

THE KOH LAK TRADITION

by

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PART ONE.

The Tradition and a Few Introductory Remarks.

Before recording the Koh Lak Tradition it may be helpful to the reader to know the geographical position of Koh Lak. Koh Lak is officially known as Prachuab Kirikanta (ประจวบคีรีขันธ์). This place, the centre of this tradition, is situated on the Southern Railway, 318 kilometres from Bangkok, and is on the western side of a beautiful bay which is practically land-locked. The entrance to this bay from the Gulf of Siam is through a narrow passage, near which stands Koh Lak, the pillar island, and Koh Hai Lam, the Hai-lam' island. These islands are in reality rocks projecting from the bed of the sea, and are of considerable altitude. They are the homes of the *serau* or wild goat. Lying to the north, two or three miles distant, is Kao Mawng Lai (เขามองลาย). It was on this prominence that Prince Mawng Lai lived. In ancient days this territory was divided for administrative purposes into a number of small governorships. Koh Lak is a strategic position of some importance. Firstly the little harbour is protected from the fury of the north-east monsoon. The water is shallow, but this could be rectified by dredging. A few miles north of Koh Lak is a low pass through the hills which leads to Mergui and Tanao Sri in Burma. South of Koh Lak is Ban Krut (บ้านครุฑ), from which place also one can move into Burma, for there is another low pass lying a few miles to the west of this place.

A short distance south of Krut (ครุฑ) is Bang Ta-phau (บางตะพาน), lying a mile or so inland from the sea on a river of that name. About twelve miles west of Bang Ta-phau (บางตะพาน) are the gold mines of Paron (ป่าร้อน). These mines have been worked from time immemorial. The gold is very pure, but is found only in small quantities. Many years ago a European Company tried to work these mines on a commercial scale, but failed, losing a great sum of money. The people still wash a little gold every year. South of Bang Ta-phau (บางตะพาน) we come to Chumphorn (ชุมพร), lying on the eastern side of the Isthmus of Kra (คอคอตกะ). This Isthmus has been used as a trade route for several thousand years. It is probable that the trade between India and the ancient Kingdoms of Punan (พุนัน), Cham (ขัม), Cambodia (กัมโบเจ็ดีย), and China passed over this road. To the south of this there is another route, starting from Takuapa (ตะกั่วป่า), known to the ancients as Takola (ตาโกลา), lying on the west coast of Siam. Passing over the watershed this route abuts on the Gulf of Siam near Chaiya (ไชยา). South of Chaiya (ไชยา) we come to Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj (นครศรีธรรมราช). Both Chaiya and Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj have been the capitals of ancient and powerful Kingdoms. These places were colonized by Indians, the Cholas and Pandyas. Their princes were Indian. The territory embraced within the boundaries of the Kingdom of Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj was known as Tamra-ling-ka or Tam-pra-ling-Ka. It is interesting to know that this word is of Southern Indian origin. It means copper-colour marked, a term the Pandyas used when describing territories occupied by them. When these people conquered Ceylon they gave it the name of Tamra-parani, because they had to cross a river whose waters were copper-coloured. Having described the territories lying to the south of Koh Lak and those to the west, it may be as well to say what lies to the north. To the north are the old towns of Kwi (กวี) and Pran (ปราน), which have some historical importance, and farther to the north again we come to, Bejraburi (เบ็ชชัยบุรี), which was known in olden times as Padja (พัตจา). This place, Padja (พัตจา), as well as the region lying to the north along the valley of the Meklong river, notably the town of Rajaburi (ราชบุรี), had also been Indianized.

It will be seen from what I have said that Koh Lak stands on historic ground; the southern marches of the Thai people passed over this territory. Many battles must have been fought here, and the battle mentioned in the Koh Lak Tradition was one of those which took place during the southern expansion of Thai power. Since those days the Thai have fought the Môn (มอญ), the Burman (พม่า) and the Cambodian on this ground.

Although we do not know who Prince Mawng Lai (มอญลาย) was, or the exact period during which he flourished, an attempt will be made in Part III to clarify this obscurity. Perhaps the name of Mawng Lai's daughter, Yom Doey, may give us a clue as to who her father was. Yom Doey is without doubt not a Thai name. It is said to be the name of a flowering tree or plant, but I have been unable to verify this after consulting with botanists and those versed in forestry. The word is used to represent a flower in the Vessantara Jataka or "Birth Story." The reference will be found in that portion of the story which recounts that Mathri, when in search of forest fruits, pointing said: "There is the Saiyud (สายหยุด), and over there is the Bud Prayong (พุทธประยงค์), and yonder is the Yom Doey (ยอโดย)." My suggestion is that the word Yom Doey is of Indian origin, either Cholian or Pandyan. However this is a matter for philologists to decide.

The reader of the Tradition will notice that a fortune-teller or astrologer, named Bejr, and his wife Nang Ai, were living in Mawng Lai's territory. These people were Thai; the name of the man and his wife are somewhat significant; the man, being called Bejr, probably came from the then Thai city of Padja (Bejraburi), and his wife was called Ai, which has the meaning of "first", the first Thai woman to settle in this region. It is well known that no man is a prophet in his own country, and all prophets and most fortune-tellers and astrologers are strangers in the land. These two people were such strangers. On the death of Mawng Lai, being overcome by fear they fled in a northerly direction to the Cock-fighting Hill in the Province of Kanchanaburi. It is noteworthy that the Cock-fighting Hill is mentioned in the Koh Lak Tradition. This place must have been of some historical importance in connection with some event. In the story Khun Chang Khun Phan

(ขุนขี้ขุนแผน), the hill is mentioned in one passage, which says: "Phra Phan Sa Narakorn" (พระพรษานรกกร) in his anger commanded the putting to death of Khun Krai (ขุนไกร). His wife, named Thong Prasri (ทองประศรี), being afraid that she would become a royal slave or widow (such a status being intolerable to a free woman), fled from Ayodhya and went to hide in the village of the Cock-fighting Hill. It is probable that a battle was fought near this place between the Thai and an opposing force.

