ON TRAIKHŪMIKATHĀ

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Some years ago I published a short note on "The Date of the Traibhumikatha" (TBK), a work which I considered at the time to be a curio at the fringe of Thai historiography, and to which I had given only the slight attention evidenced by my note.

My note, moreover, was strictly concerned with dates mentioned in the exordium and colophon, which had been used as indications of a mid-14th-century Sukhothai origin for the text. I had scarcely looked at TBK as a whole, just enough to hope that I would never be forced to present it in its entirety; and I explicitly reserved judgement on the date of the text itself, which might conceivably, in spite of the garbled chronological statements accompanying it, be a 14th-century Sukhothai work, as had traditionally been assumed.

My conclusion was that some elements of the dates expressed in the exordium and colophon derived from a misapprehension, that the royal genealogy found in the colophon, if read without prejudice, suggested the reign of Sai Līdaiy in the early 15th century, that "the date in the exordium and colophon, whatever the age of the text as a whole, is due to an Ayutthaya period copyist at a time when true knowledge of Sukhothai chronology had been lost"; and that until the language of the entire text was studied comparatively with other early Thai material, no date earlier than that (1778) at which the extant text was allegedly copied could be accepted for its date of composition.

The first reaction to my sally was the manuscript of a proposed article, sent to me for pre-publication comment by someone who requested anonymity, defending the traditional view of Traibhumikatha's date, and which deserves notice here, even though anonymous, because of the relationship of some of the author's arguments to points which have appeared in subsequent publications. It was argued there that whatever the anomalies of the exordium and colophon, the authenticity of Traibhumikatha as a Sukhothai period work composed by King Līdaiy is demonstrated by the Pali 'Stanzas of Homage' (Gatha namāsakār) preceding the exordium at the beginning of the work. These 'Stanzas', according to that writer, when compared with the eulogies of King Līdaiy in his inscriptions, can be seen to have been designed to refer specifically to Līdaiy, and moreover they contain the only correct Pali form of his name, Lideyya, found in TBK. Since those 'Stanzas' allegedly prove the early date and authenticity of the text, the author then found it possible to conjecture what he felt must have been the original Līdaiy-period exordium and colophon, which had been corrupted by later copyists. He also tried to reconstruct the day and month dates associated with 'sakaraj 23' of the exordium and colophon to make them fit the Līdaiy period, and asserted that sakaraj 23 was merely an interesting puzzle, of no real significance.

Another point made by that person, in a mistaken belief that I was proposing Sai Līdaiy as author or patron, was that in his inscription no. 45 of A.D. 1393 the "cosmology was in a dreadful muddle...very different from the orderly presentation of the subject in TBK....The man who composed Inscription 45 could not possibly be the author of TBK, though he had doubtless read that work, and set down helter-skelter whatever he could remember of it."

My response was that "[t]here is no reason to believe that the correct form 'Lideyya' was not known long after his reign...[n]either can I agree that the eulogy of these Pali verses is sufficiently personal to be related to the passages of inscriptions 3 to 6...They seem to me to be very conventional and I do not think conclusions about authorship may be drawn from them." As for using inscription 3 to reconstruct the exordium and colophon, "it seems to me that you have merely opened up the way to conjectures which are little better than historical fiction." The problem of sakaraj 23 cannot be dismissed, because the era of Nān nabhamis is the only system to which 'sakaraj 23' can be related, and that is the real proof that the exordium and colophon are corrupt, not just with respect to isolated names, but in their entire view of the Sukhothai period, showing a writer who believed that the famous Sukhothai kings had lived at the beginning of the cula era."

I again emphasized that dating of the text must depend on thorough comparison of its language with genuine Sukhothai language from the inscriptions, something which had never been done, and which I then had no intention of undertaking. At that time I did not make the point, although I now think it deserves attention, that inscription no. 45, rather than showing muddled misunderstanding of Līdaiy's alleged work only 10 years or so after his death, indicates that it, not
extant TBK, may represent the true 14th-century Sukhothai cosmology.\footnote{\text{5}}

I had hoped that my note would spur some literary scholar to undertake the requisite linguistic comparison, and I was intensely flattered, therefore, when Frank and Mani Reynolds, in their \textit{Three Worlds According to King Ruang} (TW), saw fit to devote a special little chapter, \textquoteleft Translators' Appendix 1\textquoteright, to \textquoteleft the works of Vickery, Coedès and Archaimbault.\textsuperscript{16}

They take up the emphasis which my unnamed correspondent had placed on the \textquoteright Stanzas of Homage\textquoteright, rendered by the Reynolds as \textquoteleft Words of Praise\textquoteright, but they go beyond him and assert erroneously that the dating of the \textit{Traibhūmikāthā} had \textquoteleft never depended on the belief that the exordium and/or colophon were written in the Sukhothai context\ldots the most important evidence comes not from the exordium or the colophon, but from the Pali \textquoteleft Words of Praise\textquoteright, to which Vickery astonishingly makes no reference whatsoever.\textsuperscript{17} I am surprised at their surprise, for the dating of \textit{Traibhūmikāthā} had indeed \textit{always} been made on the basis of the exordium and colophon, not because they were necessarily believed to have been written \textit{in} the Sukhothai context, whatever that redherring formulation is supposed to mean, but because they were believed to supply true \textit{facts} about Līdaiya's authorship.

So far as I can determine, all the sudden attention to the \textit{Stanzas of Homage/Words of Praise} came about in reaction to my demolition of the exordium and colophon.

In their references to TBK before the appearance of my \textit{Note}, A.B. Griswold and Dr. Prasert na Nagara had always referred to the exordium and colophon as authority for its date.\textsuperscript{8} This was also the important detail for George Coedès from the very beginning of his interest in the work. In 1913 Coedès identified Līdaiya as author on the basis of details from the exordium. The author was \textit{a prince of Sajanālaya named Lediya, son of Lelidaiya...and grandson of Rāmaraja}; and \textit{according to the exordium of this work King Lediya had reigned in Sajanālaya for 6 years when he had [it compiled in the year 2[3] of an unknown era], which would be a new era invented by the king, or the 23rd year from his birth}, unless [my emphasis—MV] \textit{it is a late interpolation, dating from a time when the Traibhūmi was attributed to Braḥ Ruan, inventor of the Little [Chula] Era.}\textsuperscript{9} No importance at all was given by Coedès to the \textquoteleft Words of Praise\textquoteright; and in their \textit{Trois mondes} (TM) Coedès and Archaimbault continued to base their dating on the details of the exordium and colophon.\textsuperscript{10}

Moreover, the very fathers of modern Thai historiography, although believing that the \textit{Traibhūmikāthā} was a Sukhothai work, based this belief on the exordium, and considered that the \textit{Words of Praise} \textit{gāthā} was a badly composed late interpolation of hardly any relevance for study of the real \textit{Traibhūmikāthā}.

