

THE PACT BETWEEN SUKHODAYA AND NĀN

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by

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1.

On Thursday, February 27, 1393 (Julian), at about six o'clock in the morning, Prince Sai Līdaiya, on behalf of his father the King of Sukhodaya, made a pact of mutual assistance with the King of Nān.¹ The two houses had been on friendly terms for generations. They were allied by intermarriage; they were drawn together by common interests; and though at times they were separated by circumstances beyond their control they were now uniting against a common danger.

The rulers of Nān belonged to the Kāv (*Gāo*) branch of the Dai (*Tai*) people. The *Nān Chronicle* (NC) gives a short history of them, with dates which seem on the whole reliable.² We can get a few further scraps of information from epigraphy, from the *Chieng Mai Chronicle* (CMC), and from the Pali *Jinakālamālī* (J).³

1) Cf. our Historical and Epigraphic Studies, No. 1, JSS LVI/2, p. 216 f. Cf. also Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 49 (for '1392' read '1393').

2) พระพุทธศตวรรษที่ ๑๐. English translation by Prasert Churātana, edited by David K. Wyatt, *The Nan Chronicle*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1966. As Professor Wyatt says (op. cit., pp. x and 16), in the dates given in NC between CS 715 and 962 there is a discrepancy of 2 years between the numeral in CS and the designation in terms of the ten and twelve year cycles. So systematic a discrepancy seems to reflect a difference between the Nān calendar and that attested elsewhere. Supposing that the Tai names of the years in the ten and twelve year cycles correspond to the years of the same name elsewhere, the CS dates in the NC have to be reduced by 2 years in order to correspond to those in use elsewhere, and the same adjustment has to be made when transposing them into the Christian Era. In the English translation of NC, Professor Wyatt has transposed them accordingly, and in the present article we shall follow him. But cf. *infra*, note 90.

3) For J and CMC, see *infra*, Abbreviations and Bibliography.

According to the NC, the Nān dynasty was founded by Cau-khun Fòñ (เจ้าขุนฟอง). He and his brother Cau-khun Nun (ขุน), had been adopted in infancy by the King of Bhū Gā (พระยาภูเกา), who was then ruling in Mōañ Yāñ (เมืองย้า). When the two brothers asked to found principalities of their own, the King of Bhū Gā made them get permission from King Thera of Tèñ (พระยาเถรเทิง). Cau-khun Nun then founded Candapurī, and Cau-khun Fòñ founded the town of Varanagara or Mōañ Pua (วรรณคร, เมืองบัว).

The NC gives no dates for this part of the story; the first date it gives is that of the accession of Cau-khun Fòñ's grandson in 1320, from which we might calculate that Pua was founded around the middle of the 13th century; but that seems very late for the arrival of the Kāv in the Nān Vallay. Perhaps the first two reigns were of 'legendary' length, i.e. in the NC they represent a larger number of reigns whose history was not known to the compiler of the chronicle. The name Bhū Gā suggests Vian Bhū Gā (*Vieng Pou Kha*), southwest of Mōañ Sīñha (*Müöng Sing*) in Laos; and the story sounds as if the King of Bhū Gā were a vassal of the King of Tèñ (Dien Bien Phu?). Candapurī is Vian Cādana (เวียงจันทน์, Vientiane) in Laos. Pua—in epigraphy Blvva or Blua (พลว, พลั่ว)—is on the Nān River 50 km. upstream from the present town of Nān. Mōañ Yāñ is generally identified with Ngön Yāñ (Heraññanagara), called Yāñgapura in J, which is supposed to have occupied the present site of *Chieng Sèn* (founded 1327) on the *Mè Kóng*, but which the CMC (p. 15) locates on the *Mè Sai*.

Yāñgapura's most illustrious son was Mañrāya (*Mǎng Râi*), who established the supremacy of the Dai Yvan (*Tai Yuan*) over the whole of Lān Nā. According to J, he was born in 1239, succeeded his father as king of Yāñgapura in 1261, founded Jañrāyapura (*Chieng Râi*) the next year, conquered Dadarapura from Kāvarāja in 1275, contracted a solemn alliance with Purachādana and Rocarāja in 1287, conquered Haripuñjaya in 1292, and founded a new capital, Nabbisi (*Chieng Mai*), in 1296.

In this context, Kāvarāja, 'the King of the Kāv', must be either Cau-khun Fòñ or his successor, and Dadarapura must be his capital,

Pua. Though NC says nothing about Mañrāya's conquest of Pua, it is possible that he established his suzerainty over it without deposing the dynasty. Purachādana is Nām Mōaṇ (เจ้าเมือง), King of Bayāv (*Payào*, between *Chieng Sèn* and *Chieng Mai*). Rocarāja is Rāma Gāmhèn of Sukhodaya.

Inscription I tells us that Rāma Gāmhèn was lord over 'the Mā, the Kāv, the Lāv, the Dai who live under the vault of heaven, and the Dai peoples of the Khòṇ and the Ū' (IV/2-4, มากาวลวแต่ไทเมืองใต้หล้าฟ้าฤ ไทชาวอวของ); and among his possessions it specifically mentions Pua (IV/25, Blvva, พลว). He composed the inscription in 1292, but the first of the two references may be part of a postscript added after he died, and the second certainly is. His regnal dates are uncertain; the best guess is c. 1279—c. 1299. We can take it for certain that Pua and the upper Nān Valley were tributary to him at the time of his death, though we have no means of knowing how long they had been so. If Mañrāya conquered Pua in 1274, it may be that he turned it over to Rāma Gāmhèn as part of a general settlement with him and Nām Mōaṇ in 1287.

Rāma Gāmhèn's kingdom began to break up after his death, perhaps quite soon after it. The NC goes on to say that Fòṇ's son and successor Kau Kōan, after ruling Pua for some time, was commanded by his grandfather the King of Bhū Gā, who was still ruling at Mōaṇ Yāṇ but was nearing death, to come and rule Mōaṇ Yāṇ in his place. Kau Kōan reluctantly obeyed, leaving his pregnant wife Dāv Gām Pin to rule Pua. Soon afterwards Pua was seized by Nām Mōaṇ of Bayāv (*Payào*). The unfortunate princess took refuge in the forest, where she gave birth to a son. When the son reached the age of sixteen he was presented to Nām Mōaṇ, who was impressed with his demeanor. First he made him a page, then put more and more important affairs in his hands, and finally made him ruler of Mōaṇ Prāt with the title Prince Śaiyasa. Meanwhile Nām Mōaṇ had installed one of his own wives, Ua Sim, as ruler of Pua. This lady, having taken offense at something Nām Mōaṇ said to her, began plotting against him with Prince Śaiyasa. The latter marched on Pua

at the head of a body of troops, took the city, and married Ua Sim. He was then elected ruler of Pua and given the name Cau Phā Nòn.

The NC gives Phā Nòn's regnal dates as 1320-49, which may well be right. His accession in 1320 would put his father Kau Kōan's departure for 'Mōaṅ Yāñ' around 1300, and the King of Bhū Gā's death a year or two later. It is hard to say where Kau Kōan really went, or why; Yāñgapura was part of Mañrāya's kingdom at that time; and it would be strange if the King of Bhū Gā were its ruler, naming his own successor there. But the story of Nām Mōaṅ's capture of Pua soon afterwards is plausible enough; he would not have dared attempt it so long as Rāma Gāphēñ was alive, but after his death there was little to stop him.

Phā Nòn was an independent monarch, not a vassal of Sukhodaya: by 1320 King Lōdaiya of Sukhodaya was hardly in a position to assert his suzerainty, or even to protect a ruler who offered his allegiance voluntarily.

Mañrāya's death in 1311 was followed by prolonged disputes among his heirs for the succession. The alliance between Sukhodaya, Lān Nā and Bayāv was a thing of the past. J and CMC give us a glimpse of Phā Nòn's troubles with Lān Nā, though NC is silent about them. Some time before 1334, according to J, Mañrāya's great-grandson Haripyava (Gām Fū) fought against 'Kāvarāja', and conquered Balanagara: Kāvarāja, 'the Kāv King', must mean Phā Nòn, while Balanagara means Mōaṅ Brè (*Prè*, ๓๓).⁴

The CMC, though its dates may be less reliable than J's, gives us more details: the campaign began in 1338, when Gām Fū persuaded 'the Kāv King' to come and help him attack Bayāv; they stormed the city but quarreled over the booty; and two years later Gām Fū made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Brè.⁴

4) CMC, pp. 81 ff. The name of the ruler of Bayāv is given as Nām Mōaṅ; though Nām Mōaṅ, the most famous of the line, was already dead, it would not be unnatural for the chronicler to use the same name for his descendants. However the *Yonaka History* gives his name as Brahyā Gām Līa (๓๓๓). In CMC's account Gām Fū has a follower called Sān Phā Nòn, which is either a mistake or a remarkable coincidence (in CMC, however, 'the Kāv King' is not called Phā Nòn but remains anonymous).

We may summarize our conclusions. After the death of Rāma Gāmhēñ, Sukhodaya's possessions to the north and east of Uttaratiṭṭha split up into petty states which were frequently at odds with one another, and with Lān Nā and Bayāv as well. Pua was annexed by Bayāv, but shook loose in 1320 and became an independent kingdom under Phā Nōñ, with Brè as one of its dependencies. In the 1330's Pua helped Lān Nā conquer Bayāv but got no benefit from it. After that Lān Nā tried to take Brè away from Pua, but probably to no lasting purpose.

By the end of Lōdaiya's reign the kingdom of Sukhodaya was on the verge of collapse; most of the vassals had broken away; and there was little left beyond the provinces of Sukhodaya and Sajjanālaya. Sajjanālaya, the second city of the kingdom, was ruled by the Uparāja Līdaiya, Lōdaiya's son whom he evidently regarded as his heir apparent. Līdaiya—whose grandson Sai Līdaiya was to make the pact with Nān in 1392 which is the subject of our article—was a man of great brilliance and vigor. Apparently his father died suddenly, c. 1346, when Līdaiya was still at Sajjanālaya; and before he had time to reach the capital the throne was seized by a usurper, Nua Nām Tham (*Ngua Nām Tom*), of whom we know almost nothing.

In 1347, as soon as he was able to muster his forces, Līdaiya marched on the capital. According to Inscription IV (I/1 ff.), 'he commanded all his troops to enter, to surround, to seize, to break down all the gates, and the axe smote all his enemies.' Having ousted the usurper, Līdaiya 'entered the city to take supreme power in the land of Sukhodaya, as successor of his father and his grandfather.' He quickly undertook a program of rebuilding the shattered kingdom, ensuring order and prosperity for his subjects, attracting some of the lost vassals to re-enter the fold, allying himself with others, and restoring a considerable measure of the kingdom's former glory.

According to the NC, Phā Nōñ died in 1349 and was succeeded first by his youngest son Sāi, and then, upon the latter's death two years later, by his eldest son Kār Mōaṇ (การเมือง, r. 1351-61). About this time Pua re-entered the orbit of Sukhodaya, not as a vassal but as an ally.

Soon after Kār Mōaṇ's accession, as we know from the NC, Īḍaiya invited him to Sukhodaya to help him build a monastery. When the work was finished Kār Mōaṇ returned to Pua, taking with him seven holy relics and forty votive tablets—twenty of gold and twenty of silver—given him by Īḍaiya. He built a cetiya to enshrine them at Jè Hèṇ (*Chè Hèng*), across the river from the present site of Nān, well downstream from Pua. In 1357, 'longing to be near the relics', he moved his capital to Jè Hèṇ. One of his reasons, we may guess, was to be nearer Sukhodaya, and within easier range of Īḍaiya's protection.

In 1359 there was some sort of trouble at Brè. Kār Mōaṇ must have requested Īḍaiya's help to restore order in the vassal state; for in that year, according to Inscription IX (I/15 f.), Īḍaiya 'took his army to Mōaṇ Brè and stayed there seven months.'

The trouble at Brè may have been started, or at least aggravated, by the machinations of Prince Vattitejo (*Pò Ngua*) of Subarṇapuri. Vattitejo was the brother-in-law and vassal of King Rāmādhpati of Ayudhyā, but generally at odds with him on matters of policy. Rāmādhpati was drawn to Īḍaiya by inclination as well as interest; he was a *Tai*, descended on his mother's side from the house of Trai-trīṇsa which was tributary to Sukhodaya; and as his grand design was to conquer Cambodia he needed Īḍaiya's benevolent neutrality, if not his active coöperation. Vattitejo, on the other hand, regarded Sukhodaya as an enemy that must be crushed; he was perhaps more Mōn or Khmer than *Tai*; and he was sufficiently powerful in his own right to dare act against his suzerain's wishes up to a certain point, though not to defy him openly.⁵

When Sukhodaya seemed about to collapse in 1346, Vattitejo doubtless hoped the kingdom would fall into his hands. He may have organized Nua Nām Tham's usurpation, which Īḍaiya quickly brought to an end. In Inscription V, written in 1361, Īḍaiya makes a rather pointed reference to persons who had tried to kill him by putting 'spells in his fish, poison in his rice' (I/24 ff.). Was he thinking of Vattitejo and his agents?

