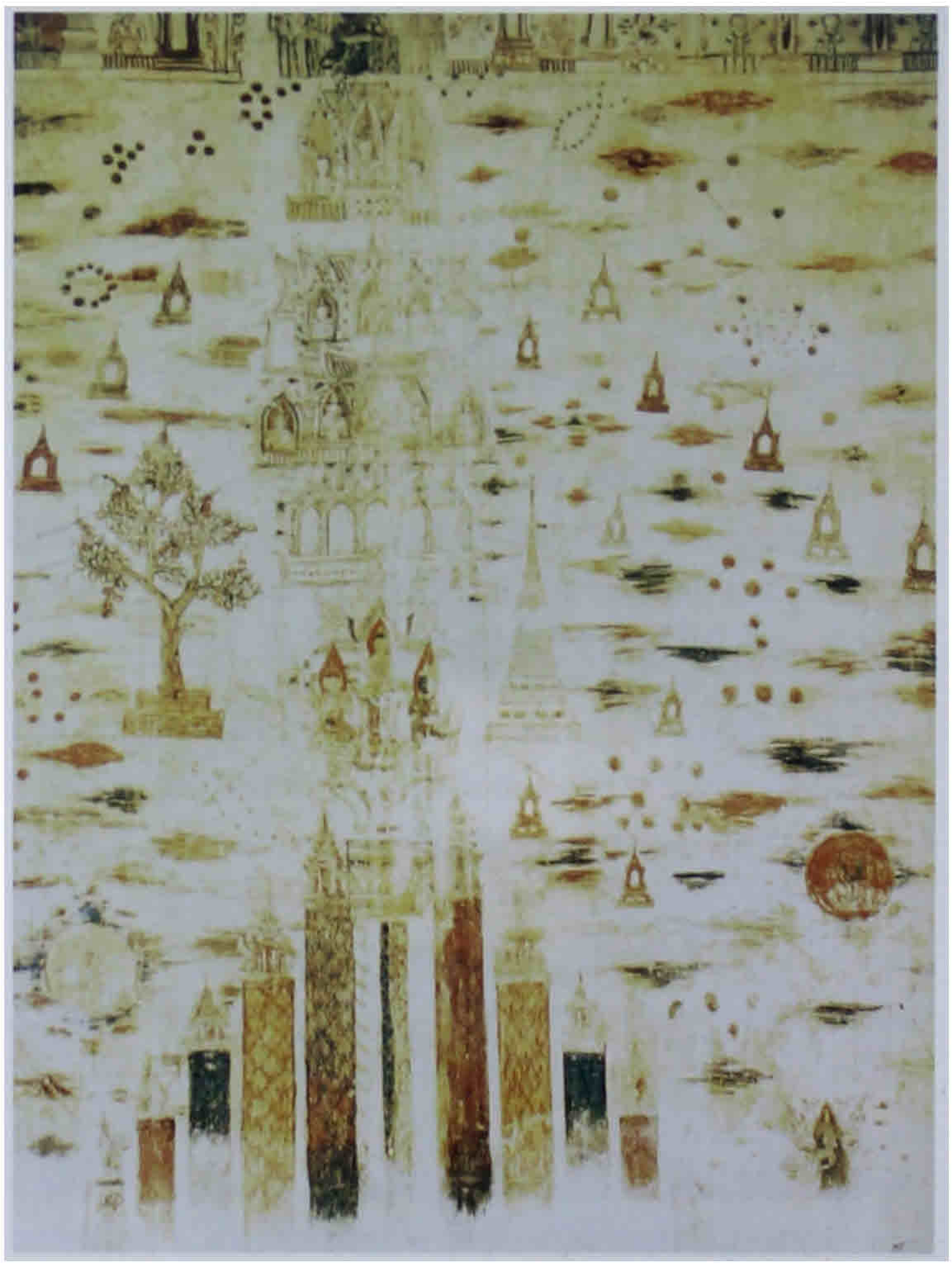


Plate 89. Mural at the Phra Ubosot, Wat Koh Kaeo Suttharam, Phetchaburi, depicting the Buddha preaching in Tavatimsa Realm, 1734, early in the reign of King Borommakot (r. 1733-1758).

Plate 90. Wat Phra Ram restored by King Borommakot.

Wat Phra Ram, Ayudhya, was renovated between 1741 and 1742 (Krairiksh 1992, 49) (Plate 90). Most of the grand architectural structures we see today date to that period. The design of its main and minor towers follow in general those of the edifices in a mural at Wat Koh Kaeo Suttharam but at the same time invoke mid-14th century Ayudhya during the time of King U Thong (King Ramathibodhi I).

The sandstone right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Ram, now in the Bangkok National Museum, would have been created at the time (Plate 91). At first glance it appears to be very early in date. The basic design is that of the 15th century "twin footprints" of the Lord Buddha now in Wat Bovornivet based in turn on that of the great Footprint on Sumanakuta (Plate 60). The Brahmas and Devas on the concentric band immediately around the hub of the cakka wear Khmer-like crowns after those on the said twin footprints. The delicacy of the throne, auspicious symbol no.7, and that of the bases for the food receptacle, the vase of plenty and the full bowl–auspicious symbols 6, 23, and 24–all similar to the bases on chedis in the murals of Wat Koh Kaeo Suttharam, indicate that the Footprint is 18th century rather than 15th century (compare Leksukhum 2000, 46-47). The design of the Footprint reflects King Borommakot's intense devotion to the Sumanakuta Footprint. The Wat Phra Ram Footprint measures 2.25 meters in length and 0.91 in width. Since the Footprint is a

Plate 91. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Ram, reign of King Borommakot (r. 1733-1758), pink sandstone, length 2.25 meters, width at toes 0.91 meters.

right Footprint, the symbols read clockwise. Auspicious symbol no.1, spear, appears at the top center of the outer encircling concentric band next to Siri, goddess of prosperity.

The Footprints reads as follows:

THE HUMAN REALM

Outer Band

1. A spear
2. Siri, goddess of prosperity
3. A rosette with right-turning petals
4. A neck ornament
5. An ear ornament
6. A food receptacle
7. A throne
8. An elephant goad
9. A palace
10. An archway
11. A white umbrella
12. A sword
13. A palm leaf fan
14. A peacock tail feather fan
15. This symbol is effaced.
16. A crown
17. A garland
18. A jewel
19. A blue water lily
20. A red water lily
21. A red lotus
22. A white lotus
23. A vase of plenty
24. A full bowl
25. The ocean
26. The Cakkavala Mountain Range which surrounds the ocean and forms a wall around the universe
27. The Himalayas
28. Mt. Meru
29. The full sun
30. The full moon

31.-35. These symbols are effaced.

36. Two thousand small islands surrounding the four continents

37. The universal monarch
38. A right spiraling conch
39. A golden fish and kacchapa, the turtle
40. A golden bee
41.-42. Two of the seven great rivers

Inner Band

43. The boat with four prows
44.-46. Three of the seven great rivers
47-53. The seven mountain ranges
54.-55. Two of the seven great rivers
56.-61. The seven Sidanta lakes
62. The king of the golden garudas
63. A crocodile
64. A banner, flag
65. A golden palanquin
66. A golden yak tail fan
67. Mt. Kelasa
68. The king of the lions
69. The king of the tigers
70. The king of the Valahaka horses
71. The king of the Uposatha family of horses
72. The king of the Chaddanta family of horses
73. Vasuki, the king of the nagas
74. The king of the Brahmani ducks
75.-79. These symbols are effaced.
80. A kinnara, a being half man and half bird
81. A kinnari, a being half woman and half bird
82. The Indian cuckoo
83. The king of the peacocks
84. The king of the cranes
85. The king of the ruddy geese
86. The king of the pheasants

Innermost Band

THE DEVA REALMS

87.-92. The Six Deva Realms

93.-108. The Sixteen Brahma Realms

The left Footprint of the Lord Buddha, Wat Phra Rup, Suphanburi, was carved from a large teak board and measures 1.56 meters in length and 0.53 meters in width (Plate 92). The arrangement of the 108 auspicious symbols is opposite that on the Footprint from Wat Phra Ram in that the symbols for the Human Realm are carved on the innermost ring around the hub of the cakka and on the next ring while the symbols of the Six Deva and Sixteen Brahma Realms appear on the outermost ring. Like the Wat Phra Ram Footprint, however, it possesses definite anachronistic elements. At each end of the panel on which the Footprint was carved are two seated figures, both with a stout sword in hand. They are the Four Great Kings of the lowest Deva Realm, each of whom guards one of the cardinal points of the universe. Their broad neck bands and earrings are reminiscent of those of a 12th century Angkor king and the floral decoration at the upper right corner of the Footprint is reminiscent of that in the same position on the mid 14th century left Footprint of the Buddha now at the Chantara

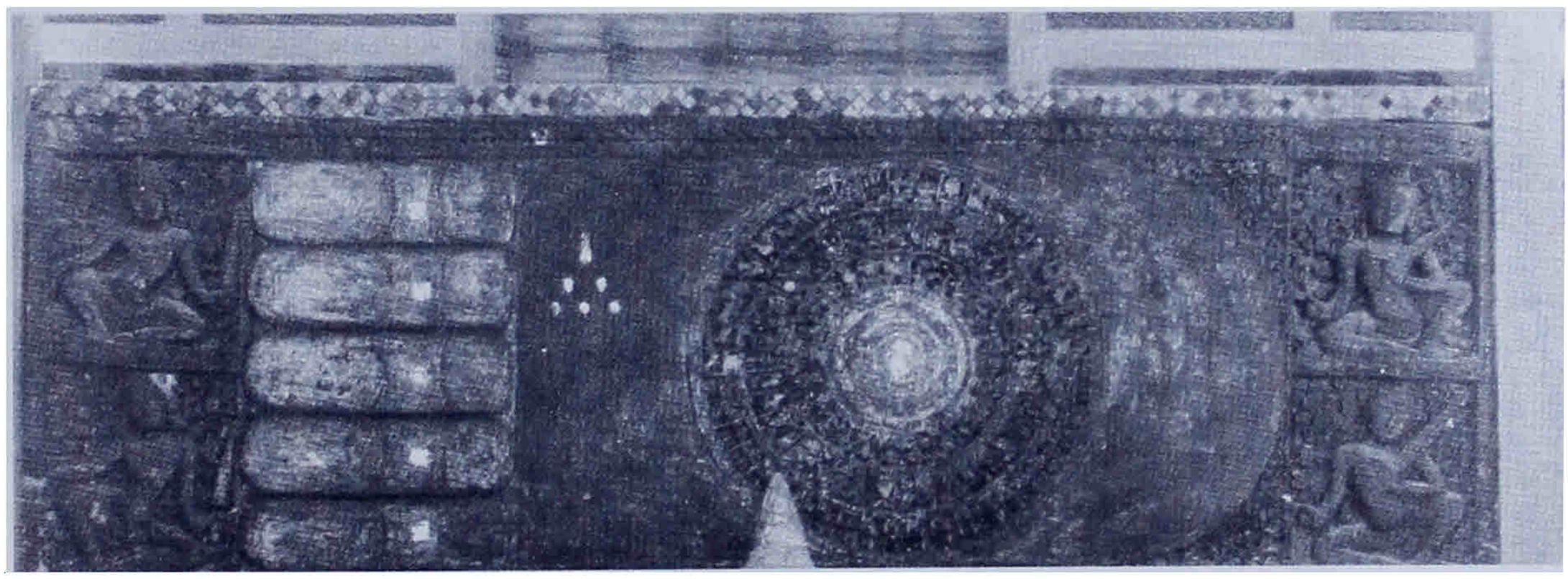


Plate 92. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Rup, Suphanburi, reign of King Borommakot (r. 1733-1758), teak plank with gold leaf and glass mosaic border, length, 1.56 meters, width 0.63 meters.

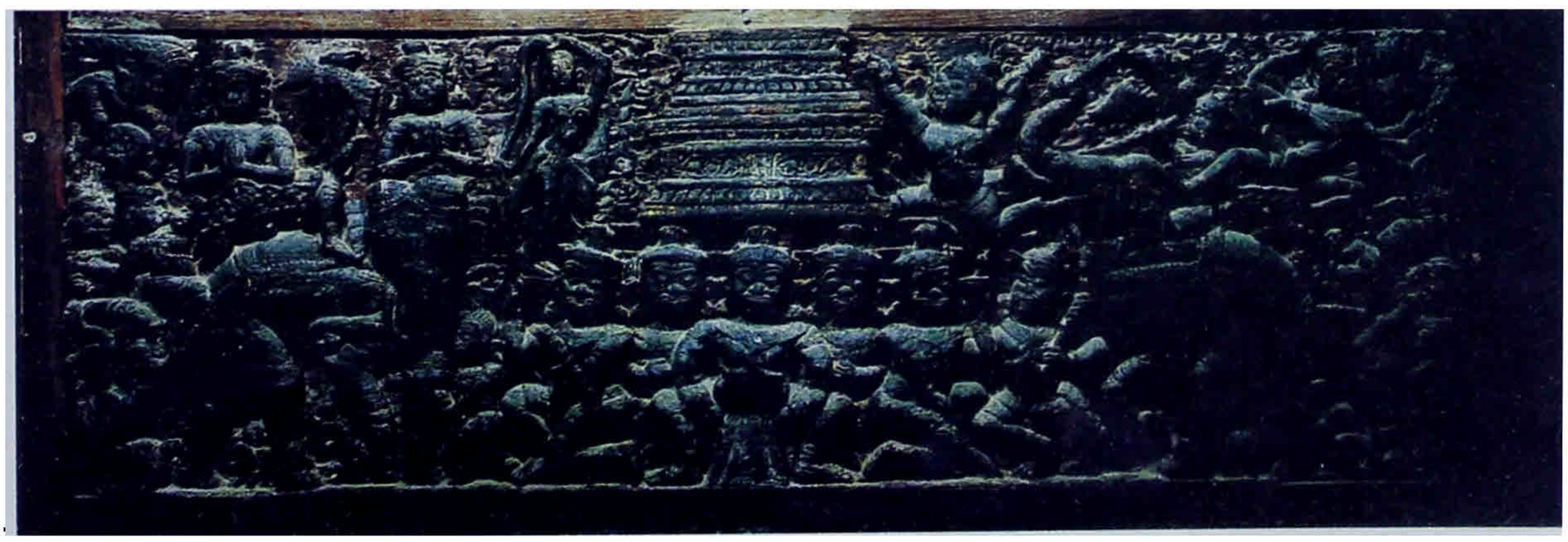


Plate 92a. The reverse of Plate 92

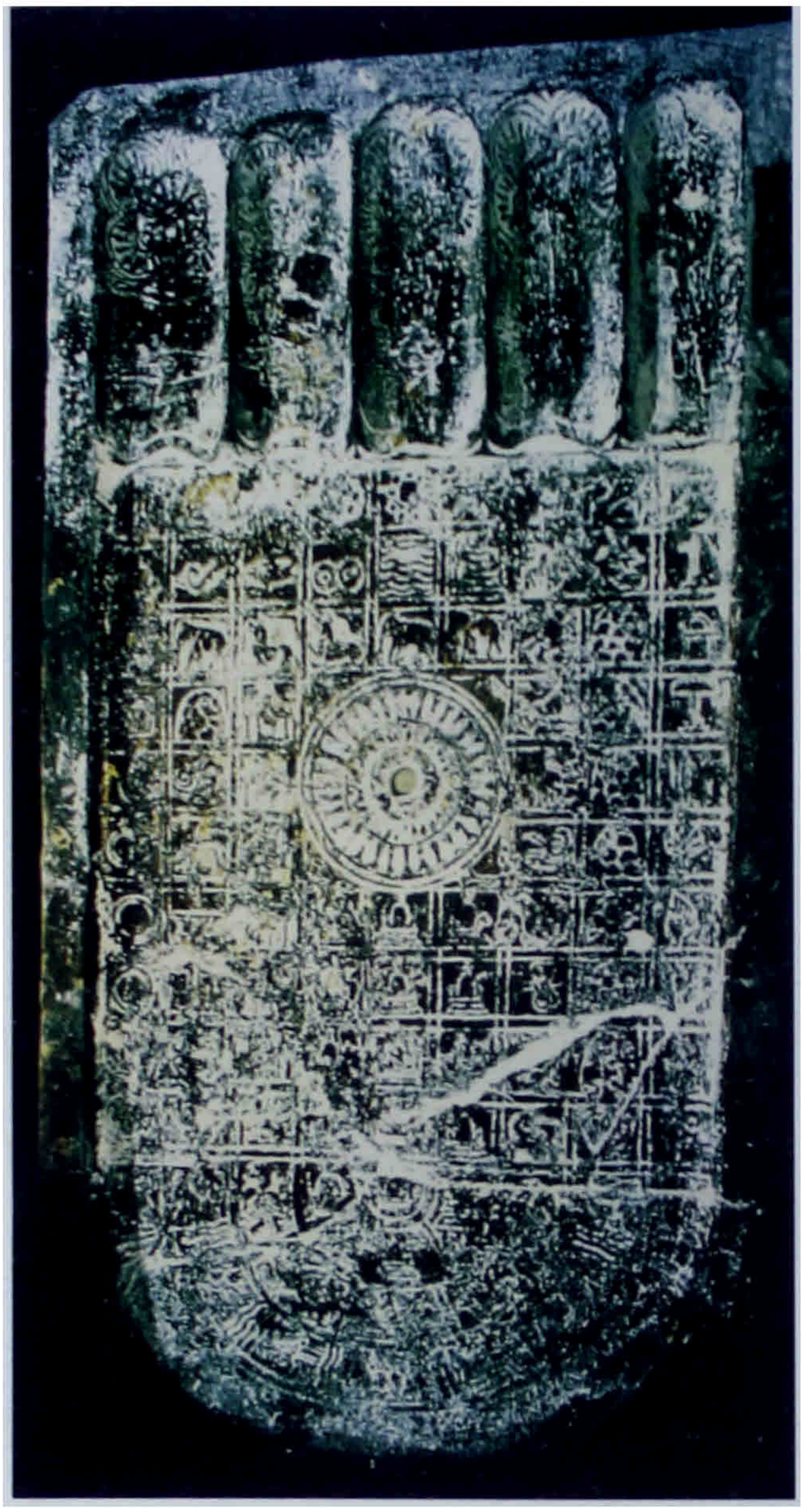


Plate 93. The right Buddha Footprint from Khao Luang now in the Khao Luang Cave, Phetchaburi, stone.

Kasem National Museum (Plate 51). On the reverse of the Wat Phra Rup Footprint is a scene of Mara and his army attacking the meditating Bodhisatta represented by a throne (Plate 92a). Mara and his army all wear Angkorian type armor and diadems. The figure of the goddess of the earth, Mae Torani, however, is similar to that of the murals at Wat Koh Kaeo Suttharam, Phetchaburi. Thus the left Footprint of the Buddha at Wat Phra Rup dates to the reign of King Borommakot.

While Buddha Footprints of the Sinhalese design were created early in the reign of King Borommakot, ones of the early Bagan design were also made. The palaces of the Brahmas clustered below the cakka of the right Buddha Footprint from Khao Luang, now in Khao Luang Cave, Phetchaburi, are of bell-shaped-stupa form set atop a three-stepped terrace (Plate 93). The stupas have a harmika surmounted by a pillar and a tall umbrella. In addition they appear to have an entrance at each side. The entrance at the sides and the overall style of the stupas is like that of the three large bell-shaped stupas at Wat Phra Si Sanpet, Ayudhya. Engelbert Kaempfer who visited Ayudhya in 1690 later in his travel memoirs presented a drawing of Wat Phra Si Sanpet in which he presents no bell-shaped stupas. Thus the stupas had not been built at that time. Probably the stupas were built during the reign of King Borommakot. The toes on the Footprint are engraved with rosettes. These link it to another Footprint with even more elaborately engraved toes with rosettes. This is the Footprint at Wat Dusit (Plate 94). The Footprint too bears an early Bagan vertical grid design.

Yet another Buddha Footprint employs a grid system influenced by that on early Bagan Footprints. The left Footprint of the Buddha at the left side of the entrance of the Phra Prang, Wat Phuttaisawan, Ayudhya, (Plate 94a) is placed high on an ornate

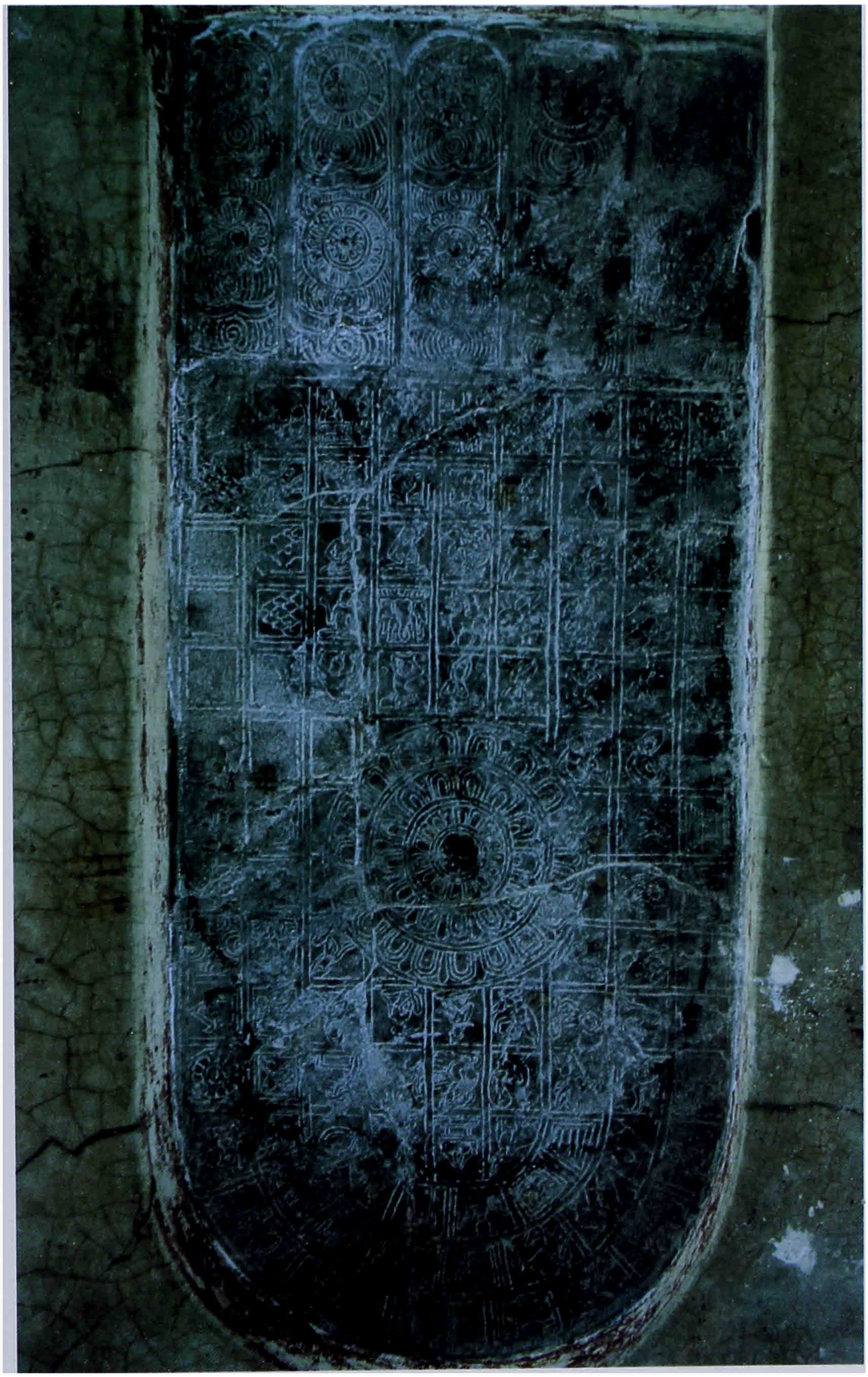
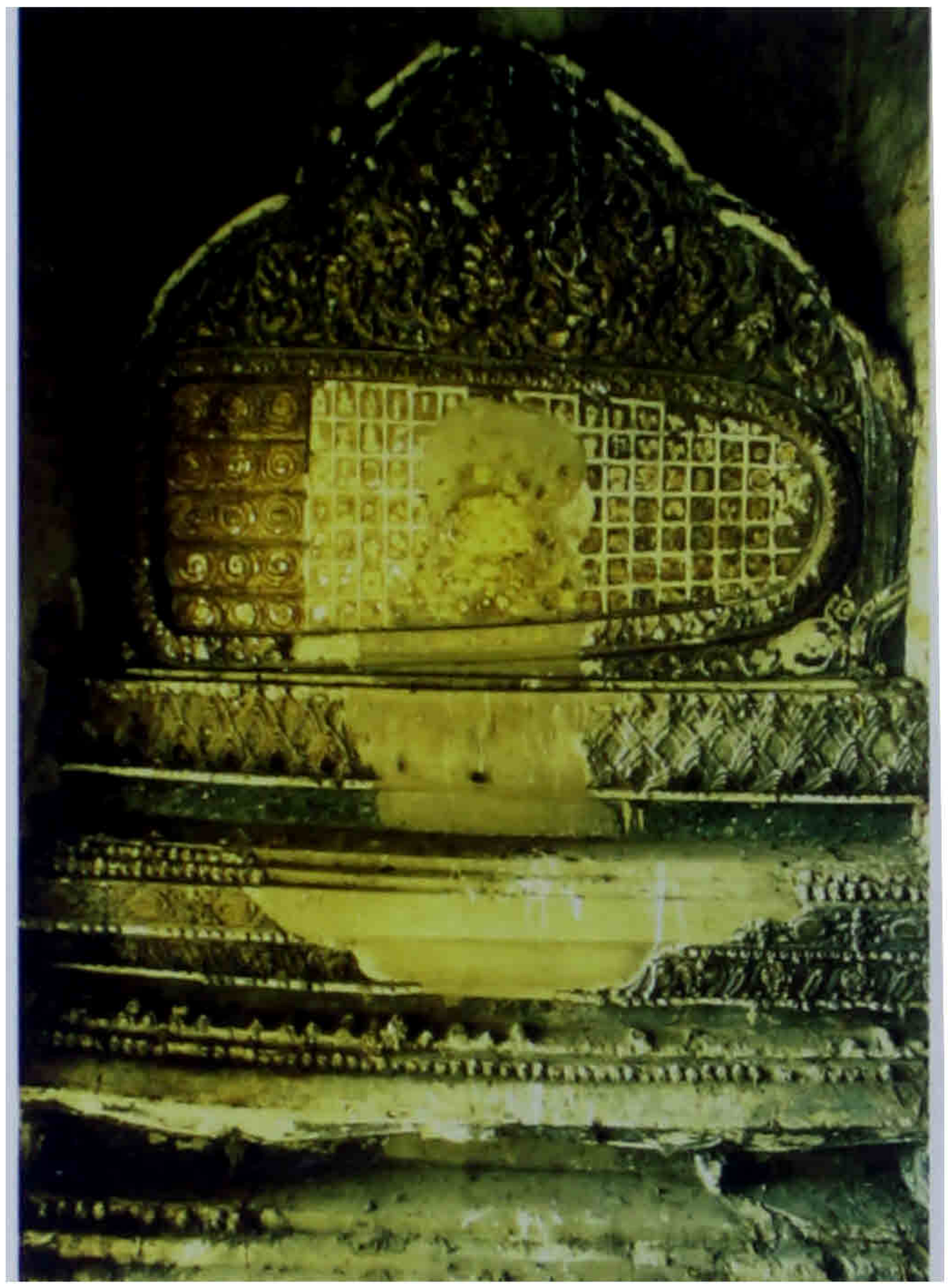


Plate 94. The left Buddha Footprint, Wat Dusit, Ayudhya.

Plate 94a. The left Footprint of the Buddha, Phra Prang, Wat Phuttaisawan, Ayudhya, reign of King Borommakot (r. 1733-1758), gilt stucco and glass on sandstone, length 1.605 meters, width at toes 0.635 meters.



three-layered base with feet and certain stucco and glass decorative elements of the same design as on some bases of chedis in the murals of Wat Koh Kaeo Suttharam, Phetchaburi (compare Leksukhum op.cit. 46-47). Thus the Footprint dates to the reign of King Borommakot. It was mentioned in a report of a mission sent by Kirti Sri Rajasiha of the Kingdom of Kandy to King Borommakot in 1750 C. E. Their account of Wat Phuttaisawan and the Footprint reads, "Right in the center is a great dagaba with four gates. On entering by the eastern gate there is a flight of stone steps in gilt; right in the womb of the dagaba are enshrined the holy relics; and it is built so that it is possible to walk around within the dagaba without approaching them. There was also within a gilt reproduction of the Sacred Footprint..." (Pieris 1908, 17). The once magnificent Footprint sadly was partially destroyed only recently by neighborhood children. It measures 1.60 meters in length and 0.63 in width.

A left Footprint of the Buddha was retrieved from the ruins of Ayudhya early in the century by Phraya Boranrachathani, Governor of Ayudhya, and is now in the Chantara Kasem National Museum, Ayudhya (Plate 95). The Footprint was engraved on a sandstone slab and once was covered with black lacquer that still decorates the sides. It measures 1.50 meters in length and 0.58 meters in width. The placement of the auspicious symbols representing the Brahma and Deva Realms follows that on the left Footprint of the Buddha, Khao Di Salak, U Thong (Plate 49). The symbols for the 16 Brahma Realms are positioned on the upper two horizontal lines and what are now eight auspicious symbols representing the 6 Deva Realms on the third horizontal line. On the Khao Di Salak Footprint seven symbols represented the Deva Realms, the extra one being that of the Buddha preaching the Abhidhamma-Pitaka in Tavatimsa Realm with the god, Brahma, at one side and Indra, the ruler of Tavatimsa Realm, on the other. The first symbol to the left on the third horizontal line on the 18th century

Footprint represents the Four Great Kings who inhabit the lowest Deva Realm. The second represents Brahma, the third, a crowned Buddha, the fourth Indra, and the other four symbols the four highest Deva Realms. The extraordinary design of Mt. Meru rising from the cakka also emphasizes the Buddha's position in Indra's realm at its top. The reference to the Buddha's preaching the Abhidhamma-pitaka in Tavatimsa is closely related to King Borommakot's introduction of the Buddha preaching in Tavatimsa Realm into the murals of Wat Koh Kaeo Suttharam as well as to the depiction of the Buddha preaching in Tavatimsa on the early 14th century left Footprint of the Buddha on Khao Di Salak. Was the link with early Thai history the primary motif for reintroducing the motif of the Buddha's preaching the Abhidhamma-Pitaka in Tavatimsa? Or was there a much more important reason? Had King Borommakot come to view himself as a Buddha? In other words did he think a king of Ayudhya was both the universal monarch and a Buddha?

In 1748 King Borommakot created a gold Footprint of the Buddha to venerate and cover Phra Phutthabat. The making of the gold Footprint was occasioned by the discovery of gold at Bang Sapan, Phrachuap Kirikan Province, a year earlier. The Footprint was taken out in procession in the month of December 1748 and again in January of the following year (Launay 1920, 132-133). Eleven years earlier Theodorus Jacobus van den Heuval, chief of the Dutch United East India Company in Ayudhya, had been invited by King Borommakot on the annual royal pilgrimage to Phra Phutthabat. In his journal recording his experiences and impressions, he reported seeing on a table on the northern wall of the Phra Mondop, Wat Phra

Plate 95. A left Footprint of the Buddha found in the ruins of Ayudhya and now in the Chantara Kasem National Museum, Ayudhya, reign of King Borommakot (r. 1733-1758), pink sandstone with black lacquer on sides, length 1.50 meters, width 0.58 meters.

Phutthabat, a cover for the great Footprint made of solid gold on the express order "of a king now many years gone" (Van den Heuval, Raben and na Pombejra eds. 1997, 27). Thus King Borommakot's gold Footprint was the second one at Wat Phra Phutthabat at the time. When the Burmese lay siege to Ayudhya in 1767, Chinese living at Khlong Suan Phlu seized the opportunity to loot the gold and silver in the Phra Mondop sheltering Phra Phutthabat and to set fire to the edifice (Thiphakorawong 1996 ed.).

King Borommakot's gold Footprint was a right Footprint according to an account of the 1750 embassy sent by Kirti Sri Rajasiha of Kandy. Could it have been the once magnificent right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Yai Suvannaram (Plate 96) since only the king of Ayudhya could have commanded the creation of such an expensive object? Its multispoked cakka several layers high was made from a metal alloy by the repousse technique of shaping patterns in relief by hammering or pressing from the reverse side. The cakka was then attached to a large metal plate. This plate was filled into a box-like framework of the same material filled with resin. The designs of the toes, the grid and the 108 auspicious symbols were engraved and impressions were made for the setting of jewels. Each of the toes has three spirals and between every two toes is a long stemmed lotus and two diamond-shaped motifs. The layer of resin under the plate cushioned the engraving and the making of the impressions. Once the design was completed the Footprint was first coated with black lacquer and then with gold and the jewels were embedded in the four-petaled flowers at the junction of each grid square, at the center of the spirals on the toes, on the auspicious symbols and especially on the cakka, where they were lavished on each ring in great numbers. At some point, possibly in 1767, most of the jewels were plucked from their settings and the Footprint was set on fire to melt down the gold. The heat was so great that all the gold melted and the metal alloy on the upper left of the Footprint was badly damaged. Some time later an attempt was made to restore the Footprint. The ruined upper left of the frame was reconstructed and covered with black lacquer. Then the whole Footprint was regilded. The restoration was not particularly successful and after a period the newly added black lacquer buckled, a hole developed in the frame and much of the resin flowed out. Enough of the original remains, however, that the viewer can have some idea of its former greatness. For instance, the elephant king, Eravana, displays a combined sense of strength and playfulness not seen on other Footprints (Plate 96a). A sense of the magnificence of Ayudhya's architecture is given by the perfection of the palace (Plate 96b). Speed, light and respect for Suriya are conjured up by the appearance of a fast-moving plump horse pulling the chariot of the sun god in his orb through space while his charioteer looks back at the sun god and pays homage (Plate 96c). The placement of the auspicious symbols was the same as on the right Footprint of the Lord Buddha now at the Chantara Kasem National Museum (Plate 95).

Plate 96. The jeweled gold right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Yai Suvannaram, Phetchaburi, reign of King Borommakot (r. 1733-1758), length 1.60 meters, width at toes 0.62 meters.

Plate 96a. The depiction of the elephant king, Eravana, on the Footprint in Plate 96.

Plate 96b. The depiction of a magnificent royal palace on the Footprint in Plate 96.

Plate 96c. Suriya, the sun god, speeds across the sky in his horse drawn chariot on the Footprint in Plate 96.

The basic design and layout of the auspicious symbols of the right Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Wat Pa Mok Worawihan, Ang Thong (Plate 97), are similar to those of the left Footprint of the Buddha now in the Chantara Kasem National Museum and the right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Yai Suvannaram (Plates 95 and 96). The designs of the auspicious symbols are very close as well. In 1880 King Rama V related that the Footprint had been moved to Wat Pa Mok Worawihan from Song Keo, Phitsanulok in 1810, early in the reign of King Rama II (Sailer 1992 Exhibition Notes). The limestone Footprint covered with lacquer and gold leaf measures 2.44 meters in length and 1.06 in width. It has 144 auspicious symbols, nine extra for each Buddha.

In 1747 Kirti Sri Rajasinha ascended the throne of the Kandy Kingdom. At the time of his accession there was not even a single ordained monk in the whole island. In the third year of his reign he sent an embassy via a Dutch ship to Ayudhya to bring a chapter of monks there, that he might reinstitute the ordination of monks in his kingdom. The 1750 Kandy embassy, mentioned earlier, proved to be most successful. King Borommakot welcomed the ambassadors very cordially and received Kirti Sri Rajasinha's letter. The Sinhalese chronicle, Mahavamsa, relates that when Borommakot read the letter, "he who had devoted his life to the support of religion and the practice of the ten paramis [perfections] in the hope that he might thereby attain to the Buddhahood," was astonished to hear of

Plate 97. The right Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Wat Pa Mok Worawihan, Ang Thong, reign of King Borommakot (r. 1733-1758), limestone with black lacquer and gold leaf, length 2.44 meters, width 1.06 meters.

