

# THE ABRIDGED ROYAL CHRONICLE OF AYUDHYĀ OF PRINCE PARAMĀNUCHITCHINŌROT

Translated and Edited by

David K. Wyatt

Of all the numerous versions of the royal chronicles (*phrarātchaphongsāwadān*) of Ayudhyā, probably none is now so neglected as the abridged version prepared for King Rama III (Nangklao, 1824-51) in 1850. Its present neglect is a relatively late state of affairs, however, for it was once perhaps the most widely read of the Siamese chronicles. It deserves renewed attention not for its chronological accuracy, or for unusual detail on the events of Ayudhyā's history, for in these respects it both shares the defects of the major full versions of the royal chronicles, and omits much that is to be found in the others. Its chief interest resides rather in its unusual introductory matter bearing upon the origins of Ayudhyā, which is to be found only in a few other places. Its presentation here also can serve to bring to an English-reading audience a traditional Thai view of Siamese history otherwise difficult of access.\*

According to the original preface to the "Abridged Royal Chronicle", Prince Paramānuchitchinōrot was invited by King Rama III "to prepare an abridgement of the Royal Chronicle of the Succession of the Kings

---

\* **Abbreviations:**

*LP* = the Luang Prasoet version of the Ayudhya chronicles. Thai version cited below in note 1; English translation by O. Frankfurter, "Events in Ayudhya from Chulasakaraj 686-966," *JSS* VI, pt. 3 (1909), 1-21; reprinted in *Selected Articles from The Siam Society Journal*, vol. I (Bangkok, 1954), 38-62.

*Roy. Aut.* = the "Royal Autograph" edition of the Ayudhya chronicles, edited by King Mongkut in 1855, and further edited by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab and published in 1912. The best edition, and the first to appear in a single volume is *Phrarātchaphongsāwadān chabap phrarātchahatlēkhā* (Chonburi, 1968). All references are to this edition.

of the Old Capital" on May 18, 1850.<sup>1</sup> This would appear to be that king's only expressed interest in Siamese history as such, although he is known frequently to have been concerned for the fate of much of Siamese culture in the face of the changes rapidly engulfing the kingdom in the course of his reign.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps, slightly less than a year before his own death, the king was beginning to consider his own place in history.

When invited to compile the chronicle, Prince Paramānuchit was approaching his sixtieth birthday. By then he was the eldest surviving son of King Rama I, having been born of *ḥhaoḥḥōmmāndā* Čhai (later *thāo* Songkandān) on December 11, 1790. He had entered the Buddhist monkhood as a novice in 1802, and was ordained a monk in 1810. Remaining at Wat Phrachētuphon (Wat Phō) throughout his long career, he became abbot of that monastery as early as 1814. Rama III later gave him charge of all the monasteries in Bangkok and ecclesiastical rank equivalent to that of a deputy patriarch of the Siamese Saṅgha, and under King Mongkut he became Supreme Patriarch from 1851 until his death on December 9, 1853.

The strongest early influence on the prince's life was his preceptor at Wat Phrachētuphon, Somdet Phra Phonnarat (1735-ca. 1814), who was unquestionably the leading historian of his day, quite apart from his ecclesiastical responsibilities. Shortly after the great Buddhist Council of 1788 when the Pali canon was revised under Rama I's sponsorship, this monk had written in Pali a learned history of all the Buddhist Councils from earliest times, including in his account a short

- 1) The original preface is reproduced in the only modern edition of this work, in *Phrarāchaphongsāwadān Krung Sī Ayutthayā (chabap luang Sānprasōt lae chabap kromphra Paramānuchitchinōrot) lae phongsāwadān nūa . . .* (2 vols., Bangkok: Khurusaphā, 1961), vol. 1, p. kh. The date is printed here as Čh.S. 1202, Year of the Dog, second of the decade, Saturday the seventh day of the waxing moon of the seventh month; but 1202 was a Year of the Rat, not the Dog; and "Saturday the seventh etc." did not occur in 1202. It did, however, occur in 1212, which was a Year of the Dog, second of the decade.
- 2) See H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat, "The Inscriptions of Wat Phra Jetubon," *JSS* XXVI, pt. 2 (1933), 143-70.
- 3) Biographical details are taken from *Rāchāsakulawong* (8th edition, Bangkok, 1969), pp. 12-13; Prince Sommot Amraphan and Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Rūang tang phrarāchākhana phūyai nai krung rattanakōsin* (Bangkok, 1923), pp. 96-102. An extensive biography is provided in Natthawut Sutthisongkhram, *Phraprawat lae phraniphon khōng somdet phramahūsamanaḥchao kromphra Paramānuchitchinōrot* (Bangkok, 1962).

history of Siam.<sup>4</sup> At some time during the same period he wrote a Pali chronicle of the Mons, the *Mahāyuddhakāraṃsa* (apparently never published) and a Pali chronicle of Ayudhyā and its antecedents, the *Culayuddhakāraṃsa*.<sup>5</sup> It was undoubtedly this proven historiographical skill that commended him to King Rama I, who in 1807 entrusted the revision of the Ayudhyā chronicles to Somdet Phra Phonnarat and the prince-novice Paramānuchit, then only seventeen years of age.<sup>6</sup>

As the successor of Somdet Phra Phonnarat at Wat Phrachētuphon, Prince Paramānuchit must have fallen heir to that monk's papers, and he certainly maintained his early interest in Thai chronicles. The version of the chronicles they prepared in 1807<sup>7</sup> became, in a sense, definitive, and served as the basis for all subsequent versions. It was this version which Prince Paramānuchit provided the American missionary Dan Beach Bradley for printing in the 1850s or 1860s, together with two abridged versions, the longer of which is presented here<sup>8</sup>.

Prince Paramānuchit's "Abridged Royal Chronicle"<sup>9</sup> is an original piece of work, different in some respects both from the 1807 "British Museum Version" and from the "Two-volume Printed Version" with which it was first published. Like the 1807 version, and unlike Bradley's, it includes a lengthy section dealing with Siamese history prior to the founding of Ayudhyā in 1350. The tales related here, however, are not the same as those related in the 1807 version, but rather more like those related by Somdet Phra Phonnarat in his *Culayuddhakāraṃsa*.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the "Abridged Royal Chronicle" has several points of difference in chronology with both other versions.

4) *Saṅgītiyaṃsa* (Bangkok, 1923).

5) Only two portions of which have survived, one published under the original title (Bangkok, 1920), and another in *Prachum phongsāwadān*, pt. 66 (Bangkok, 1960), pp. 41-83.

6) Tri Amatyakul, "Phūtāṅg nangsū phrarāṭchaphongsāwadān chabap phim 2 lem," *Sinlapākōn* VI: 1 (May 1962), 33.

7) The "British Museum Version," *Phrarāṭchaphongsāwadān Krung Sayām* (Bangkok, 1964). See Busakorn Lailert, "Phrarāṭchaphongsāwadān krung sī ayutthayā," *Sinlapākōn* XII: 2 (July 1968), 89-93, on relations between the various versions.

8) Bradley's version, usually termed the "two-volume printed edition (*chabap phim 2 lem*)" and formerly erroneously attributed to Prince Paramānuchit, was first published in 1863 as *Nangsū rūang phrarāṭchaphongsāwadān*.

9) *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 1 ff.

10) See above, note 5.

There are not many abridged versions of Siamese history extant. The well-known Luang Prasoet version might be considered one. Besides Prince Paramānuchit's, there is only one other known to this author, a king-list in verse dating from some time in the nineteenth century, composed by an officer of the Front Palace, perhaps in King Mongkut's reign.<sup>11</sup> As Luang Prasoet's version was not discovered until 1907, it was natural that Prince Paramānuchit's abridged version should have been selected for use as a textbook in the first public schools in Siam, where it seems to have continued to be employed well into the twentieth century.

