

**A LAW PROMULGATED BY THE KING
OF AYUDHYĀ IN 1397 A.D.**

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by

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Inscription XXXVIII, in which King Rāmarāja of Ayudhyā promulgates a law in the vassal kingdom of Sukhodaya in 1397, is a document of peculiar importance for the study of legal history.

It is the only known legislative text engraved on stone emanating from any of the Southeast Asian kingdoms. The Indian tradition held that the universe is governed by an immutable natural law, the **Dharma**, which was miraculously revealed to the sage Manu, and in turn revealed by him to other sages who made it known to mankind through abridged versions called **Dharmaśāstra**. Only a small part of the **Dharmaśāstra** deals with the administration of justice; the rest deals with Hindu rites and sacrifices, purification and penances; and its authority rests on sanctions deeply rooted in Brahmanical religion. It was not the duty of an Indian king to legislate, i.e. to impose laws of a general and permanent character, but to understand the **Dharma** by studying the **Dharmaśāstra** and to settle disputes in accordance with it. Cambodia and the other Southeast Asian kingdoms in which Brahminism predominated adopted the **Dharmaśāstra** with little or no change; disputes were settled, and the rites observed, by reference to it; as the King's decisions in specific cases were *ad hoc* commands which established no precedent, no code of civil law came into being.

As Professor Robert Lingat has shown, Ayudhyā was the only Southeast Asian kingdom to develop a code of civil law. This remarkable achievement, of which the Siamese might well be proud, was an outgrowth of an earlier development among the Buddhist Mōns. While we know nothing of the administration of justice in the kingdom of Dvāravatī, we know that the Mōns of Burma, as early as the 12th century if not before, started composing a series of works called **Dhammasattha** (the word is the Pali equivalent of Sanskrit

Dharmaśāstra). One of the most influential is attributed to the initiative of Wagaru or Wareru (Siamese: Cau Fā-Rua), who in the late 13th century made himself ruler of Rāmaññadesa, the Mōn country of Lower Burma. Based on the Hindu Dharmaśāstra, but with all the Brahmanical matter removed, and relying for its authority on a Buddhist adaptation of the legend of Manu, it was intended as a guide for Buddhist kings in the administration of justice. Rāmādhīpati, when he founded the kingdom of Ayudhyā in the mid-14th century, possessed a Dhammasattha of this type from Rāmaññadesa, which he used in deciding specific cases. The Rājasattha—a record of his decisions, reduced to general form and classified according to subject—took on the sanctity and all-embracing character of the Dhammasattha itself and became an integral part of it. He and his successors were thus real legislators instead of mere issuers of *ad hoc* commands.¹

It was therefore very fitting for Rāmādhīpati's grandson Rāmarāja to cause his law to be engraved on stone; other kings of Ayudhyā may have done the same thing, though no examples have come to light; but rulers elsewhere in Southeast Asia, who were not legislators, would have no reason to use so permanent a material to make known their commands. In his inscription Rāmarāja constantly refers to the Dharmaśāstra, and couples the Rājaśāstra with it; though he calls them by their Sanskrit names, he obviously means the Dhammasattha on which Ayudhyan law was based and the Rājasattha which was the body of laws enacted by his predecessors (later Siamese rulers used the hybrid forms **Dharmasūtra** and **Rājasātra**).

The Ayudhyan laws in general are known to us only from the Recension of 1805 A.D., which gives them not in their original form

1) The whole subject of the development of Ayudhyan law from the Dharmaśāstra, via the Dhammasattha, has been admirably studied by Mr Lingat. See the following works by him: *L'esclavage privé dans le vieux droit siamois*, Paris, 1931, 21ff.; *L'influence hindoue dans l'ancien droit siamois*, Faculté de Droit de Paris, Conférences 1936, Paris, 1937; *Les sources du droit dans le système traditionnel de l'Inde*, The Hague, 1967, pp. 294-300; *La conception du droit dans les pays hinayânistes de l'Indochine*, BEFEO XLIV, 163 f.; *Evolution of the Conception of Law in Burma and Siam*, JSS XXXVIII/1, 9 f. Cf. Quaritch Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, London, 1934, Chapters VII, VIII.

but with an undetermined quantity of amendments made by successive monarchs.² Rāmarāja's inscription, the only piece of Ayudhyan legislation we have in a form we can be certain has not been amended, provides a valuable clue to the original form of some of the laws. For example as certain things in it are evidently taken from the first three articles of the Law on Abduction, which the Recension of 1805 attributes to Rāmādhīpati, we can be sure those portions of the Law on Abduction go back to the second half of the 14th century, and their attribution to Rāmādhīpati—which Dr Quaritch Wales has questioned³—is greatly strengthened. Further comparisons would certainly reveal a good deal about the nature of the amendments to which Rāmādhīpati's laws were subjected by his successors.

Several references in Rāmarāja's inscription show that two of Ayudhyā's most remarkable institutions—the system of śakti-nā and the division of the population into territorial groups headed by government officials called Mun Nāy—were already in force in 1397, although they were not perfected until later.

It was customary for Southeast Asian kings, who were of course the absolute proprietors of the land, to allot the usufruct of portions of it to their subjects. The kings of Ayudhyā allotted a specified number of śakti-nā or 'dignity-marks' to each of their subjects according to his rank and the position he occupied, corresponding to the number of *rai* he was actually or theoretically entitled to; and when the system was fully developed the number of marks ranged from 5 to 25 for ordinary citizens, up to 10,000 for ministers in charge of important departments, and 20,000 for princes of the highest rank. The dignity-marks became a measure of each person's value; and the fines for certain offenses known as เกล็ด —transgressions against rules established by the king—were calculated in proportion to the dignity-marks of the

2) Mr Lingat's edition of the Recension of 1805 (ประมวลกฎหมายรัชกาลที่ ๑ จ.ศ. ๑๑๖ พิมพ์ตามฉบับหลวงศวาสนวงศ์, 3 vols. University of Moral and Political Science, Bangkok, 1938-39), made directly from the official manuscripts of the reign of King Rāma I, is the only printed version that reproduces their spelling faithfully. French translations of some of the laws will be found in his *L'esclavage privé dans le vieux droit siamois*, 293-377.

3) *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, p. 172.

culprit and the victim.⁴ A major wife was considered to have half the number of marks her husband had; a minor wife, one-quarter; and a slave wife who bore him children, one-eighth.

Rāmarāja speaks of this system as if it were already in effect at Sukhodaya, no less than at Ayudhyā, but he may have been anticipating. Probably the Sukhodayan monarchs allotted the usufruct of land to their subjects not according to a set formula but taking into consideration various other factors besides the person's rank, such as his ability as a cultivator, or the particular services he had rendered the Crown. It is doubtful if such allotments became the measure of people's value for calculating fines. In establishing Ayudhyan law at Sukhodaya, Rāmarāja doubtless intended to systematize the practice and bring it into line with that at his capital.

In the kingdom of Ayudhyā, at least in the portions that were ruled directly from the capital, the whole population was divided into territorial groups under government-appointed group-chiefs known as Mun Nāy, who were responsible to one or the other of two great departments at the capital. All male citizens, except officials above a certain rank, were subject to six months' *corvée* out of each year, for which they received no pay or even rations. They were assigned to the military or to one of the public services engaged in digging canals, draining swamps, building roads, and various other tasks. In order to prevent anyone from shirking his duty, the population was registered in lists called *hâng wao* — 'kite-tails', suggesting their inordinate length—giving each man's name, territorial group, and assignment. The Mun Nāy was charged with the duty of supplying as many members of his group as might be required of him, so he had to know the whereabouts of everyone in his group at all times, keep an account of births and deaths, and make sure that no one deserted to another group. As

4) For ๓๓๓, see Lingat, *L'esclavage privé*, 355 note 1; the word is mentioned in the preamble to Rāmādhīpati's Law on Abduction (ibid., 362). For a discussion of the Ayudhyan śakti-nā system, see Quaritch Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, 25, 35-50, 60, 75-78. For its origin, see Lingat, *Les origines du prêt à intérêt au Siam*, *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 1950, 232-3.

some services were overburdened with heavy work while others had much lighter duties, there was always the risk that a group might become depleted by desertions; and some of the work was so hard that people tried to escape it by voluntarily selling themselves into slavery in order to join another group in which life was easier.⁵

The details we have given are of uncertain date, and some of them may not be applicable for 1397; but Rāmarāja's references to 'Mun Nāy' show that the system in its essentials was already in operation at Ayudhyā. Whether it had more than a theoretical existence at Sukhodaya is open to question. We do not know how the corvée had operated during the period of Sukhodaya's independence, or for how many months of each year; there is some reason to think it had been administered mainly by vassal lords rather than by government appointees, and that the kings made an effort to set humane limits on it.⁶

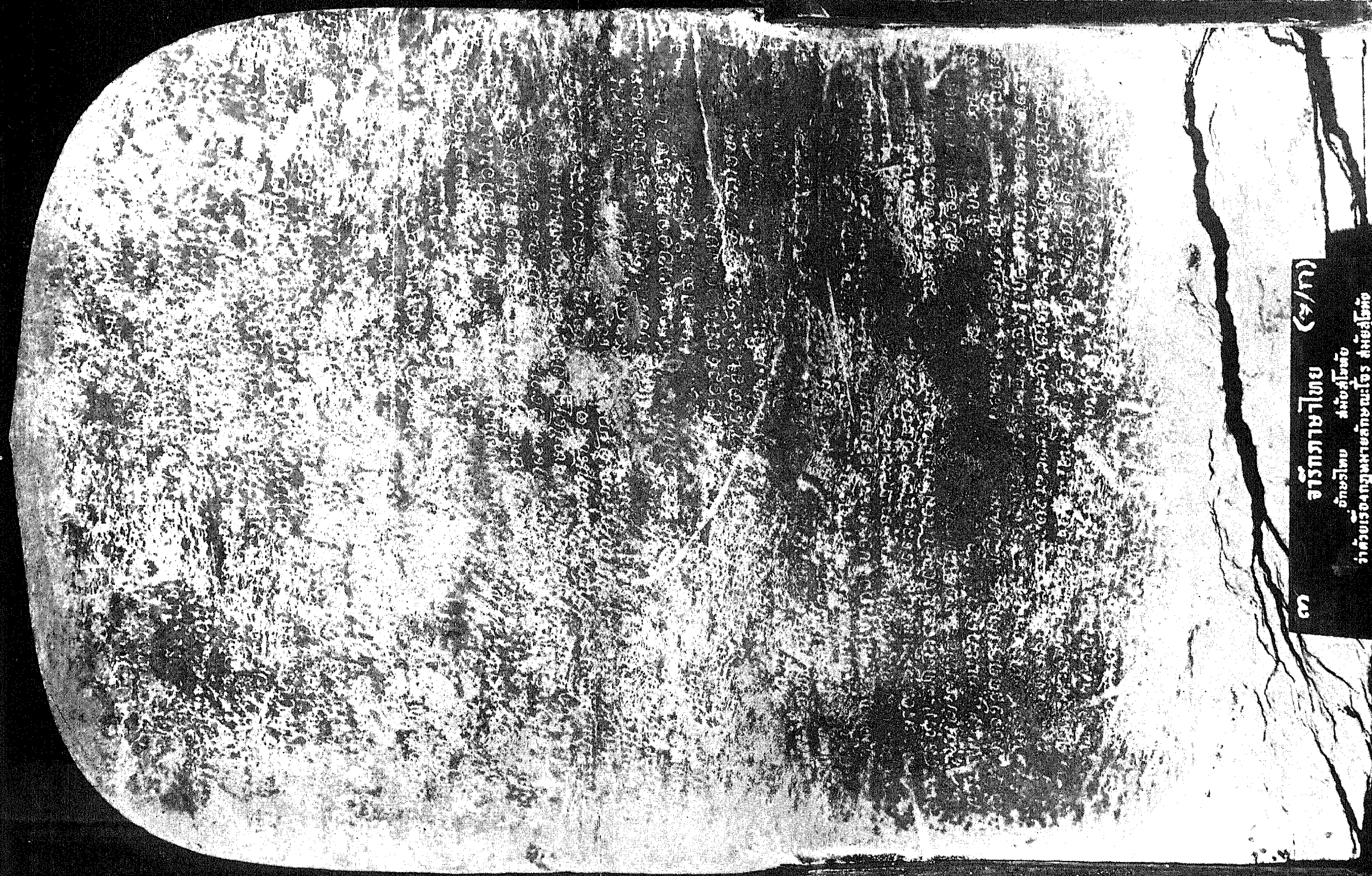
In our first paper of the present series, *A Declaration of Independence and its Consequences* (JSS LVI/2), we have discussed the historical information that can be extracted from Rāmarāja's inscription, one of the purposes of which was to reassert Ayudhyā's suzerainty over the kingdom of Sukhodaya—a suzerainty which had been to all intents allowed to lapse during his father's reign. In our paper *On Kingship and Society at Sukhodaya*, to appear in Volume II of *Studies in Felicitation of Professor Lauriston Sharp* (Ithaca, 1969), we have commented on the inscription from several other points of view. Here we shall give as complete a translation as possible, together with notes on the textual problems involved in it.

