

# **George Cœdès' Chronology of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya**

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## **Abstract**

The history of the Mon Kingdom of Haripunjaya, now Lamphun in the North of Thailand, is comparatively well known thanks to a number of chronicles. However, the chronicles rarely agree between themselves, in particular concerning chronology, and there is no contemporary evidence to confirm any of them. Some inscriptions provide dates which need to be interpreted and George Cœdès gave a tentative reading of them, which is usually accepted along with a corrected chronology to order the various events or kings mentioned in the chronicles. In this article the writer critically examines Cœdès' interpretation using his own arguments, namely astrology and calendrical data, paleography, the chronicular evidence and correspondences with other documents. He also examines how Cœdès treated the corrected chronology in his subsequent works and how it is considered by other scholars.

## George Cœdès' Chronology of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya

The restricted circle of specialists certainly knows that the chronology, before the setting up of Thai principalities, of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya, now Lamphun in the North of Thailand, gives historians numerous headaches for a complex of reasons :

— Paradoxically, there is an excess of evidence, as there are comparatively many chronicles which mention this kingdom and its kings, but their testimonies are very often contradictory, at least for the period we are interested in, and even when we exclude the dates that are totally unlikely, those that seem credible definitely do not form a coherent picture of the question ;

— There are very few first-hand documents, as the number of inscriptions of this kingdom so far discovered does not exceed ten and they are usually quite uninformative ;

— Very few inscriptions are dated, and those which are contain dates expressed in such a way that they need an interpretation to be understood ;

— Most of the literature on the subject is in French and is found in old reviews — consequently it is not rare that the hypotheses first expressed on the subject are repeated, and occasionally distorted or modified, with no reference to the original texts, and sometimes with no first-hand knowledge of these texts ;

— The first publication of the relevant texts by George Cœdès was also accompanied by a ready-made interpretation of the dates and by a chronology of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya, and it is quite tempting to accept or reproduce them with no questioning or amendments ;

— The chronology that Cœdès established relies on the analysis of an awfully complex astrological problem which nobody, as far as we know, has ventured to re-examine after him ;

— The chronology that he suggested agrees with no source taken separately, but is rather the result of a synthesis of the known existing sources based on his own reading of the inscriptions ;

— One of the French texts, though not Cœdès' founding one, has been translated into Thai in a way liable to lead to more

misunderstandings ;

— In his later writings, Cœdès corrected and recanted some assertions founded on this chronology, though not the chronology itself, producing some slightly contradictory statements, and as such his authority can be called upon for conflicting interpretations.

In short, the version that Cœdès proposed for the chronology of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya is endowed with his authority and appears impeccably scientific, but it relies on a combination of sources, though none sustains it when taken individually. Consequently, the chronology that he proposed, and which is usually accepted, entirely relies on an interpretation of some data and not a simple reading of them, but this interpretation is rarely reviewed and all the more so questioned or reconsidered, even though, as will be seen, it can be found at faults on some points.

The object of this article is not so much to bring new data or a new interpretation on the chronology of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya, it has nothing of the kind to offer, but more simply to make a critical review of the literature on the subject, along with translations of some of the relevant texts, with the view to dispelling some of the numerous misunderstandings on the question.



Wat Don Inscription,  
Haripunjaya National Museum  
(photo : Laurent Hennequin)

### **Cœdès' first evaluation of the chronology of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya.**

Cœdès started in the 1920's the establishment of his chronology with the reading of ancient inscriptions which had recently been discovered. These inscriptions, written in Mon with some passages in Pali, partly corroborated, as first-hand testimonies, other evidence found in the various chronicles whose reliability could otherwise be legitimately questioned. One of the documents, the Wat Don inscription, was described as follows : « The

inscription (...) was unearthed around 1917 at Vat Don 250 metres at the East of Lamphun. Its author is King Sabbhādhisiddhi<sup>1</sup>. » As for the others, the Wat Kukut inscriptions, they were described in the following terms by Cœdès : « Two inscriptions were found in Vat Kōkōt. (...) One of them has 8 lines in a very bad state. The other one (...) was discovered in February 1922 by HRH Damrong Rajanubhab and myself. It was buried at the foot of the western wall of the tower. (...) Its author is the same as that of the Vat Don inscription, namely Sabbhādhisiddhi<sup>2</sup>. »

The Wat Don inscription contains two dates and one of the two Wat Kukut inscriptions contains one. However, as quickly mentioned, the dates are not explicit, because they contain no year digit, but simply a year name, among other things, as follows, according to Cœdès' rendering of one of them :

« Year Jeṅṅha, Tuesday, 13th day of the waxing moon of Jeṅṅha, moon mansion Cittā, when the King was 32 of age<sup>3</sup>. »

Cœdès gave a first estimate of the age of these inscriptions in a letter that he wrote to Prince Damrong, then director of the Royal Academy where Cœdès was working, immediately after deciphering the texts :

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<sup>1</sup>George Cœdès, "Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, XXV. Hanoi. 1925. p. 189. The inscription appears in Thai inventories under the number ล พ ๑ with the name จารึกพระเจ้าสวาวาสิตธิ (วัดดอนแก้ว)

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.* p. 192. The eight line inscription, which Cœdès did not publish, is number ล พ ๕ with the name จารึกอาณาจักรปูนไชย. The other one, published by Cœdès, is ล พ ๒ with the name จารึกพระเจ้าสวาวาสิตธิ (วัดกุกุต).

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.* p. 19.

Friday<sup>4</sup>

(...)

When trying to decipher the big inscriptions from Vat Kukut and Vat Don, with the help of Rev<sup>d</sup> Halliday<sup>5</sup>, we noticed that the name of their author was Sabbh□dhi Siddhi (สพพาธิสิทธิ). This name did not evoke anything in my memory, until yesterday, in reading through my old translation of the *Jinak□lam□l□n□*<sup>6</sup>, I found the very same person, under the name of Sabb□siddhi (สพพาธิสิทธิ) mentioned as reigning in Haripunjay, and being the third successor of □dityar□ja (อาทิตยราช). The date of his succession given

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<sup>4</sup>The letter is not dated but cannot be older than February 1922, when one of the inscriptions mentioned was discovered, and later than September 1923, when Cœdès dispatched his article “Documents ... Laos.” 1925 to the publisher, which contains the first edition of the inscriptions. Cœdès’ letter to Prince Damrong is written in English. Some diacritic signs have been added for the cohesion of spelling.

<sup>5</sup>Robert Halliday (1864-1933) was one of the few specialists of Mon language of that time, though not particularly an epigraphist. However, he published his own interpretation of these inscriptions along with some others (“Les inscriptions mènes du Siam éditées et traduites par R. Halliday avec la collaboration de C.O. Blagden.” Translated by J. Wilkin. *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient*. XXX. Hanoi, 1930.)

<sup>6</sup>This text, which will later be referred to as the *Jinak□lam□l□* (See the review “*Jinak□lam□l□* : A Siamese translation of the original P□li by S. Manavidèn.” in *Journal of the Siam Society*. XLVI, 2. November 1958. p. 233), is a Northern chronicle in Pali written at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was translated and introduced by Cœdès in “Documents ... Laos.” 1925, along with other documents. We see here that Cœdès qualifies his translation as old, since he had already presented the text in “Note sur les ouvrages palis composés en pays thaï.” (*Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient*, XV, 3. Hanoi. 1915, pp. 1 et 6 sq.) and short excerpts in French in “Documents sur la dynastie de Sukhodaya.” (*Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient*, XVII, 2. Hanoi. 1917. pp. 32 sq.). It is probably the reading of these newly discovered inscriptions which justified the publication of this translation, as they showed that the chronicle was reliable to some extent.

in *Phongsavadan Yonok*<sup>7</sup> is Chullasakharaj 415<sup>8</sup>, but for that period Phya Prajakich's chronology seems to be all wrong, as he allows only five years for the reign of  $\square$ dityar $\square$ ja. According to the *Jinak $\square$ lam $\square$ l $\square$ n $\square$*   $\square$ dityar $\square$ ja became king in Chullasok 409<sup>9</sup>, and reigned during eighty years. His first successor reigned five years and the second five years too. This brings Sabb $\square$ siddhi's accession to Chullasok 499<sup>10</sup>, which fits all right with the style of the characters in the Lampun inscriptions.

The identification of the author given to the inscriptions are immense value. We know now for certain that, as late as Chullasok 500<sup>11</sup>, the population of Haripunjaya was still Mon : the Thai seem to have settled there rather late, probably not long before Mengray<sup>12</sup>. »

<sup>7</sup> พระยาประชาภิจักรจักร์, พงศาวดารโยนก. กรุงเทพฯ 2441-2442. Phraya Prachakitjakonjak, *Phongsavadan yonok [Yonok Chronicles]*. Bangkok. 1898-99. Cœdès considered this book "a compilation based on local chronicles and legends." ("Documents...Laos." 1925, p. 2). The respective dates given by the *Jinak $\square$ lam $\square$ l $\square$ n $\square$*  and *Yonok Chronicles* are examined later.

<sup>8</sup> 1053-54 A.D. We recall here that the year in the Thai system runs from a variable date in the middle of the Western calendar, for example, for the present period, between April 13<sup>th</sup> and April 12<sup>th</sup>.

We have to understand that Cœdès means : "the date of  $\square$ dityar $\square$ ja's accession to the throne, the date when he succeeded his predecessor is 415."

<sup>9</sup> 1047-48 A.D.

<sup>10</sup> 1137-38 A.D.

<sup>11</sup> 1138-1139 A.D.

<sup>12</sup> Laurent Hennequin, "Quelques lettres inédites de George Cœdès au Prince Damrong Rajanubhab." *Proceedings of the symposium : George Cœdès aujourd'hui*. 9-10 septembre 1999. โรงแรม เอนก "จดหมายเหตุศาสตราจารย์ยอร์ช เซเดส์ ถวายแก่สมเด็จพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ" อรุณรัตน์ ชาติรัฐประมัย, แปล. ยอร์ช เซเดส์ กับไทยศึกษา. การณิกา จรรย์แสง และ เพ็ญศิริ เจริญพจน์, บรรณาธิการ. ศูนย์ข้อมูลเพื่อการค้นคว้าวิจัยฝรั่งเศส-ไทยศึกษา, นครปฐม. 2546. หน้า 167.

The capture of Haripunjaya by Mengray was situated by Cœdès around 1290 ("Documents...Laos." 1925, p. 26).

We should keep in mind, when reading this text, that in the 1920's, the importance of the Mon in the history of what is now Thailand was still unclear, as this people had more or less been erased from the history of the country. To illustrate this fact, Cœdès takes the example of the « works by P. Lefèvre-Pontalis who wrote a monograph on “The Thai Invasion in Indochina” (*T'oung Pao*, 1909, p. 495) without mentioning even once the name of the Mon<sup>13</sup>. » However it is noteworthy that Cœdès went to the opposite extreme, by identifying the Kingdom of Haripunjaya with a branch of the Mon people, though it may have administered people of various origins. The question will not be debated here, and even if in these pages the people in question will be referred to as the Mon, it does not mean that it is taken for granted that it can be ethnically and linguistically qualified as such.

The most important thing for us to remark is that the inscriptions are estimated as dating from the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, using both the data found in the *Jinakālam* and “the style of the characters” of the inscriptions, but Cœdès made at this stage no attempt to interpret the dates found in the text.

### **Cœdès' analysis of the dates of the inscriptions and the subsequent construction of his chronology.**

Later on, in 1925, Cœdès published a long article, “Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental”, which contained, with introductory notes, the transcription and translation in French of two chronicles written in Pali, the *Jinakālam* and the *Cāmadevavāsa* which relate, among other things, the history of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya and, in annex, the publication, with translation and notes, of the inscriptions mentioned above<sup>14</sup>. This article of 204 pages was the starting point, at least for Western science, of the history of this ancient kingdom and, in a way, of the

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<sup>13</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1925. p. 16.

<sup>14</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1925. The term "Laos occidental" is a rather clumsy translation of the administrative designation of the time.

studies of the Mon in Thailand, or the people who inhabited the territory of Thailand before the Thai settled, which were to be complemented later, in particular in the introduction to *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam. Deuxième partie : Inscriptions de Dvāravatī, de Çrīvijaya et de Lavo* by the same author, published in 1929<sup>15</sup>. In his 1925 article, Cœdès radically changed his evaluation as expressed in his letter, estimating that the inscriptions dated back to the 1210's instead of the middle of the 1150's as he had previously assumed. Let us first examine the text in question, though it is rather long, as it has never been translated :



Wat Kukut Inscription I,  
Haripunjaya National Museum  
(photo : Laurent Hennequin)

« Two among them [the seven inscriptions found in Lāmphun], the one from Vāt Don and another one from Vāt Kōkōt [...], are due to a king called Sabbādhissiddhi, that the *Jinakālamānā* mentions as the second successor to Vāditarāja<sup>16</sup>. They contain the following dates :

« Year Maggasira, Sunday, 5<sup>th</sup> day of the waning moon of Jeṭṭha, lunar mansion Uttaraphagunā, when the King was 26 of age ;

<sup>15</sup>Cœdès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam. Deuxième partie : Inscriptions de Dvāravatī, de Çrīvijaya et de Lavo*. Bangkok. 1929. The introduction was not reproduced in the second edition of the book in 1961.

<sup>16</sup>The *Jinakālamānā* calls him Sabbāsiddhī, but it is beyond doubt the same person : the Lāmphun chronicles written in vernacular attribute to Sabbāsiddhī the foundation of the temple named Jetavana that the object of the Vāt Don inscription is precisely to commemorate. [Note by G.C.]

Year **Jeṅṅha**, Tuesday, 13<sup>th</sup> day of the waxing moon of **Jeṅṅha**, lunar mansion **Citta**, when the King was 32 of age ;

Year **Visṅkha**, Sunday, 13<sup>th</sup> day of the waxing moon of **Citta**. »

The absence of a year digit is all the more regrettable as the Jupiter duodecimal cycle, to which the two year names belong, raises quite a few problems in the Burmese inscriptions<sup>17</sup>. The list of these twelve year names<sup>18</sup> invariably appears in the following order :

- |                   |                      |                     |
|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1) <b>Citta</b>   | 5) <b>Sṅvana</b>     | 9) <b>Maggasira</b> |
| 2) <b>Visṅkha</b> | 6) <b>Bhaddapada</b> | 10) <b>Phussa</b>   |
| 3) <b>Jeṅṅha</b>  | 7) <b>Assayuja</b>   | 11) <b>Mṅgha</b>    |
| 4) <b>ṅsṅha</b>   | 8) <b>Kattika</b>    | 12) <b>Phagguṅa</b> |

However, if we go through the collection *Original Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya in Upper Burma* (Rangoon, 1913) concerning all the periods prior to the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and draw the list of all the dates expressed both in the cullasakarṅja era and in the duodecimal cycle, we find quite a puzzling result, as follows :

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| C.S.420 <b>Phagguṅa</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .2) | C. S. 588 <b>Phussa</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .47) |
| 430 <b>Bhaddapada</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .7)   | 590 <b>Kattika</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .48)      |
| (or <b>Phussa</b> )                         |  |
| 464 <b>ṅsṅha</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .11)       | 591 <b>Visṅkha</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .49)      |
| 467 <b>Visṅkha</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .9)      | 593 <b>Jeṅṅha</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .38)       |
| 469 <b>Mṅgha</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .13)       | 594 <b>ṅsṅha</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .38)        |
| 512 <b>Visṅkha</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .29)     | 598 <b>Jeṅṅha</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .52)       |
| 522 <b>Citta</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .23)       | 599 <b>Maggasira</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .53)    |
| 533 <b>Jeṅṅha</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .29)      | 603 <b>Maggasira</b> (N <sup>o</sup> .61)    |

<sup>17</sup>See the articles published on the subject in *Journal of Burma Research Society*. I, pp. 96 ; IV, 24 ; VI, 90 ; VII, 263 ; VIII, 270 ; XII, 80. [Note by G.C.]

