

A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Epigraphic and Historical Studies, Number 1

by

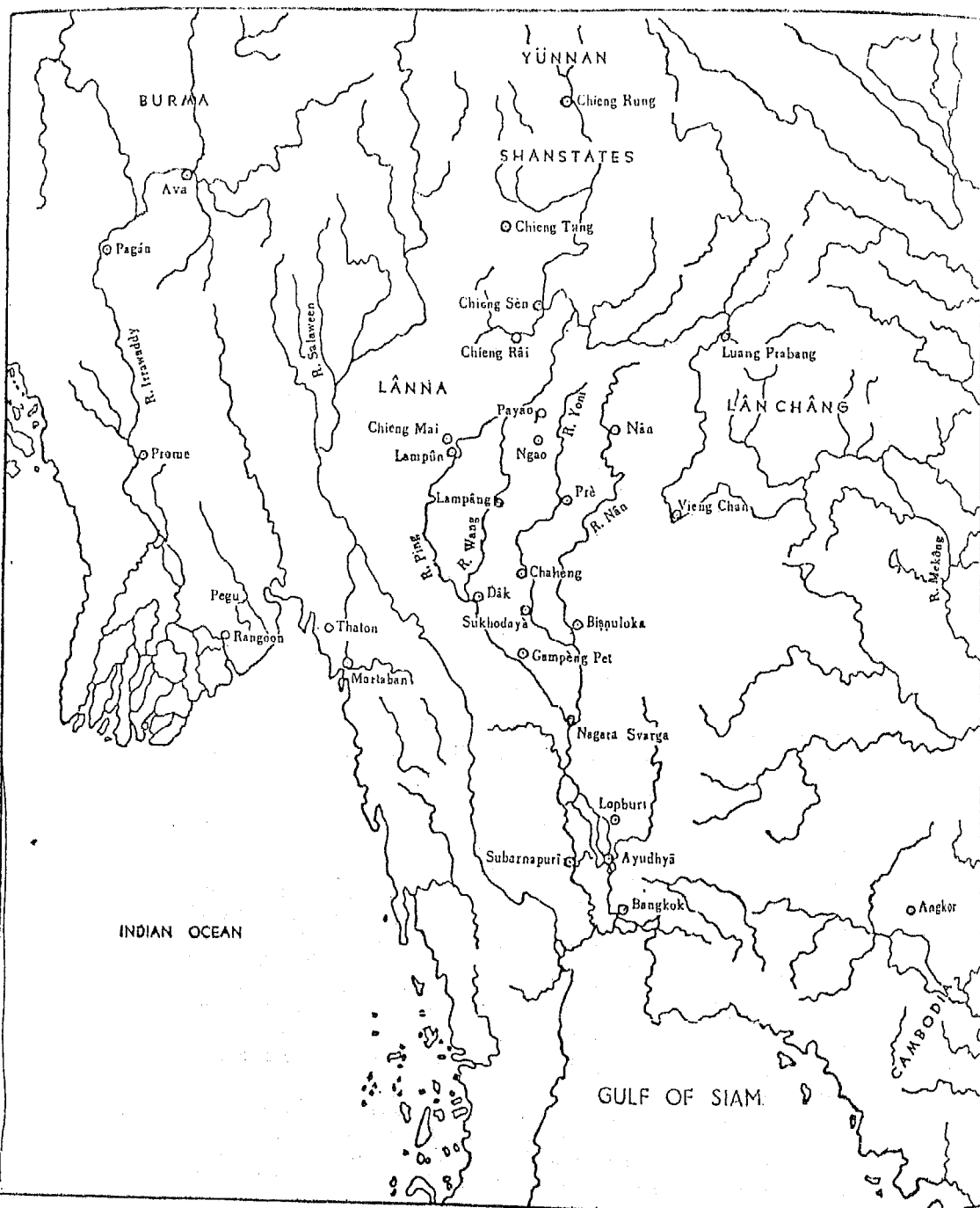
A.B. Griswold & Prasert 𑀭 Nagara

1. Prelude

In the late 13th century, under *Râm Kamhêng*, the kingdom of Sukhodaya reached its apogee, covering virtually all of Siam except the states of *Lân Nâ* and Lavo, and controlling the Malay Peninsula and Lower Burma as well. But after his death it dwindled rapidly; and when his grandson *Īdaiya Mahādharmarājā I* (*Lū Tai, Li Tai*)¹ came to the throne in 1347, very little was left of it beyond the provinces of Sukhodaya, Śrī Sajjanālaya and Biṣṇuloka.²

Contrary to the opinion generally held until recently, *Īdaiya* was an able statesman and a competent soldier.³ By attracting a number of the vassals who had broken away, and by subduing others, he recovered a territory stretching from above Uttaratiṭṭha on the north to Nagara Svarga on the south, from the valley of the *Ping* on the west to that of the *Sak* on the east.⁴ If his gains were modest

- 1) We retain the usual numbering, according to which *Īdaiya* was Mahādharmarājādhirāja I. His father *Lōdaiya* (*Lō Tai*) bore the title Dharmarāja (Inscription II).
- 2) In the present paper we have followed Mr. Coedès's example in *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam* in using the Graphic System to transcribe loan-words from Sanskrit or Pali, as well as any other words in which it seems desirable to show the exact Siamese spelling. But as the Graphic System is admittedly awkward for Siamese words of Tai origin, we have substituted more familiar forms in many cases where the original spelling is of no particular consequence for our present purposes. See Appendix pp. 35-36. Words transcribed according to the Graphic System are printed in ordinary type (or bold-face); whenever there seems to be any risk of confusion, words transcribed phonetically are printed in italics the first few times they appear.
- 3) See Prasert 𑀭 Nagara in SSR, June 1966, p. 44 f.; Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art* pp. 30-42. For the bibliographical references, see below, p. 243.
- 4) Inscription VIII, III/19 f. and IV/6 f. For the references to the inscriptions, see p., *sub verbo* 'Inscriptions'. Inscription VIII, long attributed to *Īdaiya*'s son Mahādharmarājā II, really emanates from *Īdaiya* himself. See the correspondence between Prasert 𑀭 Nagara and Professor Coedès, SSR, June 1966, p. 52.



compared with those of *Rām Kamhèng*, they were nevertheless impressive, for he was faced with a limiting factor which did not exist in *Rām Kamhèng*'s time: the territory south of *Nagara Svarga* now belonged to so powerful a ruler that *Īḍaiya* had to dismiss all hope of recovering it. Instead he cultivated friendly relations with him.

This ruler was *Rāmādhīpati* (Prince *Ū Tōng*), who founded the kingdom of *Ayudhyā* in the mid-14th century by amalgamating two rich principalities. One, inherited from his father, was *Lavo* (*Lopburi*), which had been an independent kingdom in *Rām Kamhèng*'s time; the other, inherited from his father-in-law, was *Subarnapurī*, which had been among *Rām Kamhèng*'s vassal states but broke away after his death. The combination gave *Ayudhyā* control of everything south of *Nagara Svarga* from the Burma frontier to that of Cambodia.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that *Rāmādhīpati* was related to the *Sukhodayan* royal family. In any case he wanted to have a free hand for conquests elsewhere, notably at the expense of Cambodia; and as he could best do so by keeping on good terms with *Īḍaiya*, it was in the interest of both to respect each other's frontiers.⁵ But *Rāmādhīpati*'s turbulent vassal—his brother-in-law Prince *Vattitejo* of *Subarnapurī*—was of the contrary opinion, believing it essential to get control of *Sukhodaya* before risking any other adventures.⁶

5) A passage in an account by the Chinese merchant Wang Ta-yüan has often been interpreted to mean that *Īḍaiya* capitulated to *Rāmādhīpati* in 1349, but as Professor Wolters has suggested, the passage more likely means that the principalities of *Subarnapurī* and *Lavo* (*Lopburi*) were amalgamated in that year to form the kingdom of *Ayudhyā* (see SSR, June, 1966, 95 f.). This is a much more satisfactory explanation; all our evidence indicates that *Sukhodaya* remained independent until 1378. For *Īḍaiya*'s relations with *Rāmādhīpati*, cf. Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, pp. 31, 32, 37-39.

6) Cf. O.W. Wolters in SSR, June 1966, p. 97 f. In the Siamese chronicles *Vattitejo* is called *Pa-ngua* (not a personal name, but a term meaning he was the fifth son of his father). For a discussion of this prince, see Griswold and Prasert na Nagara, *On Kingship and Society at Sukhodaya*, to appear in the Felicitation Volume for Professor Lauriston Sharp, Cornell University Press.

Rāmādhipati died in 1369, leaving his throne to his son Rāmeśvara, the Prince of *Lopburī*. The next year Vattitejo seized the throne, sent Rāmeśvara back to *Lopburī* as governor, and embarked on a policy of expansion toward the north.

Paramarājādhirāja I, as Vattitejo is known to history, opened his campaign against Sukhodaya in 1371 with a series of raids on various cities. The next year, it seems, he captured Nagara Svarga; in 1373 he attacked *Gampèng Pet* (Kāmbèñ Bejra), but retired after inflicting heavy losses on the defenders; in 1375 he captured Biṣṇuloka; and in 1376 he again attacked *Gampèng Pet*, but retired after inflicting further losses.⁷

By this time Ḷḍaiya had died and been succeeded by his son Mahādharmarājā II.⁸ The exact date is not known, but it cannot have been before 1368 or after 1374.

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In 1378, upon receiving intelligence that *Gampèng Pet* was about to be attacked for the third time, Mahādharmarājā II himself hastened to the defense of the city; but though he fought bravely he could not drive off the invader this time, and he was forced to submit.⁹ In accordance with the usual custom, Paramarājā did not depose him, but made him swear allegiance and sent him back to rule Sukhodaya as his vassal. By this means Paramarājā obtained suzerainty over a kingdom he was unable to conquer by force arms.

It has generally been assumed that that was the end of Sukhodaya as an independent kingdom, that the cities along the *Ping* fell

7) AA/LP, *sub annis* 733-36. (For this and other references, see p. 243). The name of the place he captured in 1372 is given as *Pang-kā* (พังกา); for its identification with Nagara Svarga, see *Porāṇavattthusthāna* p. 86; the identification is almost certainly right, as Paramarājā would have to have a firm hold on Nagara Svarga before he could attack either *Gampèng Pet* or Biṣṇuloka. The name of the place he attacked in 1373 and again in 1376 is given as *Jākānrāv* (จกนราว), a variant of *Jākanrāv* (จกนราว), mentioned in Inscription VIII (IV/8 f.); generally believed to be the old name of *Gampèng Pet*.