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- 5) For the system of territorial groups headed by officials called Mun Nāy, see Lingat, *L'esclavage privé dans le vieux droit siamois*, 82 f.; id., *Les régimes matrimoniaux du Sud-est de l'Asie*, Paris, 1952, I, 168 f.; LaLoubère, *Du royaume de Siam*, Paris, 1691, I, 237 f.; Quaritch Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, 46-62.
 - 6) It is true that the *Traibhūmikathā*, composed by Lū Tai in 1340, mentions ผู้ดูแลหัวบ้านขุนหมื่น (Edition of B.E. 2498, Bangkok, p. 604), but the context gives no clue to their functions. In Inscription III (II/39 f.), when he wants to set humane limits on the corvée, he addresses himself to the vassal lords (ขุน), not to the Mun Nāy.

The inscription, which was discovered by accident by the Highways Department in 1930 near the geographical center of the walled city of Sukhodaya, is now in the Manuscript and Inscription Division of the National Library at Bangkok. It is engraved on a slab of grey schist 1.08 m. high, 65 cm. wide, and 14 cm. thick (Figs. 9, 10.) The writing is in Siamese in Sukhodaya characters, 45 lines on Face I, 54 on Face II. The stone, though relatively little of it is actually broken away, is badly scratched and eroded in many places; and the numerous lacunae often make it difficult to grasp the sequence of ideas. A preliminary reading was published on the occasion of the Kaṭhina Ceremonies at Vāt Janaḥsaṅgrāma, Bangkok, in 1935. Since that time Mahā Chām Dōṅgāṃvarṇa has succeeded in deciphering a good deal more of the text; his reading, together with glosses and a version in modern Siamese characters, appears in *Prajum Śīlācārīk*, Vol. III, Bangkok, 1965, 25 ff. Quite recently we have been able to solve two of the most troublesome problems that were left unsettled in the printed edition, the date and the name of the king who promulgated the law.⁷

In the Siamese text which we give below, lacunae are indicated by rows of dots and conjectural readings by parentheses; even the readings not shown in parentheses are in several cases open to doubt. Apart from that, there are many difficulties such as elliptical constructions, confusing syntax, unusual word-order, and words used in unusual senses. To Professor Lingat, with his unrivaled knowledge of Ayudhyan law, we are much indebted for advice on problems of this sort which cannot be solved by comparison with other Sukhodayan inscriptions. Several passages are open to more than one interpretation. The honorific pronoun *phā* may mean the legislator, a lord, an official, or the victim of an illegal act; when it means the legislator, we have generally followed Mr Lingat's suggestion to translate periphrastically ('a fine shall be imposed', 'it is provided that', etc.). For slaves and

7) See below, notes 8, 9. When the inscription was first discovered it was believed to date from 1344 (see Lingat, *L'esclavage privé*, p. 5 n. 1, p. 23 n. 1; Quaritch Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, p. 171). Mr Lingat was one of the first persons to suspect the true date (see his *Conception du droit*, BEFEO XLIV, p. 183, 182 n. 3).



๓ จักรกษัตริย์ (๖/ก)

อักษรไทย สลักสุโขทัย
ว่าด้วยเรื่องกฎหมายลักษณะโจร สลักสุโขทัย
ได้จารึกที่วัดสุโขทัย

THAI INSCRIPTION IN THAI CHARACTERS

Sukhothai period,
Criminal Law of Sukhothai, from Sukhothai



other persons of low degree the pronoun is *ฉัน* (written either *ฉัน* or *ฉัน*), while a householder is *เขา*. In addition there is a sort of moral stratification of pronouns; criminals and their accomplices are *ฉัน*; and a householder who fails to do his duty is liable to be demoted from *เขา* to *ฉัน* as soon as he is found out.

The law, as can be discovered from a careful reading of the Siamese text, consists of a Preamble and eight Articles dealing with different matters. Neither the Preamble nor Article 1 has any heading; but the other seven each open with the expression 'One Article', though without any numbering. In our translation we have supplied the headings and the numbering for the convenience of the reader.

In the Preamble, Rāmarāja reasserts Ayudhyan suzerainty over the kingdom of Sukhodaya; presumably he imposed a new oath of allegiance on the vassal king, Mahādharmarāja II. After describing his visit to *Gampèng Pet* on his way up from Ayudhyā, he tells how he promulgated the law 'in the center of the city of Sukhodaya'.

That is where the Highways Department discovered the inscription 533 years later. Rāmarāja evidently did not choose the site at random, but in order to add solemnity to the proclamation and give it the widest possible publicity, for it was close to the shrine of the Hlāk Mōaṇ, the residence of the city's tutelary sprite, and only a short distance from the Mahādhātu which was the magical and spiritual center of the Sukhodayan kingdom. The occasion, which must have been chosen with a similar purpose in mind, was the full-moon day of Vesākha, the date of the annual Buddhist festival of Visākhapūjā, when the streets would be crowded with worshipers from the city and its environs, as well as the outlying districts.

Face I

๑.ศกฉลุณกษตรไพสาชะบุรณมีพรหสสตีหนไทมิ่งเหมา.....
๒.ลคคณาในผคุนีเพลาคำพนคอนนีสิทิสต์เจบพิตร (มหาราช
บุตร).....
๓.ราชสรีบรมจกรพรรตราชทานไคเสกขขึ้นเสวีย.....ภีร
๔. มยสมตงพระราชมโนรทตแทนเคนพระธรรมราชคีมานี้ดูจะกา
พตังศา
๕. พระองค์ทานเสกขในกำแพงเพชรบุรีศรีวิมลแสนควยพระราชศรี
การบริ
๖. พารพลแลจตุรงคณิกอรรธารลำน้าพรญาพงกษตรสคาบุรีพรญา
พงศรี
๗. เสขนาไลยบุรีพรญาพงไทวณที่ศรียมนาพีพรญาทานพงนคอ
ไทยแ
๘. (ล).....พระราชมาตุละบพิตรมนตรือนุชิตลึงตนเลียง
๙.เจ้าเมืองทรายตริง (ษกบ)ควยนกปราราชกวี (มีสกุลพ)
รรณ นังลงถวายอัญชลี (พบา
๑๐. ท) เสกขในตรีมุขเสวียบุญสุกตังกฤตยแลวบเหิงกลาย ทานเสก
สุ(สุโข)ไทยบุรีผุงพาลแ
๑๑. ลผุงโลกเพื่อจะไหผุงโลกอนักงวลสตัวทังหลายม่วนฉิงชายศรมน
พราหมณา.....
๑๒.นียายอนนพระองค์ทานไคเสวียในอะธิปตยจักไกร ขคคพระ
ราชคีมานี้ตังมนุสธรรม

๑๓. (อย่าง)พระนารายณ์ราชอนั้ฝูงสาธูแสตงยศปรากคสขชวลุกหลาน
ขนาดเปน(หลัก)กลาย.....
๑๔.พระราชโองการบรมเอาพารหนักหน่าจันทนไทรตราพระราช
ปราชญบติ
๑๕.ใหญ่ขุนมนตวานบริพาไรไพร่ฟ้าทั้งหลายถวนเมืองเล็กเมื
๑๖. (องใหญ่).....ราชสีมาทง้หลายนี้ใสกลางเมืองสุโขไทยอนั้เป็น
ประธานกิงในเมื
๑๗. (อง).....ทำเนปราชลงกำแพงเพชรทง้ย่างปากย้งสองแคว
๑๘.เมืองนนั้พ่านหนีไปสู่อยยาวเรือนตมเม้นชีผู้หนักกลาย
๑๙.ไต่ไ่วเข้าทานพันสองวันคั้รู้เข้าทานไปสูตนวนันนั้จวนค้ำ
แลบทนั้สงขินเข้าทานกลา
๒๐. ยบแรงเอาไปเวนแกจเข้าในรูงนั้เจ้าข้าสู่ภาบตีท่านหากรู้ไปหา
ให้แก่เจ้าข้าพระราชปราชญบติ
๒๑. อนิงใสแมนผู้ใด.....ใหญ่สูงแลบสงขินเข้าทานแลไ่วเข้าทาน
พณั้ญาทาน.....
๒๒.เลยวาทานจัก.....ตายในขนาดในราชศาสตรธรรมศาสตร
แลแล
๒๓. ลทานจักทอดสินไหมคุดจคั้โมยอนั้ลักคันท่านแลไปทนั้เอาออก
จากเมืองนนั้แล แล
๒๔.หนีไปไไว้ในกลางเมือง O มาตราหนึ่งใสตลูกขุนมนุนาย
๒๕.แลผู้ใดอนั้อยูพายบานนอก.....เมืองเล็กตนยังไ้ไกลยจาก
๒๖.แควนเมืองใหญ่ทง้หลายทำเนปราชลง

