

CHAPTER 2

TOWARDS A REVISED HISTORY OF SUKHOTHAI ART: A REASSESSMENT OF THE INSCRIPTION OF KING RAM KHAMHAENG*

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Ever since Prince Vajiravudh went to Sukhothai in 1907 and identified the monuments there with the relevant passages in the Inscription of King Ram Khamhaeng (hereafter referred to as No. 1) in his book *Roeng Thieo Muang Phra Ruang (TM)*, western and Thai scholars have followed his identification without further question (Coedès, 1956; Griswold, 1967; M.C. Subhadradis, 1978; Stratton and McNair Scott, 1981). Griswold, in his *Towards a History of Sukhothai Art*, 1967, simply reinstates Prince Vajiravudh's and Coedès's observations that "The middle section of the inscription is a sort of guide to the city, and a good many of the things it describes still survive" (Griswold, 1967: 8). Dr. Prasert na Nagara reiterated it, when he said that

"Ins. 1 mentioned about old monuments in Wat Mahadhatu only/or those in Sukhothai city as well, and Coedès wrote that Ins. 1 is the best guide book for Sukhothai, which shows that the description of the old monuments in Ins. 1 is correct." (Prasert 1988: 9)

In an article published in the *Muang Boran Journal*, 1986, this writer questioned whether King Ram Khamhaeng could have been the author of Inscription No. 1 because he did not specify the name of any building at Sukhothai (Piriya, 1986: 29). Furthermore, the style of the remaining Buddha images

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mentioned in the inscription cannot be as early as the late 13th century. By 1987 Michael Vickery had taken the stand that the Inscription of King Ram Khamhaeng is a later composition, until it is proven otherwise (Vickery, 1987: 209).

Since the dating of Sukhothai art depends on the authenticity of the Inscription of King Ram Khamhaeng, the first priority is to establish whether the inscription could have been written in A.D. 1292 as claimed. If not, when could it have been written?

Thus, this writer has chosen the methods of art historical and textual analyses to investigate whether the vocabulary and meaning of the contents of the Ram Khamhaeng inscription are consistent with other Sukhothai inscriptions dating from about 1330 (Inscription No. 2) to 1417 (Inscription No. 49). To aid the readers, Roman letters from A to D are placed in front of each problematical word or phrase to indicate to which of the four points of contention they belong. These are as follows :

- A – The vocabulary and meaning of the content are inconsistent with other Sukhothai inscriptions and from what is known of the cultural contexts of late 13th and early 14th century Sukhothai.
- B – The antiquity of the monuments and sites mentioned in the inscription is not supported by present-day art-historical and archaeological research.
- C – The vocabulary and contents are borrowed from other Sukhothai inscriptions.
- D. – The vocabulary and content are comparable to specific Ayutthaya and Bangkok period literature.

The Thai transliteration is based on the *Sila Charuk Sukhothai Lakthi 1: Charuk Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng* (F.A., 2520). As for the English translation, it is based on the translations of Bradley (1909), Coedès (1924), Prince Wan's English translation of Coedès (1965), Griswold and Dr. Prasert (G.P., 1971) and the writer's own interpretation. Unless otherwise stated, the words printed in bold letters are not mentioned in other Sukhothai inscriptions.

– Face 1–

- 1.1. พ่อขุนศรีอินทราทิตย์ แม่ขุนนางเสือง พี่ขุนบานเมือง

My father's name was **Śrī Indrāditya**, my mother's name was **Nang Soeng**, my elder brother's name was **Ban Muang**.

- C – ศรีอินทราทิตย์ (**Śrī Indrāditya**) is mentioned in the inscription of the สมเด็จพระมหาเถรศรีศรัทธาธรรมาจารย์ (Somdet Phra Mahāthera Śrīsraddhārājaculāmunī), the author of Inscription No. 2, as being the father of พ่อขุนรามราช (Pho Khun Rāmarāja). Inscription No. 2 most probably was the source for Ram Khamhaeng's early life (lines 1-1 to 1-10).

- A – นางเสือง (np. **Nang Soeng**)

นางเสือง **nang** is used as a prefix to the name of a woman, นางมิ่ง (Nang Ming) No. 95-1-4, also in an inscription of 1422, นางทองแก้ว (Nang Thong Kaeo) (CS: 137). While in No. 10-2-30 นาง (**nang**) is coupled with แม่ (**mae**) (แม่นาง) and in No. 102-1-8 นาง (**nang**) is coupled with ป้า (**pa**) (ป้านาง), neither of these is used in the context of a queen. Although พระญา แลนาง (phraya lae nang) is found in an inscription of Phraya Li Thai (No. 8-3-6), it is not certain that the word **nang** here refers to a queen. However, in this context **nang** is used to refer to King Ram Khamhaeng's mother (G.P., 1971: 205, n. 19).

When นาง (**nang**) is used for a wife of a ruler, it is qualified by the title มหาเทวี (Mahādevī) as in นางสิขระมหาเทวี (Nang Sikhara Mahādevī) (No. 2-1-33). Sukhothai inscriptions use the Khmer title สมเด็จพระ (Somdet Phra) to refer to a queen, as in สมเด็จพระราชเทวีศรีจุฬาลักษณ์อัครราช (มเหสี) (Somdet Phra Rājadevī Śrī Cūlālakṣana Agarājamahesī) (No. 93-1-3) and พ่อ (Somdet Phra Rājajanani Śrī Dharmarājamātā Mahātilakaratanarājānāratha) (No. 16-31).

On the other hand, นาง (**nang**) as a prefix for the proper name of a royal consort is a common usage in Ayutthaya literature, such as the *Maha Chat Kham Luang* (p.36), and in early 19th century literature such as นาง นางสีดา นางมณฑิลา นางละเวง as well as in historical writings, such as the *Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Nua* believed to have been compiled by Phra Wichien Princha at the command of King Rama II, when he was the heir apparent, in 1807 (PN: 4), and *Phongsawadan Lan Chang*, compiled by the command of King Mongkut (PLC: 141).

- A – เสือ (Soeng), is probably the same as เสิง (Soeng), the northeastern word for "dawn" (F.A., 2520: 28). The author probably had in mind that the name of the consort of Sri Indraditya, whose name means "Lord of Light" (PCP, 82), should reflect that of her husband.

- C – บานเมือง (np. **Ban Muang**)

The name of an elder brother of King Ram Khamhaeng. Ban Muang only appears in No. 1. However, a ปู่พระญาบาน (**Pu Phraya Ban**) is listed in No. 45-1-9, dated 1393, as a predecessor of ปู่พระญารามราช (**Pu Phraya Rāmarāja**). A king by the name of บาล (**Bal**) is also mentioned as a father of King Li Thai in the *Sihingani dāna*, a mid-15th century northern Thai work, but this book leaves พระญารามราช (**Phraya Rāmarāja**) out altogether (SN: 54-55). As for the *Jinakālamālinī*, concluded in 1527, King บาล (**Bāl**) succeeded King ราม (Ram) to the throne of Sukhothai (JK: 123). Since No. 45 is the only source for the information that Phraya Rāmarāja succeeded Phraya Ban, the author of No. 1 might have had access to it.

- D – However, in the early 15th century a พระยาบาลเมือง (**Phraya Bal Muang**) is mentioned together with a พระยาราม (**Phraya Ram**) in *Phra Ratchaphongsawadan Krung Sayam*, compiled by Somdet Phra Phonnarat and presented to King Rama I in 1807 (PKS: 28), and also in the *Phra Ratchaphongsawadan Chabab Luang Prasot*. (PLP: 133).

Thus there probably was a king by the name of บาล (Bal), Pali *pala*, to protect; but none was called บานเมือง (Ban Muang), meaning Joy of the Kingdom, during the late 13th and early 14th centuries. That บานเมือง (Ban Muang) was intended here can be inferred from the utopian idealism of this inscription

- 1.2. ตูพี่น้องทองเดียวห้าคน ผู้ชายสามผู้หญิงสอง พี่เฒ่า(อ)

We were five siblings: three boys and two girls.

A – ทองเดียว (**thong dieo**, n.) the same womb.

A – ผู้หญิง (**phu ying**, n.) a woman, female.

C – ตู (**tu**) pronoun for the first person plural.

C – เฒ่า (**phoe**) first person pronoun generally used in literature (G.P., 1971: 203, n. 4; F.A., 2520: 28, n. 1-2), also in No. 14-2-10.

Both of these words appear in No. 95-1-16, 17.

- 1.3. อผู้เฒ่าตายจากเมื่อเตียมแต่ยังเล็ก เมื่อกูขึ้นใหญ่ได้

My eldest brother died when he was still a child. When I grew up to be

A – ผู้เฒ่า (**phu ai**, n.) eldest brother or eldest sister. However, it should be พี่เฒ่า (**phi ai**) instead of ผู้เฒ่า (**phu ai**) as in No. 106-2-35.

A – เตียม แต่ (**tiam tae**, pre.) since.

- 1.4. สิบเก้าเข้า ขุนสามชนเจ้าเมืองชอตมาที่เมืองตาก พ่อกูไปรบ

nineteen years old, Khun Sam Chon the ruler of the city of Chot, came to attack the city of Tak. My father went to fight

A – ขุนสามชน (**Khun Sam Chon**, np.) is not mentioned elsewhere.

C – เมืองชอต (**Muang Chot**, pn.) is located to the southwest of Sukhothai (No. 2-1-13); also mentioned in No. 5-2-32.

- A – ท่ (**tha**, v.) to attack, fight.
- A – เมืองตาก (**Muang Tak**) in the sense of the country of Tak does not appear elsewhere in Sukhothai inscriptions. However, ตาก (**Tak**, pn.) is found in No. 11-2-14.
- 1.5. ขุนสามชนหัวซ้าย ขุนสามชนขับมาหัวขวา ขุนสาม (ชน)
 Khun Sam Chon on the **left**; Khun Sam Chon drove forward on the **right**. Khun Sam (Chon)
 ซ้าย (**sai**, a.) left, ขวา (**khwa** a.) right.
- C – Apart from No. 1, ซ้าย (**sai**) appears once more in No. 102-1-21; but it is used in conjunction with เมืองซ้าย (**boeng sai**), meaning to the left. The word เมือง (**boeng**), meaning in the direction of, is used in many Sukhothai inscriptions (GS, 97). But หัว (**hua**) with the same meaning is only found in No. 1.
- A – หัว (**hua**), however, is often found in literature (F.A., 2520: 29).
- A – As for ขวา (**khwa**), it is unique to No. 1. To give directions, left and right, Sukhothai inscriptions refer to west and east, respectively (No. 49-1-19, No. 5-3-11, No. 14-1-38), because the head, when lying down, faces south.
- 1.6. ชนเคลื่อนเข้า ไพร่ฟ้าหน้าใสพอกุ หนีญญาวยพายจแจ้ (น)
 Chon **moved his troops forward**. My father's subjects **fled quickly**. **Defeated**, they dispersed in confusion.
- D – เคลื่อน (**kloen**, v.) to move troops forward, often appears in a 16th century poem, *Lilit Yuan Phai* (F.A., 2520: 29; *LYP*, 2529: 323, 328, 349).
- C – Although ไพร่ฟ้า (**phrai fa**, n.), commoners subjected to corvée labour for the crown, is found in No. 3-2-38 and No. 38-1-15,
- A – ไพร่ฟ้าหน้าใส (**phrai fa na sai**), those with happy face (literally, bright), appears only in No. 1.
- A – ญญาวย (**ya yai**, a.) dispersed (F.A., 2520: 30).

D – ฟ่าย (**phai**, v.) to defeat, appears in the title of the *Lilit Yuan Phai*

A – จแจ้น (**cha chaen**, a.) in confusion (F.A., 2520: 30).

D – The expression ญญายฟายจแจ้น (**ya yai phai cha chaen**) being compounded from 16th century Ayutthaya poems, is not found in other Sukhothai inscriptions.

1.7. น กุบหนี กุชีช้างเบกพล กุขับเข้าก่อนพ่อกู กุด่อ

I did not flee. I mounted my elephant, **forced the troops through**, and pushed him ahead of my father. I fought

A – This word is read เบก (**bek**) by everyone except King Mongkut, who transcribed it as บุก (**buk**) (F.A., 2520, p. 30).

Coedès took the words เบกพล (**bek phon**) to mean the name of Ram Khamhaeng's elephant "Anekabala" (Coedes, 1924: 44)

1.8. ช้างด้วยขุนสามชน ตนกุพ่งช้างขุนสามชนตัวชื้อ

an elephant duel with Khun Sam Chon. I fought Khun Sam Chon's elephant,

C – Another possible borrowing from No. 2 might be the episode of the elephant duel, when Śrīśradhā as a young man, made a charge at ขุนจิ่ง (Khun Chang), who was taunting his father to make him fight (No. 2-1-62-72). This scene is reminiscent of Ram Khamhaeng's fighting Khun Sam Chon on behalf of his father. Furthermore, Śrīśradhā had his first elephant duel when he was seventeen or eighteen years old (No. 2-1-77), while Ram Khamhaeng was nineteen.

1.9. มาสเมือง แพ้ ขุนสามชนฟ่ายหนี พ่อกูจึงขึ้นชื่อกู

Mas Muang by name. Defeated, Khun Sam Chon fled. Then my father named me

มาสเมือง (Mas Muang n.) name of elephant.

- A - In the context of the late 13th century an elephant named มาสเมือง (Mas Muang), which Coedès translated "Gold of the Realm" (Coedès, 1924: 44) from the Khmer word **mas**, "gold", is highly unusual. For No. 2-1-17 gives the name of an elephant in Thai as อีแดงพะเลิง (I Daeng Phaloeng), "She Flame-Red."
- D - The word **Mas** in this context does not come from the Khmer word for gold but from the Sanskrit word for the Moon (māsa) because it suggests the colour of moonlight which is an apt description of a White Elephant. Indeed, in the *Traibhūmikathā* or the *Traibhum Phra Ruang*, the earliest date for which is 1778 (Vickery, 1974: 284, n. 27), compares the colour of the White Elephant to that of the full moon (TK: 64). The name Mas Muang, then, should mean "White Elephant of the Realm," which would make it closer to the name of the White Elephant of King Rama III, whose name was Ming Muang, "Auspice of the Realm" (Chotmaihead R.II: 51) than to that of Khun Sam Chon
- 1.10. ชื่อพระรามคำแหง เพื่อกุญช้างขุนสามชน เมื่(อ)
Phra Ram Khamhaeng, because I fought Kun Sam Chon's elephant. During
 พระรามคำแหง (np. **Phra Ram Khamhaeng**)
- C - The word พระ (**phra**), venerable, used as a title of a prince, is used once in a Sukhothai inscription when it mentions พระรามผู้เป็นน้อง (Phra Ram phu pen nong), Phra Ram who is the younger brother (No. 11-1-2).
- D - รามคำแหง (**Ram Khamhaeng**), which is translated as Ram "the Bold" (G.P., 1971: 204, No.16), must have referred to the hero พระราม (Phra Ram) of the Ramakien, a popular dance drama in the early 19th century; hence his epithet "the Bold." The closest to พระรามคำแหง (Phra Ram Khamhaeng) is พระรามคำแหง (Phra Ram Kamhaeng) which was the title of a provincial commander mentioned in กฎหมายตราสามดวง the *Three Seals Laws* of 1085 (TSL,

149). Apparently the author must have seen the connection between the name of a former ruler and the title of a provincial commander.

- C – Since รามคำแหง (**Ram Khamhaeng**) does not exist in Sukhothai epigraphy, another possible source for it would have to be the name of พระญาคำแหงพระราม (Phraya Khamhaeng Phra Ram), who was the father of สมเด็จพระมหาเถรศรีศรัทธา ราชจุฬามณี (Somdet Phra Mahathera Srisradharajaculamuni), the author of Inscription No. 2 (No.2-1-63, 64). A translation of พระญาคำแหงพระราม (Phraya Khamhaeng Phra Ram) might be "King Bold the Handsome," for ราม (ram) means medium-sized or beautiful.

As for รามราช (**Rāmarāja**), who definitely was a king of Sukhothai, the name ราม (Rama) probably derived from Uttama Rama, the **bodhisatta** who would be the next future Buddha after Metteyya (Sottathakī Mahanidāna: 119). This interpretation of the name รามราชา (Ramaraja) would correlate well with the belief in the future Buddha prevalent in the 13th and early 14th centuries (Sailer, 1983: 9-15).

- 1.11. อชั่วพ่อกู กูบำเรอแก่พ่อกู กูบำเรอแก่แม่กู กูได้ตัว

During my father's lifetime, I lavished attention on my father and on my mother. When I caught

- C – เมื่อชั่ว (**mua chua**, pre.) during, is found only in one other inscription, that is, No. 3-2-13, 34.

- D – บำเรอ (**bamroe**, v.) to lavish attention. The same word used in a similar context is found in the Traibhumikathā, บำเรอแก่พ่อแลแม่ "lavish attention on father and mother" (TK: 90).

- 1.12. เนื้อตัวปลา กูเอามาแก่พ่อกู กูได้หมากส้มหมากหวาน

a deer or a fish, I brought it to my father. When I picked a sour or sweet fruit

- 1.13. น อันใดกินอร่อยกินดี กูเอามาแก่พ่อกู กูไปตี-

that was **delicious** and good to eat, I brought it to my father. When I went to hunt

- D – Since most inscriptions record religious endowments and works of merit (Nos. 2, 8, 11 face I, 95), religious events, such as ordinations (Nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 14, 49, 106) and the establishment of religious sects (No. 62), or even a legal proclamation (No. 38) and political alliances (Nos. 45, 46), such a subjective and personal word as อร่อย (aroi, a.) "delicious," would be entirely incongruous, except for No.1. อร่อย (delicious), however, appears in early 19th century literary works such as *Traibhūmilokavinichaya kathā*, written in 1802 (TL, Vol. 2, 73) and *Traibhūmikatha* (TK: 59).

- 1.14. หนังสือช้างได้ ภูเขาแม่น้ำพ่อกู กูไปหมู่บ้านท่เมื (อง)

elephants, either **by lasso of rawhide rope** or by (driving them into) a corral, I brought them to my father. When I raided a village or a town

- A – ดินหึ่ง (**ti hñang**, v.) to catch elephants with a lasso of rawhide rope (G.P., 1971: 204, No. 17), does not occur elsewhere in Sukhothai epigraphy.

- C – วังช้าง (**wang chang**, n.), a corral where elephants are herded, is mentioned in No. 2-1-16. This passage in No. 2 might have inspired the author of No. 1 to attribute similar prowess to Ram Khamhaeng.

- 1.15. อง ได้ช้างได้งว ได้บัวได้นาง ได้เงินได้ทองกูเอา

and captured elephants, **men** or women, silver or gold, I turned them over

- A – บัว (**pua**, n.) men, probably derives from a Lao Song word meaning "a man," and so does the word นาง (**nang**, n.), "a woman," that is mentioned here (F.A., 2520: 32). The Lao Song, who consider themselves "Black Thai," were sent to Bangkok from Muang Thaeng in Laos by a governor of Vientiane in 1792. King Rama I resettled them in the province of Phetchaburi in Central Thailand (PML: 344).

- 1.16. มาเวนแก่พ่อกู พ่อกูตายยังพี่กู กูพำรำเราแก่พี่

to my father. When my father died, my elder brother was still alive, and I lavished attention on him,

- D – Coedès notices that the contents of lines 1.11 to 1.16 too closely recalls the oath of the electors of Genghis Khan as told in the *Secret History of the Mongols* to be coincidental (Coedès, 1968: 349, n. 41). Since the *Secret History* was only transcribed into Chinese in 1368, it could not have been known in Thailand till centuries later (Penth: 95).

- 1.17. กู ดั่งบำเราแก่พ่อกู พี่กูตาย จึงได้ เมืองแก่กูทั้ง (กลม)

as I had lavished it on my father. When my elder brother died, I received the **whole** kingdom for myself.

