

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

The peninsular area of South Siam has played an important rôle in Southeast Asian history from earliest times. This narrow neck of the Malay Peninsula has always been ideally suited to share in the development of the region as a whole. Geographically it is both part of the land bridge between mainland Southeast Asia and the island world further south, and a key sector of the great land barrier between the South China Sea and the Bay of Bengal (Map 1).

The importance of the isthmian region is attested as early as the first centuries of the Christian Era, with Chinese, Indian, and Mediterranean authors all pointing to the existence of small states on the peninsula.<sup>1</sup> These included Lanikasuka (probably in the Patani region), Takkola (on the west coast of the Isthmus of Kra), a state in the region of present-day Kedah, and Tāmbraṅga (in the vicinity of modern Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, i.e. Ligor or Nakhon Si Thammarāt). These states and the sub-regions they represent persist through the centuries which follow, under a variety of names. Of these, it was Tāmbraṅga which, in the long run, came to assume the greatest significance. On epigraphic evidence, it was this state that became a major pole in the Empire of Śrīvijaya. It is indeed the Ligor inscription of A. D. 775 which provides the earliest evidence of Śailendra rule over Śrīvijaya;<sup>2</sup> and the Vāt Hua Vian inscription of Jaiyā of the late twelfth or

---

<sup>1</sup>See Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese (Kuala Lumpur, 1961), chs. I, II, IX, X, XI; and G. Coedès, The Indianized States of Southeast Asia (Honolulu, 1968), pp. 38-40.

<sup>2</sup>Coedès, Indianized states, p. 91.

thirteenth century<sup>3</sup> recalls perhaps the last shades of that Sumatran connection. It was the same region which provided a contender for the Angkorian throne at the beginning of the eleventh century,<sup>4</sup> and it was apparently the source of two major invasions of Ceylon in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Finally, as Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, or Siridharmarājanagara, the same locality was an important way-station for the transmission of Sinhalese Theravāda Buddhism to Siam and Cambodia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, demonstrating thereby its close connections with Ceylon and with the states to the north. And it was one of these northern states, the fledgling Thai Empire of Sukhodāya, which brought this region under its suzerainty in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

For all its early importance, the region of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja has received surprisingly little attention in its own right from modern historians. Its earliest "indianization" is overshadowed by developments in Funan and its Cambodian successors, yet clearly the region retained importance as a "relay station" and continued to be of political importance in Khmer affairs. Its relationship with Śrīvijaya remains obscure, no less so than its relations with Malay states on the peninsula which share a similar Buddhist past. The necessity of treating Nagara in a wider geographical and political context is underlined by its involvement in the politics of Ceylon, and by its Buddhist connections in the thirteenth century. (These episodes, for example, strongly suggest that Nagara also controlled one or more ports on the Bay of Bengal.) Nagara's connection with Sukhodāya is often mentioned but poorly explored, and none has attempted to explain how Nagara made its way into the Empire of Ayudhyā. The principality clearly was important to Siam's relations with Malacca in the fifteenth century, and to broader relations with all the

---

<sup>3</sup>A contentious date, the latest word on which is J. G. de Casparis, "The Date of the Grahi Buddha," JSS, LV, pt. 1 (Jan. 1967), 31-40.

<sup>4</sup>Coedès, Indianized states, pp. 134-37; corrected in IC, VII, pp. 171-72.

<sup>5</sup>See Coedès, Indianized states, pp. 184-85; and C. Nicholas and ~~SB~~ Paranavitana, Concise History of Ceylon (Colombo, 1961), pp. 281-89.

<sup>6</sup>Coedès, Indianized states, p. 205.

Malay states of the peninsula as late as 1909, yet such subjects have never been seriously examined.

The reasons for historians' saneglect of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja are as simple as the subject is serious. South Siam has none of the epigraphic riches characteristic of the north, and its role in imperial affairs was ignored by the court chronicles of Ayudhyā and Bangkok. Furthermore, it seems likely that Ligor over most of its history enjoyed saconsiderable autonomy, to such an extent that its local life and adventures in Malay politics were of little concern to Ayudhyā. The region has, however, strong indigenous historical traditions in the form of oral legend and written chronicles, some of very saconsiderable antiquity. The chief of these sources, presented here, have much to contribute to the examination of such problems as those outlined above.

It is perhaps excessive to hope that these materials will speak for themselves. Their blending of myth, literature, and history demands of those who would use them sahigh critical skills. Their chronology is often confused. Their very words are often obscure and uncertain. The fact remains, however, that such sources as these are the point at which much earlier Southeast Asian history begins to become truly indigenous sa

It is, accordingly, with these sources that this study begins. The texts of the two major chronicles of Ligor are discussed at length in Chapter Two, and the broader Thai historiographical context in which they are set is the subject of Chapter Three. The four chapters which follow and conclude this volume set forth English satranslations of the major texts, with but a minimum of annotation. Little attempt is made in this volume to assess the contributions these texts make to the study of the early history of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja, though much of their significance should be readily apparent to those generally familiar with the subject. The author hopes that it might eventually prove possible to conclude this study with a second volume, of which four chapters already have been drafted, in which the evidence of these sources might be put together with that long known from other sources in a synthetic and analytic treatment of the early sahistory of Nagara. In addition to a chronological account of the region from the

eleventh to the sixteenth century, it should be possible also to analyze the geographical evidence of the texts, the origins and development of Theravāda Buddhism in southern Siam, and the early economy of the region, and to suggest how administration functioned in its social and economic environment. These are important problems that resist easy definition or quick resolution. One would hope that the prior availability of the basic texts upon which successful treatment depends might encourage others to consider the best means of bringing their evidence to bear upon our still stumbling knowledge.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE COMPLICATIONS OF A TEXTUAL TRADITION

The region of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja, like similar old principalities of the Tai world from Assam and Yunnan to Campāsāk, has a rich written history. Unlike other areas, however, and especially in contrast to the ancient principalities of North Thailand and Laos, the traditions of Nagara are but little known. That this is so may be due in part to the accident of their late discovery by the outside world. The late Professor Coedès was working at the Vajirañāna National Library in Bangkok at the time most of the records of the history of the North were being acquired and published, while the chief sources for the history of the South, though discovered earlier, were published in Bangkok only later. Thus Coedès' important early work on the history of the North, published in 1925,<sup>1</sup> which first drew scholarly attention to the Jinakālamāli and Cāmadevivāmsa, was matched by no corresponding interest in the materials on the history of the South.

Even more important to the neglect of the materials on the history of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja, however, is their great difficulty as texts. There are two chief texts, below termed "Version A" and "Version B", on the history of Nagara. Both are of uncertain date and authorship. Both contain dates and relate incidents difficult to reconcile with the accepted chronology and sequence of Thai history. Both are generally available only in editions hastily prepared for publication without any critical apparatus; and the history of the South is so little known that historians have lacked any context into which to set them. This

---

<sup>1</sup>G. Coedès, "Documents sur l'histoire religieuse et politique du Laos occidental," BEFEO, XXV (1925), 1-202.

being the case, it is necessary first of all to deal at some length with the textual problems of Nagara's history, before any conclusions can be drawn from these important texts.

### Version A

The "Chronicle of mo'añ Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja (tāmnān mo'añ nagara śrī dharrmarāja), which throughout this study has been termed "Version A," was discovered in that city by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab at the beginning of this century. With the carelessness all too characteristic of such publications of texts in Thailand--which, it must be said, are intended for the general public and not for scholars, and generally are prepared for publication in great haste--the editor of its first (1939) printed edition, Prītā Śrījalālāya,<sup>2</sup> provided only the barest of notes concerning the text of the work, or the principles which guided his edition of it. To quote the note in full:

The original manuscript is badly deteriorated. It is a white Thai [accordian-folded] book (samut daiy khāv) written in black ink in the compressed Thai script (ākṣara daiy yò). There are lacunae in many places.<sup>3</sup>

The second printed edition, published on the cremation of Ācina Līmpijāti in Bangkok on 27 September 1948 has a more extensive preface, signed "Fine Arts Department" (kram śilpākara) but written probably by Tri Amatyakul. This preface reproduces the information provided in the 1939 edition, and suggests that this 1948 edition was printed directly from the 1939 edition, without corrections or examination of the earlier edition for typographical errors.<sup>4</sup> The third publication of the

---

<sup>2</sup>Inferred from the initials "P.Ś." which appear at the end of the preface to the edition published on the cremation of nānsāv Bròm na Nagara. The preface is dated 3 March, and the volume was published on 15 March B.E. 2481 = A.D. 1939.

<sup>3</sup>Tāmnān mo'añ nagara śrī dharrmarāja (Bangkok, March 2481 - 1939), page k.

<sup>4</sup>Tāmnān mo'añ nagara śrī dharrmarāja (Bangkok, 1948), pp. k-kh. Again in this case, the preface is dated 22 September, only five days before actual publication on 27 September.

text came on the occasion of the cremation of General Caubrahya Patin-dratedejānujita (Yem na Nagara) in 1962, when the chronicle was included in a collection of ten pieces relating to the town and province of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja and its ruling family.<sup>5</sup> The same collection has since been reprinted in 1964,<sup>6</sup> 1967,<sup>7</sup> and 1974,<sup>8</sup> titles and contents varying slightly on each occasion.

The original manuscript comes as a considerable surprise to one previously familiar only with one of the published versions of the chronicle. It bears the title given above, and is kept in the Manuscripts Section of the National Library in Bangkok, where it has been catalogued as "Baṅśātāra [Chronicles], no. 36/C." It bears a label (obscuring half of page 1B) listing its provenance simply as "Gift of Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. ṣa" As a number of other manuscripts in the same collection and from the same locality bear the date of 1908 for Prince Damrong's gift, this may be assumed to be of a similar date. He would seem to have procured this and other manuscripts from officials and public institutions when in Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja on official tour as Minister of Interior.

Physically, the manuscript is an accordian-folded khòy paper manuscript which measures approximately 10 x 30 cm. folded, or approximately 230 x 30 cm. unfolded. It is composed of three strips of paper, the glued seams occurring in f<sup>o</sup> 8 and f<sup>o</sup> 15. It unfolds in twenty-one double faces on the obverse and twenty-one on the reverse. Each open fold has an upper (A) and lower (B) portion, on each of which there are six or seven lines of text written across the breadth of the page. The text is incomplete, as the first face of the unopened MS. (f<sup>o</sup> 1B) begins in mid-sentence, and the last face of the obverse (f<sup>o</sup> 21B) is not directly connected to what follows on the page we have numbered f<sup>o</sup> 23A. In each

---

<sup>5</sup>Ruam ro'añ mo'añ nagara śrī dharrmarāja (Bangkok, 1962), pp. 46-63.

