

# ON THE HISTORY OF CHIANG RAI

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The historical sources are nearly all agreed that King Mang Rāi founded Chiang Rāi in Culasakkarāja (C.S.) 624, a year Tao Set.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore probable that Chiang Rāi was founded sometime between 27 March 1262 A.D. and 28 March 1263 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

Most sources do not indicate the day and the month, but according to a work on the history of Phayao (PAY.PP.29), the foundation day was a day 3, month 2, day 15 of the waxing moon, i.e. day of the full moon, C.S. 624. That corresponds to a Tuesday in about October - November 1292 or to a Tuesday two months later, viz. in about December 1262 - January 1263, depending on whether "month 2" here means the Lān Nā calendar or the Central Thai calendar.<sup>3</sup>

According to two chronicles of Phayao (PAY.WSS/ms and PAY.WSB/ms), Chiang Rāi was founded at the hour Tūt Kham, a day 6, day of the full moon, month 5, C.S. 624, which corresponds to a late Friday afternoon towards the end of January of the beginning of February 1263 A.D.

In 1986, the astrologer Arun Lamphen of the Astrological Society of Thailand calculated the date mentioned in the two chronicles in terms of the modern calendar. He concluded that the details of the date were consistent among themselves and that according to that date Chiang Rāi was founded at the auspicious time of 17.48 h on Friday, 26 January 1263 A.D., Buddhasakkarāja (B.S.) 1805.<sup>4</sup>

All our sources call the king who founded Chiang Rāi, Phayā Mang Rāi พระมังราย, and sometimes shorten this to Mang Rāi, leaving out the word *phayā*.

*Phayā* (in Lān Nā usually spelled /brayā, brañā พระยาพรญา/ pronounced *phayā*) is a title of possibly Mon or Khmer origin meaning "king."<sup>5</sup> The same title was also borne by the kings of Sukhōthai. In later times, however, the title was devalued in Lān Nā as well as in Central Thailand and became a rank for government officials (*phrayā*, *phayā* พระยา).

*Mang* is a word which is attested in an area roughly between the following four points: Southwest Yünnan - Chiang Mai - Prome/Pagan - the northern Shan States. In Thai-speaking areas, the word appears as *mang* มัง (มั่ง in Pāli texts, *mōng* เมือง, *müang* เมือง; in Chinese sources as *meng*, and in Burmese sources as *min* or *meng* (although spelled /mañ/). The oldest known mention of the word is under the form *mang*, attested by a contemporary source for around 860 A.D. in the southwest of Yünnan.<sup>6</sup> Later sources mention the word for an even earlier time, presumably in the area Prome - Pagan - Tagaung.<sup>7</sup> Through-

out the time and throughout its area of distribution, *mang* has the meaning of "king" or of "kingdom."

We do not know for how long *mang* was used in the royal house of the Thai Yuan, to which Phayā Mang Rāi belonged. But it seems that soon after 1300 A.D. *mang* fell into disuse and was replaced by *phayā* after a period of transition during which both words were used. The Chronicle of Chiang Mai mentions only two *mang*: Mang Rāi and Mang Khrām, his son. Both are also called *phayā* by the chronicle. But although *mang* is regularly used for Phayā Mang Rāi and sometimes even exclusively (dropping the *phayā*), his son is rarely called Mang Khrām; usually he is called Phayā Khrām. All later kings are called *phayā* only.

The oldest known stone inscription to mention King Mang Rāi by name is the inscription from Wat Phra Yün, Lamphün, which dates from around 1371 A.D. Here the king is called Phayā Mang Rāi Luang /brañā maññ rāy hlvañ พระยา มังราย หลวง.<sup>8</sup> Although the inscription was written 55 - 60 years after his death and therefore is not strictly a contemporary source, there still must have been a number of older people living who had known the king, so that his title/name should be correct. Also, later inscriptions call him Phayā Mang Rāi,<sup>9</sup> Mang Rāi<sup>10</sup> or Müang Rāi.<sup>11</sup> Evidently the king was known as Phayā Mang Rāi to his contemporaries.

The personal name of the king thus was Rāi,<sup>12</sup> and it would be correct to call him King Rāi. But historians are used to calling him Phayā Mang Rāi or King Mang Rāi, although that is a pleonasm meaning King King Rāi. Appellations such as "Pho Khun Mengrai" พ่อขุนเม็งราย etc. are new creations made up in modern times and are not found in any of the historical sources.

King Mang Rāi was born in 1238 or 1239 and died in 1311 or 1317; he was therefore a young man of 23 - 24 years when he founded Chiang Rāi.<sup>13</sup> His mother was a princess of the royal house of Chiang Rung<sup>14</sup> and therefore was a Thai Lü. His father was the king of Ngön Yāng เมืองยาง, whom he succeeded at the age of 21, after his father had died.

We do not know where Ngön was. General opinion appears to identify this country with the area around present Chiang Sän, or with the triangle Chiang Sän - Mã Jan - Mã Sāi, because some sources of uncertain age and provenance vaguely speak of a place called Hiranya Nakhòn Ngön Yāng Chiang Sän (for instance PAY. PP), but definite proof is lacking. One could also consider other regions to the north or to the east, for instance the area of Chiang Tung, which city claims to have been

founded by Phayā Mang Rāi or initially governed by persons whom he had appointed,<sup>15</sup> or perhaps the area of Chiang Rung, the home of his mother.

Evidently Phayā Mang Rāi was not a native of the region of Chiang Rāi. Our sources indicate that he was a newcomer and depict him as a founder or conqueror and "uniter" of several minor Thai principalities in an area beyond his own inherited kingdom. While on one of these "excursions," he found by chance the site of the future Chiang Rāi. His auspicious elephant ช้างมงคล had broken loose and had wandered away. The king traced the animal to the peak of a little hill, Dòì Jòm Thòng คอยจอมทอง, situated on the bank of the river Mā Kok.

The sources say that when he reached the hill, he became convinced that the area would make an excellent site for the chief city of a new kingdom. According to the Chronicle of Chiang Mai, he considered the precedent that two of his ancestors had founded their chief cities and kingdoms at the foot of hills, and then decided: "I should make the hill the navel of the country (*sadü müang* สะดือเมือง), namely the centre of the country (คือ ท่ากลางเมือง). Thereupon Phayā Mang Rāi built a *wiang* (เวียง) around Dòì Jòm Thòng so that the hill was in the middle of the *wiang*. He built it in the year Tao Set, C.S. 624. (The newly founded country; HP) was called Müang Chiang Rāi.<sup>16</sup>" King Mang Rāi then lived permanently there, making the city of Chiang Rāi his capital.

According to Northern Thai usage, the word *wiang*, in its strict sense, means a rampart, wall, palisade or any kind of solid fence. By application, *wiang* means a fortified settlement of importance. If the monarch himself, or one of the higher-ranking royalties, lived in the *wiang*, the *wiang* was called a *chiang* เชียง. The country as a whole which was subject to a *wiang* or a *chiang* was called a *müang* เมือง, or *möng* เมือง. Thus, the new city founded by King Mang Rāi received the name Chiang Rāi, obviously named after its royal founder, and the country was called Müang Chiang Rāi. Chiang Rāi, therefore, means "(King) Rāi's City."

Similarly, when his grandson, Phayā Sän Phū, founded a new capital city in 1327, that city received the name Chiang Sän, "(King) Sän (Phū's) City."

A country (*müang*, *möng*) of the northern Thais and its capital city (*wiang* or *chiang*) can be compared to a city-state in the western sense, or to a not too extended principality, where the name of the country and the name of the chief city are identical, such as Athens or Sparta or present day Luxembourg. In former times, there were quite a number of such little Thai countries or city-states all over northern Thailand and beyond; in fact, Lān Nā was a conglomerate of city-states, some of them quite independent at times, but usually accepting the authority of the powerful city-state Chiang Mai (founded by Phayā Mang Rāi more than 30 years later, in 1296).<sup>17</sup> A *müang* usually covered the area of a valley; its borders were the surrounding mountains. Beyond the mountain, in the next valley, would be another *müang*.

There is not much doubt as to the identity of the hill Dòì Jòm Thòng which was the nucleus of the city-state Chiang Rāi, because in the extreme western part of the present town of Chiang Rāi there is a hill called Dòì Thòng or Dòm Thòng. Also, along the upper part of the western slope of that hill there are remains of an old earthen wall. An automobile parking lot was created in 1987 by removing part of it; the rest can still be seen. Although at present the Mā Kok river flows at a little distance from this hill, photographs taken from the air or even a glance down from the hill show that formerly the Mā Kok passed by the foot of the hill at its northwestern slope; obviously, in the past the hill was on the bank of the river, and later the river changed its bed a little to the north.<sup>18</sup> Dòì Jòm Thòng of our chronicles and present Dòì Thòng or Dòì Jòm Thòng in the western part of the town of Chiang Rāi should be one and the same hill.

I must admit that I do not clearly understand what the chronicle means when it says that King Mang Rāi built his *wiang* around the hill and made the hill the navel or the middle of his new country, *sadü müang*. We know that, in the past, Thai groups lived on not too high hills bordering a plain with a good water supply, and that they built earthen walls on and around the slope of the hills. But the expression *sadü müang*, "country navel, city-state navel, city navel," has so far, it seems, only been found in connection with Chiang Rāi. At least I do not know which other Northern Thai city-state had a *sadü müang*, a hill that was the spiritual middle or the navel of the country. Towns in Central Thailand have a *lak müang* หลักเมือง, "city pillar," which is regarded as the spiritual centre of the fown, and Chiang Mai has its Sao Intakhin<sup>19</sup> เสาอินทขิล, "Indra's Pillar," which is not (or no longer) regarded as the town's centre, but the city-state of Chiang Rāi obviously had something different, namely a hill, not just a pillar.

By the time of Phayā Mang Rāi, the Thai groups between Chiang Rāi and Chiang Rung presumably had had contact with Hinduism, Tantric Buddhism, Mahāyāna Buddhism and Hīnayāna Buddhism, in addition to whatever their own religion was. It is tempting to speculate that these Thai groups tried to amalgamate their customary way of living on a hill in or near a plain with the Indian concept of a central world-mountain, and thus arrived at their own concept of a country-navel or city-navel which was a hill situated within or very close to their capital town. That would make their king a "King of the Mountain" like the kings of Funan or the Sailendras who, incidentally, had the same dynastic title, viz. Mahārāja, as the much later kings of Lān Nā.