In a letter to Prince Naris in October 1937 Prince Damrong wrote, \textit{\textquoteleft the origin of the \textit{Traibhūmi} is clearly stated in the commentary at the beginning of the \textit{Traibhūmi braḥī Ruaṇi}, that Brah Mahā Dharmarājā (Braẏy Līdāy), the 5th ruler of the Kingdom of Sukhothai, composed it; it states in detail the names of the various scriptures of the Tripitaka which were studied and excerpted to compose it\textquoteright}.\textsuperscript{11}

The following year Prince Damrong took up the subject again, writing, \textit{\textquoteleft I consider that the \textit{Traibhūmi} is a Thai work composed in the Sukhothai period and is the work of Braḥ Mahā Dharmarājā (Braẏy Līdāy) who was the grandson of Braḥ Cau Rām Khamhaeng Mahārāj...in its exordium (pan bnaek) it says Braḥ Mahā Dharmarājā had excerpted various scriptures in the \textit{Tripitaka}.'} Prince Damrong added, \textit{\textquoteleft Except for the inscriptions it is the oldest book in Thai, both as to vocabulary and syntax. It may really be accepted as the Thai language which was used in the Sukhothai period.\textquoteright}

Furthermore, and now of particular pertinence, \textit{\textquoteleft His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch [Prince Vajiraṇā] was dubious only about the \textit{gāthā} at the beginning, saying that they were in a new style and had been composed and added later.\textquoteright}\textsuperscript{12}

A few days later Prince Naris answered, \textit{\textquoteleft originally there was only the text of the \textit{Traibhūmi}; the exordium was added later...but was not composed much later; but the \textit{gāthā} of homage/praise \textsuperscript{[namāskār]} at the beginning seem to have been done even later...they are incomplete...fragmentary...the person who wrote them seems to have been deficient in learning; at the end [colophon] it also says who wrote it, repeating what is in the exordium, and this appears to have been added last of all.\textsuperscript{13}'}

I thus emphasize again that the \textit{Words of Praise} were rejected by \textit{Traibhūmi} specialists until evidence undermining the exordium and colophon was produced.

In spite of the the flattery which I felt at being included by the Reynoldses in a context along with Coedès and Archaimbault, I was disappointed that they entirely ignored what I considered my most important observation, that the language of TBK must be studied before conclusions about its origins may be drawn. The Reynoldses have merely reiterated the view that it is Old Sukhothai, \textquoteleft vocabulary and style that is characteristic of the ancient Sukhothai kingdom\textquoteright, though with the interesting corollary that \textit{it is perhaps worth noting that much of the vocabulary has close associations with the dialects of Thai presently spoken in northern and northeastern Thailand\textsuperscript{14}}, which may or may not help corroborate a Sukhothai origin of the \textit{Traibhūmi}. Old Sukhothai Thai did have features relating it to the languages now called \textit{Lao}, but not all northern or northeastern features correspond to Old Sukhothai, and once this issue was raised it was irresponsible not to carry the discussion further.\textsuperscript{15}

The lack of attention to the language, in a textual study of a work in an allegedly ancient and dead dialect, is one of the first things which strikes an historically-oriented reader, and in itself indicates a problem which is being carefully skirted. Such avoidance was even more palpable in the French translation by George Coedès and Charles Archaimbault, two scholars who in their previous work had evinced primary concern and sensitivity for problems of language. Indeed, the absence of any discussion of the Thai language of \textit{Traibhūmikāthā} was such a remarkable feature of Coedès's and Archaimbault's French translation and commentary (TM), that one might almost say it seemed a deliberate avoidance of the
issue, as though they feared the results of such study might prove embarrassing.\textsuperscript{16}

A careful reading of Archaimbault's introduction ("Avant-propos") is not without interest. The only reference to the state of the Thai language of \textit{Traibhûmikathā} is Coedès's 1948 opinion, when they were just beginning their work, that TBK was the only example of Sukhothai language except the inscriptions (p. ix).

Then, an undated comment from apparently some years later near the completion of their work suggests that Coedès may have modified his opinion, at least with respect to the extant text, saying their translation should be accompanied by "some phrase indicating that this poor king Lidaiya...will not have better luck with his translators than he had with the generations of copyists...[w]hat have we really done but substitute our own miscontruals for those of the scribes?" Obviously, if there have been too many generations of copyists, each piling misapprehension upon misapprehension, then we no longer have a 14th-century text by King Lidaiya, assuming there once was such a text.

In a much earlier work Coedès had suggested that some of the missing portions of inscription no. 3 might be hypothetically recreated from similar contexts of TBK, and this was taken up by Griswold and Prasert in their publication of the same inscription. The contexts in question, however, are too general to be decisive, contain no vocabulary which is specifically Sukhothai, and the phrases from TBK used by Coedès, even if similar in content, are too long to fit into the lacunae of inscription no. 3.\textsuperscript{17} Likewise, the phrases brought forth for comparison by Dr. Prasert to show that the language of TBK resembles that of the inscriptions of Sukhothai or of early Ayuttthaya are too general, particularly with respect to the question at hand, the dating of TBK precisely to the reign, and writing table, of Lidaiya.\textsuperscript{18}

Since the Reynolds's remarks on the dating of TBK were a direct challenge to me, even though more a challenge to what I had not said that to what I had actually written, I have decided to undertake what I had hoped others would do—examine the text of TBK for clues to the date of its language and composition. I do this with some trepidation, fearful of engaging in what Etienne Balazs castigated as "disquisitions on philological trifles, expensive trips in abstruse provinces, bickering about the restitution of the name of unknown persons, and other delightfully antiquated occupations."\textsuperscript{19}

But now, since TBK has been used in several scholarly works and Ph.D. dissertations as a basis on which to tease out traditions of state ideology in the Ayuttthaya and early Bangkoks periods, study of it for itself, and determination of its precise historical and philological status, no longer represent mere antiquarianism.\textsuperscript{20}

In one of these studies, that of Craig Reynolds, some attention was given to questions of language and content as evidence for dating TBK. Referring to comparisons made by Coedès, Griswold, and Prasert, C. Reynolds realized, however, that "such stock phrases describing ideal kingship might have been common in Siamese parlance...[and]there is no way of ascertaining if these phrases dated from Lidaiya's reign." They, and mention of the Chakravartin's jeweled disk, are "suggestive but inconclusive evidence". As he continued, the "mere listing of terms in the fourteenth-century epigraphy is insufficient evidence to place the entire text...[of TBK] in that period."