\* \* \*

In preparing the following translation, a few general principles have been followed. The translator has attempted to render the text in readable English, and thus has not always translated word-for-word. This is especially the case with royal verbs, where English equivalents a few words in length sometimes have been used for much longer Thai phrases. Transcription was found to be a particularly thorny problem, and two systems have had to be employed: a phonetic system virtually identical to the Royal Academy's "General System" for Thai words and names, including toponyms; and the "Graphic System" for Sanskrit and Pali names and titles.

An attempt has been made to keep annotations to a minimum, and no systematic effort has been made to correlate sections of this text with other versions of the Ayudhya chronicles. As its chronology is so much at variance with the Luang Prasoet Version, however, the "Accepted Chronology" has been added to the heading for each reign and individual dates compared to other dates for the same events.

The text upon which this translation is based is that published in 1961 by the Teachers' Institute Press.<sup>12</sup>

- 
- 11) *Lamdaḥ kasat Krung Kao kham chan* (Bangkok, 1970), first published in the magazine *Wachirayān*, no. 85 (Oct. 1901).  
 12) See above, note 1.

## THE ABRIDGED ROYAL CHRONICLE OF AYUDHYĀ

We begin the Royal Chronicle from the time of the consecutive rule of the ancient *mahārājas* in this country of Siam, as follows. Originally, a king was ruling in Chiangrai in the Yonakapradeśa, which was his capital. There was a king, a *mahārāja*, who ruled *müang* Satōm,<sup>1</sup> whose troops attacked Chiangrai; and after a battle the king of Chiangrai was defeated and lost his principality to the ruler of Satōm. So he evacuated the population of Chiangrai, fleeing the enemy, and came to the region of this country of Siam, and crossed the Phō River<sup>2</sup> to a deserted principality, *müang* Pāēp, directly across the river from *müang* Kamphaengphet.<sup>3</sup> The marvellous virtue of that king was so bright as to reach the Lord Indra, who, appearing in the bodily form of an ascetic, descended [to earth] and showed himself before the royal elephant [of the king]. Then he said, "Build your capital here, in this auspicious location, safe from danger and enemies." Then he vanished from before [the king's] eyes. Rejoicing, the king of Chiangrai said, "That holy ascetic surely must have been Indra, assuming bodily form to come and speak to us." Thereupon he established dwellings, quarters, and forces in that place. Then he had his capital built, with its earthworks, fortresses, moat, gates, and fighting towers all complete. Then he had his royal palace built and homes for all his officers, counsellors, and people, so that all dwelt within [the walls of] his *müang*. The *müang* was given the name "Traiyatrūṅṣa [Thirty-three (heavens)]" as (Indra) had pointed it out to him. He reigned in that city until his death; and his royal sons and grandsons ruled and carried on the family for four generations. At that [later] time, there was an unfortunate man whose body was covered with fleshy knobs [carbuncles?], so that everyone called him *nāi* Saen Pōm [Mr. 100,000 Carbuncles]. *Nāi* Sāēn

1) In Bradley's edition, Satōng. Possibly Thatôn in Burma?

2) Traditionally, the stretch of the Ping River between Tak and Paknampho, from which the latter takes its name.

3) Dhanit Yupho (*Rüang müang Trairüing Ū Thōng lae Ayōthayā*, 4th ed., Chachoengsao, 1969, pp. 9-12) locates this place at some deserted ruins 400-500 sen (16-20 km.) south of Kamphaengphet on the west bank of the Ping River. In this same volume he analyses this origin tale of Ayudhya in some detail. See also Phya Anuman Rajadhon, "A Study on Thai Folk Tale," *JSS* LIII, pt. 2 (July 1965), 133-38.

Pōm cultivated chili peppers and brinjals [eggplant] near the banks of the river, one day south of Traiyatrūṅṣa, selling the chilis and brinjals to support himself. One of the brinjal trees was close to the shed in which he lived, and Sāēn Pōm regularly urinated at the foot of that tree. The brinjal tree bore its fruit, and one of them was larger than all the others, as it was suffused with the essence of his urine, which was mixed with semen. When the daughter of the ruler of Traiyatrūṅṣa conceived of a desire to eat brinjal, she sent her handmaiden to buy some; and she obtained that brinjal to eat. The lady became pregnant, and her father learned of it and ordered an investigation, but was unable to find out with whom the lady had cohabited. When her womb came to the appointed ten months, she gave birth to a prince, replete with marks portending his auspicious future. All her family raised and nurtured the prince, until he attained the age of three years. The royal grandfather then decided he would attempt to divine who was the father of the prince; so he had drums beaten and an announcement made to all the men of the principality asking them to gather in the royal enclosure bearing fruits or sweets or anything. Then he promised that if any person was the father of the prince, the prince would take the object held in the hand of that person to possess [or eat], that all clearly might see. Then he had the wet-nurse [s] carry the prince into the gathering in the royal enclosure. As for *nāi* Sāēn Pōm, he carried only a lump of cold leftover rice. The prince ran and embraced *nāi* Sāēn Pōm, and took the lump of cold leftover rice to eat. Everyone saw, was amazed, and uttered various admonitions; so the king of Traiyatrūṅṣa was ashamed and disgraced; so he gave his daughter and grandson to *nāi* Sāēn Pōm, who left the principality in a boat. When he had rowed downstream, he arrived at the brinjal garden and took his wife and son up into his shed, in which they dwelt. The great merit of these three people shone through to the Lord Indra, who assumed the bodily form of a monkey, carrying a magical drum which he gave to *nāi* Sāēn Pōm, saying, "If you desire anything, beat this drum and your wish will come true." Then the monkey disappeared from sight. *Nāi* Sāēn Pōm exclaimed, "The angels have brought me this magical drum to give me happiness." So he struck the drum desiring to be made handsome, and all his fleshy knobs disappeared and his body became beautiful and pure.

Then he took the magical drum into his home, and related these events to his wife. She was overjoyed, and struck the drum to have natural gold fashioned by goldsmiths into a golden cradle as a bed for their son. For this reason, that prince's name appears as "Prince Golden Cradle (*Āhao Ū Thōng*)" from that time forward.

In 681 of the Era, Year of the Goat, first of the decade,<sup>4</sup> the father of Prince Golden Cradle struck the magical drum [in order] to construct a capital city in that place, replete with ramparts, earthworks, fortresses, moat, gates, and fighting towers all complete, together with a royal palace. He gave it the name *müang* Devanagara ("City of the Angels"), as it had been completed by means of the power of the angels. At that time, all the people were induced to come and dwell and establish their homes in that city, in great numbers. That principality became strong and secure with a population, and the father of Prince Golden Cradle reigned in that city. He was named 'the majestic king Śirijaiya Jiañsèn', and the fame of his name resounds in this country of Siam.

**King Golden Cradle (King Ū Thōng)**

[A.D. 1350-1369]

In 706 of the Era, Year of the Monkey, Sixth of the Decade,<sup>5</sup> King Śirijaiya Jiañsèn, one filled with marvellous royal powers and merit, who had reigned and ruled his people for twenty-five years, died in that Year of the Monkey, Sixth of the Decade. When he died, his magical drum disappeared. King Golden Cradle, his royal son, succeeded to his supreme royal office. Having arranged for the cremation of his father's body, he went on to rule for six years in Devanagara. Desirous of building a new capital, he ordered his lictors to seek a suitable country, one in which there were fully all kinds of fish. So his lictors went seeking a site to found the capital down to the south, until they came to a land at Sanō Pond replete with all kinds of fish. Thereupon they returned to report to inform His Majesty. King Golden Cradle then went with all his troops and people down to that land, and had a temporary royal dwelling constructed in the locality of the Iron Fort.

