

EVENTS IN AYUDDHYA

FROM

CHULASAKARAJ 686—966.

A TRANSLATION

from the

พระราชพงษาวดาร กรุงเก่า

ฉบับหลวงประเสริฐอักษรนิติ์

By

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INTRODUCTION.

In giving a translation of the MS. printed under the auspices of the Committee of the Vajirañāṇa National Library dealing with the history of Siam, or rather Ayuddhya, from Chulasakaraj 686-966 (1304-1604), designated by the title of "Phra Rajaphongsavadan Krung Kao Chabab Hluang Prasöt," it may not be out of place to state briefly what are the indigenous sources of Siamese history as now existing.

In the reign of the King Phra Buddha Yot Fa, in the year 1795, a history of Siam was compiled from old sources, the authorship of which is ascribed to Krom Mūn Mahisvarindrāmes. On this was based the history written in 1840, in the reign of Phra Nang Klao, by Prince Vasukri, known afterwards as Somdet Phra Paramanujit, and under the auspices of King Mongkut this latter version was printed in the printing office of Dr. Bradley in 1865. This history contains the history of Siam from the establishment of Ayuddhya as the Capital to its destruction by the Burmans in 1767, to which was added as an appendix the history of Khun Hluang Tak and of the first years of the reign of the founder of the present dynasty Phra Buddha Yot Fa.

We read in the Chinese Repository, vol. 2. (1833-1834), page 478:—

"Klin, a young native who was formerly employed as Siamese compositor in the printing office at Singapore, has been for some time past engaged in preparing types from such materials as that country affords, and he is now making preparations to print the Siamese history in 25 volumes. The amount of each volume will be the contents of one of the Siamese black books which are formed of thick paper folded backwards and forwards into from 30 to 35 folds."

In the same magazine, vol. 5 (1836-1837) up to vol. 7 (1838-1839), a translation of the Siamese history was printed, commencing A. D. 1357 up to 1639. This translation was made by the Rev. Dr. J. Taylor Jones, and its very literalness leaves no doubt about its genuineness. This translation does only to a certain extent agree with the two versions mentioned, and it might therefore be well to refer to the fact that in the Bangkok Calendar for 1860

a list of the Kings of Siam is given described as taken from an accredited copy of the history of the Kings as preserved in the Royal Archives. But already in the Bangkok Calendar of 1862 the following note is found :—

“ The Kings of Siam

“ From the time the old City Ayuddhya was built,
“ Chula Era 712. A. D. 1351.

“ Furnished by Phra Alak, the Chief of the King's Scribes, and doubtless with the approbation of His Majesty, designed by him we think, to correct the list of the Kings published in the Calendar for 1860.”

These versions are based on tradition and on the very short and meagre records which were afterwards embodied in the yearly calendars (phum). In these phums were recorded what appeared to every person the most notable events; these phums, however, are only partly preserved, and as they were only to serve as a memorandum of events the persons noting them down deemed it in most cases sufficient to give the results.

The history of Siam is what its name implies, a record of the reigning families. Siam is feudal country. The nobility existing is not a hereditary one, but simply an official. The persons holding an office are designated by the office they hold, and they have consequently, so to say, no individuality, and we have consequently also no family records, which would usefully supplement those existing of the Royal Race.

Events are recorded without giving details, and in very many instances missing links have to be supplied by implication.

Besides these phums it is stated that Pāli versions of the history existed under the name of Culavyuha and Mahāvyuha, but up to now the manuscripts have not been traced.

Complete foreign versions of the history of Siam in early times do not exist. The foreigners who came to Siam, came for the purpose of trade and necessarily everything was viewed from this standpoint. They were in most cases unacquainted with the language and were not received in Court circles, and had to rely on

the gossip of the bazaar which reached them necessarily in a distorted form. Nevertheless these foreigners all agree that, for reasons variously explained by them, the Siamese had no historical records, and we may in support quote Jeremias Van Vliet, chief of the Dutch factory in 1636, who, in his description of Siam, printed, Leyden, 1692, says:—

“However much old chronicles and trustworthy historians of the past, are witnesses of the times, councillors for the present and signposts for the future, the Siamese have little knowledge thereof. The position, Government, power, religion, manners and customs and other remarkable things of foreign or outlandish nations are unknown to them, they have also no curiosity to inquire into them: of antiquities of their country, of the beginning of war, of the conclusion of peace, of the loss of countries and towns, victories or defeats in battles, famous heroes or excellent persons in virtue and knowledge, etc, they have few descriptions, thus that their principal descriptions consist in the laws of the country, the fundamentals of their religion, the lives, deeds and praise of some dead kings whose fame was not so much based on Royal respect as on service rendered to the gods, temples and priests living in their country, and these descriptions were mostly committed to the care of the priests, by whom also their ceremonies, punishments, exhortions, consolations and instructions are formed. Thus amongst the nobility, the rich or civil population, not many chronicles or historical records are known, with exception of those which are reported verbally or are related in discourses.”

Without attaching any undue weight to anything noted down by Père Tachard it may also perhaps be worth recording the entry which he made under date November 19th, 1685. He writes:—

“Je ne vous ai pas dit que M. l’Ambassadeur obtint hier une chose qui sera fort agréable au Roi. C’est les chroniques du Royaume de Siam.

“Il y’a peine de la vie à les avoir chez soi et sa Majesté les accorda agréablement quand on lui dit que cela feroit plaisir au Roi.”

These chronicles have, however, up to now not been traced.

With regard to the history before the foundation of Ayudhya, which is recorded in the Phongsavadan Muang Nua and of which a version has been printed in 1870, it can only be considered as throwing a general light on the history.

It is well known that the Kings and chiefs of principalities were eager to connect their history and that of the people over which they governed with events recorded in the legends of the Buddha. The Jataka tales were freely put under contribution, as has been pointed out by the late Phya Prajakit, who in the Phongsavadan Yonok published just before his death gave many details.

