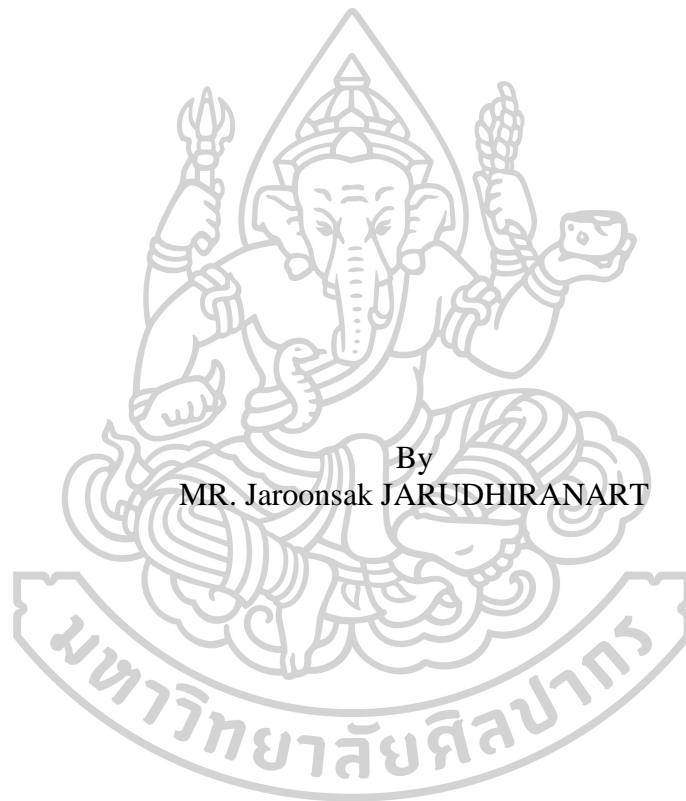




THE INTERPRETATION OF SI SATCHANALAI

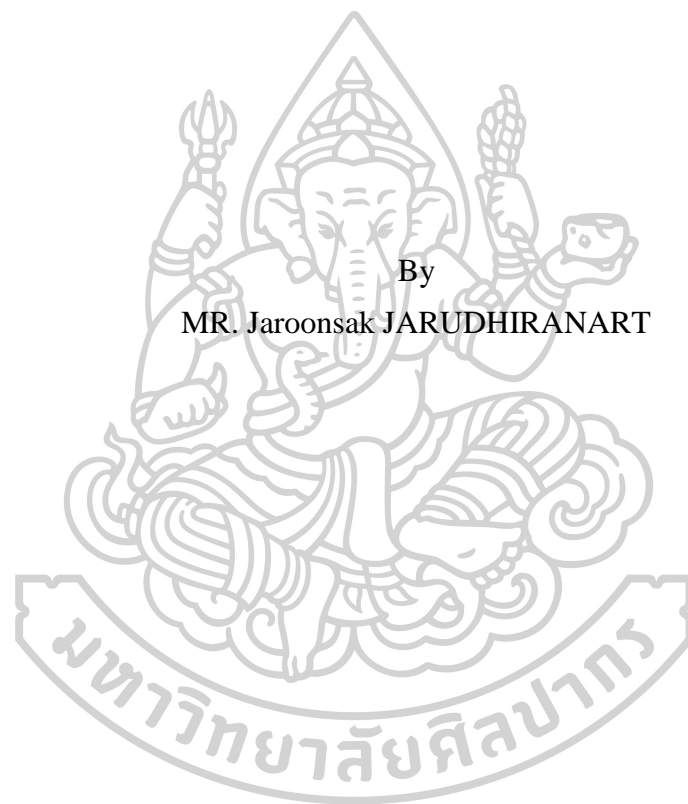


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# THE INTERPRETATION OF SI SATCHANALAI



By  
MR. Jaroonsak JARUDHIRANART

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Title	THE INTERPRETATION OF SI SATCHANALAI
By	Jaroonsak JARUDHIRANART
Field of Study	(Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism)
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Advisor	Supot Chittasutthiyan

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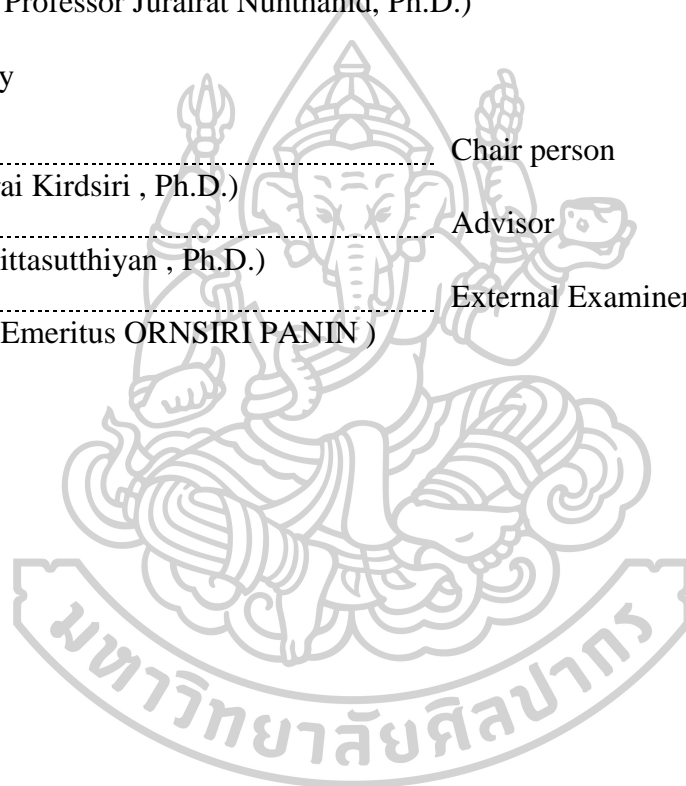
..... Dean of graduate school  
(Associate Professor Jurairat Nunthanid, Ph.D.)

Approved by

..... Chair person  
( Kreangkrai Kirdsiri , Ph.D.)

..... Advisor  
( Supot Chittasutthiyan , Ph.D.)

..... External Examiner  
(Professor Emeritus ORNSIRI PANIN )



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Si Satchanalai is an old city located in the upper central region along Yom River. There are community settlements evident at least from 9<sup>th</sup> century BE. In the early Sukhothai Period, Si Satchanalai was prosperous in various aspects including political, economic, physical, social, religious and cultural, as a regency sharing culture with the state of Sukhothai, especially in the prosperity of the arts and architecture in Buddhism that raised to the highest level and became a Thailand Classic art era. In addition, in the early Ayutthaya period Sri Satchanalai produced ceramic wares that could be huge export revenue in the 21<sup>st</sup> century BE. In present time, Sri Satchanalai is a World Heritage Site along with Kamphaeng Phet and Sukhothai since 2534 BE, as Sukhothai's associated city. It consists of cultural heritage including the community, its architecture and the ancient city. The fine arts and architecture at that time reached its highest point, considered the Classical Age of the arts of Thailand. It also consists rich evidence of the prospering of Buddhism in the Sukhothai period. There are ceramic wares, kilns and associated cultural landscape of Sri Satchanalai showing the inter-relationship of tangible and intangible heritage of the time. In conclusion, Sri Satchanalai possess high historical, scientific, aesthetic, and social value. This research is the study of current interpretation at selected information center of Si Satchanalai. The finding is that Si Satchanalai interpretation are most interpreted for visitors at the Information Center. While at the other 3 museums; Wat Chom Chuen archeological site museum interpretation focuses in evidence and information of the archaeological excavation, Site Museum Center for Study and Preservation of Sangkhalok Kiln (site number 61) and Center for Study and Preservation of Si Satchanalai Kilns Project (Phase 2) (On-Site Museum for kilns 42 and 123) interpretation focus on 4 source that is exhibited as media in interpretation. The study also found that the most effective technique for interpretation is from the speaker. Si Satchanalai Historical Park should use knowledge management to train new speaker for the site and should develop information technology interpretation using the internet system from smart phone to effectively interpret Si Satchanalai.

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## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

#### 1.1 Statement and Significance of the Problem

Si Satchanalai is an old city located in the upper central region along Yom River. There is evidence showing the habitat of human from the new Stone Age. There are community settlements evident at least from 9<sup>th</sup> century BE. It is therefore one of the oldest community settlements along the Yom River banks. There is historical evidence to show that Si Satchanalai was the most important center of the Ping-Yom-Nan lower Basin in the period from the 16<sup>th</sup> to late 18<sup>th</sup> century BE. (Vinai: 1991) Based on the academic progress and academic results of the relevant disciplines, the history of Si Satchanalai city is very relevant to the history of Southeast Asia (in terms of physical, economic, political, and social aspects). (Niti: 2008) Si Satchanalai is located on the land transport route of the region so it was associated with the trade routes and the large migration of people who speak Tai-Lao (the language which originated from Guangxi in China (Suwattana: 2014), from the upper Mekong River Basin to the north of Thailand, the upper Central region of Thailand, down to the lower Central region, thence to the Southern parts of Thailand (Sujit: 2014). And, it is associated with the political changes, both locally and regionally. It is the time when the old kingdoms of Bagan, Khmer and Si Vichaya collapsed, which is related to subsequent events such as the rise of the power of the people who speak Tai-Lao language in the late 18<sup>th</sup> BE to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century BE; these people (who speak a Tai-Lao language) came to power to established the Lanna state (1839 BE) in the northern region, Sukhothai (1792 BE) and Ayutthaya (1893 BE) in the central region (Sujit: 2005), and Phetchaburi and Nakhon Si Thammarat in the south. It was also the time of significant religious changes. Myanmar, Thailand, and Cambodia turned to Sri Lanka Dheravada Buddhism at the same time that Prakrompahu The Great, king of Lanka, flourished with Buddhism in Sri Lanka contributing to its prosperity (Pipat: 2014). Historical events show the interrelatedness of this period. There is still evidence that has persisted up until the present in Thai

culture, such as in language, speech accents of each local community region, also literature, legends, poems, music, religion, beliefs, food etc.

Si Satchanalai was very important in the founding of Sukhothai and the establishment of the Sukhothai State in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century BE. It has the status of being a twin capital, according to the Sukhothai stone inscription, where the word "Si Satchanalai-Sukhothai" appears (in the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, 46<sup>th</sup>, 285<sup>th</sup> pillar of the Sukhothai inscription) Later, in the early Sukhothai Period, Si Satchanalai was prosperous in various aspects including political, economic, physical, social, religious and cultural, as a regency sharing culture with the state of Sukhothai, especially in the prosperity of the arts and architecture in Buddhism that raised to the highest level and became a Thailand Classic art era. In addition, in the early Ayutthaya period Si Satchanalai produced ceramic wares that could be exported to Indonesia, China, Philippines, and Japan, which could thereby generate huge export revenue in the 21<sup>st</sup> century BE. (Sayan: 1993)

Si Satchanalai is a town that was ruled by Phaya Lithai from 1883-1890 BE. He was the first dynast to initiate a policy by using Srilankan Dheravada Buddhism to strengthen his stability and expansion of power in both politics and government administration. This strategy was later used again in Sukhothai when Phaya Lithai succeeded to the throne there in 1890 BE. Although Sukhothai subsequently lost its status of being a center of political power to the Kingdom of Ayutthaya, nevertheless the flourishing of Buddhism, the fine arts and architecture at that time reached its highest point, setting a foundation for Thai culture that has persisted up until the present.

In the reign of Phaya Lithai, Si Satchanalai was a very important city in terms of religion, architecture, art, and politics. There is evidence that he had created an image of Dhammaraja by making Sukhothai a center of Sri Lanka Dheravada Buddhism which was one his strategies in using religion as a tool to enhance his credit and legitimacy in order to reign in Sukhothai while expanding his political power towards the lands outside the territory of Sukhothai (Piset, 1995: 46-60). Sukhothai received

important roles, becoming a major center and capital city due to various factors that were consistent with the development of the city and community.

Firstly, Si Satchanalai has a pleasant environment and ample resources which are strategically perfect<sup>1</sup> for the settlement of human habitation. Especially, it was located on a prime location situated on historic transportation and trade routes. There are Chinese documents that suggest Sukhothai to be the most important trade city (in that region) in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century BE.

In terms of economy and political aspects before Sukhothai became a “Raja-dhani”<sup>2</sup> (royal capital), Prof. Dr. Prasert Na Nakorn, has a presumption that Chaliang or Si Satchanalai must have been a capital before the period of Sukhothai<sup>3</sup>. In the first phase of Sukhothai, Si Satchanalai had significance equivalent to Sukhothai, evidence

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<sup>1</sup>Prof. Thiwa Supachanya has stated in the Revision Committee of Thai History, The Office of the Prime Minister, about the importance of the mountainous areas that encircle the entire area to the west of Si Satchanalai and the Yom River in the east, which served as a bulwark for the city. He also stated that “in terms of city settlement, this is the best spot in Thailand” due to its unique geographical landscape characteristics along the northwest and the west. There were some traces of ditches that were not used for water storing purposes but to make some kind of fortification or fortress. This characteristic was also clearly shown in the district of Lanna where it was built to block mountain passes (Vinai, 1989: 46-47).

<sup>2</sup>From the chronicle recorded by ChaoJu-kua, who wrote the book of Zhu Fan Zhi in 1768 BE, Professor Vinai Phongsiphian has made an analysis saying that the term “*Xian Luo*” was used to refer to “*Sawankhalok*”, the other name of Si Satchanalai, and since *ChauJu-Kua* was the inspector of foreign trades for Fujian Province, most of the records written by him must be mainly related to trade issues. It was believed that Si Satchanalai must have been “*the most important centre of trade, economy and politics*” among all (in this region) in 18<sup>th</sup> century BE before Sukhothai became a *Raja-dhani* (Vinai, 1989: 31-32).

<sup>3</sup>Professor Dr. *Prasert Na Nakhon* has stated in the *Revision Committee of Thai History, The Office of Prime Minister*, that on the 9<sup>th</sup> December 1990 HRH Princess Sirindhorn asked him why the capital was moved from *Si Satchanalai* to *Sukhothai*, to which he answered that it is not considered as “*moving*” but it is an issue of “*change in dynasty*”. The Sri Naonamthum Dynasty had Chaliang or Si Satchanalai as a capital while Sukhothai which was ruled by the Phra-Ruang Dynasty was slightly smaller in size at that time. But later, the Phra-Ruang Dynasty held more power, so the capital was changed to Sukhothai. The changing of capital city was related neither to geographical significances nor strategic locations. It was just a matter of who had the most power at that time (Vinai, 1989: 76-77).

of which is shown on the Sukhothai Stone Inscription that states the name of “Si Satchanalai - Sukhothai”. Moreover, Si Satchanalai is also the largest source of earthenware in that era, and widely recognized as an important source of income, especially in the Ayudhya era, when many ceramics from Si Satchanalai were exported to countries such as the Philippines, Indonesia, Japan and also to Middle East countries, which brought great prosperity to Ayudhya in the 20<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup> centuries BE (Kritsada, 1992: 145).

This thriving culture of Si Satchanalai has left its mark in many historical traces. These are cultural vestiges with “values” in historical, academic, social, and aesthetic aspects. Especially its aesthetic significance and the unique characteristics of the ancient remains and artifacts demonstrate the flourishing of Buddhism in Sukhothai where its cultural contents and forms blended so that it was honored as a World Cultural Heritage Site. By its joining with Sukhothai and Kamphaeng Phet in 2534 BE, Si Satchanalai has gained public attention from wider society, which has resulted in the enhancement of their interpretation. By being considered as one of the World Cultural Heritage Sites, this has added more significance to the culture of Si Satchanalai.

Si Satchanalai presents a unique task of interpretation through different cultural heritages via its own traces of historical evidence as mentioned above. Unfortunately, it was not simple for the wider community to realize and understand the importance of the cultural heritage of Si Satchanalai, and accordingly the interpretation of the site’s significance must be both developed and communicated in order for the general public to understand its continuing relevance in the present day.

In present time, Si Satchanalai ancient city is an important cultural heritage and a major cultural tourism attraction. It is known worldwide because it has been registered as a World Heritage Site along with Kamphaeng Phet and Sukhothai since 2534 BE, as Sukhothai’s associated city. It consists of cultural heritage including the community, its architecture and the ancient city. The fine arts and architecture at that time reached its highest point, considered the Classical Age of the arts of Thailand. It also consists rich evidence of the prospering of Buddhism in the Sukhothai period.

There are ceramic wares, kilns and associated cultural landscape of Si Satchanalai showing the inter-relationship of tangible and intangible heritage of the time. In conclusion, Si Satchanalai possess high historical, scientific, aesthetic, and social value.

In the present day, there have been many research projects, in-depth analyses and modern interpretations that are more compatible with the historical evidence and which have altered our previous understanding of Sukhothai's culture and history. The author sees that it would be very useful if we could use these studies in order to deconstruct Si Satchanalai's way of life and develop cultural perspectives that can be more consistent with new discoveries which would advance academic discourse and interpretation of Si Satchanalai in the future.

This research will comprise a study of Si Satchanalai interpretation from various historical evidence and will gather results from various relevant subjects and then synthesize, analyze, and link that information together under the concept that Si Satchanalai was related to the wider history of South-east Asia which is in turn related to physical, social, economic, and political-historical contexts. The study aims to understand the historical value, scientific value, aesthetic value, and social values as well as the significance and identity of Si Satchanalai city.

**1.2. Research Question** The guiding question for the project is: how can the interpretation of Si Satchanalai be used to encourage wide perception and recognition of the historical value, scientific value, aesthetic value, and social value, thereby to lead to deeper knowledge of Si Satchanalai's significance and understanding of its identity?

There is a further, more elusive question that underlies this first question: to what extent can we reconstruct the people's beliefs, cultural practices and "ways of living", acknowledging also that such ways would have evolved and changed over the centuries of the city's history? How might this assist in an interpretation of Si Satchanalai in the present time?

### **1.3 Goals and Objectives**

- 1) Study the effectiveness of interpretation in Si Satchanalai in information center and cultural heritage site
- 2) Give suggestion to improve Si Satchanalai interpretation

### **1.4 Scope of the Study**

- 1) The area of the study will be Si Satchanalai city and its cultural landscape.
- 2) The study will mostly be limited to the history of Si Satchanalai and relevant physical, political, economic and social historical contexts at both the local and the regional levels of South-east Asia.
- 3) The focus of the study is on the relationship between cultural heritage and the history of Si Satchanalai, especially the relationship that relates to the interpretation of Si Satchanalai.

### **1.5 Research Methodology**

This is a qualitative study that has its foundation in the understanding that the physical evidence, such as the physical environment, geography, geology, built environment and historic sites as well as the archaeological evidence, are to be treated principally as a basis that underpinned and now reflects the culture, beliefs, ways of life and prosperity of the Si Satchanalai city in the past.

Therefore the study will analyze issues such as historical development, social, religious, and cultural patterns, the influence of beliefs and architectural styles, physical environment, and city pattern. The study will also explore the relationships between the physical and social environment. All the information will then be used to reconstruct a virtual Si Satchanalai interpretation.



## **1.6 Process of the Study**

1) Previous studies will be reviewed to acknowledge the theories and issues related to the present project that are variously agreed and debated, as well as the discourse in which those theories and debates arise.

2) The history and development of the community will be studied from the primary data such as inscriptions, derivations, legends, tales and journals (such as the journals of travelers from China), where available.

3) Field information will be sought and analysed by using maps along with direct observation of the structures and present traces, as well as the form and scale of the historical site and its buildings.

4) There are field surveys and field analyzes of various cultural landscapes and the study of physical conditions. This component of the study also includes comparison of recent findings relating to the tradition forms recorded in the historical evidence.

5) The evidence from Si Satchanalai will be compared with that from other cities to which one can assume it to have been related.

6) Data will be analysed that relate to historical and community development, social, religious and cultural patterns, together with influences related to beliefs and architectural patterns, the physical environment, city pattern, and architectural forms.

7) The results will be used to understand the origin of the architectural forms and their development as well as relationships to other factors in the history such as politics, society, economy, and physical development.

8) The physical and social information will be linked together to be used to reconstruct a virtual Si Satchanalai interpretation.

9) Conclusions will be drawn from the overall study.

## **1.7 Presentation Form**

The project is presented as a physical, hard-copy dissertation, also as an i-thesis in the Silpakorn University system. The i-thesis format can be presented in projection form.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Literature Review**

Due to periodic gaps in Thai history between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE, the interpretation of Si Satchanalai in guidebooks and Si Satchanalai Historical Park is more or less incomplete. The missing parts include the origins of the Thai-Lao people who, during the period, migrated from the Mekong basin to the northern, central, and even as far as the southern regions of Thailand. The migration is recorded in chronicles, legends, and folklores – the kind of evidence, in spite of its being contributed by the people in that particular period of time, is often neglected by historians. In the larger scale, the ups and downs of Thailand during the period were also related to and inevitably a part of the history of Southeast Asia, with the effects of major changes echoing throughout the region, from such as the decline of main states like Pagan, Angkor, and Sriwijaya in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century BE; the expansion of trade in the ancient world; the epidemics of plague; the schism between Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism in the region; the formation of states governed by the speakers of Thai-Lao language; to the coming of Theravada Buddhism from Lanka. Thus, it is necessary to explore the literature of studies and evidence regarding the history of the region, most of which are ancient Chinese scripts, Lanka scripts, and records within the region. The focal point of this study is that the representation of Si Satchanalai's history and development should be thorough and consistent, from the first human settlement to the fall of Si Satchanalai. The literature review will include diverse sources.

#### **2.1 Chinese Documents**

Due to the fact that the History of Si Satchanalai is partially related to Southeast Asian history more broadly, in order to understand shared environmental factors in political, economic and socio-historical contexts of this region which shaped their ideas and religious beliefs<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> such as spiritual beliefs, supernatural, merit, Devha Raja, Dharma Raja, circular or circular death, and cosmology

, it is undoubtedly necessary to study Southeast Asian history from ancient Chinese manuscripts since China played a big role both in commercial and diplomatic relations in the Southeast Asia region since 6<sup>th</sup> -7<sup>th</sup> centuries BE. There are numbers of records about important events, governmental information and neighboring kingdoms' details such as location, territory, physical traits, transportation, resources, economy, trade, politics, religion and culture which are significantly crucial.

The following studies of ancient Chinese material is mostly based on Chinese to Thai translation of scholars and linguistic professionals such as Duan Li Xeng and Prof. Praprut who have translated these Chinese documents that are related to Thai history. From the studies of Prof. Kachorn Sukphanich about the Archives of Yuán Dynasty-Reconsideration, along with the Chinese translations of Prof. Praput Sukholrattanamedhi in the seminar of Thai Historical Review Committee and also in Prof. Vinai Pongsipian's studies about Si Satchanalai, there are flaws in Thai History: there might be a connection between these Chinese documents and related archaeological evidence in order to potentially understand and interpret these texts.

During the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BE, there was recorded in the chronicles of the Han Dynasty the brief coordinates and names of various kingdoms, transportation and trade routes between China and India at that time. Since this document has recorded the journey of the Han's Royal Ambassador during the years of 543 BE and 548 BE, it has explained about the trail starting from GuangDong via ship, through Vietnam, entering into The Gulf Of Thailand then to walk through the Ko Kod Kra (the narrowest strait in Prachuab Kirikhan province) then to cut by pass through Burma to India. There are records of the kingdom names and their journey durations when traveling from one to another. One of the three kingdoms that was mentioned is most likely to be one of the states in the present Kingdom of Thailand.

1) Funan (6<sup>th</sup> -11<sup>th</sup> centuries BE). The state of Funan was located in the southern region where there is Vietnam and Cambodia in the present day. From the records of Xu Ing and KangTai who were the Royal Ambassadors from the Wu Kingdom during the tripartite division, of the Three Kingdoms in Southeast Asia in the year around 773 BE, Xu Ing recorded the story of "valuable resources" in Funan

after his journey while Kang Tai wrote the book called “Foreign Kingdoms in the Reign of Wu”. These two books have already disappeared but there are duplicated written copies such as “Tso-ssu” called “Xan Du Fu” (written approximately around 8<sup>th</sup> century BE; the first version of chronicles from Kang Tai’s Journal). The book was called “Tai Ping Yi Lan” and “The Royal Chronicles of Liang Shu”. It was stated that Funan was ruled by King Hun-Tien and later succeeded by his son, Hun Pan Huang. But then after Pan-pan, Hua Pan Huang’s son succeeded the throne and reigned for 3 years; however, he unfortunately gave the authority to the military leader, Fan-Shi-Man. After the death of Pan-pan, Fan-Shi-Man succeeded the throne. He led his army to conquer nearby kingdoms until he was known as “The Great King of Fu-nan”. The Great King of Fu-nan ordered his people to make a ship and led his army across the ShangHai Sea (The Gulf of Thailand) to conquer 10 various nations located in the southern region of Thailand such as Chu-tu-kun (or Takkola), Chiu-chih or Chu-li (or Kedah) and Tien-sun (Yarang in Pattani). The king of Funan expanded his territory up until 5,000 Li (1 Li = 576 Meter). While he also wanted to conquer Chin Lin but unfortunately he was ill before that, so he sent his descendant, Gim Sae, to succeed in this duty. However, M.C. Chanchirayu Ratchani believes that King Fan Shi Man was deceased before he could lead his army to defeat Chin Lin (M.C. Chanchirayu: 1999, p.17).

From other historical and archaeological evidence, it was found that Angkor Borei (in the southern part of present Cambodia) was the capital of Funan. There is also evidence of community establishment since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BE which later developed into a city in the 6<sup>th</sup> - 11<sup>th</sup> centuries BE. The area had a territory of 2.7 square-kilometers that shared the canal and irrigation system with Oc-`eo which is a port city. (There are plenty of foreign antiques and artifacts found in this area.) The ruling class adopted the religious belief of Saivism while the common peasants believe in Vaishnavism. There were only a few who believe in Buddhism tenets from stone inscription of Vo-canh (Vo-canh, 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries BE) which is the longest and the oldest ancient inscription in Southeast Asia that shows the emphasis of the female figure (Matriarchy) which is deep-rooted in the culture of Southeast Asia that was based on agriculture and fertility, while the Indians believed more in the power of

men (Patriarchy), demonstrated in architectural evidence. Thus, it was believed that the architecture of the era was made of wood.

2) Chin Lin A Chinese document “Tai Ping Yi Lan” stated that

*“Chin Lin has another name called "Chin Chen". It is approximately 2,000 Li away from Funan. The kingdom is silver resource. The people usually hunt for elephants and use them as a vehicle. After its death, they would take the tusks”.*

And in the royal chronicles of “Liang Xu”, it was recorded that Fan-Shi-Man, the great king of Funan, led his army to take over Chin Lin Kingdom. It was believed by scholars that the stronger nation, Funan, has defeated Chin Lin. Prof. J.L. Moens claimed according to the Chinese documents that the Malay Peninsula was divided into 2 parts, the southern part was called “Dian Zun” while the upper part was called “Chin-lin” or “Chin-Chen” The silver retrieved from this region was mainly aimed for export purpose in China. He hypothesized that Chin Lin must be located on the upper part of this Malaya Peninsula. (J.L. Moens: 1939, p 50)<sup>5</sup> But as for Prof. Paul Wheatley, he believes that Chin Lin was located on the edge of Bangkok Bight or the northern plain in the central region of Thailand (Paul Wheatley: 1961)<sup>6</sup> Prof. Jean Boisselier found that artifacts and ancient accessories have the similar trait. He hypothesized that Funan expanded its territory to U-Thong which was believed to be Chin-Lin and the capital of Suvarnabhumi (Jean Boisselier: 1966/2509), which makes many Thai scholars believed that Chin-Lin is U-Thong and the centre of Suvarnabhumi that was mentioned in *The Book of The Great Chronicles of Lanka or Chryse* which literally means “the land of gold” according to the records of Greeks and Romans However, Prof. Phasuk Intrawut disagreed with this statement. Since both U-thong and Funan are port cities, the artifacts found in this area shall share the same traits. She believed that Funan is a state that has its boundary only from the southern part of Vietnam extended to Cambodia. There might have been some time that Funan tried to conduct wars with nearby kingdoms or countries located on the

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<sup>5</sup> Moens, J.L. *Srivijaya Yava En Kataha*, JMBRAS, 1939.