4) A.D. 1319/20. Note that all dates are rendered in this fashion to reflect the fact that the Thai year ran, roughly, from mid-March of one Christian year to mid-March of the succeeding year.

5) A.D. 1344/45.

He arranged for the clearing and levelling of the site for the city and for the making of bricks and mortar with which to construct the city walls. He compounded the name of the capital which he was building anew by taking the name of his former capital as its first name, Devamahānagara; another name, Pavaradvāravatī, [was taken] because [the new city] was surrounded with water like the ancient Dvāravatī; and another name, Śrī Ayudhayā, [was chosen] in order to take the name of the city of Rāma, the *avatār* of Nārāyana; the three names together forming the compound name *Kruñ* Devamahānagara Pavaradvāravatī Śrī Ayuddhayā Mahātilakabhāva Navaratanarājadhānī Purīramaya Utamarājaniveśamahāsathāna.

In 712 of the Era, Year of the Tiger, Second of the Decade, on Friday, the sixth day of the waxing of the fifth month,<sup>6</sup> at nine *pāda* past the third *nālikā*, on the foundation of the Great Capital, a *dakṣiṇāvata* conch shell was obtained from under a *man* tree. Then the Baiḍūriyamahāprāsāda Palace, the Baijayantamahāprāsāda Palace, and the Aiyasavaryamahāprāsāda Palace were constructed. Then King Golden Cradle commenced his reign, at the age of thirty-seven years, being given the name of King Rāmādhipatī. [His Majesty] then was pleased to have *khun hluān* Pha-ngua, who was the elder brother of his queen—and calling him his eldest brother—go and govern *müang* Suphanburi. Then he had his son, Rāmeśvara, go and govern *müang* Lopburi. At that time, there were sixteen vassal principalities<sup>7</sup> dependent [on Ayudhyā], namely, Malacca,<sup>8</sup> Javā,<sup>9</sup> Tenasserim, Tavoy, Martaban, Moulmein, Nakhōn Sīthamarāt, Songkhla, Chanthaburi, Phitsanulok, Sukhothai, Phichai, Sawankhalok, Kamphaengphet, Phichit, and Nakhon Sawan; and the king constructed the Buddhaiyasavarya and Pā Kāēo monasteries. Then he had his son Rāmeśvara attack the capital of the King of the Kambujas [Angkor], and had Paramarāja [Pha-ngua] of Suphanburi advance to

6) A.D. 1350/51; probably April, 1350.

7) *müang prathēsarāt*.

8) Malacca was not founded until ca. 1400 (see O.W. Wolters, *The Fall of Śrīvijaya in Malay History*, Ithaca, 1970, p. 116). Prince Paramānuchit here follows earlier chroniclers, who were misled by a misconception of the date of the Palatine Law, which includes these vassals. See D.K. Wyatt, "The Thai 'Kaṭa Maṇḍiarapāla' and Malacca," *JSS* LV, pt. 2 (July 1967), 279-86.

9) Luang Phrabang.

support him. The Kambuja capital was taken and many families were removed to the capital [Ayudhyā].<sup>10</sup>

**King Rāmeśvara** [1369]

In 731 [A.D. 1369] of the Era, the Year of the Cock, First of the Decade,<sup>11</sup> King Rāmādhīpatī died after a reign of twenty years, at the age of fifty-six years. Thereupon, [his son] Rāmeśvara came down from Lopburi and ascended the throne.

**King Paramarājādhirāja** [1369-1388]

In 732 of the Era, the Year of the Dog, Second of the Decade,<sup>12</sup> Paramarājādhirāja, the uncle of the king, came from Suphanburi and Rāmeśvara handed over the throne to his royal maternal uncle, returning then to Lopburi. Paramarājādhirāja then reigned in the capitol. He went up to attack all the provinces of the north, namely Phangkā, Saengsao, and Chākangrāo, several times.<sup>13</sup> Later he advanced to attack Lampāng, and the ruler of the principality and his notables came out to pay him homage. Then the royal army returned to the capitol.

**King Thōng Lan and King Rāmeśvara** [1388-1395]

In 744 of the Era, the Year of the Dog, Fourth of the Decade,<sup>14</sup> King Paramarājādhirāja died, having reigned for thirteen years; but his age is not recorded in the royal chronicles. Prince Thōng Čhan, his royal son, also known as Prince Thōng Lan,<sup>15</sup> whose age was fifteen years, ascended the throne (and reigned) for seven days. Prince Rāmeśvara came down from Lopburi and entered the palace, and arrested and took away Prince Thōng Lan to be executed. Then he ascended the

10) See O.W. Wolters, "The Khmer King at Basan<sup>1</sup>(1371-3) and the Restoration of the Cambodian Chronology during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Asia Major* n.s. XII : 1 (1966), 44-89.

11) A.D. 1369/70.

12) A.D. 1370/71.

13) Phangkā and Sāengsao are unidentified; Chākangrāo is Kamphaengphet. See Prince Damrong Rajanubhab's comments in *Roy. Aut.*, pp. 242, 244-45.

14) A.D. 1382/83; but *LP* has C.S. 750 (A.D. 1388/89) and its chronology is generally accepted as correct throughout.

15) Thōng Lan is thought by Prince Damrong (*Roy. Aut.*, 248-49) to be his correct name.

throne for a second time. Then he went to attack Chiangmai. A great many Lao families were brought away to the capitol, and they were sent out to live in Nakhōn Sīthamarāt, Phatthalung, Songkhla, and Chanthaburi. Then he erected the Great Reliquary 38 metres high, its golden spire of 6 metres disappearing ["in the clouds"]. He built an *uposatha* and a *vihāra* as a royal monastery, and gave it the name of Mahādhātu.<sup>16</sup>

At that time, the ruler of Kambuja came to attack Chonburi, to carry away families from the provinces eastwards to Chanthaburi, amounting to about six or seven thousand persons who returned [with the Cambodian armies] to Kambuja. So the King attacked Kambuja and, having captured it, returned to the capitol.<sup>17</sup>

#### King Rāmarājādhirāja

[1395-1408]

In 749 of the Era, Year of the Hare, Ninth of the Decade,<sup>18</sup> the Golden Mount Monastery<sup>19</sup> was constructed; and then King Rāmeśvara died in that year, having reigned for six years; but his age is not given. So King Rāma, his royal son, ascended the throne to reign fifteen years.

#### King Indrāja

[1408-1424]

In 763 of the Era, Year of the Lesser Dragon, Third of the Decade,<sup>20</sup> King Rāmarājādhirāja became angry with his ministers, [threatening] to arrest and kill them: *Chaophrayā* Mahāsēnā<sup>21</sup> fled across [the river] to the Pathā Khū Chām bank,<sup>22</sup> and invited Prince Nagara-indra,<sup>23</sup> the

16) Wat Mahāthāt monastery in Ayudhya is said in *LP* to have been built by King Paramarāja I in 1374/75, and to have measured 46 metres in height.

17) This war is not mentioned in *LP*. See Wolters, "Khmer King," pp. 81-82.

18) A.D. 1387/88; but C.S. 857 (A.D. 1395/96) in *LP*.

19) Wat Phūkhaio Thōng is "on the open ground about two kilometres to the north of the city" (Tri Amatyakul, *Guide to Ayudhya and Bang Pa-in*, Bangkok, 1962, p. 72).

20) A.D. 1401/02; but C.S. 770 (A.D. 1408/09) in *LP*.