The names of cities and towns are mostly of Indian origin, and we find additional difficulties in locating them in the fact that when cities had to be abandoned, as often as not, on account of the dearth of water, or the river bed changing, or through invasions, the new places to which the people emigrated received the old names. Besides the Indian names the original names are sometimes preserved. There is therefore some difficulty in fixing the position of the towns mentioned, and it has for this reason been deemed more advisable not to attempt the location in this translation.

Omens and portents play of course a large part in the events recorded, and in all instances these omens and portents can be traced to Indian folklore and religious belief or superstitions. For their explanation in the present version I am indebted to Hluang Lokadip.

With regard to the style of our version attention may perhaps be drawn to the euphemisms used for events which in common language would be described as adultery, conspiracy and murder. It is also interesting to note the large part played by Phitsnulok as second capital.

The dates given in the new version do not agree with those given in the Bradley edition, which however agree with those recorded in the history of Burma and Cambodia. Now that would appear to militate against the genuineness of the new version, if it were not that the Burmese and Cambodian chronicles were compiled at a date considerably later than our present version.

The dates given at the margin of the translation are those under which events are seemingly recorded in the Phra Raj Phong-savadan: in some instances, however, there are discrepancies in fact, such as in the record of the elephant fight of the Queen Suriyothai.

I greatly regret that in transcribing names of places and persons inconsistencies have not been avoided.

PREFACE

BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE DAMRONG RAJANUBHAB.

Hluang Prasöt Aksornit * (Phë Barien) found in a private house the present "history" and presented it to the National Library on the 19th January, 1907.

From the book it appears that it was compiled in Chula 1042, in the reign of King Narayana. The contents agree to a certain extent with the summary prefaced to the edition of the History by Somdet Phra Baramanujit; but in many places there are differences, and in some instances it appears that the present version is the more correct one. Thus in the reign of Phra Paramatrailokanat the former versions state, that the King reigned in Ayuddhya, where he erected the temple Chulamāni in which he entered as a priest and in which he remained for 8 months. Investigations made showed that no temple of the name Chulamāni existed in Ayuddhya, and the temple could not be located. Now in the present version it is stated that Phra Paramatrailokanat proceeded to Phitsnulok, where he reigned and erected the temple Chulamāni and entered the Priesthood and afterwards died. Now a temple Chulamāni exists in Phitsnulok, and this may serve as a proof of the correctness of the present version. † Furthermore in the wars with the King of Pegu, in the reign of the King Mahācakravatti, the other histories do not record the name, so that it had to be inferred that only one King of Pegu waged war with Ayuddhya. The Burmese records speak, however, of two Kings, and our present version also speaks about two Kings in accordance with the Burmese annals.

* At present Phra Pariyati Dharmadhātā.

† See Appendix.

The present history is written in a folding book in yellow characters on black paper. To judge from the writing it appears to have been written either during the last years in Ayuddhya or at the beginning of the Bangkok period. It would also appear that it formerly consisted of two books, but so far only one has been recovered.

On examination it appeared to the Committee that both diction and writing showed that it was a genuine version, and no alterations were made in it, orders being given to print it so that it might not be lost. The present edition is an exact reprint of the MS. Where a word or passage could not be read, it has been left blank; where there was indistinct writing, the words have been put in brackets.



Events In Ayuddhya From Chulasakaraj 686—966.

—♦♦—
May it be of good omen.

In the year of the monkey, Chulasak 1042, on Wednesday the 12th of the 5th waxing moon, His Majesty was pleased to give orders to produce the records formerly written by Phra (Hora) and such other records as could be found in the Library and also the Phongsavadan and to incorporate all in this " History " and to copy and arrange them according to dates up to the present time.

In the Chula era 686, the year of the rat, the Buddha statue in the temple Phaneng Chöng was first erected.

In the Chula era 712, the year of the tiger, on (Friday the sixth of the waxing fifth month), at 9.54 a. m., the foundation of Ayuddhya was laid.

In the Chula era 731, the year of the cock, the foundation of Wat Phra Rām was laid. At that time the King Phra Rāmādhīpati died, and he was followed in the Government by his son Somdet Phra (Rāme)suan. However in 732, the year of the dog, the Somdet Phra Paramarājādhīraj came from Suphanpuri and took the sceptre in Ayuddhya, and he appointed Phra Rāmesuen to the Government of Lophburi.

In 733, the year of the pig, the Somdet Phra Paramārājādhirāj proceeded to the North and conquered all cities.

In 734, the year of the rat, the King proceeded to Mūang Nakhon Phangkha and Sēngchārao, which he conquered.

In 735, the year of the bull, the King proceeded to Chakan- (grao), and the (Phya) Sai Keo and Phya Kham Heng, the chiefs

of Chākangrao, offered resistance. He had Phya Sai Kēo executed, whilst Phya Kham Heng and his army fled and were able to reach the city. The King with his army then returned.

In 736, the year of the tiger, the King Phra Paramarājā- (dhirāj) and the High Priest Dharmākalyāna laid the foundation of the Sriratnamahādhātu, to the east of the Palace, at the height of 1 sen and 3 waha up to the window.

In the year 737, the year of the rabbit, the king took the city of Phitsnulok and he made Khun Sām Keo, the chief, a prisoner, and many people left at that time.

In 738, the year of the dragon, the King conquered the city of (Chākangrāo). At that time Phya Khām Heng and Thao Phādong conspired to resist the army of the King, but could not do so, and Thao Phādong disbanded his army and fled. The King followed them with his army and defeated them. At that time many of the chiefs and officials were made prisoners. The army of the King then returned.

In (740), the year of the horse, the King again conquered Chākangrāo, and at that time Mahādharmarājā [of Chiengmai] tried to resist the King's army, but as he saw he could not do so, he paid homage.

742. In 748, the year of the tiger, the King conquered Chiengmai but he could not take Mūang Nakhon Lamphang: he then had a letter addressed to Mūn Nagara, the chief of Nakhon Lamphang, who thereupon paid homage to him and the King's army returned.