8) Mahādharmarājā II's personal name is not known; cf. below, note 28.

9) AA/LP, *sub anno* 740.

under the direct rule of Ayudhyā, and that Mahādharmarājā II went to reside at Biṣṇuloka, from where he reigned as a vassal of Ayudhyā over a much reduced domain.¹⁰ This opinion must now be revised. It is true that he lost some of the cities on the *Ping*, but not true—as we shall see in a moment—that Ayudhyā was able to hold them very long. The territory he ruled as a vassal was practically the same he had ruled as an independent monarch. There is every reason to believe that he continued to reside at Sukhodaya until his death. Though he probably never renounced his oath of vassalage, the forces of freedom were gathering strength.

The Governor of *Gampèng Pet* soon began plotting to shake himself loose from Ayudhyā, probably with the assistance of *Lân Nâ*. If we may believe *Jinakālamāli*, he had been appointed to the governorship by Lidaia, remained in office after *Gampèng Pet* fell to Ayudhyā, and later made a secret pact with Prince Mahābrahma of *Chiang Râi*.¹¹ We are not told the date, but the context shows it must have been between 1380 and 1384.

In 1385 King *Gü Nâ* of *Lân Nâ*, who was Mahābrahma's brother, died and was succeeded by his son *Sèn Müang Mâ*. According to the *Chiang Mai Chronicle*, Mahābrahma tried unsuccessfully to wrest the throne from him, then fled to Ayudhyā to ask for the help of King Paramatraicāk (i.e. Paramarājā), who thereupon invaded *Lân Nâ* at his instigation but was defeated at *Lampâng*.¹² The AA/LP—the Hlvan Prsröth (*Luang Prasert*) Recension of the Annals of Ayudhyā—gives a slightly different version of the same campaign: in 1386 Paramarājā, having set out to conquer *Chiang Mai*, fails to take

10) Wood, *History of Siam*, p. 72. Biṣṇuloka, which was known to have been the capital of Ayudhyā's Sukhodayan provinces from the 1420's or 1430's on, was assumed to have become such at the time of Mahādharmarājā II's capitulation in 1378.

11) Coedès, *Documents*, p. 100 f.

12) Notton, III, p. 86 f. No date is given for this campaign, but it is placed between the death of *Gü Nâ* and the investiture of *Sèn Müang Mâ* (*ibid.* p. 88). The *Chiang Mai Chronicle* (*ibid.* p. 89) gives an impossible date for the investiture (Culaśakarāja 762 was not a *got jai* year), but says it was within 6 months of *Gü Nâ*'s death, which may well be right. We know from *Jinakālamāli* that *Gü Nâ* died in 1385.

Lampâng by force but receives the homage of its governor, and then returns home.¹³ Apparently his purpose was not so much to hold any Lân Nâ territory permanently as to neutralize the threat to his possessions on the Ping; but even in the latter he was not very successful.

Later on, says the *Chieng Mai Chronicle*, Mahābrahma, having fallen into disgrace by making love to Paramatraicāk's wife, was sent home under escort. Paramatraicāk thereupon transferred his support to *Sên Müang Mâ*, and made an alliance with him against Sukhodaya. The two allies, it seems, intended to make a concerted attack from the north and the south. *Sên Müang Mâ* invaded from the north and camped outside the city of Sukhodaya, waiting, we may suppose, for Paramarājā who failed to appear. While *Sên Müang Mâ* was hesitating whether or not to attack, the King of Sukhodaya (i.e. Mahādharma-rājā II) fell upon him and routed his forces.¹⁴ This was a stroke of luck for Sukhodaya. If, as seems likely, Mahādharma-rājā II felt bound by his vassal's oath not to take any action against Paramarājā, he was under no such restraint toward *Sên Müang Mâ*. By defeating *Sên Müang Mâ* before Paramarājā appeared on the scene, he effectively freed himself from any serious interference by Paramarājā.¹⁵ No date is given, but it must have been either 1387 or 1388.

In all probability it was the revolt of *Gampèng Pet* that prevented Paramarājā from moving on Sukhodaya as planned. In 1388 he attacked *Gampèng Pet*, but he was taken ill during the campaign and died on his way home.¹⁶ Although the general opinion thinks of him as a great conqueror, it is clear that his attempts to pacify the kingdom of Sukhodaya ended in frustration.

His reverses seem to have discredited the house of Subarnapuri and prepared the way for its partial eclipse. A few days after his

13) AA/LP *sub anno* 748. For the date, cf. note 12.

14) Notton, *op. cit.* p. 89.

15) The *Yonaka History's* version of these events portrays the King of Sukhodaya's behavior as both treacherous and idiotic (*Yonaka History*, p. 205; translation at Notton, *op. cit.* p. 89 note 1).

16) AA/LP *sub anno* 750.

death the throne of Ayudhya was seized from his young son by the ex-king Rāmeśvara, who swooped down on the capital from Lopburī and put the boy to death.¹⁷ The AA/LP tells us nothing about the events of Rāmeśvara's second reign (1388-95), and the other versions of the Annals of Ayudhya are scarcely more informative.¹⁸ The extreme reticence of the Annals suggests that Ayudhya was on the verge of civil war. The feud between the two houses had become the cardinal fact of Ayudhyan political life, which was doubtless why Rāmeśvara thought it necessary to kill Paramarājā's young heir instead of relegating him to a governorship.

While the house of Rāmādhipati had regained the upper hand, the house of Subarṇapurī not only remained powerful in its own province but doubtless also had a large body of loyal supporters at the capital with whom Rāmeśvara would have to reckon. In such circumstances any concerted action against Sukhodaya was out of the question. Rāmeśvara would need Sukhodaya's good will in order to survive; it is clear that, by force of circumstances and very likely by inclination as well, he abandoned Paramarājā's aim of crushing Sukhodaya and reverted to Rāmādhipati's policy of friendship; but it is not clear just how far he went. He would have to proceed with caution; to relinquish all claim of suzerainty over Sukhodaya might be just as disastrous to him as the frustrations of the military campaign had been to the rival house.

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We can get some idea of the situation of Sukhodaya in 1390 from an inscription commemorating the founding of a monastery called the Asokārāma in 1399 by the widow of Mahādharṇarājā II,

17) *Ibid.*

18) The Royal Autograph Edition of the Annals attributes campaigns against *Chieng Mai* and Cambodia to Rāmeśvara, but the AA/LP says nothing about them. The campaign against Cambodia may be real; but Mr Wood considers the passage regarding the campaign against *Chieng Mai* as spurious (*History of Siam*, p. 76 note 2).

who had apparently died several months before.¹⁹ Face I, which is in Siamese, seems to have been composed by the donor herself; Face II, in Pali, was drafted on her behalf by her younger brother, the Kavirājapaṇḍita Śrī Dharmatrailoka.²⁰ Her name was Tilakaratana or Trailokaratna: in the Asokārāma Inscription (I/3 f.) she is called Saṃtec Braḥ Rājadebī Śrī Cuḷālakṣaṇa Arrgarāja (mahesī ?) Debadhōra (ṇī) . . . karatna,²¹ while in Inscription XLVI (I/3) she is called Saṃtec Braḥ Rājajanani Śrī Dharmarājamātā Mahātilakaratana Rājanārtha. As we shall see (p. 220), she was a daughter of Līdaiya, and consequently a half-sister of her husband Mahādharmarājā II. By him she had two sons. One was Mahādharmarājā III, who acceded upon his father's death; the other was a prince named Asoka, of whom we know nothing.²²

The Pali face is in part retrospective. A mutilated passage (II/5 f.) seems to say that in 1368, at the age of sixteen, Mahādharmarājā II completed his education, and that when he was 38 years old — which would therefore be 1390 — his kingdom was great in extent and free from danger.²³ Then comes a list of its boundaries (II/10 f.), which shows Mahādharmarājā II in possession of all the territory that belonged to Līdaiya at the height of his career except Nagara Svarga.²⁴

19) See A.B. Griswold and Prasert a Nagara, *The Asokārāma Inscription of 1399*, to appear in JSS.

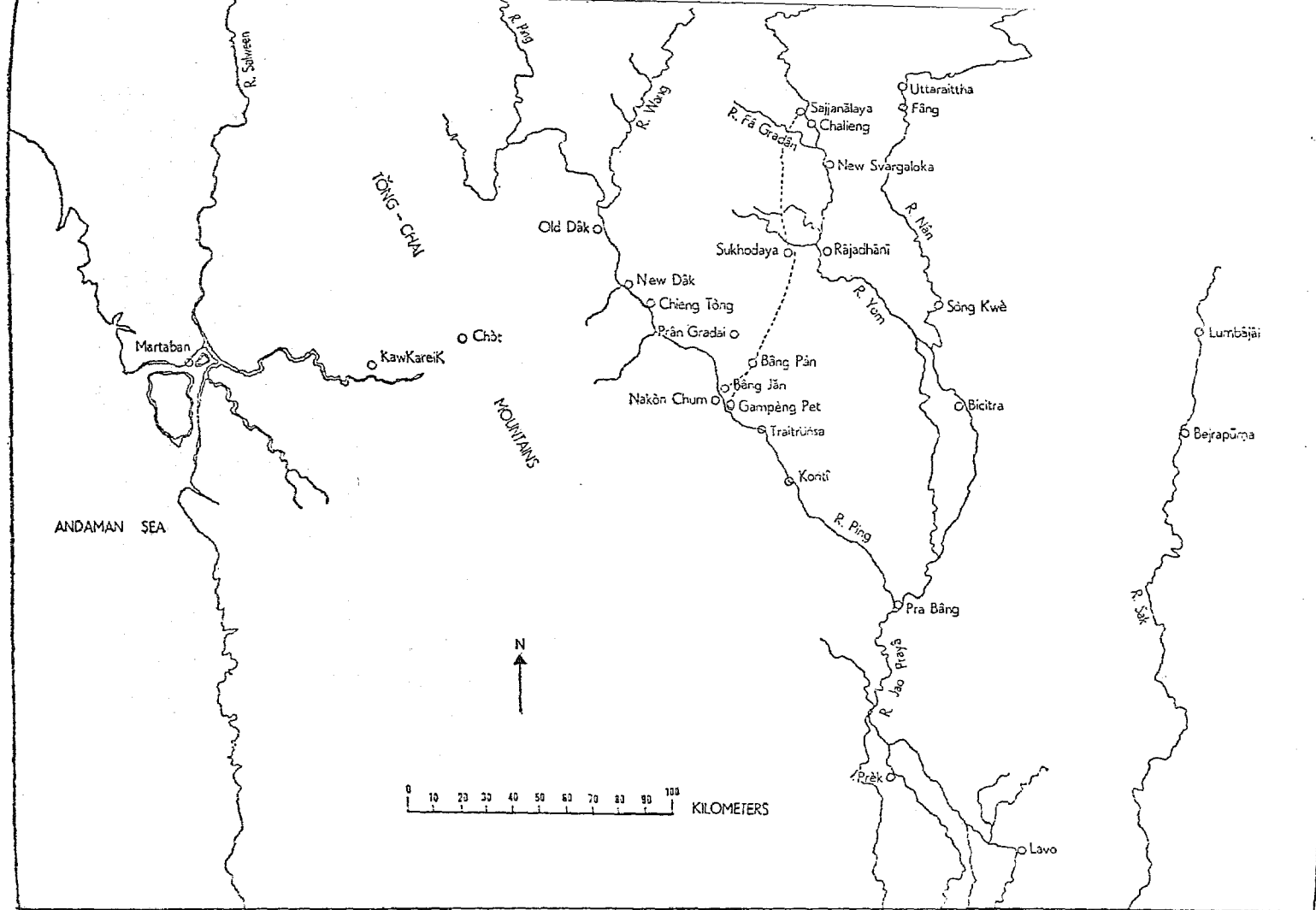
20) The last line of the Pali face says it was composed by Sri Dhammatrailoka Kavirājapaṇḍita. He was a monk, who also appears in Inscription IX (1406 A.D.) under the name Pā Dharmatrailoka (III/10), and again in Inscription XLIX (1418 A.D.) under the name Mahāthera Dharmatrailoka, etc. (I/7 f.), where we learn that he was her younger brother.

