

NOTE

THE CHRONOLOGY OF NAN HISTORY, A.D. 1320-1598

by

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Ten years ago, in preparing for publication an English translation of *The Nan Chronicle*,¹ I encountered a difficult chronological problem. The Chulasakkarat dates given in the text in most cases were inconsistent with the animal and decade cycle names attached to each year. For example, the death of Pha Kōng is given in the text as having occurred in the *rawai yi* year C.S. 750 ; but C.S. 750 was a *boek si* year and the closest *rawai yi* year was C.S. 748. I hesitantly decided to disregard the C.S. year when this was at variance with the animal and decade cycle information given, and to base my conversions to A.D. on the animal and decade cycle information.

It was not until several years later that I stumbled upon a copy of the Chronicle of the Chae Haeng Reliquary of Nan, a volume first published in 1931 on the cremation of Chao Maha Phromsurathada, the last prince of Nan.² The date of this text is not clear. Its main, detailed portion (pp. 10-24) gives a connected, fully dated chronicle of events surrounding the Reliquary from the early fourteenth century until C.S. 1066 (A.D. 1704). There follow two colophons, the first stating that the text was completed in C.S. 1242 (A.D. 1880), and the second recording its copying from a palm leaf manuscript by Nan Siuchai in C.S. 1262 (A.D. 1900). We might therefore conclude that it was composed in its present form in 1880 on the basis of unidentified earlier records.

1) Translated by Prasert Churatana (Ithaca : Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1966; Data Paper No. 59).

2) ตำนานพระธาตุแช่แห้งเมื่อนาน (น่าน, งานพระราชทานเพลิงศพเจ้ามหาพรหมสุรชาติ, พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๔); subsequently reprinted in ประชุมตำนานพระธาตุ ภาคที่ ๑ และที่ ๒ (กรุงเทพฯ งานศพนางเอิบ อุมาภิรมย์, พ.ศ. ๒๕๑๓), หน้า ๑๖๐-๑๘๐.

The importance of the Reliquary Chronicle lies in the fact that all its dates, with one exception, are completely consistent. The single exception is the C.S. 812 *kat sanga* date for the death of Chao Pha Saeng: the combination of *kat* with *sanga* is an impossibility. In this single case we must assume a copyist's error, the reading of *kat* for *kot*, which is not difficult to imagine.

At issue here are the dates between C.S. 715 and 962, which in 1966 I considered to "differ from true dates by -2 to -3 years, as ascertained by using the animal and decade cycles" (p. 16). The dates given after that point in the Nan Chronicle present no particular problems nor inconsistencies with the Reliquary Chronicle.

The results of this comparison of dates are set forth in the following table, with the recommendation that the dates given in the Reliquary Chronicle be accepted in preference to those of the Nan Chronicle. I cannot begin to answer the question of the reason for the divergence of dates between the two chronicles over the period prior to C.S. 962. I can only state my preference for consistent over inconsistent dates, and for the dates given in a manuscript which may stem back directly to some older text to those given in a text compiled from uncertain sources at the end of the nineteenth century, and offer them with the hope that they might prove useful to historians of early Thailand.

Table
COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN NAN

1966 Page	Event	Nan Chronicle	1966 conversion A.D.	Reliquary Chronicle	= A.D.
9	Pha Nong becomes ruler of Pua	684 kot san	1320		
9	Kan Müang becomes ruler	715 luang mao	1351		
11	Palace built after Reliquary	721 moeng lao	1357	721 kat khai	1359
11	Khun Inta comes from South	725 luang pao	1361		
11	Nan founded by Pha Kọng	730 rawai sanga	1366	730 boek san	1368
11	Pha Kọng dies	750 rawai yi	1386	748 hawai yi	1386
12	Khamtan dies	760 rawai chai	1396	758 hawai chai	1396
12	Čhao Hung invades from Chaliang	761 moeng pao	1397		
12	Čhao Hung dies	769 dap lao	1405		
12	Čhao Pu Kheng dies	779 dap met	1415	778 hawai san	1416
12	Čhao Phan Ton dies	788 kap li	1424	787 dap sai	1425 ^a
12	Čhao Ngua Pha Sum dies	795 luang kai	1431		
13	Čhao Intakaen becomes ruler	797 kap pao	1433	796 kap yi	1434
14	Intakaen sends salt to Chiang Mai	812 boek li	1448		
14	Čhao Pha Saeng dies	823 kat mao	1459	812 kat sanga ^b	1450
18	Mün Sqi appointed ruler	824 kot si	1460	813 huang met	1451
18	Mün Nqi Nai appointed ruler	828 kap san	1464	817 kap khai	1455
18	Mün Nqi Nai executed	830 rawai set	1466	820 boek yi	1458
18	Mün Khwa Thao Ba Čhai dies	834 kot yi	1470	823 huang sai	1461
18	Mün Kham appointed ruler	835 luang mao	1471		
18	Mün Kham transferred to Fang	837 ka sai	1473		
18	Thao Kha Kan transferred to Nan	838 kap sanga	1474	826 kap san	1463
19	Kaeo army invades Nan	842 boek set	1478	(841 kat khai) ^c	1479
19	Thao Ai Yuam appointed governor	843 kat kai	1479	844 tao yi	1482
19	Thao Ai Yuam dies	847 tao yi	1482	845 ka mao	1483