It is perhaps not impossible that King Mang Rāi also erected a pillar on top of Dòì Jòm Thòng because according to an old northern custom, which was widely observed until about a century ago, a settlement of some importance had to have such a pillar, made from the trunk of a tree. The pillar was called *jai bān* ใจบ้าน or *jai müang* ใจเมือง, "heart of the village" or "heart of of the country." It usually stood on a separate place within the settlement. The correct dimensions, as postulated by tradition, are: The height should be equal to the height of the prince ruling



Fig. 1 The 3 *jai bān* pillars of Lampāng, in front of the provincial office. Photograph: Hans Penth 1988. 88/14/1



Fig. 2 *Jai bān* pillars of the Lü village Bān Phāt at Chiang Kham, province of Phayao. Photograph: Hans Penth 1988. 88/14/9

at the time; the diameter should be 5 or 7 or 9 times his fist.<sup>20</sup> However, there were certain variants. Sometimes the pillar was definitely taller than human size, and sometimes much smaller. Often there was not one pillar but a group of them. For instance, until the 1960's, Wiang Pā Pao had three pillars, perhaps 2.50 m tall above ground; at present, only one is left. Lampāng still has its three pillars; the tallest is about 4 and the smallest about 2.50m high (fig.1). Thai Lü villages usually seem to have five rather short pillars; for instance, the *jai bān* of Bān Thāt Sop Wān close to Nān (fig. 2). In modern times, most of the pillars and even the memory of them slowly disappear.

It is not known whether the custom of erecting such pillars was already practised in the time of Phayā Mang Rāi or whether the custom was introduced in later times. Considering that these *jai bān* / *jai miāng* seem to have been common to the whole of Lān Nā and beyond, it appears possible that the concept of a village or country pillar is quite old and was part of Thai culture in the time of King Mang Rāi. Also, further to the south, both in Mainland and Island Southeast Asia, pillars and hills were used to mark the spiritual center of kingdoms. King Mang Rāi would neither have been alone nor the first monarch to use a combination of pillar(s) and hill to indicate the "heart" or the "navel" or the "axis" of his country.

However, our historical sources say nothing about a pillar on Dòi Jòm Thòng. And the archaeological evidence from the top of the hill, if there was any, was lost decades ago when the peak of the hill was chopped off by several meters and flattened to make a suitable surface for a telecommunication station. But in spite of its more profane use in the recent past, the upper part of Dòi Jòm Thòng has been a place of worship for as long as local memory reaches back. It is frequented by Buddhists (who have erected a stūpa and built a little monastery), by local Chinese (who have also built their shrine), and by those who wish to propitiate the ancestral and clan spirits Phì Mot and Phì Meng, well known over all northern Thailand. It therefore seems not unreasonable to assume that King Mang Rāi had already erected something to worship on top of the hill, which may have been one or several pillars.

It is perhaps also significant that the stūpa which was built in 1864 on Dòi Jòm Thòng was not built on the top of the hill, which would normally have been its place, but a little below. Possibly there was something on the peak which the people did not wish to disturb.

Thus, at the beginning of its history, Chiang Rāi was a little fortified settlement or *wiang* on Dòi Jòm Thòng. The fortifications of a *wiang* at that time seem to have consisted of an earthen wall with the earth being dug up on the spot, so that while heaping up the earthen wall, a dry moat or trench was excavated at the same time. This earthen wall would run around the settlement, or at least include its most important part, the moat being on the outside. The earthen wall possibly had a wooden fence or palisade on its crest, and it would have had one or several entrances.

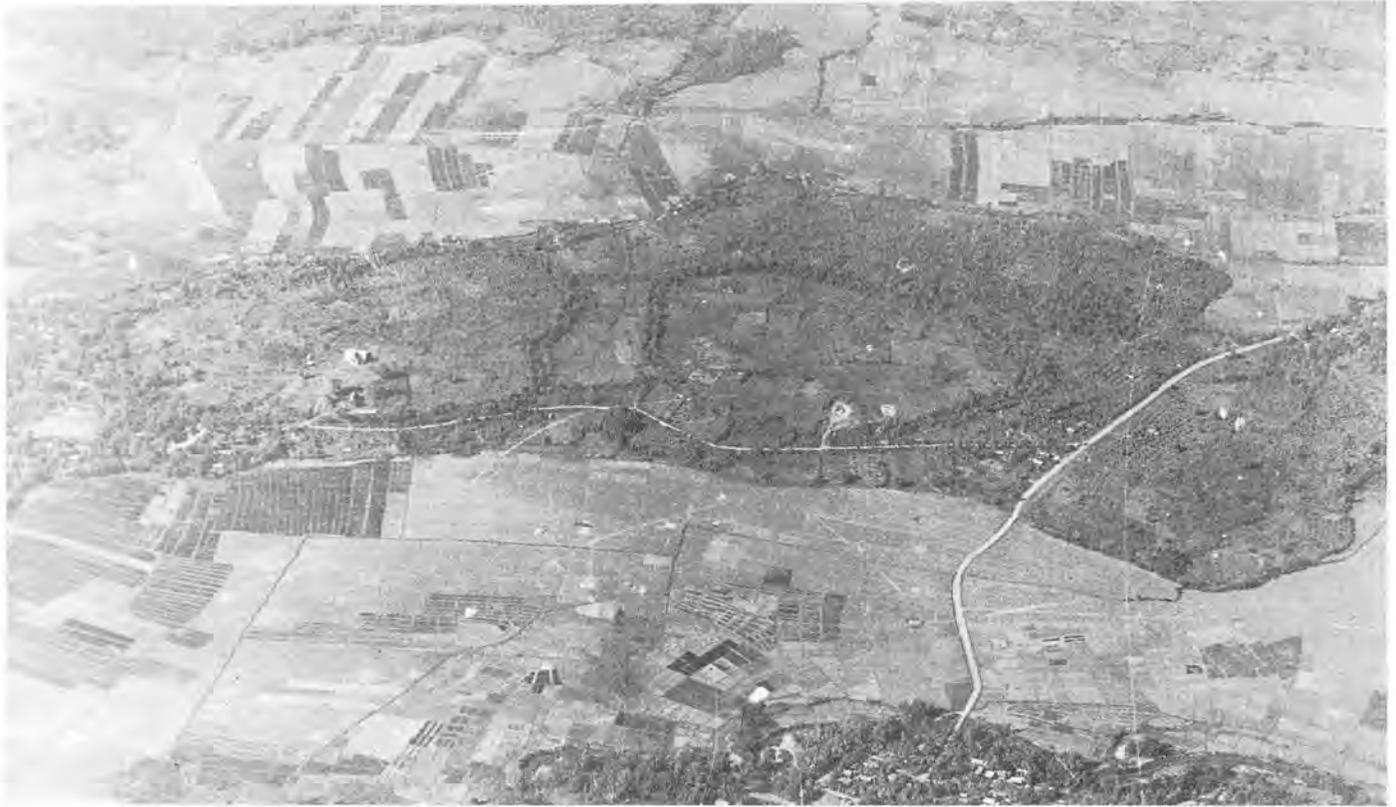


Fig. 3 Old Phrāo. A compartment town covering two hills, interconnected by walls (double wiang). Photograph: Hans Penth 1976. 76/1/4

Since Dòi Jòm Thòng is not very big, the available space probably soon became insufficient, especially after the entire court had moved in and the country's administration was conducted from there. It is therefore probable that from an early time on, the three or four little hills immediately beside Dòi Jòm Thòng became part of the city together with some of the flat area at the foot of the hills, the whole complex forming several compartments which were protected from the outside and connected with Dòi Jòm Thòng (and among each other) by earthen walls. Even today one sees short stretches of regular elevations along the slope of some of these hills. This concept of compartment town, sometimes extending over several hills, is well known from many other old Thai settlements in Lān Nā; an example is Phrāo (fig. 3).<sup>21</sup> Apart from its rather special *sadū miāng*, Chiang Rāi should have been a typical Thai town of its time.

During the decades that followed its founding, Chiang Rāi expanded towards the east, but not very much. This can be deduced from the fact that Chiang Rāi's major monasteries (Wat Ngam Müang, Wat Phra Kāo, Wat Phra Sing) are all in the western half of the present town, on or close to the hills beside Dòi Jòm Thòng.

The town lost some of its status after King Mang Rāi founded Chiang Mai in 1296 and moved his court there, but it

regained and perhaps even increased its importance in 1311 or 1317 after the death of the king, because his successors, now kings, of both the Yuan State (Chiang Rāi) and the Ping State (Chiang Mai), lived in Chiang Rāi. Another decline in prestige, although perhaps not in commercial or strategic importance, occurred in 1327, when King Sān Phū founded Chiang Sān on the Mā Khōng river and moved his court there. Chiang Rāi definitely became a provincial town, although one of importance, in 1339 or 1340 when King Phā Yū moved his court to Chiang Mai and he and his successors continued to live there.

It therefore seems that during the golden age of independent Lān Nā, Chiang Rāi extended for less than 1 km, or less than a 10-minute walk, from Dòi Jòm Thòng to the east. In other words, up to about 1560 (and perhaps much later), Old Chiang Rāi probably only covered about the western half of present Chiang Rāi. Correspondingly, there would have been a wall running north - south through what is now approximately the middle of Chiang Rāi town, but its remains, if there are any left, have not yet come to light.

During Lān Nā's golden time, Chiang Rāi was governed by princes of the royal Chiang Mai line, descendants of King Mang Rāi. Some of them were quite independent. One of the most powerful men was Thāo Mahā Phrom ท้าวมหาพรหม,<sup>22</sup> younger brother of Phayā Kü Nā (r. 1355 - 1385)<sup>23</sup> who began the

modernization of the Lān Nā sangha. Thāo Mahā Phrom is reported to have obtained in Kamphāng Phet and brought to Chiang Rāi the two famous Buddha images Phra Sing and Phra Kāo (the Emerald Buddha).<sup>24</sup> Upon the death of Phayā Kü Nā, he vainly tried to seize Chiang Mai. In return, his nephew, the son of Phayā Kü Nā, now Phayā Sān Müang Mā, went up to Chiang Rāi, captured him, and brought the Phra Sing to Chiang Mai,<sup>25</sup> perhaps around 1385 - 1390. The Phra Kāo, however, well hidden under a layer of lime, was not recognized, and stayed on in Chiang Rāi until the time of Phayā Tilōk (Tilok, Tilaka, r. 1441-1487) when the image was brought first to Lampāng and then to Chiang Mai.<sup>26</sup>

Another governor of royal blood was Thāo Mūi ท้าวมูย. In 1484 he made a Buddha image in the cave of the hill Dōi Tham Phra ดอยท่าพระ (about 5 km upstream from Chiang Rāi directly on the north bank of the Mā Kok), provided eight families of slaves for its service and a regular income for its upkeep. This image may or may not be the brick-and-stucco image that one sees in the cave at present. The inscribed stone slab which records the event is in the National Museum in Lamphūn.<sup>27</sup>

In 1558, with the capture of Chiang Mai, Lān Nā came under Burmese rule, which finally ended in 1804 when Chiang Sān, Burma's last stronghold, fell. During that time, Chiang Rāi is hardly mentioned in the sources, which probably means that it was politically and militarily of little importance. The Burmese favoured Chiang Sān, at least militarily. In 1701 - 1705 (the sources are not agreed on the date), the king of Burma removed Chiang Sān from the administration of Chiang Mai and placed it with its dependencies as a new province directly under Angwa (Ava); Chiang Rāi also was among these dependencies of Chiang Sān, at the latest since 1715 - 16.<sup>28</sup> Maps of the 19th and of the early 20th century still show Chiang Sān as a more important place than Chiang Rāi.

