

REVIEW ARTICLES

A.B. Griswold and Prasert na Nagara, "Epigraphic and Historical Studies Nos. 1-8" (*Journal of the Siam Society*, Vols. LVI pt. 2, LVII pt. 1, LVIII pt. 1, and 59 pt. 1).

I. INTRODUCTION

The Journal of the Siam Society (JSS), Volumes LVI pt 2, LVII pt. 1, LVIII pt. 1, and 59 pt. 1, contain eight papers, Epigraphic and Historical Studies by Alexander B. Griswold and Dr. Prasert na Nakorn (from now on G and P when I wish to refer to them jointly, otherwise separately as Griswold and Prasert.) The papers include texts and translations of nine inscriptions, most of which fall within the reign of Maha Dharmaraja Sai Lue Thai มหารัชมงคลมุนี (1379-1419). Few Thai scholars read Griswold's writings as a whole, and Griswold does not seem to read what Thai scholars write either, particularly in the last decade since 'Thai Monumental Bronzes' was printed, during which much new evidence has come to light. But in this case Prasert was kind enough to send me the relevant issues of JSS and asked me to comment—to keep the record straight, so to say.

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The best way to deal with these Studies is to give a gist of the nine inscriptions dealt with, followed by G and P's interpretations, and to conclude with my comments. As the main object of these comments is to identify the more important "characters" in the story, only a few words are required. In any case G and P give both texts and translations of the inscriptions, so it should not be difficult for the reader to follow the arguments. Here are the more important names that appear in the inscriptions under treatment.

1. **Dharmaraja I:** *Phya* Li Thai, son of *Phya* Loe Thai and grandson of *Phya* Ram or Ramaraj (Ram Kamhaeng); took ordination in 1362; in the reign of his grandson (Sai Lue Thai) he was known by the posthumous name of Grandfather *Phya* (*Pu Phya*), while Sai Lue Thai was known as Grandson *Phya* (*Lan Phya*).

2. **Dharmaraja II** : son of *Phya Li Thai* (1 above).
3. **Dharmaraja III** : Sai Lue Thai, the Grandson *Phya* (of Li Thai); died in 1419.
4. **Dharmaraja IV** : *Phya Ban* or *Boroma Pala*, elder son of Sai Lue Thai; born in 1391, became king in 1419 and died in 1438. His younger brother was *Phya Ram*.

On these four kings, Griswold, Prasert and Chand are in complete agreement. To make the story simpler to follow, I will not call them by their regnal titles, but as *Phya Li Thai*, *Maha Dharmaraja II*, *Sai Lue Thai* and *Boroma Pala*.

5. **Queen Sri Chulalak** : The name *Sri Chulalak* appears several times in early Ayudhia poetry, and I personally am delighted to see her appearing in a Sukhothai inscription because some seemingly wild conjectures, which I made about Ayudhia literature before the good lady's name was found on stone, would now seem to be valid. The name appears only in one inscription, or rather on only one face of one inscription—that of the Thai face of the Inscription of Wat Asokaram (XCIII). She was the wife of a *Maha Dharmaraja*, but the evidence is not clear of which *Dharmaraja* she was queen. So we shall proceed very carefully when we come to the *Asokaram* Inscription.

6. **Sri Dharmaraj Mata** : This name merely means "Mother of *Dharmaraja*"; it is not necessary to indicate that she was a queen in her husband's lifetime, but simply that she was the mother of the current or reigning *Dharmaraja*. Should her son die and another *Dharmaraja* come to the throne, then the mother of the new king would be *Dharmaraj Mata*, while she herself would be called by some other name. The name *Dharmaraj Mata* appears in several inscriptions and might refer to more than one "Mother of *Dharmaraja*." Again we shall have to proceed slowly.

On these two ladies, Griswold and Prasert are in agreement, while Chand disagrees.

7. **Maha Thera Dharma Trailok** : This name appears in Inscription No. XLIX (Wat Sorasak). He was a monk and a younger brother of the Queen Mother, so was called Uncle *Phya* (*Na Phya*) in the inscription.

8. **Sri Dharma Trailok**, a *kavirajapandit* (กวีราชบัณฑิต) court poet and learned man) : he was a layman and wrote the Pali face of the *Asokaram*

Inscription. Needless to say, he should not be confused with the khom of the same name. The name Trailok, or its variations in spelling, was popular in this period and appears in several inscriptions, being used for men as well as women. At a slightly later period, a king of Ayudhia was name Trailok, while a king of Chiangmai at the same time was named Tilokaraj.

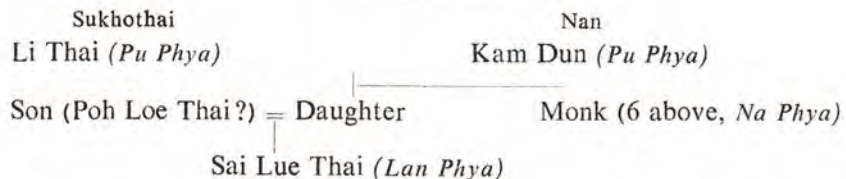
On these two names Prasert and Chand are in agreement, while Griswold disagrees. He thinks the monk and the poet, as well as one Ba Dharmatrailok of another inscription of the same period (IX, not treated in these papers), were one and the same person, and that 'he' was the younger brother of Queen Sri Chulalak (5). There is nothing particularly difficult about these names, but their relationship is something else. Here Griswold disagrees with Prasert; prasert disagrees with Chand; and Chand disagrees with Griswold. I wil give my own interpretation first.

Grandfather *Phya* (*Pu Phya* ปู่พระยา and its variations) means a *Phya* who was Paternal Grandfather or Maternal Grandfather. The Sukhothai language uses the same word for both grandfathers, as in English, and as do the Lanna and Shan languages; but in the southern language (Ayudhia and Bangkok), *Pu* is the Paternal Grandfather, while the Maternal Grandfather is *Ta*.

Uncle *Phya* (*Na Phya* น้าพระยา) is a younger brother of the mother. *Na* can be a younger brother or sister, but in these inscriptions the *Na Phyas* were males.

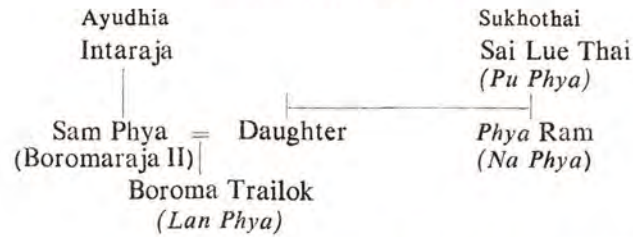
Grandson and Nephew *Phyas* (*Lan Phya* หลานพระยา): *Lan* can mean a grandson or granddaughter also a nephew or niece. In the texts the *Lan Phyas* were obviously males—a grandson or nephew.

Genealogical Table A



Li Thai and Kam Dun were both Grandfather *Phyas*, while Sai Lue Thai was both Grandson *Phya* and Nephew *Phya*. The above genealogy covers all the inscriptions treated except the last (Chedi Noi Inscription XXXX).

Genealogical Table B



In this genealogy, which covers G and P's Study No. 5, *Phya Ban* (Boroma Pala) has been left out. He was older than *Phya Ram*, and he might have been older than his sister, in which case he would have been a *Loong Phya*, *ลวงพระยา*; on the other hand he might have been younger, in which case he would have been another *Na Phya*.

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Before the publication of the first JSS paper, Prasert and I have had some very enjoyable arguments on the interpretation of Sukhothai inscriptions, and I think we are now probably agreed on the first period from Ram Kamhaeng's Inscription to Li Thai's ordination in 1362; and on the third and last period from Sai Lue Thai's death in 1419 to the end of the Sukhothai inscriptions. The Studies now under discussion cover the middle period of 57 years from Li Thai's ordination to Sai Lue Thai's death, where there are still two unknown factors of the greatest importance, namely 1) what was the year when Li Thai died, and 2) was he succeeded by a son (Dharmaraja II) or grandson (Sai Lue Thai).

In arguing with Prasert I am at a distinct disadvantage. He can read the actual inscriptions while I cannot. So in my arguments with him I must accept his reading and limit myself to pulling his interpretations apart. Reading and interpreting the inscriptions are two entirely separate operations, and it would be as well to have an example to show this difference.

The Inscription of Khao Sumana Guti (VIII, the Greater Footprint Hill at Sukhothai) was set up by Phya Li Thai (พระยาเลิไทย) after he led a host from several townships to worship the Footprint in 1359. The first and last sentences, as read by Professor Coedès and written in modern style, are

เขานันขอสมณกุฎบรรพต . . . เรียบข้อตั้งอันเพื่อไปพิมพ์เอารอยต้นพระพุทธรเจ้า เรา
อันเหยียบเหนือจอมเขาสมณกุฎบรรพต . . . ในลังกาทวีปพื้นมาประดิษฐานไว้เหนือจอมเขา
อนัน ๗๐๙

จึงขนิมนนพระบาทลักษณอนันตน^๕หากประดิษฐานแต่ก่อนเหนือจอมเขาสมณกุฎ^๕ จึงจารึก
อนันไว้อีกโสด

The statement here is definite. Phya Li Thai says that the Footprint at Khao Sumana Gutti at Sukhothai was set up by his father, (ชนก) Phya Loe Thai, (พระยาเลอไทย) also called Phya Dharmikaraj (พระยาธรรมิกราช) and Dharmaraja in other inscriptions. This fits in very well with the other evidence. For instance, the Inscription of Nakorn Chum (นครชุม, III), also set up by Phya Li Thai, says:

พระบาทลักษณ^๕นั้นไซ้ พระยาธรรมิกราชให้ไปพิมพ์เอารอยต้น . . . พระเป็นเจ้าถึงสิงหล
อันเหยียบเหนือจอมเขาสมณบรรพต ประมาณเท่าใดเอามาพิมพ์ไว้จึ่งคนทั้งหลาย แท้ . . .