<sup>6</sup> Wheatley, Paul. *The Golden Khersonese*. Kuala Lumpur. University of Malaya press, 1961.

Malay Peninsula. But as for “*Suvarnabhumi*”, it means all land in the Southeast Asian region which is highly abundant and fertile

3) Champa (8<sup>th</sup> century BE – 2365 BE) Champa is located in the central part of Vietnam. There is historical evidence such as ancient tribal potteries from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BE found in this area. Champa was sacked by Funan then migrated into this area. Chinese archives firstly mentioned Champa in the beginning of 9<sup>th</sup> century BE and referred it as “Lin-Yi”. The kingdom was established in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BE having Vijaya as the main capital (Binh-Dinh in the present day). According to the ancient archives, Cham people were biologically related to the Malays. They were an ethnic group that shared similar language, religion and culture with Malaysia and Indonesia. The people of Cham were originally seafarers and traders that traveled through the ocean to sell goods in the Middle East and also with China. Most of the goods they traded were silk, scented wood and clay potteries. Due to the historical and archaeological evidence found in this area, Champa’s art and culture were seen as influenced by Indian culture since the 9<sup>th</sup> -10<sup>th</sup> centuries BE. There was a significant state named *Amarawadhi* which is exactly the same with one state from southeast India. The major religious belief in Champa was Saivism (there were only a few who believed in Vaishnavism). The only practice of Buddhism appeared once in the Dong Dueng Era (around 1450 BE) which was influenced from Java. Islam was later spread in 15<sup>th</sup> century BE and eventually became the main religion of the nation. As for religious architecture, they usually constructed a Pasata of bricks that consisted of 3 compartments called “*Kalan*”. After having consecutive fights with China and Vietnam, Champa had to relocate themselves to the lower part of the area little by little. Champa fought with Chenla or Angkor until they might be able to sack Angkor and burn the kingdom in 1720 BE. Unfortunately, Champa was defeated by Angkor and later became one of the colonies in the reign of Jayavarman VII (1724- 1761 BE). Champa was freed for a little while, then later sacked and became part of Vietnam after the fall of Vijaya in 2375 BE. This ended the war they had been fighting for almost 900 years.

4) Chenla/Angkor (12<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE). The Chinese documents in the era of the Sui Dynasty (1667-1704 B.E.) mentioned that Chenla was located on the west

of Lin Yi (Champa in the central area of Vietnam). Originally, Chenla was the colony of Funan but they were able to free themselves by defeating Vyadhapura, the capital of Funan, in the mid 12<sup>th</sup> century BE. From the studies of history and archaeology, it was later found that Prince Chitrasen (King Mahentaraworaman) (1143-1158 BE) of Chenla had conquered Funan and widely expanded its territory to the southern end of the Mun river basin and Mekong River basin (the eastern and northeastern area of Thailand and Laos in the present day). Later, Chenla had an internal conflict which separated Chenla into two parts; Chenla of the land (North Chenla) and Chenla of the sea (South Chenla). Chenla was later defeated by the army led by King Sanjaya of Java. It was later discovered in the stone inscriptions that King Jayavarman II (1345-1393 BE) left Java to reunite Chenla as one. He declared Chenla's Independence then established the Kingdom of Angkor. This kingdom later became significantly important to Si Satchanalai in the 16-18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE since the Chinese document has recorded the event when Chenla or Angkor expanded its power into the central area and the south of Thailand.

As for religion, Chenla or Angkor held Hinduism as their main religion. Stone castles were constructed abundantly. The sculpture in the early period before they had constructed their capital had similar characteristics with what was found in Pyu ancient cities in Burma and Dvaravati in the central area of Thailand since they were also influenced by Gupta Empire Art and Contemporary Indian Art. Chenla later developed their unique art characteristics which influenced Northeastern Thai and the Central area of Thailand. At the beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century BE, the influence shifted to Java arts since they fell under Java, under the authority of King Jayavarman VII (1724- 1761 BE) who believed in Mahayana Buddhism.

5) Dvaravati (11<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries BE) located in the central area of Thailand on the late of the 12<sup>th</sup> century BE. According to the Royal Chronicles of the Tang Dynasty, "Tang Xu", it is stated that the territory of Tolopoti or Tu He Lo (Dvaravati) covered the south of the Pan Pan Kingdom (Suratthani Province in Thailand). Its northern region connected to Chia Lo Xe Pho, the east connected to Chenla (Cambodia) and the west to the great ocean and that it would take 5 months duration to travel from Guangzhou. In 1181 BE, the king sent the tribute and again in 1192 BE

comprising gifts such as elephant tusks, fire pearls and asked for a good breed of horses. In the book written by Tu lu, “Dong Tian”, it was stated that the king and the noblemen lived in a house painted with colorful art, roofed with ceramic tiles within the city while the peasants roofed their houses with blady grass and lived on the outskirts. The majority of the people conducted agriculture and commercial trade for living, causing the kingdom to have 6 major markets. There is also evidence of silver coin usage in 13<sup>th</sup> century BE. This kingdom later began to lose its power and later was sacked by Chenla (Cambodia) in 16<sup>th</sup> BE (Tuon Li Seng and Prapuet: 1986, p.6).

Most scholars believe that Dvaravati had central capitals at U-thong, Suphan Buri Province and Muang Boran at Nakhon Pathom. However, Sujit Wongtade has cited from Chinese documents saying that the location of Dvaravati's Capital must have been in the state of Lavo. Right after Lavo had moved its capital down towards Ayutthaya, they still named the kingdom after its former kingdom as "*Krung Thep Dvaravati Sri Ayutthaya*". As for U-thong, it was a city located on the trade routes between the Gulf of Thailand and the Andaman Sea. It can be reached via land from Dawei, from Andaman port cities to water routes that connected with U-thong and the China Sea through the Gulf of Thailand. However, U-thong and Lavo are unlikely to have been the capital of Dvaravati according to what Prof. Srisak has pointed out. Although U-thong has long duration of its history, this does not mean that U-thong was the exact capital of Dheravada Buddhism and Dvaravati Art. The center was Nakhon Chaisi and ancient Nakornpatom, one of the biggest ancient capitals that has enormous religious architectural remains, also unique religious fine arts made by skillful craftsmen. It was hypothesized that Dvaravati later became one of the significant kingdoms replacing U-thong in the 12<sup>th</sup> -13<sup>th</sup> century BE then expanded its territory and formed Muang Kuu Bua in the Mae Klong River basin, Ratchaburi Province. (Srisak: 1991, p. 151)

6) Pan Pan In 12<sup>th</sup> century BE, the new edition of the Tang Dynasty Royal Chronicles mentioned about the state on the southern peninsula of Thailand that sent its ambassador to visit the Chinese Emperor in 1170-1192 BE with the following explanation:



“Pan Pan is located on the southern bay, the north is connected to Huan Uang (Cham or Champa). Its territory is connected to Lang Ya Xiu and can be reached through Zhiao Zhou Sea (Hanoi in Vietnam). It takes 40 days to travel. The king named "Yiang Xu Chi" stood on the grand podium. When visiting, all noblemen shall be forced to kneel before him. Commoners live along the waterfront, fencing their homes with stakes, sharpening their stones then use them as arrows. Monks and ascetics residing in the temple are well-disciplined. Monks eat animal flesh but do not drink liquor. The ascetics are poor so they do not consume both meat and liquor”

M.C. Chanchirayu Ratchani believed that Pan Pan is located at the ancient city in Muang Boran, Viang Sra, Surat Thani Province which is the same city that Greek geographer Claudius Ptolemy recorded in his book (Ptolemy's Geography) around 700 BE about “Konkonagara” (M.C. Chanchirayu: 1999, p. 10, 14) which correlated with the comment of Dhammadhat Panich. He explained that the Tapi River is the portal between the Gulf of Thailand and Baan Ao Luek in Krabi Province, on the Indian Ocean side. The route has been used for so long by ancient Indians and within this portal, there are Buddhist and Hindu artifacts from 1000-1200 BE. The estuary of the Tapi River is still being called “Pak Phan Kuu Ha” up until today. This evidence shows that Pan Pan used to be located at the mouth of the river, then later moved to the estuary close to Baan Pun Pin, Si Vijaya Mountain. (Tammatas: 2000, p. 30)

7) Shi Tu/She Tu/Shi To. It was hypothesized that this area was located at Songkla and Pattani Provinces in the southern region of Thailand, that is the Malay Peninsula. According to the Royal Chronicles of the Sui Dynasty called "Sui Zu", it was said that the kingdom was in the same era with the Pan Pan Kingdom. In 1150 BE, Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty had sent his ambassadors, Chang Zhin and Wang Zhin Zheng to Shi Tu. They traveled by ship from Guangzhou, Guangdong Province. It took them about a month to arrive upon which they were warmly welcomed. In 1153 BE, the Emperor later sent his son, Na Xia Jiah to pay a visit back in Hong Ning (Ningbo, or the Henan Province in the present day) which Emperor Yang also gave him a warm welcome and many tributes.

8) Si Vijaya (13<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE) In 15<sup>th</sup> century BE a document in the era of the Song Dynasty has mentioned about “Zan Pho Shi” or Si Vijaya in the book named Zhu Phan Zhi (Foreign Kingdoms Record) of Chao Yuu Kuo. It stated that Zan Pho Shi was located between Chenla (Cambodia) and Xe Pho (Java). Most scholars believe that Sivijaya had its center on Sumatra Island (Jambi or Palembang) because they could then be able to control the Malacca Strait and Sunda Strait. Nicholas Tarling stated that in the early of 10<sup>th</sup> BE, there was a shift in trade routes, as people had shifted to trade via sea rather than on land, so they no longer had to pass through the Malay peninsula. This made this area become a major trade portal of the world since the Malacca Strait and Sunda Strait join the South China Sea and the Indian Sea<sup>7</sup>. The shift in trading occurred after the fall of Funan which is the main factor that caused Si Vijaya to be prosperous since the 13<sup>th</sup> century BE. Sivijaya expanded its political power to subdue the Malay peninsula up to the southern region of Thailand, then made another new capital at Chaiya-Nakhon Si Thammarat. The state of Si Vijaya finally took control of all trade routes both on land (Malay peninsula) and sea that were used between the Gulf of Thailand and the Andaman Sea. It became the major trade center that could collect many taxes since they had a good relationship both in commerce and diplomacy with China. Mahayana Buddhism flourished strongly in the time of Si Vijaya. The era of Si Vijaya ended when the Majapahit Kingdom of Western Java sacked the kingdom, becoming the prosperous kingdom in the sea routes and trade in 19<sup>th</sup> century BE before it had fallen in 20<sup>th</sup> century BE. Eventually, the sea trade routes in the Malay peninsula and Indonesian islands were taken control by Java before the Western Imperialism movement started from 21<sup>th</sup>-25<sup>th</sup> centuries BE. Portuguese conquered Malacca in 2053 BE, followed by Great Britain and France.

9) Si Satchanalai (16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE). In 1544 BE, Song Sue or the Song Dynasty History (1503-1822 BE) recorded an important event when ambassadors from Tan Mei Liu (Nakhon Si Thammarat) traveled to give royal tributes. In the book, it stated about transportation and the location coordinates from Tan Mei Liu to another 8 kingdoms in different directions. It significantly implied that Tang Mei Liu

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<sup>7</sup> Nicholas Tarling, *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia: From the Early Time to c.1800*, Vol.1 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 173-174.

is the center of transportation in this region. The record mentioned about "Cheng Liang" (literally meaning "Chaliang", the former name of Si Satchanalai) which is located in the north of Tang Mei Liu. Therefore, Si Satchanalai might have been located deep within the kingdom and must have been the most important area in 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries BE, when Sukhothai had not yet been established. It is highly significant that the Chinese have to record it as just like Lua Hu (Lavo) since it was established on the lower Chao Phraya River Basin.

In one archive named "Yin Lu Man Xao", written by Zhao Ian Wui, it has been recorded about the Song Dynasty that

“...Chenla Zan Pho Yianyian Tang Liu Mei Cipeng Luahu and Phukan have frankincense...”

Vinai Pongsipian, the committee of Historical Review, believes that Zan Pho is Si Satchanalai, Chenla is Angkor and Tang Liu Mei is Nakhon Si Thammarat and Lua Hu is Lavo. We can see that China has recorded about the frankincense which was among the most favoured goods in this region. Thus, Si Satchanalai is significant enough to be recorded along with these kingdoms.

- The record from 1733 BE, in the book "Ling Wai Dai Ta" written by Zhou Xi Fei, stated about Chenla that

“...The kingdoms close to the country (Chenla) are Wua Li, Cipeng and Zan Pho Mahlan Tang Liu mei and Ti La Tah and Chenla is the center of all.. ”

Considering the location of Angkor, Zan Pho and Tang Liu Mei, Zhou Xi Fei might have arranged the names of the kingdom accordingly from ones which are the closest to the western region of Angkor towards Xan Pho or Si Satchanalai, Mahlan then followed by Tang Liu Mei or Nakhon Si Thammarat. This shows that Si Satchanalai might be the most important state in the upper central area of Thailand in this era, Angkor had expanded its trade routes and its political power extended to northeastern, upper central and the southern regions of Thailand.

- The record in 1768 BE (around 14 yrs before the establishment of Sukhothsi in 1782 BE) in the Zhu Phan Zhi (written by Chau Ju-kua, a famous archivist in China, Guangdong) has recorded that

“...Tang Liu Mei, Po Xu Lahn, Lua Hu, Xan Luo, Chen Li Fu (Chenla), Mah Lah Jian, Yiang Yiang, Dun Li Fu, Phukan, Ak Li, Cipeng, Du Hui and Lin Fuan are all the colonies under this kingdom (Chenla)...”

Prof. Vinai has analysed Chau Ju- kua's writing that arranged the order from Tang Liu Mei (Nakhon Si Thammarat) towards the north to Lua Hu (Lavo) and also mentioned about Xan Luo (Si Satchanalai) Thus, he hypothesized that Xan Luo must be one of the major cities in trading in the 18<sup>th</sup> century BE. This archivist is supposed to be one of the well known scholars in Fuzhian Province who were responsible for market inspection (Vinai: 1989, p.32).

Although there were many mentions about Angkor's colonies, there was no evidence of war between Angkor and Si Satchanalai or Lavo at all. According to historical evidence and studies, Angkor had achieved its political power through familial duties just like the relationship between Angkor and Northeastern region of Thailand. There was also evidence found at Phnom Rung Ancient Castle saying that Narendratit is biologically related to King Suryavarman II and in the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE, Angkor had familial relationships with Lavo as stated in the chronicles through King Pathum Suryavong, which demonstrated the connection between Lavo's king and the Cambodian king (Srisak, 1991: p.179-183) or even that Nakhon Si Thammarat is also related to them by blood. As for Si Satchanalai, it appeared in the 2<sup>nd</sup> verse of Sukhothai's Stone Inscription that Khun Pha Muang, the son of Khun Sri Naonamthom, the King of Si Satchanalai-Sukhothai who was the son-in-law of the Angkor King and was given a royal dagger and a name "Kamorateng" as an honour.

Angkor's political power had spread from the center to the southern region of Thailand in the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE which is exactly the same time that China had shifted its trade route to trade with Southeast Asia without passing Tang Liu Mei (Nakhon Si Thammarat). The reason China decided to use this approach was because Tang Liu Mei had no power over port cities and other free states, while these free states had no sense of unity. Therefore, this was the chance that Angkor could take to be able to expand its political power and trade routes to replace Tang Mei Liu, by designating its authority through chosen family members from the area of Si Satchanalai to Nakhon Si Thammarat which had many transportation routes that can cut through the Malay peninsula in different ways without passing the Malacca Strait,

Sunda and the Indonesian Islands. This is evidenced in the Muang Singha Castle which is in Cambodian architectural style and located on the western end of the estuary of Ta-Jeen River-Uthong and Dawei which had been used as a trade portal between the Gulf of Thailand and the Andaman Sea since the 8<sup>th</sup> century BE.

- From 1964 BE there was a book called *Ing Ya Xe Lan* written by Mah Huan, the Chinese archivist who visited Ayutthaya in 1964 BE, stating that “From that country (Xian Luo) to the northwest for about 200 Li, there was a kingdom called Zang Sui which is connected to Yunnan from the back”; and in the book “The Foreign Kingdom Records of The Western Sea” of Gongzhen, it was recorded that “away from the kingdom to the northwest for almost 20 Li (since it was copied consecutively, some information might probably have been mistaken to read "20 Li") there was a province called Zang Sui which can be traveled to back door of Yunnan”.

Si Satchanalai gained much attention from Mah Huan because this transportation routes to Yunnan. From the 2<sup>nd</sup> verse of the Sukhothai Stone inscription at Sri Chum Temple, it was found that Si Satchanalai is connected to many trade routes such as the South China Sea, the Gulf of Martaban, Yunnan, Xingshuanbanna Dai, Lanna towards Lavo and the central Chao Phraya River Basin. The great migration of people who speak Thai-Lao from the Mekong River Basin to the central region of Thailand in the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE had to be made through this portal as well. Thus, Si Satchanalai was already well-known before the Sukhothai era but Mah Huan decided to record its story due to the significance in commercial aspects.

10) Sukhothai (18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries BE) located on the upper part of central Thailand

Prof. Kachorn Sukphanich has studied the Yuan Dynasty documents which are from the exact same era with the Sukhothai period and found two important issues

The first issue is that Phra Chenjin-aksorn had mistranslated the documents, and Sukhothai History that referred to this document is also wrong. Kublai Khan was going to attack Sukhothai but one nobleman suggested that he should use his diplomacy in the first step. According to the chronicles of the Yuan Dynasty Volume 18 about the imperial order of Kublai Khan (1803-1838 BE-1295): “August 18, 1837 BE: There was an Imperial order that the King of Hsien, Kan-muting, be summoned

and persuaded and that he come to Court or, should this prove difficult, that his sons and brother and vassal-retainers present themselves as security”. Later, in the 20<sup>th</sup> volume of the chronicles it is also mentioned: “July 7, 1843 BE... Twenty-two persons from Chao-wa, the country of Sien, and other places to Court. Clothing was bestowed on them and they were sent back.” Prof. Kachorn Sukphanich has pointed out that these two sayings did not state that King of Hsien had not shown up at all, but Phra Chenjin-aksorn (Sudjai) translated this and then submitted it to Rama V in 2452 BE. The first message means that King Huan Seng Zhong demanded to King Hsien that if they were going to be on friendly terms, one must send his son or his nobleman. The letter said that King Hsien asked to pay a visit. This first Thai translation was firstly published in 2456 BE then officially published again by Vajirayan Library in 2460 BE in the 5<sup>th</sup> Volume of Chronicles Series. Prof. Kachorn Sukphanich stated that the messages were misinterpreted, leading to the conclusion that King Ramkhamhaeng went to China, which then became mixed again with the story of Phra Ruang's journey to China. It was even more misinterpreted, that Phra Ruang is King Ramkhamhaeng who went to China and brought back craftsmen to mould Sangkhalok ceramic wares.

The second issue is that Kublai Khan was the one who sent his troops to defeat many countries. He conquered Europe and Russia for almost a century, sent his troops to attack Japan twice, Java once and the Pagan Kingdom (16<sup>th</sup> -18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE) in Burma in 1830 BE. He also had the thought to sack Sukhothai but the Chinese documents have no record of the time (approximately between 1822-1824 BE because he sent his ambassador to Sukhothai in 1825 BE named Heo Zeu Zi). There was evidence of war strategy planning to defeat Sukhothai, Lavo and two other named places including Sumatra Island, but a nobleman named "Chialunatashu" said that these small kingdoms are unimportant and not worth to send troops to conquer, therefore he should send his ambassador to convince these countries to surrender. Yolayenudiamia and ambassadors were dispatched to negotiate, to which 20 kingdoms agreed. Five years after Kublai Khan 's death, Sukhothai sent Phaya Loe Thai to visit the Emperor Nguan Seng Zhong in Beijing. The Emperor had ordered Hsien not harm the Malays and kept their promises. (Kachorn: 1971, p. 100-104)

The studies of E. Thadeus Flood and Prof. Kachorn Sukphanich show that China had expanded its power widely, including to Southeast Asia. It appears that China became the major factor both in politics and trade in Southeast Asia within this era. In the beginning, to the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century BE, China had forbidden their people to offend the Malays but shortly after, from the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century BE to the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century BE, Lavo and Ayutthaya expanded their powers extending from the Mekong River basin, to the northeastern region of Thailand, the Angkor Kingdom, Sukhothai, to the upper area of Malay peninsula. There is the possibility that China agreed with this since it was stated in the document that Ayutthaya had strong diplomatic relations with China. (see 1.11 Ayutthaya)

In the beginning of the Sukhothai period, the reign of King Ramkhamhaeng (Phraya Ramrat) Chen Ta Zhen has been recorded in the archives called Nan Hai Zhi in 1840 BE, to the effect that “Xian Guo rules Zang Sui Xu Gu Di”. It created a great controversy since it was believed that Xian or Siam means Sukhothai but according to this passage, Xian or Siam is not Zang Sui Xu Gu Di or Si Satchanalai-Sukhothai because the first one that was mentioned governs the latter (Tuon Li Seng and Prapuet: 1986, p. 11).

However, Prof. Vinai and The Committee of Historical Review believe that Xian or Siam is equal to Sukhothai that governs Zang Sui Xu Gui Di or Si Satchanalai. There are many reasons that supported this statement. The first issue is that although “Nan Hai” means Guangzhou which was the centre of trades in Southeast Asia, Chen Ta Zhen might have misunderstood some aspects since he lived far away. The second issue, according to the evidence found on the stone inscription, is that there was no kingdom that governed Sukhothai in King Ramkhamhaeng's era. Thirdly, the Book of Jinakalamali written by Phra Rattana Panya Dhera in 2059 BE, stated that the land starting from Nakhon Sawan is regarded as Siam. Fourthly, in Yuan Sue or Royal History Record of the Yuan Dynasty has precisely specified that the southern "Ba Bai Xi Fu" (Yonok Subdistrict, of the state of Chiang Rai which later moved its capital to Chiang Mai in 1839 BE) was connected to “Xian” or Si Satchanalai-Sukhothai. In Burmese and Mon understanding, Sukhothai is Siam because their chronicles recounted the event when Bayinnaung asked for the white

elephants from Maha Chakkrapat by saying that the King of Sukhothai had given King Wareru these elephants before (Vinai, 1989: p.32-36).

Chinese documents have mentioned Siam differently in terms of its location, where there is a high possibility that Siam is a network of independent states just like Prof. Srisak Wanlipodom has suggested, namely that Thailand is divided into two groups which are Lavo and Siam. Lavo or what Chinese called Lo Hu had its territory on the eastern side of the Chao Phraya River basin while having strong connections with Cambodia. As for Siam, they lived on the west of the Chao Phraya River basin and was a network of independent states that consisted of kingdoms in the western area of the Mekong River basin that had no official centralized government. However, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century BE, Nakhon Si Thammarat must have been the most important state of Siam due to its cultural influence received from India and Lanka which then later spread to the north and the south in this network of independent states (Srisak: 1991, p.181-191). Therefore, under this framework it can be summarized from the record of Chen Ta Zhen that Si Satchanalai was in the Siam group but not Lavo.

At the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century BE, Wang Da Yuan recorded in the book called “Dao Yi Chi Lie” (The Petit Record of Islanders) that Xian had brought its troops with almost 70 ships to defeat Tamasi (or Tamasak). They took one month to attack the kingdom but were not successful because the group of royal ambassadors to Java was traveling through the area at that time. The Xian knew about it then fled away but they did not forget to plunder Xi Li (Singapore) before they went back. After that, they had to surrender to Lavo in 1892 BE (Tuon Li Seng and Prapuet: 1986, p. 9). Xian or Siam meant Nakhon Si Thammarat which was definitely one of the independent states in the Siam group on the the Malay Peninsula. It is noticeably interesting that Nakhon Si Thammarat joined together with Lavo one year before the establishment of Ayutthaya in 1893 BE. 28 years later, Sukhothai had fallen under Ayutthaya but as for the Suphanbhumis state, it was believed that they might have joined with Lavo since before the Ayutthaya Period, before Krungsi Ayutthaya was founded (at least 26 years according to the age of a major Buddha Sculpture at Panan Cheng Temple). Moreover, Khun Luang Pangua, the King of Suphannabhumis was also the father-in-law of King U-thong, who later became the first king of Ayutthaya.



From analysing the record of Wang Da Yuan, we can understand more about the shift in politics between the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century BE till the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>, that Suphannabhumi that was located in the lower part of the Chao Phraya River Basin joined together with Lavo before the Ayutthaya Period. After Nakhon Si Thammarat had achieved power over the Malay peninsula and joined in 1892 BE, the Kingdom of Ayutthaya was established in the following year then 28 years later, Sukhothai finally became part of Ayutthaya Kingdom.

11) Ayutthaya was established in 1893 BE then fell in 2310 BE. The kingdom lived for 417 years which is in the time of the Yuan Dynasty (1893 BE - 1911 BE: 18 years), Ming Dynasty (1911 BE - 2187 BE: 276 years) and Qing Dynasty (2187 BE - 2310 BE: 123 years).

From the archives of the Ming Dynasty, the Ambassadors of the Ming Dynasty were sent to Ayutthaya 19 times while the ambassadors from Ayutthaya were dispatched to China 110 times.

The Royal Chronicles of the Ming Dynasty, arranged in the Qing Dynasty era by Zhang Ding Yi, mentioned about Ayutthaya that “*since Lavo has great power, they include Xian then called them Xian Lo Hu.*” This passage clarifies the political situation between Lavo, Suphanbhumi states and Nakhon Si Thammarat when forming the Kingdom of Ayutthaya.

It was also stated in the chronicles that in 1920 BE, Intharacha had visited China according to his father's order. The Emperor was satisfied so he gave him the royal emblem seal of Xian Lo then ordered his nobleman Wang Heng to prepare clothes, gifts, gold and travel expense for him because Intharacha was the prince of Suphanbhumi who stated that he came to pay a visit himself. In this era, China called the network of Suphanbhumi states as "Xian Lo Hu" at first, but then after Intharacha has succeeded to the throne and became King of Ayutthaya in 1952 BE, only Ayutthaya was called "Xian Lo" This record has shown that the King had been truly accepted by the Ming Dynasty more than King Ramesuan, so China advocated for him in order to be the King of Ayutthaya.

Since the era of Intharacha I or the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century BE, Ayutthaya exercised its political power and trade routes with China and other countries. In the

21<sup>st</sup> century BE, Ayutthaya flourished both in commerce and politics. There are even more unofficial records mentioning about the Kingdom of Ayutthaya composed by individuals such as:

- “The Foreign Seas Journey” was composed by a Muslim, Ma Huan. When Zheng He lead his expeditionary troops to Si Yiang (the western sea) seven times in the era of the Ming Dynasty, Ma Huan took part in the fourth and the seventh voyages since he is able to translate foreign languages. Since he had experienced so many things, he was able to write more details about the journey, better than Fei Zin who wrote "Xing Cha Zeng Lan"<sup>8</sup> and Gong Zhen who wrote “The Foreign Kingdom Records of The Western Sea”, even though those two are also written from the expeditions. His book tells the story of Ayutthaya under the name of Xian Loa that he has experienced himself. It explains about the transportation route from Champa to Ayutthaya, its territory, geography, soil characteristics, the palace appearance, the clothing of the king, the houses of the peasants including their construction materials, home space usage, Buddhism, language and other resources. Moreover, he also explained about the details of the local goods such as different kinds of frankincense, herbs, tin, elephant tusks, feathers, sappan wood including rare kinds of animal. He also recorded about the livestock such as ducks, hens, cows and goats. One of the interesting facts he found is that women have the authority to make decisions in trade, trial jury and other errands as well.

- The book “Royal Tribute Traditions of The Western Sea Kingdoms” written by Huang Seng Zheng has recorded the story of 23 kingdoms within this region that Zheng He came to visit. Most of the contents refer to Foreign Kingdoms Sightseeing, Xing Cha Zeng Lan, and Navigator History (which has already been missing). Within the Navigator History section, it explains about the sea route from Zhang Zhou, Hok Lo province to Siam which has never been found in any other documents.