<sup>6</sup>Ro'sañ mo'añ nagara śrī dharrmarāja (Bangkok: Crem. of Carās Viśesadhāra, 1964), pp. 46-63ṣa

<sup>7</sup>Ro'añ mo'añ nagara śrī dharrmarāja (Bangkok: Crem. of Talāp Cāndrādībya, 1967), pp. 46-63.

<sup>8</sup>Mo'añ nagara śrī dharrmarāja (Bangkok: Crem. of Tirek na Nagara, 1974); edition not yet seen.

case, however, little is missing. On the basis of the text of Version B, it seems reasonable to assume that only one-half face is missing preceding f<sup>o</sup> 1B (a face which would have had the text of f<sup>o</sup> 1A on the obverse and a title page, or mid-title page, on the reverse), and probably one-half face missing following f<sup>o</sup> 21B. The accompanying figure (Figure 1) shows this reconstructed layout of the manuscript.

This reconstruction, however, appears rather clearer than it perhaps should be. If the order of the printed version is to be followed, the text of the chronicle begins on f<sup>o</sup> 35A, continues over a short gap left by the missing f<sup>o</sup> 1A, resumes on f<sup>o</sup> 1B, and returns (with a qualification to be noted below) to f<sup>o</sup> 34B, or to f<sup>o</sup> 21A--depending upon our acceptance of the original editor's judgment as to the end of the text. The MS. pages have been numbered in this fashion in accordance with the decision of Prince Damrong and/or the staff of the old Vajirañāṇa National Library to place the label identifying the MS. on what has been numbered f<sup>o</sup> 1B, and to follow the order in which the pages have been microfilmed.<sup>8</sup> A case, however, could be made for a different numbering, in which ff<sup>o</sup> 23A-43B would be numbered 1A-21B, and ff<sup>o</sup> 1B-21B would become 22B-42B.

Manuscript A is written in what is conventionally known as the "compressed" script, and it is both generally characteristic of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and clearly distinguishable from scripts of the nineteenth century. Very little systematic work has been done on Thai paleography beyond what Coedès wrote in the 1920's, and his remarks warrant quotation in extenso:<sup>9</sup>

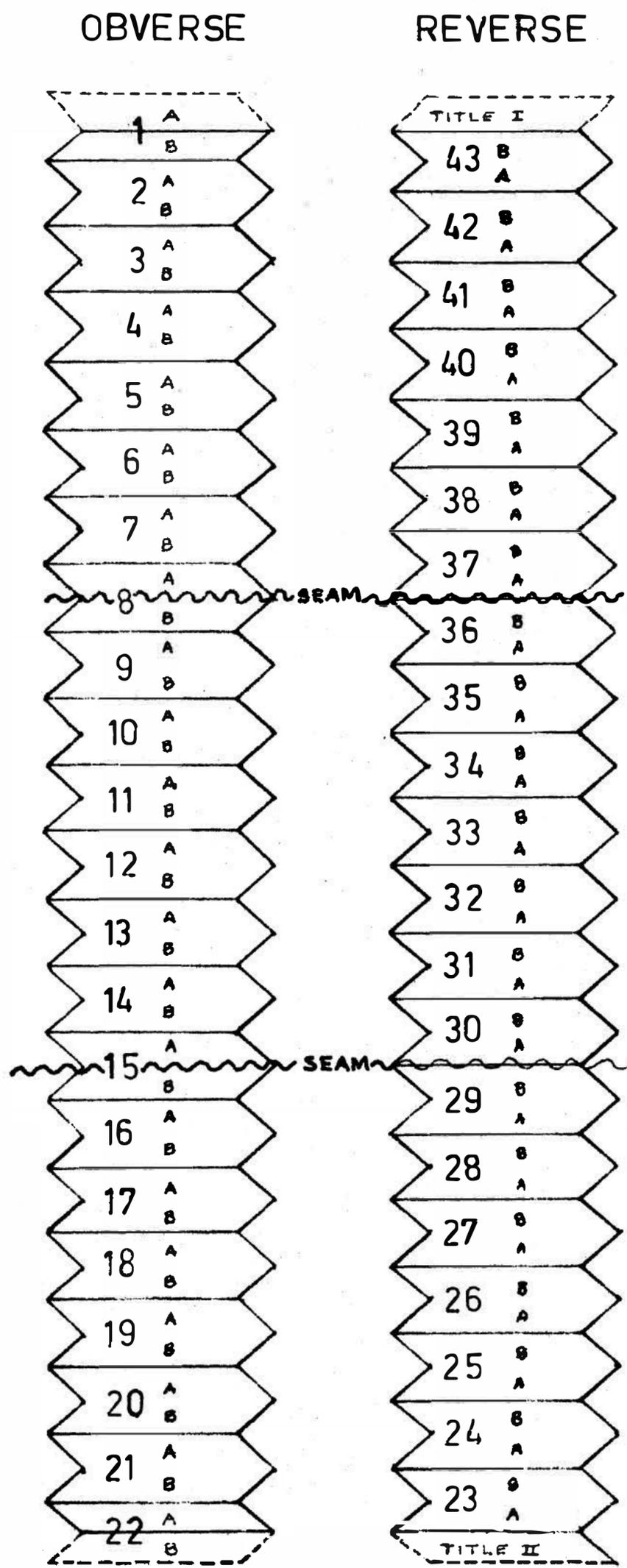
The characteristics of the Thai alphabet in the reign of King Nārāyaṇa the Great [1657-88] are not very different from the Thai alphabet of the present; and only two or three of the Thai letters of the Old Capital [Ayudhyā] period differ from the letters of Sukhodāya. For example, the letter  changed to  , the letter  changed to  , the letter  changed to  , and finally, the letter 

---

<sup>8</sup> Positive prints of this film are on deposit in the Wason collection at Cornell, and in the library of the University of Malaya. MS. A is the tenth item on the film.

<sup>9</sup> G. Coedès, Tāpnān āksara daiy [History of the Thai Alphabet] 2nd ed. (Bangkok, 1926), p. 17.

FIGURE 1  
LAYOUT OF MS. A



changed to ๒ . Otherwise, all the Thai letters of the Old Capital and Rātanakosindra [Bangkok] periods are similar to the Thai letters of King Rāma Gāmhēñ.

Clerks and scribes who were experts in the writing of letters wrote the alphabet in several ways. In addition to the ordinary letters which are the origin of printed letters, and the cursive letters which were used in the writing of documents and various notes, there was yet another important kind, namely, "compressed Thai letters."<sup>10</sup> Of these, there are examples from the reign of King Nārāyana the Great, and it would appear that at that time they were in official use, as evidenced by the [text of the] treaty between Siam and France in 1688.

The script in the illustration of the text of that treaty accompanying this unmercifully short note could easily pass for the script of MS. A.<sup>10</sup> There are earlier documents, however, which also were written in the same script; for example, the letter from the Thai governor of Tenasserim to a Danish officer dated 10 December 1621.<sup>11</sup> The same script also was used as late as the reign of King Paramakośa (1733-58).<sup>12</sup> The simple style of the script alone can provide no more than a very rough general date for our text.

There are two prominent characteristics of the "compressed" style. First, unlike almost all other formal Thai scripts, the "compressed" style is written at a slant of approximately 30° from the vertical. Moreover, the bottom edges of the (slanted) vertical strokes are drawn back to the left and upwards. Similarly, strokes which in other scripts would be horizontal, or rounded on a horizontal plane, are regularly drawn straight, perpendicular to the slant of the script. On the accompanying figure (Figure 2), which depicts all the consonants of the "compressed" script found in MS. A, together with their modern Thai

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., plate facing p. 18.

<sup>11</sup> Prince Dhani Nivat and Erik Seidenfaden, "Early Trade Relations between Denmark and Siam," JSS, XXXI, 1, reprinted in Selected Articles from the Siam Society Journal, VIII (Bangkok, 1959), esp. p. 2759. See also Prahsāra Punaprahgōñ, "Gām ān bhāb thāy ekasāra porāṇa, Akṣara laeḥ bhāṣā daiy samāy ayudhyā," Śilpākara, XII:5 (Jan. 1969), 115-17.

<sup>12</sup> See the various consonants discussed by mahā Cham Dōṅgāmvarrṇa in, "Sānniṣṭhāna diap kārahian akṣara daiy kṣp akṣara khōm nai samāy bō khun rāma gāmhēñ," in, Thailand, Rājapaṇḍityasathāna, Gvāmrū dāñ Akṣarasāstra (Bangkok, 1965), pp. 269-321. Another example of this script can be seen in Simon de la Loubère, A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam (London, 1693; reprinted Kuala Lumpur, 1969), opp. p. 170.

FIGURE 2

MS. A: COMPRESSED SCRIPT CONSONANTS

	k		t		p		l
	kh		<u>t</u>		<u>p</u>		<u>l</u>
	<u>kh</u>		ṭ		ph		v
	g		thā		s		s
	<u>g</u>		d		f		ṣ
	gh		dh		b		s
	n		n		<u>f</u>		h
	c		t		bh		q
	ch		<u>t</u>		m		
	j		th		y		
	<u>j</u>		d		r		
	jh		dh		<u>r</u>		
	n		<u>dh</u>		ri		
	n		n		ri		

equivalents and roman transcriptions, this feature may be seen in its most pronounced fashion in the letters k, g, t, th, and bh. A second prominent characteristic is the "finial" on the upper end of the final, upward strokes in such letters as n, p, p, b, m, and y. At least two hands clearly were engaged in the copying of this manuscript, and both are absolutely consistent in following this writing style. On the whole, their handwriting is remarkably clear, steady, and beautifully-formed, and one might well speculate that they wrote formally, perhaps performing their service for a highly-placed patron.