5) See our Historical and Epigraphic Studies No. 1, JSS LVI/2; also Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, pp. 31 ff.

In November 1361 Līdaiya temporarily retired from the throne in order to spend several months in the monkhood (Inscriptions IV-VI). An alarming event now occurred, of which we have somewhat conflicting accounts in two chronicles, J and SBN: they both say that Rāmādhīpati seized possession of one of Līdaiya's principal cities and gave it to Vattitejo as an apanage, but afterwards returned it to Līdaiya and sent Vattitejo back to Subarnapurī. The city in question, which J calls Jayanādapura and SBN calls Dvisākhanagara, was evidently Sòn Gvè (*Sòng Kwè*, i.e. Bīṣṇuloka). It would be out of keeping with everything we know about Rāmādhīpati's policy toward Sukhodaya for him to lay hold of the city. It is much more likely that the chroniclers have mistakenly attributed the vassal's action to the sovereign; and that Vattitejo, taking advantage of Rāmādhīpati's absence from the capital on a campaign elsewhere, and of Līdaiya's temporary retirement, seized Sòn Gvè on his own initiative.⁶

At about the same time, according to the NC, a man 'from the south' called Khun Indā (ขุนอินตา) arrived at Nān with a valuable piece of cloth to present to the ruler. Kār Mōaṅ, not knowing the cloth was poisoned, accepted it; and as soon as he touched it he collapsed and died. The NC does not say who Khun Indā was, but we can guess he was an agent of Vattitejo.

As soon as Līdaiya returned to lay life he took action. According to a mutilated passage in Inscription VIII (III/9 ff.), he 'led his army to the . . . purī River to pacify [the territory], which he conquered completely, as well as the territory to the east . . . as far as Braḥ Sakk, completely; then he went to stay at Sòn Gvè.' Should the name of the river be restored as Nāndapurī, i.e. the Nān? The geographical order—first the river, then Braḥ Sakk in the Sāk Valley, then Bīṣṇuloka—suggests that the campaign opened in the murdered prince's troubled realm. At any rate, according to the NC, Kār Mōaṅ was succeeded by his son Phā Kōṅ, which might not have been possible without Līdaiya's intervention.

6) Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, pp. 31 f., 37 f. The name Dvisākhanagara, 'town at the [confluence of] two branches [of a river]', is simply the Pali equivalent of *Sòng Kwè* (สองแคว), '[confluence of] two branches'. The name Jayanādapura, given in J, evidently has nothing to do with the present town or province of Jayanāda (*Chaināt*, ชัยนาท), no part of which could ever have belonged to Līdaiya; 'Jayanāda' was one of the old names of Bīṣṇuloka (perhaps confused with Jayanāma, a town in *Wang T'ong* District, a little to the east of the present town of Bīṣṇuloka).

The purpose of the campaign to the Săk may have been not only to regain lost territory but also to outflank Vattitejo and show him that his position was untenable. That, plus a reminder to Rāmādhīpati that his agreement with Līdaiya was being violated by his vassal's initiative, may be what made Vattitejo retire and allow Līdaiya to take up his residence at Sōñ Gvè, where, according to Inscription VIII (IV/4 f.), he remained for seven years.

The NC tells us that in 1366 Phā Kōñ, finding that Jè Hèñ was subject to severe droughts, moved his capital to the present site of Nān. Phā Kōñ was on just as friendly terms with Sukhodaya as his father had been, and one of his daughters became Līdaiya's chief queen.

Rāmādhīpati, after invading Cambodia and taking Angkor Thom, died in 1369. He was succeeded by his son Rāmeśvara; but before a year elapsed the throne was seized by Vattitejo, who took the regnal name Paramarājā. Apparently Cambodia soon broke away; Paramarājā was obsessed with crushing Sukhodaya.

A passage in Inscription VIII (III/19-25), which dates from about 1368-70, gives the limits of Līdaiya's kingdom. To the north, the boundary between his territory and that of 'Cau Brañā Phā Kōñ, the ruler of Mōañ Nān and Mōañ Blvva', was the River Nān (i.e. that portion of it which flows from east to west toward Uttaratittha). To the south, the same river (i.e. the lower portion, which bends westward toward Nagara Svarga) formed the boundary with another Cau Brañā whose name is lost except for the first letter, which is P (Paramarājā?). To the east, the kingdom extended to the Khōñ (i.e. the Mè Khoñ), beyond which was the territory of Cau Brañā Fā Nōm (*Fā Ngum*, the King of Laos, r. 1353-74). The statement giving the western limit, which was presumably the mountain range west of the *Ping*, is illegible.

Such was the kingdom Paramarājā undertook to conquer. He had immense resources at his disposal, including the military machine Rāmādhīpati had built up for the invasion of Cambodia; but he was not a very competent general, and his successes were small in proportion to his military superiority. He invaded Sukhodayan territory in

1371; in 1372 he took Nagara Svarga;⁷ in 1373 he attacked Kāmbèn Bejra, but retired after inflicting severe losses on the defenders; in 1375 he attacked Biṣṇuloka.

By this time Līdaiya had died and been succeeded by Mahādharmarājā II, his son by Phā Kòñ's daughter. Phā Kòñ, as a loyal ally, helped defend Kāmbèn Bejra against a new attack by Paramarājā in 1376. Though Paramarājā failed to take the city, Phā Kòñ's troops were routed and he barely escaped with his life.

In 1378, upon receiving intelligence that Paramarājā was about to attack Kambèn Bejra for the third time, Mahādharmarājā II himself hastened to the defense of the city; but his forces were overwhelmed, the city fell, and he was taken prisoner. In accordance with custom Paramarājā did not depose him, but forced him to take an oath of allegiance, and sent him back to Sukhodaya to rule as his vassal.

This was a stroke of luck for Paramarājā, for it gave him suzerainty over a kingdom he was unable to conquer by military means. However reluctant Mahādharmarājā II might be, he felt bound to honor his oath of allegiance. Phā Kòñ found himself in an awkward position: to help his grandson would be to help their common enemy. Nān's alliance with Sukhodaya necessarily lay dormant. Phā Kòñ died in 1386; and his son Gām Tăn (*Kam Dăn*, กำตัน), who succeeded him, might well hesitate to renew it. It is possible that the defeats of 1376 and 1378 had aroused mutual suspicions and recriminations. In any case Nān's geographical position gave a certain measure of protection against Ayudhyan attack. An isolationist policy might prove to be the most prudent.

Now Mahādharmarājā II's fortunes began to revive.

Paramarājā, whose endless intrigues sometimes ended badly for himself, was not content with reducing the *Tai* of Sukhodaya to vassalage; or perhaps he feared that his suzerainty over them would

7) This statement requires some qualification. In 1372, according to AA/LP (*sub anno* 734) he took 'Bāṅgā' (พังกา), which is generally identified with Nagara Svarga. Even if formal proof of the identification is lacking, it is clear that he must have taken Nagara Svarga before 1373, when he made his first attack on Jākānrāv (Kambèn Bejra, กำแพงเพชร), otherwise it is hard to see how he could have reached Jākānrāv.

not last long if there were any independent *Tai* nearby. He therefore began plotting to get a foothold in Lān Nā. In 1385 Prince Mahābrahma of *Chieng Rāi* tried unsuccessfully to seize the throne of Lān Nā from his nephew Sèn Mōaṅ Mā (*Sèn Muang Mā*), then fled to Ayudhyā to get help; Paramarājā invaded Lān Nā at his request but failed to take the capital; he returned to Ayudhyā taking Mahābrahma with him; but he soon grew exasperated with him and made an alliance with Sèn Mōaṅ Mā instead. Meanwhile Kāmbèn Bejra revolted and Paramarājā thought Sukhodaya was about to revolt. He and Sèn Mōaṅ Mā planned to make a concerted attack on Sukhodaya from north and south; but Sèn Mōaṅ Mā arrived first; and while he was waiting Mahādharmarājā II fell upon him and routed his army.

Thus Mahādharmarājā II, without violating his oath of allegiance to Paramarājā, frustrated his plan by defeating his ally, to whom he himself was under no obligation whatever. In 1388 Paramarājā again attacked Kāmbèn Bejra, but died on his way home.

Within a week the throne of Ayudhyā was seized by the ex-king Rāmeśvara. To him the house of Subarṇapurī had become by all odds the most dangerous enemy. Like his father, he was drawn by inclination as well as interest to the house of Sukhodaya; Mahādharmarājā, whose oath of allegiance had expired with Paramarājā's death, probably took a new one to Rāmeśvara; but so lightly did Rāmeśvara hold the reins of suzerainty that Sukhodaya was to all intents an independent kingdom again. It now became possible to think about resuscitating the alliance with Nān.

Though neither Sukhodaya nor Nān had anything to fear from Rāmeśvara, the house of Subarṇapurī was still dangerous. It remained strong, and a *coup d'état* might restore it to the Ayudhyan throne at any moment. Gām Tān could not very well forget the assassination of his grandfather Kār Mōaṅ in 1361, or his father's defeat at Kāmbèn Bejra in 1376; nor could Mahādharmarājā II forget his own humiliation at the hands of Paramarājā in 1378. It was obviously to the interest of both to insure themselves against the possibility of the house of Subarṇapurī regaining supremacy at Ayudhyā. Except perhaps for his own hesitation, there was nothing to prevent Gām Tān from allying himself with Sukhodaya, for he

was an independent monarch. But Mahādharmarāja II was a vassal of Ayudhyā, and therefore unable to make a treaty with a third power. However much Rāmeśvara might welcome any move aimed against the house of Subarnapurī he could not give it his open approval without uniting Ayudhyā on the side of his enemies.

Eventually a solution was found. A pact was concluded in 1393, with Gāṃ Tăn himself acting on behalf of Nān, and Prince Sai Līdaiya acting on behalf of Sukhodaya. Presumably Mahādharmarāja II had temporarily retired from the throne and entered the monkhood, after appointing his son Sai Līdaiya, who was probably Uparāja at Sajjanālaya, as Regent of the kingdom. In the pact the King of Nān is referred to as Sai Līdaiya's 'paternal grandfather' (ṇ i.e. ṇ), which of course cannot be taken literally as his paternal grandfather was Līdaiya himself. The only possible explanation is that the King of Nān was his paternal grand-uncle, i.e. that Mahādharmarāja II's mother—Līdaiya's chief queen—was Phā Kôn's daughter and Gāṃ Tăn's sister.

The agreement is recorded in two inscriptions, Nos. XLV and LXIV. The first, dated in 1393, was kept at Sukhodaya; the other, whose date has disappeared, was kept at Nān. Unlike the copies which are normally retained nowadays by the parties to a contract, their contents are not identical. It is hard to say why. Perhaps both inscriptions had 'annexes', e.g. in the form of inscribed gold sheets (*suvarṇapaṭra*), which were kept secret. Or perhaps there was one basic pact, followed later on by supplementary pacts, with both parties retaining identical copies of all of them, though the only ones that survive are Sukhodaya's copy of the basic pact, and Nān's copy of a supplement. No. XLV, with its unusually elaborate oath (Face I), looks like the basic contract; but, so far as we can tell in its fragmentary state, its actual provisions (Face II) were not very important. No. LXIV, on the other hand, though its oath is shorter, specifies a very close alliance between the two states, almost amounting to a merger. Perhaps we should suppose that XLV, a first tentative step after a period of mutual suspicion, led to more intimate relations and eventually to the tight alliance recorded in LXIV, which would therefore be of later date. But it cannot have been later than 1396, because Gāṃ Tăn died in that year.

2.

Inscription XLV is engraved on a slab of stone 83 cm. in height, 37 cm. in width, and 18 cm. in thickness, which is now in the Manuscript and Inscription Division of the National Library in Bangkok. (Figs. 3-5.) It was discovered in 1956 by the Department of Fine Arts in the precinct of Vāt Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya, near the main vihāra. It is not certain whether it originally stood in the vihāra or in some building nearby (the ruins of a great many are still visible). In any case in order to give contracts of this sort a solemn and binding character it would be natural to install them in some building in the precinct of the Mahādhātu, which was the spiritual and magical center of the kingdom; most of the palladia of vassal princes, it seems, were kept in the same precinct.