- The last logbook that Zheng He used appeared in the War Strategy Guide "Wu Bi Chi" written by Mao Yuan Yi. This map specified the trail from China to Southeast Asia including 200 location names in China and the other 300 in Africa and Asia. Tuon Li Xeng and Praput see that of all documents about kingdoms in Africa,

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<sup>8</sup> Most of the notes are similar to the books of Ma Huan. The difference is that he uses folk language.

Asia and its geography before the 18<sup>th</sup> century BE, this is the most accurate text has ever been found. (Tuon Li Xeng and Prapuet: 1986, p. 22)

- Two types of logbook that recorded the journey by using the monsoon as the main wind force along with the compass to navigate the trail were written in the 19<sup>th</sup> century BE. There were records of ship logs from Hok Lo to Ayutthaya, from Ayutthaya to Pattani, from Pahang and Malacca returning back to Siam and also directly from Cambodia to Siam and other routes as well.

- “The Knowledge of the Eastern and Western Sea” written by Zhang Sae (2127-2183 BE) was extracted from mold in 2160 BE. The book explains about the Kingdom of Liu Khun or Ligor (Nakhon Si Thammarat) which was under the control of Ayutthaya so they shared the same traditions and culture with the people of Ayutthaya. It also stated that Liu Khun is the only place that has pepper in that era.

- The book called “Foreign Kingdom Diaries of The Sophisticated”, written by Yian Chon Jian, a former diplomat that had to travel to foreign countries in the era of the Ming Dynasty. He recorded about the commercial trade in Xian Lo along with his comments. He also mentioned about how Chinese practiced their Thai by officially forming an international language institute named Soe Yi Guan in 2058 BE, instructed by ambassadors of Siam.

- The book called “The Story of sea site cities” was separated into 3 parts: the traditions, the resources and the trails (including valuable and fascinating goods they have found on their ways). The reason that Xian Lo was the only city that was recorded in these Chinese documents was due to its importance in commercial trades. It was hypothesized that the merchants from Guangzhou usually traded with these two nations regularly since there were so many details about the scenery of Ayutthaya and also the coordinates from Guangzhou to Xian Lo. It was recorded that there was a Chinese community settled in Ayutthaya due to its prosperity in trading so they could use Teochiu and Hok Lo ships to trade via sea.

- “The Foreign Kingdoms Via Sea” stated that Songkla was located on the lower reaches from Ayutthaya. Songkla had territory for hundreds of Li but with less population. The Songklan do not consume pork due to Islamic beliefs and were governed by the King. Pattani was located on the southeast of Songkla. The people of Pattani were ferocious in their personalities. The mountains are plentiful of gold. The

kingdom was under the authority of Ayutthaya so they must pay their tributes with 30 Changs of gold (1 Chang is equal to 1,200 grams)

The documents found in the Qing Dynasty era have shown us that throughout the reign of the Qing, for 267 years consecutively, China and Siam were always on friendly terms since they regarded each other as neighbors especially in the time of Emperor Qian Long. Both Chinese and Thai were busy fighting with Burma, In the era of the Qing Dynasty, the Chinese documents supported the plundering towards the Burmese, while King Dhonburi also sent war captives to Beijing several times.

### Chinese Documents Conclusion

According to Chinese ancient documents, Southeast Asian history from 6<sup>th</sup> - 9<sup>th</sup> centuries BE marked a time when there was much commercial trade with China and India. It was the time when Southeast Asia had fully adopted the culture and civilization from foreign lands to develop themselves. There was a great shift from village community to city community for the first time. Starting from this period, Southeast Asia started its first movement into the ancient world trade which can be backed up with support from many references such as historical documents, archaeological evidence, studies and scholars' interpretations.

The ancient world trade started from the 3<sup>rd</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BE or the era of Asoka Maharaj of India who first started his trail which was connected to eight different routes so he could spread Buddhism all over Asia with his group of ambassadors. Two of them were Phra Udhra and Phra Sona who were sent to Suvarnabhumi in the Southeast Asian region but there is no evidence from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BE to confirm this hypothesis. However, there was evidence which shows the connection between Southeast Asian region and China since the era of Qin Dynasty (322-337 BE) In this era, the commercial trade did not flourish as much as appeared on Chinese documents in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BE which is the period where commercial trades flourished in the 6<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries BE due to the trade promotion in the Reign of King Kanishka (6<sup>th</sup> century BE) of India which occurred before the Romans and China entered the world trade.

However, before the seafarers learnt how to navigate their ships during the monsoons, traveling by sea needed to be done along the coast of the Asian continent. The trade routes between the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean must be traveled along the Malay peninsula which acts like a wall that separates these two oceans and the journey must be done through the Malacca Strait, Sunda Strait and other Indonesian Islands which were filled with dangers from nature and pirates. Therefore, in the beginning of 10<sup>th</sup> century BE, seafarers usually traveled on land, cutting through the Malay peninsula. As appeared on Chinese documents, the land starting from the Malay peninsula to the Gulf of Martaban had transportation routes connected to various areas. The lands on the Malay peninsula could be used to travel from the South China Sea and Indian Ocean such as Pattani-Kedah, Tapi River's Estuary Suratthani Province-Baan Ao Luek, Phuket Province, Prachuab Kirikhan Province-Thanintharyi-Myeik (Myanmar) and the estuary of Chin River-Uthong-Dawei, while the international merchants were free to trade goods within these routes.

Most cities are located on transport routes that cross this Malay peninsula developed from prehistoric communities which already had ancient transportational connections in Southeast Asia, as evidenced by ancient drums and artifacts from Dong Son culture (1<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries BE) that spread from the northern region of Vietnam to all region of Southeast Asia. Studies show the route that the locals used to trade and transport within the region. These communities had a variety of natural resources (such as salt or iron at Sakhon Nakhon and Korat). If there were any local goods that were needed, the community would expand itself then develop into a city community that linked to the routes of the ancient world trade and other communities residing on the trade routes (including those that were located near the coast and also those in the mainland). These cities adopted the external culture from India then developed it in their own unique ways to be fully prepared in economy, politics, social systems, religion and fine arts, such as Funan, Uthong, Champa and other independent states located on the Malay peninsula which all flourished in the 8<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries BE. These independent states also shared good relations with China due to the Tributary System. Since there were diplomatic negotiations with China both in commerce and politics, China had become the centre of trade because they had so many connections with trade routes in Southeast Asia.

According to a Chinese document in 13<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE, Si Vijaya state was expanding its power in that area. It stated that Si Satchanalai was the center of power and trade in 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE (when Sukhothai has not been formed yet). The records of Ma Huan in 1413 BE stated about the transportation route that could reach to Yunnan, The route was used to reach the eastern end to the Mekong River Basin or Luang Prabang, the Black and Red river basins in upper Vietnam and the Yunnan province of China. Scholars nowadays believe that this is the route where those who speak Thai-Lao migrated from the Mekong River basin into the central area of Thailand in 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE as appeared in the record of Zhou Xi Fei in 1733 BE and in Chau Ju-kua's diary of 1768 BE (before the establishment of Sukhothai in 1782 BE around 14 years later). Si Satchanalai, Lavo, Nakhon sri Thammarat and other independent states fell under the power of the Angkor Kingdom that spread into the central and the southern region of Thailand in the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE.

According to the Chinese documents, large powerful states were trying to expand their power in political aspects and trade routes simultaneously, especially the land on the Malay Peninsula extending to the Gulf of Martaban such as in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BE Funan was trying to expand its power into the Malay peninsula to become the major trade center of Southeast Asia or in the 13<sup>th</sup> century BE Si Vijaya expand its power into the Malay peninsula. In the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century BE Chenla and Lavo which was located in the central of Siam, also wanted to spread their authority over the central area of Siam and the Malay Peninsula. The result from political power shifts caused Si Vijaya to become prosperous (the Chinese used Si Vijaya as the center of trade until the 15<sup>th</sup> century BE). Dvaravati in the central area of Thailand has already flourished from Uthong since the 8<sup>th</sup> century BE then began to fall in the 13<sup>th</sup> century BE and finally ended at the 15<sup>th</sup> century BE. When China started to trade with independent states without passing through Si Vijaya. Chenla and Angkor started to spread its power in the 16<sup>th</sup> until 18<sup>th</sup> century BE Eventually, Si Vijaya lost its power when the Majapahit Kingdom of Eastern Java rose then assumed power.

However, after the death of Jayavorman VII in 1761 BE, Chenla or Angkor became weaker so the states under Angkor were finally freed. Later in the 18<sup>th</sup>

century BE, the Chinese document mentioned about Xian or Siam for the first time. One document that was recorded between 1822 – 1824 BE stated how King Gub Laikhan planned his war strategy to conquer Sukhothai, Lavo and two other named states including Sumatra Island which all were located in the Southeast Asian region. Gub Laikhan sent his ambassadors to negotiate in each kingdom. Surprisingly, there were 20 kingdoms that surrendered to him. This shows that the nations in that region were extending their territories to gain more benefit. China had to conquer large states in order to threaten the smaller states to surrender. The biggest cities at that time were Sukhothai, Lavo and in Sumatra Island. They were probably expanding their power to defeat the Malay peninsula since again after 1842 BE Sukhothai sent Loe Thai to visit King Hsien at Beijing in the beginning of 1842 BE, then ordered Xian or Siam don't harm the Malays and keep the promises Siam had given.

Since Angkor started to lose its power in 1761 BE until the year of Ayutthaya's establishment in 1893 BE (a period of around 132 years), one group of scholars believe that it was the Dark Age in the history of Southeast Asia, claiming that Angkor had projected the most advanced culture in Southeast Asia until it was replaced by the Ayutthaya Kingdom.

From the analysis of Chinese documents, other historical evidence, legends, folklores and artifacts, one can observe the period from the Fall of Angkor in 1761 BE till the establishment of Ayutthaya in 1893 BE (about 132 years). The group of Xian States or Siam (first appearing in Chinese documents in the early period of the 19<sup>th</sup> century BE; around 1822-1824 BE) is a group of peoples who used the Thai-Lao language and who modern scholars believe had migrated since the 16<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE from the upper region of the Mekong River basin and then settled along the central plain of Thailand, to the southern area in Nakhon Si Thammarat) Their territories covered the upper area of the Mekong River Basin, Sukhothai, Suphan Buri, Petchaburi, Nakhon Si Thammarat and including the area in the northeastern region, upper central and lower central regions on the western side of the Chao Phraya River basin till the upper Malay peninsula, while Lavo had its territory only in the lower central area on the eastern side of Chao Phraya River basin. Until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century BE, significant changes occurred in history.

The record of Wang Da Yuan in “Dao Yi Chi Lia” in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century BE shows the significance of the political power shift, because Suphanhabhumi that was located on the lower Chao Phraya River basin had decided to join with Lavo, one of the powerful kingdoms in the Ayotthaya Period. Consequently, then Nakhon Si Thammarat that had authority over the Malay peninsula also decided to join with them in 1892 BE. A year later, Krungsri Ayutthaya was established. As for Sukhothai, the kingdom that used to be successful once in expanding its power was now no longer the strongest. According to the stone inscription, in the first verse it was stated that from the east to Vientienne until the Gulf of Tonkin, from the west to Hongsawadee, from the north to Yunnan and from the south to Malayu peninsula, after the era of King Ramkhamhaeng, the cities that once used to be together had separated themselves independently. Although, Phraya Li Thai (Mahathammaracha I), the nephew of King Ramkhamhaeng, tried to reunite Sukhothai again, his effort seems to have been useless since it was exactly the same time that Ayutthaya has formed its kingdom very strongly. Finally, Sukhothai became a part of Ayutthaya in the 20<sup>th</sup> century BE. Moreover, Ayutthaya had also expanded its power to the Mekong River Basin to Laos, to the Kingdom in the Northwestern region of Siam and to the Angkor Kingdom. Therefore, Ayutthaya had power over territory and trade in this region until it became the major trade center in Southeast Asia. The documents in the early era of the Nguan Dynasty show that China played a big role in politics and trade since they had been conducting trade concurrently with having diplomacy with various kingdoms in the Southeast Asian region. It was King Intharacha I who had succeeded to the throne then became King of Ayutthaya. He was the legendary Phra Ruang who went to China and brought back Chinese ceramic wares which were then developed at Si Satchanalai. The new style of ceramic became popular and flourished, becoming one of the most demanded goods in Southeast Asia and globally exported all over the world, called "Sangkhaloke".

## **2.2 Western documents**

As a result of his research, Vinai Pongsipian has found that the western historical texts with reference to Siam first appeared in the early 21<sup>th</sup> century BE, especially after the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 2053 BE. The Portuguese



directed their attention toward the trade routes and port cities dotted around the Gulf of Thailand. In *Suma Oriental*, the first western document to mention Thailand, written in 2058 BE, Tome Pires partially discussed Ayutthaya's governmental organization of vassal states. It is a crucial piece of evidence that captures the changes in state policies, led by the royal court in Ayutthaya, reducing the status of Sukhothai, the once strategic ex-capital, from a city directly ruled by royals to a rural one governed by appointed officials, while exalting the city of Kamphaengphet, situated nearer to the new capital. Pires' text corresponds with contemporary evidence in Siam, as Si Satchanalai (or even a major city such as Pitsanulok) became suddenly absent in the 13<sup>th</sup> inscription, also known as the inscription at the base of the Shiva statue, in 2053 BE. Even though foreigners during this period knew almost nothing of inland Siam, in the annals regarding Siam written during 2093 to 2110 BE, Joao de Barros described the duel festival in that time as follows (Vinai: 1989, 37-38):

“The victor, apart from the gratitude of his survival, was granted the prize from the king of Siam. Hence, all men with martial and militaristic skills aspire to participate in the festival. Most of them are from Sawankalok and Sukhothai, which is in the kingdom of Northern people.”

In Vinai's opinion, the chronicle of Barros, with the mention of “Sawankalok”, is one of the oldest pieces of primary evidence, marking the replacement of the name “Chaliang”, as well as “Si Satchanalai”, by “Sawankalok”. Yet, the name (Sri) Satchanalai reappears in the documents during the Ayutthaya era until the end of the reign of King Borommatrailokkanat. Therefore, the transitional gaps between the period of Si Satchanalai, Sawankalok, and Chiang Chuen stand as an interesting topic left to be further studied (Vinai, 1989: 38).

## **2.3 Thai Documents**

### 1) Sukhothai Inscription

1.1) The First Inscription (King Ramkhamhaeng's Inscription), 1835 BE

The first inscription, together with the fourth stone inscription and the Phra Taen Manankasila Throne, was discovered by King Rama IV at the hills leading to the ancient palace complex of Sukhothai. The year of its creation was, if we are to believe the actual engraving on the stone, 1835 BE. However, Saeng Monvitul held that it was the creation of King Rama IV himself; M.J. Janjirayu Ratchanee believed that it was made in the reign of King Lithai; while Michael Vickery points out that the manner in which vowel symbols were written – on the same line with other syllables – has never been found elsewhere in Southeast Asia (Piriya, 1989: 22-23).

King Rama IV was the first person who could read some part of this inscription. Then, in 2379 BE Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Krom Phraya Pavaret Variyalongkorn copied the statement on this inscription. King Rama IV bestowed this to Sir John Bowring in the same year and then gave some translation into English to publish in a book called the Kingdom and People of Siam. There is also a copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (The National Library of France) (Suriyawut Suksawas: 1994).

The King Ramkhamhaeng, in the inscription, mentioned the background of his family and the the legend of the battle when he was 19 years old and in which he triumphed over Khun Sam Chon, the ruler of Chod. As a result, his father bestowed the name on him as Phra Ramkhamhaeng. Furthermore, he inscribed about the gratitude towards his parents and brother and the incidences in his reign that Sukhothai was an abundant land with free trade and justice, his generosity to the people, and mercy to the adversary. He wrote of hanging a bell at the gate for the people to make a complaint, which he would consider with justice.

Besides, he mentioned the abundance of various fruits and water in Sukhothai, the strength of the fortress, people in all classes who were Buddhist, the Buddhism tradition and ceremony. Also described are the physical elements of Sukhothai and the space around the city, that there were various sizes of gold Buddha's images in the city centre which included classes of the monks. It said that there was Wat Arunyik in the west where there was the house of the Supreme Patriarch who was more intelligent than ordinary monks. Most of the senior monks came from Nakhon Si Thammarat. There was a large viharn in the central part of Arunyik where the Buddha image was housed. On the other hand, the farm was in the south of the city.

In 1835 BE King Ramkhamhaeng bestowed to create a stone throne (namely Phra thaen Manangkasila Batara). There were two pavilions that stood in the palm garden he planted 14 years previously. The place was built to be the pulpit for the monk to deliver the sermon on the special occasion, and regularly used for civil affairs at the end of each month. On the full moon, he would ride on the white elephant to Wat Arunyik. There are three more inscriptions of King Ramkhamhaeng at Chalieng, Phra Ram Cave, and Rattanathan Cave.

It mentioned to King Ramkhamhaeng as the ruler of Si Satchanalai, Sukhothai, and other cities In 1828 BE King Ramkhamhaeng brought the Buddha's relic to worship and enshrined it in the stupa at the centre of Si Satchanalai. In 1826 BE King Ramkhamhaeng invented the Thai alphabet for the first time.

It mentioned that the area of Sukhothai from the the east to Vientienne until the Gulf of Tonkin, from the west to Hongsawadee, from the north to Yunnan and from the south to Malayu peninsula.

1.2) The second inscription was discovered in the space between the double wall of Mandapa of Wat Srichum. Today, most scholars believe it was written by Somdej Maha Thera Si Satta Rajachulamunee, the son of Phraya Khamhaeng Phraram who, in turn, was the nephew of King Khun Pamuang during the late of 19<sup>th</sup> BE (late in the reign of King Lethai) . This is a crucial inscription because it mentioned a dynasty that ruled Si Satchanalai and Sukhothai previously, which was the Nao Num Thom dynasty. It had Pho Khun Si Nao Num Thom as a king to rule Sukhothai – Si Satchanalai. He had a son named Pha Muaeng who was the ruler of Rad and Lum, and Phra Mahathera Si Sattha is Pha Muaeng's grandchild. It noted his childhood, with him riding on the elephant to many battles, also the glory of the Lanka sect of Buddhism. The inscription also mentioned the struggle of Pho Khun Si Nao Num Thom in the north and that he then fought with Daeng Palerng until success in the occupation of Sukhothai. When he died, Khomlabad Khonlumphong then possessed both towns. Pho Khun Pha Muaeng led his army from Rad and asked for cooperation from Pho Khun Bang Klang Hao to take the cities back. Pho Khun Bang Klang Hao brought the army from Bang Yang and occupied Chalieng; Pho Khun Pha Muaeng battled with Khomlabad Khonlamphong and took back the city at last. He

gave the town to Pho Khun Bang Klang Hao and moved out from the city. He also gave the victory sword and the Price Kummarateng he got from the Angkor King (and his father-in-law). Hence, Pho Khun Bang Klang Hao established Sukhothai and enthroned himself as a king named Pho Khun Si Inraditya (of the Phra Ruang dynasty), early in the reign of King Lithai. Most of the scripts are about the act of making merit of Maha Thera Si Satta, with some references to his ancestors in the late of the 18<sup>th</sup> century BE, as well as his bravery as a young man in the later part.

### 1.3) The 4<sup>th</sup> inscription (The inscription in Pa Mamuang) 1904 BE.

The 4<sup>th</sup> inscription was discovered along with the first one and the Manankasila throne at the hill leading to the ancient palace complex of Sukhothai. The scripts are Khmer; the size and figure of the stone resemble that of the 5<sup>th</sup> inscription which is written in Thai, and they also share some similar sentences

The first side starts by mentioning King Maha Thammaraja I (Lithai) when he mobilized the troops from Si Satchanalai to attack Sukhothai in 1890 BE, before managing to seize the city and crowning himself as the king of Sukhothai. He housed the statues of Shiva and Vishnu in the Maha Kasetra Temple in Pa Mamuang in 1892 BE. Appreciative of his talent in arts including the editing the century texts, he respectfully invited Phra Maha Samee the Supreme Patriarch from Lanka to Sukhothai in 1904 BE, setting up the dwelling for him at Wat Pa Mamuang. He organized the event to celebrate the bronze Buddha statue that he bestowed to be cast with the same size as the Lord Buddha and he housed the image in the east of Phra Mahathat Chedi in the centre of Sukhothai. He entered to the monkhood and also urged the people to make merit. And it mentioned the inscription that the Supreme Patriarch recorded at Wat Pa Mamuang (meaning the 6<sup>th</sup> inscription).

### 1.4) The 5<sup>th</sup> inscription (at Wat pa mamuang) 1904 BE.

This was discovered by Phraya Boranrajathanin at Wat Mai Chumpon, Nakhon Luang district, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya in 2450 BE and is recorded in Thai. Prince Damrongrachanuphab described that it is the inscription of King

Mahathammaracha I (Lithai). This inscription has the same size and appearance as the 4<sup>th</sup> one which is recorded in Khmer and which is similar in content but does not mention King Mahathammaracha I (Lithai) having visited Sukhothai in 1347. Neither does it refer to the enshrining of Vishnu in Mahakaset Temple in Pa Mamuang in 1892 BE. The inscription mentioned Phya Ramrat who planted a mango tree in the forest.

#### 1.5) the 8<sup>th</sup> inscription (at Sumonkut Mount, Sukhothai) 1912 BE.

There is no evidence about the discovery of this inscription, but Price Mahavajiravudh brought it back when he visited Sukhothai in 2451 BE. It mentioned that King Mahathammaracha I (Lithai) enshrined the Buddha's footprint at the top of Sumonkut Mountain in 1902 BE and there was a procession of the Buddha's footprint to the mountain peak. The king marched to conquer the districts in the east to Phra Sak and then resided at Song Kway. He stayed at Song Kwae for 7 years then led the forces who came from Song Kwae, Pak Yom, Phra Bang, Chakangrao, Suphannaphao, Nakhon Phrachum, Parn, Rad, Saka, and Lumbajai to worship the Buddha's footprint on the mountain.

#### 1.6) The 9<sup>th</sup> Inscription (Inscription of Wat Pa Daeng Monastery), 1949 BE.

In the case of the 9<sup>th</sup> inscription, both its discoverer and whereabouts are unknown. Each slab reads as saying the scholar among scholars Tilok said that he had been ordained in 1886 BE. Later in 1900 BE, he underwent the religious ceremony to become the complete monk. In 1902 BE, he got a chance to stay in the same monastery with Phra Maha Kalayanan during the three months of the Lent period. In the same year, Maha Thammaraja (Lithai) visited Si Satchanalai to pay homage to the relics of Buddha and, upon visiting, he founded a monastery called Wat Pa Daeng for Phra Maha Kalayanan, who died in 1904 BE. After the funeral which Maha Thammaraja (Lithai) attended, he appointed Tilok as the abbot of Pa Daeng Monastery and rector of the region.

King Maha Thammaraja I (Lithai) demanded that Tilok pay respect to Maha Samana Thera at Wat Pa Mamuang in Sukhothai. In turn, Maha Samana Thera came

to pay homage for Tilok, the scholar of scholars, at Wat Pa Daeng in Si Satchanalai. In 1912 BE, Maha Samana Thera travelled to the northern region.

1.7) The 10<sup>th</sup> Inscription (Inscription of Chao Pan Chulasakrat 766), 1947 BE.

A person called Chao Pan constructed several buildings in Chaliang, Song Kwae and Chiangmai. The second side of the inscription is also damaged, with one vaguely visible text referring to a specific “Chao Thammaraj”.

1.8) The 11<sup>th</sup> Inscription (Inscription of Wat Kao Kob), 1902 BE.

Prince Damrong Rajanuparb was the one who demanded this inscription be brought down from Kao Kob Mountain, during his way back from the trip to Payap, or the northern region in 2464 BE. With text regarding a particular “Phaya Maha Thamma...”, Cœdès understood that this refers to King Maha Thammaraja I (Lithai), telling of his merit for building structures on Sumanakut (Kob) Mountain, and Ram Viharn in the middle of the city in tribute to his brother whose name was Ram. The content is about merit making of the inscriber in the city of Sa Luang, before moving on to his expedition to Sukhothai-Si Satchanalai, and further on a pilgrimage in search for Buddha’s relics in India and Sri Lanka, with detailed information about places on the way back. Cœdès projected that the composer of this inscription was probably Maha Thera Si Satta who also created the 2<sup>nd</sup> inscription.

1.9) The 38<sup>th</sup> Inscription (Inscription of Criminal Features), 1940 BE.

Found in 2473 BE by the Department of Highway between the 50<sup>th</sup> and 51<sup>st</sup> milestones, on the curve in front of Wat Mahathat and Wat Sa Sri, Tambon Muang Kao, Muang District, Sukhothai, the inscription is composed of two sides. The contents of the inscription have been summarized from the research of Piriya as follows. A.B. Griswold<sup>4</sup> and Prasert Na Nakhon<sup>5</sup> observed that the inscription was a legal notification, indicating eight articles of law enforced in the Kingdom of Sukhothai in 1940 BE, which included Chaliang, Kampaengphet, Tung

Yang, Pak Yom and Song Kwae. The great king named Somdejbopit (Mahabut) Sri Boromchakrapatdiraj was the one who issued the laws. Griswold and Prasert arrived at the same conclusion, that this king was likely to be Somdej Phra Ram of the kingdom of Ayutthaya while, on the other hand, Dr. Vickery<sup>6</sup> believes that it would have referred to Maha Thammaraja III (Sai Luethai) of the Sukhothai Kingdom (Piriya: 1989, 47-48).

## 2) Thai Historical Documents in the Form of Chronicles, Literature, Legends and Folklore



### 2.1) The Chronicles of the North composed in the reign of King Rama I (reigned 2325 – 2352 BE) by Phra Vichien Preecha.

The contents were collected from old papers in Ayutthaya and from mythology. Then, he rewrote the material that mentioned such as (1) The establishment of Si Satchanalai. (2) The construction of Pha Mahathat Chedi, describing the assignment to the Brahmin priests or 5 craftsmen to design the place: “...we will make this structure to be magnificent and more interesting than other craftsmen on this land”. (3) The chronicles also refer to the creation of Buddha Chinnarat image. (4) Arunraja Gumara the son of Phaya Apayakamane the ruler of Haripunchai Nagara and how his father assigned him to marry the princess of Si Satchanalai and afterwards he was crowned as ruler the city, named as ‘Phra Ruang’. (5) The story of Phra Ruang deleted the century. (6) Phra Ruang visited China with his brother Lord Ritthi Gumara and brought back a princess, modellers, 500 servants, and ships from China to Si Satchanalai. (7) Phra Ruang travelled to send Lord Ritthi Gumara off to marry a daughter of Pichai, the Chaing Mai ruler, and appointed his step-brother prince Pasuja Gumara (or his wife’s brother) and his spouse to rule the city until Phra Ruang came back. (8) Phra Ruang flew a kite that fell down at Toungoo – sneakily to meet Toungoo’s princess – stepping on the shoulders of the Lord of Toungooto to reach for the kite. (9) Phra Ruang took a bath at the basin in the city centre and disappeared; however, he had already told Pasujja Gumara that, if he could not come back, then Pasuja Gumara could rule the city for him. (10) The story goes that Pasuja Gumara ordered to lower the city wall to handle the war to Chiang

Saen. The recounters of these stories have made two significant remarks which are 1) These stories took place in the reign of Phra Ruang who was a king of Si Satchanalai and 2) The book describes the details thoroughly, nonetheless it mentions Sukhothai only in the context of Phra Ruang showing a miracle by fetching the water by basket only.