744. In 750, the year of the dragon, the King conquered Chākangrāo. At that time the Paramarājādhirāj fell very ill, and returning he died on the way. The Chao Thong Lan, his son, assumed the sceptre of Ayuddhya for seven days. Then, however, Phra Rāmesuan came with an army from Lophburi and assumed the sceptre at Ayuddhya, and he ordered the execution of Chao Thong Lan.

In 757, the year of the pig, the King Phra Rāmesuan died and his royal son Chao Phraya Rām assumed the sceptre.

749. In 771, the year of the bull, Somdet Phra Rām was incensed against the Minister's conduct and tried to arrest him. The Minister, however, was able to escape, and he stopped on the opposite bank at Padāguchām. This Prince Minister then approached Somdet

Phra (Indr)arājā, the chief of Suphan, offering him the sceptre of Ayuddhya. When Somdet Phra Indrarājā arrived, the Minister raised an army, and plundered and conquered Ayuddhya. He then invited his Majesty Phra Indrarājā to assume the sceptre and he appointed Somedet Phraya Rām chief of Padāgūchām.

765. In 781, the year of the pig, a report was spread that the Phra Mahadharmarājādhirāj [of Chiengmai] was dead and that all northern cities were in a state of unrest. His Majesty proceeded to Mūang Phra Bang,* and at that time the chief of the city and Phraya Rām paid homage.
780. In 786, the year of the dragon, Phra Indrarājā fell ill and died. At that time his eldest and second sons (Chao Ai Phraya and Chao Yi Phraya) fought each other on elephants on the bridge Pā Thān and both died in the fight. Then the third son assumed the crown in Ayuddhya and took the name of the Paramarājādhirāj. He built two shrines in memory of his brothers at the place where they had fought and died at Pā Thān. In the same year he erected Wat Rājibuna.
783. In 793, the year of the pig, the Somdet Paramarājā conquered (Nakhon Luang,) and he then appointed his son Phra Nakhon Indr to hold sway over it. At that time the King ordered Phraya Kēo and Phraya Thai to bring all images to Ayuddhya.
786. In 800, the year of the horse, the Somdet Phra Paramarājādhirāj built the temple Maheyong in memory of his accession and Somdet Phra Rāmesuan, his Royal son, proceeded to Phitsnulok, and it was then noticed that blood flowed from the eyes of the Buddha Jinarāj.
788. In 802, the year of the monkey a fire broke out in the Rajmandira.
789. In 803, the year of the cock, a fire broke out in the palace Trīmukh.
790. In 804, the year of the dog, Somdet Parmarājādhirāj went on an expedition to Chiengmai, but he could not conquer the city as he fell ill, and he returned with his army.
792. In 806, the year of the rat, the King suppressed the contending factions, and erected a camp at Pathāi Khasem, and after having made 120,000 prisoners of war, the army returned.

* Near Nakhon Sawan, on the old river-bed.

796. In 810, the year of the dragon, Somdet Phra Paramarājādhirāj died and he was succeeded by his son Phra Ramesuan, who took the name of Somdet Phra Paramatrailok.

In 813, the year of the goat, the King [of Chiengmai] conquered Chākangrāo and wanted to take Sukhothai, but as he could not conquer the city he returned with the army.

802. In 816, the year of the dog, many people died from a pernicious fever.

803. In 817, the year of the pig, the King prepared an army to conquer Malākā, [the Malay peninsula.]

804. In 818, the year of the rat, the King prepared an army to conquer Muang Lisobthin. At that time the King reinforced the army and established his headquarters at Khôn.

805. In 819, the year of the bull, rice was at famine prices amounting to 800 cowries, equal to one fuang, for one measure, and a cartload was sold at 250 ticals.

806. In 820, the year of the tiger, religious festivities were held and 500 statues of the Bodhisat showing his 500 births were cast.

808. In 822, the year of the dragon, plays were performed and large gifts were bestowed on the Buddhist Priests, the Brahmins and the hermits, as an inauguration of the Buddha statues. At that time Phraya Salieng* created a rebellion and went with all his retainers to the Maharāj [of Chiengmai.]

809. In 823, the year of the snake, Phraya Salieng led the army of the King of Chiengmai to conquer Phitsnulok, but as the expedition was not successful, he went on a roving expedition to Kamphengpet. As he was not able to conquer the city within seven days, the Maharāj returned with his army to Chiengmai.

In 824, the year of the horse, the Chief of Nakhon Thai with all his followers emigrated to Nān; then the Phraya Kralahom received orders to bring them back. He also went with his army to Sukhothai, which city was reduced to submission as of old.

In 825, the year of the goat, the Somdet Phra Paramatrailok reigned in Phitsnulok, whilst the king under the name of Somdet Paramarāj reigned in Ayuddhya. At that time the Maharāj [of Chiengmai] sent his son on an expedition for the conquest of

* See Bradley. *Journal Siam Society*, Vol. vi, page 59.

Sukhothai. Then the Somdet Phra Paramatrilok and Somdet Indrarājā prepared for resistance, and the Somdet Phra Rājā defeated the army of Phraya Thien, and his army encountered the army of Mūn Nakhon and he entered on a fight on elephants with him. At that time there were great disturbances and the Laosian soldiers surrounded with four elephants the royal elephant. Somdet Phra Indrarājā was wounded in the face by a bullet and then the army of the Maharāj returned.