21) The *kalāhom*, or minister of military affairs. The title is anachronistic: *Chaophrayā* was not regularly used as a rank until the seventeenth century; nor was Mahāsēnā probably then employed as a title for the *kalāhom*, (see Damrong in *Roy. Aut.*, 251-52). "*Chaophrayā* Mahāsēnā" probably should be taken to refer to the great ministers of state as a group.

22) A district inhabited by Chams across the river from Ayudhya on its south side.

23) Nakhōn In.

royal grandson of King Paramarājādhirāja who was ruling Suphanburi, to come. Then *čhaophrayā* Mahāsēnā attacked and plundered Ayudhyā; and invited Nagara-indra to ascend the throne. (His Majesty) was pleased to have King Rāma[rājādhirāja] go and eat [i.e., live on the proceeds of the administration of] Pathā Khū Čhām. Then His Majesty rewarded *čhaophrayā* Mahāsēnā, appointing one of his daughters who was a concubine as his Queen, and giving him a pair of golden trays, a pair of golden plates, golden water goblets, a fighting sword, an ivory palanquin, and a lotus-petal palanquin. Then His Majesty appointed his sons *čhao Āi Phrayā*<sup>24</sup> to go and rule Suphanburi, *čhao Yī Phrayā*<sup>24</sup> to go and rule Phrāēk Śrī Rājā, that is, Sankhaburi, and *čhao Sām Phrayā*<sup>24</sup> to go and rule Chaināt.

#### King Paramarājādhirāja

[1424-1448]

In 780 of the Era, Year of the Dog, Tenth of the Decade,<sup>25</sup> King Nagarindrājādhirāja died, having reigned for eighteen years; but his age is not known. *Čhao Āi Phrayā* and *Čhao Yī Phrayā* brought up troops to contest with each other for the throne. Each on his elephant came to meet and do battle at the foot of the Charcoal Forest Bridge.<sup>26</sup> Each was slashed with the war-scythe and the neck of each was slashed so that both died. The chief ministers went out to Chainat to invite *čhao Sām Phrayā* to come and reign; [and he reigned] being given the name of King Paramarājādhirāja the Second. Then he went to attack Angkor, the capital of Kambuja, and captured it. Then he built the Maheyaṅga Monastery;<sup>27</sup> and then he went twice to attack Chiangmai, and the latter time he captured Chiangmai, taking as many as 120,000 Lao prisoners back to the capitol.

24) These names are simply numerical designations, i.e., "Prince One," "Prince Two," and "Prince Three."

25) A.D. 1418/19; but C.S. 786 (A.D. 1424/25) in *LP*.

26) On the "Charcoal Forest" road between Wat Mahāthāt and Wat Rātchaburana: *Athabāi phāwēnthī Phranakhṓn Sī Ayutthayā*, ed. *phrayā* Bōrānrātchathānin (Bangkok, 1963), p. 66.

27) Wat Mahēyong apparently is to the northeast of Ayudhya: see N. na Pākṅām, *Hā dīan klāng sāk itpūn thī ayutthayā* (Bangkok, 1967), pp. 75, 126-36.

In 796 of the Era, Year of the Tiger, Sixth of the Decade,<sup>28</sup> King Paramarājādhirāja died, having reigned for seventeen years; but his age is not known.

**King Paramatraiyalokyanārtha**

[1448-1488]

His son Rāmeśvara ascended the throne, and was given the name Paramatraiyalokyanārtha.<sup>29</sup> He gave over his (princely) palace to be the Śrī Sarbej Monastery. He came to live at the water's edge, so he had the Pencaratanamahāprāsāda Palace and the Sarbejaprāsāda Palace constructed. Then he gave titles to the nobles and assigned them ranks of paddy land, organizing the military as the (under the) *samuha bra kalāhom* and the civil (side of government) under the *samuha nāyaka*, each bearing the *śakti nā* of 10,000 as a basis throughout [?]. Then he constructed the [Phra] Rāma Monastery on the site on which King Rāmādhīpatī, the founder of the capital, had been cremated.

In 805 of the Era, Year of the Pig, Fifth of the Decade,<sup>30</sup> rice was expensive, a cartload of unhusked rice selling at 3 *chang* 10 *bāt*. And the King cast images of the 550 Bodhisatvas and built the Cuḷāmaṇī Monastery.<sup>31</sup>

In 809 of the Era, Year of the Hare, Ninth of the Decade,<sup>32</sup> the *mahārāja* ruler of Chiangmai came to attack Phitsanulok, but was unable to enter and plunder it, so he attacked Kamphaengphet. The King, with his son Indrājā, went up to assist the town. Indrājā entered and fought on elephant-back with *mūn* Nakhōn. The Lao enemy came in a group and took four of the royal elephants. Indrājā was struck by gunfire<sup>33</sup> in the face; and the Chiangmai army returned to its capitol.

28) A.D. 1434/35; but C.S. 810 (A.D. 1448/49) in *LP*.

29) Borommaīraīlōkanāt.

30) A.D. 1443/44; but C.S. 819 (A.D. 1457/58) in *LP*, where, however, this paragraph and the next are rendered differently.

31) At Phitsanulok. *LP* dates its construction in C.S. 826, and this latter date is confirmed by an inscription.

32) A.D. 1447/48; but C.S. 823 (A.D. 1461/62) in *LP*.

33) Or, more likely, by an arrow: see Hans Penth, "A Note on *Pūn*," *JSS* 59 : 1 (Jan. 1971), 209-10. See also C.R. Boxer, "Asian Potentates and European Artillery in the 16th-18th Centuries," *JMBRAS* XXXVIII, pt. 2 (Dec. 1965), 156-72.

**King Indrājā**

[1488-1491]

In 811 of the Era, Year of the Lesser Dragon, First of the Decade,<sup>34</sup> His Majesty the King entered the monkhood at the Cuḷāmaṇī Monastery [in Phitsanulok], and after eight months left it. In that year he died. Paramatraiyalokyanārtha had reigned for sixteen years, but his age is not known. His son, Indrājā, ascended the throne, and appointed his son Paramarājā as his *uparāja*.

In 815 of the Era, Year of the Cock, Fifth of the Decade,<sup>35</sup> a female white elephant was obtained.

**King Rāmādhpati**

[1491-1529]

In 832 of the Era, Year of the Tiger, Second of the Decade,<sup>36</sup> King Indrājā died, having reigned for twenty-two years; but his age is not known. So Paramarājā, his son, ascended the throne, and was given the name Rāmādhpati the Second; and three years later, in 835 of the Era, Year of the Lesser Dragon, Fifth of the Decade,<sup>37</sup> he underwent coronation.

In 841 of the Era, Year of the Pig, First of the Decade,<sup>38</sup> His Majesty the King cast a large standing Buddha image which extended 16 metres from the foot to the top of the *raśmī*, the face of which was 2 metres long by one and one-half metres wide, and the breast of which was 6 metres across; and the bronze used in casting that image weighed 53,000 *chang* [110,667 pounds]. The gold for gilding all the image weighed 286 *chang* [381 pounds]. The upper craftsmanship [gilding?] gold was of a fineness of 7 *nam 2 khā* and the lower 6 *nam 2 khā*.<sup>39</sup> When completed, it was given the name of Śrī Sarbej, and it was erected in the chief *vihāra* of the Śrī Sarbejadārāma Monastery.

34) A.D. 1449/50; but C.S. 850 (A.D. 1488/89) in *LP*. This is a very substantial discrepancy with *LP*, as well as with the *phan* Chanthanumāt and Somdet Phra Phonnarat versions of the chronicles, both of which have C.S. 835 (A.D. 1473/74). The latter two clearly have adjusted the dates to make the reign last its full forty years, still carrying over the 16-year disparity with *LP* from the beginning of the reign.