The story of the establishment of Si Satchanalai noted that there were 2 hermits who were Satchanalai and Sitthimagala assigned 10 Brahmi who were their offspring to settle the city in 306 BE. And it is repeated that "I leave my word for you to set Panom Plerng in the city as the worship place, you shall do so after my word". The construction had Bathammarat as a chief and when it was completed both hermits let the dwellers select a representative to rule the city. Then, the people chose Bathammarat; the two hermits said that "the person who can succeed to the throne must come from 3 categories: royalty, the wealthy men, and Brahmi who are the noblemen. Then, they appointed Bathammarat to be the first king called Phraya Thammaracha. This dynasty ruled the city for 3 reigns and then transferred the power to the Phra Ruang dynasty. The king who ruled the city was Pho Khun Si Nao Num Thom, thence Bathammarat who was the chief in the establishment of the town and was then crowned as a king named Phraya Thammaracha who was Pho Khun Si Nao Num Thom's grandfather. The story of this period then is insignificant in its detail from the establishment of the city until the settlement of the Sukhothai Kingdom.

The compound Bathammarat and the villagers built was 2,000 meters wide and 4,000 meters long with walls 4 meters thick and 8 meters high. Afterwards, Lord Pasutrat ruled Si Satchanalai and acknowledged that Lord Sri Thammatripitaka of Chiang Saen planned to bring armed forces to the city. Hence, he ordered Khun Triphobnat to prepare the army for this battle by modifying the city wall to be a fortress. King Rama VI expressed the opinion that the ridge around the city wall of Si Satchanalai and Sukhothai was created to defend the cannons, but there were cannons at that time. So, the wall possibly was built in Ayutthaya period.

2.2) Shinnakarn Malipakorn; it was written by Rattana Panya Thera in 2071 BE, and translated by Pol. Lt. Saeng Monwitoon in 2510 BE. Rattana Panya



Thera was either from Chiang Mai or Phayao. He started writing the scripture in Pali in 2059 BE and completed it in 2071 BE. It tells of the journey of Jammadhevi, a Lavo princess, up along the Ping River, passing Nakhon Sawan and Tak until the princess and the accompanying procession arrived at Haripunchai (Lamphun). It also accounts for the visit of Phra Ruang, who lived in the same period with Por Khun Sri Intarathit, to Nakhon Si Thammarat, where he acquired Phra Buddhasihinga, a Buddha statue imported from Lanka to Nakhon Si Thammarat, before ending up in Sukhothai. It is about the states in the central region of Thailand in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century BE, recounting Tha Chin River Delta as Suvarnabhumi, the east of the Chao Phraya Delta as the land of Kampot, and the land from Nakhon Sawan northwards as Siam.

2.3) The Chronicles of Yonok recount that King Chai Sirirat (the son of King Phrommarat) had ruled the city called Chaiprakarn (Fang) for 11 years when he was notified that the Raman, or Burmese, army was campaigning for an assault. The king asked for help from Chaiburi-Yonok (Chiang Saen) and Chai Narai (Chiang Rai). After seven days of the raging war, the king saw that he could not protect the city and thus evacuated all the people and burnt down the city. Moving down south, the people reached the cities of Chaliang, Pap and Kampaengphet before settling down in Trai Trueng (situated on the south bank of the Ping River, 8 kilometers away from Kampaengphet) in 1547 BE (Phraya Prachakitkorajak: 1983).

2.4) Jammadhevi Wongsa, the Chronicles of Haripunchai, written by Phra Potirangsi in the 21<sup>st</sup> BE, tells the story of two *ruesis*, or hermits, namely Vasuthep and Sukkatan, in their attempt to establish a city arranged in the spiral shape of a conch, like that of the city of Chaliang. Hence, they asked for the conch from another ruesi called Satchanalai.

### 2.5) Thao Hoong Thao Jueng

According to the book named the Ideological Evolution of the Origin of Thai (handout, Faculty of Archeology, 1978), the story of Thao Hoong Thao Jueng is not only a book for leisure, but it secretly transmits detail through the discourse about historical fact. That is, in the pre-historical period Thao Hoong or Jueng, there was a

chief to build a small town. And he taught the people to do agriculture – rice farming, hunting, fishing, food preservation, transportation, cohabitation patterns, morals and traditions, animism, the way of life, beliefs, included to battleship, and politics. Later, he battled to unite many states together and achieved many brave acts. The Tai people lived around the area of the river Khong and incorporated Tai Lu, Xishuangbanna, Lanna, Lan Xang, and the northeast of Thailand, with the bravery of Thao Hoong to be told from generation to generation.

#### 2.6) The legend of Singhonawat Gumara

Lord Singhonawat led the people to migrate from the south of China and settle the town named Nakaphun Singhonwat Nagara in the area of which currently is Chiang Saen district, Chiang Rai, and Chiang Saen was the capital. Then, it developed to become an empire that expanded its territory widely – the east connected to Vietnam's Tonkin to the Salween river at Chan in northern Burma, the north from Nong Sae, Yunnan down to the upper reaches of the Chao Phraya river. Until the reign of Lord Phungkarat, Yonok Chiang Saen was attacked by Khmer, with the result that it had to migrate the people to build a new town at Vieng Si Thong nearby the river Mae Sai. Later, prince Promgumara, his son, drove out the Khmer and invited Lord Phangkarat to rule Chaing Saen as previously. The prince brought some people to build a town called Chayaparakarn in the south of Chiang Saen to be the fortress city.

2.7) Lilit Yuan Pai, or the Epic of the Defeat of the Yuan, is the oldest Thai literature written in the form of Lilit, a traditional style of poetry, composed during the early Ayutthaya era to commemorate the honors of King Borommatrailokkanat in conquering the army of King Tilokkarat of Chiangmai, who meant to capture the northern vassal states of Ayutthaya. Prince Damrong Rajanuparb observed that the identity of the author was unknown, but considering the ancient manner of the language and the vivid recounting of events, even more vivid than described in the actual Royal Chronicles and the Chronicles of Chiangmai, it presumably was composed in the same period as the event, in the reign of King Rama Thibodi II (reigning from 2034 to 2072 BE), the son of King Borommatrailokkanat. Moreover, the author must have specialized in rhetoric

and been familiar with official court tradition and procedure, suggesting that he might have been an important court poet. The ancient and advanced languages of the *Lilit* have been simplified by an unknown interpreter, who has kept the original text side by side. Then, scribes in the reign of King Rama II made a handwritten copy for the Royal Archive and, when the National Library got hold of a copy, it saw that the publication of the epic would be beneficial for the public and for education.

Lilit Yuan Pai illustrates Muang Chiang Man as having three layers of stone walls, surrounded by two canals, with the Yom River bordering on one side and a mountain in the middle of the city. Overall, the features of the city described resemble those of Si Satchanalai.



2.8) The Legends of Muang Sawankalok, authored by Phra Munintranuwat, state that Sawankalok, formerly called Chaliang, was an ancient city which had existed since the time when ethnic Lava still dominated the region. The former site of the city is located to the rear of Wat Phra Sri Rattana Mahathat Monastery. When Khmer people came to power, they expanded their territory until it reached Chaliang. The Khmer invasion was marked by Wat Chaochan, a Khmer temple on the border of Khmer sovereignty. Chaliang became the city of great importance when Thai people claimed the city as their first stronghold in 1400 BE. Later in 1700 BE, the Thai roamed further south to establish Chiang Saen as the capital of the Lanna Kingdom, then with full power and sovereignty as a state. Ethnic Khmer in Chaliang were afraid that the Thai would expand further south, so they then exalted Ba Thammarat to be the leading protector of the city. However, the city eventually fell to the Thai and became one of the first bases of the kingdom of Siam (Phra Munintranuwat: 1968)

In reference to Si Satchanalai, the chronicles mentioned that in the reign of King U-Thong there were 16 rulers of the vassal states and Sawankhalok was one of them. King Rama VI expressed the opinion that even though Si Satchanalai was under Ayutthayan power at that time, it was possible that the royalty of the Sukhothai dynasty ruled the city. After that, Si Satchanalai vanished from the history for a while. And then, in the period when Khun Worawongsathirat ruled Ayutthaya, Khun Phirenthorathep invited Phraya Pichai and Phraya Sawankhalok to get rid of

Khun Worawongsathirat. Once the mission was accomplished, both of them were appointed to be Chao Phraya, showing that there was no ruler for Si Satchanalai at that time. Then, when King Mahachakkaphat visited Lavaek in 2075 BE, he requested Phra Sutho and Phra Suthun, sons of Phraya Lavaek, to be adopted children. And he assigned Phra Suthun to rule Sawankhalok which means Si Satchanalai was a vital state needing to have a ruler. In 2079 BE, King Mahachakkaphat ordered Phra Suthun to lead the armed forces to fight against Phra Sattha who stole the throne from his father. Unluckily, he was killed on the elephant's neck with the result that Sawankhalok turned back to Phitsanulok.

The chronicles noted that King Mahathammaracha recruited the forces of Sawankhalok to combine with the northern states' army for many combats, but there is not any remarkable statement. In the late period of King Mahathammaracha, King Naresuan declared independence and drove the Hansa army out and set up the camp at Chiang Thong in 2109 BE. Phraya Pichai defected to join in with King Naresuan and escaped together with his family and people to Si Satchanalai. He invited Phraya Sawankhalok to attack Phitsanulok. Once King Naresuan was aware of this, he marched to beat Si Satchanalai. King Naresuan set the camp at Wat Sri Chum, Sukhothai, and organised the oath of allegiance ceremony. In the next morning, he led the army to access Si Satchanalai through the mount Khub and arrived at the city in 2108 BE, then settled the camp at Wat Mai Ngam district. He sent the governor to persuade both rulers, but this did not succeed. Hence, he marched at night to attack three locations in the north and west of the city, which were Sam Kerd, Mo, and Saphan Chan gates, until midnight; however the forces could not manage to enter the gates. Two days after, he attacked at Don Laem gate in the south nearby the river Yom following the advice of an astrologist and succeeded on the next day. Phraya Sawankhalok escaped to Chiang Mai but was caught by the soldiers at Ko Chul pass. King Naresuan sent them both to death and forcibly moved the people including the sculpture of Phraya Ruang Phraya Leu which was made from the black ivory of Phra Ruang's white elephant, back to Phitsanulok.

### 3) Historiography and other related works

3.1) Ancient Khmer and Thai: Inscriptions in the Stele of Sukhothai and the Sighting of Miracles was written by Somdej Pawaret Wariyalongkorn, recounting the journey to the northern provinces of Wachirayan Thera (later to be King Rama IV reigning between 2394 – 2411 BE) in 2376 BE and the discovery of the first Sukhothai inscription. The expedition was not a pilgrimage, but rather meant to be a visit to several historical sites along the way, reflecting the pressing need to look for national history in the time Thai politics was under the massive pressure from Western colonialism.

3.2) Anthology of Wachirayan Warorot (2403 – 2464 BE) is the collection of academic works in the fields of history and archeology written by Prince Wachirayan Warorot during 2441 – 2442 BE. It was published in commemoration of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death, featuring 20 of both previously published and unpublished works, such as 1) The Chronicle of Siam. 2) The Lores of Thailand. 3) Texts in Chiang Saen Lore. 4) Texts in Haripunchai Lore. 5) Topics in Old Capitol Chronicle. 6) Notes for Old Capitol Chronicle. 7) Khmer Laws. He cited evidence referring to texts in Sukhothai inscriptions, chronicles, legends and lores passed on by means of repeated transcription.

He limited the centers of government of Siam (Thailand) to be in the Chao Phraya Basin. In The Chronicle of Siam, he compared the Mekong and Chao Phraya Basins, suggesting that apart from the Khmer town located at the Mekong estuary, there were no other powerful cities. The Chao Phraya Basin, on the other hand, with gentle streams, few islets and cataracts, facilitating the navigation in and out of the connected Gulf of Thailand, was a plain full of cities and towns. He concluded that “... these cities were the powerful leader of their race from ancient time up until now” (Wachirayan Warorot: 1971, p.3-4). This statement obviously reflected his ideas.

Regarding the explanation of the origin of Siamese and using language as the criterion to identify a particular populace as Siam, the prince stated that the word “Siam” derives from a Sanskrit word “Syama”, meaning “the dark skinned people”,

then speculated from the geography and the language that the Siamese people descended from the Chinese and Indian people, because of the overwhelming number of Chinese and Sanskrit roots in the language of the Siamese. Moving southwards, they assimilated with other local groups in terms of ethnicity and language, leading to numerous various characteristics, which can be broadly divided into 2 groups, namely 1) the Thais, including Thai Nua (Northern Thais) (in the north of the central region) and Thai Tai (Southern Thais) (in the south of the central region to the southern region of Thailand); 2) the Laos, including Lao Chiang (in the north) and Lao Kao (in the northeast). There were also other minority groups such as Karen, Kha, Lawa, Tai-Yai. He suggested that the groups speaking the same language were Siamese, and those who did not were foreigners. This reflects the notion of using language as the main criterion in identifying the Siamese.

Then, he explained that the capitals of the North Thai regions were Si Satchanalai and Sukhothai, before moving to Ayutthaya and Rattanakosin. The moving of capital city, he argued, could be accounted for several reasons, such as the familial relations of the Thai monarchs, the monarchs sending their sons to rule northern or southern provinces, abundance, strategic location in defending the capitals. As there is no evidence suggesting the Thai Tai (the southern Thais) rallying against Thai Nua (the northern Thais), he concluded that Thai Nua moved the capital down south within their own region, not that the South and the North alternately rose and fell in power, each ruling over the other. The southern Thais in the Malay Archipelago never expanded their power over the north. This indicates that the Prince was trying to portray the idea of a unified Thai state. Even though there was a movement of capitals from Si Satchanalai-Sukhothai to Ayutthaya and Rattanakosin, the Thai state consistently maintained control over the region from the time of initial settlement on to the present. Concerning Thai historiography, he proposed:

“Because the Thais have maintained the ruling power over a period longer than other ethnicities, we are the leader of the nation. Thus, the writing of history of Siam should focus mainly on the history of the Thais”. (Wachirayan Warorot: 1971, p.8).

From the above statement, it can be seen that the history of the North and the Northeast have been left out, possibly because the North (Lanna) used to be under Burma, while the Northeast (Isaan) used to be part of Angkor Kingdom and Lan Xang Kingdom. The prince might have been concerned that these pasts could lead to another loss of territory, after France, then ruling over Vietnam, claiming that Laos and Cambodia had been tributary states of Vietnam, then took over these countries from Thailand. Moreover, it can be seen that the prince (including the ruling class during the period) was anxious that Lao Chiang (Lanna) and Lao Kao (Isaan) might take the chance to break loose from the governance of Siam with the help from the westerners. He wrote about Lao Kao and Lao Chiang that:

“...when they could not resist the power of the Thais or others, they must be under the governance as a tributary state of their conqueror...”; and “...when the power of the ruler declines, the subordinate states might side with others in order to seek protection. They do not respect their race loyally - the fact that has obstructed the success of Siam all along. (Wachirayan Warorot: 1971, p.8-9).

The reason Princess Dararasmee from Lanna was married as a consort to King Rama V was because of the concern that Lanna might secede from Siam. In the northeast, there rose the local “Pee Boon” (Prophet) rebel trying to break away from Siam but this was suppressed by the authority.

Many of his thoughts in this book reflect the view of the ruling class and the methodology of history during that time and later on, especially the notion that the Thai ancestors came down from the north, the historiography limiting the Thais to be within the Chao Phraya Basin in the central region of Thailand, the continuous order of succession from Sukhothai to Ayutthaya and Rattanakosin, and the historical approach filtering the supernatural events in chronicles, legends, and lores, in order to single out the more possible ones.

### 3.3) The Royal Society of Archeology in Siam

King Rama V, in his inauguration speech at the Royal Society of Archeology which he established in 2450 BE to urge the study of Thailand’s national history,

stated that taking the foundation of Ayutthaya by King Rama I as the starting point of Thai history overlooked the more ancient past. Hence, he invited everyone to do research on the past of Thailand, collecting history of every town, race, dynasty and era to contribute to the national history of Thailand. It was generally known that the history of Thailand started around 1,000 years ago, from the original locations of the Thai race on to the time of Chiang Saen, Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Sawankalok (Si Satchanalai), Sukhothai, Old Ayutthaya, New Ayutthaya, Lavo, Nakhon Chai Sri, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Kampaengphet, Chainat, Pitsanulok, Muang Sawan, Supanburi, Kanjanaburi, Phetburi, to mention some influential cities in the past.

It can be seen that his thought went back further than Ayutthaya, as far as to the era in which the Thais migrated from the original locations to the modern-day Thailand. He listed names of the places on the migration route, from the original locations southwards to the northern and the southern regions respectively, which suggests that the king (as well as the ruling class and the academia at that time) believed the Thais migrated from the north, or at least created such an impression to readers. At the same time, his mentions of places were only geographical and not in chronological order.

#### 3.4) Royal Chronicle: royal writings by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab

In the year 2450 BE, Crown Prince Vajiravudh visited the historical sites of Kampaeng Phet, Sukhothai, Si Satchanalai, and Pitsanulok before publishing the book “Phra Ruang City Journey” in 2451 BE. The crown prince relied on the first stone inscription in order to conduct his studies to discover other historical artifacts. According to Dr. Piriya Krairiksh, the crown prince’s analysis has shown some flaws since, at the time, the stone inscription was believed to be genuine. The stone inscription was used as a base for the study to determine the age, location and the interpretation of that specific time, without questioning the credibility of the stone itself. Dr. Piriya Krairiksh has analysed that the stone had not been inscribed during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century BE, as stated in the stone inscription itself. He also stated that the misleading information had been acted upon until the year 1988. (Piriya: 1989, p.10, 15)



Rama VI revered Sukhothai arts and architecture as hard evidence which reflects the prosperity of Thailand as “the nation” and emphasizes that Sukhothai was indeed “a capital”, stating clearly that “Sukhothai is the capital city of the Northern Thailand” (while Ayuddhaya is that of the Southern). This reflects that he was influenced by Wachirayan Warorot (See 2, Anthology of Wachirayan Warorot) whom the king used as an example of history studies and the publication of historical texts. Then, his ideas and ways in which Thai history is to be studied will pass on and develop into nationalist history in the time of Field Marshal Plaek Phibulsongkhram’s government.

Nonetheless, the content of this book has been proven to show an accurate illustration of the site through descriptive writings and photographs of the actual site during the time the book was written. The writer also observed that the book was meant to be a starting point for people who are interested in historical artifacts to explore further in this field. Moreover, the writer wanted Thai people to take pride in the country’s existing historical landmarks which are a reflection of the traditions and civilisation that the country held from the past. The writer also expressed his concerns on Thai people’s interest in western civilisation at the time (Crown prince Vajiravudh: 1908, p. ๑๓ - ๑๖ ). As the writer was a crown prince, his having respect for the artists who built the historical landmarks would influence the hegemonic class and the book would prove to be useful for historians.

3.5 ) Royal Chronicle: royal writings by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab in the Second Edition version published in BE 2457 (the first edition was published in BE 2455). In the introduction of the text, the prince suggested that the Chronicle of Siam should be divided into three eras based on the capital cities in a chronological sense: Sukhothai, Ayuddhaya, and Rattanakosin. Warissara Thangklavanich argues that the prince’s is one of the very first books which officially and clearly states that the Sukhothai era is the starting point of Thai history and then concludes that Prince Damrong Rajanubhab is the one who structured a Thai history that is singular, unified, and continuous

On the topic of “The History of Sukhothai Kingdom”, one of the chapters in Royal Chronicle, the prince cited a number of documents such as the translations of the Ram Khamhaeng Inscription (Sukhothai Inscription No.1 ), the legend of Phra Buddha Sihing, Shinnakarnmalinee, Rachathirath, and Chinese archives translated by Khun Jane Jeenaksorn (Sukjai). Then, Professor Kajorn Sukpanich points out that the translator mistranslated the Chinese documents, leading to misunderstandings that King Ramkhamhaeng went to China twice and brought back porcelain artisans. This very point will later be developed in order to emphasize the prosperity of the era and King Ramkhamhaeng’s heroic qualities in Thai education and in the writings of Thai history.

3.6) The report on the alteration of historical artifacts in Kamphaeng Phet and Si Satchanalai from 2508 -2512 BE (published in 2514 BE) By The Revision Committee

The government had given permission to the Fine Arts department to alter and restore historical artifacts in Kamphaeng Phet and Si Satchanalai since 2496 BE, but this had been abruptly paused until 2507 BE where the reconstruction was resumed again with over 83 sites. The ministry of each province had given permission to the Fine Arts department to renovate and reconstruct the artifacts in order to preserve them. The time limit was from 2508 BE to 2512 BE. At the end of 2512 BE, 18 sites were reconstructed in Kamphaeng Phet and 14 site in Si Satchanalai. The report on this work was conducted and published in 2514 BE.

This report is separated into two components. The first component focused on the province of Kamphaeng Phet and the latter on Si Satchanalai. The details of the reconstruction were reported, relating to the discovery and the mapping of the site along with the location of important monuments and other infrastructure such as the forest, the hills, the lake, and the road. The report was divided into different sections on different historical sites with photographs of the sites before and after renovation and with the details on the data and methods used to preserve the artifacts (The Revision Committee, 1971).

Apart from what was mentioned above, descriptions of the artifacts are also provided along with interpretation and speculations.

Wat Chang Lom, Si Satchanalai. There had been a discovery of the alteration of the right side of the ground floor with an addition of a lotus-base infrastructure, but it had been covered with cement, showing the annexe to the building. Evidence of the annexe has also been found on the base of the main Buddha sculpture inside the image hall. Historians cannot confirm if the annexe was made at the same time as the historical site or after. Moreover, historians discovered a plumbing system along the inner walls leading outside the site, a light hole between the elephants situated around the temple, 20 destroyed Buddha statues with only one unharmed. The unharmed statue was found in the northern quarter of the site and has been relocated to a museum. Apart from the architectural findings, historians have found other smaller artifacts such as pottery, Buddha statues' heads, Buddha statues, a 14cm statue of a giant, and two Sukothai-era currency pieces with an elephant in the middle of a coin-shaped silver item with diameter of 9 mm. and 8 mm. (The Revision Committee: 1971, p.31).

At Wat Chedi Chet Thaew, historians found wall paintings of the pagoda from the Si-Vichaya era but in a very faded form. The Fine Arts Department has copied it to preserve it for further studies. Moreover, a Khmer language inscription on a silver plate with the width of 1.5 cm and the length of 40.2 cm has been found rolled up within the ruins of a destroyed Buddha statue. Historians also discovered the tip of a pagoda similar to the one discovered from the Uthong era in Suphanburi province. More pottery were found outside the wall, buried in a square sala of 18 square metres with the height of 1.5 metres. Pottery of elephants and horses were found within the sala, but no trace of Buddhism so historians concluded that these pottery pieces were used in Brahma rituals (The Revision Committee: 1971, p.35).

3.7) Sukhothai (18<sup>th</sup> -20<sup>th</sup> centuries BE) located in the upper part of central Thailand

Prof. Kachorn Sukphanich has studied Yuan Dynasty documents which were from the exact same era with the Sukhothai period, and found two important issues.

The first issue is that Phra Chenjin-aksorn had mistranslated the documents, while Sukhothai History that referred to this document is also wrong. Kublai Khan

was going to attack Sukhothai but one nobleman suggested that he should use his diplomacy in the first step. According to the chronicles of Yuan Dynasty Volume 18 about the imperial order of Kublai Khan (1803-1838 BE) : “August 18, 1837 BE: There was an Imperial order that the King of Hsien, Kan-muting be summoned and persuaded and that he come to Court or, should this prove difficult, that his sons and brother and vassal-retainers present themselves as security” Later, the 20<sup>th</sup> volume of the chronicles also mentioned “July 7, 1843 BE... Twenty-two persons from Chao-wa, the country of Sien, and other places to Court. Clothing was bestowed on them and they were sent back.” Prof.Kachorn Sukphanich has pointed out that these two sayings did not state that King Hsien has not shown up at all but Phra Chenjin-aksorn (Sudjai) translated this then submitted it to Rama V in 2452 BE. The first message means King Huan Seng Zhong demanded of King Hsien that, if they were going to be on friendly terms, he must send his son or his nobleman. The letter said that King Hsien asked to pay a visit. This first Thai translation was firstly published in 2456 BE then officially published again by Vajirayan Library in 2460 BE in the 5<sup>th</sup> Volume of the Chronicles Series. Prof. Kachorn Sukphanich stated that the messages were misinterpreted, leading to the conclusion that King Ramkhamhaeng went to China then mixed this again with the story of Phra Ruang's journey to China. It was even more misinterpreted that Phra Ruang is King Ramkhamhaeng who went to China and brought back craftsmen to mould Sangkhaloke ceramic wares.

The second issue is that Kub Laikhan (Kublai Khan) was the one who sent his troops to defeat many countries. He conquered Europe and Russia for almost a century, twice sent his troops to attack Japan, Java once and the Pagan Kingdom (16-18<sup>th</sup> B.E.) in Burma in 1830 BE. He also had the thought to sack Sukhothai but the Chinese documents have no record of the time (approximately between 1822-1824 BE because he sent his ambassador to Sukhothai in 1825 BE named Heo Zeu Zi). There was evidence of war strategy planning to defeat Sukhothai, Lavo and two other named polities including Sumatra Island but a nobleman named "Chialunatashu" said that these small kingdoms are unimportant and not worth to send troops to conquer, therefore he should send his ambassador to convince these countries to surrender. Yolayenudiamia and ambassadors were dispatched to negotiate, with which 20 kingdoms agreed. Five years after King Hsien's death, Sukhothai sent Phaya Loe Thai

to visit King Nguan Seng Zhong in Beijing. Nguan Seng Zhong had ordered his people not to lay their fingers on the Malays and they kept their promises (Kajonh: 1971, p. 100-104).

From the studies of E. Thadeus Flood and Prof. Kachorn Sukphanich, we observe that China had widely expanded its power including to Southeast Asia. It appears that China becomes the major factor both in politics and trade in Southeast Asia within this era. In the beginning till the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century BE, China had forbidden Hsien to offend the Malays but shortly after, from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century BE to the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> BE, Lavo and Ayodhya expanded their powers, extending from the Mekong River basin, the northeastern region of Thailand, the Angkor Kingdom and Sukhothai to the upper area of the Malay peninsula. There is the possibility that China agreed with this since it was stated in the document that Ayutthaya had strong diplomatic relations with China. (see 1.11 Ayutdhaya)

3.8) Background of the word Siam, Thai, Laos, and Khmer by Jit Poomisak

Jit Poomisak (first edition 2519 BE) noted that Siam is the name of a land and people with non-specific race, but it is not the name of any nationality or race. Instead, it is a name of an area with the root of the word from the native language “Sam” or “Sum” means the area with the subterranean course of water emerged from the soft ground or mud. And the non-raced people that live in that area are referred to as Siam. The people who lived in Ayutthaya on the Chao Phraya riverbank called the Thai-Laos raced people who lived on the river Salween as Thai Yai or Siam Yai. (It is recorded for the first time in the annals by Simon de la Loubère, the diplomatic agent from France who came to Ayutthaya in the reign of King Narai between 2199-2231 BE. The people who lived on the river Khong are named as Thai Noi or Siam Noi) The Kingdom of Siam was the name that the foreigners gave to the basin of the Chao Phraya river which was the Ayutthaya Kingdom. The first evidence was found in 2000 BE, but it does not mention Sukhothai.

3.9) Thai archaeology in the last decade by Srisak Valliphodom, 2525 BE.

Vallibhotama (2525 BE) referred to the results of the survey of ancient remains. The study focused on the archaeological studies over the previous decade that had increasingly focused on site survey. Aerial mapping was included to the study widely to explain about the geography of the cities along the Chao Phraya river watershed in the old period, and to reflect on the assumptions about the states in Thailand before the 20<sup>th</sup> centuryBE, etc.

3.10) Ancient Chinese documents regarding Thai history, published in a history journal in 2529 BE by Tuan Lichen–Prapruet. The author states the benefits of ancient Chinese documents which recorded historical events of several states in Thailand and Southeast Asia more widely. He went to do research in Chinese archives himself and translated important findings in an attempt to contribute to history studies and other related fields. Prapruet translated Chinese records concerning states in Thailand and nearby regions in Southeast Asia and provided interpretation as well as connecting his findings with other pieces of existing historical evidence so as to yield better and clearer explanation of such recorded towns as Funan, Jin Lin, Dvaravati, Lawoe, Sukhothai, and Ayuddhaya.

