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

C – Śrī Indrāditya (Śrī Indrāditya) is mentioned in the inscription of the Somdej Phra Mahāthera Śrīsraddhārajacakumāṇi (Somdet Phra Mahāthera Śrīsraddhārajacakumāṇi), the author of Inscription No. 2, as being the father of Pho Khun Ramaraja. Inscription No. 2 most probably was the source for Ram Kamhaeng’s early life (lines 1-1 to 1-10).

A – Nang Soeng (np. Nang Soeng)

Nang Soeng nang is used as a prefix to the name of a woman, Nang Ming (Nang Thong Kaeo) (CS: 137). While in No. 10-2-30 nang (nang) is coupled with mae (mae) (แม่นาง) and in No. 102-1-8 nang (nang) is coupled with pā (pa) (ป่านาง), neither of these is used in the context of a queen. Although Phraya แสนง (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 nang (nang) is used for a wife of a ruler, it is qualified by the title mahādevī (Mahādevī) as in Nang Sithara Mahādevī (No. 2-1-33). Sukhothai inscriptions use the Khmer title Somdej Phra (Somdet Phra) to refer to a queen, as in Somdej Phra Rājadevi Śrī Culałaka-sana Agarājamaheši (No. 93-1-3) and Pho Somdet Phra Rājañanā Śrī Dharmārajamātā Mahātilakaratanarājaratana (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 นางสิ dend นางสิเดด นางสมณใจ นางละโอง 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 – แสง (Soeng), is probably the same as สิแจ้ (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 ปุลพระบาน (Pu Phraya Ban) is listed in No. 45-1-9, dated 1393, as a predecessor of ปุลพระรามราช (Pu Phraya Rāmarāja). A king by the name of บัล (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 พระรามราช (Phraya Rāmarāja) out altogether (SN: 54-55). As for the Jinakālamālinī, concluded in 1527, King บัล (Bal) 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 พระยาบัลเมือง (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 Bal (Bal), Pali pala, to protect; but none was called บ้านเมือง (Ban Muang), meaning Joy of the Kingdom, during the late 13th and early 14th centuries. That บ้านเมือง (Ban Muang) was intended here can be inferred from the utopian idealism of this inscription

1.2. ดูที่นี้ถึงห้องเดียวกัน ผู้ชายสามผู้หญิงสอง พี่เมีย(อ)
We were five siblings: three boys and two girls.

A — ห้องเดียวกัน (thong dieo, n.) the same womb.

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

C — ยู (tu) pronoun for the first person plural.


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

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

A — ผู้ชาย (phu ai, n.) eldest brother or eldest sister. However, it should be พี่ชาย (phi ai) instead of ผู้ชาย (phu ai) as in No. 106-2-35.

A — เติม แต่ (tiam tae, pre.) since.

1.4. ลูกเก้าข้า ผู้สามคนเขามีเมืองขอนกำลังมาที่เมืองตาก พอถูกไประ
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 — Khun Sam Chon (Khun Sam Chon, np.) is not mentioned elsewhere.

C — เมืองชุด (Muang Chot, pn.) is located to the southwest of Sukhothai (No. 2-1-13); also mentioned in No. 5-2-32.
A – ที่ (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. ชูนสามชนหน้าข้าย ชูสามชนขับมาหัวขาว ชูสาม (ชน)
Khun Sam Chon on the left; Khun Sam Chon drove forward on the right. Khun Sam (Chon)
ข้าย (sai, a.) left, ข้าว (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 เมือง (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 ข้าว (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. ชนเกลื่อนเข้า ไฟฟ้าหน้าใสพอนุ หนีบุไปย้ายพายจัน (น)
Chon moved his troops forward. My father's subjects fled quickly. Defeated, they dispersed in confusion.

D – เกลื่อน (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 ไฟฟ้า (phrai fa, n.), commoners subjected to corvée labour for the crown, is found in No. 3-2-38 and No. 38-1-15,

A – ไฟฟ้าหน้าใส (phrai fa na sai), those with happy face (literally, bright), appears only in No. 1.

A – ญญาย (ya yai, a.) dispersed (F.A., 2520: 30).
D – ฝ่าย (phai, v.) to defeat, appears in the title of the *Lilit Yuan Phai*

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

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

1.7. น กุปหนี ถี้ข้างแยกพล ถี้ขับข้างก่อนพ่อคุ่ กุ่ต่อ

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 เบรก (bek) by everyone except King Mongkut, who transcribed it as บุก (buk) (F.A., 2520, p. 30).

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

1.8. ช่างด้วายขนสำนวน แดงกุ่งข่างขนสำนวนตัวซี้ด

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 ชุนจ้าง (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. มาสมัคร แต่ ชุนสำนวนพี่หนี พอถี้จ้างข้างซี้ด

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

มาสมัคร (Mas Muang n.) name of elephant.
A – In the context of the late 13th century an elephant named ม้าส้มทอง (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 ชี้แดงพระลิง (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 Traibhūnikathā 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. ชื่อพระรามคำแหน่ง เพื่อถูกุ่งช้างชุ่มสามชน เมื่อ(3)

Phra Ram Khamhaeng, because I fought Kun Sam Chon's elephant. During

พระรามคำแหน่ง (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 พระรามผู้เป็นหนึ่ง (Phra Ram phu pen nong), Phra Ram who is the younger brother (No. 11-1-2).