๒๗.แกถิ่นถานบานนอ^๑ไอ^๒ไสรยประ.....
๒๘.ชววนนท^๓ีแลกรังวนนท^๔ีลิม^๕ข้า^๖น^๗ขึ้น^๘ปี^๙ก^{๑๐}า^{๑๑}า^{๑๒}.....
๒๙.ข้า^{๑๓}ข้า^{๑๔}บา^{๑๕}พระ^{๑๖}อุป^{๑๗}ร^{๑๘}ยา^{๑๙}จาร^{๒๐}ย^{๒๑}ก^{๒๒}ต^{๒๓}ือ^{๒๔}น^{๒๕}ห^{๒๖}ี^{๒๗}ฟ^{๒๘}่าน^{๒๙}ไป^{๓๐}สุ^{๓๑}บา^{๓๒}เส^{๓๓}ว^{๓๔}อง^{๓๕}น^{๓๖}ไป^{๓๗}
ส^{๓๘}อ^{๓๙}ย^{๔๐}ย^{๔๑}าว^{๔๒}ร^{๔๓}เ^{๔๔}
๓๐. (อน).....ก^{๔๕}ต^{๔๖}ี^{๔๗}ค^{๔๘}น^{๔๙}เ^{๕๐}า^{๕๑}ข้า^{๕๒}ทา^{๕๓}น^{๕๔}ห^{๕๕}ี^{๕๖}ไป^{๕๗}สุ^{๕๘}จ^{๕๙}ง^{๖๐}ข^{๖๑}ิน^{๖๒}ให้^{๖๓}ไ^{๖๔}ด^{๖๕}ไ^{๖๖}ว^{๖๗}ข้า^{๖๘}ทา^{๖๙}น
๓๑.ทา^{๗๐}น^{๗๑}น^{๗๒}พิ^{๗๓}ด^{๗๔}.....แ^{๗๕}ก^{๗๖}พระ^{๗๗}เจ้า^{๗๘}เ^{๗๙}า^{๘๐}น^{๘๑}ค^{๘๒}ิน^{๘๓}แ^{๘๔}ก^{๘๕}เจ้า^{๘๖}บ^{๘๗}าน^{๘๘}เจ้า^{๘๙}เม^{๙๐}ือ^{๙๑}ง^{๙๒}.....
จ^{๙๓}ริง^{๙๔}เ^{๙๕}า^{๙๖}น^{๙๗}เจ้า^{๙๘}ไ^{๙๙}บ^{๑๐๐}ญ^{๑๐๑}ง^{๑๐๒}ไ^{๑๐๓}ส^{๑๐๔}ให้^{๑๐๕}ไป^{๑๐๖}.....
๓๒.เม^{๑๐๗}ือ^{๑๐๘}ง^{๑๐๙}.....จ^{๑๑๐}ก^{๑๑๑}บ^{๑๑๒}ง^{๑๑๓}ค^{๑๑๔}บ^{๑๑๕}บ^{๑๑๖}ให้^{๑๑๗}เจ้า^{๑๑๘}ข้า^{๑๑๙}น^{๑๒๐}.....ไ^{๑๒๑}พ^{๑๒๒}ย^{๑๒๓}อ^{๑๒๔}น^{๑๒๕}เ^{๑๒๖}ล^{๑๒๗}ว^{๑๒๘}ว^{๑๒๙}พระ
๓๓.ค^{๑๓๐}น^{๑๓๑}ทา^{๑๓๒}น^{๑๓๓}แล^{๑๓๔}เ^{๑๓๕}า^{๑๓๖}มา^{๑๓๗}มี^{๑๓๘}ให้^{๑๓๙}พ^{๑๔๐}ัน^{๑๔๑}อา^{๑๔๒}ช^{๑๔๓}ญา^{๑๔๔}ทา^{๑๔๕}น^{๑๔๖}น^{๑๔๗}ข^{๑๔๘}นา^{๑๔๙}ค^{๑๕๐}รา^{๑๕๑}ช^{๑๕๒}ศ^{๑๕๓}า^{๑๕๔}ส^{๑๕๕}ท^{๑๕๖}ร^{๑๕๗}
ธ^{๑๕๘}ร^{๑๕๙}ม^{๑๖๐}ศ^{๑๖๑}า^{๑๖๒}ส^{๑๖๓}ท^{๑๖๔}า^{๑๖๕}น^{๑๖๖}.....แ^{๑๖๗}ต^{๑๖๘}่ง^{๑๖๙}ให้^{๑๗๐}ได้
๓๔. แ^{๑๗๑}ก^{๑๗๒}ม^{๑๗๓}น^{๑๗๔}น^{๑๗๕}แล^{๑๗๖}แ^{๑๗๗}ก^{๑๗๘}ผู้^{๑๗๙}เ^{๑๘๐}า^{๑๘๑}ข้า^{๑๘๒}ทา^{๑๘๓}น^{๑๘๔}มา^{๑๘๕}น^{๑๘๖}ส^{๑๘๗}ี^{๑๘๘}แล^{๑๘๙}ใน^{๑๙๐}ท^{๑๙๑}ง^{๑๙๒}นี้^{๑๙๓}ผู้^{๑๙๔}เ^{๑๙๕}า^{๑๙๖}เ^{๑๙๗}า^{๑๙๘}ก^{๑๙๙}า^{๒๐๐}ล^{๒๐๑}เม^{๒๐๒}อ^{๒๐๓}ส^{๒๐๔}
แล^{๒๐๕}ไ^{๒๐๖}ว^{๒๐๗}ข้า^{๒๐๘}ทา^{๒๐๙}น^{๒๑๐}พ^{๒๑๑}ัน^{๒๑๒}ส^{๒๑๓}า^{๒๑๔}ม^{๒๑๕}ว^{๒๑๖}น^{๒๑๗}ค^{๒๑๘}ัน
๓๕. ผู้^{๒๑๙}.....น^{๒๒๐}ไ^{๒๒๑}ส^{๒๒๒}ทา^{๒๒๓}น^{๒๒๔}จ^{๒๒๕}ัก^{๒๒๖}ให้^{๒๒๗}เ^{๒๒๘}า^{๒๒๙}เ^{๒๓๐}ล^{๒๓๑}ว^{๒๓๒}น^{๒๓๓}แล^{๒๓๔}ห^{๒๓๕}มี^{๒๓๖}น^{๒๓๗}พ^{๒๓๘}น^{๒๓๙}น^{๒๔๐}ไป^{๒๔๑}จ^{๒๔๒}ง^{๒๔๓}เ^{๒๔๔}ถึง^{๒๔๕}ห^{๒๔๖}่า^{๒๔๗}ว^{๒๔๘}น^{๒๔๙}ั^{๒๕๐}พ^{๒๕๑}
เ^{๒๕๒}า^{๒๕๓}น^{๒๕๔}ห^{๒๕๕}มี^{๒๕๖}น^{๒๕๗}ห^{๒๕๘}่า^{๒๕๙}พ^{๒๖๐}น^{๒๖๑}น
๓๖.ว^{๒๖๒}น^{๒๖๓}ไป^{๒๖๔}เ^{๒๖๕}า^{๒๖๖}น^{๒๖๗}พ^{๒๖๘}ัน^{๒๖๙}ข^{๒๗๐}นา^{๒๗๑}ค^{๒๗๒}ดี^{๒๗๓}ถ^{๒๗๔}ี^{๒๗๕}พ^{๒๗๖}เ^{๒๗๗}น^{๒๗๘}เ^{๒๗๙}า^{๒๘๐}น^{๒๘๑}ใน^{๒๘๒}ท^{๒๘๓}ง^{๒๘๔}เ^{๒๘๕}า^{๒๘๖}น^{๒๘๗}แล^{๒๘๘}ญ^{๒๘๙}ง^{๒๙๐}ไ^{๒๙๑}ว^{๒๙๒}
ข้า^{๒๙๓}ทา^{๒๙๔}น^{๒๙๕}พ^{๒๙๖}ัน^{๒๙๗}ใน^{๒๙๘}เ^{๒๙๙}า^{๓๐๐}น^{๓๐๑}
๓๗. ส^{๓๐๒}ิน^{๓๐๓}เ^{๓๐๔}า^{๓๐๕}น^{๓๐๖}ห^{๓๐๗}่า^{๓๐๘}ห^{๓๐๙}มี^{๓๑๐}น^{๓๑๑}ห^{๓๑๒}่า^{๓๑๓}พ^{๓๑๔}ัน^{๓๑๕}เ^{๓๑๖}า^{๓๑๗}น^{๓๑๘}น^{๓๑๙}น^{๓๒๐}น^{๓๒๑}น^{๓๒๒}น^{๓๒๓}น^{๓๒๔}น^{๓๒๕}น^{๓๒๖}น^{๓๒๗}น^{๓๒๘}น^{๓๒๙}น^{๓๓๐}น^{๓๓๑}น^{๓๓๒}น^{๓๓๓}น^{๓๓๔}น^{๓๓๕}น^{๓๓๖}น^{๓๓๗}น^{๓๓๘}น^{๓๓๙}น^{๓๔๐}น^{๓๔๑}น^{๓๔๒}น^{๓๔๓}น^{๓๔๔}น^{๓๔๕}น^{๓๔๖}น^{๓๔๗}น^{๓๔๘}น^{๓๔๙}น^{๓๕๐}น^{๓๕๑}น^{๓๕๒}น^{๓๕๓}น^{๓๕๔}น^{๓๕๕}น^{๓๕๖}น^{๓๕๗}น^{๓๕๘}น^{๓๕๙}น^{๓๖๐}น^{๓๖๑}น^{๓๖๒}น^{๓๖๓}น^{๓๖๔}น^{๓๖๕}น^{๓๖๖}น^{๓๖๗}น^{๓๖๘}น^{๓๖๙}น^{๓๗๐}น^{๓๗๑}น^{๓๗๒}น^{๓๗๓}น^{๓๗๔}น^{๓๗๕}น^{๓๗๖}น^{๓๗๗}น^{๓๗๘}น^{๓๗๙}น^{๓๘๐}น^{๓๘๑}น^{๓๘๒}น^{๓๘๓}น^{๓๘๔}น^{๓๘๕}น^{๓๘๖}น^{๓๘๗}น^{๓๘๘}น^{๓๘๙}น^{๓๙๐}น^{๓๙๑}น^{๓๙๒}น^{๓๙๓}น^{๓๙๔}น^{๓๙๕}น^{๓๙๖}น^{๓๙๗}น^{๓๙๘}น^{๓๙๙}น^{๔๐๐}น^{๔๐๑}น^{๔๐๒}น^{๔๐๓}น^{๔๐๔}น^{๔๐๕}น^{๔๐๖}น^{๔๐๗}น^{๔๐๘}น^{๔๐๙}น^{๔๑๐}น^{๔๑๑}น^{๔๑๒}น^{๔๑๓}น^{๔๑๔}น^{๔๑๕}น^{๔๑๖}น^{๔๑๗}น^{๔๑๘}น^{๔๑๙}น^{๔๒๐}น^{๔๒๑}น^{๔๒๒}น^{๔๒๓}น^{๔๒๔}น^{๔๒๕}น^{๔๒๖}น^{๔๒๗}น^{๔๒๘}น^{๔๒๙}น^{๔๓๐}น^{๔๓๑}น^{๔๓๒}น^{๔๓๓}น^{๔๓๔}น^{๔๓๕}น^{๔๓๖}น^{๔๓๗}น^{๔๓๘}น^{๔๓๙}น^{๔๔๐}น^{๔๔๑}น^{๔๔๒}น^{๔๔๓}น^{๔๔๔}น^{๔๔๕}น^{๔๔๖}น^{๔๔๗}น^{๔๔๘}น^{๔๔๙}น^{๔๕๐}น^{๔๕๑}น^{๔๕๒}น^{๔๕๓}น^{๔๕๔}น^{๔๕๕}น^{๔๕๖}น^{๔๕๗}น^{๔๕๘}น^{๔๕๙}น^{๔๖๐}น^{๔๖๑}น^{๔๖๒