C. Reynolds's more positive remark on the significance of the appearance of "these attributes typical of the Universal Monarch...in the epigraphy of the putative author of...[TBK], but not discernible in Sukhothai epigraphy before 1345", is hardly relevant, for the only epigraphy attributed to a time before 1345 is inscription no. 1 (Ram Kharnhaeng), with its own serious and unresolved problems of dating, and the undated inscription no. 107 which is too short to be taken as evidence on this point.\textsuperscript{21} As for the fact that "in the epigraphy, as in the cosmography text, gender is conditioned by \textit{karma}, as evidenced by the wish of a female in inscription no. 93, A.D. 1399, to be reborn as a man, such wishes were not just consistent with "fourteenth-century Siamese religious practice", but with Buddhist practice in a wider area; and it does not contribute to the search for Sukhothai practices in TBK. In the so-called "Modern Inscriptions of Angkor Wat", a queen asked in 1579 to be reborn as a man in future lives.\textsuperscript{22}

For C. Reynolds, "[the most convincing external evidence that the \textit{Traibhûmi} cosmography dates in some form from the fourteenth century] [my emphasis—MV] is "an inscription of 1393", no. 45, which "names several of the beasts found in the \textit{Traibhûmi}, as well as the six heavens...the four levels of formless \textit{brahma} deities...the sixteen levels of the \textit{brahma} deities of form, the divinities of the nine planets...the four continents and the chief mountains of cosmic geography." This suggestion by C. Reynolds would be opposed by my unnamed correspondent above who considered the beastly evidence of inscription 45 as embarrassing for the association of its author with TBK.

On this point, however, in particular the statement I have underlined above, I agree with C. Reynolds about this evidence for the origin of some form of \textit{Traibhûmi} "in the Sukhothai context", to adopt the expression of Frank and Mani Reynolds. This, however, conflicts with the traditional purist view that TBK was written by Lidaiy, and that the extant version is his text.

In what follows I shall not attempt to settle the identity of the author(s) of TBK, nor even the period of composition of the original, beyond indicating certain details which argue against Lidaiy and the 14th century. My unnamed correspondent erroneously attributed to me the belief that the author had been Sai Lidaiy (1379/80 or 1398/90-1419), grandson of Lidaiy. This was not what I wrote in "Note". What I said there was that analysis of the exordium and colophon indicated that their author(s) may have believed Lidaiy's grandson to have been author of TBK, or more likely, had no clear idea of Sukhothai dynastic history. If the writer of the colophon was an Ayutthayan at a significantly later date, as the Reynoldses seem to accept, then his belief, whatever it was, about the identity of the author of TBK, is of little value.\textsuperscript{23}

The Reynoldses based their translation on two Thai
editions, "a Thai script version of the Mahachauai copy, which was edited by Prince Damrong Rachanuphab and originally published in 1912; and the second...the much more critical edition recently prepared by Acharn Pitoon Maliwan." My comments below are based on the 8th printing of the 1912 edition, which I shall designate TP.24 I have not been able to consult the Maliwan edition, but it seems obvious from the Reynolds's translation that nothing in it affects the points which are treated below.

Besides the lack of any section discussing the language of TBK and Sukhothai Thai, a defect which TW shares with TM, it is doubly astonishing to find hardly any notes referring to language difficulties or translation problems in this text which has always been acknowledged as particularly difficult.

This defect is particularly noticeable in the Reynolds's treatment of the Prologue/exordium (p. 45) and Epilogue/colophon (p. 349), the sections to which I had given attention in my "Note". They have chosen to slide over the difficulties with arbitrary emendation and suspension of disbelief.

Their translations of both sections give the author's genealogy as Lelidai, son of Lelithai and grandson of Râm Khamhaeng, which is in neither place an accurate translation, but an assimilation of the text of TBK to "what seems to have been, from the inscriptions, the actual historical situation" (p. 349, n. 1). This is certainly not the way in which difficult ancient literature should be treated, particularly in the first genealogy as inscriptions, those of the reign of TBK and Sukhothai Thai, a defect which TW shares with TM, it is doubly astonishing to find hardly any notes refer to a new era of language difficulties or translation problems in this text which has always been acknowledged as particularly difficult.

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be 'the August Feet, King...', not the feet of... In TM (p. 112), for instance, it was rendered as simply 'Le Monarque'.

What the Reynoldsdes should really have noticed on that page (TP, p. 145), and signalled to the reader, was the presence in a single context of two styles of royal title, brahṇā sīri dharmāsokarāj and brahṇa pāda brahṇ cau sīri dharmāsokarāj, two styles which (1) are never found together in any genuine document, and (2) the second of which juxtaposes two expressions, brahṇa pāda brahṇ cau, which are themselves never placed together in that way in genuine titles.32

Both brahṇā (correctly brahṇa)33 and brahṇa pāda are genuine Sukhothai titles of the time of Lišai. In his inscription no. 3 he is first styled brahṇa Lišaiyārājā, then crowned as sīri sūryabānasmahādharmādīvibhījā, followed later in the text with the complete title brahṇa sīri sūryabānasmahādharmādīvibhījā, repeated without brahṇa sīri in no. 8, and with the addition of rāma after sūryabāna in his no. 15 of 1361.34

In his no. 4, contemporary with no. 5, the titles are brahṇa pāda kamrati aśi sīri sūryabān̄s rāma mahādharmādīvibhījā (lines 12-13). The difference is because no. 4 is in Khmer and Lišai is styling himself as a Khmer king, consonant with the entire tenor of that inscription. This is the only occurrence in Sukhothai of brahṇa pāda, found again in the more Khmerized culture of Ayutthaya.35