D – รามคำแหน่ง (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 พระรามคำแหน่ง (Phra Ram Khamhaeng) is พระรามคำแหน่ง (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 สมเด็จพระมหาธรรมราชาศรีรัจจา ราชจุฬาภรณ์ (Somdet Phra Mahathera Srisradharajaculumuni), 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 (Sottathaki Mahanidāna: 119). This interpretation of the name รามราช (Rama-raja) would correlate well with the belief in the future Buddha prevalent in the 13th and early 14th centuries (Sailer, 1983: 9-15).

1.11. อธิษฐาน ภูเปาเราแก่พ่อคุณ ภูเปาเราแก่แม่คุณ ภูเปาตัว
   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 – ป่าวิภู (bamroe, v.) to lavish attention. The same word used in a similar context is found in the Traibhumikatha, ป่าวิภูเหมือนแล้ว "lavish attention on father and mother" (TK: 90).

1.12. เนื่องด้วยปลา ภูเปาเราแก่พ่อคุณ ภูเปาตัวมากมายสัมผัสด้าน(น)
   a deer or a fish, I brought it to my father. When I picked

1.13. นั้น ซึ่งกินร้อยยินดี ภูเปาเราแก่พ่อคุณ ภูเปาตี-
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 侦察 (aro, a.) "delicious," would be entirely incongruous, except for No.1. 侦察 (delicious), however, appears in early 19th century literary works such as Traibhumilokavini-chaya kathā, written in 1802 (TL, Vol. 2, 73) and Traibhumikatha (TK: 59).

1.14. หนังวั้งช้างได้ ภูเขาแม่แก่งพอกุ ภูไปทับบ้านที่มี (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


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 โคช้างโค้ง โค ปี๊ให้ตับัง โค แกะไต่ทองภูเขา
and captured elephants, men or women, silver or gold, I turned them over

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

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

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

C – (mua chua Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng) appears to have derived from No 3-2-12, because it replaces (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 – (Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng) is only mentioned in No. 1 (GS: 157). However, (Pho Khun Rāmarāja) is found in No. 2-1-37 where he is mentioned as being a son of (Pho Khun Śrī Indrāditya). The title (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 Śrīśraddhā refers to former kings of Sukhothai who were his ancestors (Nidhi, 2530: 81). Hence the title พระชน (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 พระญารามะราช (Phraya Ramarāja), who is mentioned in No. 5-1-2 and No. 3-1-3 as being a grandfather of พระญาลีไทย (Phraya Li Thai).

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

D – พระชน (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 ในน้ำมีข้าว เจ้าเมืองปล่าอาจสอบในฟ-floating fish there are fish, in the fields there is rice. The king does not levy toll on his subjects: they freely

D – ในน้ำมีปลา ในน้ำมีข้าว (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 Traibhumikatha, ที่เข้าในน้ำปล่าวในน้ำ (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 Traibhumikatha 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 – จกบ (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 – ผู้ปาก (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. อนุณัจวัปป้า ข่มขันป้า ใครจักรไคร่ค้าต้า ค้า ใคร
lead their cattle to trade or ride their horses to sell;
whoever wants to trade in elephants, does so;

C – จึงวัปป้า ข่มขันป้า (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 ซึ่งเรื่องค้า ซึ่งมา
ไปขาย (khi rua pai kha, khi ma pai khai), "embark on
their boats to trade, ride their horses to sell."

1.21. จักรไคร่ค้าต้า ค้า ใครจักรไคร่ค้าต้าทองค้า โพกพายน้าไช
whoever wants to trade in horses, does so; whoever wants
to trade in silver or gold, does so. When any commoner,

1.22. ลือแก้วคุณผู้เด็ด ลือตายหายกล่า เหย้าเรื่องพ่อเชิญ
officers or prince is dead, the home of the deceased fa-
ther

C – ลือแก้วคุณ (luk chao, luk khun, n.) officers, prince, also
appears in No. 3-2-43 and No. 5-2-31.

A – เชือ (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:

...โพกพายช้างยังแก้คุณผู้ใต้ได้ข้าเจ้าเทยานางเอาเรื่องเขา
พอตายให้แก่ลูก

"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. เสือค้ามัน ข้างตูออกเกี่ยวก้า โพกพายช้าง ป้า
himself, his trained elephants, wives, children, grana-
ries, rice, retainers and groves
D – ช้างข่อย (chang kho, n.) trained elephant found in treatises on training elephants from the time of King Narai (1656-1688) (F.A., 2520: 35).

C – พระพักขาไทย (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. หมากปาพลูพอเสร็จแล้ว ให้แก่ลูก มันสิ้น ไฟฟ้า

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

A – ปาหมาก ปาพลู (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 ปาหม่าง (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 ปาหม่าง (pa muang), mango grove (No. 5-2-25), ปา (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 พอตายไว้แก่ลูก (When a father dies, it is given to the son) is also found in No. 10-2-17.

1.25. ลูกเจ้าลูกชุน มิเล่ามิให้แก่พวกธงกัน ขนุน

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

A – มิให้แก่พวกธง (phitphaek saekwang, v.) to quarrel แสดงว่า (saekwang) occurs many times in old law texts (F.A., 2520: 35), which would have made it an Ayutthaya expression. มิให้แก่ (phitphaek) also appears in Traibhūmikathā (TK, 94).

