

NOTES

REMARKS ON "THE LION PRINCE"

In a review article published in this journal ("The Lion Prince and related remarks on northern history", volume 64 part 1, January 1976), Mr. Michael Vickery submitted a very interesting suggestion concerning the kings of Chiangmai and Sukhothai, which deserves further discussion and which will turn some nonsense in the story of these two states into complete sense.

The article, in 50 pages, reviews *Nai Mani Vallibhotama's* article on Chiang Saen called *Tamnan Sinhalavati Kumara*, published in Thai by the Prime Minister's Office in B.E. 2516. This chronicle, one of two Chiang Saen chronicles, is one of the three or four most difficult to interpret. Thai chronicles contain a great deal of legendary matter that cannot be discarded offhand, because some of the legends might have been based on fact which had been put into legendary form. Nor can they be accepted without close scrutiny. Historians, presumably Western ones, divide their history into three periods: prehistory, protohistory and history. It is not practical to divide Thai history in this way; better to divide it into legendary history, chronicular history and epigraphic history.

The first or legendary period starts with the Indian Emperor Asoka sending two Buddhist missionaries, Sona and Uttara, to Suvarnabhumi, and ends seven centuries later before the setting up of the Chula Sakaraj in 1181 B.E. (A.D. 638). This was an era used in most areas on the mainland of southeast Asia. The chronicular period, from the Chula Sakaraj, lasted six centuries to the Sukhothai period when inscriptions as well as a great deal of art became available. This middle period covers the stories of Hariphunchai and Chiang Saen in the north, of Sri

Vijaya in the south, of Nakhon Pathom, Lopburi and Ayodhia in the central plain of Siam, and the last two centuries before the foundation of Kambuja in 802, or what is known as the pre-Angkorian period. The third or epigraphic period, covering the stories of Sukhothai, Chiengmai, Nan, Luang Phra Bang, the last two centuries before the fall of Kambuja, and Ayodhia, lasted about three centuries to the European period when inscriptions again became scarce. Of course there are overlaps in the three periods.

Some historians tend to discard legendary material without due consideration, while others try to turn legends into chronicles, and then turn chronicles into history. Manit is of this latter category. About 20 years ago he wrote a history of Chieng Saen, as well as another of Hariphunchai for a book that I edited. Evidently Vickery did not see these two chronicular histories. Anyway, the point is Manit had already written on Chieng Saen before starting on the "Lion Prince", which ends where his other history started. This legendary history might be thought of as a prologue to the history of Chieng Saen, and we might take Chieng Saen's epigraphic history as an epilogue. The historical material covers the period from Mangrai's conquest of Hariphunchai to the reign of his great-grandson Guna, when governors of Chieng Saen were appointed from Chiengmai, some being princes of the realm and others commoners. Vickery's review deals with the entire period of what I have termed legendary, chronicular and epigraphic history. I will start my comments with epigraphic history, a period not covered by Manit's legendary and chronicular stories, and then incorporate elements from the chronicles. I will give some of the names in Thai because Vickery and I do not spell in the same way, but I will not identify the sources because some of the northern chronicles have not yet been published. The story is, however, a composite of epigraphic, chronicular and—since one cannot avoid it when working in northern *tamnan*—legendary history.

I will start this history with the fall of Hariphunchai in 1281, though the earliest epigraphic record starts with the building of Chiengmai in 1295-1296. Mangrai was born in 1238, became king of Chieng Saen

(Hiranya Nakorn or Ngern Yang) in 1259, built Fang in 1268, took Hariphunchai in 1286, built Chiengmai in 1295 and died in 1318, when he was 80 years of age. His name appears in two inscriptions, those of Wat Phra Yuen, Hariphunchai (62) and Wat Chieng Mun, Chiengmai (76), both being set up after the king's death. In 1295, Mangrai invited his two friends, Phya Ngam Mueng of Payao and Phya Ruang (Ram Kamhaeng) of Sukhothai, to be present at a new city he was building (Chiengmai). The three friends, who according to the chronicles were of the same age, slept at a place called Chieng Mun and a *wat* was later built on the site.