Plates 98 and 98a. Murals of the east wall of the residence of the Lord Abbot, Wat Phuttaisawan, Ayudhya, depicting Phra Phutthabat and the Footprint of the Buddha on Mt. Sumanakuta, Sri Lanka plus Dutch ships taking a mission of Siamese monks to revive Buddhism in Sri Lanka, reign of King Borommakot (r. 1733-1758.) (Photos by James V. Di Crocco).

the decay of the Buddhist religion in Lanka and all the other matters connected therewith. Determining to promote the religion there and advance its prosperity, the king called together the Sangharaja [Supreme Patriach] and many other elders..." (Wijesingha 1909, 297). After deliberation a chapter of more then ten monks was chosen for dispatch to Kandy by ship. At the head of the chapter was Upali Maha Thera. Along with the monks, King Borommakot sent books on the Dhamma and Vinaya, which were not extant in Sri Lanka, and also a royal letter and diverse presents, including a gold image. The arrival of the monks was greeted with great rejoicing. The chapter headed by Upali Maha Thera provided instructions to the *samaneras* (novices) and in the year 1752 a ceremony of *upasampada* ordination was held, and 700 Sinhala monks ordained (FAD 1988, iv). Thus the *Sayam Nikaya* or Siam sect was established in the Kingdom of Kandy.

Murals on the east wall of the residence of the Lord Abbot, Wat Phuttaisawan, Ayudhya, depict three scenes (Plate 98 and 98a). At the center, over a window of 17th century style, is a mural depicting Phra Phutthabat within a mondop on a broad mountain and the Footprint of the Lord Buddha atop craggy Mt. Sumanakuta on the island of Sri Lanka. The design of the two sacred Footprints is like that in the murals of Wat Koh Kaeo Suttharam, Phetchaburi, painted early in the reign of King Borommakot. At the right is a Dutch ship with sails billowing ready to carry Siamese monks to Sri Lanka, suggesting the two missions to revive Buddhism in Sri Lanka.

In 1755 King Borommakot dispatched another chapter of monks headed by Maha Vissuddhacariya (Wijesingha op.cit. 301) to replace those from the first mission. This chapter is reported to have taught the Sinhala monks Vipassana (Insight) Meditation (FAD op.cit. iv), providing evidence that the practice of this meditation method was of importance in Ayudhya at the time. The monks in the second mission spent four years in Sri Lanka and returned to Ayudhya in 1758.

The king of Kandy, desiring to thank King Borommakot for his assistance, appointed ministers and charged them with creating a likeness of the tooth relic and other gifts. In 1758 the ministers, accompanying Siamese monks returning home by ship, carried the gifts plus a letter from the Kandyan king. King Borommakot was pleased to receive the tooth relic likeness and honored it. He also was delighted with the letter of the Kandy king giving him the merit of having spread Buddhism in Sri Lanka. In return he sent back with the Kandy ministers gifts, including a beautiful likeness of the Footprint of the Buddha as offerings to the Tooth Relic (Wijesingha op. cit. 302) (Plate 99).

This "beautiful likeness" now in the Tooth Relic Palace, Kandy, is a left Footprint of the Buddha rather than a right Footprint like that of Phra Phutthabat. King Borommakot probably had the Footprint created in that shape to honor the great Footprint on Sumanakuta which the late 13th to early 14th century *Sumanakutavannana*

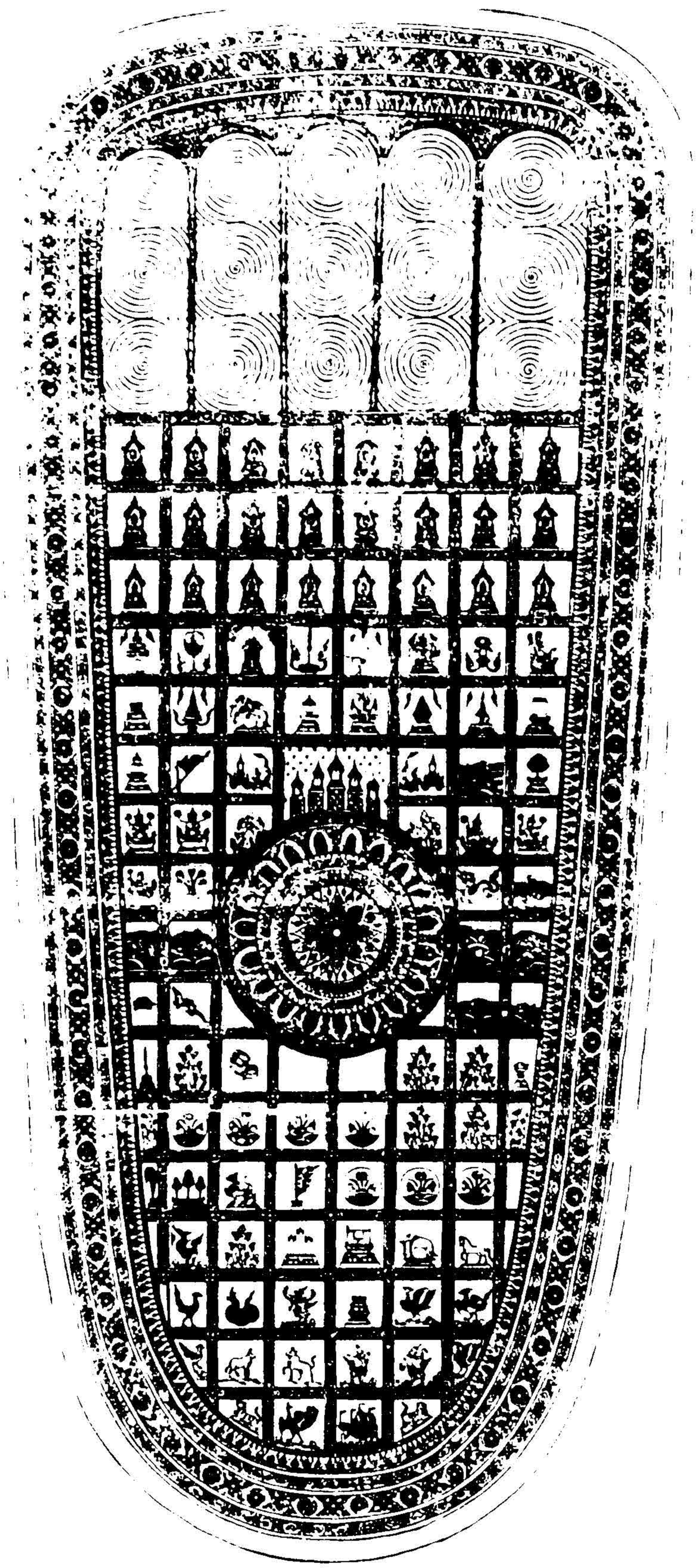


Plate 99. The left Footprint of the Buddha that King Borommakot sent as one of the offerings to the Tooth Relic, Kandy, after Chutiwongs 1980 in Thai, Plate 48.

(Hazelwood trs. 1986 vv.759-770) states is a left Footprint of the Lord Buddha. The Footprint was painted on a hand-woven fabric.

The placement of the 108 auspicious symbols follows those on the left Footprint of the Lord Buddha now in the Chantara Kasem National Museum (Plate 95). Each of the two top horizontal rows are devoted to the palaces of the Sixteen Brahma Realms. The third horizontal row has eight palaces representing the Six Deva Realms, including the Buddha's preaching in Tavatimsa Realm with Brahma at one side and Indra at the other. The Brahma and Deva Realms read from left to right while the auspicious symbols of the Human Realm read from right to left, line by line.

The Footprint reads right to left as follows:

THE BRAHMA REALMS

The Sixteen Brahma Realms

THE DEVA REALMS

85. Catummaharajika
86. Brahma (in Tavatirmsa Realm)
87. The Lord Buddha (in Tavatimsa Realm)
88. Indra (in Tavatimsa Realm)
89. Yama
90. Tusita
91. Nammanarati
92. Paranimmitavasavatti

THE HUMAN REALM

1. Sirivaccha	Siri, the goddess of prosperity
2. Sovatthika	A neck ornament, here a *sangwin*, neck and chest jewelry fastened by a brooch
3. Nandiyavatta	A rosette with right-turning petals
4. Ankusa	An elephant goad
5. Satti	A spear
6. Pasada	A palace
7. Talavanta	A palm leaf fan
8. Vatamsaka	An ear ornament; here a *bai-sri*, a ceremonial arrangement
9. Patta	A monk's alms bowl
10. Unhisa	A crown
11. Vaddhamanaka	A food receptacle
12. Niluppala	A blue water lily

13.	Punnapata	A full bowl
14.	Eravanahatthiraja	Eravana, a king of the elephants
15.	Setacchatta	A white umbrella
16.	Bhaddapitha	A throne
17.	Camara	A white yak tail fly whisk
18.	Suvannamacchayugala	A pair of golden fish
19.	Candamandala	The full moon; here a qilin pulls the chariot of Canda, the moon god
20.	Merupabbata and Nakkhatta	Mt. Meru and the constellations
21.	Suriyamandala	The full moon, here a horse pulls the chariot of Suriya, the sun god
22.	Torana	An archway
23.	Punnakalasa	A vase of plenty
24.-25.	Catumahadipa	The four great continents; here two
26.	Cakkavalapabbata	The Cakkavala Mountain Range
27.	Himavantapabbata	The Himalayas
28.-29.	Catumahadipa	The four great continents; here two
30.	Sattamahaganga	The seven great rivers; here one
31.	Sauvannamakara	The golden makara
32.	Ratuppala	A red water lily
33.	Saparivara-sataratana-samangi-cakkavatti	The cakkavatin, the universal monarch, and his seven treasures
34.-39.	Sattamahaganga	Seven great rivers; here six
40.	Sumsara	A crocodile
41.	Kacchapa	A turtle
42.	Dakkhinavattaseta-sankha	A right spiraling conch
43.-44.	Sattakulapabbata	The seven mountain ranges; here two
45.	Suvannabhamara	Golden bees
46.	Sattakulapabbata	The seven mountain ranges; here one
47.	Khagga	A sword
48.-50.	Sattakulapabbata	The seven mountain ranges; here three
51.-54.	Sattasidantasagara	The seven Sidanta lakes, here four
55.	Sattakulapabbata	The seven mountain ranges; here one
56.-58.	Sattasidantasagara	The seven Sidanta lakes, here three
59.	Dhaja	Triangular victory flag
60.	Siharaja	The king of the lions
61.	Mayurahatta	A peacock-tail-feather fan
62.	Suvannavalabijani	A golden-yak-tail fan
63.	Valahakassaraja	The king of the Valahaka horses

64. Uposathacchaddantha-hattiraja	The king of the Uposatha and Chaddanta families of elephants
65. Pataka	Flag
66. Saothai	Candlestand
67. Kelasapabbata	Mt. Kelasa
68. Hamsaraja	The king of the Brahmani ducks
69. Cakkavalaraja	The king of the ruddy geese
70. Cakkavalarajani	The queen of the ruddy geese
71. Suvannasivika	A golden palanquin
72. Suppanaraja	The king of the golden garudas
73. Vasukinagaraja	Vasuki, the king of the nagas
74. Koncaraja	The king of the herons
75. Karaviko	The Indian cuckoo
76. Kimpuriso	A kinnara
77. Kinnari	A kinnari
78. Usabharaja	The king of the bulls
79. Savacchakadhenu	The cow and her calf
80. Jivanjivakaraja	The king of the pheasants
81. Byaggharaja	The king of the tigers
82. Catumukkhanava	The boat with four prows
83. Mayuraraja	The king of the peacocks
84. Diparaja	The king of the leopards

The design for the crown is noteworthy. It has a *kamchiak*, an ornamental part suspended behind the ears. This information assists in the dating of crowned Buddha images. A new symbol introduced on this and related Footprints of the same basic design is No.66, *saotai*. This is the Thai word for candle stand, a symbol not found on the earlier Pali lists giving the 108 auspicious symbols found on the Footsoles of a Buddha.

It was probably at this point in history that an illuminated Traibhumikatha manuscript now in the National Library was painted (National Library Accession No.7, Bundle 2, TW 1/7, Level 2/1). The text is in Pali employing *Khom* and *Khom Yaaw* scripts (Meetem, May 23, 1998). The illustrations include all three planes of existence, and even include the Realms of Woe in the lowest place. The universe as depicted in the manuscript would greatly influence those created on Footprints in the following decades. Indra is depicted prominently in his great Vejayanta Palace in Tavatimsa Realm. Underneath is the figure of Rahu waiting to catch the sun and moon. The sun and moon gods appear in their chariots of the same design as on the left Footprint of the Buddha in the Tooth Relic Palace, Kandy (Plate 100). Much emphasis is placed on the realm of the Four Great Kings who guard the universe; each has his palace at a cardinal point on the innermost mountain next to Mt. Meru. The palaces are of

essentially the same design as that of the Brahmas and Devas on the Footprint at the Tooth Relic Palace, Kandy. At the foot of Mt. Meru in a large lake dwell the garudas. The king of the garudas is depicted within his palace. Beyond is a depiction of Meru at the center of the universe with the four great continents in the surrounding ocean (Plate 100a). Mt. Himavanta (the Himalayas) is located on Jambudipa Continent. In a hollow under that mountain is the city of the nagas ruled by Vasuki. The naga king is depicted in his castle with attendants and a coiled green naga at each side. To the right and left appear people in the Four Realms of Woe. In the waters of the great ocean below are seven gigantic fish. One of them, Timirapingala, shakes the world when he swishes his tail (Reynolds and Reynolds op. cit. 88) (Plate 100b). On the sides of Mt. Himavanta is the Himavanta Forest with its many mythical creatures. Here one the most important lakes is Anottata Lake. The lake has outlets at the four cardinal points. One resembles a lion, one an ox, one a horse and one an elephant. The water that flows out through the ox's face flows east. It encircles Anottata Lake three times and then flows northeast towards the sea. The water that flows north also circles the lake three times and then flows northeast to the ocean. The water from the south circles the lake three times but then turns southward and ultimately forms five rivers: Ganga, Yamuna, Acciravati, Mahi and Sarabhu (op. cit. 295-296) (Plate 100c). When anyone dies he first goes to the Realm of Yama, the ruler of death and hell. The ruler asks, "What meritorious or evil deeds have you done?" The Four Great Kings who note a person's good and evil deeds record the meritorious deed on a gold plate then give the plate to Yama. The latter places it on a golden table and then directs the person to Tavatimsa Heaven where there are abodes of gold decorated with seven kinds of gems. The names of those who do evil are inscribed on a dog's skin. They are questioned and sent to the Realms of Woe. A scene on the Traibhumikatha manuscript depicts one of the Four Kings presenting information to Yama and people sent to Tavatimsa and to the Realms of Woe seen below (op. cit. 69-70 and Malalasekera 1974, I, 86) (Plate 100d). The final scene in the Traibhumikatha manuscript depicts Dutch ships traveling to and from Ayudhya (Plate 100e). Central to the scene are the two great Footprints of the Buddha as in murals in the quarters of the Lord Abbot, Wat Phuttaisawan (Plates 98 and 98a) dated above to the reign of King Borommakot. The scene as at Wat Phuttaisawan celebrates the sending of two missions by Dutch ships to resuscitate Buddhism in Lanka. The Traibhumikatha manuscript thus dates to late in the reign of King Borommakot. It anticipates the illustrated Traibhumikatha manuscripts produced during the reign of King Taksin in design and the changes of emphasis in the Footprints created during the reigns of Kings Taksin and Rama I and succeeding monarchs.

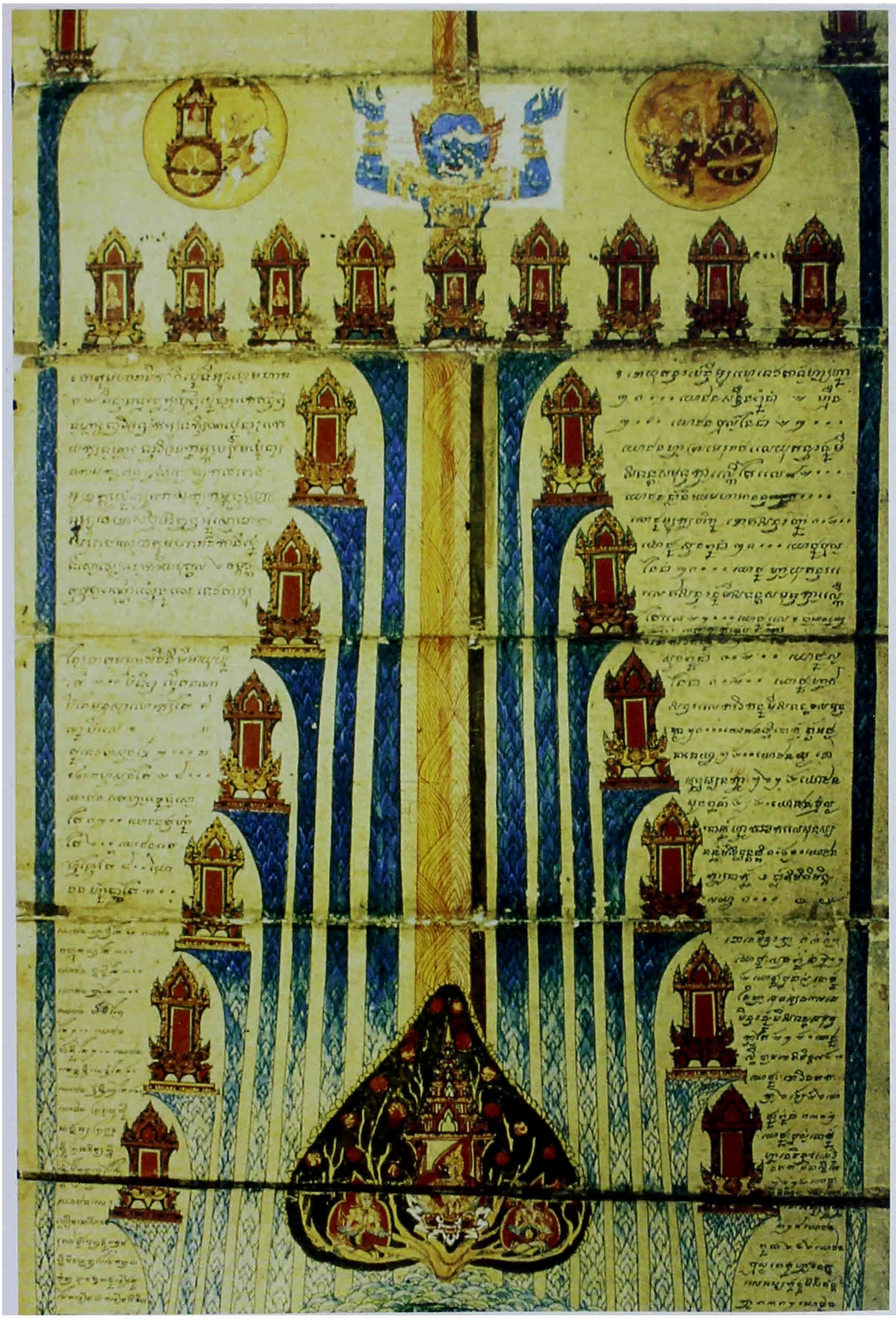


Plate 100. The figure of Rahu, the Asura king, waiting to catch the sun and moon in their chariots depicted on an illuminated Traibhumikatha manuscript now in the National Library, Bangkok. The design of the chariots is similar to that of the sun god, Suriya, on the gold Footprint at Wat Yai Suvannaram, Phetchaburi (Plate 96 c), reign of King Borommakot (r. 1733-1768).

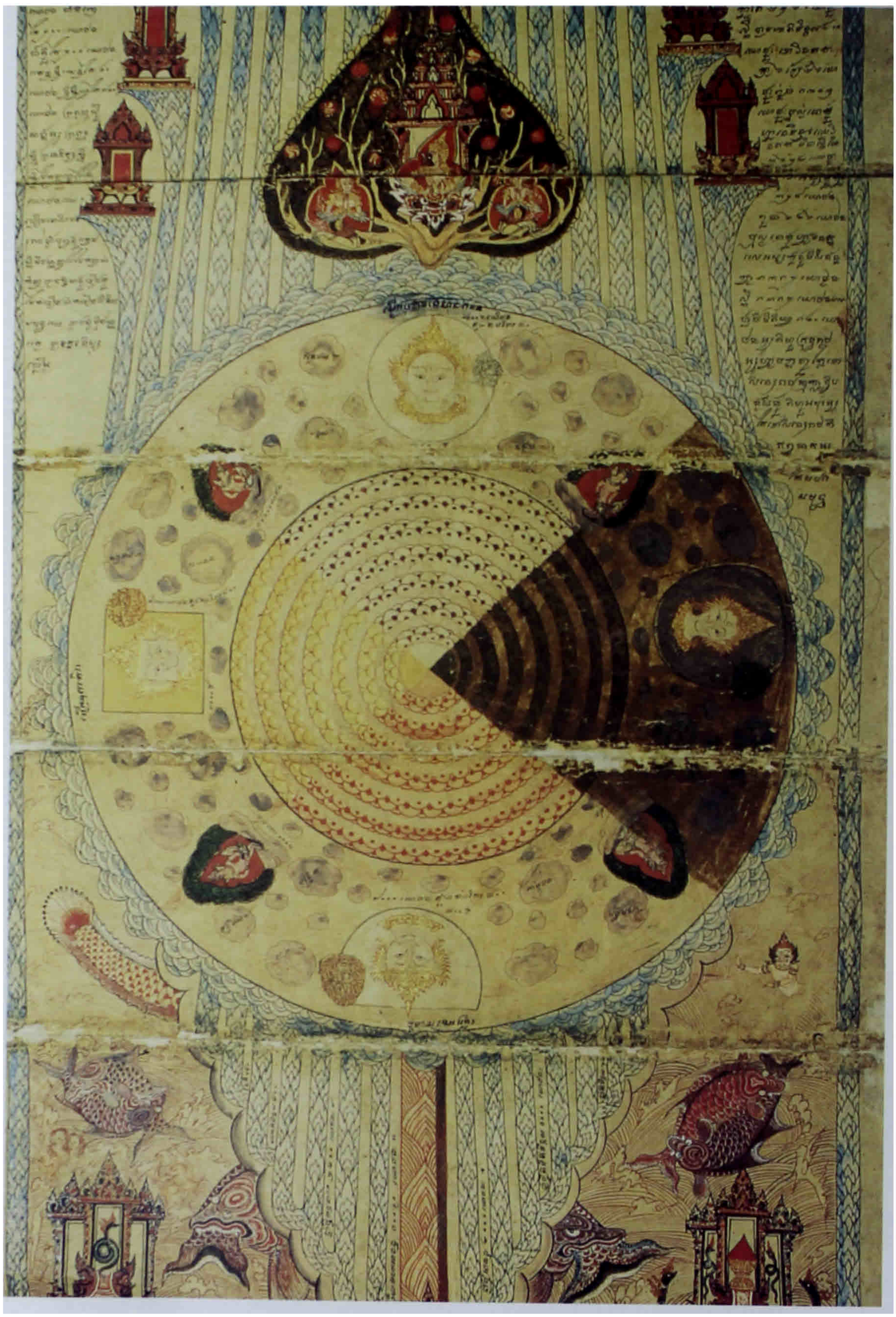


Plate 100a. The kingdom of the Asuras (divine beings antagonistic to the gods) under Mt. Meru with a map of the universe at the center of which is Mt. Meru with its surrounding seven mountains and the four continents at its cardinal points.

Plate 100b. The Naga king in a hollow under Mt. Meru with the giant fish Teimirapingala below and people in the Four Realms of Woe at the sides.

Plate 100c. Anottata Lake with outlets in the form of a lion, an ox, a horse and an elephant.

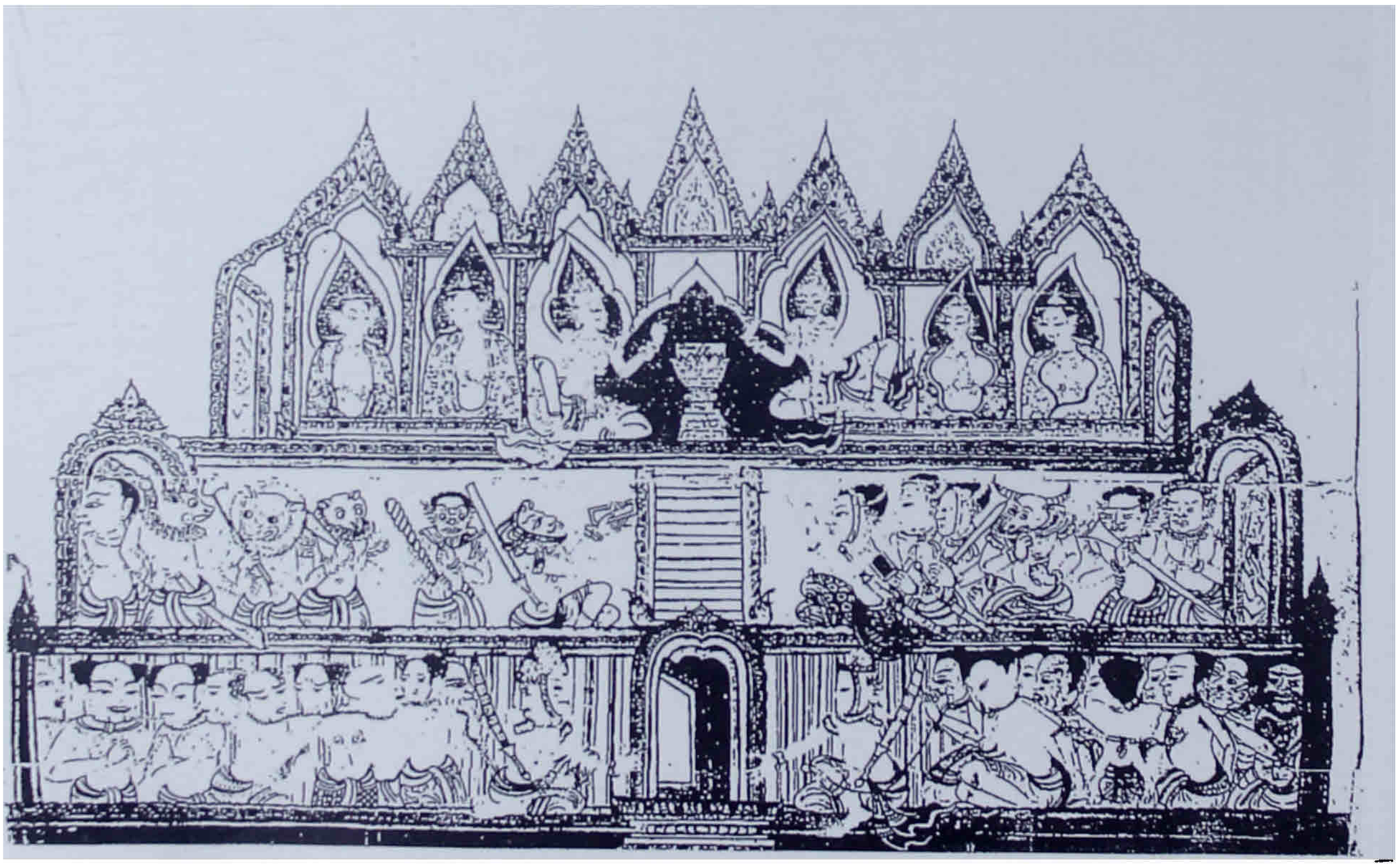


Plate 100d. The Four Great Guardian Kings who note a person's deeds present a list of those who make merit on a gold plate to Yama, king of death. Yama then sends those awaiting their fate to the proper place.

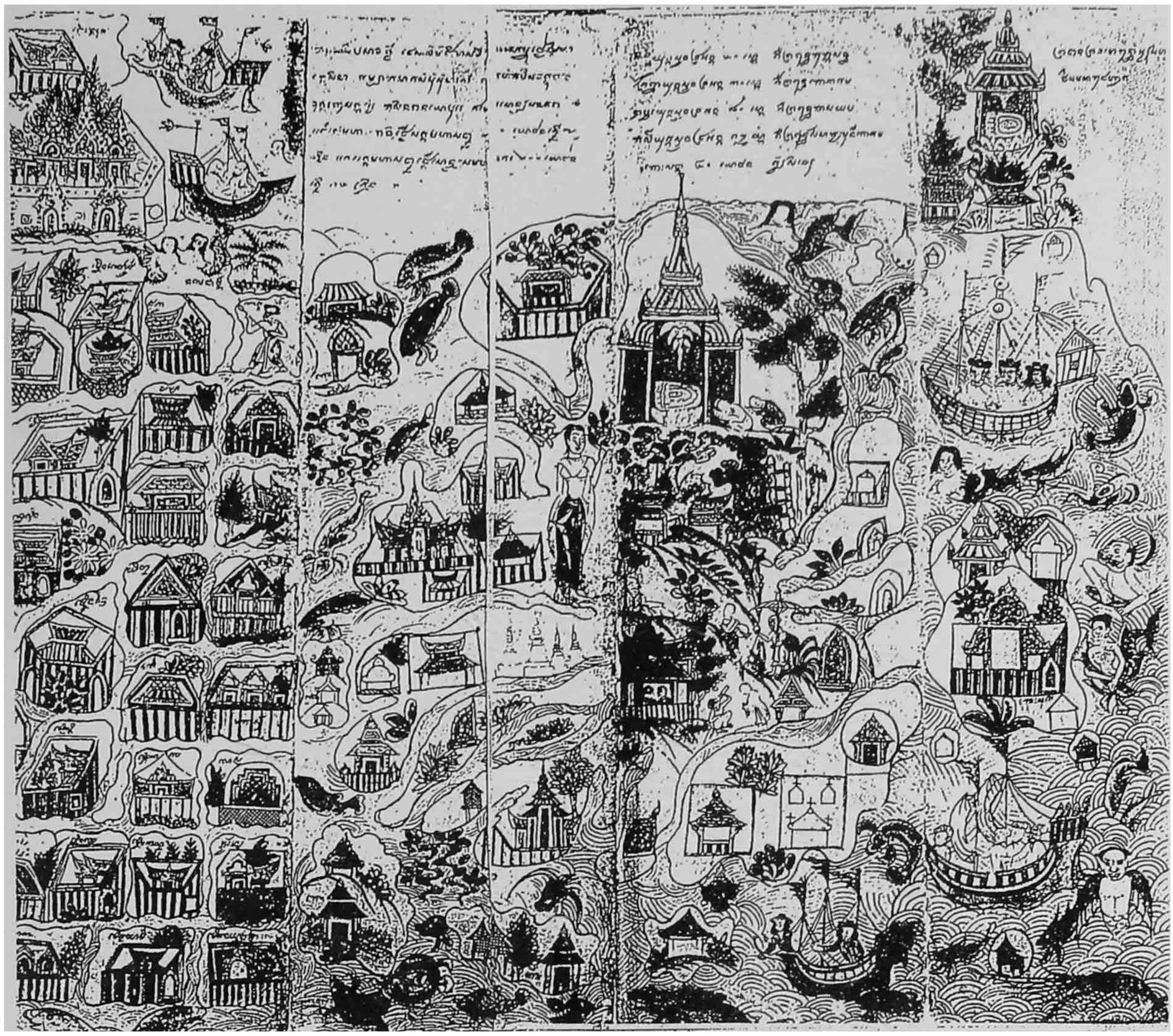


Plate 100e. Dutch ships travel to Ayudhya to bring Buddhist missions to revive Buddhism in Lanka. At the upper right is the Footprint of the Lord Buddha on Sumanakuta and to the upper left Phra Phutthabat (Plates 100-100e courtesy of the National Library).

Plate 101. The left Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Tham Had Pan Krai, Chumphon, reign of King Borommakot (r. 1733-1758), cast bronze, length 1.13 meters, width at toes 0.56 meters, approximate thickness 0.02-0.04 meters.

The left Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Tham Had Pan Krai, Chumphon Province, is bronze and cast by the lost wax method (Plate 101). The base was cast separately from the whorls on the toes, the grid and the auspicious symbols, all in relief, which adorn it. Once cast the latter were attached to the base. The Footprint bears no inscription but an inscription in the Southern Thai dialect written in 1826 and placed at the front of the cave where the Footprint is situated says that the Footprint had been brought from elsewhere and placed in the wat which was then known as Wat Suvanna Kuha. The Footprint measures 1.13 meters in length and 0.56 meters at the toes (Buranabanphot op. cit. August 15, 1992, 1-2). The overall design of the Footprint as well as that of its 108 auspicious symbols are based on those of the left Footprint of the Buddha, the Tooth Relic Palace, Kandy. Thus the Footprint dates to late in the reign of King Borommakot.

A large stucco relief at Wat Phai Lom, Phetchaburi, depicts the pilgrimage of the faithful to the Sacred Footprint of the Buddha on Sumanakuta. The platforms indicate various stages in the difficult climb. The 14th century Arab trader Ibn Batuta described how something like steps had been cut into the cliff at Sumanakuta to which had been fixed pins and ten sets of chains to facilitate the climb to the peak (Tennant op. cit. 139, n.1). The presence and design of the Footprint reflects King Borommakot's deep commitment to revive Buddhism in Sri Lanka and his personal fulfillment in having so done. On the left side of the relief is a building in the form of a meru, a wooden crematory tower for Thai royalty. King Borommakot died at some time in 1758, after the Siamese monks had returned home, and he had received the

Plate 102. A painting of the Footprint of the Buddha on Sumanakuta, in the murals in the lower crypt of Wat Rajaburana, reign of King Borommakot (r. 1733-1758).

Plate 103. A crowned figure talking with the Buddha depicted in the murals in the lower crypt of Wat Rajaburana, reign of King Borommakot (r. 1733-1758).

all-important letter from Kirti Sri Rajasinha giving him thanks and credit for the resuscitation of Buddhism. It may be that the king realized he was dying and placed the tower indicating his imminent death and his association with the great Footprint for all to see and remember.

In King Uthumporn's memoirs, he wrote that his father, King Borommakot, built Wat Rajaburana (Office of the Prime Minister 1991, 46). By that he meant his father built the Wat Rajaburana we see today. Krairiksh provides evidence that the king had a chedi built by King Ekathotsarot demolished and constructed buildings at Wat Rajaburana nearby (Krairiksh 1992, 47-48). The overall design of its buildings are in keeping with those of Wat Phra Ram and other wats that he either built or restored. At Wat Rajaburana he provided two large crypts for his collection of valuable Buddhist objects. The murals on the lower crypt's walls give further evidence of the emphasis he placed on his assisting the resuscitation of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. High up on the north wall of the crypt is a painting of the Sacred Footprint on craggy Mt. Sumanakuta (Plate 102). It has been noted that the Mahavamsa reported that the king had devoted his life to the support of religion and the practices of the ten paramis in hope he might attain Buddhahood. Had his resuscitation of Buddhism in Sri Lanka given him the assurance that he had attained Buddhahood?

Chapter VIII: Buddha Footprints created by or for the former King of Ayudhya, Uthumporn, in the Amarapura-Sagaing area

When the city of Ayudhya fell to the Burmese in 1767, former King Uthumporn, who had been forced by his brother to abdicate and live as a monk in Wat Pradu Songtham, was taken prisoner to the Amarapura-Sagaing area of what is now Myanmar. He lived as a monk among the Thais in Ywa-Htaung, a few kilometers north of Sagaing. The village is now a flourishing silver center.

In 1997 members of a study trip organized by The Siam Society Under Royal Patronage and led by this researcher visited the monastery Paepamin Kyaung Taiq on the shore of the Taungthaman Lake, Amarapura. U Pinnya Thami, the Lord Abbot of the monastery, showed the group a left Footprint of the Buddha that he said is associated with the monk king (Plate 104). He related that according to legend the monk king used to stop there often when walking to venerate the Mahamuni Buddha image in what is now Mandalay. The great image had been brought there from Rakhine in 1785.

Plate 104. The left Footprint of the Buddha, Paepamin Monastery, Taungthaman Lake, Amarapura, Myanmar, associated with the former king of Ayudhya, Uthumporn (photo by the author).

Plate 105. 1855 map of Amarapura, Sagaing and Ava showing the area of Lin Zin Gon Cemetery on the banks of Sageen-wa Creek (Yule 1968 rep., Plate 22, opposite p. 167).