- A – ทั้งกลม (**thang klom**, a.) whole, is not found elsewhere.

- 1.18. กลม เมื่อชั่วพ่อขุนรามคำแหง เมืองสุโขทัยนี้ดี ในน้ำ

In the time of King Ram Khamhaeng this land of Sukhothai is good. In the water

- C – เมื่อชั่วพ่อขุนรามคำแหง (**mua chua Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng**) appears to have derived from No 3-2-12, because it replaces เมื่อชั่วพระญารามราช (mua chua Phraya Rāmarāja).

Coedès noticed that there are many similarities in "ready-made expressions" between No. 1 and No. 3. He naturally thought that No. 3 reproduced those of No. 1 (Coedès, 1924: 78). However, it now appears to have been vice versa—that the author of No. 1 borrowed some "ready-made expressions" in line 1-18 to 1-24 from No. 3.

- A – พ่อขุนรามคำแหง (**Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng**) is only mentioned in No. 1 (GS: 157). However, พ่อขุนรามราช (Pho Khun Rāmarāja) is found in No. 2-1-37 where he is mentioned as being a son of พ่อขุนศรีอินทราทิตย์ (Pho Khun Śrī Indrāditya). The title พ่อขุน (Pho Khun), as a prefix for a king, is used only in No. 2 lines 1-15 to 1-41, when

the author of No. 2, the Phra Mahāthera Śrīsraddhā, refers to former kings of Sukhothai who were his ancestors (Nidhi, 2530: 81). Hence the title พ่อขุน (Pho Khun) had specific meaning within a particular context. It probably was not used to mean a king in general, for kings of Sukhothai are titled as พระญา (Phraya) (GS: 117-118) as in พระญารามราช (Phraya Rāmarāja), who is mentioned in No. 5-1-2 and No. 3-1-3 as being a grandfather of พระญาติไทย (Phraya Li Thai).

The use of พ่อขุน (Pho Khun) here suggests that the author of No. 1 was inspired by the use of พ่อขุน (Pho Khun) in No. 2; but might not have realized that the title specifically meant a dead king.

- D – พ่อขุน (**Pho Khun**) is found in an Ayutthaya inscription (No. 41-1-3); but it is used as a title of lesser nobility. Unlike Sukhothai usage, it does not refer to a sovereign.

1.19. มีปลา ในนามมีข้าว เจ้าเมืองบ่เอาจกอบในไพร่ลูท่างเพี-

there are fish, in the fields there is rice. The king does not **levy toll** on his subjects: they freely

- D – ในน้ำมีปลา ในนามมีข้าว (**nai nam mi pla, nai na mi khao**) "in the water there are fish, in the fields there is rice." A similar sentiment is expressed in *Traibhūmikathā*, ทังเข้าในนาทังปลาในน้ำ (thang khao nai na, thang pla nai nam) "rice in the fields, fish in the water" (TK, 59). Both lines 1.18-1.19 and the passage quoted above from the *Traibhūmikathā* bear the same message, that when a king rules righteously the kingdom will prosper and there will be an abundance of rice and fish.

- D – จกอบ (**chakop**, n. kh.) a toll, is often mentioned in books written during the time of King Narai (1656-1688) (F.A., 2520: 33) and in the 17th century legal code Phra Dharmanoon (Bradley, 1896: 50).

- D – ลูท่าง (**lu thang**, adv.) freely (F.A., 2520: 33), can be found in both *Liit Yuan Phai* and *Lilit Phra Lo* (F.A., 2520: 33).

- 1.20. อนุจรวัวไปค้า ชีม้าไปขาย ใครจักใครค้าช้าง ค้า ใคร
lead their cattle to trade or ride their horses to sell;
whoever wants to trade in elephants, does so;
- C – จูจรวัวไปค้า ชีม้าไปขาย (**chung wua pai kha, khi ma pai khai**) "lead their cattle to trade, ride their horses to sell." The rhyme, rhythm and phrasing in this passage may have been borrowed from No. 3-2-32 จีเรือไปค้า ชีม้าไปขาย (**khi rua pai kha, khi ma pai khai**), "embark on their boats to trade, ride their horses to sell."
- 1.21. จักใครค้าม้า ค้า ใครจักใครค้าเงินค้ำทองคำ ไพร์ฟ้าหน้าใส
whoever wants to trade in horses, does so; whoever wants to trade in silver or gold, does so. When any commoner,
- 1.22. ลูกเจ้าลูกขุนผู้ใดแล้ ล้มตายหายกว่า เหย้าเรือนพ่อเชื้อ
officers or prince is dead, the home of the deceased father
- C – ลูกเจ้าลูกขุน (luk chao, luk khun, n.) officers, prince, also appears in No. 3-2-43 and No. 5-2-31.
- A – เชื้อ (**chua**, n.) deceased is often found in **Thao Hung** or **Choeng**, a tale from northern Thailand (*TH*: 5).
- C – This and the next two lines (1-23, 24) appear to have been inspired by No. 3-2-43, 44:
...ไพร์ฟ้าชาวไทยลูกเจ้าลูกขุนผู้ใดได้ข้าเอาเห้านำนาวเอาเรือนเขา
พ่อตายให้ไว้แก่ลูก
"When commoners, free men or officers...take their homes by force. When a father dies his home is given to the son."
Hence, No. 1-22 to 24 are an elaboration of this last sentence.
- 1.23. เลื้อคำมัน ช้างขอลูกเมียเยยข้าว ไพร์ฟ้าข้าไท ป่า
himself, his **trained elephants**, wives, children, granaries, rice, **retainers** and groves

- D - ช้างขอ (**chang kho**, n.) trained elephant found in treatises on training elephants from the time of King Narai (1656-1688) (F.A., 2520: 35).
- C - ไพร่ฟ้าข้าไท (**phrai fa kha thai**, n., commoners and their retainers) only appears once in No. 1; and twice in No. 3-2-32, 43 and again in No. 5-1-16.
- D - However, this expression is a common usage in the *Traibhūmikathā* (TK, 58).

1.24. หมากรป่าพลูพ่อเชื้อมั้น ไว้แก่ลูก มั่นลั่น ไพร่ฟ้า

of **areca** and **betel** are left in their entirety to his son.
When commoners,

- A - ป่าหมาก ป่าพลู (**pa mak, pa phlu**, n., groves of areca and betel). The word pa for groves of areca and betel, which is found only in No. 1, is probably borrowed from the expression ป่าม่วง (pa muang), mango grove (No. 5-2-25), found in the inscription of Phraya Li Thai. No. 2-2-12, however, uses the expression สวนหมาก สวนพลู (**suan mak, suan phlu**).

With the exception of ป่าม่วง (**pa muang**), mango grove (No. 5-2-25), ป่า (pa, n.) in Sukhothai inscriptions generally refers to a forest or a thicket (No. 2-1-45, 70, 88; No. 2-2-19, 23; No. 3-2-29; No. 49-1-25).

- C - The same phase พ่อตายไว้แก่ลูก (When a father dies, it is given to the son) is also found in No. 10-2-17.

1.25. ลูกเจ้าลูกขุน มิแลผิดแพกแสกว้างกัน สวนดู

officers, or princes **quarrel** (the King) **examines the case**

- A - ผิดแพกแสกว้าง (**phitphaek saekwang**, v.) to quarrel แสกว้าง (**saekwang**) occurs many times in old law texts (F.A., 2520: 35), which would have made it an Ayutthaya expression. ผิดแพก (phitphaek) also appears in *Traibhūmikathā* (TK, 94).

- A - สวนดู (**suan du**, v.) to examine.

- 1.26. แท้แล้ จิ่งแล่งความแก่ชาด้วยชื้อ บ่เข้าผู้ลักมัก (ผู้ซ่อน)
to find the truth and then **settles the case** justly for them. He does not **side** with thieves or favour
- A – แล่งความ (**laeng khwam**, v.) to pass judgement.
- D – มัก (**mak**, v.) to like, often occurs in Suphasit Phra Ruang, probably composed by a son of King Rama I, Krom Somdet Phra Parammanuchitchinorot (1790-1853) (Niyada, 2528: 11). มัก (mak) used in the sense of "to like" is often found in *Traibhūmikathā* (TK, 34, 56). However, in Sukhothai epigraphy มัก (mak, adv.) is used to mean "often" (No. 2-1-43, 45, 47, 80; No. 38-2-51). However, the expression "มักผู้ซ่อน," with the first letter missing, which may or may not have been "มัก," is found in No. 45-3-14.
- D – This passage recalls the teaching of the *Traibhūmikātha* that a Universal Monarch should be impartial in his judgement and judge with honesty (TK: 59).
- 1.27. ผู้ซ่อน เห็นข้าวท่านบิโครพิน เห็นสินท่านบิโครเดือ (ด)
concealers (of stolen goods). When he sees the rice of others, he does not covet it; **when he sees someone's wealth, he does not boil with anger.**
เห็นข้าวท่านบิโครพิน เห็นสินท่านบิโครเดือ (ด)
- C – **hen khao than bo khrai phin, hen sin than bo khrai doed.** The whole of this expression is lifted verbatim from Phraya Li Thai's inscription of 1361 (No. 5-1-17, 18), and so is line 1-31.
- 1.28. ด คนใดซี่ช้างมาหา พาเมืองมาสู่ช้อย เหนือเพ็(อ)
Whoever comes on an elephant to see him and asks him to protect his country, he generously
- 1.29. อกั มั่นบมีช้างบมีม้า บมีบัวบมีนาง บอมีเงือ(น)
takes care of it. Whoever has no elephants, no horses, no men or women, no silver
- A – กั (**ku**, v., to take care of) does not appear elsewhere.

- D – Lines 1-29 and 1-30 seem to be echoing the sentiment expressed in *Traibhūmikathā*:

"If the common people and free men who live within our country want to trade but cannot find funds, and they come to ask us who are their rulers to loan them money to be their capital so that they can make their living by trading, we who are their kings should give them the money from our treasuries." (TK, 2526: 58, Reynold, trans.: 151-152)

This clearly demonstrates that the *Traibhūmikathā* could hardly have been written by Phraya Li Thai as is generally accepted, since the capitalistic sentiment expressed above is more in tune with that of 19th century Siam.

- 1.30. นปมีทอง ให้แก่มัน ช่อยมันดวง เป็นบ้านเป็นเมือง (ง)

or gold, he gives to him and helps him to **restore** his kingdom

- D – ดวง (**tuang**, v., to restore), in the sense of to make whole, is found in the historical poem *Lilit Talaing Phai* (F.A., 2520: 37). This poem was composed by Krom Somdet Phra Parammanuchitchinorot (1790-1853). **Tuang** in No. 38-2-4 means "until" (F.A., 2520: 37).

- 1.31. ง ได้ข้าเลือก ข้าเสีย หัวฟุ้งหัวรบ กิดี ปะฆ่าบตี ใน

When he captures the enemies or their commanders, he does not kill them or beat them.

- C – ได้ข้าเลือก ข้าเสีย หัวฟุ้งหัวรบ กิดี ปะฆ่าบตี

dai kha soek kha sua hua phung hua rop ko di bo kha bo ti The whole of this expression is lifted verbatim from Phraya Li Thai's inscription of 1361 (No. 5-1-21, 22), just as in line 1-27.

- 1.32. ปากประตูมีกะดิ่งอันหนึ่งแขวนไว้หั้น ไพรฟ้าหน้า (ปก)

A **bell** is hung over the opening of the gate over there: if any **distraught commoners**

- D – ไพรฟ้าน่าปก (**phrai fa na pok**, n.) commoners with hair covering the forehead indicating their distress (F.A., 2520: 38) is an expression found in the *Phongsawadan Yonok*, a history of northern Thailand, compiled from a number of northern Thai chronicles by Phraya Prachakitkarakakra in 1898; hair covering the forehead is an indication of unhappiness (PY: 260).

1.33. ปก กลางบ้านกลางเมือง มีถ้อยมีความ เจ็บท้อง

in the city has a **lawsuit**, and **pain in the bowels**

- D – ถ้อยความ (**thoi khwam**, n.) a lawsuit is a 19th century expression for a lawsuit (Bradley, 1873: 280).
- D – เจ็บท้อง (**chep thong**) "to feel pain in the bowels" (thong, n., bowels). This phrase appear many times in *Traibhūmi-kathā* (TK, 45, 46)

1.34. ข้องใจ มักจกกลางถึงเจ้าถึงขุนบุรี ไปลั่นกะ (ดิ่ง)

from **doubts** which he wants to make known to his ruler, it is not difficult; he strikes the bell

- A – ข้องใจ (**khong chai**, v.) to be in doubt.
- D – The author of No. 1 might have had the idea of the bell with which the subjects could petition their king by striking it from a Thai compilation of Persian tales called *Nithan Iran Rajadharma*, popularly known as *Sibsong Liam* (Twelve-sides), which was presented to King Rama I in the same year as his consecration as king in 1782 (SL: 16-17). In 1835 King Rama III had this tale carved on the pillars of the Sala (pavilion) to the west of the Phra Mondop at Wat Phra Chetuphon (PJ,1: 164-165). A king by the name of นาวเสนวาระวาทินทร (Naowasen-warawadinthon) had twelve tales exemplifying royal virtues inscribed on the twelve-sided walls of his mausoleum. A later king discovered the mausoleum and had the twelve tales copied. He himself based his conduct on the inscriptions of King Naowasen-warawadinthon and kept the ten royal virtues ("พระองค์คือเอาอย่างจารึกพระเจ้า

เนาเสนวาระวาทินทร์ทั้งสิ้น ก็ทรงทศพิธราชธรรม”) (*Ibid.*: 48).

It is not difficult to draw an analogy between the inscriptions of King Naowasen-warawadinthon and that of King Ram Khamhaeng. Both set examples of royal virtues for succeeding kings to emulate. Their example was not lost on King Mongkut who in 1856 set up a drum in the Grand Palace so that his subjects could petition him personally (*KSS*, 63-64).

D — ไร่ (**rai**, a.) difficult, not found in Sukhothai inscriptions, but occurs in the *Traibhumikatha* (*TK*: 31).

1.35. ดิ่งอันทานแขวนไว้ พ่อขุนรามคำแหงเจ้าเมืองได้

which the ruler has hung there; Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng, the king,

Summary of Face 1

The above analysis of Face 1 can be summarized as follows:

Lines 1.1-1.3

Ram Khamhaeng, using the first person pronoun η_{u} (ku), gives the names of his parents and elder brother.

The author of No. 1 most probably has used Inscription No. 2 and possibly No. 45 as his sources. No. 2 is one of the inscriptions whose provenance is not certain. One sure thing about it is that it was in the Wang Na Museum in 1891 (Coedès, 1924: 49). However, Coedès was told by the 75-year-old Phraya Samosara Sarbakara that he himself had discovered it in the tunnel of Wat Si Chum at Sukhothai (*Ibid.*: 177). But in an official letter dated 1887, it is reported that the then Luang Samosara Balakara "found five stone slabs with inscriptions and pictures having different designs, big and small, damaged and in good condition at Wat Si Chum" (*Ibid.*: 11), which suggests that these five stone inscriptions found by Luang Samosara are the engravings of Jātaka scenes. Thus, No. 2 might not have been taken from Wat Si Chum at all, but from Wat Mahathat, where, as Coedès believed, it was set up to commemorate a reconstruction by the Phra Mahāthera Śrīśraddhā (Coedès, 1924: 49).

As for No. 45, it was dug up by the Fine Arts Department in 1956 to the front of the Wihaṇ Klang to the east of the Great Relic Chedi at Wat Mahathat, Sukhothai. This fact does not preclude the possibility that

the author of No. 1 might have had access to it.

Lines 1.3-1.10

When he was nineteen years old Ram Khamhaeng fought an elephant duel with Khum Sam Chon. After his enemies took flight, his father named him Ram Khamhaeng.

The author of No. 1 most likely used Inscription No. 2 as his source for the elephant duel.

Lines 1.10-1.17

When his father was alive he took good care of him and when his father died he served his brother. After his brother passed away he became king.

A possible source for Ram Khamhaeng's treatment of his parents would be from the *Secret History of the Mongols*.

Lines 1.18-1.19

From Line 18 onwards, he is addressed as Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng, during whose reign the kingdom of Sukhothai is prosperous.

Here begins the first of the many instances where the content of No. 1 parallels that of the มหาจักรพรรดิราช (Mahācakravartirāja) Universal Monarch Chapter of the *Traibhūmikathā*. This chapter deals with obligations and responsibilities of one who would be a World Emperor.

Lines 1.19-1.21

His subjects could trade freely without having to pay tolls.

The author of No. 1 might have relied on Inscription No. 3 for the above passage.

Similar to No. 2, the provenance of No. 3 is uncertain. Coedès accepted Prince Dam-

rong's explanation that it came from Nakhon Chum on the west bank of the River Ping opposite *Kamphaeng Phet* (Coedès, 1924: 77). Prince Damrong's information is based on the recollection of an old abbot, the reliability of whose memory is open to doubt (Piriya, 2532: 30-33).

Lines 1.21-1.24 When a subject dies, his property is given to his heirs.

This information most probably derived from No. 3 as well.

Lines 1.24-1.27 Whenever his subjects quarrel, the king would settle the case with impartiality.

This passage again parallels the exhortation in the *Traibhūmikathā* that a Universal Monarch should be impartial in his judgement.

Line 1.28-1.30 Whoever comes to ask the king for protection, he would assist them.

An adaptation of this passage is found in the *Traibhūmikathā* where a Universal Monarch should give a loan to his subjects so that they could use it to set up businesses.

Line 1.31 The king treats his captives with kindness.

The author of No. 1 must have borrowed this passage from Inscription No. 5, since the same sentence appears in both inscriptions.

Although Inscription No. 5 was found by Phraya Boranratchathanin at Wat Mai (Prasat Thong) in Nakhon Luang District, Ayutthaya, in 1907 (Coedès, 1924: 109), the author of No. 1 might have had access to it first. These direct quotations support the hypothesis that he might have.

Lines 1.31-1.35 Whenever any of his subjects wishes to petition him, they could do so by ringing the bell at his gate.

There are two sources for this episode. One is the *Nithan Iran Rajadharma*, written in 1782, and the other is the *Mahāvamsa*, the *Great Chronicle of Sri Lanka*.

There has never been a tradition that a subject could directly petition his king. The only exceptions were King Ram Khamhaeng and King Mongkut who set up a drum in the Grand Palace so that his subjects could petition him.

To conclude, even if Inscriptions No. 2, No. 3 and No. 5 as well as the *Traibhūmikathā*, which is said to have been composed by Ram Khamhaeng's grandson, Li Thai, plagiarized phases and even whole sentences from Inscription No. 1, explanations will have to be found for the intrusions of Ayutthaya and Bangkok period vocabulary into a 13th century Sukhothai inscription.

– Face 2 –

- 2.1. ยิน เรียกเมื่อถาม สอนความแก่นั่นด้วยชื่อ ไพร่ใน

When he hears the call, goes and **examines the case** impartially. So the common people in

- D – The author of No. 1 most probably used the example of King Eḷāra, a Tamil king of Anurādhapura, Sri Lanka, who had a bell hung at the head of his bed with a long rope that connected it with the hall of judgement, so that his subjects could petition him (Geiger: 143). When he heard the sound of the bell, he went and delivered judgement with kingly virtue. As the source for this passage, the author of No. 1 must have used the Thai version of the *Mahāvamsa*, *The Great Chronicle of Sri Lanka*, translated from the Pāli text in 1796, since some of the words and phrases as well as the sentiments expressed in it are recognizable in line 2-1:

“และพระยาเอฬารราชันนั้นปราศจากที่จะกล่าวมารยาอันคดชื่อตรงเป้นแท้
ในกาลเมื่อทรงพิพากษาความนั้นตั้งพระไทยเป็นอุเบกขามัธยัต มิได้เข้า
ด้วยฝ่ายใดเลยแลจ้เลยว่ามีผู้เป็นมิตรจะเอ็นดู ผู้เป็นศัตรูจะชิงชังตั้ง
พระอุเบกขาเสมอจนนี้ พระองค์ให้ผู้กระษัตริย์ ไกลอุปริภาคที่พระบรรทม
แลสายระฆังนั้นล่ามเล่นออกไป แต่ที่โรงวินิจฉัยเข้าไปถึงห้องที่บรรทม
ครั้งได้ทรงฟังเสียงระฆังแล้ว ก็เสด็จออกมาทรงวิพากษาความโดย
ราชธรรมอันดี ” (MV: 419-420).

