

# The Vajirañāṇa Library Chronicle: A Tribute to Michael Vickery

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In 1971, Michael Vickery discovered a *samut thai* accordion book in the Thailand National Library which he called a “fragment” of a chronicle. He published an annotated translation and extensive commentary in *JSS* 1977.<sup>1</sup> The Thai historian, Nidhi Eoseewong, suggested this text, the only chronicle discovered in the last 100 years, should be named the “Michael Vickery Chronicle,” in the same way that the “Luang Prasoet Chronicle” is named after the person who discovered it.<sup>2</sup>

A Silpakorn University master’s student, Ubonsi Atthaphan, discovered another similar text in the library.<sup>3</sup> Initial comparisons suggested the two were not connected, but a committee appointed by the Thai Historical Commission concluded they were two halves of the same book. These folding books are a single long sheet, written down one side and then back up the other. Ubonsi’s half had the first and fourth parts of the text, while Vickery’s had the second and third. The Historical Commission officially named the combined text as “The Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya, Vajirañāṇa Library Edition.”<sup>4</sup> Among historians, however, the text will be eternally associated with its discoverer. This translation of the full text is offered as a tribute to Michael Vickery.

Michael Vickery’s translation, annotation, and interpretation were extraordinary for their time. Over the subsequent forty-one years, more early texts have become available, and more knowledge has accumulated on the history of the era, and on the syntax and vocabulary of early Ayutthaya Thai. This translation differs from Vickery’s on many details, but not on any major issue. Similarly, Vickery’s questing and querying in his footnotes sparked further research, which has sometimes overridden his judgments. However, Michael Vickery’s major assertions about the meaning of this text for the history of Siam and Cambodia in the 15th century remain intact. The additions on the front and end of his translation extend the story, but do not change it.

Michael Vickery did not return to his study of this document, or take note of its “other half.” In an article on “Cambodia and its neighbours in the 15th century,” published in 2010, he drew on his earlier study with only minor additions of detail.

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<sup>1</sup> “The 2/k.125 Fragment: A Lost Chronicle of Ayutthaya,” *JSS* 65, 1 (1977), 1–80.

<sup>2</sup> Nidhi, *Pen and Sail*, 292; the article was first published in 1980.

<sup>3</sup> No 222 2/k 104 (เลขที่ ๒๒๒ ๒/ก ๑๐๔).

<sup>4</sup> The National Library reference of the combined text is No. 2/k. 125, case 108, bundle 27 (พงศาวดารกรุงศรีอยุธยา เลขที่ ๒/ก. ๑๒๕ ตู ๑๐๘ มัด ๒๗).

## The importance of this text

The document relates events in the late 1430s and 1440s during the reign of King Boromracha (Jao Samphraya). The *samut thai* is clearly a copy rather than an original text, as attested by several common copyists' errors. However, as Winai Pongsripian notes, the language is old, similar to other 15th century texts, and the titles of officials reflect 15th century practice, prior to the changes in the Trailokanat reign (1448–1488?), showing that the text has not been revised and “improved,” like many other early texts. After the two halves had been reassembled, the text was still deficient, lacking both a beginning and end, which might have included information on its composition.

Michael Vickery's appreciation of the text concentrated on the relationship between Ayutthaya and Cambodia. While that remains the prime focus, the enlarged text has a broader importance for the history of Siam.

### *Ayutthaya and the Northern Cities.*

As Piset Jiajanphong has shown, the integration between Ayutthaya and the “Northern Cities” of the old Sukhothai Kingdom was driven by multiple intermarriages between the Suphanburi family ruling at Ayutthaya and the Sukhothai family descended from Ramarat/Ramkhamhaeng and Lithai.<sup>5</sup> This text records a key stage of this process. Bala Mueang of the Sukhothai family is ruling in Phitsanulok. His sister is chief queen of Boromracha of Ayutthaya. She (or another Sukhothai princess) is the mother of Trailokanat, son and successor of Boromracha. In 1440/1, Boromracha bestows on his brother-in-law, Bala Mueang, the title of Maha Thammaracha, the old kingly title of the Sukhothai line. Possibly, Bala Mueang had already been using this title. The ceremony of bestowal, complete with gifts of regalia, dramatizes Phitsanulok's submission to Ayutthaya, while probably giving Bala Mueang some degree of precedence over his fellow rulers in the Northern Cities.

These inter-relations prepare the way for conflict in the next generation. Bala Mueang's son, Yuthisthira/Yuthisthian, expects to succeed to his father's position. However, in 1448, his cousin and boyhood friend, Trailokanat, succeeds to the throne in Ayutthaya, and wishes to put his own son in this position. As related in the poem, *Yuan Phai*, this provokes Yuthisthian to break with Ayutthaya and throw in his lot with Lanna, sparking a long period of conflict between Ayutthaya and Lanna.<sup>6</sup>

### *Ayutthaya's expansion of influence.*

The co-operation between Ayutthaya and the northern lords may be key to the main theme of the whole document, which is the extension of Ayutthaya's power to the west, north, and east. The opening section has the earliest record of Ayutthaya sending troops to the west coast of the upper peninsula. The main bulk of the text concerns Ayutthaya's

<sup>5</sup> Phiset, *Phra maha thammaracha*; also, see the summary of Phiset's argument in Baker and Pasuk, *History of Ayutthaya*, Ch. 3, and the lineage chart at the end of this article.

<sup>6</sup> Baker and Pasuk, *Yuan phai*, 3–4, 105.

attempt to defend its influence in Cambodia, following the Ayutthaya occupation of Angkor in 1431/2. The remaining section concerns a plan for Ayutthaya and the northern lords to restore a deposed leader in Nan. In both the northern and western expeditions (though not in Cambodia), northern nobles are involved in supplying and leading troops.

However, this should not be portrayed as Ayutthaya's "absorption" of the Northern Cities and its successful extension of power in all directions. The text portrays considerable friction within these joint forces, particularly in the campaign to Nan. The expedition to the west coast of the peninsula is messy and inconclusive. After the split between Trailokanat and Yuthisthian, Ayutthaya, the Northern Cities, and Lanna were in conflict intermittently for over a century. Relations between Ayutthaya and the Northern Cities were not resolved until the Phitsnulok family took over the throne in Ayutthaya in 1569. The expedition to Angkor paved the way for an Ayutthayan occupation of Angkor, which provoked a large and probably successful revolt. In this text, we see Ayutthaya flexing its muscles, but not establishing any firm control on outlying regions.

#### *Ayutthaya and Angkor.*

In the past, Ayutthaya's expedition to Angkor in 1431/2 was dubbed a "sack," largely because the chronicles tell of the expedition bringing back people and images. In fact, there are no records of any fighting on this occasion. Reports that an Angkorian king was brought to Ayutthaya appear only in Cambodian chronicles written much later. It seems likely that the old Khmer rulers had already withdrawn to the Phnom Penh area. Ayutthaya occupied Angkor and began to convert it into one of Ayutthaya's "cardinal cities" by sending the king's son, best known as Nakhon In and formerly resident in Suphanburi, to rule there. By the time this text begins, he had been there for a decade. Recent work in archaeology and art history suggests that Ayutthaya nobles were present in Angkor for a long period and treated this special place with great respect.<sup>7</sup>

#### *The Yat rebellion.*

At the start of the Cambodian section, Yat, a descendant of a former Cambodian king, raises a revolt, probably in 1442/3. Ayutthaya sends a large expedition, led by another of Boromracha's sons, then ruling at the cardinal city to the north (Phraek Siracha). The rebels are defeated, and Yat is captured. En route to Ayutthaya, Yat manages to escape, and seems to have established himself at Prey Veng, in the south-east of Cambodia.

Possibly, in the same year, a group of Khmer in Ayutthaya (presumably captives from 1431/2, but by now put to work, including in military roles) plot to kill King Boromracha, take over the Ayutthaya throne, reoccupy Angkor, and send back the statues and regalia removed in 1431/2. The plot is discovered and thirty-plus people are executed. This revolt does not appear in the Siamese chronicles.

While ruling at Angkor, Nakhon In has died of sickness. Boromracha installs his other son, Chaopraya Phraek, as ruler at Angkor. Chaopraya Phraek sends an expedition to crush Yat in Prey Veng, but this attempt fails and begins a string of defeats. Yat moves

<sup>7</sup> Polkinghorne et al., "Evidence for the 15th century Ayutthayan occupation of Angkor."

to Jong Koep, where the local ruler initially resists, but then goes over to the rebellion. Several groups around Pasanti join up with Yat, and impose a third defeat on an Ayutthaya force sent against them. The defeated Ayutthaya force retreats to Phnom Penh (Chaturamukh), but is defeated again and retreats to Angkor. Another pro-Ayutthaya town attacks Yat's forces, but again is defeated.

Yat is now joined by another monk-cum-leader, who anoints him as a king. Yat's first attempt to take Pursat fails, but the second succeeds. At this point, Yat seems to control all of the Khmer country between the great lake and the mountains to the south, eastward to the Mekong and beyond. One of Ayutthaya's military chiefs (Nakhonchai) is hauled back to Ayutthaya and made a scapegoat for these failures. The leading Ayutthaya general, Thepmongkhon, dies (see below).

Dissension starts among Yat's forces. He falls out with the monk-cum-leader who anointed him, and has him executed. At that point the text ends, and the next stages of the story are unknown. According to the later Khmer chronicles, Yat had Chaophraya Phraek killed, but this is far from certain. There is no mention of Angkor in the Ayutthaya chronicles from this point on, suggesting that their forces were dislodged at some point.

#### *Phraya Thepmongkhon.*

When Phraya Thepmongkhon dies, probably in the mid-1440s, King Boromracha gives 24 kilograms of gold to make his funeral urn, appoints one of the Phraya's sons to succeed to his title, and another to his inheritance. He was clearly a very important man. He is almost certainly the figure who appears in an inscription (NM.78), found in 2007 at Dan Khun Thot in Lopburi. In the inscription he is called Khun Sichairacha Mongkhonthep. One side has twenty-six lines of Thai that may be translated as follows:<sup>8</sup>

On Sunday Somdet Phra Int  
hara-maha-boroma-jakkaphati-thammikarat,  
the king, had Khun Sichairacha Mongkhonthep,  
prime special councillor,<sup>9</sup> and Khun Manoram, Khun  
Khamhaeng Phra Phrom, Nai Khamhaeng Narai, Khun  
Pathayom, Khun Trai Khamhaeng, Khun Thai-at, Khun  
Khamhaeng, Phra Phut, Jao Nakhonchai, Jao Hao,  
Nai Manomoya, Nai Phao Phra Bontham, Jao  
Sam Chuen, and Jao Phetcha bring the four-limbed<sup>10</sup> army—elephants, horse,  
troops—to attack and capture the cities of Phimai, Phanom Rung,  
Srao Khachai, Phanom Khram, Samet-du, Phanom Mat,  
Singkha Phichai, Phrai Khadan, which were enemies, to be  
dependent territories and subdued for the era of Manosa,<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Based on the transcription of lines 1–24 in Santi, “Jaruek,” 75; see also Watanyu, “Jaruek khun si chaiyarat mongkhonthep,” 49–52.

<sup>9</sup> เอกมนตรีพิเสต, *ekamontri phiset*. Winai suggests this may correspond to the post of พฤธามาศย์, *phruethamat*, which Themongkhon holds at his death, and has roughly the same meaning.

<sup>10</sup> จตุรงค์, *jaturong*, Pali: caturanga, a conventional term for an army; the fourth limb was chariots.