The Footprint is small, measuring 0.50 meters in height and 0.50 meters in width. It was carved out of an alabaster slab. The toes, cakka, grid and 108 auspicious symbol plus 136 figures on the border were carved in relief. Stylistically the designs of the toes and auspicious symbols are Burmese, but the layout of the symbols is Thai. The palaces of the Six Deva Realms and the Sixteen Brahma Realms are placed at the top of the Footsole, just below the toes, as first introduced on the ca. early 14th century right Footprint of the Buddha, Khao Di Salak, U Thong (Plate 49) and often on Footprints created during the reign of Uthumporn's father, King Borommakot. On the top two lines there are 21 palaces, and one far to the right of the third line.

The 136 figures on the border represent the lives in the guise of which the Buddha lived safely as a Bodhisatta while perfecting himself. The times spent as each type is as follows: A crane 16 times, a yak 15, a cow 14, a pig 13, a cock 12, an elephant 11, a monkey 10, a Brahmani duck 9, a buffalo 8, a mynah bird 7, a pigeon 6, a karaweik 5, a kinnara and kinnari 4, a crow 3, a peacock 2, and a horse 1. Since the Buddha lived safely 136 times as the various sixteen Bodhisattas, their figures have been employed to form a powerful yantra (magic formula) which both gives protection to and increases the will power of the faithful (Htun Hmat Win 1980, 177 and 289-291).

A left Footprint of the Buddha at Alabaster Hill, Sakyin Village, Maddaya Township, north of Mandalay is based on the Footprint layout introduced on the right Footprint of the Buddha, Khao Di Salak. The auspicious symbols are placed within rondels as on the Footprint at Khao Di Salak. It may be that the Footprint also was created by or for the former Ayudhya king.

Uthumporn related his memoirs to Burmese scribes before he died. They were written on a *parabaik*, a manuscript folded accordion fashion. Later the manuscript was found in a government library in Yangon. The text was translated into Mon and then translated into Thai by Prince Vivadhanajaya under the title that translates into English as *The Statement of Khun Luang Ha Wat.*

When Uthumporn died in 1796 he was properly cremated. He appears in kingly dress in the 1894 illustrated Parabaik No. 99 by Kyaw Htun, Min Hla Yaza, et.al. at the British Commonwealth Library. The caption under the illustrations identify him incorrectly as "Ekat'at", Uthumporn's brother who usurped his throne. This error occurred despite the fact that Ekat'at escaped incognito after the fall of Ayudhya and subsequently died.

The 1894 parabaik gives the information that Uthumporn died in Amarapura and was cremated in the Lin Zin Gon Cemetery, near the western end of U Bein's Bridge, Amarapura. There "an unmarked pillar—made of bricks and known by people in the area for generations as a place where the remains of an ex-king were laid—stands a silent witness today" (Tin Maung Kyi 1995, 39 and 40).

Plate 106. A pillar topped by an urn, reportedly containing the cremated remains of the former king of Ayudhya, Uthumporn, in the Lin Zin Gon Cemetery, near the western end of U Bein's Bridge, Amarapura (photo by the author).

Using the text and drawing of the pillar by Tin Maung Kyi (Ibid.) as a guide, the Siam Society group found a pillar topped by an urn in a Chinese and Moslem burial ground some distance west of U Bein's Bridge, on the banks of Sageen-wa Creek (See Yule 1968 rep. Plate 22, "Map of Amarapura, Tsagain (Sagaing) and Ava") (Plates 105 and 106).

Chapter IX: Buddha Footprints created during the reigns of King Taksin of Thonburi and Kings Rama I, II, III of the Chakri Dynasty

King Taksin (r. late 1767-April 6, 1784), who restored national freedom and independence after the fall of Ayudhya, made Thonburi his capital. In 1776 he established a commission on the Traibhumikatha that produced what Vickery (op.cit. 33) has said might be the Traibhumikatha as we know it now. Two manuscripts were composed under the guidance of the Supreme Patriarch residing at Wat Rakhang, Thonburi. One of the manuscripts, the more complete of the two, is in the Berlin Museum and the second in the National Library, Bangkok (Historical Publications Committee 1982 and Jackson 1991, 199). The king planned a magnificent launching ceremony to which he invited people from all nations. He also began to take increasing interest in Buddhist meditation and ordered a search for the most authoritative texts on the subject (Terwiel 1983, 55). Taksin came to the conclusion that he had reached the accomplishments of a *sodaban*. The king's meditation attainments and the information aggrandized in the Traibhumikatha are reflected on the right Footprint of the Four

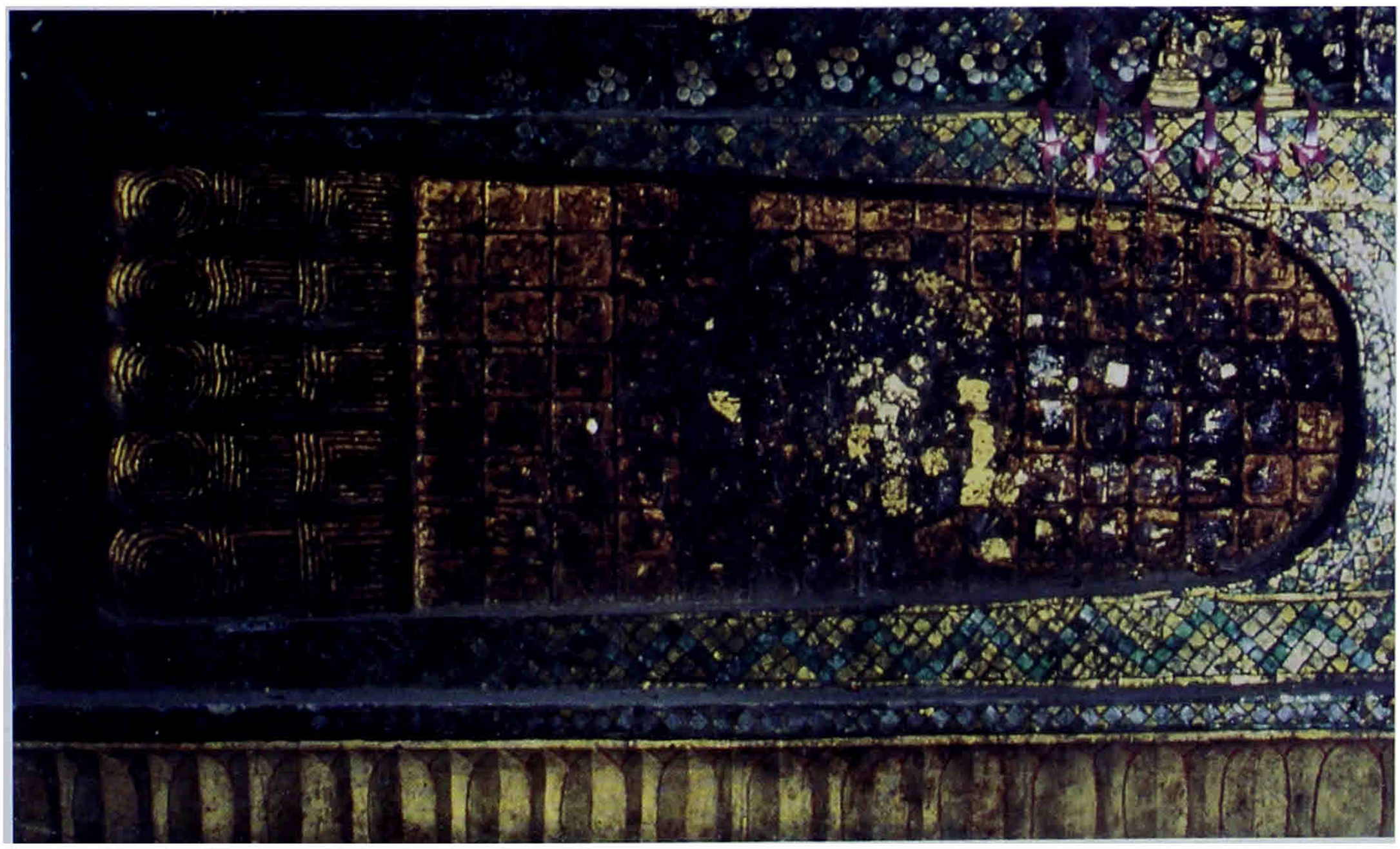


Plate 107. The right Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Wihan Phra Ma, Wat Phra Mahathat Wora Maha Wihan, Nakhon Si Thammarat, ca. reign of King Taksin (r. late 1767-1782), cast bronze with gold leaf plus a glass mosaic border, length 1.49 meters, width 0.565 meters.

Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Wihan Phra Ma, Wat Phra Mahathat Wora Maha Wihan, Nakhon Si Thammarat (Plate 107). On the top four horizontal lines of the Footprint the creator has placed 30 auspicious symbols devoted to the Brahma and Deva Realms, 8 more than the usual number. Auspicious symbols for the Four and Sixteen Brahma Realms occupy sixteen spaces on the first two horizontal lines and four spaces on line three. Those of the Deva Realm occupy four spaces on the third horizontal line plus two at each end of the fourth horizontal line plus two at its center. The latter two represent Indra and his mount Eravana in Tavatimsa Realm. At one side of them is the chariot of the sun god and the other, that of the moon god.

To understand the meaning of this extraordinary number of auspicious symbols devoted to the Brahma and Deva Realms, one must turn to Footprints created by King Narai and Borommakot. The Four Brahma Realms appear on the left Footprint of the Buddha from Wat Sadet, Kamphaengphet, now in the Bangkok National Museum (Plate 85) dated herein to King Narai. The introduction of the four higher Brahma Reigns into Buddhist thought of the period meant the introduction of corresponding Realms of Jhana concentration. This in turn meant that the person achieving such meditation heights could then go on to the state of sodaban and higher. For King Narai, it appears to have indicated that he had reached a higher level and considered himself a Bodhisatta. The two extra symbols in the eight devoted to the six Deva Realms suggest the presence of the Buddha preaching the Abhidhamma-pitaka in Tavatimsa Realm with Brahma at one side and Indra at the other, as on the left Buddha Footprints (see Plates 95 and 99) created during the reign of King Borommakot.

The positioning of Indra and his mount, Eravana, at the center of the fourth horizontal line, is very important for it introduces a new concept and a change of emphasis. Originally Footprints of the Buddha were created to provide evidence of how Buddhas over the ages achieved Buddhahood by attaining the ten perfections and then through Jhana concentration and perhaps a last moment of insight attained Enlightenment. Now Indra offers to all the promise of rebirth in Tavatimsa Realm where the average age of inhabitants is thirty millions years and they live in mansions of gold. All one has to do for such a rebirth is make merit. This concept is mentioned in the *Anguttara Nikaya* in the Sutta-pitaka and its commentary (Malalasekera 1974 I, 861-862 and 1003). But it is in the Traibhumikatha that the glories of Tavatimsa are extolled, the type of good deeds whereby one will be born in the realm and the method whereby these meritorious deeds are learned (see Reynolds and Reynolds op. cit 223-244). The message is more easily read on the Footsoles of the image of the Reclining Buddha also at Wat Mahathat Wora Maha Wihan, Nakhon Si Thammarat (Plate 134).

Taksin had played an important role in the south, not only when he resided there in 1768 and early 1769, but also when he reinstated the old ruler of Nakhon Si Thammarat and elevated him to a special honorary rank (Terwiel op. cit. 69, fn.69).

The Footprint created by King Taksin is bronze and has a glass mosaic border. It measures 1.49 meters in length and 0.565 meters at the toes.

King Rama I ascended the throne in 1782 and reigned until 1809. He immediately began to undertake many projects to rebuild and change the kingdom, including building the new capital at Bangkok. Auspicious symbols representing some of his most important projects and innovations would be placed on Footprints of the Buddha created in his reign. In those days this provided a means whereby his people would be kept informed of important developments. A year after the king ascended the throne he directed a group of monks to compile yet another version of the Traibhumikatha. In 1787 he ordered his half brother, who held the position of Maha Uparat, the office second only to the king, to undertake the reconstruction of the Phra Mondop which housed Phra Phutthabat. King Rama I himself presided over the dedication ceremony. King Taksin had begun the reconstruction of the Phra Mondop but had not been able to complete it. King Rama I had it built in the same style in which King Borommakot had constructed it (Wenk 1968, 40).

During the following year King Rama I began the rebuilding and enlargement of Wat Photharam (Wat Pho). After the wat was completely refurbished in 1801, the king gave it the official title of Wat Phra Chetuphon Wimon Mangkhalaram (Wenk op. cit., 21 and Matics 1979, 3). Sometime between 1789 and 1801 the bronze right Footprint of the Buddha at the wat was created (Plate 108). On the top two horizontal lines are sixteen figures of Brahmas representing the Sixteen Brahma Realms. At each end of the third horizontal row are three Devas representing the Six Deva Realms. The two auspicious symbols placed between the two sets of Devas have designs in architectural form. The one furthest to the left represents the Phra Mondop at Wat Phra Phutthabat and the smaller to the right Phra Phutthabat within a smaller enclosure. The latter design follows that of Phra Phutthabat's enclosure in the murals at Wat Phuttaisawan, Ayudhya (Plate 98) dated herein to the reign of King Borommakot.

Indra, the ruler of Tavatimsa Realm, is depicted sitting in his palace above Mt. Meru represented here by the cakka. He has two attendants, one at each side. The depiction dominates the Footprint and presents more effectively than on the Footprint created by King Taksin the message that one must make merit if one wants to be reborn in Tavatimsa Realm.

Auspicious symbols indicate influence from the Traibhumikatha. At the center of the third horizontal row from the base is a symbol depicting the Yama's kingdom with Yama at the center and an attendant on each side. Below is the Anottata Lake. Peeking out from the upper side of the cakka is Rahu who appears on the illustrated Traibhumikatha (Plate 100). He had become a popular motif during the reign of King Rama I. Terwiel (1983, 113) writes, "The greatest revenues of the era came from the Chinese junk trade. There were Chinese junks built like the Chinese style *tuakang*

Plate 108. The bronze right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Chetuphon Wimon Mangkhalaram (Wat Pho), reign of King Rama I (r. 1782-1809).

Plate 109. The phra bot, a Buddhist cloth bearing a left Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Hua Toey, Songkhla, reign of King Rama I (r. 1782-1809), length 1.60 meters, width at the toes 0.75 meters.

(tiller steerage) ships, with a Rahu demon head at the bow. Some of the demon heads were painted green, some red. The junks measured each from five to seven *wa* [two meters] across the beam. There were a large number of them. Some belonged to the crown, some to members of the royal family, some to government officials and some to merchants."

The left Buddha Footprint, Wat Hua Toey, Songkhla, bears auspicious symbols which inform the viewer of four significant achievements of King Rama I: his regulation of some of the affairs of the Sangha, the revision of the Ti-pitaka, the reconstruction of the Phra Mondop at Wat Phra Phutthabat and its inner sanctum and the writing of the *Ramakien*, the Thai version of the great Indian epic, the *Ramayana* (Plate 109)

The Footprint was painted on a long piece of cloth known in Thai as a *phra bot*. Above the Footprint are figures depicting Manee Mekhala and Ramasuan. The Ramakien tells the story of how the mighty demon, Ramasuan, who lives in the clouds wants to gain possession from the goddess of the clouds and water, Manee Mekhala, of her flashing diamond which produces lightning. He chases her with his jeweled thunder-ax to get it. Their struggles account for the thunder and lightning (Olsson 1969, 29). The auspicious symbols representing the Phra Mondop and its inner sanctum enclosing Phra Phutthabat appear at the center of the third horizontal line as on the right Footprint of the Buddha at Wat Phra Chetuphon Wimon Mangkhalaram (Plate 108). The auspicious symbol, *ticivaram* (three robes of a Buddhist monk), to the left on the fourth horizontal line, appears for the first time on a Buddha Footprint. The robes have been placed high on an elaborate base, as is the traditional Thai manner of showing respect. The appearance of this new symbol side by side with the auspicious symbol patta, a monk's alms bowl, may represent King Rama I's regulation of the Sangha, including reform and increased education for monks, and his organization of a council of two hundred fifty learned men to study all extant versions of the Ti-pitaka and write an authoritative set. The work was completed in 1789 and a great festival held to commemorate the version of the Ti-pitaka (Wenk 1968, 38-42, Terwiel 1983, 88, and Wyatt 1984, 146).

As on the said right Footprint of the Buddha at Wat Phra Chetuphon Wimon Mangkhalaram, a depiction of Indra in Tavatimsa Realm with two attendants dominates the Footprint reminding all to make merit. The attendants may be Lord Matali, Indra's charioteer, and the heavenly musician, Pancasikkhara. When representatives of the Four Great Kings in the lowest Deva Realm who search the world to find who is making merit send a gold plate with the names of those who make merit to Tavatimsa Realm, Pancasikkhara receives it. He then presents it to Lord Matali who in turn gives it to Indra. Indra reads the names of those of merit to be heard far and wide (Reynolds and Reynolds op. cit. 236-238). The phra bot measures 2.20 meters in length and 0.82 meters at the toes.

The right Buddha Footprint, Wat Hua Toey, Songkhla (Plate 110) like its counterpart, the left Footprint at Wat Hua Toey (Plate 109), celebrates King Rama I's deeds. At the bottom of the phra bot is a depiction of the monk Phra Malai going to Hell. There he sees the sufferings of those who do not make merit, such as that of adulterers who are forced to climb the thorny kapok tree, and of persons who kill living beings having their throats cut, being lassoed and thrown into a huge caldron. The paracanonical text, *Phra Malai Sutta*, was popular in the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Boissellier 1976, 142 and 150 and Ginsburg 1989, 72-76). Both Footprints of the Buddha at Wat Hua Toey may have been painted shortly after King Rama I and his courtiers set the Ramakien to verse in 1797.

Yet another Footprint of the Buddha created as a phra bot during the Reign of King Rama I is the Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Miss Umporn Boonprakong Pavilion, Wat Mahathat Woraviharn, Phetchaburi (Plate 111). The appearance of the cakkavudha high on a pedestal and a crown with a kamchiak as on the right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Chetuphon Wimon Mangkhalaram (Plate 108), and the employment of the demon Rahu as an auspicious symbol all suggest that the Footprint dates to that reign. The length of the Phra Bot is 2.86 meters and the width at the toes 1.0063 meters.

The right Footprint of the Buddha, the Phra Ubosot, Wat Kok, Thonburi, was painted in murals high on the wall behind the presiding Buddha image. It is of special interest because it is the only known Footprint with Chinese derived cyclical symbols corresponding to the signs of the zodiac. They have been placed within a concentric band on the cakka. The symbols are as follows: rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, goat, monkey, cock, dog and boar. These symbols are employed for chronological purposes and used to designate the hours, days, months and years and the points of the compass. Each period of time represented by one of the twelve is believed to be imbued with the character of that being. The Footprint probably was commissioned by a person born under the symbol of the cock since that symbol is uppermost in the cycle as presented on the Footprint. The presence of the demon Rahu, third from the left on the fourth horizontal line is significant since it appears on the Footprints in Plates dated herein to the reign of King Rama I. Rahu's design is like that on the Footprint in Plate 107. The appearance of the auspicious symbol, *tivicaram* (three robes of a Buddhist monk) placed next to patta, a monk's alms bowl on horizontal line four also links the Footprint to the left Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Hua Toey, Songkhla (Plate 109), whereon the two symbols bearing the same design are placed.

Far to the north in what is now Chiang Mai Province, the right Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Wat Chaiyasathit Pa Srao Lung, San Pa Thong, was created on a teak base upon which was painted a gilt design on red lacquer (Plate 112). On the reverse is a large image of the Buddha in gilt on red lacquer made by the same process. The overall design on the obverse is essentially the same as that on the

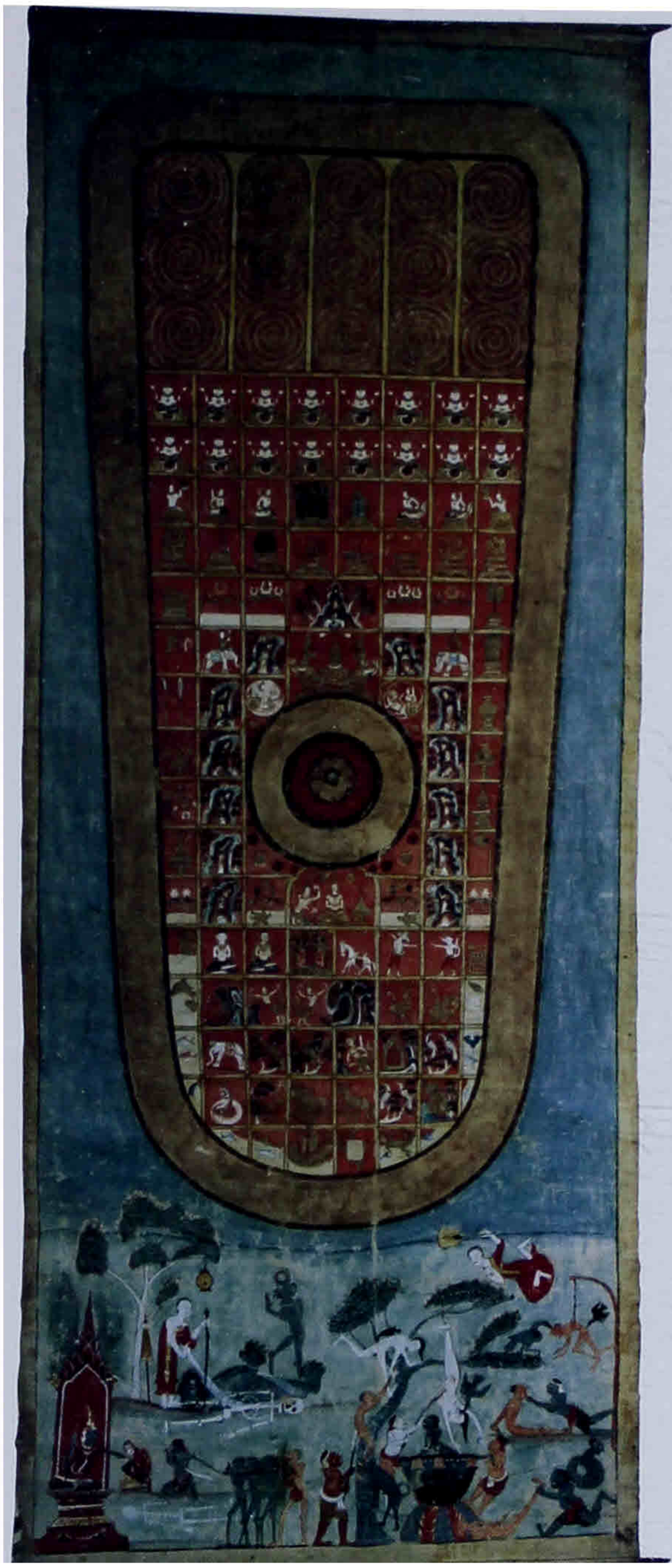


Plate 110. The phra bot with a right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Hua Toey, Songkhla, reign of King Rama I (r. 1782-1809), length 1.62 meters.

Plate 111. The phra bot with a Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Miss Umporn Boonprakong Pavilion, Wat Mahathat Woraviharn, Phetchaburi, reign of King Rama I (r. 1782-1809), length 2.86 meters, width at the toes 1.963 meters.

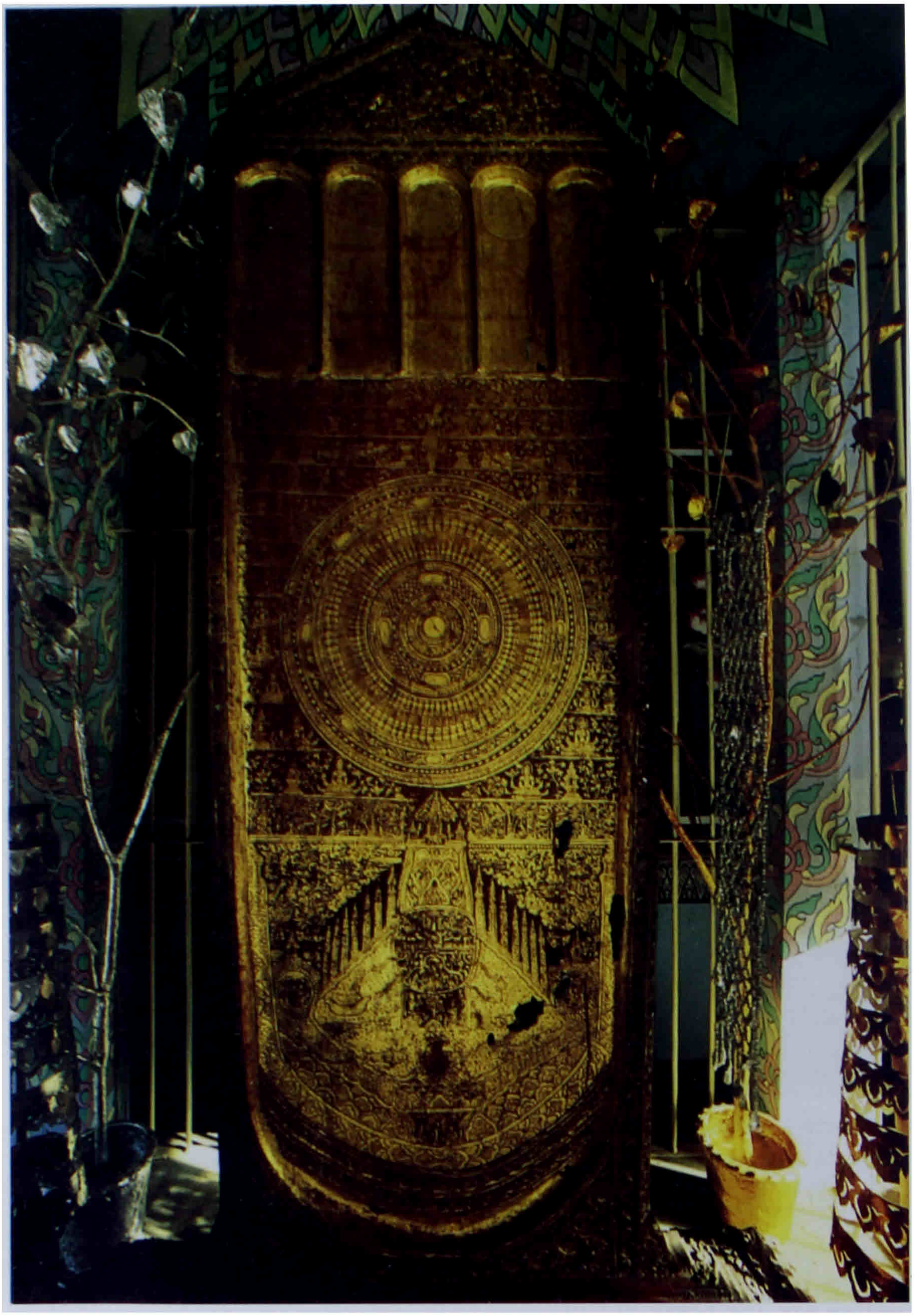


Plate 112. The right Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Wat Chaiyasathit Pa Srao Luang, San Pa Thong, reign of King Rama I (r. 1782-1809), red lacquer and gold leaf on teak, height 1.78 meters, width at the toes 0.67, height including frame 2.42 meters, width 0.78 meters.

left Footprint of the Four Buddhas of This Bhaddakappa from Wat Phra Singh, now at the Chiang Mai National Museum (Plate 70). However, the design of the palaces of the Brahmas and Devas is not the same and some of the floral and lotus petal patterns differ indicating a different period of creation. A close examination of the Footprint at Wat Chaiyasathit Pa Srao Luang reveals that the application of the gilt on red lacquer matches that on the repaired area of the Footprint in the Chiang Mai National Museum. Thus the Footprint at Wat Chaiyasathit Pa Srao Luang was created at the same time the one at the Chiang Mai National Museum was repaired, namely in 1794.

While the Footprints created during the reign of King Rama I were didactic, those of King Rama II (r. 1809-1824) emphasise beauty. The design on the left Footprint of the Four Buddhas of This Bhaddakappa, the Phra Mondop, Wat Bang Kraprom, Samut Sakhon, reflects this new emphasis (Plate 113). The Footprint is huge, measuring 6.01 meters in length and 3.16 meters in width. Unlike on earlier Footprints of the Four Buddhas, the Footprint of the Buddha Gotama is placed at the lower right of those of the previous Buddhas but it is not of the same material (Plate 113a). It was created of mother-of-pearl inlaid in black lacquer while the Footprints of the previous Buddhas were made of cement relief covered with a gleaming coat of tin. Local residents say that during World War II Japanese soldiers stripped off the tin. The Footprint of the Buddha Gotama is particularly refined in material and detail. The colors of the mother-of-pearl were selected for their pink and white hues. The lotus petal cakka shimmers with a delicate light.

The artist has reverted to a layout of Sixteen Realms of Brahmas on the two top horizontal lines and Six Realms of Devas on the third horizontal line followed by the auspicious symbols of the Human Realm. Indra reminding all to make merit has disappeared. Far to the left on the third horizontal row is the figure of a peacock representing the sun while far to the right that of a phoenix suggests the moon. The latter bird, however, does not appear on any list of 108 auspicious symbols. Its presence indicates the strong Chinese artistic influence prevalent at the time, as does the mother-of-pearl.

The encircling walls are decorated with stucco reliefs. Those on the north wall depict four Footprints of the Buddha Gotama. Furthest to the right is the Footprint on Sumanakuta (Adam's Peak). To its left is Phra Phutthabat within a mondop on Suvannapabbata (Plate 114). Local tradition maintains that the next two are the Footprint at Yonakapuri in what is now the Shan State, Myanmar, and the Footprint at Suvannamalika in Sri Lanka (Plate 115). As regards the Footprint of the Four Buddhas at Wat Bang Kraprom, the local belief is that it is the fifth Footprint of the celebrated five Footprints of the Buddha mentioned in Buddhist chants, that on the Nammada River. This is because they equate the nearby Mae Khlong River with the Nammada River.

Plate 113. The left Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, the Phra Mondop, Wat Bang Kraprom, Samut Sakhon, reign of King Rama II (r. 1809-1824), length 6.01 meters, width at toes 3.16 meters. The Footprints of the three earlier Buddhas are of cement relief originally covered with tin.

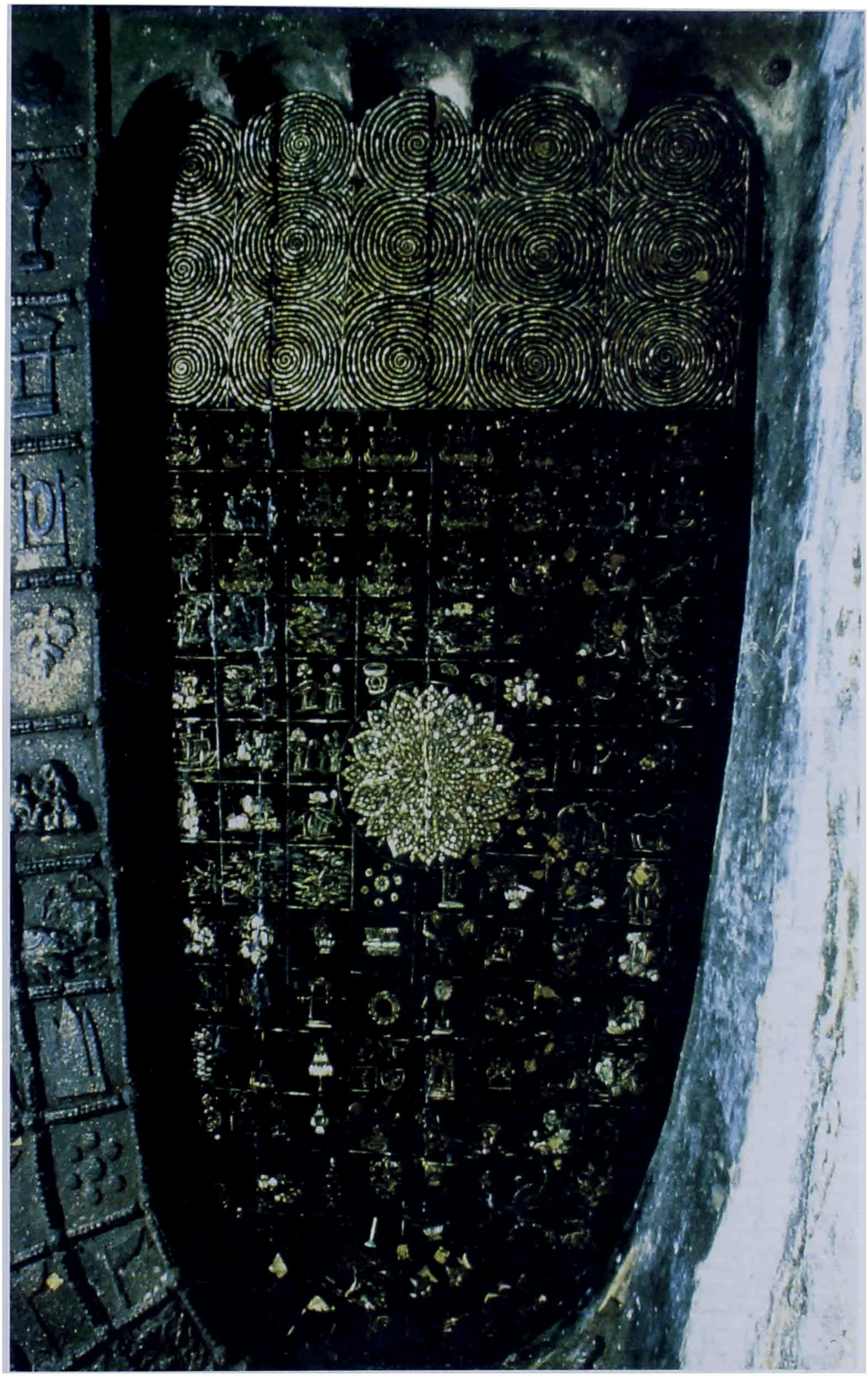


Plate 113a. The mother-of-pearl in black lacquer left Footprint of the Buddha Gotama in Plate 113, length 1.84 meters, width at the toes 0.89 meters, reign of King Rama II (r. 1809-1824).

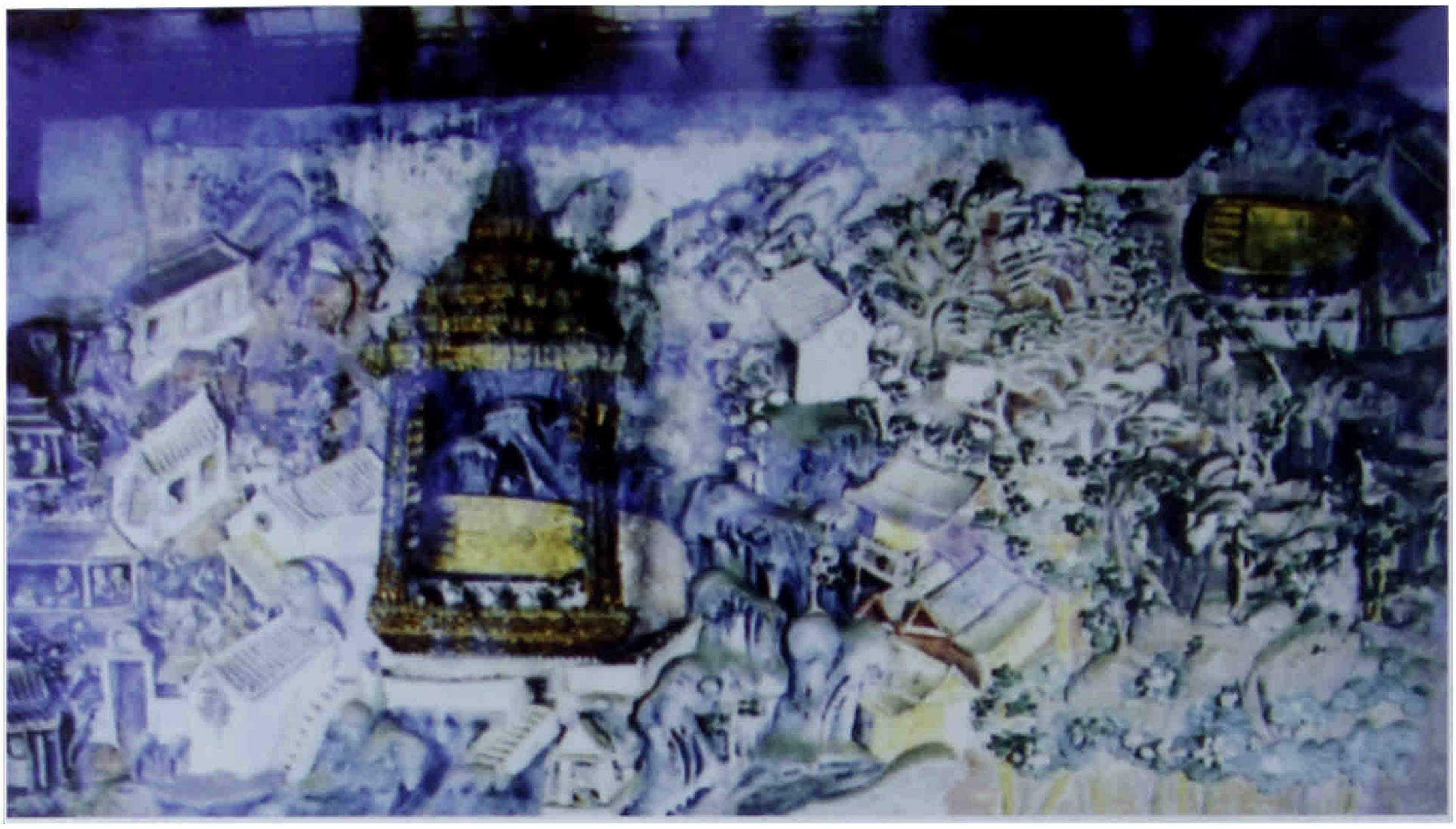


Plate 114. A stucco relief in the Phra Mondop depicting Phra Phutthabat and the Footprint of the Buddha on Sumanakuta, ca. reign of King Rama I (reign 1782-1809).