<sup>18</sup>The cycle was apparently introduced into Indochina in the Gupta period (Huber, in BEFEO, IX, 638, n. 1). [Note by G.C.]

544 Visākha (N°.26)	604 Visākha (N°.63)
559 Visākha (N°.30)	610 Kattika (N°.68)
560 Bhaddapada (N°.32)	621 Assayuja (N°.72)
563 Citta (N°.37)	622 Kattika (N°.78)
565 Kattika (N°.38)	624 Phussa (N°.81)
567 Citta (N°.39)	631 Visākha (N°.84)
568 Visākha (N°.31)	631 Svāna (N°.86)
578 Phagguāa (N°.43)	633 Maggasira (N°.89)
585 Kattika (N°.44)	634 Kattika (N°.90)
586 Kattika (N°.45)	636 Svāna (N°.6)

We see in the table that the years bearing a same name do not appear, as they should, at regular intervals of twelve or a multiple of twelve : for instance, the seven occurrences of the year Visākha are separated by intervals of 32, 15, 9, 23, 13 and 27 years. The lack of consistency may be due either to a series of mistakes made by the engraver or misreading by the editor, or to the simultaneous use of several cycles, or more precisely of cycles from different origins. The latter hypothesis seems unlikely, as all the inscriptions originate from the same area, where there was certainly only one system of reckoning. It is more likely that the dates in the corpus – like those included in the other collections in the same series of epigraphic publications – contain quite a few errors. However, in the list presented above, we identify some sort of regularity made up by a group of dates which prove to be totally consistent, viz.

C. S. 469 Māgha	593 Jēṭṭha
533 Jēṭṭha	599 Maggasira
544 Visākha	604 Visākha
560 Bhaddapada	610 Kattika
567 Citta	621 Assayuja
568 Visākha	622 Kattika
578 Phagguāa	624 Phussa
586 Kattika	631 Svāna
588 Phussa	634 Kattika

The names of the years in the latter list are exactly those which result from the application of the rule given by Maung La<sup>19</sup> and from Mr. J.S. Furnivall's tables<sup>20</sup> for the corresponding years. Moreover, and this is even more conclusive, the cycle that the list implies appears in a Mon inscription published in *Epigraphia Birmanica* (Vol. I, N° VI), the reading of which is certain : C. S. 455 Maggasira. Consequently, I consider that we can take for granted, in proper method, that only the dates of the second list are correct and that all the others can be rejected as dubious<sup>21</sup>.

It follows that for the three year names appearing in the Lāmphun inscriptions, a year digit must be found among the following :

For the year Maggasira : 455, 467, 479, 491, 503,  
515, 527, 539, 551, 563,  
575, 587, 599, 611, 623 ;

For the year Je□□ha : 461, 473, 485, 497, 509,  
521, 533, 545, 557, 569,  
581, 593, 605, 617, 629 ;

For the year Vis□kha : 460, 472, 484, 496, 508,  
520, 532, 544, 556, 568,  
580, 592, 604, 616, 628.

The groundwork thus cleared and the frame for the research thus circumscribed, we have to determine which among the Maggasira years listed above has a 5<sup>th</sup> day of

<sup>19</sup>*Journal of Burma Research Society*, VIII, p. 271. The rule is as follows : « Abstract 2 from the Burmese era, divide the remainder by 12, and the remainder thus obtained is the number of the year. » (The years are counted in the following order : 1. *Citta*, 2. *Vis□kha*, ... 12. *Phaggu□a*). [Note by G. C. The text is quoted in the original English]

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid*, XII, p. 80. [Note by G.C.]

<sup>21</sup>[Here follows a long footnote, not reproduced in this translation, which quotes, in length and in English, Duroiselle (*Journal of Burma Research Society*, X, p. 79) and Maung Hla (*Ibid*, VIII, p. 272), who both say that there are many mistakes in the corpus, probably because of faulty transcriptions, implying however that the data must not be altogether rejected.]

the waning moon in a *Ĵēṅṅha* month falling on a Sunday (or, to make the research easier, a 1 Citta falling on a Saturday), followed 6 years later by a year *Ĵēṅṅha* with a 13<sup>th</sup> day of the waxing moon in a *Ĵēṅṅha* month falling on a Tuesday (or a 1 Citta on a Monday). If we refer to Sewell's tables (*Indian Calendar*), keeping in mind the fact that, by experience, in Indochina, 1 Caitra may fall one day behind or one day after, due to the differences in local times, we notice that, within the range of possible years, the only ones to meet the conditions are 1213-1214 and 1219-1220 A.D., that is C.S. 575 and 581. Concerning C.S. 575 = 1213-14 A.D., Sewell indicates that 1 Caitra was a Sunday instead of a Saturday, but an inscription from Shinbinbawdi Temple in Pagan of the same year 575 published in *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava* (p. 81)<sup>22</sup> reveals that on that year in Burma, the 11<sup>th</sup> day of the waxing moon of Nayon (*Ĵēṅṅha*) fell on a Friday, *in complete accordance with the inscription of the date of Vṛt Don, Lṅmphun* : Sunday, 5<sup>th</sup> day of the waning moon of *Ĵēṅṅha*, which occurs nine days later. Concerning the year C.S. [581]<sup>23</sup> 1219-1220 A.D., Sewell's tables indicate a Monday as well for 1 Caitra<sup>24</sup>. Last, concerning the year *Viṣṅkha*, among the possible year digits close to the other dates, only the year C.S. 580 = 1218-1219 A.D. shows 13 Caitra falling on a Sunday, provided we can assume that this year, which in fact started at the end of Caitra, received its new name of *Viṣṅkha* in the cycle as soon

<sup>22</sup>The date was certified as correct. See *Rep. Arch. Surv. Burma*, 1922, p. 50. [Note by G.C.]

<sup>23</sup>The year digit is not printed in the French text. [Note of the translator]

<sup>24</sup>In this case, there is an inscription (*Insc. Pagan, Pinya and Ava*, p. 70) which seems to disagree with the data from *Lṅmphun*, as it has a Monday for the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of the waxing moon of Thadingyut (Assayuja), inconsistent with Monday 1<sup>st</sup> Caitra. However, the date is problematic for other reasons (*Rep.* 1922, p. 49) and its testimony must be disqualified. [Note by G.C.]

as 1 Caitra, as is the custom nowadays. Actually, the Vātkāṅkī inscription of Lāmphun may date from the last days of C.S. 579.

Sabbādhisiddhi's inscriptions of Lāmphun can thus be dated between 1213 and 1220 A.D. I am not trying to conceal the weaknesses in the line of argument which led me to this conclusion but, for lack of further and more precise evidence, it is not possible for the time being to obtain more certitude. From the paleographic point of view, the Lāmphun inscriptions are quite posterior to Kyanzittha's inscriptions (1084-1112 A.D.)<sup>25</sup>, and, according to the chronology found in the *Jinakālamānā*, Sabbādhisiddhi is said to have reigned one hundred years before Lāmphun was taken by Māngrai, which compels us to place the period of his reign slightly earlier than the dates attributed to the inscriptions. In any case, his reign cannot be dated prior to the last quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. This approximation is enough for us to estimate the dates of two important events, which we will use as references to adjust the chronology of the *Jinakālamānā*. The events are the following, as reported by the text :

« Trābaka (King of Haripuñjaya) went to Lavapura with the hope of seizing it. Hearing the news, Ucchittacakkavati, King of Lavapura, prepared himself too and set out of Lavapura. The two kings were about to fight, when a king named Jīvaka arriving from Siridhammanagara with a huge army and many boats, took hold of Lavapura. The other two kings then hastily rushed to Haripuñjaya. Ucchittacakkavati arrived there first. Trābaka, defeated, went again to Lavapura with the hope of seizing it. Under the reign of Ucchittacakkavati, a king named Kamboja went to Haripuñjaya, with the aim of taking hold of the town.

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<sup>25</sup>Mr Ch. Duroiselle, personal communication. [Note by G.C.]

But Uchittacakkavati, hearing about it, prepared himself for the fight, made a sortie and won over Kamboja who had to flee. Uchittacakkavati reigned three years.

After him, Kambalaraja reigned 20 years and 7 months. Under his reign, a cholera epidemic devastated the country for six years. As the inhabitants could not bear the blight, they fled to Sudhammanagara. But there, harassed as they were by the king of Puakma, all the inhabitants from Haripuñjaya sought refuge in Haśavat. When the epidemic stopped, they went back to their homeland. » (*Jinaklamān*, pp. 109-110<sup>26</sup>)

If Sabbadhisiddhi was reigning around 1200 A.D., Adityaraja, whose reign was probably long (the *Jinaklamān* splits his reign in two, with two kings reigning altogether 110 years !), must have acceded the throne around 1150, when Cambodia, whose territory had been enlarged by the conquests made by Śrīyavarman II (died around 1152), was certainly bordering the kingdom of Haripuñchaya in the north-west, a fact which may explain the wars between the two states. The flight to Suddhammapura, which took place a hundred of years before Adityaraja's accession to the throne, consequently dates back to the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It is likely that a hint of the flight of the inhabitants of Lāmphun to Thaton and of their expulsion by the king of Pagan is to be found in the Mon and Burmese chronicles. In an article recently published in "Journal of the Burma Research Society" (*A Cambodian ? invasion of Lower Burma in vol. XII, p. 39*), Mr G.H. Luce, using documents provided to him by Mr R. Halliday, tells us that the chronicles mention an invasion attempt of Thaton by *Krom* or

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<sup>26</sup>In fact, the passage quoted is to be found on p. 80 of the publication. [Note of the translator]

*Gywan*, which was repelled with the support of Anuruddha, king of Pagan, whose assistance had been solicited by the king of Thaton. The word *Krom* (in Thai *Khom*) is actually the one in use to call the Khmers, but a text quoted by Mr Luce mentions somewhere the “Krom Chiengmai”. As for the word “Gywan”, some see in it another spelling for “Kom”, others an equivalent to “Yun”, which brings us back to Western Laos<sup>27</sup>. In either case, the invaders or migrants came from the East. The Mon chronicles date the event under the reign of Udinna, predecessor of Manuha, the last king of Thaton; but in another chronicle, which may be corroborated by an inscription from Sakkalampa Temple (*Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda, Mandalay*. II, p. 627), the expulsion of the Gywan coincides with the seizure of Thaton by Anuruddha (1056-57 A.D.). These chronicles and our Pāli texts throw light on each other<sup>28</sup> and apparently present both sides of the same event. The migration of the inhabitants of Haripuñchaya to Suddhammapura thus coinciding with the conquest of the latter city by Anuruddha, it follows that King Kamboja, son of the king of Siridhammanagara (according to the *Cāmadevāvaśa*) who had set out

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<sup>27</sup>The *Hmannan Yazawin* (translated by Maung Tin and Luce, pp. 99 and 106) places the Gywam to the South-East of the Burmese and says that their territory is also called Arawsa or Ayoja, that is Ayudhya = Siam. The same text (p. 92) mentions the invasion of Gywam in Pegu without giving a date. [Note by G.C.]

<sup>28</sup>We may even find in the Pāli texts the sketch of an explanation for the well-known fact that the Burmese chronicles, concerning the conquest of Lower Burma by Anuruddha, never mention Haṁsavatī. If the inhabitants of Haripuñjaya, who had been expelled from Suddhammapura, went to seek refuge in Haṁsavatī, it was apparently because the town, then independent from Suddhammapura, had been spared by Anuruddha, hence the silence of the Burmese chronicles. [Note by G.C.]

to attack Haripunjaya some years before, was no other than King Śrīyavarman I (1002-1049). Additionally, what we learn about this king in Cambodian epigraphy perfectly corresponds with what the Pāli texts say of him.

Śrīyavarman I was not the direct descendant of his immediate predecessors, Jayavarman V and Udayādityavarman I. After seizing the throne by force, he had a genealogy made up for the occasion, which described him as a distant relative to Indravarman on the mother's side of the latter and claimed that his wife « belonged to the royal lineage of Çrī Harivarman (I) and Çrīçriavarman (II). »<sup>29</sup> The sovereign, who thus did not belong to the reigning dynasty, introduced in his titles the term of *kaṭvan*, that Mr Aymonier (*Cambodge*, III, p. 496) associates with the Khmer word *tuan* (*dón*) “grandmother”, but which in reality derives from the Malay word *tuan* “lord”. If Śrīyavarman I was, as the *Cāmadevvaśa* says, son of the King of Siridhammanagara, that is Ligor, which was at that time under the sovereignty of the Sumatra empire of Çrīvijaya<sup>30</sup>, there is nothing surprising at his adopting a Malay title. His interest for Buddhism, as shown in his posthumous name “Nirvāpada”, can be explained in the same manner : Nagara Çrī Dharmaraja, “the Town of the King of the Law”, had constantly been an important seat of Buddhism. Last, we saw that the King of Çrī Dharmaraja had vanquished Ligor and it is precisely from this town that his son set out to attack Haripunjaya. Indeed, Śrīyavarman I was the author of the first Khmer

<sup>29</sup>George Cœdès, *Les deux inscriptions de Vat Thāpdi*. Mélanges Sylvain Lévi. p. 216. [Note by G.C.]

<sup>30</sup>George Cœdès, *Le royaume de Çrīvijaya*. BEFEO, XVIII, vi ; Gabriel Ferrand, *L'empire sumatranais de Çrīvijaya*, Journal asiatique, July-December 1922. [Note by G.C.]

inscriptions in Lᵐpuri, as was said before<sup>31</sup>.

Several correspondences in the chronology consequently lead us to consider Ucchittacakkavatti a contemporary of Sᵐryavarman I, to date the cholera epidemic and the migration to Pegu around 1050-1056, and to date the beginning of ᵐdittarᵐja's reign around 1150, in other words to lower down by about one hundred years the chronology given by the *Jinakᵐlamᵐlᵐnᵐ* for the period prior to the latter king. Besides, the text itself betrays its fault and invites us to make such a correction, when it splits ᵐdittarᵐja's reign, attributing it to two successive kings : Dittarᵐja, who defeated the Cambodians and reigned 30 years, and ᵐdittarᵐja who invented the Great Relic of Lᵐmphun and reigned 80 years. Why such a split, which, to my knowledge, appears only in the *Jinakᵐlamᵐlᵐnᵐ* ? It was obviously a way for the writer to link the chronology, rather accurate, of the last Mon kings of Haripuñjaya with the date 1047 (C.S. 409) found in his sources, namely the ancient tales (purᵐᵐakathᵐ) and the Royal Chronicle of Haripuñjaya<sup>32</sup>. If we suppress the 80 years of ᵐdittarᵐja's second reign, we obtain a result roughly approaching what I believe to be the truth<sup>33</sup>. »

<sup>31</sup>In a preceding passage, Cœdès wrote : "The inscriptions in Lᵐpuri are in Mon language but starting from the 11<sup>th</sup> century they change to Khmer.", adding in a note : "The inscription which was found by Mr Aymonier in Bang Pᵐ In and is now kept in Bangkok National Library, certainly comes from Lᵐpuri. It bears the dates 944 and 947 çaka, a time when Sᵐryavarman I was reigning. Another inscription, mentioning the country called Lvo dates from the same period (Aymonier, *Cambodge*. II. pp. 81-83)." Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1925. p. 18.