Of the 46 consonants of the full Thai alphabet, virtually all can be found in MS. A, including, of course, the kh and g dropped from the alphabet on the invention of the typewriter in the 1890s. Both the kh and the ig are relatively rare in the MS, as they were in usage. The jh is absent, but not surprisingly so. No examples of d and dh were noticed. All three is are present, and, as often is the case, their use is highly inconsistent. The short strokes which distinguish is, s and is from g, l, and p are written horizontally into the space occupied by the following character. As is the case even in modern printing, the high vertical stroke at the end of the p, f, and f is written separately from the main body of the letter. The dh usually is written in a form more or less similar to its present form; but the orthography of this character is perhaps the least disciplined of any in the MS., and there is at least one case of it being written in the strange form so common in MS. C.<sup>13</sup>

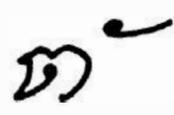
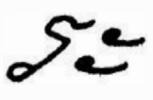
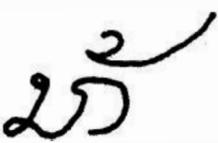
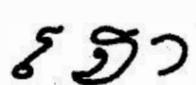
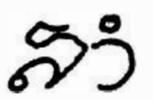
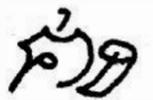
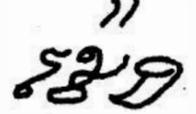
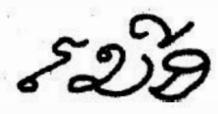
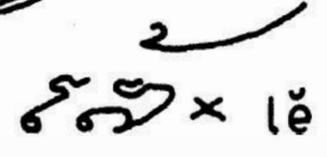
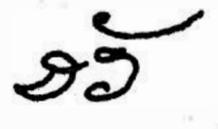
The orthography of vowels shows a number of peculiarities. Superscript i - i and u' - u' vowels are not well differentiated, either one from another, or as to vowel length. Some of the peculiarities of their forms are illustrated in the accompanying figure (Figure 3). In addition, when these occur in the -ia and -o'a diphthongs, they generally are written above the u or o consonant of the compound, rather than above the initial consonant of the syllable. U' is represented as often by o', i, or i as by its proper symbol. The ie and ie shortening symbol, "number 8", is never used, and instead the "number 2" (the mai do of tone orthography)

---

<sup>13</sup>See tracing opposite, second column, sixth from top.

FIGURE 3

## MS. A: COMPRESSED SCRIPT VOWELS

	ka		dai
	tā		hai
	rah		so
	mā		cau
	lām		gò
	ti		dhœ
	tī		tho'n
	du		mo'a
	phū		bhia
	lě		ua
	je		u' } do not occur in MS. A
	kè		ū' }

is employed. Finally, initial kra- and pra- are usually written without -h.

The remaining peculiarities of MS. A fall more properly into the realm of orthography, as they have to do with the spelling employed. Here there are five different problems: (1) unusual spellings as such; (2) double-function consonants; (3) the peculiar use of the two symbols for the ai vowel; (4) the designation of tones; and (5) special conventions. None of these, it should be emphasized, are even slightly hinted at in the published editions, which have regularized spellings in their modern forms.

(1) On the whole, the spellings employed in MS. A are quite consistent, especially when compared to MS. C. One rather irregular occurrence, however, arises with words ending in final -ñ, where the final consonant frequently (but not consistently) is doubled. To cite only a few examples:

nu'ññ	(35A2)	} <u>mod.</u> nu'ñ, "one"
niññ	(38B5)	
nīññ	(35B5, 37B4)	
lāññkā	(36A6), <u>mod.</u> Lañkā, "Ceylon"	
aññgha	(37A6) and aññka (39A4), <u>mod.</u> añgha, classifier for holy objects and beings	
tāññ	(37A5, 38A5, 38B2, 39B6, etc.), <u>mod.</u> tāñ, "to set up, establish"	
taññ	(38B1), <u>mod.</u> tañ, "forest, jungle"	
tēññ	(39A7), <u>mod.</u> tēñ, "to arrange, decorate"	
dāññ	(38B5, 39A7, 39B5, etc.), <u>mod.</u> dāñ, "all"	
fāññ	(38A3, 39B2), <u>mod.</u> fāñ, "to bury"	
lāññ	(38A4), <u>mod.</u> lañ, "to descend"	
hēññ	(39B7, 40A1), <u>mod.</u> hēñ, "place"	
caññ	(6B4), <u>mod.</u> cañ, "to be obliged to"	

There are many others, although almost all of these words occur also in their conventional spellings. This orthography reflects early Thai usage--as in inscriptions of the Sukhodāya period--where final consonants are doubled to indicate the ǎ vowel (e.g., kann = kǎn, taññ = tāñ, patt = pǎt, etc.). What is peculiar about its usage in MS. A is that it occurs only with -ñ, and not with -n.

Generally, the unusual spellings of MS. A seem to reflect phonetic renderings of the sounds of the spoken language. Certainly the strangest of them all is the extremely common word dī, which as a noun can mean "place, position" and also functions as a general relative pronoun and in ordinal enumeration. It is always spelled with the letter

② following, perhaps as if it were to be pronounced thæ. Also, in many cases where the -ī vowel occurs, it is followed by -y. We have one occurrence (38B7) of the northern Thai dialectical hū' instead of hai. More generally, the final consonants of monosyllabic words frequently are incorrectly written -k and -t, just as final sa said -l often are written -n. These cases all approximate the spoken language.

(2) The rendering of double-function consonants in MS. A is typical of many pre-modern manuscripts. It is particularly noticeable in connection with the -ām, where m often is written as well in such words as tāmmarā (tām̄rā, "text, treatise, document, saf<sup>o</sup> 42A6, 7; 42B1, 3), cāmmalo'y (cām̄lo'y, "defendant, accused, saf<sup>o</sup> 28B3, 5), sām̄marēt (sām̄rēc, "to be finished, saf<sup>o</sup> 28A6, 6B1) sām̄marāp (sām̄hrāp, "for, saf<sup>o</sup> 25A2, 6B3), and even--at least once--Dāmmah̄sokah̄hrāt (Dharmāśokarāja, f<sup>o</sup> 42B5). The same tendency to write the spoken sounds of the language occasionally occurs with other final consonants which also serve as the initial consonant of the following syllable, especially with loan words and proper names from other languages sa

- ātdī<sup>a</sup> (35A1, 37B2), ādi, P.S., "starting point, beginning; first, initially"  
 rājasampātti (35A1), -pāti is the usual Thai form, P. -patti, "the attainment of rulership"  
 nah̄mātsah̄kān (35B5, 36A3), namāsakāra, P. namassati + kāra, "to pay honor to, to reverence, etc."  
 nākgha (37A2, 37B6), nāga!  
 dāttu (37B7), dhātu, P., "relic, reliquary"  
 dhārrmāśokkarājarājā (39B1, 4; 40A5, 7), dharmāśokkarājarājā  
 dhārrmasokgha- (40A3)!  
 sāgkarāja (40A4), śākarāja, "era"

Unlike MS. C, this reduplication of double-function consonants rarely occurs in MS. A with the t-d series of consonants.

(3) There is an intriguing use of the ai-ai vowels. The ai, written with mai muan ( ๓ ), is used in modern standard Thai in only twenty words, and it is thought to preserve an old phonetic distinction between o'a and ai which in the case of these words has since disappeared. Its use in MS. A is absolutely consistent, but to a different pattern. Here, mai muan is used only with words which are pronounced in modern Thai with the high or falling tone, while mai malai ( ๓ ) is used only in words pronounced in modern Thai with the mid, low, and rising tone. In addition, all words

using mai malai close the -ai syllable with a written -y.<sup>14</sup>

Mai muan

- hai, mod. hai<sup>2</sup>, "to give, for, etc."  
wai, mod. vai<sup>2</sup>, "to keep, to hold, etc."  
hvai, mod. hvai<sup>2</sup>, "to reverence, salute"  
jai, mod. jai<sup>2</sup>, "to use"  
tai, mod. tai<sup>2</sup>, "to get, to be able, etc."  
khai, mod. khai<sup>2</sup>, "fever"  
lai, mod. lai<sup>1</sup>, "to pursue"  
tai, mod. tai<sup>2</sup>, "south, to be below, under"  
hmai, mod. mai<sup>1</sup>, "not, no"  
brai, mod. brai<sup>1</sup>, "freeman"

Mai malai

- jaiy, mod. jaiya, "victory, victorious"  
caiy, mod. cai, "heart, spirit, etc."  
taiy, mod. tai, "any"  
pa iy, mod. pai, "to go"  
braiy, mod. brai, "forest"  
naiy, mod. nai, "in"  
hñaiy, mod. hñai<sup>1</sup>, "large"  
kaiy, mod. kai<sup>1</sup>, "fowl, chicken"

This pattern of use according to tone--repeated in many other words as well--seems to be the only explanation of the regularity with which these two vowel symbols are used, and may remedy some of the confusion which arises from the total chaos of tone markers.

The designation of tones in MS. A. is highly fragmentary and un-systematic. The mai ek ( <sup>1</sup> ) is used as a tone marker only rarely, as in dā<sup>1</sup> (36B3), "port, landing," and bδ<sup>1</sup> (42A6), "father." The mai do ( <sup>2</sup> ) is frequently used, but not consistently as a tone marker. There are a number of ways in which it is used. First, sometimes it is used in place of the vowel shortening symbol, the superscript numeral 8:

- He<sup>2</sup>majālā/-māla (35A2ff.), proper name  
sate<sup>2</sup>c (36A2), satēc, "to go (of royalty, etc.)"  
ce<sup>2</sup>t (37A7), cēt, "seven"  
khe<sup>2</sup>ncai<sup>y</sup> (42A4), khēncai, "poor, unfortunate"

---

<sup>14</sup>In citing examples below, it has been found necessary to employ superscript numerals to indicate the tone-markers, <sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> to indicate the mai ek and mai do respectively.

ke<sup>2</sup>p (42B2), kĕp, "to keep"

Often it is used in substitution of the aǎ vowel in the compound vowel -ua, usually written asaǎ + v in open syllables, as in d<sup>2</sup>v (41B3), dua<sup>1</sup> -- "all, throughout."

In most other cases, mai do must be taken as a tone marker. However, the tones it is used to indicate may be regarded either as "wrong" (from the point of view of Central Thai) or as dialectical. Listed below are examples of the various tonal situations in which mai do is used in MS. A:

(a) Middle consonant + open vowel (+ sonorant)

kĕv<sup>2</sup>  
cau<sup>2</sup>

(b) Middle consonant + vowel + stop

kep<sup>2</sup>  
cet<sup>2</sup>

(c) High consonant + open vowel (+ sonorant)

hĕn <sup>2</sup>	khvā <sup>2</sup>	then <sup>2</sup>
thavāi <sup>2</sup>	hluan <sup>2</sup>	sabhau <sup>2</sup>
huay <sup>2</sup>	hlāy <sup>2</sup>	savo'y <sup>2</sup>

(d) High consonant + vowel + stop

tahlòt<sup>2</sup>  
hmòk<sup>2</sup>  
khet<sup>2</sup>

(e) Low consonant + open vowel (+ sonorant)

drāy <sup>2</sup>	lāmmau <sup>2</sup>	bò <sup>2</sup>
nòy <sup>2</sup>	dale <sup>2</sup>	au <sup>2</sup>
brāy <sup>2</sup>	mā <sup>2</sup>	

(f) Low consonant + vowel + stop

nòt<sup>2</sup>  
deb<sup>2</sup>  
(brahàvet<sup>2</sup>(sanū))

(5) Finally, there are a number of special conventions employed in the MS. Some are similar to conventions of the Lao writing system, such as the superscript bracketing two consonants to indicate an unwritten -o- vowel between them:

pāng<sup>^</sup>m (37A2) "to do obeisance"

br<sup>^</sup>m (38A7), Brahma- in proper name

g<sup>^</sup>n (35A2, 38B1, 38B5), gan, "person"

The more usual symbol for this, however, is a small superscript circle written above the first of the two consonants

b<sup>o</sup>p (35B2), bap, "to meet"

l<sup>o</sup>n (36B4), lan, "to descend"

g<sup>o</sup>n (36B5), gan, "person"

tānt<sup>o</sup>ñbr<sup>o</sup>ñbraiy (38A6), tāntañbrañbrai, "forest" (lit.)

