

The Louis XIV Manuscript Cabinet: The Role of Thunder and Lightning

Hiram Woodward

One of the most celebrated Ayutthayan works of art is the gilt-lacquer manuscript cabinet (Figure 1) that features two human figures, one identified as King Louis XIV of France (reigned 1643–1715), the other most commonly considered to represent the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (reigned 1658–1707). The cabinet has been dated either to the period in which diplomatic connections with France were at their most intense, during the reign of King Narai, who ruled from 1656 until 1688, or to shortly thereafter.¹ In shape and function, the cabinet resembles many manuscript cabinets, but it is one of the earliest, and in decoration it is exceptional. Although the Louis XIV figure occurs subsequently on doors in image halls, there are no other cabinets depicting historical figures.

In the disciplines of both history and art history the word *global* has appeared with increasing frequency in recent decades. Historians attempt to understand the degree to which Ayutthaya in the 17th century was integrated into a world economic system and how exactly that system ought to be characterized. Art historians interested in the global try to identify common trends and points of connection through time. In fact, however, largely because historians of Southeast Asian art are few in number, not much exists in the way of studies that attempt to pull data together from different times and places in order to create an integrated art-historical narrative. Such an endeavor would have to deal primarily with trade goods, not such culture-specific objects as images of the Buddha. A good deal has been written about textiles, where Indian production dominated, as well as about ceramics, where China played the primary role.² Understanding how these two broad traditions, each of which has multiple aspects, might impinge upon an object made in Siam for local consumption is a challenging task. This and other

¹ Forrest McGill, ed., *The Kingdom of Siam: The Art of Central Thailand, 1350–1800* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum; Ghent: Snoeck Publishers; Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2005), 155–58. For earlier discussions, see Michael Wright, “Towards a History of Siamese Gilt-lacquer Painting,” *Journal of the Siam Society* 67, pt. 1 (Jan. 1979), 32–4 (17–45); Kòngkæo Wīraprāçhak and Niyadā Thāsukhon, eds., *Tū lāi thòng phāk 1 / Thai Lacquer and Gilt Bookcases Part One* (Bangkok: National Library, 1980), 244–51. In the preparation of this article, I have benefited from the comments of Samerchai Poolsuwan, Forrest McGill, Ashley Thompson, Chris Baker, Jana Igunma, and Annabel Gallop.

² For textiles, see Amelia Peck, ed., *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500–1800* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013); for rock constructions not unlike those on the sides of the Louis XIV cabinet, 231. Chinese ceramics in Ayutthaya: Hiram Woodward, “Seventeenth-century Chinese Porcelain in Various Worlds,” *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 70-1 (2012–13): 25–38.



Figure 1. Manuscript Cabinet with the Figure of Louis XIV. Lacquered and gilded wood, H. 164.5 cm. National Museum, Bangkok (115 and T. 101). Photograph © Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.

book cabinets display connections with certain textiles, such as Indian embroidered bed hangings exported to England, and these in turn were dependent in part on the decoration seen in the borders of Mughal manuscripts. Works in lacquer, in addition, form a distinct category. An ancestry for the Louis XIV cabinet can be traced to the 16th-century “Namban” lacquers of Japan, produced under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church and having many international features.³

This brief article is not about the stylistic characteristics of this cabinet, however, but about its subject matter, in particular the identity of the figures over the heads of the two monarchs (Figures 2 and 3). It will be seen that the global reach of the cabinet is not only somewhat broader than has been realized but that the identifications provide new insights into the development of Thai cosmology.