810. In 826, the year of the monkey, the Somdet Phra Paramatrilok built the temple Chulā Mani. [in Phitsnulok].
811. In 827, the year of the cock, the Somdet Phra Paramatrilok entered the priesthood at Wat Chulā Mani, which he left after 8 months.
813. In 830, the year of the rat, the Maharaj Thao Bun seized the city of Chiangmai from Thao Luk.
815. In 833, the year of the rabbit, a white elephant was procured.
816. In 834, the year of the dragon, a prince was born to the King.
In 835, the year of the snake, Hmūn Nakhon presented gold threads to cover the sword [acknowledged the sovereignty].
818. In 836, the year of the horse, the King conquered Salieng.
In 837, the year of the goat, the Maharaj of Chiangmai asked for relations of friendship to be established.
821. In 839, the year of the cock, the foundation of Nakhon Thai was laid.
822. In 841, the year of the pig, Phra Siha Rajadejo died.
824. In 842, the year of the rat, Phrayā Lān-Chāng died and the royal consent was given for the appointment of Phraya Sai-Khāo as prince of Lān-Chāng.
826. In 844, the year of the tiger, festivities were held for 15 days for the inauguration of the Phra Sri Ratna Mahādhātu [and the King composed the Mahājāti.]
In 845, the year of the rabbit, the Somdet Phra Paramarājā went to the elephant enclosure at Sai Yoi.
828. In 846, the year of the dragon, Somdet Phra Jethādhirāj, elder brother of the king, and the son of Somdet Phra Paramarājādhirāj entered the priesthood.

- 829.** In 847, the year of the snake, the King's son left the priesthood and was established in the dignity of Phra Mahāuparāj [Crown Prince.]
- 830.** In 848, the year of the horse, the Somdet Phra Paramarājādhirāj went to reside at the elephant enclosure in Samriddhi Pūrna.
- 831.** In 849, the year of the goat, the son of the Mahārāj [of Chiengmai] died.
- 832.** In 850, the year of the monkey, the Somdet Phra Paramarājādhirāj proceeded to the conquest of Thavai, and whilst the city was being taken many strange events happened. A calf was born with eight feet; from one egg a chicken was hatched with four feet; from three eggs six chickens were hatched; the rice was sprouting into leaf and the same year Somdet Phra Paramatrailok died [*in Phitsnulok.*]
- 834.** In 852, the year of the dog, the foundation of the walls of Bichai was laid.
- 835.** In 853, the year of the pig, the Somdet Phra Paramarājādhirāj died and was succeeded by Phra Jethādhirāj, his elder brother, in Ayuddhya, and he took the name of Phra Rāmādhibodi.
- 836.** In 854, the year of the rat, he erected a shrine to the memory of Phra Paramatrailok and Somdet Phra Paramarājādhirāj.
- 838.** In 858, the year of the dragon, the King conformed to the five Buddhist Commandments, and he ordered the old plays to be performed.
- 839.** In 859, the year of the snake, he had the festival of the first initiation into Brahmanism performed.
- 841.** In 861, the year of the goat, he built the Vihāra of Wat Sri Sanphet.
- 841.** In 862, the year of the monkey, he gave orders for the casting of the Phra Sri Sanphet. It was commenced on Sunday the 8th of the waxing 6th month, and in 865, the year of the pig, on Friday the 11th of the waxing eight month the statue was dedicated. The dimensions were from the feet to the crest 8 wahs and the face was 4 sok long and three sok wide, the breast 11 sok. The metal used

weighed 53,000 catties, the gold for covering the statue weighed 286 catties, the gold was of a fineness in front of seven and behind of six. *

In 877, the year of the pig, on Tuesday the 15th of the 11th waxing moon, in the morning, at the auspicious moment of 8.20 a. m. † the King proceeded to Na(khon) Lam(phang), which he conquered.

860. In 880, the year of the tiger, the King dedicated the Buddha Statue of Phra Sri Sanpet to commemorate his reign; the art of war was composed for the first time and he made a (census) of the whole population.

866. In 886, the year of the monkey, the large right (tusk) of the elephant Chao Phraya Prāb was broken. (Many anonymous letters) were written and many nobles were executed.

868. In 887, the year of the cock, ----- there were also many earthquakes and many portents occurred. In the commencement of the year 888, the year of the dog, rice was sold at the rate of 3 measures for one fuang equal to 800 cowries; a cartload was sold at 104 ticals. The Royal son Buddhāngkur was raised to the position of Uparāj, and he was to govern Phitsnulok.

871. In 891, the year of the bull, a strange white appearance in the sky ‡ was seen stretching from the South-West to the North-West. On Sunday the 8th of the 12th waxing moon the Somdet Phra Rāmāthibodi proceeded to the audience hall in the Palace, and he died the same night. The Somdet Phra Adit succeeded in the Government of Ayuddhya, and took the name of Somdet Phra Paramarājā No Buddhāngkur.

875. In 895, the year of the snake, Somdet Phra Buddhāngkur died and his son succeeded him.

876. In 896, the year of the horse, an accident befell the youthful king and then the Kingdom was handed over to Phra Jayarājādhirāj.

880. In 900, the year of the dog, in the sixth month the ground was levelled for Wat Chi-Chieng, and a Buddha statue and a cheti were erected. In the eleventh month the King proceeded to Chiengkrai and Chiengkrān, and on the 9th of the waxing 4th month, about 9 p. m.

* Gold of the first quality is of a fineness of nine.

† *i. e.* อุกฤษ โฉ โกร the thieves' propitious hour, the moment apt for beginning valiant deeds.

‡ The phenomenon known as อากาศ สุ่มท *i. e.* sea-air.

a violent storm arose and the heads of the Royal boats were damaged, and the bow of the boat Om Kĕo Sĕn Mĭang was broken and the boat Krai Kĕo was destroyed.

When the king arrived at Kampengphet he found that Phraya Nārāyana was a traitor, so he arrested and executed him there.

887.

In 907, the year of the snake, on Wednesday the 4th of the seventh waxing moon the King Somdet Phra Jayarājādhirāj proceeded to Chiengmai; he made Phraya Phitsnulok commander of the vanguard and established his headquarters at Bāng Bān. On Saturday the 14th of the 7th waxing moon the army of the King raised camp and left for Kampengphet, where they arrived on Tuesday the 9th of the 7th waning moon. He established his army at Kampengphet, and on Sunday the 14th of the 7th waning moon he had his army established at Chiengthong, from where he proceeded to Chiengmai.