The text, which is in Siamese, written in the usual Sukhodayan script of the period, is engraved on the two broad faces and one of the edges of the slab of stone. A transcription by Mahā Chām Dōngāmvarṇa, together with a version in modern Siamese spelling and some glosses, is published in *Prajum Śīlācārīk*, III, pp. 62. ff. We are much indebted to his reading, which we have followed except in a few places; here and there we differ from his interpretation; and we have changed his numbering of Faces II and III. The obverse, Face I, contains 37 lines; the reverse, which we call Face II (Mahā Chām's Face III), contains 19; and the text on the edge of the slab, which we call Face III (his Face II), contains 40.

This inscription is of considerable historical importance. It contains the name of at least one hitherto unknown King of Sukhodaya, viz. Nvva Nām Tham (*Ngua Nan Tom*), probably a usurper who reigned briefly between Lōdaiya and Līdaiya (see Prasert ṇa Nagara in *Social Science Review*, June 1966; Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 29). It also contains a list of the rulers of Nān, which it is instructive to compare with the list given in NC. The inscription is no less interesting from the point of view of the study of religion, for it reveals three systems in simultaneous action—Theravāda Buddhism, Śaiva Brahminism, and Tai Animism. Apart from Rāma Gāmhēn's reference to Braḥ Khabūn in Inscription I, this is the first solid information we have on Animism at Sukhodaya and Nān. The spirits mentioned are of four kinds: ancestors, guardians of mountains, guardians of rivers and streams, and forest divinities.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

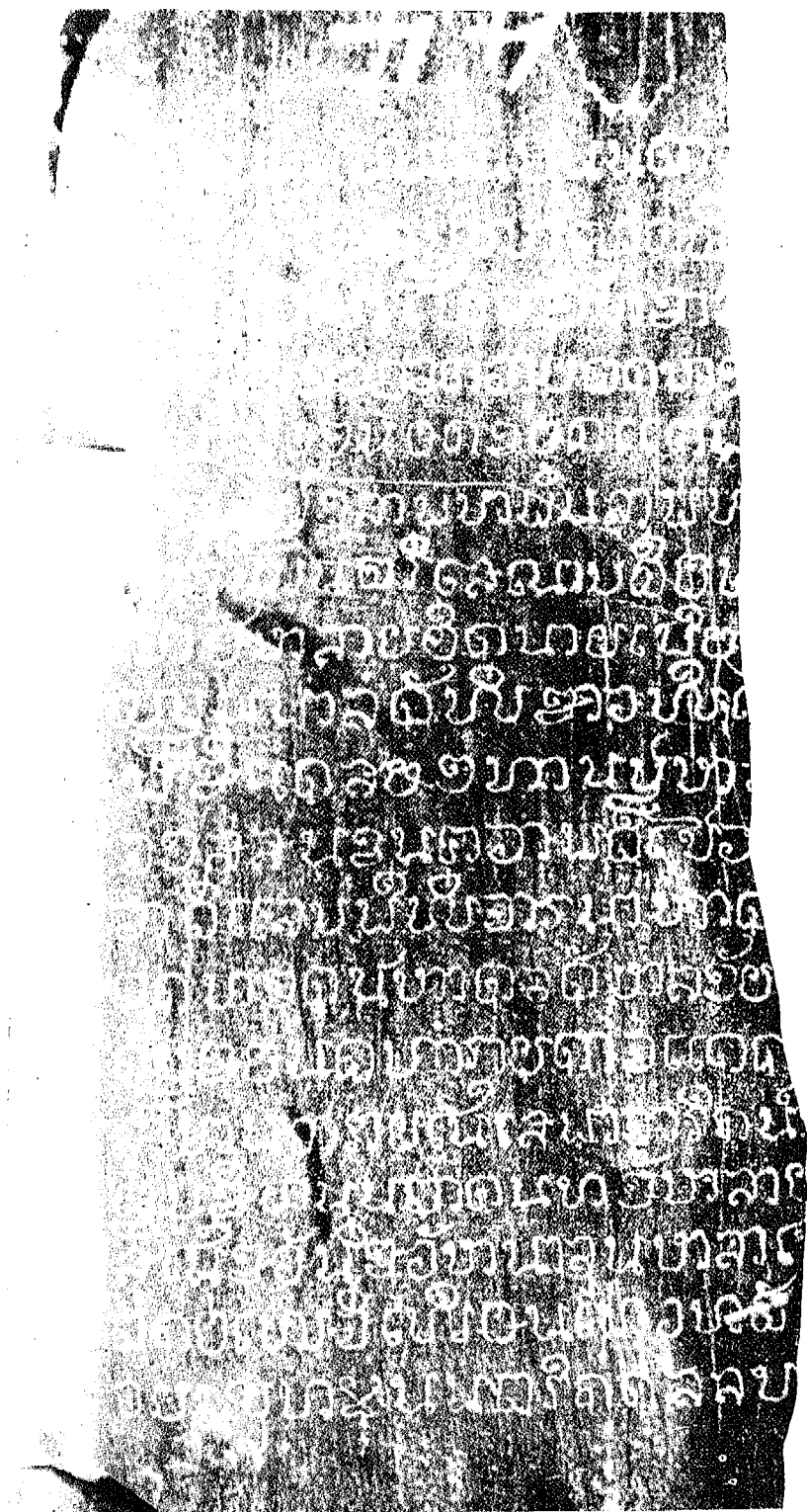
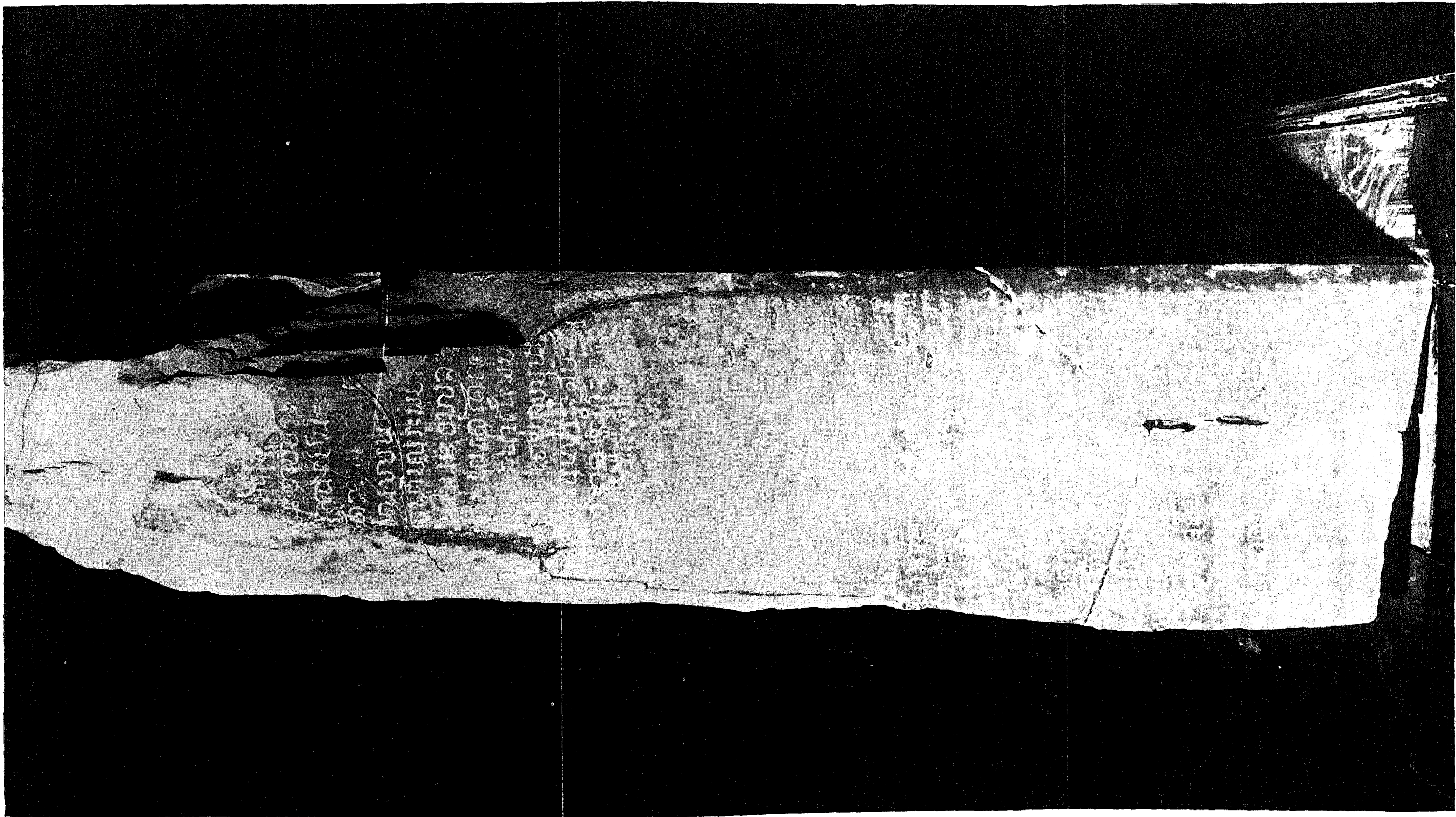


Fig. 4. Inscription XLV, Face II.



TEXT

Face I

๑. --(ส)บตควยกนหนี่จุงไห้ไท่แก
๒. --(ฮารก)ขทงหัลยอนนมีในน้ำในถ้ำ
๓. --(ว)งศานพรวณำป ปรพรวณำ
๔. --ปเวริง ปมุง ปุพอง ปุฟำพีน
๕. --(ผ)ากอง ปุพรวณำคำฟ
๖. --(พร)ฎาผากองเทานี่ ถำพงศกาว
๗. --(ผี่) สัทธึแล แตนี่ถำพงศ ผี่ปผำคำ
๘. --(ผ)งผหวน ปุขุณจิต ขุนจอตปุพรวณำศ
๙. (ร้อินทราท)ิตย ปุพรวณำบานปุพรวณำรามราช ปุไสส
๑๐. งคราม ปุพรวณำเลไท้ปุพรวณำงววนำถัม ปุ
๑๑. (พร) ฎามหารธรรมราชา พงำเมืองพลีไทย แ
๑๒. (ถ)ทผุคี่ผี่ชาวเลื่องเทานี่แลแม่ผุโคบซีใส่ไห
๑๓. (ผี่)มนนทงส์ื่อไหญเซาพุกาเซาผาตานผาแ
๑๔. (ด)งแฝงแม่พระสกกพระสเลื่อทานยออง
๑๕. พานสถาน ปุชรมีน หมิ่นหวยแสนตง ทงปั้จาพระ
๑๖. ขพงเซายนนยง พระศรี ผี่บางพระสกกติฮารกข
๑๗. ทุกแห่งแตงคาคูสองปูลานรกกกน ผี่ผุไค
๑๘. ไครบซีจุงผี่ผุ่นีหกกกาวนาคญาเปนพรวณำ

๑๙. เกิงเถาเปนเจ้าอยู่ยี่นหีนตายตงวงนทนนค
๒๐. งักรยวขยวเหนอเพ็จันรกกตอบายเพทนา
๒๑. เสวยมหาพีปากญาไตคาคไตพบพระพุทธร
๒๒. พระธรรมพระสงฆ์สกกคาบบาบอนนตคคค
๒๓. สงฆ์จูงให้ไตแกผู้บชีเตนนี้คำปูลานสบค จ
๒๔. วยกนน จุกนนเหนนเปนปรตยกกษตงคำกลาว
๒๕. นี้ ผีผู้ใดจันงจชีใส่ให้ไตตงสัฎฐธิปรารธนา
๒๖. ในชวนี้ชวหนาเทาฟ้าบรโลกโมกษนรี
๒๗. พานสถานพิสุทธิ ฯ จลศกราชไต ๗๕๔
๒๘. มหาศกราชไต ๑๓๑๔ ขอมปีวอกไทปีเถาสนน
๒๙. เดือนสี่บุรณมีขอมวนนพรหสสบัติไทวนน
๓๐. เตาเมตฤกษ์ขจรผลคุณบุรณาคิตีอุสาไซกโยค
๓๑. มีโณไทยสุริยรกกษสกกตีสฤมมงคลนรีพีฆ
๓๒. นนทราย สวสสคิตีหรีผีผู้ใดใครโจทนาถามหา
๓๓. ผู้ใหญ่ (ใส) สารจารไนจาริกนี้หากปรตีสทาใส่สั
๓๔. เถจพร(ะมหา) เถรสังฆราชรดคณวงศาจารย์พ
๓๕. ระมหา(ถรธรรม)เสณาบตีเปื่องเจ้าพรญาผู้หลาน
๓๖. ทานม(หา)——(มหา)เถร สุเมธ——(ทงห์)
๓๗. ลาย หาก—————