Both these symbols are used interchangeably in the MS.; and the way in which the former is written, often with a small circle at the right-hand end (ˆ), suggests that we might have here concrete evidence of the transition between the two.

The same superscript circle also is used interchangeably with a symbol resembling the mai ek, functioning to indicate the unwritten -a vowel following a consonant:

nim<sup>o</sup>nt'r' (39A5), P. nimantana, S. nimantra, "invitation" also written nīman (39A6)

b'ñā (36A5), bañā, "ruler, lord", also written b<sup>o</sup>ñā (37A4)

m'hā (37B2), mahā, "great"; also written m<sup>o</sup>hā (37B1)

d'le (40A1), dale, "sea, ocean"; also written d<sup>o</sup>le<sup>2</sup> (38A7)

th'vāy<sup>2</sup> (38B2), thavāy, "to present"

bud' (39B6), Buddha

s'thān (40A5), sathān, "place"

The same symbol sometimes is doubled in combination with the -ò vowel:

h"ò (35B1, 36B3)

kh"ò (38B4, 41A7, 21A5), 19th cent. khò, mod. khò, "to request"; also written kh'ò (39B2)

k"ò (40B1, 41A2), kò, "to build, construct"

b"ò (41B6, 42A5), bò, "father"; also written b'ò (42A6)

g"ò (42A3), gò, "neck"; also written g'ò (42A7)

Most irregular is the particle k̄ ( ̄ ), pronounced kɔ, which appears in the MS. in no less than four different forms: k" (36A3, 36B4), k' (39A1, 4, 6, 7, etc.), k̄ (39A5), and k<sup>o</sup> (39B1).

The biggest surprise of MS. A, however, is that there is so much more to it than its initial editor pretended. At the end of the printed text there is an ellipsis, followed by the words "the text ends just here" (sin chapăp biañ nī), in boldface type.<sup>15</sup> This point in the

---

<sup>15</sup>The question arises as to whether the editor refers to the same MS. as the one we have here, especially given his edition's modernized spelling. The fact that his MS. and this one are the same is attested by his own description of the MS., and by the absolute word-for-word (but not letter-for-letter) correspondence between the printed text and the MS.

text occurs on f<sup>o</sup> 21A, line 3. The text continues directly on from that point, completing the sentence the printed text leaves unfinished, and continuing on for a further twelve folios. It is perfectly obvious that all printed editions subsequent to the first (1939) have followed that edition without checking back to the original. The consequences of this fact are to change considerably the nature of the text as a whole, and to modify such conclusions as can be reached concerning its date.

With the addition of ff<sup>o</sup> 21B-34B, the question as to the nature of MS. A is not as easily resolved as it would be if we had only ff<sup>o</sup> 35A-43B and 1B-21B, which contain the text as printed. As that portion of the MS. contains only vague early dates, and is written in a suitably archaic hand, it could be taken to be an ancient chronicle of the traditional sort, a record of folk legends concerning the foundation of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, its great palladium, notable places in its vicinity, and its leading families. As such, its function could be interpreted as mainly commemorative, serving to exalt the existing order by reference to its originist. In such a tale, folklore and borrowings from other literary and historical traditions would not be out of place, and indeed we have them in Version A.<sup>16</sup>

The addition of the "hard" historical material--the "facts"--of ff<sup>o</sup> 22B-34B gives the MS. a very different shape. As a whole, it then consists of the following components:

1. (ff<sup>o</sup> 1B-21A3): the latter half of the Chronicle as printed (1962), pp. 51-63. In general, this portion becomes increasingly detailed, concerned especially with the collection and payment of tax revenues to Ayudhya.
2. (ff<sup>o</sup> 21A4-21B7): continuation of 1. concerning a party of women going from Nagara to see the King in the capital.
3. (ff<sup>o</sup> 23A1-25A4): may be a continuation of 2. as it is also concerned with a party of people--officials--bearing tribute of tin to the capital, in the sixth month in the new year (23B3). This chronological reference implies that a date was mentioned in the missing portion between ff<sup>o</sup> 21B7 and 23A1.

---

<sup>16</sup>See especially its version of the story of the Buddha's Tooth Relic, MS. ff<sup>o</sup> 35A-37B, and below, pp. 66-71.

4. (ff<sup>o</sup> 25A5-25B6): a copy of a letter of òk-hluañ Jaiyaprañāpatī, the Registrar (of labor, in Ayudhya?) to the governor of Dā Dòñ,<sup>17</sup> a town dependent on Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja, ordering him to assist in building the walls of Nagara. This letter is dated 7 October 1789.
5. (ff<sup>o</sup> 26A1-27A5): an account of a meeting held on 19 October 1789 in Dā Dòñ to hear of the letter (4) and the action taken upon it--the sending of work parties to Nagara, and informing the Registrar of this action.
6. (ff<sup>o</sup> 28A1-29B4): a letter from caubañā Śrī Dārrmarāja to òkñā Senādibpatīya--the kalāhom and acting governor of Nagara--dated 18 October 1801. This letter refers to charges being made against the government of Dā Dòñ by "the people" (rāstra) which the government of Nagara had investigated. Reference is made to an earlier law concerning the handling of such complaints the text of which follows.
7. (ff<sup>o</sup> 29B5-32B5): a law issued by command of King Rama I (1782-1809) on 25 August 1800, directed to all provincial governors, concerning maladministration and legal remedies for it.
8. (f<sup>o</sup> 32B6): a single-line comment inserted at the end of the law: "Khun Yukghapāta [yakkrapātra]<sup>18</sup> sent up the laws, the Brah Dāmnūn Ēnammanūn], and the history, together seven documents."
9. (f<sup>o</sup> 33A1-5): the opening sentences of the Version A Chronicle, the entire face being crossed out -- "XXX."
10. (ff<sup>o</sup> 33B1-34B7): recording an action taken by the governing

---

<sup>17</sup> Dā Dòñ, now a small village in the Kāncanatiṣṭh district of Surāṣṭra-dhānī province, was a province capital in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See Gāmbhaikāra jāv kruñ kau... (Bangkok: Glāñ Vidyā, 1964), p. 197, where it is included in testimony taken by the Burmese in 1767; and caubrahya Dibākaravañśasa Brah rājabañśāvatāra kruñ rātanakosindra rajakāla dī 3...dī 4 (Bangkok, 1963), p. 733, noting the change in the name of the province from Dā Dòñ to Kāncanatiṣṭha in the 1860's.

<sup>18</sup> On this office, see H. G. Quaritch Wales, Ancient Siamese Government and Administration (New York, 1965), p. 112.

body (kramkāra) of Nagara concerning the annual tribute--the gold and silver flowers (bunga mas)--sent by Nagara to Ayudhya, in the course of which reference is made to an old document establishing the rates to be paid by various officials and localities as contributions to its cost. The date of this action is given here only in incomplete form (animal year, plus year of decade cycle) form, but it could run as late as 1825, although such a late date is unlikely.

11. (ff<sup>o</sup> 35A1-43B71): the first portion of the Version A Chronicle of Nagara.

Its organization in this manner makes it apparent that Version A is essentially an administrative document, the main purpose of which is to establish, or rather to reaffirm the establishment of, a political and economic order in which the chief elements are assigned lands and labor, and the rights and exemptions of various groups and individuals to land and labor. Implicit through the whole document is the relationship between Ayudhyā and Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja.

Although for convenience the editor has accepted the judgment of previous editors and custodians of the MS. regarding its organization, he is inclined to believe that the order of the pages has been reversed, and that in fact the MS. probably began on f<sup>o</sup> 23 (or on a missing page preceding it), where there is recorded a mission from Nagara which raised questions about land, labor, and political power when presenting tribute in tin in Ayudhyā.<sup>19</sup> These various questions and their immediate history are the subject of the documents which follow, numbered 4, 5, 6, 7, and 10 in the enumeration above. Sections 8 and 9 are extremely important in establishing this sequence: 8 states that the legal officer of Nagara ordered the inclusion in these documents s(ā) of the relevant law and of the "history" (bañsāvātā[ra]); and 9 is the abortive beginning of the Version A chronicle, deleted apparently because the compiler of the MS. had forgotten to include 10 before beginning his historical survey.

The fact that this unknown official, apparently the legal officer of Nagara, duplicated that particular page of the "Chronicle" demonstrates

---

<sup>19</sup>Cf. A, ff<sup>o</sup> 24B2-25A4.

that this was its first page, and also that he must have been copying from a written MS. rather than from oral tradition, inasmuch as the two beginnings of the "chronicle" are literally identical. On the basis of the assumption that the "chronicle" and the other documents of MS. A are separable, they are treated separately here. The "Version A Chronicle" will be discussed below in conjunction with other versions,<sup>20</sup> while the "MS. A Documents" are reproduced in Appendix I.<sup>21</sup>

On the basis of information and assumptions discussed to this point, then, we may say that, although the whole of MS. A probably dates from the First Reign (1782-1809) of the Bangkok Dynasty, the Chronicle portion of it surely antedates that period. We may further state that this particular copy of the Chronicle was compiled in Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja by that town's legal officer for public purposes, probably at the request of central authorities.<sup>22</sup> Some light may be shed upon the MS. from which he copied by an examination of other versions of the Chronicle.

### Version B

The "Chronicle of the Holy Reliquary of mo'an Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja," termed "Version B" throughout this study, is of unknown provenance, but it may be assumed that it was included among the manuscripts procured in Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab ca. 1908. As the original MS. of this version could not be located in the National Library in Bangkok when the present editor searched for it in 1966, we must rely on printed editions for our text and information about it.

Version B was first published in 1928, with a preface by Prince Bidyālaṅkarana;<sup>23</sup> and re-published in 1960 on the cremation of nañ Yubin

<sup>20</sup>See pages 26-43.

<sup>21</sup>See pages 179-1871

<sup>22</sup>Note that that officer was usually a capital appointee, and not a local man.

<sup>23</sup>Edition not available to the present author.