A – สวนดู่ (suan du, v.) to examine.
1.26. แล้วแล้ว จึงแต่งความแก่หาด้วยชื่อ บั้นเข้าผู้ลักมักก์ (ผู้ซ่อน)
to find the truth and then settles the case justly for
them. He does not side with thieves or favour

A – แต่งความ (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
Traibhūmikātha (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 เห็นข้าพเจ้าโปรดพิพิธ เห็นสินท่านโปรดเครื่องครื่อง (ค)
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.

เห็นข้าพเจ้าโปรดพิพิธ เห็นสินท่านโปรดเครื่องครื่อง (ค)

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. ค คนใดซี้ช้างมาหา ภาพเมืองมาลุ่มชื่อ เห็นเพื่อ (อ)
Whoever comes on an elephant to see him and asks him
to protect his country, he generously

1.29. อยุ่ มันเบิ่งข้างกันมีข้า บั้นบัวบีามบาง บั้นเมือง (น)
takes care of it. Whoever has no elephants, no horses,
no men or women, no silver

A – อยุ่ (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. นักมีทอง ให้แก่ผู้ ซื้อมันต้อง เป็นบ้านเป็นเมือง (ง)

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

D – ตัง (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 ได้ข้าเสือ ข้าเสือ หัวเฟงหัวระ ก็ดิ ป๋าปิติ ได้

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

C – ได้ข้าเสือ ข้าเสือ หัวเฟงหัวระ ก็ดิ ป๋าปิติ

*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. ปากประสมภูมิตรีังฉิ่นฉิ่นเขยรังไข้หัน โปรดห้าหน้า (ปท)

A *bell* is hung over the opening of the gate over there: if any *distracted commoners*
D – ไพร่พ่าห์น้าปก (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 Prachakitkara-cakra in 1898; hair covering the forehead is an indication of unhappiness (PY: 260).

1.33. ปก กลางบ้านกลางเมือง มีที่ยอมมีความ 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 มักจกกลางเลื่องเจ้าเลื่อนชูนิปุ่มไป ปล้นนะ (ติ่ง)
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 Rajadhharma, 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 Naowasenwarawadinth (Naowasen-warawadinth) 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-warawadinth and kept the ten royal virtues ("พระองค์คือเธออย่างจริงใจพวกเขา
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 — ไร้ (rai, a.) difficult, not found in Sukhothai inscriptions, but occurs in the Traibhumikatha (TK: 31).

1.35. ติ่งอันเท่านั้นไว้ พ่อขุนรามค่าแห่งเจ้าเมืองได้

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 directive (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 Sarabakara 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 Wihan 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 *Mahācakravartirāja* (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.
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 Traibhūnikathā, which is said to have been composed by Ram Khamhaeng's grandson, Li Thai, plagiarized phrases 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.
2.1. ยิน เรียกเมื่อมา สรวนความแก้มันตัวยี่ข้อ ใจไว้ใน
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 Elara, a Tamil king of Anuradhapura, 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:

"และพระยาเอฟาราชาวเน้นปรำศากถที่จะกล่าวเรายากอันต้นขึ้นตั้งตรงไปแท้ ใบกลางเมื่อทรงพิจารณาความนั้นตั้งพระไทยเป็นลงบวกผอมขึ้นตั้ง มิได้เข้า ตัวใดฝ่ายใดผลัดจำเลยว่าผู้นี้เป็นมัตรจะเข้าถึงยุติ ผู้นี้เป็นค์ครุจะชิงขึ้นตั้ง พร้อมอุปชาฆาเสมอผู้ ทรงองค์ให้ยุกประสงกร์ไป ได้กรุบรักษาที่พระบรรทม แลกสำราญนั้นกลั่นแล่นออกอย่าง แต่ที่โรงวินัยเข้าไปถึงห้องที่บรรทม ครั้งได้ทรงพิจารณาอย่างแล้ว ก็เสียต้องออกมาทรงวิพากษาความโดย ราชาธรรมอันตร " (MV: 419-420).

2.2. เมืองสุโขทัยนี้จึงขึ้น สร้างป้ามากป้าพลุทั้งเมือง (ง)
this country of Sukhothai praise him. They plant areca groves and betel groves everywhere all over this city;

2.3. นั้นทุกแห่ง ป้าพร้อมก็หลายในเมือง นี้ ป้ากลาง
there are many coconut groves and groves of coconut-type palms

C – This sentence is probably adapted from ป้ามากป้าพลุ มากกลางทุกแห่ง, 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 ป่าเมือง (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 ป่ากลาง (pa lang, n.) a grove of coconut-type palms (F.A., 2520: 38).

2.4. กิ่งหลักในเมืองนี้ มากมายก็ถ้ายิ่งในเมืองนี้
in this city, also many mango trees in this city,

C – It should be noted that Phraya Rāmarāja himself had a grove of mangoes มะกันเมือง (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 – มะกันเมือง (mak muang), however, is mentioned in Nithan Iran Rajadharma, dated 1782 (NI, 46-53).

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

A – มะกันขาม (mak kham, nt., a tamarind) is not found elsewhere.

2.6. กิ่งเมืองสุโขทัยนี้ มีน้ำดำผักไทยใส่ไก่ก้น
In the middle of this city of Sukhothai the water of the Phoe Si Pond is clear and good to drink

D – พระพงผักไทย (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).
A Reassessment of the Inscription of King Ram Khamhaeng

D – คำพัง (trapang) also appears in Traibhûmikathā (TK, 44)

B – It should be remarked that the ponds at Sukhothai were dug as boundary markers for convocation halls (Pâli, udâk’ukkhepasîmâ), used in the ordination of the Sîhaḷa 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 Sîhaḷa Bhikkhu sect was established at Sukhothai in 1430 (JK: 131).