Plate 115. A stucco relief of the Phra Mondop depicting the Footprint of the Buddha at Yonakapuri in what is now the Shan State, Myanmar, and the Footprint of the Buddha at Suvannamalika, Sri Lanka, ca. reign of King Rama I (r. 1782-1809).

The stuccos are related stylistically to those in the murals at Wat Kok in which a right Footprint appears and may date to the reign of King Rama I, but the huge Footprint of the Four Buddhas at Wat Bang Kraprom dates stylistically and historically to the reign of King Rama II. Local inhabitants say that the Wat was built after the fall of Ayudhya as a gesture of gratitude by a family from there whose members had hid from the pillaging Burmese forces under a *kraprom*, a huge basket for the storage of rice. The family is said to have started the wat circa 2312 B. E. (1769). They first built a *wihan* (congregation hall) for a presiding Buddha image and started the Phra Mondop for a Footprint of the Buddha. The mondop was not finished. A prince of the Royal Family was ordained at the wat during the reign of King Rama II. He became Abbot of Wat Bang Kraprom during the reign. He had the mondop renovated and restored the stucco. It appears that at that time the huge Footprint of the Four Buddhas was created.

Three other Footprints of the Buddha were very sensitively designed and probably date to the same period in the reign of King Rama II as well. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Cherng Ta, Ayudhya (Plate 116), the right Footprint of the Buddha on a manuscript cabinet from Wat Nak Klang, now in the Phra Narai Rajaniwet National Museum, Lopburi (Plate 117), and the right Footprint of the Buddha, on a circa 1817 manuscript, the National Library, Bangkok (Plate 118).

The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Cherng Ta, with gilt designs on black lacquer, was intended to be viewed horizontally. The layout of the auspicious symbols is based on that created in Ayudhya circa 1748 during the reign of King Borommakot. The auspicious symbols of the Sixteen Brahmas Realms have been placed on the two rows immediately before the toes and the Deva Realms have been accorded eight positions on the third horizontal row. Below the cakka is the auspicious symbol for Anotatta Lake. Its presence indicates a post King Borommakot date since the symbol first appears on Footprints of the Buddha during the reign of King Rama I (see Plate 108). Furthermore, the design of the cakka follows that of the cakka of the Footprint of the Buddha Gotama, Footprint of the Four Buddhas of the Bhaddakappa, Wat Bang Kraprom (Plate 113) dated herein to the reign of King Rama II.

The right Footprint of the Buddha on a Buddhist manuscript cabinet from Wat Klang, as that at Wat Cherng Ta, is intended to be viewed horizontally (Plate 117). Its border is the same as that of the Wat Cherng Ta Footprint as well. The Footprint is particularly interesting for its detailed painting and that of its background. Almost every bit of space is filled, yet the effect is neither crowded nor overpowering. Perhaps this is due to the sense of slight motion in the background scenes. Dozens of Devas hover above and stand at the side of the Footprint with their hands in the gesture of adoration. Below the Devas, courtiers and figures with the masks of demons worn by *khon* (masked) players stand in homage, as do many of the common people. The Brahmas and Devas on the Footprint all carry a cakkavudha in one hand and a trisula

Plate 116. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Cherng Ta, Ayudhya, reign of King Rama II (r. 1809-1824), gold leaf design on black lacquer on wooden base, length 1.075 meters, width at toes 0.485 meters.

Plate 117. The right Footprint of the Buddha in a gold leaf design on black lacquer on the manuscript cabinet from Wat Nak Klang, now in the Phra Narai Rajaniwet National Museum, Lopburi, reign of King Rama II (r. 1809- 1824), accession number katha 56/127, length 0.93 meters, width at toes 0.44 meters.

(trident) in the other. These two symbols form the emblem of the Chakri Dynasty. The auspicious symbol, archway, is represented not by an archway but an obelisk. Its appearance in this form is found on most Footprints created during the reign of King Rama II and is a way of determining the date of a Footprint. Unlike those on the heretofore Footprints of the Buddha dated to the reign of King Rama II, the auspicious symbols are arranged as on Bagan period Footprints and have no extra symbols for Indra's Tavatimsa Realm.

The right Footprint of the Buddha in a folding manuscript now in the National Library, Bangkok (Plate 118), is easily dated to the same period as the Footprint of the Buddha Gotama at Wat Bang Kraprom and to other Footprints created during the reign of King Rama II by the design of it toes and by the employment of an obelisk for the auspicious symbol archway. Again the auspicious symbols are arranged in Bagan style.

The placement of the auspicious symbols on the cabinet and manuscript follow closely those on early Bagan Footprints. This change from the style popular in the First Reign and early Second Reign may have been brought about by the publication in 1814 of the *Mahapurusalaksanahagariyaguaravas lae mangal 38 phrakar* by Somdej Phra Vanarat. It was written in Pali with a Thai gloss for each auspicious symbol (Vanarat 1891, 3-6). The listing of the symbols is closely related to that in the Jinalankara-tika written in Sri Lanka in 1156 and the source of auspicious symbols on Footprints of the Buddha Gotama created in Myanmar.

The creation of many Footprints in Bagan style may also reflect the presence of the large Mon population in the area. Evidence for this is found in the circa 1817 restoration of Wat Kai Tia Preuttaram, Ayudhya which the locals say was by a Mon lady who had received a royal rank. At the same time she may have sponsored the creation of the right Footprint of the Buddha at the wat (Plate 118a). The Footprint also has a Bagan style grid and layout of the 108 auspicious symbols.

Another Footprint of the same period with the same type grid and placement of auspicious symbols is a once beautiful right Footprint with mother-of-pearl set in black lacquer (Plate 119). It is now in the Chantara Kasem Museum, Ayudhya. Noteworthy are the auspicious symbols, cakkavudha and trisula, which form the Chakri Dynasty emblem.

In 1818 Somdet Amarintha-marat, a queen of Rama I and the mother of King Rama II, commissioned a gigantic right Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa at Wat Amphawan Chediyaram, Samut Sakhon (Plate 120). The Footprint of the Buddha Gotama is at the lower left, on top of those of the earlier Buddhas. The layout of the auspicious symbols is like that on the right Footprint of the Buddha that King Borommakot offered to the Tooth Relic at Kandy (Plate 99). An inscription in Pali employing the Khom script reads:

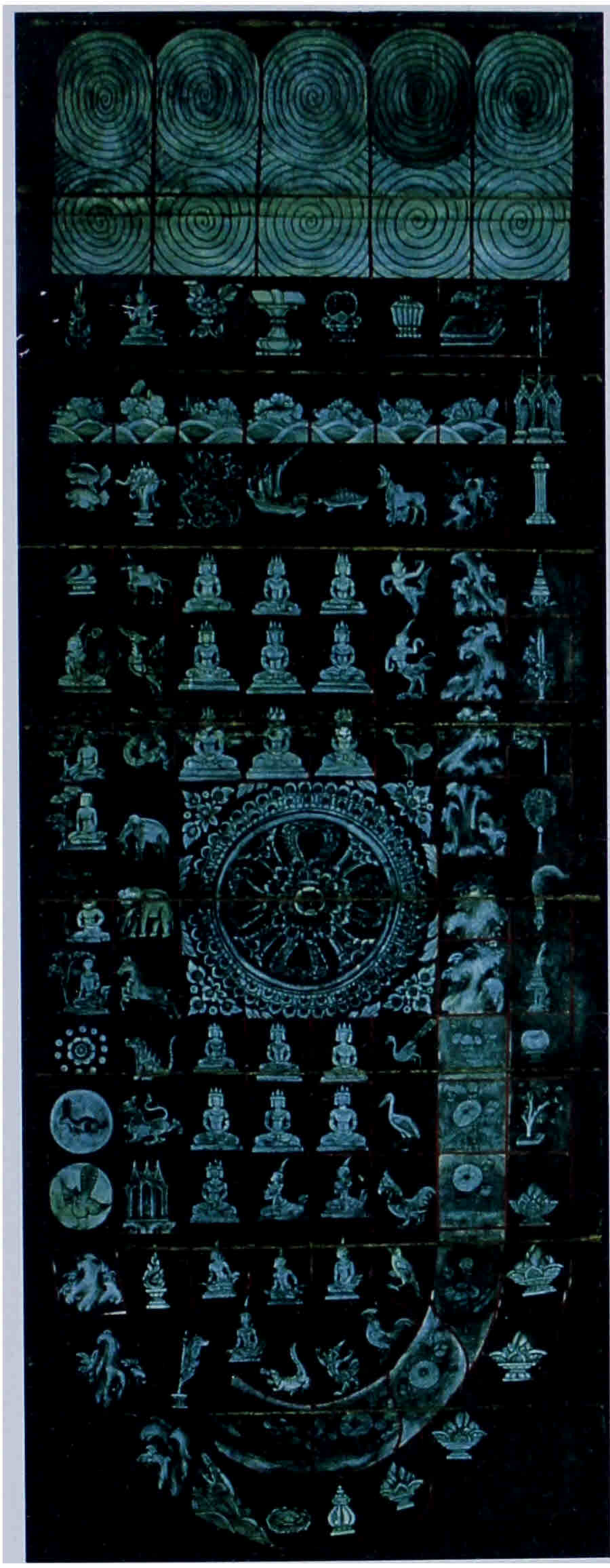


Plate 118. The right Buddha Footprint in a folding manuscript now in the National Library, Bangkok, reign of King Rama II (r. 1809-1824) (courtesy of the National Library).

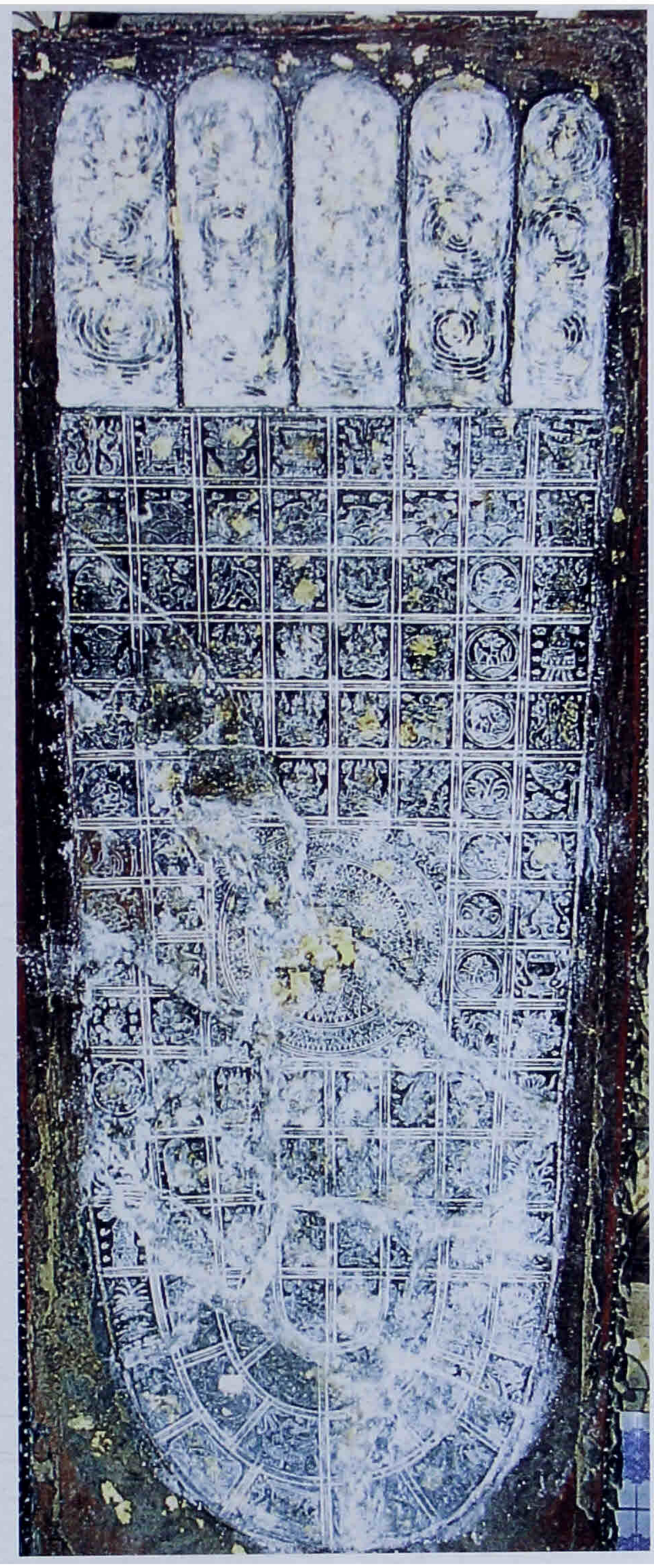


Plate 118a. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Kai Tia Preuttaram, Ayudhya, reign of King Rama II (r. 1809-1824), engraved cast bronze with black red lacquer and auspicious symbols outlined in gold, length 1.66 meters, width at toes 0.70 meters.

Plate 119. A right Footprint of the Buddha with remnants of mother-of-pearl set in black lacquer, now in the Chantara Kasem Museum, Ayudhya, reign of King Rama II (r. 1809-1824).

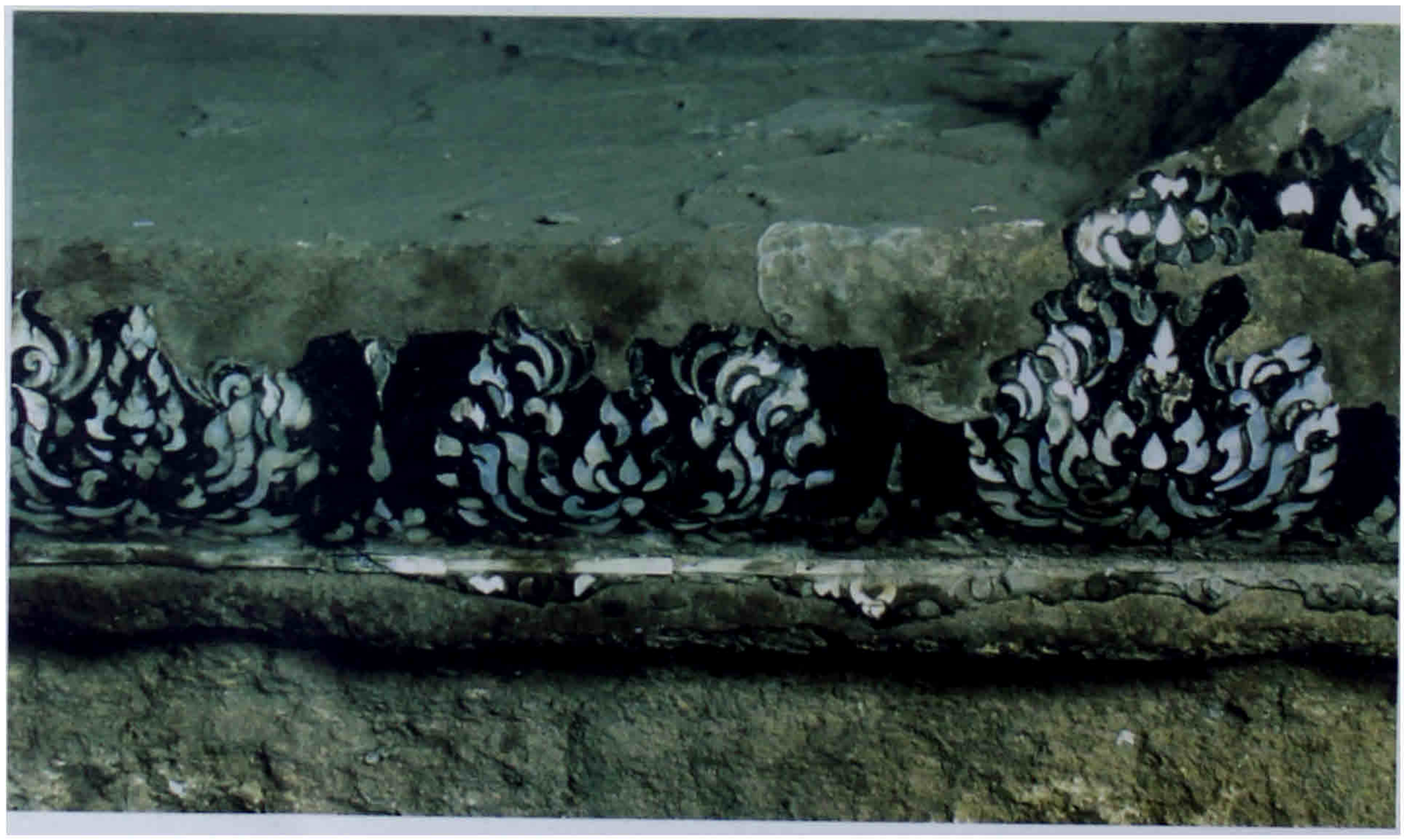


Plate 119a. Design on the sides of Footprint in Plate 119.

Plate 120. The gigantic right Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Wat Amphawan Chediyaram, Samut Sakhon, created in 1818 by King Rama II's mother in hope that she would become the mother of a Future Buddha, reign of King Rama II (r. 1809-1824), cement relief with gold leaf.

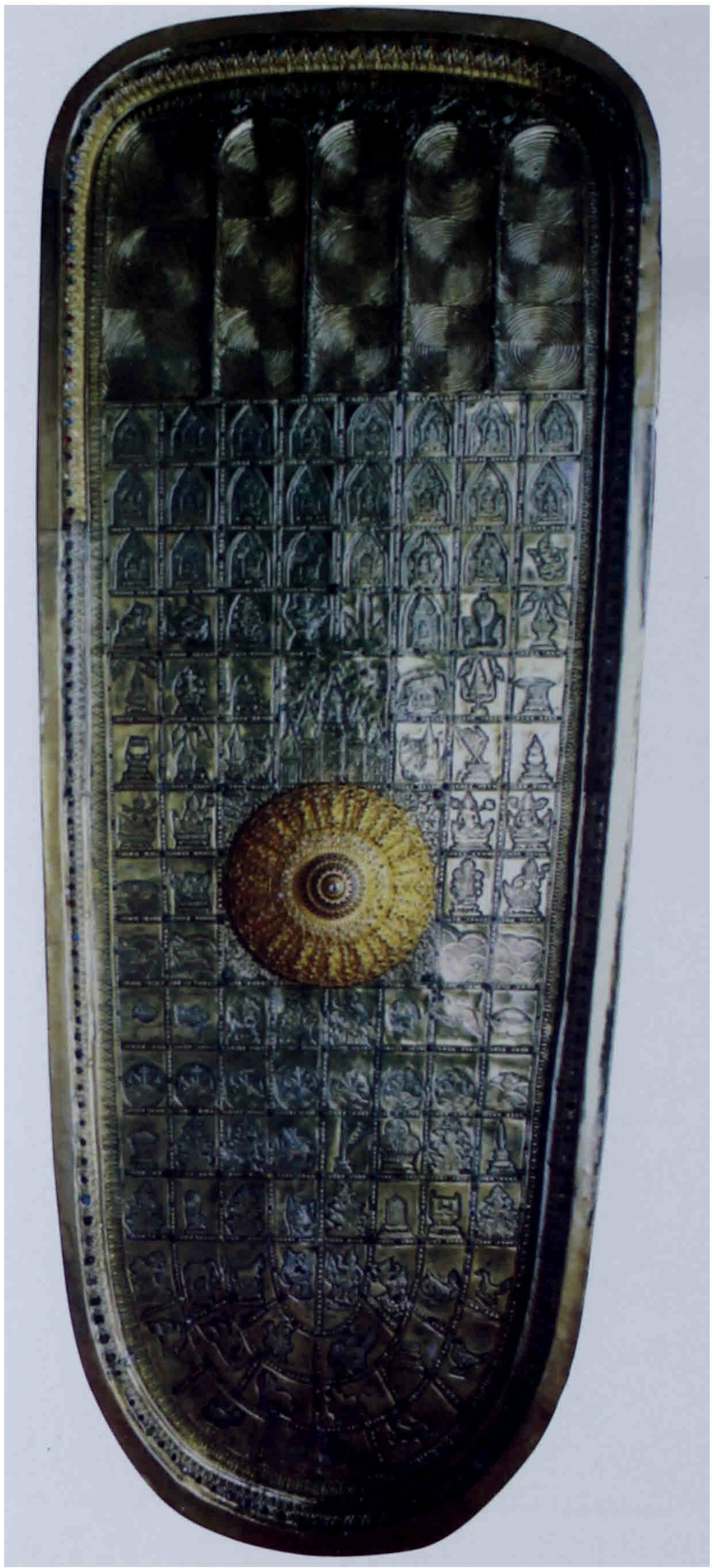


Plate 121. The bejeweled gold right Footprint of the Buddha at Phra Phutthabat Raja Wora Wihan, Saraburi, reign of King Rama II (r. 1809-1824).

"May auspiciousness prevail. When the Buddhist Era 2361 (1818 C. E) with a few remaining months [of the] year of the tiger, the Culasakkarat Era ending in zero, the seventh lunar month, the fourth day of the black fortnight was completed, Somdet Amarinthamarat created [this Footprint] in the aspiration that she would become the Mother of a Future Buddha."

Thus she asserts her hope that her son, King Rama II, would become a Future Buddha.

It may be that at this period the spectacular bejeweled gold right Buddha Footprint at Wat Phra Phutthabat Raja Wora Wihan, Saraburi, was created (Plate 121). The placement of the auspicious symbols is the same as that on the large Footprint created by Somdej Amarinthamarat, also a right Footprint. On the two horizontal lines below the toes are the Sixteen Brahma Realms. The third row has eight symbols indicating the Six Deva Realms, with Tavatimsa accorded two extra symbols for the Buddha Gotama and Brahma. Below are the 84 auspicious symbols accorded the Human Realm. The auspicious symbols for the Brahma and Deva Realms read from right to left while those of the lower Human Realm read left to right, line by line. This is just the opposite of how they read on the Buddha Footprint which King Borommakot sent to honor the Tooth Relic since that Footprint is a left Footprint (Plate 99).

The design on the Footsoles of the Reclining Buddha at Wat Ratcha-Orosaram was the prototype for other significant Footprints and Footsoles. The wat was erected at the command of Kromamuen Chetsadabodin, the future King Rama III, and completed in 1821. The beautiful mother-of-pearl right Footprint at Wat Prodkeschettaram, Samut Prakan, built in 1822 by Phraya Phetpichay (Khetuthat) bears essentially the same design (Plate 122). The right Footprint

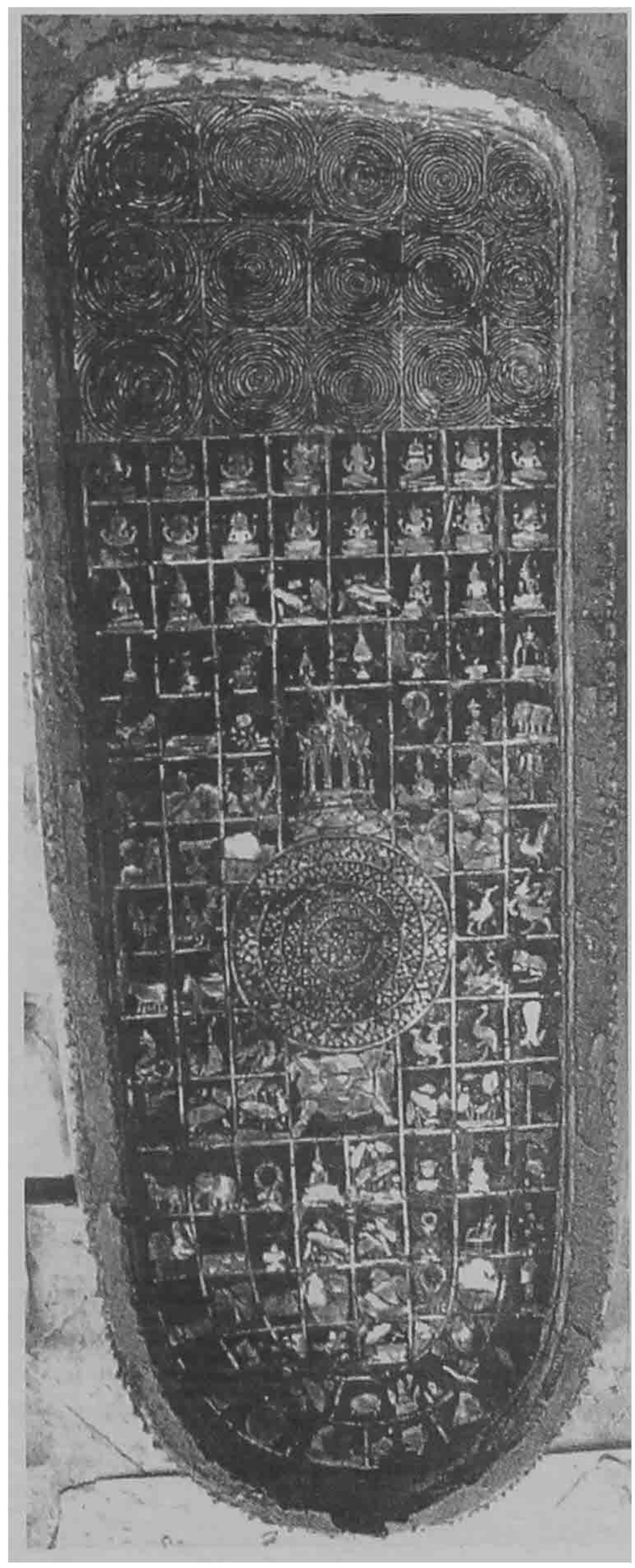


Plate 122. The mother-of-pearl in black lacquer right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Prodkeschettaram, Samut Prakan, built in 1822 by Phraya Phetpichay (Khetuthat), reign of King Rama II (r. 1809-1824), length 1.56 meters, width at toes 0.57meters.

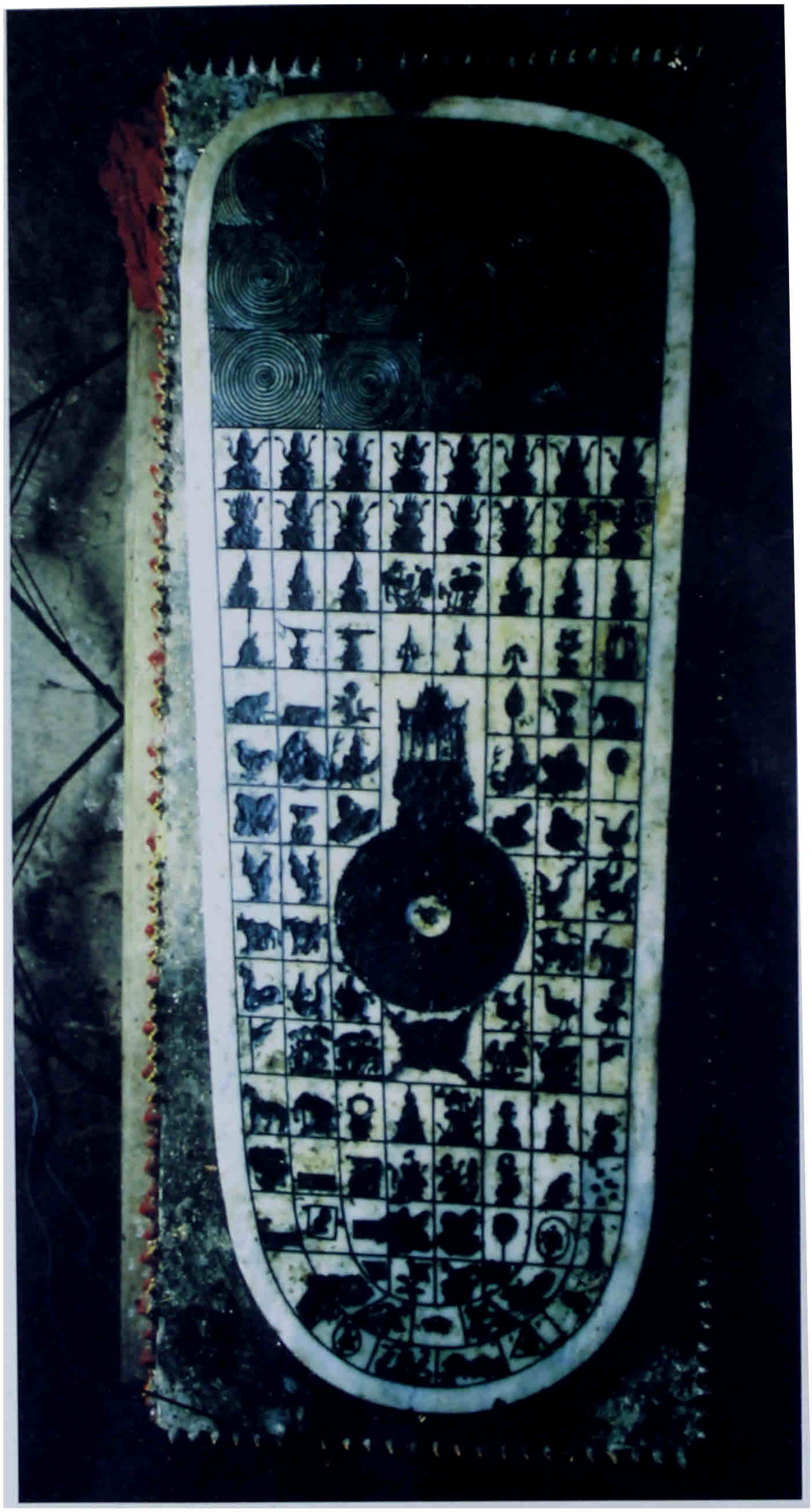
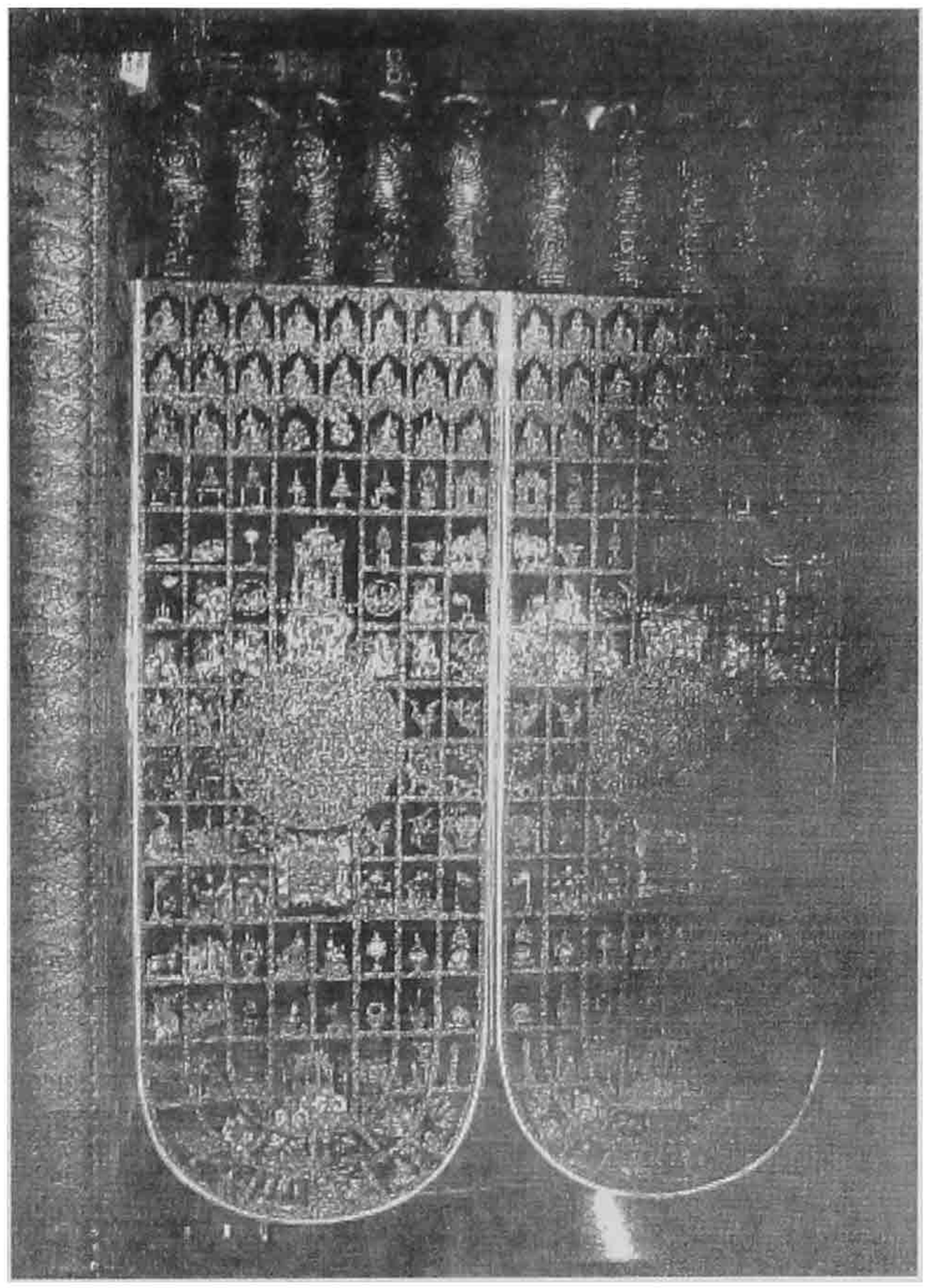


Plate 123. The carved marble right Footprint of the Buddha with a bluishblack filling, Wat Khao Bandai-it Phetchaburi, reign of King Rama II (r. 1809-1824), length 1.528 meters, width at toes 0.37 meters.

Plate 124. The mother-of-pearl in black lacquer Footsoles of Phra Phuttha Saiyut, the image of the Reclining Buddha, Wat Phra Chetuphon Wimon Mangkhalaram, reign of King Rama III (r. 1824-1851), length 5 meters, width at each of the toes, 3 meters.



of the Buddha, Wat Khao Bandai-it, Phetchaburi, probably dates to the same time as well (Plate 123). The design on the Footsoles of Phra Phuttha Saiyut, the image of the Reclining Buddha at Wat Phra Chetuphon Wimon Mangkhalaram (Plate 124), in turn follows that introduced at Wat Ratcha-Orosaram.

Rama III ascended the throne in 1824 and ruled until 1851. The king invested heavily in the trade with China. In the 1830s the fleet that left for China between May and August comprised approximately eighty junks. This plus other revenues helped to amass sufficient funds (Terwiel op. cit. 135-136). Thus in 1835 the king decided to completely renovate Wat Phra Chetuphon Wimon Mangkhalaram, popularly known as Wat Pho.

The Footsoles of Phra Phuttha Saiyut at the wat are famed for the splendor of the many-faceted cakka at the center of each, the intricacy of the design of each of the auspicious symbols and the superb craftsmanship of the artisans who created them (Plate 124). The size of the image, approximately fifty meters long and thirteen wide with Footsoles each five meters in length and three meters wide, is also very impressive. The image is the second largest in Thailand.