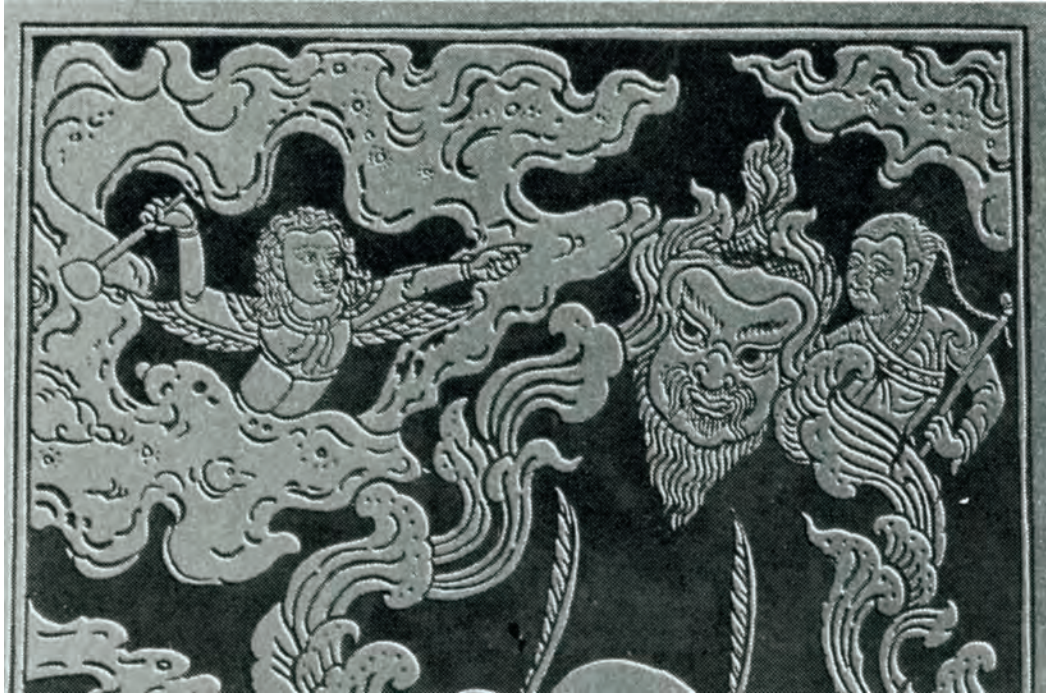
In this section of the cabinet there are five figures. On the far left a male personage or deity, the lower part of his body hidden by a cloud, brandishes a mallet in his right hand and points with his left. (It’s possible that the mallet has a short blade attached and is therefore a kind of hatchet.) He has a European-style wig and wears a scarf around his neck; wings extend below his upper arms, from shoulder to elbow. The second figure on this side appears as a disembodied head, with Chinese features, and the third, either male or female, wears a long Chinese-style pigtail and holds a staff. On the right-hand door there are just two figures. The one on the left looks much like the figure on the far left; if it is the same character, here he has lost his hammer and wipes his eyes. At far right a figure holds aloft a hard-to-identify object, as if about to hurl it towards the man on the left. He, or she, also has wings attached to the upper arms. It is possible that the man with the hammer at far left is pointing at the figure at far right, rather than at the two intervening Chinese-style figures.

It will be seen that no contemporary literary evidence providing identification of the primary figures has been found, and so it is necessary to jump ahead and then work our way backward in time in order to understand these characters, who, it is here proposed, are early Thai representations of the gods of thunder and lightning. By the early Bangkok period, as seen in both manuscripts and mural paintings in temples (in the depictions of the cosmos behind a presiding Buddha image), these gods were well established and assigned a place in the heavenly realms, flanking the pillar of Mt. Meru and situated below the sun and the moon and above the Four Great Kings (*caturmahārājika*), or World Guardians (*lokapāla*).⁴ The thunder god was called Rāmasūra (pronounced Rāmasūn) and the lightning goddess Maṇimekhalā. Figure 4 shows a detail from a manuscript in the British Library, made for Lt. James Low in 1824.⁵

³ Martha Boyer, *Japanese Export Lacquers from the Seventeenth Century in the National Museum of Denmark* (Copenhagen: The National Museum, 1959). For the 16th century, see Pedro de Moura Cavalho, “Oriental Export Lacquerwares and Their Problematic Origin,” *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 3 (2001): 247-61.

⁴ For murals, see Prungsi Wanliphodom *et al.*, eds., *Sarup phon sammanā rùang Traiphūm Phra Ruang* [Summary of the Traiphūm Phra Ruang seminar] (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 1983), 158 (Wat Suwannaram, Thonburi) and 161 (Wat Khongkharam, Ratchaburi).

⁵ On this manuscript, see Henry Ginsburg, *Thai Manuscript Painting* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 14-15; also http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=ADD_MS_27370



Figures 2 (above) and 3 (opposite). Details of the upper parts of the two doors of the cabinet. After Kòngkæo Wirapráchak and Niyadá Thāsukhon, eds., *Tū lāi thòng phāk 1 / Thai Lacquer and Gilt Bookcases Part One* (Bangkok: National Library, 1980), 246.