Face II

๑. อนนนี่พนนบนนคา-----
๒. โสค เบืองปพรณากัถี-----
๓. กัถี ผีไพรไทขวางมาชา-----
๔. ไนไหสงววควายตกท่ง-----
๕. กินเมืองนอกชอกแถม----- (ผู้)
๖. งตนฝูงล่าม หมีนล่าม (พนน)-----
๗. (ชา) ชุนมนตรี เสนาบค้อม(าตย)-----
๘. ทงไหลยอีกนายเมือ(ง)-----
๙. พนมลภักชีชาวพิไ(ป)-----
๑๐. มีชีแกสองทานปฐ(ลาน)-----
๑๑. จงส่สนชนความคิไป ว-----
๑๒. วาติแลบมีพีจรรนาหาก-----
๑๓. ตกทงกนั้หากลั้หลัง ย-----
๑๔. กัผู้ชอน กัทำรายกาจแกก-----
๑๕. สาบานวารายในเสมจาริกนี้-----
๑๖. ผุบชีทนนตาคนทงไหลย-----
๑๗. ส ในชวันชีว้หนาลุนหลา -----
๑๘. ตกอ่เพจีเพือนเทวทัท----- (ต)
๑๙. วยพุทธนนตริกกลบ-----

Face III

๑. -----
 ๒. -----.....-----
 ๓. ----เอาพระ.-----
 ๔. ----(ประ) มาณเปนคน-----
 ๕. ----ไคสามแสนค (น)-----
 ๖. ----(ประม)าณพน-----
 ๗. ----ก มาพระมห(ราชาตุ)-----
 ๘. ----สกันธอ์พล -----
 ๙. ----(พระอ)รทนต์ไคแ(ปต)-----
 ๑๐. ----(ป)รุงสาสนาในมห(ราชาตุ)-----
 ๑๑. ----พระปรเตยกพุท(ธ)-----
 ๑๒. ----กลลยาณ พระสคฺขบ พุ(ทธ)-----
 ๑๓. ----(ไ)นมหาราตุอาทิสังกา-----
 ๑๔. ----ยชนทวย (ไสพาครมาคร)-----
 ๑๕. ----มเหสุร พระสทาศีพุบ-----
 ๑๖. ----พระภีม พระอรรชุน พระ-----
 ๑๗. ----(ยุ)ธิษธีร ที่รณนาม รามบรส
 ๑๘. ----(ร)ามลกษ พระสกกติ พระ
 ๑๙. ----ที่จนนทิสี นรบนนทิตย ฤ
 ๒๐. ----พระเพลิง พระพรณ

๒๑. --- (ท)ธรรต กุเพร อรรธนทสุร
 ๒๒. --- (เทพต)านพโคระห ทวาทศรา
 ๒๓. (สี)--- จ คาร คารก ภูชก โภคินท
 ๒๔. --- (ครุ)ทชเชจร กิณร กิณรี ปกก
 ๒๕. --- สรรพสิทธิ รัชสิทธิ พิ
 ๒๖. (ทยาร) --- ณี ศรี อนุมาเทวากามเทพ
 ๒๗. --- (ยมบ)าล มฤตยูจตุโลกบาล ทศโลก
 ๒๘. --- พรหมรูปสืบทกคลวง ทง
 ๒๙. --- ย จตุรทเบญจมธยานสถาน
 ๓๐. --- ชี้อากาสาเนญจายตตน อวิญ
 ๓๑. (ญาณญจายตต)น อากีญจญจายตตน อนนชี
 ๓๒. (เนวสญญานาส) ญญายตตนงทงกามาพจรท
 ๓๓. (จาคุมหา)ราชิกา จาวติงสายมา ตุสสิตา นิม
 ๓๔. (มานรตี ปรมิมิต) พสพรรตีสวรรคมรรค บาตา
 ๓๕. (ล)--- โลกรธาตุ จตุรภพ (สบ)บุรพพิ
 ๓๖. (เทหะ ชมพท)ลืบ อมรโคยานีอูตรกรู พุโสล
 ๓๗. --- (กนธม)าท ไกลาสพิบลบรรพค วงกค
 ๓๘. --- (พร)หมรกกษยกกษกุมาร หิมพา
 ๓๙. --- สบปคกคกาสบปค
 ๔๐. ----- ธร สีขร บ.-----

Face I⁸

[I/1-2.]..... to this oath sworn between us, let [the witnesses]⁹ be¹⁰ [all the ancestral spirits of both our houses and]¹¹ all the guardian spirits who dwell in waters and caves!

[I/3-7.]..... ancestral spirits¹² on the side of the Brañā who is the Grandfather [as follows]: Grandfather Brañā Grandfather Rōñ, Grandfather Muñ, Grandfather Bōñ¹³, Grandfather Fā Fin,..... [Grandfather Brañā?] Phā Kōñ¹⁴, Grandfather Brañā Gām Fū,..... [and Grandfather]

8) There is a blank space at the top of Face I, showing that line 1 (of which a little over half survives) was the beginning of the text. In this face, 'the Brañā who is the Grandfather' (i.e. Gām Tān) and he 'who is the Grandson' (Sai Līdaiya) call on a host of spirits to witness their oath (I/1-2), viz. the ancestral spirits of the houses of Nān (I/3-7) and Sukhodaya (I/7-12), the guardian spirits of mountains, rivers, etc. proper to the houses of Nān (I/13-15) and Sukhodaya (I/15-16); they invoke curses on either party who might violate the oath (I/17-25) and blessings for remaining faithful to it (I/25-27). Then (I/27-32), after a punctuation-mark in the form of a conch or the magic syllable 'om', come the date and hour when the oath was taken (I/27-32), and finally a colophon with the names of the persons (apparently all of them monks) who composed the text on behalf of the two parties (I/32-37). The conclusion is broken off; by comparison with Face III, there would have been room for 8 or 10 more lines; but by analogy with Face II most of this space may have been left blank. In any case it seems unlikely that the bottom of Face I contained any portion of the actual provisions of the oath; they seem to begin and end on Face II.

9) We conjecture that some term with this meaning occurred in the lacuna at the beginning of I/1.

10) โดมก, 'namely'.

11) Our conjectural restoration of the lacuna at the beginning of I/2 is based on what follows.

12) We restore '. (จ)ศ' at I/3 as จ้างศ; cf. below, note 16.

13) Though we might have expected fōñ, the reading bōñ seems fairly certain; cf. infra, note 15.

14) Similarly we should have expected nōñ instead of kōñ at this point; again cf. note 15.

Brañā Phā Kōñ.¹⁵ Up to this point, the ancestral spirits¹⁶ of the Kāv¹⁷,..... powerful spirits.

[I/7-12.] From here on, the throng of ancestral spirits of the house of Grandfather Phā Gām¹⁸,..... [on the side of]

- 15) The names on this list correspond more or less to those in the NC; see supra, pp. 58-64. The discrepancies could be due to wrong readings of the inscription, to corruptions in the chronicular text, or to an origin in a different but parallel tradition. The first name on the list (I/3-4, 'Grandfather Brañā') should correspond to the NC's King Thera of Tēñ (พระยาเทวตั้ง). The second, 'Grandfather Rōñ', may be the King of Bhū Gā (พระยาภูคา), but it is hard to account for the name Rōñ (เร้ง) and the absence of the title Brañā. 'Grandfather Muñ' (บุ) and 'Grandfather Bōñ' (บอง) are evidently Cau-khun Nun (ขุน), the founder of Candapurī, and Cau-khun Fōñ (ฟอง), the founder of Pua (Blua). 'Grandfather Fā Fin' (ฟัพพ, for ฟัพพ), judging from the position on the list, should be Fōñ's son and successor, whom the NC calls Kau Kōan (เกนเกอน); but the two names are not very similar. The next legible name, Phā Kōñ (พาทอง), corresponds to the NC's Phā Nōñ. Gām Fū (คำฟู) may be the NC's Kār Mōan (การเมือง). The second Phā Kōñ is of course Gām Tān's father, who was murdered in 1361; he may have been named for his grandfather (if the reading Phā Kōñ at I/5 is correct).
- 16) คำพงศ์ (I/6), for คำพงศ์. The word คำ, which in Siamese is equivalent to คำ, is still used in the sense of 'ancestral spirits' among some of the Dai (Tai) of Laos and Tongking. Cf. I/3 and I/7.
- 17) At the end of I/6 the printed edition has คำ, 'Kām-y-', which must be a mistake for กา, Kāv, the people of the upper Nān Valley (see p. 57).
- 18) Phā Gām (ผาคำ), 'golden mountain', looks like an equivalent of Bhū Khāv Dōñ (ภูเขทอง), Skt. Suvarṇagiri or Hemagiri, classic designations of Mount Meru (cf. Coedès, *Les Etats hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Paris, 1964, p. 219). At Sukhodaya the Mahādhātu was apparently sometimes called Suvarṇacetiya (Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 20) — a Buddhist adaptation of Hemagiri? If, on the other hand, Sukhodaya's 'golden mountain' was outside the city walls, as at Ayudhyā and Bangkok, we might think of the hill which was the residence of Braḥ Khabūñ, which in the present inscription, at I/16, is called Yannyañ (ยันทัน), for ยันทัน, 'stable and brilliant' (another suitable epithet for Mount Meru). Phā Gām, whatever its topographical significance may be, must be used here to designate the house of Braḥ Rvañ (*Pra Ruang*), though we know of no other case in which this or a similar term is so used.

him who is the Grandson,¹⁹ [as follows]: Grandfather Khun Cit, Khun Còt, Grandfather Brañā Śrī [Indrādi]tya, Grandfather Brañā Pān, Grandfather Brañā Rāmarāja, Grandfather Sai Saṅgrāma, Grandfather Brañā Lōdai, Grandfather Brañā Nvva Nāṃ Tham, Grandfather Brañā Mahādharmaṛājā, Father Nāṃ Mōaṅ, and Father Lōdaiya;²⁰ up to this point, the spirits of Dai (*Tai*) noblefolk dwelling in Lōaṅ.²¹

[I/12-13.] If either of us is untrue, then may these shining spirits,

[I/13-15.] and also the great guardian spirits of Mount Bū Gā and Mount Phā Tān Phā Tēn, those who protect the waters of Brah Sakk Brah Sa, the guardian-spirit of Dānya-ānbānasthāna, the ten

19) ကုၤတၢ်, for ကုၤတၢ်.

20) Khun Cit and Khun Còt were probably the father and uncle of Śrī Indrāditya, the first King of Sukhodaya. Pān is Pān Mōaṅ (*Bān Mūang*). Rāmarāja is Rāma Gāṃhēn. Sai Saṅgrāma, if the title Brañā is omitted purposely, was perhaps a son of Rāma Gāṃhēn who died before him; if it is omitted by mistake, he must have reigned immediately after Rāma Gāṃhēn; but nothing definite is known about him. Lōdai is Lōdaiya, Rāma Gāṃhēn's son, who reigned after him (or after Sai Saṅgrāma). Nvva Nāṃ Tham was a usurper (see p. 68). The last 'Grandfather Brañā' on the list is Mahādharmaṛājā (I), i.e. Lōdaiya. 'Father Nāṃ Mōaṅ' and 'Father Lōdaiya' cannot be identified; like all the other persons on both lists of ancestral spirits, they were certainly dead at the time of writing, though their descendants were still alive; since both are designated as 'Father', they were probably contemporaries of Mahādharmaṛājā II, very likely his elder brothers who died before he acceded to the throne; since neither is designated as 'Brañā', it seems clear they never reigned. One of them may have been named for his grandfather, the first Lōdaiya.

21) As the word lōaṅ (လော့), which means 'shining' or 'splendid', is here preceded by ကုၤ, 'denizens [of]', it seems to be used as a proper name; if so, it must be an epithet of Sukhodaya not attested elsewhere. Alternatively, perhaps, we should translate the passage as 'the splendid tribe of spirits of Dai noblefolk'. Still another possibility is that လော့ is a mistake for လော့, and that we should translate: 'the spirits of Dai noblefolk dwelling in the kingdom [of Sukhodaya].'

thousand towering²² spirits in the streams and the hundred thousand in the forest;²³

[I/15-16.] also the lordly spirit Braḥ Khabaṇ of Mount Yann-yaṇ, [the spirit of Mount] Braḥ Śrī, and the spirit of Pāṇ Braḥ Sakkti²⁴;

[I/16-17.] the guardians of all places, watching and observing us, the Grandfather and the Grandson, who love each other;

[I/17-23.] if either of us is untrue, may the throng of these spirits break²⁵ his neck! may he not reach old age as a Brañā, nor last

22) We take ๗๓๓ to be equivalent to ๗๓๓, 'dark and towering'.