The design of the Footsoles and that on the toes was created by setting small pieces of various colored mother-of-pearl in black lacquer. Each toe has three spirals, one at the tip of the toes and two on their underside; between the toes are diamond-shaped motifs. Each Footsole is a mirror image of the other. Both bear designs in which the auspicious symbols representing the Sixteen Realms of Brahmas, the Six Deva Realms and the Human Realm are arranged in an hierarchical manner. It is important to note that in addition to being represented on horizontal line three, Tavatimsa Realm, the second highest Deva Realm ruled by Indra, is accorded a place at the focal point of each Footsole, above the cakka. Indra is depicted seated in splendor in his jeweled Vejayanta Palace on top of the great craggy peak of Mt. Meru

at the center of the universe. Two auspicious symbols at the center of the third horizontal line and symbols on all the remaining area on each Footsole represent the Human Realm.

Indra has been placed at the focal point to remind all to make merit and thereby be eligible for rebirth in the wondrous Tavatimsa Realm that he rules. While the Sixteen Brahma Realms correlating with the realms of Jhana concentration are still present, they have been de-emphasized.

Two symbols among the eighty-six of the Human Realm have been accorded a larger space than usual, indicating their importance. The first is the Anotatta Lake in the Himalayas on Jumbudipa Continent, where we live, placed below the cakka. The second is the Phra Mondop enclosing Phra Phutthabat atop Mt. Suvannapabbata. This symbol is placed at the center of a semicircular row consisting of three auspicious symbols at the heel of the each Footsole.

Instead of the one crown, which appears in the root 108 lists of auspicious symbols, each Footsole has two auspicious crown symbols. One is for the universal monarch with a retinue of seven treasures and the other for his queen, who is one of his treasures. The queen appears also as an auspicious symbol, at the right center of horizontal line twelve. Below the queen and the universal monarch are the figures of the crown prince and the treasurer, two more of the universal monarch's seven treasures. The other four treasures are present as well: the wheel or discus used as a weapon, the precious jewel, the king of the Uposatha and Chaddanta elephants and the king of the Valahaka horses.

The auspicious symbols of the Human Realm on the Buddha image's right Footsole, beginning on the fourth horizontal line, read from left to right, line by line, while the symbols of the higher realms on the top three horizontal lines read from left to right, line by line, as follows:

THE HUMAN REALM

1. Satti	A spear
2. Ankusa	An elephant goad
3. Khagga	A sword
4. Unhisa	A crown [here for the queen]
5. Setacchatta	A white umbrella
6. Unhisa	A crown [here for the universal ruler]
7. Sovattika	A neck ornament
8. Pasada	A rosette with right-turning petals [at center of 3rd line]
9. Nandiyavatta	An ear ornament
10. Vatamsaka	A palace

11.	Suvannasivika	A golden palanquin
12.	Bhaddapitha	A throne
13.	Talavanta	A palm leaf fan
14.	Mayurahatta	A peacock tail feather fan
15.	Dakkhinivattaseta-sanka	A right spiraling conch
16.	Eravanahattiraja	Eravana, an elephant king and mount of Indra
17.	Talavanta	A palm leaf fan
18.	Chakkavalapabbata	The Chakkavala Mountain Range that surrounds the ocean and forms a wall around the universe
19.	Suriyamandala	The full sun
20.	Tavatimasa Realm	The second highest Deva Realm
21.	Candamandala	The full moon
22.	Himavantapabbata	The Himalayas
23.	Talavanta	A palm leaf fan
24.-28.	Sattakulapabbata	Five of seven great mountain ranges that encircle Mt. Meru
29.	Jivajivaka	The king of the pheasants
30.	Kimpuriso	A kinnara, a mythical being half man and half bird
31.	Kinnari	A kinnari, a mythical being half woman and half bird
32.	Hamsaraja	The king of the Brahmani ducks
33.	Supannaraja	The king of the golden garudas
34.	Usabharaja	The king of the bulls
35.	Savacchakadhenu	The cow and her calf
36.	Siharaja	The king of the lions
37.	Byaggharaja	The king of the tigers
38.	Basukinagaraja	Vasuki, the king of the nagas
39.	Samsumara	A crocodile
40.	Suvannamakara	A golden makara
41.	Karavika	The Indian cuckoo
42.	Koncaraja	The king of the herons
43.	Mayuraraja	The king of the peacocks
44.	Dhaja	A banner
45.-46.	Sattasidantasagara	Two of the seven Sidanta lakes
47.-50.	Anattata Lake	Outlet in the shape of an ox head Outlet in the shape of a horse head Outlet in the shape of an elephant head Outlet in the shape of a lion head

51.-52.	Sattasidantasagara	Two of the great Sidanta lakes
53.	Pataka	A flag
54.	Valahakaassaraja	Valahaka, the king of the horses
55.	Uposathachaddantahattiraja	King of the Uposatha and Chaddanta elephants
56.	Cakkavudha	A wheel or saw-bladed discus
57.	Saparivara-sataratana-samangi-cakkavatti	The universal ruler with seven treasures
58.	Itthiratana	The queen
59.	Sirivaccha	Siri, goddess of prosperity
60.	Mani	The jewel
61.	Patta	A monk's alms bowl
62.	Sattakulapabbata	One of the seven mountain ranges
63.	Sattasidantasagara	One of the seven Sidanta lakes
64.	Camari	A yak-tail fly whisk
65.	Parinayaka	The crowned prince
66.	Gahapati	The treasurer
67.	Sumanadama	A jasmine garland
68.	Punnakelasa	A vase of plenty
69.	Punnapatta	A full bowl
70.	Sattamahaganga	One of the seven great rivers
71.	The Phra Mondop housing Phra Phutthabat	One of the seven great rivers
72.	Sattamahaganga	One of the seven great rivers
73.	Saparivara-catumahadipa	One of the four large continents, having 500 encircling islands
74.	Sattakulapabbata	One of the seven mountain ranges
75.-76.	Sattasidantasagara	Two of the seven Sidanta lakes
77.	Kelasapabbata	Mt. Kelasa
78.	Saparivara-catumahadipa	One of the four continents with 500 encircling islands
79.-80.	Sattamahaganga	Two of the seven great rivers
81.	Saparivara-catumahadipa	One of the four continents with 500 encircling islands
82.	Catumukhasavannanava	The golden boat with four prows
83.	Samudda	The ocean
84.	Saparivara-catumahadipa	One of the four continents with 500 encircling islands
85.	Cakkavakaraja	The king of the ruddy geese
86.	Torana	The archway

THE DEVA REALMS

87.-92. Chadevaloka	The Six Deva Realms

THE BRAHMA REALMS

93.-108. Solasabrahmaloka	The Sixteen Brahma Realms

Earlier in the reign, in 1830, Captain James Low of the Madras Army had read a paper entitled "On Buddha and the Phrabat" at the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. In it he gave a list of ninety-six different auspicious symbols on each of the Footsoles of the Buddha. The paper was published in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* the following year. His paper constitutes the earliest study in the English language on the Buddha and His Footprints (Low 1831, 70). A Thai artist had presented him the drawing of the Footprint of the Buddha printed in his paper (Plate 125). The overall design of the Footprint and many of the auspicious symbols diverge from those on earlier Footprints and portend a new trend.

Many of the Footprints of the Buddha created in the succeeding years exude a sense of playfulness and joy and at times a lack of inhibition not exhibited in earlier Footprints. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthabat, Yasothon, is within this category (Plate 126). The Footprint was carved firom a red sandstone slab and then carved in relief. As on the early Bagan Footprints, the auspicious symbols for

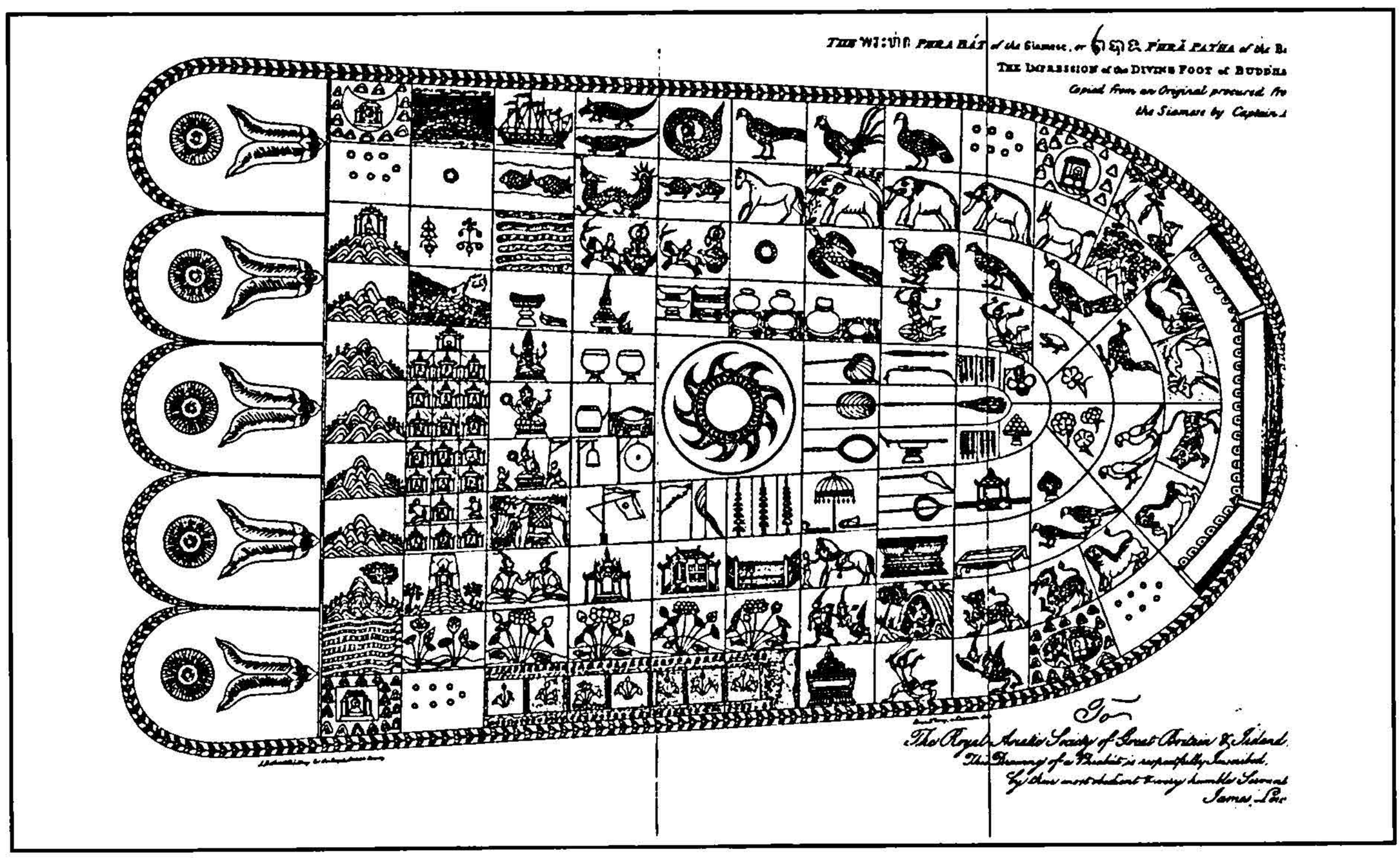


Plate 125. A drawing of the Footprint of the Buddha in a paper Captain James Low presented to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1830 (courtesy of the Cornell University Library), reign of King Rama III (r. 1824-1851).

Plate 126. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthabat, Yasothon, reign of King Rama III (r. 1824-1851), red sandstone, length 1.58 meters, width at toes 0.585 meters.

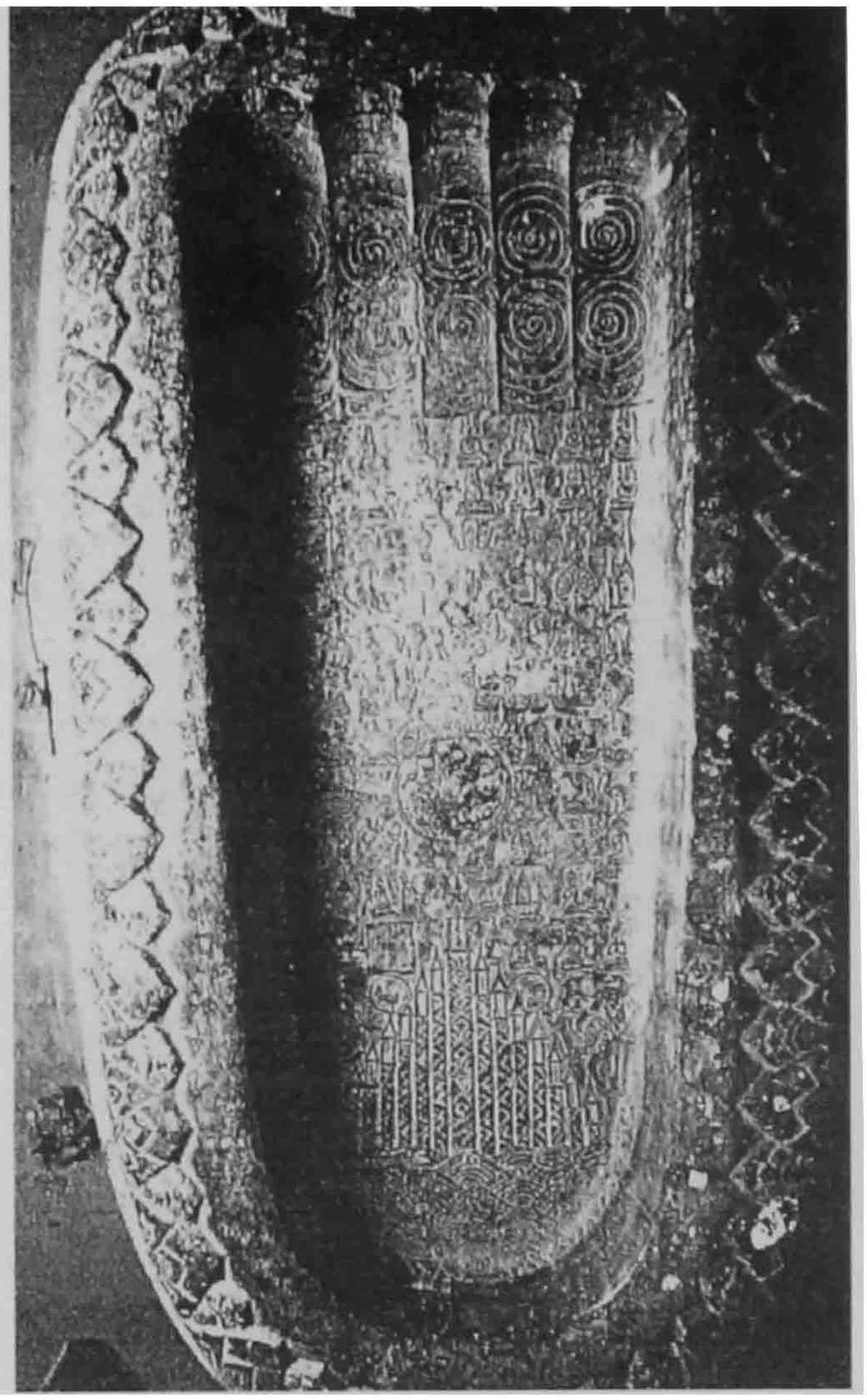


Plate 127. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Sri Thammaram, Yasothon Province, reign of King Rama III (r. 1824-1851), stone, length 1.65-1.67 meters, width at toes 0.66 meters.

the Brahma and Deva Realms are clustered above and below the cakka. There is expression of much movement and vitality provided by the symbols. The Footprint has no inscription but nearby is a stele saying it was created in 2378 B. E. (1835 C. E). The Footprint measures 1.58 meters in length and 0.585 in width.

The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Sri Thammaram, Yasothon Province (Plate 127), shares a sense of exuberance with the Footprint at Wat Phra Phutthabat in Plate 126 and probably is of the same date. Depicted on the lower part of the Footprint is Indra in his palace atop Mt. Meru with its seven encircling mountain ranges. To the viewer's left of the mountain is the orb of the moon with a peacock inside. Above the orb is a diagram indicating the orbit of the planets as they encircle Mt. Meru and the

earth. The Footprint measures 1.65-1.67 meters in length and 0.66 in width at the toes (Buranabunpot 1992).

A pair of related Footprints of the Buddha, Wat Ban Pieng, Chiang Mai, present the Mt. Meru complex much more dramatically (Plate 128). The pair was hollowed out of both sides of a teak plank, which is in the shape of a Bodhi leaf. At the top of the border is an eight-petaled lotus within a roundel suggesting the Noble Eightfold Path. The toes are deeply engraved and the large toe is unusually large. The Mt. Meru complex dominates each of the Footprints. At the left is the universal ruler in his palace. To the right the figures of the auspicious symbols from the Human Realm cavort. On the top of Mt. Meru stands Eravana, the thirty-three headed mount of Indra, shown with only three heads. The orb of the moon containing a rabbit is placed to the right of Eravana while Suriya, the sun god, in his carriage rides swiftly westward to the left. Above Eravana the auspicious symbols of the Six Deva Realms form a hexagon around a small cakka with eight spokes. The Sixteen Brahma Realms are represented by the figure of a large three-headed Brahma at the top right of the Footprint. Next to him is a most unusual design of circles placed within lines to form a rectangle. This may have been intended to represent the constellations. The artist who created the Footprints obviously was more interested in creating an object of devotion expressing beauty and fantasy than a conventional interpretation of the placement of the 108 auspicious symbols. The design on the left Footprint is a mirror image of that on the right. A date circa 1835 is indicated. The Footprints measure 1.22 meters in height and 0.61 in width.

Related in design to the right Footprint, Wat Sri Thammaram, Yasothon Province (Plate 127), and the Pair of Footprints Wat Ban Pieng, San Pa Tong, Chiang Mai (Plate 128), is the right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Chae Hang, Nan Province (Plate 129). The Footprint is extremely long and narrow and formed deep within a cement slab. Once again the Mt. Meru complex rises from the base. Sculpted above are the numerous palaces of the Brahma and Deva Realms. It probably dates circa 1835 as well. The Footprint measures 2.25 meters in length and 0.55 in width at the toes.

Four other Footprints of the period also bear designs indicating the exuberance and imagination of the creator. The right Footprint of the Buddha now at Wat Bovornivet Wihan, Bangkok, was hollowed out of a stone slab (Plate 130). Then the toes and auspicious symbols were engraved and lines filled in gold leaf. The design of Mt. Meru rising out from the cakka is reminiscent of that on the left Footprint of the Buddha, the Tooth Relic Palace, Kandy (Plate 99), and other Footprints created during the reign of King Borommakot, as is that of the toes. But that of the auspicious symbols is related to those on the right Footprints of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthabat Yasothon, and Wat Thammaram, Yasothon Province (Plates 126 and 127). Thus it also dates to the period 1835.

Plate 128 and 128a. The pair of Footprints of the Buddha carved back to back on wood, Wat Ban Pieng, Chiang Mai, reign of King Rama III (r. 1824-1851), with gold leaf on red and black lacquer, length 1.22 meters, width at toes 0.61 meters.

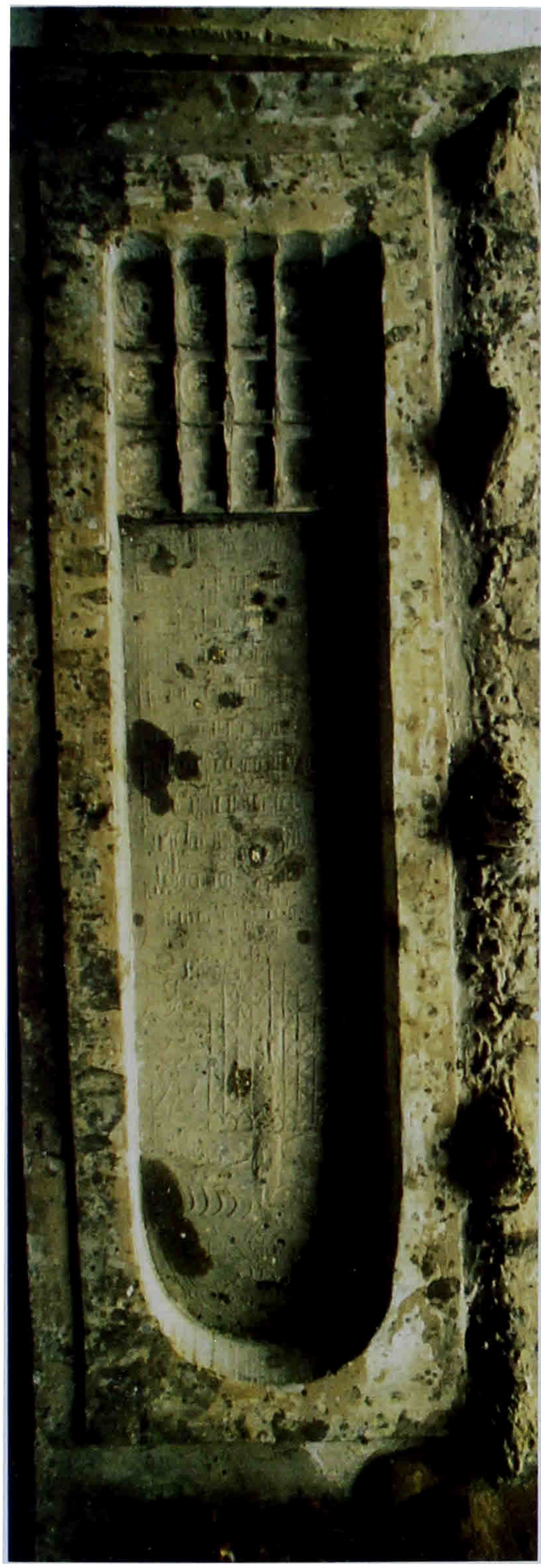


Plate 129. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Chae Hang, Nan, reign of King Rama III (r. 1824-1851), cement, length 1.22 meters, width at the toes 0.61 meters.

Plate 130. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Bovornivet Wihan, Bangkok reign of King Rama III (r. 1824-1851), stone.

Plate 131. The left Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Rahan Yai, Rayong, reign of King Rama III (r. 1824-1851), carved wood with gold leaf, length 1.19 meters, width at the toes 0.57 meters.

Among the most imaginative of the Footprints created to venerate the Buddha is the left Footprint, Wat Rahan Yai, Rayong (Plate 131). It was hollowed out of a large board and the toes and auspicious symbols carved in relief. The toes are very short and have been accorded only one spiral each. Next to the toes is a row of five figures, each in a niche. These appear to represent five of the Six Deva Realms. The elephant king Eravana, Indra's mount, positioned above Mt. Meru indicates the second Tavatimsa Realm ruled by Indra. He and Mt. Meru have been placed at the center of the Footprint. The garuda king flies at the level of the mountain's peak. Above to Eravanna's left is the chariot of the sun god pulled by a horse and to his right that of the moon god pulled by a gilin. The chariots circle a cakka with eight figures representing the Sixteen Brahma Realms. Directly below Eravana and Mt. Meru are the auspicious symbols, the wheel or discus used as a weapon, the golden boat with four prows, and still lower the great ocean, suggested by a large fish. The overall impression is one of movement and delight. The Footprint used to hang from a wooden beam. Nearby was an inscription in Thai with a date equivalent to 1839. The Footprint measures 1.19 meters in length and 0.57 meters in width.

The left Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Thep Charoen, Chumphon (Plate 132), is noteworthy not only for its remarkable design and auspicious symbols, but also by the sense of devotion the scenes engraved on the sides provide, giving a view of a community procession honoring the Footprint. A many-petaled lotus blossom forms the cakka. Above it rises what at first glance appears to be a lotus bud, but is in fact a stylized Mt. Meru. It rises from the center of the universe, the base of which is represented by the cakka. Below Meru and above the cakka are two orbs indicating the sun and the moon. The sixteen crowned Brahmas occupying the two uppermost horizontal rows suggest the Realms of Brahmas. The Deva Realms have been accorded eight auspicious symbols, all on the third horizontal line. The sequence of the Human Realm begins to the far right on horizontal line four with the symbol Siri, goddess of prosperity.

On one side is a scene portraying a trumpeting elephant, a figure with conical headdress, perhaps a king riding a horse, a lone sailor in a three-masted boat, plus a buffalo and an ox followed by a herdsman (Plate 132a). Sharp mountain peaks appear in the background. On the other side a lady with hands in the gesture of adoration is unmindful of a large crocodile beside her (Plate 132b). The same scene depicts three men with arms raised and hands outstretched, as if holding up the Buddha Footprint. Between them is a deer turning his head to listen and an elephant with a mahout. Yet another man, with arms held high in the position of holding up an object, appears on one of the ends of the Footprint; two ladies one of whom has placed her hands in the gesture of adoration, accompany him (Plate 132c). Nearby is a cow with a human-like face. The artist who designed the Footprint deliberately made the auspicious symbols appear archaic, so much so that the Footprint looks ancient. The layout of the

Plate 132. The left Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Thep Charoen, Chumphon, reign of King Rama III (r. 1824-1851), pink sandstone, length 0.69 meters, width at the toes 0.435 meters.

Plates 132a, b and c. Scenes depicted on each side of the Footprint in Plate 132.

Plate 133. A fragment of a right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phutthabat Khao Makham, Chantaburi, reign of King Rama III (r. 1824-1851), engraved stone.

auspicious symbols stems from that of Footprints created during and after the reign of King Borommakot. But the scenes on the sides give information to the contrary, especially the design of the boat that cannot be earlier than the 19th century. The Footprint, like that at Wat Bovornivet Wihan (Plate 130), appears to date circa 1835. The pink sandstone Footprint measures 0.69 meters in length and 0.45 meters in width.

A fragment of a right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phutthabat, Khao Makham, Chantaburi (Plate 133), has a design which is clearly related to the Footprints created in the 1830s during the reign of King Rama III, especially the left Footprint, Wat Thep Charoen, Chumphon (Plate 132). The Brahmas and Devas, abbreviated in number, have been placed on a line above the toes. Mt. Meru rises up from the base of the universe represented by the cakka and the orbs of the sun and moon gods are placed to the viewer's left and right, indicated by a peacock and rabbit inside, respectively. The auspicious symbols of the Human Realms have been placed on a grid below the cakka. Four-petal flowers decorate the surface of each side of the cakka.

The layout of the auspicious symbols below the toes on the Footsoles of the Image of a Reclining Buddha, Wat Mahathat Wora Maha Wihan, Nakhon Sri Thammarat (Plate 134), follows that on the right Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa in the Wihan (Plate 107). As on that Footprint, auspicious symbols representing the Four Realms of Brahmas in the Arupabhumi appear. Two extra symbols indicating the Buddha Gotama preaching in Tavatimsa Realm also appear, and Indra and his mount Eravana have been placed at the center of horizontal line four suggesting to all that they should make merit in order to be reborn in Tavatimsa.

The auspicious symbols have been given liveliness typical of other Footprints of the period. The design on the Footsoles might have been created in memory of King Taksin. According to Captain James Low's 1836 article on the government of Siam,

Plate 134. The Footsoles of the image of a Reclining Buddha, Wat Mahathat Wora Maha Wihan, Nakhon Si Thammarat, reign of King Rama III (r. 1824-1851), stucco bas relief covered with gold leaf.

a son born of a consort from Nakhon Sri Thammarat became governor of that city (Terwiel op. cit. 69).

Yet another Footprint of the Buddha expressing devotion in an imaginative style is the right Footprint, Wat Chom Thong, Chiangtung, the Shan State, Myanmar (Plate 135). This small Footprint, measuring 0.62 meters in length and 0.53 in width, stands in an upright position near the main stupa of Wat Chom Thong, Chiangtung (Savangpanyangkul 1992, 191). The Footprint was carved from a stone slab in such a manner that high ridges separate the toes from one another. Each toe bears an elongated whorl. Rising up from a lotus base is Mt. Meru. To the left of Mt. Meru is the full moon with a rabbit inside and to the right the full sun with a peacock. Above to the left is a tusked elephant indicating the king of the Uposatha and Chaddanta elephants. To the right is a horse, suggesting Valahaka, the king of the horses. The horse and elephant both are important to the local culture and moreover represent two of the seven treasures of the universal monarch. At the top of Mt. Meru is the large figure of Indra in Tavatimsa Realm.

An inscription in Pali employing the local *Khun* alphabet refers to the stupas being built in the year equivalent to 1891. The Footprint, however, would be older since it is related stylistically to a host of Footprints created during the reign of King Rama III.

Plate 135. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Chom Thong, Chiangtung, the Shan State, Myanmar, reign of King Rama III (r. 1824-1851) (courtesy of Henri Pagau-Clarac).

Chapter X: Buddha Footprints created during the reigns of Kings Rama IV to Rama IX the Great of the Chakri Dynasty

King Rama IV ascended the throne in 1851 and reigned until 1868. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthachai (Wat of the Buddha's Shadow), Saraburi (Plate 136) bearing an inscription dated the equivalent of 1858 provides evidence about the type of Footprints created in the first half of the reign and the influences thereon. The 108 auspicious symbols are presented in vertical grid such as was employed on the earliest Bagan Footprints. The layout of the auspicious symbols too is as on those Footprints: Palaces of the Brahmas of the Sixteen Brahma Realms and those of the Deva Realms are clustered above and below the cakka with those of the Human Realm around them. The design of the cakka is noteworthy. It is in the form of a cakkavudha, with beaded saw-tooth blades encircled by lotus petals. This together with the Bagan grid and symbol layout are determining factors in the recognition of Footprints created in this period.

The presence of various animals and birds in reliefs on the lower panel at the bottom of the base also is significant. They include two cranes, one parrot, four water buffaloes and three elephants (Plate 136a). These animals and birds appear in the list of the sixteen animals and birds in the guise of which the Bodhisatta lived 136 lives while striving to attain the ten perfections enabling his Buddhahood. The positioning of these figures around a Footprint of the Buddha forms a powerful *yantra* (magic formula) giving protection. This belief is widely held in Myanmar.

During his early years in the Sangha as Prince Mongkut, King Rama IV had been dismayed by what he saw around him. "The rites were observed in a mechanical and sometimes slovenly way, discipline was lax, many monks were corrupt, few of them cared for scholarship" (Griswold 1961, 15). He thus thought of quitting the order altogether. Fortunately he met an Abbot of Mon lineage who had been ordained in what is now lower Myanmar and later moved to Bangkok. The Abbot was considered to be an authority on doctrine and discipline. The young prince resolved to follow all the practices of the Mon Sangha with greatest strictness, was reordained and set about improving the discipline and raising the standard of Buddhist scholarship within the Siamese Sangha. The employment of Bagan style grid and layout of 108 symbols reflects King Rama IV's desire to get back to what he considered a purer form of Buddhism

The inscription on the right Footprint at Wat Phra Phutthachai reads, "In the Buddhist Era 2401. the year of the horse, the eighth month, the sixth day, the 15th day

Plate 136. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthachai (Wat of the Buddha's Shadow), Saraburi, 1868, during the reign of King Rama IV (r. 1851-1868), cast bronze, length 1.139 meters, width 0.48 meters.

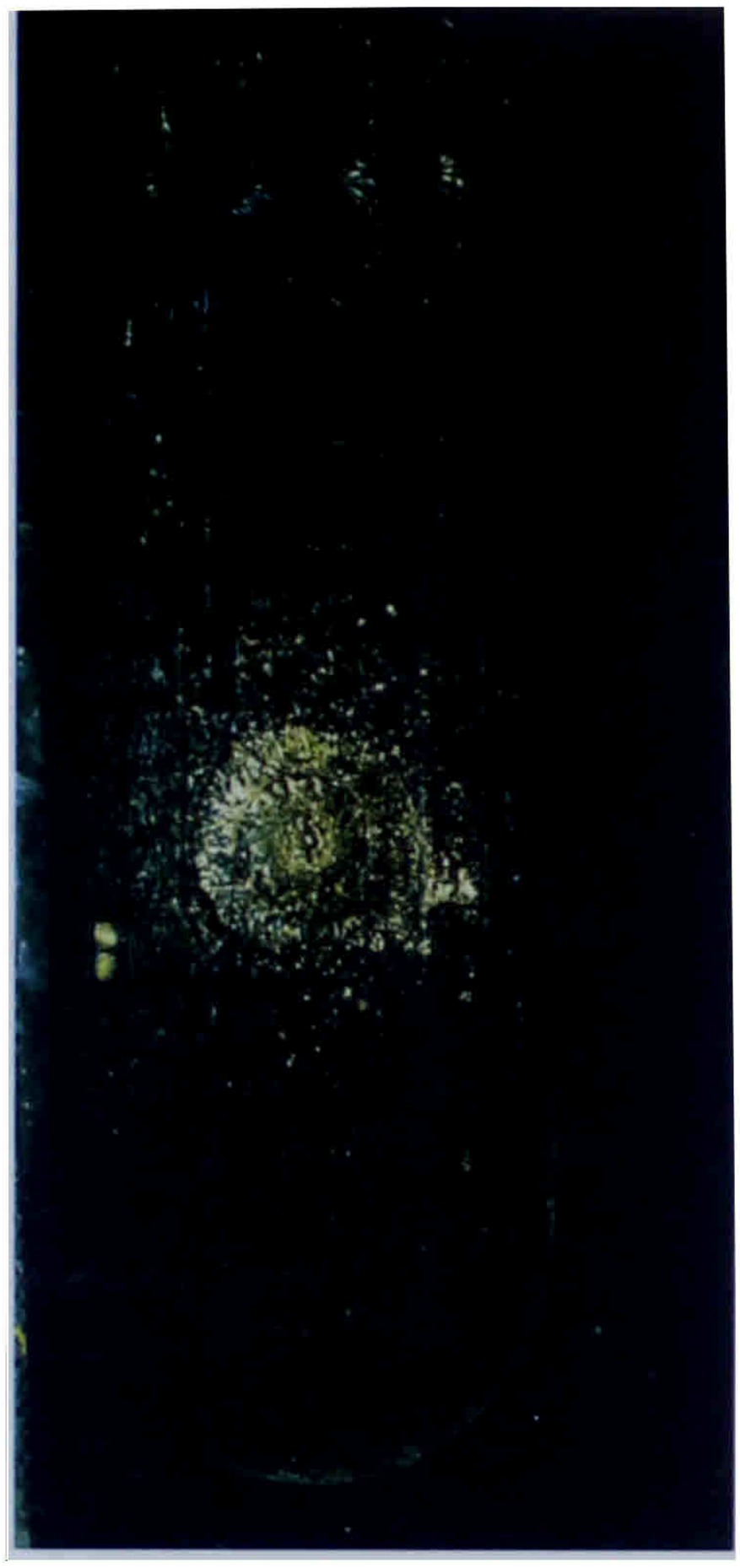
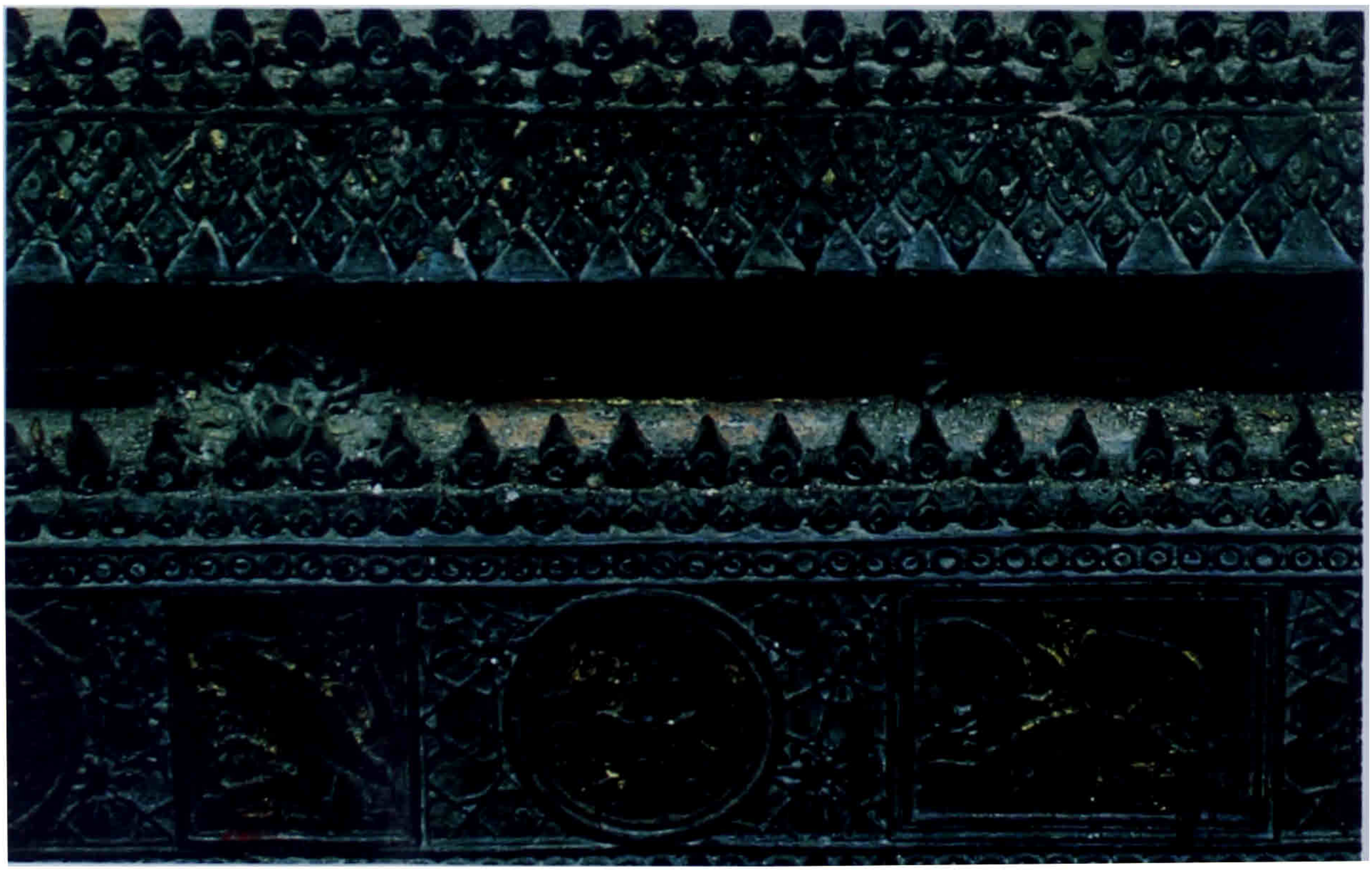


Plate 136a. Some of the protective symbols on the base of the Footprint in Plate 136.



of the waxing moon, this excellent Buddha Footprint was completed. May this bring about the attainment of nibbana. May this be so."