}น^{๔๖๓}น^{๔๖๔}น^{๔๖๕}น^{๔๖๖}น^{๔๖๗}น^{๔๖๘}น^{๔๖๙}น^{๔๗๐}น^{๔๗๑}น^{๔๗๒}น^{๔๗๓}น^{๔๗๔}น^{๔๗๕}น^{๔๗๖}น^{๔๗๗}น^{๔๗๘}น^{๔๗๙}น^{๔๘๐}น^{๔๘๑}น^{๔๘๒}น^{๔๘๓}น^{๔๘๔}น^{๔๘๕}น^{๔๘๖}น^{๔๘๗}น^{๔๘๘}น^{๔๘๙}น^{๔๙๐}น^{๔๙๑}น^{๔๙๒}น^{๔๙๓}น^{๔๙๔}น^{๔๙๕}น^{๔๙๖}น^{๔๙๗}น^{๔๙๘}น^{๔๙๙}น^{๕๐๐}น^{๕๐๑}น^{๕๐๒}น^{๕๐๓}น^{๕๐๔}น^{๕๐๕}น^{๕๐๖}น^{๕๐๗}น^{๕๐๘}น^{๕๐๙}น^{๕๑๐}น^{๕๑๑}น^{๕๑๒}น^{๕๑๓}น^{๕๑๔}น^{๕๑๕}น^{๕๑๖}น^{๕๑๗}น^{๕๑๘}น^{๕๑๙}น^{๕๒๐}น^{๕๒๑}น^{๕๒๒}น^{๕๒๓}น^{๕๒๔}น^{๕๒๕}น^{๕๒๖}น^{๕๒๗}น^{๕๒๘}น^{๕๒๙}น^{๕๓๐}น^{๕๓๑}น^{๕๓๒}น^{๕๓๓}น^{๕๓๔}น^{๕๓๕}น^{๕๓๖}น^{๕๓๗}น^{๕๓๘}น^{๕๓๙}น^{๕๔๐}น^{๕๔๑}น^{๕๔๒}น^{๕๔๓}น^{๕๔๔}น^{๕๔๕}น^{๕๔๖}น^{๕๔๗}น^{๕๔๘}น^{๕๔๙}น^{๕๕๐}น^{๕๕๑}น^{๕๕๒}น^{๕๕๓}น^{๕๕๔}น^{๕๕๕}น^{๕๕๖}น^{๕๕๗}น^{๕๕๘}น^{๕๕๙}น^{๕๖๐}น^{๕๖๑}น^{๕๖๒}น^{๕๖๓}น^{๕๖๔}น^{๕๖๕}น^{๕๖๖}น^{๕๖๗}น^{๕๖๘}น^{๕๖๙}น^{๕๗๐}น^{๕๗๑}น^{๕๗๒}น^{๕๗๓}น^{๕๗๔}น^{๕๗๕}น^{๕๗๖}น^{๕๗๗}น^{๕๗๘}น^{๕๗๙}น^{๕๘๐}น^{๕๘๑}น^{๕๘๒}น^{๕๘๓}น^{๕๘๔}น^{๕๘๕}น^{๕๘๖}น^{๕๘๗}น^{๕๘๘}น^{๕๘๙}น^{๕๙๐}น^{๕๙๑}น^{๕๙๒}น^{๕๙๓}น^{๕๙๔}น^{๕๙๕}น^{๕๙๖}น^{๕๙๗}น^{๕๙๘}น^{๕๙๙}น^{๖๐๐}น^{๖๐๑}น^{๖๐๒}น^{๖๐๓}น^{๖๐๔}น^{๖๐๕}น^{๖๐๖}น^{๖๐๗}น^{๖๐๘}น^{๖๐๙}น^{๖๑๐}น^{๖๑๑}น^{๖๑๒}น^{๖๑๓}น^{๖๑๔}น^{๖๑๕}น^{๖๑๖}น^{๖๑๗}น^{๖๑๘}น^{๖๑๙}น^{๖๒๐}น^{๖๒๑}น^{๖๒๒}น^{๖๒๓}น^{๖๒๔}น^{๖๒๕}น^{๖๒๖}น^{๖๒๗}น^{๖๒๘}น^{๖๒๙}น^{๖๓๐}น^{๖๓๑}น^{๖๓๒}น^{๖๓๓}น^{๖๓๔}น^{๖๓๕}น^{๖๓๖}น^{๖๓๗}น^{๖๓๘}น^{๖๓๙}น^{๖๔๐}น^{๖๔๑}น^{๖๔๒}น^{๖๔๓}น^{๖๔๔}น^{๖๔๕}น^{๖๔๖}น^{๖๔๗}น^{๖๔๘}น^{๖๔๙}น^{๖๕๐}น^{๖๕๑}น^{๖๕๒}น^{๖๕๓}น^{๖๕๔}น^{๖๕๕}น^{๖๕๖}น^{๖๕๗}น^{๖๕๘}น^{๖๕๙}น^{๖๖๐}น^{๖๖๑}น^{๖๖๒}น^{๖๖๓}น^{๖๖๔}น^{๖๖๕}น^{๖๖๖}น^{๖๖๗}น^{๖๖๘}น^{๖๖๙}น^{๖๗๐}น^{๖๗๑}น^{๖๗๒}น^{๖๗๓}น^{๖๗๔}น^{๖๗๕}น^{๖๗๖}น^{๖๗๗}น^{๖๗๘}น^{๖๗๙}น^{๖๘๐}น^{๖๘๑}น^{๖๘๒}น^{๖๘๓}น^{๖๘๔}น^{๖๘๕}น^{๖๘๖}น^{๖๘๗}น^{๖๘๘}น^{๖๘๙}น^{๖๙๐}น^{๖๙๑}น^{๖๙๒}น^{๖๙๓}น^{๖๙๔}น^{๖๙๕}น^{๖๙๖}น^{๖๙๗}น^{๖๙๘}น^{๖๙๙}น^{๗๐๐}น^{๗๐๑}น^{๗๐๒}น^{๗๐๓}น^{๗๐๔}น^{๗๐๕}น^{๗๐๖}น^{๗๐๗}น^{๗๐๘}น^{๗๐๙}น^{๗๑๐}น^{๗๑๑}น^{๗๑๒}น^{๗๑๓}น^{๗๑๔}น^{๗๑๕}น^{๗๑๖}น^{๗๑๗}น^{๗๑๘}น^{๗๑๙}น^{๗๒๐}น^{๗๒๑}น^{๗๒๒}น^{๗๒๓}น^{๗๒๔}น^{๗๒๕}น^{๗๒๖}น^{๗๒๗}น^{๗๒๘}น^{๗๒๙}น^{๗๓๐}น^{๗๓๑}น^{๗๓๒}น^{๗๓๓}น^{๗๓๔}น^{๗๓๕}น^{๗๓๖}น^{๗๓๗}น^{๗๓๘}น^{๗๓๙}น^{๗๔๐}น^{๗๔๑}น^{๗๔๒}น^{๗๔๓}น^{๗๔๔}น^{๗๔๕}น^{๗๔๖}น^{๗๔๗}น^{๗๔๘}น^{๗๔๙}น^{๗๕๐}น^{๗๕๑}น^{๗๕๒}น^{๗๕๓}น^{๗๕๔}น^{๗๕๕}น^{๗๕๖}น^{๗๕๗}น^{๗๕๘}น^{๗๕๙}น^{๗๖๐}น^{๗๖๑}น^{๗๖๒}น^{๗๖๓}น^{๗๖๔}น^{๗๖๕}น^{๗๖๖}น^{๗๖๗}น^{๗๖๘}น^{๗๖๙}น^{๗๗๐}น^{๗๗๑}น^{๗๗๒}น^{๗๗๓}น^{๗๗๔}น^{๗๗๕}น^{๗๗๖}น^{๗๗๗}น^{๗๗๘}น^{๗๗๙}น^{๗๘๐}น^{๗๘๑}น^{๗๘๒}น^{๗๘๓}น^{๗๘๔}น^{๗๘๕}น^{๗๘๖}น^{๗๘๗}น^{๗๘๘}น^{๗๘๙}น^{๗๙๐}น^{๗๙๑}น^{๗๙๒}น^{๗๙๓}น^{๗๙๔}น^{๗๙๕}น^{๗๙๖}น^{๗๙๗}น^{๗๙๘}น^{๗๙๙}น^{๘๐๐}น^{๘๐๑}น^{๘๐๒}น^{๘๐๓}น^{๘๐๔}น^{๘๐๕}น^{๘๐๖}น^{๘๐๗}น^{๘๐๘}น^{๘๐๙}น^{๘๑๐}น^{๘๑๑}น^{๘๑๒}น^{๘๑๓}น^{๘๑๔}น^{๘๑๕}น^{๘๑๖}น^{๘๑๗}น^{๘๑๘}น^{๘๑๙}น^{๘๒๐}น^{๘๒๑}น^{๘๒๒}น^{๘๒๓}น^{๘๒๔}น^{๘๒๕}น^{๘๒๖}น^{๘๒๗}น^{๘๒๘}น^{๘๒๙}น^{๘๓๐}น^{๘๓๑}น^{๘๓๒}น^{๘๓๓}น^{๘๓๔}น^{๘๓๕}น^{๘๓๖}น^{๘๓๗}น^{๘๓๘}น^{๘๓๙}น^{๘๔๐}น^{๘๔๑}น^{๘๔๒}น^{๘๔๓}น^{๘๔๔}น^{๘๔๕}น^{๘๔๖}น^{๘๔๗}น^{๘๔๘}น^{๘๔๙}น^{๘๕๐}น^{๘๕๑}น^{๘๕๒}น^{๘๕๓}น^{๘๕๔}น^{๘๕๕}น^{๘๕๖}น^{๘๕๗}น^{๘๕๘}น^{๘๕๙}น^{๘๖๐}น^{๘๖๑}น^{๘๖๒}น^{๘๖๓}น^{๘๖๔}น^{๘๖๕}น^{๘๖๖}น^{๘๖๗}น^{๘๖๘}น^{๘๖๙}น^{๘๗๐}น^{๘๗๑}น^{๘๗๒}น^{๘๗๓}น^{๘๗๔}น^{๘๗๕}น^{๘๗๖}น^{๘๗๗}น^{๘๗๘}น^{๘๗๙}น^{๘๘๐}น^{๘๘๑}น^{๘๘๒}น^{๘๘๓}น^{๘๘๔}น^{๘๘๕}น^{๘๘๖}น^{๘๘๗}น^{๘๘๘}น^{๘๘๙}น^{๘๙๐}น^{๘๙๑}น^{๘๙๒}น^{๘๙๓}น^{๘๙๔}น^{๘๙๕}น^{๘๙๖}น^{๘๙๗}น^{๘๙๘}น^{๘๙๙}น^{๙๐๐}น^{๙๐๑}น^{๙๐๒}น^{๙๐๓}น^{๙๐๔}น^{๙๐๕}น^{๙๐๖}น^{๙๐๗}น^{๙๐๘}น^{๙๐๙}น^{๙๑๐}น^{๙๑๑}น^{๙๑๒}น^{๙๑๓}น^{๙๑๔}น^{๙๑๕}น^{๙๑๖}น^{๙๑๗}น^{๙๑๘}น^{๙๑๙}น^{๙๒๐}น^{๙๒๑}น^{๙๒๒}น^{๙๒๓}น^{๙๒๔}น^{๙๒๕}น^{๙๒๖}น^{๙๒๗}น^{๙๒๘}น^{๙๒๙}น^{๙๓๐}น^{๙๓๑}น^{๙๓๒}น^{๙๓๓}น^{๙๓๔}น^{๙๓๕}น^{๙๓๖}น^{๙๓๗}น^{๙๓๘}น^{๙๓๙}น^{๙๔๐}น^{๙๔๑}น^{๙๔๒}น^{๙๔๓}น^{๙๔๔}น^{๙๔๕}น^{๙๔๖}น^{๙๔๗}น^๙