2.7. …ตั้งกินน้ำไช้เมื่อแล้ง รอบเมืองสุโขทัยนี้ ตรี(บูร)
as the water of the Khong in the dry season. Around this city of Sukhothai the triple (fortifications)

A – ไช้ (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 Triabhûmikathā (TK: 59).

A – Neither ตรี (tri, a., three), nor บูร (bun, n., from the Sanskrit word pura, a fortress), is found in other Sukhothai inscriptions, let alone ตรีบูร (triple fortifications). ตรีบูร (tri bun), with บูร (bun) spelt with น, 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. บูร ได้สามพันสี่ร้อยวา ค้นในเมืองสุโขทัยนี้
measure three thousand four hundred wa (wa = 2 metres). The people in this city of Sukhothai
2.9. แม่ท่าน มักทรงศีล มักโดยเฉพาะ พ่อขุนรามคำแหง
like to be charitable. They want to keep the precepts
and give alms. Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng,

2.10. เจ้าเมืองสุโขทัย นั่น ทรงชาวแซวเจ้าท่านปั่นทวายา (ง)
the ruler of this city of Sukhothai, as well as princes and
princesses, men and women

D – ทวาย (thuai, n.), people, is found in Lilit Yuan Phai (LYP:
318).

2.11. ง ลูกเจ้าลูกขุน ทั้งสันทั้งหลาย 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 Traibhūmikathā (TK:
38).

2.12. ผูกเท่ายมีศรัทธาในพระพุทธศาสนา ทรงศีลเมื่อพรรด (ฆา)
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), reli-
gion 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 – พระพุทธศักราช (phra phuttha sasana), on the other hand, is comparatively recent. For it earliest appearance is found in the Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā, written by Phraya Dhammaprīchā (Kaeo) at the command of King Rama I in 1802 (TL: 86, 102).

2.13. ชาตุศกัน เมื่อออกพระราชากรานกุศิน เดือนนี้จึง (ง)

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

D – Neither กาณ (kran, v., to make the outer robe of a Buddhist monk), nor กุศิน (kaṭhin, 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 kaṭhin robes to monks as is prominently featured in the following lines, 2-16 to 2-23. The kaṭhin 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 Kaṭhina as a state ceremony at Sukhothai is an article by King Mongkut called "Origin of Vāṭ Visitations," published posthumously in the Siam Repository, (April, 1868):

"The Kaṭhina was introduced somewhat in its present form in the reign of Braḥ Rvaṇ...at that time the royal Vāṭs 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 Vāṭ and they let off fireworks in his honour, and the people gave themselves up to amusements." (Cited in Quaritch Wales, 1931: 210).

2.14. งั้นๆ เมื่อกรานกุศิน มีพนมเบี้ย มีพนมมากมาย มี

The kaṭhin offerings consist of heaps of cowrie shells, heaps of areca nuts,
D – In *Traibhūmikathā* ผ้าถิ่น (*phakāthin*) is used instead of กระถิ่น (*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 มีหมอนนางหมอนใสน บริพารกุฏิโอง (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 – หมอนนางหมอนใสน (*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. ยทานแต่ปีแล้วปีถัดมา ไปสุตติกุฏิสิ่งเล็กๆ (รักบุก)
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 – นุฏตี (yatti, n., announcement), see Prince Vajirañā-ṇavarorasa, 2506, pp. 66-69 for the ceremony of the presentation of the Kaṭhina robe.

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

2.17. รับบุญกุศล เมื่อจักร:nthามาเริ่มเริงกันแต่รัศ(บุญกุศล)
On their return to the city, they walk in line all the way from the Araññika

C – ชัฏฏกุศล (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. บุญกุศลพุ่นทำหัวลาน ดับคังคลอง ด้วยเสียงพากระดับพิ (ณ)
to the plaza. They repeatedly beat drums, xylophones and lutes,

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

A – ดับคังคลอง (dom bang khom klong) Khmer for "repeatedly beat drums" (F.A., 2520: 40).

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

2.19 ณ เสียงเสียงขับ ใครจักมักเล่น เล่น ใครจัก (ก) chanting and singing. Whoever wants to play, plays; whoever wants
D – เ.lon (loen, n.) or เ.ôn (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 – ข phép (khap, n.), a style of singing as in a lullaby, is mentioned in the Traibhūmikathā (TK: 54), where it is used together with ร sông (rong), as in ร sôngข phép (rong khap). สืบสืบ สิ่งร้อง (siang khap, siang rong) "sound of singing" is used in the In Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā (TL, vol. 2, 49). In Nang Nophamat, its usage is ข phépร้อง (khap rong), to sing (NN: 70).

A – In Sukhothai inscriptions ข phép (khap) does not mean "to sing" but "to drive," as in ข phépแข่ง "khap mae chang, (he) drove the she elephant" (No. 2-170).