In this inscription Phya Li Thai refers to himself as Dharmaraja, so Dharmikaraj in the same inscription meant his father Phya Loe Thai. All is well that would have ended well until Prasert reread the last sentence of VIII as (text given in its original form to show that tone marks were not used in the writing):

จึงขนิมนนพระบาทลักษณอนันตน^๕หากประดิษฐานแต่ก่อนเหนือจอมเขาสมณกุฎ^๕ จึงจารึก
อนันไว้อีกโสด

The sense of the reading now is that Phya Li Thai himself set up the Footprint and not his father as in Professor Coedès' reading. Coedès accepted Prasert's new reading, which plays havoc with Inscription III that says it was Phya Dharmikaraj who sent to Ceylon for a copy of the Footprint. This is the sort of thing that turns the Sukhothai Inscriptions into such a fertile field for argument. So while I accept Prasert's new reading, I do not accept his interpretation. I think the text should be (in modern writing with tone marks):

จึงขนิมนนพระบาทลักษณอนันตน^๕หากประดิษฐานแต่ก่อน เหนือจอมเขาสมณกุฎ^๕ จึงจารึก
อนันไว้อีกโสด

In this interpretation there is no question of who set up the Footprint. The statement is simply that the Print was already there when,

Li Thai went to worship it. The Thai language does not boast of very much grammar, but what little grammar it does boast of is better served by my interpretation than Prasert's. And the sense does not create chaos with the Dharmikaraj in Inscription III where no chaos really exists.

I have not had the pleasure of arguing with Griswold for many years. I understand he did the actual writing of these papers while Prasert just "kept an eye on things," as he himself puts it. Griswold is at a distinct disadvantage in arguing with me. I can read between the lines of an inscription and he cannot. Perhaps a couple of examples would not be out of place to illustrate this point :

1) The History of Sukhothai starts with the two Intaratits (อินทราทิตย์) namely, Poh Khun Pa Muang (พ่อขุนผาเมือง), son of Sri Nao Nam Thom (ศรีนาวนาถม) and Lord of Muang Rad (เมืองราด), and his companion, Poh Khun Bang Klang Tao (พ่อขุนบางกลางทาว), Lord of Muang Bang Yang (เมืองบางยาง). The story is told in Inscription II. Pa Muang was already king of Sukhothai with the title of Sri Intarabadintratitya (ศรีอินทราทิตย์) given him by the king of Sri Sodharapura (ศรีโสธรปุระ, Kambuja). The king also gave him a daughter to wife named Nang Sikorn Mahadevi (นางสีชมหาเทวี) and the sacred sword Khan Chaisri (ขรรค์ไชยศรี). In due course the two cronies drove one Khom Smard Klon Lampong (ขอมสมาดโคลนลำพง) from Sukhothai; Pa Muang then consecrated Bang Klang Tao as king of Sukhothai, and at the same time gave him his own title of Sri Intarabadintratitya. In this way Bang Klang Tao became king of Sukhothai, with the alternative title of Sri Intaratit (as used in this and other inscriptions. I shall use this title for Bang Klang Tao to distinguish him from Pa Muang who was Intarabadintratitya.). The text says :

พ่อขุนผาเมืองจึงอภิเสกพ่อขุนบางกลางทาว เจ้าเมืองสุโขทัย ให้ทั้งข้อตนแก่พระสหาย
เรียกชื่อ ศรีอินทราทิตย์ (o) นามเดิมกมรเตงอัญญาเมือง (o) เมื่อก่อนพ่อขุนผาเมือง
ศรีโสธรปุระให้ลูกสาวชื่อนางสีชมหาเทวีกับขันไชยศรี ให้นามเกียรติแก่พ่อขุนผาเมือง เขยมน
พ่อขุนบางกลางทาว ได้ชื่อศรีอินทราทิตย์ เพื่อพ่อขุนผาเมืองเอาข้อตนให้แก่พระสหาย
(อีก?) เมืองสุโขทัยเพื่อนั้น

The text is quite clear that Pa Muang was already King of Sukhothai before the Khom Smard Klon Lampong incident. Sri Intarabadintratitya was the official title conferred by the kings of Kambuja on the

kings of Sukhothai, who, in the case of Pa Muang, also had absolute powers when he was given the sacred sword Khan Chaisri. There is no doubt about this. In fact the inscription called him His Majesty Pa Muang: Kamarateng An Pa Muang (กมรเตงอัญฌาเมือง) and Poh Khun Pa Muang. Kamarateng An was a title used by the kings of Kambuja, and in Inscription IV, Li Thai called himself and his grandfather Sri Ramraj (ศรีรามราช, Ram Kamhaeng) by the title Phra Bat Kamarateng An (พระบาทกมรเตงอัญ). Poh Khun also means His Majesty.

มหาศักราช 1269 ศกกุน พระบาทกมรเตงอัญ ฤๅไทยราช เป็นพระราชชนิตดาของพระบาท
กมรเตงอัญ ศรีรามราช ฯลฯ

Without going into any question at this stage of how this point should be interpreted, I will just mention that when writers on Sukhothai say that Sri Intaratit (Bang Klang Tao) was the first king of Sukhothai, they are in slight error to say the least. The first king of Sukhothai that is known for certain was Sri Intarabadintratitya (Pa Muang.) I consider Pa Muang's father was also a Sukhothai king; but this can be left till later. Meanwhile there can be no refutation of Pa Muang's being an earlier king than Bang Klang Tao, except by people who cannot read plain, simple, though not very straight-forward Sukhothai language. I fear that this must include Griswold and, I might add, everybody who has written the story of Sukhothai before him that I have read, though Prince Damrong called the Kings of Sukhothai of the Phra Ruang Dynasty.

2) In 1285 Ram Kamhaeng dug up a relic of the Buddha (Phra Dhatu) and after showing it for a month and six days, buried it again in the middle of the city of Sri Sajnalai (ศรีสัชนาลัย). He built a chedi over the relic, which took him six years, and a wall round the Phra Dhatu which took three years. The story is told in Inscription I and the text reads (in modern writing) :

1207 ศกกุน ให้ขุดเอาพระธาตุออกทั้งหลายเห็น กระทำบูชาบำเรอแก่พระธาตุได้เดือน
หกวัน จึงเอาสงฆ์ในกลางเมืองศรีสัชนาลัย ก่อพระเจดีย์เหนือหูกเขาจึงแล้ว ตั้งเวียงผา
ล้อมพระมหาธาตุสามเข้าจึงแล้ว

It is generally agreed that the chedi in the middle of Sri Sajnalai where Ram Kamhaeng (รามคำแหง) buried the Lord's relic was Wat Chang Lom (วัดช้างล้อม, Monastery of the Surrounding Elephants—the elephants surrounded the base of the chedi and not the wat.) Some people understand that the surrounding walls he put up referred to the city walls of Sri Sajnalai, but the text is clear enough that they were the walls surrounding the actual Phra Dhatu. The city walls might have been pre-Ram Kamhaeng or after : I personally think he put them up too, but they were not the same walls mentioned in the inscription. I will mention one other point because it has a bearing on the story to come. The walls were made of laterite, and north of Sri Sajnalai I do not think there are any other city walls made of this material.

Pa Muang and his father Sri Nao Nam Thom, Bang Klang Tao and his elder son, Ban Muang, obviously all set up buildings and made statues. Unfortunately we cannot point to any single piece as being of any particular reign. Ram Kamhaeng's bell-type chedi at Wat Chang Lom is the first and only piece of art before Li Thai that can be dated through the actual inscriptions. Ram Kamhaeng's reign was the Classic Period of Sukhothai art. Above the elephants surrounding his chedi, there are some Buddha images in niches. Some of the images are Chiengsaen (เชียงแสน) which means that they are pre-Ram Kamhaeng or even pre-Sukhothai; others are later, which merely means that they have been repaired. So if we can know where he dug up the Lord's relic from, we would know more about the early art of Sukhothai. Many conjectures have been put forward but none has produced any evidence in support except guesswork. Yet from a close reading of the text it is quite evident that Ram Kamhaeng dug up the relic *from where he buried it again*. This means that Ram Kamhaeng built over an old stupa. Luckily new evidence has come forward to support this interpretation (if any evidence is necessary to support a straight-forward interpretation of the actual text), namely some of the surrounding elephants have fallen apart and behind the elephants is the base of an older stupa. In this way the

presence of Chiengsaen or pre-Ram Kamhaeng elements at Wat Chang Lom is explained.

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Some of the Inscriptions of Sukhothai are printed in Prachum Sila-jaruk (ประชุมศิลาจารึก) Collection of Inscriptions Part I (read by Professor Georges Coedès); some are in Prachum Part III, mixed with inscriptions from other parts of the country (read by *Nai* Cham Thongkhamwan); others are in Prachum Part IV (read by *Nai* Prasarn Boonprakong.) The original numbering in Prachum Parts I, III and IV have been retained (Roman numerals), while those still unprinted in Prachum are called by their official titles and have been left unnumbered.

The spelling of proper names in these Comments is free and does not follow any established system. At first I tried to follow the Royal Institute's System of Transcription, which has the merit of being simple and is now in general use in Siam, particularly for place names. Then it was found that some names that are known over the world would have to be spelt differently from universal usage, such as the Buddha Gotama would be spelt Khothama which would hardly do, particularly as the inscriptions contain many Pali words. Equally unsuitable are the other recognised systems. The trouble of course is that Thai is a tonal language and even with a generous use of accents and tone-marks, which are very cumbersome, no really accurate sounds can be reproduced in scripts other than the original Thai, particularly for poetry. Griswold prefers the Graphic System, but there is no particular advantage in it; so I decided, reluctantly, to transliterate Thai words as they would be written by an English native speaker with a fair ear for Siamese—except for quotations, when Griswold's spelling is retained. This is something that Thai scholars have done since the time of King Vajiravudh. But things won't be too bad. Thai types are available and they will be used generously for proper name but sparingly for place names. Anyone wanting to study Thai inscriptions in depth must surely learn a smattering of Thai, to read it at least, if not to talk and write it.

The dates are given in A.D., except where otherwise stated. Anno Domini is Buddhist Era minus 543 years; Maha Sakaraj plus 78; and Chula Sakaraj plus 638. Thus A.D. 1971 would be B.E. 2514, M.S. 1893, and C.S. 1333. To change one Era to another, I follow the method used by the official epigraphists, viz. just add or subtract the difference in the two Eras. As the Lunar and Solar years do not start on the same day, there may be a difference of three months and a half either way. Griswold and Prasert have worked out more detailed dates (I think based on the Julian Calendar.) Theirs may be more accurate on the whole, but in one or two cases that we shall come to, these more detailed dates took the two authors completely off the track. As the inscriptions are anything between 400 and 700 years old, I do not think a few months, or even a couple of years make a great deal of difference. However in at least one case (Inscription XXXVIII), G and P's detailed working led them out a full century (1397 instead of 1493 A.D.)

II. COMMENTS ON EPIGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL STUDIES NOS. 1 AND 2

Epigraphic and Historical Study No. 1

The first Study deals with two inscriptions, Nos. XLVI (Wat Pichitraram) and XLIX (Wat Sorasak), which together form a Declaration of Independence (XLVI) and its Consequences (XLIX).

XLVI records the foundation of Wat Pichitr by the king's mother. The inscription is in a semi-poetical genre called *rai* and contains three dates, of which only the first is of significance.