21) The editor of the inscription, Mr. Prasāra Puṇḍragōṇ, restores this part of the name as Lokaratna (*Śilpākara*, VIII/2, p. 61).

22) They are named in the Asokārāma Inscription (II/20 f.).

23) See Griswold and Prasert, *The Asokārāma Inscription of 1399*, *op. cit.*

24) *Ibid.* The list even includes 'Tākapūra', i.e. Old Dāk (တက), which Sukhodaya had apparently lost in the 1330's and did not regain until around 1373; see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 41.



Map 2

Why does the author of the inscription pick out the moment when Mahādharmarājā II was 38 years old to allude to the happy condition of his kingdom and to define its limits? It must be either because its condition had been less happy just before, or else because the kingdom had been less extensive. The date, as we have suggested, was probably 1390, which would be two years after Paramarājā's death and Rāmeśvara's second accession. As it seems unlikely that Mahādharmarājā II's kingdom had expanded appreciably during the interval, we must look for something else that might make 1390 a notable year in his reign. The text contains no hint that he was a vassal ruler; he is called (I/5) Saṃtec Mahādharmarājādhirāja, a title which up to that time seems to have been reserved for a sovereign monarch with vassals of his own. Perhaps Rāmeśvara, who was probably related to him by blood or by marriage, granted him permission to resume this title in 1390, in exchange for a nominal acknowledgment of his overlordship, together with some help in the feud with the house of Subarnapurī.

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Inscription XLV records a treaty made in 1393 between Sukhodaya and Nān, in which both parties seem to be acting as sovereign states. Nān had been a vassal of Sukhodaya in Rām Kanhèng's time, and a loyal ally ever since Līdaiya's. Like Sukhodaya, Nān had suffered from Ayudhyan aggression. A prince of Nān had been murdered in 1361 by a person described as 'Khun Indā of the southern country' (ขุนอินทาส่องใต้), who was probably a member of the Subarnapurī faction.²⁵ Pā Gōng (พาทอง), the son and successor of the murdered prince, helped Mahādharmarājā II in 1376 to defend

25) Nān Chronicle, *sub anno* 725. Note that the dates in this part of the chronicle, as expressed in Culaśakarāja, (CS), have to be reduced by two years in order to correspond to those given in terms of the twelve-year cycle; in converting to the Christian Era we have made the necessary deduction. Cf. *The Nan Chronicle* (English translation), p. 16 note b. For the treaty, see Griswold and Prasert ๓ Nagara, *The Pact between Sukhodaya and Nān*, to appear in JSS. This is the same treaty referred to in Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p., where the date is wrongly given as 1392. The correct date, as calculated by Mr Roger Billard of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, is Thursday, 27 February, 1393 A.D. (Julian).

Gampèng Pet against Paramarājā, who inflicted heavy losses on the Nān troops.²⁶ *Pā Gōng* died in 1386 and was succeeded by his son *Kam Dăn* (คำตัน, r. 1386-96).²⁷ *Kam Dăn* is evidently the person subscribing to the treaty on behalf of Nān, though he is not named in it but called 'the Brañā who is the grandfather' (I/3, พระญาปู่). The person who subscribes to it on behalf of Sukhodaya is called 'the grandson' (I/8, หลาน, for หล้าหลาน). The text opens with lists of the ancestors of the ruling houses of the two states (I/1-11); neither list contains the name of any living person; the ancestral spirits are being called on to witness the treaty and to impose sanctions if either side should break it. Then come lists of the tutelary spirits dwelling in both states, who are also being called on as witnesses. Unfortunately a good deal of the text is lost, so it is not clear what the two parties are contracting to do, other than to observe certain rules in the conduct of routine affairs which hardly seem important enough to warrant such an impressive list of witnesses.

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Inscription LXIV, discovered at *Wat Chāng Kam* at Nān, should help us to understand what the real purport of the 1393 treaty was, for it seems to be the counterpart of Inscription XLV. It looks like a close military alliance, in which each party promises to come to the other's aid in case of need (I/11-19). The ruler of Nān is called 'Grandfather the Prince Brañā' (I/9, พระญาเป็นเจ้า), while the person subscribing to the treaty on behalf of Sukhodaya speaks in the first person: 'I who am named Brañā Līdaiya' (I/9, บุพพิพระญาไทย), and 'I the grandson' (II/1, หล้าหลาน). Of course this Brañā Līdaiya is not Mahādharmaarājā I, who had died many years before; it must be either the reigning King of Sukhodaya or someone acting on his behalf. It is almost certain that Mahādharmaarājā II was King of Sukhodaya in 1392; but he may have felt himself still bound by his oath of vassalage to Ayudhyā, and therefore unable to subscribe to

26) AA/LP, *sub anno* CS 738.

27) Nān Chronicle, *sub annis* 750-760.

the treaty; if so, he might voluntarily step aside by entering the monkhood for a few months, naming his son as regent. It would therefore be Mahādharmarājā II's son—whose personal name, as we shall see (p. 229), was Sai Līdaiya (*Sai Lü Tai*)—who is called 'the grandson' in both texts.²⁸ Apparently the 'grandfather' had never taken the oath of vassalage, and so could subscribe to the treaty without hesitation.

'Grandfather' and 'grandson' should not be taken literally. Probably Mahādharmarājā II's mother, one of Līdaiya's queens, was a sister of *Kam Ḍān*, which would make *Kam Ḍān* a paternal grand-uncle of Sai Līdaiya.

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The military clauses of the treaty might not need to be invoked as long as the friendly Rāmeśvara was King of Ayudhyā, but he died in 1395. He was succeeded by his son Rāmarājādhirāja (r. 1395-1409), regarding whom the Annals of Ayudhyā are almost as reticent as they were about Rāmeśvara. It is clear, however, that Rāmarāja was not so firm a friend of Sukhodaya. If, as seems likely, he was not a man of strong personality, he may have been forced or tricked by the house of Subarṇapuri into taking certain actions against his will.

In 1396, the Nān Chronicle tells us, 'a southern Brañā named Khun Hlvañ (*Kun Luang*)' arrived at Nān to perform the abhiṣeka on Prince Kam Ḍān.²⁹ Coming as it does the year after Rāmarāja's accession, this sounds like a reassertion of Ayudhyan suzerainty which Rāmeśvara had allowed to lapse. The 'southern Brañā' must have been an envoy sent by Rāmarāja or by some member of the Subarṇapuri faction pretending to act on his behalf.

28) Alternatively we might suppose that Mahādharmarājā II had died before 1392 and that Mahādharmarājā III (Sai Līdaiya) was already on the throne; but the tenor of the Asokārāma Inscription of 1399 suggests that Mahādharmarājā II had died only a few months earlier. The commonly held belief that Sai Līdaiya was Mahādharmarājā II is wrong; see pp. 220-1. Mahādharmarājā II's personal name is unknown.

29) Nān Chronicle, *sub anno* 760,

Whoever he was, he murdered Kam Dǎn by pouring poisoned lustral water on his head, and then escaped in the confusion. Kam Dǎn's son and successor, Śrī Candah, ruled for less than a year, when Prince Thera of Prè invaded Nân, put him to death, and seized the throne for himself, while the rightful heir, a brother of Śrī Candah named *Hung*, fled to *Chalieng*.³⁰

Hung's purpose was to get help from Sukhodaya, evidently in accordance with the military clauses of the treaty of 1393. The town of *Chalieng* adjoined Śrī Sajjanālaya, which was the second city of the kingdom and usually ruled by the Uparāja, in this case probably *Sai Lü Tai* himself. Having raised an army at *Chalieng*, *Hung* returned to Nân in 1398 and recaptured the city.³¹ The dynasty thus restored with Sukhodaya help ruled Nân for the next half century.³²

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Inscription XXXVIII, discovered in 1930 near the center of the city of Sukhodaya, records a visit of the King of Ayudhyā in 1397, and an edict issued by him on that occasion, dealing with fugitive slaves, abductions, robberies, and other matters.³³ This king, of course, is

30) *Ibid.*

31) *Ibid.*, sub anno 762. By this time Thera had died and been succeeded by his brother *Un Müang*. *Hung* took *Un Müang* prisoner and sent him as a present to 'the southern Brañā,' in whose custody he remained until his death ten years later. Presumably in this case 'the southern Brañā' means either the King of Sukhodaya or the Uparāja.

32) *Ibid.*, sub annis 762-812. In 1432 Sukhodaya was again called upon to intervene, when the ruling prince, *Indakèn*, was ousted by his two brothers. *Indakèn* was restored with the help of an army raised at *Chalieng*. He reigned until 1448, when Nân was captured by *Tilokarāja* of *Lân Nâ*, whereupon *Indakèn* and his family took refuge at *Chalieng*.