2.20. กมักร้อง หัว ใครจักมักเลื่อน เลื่อน เมื่อสุ- to laugh, laughs; whoever wants to chant, chants. This city of

2.21. ใช้ไทยนี้ มีสิ่งประกอบๆหลัง ที่หน่วยอนคนเสียดกัน Sukhothai has four main gates. People squeeze together

D – เที่ยวข้อม (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 เที่ยวข้อม (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 à celle de l’inscription: เที่ยวข้อม ผึ้งถุงกระรอก ทั้งหลวาย หากมีเย็นเสียดกันอยู่เต็มแก้วนั้น" (Coedès, 1923: 117). Masses of beings in hell all squeeze themselves together in that hell (TK: 10).
2.22. เข้ามาดูท่านผ่านเทียน ท่านเล่นไฟ เมื่อยุคไปไทยนี้
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 Kaṭhin process-
sions 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 Kaṭhin
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 festi-
val (NN: 64-68). The ceremony described by Nang No-
phamat is essentially the same as the one mentioned by
King Mongkut on the Kaṭhina festival in the reign of
Brah Rvan, in his article "Origin of Vat 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 Kaṭhina (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 accu-
stomed 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 withnessed by Nang Nophamat, namely the Visākha Pūjā which commemorates the Birth, Enlightenment and the Parinibbāna 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. มีดังขั้นแตก กลางเมืองสุโขทัย นี้มีพิหาร 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 มีพระอัษฎากร มีพระพุทธรูป

the gold image of the Buddha. There are statues of the Buddha, the *Aṭṭhārasa 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 Śākyamuni image, the "gold image," before its removal to Wat Suthat, Bangkok, in 1808 (Ibid: 67). But he stops short of saying that the Śākyamuni 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 – พระอัทธาราศ (Phra Aṭṭhārasa, Pali, 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. มีพระพุทธรูปป้อมใหญ่ มีพระรูปป้อม

There are large images of the Buddha and

2.26. สาม มีพิหารอันใหญ่ มีพิหารอันงาม มีปู่
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. ครูนี้ได้มั่นคง มีธาร มีมหาธาร เป็นจักรวาลก

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. เมืองศูนย์ไทยนี้ มีโอปปิก พื้นฐานคำแผนแห่งกระทำ
of this city of Sukhothai is the Araṇṇika, which Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng
gave to the Mahāthera, the Sanigharāja (Supreme Patriarch), a sage who has completed the study of the Tripi-
taka,

A – Sanigharāja (Sanigharāja, 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 Mahāsāmī (Mahāsāmī, Pāli, n., the Supreme Patriarch), as in Mahāsāmī Sanigharāja (No. 5-2-20, 21; 3-7; 3-34, 35; 3-41) or Mahāsāmī Srī Sanigharāja (Mahaśwāmī Srī Sanigharāja) (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 Śrīsīraddha,
whose full title was Somdet. Phra Mahāthera Śrīsīraddhā rājacūlamuni Śrīrattanaλāṅkādīpa 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 Sanigharāja.

C – Piṭaka Tri (Piṭaka Tri, n., the Buddhist canonical texts,
divided into three sections) appears to have been bor-
rowed from the inscriptions of King Li Thai, who calls it
พระปิ่นกิจ (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. หลัก กว่าปฐิผู้ในเมืองนี้ ทุกคนจุดแดดเมืองศรี (ธรรมราช) 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 ศิริธรรมราช (Si Thammarat, pn.) here as the country where the Supreme Patriarch came from may have its source in the Sihiṅganidāna and the Jinakālāmalinī, 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. รามราชามา ในกลางอัฏฏัญิก็ มีพิหารยันเน้นมอ

In the middle of the Araṇīka 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 Araṇīka should have been located in the area of Khao Phra Bat Noi, west of Sukhothai (G.P., 1971b).

2.32. ใหญ่ อย่างงามแก่กลม มีพระอัฏฏัญิกาศันสนิ่ง ลูกคี (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 wihan of Wat Saphan Hin, which corresponded exactly with this passage in No. 1 (TM: 84). Since the Aṭṭhārāsa 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 มีปู่ครู

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

2.34. มีทะเลหลวง มีปาหมายกิ่งพูล มีไร่สีนา มีถิ่นสถาน

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 wordทะเลหลวง (thale chang) is mentioned in No. 9-3-22,26, dated 1406, and in this context probably refers to a pond.

ถิ่นสถาน (thin than, n.), residential area, is found only in No. 38-1-27, where สถาน is spelt สถาน. 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. มีบ้านใหม่บ้านเล็ก มีป่าแม่วิ้งป่าบาง คูนางตังแกล (ง)
large and small villages, groves of mango and tamarind, as beautiful as if they were intended.

D — แก่ง (klaeng same as แง่ง 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 Mahāvaṃsa.

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.
King Ram Khamhaeng and his subjects are good Buddhists. They keep the precepts and present gifts as well as kāṭhin 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 kāṭhin 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 Traibhūmi-kathā and Roeng Nang Nophamat. The Kāṭhin 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 Kāṭhin 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.

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 Aṭṭhārāsa 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 Aṭṭhārāsa 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.

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**Face 3**

3.1. ง  เบื้องต้นน่อนมีอยู่สูงในนี้ มีตลาดปิด (ลาน)

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

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

D – ป่าลาน (*pasan*, n.) is generally taken to be a transliteration of the Thai pronunciation of the Persian word ḍāsār, a covered market. However, the author of No. 1 probably had in mind the word พิศาล (phasisan, 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. ป่า ลาน มีพระจันทร์ มีปราสาท มีปะหมากพราว ป่าหมาก (ลาน)

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

A – พระจันทร์ (*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. ลง มีไร่ มีนา มีต้นลาน มีบ้านใหม่มีบ้านเล็ก นี้ (อง)

There are plantations and rice fields, residential areas, large and small villages.