๑ พญามังรายเจ้าเมืองพะเยาเมืองพะเยาร่วง (รามคำแหง) ทั้งสามคนตั้งบ้านนอนในที่ชัยภูมิราชมณเฑียร *

In the next year Phya Yi Ba, the ex-king of Hariphunchai who had fled to Lampang where his son, Phya Berk, was king (another chronicle stated that Phya Berk was Yi Ba's brother, while the son was Phya Bon), raised another army to retake Hariphunchai. Mangrai's second son, Phya Kram, defeated Phya Berk and Yi Ba fled to Song Kwae (Pitsnuloke). Mangrai created his victorious son Sri (or Siri) Jaya Songkram and rewarded him with the district of Chieng Dao as appendage. Jaya Songkram was sent to rule at Chiengrai and his son Saen Bhu at Chieng Saen. I was told by people living north of Chiengmai that Jaya Songkram made it a habit to visit his father every year or so. He travelled from Chiengrai by the same route that his father took to take Chiengmai, namely by water up the upper reaches of the Kok River to Fang, then down the upper reaches of the Ping into Chiengmai. At Chieng Dao he built a resthouse and kept a complete set of minor wives (this is in the chronicles). At one time I thought I had located the site of this resthouse a few kilometres from the present Chieng Dao on the way to Chiengmai. All that remains are some walls covering a space not large enough to have been a town. But the people who researched with me disagreed. They thought it was the house of an old Chinese opium

* บ้านนอน has two meanings : one of the four cardinal points of the compass, and where the three friends slept. I prefer the latter interpretation, that is, a *wat* was later built where the friends slept, today called Wat Chiengman.

merchant! But that is by the way. The main point is that in Mangrai's lifetime a son was sent to rule in Chiengrai and a grandson in Chieng Saen.

As some scholars who cannot understand Northern Thai, as well as others who would appear unable to read even standard Thai, think that there was no Chieng Saen before Saen Bhu built the city, I will quote a passage from the northern chronicle *Sinhalavati Kumara* where Phya Mangrai called his son Jaya Songkram, called Phya Mangkram in the text, and his grandson Saen Bhu into conference to send them to Chiengrai and Chieng Saen respectively. There is also art evidence that the city had already long been in existence before the time of Mangrai.

สิงหลติกมาร

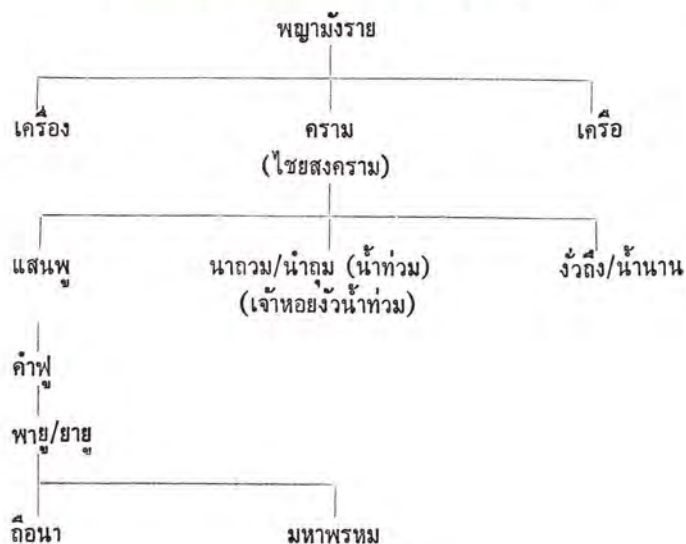
๑ ตั้งแต่มีรายเจ้าลงมาอยู่เมืองฟางแล้ว ลูกท่านเจ้ามั่งครามอยู่เสวยเมืองเชียงแสนเชียงราย เมืองฝางทงมวดแทนแล้ว ท่านก็มีราชบุตรสามคน ลูกชายชื่อว่าเจ้าแสนพ ผู้ถ้วนสองชื่อว่า น้ำท่วม ผู้ถ้วนสามชื่อว่าน่านแล