In 1400 Somdech Phra Rajajanani Sri Dharmarajamata Mahatila-karatana Rajanatha, the mother, and her son, Somdech Mahadharmaratipati Sri Suryawongse (Sai Lue Thai) conducted a military campaign as a result of which the son became supreme lord of Sri Sajnalai-Sukhothai. The territory extended from Phra Bang (Nakorn Sawan), with its hundred and twenty thousand ponds and rivulets, to Prae. After that she invited a monk from Kampaeng Bejr to come to Sukhothai to build Wat Pichitr.

Such is the Declaration of Independence (from Ayudhia), for what it is worth. The main point to notice in this inscription is that the country is called Sri Sajnalai-Sukhothai. This combined name was used in Ram Kamhaeng's inscription and in some of Li Thai's. I cannot remember it being used anywhere else since Li Thai's ordination in 1362.

XLIX records the foundation of Wat Sorasak in 1412 by one *Nai* In Sorasak, who asked Maha Dharmaraja (Sai Lue Thai, whom he called *Ok-ya* Dharmaraja) for some land and at the same time promised to present the merits of his good deed to the king. The king consented and so the work was started, probably with the *bot*.

G and P think that in between 1400 (when Wat Pichitraram was founded and when the Declaration of Independence was made) and 1412, Sukhothai had again reverted to being a vassal of Ayudhia. *Nai* In Sorasak, they think, was the Ayudhian Chief Resident at Sukhothai, and he called Maha Dharmaraja by the name *Ok-ya* Dharmaraja because the king was no longer an independent monarch.

The name Sorasak certainly does not sound Sukhothai, but whether he was an Ayudhian Chief Resident is something else. If he was, then why did he have to ask Dharmaraja for land to build his Wat when Sukhothai was a vassal state? He could have built the wat on his own authority or said that he did it in the name of the King of Ayudhia. As for his calling Dharmaraja, *Ok-ya* Dharmaraja, if he was an Ayudhian and a foreigner to Sukhothai, perhaps he did not know the Sukhothai dialect as well as he might. As an example, if today a foreigner, say an American, or more specifically my good friend Griswold, were to write a piece in Thai about His present Majesty, I don't think he would get the "regal language" 100% correct any more than I would if I tried to eulogise some northern belle in the Lanna or Khum Mueng language. That of course would not stop me from trying. So I do not consider *Nai* Sorasak's misuse of the Sukhothai language of great importance. What is important is that the promised to present to His Majesty any merit he gained.

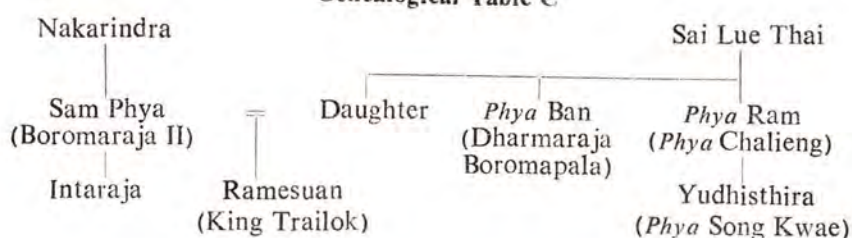
Presenting merits to the reigning monarch (or to "both kings" if there was also a Wang Na (วังหน้า) or Palace of the Front at the same time) is an ancient tradition that still operates today. For instance, if you become ordained into the monkhood and His Majesty sponsored your ordination, you would present any merits you might have gained to him. We shall come across several examples of this as we go along.

To continue with our inscription: while Wat Sorasak was a-building, an old monk named Maha Thera Dharma Trailok, who was a younger brother of the king's mother and was called *Na Phya* (Uncle *Phya*) in the inscription, came to Sukhothai from Dao Khorn. The king got *Nai* Sorasak to produce a dwelling place for him and his followers in the new wat that was being built. The two seemed to have got along famously, because the old monk arranged for a chedi to be built in the wat, a Buddha image sitting "in the European fashion", a vihara (where presumably the image was housed), a Haw Phra (where the sacred books were kept), as well as getting various grants of land, the revenue from which the old monk distributed for the upkeep of the various buildings as well as for the monks and novices in the monastery. I will show cause later why I consider Sai Lue Thai's mother was a Nan princess; and in such a case

the old monk a Nan prince. So if *Nai Sorasak* was a Chief Resident, *Sai Lue Thai* set up a pretty efficient spy service when he sent his uncle to reside at *Wat Sorasak*; or perhaps we should say he set a thief to catch a thief very effectively because the monk soon had *Nai Sorasak* feeding out of his hand and liking it very much.

Before we go on, let me introduce a few characters outside this actual inscription. In this period the King of Ayudhia was *Intaraja*, or *Nakarindra* as the Thai call him. He had three sons named *Chao Ai Phya*, *Chao Yi Phya* and *Chao Sam Phya* (*Phyas* Nos. I, II and III). *Sam Phya* later succeeded to the throne as *Boromaraja II*. The King of Sukhothai was *Dharmaraja Sai Lue Thai*. He had two sons *Phya Ban* who later became *Dharmaraja Boromapala*, and *Phya Ram* who became *Phya Chalieng*, and a daughter who was older than *Phya Ram*. She was married to *Sam Phya*.

Genealogical Table C



To return to our inscription: in 1417, the King of Ayudhia, called in the inscription "Phra Boromarajatipati Sri Maha Chakrapatiraja" came to visit Sukhothai. He was accompanied by his mother and aunt. The aunt stayed for some time at a residence to the west of the wat, which she visited several times and gilded (the image in) the vihara, much to the delight of *Nai Sorasak*. She also gave the land where she resided to the monastery. That the old lady could make herself so much at home would suggest that she was a northern lady, perhaps not a Sukhothai princess, but a lady of Kampaeng Bejr or one of the cities in the Sukhothai country. It was all so cozy that I cannot imagine the visit to have been that of a King-Emperor (of Ayudhia) visiting a vassal state. If *Nai In Sorasak* was really a Chief Resident, then he must have been something like a British Consul at one of Her Britannic Majesty's former minor

posts in North Thailand. If British Royalty had visited Chiangmai accompanied by Ministers of State, Ambassadors and so on, Mr. Consul Sorasak would have been obliged to turn himself into an office boy and fetch and run for the party. When the visit was over, and if the show had been successful, Mr. Consul would no doubt have written the kind of Inscription *Nai* Sorasak wrote to give himself a bit of a leg-up, so to say, and show what an important person he really was. And that is all there is to it. The whole tone of the inscription is so friendly that I cannot understand how G and P can possibly read it for anything other than a happy family reunion.

Epigraphic and Historical Study No. 2

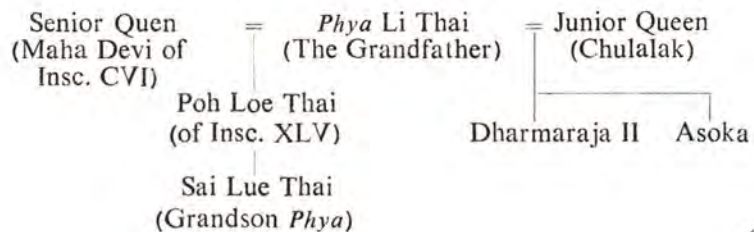
This study deals with the Inscription of Wat Asokaram (XCIII), which has two faces, one in Thai and the other in Pali. The Pali side is in one of the *sloka* verse forms, and was composed by a poet named Sri Dharma Trailok.

The Thai face of the inscription starts with the date, corresponding to 1399 A.D., followed by the name of the queen, Sri Chulalak, or, in full as written by G and P but without the accents,

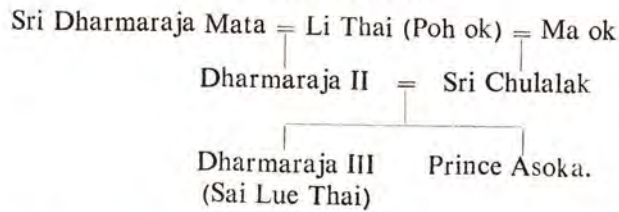
Samtec Brah Rajadebi Sri Chulalaksana Arrgarajamahehi Debadhorani . . . karatana . . . madapavara (สมเด็จพระราชเทวีศรีจุฬาลักษณ์ อัครราชมเหสีเทพรัตนโลกรัตน์)

She was Queen to Somdech Maha Dharmarajatiraja; and here is where the fun begins. I consider she was the junior queen of Maha Dharmaraja Li Thai, while G and P think she was a daughter of Li Thai who married her half-brother Dharmaraja II; and was the mother of Sai Lue Thai. We will have two genealogical tables, the first being my interpretation, while the second that of G and P.

Genealogical Table D/1



Genealogical Table D/2



I will go straight to the problem and come back later to the other points in the inscription. On the Thai face the queen transferred the merits she had gained through her good deeds to (1) *Somdech* the Grandfather *Phya* (meaning Li Thai, who was called by this posthumous name in the reign of his grandson), (2) her own father, (3) her own mother, (4) *Somdech Maha* Dharmarajatiraja (meaning Sai Lue Thai, the regnant Dharmaraja) and (5) *Phra* Sri Dharmaraja Mata (meaning Sai Lue Thai's mother.)

This is a straight translation. G and P, however, have "interpreted" the text rather than translated it. I give their version as well as the Thai text, and their translation of the corresponding passage on the Pali face.

อันว่าผลานิสงส์ดังนี้ สมเด็จพระราชเทวีเจ้าท่านแล้งแก่ล้งกัลปนาให้เบนโกฏฐสมบุญ-
 โงทนาไปแต่สมเด็จพระยา พ่อออกแม่ออกท่านอีกสมเด็จพระมหาธรรมราชาธิราช พระศรีธรรม-
 ราชมาดาญาติญาติพบนุสสันตทั้งหลาย จงให้พ้นทุกข์ภัยอันตราย แต่ให้ได้สุขทุกข์ทุกคน

"The merit resulting from all her good works such as those mentioned, Samtec Brah Rajadevi dedicates to her father Samtec Braña the Grandfather, to her mother, to Samtec Mahadharma-rajadhiraja, to Brah Sri Dharmarajamata, to her relatives, and to all creatures. May it make them escape suffering and danger, may it make every one of them attain happiness. (Translation of Thai face.)

"By the action of this meritorious work of mine, may my father and my mother both, my husband Mahadharmadhiraja, and his mother Sridharmarajamata, as well as everyone else whether kinsman or not, be made happy, free from misery, and free from affliction!" (Translation of Pali face.)