- 2.2. เมืองสุโขทัยนี้จึงชม สรร้างป่าหมากป่าพลูทั่วเมื่อ (ง)

this country of Sukhothai praise him. They plant areca groves and betel groves everywhere all over this city;

- 2.3. งนี้ทุกแห่ง ป่าพร้าวก็หลายในเมือง นี้ ปาลาง

there are many **coconut groves** and groves of **coconut-type palms**

- C – This sentence is probably adapted from ปูลูกลมากพร้าว
หมากกลางทุกแห่ง, they plant coconut groves and groves of
coconut-type palms everywhere (No. 3-2-28). In other

Sukhothai inscriptions, ป่า (pa, n.), meaning "a planting of fruit and nut trees," is used only with ป่าม่วง (**pa muang**), to mean a planting of mango trees (No. 5-2-25 and No. 7-2-35).

A - Thus, ป่าพร้าว (**pa phrao**, n.) a coconut grove, does not occur elsewhere and neither does ป่าลาง (**pa lang**, n.) a grove of coconut-type palms (F.A., 2520: 38).

2.4. ก็หลายในเมืองนี้ หมากม่วงก็หลายในเมืองนี้

in this city, also many **mango** trees in this city,

C - It should be noted that Phraya Rāmarāja himself had a grove of mangoes หมากม่วง (**mak muang**, nt. a mango) planted. His grandson, Phraya Li Thai, built a monastery there in 1361 (No. 5-1-2, 3). Coedès remarked that in the Khmer language inscription of Phraya Li Thai (No. 4), which Prince Mongkut had brought down to Wat Rachathiwat in 1833, there is no mention of Phraya Rāmarāja planting the mango groves (Coedès, 1924: 109).

D - หมากม่วง (**mak muang**), however, is mentioned in Nithan Iran Rajadharma, dated 1782 (NI, 46-53).

2.5. หมากขามก็หลายในเมืองนี้ ใครสร้างได้ไว้แก่มัน

and many **tamarind** trees as well in this city. Whoever plants them takes possession of them.

A - หมากขาม (**mak kham**, nt., a tamarind) is not found elsewhere.

2.6. กลางเมืองสุโขทัยนี้ มีน้ำตระพังพอยสี สดกินดี

In the middle of this city of Sukhothai the water of the **Phoe Si Pond** is clear and good to drink

D - ตระพังพอยสี (**trapang phoe si**, pn.) a pond (trapang) named Phoe Si (F.A., 2520: 39) does not appear in other Sukhothai inscriptions. This name is first mentioned in *Somdet Phra Phonnarat's Phra Ratchaphongsawadan* (PP: 110) and in *Phra Ratchaphongsawadan Krung Sayam* of 1807 (PKS: 160).

D – ตระพัง (trapang) also appears in *Traibhūmikathā* (TK, 44)

B – It should be remarked that the ponds at Sukhothai were dug as boundary markers for convocation halls (Pāli, *udak'ukkhepasīmā*), used in the ordination of the *Sīhaḷa Bhikkhu* sect (Fig. 1). The earliest mention of such a pond is in Inscription No. 9, dated 1406, whose provenance is unknown (9-3-22, 26). The *Sīhaḷa Bhikkhu* sect was established at Sukhothai in 1430 (JK: 131).

2.7. ...ตั้งกั้นน้ำโขงเมื่อแล้ง รอบเมืองสุโขทัยนี้ ตรี(บุร)

as the water of the Khong in the dry season. Around this city of Sukhothai the **triple (fortifications)**

A – โขง (**Khong**, pn.) Mae Khong River, is not mentioned in other Sukhothai inscriptions, and neither is the word แล้ง (laeng, n.), dry season.

D – But แล้ง (laeng) appears many times in *Triabhūmikathā* (TK: 59).

A – Neither ตรี (tri, a., three), nor บุร (bun, n., from the Sanskrit word *pura*, a fortress), is found in other Sukhothai inscriptions, let alone ตรีบุร (triple fortifications). ตรีบุญ (tri bun), with บุญ (bun) spelt with ณ, however, appears in the Inscription of Wat Chiang Man (No. 76-1-4), Chiang Mai, dated 1581 (PS, Pt. 3: 210).

B – Excavations conducted by the Fine Arts Department of the inner, middle and outer walls of Sukhothai, demonstrate that the inner wall was constructed some time between 1237 and 1438. As for the middle and the outer walls, they were built after Phra Si Saowarat was appointed governor of Sukhothai by King Naresuan in 1592 (F.A., 2526: 149, 151-155). Hence anyone visiting Sukhothai after that time would have seen that the city had three fortifications.

2.8. บุร ได้สามพันสี่ร้อยวา คนในเมืองสุโขทัยนี้

measure three thousand four hundred **wa** (wa = 2 metres). The people in this city of Sukhothai

- 2.9. มักทาน มักทรงศีล มักโอยทาน พ่อขุนรามคำแหง
like to be charitable. They want to keep the precepts
and give alms. *Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng*,
- 2.10. เจ้าเมืองสุโขทัยนี้ ทั้งชาวแม่ชาวเจ้าท่วยบัวท่วยนา (ง)
the ruler of this city of Sukhothai, as well as princes and
princesses, men and women
- D – ท่วย (thuai, n.), people, is found in *Lilit Yuan Phai* (LYP:
318).
- 2.11. ง ลูกเจ้าลูกขุน ทั้งสิ้นทั้งหลาย ทั้งผู้ชายผู้หญิง
and princes and officers one and all, both **men and
women**,
- D – The differentiation between the sexes ผู้ชาย (phu chai, n.)
male, and ผู้หญิง (phu ying, n.) female, is not found in
Sukhothai epigraphy, but appears frequently in early
19th century literature and in the *Traibhūmikhathā* (TK:
38).
- 2.12. ฝูงท่วยมีศรัทธาในพระพุทธศาสนา ทรงศีลเมื่อพรร (ชา)
all have faith in **Buddhism**, and all observe the precepts
during the rainy season retreat.
- A – พระพุทธศาสนา (phra phuttha sasana, n. Buddhism) is not
a Sukhothai expression, since Sukhothai epigraphy re-
fers to Buddhism with the following expressions:
- ศาสนาพระพุทธ (sasana phra phut), religion of Lord Bud-
dha (No. 3-1-54, 57).
- ศาสนาพระพุทธเป็นเจ้า (sasana phra phut pen chao), relig-
ion of Lord Buddha the Lord (No. 3-1-46).
- ศาสนาพระเจ้า (sasana phra chao), the Lord's religion (No.
9-1-32; No. 14-2-14).
- ศาสนาพระเป็นเจ้า (sasana phra pen chao), religion of the
Lord (No. 3-1-31, 43, 59; No. 14-1-37, 2-18).
- พุทธศาสนา (phuttha sasana), Buddhist religion (No. 49-
1-4) and also in (No. 69-1-6).

- D – พระพุทฺธศาสนา (phra phuttha sasana), on the other hand, is comparatively recent. For its earliest appearance is found in the *Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā*, written by Phraya Dhammapricha (Kaeo) at the command of King Rama I in 1802 (TL: 86, 102).

2.13. ชาวทุกคน เมื่อออกพรรษากฐิน เดือนนี้จึง (ง)

When the rainy season retreat is over, they **make outer robes for presentation to monks at Kāṭhin ceremonies** which take place the whole month.

- D – Neither กราน (**kran**, v., to make the outer robe of a Buddhist monk), nor กฐิน (**kāṭhin**, n., presentation of the outer robe of a Buddhist monk) is mentioned in Sukhothai epigraphy. In the inscriptions of King Li Thai, the King simply gave alms after the rainy season retreat is over (No. 4-2-30, 31; No. 5-3-8, 9). He did not mention the procession to present the kāṭhin robes to monks as is prominently featured in the following lines, 2-16 to 2-23. The kāṭhin procession, however, became an important state function at Ayutthaya in the 17th century.

Apart from the Inscription of King Ram Khamhaeng, the one other source that vouches for the existence of the Kāṭhina as a state ceremony at Sukhothai is an article by King Mongkut called "Origin of Vāt Visitations," published posthumously in the *Siam Repository*, (April, 1868):

"The Kāṭhina was introduced somewhat in its present form in the reign of Brah Rvaṇ...at that time the royal Vāts were visited in the season of the full moons of October and November by the royal barges, containing baskets of cloths and baskets of food...The King was accompanied by nobles and palace ladies. He was received by the monks at each Vāt and they let off fireworks in his honour, and the people gave themselves up to amusements." (Cited in Quaritch Wales, 1931: 210).

2.14. งแล้ว เมื่อกรานกฐิน มีพนมเบี้ย มีพนมหมาก มี

The **kāṭhin offerings** consist of **heaps** of cowrie shells, **heaps** of areca nuts,

D - In *Traibhūmikathā* ผ้ากฐิน (**phakathin**) is used instead of กรานกฐิน (kran kaṭhin) (TK, 110)

D - พนม (**phanom**, n.) a heap, not found elsewhere. The heaps of cowrie shells and heaps of areca nuts here seem to echo "baskets of cloths and baskets of food" as offered by Phra Ruang, quoted above.

Vickery has noted that since cowries were used as a currency, they are always mentioned in precise quantities, as in No. 4-2-35 and No. 5-3-15. Thus "this passage of RK seems to indicate a person unfamiliar with Sukhothai economic life" (Vickery, 1987: 207).

2.15. พนมดอกไม้ มีหมอนนั่งหมอนโนน บริวารกฐินโอ (ย)

heaps of flowers, cushions and pillows. Kaṭhina offerings

D - พนมดอกไม้ (**phanom dokmai**), dried flowers arranged in a heap, is mentioned many times in Roeng Nang Nophamat (NN: 88). According to Nang Nophamat, dried flowers arranged in a heap were invented by her. King Ruang liked it so much that he decreed from henceforth **phanom dokmai** should be called **phanom phra vassa**.

Since this **phanom dokmai**-style of flower arrangement is invented by Nang Nophamat for the **khao pansa** ceremony, the observance of the beginning of the rainy season retreat, its mention here in the context of the **ok pansa** ceremony, the observance of the end of the Buddhist retreat, can only support the hypothesis that the same author was responsible for both works. King Mongkut might have coined the word **phanom dokmai**, because he used it in his **Maha Chat** (p. 12).

C - หมอนนั่งหมอนโนน (**mon nang, mon non**, n.) cushions and pillows, are also listed among the offerings given by King Li Thai to the monks at the end of the rainy season retreat (No. 4-2-35, No. 5-3-16, 17).

2.16. ยทานแลปีแล้ญับล้าน ไปสูดญติกฐินถึงอ (รัญญิก)

given each year amount to two millions. Everyone goes

to the *Araññika* (monastery of the Forest-Dwelling monks) for the recitation of the *Kaṭhin Announcement*.

D - ยัตติ (**yatti**, n., announcement), see Prince Vajirañṇavararasa, 2506, pp. 66-69 for the ceremony of the presentation of the *Kaṭhina* robe.

C - ยิบ (yib, n., two) also mentioned in No. 3-1-28 and No. 7-4-13.

2.17. รัญญิกพูน เมื่อจักเข้ามาเวียงเรียงกันแต่รั(ญญิก)

On their return to the city, they walk in line all the way from the *Araññika*

C - อรัญญิก (**araññika**, n., monastery of the Forest-Dwelling monks) is mentioned in No. 2-2-82, No. 40-1-16, 2-4 and No. 102-1-8, 22, 39. The *Araññika* mentioned in No. 2 was in Sri Lanka; the one in No. 40 and No. 102 was at Sukhothai.

2.18. ญญิกพูนทำหวลาน ดับงคักลอง ด้วยเสียงพาดเสียงพิ (ณ)

to the **plaza**. They repeatedly beat drums, xylophones and lutes,

D - หวลาน (**hua lan**, n., a plaza), or ลาน (lan), is not mentioned in Sukhothai epigraphy; but *Roeng Nang Nophamat roe Tamrap Thao Sri Culālakṣana*, probably composed in 1835, ลาน (lan) is followed by สนามหลวง (sanam luang), leaving no doubt that it refers to the Sukhothai equivalent of the Bangkok Royal Plaza (NN. 15).

A - ดับงคักลอง (**dom bang khom klong**) Khmer for "repeatedly beat drums" (F.A., 2520: 40).

D - The expression เสียงพาดเสียงพิณ (siang phat, siang phin) "the sound of xylophone and lutes" is found in the *Traibhūmikathā* (TK: 54).

2.19 ณ เสียงเลื่อนเสียงขับ ใครจักมักเล่น เล่น ใครจัก (ณ)

chanting and singing. Whoever wants to play, plays; whoever wants

- D – เลื่อน (**loen**, n.) or เลื่อน (oen) which is found in *Lilit Phra Lo* (LPL: 394), is a style of singing which prolongs the voice between two words, typical of singing in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.
- D – ขับ (**khap**, n.), a style of singing as in a lullaby, is mentioned in the *Traibhūmikathā* (TK: 54), where it is used together with ร้อง (**rong**), as in ร้องขับ (**rong khap**). เสียงขับ เสียงร้อง (siang khap, siang rong) "sound of singing" is used in the In *Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā* (TL, vol. 2, 49). In *Nang Nophamat*, its usage is ขับร้อง (khap rong), to sing (NN: 70).
- A – In Sukhothai inscriptions ขับ (**khap**) does not mean "to sing" but "to drive," as in ขับแม่ช้าง "**khap mae chang**, (he) drove the she elephant" (No. 2-1-70).
- 2.20. กมักหัว หัว ใครจักมักเลื่อน เลื่อน เมืองสุ-
to laugh, laughs; whoever wants to **chant, chants**. This city of
- 2.21. ไชโยนี้ มีสี่ปากประตูหลวง เที้ยรย่อมคนเสียดกัน
Sukhothai has four main gates. People squeeze together
- D – เที้ยรย่อม (**thien yom**) is an expression used to emphasize the following expression. Here it is placed before the word คน (khon, n.) people, to emphasize the multitude of people. Its only appearance in Sukhothai inscriptions is in No. 7-2-19. However, it occurs frequently in the *Traibhūmikathā* (TK: 12-13)
- A – เสียด (**siat**, v.), to squeeze together.
- D – Both เที้ยรย่อม (**thien yom**), and เสียด (**siat**) are mentioned together in the *Traibhūmikathā*, (TK: 12-13), as Coedès has noted,

"La Traibhūmi présent, p. 16. une phrase tout a fait parallèle a celle de l'inscription: เที้ยรย่อม ผุ่งสัตว์นรกทั้งหลาย หากเบียดเสียดกันอยู่เต็มนรกนั้น" (Coedès, 1923: 117). Masses of beings in hell all squeeze themselves together in that hell (TK: 10).

2.22. เข้ามาดูท่านเผาเทียน ท่านเล่นไฟ เมืองสุโขทัยนี้

to go through to watch the King **burning candles** and **playing with fireworks**. This city of Sukhothai

- D – มาดูท่าน (**ma du than**), to watch the King. According to Van Vliet, who witnessed one of the first Kāthin processions on land which was established by King Prasat Thong after his accession in 1630,

"It is forbidden to anyone to look at the king's mother, his wives or children, and the people turn their faces when the royal family passes" (quoted in Quaritch Wales, 1931: 207).

This custom was abolished by a decree of King Mongkut in 1857 (P.R. 4.: 194-198): Hence the Kāthin procession in which the people could watch the king only began with King Mongkut.

- D – เผาเทียน (**phao**, v., **to burn; thian**, n., candle) mentioned here is clearly related to burning candles in lanterns as described by Nang Nophamat during the Chong Pariang Festival at Sukhothai, which was a water festival (NN: 64-68). The ceremony described by Nang Nophamat is essentially the same as the one mentioned by King Mongkut on the Kāthina festival in the reign of Brah Rvaṇ, in his article "Origin of Vāt Visitations," *Siam Repository* (April, 1968) (mentioned earlier in Line 2-13). Here เผาเทียน (phao thian), the burning of candles, is transferred from the Chong Pariang Festival, which originally was a Hindu Diwali or Dipawali festival, to the Buddhist Kāthina (Quaritch Wales, 1931: 288-289).

- D – เล่นไฟ (**len fai**, v.) to play with fireworks, is a part of the Chong Pariang Festival. As described by Nang Nophamat,

"It was a royal tradition that the king was accustomed to perform. When His Majesty had seen the lamp being hoisted on to the posts, he embarked on the royal barge to present fireworks and to pay respect to the Triple

Gems in all of the royal monasteries...after which he watched and listened to the people, men and women, sing and play...Whenever the royal barge alighted in front of a monastery, officials lighted fireworks" (NN: 67).

As mentioned earlier, there is a strong possibility that the author of *Nang Nophamat* was the same as that of the Inscription of King Ram Khamhaeng. Both were impressed with Sukhothai and both attempted to transform Brahmanical ceremonies into Buddhist ones or to add Buddhist rituals to them. Quaritch Wales noted that,

"King Rama IV is of special interest to us in the present work (Siamese State Ceremonies), because it was due to his staunch faith in Buddhism that many of the state ceremonies received their Buddhist modifications and addition" (Quaritch Wales, 1931: 16).

Indeed, it should be remarked that two of the Buddhist state ceremonies at Sukhothai witnessed by Nang Nophamat, namely the Visākha Pūjā which commemorates the Birth, Enlightenment and the Pārinibbāna of the Buddha, and the Khao Pansa, the observance of the beginning of the rainy season retreat, were revived in Bangkok by King Mongkut, since neither of these ceremonies were observed at Ayutthaya.

2.23. มีดั่งจักแตก กลางเมืองสุโขทัย นี่มีพิหาร มี

is filled to the bursting point. In the middle of this city of Sukhothai, there is the **monastery**, there is

พิหาร (**vihāra**, Pāli, n.) is generally translated in Thai as วิหาร (**wihan**, Thai, n.), an assembly hall; but the Pāli vihāra literally means a monastery.

- D - From line 2-23 to line 3-10, the author of No. 1 describes the city of Sukhothai, first the middle of the city (2-23 to 2-27), then the west (2-27 to 2-23), east (2-33 to 2-35), north (3-1 to 3-3), and south (3-4 to 3-6), all in a vague and noncommittal manner. Such description recalls the

way the four continents in the Realm of Men are described in the *Traibhūmikathā*, beginning to the west, to the east and then to the north (TK: 43-44).

- B – The author mentions a number of landmarks in such generalized terms that this entire section could well have been written by a casual visitor to Sukhothai, whose only acquaintance with the city was no deeper than what his eyes could see. Thus, Prince Vajiravudh was able to identify these landmarks without much difficulty, for the city of Sukhothai, as described here, is no different from what the Prince saw in 1907. However, Prince Vajiravudh is not as careful as the author of No. 1, for he did commit himself by calling the monastery in the middle of the city "Wat Maha That," the name by which it was known to the local people (TM: 66-67).
- 2.24. พระพุทธรูปทอง มีพระอัฐมรารศ มีพระพุทธรูป
the gold image of the Buddha. There are statues of the Buddha, the **Atthārasa images** (18 cubits in height). There are Buddha images,
- C – Prince Vajiravudh also equates "the monastery" and "the gold image," mentioned here, with the Wihan Luang that used to house the Śākyamunī image, the "gold image," before its removal to Wat Suthat, Bangkok, in 1808 (Ibid: 67). But he stops short of saying that the Śākyamunī image is the same as the image having the same size as the Buddha (18 cubits when standing up) that Phraya Li Thai had cast in 1361 and placed in the middle of the city east of the Phra Maha That (No. 4-2-31-33). The author of No. 1, however, was too cautious, for he does not mention the Phra Maha That, the Great Relic Chedi, by name. In the context of the late 13th century the Phra Maha That would have been the principal object of worship, more highly venerated than any image of the Buddha.
- C – It is possible that this line is inspired by lines 2-31, 32 of the Khmer language inscription of Phraya Li Thai

(No. 4), which Prince Mongkut brought back with him to Wat Rachathiwat in 1833.