<sup>11</sup> A Thai rendering of Manu, the law-giver; i.e., forever.

and then issued a royal command for Khun Sichairacha Mongkhonthep and all his nobles to bring the elephants, horse, and troops back to Phra Phon Kamphaeng,<sup>12</sup> making a route (out) to bring all the war-prisoners, slaves, people, soldiers, and various articles to the *mesabarathan*<sup>13</sup> and enter the scripture-hall,<sup>14</sup> to create this stone eulogy,<sup>15</sup> as an honor of all levels.<sup>16</sup> The royal order that Khun Si chairacha Mongkhonthep be prime special councillor is made on 11th waxing of the 12th month, year of the pig.<sup>17</sup>

The places mentioned, apart from Phimai and Phanom Rung, are difficult to identify. However, Samet-du might be O'Smach, Asmech, now on the Cambodian border in Surin Province, and Phra Khadan might be Kralanh, northwest of Angkor.

The second face has 27 lines in Khmer. Over half is unreadable, but some readable portions, such as the list of names, match the Thai, suggesting that the content was similar. However, one important difference appears on line 16: "*phranakhon sri srintharapura*." According to Santi, this is a name for Angkor from the time of Indravarman I, and appears in other inscriptions, including from Banteay Srei.<sup>18</sup> This seems to confirm that this inscription refers to the Angkor expedition of 1431/2, though it is strange that a name for Angkor does not appear on the Thai-language face. The year 1431/2 was a pig year, as mentioned at the end of the inscription.

Khun Sichairacha Mongkhonthep is clearly richly rewarded for his role in this expedition. He appears in the chronicle with the title of Phraya.

### This translation

Winai Pongsripian published the text of the combined *samut thai*. This translation is based on his second, revised version, which includes a sketch of the historical background, summary with commentary, annotated text, and facsimile of the transcription from the *samut thai*.<sup>19</sup> While all pre-1600 Thai texts are difficult, as Winai notes, this one is

<sup>12</sup> พระพนกำแพง, probably "wall of the forest," similar to ประตูป่า, the "door of the forest," the boundary between forest and human-occupied territory.

<sup>13</sup> เมสภารธาน, unknown.

<sup>14</sup> บรรณศาลา, *bana sala*.

<sup>15</sup> ประสัถ (ปรศสดี), *prasat(i)*, a Sanskrit-derived word for a eulogy.

<sup>16</sup> สบปดล, *sappadon*, which may be (สัปทน), *sapathon*, a ceremonial umbrella of rank, but Santi suggests it comes from Pali, sabba paṭala, "all levels."

<sup>17</sup> The remaining two-and-a-half lines are very unclear: "nāganinātasatapānaseyi āvāsa chanāḍipānaye paritonudyo tvaṃ ācapi (sukha) pāpa pāna ..." Certain words appear to be Pali, but the overall meaning is elusive. On the Khmer side, this part is unreadable.

<sup>18</sup> Santi, "Jaruek," 76

<sup>19</sup> Winai, "Phrarachaphongsawadan."

exceptionally difficult. Without Winai's expertise, this translation would not be possible. Many of the notes and interpretations are his.

Michael Vickery explained, "The translation is intended to be as literal as possible, yet remain comprehensible. Thus, there has been no attempt to write elegant English. In fact, the English has at times been deliberately distorted to facilitate comparison with the Thai." We have followed the same principle, though the style is a little different. Here the Royal Institute/Society system is used for transcription from Thai. Place names that can be identified are given in the modern form, with the Thai original in a note. The layout follows the original, treating the *fongnam* (oil bubble) symbol as a paragraph break. A couple of these symbols, which seem to have been inserted in error, have been ignored. The subheads are not part of the original text but are inserted here for guidance.

Words in [square brackets] fill lacunae created by damage to the text and mostly follow the suggestions of Winai. Words in {curly brackets} are inserted for readability. In the notes, (MV) refers to Vickery's 1977 article, (W) means the note comes from Winai, and (W, pages) are references to Winai's commentary in the same article.

Certain words are translated consistently throughout: เมือง, *mueang*, city; เจ้าเมือง, *jao mueang*, ruler; กินเมือง, *kin mueang*, rule; ท้าวพระยา, *thaophraya*, lord. Where a royal-specific pronoun is used for a king, the English is capitalised (He, His).

In the notes, *RCA* refers to Cushman's *Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya* and *KTSD* refers to the Three Seals Law.

### *Titles and names*

Names of those in Ayutthaya's official nobility consisted of a prefix depicting rank (ยศ, *yot*), an official name (ราชทินนาม, *rachathinanam*) and a job description (ตำแหน่ง, *tamnaeng*). At the time of this document, the hierarchy was rather shallow. Chaophraya was the title of kings, and Phraya of the rulers of city-states. The nobility had two levels, Khun and Nai. Several other titles are found occasionally (e.g., Ja, Yi), probably reflecting the different systems of various city-states. By the time that the official lists in the Three Seals Law were compiled, perhaps in the 17th century, the hierarchy had been greatly stretched. Chaophraya/Okphraya was now the highest of seven levels in the official nobility (followed by Phraya, Phra, Luang, Khun, Muen, Phan). Khun had been degraded from the top to the lower half of this hierarchy, and Nai had become principally a title for non-nobles. Other titles were much rarer.

Most of the *rachathinanam* found in this text do not appear in the Three Seals Law lists. Those that can be identified have often been degraded from a seemingly important post in this text to something more junior.

### *Places*

The text names several places in Cambodia. A few of them can be tentatively identified from similar Thai-language spellings on the maps in Santanee and Stott, *Royal Siamese maps*. See the map below.



## The Vajirañāṇa Library Chronicle in translation

## SIDE A

In the past someone brought a stuffed duck to give [to] K[hun Rachasa<sup>20</sup>] and he then coughed up a lot of spittle. His wife and children brought [...] to examine, who studied and saw a tiger moustache on that duck [...] looked for the person who brought it but could not find him. Khun Rachasa coughed until [blood came] out of his mouth. After three months and a bit, Khun Rachasa died, so Som[det] Phraboromarachathirat Jao<sup>21</sup> had Nai Konthong,<sup>22</sup> the son of Khun Rachasa, aged around nineteen years, be Khun Rachasa in his place.

One year,<sup>23</sup> He prepared elephants, horses, and troops to march to Mueang Phimai and Phanom Rung.<sup>24</sup> When the two city rulers [submitted] to pay respect to the king's foot, He bestowed [various] rewards and returned to his home country.

After some time, the ruler of Phi[mai] died. Thao Thep<sup>25</sup> then became the ruler there. As for Thao Chomphu,<sup>26</sup> the younger brother, he ruled the city of Phanom Rung. {As for} the city of Phra Ngam Phutthathancharithik,<sup>27</sup> Phraya Klang ruled. [When] Phraya Klang died, he gained the royal wealth for Thao Kao and called [him Khun] Kamhaeng Phra Inthon.<sup>28</sup>

Later Khun Kamhaeng Phra Inthon came to pay respect [to] Somdet Phra Boromarachathirat Jao and died when a boat sank.

In 801, year of the goat,<sup>29</sup> first of the decade, Somdet Phra Boromarachathirat gathered all the Brahman teachers, lords, and generals for a great festival to hold the royal ceremony of {topknot} shaving<sup>30</sup> for Somdet Phra Boromachetthathirat Jao, His

<sup>20</sup> See note on titles in the introduction. Khun Rachasa is a *khun dap*, *sakdina* 500, under Luang Phirenthepbodi Si Samuha, head of the department of the great guard of the right under Kalahom (KTSD, I, 286).

<sup>21</sup> Ruler of Ayutthaya 1424–48, called Boromracha II by Wyatt.

<sup>22</sup> ก้อนทอง, “golden stone/chunk,” a term used for several posts: Ja Konthong, *sakdina* 400, female treasurer under the female section headed by Thao Worajan; twelve posts with Nai titles described as *pradaeng konthhong khwa*, *sakdina* 400, under the ministry of the palace; Muen Ja Konthong Sai, *sakdina* 200, in *krom ma saeng nai* (inner department of fast horses) under the ministry of the palace (KTSD, I, 222, 237–8, 259).

<sup>23</sup> Probably CS 800, CE 1438/9, BE 1981 (W).

<sup>24</sup> Possibly should be Phra Ngam here too (see next paragraph), but a copyist deleted it since the next sentence talks of two rulers. This appears to be the first attempt by Ayutthaya to assert authority over the region of the upper Mun River (W).

<sup>25</sup> Son of the Phimai ruler, possibly ruling earlier at Phanom Rung (W).

<sup>26</sup> Possibly ruling earlier at Phra Ngam (W).

<sup>27</sup> พุทธาทานขรทิก probably miscopied from พุทธาทานธาทิก *phutthathanthathik*, “gift of the Buddha for certain.” The location of Phra Ngam is not known but might correspond to Mueang Sema (W).

<sup>28</sup> Change of title from Thao to Khun reflects absorption into the Ayutthaya domain (W).

<sup>29</sup> CE 1439/40, BE 1982.

<sup>30</sup> โกษกรรรม, *kosonkam*. This is the future king, Borommatrailokat (1448–88?). According to *Yuan Phai*, Trailokanat was born at the time of the expedition to Angkor (1431/2) and hence would now be eight years old (Baker and Pasuk, *Yuan phai*, 34). The insertion of Ramesuan in his title

son, and bestowed on him the name [...] Somdet Phra Ramesuan Boromatrailokanat Bophit.

In the year 80[2, a year of the] monkey, second of the decade,<sup>31</sup> there was a fire in the Royal Hall.<sup>32</sup> Nai Ngua Khliang brought the elephant Thepraksa that Phraya Bala Mueang<sup>33</sup> had presented to take the king to stay at Chankhin<sup>34</sup> [and] He had Khun Phijit<sup>35</sup> repair the Royal Hall for about a year until all was finished [and] He went into the Royal Hall.

In 803, a year of the chicken, third [of the decade],<sup>36</sup> there was fire in the Trimuk Throne Hall<sup>37</sup> where the king appeared at the royal ceremony of Asayut<sup>38</sup> so Somdet Phra Boromarachathirat Jao had Khun Phijit repair the north side of the palace and the old Royal Hall in the *saratkep*<sup>39</sup> and He went to reside there, and bestowed the old Royal Hall on Somdet Phra Ramesuan Boromatrailokanat Bophit. He went to stay in Rachansawan,<sup>40</sup> upheld the royal custom of succession of the holy solar lineage, and practised the Ten Principles of Kingship in the great city of Si Ayutthaya.

Later Phraya Bala Mueang, ruler of Phitsanulok, came down to pay respect. Their two majesties bestowed royal articles and gave him the name Mahathammarachathirat.<sup>41</sup> He then took leave to return to that city, and received a holy golden plate,<sup>42</sup> jewelled garland, and regalia to take as well. On arrival he arranged a great festival for {displaying} his accumulated merit.

At that time Phraya Chaliang, Phraya Ramarat, and Phraya Saen Soi Dao<sup>43</sup> sent help for this.

After that, the queen addressed Phra Borommarachathirat Jao to hold the

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indicates he is the designated successor (W).

<sup>31</sup> CE 1440/1, BE 1982.

<sup>32</sup> พระราชมนเฑียร, *phra rachamonthian*, probably meaning the main royal residence inside the palace. “In 802 ... there was a fire in the Phrarachamonthian” (*RCA*, 15, 1.45-6, translation modified). The Ming record dated 29 March 1444 reports that Ayutthaya sent a mission to report that “the gold-plated seal and tally reference stub-book, which were formerly conferred on your country, had both been destroyed by fire, and to request the conferral of replacements” (Wade, *Southeast Asia* online no. 1834).