Obviously the two faces should be the same. But they are not. There are two things we can do. We can interpret the Thai side to conform with the Pali face (as G and P have done) or we can interpret the Pali text to conform with the Thai (as I shall now do.)

“By my merits, let both (1) my mother, and (2) my father, (3) my royal husband, (4 the reigning monarch) named *Phra Maha Dharma Rajatiraja*, and (5) *Phra Sri Dharmaraja Mata* (mother of the king) etc.”

The question is: were the people mentioned in the list above all dead (as G and P think), or were three dead and two still alive, namely the King and his mother (as I think)? We have already seen *Nai In Sorasak* in Inscription XLIX transferring the merits he had gained in building his Wat to the regnant king, and we shall see other examples as we go along. Perhaps what happened was that, the Pali face being written in verse form, the poet found the exercise a little beyond him to express himself clearly, though readers of his day would have had no difficulty in understanding what was meant. But in any case I do not consider either of the above interpretations can be accepted as final. We shall have to look further into the inscription.

Thai side of the Wat Asokaram Inscription

The inscription starts with the date 1399, followed by the name of the queen, *Sri Chulalak*, wife of *Maha Dharmarajatiraja*. It continues with the building of *Wat Asokaram*, where she enshrined in a chedi two relics of the Buddha (*dhatu*), which she obtained from *Mueng Bon* (Ceylon); and a list of people whom she put in the service of the *wat*, as well as the monk she invited to become Lord Abbot. The names are interesting, but not relevant to my argument with G and P.

Besides *Wat Asokaram*, the inscription mentions several other institutions which the queen founded: *Wat Taksinaram* (Monastery of the South); *Wat Lankaram* (Monastery of Ceylon, viz. built for or by Lanka monks); *Wat Buraparam* (Monastery of the East); *Wat Sila Visuddhavas* in *Tung Chai*, where the king was ordained to meditate; the places where her royal husband used to live and where the cremation rites of her father (called *Sri Chulavas*) and her mother (called *Phra*

Dharmarajaburana) were carried out. The inscription ends with the distribution of the merits she had gained from her good actions, which have already been dealt with. Wats Taksinaram, Lankaram and Buraparam are outside the city walls and form a group with Wat Asokaram, but neither Wat Sila Visuddhi where the king was a monk, nor Tung Chai, have been identified, though Tung Chai should not be far from the group of *wats* built by the queen.

G and P think that the 'king who was ordained' was Maha Dharmaraja III (Sai Lue Thai, the reigning monarch.) I am not so sure. They think Maha Dharmaraja II was already dead by the date of the inscription (1399). This is not so certain either. The text would indicate that the king-monk was still alive when the inscription was composed. เสวยพระศพนวชนชกทำกรรม: the last two words are difficult to translate—literally 'to make karma'. Karma means Deeds or Action (both good and bad), and the sense might be the king became ordained to gain merit, in which case the word used should be บุญ. Alternatively the sense might be that the king became ordained as a result of some previous (bad) karma. I am inclined to take this interpretation, though I used the vague form 'to meditate' a few lines ago. If the ordination had been normal, a king or high prince would surely have resided at some first class royal *wat*, such as the Forest Dwellers' *Wat Sapan Hin*, or, if he had resided with the City Dwellers, it might have been at some *wat* in the centre of the city like *Wat Tapang Thong*, or even in the *Wat Maha Dhatu*, if that *Wat* was a monastery where there were monks in residence. G and P have translated the phrase as 'to practice ascetism, but in such a case it would be to perfect his *silas* in atonement for some major breach in the monks' code, somethings only monks who intend to stay in the order all their lives would do—hardly a king-monk who might become a layman again at any time. (I add in parentheses that the name of the *avasa* in Tung Chai—Sila Visuddhi—means 'perfect *silas*'.)

We will leave the Thai face with two questions, and then go on to the Pali face.

1) Was the king who became ordained Maha Dharmaraja II or was he Sai Lue Thai?

2) If it was the former, was he still alive in 1399 at the time of the inscription?

Pali face of the Wat Asokaram Inscription

I do not know any Pali so these comments are based on a translation into Thai made by *Maha Saeng Monvittoon* of the Fine Arts Department. G and P have gone further afield and sought aid in interpretation from Professor S.W. Karunatillake of Cornell University and Professor Visuddhi Pusyakula of Chulalongkorn University. There is one major difference which I will mention, though it is not of great import to my theory. But it is of the greatest importance to G and P, because if they had relied on *Maha Saeng's* translation, their theory could not hold water.

The inscription was written in verse by one Sri Dharma Trailok, a court poet. G and P have confused this layman with the old monk who appears in the inscription of Wat Sorasak, and think he was the queen's brother. The date 1399 also appears, but not at the beginning as on the Thai face.

The inscription starts with the date 1368, when a boy named Maha Dharmarajatiraja was born. The mother was *Phra Sri Maha Dharmaraj Mata*, who was queen of the king Li Thai and the son was Maha Dharmaraja II. When the boy was sixteen he finished his learning in the arts; and when he was thirty eight . . . (passage mutilated, but the year now would be 1406 or seven years after the foundation of Wat Asokaram in 1399. It happens that the year 1406 corresponds to Chulasakaraj 768, and fits the metrical requirement of the verse, but the last two figures can no longer be read.)

G and P think Maha Dharmaraja II was already dead by 1399, but he left a son (Sai Lue Thai), who was king at the time of the inscription. Sai Lue Thai's elder son was born in 1391, when Maha Dharmaraja II (the supposed grandfather) was 23.

To get round this problem G and P propose to move the dates forward sixteen years, namely the boy was born in 1352 (C.S. 730); he finished his education in 1368; and when he was thirty eight . . . (1390 or C.S. 752) . . . But C.S. 752 will not fit the metre of the verse; and if I knew any Pali at all I would disagree with this because I think any poet worth his salt would surely get his metre correct. There is nothing

difficult about metre, and if I was a poet I would be very surprised at myself if I could not get what I wanted to say into the metre I happened to be using.

I have already said that reading and interpreting an inscription are two entirely separate operations. Translating the text (in this case from the Pali) is also a separate operation. *Maha Prasarn*, editor of the text, and *Maha Saeng*, who did the translation, are not likely to change their minds, however many professors G and P may cite; and I myself prefer to interpret the text as it reads. However all this is of no import to me because I do not accept that Sai Lue Thai was Maha Dharmaraja II's son in the first place. In short, when the inscription says that Queen Sri Chulalak's elder son was born in 1368, it makes sense, and we should accept it without meddling with chronology.

The inscription continues by outlining the territory of the queen's son, which was considerably less than in Li Thai's time. The names are given in the Pali forms of Thai localities, several of which can no longer be identified with certainty. I will give the list because I consider the one glaring omission is a very important key to the story. The list is from G and P's translation, and their identifications are given in brackets.

"The boundaries of that meritorious man were known to be: in the east he made his boundary Nagaradeyya (Nakorn Thai); in the southeast part he made it at Vajjarapura (Bejrboon); he made his boundary in the southern part a place called Uyyapabbata (Doi Ooi) on the bank of the River Binga (Ping); in the southwest he made it Hemapura (Chieng Thong); and in the west he made his boundary Takapura (Old Tak); the well-built town of Lakkhapura standing on the branch of the Yamuna (Yom) which is called the Rivulet he made his boundary in the northwest; in the north the district bearing the name Ittipattana (?) (Ta It—very doubtful)

This translation is not the same as *Maha Saeng's* translation into Thai (for instance, Takapura is given as Nagapura in Thai), but it suffices for my purpose. Sri Sajnalai, the second capital of the Sukhothai country is missing from the list, and no boundary is given in the

northeast (Uttaradit). As we have seen, some Thai scholars identify Uttaradit อุตรดิตถ์ or อุตรดิต with Bang Klang Tao's *Mueng Bang Yang*. It is located on the road between Sri Sajnalai and Nan.

The third paragraph of the inscription tells of the building of the *wat*, starting with mention of the queen's two sons, the elder being named *Phra Dharmarajatiraja* (Sai Lue Thai, though G and P have not explained why he should have been called Dharmaraja when he was born), and the younger Asoka. Prince Asoka obtained two relics of the Buddha from Lanka (Ceylon) and they were enshrined in a chedi at the same time as the *wat* was built. The name of the *wat*, Asokaram, was named after the queen's younger son who obtained the relics; and the date is given as 1399. The rest of the inscription gives details of the buildings, etc. and ends with the transferring of merits as in the Thai face, and needs not concern us.

It is to be noted that the name of the queen (Sri Chulalak) appears only on the Thai face, while those of her two sons (*Phra Dharmaraja* and Asoka) only on the Pali face. The name Asoka is an unusual one in a period when people were named Panom Sai Dum, Loe Thai, Nam Thom, etc. but it is just possible; quite impossible however is for a new born babe to be called Dharmaraja unless he was born after his father had died. In such a case he could hardly have had a younger brother.

G and P think Prince Asoka might have been alive when the inscription was composed because his name was not amongst those to whom the queen transferred the merits she had gained; and that *Phra Dharmaraja*, the elder brother, was Sai Lue Thai the reigning monarch. I think *Phra Dharmaraja* was Maha Dharmaraja II, and that both he and his younger brother were still alive in 1399. Put it another way, 1399 was the foundation date of the *wat*, but not necessarily the date of the inscription.

When did Prince Asoka obtain the two relics of the Lord from Lanka, did he go there himself? If so, did he go as some lay ambassador or as a monk going on a pilgrimage? The evidence is not yet all in, but I will venture a preliminary view. The Church has always been an asylum for people who have fallen foul of the law. I suggest that

there was a political upheaval of sorts, and both Maha Dharmaraja II and his brother took refuge in the yellow robe. Maha Dharmaraja, whom the Thai face of the inscription called King, lived quietly and meditated in an obscure place which his mother built for him in Tung Chai (Wat Sila Visuddhavasa); while Asoka got the wanderlust and went to Lanka on a pilgrimage, where he obtained the two relics of the Buddha for which his mother built Wat Asokaram. The Fine Arts *Department are in course of excavating the group of wats built by Sri Chulalak*, and we can expect, or at least hope, that new evidence on this queen and her two sons will be forthcoming, possibly the foundation stones of Wats Taksinaram, Buraparam, Lankaram and the other buildings mentioned in the Thai face of the Wat Asokaram Inscription. Meanwhile, before we leave this actual inscription, let me ask just one question. Was Queen Sri Chulalak, the founder of Wat Asokaram, the same lady as *Somdech Phra Rajachonani Sri Dharmaraj Mata Maha Tilokaratana Rajanatha Kanlong*, who founded Wat Pichitraram and was the mother of Sai Lue Thai? To answer this question, I will have to produce an epigraphic study of my own.