Chiang Rāi twice tried to rise against the Burmese. The sources do not explain the circumstances for either attempt. In 1600, Chiang Rāi revolted. A Burmese military force arrived and took the town.<sup>29</sup> In 1614, the Burmese Fā Sutthō led a military expedition to Lān Nā. A result was that all members of Chiang Rāi's ruling family were deported to Burma and were replaced by four local "country fathers," *phò müang* พ่อเมือง.<sup>30</sup>

During their occupation of Lān Nā, because of increased uprisings and civil war the Burmese had to rely more and more on Burmese-appointed government officials and on locally stationed Burmese military garrisons, in addition to military expeditions sent over from Burma. Judging by their names, the Burmese military seem to have mostly been ethnic Burmese or Burmese Mon; perhaps some were Shan with a Burmese name. Few of the civilian officials, however, although Burma-appointed, seem to have been ethnic Burmese; mostly they appear to have been western Shan (Ngio), Khōn, perhaps Lü, and local Thai Yuan. The lower bureaucracy was made up of Yuan anyhow.

The more important Lān Nā city-states had, at least in theory, a tri-partite government. Nominally at the top was the

Ruling Prince, called *phayā* or *jao fā* เจ้าฟ้า, often, a local person. He either belonged to an old ruling family or was appointed by the Burmese. In fact, his authority was limited. Next came the Burmese Resident, called *myowan*, who held the real civilian power. The third was the military commander of the town, *sitke* (often called *jakkāi* etc. in Yuan texts). Many times, however, there seems to have been either only a *myowan* or only a *sitke*.

One of the Burma-appointed officials was Mang Phara Saphāk, Senior Ruling Prince of Chiang Rāi and Senior Resident of Chiang Sān. His name is frequently mentioned in the years after 1700, and once additional sources have been studied, it might be possible and worthwhile to attempt the biography of this remarkable man. He seems to have been an able administrator, loyal to his (Burmese) king, considerate towards the people and the region that had been entrusted to him, pious, and not without a sense of fun.

Here are a few stations in his life, taken from chronicles:

- \* Between 1702 - 05, Sān Luang Thōng แสนหลวงเถิง alias Sāng Kyò La สังกยอละ was appointed Ruling Prince of Müang Rai (Müang Hai), also called Müang Rai Chā เมืองไร่, เมืองไร่ชา.<sup>31</sup>
- \* Between 1704 - 1708 he was appointed Ruling Prince of Chiang Rāi, where he constructed the Pepper Grove Mansion, Khum Pā Phrik คุ่มป่าพริก.<sup>32</sup>
- \* Between 1710 - 12 he did some construction work and made merit at Wat Phra Kham วัดพระคำ on the northern end of the island Dòn Thān at Chiang Sān (which island has now practically disappeared). On one of these occasions he arranged for a kind of verbal contest between girls paddling boats on the Mā Khōng, which was a great event เอาลูกผู้หญิงพายเรือเถียงกันเป็นปอยปางใหญ่.<sup>33</sup>
- \* Between 1711 - 14 he was appointed Resident of Chiang Sān with the name Mang Phara Saphāk มังพระสแพก.<sup>34</sup>
- \* In 1715 - 16, by order of the King of Angwa, the city-states Müang Kāi มกาย, M. Rai มไร่, M. Len มเลน, M. Phayāk มพยาก, M. Lāo มแหลว, Chiang Rāi เชียงราย and M. Luang Phū Khā มหลวงภูคา were placed under Chiang Sān, to be under the authority of the Myowan Mang Phara Saphāk, the Nā Sāi น้าซ้าย and the Nā Khwā น้าขวา.<sup>35</sup>
- \* In 1719 - 20 he built an ubōsot (ordination hall) in the pool or lake Nong Pathama Rāk ทนอปปมราค (not identified).<sup>36</sup>
- \* In 1722 - 23 he put the umbrella on the stūpa Jòm Sī จาตุเจ้าจอมศรี (not identified) and again organized a verbal contest between female boat crews.<sup>37</sup>
- \* In 1724 Jao Fā Lak Thī เจ้าฟ้าลักที, the Ruling Prince of Chiang Sān, died. The *jao fā* was succeeded by his son, Jao Yòt Ngam Müang เจ้ายอดงำเมือง.<sup>38</sup>
- \* Between 1725 - 27 he made more merit at Wat Jòm Sī, also called Wat Jòm Si Song Müang วัดจอมศรีสองเมือง, and arranged another verbal contest between female crews, this time on the pool or lake Nòng Pathama Rāk.<sup>39</sup>



Fig. 4 Phra Jao Sän Swä, Chiang Sän, 1726 A.D. In Wat Phra Jao Län Thöng. Chiang Sän. Photograph: Hans Penth 1970. 70/2/7



Fig. 5 Paccekabuddha Chiang Sän, c. 1727 A.D. In Musée Guimet, Paris. Photograph: Hans Penth 1970. 70/15/1

- \* In 1725 - 26 he diplomatically persuaded a number of towns not to revolt, and survived an assassination plot.<sup>40</sup> From Chiang Mai's revolt in 1727 - 28 on, his life story is not so clear.
- \* When Chiang Mai military forces beleaguered Chiang Sän in 1728, the *myowan*, the *sitke* and all Burmese managed to escape.<sup>41</sup>
- \* Many towns sided with Mang Phara Saphäk, who in the end seems to have had the upper hand. A royal order was received from Angwa placing Phrä, Nän, Lampäng, Phayao, Salão, Thöng, Chiang Ròn, Chiang Rom, M. Khòp, M. Sät, Chiang Khòng, Chiang Rài, "the whole of Län Nā," under the administration of the Myowan Mang Phara Saphäk.<sup>42</sup>
- \* In 1728 - 29, the Ruling Prince of Chiang Sän, Jao Fä Yöt Ngam Müang, died, aged 25. He had ruled for four years.<sup>43</sup>
- \* However, in 1730 - 31 a certain Mòng Yäng Päng Chā was appointed *myowan* of Chiang Sän,<sup>44</sup> and in 1733 the Burmese general Bo Sakhäng Kia was appointed *myowan* with the name of Kia Saphäk.<sup>45</sup>
- \* On the other hand, in 1735 - 36 the King of Burma sent Mang Phara Saphäk many valuable gifts, and also his wife received a complete gold betel set.<sup>46</sup> And when in 1737 - 38 Müang Fäng revolted, the Myowan Mang Phara Saphäk sent troops who took care of the matter.<sup>47</sup>
- \* Finally, according to one group of sources, the Myowan

Mang Phara Saphäk died in 1740, having been Ruling Prince of Chiang Rāi for 31 years,<sup>48</sup> while according to another group of sources, it was the Myowan Kia Saphäk who died in 1740.<sup>49</sup>

Mang Phara Saphäk also was the founder or co-founder of a number of bronzes, of which five have been identified so far. Two of them are Buddha images, two are images of the Buddha's disciples, and one is a pāsāda model. They are no great masterpieces; nonetheless they are valuable because of the rarity of bronzes (and other pieces of art and architecture) from the time of the Burmese occupation. All five bronzes have inscriptions written in Tham letters of the Lān Nā variety and in the Yuan dialect. The inscriptions have been published but they have not yet been fully investigated.

One of the Buddha images (fig. 4), about 120 cm high and seated in the position *māravijaya*, is at present in Wat Phra Jao Lān Thong วัดพระเจ้าล้านทอง in the town of Chiang Sän, where it is known under the name of "The Buddha with the 100,000 pins," Phra Jao Sän Swä พระเจ้าแสนแส่ว, meaning that it was cast in several parts which then were joined together with many little pins.

Summary of the inscription on this image: In 1726 A.D., Phayā Luang Jao Mang Phara Saphäk พญาหลวงเจ้ามังพระสแพก, who is ruler in Mōng Chiang Rāi ตมเสวยราชสมบัติในมิ่งเชียงราย and is *myowan* in Chaya Lakkha Buri Mōng Chiang Sän เป็นมโหฬารในขณะยลัทธิขบถมิ่งเชียงแสน, together with Busabā Siri Wathana Thephā Rācha Kanyā Jao บุษบาสิริวัฒนเทพาราชกัญญาเจ้า, cast this Buddha image in pious memory of the deceased Jao Rācha But by name of Phra Yōt Ngam Mong เจ้าราชบุตรตมชื่อพระยอดจำเมือง. The image has a weight of 350,000 bronze. They installed the image in this monastery, Ārām Si Sōng Mōng อารามศรีสองเมือง, which was built on the place where he was cremated สุสาน เผา, as an object of reverence for men and gods until the end of the 5000 years.<sup>50</sup>

The other Buddha image (fig. 5), 127 cm high, standing and holding an alms bowl, is in the Guimet Museum, Paris, which received it from the "mission de Barthélemy et de Neufville." The Marquis de Barthélemy and Jean de Neufville travelled in Indochina and Thailand in 1894 - 95 and 1896 - 97, but de Barthélemy does not mention the image in his books.

Summary of the undated inscription: Mang Phara Saphäk, who is ruler of Müang Chiang Rāi and *myowan* of Müang Chiang Sän, and Busabā Siri Wathana Thephā Rācha Kanyā, (and the) Phra Rācha But Yōt Ngam Müang, cast this Pacceka-buddha.<sup>51</sup>

The two images of the disciples, Sāriputta and Moggalāna (figs. 6 and 7), are 89 and 90 cm high respectively. The late abbot of Wat Phra Kāo วัดพระแก้ว in Chiang Rāi and head monk of the province of Chiang Rāi, Phra Phutthiwong-wiwat พระพุทธิวงศ์วิวัฒน์, brought the images before 1957 from the ruins of Wat Ngam Müang วัดจำเมือง, nearby, to Wat Phra Kāo,<sup>52</sup> where they are now in the wihān to the left and right of the main Buddha image.