- B – พระอัฐารศา (Phra Aṭṭhārasa, Pāli, n., images of the Buddha 18 cubits high) can still be seen today at Wat Maha That. There are two of them, one to the northwest corner (Fig. 2) and the other to the southwest corner of the Great Relic Chedi. An inscription on gold plate, date 1376, has been found in the vicinity of the base of the presiding image in the **ubosot** (convocation hall) of the Wat Maha That, mentioning that a Phra Mahāthera Cudāmanī had an Aṭṭhārasa image constructed there (CS: 385-388). Hence there would have been more than two images at Wat Maha That. The practice of putting up images having the same size as the Buddha, 18 cubits (8.37 metres, Griswold, 1967: 8), most probably began with Phraya Li Thai in 1361 (No. 4-2-31-33 and No. 5-3-9-12), and continued thereafter. Since the Aṭṭhārasa images are not mentioned in the inscription of Phra Mahāthera Śrīśraddhā (No. 2) from the second quarter of the 14th century, they could hardly be present in the last two decades of the 13th century, when Inscription No. 1 is purported to have been carved.

It is apparent from an old photograph (Fig. 2) taken before the Fine Arts Department renovation (Quaritch Wales, 1973, pl. 36), that the pair of Aṭṭhārasa images at Wat Maha That are stylistically closer to the Aṭṭhārasa Image at Wat Phra Chetuphon, Sukhothai, from the early 16th century (Fig. 3) than to the "U Thong Group A" images considered characteristic of the late 13th century (Fig. 4). Thus, if these Aṭṭhārasa images were present in 1292, they would have to be in the style of the "U Thong Group A" images.

- 2.25. มีพระพุทธรูปอันใหญ่ มีพระรูปอัน

There are large images of the Buddha and

- 2.26. ราม มีพิหารอันใหญ่ มีพิหารอันราม มีปู

medium-sized ones; there are large assembly halls and medium-sized ones.

วิหาร (wihan) here probably means an assembly hall, since the author is describing Wat Maha That.

- D – This vague classification of images of the Buddha and assembly halls into two groups, large and medium-sized, has its parallel in the description of the World of Men in the *Traibhūmikathā* in which rivers and towns are described as large and small (TK, 43-44).

2.27. ครุณิสัยมุตก มีเถร มีมหาเถร เบื้องตะวันตก

There are monks, Nissayamuttas (who have been ordained for at least five years), Theras (who have been ordained for ten years) and Mahātheras (senior monks). To the West

- A – This sentence continues the same line of thought as the preceding one in which monasteries and images of the Buddha are graded in two categories, large and medium-sized. Here monks are graded in three categories, those who have been ordained for at least five years (Nissayamutta), ten years (Thera) and senior monks (Mahāthera). The apparent contrast between the vagueness of the description of the monasteries at Sukhothai and the precise gradation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy suggests that the author is more familiar with monkhood than with the city of Sukhothai.

- A – It has been remarked that a characteristic of early 19th century Thai literature is to paint a realistic picture of a city by using Bangkok or Ayutthaya as models (Nidhi, 2527: 349-350; Suphot: 99). The description of Sukhothai from line 2-23 to 3-10 conforms to this model, with the exception that the author of No. 1 has based it on his own personal observations, which makes his cityscape more convincing than most.

2.28. เมืองสุโขทัยนี้ มีอโรคยิก พ่อขุนรามคำแหงกระทำ

of this city of Sukhothai is the Araññika, which Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng

2.29. โอยทานแก้วมหาเถร สังฆราชปราชญ์เรียนจบปิฎกไตร

gave to the Mahāthera, the **Saṅgharāja** (Supreme Patriarch), a sage who has completed the study of the *Tripitaka*,

- A – สังฆราช (**Saṅgharāja, Pāli, n.**, the Supreme Patriarch), is an ecclesiastical title for the head of the Buddhist monkhood. Its usage at Sukhothai first appears in the inscription of King Li Thai of 1361 (No. 5-3-21), but more often it is mentioned together with มหาสามี (Mahāsāmī, Pāli, n., the Supreme Patriarch), as in มหาสามี สังฆราช (Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja) (No. 5-2-20, 21; 3-7; 3-34, 35; 3-41) or มหาสวามีศรีสังฆราช (Mahāswāmī Śrī Saṅgharāja) (No. 40-1-15, 2-4). This combination was also prevalent in Sri Lanka in the middle of the 14th century as well (Rohana, 1985). Prior to that time only the title Mahāsāmī was used, as is evidenced by the presence of the word Mahāsāmī in the inscription of Phra Mahāthera Śrīśradhā, whose full title was Somdet Phra Mahāthera Śrīśradhā rājacūlamunī Śrīrattanaḷaṅkāḍīpa Mahāsāmī Pen Chao (No. 2-1-5, 42; 2-40, 73, 85). If No. 1 is earlier than No. 2, which it claims to be, then the title "Mahāsāmī" would have to be used instead of Saṅgharāja.

- C – ปิฎกไตร (**Piṭaka Tri, n.**, the Buddhist canonical texts, divided into three sections) appears to have been borrowed from the inscriptions of King Li Thai, who calls it พระปิฎกไตร (Phra Piṭaka Tri) (No. 3-1-35, 74; No. 5-1-5, 2-21, 3-40; No. 7-2-24), because everyone else calls it Tripiṭaka.

2.30. หลวก กว่าปู่ครูในเมืองนี้ ทุกคนลูกแต่เมืองศรีวิ (รรมราช) มา

who is more intelligent than any other monk in the kingdom, and who has come here from the country of Nakhon Si Thammarat.

- C – Although Inscription No. 5-2-20, 21 was most probably the source for the content of line 2.29 above, the author has substituted Nakhon Si Thammarat for Nakhon Phan mentioned in No. 5-2-24 as the town where the Supreme Patriarch came from.
- A – Since Nakhon Si Thammarat is not found in Sukhothai epigraphy, the mention of ศรีธรรมราช (Si Thammarat, pn.) here as the country where the Supreme Patriarch came from may have its source in the *Sihingānidāna* and the *Jinakālamālinī*, both of which record that the Phra Phuttha Sihing image came to Sukhothai from Sri Lanka, by way of Nakhon Si Thammarat, in the reign of Phra Ruang (SN: 51-54; JK: 121-122).

2.31. ธรรมราชมา ในกลางอรัญญิก มีพิหารอันเนื่องมน

In the middle of the **Araññika** there is a large square assembly hall,

- B – The author of No. 1, as did Prince Vajiravudh following his lead (TM: 83-84), assumes that the Monastery of the Forest Dwelling monks at Sukhothai in the last two decades of the 13th century was located at the present-day Wat Saphan Hin. In fact, according to Inscription of Wat Traphang Chang Phoek (No. 102), dated 1380, the Araññika should have been located in the area of Khao Phra Bat Noi, west of Sukhothai (G.P., 1971b).

2.32. ไหญ่ สูงงามแก่กม มีพระอัฐฐารศอันดั่ง ลูกยี่ (น)

tall and very beautiful, and an **eighteen-cubit high image of the Buddha** standing up.

- B – Prince Vajiravudh went to Sukhothai in 1907 and, using a typescript Thai translation of No. 1 as a guide, successfully identified the monuments mentioned in No. 1. He began with the western direction and discovered that there was an 18 cubit high image standing in the vihan of Wat Saphan Hin, which corresponded exactly with this passage in No. 1 (TM: 84). Since the *Aṭṭhārasa* images are not mentioned in No. 2, they might not have been

earlier than 1361, when King Li Thai had one cast in bronze. Hence, similar to the Aṭṭhārasa images at Wat Maha That, the one at Wat Saphan Hin probably would not have existed in the last two decades of the 13th century.

- B – Judging by old photographs of the Aṭṭhārasa image at Wat Saphan Hin (Fig. 5) taken before the Fine Arts Department renovation (*TM*, facing p. 84; Griswold, 1953: Fig. 3), this image is stylistically closer to the early 16th century Aṭṭhārasa images such as the one at Wat Phra Chetuphon, Sukhothai (see Fig. 3), than to the images in the "U Thong Group A" (see Fig. 4) which are representative of late 13th century images.

2.33. น เบื้องตะวันออกเมืองสุโขทัยนี้ มีพิหาร มีปู้ครุ

To the east of this city of Sukhothai there are monasteries and monks.

2.34. มีทะเลหลวง มีป่าหมากป่าพลู มีไผ่มีนา มีถิ่นถาน

There is a large **lake**. There are groves of areca and betel. There are plantations and rice fields. There are residential areas,

- C – ทะเล (**thale**, n.) normally means "the sea" but here refers to a lake. The word ทะเลฉาง (**thale chang**) is mentioned in No. 9-3-22,26, dated 1406, and in this context probably refers to a pond.

ถิ่นถาน (thin than, n.), residential area, is found only in No. 38-1-27, where ถาน is spelt ฐาน. ถิ่นฐาน (thin than) is an Ayutthaya expression found in No. 38-1-27 which is a proclamation of an Ayutthaya law code, and in *Lilit Phra Lo* (*LPL*: 396).

- D – ถิ่นฐานบ้านเมือง (**thin than, ban, muang**) residential areas, villages and towns, is found in the *Traibhūmikathā* (*TK*: 27).

2.35. มีบ้านใหญ่บ้านเล็ก มีป่าม่วงมีป่าขาม คุงามดั่งแกล (ง)

large and small villages, groves of mango and tamarind, as beautiful as if they were **intended**.

- D – แกล้ง (**klaeng** same as แสร้ง **saeng**, adv. F.A.,) 2520: 41-42, intended, is found in *Lilit Yuan Phai* (LYP: 305, 311) and in the *Traibhūmikathā* (TK: 24-25).

Summary of Face 2

The analysis of Face 2 can be summarized as follows:

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| Lines 2.1 | When King Ram Khamhaeng hears the bell, he judges the case with honesty.

The author must have based this sentence on the Mahāvamsa. |
| Lines 2.2-2.5 | Whoever plants fruits trees may take possession of them

Inscription No. 3 was probably the source for the above passage. |
| Lines 2.6-2.8 | In the middle of the city of Sukhothai there is a pond, called Trapang Phoe Si, and the city is surrounded by triple fortifications.

The earliest sources for the name of the pond date from the late 18th or early 19th century. The pond was probably dug in the early 15th century and used as boundary markers for ordination into the Sīhaḷa Bhikkhu sect. Only in the last decade of the 16th century was the outer wall of Sukhothai built. Hence Lines 2.6-2.8 would have to be written in the early 19th century. |

Lines 2.8-2.22

King Ram Khamhaeng and his subjects are good Buddhists. They keep the precepts and present gifts as well as **kaṭṭhin** robes to the Forest-Dwelling monks. In observation of the end of the Buddhist retreat, they all go to the monastery of the Forest-Dwelling monks outside the city for the presentation of the **kaṭṭhin** robes. On their return, they give themselves to amusements and then watch the king lighting fireworks.

This section contains many words and phrases whose meanings are the same as in the *Traibhūmikathā* and *Roeng Nang Nophamat*. The Kaṭṭhin ceremony described here shares many features common to the one attributed by King Mongkut to have taken place at Sukhothai in the reign of Phra Ruang, which appears to have been an adaptation of the Chong Pariang Festival as told in *Roeng Nang Nophamat*. Since the Kaṭṭhin ceremony is not recorded in any Sukhothai inscription, but became a state ceremony in the reign of King Mongkut, the author of No. 1 would have to have lived in the 19th century to be able to write about it.

Lines 2.23-2.27

In the centre of the city there is the monastery. There is the gold image of the Buddha and there are Aṭṭhārasa images and large and medium-sized assembly halls. There are three grades of monks.

Inscription No. 4, which Prince Mongkut brought back from Sukhothai, was probably the source for the Gold Buddha in the centre of the city. Since the Aṭṭhārasa images at the Wat Maha That were probably put up in the reign of King Li Thai, they would not

have been present in his grandfather's lifetime. The three grades of monks within the ecclesiastical hierarchy mentioned here suggest that the author of No. 1 had to be familiar with monkhood.

Lines 2.27-2.32

To the west of the city is the monastery of the Forest-Dwelling monks which King Ram Khamhaeng donates to the Saṅgharāja who came from Nakhon Si Thammarat. In the middle of the monastery there is a large assembly hall with a standing Aṭṭhārasa image.

In describing the surroundings of Sukhothai going from west to east then from north to south, the author used the same system as in the *Traibhūmikathā* when describing the four continents surrounding Mount Sumeru. As for the Saṅgharāja coming from Nakhon Si Thammarat, the author could have utilized the information in Inscription No. 5 that King Li Thai invited the Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja from Nakhon Phan to reside at Sukhothai. The Aṭṭhārasa image mentioned here would have to be the one at Wat Saphan Hin. Stylistically, it probably dates from the early 16th century.

Lines 2.33-2.35

To east of Sukhothai there is a large lake and large and small villages and groves of mango and tamarind as beautiful as if they were intended.

The author could have borrowed the word ทะเล (**thale**), which generally means the sea, to refer to a lake from Inscription No.9 which was found at Wat Bovoranives Vihāra, Bangkok (Coedès, 1924: 131). Many of the words and phrases as well as the

generalization seen in this passage recall those of the *Traibhūmikathā*.

In conclusion, it is evident that the vocabulary and content of Face 2 have many more points of similarity with *Roeng Nang Nophamat* and *Traibhūmikathā* than they do with the corpus of Sukhothai inscriptions. Like the Ram Khamhaeng Inscription, these two works claim to be from the Sukhothai period, so they form a trilogy of Sukhothai literature. Yet this trilogy has little in common with authentic Sukhothai-period literature as represented by the inscriptions.

– Face 3 –

- 3.1. ง เบื้องตึนนอนเมืองสุโขทัยนี้ มีตลาดป (สาน)

To the **north** of this city of Sukhothai there are **spacious** markets.

- C – ตึนนอน (**tin non**, n.), north, is found in No. 2-1-15 and No. 5-1-9.

- D – ปสาน (**pasan**, n.) is generally taken to be a transliteration of the Thai pronunciation of the Persian word *bāsār*, a covered market. However, the author of No. 1 probably had in mind the word พิศาล (*phisan*, a.) large or spacious; since it is used together with the word ตลาด (*talad*, n., a market), as in *Roeng Nang Nophammat*, ตลาดพิศาล (*talad phisan*) (NN: 7).

- 3.2. (ป) สาน มีพระอจะนะ มีปราสาท มีป่าหมากพร้าว ป่าหมาก(ลาง)

There is the **Acana image**. There are the **prasat**, there are groves of coconut and coconut-type palms,

- A – พระอจะนะ (**Phra Acana**, np.), exists in neither Sukhothai epigraphy nor in other Thai writings. It appears to have been a corruption of the Pāli word "acala," meaning "immovable" (Coedès, 1956: 252-253). Here is an ex-

ample of how the author of No. 1 uses a word with a general meaning to describe a specific Buddha image. While not committing himself to any specification, he leaves no doubt that the large seated image made of brick and plaster at Wat Si Chum to the north of the city is meant by the word *acana*, immovable.

- B – Judging by old photographs (Fig. 6) (Fournereau, 1908: Pls. II, IV), taken before the Fine Arts Department renovation of 1953, Phra Achana is clearly an Ayutthaya-style image from the 16th century. Excavations conducted by the Department in 1981 reveal that the image has undergone many restorations before the present time (F.A., 2524: 109-110), but there is no evidence that the original image could be as early as the 13th century.
- A – The author of No. 1 is again using a word with a general meaning to describe a specific monument. He is non-committal in the use of the word ปราสาท (**prasat**, n.) to refer to the sole remaining north tower of the Wat Phra Phai Luang. During the 13th century there would have been three towers, similar to the Phra Prang Sam Yot at Lop Buri.
- 3.3. ลาง มีไร่ มีนา มีถิ่นถาน มีบ้านใหญ่มีบ้านเล็ก เป้ (อง)
There are plantations and rice fields, residential areas, large and small villages.
- 3.4. องห้วนอนเมืองสุโขทัยนี้ มีกุฎี พินหาร ปู่ครู
To the south of this city of Sukhothai there are monasteries, *kuṭī* (monks' residences), and monks.
- 3.5. อยู่ มีสรีดภงส มีป่าพรวัวป่าลาง มีป่าม่วง ป่าขาม
There is the **creek**. There are groves of coconut and coconut-type palms, groves of **mango** and **tamarind**,
- A – สรีดภงส์ (**sarid bhong**, n.) from the Sanskrit *सरित्* (*sarita*), "river" and *ภङ्ग* (*bhaṅga*) "wave". This unique compound might literally be translated as a "river of choppy water." Hence it probably refers to a fast running "brook."

However, Coedès translated it as a "dam" (Coedès, 1924: 60). Since then it has been equated to the earthen dyke forming a barrier for a reservoir located to the southwest of the city (Mali: 276-277).

- 3.6. มีน้ำโคก มีพระขพง ผีเทพดาในเขานั่น

there are **mountain streams** and there is the **Phra Khaphung**, the divine spirit of that mountain,

- A – น้ำโคก (nam khok, n.), a mountain stream, is not found in Sukhothai epigraphy.

- C – พระขพง (**Phra Khaphung**, np.), the name of the divine spirit of the mountain, may have been taken from No. 45-1-15, 16, where it is written พระขพง (Phra Khaphong). พระขพงหลวง (Phra Khaphong Luang) is also mentioned in No. 98-1-34, dated 1514, which was found at Wat Phra Chetuphon, Sukhothai.

- 3.7. เป็นใหญ่กว่าทุกผีในเมืองนี้ ชุนผู้ใดถือเมือง

is greater than all other spirits in this kingdom. Whoever rules

- 3.8. สุขไทยนี้แล ไหว้ดีพลีถูก เมืองนี้เที่ยง เมือง

this kingdom of Sukhothai, venerates him well with the right offerings, this kingdom will be stable, this kingdom

- 3.9. นีดี ผีไหว้บดี พลีบถูก ผีในเขานับคุ้มบ

will be good; but if he does not venerate him well, nor make the right offerings, the spirit in that mountain will neither protect, nor

- 3.10. เกรง เมืองนี้หาย ๑๒๑๔ ศก ปีมะโรง พ้อขุนรามคำ (แหง)

respect him, and this kingdom will be lost. In 1214 saka, year of the Dragon (1292), Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng,

- D – เกรง (**kreng**, to respect). The same word is used in a similar context in the *Traibhūmikathā* (TK: 59). The author of No. 1 appears to have made a change to the

content of the *Traibhūmikathā* in which the tutelary gods protect the kingdom because they respect (*kreng*) the righteous ruler (TK: 59). Here (Lines 3.6 to 3.10) the spirit will protect the kingdom if the ruler pays proper respect(*kreng*) to him.

3.11. แหงเจ้าเมืองศรีสัตตนาถลันสุโขทัยนี้ ปลูกล้วยไม้ (ด)

King of this kingdom of Si Satchanalai-Sukhothai planted these **sugar-palm** trees.

- C – ศรีสัตตนาถลัน สุโขทัย (Si Satchanalai-Sukhothai) is found in the inscription of Phra Mahāthera Śrīśraddhā (No. 2-1-25) and those of Phraya Li Thai (No. 3-1-4; No. 5-1-6 and No. 8-3-4), from whence the author of No. 1 might have borrowed the term. It is interesting to note that prior to this line King Ram Khamhaeng was only the ruler of Sukhothai and not of Si Satchanalai as well.

