

CHAPTER FIVE

MEDIAEVAL NAGARA: THE NORTHERN TRADITION

As explained earlier, Versions A and B of the Nagara chronicles run closely together through their first nine episodes; that is, through the arrival and despatch of the Sihiṅga Buddha image, with the involvement of Brah Ruan, and through conflict with dāv Ū Ddñ and (according to Version B) with Javā to the third abandonment of the city. From this point they diverge widely, so much so that they must be treated as completely different accounts, though whether of the same or different events remains to be proven.

Because of the manner in which Version A is so reminiscent of such legends of early Thai history as those contained in the so-called "Annals of the North" (bañśāvatāra hno'a);¹ and, more generally, because it frequently has been employed to buttress the arguments of what might be called the "Northern School" of Thai historiography in favor of pre-Ayudhyā Thai states in central and south Siam, it is treated here as the "Northern tradition" of Nagara's history. What in fact is "Northern" in this account is a particular set of political and economic relationships sanctioned at an early date by rulers in the North, at Bejrapuri and Ayudhya, and it is these which are the real subject of this document.

¹Translated by Camille Notton as Légendes sur le Siam et le Cambodge (Annales du Siam, t. IV; Bangkok, 1939). In addition, the initial episode is at some points parallel to one in Jeremias van Vliet, The Short History of the Kings of Siam (Bangkok, 1975).

EPISODE X: BEJRAPURĪ AND BNAMDALE

[3B] Originally, it is said, brah Bnamdahle Śrī Mahesvāstidrādhirāja-kṣātriya, an elder prince, grandson of the king,¹ left his paternal grandparents and established himself at Bejrapurī, taking with him 33,000 men, sa 500 war elephants, and 700 horses; 54,000 additional troops following him [later]. He set up a fortified palace fronted by a lawn and dwellings for his concubines. He then had the salt fields worked,² and sent [the product] to his grandparents. His grandparents were greatly impressed, saying, "Our grandson is intelligent and wise, and we are pleased." Then they sent this message to their grandson, presenting him with a royal palanquin, a palanquin, a three-tiered parasol, a three- or five-tiered parasol, an embroidered sunshade, a leaf-shaped sunshade, a fly-whisk, and a palm-leaf fan. Then the grandparents issued an order to their

[4A] grandson, stating that "Wherever you go, inform your grandparents." / He had 300 paddy fields worked at Pāñ Tahbān, and then established himself at the edge of the sea. He ruled at Bejrapurī not long.

A Chinese sampan was blown in, and the people of Bejrapurī led its Chinese master³ bearing tribute to an audience with the king. He asked

¹Who is this king? It is not the ruler of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, for in this episode Nagara does not exist. According to brah Parihāradēbadhānī, op. cit., II, pp. 13-16, Bnamdahle was the son of King Jayaśiri of Vian Jāyaprākāra, and grandson of King Brahma, who came from the extreme north of Siam. The same source, based upon an imaginative construction of the Baṅśātāra hno'sa dates Bnamdahle's sa arrival in Bejrapurī in B.E. 17⁴⁷ (=A.D. 1204).

²The Bejrapurī (Phetburi) region has always been known for salt production: see Sir John Bowring, The Kingdom and People of Siam (London, 1857; reprinted Kuala Lumpur, 1969), I, p. 23; and J.-B. Pallegoix, Description du royaume thai ou Siam (Paris, 1854), I, pp. 98, 117.

³Printed text has khun lām cīn, which could be read as "Chinese interpreter." Lām, however, would seem to be a mistake for lām, the

the king to give him sappanwood, and the king gave him enough sappanwood to fill his sampan, which he took to the Emperor of China. The Emperor of China was greatly pleased and impressed, and said, "Brah Bnandahle Śrī Mahen[carādhirājakṣātriya . . . has established himself by the sea. We should send our daughter, nāñ / Cāndradevī Śrīpādarājaputrīddṅsamudra, [4B] to be the queen of the elder prince and royal issue, the ruler of Bejrapurī." Nāñ Cāndradevī Śrīpādarājaputrīddṅsamudra was the daughter of nāñ Cāndramaulī Śrīpādarājaputrī Śrīddṅsamudra, who [in turn] was the daughter of nāñ Cāndramaulī Śrīpādanārthasuravañś, who was born in a betel blossom in Cāmpā⁴hipatī, sawent to become queen of the Emperor saf China, and gave birth to this nāñ Cāndradevī Śrīpādarājaputrī Śrīddṅsamudra. The Emperor of China ordered the preparation of nineteen sampans, and then arranged for nāñ Cāndradevī to be presented to the king as his queen. /saThe [5A] Emperor of China also ordered gold, silver, (luxurious cloths), concubines and servants for nāñ Cāndradevī to the number of 7,400 for the Chinese shipmaster to present to the king. The king [of Bejrapurī] set up a walled stockade.⁵ He commanded khun Kāmbènbrahmarājarījaiya, the ruler of mo'añ Sukkramabāta,⁶ to take [one of?] the concubines as his consort, and cau Śrī to act as her lady-in-waiting,⁷ and gave him mo'añ.

classifier word for sāmbhau, "sampan"; and khun is used here in substitution for nāy. Thus, "ship's master, captain."

⁴I.e., Campā. As far as I am aware, this is the only reference in all of Thai historical literature to the ancient kingdom of Campā. A search of the literature on Campā turns up no corroboration for this reference. There are, however, similar tales of a Cham princess, also associated with a mission to China, in Java.saSee D.G.E. Hall, A History of South-East Asia (3rd ed., London, 1968), pp. 80-84; and T.S. Raffles, The History of Java (London, 1817; reprinted Kuala Lumpur, 1965), v. II, pp. 115-129.