The bronze right Footprint measures 1.39 meters in length and 0.48 meters in width. The base of the Footprint, including the surface on which the toes and auspicious symbols would be placed and the side panels, were cast by the lost wax method. The toes were cast separately, as were the cakka, the 108 auspicious symbols and the grid holding the symbols. Then they all were attached to the plate at the top of the base.

A second Footprint basically in the same style is the right Footprint of the Buddha now at the Chaiya National Museum (Plate 137). It is made of silver with a cakka of gold at the center of the Footsole. At first glance the cakka appears to be an open lotus blossom ringed by thick petals. A closer observation reveals a movement of the petals like that on a saw-toothed discus signaling its having been produced during the reign of King Rama IV. The Deva and Brahmas Realms are placed above and below the cakka and ringed by those of the Human Realm. Significantly, auspicious symbol No.2, Siri, goddess of prosperity, is represented by "an auspicious residence" as on Footprints created in what is now Myanmar. The Footprint reads clockwise beginning with symbol No.1, spear. Miniature in size, it measures 0.49 meters in length and 0.25 in width.

In the year 1861 King Mongkut went to venerate Phra Phutthabat. For that trip, the king had a large retinue. Even the queen, Somdej Phranang Rampheryphamara-phirom, who was ill at the time, was asked by the king to go. In addition twenty of his consorts, fifteen of his children, a large number of female members of the royal family plus a small troop of theatrical players from the Inside Quarter of the Grand Palace accompanied him (Thiphakorawong 1965, 236-237). A mural on the east wall of the Phra Ubosot, Wat Mahasamanaram Rajawongwihan, Phetchaburi, depicts a festival during the reign of King Rama IV to pay homage to Phra Phutthabat (Plate 138). The scene is the culminating point of the depiction of a tremendous land and river procession of elephants, horses and carts, beginning on the left wall, bringing the faithful to venerate Phra Phutthabat and pay respects to their sovereign. King Rama IV is shown presiding over activities including that of what may be his small group of theatrical players. The murals were painted by the famous Thai monk artist, Phra Khru In-Khong (Nawok 1987, 4 and 9).

Did King Rama IV commission a gold Footprint of the Buddha to cover Phra Phutthabat? The said murals do not include a Footprint and no documents have been published mentioning his commissioning one. Yet a Gold Footprint similar in design to the Footprints in Plates 136 and 137 was described by Henry Alabaster as having been at Wat Phra Phutthabat Raja Wora Mahawihan. In 1871 Alabaster's book, *The Wheel of the Law: Buddhism Illustrated from Siamese Sources*, was published. It is the

Plate 137. The silver and gold right Footprint of the Buddha now at the Chaiya National Museum, reign of King Rama IV (r. 1851-1868), 0.49 meters, width at the toes 0.25 meters.

Plate 138. Mural at the Phra Ubosot. Wat Mahasumanaram Rajawongwihan, Phetchaburi, depicting King Rama IV presiding over a festival of homage to Phra Phutthabat, Saraburi, reign of King Rama IV (r. 1851-1868).

earliest book in English about Thai Buddhism. In it the author recounts his trip to the wat and describes the interior of the Phra Mondop. He states that within it were not only Phra Phutthabat but fixed to the wall were "two large gold plates, one jeweled, which are full-size representations of the design supposed to have formerly existed in the Phrabat itself." The jeweled plate would have been the jeweled right Footprint in Plate 121. On Alabaster's return to Bangkok he requested the Lord Mayor to make a copy of one of the "gold plates." The Lord Mayor had a copy made from a facsimile of one of the gold plates, a copy of which appears in Alabaster's book (Alabaster 1871, 283-287) (Plate 139). The copy made from the facsimile is a right Footprint. Its cakka is formed of an eight-petaled flower as the hub encircled by a band decorated with overlapping petals and yet another band with petals of blade-like appearance forming a cakkavudha. The auspicious symbols depicting the Sixteen Realms of Brahmas and the Six Deva Realms are placed above and below the cakka and the auspicious symbols of the Human Realm clustered around them. An auspicious residence again represents symbol No. 2, Sirivaccha. The Bagan-type grid and layout of the symbols plus the design of the symbol for Sirivaccha and the cakka in the form of a cakkavudha all indicate that the second gold plate seen by Alabaster was created in the reign of King Rama IV. The auspicious symbols read clockwise beginning with symbol No.1, satti, spear, to the far left of the first horizontal line. They follow in general those on the early Bagan Footprints.

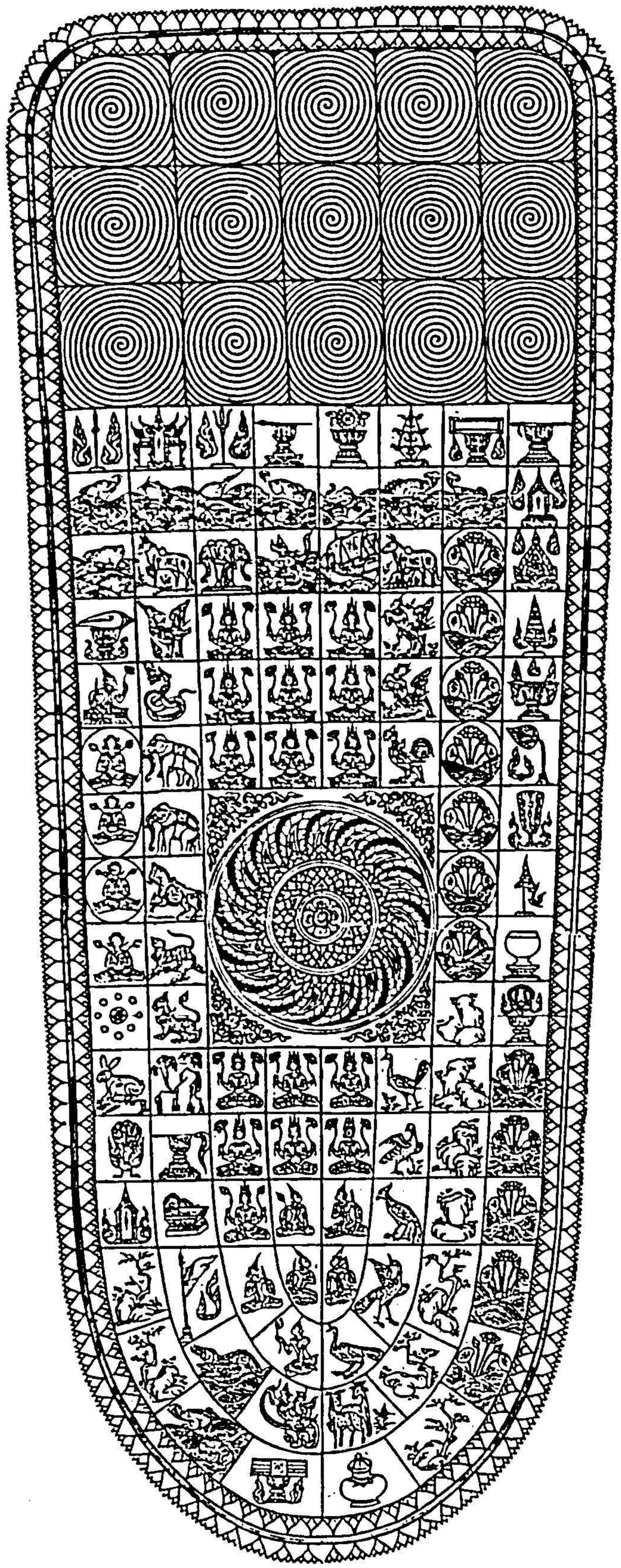


Plate 139. A facsimile of one of the gold Footprints commissioned to cover Phra Phutthabat seen by Henry Alabaster and published in his *The Wheel of the Law* in 1871. The Footprint would have dated to the reign of King Rama IV (r. 1851-1868).

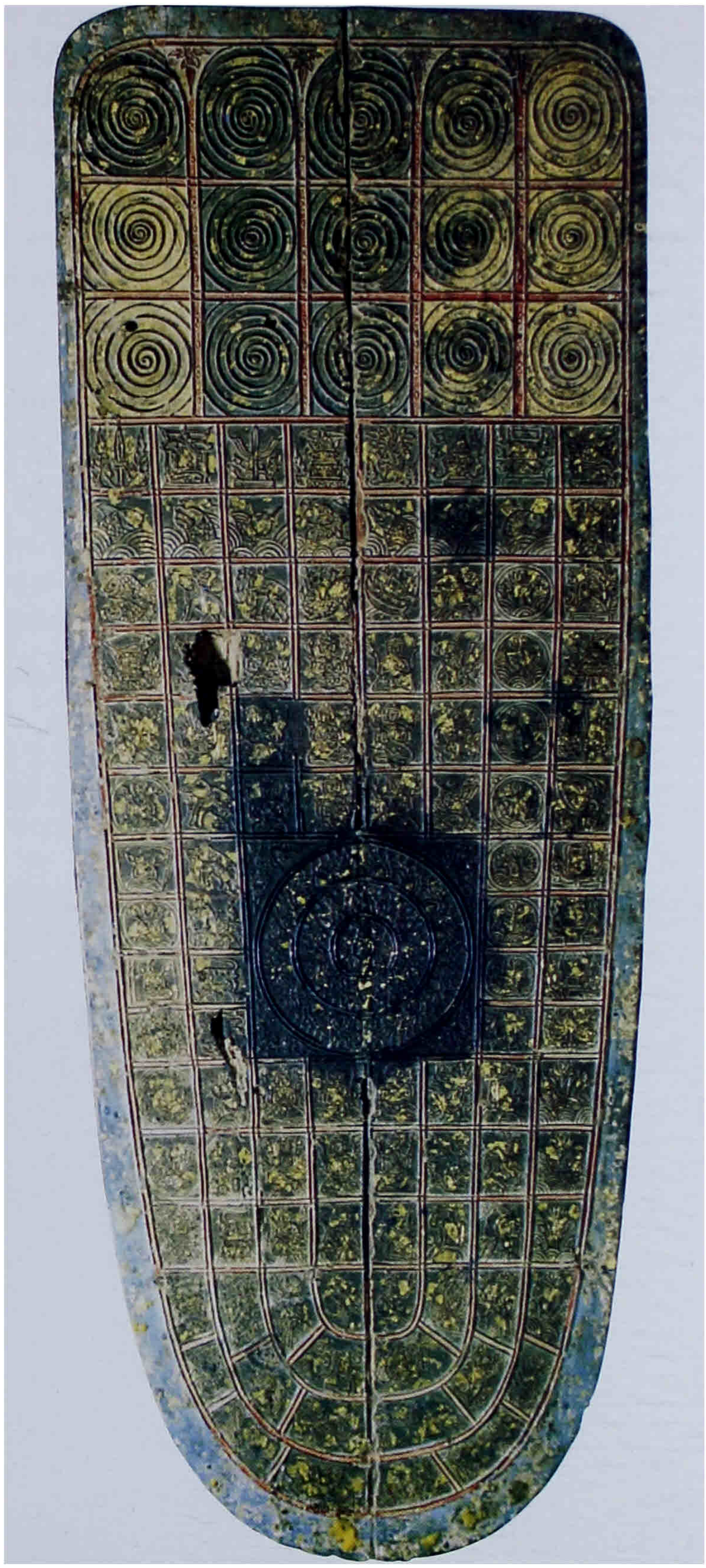


Plate 140. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Khu Phanom, Nakhon Si Thammarat, reign of King Rama IV (r. 1851-1868).

An additional Footprint of the same design is the right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Khu Phanom, Nakhon Si Thammarat (Plate 140). The same design also appears on the pair of Footsoles on the image of the Reclining Buddha, Wat Pa Koh, Songkhla (Plate 141). Yet another Footprint related in design is the right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phanom Rung, Buriram (Plate 142).

While a member of the Sangha, the king had gained many followers of his reformed daily practices, rituals and preaching. In the late 1830s he had been invited by King Rama III to move with his followers to Wat Bovornivet, where he became Abbot and in effect the head of a separate order within the Siamese Sangha. He named it *Thammayutika*, the "Order Adhering to the Dhamma," distinguishing it from the older order, the *Mahanikai* (Wyatt 1984, 176). In his reign the Thammayutika was officially recognized as a new sect. The Thammayutika wats all over the country were to be supervised by the newly established Khana Thammayutika (division of the Thammayutika sect) (Kangsadara 1986, 255).

Encouragement to make merit became an important theme for the new order:

> "The new Buddhism made a sharp distinction between kinds of supposed acts of merit. A few were utterly wrong, as when misguided zealots killed themselves or cut off a finger as a sacrifice to the Buddha: these it roundly condemned. Many were harmless,

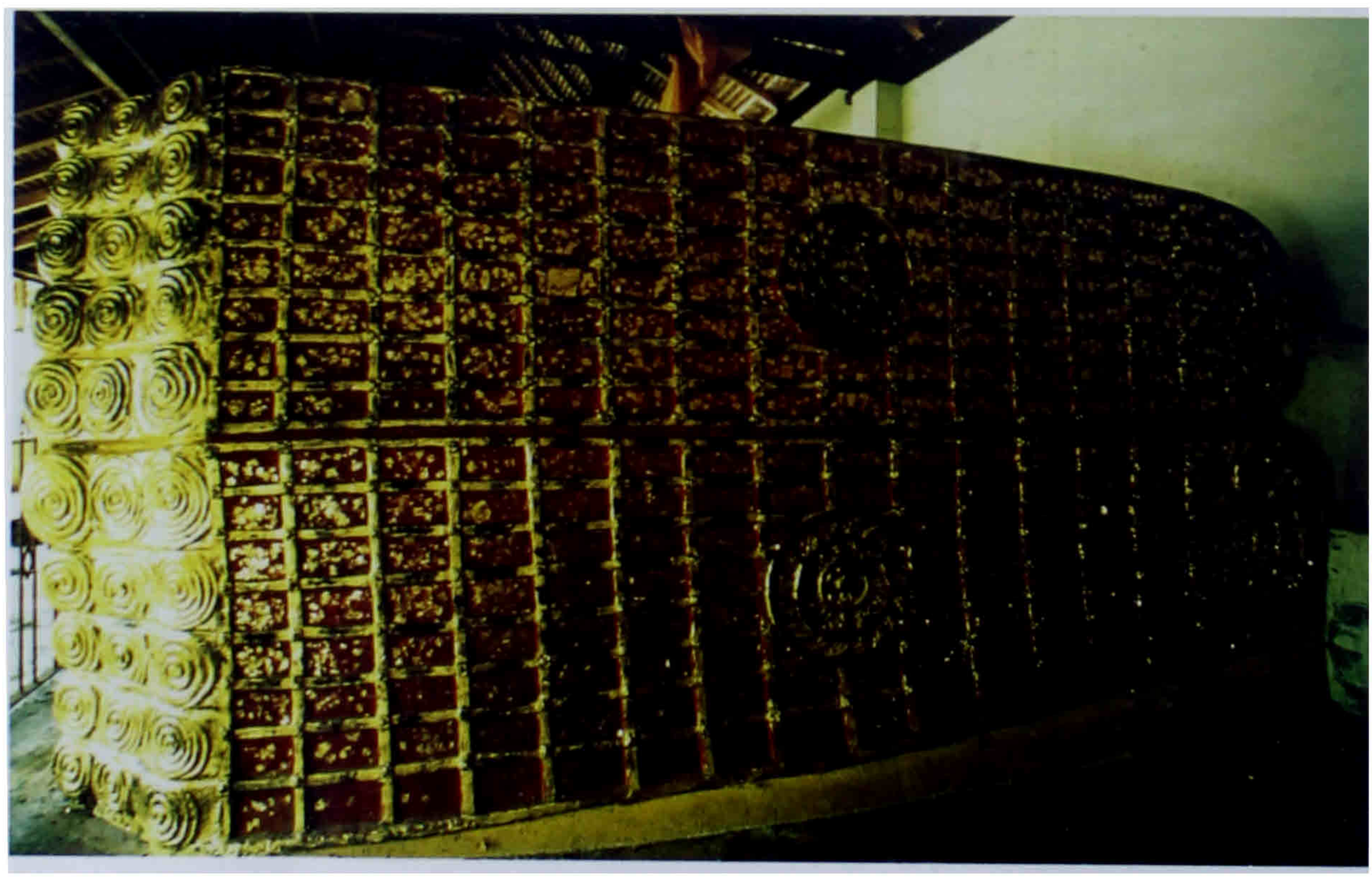
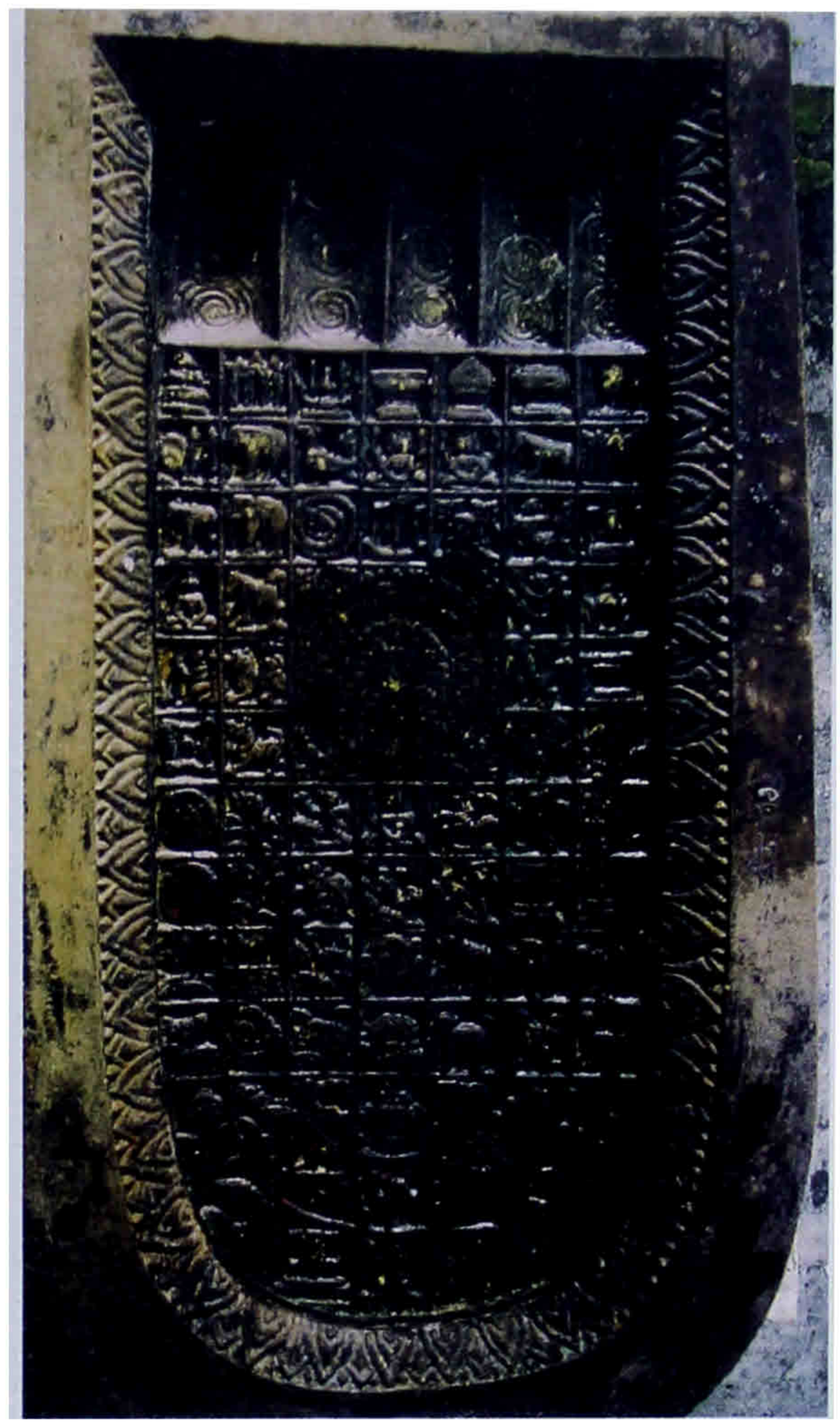


Plate 141. The footsoles on the Reclining Buddha, Wat Pa Koh, Songkhla, reign of King Rama IV (r. 1851-1868).

Plate 142. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phanom Rung, Buriram, reign of King Rama IV (r. 1851-1868).



such as building miniature pagodas of sand or carrying Buddha images in procession; these it tolerated as reminders of the Doctrine. But above all it encouraged acts of merit that were of real social value: while only the rich could afford to build monasteries and hospitals, the poor could bridge a stream with a few bamboo poles or remove sharp thorns from a public bath; all could give alms, in proportion to their means, in money or in service; all could practice kindness and self-restraint" (Griswold 1961, 24-25).

The fragment of a left Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Somdet Yansangwararam, Chonburi (Plate 143), presents the most powerful as yet assertion of the importance of making merit found on a Footprint of the Buddha. Previously the appearance of The Four Great Guardian Kings of the Universe had been suggested by the placement of Indra in his palace on top of Mt. Meru symbolizing Tavatimsa Realm to which those who make merit would be reborn. Now for the first time the four kings and their councilors are depicted. They have been placed appropriately on each side of the symbol for Mt. Meru since their kingdoms are located on the peaks of the Yugandhara Mountain Range, the highest and closest of the seven mountains encircling Mt. Meru. The king who rules the eastern side all the way to Cakkavala Mountain Range which bounds the universe is Dhatarattha; on the western side, Virupakkha; on the southern side, Virulhaka, and on the northern side, Vessavanna. On the eighth day of the lunar half-month, they and their councilors come out into the world to discover if man cultivates righteousness and virtue; on the fourteenth day they send their sons, on the fifteenth day they themselves appear in the world. Then at the assembly of devas they submit their report at Tavatimsa Realm and the Devas rejoice or lament accordingly as to whether men prosper in righteousness or not (Malalasekera 1974, 862).

Plate 143. A fragment of a left Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Somdet Yangsangwararam, Chonburi, reign of King Rama IV (r. 1851-1868).

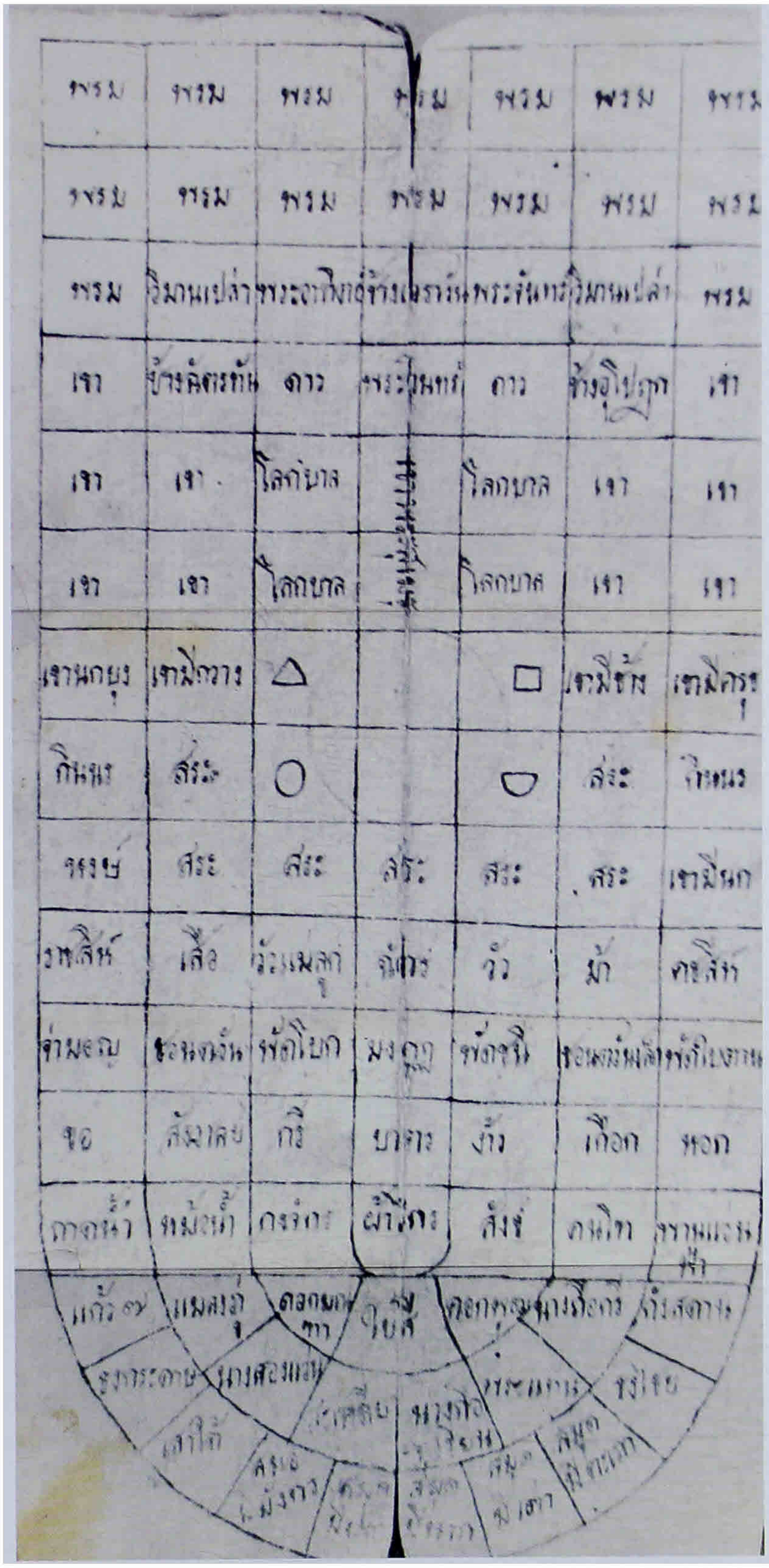


Plate 144. A khoi paper folding manuscript, one of the cherished possessions of Nai Surapun Atichatanan, with a diagram describing the 108 auspicious symbols on a Footprint of the Lord Buddha first employed by his grandfather, Charoen Pattananggoon, during the reign of King Rama V (r. 1868-1910).

The cakka with a cakkavudha at its center indicates the Footprint was created during the reign of King Rama IV, as does the message to make merit. The Footprint was made of metal by the lost wax method. The Footprint probably was an experimental one for it does not appear to have been finished. The auspicious symbols on the seventh horizontal line plus their grid are missing, as are the toes. The final design of a Footprint representing the ideals of the new sect would have to await its recognition in the next reign.

A valuable Khoi paper folding manuscript that is one of the cherished possessions of Nai Surapun Atichatanan, whose father, grandfather and great grandfather also were master artisans and created many Footprints of the Buddha. The manuscript includes a diagram that serves as a guide for the placement of the 108 auspicious symbols on a Footprint of the Buddha (Plate 144). The diagram was first employed by Charoen Pattananggoon, Nai Surapun's great grandfather, during the reign of King Rama V (r. 1868-1910). The diagram with its emphasis on Tavatimsa Realm and the Four Great Guardians of the Universe, that is to say, the making of merit, closely follows the concept set forth on the left Footprint of the Buddha now at Wat Somdet Yansangwararam. But it varies in the placement of auspicious symbols and introduces new symbols. The names of the symbols are given in the Thai language. The usage of Thai rather than Pali to denote the auspicious symbols on the Footprint of the Buddha and the introduction of new symbols follows a precedent set in the *Pathamasambodhikatha* compiled in 1845 by Prince Patriach Phra Paramanujit Jinarosa (Jinarosa 1935, 68-69).

In the diagram twenty-three new auspicious symbols not on earlier lists of symbols on the footsoles of a Buddha were introduced:

19. Khao nok yung	peacock mountain
20. Khao kwang	deer mountain
25. Khao mi chang	mountain with an elephant
35. Khao mi nok	mountain with a bird
45. Kojasi	mythical being, a lion with elephant trunk
47. Chon-ta-wan	fan called sunflower
48. Phad-bok	long-handled ceremonial palm leaf fan
50. Phad-cha-ni	?mother? fan
51. Chon-ta-wan-sao	fan called sunflower, having a long handle
58. Kyak	slippers (part of the royal regalia)
62. Dok manta	the mandara flower
70. Nang thu turian	female holding a durian
72. Nang thu krit	female holding a trident
73. Khon tho	bottle for water
74. That nam	tray for water
75. Kaew 7	seven jewels

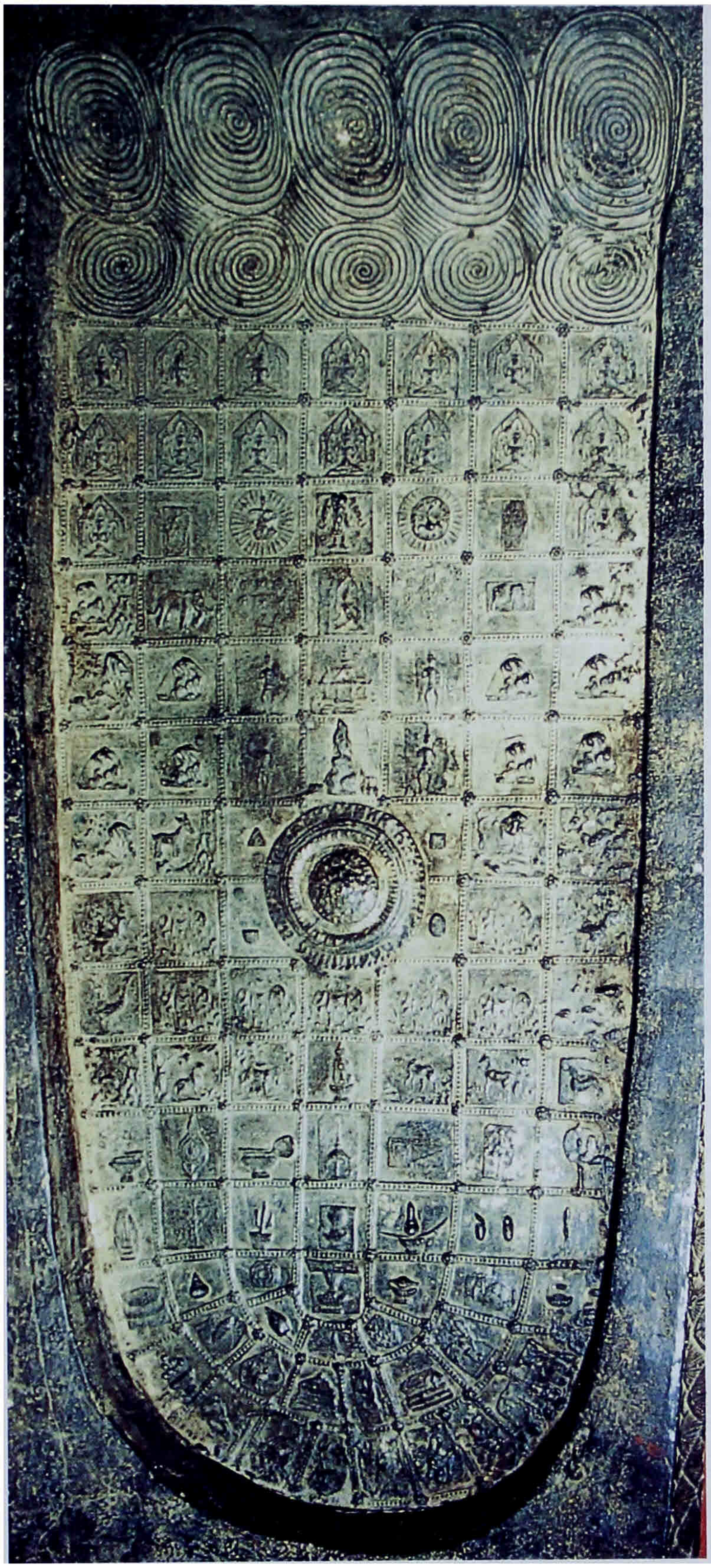


Plate 145. The left Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Khao Di Salak, reign of King Rama V (r. 1868-1910).

84.	Gang-sadon	gong
85.	Phan-waen-fa	two-tiered pedestal tray on which to place an object of honor
86.-89.	Lokaban	The Four Great Guardian Kings of the Universe
91.-92.	Vimanphlao	Plain celestial palaces

Some of the new symbols reflect an association with the Sangha, such as the various fans, others with the royal household, such as kyak, the royal slippers, and *phan-waen-fa* which play an important role in royal ceremonies. Still others such as a female holding a tureen probably reflect significant new trends in 19th century culture. A comparison of the auspicious symbols with those of 10th and 12th century lists of auspicious symbols reveals that many of the symbols on the diagram are not among those included on the earliest yet discovered Footprints lists.

The auspicious symbols given in the manuscript are explained in English below since they constitute the symbols on the Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa dedicated to Her Majesty, Queen Sirikit.

The earliest Footprint on which the auspicious symbols as given in the manuscript appear is the left Footprint of the Lord Buddha, Wat Khao Di Salak, which dates to the reign of King Rama V (Plate 145). The auspicious symbols for the Sixteen Realms of Brahma with Form have been placed on the two uppermost horizontal lines and at each end of the third line. Now the sixteen symbols only form a decorative canopy over those of the two lowest Deva Realms, Tavatimsa Realm and Catummaharajika. All the emphasis is on Indra and the Four Great Kings encouraging acts of merit that are of social value as well as assuring those who do good deeds of rebirth in Tavatimsa. The emphasis on Jhana meditation correlated with the Sixteen Brahma Realms whereby a Bodhisatta attained Enlightenment has been completely subverted to the need to make merit. Thus the original meaning of the Footprints as set forth on late 11th and early 12th century Footprints with 108 auspicious symbols has been set aside.