<sup>33</sup> Ruler of Phitsanulok.

<sup>34</sup> ชานคิล, unknown.

<sup>35</sup> Probably Khun Phijit Rojana, *sakdina* 400, a craftsman under the great treasury in the palace ministry (*KTSD*, I, 268).

<sup>36</sup> 1441/2 CE, 1983 BE.

<sup>37</sup> “In 803 ... there was a fire in the Trimuk Throne Hall” (*RCA*, 15, 1.47-8, translation modified).

<sup>38</sup> อาสยุต, a ritual boat race between boats of the king and queen held in the 11th month, see Baker and Pasuk, *Ayutthaya Palace Law*, 111, 120.

<sup>39</sup> สรรตเคบ, unknown.

<sup>40</sup> ราชนัยสวรรค, unknown.

<sup>41</sup> The old title of Sukhothai kings. Phraya Bala Mueang was the elder brother of Boromaracha's chief queen. Either she or another Sukhothai descendant was mother of Trailokanat. Bala Mueang was father of Yuthasthian. Inscription 12 from Wat Boworniwet, Phraphutthabat, states that in 1426/7 “Phra Mahathammaracha (Boromapan),” ruler of Phitsanulok was thirty-six years old, suggesting that perhaps Bala Mueang was already using this title much earlier (W, 64–5).

<sup>42</sup> พระสุพรรณบัฏ, *phra suphannabat*, a golden tray or plate inscribed with the name of a dependent ruler (W).

<sup>43</sup> The rulers of Sawankhalok, Sukhothai, and Kamphaeng Phet respectively. Note that all three titles are different in the Three Seals Law (*KTSD*, I, 320).



Greyhair-Dyeing<sup>44</sup> rite of the mother, Mae Nang Sakha,<sup>45</sup> and to give {her} a name. HM the king presented a golden palanquin, golden walking stick, and royal articles, and gave an auspicious name to Mae Nang Sakha, the royal mother of the queen and Mahathammarachathirat.<sup>46</sup>

*Ayutthaya and the west coast*

Later a hunter-guard<sup>47</sup> at the city of Dawei<sup>48</sup> assembled irregular<sup>49</sup> troops, getting around 5,000 warriors and migrant families, and established a village near Chayaveriya.<sup>50</sup>

Phraya Imharihare-mang<sup>51</sup> took troops of Taithong<sup>52</sup> to fight the hunter-guard, who fled to Thanaosi.<sup>53</sup> Phraya Imharihare-mang entered and established himself at Dawei, and gathered together all the many people of that city, then brought articles of tribute to pay respect and present to the king, and respectfully made a request to establish the village of Chayaveriya as a dependent territory.<sup>54</sup> Somdet Phra Borommarachathirat Jao gave a royal command over the heads, ordering the group of generals and venerable officials<sup>55</sup> to send a letter to Phraya Imharihare-mang to establish the city of Chayaveriya and to appoint the relatives of the Phraya to rule the cities of Palauk and Palaw.<sup>56</sup> The venerable officials and royal officials arranged for Narintharawongsa and Hongsaracha<sup>57</sup> to return to rule those two cities of Palauk and Palaw according to the royal command given by the king. As for Phraya Imharihare-mang, he was to send royal tribute of silver and gold flowers to present to the king every year.

Later, Somdet Phra Borommarachathirat Jao assembled elephants, horses, land troops, and [naval troops] all of them, and when ready, He proceeded up to Kamphaeng Phet, and [had] Phraya Chaliang, Mahathammaracha, Phraya Ramarat, and Phraya Thammikhe[...]<sup>58</sup> brought for consultation along with all the lords and generals who would go to take the city of [Tai]thong. When the lords, generals, and ministers were all

<sup>44</sup> ย้อมหงอก, *yom ngok*, a rite of entering old age at the sixth cycle, 72 years (W).

<sup>45</sup> แม่นางซาซา, mother of Borommarachathirat's queen and of Mahathammaracha of Phitsanulok.

<sup>46</sup> See lineage chart at the end of this article.

<sup>47</sup> พรานระวัง, *phran rawang*.

<sup>48</sup> ทวาย, *thawai*, Tavoy.

<sup>49</sup> ลัดพลัด, *sat phlat*, not in a group under an overseer (W).

<sup>50</sup> ไชยเวริย, not found anywhere else; possibly Zeyya Wiriya; perhaps *chaiya pheri*, victory drum (W), or *jaya viriya*, victory strength/energy.

<sup>51</sup> อิมหริหเรมาง, possibly a Burmese title, *im rhe.manh*, meaning "prince of the front house/palace," *uparaja*, heir apparent" (thanks to Jacques Leider and Pat McCormick).

<sup>52</sup> ตายทอง, appears in the Palace Law (Baker and Pasuk, *Ayutthaya Palace Law*, 78), and on Traiphum maps to west of Kamphaeng Phet in the Mon country, north of Dawei (W). Possibly this is Taungngu (Toungoo).

<sup>53</sup> ตะนาวศรี, *thanaosi*, Tenasserim.

<sup>54</sup> ขันทลสิมา, *khanthasima*.

<sup>55</sup> พฤตมาตย์, *phruetamat*, "old/big officials." The term seems to refer to the most senior officials or advisers of the king.

<sup>56</sup> Both south of Dawei down the coast.

<sup>57</sup> ญรินทรวงษา หงษาราช; these appear to be the names of Phraya Imharihare-mang's relatives and envoys, and yet they also might mean "lineage of the king" and "King of Pegu."

<sup>58</sup> Unknown, perhaps a copyist's error (W).

in agreement, He [had] Khun Nakhonchai<sup>59</sup> carry the authority as leader of the people of the city of Si Ayutthaya to [fight as?] one army, along with the six armies of the lords of the north, in all 50,000 troops, sixty decorated<sup>60</sup> elephants, 1,000 decorated horse, all prepared and ready. The lords paid respect to take leave of HM the King to march.

At that time, only Phraya Saen {Soi Dao} did not go along. Then the lords and generals marched up to the city of Mawlamyaing.<sup>61</sup> Phraya Ram{arat} pre[pared an army] to take the city of Taitho[ng], and all the {Mon} officers<sup>62</sup> took the elephants, horses, and t[roops] ...

## SIDE B

... around ... decorated with ... village{?} ... city of Taithong ... [Phan Hongsa] and [Muen Samatchai] and Khun Ramkamhaeng<sup>63</sup> were lost,<sup>64</sup> but when ... the king proceeded to take the city of Dawei on this occasion, they were brought as captives to be seen {to jeer}.<sup>65</sup> Then when they crossed close to the bank, Muen Samatchai removed the manacle<sup>66</sup> and pulled up the gunwales of the boat to attack the people of Taithong. The oarsmen rushed down into the water and fled, but the man at the stern fought back with his oar, struck Muen Samatchai, who hit the man at the rear who fell into the water. Then Muen Samatchai took the boat up to Khun Nakhonchai, who had the oarsmen ride an elephant, and gave them to the lords and generals. But the officers withdrew the troops, and ordered them whenever they heard the sound of our gong to attack the enemy; anyone failing to follow this order would be severely punished. Khun Nakhonchai withdrew to hide in the forest fringe. Then the ruler of Taithong, the {Mon} officers,<sup>67</sup> and the heads of armies and brigades, crossed with elephants, horses, and troops, came up the bank on this side, brought boats close to the troops, and came up to attack Khun Nakhonchai and the lords. Khun Nakhonchai and the lords retreated. The enemy was thus encouraged and came on strongly. Phraya Chaliang and Khun Si Bat did not wait to hear the signal gong, but rallied to resist the enemy who were defeated and fell into the water. The soldiers pursued and slashed dead about 200 Mon.

The ruler of Taithong and the {Mon} officers left without having time to mount elephants or horses, {but} took the elephants and horses back down into the water and fled across surrounded by boats. When Phan Hongsa saw the disorder, he broke his bonds and ran along the river to find our soldiers, who brought Phan Hongsa to Khun Nakhonchai, who gave him clothes and an elephant to ride. Khun Nakhonchai and the lords marched the army back, paid respect to HM the King, and reported everything

<sup>59</sup> ชุมนครไชย; Khun Nakhonchai appears as *khun dap* with *sakdina* 500 in the great guard of the left under Kalahom (KTSD I, 288).

<sup>60</sup> (ทรง)เครื่อง, (*song*)*khruang*.

<sup>61</sup> เมะลำเลิง, Mawlamleung, Moulmein, Mawlamayne.

<sup>62</sup> กรสมิง, *kora saming*; *sming* is a Mon term for military officers, but the first syllable is unknown.

<sup>63</sup> Appears below as an officer in the army of Chaophraya Phraek Siracha (W).

<sup>64</sup> Meaning they were taken by the Mon forces in a previous engagement.

<sup>65</sup> The Mon brought these three men, captured in some previous engagement, to mock the Ayutthaya forces.

<sup>66</sup> ลูกล้ำ, *luk klao*, some kind of restraint.

<sup>67</sup> See footnote 62.

about the battle to Him. The king made Muen Samatchai the chief *muen* of elephants. As for Phan Hongsa, he was made chief *muen* of boats in their group. And He bestowed on them rewards of rank and gratuities.

After about a month, Somdet Phra Boromarachathirat Jao went on a tour. At sunset, he had Phlai Songbun<sup>68</sup> brought as the royal mount, and took Mahathammarachathirat, Phraya Chaliang, and Phraya Ramarat to ride with him. He had Nai Thit, the elephant master, get down, but Nai Thit did not get down. He moved down to be close to the driver. The king went up to a pavilion.

After around five or six days, all the lords paid respect to take leave of HM the King and return to their cities. As for the king he entered the city of Si Ayutthaya.

Meanwhile in the city of Hongsawadi, Phraya Ram<sup>69</sup> died, and the realm passed to Phraya Pharo.<sup>70</sup>

After some time, his son, Chaophraya Phra Nakhon In, who was ruling in the royal capital,<sup>71</sup> {when} Khun Sai Song Phra In, his patron,<sup>72</sup> died, came to attend on Som[det] Phra Boromarachathirat Jao, who had Nai Phon, a younger brother, be Khun Sai Song Phra In in his place.

#### *Jao Yat's rebellion*

Later, Jao Yat, son of Phra Ram Jao,<sup>73</sup> who the king had sent to stay in Chaturamukh,<sup>74</sup> persuaded all the Khmer to rebel against the royal son, Phra Naret In,<sup>75</sup> who had Khun Sai Song Phra In march elephants, horses, and troops to meet {the enemy}. The lords were not yet subdued so he had word sent to Somdet Phra Borommarachathirat Jao, who had them march the elephants, horses, and troops, and had Chaophraya Phraek,<sup>76</sup> Phraya

<sup>68</sup> The name of the king's elephant in the battle in *Yuan Phai* (Baker and Pasuk, *Yuan Phai*, 77).

<sup>69</sup> Phraya Ramakiati, ruler of Hongsawadi, who, according to the Burmese chronicles, died in CS 808, CE 1446/7, BE 1989 (W). The Mon chronicle, *Rachathirat*, gives the date of his death as CS 803, CE 1441/2, and names the same successor (MV, 50).

<sup>70</sup> Grandson of Phraya Ramakiati.

<sup>71</sup> พระนครหลวง, *phra nakhon luang*, Angkor.