๑ ในกาลนั้นพระยามังรายเจ้าและมั่งครามทั้งสองพ่อลูกจึงปรึกษากันว่า ควรเราจะมียาขญา ให้เจ้าแสนพตนเป็นหลานนั้น ไปเลือกตั้งเวียงเงินยางเชียงแสนให้คั่นเป็นเวียงแถมแล ให้เจ้า น้ำท่วมไปกินฝาง แล้วให้เจ้าน่านไปกินเชียงของแล

๑ ทินจกจาด้วยเจ้าแสนพหลานผู้คั่นนั้นก่อนแล ท่านก็ให้สาห์พระยามังรายเจ้าตนปี่และ พระมั่งครามเจ้าตนเป็นบิดาว่า ส่วนเวียงเงินยางเชียงแสนลูกคั่นนั้น มหาราชเจ้าตนเป็นปู่หากว่า บ่ควรไว้แล้วจึงจักไปเลือกลอนเอามารวมไว้เสวยเมืองเชียงรายทั้น แล้วละไว้ให้เป็นเมืองร้าง ไป บัดนั้นพลอยมียาขญาให้ผู้ข้าน้อยคั่นไปเลือกตั้งแถมใหม่ ข้าน้อยก็หนักอกหนักใจแท้แล ใน กาลนั้นพระยามังรายเจ้าและพระมั่งครามเจ้าทั้งสองพ่อลูกก็จากันว่า ลักเดิมเมืองนั้นให้แถมบ้าน หนึ่งแล เจ้าลูกกรักแต่พ่อจอดใจตั้งให้เป็นเมืองดั่งเก่าเทอญ (หน้า ๑๔๑)

๑ ทินจกจาด้วยพระยาเจ้าแสนพได้ไปเสวยเมืองเงินยางเชียงแสนอันเป็นเค้าแต่เจ้านปี่หม่อน (ตั้งแต่สมัยปู่ทวด) ท่านแถมให้แล้ว ศักราชได้ ๖๔๙ ตัวปีเมิงได้เดือน ๓ เพ็ญวันศุกร์ ยาม กลองงายเล็ก ๑๕ ตัว พระยาแสนพก่อนสร้างเวียงเงินยางเชียงแสนแถมใหม่ (หน้า ๑๔๙)

Chiengmai genealogy (chronicular)



Nam Thuam and Nam Thum above are variations in the spelling of the same name, and that name is thought to mean "Flooded"; that is, he was born when there was a flood. The Sukhothai inscriptions also have two such names in Nao Nam Thom (2) and Ngua Nam Thom (45). Ngua means "No. 5", and the second Sukhothai name is the same as the combined names of Jaya Songkram's two sons. The third son appears only in some chronicles. The ancients of several districts used the same names. Besides the example above, the inscriptions have : Phya Ngam Mueng of Payao (76) and Poh Ngam Mueng of Sukhothai (45); and Phya Kam Fu of Nan (45) and Kam Fu of Chiengmai (62).

In 1392 Sai Lue Thai of Sukhothai, the grandson Phya, and his maternal grandfather, Kam Dun of Nan, set up two oath inscriptions (nos. 45 and 64), where they invoked the spirits of their forebears as witnesses to the pact. Kam Dun's name does not appear in the inscriptions, but his father's name Pa Gong does, and in the Nan stele Sai Lue Thai says of himself "I who am called Phya Lue Thai". Both he and his father had the same names as their respective grandfathers.

Inscription 45

๑ วงศานพระยาผบ (คำตัน) : บัพระยา—บัเริง, บัม่ง, บัพอง, บัพาพน—
ผากอง, บัพระยาคำฟู, พระยาผากองเท้าน

๑ แตนคำพงศ์ ผบผาคำ—ผบผุหวาน, บัขุนจิต, ขุนจอด—บัพระยาศรีอินทรา
ทิตย, บัพระยาบาน, บัพระยาราม, บัเสงคราม, บัพระยาเลอไทย, บัพระยาวัณม, บัพระยา
มหารธรรมราชา (ลิไทย), พองเมือง, พองเลอไทย และไทยผบผุชาวเรืองเท้านแล