3.4. องหัวถนนเมืองสุโขทัยนี้ มีกุฏี พิหาร ปู่คุฏ

To the south of this city of Sukhothai there are monasteries, kuṭī (monks’ residences), and monks.

3.5. อยู่ มีริมคลอง มีปาแพร่ปะละงะ มีป่ามะงา ป่าขาม

There is the creek. There are groves of coconut and coconut-type palms, groves of mango and tamarind.

A – สีริดบาง (sarid bhong, n.) from the Sanskrit सीर्व (sarita), "river" and बङ्ग (bhangā) "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 มีพระเขาสูง มีเทพดาในเขาอันนั้น

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 – พระเขาสูง (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 พระเขาบาง (Phra Khaphong). พระเขาบางหลวง (Phra Khaphong Luang) is also mentioned in No. 98-1-34, dated 1514, which was found at Wat Phra Chetuphon, Sukhothai.

3.7. เบื้องใหญ่กว่าทุกขึ้นในเมืองนี้ ชุมภูตรีถือเมือง

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

3.8. สุโคไชยนี้แล้ว ไหว้ดีพลีธุก เมืองนี้เที่ยง เมือง

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

3.9. มี ถือได้ ผลปลีธุก ฝั่งในเขาอันป์คูมา

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. เงง เมืองนี้ฝ่าย ๑๒๑๔ ศก ปีมะโรง พ่อชุนรามคำ (แหล่ง)

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

D – เงง (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 *Traibhumikathā* 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. แนวเจ้าเมืองศรีสัชนาลัยสุโขทัยนั้น ปลูกไม้ตา (ต)  
King of this kingdom of Si Satchanalai-Sukhothai planted these sugar-palm trees.

C – ศรีสัชนาลัย สุโขทัย (Si Satchanalai-Sukhothai) is found in the inscription of Phra Mahāthera Śrīsraddhā (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 – ไม้ตาตา (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 Kusāvatī which belonged to King Mahā-Sudassana, a Universal Monarch and a righteous king. *Kusāvatī 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. ลี้ ได้บิ้งเข่า จึงให้ข้างพันทานหิน ดังนี้ง  
Fourteen years later (1305-06) he commanded his craftsmen to hew a stone slab and place it in the midst

A – The word ทานหิน (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 äsana (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 ฐาปปกิริม (lotus molding), the Thai equivalent of the cyma reversa as in classical architecture. It consists of the หยากระดาน (na krada), a fillet, decorated with a band of lozenge-shaped four-petalled flowers, supported by บัวง่าย (bua ngai), cyma reversa, decorated with styl-
ized lotus petals executed in bas-relief. The juxtaposi-
tion 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 decora-
tions 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. กลางไม่เวลาลี้ ิวันเดือนดับเดือนเกิดเต็งด้วัณ ้ว (น)
of this sugar-palm grove. On the day of the new moon,
the eighth day of the waxing moon, on
เต็งเกิดเต็งด้วัณ (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 เดือนบ้ำงเต็งด้วัณ ผู้ปุ่ครุ เสาร์ มหาแก (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 เดือนบังแบดวัน (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 ซึ่งนำห้องคุณเข้าสู่สมดุลแก่ผู้ (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 Vajirapaññāvatavorasa. King Chulalongkorn stated in Roeng Wat Samorai that,

"He (King Mongkut) once went up as far as Sawankhalok...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, ২.১. 127: 51)

Krom Phraya Vajirapaññāvatavorasa 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 [Mahā-dharmarāja 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. ง่ายจำศีล ฝิ่นใช้วันสุคธรรม พ่อขุนรามคำแหง

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

3.17. เจ้าเมืองศรีษาซ้ำมาลัยสุโขทัย ขึ้นแม่นั้นเมืองข้าดา (น)

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

3.18. หนัก ให้ส่งท้ายธุกเจ้าลูกขุน ผู้ทำด้วยกือบ้านเลือ

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, thoë 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 ถือนำ (thoe nam), Drinking of the Water of Allegiance (Bradley, 1909: 58). Thus ถือบ้าน ถือเมือง (thoe ban, thoë 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. เมื่อ คริสต์หนึ่งเดือนตัวเติบโตเต็ม ทานแต่งชั่งเมี (ตก)

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. อักรพัสดูลาง เทียร้อยมองาง... (ข้าย) ขาว ชื่อจักรศรี

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

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

B – สาย (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).

รุจักศรี (Rucâgarî, np.), name of a White Elephant.

D – A recent reading of the inscription gives the name of the White Elephant as Rucâgarî, not Rucâgi as has been
thought (F.A., 2520: 44). Rūcāgarī is the name of the White Elephant mentioned in the Lokapaññatti (LP: 17-20), a Pāli treatise on Buddhist cosmology written by the Mon monk Saddharmaghosa 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 ขึ้นชื่อไปในพระ (เก่ง) ศรัทธปฏิบัติแล้ว (ว)

Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng mounts and rides him to pay respect to Phra...at Araṇīka. 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. นั่งเข้ามา กระติบกันแน่น มีไม่เมืองเหลือง สถาบกันไว้

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
A Reassessment of the Inscription of King Ram Khamhaeng  105

Ja rikd nng m n mn nng (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.

Muang Chalieng (p.n.) 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 – ตสถาป (sathabok, v.), to install, does not appear elsewhere.