On Sunday the 4th of the 9th waxing moon the army of the King left Chiengmai, and arrived in Kampengphet on Thursday the 15th day of the 9th waxing moon, from where he returned to Ayuddhya.

888.

In Ayuddhya a large fire had broken out on Wednesday the 4th of the 3rd waxing moon, and it lasted for three days before it could be extinguished.

According to official records 10,050 houses were burnt down.

On Sunday the 11th of the 2nd waxing moon the Somdet Phra Jayarājādhirāj proceeded to Chiengmai; he appointed Phraya Phitsnulok commander of the vanguard who was to proceed with the King's army to Kampengphet. There it remained for one month, and on Thursday the sixth of the 3rd waxing moon the King established his headquarters there, and on Sunday the ninth of the third waxing moon the King proceeded with his army to Chiengmai.

On Tuesday the 3rd of the 4th waxing moon he conquered Muang Lamphun Jai.

On Friday the 13th of the 4th waxing moon there was a strange portent, as blood was seen on the doors of all places, houses and temples inside and outside the town. On Monday the 15th of the 4th waning moon the King left Chiengmai with his army and returned to Ayuddhya.

898.

In 908, the year of the horse, on the 6th month Somdet Phra Jayarājādhirāj died, and his son Somdet Phra Yot Fā succeeded him in Ayuddhya. At that time there was an earthquake.

901. In 910, the year of the monkey, on Saturday the fifth of the 5th waxing moon the King witnessed an elephant fight and the tusks of the elephant Phraya Fai were broken in three pieces. After two days the chief elephant Phraya Chaddanta uttered a noise like that produced by the sounding of a conch-shell. Furthermore there issued sounds from the Patu Bhaijant foreboding an event, and on Sunday the 5th of the 8th waxing moon an accident befell the King. The Khun Jinarāj took over the Government for 42 days, but an accident befell both him and one of the King's wives named Sri Sudāchandr. Somdet Phra Thienrājādhirāj assumed the throne and took the name of Somdet Phra Mahā Chakraphan. After he had been on the throne for seven months the King of Pegu, Pang Sevaki, appeared with his army before Ayuddhya in the 4th month. When Somdet Mahā Chakraphan proceeded to fight the Peguan army, the King's wife and daughter accompanied him riding on elephants. In the fight the vanguard was defeated and in the King's army great confusion reigned. The Queen and her daughter fought with the enemies and they were killed seated on the elephants. Phra Mahadharmarājādhirāj and the King's son Phra Rāmesuan were taken to Pegu by the army, and the elephants Phraya Prap and Phraya Nuphāb were forwarded to Kampengphet for the King of Pegu, and then he allowed Phra Mahadharmarājādhirāj and Somdet Phra Rāmesuan to return to Ayuddhya.

In 911, in the year of the cock, on Saturday the 10th of the 2nd waxing moon a male white elephant was taken in the field of Tenasserim. It was about four soks high and received the name of Paccai-nagendr. At that time the first foundations for the walls of Ayuddhya were laid.

893. In 912, the year of the dog, on the 2nd of the waxing eighth month the King Somdet Phra Mahāchakraphan had the ceremony of a Pathamakamma (inauguration of Brahmins) performed at the place Thā Deng; Phra Karmavācā was teacher of unauspicious lore; Phra Bijettha was teacher of the eight requirements; Phra Indro was judge.

895. In 914, the year of the rat, the armed transport boats were changed into war boats, and the figures of the animals at the head of the boats were also changed.

In 915, the year of the bull, in the 7th month the Majjhima-

kamma (second step in the inauguration of Brahmins) was performed at Jainādburi.

- 897.** In 916, the year of the tiger, the King proceeded to the Elephant enclosure at Bang Lamung, when in all 60 male and female elephants were caught. Furthermore in the 12th month a male white elephant was caught in the forest near Kānchanaburi. It was over four soks high and received the name of Phra Gajendradrōdom.

In 917, the year of the rabbit, on Monday the 7th of the 7th waning moon a white elephant was caught in the neighbourhood of Bejrpūrī. It was 4 soks 1 khüb high, and received the name of Phra Kēo Song Batr.

- 898.** In 918, the year of the dragon, in the 12th month an army was prepared to proceed to Lavëk. The Phraya Ong Savankalok was chief of the King's army with 3(0,000) men, (Phra) Mahamontri was commander-in-chief and Phra Mahadeb had under him buffaloes and (carts to the extent of) . . . The boats were in charge of Phraya Yao. At that time a great storm arose and the boats were not in time to proceed with the army. Phraya Rāmlaksna raised soldiers to attack the army in the night. He was, however, defeated by the chief army. At that time Phraya Ong Savankalok died, and also many elephants, horses and soldiers.

- 899.** In 919, the year of the snake, on Sunday, 1st of the 4th waxing month, a large fire broke out in the palace. In the third month the ceremony of the installation of the priests took place, and also the Indra Bhisek (inauguration) took place for the new palace. In the 4th month the feast of the seven-fold great gifts took place; the King had made for the white elephant a silver stand with four feet worth 1,600 ticals and he bestowed seven lady attendants and seven carriages drawn by horses. In the seventh month the King proceeded to the Elephant enclosure at Trok Phra, where 60 male and female elephants were caught.

In 921, the year of the goat, the King proceeded to the Elephant enclosure at the place Sëntō, where 40 elephants were caught.

- 902.** In 922, the year of the monkey, the King proceeded to the Elephant enclosure at Wat Kai, where he again caught 50 elephants. Furthermore on Saturday, the 8th of the 12th waning moon, a white elephant was caught. The eyes, however, had not the peculiar white colour, a baby elephant followed the mother.

906. In 923, the year of the cock, Phra Sri Sin was in the priesthood at Wat Mahādhātu. He escaped to the place Muang Mot Deng; there the chief priest of Wat Pākēo gave him a favourable moment to enter the palace on Saturday, the 1st of the 9th waxing moon.