In the Lišai period cau, a pan-Tai term for 'master', 'lord', 'prince', 'ruler',36 is used differently. The only example in Lišai's own reign is from inscription no. 8 where the title 'cau brahṇa' is accorded the cau moṣān of Nan, a subordinate of Sukhothai, and to another chief called 'younger brother' of the Nan chief (?). In inscriptions nos. 45 and 49 of 1393 and 1418 reference is made to cau brahṇa/brahṇa 'the grandson/nephew', whom Griswold and Prasert have identified as Sai Lišai: but the first Sukhothai use of cau in titles which look like those of someone claiming kingship are in the early 16th century. In no. 13 of 1510 from Kamphengphet the author, who addresses the public as ruler, calls himself cau brahṇa sīri dharmāsokarājā. At the end he offers merits from his good life /year cycle terms, if ethnically labeled, are always called 'Thai', never Lao, while the Sanskritic terms, if labeled, are called khom, khmer, kambuja, or men, not Thai.40 In Laos proper, into the 19th-century at least, the 60-year/day cycle was used as principal dating system, without ethnic tag, meaning that the Lao accepted it as their own, without need to specify its ethnicity. This feature of the Traibhumī, then, is definitely not Sukhothai, nor any other recorded early Thai style. The most likely conjectural explanation for its appearance is that it would have been devised by a non-Lao Thai writer at a time and place when the 60-year/day cycle was considered part of an exotic culture not his own, used in the 'Lao' regions which, we will recall, included northern and northeastern Thailand until the reforms in provincial admin-

"monkey (tōk) year, 6th month, the full moon, Wednesday (sān buddh), near dawn of Thursday, Thai [style] day, the Lao say taw yi day";

then when the Buddha entered Nibbana it was, "snake (maseū) year, 6th month, full moon, Tuesday (vān angré) Thai [style], the Lao say kāpyi day";

Finally when all the relics shall come together under the Bodhi tree and become the body of the Buddha who shall preach the Dhamma and then enter Nibbana, it will be,

"rat (jīat) year, 6th month, full moon, the lunar mansion baisākh, Thai vāyān".38

First, an explanation of the third date is required. As I have transcribed it from the Thai text the term vāyān is incoherent, and the incoherence must be common to all manuscripts since both the Reynoldsdes and Coedes and Archaimbault have found emendation necessary. The latter, without explanation, wrote, "le jour que [les Laotiens] appellent [Kapsan]", while the former preferred "the day which the Lao call Hawaya San", with their note 3 explaining that although the various manuscripts make reference to That rather than Lao, "we have chosen to make the change to Lao in order to bring this clause into conformity with the obviously parallel [preceding] clauses."

To the extent that the emendations involved insertion of 'which the Lao call' they are certainly correct, but none of the translators seems to have realized the nature of the problem, which is simply that a copyist at some stage before the states of the extant manuscript omitted part of the stock phrase from 'Thai' to the Lao day name. The Thai text seems to indicate that hawiiy/rawiiy san was indeed the original, and the choice of kapsan [kapsan] in Trois mondes requires justification. Perhaps it was made on the basis of new calendrical calculations, but the problem is of no concern here, particularly since it involves a totally fictitious day in the future.

Now the truly interesting feature of these dates is in their labeling of certain terms as Thai or Lao. The former are the Sankritic day names still used in modern Thai, Khmer and standard Lao, while the 'Lao' names are those of the 60-year or 60-day cycle known from China, Vietnam, and some Thai language areas, and used particularly in northern and northeastern varieties of Thai.39

The Traibhumī usage, however, is indeed unique. In the entire corpus of Sukhothai, northern Thai, Lao, and Ayutthayan inscriptions from 14th to 18th century, the 60-day/year cycle terms, if ethnically labeled, are always called Thai, never Lao, while the Sanskritic terms, if labeled, are called khom, khmer, kambuja, or men, not Thai.40 In Laos proper, into the 19th-century at least, the 60-year/day cycle was used as principal dating system, without ethnic tag, meaning that the Lao accepted it as their own, without need to specify its ethnicity. This feature of the Traibhumī, then, is definitely not Sukhothai, nor any other recorded early Thai style. The most likely conjectural explanation for its appearance is that it would have been devised by a non-Lao Thai writer at a time and place when the 60-year/day cycle was considered part of an exotic culture not his own, used in the 'Lao' regions which, we will recall, included northern and northeastern Thailand until the reforms in provincial admin-
The first to show the Khmer inscription 3 and TBK, at the identical language of King I.;idaiy's reign in the time of I.;idaiy's inscription number 3, in which the final stage in which all of the Buddha's relics are gathered together shows, it seems to me, doctrinal differences from Inscription 3, but is not found at all in that part of TBK. The contexts in which these details occur may be interestingly compared with the indubitably classical Sukhothai language of King Lidaï in his inscription number 3, in which a description of two stages of the Buddhist religion is given. The first stage in both inscription 3 and TBK, at the identical date, is the enlightenment; the second in TP, Nirvana, is not included in inscription no. 3; and the date of the third stage of TP, the 'dhātu Nirvana', is associated with the end of the religion in inscription no. 3.46

In the first instance the dates are identical, but the technical term for the Buddha's enlightenment, or attainment of omniscience, differs. In TBK it is sabbānīnataññay, but in Inscription 3 sarbbehjuttenān, and it seems unlikely that such an important Buddhist technical term would differ in two works by the same author.

Attention should also be given to what is possibly a linguistic marker for the Sukhothai language, the relative pronoun ann, which occurs six times in the citations above from Inscription 3, but is not found at all in that part of TBK.

The final stage in which all of the Buddha's relics are gathered together shows, it seems to me, doctrinal differences which indicate that this section of TBK cannot possibly be of Lidaï's time. In Number 3 it is said that the relics will first fly through the air to the Ratnamālika-maṭṭhānī in Lāñka-kētippa, then they will fly to the tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment. Finally the fire at the end of a description of two stages of the Buddhists religion is given.

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The contexts in which these details occur may be interestingly compared with the indubitably classical Sukhothai language of King Lidaï in his inscription number 3, in which a description of two stages of the Buddhist religion is given. The first stage in both inscription 3 and TBK, at the identical date, is the enlightenment; the second in TP, Nirvana, is not included in inscription no. 3; and the date of the third stage of TP, the 'dhātu Nirvana', is associated with the end of the religion in inscription no. 3.46

In the first instance the dates are identical, but the technical term for the Buddha's enlightenment, or attainment of omniscience, differs. In TBK it is sabbānīnataññay, but in Inscription 3 sarbbehjuttenān, and it seems unlikely that such an important Buddhist technical term would differ in two works by the same author.

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time (kāl fā= Sanskrit kalāgni) will burn them and it will be the end of the religion (sāsana).  

TBK, in contrast, says the relics will come together under the tree where the Buddha attained enlightenment and the Buddha will be reconstituted from them, after which he will "preach the Dhamma in order to benefit the devatas and human beings," and enter Nirvana again, in what is termed the 'dhūtunirotna'.  