3.23. ตวพระศรีรัตนธาฎุ จา คปรันต นี้ มันในที่ชื่อถ้า

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

C – The nameพระศรีรัตนธาฎุ (Phra Si Ratanathat, n.w.) 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 อยูในน้ำลำพayı จาคปรันต นี้ มันในที่

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

A – Both the น้ำพระราม (Phra Ram Cave) as well as the River
Samphai, which turns out to be River Mae Lamphun to the west of the city of Sukhothai, were located at the command of Prince Vajiravudh in 1907 (Tom: 120-122). But no inscription was found there.

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

A – รัตนคุระ (Ratanathan Cave) has not been located.

3.26. ศาลากงชัน อันเนื่องชื่อพุทศาสุล คาดทินันนี้ 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 (mäsa, 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)นั่งศิลาบิด สถาบันไว้จึงทั่งหลายเห็น

Manangsilabat. It is installed here for everyone to see.

Coedès thought that the name นั่งศิลาบิด (Manangsila- bat) derives from Monosilatâla, 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 mano (mano).

D – The likely source for Manangsilabat is มนังสิลารท (Manangsilart), the name of a stone throne in the Himavant Forest, as is mentioned in the Traibhūmilokaviniccha-yakathā 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 Racha 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 (บารมี, 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 Traibhūmilokaviniccha-yakathā (TL: 58), the พระบรมโพธิศักร (Bodhi Throne), on which Śākyamuni 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 พระที่นั่ง (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."

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
Lines 3.19-3.22
On the days of the new and full moon the
king rides his White Elephant to the mon-
astery 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 Traibhūmilokaviviccha-
yakathā 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."
4.1. พ่อขุนพระรามคำแหง ลูกพ่อขุนศรีอินทราทิตย์เป้ (น)

**Pho Khun Phra** Ram Khamhaeng, son of Pho Khun Sri Indraditya, is

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

4.2. นชุนในเมืองศรีเชียงลันดั้งธนิัย์ ทั้งมากล้า

the ruler of the country of Si Satchanalai-Sukhothai, all

the **Ma, the Kao, Lao,**

D – กา (Kao), ลา (Lao) are names of people living to the

east and northeast of Siam respectively.

It is interesting to note that ลา (Lao) and กา (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. แลไอยีงงได้ หล้าพิภู ... ไตรพาอาจข้าของงาอี(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 “ลาวภำษา ๑ ลาวน้ำม่วงภำษา ๑ ลาวลิสาภำษา ๑ ลาวเย็นภำษา ๑ ลาวทรงสภำษา ๑ ลาวทรงข้ำภำษา 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 "ตั้งแต่เมืองไทยมานำทางมาจันกระษัษด้ล"
("From Muang Chainat down to the sea") (Borankhadi Samoson: 38).

A – หล้าฟ้า (la, earth; fa, sky), probably derives from the figure of speech "ซุ้มหล้า 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 – ไทชาวรุ่งชาวของ (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 ศกปีกุ้ง ให้ชุดเอาพระกระดูกตก 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 ปีกุ้ง (year of the boar), but ปีรก้า (year of the cock). So it has to be either 1207 saka ปีรก้า (year of the cock), or 1209 saka ปีกุ้ง (year of the boar) (Coedès, 1918: 19). Krom Phraya Pavares, who was the first to transcribe the inscription into modern Thai, read it as ศกราช 1209 ปีกุ้ง "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 กระทำบุญบางแถวแผลพระกระดูกได้เติมหนักวัน จี(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, พุทธปุณทะราช
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ปราบ督ารมนำาบุกพระศรีรัตนานาคถูกบุกพระศรีสัชนาลัย (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 (ปีหนึ่งเจ็ดแล้ว) (*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 Phonnarat’s *Culayuddhākāravānsa 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 Phonnarat, he must have thought that Sawankhalok was formerly Si Satchanalai.

4.6. ลงเวลาเพียงในกลางเมืองพระศรีสัชนาลัยก่อพระเจ (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 Sri Indraditya, 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 inscriptive 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. 

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

D – The expression จึงแล้ว (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" (จึงแล้ว) (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).

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

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

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 ข, ฃ, ฅ, ฅ, ฆ, พ 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 (หัวเสียงไทย). It is interesting to note that in this list there are the letters ฎ, ฑ, ฒ, พ, ธ 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 ๓๐๔ ศกีปัจจุบัน พ่อขุนรามคำแหง หาใครใจ
exist. In 1205 šala, year of the goat (A.D. 1283), Pho Khun Ram Khamhaeng set his mind

A – ๑๒๐๕ ศกิ่งมะมะ (1205 šaka, 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/η); No. 24 (1), given by Prince Damrong in 1909; No. 93 (1/η), 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 šaka, 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 Sukhoday, 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 "พระองค์เจ้าให้ท่านนั่งดิ้งไทยจีด — The king devised the Northern Tai alphabet" (*PN*: 7), whereas the *PKS* says,
"พระองค์จึงให้หนังสือไทย แล และเรียนไทย – He gave the Tai alphabet as well as that of the Northern Tai" (PKS: 7). This information is rendered in French by Bishop Palle-goix 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 Borom-makot, 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. ไม่ใช่แล้วถึงสื่อไทยนี้ ลายสือไทยนี้ จึงมีเพื่อ- 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 'ɨ', 'ɨ̄', 'u', 'ũ', 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 Pâli language. He also invented a Romanized alphabet which he called ขั้นธารุยกา (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. อรุณผู้นี้ใส่ พอชุมพระรามค่านั้นน benchmarks
that ruler invented them. This Pho Khun Phra Ram Khamhaeng