23) The spirits listed here must be associated with the house of Nān. Bū Gā (พุกา) must be the same as Bhū Gā (cf. page 58). It is not clear whether Phā Tān Phā Tēn (ผาดาน ผาแดง) is the name of one mountain or two; it is a curious coincidence that the popular name of the Śāla Debarākṣa at Sukhodaya is ผาแดงผาแดง; but ผาแดง must have been a very usual name for mountains. Braḥ Sakk is the River Sāk, of which the portion flowing past Pāṇ Braḥ Sakkti (*Bāṅ Pra Sāk*, probably near *Lomsāk*) was evidently Sukhodayan territory (cf. I/16); but the headwaters of the river may have belonged to Nān. The expression *mē braḥ sakk braḥ sa* (sa=sò, 'white') might be a local name for the headwaters of the Sāk; or else the Sò could be another river. *Dānya-āṇbānasthāna* (for *Dhānyāṅgavānasthāna*?) sounds like the name of a forest.

24) The spirits in this list are proper to the house of Sukhodaya. Braḥ Khabaṇ is the tutelary spirit of the entire kingdom, Braḥ Khabūṇ (*Pra Kapūṅ*), whose name means 'exalted' in Khmer. Rāma Gāmhēn tells us that Braḥ Khabūṇ was 'higher than all the other spirits of the land', and that he lived on a hill south of the capital (Inscription I, III/6 f.). This hill, the name of which he does not give us, is generally identified with Khau Hlvaṇ (เขาหลวง), 'the great hill' or 'the royal hill', which is really southwest of the city. The name Khau Hlvaṇ is perhaps an old one; if so, it might have been the popular designation of a hill which had other names or epithets as well, one of which may have been the 'Yannyaṇ'; cf. above, note 18. Mount Braḥ Śrī is the hill of that name (called *Siripabbata* in Pali) south of *Sajjanālaya*, a hill on which the tutelary spirit of the viceregal province of *Sajjanālaya* might well reside. Pāṇ Braḥ Sakkti (*Bāṅ Pra Sāk*) on the River Sāk was probably at or near *Lomsāk*.

25) ๗๓๓๗๗๗ (๗๓๓๗๗๗), 'break, pry open, and bend'. The three verbs together simply mean 'break'.

long as a prince! may that wicked man die with the day! may he quickly see the Abecī hell²⁶, fall into misery and pain, and fare on the fruition of his deeds! may he never expect to see the Buddha, the Dharmma or the Saṅgha a single time! may the crime of being untrue be equivalent to that of breaking a monk's neck²⁷!

[I/23-27.] From now on, let the words which the Grandfather and the Grandson have pledged to each other, as stated above, take effect immediately. Whichever of us is sincere in his intentions, may he attain his desires now and in the future, up to the heavens, the other worlds, and the pure realm of release and nirvāṇa²⁸!

[I/27-32.] Culaśakarāja 754, Mahāśakarāja 1314, in Khmer a year of the monkey, in Dai a tau-sann year, on the full-moon day of the fourth month, in Khmer a Thursday, in Dai a tau-met day, the ĩkṣa being Ūtaraphalguṇa, on the Pūrṇātithī, at the auspicious moment of dawn, when the lagnā is in Pisces.²⁹ Stability! Honor! Good Fortune! Freedom from trouble and danger! Happiness and Success!

[I/32-27.] If anyone wishes to complain, asking what dignitaries composed the text set forth in this inscription, it was Saṃtec Braḥ Mahāthera Saṅgharāja Rattṇavaṇṣācārya and Braḥ Mahāthera Dharmaseṇāpati on behalf of the Cau Brañā who is the Grandson, and Mahā and Mahāthera Sumedha [on behalf of the Grandfather?] all of them

26) The Avicī hell.

27) Killing a monk is one of the 'five hellish crimes' that bring immediate retribution; see Nyānatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, Colombo, 1950, p. 9.

28) mokṣanīrbānasthānisuddhi; cf. below, note 72.

29) We are indebted to Mr Roger Billard of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient for calculating this date in terms of the Julian calendar. It corresponds to Thursday, February 27, 1393 (Julian), at about six o'clock in the morning. Note that 'tau-met' is put for 'tau-set'; cf. Ahom, in which 'mit' corresponds to 'set' in the Tai languages of Siam, whereas 'mut' corresponds to 'met'; if 'met' meant what it usually does in Siam, 'tau-met' would be an impossible combination.

Face II

[II/1-3.] This is binding on all³⁰, not only on the side of the grandfather Brañā, but also [on the side of the grandson].

[II/3-8.] If a Dai commoner or elephant or horse or slave the cattle shall be returned. A dispute the ruler of a locality at or beyond the border the throng of persons and the throng [of officials with the rank] of Lām Hmīn and Lām [Bann] the lord's servants, [officials with the rank of] Mantrī, Senāpati or Amātya all of them, as well as the Nāy Mōaṅ.³¹

[II/9-15.] if [the people] yonder come and steal things here, or the people here go [and steal things yonder] disloyal toward the two princes, grandfather and grandson wilfully slandering, bent on twisting the good [into evil] [making people] believe it is true without investigating, if they dispute with one another, or if secretly behind [people's backs] he favors the concealers of stolen goods, acting maliciously toward we pledge in this inscribed stone slab that the wicked.....

[II/16-19.] [Let] him who is disloyal, before everyone's eyes now or in the future, at last sink into Abecī as a friend of Devadatta³² and also the Buddhantarikakalpa³³

30) The entire right half of Face II is lost (compare Fig. 1 with Fig. 2). The missing portion of each line must have been about the same length as the portion that survives. As so much of the text is missing, our translation is of course conjectural.

31) The lām (ลำ, 'interpreters' or 'emissaries') acted as intermediaries between officials and the ordinary people; the lām hmīn (ลำหมื่น) were attached to officials having the rank of hmīn (หมื่น) the lām bān (ลำพัน) to officials having the rank of bān (พัน). The mantrī, senāpati and amātya were higher officials, though just what functions each performed is not clear; the titles may or may not have had the same meaning as in Sanskrit (mantrī, 'wise man', 'counsellor'; senāpati, 'army chief', 'general'; amātya, 'follower', 'counsellor', 'minister'). The nāy mōaṅ (นายเมือง) was presumably the ruler of the locality.

32) Abecī (อเบคี) is the Avicī hell, in which the Buddha's wicked cousin Devadatta is now suffering prolonged agonies for his misdeeds toward the Buddha.

33) Buddhantarikakalpa is one of the incalculably long periods of time in which the Buddhist Doctrine has been lost and no new Buddha appears on earth to renew it. The curse in this passage is intended to prevent the evil-doer from being reborn as a human being at any time when the Buddhist Doctrine still survives, and so to prevent him from knowing how to make merit and better his condition.

Face III³⁴

[III/1-10.] take the holy counting the men levy three hundred thousand men counting the troops come to the holy Relics many divisions [counting] the holy Arahants up to eight [?]³⁵

[III/10-14.] support the religion in the³⁶ the holy Pratyekabuddhas Kallyāṇa,³⁷ a holy stupa,³⁸ the Buddha in the Relics³⁹, for example in Ceylon

[III/14-15.] leagues,⁴⁰ a Śaiva temple [for] Mahesūra the holy Sadāsīb⁴¹

34) It is uncertain how Face III is related to the first two, if at all. Nor is its general purport clear. It reminds us, though distantly, of *Mahāvamsa*, Chapters XXX and XXXI. On the whole it sounds like a description of the mural paintings in a relic chamber or temple, perhaps those in the vihāra or chapel where the inscription was installed. Alternatively it might be a list of additional supernatural witnesses to the oath. We are greatly indebted to Professor Kamaleswar Bhattacharya for help in elucidating the literary and mythical allusions in Face III.

35) ခဏ, 'eight' is a doubtful reading, followed by a lacuna. Supposing it is right, the number could be any that begins with the digit 8. The passage III/1-9 may perhaps refer to the contest between eight rival groups of princes to obtain the Buddha's bodily relics after his cremation, and to the intervention of the Brahmin Doṇa who averted war by dividing the relics into eight shares and awarding one to each group. (See Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v. Doṇa.) On that supposition we have translated brah mahādhātu as 'the holy relics'; but if the context is something else, it could refer to the Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya.

36) The next word is probably mahādhātu, meaning either the Buddha's relics or the Mahādhātu at Sukhodaya.

37) Perhaps Kalyāṇi in Ceylon, where the Buddha preached to the Nāga King Mañiakkhika; see Malalasekera, s.v. Kalyāṇi-cetiya.

38) The Mahāthūpa in Ceylon ?

39) Or 'in the Mahādhātu'.

40) Conjecturally restoring ဟဟ at III/14 as ဟဟ, 'yojana'.

41) Mahesūra is Maheśvara, i.e. Śiva. Sadāsīb means 'eternal Śiva' (the final vowel is elided before a word beginning with -upa). At III/14 we read saibāgamāgara instead of Mahā Chām's sobāgamāgara which he glosses as โสภณภว; the vowel could be either ī or ṛ; and to read it as ṛ (ai) accords better with the other allusions in this passage. 'Saibāgamāgara' presumably stands for śaivāgamāghara (śaiva-āgama-ghara) or śaivagamāgāra (śaiva-āgama-agāra), meaning, in both cases, 'house of the religion of Śiva'.

[III/15-17.] Lord Bhīma, Lord Arjuna, Lord.....Yudhiṣṭhira of great renown;⁴²

[III/17-18.] Rāma, Parasū[rāma], [Bala]rāma, Lakṣṣa, the Lady Goddess, and Lord⁴³;

[III/19-20.] the Dīcanndī, auspicious teachers of men :, the Lord of Fire, the Lord Baruṇa, ddharatha, Kubera, and Ardhendasūra;⁴⁴

[III/22-23.] the Debatānabagroḥha⁴⁵, Dvādaśarāsi,⁴⁶, and the Tāratāraka;⁴⁷

[III/23-24.] Bhujagabhoginda,⁴⁸[Garu]ddhakhecara,⁴⁹ and the Kīṇarakiṇarīpakk⁵⁰;

[III/25-26.] Sarvasiddhi,⁵¹ Rāsisiddhi,⁵² Bi[dyādharma],⁵³ nī;⁵⁴

42) Bhīma, Arjuna and Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Mahābhārata*.

43) The three Rāmas – Parasurāma, Rāmacandra and Balarāma – were incarnations of Viṣṇu; the second, usually called Rāma for short, is the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāmakirtī*; Lakṣmaṇa was the half-brother and faithful companion of Rāma; 'the Lady Goddess' (brah sakkti, i.e. śakti) is presumably Rāma's wife Sītā.

44) Dīcanndī (or perhaps we should read: dīcananadī) might be a deformation of some word beginning with dīś ('quarter' or 'direction') and meaning the eight Lokapālas or Dikpālakas, the regents of the cardinal and sub-cardinal directions. dī is perhaps śrī, 'auspicious'. The regents of the directions are normally listed in clockwise order, starting with the east. Probably Indra, the regent of the east, was in the lacuna at the beginning of III/20. The Lord of Fire (Khmer: brah blōn) is Agni, regent of the southeast. We should then expect Yama, regent of the south, and Sūrya or Nirṛti, regent of the southwest; but for some reason they are omitted (unless they appeared, out of order, in one of the lacunae); and we skip straight to Varuṇa, regent of the west. The lacuna at the beginning of III/21 must have contained the name or some epithet of Pavara or Vāyu, regent of the northwest; it is not clear whether '.... ddharatha' should go with what precedes, or with Kuvera, the regent of the north. The last name on the list stands for Ardhendeśvara (Śiva), the regent of the northeast.

45) The divinities (devatā) of the nine planets (navagraha).

46) The twelve signs of the zodiac (rāśi).

47) Protective stars.

48) The supreme king of the Nāgas.

49) The bird (khecara) Garuḍa.

50) The winged (pakkhin) Kinnara and Kinnarī.

51) Sarvasiddhi, 'all success'; perhaps Gaṇeśa.

52) Rāsisiddhi? cf. Rāsiṇa, the regent of an astrological house.

53) A class of flying divinities who are 'bearers of knowledge' (vidyādharma).

54) Perhaps Maṇi, a yakṣha chief to be invoked by Buddhists in time of trouble; or else Dharaṇī, goddess of the Earth?