Fig. 6 Sāriputta, Chiang Sän, 1727 A.D. In Wat Phra Kāo, Chiang Rāi. Photograph: Hans Penth 1970. 70/39/2



Fig. 7 Moggalāna, Chiang Sän, 1727 A.D. In Wat Phra Kāo, Chiang Rāi. Photograph: Hans Penth 1970. 70/39/3



Fig. 8 Pāsāda, Chiang Sān, 1727 A.D. In the Bangkok National Museum. Reproduction from Griswold 1960 *Five Chiang Sən Bronzes*. 88/13/14

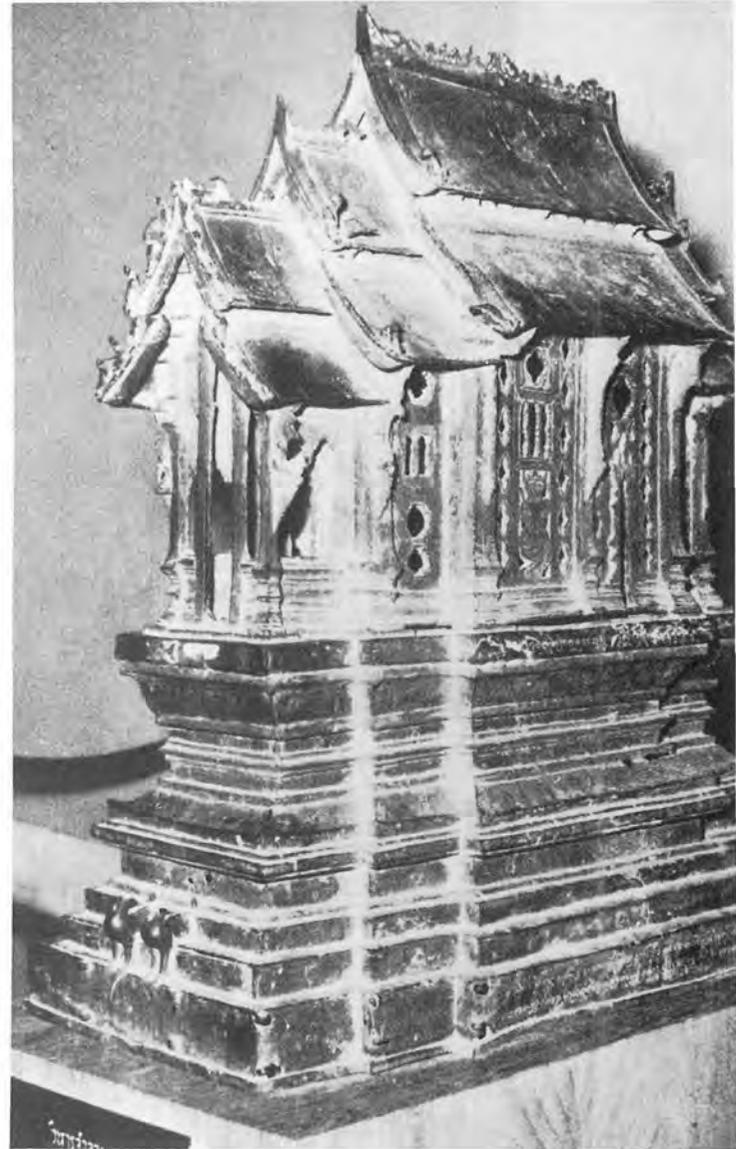


Fig. 9 Wihān (vihāra), Chiang Sān, 1726 A.D. In the Ayuthayā National Museum. Reproduction from Kasem 1966 *Model Vihāra*. 88/13/10

Summary of the very similar inscriptions on Sāriputta and Moggalāna: In 1727, Phayā Luang Jao Mang Phara Saphāk, who is ruler of Mōng Chiang Rāi and is Myowan Luang of Mōng Chiang Sān, together with Busabā Siri Wathana Thephā Rācha Kanyā and her son, the Rācha But by name of Phra Yōt Ngam Mōng, cast this image of the disciple Moggalāna (Sāriputta); it has a weight of 75,000.<sup>53</sup>

The model of the pāsāda, about 165 cm tall (fig. 8), is in the Bangkok National Museum. Summary of the inscription: In 1727, Phayā Luang Jao Mang Phara Saphāk พญาหลวงเจ้ามังพระสแพก, who is ruler of Mūang Chiang Rāi ตนเสวยเมืองเชียงราย and Myowan Luang of Mūang Chiang Sān มะโยะโหวันหลวงเมืองเชียงแสน, together with Busabā Siri Wathana Thephā Rācha Kanyā บุชบาสิริวิวัฒนะเทพราชกัญญา and her son, the Jao Rācha But เจ้าราชบุตร by name of Phra Yōt Ngam Mūang พระยอดงา-

เมือง, cast this pāsāda, which has a weight of 96,000, in order to serve as a receptacle of Buddha image(s) and relic(s).<sup>54</sup>

From the same period of time and likewise from Chiang Sān, there is also the model of a wihān (vihāra)<sup>55</sup> which can be opened so that the interior becomes visible. The model, 102 cm high (fig. 9), is in the Ayuthayā National Museum.

Summary of the inscriptions on the wihān model: In 1726, Mūn Sara Phirom หมื่นสระภิรมย์ and his wife, who live in front of Wat Khāo Pān วัดข้าวบ้าน, presided over the foundation of this Lohajetavanavihāra. The Lohavihāra weighs 120,000 of bronze.<sup>56</sup>

The monastery, now called Wat Phā Khāo Pān วัดผ้าขาวบ้าน, is located in the town of Chiang Sān close to the bank of the

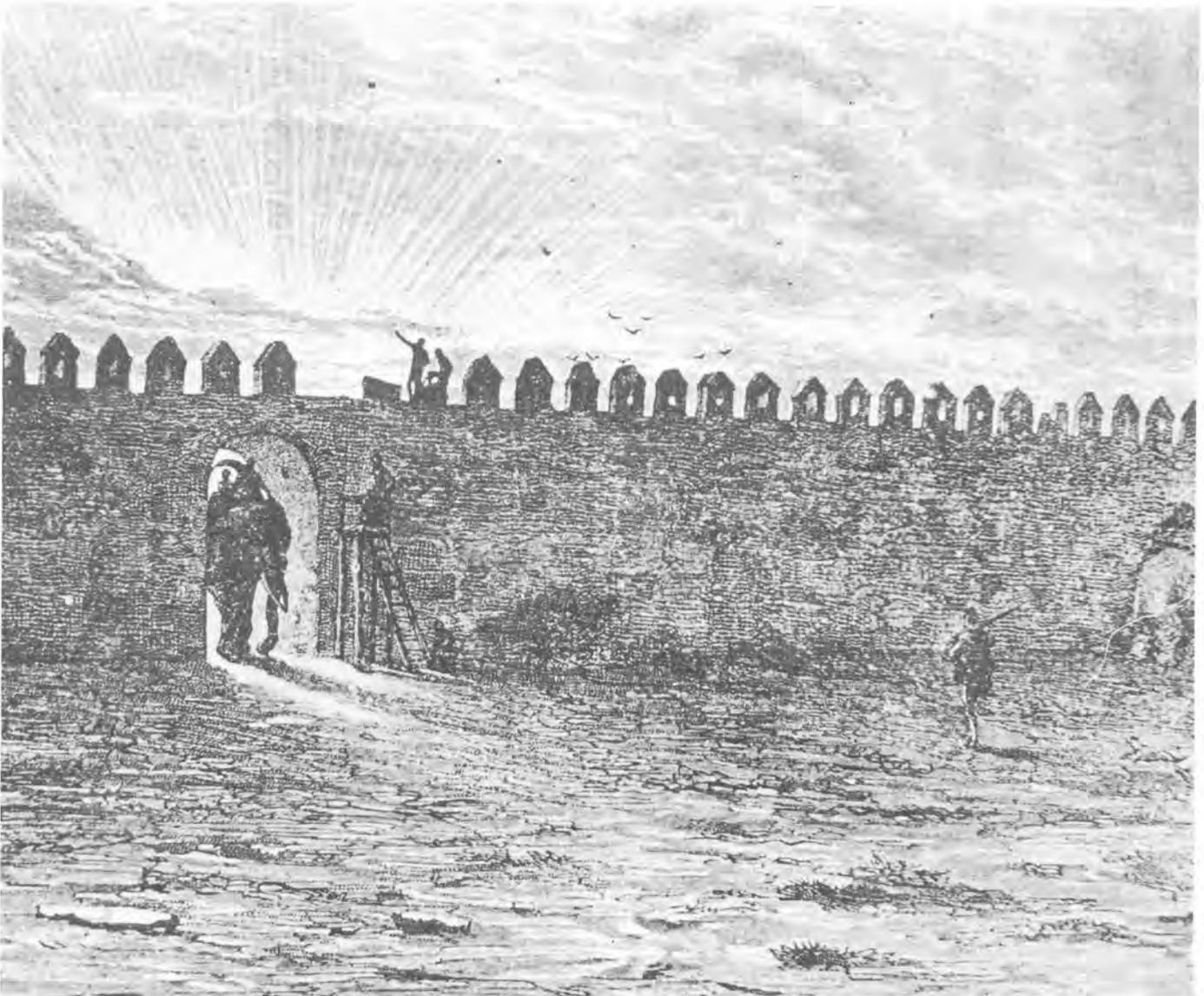


Fig. 10 Neis's picture of Chiang Rāi's city wall, 1884 A.D. Reproduction of the reproduction in *Silapa-Wathanatham ศิลปวัฒนธรรม* (6.3) B.S. 2528 (1985). 86/1/33

river. Mūn Sara Phirom's house would have been either directly on the bank of the river or only a very short distance from it, between the river and the monastery.

After the war of liberation from Burma came to an end with the recapture of Chiang Sān in 1804, the entire region was exhausted and towns and villages were depopulated. Chiang Rāi was an empty town for a number of years. It was also utterly devastated and therefore was refounded in 1844.<sup>57</sup>

During the first years after 1844, the reestablished city was protected by a stockade or palisade.<sup>58</sup> In 1858, the first part of the new city wall was built, a stretch of about 600 meters from the Nāng Ing Gate in the north to the east.<sup>59</sup> During the following years, more sections of the wall were added clockwise around the town. The final stretch of wall, from the Sī Gate to

the Chiang Mai Gate and beyond, reaching the hills in the northwest, was built in 1874.<sup>60</sup> It is not known whether these palisades and walls were built on some earlier fortifications of the city or not. The new city measured about 1.7 km from west (Dòì Jòm Thòng) to east and about 650 meters from north to south.<sup>61</sup> The gates mentioned during these years are: Pratū ("gate") Nāng Ing, Thā Nāk, Sī (locally pronounced *salī*) Jao Shāi, and Chiang Mai.<sup>62</sup>

The French physician Dr. P. Neis, who was in Chiang Rāi from 20 to 23 February 1884, either made a photograph or drew a sketch of the city wall together with an unspecified gate. From that original, Eugène Burnand made a clean copy in the form of a drawing, under the supervision of Neis. From Burnand's drawing the engraver Hildibrand (?) may have made the litho-

graph which was printed in Neis' article of 1885.<sup>63</sup> That is the only known picture of Chiang Rāi's former city wall (fig. 10).