Neither a god of thunder nor a lightning goddess appears in the best-known Thai Buddhist cosmology, the *Traiphūm Phra Ruang* (Three Realms, the work of Phra Ruang), dating from the Sukhothai period. In Indian mythology, both thunder and lightning are associated with the god Indra. For evidence of the pairing of male and female divinities to represent thunder and lightning, it is necessary to turn to China. The Chinese god of thunder (Leishen, 雷神 is one of his names), traceable back to early Daoism, appears in a Chinese popular print (Figure 5) holding a mallet in his left hand and a dagger in his right.⁶ He has wings, the legs and beak of a bird, and, curiously, he wears a tied scarf around his neck—not unlike the scarves on the figures on the book cabinet (Figures 2 and 3). With the mallet he beats on drums—three of which surround him. He is accompanied by the Chinese Mother of Lightning (Dian Mu, 電母) who, as can be seen in the print, uses mirrors to create blinding flashes.

A full Thai account of thunder and lightning can be found in the cosmology known as the *Traiphūm Lōkawinitchayakathā*, dating from 1783–1802, in the First Reign of the Bangkok period. In a section placed between discussions of the sun and moon and of

(accessed 28 January 2017).

⁶ Henri Maspero, “The Mythology of Modern China,” in T. Hackin *et al.*, *Asiatic Mythology* (1932; rpt. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963), 274. For additional illustrations of the Chinese thunder and lightning gods, John A. Goodall, *Heaven and Earth: Album Leaves from a Ming Encyclopedia: San-ts’ai t’u-hui, 1610* (Boulder: Shambhala, 1979), 15; Harry Halén and Bent Berbaek Pedersen, *C. G. Mannerheim’s Chinese Pantheon: Materials for an Iconography of Chinese Folk Religion* (Helsinki: Finno-Ugrian Society, 1993), nos. 315 and 316, text, 65.



the four *lokapāla*, it presents a rather unresolved view, in which scientific speculation, scriptural accounts, and popular belief all play a part. This *Traiphūm* is longer than the older *Traiphūm Phra Ruang* and has a different format. It incorporates short passages in Pali, the textual sources sometimes stated, sometimes not, which are then translated and explicated in Thai. In the printed edition, the relevant sections are headed “Thunder – Lightning,” “*Rung kin nam*” (Rainbows appearing on the sea at dawn and dusk), “Lightning Bolts,” and “The Nine Types of Celestial Ax.”⁷ Initially, the explanation of natural phenomena is based on observation. Strong winds strike clouds, producing loud noises that we call thunder. The strong winds also produce flames in the clouds (the action is compared to the striking of a flint), to which we give the name lightning.

Then subsequently the phenomena are explained from other points of view, including the mythological. The first divinity to appear is Maṇimekhalā, a rain-cloud goddess (*valāhakadevatā*). She holds in her hand a radiant gem, and it is that which we call lightning. Maṇimekhalā does figure rarely in Pali scriptures; it is she, for instance, who is the goddess of the sea, appointed by the four *lokapāla*, in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*. In the Tamil epic *Manimekhalai*, which dates from the early centuries C.E., there are two Manimekhalā, one the goddess of the ocean, the other a human being who learns Buddhist doctrine. The text says that in her heavenly form the goddess is “as brilliant as the lightning.”⁸ It can be said, therefore, that if there was a desire to appoint a goddess of lightning, Manimekhalā made an excellent choice. But there is no surviving

⁷ *Traiphūm Lōkawinitchayakathā* (Three Realms: the World Analyzed), 3 vols. (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 1977), vol. 3, 73-7.

⁸ Merchant-Prince Shattan, *Manimekhalai (The Dancer with the Magic Bowl)*, Alain Daniélou, trans. (New York: New Directions, 1989), 23.



Figure 4. Maṇimekhalā and the God of Thunder Flanking Mt. Meru. In “Drawings of the cosmology and mythology of Siam,” accordion-pleated manuscript on paper, © British Library Board, British Library Add MS 27370, f. 4r, detail. 1824, for Lt. James Low of the Madras Army.

evidence regarding this process, nor about the extent to which the Tamil epic was known in Siam. On the other hand the name itself doubtless played a part: *maṇi* means “gem,” and although in Sanskrit *mekhalā* means “belt” or “girdle,” in Thai it has a sound like *megha*, “cloud.”