35) A.D. 1453/54; but C.S. 833 (A.D. 1471/72) in *LP*.

36) A.D. 1470/71; but C.S. 853 (A.D. 1491/92) in *LP*; and C.S. 835 (A.D. 1468/69) in the *Culayuddhakāravamsa* and *Roy. Aut.*

37) A.D. 1468/69; this date being the probable source of the chronological confusion mentioned in the preceding note.

38) A.D. 1479/80; but C.S. 862 (A.D. 1500/01) in *LP*.

39) These dimensions and weights agree with those given in *LP*.

In 868 of the Era, Year of the Tiger, Eighth of the Decade,<sup>40</sup> rice was expensive, one cartload being bought and sold for one *chang* nine *bāt* one *salūng*. In that year, the royal son Ādityavaṅṣa was appointed as the uparāja and sent to rule Phitsanulok.

**King Paramarāja** [1529-1534]

In 871 of the Era, Year of the Lesser Dragon, First of the Decade,<sup>41</sup> King Rāmādhipatī died, having reigned three years before and 37 years after his coronation, together forty years; but his age is not known. So Ādityavaṅṣa, his son, ascended the throne, being given the name Paramarāja Mahābuddhānkūra.

**King Raṣṭādhirājakumāra** [1534]

In 875 of the Era, Year of the Cock, Fifth of the Decade,<sup>42</sup> King Paramarāja Mahābuddhānkūra became ill of smallpox and died, having reigned for five years; but his age is not known. The ministers invited his son, Raṣṭādhirājakumāra, who was five years of age, to ascend the throne [and he ruled] for five months.

**King Jaiyarājādhirāja** [1534-1546]

In 876 of the Era, Year of the Dog, Sixth of the Decade,<sup>43</sup> Jaiyarājādhirāja, of the family of King Rāmādhipatī, plotted to seize Raṣṭādhirājakumāra, and succeeded [in doing so], and on executing him ascended the throne.

In 887 of the Era, Year of the Cock, Seventh of the Decade,<sup>44</sup> the King went to attack Chiangmai, but was unable to take and sack the city, and returned to his capitol. On Wednesday, the 4th day of the waxing moon of the third month<sup>45</sup> in that Year of the Cock a fire broke out in the capitol, extending from the Kalahom Landing up to the end of the Market.<sup>46</sup> The wind lifted sparks from the fire which fell in the

40) A.D. 1506/07; but C.S. 888 (A.D. 1526/27) in *LP*.

41) A.D. 1509/10; but C.S. 891 (A.D. 1529/30) in *LP*.

42) A.D. 1513/14; but C.S. 895 (A.D. 1533/34) in *LP*.

43) A.D. 1514/15; but C.S. 896 (A.D. 1534/35) in *LP*.

44) A.D. 1525/26; but C.S. 907 (A.D. 1545/46) in *LP*.

45) Ca. February; in 1546 according to *LP*.

46) 1961 text has *talāt-yōt*. This is not identifiable from the *Athibāi phaenthī*.

execution ground, and the fire spread down into the forest . . . and it was three days before it was extinguished. The account of homes, official structures, and religious buildings burned reached 100,050 structures.<sup>47</sup>

In 888 of the Era, Year of the Dog, Eighth of the Decade,<sup>48</sup> His Majesty went to attack Chiangmai again, and captured Lamphun and Chiangmai. On His Majesty's return, calamitous omens appeared, with blood flowing from the doors of every home both in and outside the capitol, every one.

#### King Kāēofā

[1546-1548]

In 889 of the Era, Year of the Pig, Ninth of the Decade,<sup>49</sup> His Majesty set out with the royal army to return; but he had not yet reached the capitol when he fell suddenly ill and died in the middle of his life. His age is not known. The chief ministers invited his Royal Corpse brought into the capitol. King Jaiyarājādhirāja had been on the throne for fifteen years. He had two sons; and the elder was named Kāēofā,<sup>50</sup> aged eleven years; the younger was named Śrī Śilpa, aged five years. When His Majesty's corpse had been cremated, *Phra* Thianrāchā, a relative of King Jaiyarājādhirāja, fearfully observed that the kingdom was in chaos, so he took leave of Kāēofā and took ordination as a monk in the Rājapratīṣṭhāna Monastery. Then the chief ministers invited Kāēofā, the royal son, to ascend the throne. He reigned for two years and six months; and his mother, Queen Śrī Sutācāndra, assisted in governing the kingdom. Later, this queen secretly had an affair with *khun* Jinarāja, the person in charge of the Buddha image buildings, and appointed him as *khun* Varavaṅśādhirāja.

In 891 of the Era, Year of the Ox, First of the Decade,<sup>51</sup> *khun* Varavaṅśādhirāja and the Queen-Regent together [successfully] plotted to seize Kāēofā and execute him. Then *khun* Varavaṅśādhirāja was elevated to become king; his younger brother *nāi* Čhan being made

47) 10,500 in *LP*.

48) A.D. 1526/27; but C.S. 908 (A.D. 1546/47) implied in *LP*—actually ca. January, 1547.

49) A.D. 1527/28; but C.S. 908 (A.D. 1546/47) in *LP*.

50) Yōtfā in *LP*.

51) A.D. 1529/30; but C.S. 910 (A.D. 1548/49) in *LP*.

*uparāja*. Then *khun* Birendradeba, a member of the Royal Family, together with *khun* Indradeba, *luang* Śrī Yaśa, and *mün* Rājasanehā, four men, plotted together to invite Phra Thianrāchā, who had been ordained together with them, to take an oath and utter incantations to obtain a victorious future outcome. Then the four men together captured and killed *khun* Varavañśādhirāja and the *uparāja* *nāi* Čhan and the Queen-Regent Śrī Sutācāndra. *Khun* Varavañśādhirāja had reigned for five months.<sup>52</sup> The chief ministers all together, including *khun* Birendradeba, invited Phra Thianrāchā to leave the monkhood and come to govern the kingdom. He was given the name of *somdet phra* Mahā Cākṛabartirājādhirāja. His Majesty rewarded and appointed *khun* Birendradeba as *somdet phra* Mahādharmarājā, to receive His Majesty's Commands and go and govern Phitsanulok; and he gave him *phra* Visuddhikaṣātrīyārājadhīpatī as his Queen, together with royal insignia of office. *Khun* Indradeba was appointed as *chaophrayā* Śrī Dharmasokarāja to go and govern Nakhon Sithammarat. *Luang* Śrī Yaśa was appointed *chaophraya* Mahāsenapati, the *kalahom*; and *mün* Rājasanehā was appointed *chaophrayā* Mahādeba. All three similarly were given royal daughters as wives and ministerial insignia of office. And in that reign, five white elephants were obtained: Gajendarotama, Paramakraisara, Suriyakunjara, Rātanākāśa, and Kāēo Drañ Pātra, together with two female white elephants whose names do not appear; all together seven albino elephants. So His Majesty's name was enlarged as, Somdet Phra Mahācākṛabartirājādhirāja, King of the White Elephants. His Majesty had two sons, named *phra* Rāmeśvara and Mahindrādhirāja. His Majesty handed over the government to Mahindrādhirāja and entered the monkhood. Then he left the monkhood and returned to govern the kingdom. The king of Pegu [Hamṣāvati] attacked and surrounded the capital several times; and on the last occasion His Majesty died when the Pegu armies came to besiege the capitol, in the year 907, Year of the Hare, Seventh of the Decade.<sup>53</sup> His Majesty had reigned for 27 years, but his age is not known. So *phra* Mahindrādhirāja, his son, then took the throne for one year.