Neis observed that on the latest maps then available (1884), the town was still called "ruins of Chiang Rāi." Therefore, upon arrival at Chiang Rāi (by boat from Luang Phra Bāng), he was surprised to see that in fact in place was a fortified city. According to him, the fortifications were somewhat dilapidated at certain spots though nonetheless impressive, and had a circumference of more than eight kilometers. But once inside the city, he found that most of the space was taken up by ruined monasteries and big gardens. The market was quite well stocked with merchandise and was visited every morning by 300-500 persons. However, apart from the market, the city had an air of desolation and solitude.<sup>64</sup>

Hallett<sup>65</sup> was in Chiang Rāi in the same year, 1884. He had this to say: "(The city) is neatly laid out, and the roads are straight, ditched, and neatly kept. The gardens of the houses are palisaded with bamboos, pointed at the top, and have strong teak entrance-gates, which are closed at night. Water is led into the town from a neighbouring stream by an aqueduct entering near the western gate. There are twelve entrances into the city, eight of which are larger than the others." But when McCarthy<sup>66</sup> visited Chiang Rāi in 1891, the situation seems to have changed in the meantime because he noted: "... the town is much neglected, being overgrown with jungle." In 1887, Younghusband<sup>67</sup> observed that the population was "small for the size of the place... There are no shops... only a daily market held at the cross roads in the middle of the town." In 1872, Vrooman<sup>68</sup> estimated that the city had about 300 houses, and that the population was between 2,000 - 3,000. In 1882, Bock<sup>69</sup> estimated that the male population of the city was about 3,500, and that the male population of the entire province (then including Chiang Sān and Fāng) was about 5,500.

Because of frequent raids by bandits, usually operating from the Shan States, the walls of Chiang Rāi were needed longer than those of other, more southerly towns. The last overhaul took place in 1899, when a new gate was added, the name of which is not known, and when a moat inside and outside the wall was dug. On the same occasion, streets in the city were laid out.<sup>70</sup>

According to oral tradition, which is corroborated by Hallett's statement quoted above, Chiang Rāi had twelve gates. But it is not known since when the city had twelve gates, since medieval times or since its reconstruction in 1844. Not all of the gates were elaborate constructions. According to Hallett, there were eight major gates and four minor gates. Probably it is one of these minor gates that is shown in Neis' picture, a simple passageway through the wall, just wide and high enough for an elephant and its rider to pass through.

I have heard, but not seen written evidence, that the walls and gates were finally dismantled in the years around 1920 on the advice of Dr. Briggs, an American missionary physician, who argued that the area along the wall and the moat was muddy and generally filthy and therefore a permanent source

of all kinds of illnesses, and that the wall also obstructed the flow of fresh air.

That piece of information may not be altogether incorrect. Dr. Briggs worked in Chiang Rāi from about 1903 to 1918; in 1910 he founded the Overbrook Hospital.<sup>71</sup> Chiang Rāi was surrounded by swamps and former riverbeds of the meandering Mā Kok, and the inner part of the town contained stagnant water. The latter problem may have been man-made, self-induced by the construction of city walls (loss of natural drainage), and by the uninterrupted feeding of fresh water into the town as reported by Hallett (Chiang Mai had a similar problem: its southeast corner was a swamp with an overflow or spillway into the moat).

A drainage channel about 1.5 km long had already been excavated in the city in 1865, from the pond Nōng Sī Jāng ท้องสี่แจ่ง (not identified, but probably in the east) to the Chiang Mai Gate in the west.<sup>72</sup> More drains or moats were dug in 1899, inside and outside the city.<sup>73</sup> The newspaper *The Lao News* reported in 1905: "Dr. Briggs of Chiang Rāi has, at the request of the government, overseen the laying out of Chiang Rāi into streets and the draining of a large part of the city which heretofore has been a malaria swamp and tiger jungle."<sup>74</sup> Hosséus,<sup>75</sup> who was in Chiang Rāi in 1905, writes of swampy, low-lying areas housing a multitude of snakes, and mentions frequent cases of mysterious cholera and typhoid illnesses. Le May,<sup>76</sup> who visited Chiang Rāi in 1914, seems to have found the city wall in a state of neglect and decay: "The city wall is built of mud, and one only catches a glimpse of it here and there..."

All this shows that Dr. Briggs may indeed have regarded the city wall as a public health hazard which gave cause for concern. And many people would have wished to obtain free bricks from the city wall.

During the period of reconstruction of the city after 1844, the city received a new city navel, *sadū müang* สะตือเมือง, in the form of a stūpa which was built in Wat Klāng Wiang วัดกลางเวียง. Some people in Chiang Rāi still remember that it was not very solid and that the debris were later removed to make room for the construction of a school building in the monastery compound.<sup>77</sup>

A Buddha image and a stūpa were built on Dòi Jòm Tòng in 1864. The stūpa collapsed in the same year and was rebuilt in 1865. It was forcibly opened (and presumably robbed) in 1899, but the perpetrator was caught and handed over to the authorities.<sup>78</sup>

Between 1985 - 1988, partly with local funds and partly with funds from the Federal Republic of Germany, plans for the revival of some items of Chiang Rāi's past were made and carried out. Thus, twelve commemorative signs at the sites of the former city gates were erected, a stretch of the old city wall was rebuilt, and a city navel pillar เสาศระตือเมือง was erected on Dòi Jòm Thòng.<sup>79</sup>



Fig. 11 The reconstructed city wall of Chiang Rāi. Photograph: Hans Penth 1988. 88/14/67

## The Reconstructed City Wall

Initially, it had been hoped that a complete city gate together with a part of the city wall could be rebuilt. But neither detailed technical descriptions nor photographs or drawings could be found other than Neis's picture, printed in 1885, which only shows part of the wall with what must have been a minor city entrance, not a "real" gate. As for the construction site, after a thorough discussion which took into account such items as traffic flow, space available, water mains, power lines, sewers and drainage, and the municipality's overall plan for the future development of the city, the site of the former Yāng Sōng Gate in the east was selected where there still was a section of the former city moat, incorporated in a little public park.

Two short stretches of wall, the northern and southern wings of the former Yāng Sōng Gate, then were rebuilt but not the gate itself. The gate was omitted because no reliable data were available. But in order to indicate that formerly there had been a gate here, each of the stretches of wall received a passageway for pedestrians modelled on the minor gate in Neis's picture. These passageways, therefore, serve a modern function and as a reminder or souvenir; they are not reconstructions

of passageways or secondary gates to the left and right of the original Yāng Sōng Gate.

The wall as it has been rebuilt can be called an authentic reconstruction based on historical evidence, as far as its location, its dimensions and its general appearance are concerned. The dimensions were calculated from Neis's picture, assuming that the elephant in the gate was 2.50 m high, which is perhaps slightly above average. The reconstructed wall, therefore, should look reasonably like Chiang Rāi's city wall around 1880 (fig. 11).<sup>80</sup>

The construction materials and construction technique used, however, are modern. The former wall almost certainly was solid and consisted of an earthen core with a mantle of bricks. The new wall is hollow. It rests on foundations in the ground and consists of a skeleton of reinforced concrete pillars and beams which are covered with two layers of bricks. The bricks were specially made of a size used in the past, 28 x 14 x 8 cm, which was the size of some old bricks that were found in the neighbourhood of the gate.

The northern stretch of wall is 26.30 m long and the southern stretch measures 43.70 m. The wall is 5.00 m high,

including the crenelations on top, and 2.50 m thick. The crenelations alone are 80 cm high. The two passageways are 3.45 m high and 1.70 m wide. The budget for the construction was ฿974,265. The new wall was ceremoniously inaugurated on 26 January 1988. A sign in three languages (modern Thai, classical Thai Yuan with Tham letters, and English) is attached to the southern stretch of wall and informs visitors.

## The City Navel Pillar

The original idea had been to build a city navel *สะดือเมือง* by erecting a pillar somewhere in suitably arranged surroundings so that people could come and pay their respects to it and certain ceremonies could be held. But after study of numerous sources on the history of Chiang Rāi, it was found that that would not do because Chiang Rāi already had a city navel, viz. the entire hill *Dòì Jòm Thòng*, which, however, by its sheer size, was unsuitable for the envisaged purpose. The idea of a pillar as a centre for worship and ceremonies was, however, not abandoned but tied to the old city navel, the hill, because there was the possibility that in the past there had been a pillar on the hill. It was therefore decided to set up a pillar at or on the hill as a symbolic centre of the city navel and to call this pillar the City Navel Pillar *เสาสะดือเมือง*.

It was agreed that the best place would be the top of the hill. However, the hilltop had been flattened and was being used as a telephone relay station complete with power house, living quarters for personnel and a huge antenna mast. The Telephone Organization of Thailand was approached as to whether they could remove the equipment since it was known that they had plans to relocate this relay station. TOT very obligingly advanced their date for relocation of the relay station and soon dismantled the equipment.

*Nāi Phithayā Bunnāk* นายพิทยา บุณนาค. special lecturer for the history of Thai architecture at the Faculty of Fine Arts, Chiang Mai University, designed the city navel pillar and planned the arrangement of its immediate environment on top of *Dòì Jòm Thòng*. His ideas were based on similar constructions of the past and therefore are filled with historical and religious meaning.

The ground plan of the site of the city navel pillar faces east, with the pillar standing on a raised platform slightly off-centre to the west (figs. 12, 13). The whole arrangement is a stylized model or an abstraction (mandala) of the universe (*cakkavāla*) according to traditional concepts in South and Southeast Asia, modelled upon such architectural microcosms as *Phnom Bakheng* (Angkor) and *Borobudur* (Java), both dating from around 900 A.D., and supplemented by items from the Thai cosmology *Traibhūmikathā* (1345?) and local tradition.<sup>81</sup>

When studying these old world models or models of the universe, one has to keep a few things in mind to avoid misunderstandings.