Traibhakti.<sup>24</sup> It was later included in the collections of materials concerning Nagara published in 1962 and 1964.<sup>25</sup> Fortunately the earliest printed edition has a fuller preface than that of Version A, and most of that preface is reprinted in the 1960 edition:

This book is printed following the manuscript which is in the Vajirañāna Library. [The original] is written in ink on Western paper. This manuscript is a copy of an older book, as may be seen from the spelling and style, which antedate the time when such ink and paper were used.

The present edition has been ordered printed following the manuscript, without any changes in the spelling or style. This has been done for two reasons.

First, [because] the spelling of Thai is always changing, and there is yet no end of change in sight. Such gradual change is something which scholars observe, and if this book is published following the original it would be of assistance in their study.

Second, [because] there are many words in this book which those who have examined it do not understand, whether through their own fault or because these are mistakes. Anything which we do not know, we cannot just call a mistake for that reason. If the editor changed an unintelligible word so that he could understand it, that would be the speculation of the editor alone; and readers who had never seen the original would have no opportunity to assist in the speculation or to demonstrate their knowledge and opinions. Opinions are not necessarily knowledge; and when there is not yet certain knowledge, opinions can be useful.

It may be surmised that this book was written in the reign of King Nārāyaṇa (1657-88): the last date mentioned is at the end of the reign of King Prāsāda Dōṅ.

As for the contents, which are called a chronicle of the Holy Reliquary of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja, they are a chronicle of local folklore sort, with a great deal of the latter mixed with the former. However, there may be some truth [in it], and there is nothing which demonstrates that the author did not believe that all he told was the truth. Even when he tells of various miracles and garuḍas and nāgas, he does so as if he believed in them. To tell the truth, people still believe in the miracles of holy relics to the present day.

However, if one poses the problem of the extent to which this book is of any use in the study of antiquity, it is difficult to answer. In seeking evidence in the study of antiquity, if there is nothing more than folklore, one must accept folk-

<sup>24</sup>Tāmnān brahḍhātu mo'añ nagara śrī dharrmarāja (Bangkok, 1960).

<sup>25</sup>Cited in notes to sa 7 above: 1962, pp. 78-95; 1964, pp. 78-95.

lore, as it is in this book, and it might be of some utility in the study of antiquity."

Prince Bidyālaṅkaraṇa's comments are useful and apt; but by no means do they answer all the questions we might have concerning Version B of the Chronicle. He, for example, argues for ~~an~~ an early date for this chronicle on the basis of its "spelling and style, which antedate the time when such ink and [Western] paper were used." But Western paper, however, came into widespread use in Thailand only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, or, at the very earliest, perhaps in the 1820's. Moreover, the spelling employed in the MS.--if indeed the published version accurately reflects the MS., and this author is convinced it does--is more like nineteenth century usage than anything earlier, and is certainly much more "modern" than that of MS. A. Specifically, Version B extensively employs tone markers in modern style, carefully distinguishes the i and u' vowels, correctly writes the -ia and -o'a diphthongs, and generally spells in modern forms with consistency. Therefore, spelling and style have nothing to do with the argument that the chronicle was written in the mid-seventeenth century: that argument is based solely upon the fact that the last date mentioned in the text is A.D. 1654.

The general structure of the text does support the Prince's reasoning, however. As a whole, Version B reads as a detailed account of the earliest history of Nagara, to which is appended a short section which serves to "bring it up to date." But This consists primarily in the listing of appointments of governors of the principality and mention of recent events in its history. It would be reasonable to surmise that the whole originally was compiled for the information of the governor appointed in the date given in the printed edition as equivalent to A.D. 1654, a man who came to his new post from Tenasserim and presumably knew nothing of the history of Nagara. One may suppose that this version of the chronicle may have been compiled from local documents, and was kept and perhaps recopied many times. We might regard it as the "official" version of local history.

#### Version B<sub>1</sub>

Some additional light, and some confusion, is thrown on the question

of Version B by the existence of a similar version which turned up among the MSSM in the National Library in Bangkok, here termed "Version B<sub>1</sub>." Far from being a MS. in ink on Western paper, this is a "black book" (samut tām) of blackened khdy paper written upon in white chalk. Physically, MS. B<sub>1</sub> measures approximately 9x27 cm. The whole book would extend to 477 cm. unfolded. On the obverse, there are twenty-six double pages, and eleven pages of the reverse side are used. The last f<sup>o</sup> of the obverse (26B) bears the single word "klāp," "return," telling the reader to turn the page over to begin the pages on the reverse. The script seems to be a very informal, cursive nineteenth century one, and the spelling conforms to that of Version B, with full use of tone markers, differentiation of the i and u' vowels, correct orthography of the ia and o'a diphthongs, and "modern" spellings. Its contents correspond roughly to paragraphs 18-29 of the published Version B and, presumably, the manuscript from which B was printed. MS. B<sub>1</sub>, however, is on the whole fuller, more archaic in its style, and in some cases more archaic in its orthography.

Just what MS. B<sub>1</sub> is, is difficult to ascertain. One cannot argue that it is simply a fragment of the original of MS. B, for the following reasons. First, it is clear from the way in which MS. B<sub>1</sub> begins that it is a whole MS., without missing pages. The cover page is intact, and on it can be read faintly the title "Original Draft Chronicle of mo'añ Nagara" (rāñ to'm bañsāvātāra mo'añ nagara); and the first half of the following page (f<sup>o</sup> 1A) appears originally to have been left blank, though the names of three persons, and their ages, have been scribbled upon it. The last obverse page of the MS. similarly is present--telling the reader to turn to the reverse--and the reverse reads on in sequence without a break. There is no suggestion that any other volume or pages belonged with MS. B<sub>1</sub>.

On the basis of this information, we may conclude that MS. B<sub>1</sub> is an early nineteenth century copy of an older MS. which roughly duplicates paragraphs 18-29 of Version B. We must note, however, a major difference between B and B<sub>1</sub> which throws into further confusion the question of their dates. MS. B<sub>1</sub> writes with unmistakable clarity the dates for the final paragraphs of the text, and these are a full century earlier than

the dates given in B. Thus the new governor, for whom one might suppose the original was written, was appointed not in the reign of King Prāsāda Dān, as Prince Bidyālañkaraṇa thought, but rather in A.D. 1553.<sup>26</sup>

#### The Relations between MSS. A, B, and B<sub>1</sub>

The overlap between Version B and MS. B<sub>1</sub>, however, is only a small portion of the general problem of the relations between our texts. Similar overlapping occurs between MS. A and Version B. In neither of these cases is the duplication exact, as each of the three versions includes material not present in the others. Because there is some relationship which extends between each of the three in some portions, a careful analysis of them enables us to arrive at a hypothetical reconstruction to suggest the history of each version.

The textual structure of each version is the key element upon which the following analysis is based. Each version can be divided into a number of episodes, stories, or records of events. In almost all cases these divisions are explicit in the texts themselves, being introduced by a mark of punctuation beginning a new story or paragraph (the concentric circles, or sometimes spiral, called foṇṇān), or by the word anu'n, "furthermore." Version B, because it includes most of what is in both MS. A and MS. B<sub>1</sub>, has for purposes of this analysis been taken to be the basic "plot" for the chronicles of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja.

I. The Story of the Tooth Relic (A, ff<sup>o</sup> 35A1-37B2; pub. A para. 1; B, paras. 1-3). This episode in both A and B is based upon the classical Pali tale of the Tooth Relic of the Buddha, and specifically pariccheda 4 of the Dāṭṭhādhatuvansa. There are good reasons for believing both that the Pali text of this (and other) work was known in Nagara, and that people in Nagara believed that work to be relevant to their own history.<sup>27</sup> Version B has the fuller account of this episode, and because

---

<sup>26</sup>The reader familiar with the history of Patani will be intrigued by a date in this decade. See A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt, Hikayat Patani (The Hague, 1970), vol. II, pp. 228-231.

<sup>27</sup>See the article by James Low, "Gleanings in Buddhism," Jl. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, XVII, ii (1848), 72-98.

it renders proper names in a more correct fashion (e.g. B Dandapurī vs. A Nagarapurī, Kosīharāja vs. the artificially archaized Gośrīharāja, fuller Mahādevī vs. Devī, correctly-spelled Aṅkuśarāja vs. phonetically-spelled Aṅkutarāja, etc.), and tells a complete tale with all the loose ends tied up, unlike A,<sup>28</sup> we may regard it as closer, either to the original Pali version, or to the original Nagara version, or, indeed, to both. It seems likely that both A and B ~~are~~ based upon another, or other, local versions; and Version A's rendering of at least one name in phonetic spelling might suggest that perhaps A here is based upon an oral version of the written text upon which B may be based.

II. Narapatī and the First Foundation of the City (A, ff<sup>o</sup> 37B2-40B4; pub. A, paras~~sa~~<sup>2</sup>-3; B, paras~~sa~~<sup>4</sup>-5). The minor differences between the two versions of this episode are significant. Its central figure leaves a great city because of an epidemic, discovers the future site of Nagara, gains the approval of the ruler of Ceylon to erect a city there, establishes Sinhalese Buddhism there, and receives the Sihinṅa Buddha image. Version A identifies this ruler as Narapatī, while Version B contributes the name of the city from which he came--Haṅṣāvātī, or Pegu in Burma--and the year in which he is supposed to have received the Sihinṅa Buddha, the year 1098 in an unspecified era. The original MS. A has space for this date (f<sup>o</sup> 40B4), explicitly in the Mahāśākarāja Era (+78= A.D. 1176), but it is uncertain whether the figures were ever written on the MS, as there are no noticeable smudges or holes in the MS. One might remark also that although this date is not given in the standard Pali history of the Sihinṅa Buddha, Sihinṅanidānam, written by Bodhiraṅṣī of Jiaṅmai in the first half of the fifteenth century, the Jkm. gives a date of Buddhist Era 1800 (=A.D. 1256/57) for this event. Neither the Sihinṅa Buddha episode here, nor the tale of the founding of the city, seems directly related to other texts. The situation is complicated, however, by the fact that Version B--and perhaps A as well, which happens there to be defective--mentions the moving of the Sihinṅa Buddha a second time, in terms which correspond nicely to the account

---

<sup>28</sup>See below, esp. p. 70, n. 6.

given in the Sihingānidānam.<sup>29</sup>

III. The Discovery and Sharing of the Relics with India (A, ff<sup>o</sup> 40B4-43A1; pub. A paras. 4-6; B, paras. 6-8a). The tale which follows has a classical ring to it, but with some curious local twists. It tells, in both versions, of two king Aśokas, one the former Narapatī of Pegu, and the other of India (the Madhayamadeśa), and the request of the latter for 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>,000 relics which the Aśoka of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja feels compelled to satisfy. One local rustic leads him to the discovery of the relics left in Nagara as the outcome of Episode I, and a second man lends his occult powers to the dangerous task of freeing the relics from the supernatural forces which guard them. On the whole, Version A has a slightly fuller account of this episode, though B may lie closer to the original version of the tale.<sup>30</sup>

IV. Establishing the Twelve Tributaries (MS1 A, ff<sup>o</sup> 43A2-43B5; pub. A, para. 7; B, para. 8b). This short section rounds out the account of the first foundation of the mo'añ by listing, in a curious fashion, the states believed to have been the tributaries of Nagara at the beginning of its history. These are twelve in number, each corresponding to one of the twelve years in the animal cycle of the local calendar. They extend from Jumbara in the north to Pahang in the south, and west to Kedah and the island of Phuket (Junk Ceylon). There are only minor differences between the two lists. This episode concludes with an epidemic and the abandonment of the city.