<sup>72</sup> พี่เลี้ยง, *phi liang*, "elder looking after," a term not found in similar usage elsewhere, perhaps a consultant-cum-spy, like the *yokkabat* later (W, 71).

<sup>73</sup> In the Khmer chronicles (composed much later), Yat is son of the former Khmer king, Somdetphra Ramathibodi Khamkhat (W). MV suggested that Yat was the son of Ramracha, the former king of Ayutthaya (1395–1409), who was deposed in 1409 and sent to Pathakhujam (*RCA*, 14, 1.38–40), which MV suggested was Chaturamukh (MV, 56–60).

<sup>74</sup> จตุรมุข, *jaturamuk*, Chatumok, "four faces," at the location of Phnom Penh today.

<sup>75</sup> Somdet Phra Nakhon In, son of King Borommarachathirat, previously ruling in Suphanburi, given this title and sent to rule in Cambodia after the attack on Angkor in 1431/2 (W).

<sup>76</sup> King Borommarachathirat's son, who had been ruling at Phraek Siracha, one of the Ayutthaya's cardinal cities, sited near present-day Sankhaburi in Chainat Province.

Thepmongkhon,<sup>77</sup> Khun Nakhonchai, Khun Si Bat,<sup>78</sup> Khun Prapthawip, Khun Siphichai Songkhram,<sup>79</sup> Khun Ramkamhaeng, Khun Kamhaeng Phra In, Khun Phetcharat, Khun Sai, Thao Ao, Khun Rat, Khun Phetchayarat, and Khun Phetchasan take 150,000 troops, 100 elephants, and 1,000 horses to the royal capital {Angkor}, and there was a royal command. The king went to his royal son and said, “When the army and the lords have reached the capital, have Somdet Phra Nakhon In take elephants, horses, and troops to establish as one army, and march it to subdue all the *phak*<sup>80</sup> in Chaturamukh.” When Chaophraya Phraek and all the phraya, phra, luang, khun, and muen reached the capital, Somdet Phra Nakhon In took them out to establish as one army following the royal command, and marched them to suppress all the mahaphak up to Chaturamukh. The *phak* were routed. They also captured Jao Yat and all the lords.

At that time, the royal son, Phra Nakhon In, fell sick. All the lords, generals, officials, and Brahman teachers held a Rite to Quell Great Bad Fortune<sup>81</sup> and marched the whole army back. When they reached Phiren,<sup>82</sup> Phra Nakhon In was severely ill. When they reached the royal capital, he passed away.<sup>83</sup>

Then Mae Nang Thepthorani and Mae Nang Khongkha<sup>84</sup> wrote a letter inserted in a betel leaf placed under *khao tiap*<sup>85</sup> and had it taken to Jao Yat with instructions to search in the *khao tiap* first. When a maidservant took the *khao tiap*, she told Jao Yat, who searched and found the letter, read it, and knew an order had come from the king to send Jao Yat to Ayutthaya.

Khun Nakhonchai sent Jao Yat on from Chaturamukh by boat, not placing him under restraint. When they reached Saeng Phlao district,<sup>86</sup> later on at midnight the guards fell fast asleep. Jao Yat went down into the water and trod water down to Khun

<sup>77</sup> Probably the same as Khun Sichaiyarachamongkhonthep in the inscription found at Dan Khun Thot (NM.78). There he is given the title *ekamontri phiset*, “special first councillor,” and in this text *phruetamat*, which have roughly the same meaning. He is the only one in this list with Phraya rank. Winai speculates that he might also be the “Jao Senabodi” who invited Borommarachathirat to seize the throne in 1409 (*RCA*, 14, 1.32–4).

<sup>78</sup> Son of Phraya Thepmongkhon; see section below on *Death of Phraya Thepmongkhon*.

<sup>79</sup> Military chief of Phitsanulok in an old list of provincial titles (Suphawatt, “Phra aiyakan,” 142).

<sup>80</sup> *Phak* and *mahaphak* play an important role in the tale. There are two different interpretations of what they mean. MV argues that *phak* is an “ethnic group,” largely on the grounds that there are two appearances of the term *phao phak*, where *phao* means tribe or ethnic group. In his 2010 article, MV identified the *phak* with the Pear, suggesting a Thai scribe had corrected Pear in the original to *phak*, a Thai word for “group” (“Cambodia and its neighbours,” 290–2). Winai, by contrast, takes the word as “group” and “great group” at face value, and argues that it is the Thai scribe’s description of the various “groups” involved in the resistance to Ayutthaya.

<sup>81</sup> บูชามหาเคราะห์สารติ, *bucha mahakhro sarati*; Winai suggests the final word is miscopied from a Thai version of the Sanskrit *śanti*, meaning to quell.

<sup>82</sup> พิเรน, unknown.

<sup>83</sup> In the Cambodian chronicles, he was killed by Jao Yat (MV, 56).

<sup>84</sup> The spirits of the earth and water. This tale is possibly inserted to suggest Yat had divine help (W, 76).

<sup>85</sup> ข้าวเตียบ, *khao tiap*, perhaps *khao kriap*, rice crackers (W).

<sup>86</sup> แสงเพล, perhaps Chachoengsao (MV, 66–7).

Plabphlachai,<sup>87</sup> who asked who he was. Jao Yat said, “I here am called Jao Yat, son of Phra Ram.” Khun [Phlab]plachai asked, “As son of Phra Ram, what is your mother’s name?” Jao Yat said, “My mother’s name is Nang Amphaket.”<sup>88</sup> Khun [Phlab]plachai said, “You are truly the son of our friend.” Khun [Phlab]plachai then said, “Khun Nakhonchai is sending Jao Yat to Ayutthaya, but I shall protect you. Do not be afraid.” Jao Yat said, “What father<sup>89</sup> says, I suspect [is untrue]. Father will kill me in father’s house here.” Khun [Phlab]plachai prepared food for Jao Yat to eat, then sent Jao Yat to Maharang-khaek<sup>90</sup> of the *phak* tribe of Khun [Phlab]plachai in Truen{-at}.<sup>91</sup>

By dawn, people knew Jao Yat [had escaped]. All the soldiers rushed to ask the troops of Khun Phlabphlachai, who said, “I haven’t seen anything. If anyone knows {where he has gone}, let him go the same way, and we will help one another find him.”

Much later it was known that Jao Yat had escaped to Kamang.<sup>92</sup> Nai Thammarat, Nay Yi<sup>93</sup> Chang Thong, Nai Pracha, Nai Thongtoet Songsan, Nai Yi Phakai—all Khmer—fled from the royal capital to join Jao Yat, who organised them as left and right, front and rear.<sup>94</sup>

#### *Failed Angkorian coup in Ayutthaya, 1443/4*

In 845,<sup>95</sup> year of the pig, fifth of the decade, Chaophraya Kaeo and Phraya Tai<sup>96</sup> of the *mahaphak* tribe, who the king had brought from the royal capital, discussed with Chiya Pracha Horat<sup>97</sup> to rebel against Somdet Phra Boromarachathirat Jao, and promised one another, in line with his wish, to have Chiya Pracha Horat rule at the city of Ayutthaya, and to send Phraya Kaeo, Phraya Tai and the royal articles taken from

<sup>87</sup> In the Lawaek Chronicle, he is Khun Phlachai, headman of Tanhak. The chronicler here seems to have muddled the story and made him into an Ayutthaya soldier assisting Yat’s escape, which is unlikely (W, 77).

<sup>88</sup> Amphuket, a name of Mae Nang Thepthorani, goddess of the earth (W).

<sup>89</sup> He is using this term to address Khun Phlabplachai.

<sup>90</sup> MV thought this was a place. Winai suggests it is a *phak* chief.

<sup>91</sup> เดือนอจ, unknown.

<sup>92</sup> กะมั่ง, perhaps an unidentified place (W), or meaning “probably escaped” (MV).

<sup>93</sup> ญี่ “Yi” is a title, possibly derived from Chinese, and adapted in several languages, including Mon, Thai, and Lao. In Thai, it may have a connotation of “expert,” as in ญี่ราร, *yisan*, “expert in documents.” This title appears in several names in this text, and occasionally in the Three Seals Law (W, 104, and Winai, *Phojananukrom kham kao*, 49).

<sup>94</sup> This narrative is resumed below in the section *Jao Yat’s rebellion, part 2*.

<sup>95</sup> This date does not compute, and is more likely CS 805, CE 1443/4, BE 1986, as MV surmised.

<sup>96</sup> In the Luang Prasoet Chronicle for CS 793, CE 1431/2, พระยาแก้ว พระยาไทย “Phraya Kaeo Phraya Tai” were brought from Angkor to Ayutthaya with images (*RCA*, 15, 1.35–6). There is debate whether these four words refer to one person or two, and who they were. Winai, drawing on the Lawaek Chronicle, believes that Kaeo refers to Kaeo Fa, who had been ruling in Angkor. He was son of the former ruler, Ramathibodi Khamhak, and a younger half-brother of Yat. MV believes the Cambodia chronicles for this era, written much later, cannot be taken seriously. On the grounds that these names are here described as belonging to the *mahaphak* tribe, he argues these two are from the Pear ethnic group (“Cambodia and its neighbours,” 292–3).

<sup>97</sup> ชียประชาโหรจ, *chiya pracha horat*. *Chi(ya)* means an ordinand and here may indicate a Brahman; Pracha is a personal name; *horat* might be contracted from *horajan*, astrologer, but Winai suggests it comes from the Sanskrit *huta*, fire sacrifice.



there back to the royal capital. When they had made plans together, they discussed with Yot Phetcharat, Phetnarai, Phetsongkhram, Phichaiphet, who were soldiers of the inner brigade of Chaisi {Gate},<sup>98</sup> Yi Jak, Yi Khuetsansi, Yi Khankhanmak, Nai Khamphrathan, Nai Nguasi, Nai Siwichai, Nai Sithepsuk, Nai Jethua, and other *hua phan*, *hua phak*,<sup>99</sup> and palace guards. Then they had cloth and clothing, silver and gold distributed among themselves in the quarters of Chiya Pracha Horat, and made plans to take the king, either when he went to Bang Tanim,<sup>100</sup> or when he was giving alms, or when he went to give food to the monks, or when he was touring Ayutthaya at the Moon Ground.<sup>101</sup> On account of the king's accumulated merit, they did not succeed: Nai Jet, a chief of boats, brought the gold they had shared out, concealed on his body, to tell Khun Rachasa in the middle of the night. Khun Rachasa brought Nai Jet, chief of boats, with him, and in the middle of that night called Khun Monthianban,<sup>102</sup> who opened the gate of the palace, and took the two of them to attend on HM the King, who sent for the venerable councillors, royal councillors, Khun Rachasak, and Khun Si to assemble. He ordered them to prepare all the elephants, horses, and soldiers, saying, "At dawn, go to get that royal astrologer/rebel."<sup>103</sup> Phraya Kaeo and Phraya Tai got wind of this and thus fled into hiding. When it was close to dawn, all the troops went to round up the rebel group and got them all. As for Phraya Kaeo and Phraya Tai, later in the day they were caught behind the reliquary.<sup>104</sup> He had them interrogated and then locked up in a cage placed near the flagstaff.<sup>105</sup> Then Phra Boromarachathirat Jao bestowed rewards on Nai Jet, chief of boats, and made him Khun Inthamontri. As for Mae Nang Phraya, Mae Nang Jao Mueang,<sup>106</sup> and the senior royal consorts, as well as all the lords, generals, and councillors, they were given caselets for lime, betel leaf pouches, and betel boxes as rewards. Khun Inthamontri received around a large basket {full}, and he had them take these rewards for all the rebels to see.