33) See *Griswold and Prasert, A Law Promulgated by the King of Ayudhyā in 1397 A.D.*, to appear in *JSS*. Note that the date of the inscription is wrongly given in the printed edition (*Prajum*, III, p. 26). An examination of the stone itself shows that the Śakarāja year at I/1 is completely illegible, so there is no justification for reading the last digit as 5; and the *Tai* name of the day is မိမ္မိမ္မာ, not မိမ္မိမ္မာ. The other elements of the date are correctly given. The only year which would satisfy all the conditions is *Cuṣaśakarāja* 759, i.e. 1397 A.D.

Rāmarāja. In the inscription he calls himself Saṃtec Pabitra Mahārājaputra rāja Śrī Paramacakrabartirāja, 'H.M. the King, royal son [i.e. of Rāmeśvara, whom he had succeeded less than two years before], rāja, the upreme Cakravartin King.' The mutilated name should probably be restored as Rāmarājādhirāja. The style is reminiscent of Rāmādhīpati's, who in promulgating the Law on Abduction in 1356 called himself Saṃtec Braḥ Cau Rāmādhīpati Śrī Paramacakravartirājādhirāja Paramapavitra.³⁴

The purpose of the edict, in addition to promulgating the law, was to reassert Ayudhyan authority over Sukhodaya, just as in the previous year it had been reasserted over Nān in a far more drastic manner. In the edict the Sukhodayan provinces are treated almost as if they were an integral part of the kingdom of Ayudhyā.

The provisions of the edict were reasonable enough; but so conspicuous an exercise of Rāmarāja's authority was hardly calculated to please the Sukhodayan royal family.

* * *

Mahādharmarājā III (Sai Līdaiya) succeeded to the throne upon his father's death, probably c. 1398. The Queen Mother, in her inscription recording her construction of the Asokārāma in 1399, asks that the merit accruing from her work be distributed to her father, to her mother, to her husband Mahādharmarājādhirāja, to her husband's mother, etc., etc.³⁵ She does not mention her husband's father as such, as he was also her own father whom she has just

34) Lingāt, *L'esclavage privé dans le vieux droit siamois*, Paris, 1931, p. 360. It is possible that Rāmādhīpati and his heirs took the title **cakravarti** from the old kings of Lavo; cf. **Jinakālamālī** (Coedès, *Documents, op. cit.* p. 75), in which Cammadevī's father, the King of Lavapura (Lavo), is called **Cakkavattī**. The element **parama** was perhaps more characteristic of Subarṇapurī.

35) Griswold and Prasert, *The Asokārāma Inscription of 1399*, I/38 f., I/61 f., II/66 f., II/71 f.

included, referring to him as 'His Majesty the Grandfather Brañā, my father' (I/38, สำแดงปฐมาพອດ), i.e. *Ḷḍaiya*.³⁶

2. The Declaration of Independence

Inscription XLVI was discovered in 1956 in the ruins of the Bicitrakirtikalyārāma (Map 3, No. 29) by Mr *Chin Yû-dî* of the Department of Fine Arts. It is now in the Manuscript and Inscription Division of the National Library at Bangkok.

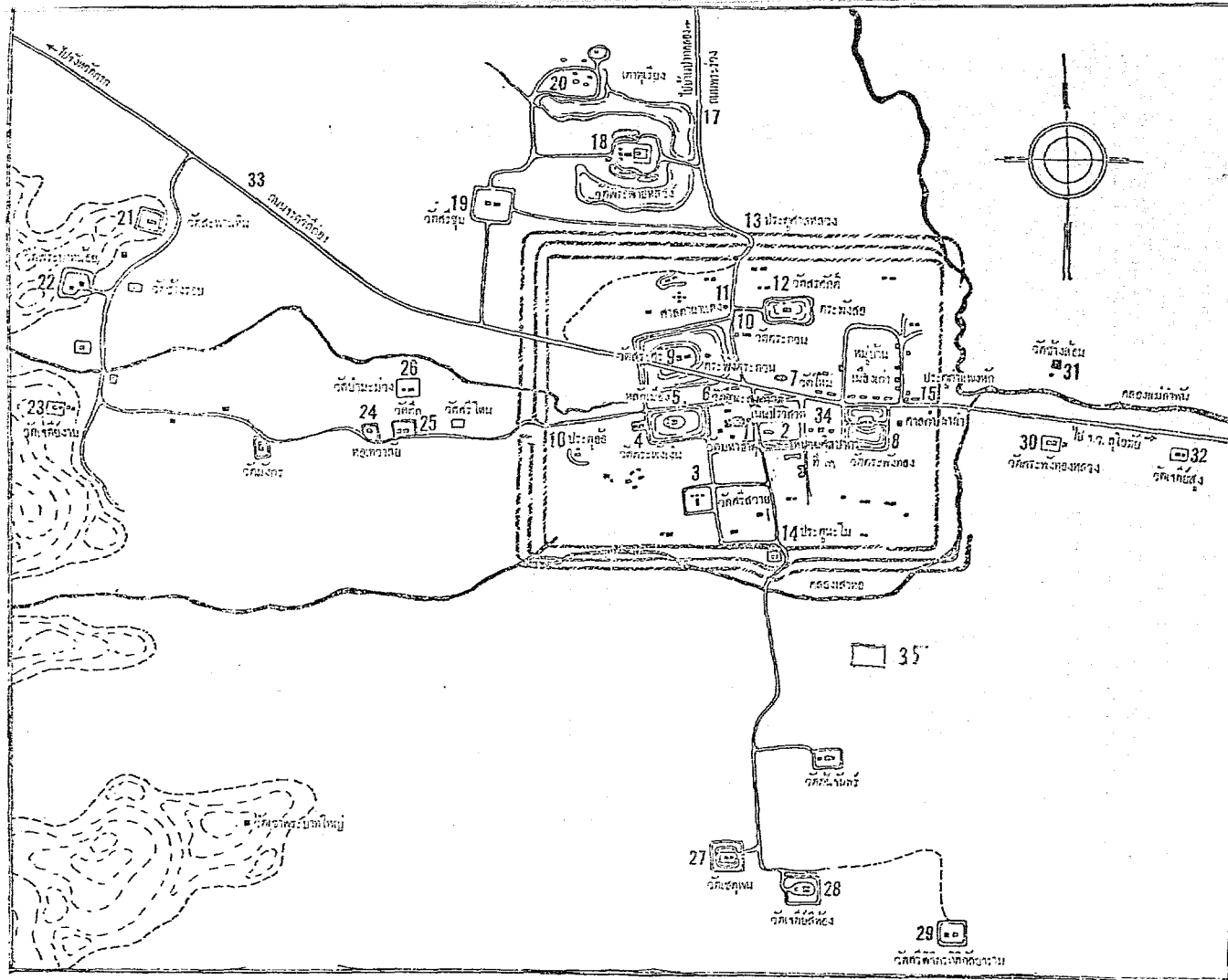
The stone is a slab of greenish schist 68 cm. wide, 6 cm. thick, and, in its present broken condition, 72 cm. high. It is ogee-shaped at the top, and edged with an engraved decoration of rosettes and beading (fig. 1). The text is engraved on one face only. The surviving portion consists of two lines of Pali verse (*anuṭṭhubha*) written in Khmer characters, and 15 lines of Siamese written in Sukhodaya characters. It has been edited by Mahā Chāñ Dòṅgāṃvarṇa (*Prajum*, III, p. 70 f.).

The nominal object of the inscription is to commemorate the founding of the Bicitrakirtikalyārāma by the Queen Mother in 1403. In addition it records Sukhodaya's Declaration of Independence in 1400.

TEXT

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. buddhaṃ pathamakam vande | dhammaṃ vande dutiyakam |
| saṅghaṃ tatiyakam vande | ācariyañcatutthakam |
| 2. ratanattayaṃ namassitvā | sirasā jānuyuggale |
| antarāyampī ghāṭatthaṃ | sabbasatrū vinasatu |

36) Cf. Inscription IX, which refers to *Ḷḍaiya* as 'Mahādharmmarājā the Grandfather' (I/15, I/28, I/30, II/3, มหาธรรมราชา ผู้ปู่) in contrast to the reigning monarch, 'Mahādharmmarājādhirājā the Grandson' (III/8, มหาธรรมราชา ธิราช บุหลาน).



Map 3
The Old Town of Sukhodaya
(after the Fine Arts Department's leaflet, *Guide to the Old Town of Sukhothai*)



Figure 1
Inscription XLVI.



Figure 2
Inscription XLIX.

[illegible]

๑๕. มตวันชัยญาหกบาทนญาเสวจสเดจพระศรีธรรม
ราชมาตามหาดิ
๑๖. (ลกรตนราช)กนั โลงจิงสติดสถาปนาปลุกพระพฤก
สาธิบตีศรีมหา
๑๗. (โพธิ์)..... ๑๖๖ มกตนกัศตรบวอก

TRANSLATION

[*In Pali* :] I salute the Buddha first, the Dhamma second, the Saṅgha third, and my teacher fourth, bowing with head and knees before the Triple Gem to dispel danger. May all my enemies be destroyed!

[*In Siamese* :] In Sakarāja 762, year of the Dragon³⁷, Saṃtec Braḥ Rājananī Śrī Dharmarājamātā Mahātilakaraṭanarājanārtha, the Queen Mother, and Saṃtec Mahādharmarājādhipatī Śrī Suriyavaṇsa her son, strong to subjugate [their foes], bold and intrepid, led the army forth to fight and marched over the territories of numerous rulers. [The son] has succeeded to the enjoyment of supreme sovereignty as King³⁸ of the land of Śrī Sajanālai-Sukhodaiya. Jointly they destroyed the host of their enemies,³⁹ extending the royal frontiers to take

37) *nāganakṣatra* and ปีมโรง both mean 'year of the Dragon'. The date is equivalent to 1400 A.D.

38) *dāv brahṇā mahākṣatr(iya)*.

39) This passage might lead us to think that the King was still a minor and the Queen Mother was acting as his regent; and we might get the same impression from Inscription IX, III/8, dealing with the events of 1406 (cf. Wood, *History of Siam*, p. 61; Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, I, p. 9). In fact he was already a grown man (see p. 229). It seems to have been the custom for a Queen Mother, no matter what the King's age might be, to take an active part in affairs of state. In 1449, for example, when Tilokarāja of *Lân Nâ* was 40 years old, his mother participated with him in a military campaign against *Nân* and *Prê* (see Notton, III, p. 110 f.; we take the dates from *Jinakalamāli*). Again King *Müang Gèo* of *Lân Nâ*, born in 1482 (c. 1495-1525), acted jointly with the Queen Mother in numerous works of merit when he was 33 years old or more (e.g. Coedès, *Documents*, pp. 130, 132).

in Braḥ Pān⁴⁰ with its hundred and twenty thousand lakes and streams, and Phrè⁴¹.....