<sup>32</sup>This date and the one of the apparition of the Great Relic that the same sources situate in C.S. 425 (1063 A.D.) are not dates which are attributed by tradition. I have under my eyes a chronicle of Lᵐmphun in vernacular (*Lᵐmdᵐp vᵐng Krᵐsᵐt Hrᵐpᵐnxᵐi*) which situates the apparition of the Relic 1,476 years after Nirvᵐᵐa, that is 933 A.D. [Note by G.C.]

<sup>33</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1925. 19 sq.

As the passage shows, Cœdès changed his method from the first one expressed in his letter, admittedly this first estimate being merely a first impression, and, along with this, the result of the estimate radically changed too. Let us first have a look at the methodology. In the new interpretation, the author first considered the content of the inscriptions, that is the first-hand accounts, before anything else, then he turned to other first-hand accounts, namely the Burmese inscriptions, though the answer to the problem could be found by other means, either calculation or tables. As a next stage, Cœdès calculated the dates relying on the data deduced from the Burmese inscriptions and compared his results with the sparse paleographic data that he had in hand. After this, he considered the chronicles to remark that they did not match his findings, thus rejecting them as faulty, and proposed a corrected chronology. Last, he tried to find confirmation from other sources either Burmese or Khmer. Actually, the exercise that Cœdès was indulging in was quite risky (it took for granted that the reading was correct, that neither the astronomer nor the engraver had made a single mistake, that the dates were totally coherent and that the hypothesis on the correspondence between the year digits and the year names was correct), and consequently it was necessary to be rigorously methodical.

Here, the arguments will be critically examined in the same order as they are presented by the author, namely astronomy and calendar practices, paleography, the chronicular evidence, and the correspondences with other testimonies.

### **The astronomical and calendrical argument.**

Let us first remove a small but confusing detail concerning the reading of the dates : when quoting the inscribed text before the calculation, Cœdès reads « 5<sup>th</sup> day of the waning moon of  $\text{ᨀᩢ᩠ᨦ}$  », the number 5 being repeated constantly elsewhere<sup>34</sup>. On the other hand, in the publication of the inscription in annex, the

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<sup>34</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1925. pp. 19 & 22.

translation reads : « the tenth day of the waning moon of  $\text{Je}\square\text{ha}$ <sup>35</sup>. » As a matter of fact, Cœdès reads in the transliteration the Mon word “msun” which means “five” in Mon<sup>36</sup> and which is translated everywhere else as such by the author (face 1, l. 14). The reading “5” is confirmed by other scholars who have examined the text and can thus be considered as the accurate reading<sup>37</sup>. Moreover, the 10<sup>th</sup> day of the waning moon of  $\text{Je}\square\text{ha}$  C.S. 575, as translated by Cœdès, was not a Sunday, it was a Thursday, but the 5<sup>th</sup> did fall on a Sunday. It thus seems that Cœdès, like many inscription engravers, had confused the figures, making the calculation on the basis of the 5<sup>th</sup> day but written in his translation, the 10<sup>th</sup> day.

Also, Halliday, who made a new reading and translation of these inscriptions, does not always agree with him concerning the dates, though on points which are actually not very consequential : where Cœdès reads “the lunar mansion of Uttaraphalgun $\square$ ”<sup>38</sup>, Halliday simply transcribes “the lunar mansion Uttara ...”, adding in a note : « The name of this mansion is not clear. Mr Cœdès has read Uttaraphalgun $\square$  »<sup>39</sup>. Concerning this, we have to keep in mind that three lunar mansions have their names starting with the segment “Uttara-”. Then, in the inscription of Wat Kukut (1), Cœdès has a

<sup>35</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1925. p. 191.

<sup>36</sup>H.L. Shorto, *A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions from the Sixth to the Sixteenth Centuries*. Oxford University Press, London. 1971. p. 304.

<sup>37</sup>Halliday, *op. cit.* 1930. p. 89 ; คงเดช ประพัฒน์ทอง, เรียบเรียง, วิเคราะห์ศิลาจารึกในพิพิธภัณฑ์สถานแห่งชาติศรีอยุธยา. กรุงเทพฯ 2522 หน้า 93. Khongdet Praphatthong, ed. *Study of the Inscriptions of the National Museum of Haripunjaya*. Bangkok. 1979. p. 93. The latter book was first published in 1979 but contained then no full translation of the Mon inscriptions, mostly remarks and partial translations taken from Halliday or from Prince Subhadradis (see *infra*). It was printed a second time at an unspecified date, but the introduction to the second edition specifies that it was more than ten years later (p. 4). The new edition contains, in an addendum, detailed translations in Thai of four Mon inscriptions of Haripunjaya, including the two we are concerned with now.

<sup>38</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1925. p. 191.

<sup>39</sup>Halliday, *op. cit.* 1930. p. 89.

blank in the text concerning the lunar mansion<sup>40</sup> where Halliday has “Piya” with a question mark<sup>41</sup>. There is no mansion called with such a name in any list, and it seems that the full phrase must be understood as meaning : “the auspicious moment”, or something similar.

There is another point concerning these dates which is far more important : the lunar mansions. To explain quickly a rather complex component of Indian astronomy, the lunar mansions consist in the division of the sky in 27 segments, which could be used as reference for various celestial objects, but which was mostly used to follow the path of the moon, in a manner comparable to the 12 signs of the zodiacs for the path of the sun. By definition, in the system we are concerned with, the month is named after the mansion in which the full moon takes place, the number of mansions being then reduced to 12<sup>42</sup>. The other mansions associated with the day are ordered depending on whether they are placed before or after the full moon of a given month in a fixed order of succession and, as a result, there are combinations which are impossible, such as some mansions before the mansion of the full moon in the cycle being combined with any day of the waning moon. If we now look at the dates found in the Lamphun inscriptions, we note that the two combinations exploitable, after excluding the Piya mansion, are simply impossible. Concerning the first one, “5<sup>th</sup> day of the waning moon of Je□□ha, lunar mansion Uttaraphalgun□”, on such a day, the mansion was Dhani□a□h□, or possibly its immediate predecessor □aravana or follower □atabhi□aja, according to Prasert Na Nagara’s table<sup>43</sup>, but in any case not Uttaraphalgun□. The reading is also questioned by Halliday, who simply reads “Uttara-”, as was

<sup>40</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1925. p. 193.

<sup>41</sup>Halliday, *op. cit.* 1930. p. 94.

<sup>42</sup>ประเสริฐ ฒ นคร, “วันเดือนปีในเอกสารโบราณ” *งานจารึกและประวัติศาสตร์*. นครปฐม, 2534. หน้า 125. Prasert Na Nagara, “The Dates in Ancient Documents” *Articles on Inscriptions and History*. Nakhon Pathom, 1991. p. 125.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.* p. 126.

just seen<sup>44</sup>, but the mansion cannot be any of those whose name starts with Uttara-. Additionally, the combination Uttaraphalgun□ with any day in the waning moon of the month Jē□□ha is one of the absurd combinations mentioned above : Uttaraphalgun□ appears in 12<sup>th</sup> position in the cycle and Jē□□ha in the 18<sup>th</sup> position, consequently Uttaraphalgun□ mansion can only appear in the waxing moon in this month. Concerning the other date, “13<sup>th</sup> day of the waxing moon of Jē□□ha, lunar mansion Citt□”, the problem is more or less the same : in that month, the given day fell on the mansion Vi□□kh□ (possibly Sav□ti or Anur□dh□), according to Prasert’s table<sup>45</sup>, and J.C. Eade confirmed that it fell on the mansion Vi□□kh□<sup>46</sup>, but could not be Citt□, though it is not very far off.

To sum up the remarks, the dates appear as grossly incorrect and we may wonder if one should try to make sense out of them, all the more so when relying on such indications as the day of the week to determine the century to which they belong. Admittedly, the aberration appears on a point which does not affect the other elements of the dates, which may be, as for them, correct, but we are given no means to prove this. In any case, the dates should be regarded with a fair amount of suspicion and not as reliable evidence.

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<sup>44</sup>Halliday, *op. cit.* 1930. p. 88. Strangely enough, the latest published reading of the inscription (คงเดช ประพัฒน์ทอง, เรียบเรียง, วิเคราะห์ศิลาจารึกในพิพิธภัณฑ์สถานแห่งชาติ หริภุญไชย. กรุงเทพฯ 2522 Khongdet Praphatthong, ed. *Study of the inscriptions of the National Museum of Haripunjaya*. Bangkok. 1979. The reading of the Mon part is due to Therm Mitem and the translation into Thai to Champa Yangcharoen) mentions in the transliteration the segment “Uttara...” between brackets, probably to signal that the reading is unclear (p. 91), the brackets disappear in the translation in modern Mon (*ibid*) and the translation in Thai reads Uttaraphagun□ (pp. 93 & 101), creating another source of confusion. Did the authors rely on Cœdès’ reading, supposedly because it is more reliable since it was done before the wearing down of the stone ?

<sup>45</sup>*Op. cit.* 1991. p. 126.

<sup>46</sup>Personal communication. The passage concerning the lunar mansions is greatly indebted to Eade’s help.

Another thing which Cœdès failed to take into account is that the inscriptions may not mention, at least in the vocabulary, solar years but Jovian years. When they refer to the age of the King, they use the vernacular Mon term meaning “year”, namely “ $\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$ ”, but when they mention the year name, they use the Indian term “samvatsar”<sup>47</sup>. As stated in Robert Sewell and Sankara Balkrishna Dishit's book that Cœdès used as a reference, the two notions are quite distinct. It appears that there was in Indian astronomy a system of naming the years in a Jovian cycle of sixty years with another version reducing the number to twelve units :

« *The Sixty-year cycle of Jupiter*. In this reckoning the years are not known by numbers, but are named in succession from a list of 60 names, often known as the “Bṛ̥haspati samvtsara chakra”, the wheel or cycle of the years of Jupiter. The word “samvatsara” generally means a year, but in the case of this cycle the year is not equal to a solar year. It is regulated by Jupiter's mean motion ; and a Jovian year is the period during which the planet Jupiter enters one sign of the zodiac and passes completely through it with reference to its mean motion. The cycle commences with Prabhava. [...]

The duration of a Bhârhaspatya<sup>48</sup> samvatsara, according to the *Sûriya-Siddhânta*<sup>49</sup>, is about 361. 026721 days, that is about 4. 232 days less than a solar year. If, then, a samvatsara begins exactly with the solar year the following samvatsara will commence 4.232 days before the end of it. So that in each successive year<sup>50</sup> the commencement of a samvatsara will be 4. 232 days

<sup>47</sup>Three occurrences of the same word each, systematically associated, one with the age, the other with the name of the king. pp. 190-192.

<sup>48</sup>A Jovian year.

<sup>49</sup>A reference manual in Indian astronomy. Ebenezer Burgess, *Translation of the Sûrya-Siddhânta, a textbook of Hindu Astronomy with Notes and an Appendix*. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Vol. 6. 1859-1860. pp. 141-500 ; 1935 ; Indological Book House, Varanasi, Delhi. 1977.

<sup>50</sup>Obviously, solar year.

in advance, and a time will of course come when two samvatsaras will begin during the same solar year. [...] Thus the rule is that when two Bhârhaspatya samvatsaras begin during one solar year the first is said to be expunged, or to have become *kshaya* ; and it is clear that when a samvatsara begins within a period of about 4 232 days after a Mesha saṅkrānti<sup>51</sup> it will be expunged<sup>52</sup>. » « *The twelve-year cycle of Jupiter*. There is another cycle of Jupiter consisting of twelve samvatsaras named after the lunar months. It is of two kinds. In one, the samvatsara begins with the heliacal rising of Jupiter and consists of about 400 solar days, one samvatsara being expunged every 12 years or so. In the other, which we have named the “twelve-year cycle of Jupiter of the mean-sign system”, the years are similar in length to those of the sixty year cycle of Jupiter just described, and begin at the same moment<sup>53</sup>. »

The restricted sample that we have in hand of the Haripunchaya type of calendar shows that it shared some characteristics of the Jovian system : the year is only called by its name with no digit, it bears the name of a lunar month, and it is used in concurrence with another type of year, probably solar. The point here is not to say that it was one of these systems which was in use at the time of Haripunjaya, this would apparently be the only attested case in Southeast Asia, but to say that there are several possibilities for the interpretation of the dates and that Cœdès considered only one, taking for granted that the only type of calendar which could be used to interpret the dates was the one in practice at his time. In the

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<sup>51</sup>The passage of the sun in its true motion in the zodiac of Aries, marking the beginning of the solar year.

<sup>52</sup>Robert Sewell & Sankara Balkrishna Dikshit, *The Indian Calendar*. 1897. Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi. Second Indian edition, 1996. pp. 32-33.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.* p. 37.

hypothesis of a Jovian year in the Mon calendar, Cœdès' list of years becomes irrelevant as this system regularly requires the expunction of years, in one case one every 85 years or so<sup>54</sup>, and in the other case every twelve years. In either case, Cœdès' list going from year 455 to 629 with a regular and uninterrupted succession of full cycles of twelve years is inadequate. We can add too that the hypothesis of a Jovian year system may explain why the corpus of Burmese dates seems so incoherent, though we cannot totally exclude that the copyists made mistakes or corrections.

Similarly, Cœdès took for granted that the succession of days in the calendar at the considered place and time was identical in their succession to the Indian calendar, or at least similar, since he used the table given by *The Indian Calendar* as a reference. Although, indeed, there is a relation of identity between the days of the week in the Indian calendar and any Southeast Asian calendar, there is not necessarily one between the order of the days in the month, and the month. On the contrary, we know that there were various practices in that respect, either in time or in space, concerning the intercalations of supplementary months and days, which affect in consequence the dates as a whole<sup>55</sup>. Cœdès does not overlook this possibility when he finds one case of discrepancy : according to Sewell's tables of the Indian calendar, the 5<sup>th</sup> day of the waning moon of *Jēṭṭha* fell on a Saturday in 1213-14 A.D., whereas it is mentioned as a Sunday in one of the inscriptions. If we accept Cœdès' explanation for the discrepancy ("by experience, in Indochina, 1 Caitra may fall one day before or one day after, due to the differences in local times"), which we cannot do as it is<sup>56</sup>, we face another problem : the 6<sup>th</sup> day of the waning moon of the same month should be a Sunday, the 7<sup>th</sup> day, a Monday, etc., with the discrepancy being continued until the next date of 1219-20, in which,

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<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.* p. 33.