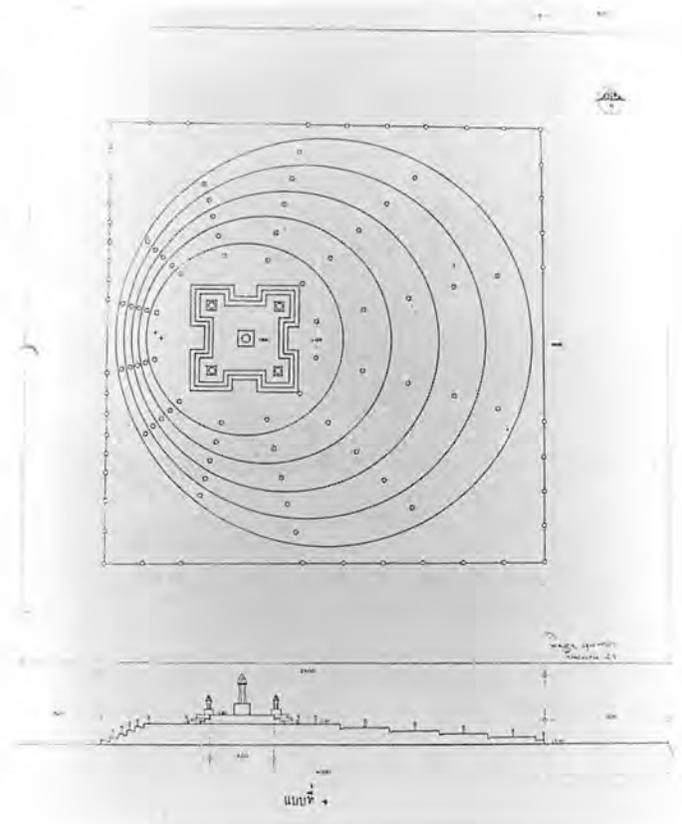


Fig. 12 Ground plan and elevation of the site of the City Navel Pillar, Chiang Rāi, without the surrounding moat. Design: *Phithayā Bunnāk* พิศยา บุณนาค. 87/18/8



Fig. 13 Aerial view of the site of the City Navel Pillar. Photograph: Hans Penth 1988. 88/4/24



Fig. 14 "Map of the cosmos" over the building covering the Buddhapāda at Bān Hua Sūa near Iom Thong, province of Chiang Mai. Photograph: Hans Pentth 1976. 76/5/7

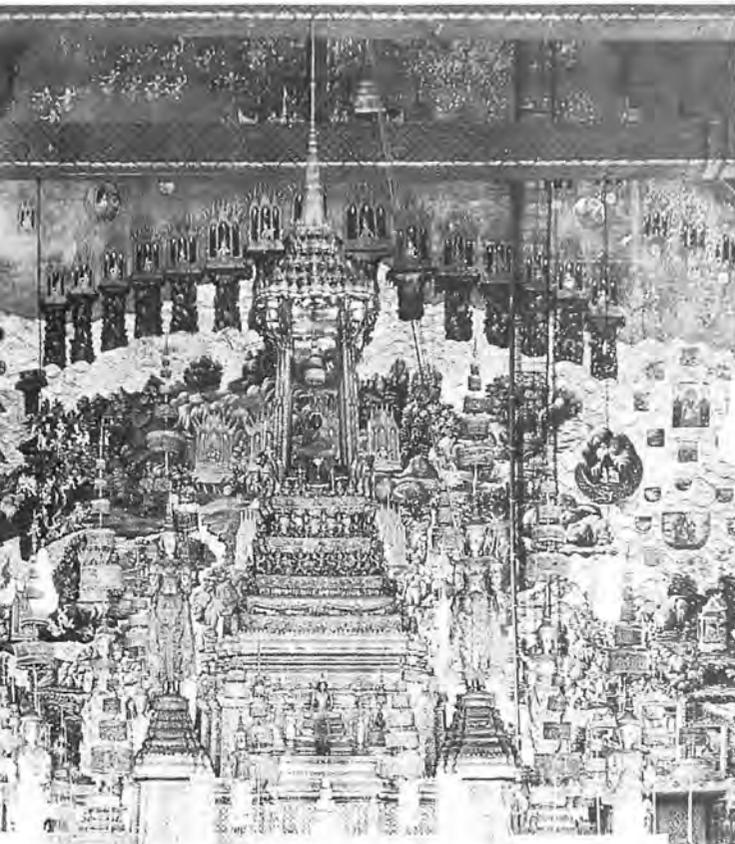


Fig. 15 "Map of the cosmos" in Wat Phra Kao, Bangkok. Reproduction from a photograph in a calendar. 86/1/36

(1) The ancient texts which explain the universe neither appear fully logical to the modern mind nor are their contents completely identical. Depending on their age, on the religious school and the geographical regions in which they were written, individual texts may accentuate one item and treat lightly or omit another. This obviously is the result of local evolution of thought through the ages, coupled with a desire to incorporate old local customs or local preferences into a world-geography the essence of which seems to have originated in India in the remote past and then been exported to regions outside India in several stages.

(2) These cosmologies invariably are complex and are difficult to visualize because they aim at being all-comprising and perfect. They try to include the physical, geographical world as it appeared to the author; the supernatural world of the gods and the heavens; Nibbāna; and even the "history" of the universe, its periodic coming into being and its decay. If it was already difficult to explain such complex things in a written treatise, one can imagine the difficulties an artist had to face who wanted to sketch this picture of the universe in two dimensions in a painting (figs. 14, 15) or the difficulties a builder had to face who wished to erect a good-sized model of the universe, big enough for people to walk around in. Both the painter and the builder by necessity had to abstract and to stylize the ideas put forward in the texts.

(3) Such a representation of the universe, whether painted or built up as an architectural structure, was not used in the modern utilitarian sense like a map or a scale model, made for quick and practical information. It was an object for meditation, the mind leisurely contemplating the various items, supplying connections left out by the artist or the builder. Thus, world-pictures or world-models did not have to be exact or to be to scale. It was enough if the contemplating person knew what was meant. The rest was supplied by his own imagination and by his schooling.

(4) It resulted that basically all old architectural models of the universe were similar, but that details were open to different interpretation, depending on the school of thought which prevailed at that locality at that time, the ability of the builder to transpose those ideas into a three-dimensional mode, and on the school of thought in which the person contemplating the model had been brought up.

The modern reconstruction in Chiang Rāi of such a traditional model of the universe incorporating the city navel pillar thus cannot completely satisfy one particular religious sect nor even one particular religion, but like its predecessors about 1000 years ago, it covers parts of ancient Hindu, Buddhist and local belief.

The surrounding moat represents the vast ocean which is situated between the limiting wall or the outer mountain range of the universe (cakkavāsilā, cakkavālapabbata) and the inner part of the universe.

The terrace of brown laterite blocks together with the lower six-step elevation represent the world of pleasures or the

sensuous world (kāmaloka). The terrace of laterite blocks represents the earth inhabited by humans (manussabhūmi), while the six-step elevation represents the six heavens which make up the lowest class of heavens: Cātummahārajika, Tāvātimsa, Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati and Paranimita-vasavatti.

The upper three-step elevation represents the triad rūpabrahmaloka, arūpabrahmaloka, and Nirodha or Nibbāna. Rūpabrahmaloka, or rūpabhūmi, is the second highest class of heavens of which there are 16 and which belong to the world of appearance. Arūpabrahmaloka or arūpabhūmi is the third highest class of heavens of which there are four and which belong to the incorporeal world.

The focal point of the site is the city navel pillar (fig. 16) which represents Mount Sineru, the axis of the universe. It rises from a triangular pedestal that represents the three mountains, Trīkūṭapabbata, on which Mount Sineru is resting. The pillar is also equated with the *jai bān* or *jai müang* pillar, the "village (or: country) heart pillar" mentioned above. Following the traditional formula, it has the height of the monarch at the time of its erection, and a diameter five times his fist. His Majesty the King graciously had the data made known to the construction committee and permitted it to use them for the Chiang Rāi city navel pillar. His Majesty anointed the pillar in Chitrlada Palace on 27 January 1988.

The city navel pillar is surrounded by 108 satellite pillars. Four of them stand close to the city navel pillar at the four corners of the upper platform and are taller than the others. These 108 satellite pillars represent major features of the universe as illustrated in detail; for instance, on the "map of the cosmos" on the wall behind the Emerald Buddha in Wat Phra Kāo, Bangkok (fig. 15), or on the Buddhapāda from Wat Phra Sing, Chiang Mai (now in the Chiang Mai Museum, fig. 17; around 1500 A.D.?).<sup>82</sup> These important features or items of the cosmos are also known as the 108 auspicious signs, mangalalakkhaṇa. On Buddha footprints they are usually found in stylized form and in rigid geometrical alignment, not in the form of the map.<sup>83</sup>

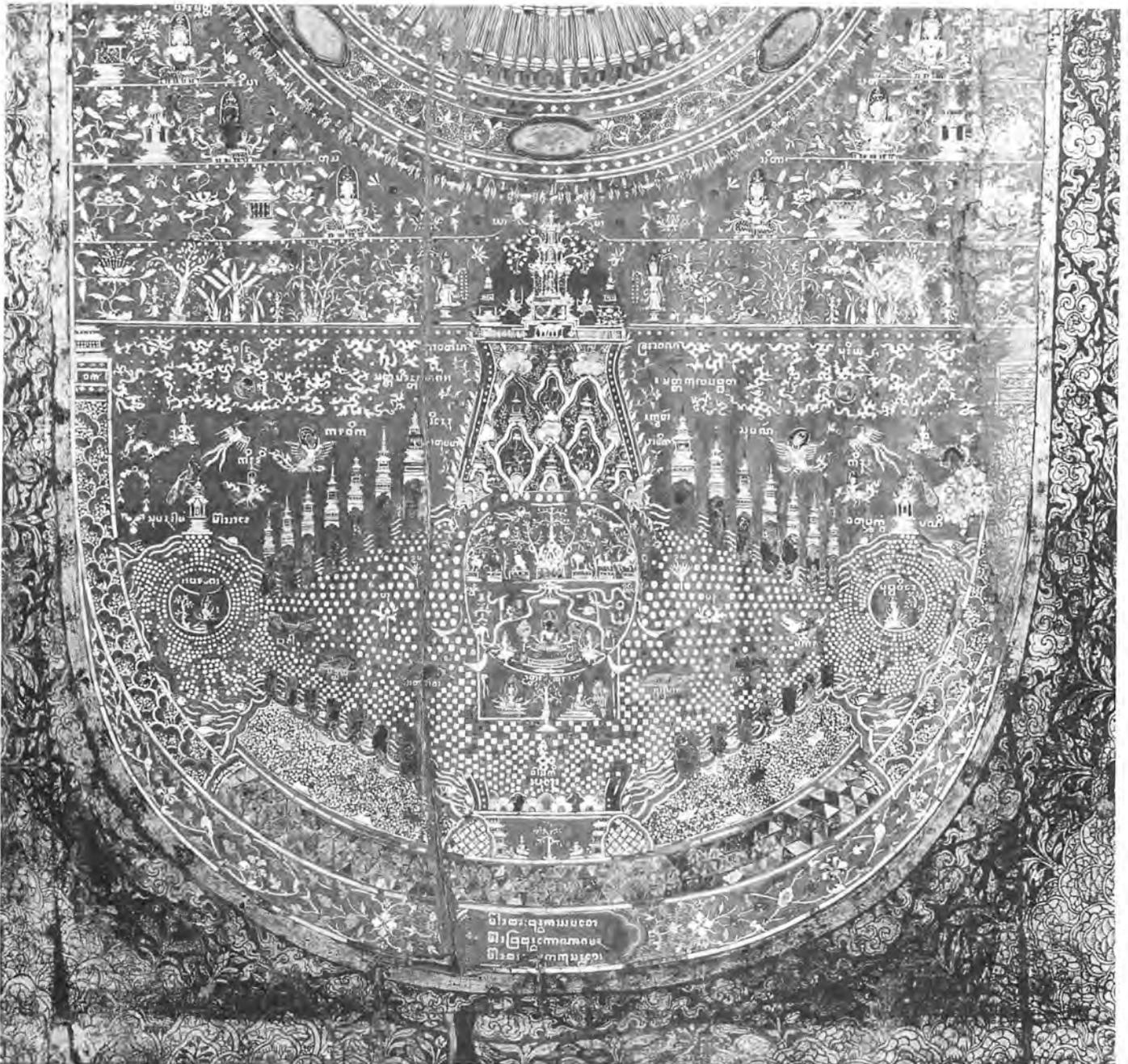
Also surrounding the city navel pillar, on five of the lower steps, are five channels collecting the rainwater which represent the five great rivers (pañcanadī) that water the earth on which we are living, the continent Jambudīpa: Gaṅga, Yamunā, Aciravati, Sarabhū, and Mahī. Like their originals, the channels drain towards the south.