As we know that Phya Loe Thai was the son of Ram Kambaeng (Phya Ramraj) and father of Phya Maha Dharmaraja (Li Thai), I have made the following conjecture (in *Guide through the Inscriptions of Sukhothai*, Southeast Asia Studies Working Paper No. 9, University of Hawaii, 1976):



Whether this suggestion is acceptable or not, one thing is certain: Sai Songkram and Ngua Nam Thom were both kings of Sukhothai. The evidence is epigraphic and must be accepted against the evidence of any chronicle or conjecture. Vickery wants to cut out Sai Songkram and Ngua Nam Thom from the Sukhothai kings, as well as Jaya Songkram and Nam Tuam from the Chiengmai list, on the grounds that they were legendary. (He also wants to cut out Saen Bhu, but of this more later.) I will quote a short paragraph from his paper, dividing it into two shorter paragraphs for easier digestion.

I find it highly unlikely that at about the same time in both Sukhothai and Chiangmai there were princes named Jaya Sangram and Nua Nam Tham/Nam Thvam, Nua, in the same generational sequence, the name of one of whom has legendary associations, and both/all of whom appear only in late texts or in an inscription which designates them as ancestral spirits.

The conclusion I propose is that these names go back to an older Thai mythology, common to both Sukhothai and Chiangmai, and perhaps other areas, that they were evoked as spirits in 1392 along with the spirits of genuine kings, and that they were taken into later Chiangmai chronicles when extra generations were required to fill out an expanded story.

This suggestion is most attractive, but it cannot be accepted. In the first place the two names, Sai Songkram of Sukhothai (Sai : "No. 4") and Jaya Songkram of Chiangmai (Jaya : "Victory") are not the same. Then the name Nam Tuam can mean "Flooded", that is, it was a name given to people who were born when there was a flood. There must have been hundreds of such people, both princes and commoners. The words "flooded" and "drowned" in English do not have the same meaning, nor can they be used synonymously. The same in Thai : "flooded" = น้ำท่วม, น้ำหลาก; "drowned" = จมน้ำตาย. This is a case of mixing up a given name with a posthumous name to get a myth. Nam Tuam eventually became king of Chiang Tung (Keng Tung) and when he died he was succeeded by his brother Nam Nan. Vickery also wants to cut out Saen Bhu from the kings of Chiangmai. His evidence is the inscription of Wat Phra Yuen (62). Again I quote from his paper.

In fact, the chronicles themselves contain information sufficient to make the genealogy suspect, even without the evidence of the inscription (62). This is the way the chronology of birth dates and ages is squeezed in order to insert two new generations into a four-generation time span. Thus, in *Jinakalamali*, one of the oldest chronicles, Haripyava (Gam Fu) was born in 1324, became king at the early age of 10 years in 1334, 'reigned 12 years', yet died in 1336 at 'age 28'. His son, Pha Yu, was born in 1336, became king in 1336 at 'age 12', and died in 1355. Finally Kilana (Ku' Na) was born in 1339 when his father would have been 3 years old.

The Chiangmai chronicle squeezes them in a different way.

There Saen Bhu's birth is implied in 1276 when his father would have been 11 years old, not impossible of course, but suspect. Because Saen Bhu is inserted in this way the lifespan of his son Gam Fu—born 1302, enthroned 1328—appears normal, but his son Pha Yu is born in 1316 when his father would have been 14, and the last of the series, Ku' Na is born in 1327 when his father would have been only 9.

These different dates in different chronicles, with squeezing at different places, are conclusive evidence, along with the inscriptions, of interpolation. That is, two generations, Jaya Sangram and Saen Bhu, are fictitious, as are the stories in the chronicles connected with them . . .

I agree and will supply a reason of my own in support of Vickery's proposal.