The following is the Tradition rendered into English:—

It is related by the people living in the vicinity of Koh Lak (the Pillar island) that in ancient days there lived here a prince named Mawng Lai (มอญลาย), which means the "look out place". He had a wife, Rampung (รำพึง) meaning "remembrance", and a daughter called Yom Doey (ยมโดย), the name of a flowering shrub. Their house was built on the shore of a small bay (อ่าวน้อย), a continuation of the Mawng Lai Hill. Mawng Lai was a man of great stature and strength. His weapon was a club, having a circumference of 15 hand-breadths (about 1.6 metres) and a length of 16 metres. One day Mawng Lai dreamt that he was struck by lightning. He told the story of his dream to a friend called Bejr (เบ็ญ), whose wife was named Ai (อ้าย). This man was an astrologer, a fortune-teller, and he interpreted the dream to mean Mawng Lai would be fortunate and obtain wealth. Mawng Lai decided to set forth in search of wealth, and bidding farewell to his wife and daughter, picked up his club, put a bag (ย่ามละมัว) containing what he required for the journey on his shoulder, and went down from the house.

The story now relates the entry of a Chinese prince named Muak (หมวก) on the scene. This prince had heard of the extraordinary beauty of Yom Doey, the reputation of which was sufficient to cause him to become so enamoured of her, that he determined to request her hand in marriage. The prince, having bade farewell to his father, the Emperor of China, went with a fleet of a hundred sailing vessels to Koh Lak to ask for Yom Doey. On his arrival at Koh Lak he approached Yom Doey herself, but she refused to accept his advances. The prince was so grieved at this refusal that he decided to call on the spirit of his grandfather to help him. [The

word used here is Devapu (เทพผู้); the young man being a prince, his grandfather would naturally be a god and reside in the realm of the gods.] The prince placed himself in a state of mental poise, approximating to a trance. The spirit of his ancestor entered into him. The spirit gave him a charm or love philtre composed of wax, powder and sandal wood oil, having the property of making any one touched therewith fall in love. The prince prepared gifts for Ram Phung which had been sprinkled with this love philtre. Such feelings of pity and commiseration were aroused in the heart of Ram Phung that she gave the prince opportunities of meeting her daughter alone. Yom Doey became enamoured of the prince, which resulted in a clandestine love intrigue. The young prince having gained the love of the girl, formally asked for her in marriage from her mother. A date, namely, Tuesday the 9th day of the waxing of the 12th month, was fixed for the wedding. Tuesday is held to be a good day, but in that year it so fell out that it was an evil day, and any one doing anything on Tuesday in that year was bound to meet with misfortune. Prince Muak sent a letter conveying the joyful tidings of his approaching marriage to his father, the Emperor, who immediately set out with a fleet of five hundred vessels for Koh Lak to conduct the marriage ceremony.

Mawng Lai, travelling in a north-westerly direction came to the city of Padja (พัตจา), where reigned a Prince Ubalabong (อุบลบอง). This prince had a son called Laya (ลาย). The young prince having heard of the beauty of Yom Doey, begged his father to ask for her in marriage from Mawng Lai. Mawng Lai consented to give his daughter to Laya, and Tuesday the 9th of the waxing of the 12th month was fixed for the wedding. Prince Laya, accompanied by Mawng Lai, and escorted by an army, set out for Koh Lak. The road was barred by an army of Yaksas (ยักษ์). A battle was fought, and the Yaksas were defeated. The young prince continued his journey, and came to a great swamp. Mawng Lai commanded the Yaksas to bring gold and make a bridge over the swamp. The party skirted the frontiers of Padja and camped at the Red Hill (เขาแดง). At this place the bowl containing betel nuts and leaves, a symbol of betrothal, was prepared for presentation to the parents of the girl. A number of hares were kept in an enclosure on a hill near by. When Mawng Lai arrived at his home, he learnt that his daughter had a

lover and that his wife had agreed to marry the girl to her lover, a prince from China. This news caused Mawng Lai to become enraged. When Prince Laya was told of the approaching marriage of Yom Doey to Prince Muak, he thought of attacking Prince Muak and seizing the person of Yom Doey. Mawng Lai thought of a plan to prevent fighting between the two princes. He was so enraged at what had taken place without his consent that he killed his daughter Yom Doey, and her maid Song (สง). He cut off their breasts throwing them in different directions. One fell in the country of Outer Annam (ญวนนอก), one at Chantaburi (Inner Annam) (ญวนใน), one at Songkla (สงขลา), and one in the island of Hainan (or Hailan). The body of Yom Doey fell in the Bay of Pak Panang (ปากพนัง), and the body of Song fell on the face of a hill in the island of Langka (Ceylon). He kicked his wife Ram Phung, breaking her ribs. She, with her eyes starting out of her head, fled in terror to the Bay of Manao (มะนอ), and died at Bang Ta-phan (บางตะพาน). The Yaksas became so frightened that they fled, taking their gold with them. Mawng Lai lost his senses, and in a fit of madness threw the gold which formed the betrothal gift, to Pa Ron (ป่าร้อน), which is near Bang Ta-phan and famous for the purity of its gold. He threw the staircase of his house away, and it became the present Kao Kan Bandai (เขาคันบันได), north of Kao Mawng Lai. He throw away the mirror, which became the present day Kao Chong Krachok (เขาช่องกระชอก), west of Kao Mawng Lai. He threw away his umbrella, which became the present Koh Rom (เกาะโรม). He cast the betel nuts and leaves, Chinese cakes, little pots holding wax, tobacco, chunam used with betel nuts, and many other things, into the sea, where they became sea-weed, shells, pebbles and so forth. Bejr attempted to calm Mawng Lai, who, becoming increasingly mad, threw the pestle away, which pierced the rock now known as Koh Talu (เกาะทะลุ). Mawng Lai, having set fire to his house, made up his mind to die, and death came to him on the top of Kao Mawng Lai lying to the north-east of the Bay of Koh Lak. His petrified body may be seen there to this day, lying face downwards looking out to sea.