3.11) The ancient city of the Sukhothai era (First edition, 2532 BE) by Associate Professor Srisak Walliphodom

Associate Professor Srisak Walliphodom has compiled historical and geographical evidence along with archeological reports, myths and folklore, and interviews with local people, especially relating to evidence on civilisation and settlements (along the river bank and around the main city) that were used to develop the settlements along the river basin during the Sukhothai era. The study shows that the Sukhothai state embraced the emergence of other settlements along the river basin, also that it was a very important buffer between the Lanna state and the Ayutthaya state since it was located in the centre between those two states, thereby acting as a buffer state, especially at the time of war (Srisak: 2552 BE, p.5-6). Srisak has divided the development of the Sukhothai era into three main periods: The time before the establishment of the state, the early period of the Sukhothai state, and the late period of the Sukhothai state.

Prior the establishment of the Sukhothai state, approximately between 12<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE, in the region of Sukhothai, especially the lower of Ping-yom-Nan river basin area, there is evidence of settlements dated from the Dvaravati era leading on to the Lopburi era, but there are no signs of civilisation (i.e. complex social structure, politics, and economics). The settlements only lie on the transportation routes that were used to commute between surrounding states such as Nakorn Srichai, Nakorn Prathom, Lawo, Satern, Pra Nakorn or Cambodia (Srisak: 2552 BE, p.356-357).

The early period of the Sukhothai state (18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries BE). In 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries BE, during the late Dvaravati, the cities such as Tung Yang, Chalieng-Si Satchanalai, Sukhothai, and Kampheang Phet had not been established, as there were only small settlements, especially the city of Si Satchanalai where potteries of the Dvaravati era have been found along with the Dvaravati silver coins that were used for trade around the area of the Chaopraya Basin, Naan Basin, Pichit province, Khong estuary, Sri Kaset, and Bagan in Myanmar (Srisak:2552 BE, 360).

Since around 16<sup>th</sup> century BE and onwards, China had changed the commercial policy to trading directly with other important cities, within the archipelago, the peninsula, and the mainland. This led to the expansion of transportation routes into communities in the mainland. Settlements moved closer to transportation routes, resulting in the construction of the settlements within the Yom and Nan river basin which became the Sukhothai state later. In 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE, the main cities were Bagan, Mon, Lavo, Haripunchai, Nanhao, Angkor, and Viang-Chantra, these cities developed as the commercial aspects of the area increased, especially with the China trade. At around 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries BE, the development of important cities during the earlier period of Sukhothai began along the Yom and Nan river basin. These cities were Sukhothai, Si Satchanalai, Song Kwae (Pisanulok), and Sra-Luang (Thung Yang). Apart from these cities, Nakorn-Thai (or Rad city, as stated in the stone inscription) was also located in the centre of the communication route, hence to be considered as one of the important cities at the time (Srisak: 2552 BE, p.360-364).

The late period of the Sukhothai state (20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>th</sup> centuries BE). In the reign of King Mahathammaracha I, the Sukhothai state had developed from having only four

cities (Sukhothai, Si Satchanalai, Sra Luang, and Song Kwae), as the empire expanded to the west, towards the Ping River, and built Nakorn Chum city on the bank of the Ping river. Then the kingdom expanded northwards to Prae city, allying itself with Naan city, and it used the Song Kwae as a base to expand towards the east. The land along the Pa-sak River basin was conquered and the city of Petchaboon was built. This shows the effort of establishing a kingdom of Sukhothai during this time, with expansion both politically and commercially (Srisak: 2009, 364-366).

3.12) A historical analysis of the King Ram Khamhaeng's Stone Inscription by Dr. Piriya Krairiksh (2529-2531 BE)

The purpose of the analysis was to point out that the first stone inscription was not made during the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century BE as it was stated in the inscription itself, since the language and the information inscribed on the stone does not agree with other stones that were inscribed in 1873 BE or 1883 to 1955 BE (the 49<sup>th</sup> stone) (Piriya, 1989: Introduction).

Dr. Piriya evaluated the contradicting theories from different histories, citing especially the theory by Professor Coëdès who believed that the first stone inscription was made during the King Ram Khamhaeng era based on the use of words, the shape of characters, and the context of the inscription. Dr. Piriya also contradicted opinions from other historians. For example Professor Sang Monvithoon believes that the first stone was not inscribed by King Ram Khamhaeng but by King Rama IV, while H.S.H Chanjirayuth Ratchanee stated that the first stone was made during the Lithai era, and there is then the observation by Dr. Michael Vickery who pointed out that the vowels were written on the same line as the consonants, whereas this kind of writing was never found in South East Asian inscriptions, while all the vowels were written to the left of the consonant with the same size which leads to an inquiry into the misperceptions of the Thai language in the first stone that does not carry on to other stones (Piriya: 2532 BE, 22-23).

3.13) The Kingdom of Siam: Background of Thailand from ancient time to Ayuddhaya of the Kingdom of Siam by Srisak Walliphodom, published in the journal *Silapa Wattanatham*, special edition in 2534 BE. The author argues that the



past studies of Thai history focus mostly on race and are ethnocentric; they pay attention to Thai ethnic groups that, in fact, do not exist. He also argues that the emphasis on race in past historical texts is responsible for racial conflicts in the country, adding that in developed nations, on the other hand, historians will try to create peace among citizens by educating people to know their national histories which gradually developed from villages to towns, then to kingdoms and eventually a country. Instead of trying to find the origins of how a national, dominant race comes into existence, the historians from developed countries choose to respect racial diversity. Thus, influenced by this idea, Srisak Walliphodom, in his work, traces the development of village communities, towns, states, and kingdoms in each region of the country in chronological order.

The author points out that in order to understand the development of a community, it is important to first understand the relationship between the geographical surroundings and a social unit because human development in pre-historic times when there were no sufficient technologies to control nature and environment was deeply connected to the geographical environment. Humans in the ancient time had to adapt themselves to the environment to survive; thus, the environmental factors once influenced choices of settlements, cultivations, and ways of life – contributing to the differences in cultural practices and beliefs in each community.

### 3.14) Sukhothai State: a Utopia, by Sujit Wongthes (2536 BE)

Mr. Sujit stated that the development of the Thai settlements up to the establishment of the Sukhothai state, in the context of South East Asian history since the first human habitation, is closely related to the locale and ethnicity in the mindset of the people in that specific time. There were no borders to distinguish the land as in the present time. There is the example of the perspective of the Chinese “Mhan-su” area where it is stated in the Mhan memoir that the region from the Yunnan province in China down to South East Asia is one piece of land that is owned by the Mhan. Mhan is a term in ancient Chinese that originated 2,000 years ago meaning the mixture of different races and nationalities that are not Chinese (or the

Han), living in the south of Yunnan province to the coast of South East Asia, often referred to as very uncivilised and savage (Sujit: 1993, 3).

Sujit also provided the theory on the development of settlements in Southeast Asia whereby people settled in small tribes and then developed into a nation, building states which then expanded into a kingdom. He believed that the name “Thai” did not originate from a nationality but from the cultural inheritance, similar to the words “Siam, Laos, Morn, Khom, et cetera,” and he does not believe that Thai people originated from one specific area but a mixture of different tribes within the Southeast Asian area since the ancient times, becoming indistinguishable. He also debunked the common theory which stated that Thai people migrated from the North or moved from Sip-Song Panna, since there is not enough evidence dating back far enough to support that theory (Sujit: 1993, 4).

Sujit suspected that the reason why Por Khun Sri Nao Num Thum had built the base of the Phra Si Rattana Mahathat could relate to a shift in religion and politics from Mahayana Buddhism to a new doctrine of Buddhism, which may have angered the Khmer and caused them to invade both Sukhothai city and Si Satchanalai city. Another speculation relates to the name “Khmer Sabath Klong Lam-Phong” which means the ruler of a city within the colony of the Lawo (Lopburi) region, who was kin to the “Sri Nao Num Thum” family of the Sukhothai-Si Satchanalai state. There is no evidence to pin-point if Por Khun Bang Klang Hao had ever ruled any city, but the 45<sup>th</sup> stone inscription has stated that he is related to the family that ruled the Naan province and the Pra-Bang family that rule the Than city in Vietnam (Sujit, 1993: 18-19).

3.15) Si Satchanalai in Chinese Historical documents, by Vinai Pongsripian (2538 BE)

Vinai Pongsripian is a professor at the Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Silpakorn University. He published a journal article on “Si Satchanalai in ancient Chinese”. He studied the etymological meaning of the word “Jlin” in Khmer which means terrace or horizontal, and which matches the landscape of the Cha-Liang

settlement along the Yom river basin. He suspected that the name “Cha-Liang” was, originally, the name of Si Satchanalai which is similar to that of the name “Cheng-Liang” in Chinese memoirs. The word “Sung-klong” or “Sung-Kork” in Khmer, which means kiln, has become “Sung-Ka-Lok” which is now used to refer to the origin of a certain type of traditional pottery that originates from the Cha-Liang city. Moreover, Chinese memoirs also mentioned “Sang-Sui-Su-Ku-Tee” since the name “Su-Ku-Tee” in the Yuan dynasty documents means Sukhothai. In addition, the stone inscriptions always mentioned Si Satchanalai and Sukhothai together, where “Sang-Sui” definitely means Si Satchanalai (Vinai: 1995, 7-10).

### 3.16) Sukhothai: A Cultural Heritage by Pises Jiajanpong (2538 BE)

Pises Jiajanpong is a historian who has specialised in literature and museums. He wrote a book about Sukhothai being a cultural heritage of Thai culture, which was the one of six books on Thai cultural heritage and natural heritage in Thailand. For that, the book is crucial in communicating with the public officially from the governing body that is responsible for the historical site.

Pises paid attention to the role of Praya Lithai in religion and politics, although the Sukhothai later under the rule of Ayutthaya kingdom. But the prosperity of Buddhism and the arts of Sukhothai developed to the highest level during this time. It is the foundation for Thai arts and culture that has developed to date. Pises has also analysed and interpreted the social context of historical eras in civilisation, politics, religion, and commerce, which has proven to be very useful in studying the history and the heritage of the Sukhothai era (Pises: 1995, 46-60).

3.17) “A Dark Age”, or Gap in Siamese History by Michael Wright, a series of five articles published in the journal *Silapa Wattanatham* in 2549 BE, aims to understand history before the establishment of Ayudhdhaya. The author mentions two significant historical events during 1743-1893 BE that occurred chronologically – (1) Large powerful states namely Bagan, Angkor, and Sri Vichaya lost their power while

(2) there emerged states comprising Thai speakers and many which are Sri Lanka Theravada Buddhist states.

Additionally, he states that existing that documents which record legends and folklore cannot be used as historical evidence, meaning the author had to study from both archeological sites and Khmer and Thai inscriptions. He finds that at the time, Southeast Asia was in a deep religious and political conflict which started in the Angkor Kingdom, the center of power, then spread through the entire Khmer world (divided by the author into the Mon, Thai-Laos, and Khmer areas based exclusively on culture, not on geographical borders or race). Indonesian islands solved the conflict by turning Muslim, but in the mainland, the Buddhist sectors managed to abolish the power of Brahmins and establish a new kind of society. He proves his claims by citing the prosperity and power of Buddhism in Lanka, which adapted Buddhism as a national religion and used it to conquer Hindu bandits in the reign of King Paramapahum Maharaja in 1696-1729 BE. The Buddhists in Mainland Southeast Asia adopted both the religion and its tactic in religious war from Lanka and won the war against the Hindu. The author also cites evidence concerning trade, arts, architecture, and religion, including the story of the son of King Jayavarman VII who was ordained in Lanka, to describe the connection between King Paramapahum Maharaja of Lanka and King Jayavarman VII of Angkor in terms of politics, religion, and trade.

3.18) Thai History is Inseparable from Southeast Asian History, Sujit Wongthes. Sujit points out that around 17<sup>th</sup>- 18<sup>th</sup> century BE, some of academics believed to be the “Dark Age” of Thai history, was in fact just a gap in knowledge and ideas of some scholars. He states that there were several historical events during the time, leaving traces in the forms of chronicles, legends, folklore, linguistic cultures, alphabets, literature, dialects, music, beliefs, traditions, and so on. Academics often overlook these kinds of evidence and are blinded by ethno-centrism. Considering his work, I strongly agree with him, as most academic works are limited in the traditional historiographical framework (developed during the reigns of King Rama IV to Rama VI), which usually omits the period in question, and takes the foundation of Sukhothai in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century BE as the starting point. Even though there are attempts to study the more ancient history, most works focus separately on certain points in time

without continuity in terms of time which would lead to the major events in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE.

Moreover, Sujit mentions the historical events during the period by relating the evidence to point out the relationships between different factors, by citing various kind of evidence aforementioned. The crucial events during the period include: movement of resources and migration, the role of Theravada Buddhism, the worldwide epidemic of the Black Death including within the region, and the origin of the Thai people, language, and alphabets. I perceive that this is the notion and methodology most applicable (in this context) in the studies of the representation of Si Satchanalai.

3.19) “The basin of Chao Phraya River after the end of King Jayavarman VII” the period after King Jayavarman VII passed away, by Asst. Prof. Dr. Rungroj Piromanukul (Krachaechan: 2016)

The history after the death of King Jayavarman VII found that the land in the central region changed exceedingly. That is, the people who speak Thai-Laos played a central role instead of the older peoples. Although the rice productivity in the flatland of the central region and in Tonle Sap was similar, nonetheless the central land produced the sea salt that the Tonle Sap could not. And the landscape facilitated ships to access the central area and also enabled control of trade and navigation from the Gulf of Thailand to go to the Andaman Sea, as well.

“An important thing is the concentration of Lavo and Suphanabhumi that created Ayothaya Sri Ram Thep Nakhon. As a result, the lands in the basin of the Chao Phraya river pushed themselves to play the role of the capital instead of Angkor of Khmer”, Rungroj summarised.

3.20) The traits of ancient culture "after Dvaravati" in the basin of the Mae Klong- Tha Chin river between the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE. by Potjanok Karnchanajuntorn, Supamas Doungsakun, Rampueng Simging, and Busba Ouamkasem (Krachaechan, 2016)

The archaeological study showed that the west of Thailand after the decline of Dvaravati still had numerous large communities. Though there was the change in their capital, the people and society still existed. However, the ancient community network in the basin of the river Mae Klong – Tha Chin transformed following the political situation. The social development of Southeast Asia overall was more complicated than in the previous time from the larger economy network. Cambodia and Burma were the social units that were enormous enough to be called “empires”. However, it is impossible to overlook the movement of many small size communities. Further, as the economic and political spheres became more complicated, the politics and the military needed to be more stable. Moreover, the dependence on resources from outside is undeniable. Therefore, the study and understanding of history, besides the period of glory, is critical, for example, the history of Thailand in the critical point when Khmer was weaker and degenerating, while Sukhothai was growing to be "the kingdom that is classified as the former capital of Thailand". In fact, there are other social groups in Thailand which constituted significant but unobserved origins in the history and culture of Thailand.



3.21) The ceramics in the dark age of Thailand between 1764-1893 BE by Pariwat Thammapreechakorn, PhD. Southeast Asian Ceramics Museum, Bangkok University.

He noted that the period of the declining of the Cambodian Kingdom after the death of King Jayavarman VII to the establishment of Ayutthaya by King U-Thong in 1893 BE was the dark age. The three cities which were Sukhothai, Lavo, and Suphanburi were located in the central region of Thailand, however, there is only Sukhothai that has its recognized historical evidence. Then, he studied the china wares, the exported products of China during that period, discovered in the central region of Thailand, to find the story about Lavo and Suphanabhumi. The study found that the land in the northeast of Thailand was under the administrative control of Angkor. The china wares were the exported products between the 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> centuries BE, however, there were none after the death of King Jayavarman VII. Instead, a vast number of ceramics were discovered in the area of central Thailand which is evidence of the growth in trading of Lavo and Suphanabhumi.

3.22) Thai, the basin of Chao Phraya river, the prosody in language among various ethnicities by Suwattana Liamprawat, Major of Thai, Faculty of Arts, Silpakorn University.

This is a journal that shows the evolution of the Thai language from its origin in Guangxi Province in China to the basin of the Chao Phraya River at the beginning of the Ayutthaya era. It referred to the study by linguists including William J. Gedney, Wilaiwan Kanitthanan (1982 and 2001), Li Fung Gui (Li 1959), and James R. Chamberlain (Chamberlain 1975) who found that the traditional Thai language (Proto-Tai) originated approximately 293 BE (250 BC) in the area of Guangxi. Then it divided into two categories which were Proto-Northern Tai or PNT and Proto-Southwestern Central Tai or PSCT in the areas of the Chinese borderline and northern Vietnam. In 14<sup>th</sup> century BE, there was political pressure in Vietnam, as a result, the people who speak Thai family languages migrated along two routes were Lue and Sip Song Chau Tai, and became the language of the ancestral population of Southwestern. Around the 15<sup>th</sup> -16<sup>th</sup> centuries BE the emigration of Thai speakers had been

continual. Presently, it is found that the Thai speakers live in the north of Southeast Asia from Assam of upper India, the west of Myanmar to Laos, and the north of Vietnam, and also the eastern regions in the south of China. Thai regularly live around the area of the basins – Brahmaputra, Chindawinh, Irrawaddy, Mao or Chow Li, Salween, Mekong, Yangtze, Black River, Red River, Kok, and Chao Phraya, for instance.

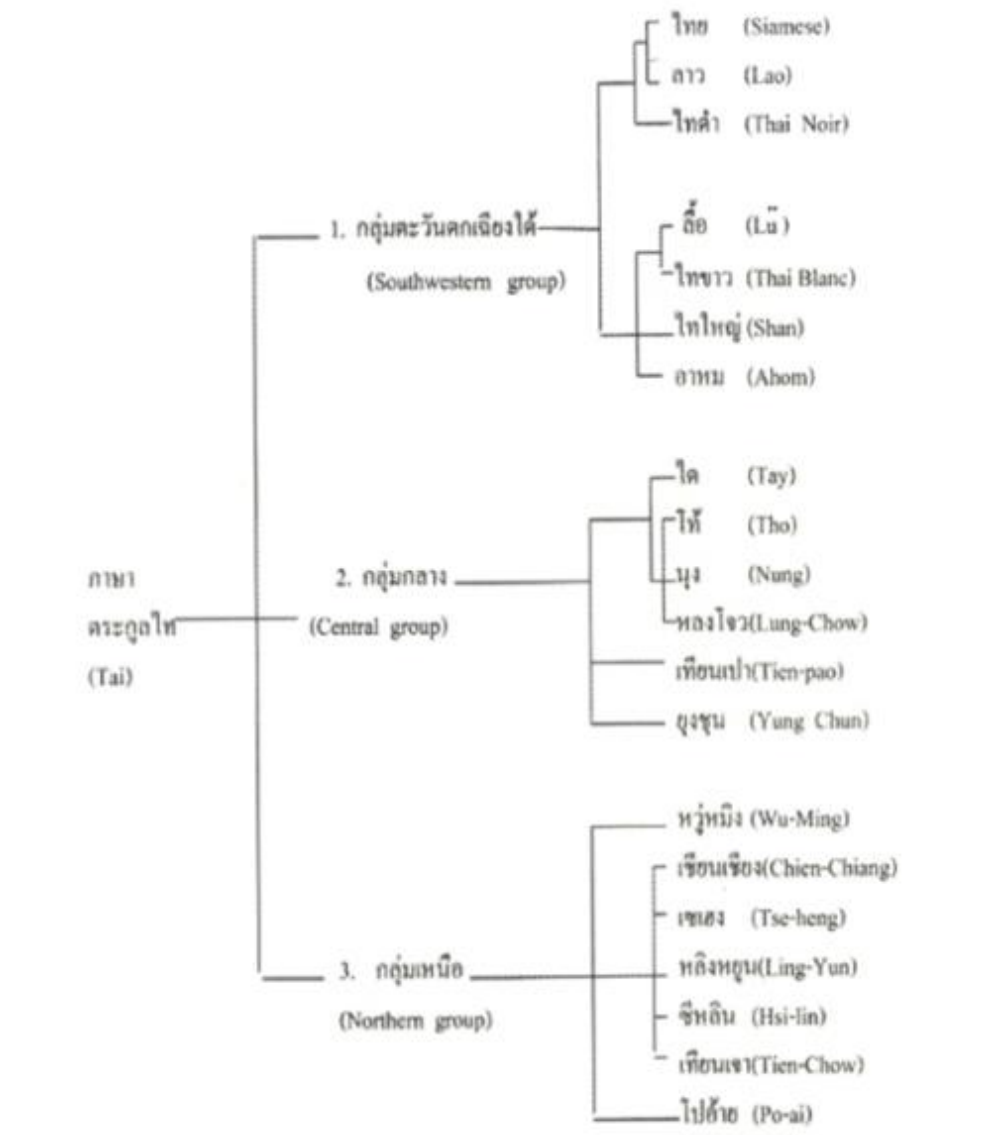


Figure 1: Language mapping and grouping.

Source: The Dark Ages of Thai History: After Bayon, Theravada Buddhism and The arrival of the Tai (2557 BE)



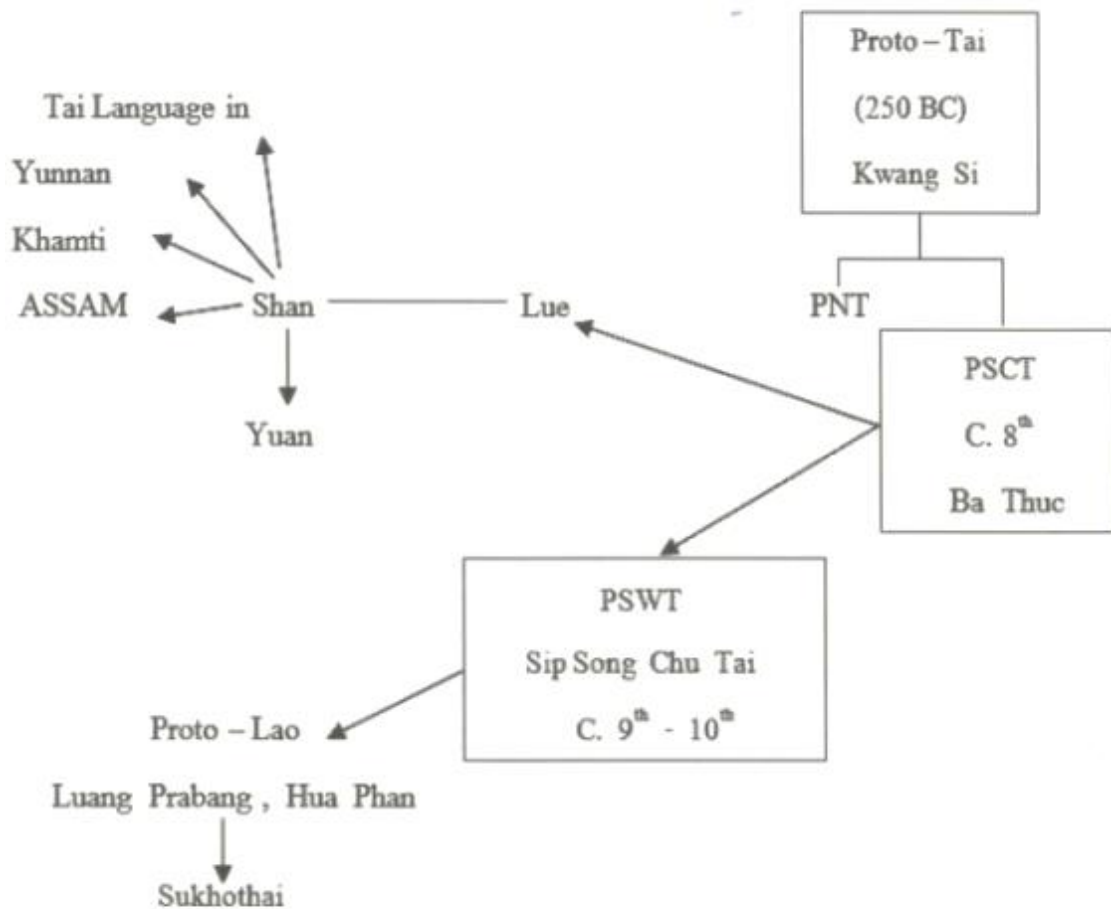


Figure 2: The migration of Thai people in the South East According to James R. Chamberlain

Source: The Dark Ages of Thai History: After Bayon, Theravada Buddhism and The arrival of the Tai (2557 BE)

The Thai-Laos speakers who migrated to reside in the Chao Phraya river watershed through the south of Thailand between the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE, exhibited a combination of the languages of the Thai, Khmer and Pali-Sanskrit which resulted in the language in the basin of the Chao Phraya river being a hybrid that was unique from others in the same family.

3.23) The Official Document on Wat Chang Lom number 1/2530 (1987), by the Fine Arts department.

The main focus of the document is on the study of Wat Chang Lom from 2527 to 2528 BE and the archaeological excavation of the wall construction of the 2<sup>nd</sup> level

of the pagoda where the inner base had been reconstructed and fixed prior to the discovery. For the archaeological findings on the civilisation of the area, historians found that there were three civilisation eras prior to the building of the temple going back to 1840 BE, showing that the temple was constructed in the Praya Litai era (Office of Archaeology: 2530 BE), after the alleged inscription of the stone by King Ramkhamhaeng. However, Professor Sanur Nildej believed that the Chedi was constructed during the King Ramkhamhaeng era. To prove his theory, archaeologists would have to excavation to the center of the pagoda in order to find the old pagoda hidden inside.

3.24) The Chedi during the Sukhothai period at Wat Chedi Jed Thaew, by Santi Leksukhum, 2534 BE.

Santi (2534) is the first research that studies comprehensively the art of the area. It starts with the location selection to be the historical site for the implementation of its art and then examines it thoroughly. Beginning with the layout planing and comparing it with other places in Si Satchanalai, it was found that Wat Chedi Jed Thaew is more sophisticated in its layout planing than others and it was connected to a cosmological ideology. In addition, the location highlights the importance of art and culture influenced by Pagan, Sri Lanka, Lopburi, and Lanna which is presented in the detail of the pieces of art. Furthermore, this research also shows the detail about the style of the stupa, patterns, sculpture, and accessory elements which constitute the model to study the history of Thai arts by putting them together as the evolution of the history.

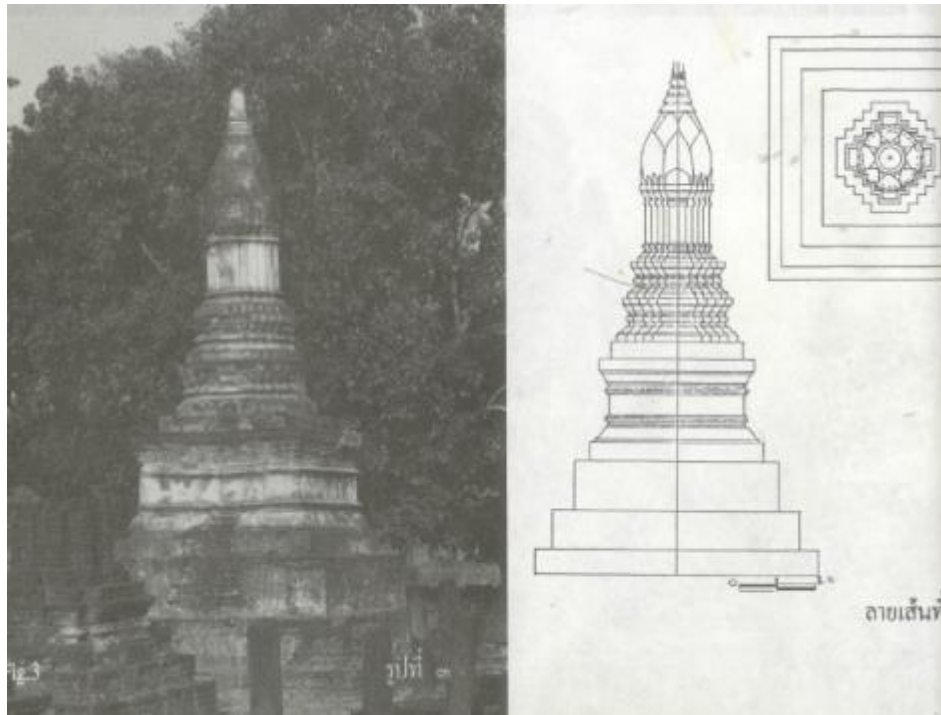


Figure 3: The drawing of the pagoda, to enable comparative analysis.