Then the Queen Mother resolved to invite Saṃtec Braḥ Mahā Śrī Kirti, the leader of the throng of monks who have recently taken the vow to attain Buddhahood,⁴² to come from his permanent abode, namely Bajrapurī Śrī Kāmbhēn Bejra,⁴³ in order to found the good monastery named Śrī Bicitrakirtikalyārāma as a place where all worthy noblefolk shall perform añjali, obeisance, namaskāra and salutation.

Later on, in Sakarāja 765, year of the Goat,⁴⁴ the days and months having revolved to the eighth day of the waxing moon of the first month, Thursday, the auspicious day and time, in the afternoon when the shadow of the gnomon marked exactly six *pādas*, Saṃtec Braḥ Śrī Dharmmarājamātā Mahātilakaratanarāja, the Queen Mother, planted the lord of trees, the Śrī Mahābodhi 766, year of the Monkey.....⁴⁵

* * *

The object of the campaign against *Prè* may have been to end a recurrent threat to *Nān*. Inscription LXIV (I/13) implies that *Prè* was a dependency of *Nān* in 1393, but four years later Prince Thera of *Prè* temporarily reversed the relationship; Sukhodaya was now doubtless restoring it after a period when the two states were separate.

40) *Pra Bāng*, i.e. Nagara Svarga.

41) ဟဟ, for ဟဟ, *Prè*.

42) **Buddhāñkura**, 'a sprouting Buddha', means a person who has taken the vow to become a Buddha in some future life; **taruṇa**, 'fresh', must imply that the vow was recently taken.

43) i.e. *Gampèng Pet*.

44) A.D. 1403.

45) **makkaṭanakaṣṭra** and မြာတဲ both mean 'year of the monkey'. The date is equivalent to A.D. 1404. As the rest of the inscription is missing, we cannot tell what happened in that year. Apparently the dedication ceremony of the Bicitrakirtikalyārāma was held in 1403.

Nagara Svarga (*Pra Bāṅ*), at the junction of the Ping and the Nān, was the key to Sukhodayan riverine communications. As long as the King of Ayudhyā held it, Sukhodaya's effective independence rested on his good will or his extreme weakness. Inscription XLVI shows that the Queen Mother and Mahādharṃarājā III—who evidently did not consider himself bound by his father's oath—took it from Ayudhyā by force of arms, not by receiving it as a friendly concession from Rāmarāja. Rāmeśvara, as we have guessed, had been friendly to Sukhodaya partly because of good will and partly because his feud with Subarṇapurī made any other course impossible. Rāmarāja, of whose reign the Annals of Ayudhyā tell us nothing except the circumstances of its termination, was either unwilling or unable to show the same friendliness. Probably the house of Subarṇapurī, having begun to emerge from its eclipse and to gather strength during the later years of Rāmeśvara's reign, was able to keep Rāmarāja under fairly strict control, but unable to seize the throne from him without risking civil war. However that may be, the extreme weakness of Ayudhyā caused by the feud gave Mahādharṃarājā III and his mother a chance to get a key city and bastion that would be indispensable if Sukhodaya was to have any hope of protecting itself in future against a stronger Ayudhyan monarch.

But they were not content to commit open aggression by seizing a province which had long been in the possession of Ayudhyā—and more particularly of Subarṇapurī. Mahādharṃarājā III, his mother declares, 'succeeded to the enjoyment of supreme sovereignty' (*māhā-mahaisvariya agarāja*, I/6), which can only mean that he threw off the ties of vassalage. If Rāmarāja angered them by his visit in 1397 when he asserted something more than nominal overlordship, the remedy was to break off all ties with him and make Sukhodaya independent in name as well as in fact. But it was a rash move.

* * *

Mahādharṃarājā III now assumed a further commitment. He intervened in the affairs of *Lān Nā*, whose ruler *Sēn Mūang Mā* died in 1401, leaving two sons by different mothers. The younger son, *Sām*

Fāng Gèn, succeeded to the throne, which exasperated the elder son, *Yi Gum Gām*. According to the *Chieng Mai Chronicle*, *Yi Gum Gām*, after an unsuccessful attempt to seize the throne, went to Sukhodaya to get help from *Prayā Sai Lü*, i.e. Mahādharmarājā III.⁴⁶ The latter then invaded Lān Nā in order to put him on the throne. After some initial successes he saw an evil omen and decided to retire, taking *Yi Gum Gām* with him. When they reached Sukhodaya he gave *Yi Gum Gām* a town as an apanage, where *Yi Gum Gām* eventually died.⁴⁷

The last glimpse we have of Mahādharmarājā III as an independent monarch is in Inscription IX, in which he is presiding, jointly with the Queen Mother, over an assembly of counselors and prominent members of the Saṅgha held in 1406 to investigate charges brought by two monks against the Mahāthera Maṅgalavilāsa, Abbot of the Kalyāṇavana Monastery (III/8 f.).

3. The Consequences

The audacity of Mahādharmarājā III and his mother in 1400 started a chain of events in the kingdom of Ayudhyā which eventually proved disastrous to them. The loss of Nagara Svarga, followed by Sukhodaya's Declaration of Independence, must have been deeply humiliating to both factions; the ruling house of Ayudhyā would be held responsible, and the Subarnapurī faction would be

46) Notton, III, pp. 92-95. The *Yonaka History*, in recounting the same events, calls him *Sai Lü Tai*. It has commonly been believed that *Sai Lü Tai* was Mahādharmarājā II (cf. Wood, *History of Siam*, p. 61); but the dates will not do. *Sai Lü* or *Sai Lü Tai* can only have been Mahādharmarājā III, who calls himself Braṇṇā Līdaiya (*Prayā Lü Tai*) in Inscription LXIV (see p. 217; also Prasert ṇa Nagara, *Social Science Review*, June 1966, 44 f., 47 f.).

47) Notton, III, pp. 93-95. The *Chieng Mai Chronicle* (*ibid.*, p. 95) gives the name of the apanage as *Müang Suak*; the *Yonaka History* calls it *Müang Sāk* (ซำ) and says it was on a river of the same name, an affluent of the *Yom*. The สิบพันรายน้ำ, according to a manuscript in the National Library consulted by Prasert ṇa Nagara, says it was at Jāgrāv (จากราว). Is this a scribal error for Jākanrāv (จากราว), which is generally identified as *Gampèng Pet* (cf. page 4 note 7)?

emboldened. Nevertheless nine years passed before the house of Subarnapurī actually regained the throne.

The Annals of Ayudhyā, after their long silence, give us a terse account of the events of 1409, when Rāmarāja 'became incensed with his chief minister (mahāsenāpati) and tried to arrest him.' We are not told who the minister was, but we may guess that the Subarnapurī faction had forced him on Rāmarāja with the intention of tightening their control over him still further. The minister, according to the Annals, escaped across the river to Padā Gū Cām (ปะด้ากูจาม), and sent a message to the Prince of Subarnapurī, Indarājā, inviting him to take the throne of Ayudhyā. The minister's forces then seized the capital, and Indarājā mounted the throne.⁴⁸

Indarājā (r. 1409-24) was a nephew of Paramarājā I. It is not difficult to imagine how he had felt about the events of 1400. Almost the first order of business after he became King of Ayudhyā was to put an end to Sukhodaya's independence. This he did within three years after his accession, but we do not know how or exactly when. The Annals of Ayudhyā give us no hint; but we know from Inscription XLIX that Mahādharmarājā III had been already reduced to vās-salage by 1412.

* * *

Inscription XLIX, now in the Sukhodaya Museum, was discovered by the Department of Fine Arts in 1955 in the ruins of Vāt Saraśakti (Map 3, No. 12), near the northwest corner of the pond called Traḥbāñ Sò. The text is engraved on one face only of a stone slab 1.38 m. tall and 1.03 m. wide. The top of the slab is ogee-shaped, and the sides curve inward before reversing themselves to form the necks of nāgas whose heads are now broken off (Fig. 2). The edge of the stone is richly engraved with the serpentine bodies, covered for

48) AA/LP, *sub anno* CS 771. Rāmarāja was not executed, but given Padā Gū Cām as an apanage. The location of Padā Gū Cām is not known, but it sounds as if it were somewhere between Ayudhyā and Subarnapurī, doubtless in a place where the deposed monarch could be kept under strict surveillance.

the most part with multiserial dorsal scales, but with the uniserial ventral scales glimpsed in a narrower band; the serpents' spines bristle with tongues of flame, and their necks are hung with foliage. The bottom of the stone is engraved with lotus petals and decorative motifs. The text is unusually clearly written, and, except for a few lacunae, it is complete. It consists of 35 lines of Siamese, written in Sukhodaya characters. It has been edited by Mahā Chām Dōngām-varṇa (Prajum, III, 82 f.).

Aside from No. XXXVIII, which itself doubtless caused resentment (p. 13), this is the first stone inscription from Sukhodaya emanating from anyone other than a member of the Sukhodayan royal family or a monk. It is also one of the largest and most splendidly executed of all.

The author, who calls himself 'a certain gentleman named Nāy Inda Saraśakti,'⁴⁹—or Sōrasāk, as he writes the name—was almost certainly the Ayudhyan Chief Resident, sent by Indarājā to look after his interests at Sukhodaya.⁵⁰ His references to the King of Sukhodaya, while friendly enough, seem rather unceremonious in a formal document. He speaks of him, in the first instance, as พ่อขุนหัวเขาพ่อออกยารวมราชา, 'the King Òk-yā Dharmarājā' (I/5); and farther on as เจ้าพระยา, 'Cau Brahyā' (I/8), พ่อขุนหัวเขา, 'the King' (I/8 et passim), or some combination of these terms. The old title Saṃtec Mahādharmarāj-ādhirāja, indicating a sovereign ruler with vassals of his own, has been significantly truncated; and òk-yā here may have the specific meaning of 'vassal ruler'.

The object of the inscription is to record the building of Vāt Saraśakti by Nāy Inda Saraśakti with the help of the Mahāthera Dharmatrailoka, the younger brother of the Queen Mother whose rashness was the indirect cause of Sukhodaya's downfall. The Queen Mother is not mentioned. If she was not already dead, she had pre-

49) ท่านขุนซึ่งนายอินทสอศักดิ์ (I/3). In transcribing the name we have regularized the spelling to Saraśakti.