- B – ไม้ตาล (mai tan, n.), sugar-palm or palmyra palm, is not mentioned in other Sukhothai inscriptions. The author of No. 1 might have been inspired by the account of the city of Kusāvati which belonged to King Mahā-Sudassana, a *Universal Monarch and a righteous king*. *Kusāvati had seven fortifications and four gates surrounded by seven rows of palm trees which, shaken by the wind, made a sweet-sounding noise (Mahā-Sudassana Sutta, Ch. I: 4-8)*. As a Universal Monarch and a righteous King, Ram Khamhaeng, too, would have to have his grove of sugar-palms.

3.12. ลี่ ได้สิบสี่เข้า จึงให้ช่างฟันขดานหิน ตั้งหว่าง

Fourteen years later (1305-06) he commanded his craftsmen to hew a **stone slab** and place it in the midst

- A – The word ขดานหิน (**khadan hin**, n.), stone slab, is unique to No. 1.
- B – While he was a monk visiting Sukhothai in March 1833, Prince Mongkut discovered a stone slab beside the platform of an old prasat. "In ancient times someone had

the stone slab built up. Later it broke and fell at an angle to the edge of the prasat's platform." (Krom Phraya Pavares: 11). This stone slab, which was brought to Bangkok by Prince Mongkut, is identified as the **khadan hin**, mentioned here.

Krom Phraya Pavares was partially correct for the stone slab was originally placed on top of a brick altar called **āsana** (seat) in Sinhalese architecture. These were put up at the cardinal points around the base of a chedi and used as tables for offerings. It is quite possible that the stone slab that Prince Mongkut discovered beside the platform of an old **prasat** came from the south face of the chedi at Wat Wihan Thong, because the stone slab is presently missing from its brick base on that face (Fig. 7). A stone slab similar in size and dimensions to this one is still in situ on the east face of the chedi (Fig. 8). As for those on the north and west face, they are buried beneath the rubble. Since the remains of the chedi at Wihan Thong has the form of a stepped pyramid, it is not surprising that Prince Pavares took it for a platform of a **prasat**.

It should be mentioned in this connection that the present-day "**noen prasat**," or palace platform, to the east of the Phra Maha That on which, it is believed, Prince Mongkut discovered the stone slab, was most probably a platform of a large pillared assembly hall opened on four sides.

King Mongkut's grandson, King Vajiravudh, had the stone slab mounted on wooden frames decorated with lion atlantes after the design of H.R.H. Prince Narisranuwattiwong and used it as a throne (Fig. 9). The edge of this polished stone slab now resembles the upper section of the ฐานบัว (lotus molding), the Thai equivalent of the cyma reversa as in classical architecture. It consists of the หน้ากระดาน (**na kradan**), a fillet, decorated with a band of lozenge-shaped four-petalled flowers, supported by บัวหงาย (**bua ngai**), cyma reversa, decorated with styl-

ized lotus petals executed in bas-relief. The juxtaposition of a band of lozenge-shaped four petalled flowers on the fillet with the stylized lotus petals on the cyma reversa is a common design motif for the upper section of a lotus molding as seen on early 19th century lacquer and gilt bookcases (*National Identity Board* Pt. 2: 115, 248; Pt. 2, 2: 30). However, this combination of designs is not found in Sukhothai lotus molding, nor are there comparable lotus petals at Sukhothai or anywhere else. On the other hand, the form and decoration of this stone slab is comparable to that shown painted on the wall of Wat No Phutthangkun in Suphanburi Province (Fig. 10) which is said to have been executed in 1848.

Prince Chand thought that the polishing and decorations of the stone slab were made at the command of King Vajiravudh (M.C. Chand: 264-265). But already in 1907 a line drawing of a lotus petal from the stone slab was published by Prince Vajiravudh (*TM*: 129), so that he could not have been responsible for the carving of the relief decoration. Both Griswold (1973: 153) and Woodward thought that the relief decoration could date from the 13th century (Woodward: 173).

- 3.13. กลางไม้ตาลนี้ วันเดือนดับเดือนเอกแปดวัน วั (น)

of this sugar-palm grove. On the day of the new moon, the eighth day of the **waxing moon**, on

เดือนเอกแปดวัน (**doen ok pad wan**), eighth day of the waxing moon.

- D - By placing the stone slab in the midst of the sugar-palm grove the author of No. 1 had King Ram Khamhaeng follow the Buddhist tradition of having a royal stone ceremonial seat set up in the middle of a mango grove such as told in the *Asadisa-Jātaka*, No. 181, and *Mahājanaka-Jātaka*, No. 539 (see Fig. 9).

- 3.14. นเดือนเต็ม เดือนบ้างแปดวัน ฝูงปู้ครู เกร มหาเถ (ร)

the day of the full moon, and the eighth day of the

waning moon, a chapter of monks, Theras and Mahatheras

- A – The expression เดือนข้างแสดวัน (**doen bang pad wan**), eighth day of the waxing moon, is not found in Sukhothai inscriptions.
- D – Also following the example set by the Universal Monarch Mahā-Sudassana, who purified himself four times a month on the uposatha day (*Mahā-Sudassana Sutta*, Ch. I, II), King Ram Khamhaeng also kept the four uposatha days and invited a chapter of monks to preach the Dharma while seated on his royal stone ceremonial seat.
- 3.15. ร ชื่นนั่งเหนือขดานหินสูตรธรรมแก่อุบาสก ฌู (ง)

mount the stone slab to preach the Dharma to the laity, all of

- D – The *Traibhūmikathā* adjures a Universal Monarch to pay respect to monks and learned men by seating them on a high place and inviting them to preach the Dharma (TK: 59).

When he was a monk visiting Sukhothai in 1833, Prince Mongkut, too, had thought of using the stone slab as a preacher's seat. For when he saw the stone slab and was told that calamity would fall on those who went near it,

"He did not believe it and approached the stone slab, saying "Don't do it, don't do it." Then he sat on the stone slab and said, "Why should you stay in the middle of the jungle? Come with me to Bangkok so you can listen to sermons and observe the precepts. It's more fun to see the capital than to be in the North..."

Upon his leaving Sukhothai he had the stone slab put on a raft and floated it down to Bangkok, where he had a base constructed for it. It was placed beneath the tamarind tree in front of the convocation hall of Wat Samo Rae (Rachathiwat) together with the stone pillar

with Khmer alphabet on it (Inscription No. 4). They were brought from Sukhothai at the same time (Krom Phraya Pavares: 12).

Note that Krom Phraya Pavares does not mention here that Prince Mongkut brought back with him any stone pillar with Thai script on it.

The Fine Arts Department maintains that there is an unpublished notebook belonging to Krom Phraya Pavares which says that there is another stone pillar from Sukhothai with the first Tai writings on it and also gives an account of the fourth side of the Ram Khamhaeng inscription (Suchit: 2).

This notebook must have been the manuscript of the book *Roeng aphinihan kan prachak* ("An Account of Miraculous Manifestations") which Krom Phraya Pavares published in 1868 as a memorial to King Mongkut. It must be pointed out that Pavares simply says "The stone slab, discussed earlier, is mentioned in a stone pillar which came from Sukhothai" (RA: 3574). Nowhere did he claim that Prince Mongkut brought back with him the Ram Khamhaeng Inscription. That claim was made later by two of King Mongkut's sons: King Chulalongkorn and the Prince Patriarch Krom Phraya Vajiraññaṇavarorasa. King Chulalongkorn stated in *Roeng Wat Samorai* that,

"He (King Mongkut) once went up as far as Sawan-khalok...The significant outcome from that trip was that he came into possession of two ancient stone pillars, which are important chronicles of Sukhothai, together with a stone slab decorated with carved designs that used to be in front of the prasat, which is believed to have been the stone slab on which King Ram Khamhaeng used to sit". (King Chulalongkorn, ๓.๓. 127: 51)

Krom Phraya Vajiraññaṇavarorasa wrote in the *History of Four Reigns*:

"When he (Mongkut) became king [in 1851 A.D.] he removed it (the stone slab) to the Chapel Royal of the Emerald Buddha. In addition he obtained [Mahādharmarāja I's] stone inscription in Khmer and [Rāma Gamhèn's] inscription in Old Siamese, which he also placed in the Chapel Royal." (G.P., 1971: 182)

- 3.16. งท่วยจำศีล ฌิไ้วันสุทธธรรม พ่อขุนรามคำแหง

whom observe the precepts. When it is not a day for preaching the Dharma, Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng,

- 3.17. เจ้าเมืองศรีสัตตนาถลัษุโขทัย ขึ้นนั่งเหนือขตา (น)

king of the country of Si Satchanalai-Sukhothai, goes to sit on the stone slab,

- 3.18. นหิน ให้ฝูงท่วยลูกเจ้าลูกขุน ฝูงท่วยถือบ้านถือ

and lets the assembly of princes, nobles and the people pledge themselves to uphold their country.

- A – The word ถือ (thoe, v.) in Sukhothai inscriptions means "to hold or to carry" (No. 10-1-17, 1-18; No. 38-2-33, 2-35), but the expression ถือบ้าน ถือเมือง (**thoe ban, thoe muang**), to uphold home and country, is unique to No. 1.

This passage was first translated as "pledge themselves together unto home and realm" (Bradley, 1909: 29). But Coedès translates it as "traite avec eux des affaires du pays" (Coedès, 1924: 47). The literal translation by Bradley appears to have been closer to the intention of the author of No. 1. For the word ถือ (thoe) in this passage must have derived from ถือน้ำ (thoe nam), Drinking of the Water of Allegiance (Bradley, 1909: 58). Thus ถือบ้าน ถือเมือง (**thoe ban, thoe muang**), to uphold home and country, is a nationalistic concept in which allegiance is given to the country and not to the person of the ruler. This nationalistic concept could not have existed in the late 13th century, for as late as the 17th century the Drinking of the Water of Allegiance was still compulsory

for anyone in service of the king (De La Loubère: 81).

3.19. เมือง ครันวันเดือนดับเดือนเต็ม ทานแต่งช้างเผือก(อก)

On the day of the new moon and the day of the full moon, the King caparisons the white elephant

D – The idea of the white elephant probably derived from Phongsawadan Nua, which mentions that because of Phraya Ruang's merits accrued in his former life, he was presented with a white elephant with black tusks (PN: 6; Bowring, I: 36).

3.20. อकर्พดลยาง เทียรยอมทองา... (ซ้าย) ขวา ชื่อรุจาครี

named Rucagari with ropes [for tying the howdah] and tassels, and, of course, gold for its (left) and right tusks.

A – กระพด (**krapbat**, n. kh.), a strap for tying the howdah, is not mentioned in Sukhothai inscriptions.

B – ลยาง (**layang**, n.), suspended from the head of an elephant. The decorations of the royal elephant as described by the author of No. 1 resemble those of the Ayutthaya and Bangkok periods more than they do of 13th century Angkor Thom. As depicted on bas-reliefs at the Prasat Bayon and Prasat Banteay Chmar, Khmer royal elephants wear a head-cloth or even a crown, the howdah is placed on an embroidered saddle cloth and the ropes for tying the howdah have small bells hanging from them (Jacq-Hergoualc'h, Docs. 47, 54, 55, 60). The Bangkok Royal elephants, on the other hand, have a pair of tassels made of yak-hair tufts suspended from the head-cloth, one in front of each ear (Fig. 11). These tassels of yak-hair tufts are meant to keep off the evil spirits (Quaritch Wales, 1931: 277). Mrs Leonowens reports that the tusks of King Mongkut's White Elephant "were ringed with gold" (quoted in Quaritch Wales, 1931: 279).

รุจาครี (Rūcāgarī, np.), name of a White Elephant.

D – A recent reading of the inscription gives the name of the White Elephant as Rūcāgarī, not Rucāsī as has been

thought (F.A., 2520: 44). Rūcāgarī is the name of the White Elephant mentioned in the Lokapañatti (LP: 17-20), a Pāli treatise on Buddhist cosmology written by the Mon monk Saddhammaghosa of Thaton, which was first mentioned in a Pagan inscription dated 1442 (Bode: 104). Since the White Elephant Rūcāgarī also has tassels decorating his ears (LP: 19), the present reading of this name appears to be closer to the author's intention.

- 3.21. พ่อขุนรามคำแหง ขึ้นขี่ไปบนพระ (เถิง) อรัญญิกแล้ว (ว)

Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng mounts and rides him to pay respect to Phra...at Araññika. Then

- D – According to the *Traibhūmikathā*, the mount of the Universal Monarch is a White Elephant (TK: 64). The author of the *Traibhūmikathā*, as does the author of No. 1, equates the person of the Monarch with the god Indra, the protector of Buddhism, whose mount is the White Elephant, Erāvaṇa. Indeed, a parallel between Phra Ruang on his White Elephant and Indra on his mount Erāvaṇa has been drawn in the poem *Lilit Phongsawadan Nua*, compiled in 1877 (LPN: 42). Nevertheless, the author of No. 1 might not have realized that in the 17th century

"The King of Siam never mounts the White Elephant, and the reason which they give is, that the White Elephant is as great a Lord as himself, because he has a King's soul like him." (De La Loubère: 43).

Since a 17th century King did not ride a white elephant, it would be more unlikely for a 13th century king to do so.

- 3.22. วเข้ามา จารึกอันนี้ มีในเมืองชเลียง สถาบไว้

then comes back. There is an inscription in the city of Chalieng, **installed**

- C – Lines 3-22 to 3-25 give the locations of three other inscriptions of King Ram Khamhaeng. The expression

จารึกอันหนึ่งมีในเมือง (**charuk an noeng mi nai muang**), "there is an inscription in the city," most probably was lifted verbatim from No. 3-2-49. Also the enumeration of the whereabouts of these inscriptions echoes that of No. 3-2-48 to 58.

เมืองขเลีย (Muang Chalieng, pn.) also appears in No. 2-1-12 and No. 10-1-11. According to an article written by King Mongkut entitled "Brief Notices of the History of Siam," Chalieng was located "in the western part of Siam Proper" and where King Ramathibodi I had his capital from 1344 to 1350 till he founded his new capital at Ayutthaya (Bowring, Vol. 2: 341-342). Whilst one Thai scholar identified Chalieng with Muang Long in Lampang Province and another with Kamphaeng Phet (TM: 116-117), Prince Damrong located it at "the Old City of Sawankhalok," where there is the Phra Si Ratanathat of King Ram Khamhaeng (Prince Damrong, 2487: 328). Griswold and Prasert equate it with the present day Si Satchanalai Historical Park (G.P., 1976: 128).

A – สถาป (**sathabok**, v.), to install, does not appear elsewhere.

3.23. ด้วยพระศรีรัตนธาตุ จารึกอันหนึ่ง มีในถ้ำชื่อถ้ำ

at the **Phra Si Ratanathat** there is an inscription in the cave called

C – The name พระศรีรัตนธาตุ (**Phra Si Ratanathat**, nw.) most probably was borrowed from No. 2-1-37, where Pho Khun Rāmrāja erected the Phra Si Ratanathat at Si Satchanalai.

Here the **Phra Si Ratanathat** is at Chalieng.

3.24. พระราม อยู่ฝั่งน้ำลำพาย จารึกอันหนึ่ง มีในถ้ำ

Phra Ram Cave on the bank of the River Samphai; and there is an inscription in

A – Both the ถ้ำพระราม (Phra Ram Cave) as well as the River

Samphai, which turns out to be River Mae Lamphan to the west of the city of Sukhothai, were located at the command of Prince Vajiravudh in 1907 (*TM*: 120-122). But no inscription was found there.

- 3.25. รัตนธาร ในกลวงป่าตาลนี้ มีศาลาสองอัน อันหนึ่งชื่อ

the Ratanathan Cave. In the middle of this Sugar-palm Grove there are two pavilions, one named

- A – ถ้ำรัตนธาร (Ratanathan Cave) has not been located.

- 3.26. ศาลาพระมาศ อันหนึ่งชื่อพุทธศาลา ขดานหินนี้ ชื่อ

Sala Phra Masa, one named **Buddha Sala**. This stone slab is named

- A – Considering the style of non-committal descriptive writing favoured by the author, the names of the two pavilions in the middle of the sugar-palm grove were probably generalizations just like **Phra Acana** or **prasat**, so **Sala Phra Mas** would refer to a pavilion housing a **dharmacakra** (Wheel of the Law), because a **dharmacakra** is shaped like the moon (*māsa*, Sanskrit). It might be remarked in this connection that the author of Inscription No. 1 probably had the idea of a pavilion housing a **dharmacakra** from an unfinished stone dharmacakra called "Phra Chan Loi" (The Floating Moon) which had been kept at Wat Thep Chan located to the south of Wat Nakhon Luang at Ayutthaya. Near Wat Nakhon Luang is Wat Mai Chumphon where inscription No. 5 of King Li Thai was discovered.

- A – The Buddha Sala is an Image House, or a *wihan* housing an image of the Buddha.

- 3.27. (ม)นั่งศิลาบาตร สถาปไว้ที่นี่ จึงทั้งหลายเห็น

Manangsilabat. It is installed here for everyone to see.

Coedès thought that the name มั่งศิลาบาตร (**Manangsilabat**) derives from *Monosilatāla*, the name of a miraculous stone on which the Buddha travelled to the Land

of the Uttarakurusas as told in late Pāli texts called the Mahāwansa Tikā or Waṇsatthappakāsinī (Coedès, 1923: 118). The correct identification, however, appears to be that of Bradley (1909: 29, 59), who translates it as "Thought lodged in stone" from the Pāli word มโน (mano).

- D – The likely source for Manangsilabat is มโนศิลาอาสน์ (Mano-silaart), the name of a stone throne in the Himavant Forest, as is mentioned in the *Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā* of 1802 (TL: 237). This identification correlates well with the importance that the author of No. 1 gave to the stone slab, which has now become the stone throne.

It should be noted that Ayutthaya kings did not pay attention to the symbolism of the throne. Although thrones of similar construction to the Phra Thaen Maha Sawetachat in the Amarin Winitchai Audience Hall or the Phra Ratcha Banlang Pradap Muk in the Dusit Maha Prasat in the Bangkok Grand Palace had existed at Ayutthaya, the steps for mounting them were at the back (De La Loubère: 109). For important audiences, the kings did not use the throne at all but appeared at a window (De La Loubère: Ill. on p. 72), just the same as did a king of Angkor in the late 13th century (Chou Ta-kuan: 41). This King of Angkor, who would have been a contemporary of King Ram Khamhaeng, did not sit on a throne but on a lion's skin.

The concept of a throne acquired significance with the founding of the Chakri dynasty, for the early Chakri kings saw themselves as Bodhisattas who had accumulated the perfections (ปารมี, pāramī, Pāli) to become a monarch, so that their obligations were to support the Buddhist Church and to encourage the people to become good Buddhists. Hence in the *Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā* (TL: 58), the โพธิบัลลังก์ (Bodhi Throne), on which Śākyamunī attained Enlightenment, is substituted for Mount Sumeru as the first object to emerge from the primordial ocean (Nidhi, 2523: 57).

- D – It should also be mentioned that the *Traibhūmikathā* specifies a แถ่นทอง (thaen thong), golden throne, as being a possession of a Universal Monarch (TK: 49).

Thus, the throne as the seat of spiritual and temporal power appears to have been a product of late 18th and early 19th century thought.

Summary of Face 3

Face 3 might be analyzed as follows:

- Lines 3.1-3.3 To the north of Sukhothai there is a large market. There is the Acana image and a prasat.

Had the author of No.1 lived in the 13th century, he would have given the names of the monasteries in which the Acana image and the prasat were located. Since he composed this inscription at a later date, he would not have known the names of the monasteries so he used generalized terms to describe specific monuments instead.

- Lines 3.4-3.10 To the south there is the Phra Khaphung, the tutelary spirit of the kingdom. If the ruler respects him well the spirit will take care of the kingdom. If he does not do so, the spirit will not protect it and the kingdom will be lost.