The Rama I *Traiphūm* offers competing theories concerning the thunder god. First to be mentioned is Pajjuna (Pali: *pajjunna*, a cloud) Yaksha, who succeeds in seizing the gem from Maṇimekhalā, brandishes it, and himself causes the phenomenon we call lightning. Next is Rāmajuṅha (Pali: *juṅhā*, moonlight) Yaksha. On seeing the gem that Maṇimekhalā holds he becomes determined to seize it. He shoots an arrow at her and throws a rock as well; these miss and fall to earth, where they make a noise louder than thunder. Pharusaka (Pali: *pharusa*, cruel) Yaksha, finally, seeing the various cloud divinities sporting, shoots arrows that fall to the earth as thunderbolts that can be identified with the *asanipāta*, the thunderbolts of the god Indra. All these items that descend from the atmosphere can be considered heavenly axes (*khwān fā*).

The *Traiphūm Lōkawinitchayakathā* cannot reconcile the various accounts of thunder and lightning found in Pali-language sources. It is hard to say why the name Rāmasūra does not appear, as it is likely to have been in existence before the composition of the treatise. Perhaps “Rāmajuṅha” should just be considered another name for him. In illustrations, he is always shown wielding an ax (or hatchet), and the *Traiphūm* does discuss heavenly axes. A narrative consistent with the pictorial depictions appears in another text, the Thai *Rāmakīan*, from the First Reign.⁹ In an attempt to kill

⁹The information about the *Rāmakīan* is taken from Saksī Yaemnatdā, “Maṇimekhalā,” *Sārānukrom wathanatham Thai phāk klāng*, 15 vols. (Bangkok: Mūnithi Sārānukrom wathanatham Thai, 1999), 4768-70. For references to Western-language sources, see Frank E. Reynolds, “The Holy Emerald Jewel,” in *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos, and Burma*, ed. Bardwell L. Smith (Chambersburg PA: Anima, 1978), 179 and 190, n. 21 (175-93). There are additional Thai-language sources (beside the *Rāmakīan*), as this web site indicates: http://www.thaifolk.com/doc/mekkala_e.htm (accessed 28 January 2017).

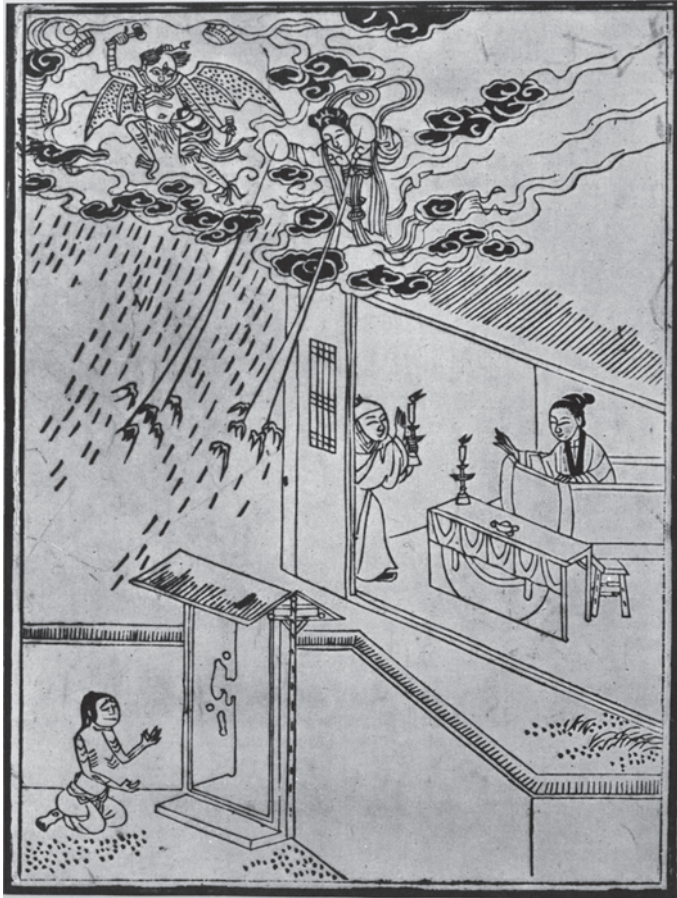


Figure 5. The God of Thunder and the Goddess of Lightning Smite a Guilty Person. Chinese popular print. After Henri Maspero, “The Mythology of Modern China,” in T. Hackin *et al.*, *Asiatic Mythology* (1932; rpt. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963), 273, Figure 13.