<sup>55</sup>Concerning this point, simply for Southeast Asia, see the introduction of J.C. Eade, *Southeast Asian Ephemeris. Solar and Planetary Positions, A.D. 638-2000*. New York. 1989.

<sup>56</sup>This is not simply due to a difference of local times, and if we only take this in account, the Southeast Asian calendar can only be one day before.

on the contrary, the Indian and Mon calendars correspond again concerning the day of the week. If the Indian calendar, in Sewell's tables, was ahead of one day of the week compared to the Mon calendar, it should normally be so some years later too. Ironically, the lunar mansions would have been the best way to see if there was again a correspondence between the Indian and Mon calendars, but, as was seen, they are grossly irregular and cannot be called upon for anything of the kind. As a matter of fact, we can infer an explanation for the problem : the Mon calendar in question may have inserted a supplementary day before the Indian calendar, or the rendition of it made by the modern computists. The point here is that we have no clue on how the astronomers of Haripunjaya inserted the supplementary days and months that their calendrical system implied. Cœdès took for granted that they did it exactly as the Indians did, which may not be the case. Even though there are remarkable coincidences between the Indian calendar in India proper and the calendars in Southeast Asia, there are also local practices and sometimes also practices which are aberrant in terms of astronomy, as was seen in the case of the lunar mansions. Contrary to taking this into account, Cœdès acted as if there was only one way for computing the days and that this way was not only the Indian manner but also the one reconstructed by modern computists. We had better recognize that the calendar under examination cannot be inferred from the very scarce data that we have, it can be indeed compared to the Indian calendar proper, but interpreting dates by applying rules used in India may lead to gross mistakes.

Last point on the subject, Cœdès' interpretation of the dates supposes yet another correction of the data : the day Sunday 13 Caitra could not belong to the year 580 Small Era (1219 A.D.), as the year had not started yet, but was still in 579<sup>57</sup>, a fact that the author acknowledges. To justify his interpretation, he assumes that the year *name* had already changed, though the year *digit* had not changed yet. In another passage, he gives the following justification for this : « The practice in Siam (as well as in Cambodia) consists in

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<sup>57</sup>At least, if we count the entrance of the Sun in Aries as the beginning of the year.

changing regularly the name of the year on 1 Citta (Caitra), whenever the day of the new year may be, and in changing the year digit and the order number in the decade on the day called *vān thāngsāk* (Khmer : *thāilā sāk*). For example, the changes from the year C.S. 1284 *Cho Chāttāvasāk* (1922-1923 A.D.) to the year C.S. 1285 *KānBānchāsāk* (1923-1924 A.D.) took place in the following manner : the year remained 1284 Cho 4 until 30 Phālguna (16 March 1923) ; from 1 Caitra (17 March) until 20 Caitra (*vān thāngsāk* = 14 April), the year was called *PāKān yāngpān Chāttāvasāk* C.S. 1284 “Year of the Pig, still fourth in the decade, C.S. 1284.” ; and it was not until 1 *Viākhā* (*Vaiākhā*) = 15 April that the year became C.S. 1285 *Kān 5*<sup>58</sup> . »

Thus in Cœdès' view, the year name changed following the lunar calendar and the year digit following the solar calendar. The question was quite important in the case of the year C.S. 580 (1218-19 A.D.)<sup>59</sup> the author was dealing with, because if the year name did not change with the lunar calendar, there simply was no such day as “13<sup>th</sup> of the waxing moon in the month Citta” in the year C.S. 580, as Cœdès himself recognises implicitly, but there could be a year *Vākhā* containing such a date. Actually, though it is true that it was the custom to start the year name on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of the 5<sup>th</sup> month in Siam at the time of Cœdès and occasionally at other times, we simply have no clue what the practice was like in ancient Haripunjaya<sup>60</sup>. The author merely extrapolated facts with no justification for doing so, except that it provided a solution to the problem. If there is indeed evidence that, at some periods, the name of the year changed before the digit of the year, we have good reasons to consider that it was also a common practice to change both concurrently and it is impossible to determine what the practice was like among the people at the time of Haripunjaya.

<sup>58</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1925. p. 26, note 1.

<sup>59</sup>Even though the supposed year C.S. 580 corresponds mostly to 1218 A.D., the day mentioned by the inscription would fall in the beginning of 1219 in Western calendar.

<sup>60</sup>On similar questions, see Laurent Hennequin, "Quand l'an 2000 est-il devenu une année du grand serpent en Thaïlande ?" *Aséanie*, 5. June 2000. Bangkok. p. 69 *sq.*

It seems that Cœdès was misled by the remarkable correspondences between the various calendrical practices in the Indianised world, due to the fact that they managed to conform with natural phenomena, such as the revolution of the Sun, the Moon or Jupiter, contrary to the Western calendar which sacrificed the cycles of the Moon to rely essentially on the solar year. However, in spite of many correspondences from one calendar to another, it is quite impossible to transpose one practice to another, as each had its own way of proceeding so as to harmonise the various cycles that it used. Each calendar is a system in itself and transposing parts of other systems to interpret one, as Cœdès did in several instances, may lead nowhere, or worse, to some result which can be aberrant.

All the more so, it is of little consequence if the dates examined are not accurately identified and if we understand that a given day mentioned, let us say a Sunday 5 was in fact a Monday 5. However, in the case we are dealing with, what is at stake is not simply to determine the equivalent of a given day but to find the century in which the given day occurred. As a result, the chronology of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya could be transposed by one, two or three centuries, depending on the result. Indeed, a king reputed by one chronicle to be reigning in the the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century is declared to be reigning at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> on account of Cœdès' new theory. It is legitimate not to lend too much credit to the chronicles, but to do so on such hypothetical reckoning and with such a discordant result seems rather hazardous.

### **The paleographic argument.**

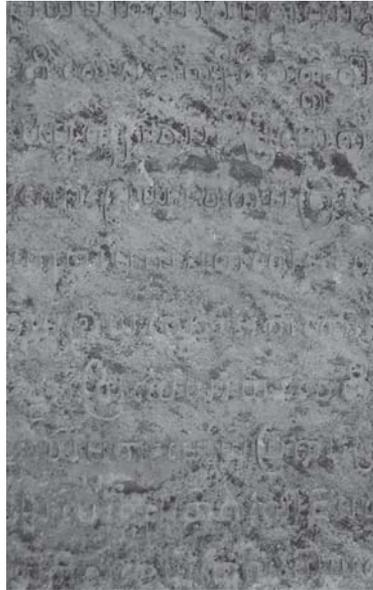
As an epigraphist, Cœdès could rely on paleography to establish a rough estimate of the age of the inscriptions, but as Mon studies were still in their infancy, little could be expected from the discipline <sup>61</sup>. Strangely enough, the paleographic argument confirms

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<sup>61</sup>As an illustration of this assertion, Cœdès noted that an inscription in Mon found in Lopburi had been labelled as written "in an unknown language". George Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1929. p. 7. Duroiselle states that Mon epigraphy started only in 1909 (Charles Duroiselle, *Archæological Survey of Burma. Epigraphia Birmanica*. Volume I, part II. Rangoon. 1960. p. 82).

both of Cœdès' contradictory interpretations : in his letter to Prince Damrong he states that his evaluation of the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century “fits all right with the style of the characters in the Lamphun inscriptions”, whereas in “Documents ... Laos.” 1925, the paleographic argument does not contradict the lower date proposed and even seems to confirm it.

As a matter of fact, the wording concerning the evaluation of the type of writing remains imprecise and somewhat contradictory. In the introduction to the publication of the inscriptions in annex, Cœdès says : « From a paleographic point of view, the inscriptions are perceptibly posterior to Kyanziththa's inscriptions in Pagan which go back to the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>62</sup>. » Another estimate by the same author is worded as follows : « Considering the paleographic aspect, the Lamphun inscriptions are quite posterior to Kyanziththa's inscriptions (1084-1112 A.D.) [Mr Ch. Duroiselle, personal



Wat Kukut Inscription I, detail,  
Haripunjaya National Museum  
(photo : Laurent Hennequin)

<sup>62</sup>“Documents ... Laos.” 1925, p. 189. The wording of the sentence is ambiguous too : « Au point de vue paléographique, ces inscriptions sont sensiblement postérieures à celles de Kyanziththa à Pagan, qui datent de la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. » The word "sensiblement" can mean both "visibly, obviously" and "roughly, more or less." The passage was rendered into English as follows by other authors : “On paleographic grounds, says Cœdès, they [the set of inscriptions from Haripunjaya] are clearly later than the inscriptions of King Kyanziththa of Pagan (1084-1095).” (A.B. Griswold and Prasert Na Nagara, “An Inscription in Old Mòn from Wieng Manó in Chiang Mai Province. Epigraphic and Historical Studies, N° 6.” *Journal of the Siam Society*. 59, 1-2. Bangkok. 1971. p. 154).

communication (Note by G.C.)]<sup>63</sup> » To put it differently, the inscriptions, if judging only from their writing, are posterior to the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and even the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup>, which leaves open the possibility of their dating back to the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

Since we do not have Duroiselle's own words, it is impossible for us to determine if Cœdès was entitled to make up such an interpretation, however, another specialist in Mon studies, C.O. Blagden, expressed his own judgement, after Cœdès' article, in a note which was published by Halliday<sup>64</sup>. Before quoting the relevant passage, let us first give brief comments on Halliday's text : it was published only in a French translation and there is no trace of the original version. However, we find an article in English bearing exactly the same title in a different scientific review, with the difference that the English version, in fact the transcription of a conference, does not publish the text of the inscriptions<sup>65</sup>. Consequently, two epigraphists or historians may think that they refer to the same article when they have rather different texts under their eyes, though the comments are roughly the same. Moreover, in the English version, the author speaks little of what was original in his contribution, namely a new reading of the inscriptions along with some paleographic remarks, and ends giving more or less a

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<sup>63</sup>*Ibid*, p. 23. « Paléographiquement, les inscriptions de Lāmphun sont nettement postérieures aux inscriptions de Kyanzittha (1084-1112 A.D.) »

<sup>64</sup>Halliday states : « I wrote myself the transcriptions [of the inscriptions], which I submitted to Dr Blagden for comment. He always gave me useful advice and often led me to the solution when I was embarrassed. With his permission, I here use many of his notes on the text and on the translation that I made, quoting them literally or with slight changes. Whatever the merit of this collection of inscriptions may have, a great part of it is due to him. » R. Halliday, *op. cit.* 1930. p. 81. The passage presented in translation in these pages is taken from an addendum inserted in Halliday's text entitled : « Note on the alphabet, the spelling and the language of the Lamphun inscriptions by Mr C.O. Blagden. » *Ibid*, p. 86.

<sup>65</sup>Robert Halliday, "The Mon Inscriptions of Siam." *Journal of the Burma Research Society*. XXII, 3. 1932. Klaus Reprint, Niendeln/Liechtenstein. 1977. pp. 107-119.

second-hand account of Cœdès' interpretation with his own comments on the contents of the inscriptions. Let us now have a look at Blagden's statement which is inserted in Halliday's article in French :

« The alphabet of the inscriptions of Lamphun is the same as the one on the Mon inscriptions dating back to King Kyansittī's reign (1085-1113 A.D.) and the shapes of the letters are much alike. The spelling, though consistent on many points with the one found in old Burmese texts, differs in many instances. And it differs following a tendency which eventually prevailed in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and which has become even more pronounced until the present days, *viz.* weakening of the penultimate syllable (especially the vowel) in two syllable words, the main stress being laid on the ultimate syllable. Thus instead of finding the archaic forms *tirla* (*tirla'*, *tarla*, *tarla'*), *cirvek*, *puṅrey*, *cirmat*, *kinta*, (*kinta'*, *kanta*), *tirṅey*, *pirlit*, *girloṅ* (*girluṅ*), *tirley* (*tarley*), *birbṅr*, the inscriptions of Lamphun read : *trala*, (*tirla'*), *cravek*, *paṅrey*, *cramat*, *kanta*, *traṅoy*, *pralat*, *graloṅ*, *traley*, *brabṅr*. Such a type of forms sometimes still appears in 15<sup>th</sup> century Burmese inscriptions : for instance *cravek*, which is now written *cvek*, though in fact a short vowel is pronounced between the first two consonants. The alternative spellings given above between brackets prove that there was a tendency towards this evolution as early as the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Forms such as *raṅss* for *rṅs* found in Lamphun tend to indicate a conflict between the conservative writing and the common pronunciation. The modern and middle age spelling is *raṅ*. Identically, *yamo'* testifies to a transitional stage between ancient *imo'* and modern *ymu*. However, the forms *himo'* and *simo'* may be simply dialectal variants.

A striking characteristic in the writing of the Lamphun inscriptions is the use of two devices to represent the final consonants of words. The *virṅma* sign regularly

appears but it is often replaced by the duplication of the final consonant – this device is reminiscent of the old spelling in Sukhodaya inscriptions, but is used on a larger scale, since the Mon inscriptions of Lamphun do not use it simply for the syllables with a short vowel such as *tharr*, *dass*, *cvass*, etc. but also in other cases such as *eyy*, *□eyy* and *moyy*. These cases, however, are very few. I have never seen this device of noting final consonants in Mon inscriptions of Burma.

Apart from these differences, which are not very consequent and remain rather superficial, the language used in the Lamphun inscriptions is basically the same as the one found in the old Mon inscriptions in Burma. It is much more similar to it than to the inscriptions of Burma dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>66</sup>. »

The comments made by Blagden actually sound like a clarifying statement, as if to dispel a misinterpretation of Duroiselle's words or maybe his own. The author pointedly specifies that, from a paleographic point of view, the Lamphun inscriptions are not significantly different from those of Pagan under Kyanzittha's reign, but that they are different mostly from a philological point of view in some respects. According to his words, the Pagan inscriptions at the turn of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the Haripunjaya inscriptions are similar in their style of writing and the only notable difference lies in the spelling, probably reflecting differences of pronunciation. Such an evaluation does not contradict Cœdès' theory, but does not support it either. On the contrary, it rather implies that the inscriptions were somehow contemporary to Kyanzittha's reign, and that it may not be a coincidence if we find Mon epigraphic documents at different places at probably the same period.

Halliday's text, and consequently Blagden's note which was inserted in it, was translated into Thai in 1972, or better say adapted,

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<sup>66</sup>R. Halliday, *op. cit.* 1930, pp. 86-87.

in a way liable to create some confusion<sup>67</sup>. It was common in Thailand at that time to translate academic texts by adapting them to other editing conventions in practice in the country and by dropping most of the critical apparatus. In the case we are interested in, Halliday's remarks in notes, for example concerning a dubious reading or the comment on the translation of a given word, are not translated, or otherwise inserted within the body of the texts, that is here, sometimes, the translation of the inscription itself. Blagden's note is translated but it is not attributed to him and as such, a reader can legitimately consider that he is reading Halliday's text when he is not. Moreover, the translation inserts a passage from Cœdès, which is useful for the understanding of the text, but which does not appear in it and which is not attributed to its real author either<sup>68</sup>. If we add to this that the translation gives only one bibliographical reference, that of the translated article, and expunges the few ones from the original, we have an idea of the confusion that resulted. Consequently, the translation significantly clouded the issue and could mislead anyone working on the question on the basis of the Thai version.