The author of No. 1 here made clear that the kingdom was protected by a divine spirit not to be confused with Buddhism. Whereas in the *Traibhūmikathā*, the gods protect the kingdom because they respect the righteous ruler, here the divine spirit will protect the kingdom only if the ruler venerates it well. This separation of Animism from Buddhism

is practised in the reign of King Mongkut who consecrated an image of a divine spirit to be the tutelary guardian of the kingdom and named it Phra Sayam Thewathirat "The Lord who is King of the Gods of Siam."

Lines 3.10-3.19

In 1292 King Ram Khamhaeng planted a grove of sugar-palm trees and 14 years later (1305-06) he had a stone slab set up (as a seat) in the middle of it. On the four uposatha days of each month he invited a chapter of monks to sit on it and preach the dharma. On other days the king sits on it and receives pledges of allegiance from his officials.

This is the most important passage in the whole of Inscription No. 1 for it gives an account of the history of the stone slab that Prince Mongkut brought back with him to Bangkok after he visited Sukhothai in 1833. King Ram Khamhaeng uses this stone slab as a pulpit from which a chapter of monks preach the dharma and as a throne on which he first sat in 1305-06. Prince Mongkut also had the idea of using it as a pulpit the first time he saw it.

It is illuminating to draw a comparison between Prince Mongkut's stone slab and the story of another stone slab in the *Mahājanaka-Jātaka*. Prince Mahājanaka was saved from a shipwreck by a goddess who carried him to the kingdom of Mithila where she laid him on a stone seat in the middle of a mango grove. The king of Mithila having died, the people sent out the royal chariot to find someone with sufficient merit to be the next king. The chariot came to a stop at the stone seat and the people offered the

kingdom to the Prince.

Lines 3.19-3.22

On the days of the new and full moon the king rides his White Elephant to the monastery of the Forest-Dwelling monks.

The author of No. 1 probably did not realize that, although the White Elephant is one of the attributes of the Universal Monarch, the kings of Ayutthaya did not ride it out of respect. Furthermore, the decoration of the White Elephant as described here is closer to that of the Bangkok than to the Sukhothai period.

Lines 3.22-3.25

There are three other inscriptions besides this one.

The author of No.1 must have based this passage on No. 3, since the same phrase is repeated three times in both inscriptions.

Lines 3.26-3.27

In the middle of the Sugar-palm Grove there are two pavilions and the stone slab is named Manangsilabat.

The name of the stone slab is probably adapted from that of the stone throne mentioned in the *Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā* of 1809.

To conclude, Face 3 contains the history of the stone slab whose name "Manangsilabat" means "Thought lodged in stone." Indeed, the Ram Khamhaeng inscription itself can be seen as "Thought lodged in stone."

– Face 4 –

- 4.1. พ่อขุนพระรามคำแหง ลูกพ่อขุนศรีอินทราทิตย์เป็ (น)

Pho Khun Phra Ram Khamhaeng, son of Pho Khun Sri Indrāditya, is

- A – พ่อขุนพระ (Pho Khun Phra) is a title that does not exist anywhere else.

- 4.2. นขุนในเมืองศรีสัชชนาลัยสุโขทัย ทั้งมาลาว

the ruler of the country of Si Satchanalai-Sukhothai, all the **Ma, the Kao, Lao,**

- D – กาว (Kao), ลาว (Lao) are names of people living to the east and northeast of Siam respectively.

It is interesting to note that ลาว (Lao) and กาว (Kao) are mentioned in the letter of King Mongkut to U.S. President Franklin Pierce in 1856, as being the vassal peoples to the Northeast and the East of Siam (*PHL*: 74). Moreover, the format of beginning a formal address by giving the title of the ruler and then enumerating the different races of vassal people living in different directions of space is similar in both counts.

- 4.3. แลไทยเมืองใต้ หล้าฟ้าฏ ... ไทยชาวอุชาวของมาออ(ก)

and Tai **in the southern country**, the earth and heaven...**Tai of the U and the Khong** submit to him.

- A – The ethnic division of Tai groups in lines 4.2 and 4.3 reflects the interest in ethnography that is shared by both the author of Inscription No. 1 and of *Roeng Nang Nophamat*, in which the Lao are divided into six linguistic groups “ลาวภาษา ๑ ลาวน้ำหมึกภาษา ๑ ลาวลือภาษา ๑ ลาวเงี้ยวภาษา ๑ ลาวทรงดำภาษา ๑ ลาวทรงขาวภาษา ๑” (*NN*: 2-3). Such interest further supports the hypothesis that they both may have been by the same author.

- A – ไทยเมืองใต้ (Thai muang tai) "Southern Thai" has the same meaning as เมืองไทยใต้ (Muang Thai tai) which is defined by King Mongkut as “ตั้งแต่เมืองไชยนาทลงมาจนกระทั่งทะเล”

("From Muang Chainat down to the sea") (*Borankhadi Samoson*: 38).

- A – หล้าฟ้า (la, earth; fa, sky), probably derives from the figure of speech "อยู่สุดหล้า ฟ้าเขียว" (yu sud la fa khieo), "living at the end of the earth where the sky is green" which refers to a great distance. Hence this sentence describes "Thai muang tai," the "Southern Thai," as living far away.

- A – ไทยชาวอุ้งชาวของ (Thai living along the banks of River U and River Khong). The nationalistic sentiment that the people living in the region of present-day Luang Phra Bang in Laos are Thai speaking is extremely advanced for its time.

4.4. ก ๑๒๐๗ ศกปีกุน ให้ขุดเอาพระธาตุออก ทั้งหลาย

In 1207 *saka*, year of the boar (1285 or 1287), he had the sacred relics dug up for all

- A – Coedès noticed that ๑๒๐๗ ศก (1207 *saka*) was not ปีกุน (year of the boar), but ปีรกา (year of the cock). So it has to be either 1207 *saka* ปีรกา (year of the cock), or 1209 *saka* ปีกุน (year of the boar) (Coedès, 1918: 19). Krom Phraya Pavares, who was the first to transcribe the inscription into modern Thai, read it as ศักราช 1209 ปีกุน "1209 *saka* year of the boar" (*RA*: 3575). Hence it appears that the author of No.1 purposely made a mistake so as to show that in Inscription No. I there is a discrepancy of two years.

4.5. เห็น กระทำบูชาบำเรอแก่พระธาตุได้เดือนหกวัน จี๋(ง)

to see. He venerated and attended to the sacred relics for a month and six days, then

- D – Lines 4-4 to 4-8 give an account of King Ram Khamhaeng having sacred relics dug up which he then buried in the middle of Si Satchanalai. He built a chedi over the relics and constructed a stone wall around it. Three documents mention this episode. One is No. 2-1-37, พ่อขุนรามราช

ปราชญ์วิรูจกรรม ก่อพระศรีรัตนธาตุอันหนึ่งในศรีสัตตนาลัย (Pho Khun Rāmarāja, the sage who knows the Dharma, built a relic chedi – Phra Si Ratanathat – in Si Satchanalai). The other is the Northern Thai Chronicle, *Jinakālamālinī*, of 1527, which reports that King Roca caused to be erected in the city of Satchanalai a magnificent stupa built of stone and brick and plastered over with mortar (*JK*: 122). The third is the Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Nua which appears to have been the source for the inscriptions.

According to the Phongsawadan Nua, a hermit named Satchanalai founded the city of Sawankhalok and appointed Phraya Dharmaraja to be its ruler. Phraya Dharmaraja had some sacred relics dug up, venerated them, and brought them to the city where he built a relic chedi over them, which was partially completed in one year (ปีหนึ่งจึงแล้ว) (*PN*: 2-4). Many years later a prince by the name of Arunraja was appointed ruler of Si Satchanalai. He was also called Phraya Ruang. At Si Satchanalai Phraya Ruang had five wihans built, one at each direction, and consecrated images of the Buddha to represent himself. Close to the Great Relic Chedi he constructed a double enclosure of galleries and had laterite made into ramparts. He also put up the pillars for lanterns around the wihan (*PN*: 6). The above description fits the Maha That at present-day Chalieng, which at the beginning of the 19th century was called Sawankhalok. For, according to Somdet Phra Phonarat's *Culayuddhakāraṇaṃsa Khwam Riang*, "Muang Sawankhalok was formerly called Muang Satchanalai." (*CK*: 59). The author of No. 1, no doubt, had the Maha That at Chalieng in mind when he wrote this passage. For, like Somdej Phra Phonarat, he must have thought that Sawankhalok was formerly Si Satchanalai.

4.6. งเอาลงฝังในกลางเมืองศรีสัตตนาลัยก่อพระเจ (ดีย)

he buried them in the middle of the city of Si Satchanalai and built a **chedi**

Although the identification of Si Satchanalai with Sawankhalok was generally accepted in the 19th century, Prince Damrong correctly identified Chalieng with Sawankhalok (see comment on line 3-22). But then he wanted to keep Si Satchanalai at Sawankhalok as well. So he proposed that Chalieng, where the Maha That now stands, was an old city predating Sukhothai, and that King Srī Indrāditya, or one of his sons, founded a new city with laterite walls around it, two kilometres to the north of the old one, and named it Muang Si Satchanalai (Prince Damrong, 2487: 328-329).

This hypothesis is untenable because Chalieng and Si Satchanalai were two different cities; both are mentioned in No. 2-1-9-10, 12 and No. 38-1-7, 17. There is no inscriptional evidence to support that Chalieng and Si Satchanalai were twin cities only two kilometres apart. Hence Chalieng and the present-day Si Satchanalai had to be the same city, whose name was Chalieng. So Si Satchanalai was never there at all.

- B – Prince Damrong identified the Relic Chedi that King Ram Khamhaeng had built in the middle of Si Satchanalai with the Phra Chedi at Wat Chang Lom in the present-day city of Si Satchanalai (Prince Damrong, 2469:107). This hypothesis was invalidated by the excavations conducted by the Fine Arts Department at Wat Chang Lom in 1984-1985, which reports that the Chedi could not have been constructed in 1285 or 1287, but probably in the reign of Phraya Li Thai (F.A., 2530: 175).

Clues to the whereabouts of Si Satchanalai are found in Northern Chronicles, such as the Jinakālamālinī of 1527, which reports that Satchanalai was two day's journey from Sukhothai (*JK*: 118), and that when 25 monks returned to Chiang Mai from Sri Lanka, they went by way of Ayutthaya, Satchanalai and Sukhothai (*JK*: 131). This last remark indicates that Si Satchanalai must have been between Ayutthaya and Sukhothai. The *Mūlasāsana*, written in Chiang Mai in the 15th century, gives the

distance of Si Satchanalai from Sukhothai as being 3 yojanas (MS: 195), 48 kilometres (G.P., 1972: 60), which would make Phitsanulok, 58 kilometres by road from Sukhothai, the nearest candidate. It is thus possible that Si Satchanalai was the same as Phitsanulok, since its location on the River Nan gives it direct access to Ayutthaya. Moreover, Si Satchanalai is not mentioned together with Phitsanulok in any inscription or chronicle. Hence when Prince Ramesuan, the future King Borommatrailokanat of Ayutthaya, went to Phitsanulok in 1438, he saw the Chinarat image weep tears of blood (PLP: 134), for the arrival of Prince Ramesuan at Phitsanulok spelt the end of Si Satchanalai.

Thus, Phitsanulok was probably where Pho Khun Rāmarāja, or King Roca, built his Phra Si Ratanathat, which might have been the original Relic Chedi in the present-day Wat Phra Si Ratana Mahathat. It would have been at Phitsanulok too that Phraya Li Thai welcomed the Phra Mahāthera Sumana and invited him to stay at Wat Pa Daeng at the foot of *Mount Siri* (MS: 197; JK: 118), which may be identified as Khao Samoe Khraeng, where there are the remains of seven monasteries (Huan: 141). Apparently Khao Samoe Khraeng was well known as a retreat for the Forest-Dwelling monks, for even the *Phongsawadan Nua* called it Araññavāsī (PN: 13). According to Inscription No. 9, Phraya Li Thai founded Wat Pa Daeng in 1359 for the Forest-Dwelling monks (9-1-9 to 14). It might be remarked that only at Si Satchanalai was there a Wat Pa Daeng; none is mentioned at Sukhothai or at Chalieng. This Wat Pa Daeng, then, appears to have been the model for later Araññavāsī monasteries of the same name founded throughout Lan Na Thai.

Si Satchanalai is mentioned in Sukhothai inscriptions for the last time in 1406 (No. 9-1-13). Nevertheless, the name Satchanalai is mentioned in Northern Thai Chronicles up to the 16th century, since the Araññavāsī monks

who wrote the chronicles would not call Si Satchanalai by its Ayutthaya name, "Phitsanulok." Because of its strategic position as a gateway to the north and commanding the riverine route to Ayutthaya, it was made the capital of Siam by King Borommatrailokanat in 1463 (PLP: 136). By the late Ayutthaya and early Bangkok periods the original location of Si Satchanalai at Phitsanulok would have been forgotten so that people could speculate that "Muang Sawankhalok was formerly called Muang Satchanalai" (see line 4.5).

4.7. ดิย์เหนือหกเข้าจึ่งแล้ว ตั้งเวียงผาล้อมพระม(หา)

over them. It was completed in six years. He erected a stone wall around the

- D – The expression จึ่งแล้ว (**chung laeo**), completed, is most likely borrowed from the episode of Phraya Dharmaraja building a relic chedi at Sawankhalok over the relics which he had dug up, as found in the Phongsawadan Nua, (PN: 4). It should be remarked, that the author of No.1 thought it significant to give the readers the time it took for the chedi to be completed, six years, and that the walls were finished in three years. Similarly, the author of the Phongsawadan Nua notes that the walls of laterite at Sawankhalok "took seven years to complete" (จึ่งแล้ว) (PN: 3). Such prosaic reportage reflects the early 19th century writers' view of the world, which had become more matter-of-fact and ordinary. Such a world is incompatible with the imaginative early 14th century world of Phra Mahāthera Śrīśraddhā in which

"One relic, beautiful in color like gold, with a halo the size of a...fruit, came whirling down from the sky and made the circuit of his Lordship's person, then rose up and settled on his head" (No. 2-2-65 to 67; G.P., 1972: 31).

Intead of miracles, the author of No. 1 gives us facts.

4.8. (ม)หาธาตุ สามเข้าจึ่งแล้ว เมื่อก่อนลายสือไทยนี้(มี)

Phra Maha That. It was completed in three years. Before this time the **Thai alphabet** did not (exist).

- A – ลายสือไทย (lai soe Tai, n.) Tai alphabet. This expression is unique to No. 1.

The form of the Thai alphabet as devised by King Ram Khamhaeng is similar to that of King Li Thai with the exception that the letters ๓, ๔, ๕, ๖, ๗, ๘ have different forms from those of King Li Thai. The major difference, however, is in the placement of the vowels. Whereas those of King Li Thai follow the Khmer tradition which places the vowels above and below the consonants, the vowels in the Ram Khamhaeng Inscription follow the western manner in which they are placed on the same line as the consonants. Coedès notices that unlike the western vowels which are placed to the right of the consonants, some vowels in the Ram Khamhaeng Inscription are placed to the left and others to the right. He further remarks that the Siamese people should be grateful to King Ram Khamhaeng for having the foresight to arrange Thai letters on the same line because it facilitates the use of typewriters and printing (Coedès, 2468: 7-8). In 1895 Lucien Fournereau published in *Le Siam Ancien* examples of Tai alphabets of the 12th century which he copied from the notebook of Krom Phraya Pavares that he was able to obtain by bribing his secretary with a box of French cigars (Fournereau, 1895: 72, n. 3). The examples published by him (ibid: 76-77) are from Prince Pavares' notebook (Fig. 12) showing a list of Tai alphabets purported to be the original Tai letters (หนังสือไทเดิม). It is interesting to note that in this list there are the letters ๙, ๑๐, ๑๑, ๑๒, ๑๓ that neither appear in the Ram Khamhaeng nor the Li Thai inscriptions. Indeed, they were absent in the reign of King Narai in the late 17th century, and only became current in the 19th century (Coedès, 2468: foldout).

- 4.9. มี ๑๒๐๕ ศกปีมะแม พอขุนรามคำแหง หาใคร่ใจ

exist. In 1205 *sála*, year of the goat (A.D. 1283), Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng set his mind

- A - ๑๒๐๕ ศกปีมะแม (1205 *sála*, year of the goat), A.D. 1283, is the year that King Ram Khamhaeng devised the Tai alphabet. Apart from Inscription No. 1, the knowledge that King Ram Khamhaeng devised the Tai alphabet in 1283 is found in primers for students of the Thai language called *Chindamani*. Curiously enough not every copy of *Chindamani* has this information. For among the four categories of *Chindamani*, as classified by Thanit Yupho, only one, which he called *Chindamani chabab khwam plaek* (*Chindamani* with the Strange Contents), contains it (Thanit: 140-141). There are three copies of this category of *Chindamani* in the National Library (*Chindamani* No.5 (1/1); No. 24 (1), given by Prince Damrong in 1909; No. 93 (1/1), given by the Office of the Prime Minister in 1936). Instead of beginning the book with praising the Buddha, as do other versions of *Chindamani*, the three copies with "Strange Contents" begin with:

"645 *sála*, year of the goat (1283), Phraya Ruang, having acquired Si Satchanalai, devised the Thai writing system and all the letters according to the way it is spoken."

The "Strange Contents" are the above information.

Another copy of *Chindamani* with "Strange Contents" is the *Chindamani chabab Somdet Phra Chao Borommakot* (*Chindamani from the reign of King Borommakot* (1733-1758)), in the Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society, London (Fig. 13). Since the *Chindamani chabab Somdet Phra Chao Borommakot* has the same preface as the others, it can be classified as the fourth copy of the *Chindamani with the Strange Contents*. Although this copy of *Chindamani* indicates that it dates from 1732, the Royal Asiatic Society dates it independently to "early 19th century" (Fig. 14).

Another source for the information that King Ram Khamhaeng devised the Tai alphabet is Sir John Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, published in 1857. In a letter to Bowring dated August 17, 1855, King Mongkut wrote:

"I beg to send your Excellency also two copies of the ancient Siamese letters first invented at Northern Siam in the year of Christian era 1282, which letters were copied out from a stone pillar which they were inscribed." (Bowring, 2: 444).

King Mongkut also supplied Bowring with further information concerning the Tai alphabet:

"The earliest specimen that exists in the Siamese character is an inscription of about the date of A.D. 1284. It was found on a stone pillar in the city of Sukhodai, the then capital of Siam. The King informs me that the date, according to the astronomical era, is 1206.

"...It is known that King Phra Khrom Ram Khomhuang, a distinguished monarch of Northern Siam, introduced the Siamese alphabet." (Bowring, 1: 278-279).

Hence the date A.D. 1283 for the introduction of the Tai alphabet appears in the three copies of *Chindamani with the Strange Contents* in the National Library, the *Chabab Somdet Phra Chao Borommakot* in London, as well as in Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, in which the dates 1282 and 1284 are given.