[III/26-27.] Śrī, Ūmādevā, Kāmedeba,⁵⁵ Yamapāla-mṛtyu⁵⁶; the Catulokapāla,⁵⁷ Daśaloka[pāla]⁵⁸;

[III/28-34.] the sixteen mansions of the Brahmarūpa; . . . the Catūrtthapeñcamadhyānasthāna, . . . named Ākāsāneñcāyattana, Aviñ[nānañcāyatta]na, Ākiñciñcāyattana, and the one named [Nevasa-ññānāsa] ññāyattana; also the six Kāmāvacara; [Cātumabhā]rājikā, Tāvatiṃsā, Yāmā, Tusitā, Nim[mānaratī], and [Paranimmita]basa-barri;⁵⁹

55) Śrī (Lakṣmi) consort of Viṣṇu; Umā (Parvati), consort of Śiva; Kāmadeva, the god of love.

56) 'Yama, guardian of death', or perhaps Yama, keeper [of hell], and the Mṛtyu.

57) The Four Lokapālas, guardians of the four cardinal directions.

58) The Ten Lokapālas, guardians of the ten directions.

59) Cf. the orthodox Pāli classification of the gods in three 'worlds' (loka) or 'spheres' (āvacara), which are subdivided into smaller 'worlds' (loka) or 'realms' (āyatana), in ascending order, as follows:

I. Kāmaloka or Kāmāvacara, the 'Sensuous Sphere', which includes (in addition to hell, the animal creation, the ghost-realm, the demon-world, and the human world) six Celestial Worlds (deva-loka) inhabited by:

1. Catummahārājikā
2. Tāvatiṃsā
3. Yāmā
4. Tusitā
5. Nimmānaratī
6. Paranimmitavasavatti

II. Rūpaloka or Rūpāvacara, the 'Sphere of Perceptible Form', usually said to consist of 16 Brahmaloas ('Brahma-worlds'), though the number varies. They are divided into four groups. The different heavens of the first group are attainable by persons who have achieved different degrees of skill in the first meditative trance (Pāli: jhāna; Skt.: dhyāna); those of the second group by persons of varying degrees of skill in the second trance; and so on.

III. Arūpaloka or Arūpāvacara, the 'Sphere of Formlessness', containing four 'realms' (āyatana), attainable by persons skilled in the four 'immaterial trances,' i.e. the fifth to eighth jhāna, which are sometimes considered to be extensions of the fourth jhāna; in like manner these four heavens are sometimes placed in a special category of the Brahmaloas. Their names are:

1. Ākāsāneñcāyatana ('realm of unbounded space')
2. Viññāṇañcāyatana ('realm of unbounded consciousness')
3. Ākiñcaññāyatana ('realm of nothingness')
4. Nevasaññā-n'āsaññāyatana ('realm of neither perception nor non-perception').

The above explanation should serve to clarify the meaning of the passage at III/28-34. 'Brahmarūpa' of course means those of the Brahmaloas which are part of the Rūpāvacara. 'Catūrtthapeñcamadhyānasthāna' (Pāli: catuttha-pañcama-jhāna-ṭhānaṃ) must mean something like 'place of the fourth-fifth jhāna', i.e. the Arūpāvacara, reflecting the two different

[III/34.] the Svargamārga and the Pātāla;⁶⁰

[III/35-40.] the regions of the world, [including] all the four continents, Pūrbabī[deha], [Jambūd]līpa, Amaragoyānī and Ūtara-kuru⁶¹; the mountains of the earth, [Gandham]āda, Kailāsa, Bipulaparrbatavaṅkata [the abode of ?] Brahmarakṣayakkṣakumāra, the Himabā,⁶² the Seven Rivers and Seven [Rings of Mountains], [Yugan]-dharaśīkharapa[rrbata].....

numbering systems we have referred to. It is odd that the sixteen Brahma-lokas of the Rūpāvacara should be mentioned first, then the four āyatana of the Arūpāvacara in ascending order, and finally the six heavens of the Kāmāvacara, also in ascending order; we should have expected these six to come first.

For further details, see the explanations of all the above terms in Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, Colombo, 1950; Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary*, London, 1921-1925, reprinted 1949; Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*. Cf. Masson, *La religion populaire dans le Canon bouddhique pâli*, Louvain, 1942, pp. 18-36 and chart facing p. 144; B.C. Law, *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, Calcutta, 1925, pp. 1-35.

- 60) Svargamārga (Pali: saggamagga), 'the path to heaven'; Pātāla, the kingdom of the Nāgas in the subterranean waters.
- 61) The Four Continents in the Pali lists are: Pubbavideha to the east, Jambudīpa to the south, Aparagoyāna to the west, and Uttarakuru to the north (see Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, II, 1344); the Sanskrit names are Pūrvavideha, Jambudvīpa, Aparagodāna, Uttarakuru.
- 62) 'Himabā' is the Himavā or Himavanta, the name given the Himālaya in Pali mythology. One of its peaks is Gandhamādāna, the favorite resort of the Paccekabuddhas. Another is Kelāsa, Skt. Kailāsa, which is said in Brahmanical mythology to be the abode of Śiva. 'Bipulaparrbatavaṅkata' perhaps means Vipulapabbata-Vaṅkata: Mount Vipula, or Vepulla, which was called Mount Vaṅkata in the time of the Buddha Koṇagāmana, is the highest of the five mountains surrounding Rājagaha, and is the abode of the Yakkha Kumbhīra and his hundred thousand followers. See Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v. Kelāsa, Gandhāmadāna, Himavā, Vepulla. 'Kumāra' could be a deformation, or a false reading, of Kumbhīra; brahmarakṣa may have been a polite name for a yakṣa (yakkha) or demon who dwelt on a mountain; such creatures received offerings in India and Ceylon; and King Yaśovarman I of Cambodia dedicated an aśrama to 'Śrī-Vrahmarakṣa' (see K. Bhattacharya, *Les religions brahmaniques dans l'ancien Cambodge*, Paris, 1961, p. 144). Yugandhara, another Himālayan range, forms the first of the seven concentric rings around Mount Sineru (Meru); see Malalasekera, op. cit., s.v. Yugandhara. The seven rings of mountains are encircled by seven concentric seas.

3.

Inscription LXIV (Figs. 6, 7), which is also in Siamese and written in the same script as No. XLV, was discovered at Vāt Jān Gām (ช้างค้ำ) at Nān. The reading by Mahā Chām Dōṅgāmvarṇa, together with a version in modern Siamese spelling, appears at *Praḥum Śīlācārik*, III, pp. 148 ff.

Face I contains 26 lines, or fragments of lines; an unknown number of lines is missing both at the beginning and at the end. This face was apparently intended to embody the whole text of the agreement, but the engraver omitted a passage by mistake. To show where it should have been inserted, he put a pair of crosses in the second half of I/10, a punctuation mark equivalent to a caret. He then engraved the omitted passage on Face II, beginning it with a punctuation mark in the form of an X; it contains 10 short lines; and (apart from the lacunae of a few letters which can be supplied from the context) it appears to be complete. Because of this peculiar arrangement, we have not broken our translation into separate faces but give it continuously, indicating face and line in brackets as usual.



Fig. 6. Inscription LXIV, Face I.

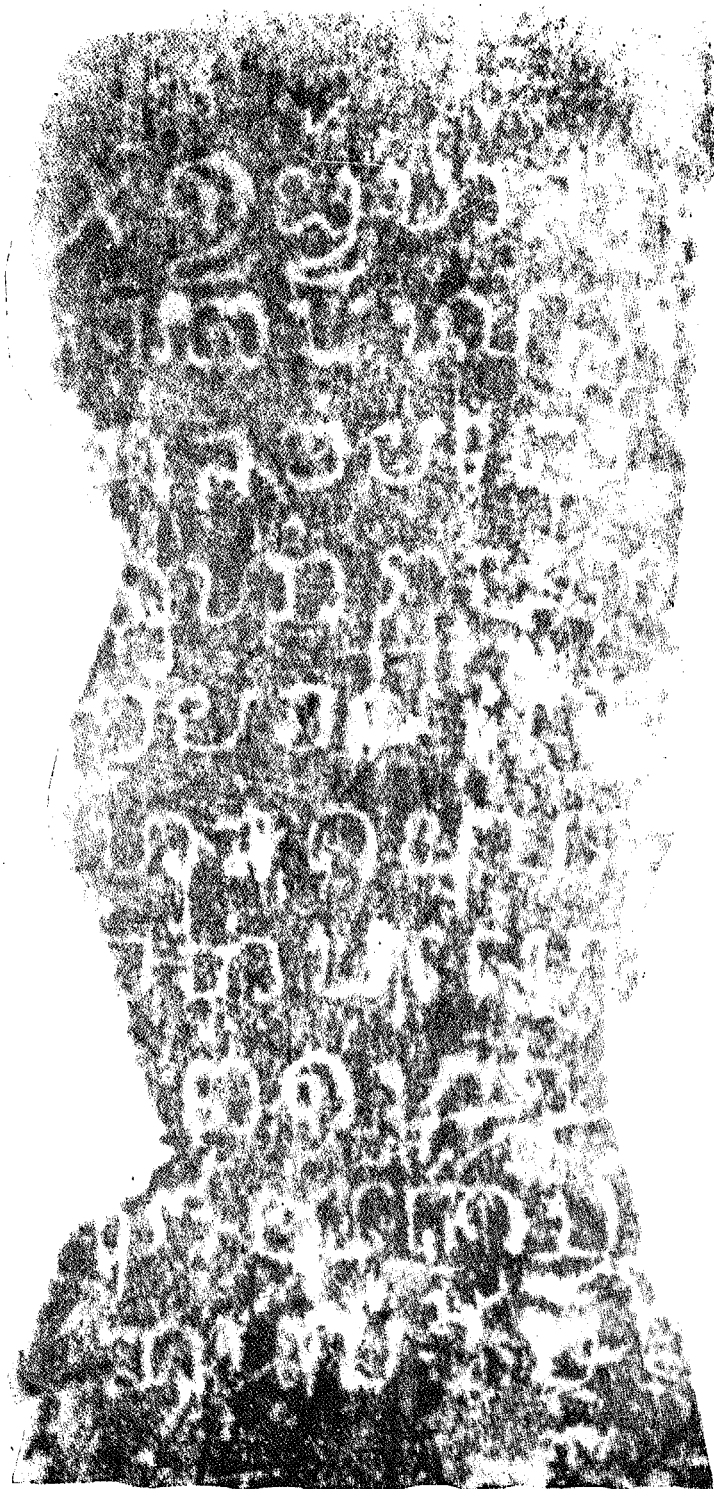


Fig. 7. Inscription LXIV, Face II.

TEXT

Face I

๑. แก่เจ้า.....(กุ)
๒. นในปลาอย่าในเขาแลอูบายกทำสรรพ(โทส)..... (ไม่)
๓. ตริเจ้ากตือนันึงมิกงวัลในสีมาเจ้าแลปบุดึงเมืองน่านเมือง.....
.....(ด)
๔. ยวกลยวสณิทธอนัน์แตกลาวเขาในสารจารจารึกนี้ผิปกเสจจาคำ (ชี
ใส่พาคม)
๕. พระพุทธรพระธรรมพระสงฆทั้งหลายอนัน์พนไปจงญาให้รุจกัชีฝูง
พระพุ
๖. ทธอนัน์จักมาพางหน้ากัญาให้รุจกัศาสนาทั้ง ใส่พาคมกัญาให้รุจกั
ศาสตร
๗. ชีเถรมหาเถรอนัน์จ้านงจรงูนิเสมือตงกัตุตคัเลอนัน์เงาพรญาบ
จรงกัปู้ด
๘. วยใจจริงใส่โทสนัน์สาบานนิญาให้ไคแกปู้สก่อนัน์แคนิคำปู้สบด
แลอนนา
๙. กุชชีพรญาภุไทยกทำใจรักกัติไมตรีควยปู้พรญาเปนเจ้า (ต้งเขา
ไคกับโม)
๑๐. คณิรพานสารสตยตงันิ ภิปูพรญาเปนเจารักกัควยใจจริง⁺ กังวัล⁺
อนตราย
๑๑. อนัน์ไคมิในเราแลทานชอยปลตชอยมลังควยริตวยพลแหงทานผิบั
๑๒. มิกงวัลกตติผิจกัมิหิณูริพรญาน เรามกัมากทานไห(มาก)เรา
มกัน้อย
๑๓. ทานไหนอยอนัน์นังบานเมืองเราทั้งหลายแลเมืองแพลเมืองงาวเ

๑๔. มืองนานเมืองพลวปุพฺรญาตงัถยวอนัทรายมิในราชสีมาเราปุพฺร
๑๕. ญาเปนเจาเหนวมิในราชสีมาทานแลผิสีเตจปุพฺรญาปลุกเราอนั
๑๖.เรากเหนสีเตจปุพฺรญาเปนเจาตงัฆัฆาธรรม
ราชาทานเปน
๑๗.มาในชววงสุกโซไทยจณามิริงกยสกุจไปสุ
ปุพฺรญา
๑๘.ท่านมิริงกยสอนันัฉมิกังวลในบาน
เมืองปุพฺรญาบาน
๑๙.ควยเปรชญาพลพาหุพลตงัถอัน อันนัง
ผุ่ลูกทาว (ล)ก
๒๐. (ไท).....ใจกูเขาหาโทสมิโตสกัอัน แตกั
หากอุบา
๒๑.อนันัทนปุพฺรญากัถิลูก
ทาวลูกไทกติแลลูกหาก
๒๒.ในเขากทำสรรพโทสทงัหลาย อนันั
มิอางเจา
๒๓.ปรเพณิทุกอ่ารุงกตงักตงักทุกอ่ารุงปุ
พฺร(ญา)
๒๔.เขอนัไสอนัชีพระพุทฺธพระธรรม
พระส(งฆ)
๒๕.โตเสวยพิบากในจตุรบายเสมือ
ตงัข้า
๒๖.ใจริงใสโทส.....
.....