Source: Chedi in the Sukhothai Period: Wat Chedi Chet Taw (2534)

### 3.25) Wat Chom Chuen by Fine Art Department (2540)

Wat Chom Chuen is a book that presents the information from the excavation at Wat Chom Chuen during 2536-2539 BE. It explains the evidence of the discovery from the geomorphology that related to the earth surfaces and environment. Besides, it presents information about the preservation of Si Satchanalai Historical Park from the past until the period of study.

With important new academic content and clarity of evidence, the book shows the development of Si Satchanalai community since the beginning. The Si Satchanalai Historical Park constructed the exhibition hall and preserved all excavations to be a study site into the evolution of Si Satchanalai together with the excavation report.

3.26) Description of the Inscription in Sukhothai Era, Prasert Na Nakara, 2547 BE.

Prof. PhD Prasert Na Nakara is a professional in reading the Sukhothai inscription and an expert in the history of stone inscription. The book shows the importance of Sukhothai inscriptions and presents statements on those inscriptions such as the relation between Sukhothai and Nan, the history of the city of Rad, Saka, Rumbajai, and other cities. Moreover, it provides the detail of the ordering of Sukhothai's dynasty and the story about the kings of Sukhothai, ideology, politics, including knowledge from the inscriptions. There is description of the primary inscriptions and also the definition of the vocabulary.

### 3.27) Where did Sukhothai come from? By Sujit Wongthet, 2548 BE.

This is a book discusses about the history of Sukhothai. It described Sukhothai as a small district located inland, far from the sea and surrounded by medium size states and variously sized cities. Sukhothai was not clear from invasion. In the same time that Phraya Lithai killed his enemy and enthroned himself to be the king of Sukhothai in 1890 BE, there were a lot of political movements (Sujit: 2548 BE).

The history of Thailand as portrayed in textbooks declares that Sukhothai was the first capital and then, when the kingdom declined, there was the establishment of Ayutthaya in 1890 BE. However, the pieces of evidence are not concordant with those books since Sukhothai emerged in the same time as Ayodhya Sri Ram Thep Nakhon (Ayutthaya), also Suphanabhumi (Suphanburi) which developed from the ancient Dvaravati. To consider that development, Sukhothai was probably the new state that emerged with the support of Lavo (or Cambodia), that then moved the capital and was renamed to Ayodhya Sri Ram Thep Nakhon. The Ayutthaya Kingdom was just the settlement of the new dynasty of Ramathipbodee to rule the old state that was Ayothya Sri Ram Thep Nakhon.

### 3.28) Where did Thai come from? By Sujit Wongthet, 2548.

Sujit (2548) is a book that discusses about the background of the Thais that is not the name of any ethnicity. Siam is a name to call the area that expanded to be the district, thence the name of the nation to be applied to the kingdom. The people lived

in the area called Siam no matter what race they were. However, there were some Tai or Thai-Laos ethnicity in the group.

The Thai-Laos language group occupied the space in the south of China such as Yunnan, Guangxi, Canton, etc. Growing Chinese trade resulted in the Thai-Laos language expanding rapidly and it became "the commercial language". Other races had to use Thai-Laos as an interlingua for communication. Finally, the people from other lands considered Siam as identified by Thai-Laos or Siam language. In fact, there are other languages blended among the people called Siam since they needed to use it to communicate.

Sujit proposed, in fact the root of Thai is diversity in race and culture, Thais have not vegetated for 3,000 years and so on. Thais are developing all the time and get the culture from others to blend in its culture. This is the core of the history of Thai study. However, the history textbooks do not instruct like this, instead provide the knowledge about the wealth of the nation and culture that created Thailand in the present. It shows the role of many groups of people in Thai society which means the nation has not come from the setting by a group of people”.

3.29) The conference of the inscription Part 8 , the Sukhothai inscription, 2548 BE.

What the book explaining the Sukhothai inscription is insignificant as evidence that provides knowledge of the archaeology and history of Thailand in the Sukhothai era. It collects the information of other, later inscriptions that were found later to be the primary evidence for the public to collect the data, to study, analyse, and research widely.

3.30) Si Satchanalai, the Reconstructions by Department of Architectural History-faculty Architecture-SU., 2549 BE.

Department of Architecture (2549) is a book that described study of the architecture by topographical survey of historical sites (measure work) and comparison with the patterns of other places to create a complete reconstruction of the historical sites for historical study purposes.

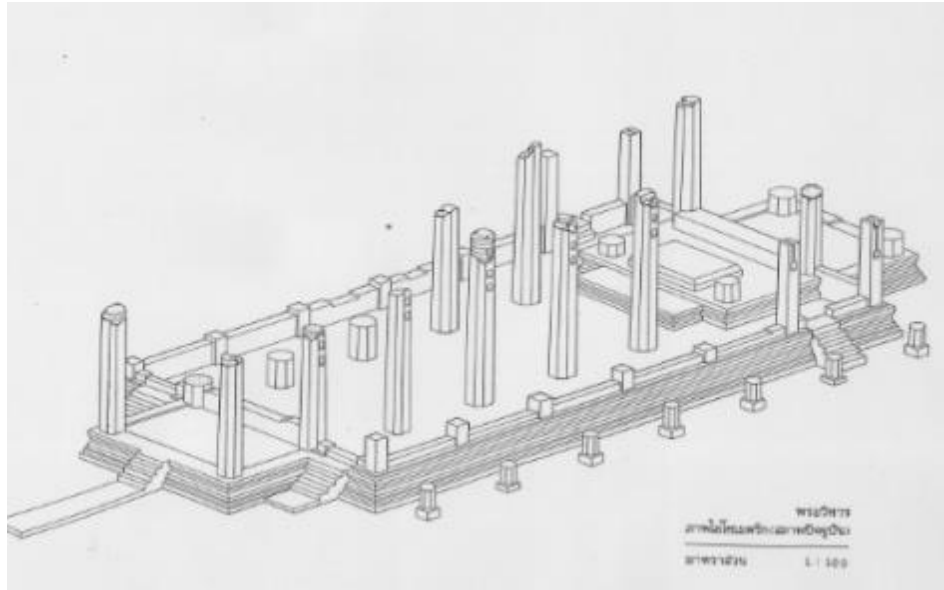


Figure 4: Reconstruction Drawings

Source: Report on The Measured Architecture Drawings of Ancient Architecture in Si Satchanalai, Sukhothai Part 1 (2549 BE)

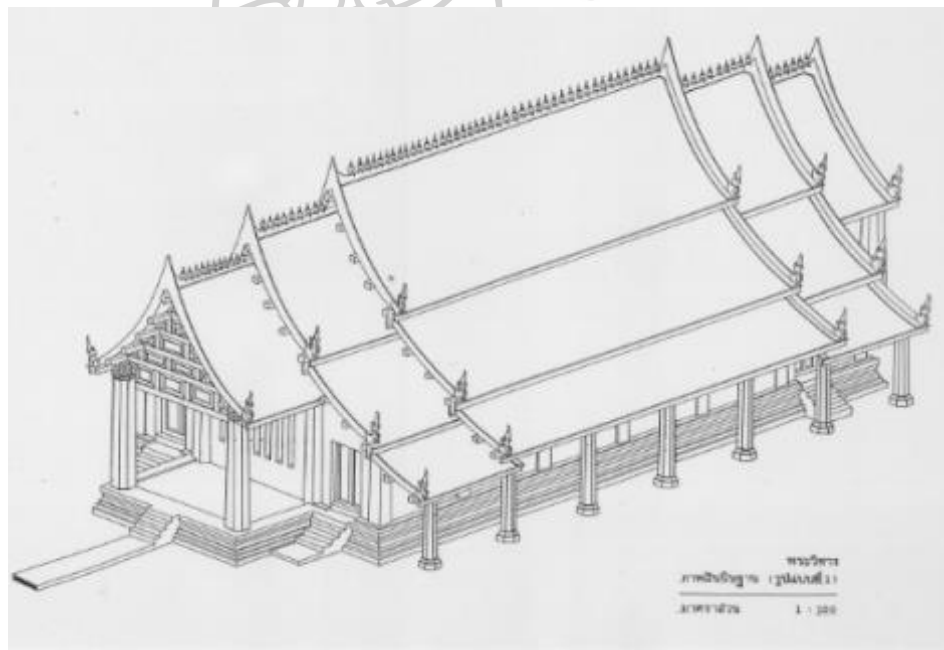


Figure 5: Reconstruction Drawings

Source: Report on the Measured Architecture Drawings of Ancient Architecture In Si Satchanalai, Sukhothai Part 1 (2549 BE)

3.31) The historical map and cultural map of (Siam) Thailand by Sujit Wongthet, 2551 BE.

Sujit (2551 BE) presents information mainly based on maps to explain the history in each period. It is a presentation by location connected to the history and culture of Southeast Asia, specifically Thailand. The focus is on the ancient world trade influencing the politics and trading in this region.

3.32) Reconstructions by Santi, 2008.

This book is similar to the book titled “Report on The Measured Architecture Drawings of Ancient Architecture in Si Satchanalai, Sukhothai Part 1”. However, it studied the history through the art of historical sites and compared this to the pieces of art in other places such as Khmer, Burmese, and Lanna by creating reconstructions. However, some images may be distorted or unverifiable.

3.33) The History of Sukhothai by Kanokwan, Edited by PhD Tida, 2554 BE.

Sophonwathanachit (2554 BE) focuses on the essential historical issues by questions and answers. It is useful for the students especially in addressing any crucial matters without any unnecessary details for the academic purpose and making it more interesting. Also, it provides the chance to practice to fix the issue, for example, the question of what is the benefit of the history book? Where are the historical sites for archaeological study? What do we get from the archaeological evidence? Where is the old community in Sukhothai? Is Si Satchanalai the same city as Chalieng? What is the meaning of Pho Khun? What is the Pha Maueng dynasty? The book presents the evidence and information according to the questions. Moreover, it describes the historical evidence in the politics and history of the Sukhothai Kingdom, Burma, and Makkatho, etc.

3.34) The city of Rad of the Sukhothai Pho Khun Pha Muaeng and the connection in Thai history, by Pises Jiajanphong, Fine Arts Department, 2555 BE.

Jiajanphong (2012) is a study in the history and location of the city of Rad from the search of old documents, the script on the 2<sup>nd</sup> inscription at Wat Sri Chum, Sukhothai and other inscriptions, Sukhothai, geography, etc. in order to support the information that Rad is Tung Yung district, Lablae in Uttaradit.

#### **2.4 The guidebooks**

1) The Guide To Sukhothai, taking a tour in Sukhothai in the period of Field Marshal P. Pibulsongkram, 2496 BE.

The book published in 2496 BE was a restoration of Sukhothai to present the existing cultural heritage from Sukhothai. Then, there was the collection of Sukhothai history. The contents of the book contain general information of geography, the background of the historic sites, antiques, the old city wall, monastery, chedi, Sangkhalok, Turieng kiln, etc. Nationalism is an over-riding theme and it is mentioned in the book that “We gain a lot of valuable heritages from our ancestors in Sukhothai” (Pibulsongkram, 2497 BE). (However, the book does not celebrate other historical sites nearby such as Si Satchanalai and Kamphaengphet at all. So that the book is a guidebook to stimulate the readers to be aware of the identity of the Thai. That is, it mobilises nationalism through cultural and architectural heritage.

2) Guide book of the ancient remains in Si Satchanalai, Sukhothai by Prachote Sangkhanukit, 2513 BE.

The book was published after the seminar on the five decades of advance in historical study and the history of Sukhothai in 2503 BE. It was the first time in the annals of Si Satchanalai in particular that it was not seen as just the colony of Sukhothai, but it also was the location of many significant historical sites. That is, it shows the glory of the ancient time (Prachote, 2513). The book notes the local history, people, occupations, transportation, festival, and the characteristics of the architectures at Si Satchanalai Historical Park.





Figure 6: Seminar, semi-century, progress, study of archeology and history Sukhothai in 2503 BE.

Source: Fine Arts Department (2513 BE)

3) Guidebook Sukhothai, Si Satchanalai, and Kamphaengphet, 2520 BE.

The book mentioned other historical evidence. It referred to the chronicles, mythologies, and folktales previously overlooked by the scholars. It describes in many details such things as the history of the structures within the monastery complex. It notes the use of brick and stone in the construction for Buddhawas, while the Sangkhawas used only wood. (Fine Art Department, 2520 BE)

4) The Cultural Heritage by Jularak Damrikul, 2534 BE.

The book titled Si Satchanalai: The Cultural Heritage is one from the collection of The Cultural Heritage divided by location, totaling 6 editions, and this edition is the second one authored by Jularak Damrikul. The book points to the importance in terms of the world cultural heritage (Jularak, 2534) by mentioning the legend of the city settlement together with the traditional archaeological study. However, it lacks the consistency: it is an academic paper; therefore, it is not concerned with facilitating the reader's understanding.

5) Guidebook by Prachote Sangkhanukit, 2535 BE.

This is a book that collects all necessary information entirely. It provides the background, the characteristics of architecture, social structure, culture, and economics, included the annals and official documents (Sangkhanukit, 2535 BE). In particular, it focuses on the evidence of Si Satchanalai. This makes the book the most reliable and comprehensive source of data. Besides, it shows a sample of Khmer inscriptions to make the contents clearer.

6) Chalieng, Chiang Choen, Si Satchanalai, Sawankhalok, 2536 BE.

The book orders the history of Si Satchanalai by time and era from the Stone Age, Metal Age, and Dvaravati until the present. It focuses on the academic evidence from many books. It was authored by a group of government officials of the Si Satchanalai Historical Park to be used in historical and archaeological study. This book focuses on the academic evidence and has no attempt to analyse and interpret the evidence. However, it can show more proof that makes for more understanding.

7) Guidebook of Historical Park in Sukhothai, Si Satchanalai, and Kampaengphet, Department of Fine Arts, 2<sup>nd</sup> publication, 2546 BE compiled by Anan Choochote, Thada Sangthong, Nareerat Preechapeechakup, edited by Piset Jiajanpong; it is a small, portable guidebook with both Thai and English content, as well as colored pictures and maps indicating the locations of historical sites. The language is concise and easy to read, unlike previous guidebooks, studies, and academic works.

The guidebook is divided into three parts, which are Sukhothai Historical Park, Si Satchanalai Historical Park, and Kampaengphet Historical Park respectively. Each part is presented in the same manner. First, the archeological evidence and the brief history of each place is given (possibly in order for the readers to have an overall sense of history), in chronological order from the pre-historic period, pre-Sukhothai period, Sukhothai period, and Ayutthaya. In the second part, significant historical sites are elaborated with details including location, history (relating back to the

evidence and history of the related Sukhothai and Ayutthaya-era states as mentioned in the first part), importance and values, and the architectural and artistic styles.

Considering it as a guidebook, there are two notable points. First, it seems that at least three different authors were separately responsible of each part, as there are discrepancies of information in each chapter. In the chapter regarding Kampaengphet Historical Park, the general information of Kampaengphet Province is provided before going into historical details, while in the other two there is no such section. Also, in the chapter dealing with Si Satchanalai, it is mentioned that after King Lerthai passed away, King Ngua Namthom succeeded as the king of Sukhothai, then King Lithai, who was then ruling over Si Satchanalai until 1890 BE, mobilized his army taking over Sukhothai and crowned himself as the king of Sukhothai. (Fine Art Department: 2546 BE, p.74) In contrast, in the section about history of Sukhothai, it is stated that after the reign of King Ramkhamhaeng, possibly during the reign of King Lerthai, the kingdom of Sukhothai had disintegrated and the states in the kingdom became free and self-governed. King Lithai, then, rallied his army from Si Satchanalai to unify the kingdom and enthrone himself as the king (Fine Art Department: 2546 BE, p.11). Obviously, there is no mention of King Ngua Namthom succeeding the throne from King Lerthai. Second, in relating the history of each site, the stories lack consistency so much so that it appears the history has been cut off to make it as short and concise as possible, also to make it easy for readers to memorize the stories. However, it rather results in readers' confusion concerning the missing parts in the story, making it difficult to link the rest to each other, not to mention breaking up the whole picture of the history.

As for the historical and archeological aspects, the authors of this book try to suggest 5 distinct characteristics of Si Satchanalai which are:

(1) Si Satchanalai developed from a small prehistoric community. In archeological excavations conducted during 2536 – 2537 BE in Wat Phra Sri Rattana Mahathat Chaliang, Wat Comchuen, and Wat Chao Chan to study the development of Chaliang community, evidence of settlement dated back to 9<sup>th</sup> century BE has been found, with 15 human skeletons, along with glass beads and rectangular terracotta sticks with narrow ends dated to approximately 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> century BE. The remains of

large brick structures in two periods (above the soil level of Sukhothai era) estimated to be of 15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> century BE are the evidence of a community contemporary to Dvaravati, on the soil level during the Lopburi era, bricks were found to be widely used as construction material, along with terracotta porcelain shaped into angel statuettes and “Gabu” or banana-sheaf tiles. These were the preferences of Khmer artistic style during Bayon era. The authors of this part hold the opinion that these pieces of evidence were contemporary with the gate of Wat Sri Mahathat Chaliang.

(2) In the early days, Si Satchanalai was the center of culture in the Yom River basin. Later, when Sukhothai rose to power as the capital of the region, Si Satchanalai remained important as a city in the inner circle.

(3) The authors reviewed above speculate that during the reign of King Sri Intharathit, he might have dispatched his eldest son, later to be King Ban Muang, to rule over Si Satchanalai. Later on when King Ban Muang ascended to the throne of Sukhothai, King Ramkhamhaeng might have taken his place as the ruler of Si Satchanalai. (Fine Art Department: 2546 BE, p. 73-74)

(4) Si Satchanalai was highly sophisticated in terms of religion and culture, for when Lanka Buddhism first spread to Sukhothai, it had long been firmly established in Si Satchanalai, as can be seen from more than 200 temples inside and outside the city wall. King Maha Thammaraja Lithai composed Tri-Bhumi Phra Ruang during his reign over Si Satchanalai before ascending to the throne of Sukhothai. There are series of evidence suggesting fire ceremonies, worships of Buddha’s footprint, and the worship of Buddha relics, and other religious ceremonies.

(5) Si Satchanalai possessed pools of advanced craftsmanship and technologies in several aspects including the mining of laterites for construction and sculpture; the making of terracotta which had been continuously developed since Chaliang community until it became the largest source of terracotta in Southeast Asia during the time, exporting to neighboring and overseas countries; the forging and casting of irons and metals as seen in weapons, tools, and structures of architectures; the delicate stuccos on sculptures and sites indicating the artistic advancement of the Thais. Here, the authors of this part might imply that the Thais preferred stucco decorations on sculptures and buildings and thus developed sophisticated skills, as opposed to the Khmer who preferred stone sculpture.

## 2.5 Conclusion

The evidence from Chinese documents, also archaeological evidence from the 1<sup>st</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> centuries, shows the relationships of trade among the Southeast Asia region that were categorised into two groups. First is Funan and Chin-Lin in the central region of Thailand. This operated trading along the coastal and mainland areas and crossed over the Malay Peninsula without the need to pass through the Malacca or Sunda Straits and the Indonesian Archipelago in the south of Southeast Asia. Second is Champa and Java-Melayu. This group conducted commerce along the coast from the South China Sea and crossed over to Java and other islands in the south. And it seems both of them were competitors with conflict of interests deriving from both commerce and politics. Thence, the story related to the marine trading of the region that was recorded by Chinese travellers; besides trading it also included the expansion of territory and the building of political and trade networks (there was no any religious conflict as in Europe and the Middle East until the 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D.). The maritime world trade before the 5<sup>th</sup> century was primitive as navigation technology was not advanced. The transportation between the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean must navigate along the coast to the Malay Peninsula, passing the Strait of Malacca and the Strait of Sunda, which was endangered from high waves and numerous pirates. Then, the cargo ships must go ashore at the port nearby the sea at the Malay Peninsula and there would need to be carriage by land across the Malay Peninsula. There were many routes starting from the Mottama, resulting in the communities where the ports were located on the trading lines thereby progressing rapidly. Both groups switched to take advantage of the trade.

In the central region of Thailand, the oldest community settled in the basin of Pa Sak–Lopburi River, approximately 500–1,000 years B.C., or 2,500-3,000 years ago. The city marketed within the region, also with the old towns in the northeast including both Sakhon Nakhon and Korat, also other more distant communities in Southeast Asia. This shows that there have been trading routes and networks in this region for more than 3,000 years. According to the archaeological and geological evidence, the city of U-Thong in Suphanburi which stood on the plain of the Chao Phraya–Tha Chin River in the centre of the country is one of the oldest communities

in the Southeast Asian region. About 2,000 years ago, U-Thong was a large community and port for the ancient world trade since it was located on the Dawei–U-Thong-Tha Chin outfall that was the inland direction (including the waterway) to cross the Malay peninsula, thereby connecting to the maritime route between India and the Pacific Ocean. There is the discovery of the accessory products from the Mediterranean Sea that are the same as others found at Ok Ewe of Funan, which existed in the same period. The development of the settlement took place in the late 400 years B.C. In the 1<sup>st</sup> century, Java–Melayu was the transporter of cargo to the western world. And it was a time when the Indian civilisation had not yet expanded to this region. There is evidence in the charms and accessories called Ling Ling-O that are found in the areas starting from the South China Sea to the Melayu Peninsula. It is assumed that in the time before the arrival of Indian civilisation, the people in Southeast Asia adhered to spiritualism. The city of U-Thong flourished because it was the port for maritime trading from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century when we also discover the traces of settlement in locations in the central region of Thailand. And it continued to progress since then, until it became the centre of Dvaravati to the 6<sup>th</sup> century before the relocation to Muaeng district in Suphanburi with the ancient Nakhon Chaisi and with Nakhon Pathom which was the capital of the Kingdom during the 7<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> century.

Si Satchanalai was located in the central plain around the borderline that mostly connected to the mountain ranges in the north. The city was sited on the banks of the river Yom. Before the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Si Satchanalai was not on the primary transportation and trading lines of this region, as these lines passed through the river Nan and Ping plain, whereas the river Yom is in between them. However, there were some people who traveled the route sometimes and found that the area was abundant in its forest and natural resources and the environment was suitable for establishment of a settlement. And finally, they settled the community permanently from the 4<sup>th</sup> century; it developed continually until entering the historical age in the 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> century from the commerce with the Dvaravati which influenced all over the central and northeast regions of Thailand. Si Satchanalai derived the Dvaravati culture to develop in its political, religious, economic, knowledge, arts spheres and more. As a result, a

small pre-historical community had progressed speedily together with the expansion in trade among the Southeast Asia region, thus connecting to the ancient world trade.

Since the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the maritime world trade operated by freighters without carriage by land to cross the Melayu Peninsula. Also, there was growth of business in the period that India most vigorously flourished in its trade and culture, until it reached the highest point in the Gupta era (the 5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century) and then after Gupta (the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century). This impacted on the maritime world trade in this region which expanded swiftly and caused the port cities along both sides of the Melayu peninsula and on the islands in the south of peninsula to grow very fast. Moreover, they increasingly derived the culture from India to strengthen themselves in political practices, ideology, trade, social aspects, and others. The result of accessing Indian culture led to the settlement of many states in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, namely Jenla, Pagan, Dvaravati, Java–Srivijaya and others in the region, which effectively stepped into the historical age by borrowing the alphabets and languages from India and thence modified to their own which became Mon, Khmer, Cham, etc. Among these states, Dvaravati had declined from the 8<sup>th</sup> century and finally ended in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The scholars have assumed that Pagan invaded it in the reign of King Anurut the Great. However, this study has considered that when those three main states greatly enlarged in their political power and trade, their expansion was outward and assimilating as in the Mandara system. And as Dvaravati was situated in the middle, in the interstices of those three cities, it was inevitable for it to be blended into each of them or all. This can explain that in the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century Srivijaya had empowered Nakhon Sri Thammarat already, and in 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century Khmer expanded its influence over the area of Dvaravati in the central, northeast, and south completely.

In 10<sup>th</sup> century, the maritime navigation of China rapidly progressed, and also it changed policy to permit direct trade with the cities in this region, resulting in prosperity in trade which increasingly spread to the mainland. Until approximately the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the trading lines which passed through the river Nan and Ping plain were connected at the basin of the river Yom in the area of Si Satchanalai, including to the location becoming Sukhothai later. The growth of trade at that time caused the transfer and relocation of people speaking a Thai-Laos language from the river Khong

plain to the port of maritime trade of the Khong and the Chao Phraya River. Consequently, there were settlements in many locations on those directions, especially the major commercial and transport centre. Thence, in the middle of 10<sup>th</sup>– the middle of 12<sup>th</sup> century Si Satchanalai became the most extensive trade centre of the upper central area since it was located on the main road junction which was the old networking route of Southeast Asia. A significant number of diverse peoples speaking Thai-Laos language, which was the Interlingua among this region, moved to reside in Si Satchanalai. For this reason, the city enlarged and became more complex in its population and develop from an assembly of village communities to become a city community in the middle 12<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, Angkor had started to extend its power politically and in trade to the central region of Thailand since in the middle of 10<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of 12<sup>th</sup> century Angkor and Lavo could expand their influence to Si Satchanalai. The history of Si Satchanalai in the middle of 12<sup>th</sup> century related to the historical events and circumstances in political, economic, social, and physical aspects of this region. As mentioned previously, the outcome of the trade growth since the middle of 10<sup>th</sup> century over the river Yom plain caused Si Satchanalai to progress and expand to the south at the marketplace and the resting area on the trading line and then as a settlement place (Sukhothai). Then, at the middle of 12<sup>th</sup> century, Angkor and Lavo expanded their power to Si Satchanalai and built a Prang stupa at Wat Chao Chan, Wat Chom Cheon, and Wat Phra Sri Mahathat as a symbol of Angkor influence. They also constructed the community and Phra Pai Luang temple as a religious site of Hinduism in this new trade centre (Sukhothai). In the middle of 12<sup>th</sup> century, in the reign of King Jayavarman VII, there was a renovation of Phra Pai Luang temple to be the Mahayana Buddhist holy compound. Pho Khun Si Nao Num Thom who was a bureaucrat in the service of Angkor and Lavo and had power around the area of the river Nan plain became the king of Si Satchanalai during this time. He led the armed forces from Si Satchanalai to establish the new city Sukhothai at Khao Luang in early of 13<sup>th</sup> century.

In the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, there was a crucial event that impacted all around the world, which was the Muslim army invading India in the late part of that century. Then, in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, Mongol forces started



to expand their influence in East Asia to the Middle East, Europe, and Russia. They established the Yuan dynasty to rule China. Besides, China and India were the trading partners to Southeast Asia; China was the principal political and trading power, whereas, India was the ideological and cultural centre of the wider region. Therefore, any significant events affecting either of them would impact towards Southeast Asia.

In the reign of King Jayavarman VII during the mid to late 12<sup>th</sup> century, Angkor influenced political events and trading over the central area of Thailand and the south in the Malay Peninsula. It targeted to dominate the land that was the source of resources, the ports of maritime trade, and the ancient world trade routes by collaboration with Sri Lanka. It derived the ideology and administrative policies from Sri Lanka in political, religious, and commercial fields because of Sri Lanka's strength in the utilization of religion to influence and unite the people to drive out the Hindu from its land, in the reign of King Prakophahu I in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century. He also revised Buddhism to follow the Theravada sect which he believed at that time was prosperous and pure. On the one hand, Brahma and Mahayana Buddhism were declining in India which was the origin of both ideologies. In this region, there was a conflict between Brahma followed by the ruling classes in the political centre of Angkor for a long time, versus other classes. This conflict developed severely after the death of King Jayavarman VII in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century. The Angkor Kingdom was in chaos from the political, religious, and trading conflict which caused the kingdom to degenerate rapidly. The states of those who used to be under its power achieved independence. In that century, the previously dominant nations of the region, namely Bagan, Angkor and Srivijaya, collapsed. At the same time, people speaking the Thai-Laos family language stepped into the power vacuum and settled their states namely Lanna, Sukhothai, Ayodhya, Suphanburi, Petchburi, and Nakhon Sri Thammarat. These states and other lands in the mainland of this region, namely Mon, Burma and Khmer believed in Theravada Buddhism from Lanka which was seen as potent and pure.