<sup>98</sup> ไชยศรี, *chaisi*; Winai suggests this means a unit guarding the Victory Gate in the middle of the south side of Ayutthaya. Had people captured from Angkor been assigned to guard units in the capital?

<sup>99</sup> หัวพันหัวปาก, "head-thousanders and head-hundreders," a system of decimal ranking similar to the usage of "centurion."

<sup>100</sup> A village about fifteen kilometres along the Bang Kaeo/Bang Jaeng waterway that extended northwards from the north-west corner of the city of Ayutthaya during this era. It is not clear why the king should visit this village

<sup>101</sup> สนามจันทร์, *sanam jan*, an area between the audience halls at Wat Phra Si Sanphet, later enclosed within the palace by King Prasat Thong, but open during this era.

<sup>102</sup> Later *monthianban* is part of the title of the minister of the palace and presumably here indicates an earlier title of the officer overseeing the palace.

<sup>103</sup> โหร, *hon*. This clearly refers to the conspirator who appeared above, but is here spelled slightly differently, with the last (silent) consonant as an "h" rather than a "t." The pronunciation as *hon* suggests an astrologer, but not the spelling. Winai suggests this derives from a Sanskrit word, *horaha*, meaning a rebel.

<sup>104</sup> พระธาตุ, *phra that*, perhaps Wat Mahathat.

<sup>105</sup> เสาธงชัย, *sao thong chai*, in late Ayutthaya a gate in the centre of the northern wall of the palace was named the Victory Flagstaff Gate.

<sup>106</sup> These two terms probably mean a) the four chief queens; and b) the second-ranked queens, who have come from the major subordinate cities (Baker and Pasuk, *Ayutthaya Palace Law*, 79).



About three days later, He had Khun Chaiya Phrue and Si Rangkhan take Phraya Kaeo, Phraya Tai, Chi Pracha, and all the royal rebels to be impaled and exposed at the Khun Nakhonchai moat,<sup>107</sup> altogether around thirty-something people. As for one son of Phraya Kaeo named Jao Kaeofa, he had gone to live with his wife at Phra Prasop,<sup>108</sup> and did not know about his father. The king did not have him executed.

Around two or three days later, Jao Kaeofa sent word to Somdet Phra Boromarachathirat Jao and said, “I, your servant, in future will be called the son of a royal rebel and will be shamed by all, hence I, your servant, beg to die also to get it over with.” Somdet Phra Boromarachathirat Jao had Si Rangkhan take Jao Kaeofa to be executed according to his wish, and bring his corpse to embrace the feet of his father, Phraya Kaeo.

Because HM the King upheld the Ten Principles of Kingship excellently, he executed these rebels. Those whom he did not view as rebels, he did not execute a single one.

### *Restoration of Kaen Thao of Nan: part 1*

In the city of Nan,<sup>109</sup> Thao Phaeng and Thao Ho, brothers, combined to rebel against Phraya Kaen Thao and were able to seize Nan and imprison Phraya Kaen Thao. Phraya Phaeng then had Thao Ho go to rule the city of Lim.<sup>110</sup> Then Phraya Lim said to Phraya Phaeng, “Please have Phraya Kaen Thao executed which will be proper.” The Phraya did not execute Phraya Kaen Thao, but had him imprisoned. When he was in a good mood, he had him brought out to eat food and drink liquor, and then put back in jail. Later Phraya Kaen Thao prayed to the ancient reliquary,<sup>111</sup> “If you have love for me, take [pity?].” So Nai Sam On took Phraya Kaen Thao to hide at a place, Tao Hai. When Phraya Phaeng knew, he arranged for people to search in every city, but did not find him. Phraya Phaeng then had them close all the border routes. Then Nai Sam On took Phraya Kaen Thao to flee via Sawang {khaburi}. They could not find any food to eat, so ate only leaves, betelnut, termites, bark, and tree roots. After around ten days they reached the

<sup>107</sup> คูขุนนครไชย, *khu nakhonchai*, a waterway branching southward from the south side of Ayutthaya’s moat; also known as the Takhian (Ironwood) Canal.

<sup>108</sup> Probably the junction of the Lopburi River and Bang Lang Canal, north of Ayutthaya, site today of Wat Sop Sawan, three kilometres south of Bang Pahan. MV placed this in Cambodia, but noted this contradicts the coming sentence about Jao Kaeofa’s arrival.

<sup>109</sup> The Nan and Chiang Mai Chronicles record the same story told here, but place it at an earlier date. In the Nan Chronicle, Jao Intakaen (Kaen Thao in this text) succeeded in 1432, and after fifteen months was deposed by his younger brothers, Jao Paeng and Jao Ho Pom, and imprisoned in a cage. He escaped by feigning illness and took refuge with the ruler of Chaliang. A year later, in 1434, Intakaen and Chaliang attacked Nan. Jao Paeng died in the battle, and Intakaen resumed the throne. Then in 1443/4, according to both the Chiang Mai and Nan chronicles, Kaen Thao got into a dispute with Tilokarat of Chiang Mai, which lasted for six years, and ended with Kaen Thao again fleeing to Chaliang in a year that Wyatt resolves as CS 810, CE 1448/9 (Wyatt and Aroonrut, *Chiang Mai chronicle*, 80–1; Wyatt, *Nan chronicle*, 51–3). Perhaps the Nan episode here has been misplaced by a cycle, and took place in 1432/3.

<sup>110</sup> Huai Mae Jim, then the second city of Nan, now in Amphoe Tha Pla, Uttaradit (W).

<sup>111</sup> Phra That Jedi Chae Haeng, outside Nan (W).

city of Saluang.<sup>112</sup> Nai Sam On took Phraya Kaen Thao to stay in the monk-quarters of Phra Mahathera Phrom, who had him looked after.

Then military officers of Phraya Chaliang went to catch elephants at Tron,<sup>113</sup> and got around sixty bull and cow elephants. Phra Mahathera Phrom had an ascetic<sup>114</sup> come to speak to Phraya Chaliang at that elephant pen, saying, “Your son, Phraya Kaen Thao, has already fled with Nai Sam On to Sawang, and is staying in the monk-quarters of Phra Mahathera Phrom, who has sent me to give you this news.” When Phraya Chaliang knew, he was very happy indeed. He ordered them to harness up elephants and horses to go and fetch Phraya Kaen Thao. When he arrived, Phraya Kaen Thao paid respect to his father, Phraya Chaliang, and reported about Phra[ya] Phaeng and Phraya Lim seizing the city of Nan, and Phra[ya] Kaen Thao fleeing to come and tell everything to Phraya Chaliang. Phraya Chaliang took Phraya Kaen Thao down to pay respect to Somdet Phra Boromarachathirat Jao. On arrival in the city of Ayutthaya, Phraya Chaliang reported about Phraya Phaeng and Phraya Lim seizing the city of Nan, and Phraya Kaen Fa fleeing. Everything was told to HM the King. Then Somdet Phra Boromarachathirat Jao expressed His compassion for Phraya Kaen Thao and bestowed rewards on both the Phraya who took leave of Phra Boromarachathirat Jao and returned to the city of Chaliang.<sup>115</sup>

### *Jao Yat's rebellion: part 2*

Meanwhile in the royal capital, a certain seer<sup>116</sup> heard that an order of the king had been issued to send Jao Yat to Ayutthaya. The seer examined the horoscope of Jao Yat and found that Jao Yat would have merit.

### SIDE C

*[five lines illegible]*

... that since his royal son Phra Nakhon In has died in this way, there should be someone to rule the realm in the royal capital. Then all the lords and venerable Phraya councillors said, “As the royal capital is a great royal capital city, not a small place, to send councillors and ministers to rule there is not befitting. We, your humble servants, all approve sending Phraya Phraek to stay and rule himself.”

Then Phra Boromarachathirat Jao made a royal command, saying, “The Phraya have spoken thus, and that is good, but it is feared that in future disputes will arise.” Then the Phraya requested, “Let your servant Khun Si Bat be the military chief,<sup>117</sup> and

<sup>112</sup> สหलग, probably a miscopying of Sawang(khaburi), their destination two lines above. MV read it as Sa Luang.

<sup>113</sup> Around thirty kilometres south of Uttaradit down the Nan River.

<sup>114</sup> ปะขาว, *pakhao*.

<sup>115</sup> This story is resumed below in the section, *Restoration of Kaen Thao of Nan: part 2*.

<sup>116</sup> หดุงขอม, *dung khom* (W).

<sup>117</sup> ขุนพล, *khun phon*, predecessor of Kalahom (W, 83). Khun Si Bat is the son of Phraya Thepmongkhon (see the section on *Death of Phraya Thepmongkhon* below).

Khun Song Phra In be the patron<sup>118</sup> as before; let Khun Rachasak, Khun Krainarai<sup>119</sup> stay to remind that all of us, your servants, have no grounds for suspicion at all.” Somdet Phra Boromarachathirat Jao gave orders following the lords, and gave the seal of the Garuda vehicle<sup>120</sup> to the lords to take Chaophraya Phraek to rule the realm in the royal capital, and had Jao Mae Thao Intharabutri to be his queen.

Later, the king of [Ya]sodhara[pura]<sup>121</sup> made Khun Nakhonchai head of brigade to take troops to fight Jao Yat and Pa Wiset,<sup>122</sup> who marched elephants, horses, and troops to Prey Veng.<sup>123</sup> There was a defile so Khun Nakhonchai detailed around 300 men to go and look. These 300 went by night. While on the road, they were very cold and went to sleep. Khun Nakhonchai detailed one group to go and look. When they saw those gone before sleeping, they had all their weapons collected. When they woke up, they returned to Khun Nakhonchai’s army. Khun Nakhonchai punished them, and then returned their weapons to them.

Then Khun Nakhonchai marched the elephants, horses, and troops to fight with Jao Yat at that defile. Jao Yat detailed Khmer, Chong, and Pear<sup>124</sup> to go out to intercept and shoot, left and right, front and rear. Khun Nakhonchai was thus defeated. His elephant took him off but he did not fall. The elephant, Samphlueng, was lost to the enemy. The Kamphut<sup>125</sup> people gave chase and killed many troops at that time.

Jao Yat then took the elephants, horses, and troops and fled to Truen-at for about one month.

Then he came and was able to take Ban Sun<sup>126</sup> and march to Jong Koep.<sup>127</sup> Khun Kamhaengphet who ruled the city there, defended strongly. Jao Yat could not take the city, so withdrew his troops as a ruse. Then HM the King of the royal capital detailed Khun Kraiphonsen to go to help Khun Kamhaengphet to defend the city of Jong Koep. The city people trusted that Jao Yat had already retired. After around eight or nine days, Jao Yat brought only shock troops,<sup>128</sup> who rushed into the attack and were able to take the city. Khun Kraiphonsen and Khun Kamhaengphet fled to survive back to

<sup>118</sup> See footnote 72.

<sup>119</sup> In the Three Seals Law, Khun Krainarai is *phalat thun chalong* (deputy), *sakdina* 1,000, under Siracha Decho, one of the two military chiefs in Kalahom, but Rachasak has been demoted to a *khun dap*, *sakdina* 500 in the great guard of the left under Kalahom (KTSD I, 280, 288).

<sup>120</sup> The earliest source showing the Ayutthaya king using the Garuda as symbol of kingship (W).

<sup>121</sup> i.e., Angkor, hence meaning Chaophraya Phraek, hereafter usually referred to as “the king of the royal capital.”