Bejr fled, taking his family with him. He desired to go towards the East, but the sea barred his way and he fled towards the

north. His dogs, not understanding the change in the plan, lost their way, went towards the south and slept at Pratiu (ประทิว). Some people say the place was Sunak Hon (สุนัขทอง). Bejr went to a hill known as the Cock-fighting Hill (เขานก), in the Province of Kanchanaburi (กาญจนบุรี), where he trapped wild fowl. He lived on the islands called Pig and Tiger Islands, breeding pigs and catching tigers. His wife, Dame Ai, went to a place to make Kapi (กะปิ), and the place is now known as Kapi Island. Bejr then engaged in catching elephants at a place which is now known as Koh Chang (เกาะช้าง), the Elephant Island, situated on the eastern side of the Gulf of Siam, off the coast of Krat. Bejr related to two men the terrible happenings at Koh Lak, and his own adventures. This story so impressed them with the impermanence of worldly things that they decided to give up all worldly pleasures and pursuits and become hermits. They fixed their hermitage on an island now known as Si Chang (สี่ช้าง), the World-hating Hermit Island, situated west of Siracha. The tradition now brings us back to the two princes, Muak and Laya. The Prince Laya experienced such grief and sorrow on hearing of the death of Yom Doey that his spirit left him, and he died at a place known as Prince Laya Hill (เขาเจ้าลาย). The bowl containing the betel nuts and leaves, the symbols of betrothal, became transformed into the rocks of the Three-hundred Peak Hills (เขาสาร้อยยอด). The hares' pen was transformed into the Harepen Hill (เขากระต่ายขัง). The hares escaped from their pen, running away in all directions, and since that time, hares have been numerous in the district of Koh Lak. The turtles which were kept for preparing the dishes for the marriage feast, were transformed into the Turtle Hill (เขาเต่า), near Hua Hin. Prince Muak, who was enjoying some boiled rice, eating the same with chopsticks from an earthenware dish, was so upset on hearing from a servant of the death of Yom Doey that the chopsticks and dish dropped from his hands, and became the Chopsticks Hill (เขาตะเกียบ), near Hua Hin, and the Dish Island (เกาะจาน), which lies East of Koh Lak. The whale, which was to be cooked in the Chinese fashion as Pe Sa (เป็สะ), became transformed into the Whale Creek Hill (เขาคดอรรถ), adjacent to Koh Lak. The swifts which were to be roasted for the feast,

became the Swift Island (เกาะอีม่อน). The rhinoceros which was to be made into curry, both spiced and unspiced, became the Rhinoceros Island (เกาะแรด). Prince Muak, purifying his mind, gave up all worldly infatuations and attachments, decided to return to the heaven of his ancestors, and died at a spot now known as Muak-enclosing Hill (เขาล้อมหมวก). The Emperor of China gave orders for his fleet to leave the harbour, but his men forgot to pull up one of the mooring posts and this now remains as Pillar Island—Koh Lak (เกาะหลัก). One of the crew, who jumped overboard to recover the mooring post, was drowned, and at this spot now stands Hailam Island (เกาะไหหลำ). The Emperor with his retinue and fleet returned to China.

Mawng Lai has become deified, and is now a great Spirit (เจ้าพ่อมั่งลาย), in the realm of the gods. Sailors in danger from storms, and those stricken with disease make offerings composed of boiled glutinous rice and sugar to him, in the firm conviction that he will help them in their troubles, and that they will come safely to shore and recover from their sickness.

The following is the tradition in Siamese language, which I have recorded in the language of the people who gave it to me. This language may not be cultured Siamese, but it is written down in the actual words.

ประวัติเขาตาม่องล่าย

ตาม่องล่าย ภิริยาชื่อรำพึง มีบุตรชื่อนางยมโดย รูปร่างงดงาม เป็นที่ตองตาใครเห็นเป็นหงตกรัก ตั้งเคหะสถานอยู่ที่อำเภอไชย จังหวัดประจวบคีรีขันธ์ ตาม่องล่ายร่างกายกำยำด้าสันใหญ่โต มีกระบองเป็นอาวุธ โต ๑๕ กำ ยาว ๑๖ วา คืบหนึ่งตาม่องล่ายฝันว่าฟ้าผ่า เต่าให้ตาเพชร ดำน้ำนางไฉย เป็นเพื่อนพ้อง ตาเพชรทำนายว่า จะมีตาดำ ตาม่องล่ายคิดจะไปหาเพชรนั้นจินดา ตั้งภิริยาและบุตรแล้ว คว้าได้มีกระบองคู่มือพร้อมด้วยยามตะว้าบรรจุอาหาร ดังเรือนไป.