๔๐. ตราหนังสือในบ้านผู้จกกล่าวนี้แลแลมีคโมยลกกผู้คนทานไปจอต
ตนกตีไปกลายบ้านของตนกตี
๔๑. คโมยอนนลกกวักววยข้างม้าสชช.....อนนโตไปจอตไปกลาย
ตนกตีให้นายเจ้าบ้านเจ้า
๔๒. เรือน.....พิจารณาคนรู้วาคโมยจริงเอาจุใต้แลเอาคโมยนั้นอีก
ของ
๔๓.เจ้าไทวาช่าจริงจริงชนาคอนนเจ้าของบมิได้ให้คงไปตาม
หาสกกอนนตง.....
๔๔. ----- (ชำระ)
๔๕. ----- (ชำระ)

Face II

๑. นิงให้ใต้เกมนณผู้ชอยนนี้ผิผู้ชอยคโมยลกกไปแลใต้ด้วยคโมยผู้
นนี้
๒. ใส่ท่านบมิได้ให้แก่ผู้มนชอยคโมยคนนนี้ชี้วามนนเหนคนอนน
หลากตงชันนี้
๓. แลมนนเอาพิจารณาโดยพระประชูปติท่านจึงพเจ้าของ.....ควย
หนนตงอันน
๔. ตีตนจเพิงใต้บเนจแลฤาอัน นี้ไปอเบกษาแลอยู่ตวงเจ้าของไปถึง
แลจึงจกเอามน
๕. มา ท่านแดงให้เชนตงงเพื่อนนนี้ชนาคนิงใส่ท่านแดงโดยอนว่า
ภาคอเบกษาอยู่แ

๖. ลไปเองกอนนนั้นแลแมนญมีสญ้าตวยคโมยใสท่านญ บังคับเมื่อหน้า O มาตรานิ่งโส
๗. คคโมยทนกำบังก็ได้เข้าของทำเนปรชำคนววมปผันอันใดตนกได้ตั้งอันแลกลายไปไว้
๘. เมืองฝุ่นนนั้นพี่น้องจญาทานไว้วิมวณัตถังอันของฝุ่นนนั้นท่านกมิให้ไคสก็อันเลยบุรา
๙. ณท่านจกให้โทสตั้งขนาดผู้ลักเลขนาตอาสก็อันมีในพระราชศาสตรตั้งฤใสท่านจก (เอา
๑๐. โทส)โดยนนั้นแล O มาตรานิ่งโสตในบ้านของตั้งกลาวนี้แลแลมีโจรลักผู้คนววมปผันพาน
๑๑. ไปกลายตนกดีไปจอตเรือนกตักล้อยผู้นนื้อเบกษาแลบมีเอาแลละให้ปลอยไปอน
๑๒. นนิงโสตพิจารณาว่าคโมยแลพ่อคโมย ننนพี่น้องตนกลายแลละให้ปลอยไป
๑๓. อนนนิ่งโสตเห็นคโมย ننนเปนชำผู้ใหญ่กลายกลววแกศกักดีผู้ใหญ่แลปลอยไป
๑๔. ป O อนนนิ่งโสตเอาคโมย ننนแลแลกลายคโมย ننนจำงผู้อนันตนกลายเห็นแก
๑๕. สินจำงคโมย ننนแลปลอยไป O อนนนิ่งโสตพ่อเจ้าของเจ้าชำโลกโมยไปถึงบ้านตน
๑๖. ผู้กลายเจ้าของร้องให้ชอยกุ่มพ่อเจ้าบ้านเจ้าเรือน ننนกันญ้งบ้านแลกลายบมีผู้ชอย

๑๗. แลละคํ์โมยนั้นปลดปล่อยไปก็ตีทั้งปัวประการหนึ่งอนนกลาววาอุเบก
ชาแลบ่เอาผู้^๓นั้นแลแล้ว
๑๘. วาพ่อพี่น้องตนแลละอนนกลาววาข้าผู้ใหญ่แลละอนนกลาววากิน
สินจ้างคํ์โมยแล้ว
๑๙. ละอนนกลาววาบช้อยบ่อกุ่มแลละอคติทั้งนี้แลมีเมื่อใดในบ้านใน
นายใดเรือนใด
๒๐. ในฝูงครั้งนี้ท่านจักให้โทส(คุจลกัชะญา)แลคนท่านของท่านชี่ฎากัค
อันคํ์โมยอันเอาแล้ว
๒๑. แลท่านจักให้ใช้จูงสินหนี้สิน(ต่งท่าน)จักให้มคํ์โมยนั้นท่านจัก
ทอดให้ใช้สินจ้าง
๒๒. แลจักให้มทนคุมคนโดย (ศกัคิณศ)แลเพื่อฎากัให้ต่งอัน แมน
.....ท่านหนีไปสูตนักดี
๒๓. ฝูงอันคํ์โมยลักไป แลตนจสง(ไปให้โดย)ปรสงสินชี่ฎากัคแลตน
พาไปถวายไปเวนแก่เจ้าไท
๒๔. ท่านจักให้พันอาชญาท่านต่งอันนขนาดราชศาสตรธรรมศาสตร
อนนท่านแต่งไต่ค่าสิน
๒๕. จ้างตนกัไต่ไต่ค่าตนคุกัไต่ค่าไต่ของฝูงนนักไต่สังรู้ว่าเจ้าใหญ่จกั
ไป เนจต่งท่านแต่งให้
๒๖. ไว้ต่งอันแลเปนต่งฎากัจนอุเบกษาเห็นแก่คํ์โมยกวาอาชญาปรณ
บติเจ้าไทอนัฉิ
๒๗. ให้ร้ายท่านผู้ทูกโทสมิให้จำเรอณแถมน์เพื่อนน ๐ มาตราจึง
โสทอนิง(รู้)วาชีนัลกัของใน

๒๘. บ้านท่านก่ตีสักข้าพนนท่านผู้ใดผู้หนึ่งชวนตนไปล่กัท่านก่ดีไปล่กก
ด้วยกนนแลวก่ดี
๒๙. แลรู้ว่าผู้เนิงลกกลยมสังสินท่านอนนนานพันในปรมาณสิบปีอนัก
ในหนั้นคั้นก่ดีใน
๓๐. ลกกผู้เนื่อน้าผู้ผู้เห่นบมิไต่สกก้องันักอันักดีโสคนผู้เน้นใสใจแล
เอาโจรกลายมน้ออก
๓๑. ไมทลแก่เจ้าไทมาบอกแก่ปรฎากหบดีท่านใหม่ซิง (มนั่น) ลก
รงค่นมนั โดยคุในมน่อน
๓๒. นิงผู้เน้นเอาหนีสินใหม่ผู้เน้นท่านจก้แดงให้ไต่แกมนั โดยชนาค
ราชศาสตรธรรมศาสต
๓๓. รโสต(สิง)ท่านจก้มนัผู้เน้น (มาถือ)ลูก(ชะญา)ท่านแล O มา
ตรานิงโสตคมีคนจก้ไปรวีพืรามซิง
๓๔. เอาเข้าเอาของท่านแมนชีลูกส่มลูกหวานท่านคนโตก่คือน้าเจ้าของ
บมิให้เลอนั้นไม
๓๕. มีคนทง้หลายชอยกู่ชอยเอาจุงไต่แมนผู้ใดผู้เน้นมนัถ้หอกดาบ
ตราบเครื่องเหล็กไ
๓๖. หลูโตให้เอามันจุงไต่แลให้ไปถวายแก่ท่านท่านบาตใหม่ให้เป
รงวันผู้ (ไต่มนนแมนมน
๓๗. น)เฟิงกทำทินนวัน ไต่ให้เปชนาคแก่ทง้หลายท่านจก้ทำ O
ผู้ใดอนน (อุเบกษาบ่เอา)
๓๘. คนผู้รายนน ให้ปลอยบ่ชอยไลชอยกู่ผู้รายนนตงงอนนใสท่าน
จก้ใหม่มนั โดยชนาค

๓๙. แลเห็นอนัเตสินอนัเสยในผู้รายอนัซึ่งเอนอนัเทาไตใส ท่านจกัให้
ใช้จูงสิ้นแลญาอุเบก
๔๐. ขา O มาตราไนงโศก ผิผู้ใดจกัมีการอนักระทำ (แลการอนัใดอนั
นิง) กตึแลจข้าวข้าควายไม
๔๑. ให้เอาวักวายนอนัจนจกัข้ามนัซีให้กนัเหนทงหลายเมนมนุนาย
ใส.....
๔๒.ไฟไรใสให้มนุนายรู้เพื่อนคนแลเพื่อนของทนรู้ใจผู้กระทำ.....
๔๓. นิงสุกนิงบงอนัท่านบมิห้ามสุทงเหนพระปรณูปติเพื่อ (โบยผู้) ทำ
ปลยนปลอม
๔๔. ผู้รายมนัชกลกัท่านกนปลอมทงท่านกนรู้ทงหลายเพื่อนนั
(พระปรณูปติอนั)
๔๕. นีแลผู้ใดหากลเมือสแลหากข้ากนบไหากนรทงหลายใสเมนซีของ
มัน.....
๔๖. มาความมาชกท่านกนแล ทงหลายนีแลผู้ใดใสใจ
๔๗.เจ้าใหญ่ไต้แกฝูงอนั..... ..
๔๘.ไปทูลแก่ท่านคนผู้นนัใจซีแก่เจ้าไท
๔๙.เจ้าไทควยซีใสท่านรงวันมันนผู้นนั จึงให้ใช้แลหานีสิน.....
๕๐.โศคคนผู้ตงนี้คัวพระราชกตึจกัช้อยหอมบ้านหอมเมือง
แก.....
๕๑.ในฝูงตง นีใสอนัท่านเจ้าไทจกัมกัให้ผิตแลไหมแก่
๕๒.กรรมทงหลาย.....
๕๓.แมมซีคนผู้..... ..
๕๔.ลกกเอามิไต้.....