Griswold and Prasert treat of seven inscriptions in their first five Studies, of which the first three, already dealt with, are foundation stones of three *wats*, while the remaining four comprise two oaths and one law promulgated by a king of Ayudhia at Sukhothai. The Studies are accompanied by maps, and illustrations are provided of the steles, most of which are illegible on account of the small size of the pictures. I maintain that to get a history of Sukhothai the subject must be approached through both its art and inscriptions, and that *all* the evidence must be looked at as objectively as possible. This G and P have not done. Their Epigraphic (inscriptions) and Historical (presumably chronicles) Studies have not taken art into consideration, so I call *my* study an epigraphic (inscriptions) and architectural (art) study. In short, we will now look at the art of Wat Asokaram, Wat Pichitraram and Wat Sorasak.

When I was last in Sukhothai I had a couple of hours to spare waiting for a car to take me to Pitsanuloke. So *Nai Mali Koksantia*, head of the Silpakorn unit at Sukhothai, a painter named Paiboon

Suwanguti, who has studied Sukhothai art for twenty years though he does not pretend to know very much about inscriptions, and myself sat discussing certain aspects of Sukhothai art and history. The conversation was fast turning into a crosstalk, so we decided to go and take a quick look at the group of *wats* southeast of the city walls (Wats Asokaram, Lankaram, Taksinaram, Buraparam, founded by Queen Sri Chulalak, and Wat Pichitraram), and see whether we could not arrive at some measure of agreement. As neither Paiboon nor I had seen these *wats* before, I told him on the way that the half dozen *wats* we were going to see were all built in the same period of about twenty years; he was requested to say which two are the most alike, and which two are least alike.

It happened that the rainy season had not passed, and there was water underfoot, so we were only able to visit Wat Lankaram. But even from a distance the artist did not hesitate. The square bases of the chedis at Wat Asokaram and Wat Taksinaram were so alike that there was no doubt the two *wats* were founded by the same person, and that the same architect built both chedis. The least alike were the chedis at Wat Pichitraram and Wat Asokaram (or Taksinaram.) They were so unlike, in fact, that if we did not know beforehand that they were built one year apart, I would have thought they were of different periods. Certainly they were not founded by the same lady. (While the grander Wat Asokaram was a-building, the nearby Wat Pichitr was probably started. Just imagine the rivalry and ill-will of the two founders and groups of workers. This ill-will is reflected in the two respective inscriptions.)

Nai Mali, who started life as an architect and developed into a highly efficient archaeologist, then said that the chedi at Wat Pichitr was Kampaeng Bejr, while the square based ones were Sukhothai. He explained that in days of old, the monks were also their own artists and architects, and the monk who built Wat Pichitraram came from Kampaeng Bejr (called in the inscription Pajaraburi Sri Kampaeng Bejr), so the *chedi* he made was nearer a Kampaeng Bejr type and there was none like it in Sukhothai.

There was nothing more to be said, so we returned to the unit and carried on with our conversation. Mali then said that the Inscription of Wat Sorasak had two sides. What is the fellow talking about? (I said to myself.) Griswold does not say anything about a second side in his description of the stele. So I asked him about this, and Mali explained that the writing was on one side only, while the other face was an engraving of the Buddha descending from the Daovadungse Heaven, surrounded by the gods Indra and Brahma. He also added that the inscription was in the Sukhothai Museum and we could go and see it.

So armed with as many photos of walking Buddha images as we could find on the spur of the moment, we went. I told the artist that I wanted him to give his opinion whether the engraving was closer in feeling and expression (not necessarily in form) to the Sukhothai walking Buddhas of the High Classic Period, such as the stucco figures at Wat Tapang Thonglang (illustrated as figures 42 in Griswold's *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*) and the in-the-round bronze at Wat Benchamabopitr, Bangkok (figs. 44, 45), or if it was closer to the Nan bronzes shown in figures 55. At the same time I whispered to Mali that I thought the old monk at Wat Sorasak, the *Maha Thera* Dharma Trailok (the Uncle *Phya* called *Na Phya* in the text), was a Nan man; and if Mali's theory of the monks being their own artists is correct, then we should find the engraving closer to the Nan figures than to the Sukhothai images.

Again the artist did not hesitate. He took one look and gave his opinion. In particular, he pointed to the roundness of the end of the Lord's cloth which was the same as the cloths worn by the Nan figures, while the Sukhothai cloths end in a straight, or slanting but straight, line. I have said that when the time comes I will supply evidence that Sai Lue Thai's mother was a Nan princess. This will be in my Comments on G and P's next Study. Meanwhile I do not consider this engraving proof, but nevertheless it is good supporting evidence.

The object of this study, *my* study, is to show from the art that still remains of Wat Asokaram and Wat Pichitraram that the two *wats* were not founded by the same person. This study is not really necessary.

because a close reading of the two foundation stones shows clearly enough that the two inscriptions were set up by different persons. But to explain the finer points of the Sukhothai language and make it intelligible in English is beyond me. So it seems easier to revert to art as secondary proof and get the confirmation of a working artist like Paiboon Suwanguti, and an ex-architect-cum-working-archaeologist like Mali Koksantia. Not that the two inscriptions do not have discrepancies that could be pointed out, such as the territory Queen Sri Chulalak claimed for her son was the inner circle of Sukhothai, so to say, and did not even include Sri Sajnalai; whereas Sai Lue Thai's mother's claim was much larger, extending to Nakorn Sawan (Phra Bang) in the south, and in the northeast to Prae. This alone should have been enough to show that Queen Sri Chulalak and Phra Sri Dharmaraj Mata were not the same lady. But now that I have started to say something about art, I will continue, because the group of *wats* under discussion comprise the last buildings in Sukhothai that can be dated from the inscriptions. They are a full century after Ram Kamhaeng rebuilt the stupa at Wat Chang Lom, Sri Sajnalai, in 1285 A.D., which was the oldest edifice that can be dated from an inscription.

Before starting I should say that I know very little about architecture; in fact if an edifice has no figure art (sculpture), I would have to guess in what period it was built. As an example, I know that the Mondop at Wat Tapang Thonglang is of the Classic Period because of the stucco reliefs on the sides of the building (figs. 42 a/b in *Towards*); but if the reliefs had disappeared (they are fast disappearing now), then the Mondop would be just a square building to me. But not to Paiboon and Mali. They can read a great deal from the rhythm of the lines, structural plans and strength, and things like that; and when they cannot explain things to one another by words, they can draw pictures to enlighten themselves; all of which is beyond my comprehension. So what I say here is the thinking of these two, or more specifically, the gist of their answers to my questions.

Of the buildings put up by Queen Sri Chulalak and Phra Sri Dharmaraj Mata three can be identified with certainty, namely Wats Asokaram and Pichitraram from their inscriptions, and Wat Lankaram,

today called Wat Mum Lanka (วัดมุมลังกา i.e. Lanka Corner Monastery). The authorities have identified a *wat* south of Wat Asokaram as Wat Taksinaram (Monastery of the South), because it has the same type of lotus-bud *chedi*, with a square base and steps going up the front, as the *chedi* at Wat Asokaram. I objected to this. Wat Taksinaram was built before Wat Asokaram, so it should be looked for south of the city walls and not south of a *wat* that was built later (in the same way Wat Buraparam should be looked for east of the walls.) I suggested that the authorities' Wat Taksinaram was really Wat Sila Visuddhavaśa, also built by the Queen for her son when he became a monk to 'meditate'.

South of the city walls are two *wats* of the Classic Period, namely Wat Jetupon and Wat Chedi Si Hong (the latter with paintings which have now disappeared); and a fairly substantial *wat* today called Wat Tonchan, which should be Wat Taksinaram. East of the city are Wat Tapang Thonglang of the Classic Period; Wat Chang Lom with its own inscription (CVI to which we shall soon be coming); and Wat Chedi Soong (เจดีย์สูง). The last should be Wat Buraparam, as suggested by Griswold in *Towards*. Nai Mali promised to keep a lookout for evidence which might support or refute these suggestions; and if he gets any results we should know a little more, or perhaps a great deal more, about Queen Sri Chulalak and the buildings she founded.

The last *wat* in Sukhothai that can be dated from an inscription is Wat Sorasak (XLIX, 1412 A.D.) The *chedi* has surrounding elephants as in Ram Kamhaeng's *chedi* at Wat Chang Lom, Sri Sajnalai (1285 A.D.), and Wat Chang Lom, Sukhothai.

Wat Chang Lom, Sukhothai, produced an inscription with a date (CVI, 1384 A.D.). It was put up by one Panom Sai Dum, who was present at Li Thai's ordination in 1362, and as a result became ordained himself. He was married at the time with a family, but he stayed at least ten years in the church and became an elder (*thera*, 1372); but one *Phya* Sri Debhahuraj took him out to help govern the country before he could complete his twenty years and become a *Maha Thera* (1382. It will be seen later from Inscription CII that he left the church sometime after 1379.) He did not long remain a layman, and soon re-entered the church to become Lord Abbot of Wat Chang Lom where he set up his

inscription. Amongst the merits he made, he gave his house to a *wat*; but as he had resided at several *wats* we do not know to which *wat* it was. Griswold and Prasert, in their Epigraphic and Historical Study No. 8, to which we shall soon be coming, think that he built Wat Chang Lom and gave his land to it. I am not so sure. I think more likely he had his house (made of wood) dismantled, and taken to be rebuilt in a *wat*. This is a custom that still obtained in Bangkok until a few decades ago, when the house would be turned into a *kuti* or monks' living quarters. The author of the inscription did not mention building a *chedi*, which would be the first thing built when a *wat* was founded. But G and P may be right. Or if they are wrong, they are wrong by only about a century. The *chedi* is so like that of Ram Kamhaeng's that the two Wats Chang Lom (of Sri Sajnalai and Sukhothai) can be said to have been of the same period.

III. COMMENTS ON EPIGRAPHIC STUDIES

NOS. 3, 4, 5 AND NOS. 7, 8

Epigraphic and Historical Study No. 3

This Study deals with two inscriptions, namely the Oath Inscriptions of Nan (LXIII) and Sukhothai (XLV). The Sukhothai Inscription is dated 1392, and from its context the Nan one can be given the same dating. The Sukhothai inscription cites lists of the 'spirits' of both houses to bear witness to the transaction. The Nan list ends with *Chao Phya Pa Kong* who died in 1386, and was succeeded by his son Kham Dun. The Nan 'swearer' obviously was Kham Dun himself, while Sai Lue Thai, who called himself *Phya Lue Thai* in the Nan inscription, was the participant on the Sukhothai side. The last three names on the list of Sukhothai spirits are *Pu Phya Maha Dharma Raja* (meaning *Phya Li Thai*, who was *Phya Loe Thai*'s son), *Poh Ngam Mueng* and *Poh Loe Thai*. Obviously one of the last two was Sai Lue Thai's father, otherwise the two names would not have been on the list at all. To judge from the name it was very likely *Poh Loe Thai* (son of *Phya Li Thai* and grandson of *Phya Loe Thai*.) Kham Dun was called Grandfather *Phya*, while Sai Lue Thai was Grandson *Phya*, which means that *Poh Loe Thai* was Kham Dun's son-in-law.