บัดนี้จะกล่าวถึงเจ้าหมวก บุตรเจ้าเมืองจีน ได้ทราบข่าวเต่าดีดถึงรูปโฉมโฉมพรรณนางสาวยมโดย ให้มีจิตกำหนัดรักใคร่อยากได้

ไว้เป็นภริยา จึงตามบิดายกตำเภามา ๓๐๐ ตำ เพื่อจะพูดจาทาบทามดูของนางยมโดย ๆ ไม่รับรัก เจ้าหมวกเข้าทรงเทอม ๆ เด็กดีฝั่ง, แแบ่ง, นำมันให้ เจ้าหมวกพยายามตั้งของให้แม่รำพึงไซ้ดีฝั่ง, แแบ่ง, นำมันประพรมตั้งของนั้น ๆ แม่รำพึงมีความตั้งดำริให้ โอกาศพบกับนางยมโดย ๆ เกิดความรักใคร่ได้เดียวกันทางดับ จึงพูดจาตั้งข้อตกลงนัดแต่งงานกันในวันอังคารเดือน ๑๒ ขึ้น ๘ ค่ำ อันเป็นวันอำมฤตโทษ (แต่บนวันของคารเป็นวันอุบาทว์ หมอตรวจดูไม่ทั่วถึง) เจ้าหมวกมีหนังสือบอกบิดา ๆ ก็ยกตำเภามาอีก ๕๐๐ ตำ เพื่อจะทำกรวิเวหา.

ฝ่ายคาม่องด้าย ไปทางทิศตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือถึงเมืองพระเจ้าอุบลตะบอง เมืองพิศชา ๆ มีบุตรชื่อเจ้าตาย ๆ ทราบข่าวความดีของนางยมโดย มีความอยากได้เป็นภริยาให้บิดาพูดจาตั้งข้อต่อคาม่องด้าย ๆ ตกลงยกให้ นัดแต่งงานกันในวันอังคารเดือน ๑๒ ขึ้น ๘ ค่ำ พองกนกบวชนางรำพึงนัดไว้กับเจ้าหมวก เจ้าตายยกพดมาพร้อมทั้งคาม่องด้าย มากดางทางพบยกษ เกิดรบกัน ยกษแพยอมเป็นชา แล้วเดินทางมาพบบั้งใหญ่ คาม่องด้ายเถนชกยกษ ให้ชนทองคำมาทำสะพานแล้วเดินเดี่ยวเข้าเขตตแดน ไปพักพลอยู่ที่บ้านเขาแดง จิตชนหมากทนนและชงกระต่ายไว้ที่เขาหนึ่ง.

ฝ่ายคาม่องด้ายเมื่อมาถึงบ้าน ทราบว่าบุตรมีคู่รัก และภริยาตกลงนัดแต่งงานก็โกรธมาก เจ้าตายกับเจ้าหมวกทราบเรื่องคิดจะทำสงครามชิงนาง คาม่องด้ายคิดตัดศึก ทั้งมีความโกรธอยู่แล้ว จึงฆ่านางยมโดยและนางสงคนไซ้ ขว้างนมข้างหนึ่งย่านญวนนอก อีกนมหนึ่งขว้างไปจันทบุรี (ญวนใน) อีกนมหนึ่งขว้างไปสงขลา อีกนมหนึ่งตกเกาะไหหลำ ส่วนตัวนางยมโดยขว้างไปตกอ่าวปากพนัง จังหวัดนครศรีธรรมราช ส่วนตัวนางสงคนไซ้ไปตกเกาะลังกานำมาล้างพิ และแม่รำพึงโครงหกจึงหนีไป

ถึงอำเภอขนาดเท่าเหล็กอก ไปนอนตายบางตะพาน ฝ่ายพวกยักษ์พากันหนี
ชนทองกลับไปด้วย ตามองตายเสียใจและคิดถึงมากขว้างทองหมั้นไปว่า
ร้อน ขว้างบันไดไปเป็นเขาคันบันได ขว้างกระจกไปติดซี่งเขากระจก
ขว้างร่วมไปเป็นเกาะร่วม หมากพญานกอินทรีและตบกับของต่าง ๆ ขว้างตง
ทะเลเลยกลายเป็นลำห้วย, หอยและก้อนกรวดและอื่น ๆ.

ตาเพชรมาห้ามเดยเกิดวิวาทกัน ตามองตายเอาด่ากขว้างไปถูกเขา
ทะเล ตาเพชรพาครอบครัวหนี ตมองตายเอาเพลิงเผาบ้านแล้วกตจนใจตาย
อยู่ที่เขาเรียกว่า เขามองตาย.

ฝ่ายตาเพชรพาครอบครัวหนีคิดจะไปอยู่ที่ศควนออกตงหนาดินทางชน
ไปทิศเหนือ แต่สุนัขตาเพชรหึ่งทางไปทิศใต้ ไปนอนอยู่ที่หน้าอำเภอ
ประทิว ตาเพชร ไปแหวะคอกไก่ที่เรียกว่าเขาชนไก่ จังหวัดกาญจนบุรี
และได้ไปพักเตียงผู้กรแล้วไปจับเสือใต้ที่เรียกว่าเกาะหมูเกาะเสือ และย้าย
ไ้ไปพักทำกะมี่ในท่ ๆ เรียกว่าเกาะกะมี่ แล้วตาเพชร ไปจับช้างผู้งใต้ที่
เรียกว่าเกาะช้าง แล้วมีชายสองคนได้ฟังเรื่องจากตาเพชร วิ่งโลกอนิจจัง
ใหม่ความเกิดขึ้นทางขวาวาคี จึงชวนกันบวชฤกษ์ ไปจำศีลภาวนา
เลยดับชนรตแห่งหนึ่งทเรียกว่าเกาะดีชิ่ง.

คราวนั้นจะกล่าวถึงเจ้าหมวกและเจ้าตาย เจ้าตายเมื่อทราบข่าวว่า
นางยมโดยตายก็เสียใจ ขาดใจตายเป็นเจ้าตาย ชนหมากก็กตายเป็น
คีตา ๓๐๐ ยอด ที่ซึ่งกระต่ายก็เคยเป็นเขากระต่ายชิ่ง กระต่ายก็ออก
จากที่ชิ่ง เพ้นผ่านไป จึงมีกระต่ายชุมมากในเขตต์ประจวบคีรีขันธ์
เท่าที่ชิ่งไว้จะแกงก็กตายเป็นเขาเต่า.