Mañimekhalā, Rāmasūra throws his ax, which is *phet*-like (*vajra*-like), but her gem protects her. Throwing the ax produces the sound of thunder. Presumably one reason for choosing the name “Rāma” is the allusion to the sixth avatar of Vishnu, Paraśurāma (Rāma with the ax), but Paraśurāma was neither a yaksha (nature spirit) nor an *asūra* (demi-god).¹⁰ “Rāmasūra” can be taken to mean “the *asūra* Rāma,” but in Thai (รามสูร) the *a* of *asūra* is left unwritten.¹¹

Three early pictorial *Traiphūm* manuscripts in the National Library, each fully illustrated in a publication from 1999, add yet another complicating strand to the evidence. Two date from the late Ayutthaya period, one from 1773, in the Thonburi

¹⁰ In the 19th-century compendia of depictions of Brahmanical deities, Paraśurāma (whose name is misspelled *Purusarāma*) holds a long-handled ax, not a hatchet like Rāmasūra’s: *Tamrā phāp thewarūp lae thewadā nophakhrō* [Handbook of pictures of divinities] (Bangkok: National Library, 1992), 70, 118.

¹¹ One reason to consider him an *asūra* is his kinship with Rāhū, whose customary dwelling place is with three other *asūra* beneath Mt. Meru but who rises into space in order to swallow the sun and moon, causing eclipses. Rāhū in this period is shown wielding a mallet, but there is no evidence that this attribute was borrowed from the Chinese thunder god or that it caused thunder. In the *Traiphūm Phra Ruang*, some of the attendants to the *lokapāla* hold a mallet (*khòn*).

period. In each, a complete Buddhist cosmology is rendered on the front face, beginning with the city of Nibbāna and ending with the hells and the nadir of the world-system. The reverse face is devoted in large part to the Himaphān, the sacred slopes of the Himalayas, and the orientation of the manuscript shifts: the reader must turn it sideways and can even extend it, as if it were a Chinese handscroll. On this side the illustrations are bifurcated by the continuous flow of a river that in accordance with the textual accounts flows into Lake Anotatta, continues as one of the lake's four outlets, dashes up against a mountain and shoots upwards, and subsequently splits to form the five great rivers of India.¹² The place the river shoots upward is represented as a small hill, and it is near here that Rāmasūra and Maṇimekhalā appear in the sky, in all three manuscripts.¹³ In none of these three do there seem to be captions for the pair (unfortunately not, therefore, providing evidence for the appearance of the name *Rāmasūra*), but nearby scenes, which do have captions, help provide a context. In the 1773 manuscript (known as Thonburi 10k), one of the scenes depicts the Ulūka Jātaka (no. 270), another the Phandana Jātaka (no. 475).¹⁴ In the Ulūka Jātaka, birds elect as their king an owl, but a crow protests so vigorously that they choose instead a golden *hamsa*—who, in this birth, was the bodhisatta (as the Buddha discloses). The Phandana Jātaka is the story of a bear (in the Thai version) accustomed to sleeping under a *phandana* tree; when a branch falls upon him, he blames the spirit of the tree and entices a wheelwright to cut the tree down; meanwhile, the tree spirit convinces the wheelwright that he needs some bearskin to pad his wheel. When the tree has been cut down and the bear killed, the bodhisatta, who in this existence is a forest spirit, declares, “Be of one mind and quarrel not, as beast and tree have done.”¹⁵ The Thai-language captions accompanying the two Jātaka use the same words, “to hold enmity,” *phūk wen* (Pali: *vera*, “revenge”). In other words, the story of Rāmasūra and Maṇimekhalā belongs here because it too is a tale of ingrained hostility. This suggests that the story had some sort of independent existence in this period and that the theme of war between the sexes was at least as important as accounting for thunder and lightning.