Chiengmai	Sukhothai
Mangrai	Ram Kamhaeng
Jaya Songkram	Phya Lue Thai
Saen Bhu	Maha D.Li Thai
Kam Fu	Poh Loe Thai
Pa Yu	
Guna	

In the story of Maha Sumana Thera, told in the inscriptions of Wat Phra Yuen, Hariphunchai (62) and of Wat Pa Daeng, Sri Sajnalai (9); and in the Lanna chronicles, *Mul Sasna* written in the Kam Mueng language, and *Jinakarn* written in Pali, Guna was on the throne of Chiengmai, Li Thai was king of Sukhothai, while his son, Poh Lue Thai, was king of Sri Sajnalai. Poh Lue Thai's name is given in Pali as Lideyyaraja, while his father was Lidayaraja. As Mangrai and Ram Kamhaeng were friends of the same age, it is quite impossible that Guna, five generations after Mangrai, could have been a contemporary of Phya Li Thai or Poh Loe Thai, two and three generations respectively after Ram Kamhaeng. Guna would then have been of a generation equivalent to being Poh Loe Thai's grandson, and great-grandson of Phya Li Thai. However, some people, including a few worthy folks of Sri Thailand, have even put the

story of Sumana Thera into the reign of Phya Loe Thai, with his son Li Thai as king of Sri Sajalai, that is, between 1340-1347. As we know that the regnal years of Guna were between 1355-1385, the less I say about such blatant nonsense the better.

We now come to the last piece of evidence, namely the inscription of Wat Phra Yuen (62). This inscription, with photographs, has been published in *Prachum Sila Jaruk III* and in Griswold and Prasert's *Epigraphic and Historical Studies* No. 13 (*JSS*, volume 62 part 1, January 1974). I give the reading from these two publications, which, however, contains an error.

๑ อันว่าพระเศลาจารย์เจ้าท้าวสองแสนนาอันธรรมิกราช ผู้เป็นลูกรักแก่พญาผายู เป็นหลานแก่พญาคำฟู เป็นโหลนแก่พญามังรายหลวง ฯ

"Chao Tao Song Saen Na Dhamikaraj (Guna), the beloved son of Phya Pa Yu, grandson of Phya Kam Fu (and) great-grandson of Phya Mangrai Luang, set up this stone inscription."

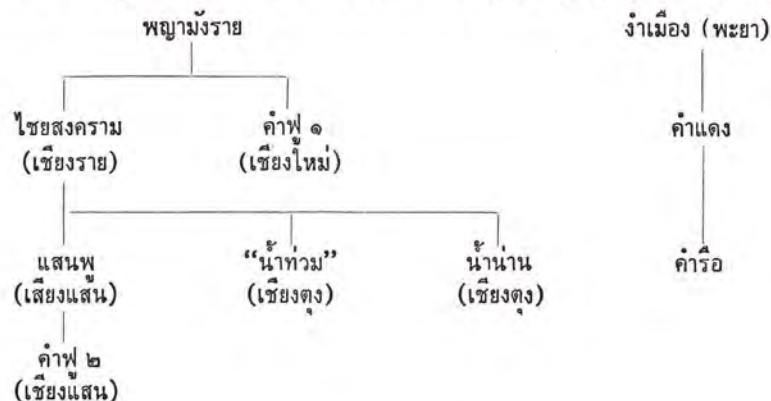
That Kam Fu was a son of Mangrai is certain. The evidence is epigraphic and it makes sense of the stories of Li Thai's ordination and Sumana Thera going to Chiangmai in Guna's reign. The problem is whether there was one Kam Fu or two. Here I make the same suggestion that I did in the case of Sukhothai: (a) there were two lines of descent from Intaratit through Ban Mueng and Ram Kamhaeng; and (b) there were also two lines of descent from Mangrai, one through Jaya Songkram at Chieng Saen-Chiengrai, and the other through Kam Fu at Chiangmai.