TRANSLATION

Preamble

[I/1-4.] śaka, year of the ox; full moon day of Baisākhah, Thursday; in *Tai*, mññ ⁺hmau; lagnā in Phagunī; the time is afternoon.⁸ This capital is under the authority of Saṃtec Pabitra Mahārājaputra rāja Śrī Paramacakra-barritirāja, who has succeeded to the throne⁹ delighting in in accordance with the royal wish.¹⁰ This sacred kingdom is like the Tāvatīśā.¹¹

[I/5-10.] His Majesty proceeded to Kāmbhēnbejrapūrīśrīvimalāsana¹² with his retinue¹³, his generals, and his army with four

8) The printed edition has the digit 5 before śaka at I/1; but an examination of the stone shows that the figure is completely illegible and must be disregarded. It shows too that the *Tai* name of the day is mññ ⁺hmau, มิ่งหม้า (and not มิ่งหม้า). The only year in which the calendrical data coincided was CS 759 (1397). We wish to thank Mr Roger Billard, of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, for going to a great deal of trouble to confirm this for us, examining all the possibilities from the time of *Rām Kamhēng* up to 1900 A.D. He writes as follows: 'if the reading is certain for all the elements of the combination "year of the ox, full moon day of Vaiśākha, Thursday, mññ ⁺hmau", and if no mistake was made by the astrologer or the engraver, the only possibility is CS 759 (MS 1319), or, to be more precise, Thursday April 12, 1397 A.D. (Julian); thanks to the mention of the lagnā, we can even add that the hour was around 3 p.m. local civil time.' In view of the hour worked out by Mr Billard from the lagnā, we have translated เวลาค่ำ as 'the time is afternoon' rather than 'evening', which is the usual meaning.

9) As the date is 1397 A.D., this is necessarily Rāmarāja, 'the royal son' (mahārājaputra) who had succeeded his father Rāmeśvara as King of Ayudhyā in 1395. The mutilated name may therefore be restored as Rāmarājādhirāja.

10) Probably a wish expressed by Rāmeśvara before his death in 1395.

11) The Tāvatīśā Heaven. While 'succeeded to the throne' refers to the throne of Ayudhyā, 'this sacred kingdom' (แดนพระธรรมราชคฤห์) apparently means Sukhodaya, whose kings had long borne the title Dharmarājā (a title which was apparently not in use at that time by Ayudhyan royalty).

12) *Gampēng Pet* (Kāmbhēn Bejra). The epithet vimalāsana means 'seat of purity'.

13) śrīṅgāraparibāra, for śrīṅgāraparivāra (Skt. śrīṅgāra, 'concubines'; parivāra, 'suite').

branches¹⁴ [from?] the rivers of Brañā Baññ Kṣetra Sagāpūrī, Brañā Baññ Śrī Sejanālaiyapūrī, Brañā Baññ Dvaiyanadī Śrī Yamanā, and his elder brother Brañā Baññ Nagòrdaiya.¹⁵ The King's maternal uncle, the Pabitramantrī Anujīta, who had reared him up the Lord of Mōaṇ Trāyatrinśa, together with the wise men and Rājakavī of high-ranking family, sat down to do homage to his

- 14) The four branches (caturāṅga) of an army in ancient India were the elephantry, the chariots, the cavalry, and the infantry. In Siam, where chariots were not used, the second branch consisted of artisans. See Quaritch Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, p. 141.
- 15) This passage is quite baffling. As the four places mentioned were part of the vassal kingdom of Sukhodaya, their rulers presumably owed their allegiance primarily to the King of Sukhodaya and through him to the King of Ayudhyā. Sagāpūrī (*Sakāburī*?) was probably somewhere north of *Lom Sak*; cf. Inscr. I, IV/18, where it is mentioned after *Lom Sak* and before the shore of the *Mè Kông* and *Vieng Jan*; also Inscr. VIII, IV/12 f., where it comes after *Müang Rāt* (probably near Uttarattittha) and before *Lom Sak*. Sejanālaiya is of course Sajjanālaya, which appears frequently in the inscriptions, but spelt with Se- only in No. II (passim) and No. XI (II/13). The 'two rivers' (dvaiyanadī) of Śrī Yamanā must be the two main branches of the *Yom*; cf. the Asokārāma Inscription, II/23 (see supra, p. 51). Nagòrdaiya (for Nagaradaiya) is *Nakòn T'ai*, the old site of which, if not exactly the same as at present, was probably in the same general area, i.e. northeast of Biṣṇuloka; cf. the Asokārāma Inscription, II/17; we cannot say why its ruler is called the King of Ayudhyā's 'elder brother' (the term need not be taken literally, and here probably means a cousin belonging to an elder branch of his family). What is the significance of the titles of the four rulers? The context suggests that Brañā Baññ (i.e. baññ, บำ) meant a vassal ruler, but we know of no instances of the expression being used in this sense. On the other hand the word may be related to *trahbāñ* (ตราบำน), a pond, as if the rulers were called 'lords of the ponds' of their respective territories. The ponds and rivers remind us, though remotely, of part of the abhiṣeka ceremony in which, as Mr Quaritch Wales tells us, 'the king of Siam is lustrated with water drawn from the five principal rivers of the kingdom, and from the four ponds of Subarnapūrī sanctified through constant usage in every State Ceremony where there is a purificatory bath, both in the Ayudhyā and Bangkok periods', etc. (*Siamese State Ceremonies*, London, 1931, p. 74). But the connection, if there is one, is difficult to grasp.

sacred feet.¹⁶ His Majesty, having entered the Trimukha,¹⁷ enjoyed the merit and felicity due to his deeds [in past lives].

[I/10–13.] A little later His Majesty, turning,¹⁸ proceeded to the city of Sukhodaya,¹⁹ [to promulgate a law to?] the throng of evil-doers and the people in general, in order to make [known to?] the people—all living creatures, both women and men, both monks and Brahmins—who are being troubled [by the evil-doers] the plan²⁰ by which His Majesty, having succeeded

16) Trāyatrīṇṣa is Mōaṇ Traitrīṇṣa (โศภวันธุ์), a ruined town on the right bank of the Ping, in the Municipal District of *Gampəng Pet*, some 15 km. downstream from Gampəng Pet itself (see Map 2, supra, p. 31). The name of the place is a corruption of Skt. Trayastrīṇṣa (= Pali Tāvatiṇṣa); according to Prince Paramanujita Jinorasa's พระราชพงศาวดารสังเขป, the mother of Prince Ū Tōng (Rāmādhīpati I of Ayudhyā) was a princess of Mōaṇ Traitrīṇṣa. At the time our inscription was written, Traitrīṇṣa was part of the vassal kingdom of Sukhodaya. The lacuna at I/9 makes it impossible to say whether the King's maternal uncle was the lord of this place or whether two different persons are intended. Rājakaṇī means royal counsellor or poet (cf. the Kavirāja-paṇḍita Śrī Dharmatrailoka, who in 1399 drafted the Pali face of the Asokārāma Inscription on behalf of his elder sister the Queen Mother, widow of Mahādharmarājā II (see supra, p. 38)

17) A ceremonial pavilion with three porches.

18) ทวน. This word, which now means 'to change' (transitive or intransitive), 'to turn' (from one thing into another), 'to transform', 'to be transformed', etc., occurs frequently in the inscription, but with a rather different meaning from its modern ones. Mr Lingat suggests that when it is used as an auxiliary verb preceding the main verb it simply implies a change from the previous state of affairs. Here it evidently means that the King, having stayed as long as he wished at *Gampəng Pet*, continued his journey. At I/13 it means turning to take action. At I/18, 19, II/7, 12, 13, 14 (twice), 16 (twice), and 30, it implies that a person who was previously considered honest now succumbs to temptation, 'changes' into a wrong-doer, or 'turns away' from the path of virtue. In several instances we have omitted it from our translation in order to make for smoother reading.

19) The printed text has ตวนบุรี. The right reading is ฤ[๕]บุรี, 'into the city of Sukhodaya.'

20) ญาน here must have its Sanskrit meaning (nyāya, 'plan', 'rule', 'model', 'an axiom which must be kept in mind in the explanation of special rules', etc.), not its usual Siamese meaning of a mythical story.

to supreme power, desires to cleanse this region in accordance with the Manusadharmma²¹ like Braṇṇā Rāmarāja, whose renown a throng of virtuous people have revealed clearly and happily to succeeding generations of children and grandchildren, and whose greatness is proverbial.²²

[I/13-17.] Turning [His Majesty issued] extremely mighty royal commands. Then he promulgated this law²³ to all officials and group-chiefs²⁴ as well as their retainers

- 21) i.e. either Maṇuṣyadharmma (human law) or else the Laws of Manu (cf. above, p. 109). In effect the King was imposing Ayudhyan law on Sukhodaya; see our article *On Kingship and Society at Sukhodaya*.
- 22) The legendary King Rāma of Ayodhyā in India, the hero of the Rāmayaṇa and the Rāmakīrti, was the ideal king all monarchs are supposed to imitate. The model would be all the more cogent to the author of the inscription, who was his namesake and ruler of a kingdom bearing the same name (Ayudhyā was still called Ayodhyā at the time). According to the Dasara-thajātaka, the Indian hero governed his kingdom *in absentia* for three years by giving his slippers to his half-brother Bharata who ruled in his place; whenever a case was to be judged, the slippers were placed on the throne; if the decision was wrong, they beat against each other. (See Cowell, *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, Vol. IV, London, 1957, p. 81 f.) As the King of Ayudhyā would not visit Sukhodaya in person, he perhaps wished to imply that the vassal king and his deputies should bear the lesson in mind whenever a case had to be judged. In addition, the author of the inscription may well have intended a paronomastic reference to King Rāma Gāmphēn of Sukhodaya, who was perhaps one of his ancestors, and who is known in Sukhodayan epigraphy (except Inscription I) as Braṇṇā Rāmarāja.
- 23) Prajñāpti, the Sanskrit equivalent of Pali paññatti.
- 24) **lūk khun mun tvān** (ลูกขุนมนตรี). As **tvān** is apparently the Malay word *tuān*, master, equivalent to Siamese **nāy**, the phrase must be equivalent to the more usual **lūk khun mun nāy**, which appears at I/24, II/41 and II/42. In Ayudhyan law the Lūk Khun are the officials in general, while the Mun Nāy are the chiefs of the territorial groups into which the population was divided (see above, p. 111). This must be the meaning Rāmarāja had in mind, although, as we have suggested, it is doubtful if the system had more than a theoretical existence at Sukhodaya in 1397 (Rāmarāja's is the only inscription from Sukhodaya that mentions the term **mun nāy**, and even the title **nāy** is not attested until c. 1406, i.e. in Inscription IX, III/9 and III/11, where it has a different connotation). Probably much power still remained in the hands of the feudal lords; and in places where there was no government-appointed bureaucracy Rāmarāja may have intended the lords to perform the duties he is theoretically assigning to the **lūk khun** and the **mun nāy** (or **mun tvān**) in his law.

and all citizens, in all small towns as well as large ones throughout this whole region. [He promulgated it] in the center of the city of Sukhodaya which is the metropolis midway between cities such as Jalyañ, Kāmbèñ Bejra, Duñ +Yāñ, Pāk Yam, and Sòn Gwè.²⁵