ฝ่ายเจ้าหมวกกำลังนั่งรับประทานข้าวต้มด้วยตะเกียบ และ จานดินดิบ
พอมีข่าวมาบอกว่านางยมโดยตายเจ้าหมวกร้องอ้ายย่า จานกระเด็นไปตง
เป็นเกาะจาน ตะเกียบกระเด็นไปตงเป็นเขาตะเกียบ ส่วนปลาวาฬที่จะ

PART TWO.

*The Dramatised Version of the Koh Lak tradition of
H. M. King Rama VI.*

His Majesty King Rama VI. dramatised the tradition. The royal playwright, however, changed the story to meet the requirements of his play. This dramatised version has been printed in a work called "The Book of Rajburi" (สมุดราชบุรี), published in B. E. 2468, A. D. 1925. This book was compiled in connection with the National Exhibition which it was intended to hold in that year, in commemoration of the fifteenth year of the reign of that king. As this story has received official sanction by being published in the work referred to, and as the play was actually staged and acted before the public in Koh Lak, it is possible that this story may be accepted by the people as the true one, and the real tradition gradually fade from their memory. It is for this reason that I place the tradition on record. The theme of the King's play is as follows:—

In ancient days there were three lords of the sea, each one having his residence on a hill adjacent to the sea. These three princes were, Chao Laya, whose hill was to the north, Thao Mawng Lai in the centre, and Chao Krung Cheen to the south. Prince Laya, having heard of the beauty of the daughter of Thao Mawng Lai, disguised himself as a fisherman and came by boat to the landing of the palace of Thao Mawng Lai at Koh Lak. The maids of the princess were buying fish at the landing, and, seeing Chao Laya, went home and told her that a handsome youth had brought fish to the landing for sale. The young princess commanded that he should bring his fish to the palace. The young man came into the presence of the girl. When they saw each other their hearts were pierced by the arrows of love, and from that day the young man found opportunities of coming to the palace frequently and one day their love was consummated. This was known to the mother of the princess, and a day was fixed for the marriage. The sea lord of China on the Krung Cheen Hill also heard of the beauty of the young princess, daughter of Thao Mawng Lai. He gathered together presents of beautiful silks and other articles and, disguising himself as a trader, came to the palace, where he was received by Thao Mawng Lai. Thao Mawng Lai was delighted with the beautiful silks and sent for his wife and daughter to come and look at them. The young Prince

of China then asked Thao Mawng Lai for the hand of his daughter. To this assent was given, and a date was fixed for the marriage. The date so fixed by Mawng Lai was the same date as that already arranged for the marriage of the princess to Chao Laya, the parents having forgotten their promise to Chao Laya. On the appointed day both Prince Laya and the Prince of China came in their ships, with their betrothal gifts, to the royal landing. Thao Mawng Lai realised that he was in a most embarrassing position, and, seeing that a fight between the two princes was inevitable, requested them to withdraw their ships from the landing to the open sea, in order that he might prepare a grand fleet of ships to receive the gifts. The two young men obeyed the request of the older prince, who immediately collected a fleet of armed vessels which were moored round his island city. Having gathered together his fleet under the pretext that the ships were to form a procession to receive the betrothal gifts, Thao Mawng Lai told the ambassadors of the two young princes of the mistake he had made, and suggested that the difficulty might be overcome by each of the princes taking half the girl. The two young princes objected, and sent their ambassadors back to tell Thao Mawng Lai that there was no justice in his solution of the difficulty. Prince Laya withdrew his fleet with the betrothal gifts to a harbour where the gifts were landed, and from this place set out with his fleet to attack Thao Mawng Lai. The young Prince of China, being overcome with rage, acted with greater decision and rapidity. He brought his fleet to the place where Mawng Lai's ships were lying. A battle ensued in which the Prince of China was defeated and his fleet dispersed. The slaughter was great, many prisoners were taken, and the prince is supposed to have fallen into the sea, for he was heard of no more. The betrothal gifts of the Prince of China were transformed into shells, fishes, etc. The princess, the cause of all this trouble, fearing that the young Prince of China might overcome her father, and she be taken by the victor, decided to flee by boat at night from the royal palace, for she loved Prince Laya. She carried her determination into effect and, while searching for her lover, a storm arose. Her boat was sunk, but she saved her life by swimming to land near a hill, which has since been known as the Maiden's Breast Hill (ເມັດເມັດ). Prince Laya, on arrival at the city of Mawng Lai, not finding the fleet of this prince or his men there, ransacked the palace in search of the young princess, but did

not find her. The girl's mother told Laya that the princess had fled by boat and gone in search of him. With these happy tidings in his heart he set forth with his fleet in search of the maiden. He found her near the Maiden's Breast Hill and took her away with him. Thao Mawng Lai, collecting the remnants of the Chinese fleet and gathering together much booty and many prisoners, returned to his city to find that his daughter was not there. Thao Mawng Lai questioned his wife and was told that their daughter had fled before the arrival of Prince Laya with his fleet. Mawng Lai became so enraged that he picked his wife up and threw her into the sea. She swam and landed at a place known today as Ramphung Hill. Thao Mawng Lai, with all his fleet, set forth in search of his daughter. He came up with the fleet of Prince Laya and the latter seeing that the forces of Mawng Lai were numerous, effected a landing of his men and entrenched himself on the top of a hill. Mawng Lai surrounded the hill, and Prince Laya being unable to obtain supplies was becoming short of food. There only remained to him a little fish condiment and a few rice crumpets, hence this hill is known as Savey Kapi Hill (เขาสมทบ). The shortage of food became so great that the princess told Prince Laya to go down to her father and beg pardon for his offence. The two young people went to the old prince. He forgave them and, returning to his own city, performed the marriage ceremony with great pomp and splendour, and sent the newly married couple to the city of Chao Laya.