⁵tēñ gāy kāmbeñ brahmanāśabimaladāna?

⁶Unidentifiable.

⁷brah bī lian.

- [5B] Brèk¹ / to govern. Cau Śrī Rājā, a brave and fearless man, he sent with soldiers to build each mo'añ, and he had those soldiers go to every mo'añ. The king had thirty sons and thirty daughters. Brah Bnamvāñ² and nāñ Sahtiañdñ³ said, "You have raised us till now, and you will continue to be our lord until the sun and moon disappear, and when they disappear, you will disappear also. We have matured because of your goodness, but in future it must cease." The king sent brah Bnamvāñ and nāñ Sahtiañdñ to / found Nagara Tòn Braḥ,⁴ giving them 700 troops, 50 Malays,⁵ 3 elephants, and 2 horses, [saying], "Go and live in Nagara Tòn Braḥ, and may your sons and grandsons rule that mo'añ. [When you] have children, boys and girls, send them to be my servants. Any mo'añ which may become your vassals, send the Malays to rule over and become tributaries of Nagara Tòn Braḥ and send you tribute in gold. Under the heavens may you in your distant home / make it your task to build up your state and the great reliquary until it is completed." Then [the king] commanded cau Śrī Rājā,⁶ the son of brah Bnamvāñ and nāñ Sahtiañdñ, to enter carrying gems and gold for [the reliquary?]. The king commanded that
- [6A]
- [6B]

¹Ancient name for Jāyanāda (Chainat).

²Context shortly makes it clear that Bnamvāñ is the son of Bnamdahle.

³Lady Sahtiañdñ ("Golden Falcon") was the wife of Bnamvāñ. According to brah Pārihāra, she was the daughter of the king of mo'añ Trāyatru'sa. On this latter locality, see Dhanit Yupho, Mo'añ trāiyatru'nṣa, ū dñ lèh ayodhyā.

⁴Yiamyañ (Rāmlu'k jāti tai, p. 111) asserts that the ruins of Nagara Tòn Braḥ are on the edge of the sea east of Baḥsaṅga Mtn. in the Kāncanatiṣṭha district of Surasṭradhānī province.

⁵khèk, which literally means "guest," nowadays can be used to refer to any Muslim. In this chronicle it is always associated with people of the Malay states of the peninsula, and may be taken here to mean "Malay."

they turn the forest to paddy fields in every village, that they proclaim to those living in the mountains that they should come and make their paddy fields and live in the area, that their villages might have names; that brah Bnamvāñ frame laws; and that cau Śrī Rājā would return to the king⁷ and inform him. / This much did the king order. Brah Bnamvāñ and nāñ Sahtiañdñ and Śrī Rājā left him. This much did the king order, and dated it in the year 1588, Year of the Horse.⁸

[7A.]

EPISODE XI: DESCENDENTS AND SETTLEMENTS OF THE BĒJRAPURĪ LINE

When brah Bnamvāñ and nāñ Sahtiañdñ and Śrī Rājā left to come⁹ and found mo'añ Nagara Tòn Braḥ, brah Bnamvāñ and nāñ Sahtiañdñ came⁹ and established their home by a pond¹⁰ outside mo'añ Tòn Braḥ. They made the forest into rice fields: they built the Duñ Khen, Dā Dñ,¹¹

⁶ Presumably this is the same cau Śrī Rājā mentioned on the preceding page. Brah Parihāra, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 26-28, 56-57 and Table, p. 16, considers him the heir, through his mother (nāñ Sahtiañdñ), to the throne of mo'añ Trāyatru'ñsa. According to him, cau Śrī Rājā was the title of the heir to that throne. This man supposedly married the daughter (nāñ Sanasai) of his mother's brother, and they were the parents of Rāmādhīpatī I, the founder of Ayudhyā.

⁷ I.e., in Bējrapurī.

⁸ This date does not make good sense. On the MS., it is not clearly written, only the second and fourth digits being absolutely clear. There is no later date in the printed portion of MS. A to limit it; and the only earlier one is 1196 in an unspecified era. It would be tempting to read this date as M.S. 1288=A.D. 1366, but there are many other possible "horse" years: e.g. B.E. 1598 (A.D. 1054); B.E. 1898 (A.D. 1355); M.S. 988 (A.D. 1066); C.S. 548 (A.D. 1186), etc. Brah Parihāra (op. cit., II, p. 7) states that Bansavāñ and Sahtiañdñ went to found Tòn Braḥ "after B.E. 1820" (=A.D. 1276). This date remains to be settled.

⁹ Note how the author here writes from a local perspective.

¹⁰ tāñ pāñ ayū cañ sraḥsa this may be a toponym. It is sometimes spelled Cruñ Srah.

¹¹ In the Kāncanadiṣṭha district of Surāṣṭradhānī province.