More important yet, there is a serious mistake in the translation, whether a slip of the pen or whatever, prone to creating more confusion. The passage by Blagden which states : “It [the spelling] differs following a tendency which eventually prevailed in the 11<sup>th</sup> century” was rendered in Thai : “These differences are due to the fact that the Mon inscriptions of Lamphun were engraved in the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>69</sup>.” Admittedly, Halliday's reference to Cœdès' theory that

<sup>67</sup>“ศิลาจารึกภาษามอญที่เมืองลำพูน” สุภัทรดิศ ดิศกุล, แปล. *โบราณคดี*. 4, 1 กรกฎาคม 2515. หน้า 57-62; 4, 2 ตุลาคม 2515. หน้า 163-168; 4, 3 มกราคม. หน้า 314-322.

Professor M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, “The Mon Inscriptions of Lamphun.” *Archæology*. 4,1. July 1972. pp. 57-62; 4-2. October 1972. pp. 163-168; 4-3. January 1973. pp. 314-322.

<sup>68</sup>*Archæology*. 4,1. July 1972. p. 59.

<sup>69</sup>“Et elle [l'orthographe] s'en éloigne [de celle des inscriptions du Roi Kyansittha] dans le sens qui prévalut finalement au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle.” Halliday, *op. cit.* 1930. p. 86. “ความแตกต่างนี้ก็คือว่าจารึกภาษามอญที่เมืองลำพูน เหล่านี้จารึกในพุทธศตวรรษที่ ๑๖” M.C. Subhadradis, *op. cit.* 4, 1. 1972. p. 57. It is true that the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the Buddhist Era corresponds more precisely to a century between the 950's and 1050's.

the inscriptions may have been engraved at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century appears in the text and is accurately translated, but there are in the same article two contradictory statements between which the reader has to choose. The chronicles already offer various dates for the reigns of some Haripunjaya kings, leaving the historian embarrassed for the choice, Cœdès suggests to modify entirely the chronology on the basis of one of these chronicles, and the Thai translation of one of the relevant texts adds yet another possibility, and it is no wonder that one may find the same source quoted for two or more contradictory estimates and even more contradictions if different sources are used<sup>70</sup>.

As we can see, the paleographic argument remains quite inconclusive as well, because of its unreliability, the corpus being too limited, and because of imprecise wording. In addition to such uncertainty, quite a few literary inaccuracies have come to complicate the problem, with the result that there are several different interpretations from which a reader has to choose, with often no possibility to refer to the original source if the Thai translation is used. As a consequence, the reading of Mon inscriptions is now transformed into an archeology of critical literature. Also, it is now generally recognised that the inscriptions are dated from the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century on the account of

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<sup>70</sup>The confusion reigning on the subject of the Haripunjaya Kingdom is illustrated in a recent Thai report on the archaeological findings in Lamphun where, in a same article, it is Cœdès' version which is used when considering the monuments built by King Sabbāhisiddhi and it is the *Yonok Chronicles* which are used when it comes to the age of the inscriptions, though the discrepancy between the two versions amount up to one and a half centuries ผาสุก อินทราวุธ “ประวัติศาสตร์เป็นมาของอาณาจักรหริภุญไชย” ใน ผาสุก อินทราวุธ, สินชัย กระบวนแสง และ พเยาว์ นาคเวก, รายงานวิจัยเรื่องการศึกษาร่องรอยอารยธรรมโบราณจากหลักฐานโบราณคดีในเขตจังหวัดลำพูนก่อนพุทธศตวรรษที่ ๑๙. มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร, 2536. Phasook Indrawooth, “The origin of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya.” Phasook Indrawooth, Sinchai Krabuansang & Payao Nagwek, *Report of Studies on the Ancient Civilisation in Lamphun Province prior to the Mid 13<sup>th</sup> Century, Based on Archaeological Evidence*. Silpakorn University, Bangkok. 1993. pp. 8-9 & p. 11.

Cœdès' authority and are considered as such from a paleographic and philological point of view<sup>71</sup>. This is quite circular as we saw that Cœdès called on some paleographic arguments to justify his interpretation, and, as a matter of fact, heavily relied on them to get a rough idea of the age of the inscriptions, as will be seen later.

### The chronicles.

An argument invoked by Cœdès to justify his establishment of a new chronology based on the Haripunjaya inscriptions is the testimony of the chronicles, or rather their contradictions, as they provide sometimes very different data and hardly ever agree with one another. The various contradictions will be seen very soon, and we will examine first quickly one example to illustrate the complexity of the problems that the chroniclers had to solve. In *The Legend of the Haripunjaya Reliquary*, that Cœdès did not take into account, it is said that  $\square$ dityar $\square$ ja was crowned king in C.S. 237 (= 876 A.D.) when the religion had lasted 1420 years (= 878 A.D.)<sup>72</sup>. The two dates are contradictory, and though the difference between the Buddhist year (1420) and the Small Era year (237) could be accounted for, it is not worth the trouble as the date in the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D. is simply incredible. The text also says that Sabbh $\square$ siddhi ascended the throne in the year *kat saj* C.S. 511 (= 1150 A.D.), when the religion had lasted 1692 years (= 1150 A.D. if we count in years elapsed), in the month *busaya*, in the Mon manner on a Friday, in the Thai manner a day *dap rau*<sup>73</sup>. This time, the Buddhist and the Small Era year digits are consistent, and are rather consistent with some other chronicles too, but they are not consistent with the year name, following the traditional system of

<sup>71</sup>Cf. H.L. Shorto, *op. cit.* 1971. p. x, who takes for granted Cœdès' interpretation for a sketch of the historical stages of Mon language.

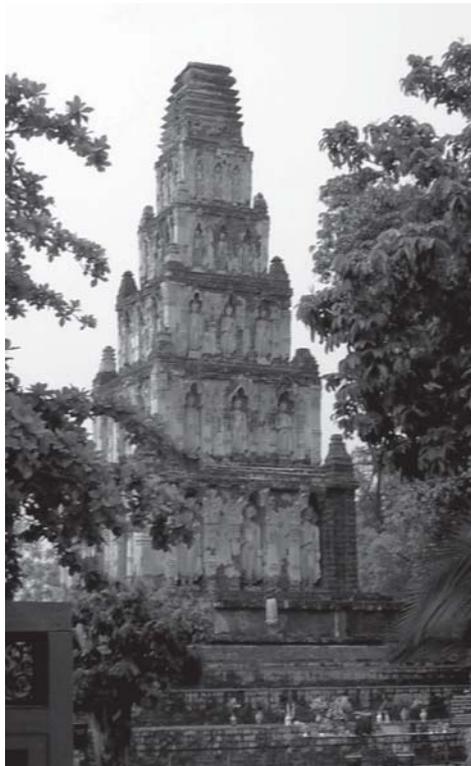
<sup>72</sup>พระยามหาอำมาตยาธิบดี (หรรณ ศรีเพ็ญ), *ตำนานศรีภุญไชย*. 2457. 2505.

Phraya Maha-Ammatajathibodi (Run Sriphen), *The Legend of the Haripunjaya Reliquary*. 1914. Printed at the occasion of the cremation of Phra Phijit-Asok (Rot Sutanatanon). 1962. p. 10.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.* p. 15.

giving years a name in a sixty year cycle long in use in the Thai world, as the nearest year *kat saj* was either 1131 or 1191 A.D. Such data were either transmitted or often corrected by the chroniclers and it is rather difficult for us to know now which version is to be believed and if anything of the original version is within our hands.

For such reasons Cœdès sustained, not without reasons, that the testimony of the chronicles could be overlooked as a first step, and he created a chronology in abstraction of them which strictly agrees with none of them, thus rejecting them altogether. The number of versions is indeed rather high and we will quote only a few of them, stressing those that Cœdès had in hand and the texts which were published in French translations.



Wat Kukut (Wat Chamdevi Lamphun)  
(photo : Laurent Hennequin)

1) The first text to be mentioned is the *Jinaklam*, as it was this very chronicle, along with another one less interesting on the subject, that Cœdès published in “Documents sur l’histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental”. The chronicle provides the following chronology :

« Then Dittaraja acceded to power (...) Dittaraja reigned exactly thirty years in Haripuñjaya. (...) After Dittaraja, diccaraja was crowned king in Haripuñjaya in C.S. 409 (1047 A.D.) (...) The Great Relic was founded in Hariñpunjaya 1383 years after King Asoka distributed the relics in Jambudipa, and 16 years after diccaraja was crowned, that is in B.S. 1607 (A.D. 1063 A.D.) King diccaraja reigned exactly 80 years in Haripuñchaya. (...) After diccaraja, King Dhammikaraja reigned (...) and died after a reign of 5 years. Then Ratharaja reigned 5 years. Then Sabbasiddhiraja was crowned at the age of 17 and reigned 45 years<sup>74</sup>. »

Strictly following the text, the chronology is as follows :

C.S. 379-1017 A.D. : Dittaraja’s accession to the throne ;  
 C.S. 409-1047 A.D. : diccaraja’s accession to the throne ;  
 C.S. 425-1063 A.D. : Foundation of the Great Relic during diccaraja’s reign ;  
 C.S. 489-1127 A.D. : Dhammikaraja’s accession to the throne ;  
 C.S. 494-1132 A.D. : Ratharaja’s accession to the throne ;  
 C.S. 499-1137 A.D. : Sabbasiddhiraja’s accession to the throne ;  
 C.S. 544-1182 A.D. : End of Sabbasiddhiraja’s reign.

<sup>74</sup>Cœdès, *op.cit.* 1925. pp. 82, 83, 83, 85, 86, 86 & 86 respectively for each paragraph quoted.

This method of reckoning is probably one of the reasons why the chroniclers produced contradictory chronologies, but it is nevertheless used as a guideline, not as an attempt to reconstruct yet another chronology.

2) Let us consider now the version found in the *Yonok Chronicles*, published in the last years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and often used as a reference by Thai scholars, admittedly for lack of better evidence :

« In C.S. 405 [1043 A.D.], Phraya □ditayar□ja mounted the throne of Harinpunjaya<sup>75</sup>. »

« He had been reigning for 5 years when he passed away. His son, named Ratanar□ja reigned 5 years and then passed away.

After this, Phra Chao Ratanar□ja's son, named Sabasiddhir□ja reigned for 45 years. In C.S. 460 [1098 A.D.], Phra Chao Sabasiddhir□ja fell ill and passed away<sup>76</sup>. »

The dates of reign can thus be reconstructed as follows :

□ditayar□ja	C.S. 405 [1043 A.D.] – C.S. 410 [1048 A.D.]
Ratanar□ja	C.S. 410 [1048 A.D.] – C.S. 415 [1053 A.D.]
Sabasiddhir□ja	C.S. 415 [1053 A.D.] – C.S. 460 [1098 A.D.]

3) Here is now the chronology reported in Mission Pavie, also mentioned by Cœdès<sup>77</sup> :

« Atteutarach ended in happiness his reign, which had lasted 30 years.

Kings of Haripuon from Atteutarach until Mong Lai who went to live in Xieng-Mai

<sup>75</sup>*Yonok Chronicles*, *op. cit.* p. 206.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid* p. 220. In the tables at the end of the volume, the names of the kings are spelt differently than in the body of the text.

<sup>77</sup>Auguste Pavie, *Mission Pavie. Indo-Chine 1879-1895. Études diverses II : Recherches sur l'histoire du Cambodge, du Laos et du Siam*. pp. 145 sq. "Histoire de Nang Kiam Maha Thévi." Pavie states that he collected the manuscript in Lamphun on his travel between Bangkok to Luang Prabang, which he started in 1886.

Rattasami	reigned 5 years
Soppasetti	45
Sesakarach	10
Kanharach	22
Tamouka	30
Seri Banha	20
Ottin	8
Pontoukanha	10
Latta	2
Ottorach	10
Mahanéam	10
Chéta	4
Laha	2
Pala	1
Mong-Lai	went to reign in Xieng Mai in 671 (1309 of our era) <sup>78</sup> »

We need not concern ourselves with all the sovereigns mentioned in the list, but it is necessary to go down to the end to find a year digit. Retrospectively, we can reconstruct the chronology of the kings we are interested in as follows :

Atteutarach C.S. 473 [1111 A.D.] – C.S. 503 [1141 A.D.]  
 Rattasami C.S. 503 [1141 A.D.] – C.S. 508 [1146 A.D.]  
 Soppasetti C.S. 508 [1146 A.D.] – C.S. 553 [1191 A.D.]

4) We can also quote here passages of the various chronicles of Lanna translated by Camille Notton. Actually, Cœdès could not have used this work which was printed soon after he published his own translation of *Jinaklam*, but they bring another version of the chronology which does not change much and which Cœdès took into account in his later works. The Lamphun chronicles say :

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<sup>78</sup>*Ibid*, p. 164-165.



Buddha image at Wat Kukut  
(Wat Chamdevi), Lamphun  
(photo : Laurent Hennequin)

« Pṛṣya Dittana, successor to Indavara, had a long reign<sup>79</sup>. » « He died after a reign of thirty years<sup>80</sup>. »  
« We will now speak of Pṛṣya Ditarāja<sup>81</sup>, who made the relic of our Lord appear for men and Devatā to worship.

After Pṛṣya Mahantayassa, son of Nang Chamt'evi, twenty-five kings reigned on the throne until Pṛṣya Ditta. The religion of our Lord had not appeared yet. It was only under the reign of Pṛṣya Ditta<sup>82</sup> that it was revealed. Pṛṣya Adittarāja succeeded Pṛṣya Ditta, on his death, on the throne of Müang Haribhāja and

<sup>79</sup>Camille Notton, *Annales du Siam*. Vol. 2. *Chronique de La:p'un*. Histoire de la dynastie Chamt'evi. 1930. p. 35.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.* p. 42.

<sup>81</sup>Mistake for Adittarāja. [Note by C.N.]

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.* [Note by C.N.]

took Nang *Padāmmavatti* as queen<sup>83</sup>. »

« (...) Pūrīya *Adittarāja* was born in 1008 after *Nibbāna* (A.D. 465)<sup>84</sup>. »

« Considering the number of years, months, days and nights elapsed since the *Nibbāna*, it was in year 1008 that, under Pūrīya *Adittarāja*'s invitation, the relic of our Lord Buddha appeared to be worshipped by men and Devatā<sup>85</sup>. »

« Pūrīya *Adittarāja* reigned 30 years in Haribhājja and passed away when he was exactly eighty<sup>86</sup>. »

« Then, his successor, Pūrīya *Dhammakarāja* ascended to the throne (...) He died (*mang pañcakhanda*<sup>87</sup>) after a reign of five years (*khō*<sup>88</sup>). He was succeeded by *Rāhami*<sup>89</sup> who reigned five years.

*Sabbasiddhi* was born and ascended the throne at the age of five in the stead of his father. (...) At the age of seven, he relinquished the throne to his mother in order

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<sup>83</sup>A few lines beneath, his name is written with a short initial A. There is a confusion between his reign and that of his father Pūrīya Ditta in P. P. [Pūrīya *Prajākicakaracakra*, author of the Pongsawadan Yonok] and in C. [Cāmadevāsa], probably because of the similitude between the two names : Ditta (shining, beaming) and *ditta* (same meaning as the previous), the name of the son. This last name was sometimes confused with Sanskrit *ditya* or Pali *dicco* (sun). Moreover, J. [Jinakālam] confirms this interpretation in a very precise manner. At the end of the reign of Pūrīya *Ditarāja*, in C.S. 409, so it says, Pūrīya *Adicarāja* was crowned in *Haribhājja* on the same year. So does say M. [*Muli Mulla Sāsān*], which however gives a same name to the father and the son without confusing the two reigns. [Note by C.N.]