<sup>122</sup> Perhaps a name associated with Chachoengsao. In 1593/4, a “Phra Wiset of the city of Chachoengsao” appears in Naresuan’s army (RCA, 142; MV, 72).

<sup>123</sup> เปรียงเพรวะ, *phriang phrewa*, now Prey Veng, east of Phnom Penh.

<sup>124</sup> Chong and Pear (Por) are Mon-Khmer-speaking ethnic minorities, now present in only small numbers.

<sup>125</sup> กัมพูช, apparently meaning the three groups referred to above.

<sup>126</sup> บ้านสุน, possibly Suong, north of Phnom Penh, which would be consistent with the next footnote.

<sup>127</sup> จงเคียบ; unknown, but one possibility is a place found on the 19th century *Royal Siamese Maps*, labelled as บ้านจังกัด, *ban jang kot*, south of Babaur near an outcrop of hills (Santanee and Stott, *Royal Siamese maps*, map 10, 138–9). Yat seems to be working his way westward to the area below the great lake.

<sup>128</sup> คนเร็ว, *khon rew*, fast people.

the royal capital, losing all the migrant families of Khun Kamhaengphet. Later Khun Kraiphonsen informed HM the King of the royal capital that Khun Kamhaengphet was siding with Jao Yat, and had sent his wife and children to him. The king thus had Khun Kamhaengphet questioned. He said, “If I am truly siding with Jao Yat in that way, could Khun Kraiphonsen have escaped and survived?”<sup>129</sup> Besides, I, your servant, fought strongly with them and thus survived.” The king thus had Khun Kamhaengphet’s wounds examined and saw it was true. He thus gave him another wife, and sent him back to rule Jong Koep.

Later Jao Yat sent someone to talk with Khun Kamhaengphet and inform him that Khun Kamhaengphet’s wives and children, whom Jao Yat had taken, were still kept together by Jao Yat, and had not been scattered apart. If Khun Kamhaengphet went to attend on Jao Yat, Jao Yat would take care of him to make him happy. Khun Kamhaengphet did not side with Jao Yat, who then marched elephants, horses, and troops to take back the city of Jong Koep. On arrival, he had them climb into the town, sack it, take it, and capture Khun Kamhaengphet in person. Jao Yat sent back all the wives, children and servants of Khun Kamhaengphet, who had been taken before, and took care of him to make him happy.

Later Jao Yat sent Yi Changthong and Nang Siphongsa to talk with all the *mahaphak* who were in Pasanti.<sup>130</sup> All the *mahaphak* came over to Jao Yat.

So HM the King of the royal capital detailed Khun Si Mongkhonrat, Khun Song Phra In, and Khun Rachasak to march elephants, horses, and troops to take Yi Changthong and the *mahaphak* who were living in Pasanti. So Yi Changthong and the *mahaphak* came out to fight with Khun Mongkhonrat and his troops, who retreated to Chaturamukh, and lost elephants, horses, all their weapons, victory gongs, horns, and musical instruments. Yi Changthong and the *mahaphak* followed them to Chaturamukh. Khun Si Mongkhonrat and Khun Rachasak fled from Chaturamukh to the royal capital. Jao Yat prepared a naval force that waited in ambush at Lawaek and captured many war boats and people. Then Nai Noi Kroek Hiu Khaen, his father Khun Song Phra In, and Khun Rachasak escaped. The troops of Jao Yat’s navy captured Khun Kamhaeng, his wives, children, and also minor wives.<sup>131</sup> Khun Rachasak and his officers, who escaped, retreated to the royal capital.

As for Khun Theparat, who the king sent to rule the city of Salai,<sup>132</sup> when he learned that Jao Yat had gone over to befriend the *mahaphak*, {he brought} his ace troops<sup>133</sup> to fight and take all the cities and villages in this way. Khun Theparat and his nobles<sup>134</sup>

<sup>129</sup> In the original, there is a *fongman* symbol here.

<sup>130</sup> ปาสานติ, unknown, but probably in western Cambodia, perhaps the same as a 19th century “Basan” now in Takeo province, and perhaps the same as Pathai Kasem in the LP chronicle for CS 806, as both names can be interpreted as meaning “place of peace” (RCA, 16, 1.6; MV, 64–5; Vickery, “Cambodia and its neighbours,” 292).

<sup>131</sup> บำโหรบาล, *bamhoraban*, meaning บำเรอบาท, *bamroebat*, minor wives or female servants (W).

<sup>132</sup> สลาย, unknown, possibly a place that appears on the *Royal Siamese Maps* (113–4) north of Pursat as สวายยง, *sawai yong*.

<sup>133</sup> ขมั่ง, *khamang*, expert troops (W), “probably” (MV).

<sup>134</sup> ลูกขุน, *luk khun*, which in this text seems to be used as a collective term for those with titles.

prepared tribute to bring to present to HM the King of the royal capital. When they reached Pasanti, they met a patrol of Jao Yat which detained Khun Theparat, his *khun*, *muen*, and migratory families,<sup>135</sup> who had come, including Mae Nang Phra, Mae Nang Sai, Mae Nang Butri, Mae Nang Som, Mae Nang Akharat, and Mae Nang Khongrat, who were the wives and children of all the *khun* and *muen*. All were detained and taken to Jao Yat, who took all these women as wives, and distributed the captured property of silver and gold to the soldiers.

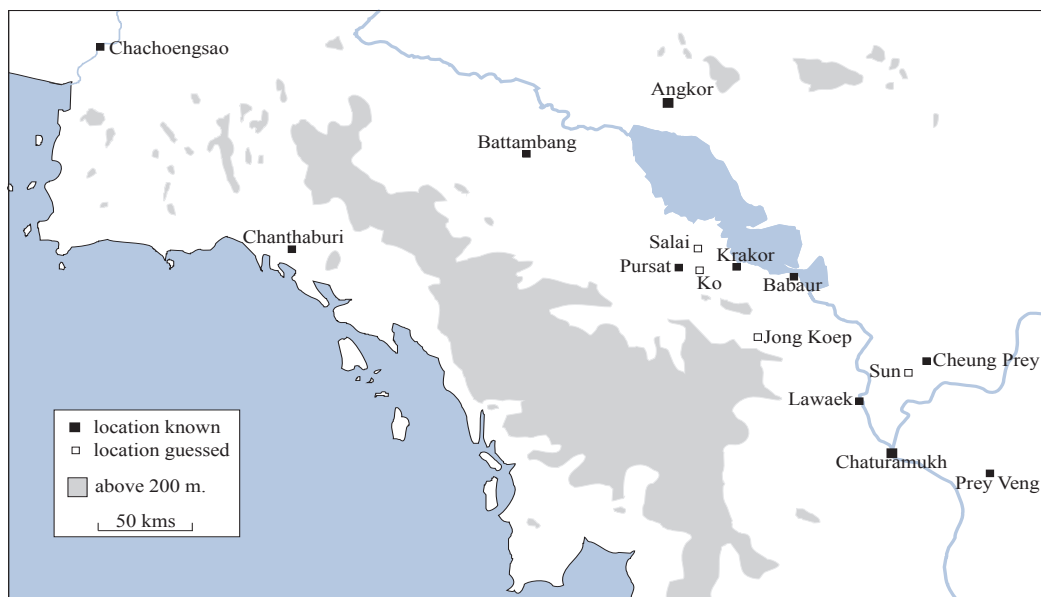


Figure 1. Map of Cambodia showing places mentioned in the text

A little later, Pa Wiset<sup>136</sup> came to Jao Yat, who gave Mae Nang Khongrat to Pa Wiset, who performed an anointment of Jao Yat as Chaophraya Yat at Babaur.<sup>137</sup> Then Pa Wiset assembled troops and took Muen Toet Songsan with him, but Phraya Yat had all the cities: Chaturamukh and Muen Nara, ruler of the city of Phetinthara,<sup>138</sup> city of Lawaek, city of Kamphaeng Phaisi,<sup>139</sup> city of Traphang Phlang,<sup>140</sup> city of Babaur, city of Ko,<sup>141</sup> and city of Katok,<sup>142</sup> and he had Toet Songsan rule the city of Kato.<sup>143</sup> Phraya Yat stayed

<sup>135</sup> ครวอพยพ, *khrua ophayop*, people swept up and displaced as war prisoners or in recruiting drives.

<sup>136</sup> ปาวีเสด, the prefix suggests he has been a monk, and the name suggests he may be credited with supernatural powers.

<sup>137</sup> บาบูร, *babun*, at the lower end of the Tonle Sap.

<sup>138</sup> เพชรอินทร, unknown.

<sup>139</sup> กำแพงไพศร, unknown.

<sup>140</sup> ตระพังพลึง, unknown.

<sup>141</sup> เกอะ; perhaps the same as ดอนขอ, *don kho*, between Babaur and Pouthisat on Santanee and Stott, *Royal Siamese maps*, 116–7.

<sup>142</sup> กตอก, possibly Krakor, just north-west of Babaur along the Tonle Sap.

<sup>143</sup> กะตอ, unknown.

at Cheung Prey.<sup>144</sup> Phraya Wiset stayed at Phirenthara.<sup>145</sup> Yi Chang Thong stayed at Chaturamukh. Khun Sophrue stayed at Lawaek. Khun Theparat stayed at Babaur. Khun Kamhaengphet stayed at Traphang Phlang. Nai Thammaracha stayed at Jong Koep.<sup>146</sup>

Then HM the King of the royal city had Nai Longphat detail people to come secretly to inform Somdet Phra Boromarachathirat Jao that Khun Nakhonchai had let Jao Yat go and that Jao Yat went over to befriend all the *mahaphak*, being a great rebellion, “I beg your majesty’s compassion.”

When a servant came to inform on the matter in this way, Somdet Phra Boromarachathirat Jao gave a royal command to his son, HM the King of the royal capital, and the lords that there was a war in Ayutthaya, and had Khun Nakhonchai and Nai Longpat<sup>147</sup> come at once.<sup>148</sup> As for the lords and generals, he had them stay with the Chaophraya.<sup>149</sup> When the royal order reached HM the King of the royal capital, he had Khun Nakhonchai and Nai Longpat come to Ayutthaya.

Khun Nakhonchai arrived. Somdet Phra Boromarachathirat Jao had all the venerable councillors examine the case, and when they found it true, He had Khun Nakhonchai executed, along with Khun Song Thuan and Nai Yi Hun, sons of Khun Nakhonchai. He then appointed Nai Longpat as military chief, and put Khun Kamhaeng Phra Inthon in place of Khun Longpat as partner of Khun Ramason. As for Khun Pha Wang, the *palat*, and Khun Phra Sisai, earlier when Khun Nakhonchai asked the king for the bull elephant, Khian Phlonlon, to look after, the king<sup>150</sup> said he could.

At that time Khun Pha Wang said that an elephant that had won-at-tusks,<sup>151</sup> such as this, should not be far from the royal foot, hence the nobles {ruled}, “If it is anyone else, it is improper, but this royal servant, Khun Nakhonchai, is His military chief.” The king then averted His face and left. Khun Pha Wang then did not ask for the king’s mercy in private.<sup>152</sup> Besides, there was no {royal} order, so Khun Phrasi sent that elephant to Khun Nakhonchai himself. The king had Khun Pha Wang jailed with Thaluangfan,<sup>153</sup> and appointed Nai Si, son of Khun Phrasi, as Khun Si Rachawang Mueang<sup>154</sup> instead.

<sup>144</sup> เชียงไพร, *chiang phrai*, north-east of Phnom Penh.

<sup>145</sup> พิเรนธร, probably the same as Phiren above; unknown.