Face II

๑. ×กัฎ्ह์หลาน
๒. กคบพลอ(ย)
๓. กลอยแป(ง)
๔. ตุทำรายแ
๕. ง ยวนเปน
๖. หุสถยท
๗. (ค)วามแพ
๘. ตกทง
๙. ทรายแกปฺห
๑๐. ลานบ่ชอ(ย)

TRANSLATION

[Several lines missing at the top.]

[I/1-4.] to the Cau⁶³ [those who try to kill him by putting] spells in his fish, poison in his rice⁶⁴, and to do by trickery all sorts of evil⁶⁵ the Cau's friendship. Furthermore, if there is trouble in the Cau's kingdom and the Grandfather does not consider the same as if it were in Mōaṇ Nān Mōaṇ [Blua]⁶⁶⁶⁷ We who were separated⁶⁸ are bound together and united in the text of this inscription.

[I/4-8.] If I am untrue in this oath, [may I not know] the names of the Śaiva tradition, nor of the Buddhas, the Dharmas and the Saṅghas of the past, may I not know the names of the throng of Buddhas who are still to come in the future, may I know neither the [Buddhist] religion nor the religion of Śiva⁶⁹, may I know neither the treatises⁷⁰ nor the names of the theras and mahātheras which I desire to know! May it be exactly as if I cut off [a monk's] head⁷¹! If, however, the Cau Brañā does not intend to love his grandfather

63) As we learn from I/8, the person speaking up to that point is Gāṃ Tān. The person referred to as 'the Cau' (I/1, I/3) or 'the Cau Brañā' (I/7) is therefore Sai Līdaiya.

64) (ใส่ขุ)ในปลาอยู่ในเขา, the same phrase used by King Līdaiya in 1361, when he speaks of attempts on his own life (Inscription V, I/24 f.).

65) Gāṃ Tān is pledging himself to come to the aid of Sukhodaya in the event that an enemy (an agent of Subarṇapurī ?) tries to assassinate Sai Līdaiya, etc.

66) We have supplied the missing toponym, as Gāṃ Tān was King of Nān and Blua.

67) The lacuna must have contained something that would turn the preceding clause into a pledge that Gāṃ Tān would indeed regard trouble at Sukhodaya in exactly the same light as trouble in his own kingdom.

68) Conjectural translation.

69) Saibāgama, i.e. Śaivāgama, the āgama (tradition or religion) of Śiva. The oath was probably administered by Court Brahmins of Śaiva faith. cf. note 41, supra.

70) ศาสตรา, i.e. śāstra.

71) ตัดกัณท์ i.e. ตัดกัณท์คอ, 'exactly as if I severed the neck'. Killing a monk was one of the five 'hellish crimes'; see above, note 27.

sincerely, then may not a single one of the retributions named in this oath befall the Grandfather!

[I/8.] Up to here, the words of the Grandfather's oath.

[I/8-10.] I who speak [from here on], and who am named Brañā Ḷḍaiya, will act with love, devotion and friendship toward my grandfather the Brañā pen Cau until I attain the final release of Nirvāṇa⁷². The oath is as follows. If my grandfather the Brañā pen Cau loves me sincerely, [II/1-10] I the grandson will then respect him; but if he turns afterwards to abuse, injure or cheat me, thinking only of victory [for himself], [then] if there is some dispute or something to harm my grandfather, [I] the grandson will not help him.⁷³

[I/10-13.] Whatever trouble or danger befalls me, he will help me with his troops and forces to overcome and destroy it. If there is no trouble, but if there should be⁷⁴ If I need much, my grandfather will give me much, and if I need a little he will give me a little.

[I/13-18.] Furthermore my grandfather the Brañā considers my whole country as one with Mōaṅ Blè, Mōaṅ Nāv, Mōaṅ Nān and Mōaṅ Blua.⁷⁵ My grandfather the Brañā pen Cau will consider

72) moganirbāna, for Pali mokkhanibbāna or Skt. mokṣanirvāṇa. Like nibbāna, mokkha or mokṣa means release from the round of rebirths. Hence in a Buddhist sense mokkhanibbāna means practically the same as nibbāna alone. But while both parties to the oath were Buddhists, the oath was apparently administered by Śaiva Brahmins; and by analogy with the pairs of terms at I/6 f. (the [Buddhist] religion and the religion of Śiva, the [Brahmanical] śāstras and the names of the [Buddhist] theras and mahātheras), we should perhaps conclude that a pair is intended here: mokṣa (Brahmanical) and nibbāna (Buddhist).

73) The passage on Face II, which the engraver omitted from Face I, is Prince Sai Ḷḍaiya's 'escape clause', corresponding to Gām Tǎn's at I/7 f. Each of the two parties calls down a lot of supernatural retributions on himself in case he should prove false to the oath; but each naturally intends them to be null and void if the other party breaks the oath first.

74) We have not attempted to translate หิรัยพราณา at I/12 nor the doubtful reading ไค which Mahā Chām supplies following it. He conjectures that หิรัยพราณา (hīrībrañāna) stands for hīrīyāna, which he glosses as 'a witness who is ashamed of wrongdoing.' Alternatively, whatever hīrī may mean, we might take 'brañāna' as 'brañā' followed by a word beginning with na-, which was completed by something that might be explained by a better reading than ไค.

75) Nān and Blua were Gām Tǎn's two principal cities; this passage proves that he was also suzerain over Brè (*Prè*) and Nāv (*Ngāo*). Brè had been a dependency of Blua (Pua) since around 1320 and remained so during most of the intervening period; King Ḷḍaiya had helped to restore order there in 1359 for his ally Kār Mōaṅ of Nān; see pp. 61, 62. Nāv, which is almost due north of Brè and west of Nān, may have been ruled by a vassal of Brè under the suzerainty of Nān; but we have little information about it at this time.

danger to my kingdom to be [a danger] to his kingdom. If my grandfather the Saṃtec Brañā supports⁷⁶ me then I will look upon my grandfather the Saṃtec Brañā pen Cau as Mahādharmarājā⁷⁷ who was throughout the period of the dynasty of Sukhodaiya. Let there be no estrangement! Let me enter the house of my grandfather the Brañā! Let him not be estranged!

[I/18-19.] Furthermore if there is trouble in the land of my grandfather the Brañā [I will go to his aid] in like manner with all my strength of mind and body.

[I/19-26.] Furthermore the throng of lords and gentlefolk [say?] they cannot find any fault in my heart, not a single one; but if they tell lies Furthermore, whether my grandfather the Brañā himself, or [his] lords and gentlefolk, and I in them, doing all sorts of evil. Furthermore, in quoting the Cau tradition, supporting me as I support⁷⁸ my grandfather the Brañā [If I am false to my oath?] then let the names of the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha [be unknown to me]! Let me eat the fruit of my deeds in the four hells as if I [had cut off a monk's head] sincere, punishment⁷⁹

[Several lines missing.]

76) Conjectural translation of သူ့, which usually means 'to plant' or 'to build'. Here it may have a sense more like သူ့ဖွဲ့, 'to establish someone in a career' or 'to arrange a marriage for someone'. If, as we may guess from I/17, Sai Ṭḍaiya is being adopted into the house of Nān, it would be natural for Gāṃ Ṭān to give him a princess of that house in marriage.

77) Probably used in a double sense. Mahādharmarājā means a sovereign who rules in accordance with the Dharma. It was also more specifically the title assumed by King Ṭḍaiya (Mahādharmarājā I). Sai Ṭḍaiya apparently means that he will regard his 'grandfather' Gāṃ Ṭān (really his great-uncle) in the same light as his real grandfather Ṭḍaiya.

78) ဂုဏ်း (I/23) is probably equivalent to နှံ့, နှံ့ဖွဲ့, နှံ့ဖွဲ့, etc., 'to support'. We have omitted from our translation the (inadvertent?) repetition of နှံ့ at I/23.

79) Though the text from I/22 on is too fragmentary to make any connected sense, the latter portion was obviously a curse on the speaker if he should ever violate his oath.

4.

We know of at least three occasions during the next half century when Sukhodaya came to the aid of the house of Nān, so we may take it for granted that the pact remained in effect and that Nān fulfilled its obligations loyally, though we have no details.

In 1395 Rāmarāja succeeded to the throne of Ayudhyā upon the death of his father Rāmeśvara. He was not a man of strong character. The Subarnapurī faction were not yet ready to risk civil war by attempting to seize his throne; but they redoubled their plots, forced or persuaded him to appoint their own men to positions of authority, and put him under increasing pressure to comply with their policies.

In 1396, according to the NC, Gāṃ Tǎn was poisoned by 'a southern brahṃyā called Khun Hlvañ.'⁸⁰ The designation is vague, but it almost certainly means an agent of the house of Subarnapurī.⁸¹

80) พระยาไค้ซ้อขุนหลวง. 'Brahṃyā (พระยา) is of course brahṃā (พระยา); the spelling in the printed edition of NC is modernized.

81) The NC says he came to Nān to perform the rājābhiṣeka ceremony on Gāṃ Tǎn and killed him by pouring lustral water ('buddhābhiṣeka water') containing poison on his head. This is hard to believe. If we can judge by the example of Līdaiya in 1347, an independent monarch would receive the rājābhiṣeka from his vassals, and he would receive it within a reasonably short time after ascending the throne. Gāṃ Tǎn had already been reigning for ten years; so far as we know, he was an independent monarch; and there was no 'southern brahṃyā' who by any stretch of the imagination could have been his vassal. If, on the contrary, Gāṃ Tǎn were a vassal of the 'southern brahṃyā', he might indeed have received the abhiṣeka from his overlord; but who could the overlord have been? A little further on in the NC, 'the south country' means Sukhodaya, and more particularly Sajjanālaya; but Gāṃ Tǎn was not a vassal of Sukhodaya; and in any case it is impossible to imagine him being poisoned by the King of Sukhodaya. As Professor Wyatt says in the English translation of NC (p. 16, note e), 'the south' most often means Ayudhyā (and later Bangkok) to the author of the chronicle. It would therefore be normal to identify the Khun Hlvañ with the King of Ayudhyā, Rāmarāja; but there is no evidence that Ayudhyā had any claim to suzerainty over Nān; and in any case it is hard to believe Rāmarāja would go in person to Nān to poison the ruler. The chronicler, however, may well be attributing the deed of an agent to the principal. As Professor Wyatt observes (ibid.),

The assassin took flight, and Gāṃ Tăn's son Śrī Canda succeeded to the throne.

Not long afterwards Nān was attacked by two brothers who belonged to the ruling house of Brè, named Thera and Un Mōaṅ; Śrī Canda was killed; and Thera mounted the throne. Upon Thera's death a half-year later Un Mōaṅ succeeded.