It should be remarked also that with the exception of the *Chindamani* purporting to be from the reign of King Borommakot (1732), the earliest mention of Phraya Ruang's invention of the Tai alphabet appears in the *Phongsawadan Nua (PN)* and the *Phra Ratchaphongsawadan Krung Sayam (PKS)*, both of which are said to have been presented to King Rama I in 1807. *PN* states that "พระองค์เจ้าให้ทำหนังสือไทยเฉียง – The king devised the Northern Tai alphabet" (*PN*: 7), whereas the *PKS* says,

"พระองค์จึงให้หนังสือไทย แล และเจียงไทย – He gave the Tai alphabet as well as that of the Northern Tai" (PKS: 7). This information is rendered in French by Bishop Pallegoix in his *Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam*, published in 1854, as "Phra-Ruang inventa l'alphabet thai, et changea l'alphabet combodgien ou khom" (Pallegoix: 217). Had the date A.D. 1283 for the invention of the Thai alphabet been known since the reign of King Borommakot, as indicated in the Royal Asiatic Society copy of the *Chindamani*, then the author of the *Phongsawadan Nua* and Bishop Pallegoix would have quoted it. Furthermore, if this fact had already been known since 1732, why is it not mentioned in Somdet Phra Phonnarat's *Culayuddhakaravansa Khwam Riang*, written in the reign of King Rama I (1782-1809) (CK: 54-68, 86-100)? Neither is it referred to in the story of Phra Ruang in the *Kham hai kan chao krung kao*, compiled at the command of the Burmese King Sinbyushin from testimonies given by the Siamese captives taken to Ava after the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767 (KHK: 17-28). Hence, the episode of Phraya Ruang's introduction of the Thai alphabet must have been a later interpolation to the story of Phra Ruang, the earliest possible mention of which must then be King Mongkut's letter to Bowring in 1855.

4.10. ในใจ แลใส่ลายสือไทยนี้ ลายสือไทยนี้ จึงมีเพื่-

and heart to invent this Thai alphabet. So this **Thai alphabet** exists because

- A – It is clear from the three copies of *Chindamani with Strange Contents* and the *Chindamani Chabab Somdet Phra Chao Borommakot* that Phraya Ruang only invented the Thai alphabet, because the Khom (Khmer) had already devised the orthography (Thanit: 140-141, 173). Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng not only invented the Thai alphabet but also devised a unique writing system, which as noted by Vickery and Coedès before him has several curious features:

"First, the vowel signs for 'i', 'ī', 'u', 'ū', and all those signs now written above and below the consonant symbols, are written on the line to the left of the associated consonant and are of the same size. Such a system is not found in any other Southeast Asian alphabet, and perhaps not even in any alphabet of the Indic type anywhere" (Vickery, 1978: 205).

Such a system, however, is not unique; for King Mongkut, when he was the abbot of Wat Bovoranives Vihara (1836-1851), did invent a writing system similar to that of King Ram Khamhaeng for writing the Pāli language. He also invented a Romanized alphabet which he called อักษรอริยกะ (akson ariyaka), for he wanted to modify the Thai alphabet and devise a new orthography in order to facilitate the writing and printing of Thai script. His invention was to place the consonants and vowels on the same line and have the vowels following the consonants as in European alphabets (F.A., 2527: 134-135).

- 4.11. อขุนผู้้นใส่ไว้ พ่อขุนพระรามคำแหงนั้นหา

that ruler invented them. This Pho Khun Phra Ram Khamhaeng

- 4.12. เป็นท้าวเป็นพระญาแก่ไทยทั้งหลาย หาเป็น

is **Lord and King of all the Thai**,

- D - เป็นท้าวเป็นพระญา (**pen thao pen phraya**), "is Lord and King," is an expression that is often found in *Traibhūmikathā* (TK: 49, 57, 59). The Sukhothai expression is ท้าวพระญา (**thao phraya**, n.), a king (No. 2-1-39; No. 3-1-4, 5).

Similarly, the expression แก่ไทยทั้งหลาย (**kae thai thang lai**), "of all the Thai," is a modification from แก่คนทั้งหลาย (kae khon thang lai), "of all the people," in the *Traibhūmikathā* (TK: 70). Indeed, the whole of this sentence, เป็นท้าวเป็นพระญาแก่ไทยทั้งหลาย (**pen thao pen phraya kae Thai thang lai**) is an adaptation from เป็นเจ้านายแก่คนทั้งหลาย (pen chao pen nai kae khon thang

lai), "is Lord and Master of all the people," in the *Traibhūmikathā* (TK: 70).

4.13. ครูอาจารย์สั่งสอนไทยทั้งหลายให้รู้

He is the master and teacher **instructing all the Thai to understand**

- D – สั่งสอนไทยทั้งหลายให้รู้ (**sang son Thai thang lai hai ru**), "instructing all the Thai to understand." This sentence is again adapted from the *Traibhūmikathā*, สั่งสอนคนทั้งหลายให้รู้ (**sang son khon thang lai hai ru**), "instructing all the people to understand," with the word "Thai" instead of "khon (people)" (TK: 56).

In connection with the *Traibhūmikathā* or *Traibhūmi Phra Ruang*, it should be remarked that both the exordium and colophon give the date of 23 śaka, year of the cock. Vickery has shown that this year was the 23rd year after Phra Ruang had established a new era, as told in *Nang Nophamat* (Vickery, 1974: 282-283). Since the new era is used only in the exordium and colophon of the *Traibhūmikathā* and in *Roeng Nang Nophamat*, it suggests that the same author was responsible for both works.

Prince Damrong in his comments on the *Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Chabab Phraratchahatlekha* suggest that this Phra Ruang might have been the same as Phraya Li Thai, who had the facility to change the era, as stated in No. 4-2-5 to 9 (PCP: 94). Since Inscription No. 4 was probably the source for Phra Ruang's establishing a new era, it gives the earliest possible date for the interpolation of this passage into the legend of Phra Ruang, which would have been 1833, when Prince Mongkut brought "the stone pillar with Khmer alphabet on it" (No. 4) to Wat Rachathiwat (see comment on Line 3.15). It would also be the earliest possible date for the *Traibhūmikathā* as well as *Roeng Nang Nophamat*.

The mention of Phra Ruang establishing a new era appears for the first time together with Phra Ruang inventing the Tai alphabet in both the *Phongsawadan Nua* (PN: 6-7) and the *Phra Ratchapongsawadan Krung Sayam* (PKS: 6-7), so that these two episodes cannot be earlier than 1833. Hence it confirms that the stories of Phra Ruang establishing a new era and inventing the Tai alphabet are later interpolations into the *Phongsawadan Nua* and the *Phra Ratchaphongsawadan Krung Sayam* (see comment on Line 4.9). There is, however, an edition of *Phongsawadan Nua*, published in 1880, that gives an account of Phra Ruang establishing a new era and gives a lengthy instruction on how to convert one era to another including the Christian era, but does not mention Phra Ruang inventing the Thai alphabet (PN, 1880: 9-13). This omission suggests that the episode of Phra Ruang inventing the Thai alphabet was interpolated into the *Phongsawadan Nua* later than the episode of establishing a new era.

- 4.14. บุญรู้ธรรมแท้ แต่คนอันมีในเมืองไทยด้วย

what is merit and what is the Dharma. Among men who are in **Muang Thai** (Thailand)

- A - เมืองไทย (Muang Thai, land of the Tai) is what the Thai call their own country. "Le pays que les Européenes nomment Siam, s'appelle **Muàng-Thai**," says Bishop Pallegoix in 1854 (Pallegoix: 1). In the 17th century De La Loubère wrote (p. 7):

"Muang Tai is ... the Siamese Name of the Kingdom of Siam (for Meuang signifies Kingdom) and this word wrote simply **Muangtay**, is found in Vincent le Blanc, and in several Geographical Maps, as the Name of a Kingdom adjoining to Pegu."

Since Muang Thai was the name of the kingdom of Siam, which in the 13th century was known to the Chinese as Hsien, it could not have been the same as the kingdom of Sukhothai, which the Chinese called Su Ku T'ai. Both

Siam (Hsien) and Sukhothai (Su Ku Tai) sent tributes to the Yuan court in the same year, 1299 (Flood: 225-226). Both the external evidence of the *Yuan Shih* and the internal evidence of the Sukhothai inscriptions agree that the name of the country was Muang Sukhothai (GS: 197). However, in the context of this line, the author of No. 1 uses Muang Thai in the ethnographical sense, to refer to the land of the Tai peoples, the earliest use of which appears in an inscription from Keng Tung, Burma, dated 1451 (G.P., 1978: 73).

- 4.15. รู้ด้วยหลวง ด้วยแก้วด้วยหาญ ด้วยแคะ

none can be found to equal him in knowledge and intelligence, in bravery and courage, in **agility**

- A – แคะ (khæ, n.), agility (F.A., 2520: 46).

- 4.16. ด้วยแรง หาคณจักเสมอมิได้ อาจปราบผู้ข้า (เล็ก)

and strength. He can subdue a host of

- 4.17. เล็ก มีเมืองกว้างช้างหลาย ปราบ เมืองตะวันออก (อก)

enemies with vast cities and a multitude of elephants. He has subdued to the east

- A – The expression เมืองกว้างช้างหลาย (*muang kwang chang lai*), vast cities and a multitude of elephants, is based on the expression เมืองกว้างช้างม้า (*muang kwang chang ma*), vast cities, elephants and horses, from Lilit Phra Lo (LPL: 433).

- 4.18. อก รอด สรวง สองแคว ลุมบาจาย สกหา เพ้าฝั่งขอ (ง)

as far as Sra Luang, Song Khwae, Lumbachai, Sakha, to the bank of the Khong,

- C – The list of cities located to the east of Sukhothai appears to have been taken from an inscription of King Li Thai of about 1370 (No. 8-4-7 to 13), for Lumbachai and Sakha are found only in No. 8. Although its original provenance at Sukhothai is unknown, inscription No. 8 was brought to Bangkok by Prince Vajiravudh in 1908

(Coedès, 1924: 123).

The author of No. 1 might have placed the cities of Sra Luang and Song Khwae to the east of Sukhothai because of his misreading of lines No. 8-3-11 to 13, which says that Phraya Srisuryavamsa Mahadharmarajadhiraja (Li Thai), having subdued to the east as far as Phra Sak, went to reside in Muang Song Khwae. This passage does not necessarily mean that Song Khwae was to the east of Sukhothai. Since No. 1 places Muang Song Khwae east of Sukhothai, generations of scholars have identified it with Phitsanulok (Coedès, 1924: 48; Prince Damrong, 2489: 11; Prasert, 2529, 1-11).

Since Sra Luang and Song Khwae might not have been to the east of Sukhothai, they might be identified with Pak Nam Po and Nakhon Sawan, respectively. Sra Luang, meaning a large lake, must have referred to Bung Boraphet, which is at Pak Nam Po. As for Song Khwae (Two Rivers), it suggests a confluence of two rivers, the most important of which is Nakhon Sawan, where the River Ping joins the River Nan. As late as 1901 the River Nan was called Khwae Yai (The Greater River) and the River Ping was called Khwae Noi (The Lesser River) (King Chulalongkorn, 2465: 56-57). Song Khwae could not have been Phitsanulok because that city was called Si Satchanalai at the time (see comment on line 4.6).

Song Khwae (Nakhon Sawan) was the birthplace of the Phra Mahāthera Śrīśraddhā (No. 2-1-8), where, after having gone on a pilgrimage to Sri Lanka, he put up an inscription to record his journey as well as his works of merit (No. 11-face 2; (G.P., 1972: 135-144). Prince Damrong had No.11 as well as another inscription removed from the top of Khao Kop at Nakhon Sawan (Prince Damrong, 2470: 43). Phraya Li Thai mentions that he put up an inscription at Muang Sra Luang next to a Footprint of the Buddha (No. 3-2-50, 51). This inscription is on the reverse face of No. 11 that originally was put up by the

Phra Mahāthera Śrīśraddhā, mentioned above (No. 11-face 1; G.P., 1972: 112-118). The Footprint of the Buddha is still in situ on the hill.

A 15th century Northern Thai chronicle, the *Mūlasāsanā*, refers to Song Khwae as Muang Klang, "City in the Middle" (MS: 194), which might indicate that it was located half way between the northern and the southern parts of Siam. The contemporary *Sihingānidāma* and the 16th century *Jinakālamālinī* have similar accounts of a Sukhothai king called Dhammarājā, who, having lost the city of Song Khwae to Ramādhīpatī of Ayutthaya, regained it only to lose it after his death (SN: 56-57; JK: 123-124). This incident might have referred to the period when Phraya Li Thai resided in Muang Song Khwae for seven years (No. 8-4-4, 5). The difference between the two chronicles is that the author of *Jinakālamālinī* calls Song Khwae "Chainat (Jayanada)," which is the name by which that city was known in the 16th century, as in the poem *Lilit Yuan Phai* (LYP: 318-319).

- 4.19. งเงิงเวียงจันทน์เวียงคำเป็นที่แล้ว เป้(อ)ง หั่ว

to **Wiang Chan, Wiang Kham** as the limit; to the south

- A – Wiang Chan, Wiang Kham appear to have been two cities located in the vicinity of present-day Vientiane. They are mentioned together in a Lao chronicle in the episode of King Fah-Ngum's invasion of Vientiane, which is said to have taken place in 1356 (Maha Sila Viravong: 32-34). In connection with this episode, the *Phongsawadan Muang Luang Phrabang* from the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910) only mentions Wiang Kham (PML: 318-319). As for Wiang Chan, the *Phongsawadan Lan Chang* states that it became the capital of the Kingdom of Si Satanakhanahud in 1560 (PLC: 162-163).

- 4.20. นอน รอดคนที่ พระบาง แพรก สุพรรณภูมิ

as far as Khonthi, Phra Bang, **Phraek, Suphanaphumi**

- C – คนที (Khonthi), พระบาง (Phra Bang) are both mentioned in No. 3-2-27 as being located to the south.
- D – Neither แพรก (Phraek) nor สุพรรณภูมิ (Suphanaphumi) is found in Sukhothai inscriptions, but both are mentioned in the *Phra Ratcha Phongswadan Krung Sayam* of 1807 (PKS: 28), with the differences that Phraek is written in full as Phraek Si Racha and Suphanburi instead of Suphanaphum. Phraek Si Racha, then, is what the author of No. 1 meant by Phraek, which is the present-day Sankhaburi (BRL: 7). The word Suwanaphum is the same as Pāli Suvāṇṇabhūmi mentioned in the *Jinakāla-mālinī* (JK: 123), and probably refers to Suphanburi.

4.21. มิ ราชบุรี เพชรบุรี ศรีธรรมราช ฝั่งทะเล

Ratchaburi, Petchaburi, **Si Thammarat**, to the **seacoast** and

- C – ราชบุรี เพชรบุรี (Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi) are both mentioned in No. 11-2-20, being the cities that the Phra Mahāthera Śrīśraddhā visited on his way back from Sri Lanka. Si Thammarat, however, does not appear in Sukhothai inscriptions, nor does ฝั่งทะเล (fang thale), the seacoast.
- D – Si Thammarat as well as the seacoast are mentioned together in *Sihingānidāna* in the passage where "พระร่วงเสด็จมายังชายทะเลถึงนครของพระเจ้าศรีธรรมราช," "Phra Ruang came to the seashore to the city of King Si Thammarat" (SN: 41).

4.22. สมุทรเป็นที่แล้ว เบื้องตะวันตก รอดเมื่อ(ง)

the ocean, as the limit; to the west, as far as Muang

- D – สมุทร (samut, n.), ocean, might have been from Sihingānidāna as well. (SN: 11, 45).

4.23. ังอด เมือง...น หงสาวดี สมุทร หาเป็(น)

Chot, Muang..., **Hongsawati**, to the ocean

- A - หงสาวดี (Hongkawadi, Pāli, Haṃsāvati) is not found in Sukhothai epigraphy. This Mon city is said to have been founded by two brothers, สะมล (Thamala) and วิมล (Wimala) in A.D. 825. As recorded in the *Phongsawadan Mon Phama* (PMP: 26), which was translated into Thai by the command of King Mongkut in 1857, it became the Capital of Ramaññadeśa in 1358.

4.24. นแดน เปื้องตีนนอน รอดเมือง แพรว ี่เมือง

as the limit; to the north, as far as Muang Phrae

4.25. องมาน เมืองน...เมืองพลัว พันฝั่ง ของ

Muang **Man**, Muang N..., Muang Phlua, beyond the banks of the Khong

A - เมืองมาน (Muang Man) is unique to No.1.

C - เมืองน...เมืองพลัว (Muang N..., Muang Phlua), should be "Muang Man, Muang Phlua" as mentioned in No. 8-3-20.

4.26. เมืองชวา เป็นที่แล้ว ปลูกเลี้ยงฝูงลูกบ้า(น)

Muang Chawa as the limit. He brings up every one of his people in the villages

A - เมืองชวา (Muang Chawa) is only mentioned in No. 1 but in the *Phongsawadan Lan Chang* it refers to Muang Luang Phra Bang in Laos. Incidentally, in 1854 King Mongkut, writing in Pāli the *Khathā Tamnan Phra Kaeo Morakot* (*Chronicle of the Emerald Buddha*), says that the Emerald Buddha

"was taken from Nakhon Nabbisi (Chieng Mai) to a city on the bank of a large river, called Khong; that great city was named Chawa, in their own Lao Province" (TPK: 49, 57).

Apparently Chawa is the Pāli name for Luang Phra Bang for it is found in *Mūlasāsanā* (MS: 194).

4.27. นลูกเมืองนั้น ชอบด้วยธรรมทุกคน

and towns to be righteous in the Dharma.

– Summary of Face 4–

Face 4 can be summarized as follows:

Lines 4.1-4.3 King Ram Khamhaeng is the ruler of the Thais to the north and south as well as the Lao to the northeast and the Keo to the east.

The formal address here too closely resembles the opening of King Mongkut's letters to U.S. President Franklin Pierce as to be coincidental.

Lines 4.4-4.8 In 1285 or 1287 he had the sacred relics dug up and then buried them in the middle of Si Satchanalai and built a chedi over them which was completed in six years.

The ambiguity over the year 1285 or 1287 is the key to the dating of the Ram Khamhaeng Inscription (see Piriya, "The Date of the Ram Khamhaeng Inscription"). *Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Nua or The Royal Chronicle of the North* was probably the source for this passage.

Lines 4.8-4.11 In 1283 King Ram Khamhaeng devised the Tai alphabet which had not previously existed.

No reliable source earlier than 1855 has this information.

Lines 4.11-4.16 King Ram Khamhaeng teaches his subjects to be good Buddhists.

This passage is adapted from the *Traibhūmi*.

kathā in which the Universal Monarch is not only expected to know the Dharma but is obliged to teach it to his subjects.

Lines 4.17-4.26

Ram Khamhaeng's kingdom extends to Vi-etiane on the River Mae Khong to the east, to the south as far as Nakhon Si Thammarat and the ocean, to the west to Pegu and the ocean, and to the North to Luang Phra Bang on the River Mae Khong.

The extent of the Sukhothai kingdom in the reign of King Ram Khamhaeng is not supported by other inscriptions from that period. Indeed, the source for the names of such towns as Phraek and Suphanabhumi dates from the early 19th century.

Lines 4.26-4.27

He brings up his people to be righteous in the Dharma.

The *Traibhūmikathā* is again the source for this passage.

Face 4 contains the information that King Ram Khamhaeng had sacred relics dug up and then buried them in the middle of Si Satchanalai, which is also found in the *Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Nua*. This *Royal Chronicle of the North* also has the information that Phraya Ruang invented the Northern Tai alphabet as well as established a new era. This new era is used in only two sources: in *Roeng Nang Nophamat* and in *Traibhūmikathā*. Since the only textual evidence for any king of Sukhothai having the facility to establish a new era is Inscription No.4, the earliest possible date for this information would have to be 1833, when Prince Mongkut brought the inscription back to Bangkok. Hence 1833 would have to be the earliest possible date also for the composition of *Roeng Nang Nophamat*, the *Traibhūmikathā* and the interpolation of this passage into the *Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Nua*. Although Inscription No. 1 only has King Ram Khamhaeng inventing the Tai alphabet, this information appears in the *Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Nua*. Hence the

composition of Inscription No. 1 could not have been earlier than 1833, nor could it be later than 1855, when King Mongkut told John Bowring about it.

Conclusion

The above textual analysis suggests that the author of No. 1 must have used the following Sukhothai inscriptions to compose his Inscription of King Ram Khamhaeng:

Inscription No. 2 (c. 1340's)	lines 1.1 to 10
Inscription No. 3 (1357)	lines 1.22 to 24, 2.3, 3.22 to 25
Inscription No. 4 (1361)	lines 2.15, 2.24, 2.32
Inscription No. 5 (1361)	lines 1.27, 1.31, 2.30
Inscription No. 8 (1359)	lines 4.18, 4.25
Inscription No. 9 (1406)	line 2.34, 2.29
Inscription No. 45 (1393)	line 3.6.