- 25) Jalyañ is *Chalieng*, 2 km. east of Sajjanālaya; Kāmbèñ Bejra is *Gampèng Pet*; Duñ +Yāñ is *Tung Yang*, in the Municipal District of Uttarattittha; Pāk Yam is *Bhāk Yom*, whose name shows that it was at the confluence of the Yom with the Nân; Sòn Gwè is *Sòng Kwè*, i.e. *Biṣṇuloka*. Cf. the list in Rāmādhīpati's Law on Abduction (Lingat, *L'esclavage privé dans le vieux droit siamois*, 360) : *Chalieng*, Sukhodaya, *Tung Yang*, *Bâng Yom*, *Sòng Kwè*, *Să Luang*, *Chão-dong-rão* (i.e. *Châ-gang-rão*), *Gampèng Pet*. Prince Damrong (ฉันทะบุรีบาล) observed that these names fall into pairs of cities which were linked geographically or by tradition: Chalieng and Sukhodaya; Tung Yang and Bâng Yom; Sòng Kwè and Să Luang; Chão-dong-rão and Gampèng Pet. But it is a somewhat heterogeneous pairing. Chalieng, which had been the chief city of its province during the Khmer occupation, was later overshadowed by its neighbor Sajjanālaya. (Sajjanālaya, mentioned in our inscription at I/7 but not in the list at I/17 or in Rāmādhīpati's list, was probably founded by *Rām Kamhèng*; as the second city of the independent kingdom of Sukhodaya, and long the seat of the Uparāja, it is constantly linked with the capital in the Sukhodayan inscriptions, though it was over 60 km. away.) Under Ayudhyan rule Chalieng regained its importance; in the 15th century, if not before, it gave its name to the provincial governor appointed by Ayudhyā, *Prayâ Chalieng*, suggesting that it was his residence; and Paramatrailokanātha built the great temple of Mahādhātu there, probably on the ruins of a Khmer temple dating from the reign of Jayavarman VII (see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, p. 57). Unless the Yom flowed into the Nân much farther north than it now does, it is hard to see why Bâng Yom should be linked with Tung Yang, as Sòng Kwè would be between the two. *Să Luang* (Srah Hlvañ) must have been between Sukhodaya and Sòng Kwè, perhaps quite close to the latter. Gampèng Pet probably occupied its present location, and Châ-gang-rão may have been very near it.

Article [1].

[I/18–21.] [When a slave in one of] those cities²⁶ runs away to a person's house, if that person withholds the slave for more than two days²⁷; or else, having learned towards evening that the slave arrived at his house that day, and being unable to send him back at once [because of the hour], then if he does not hasten to give him up to the Officer of Slave Affairs early the next morning, and the Officer and the Chief Magistrate, happening to learn [what has occurred], go to fetch him to give him to his master, the law provides that :

[I/21–24.] If anyone, [no matter how] powerful and highly placed, fails to return someone's slave, or withholds someone's slave or wife²⁸²⁹ he shall be [judged?] according to the rules³⁰ of the Rājāsāstra and the Dharmaśāstra. A fine³¹ shall be imposed on him exactly as [if he were] a

26) Article 1 deals with matters in large cities, such as those just enumerated, where there must have been a considerable bureaucracy; at least two officials are named, an Officer of Slave Affairs (จ่าทาส) and a Chief Magistrate (subhāpati). Our reconstruction of the lacuna at the beginning of I/18 is of course conjectural, but the meaning is obvious from what follows.

27) In the traditional reckoning, any part of a day counts as a whole day.

28) พว้บ้าน (i.e. ภรรยา, the wife of a private person; ภรรยา, the wife of a lord).

29) We have not attempted to translate เทว (I/22); the lacunae make it impossible to guess the meaning.

30) ขนาด now usually means 'size'; but Pallegoix defines it as 'modus, exemplar, regula, aliquid determinatum, forma' (*Dictionarium linguae thai sive siamensis*, Paris, 1854, p. 276). In this inscription when it is followed by กฎหมาย, etc., it is best rendered by 'rules'.

31) In translating สิบไหม as a fine, we use the word loosely, to include not only fines paid to the Crown or the local lord, but also damages paid to the victim (in this case the slave-owner or husband). In Ayudhyan law สิบไหม generally means the portion paid as damages to the victim, whereas a fine in the strict sense is ทัณฑ์ (vinaya). But in the present text the word seems to include both. Rāmādhīpati's Law on Abduction specifies in what proportions the fines for certain offenses are to be divided between the Crown and the victim. See Lingat, *L'esclavage privé*, 364, 369, etc.,

thief who stole someone's people³² but, instead of taking them out of the city immediately, ran away and hid them inside the city.³³

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- 32) Anyone who abducted a person's wife, child or slave was a thief and subject to punishment as such (see Lingat, *L'esclavage privé*, 126-8, 214-221). Abducted persons were in the same category as stolen goods; the 'injured party', to whom the damages would be paid, was not the abducted person, but the owner of the goods (i.e. the husband of the abducted wife, the father of the abducted child, or the owner of the slave). The penalty depended on the circumstances of the abduction (see below, note 49) and the value of the goods. Under the Law of Compensation, the value of a male slave began at 6 silver ticals for an infant, gradually rose to 56 ticals for the period of his greatest usefulness between the ages of 26 and 40, then gradually decreased again, dropping to 4 ticals at the age of 91; the value of a female slave began at 4 ticals, rose to 48 ticals between the ages of 21 and 30, then gradually decreased to 3 ticals at the age of 91. The value of the wife or child of a free citizen was calculated by multiplying the above figures by a specified coefficient depending on their dignity-marks. See Quaritch Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, 191-3; Lingat, *L'esclavage privé*, 61-63, 79-80.
- 33) Under Article 1 of Rāmādhīpati's Law on Abduction (Recension of 1805) a man who abducted someone's wife, children or slaves and kept them hidden in his own house was fined an amount equal to their value, whereas if he took them out of the province the penalty would be higher (see Lingat, *L'esclavage privé*, 362; cf. below, note 49). But Article 3 of that law is more lenient than Rāmarāja's: a householder who withholds a runaway slave or other person who has taken refuge with him is given three days' grace instead of two; after that it provides a fine of 11,000 cowries per day until a month has elapsed, whereupon a fine equal to the value is inflicted. The money is equally divided between the Crown and the injured party (see Lingat, *ibid.*, 363-4).

Article [2].

[I/24–33.] Officials and group-chiefs,³⁴ anyone living in the countryside or in a small town, and all persons who live far away from³⁵ the boundaries of large cities such as Jalyan³⁶ [If a slave runs away] to someone's dwelling-place., whether [he is there] for a day or half a day; or if a slave [belonging to a person] who is under someone's jurisdiction, or a preceptor's³⁷ slave, or an upādhyāyācārya's³⁸ slave, runs away to someone's place or into his house³⁹; the man who took the slave there must return him. Whoever withholds someone's slave is guilty of an offense against the King⁴⁰ and against the chief of the village and the lord of the district⁴¹ truly. If the master is not at home,

34) lūk khun mun nāy (I/24); cf. above, pp. 112-113.

35) Article 2, dealing with affairs in the country and small towns, is addressed not only to officials, but also –since no officials may be on hand– to anyone else who lives there.

36) *Chalieng* (cf. above, note 25).

37) ฦๅ, a monk of a certain rank.

38) A monk who is qualified to perform ordinations.

39) In this inscription ฦๅ means a person's dwelling-place, consisting of a compound containing not only his own house (๑๒๓๔) in which he lives with his principal wife and their children, but also the houses of his minor wives and their children, quarters for slaves, sheds, granaries, etc. The legislator may be making a distinction between a slave who takes refuge in an outbuilding, and one who enters the main house to request the owner's protection.

40) Either the King of Ayudhyā or (more likely) the vassal King of Sukhodaya.

41) As Article 2 deals with offenses in the countryside and small towns, we translate ฦๅ as 'district' (instead of 'city' as in Article 1).

[someone] must go [and find him?]⁴² district
 The slaveowner shall be compelled⁴³
 excused because he fears the law.⁴⁴

[I/33-39.] Whoever [steals] someone's people and brings them [to a place such as those mentioned] shall not escape punishment in accordance with the rules of Rājasastra and the Dharmaśāstra Punishment shall be inflicted on the slave,⁴⁵ and on the man who brought him there, as follows [?]. If anyone commits the transgression⁴⁶ of withholding a slave for more than three days, he shall be fined eleven thousand [cowries] for each [additional] day up to five, making just fifty-five thousand for the [eight]⁴⁷ days; for example if the period elapsed is just eight days as stated, and he withholds the slave beyond the [three-day] limit but

42) The master (เจ้า) may be the owner of the house or else the owner of the slave. If the latter, the meaning may be that the man who brought the slave there will not be excused from his obligation to return the slave on the pretext that he cannot find the slaveowner; or perhaps the slaveowner is to be called as a witness but is away from home; cf. Lingat in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, XVIII, 408.

43) Perhaps compelled to reimburse the man for his time and expense in returning the slave (cf. Lingat, *L'esclavage privé*, 368).

44) Conjectural translation, based on the assumption that . . 'lwu (I/32) stands for อัญ. The passage seems to mean that if the man returns the slave within the specified time-limit he will be excused in accordance with Article 2 of the Law on Abduction (ibid., 363).

45) มน (มัน). Under Article 1 of the Law on Abduction, a fugitive slave, if he was over 12 years old, was to receive 20 or 30 strokes of the rattan, depending on his age (ibid., 363).

46) มนศ, i.e. ๓๓๓; cf. above, pp. 111-112. In modern times, as Mr Lingat tells us, the word is used as an equivalent to 'tort' in English law; but in Ayudhyan law it meant a transgression of a particular sort, namely the infraction of a rule established by the King, and it was punished by a fine depending on the rank (measured in śakti-nā) of the culprit and of the injured party. See Lingat, *L'esclavage privé*, p. 355 note 1.

47) The word is illegible, but the context shows that it must have been 'eight'.

not beyond eight days, he shall be fined fifty-five thousand;⁴⁸ but if one more day passes, he shall be fined in accordance with the rule in regard to stealing someone's possessions, and taking them to his home [shall be deemed the same] as taking them out of the province.⁴⁹ His offense⁵⁰ shall be considered a transgression⁵¹ and he shall be fined in proportion to dignity⁵² in accordance with the rules of the Dharmaśāstra and the Rājasastra.

48) The analogy of Article 3 of the Law on Abduction (ibid., 363) suggests that the person being fined is the owner of the house who has failed to return the slave promptly; but it might equally well be the man who brought the slave to the house; indeed in many cases the man who brought him there would be the house-owner himself. Article 2 of the Law on Abduction is more lenient than the present article; it grants five days' grace instead of three to the householder who lives in the country; after that, the fine of 11,000 cowries per day runs for a month instead of eight days; and only then does the higher penalty come into operation (ibid., 363-4).

49) Under Article 1 of the Law on Abduction, the penalty for abducting a slave and starting to take him out of the province would be one-and-a-half times the value of the slave; if he is taken into another province or offered for sale, the fine would be twice the value, provided the slave is returned; if not, the fine would be three times the value and the culprit would be flogged and marked with a brand or tattoo on the forehead (ibid., 362-3).

50) Such appears to be the sense of ឃ្លាត in the present context (cf. Khmer *pèk*, to divide, to break, to violate).

51) ឃ្លាត; see note 46.

52) śakti, i.e. śakti-nā; cf. above, p. 111.

Article [3].