It is now possible to explain the primary figures on the cabinet (Figures 2 and 3) but not to assign proper names to them. The thunder god appears on the far left, with either a mallet or a short-bladed hatchet. And on the right-hand panel, at top right, we see a god or goddess of lightning. If this is Maṇimekhalā, her gem, held aloft with both hands, has not yet acquired the fixed character of the simple disc seen in the later depictions. It is, instead, a cusped-edged mass of flames, possibly influenced in part by conventional

¹² Frank E. and Mani B. Reynolds, trans., *Three Worlds According to King Ruang* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1982), 295; *Traiphūm Lōkawinitchayakathā*, vol. 1, 145-6.

¹³ *Samutphāp Traiphūm chabap Krung Sī ‘Ayutthayā – chabap Krung Thon Burī* [Traiphūm manuscripts: Ayutthaya and Thonburi copies], 2 vols. (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 1999). I thank Dr. Samerchai Poolsuwan for bringing this publication to my attention (and express gratitude for its availability in the Asia Reading Room, Library of Congress). Ayutthaya-period *Traiphūm* no. 6: vol. 1, 77-8, pls. 61 and 62. Ayutthaya-period *Traiphūm* no. 8: vol. 1, 184, pl. 72.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pls. 109-10.

¹⁵ E. B. Cowell, ed., *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Lives*, 6 vols. (in 3) (London: Pali Text Society and Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), vol. 4, 131.

Chinese depictions of a flaming pearl. Its light is so intense that it blinds the thunder god to the left, who wipes his eyes.

There may be a simple explanation for the European hairstyles. European objects circulated in Ayutthaya, and doubtless some of them included depictions of winged cherubs.¹⁶ The Ayutthayans would have learned, or figured out, that these were the foreign counterparts to the native cloud gods and goddesses. Somewhat similarly, the two puzzling figures on the left-hand door, so far omitted from the discussion, can also be associated with clouds. Names can be proposed, but no coherent story can be assembled. The Ming dynasty epic *Investiture of the Gods* (*Fengshen Yanyi*, 封神演義) is an account of the end of the Shang dynasty and the rise of the Zhou; actual historical personages, fictional characters, and interfering divinities all play a part. Shen Gongbao (申公豹) is a character on the Shang side who declares in a confrontation, “I can cut off my head, cast it into the air, and then put it back where it belongs.”¹⁷ It is retrieved by a bird. In a later chapter (49), Shen Gongbao ascends into the clouds and declares (according to an orally transmitted shadow puppet play script), “I straddle clouds and carry mountains to show my prowess.”¹⁸ It is here suggested that although Shen Gongbao’s body is probably intact when he appears in the clouds in this episode, the artist has shown only his unattached head. The accompanying figure cannot be easily identified as one of the three Firmament Sisters who greet Shen Gongbao. It is more probable that he is Yunzhongzi (云中子), Master of the Clouds, who is allied with the Zhou side, not the Shang, and who gives his disciple Leizhenzi (雷震子), Thunderbolt Child, a golden rod able to cause both wind and thunder.¹⁹ The staff depicted in Yunzhongzi’s left hand would be this golden rod. Leizhenzi became still another Chinese thunder god.

The fact that *Investiture of the Gods* was one of the principal sources for plots in the Chinese shadow puppet theatre suggests a possible mechanism not only for the migration of these recondite characters onto an Ayutthayan book cabinet but for the more substantial transfer of the Chinese belief that the gods of thunder and lightning form a couple.²⁰ If we suppose a troop of Chinese puppet masters performing for the ethnic Chinese residents of Ayutthaya, it is possible to imagine that they interacted with

¹⁶ I thank Dr. Samerchai Poolsuwan for pointing this out.

¹⁷ Chapter 37. Katherine Liang Chew, trans., *Tales of the Teahouse Retold: Investiture of the Gods* (New York, Lincoln, and Shanghai: Writers Club Press, 2002), 365. In this translation, Shen Gongbao is called “Aggrandizing Bobcat.” The story of Shen Gongbao’s head is also related, with an illustration, in E. T. C. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1933), 155-7. I have been helped by the Wikipedia entries for the characters in the *Fengshen Yanyi*; also the site http://www.poisonpie.com/words/others/somewhat/creation/text/characters_alpha.html (accessed 1 January 2017), “Creation of the Gods: A Somewhat Less Than Critical Listing of Characters in Alphabetical Order.”