The city navel pillar can be sprinkled with water by those who wish to pay their respects to it. The water is thought to become consecrated through contact with the pillar and to bring good fortune. The custom is to moisten one's head with a few drops.

Corresponding to the royal measurements, the city navel pillar is 1.72 cm high (measured from the top to where it enters the pedestal) and has a diameter of 39.8 cm. The outer terrace measures 35 x 35 m. Each step is 20 cm high. The platform on which the pedestal with the pillar is standing is 1.80 m above the level of the outer terrace. The pedestal of the pillar is 80 cm high.



Fig. 16 The City Navel Pillar เสาศระดือเมือง. Photograph: Hans Penth 1988. 88/3/12



All pillars are sculpted from Phayao granite. The sculptor was Nāi Singkham Somkhrūa นายสิงห์คำ ส้มเคี้ยว of Phayao. The shape and sculpted ornaments of the pillars are copied from Lān Nā sema stones of the 16th century, examples of which can be seen, for instance, in the Lamphūn Museum. At the northeast and southeast corners of the surrounding moat are explanatory signs with inscriptions in three languages: Modern Thai, classical Thai Yuan in Tham letters, and English. The budget for the construction of the city navel pillar and the surrounding "world-model" was ฿1,174,500. The city navel pillar was ceremoniously lowered into its pedestal on 31 January 1988 (and not on 26 January, as the inscription on the sign says).

Fig. 17 "Map of the cosmos" on the Buddhapāda of Wat Phra Sing, Chiang Mai. In the Chiang Mai National Museum. Photograph: Hans Pentz 1973. 73/9/9

## ENDNOTES

1. CMA.B.1.37; CMA.T.10; CMA.N.23; JKM.C.87; JKM.J.111; etc. A source that disagrees is CSA.W. 255 which has King Mang Rāi move into or found the town on day 4 (Wednesday), day 7 of the waxing moon, month 5, C.S. 610, a year Kun, viz. around January - February 1249. It is immediately apparent that there must be a mistake because C.S. 610 was a year Wök, not a year Kun. No known inscription mentions the date of the founding of Chiang Rāi.

2. U Ka's table, reproduced in Luce 1969 - 70 Old Burma (2) p. 336 and supplement. The same date results from Prasöt's formula of calculating the beginning of the Culasakkarāja year in terms of the Julian calendar. (The Julian calendar was used until and including 1581 A.D. From 1582 on, the Gregorian or modern calendar was officially in use, which needs a different formula).

The formula is:

1.  $(A.D. \times 2.07 + 603.07) \div 8 = A$  (disregard fractions).
2.  $(A.D. - 1) \div 4 = B$  (disregard fractions).
3.  $A - B =$  number of days from 1 January to the beginning of the C.S. in that particular A.D. year (Prasöt 1971 Wan Sāng Krung Sī Ayuthayā 93).

Example for C.S. 624:

C.S. 624 + 638 = 1262 A.D.

1.  $(1262 \times 2.07 + 603.07) \div 8 = 401$ .
2.  $(1262 - 1) \div 4 = 315$ .
3.  $401 - 315 = 86$ .

C.S. 624 began on day 86 after the beginning of 1262 A.D., counting 1 January as day 1, viz. on 27 March 1262 (86 minus 31 days for January minus 28 days for February = 27 days in March).

3. The Lān Nā calendar counts the months ahead of the Central Thai calendar by 2 numbers. For instance, month 4 in Lān Nā is called month 2 in Central Thailand although both mean the same period of time, viz. the month Phussa.

It is quite possible that the original manuscript read "day 6, month 5" (and not: day 3, month 2), because a 6 can easily be mistaken for a 3, and a 5 for a 2. If so, this work would be in agreement with the two Phayao chronicles mentioned in the following.

4. Letter by Arun Lamphen อรุณ ลำเพิน, dated 12 October 1986, to Phra Udompanyāphòn พระอุดมปัญญาภรณ์, head monk of the province of Chiang Rāi (unpublished). Letter by Arun Lamphen, dated 31 October 1986, to Phra Udompanyāphòn (published in: Chiang Rāi 1987 Anusòn 725 pī 24 - 26).

If the chronicles and the astrologer's calculations are not mistaken, Chiang Rāi was 725 years old on 26 January 1988, B.S. 2531, the day of the inauguration of the newly rebuilt stretch of city wall. The city had officially celebrated its 725th anniversary one year before, on 26 January 1987, B.S. 2530, because of an erroneous calculation: B.S. 1805 (year of foundation + 725 = B.S. 2530. However, due to the calendar adjustment of 1940 (which was made to have the B.S. begin on 1 January instead of on 1 April), the B.S. 2483 began on 1 April 1940 (as in previous years) and ended after only 9 months on 31 December 1940. On 1 January 1941 began B.S. 2484 which ended on 31 December 1941. There were no January, February and March B.S. 2483. Upon Jan/Feb/Mar B.S. 2482 followed one year later Jan/Feb/Mar 2484. January, February

and March of the modern B.S. therefore are in advance by 1 year over the old B.S. Thus, when at present calculating the age of an object made (or the age of a person born) during Jan/Feb/Mar in or before B.S. 2482, one has to subtract one year; but for calculations in terms of the A.D. year, no change is necessary.

Example:

A person born on 25 Jan 1937 (B.S. 2479) is 51 years old on 25 Jan 1988 (B.S. 2531):  $1988 - 1937 = 51$ .  $2531 - 2479 = 52$ ;  $52 - 1$  (the missing Jan 2483) = 51.

A person born on 6 May 1937 (B.S. 2480) is 51 years old on 6 May 1988 (B.S. 2531):  $1988 - 1937 = 51$ .  $2531 - 2480 = 51$ .

5. Shorto 1971 Dict. Mon Inscriptions 258 s.v. *bañā*. According to Shorto, the earliest attested use of the title *phayā* in Burma is in 1455 in a Mon inscription. In Lān Nā, the title is attested for the first time in the Wat Phra Yün inscription (Lamphün) which dates from c. 1371 (published i.a. by Griswold / Prasöt 1974 Inscr. Wat Phra Yün).
6. Luce 1961 Man Shu Introduction; 1; 43. Fan Ch'ò completed his book Man Shu in c. 863 A.D.
7. Phayre 1883 History of Burma 276 - 279.
8. Griswold / Prasöt 1974 Inscr. Wat Phra Yün.
9. Inscription of Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai, 1581 A.D. (see: Griswold / Prasöt 1977 Inscr. Wat Chiang Man).
10. Inscription from the Phra Suwanna Mahā Wihān, Phayao, 1411 A.D.

- (see: Thöm / Prasān 1980 Inscr. Wat Phra Suwanna Mahā Wihān).
11. Inscription on the main Buddha image in Wat Chai Phra Kiat, Chiang Mai, dated 1566 A.D. (see: Penth 1976 Jārūk thī thān phra Phuttha rūp, image no. 22).
  12. See the attempts in the Chronicle of Chiang Mai to explain the king's name, Mang Rāi; for instance CMA.N.21; CMA.B.37 - 38; CMA.T.9; CMA. HP. 1. 11V; see also: Prachākit 1907 Phongs. Yōnok 132.  
  
I was wrong to assume that *mang* was part of the personal name of the king (Penth 1983 Prawat Lān Nā 57 - 61).
  13. CMA.N.20,74; CMA.T.8; JKM.C/F.87, 91; Thewalōk 1963 Jotmāihet hōn 86.
  14. Capital of the Sip Sōng Pan Nā, Yünnan, on the west bank of the Mā Khōng river, about 250 km northeast of Chiang Rāi.
  15. CTU.SM.224 - 227, 234. Capital of an eastern Shan state of the same name in northeast Burma, about 150 km north of Chiang Rāi.
  16. CMA.B.1.37; CMA.HP.1.12.R; CMA. T.10. The wording in CMA.HP is: / "... คาร กู กท่า มอร ทอย ที่ เปน สที้ คี ทำ กลาง เมือง คาร แล" เจ้า พรยา ม่ ราย จึง ส้าง วงม ทอย จอม ทอง ที่ มี ทำ กลาง วงม ส้าง โน ปลี่ เท้า เสศ สกราศ ๖๒๔ ตัว บรากฎ สี ภา เมือง ชยง ราย หั้น แล/.
  17. Phayā Mang Rāi founded Chiang Mai on Thursday, 12 April 1296 or one week later, on Thursday, 19 April 1296 (Griswold / Prasöt 1977 Inscr. Wat Chiang Man 114 n. 7).
  18. Large-scale maps or photographs taken from the air show that the Mā Kok has changed its bed many times. The last time the Mā Kok changed its bed at Chiang Rāi was in 1904 when it cut short a big loop (Hosséus 1912 König Tschulalong-korns Reich 181, 190). That may have been the big loop at Dòi Jòm Thōng which looks like a more recently abandoned watercourse.
  19. Sao Intakhin, from *sao* (Thai) "pillar" + Indakhīla (Pāli) "God Indra's Pillar." Chiang Mai's Sao Intakhin is rumoured to be of stone, about 50 cm tall. But no living person has seen it; it is embedded in an octagonal brick-work structure standing in its own house in Wat Jedī Luang.
  20. Nāi In Sujai นายอินทร์ สุใจ. member of the committee for the construction of Chiang Rāi's city navel pillar and city wall (see below), produced during our examination of historical sources the photocopy of a page of a paper leporello manuscript, written in Tham Lān Nā letters and in the Yuan dialect, which contained the above information. I thought that the figures 5, 7 and 9 were doubtful. The original manuscript of Nāi In's photocopy was not available for inspection. But another committee member, Nāi Bunyang Chumsī นายบุญยัง ชุมศรี, confirmed that he had seen the same figures in another manuscript.
  21. Old Phrāo covers two hills with earthen walls around their slopes. At least the southern hill has a triple wall. The hills are interconnected by additional walls (Penth 1972 Old Phrāo).
  22. Thāo, in Lān Nā, denoted a prince of the highest rank.
  23. According to JKM. But CMA says: r. 1367 - 1388.
  24. Phra Sing or Phra Phuttha Sihing (Sihāḷapaṭimā): JKM.C/F.100 - 102; JKM.J.124 - 126. Phra Kāo or Phra Kāo Morakot (Ratanabimba): JKM.C/R.115; JKM.J.145. How much of the early history of these images is fiction and how much is historical fact, still has to be found out.
  25. JKM.C/F.103; JKM.J.127.
  26. According to a tradition in Wat Phra Kāo Dòn Tao, Lampāng, the Phra Kāo was kept in this monastery between 1436 - 1468. But according to JKM, the image was moved from Chiang Rāi during the time of Phayā Ti Lōk and reached Chiang Mai, after a stay in Lampāng, in 1481 (JKM.C/F.112, 115; JKM.J.140, 145).
  27. The full title and name of the prince were, according to the inscription: Phò Yua Jao Müang Thāo Mūi Chiang Rāi / พ่อ ญวี่ เจา เมือง ทาว มุย ชยง ราย /. In the Lamphūn Museum the inscription is registered as ลพ./21. ALI 1.4.1.1 Dòi Tham Phra 2027 / 1484. It was published by Schmitt 1898 Inscr. Dòi Tham Phra; ( . . . ) 1965 Inscr. Dòi Tham Phra; and Thöm / Prasān 1974 Inscr. Dòi Tham Phra.
  28. CMA.N.178; CMA.T.82; CRA. PR.29 - 30; CSÄ. PP. 203 - 204; CSÄ.W.282; Prachākit 1907 Phongs. Yōnok 321. See also footnote 42.
  29. CMA.T.81; CMA.N.172; CRA. PR. 26. Prachākit 1907 Phongs. Yōnok 312. CRA.WPL.19 does not mention a revolt but says that in that year Phayā Chiang Rā (sic) came to Chiang Rāi.
  30. CRA.WPL. 6.
  31. CSÄ.PP.203; CSÄ.W.282; CRA.PR. 30; Prachākit 1907 Phongs. Yōnok 321. Should the middle syllable be read kòi ทอย not kyò ? Müang Rai, also M. Rāi, Meng Hai or Po-hai, is a town in the Sip Sōng Pan Nā, c. 40 km west of Chiang Rung, towards Chiang Tung.
  32. CSÄ.PP.204; CSÄ.W.282; CRA.PR. 30; CRA.WPL.7; Prachākit 1907 Phongs. Yōnok 323 - 324.