Chieng Saen	Chiangmai	Sukhothai
Mangrai	Mangrai	Ram Kamhaeng
Jaya Songkram	Kam Fu I	Phya Loe Thai
Saen Bhu	Pa Yu	Phya Li Thai
Kam Fu II	Guna	Poh Loe Thai

In the Chiangmai chronicles, Jaya Songkram, Saen Bhu and Kam Fu made an appearance on the stage, so to say, and quickly returned to Chiengrai-Chieng Saen. But Jaya Songkram played an important role in the last stage of the war with Hariphunchai when he defeated Phya

Berk, the younger brother or son of Phya Yi Ba. Saen Bhu enlarged Chieng Saen which at that time was called Mueng Loy, including building Wat Pa Sak outside the city walls. And the records have a great deal about Kam Fu II, how he had a friend called Ngua Hong who lived at Vieng Pan (or Vieng Kong) about 25 kilometres from Chieng Saen. Vieng Pan was on the Nam Kong, a feeder of the River Khong. One day while on a visit to his friend, Kam Fu was carried off by a mermaid (which Dr. Prasert na Nagara kindly interprets as a crocodile). Saen Bhu built Wat Pa Sak, and the *stupa* is still *in situ*. In the story of Kam Fu II, Vieng Pan has become deserted but the site is still known, and perhaps fatuously, the Kong River is also *in situ*. After Kam Fu's death Guna sent a governor from Chiengmai, and this ended the short epigraphic history of Chieng Saen. In short, there is sufficient evidence to justify Jaya Songkram, Saen Bhu and Kam Fu as historical persons.

As it happens a careful reading of the chronicles gives a few indications of a Kam Fu I. One instance from a Chieng Saen chronicle follows. When Ngam Mueng of Payao, the friend of Mangrai and Ram Kamhaeng, died, one of his sons named Kam Daeng succeeded him. At that time Jaya Songkram and Kam Fu were on the thrones of Chiengrai and Chiengmai respectively. Khun Fua of Mueng Nai attacked Chiengmai. Kam Fu fled to Chiengrai and asked for aid from his father, Jaya Songkram, who in turn asked Kam Daeng for help. Kam Daeng sent his son, Kam Rue, who drove off the Mueng Nai forces. In this chronicle Kam Fu was Jaya Songkram's son; in other chronicles he was a grandson; but in inscription (62) he was a son of Mangrai and therefore a younger brother of Jaya Songkram. It is better to follow epigraphic evidence.



One final point might be mentioned. As a local epigraphist and I were considering whether there was one Kam Fu or two, the epigraphist noticed that the name in the inscription is not Kam Fu at all. The illustration in *JSS* is illegible, but in the larger picture in *Prachum III*, the writing is quite clear, and the first word in line 4 is 100-per cent Kam Bhu (คำบุ). As the inscription is still in Lamphun, I went with another epigraphist to have a look at it. The end of the letter does not turn at a right angle as in the photograph, but there is a short, light tail going up at 45°. Also, the tail is not crossed as in other long-tailed letters in the same inscription. So we decided after a discussion that the reading is 80 to 90-per cent Kam Bhu. Anybody who does not believe me may take a plane, or train, or an air-conditioned bus and go to Lamphun and take a look for himself. But it will be difficult to convince me, or the epigraphist who went with me, that the reading is anything but Kam Bhu. Actually both the *Mul Sasna* and the Northern Chronicles (*Pongsawan Nua*) give the name of Saen Bhu's son as Kam Bhu. The problem really is whether there were two Kam Fus, or two Kam Bhus, or one of each. But the main point is that one was a son of Mangrai (epigraphic), and the other of Saen Bhu.

It would seem that the editor of this inscription worked from a rubbing and, with the chronicles in mind, produced two Kam Fus. But several centuries before that, the authors of the various chronicles had mixed up the two names and produced a chaotic, combined history of Chieng Saen and Chiengmai, as Vickery has pointed out. Actually Vickery may be right when he says that there was only one Kam Fu or Kam Bhu because in the *Mul Sasna* the son that Saen Bhu sent to be king of Chieng Saen was called Mun Jedtra. Though the names in the chronicles differ, I do not agree that Jaya Songkram and Saen Bhu should be eliminated on the grounds of being mythical figures. It is better to introduce, as I have done, a short epigraphic history of Chieng Saen as an epilogue to the over-all story. If this suggestion is acceptable then perhaps future students can work out a much better history of the early Thai than what we have at present.

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