At that time Phraya Siha Rājdejo was under punishment and he informed Phra Sri Sin that after the wan phra he would be executed and he requested that auxiliaries should be raised before that time. Phra Sri Sin thereupon raised people and arrived in the Capital on Thursday, the 14th of the 8th waning moon in the evening. On the morning of the wan phra, Phra Sri Sin entered the palace, where he died.

When the complicity of the Phra Sangkharāt at Pā Keo became known, he also was executed.

In 924, the year of the dog, the King preceeded to the Elephant enclosure at Sai Yoi, when 70 male and female elephants were caught.

In 925, the year of the pig, Niphatr the King of Pegu raised an army in the 12th month. On Sunday, the 5th of the 2nd waning month, he conquered Phitsnulok. At that time there was a famine of rice and it was sold at the rate of 3 measures for one tical; many people also died of fever. The King of Pegu conquered all the Northern states and he then proceeded to Ayuddhya. Then the King of Ayuddhya asked for relations of friendship to be established, and the two Kings thereupon swore the oath of fidelity at Wat Phra Meru. The King of Pegu then asked that the King's son and four white elephants be sent to Pegu.

At that time the Sultan Phraya Tani assisted the King of Pegu, he being a traitor; he wanted his followers to enter the palace and he rode on the white elephant and stood in front of the parade ground. He then dismounted from the elephant and went in the direction of Talēng Kēng (execution ground). Thereupon the inhabitants of the capital, raising an alarm, fought the men of the Sultan of Tani and many of his people were killed. Phraya Tani was able to escape in a junk. In the same year the King of Lan Chang sent a letter asking for the Royal Princess Deva Krasatr in marriage, and the King was pleased to bestow her. At that time the Royal princess was ill and he then bestowed his daughter Phra Kēo Fā instead.

913. In 926, the year of the rat, the King of Lan Chang invited the Princess Phra Kĕo Fā to return to Ayuddhya, saying that he had asked for the Princess Deva Krasatr, and the latter was then sent to him.

When the King of Pegu heard of these things he placed soldiers waiting in ambush, and Princess Deva Krasatr was kidnapped and presented to the King of Pegu.

In this year the water in the river at Ayuddhya was very low.

917. In 930, the year of the dragon, in the 12th month, the King of Pegu proceeded from Pegu, and on Friday the 1st of the 1st waxing moon arrived before Ayuddhya, where he established his camp at Lom Phli. Whilst the enemy was surrounding Ayuddhya the King Somdet Phra Mahāchakraphan fell ill and died. At that time the Royal son Phra Mahindrādhirāj was negligent in defending the city, but Prince Sri Saova took it upon himself to defend the city. When this became known to Somdet Phra Mahindrādhirāj, he did not trust this Prince, and so he made him prisoner and had him executed at Wat Phra Rām.

918. From that time onward the defence of the capital got weaker and on Sunday the 11th of the 9th waxing moon in 931, the year of the snake, at about 6 o'clock Ayuddhya fell into the hands of the King of Pegu. On Friday the 6th day of the 12th waxing moon the Somdet Mahadharmarājādhirāj was crowned by right of conquest in Ayuddhya. When the King of Pegu returned to Pegu, he took with him the Somedt Phra Mahindrādhirāj.

919. In 932, the year of the horse, Phraya Lavĕk raised an army to proceed to Ayuddhya. He established his headquarters at the place Sam Vihār. Fighting took place and the inhabitants of the capital came out to fight, and Phraya Champādhirāj was killed on his elephant.

Thereupon the Phraya Lavĕk retired. In this year there was very high water in Ayuddya.

920. In 933, the year of the goat, there was very little water. The Somdet Phra Nārāyana proceeded to reign in Phitsnulok.

In 934, the year of the monkey, the water was very low.

In 935, the year of the cock, the water was middling.

921. In 936, the year of the dog, the water was very high. The King's son was suffering from a pernicious fever.

921. In 937, the year of the pig, Phraya Lavëk came with war boats to Ayuddhya. On Saturday the 10th of the first waxing moon the people from Lavëk established themselves at Phaneng Xōng; in the battle which ensued the Cambodians were unable to offer effective resistance, and their army returned. Many people from Pak Tai were then made prisoners. In that year there was little water in Ayuddhya.

922. In 940, the year of the tiger, Phraya Lavëk raised an army to conquer Bejrapuri, but could not do so. The people from Lavëk then returned. At that time the Phraya Chīn Chantu escaped from Lavëk, and took refuge in Ayuddhya; afterwards he, however, ran away and returned to Lavëk.

924. In 942, the year of the dragon, the walls of Ayuddhya were pulled down and were re-erected near the river bank.

924. In 943, the year of the snake, Yana Prajien studied occult science and thought of a conspiracy and found many followers. He came to Lophburi and established his camp at Hua Tri. He was shot and killed by an alien. In that year a letter was received from Pegu stating that in the year of the snake there would be no leap year. In Siam there was, however, a leap year.

926. Furthermore on Saturday the 9th of the 2nd waxing month it became known that the King of Pegu had died. In the third month Phraya Lavëk raised an army to take the city of Bejrapuri and the city was conquered at that time.

In 944, the year of the horse, the Phraya Lavëk raised an army and he made prisoners of the people living near the Eastern frontier.

In 945, the year of the goat, a fire broke out starting from the residence of the Kalahom to the royal palace, and it spread towards the whole south of the city. A report was spread in that year that in Pegu preparations were being made to make a road to proceed to Ayuddhya.