50) Saraśakti was an Ayudhyan title; *Pra Jao Sūa*, King of Ayudhyā 1703-09, was Hlvañ Saraśakti (*Luang Sōrasak*) before coming to the throne.

sumably gone into strict retirement. At least we cannot imagine her on speaking terms with Nāy Saraśakti.

Among other things, the inscription tells of a visit to Sukhodaya made by the King of Ayudhyā in 1417, accompanied by his mother and his aunt (1/17 f.). The text calls him Braḥ Paramarājādhipati Śrī Mahācakrabartirāja;⁵¹ of course he is Indarājā, whose title is here copied in part from his uncle Paramarājā and in part from his predecessor Rāmarāja. He and his mother did not stay long; but the Princess Aunt spent several months at Sukhodaya, during which time, to the great satisfaction of Nāy Saraśakti, she visited his monastery more than once.

Nāy Saraśakti writes like a bureaucrat who wants to make sure that everything is in order, so that no one can call into question the excellence of his motives or the propriety of his actions. His flat and repetitive style comes as an anti-climax after the headlong quality of the Queen Mother's Declaration of Independence. Yet his faults as a stylist are a virtue for the historian, for he tells us much that a brisker writer would omit; and he unconsciously reveals something of his own personality.

The text is characterized by several orthographical peculiarities which are not usual in the inscriptions of Sukhodaya. The vowel ใ is used in place of ไ. The ไ่เอก is often used to indicate the short A which in modern times would be shown as ะ or omitted altogether (e.g. จั for จะ, and มหา for มหา).

TEXT

๑. สร้อยสุฟมัสตอที่สกราชไค
๒. ๑๓๓๔ มีโรงสบตัสบัตจัตตวาริสกวันพระหัตบปี
เดือนหา
๓. ขีหาคำมีโรงนกัสตัตจัตตวาริสกจิงทานผูนิงขี
นายอนทสอรสก มีสร

51) Written Braḥ Pōrramarājādipatti Śrī Mahācakrabartirāja.

๔. ทาในพุทฺธสาสน์น้ำจืดข่อยท่อน้อยุนนั้หน้ช้ไคส้ลึบ
หาวาหนแปไคสามลึบ
๕. เกาวานี้แกพ้อยหวั้เจาที่ออกยารัรมราชองทรง
ไทรวิคกนน้ำจ้สงอารามถววยพระราดช้
๖. กุศลน้แกพ้อยหวั้เจาที่จิงพ้อยหวั้เจาที่ให่อนุยา
ต่แกนายอื่นที่สอรสกันน้ทานก่มาปราบ
๗. ไหราบงามดีไสในชน่สน้ไสพ้อมมหาเถรเจาองนิง
เปนนาพระยาช้มีมหาเถรธรรมไทรโลก(คจุนว
จาร?)
๘. ยาน่ทกั ส้อยค้ำบนล่ดาวขอนแก่นช้มาถามขาวเจา
พระยาหลานไสเมื่อมาถึงน้ไสเดือนหกเพงพ้อย
หวั้
๙. เจาที่รบ้ไปจอดในวัดตระกวนน้นกอนจิงพ้อยหวั้
เจาที่มีพระสาตแกนายสังกัการียว่าไหไปบอกแก
นายอื่นที่
๑๐. สอรสกว่าไหแดงทิจดี่แลหากุติมาปลุกจันมนพระ
ม้หาเถรเจาไปเอาพระสาในทั้นน้ขายสังกัการียรบ้
พระสาต
๑๑. ท่มาบอกแกนายอื่นที่สอรสกว่าพ้อยหวั้เจาที่มีพระ
สาตมาวาไหรานายอื่นที่สอรสกัแดงทิจดี่แลหากุ
ติมา
๑๒. ปลุกในน้แดงไหพระม้หาเถรเจาที่มาอยเอาพระสา
ในนีนายอื่นที่สอรสกัเกิดโสมมันต์ ยินด้นกัหน้าจิง
หากุติมา

๑๓. ปลุกแล้วจึงใ้หนายสังข์การีย์ยู่ทูนแกพู่ห้วยเจ้าที่
จึงที่ปรัสาดที่ใ้หนายสังข์การีย์ยู่ไปนิมนพระมหาเถร
เจ้าที่
๑๔. สบพวณั้ดีมาชู้กุดีแลสารนุสิดทั้งเจดพระองคนัน
อีก พระสงฆ์สบพวณั้สัจวาคอนั้มาถ่ห้วยพระพอรแก
๑๕. พระมหาเถรเจ้าจึงพู่ห้วยเจ้าที่นิมนเขาขุนมกับ
พระเชตุพนล้อยูมาสบพวณั้ดีจึงพระมหาเถรเจ้า
๑๖. กัรบิตรีในใจแลมาริตจันาม่หาเจดมีฆารอบปร
กอบ ด้วยพระเจ้ายอนต้นแลพระวิหารแลหอพระ
๑๗. แลวเสรดจสักรัดข้ชีเกาตว้อกนบพ่สกนั้ไส
พระบอรรมราชาทิบดี่สัสม่หาจกั พัดดีราชแล
๑๘. พระมาตุราชแลพระมาตุณาเจ้าแลทานสรเดจข้มา
ไ้ทานขางเผือกแลราชรถแกพระสงฆ์ทุก
๑๙. เมืองแลยอมไ้เอาเมือทามข้มาไ้ไ้สพระมาตุณา
เจ้าที่มายุุดำนักห้วยสรนามเกาตรวนั้ดกวด
๒๐. สอสรสัททานมาปัดทองในพระวิหารทานไว้ที่ดำนัก
นนักบัอารามอยูมาในสักราชข้ตวันิง
๒๑. รกาสัาริตทิสกนั้พระมหาเถรเจ้าแลนายอื่นที่สอ
สั มาคิตควรวนกนั้แตงทานโดย
๒๒. สระหลองม่หาเจดี่แลพระวิหารแลหอพระสบพวณั้
ดีเอาคั้ดริยนแกพู่ห้วยเจ้า
๒๓. ทัก่อนั้โมทนาทานกัรบัร้ทาดอกไมใดสามวนั้ทาน
สเดจมาสรคบัธรมแลม่หาอุบาสิกา

TRANSLATION

May it be of good omen! At the beginning of Sakarāja 1334, year of the Dragon, seven-seven-four Saka, Thursday the fifth day of the waxing moon of the fifth month, in the year of the Dragon, fourth of the decade,⁵² a certain gentleman named Nāy Inda Saraśakti, being full of faith in the Buddhist religion, requested [title to] this piece of land which he owned—measuring 45 fathoms on the east and west, and 39 fathoms on the north and south—from the King Òk-yā Dharmarājā who upholds the Traipitaka, saying that he intended to build a monastery on it and transfer the merit to the King.⁵³ Then the King gave his consent to the said Nāy Inda Saraśakti, who came and leveled the ground off, making it nice and smooth. At that time a Mahāthera who was the King's mother's younger brother, named Mahāthera Dharmatrailoka . . . ñānadassī,⁵⁴ resident in the township of Tāv Khòn,⁵⁵ came up to ask for news of his nephew the King. When he arrived here it was the full-moon day of the sixth month. The King received him and took him to stay at Vāt Traḥkvan⁵⁶ first. Then the King gave an instruction to the Chief Saṅghakārī⁵⁷ to go and tell Nāy Inda Saraśakti to arrange a good, suitable site [on the land in question] and go and find some *kutis* to erect on it, as he intended to invite the Mahāthera to go and spend the rainy season at that place. The Chief Saṅghakārī, having received the King's instruction, came and told

52) 1412 A.D. (Mahāsakarāja 1334, Culaśakarāja 774).

53) อ้อย (1/4) must mean 'which he owned' in the sense that he had acquired the right to occupy it for himself and his heirs, but the actual ownership of the land—like that of all other lands in the kingdom except those belonging to the Saṅgha—remained vested in the King. Nāy Saraśakti needed the King's consent in order to make it over to the monastery; for land given to the Saṅgha was given in perpetuity and could never be legally taken away even by a later king.

54) Written *dharmatrailoka . . . yā¹nadaḥsī*; the mutilated portion of the name appears to be something like *-gacunavācār-*.

55) *Dào Kòn* (ดาวดอน).

56) *Wat Draguan* (วัดตระกวน, 'ipomea aquatica'); Map 3, No. 10.

57) The chief of the officials charged with looking after relations between the Crown and the Saṅgha.

Nāy Inda Saraśakti that the King had given him an instruction to come and tell Nāy Inda Saraśakti to arrange a good, suitable site, and go find some *kuṭis* to erect on it, and that he would ask the Mahāthera to come and stay here for the rainy season. Nāy Inda Saraśakti was filled with extreme joy and delight. Then he fetched some *kuṭis* and erected them.⁵⁸ Then he asked the Chief Saṅghakārī to inform the King. Then the King instructed the Chief Saṅghakārī to go and invite the Mahāthera to come and occupy his *kuṭi* on an auspicious day, and [to invite] his seven disciples and the other monks living with him who had come to give the Mahāthera their blessing [to occupy the *kuṭis* prepared for them]. Then the King invited him to associate himself with the monks of the Jetubana.⁵⁹

Later on when the auspicious day came, the Mahāthera, after much reflection, came to supervise the construction of a mahācetiya surrounded by elephants, together with an image of the Buddha with his feet down,⁶⁰ as well as a vihāra and an image-house.⁶¹ Then [the buildings] were finished [according to his design].

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- 58) The *kuṭis* must have been huts of 'pre-fabricated' wooden paneling, just as they usually are today; that is why he fetched them first and then erected them, instead of fetching the materials and then building the *kuṭis*.
- 59) Apparently some of the monks from Vāt Jetubana (Map. 3, No. 27) were to be invited to spend the rainy season at Vāt Saraśakti with the Mahāthera. They may have belonged to a different sect; if so, certain formalities would be required for the Mahāthera to 'associate' himself with them in order to participate with them in the performance of rites. The Jetubana monks were presumably 'forest-dwellers', the Mahāthera a 'village-dweller'; Vāt Saraśakti of course was in town.
- 60) i.e. seated in the 'European' fashion (*pralambanāsana*), rather than with legs folded (*vīrāsana*) or crossed (*vajrāsana*). The design of a stupa surrounded by elephants recalls *Wat Châng Lôm* at Sajjanālaya, built by Rām Kamhèng in 1290. If the Mahāthera chose the design so as to remind Sukhodayan patriots of the days of freedom and greatness, the Ayudhyan Chief Resident outwitted him. The image seated in the European fashion—the only example we know of in Sukhodayan art—is surprising until we recall the enormous statue at Vāt Pālileyyaka near Subarṇapurī, which is perhaps the largest image in that posture ever built. The Resident may have insisted on adding a copy of it in order to symbolize the house of Subarṇapurī's supremacy.
- 61) The term *ภาพพระ* has more than one possible meaning; in the present context, 'image-house' seems the most likely.