By the early of the 13<sup>th</sup> century after King Jayavarman VII had passed away, the kingdom of Angkor was declining swiftly. There was chaos throughout the country from the conflict between Brahma-Hindu and Mahayana Buddhism. The faith

of the people toward those ideologies diminished. Pho Khun Si Nao Nam Thom, the leader of the people speaking Thai-Laos family language, had increased his power during this period, and he changed the religious to the Theravada sect from Lanka. He planned to establish an independent state; therefore he constructed Phra Sri Mahathat Chedi in the centre of the city based on the Theravada Buddhism belief, at four insignificant towns which are Si Satchanalai-Sukhothai in the basin of the river Yom and Sa Luang-Song Kwai on the plain of the River Nan. He modified the design from the Bayon architectural style and art to become the form of the Buddhist Phra Mahathat Chedi. It assumed that the model for this was the same as the archway at Wat Phra Sri Mahathat Chalieng. Unfortunately, the state had not yet been fully established, Khomsabad Khlonelampong invaded Si Satchanalai, and Sukhothai according to the statement of the 2<sup>nd</sup> inscription. However, Pho Khun Pha Muaeng, his son cooperated with Pho Khun Bang Klang Hao who was his brother-in-law and his companion and marched to recover Si Satchanalai and Sukhothai. Then, Pho Khun Bang Klang Hao established Sukhothai city in the middle of 13<sup>th</sup> century as the first state of the Tai family language people. Then Lanna, Lan Chang, Suphanburi, and Nakhon Sri Thammarat were established later and grew their own political, cultural, and commercial structures and relationships. China called these lands “Siam”. In the beginning, Si Satchanalai derived Buddhism from Lanka through Nakhon Sri Thammarat. Thus there is evidence regarding Nakhon Sri Thammarat architectural styles and art in Si Satchanalai such as Nakhon Sri Thammarat style bell-shaped stupas and Buddha images. Later Si Satchanalai set the pilgrimage route to Lanka passing through Burma and the east of India until it arrived at Sri Lanka, resulting in the style of arts and architectures from those lands becoming manifest at Si Satchanalai in the present.

In the middle of 14<sup>th</sup> century, Suphanburi and Nakhon Sri Thammarat united with Lavo which was stronger and then established the Ayutthaya Kingdom. The history during the middle of 13<sup>th</sup> to the middle of 14<sup>th</sup> century was a various of the polities mentioned previously became linked is to empower the new states that grew increasingly influential at that time, namely Sukhothai and Ayutthaya. And Ayutthaya, at last, conquered and inherited the ideology and management policy in

term of politics, religion, and trade from Sri Lanka and China and then Angkor of the reign of King Jayavarman VII, and also Sukhothai.

Si Satchanalai accumulated its glory and prosperity from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century and enlarged its prestige by establishing Sukhothai in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Thence it entered into a new administration of which Sukhothai was the capital. Si Satchanalai, however, played the role equivalent to Sukhothai at the beginning, before power was finally transferred to Sukhothai. Nevertheless, with the growth in religion, trade and Sankhalok manufacturing, culture in Si Satchanalai flourished remarkably as there was an entrepreneurial and invention base to produce any new items and structures. There is the evidence of new invention in Si Satchanalai, for example in the book of Trai Bhumikatha – Sermon on the Three Worlds, also the lotus bud style stupa that was created for first time at Wat Chedi Jed Thaew, Chedi Chang Lom. Moreover, there was also innovation in roofing by overlapped laterite, like the wooden roof at Wat Kuti Rai, also the building in laterite to be the curvy boat roof style at Wat Phya Dam, and irrigation systems, etc. Also, in a sense, it delivered to Sukhothai the power to spread out to any lands within the administration of the Sukhothai Kingdom.

Si Satchanalai had strength in every way in terms of war strategy, environment, resources and its location. With supporting factors such as political organisation, economy, social and physical environment, this made Si Satchanalai one of the most prosperous cities of its age. In short, we could see that Si Satchanalai was the source of culture that passed down as heritage to the latter generations and to be seen until the present day.

Its cultural landscape reveals ancient ruins, natural environment, how humans adapted themselves with nature to maintain their culture, also artifacts and historical documents (inscriptions, archives and chronicles) including legends and local oral folklores that tell the story of Si Satchanalai and its prosperous era.

The propaganda of “religion and politics that support together as one” seems to have reunited the states of Sukhothai that had previously scattered, thereby to join together as one again, leading Sukhothai to its most prosperous period under the reign

of King Ramkhamhaeng. This later became a model for Phra Mahadhammarajadhirat or Phaya Lithai who used this as a tool to reform religion and politics resulting in the age where arts and culture flourished at their best. We can see that the Buddhist statues from this time were considered as flawless since they held a connotation of an ideal beauty in a very classic way. The Theravada Buddhist believes in Phra Ruang's Traibhumikatha, written by Phaya Lithai, who used it as an apparatus to control Si Satchanalai. Nowadays, this belief has passed down from generation to generation and has become a foundation for Thai culture.

## 2.6 A tentative conclusion

The review above can be seen as an exercise in uncertainty. There are inconsistencies between sources, ambiguities in namings, disputes over sources. These difficulties seem to relate to a number of factors.

There is first the instability of language, especially where translation is involved – a Chinese visitor might take a foreign term and attempt to express it in his own language, while a second visitor will express it differently. Hence, ambiguity. More significantly there are differences in epistemologies, that is in the ways that knowledge is constructed between different cultures, also differences in intentions. Accounts will accordingly differ – poetic, *vis-à-vis* laudatory of some ruler, *vis-à-vis* a trader's description of distances and tradable products, *vis-à-vis* a more modern quest for legitimacy (the alleged Rama IV claim for Thai continuity).

These factors may have been underlain by others, however. The time of Si Satchanalai was itself an era of great change and instability. Most significantly, the Tai infiltration southwards from China was at something of a peak, with the Tai beginning to outnumber the Mon; cities and states were thereby collapsing amid ethnic and dynastic change; the Angkorian empire was in decline and the Khmer were losing their grip on the wider region of Si Satchanalai; trade and trade routes were changing. It is almost a truism that, in times of great uncertainty, people will turn to religion variously for solace and reassurance; complicating the embrace of religion, however, would have been both the Khmer turn from Hinduism to Buddhism and the influx of new ideas and beliefs brought in by the new invaders.

These observations raise more questions than they answer. For one thing, what explains the turn to Sri Lanka that is picked up in the inscriptions? The modern answer would be that the Theravada reformation (or was it renaissance after the Khmer intrusions into a previous world variously Theravada and animist?) was a search for purity in the religion although one might greet this with some skepticism – the motivation is far more likely to have been political than philosophical.

One would expect this turmoil – for it certainly would have been a time of turmoil – to be reflected in the landscape and built environment of the time. And as Si Satchanalai seems to have been at the very cusp of the switch in times, civilisations and ideas, it is here that one might expect the most intriguing evidence of these shifts.

This project is therefore about *interpretation* – how is one to interpret the evidence, both textual and physical, from a time and place that is lost in myth, where there are no objective, “modern”-style accounts, and where it seems that people were living in two times simultaneously. It will be argued following that interpretation must operate at two levels (following Deleuze): a first level is to seek intended *meanings*; at a second level, however, the task is to understand the values – beliefs, motivations – that might underlie those meanings. In the case of Si Satchanalai, however, uncertainty afflicts both levels of the task. Some sense of meaning might be read from an inscription or a monuments (though we can never be sure); when it comes to understanding motivations and beliefs, however, we must revert to speculation. That said, it is important to realize that we are not seeking “objective truth”, which would have been as conflicted at the time of King Lithai as it is today. Rather, we are seeking to understand the diversity – multiplicity, uncertainty, ephemerality – of the age.

That said, the following Chapter 3 will look at attempts by modern historians to find precisely that “objective truth”. Chapter 4 will then turn to ruins and that quest for “meaning” – for interpretation. Chapter 5 brings these uncertainties together in a much wider discussion.

## 2.7 A final observation

Two questions were introduced in Chapter 1 to guide the research reported here. The first: how can interpretation be used to encourage recognition and understanding of the heritage values embedded in the remnants of Si Satchanalai? The answer that emerges here can be simply expressed: it is, in short, “to tell its story.” However, the story itself is far from short and can only be approached in the wider context of Southeast Asian history which itself can only be grasped in the framework of Asian history more broadly. While that story has been summarized in the paragraphs above, and explored in the preceding chapters, it is clear from this research that present historiography is far from agreed and far from neutral.

This uncertainty sets the direction for future research into the Si Satchanalai story. The ongoing research task is especially to continue tracing the lines of influence of the past, at both regional-mandala scale and at more global, geo-political scales.

The second question for the present project related to the extent to which we can reconstruct people’s beliefs, cultural practices and “ways of living” from that time in Si Satchanalai. As noted in Chapter 1, this question of the micro-scale is more elusive than the broader scale issues of the first question. The answer emerging from the project is that issues of beliefs, practices and lifestyles are to be viewed in the context of the extraordinary religious intersections of that time – indeed, one might see the real significance of Si Satchanalai in the shifting beliefs and worldviews expressed in its planning, spaces, architecture and artifacts. The ancient city is a microcosm of a world of religious and cosmological turmoil and contestation, a maelstrom of religio-political beliefs.

## CHAPTER 3

### History of Si Satchanalai

All through the long history of Si Satchanalai until the end of its development, humans left the trace of many significant stories and events in the archaeological evidence, then also marked down in the historical documents, chronicles, mythology and folktale. Nonetheless, these do not tell the story continually and accurately enough to make us understand the historical circumstance in politics, social development, economics, and physical presence in each period. Most of the stories are more complicated than described in the limited historical evidence. Furthermore, there is the diversity of the communication via language, religion, culture, and other related matters of each period, as well.

Hence, this chapter is a study of these historical pieces of evidence and then it seeks to analyse and interpret all categories of the evidence, including related research, and connecting these to what happened in the past, to achieve understanding of the narratives of history. That is, we will seek to understand the relations between the historical circumstances in politics, social development, economics, and physical circumstances and the events in the past, to comprehend the value of cultural heritage of Si Satchanalai in historical, scientific, social, and aesthetic dimensions.

#### 3.1 Neolithic Period

The discovery of stone adzes at Si Satchanalai and Ban Tha Chai, Amphoe Tha Chai , Changwat Si Satchanalai is to be seen together with the traces of stone adzes and stone beads at Khao Khaen and Khao Ka in Sri Nakhon (Fine Arts Dept.: 2546 BE, 72), which proved that humans were inhabiting Si Satchanalai and the neighbouring areas. This accords with the archaeological studies of Thailand and Southeast Asia which have found that the phleboliths appeared in Thailand around 5,000-6,000 years ago. At that time, the humans resided in caved shacks and lived their lives by gathering fruits and vegetables from the jungle, hunting wild animals, and fishing. The evidences of medium-size wildlife hunting showed that the humans lived in groups for pack hunting. Later, approximately 4,000 – 4,500 years ago it was

found that they settled the villages and some villages started agriculture. There are various styles of pottery to be used within the early agricultural communities, and some presented the unique traits that identified them from others. That is, the ethnic separation began to have influence in some sub-cultures that were thereby diversified. However, the polished stone axe and the accessories like bracelets and beads made from stone and seashell are found in general, which reflect the productivity and culture exchange among the groups (Surapol: 2545 BE, 109-110).

Thereby, the discovery of the stone axe and beads at Si Satchanalai and the neighbouring areas showed that there were human who had moved in since at least the last 4,000 – 4,500. Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to summarise that there were any established and developed community there until the metal age. Neither is there proof of the establishment of the first community in the 9<sup>th</sup> century BE; otherwise it probably was just a temporary residence, and then they moved to other locations. Prof. Srisak Wallipodom has mentioned that during the Neolithic period the population in Southeast Asia was very few compared to the vast space of this region which provided the opportunity for them to relocate to the new places where there were more abundant resources and were more suitable to live. The pre-historic communities from the Neolithic and the metal age and afterwards frequently resided in different areas and enjoyed independence with the diversity in cultures (Srisak: 2534 BE, P. 24).

Sujit Wongtes has mentioned that the people in the family of the Laos-Thai evacuated from Guangxi – Canton (which was the oldest origin of the Thai-Laos language) and the Mae Khong river and Chao Phraya river watershed whether by land or sea more than 3,000 years ago (Sujit: 2537 BE). So this is probably referred from the archaeological evidence and the summary of the study of Srisak Wanlipodom, including that Thai and international scholars had identified the age of the oldest village in the central and northeastern regions at around 3,000 years (Srisak: 2534 BE, P. 34-47). Altogether the evidences is that there were the evacuations and migrations since the metal age which was around the last 2,500 years, and had been continuing from time to time. The evidence includes the discovery of North Vietnam's Dong Son bronze drum (about 1<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries BE), bronze and iron appliances, and the second



internment ceremony in Thailand which disseminated from the south of China and the north of Vietnam (Sujit: 2549 BE, P.49) over 2,500 years ago. This was the renowned route among the people in this region.

**3 .2 The 9<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> centuries BE** the period of transformation from the small community in the pre-historical period to the village in the historical period.

The growth of world trade in ancient times to the Southeast Asia territory since at least the 6<sup>st</sup> century BE and consecutively developing until the 25<sup>th</sup> century BE, which was the primary factor to connect Southeast Asia to the world – China, India, and overseas territories to the west. Whether small or large, communities in this region derived their civilisation in part from the world outside to strengthen and develop their society, in particular Indian civilisation which in political, religious, and cultural traits had influenced continually and extensively. Those impacted the community development of the region from village to become districts, states, and empires respectively. Based on records in Chinese documents and archaeological evidences, there were many states that prospered during the 6<sup>st</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> century BE which are namely Funan, Champa, Chin Lin (Uthong, Suphanburi), and many states located on the Malay Peninsula and southern Indonesia.

Regarding the oldest communities in the Northeast and Central regions of Thailand. Thai and international scholars found the evidence of the settlement in the Northeast of which the two oldest villages are in the Sakhon Nakhon basin and Korat basin. Both locations age around 3,000-5,600 years ago where they were the source of base metals and salt, both of which were significant demanded goods of this region. On the other hand, the oldest community in the Central part was in the area of Lopburi – Pa Suk Valley with 2,500 years of age. The land was ideal for agriculture since it is a terrace and plain. The evidence showed the settlement of communities in this area covering Phetchabun, Lopburi, and Saraburi. The finding of similar potteries used in their funerals indicate that they were of the same group but had expanded to settle in many locations. This community knew how to smelt and produce copper and iron. There was numerous evidence of the copper and iron slag which is a proof of an ore manufacturer a long time ago (Srisak, 2534 BE, P.42-47). Copper and iron were

the exported products; therefore, there was a transport line between the communities in the Central and Northeast regions during the last 2,500-3,000 years and this expanded the trade line to other districts.

The settlement in the Central region of Thailand: The communities were located nearby the trade line and within the area where local products, which were the items of the forest, could be brought in to the market and the trade flourished. With increasing demand for the products, so there were more of logistics issues and relocation to the trade line area. The area of the Chao Phraya – Tha Chin basin in the Central region of Thailand, therefore, became a significant community since the 8<sup>rd</sup> century BE when it started to trade with India and China as recorded in the Chinese journals in the 8<sup>rd</sup> century BE. These mentioned the Chin-lin empire or U-thong, Suphanburi. Also there is ancient evidence that showed that it was a commercial port with imported goods that was similar to one at Ok Aew in the Funan empire. Moreover, it conforms to the archaeological evidence from most of the ancient communities in the central region which are aged between the late pre-historical to the early historical period (the past period starting from the 12<sup>th</sup> century BE) or just around the 8<sup>rd</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries BE.

Si Satchanalai in the 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> century BE The evidence from the archaeological excavation around the area of Wat Chom Chuen between 2536-2537 BE showed that there was a continuous community settlement in Si Satchanalai since the 9<sup>th</sup> century BE. Also it was the oldest community in the Yom River basin since it is rich in natural resources which are the forest and sources of water suitable for the hunting and gathering of supplies from the woods, and also fishing and agriculture. However, there is no any evidence from the 9<sup>th</sup> -10<sup>th</sup> century BE that showed that the small community of Si Satchanalai was connected to the other cities outside. It is probable, however, that the settlement in Si Satchanalai during the 9<sup>th</sup> -10<sup>th</sup> century BE related to the broader growth of trade since the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.

The beginning of the historical period of Southeast Asia from the 12<sup>th</sup> century BE. Many states prospered, which were influenced by the Gupta civilisation. It was the time that Indian art and culture was ultimately glorious between the 10<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup>

centuries BE and after the Gupta between the 13<sup>th</sup> -14<sup>th</sup> century BE especially taking in the Pallava and Pali-Sanskrit scripts to modify and be used in local cultures which included Pyu, Mon, Khmer, Cham, and Java-Malawi. Consequently, the region stepped into the historical period that is the crucial development with regards to knowledge, accumulation and transfer of wealth. The states that flourished in this period were Pyu (the ancient empire in Myanmar), Dvaravati, Chenla (Khmer), Champa, and Srivijaya-Java. These states including many small states unmentioned previously but involved as part of the trading network in the ancient world via trading with India, the Middle East, Western states, and also tributary trade with China on the world trade line called “the Silk Road”.

From Si Satchanalai in the 11<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> centuries BE., archaeological excavation around the area of Wat Chom Chuen has found 15 human anatomical structures, glassed beads, and pennon square baked clay, aged between the 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries BE. That is the same period of the Dvaravati whose centre was at the Chao Phraya-Tha Chin River bank in the lower central region. During the 10<sup>th</sup> -11<sup>th</sup> century BE., Uthong (which had prospered in trading since the 8<sup>rd</sup> century BE) was the centre. Asst. Prof. Srisak claimed from the evidence of art, architecture and the size of the city that the town of Nakhon Chai Si or the ancient Nakhon Pathom developed to become the centre instead of Uthong, and enlarged until it could set up a town called Ku Bua located on the Mae Klong river bank in Ratchaburi which became another critical city at that time (Srisak, Siam: 1991, p.151). Later, the Dvaravati had declined since the 13<sup>th</sup> century BE to the end in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Sujit Wongthet mentioned that when Uthong started to decline, a new centre was growing which was the state called Suvarnabhumi, which was recorded in the Chinese documents is “Jen Li Fu” (Sujit: 2006, P.49) and which was the centre of the communities in the west of the Chao Phraya river after the Dvaravati.

The artefacts discovered at Si Satchanalai between the 11<sup>th</sup> -12<sup>th</sup> centuries BE is a proof that the community at Si Satchanalai traded and derived the Dvaravati culture that probably transferred from the cities under the Dvaravati nearby. The products and accessories that the people of Si Satchanalai marketed possibly are the things that the local and neighbouring communities collected from the forest.

The archaeological excavations from between the 9<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> centuries BE showed the development of the city from the beginning of the settlement as a small village in the 9<sup>th</sup> century BE. Then, it progressed continuously until exchange with outside community during the 11<sup>th</sup> -12<sup>th</sup> century BE, although there was not any progress towards being a big city until the 19<sup>th</sup> century BE.

However, the research of Srisak Wallipodom about the development of the ancient city in Sukhothai has shown that even before the founding of the state around 1200-1800 BE in the Ping, Yom and downstream Nan river basin, and even though there is an historic excavation site from the pre-historic period until the Lopburi era, there is no evidence that shows the development of a real city with social, political and economic complexity. It is only a land on the ancient route that used to connect between states and empires around it, namely Nakorn Chai Sri, Nakorn Patom, Lavo, Satern, Phukarm, Phra Nakorn or Kamphucha and Haripunchai. There were two said routes. between the upper Chao Phraya River and other states in the north. The route follows north to south along the Ping River; there is also the route between the upper Chao Phraya river basin and Kong river basin in the northern north-east. The second route follows east to west across the Kong River and mountain range to connect with the first route. (Wallipodom, 2009: 356-358)

**3.3 The 16<sup>th</sup> – early 18<sup>th</sup> century BE.** The golden age and utopia to the Angkor era domination.

#### The expansion of trading in the 16<sup>th</sup> century BE

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century BE, China exceedingly progressed in its sea trade resulting in its invention of the compass to help in navigation. Furthermore, it built the ships with high tonnage that led to carrying a large amount of the merchandise. Also, China changed its policy to trade with the states within the inland directly without passing through Srivijaya that was a former agent between China and those states. (It might also be that Srivijaya had overtaxed from their authority to control the navigation between the Indian and the Pacific Oceans that passed the Malay Peninsula, Strait of Malacca, and Sunda Strait, the regions under the control of Srivijaya at that time). The

consequence of this was a vast expansion of trading in this region with the three subsequent events described following.

1) The trading line expansion. There was both the expansion of the new routes to the sources of the products from the forest deep inside the mainland of this region, and connection of the former routes. For example, the roads in the northern line and the coordinated line to the west of the Chao Phraya river with the eastern-western routes in the south of China and the north of Vietnam, passing through the Mekong River to the Nan river and down to the Chao Phraya river (Srisak: 1989). The connection routes that emerged at that time are very important because they were the lines to the Yom river bank and accessed Si Satchanalai and the area that later developed to become Sukhothai city in the middle 18<sup>th</sup> century BE and became established to be the capital of the Sukhothai Kingdom in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century BE.

2) The logistics and (voluntary) relocation from the mainland interior to the seaport communities - Salween River watershed, Chao Phraya River watershed, and the Mekong River watershed to supply to the seaport trading. There was the establishment of the new communities along the expanded trade transport at that time, notably the relocation to the commercial districts like Si Satchanalai. Therefore, the people who settled in this location were diverse in ethnicity; however, most of them were in the Thai-Laos family which resulted in the pre-historical community of Si Satchanalai developing from the small village to the large city during the 16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> century BE. The migration of the people from the Mekong River watershed who would speak Thai-Laos to settle in the area of Chao Phraya River bank had been continuing for more than 2,000 years. But the most significant one took place between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE.

3) The large and powerful states began to dominate trading in the mainland and seaports in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century BE. The record by Chou Xi Fei in 1733 BE showed that the Angkor empire started to expand its power to Si Satchanalai and Nakhon Si Thammarat. Similarly the paper by Chau Ju-Kua in 1768 BE mentioned that Nakhon Si Thammarat, Lavo, Si Satchanalai, Suphanburi, and nine other states were the dependency of Angkor which expanded its power into the central region of

Thailand through Lavo or Lopburi, with the relationship of the system of relatives, so that Lopburi was the centre of Angkor's influence in the central region of Thailand.

The time that Si Satchanalai was still a small settlement, around 16-18<sup>th</sup> century BE

The time that Si Satchanalai was still a small settlement, around 16-18<sup>th</sup> century BE, was the post Dvaravati era to early Lopburi. When the two main route connected to the Yom river basin, Si Satchanalai was still a small settlement just like Sukhothai and Kampaengpetch, all of which were located on the main trade route. At Si Satchanalai, there was historical evidence in the form of Taravadi pottery and Taravadi silver coins that have a picture of a half sun and Duang Tra Si Wat, which might have been a coin used as currency (Srisak: 2009, p 360). There is also the evidence from the excavation site at Wat Chom Chuen. It is an ancient big ruin built with two era bricks, preceding Sukhothai culture. From the carbon reading with C14, it is shown that it is around the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE. It is evidence of Taravadi culture in the central provinces (Fine Arts Department, 2003: 72-73).

Other than this, there is also the excavation near the base of the stupa at Wat Chao Jan and the discovered Buddhism amulet made from Shin (Tin+Lead) dressed like a king. Also there is the brick under the base of a stupa. And when dug deeper, there is found the Taravadi's artifacts, Haripunchai potteries, glass beads and pieces of human bone, all of which confirm that this brick-built sacred ground must have been built in 13<sup>th</sup> century, before the stupa was later erected (Fine Art Department: 2003, p. 99-100).

Si Satchanalai in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century BE

The Chinese documents of the Song dynasty mentioned the city named "Cheng Lerng" only in this region, and the document of Chao Yian Wui also mentioned the fragrant wood which was a significant product of Si Satchanalai. This shows that Si Satchanalai was the most important capital and trading centre of the upper Chao Phraya River watershed, indeed. Moreover, it was the period after the decline of Dvaravati in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and it had not been under the power of any empires since it was a city located on the borderline of Burma, Angkor, and Srivijaya that expanded their power in "Mandala" form (expanding power from the centre as if

a wave). Besides, the control of Lavo and Suphanburi had not yet come to this area. So, it can be assumed that the city of Si Satchanalai was close to a utopia where there was plenty of food, free trade, no tax, paternalism, joyful traditions, as the people from the Mekong River moved in, and the community enabled a pleasant life.

The period that Angkor Kingdom expanded its power to dominate the central region and the south of Thailand in the Malay Peninsula (the 16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> Century BE)

In 1733 BE, according to the Chinese document of Chou Xi Fei, the Angkor Kingdom expanded its political and commercial power to Si Satchanalai, Nakhon Si Thammarat, and four more cities already. In 1768 BE (14 years before the establishment of the Sukhothai Kingdom in 1782 BE), Chau Ju-Kua noted that Nakhon Si Thammarat, Lavo, Si Satchanalai, Suphanburi, and nine other cities were dependent to the Angkor.

Although there were many mentions about Angkor's colonies, there was no evidence of war between Angkor and Si Satchanalai or Lavo at all. According to historical evidence and studies, Angkor had achieved its political power through familial duties just like the relationship between Angkor and the Northeastern region of Thailand. There was also evidence found at Phanom Rung Ancient Castle saying that Narendratit was biologically related to King Suryavarman II and that in the 16-18th centuries BE, Angkor has familial relationship with Lavo as stated in the chronicles that King Pathum Suryavong demonstrated the connection between Lavo's King and the Cambodian King (Srisak, 1991: 179-183) or even that Nakhon Si Thammarat was also related to them by blood. As for Si Satchanalai, it appeared in the 2nd verse of Sukhothai's Stone Inscription that Khun Pha Muang, the son of Khun Si Naonamthom, was the King of Si Satchanalai-Sukhothai and who was the son-in-law of the Angkor King and was given a royal dagger and a name "Kamorateng" as an honour.

The archaeological evidences discovered at Si Satchanalai from the 18<sup>th</sup> century BE

The time when Lopburi expanded into the Yom river basin. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century BE, Lopburi culture expanded into Si Satchanalai, as revealed by the architectural

evidence found, for example the square building that resembles the Khmer stupa form inside the main stupa at Wat Chomchuen. Prof. Jean Boisseaullier has given the opinion that this might have been a Khmer style stupa. There is similar evidence found inside an excavation site at Wat Chomchuen, which is the Apsara and Thevada shaped tile and Gabu tile, that was popular in Khmer art in the Bayana period. It is also found that, in this period, the most popular building material was brick (like in the Dvaravati era) (Find Art Department, 2003: 98-99).

Apart from the Muang Sing Historical Park, there are other Khmer art style temples located throughout the west side of the central region – Wat Kumpaenglang, the main prang at Wat Mahathat in Petchburi, Sa Kosinaraya, the main prang at Wat Mahathat in Ratchaburi. Those had locations which related to the directions that cross over the peninsula and mountain pass to the Gulf of Martaban, where was a trade centre of Mon, Burma, South India, and Ceylon that greatly flourished (Michael Wright: 2006). This can be a proof that King Jayavarman VII expanded his power to the central parts of Thailand with the purpose to be a part of the international maritime world which greatly developed during the 18<sup>th</sup> century BE. (Vickery, 2010: 279).

The expansion of Angkor's political power had spread from the central to the southern region of Thailand in the 16-18 centuries BE, which was exactly the same time that China shifted its trade routes to trade with Southeast Asia without passing Tang Liu Mei (Nakhon Si Thammarat). The reason China decided to use this approach was because Tang Liu Mei had no power over port cities and other free states while these free states had no unity. Therefore, this was the chance for Angkor to expand its political power and its trade routes to replace Tang Mei Liu by designating authority through chosen family members from the area of Si Satchanalai to Nakhon Si Thammarat, which had many transportation routes that could cut through the Malay peninsula in different ways without passing the Malacca strait, Sunda and the Indonesian Islands. This is demonstrated on the Muang Singha Castle which is in the Cambodian architectural form and located on the western end of the estuary of the Ta-Jeen River-Uthong and Dawei, which had been used as a trade portal between the Gulf of Thailand and Andaman Sea since the 8<sup>th</sup> century BE.