<sup>84</sup>Notton, *op. cit.* 1930. p. 43.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid, p. 52.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid, p. 53.

<sup>87</sup>Destroy-five elements [Note by C.N.]

<sup>88</sup>khō : rice, (year of rice harvest) [Note by C.N.]

<sup>89</sup>Ratanarāja (P.Y. [Pongsavadan Yonok] p. 3, 2<sup>nd</sup> line) [Note by C.N.]

to join monkhood. (...) At the age of twenty six, he had (Vṛt) Mṛhāvṇ built. (...) At the age of fifteen, he left monkhood and was crowned with the title of Pṛṛya *Sabbasiddhi* (...) <sup>90</sup>. »

« At the age of nineteen, he celebrated the chedi (...). At twenty-six, he undertook the building of a temple (...) <sup>91</sup>. »

« At the age of thirty-one, he had an upṣathavṛa built. He died after a reign of 45 years <sup>92</sup>. »

There is also a short mention of one of the events seen above in the Chiang Mai chronicles translated by the same author :

« Pṛṛya *Addita* had been on the throne of *Haribhuñjaya* for five years when he erected the *Cetiya* Lùang of Müang Lṣṣun. Nine hundred and six years were counted (A.D. 363) since the Nibbṇa of the Buddha <sup>93</sup>. »

The only thing we can do here is to note that it is impossible to reconstruct a chronology out of these various data.

Much could be said concerning these texts, and sometimes the comments that accompany them, but here we will just summarise the chronologies found in the different versions with tables, noting that none of them confirms Cœdès' reconstructed chronology :

<sup>90</sup>Notton, *op. cit.* 1930. p. 54.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid*, p. 55.

<sup>92</sup>55 years (M. [*Muli Mulla Sṣsan*]) [Note by C. N.]

<sup>93</sup>Camille Notton, *Annales du Siam*. Vol. 3. Chronique de Xieng Mai. Paris. 1932. p. 11.

<i>Jinaklam</i>				<i>Yonok</i>			
Name	a	b	c	Name	a	b	c
Dittaraja	[C.S. 379 1017 A.D.]	30	C.S. 409 1047 A.D.				
diccaraja	C.S. 409 1047 A.D.	80	[C.S. 489 1127 A.D.]	ditayaraja	C.S. 405 1043 A.D.	5	[C.S. 410 1048 A.D.]
Dhammikaraja	[C.S. 489 1127 A.D.]	5	[C.S. 494 1132 A.D.]				
Ratharaja	[C.S. 494 1132 A.D.]	5	[C.S. 499 1137 A.D.]	Ratanaraja	[C.S. 410 1048 A.D.]	5	[C.S. 415 1053 A.D.]
Sabbasiddhiraja	[C.S. 499 1137 A.D.]	45	[C.S. 544 1182 A.D.]	Sabasiddhiraja	[C.S. 415 1053 A.D.]	45	C.S. 460 1098 A.D.

<i>Pavie</i>				<i>Notton</i>			
Name	a	b	c	Name	d	b	c
				Ditta			
Atteutarach	[C.S. 473 1111 A.D.]	30	[C.S. 503 1141 A.D.]	Aditayaraja	B.S. 1008 465 A.D.	30	
				Adittaraja		5	
Rattasami	[C.S. 503 1141 A.D.]	5	[C.S. 508 1146 A.D.]	Rahami		5	
Soppasetti	[C.S. 508 1146 A.D.]	45	[C.S. 553 1191 A.D.]	Sabbasiddhi		45	

	<i>Legend</i>		<i>Notton</i>	<i>Cœdè</i>	<i>Notton</i>
Name	a		e	e	f
			B.S. 1008 465 A.D.	B.S. 1476 933 A.D.	B.S. 906 363 A.D.
ditayaraja	B.S. 237 C.S. 1420 876, 878 A.D.	Aditayaraja			
Sabbhasiddhi	B.S. 511 C.S. 1692 1150 A.D.				

- a) Beginning of reign [The dates between brackets indicate that they are not mentioned in the text but reconstructed]
- b) Length of reign
- c) End of reign [The dates between brackets indicate that they are not mentioned in the text but reconstructed]
- d) Date of birth
- e) Date of apparition of the Relic
- f) Notton, Chiang Mai Chronicles. 1932. Erection of the Cetiya Luang.

The tables show that Cœdès had a good case in rejecting the chronicles altogether, instead of taking the risk to select one arbitrarily, or worse, to mix them equally arbitrarily, and he chose to rely nearly exclusively on the first-hand data provided by the inscriptions.

Nevertheless, it is striking to note that he excluded some possibilities attested in the chronicles, and on the other hand took into account, and finally adopted a possibility which is attested nowhere in the various chronicles. Indeed, to determine the years in which the dates of the inscriptions could fit, Cœdès selected an abstract and large range of years from 1093 to 1266 A.D. totalling 174 years, thus apparently excluding no possibility. However, a date formally attested in one of the chronologies is outright excluded from the range of years, namely the one from the *Yonok Chronicles* : according to them, Sabbhādhisiddhi reigned from 1053 to 1098 but the year range selected by Cœdès only starts with 1093. Thus, he did not take into account a possibility expressly mentioned in one of the sources, which is very likely at that, as it makes of Sabbhādhisiddhi a contemporary of Kyansittha. As a matter of fact, it was probably for this very reason that Cœdès excluded the option, considering that the writing had to be posterior to the Pagan inscriptions under Kyansittha's reign. Conversely, Cœdès included in the range of years a period which is not attested in the chronicles, namely the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, though it could have been judged as fairly unlikely since the concerned king is followed by quite a few reigning successors according to all the chronicles and as it is well established that Haripunjaya lost its sovereignty to the Thai at least in the last years of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

In conclusion, Cœdès presented a wide and apparently neutral range of years, however he was somewhat biased, excluding an attested and rather likely possibility and admitting an unattested and rather unlikely one. Actually, he seems to have been misled by Duroiselle's remark, or the interpretation he made of it, not allowing Sabbhādhisiddhi's reign to be contemporary or only slightly posterior to Kyansittha's. As a result, Cœdès was forced to choose among the last years of the range, with no clue to determine if the estimate produced was too late or not. Finally, the second method

found in the article is not so different from the first one expressed in the letter, since it too uses a first estimate based on paleographic considerations which are not expressed as such, but which equally condition the reasoning for a totally different result.

### **The cohesion of the new chronology.**

Before trying to crosscheck the proposed chronology following Cœdès' own theory, let us first note that it raises quite a few problems in terms of cohesion. First of all, Cœdès takes for granted that Dittarāja and Āddicarāja refer to the same king, though the *Jinakālam* explicitly says the contrary. He also states that it is the only source to do so, but a few years after the publication of his own text, Notton's translation of the chronicle of Lamphun, along with quotations from other texts, was to prove him wrong.

Cœdès also says that the incredibly long reign of 110 years attributed to this king (these kings) is a means for the chronicler to solve the century gap between older and more recent sources. We can quote again his own words :

« It was obviously a way for the writer to link the chronology, rather accurate, of the last Mon kings of Haripuñjaya with the date 1047 (C.S. 409) found in his sources, namely the ancient tales (purāṇakathā) and the Royal Chronicle of Haripuñjaya. »

When considering Cœdès' words attentively, we have to understand that in his opinion, the dates the chronicler had in hands were not reliable before 1047 but they were more reliable after this date, and it is the reason why he is supposed to have extended Āddicarāja's reign and split it into two reigns. However, if we follow this line of reasoning, the dates after 1047, and all the more so one century after should be considered as the ones which are "rather accurate". But it is precisely starting from this period that Cœdès corrects the chronology. Indeed, if we are to believe that the inscriptions were made in the 1210's, this period is situated long after 1047 and can be considered as the period of "the last Mon kings of Haripuñjaya". It is strange that our author should substantiate his correction of the chronology with a date quite posterior to 1047 and then assume that the chronicler had himself

corrected the chronology so as to link the dates prior to it to the more accurate ones posterior to it.

There are indeed quite a few inconsistencies in Cœdès' corrected chronology, concerning the period after *Āddicarāja*'s reign. First of all, if we accept that *Āddicarāja* ascended the throne at around 1150 A.D. and had a very long reign, let us say 80 years as Cœdès does, this brings the end of his reign to the 1230's, that is after the supposed date of the inscriptions which are not due to him but to one of his successors. Moreover, the various chronicles agree that *Sabbādhisiddhi* did not succeed *Āddicarāja* directly but explicitly say that the two kings were separated by one or two other sovereigns who reigned five years each. Second, if *Sabbādhisiddhi* reigned 45 years, as all the chronicles are consistent in saying, if he was reigning in the 1210's, and was then still in his twenties, as one of the inscription tells us, we can suppose that his reign ended around the 1250's and he can thus be considered as one of the last kings of Haripunjaya for whom the chronicler is supposed to have a more accurate chronology. Whatever the case may be, it is quite impossible to suppose that he was reigning at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and that he was succeeded by a score of other kings, as all the chronicles agree upon, before the seizure of Haripunjaya by Mengrai, which took place around 1290, according to Cœdès<sup>94</sup>. On the contrary, the chronicles allow more than a century between the end of his reign and the last king of Haripunjaya, 118 years for the *Jinakālamānā* and Pavie's version and 183 for the *Yonok Chronicles*. In that respect, the corrected chronology definitely finds itself in excess of about 100 years starting at least from *Sabbādhisiddhi*'s reign. Cœdès more or less acknowledges this by saying : « According to the chronology found in the *Jinakālamānā*, *Sabbādhisiddhi* is said to have reigned a hundred of years before *Lāmphun* was taken by *Mengrai*, which compels us to place the period of his reign slightly earlier than the dates attributed to the inscriptions. In any case, his reign cannot be dated prior to the last quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>94</sup>See Cœdès' table (*op. cit.* 1925, after p. 26).

century<sup>95</sup>. » As a matter of fact, the contradiction is noted but it is not taken into account, as the testimony given by the inscriptions, or at least the interpretation Cœdès makes of them, seems to be unquestionable. The result is that Sabbādhisiddhi is reputed to have reigned latest in the first quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century but also to have reigned at least a century before the end of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya at the end of the same century.

### The other sources.

One of the most spectacular findings of the proposed chronology for the history of the region was, in Cœdès' assumption, to identify the Cambodian king who had a conflict with the Kingdom of Haripunjaya as Śrīyavarman I and to suggest a clue to some points concerning his reign, otherwise rather mysterious. He thus hypothesized that this ruler was a Buddhist sovereign coming from Çrī Vijaya and that he took hold of the throne somewhat illegitimately. The hypothesis will not be dealt with here, because Cœdès eventually recanted it, at least by 1944<sup>96</sup>. However, we will often mention this hypothesis because the peripheral assumptions linked to it are far from being totally erased from the author's subsequent works.

Consequently, there was only one source left which confirmed Cœdès' correction of the chronology, the migration of the inhabitants of Haripunjaya to lower Burma in the 1050's. Let us have another look at the text found in the *Jinakālamā* :

« After him [Ucchittacakkavati], Kambalarāja reigned 20 years and 7 months. Under his reign, a cholera epidemic devastated the country for six years. As the inhabitants could not bear the blight, they fled to

<sup>95</sup>*Ibid.* p. 23.

<sup>96</sup>Michael Vickery, "The reign of Śrīyavarman I and Royal Factionalism at Angkor." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*. XVI, 2. Singapore. September 1985 ; Michael Vickery, "Cœdès' Histories of Cambodia." *Silpakorn University International Journal*. Volume 1, number 1. Bangkok. January-June 2000. p. 99.

Sudhammanagara [Thaton]. But there, harassed as they were by the king of Puakma [Pagan], all the inhabitants from Haripuñjaya sought refuge in Ha savat [Pegu]. When the epidemic stopped, they went back to their homeland<sup>97</sup>. »

Let us compare it now to the text found in the Burmese chronicles :

« One day it was reported “An host of Gywan warriors hath marched on Ussa Pegu. Send us help to fight them !” Said Anawrahtaminsaw [King of Pagan], “Good horsemen, four hundred thousand, shall be sent to succour you !” So the messengers returned. And the king caused his four captains – Kyanzittha, Nga Hteuweyu, Nga Lonlephpè, and Nyaung-u Hpi – to disguise them in the garb of spirits, and with their followers and fourscore Kala footrunners go to help in the war. [...] Now when the Gywan warriors came up with a great host of horses and elephants, the demon horsemen charged into their midst, splitting the Gywan army into four divisions ; and the generals of those four divisions – Aukbraran, Aukbrarè, Aukbrabon, and Aukbrapaik – they captured alive. And the Gywan warriors dropped their arms and weapons from their hands and fled with naught but a loin-cloth. The four demon horsemen presented the four generals they had captured to the Ussa king ; and he was exceeding glad and gave them great rewards<sup>98</sup>. »

The two texts appear too discordant to refer to the same event. The people in question are qualified in the Burmese chronicles of “Gywan” whose original territory is clearly sapecified by the same chronicles, taking the Kingdom of Pagan as a reference : « in the

<sup>97</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1925. p. 80.

<sup>98</sup>Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle of Burma*. London. 1923. Second printing, Rangoon. 1960. p. 92. The text is called *Hmannan Yazawin* by Cœdès.

south-east corner the country of the Gywans, also known as Arawsa<sup>99</sup> » and, in another passage, « south-eastward the country of the Gywans, also called Ayoja<sup>100</sup>. » Cœdès acknowledges the fact in a footnote but fails to take it into account in his interpretation. The point here is not to determine if the word “Gywan” refers to the Siamese, but it is the first question which has to be addressed. Anyway, there is no reason to identify the people in question with the Mon of Haripunjaya. Then, the text describes the so-called Gywan as an army on the march, not as a flock of migrants, a problem which Cœdès avoids by speaking of “invaders or migrants” in his comments. Third point, this army is said in the Burmese text to have been repelled during its advance, which is incompatible with the version of the Pali texts of a settlement in both cities. More generally, it is quite unclear which of the two migrations the passage is understood to refer to, between the first one to Thaton (Sudhammanagara) or the second one to Pegu (Haṅsavatṅ). Though the Burmese chronicle explicitly mentions Pegu, the narrative would rather be comparable to the first migration to Thaton : both the *Jinakṅlamṅlṅ*<sup>101</sup> and the *Cṅmadevṅvaṅsa*<sup>102</sup> agree that the Mon were harassed by the king of Pagan (Puṅṅakṅma) when in Thaton, not in Pegu ; the *Cṅmadevṅvaṅsa* states that the king of Pegu, far from calling his neighbour to the rescue to expell the migrants, offered them lodging, food and clothing<sup>103</sup>. Actually, it is possible to interpret the Burmese text as a reference to the Mon migration as described by the Pali chronicles, only if we retain characteristics from both migrations to/within Burma, which is impossible.