Jaiyagrāma, Kraḥṇḍm, Saḥbian, Traḥjana, and Klòñ rice fields; and they had nāy Rāk, nāy Rāja, and nāy Khiav go and build the rice fields of mo'añ Jaiyā. The maternal grandparents of these three were khun Śrī Bala and nāñ Ām.¹ Nāy Ai and nāy Brahma, whose maternal grandfather was khun Deba, went to build mo'añ / Jumbara. Nāy Śrī and nāy Sai, whose maternal grandfather was khun Deba, went to build the fields of Pāñ Saḥbāñ.² Nāy Yòt went to build the fields of Viañ Srah.³ In Nagara Tòn Braḥ, malevolent spirits brought a fever of which many died, and all fled from Nagara Tòn Braḥ into the mountains. Brah Bnamvāñ and nāñ Saḥtiañḍòñ had three sons: cau Śrī Rājā, cau Sanatrā, and cau Kumāra. Cau Śrī Rājā took nāñ Sana, niece of brah Bnamvāñ,⁴ as his wife, and went to build rice fields in mo'añ Sra-ulau. Cau Kumāra took nāñ Cāndra, niece of brah Bnamvāñ, as his wife, and made his home near the sea at Traḥṇḍm, where they built the Śrī Jina rice fields; and they stayed at Thahmò Dā Dòñ⁵ where they built the Duñ En rice fields. Cau Sāntrā took Indrājā as his wife / and built the Saḥbian and Kaḥṇḍm rice fields. All these were built. Nāy Jiañsèn lived in mo'añ

¹An attempt at making sense of these genealogical details is embodied in Appendix V.

²Pāñ Saḥbāñ and Pāñ Taḥbāñ are the same place, regularly confused in Version A: see Index.

³Viañ Srah is an ancient site in the Pāñ Nā Sār district of Surāṣṭradhānī province. Its ruins feature a moat, monastery remains, and an ancient rice plain. See the volume on Cāñhvāt Surāṣṭradhānī published in the series commemorating the Buddhist Year 2500, p. 19. See also H.G. Quaritch Wales, Towards Angkor (London, 1937), pp. 74-76, 149, 152.

⁴See above, p. 104, fn. 3, for another reference to this woman. By brah Parihāra's account, op. cit., she was the niece of Saḥtiañḍòñ, not Banamavāñ.

⁵This toponym might be broken into two as "near (tām) Thahmò [and] Dā Dòñ," probably in Kāncanadiṣṭha district.

Alònsai;⁶ and in Jaiyagrāma, nāy Maṅgalaa. These two were nephews of nān Saḥtiaṅdòñ. The nieces of nān Saḥtiaṅdòñ were nān Gāmbějra, nān Kèv, and nān Òn. The nieces of brah Bnamvāñ were nān Rājā, nān Śrī, nān Kèn, nān Bahbhū, nān Bějra, nān Deśa, nān Puñkòñ, and nān Prahbhāvati, [all together] eight people.

The nephews/grandsons⁷ of nān Saḥtiaṅdòñ were nāy Sèn, nāy Kèv, nāy Śrī Daiya, nāy Jāta, nāy Deba, nāy Śrī Cān, nāy Yū, nāy Saiya, nāy Sām, nāy Jahnaḥ, nāy Vāmo'añ, nāy In, nāy Śrī, nāy Gota, and nāy Rata. / All of these named here are considered as the ancestors of those children and grandchildren who succeeded them, and all these descendents were made to memorize the names of their ancestors, their uncles and maternal grandfather, that they might recognize them.⁸

[8B]

Nān Kruñ Mo'añ, younger sister of brah Bnamvāñ; nān Cānlaudòñ, nān Bahdòñ, nān Bāndòñ, nieces/granddaughters of brah Bnamvāñ: nān Kruñ Mo'añ was the mother of cau Cāndakumāra; nān Laudòñ was the mother of cau Kū; nān Bāndòñ was the mother of cau Yū, nān Kèv, and nān Hañ. Nān Yūphòñ, younger sister of nān Saḥtiaṅdòñ; nān Suka, nān Gām, nān Tām, nān Kòndòñ, nān Klè, maternal aunts of nān Saḥtiaṅdòñ; nān Puñ, nān Òn, nān Subhādrā, nān Kliañ, nān Yèm, maternal aunts of brah Bnamvāñ; / and nān Dòñ, nān Ro'añ, nān Rātmo'añ, nieces of nān Saḥtiaṅdòñ, [all] were born in this village by the pond. [They] had all their female

[9A]

⁶ Alònsai is reminiscent of the town/village of Along, which appears on the Robert (1751) and Neptune Oriental (1781) maps on the coast immediately north of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja--"Ligor." Might it be identified with modern Srī Jana? Six early maps are reproduced as Map 3, p. xvii.

⁷ hlān, a maddeningly vague term.

⁸ This last sentence is translated with much uncertainty.

descendents memorize the names of all these maternal grandmothers and great-grandparents, and all these ancestors, that they might recognize them.

The King died,¹ and his ashes were divided up and put in reliquaries in various monasteries, and his relatives were divided up to maintain the reliquaries as monastery slaves in those places, and they all put themselves at His Majesty's mercy,² [asking that] if they had children and grandchildren, these would be presented as slaves to the King without fail.³ This was as brah Bnamvāñ and nāñ Sahtiañdñ had / agreed.

EPISODE XII: ESTABLISHING MALAY RULERS

Brah Bnamvāñ and nāñ Sahtiañdñ arranged for nine boats for the Malays, for them to go as rulers to each Malay mo'añ. They appointed ce Umā to eat mo'añ Nihana⁴ as rājā Parahmāt, with ce Mīrapū as his wife; ce Ravāñsā was appointed to eat mo'añ Cahnadebā⁵ as rājā Ravāñ, with ce Lāpū as his wife; ce Sūmā was appointed to eat mo'añ Pahāñ as rājā Paramesarā with ce Sūmā as his wife; ce Śrī Suthrā was appointed to eat mo'añ [Pat-]Tāñī as rājā Riddhideva,⁶ with ce Śrī Ge as his wife;

¹Who died? Not Bnamvāñ, for he would have been mentioned by name, and his death is reported below, p. 110. The Bejrapurī ruler, or even his grandfather, seems to be indicated here.