927. In 946, the year of the monkey, King Nārāyana, who was reigning in Phitsnulok, was informed that the Kings of Pegu and Ava were at enmity, and he assisted the King of Pegu. On Thursday the 3rd of the waning fifth month the chief elephant Svasti Mongol and the chief elephant Kēo Chakraratna were fighting with each other, and the left tusk of the elephant Svasti Mongol got loose. On this the soothsayers forbade the preparations for a war. His Majesty, however, had given orders for the execution of the preparations and

929. he started on the campaign. On Wednesday the 9th of the 5th waning moon the King established his army at Wat Yom, south of Kampengphet. On that day there was an earthquake and he sent his army to Krëng, and from there the King's army returned to Ayuddhya. In Phitsnulok on Wednesday the 8th of the 10th waxing moon marvellous events happened, inasmuch as the Menam Sai in Phitsunlok rose over the banks of the river for three soks. Furthermore an apparition of a female form resembling an elephant was seen; it had the appearance of a trunk of an elephant; the ears were large and it was seen sitting at the temple Prasād in Phitsnulok. A large elephant was standing on the lawn and it suddenly died. Furthermore many locusts were seen rising in the air so that the sun was obscured by them.

In the same year the populations from the Northern provinces were transferred to Ayuddhya. In the same year the King of Pegu sent Prince Sāvathi and Phraya Phasim with an army to Ayuddhya, and on Wednesday the 2nd of the 2nd waxing moon at 2.5 p. m. the King established the army at the place Sām Khānon. At that time the army of the King of Pegu was defeated and fled. At that time a horse was born with one head but with two bodies; the feet were of a grey colour.

In 947, the year of the cock, King Sāvathi raised an army and established his headquarters at Saket, where he remained from the 2nd to the 4th month. On Wednesday the 7th of the 5th waxing moon, at 10.24 a. m., he established a camp at Lomphli and on Saturday the 10th of the 5th waxing moon he proceeded by boat on the road to Pā Mōk. At that time many pelicans were flying to the right and left before the King's boat, and on Thursday the 14th of the 5th waning moon the King on the male elephant Mangaladvib had all elephants and horses drawn up in line near the bank of the river. The sun protected him with a halo, and the rays were protecting the elephants.

At that time the army of King Sāvathi which was established at Saket was defeated. In the same year the Mahāuparāj came with people to Kampeng Phet, where they cultivated the fields.

931. In 948, the year of the dog, on Monday the 8th of the 12th waning moon, the King of Pegu Ngachisayang proceeded to the capital. On Thursday the 2nd of the 2nd waxing moon he arrived before the Capital and established his camp at Khanon Pāk Khū. The

army of the Mahāuparāj was established at Khanon Bang Tanāo, and the enemy made preparations for surrounding the capital, and at that time constant fighting was going on. The King, on Monday the 14th of the 5th waxing moon 947, raised his army and proceeded by boat to attack the army of the Mahāuparāj established at Khanon Bang Tanāo. It retired to Bang Kradān on Friday the 10th of the 6th waning moon, the King defeated the army of the Mahāuparāj at Bang Kradān again and it was scattered. On Thursday 1st of the 7th waxing moon the King established his camp at Wat Dēj, and entrenched it. On Thursday the 8th of the 7th waxing moon he put guns on the junks and bombarded the camp of the King of Pegu, who could not resist and retired to Pā-mók Yai. On Monday the 10th of the 4th waxing moon the King attacked the enemies, who were then defeated, and he drove them back, armed with a sword, towards their camp. On Tuesday the 10th of the 4th waning moon the King established his camp in an ambush at Lomphli, and entered into a battle with the enemy. The battle was carried on with great courage, the King fought on horseback, and many soldiers were killed by his own sword. The soldiers were defeated and returned to the camp, to which they were pursued.

On Monday the 10th of the third waning moon, at 7 a.m., the King attacked the army of Phraya Nakhon, which was established at Paknam Muthulao. At that time he attacked the camp from which the enemy fled after a great loss. The King of Pegu then disbanded his army and retired, when Phraya Lavëk established himself at Bāng Sai. At that time the King collected his whole army at Bāng Kradān, and on Thursday the 1st of the 3rd waxing moon, at the auspicious moment, he proceeded from Bāng Kradān and established his headquarters at Sai Khüang, and from there he proceeded to Lavëk. At that time the King captured many elephants and horses, and many people were made prisoners.

In 950, the year of the rat, on Monday the 8th of the 12th waning moon there was an earthquake.

In 951, the year of the bull, rice was at famine prices and was sold at the rate of 10 tamlüng for a cartload, which had to show the official seal of the Phraya Nārāyana. On Friday the 7th of the 2nd waning moon there was an earthquake.

940. In 952, the year of the tiger, on Sunday the 13th of the 8th waning moon, Somdet Phra Vriddharāj died and on Tuesday the 2nd of the 12th waning moon the Mahāuparāj raised troops and came by way of Kānchanaburi. At that time Phraya Phasim was made prisoner at Takhē Sāmphan.

941. In 954, the year of the dragon, on Friday the 2th of the 12th waxing moon the Uparāj came from Pegu. On Saturday the 1st of the 1st waning moon the palate of the chief elephant Phraya Jayanubhāb prolapsed about 5 inches. In the second month the Mahāuparāj arrived at the frontier of Suphanburi and established his camp at Phang Tru. On Sunday the 9th of the 2nd waxing moon, at 10.12, the King came by water with his army and celebrated the ceremony of the consecration of arms at Lomphli and established his camp at Muang Wān, and on Wednesday the 12th of the 2nd waxing moon, at 8.54 a. m., the King proceeded on land. About dawn on the 12th day the relics of the Buddha were seen to be floating in the way the King took. On Monday the 2nd of the 2nd waning moon, at 11.18, the King rode on his chief elephant Phraya Jayanubhāb and fought with the Mahāuparāj at Nong Sārai. That was not done exactly at the auspicious moment. Whilst the elephant fight was going on with the Mahāuparāj, the King Phra Nārāyana was slightly wounded in the right arm. Further the Mahāuparāj came out riding on his elephant and his hat fell off; but he was able to put it on again, and then he died on his elephant. The chief elephant Phraya Jayanubhāb, on which the King had ridden, received the title of Chao Phraya Prāb Hongsa (most excellent conqueror of Pegu.)