There is another point to comment on : for Cœdès, the supposed migration of the people of Haripunjaya from Thaton to Pegu explains the silence of the chronicles concerning Pegu during

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<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.* p. 99.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.* p. 106.

<sup>101</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1925. p. 80.

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.* p. 160.

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid.* p. 161.

the “conquest of Lower Burma by Anuruddha<sup>104</sup>”, as it indicated that this town was still independent. Actually, the Burmese text does not speak of the conquest of Lower Burma, but simply of Thaton<sup>105</sup>. Moreover, the Burmese passage quoted shows that at that time, Pegu was what we would now call a protectorate of Pagan.

To sum up, it is quite difficult to find confirmation of the corrected chronology in other sources, either because the correspondence is outright discarded by Cœdès himself or because the interpretation is debatable. Actually, one of the problems when examining the history of Haripunjaya is that the kingdom is mentioned in nearly no other sources and it is impossible to crosscheck what their chronicles teaches us, and all the more so the chronology (-gies) that they provide.

### **The corrected chronology in the light of new evidence.**

The chronology that Cœdès proposed in 1925 rarely re-appears in his subsequent works, if we exclude his encyclopedic books. Admittedly, nearly no evidence appeared to throw new light on the Haripunjaya Kingdom after Cœdès published his translations. There was consequently no reason to re-assess the proposed chronology and it could only be questioned on its intrinsic faults, if any could be identified. There is however one exception with a mention of it in the light of newly discovered inscriptions in Central Siam on which Cœdès wrote an article in 1958 entitled “Nouvelles données épigraphiques sur l’histoire de l’Indochine centrale”<sup>106</sup>. One of the inscriptions called for comments from him, because it is historically informative, as it testified to the existence of settlements in Central Thailand before the emergence of the Thai Kingdoms, which could be attributed to the Khmer : the inscription is written in Khmer, with a small passage in Pali ; it was found in

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<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.* p. 24, note 2.

<sup>105</sup>Tin and Luce, *op. cit.* 1960. p. 77 sq.

<sup>106</sup>George Cœdès, "Nouvelles données épigraphiques sur l’histoire de l’Indochine centrale." *Journal asiatique*. CCXLVI. 1958. pp. 125-142.

Nakhon Sawan, a locality near Lopburi where the Khmer were implanted at the date mentioned in the inscription (1167 A.D.) ; and the text definitely belongs, according to Cœdès' own words, to « the religious and cultural sphere of the Khmer kingdom<sup>107</sup> », at least in one of its passages. However, the Khmer hypothesis is not thoroughly examined but quickly mentioned to be refuted on the grounds that the use of Pali was not attested among the Khmer at that time, and that the title given to the prince mentioned implied an independent kingdom, which could not be the case in Lopburi, centrally controlled as it was by the Khmer, as Cœdès assumed, and all the more so in a farther place such as Nakhon Sawan<sup>108</sup>. Actually, the hypothesis is never developed properly and re-appears in the conclusion to say that it cannot, nevertheless, totally be excluded. In between, Cœdès uses a process of elimination to determine to which polity the inscription could be attributed, considering the options of Burma, Cambodia proper, Dvaravati, and he ends up with only one option left, namely the kingdom of Haripunjaya, roughly at the time of  $\square$ dityar $\square$ ja, following of course his own corrected chronology. This option is purely negative since it is simply the result of the ignorance of history, as there could be unrecorded states or peoples in the area at that time, and the hypothesis is simply made probable by Cœdès' answers in advance to the possible objections against his thesis, namely why the text was written in Khmer and why the king was not called by his name. More important for us, the interpretation entails quite a few implications in terms of geography and chronology.

First of all, history has no hint concerning the extent of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya and it could have simply been a centre with its immediate surrounding dependencies, if any. But the point, for Cœdès' thesis, is that  $\square$ dityar $\square$ ja had conflicts with Cambodia and consequently there must have been a border between the Khmer and the Mon kingdoms, though, as he states, there was no evidence that the Khmer empire extended that far north at that time<sup>109</sup>,

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<sup>107</sup>*Ibid.* p. 135.

<sup>108</sup>*Ibid.* p. 136.

<sup>109</sup>*Ibid.* p. 126.



Wat Maha That (Temple of the Great Relic), Lamphun  
(photo : Laurent Hennequin)

concluding his remarks with the following comment : « This is what is known concerning the Khmer occupation which, before Jayavarman VII, is not positively attested further than *Lp̄p̄b̄ri*<sup>110</sup>. » As a result, in Cœdès' view, the Kingdom of Haripunjaya extended as far south as Nakhon Sawan, considered as an outpost facing Lopburi, itself an outpost of the Khmer empire<sup>111</sup>. Additionally, the town of Kampheng Phet is gratuitously included in this Mon kingdom to justify something else<sup>112</sup>. In other words, Cœdès postulated that the Mon Kingdom of Haripunjaya commanded a rather vast territory whereas history cannot identify precisely the rulers of this territory at that time, if any, and Cœdès considered the only known king as the master of the entire territory.

The second point concerns chronology. It appears that Cœdès substantially, though rather implicitly, modifies his initial chronology for the occasion of this new inscription dated 1167 A.D. :

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<sup>110</sup>*Ibid.* p. 127.

<sup>111</sup>*Ibid.* p. 137.

<sup>112</sup>*Ibid.* p. 138.

«According to the rectified chronology that I submitted in 1925, the year 1167 fell either during the reign of a king called *Ādityarājā* in the chronicles, or during the reign of his successor *Dharmikarājā*, as the date of succession cannot be estimated with absolute precision. The former, *Ādityarājā*, was one of the greatest kings of Haripunjaya and is still known for his victorious resistance to the attacks from the Cambodians of *Lavo* and also for his founding the temple of the great relic (*mahādhatu*) in Haripunjaya, which, after a series of enlargement work, remains the most beautiful building, covered with gold, in the town of *Lampun*<sup>113</sup>. » The phrase “rectified chronology” could be subject to comments, but it is more important to note that the mentioned chronology of 1925 estimates that *Ādityarājā* came to power around 1150, had a very long reign, and his immediate successor must have started his reign sometime in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>114</sup>, which makes impossible to consider *Dharmikarājā* as the ruling king in the 1160’s. The reason to correct the chronology again was that the name of the ruler mentioned in the Nakhon Sawan inscription, *Kuru Çr Dharmaçoka*<sup>115</sup> resembles that of *Dharmikarājā*, mentioned by the *Jinakālamā* as the immediate successor of *Ādityarājā*<sup>116</sup>, the identification being rather debatable when one knows the frequency of the word “dham” in the titles of the region.

In this case, we realize that Cœdès is quite willing to modify his chronology in the light of new evidence but does not really reconsider it. On the contrary, the chronicles and the uncertainty concerning the chronology rather appear as a justification to identify the author of the inscription as a Mon King, though there is no direct hint to this in the inscription. Moreover, the interpretation re-asserts that the Haripunjaya Kingdom had contacts, and consequently could have had a conflict, with the Khmer within a year range when the Khmer empire is not known to have reached the region. On this point, we can quote a comment by Michael Vickery :

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<sup>113</sup>*Ibid.* p. 137.

<sup>114</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1925. Table after p. 26.

<sup>115</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1958. p. 139.

<sup>116</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1925. p. 86.

« There was certainly a Khmer population in central Siam in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, including Lavo and even beyond, as well as a Khmer ‘kingdom’, but its king *marajadhirarja* ... *kurun* Sri Dhamasoka who had his inscription of A.D. 1167 in Nakon Sawan engraved in Khmer and Pali, unlike Angkor usage of the time, was obviously not part of the Angkor political orbit. [...] There is ample epigraphic evidence to show that the central Menam Basin and Malay Peninsula, both before and after that date, were partly occupied by Khmer centres which were outside the political and cultural orbit of Angkor. Neither is there any justification for Cœdès’ proposal that the polity recorded in the 1167 inscription belonged to the Mon kingdom of Haripunjaya [Lamphun]. Cœdès’ interpretation involved the covert assumption that newly recorded inscriptions had to be related to political centres already known from literary sources<sup>117</sup>. »

Whatever the case may be, Cœdès’ hypothesis is never mentioned again, the correction that it implied for the chronology was never undertaken and it is quite probable that Cœdès renounced it. It is also the only known case where he tried to use the data from these chronicles and their supposed chronology, even at the price of a new correction, as a sort of gap-filler.

We have found so far only one attempt to justify Cœdès’ corrected chronology in the light of evidence that Cœdès could not use when he published his text in 1925. One of the dates contained in the Lamphun chronicles translated by Camille Notton, already referred to, was interpreted as confirming it, in an article written at a more recent date by two epigraphists-historians, A. B. Griswold and Prasert Na Nagara, who note :

« According to *Jinak* lam the city [of Haripuñjaya] was founded by the *Vi* sudeva in B.E. 1204, C.S. [Culasakharat] 22, i.e. 660 A.D. ; and “two years later” Princess Cammadev arrived from Lavapura (*Lopburî*)

<sup>117</sup>Vickery, *op. cit.* 2000. p. 100.

to reign over it. Cœdès, however, gives good reasons to believe that the true date was about 100 years later (Documents ... 1925. pp. 19-25). Cāmadevāvaśa gives no date. According to the *Lampûn Chronicle*, (Notton, *op. cit.* p. 17), the city was founded by Vāśudeva in a mān-māt year (no numeral given), and the invitation sent to Cammadevā in the pāk-sān year 690 of an unstated era, the date being further specified as 1071 B.E. Disregarding the year given in B.E., which is manifestly wrong, and assuming the unstated era to be M.S. [Mahāsakarājā] the date the invitation was sent to Cammadevā would be the pāk-sān year C.S. equivalent 130, equivalent to 768 A.D., while the mān-māt year for the founding of the city by Vāśudeva would be C.S. 129 or 767 A.D. (as any part of a year counts as a whole year in the traditional arithmetic, a large part of 130 would be “two years later” than a date in C.S. 129). These two dates, being about 100 years later than Jinakālamā's – and thus corresponding to Cœdès's estimate – stand a good chance of being genuine. Tentatively, therefore, we may place the founding of Haripuñjaya around 767-768 A.D.<sup>118</sup>. »

Let us remark first of all, that such evidence does not justify the interpretation of the dates contained in the inscriptions which lie at the origin of Cœdès' enterprise to reconstruct the chronology but it can only be used to confirm that the corrected chronology is acceptable.

We can also remark with the authors that the date to which attention is paid here fares better than others after critical examination, however we have to admit that it is found in a context in which many dates do not fare so well. Actually, it is considered as more likely primarily because it confirms the supposed chronology, but is hardly different from the others. Moreover, one isolated date

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<sup>118</sup>A.B. Griswold and Prasert Na Nagara, *op. cit.* 1971. pp. 153 sq. Note 1.

which confirms the correction cannot be used as an argument in the context of a profusion of dates which do not and which sometimes agree with each other. The point here is that more chronicular evidence would be necessary to sustain Cœdès' hypothesis.

If little or no new evidence has come to confirm Cœdès' corrected chronology, no new or little evidence either has come to infirm it. We have to admit that the studies on the history of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya are more or less in the state where Cœdès left them in 1925, though its civilization is now better known thanks to archeological excavations.

### **The chronology of the Kingdom of Harinpunjaya in Cœdès' encyclopedic works.**

Even though the texts published in 1925 by Cœdès, namely the *Jinak-lam-l*, the *C-madev-va-sa* and the Lamphun inscriptions, constituted a major discovery for the history of now Northern Thailand before the Thai manifested themselves in the region, it is striking to note that Haripunjaya is hardly mentioned in Cœdès' subsequent works, except in the case of the Nakhon Sawan inscriptions mentioned before. As was just seen, the research nearly stopped with the publication of these texts.

On the other hand, the Kingdom of Haripunjaya appears regularly in Cœdès encyclopedic works on the ancient history of Southeast Asia<sup>119</sup>, as he could not fail to mention it, but it is then also striking to see how the testimony brought by the discussed documents is reduced to a somewhat marginal role,

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<sup>119</sup>The following editions have been used : *Les peuples de la Péninsule indochinoise*. Histoire-civilisations. Dunod, Paris. 1962 ; *The making of Southeast Asia*. Translated by H.M. Wright. London. Second impression, 1967 ; *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*. Paris. 1964 ; *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*. Edited by Walter F. Vella. Translated by Susan Brown Cowing. Kuala Lumpur-Singapore. 1968. No significant changes have been noticed between the various editions. The 1944 text *Histoire ancienne des États hindouisés d'Extrême-Orient* has not been consulted, but Vickery who quotes it on similar points (*op. cit.* 2000), does not report changes either.

disproportionate to its importance as the only source, or nearly, of knowledge on this page of history. To illustrate this, let us quote the following passage which is the introduction to the chapter “The liberation of the Thais” from *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* :

«At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the kingdom of Haripunjaya was still governed by a Mon dynasty. One of the kings mentioned in the chronicles of Haripunjaya left inscriptions in the Mon language intermingled with passages in Pali at Lamp'un, on the site of ancient Haripunjaya. This king was Sabbādhisiddhi, for whom we have two inscriptions containing the dates 1213, 1218, and 1219. They tell of various endowments to Buddhist monuments, one of which, Wat Kukut, corresponds to the Mahābalachetiya built by Ādityarāja. For the period after the reign of Sabbādhisiddhi up to the time of the Thai conquest, the chronicles provide us with only a list of the names of the kings<sup>120</sup>. »

In this summary, the Mon kingdom is mentioned only in reference to the Thai, and not considered in itself. Furthermore, very little is said about its history and realizations, and one of the few facts mentioned about it taken for certain is the testimony of the inscriptions and their dates.

Actually, the Kingdom of Haripunjaya appears nearly exclusively in relation to the neighbouring countries, the history of which is better known, and thus is confined to a marginal role, as if the documents about it were not sufficient enough to write its specific history. As such, we notice that Cœdès regularly mentions the Kingdom in footnotes when speaking of another polity, constructing new hypotheses, presenting things in a new perspective, making assertions that he had never made before, etc. It seems then that he preferred not to elaborate on Haripunjaya for lack of evidence but also was at pains to make sense of what was known about it, or considered as such, in the context of the history

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<sup>120</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1968. pp. 194-195.

of the region.

For example, the migration of the people of Haripunjaya to Burma in, supposedly, the 1050's is not mentioned in these works, which is understandable, except in some notes which are surprising as they add assertions which were never expressed before. Concerning religion in Burma, Cœdès surreptitiously says in a note : « Possibly Buddhism received added stimulus [in lower Burma] from emigrants from the kingdom of Haripunjaya<sup>121</sup> (Lamphun in the upper Menam valley) who fled from a cholera epidemic during the first half of the eleventh century, and perhaps also from the Khmer armies of Suryavarman I<sup>122</sup>. » With a remark made in passing concerning the renewal of Buddhism in Burma, the author makes an important addition, namely that the Mon fled in front of the advance of Sūryavarman's army, which is a gratuitous hypothesis never formulated before and inserted in a place which is not entirely relevant. On the contrary, whereas an intervention of Sūryavarman I is more or less erased in the history of Haripunjaya and Cambodia as written by Cœdès, this king re-appears in passing concerning Burma.