²"His Majesty" here seems to refer to the new Bejrapurī ruler, or his overlord.

³The implication is that the status of monastery slaves was felt to be desirable, no doubt as it exempted individuals from compulsory labor (and military) service and tied them permanently to monasteries near their homes.

⁴Nihana (pron. Yihon): the only toponym in Thailand which approaches this is Yīñ (Jingo/Yingo), the center of a district in Narādhivāsa province, Lat. 6°25'N, Long. 101°45'E. Testimony given to the Burmese in 1767 (Gāṃhājikāra jāv kruñ kao, Bangkok, 1964, p. 184) mentions a mo'añ Nīpun, which the editors identified as Sin Pun, in the region of Krahpī. It does not appear on available maps.

⁵Now two towns in Sañkhālā province, Canaḥ and Debā (respectively,

ceḥ Asena was appointed to eat mo'añ Sāya⁷ as rājā Śrī Sultān, with ceḥ Sāri as his wife; ce Sārañ was appointed to eat mo'sañ Bādaluñ as rājā Bāharayu, with ce Śrī Tālāñ as his wife; ce Sīte Paravāñsā was appointed to eat mo'añ Draiya⁸ as rājā Bitīmān, with ce Peraḥ as his wife; ce Sāvāñ was appointed to eat / Lañū⁹ as rājā Yurā with ce Lāgānāññāñ as his wife; ce Śrī Saḥhlāp was appointed to eat mo'añ Acè¹⁰ as rājā Ayū, with ce Parāsī as his wife; and ce Nāvā was appointed to eat mo'añ Brū¹¹ as rājā Pasena, with see Pārū as his wife. They [each?] sent each year thirteen cartloads of cowries in friendship. [10A]

The Malay vassals were ordered by braḥ Bnamvāñ and nāñ Saḥtiañḍñ to send tribute in gold of 10 tāmlu'sañ of gold for each mo'sañ. Braḥ Bnamvāñ and nāñ Saḥtiañḍñ made their home by the pond and appointed the Malays as rulers. Ce Saḥhāpā and Ce Silimau they appointed as supervisors and used them to demand the gold payment from each mo'añ. Rājā Sārañ was sent to live in mo'añ Jaiyā with Ce Srī Te, his wife. They were informed of all this, and told that when they had settled on the plain there, they should permit the spirits to live there.¹² / A short [10B]

Lat. 7°00'N, Long. 100°40'E; and Lat. 6°50'N, Long. 101°11'E). They were still important mo'sañ as late as the 18th century.

⁶No one by this name figures in Patani history.

⁷Sāya(purī): Telubin, east of Patani.

⁸Draiya: Kedah. No one by this name seems to be known in Kedah history.

⁹A town on the west coast, in the province of Trāñ, Pahlian district. See the Bowring 1857 map, p. xvii.

¹⁰Acè: Acheh? Mistakenly read Ñcè in the printed edition.

¹¹Brū and Blū as toponyms probably reflect the word phonetically rendered as phru and phlu in the names of numerous marshes and ponds in South Thailand. Several possibilities are suggested in the map on p. xvi.

¹²A difficult phrase, translated uncertainly: yòm phī yū na kahplòk duñ pān nān. Śrī Te may be a mistake for Śrī Ge.

while after brah Bnamvāñ and nāñ Sahtiañdōñ had appointed Malays as rulers of each mo'añ, brah Bnamvāñ died.

EPISODE XIII: THE REVIVAL OF NAGARA ŚRĪ DHARRMARĀJA

[11A] Cau Śrī Rājā came from mo'añ Sah-ulau to arrange the cremation of brah Bnamvāñ. Then he took his ashes and set them up in a place on Āsaricāñ Mountain.¹ He then built a cetiya into which he placed the ashes, and appointed bāñ Vāñ to watch over them. Cau Śrī Rājā performed merit-making [ceremonies] of offerings at the Bahñāñ plain, and it was named "Offerings Bahñāñ."² Cau Śrī Rājā took the records³ naming the Malays who had been appointed to govern each mo'añ and those records [regulating] the villages and mo'añ and rice fields and the people of / Nagara Tōn Braḥ and each monastery and the Great Reliquary, which was still uncompleted, and went and presented them to the King. The King was very pleased, and said, "You are the creator of gems."⁴ I will have you succeed to rule the legacy." Cau Śrī Rājā revered both kings,⁵ and said, "I have established a country and made the forest into rice fields, established sites and called all the people to cultivate the

¹Unidentified.

²All hinges on the word bahñāñ, for which I have been unable to find an adequate definition. The closest is a word phonetically the same, phanñ, "walls".

³Katahmāya, which today connotes "law," but which often in the past was used where one today would find the word cathmāya, "records".