V. Saiyanaraṅga and the Sihinga Buddha (MS. A, ff<sup>o</sup> 43B5-43B7; pub. A, para. 8; B, para. 9). This most curious episode has a king Śrī Saiyanaraṅga (B Śrī Sainarañ) coming "from the west to rule over Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja," and then receiving the Sihinga Buddha, which is sent on to Jiañhmai. This man's name is known from other sources; it is the Pali/Sanskrit form of the name by which several kings of Sukhodāya are known, Braḥ Ruan (Phra Ruang). The episode as a whole clearly corresponds with the passages in the Jkm. and Sihingānidāna to which

---

<sup>29</sup>See below, p. 87.

<sup>30</sup>See below, pp. 78-83.

reference has already been made. A and B both have dates here, 1196, obviously in the Mahāśākarāja Era, equivalent to A.D. 1274, which is not so far distant from the (relatively less satisfactory) date given in Jkm. Saiyanaraṅga is said here to have become ruler of Nagara, and to have died shortly thereafter, to be succeeded by his younger brother, who died in 1198 (A.D. 1276). A has only the beginning of this episode, the succeeding page(s) of the MS. being missing, and only B continues the chronicle to the point where A resumes.

VI. The Rediscovery of the City (B, para. 10-11). Version B continues the story with yet another Aśoka who ruled over Indapātapurī, and fled yet another epidemic to discover Nagara Śrī Dharmarāj~~sa~~. The identification of Indapātapurī, which may have been Angkor in Cambodia, will be explored below.<sup>31</sup> This Aśoka erected a new reliquary at Nagara, like that erected by the Aśoka/Narapatī before him, and he summoned Buddhist monks, including a Sāccānudeba Dasaśrī, to come from Pegu. Only Version B has this tale, and it should be noted that a similar tale, with another (?) Dasaśrī occurs later in the same MS. Is this a case of reduplication?

VII. Conflict with dāv Ū Ddñ (B, in full, para. 12-13a; MS. A, partially, ff<sup>o</sup> 2A1-2B7; pub. A, para. 9-10a). This episode begins with what appears to be an unprovoked attack on Nagara by dāv Ū Ddñ, the ruler of Ayudhyā. Many things about this passage--the form of the reference to Ū Ddñ and Ayudhyā, the mention of a prince Candrabhānu (a name famous in Ceylon's history)--commend it to careful study. The episode continues with Nagara sending tribute to Ayudhyā, various religious foundations, the death of this latest Aśoka "in the year 1200" (=A.D. 1278?), and the succession of his younger brother Candrabhānu as yet another Aśoka.

VIII. Relations with Javā (B, para. 13b-15a). Version B here inserts a three-part episode featuring (a) an attack by, and submission to, Javā; (b) quarrels with the monk Sāccānudeba which end in his leaving the city; and (c) a local hero breaking the suzerainty of Javā.

---

<sup>31</sup>Page 87, n. 9.

This episode is not directly related to what precedes or follows it, and must be regarded as an independent insertion into the basic material of A by the compiler(s) of B.

IX. Third Abandonment of the City (MS. A, ff<sup>o</sup> 3A1-5 pub. A, para. 10b; B, para. 15b). This passage in A is more extensive than, and conflicts with the account of, B. A accounts for all the members of the ruling line by name, and states that all fled an epidemic and died, leaving the city deserted. The monk Saccanudeba is mentioned as though still present in the city and on good terms with the ruler.

To this point, versions A and B run parallel to one another, each including most of the contents of the other. From this point they diverge, and although one subsequently can relate Version B to MS. A through the names of individuals, or generalized events, their preoccupations and structure are quite different. Thus, outlining the relations between the texts from this point onwards, one has no assurance that the episodic sequence is at all chronological. The structure of A is taken first simply for purposes of analysis.

X. Bejrapurī and Bnamdale (MS. A, ff<sup>o</sup> 3A5-7A; pub. A, paras. 11-12). This episode, unique to A, seems to have no parallels in B, though it might be considered parallel to the beginning of episode VII as related by B, as both begin with the accidental arrival of a ship. A's account, however, is substantially different, as it centers about Bejrapurī, that city's relations with China, and a detailed genealogy. From Bejrapurī a royal prince, Bnamvāñ, is sent to establish a new state in the south, Nagara Tōn Brah. To this episode a date is attached, 1588 of an unspecified era.

XI. Descendants and Settlements of the Bejrapurī Line (MS. A, ff<sup>o</sup> 7A2-9B1; pub. A, paras. 13-16). This section begins with a detailed listing of the genealogy of the line of Bnamvāñ and his wife, Lady Satiāñḍñ, as well as of the places they and their party settled in the isthmian region, centering, it would seem, in the area of the present-day province of Surāṣṭradhānī.

XII. Establishing Malay Rulers (MS. A, ff<sup>o</sup> 9B1-10B2; pub. A, paras. 17-18). This section lists the names of ten "Malays" (?khèk)

and their titles and wives sent by Bnamvāñ to rule over states on the peninsula (and perhaps further afield), from Bādaluñ to Pahang. It also describes the arrangements by which these rulers were to render tribute to Bnamvāñ in Nagara Tòñ Brah. The episode concludes with the death of Bnamvāñ.

XIII. Revival of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja (MS. A, ff<sup>o</sup> 10B2-14B7; pub. A, paras. 19-21). On the death of Bnamvāñ, his son, cau Śrī Rājā succeeds him. He pays homage to "the King"--in Bejrapurī?--and is confirmed in office, given the title of Aśoka, and then is commanded to establish his state in Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja. This he does, again establishing his relatives and retainers at various localities in the vicinity. The lists of settlements again are quite detailed.

XIV. Reconstruction of the Great Reliquary and Donation of Labor Services (MS. A, ff<sup>o</sup> 14B7-18A1; pub. A, paras. 22-28). This episode recounts the rebuilding of the Great Reliquary of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja, built earlier by the (first and third) local Aśokas. On reporting its completion to the king, this Aśoka/Śrī Rājā donates to the king in perpetuity the services of three of his relatives, Yū, Kū, and Ū, and their descendents, to collect local taxes to be presented to the king. Their names were recorded, and the king was further urged to accept the appointment of their descendents as hereditary monastery slaves or soldiers, entitled to special treatment. Their services subsequent to the death of Aśoka/Śrī Rājā are noted and their further relationship with the king detailed.

XV. Reorganization of the Tax System (MS. A, ff<sup>o</sup> 18A1-19B1; pub. A, paras. 29-30). "Some time later," the arrangements under which Kū, Yū, and Ū served as local tax collectors was strengthened when the king (where?) assigned royal commissioners to assist them. Later, Rāma, the son of Ū, was appointed to govern Nagara. An appended note adds one detail about the marriage relations of this curious family.

XVI. A Curious Tale (MS. A, ff<sup>o</sup> 19B1-20B1; pub. A, para. 31) sa  
This curious tale, presented as hearsay ("it is said"), states that two women were sent from Nagara to the king to be executed. The sequel

to this story, which is written in a very confused fashion, has the man who conducted them to their deaths being himself punished for a slight against the monarch.

XVII. Undiscovered Treasure (MS. A, ff<sup>o</sup> 20B1-20B7; pub. A, para. 32) concerns a local legend of buried treasure which Ū, Kū, and Yū sought without success.

XVIII. The Ladies' Complaint (MS. A, ff<sup>o</sup> 20B7-21B7, ?23A1-25A4; pub. A, para. 33, has only the beginning of this episode).<sup>32</sup> This episode is concerned with the tax/labor system of Nagara, and the complaints of two ladies, Kṛiṣṇā and Dḍñ Samuk (Samud?), about its decline. These two women are not further identified, and their relationship with Kū, Yū, and Ū, or with the Bejrapurī line, is not specified. The tale is introduced with a reference to a khun Indrā, the ruler of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja. The printed version of A includes only the beginning of this tale, which continues on for another 11 lines on the last page of the obverse of MS. A, and may be continued for another 29 lines on the reverse.

At this point, Version A (or, rather, the "chronicle" portion of it) ends. Version B and MS. B<sub>1</sub> take up the tale.

XIX. Lāntakā and Srah (B, para. 16). There is a strong genealogical connection which links this section of B to episode XV above (A, paragraph 30): it tells of the birth of a brah Hlā to the ruler of Lāntakā, an ancient site some 25 km. west of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja. The parallel passage in A (19A6-7) mentions a brah Hlān, a ruler of Lānsahkā (clearly the same place, and surely the same man), who married the grand-niece of Kū, of the Bejrapurī line. Within the (notional) chronology of Version A, then, this episode in B follows quite naturally after the end of the A version as we have it. Beyond this genealogical information, however, this episode in B is unclear. The remainder of the section is concerned with mo'an Srah, which after an epidemic is evacuated to Nagara.

---

<sup>32</sup> See above, pages 19-22.

XX. Abortive Re-discovery of the Reliquary (B, para. 17). This brief tale relates how a travelling Thai chief (nāy daiy) accidentally discovers the old Great Reliquary of Nagara and leads two local monks to see it. The latter, however, are frightened away by tiger tracks, and return to their own monastery.

XXI. Re-discovery and Reconstruction of the Great Reliquary (B, para. 18; MS. B<sub>1</sub>, ff<sup>o</sup> 1B1-9B3). This episode has to do with another discovery of the Great Reliquary of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja, this time by a white-robed ascetic whom B says is from Ayudhyā. His report back to the king resulted in the sending to Nagara of what amounted to a royal commission charged with rebuilding the reliquary and gathering together again all the monastery slaves, upon whose backs rested the prosperity of Buddhism in the South. This mission was led by a monk, another<sub>1</sub>(?) Dasaśrī of Pegu; a civil officer, a lictor; and the ascetic, Ariyabaṅsa. There follows a detailed list of other monks who came to Nagara and founded monasteries, and a lengthy description of how the work of re-building the Great Reliquary was organized. Upon the death of Braḥ Śrī Mahārāja, the ruler of Lāntakā (son of the braḥ Hlā mentioned above, Episode XIX), seems to have moved from Lāntakā to Nagara, his son, khun Indārā, succeeding him. Commanded to present his daughter to the king in Ayudhyā, Indārā tried to fob off on Ayudhyā the daughter of an elephant doctor instead, but was found out and executed. His son, Śrī Danū then succeeded him as ruler of Lāntakā, and Nagara again was deserted, rulerless, for some time.