The king, in his version, mentions certain acts as the cause of giving names to certain things and places, which need not be mentioned here, as they are already recorded in the real tradition.

PART THREE.

*A Dissertation on the Koh Lak Tradition with a Suggestion
of its Significance.*

Is the Koh Lak tradition, which I have recorded in Part One, an invention or not? I think the answer must be that this story is based on some happenings, which occurred in this locality in ancient times, and that this story has been handed down from father to son. This tradition is known throughout the Peninsula as far south as Chaiya. The population of this district is now composed of people from Bejraburi and from across the Burmah border, for in that area the population is largely Thai, descendants of the Thai who settled during the Siamese occupation. [*Vide* Dr. A. F. G. Kerr's Note on a Trip from Prachual (Koh Lak) to Mergui, published in the Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 2]. The ancestors of many of those living here and in the adjoining regions must have taken part in the Thai penetration towards the south, either as soldiers, traders or agriculturists. They took part in the wars which ended with the establishment of the supremacy of the Thai authority in this region. I think the tradition refers to one of these struggles and probably the first of them, that is, the southern movement in which the king of Sukhothai (Ram Kamheng) added this region and that south of it, including Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj, to his dominions probably about A.D. 1268 or a few years earlier.

My interpretation of this Koh Lak tradition, therefore, is that it refers to that period in Siamese history when the Thai people, under their King in Sukhothai, were extending their influence and pushing south and west, which they did by two methods:—(1) By a military movement down the Nakorn Chaisri and Mae Klong rivers, till they occupied the whole peninsula to the south of Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj. This movement must have occupied many years to complete. As it seems that the Thai suzerainty was established over Sri Dhammaraj and a portion of the Malay Peninsula lying to the south about A. D. 1268, then the military movement must have commenced before that year. This military movement was made possible by the defeat of Prince Sam Chun of Muang Chod (ผด), by Prince Ramaratha a year or so after his father Phya Sri Indra Bodindrathithya became king. Muang Chod is situated in Tambala

Mae Tūn (แม่ต๋น) of the sub-Amphur Mae Ramat (แม่ระมาด) of Amphur Mae Sod in the province of Tak. This event must have taken place about A. D. 1238. In the battle the father was worsted, but the son Ramaratha came to his father's assistance and defeated Prince Sam Chun. This battle was fought at old Tak, which lies on the right bank of the Ping River a few miles south of where the Wang River joins the Ping. King Sri Indra Bodindrathya conferred on his son Ramaratha the title of Ram Kaubheng as a reward for his bravery. Now that Prince Sam Chun had been disposed of, the road to the south was open. The Thai took advantage of this and the military movement south commenced. All the Thai communities living in this southern region were gradually brought within the dominion of Sukhothai. That there were Thai settlements already established in the valleys of the Chao Phya, Subpan, and Mae Klong rivers from about the 5th century of the Christian era cannot be doubted. I deal with this question in a separate work.

(2) By political and commercial penetration through Mae Sod into the Môn Kingdom of Mawtama (Martaban), which was reborn in A. D. 1281, and which eventually embraced the ancient city of Pegu and its territories known as Hongsawadi.

It was in the year A. D. 1284 that Magato, who had established himself in Mawtama in the year A. D. 1281, found himself a ruler without a title or the five regalia of royalty. Magato had eloped about the year A. D. 1275 with Princess Debasuda, a daughter of the king of Sukhothai, who had showered many favours on him. Magato bethought himself of his Royal master and benefactor in Sukhothai. He sent an embassy to the king of Sukhothai begging pardon for the offence he had committed in running away with the king's daughter during the king's absence on a military expedition against Java-Malay rebels in the peninsula south of Sri Dhammaraj. He then informed the king that he had made himself ruler over Mawtama and the Môn people in that territory and craved the king to confer on him a royal title and the five regalia of royalty. The King forgave Magato and conferred on him the title of King Fa Roa, which, patent of royalty, was inscribed on a tablet of gold. This patent of royalty together with a white umbrella, a crown, a sword, a fan and a pair of golden shoes, which constituted the five emblems of royalty, were conveyed by an ambassador from Sukhothai and presented to King Fa Roa in Mawtama in A. D. 1284.

That trade was carried on between the territory of Sukhothai and Mawtama, and that Mawtama was the port of export is proved by the fact that Magato headed a trading party to Sukhothai about A. D. 1268 during the Burmese régime. This trade probably received a great stimulus after Magato had established himself. The trade was extensive, and included large consignments of the famous Savankaloke pottery, which found markets in Africa, Arabia, Persia and India, as well as in Sumatra, Java, Cambodia, the Philippines and China. The political ascendancy of Sukhothai continued in this territory certainly till A. D. 1329, for two of the successors of King Fa Roa also received titles at the hands of the King of Sukhothai and were confirmed as Kings of Mawtama by him. The commerce of Sukhothai probably continued to use Mawtama as the port of export for a long period after A. D. 1329. It is significant that the King of Sukhothai sent an embassy to the court of the Mongolian Emperor of China in Peking in the year A. D. 1298-99, and King Fa Roa also sent an embassy to China in the same year. This would seem to prove that Mawtama was to some extent dependent politically on Sukhothai. The Sukhothai embassy was sent to beg the Emperor to confer on the king the same gifts of honour as the Emperor of China had given to the preceding monarch. These gifts were a white horse, a saddle, a whip and a coat of gold embroidery. The Emperor refused to comply with this petition and only sent the gold garment. Such an embassy conveying such a request could only have been sent to inform the Emperor of the death of the reigning King, and to ask for his Imperial recognition of his successor. The king who had died must have been Ram Kamheng, and his death must have taken place about the year A. D. 1297 or 1298. An embassy had been sent to Peking from Sukhothai in A. D. 1295 when no such request was made. This fact supports my theory that Ram Kamheng died about the time mentioned. If we examine the Paw Khun Ram Kamheng inscription, it will be found that the last of his acts recorded thereon took place about A. D. 1294. This is a further proof that he died shortly after A. D. 1294. If he reigned till A. D. 1317, as many Siamese scholars believe, then some of the events which took place between A. D. 1294 and 1317, a period of twenty-three years, would certainly have been recorded.