4.12. เป็นท้าวเป็นพระรามแก้ไทยทั้งหลาย หาเป็น
is Lord and King of all the Thai,

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

Similarly, the expression แก้ไทยทั้งหลาย (kae thai thang lai), "of all the Thai," is a modification from แก้คนทั้งหลาย (kae khon thang lai), "of all the people," in the Traibhûmikathā (TK: 70). Indeed, the whole of this sentence, เป็นท้าวเป็นพระรามแก้ไทยทั้งหลาย (pen thao pen phraya kae Thai thang lai) is an adaptation from เป็นเจ้าเป็นนายแก้คนทั้งหลาย (pen chao pen nai kae khon thang...
lai), "is Lord and Master of all the people," in the Trai-
bhūmikathā (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. บุญรูธรรมแห่ แต่คนยังมีในเมืองไทยด้วย

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 Européennes nomment Siam, s'appelle Muang-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 T'ai) 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. รู้ด้วยหลอก ด้วยแก่ล้าด้วยหาญ ด้วยแคละ none can be found to equal him in knowledge and intelligence, in bravery and courage, in agility


4.16. ด้วยแรง หักคนจักรเสมอมีได้ อาจปราบผู้ข้า ลีก and strength. He can subdue a host of

4.17. ลีก มีเมืองกว้างขวางหลาย ปราบ เป็นดวงวันธ์ (อก) enemies with vast cities and a multitude of elephants. He has subdued to the east

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

4.18. อี รอด สระหลวง สองแคว ลุมป้าจาย สด่า เท่าแม่งขั้น (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 Mahadhammarajadhiraja (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 Sīhiṅganidāma 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. ถึงยังวัดลานแก้วคำเป็นที่แล้ว เป็ด (อง) หัว
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 Chula-longkorn (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. นอก รอดคนที่ พระบาง พระ สุพรรณภู (มิ)
as far as Khonthi, Phra Bang, Phraek, Suphanaphumi
C – ค่นที (Khonthi), พระบาง (Phra Bang) are both mentioned in No. 3-2-27 as being located to the south.

D – Neither พระเอก (Phraek) nor ศุพรรณภูมิ (Suphanaphumi) is found in Sukhothai inscriptions, but both are mentioned in the Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Krung Sayam of 1807 (PKS: 28), with the differences that Phraek is written in full as Phraek Si Racha and Suphanburi instead of Suhanaphum. 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 พนมคูณพนภูมิ mentioned in the Jinakālamālīni (JK: 123), and probably refers to Suphanburi.

4.21. มี ราชูปี เพรชบุรี ศรีธรรมราช มีเมืองทะเล

Ratchaburi, Petchaburi, Si Thammarat, to the seacoast and

C – ราชูปี เพรชบุรี (Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi) are both mentioned in No. 11-2-20, being the cities that the Phra Mahāthera Śrīraddhā visited on his way back from Sri Lanka. Si Thammarat, however, does not appear in Sukhothai inscriptions, nor does เมืองทะเล (fang thale), the seacoast.

D – Si Thammarat as well as the seacoast are mentioned together in Sihīnganidāna in the passage where "พระวังเสดติจมย์ชายหาดเสดติจมย์ของพระเจ้าศรีธรรมราช," "Phra Ruang came to the seashore to the city of King Si Thammarat" (SN: 41).

4.22. สุเมธเป็นที่แล้ว เป็นระดับวันตก ลดเมือก(ง)

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

D – สุเมธ (samut, n.), ocean, might have been from Sihīnganidāna as well. (SN: 11, 45).

4.23. จุดเมือง...น ที่ call สุเมธ หาเป่(น)

Chot, Muang..., Hongsawati, to the ocean
A – ハウスワディ (Hongsawadi, Pāli, Haṃsāvatī) is not found in Sukhothai epigraphy. This Mon city is said to have been founded by two brothers, สะแม (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. นตัน เบื้องดินเหนือ ถึงเมือง พระ เมื่อ (อง)
as the limit; to the north, as far as Muang Phrae

4.25. มองนาน เมื่อแสง เมื่อสองพลว ฝั่งฝั่ง ของ

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

A – เมื่อแสงนาน (Muang Man) is unique to No.1.

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

4.26. เมื่อชัว เบื้องเท่า ปลูกสิ่งนี้ในลักษ์บ่า(น)

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

A – เมื่อชัว (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. นุ่กเมืองนั้น 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 Traibhūni-
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-entiane 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:

- Mūlasāsanā (15th century) line 4.26
- Sihiṅganidāna (mid 15th century) lines 2.30, 4.21-22
- Jinakālamālinī (1527) line 4.20
- Mahāvamsa (1796) lines 1.35 to 2.1

as well as the following Buddhist texts:

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

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

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

Roeng Nang Nophamat (1835), line 2.22
Phongsawadan Muang Luang Phrabang (19th century) line 4.19
Phongsawadan Lan Chang (19th century) line 4.26
Phongsawadan Mon Phama (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

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

Photograph by Mr. Luca Invernizzi Tettoni.
Fig. 2  Phra Attharasa 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 Aṭṭhārāsa 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.
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 น-ฮ".

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 Borommakot belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Photograph by Mr. Albert Chua.
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