There is no question in this context of the end of the religion. The identical dates and the gathering of the relics indicate that equivalent events are in question, but the differences indicate that two distinct versions of Buddhist lore are in question.

Other indications of doctrinal differences are found in the treatments of development and decline of the world. As Griswold and Prasert noted, Liäyï's discussion of the supposed decline in human life span from 100 years "at the time our Lord attained Buddhahood" to 99 years in Liäyï's own time, demonstrates his belief in the Hindu yuga system of mahāyuga lasting 4,320,000 years and divided into four yuga of which the last, and present, is the kāliyuga of 432,000 years duration. Every 4320 years man's lifespan declines by one year, until at the end of the kāliyuga it is only 10 years. Liäyï also showed that he calculated the dates of the kāliyuga according to standard Hindu lore, and he indicated the date in the future at which the kāliyuga would end in a disaster at a time when the human life span was 10 years.

The Traibhāmi, in contrast, shows no awareness of the yuga system, but待遇 the same subject, decline and recreation of the world, in terms of kappa (kalpa), a much longer period, equal to "one thousand yugas, a period of four thousand, three hundred and twenty millions of years of mortals, measuring the duration of the world," according to Hindu tradition; although Traibhāmi is less precise, saying a kappa cannot be counted in terms of years and months, but only estimated by analogy.

There are two different treatments of human lifespan in TBK. On the one hand, "the normal life-span of the people who live in this Jambu continent generally goes up and down," according to their adherence to moral precepts and dhamma, which is quite different from the belief expressed by Liäyï in inscription 3 that there was an inexorable mathematically determinable decline based on yuga periodization. A second statement in TBK is that "people who are born in this first kappa have a life-span that extends for one period of immense duration... [then] decreases continually until it comes to the point at which people live for ten years and then die." Although the type of change is similar to that evoked in Inscriptins 3 and 7, the time period in question is different, and much longer, a kappa rather than a yuga. The gradual decline, like the fluctuations in TBK's first treatment, is attributed to decline in morality, not to regular, objective cosmic determination.

These contexts thus suggest that Traibhāmi and Liäyï's Inscriptions 3 and 7 reflect differing interpretations of Buddhist doctrine, perhaps different sects, and I invite specialists in Budhhology to elucidate this matter.

A phrase which is translated on p. 185 of TW provides clues that a Sukhothai original may have lain behind TP, but also shows both that the extant TP is a later arrangement by someone who misunderstood Sukhothai language, and that the TW translators were unfamiliar with old Thai administrative language, in particular as used in Sukhothai inscriptions. In a description of activities in Pataliputra in the time of King Asoka it lists categories of royalty, officials, and commoners; and even though it refers to the India of Asoka, there is no attempt to imitate Indic terminology other than what was already current Thai usage, and the author would obviously have used contemporary terminology from his own society. This phrase, divided to show correspondences with the translations of both TW and TM which follow, is:

TP (163)...brañā śri dharmāisosokarāj| lee dāv brañā sāmanta-rājtrakūl | brah hīvaī khun hmūn | dmun dnāy | bal brai fā khā dāy...

TW (185) "...King Dhammāaso, | the rulers and kings of the surrounding countries, | the groups of soldiers who were on duty, | the courtiers, | the holders of successively lower ranks, | the people who were citizens, slaves, and free men...",

TM (120 [124]) '...le Monarque Sri-Dharmasokaraja, | les feudataires, | les grands et les petits dignitaires, | les serviteurs, | le people...'

The second part of the Thai text, beginning "lee dāv brañā", clearly corresponds, I do not say it is translated, to TW "rulers and kings of surrounding countries", while bal would be expected as the source of "groups of soldiers"; and 'citizens, slaves, and free men' will do for the final section, a phrase which no commentator has been able to interpret with absolute certainty. As for the rest, the terms are not in themselves entirely clear; neither is the logic of their rendering in absolute. If 'bal' was taken as "groups of soldiers", its literal meaning, why was the order of terms changed? Which Thai phrase did the Reynoldses construe as 'the courtiers'? Did they mean 'brah hīvaī khun hmūn', as one would expect, or 'dmun dnāy', or both together as 'the holders of successively lower ranks'? They should here at least have explained their translation. In TM there is less doubt about the relationship to the original, although the segmentation differs from mine. It is not clear whether "brah hīvaī khun hmūn dmun dnāy" were altogether construed as "les grands et les petits dignitaires", or whether 'les serviteurs' corresponds to dmun dnāy or dmun dnāy bal.

The title dāv brañā/Thao Phraya is indeed Sukhothai usage, and in Liäyï's time it was used in his inscriptions nos. 3 and 5 for the other rulers who consecrated him as king. But the expression 'sāmanta-rājtrakūl' is ambiguous, even if susceptible to reasonable interpretation. It could conceivably be analyzed as sāmanta-rāj, 'subordinate ruler', TM's 'feudataires', and rājtrakūl, 'lineage', the whole possibly translated as 'lineages of subordinate rulers', or as sāmanta, 'bordering, vassal', and rājtrakūl, 'royal family'. This would mean it was in fact equivalent to dāv brañā of Liäyï's time, but the expression
does not represent Sukhothai usage as recorded in inscriptions.52

Another peculiarity is that the series of titles brah hlvan khun hmiin as a descending order of ranks below the dāto braṭā is nowhere found in the Sukhothai records, and seems to first appear in that systematization in the Law of Military and Provincial Ranks traditionally ascribed to King Trailokanath.53 Indeed 'hlvan' and hmiin are not found in Sukhothai inscriptions as ranks, but the former only as an adjective meaning 'large', etc., and only in inscriptions 1 and 2, and the hmiin as the number term, 'ten thousand', in inscriptions 5, 10, 38, 45.54 Although brah and khun are found as Sukhothai ranks, the former occurs only in the titles of kings or their immediate family, not as a second level rank as suggested by the TBK context. Only khun, which in Sukhothai records seems to mean the ruler of a major town, seems to be at the correct hierarchical level. The true Sukhothai hierarchy, insofar as these terms are concerned, was brah, dāto braṭā, khun. This is sufficient to show that this list of royalty and officials in TBK could not have been composed during the reign of Lidai; and it may not be from Sukhothai at all.