Taking these inscriptions as two parts of one inscription, I consider it one of the three most important of all the Sukhothai inscriptions. It clears up many obscure points in this middle period of Sukhothai history. We are very lucky that the sense emerges without any undue guessing and, I might add, when an inscription can be read as straight as this one, any other reading must produce a great deal of rigmarole to explain things that require no explanation.

Griswold and Prasert do not think Sai Lue Thai was a son of *Poh* Ngam Mueng or *Poh* Loe Thai (the last two names on the list); they think he was a son of Maha Dharmaraja II (of the Inscription of Wat Asokaram, who was born in 1368 and was 24 years old in 1392); and they think that the father was still alive and Sai Lue Thai acted on his behalf. Also they do not think that Kham Dun, who was called Grandfather *Phya* in the inscription was Sai Lue Thai's grandfather; instead they think he was a paternal grand uncle. I will not give their reasons for coming to these conclusions. Instead I will ask the reader to use his imagination and find his own reasons. Then I will ask him further whether what they have produced is plausible? Or is it straight rigmarole, as I would say?

Epigraphic and Historical Study No. 4

This Study deals with only one inscription (XXXVIII), but the controversy on it is complicated, covering both reading and interpretation. I can give the story only briefly.

The inscription starts with a date, of which only the last figure now remains (5); and it was a year of the Rat. In that year a king of Ayudhia named Sri Boroma Chakrapati Raja acceded to the throne and arrived at Kampaeng Bejr where he promulgated the law and ordered it to be placed in Sukhothai, which was a central location for the people of Chalieng, Kampaeng Bejr, Tung Yang, Pak Yom, Song Kwae and so on.

When the inscription was first published, *Maha* Cham Thongkawan edited the text and thought that one of the years 1313, 1373 or 1433 was the date of the inscription. His own preference was for 1373. Needless to add, his reason was based on the epigraphic style.

I disagreed with *Maha Cham* when the inscription was first printed and thought the date should be 1493 (using *Maha Cham*'s sixty year cycle.) This would be two years after Ramatipati II came to the throne of Ayudhia. The language of the introductory part is so new that it was a good century after *Maha Cham*'s choice of 1373, though I admit the language of the actual law itself might have been older, or, put another way, Ramatipati reissued an old Sukhothai law with a new introduction. Only a few sentences are required to show the new or Ayudhia language.

(O) สมเด็จพระ... ราช ท่านได้เสด็จขึ้นเสวย... ภิรมย์ สมดังพระราชมนโรด ทดแทน
แด่นพระธรรมราชสวามัน คุณท้าวตึงสา พระองค์ท่านเสด็จในกำแพงเพชรบุรีศรีวิมลลาสน์ ด้วย
พระราชศฤงคารบริวารพล และจตุรงคนิกรธาราลำน้ำ พระยาพิงเกษตรสคาบุรี พระยาพิงศรีสัช-
นาลัยบุรี พระยาพิงไทวยนที่ศรีพนนา (ท) พระยาหนานพินนครไทย และ... พระราชมาตุละ-
บพิตรมณฑรอนุชิต (ลูกคนเลี้ยง)... เจ้าเมืองศรีขรบุรีศรี กับด้วยนักปราชญ์ราชกิจ มีสกุล
พรหม นังลงถวายอักษรพระบาท ฯลฯ

The inscription mentions some of the king's relatives, such as *Phya* Pangtwai Nati Sri Yomana, who was an 'elder brother' (พี่) and an uncle who brought him up (ลูกคนเลี้ยง) who was Lord of Mueng Trairungse, as well as *Phya* Ramraj (Ram Kamhaeng) who was to be his example in governing the country with justice (มนุษย์ธรรม). I think this information only fits two kings of Ayudhia, namely King Trailok and his younger son, the Pitsanuloke-born and bred Prince Jeta, who became Ramatipati II when he succeeded to the throne of Ayudhia. *Maha Cham* did not object, on the understanding that I meant the new language was only in the introduction, and not in the body of the text.

Then Prasert, who is a trained mathematician, reread one or two letters and pronounced that the date was 1397, and the king of Ayudhia was Ramraja (not to be confused with Ram Kamhaeng, who also appears in the inscription as *Phya* Ramraj.) Prasert says there was no other date that would fit the 'facts' of his new reading, in fact no date a century before or a century after would fit.

Thai scholars do not accept Prasert's new reading (certainly *Maha Cham* did not), nor his interpretation as regards the date. Some scholars have arrived at different dates to that submitted by Prasert. An argument on this basis can never come to an end, so let me step in where

fools and angels fear to tread. I will merely repeat that the language of the introduction is far too new to be 1373 (Maha Cham's choice) or 1397 (Prasert's). It may not have been 1493, but it was certainly in that period. I will give another short example of the text from the introduction so that people who can read Siamese will have no excuse for disagreeing with me.

(O) พระราชโองการบรมเอฬารัณคนา จึ่งท่านให้ตราพระราชบัญญัติ (พระราชบัญญัติ) ... ให้ลูกขุนมนตรีวาน บริหารไพร่ฟ้าทั้งหลาย ถ้วนเมืองเล็กเมืองใหญ่ ... ราชสีมา
ทั้งหลายในสัากลางเมืองสุโขทัยอันเป็นประธานทั้งในเมือง ฯลฯ

This inscription is of importance because it is the only law written down on stone. But to Griswold and Prasert it has intrinsic importance as well, for without it their theory of Ayudhia interfering in the affairs of Sukhothai would lose a great deal of its force. So they have adduced other evidence as well, and this evidence we shall see in their next Study.

Epigraphic and Historical Study No. 5

This Study again deals with only one inscription, No. XXXX, called the Chedi Noi (small *chedi*) Inscription. It is another very important document because it is the prelude to the war between Chiangmai (King Tilokaraj) and Ayudhia (King Trailok). I will first give the historical background before describing the inscription.

1419 : Maha Dharmaraja Sai Lue Thai died in this year and there was anarchy in the north. Intaraja of Ayudhia went to Nakorn Sawan, and *Phya* Ban and *Phya* Ram came out to pay their homage. Intaraja made *Phya* Ban king of Sukhothai, with the title of Maha Dharmaraja Boroma Pala; while *Phya* Ram, the younger brother, was made Uparaj at Sri Sajnalai, with the title of *Phya* Chalieng. Very likely at the same time he married his third son, Prince Sam *Phya*, to a daughter of Sai Lue Thai, who was an elder sister of *Phya* Ram.

Sai Lue Thai's relics were interned in a small *stupa* today called Chedi Noi. It is in front of the Vihara Luang (where the immense Sri Sakyamuni was located), but behind a tall vihara probably built at the same time.

1424: Sam Phya came to the throne of Ayudhia, with the title of Boromaraja II.

1431: Boromaraja II went on an expedition to Angkor, which was sacked. He left a son, *Phra* Nakorn Indra, as king of Kambuja. Evidently Nakorn Indra was murdered, and while the records do not say so, Boromaraja probably returned to avenge the deed. This time there was no mercy; and Angkor was abandoned in 1434.

While Boromaraja was setting up his standard for his Angkor expedition in 1431 at a plain outside the city called Tung Hantra, his queen gave birth to a son who was named Ramesuan (the future King Trailokanath.)

1438: Dharmaraja Boroma Pala died, and Boromaraja II sent his young son Ramesuan to become Uparaj at Pitsanuloke. In view of Intaraja's death seven years before, it seems an unjustifiable risk for Boromaraja II to send his young son to Pitsanuloke (even if his mother went up with him). But Boromaraja found a suitable way out. He called for his brother-in-law, *Phya* Chalieng, and made him swear an oath that he would do no harm to his nephew should the latter go into Sukhothai to pay homage to the Borama Dhatu (*stupa*) or the *dhatu* of his grandfather Maha Dharmarajatiraja Bopitr (Sai Lue Thai). This transaction is recorded in the Inscription of Chedi Noi. There is a tradition told in Sukhothai today that the Sri Sakyamuni has an inscription recording an oath sworn by an uncle and a nephew. The tradition probably refers to the Chedi Noi Inscription.

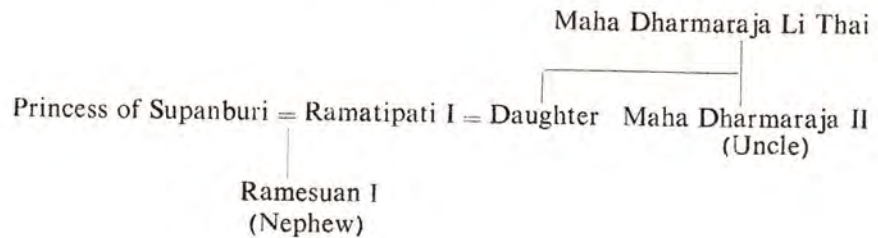
The stele is of two sides, each worded almost exactly the same: on one side the Uncle *Phya* (who was *Phya* Chalieng at the time) swore not to harm the Nephew *Phya* (called *Somdech Chao Phya* in the inscription); and on the other the nephew swore the same thing as regards his uncle should the latter come into Sukhothai from Sri Sajnalai to pay homage to the Maha Dhatu Stupa or the relics of his father Maha Dharmaraja Sai Lue Thai. The whole thing was done in grand style, with a chapter of monks to bear witness (one of whom evidently was the scribe who composed the inscription, because he called Ramesuan *Somdech Chao Phya*—the only time I have seen this Ayudhian title); and

it was set up by the Chedi Noi where it was found, presumably so that Sai Lue Thai could act as an additional though silent witness. There is no actual date, but we can safely say it was 1438.

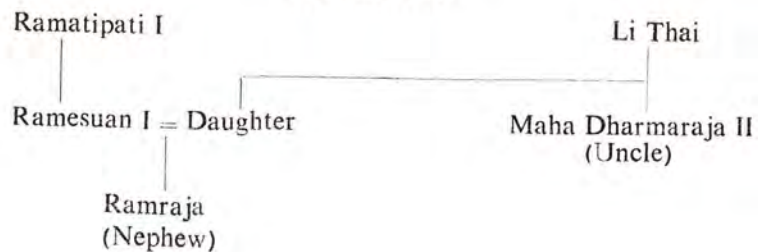
There is no difficulty—except to Griswold and Prasert. They give three alternatives as to who the uncle and nephew might have been.