It is with this episode that MS. B<sub>1</sub> comes to complicate matters. It is clear from the outset that B<sub>1</sub> is close to the original on which B is based, and compared to it, B reads very much as a paraphrase of B<sub>1</sub>. B<sub>1</sub> is more repetitive, more confusing in its style and orthography, and B appears frequently to have "corrected" B<sub>1</sub> in such matters. From this point in B--paragraph 18 of the printed version of B--through to its end, MS. B<sub>1</sub> must be regarded as the fuller version.

XXII. The Revival of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja (MS. B<sub>1</sub>, ff<sup>o</sup> 9B3-17A1; B, paras. 19-20). The subsequent episode, dealing primarily with the full reconstruction of the Great Reliquary, begins with different

dates in the two versions: B has Śrī Danū appointed ruler of Nagara in 1815 of an unspecified era; while B<sub>1</sub> specifies 1415 of the Mahā-Śākarāja. There are two good reasons to choose the latter date, which is equivalent to A.D. 14931 (a) the 4 in MS. B<sub>1</sub> is clearly written, while if poorly written in the original of Version B it could easily have been mistaken for an 8, as the two figures are roughly similar-- 4 and 8 --; and (b) 1815 is, on the whole, an unreasonable date in any era for the relationships described in this episode.<sup>33</sup> This is an important date, when the precincts of the Reliquary assumed their present form, and when the first great register of monastery slaves in South Thailand was compiled by orders of, and under the supervision of, Ayudhyā. The detailed account given here of the building of the gallery around the reliquary, with 165 rooms in which 165 Buddha images were enshrined, is interesting both in the light of the present form of that gallery, and in view of the fact that numerous individuals, including the rulers of such states as Kedah, Kelantan, Trāṅ, Bādaluṅ, and Sāya, are mentioned by name as having been charged with the construction of portions of the gallery. Various measured portions of wall around the gallery then, in addition, were apportioned to various monks and laymen to be constructed. The two versions of these works are not identical. Both list the assignments of image rooms and lengths of wall, and neither adds up to the full total given. Each mentions portions of the totals omitted by the other, so there is little to choose between the two versions.

XXIII. Further Land Registers and Religious Foundations (MS. B<sub>1</sub>, ff<sup>o</sup> 17A1-26A4, 28B1-30B2; B, paras. 21-22). This episode, which is given in almost identical form in both versions, is of considerable interest and no little puzzlement. It begins with an ecclesiastical petition to khun Indārā requesting the endowment of monasteries with lands and slaves, which Indārā takes to the capital; the result of which is the appointment of a new governor (not ruler) of Nagara, the elevation of Indārā to the unexplained title of Śrī Mahārājā, and the

---

<sup>33</sup>B.E. 1815=A.D. 1271; C.Ś. 815=A.D. 1453 (otherwise reasonable, but a time of warfare in the area); M.S. 1815=A.D. 1893 (!).

compiling of a great register of monastery lands in the region by a nāy Sām Còm, "in Mahāśākarāja 1550" (=A.D. 1628?). The remainder of this episode then details the land allotments which Sām Còm registered; though the possibility remains that this reference is actually to an earlier survey, re-examined in 1550.<sup>34</sup>

XXIV. Marriage Relations (MS. B<sub>1</sub>, ff<sup>o</sup> 30B3-33B1). MS. B<sub>1</sub> then interjects information contained in no other source, detailing the marriage relations of the family of khun Indārā/Śrī Mahārājā with the official and ruling classes in the Malay Peninsula and elsewhere, including Sukhodāya, mo'añ Srah, Pāndāy Damò, Sāya, Kelantan, and Bādaluñ. This section also mentions further official appointments, the allocation of tax revenues, and more good works in Nagara.

XXV. Two New Governors (B, paras. 23-24). This section, of which only one sentence appears in MS. B<sub>1</sub>, conflicts with episode XXIV above, in terms of temporal sequence. Almost at the end of episode XXIV in B<sub>1</sub> (f<sup>o</sup> 33A1) there is mention of a bra Dibarājā, younger brother of the Governor of Subarnapurī, coming to Nagara as deputy governor, apparently still in the period of khun Indārā; yet in Version B (para. 24, line 5) the Śrī Mahārājā has long since died, another Śrī Mahārājā after him has died, and yet another ruler has come to Nagara. Furthermore, Version B here has provided a series of dates which can be shown to fit in the sequence of dates established in both Version B and MS. B<sub>1</sub> for events before and after those assigned to this episode. As given in Version B, in an unspecified era which has to be Buddhist Era (-544=A.D.), these dates are 1861 (A.D. 1317) for the death of khun Indārā/Śrī Mahārājā; and 1919 (A.D. 1375) for the appointment of hluan Śrī Varāvañṣa. At the end of his rule, the "Arū" attacked Nagara, seized Bādaluñ, and were then defeated by the deputy governor Dibarājā, mentioned above. These dates certainly are problematic, and must await further treatment.

XXVI. Troubles, A.D. 1495-1500 (MS. B<sub>1</sub>, ff<sup>o</sup> 33B1-35B1; B, paras. 25-27). A series of events follows, concentrated, and dated clearly, in the last five years of the sixteenth century, A.D. 1495-1500. B

---

<sup>34</sup>The earliest of the Bādaluñ land-grant records (A.D. 1610, see pp. 59-62 below) cites the survey of nāy Sām Còm as its earliest precedent, prior to several sixteenth-century events, so that survey must be considerably earlier than 1610.

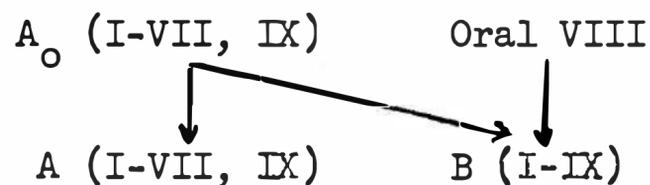
correctly reproduces the first of these, 2039, but misreads the next two dates, which fall in the same context, as 2141 and 2144. MS. B<sub>1</sub> is unambiguously clear, and has the dates as 2039 for the appointment of a new governor, who is recalled in 2041 (1497). A new governor is faced immediately by an attack by forces from Ujañ Tanah (Ujong Tanah--"Land's End," Johore?). B<sub>1</sub> details this war more fully than B and records more accurately such Malay forms as Ujañ Tanah and Laksamāhnā (vs. the Ujañ Ganah and Lākpaḥmāhnā of B). It makes it clear that the governor again was recalled, and gives substantial details about the continuation of this warfare in 1500.

XXVII. Further Warfare, A.D. 1532-53 (MSa B<sub>1</sub>, ff<sup>o</sup> 35B1-37A1; B, parasa 28-29). The conflict of dates between B<sub>1</sub> and B continues through this final episode of the chronicle, B<sub>1</sub> giving 20(7 or 9)6, 2079, "later", and 209(7); where B has 2171 and 2197a. The crux of the problem is the second digit in the date, which in the MS. is perfectly clear and cannot be a 1. This episode again is primarily concerned with appointments or elevations of governors, and further warfare with Ujong Tanah, and the chronicle concludes with the transfer of the governor of Tenasserim to become governor of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja. Here, again, B<sub>1</sub> gives a fuller account of events, and B usually reads like a paraphrase of B<sub>1</sub>.

The relations between A, B, and B<sub>1</sub> are reasonably clear from their contents. In the most general sense, B is related to both A and B<sub>1</sub>, and there is no relationship whatsoever between A and B<sub>1</sub>. B, however, is both more and less than a combination of MSS. A and B<sub>1</sub>, as it includes some things which both omit, and omits some episodes or details they include.

The first clear relationship between the texts falls in the area covered by episodes I-IX (A, paras. 1-10; B, paras. 1-15). Through this section, A and B are simply two similar versions of the same tale, with two exceptions and numerous minor variations. The two exceptions are (a) the omission in A of the story of the rediscovery of Nagara by the Aśoka of Indapātapurī, and (b) the omission in A of the story of relations with Javā. The first omission probably is more apparent than

real, as the relevant folios of A are missing, and the full MS. A probably did include the Aśoka-Indapātapurī story. The second, Javā episode is a clear interpolation by B; and the form which B takes here strongly suggests that its material comes from oral tradition. Using Roman numerals to designate episodes, we might schematically represent the relationship of A and B for episodes I-IX as follows:



A and B are sufficiently close, and at times identical, through this section of the narrative, to require the supposition that both worked from a written source, though their variations in spelling, and at times in sequence, are such that neither may be said to be a direct version of the other. We thus posit the existence of an original version A of episodes I-VII and IX, termed A<sub>0</sub>.

The next portion of the chronicle, episodes X-XVIII (A, paras. 11-33), is unique to A. None of the incidents related, nor individuals mentioned, have clear counterparts in B or B<sub>1</sub>, although it is not impossible that the latter portions of A might reflect hazy oral traditions of events which in B are related from better sources.

Episodes X-XII are the most clearly unique, without any relationship whatsoever to B. They go directly to the core of what is surely the most neglected, and at the same time most controversial, "little" tradition in Thai historiography--the legends of "Thai" states in the lower Caubrahya River basin in the period prior to the foundation of Ayudhya in 1350. A's detailed account of the connection with Bejrapurī, and of the establishing of Malay rulers under Thai patronage, resists checking against any external sources save for its vague congruences with some of the legends of the "Chronicles of the North" (bañśāvatāra hno'a).<sup>35</sup>

Episode XIII, which details the settlement of the South, is clearly

---

<sup>35</sup>It shows, however, strong parallels with the newly-discovered The Short History of the Kings of Siam by Jeremias van Vliet (Bangkok, 1975).

local in character. Most of this section consists of a listing of individuals responsible for clearing various rice-lands, in what appears to be (although many toponyms defy identification) exclusively the area of the present-day provinces of Surāṣṭradhānī and Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja. The information recounted here may very well derive from local, oral traditions.