⁴trās vā rātanakāra cau sai: I have taken rātanakāra to be rātanakara, "creator of gems." Just what is meant is uncertain. Alternatively, the translation might run: "You, Creator of Gems: I will have you succeed to the inheritance."¹

⁵There is no doubt as to what the text says here. But who are "the two Kings"?

fields, and appointed Malays to rule mo'añ.a. The people of Nagara Tòn
 Brah are very few in number." Then Cau Śrī Rājā said to the King,
 "Brah / Bnamvāñ has died." His Majesty mercifully favored him, [11B]
 and gave him the title of "Bañā Śrī Dharmasokarāja Surindrarājāsura-
avañśadhipatī Śiriyudhiṣṭhiara Abhāyabiriyaparākramabāhu caubañā
 Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja Mahānagara,"⁶ and (entitled) nāñ Sanasaiya⁷ [his
 wife] "nāñ Cāndradevī⁸ Śrīrāṭanachāyā Nāñmo'añ Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja
 Mahānagara." The King was pleased to give silver to bañā Śrī Dharmā-
śokarāja Mahānagara to the amount of one thousand tāmlu'n. Bañā Śrī
Dharmasokarāja then said to His Majesty, "Mo'añ Dā Dòñ which lies
 below the royal feet is / lacking in silver and gold. I, your slave, [12A]
 ask that I might later bring silver for my name plate."⁹ The King was
 pleased to accede to this request. The King commanded bañā Śrī Dharmā-
śokarāja to quickly go and set his country in order and gather together
 his people in Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja.¹⁰ As for the village by the pond,
brahyā Tī would be sent to live there and rule that mo'añ. This much

⁶This title is very close to the 18th and 19th century titles of
 governors of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja. One from 1742 (Ruam ro'añ mo'añ
nagara śrī dharmarāja, p. 161) gives the title as caubrahya Śrī Dharmā-
śokarāja Jātitejojaiya Mahaisuriyādhipatī Abhāyabiriyaparākramabāhu;
 another of 1784 (ibid., p. 189) gives the same title; and it is repeated
 in 1811 (ibid., p. 203) and in the Vāt Brah Jetubana inscriptions of ca.
 1840 (Prahjum cāru'k vāt brah jetubana, Bangkok, 1929, vol. I, p. 191).

⁷The same woman mentioned above, p. 106, as nāñ Sana.

⁸Again, this name!

⁹Might this sentence perhaps have intended another meaning--"The
 southern mo'añ are lacking in gold; therefore let me bring silver for
 my name plate"?

¹⁰That is, the town of Nagara Tòn Brah was to be moved to the old
 site of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja. If so, then Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja
 and Tòn Brah were not identical.

[12B] did the King command. Then bañā Śrī Dharrmaśokarāja and nāñ Candradevī Śrī Rātanachāyā took leave of both Their Majesties / and came to Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja. Bañā Śrī Dharrmaśokarāja ordered bān Vāñ¹ and hmū'n Tāñpān to establish villages by the pond and maintain the relics of brah Bnamvāñ in the grotto in which they were enshrined. All the relatives, the children, and the nephews/grandchildren of brah Bnamvāñ and nāñ Sahtiañdōñ at the village by the pond the ruler divided between nāñ Sanatrā and cau Indrājakumāra, who had them live at Dā Dōñ, Jaiyagrāma, Krahnōm, Trajana, Aldñ, and Duñ Hluan, Jaiyā, Jumbara, Krañ, Pāñ Tabān, and Gūhā; and, as he had been instructed, the ruler brought up elephants, horses, and troops and entered Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja

[13A] to live there. / The ruler had the jungle turned into rice fields, and had bricks made for the restoration of the ruined reliquary and monasteries.

The ruler had rice plains made and ordered people to establish their villages there and turn the forest to rice fields in every district. First he had the Royal Vihāra rebuilt; then Vāt Brañto'm,² and the Pāñ Kēv tank. He had raised roads dug, and then built Vāt Semā Mo'añ. The ruler appointed nāy Mūn to take people and turn the forest to rice fields in the Brañ Khau Tēñ Jamāya district; nāy Hmāngañ to turn the forest to rice fields in the Banāñ district; nāy Sāmapurīrāt, nāy Bara Rijaiya, and nāy Sīvāñsaiya to take people / and turn the forest to rice fields in the Hniñ Plat district, adjacent to the Banāñtrā district,³ nāy Śrīmo'añ,

[13B]

¹Apparently the same officer earlier (p. 110) charged to watch over the relics of the (previous) king.

²Certainly Vāt Śapa To'm, now combined with Vāt Dāv Gotra in Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja.

³Uncertain.

nāy Prājñā,³ nāy Śrī³ Rāt to take people and turn the forest to rice fields in the Hnòñ Phai Nālu'k district [on the] Kahton Canal⁴ adjacent to Jamāya, near Vāt Tān Hluan; and thau Pun Kèv, thau Pun Sām, thau Sròy, and thau Silā to stay and maintain the monks [and]⁵ construct the rice fields of Hnòñphai Nālu'k. Bān Bnam was ordered to take people and go and turn the forest to rice fields in the Pāk Jòñ district on the forest's edge;⁶ nāy Nòtmo'añ was ordered to take people and turn the forest to rice fields in the Krañ district; nāy Āy and cau Pā were ordered to take people and turn the forest to rice fields and maintain the monks of Vāt Banāñtrā;⁷ nāy Gota was ordered to take people and turn the forest to / rice fields at Saduñ Krahpān Klāy;⁸ nāy Hòm was ordered to take people and turn the forest to rice fields in the Prān district; nāy Pu⁹ . . . in the Lānsakā¹⁰ district; nāy Brama Nua⁹ . . . in the Tī Rèn district; nāy Sāgara⁹ . . . in the Sanandradahle district;

[14A]

³⁻³ Between Prājñā and -rāt, the printed version inserts a lacuna.

⁴ Reading quite uncertain.

⁵ There is no justification for the commencement of a new paragraph here, although the printed version does so.

⁶ This phrase also could be translated as "at the mouth of the pass [through the mountains] at the forest's edge."