There are other lines in which the same king is mentioned again in passing in a context not relevant to his reign : « We have some indication of the battles in the west [of Cambodia in the 1150's] in the chronicles of the Thai principalities of the upper Menam. These chronicles tell of struggles between the Kambojas of Lavo (Lopburi) and the Ramaññas (Mons) of Haripunjaya (Lamphun). Haripunjaya was the upper Menam principality, founded in the seventh century by the Mons from Lavo, that had been involved in the troubles marking the accession of Sūryavarman I. (...)»<sup>123</sup>. » Concerning an event which took place in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Cœdès quickly summarises the history of Haripunjaya, linking it again with the reign

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<sup>121</sup>H.G. Quaritch Wales, "Anuruddha and the Thaton tradition." J. Roy. As. Soc. 1947. p. 153. [Note by G.C]

<sup>122</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1967. p. 113. We find comparable comments in later works, including the reference to the Mon "fleeing from a cholera epidemic and perhaps also from the Khmer armies of Sūryavarman I." Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1968. p. 149.

<sup>123</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1964. p. 295. 1968. p. 161.

of Śrīyavarman I, this time adding something which he had never asserted before, namely that the Mon were involved in the King's accession, whereas in 1925 he had simply reported that the chronicles shed some light on what he thought was Śrīyavarman I's struggle for the throne but never implied that the Mon played a role in it. If the hypothesis was abandoned in reference to 11<sup>th</sup> century Cambodia and Haripunjaya, it is mentioned again in the context of the history of 12<sup>th</sup> century Cambodia. Strangely enough, this does not seem to be the remnant of an old hypothesis corrected elsewhere but not in this context where it was forgotten, but on the contrary a new addition which presents the events in a totally different light.

Cœdès probably also renounced the hypothesis of the flight of the people of Haripunjaya in front of the progress of the Khmer army led by Śrīyavarman I, as it no longer appears in the subsequent versions of his encyclopedic works, yet a new hypothesis appears in another version : « The political result of the conquest of Thaton [by the Pagan kingdom] was the submission of the whole delta and its Indian principalities<sup>124</sup> », with a note adding : « With the exception, perhaps of Pegu, which the chronicles do not mention and to which emigrants from Haripunjaya, who settled at first in Thaton, went for refuge at the time of the conquest of that city by Anôratha (Cœdès, "Documents . . . Laos", pp. 24,80. [Note by G.C.]) » This new interpretation is incompatible with the testimony found in the Burmese chronicles which entitled Cœdès to assert that the migration took place in the 1050's with his corrected chronology, as it describes "an host of Gywan warriors", identified with the people of Haripunjaya by Cœdès, which "marched on Ussa Pegu", the town being precisely saved on the orders of Anôratha<sup>125</sup>. It seems here that the author constructed a hypothesis on another one, losing sight of the original text. In any case, he tried to link the migration of the people of Haripunjaya to other political events, instead of simply accepting what the *Jinaklam* says, probably to find confirmation in other sources for his corrected chronology.

<sup>124</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1968. p. 150.

<sup>125</sup>Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce, *op. cit.* 1960. p. 92.

Among all the problems raised for the interpretation of the Haripunjaya chronicles, the conflicting relations with Cambodia at various ages was definitely the most embarrassing one, because all the testimonies tend to show that the Cambodians never went further north than Lopburi in the Chao Praya valley. One passage quoted above showed this, and here is another one concerning the triangular conflict in the 1050's this time :

« As we have seen [in the summary of the events], this little drama had three principal actors : two rival kings who disputed the possession of Lavo, and a foreign king from the south, who settled the quarrel by installing himself there and whose successor, “King of the Kambojas”, then launched an unsuccessful expedition against the former king of Lavo established in his new state. We are tempted to identify the Kambojaraja with Sūriyavarman I, for even if these conflicts between the Mon kingdom of Haripunjaya related in the chronicles cited above, are imaginary, we nonetheless still have clear manifestations of Cambodian expansion in the era of Sūriyavarman I in the region west of the Great Lake, where his inscriptions are particularly numerous<sup>126</sup>. »

In this passage, the events are suspected of being “imaginary”, though they are mentioned as history, as Vickery notices<sup>127</sup>, and

<sup>126</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1968. pp. 136-137. French version, *op. cit.* 1964. p. 252.

<sup>127</sup>See Vickery, *op. cit.* 2000. p. 99. In Vickery's view, Cœdès confuses too often the empire of Angkor and the Khmer kingdoms-principalities situated in the Chao Praya Basin at that time. Vickery also proposes an explanation to the problem as to who this (these) Kamboja was (were) : “[There are] two quite different terms, *Kamboja* and *Kambuj*, the latter meaning, since early Angkorean times, the kingdom of Cambodia and based on the etymology *Kambu-ja* “born of Kambu”, and the former the name of one of the sixteen great divisions of classical India, later transferred to Southeast Asia as part of a geographical system and localized in the Burmese Shan States, and in northern and central Siam. Eventually, the two terms became conflated leading to all sorts of confusion. (...) In the last few years, scholars conversant with the Thai texts have recognized that “Kamboja” of the *Jinaklam* refers to Siam.” (Michael Vickery, “Review of Jeremias van Vliet, *The Short History of the Kings of Siam*. 1975 edition.” *Journal of the Siam Society*. 64-2. 1976. pp. 228-229.

again, the king associated with this story is Sūryavarman I, though the wording implies that it can not be him and the reader is left to wonder who this king could be. Also, the traces of “clear manifestations of Cambodian expansion in the era of Sūryavarman I in the region west of the Great Lake” are no evidence of an expansion further north, where none can be found.

If we now have a look at a different period, concerning the supposed relations between the Khmer and the Kingdom of Haripunjaya in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, we find the following passages, some of which have already been quoted :

« To the north-west, Khmer forces [under the reign of Sūryavarman II] seem to have got as far as the Mon kingdom of Haripunjaya (present Lamphun), but apparently did not occupy the territory for any length of time<sup>128</sup>. » « It will be recalled that the Menam Basin, originally populated by the Mons, had been the seat of the Kingdom of Dvāravatī in the seventh century. In the eleventh the Khmers had established themselves at Lavo, and in the twelfth they had extended their domination to the borders of the kingdom of Haripunjaya, coming into conflict with King Ādityarāja<sup>129</sup>. »

These passages are mere reminders and imply that the conflicts mentioned between Ādityarāja and Lavo involved the Khmer empire, which may not be the case<sup>130</sup>. The point will not be developed here, but we will instead examine the problems that the hypothesis raises for the corrected chronology, some of which having already been alluded to : Ādityarāja cannot have been a contemporary of Sūryavarman II (r. 1113-probably after 1150<sup>131</sup>) if he came to power only in 1150 as Cœdès' corrected chronology implies ; the *Jinaklam* attributes him no conflict with Lavo but

<sup>128</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1962. p. 99 ; English version, *op. cit.* 1967. p. 101.

<sup>129</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1968. pp. 194-195.

<sup>130</sup>Vickery, *op. cit.* 2000. p. 100.

<sup>131</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1968. p. 99 and 100 respectively.

attributes it to his predecessor Dittarāja that Coëdès merges into Indityarāja's own<sup>132</sup>; if Indityarāja came to power in 1150, had a very long reign and was followed by several successors before the advent of Sabbāhisiddhi, the latter cannot have been reigning in the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century; if he was indeed reigning at that time, it is difficult for him to have a score of successors before the seizure of Haripunjaya at the end of the same century by Mangray.

Possibly as a consequence of these inconsistencies, the chronology was one more time corrected as it appears in the 1964 edition, in a passage referring to another conflict between Lavo and Haripunjaya:

« We have some indication of the battles in the west [of Cambodia in the 1150's] in the chronicles of the Thai principalities of the upper Menam. These chronicles tell of struggles between the Kambojas of Lavo (Lopburi) and the Ramaññas (Mons) of Haripunjaya (Lamphun). Haripunjaya was the upper Menam principality, founded in the seventh century by the Mons from Lavo, that had been involved in the troubles marking the accession of Sūriyavarman I. Since Lavo had been part of the Khmer kingdom from the preceding century, we must understand the "King of Lavo" to have been either a Cambodian viceroy or governor or the Cambodian sovereign himself. The chronicles, moreover, put a certain number of expressions that are pure Khmer into the mouths of the Kambojas of Lavo. The wars were provoked, according to these texts by Indityarāja (...), who came to power at the latest around 1150 after a series of kings whose histories we do not know<sup>133</sup> », with the following comment: « Given the unreliability of the chronology, it is not certain that these events all took place during the reign of Sūriyavarman II<sup>134</sup>. »

<sup>132</sup>Coëdès, *op. cit.* 1925. p. 82.

<sup>133</sup>Coëdès, *op. cit.* 1964. p. 295. 1968. p. 161.

<sup>134</sup>Coëdès, *op. cit.* 1964, p. 296. 1968. p. 161.

Let us first note that Cœdès strongly emphasizes that the Kambojas of Lavo are Khmer, implying that he eventually had some doubts about it. Secondly, in this passage, Cœdès allows Śārdityarāja's reign to start "at the latest around 1150", making it possible for him to be a contemporary of Śāriyavarman II. However, Cœdès more or less places the latter king in the background in the events related, stating that not all of them may have happened during his reign. In other words, the chronology of Haripunjaya is slightly modified again so as to fit the chronology of a Khmer king, who may after all have never been involved in the events. Then, if Śārdityarāja was indeed a contemporary to Śāriyavarman II and had the conflict with him which is documented, he had to have acceded the Haripunjaya throne long before 1150 so as to allow him to have the time for the three expeditions against Lavo described in detail in the *Cāmadēvāvaśa*, not counting the various construction works that these expeditions entailed<sup>135</sup>.

To conclude this part, Cœdès gives the impression that he harboured some doubts about his corrected chronology, or about the veracity of the testimony of the texts he studied. He gives them secondary importance, though they figure among the very few accounts on the region at that period, he marginally calls upon them in footnotes accompanying them with further hypotheses as if they were not reliable enough in themselves, and he casts some doubts on the accuracy of their chronology and even on the very events they report. In any case, the various amendements that he hinted at concerning his corrected chronology all show the same tendency, namely to suppress the proposed correction and renounce the hypothesis that he painfully wrought out, and start everything anew, something he never did. On the contrary, the evaluation of the age of the inscriptions remains nearly the only certainty concerning this chapter of history throughout his various writings.

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<sup>135</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1925. p. 162.

## Epilogue.

One must recognize that there are no new consequent data related to the question since Cœdès' article in 1925 : the author mentioned seven inscriptions found in Lamphun<sup>136</sup>, and an inventory made in 1979 gave the same number<sup>137</sup>. However a complement added later and published in the same volume mentions two other inscriptions written in Pali and old Mon characters similar to those found in the Wat Kukut inscription, and there is yet another one which was found in Chiang Mai<sup>138</sup>. They contain no date and are rather uninformative from a historical point of view, except that one mentions a king called Dhammamikar□j□, whom we can identify with Dhammikar□ja reported in the *Jinak□lam□l□* as reigning 5 years, immediately after □dityar□ja, thus from 1127 to 1132 A.D. according to this chronology, and Dhammakar□ja according to Notton, who is consistent with the *Jinak□lam□l□*, apart from the fact that it gives no date but simply the same length of reign of 5 years. The new data come to confirm, in a way, the reliability of the chronicles but give no clue on how to interpret their contradictions and inconsistencies concerning the chronology.

More interesting, a new reading of the inscriptions revealed that some written characters in one of the inscriptions that Halliday, and probably Cœdès before him, though he never published the text, took for letters, may be figures, and may be interpreted as expressing a year digit. The text reads : “8 2 6 thousand<sup>139</sup>”. It was suggested to read from right to left, as was not uncommon in Cambodia, and the year would thus be 1628 in the Buddhist era, that is 1085 A.D.<sup>140</sup>. This reading rather agrees with the dating which

<sup>136</sup>Cœdès, *op. cit.* 1925. p. 189.

<sup>137</sup>Khongdet, *op. cit.* 1979. p. 7.

<sup>138</sup>A.B. Griswold and Prasert Na Nagara, *op. cit.* 1971.

<sup>139</sup>Khongdet, *op. cit.* 1979. p. 25. Inscription de B□nL□i.จารึกบ้านหลวย ล พ ๖.

<sup>140</sup>*Ibid.* The method of writing figures from right to left is attested, though at earlier periods, in India and Southeast Asia. See, G. Bühler, "Ancient Indian Numerals" *Indische Palæographie*. 1896. English version by the author, 1904. Reprinted in Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, *Studies in the History of Science in India*. New Dehli. 1992. Vol. II, p. 736.

may be inferred from the paleographic arguments and with some versions of the chronicles, though it raises a few problems as it is the same year, or nearly the same, as Kyanziththa acceded the throne of Pagan. However, Prasert Na Nagara, after a new reading of the text, suggested that the passage should be read differently, with the figures from left to right, meaning that they indicate the number of years elapsed after one thousand<sup>141</sup>. That would thus give 1826, that is a date in the Buddhist era equivalent to 1283 A.D. However, Prasert's comment, as it is published, is rather puzzling, since it both confirms and contradicts the first reading. The comment reads as follows : « I believe that the three figures are correctly read, but I suggest changing the reading for B.E. 1726, because it means 726 were elapsed after one thousand<sup>142</sup>. » Thus on the one hand, the reading is confirmed as correct but on the other hand, one figure is corrected, 8 becoming 7, with no idea who to believe. The suggested date is equivalent to 1183 A.D., which would be more in accordance with Cœdès' chronology. Again, though for different reasons, we are confronted with a double chronology, not to say triple, one agreeing with the *Yonnok Chronicles* and the other one with Cœdès, with no idea who to believe.



It must have been a very stirring moment for Cœdès to wring out of legend ancient Mon kings and make of them men of flesh and blood, and to read some of their own words. It must have certainly been very stirring for him as well, to understand the dates that they had inscribed, though they were somewhat cryptic, and consequently to establish a scientifically credible evaluation of their reigning epoch, so as to inscribe them definitively out of legend into history.

Unfortunately, quite a few points in Cœdès' line of argument induce us to consider that his interpretation is unfounded and that

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<sup>141</sup>*Ibid*, note 1.

<sup>142</sup>*Ibid*.

the legend is more accurate concerning chronology. The problem is that we now have to choose one version among the different ones, with no clue on how to do so, and then ironically the *Yonnok Chronicles* that Cœdès considered unreliable stand out as quite credible.

Ironically too, Cœdès, or rather his followers and commentators, unwillingly created another type of legend out of his interpretation. It is still considered as a reference but is nearly never referred to directly, probably because the text is in French, it has never been translated and is not easily accessible. Generally, at least in Thailand, where the studies of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya are continued, it is hidden behind Halliday's texts either in the English version, which rarely quotes its sources (the very text of the inscriptions), or the Thai translation of the French version, which does not quote its sources (Halliday's references, Cœdès' text and Blagden's comments), these two versions being occasionally confused as one and the same text. As a consequence, Cœdès' original founding text has become for many a forgotten source which has to be reconstructed through second-hand accounts which contradict each other.

Though to a lesser extent, we find ourselves in the same situation as older times chroniclers who had in their hands somewhat accurate documents but the original source of which had sometimes disappeared, transmitted possibly with corrections and had to be interpreted, or even corrected, to be acceptable, hence the different contradictory versions.