When the Sakarāja increased to nine, in the year of the Monkey, ninth of the decade,⁶² King Paramarājādhipati Śrī Mahācakrabartirāja,⁶³ with the Princess Mother and the Princess Aunt,⁶⁴ came up to present a white elephant and a royal vehicle to the Saṅgha in each city, and to redeem them in the matter of course.⁶⁵ When they came here the Princess Aunt came and stayed in the residence at the upper end of the Old Esplanade west of Vāt Saraśakti. She came and affixed some gold leaf in the vihāra, and gave the land of that residence as an endowment to the monastery.

62) Culaśakarāja 778, Mahāśakarāja 1338, was a year of the Monkey, whereas Culaśakarāja 779, Mahāśakarāja 1339, was a year of the Cock. In the transition from one year to another, it was the custom to change the animal-name of the year on the first day of Citra (March-April), but not to change the date in Culaśakarāja until the 'śaka-change day' (วันเถลิงศก), which came later. As 'Culaśakarāja 778, year of the Monkey', would become 'Culaśakarāja 778, year of the Cock' on 1 Citra, and would then become 'Culaśakarāja 779, year of the Cock' on śaka-change day, there was no time when the date could be called 'Culaśakarāja 779, year of the Monkey.' But apparently the Mahāśakarāja worked differently, the digit and the year of the decade being changed before 1 Citra when the animal-name changed. There would therefore be a certain period when the date was 'Mahāśakarāja 1339, year of the Monkey'; it doubtless corresponded to the early part of 1417 A.D. Cf. Inscription XV, in which there are two similar cases: at I/12, Mahāśakarāja 1434, year of the Goat, though Mahāśakarāja 1433 was the year of the Goat; and at I/29, Mahāśakarāja 1438, year of the Boar, though Mahāśakarāja 1437 was the year of the Boar. In both these cases the numeral has been advanced while the old animal-name remains. The other dates in Inscription XV (I/2, II/14, III/8 f., and IV/2) are normal.

63) The King of Ayudhyā, Indarājā.

64) Indarājā's mother and aunt.

65) At I/19 the printed edition gives ใ้, but an examination of the stone shows the right reading is ใ้ (for ใ้, 'redeemed'). Instead of giving money directly to the Saṅgha, the King gave them a white elephant and a royal vehicle, which he then 'redeemed' or 'bought back'. The purpose was to increase the merit of the gift and the reward that the King would get in future births. By giving the Saṅgha his white elephant, the emblem of sovereignty, he was 'giving' them his kingdom. As a result he could look forward with confidence to being a king in his next incarnation.

Later on when the Sakarāja increased by one, in the year of the Cock, last of the decade,⁶⁶ the Mahāthera and Nāy Inda Saraśakti made an estimate in cooperation with each other to arrange for gifts [to be invited] in connection with the dedication of the mahācetiya, the vihāra, and the image-house. When the auspicious day arrived, they informed the King of the matter. He rejoiced with them, and undertook to supply trestles of fireworks for three days.

He came to listen to the Dharma, together with the aforesaid great Upāsikā.⁶⁷ Then the Mahāthera asked for rice-lands to be allotted as an endowment for the monastery in accordance with the King's zeal. Then the King gave an instruction to allot 400 *rai* for the monastery, and the Queen⁶⁸ allotted 335 *rai* of rice-lands in different parcels.⁶⁹ Nāy Saraśakti asked the King for forest-land to convert into rice-fields in the township of Pān Suk Bòm Nòy (*Bān Suk Pòm Nòi*), and the King gave an instruction to detach forest-land in the amount of a thousand *rai* adjoining the aforesaid rice-lands to be allotted to the monastery.

Later on the Mahāthera apportioned the [revenues of] the rice-lands [as follows]:⁷⁰

- for the mahācetiya, 40 *rai* at Pān Tī (*Bān Dì*);
- for the vihāra, 140 at Pān Phāi Lòm (*Bān Pai Lòm*) and Pān Hòt (*Bān Hòt*);
- fields for food for the monks, 200 [*rai*] at Pān Suk Bòm Nòy (*Bān Suk Pòm Nòi*), 20 at Pān Vān Tāi (*Bān Wang Dat*), 20 at Pān Pā Khām (*Bān Bā Kām*), 30 at Pān Tān Còh (*Bān Dàn Jǒ*), 40 at Pān Hnòn-pua Hlvan (*Bān Nòng-bua Luang*);
- fields for the image-house, 70 [*rai*] at Hnòn Yān Nòy (*Nòng Yàng Nòi*), 35 at Hvā Fhāy Sòn Vāy (*Hua Fāi Sòng Wāi*);

66) Mahāśakarāja 1339 was a year of the Cock, Mahāśakarāja 1340 a year of the Dog. The time was probably in the early part of 1418 A.D. See note 62.

67) The King of Ayudhyā's aunt.

68) The King of Sukhodaya's consort.

69) Probably แปลนาแจก means the land was in several parcels not adjoining one another.

70) There are several mistakes in the printed edition: 20 for 30 at I/29, 25 for 35 at I/30, 400 for 600 at I/30, 20 for 30 at I/31.

— fields for the Saṅgha, 350 [*rai*]⁷¹, 600 at Rāi Ṭṇ (*Rai Sōn*), 80 at Pān Ṭakañ Nōy (*Bān Lagān Nōi*), 80 at Ṭakañ Hlvañ (*Lagān Luang*), 30 at Pān Tañ (*Bān Dong*) — five bushels for the lord samaṇeras, ten bushels for the lord bhikṣus⁷².

Later on Nāy Saraśakti asked for the revenues from four pieces of land: 2 pieces at the village of Vat Bāyāḃ (*Wat Pāyāḃ*), one of them for the image of the Buddha with his feet down, one for the image of the walking Buddha; and 2 pieces at the village of Īsāravāṭ (i.e. Īsānavāṭ) for the vihārā—amounting in all to 40,000 [cowries].⁷³

The Mahāthera and Nāy Saraśakti have placed the record of the endowments in this inscription to last until the end of the **kalpa**. All of us are striving to act in accordance with this religion in every birth in our desire to meet with the religion of the Bodhisattva Śrī Āriyamaitrī.⁷⁴

* * *

71) It is not clear why the location of these 350 *rai* is not specified, when that of all the other lands is. Perhaps most of them were among the 335 *rai* 'in different parcels' presented by the Queen, and hence too numerous to specify.

72) The land whose revenues the Mahāthera is apportioning adds up to a total of 1735 *rai*, which corresponds to the amount (400+335+1000) presented by the King and Queen. The 'five bushels' for the samaṇeras (novices) and the 'ten bushels' for the bhikṣus (fully ordained monks) must be a ration of rice for a certain period to supplement the food they received as daily alms (one Siamese bushel, สัก, equals 20 litres). Are these figures based on the average yield of the 1130 *rai* whose revenues were apportioned to the Saṅgha? And how are they related to the yield from the 300 *rai* apportioned for 'food for the monks' (นางจันทน์)?

73) Bāyāḃ means northwest, Īsāna means northeast.

74) In the present aeon or **kappa** (Sanskrit: **kalpa**) there have already been four Buddhas: Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, Kassapa and Gotama. The religions founded by the first three disappeared ages ago; the present religion, founded by Gotama, will disappear in the year 5000 of the Buddhist Era. After that there will be a long, long interval with no religion. Ages hence, but still in the present aeon, Āriya Metteyya (Sanskrit: Ārya Maitreya) will descend to earth, become a Buddha, and re-establish the religion. Meanwhile he is a Bodhisatta (future Buddha), who has already passed through all the required incarnations except the final one, and who is waiting in the Tusita heaven

In 1419, the year after making his gifts to Vāt Saraśakti, Mahādharmarājā III died. His death was followed by serious disturbances, caused apparently by a contest for the throne between his son *Prayā Bân Mūang* (บาทมือง) and another prince, *Prayā Rām*. In order to settle it, the King of Ayudhyā, Indarājā, proceeded to *Pra Bāng* (Nagara Svarga), where he received the homage of both princes, and awarded the throne to *Bân Mūang* (Mahādharmarājā IV).⁷⁵

Inscription XII, executed in 1426, gives the latter's name in Pali form (ปจฺจพปค), and his full style as Sirisuriyavamsa Paramapāla Mahādhammarājādhirāja (I/4). Evidently *rājādhirāja* by that time no longer denoted a sovereign monarch and was hardly more than part of a proper name, for there is no doubt whatever that he was a vassal of Ayudhyā.⁷⁶ The provenance of the inscription is not recorded, but a passage in it (I/5) shows that it was executed at Sukhodaya, and that Mahādharmarājā IV was still residing there in 1426. He probably transferred his capital to Bīṣṇuloka not long afterward, marking the occasion by casting the great bronze statue called Buddha Jinarāja.⁷⁷

He died in 1438. Upon his death, Indarājā's son Paramarājādhirāja II — who had succeeded to the throne of Ayudhyā in 1424 —

for the proper time for his last rebirth. As Professor Malalasekera says, 'it is the wish of all Buddhists that they may meet Metteyya Buddha, listen to his preaching, and attain to Nibbāna under him.' (*Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol II., p. 662, *sub verbo* Metteyya.)

75) AA/LP, *sub anno* 781.

76) Probably the habit of applying this epithet to Mahādharmarājā III, despite Nāy Saraśakti's refusal to do so, had become too strong to break; for even the *Annals of Ayudhyā* (AA/LP, *sub anno* CS 781), in recording his death, call him Mahādharmarājādhirāja.

77) See Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, pp. 53-55 and Fig. 56. Prince Damrong attributed the Jinarāja to Līdaiya; but the discovery of several dated images in recent years has made a more accurate dating possible on the basis of stylistic comparisons. The real date cannot be far away from that of the four images cast at Nān in 1426 (*ibid.*, figs. 55-a, 55-b, and p. 54). The date given in พงศาวดารเหนือ, B.E. 1500, is of course nonsense.

abolished the vassal kingdom of Sukhodaya, incorporating its territory into his own kingdom, and sent his own son Rāmeśvara (the future King Paramatrailokanātha) to rule it as Viceroy at Biṣṇuloka.⁷⁸ When the new Viceroy arrived, tears of blood were seen to flow from the eyes of the Buddha Jinarāja.⁷⁹

78) According to the poem *Yuan Pai*, he was born c. 1431, so he would still be a child when he became Viceroy in 1438.