⁷ This probably is the monastery referred to as the "Offerings Bañ-nāñ" on p. 110.

⁸ saduñ krahpān klāy could be rendered in several ways: (a) as above; (b) taking saduñ to be Khmer stung (sdiñ), "river"; (c) taking the krañ of krahpān to be Kra, of the Isthmus, in which case the remainder could itself be a toponym, pān klāy (note the "Clay" on the maps on p. xvii); or any combination of these. The printed version misreads klāy as klail

⁹ The phrase "was ordered to take people and turn the forest into rice fields" is omitted here and in the succeeding three lacunae.

¹⁰ Printed text mistakenly reads lahlānsahbhau.

nāy Śrī Doñ . . . in the Pāñ Cāk district, and nāy Cān, nāy Bramajaiya and nāy Deba were ordered to establish a village in the Cau Hlĕk district to maintain the holy mound in the Brah Thabo Brah in the jo'añ grotto.¹

Nāy In and nāy Dharrmarāja were ordered to establish a village in the² . . . district; nāy Sai and nāy Kĕv to establish a village in Kruñ Jiñ;³

[14B]

nāy Sām and nāy Krai to establish a village⁴ in the Nām Bu district and turn the forest into rice fields; nāy Gañ and nāy Śrī to turn the forest into rice fields at the monastery in the Gūhā district;⁴ and nāy Jaiya and nāy Cān were ordered to take people and go and turn the forest to rice fields in the Kratĕh district.⁵ To the Lord Buddha on the mountain and the Lord in the cave, nāy Nua and nāy Dòñ were sent to live there and maintain the monks, and to build Vāt Katĕh, a vihāra, and rice fields. Nāy Som and nāy Śrī were ordered to make statues in the caves in those mountains; nāy Rāja, nāy Rāma, nāy Nòt, and nāy Śrī were ordered to build that vihāra; and nāy Dòñ Śrī, thau Krai, [and thau Hòm were especially ordered to live there and turn the forest to rice fields and send tribute in rattan and sahtiañ.⁶ Nāy Hòm]⁷ and nāy Rājasanehā were ordered to take people and turn the forest to rice fields in the Saññāñ Banĕh district; and nāy In, nāy Pun, nāy Sai, and nāy Rāja were ordered

¹jo'añ, "gentle, tame, docile" does not make sense here.

²Text illegible for three spaces.

³kruñ, Khm. "capital city", is curious here.

⁴Printed version mistakenly reads bahdiñvāt district.

⁵Yiamyañ (op. cit., p. 113) places this in the Kāncanatiṣṭha district.

⁶This word, met with above (p. 104, fn. 3), does not appear in Thai dictionaries. Many s - t/d/th - ñ words occur in Khmer, but the only noun among them is stéang, "falcon, hawk" (Guesdon, p. 1862).

⁷This passage does not occur in the MS.

to build Vāt Bhūplōndūlāñlit.

EPISODE XIV: RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GREAT RELIQUARY AND DONATION OF
LABOR SERVICES

When he had ordered people to build / villages and work the rice fields, the ruler then had the Great Reliquary [re-]constructed. He had the people of mo'añ Nīhana, mo'añ Pahāñ, mo'añ Kalāntāñ, mo'añ Brū, mo'añ Acè, mo'añ Canahdebā, mo'añ Sāy, mo'añ Tāñī, mo'añ Lanū, mo'añ Drai,⁸ mo'añ Trāñ, mo'añ Jaiyā, mo'añ Sah-ulao, mo'añ Jumbara, and mo'añ Pāñ Sahbāñ⁹ assist in the building of the Great Reliquary in Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja until it was completed. Bañā Śrī Dharrmaśokarāja sent tribute and presented it, and the King came on elephant to Pāñ Sahbāñ. Bañā Śrī Dharrmaśokarāja made obeisance before the King and said, "I have put my / country in order, and Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja is completed. I have completed the construction of the Great Reliquary, and I present these good works as donations to Your Majesty." The King was pleased with bañā Śrī Dharrmaśokarāja. Bañā Śrī Dharrmaśokarāja begged leave to present [to the king] 3 men, 3 women, and 100 men in the retinue of the three men and three women, and asked that the king accept the children and grandchildren of these 3 men and 3 women as his agents¹⁰ for the collection of the suay¹¹ [taxes]; and

⁸I.e., Kedah.

⁹Should this list be regarded as one in some geographical order?

¹⁰Here, pñ ca hua bñ sipsōñ hua pāk hua sip. For brief notes on this agency system and explanation of these terms, see hluan Śrī Varavātra, "Bañśāvatār mo'añ bādaluñ," in Prahjum bañśāvatār, pt. 15; Kāvhnā edition, vol. V (1964), esp. pp. (9)-(10).

¹¹The suay was usually taxation in kind, taken in lieu of compulsory labor service. See Wira Wimoniti, Historical Patterns of Tax Administration in Thailand (Bangkok, 1961), pp. 6, 9-10, 39-40.

he pledged these three men and three women to be servants forever after.

[16A] The King was pleased to have bakhun / Brahglāñ¹ register the names of the three men and three women, that they might be recognized and recalled in the future.