Genealogical Table E

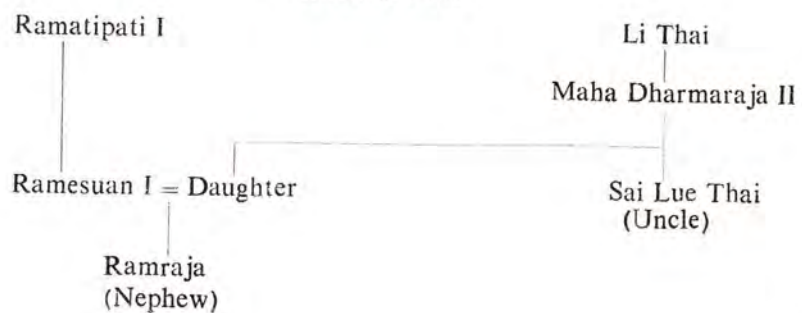
Alternative I



Alternative II



Alternative III



The reader will remember that in Study No. 4, Griswold and Prasert thought that Ramraja promulgated a law in 1397, ("Ramraja reasserts Ayudhyan suzerainty over the kingdom of Sukhodaya; presumably he imposed a new oath of allegiance on the vassal king, Mahadhar-maraja II"); and now they think Ramraja was a nephew of Mahadhar-maraja II or III. I enjoy the guessing game myself, but I think after one has made a guess, one should stick to it. But something is wrong somewhere. I happen to know that Prasert agrees with my interpretation of this inscription. In fact he told me so himself. So I presume that Griswold is here acting on his own.

Epigraphic and Historical Studies Nos. 7 and 8.

After I had written the above, Griswold and Prasert produced three more Studies (published in JSS Volume 59 part 1, January 1971). The sixth Study is irrelevant to this argument because it does not concern a Sukhothai inscription, whereas Studies Nos. 7 and 8 are very important indeed. In fact they bring the whole argument to a definite conclusion. I will deal with the two inscriptions together, and I will revert to the original format of giving the gist of the inscriptions, followed by G and P's interpretations and finally my comments on them.

Study No. 7 deals with an inscription now known officially as the Inscription of Suan Sai (สวนซ้าย), Bangkok. (Suan Sai is the Left Garden in the Grand Palace). Originally it came from Wat Trapang Chang Peug, Sukhothai (ตะพังช้างเผือก i.e. Monastery of the White Elephant Pond.) The stele bears one certain date, namely 1379, or more specifically Wednesday February 22, 1380 (Julian) according to G and P's reckoning. It tells of one *Pa Nang Kham Yia* (บ้านางคำเขีย) restoring a forest dwellers' *wat* that had become delapidated in the reign of Maha Dharmaraja Li Thai.

The text is very mutilated but two very telling sentences appear, namely 'the royal son of the eldest brother' and 'the queen came to the throne', in lines 23 and 38 of Face 1. The two sentences in Thai read:

Line 23: บุญพ่าย ทานพระศรีราชเอารสเจ้าเมืองสุโขทัย...

Line 38: (พระนาง) ได้เสวยราชย์ไช้ร้ใหญ่ (วดี? ฯลฯ...

Study No. 8 deals with the Inscription of Wat Chang Lom (วัดช้างล้อม i.e. Monastery of the Surrounding Elephants), Sukhothai, dated 1384. It is the autobiography of a scion of the royal house named Panom Sai Dum. He was present at Li Thai's ordination in 1362 when he saw the earth quake as Li Thai set foot to the ground after his novice ordination. This so impressed him that he himself became ordained. When Li Thai died he transferred to another teacher named *Maha Thera* Buddhasakorn, who evidently had the support of one of Li Thai's queens, called simply *Maha Devi* in the inscription; and when she died, he transferred to a third teacher named *Maha Thera* Anuradha, who came from Ceylon. After that, one *Phya* Debhahuraj took him out of the order to help in governing the country. Then *Phya* Debha sent him to the Court of the Maharaj (King Guna of Chiangmai) and he saw the Phra Dhatu at Lamphun perform some miracles. The rest of the inscription concerns the merits he made (presumably at Wat Chang Lom, where the inscription was found), and to whom he transferred them.

A short paragraph about dates might be inserted: Panom Sai Dum was ordained in 1362, and after ten years (1372) became an elder (*thera* the inscription called him *Thera* Debmoli); then, before he could complete his twenty years and become a *maha thera* (1382), *Phya* Sri Debhahuraj took him out of the church and sent him to Chiangmai. This would be sometime between 1379 and 1382. But Panom did not remain a layman for long and became re-ordained sometime between 1379 and 1384 when the inscription was set up. But I will follow the dates in the inscriptions even if they are a year or two later than the actual events.

Such are the main 'facts' of the two inscriptions. Griswold and Prasert translated the sentence about 'the royal son of the eldest brother' as "merit to (or : meritorious of ?) the eldest brother, His Highness Braja Sri Raja-orasa, lord of this Moan Sukhodai—"

The way G and P have translated this sentence, anybody would think Prasert doesn't know any Siamese at all! พี่ชาย (the eldest brother), and พระสวามีโอรส (the royal son) were two entirely separate persons. If one person had been meant, the text would have been พระสวามีโอรสพี่ชาย (or พี่ชาย) เจ้าเมืองสุโขทัย. The eldest brother here means the King's eldest son, or more specifically *Poh* Loe Thai (of the Oath Inscription of Sukho-

thai XXXXV), who was the eldest son of King Li Thai and Queen Maha Devi (of the Inscription of Wat Chang Lom CVI); while the royal son who was king of Sukhothai meant Sai Lue Thai, the Grandson *Phya* of several inscriptions, who was *Poh* Lue Thai's son. Then the word บุญ does not mean 'merit' here, because there is nothing about merit-making in the passage. I will restore the line myself, at the same time giving the two lines before and after so that the whole thing will be clear.

Line 22 : (วัดอรัญญิก) รัญญิก^๕ไชร^๕ หักพังแต่ชั่วมหาธรรมราชา^๕ก่อนแลอัน^๕

"This Forest Dwellers' monastery had already become delapidated in the life time of Maha Dharmaraja." (Li Thai)

Line 23 : (เมื่อสิ้น) บุญ^๕พี่^๕อ้าย^๕, ท่านพระศรี^๕ราชเอ^๕รเส^๕เจ้าเมืองสุโขทัย^๕

"When the eldest brother died, his royal son (became) king of this Sukhothai State." (cf. the poem "Yuan Pai" where Boonrueng, Tilokaraj's eldest son, is called พี่^๕พงศ์.)

Line 24 : (บ้านาง) คำ^๕เขียน^๕ลง^๕ขุน^๕หา^๕กรัง^๕ไ^๕ให้นาย^๕ผู้^๕หนึ่ง^๕ชื่อ^๕ อ้ายอิน^๕ท

"*Pa Nang* Kham Yia and the uncle who was a *Khun* (probably her husband) designated a man who was named *Ai Ind*" (to etc.)

Here we have definite evidence that *Phya* Li Thai was followed on the throne by his grandson, Sai Lue Thai. The evidence would also indicate that *Poh* Lue Thai died at about the same time as his father, *Phya* Li Thai, and the restoration of the monastery was carried out in the reign of the new king. But there is more.

The second sentence in the Suan Sai Inscription quoted above about the queen coming to the throne is translated by G and P as "(whatever kings) succeed to the throne, may they uphold..."

This is no translation at all. The word นาง cannot possibly be rendered as "whatever kings". However, if G and P had translated it as "whatever queens succeed to the throne," I would not have the slightest objection because the reading might have been นางใดเสวยราช. But in such a case, interpretation of the reading would be a pretty formidable undertaking. So by their translation, G and P have merely confounded further a situation which they have already confused. A straight for-

ward interpretation is simply that Queen Maha Devi, when her husband Li Thai died, became regent for her grandson Sai Lue Thai, who was still a minor in 1379. The queen however did not live long, and we see in the next inscription that she was dead by 1384.

The main problem of the Inscription of Wat Chang Lom is who was the *Phya* Sri Debhahuraj who took Panom Sai Dum from the church to help govern the country? G and P think he was Maha Dharmaraja II; whereas most people of course think *Phya* Sri Debhahuraj was *Phya* Sri Debhahuraj himself. He might not have been king, but he could certainly have been another regent. Put another way, when Maha Devi became regent about 1379, she did not live long, and *Phya* Sri Debhahuraj succeeded her as regent about 1381. *Phya* Debha did not live long either, and we find from the third stone of the Wat Pa Daeng Inscription (IX) that in 1388 Sai Lue Thai was acting as king in his own right.

Based on the evidence of the Suan Sai and Wat Chang Lom Inscriptions, and anticipating a little, we can give a chronology of the last kings of Sukhothai, with the regnal years approximately, as follows:

Maha Dharmaraja Li Thai (the Grandfather *Phya*) 1347-79.

Period of Regency (reign of Sai Lue Thai) 1379-88

- 1) Queen Maha Devi 1379-84.
- 2) *Phya* Sri Debhahuraj 1384-88.

Sai Lue Thai (the Grandson *Phya*) 1388-1419.

Maha Dharmaraja Boromapala 1419-38.

Prasert does not agree with this. At the beginning I said that I have been having arguments with him about the Sukhothai inscriptions in one or two Thai journals. That was three or four years ago, before the first Study (A Declaration of Independence and its Consequences) was published in JSS Volume LVI part 2. The argument covered the inscriptions treated in these Comments, as well as two or three others. A gist of it might be given again because it covers the middle period of Sukhothai history; and if this period could be agreed upon, then the whole Sukhothai story, from the first inscription to the last, would fit together and become clear. The essence of my argument with Prasert can be given briefly.

1) What was the year of Maha Dharmaraja Li Thai's death?
And, (as a corollary),

2) Was Li Thai succeeded by a son (Maha Dharmaraja II) or grandson (Sai Lue Thai)?

My theory from the first is that there was no such king as Maha Dharmaraja II. The basis of the argument is contained in Luang Prasert's version of the Annals of Ayudhia (AA/LP):

1369: Pangua of Supanburi came to the throne of Ayudhia as Boromaraja I, succeeding his brother-in-law Ramatipati I.

1371: Pangua conquered all the cities at the head of the Chao Phya River Valley.

1372: Pangua took Nakorn Panga and Mueng Sang Charao in the Sukhothai country.