1966 Page	Event	Nan Chronicle	1966 conversion A.D.	Reliquary Chronicle	= A.D.
19	Son, Thoa Müang, dies	851 rawai sanga	1486	849 moeng met	1487
19	Thao Bun Faeng appointed,	851 rawai sanga	1486	849 moeng met	1487
19	transferred to Chiangsaen,	858	1493		
20	becomes ruler again	859 kap yi	1494	857 dap mao	1495
20	Thao Bun Faeng dies	869 dap pao	1505	(869 moeng) mao	1507
20	Čhao Müang Phae Soi appointed,	872 boek si	1508	872 kot sanga	1510
20	transferred to Lampang	875 kot sanga	1510	875 ka lao	1513
20	Mün Thao Bun Faeng appointed,	875 kot sanga	1510		
20	transferred to Thoeng	877 tao san	1512		
20	Čhao Müang Fang to Phayao	878 ka lao	1513	878 huai ^d čhai	1516
20	Kham Yotfa appointed & transferred			879 moeng pao	1517
20	Phraya Nọ Chiangsaen to Phayao	881 rawai čhai	1516	881 kat mao	1519
20	Kham Yotfa appointed again	881 rawai čhai	1516	884 tao sanga	1522
20	Lan Thong image cast	884 kat mao	1519		
20	Saen Songkhram appointed	888 boek set	1526		
21	Yotfa returns again to rule	888 boek set	1526	900 boek set	1538
21	Yotfa dies	889 kat kai	1527	901 kat khai	1539
21	Phalathep Lü Chai appointed	889 kat kai	1527		
21	Wat Luang built	898 boek san	1536	910 boek san	1548
21	Pegu invades Chiang Mai	920 boek sanga	1558	920 boek sanga	1558
23	Nọ Kham appointed by Burmese	922 kot san	1560	922 kot san	1560
23	Sarawadi stops at Nan	942 boek yi	1578	942 kot si	1580
24	Nọ Kham dies	953 kat pao	1589	951 kat pao	1589
24	Wat Dön Thaen built in M. Phọ	958 kap sanga	1594	956 kap sanga	1594
24	Abbot of Chae Haeng installed	959 dap met	1595	957 dap met	1595
24	Nan revolts against the Burmese	959 dap met	1595		
24	Čhao Četabut attacks Chiang Mai	962 boek set	1598	960 boek set	1598

NOTES:

(a) According to three identical inscriptions on the pedestals of bronze statues of the Buddha, Čhao Ngua Pha Sum became ruler in C.S. 788—presumably immediately upon the death of Čhao Phan Ton. A.B. Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara, "The Pact Between Sukhodaya and Nān (Epigraphic and Historical Studies, 3)", *JSS* 57:1 (Jan. 1969), 105 and n. 90. As Griswold and Prasert note, however, it is possible that 788 is the date of Ngua Pha Sum's *abhiṣeka*, which would have followed some months after the death of his predecessor.

(b) Probably a copyist's error for *kot sanga*: see text.

(c) The Reliquary Chronicle here does not discuss a Kaeo invasion, but gives this date for the transfer of Thao Kha Kan to Chiangsaen, which according to the Nan Chronicle occurred as a result of this war.

(d) I.e., hawai, rawai.