Nāy Yū [was the] younger brother² of bañā Śrī Dharrmaśokarāja, [and] his wife was nāñ Kèv: nāy Kū and nāy Ū were nephews/grandsons of bañā Śrī Dharrmaśokarāja. Nāy Kū's wife was named nāñ Gām, and nāy Ū's wife was named nāñ Gāmbějra. The records³ called them the three men, three women, three hearts.⁴

[16B] Bañā Śrī Dharrmaśokarāja in respectful audience [with the King] said, "When in the future Your Majesty's servant nāy Ū has descendents, please allow them, whether male or female, to become your Majesty's servants, and bestow them as / slaves upon the monks and monasteries, that they may continuously build up royal good works for the [merit of the] King in the future. When in the future your servant nāy Yū⁵ has descendents, may Your Majesty be pleased to employ them to work with elephants for Your Majesty. [Furthermore,] when your servant nāy Yū⁵ has descendents, may Your Majesty be pleased to accept them as Your Majesty's volunteer [soldiers] from that time forward. May Your Majesty have mercy upon poor human creatures, I respectfully submit to Your Majesty." The King was pleased to reply, "The three men and three women whom you have

¹The Phrakhlāng, the chief of the treasury. It is curious that his title here is prefixed bakhun (pronounced phəɔ khun), a term one associates with the Sukhodaya period.

²Actually his cousin.

³Written katahmāya.

⁴I.e., three couples.

⁵There would seem to be a mistake here: one of these two "nay Yū" surely is nāy Kū.

presented me I entrust first⁶ to you. Whenever / any public business [17A]
 arises in future, have these three men and three women report to me.^{sa}
 Having been given leave to present nāñ Cāndradevī, a royal granddaughter,⁷
 they then took leave of the king and returned to Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja.

When bañā Śrī Dharmasokarāja died, the king had nāy Ū, nāy Kū,
 and nāy Yū come to pay their respects to him, and requested of them
 the suay [tax] in silver tamlu'ñ, pāda and salu'ñ, payable to the royal
 treasury.⁸

[At that audience, the three said,]⁹ 'We three men and women ask
 to be a single work [party], established with a force of one hundred,
 as a suay party and paying the suay [tax owing to] You in / the area¹⁰ [17B]
 of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja." His Majesty was pleased to have them pay
 the suay in silver tamlu'ñ, pāda, and salu'ñ to the royal treasury.
 He had the chief of the treasury record that, from that time forward,
 they should pay that suay tax without fail, without fault; and collect
 together one hundred suay people, with none missing. Nāy Ū and nāy
 Yū were sent to govern Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja and annually pay the suay
 to the royal treasury.

And nāy Nōt Kēv was commanded to hold [charge of] all the people
 belonging to the monasteries under all the patriarchs in the capital.
Nāy Samñ¹¹ Gatobrammā, who had lost his boat and come to live in mo'añ

⁶I.e., meanwhile.

⁷brah rājaputrī phū hlān.

⁸brah glāñ hluan.

⁹This phrase has to be inferred.

¹⁰cañsat.

¹¹A Môn title coupled with a Thai one.

[18A] Nagara, and had been given nāñ Baddñ as his wife, was allowed to become a white-robed Ariyabañśa [ascetic], and take care of the Great Reliquary in / mo'añ Nagara.

Nāy Ū, nāy Kū, and nāy Yū took the suay and paid it to the royal treasury; and [then] they respectfully took leave of His Majesty the King and returned to mo'añ Nagara.

EPISODE XV: REORGANIZATION OF THE TAX SYSTEM

[18B] A considerable time later, the [ranks of the] suay people were badly dispersed, so nāy Ū went and respectfully reported to the King that the suay people were badly dispersed and the suay [taxes were] in arrears. The King showed his mercy upon nāy Ū, and assigned him hmo'n Sitcòmṛāja as a royal commissioner, conferring on him the title hmo'n Sutcaimèn; and hmo'n Cañ as [another] royal commissioner, conferring on him the title hmo'n Sèncaijū'. Each of them was given a golden sword, which he was to wear as a royal swordsman; and they were sent / with nāy Ū to live permanently in mo'añ Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja to collect taxes and the suay due to the forces of the three men and three women; and they were to become acquainted with the descendents of nāy Ū, nāy Kū, and nāy Yū who would succeed them in the future. Hmo'n Sutcaimèn, hmo'n Sèncaijū', and nāy Ū took leave of His Majesty the King and returned to Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja. [They] assembled the suay collectors together; and hmo'n Sutcaimèn, hmo'n Sèncaijū', nāy Rāma-- the son of nāy Ū--and nāy Bhau took the suay taxes with hmo'n Sutcaimèn and hmo'n Sèncaijū' and brought them to the royal treasury. The treasurer conducted nāy Rāma, who had / accompanied them, before His Majesty the King. He said, "I, nāy Rāma, am the son of nāy Ū, the servant of Your Majesty." His Majesty was pleased to confer upon nāy Rāma the

[19A]

title of hmo'n Śrī Còmrät, governor of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja. Hmo'n Śrī Còmrät, the governor of mo'añ Nagara, hmo'n Sutcaimèn, and hmo'n Sèncājū' took respectful leave of His Majesty the King and returned to Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja.