1373: Pangua attacked Cha-kang-rao (Kampaeng Bejr district) for the first time.

1378: Pangua attacked Cha-kang-rao for the third time. Maha Dharmaraja himself came to the defence of his territory. There was heavy fighting, but in the end Maha Dharmaraja surrendered.

1388: Pangua again went to attack Cha-kang-rao. He fell ill and died on the way. In this year, according to the Inscription of Wat Pa Daeng (IX), Sai Lue Thai and his mother were at Sri Sajnalai, where they settled a schism in the church.

On this evidence, Dr. Prasert (not to be confused with *Luang* Prasert) thought that Li Thai had died before Pangua started his first attack on the Sukhothai country in 1371, when he took all the cities at the head of the Menam Chao Phya Valley, and that the Maha Dharmaraja who surrendered in 1378 was Li Thai's son (Maha Dharmaraja II.) I think Li Thai was the Maha Dharmaraja who surrendered; and that he died sometime between the ten years' truce (1378-88). Prasert's best evidence is contained in the Suan Sai Inscription dated 1379. The story of the inscription's 'discovery', how an inscription that was originally at Wat Tapang Chang Peug, Sukhothai, became the Inscription of Suan Sai is recounted in Study No. 7, to which the reader is invited. It is proposed

there that Maha Dharmaraja Li Thai was already dead by 1375, though the actual evidence is now missing. If Prasert is correct, then it must have been Maha Dharmaraja II who surrendered in 1378, or (to follow in Professor Coedès' footsteps when he found the kings of Kambuja too entangled to handle and introduced a Jayavarman I *bis*, who, in the words of Briggs' in *The Ancient Khmer Empire* was Coedès' gift to history) Maha Dharmaraja II *bis*, because the Maha Dharmaraja II we know, the one mentioned in the Wat Asokaram Inscription, was born in 1368 and was only ten years old at the time of the surrender. In any case Maha Dharmaraja II was not the father of Sai Lue Thai.

Prasert tries to get round this problem of Dharmaraja II's age by moving his birth forward 16 years (to 1352), but this runs contrary to the metre of the Pali verse in which the inscription is written. So I do not accept Prasert's missing or 'negative evidence' of Li Thai's being dead by 1375. The goldplate from Wat Maha Dhatu, dated 1384, mentions Maha Dharmaraja's relics, which were enshrined in one of the four corner chedis of the Maha Dhatu complex. This would indicate that Li Thai had died recently, because if he had died as early as 1375, then surely his bones would have been left to lie in peace. According to Nai Prida Srichalalai, who has worked on the chronicles, when Li Thai surrendered in 1378, Pangua kept him under 'house arrest' at Chainad. Li Thai died soon after, and after the cremation, his relics were taken to Sukhothai where they were enshrined in the Maha Dhatu complex. Presumably Li Thai's remains were given such an exalted resting place as the Maha Dhatu because he was recognised as a future Buddha when the earth quaked to witness the oaths he made at his ordination in 1362. All this sounds very reasonable to me and seems more logical than Prasert's proposal.

On the whole Griswold and Prasert have tried to adduce far too much from these two inscriptions than the evidence justifies. They have rendered the names of the founders of the Suan Sai and Wat Chang Lom Inscriptions (*Pa Nang Kham Yia* and *Panom Sai Dum*) as the Aunt Princess Gam and the Foster Father Sai Tam, and made quite a story of the relationship of these two with the regnant monarch, whom they thought was Maha Dharmaraja II. *Pa Nang Kham Yia* might have been

a princess, though I doubt it; while Panom Sai Dum was certainly of royal blood, but whether he was the king's foster father (Poh Nom พ่อหม่อม for Panom พ่อหม่อม simply because his wife was Mae Nom แม่หม่อม) is also doubtful. But these are minor points, and when the major points are wrong, to comment on minor details is a complete waste of time. Suffice it to say that as the evidence has turned out, there was no such king of Sukhothai as Maha Dharmaraja II.

Conclusion

It would be as well to have the relevant evidence again in chronological order. I will limit my interpretation to the minimum.

1368 : Birth of Maha Dharmaraja II (Inscription of Wat Asokaram XCIII).

1378 : Maha Dharmaraja surrendered to Pangua (AA/LP).

1379 : Inscription of Suan Sai (CII). Maha Dharmaraja's death is mentioned. Sai Lue Thai comes to the throne (royal son of the eldest brother; Maha Devi becomes regent (the queen came to the throne).

1384 : Maha Dharmaraja's relics enshrined in the Maha Dhatu complex, Sukhothai (XCIV). In the same year, Panom Sai Dum mentions *Phya* Sri Debhahuraj as regent (CVI).

1388 : Inscription of Wat Pa Daeng, Sri Sajnalai (IX). Autobiography of a monk in three stones, from the time of his ordination in 1343 until he became Sangharaja in 1406. The third stone contains two dates (1388 and 1406). In 1388, Sai Lue Thai, called Maha Dharmarajatiraja in the inscription, with his mother, called Sri Dharmaraj Mata, and Grandfather *Phya* (Kham Dun of Nan, see under 1392 A.D.) were at Sri Sajnalai to settle a schism in the church. In this same year Pangua of Ayudhia died while on his way to attack Cha-kang rao (AA/LP).

1392 : The Oath Inscriptions of Sukhothai (XXXXV) and Nan (LIV), between Sai Lue Thai, called *Chao Phya* the Grandson, and Kham Dun, called Grandfather *Phya*.

1399 : Inscription of Wat Asokaram in Pali and Thai (XCIII). The Thai face gives the name of the founder as Queen Sri Chulalak while the Pali face mentions two of her sons called Maha Dharmaraja and Asoka. This inscription, or rather the Pali face of this inscription, has the only mention of a Dharmaraja II. He was born in 1368 and was ten years old when Li Thai surrendered in 1378.

1400 : Inscription of Wat Pichitraram (XXXXVI) records the foundation of this *wat* by Sai Lue Thai's mother, called Sri Dharmaraj Mata in the inscription. Three dates are mentioned, namely 1400, 1403 and 1404. I have already commented on this inscription and the previous one, so I have nothing more to say, except perhaps repeat that the two *wats* are near each other, and that they were built almost in the same year.

1406 : Inscription of Wat Pa Daeng, Sri Sajnalai (IX, third stone). In this year Sai Lue Thai with his mother and grandfather (Kham Dun) are mentioned when the author of the inscription was created *Sangharaja*. In this same year Maha Dharmaraja II was 38 years old (XCIII).

1412 : Inscription of Wat Sorasak (XLIX). Sai Lue Thai's mother is not mentioned in this inscription. When her brother (the monk Maha Thera Dharmatrailok, called Uncle *Phya* in the inscription) came to Sukhothai, it was to visit *Chao Phya* the Nephew. So very likely Sai Lue Thai's mother had died sometime between 1406 and 1412.

1419 : Maha Dharmaraja Sai Lue Thai died; to be succeeded by his son *Phya Ban* (Maha Dharmaraja Borompala).

Two inscriptions still remain to be mentioned. The undated inscription of Wat Hin Tang (XCV) mentions Maha Dharmaraja the Grandfather, which means the inscription was set up in the reign of Sai Lue Thai, the grandson. The name Phra Maha Dharmaraja appears elsewhere in the inscription, and should refer to Sai Lue Thai.

The first two stones of the Inscription of Wat Pa Daeng cover events in Li Thai's reign between 1343-1369. The inscription was written in 1406 or after, and Li Thai is called by his posthumous name Maha Dharmaraja the Grandfather. This may be negative evidence, but it is still very good evidence for all that in proving that there never

was a Dharmaraja II. In fact, except for the Pali side of the Inscription of Wat Asokaram, there is no mention of a Father *Phya* or Son *Phya*, or any sign of a Maha Dharmaraja II at all. The chronicles do not contain anything about him either. When Professor Coedès worked out a list of the Kings of Sukhothai, he thought Sai Lue Thai (Maha Dharmaraja II) was Li Thai's son; and Boromapala (Maha Dharmaraja IV) was Sai Lue Thai's grandson. We now know for certain from new evidence since Coedès' time that Sai Lue Thai was Li Thai's grandson, and Boromapala was Sai Lue Thai's son. On this basis alone, one of Coedès' four Maha Dharmarajas should be eliminated, and the Dharmarajas renumbered.

Inscription III has Maha Dharmaraja, Dharmaraja and Dharmikaraj. Maha Dharmaraja meant *Phya* Li Thai; a case could be made out that the Dharmaraja of this inscription meant Sri Intaratit, but I do not think the evidence is very strong; while Dharmikaraj meant *Phya* Loe Thai (Li Thai's father.) Inscription II has a Dharmaraja who was Sri Intaratit's grandson, which meant he was Loe Thai. Sai Lue Thai and his son Boromapala were both Dharmarajas too. As for the Maha Dharmaraja II of the Inscription of Wat Asokaram, I would be inclined to retain him as a name and number without significance, in the same way history retains King Louis XVII of France. Except of course there is no reason to retain any numbering at all. We do not number our kings; and it seems to me clearer to call the various Maha Dharmarajas of Sukhothai by their titles and names, such as Maha Dharmaraja Li Thai, Maha Dharmaraja Sai Lue Thai, and so on, rather than number them in the *farang* fashion.

My suggestion for the complete Kings of Sukhothai, with many of the dates based on conjectures made by combining the inscriptions and chronicles, is as follows :

1. *Poh Khun* Sri Nao Nam Thom.
2. Sri Intarabadintratit (*Poh Khun* Pa Mueng)
3. Sri Intaratit (*Poh Khun* Bang Klang Tao) :
from 1257 (when *Khun* Sam Chon attacked Mueng Tak)
4. *Phya* Ban Mueng : to 1279 (when he planted the sugar palm trees.)

5. *Poh Khun* Ram Kamhaeng : from 1279.
6. Sai Songkram : to 1322.
7. *Phya* Loe Thai (Dharmikaraj) : 1322-40.
8. Ngua Nam Thom : 1340-47.
9. Maha Dharmaraja (Li Thai) : 1347-79.
10. Maha Dharmaraja II : no regnal years.
11. Maha Dharmaraja (Sai Lue Thai) : 1379-1419.
 - a) Period of Regency : 1379-88
 - (1) Queen Maha Devi : 1379-81
 - (2) Phya Sri Dhebahuraj : 1381-88 (Sai Lue Thai is first mentioned as king in his own right in 1388 in the Inscription of Wat Pa Daeng, Sri Sajnalai. He came of age long before then.)
 - b) Period of Sai Lue Thai's own reign : 1388-1419.
12. Boromapala : 1419-38.

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