The Koh Lak story leads one to believe that the Thai, in their southward movement, had just occupied the city of Padja, modern

Bejraburi, and that the ruling prince was one called Ubalabongs (อุบลวงศ์). This word means "The lineage of the Lotus". It is a curious fact that the King of Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj, Chandrabhanu, described himself in the year A. D. 1230 as belonging to the lineage of the lotus (ปทุมวงศ์). Can there be any connection? South of Padja Mawng Lai, probably a prince of the house of Chaiya, still retained power in Koh Lak.

He, seeing that it would be difficult to resist the southward march of the Thai, deemed it politic to enter into friendly relations with the prince of Padja. He headed the mission himself. An agreement was entered into between Prince Mawng Lai and Prince Ubalabongs, which was to be ratified by Prince Mawng Lai giving his daughter Yom Doey to Prince Laya, the son of the Prince of Padja. Everything was proceeding favourably to cement this alliance by Prince Laya accompanying Mawng Lai to Koh Lak. Prince Laya and his bodyguard came to the frontier between Padja and Koh Lak, where he camped. On his way he was met by a hostile force and a battle ensued in which the Koh Lak forces were driven back. Prince Mawng Lai was much aggrieved by this action of his people and tried to make amends to Prince Laya by facilitating his march by building bridges over the swampy grounds. The sea at that time extended much further west than today, and it is probable that the Prince's march was through marshy ground. Prince Mawng Lai placated Prince Laya, and then proceeded to his own capital to arrange for the marriage of his daughter. The tradition tells us what happened. It is probable that with the death of Mawng Lai, the advance of the Thai southwards was rendered much easier and that they pushed forward with great vigour, partly to avenge the death of their young Prince Laya. When the military movement south commenced, all the Thai communities living in this southern region were gradually brought within the dominion of Sukhothai. That there were Thai settlements already established in the valleys of the Chao Phya, Subpan, and Mae Klong rivers from about the 5th century of the Christian era cannot be doubted. I deal with this question in a separate work.

That portion of the tradition which refers to the giving of Thai names to many places and objects, etc., would seem to be evidence that the Thai displaced another people, and that this forward move-

ment went as far south as Pak Panang. Now this place is only a few miles distant from Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj, where Chandrabhanu was in authority. This King reigned in Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj certainly from A. D. 1230-1272, which period synchronises with the establishment of Thai power in Sukhothai and its expansion. It was probably at this time that King Chandrabhanu came under the protection of Sukhothai. Evidence to show who Chandrabhanu was will be found in the Wat Hua Vieng inscription, which tells us that Chandrabhanu ruled in Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj in the 2332nd year of the Kaliyuga, which synchronises with the year A. D. 1230. This establishes the fact that King Chandrabhanu, of the lineage of the Lotus, reigned here from A. D. 1230.

The Maha Vamsa, or Great Chronicle of Ceylon, gives us further evidence about this King. It relates that a King named Chandrabhanu led a Malay army by sea to attack Ceylon and waged war on that country twice during his reign. The dates for these two expeditions are not given, but they took place during the reign of Parakkama Bahu II. That King had re-established the Sinhalese power in Langka by driving out the foreign usurpers. The Kingdom of Langka was attacked by King Chandrabhanu with a great army of Malays, equipped with weapons and engines of war. This attack took place in the eleventh year of the reign of Parakkama Bahu II., which would be A. D. 1251. Chandrabhanu was defeated with the greatest difficulty after many fierce battles had been fought, for it would seem that the Malay army had entered Langka at many ports and held most of the strategic positions.

Chandrabhanu, some years later, led another army of Malays over the seas, and again attacked Langka during this same reign. This time he was supported by forces from the Pandu and Chola countries. These Tamils were actuated by the desire for revenge and to regain what they had lost when Parakkama Bahu II. had driven them out of Langka. King Chandrabhanu and his allies were again defeated, and driven out of the island. The ambition which actuated King Chandrabhanu to wage these two wars was his desire to obtain the Holy Tooth Relic. He failed. There is no reference in the Maha Vamsa to the Sihingka Buddha. King Parakkama Bahu II. reigned from A. D. 1240 to 1275. Some authorities put this reign forward by a few years.

The Maha Vamsa places on record that the first war was waged during the eleventh year of the reign of this monarch, A. D. 1251, and that the second war was waged in the last years of the reign. As the story of the last war is related just before the death of this King, I would suggest A. D. 1271. Dr. Sir R. O. Winstedt states in his work "The History of Malaya", page 29, that "Chandrabhanu attacked Ceylon first in A. D. 1236 and finally with the King of Hinayana Sukhodaya probably threw off the yoke of Mahayana Jambi and allied with the kings of Pandya certainly failed in the second attack on Ceylon, in A. D. 1256. Pandya inscriptions indicate that Chandrabhanu ruled Kadaram, that is Kedah, without which he would have lacked a port on the Bay of Bengal for his attempt to wrest Buddha's Tooth from Ceylon." Dr. Winstedt also states that not only did Jambi or the Malayu country lose Ligor (Sri Dhammaraj) but also other territories. This statement is most important as it shows by what means and about what time the Thai of Sukhothai established themselves in Sri Dhammaraj and even further south. It is to be regretted, however, that Dr. Winstedt does not give us any authority for his dates or for the friendly relations existing between Sukhothai and Sri Dhammaraj. It further appears that in A. D. 1275 Kartanagara, ruler of East Java, from Singhasari made an attempt and to some extent succeeded in establishing his rule over the Malayan country, for it would seem that he added Pahang to his State about A. D. 1286. The fighting which took place between 1275 and 1286 affected the authority of Sukhothai in this region, and it is probable that the expedition against the Java Malay rebels headed by King Ram Kamheng, referred to in the Rajadhiraj (a Môn History), was carried out at this time. It was about A. D. 1275 that Magato eloped with the King's daughter during the King's absence suppressing a rebellion of Java Malays. This Magato destroyed the Burmese power in Mawtama, and established himself as King over the Môn, A. D. 1281.