¹⁸ Fan Pen Li Chen, *Chinese Shadow Theatre: History, Popular Religion, and Women Warriors* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007), 180.

¹⁹ Chap. 21. In Chew, trans., *Tales*, 239. Leizhenzi is depicted with the staff in one of the sculptures of the characters from *Investiture of the Gods* at Ping Sien, Perak, Malaysia. See <http://www.photodharma.net/Malaysia/Investiture/Investiture.htm>, no. 043 (accessed 1 January 2017).

²⁰ For a 20th-century Chinese shadow puppet depicting the thunder god, see [http://asianart.emuseum.com/view/objects/asitem/items\\$0040:5312](http://asianart.emuseum.com/view/objects/asitem/items$0040:5312) (accessed 27 January 2017; I thank Forrest McGill).

artists' workshops, artists who were able to provide fresh visual form to beliefs with Indic, Thai, and Chinese roots.

With some confidence, it can be said that the figures on the cabinet occupy the same cosmological position as do Rāmasūra and Maṇimekhalā in the later depictions, that is, above the four *lokapāla*. This means that the two monarchs would have to have been considered the earthbound counterparts of the *lokapāla*. In the catalogue of the 2005 exhibition *The Kingdom of Siam*, Forrest McGill discussed the question of the identity of the “Aurangzeb” figure and made two pertinent observations, one concerning the Indonesian *kris* he wears, the other concerning his gesture, which somewhat resembles an admonishing gesture in Javanese art.²¹ Perhaps this monarch is not an Indian at all (nor a Persian) but a Malay or Indonesian. If so, shared analogical thinking may be at work. A text from Aceh, which was an extremely powerful port in the first half of the 17th century (but not the 2nd), links the four *syahbandar*, harbor masters, to the *lokapāla*. In Malacca, four *syahbandar* were given responsibility for merchants from different regions.²² The spatial organization of the Louis XIV cabinet may be entirely independent, but it is tempting to entertain the possibility of a Malay or Indonesian identity for the second monarch, and to tie this to shared patterns of thinking.

The global reach of thunder and lightning does not end there. Moving forward in time, we land in the 21st century in Long Beach, California. The encounter between Rāmasūra and Maṇimekhalā was turned into a dance drama, for which both King Rama IV and Rama V wrote scripts.²³ In Cambodia, a ceremonial version was performed at the time of the Khmer new year (when the protagonists chase each other they produce not only thunder and lightning but the rains that inaugurate the planting season) and then, beginning in the mid-20th century, a performance version with just a pair of dancers was created. This has been revived, renewed, and performed all over the world in recent decades, easily watched as YouTube videos with the title *Moni Mekhala and Ream Eyso*. (In Khmer, Rāmasūra is sometimes written Rāmasūra រ៉ាមសួរ៉ា, sometimes Rām-i-sūra រ៉ាមឺសួរ៉ា.) The dance provides an engaging introduction to the myth, with Maṇimekhalā tossing her gem in the air, Rāmasūra holding his arm to his face to shelter his eyes from the dazzling light, and then throwing the ax. In 2013, a small book was published with the title *Moni Mekhala and Ream Eyso*, including contributions from various dancers, some now active in Long Beach, which has become a center for Khmer dance. The battle between the sexes is the primary theme. In the face of an oppressive patriarchy, the purpose of the dance is to celebrate “the representation of a woman secure in her glorious physicality and her place in the world,” and “a tough woman, clever and quick, who uses her brain as a weapon.”²⁴

²¹ McGill, ed., *The Kingdom of Siam*, 155-58.

²² L.F. Brakel, “State and Statecraft in 17th century Aceh,” in Anthony Reid and Lance Castles, eds., *Pre-Colonial State Systems in Southeast Asia*, Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, no. 6 (Kuala Lumpur, 1979), 63-64.

²³ According to Saksī, “Maṇimekhalā.”

²⁴ Prumsodun Ok, ed., *Moni Mekhala and Ream Eyso* (privately printed, U.S.A., 2013), 13, 23.