[I/40-45, II/1-4.] When a thief who has stolen someone's people either stops at a person's place as stated below⁵³ or passes by it, or when a thief who has stolen oxen, buffaloes, elephants, horses, or animals of any sort, either stops there or passes by, let the householder take thought. If he knows that [the man] really stole [the goods], he should seize him and take him, together with the goods [to the lord of the district ?]. If the lord decides [?]⁵⁴ that the slaves are really and truly in a category which the owner has not given away, not a single one of them, since he is still looking for them⁵⁵
⁵⁶ Let a [reward] be given to those who helped [to recover the stolen goods]. If a man who helped the thief steal and shared [the loot] with him [demands a reward?]⁵⁷ the lord⁵⁸ shall not let him have it.
 [If the man], having taken note of the law, complains against the owner on these grounds, ought he⁵⁹ get a reward⁶⁰ or not?

53) i.e. immediately following.

54) Conjectural translation of ๓๕๓๗; we might have been inclined to translate: 'if the owner says', but the term for owner in the very same line is ๓๕๓๘.

55) A person who abducts slaves but returns them before their owner has learned their whereabouts is excused from punishment (Article 2 of the Law on Abduction; cf. below, note 62).

56) The last part of I/43 and the whole of I/44-45 are broken off.

57) i.e. if the owner of the place was an accomplice of the thief from the beginning or accepted a bribe from the thief to let him go, but later informs against the thief and demands a reward for doing so.

58) ๓๓, apparently the owner of the stolen goods, who would in the first instance have to pay the reward, though he would expect ultimately to get it back from the guilty parties. Alternatively ๓๓ might be the person who is judging the case.

59) ๓๓, i.e. the accomplice, who was also the owner of the place (cf. note 57).

60) ๓๓๘.

[II/4—6.] This man was guilty of negligence⁶¹, waiting until the owner went to him before producing the thief.⁶² The law provides that he shall be treated according to the rule for such cases, and judged as set forth in the section on negligence [dealing with those who] wait [until the owner] himself goes first [to look for the goods]; and if he had an understanding with the thief he shall be further sentenced [as stated] below.⁶³

61) अपेक्षा, Skt. upekṣā, 'indifference', 'negligence,' etc.

62) The Law on Abduction makes a sharp distinction between cases in which the slaves are returned before the owner has any information about their whereabouts, and those in which someone withholds them until he is questioned. See Lingat, *L'esclavage privé* 363, 364, 369, etc.

63) In other words the claimant is not only denied a reward but is also penalized for non-feasance in accordance with Article 5; and if he is proved to have been an accomplice of the thief he will be further penalized as stated in Article 6.

Article [4].

[II/6—8.] If a person catches a thief with stolen goods such as slaves, people or cattle,⁶⁴ and if that person turns and takes them into a city,⁶⁵ withholding the whole lot including relatives and wife for almost a day, in that case not a single thing out of the whole lot shall be given him [as a reward].

[II/8—10.] [In keeping with] ancient custom, he must be punished in conformity with whatever rules there are in the Rājāśāstra regarding thieves and concealers of stolen goods. He shall be sentenced accordingly.

64) The rhyming phrase วัว公牛 (วัวและ公牛), 'oxen, bulls and ropes', is apparently a ready-made expression meaning domesticated cattle. We have therefore omitted 'ropes' in our translation.

65) We translate เมือง as 'city' on the supposition that the theft occurred in the country, and the householder caught the thief in the country.

Article [5].

[II/10–22.] When a robber, having stolen someone's people or cattle and run away, either goes past a person's place as stated above⁶⁶, or stops at his house⁶⁷, if that person is guilty of negligence, not seizing [the thief] but letting him go; or else upon reflection he realizes that the man stole [the goods], but as the thief is his brother or cousin he deliberately lets him go; or else seeing that the thief is the servant of a powerful man, he lets him go because he fears that man's power⁶⁸; or else he seizes the thief but the thief bribes him, and so in exchange for the thief's bribe⁶⁹ he lets him go; or else if the owner of the goods or slaves, having chased the thief to the place, cries out for help to seize him, but the householder, though he is at home, does not provide a throng of helpers, and so lets the thief escape; in no matter which case, whether that cited as negligence in not seizing him, or letting him go because the man is his brother or cousin, or cited as letting him go because he is the servant of a powerful man, or cited as taking a bribe from the thief and letting him go, or cited as not helping to seize him and so letting him go; in all these wrongful acts, whenever they occur, at no matter whose place and at no matter what house, in the whole lot of cases like these [the householder] shall be punished exactly as [if he himself] stole someone's wife or people or whatever goods have been stolen; he shall be made to pay the full value⁷⁰ of the goods, equal to the fine that would be imposed on the thief; he shall be made

66) i.e. in Article 3.

67) The meaning of สักข at II/11 is uncertain.

68) śakti, meaning not only his dignity but also the power and influence that go with his rank.

69) สินจ้าง

70) cf. notes 32 and 33. The usual meaning of หนี้สิน 'debts,' is clearly not applicable; the meaning here is the same as at II/39,

to pay the reward⁷¹; and he shall be fined in proportion to dignity and rank⁷². Why must it be so?

[II/22—27.] When [a thief, having robbed]⁷³ someone, flees to a person's house [or passes by with?] a lot [of people and goods] he has stolen, [the householder] shall not be punished if, in his desire for a reward of some kind, he resolves to return them, and takes them to give to their owner. To the extent that the Rājasastra and the Dharmaśāstra provide that he should get a reward⁷⁴, it shall be so; if they provide that he should get a reward in proportion⁷⁵, it shall be so; the reward for recovering the lot of goods shall be as provided. Knowing that a powerful lord will reward⁷⁶ him exactly as the law provides in these circumstances, why should he be so negligent, having more regard for the thief than for the authority of the law⁷⁷? If he wrongs the victim of the theft, the punishment will prevent him from profiting by it.⁷⁸

71) สิ้นจ้าง. Though at II/24 f. the expression meant a bribe, it probably here means a sum given to the persons who helped catch the robber and recover the goods, to repay them for their time and expenses. Cf. Article 12 and 13 of the Law on Abduction (Lingat, op. cit., 364 f., 368 f.).

72) śakti yaśa; for śakti, see above, p. 111 and note 41; for yaśa, titles of rank, see Quaritch Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, 35 et passim.

73) At II/22 there is a lacuna (not shown in the printed text) between มุม and ทัพ; it must have contained something like the meaning we have supplied in brackets.

74) ค่าสินจ้าง; see note 71.

75) In proportion to the owner's dignity? or in proportion to the value of the stolen goods?

76) บังพ.

77) ājñā prajñapti. For ājñā, 'authority', see Prince Dhaninivat, *Some Loan Words in Siamese*, JSS XXVIII/2, 188 f.

78) The reader will observe the similarities and differences between Articles 3 and 5. The hypothetical circumstances cited are much the same in both; but in Article 3 the householder fails to do his duty and is punished accordingly, whereas in Article 5 he returns the stolen goods and gets a reward.

Article [6].

[II/27—32.] When a certain man steals things from someone's place or steals someone's people,⁷⁹ then any person whom he urged to go and steal, or to go with him to steal, or who knows that somebody has been pilfering articles for as long as ten years or stealing valuables within that period, without anyone [else] knowing or seeing a single one of all those thefts; then if that person, deliberately siding with the thief⁸⁰, does not inform the owner or come to tell any of the householders, he shall be fined [as if he himself were] the thief and punished in the same way.⁸¹

[II/32—33.] He shall be fined [an amount equal to] the value of all that lot of goods, and sentenced according to the rules of the Rājāsāstra and the Dharmaśāstra as he would be if he had abducted someone's children or wife.

79) ชั่วคน at II/28 may be a mistake for ชั่วคน, people and slaves; it is clear from II/33 that the legislator has in mind the victim's family as well as his slaves.

80) The passage II/27-30 contains a number of uncertain readings, the meaning is obscure in several places, and our translation is conjectural. We have not attempted to translate กลานหม้อ; the sense may be that the thief gave him some of the loot as hush-money.

81) Or perhaps in proportion to dignity.

Article [7].

[II/33–37.] If a man starts to bully⁸² someone, or to take something from him by force, even though it is only some sour or sweet fruit the owner has not given him, and if [the owner] has no one to help him catch [the bully], then [anyone who is nearby] must seize him. Even if he is chasing [the owner] with a spear, a sword, or a great big iron weapon, he must be seized and brought to justice. A fine shall be imposed on him and given as a reward⁸³ to whoever caught him. If at any time a man starts to make [trouble] there, let this be an example for everyone to act upon.

[II/37–40.] Whoever is guilty of negligence, not seizing the bully but letting him go, or not helping to chase and catch the bully, shall be fined an amount equal to the value of the goods lost to the bully who took them by force; whatever it may be, he shall be made to pay it in full. Let no one be guilty of negligence.

82) *rābīvirāma*, which perhaps implies hectoring someone noisily and obstructing his passage; cf. Skt. *rāvī*, 'screaming', *virāma*, 'leaving off',

83) รว้ (= รว้).

Article [8].

[II/40–50.] If any person, having some work to be done or some sort of ceremony to be performed, plans to kill a cow or a buffalo⁸⁴ but does not point it out so that all may see it⁸⁵, then if the group-chief⁸⁶ or if a commoner informs the group-chief that his friends⁸⁷ know that person's intention [because he has invited them?] to feast together on portions which are not forbidden⁸⁸, though he has not only seen the law which specifies a flogging for anyone who alters or falsifies [the brands or other marks on an animal] or any ruffian who steals an animal to eat and falsifies [the marks] but also the rule [requiring him to] make his purpose known to everyone; whoever transgresses this law by killing [an animal] to eat without making it known to everyone [beforehand], even if [the animal] belongs to him or by stealing someone's [animal] to eat all these. Whoever takes heed a powerful lord concerned with the throng [?] and goes to inform him, that man is honest towards his lord and serves his lord with honesty. Let a reward be given to that man; let [the guilty party] pay it, together with the value

[II/50–54.] Men like this, namely those who are devoted to the King, will help safeguard the country for in a throng like this, [whereas those] whom the lord would be prone to consider guilty and to fine all actions even if people who not able to steal⁸⁹

84) In order to feast the neighbors who will help with the work or attend the ceremony.

85) So as to prove that the animal was not stolen.

86) Mun Nāy.

87) We have omitted the words ⁴ แลเพื่อนของพว that appear at II/42 in the printed edition, as the reading is doubtful.

88) i.e. the host says they will feast on meat which has been acquired legally, but some of the people who have been invited are skeptical.

89) Perhaps the most likely sense of this fragmentary passage is that if enough people show their loyalty by informing on thieves, the practice of theft will be stamped out.

ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

- AA/LP. *Annals of Ayudhyā*, 'Luang Prasrōth Recension'; ประชุมพงศาวดาร
ภาคที่ ๑; there is a mediocre English translation at JSS VI/3, 3 f.
- Alabaster, *The Wheel of the Law*, London, 1871.
- BE. Buddhist Era.
- BEFEO. Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.
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1961.
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1966.
- Chiang Mai Chronicle*. See Notton, III.
- Chronicle of Nân*. See *Nân Chronicle*.
- CMC. *Chiang Mai Chronicle*.
- Coedès, *Documents. Documents sur l'histoire religieuse et politique du Laos
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Bangkok, 1924; from XXX on, to that in ประชุมศิลาจารึกมอญที่ ๓, 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.
- J. *Jinakālamālī*.
- Jinakālamālī*. Pali text and French translation in Coedès, *Documents*.
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- Lingat, *La preuve dans l'ancien droit Siamois*, Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, Tome XVIII, Paris, 1964.
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