<sup>146</sup> Khun Theparat and Khun Kamhaengphet have gone over to Yat. Two others in this list, Khun Sophrue and Nai Thammaracha, have names that suggest they were originally Ayutthaya appointees (W, 87).

<sup>147</sup> ลงพัด, an officer who waves flags to signal troop movements in battle (W, 88).

<sup>148</sup> The “war” is a ruse to get them to Ayutthaya. Khun Nakhonchai is made the scapegoat for the failure to prevent Yat’s rise.

<sup>149</sup> Chaophraya Phraek, king of the royal capital (Angkor).

<sup>150</sup> Winai suggests ว่า here should be พระ.

<sup>151</sup> ชนะงา, *chana nga*, meaning he had triumphed in a contest with another elephant (W).

<sup>152</sup> The king has given his approval, yet Khun Pha Wang questioned his ruling in public, and thus has offended the king (W).

<sup>153</sup> ทะลวงฟัน, *thaluang fan*, “stab and slash” officers, officers in the department of the palace overseeing royal consorts, 600 *sakdina*. They oversaw a jail inside the palace (KTSD 1: 246–7; Baker and Pasuk, *Ayutthaya Palace Law*, 105, 131).

<sup>154</sup> ขุนศรีราชวังเมือง, possibly Luang Rachawang Mueang Suriyachati, head of the left division of elephants, *sakdina* 3,000, who also appears in *Yuan phai* (KTSD, I, 250; Baker and Pasuk, *Yuan Phai*, 42).



As for Chaophraya Yat, he brought the *mahaphak*, around 10,000, left and right, front and rear, and put Phraya Wiset in command of the vanguard, to march from the city of Nokaban.<sup>155</sup> The *phak* marched to Pursat,<sup>156</sup> so Khun Song Phra Inthon, the city ruler there, came out in defence. Phraya Yat and Phraya Wiset were defeated and retreated to Cheung Prey.

After a short time, Phraya Yat and Phraya Wiset marched elephants and troops and took Pursat.

At that time, Phraya Wiset brought an army and established it in the district of Phorang,<sup>157</sup> not making a camp. As for Phraya Yat, he came and established at Pursat and had them make a camp, digging a moat and rampart, a dance-spread fence,<sup>158</sup> guns,<sup>159</sup> and spikes<sup>160</sup> for security. Phraya Yat came to surround Pursat. After around five days, Khun Thep Songkhram from Chantabun marched elephants, horses, and troops to reach Pursat. Khun Song Phra-in and Khun Thep Songkhram prepared elephants, horses, and troops to come out to oppose. Phraya Yat and Phraya Wiset were defeated. All the troops pursued and attacked them. At that time, Khun Thep Songkhram, riding the bull elephant, Phuban, charged after the enemy all on his own. Muen Toet Songsan was riding the bull elephant, Rattana Ballang, much smaller than Phlai Phuban. When he saw Khun Thep Songkhram was isolated and there was nobody else close, he goaded Phlai Rattana Ballang to sneak up and duck under the chin of Phlai Phuban. Toet Songsan struck the helmet of Khun Thep Songkhram, which fell. Nai Jakkarat, who was in middle position on Toet Songsan's elephant, stabbed the eye of Khun Thep Songkhram. Toet Songsan slashed Khun Thep Songkhram dead on the neck of his elephant. At that time, Nai Toet Songsan was hit by five arrows. Phraya Yat was hit by an arrow in the arm, which hurt so badly he could not stay and withdrew to Thuan Babun.<sup>161</sup>

Later, someone came to steal the elephant Rattana Singhat but, having gone to Pursat, was caught by Nai Toet Songsan, who said, "This elephant should go to Chaophraya Yat." When he knew Toet Songsan had this elephant, Chaophraya Yat rode the elephant, Saphlueng, from Cheung Prey to meet Phraya Wiset at Traphang Phlang. On arrival, he said, "I came to ask for the elephant." Phraya Wiset said, "Speak with Toet Songsan."

<sup>155</sup> นอกบาล, perhaps a miscopied place name (W). MV has "from the outer areas."

<sup>156</sup> โฟธิสัตว์, *phothisat*.

<sup>157</sup> โฟร้าง, unknown.

<sup>158</sup> รวราแพน, *rao ramphaen*, an unknown defensive structure, using a word describing a peacock or other bird dancing with tail and wings spread; perhaps with spikes.

<sup>159</sup> อามรา, *amra*, similar to words for cannon found in Burmese, Mon, and Lanna. Chinese cannon were known in Vietnam from the first decade of the 15th century, and were carried on the vessels of the Cheng Ho voyages in the 1420s (see Sun, "Chinese-style gunpowder weapons," "Chinese military technology transfers"). Alternatively this may be some other defensive device.

<sup>160</sup> ขวากหนาม, *khwak nam*, spikes made from metal or hardened bamboo, embedded in the ground.

<sup>161</sup> ถวนบาบุร. Winai thinks this is a place in Chaturamukh, as it appears two paragraphs down, spelt slightly differently and apparently in Chaturamukh. Alternatively, this is Babaur, one of Yat's strongholds and close at hand, hence a likely refuge. On the *Royal Siamese Maps*, Babaur is given as เมืองบริบูรณ์, *mueang boribun*, and perhaps this was distorted to *thuan babun* by copyists. Babaur could be considered in the region of Chaturamukh when viewed from western Cambodia. (Santane and Stott, *Royal Siamese maps*, 138–9, 154–5).

Phraya Yat had Toet Songsan fetched to talk. Toet Songsan said, “I got this elephant, and will ride it in your service.” Phraya Yat said, “I have come to exchange elephants. If you will not exchange, then let it be as you wish.” The Phraya returned to his city.

Later, Phraya Yat used a ruse to send for Toet Songsan, who went to tell Phraya Wiset. Phraya Wiset forbade Toet Songsan to go. A little later, Phraya Yat sent for him {again}. Toet Songsan went to tell Phraya Wiset, who forbade him {again}. Toet Songsan did not listen. He took two *hua phan* and 500 troops to meet Phraya Yat. Phraya Yat had Toet Songsan and the two *hua phan* captured and securely imprisoned. As for the 500 troops, he had them put in yokes.<sup>162</sup> Then Chaophraya Yat sent someone to bring Phraya Wiset, put him in jail for three days, put him on a boat down to Chaturamukh, and executed him. As for Toet Songsan and the two *hua phan*, they were executed in Cheung Prey. Then he brought all the migratory families to enter Chaturamukh and go to Thuan Barabon.<sup>163</sup>

Then Chaophraya Yat appointed Nai Thammarat as Luang Thepracha. As for Yi Changthong, he was given the name Jao Khun Luang.

### *Death of Phraya Thepmongkhon*

Then Somdet Phra Borommarachathirat Jao gave Mae Nang Kongphaeng, daughter of Khun Thep Songkhram, ruler of Chantaburi,<sup>164</sup> to Yi Chaiya and had Yi Chaiya rule the city of Chantaburi instead.

Later, Phraya Thepmongkhon,<sup>165</sup> who was a venerable councillor, fell sick, went out to stay at Ban Chathing,<sup>166</sup> and passed away. Thus, Somdet Phra Borommarachathirat Jao had one *dun*<sup>167</sup> of gold brought from the royal treasury to make an urn for the funeral<sup>168</sup> of the corpse. Then He had Khun Si Bat, who was the son, brought from the royal capital to receive the inheritance. As for Khun Prachanon, the younger brother, He had him enter royal service as a venerable councillor in his stead.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>162</sup> กั้ง, *klang*, a shaming device, made from lengths of bamboo strung around the neck.

<sup>163</sup> ถวนบาร์บอน, see footnote 161.

<sup>164</sup> Who died above.

<sup>165</sup> Most likely, this is the general who led the 1431/2 expedition to Angkor, and who accompanied Chaophraya Phraek to Angkor. The funeral urn and the honours given to his children indicate his importance.

<sup>166</sup> บ้านฉะเชิงเทรา, unknown.

<sup>167</sup> ดุลย์, a measure equivalent to 1,600 baht or twenty-four kilograms.

<sup>168</sup> สงสการ, *songsakan*, from สงสัการะ, *song sakkara*, “send to worship,” an old term for funeral ceremonies.

<sup>169</sup> The story of Yat’s revolt has no ending here. According to the Luang Prasoet Chronicle, in CS 806, CE 1444/5, which may be soon after the events described above, King Boromracha led an army toปราบพรรค, *prap phak*, subdue the *phak*, using the same term used for Yat’s supporters in this text, and took 120,000 prisoners (*RCA*, 16, 1.4-7). Perhaps this was a response to Yat’s rise. In this chronicle, the site of the battle is given as Pathai Kasem, which might be the same as Pasanti (W, 91-2). The Lawaek Chronicle states that Yat had Chaophraya Phraek killed. This is not found in any Thai source. However, the fact that King Boromaracha led this expedition himself might suggest the expedition was a reaction to his son’s death.

*Restoration of Kaen Thao of Nan: part 2*

In 846, year of the rat,<sup>170</sup> second month, Somdet Phra Borommarachathirat Jao sent {someone} up to fetch Phraya Chaliang, Mahathammaracha, Phraya Ramarat, and Phraya Saen Soi Dao.

At that time, Phraya Chaliang entrusted the city of Sawankhalok to Jao Rachasi, who was his son. Phraya Thammaracha entrusted the city of Phitsanulok to Phraya Hem. Phraya Ramarat entrusted the city of Sukhothai to Phraya Thammaracha and Traisuan. Phraya Saen Soi Dao entrusted the city of Kamphaeng Phet to Phraya Siwaphakdi. All the Phraya came down to Ayutthaya. On their arrival, the king assembled the lords, generals, and councillors at a teaching hall in a temple precinct,<sup>171</sup> gave opportunity to the four Phraya to pay respect to the royal foot, and gave a royal command to the four Phraya, “What can be done to have the Phraya of Nan go out to be our dependent territory?”<sup>172</sup> Phraya Saen Soi Dao and Phraya Ramarat addressed the king, “Nan is adjacent to the city of Chaliang. And Phraya Kaen Thao has also come to stay in that city. May the king leave this to be the duty of your servant, the Phraya of Chaliang, alone. If there is a war, we all, your servants, beg to take elephants, horses, and troops to help.”

Somdet Phra Borommarachathirat Jao gave orders accordingly. Then Phraya Chaliang addressed the king, saying, “If it cannot be taken in friendship but {must be taken} by warfare, does your majesty wish it taken?” He replied, “Whatever is done to take it, I cannot criticise the Phraya.” Phraya Chaliang then addressed the king, saying, “My forces, sire, are weak. The people of Phrae and people of Nan have 20,000 troops, elephants, and horses, all high-spirited. If I can take it, it will be through the power of your accumulated merit.”

Somdet Phra Borommarachathirat Jao gave orders to the three Phraya, saying, “If Phraya Chaliang goes to take the city of Nan, you all provide 2,000 troops, twenty decorated elephants, and 200 horses, prepared in time for royal service; that is, all of you be loyal to me.”

The lords took their leave of the king and returned to their cities, except Phraya Saen who stayed to attend on the royal foot in Ayutthaya.

As for Phraya Chaliang, when he returned to the city of Sawankhalok he left all matters to Muen Luang Phon, who had a letter sent to Phan Harakong in the city of Nan. Phan Harakong was of the same mind as Muen Luang Phon, and sent a letter saying, “Have Phraya Jao quickly march elephants, horses, and troops, forthwith to go together right now.” All the Lao came to tell Khun Nong Khwang in Traitrueng.<sup>173</sup> Nong Khwang raised about 6,000 battle troops, along with elephants and horses, and had all the migratory families go to the city of Chiang Mai.