In 955, the year of the snake, on Monday the 5th of the 10th waxing moon the King inaugurated his palace. He was at that time angry with the Peguans, and about 100 of them were burnt. On Friday the 10th of the 2nd waxing moon at 9.36, the King **946.** proceeded to the conquest of Lavëk and established his headquarters at Bāng Khuët. On Sunday the first of the 10th waxing moon Phraya Sri Suphan was made prisoner.

In 956, the year of the horse, the King raised an army and proceeded to Satōng. On Sunday the 3rd of the 1st waxing moon in the year of the goat 957, the King proceeded to Hongsa. Before that time the ceremony of consecrating the arms was performed at

Lomphlī, and the camp was established at Muang Wān. On Monday the 13th of the fourth waning moon, at 12 midday, as he could not conquer Hongsā, the King's army returned.

In 958, the year of the monkey, on Tuesday the 4th of the 6th waxing moon the Laosians fled. Khun Chā Mūang fought them at Takhien Duen. On Thursday the 6th of the 3rd waxing moon rain was falling for three days constantly, as if it were the rainy season.

949.

On Thursday the 11th day of the 11th waxing moon, at 8.48 a. m., in 961, in the year of the pig, the King proceeded with an army to Tong Ū, and celebrated the ceremony of consecrating the arms at Lomphlī, and established his army at Wat Tān. In the 11th month, when the sun was standing between Virgo and Libra, on Wednesday the 10th of the 4th waxing moon, the King reached Tong Ū, and he established his army about 30 sen from Tong Ū. After the army had been there for two months, a famine broke out and many people died for want of food. On Wednesday the 6th of the 6th waning moon the army of the King returned to Ayuddhya.

In 963, the year of the bull, in the seventh month there was an eclipse of the sun.

In that year statues of Siva and Nārāyana were received, and on one and the same day homage was paid to the four statues [of the Brahmanic gods] by being carried in procession.

In 964, the year of the tiger, the King went for pleasure to Lophburi, and in 965, the year of the rabbit, the army of the Vanguard was able to take Cambodia.

954.

In 966, the year of the dragon, on Thursday the 6th of the 2nd waning moon the King proceeded from Pā Mok by water and performed the ceremony of consecrating the arms at the place Ekarāj and established his army at Phra Lo. That day was very warm and it was one when Saturn was proceeding one degree to the sign of Sagittarius. At that time the King made a journey and arrived at the capital city at Thung Don Kēo. - - - - -

NOTE.

Whilst this work was in the press, H. R. H. the Prince of Lophburi, who was in the Northern Provinces on inspection duty, forwarded a copy of a stone inscription which he found in front of a hall at Wat Chulāmani in Phitsnulok, showing a facsimile of the footprint of the Buddha. A translation of the inscription is printed herewith as an appendix to this history as it agrees with the facts recorded therein.

In the year of the monkey, 826, during the reign of His Majesty Phra Rāmādhībodī Srī Parama Trailokanārth, He ordered the temple Chulāmani to be built with a view of entering it as a priest. At that time there were three Sovereign Kings, viz:—Phraya Lān Chāng, the Māhāraj Phraya Chiengmai and Phraya Hongsavadi who as an act of piety presented gifts.

In the year of the cock, 827, on Thursday the 14th day of the 8th waxing moon, His Majesty Phra Rāmādhībodī Srī Paramatrai-lokanārth entered the priesthood, and after the Royal son had paid obeisance to him, he ascended the Royal palanquin. He then arranged for the entering of the priesthood of five of his retainers, and afterwards he arrayed himself in priestly garments and at the same time 2,348 persons entered the priesthood with him. His Majesty remained in the priesthood for 8 months and 15 days. In the fifth month His Royal son and all officers of state invited him to leave the priesthood so that he might govern over his people. His Majesty left the priesthood and proceeded to Ayuddhya.

When 10 months 5 days and 2222 years of the Buddha era had elapsed (Ch. 1042) at 11 o'clock in the forenoon Hluang Siddhi, the Royal Page, received His Majesty's command, and Hmun Rājsanghakārī got written instructions and cloth to be given to the Phra Gurū Dharmatrai-lokanārth Rājamuni Sila visuddhācāraya, the head priest of Wat Chulāmani, for making an impression of the footprint, which according to His Majesty's orders should be kept in Wat Chulāmani as an object of worship for Samana Brahmans and people who had not worshipped the footprint. His Majesty then commanded to have a stone inscription made to show the history,

the ordinances and the amount of land, the temple servants of Chulamāni who were to watch over the impression of the footprint and the hair relics of the King.

On Friday, the first of the waxing moon in the year of the cock, 1043, at the auspicious moment (about 10 a.m.), the stone was placed in position.

After the ordinances had been examined they were sealed with a seal of a man holding the book of Phra Srī Surendrādhībodi Abhaibiriya Brahmadeb rājāmatyādhībodi Srī Kalā Samud Samuh Phra Surasvati, which they placed on the written characters. On the 11th day of the 1st waxing moon of the year of the cock, the third of the decade, His Most Excellent Majesty Phra Srī Samphet Phra Rāmādhībodi Srīsindra parama mahācakrvatti isvara rājādhirāj Rāmesuen dharmikarāi dejojay paramadevādidev Srī bhuvanādhi pesra lokajettha visuddhi makut buddhānkūr paramacakrvatti isvara dharmika rājādhirāj was in the palace of Srī Suriya amarindraj to the north when the Phra Bimal dharm anantāna suddh utam rājkravī srī saṅgha parināyok tipitak dhara vara nāna gambhi sadharma rāj muni pabitr addressed His Majesty saying Phitsnulok had formerly land and temple servants, now all the servants are scattered about and the priests ought as the eighteen men were servants of the Wat Chulāmani and if any any one should afterwards engage these 18 servants who were destined to be temple servants, and thus have Government duties ascribed to them the persons doing so will entail eternal punishment and they will not see the Buddha, the law, the congregation for ever and ever.