Meanwhile Śrī Canda's younger brother, Cau Huṅ, had managed to escape and take refuge with 'Braḥyā Jahliāṅ in the south country.' The 'south country' in this context has nothing to do with Subarṇapurī. 'Jahliāṅ' (*Chalieng*)—the Jalyāṅ of the inscriptions—is an alternative name for Sajjanālaya.⁸² 'Braḥyā Jahliāṅ', the Uparāja who ruled Sajjanālaya, was almost certainly Prince Sai Līdaiya, for it was the usual custom for the heir-apparent to the throne of Sukhodaya to be appointed to that post. It would take courage for him to intervene on behalf of the refugee prince, but Sai Līdaiya had plenty of it. With his assistance Huṅ raised an army, with which he returned to Nān in 1398. He defeated Un Mōaṅ in battle, took him prisoner, and

Paramarājādhirāja had borne the title Khun Hlvaṅ when he was still Prince of Subarṇapurī, before seizing the throne of Ayudhyā. It is therefore likely that his nephew Indarājā, Prince of Subarṇapurī, bore the same title in 1396; and while it is unlikely that he himself would go to Nān to poison Gāṃ Tăn it is quite possible that he would send an agent to do so. But we still cannot understand how administering the rājābhiṣeka could have furnished an acceptable pretext. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that Gāṃ Tăn was poisoned by an agent of Subarṇapurī but that the circumstances are wrongly stated: the MS from which the chronicler worked may have had a marginal note, added by some unknown commentator from a tradition that properly applied to some later ruler of Nān, such as Pū Khēn (1405-15; see below, p. 102), and that he mistook it for an integral part of the text. We are aware that 'interpreting' a chronicle in this fashion is an arbitrary business; but the passage will not do as it stands; if we cannot interpret it plausibly we must reject it altogether, which we are reluctant to do.

- 82) Sometimes there is a distinction between Sajjanālaya, the seat of the Uparāja, and Jalyāṅ, the place about 2 km. east of it where Vāt Mahādhātu (Vāt braḥ Prāṅ Jaliāṅ) now stands. Jalyāṅ had been the seat of Khmer administration in the province before Sukhodaya became an independent kingdom, but in the late 13th and the 14th centuries it was overshadowed by Sajjanālaya proper. Ayudhyā, however, seems to have preferred the name Jalyāṅ and applied it indiscriminately to both parts of the town; and if Sukhodaya was still tributary to Ayudhyā it would be natural for the Uparāja to be called Brañā Jalyāṅ.



Fig. 8. Inscription at Vāt Brahyā Bhū, Nān.

sent him as a present to his ally at Sajjanālaya. Then he mounted the throne of his ancestors.⁸³

On April 12, 1397, Rāmarāja, during the course of a state visit to Sukhodaya, issued a proclamation reasserting Ayudhyan suzerainty over Mahādharmarājā II's kingdom.⁸⁴ He was probably acting under pressure from the Subarnapurī faction; and as the proclamation was issued just before Huñ's return to Nān it may be guessed that Sai Līdaiya's intervention in Huñ's behalf had caused some uneasiness about Sukhodayan intentions. Mahādharmarājā II, who had apparently been made to renew his oath of allegiance to Ayudhyā, could do nothing; but he died a year or two later and Sai Līdaiya succeeded to his throne as Mahādharmarājā III.

The new king somehow or other managed to avoid taking the oath of allegiance. In 1400 he seized the province of Nagara Svarga, which his father had lost to Paramarājā in 1372, and which had presumably been under the direct control of the house of Subarnapurī ever since; then he hastened to the north and conquered Brè; finally he returned to Sukhodaya, where he threw off all bonds of vassalage and declared himself an independent monarch.⁸⁵

Though the NC says nothing about it, we may assume that Mahādharmarājā III's subjugation of Brè was designed to end a recurrent threat to his ally King Huñ of Nān, and to restore its relation of vassalage to Nān which had been temporarily reversed by Thera and remained in suspense after Un Möaṅ was captured by Huñ.

83) The NC adds that Un Möaṅ remained in 'the south country' (i.e. Sajjanālaya) until his death ten years later. We are not told the circumstances of his residence there. Probably, in accordance with custom, he was made to swear allegiance, given a small apanage, and kept under surveillance.

84) See our Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 4, *infra*.

85) See our Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 1, JSS LVI/2, p. 221 ff.; also Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 50 f.

In 1405 Huñ was succeeded by his son Pū Khěñ (ปู่เข็น), of whom the NC tells us nothing except that he died of diarrhea in 1415. Was his illness the result of poisoning? It is not impossible, for by this time Sukhodaya was no longer capable of intervening on behalf of the house of Nān. Mahādharmarājā III's rashness had set off a chain of events in the kingdom of Ayudhyā which proved his undoing. In 1409 Prince Indarājā of Subarṇapurī seized the Ayudhyan throne, and some time before 1412 he reduced Sukhodaya to vassalage. He would certainly want to add Nān to his possessions; but an invasion of so remote and wild a region would have been far beyond his power; the next best thing would be to create consternation among the sturdy Kāv. Unfortunately we have no information about what really happened.⁸⁶

The NC tells us nothing about the next two rulers of Nān except their names and regnal dates. Bān Tan (พันตัน), Pū Khěñ's son, ruled 1415-24. His son Nua Phā Sum (เจ้าฟ้าสุน) ruled 1424-31.

We know something of Nua Phā Sum from another source. In 1426 he cast five bronze statues of the Buddha in the Sukhodaya post-classic style. Two of them, representing the Buddha in the walking posture, are at Vāt Brahyā Bhū (พระบาท) at Nān; the third, also walking, and the fourth, which is in the standing posture, are at Vāt Jān Gām nearby; the fifth has disappeared.⁸⁷ The pedestals of the first two and the fourth bear identical inscriptions (Fig. 8), while the third has lost its pedestal.

86) We have conjectured above (note 81) that the story of the poisoned lustral water is really applicable to Pū Khěñ. If that is right, we should perhaps assume that Pū Khěñ, left isolated by Mahādharmarājā III's forced capitulation to Ayudhyā, agreed to accept investiture as a vassal of Indarājā. This is all guesswork; but it is hard to see how any of Pū Khěñ's predecessors should have felt obliged to do so.

87) Two of the statues are illustrated in Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, Figs. 55-a, 55-b; all four are illustrated in Griswold, *New Evidence for the Dating of Sukhodaya Art*, *Artibus Asiae* XIX, 3/4, Figs. 1 to 6.

TEXT

๑. สักเตจ้าวพรญาจววุฒาสักเสวยราชในนันทบุรสถากเสด็จพระเปนเจ้า
๒. หองคโพระโหคงในสาสนาหาพันปีตนเป็นพระญาในบีมเมีย
๓. เฟิงมา จุลสกกกราช ๗๘๘ มหาสกกกราช ๑๙๗๐ เดือน ๖ วัน พุทธ
๗ ยาม
๔. ปราถณาหันพระศรีอารียไมตรีเจ้า

TRANSLATION

Samtec Cau Braññā Nvva Phā Sum, the ruler of Nandapūra, founded five [images of the] Lord, to remain strong with the Religion throughout these five thousand years.⁸⁸ He became Brahññā in the year of the horse⁸⁹, Culasakkarāja 788, Mahāsakkharāja 1970,⁹⁰ in the sixth month, on Wednesday, at the seventh watch. He devoutly wishes to behold the Lord Śrī Āriya Maiṭṛī.⁹¹

88) Referring to the old prophesy that the Buddhist religion is destined to disappear 5000 years after the Buddha's parinibbāna.

89) นบม is the name used for 'horse' in the calendar that Sukhodaya inherited from the Khmer. เฟิงมา, literally 'precisely the horse', gives the name in ordinary Tai (ไท).

90) 'Mahāsakkarāja', in the present context, means the Buddhist Era, in which, according to Sukhodayan practice, 1970 corresponds to AD 1426. The year in CS conforms to the Sukhodayan calendar, in which 788 was indeed a year of the horse, corresponding to BE 1970. In the system used in NC, on the contrary, CS 788 was a kāp-sī year (กานส์), a year of the dragon. According to NC, Nua Phā Sum succeeded to the throne upon his father's death in CS 788, year of the dragon. At first glance this would seem to be the same event our inscription refers to: 'he became Braññā in the year of the horse, CS 788,' etc. As epigraphic evidence is usually to be preferred, we should perhaps suppose that NC's dates are right in terms of CS after all, but wrong in terms of the ten and twelve year cycles, i.e. the reverse of the supposition stated supra, Note 2. If so, the years in all this portion of the NC should be transposed into the Christian Era accordingly, and we should add 2 years to the dates based on the NC in the preceding pages. Pending further study, however, it has seemed best to use the dates as transposed into the Christian Era by Professor Wyatt in the English version of the NC. In any case another explanation is possible for the discrepancy between NC and our inscription for the date of Nua Phā Sum's accession. It is possible that he succeeded to the throne *de facto* in 1424 but did not receive the abhiṣeka until 1426. Our inscription implies that the five images were cast on the day when 'he became Braññā'. That could not have been the day of his *de facto* accession upon his father's death, for it would take at least several months to prepare the moulds and get everything ready for the casting.

91) i.e. Ariya Metteyya; see Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v. Metteyya.

At Sukhodaya the death of Mahādharmarājā III in 1419 had been followed by serious disturbances: the claim of his son Pāl Mōaṇ to the throne of the vassal kingdom was disputed by another prince. The King of Ayudhyā proceeded to Nagara Svarga, received the submission of both princes, and awarded the disputed throne to Pāl Mōaṇ (Mahādharmarājā IV, called Paramapāla in Inscription XII). We may assume that he was a loyal vassal of Ayudhyā. There is some evidence that he transferred his capital from Sukhodaya to Biṣṇuloka around 1430.⁹²

The NC tells us something about Nua Phā Sum's son, Inda Kèn, who succeeded him as King of Nān in 1431. The next year he was seized and imprisoned by his two brothers who wished to usurp the kingdom, but he escaped and made his way to Jaḥliaṇ. After raising an army there with the help of the ruler, he returned to Nān in 1433 and ousted his rivals.

We do not know who was ruler of Jaḥliaṇ (Sajjanālaya) at this time, but it must have been a member of Mahādharmarājā IV's family. We do not know whether, in helping to restore the refugee King of Nān, he was acting independently or with Ayudhyā's consent.

Upon the death of Mahādharmarājā IV in 1438, the vassal kingdom of Sukhodaya was abolished. The Sukhodayan provinces were incorporated into the kingdom of Ayudhyā, with their administrative capital at Biṣṇuloka, under the rule of the King of Ayudhyā's son Rāmeśvara as Viceroy. One of his vassals was Prince Yudhiṣṭhira, a scion of the house of Sukhodhaya, probably either a son or grandson of Mahādharmarājā IV.⁹³

In 1441 the King of Lān Nā was ousted by his son Tilokarāja, who took the throne for himself. The next year the King of Ayudhyā, intent on taking advantage of the dispute, invaded Lān Nā at the head of a large army. Among the vassals accompanying him was Prince Yudhiṣṭhira, who distinguished himself by his bravery in the fighting. But despite some initial successes the invasion ended in failure.⁹⁴

92) Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, pp. 53-55.

93) Griswold, *Prince Yudhiṣṭhira*, *Artibus Asiae* XXVI, 3/4, pp. 221 f.

94) Griswold, *Prince Yudhiṣṭhira*, p. 222.

The CMC tells a curious story, which may or may not be true, about 'Kèn Dāv', who is of course identical with Inda Kèn, Nua Phā Sum's son, the ruler of Nān from 1431 to 1488. In 1443, according to the story, he attempted to usurp the throne of Lān Nā from Tilokarāja by means of a ruse.⁹⁵ Pretending that Nān was threatened by an invasion of the Kèv (ᨾᩣ᩠ᨦ, i.e. the *Tai* of Laos or Tongking?), he requested the assistance of Tilokarāja, who thereupon sent an army to his aid. He then invited a large number of Tilokarāja's officers and men to dinner at the palace and poisoned them all. Tilokarāja, bent on revenge, advanced with two more armies, one of them commanded by himself and one commanded by his mother. She invested Brè, and with the aid of a Kèv sorcerer received the submission of its ruler. Nān proved more difficult, but finally in 1448 Tilokarāja managed to conquer the city. Kèn Dāv escaped and took refuge with the 'king of the south'. His nephew Phā Sèn was made to swear an oath of allegiance to Tilokarāja and placed on the throne as vassal ruler.

The NC says nothing about Inda Kèn's trickery or any of the events of 1443. Its first mention of Tilokarāja is in 1448, when Inda Kèn sends him a present of salt from a famous salt-well near Nān. Tilokarāja then decides to annex his kingdom, invades at the head of an army, and surrounds the city. Inda Kèn, realizing he cannot withstand the siege, flees 'to the south' with his family and takes refuge with his ally the ruler of Jāhliān. Phā Sèn is made King of Nān as Tilokarāja's vassal and rules until his death in 1459. After that Nān is ruled by governors appointed by *Chieng Mai*.

95) CMC, p. 110.