Most probably he would have consulted the following Pāli language chronicles

<i>Mūlasāsanā</i> (15th century)	line 4.26
<i>Siḥṅganidāna</i> (mid 15th century)	lines 2.30, 4.21-22
<i>Jinakālamālinī</i> (1527)	line 4.20
<i>Mahāvamsa</i> (1796)	lines 1.35 to 2.1

as well as the following Buddhist texts:

<i>Mahā-Sudassana Sutta</i>	lines 3.11, 3.14
<i>Jātaka</i> No. 181 and No. 539,	line 3.13
<i>Lokapaññatti</i> (15th century)	line 3.20

The author of No. 1 would have been familiar with Bangkok period literature:

<i>Nithan Iran Rajadharma</i> or <i>Sibsong Liam</i> (1782)	line 1.34
<i>Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā</i> (1802)	lines 2.12, 3.27
<i>Phongsawadan Nua</i> (1807 ?)	lines 3.19, 4.4-8
<i>Phongsawadan Krung Syam</i> (1807)	line 4.20

<i>Traibhūmikathā</i> (after 1833)	lines 1.19, 1.29, 1.30, 2.19, 2.21, 2.26, 2.34-35, 3.10, 3.27, 4.12-13
<i>Roeng Nang Nophamat</i> (1835), <i>Phongsawadan Muang Luang</i> <i>Phrabang</i> (19th century)	line 2.22 line 4.19
<i>Phongsawadan Lan Chang</i> (19th century)	line 4.26
<i>Phongsawadan Mon Phama</i> (19th century)	line 4.23

In conclusion, it can be suggested that the author had read the Sukhothai inscriptions of the Phra Mahāthera Śrīsaddhā (No. 2) and those of Phraya Li Thai (Nos. 3, 4, 5), the 15th century Chronicles of Lan Na Thai, also Buddhist treatises in Pāli and literary works from the beginning of the Bangkok era, and then composed his own story of King Ram Khamhaeng. The date for its composition can be narrowed down to between 1833, when Prince Mongkut brought the stone slab and the Khmer language inscription of Phraya Li Thai (No. 4) from Sukhothai to Bangkok, and 1855, when King Mongkut sent Sir John Bowring two copies of the Inscription of King Ram Khamhaeng.

Although the Inscription of King Ram Khamhaeng may prove to be from 1833-1855, it does not belittle the achievement of its author. On the contrary, it demonstrates beyond doubt that he was the greatest scholar of his time and a veritable linguistic genius, well read in Pāli and familiar with western languages. His description of King Ram Khamhaeng serves best as his own epitaph:

"Among men who are in Muang Thai, none can be found to equal him in knowledge and intelligence..." (4-14 to 16).

The author of No. 1 transferred his achievement to that of King Ram Khamhaeng so that he could establish the Thai nation under a righteous monarch and uphold Buddhism as the state religion. Thus King Ram Khamhaeng lives in the hearts and

minds of the Thai people because he embodies the spirit of Thai nationalism, as expressed in the nation, religion and king.

Whilst Inscription No. 1 may be considered the single most important historical writing of 19th century Siam, it cannot be used to study the history of Sukhothai art.

List of abbreviations

a.	adjective	np.	name of person
adv.	adverb	nt.	name of tree
con.	conjunction	pre.	preposition
kh.	Khmer	pro.	pronoun
n.	noun	v.	verb

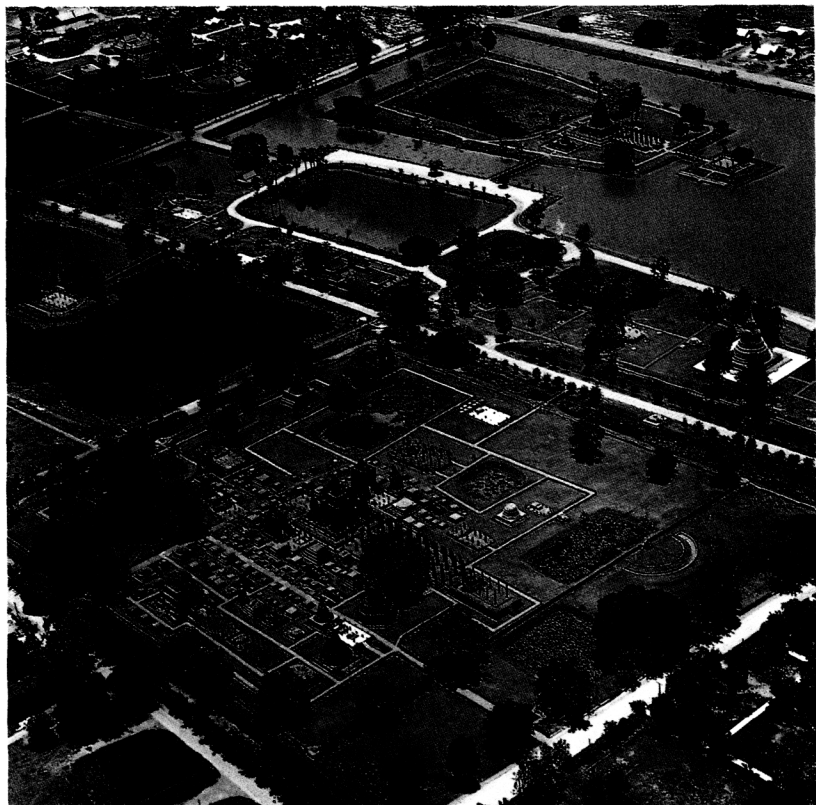


Fig. 1 Ponds used as **udak'ukkhepasimā** of Wat Trapang Ngoen and Wat Sa Si, Sukhothai.

Photograph by Mr. Luca Invernizzi Tettoni.

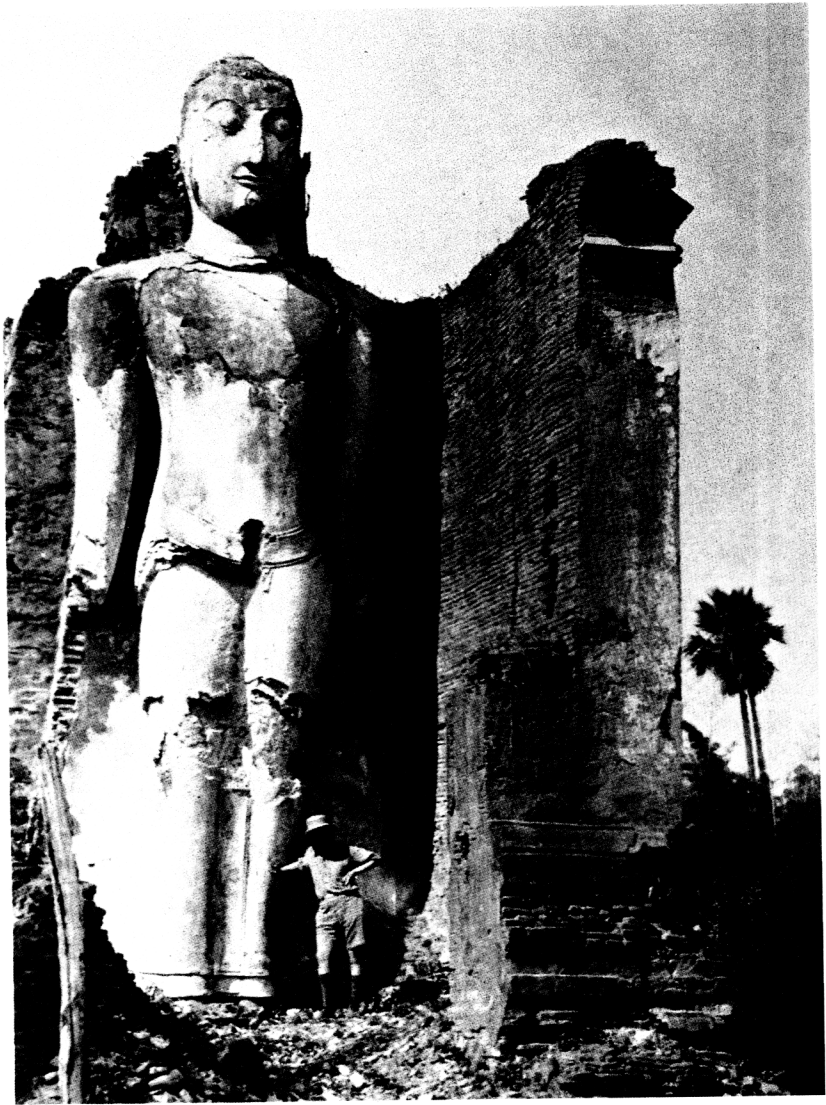


Fig. 2 Phra Atthārāsa Image to the northwest of the Great Relic Chedi at Wat Maha That, Sukhothai.

Photograph by Dr. H.G. Quaritch Wales in 1927.



Fig. 3 Phra Atthārāsa Image at Wat Phra Chetuphon, Sukhothai.

Photograph by Mr. A.B. Griswold.

**Fig. 4**

Buddha offering protection found at Wat Maha That, Sukhothai.
Bronze; height 51 cm, Ram Khamhaeng National Museum, Sukhothai.

Photograph by Mr. Pithaya Bunnag.



Fig. 5 Phra Attharasa Image at Wat Saphan Hin, Sukhothai. Photograph by Mr. A.B. Griswold.



Fig. 6 Phra Acana Image at Wat Si Chum, Sukhothai Photograph by Mr. Lucien Fournereau in 1891.

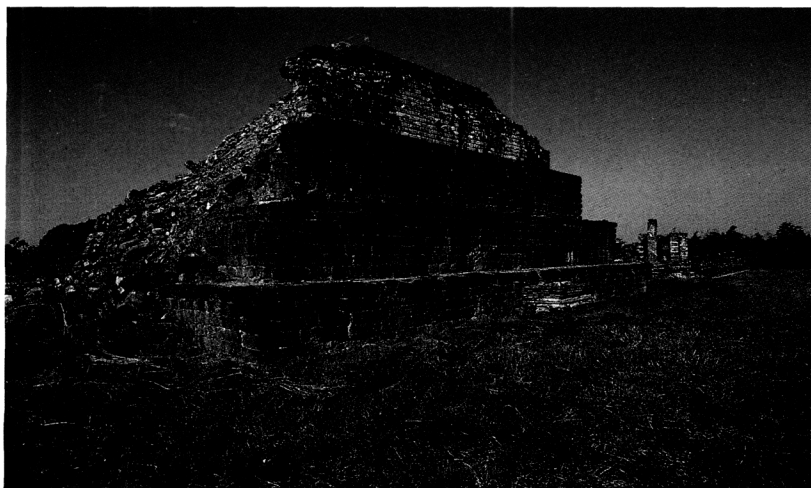


Fig. 7 The Chedi at Wat Wihan Thong, Sukhothai, south face, showing the brick base of the offering table with the covered stone slab missing.

Photograph by the author.



Fig. 8 The offering table on the east face of the Chedi at Wat Wihan Thong showing the stone slab placed on top of the brick base.

Photograph by the author.

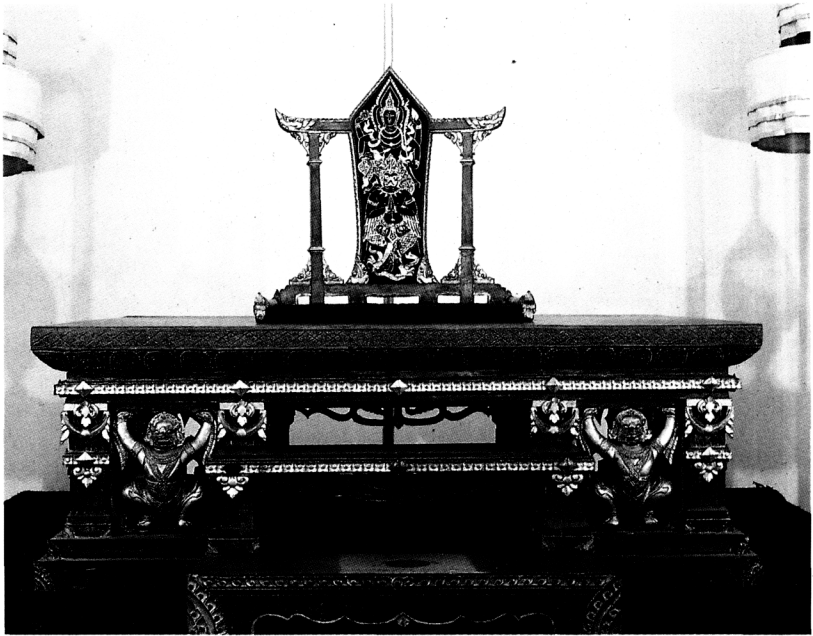


Fig. 9 The stone slab, called Manangsilabat, mounted in 1925 on wooden frames after the design of H.R.H. Prince Narisranuwattiwong. Length 199.5 cm; width 143.5 cm; height 11.5 cm. Photograph by the author.



Fig. 10 Mural paintings at Wat No Phutthangkun, Suphanburi Province, dated 1848, showing Prince Mahājanaka reclining on a stone seat.

Photograph by Mrs. Monique Heitmann.



Fig. 11 A White Elephant from the reign of King Mongkut. Photographed in the reign of King Chulalongkorn.

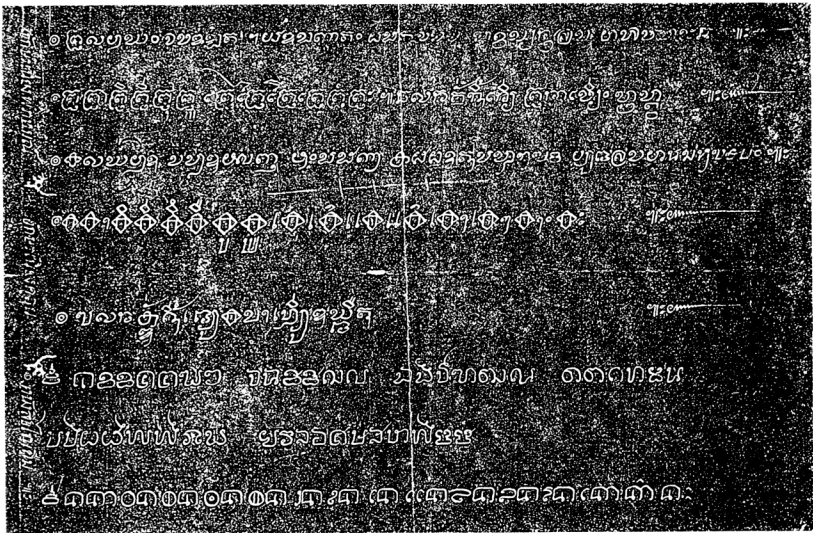


Fig. 12 A photocopy of page from a notebook of Krom Phraya Pavares showing the complete 44 "Original Tai Letters from ๑-๔"

Courtesy of Mr. Michael Wright.

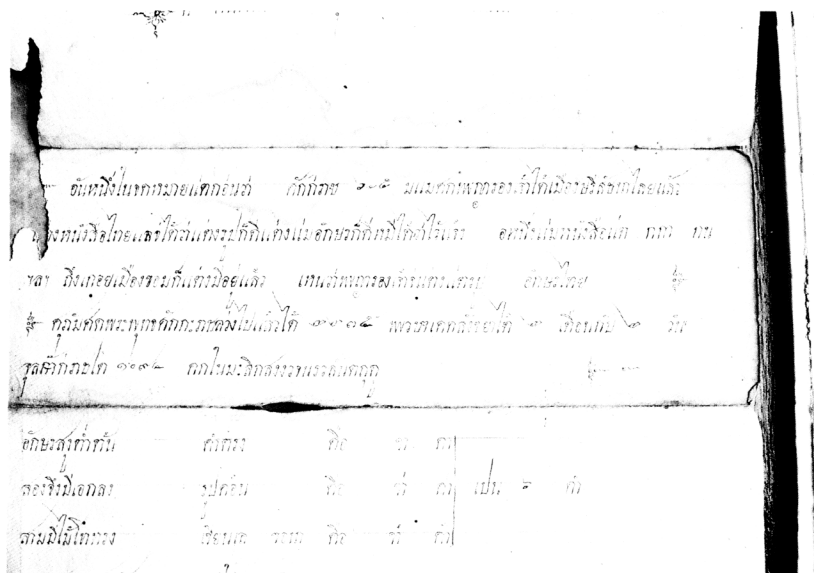


Fig. 13 The exordium with "Strange Content" of the *Chindamani Chabab Somdet Phra Chao Borom-makot* belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Photograph by Mr. Albert Chua.

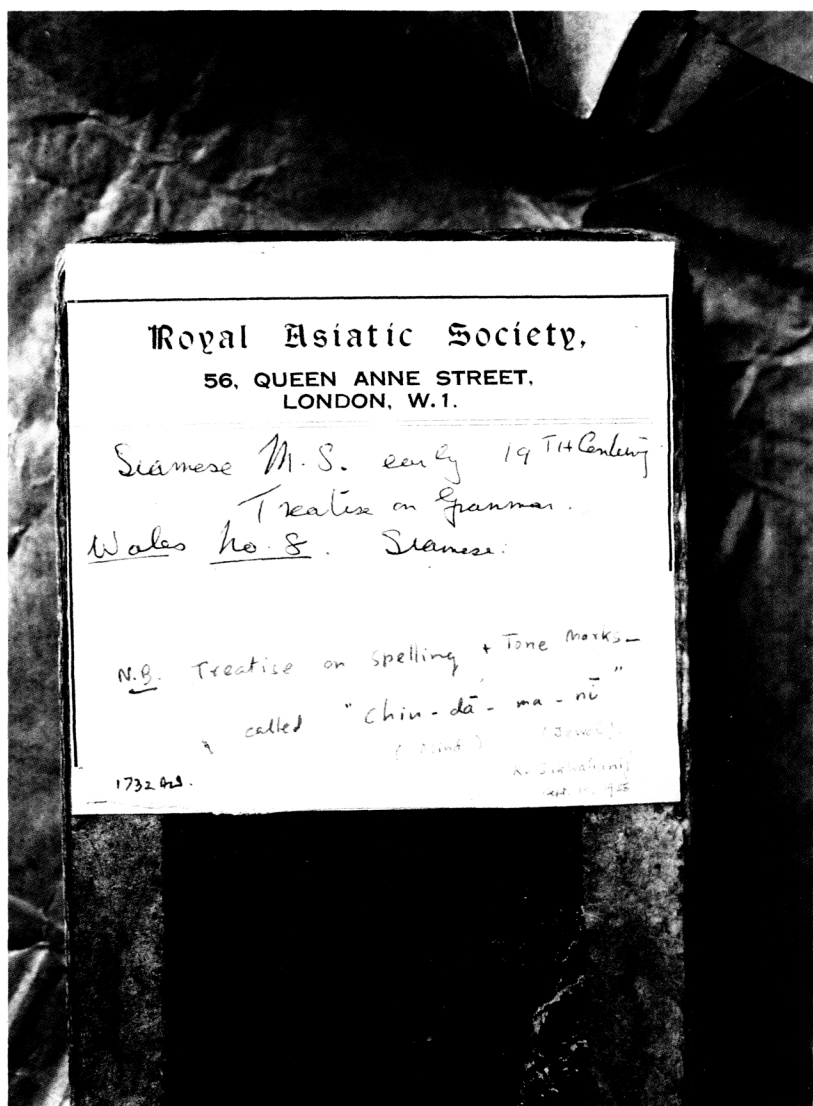


Fig. 14

The cover of the *Chindamani Chabab Somdet Phra Chao Borom-makot* belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Photograph by Mr. Albert Chua.

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