Many other Footprints based on the diagram have been cast over the decades. Included among those are:

The Left Footprint of the Lord Buddha, Wat Bang Mafor, Nakhon Sawan

The right Buddha Footprint, Wat Bang Phra Muang, Nakhon Sawan

The right Buddha Footprint Wat Bern Yuan, Nan

The right Buddha Footprint, Wat Chulamuni, Ayudhya

The right Buddha Footprint, Wat Chulamuni, Surin

The left Buddha Footprint of the Four Buddhas of the Bhaddakappa, Wat Intaram, Ayudhya

The right Buddha Footprint, Wat Kao Noi, Nakhon Sri Thammarat

The right Buddha Footprint, Wat Ku Ha Surat Thani

The right Buddha Footprint, Wat Phra Nuk, Nakhon Sawan

The earliest dated Buddha Footprint bearing a design based on the diagram is the right Buddha Footprint at Wat Ubosottaram, Uthai Thani, bearing an inscription dated the equivalent of 1893. However, the right Buddha Footprint at Wat Bang Mafor Nakhon Sawan, may be older since it may have been created when the wat was refurbished in 1877 (Plate 146) It has been placed within a *prasat* (building with a tiered roof) of a design typical of the Rama V period (Plate 146a). A scene in the wat's mural depicts the Buddha's disciple, Phra Maha Kassapa, coming late to bid farewell to the Buddha whose body had already been prepared for cremation. Kassapa pays homage to the Buddha and then asks that the Buddha extend his feet if his homage had been accepted. No sooner had he uttered his words than the Buddha's Feet were extended from the coffin as a sign (Plate 147). Then the pyre lit itself and burned for seven days. The scene below shows the Brahmin Dona readying the relics of the Buddha for division to Buddhist kings.

A left Footprint of the Buddha is carved high among the murals on the east wall of the Phra Ubosot, Wat Samed, Chonburi (Plate 148). The Footprint depicted is the famous one on Sumanakuta (Adam's Peak), Sri Lanka. A cakka adorns the Footprint. The murals below and around it depict monks and lay people climbing the mountain to reach the great Footprint. On the way they stop at various Buddhist edifices to pay respects. To get to the top they have to use high ladders. By 1860 the ladders had been placed on certain areas to facilitate the climb. Sir James Tennant describes the final climb to the peak as follows:

"An iron ladder, let into the face of a perpendicular cliff upwards of forty feet in height, lands the pilgrim on the tiny terrace which forms the apex of the mountain; and in the center of this, on the crown of a mass of gneiss and hornblende, the sacred Footstep is discovered under a pagoda-like canopy supported on slender columns, and open in all sides to the winds" (Tennant op. cit. 139 and fn. 1).

The style of the painting reflects western influence introduced by the famous monk artist Phra Khru In-Kong during the reign of King Rama IV. The painting itself suggests the close relationship between members of the Sinhalese and Thai Sangha. While King Borommakot had sent two chapters of monks to resuscitate Buddhism in Sri Lanka, Kings Rama II, III and IV had sent missions to Sri Lanka in search of Buddhist texts to replace those destroyed in the fall of Ayudhya. Wat Samed was built in 1878, early in the reign of King Rama V, and the murals and Footprint date to that time.

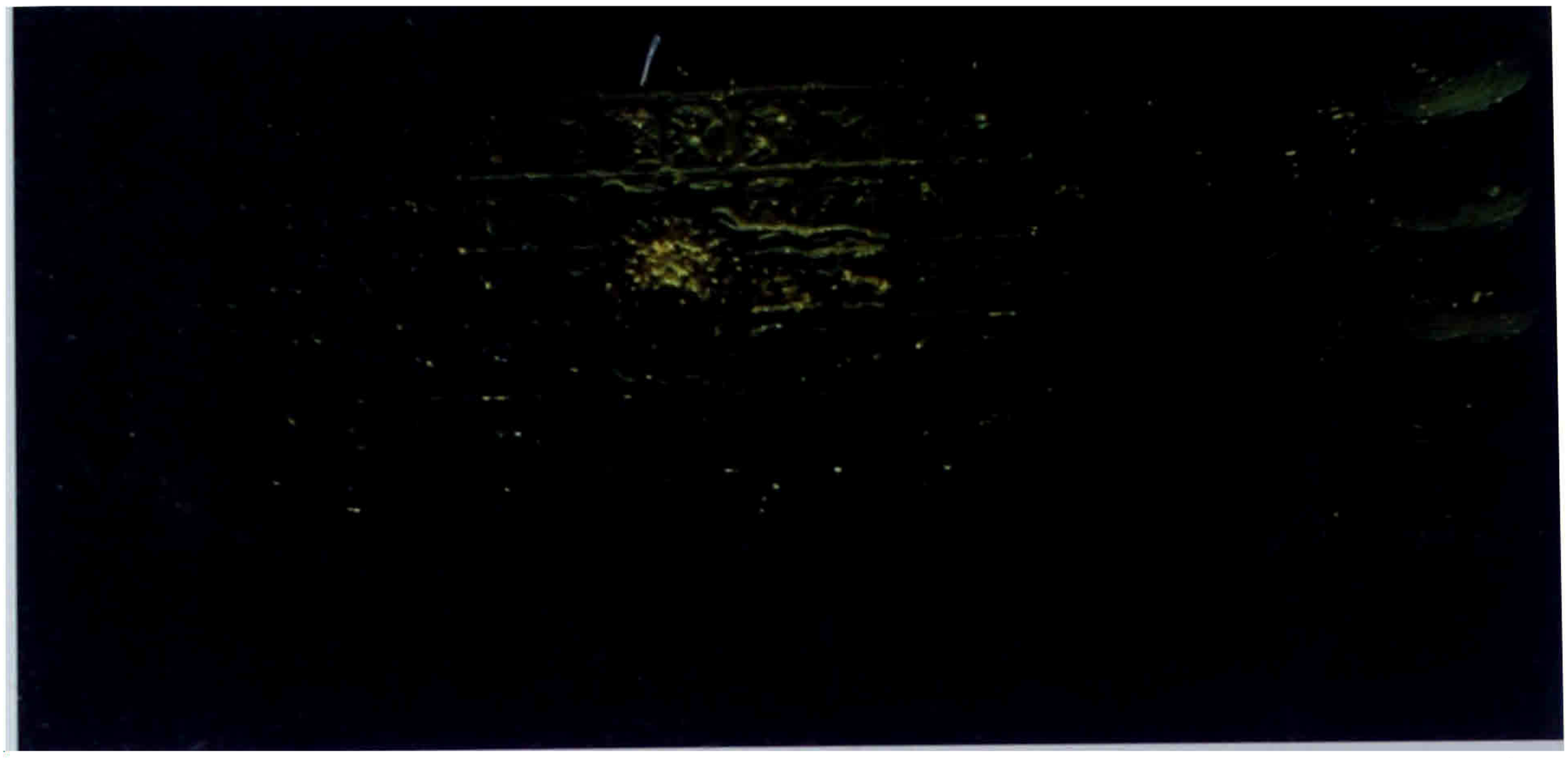


Plate 146. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Bang Mafor, Nakhon Sawan, 1877, during the reign of King Rama V (r. 1868-1910).

Plate 146a. A monk pays respect to the right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Bang Mafor, Nakhon Sawan.

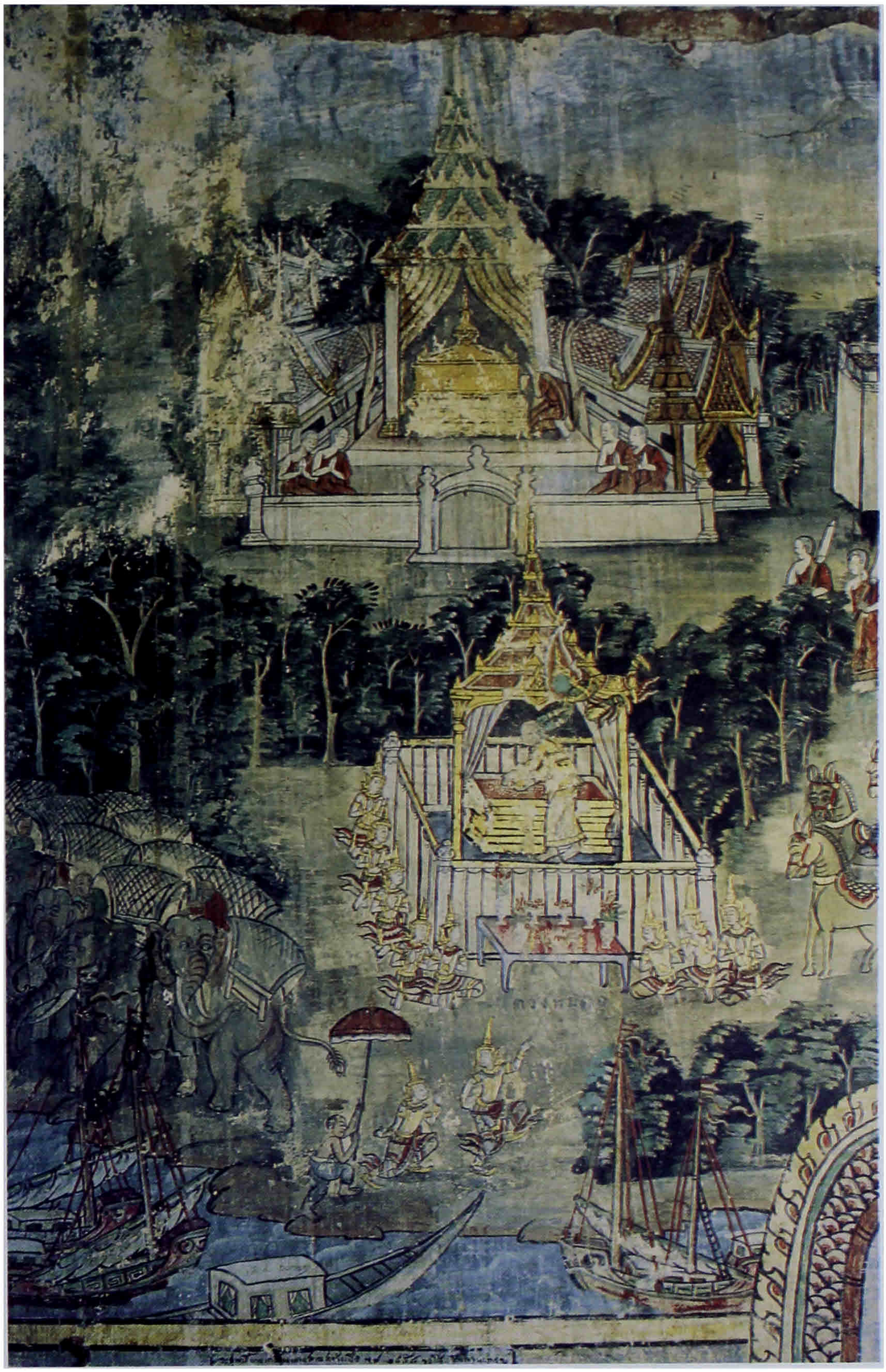


Plate 147. A mural at Wat Bang Mafor depicting the Buddha's extending his feet from his coffin as a sign that Phra Maha Kassapa's homage had been accepted.

Plate 148. A left Footprint of the Buddha carved high among the murals, Wat Samed, Chonburi, 1878, early in the reign of King Rama V (r. 1868- 1910).

Plate 149. The footsoles of the Image of the Reclining Buddha, Wat Phra Phuttha Sai Yat, Phetchaburi, reign of King Rama V (r. 1868-1910).

Another design popular in the period was that introduced on Footprints of the Buddha during the reign of King Borommakot of Ayudhya (Plates 95-99) and later employed on the jeweled gold right Footprint at Wat Phra Phutthabat Wora Maha Wihan (Plate 121). Placed at the top of the Footsole on two horizontal rows are the auspicious symbols depicting the Sixteen Realms of Brahmas and on the third horizontal row eight symbols, three for Tavatimsa Realm, and five for the other Deva Realms. The three for Tavatimsa reign suggest the Buddha's preaching the Abhidhamma-pitaka there with Brahma seated on one side and Indra on the other. Below, Mt. Meru rises from the cakka. This design appears on each Footsole of the Image of the Reclining Buddha, Wat Phra Phuttha Sai Yat, Phetchaburi (Plate 149). King Rama IV had commissioned the erection of the building to protect the image, which had long been in the open. Its Footsoles probably were given a coat of red lacquer and gilded design during that reign when the future King Rama V was ordained as a monk at nearby Wat Mahasamararam. Basically the same design appears on the right Footprint of the Buddha, Phra That Narai Cheng Weng, Sakhon Nakhon (Plate 150 and 150a),

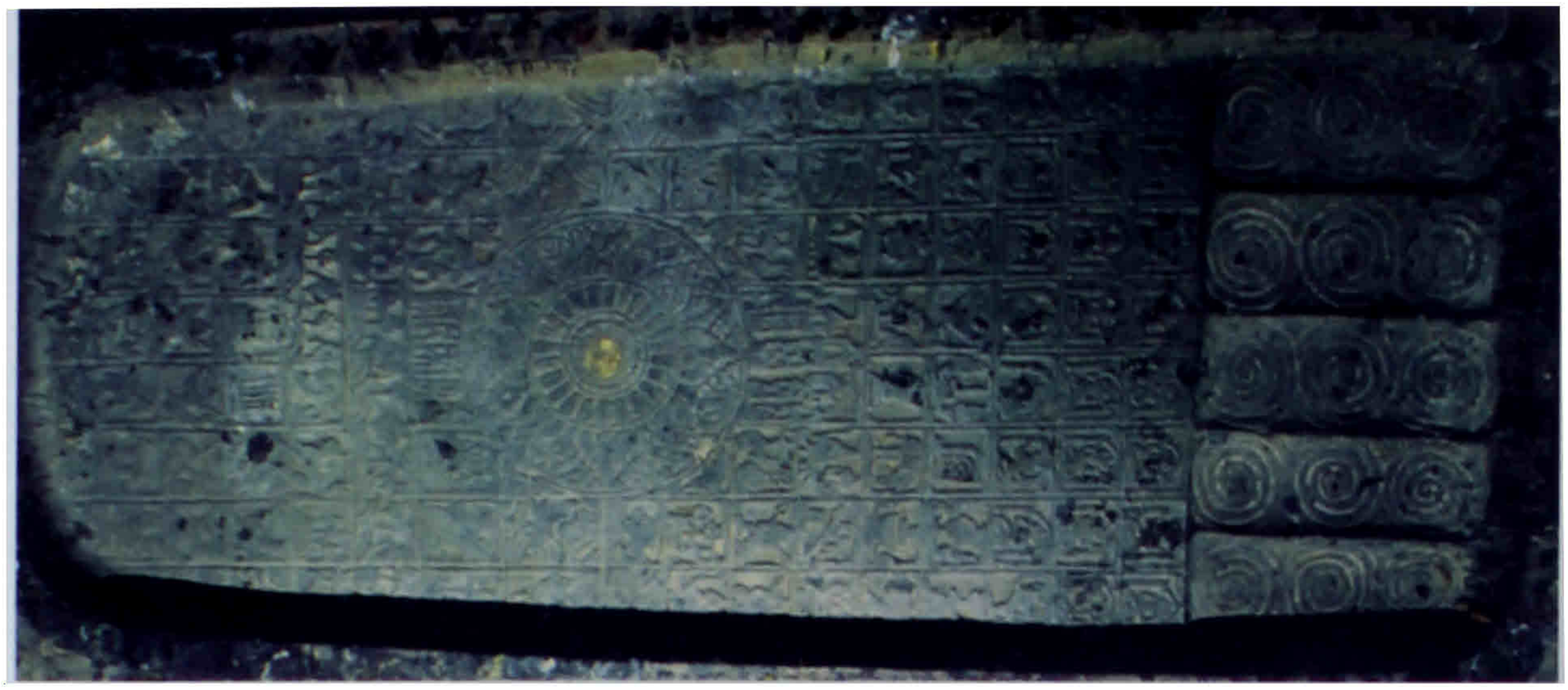


Plate 150. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Phra That Narai Cheng Weng, Sakhon Nakhon, reign of King Rama V (r. 1868-1910), stone with remnants of black lacquer, length 1.34 meters, width at toes 0.55 meters.

Plate 150a. Site of the Footprint in Plate 150

Plate 151. The left Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Ban Non Hom, Sakhon Nakhon, reign of King Rama V (r. 1868-1910), stone with remnants of black lacquer, length 1.51 meters, width at the toes 0.59 meters.

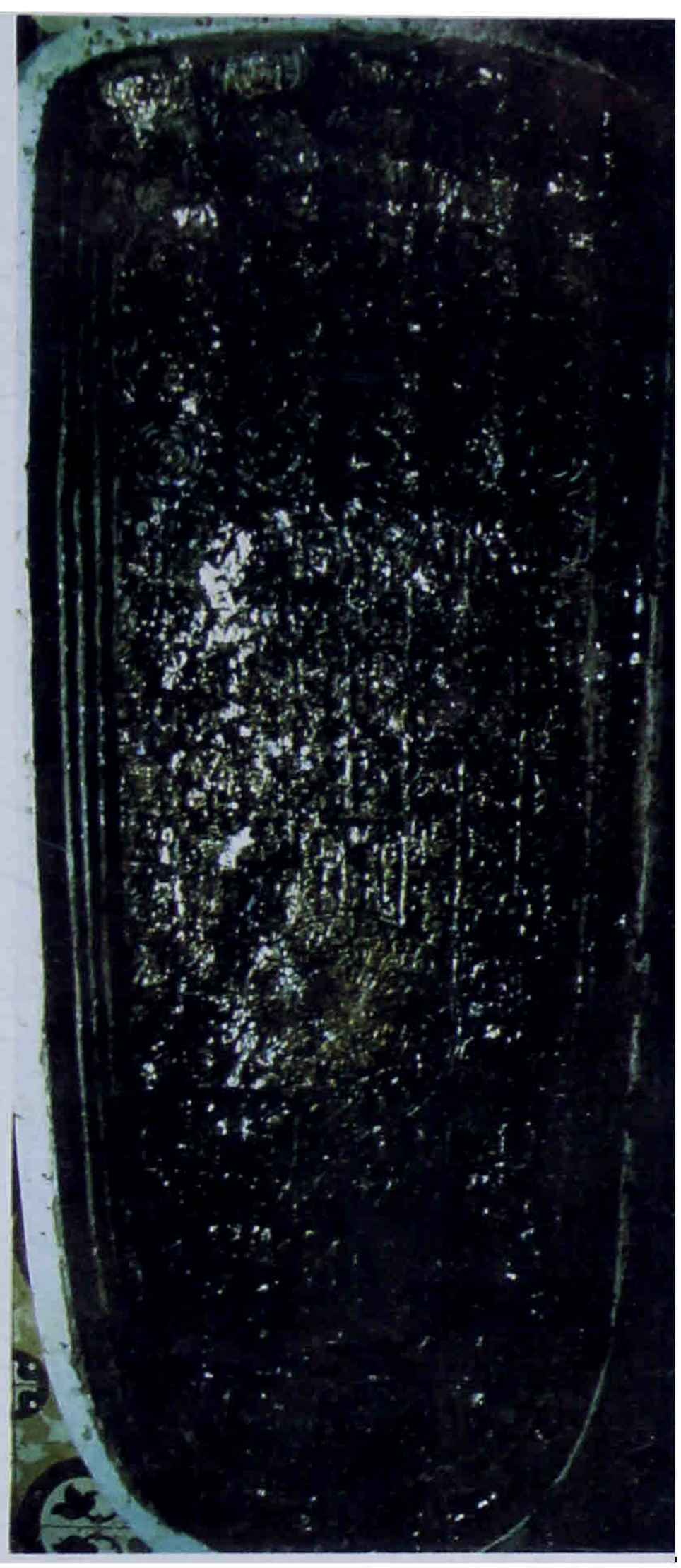
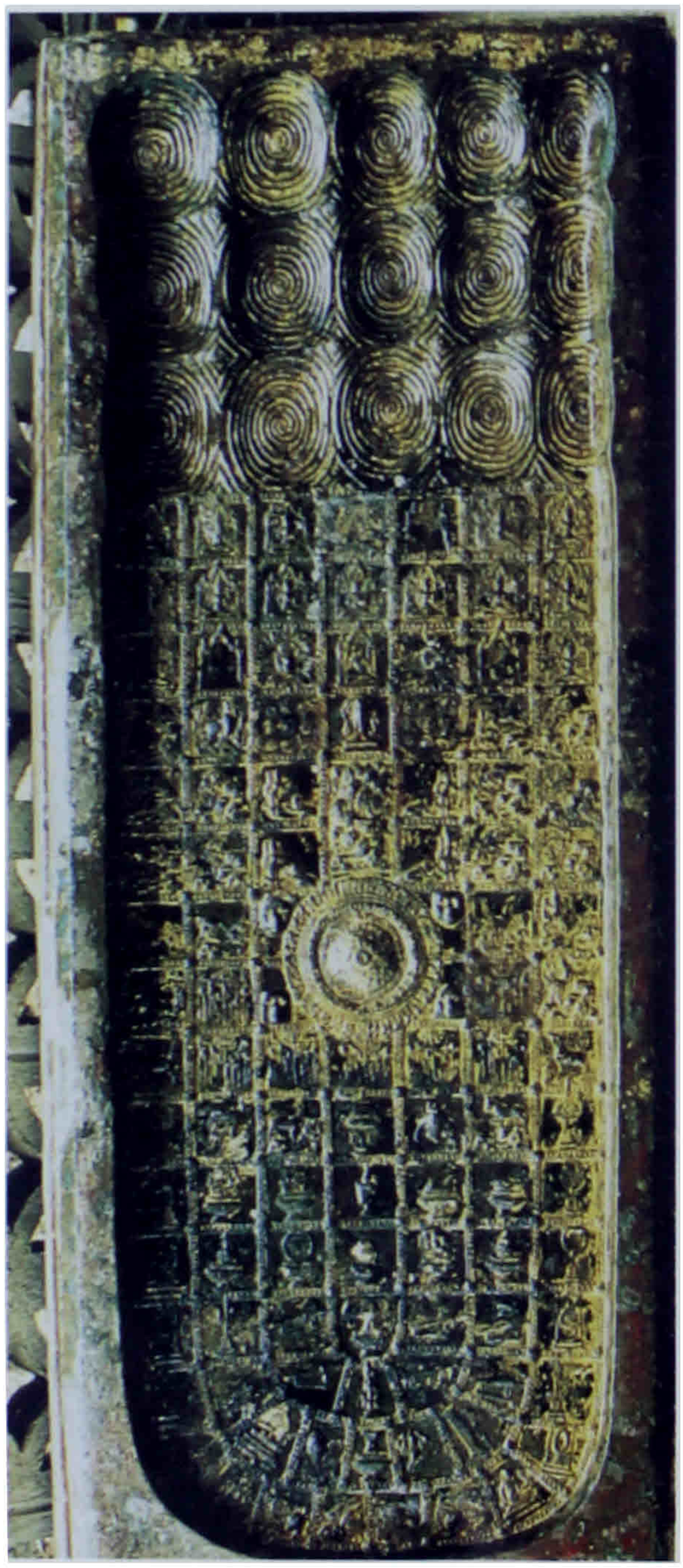


Plate 152. The right Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Phra That Narai Cherng Chum, Sakhon Nakhon, commissioned by Phraya Pachanataprathet, circa 1886-1887, reign of King Rama V (1868-1910), stone with remnants of black lacquer, length 1.34 meters, width at toes 0.55 meters.

the left Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Ban Non Hom, Sakhon Nakhon (Plate 151) and the right Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Wat Phra That Cherng Chum, Sakhon Nakhon (Plate 152). The present Phra That Cherng Chum covers a prang dating back to the Khmer period and is believed to shelter many Footprints of the Four Buddhas. A legend suggests that the Four Buddhas were known to the Buddhists of the Khmer period, indeed, so much so that the original prang was built to enshrine the Footprints. The placement of the Footprints of the Four Buddhas on the right Footprint of the Four Buddhas was followed on the Gold Footprint presented to Her Majesty, Queen Sirikit. The Phra That Cherng Chum Footprint was commissioned by Phraya Pachantaprathet circa 1886.



During the following reign, that of Rama VI (r. 1910-1925), the right Footprint of the Buddha at Wat Gate, Ayudhya, was created. The designs follows that on the manuscript of Nai Surapun Atichatanan in Plate 144. A right Footprint of the same design at Wat Kuha Sawan, Pattalung, was created during the next reign, that of King Rama VII (r. 1925-1935) (Plate 153). Yet another Footprint created during the reign, the right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Jang Lom, Songkhla (Plate 154), is based on the Footprint design of King Borommakot's gift to the Temple of the Tooth, Kandy.

Plate 153. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Kuha Sawan, Pattalung, reign of King Rama VII (r. 1925-1935), bronze bearing an inscription in Thai with the date 2470 B. E. (1927 C. E).

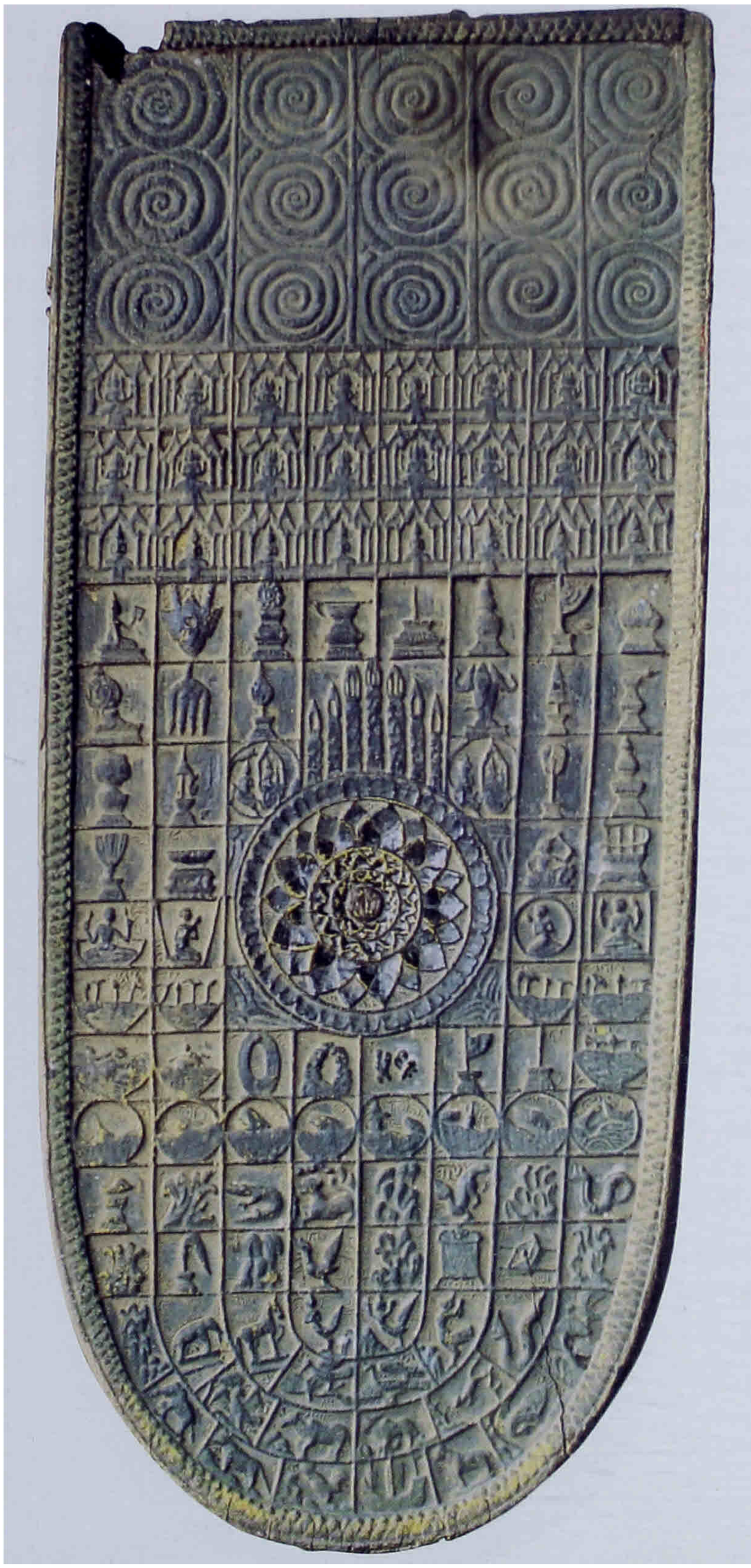


Plate 154. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Jang Lom, Songkhla, reign of King Rama VII (r. 1925-1935), wooden with traces of paint, height 1.57 meters, width at toes 0.62 meters.

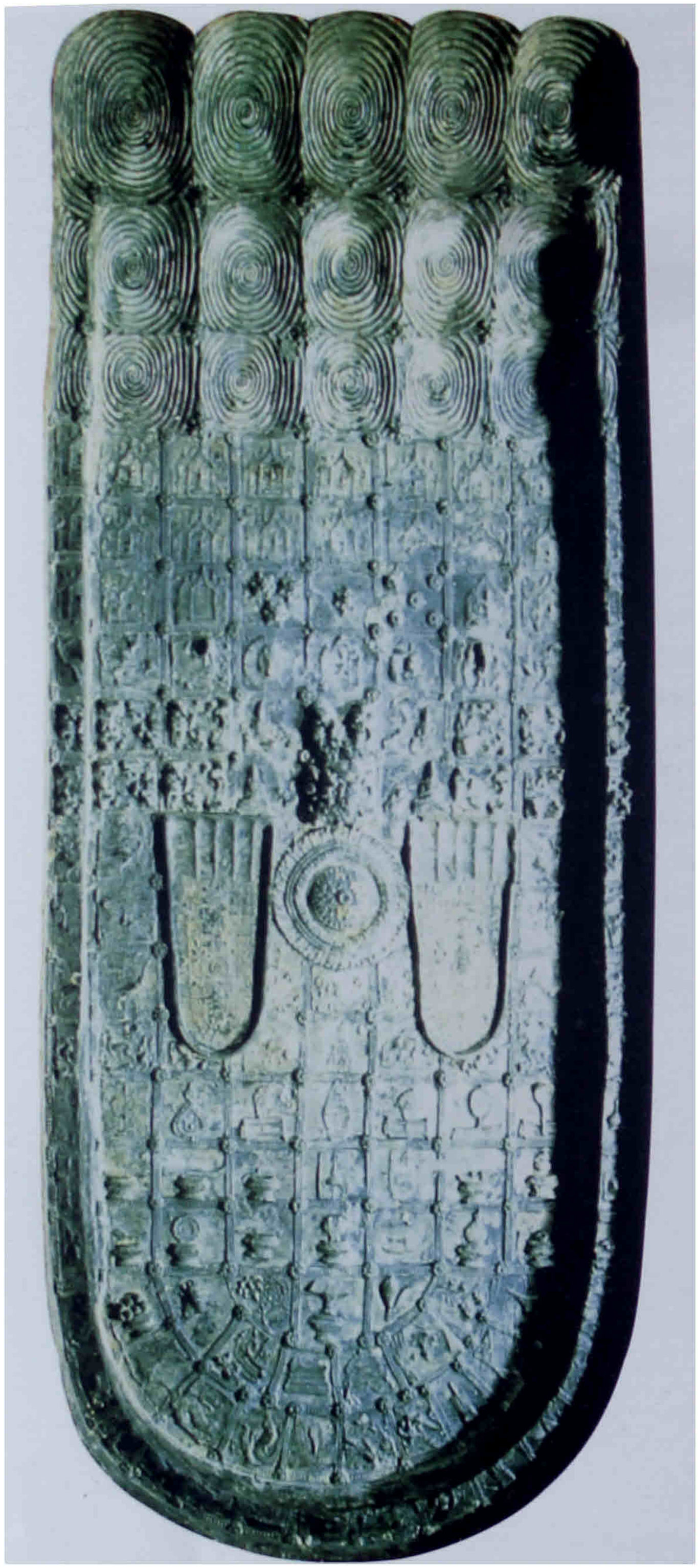


Plate 155. The left Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Wat Intharam, Ayudhya, reign of King Rama IX the Great (r. 1946-), bronze, length 1.325 meters, width at the toes 0.515 meters, bearing an inscription in Thai dated 2500 B. E. (1957 C. E).

Numerous Footprints and designs on the Footsoles of the Buddha were created during the reign of King Rama IX the Great r. 1946-). Among the earliest is a left Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, Wat Intharam, Ayudhya, dated to the equivalent of 1957 (Plate 155). The Footprint is of special interest because 1) it has been documented as having been created using the moulds made by Nai Charoen Pattananggoen, now in the possession of his great-grandson Nai Surapun Atichatanan, the master artisan who created the Gold Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa for Her Majesty Queen Sirikit, and 2) the unusual design of the Footprint. The Footprint was created of bronze using the lost wax method, with the base, toes, cakka, grid and 108 auspicious symbols all cast separately and then joined. The emphasis once again is upon the Tavatimsa Realm and the Four Great Kings' patrolling to determine who has made merit and who has done evil. Previously the Four Guardians of the Universe have usually been presented with their councilors in a standing position. Here they are seated and a figure kneels in reverence beside each. The design is unusual also in that prior to its creation the Footprints of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa were illustrated in Thailand by placing the Footprints of the Four Buddhas on top of one another. The Footprint at Wat Intharam has one large Footprint framed by another Footprint and two small Footprints at each side of the cakka. An inscription in Thai reads: "Father Thong Di Ampai and Mother Thong Yan Ampai together with many relatives created this [Footprint] in B. E. 2500 [1957.]"

Yet another Footprint with a design emphasizing the importance of making merit by placing Indra and the Four Great Kings at the focal point is the right Footprint of the Buddha at Wat Ban Yuan, Nan (Plate 156). It was created in bronze in 1974 and bears an inscription to that effect in Thai.

Plate 156. The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Ban Yuan, Nan, 1974, reign of King Rama IX the Great (r. 1946-), bronze, bearing an inscription in Thai dated to 2517 B. E. (1974 C. E).

Plate 157. A phrabot bearing a right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Tapon Yai, Chantaburi, reign of King Rama IX the Great (r. 1946-), paint on cloth, bearing an inscription in Thai dated to 2519 B. E. (1976 C. E).

The right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Tapon Yai, Chantaburi, is in the form of a phra bot of exceptional length painted with vibrant yellows, blues, greens, pinks and whites (Plate 157). The layout of the 108 auspicious symbols follows those on the Footsoles of Phra Phuttha Saiyut, Wat Phra Chetuphon Wimon Mangkhalaram (Wat Pho) and others of related layout. An inscription in Thai bears a date equivalent to 1976.

The layout of the 108 auspicious symbols on the left Footprint of the Buddha of a pair, Wat Phra That Chom Chaeng, Phrae (Plate 158), reverts to that of Footprints created during the reign of King Rama IV. It is very similar to the Gold Footprint a facsimile of which is in Henry Alabaster's *The Wheel of the Law: Buddhism Illustrated from Siamese Sources*, dated herein to the reign of King Rama IV (Plate 139). The Phrae Footprint bears an inscription that gives a date equivalent to 20 February 1989.

Another pair of Footprints of the Buddha created in the same year is that at Wat Ban Salang, Phrae Province (Plate 159). The whorls on the body and the bar between the body and toes are reminiscent of those on the right Footprint from Wat Phra Ram, Ayudhya, now in the Bangkok National

Plate 158. The left Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra That Chom Chaeng, Phrae, reign of King Rama IX (r. 1946-), engraved cement, length 1.81 meters, width at the toes, 0.69 meters, bearing an inscription in Thai with a date equivalent to 20 February 1989 C. E.

Plate 159. A pair of Footprints of the Buddha, Wat Ban Salang, Phrae Province, 1989, reign of King Rama IX the Great (r. 1946-), stone, length 0.81 meter, width at toes 0.33 meters.

Museum (Plate 91). The cakka in the form of an open lotus blossom with two rows of eight petals reminds the viewer to follow the Noble Eightfold Path. An inscription in Thai dates the Footprints to the equivalent of 1989. Each Footprint measures in length 0.81 meters and in width 0.33 meters.

Another pair of Footprints of the Buddha with an unusual design is that at Wat Phra Phutthabat, Khao Kaew, Phayao (Plate 160). The pair is the only known one in Thailand created of glass.

The toes are long and have a spiral on the front pad of each. The eight spokes on each cakka remind the viewer to follow the Noble Eightfold Path. The Footprints have been placed on a round surface simulating the face of a lotus with almost ripe seeds, perhaps signifying the fruits that one gains from following the Noble Eightfold Path. The pair of Footprints were created recently.

Two other notable pairs of Footprints of the Lord Buddha (Plate 161) are those produced by the SUPPORT Foundation to honor Her Majesty Queen Sirikit. These beautiful Footprints, one pair inlaid with mother-of-pearl and the other of gold nielloware, are now in the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, the Grand Palace, Bangkok.