The Chronicle of the Silingka Buddha throws some light on the relations between a King of Sukhothai and a King of Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj. The King of Sukhothai was probably Ram Kamheng; and the King of Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj was probably Chandrabhanu. This Chronicle tells us that the King of Sukhothai—and apparently this King was known under several names and the inference gained from these names goes to show that he was Ram Kamheng—

was overcome by a desire to possess the Sihingka Buddha. He went to Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj in person, and explained his desire to the King of that territory. He even commanded that King to obtain possession of the Buddha then in Ceylon. The wording of the Chronicle is precise. It states that the King of Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj was commanded to obtain the statue by using all means at his disposal. The translation of the passage referring to the command of the king of Sukhothai is: "By stratagem even going so far as to use the name, prestige and power of the King of Sukhothai to force the King of Langka and the people of the city from their arrogance into acquiescing in obtaining the Sihingka statue unto him (the King of Sukhothai) to worship." The King of Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj sent an embassy to Ceylon. The King of Ceylon gladly gave this image of the Buddha to the ambassadors and thus the Sihingka Buddha arrived in Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj after many vicissitudes and adventures on the sea. The Sihingka Chronicle tells us something of importance, namely, that when this image of the Buddha arrived at Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj some of the Sukhothai soldiers garrisoned in Sri Dhammaraj were sent to Sukhothai to inform King Suraraj. The word Suraraj means the brave king, and the word Ram Kamheng means Rama the Brave. There can be no doubt that these two names refer to one and the same monarch. This Monarch went in person to Sri Dhammaraj to take over the image, which was carried with great ceremony and pomp to Sukhothai. This statement, if true, certainly proves that the King of Sukhothai was the suzerain power. As Chandrabhanu probably died about A. D. 1272 after his return from waging his second war on Ceylon, the power of Sukhothai must have extended to this territory many years earlier.

Some Siamese scholars believe that the Thai power was established in Sukhothai under Phya Sri Indra Bodindradhitya about the year A. D. 1256 or 1257. In my work dealing with the Kingdom of Sukhothai, which is in course of preparation, I advance the theory, which I support with certain evidence, that the Thai Kingdom of Sukhothai was established some twenty years earlier, that is about A. D. 1237. King Sri Indra Bodindradhitya and his son Bala Muang are believed to have reigned for twenty years. If this belief is correct, the Prince Ram Kamheng ascended the Throne in A. D. 1257 and not A. D. 1277 as is thought by many Siamese scholars. It is generally held that King Ram Kamheng reigned for forty years.

There is evidence in the archives kept during the Mongol ascendancy in China to show that King Ram Kamheng died in A. D. 1297, or at the latest A. D. 1298, and not A. D. 1317. If I am correct, then, King Ram Kamheng was on the Throne during this period of the great expansion of Thai powers, and it was he who annexed Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj to the Thai dominions and even extended that power into the Malay country south of that place. The events recorded in the Mahavamsa and the Silingka Chronicle all took place before A. D. 1277 the year, in which Siamese scholars believe that Prince Ram Kamheng ascended the throne. All evidence goes to prove that it was King Ram Kamheng who established Thai sovereignty over Sri Dhammaraj and portions of the Malay Peninsula. If my interpretation of the Koh Lak tradition is correct then the Thai people at the same time wrested the eastern coast including Chantabun from the Khmer, for Chantabun as well as many islands in the Gulf including Si-chang are mentioned in the tradition. Therefore this king must have been on the throne prior to A. D. 1277. The name of the island Si-chang has always been a matter of controversial argument. This tradition gives us a clue. This island Koh Si-chang (๕๗๕) is the island of the World-hating Hermit, and not ๕๗๕.

The object of this paper is merely to place the Koh Lak Tradition on record and to make a few suggestions as to what happened to bring about the death of Prince Mawng Lai, and the probable date of these happenings. The paper may seem fragmentary and to lack a positive background. This cannot be avoided as the tradition itself gives us little help in clearing up an obscure historical event. The movement of the Thai south to Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj and into the Malayan peninsula is a matter of some historical importance, and forms a glorious page in the history of the Thai people. This episode is one of the most important events in the establishment of the Thai power in Sukhothai, and had far reaching results. This episode is being dealt with by me in a separate work. This work is advancing towards its completion and deals with the establishment of the Thai in the north in pre-Christian days, and their advance south to the Gulf of Siam when they drove the Khmer out of Lavaratha and established themselves in the valley of the Suphan River, centuries prior to the consolidation of their power in Sukhothai and Ayudhya. This work gives out many new theories supported by

evidence to show that the Thai people were in the delta of the Menam Suphan and Chao Phya about the fifth century of the Christian era.

As this paper is one dealing with a phase or period in history, it may seem out of place to talk about such trivial matters as Love philtres. But as it was due to the use of a love philtre that the death of Mawng Lai and many persons was brought about, and the Thai were thus enabled to push south, I feel that the Love philtre in this particular case is of some importance. Love philtres, their preparation and use are interesting, and as this Love philtre belongs to the type known as Nam Man Prai, I propose to give some information about it in a separate paper.