A few other contexts of TBK show language which may provide clues both to the Thai original and to the translation of the above passage in TW. TM versions, transcribed in italics, are included for comparison.

brai fā khā daiy rāṣṭar (114) common people, slaves, free men, and subjects (p. 151); TM 97 [88] les gens du peuple.

brai lee dākleev dāhar (p. 115) those who are recruited to do service (brai) and to the soldiers who are men of courage (p. 151); TM 97 [88] citoyens et...tous les soldats.

lūk cau hņau khun dmun dŋāy (126) ...princes, the courtiers, and the holders of successively lower ranks (159); TM 102 [96]...des princes, des dignitaires, des serviteurs.

lūk cau hņau khun hmiin dmun dŋāy sevak (129) princes, courtiers, the holders of successively lower ranks and their relatives (162); TM 104 [98]...les dignitaires, les mandarins, les serviteurs.

From this it seems that in TW "princes, courtiers" stands for lūk cau hņau khun dmun dŋāy respectively, while dmun dŋāy is rendered by "holders of successively lower ranks", which explains part of the uncertain translation noted above. Puzzling is "relatives" for sevak, usually glossed as 'attendant, servant', or 'palace officials'.55 Thus in the context with which we started, "courtiers" in TW must represent brah hlvan hmiin, although this depends on what the Reynoldses meant by "groups of soldiers...on duty".56

The translation offered for 'lūk cau hņau khun dmun dŋāy', however, can only be accepted as a hypothetical paraphrase, not a translation, for this ordering of rank terms is itself unknown either in Sukhothai inscriptions or in the Ayutthayan language of the Three Seals Laws; the terms hņau and dmun do not exist at all in those corpuses; dŋāy is unknown in Sukhothai records, and in the Three Seals Law is never found in this type of context. This expression in TBK, in comparison with genuine Sukhothai and Ayutthayan records, is a nonsense.

This terminology may nevertheless have a Sukhothai background. As an elucidation, the following passages from Sukhothai inscriptions should be examined, with the standard translations so far supplied by Coedès and/or Griswold and Prasert.57

Inscription

107 (cau khu)n munnay brai dai (lines 6-7) [...noble rank] (such as) Khun or Mun Nay...the populace58

lūk cau lūk khun munnay brai dai (10-11) nobles, officials, munnay and the populace (21, 67)

3 brai fā khā dai (2.32) brai fā khā dai lūk cau lūk khun (2.43) the people (11-1, 109); habitants, commoners and men of rank (110); un homme du peuple, un prince ou un chef

5 brai fā khā dai (1, 16) lūk cau lūk khun (2, 31) subjects (11-1, 154); sujets officiels (157); dignitaires

38 lūk khun mun tvaŋ paribar brai fā (1.15) officials and group chiefs as well as their retainers and all citizens (4, 131-2).

lūk khun mun nāy (1.24) officials and group chiefs (4, 135)

106 brai fā khā gan bal (30-31) the populace (8, 203), n. 16, "seems to [be] different classes of the population".

45 brai dai jān mā khā... a Dai commoner or elephant or horse or slave (3, 85)

102 jān mā khā† (1.16) elephants, horses, and servants (7, 168)

This shows that in true Sukhothai terminology there was an expression lūk cau lūk khun, interpreted as 'nobles' or 'officials', corresponding to the misplaced and anachronistic brah hlvan khun hmiin of TBK; there was terminology for 'common people' sometimes brai dai, or brai fā khā dai, the full significance of which has not been elucidated; and there was a category of mun nāy or mun tvaŋ, who have been inter-
preted as administrative officials ranking below the lûk cau lûk khun. The term tôn is undoubtedly Mon for 'village', not unexpected at Sukhothai, which indicates that mun tôn at least were chiefs of villages. 59

Furthermore Lîdaiy’s nearly parallel Khmer and Thai inscriptions nos. 4 and 5 show that lûk cau lûk khun (no. 5) was equivalent to the Sanskritic āṃṭiya mantri ('officials') râjakula ('royalty') (no. 4), for in each case they were respectively the officials who went to welcome the MahâsÂmî Sah-gharâj on his arrival in Sukhothai.

This suggests that if there was a Lîdaiy-period original of TBK, the sequence of titles ‘...sâmanta-râjîra : kîl l brâh hloâi khun hmûn...’, might have read, ‘āṃṭiya mantri râjakula lûk cau lûk khun’.

The rank terminology of TBK may also be compared with the old Ayutthayan law texts, which even though in their present state do not provide clear evidence for institutional dates, may give some indication of correct terminology. 60 There we find 194 contexts of munmûy (including 7 spelled mûmnûy), and 19 more of an obvious variant mûlnûy. There is no term dmûn, and the 161 contexts of dûnay are not at all related to those of mun/mûlnûy. The term tôn is not found, but there are 9 occurrences of mun/mûlnûy praîja/bâni pûn, which seems to mean the same thing as mun tôn. 61

There is no justification for the dmûn dûnay of TBK, and even less for the rendering of it in TW. That expression, and in particular ‘dmûn’, seems to have been a unique, ad hoc, and meaningless adaptation by a late compiler of extant TBK who did not understand the terminology of the original. Perhaps the distortion, and the invention of ‘dmûn’, was because in late Ayutthayan times the title ‘nûy’ had lost the rather high status it had represented at Sukhothai, and it was ‘enhanced’ with the prefix d-, found in the doublet dakleev deâñ, based on the terms klêv hâî/fâîn ‘bold’, and in the term dûnay otherwise indicating some official status, but not with any certainty related to nûy. 62 Then ‘dmûn dûnay’ was concocted on the basis of genuine Sukhothai and Ayutthayan ‘munmûy’. 63

The administrative terminology in TBK, like the chronological statements, suggests at the very least serious rewriting of the text at a time much later than the reign of Lîdaiy, perhaps the Ayutthaya or early Ratanakosin period.

Language features

Traidhûmîkâthâ exhibits language features which distinguish it from the 14th-century Sukhothai inscriptions, and which also distinguish some parts of TBK itself from other parts, indicating that the entire text was not composed at the same time by a single person, or group of persons working together. I shall not attempt here to do more than indicate the nature of the problem, hoping that it will inspire experts to study the language of TBK more thoroughly than has been done.

Two striking examples are the expressions diar yom (îrûnîn) ‘usually’ and po hòn (ûnîn), ‘not’, ‘never’, rare in Sukhothai inscriptions, but with dozens, perhaps hundreds of examples in TBK. They give the Lao flavor which has been noticed, and they invite investigation to determine whether such usage can be pinpointed as to time and place.