Episodes XIV-XVII can be reduced to a central theme: the special status of one group of people with respect to their rights to labor service and taxes in lieu of labor, granted them by royal favor in paragraph 22, and maintained by their descendents. It is in the light of this theme that episode XVIII, as well as MS. A as a whole, must be assessed. If, as has already been argued,<sup>36</sup> MS. A should be read with the "chronicle" at the end of the text, rather than the beginning, i.e., beginning with f<sup>o</sup> 23A, then it is clear that the Version A "Chronicle" which we have in published form should be regarded as an historical document drawn up for the special purpose of supporting particularistic claims on the Thai court for special treatment, dated probably some time in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. There is no doubt that portions of the MS. are so late, and no doubt that it was compiled from more than one written record. Much of the MS. seems irrelevant, or only marginally important to the case that the compiler seems to have been trying to make, unless we suppose that larger issues implicitly were at stake.

In comparing MS. A and Version B, it is notable that A has several clear biases. A almost completely omits the various connections with the Burmese, (especially Episode II), asserts more strongly Nagara's role in the Malay world (Episode XII), and, in a way, legitimizes Nagara and the immediate claimants (who are apparently the descendents or heirs of Kū, Yū, and Ū) by tying Nagara and themselves to the Thai monarchy through the Bejrapurī house and (implicitly) the so-called Chiañsèn dynasty of Ayudhyā, which was the real legitimate dynasty in the historiography of the early Bangkok period. In addition, the text states strongly (Episodes XIV-XV) the extent to which Ayudhyā sanctioned the labor arrangements which are the subjects of contention; and the compiler, in his selection of documents for the MS., lays stress upon

---

<sup>36</sup>Above, pp. 21-22.

Nagara's faithfulness to its suzerain, and the justice of his case in terms of Bangkok's laws.

We may say, then, that the Version A chronicle is a legal document pleading a case, based upon carefully-selected local history, folklore, and administrative records. It may be said to have been drawn up in Nagara by the legal officer of that town, between 1801 and 1825.

Analysis of the relationship between A and B obviously also says most of what there is to say about the relationship between B and A. We know, or can reasonably presume, that B, like A, is based upon sources similar, or identical, to those used by A in its accounts of Episodes I-VII and IX. We have noted how it omits mention of Episodes X-XVIII. With respect to Episodes XI and XIII-XVIII, B's omission of these is understandable, if these episodes are regarded as essentially family history. One cannot argue here--although the thought might suggest itself--that the author of B was simply demonstrating his more critical historical judgment in rejecting these semi-legendary tales, for he has included his own share of such (e.g., Episode VIII). Instead, the author of B had different purposes in mind. The author of B is concerned primarily with the religious history of Nagara, as well as with the independent existence of the environment in which Buddhism flourished in Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja. Thus his account is for the most part much more open in character, relatively more free of the sorts of sensitivities which may have led the author of A to omit the Burmese--and perhaps Cambodian--dimensions of Nagara's past; and the author of B deals with the Malay and Ayudhyā connections of Nagara in a much more relaxed, and less assertive, fashion. One suspects that his neglect of the Bejrapurī connection (Episode X) is due simply to his lack of materials on that subject, which have never been very strong, although in this case he also may be demonstrating a particular bias. He devotes much less attention than the author of A to the allocation of land and labor, and much more attention to the good works involved in building and maintaining the Great Reliquary of Nagara. As a whole, his document, like the chronicles of such religious monuments as the dhātu of Jianhmai, Nān, and Nagara Bnam,<sup>37</sup> seems

---

<sup>37</sup>See Praḥjum tāpnān brah̄ dhātu, pt. 2 (Bangkok, 1967), which includes histories of these three monuments and of that of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja.

almost to merge the identity of the mo'añ with the state and fate of the dhātu; mo'añ and dhātu being, as it were, interrelated symbols of the physical and spiritual existence of a community.

The relationship between B and B<sub>1</sub> is much clearer and more immediate, not least because there is little in B<sub>1</sub> that is not in B, but much in A that is not found in B. It has already been argued that the author of B seems to write from local legend in his unique accounts of Episodes XIX and XX. When B<sub>1</sub> begins, with Episode XXI, we seem immediately to be presented in both versions with real history, written from records or reasonably reliable accounts of events in the not-so-distant past. There are several things about these texts which suggests that neither is simply a version of the other, but rather that both represent independent versions of another or other versions, which we might term B<sub>0</sub>. First, there is one section in B<sub>1</sub> which is not included in B, Episode XXIV, concerning the marriage relations of the ruler of Nagara with the official families of other states or provinces. Moreover, the two versions have conflicting accounts of Episodes XXV (where they barely overlap), XXVI, and XXVII, although the extent of conflict varies separately in each case. Finally, to argue the opposite case, there is at least one instance in which both repeat an obvious mistake (B<sub>1</sub>, f<sup>o</sup> 21A2; and B, para. 21, line 31), where both have bayā or bañā where the word should be bayāpāla). Numerous other verbal differences can be noted, as many are in the notes to the translation; but many of these might be the fault of the copyist or editor of the published version. The lists of persons responsible for religious works in Episode XXI are sufficiently at variance to weigh against either version being composed directly from the other. The possibility that each relied on an assortment of documentary materials for the episodes in question is militated against by the close manner in which each preserves the same sequence of actions and events.

Generally speaking, B often reads like a condensed version of our hypothetical B<sub>0</sub>, while B<sub>1</sub> seems to reproduce all the details available to its author. There may be a simple explanation of this: although Thai folded manuscripts in theory can run to any length, they would appear to average out in the vicinity of twenty to twenty-five folios

to each side of the MS. sheet. B<sub>1</sub> easily covers its material using only 37 folios of a 52 folio MS., and then writes only eight lines to the page. We do not have the original MS. of B; but as it includes all that is in Episodes I-VII plus IX of A, which take up almost thirteen 12-14 line pages of MS. A, the author of B probably reached the end of Episode IX of A<sub>0</sub> having already expended (assuming that he wrote no smaller than the copyist of A) perhaps one-third more space than A on Episodes I-IX,<sup>38</sup> say, seventeen pages, and even more if he had been more liberal in his use of paper than the copyist of A. He would have remaining perhaps twenty or so pages of an average-sized MS. in which to condense what may have extended to as much as 37 pages in a copy of B<sub>0</sub> similar to our B<sub>1</sub>.

There is no doubt that he did condense from B<sub>0</sub>. This is especially the case in his treatment of Episode XXI, where the tale of the redissacovery of the Great Reliquary is reduced by more than one-half. In the latter section of this episode, the language of the text is different in B than in B<sub>1</sub>, more modern words appearing in B where B<sub>1</sub> has archaic words not found in any modern dictionaries.<sup>39</sup> Similar condensation occurs to a lesser extent in Episodes XXII and XXIII, much of which is taken up with lengthy lists; but even there, B omits the repetitive "from there (tè nān pai)" of B<sub>1</sub>. Episodes XXVI and XXVII are presented in much fuller form in B<sub>1</sub> than in B. Episodes XXIV and XXV are the exceptionssa XXIV appears only in B<sub>1</sub>, and XXV only in B (with the exception of a single sentence.)

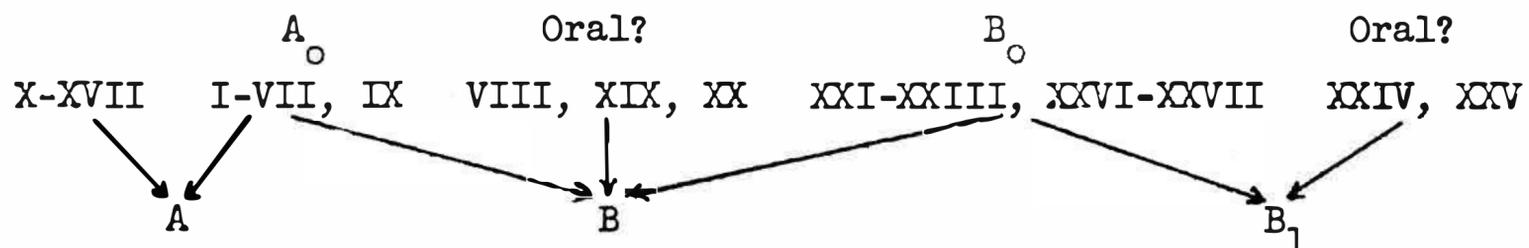
Because this pattern of condensation is succeeded by a section of variation, it appears necessary to postulate the existence of more than one source for B and B<sub>1</sub>. This seems particularly appropriate in view of the fact that, although the wording, and even spelling, of B and B<sub>1</sub> closely parallel each other to the end of Episode XXIII, they cover similar events in different language, and often disagree after that point. B inserts Episode XXV, B<sub>1</sub> has Episode XXIV, and

---

<sup>38</sup>Based upon the lines of print expended in the published version--ca. 150 (A) vs. 195 (B).

<sup>39</sup>Where B<sub>1</sub> has "dhu,saB has "rū'<sup>a</sup>," and B<sub>1</sub> uses "lo'k brah̥sātsanā" which B omitssa

their accounts of Episodes XXVI and XXVII are different. These latter episodes may reflect oral traditions of relatively recent events, or perhaps written elaborations on some such chronological records as astrologers' notebooks. To summarize, we might schematically represent the relationship between A, B, and B<sub>1</sub> as follows:



B and B<sub>1</sub> are, then, quite similar documents, which can be distinguished primarily by the scope of each. Both are essentially religious records glorifying Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja and its religion. B<sub>1</sub>, however, is much more immediate and modest than B, and, in a sense, is a static document. Although it moves through time, the bulk of the document is focused on a temporal and symbolic order established at one point in time, upon a past which is not recalled, and combined in a single whole by listing those who joined in the rebuilding of the Great Reliquary. One need not do violence to the record as a whole to consider its final episodes, XXVI and XXVII, as mere appendices. B is quite different in its scope. Not only does it demonstrate a much deeper time perspective; it also connects the living Buddhist situation of Nagara both with a wider Southeast Asian world, of which Java, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Cambodia, and Siam are parts, and with a wider Buddhist tradition--the story of the Tooth Relic of the Buddha.

B and B<sub>1</sub> are almost impossible to date. One might follow Prince Bidyālañkaraṇa in presuming them to have been drawn up for the last governor named in the texts; but our MS. obviously is of not such antiquity as A.D. 1553. Both are clearly later copies--B probably of the mid- or late-19th century; and B<sub>1</sub> somewhat earlier, but probably not earlier than 1801, as its script employs tone markers in relatively modern fashion. We can assume that the hypothetical MSS. B<sub>0</sub> on which B and B<sub>1</sub> are thought to have been based, and A<sub>0</sub>, on which A and B are based, are earlier than any of these dates, but we

have no way of knowing how many times either may have been copied or modified before A, S<sub>1</sub>, and B<sub>1</sub> were compiled. We can, however, gain some confidence in the trustworthiness of these records by a brief examination of other historical records of South Thailand.