52) Forty-two days, according to *LP*.

53) A.D. 1545/46; but this almost certainly is a misprint for 917 (1555/56). *LP* has C.S. 910, 4th month (March, 1549), for the first Burmese invasion and the capture ("loss") of the king, and the death of the king from illness in December, 1568.

**King Mahindrādhirāja and King Mahā Dharmarājādhirāja**

[1569, 1569-1590]

In the Year 918 of the Era, Year of the Greater Dragon, Eighth of the Decade, on Saturday, the 11th day of the waning moon of the ninth month, the city of Ayudhyā fell to the King of Pegu.<sup>54</sup> The King of Pegu crowned Somdet Phra Mahā Dharmarājādhirāja, the Governor of Phitsanulok, as king of Ayudhyā. Then he had King Mahindrādhirāja, taken and with his army withdrew back to Pegu. King Mahā Dharmarājādhirāja on becoming king was aged 54 years. He had two sons, named Nareśvara and Ekādaśaratha. So he was pleased to have Nareśvara go and govern Phitsanulok. The King of Lawaek<sup>55</sup> attacked his capital. When the King of Pegu—“Black Tongue”<sup>56</sup>—died, his royal son the *uparāja* came to the throne and he returned to attack and make war on Ayudhyā many times, but each time he was defeated.

**King Nareśvara**

[1590-1605]

In 940 of the Era, Year of the Tiger, Tenth of the Decade,<sup>57</sup> King Mahā Dharmarājādhirājā died, at the age of 76 years. He had reigned for 35 years.<sup>58</sup> He appointed Ekādaśaratha as the *uparāja* and was pleased to have him issue royal commands just as he himself did.<sup>59</sup> The King of Pegu sent his own *uparāja* to attack and make war and fight him on elephant-back. The [Burmese] *uparāja* died on the neck of his elephant; and then the King and his younger brother twice went and attacked Lawaek, and on the latter occasion captured it, seizing the King of Lawaek and ceremonially executing him. Then they attacked Pegu, and went as far as Toungoo when they ran short of supplies and had to return with their armies to the capital. The Royal Younger Brother was sent to subdue the realm of Chiangmai, which was in chaos, and then he went to attack Ava by way of Chiangmai.

---

54) August, 1557; but *LP* gives August 30, 1569.

55) Cambodia.

56) Bayinnaung, 1551-81.

57) A.D. 1578/79; but C.S. 952 (July, 1590) in *LP*.

58) An additional sentence, mentioning Naresvara's elevation, would seem to be required here.

59) I.e., the two ruled conjointly as equal kings.

**King Ekādaśaratha**

[1605-1610]

In 955 of the Era, Year of the Lesser Dragon, Fifth of the Decade,<sup>60</sup> King Nareśvara fell suddenly ill and died at *Müang Hāng* in the Mājji-matravithi-pradeśa, at the age of fifty, having reigned sixteen years. So *somdet* Ekādaśaratha, the royal younger brother, accompanied the royal remains back to the capital, and then ascended the throne. He was aged 44 years. He had three golden and two silver images of the Buddha made, and then sponsored a royal boat-race ceremony, arranging for a procession of boats to convey the Buddha (s) in procession [around the city] for seven days.

In 957 of the Era, Year of the Monkey, Seventh of the Decade,<sup>61</sup> His Majesty was pleased to decree royal ordinances and laws for the kingdom, and established various taxes<sup>62</sup> payable to the royal treasury, and made grants of land to the [benefit of the] ecclesiastical dignitaries (*rājagaṇaḥ*) in every royal monastery. His Majesty the King had two royal sons, named *ḥhaofā* Sudāśna and *ḥhaofā* Śrī Sauvabhāgya.<sup>63</sup> Prince Śrī Sauvabhāgya had an abscess and lost one of his eyes, so His Majesty was pleased to appoint his elder royal son as *uparāja*. The *uparāja* [Sudāśna] went to the king to ask that his people [retainers] be examined;<sup>64</sup> and the king asked whether he was going into rebellion. Fearing the royal displeasure, the *uparāja* took poison and died.

**King Śrī Sauvabhāga**

[1610-1611]

In the year 963 of the Era, Year of the Ox, Third of the Decade,<sup>65</sup> King Ekādaśaratha died at the age of 52 years, having reigned for nine years.<sup>66</sup> So the royal son, *ḥhaofā* Sauvabhāga, who had lost one of his

60) A.D. 1593; but correct date, corroborated by foreign sources, should be C.S. 967 (A.D. 1605): see Kachorn Sukhabani, "Sōp sakkarāt pī ratchakān somdet phra Ekāthotsarot," *Sinlapākōn* XI: 2 (July 2510), 76.

61) A.D. 1595; should be C.S. 969 (A.D. 1607).

62) The phrase is *suai sat sanphākōn*, suggesting a variety of taxes, including payments in lieu of corvée (*suai*) and revenues (*sanphākōn*). See *Roy. Aut.*, 415-417.

63) I.e., Prince Suthat and Prince Saowaphāk.

64) Put in such a way as to imply that he wanted those who were not able-bodied men weeded out. See *Roy. Aut.*, 220-21, 417-18.

65) A.D. 1601; correct date is C.S. 972 (A.D. 1610); see Kachorn, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

66) Correct length of reign would be 5 years, 5 months.

eyes, ascended the throne. Counting the kings in succession since King Rāmādhīpatī had built the capital, omitting only *khun* Varavaṅśādhīrāja, he was the twentieth king.

#### King Draṅ Dharrma

[Song Tham, 1611-1628]

In the year 964 of the Era, Year of the Tiger, Fourth of the Decade,<sup>67</sup> Phra Bimaladharrma, an ecclesiastical dignitary (*rājāgaṇah*) of Wāt Raghāṅ,<sup>68</sup> had many students and followers, including *čhamün* Śrī Sararākṣa who had presented himself to be his adoptive son. [The monk] conspired with *čhamün* Śrī Sararākṣa and slowly gathered a great many people, and they then went around in the night to send their men to force the gates and enter into the royal palace. They captured the king and took him to be executed. Śrī Sauvabhāga had reigned for one year and two months. Phra Bimaladharrma acceded to the royal treasures and changed to a new dynasty. He was given the name King Draṅ Dharrma. He appointed *čhamün* Śrī Sararākṣa to be the *uparāja*. He had reigned for only seven days when an epidemic suddenly broke out and [the *uparāja*] died. At that time many Japanese sampans came up to the capital to trade. The Japanese decided to revolt and took a group of about three hundred to surround the three buildings of the Čhōm Thōng palace, intending to capture the King, who had gone out to give a sermon on the Dhamma in that palace to the monks, and accompany them to their monasteries. Phra Mahā Āmmātya was able to gather troops and came up to attack the Japanese, who were defeated and fled in their sampans. Phra Mahā Āmmātya went out to invite the King to return to his palace. So the King was pleased to appoint *phra* Mahā Āmmātya as *čhaophrayā* Kalāhom Suriyavaṅsa as a mark of his favor.

In the year 968 of the Era, Year of the Horse, Eighth of the Decade,<sup>69</sup> it was learned that a footprint of the Lord Buddha had appeared on the Suvarṇaparrbata Mountain, so His Majesty went there to construct a *maṇḍapa* and *vihāra* and all the accompanying buildings. Then he composed the Royal Version of the Great Jātaka for the kingdom.

67) A.D. 1602; correct date is C.S. 973 (A.D. 1611); see Kachorn, *ibid.*

68) This *wat* later became known as Wāt Varabodhi: See N. na Paknām, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

69) A.D. 1606/07; correct date must be C.S. 977 (A.D. 1615).