Perhaps even more interesting is that at a certain point in the ‘Manussabhûmî, ‘Realm of Men’ (TP, p. 76), the language of TBK begins to make frequent use of the particle dha(n), a connective which is usually untranslated, or which functions as a relative meaning roughly ‘who’, ‘which’, found only rarely in preceding sections of TBK. Examples are ‘...yân mî brañô oû hîîn dûnay brañ nâm jû brañô sî dharma-sokarâj dha svey râj sampâtî...’ (145), translated in TW, p. 172, ‘there was a king called King Dhammasakô who reigned...’; and ‘...grân và brañô nâm dha tâi svey râj sampâtî sai’, “When he [dha] came into possession of his kingdom...” 64

This term is found in some Sukhothai inscriptions, but not in others. It is not used in no. 1 (Râm Khamhaeng), nor in no. 107, considered to be from the 1330s and the second oldest example of Thai writing, 65 nor is it in any of the long inscriptions from the Lîdaiy period. Then in inscription no. 49 of 1417 it appears at least 19 times in the 35 lines of the text, written da (with a mai ek type sign), but transcribed in modern Thai as dha. Examples are, line 6, ‘...bo ayû hvâ cau da ciôn po ayû hvâ cau da hai anuyêt kee nêî in’, ‘...to the king so [da] the king [da] gave permission to Nây In...’. Thai scholarly tradition has sometimes glossed this da/dha as ddn, the respectful third-person pronoun, but this cannot fit all cases. 66

This usage is also prominent in a group of inscriptions from Chainat, like no. 49 from early in the 15th century. In no. 48, 1408, it occurs several times, and once in no. 51 of 1412. Not only does Chainat seem closer to Ayutthayan influence than to Sukhothai, but the content of no. 48 suggests political orientation toward Ayutthaya. The language of no. 49, then, shows a feature which for its time may be more Ayutthayan than Sukhothai.

We will recall that Griswold and Prasert in fact argued for an Ayutthayan inspiration for no. 49, an argument which I attempted to counter. 67 I would still maintain the political argument, but no. 49 does show a stylistic feature found elsewhere only in inscriptions associated more with Ayutthaya than with Sukhothai.

In origin this feature seems to be Khmer, the connective particle used frequently in Old Khmer from pre-Angkor times, then written tâ, used infrequently in modern Khmer where it is written tâ, because the unneeded alveolar character has been adapted for the voiced unaspirated stp. 68

This connective particle, still written in the Old Khmer manner, occurs in Lîdaiy’s Khmer language no. 4—6 times in the first 10 lines, and at least 19 times on face 3. It is not found in lines 16-48, perhaps because of the great damage they have suffered.

Since it does not occur in Lîdaiy’s inscription no. 5, a Thai near doublet of no. 4, nor in Lîdaiy’s other inscriptions, it must have been considered at that time as strictly a Khmer feature. Later in the 15th century it was taken over by Thai writers, perhaps under Ayutthayan influence.

Its uneven incidence in TBK indicates that certain sections probably date from the 15th century, while other sec-
tions date from earlier or later. The variation in its usage within TBK is at least evidence of the "generations of copyists" to whom Coedès attributed the badly misconstrued text which he found. I now again invite historians of Thai language and literature to reexamine the text of TBK with a view to dating its different sections according to style, usage, and vocabulary.

In the end we may have to conclude that not only the colophon and exordium, but extant TP as an integrated composition, dates from after 1778, and is the work of the various commissions established by Kings Taksin and Rama I. This will not affect its value as a source for study of the political ideology of the early Ratanakosin period (Lorraine Gesick and Craig Reynolds), but it will force serious reappraisal of TP as a source for Sukhothai religion, politics and ideology (Chontira Klatyu).70

The Traibhīmikathā as we have it today probably, along with the Three Seals Laws, Nang Naphamat, and Phongsawadan Nōa, represents part of the "Restoration/Gentle Revolution" of King Rama I.71 It must be recalled that he showed noteworthy interest in Sukhothai, bringing hundreds of Buddha images from there and other northern mōan to his new capital.72 Probably that displacement also accounts for the strange dispersal of some of the recovered Sukhothai inscriptions at the time when modern scholars first became interested in them; and, if King Mongkut showed unusual interest in Sukhothai epigraphy, it was an interest which may have been part of the intellectual legacy of his grandfather.


3. The name 'Lideyyaraja' for a king of Sukhothai is also found in the 16th-century *jinaikamalipaparanam*, a text which, like *Traibhūmi*, received special attention at the beginning of the Cakri Dynasty.


5. See Vickery, "A Guide Through Some Recent Sukhothai Historiography", *JSS* 66, 2 (July 1978), pp. 221-239, for discussion of the date of Lidaι's death. My response must have satisfied the objections of that person to my first treatment of the *Traibhūmi-kathā*’s date, for I heard no more from him, and the proposed article was never offered for publication.


7. See *TW*, p. 354; Vickery, "A Guide Through Some Recent Sukhothai Historiography", *JSS* 66, 2 (July 1978), pp. 221-239, for discussion of the *Traibhūmi* work without reference to any particular text or edition, the abbreviation TP will indicate this Thai text which I have used. Note that the originals extant in 1778 and from which the Mahachau copy was made, were in Khmer script.

8. For detailed explanation see Vickery, "A Note", pp. 216-221. In my "Note", p. 276, I ignored this detail of the exordium, for I had been working with a text of TP (4th printing of the 1912 edition) in which it was omitted, and I relied on Coedes' and Archaimbault's translation which misled me into remarking that "[t]his shows a genealogy which generally conforms to that of the inscriptions." Coedes and Archaimbault seem also to have replaced the original text here with what they believed to have been the 'actual historical situation', although not so drastically as the Reynolds.

9. Of course Damrong referred to the "commentary at the beginning", rather than *pān brauk*, the fact that it included the names of the sources for composition of *Traibhūmi-kathā* proves that it was the exordium and not the "Stanzas/Words" [gathā] which was at issue. 10. Ibid., Volume 13, pp. 1-3, Prince Damrong to Prince Naris, 21 April 1938.
tuted the Pali form dharmāsoka for the partially Sanskrit form dharmāsoka of the published TBK.


34. Note the academic agreement that Ayutthaya and early Bangkok intelligence would have been rather ignorant of Sukhothai. Charnvit Kasetsiri, The Rise of Ayudhya, A History of Siam in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, p. 14.