79) AA/LP, *sub anno* 800. For the subsequent events, see Griswold, *Prince Yudhiṣṭhira Artibus Asiae*, XXVI, 3/4, pp. 215 ff.

Abbreviations and Bibliographical References

AA/LP. *Annals of Ayudhyā, Hlvañ Prasrōṭh ('Luang Prasert')* Recension, ประชุมพงศาวดารภาคที่ ๑. There is a mediocre English translation in JSS VI/3.

BE. Buddhist Era.

BEFEO. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.*

Chieng Mai Chronicle. See Notton, III. So far as we know, this chronicle has not been printed in Tai.

Coedès, *Documents. Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental*, BEFEO, XXV.

CS. Culaśakarāja.

Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, Bangkok (Department of Fine Arts), 1967.

Inscriptions. The numbering of the inscriptions from I to XV corresponds to that in Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam* I, and ประชุมศิลาจารึกสยามภาคที่ ๑, Bangkok, 1924; from XXX on, to that in ประชุมศิลาจารึกภาคที่ ๑, Bangkok, 1965. The Roman numeral before the slant indicates Face I, Face II, etc., while the Arabic numeral after the slant indicates the number of the line.

Jinakālamālī. The portion of the text dealing with Siam, together with a French translation and a valuable commentary, appears in Coedès, *Documents*. The complete Pali text was published in London a few years ago by the Pali Text Society. English translation by N.A. Jayawickrama, London, 1968; Siamese translation by Mahā Sēn Manavidūra, จินกาสมาลีปกรณ์, Bangkok, BE 2501 (1958).

JSS. Journal of the Siam Society.

MS. Mahāśakarāja.

Nān Chronicle. พงศาวดารเมืองน่าน, ประชุมพงศาวดารภาคที่ ๑๐ (ประชุมพงศาวดารฉบับหอสมุดแห่งชาติ เล่ม ๔, Bangkok, BE 2507). English Translation: *The Nan Chronicle*, translated by Prasert Churatana, edited by David K. Wyatt, Data Paper No. 59, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., 1966.

Notton, III. *Annales du Siam, IIIe volume, Chronique de Xieng Mai, traduction de M. Camille Notton*, Paris, 1932.

Porāṇavatthusthāna. ไบรณวัดสุสานทั่วพระราชอาณาจักร, Bangkok, BE 2500 (1957).

RE. Ratanakośindra Era.

Śilpākara. ศิลปากร (Bulletin of the Department of Fine Arts), Bangkok.

SSR. Social Science Review (สังคมศาสตร์ปริทัศน์), Bangkok.

Wood, W.A.R. *History of Siam*, Bangkok, 1933.

Yonaka History. พระยาประชากรกิจวจักร, เรื่องพงษาวดารโยนก, Bangkok, RE 126.

APPENDIX

Transcription

In transliterating passages from the inscriptions, we follow the Graphic System used by Professor George Coedès In *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, modified in a few minor respects to facilitate printing. See Table I.

This system has many advantages. It is in general use for epigraphic work in India and Southeast Asia. For Siamese it is the only practical system by which it is possible to show exactly how a word is spelt in a given inscription so that a reader can re-transcribe it into Siamese letters without alteration. A great number of the proper names and other words that occur in the inscriptions are borrowed from Sanskrit or Pali, and when they are rendered in the Graphic System their sense is readily apparent to anyone with a smattering of those languages (e.g. ราชเมศวร, Rāmeśvara; นครราชสีมา, Nagara Rājasīmā; ราชบุรี, Rājapuri; ปฐมเจดีย์, Paṭhamacetīya; พุทธศักราช, Buddhaśakarāja). True, it does not give the English reader much of an idea of the Siamese pronunciation of these words; but neither do the more popular systems, which in addition have the disadvantage of concealing both the sense and the spelling ('Ramesuan', 'Nakhon Rachasima', 'Pathom Chedi', 'Ratburi', 'Phutthasakarat').

Though the graphic system is admittedly awkward for words of Tai origin, it is nevertheless the only reasonable way of Romanizing them in epigraphic work, and in general wherever the spelling has to be made known.

When it is more important to show the pronunciation we use the 'Common-Sense' system.⁸⁰ See Table II. We often use this system

80) In this system consonants are to be pronounced as in English; but note the following: G as in *background* (not as in *gin*), J as in *bootjack*, P as in *Piltown*, B as in *scrapbook*, NG as in *singer* (not as in *finger*), S as in *sit* (not as in *rose*). Vowels are to be pronounced as in Italian; circumflex indicates length; Ê and Ô are the Italian 'closed' sounds (cf. English *freight* and *note*), È and Ò the 'open' ones (cf. English *land* and *long*); Ü and Ö approximately as in German. See Griswold, *Afterthoughts on the Romanization of Siamese*, JSS XLVIII.

for Tai names in discussions of history, and whenever ease of reading is more to be desired than fidelity to a textual spelling.

Words transcribed in the graphic system are printed in ordinary type or in bold-face. Words transcribed phonetically are printed in italics, at least when we use them for the first time.

Sanskrit and Pali words, wherever they occur, are transcribed in the graphic system; when they occur in an inscription, we usually transcribe them exactly as written (e.g. *dharrma* or *dharmma* as the case may be), but if such precision would be more tedious than helpful, we regularize the spelling and call attention to the alteration in a footnote (e.g. Notes 51, 54). In our comments and historical discussions we habitually regularize the spelling of such words.⁸¹ For names of mixed origin, we generally give both the graphic and phonetic forms at their first appearance (e.g. กำแพงเพชร, *Kāmbèñ Bejra, Gampèng Pet*), and thereafter whichever of the two is more convenient. For such 'naturalized' Indic words as วัด and พระ, we use one form or the other, depending on the word that follows (e.g. วัดมหาธาตุ, *Vāt Mahādhātu*; พระพุทธชินราช, *Brah Buddhajinarāja*; วัดพระแก้ว, *Wat Pra Gèò*). For the names of modern Siamese writers, we use either the graphic system or the forms that they themselves prefer. For such familiar names as 'Bangkok', we use the popular spelling, though it is neither graphic nor phonetic.

81) As ढ and ण both stand for Sanskrit and Pali *r*, we write ตาวตึงส์ as *Tāvatiṃsa*, and ธาฏ as *dhātu* (rather than *dhātu*), except when there is some good reason to make the distinction. Similarly with บ and ป (*p*).

Table I
THE GRAPHIC SYSTEM
Consonants

		๒ ta	๓ ta	๒ pa	๒ ya	๓ ha
ก ka	จ ca	๒ ta	๓ ta	๒ pa	๒ ra	๓ la
ข kha	ฉ cha	๒ tha	๓ tha	๒ pha	๒ la	๓ a
ฃ k̄ha				๒ fha	๒ va	
ก ga	จ ja	๒ da	๓ da	๒ ba	๒ śa	
ก ga	จ ja			๒ fa	๒ ṣa	
ง gha	ฉ jha	๒ d̄ha	๓ dha	๒ bha	๒ sa	
ง ṇa	ญ ña	๒ na	๓ na	๒ ma		

Vowels and Diphthongs

ก ka	กิ ki	เก ke	กอ kò	กวว kvva
ก̄ kam̄	กิ kī	เก kè	เกอ kce	กัว kua
กะ kah	กิ kī	ไก kai	เกิ kō	กียย kiyya
* ก̄ k̄ā	กิ kī	ไก k̄ai	เกือ kōa	เกีย kia
กา k̄ā	กู ku	โก ko		
ก̄ā k̄ām̄	กู kū	เกอ kau		

Semivowels

ฤ r̄	ลี li
ฤฤ r̄̄	ลี li

Accents**

ก̄	1 ka
ก̄	2 ka
ก̄	+ ka

* When the mǎi-hǎn-ākāśa (̣) appears in Sukhodayan inscriptions, it is usually placed over the final consonant of the syllable instead of the initial one; in transcribing, the same thing can be done with the breve (e.g. baḥ for พน̄, modern พน).

** To facilitate printing, these accents are placed before the consonant to which they apply.

Table II
THE COMMON-SENSE PHONETIC SYSTEM
Consonants

	Initial	Final
ก	g	k
ข ก ฆ	k	k
ง	ng	ng
จ	j	t
ช ฌ ฦ	ch	t
ญ	y	n
ฎ ฏ	d	t
ฏ ฏ	d	t
ฐ ฑ ฒ		
ณ ฑ ฐ	t	t
ณ น	n	n

	Initial	Final
ป	b	p
ป	b	p
ผ พ ภ	p	p
ฝ ฟ	f	
ม	m	m
ย	y	
ร	r	n
ล พ	l	n
ว	w	
ศ ษ ส	s	t
ซ ฌ ฐ	s	
ห ฮ	h	

Table II (*continued*)

Vowels

+ ^๕ , + ^๖	a
+ ๓	â
+ ^๐ ๓	am
+ ^๑	i
+ ^๒	î
+ ^๓ + ^๔	ü
+ ^๕	u
+ ^๖	û
+ ^๗	ë
+ ^๘	é
+ ^๙	è

+ ^{๑๐}	ó
+ ๑๑	ò
+ ^{๑๒} , + ๑๓	ö
+ ^{๑๔} ๑๕	ia
+ ^{๑๖} ๑๗	üa
+ ^{๑๘} , + ^{๑๙}	ai
+ ๑๒๐	âi
+ ^{๑๒๑}	ao
+ ๑๒๒	âo

+ ^{๑๒๓} ๑๒๔	ui
+ ^{๑๒๕} ๑๒๖	ói
+ ๑๒๗ ๑๒๘	òi
+ ^{๑๒๙} ๑๓๐	öi
+ ^{๑๓๑} ๑๓๒ ๑๓๓	üe
+ ๑๓๔ ๑๓๕	ue
+ ^{๑๓๖} ๑๓๗	iu
+ ^{๑๓๘} ๑๓๙	éo
+ ^{๑๔๐} ๑๔๑	èö
+ ^{๑๔๒} ๑๔๓ ๑๔๔	io

Vowels which are left unwritten in Siamese are to be added in accordance with the pronunciation; e.g. ตานาบอดิ, *tanabòdi*; คอน, *kon*. The letters ๓ are ๓๓ are to be written as *ri*, *rü* or *rö*, and the letters ๓ and ๓๓ as *li* or *lü*, according to the pronunciation.