**King Phra Jeṣṭhādhirāja**

[1628-1629]

In the year 989 of the Era, Year of the Hare, Ninth of the Decade,<sup>70</sup> King Drañ Dharrma died, having reigned for 26 years. His age is not known. His Majesty had three sons, named Phra Jeṣṭhādhirāja, Phra Phan Pī Śrī Śilpa, and Phra Ādityavaṅśa. *Čhaophrayā* Kalāhom Suriyavaṅśa elevated Phra Jeṣṭhādhirāja to the throne, and Phra Phan Pī Śrī Śilpa, his younger brother, fled to Phetburi, intending to revolt and gather people to go and attack the capital. So [the King] ordered a commissioner to go out and capture him, and had him brought back and executed.

**King Phra Ādityavaṅśa**

[1629]

In the year 991 of the Era, Year of the Lesser Dragon, First of the Decade,<sup>71</sup> the mother of *čhaophrayā* Kalāhom died, and *čhaophrayā* Kalāhom went to cremate her at Wat Kūta, [together with] many nobles who went to assist. The King was suspicious, and accused him of covertly arranging an assembly of nobles in order to plot a rebellion. So he had the lictors go out and seek to arrest him. *Čhaophrayā* Kalāhom learned of this, and all the nobles joined in with him. They brought up their force and entered [the capital] in the middle of the night, forcing entrance through the gates of the royal palace. The King, deciding he could not fight them, fled in his royal barge. *Čhaophrayā* Kalāhom had the nobles pursue him, and they were able to capture him, and he was executed. Phra Jeṣṭhādhirāja had reigned for one year and seven months,<sup>72</sup> but his age is not known. So *čhaophrayā* Kalāhom elevated Phra Ādityavaṅśa, the royal younger brother, whose age was nine years, to reign thereafter. Phra Ādityavaṅśa was at an age [given] to play, running about catching goats and sheep everywhere. The government officials, high and low, consulted together and [decided to] depose Phra Ādityavaṅśa from the throne. He reigned for six months. They invited *čhaophrayā* Kalāhom Suriyavaṅśa to ascend the throne.

70) A.D. 1627; correct date C.S. 990 (A.D. 1628); see Kachorn, *op. cit.*, p. 76. King Song Tham died December 12, 1628.

71) A.D. 1629. This date is correct.

72) Actually only eight months: December 12, 1628-August, 1629.

**King Prāsāda Dōn (Prasat Thōng)**

[1629-1656]

In the year 992 of the Era, Year of the Horse, Second of the Decade,<sup>73</sup> *chaophrayā* Kalāhom Suriyavañśa ascended the throne and established a new dynasty, and was given the name of King Prāsāda Dōn. He had one younger brother, whom he appointed *phra Śrī Sudharrmarāja*. At the [former] residence of Phra Phan Pī Luang he constructed a monastery, to which he gave the name *Wāt Jāyavathanārāma*.<sup>74</sup> Phra *Ādityavañśa*, who had been deposed, plotted rebellion, and he was ordered executed together with all his followers. Then the *Cākravarrtibaijayanta Mahāprāsāda Palace*, the *Vihāra Samtēc Palace*, and the *Aiśvarryadipaāśana Palace* on Bang Nang In Island were constructed. A young bull elephant was captured.

In the year 1000 of the Era, Year of the Tiger, Tenth of the Decade,<sup>75</sup> His Majesty was pleased to arrange a royal ceremony for reducing the Era, changing the Year of the Pig to be the Tenth of the Decade.<sup>76</sup> Then he had *kālpa brikṣa* trees planted<sup>77</sup> at intervals of 20 metres around the capital. He rode on his royal elephant distributing alms around the city. Then he presented the great hundred alms, namely 100 elephants, 100 horses, 100 male slaves, 100 female slaves, 100 *chang* of gold, and 100 *chang* of silver, distributing them to all the people.

In the year 1005 of the Era, Year of the Goat, Fifth of the Decade,<sup>78</sup> lightning struck the Golden Palace, (called) the *Maṅgalābhīṣeka Throne Hall*, and a conflagration arose which spread to the treasury and to as many as 110 buildings in front and behind before it was extinguished.

73) A.D. 1630; August 1629, according to Kachorn, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

74) Opposite the western part of the capital, it was built on the plan of Angkor Wat.

75) A.D. 1638/39.

76) See O. Frankfurter, "A Proposed Change in the Siamese Era Chulasakaraj 1000 (A.D. 1638)," *T'oung Pao*, 2nd ser., VIII (1907), 99-104.

77) "*Cassia bakeriana* (*Leguminosae*), pink cassia;" McFarland, p. 88.

78) A.D. 1643/44.

79) The "Golden Palace" and the "Maṅgalābhīṣeka Throne Hall" are one and the same place. See *Phrarāṭchaphongsāwadān Kṛmīng Sī Ayutthayā (chabap luang Sānprasōēt lae chabap kromphra Paramānuchitchinōrot) lae phongsāwadān nua . . .* (2 vols., Bangkok: Khurusaphā, 1961), vol. 1, p. 375.

**King Čhaofā Jāya**

[1656-1657]

In the year 1017 of the Era, Year of the Goat, Seventh of the Decade,<sup>80</sup> King Prāsāda Dōn died, having reigned for 26 years. His age is not known. So Čhaofā Jāya, his eldest royal son, succeeded him for nine months.

**King Phra Śrī Sudharrmarājā and King Nārāyana (Narai)** [1657; 1657-88]

In the year 1018 of the Era, Year of the Monkey, Eighth of the Decade,<sup>81</sup> Phra Nārāyana, the king's younger brother by a different mother, conspired with Phra Śrī Sudharrmarājā, his father's younger brother, to capture Čhaofā Jāya and execute him. Čhaofā Jāya had reigned for nine months. So Phra Śrī Sudharrmarājā ascended the throne, and appointed his royal nephew, Phra Nārāyana, to be *uparāja*. That Phra Śrī Sudharrmarājā was devoid of shame, and engaged in sexual relations with Phra Kālyāṇī, the youngest sister of Phra Nārāyana. Nārāyana was furious, and brought troops up to do battle with his uncle. The latter, defeated, fled to the rear palace. Nārāyana ordered a commissioner to pursue and capture him, and he was executed. Phra Śrī Sudharrmarājā had reigned for two months and twenty days.<sup>82</sup> In that Year of the Monkey, Phra Nārāyana ascended the throne at the age of twenty-six. He obtained a white bull elephant, which was named Paramagajendrachāddānta, and a white cow elephant, which was named Indra-Airavāṇavisuddhirājakirīṇī; and he built the city of Lopburi, with a royal palace, the Suddhaiśvarga Mahāprāsāda Palace, and the Dhāna Mahāprāsāda Palace. He went to dwell in Lopburi in the cold season and the hot season. At the approach of the rainy season he came down to Ayudhyā. Phra Traibhūvanādityavaṅśa and Prince Thōng, his younger brother by a different womb, plotted a rebellion. [The King] ordered

80) A.D. 1655/56. W.A.R. Wood (*A History of Siam*, London, 1924; reprinted Bangkok, 1959, p. 187), dates the death of King Prasat Thōng on August 8, 1656.

81) If Čhaofā Jāya really reigned for nine months, this date would have to be in early May, 1657.