35. The title tralha brah pāda was common in Cambodia throughout the Angkor period. Its earliest use by Ayutthayan kings is uncertain. It forms part of the royal titles in most of the laws of the Three Codes, but because they are not original contemporary documents their evidence on this point is not sufficient (see Vickery, 'Prolegomena to Methods for Using the Ayutthayan Laws as Historical Source Material', JSS 72, 1-2 [January and July 1984], pp. 37-58, particularly the tables). Brah pāda is not part of the titles of the 15th-century king known conventionally as Trailokanath in the extant inscriptions from his reign, even though they are in Khmer (see Vickery, 'The Khmer Inscriptions of Tenasserim: A Reinterpretation', JSS 61, 1 [January 1973], pp. 51-70). The earliest extant contemporary evidence for brah pāda seems to be Face II of the 1563 Dansai inscription for the Ayutthayan King Mahācakrabarti (See A.B. Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagar, An Inscription of 1563 Recording A Treaty Between Laos and Ayodhya in 1560, JSS 67, 2 [July 1979], pp. 54-69; see p. 56, line 6).


37. Vickery, review of Jones, Thai Titles and Ranks, p. 170.

38. TP, pp. 315-316; TW, pp. 329-331; TM, p. 234.


40. This statement is based on examination of the inscriptions in Parts 1-6 of Prajam siih cārūk (Collected Inscriptions), Cārūk samdy sukhodya (Inscriptions of the Sukhothai Period), Cārūk nai prades diay (Inscriptions in Thailand), and other pre-19th century inscriptions and documents, both published and unpublished, which have come to my attention.


42. Note the academic agreement that Ayutthaya and early Bangkok intelligence would have been rather ignorant of Sukhothai. Charnvit Kasetsiri, The Rise of Ayudhya, A History of Siam in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, p. 14.


44. Inscriptions nos. 3, of A.D. 1357; 106 of A.D. 1383 (pavarnam); 45 of A.D. 1392; and 38 of uncertain date.

45. TP, pp. 80, 86. More occurrences of tiian bei or ben tiian are on pages 64, 65, 83, 95, 97, 99, 105 (this is not a complete list).

46. For full translations see respectively TW, pp. 330-331; TM, p. 234; and Griswold and Prasert, EHS 11, Part I, pp. 96-101.

47. On kādāṇi see Griswold and Prasert, EHS 11, Part 1, p. 101, n. 60; Coedes, "L'Inscription de Nagara Jun", p. 33, n. 52.


49. EHS 11, part 1, Inscription no. 3, p. 96, n. 31; Inscription no. 7, p. 176.

50. Monier-Williams, p. 262; TW, 82-3.

51. TW, pp. 124, 325; TP, pp. 80-81, 312-313; TM, pp. 78-232.

52. See Monier Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 1205.


54. In no. 45, face 2, line 6, 'hmun' (written hmin), occurs in a title, but its sense as a number term, not a rank, still prevails. The title is 'Lâm Hmin', 'lâm of 10,000, found together with 'Lâm Bân', 'lâm of 1,000 (EHS 3, p. 85).

55. The Royal Institute Dictionary has kārājakāri nāi rája sāmānāk.

56. 'Holders of successively lower ranks' would more accurately represent brah khoari khuń hmuń, and one wonders if the Reynolds did not simply garble information provided by a Thai informant.

57. Griswold and Prasert translations are indicated by EHS number followed by page number, Coedes' French versions of nos. 3 and 5, transcribed in italics, are from respectively "L'Inscription de Nagara Jun", JSS Vol. 13, Part 3 (1919), pp. 1-43; and Receuil des inscriptions du Siam I, inscriptions de Sukhodaya, Bangkok, 1924.

58. In their note 4, p. 67, Griswold and Prasert explained, 'In the Ayudhyan system, the Mun Nay were the administrators of the population in their assigned territories', an inadequate explanation, but at least indicating what the conventional scholarly view has been.

59. It seems that the first person to point out this detail was B.J. Terwel, in "Ahom and the Study of Early Thai Society", Paper submitted to the Second Thai-European Research Seminar, 1982. In their note 24, p. 131, Griswold and Prasert identified tsan as "apparently the Malay word tuan, master, equivalent to Siamese nay", and the phrase as "equivalent to the more usual luk kun mun nay". They also considered that munnay was the Ayutthayan institution of "chiefs of territorial groups into which the population was divided", and which did not exist in Sukhothai until introduced by Ayutthayan conquerors, to one of whom they attributed inscription 38. Thus their surprise at finding the same terminology in the supposedly much earlier no. 107.


62. hān/hān as a term denoting 'military' may be ancient usage in Southwestern Thai (as that concept is used by Fang Kuei Li, William J. Gedney, James Chamberlain, and other contemporary linguists). In traditional Lue administration there were army officer ranks 'khuń hān, ca hān, and sēm hān. See Jacques Lemoine, 'Tae Lue Historical Relations with China and the Shaping of the Sipsong Panna Political System', in Proceedings of the International Conference on Thai Studies (Canberra, July 1987), Vol. 3, pp. 121-133. This would mean that the various Sanskrit-based explanations of dāhārthāhān are incorrect (an example, deriving it from Sanskrit dahan 'reducing to ashes', is in Robert K. Headley, Jr., 'Some Sources of Chamic Vocabulary', Austrasiatic Studies I, p. 465).

63. One use of 'duā' in the 19th century was for commoners appointed as trusted personal aides to high-ranking noble officials, an example being Thim Sukhayang (Luang Phatanapongpakdi), author of Nirā
nonkhāy, and dñày to Phraya Mahindrasakdirdamrong, a commander of the forces sent against the Ho in Laos in 1875. See Sithi Sri Sayam (Chitr Phumisak), Nīrādī nonkhāy (Wannakhadi thī thuuk sangpaw= literature which was ordered to be burned), p. 11.

64. Frequent occurrences of dha are on pages 78 (6 in 2 lines), 94-5 (14 on one page), 123 (9), 124 (4), 141 (6), 150 (5). Single or infrequent examples are on pages 55, 66, 80, 103, 110, 119, 137, 145, 156. This list is not exhaustive.


68. For an explanation see Vickery, "Pilt-down Skull—Installment 2", pp. 55-58.


70. The works of Gesick, Reynolds, and Klatyu are listed in note 20 above.


72. Brah rāj bānśāvatār kuṇā ratanakosindr (National Library Edition). "Rājākāl dī 1 (First Reign), Glaṅ Vidaya, Bangkok (2505/1962), p. 235; when King Rama I was having Vat Bṛah Jetubh (Wat Pho) constructed in 1789, he had 1248 damaged images brought from Phitsanulok, Savarrgalok, Sukhothai, Lophburi, and Ayutthaya to be repaired and placed in Wat Pho.