<sup>170</sup> The date is clearly wrong. As noted above, according to the Nan and Chiang Mai chronicles, these events took place earlier. Perhaps the date should be CS 798, CE 1436/7, also a year of the rat. This opening sentence may refer to the visit of the northern lords to Ayutthaya at the end of the first part of this story above.

<sup>171</sup> เปรี๊ยะพุกทาวาส, *parian phutthawat*.

<sup>172</sup> Meaning to restore the usurped ruler of Nan as a dependent of Ayutthaya.

<sup>173</sup> An old city on the west bank of the Ping River, about fifteen kilometres below Kamphaeng Phet.

When the letter reached Muen Luang, he took the matter to tell Phraya Chaliang, who prepared elephants, horses and troops, and sent a letter to bring troops quickly of the three large head cities which would go together on the route of the march.

At that time spies<sup>174</sup> came to talk to ...

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... Siwaphakdi, who had them talk to Phraya Saen who addressed the matter to Somdet Phra Borommarachathirat Jao. The king ordered that, "If that is the case, Phraya Saen [should return] immediately." Phraya Saen paid respect to take leave of the royal foot [and returned to] the city of Kamphaeng Phet.

As for Jao Siwaphakdi, he spoke to Jao Fa Fung, Muen Krai Kamphaeng, Phraya Ramarat, and Mahathammaracha, "I will go to Traitrueng myself."<sup>175</sup> Then Jao Siwaphakdi appointed Jao Fa Fung and Jao Krai Kam[phaeng] to take 5,000 along with elephants and horses to march to Traitrueng. When [Phraya] Saen reached Kamphaeng Phet, he prepared elephants, horses and troops [as a land army] and a boat army. When ready, he had Jao Siwaphakdi command the vanguard and march up to [Jao] Fa Fung and Krai Kamphaeng, and on arrival to enter {the city} immediately. The city people fought strongly in defence. The troops of Phraya Saen [were hit] by weapons and many fell dead or were injured, so they retired from the battle and returned down.

Then [Phraya] Saen sent Phan Un and Phan Bunkrai to Phraya Chaliang to speak on the matter which they had discussed together before.<sup>176</sup> When Phan Un and Phan Bunkrai arrived, they spoke to Phraya Chaliang as Phraya Saen had ordered on every point.

Phraya Chaliang then sent both to tell Phi Phraya<sup>177</sup> that, "I will take this city for Phi Phraya myself." Phan Un and Phan [Bun]krai went up to tell Phraya Saen according to the words of Phraya Chaliang in every [detail]. Phraya Chaliang then marched elephants, horses and troops to Phraya Saen.

He had Jao [Fa] Fung and Jao Krai Kamphaeng march as the vanguard. When they reached Chiang Thong,<sup>178</sup> the spies said, "They reported that Maharat<sup>179</sup> has died, and the [city people] were all taken into the city of Chiang Mai. Now they know that Maharat has not [died] and the city people have all returned. They are all in their home cities [as before]." Jao Fa Fung and Jao Krai Kamphaeng then sent word to Jao Siwaphakdi [who]

<sup>174</sup> ชาวคอย, *chao khoi*, "waiting people," intelligence agents.

<sup>175</sup> The events here are not very clear. The plan to attack Nan, plus rumours of the death of the King of Chiang Mai, seems to have provoked a conspiracy in Traitrueng to rebel against its overlord in Kamphaeng Phet. The ruler of Kamphaeng Phet hurries back from Ayutthaya to quell this revolt, but his force is defeated, and he calls for help from Phraya Chaliang. Phraya Chaliang marches his force first to subdue Chiang Thong, which, perhaps, is also part of the revolt. Only after both Chiang Thong and Traitrueng are settled, do they again focus on Nan. This incident displays the complexity of politics in the Northern Cities and Lanna.

<sup>176</sup> Namely, that they would co-operate.

<sup>177</sup> Meaning Phraya Saen Soi Dao, who is presumably his elder.

<sup>178</sup> An old city on the Ping River, close to present-day Tak.

<sup>179</sup> The King of Chiang Mai.

told Phraya Saen, who went to tell Phraya Chaliang to prepare elephants and horses to march up. When they arrived, Jao Fa Fung and Jao Krai Kamphaeng came to tell all about the battle to Phraya Saen. Jao Siwaphakdi said, “Only these cities, [if you] cannot take them, it’s fitting for you to wear a skirt.”

Jao Fa Fung and Jao [Krai Kam]phaeng, marched the army and established in the district of Mae Tak, distant from the city [about ...] *sen*. They stayed two days to prepare the troops to enter the city in disguise and sack it ...

*[Here the text jumps from the attack on Chiang Thong to Traitrueng. Some six lines have probably been skipped by a copyist]*

... defend as well as you can. Do not disappoint on royal service.” Phraya Saen and Phraya Chaliang [inspected] all the troops, had bamboo climbing poles<sup>180</sup> prepared to run up and lean {against the walls}, and arranged together [to] enter and sack the city: “Have them listen for the sound of our gong. If anyone fails to obey [orders] they will be severely punished. At dusk, have everything prepared [and ready].” Then around the time children went to sleep, Phraya Chaliang was able to march the troops along with elephants and horses into the city. As for Muen Nong Khwang, he mounted an elephant with his wives and went out into the midst of the troops, who crowded around and captured Muen Nong Khwang and his wives. As for Muen Kham Khon Chao and Jao Krai Kamphaeng, they obtained elephants [, horses?], Muen Nong Khwang, and one betel set. They brought this to Jao Siwa[phakdi, who] gave it to the wife of Muen Dao Thong. Muen Kham Khon Chao and Jao Krai Kamphaeng took that bull elephant and gave it to Jao Siwaphakdi. As for Muen H...kaya, he [...] one person and Prue Paron took the swordsmen and shieldmen of the right out [...] Then Phraya Saen and Phraya Chaliang entered the city, halted their elephants in the parade ground to sp[ea]k together. Phraya Saen said to Phraya Chaliang, “As arranged, they were to hear the s[ound] of our gong to come in and sack, but why have you had them sack it first?” Phraya Chaliang summoned Ja Ngua and asked, “Did you hear something and so quickly had them scale the city, or did you not hear the order.” Ja Ngua said, “I heard the loud sound of the gong, and so ordered them to enter and sack {the city}.” Phraya Saen said, “What Ja Ngua says here, he’s playing tricks on us.” Phraya Chaliang laughed, and both Phraya went out to the army. Phraya Chaliang said, “That’s finished as far as it can be,” and then [...] had Jao Krai Kamphaeng rule the city of Traitrueng, and left 5,000 troops along with elephants, [horses,] and various stuff because of fear of the soldiers living in that city. Phraya Chaliang and [the army] halted there. Phraya Chaliang had them prepare a l[etter] and sent it secretly to Muen Luang Phon and all the *saen*, *khun*, *muen* [who were friendly] with Phraya Kaen Thao in the city of Nan. Muen Luang Phon had all the *saen* and *muen* sent back, saying, “If you come now, Phraya, that is very good. We have not forgotten the virtue of Phraya Kaen Thao. Bring Phraya Kaen Thao, who is our lord, for us to see.” Then retainers of Phraya Chaliang went up to talk to Phraya Chaliang about this matter that Muen Luang Phon [and] all the *saen* and *muen* had said in full detail.

<sup>180</sup> บันไดพะอง, *bandai pha-ong*, bamboo poles for scaling walls.

When Phraya Chaliang had [heard] such words spoken by the people of Nan, Phraya Chaliang sent for Mo Phrommakho[t] and asked, “If we go to take the city of Nan now, will we get it?” Mo Phrommakhot said, “If you go now you will take the city,” and said, “you will get it for the person there [before, namely Phraya Kaen Thao].” Phraya Chaliang inspected the elephants, horses, and troops. After three days, he marched [them all] out for training on the sand beach. He had a letter sent to Maha[thammaracha], Phraya Ramarat, and Phraya Saen Soi Dao that there was an order from the king that there was a royal command before then.<sup>181</sup> Phraya Chaliang left the city of Sawankhalok to Jao Rachasi Yot, his son, Muen Jai Khwang, Khun Nakhonchai, along with all the *nak prut*<sup>182</sup> and the monk-quarter servants,<sup>183</sup> temple servants,<sup>184</sup> around 3,000. Phraya Chaliang sent to Jao Rachasi Yot, saying, “If the three Phraya return the elephant to us at any time, send it on quickly to catch up with our army. In addition, if our [elder brother] Mahathammaracha arrives, have him be acting governor of the city too.” Chaophraya Chaliang, having given this order, marched the elephants, horses, and troops ...

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<sup>181</sup> That they should co-operate to reinstall Kaen Thao at Nan.

<sup>182</sup> นักพฤทธิ, perhaps advisory ministers (W).

<sup>183</sup> พลเชงกู่, *phon choeng kuti*, servants who wash monks feet before they enter their quarters (W).

<sup>184</sup> คลบาล, *kholaban*, miscopying of คิลบาล, *khilaban* (W).



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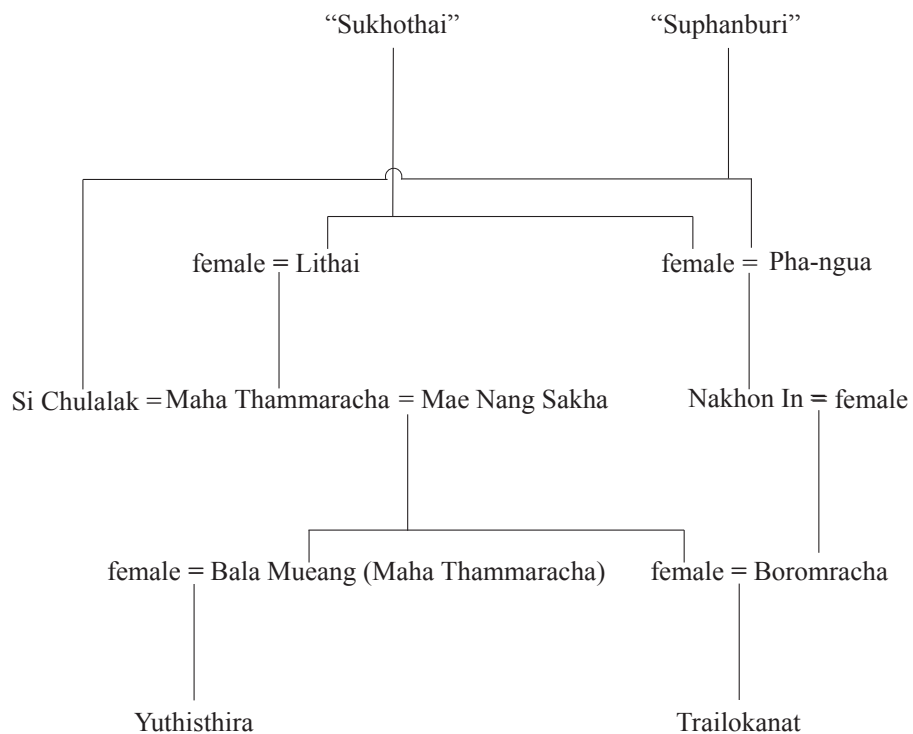


Figure 1. Exchange of marriage partners between the Sukhothai and Suphanburi families. Adapted from Phiset, *Phra maha thammaraha*, 90.