82) In this text's chronology, this would be in about July-August, 1657. Wood, however, dates it in November, following *Roy. Aut.*, p. 441, which, however has the twelfth month (ca. November) of C.S. 1018 (1656).

them arrested and executed. Then he had *čhaophrayā* Koṣā (*khun Lĕk*) go to attack Ava, but he failed and withdrew the armies; and he had *nāi Pān*, the younger brother of *čhaophrayā* Koṣā, go as ambassador to promote friendship with France. When *čhaophrayā* Koṣā died, *nāi Pān*, his younger brother, was appointed *čhaoprayā* Koṣā and sent to attack Chiangmai. The main army, with royal support, went up and captured Chiangmai.

**King Bedarājā (Phetrāchā)**

[1688-1703]

In the year 1044 of the Era, Year of the Dog, Fourth of the Decade,<sup>83</sup> King Nārāyaṇa died in Lopburī at the age of 50, having reigned twenty-six years. So *phra* Bedarājā, *čhāngwāng* of the Elephant Department, who was regent, ascended the throne at the age of 56 years. He appointed *luang* Saraśākti, his adoptive son, to be *uparāja* and *nāi* Drañ Pāśa, his fellow-conspirator in [seizing] the throne, to be the Prince of the Rear Palace. And His Majesty bestowed equivalent rank and regalia upon *čhaophrayā* Surasaṅgrāma. Later, he came to dislike these [latter] two and had both executed. At that time, *phrayā* Yamarāja (Sānkha), who had gone to govern Nakhon Ratchasima, and *phrayā* Rāmatejo, who had gone to govern Nakhon Sithammarat in the reign of Nārāyaṇa, plotted to rebel and seize the capital. So [the King] sent armies to attack both provinces. The King obtained two white cow elephants, which were named *Phra* Indra Airābata and *Paramarātanākāśa*. Then he built a palace, named the *Parryañkarātanāsna* Palace.

**King *luang* Saraśākti, called "King Tiger"**

[1703-09]

In 1059 of the Era, Year of the Ox, Ninth of the Decade,<sup>84</sup> the King fell gravely ill. The *uparāja* arrested the royal sons *Trat Nōi* and *Phra Khwan* and executed them. Hearing this, the King was exceedingly sad and died at the age of 71, having reigned for sixteen years. The *uparāja*, *luang* Saraśākti, the royal son of King Nārāyaṇa, who was called "King Tiger," ascended the throne at the age of thirty-six. He had two royal sons named *Prince* *Bejra* and *Prince* *Phra Phōn*. He appointed the elder

83) A.D. 1682; but there is good contemporary evidence for dating Narai's death on July 11, 1688.

84) A.D. 1697/98; correct date should be ca. March, 1703.

son as *uparāja* and the younger son as Phra Baṇḍūra Nōi to carry out the royal orders. The King committed many outrages.

**King Dāy Srah (Thai Sa)**

[1709-1733]

In 1068 of the Era, Year of the Dog, Eighth of the Decade,<sup>85</sup> “King Tiger” died at the age of 45 years, having reigned for ten years. So his royal son the *uparāja*, Prince Bejra, who was called “the King at the End of the Pond (. . . *thāi sa*),”<sup>86</sup> ascended the throne at the age of twenty-six years. He appointed his younger brother *uparāja*. The King committed murders as his royal father had done.

**King čhaofā Phōn, called King Paramakośa (Borommakot)** [1733-1758]

In 1094 of the Era, Year of the Rat, Fourth of the Decade,<sup>87</sup> [the King] died at the age of fifty-two years, having reigned for twenty-seven years. He bestowed the succession upon the royal son, Prince Abhāya, whose age was eighteen years. The *uparāja* would not agree [to this], and did battle with Prince Abhāya, his nephew, setting up forts on the banks of the canal gate entrances into the city. They fought for two months, and Prince Abhāya, defeated, fled in the royal barge, taking Prince Parameśvara with him. The king ordered a commissioner to pursue and capture them, and both were caught and executed. The *uparāja*, Prince Phōn, who was called King Paramakośa, ascended the throne at the age of forty-nine years. He was pleased to appoint his royal son, Prince Dharmadhipeśra, as *krommakhun* Senābidakṣa; Prince Ekadāśna as *krommakhun* Anurākṣamantrī, Prince Khaek as *krommamün* Debabibidha, Prince Māngut as *krommamün* Citrasundra, and Prince Ratha as *krommamün* Sundradeba. Later, he appointed Prince Dōn Dūa as *krommakhun* Barabinita and Prince Bān as *krommamün* Sebahakti; and then Prince *Krommakhun* Senabidakṣa was appointed *uparāja*.

In 1109 of the Era, Year of the Hare, Ninth of the Decade,<sup>88</sup> news was received that gold deposits had been found in Bang Saphan in the

85) A.D. 1706/07; correct date should be ca. May, 1709.

86) From the location of his palace.

87) A.D. 1732/33; correct date should be ca. January, 1733.

88) A.D. 1747/48.

area of *müang* Kuiburi, so the king ordered a commissioner to take men and go and work them; and gold was brought back in a quantity of more than 90 *chang*.

In 1115 of the Era, Year of the Cock, Fifth of the Decade,<sup>89</sup> the King of Ceylon sent an embassy which arrived bearing a royal letter asking monks to go and establish the Buddha's religion in Ceylon. So the King invited Phra Upāli and Phra Ariyamunī and twelve accompanying junior monks to return to Ceylon with the envoys. And the King obtained a white cow elephant, which was named Braḥ Viḥjarahastindra. Later, the *uparāja* stealthily fornicated with Princess Saṅvāla and Princess Nim in the royal palace and the king ordered him punished by flogging until he died. Then Prince *krommakhun* Barabinita became *uparāja*.

**King Kramakhun Barabinita and His Abdication in favor of Krommakhun Anurākṣamantrī** [1758-1767]

In 1120 of the Era, Year of the Tiger, Tenth of the Decade,<sup>90</sup> the King died at the age of 74 years, having reigned for twenty-six years. The *uparāja*, *krommakhun* Barabinita, succeeded to the throne. Then he conspired with *krommakhun* Anurākṣamantrī, his elder brother, to arrest *krommamün* Citrasundra, Sundradeba, and Sebahaktī and execute all three. Having reigned for about ten days, the king abdicated, handing over the throne to *krommakhun* Anurākṣamantrī his elder brother, and being ordained as a monk he went to live in Wat Pratū.<sup>91</sup> So *krommakhun* Anurākṣamantrī ascended the throne, and was named King Suriyāmarindra Palace.

In 1122 of the Era, Year of the Greater Dragon, Second of the Decade,<sup>92</sup> the King of Ava, Mañ Lòn,<sup>93</sup> sent a Burmese and Mon army unsuccessfully to attack the capital. In the retreat of the army, he died en route.

89) A.D. 1753/54.

90) A.D. 1758/59; correct date ca. May, 1758.

91) June, 1758.

92) A.D. 1760/61; main invasion April-May, 1760.

93) King Alaungphaya, 1752-60.

In 1126 of the Era, Year of the monkey, Sixth of the Decade,<sup>94</sup> King Mañraḥ of Ava<sup>95</sup> appointed Mahā Naradhā as the commander of another army to attack the capital. They fought for three years.

In 1129 of the Era, Year of the Pig, Ninth of the Decade, on Tuesday, the ninth day of the waxing moon of the fifth month<sup>96</sup> the capital fell to the Burmese enemy. The King had reigned for nine years when the capital fell. His age is not known.

There were thirty-four kings who ruled in Ayudhyā; and from the foundation of the capital in 712 of the Era, Year of the Tiger, Second of the Decade, until the loss of the capital in 1129 of the Era, Year of the Pig, Ninth of the Decade, there were 417 years.

The Shortened Royal Chronicle of the Succession of Kings of the old capital ends here completed.

---

94) A.D. 1764/65.

95) King Hsinbyushin, 1763-76.

96) April 8, 1767.