33. CSÄ.PP.204; CSÄ.W.205; Prachākit 1907 Phongs. Yōnok 324. Phra Rācha Wisutthisōphon, the translator of CSA.W, understood this to mean a girls' boat race or a regatta: เขาผู้หญิงพายเรือแข่งกันเป็นมหาดปอยบางใหญ่ (CSÄ.W.283).
34. CSÄ.PP.205; CSÄ.W.283; CRA.PR.31 - 32; CRA.WPL.1, 7.
35. CMA.N.179; CMA.T.82; Prachākit 1907 Phongs. Yōnok 324 - 325.
36. CSÄ.PP.205 - 206; CSÄ.W.283.
37. CSÄ.PP.206; CSÄ.W.283.
38. CSÄ.PP.206; CSÄ.W.283 - 284.
39. CSÄ.PP.206 - 207; CSÄ.W.284.
40. CRA.PR.33 - 34.
41. CSÄ.PP.207.
42. CRA.PR.34-35. Although Chiang Mai, Lamphūn etc. are not included in this "whole of Lān Nā," this confirms that Chiang Sān etc. were independent of Chiang Mai etc.
43. CSÄ.PP.207 (the text says ยอดคำเมือง instead of ยอดจำเมือง); CSÄ.W.284. See also below the inscriptions on the Buddha images.
44. CRA.PR.33.
45. CMA.N.181 - 182; CMA.T.83 - 84.
46. CRA.PR.33, 35.
47. CRA.PR.35; CRA.WPL.1, 7.
48. CRA.WPL.1, 7.
49. CMA.N.182; CMA.T.84.
50. ALI 1.4.3.2 Ārām Sī Song Māng B.S. 2269 / 1726 A.D. Published in Griswold 1954 Buddha Images of Northern Thailand; Griswold 1957 Dated Buddha Images, no. 101; Griswold 1960 Five Chieng Sēn Bronzes 199 - 204. The date given in the inscription is: Friday, day 6 of the waxing moon, month 2, C.S. 1088, which according to Roger Billard, Paris, corresponds to Friday, 29 November 1726 (Griswold 1960 Five Chieng Sēn Bronzes 202). The weight indicated corresponds to about 350 kg.
51. ALI 1.4.3.2. Chiang Rāi B.S. 2270 / 1727 A.D. (?).
52. Personal communication from the abbot, whom I knew well. But he could not remember the year, only that it must have been long before B.S. 2500 = 1957 A.D.
53. ALI 1.4.3.2 Wat Ngam Mūang B.S. 2269 / 1727 A.D. (1) and (2); Griswold 1957 Dated Buddha Images, no. 100 (only Moggalāna); Griswold 1960 Five Chieng Sēn Bronzes 11 - 21. The date given in the inscription is: Tuesday, day 13 of the waning moon, month 4, C.S. 1088, which according to Billard corresponds to Tuesday, 18 February 1727 (Griswold 1960 Five Chieng Sēn Bronzes 15, 20 - 21). The weight indicated corresponds to about 75 kg.
54. ALI 1.4.3.1. Chiang Rāi B.S. 2270 / 1727 A.D.; Cham 1952 Inscr. Bronze Pāsāda; Griswold 1960 Five Chieng Sēn Bronzes 101 - 108; Cham 1965 Inscr. Bronze Pāsāda.
55. In Lān Nā, the wihān (vihāra) is the main assembly hall of a monastery. It contains the principal Buddha image พระประธาน and represents the Buddha's own living quarters or Kuṭī.
56. ALI 1.4.3.1 Chiang Sān B.S. 2269 / 1726 A.D.; Kasem 1966 Model Vihāra. The date given in the inscription is: Monday, day Mōng Mao, day 7 of the waxing moon, month 7, C.S. 1088, year Rawāi Sangā, (Ma)mia, which according to Billard corresponds to Monday, 6 May 1727 (Kasem 1966 Model Vihāra 132).
57. CRA.P.T.143.
58. CRA.P.T.144.
59. CRA.P.T.145. The text says that this stretch of wall was 350 wā long.
60. CRA.P.T.145 - 146.
61. CRA.P.T.145 says that the new city was "976 wā long" (viz. from east to west) "and 356 wā wide" (viz. from north to south). This matches well with the remains from the past, such as the location of former city gates, moats, layout of roads, etc.
62. CRA.P.T.145 - 146.
63. Neis 1885 Haut Laos. "Tous les dessins de ce voyage ont été faits par M. Eugène Burnand, d'après des photographies ou les croquis et les indications de l'auteur" (ibid. p. 65). The names Burnand and Hildibrand (the latter perhaps the engraver?) appear at the bottom of the printed sketch (ibid. p. 69). This sketch of the city wall with a gate is reproduced in Sumet 1970 Seen, frontispiece, and in the monthly magazine Silapa-Wathatham ศิลปวัฒนธรรม, vol 6.3, B.S. 2528 (1985) p. 61. I would like to thank M. Thomas Baude, director of the Alliance Française, Chiang Mai, for the trouble he took to obtain a photocopy of Neis's article for me, which was not so easy.
64. Neis 1885 Haut Laos 68. The circumference of the walls of Chiang Rāi must have been about 4.5 - 5 km, not "not less than 8 km."
65. Hallett 1890 Thousand Miles 157.
66. McCarthy n.d. Journals 55; McCarthy 1902 Surveying 143.
67. Younghusband 1888 Eighteen Hundred Miles 43.
68. Vrooman, in: Presbyterian Board 1884 Siam and Laos 530.

69. Bock 1885 *Im Reiche* 321.
70. CRA. P.T.150.
71. Wells 1958 *Protestant Work* 104.
72. CRA.P.T.145-146.
73. CRA.P.T.150.
74. Wells 1958 *Protestant Work* 86.
75. Hosséus 1912 *König Tschulalongkorns Reich* 182.
76. Le May 1986 *Asian Arcady* 197.
77. CRA.P.T.146 and personal communication from several persons in Chiang Rāi.
78. CRA.P.T.145, 150.
79. The governor of the province of Chiang Rāi, Nāi Arām Iam-arun นายอร่าม เอี่ยมอรุณ, initiated the project and supervised its implementation together with a committee of scholars, government officials and some private citizens. Seven persons from Chiang Mai University participated in the project: M.L. Bhansoon Ladavalaya ม.ล. พันธุ์สุรีย์ ลดาวัลย์ (director, Social Research Institute; project director), Manī Phayōmyong มณี พยอมยงค์, Bāli Phuttharakasā บาลี พุทธรักษา, Phithayā Bunnāk พิทยา บุญนาค, Asdāng Pōrānānon อัษฎางค์ ปราณานนท์, Silao Ketphrom ศรีเลา เกษพรหม, and myself (committee chairman). For more details, see: Penth 1988 *City Wall and City Navel* 22 - 24.
80. Although the rebuilt wall is the result of the best efforts that could be made under the circumstances, it is less than a perfect reconstruction with respect to certain details of its appearance. Neis's picture, as printed in 1885, probably has distorted the dimensions of the crenelations. Judging from other northern city walls, the crenelations should have been a little broader and perhaps a little higher. The space between the individual crenelations might have been less. Nonetheless, the crenelations were rebuilt according to the picture because it was the only available authority. The thickness of the wall and of the crenelations could not be accurately calculated from the picture.
81. Heine-Geldern 1930 *Weltbild and Bauform*. Coedès 1947 *Mieux comprendre Angkor* 86 - 103. Coedès 1964 *Etats* 170 - 171, 210 - 211. TBK.C+A.5-7, 233 - 254.
82. Penth 1975 *Buddhapāda*.
83. One reason for their presence on *Buddhapādas* might be that the Buddha was regarded as having mastered the cosmos, as being its spiritual lord. Details concerning the 108 signs are found, for instance, in the cosmology *Traibhūmikathā* or in the lists which accompany or explain the signs on Buddha footprints. These lists, although similar enough, show quite a number of variants (Albaster 1871 *Wheel of the Law*; Bizot 1971 *Figuration*; Griswold / Prasöt 1971 *Inscr. Wat Traphang*; Penth 1975 *Buddhapāda*; TBK.C+A).

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ALI - Archive of Lān Nā Inscriptions, Social Research Institute, Ching Mai University,

BEFEO - Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

B.S. - Buddhasakkarāja (พ.ศ.).

c. - circa, approximately.

C.S. - Culasakkarāja (จ.ศ.).

JSS - Journal of the Siam Society.

ms - manuscript.

r. - ruled.

s.v. - sub voce (lemma or heading in a dictionary).

Words between slashes / . . . / are transliterations from original sources.