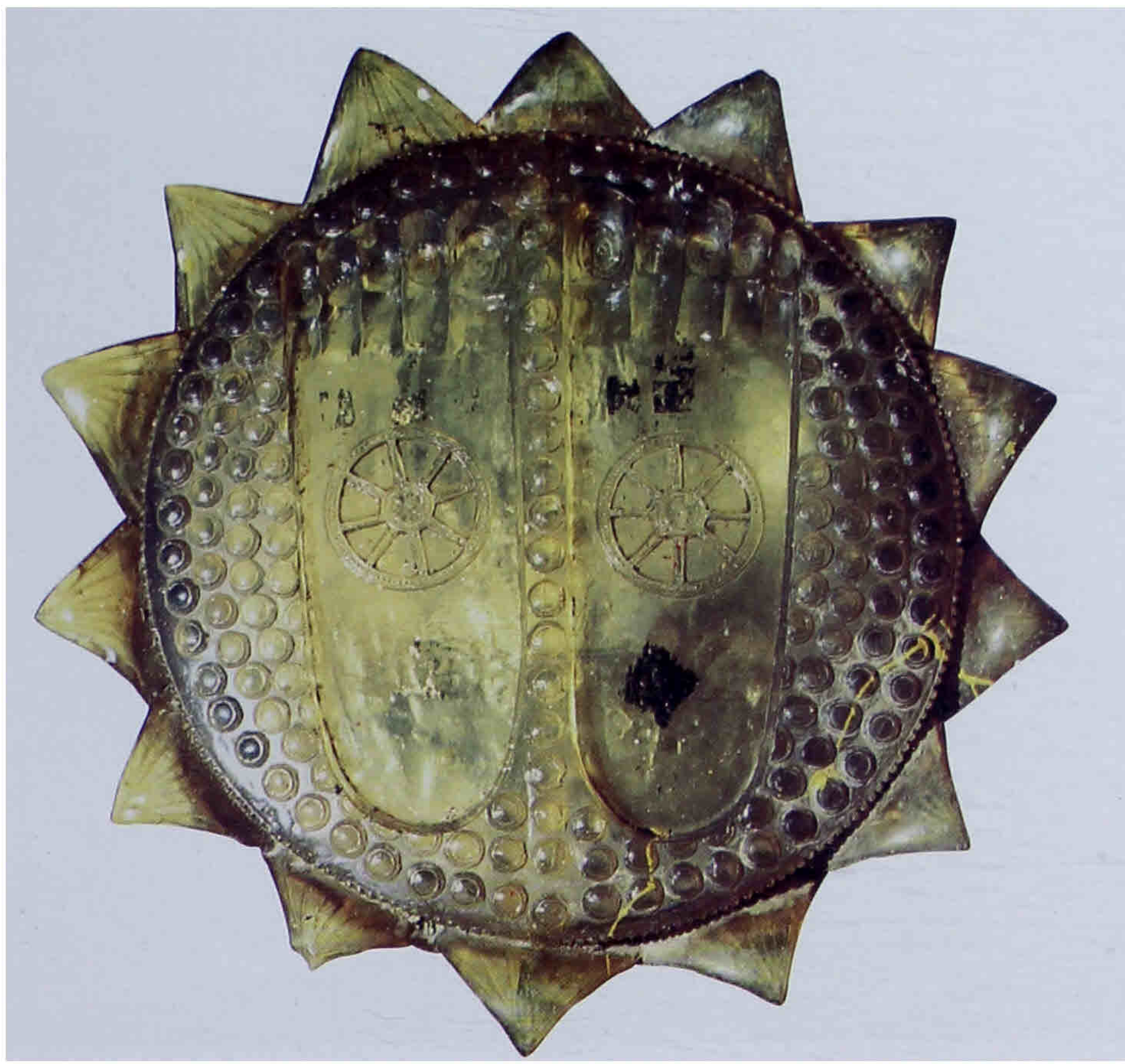


Plate 160. A pair of Footprints of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthabat, Khao Kaew, Phayao, reign of King Rama IX the Great (r. 1946-), glass, length 0.45 meters, width at the toes, 0.33 meters.

Plate 161. A pair of Footprints of the Buddha created by the SUPPORT Foundation to honor Her Majesty Queen Sirikit on her sixtieth birthday.

Chapter XI: The Gold Right Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa created by The Siam Society Under Royal Patronage to Honor the Sixtieth Birthday of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit

The Gold Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa created by The Siam Society Under Royal Patronage to honor the sixtieth birthday of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit in 1992 (Plate 162) represents a high point in almost eight hundred years of creation in Thailand of Footprints of the Lord Buddhas with 108 auspicious symbols and the culmination of Footprints carrying a message to all the faithful to make merit both to be reborn in Tavatimsa Realm and as acts of real social value. The Footprints of the Four Buddhas who have appeared in this Bhaddakappa are indicated by that of the Buddha Gotama over those of the three earlier Buddhas, Kakusandha, Konagamana and Kassapa. Three raised horizontal lines on the left side of the Buddha Gotama's Footprint suggest their presence. The placement of the Footprints of the Four Buddhas follows that on the Right Footprint of the Four Buddhas, Phra That Cherng Chum, Sakon Nakon, commissioned by Phraya Pachantaprathet circa 1886-1887 (Plate 152).

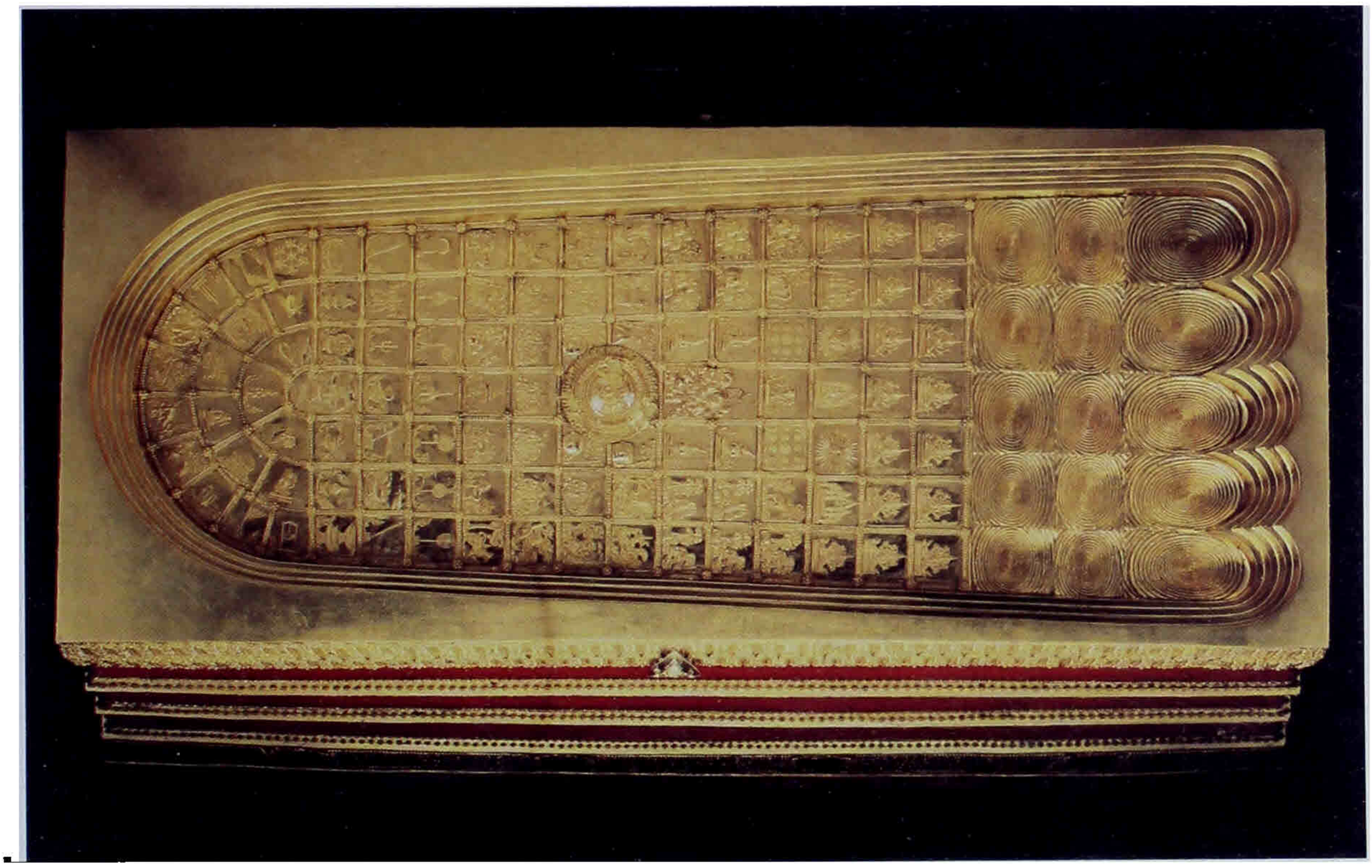


Plate 162. The Gold Right Footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa created by The Siam Society Under Royal Patronage to Honor the Sixtieth Birthday of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit.

The four tiers forming the base of the Footprint also indicate the presence of the Four Footprints.

One hundred and eight pure gold auspicious symbols, those of a great man employed to depict a universe, are placed in a gold grid on the face of the Buddha Gotama's Footprint. The cakka and toes also are of pure gold. The auspicious symbols and their layout are based upon a diagram in a manuscript owned by Nai Surapun Atichatanan and first employed in the production of Footprints of the Buddha by his grandfather Charoen Pattananggoon in the reign of King Rama V (see Plate 144). Nai Surapun Atichatanan and his assistants cast the Gold Footprint.

The focal point of the Footprint is placed on Indra in his palace above Mt. Meru with two of the Four Great Guardian Kings at each side of Meru. The latter seek out those who make merit or do evil and report to Indra. Their presence hearkens back to the introduction of Indra as the focal point of Footprints created by Kings Taksin and Rama I and enlarged to include the figures of the Four Great Kings and their councilors on the left Footprint of the Buddha created during the reign of King Rama IV and now at Wat Somdet Yansangwararam (Plate 143). The Footprint thus echoes the concern of the creators of those Footprints that the Thai people seek to make merit to assure themselves of rebirth in Indra's Tavatimsa Realm by doing good deeds and promoting Buddhism and the well being of the nation.

The auspicious symbols have been presented in a hierachical manner. Realms representing two of the three planes of existence are depicted. The highest is that of the Sixteen Brahma Realms. The figures of four-armed Brahmas are placed on the top two horizontal lines and each end of the third horizontal line. These represent the second highest plane, the Rupabhumi. Below are the auspicious symbols of the Kamabhumi, the lowest planes, consisting of those of the Deva and Human Realms. The Six Deva Realms have been accorded seven auspicious symbols. Four are for the Four Great Kings, the guardians of the universe, who live in the lowest Deva Realm; one for Indra, the ruler of Tavatimsa Realm; and two for the four higher Deva Realms. The remaining 85 auspicious symbols are devoted to the Human Realm ruled by the universal monarch.

The 108 auspicious symbols as given in the diagram inherited by Surapun Atichatanan (Plate 144) are given here in English at the left and an expansion in accordance with auspicious symbols in lists of 108 auspicious symbols at the right where possible. They read as follows beginning with the highest realms, the Sixteen Brahma Realms.

THE SIXTEEN BRAHMAS REALMS

93.-108. Brahmas	93.-108. The Sixteen Brahma Realms

THE SIX DEVA REALMS

86.-89. The four guardians of the universe	86.-89. Catummaharajika
90. Indra in Tavatimsa Realm	90. Indra in Tavatimsa Realm
91.-92. Plain celestial palaces	91.-92. The four highest Deva Realms

THE HUMAN REALM

1. The sun	1. The full sun
2. The elephant Erawan	2. Eravana, an elephant king
3. The moon	3. The full moon
4. The mountain	4. The Cakkavala Mountain Range which forms a wall around the universe
5. The Chaddanta elephants	5. The king of the Chaddanta elephants
6. The star	6. The constellations
7. The star	7. The constellations
8. The Uposatha elephant	8. The king of the Uposatha elephants
9.-15. The mountains	9.-15. The seven ranges encircling Mt. Meru
16.-17. Mt. Sumeru	16.-17. Mt. Meru
18. The mountain	18. The Himalayas
19. The mountain	19. Mt. Kelasa
20. The peacock mountain	20. The peacock mountain
21. The deer mountain	21. The deer mountain
22.-25. The four continents	22.-25. The four continents
26. A mountain with elephants	26. A mountain with elephants
27. A mountain with garudas	27. A mountain with garudas
28. A kinnara	28. A kinnara, a mythical being, half bird, half man
29.-30. Two ponds	29.-30. Two of the Sidanta lakes between the mountains encircling Meru
31. A kinnari	31. A kinnari, a mythical being, half bird, half woman
32. A Brahmani duck	32. The king of the Brahmani ducks
33.-37. Ponds	33.-37. Five of the Sidanta lakes

38. A hill with a bird	38. A hill with a bird
39. A lion king	39. The king of the lions
40. A tiger	40. The king of the tigers
41. A cow with a calf	41. A cow with a calf
42. A tiered umbrella	42. The white umbrella
43. A bull	43. The king of the bulls
44. A horse	44. King of the Valhalaka horses
45. A *kojasi*	45. A mythical being with a lion's body and an elephant's trunk
46. A yak-tail fly whisk	46. A yak-tail fly whisk
47. A fan called sunflower	47. A fan called sunflower
48. A long-handled palm-leaf fan	48. A long-handled palm-leaf fan
49. A crown	49. A crown
50. A mother fan	50. A mother fan
51. A fan called sunflower, long handle	51. A fan called sunflower, having a long handle
52. A palm-leaf fan	52. A palm-leaf fan
53. A hook	53. An elephant goad
54. A *sang-wan*	54. Chain of gold or silver worn across the breast and fastened in front by a brooch
55. A trisula	55. A trisula
56. A monk's alms bowl	56. A monk's alms bowl
57. A pike with curved handle	57. A sword
58. *Kyak*	58. Slippers, part of the royal regalia
59. A lance	59. A spear
60. The three monk's garments	60. The three monk's garments
61. The saw-toothed cakka	61. Cakkavudha
62. The mandavara flower	62. The mandavara flower
63. *Bai si*	63. A formal floral arrangement
64. Gardinia	64. A rosette with right-turning petals
65. A conch	65. A right-spiraling white conch
66. A water pot	66. A full bowl
67. A carpenter bee	67. A bee
68. A female looking into a mirror	68. Siri, goddess of prosperity
69. A palanquin	69. A palanquin
70. A female holding a durian	70. A female holding a durian
71. A throne	71. A throne
72. A female holding a trident	72. A female holding a trident
73. A bottle for holy water	73. A bottle for holding lustral water

74. A tray for water	74. A tray for water
75. Seven gems	75. Seven gems
76. A paper flag	76. A paper flag
77. Candles or torches	77. A candle stand
78. An ocean with a makara	78. A makara
79. An ocean with a fish	79. A pair of golden fish
80. An ocean with a naga	80. Vasuki, king of the nagas
81. An ocean with a turtle	81. Kacchapa, a turtle
82. An ocean with a junk	82. A golden boat with four prows
83. A victory flag	83. A victory banner
84. A gong	84. A gong
85. A *phan waen fa*	85. A two tiered pedestal tray

Twelve reliefs in the first tier of the base represent the twelve Chinese cyclical symbols corresponding to the Chinese zodiac: rat, ox, tiger, hare, serpent, horse, goat, monkey, cock, dog and boar. The placement of the reliefs is reminiscent of those on the base of the cast bronze right Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Phra Phutthachai, Saraburi, bearing an inscription equivalent to 1859 during the reign of King Rama IV (Plate 136).

Chapter XII: The Casting of the Gold Footprint of the Four Buddhas

The casting of the Gold Footprint of the Four Buddhas who have appeared in this Bhaddakappa began with the creation in wax of the design for the Footprint of the Buddha Gotama (Plate 1). The design includes 108 auspicious symbols, the grid in which they are placed, the cakka at the center of the Footprint and the five toes. Nai Surapun Atichatanan created the various elements of the design in wax from moulds that were carved by his great grandfather, Nai Charoen Pattananggoon, during the reign of King Rama V. The wax auspicious symbols, cakka, grid and toes were then positioned on a wax-coated wooden surface. Prior to the casting of the Footprint of the Four Buddhas, the designs of four of the auspicious symbols, two placed at each side of the elephant king, Eravana, and Mt. Meru, were replaced with the figures of the Four Great Kings who guard the universe and seek out those who make merit and do evil. Their placement on the Footprint follows that in the diagram in Nai Charoen Pattananggoon's manuscript (Plate 144).

Once the exact design and size of the base for the gold Footprint of the Four Buddhas was determined, a simplified model of wood was constructed. It had four undecorated tiers, one for each of the Buddhas. A large Footprint, that of the Buddha Gotama, was carved out of the wood at the top of the uppermost tier and three ridges were carved higher on the sides of the central Footprint to indicate the Footprints of the earlier Buddhas. Melted wax then was pressed onto the model to form a thick sheet, which then was left to dry for a week. Many moulds in turn were created for designs to be placed on the thick wax sheet and decorate the Footprint's base (Plate 163). The designs were made individually from clay around which an open mould of different and fine commercially produced clay mixture was formed. Once the mould solidified, the inner core was removed and hot wax was poured in. When the wax design cooled and solidified, it was attached to its proper position on the wax sheet covering the wooden model of the Footprint base. At times when elements of a design were too stiff, heat was applied to soften the wax into proper position. The wax had to be soft enough to adhere but yet keep its shape. The process was repeated until all the decorations planned for the base were completed and attached. This having been done, the wax decorated wooden model was covered with layers of special commercial clay mixed with sand to form a mould which looked on the exterior like a huge pillow. In it large ducts were placed whereby the wax could flow out when heated and molten metal be poured into replace it and the wooden model. The new mould was then covered with a thick layer of clay in which iron bars were placed to provide sufficient strength for the mould to withstand the weight and heat of the large amount of liquid brass to be poured into it (Plate 164). To ascertain that all layers would hold together

Plate 163. Specially made moulds for wax design elements to be placed on the wooden model for the Footprint base.

Plate 164. The Footprint base mould ready to be placed upright over a fire to heat the wax so that it will melt and flow out. The metal rods holding it together appear faintly under the clay surface.

Plate 165. The Footprint base mould turned upside down to receive molten brass which workers dressed in white pour from large crucibles.

Plate 166. The Footprint base once much of the clay mould has been removed revealing the rods which kept the mould together.

Plate 167. The Footprint base in the initial stage of polishing.

Plate 168. The Footprint base prior to the placement of the 108 auspicious symbols, the grid, cakka and toes.

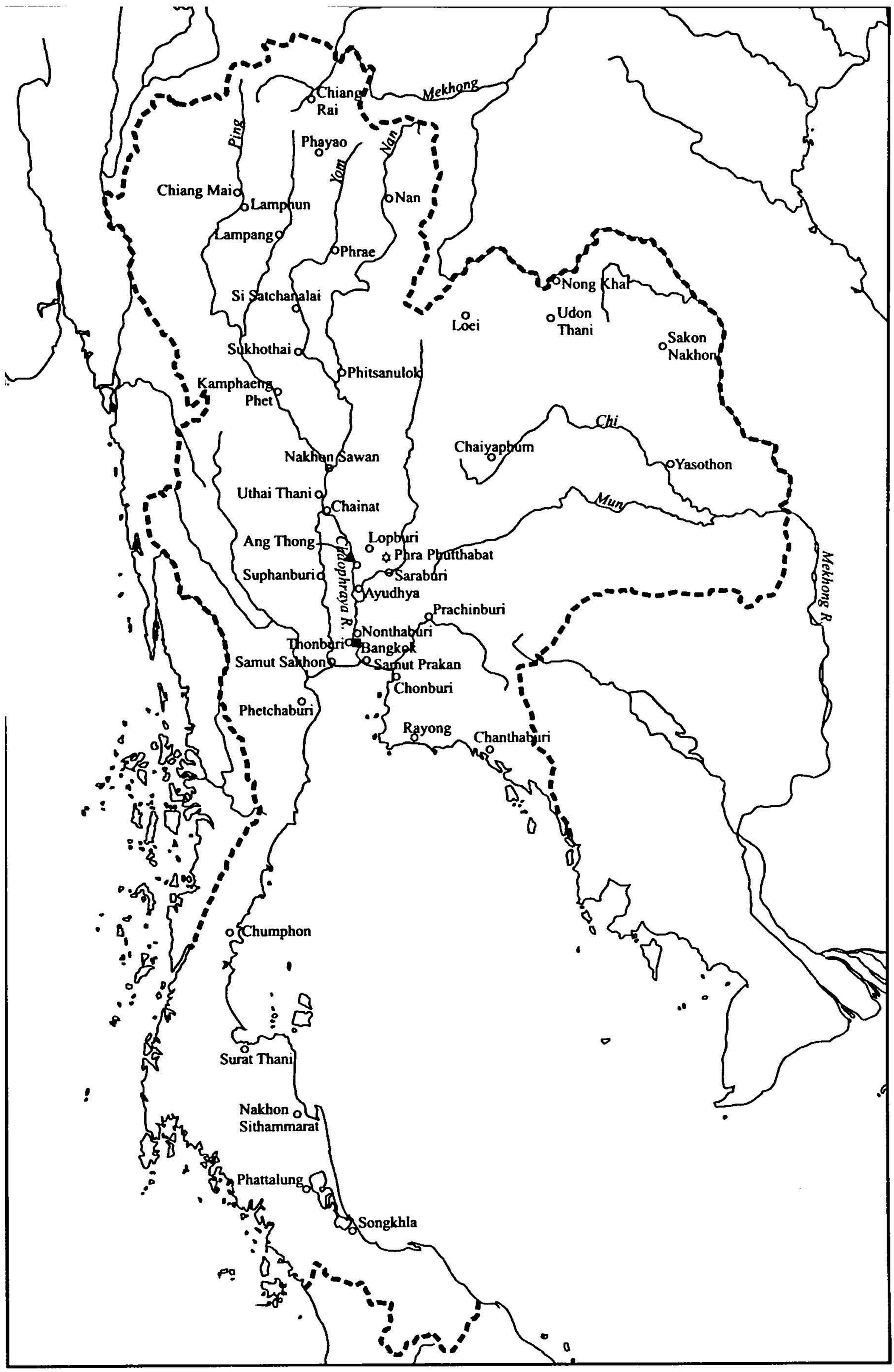
metal connectors were used to bind the iron bars together and another thick layer of clay was added to encompass the mould. The now very thick and strong Footprint base mould was then placed upright over a fire so the wax covering the wooden model would pour out leaving its design, imprinted on the surrounding hardened clay. The wooden model would burn for hours before it completely disintegrated.

The Footprint base mould was ready for the pouring of its 500 kilograms of brass. Rolls of commercial brass had been heated in crucibles until molten. The mould was turned upside down in readiness. The workers wore white to suggest purity while they poured the brass into the area of the lost wax (Plate 165). Once the brass was poured, it was allowed to settle for a few days. When it was deemed safe, the Footprint base was uprighted and the iron metal rods were removed after breaking the clay mould at each side of the brass base (Plate 166). Once all the clay mould was removed, the time consuming filing off of access materials, the smoothing with petrified wood and other abrasives and the polishing were carried out (Plates 167 and 168).

Special moulds had to be made for the gold auspicious symbols, the grid, and the toes. The cakka had been created earlier in a ceremony presided over by His Royal Highness Crown Prince Vajiralongkorn representing His Majesty King Rama IX the Great (See Chapter I). Nai Charoen Pattanaggoon had not made complete moulds for each symbol but had created marble moulds bearing elements that could be used in various symbols. Thus new moulds had to be produced incorporating various elements from the original moulds. Elements for each design were made of wax pressed into the original moulds and then assembled on a flat surface. The completed design was covered with a fine sandy clay mixture that in effect formed a mould. This was heated and when it had become sufficiently hot the wax was poured from the mould. The new mould that resulted was reheated a little prior to being filled with gold from a Swiss Standard gold brick 99.9% pure with no other substance added. The gold bricks were broken up by knocking them carefully.

The placement of the 108 auspicious symbols and the grid on the face of the Footprint base presented certain difficulties because the Footprint of the Buddha Gotama varied in width, and accommodation also had to be made for the cakka which had been created earlier and placed on the Footprint prior to the positioning of the symbols and grid. The symbols had to be delicately sanded to reduce their size and fit them properly into position. Instead of placing the grid between the auspicious symbols, it was placed over the sides of symbols to minimize the necessity to lessen the size of the symbols and to more easily effect straight lines. The symbols, toes, cakka and grid were all attached as necessary to the base and each other with special glue. The usage of the gold was carefully controlled and none was lost.

Mr. Euayporn Kerdchauy, General Manager of the Siam Society Under Royal Patronage, and Nai Surapun Atichatanan, planned and supervised the creation of the Gold Footprint.


Chiang Rai
Mekhong
Ping
Phayao
Yom
Nan
Chiang Mai
Lamphun
Nan
Lampang
Phrae
Nong Khai
Si Satchanalai
Loei
Udon Thani
Sakon Nakhon
Sukhothai
Phitsanulok
Kamphaeng Phet
Chi
Chaiyaphum
Nakhon Sawan
Yasothon
Uthai Thani
Chainat
Mun
Ang Thong
Lopburi
Phra Phutthabat
Chaophraya R.
Suphanburi
Saraburi
Ayudhya
Mekhong R.
Prachinburi
Nonthaburi
Thonburi
Bangkok
Samut Sakhon
Samut Prakan
Chonburi
Phetchaburi
Rayong
Chanthaburi
Chumphon
Surat Thani
Nakhon Sithammarat
Phattalung
Songkhla

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List of Buddha Footprints in Thailand Mentioned in this Book

Place	*Province*	*Now at*	*Type*	*Size*	*Details*	*Dating*	*Plate*
Temple of the Emerald Buddha	Bangkok		p		gold	1992	4
Phra Phutthabat	Saraburi			1.75x0.75			15
Yonakapuri, Mt. Rang Rung	Shan State, Myanmar						17
Khao Wong Phra Jan	Lopburi		l	1.62x0.62			18
Wat Phra Phutthabat, Paisali	Nakhon Sawan		r				19
Wat Khao Samao Krang	Phitsanulok						20
Wat Dong Lan, Tambon Ban Pin	Phrae		r	1.27x0.63			21
Wat Phra Phutthabat	Lampang		p	1.95			22
Wat Phra Bat Tak Pa, Pa Sang	Lamphun		l (2)	2.48x0.97 1.77x0.85			23
Wat Phra Phutthabat Ta Moh	Chiang Mai			1.58x0.4			24
Wat Pha Bing	Loei		r				25
Wat Phra Kho	Songkhla			0.43x0.25			26
Wat Phra Phutthabat Sri Surat	Surat Thani			1.43x0.48			27
Wat Phra Phutthachai	Saraburi		r			pre 1000 C.E.	28
Wat Sra Morokot, Dong Si Mahaphot	Prachinburi		p	3.5		"	29
Wat Phra Phutthabat Nam Phu	Lopburi			0.38x0.19		"	30
Koh Sri Chang	Chonburi	brought from the Mahabodhi Temple	r	0.65x0.3		C11 in Sri Lanka	39

Place	*Province*	*Now at*	*Type*	*Size*	*Details*	*Dating*	*Plate*
Wat Srisuwanwararam (Wat Nong Kha)	Sakhon Nakhon		r	0.99x0.49		C13-14	43
Wat Doi Phra Bat	Chiang Rai		4:1	1.52x0.63		"	44
Wat Phra Singh	Chiang Rai		r	1.60			45
Wat Rajabuntham, Khao Taphao, Kok Samrong	Lopburi		r	1.64x0.67		late C13	46
Khao Taphao, Kok Samrong	Lopburi	Lopburi Museum	l		fragment	"	47
Khao Di Salak, U Thong	Suphanburi		l	1.18x0.79		C14	49
ruins of Ayudhya	Ayudhya	Ayudhya Museum	l	1.18x0.58		c.1351	51
		Ayudhya Museum			fragments		52
Wat Klang	Kalasin		r	1.73x0.66		post 1350	53
Phra Phutthabat Bua Bok, Phu Phra Bat Historical Park	Udon Thani		r			"	54
Phra Phutthabat Lang Tao, Phu Phra Bat Historical Park	Udon Thani		l			"	55
Wat Phra Phutthabat Phukwai Ngern, Chiang Khan	Loei		r	1.73x0.66		"	56
Wat Phra Phutthabat (Werngum), Si Chiang Mai	Nong Khai		r			"	57
Khao Phra Bat Noi	Sukhothai	Sukhothai Museum	l			mid C14-C16	59
Wat Mahathat, Sukhothai	Sukhothai	Wat Bovorniwet Bangkok		3.60x2.77	twin imprints	"	60
Wat Chomphuwek	Nonthaburi					"	61

Place	*Province*	*Now at*	*Type*	*Size*	*Details*	*Dating*	*Plate*
Wat Sri Chum	Sukhothai				fragment	"	62
Wat Cherng Kiri	Sri Satchanalai		l	1.52x0.65		"	64
Khao Phrabat Noi	Sukhothai	Wat Thai Chumphon Sukhothai		l	1.05x0.49	"	65
Wat Chulamani	Phitsanulok				smashed	King Narai	66
Wat Sadet	Kamphaengphet		4:r		bronze	"	68
Wat Lampang Luang	Lampang		4:l	4.2	teak, lacquer	"	69
Wat Phra Singh	Chiang Mai	Chiang Mai Museum	4:l	2.00x0.90	wood, lacquer, mother-of-pearl	"	70
Wat Suan Chan Nai	Phayao	Wat Sri Khom Khan (Wat Phra Chao Ton Luang), Phayao	r	2.20x0.98	slate	"	71
Wat Sri Khom Khan	Phayao		p	1.34x0.59		"	72
Wat Sri Ratana Mahathat, Chalieng	Sri Satchanalai		r		slate	"	73
Wat Sri Chum Mondop	Sukhothai		r	1.46x0.69		"	75
Sumanakuta (Khao Phra Bat Yai)	Sukhothai	Wat Traphang Thonglang, Sukhothai	r			"	80
Pak Brah Pan, Khao Kob	Nakhon Sawan		r			"	82
Wat Salabun	Ayudhya		r			"	83
Wat Vorapho (Wat Rakhang)	Ayudhya		l	1.41x0.62		"	84

Place	*Province*	*Now at*	*Type*	*Size*	*Details*	*Dating*	*Plate*
Wat Sadet	Kamphaengphet	Bangkok National Museum		1.75x1.18	fragment, metal	"	85
Wat Koh Kaeo Suttharam	Phetchaburi				mural	1734	88
Wat Phra Ram	Ayudhya	Bangkok National Museum	r	2.25x0.91		King Borommakot	91
Wat Phra Rup	Suphanburi		r	1.56x0.53	teak	"	92
Khao Luang Cave	Phetchaburi		r			"	93
Wat Dusit	Ayudhya		2			"	94
Phra Prang, Wat Phuttaisawan	Ayudhya		1	1.61x0.64		"	94a
ruins of Ayudhya	Ayudhya	Ayudhya Museum	r	1.50x0.58		"	95
Wat Yai Suwannaram	Phetchaburi		r	1.60x0.62	metal	"	96
Wat Pa Mok Voravihan	Angthong		4:r	2.44x1.06		"	97
Wat Tham Had Pan Krai	Chumphon		1	1.13x0.56		"	101
Wihan Phra Ma, Wat Phra Mahathat Wora Maha Wihan	Nakhon Si Thammarat		4:r	1.49x0.57		ca. King Taksin	107
Wat Phra Chetuphon	Bangkok		r		bronze	King Rama I	108
Wat Hua Toey	Songkhla		p	1.60x0.75	phra bot	"	109-110
Umporn Boonprakong Pavilion, Wat Mahathat Woraviharn	Phetchaburi		4	2.86x1.96	phra bot	"	111

Place	*Province*	*Now at*	*Type*	*Size*	*Details*	*Dating*	*Plate*
Wat Chaiyasathit Pa Srao Luang, San Pa Thong	Chiang Mai		4:r	1.78x0.67	teak/lacquer/ gilt	?1794	112
Wat Bang Kraprom	Samut Sakhon		4:l	6.01x3.16		King Rama II	113
Wat Cherng Ta	Ayudhya		r	1.07x0.49		"	116
Wat Nak Klang	Thonburi	Lopburi Museum	r		cabinet	"	117
		National Library, Bangkok			manuscript	"	118
Wat Kai Tia Preuttaram	Ayudhya		r	1.66x0.70		c. 1817	118a
		Ayudhya Museum	r		mother-of-pearl set in black lacquer	King Rama II	119
Wat Amphawan Chediyaram	Samut Sakhon		4:r			"	120
Wat Phra Phutthabat Raja Wora Wihan	Saraburi		r		gold, jeweled	"	121
Wat Ratchaosaram	Thonburi				soles	"	
Wat Prodkeschettaram	Samut Prakan		r	1.56x0.57	mother-of-pearl	"	122
Wat Khao Bandai-it	Phetchaburi			1.53x0.37	marble	"	123
Phra Phuttha Saiyut, Wat Phra Chetuphon	Bangkok			5.00x3.00	soles	King Rama III	124
Wat Phra Phutthabat	Yasothon		r	1.58x0.59		"	126
Wat Sri Thammaram	Yasothon		r	1.67x0.66		"	127
Wat Ban Pieng, San Pa Tong	Chiang Mai		p	1.22x0.61		"	128
Wat Chae Hang	Nan		r			"	129
Wat Bovornivet Wihan	Bangkok		r			"	130
Wat Rahan Yai	Rayong		l	1.19x0.57		"	131

Place	*Province*	*Now at*	*Type*	*Size*	*Details*	*Dating*	*Plate*
Wat Thep Charoen	Chumphon		l	0.69x0.44		"	132
Wat Phutthabat, Khao Makhan	Chantaburi		r		fragment	"	133
Wat Mahathat Wora Maha Wihan	Nakhon Sri Thammarat				soles	"	134
Wat Chom Thong	Chiangtung, Myanmar		r	0.62x0.53		"	135
Wat Phra Phutthachai	Saraburi		r	1.14x0.48		1868	136
		Chaiya Museum	r	0.49x0.25	silver, gold	King Rama IV	137
Wat Khu Phanom	Nakhon Sri Thammarat		r			"	140
Wat Pa Koh	Songkhla				soles	"	141
Wat Phanom Rung	Buriram		r			"	142
Wat Somdet Yansangwararam	Chonburi		l			"	143
Wat Khao Di Salak, U Thong	Suphanburi		l			King Rama V	145
Wat Ubosottaram	Uthai Thani		r			1893	
Wat Bang Mafor	Nakhon Sawan		r			King Rama V	146
Wat Samed	Chonburi		l		mural	"	148
Wat Phra Phuttha Sai Yat	Phetchaburi				soles	"	149
Phra That Narai Cheng Weng	Sakon Nakhon		r	1.34x0.55		"	150
Wat Ban Non Hom	Sakon Nakhon		l	1.51x0.59		"	151
Wat Phra That Cherng Chum	Sakon Nakhon		4:r	1.34x0.55		"	152
Wat Gate	Ayudhya		r			King Rama VI	
Wat Kuha Sawan	Phattalung		r			King Rama VII	153
Wat Jang Lom	Songkhla		r	1.57x0.62		"	154
Wat Intharam	Ayudhya		4:l			King Rama IX	155
Wat Ban Yuan	Nan		r			"	156
Wat Tapon Yai	Chantaburi		r		phra bot	"	157

Place	*Province*	*Now at*	*Type*	*Size*	*Details*	*Dating*	*Plate*
Wat Phra That Chom Chaeng	Phrae		l	1.81x0.69		"	158
Wat Ban Salang	Phrae		p	0.81x0.33		"	159
Wat Phra Phutthabat, Khao Kaew	Phayao		p	0.45x0.33	glass	"	160
Temple of the Emerald Buddha	Bangkok		p		mother-of-pearl, gold	"	161

l = left; r = right; p = pair; 4:r = right footprint of the Four Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa; sizes in meters

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Virginia McKeen Di Crocco is a long-time resident of Bangkok and an honorary member of the Siam Society under Royal Patronage. She has published widely on the ceramics, design, and art history of Southeast Asia.