Hmo'n Śrī Còmrät took nāñ Puñkòñ, the niece of nāy Kū, as his wife. Quite some time later she gave birth to a daughter who was named nāñ O'ay. Brah Hlān, who was a ruler¹ who lived inamo'añ Lānsakā,² came to request nāñ O'ay as his wife, and they had / seven children. [19B]

EPISODE XVIA A CURIOUS TALE

Furthermore, [concerning?] the lineage³ [of] cau Ū, cau Kū, [and] cau Yū, it is said that khun Sèn, the nephew/grandson of bañā Śrī Dharrmaśokarāja, presented two people to die in place of the ruler,⁴ nāñ Gañrāja and nāñ Òn Dāv. Khun Sèn arranged for nāy Indrabañśā to take them up to die in place of the ruler.⁵ The ruler was pleased to bestow a title upon nāy Indrabañśā to be bmo'n Sènsòytāv. Then the king mounted his elephant to fight with a wild elephant. Hmo'n Sènsòytāv said to His Majesty, "That wild elephant is very large, and [would] Your Majesty be pleased.đ The King misheard him, and thought that bmo'n Sènsòytāv would fight the wild one, that he would approach / seeking to stab the wild elephant and die, "dying in place of the rulerđ"⁴ [20A]

¹pēn brahyā.

²Concerning Lānsakā, note the four other references to this locality in the index.

³Reading jū' as a mistake for jo'a.

⁴tāy tāñ^acau. Reading of this paragraph is very uncertain.

⁵Is this a reflection of the practice of burying pregnant women beneath the gates of a city, recorded by various visitors to Burma and Siam in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

if the king had been going to stab [the wild elephant]. [The King] disapproved [of the man's presumption] in terms of former traditional custom. Hmo'n Sènsdytāv addressed himself to His Majesty's mercy, if the king had misheard him. Hmo'n Sènsdytāv saw that he had offended against custom. He placed himself at the King's mercy and was judged in terms of former custom. He then knew s[?] the real meaning of suffering. The King mounted his lead elephant to stand and snare the wild one. Then he descended into his royal barge to haul the elephant away. He returned in the middle of the night. For addressing the king and being misheard, hmo'n / Sènsdytāv had to present his life as punishment. He asked to be allowed to serve as a volunteer [soldier?] to the end of his life.¹

EPISODE XVII: UNDISCOVERED TREASURE

Cau Ū, cau Kū, and cau Yū [had?] said that brah Bnanvāñ and nāñ Sahtiañdòñ had established the village by the pond; and [people were] ordered to search until they found bamboo trees and oleander² shrubs [growing] next to each other, [as there] were [said to be] goods beneath those trees. After a long time had passed, the bamboo trees and oleander shrubs were not found. If their siblings, children, or grandchildren found bamboo trees and oleander shrubs, they were to seek out implements of propitiating guardian spirits and reverence them before they dug. Those things [they found] they were to present to be decorations of the palace, and to decorate the throne of the Buddha.³

¹I found this paragraph almost impossible to translate, and have no confidence at all in the translation suggested here.

²jeh: *Adinobotrys atropurpureus*, or *Whitfordiodendron atropurpureum* (Leguminosae), or *Padbruggea atropurpurea* (Leguminosae).

³Or: the King.

EPISODE XVIII: THE LADIES' PETITION

Khun Indrā, the governor of mo'añ Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja said that originally / nāñ Kriṣṇā⁴ and nāñ Dònmuk and their children and grandchildren, male and female, made their homes in mo'añ Jaiyā. Their (descendants) were [required to pay] the suay [tax] to the royal treasury [in the amount of] one hundred bamboo canisters and a full five hundred bathing canisters; and those that were carved were prized.⁵ Nāñ Dòñ Samuk⁶ and nāñ Krīt(nā)//⁷ [had?] requested that [their tax] be reduced by one salu'n per canister [from what they had?] paid for a long time. Nāñ Dòñ Samuk and nāñ Kriṣṇā . . .⁸ came in to present [their suay to the king] and they addressed the king, asking that His Majesty be pleased to grant their request that eight of [their] group of men and women [be exempted] from the suay: mè [nāñ] Rātmo'añ, nāñ Bram Hòm, nāñ Ām, nāñ Dāv, nāñ Śrī Umā, / nāñ Pun, nāñ [Dò]ñ Samuk, [and] nāñ Kriṣṇā. These [latter] two were the aunts of khun Indrā; nāñ Śrī Umā was the mother of nāñ Dòñ Samuk; nāñ Jū was the mother of nāñ Rātmo'añ; nāñ Khvān was the mother of nāñ Dāv, nāñ Ām, [and] nāñ Bram; nāñ Ak was the mother of nāy Sām; nāñ In was the mother of nāy Beja. All of these formerly had been . . .⁹

The suay people living in mo'añ Pāndai Sahmò Śrī Mo'añ Jaiyā [--] mè khun Śrī, mè Gām, mè Nat, mè Prāñ, [and] mè Aiy [--] all these

⁴MS. Krītanā.

⁵Uncertain reading of MS.

⁶This form of her name dominates hereafter.

⁷The printed text, but not the MS., ends here.

⁸Two ākṣara illegible.

⁹A phrase which makes no sense: nòm (d)òt taviānya taviā kån.

relatives were wives of . . . ¹ suay people remaining in Pāncañ.ekā.

Patèñ² In, patèñ Rāja, patèñ Bram, patèñ Jaiya, jīy³ In, jīy
Bram, jīy Śrī, jīy Jai ⁴ riśrē, beri⁵ Bram, [and] beri Jaiya were
ordered attached to brahṇā Śrī Dhārrma- /⁶

¹Text defective; word "wives" conjecturally restored as mia from
..ū.

²I.e., phātèñ, "red-cloth," some sort of male ascetic, perhaps
an unordained male living in a Buddhist monastery.

³Colloquially termed a "nun", but these may also be men.

⁴Hole in MS., about five characters missing.

⁵beri, unidentified term of address, which also appears below in
Version C, p.150.

⁶Here ends "obverse" of the MS. See page 19 above. The trans-
lation of the text is given in Appendix I, pp. 179-187.