The battle to empower the territory of the Muslim and Mongol armed forces in the 18<sup>th</sup> century BE

The battle to empower and expand the territory of the Muslim army of the Mogul who occupied India in the early to the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century BE was followed by the Mongol empire that expanded its power and territory from Far East Asia to Europe, Russia, Most of Asia, and China in the late of the 17<sup>th</sup> to the early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries BE. Thence, it established the Yuan dynasty to rule China in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century BE. These critical world events impacted severely in Europe and all through Asia and of course to Southeast Asia, as well. The impact to Southeast Asia was the connection to India which was dominated by the Muslims and their religio-cultural insertions to Southeast Asia and beyond, that was threatening to extend its power to this region. There was the constant anxiety that the Mongol, having occupied China in the 13<sup>th</sup> century would be able to continue to the region in the south.

Like other states in Europe and Asia that were concerned at the risk from both Muslim and Mongol armed forces, each country in Southeast Asia was seriously worried about the situation particularly the Mongol army that was setting up the Yuan dynasty at that time. Furthermore, it was apparent that the Mongols easily conquered Burma which was one of the three most powerful states (Burma, Angkor, and Srivijaya) in Southeast Asia, in the early part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century BE. The period was the beginning of the reign of King Jayavarman VII of the Angkor Kingdom that exercised power from the central part of Thailand throughout to the Malay Peninsula (and there was the evidence afterwards from Chinese documents in the Yuan period between 1822 – 1824 BE that Kublai Setsen Khan or Kublai Khan, in short, the 5<sup>th</sup> emperor of the Mongol empire had the plan to march to Sien, Lavo, and other states including the Sumatra island. But, since there were more than 20 cities swearing alliance to the empire after the diplomatic negotiations, China did not send the army to these areas.

According to the relationship between the kingdoms of Angkor and Lanka, King Parakramabahu sent a princess to marry with King Jayavarman VII; unfortunately, however, she was kidnapped by the Mon on the way to Angkor. Also,

there is evidence at Phra Khan Castle which was the Mahayana Buddhist temple King Jayavarman VII established on the battlefield to conquer the Cham outside Angkor Thom in 1724 BE. Later, King Indaravarman II the son of King Jayavarman VII together with a brother who studied in the monkhood in Lanka constructed the Lanka stupa inside the Prang instead of the Avalokitesvara's statue which had been invited to be enshrined at the sided prang (Michael Wright: 2006). This shows that, while King Jayavarman VII conducted the diplomatic and trade policies under the Chinese Yuan (Mongol) tribute system, he also initiated the political, religious, and trade policies that followed Lanka, as well. That is, the sea trade greatly prospered from exchanges with Burma, Angkor, Odisha, and the states in Bengal territory during the period of King Parakramabahu I of Lanka. It is apparent that the Lanka army was strong and conquered the Hindu from south India in 1696-1729 BE. And then, he determined to unite the Buddhist sects to the Theravada only and utilised the religious to control and combine the amassed power to be efficiently employed. This probably included the idea to use the networks in politics, in Theravada Buddhism in Lanka, and in trading in Lanka to assemble the force enabling the network of the states in Southeast Asia that shared the same culture to create bargaining power or deal with the adversary.

The conflict between Hindu and Mahayana Buddhism in the middle part of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the late of the 19<sup>th</sup> century BE

After the reign of King Jayavarman VII between 1761- 1763 BE or around the late of the 18<sup>th</sup> century BE, the Angkor Kingdom was declining, and each state was becoming an independent state. Also, there was the conflict of interest between the former ruling class Brahmi which had ruled the Angkor Kingdom for ages and other classes that were Mahayana Buddhist. This presented in the period of King Jayavarman VIII (1786-1838 BE) who was Hindu Shaivism. The main Buddha's image in the Bayon castle was destroyed into pieces and threw out into the pond. Also bas-relief sculptures of the Buddha in other temples were removed or modified to be the Shiva Lingam or Hermit instead, while the inscriptions of King Jayavarman VII were destroyed and buried or scratched to be illegible. A big jar was found containing the Bayon Buddha's images buried under the ground at Siem Reap International Airport, Prakhon Chai District in southern Isan, and Lavo. It shows that the conflict

expanded from the ruling centre to Lavo at least. And under this conflict, on the other hand, the Java region in the south transformed to become Islamic. Finally, the conflict between Hindu and Mahayana Buddhism caused the Khmer to regress and become religiously impure, while the arrival of Theravada Buddhism as revised by King Parakramabahu to be pure became the alternative ideology (Michael Wright: 2006).

#### The arrival of Theravada Buddhism from Lanka

During the 18<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> century BE, the territories in Irrawaddy, Salween, Ping, Wang, Yom, Nan, Chao Phraya, and Khong rivers turned to be Theravada Buddhist influenced by Lanka. Michael Wright found that the Mon was the first state in this region to derive the Theravada Buddhism from Lanka, since 1733 BE. That is the same period of King Jayavarman VII of Angkor. It was a time after the failure of Bagan, Srivijaya, and Angkor in the 18<sup>th</sup> century BE. Then between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, the group of people who speak Thai-Laos transferred their resources and migrated from the Khong River to the Chao Phraya river bank. Since the expansion of trading, they settled at the Chao Phraya river watershed since the 18<sup>th</sup> century BE abidingly. They established their states which were Lanna, Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, Petchburi, and Nakhon Si Thammarat. Those of states were Theravada Buddhist, and shared common factors about the strength to fight with any adversaries and to participate in the international network with Lanka. Sujit Wongthet expressed the opinion that according to the original belief of both ideologies, there was contradiction in terms of the designation of the king, namely that Hindu beliefs were that the king must descend from the royal family only, while the Theravada Buddhism belief from Lanka offered the opportunity to the ordinary man with the power of merit. He claimed that the "Agganna Sutta" (a chapter in the Theravada Buddhist Tripitaka) modified the Laos poem in the Ongkan Chaeng Nam or the oath of allegiance ritual (Sujit: 2016). The leaders of the group of people who use Thai-Laos family of languages, who came from the wealthy family or had achieved merit power, then became Theravada Buddhist to enhance and support the Kingly status of oneself.

**3.4 The late of the 18<sup>th</sup> century BE. – 1921 BE.** The battle and establishment of Sukhothai Kingdom and the 150 years of its power.

According to The Chronicles of the North there were two hermits which were Satchanalai and Sitthimagala assigned 10 Brahmi who were their offspring to settle the city in 306 BE. They stated that “I leave my word for you to set Panom Plerng in the city as the worship place, you shall do according to my word”. The construction had Bathammarat as a chief and when it was completed both hermits let the dwellers select a representative to rule the city. Then, the people chose Bathammarat; the two hermits said that "the person who can succeed to the throne must come from 3 categories are royalty, the wealthy man, and Brahmi who are the nobleman. Then, they appointed Bathammarat to be the first king called Phraya Thammaracha. This dynasty ruled the city for 3 reigns and transferred the power to the Phra Ruang dynasty. The second inscription at Wat Sri Chum pointed out that Pho Khun Si Nao Nam Thom was the ruler before the Phra Ruang dynasty which was the first house of Sukhothai, The king who ruled the city was Pho Khun Si Nao Num Thom, thence Bathammarat who is the chief of the establishment of the town and was then crowned as a king named Phraya Thammaracha is Pho Khun Si Nao Num Thom’s grandfather.

The size of the Si Satchanalai city which was established by the king and people was 2,000 meters wide and 4,000 meters long surrounded by a wall 4 meters thick and 8 meters high. The size mentioned previously is close to the traces of the remaining ridge in the present which was the ridge to protect the city of Chalieng to Si Satchanalai at Kaeng Luang. The size of it is approximately 3 times in length and 2 times in width of Si Satchanalai, concordant with the legend mentioned that later in the reign of Pasuja Gumara he ruled Si Satchanalai. When Lord Sri Thammatripitaka of Chiang Saen planned to bring their armed forces to the city, the king ordered Khun Triphobnat to prepare the army for this battle by modifying the city wall to become the fortress and arranged the city to be protected from the enemy. Also, he ordered the craftsmen from China to cast 200 cannons and 500 hammers. However, King Rama VI expressed the opinion that the ridge around the city wall of Si Satchanalai and Sukhothai was created to defend against the cannons, but there were no cannons at that time. So, the wall possibly was built in Ayutthaya. (Prince Mahavajiravudh:

1908). When Lord Sri Thammavitakka marched to attack Si Satchanalai, King Pasuja Gumara had inadequate personnel and so he requested support from the king of Chiang Mai who sent the troops to help in this battle. However, there were numerous dead from both sides. Phra Buddhakosajarn of Wat Khao Rung Raeng, a senior Buddhist monk of the forest dwellers in Si Satchanalai asked them to stop the fighting. And finally, King Pasuja Gumara had to give his daughter Princess Prathum Devi to Lord Sri Thammavitakka to end the war.

The analytical study from the mythology of the establishment of Si Satchanalai together with the archaeological sites, which were in the Angkor and Lavo styles of architecture, throw light on the political, ideological, and commercial policies of the time. Those followed the Lanka system and it is assumed that when King Jayavarman VII expanded the trade by the transferring of resources and relocation of the people who use the language in Thai language family from the Khong River to the Chao Phraya River, he utilised ideology and local traditions to establish cities along the trading lines, for example, Si Satchanalai, Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, Petchburi, Nakhon Si Thammarat, etc. And it is further assumed that although he passed away, the policies were continuing. The Thai speaking cities included Si Satchanalai, and Lavo which appointed Ayutthaya to be the capital instead Angkor in 1893 BE.

#### The time before the founding of Sukhothai.

This was the important event that was later recorded on the second monolith (Wat Sri Chum's Monolith), which stated that Khun Si Nao Nam Thum has built stupas in 4 cities, which were Si Satchanalai, Sukhothai, Sra Luang and Song Khue. The stupa that was built inside Si Satchanalai and Sukhitai is the stupa at Wat Phra Sri Rattana Maha Dhatu Chalieng, which later in the Ayutthaya period was covered by the bigger stupa that is seen in this modern day, and built around 1750-1800 BE and in the center of Sukhothai (which was later covered by the lotus shape stupa during the reign of Phaya Lithai)

In the time when the Khmer had grown weaker after the death of Phra Chao Chaiya Woraman VII around 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Phukam empire in the west, in Burma,

was also brought to ruin because the Mongol Invasion of 1820 BE (Santi: 1997, p. 10). The land around the Yom and Nan river basin had gone through a period of rapid development. There was an expansion of community along the trade route until they would become a major city, which were Si Satchanalai, Sukhothai, Sra Luang and Song Khue. These develop a relationship which later developed to the event when Pho Khun Si Nao Nam Thum built stupas in four major cities (Srisak,2009 : 278) and founded Sukhothai.

The reign of Pho Khun Si Nao Num Thom who ruled Si Satchanalai and Sukhothai (unknown– 1724 BE)

He was the ruler of the city called Chalieng before he moved down to settle Sukhothai afterwards, according to the evidence shown on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Stone Inscription which explains about the history of Sukhothai in the early period of how Khun Sri Nao Nam Thum “reigned over the two cities, the Kingdom of Sukhothai and the Kingdom of Si Satchanalai”, reemphasizing Pho Khun Si Nao Nam Thum and his status as the first ruler of Sukhothai and Si Satchanalai. According to the inscription found in Wat Sri Chum, Pho Khun Si Nao Nam Thum had a son named “Pha Mueang” who was the son-in-law of the Angkor King, “Pi Fah Chao Mueang Sri Sodharapura”, who had given his daughter, Princess Sukhara Maha Dhevi to Prince Khun Pha Mueang, bestowing the title of “Sri Indrabodindradya” along with a sword named Phra Saeng Khan Chai Sri. (Suchit, 2536 BE: 18)

Srisak Wallipodom gave the opinion that according to the inscription from Wat Sri Chum, it is noted that Pho Khun Si Nao Num Thom probably was the ruler of Chalieng previously. Then he moved to establish a new community at the foot of Khao Luang hill which became Sukhothai later (Srisak: 2534 BE, 10), instead of the old capital at Wat Pai Luang.

The period of Khomsabad Khlonlampong ruling Si Satchanalai – Sukhothai (1724-1763 BE)

The transformation period from Mahayana Buddhism to Theravada Buddhism and the battle with the Khomsabad Khlonlampong is recorded in the 2<sup>nd</sup> stone inscription which mentioned the incidence of the fight for power within Sukhothai.

Srisak Wanlipodom mentioned that the Khomsabad Khlonlampong occupied Sukhothai after Pho Khun Si Nao Num Thom passed away (Srisak: 2534 BE, P. 201). Suchit Wongtade sees the significance of how Khun Sri Nao Nam Thum had established “Maha-Dhatu Chedi” at “Maha-Dhatu Temple” as the center of the city, that it might reveal the political changes and how they switched their beliefs, from Mahayana to Theravada Buddhism since Theravada Buddhism was practiced in the west of Chao Phraya river basin and had developed ever since the Dvaravati (Tolopoti ) Period. This makes Maha-Dhatu Chedi a very significant and a highly sacred place for Sukhothai instead of the Phra Phai Luang Temple. This might be the reason that provoked one Khmer warrior named, Sabat Khlon Lamphong, who had the same bloodline with the Sri Nao Nam Thum Dynasty that exercised an authority over some towns in the district of Lavo (Lopburi) to invade Sukhothai and Si Satchanalai. (Suchit, 2531 BE: 110-111, 113)

However, Pises Jiajanpong claimed, regarding the same inscription, that after Pho Khun Si Nao Num Thom ruled Sukhothai for a while (and was still alive), the city was occupied by the Khomsabad Khlonlampong and that it is unclear for the period of the relocation of Sukhothai to the south (Pises: 2538 BE, 29).

Suchit Wongthet stated that the cause of the conflict that led to the change in dynasty in this time was in economics and politics. Lopburi used to be the center of the eastern of Chao Phraya river basin which expanded its power into the Yom River basin and based their settlements in Si Satchanalai and Sukhothai which were on the trade routes to gather goods from the north. But due to the trade routes expansion of Sukhothai, a kinship network and religion turned against them to Supannabhumis which was the capital center of the southwestern side of the Chao Phraya River basin. Pho Khun Bang Klang Hao was suggested to be the traitor that made a consensus with Supannabhumis. (Sujit: 2531 BE, 115)

Tida Sraya assumes that the word “Khomsabad Khlonlampong” is Khmer which means “Khlonlampong”, the person who led “Khomsabad” which was the Khmer force that emerged from the forest to stage an uprising. Then, they moved forward to occupy Sukhothai. Khomsabad was probably the task forces that was

devoted to the religious sites or moved forcibly to be the workforce. However, they were against to Pho Khun Si Nao Num Thom. Their devotion has appeared in many inscriptions since the 12<sup>th</sup> century BE, showing that it was a favourite tradition that spread among the groups of people who used various languages. The culture had its criteria to demarcate and then build the holy complexes included the temple, sema, stupa, Vihara, Buddha's image, Buddha's footprint, Buddha's relic, etc. and then dedicate those objects. Tida Saraya assumes that this tradition related to the community settlement procedure of the people who used the Thai language and relocated to the significant capitals of this region – Si Satchanalai, Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, Chiang Mai, Payao, etc. Some of these people were dedicated to being the slaves and servants of the monks (Tida: 2544 BE, p.15).

The 2<sup>nd</sup> inscription noted that while the Khomsabad Khlonlampong possessed Sukhothai and Si Satchanalai, Pho Khun Pha Mueang the ruler of the city called Rad and Lum has a companion named Pho Khun Bang Klang Hao. Pho Khun Bang Klang Hao marched with the troops from Bang Yang city which has caused some scholars to believe that he was the ruler of Bang Yang. Notwithstanding, Sujit Wongthet has indicated that there are no pieces of evidence to claim Pho Khun Bang Klang Hao as the ruler of any cities. Instead, he is convinced that there is evidence in the 45<sup>th</sup> inscription of Sukhothai which showed that, according to the 45<sup>th</sup> section of the stone inscriptions named "Phu Khun Chit Khun Chod", King Pha Mueang had an ally named Bang Klang Hao who was of the bloodline of "Phi Puu Pha Kham" who had kinship with the ruler of the Nan Kingdom. This has made Bang Klang Hao a descendant of the Nan Family and Mueang Luang Phra Bang Family, related to Thanh City in Vietnam (Suchit, 2536 BE: 18-19).

The statement recorded on the 2<sup>nd</sup> inscription mentioned that Pho Khun Bang Klang Hao and Pho Khun Pha Mueang united together to fight with Khomsabad Khlonlampong by gathering troops from Bang Yang to retrieve Si Satchanalai back while Pho Khun Pha Mueang successfully led Bang Khlong (Bang Khlong or Bang Chalang), which was a city that resides between Si Satchanalai and Sukhothai. Khun Bang Klang Hao used Si Satchanalai as an army base in order to fight with Khomsabad Khlonlampong who was still in Sukhothai. Unfortunately, Pho Khun



Bang Klang Hao was not successful in taking Sukhothai back, which resulted in Khun Pha Mueang to lead the troops himself from Rad city to win over Khomsabad Khlonlampong (Suchit, 2536 BE: 18-19).

The period of Pho Khun Si Inraditya establishing and ruling Sukhothai (1763-1818 BE)

The statement on the 2<sup>nd</sup> inscription mentioned that after retrieving Sukhothai, Khun Pha Mueang was given the Kingdom of Sukhothai, bestowed with a title of “Sri Indrabodinditya” and the Khmer sword as the symbol of victory, “Saeng Khan Chai Sri”, to Bang Klang Hao. Thereafter, Bang Klang Hao ruled over Sukhothai and became “Khun Sri Inraditya” in 1763 BE (Piriya 2539 BE: 43) Some inscriptions from Wat Sri Chum called him "Sri Indraditaya" or "Pho Khun Si Inraditya". Sujit showed that the next significant event was when the Nao Nam Thum Dynasty which reigned in the basin area of the Yom River and the Nan River gave authority to the Sri Inraditya Dynasty to rule over Sukhothai and as for Khun Pha Mueang, the Wat Chum inscriptions mentioned that he was last seen in Sukhothai and later he was not mentioned again (Suchit: 2536, 18-19). Piset Chiachanpong has suggested that Pha Mueang might have returned to rule his own city (Rad city and Lum city). As for the “Sri Inraditya Dynasty”, the dynasty that was now in charge of Sukhothai, this eventually became the “Phra Ruang Dynasty” in the later period . (Piset: 2538 BE, 29)

Chit Phumisak and Michael Wright believed that Rad city was located in Korat-Pimai in the Northeast and ignored Sukhothai. Therefore, Pho Khun Pha Mueang gave the town to his companion Pho Khun Bang Klang Hao (Michael Wright: 2549 BE). Prince Jirayu Rajani claims from the Zhou Dagan journal (1839-1840 BE) that the current king was the son-in-law of the former king, when his wife stole the sword of the king for him, and then he was enthroned. So, it is assumed that Pho Khun Pha Mueang possibly was King Sridaravarman (1838-1850 BE) and that he was the one who restored the Theravada Buddhism in Angkor city and bestowed to create the Pali inscription for the first time on the land under the influence of Angkor, which is the Neon Sra Bua inscription in 1847 BE. (Jirayu: 2542 BE). Rungroj Thamrungraeng and Santi Phakdeekham have indicated that Theravada Buddhism from Lanka started to have influence positively in his reign. (Rungroj Thamrungraeng

and Santi Phakdeekham: 2557 BE). Nowadays, most of scholars analyse the archaeological evidences and express the belief that the city of Rad is at Nakhonthai district, Phitsanulok, in between the Nan and Yom river watersheds that were under the power of Nao Nam Thom dynasty.

Why did Pho Khun Pha Muaeng give Sukhothai to Pho Khun Bang Klang Hao? Most of the historians believe that Pho Khun Bang Klang Hao was the brother-in-law of Pho Khun Pha Muaeng, because there was the evidence on the 15<sup>th</sup> inscription that mentioned that the son of Pho Khun Ban Muaeng (the older brother who ascended the throne before Pho Khun Ramkhamhaeng) was Phraya Ngua Nam Thom who ascended the throne after Phraya Ler Thai during 1866-1890 BE. And to analyse his name, it contained the word "Nam Thom" ending the name following the tradition of the naming of Thai-Laos people. This showed that he must be in the bloodline of Pho Khun Si Nao Num Thom which is leading to the assumption of the scholars about Queen Sueang, the wife of Pho Khun Bang Klang Hao, that she probably was a daughter of Pho Khun Si Nao Num Thom and older sister of Pho Khun Pha Muaeng. The inscription of Wat Pa Mamuang recorded that after the establishment of Sukhothai, the house of Pho Khun Si Nao Num Thom or the Pha Muaeng dynasty still had power until Phraya Lithai (son of Phraya Lerthai and grandchild of Pho Khun Ramkhamhaeng) smuggled to bring in the army from Si Satchanalai to attack Sukhothai. Also it mentioned that he entirely killed the enemy by his axe and was then enthroned in 1890 BE. Pasakorn Wongtawan believes that the said enemy was the Nao Num Thom dynasty or Pha Muaeng dynasty (Pasakorn: 2555 BE, p.172).

According to the legend of Phra Buddha Sihing and Jinakalamaleepagarana, it was mentioned that Phra Ruang visited Nakhon Sri Thammarat and got Phra Buddha Sihing from Sri Lanka through Nakhon Sri Thammarat and enshrined the image at Sukhothai. This statement specified the period which was the reign of Pho Khun Si Indraditya. It showed that Theravada Buddhism at that time was transferred from Sri Lanka to Sukhothai by passing through Nakhon Sri Thammarat.

Pho Khun Ramkhamhaeng's Reign

In the reign of King Sri Indraditya, he had given Si Satchanalai for his son, Ramkhamhaeng, to rule over. It was engraved on the 1<sup>st</sup> inscription about one event which says: “1209, during the Pig’s year, please dig all the Phra Dhatu, worship for 6 days then bury it in the center of Si Satchanalai, then make a Chedi out of it...”

The scholars believe that King Ramkhamhaeng established Si Satchanalai as the new capital instead of Chaliang, built a Wat Chang Lom as a center of the city then surrounded the city with earthen dyke which took three years to finish. (Srisak: 2534 BE, 12) Although the center shifted to Sukhothai, Si Satchanalai was still an important source of politics, religion and economy, but due to the antiquity of Si Satchanalai, the stone inscriptions always stated their names together as “Si Satchanalai-Sukhothai” and in the time of its prosperity, the Sukhothai king would always send his Crown Prince to rule over Si Satchanalai. (Srisak: 2534 BE, 14)

The reign of Pho Khun Ban Maueng over the Sukhothai Kingdom (1818-1820 BE or 1822 BE)

The 1<sup>st</sup> stone inscription stated that when King Sri Indraditya had died, Khun Baan Mueang who is the brother of Pho Khun Ramkhamhaeng had succeeded to the throne to rule Sukhothai in 1818 BE (Piriya: 2539 BE, 43). At the same time, Pho Khun Ramkhamhaeng who ruled Si Satchanalai since the reign of Pho Khun Si Indraditya continued to rule the city until Pho Khun Ban Mueang passed away, thence he was enthroned at Sukhothai.

The reign of Pho Khun Ramkhamhaeng ruling Sukhothai (1820 BE or 1822 BE – 1842 BE)

The 1<sup>st</sup> inscription mentioned that when Pho Khun Baan Mueang died, Khun Ramkhamhaeng succeeded the throne of his brother in BE 1822 (Santi: 2540 BE, 11). Piset Chiachanpong believes that 1820 BE was the year that Pho Khun Ramkhamhaeng planted the sugar palm tree which was part of the traditional coronation ceremony (Piset: 2538 BE, 41).

During the reign of Pho Khun Ramkhamhaeng, he sent his son who was Phraya Lerthai to rule Si Satchanalai instead of him. It was stated in the 1<sup>st</sup> inscription that Sukhothai had expanded its territory widely, from the south to Nakhon Sri

Thammarat and the Malay peninsula, from the west to Hongsawadee, from the east to Vientienne and Viengkham. Due to the recent studies, however, the scholars believe that these cities were the allies of Sukhothai and King Ramkhamhaeng. (Santi: 2540 BE, 11). In this inscription, it also referred to his great victory over Khun Sam Chon, the ruler of Chod city when he was only 19 years old and also his reputation and intelligence so that he could create alphabets. He was well-known for his generosity, that Tai-Kong and Tai-Ou (refugees) came to visit and ask for shelter. Piset Chiachanpong believes that Sukhothai's northern territory of the Nan River extended to Fang in Uttaradit province, from the west till Song Kwai (Pitsanuloke) and stretched to the Pasak River, from the south to Nakhon Sawan and some cities in the area of Chainat province, Suphanburi, Phetchaburi until Nakhon Sithammarat, from the east to Ping River basin, from the west till Tak province and also maintaining a good relationship with the Burmese villages on the Gulf of Martaban. (Piset: 2538 BE, 42)

After the reign of Pho Khun Ramkhamhaeng, many states split and scattered. Piset Chiachanpong has explained that the decentralization of power is dependent on the proper attitude and the ruler's personality. If the ruler lack one of these characteristics, the states he governs might break apart, split and fall apart. (Piset: 2538 BE, 42) There is evidences on the inscription that Phraya Sai Songkhram who was the younger brother of Phraya Lerthai ruled Sukhothai in the short period in 1841 BE. It is assumed that it was the period that Pho Khun Ramkhamhaeng was sick and then died, Phraya Lerthai at that time was an ambassador of the Sukhothai Kingdom to visit China, and he came back to succeed to the throne of Sukhothai in 1842 BE.

The reign of Phraya Lerthai (1842-1884 BE) and the reign of Phraya Ngau Num Thom (1884-1890 BE)

The 45<sup>th</sup> inscription of Sukhothai mentioned the events after the Pho Khun Ramkhamhaeng reign that Phraya Lerthai who was the son of Pho Khun Ramkhamhaeng succeeded to the throne of Sukhothai until 1882 BE he sent Phraya Lithai to rule Si Satchanalai. Phraya Lithai composed the Trai Bhum Pra Ruang at Si Satchanalai in 1888 BE. Later it was recorded on the inscription that a new king named Phraya Ngau Num Thom who was a son of Pho Khun Ban Muaeng ascended

the throne at Sukhothai after Phraya Lerthai. Also there is the evidence on the inscription of Wat Pa Mamuang that Phraya Lerthai left the throne to enter to the monkhood. It showed the usurpation of the house of Sri Indraditya which was the new dynasty and the house of Nao Num Thom, the old one. And finally, Phraya Lithai marched from Si Satchanalai to occupy Sukhothai in 1890 BE as mentioned previously.

#### Reign of Phraya Lithai (1890-1912 BE)

Phraya Lerthai, the son of Pho Khun Ramkhamhaeng succeeded to the throne. (Santi: 2540 BE, 11). Later, Phraya Lerthai gave Si Satchanalai to Phaya Lithai to rule in 1883 BE. When Phraya Lerthai died in 1889 BE, Phraya Ngu Nam Thum, the son of Pho Khun Baan Mueang (who was Pho Khun Ramkhamhaeng's older brother and who reigned over Sukhothai before him) had succeeded to the throne which caused chaos. Piset Chiachanpong has hypothesized that when Phraya Ngu Nam Thum died, Phraya Lithai led the troops from Si Satchanalai, sneaked out through the routes that were rarely used, then conquered Sukhothai with axes, took the throne and then changed his name to "Phra Sri Suriyapong Maha Dhammaraja". After that, he conquered all the states that have had split from Sukhothai. Once again, Sukhothai was reunited as one except the area of Tak province near the Ping River basin which belonged to Lanna and could not be retrieved. (Pises: 2538 BE, 47).

In the reign of Phraya Lithai, it was the golden age of art, architecture and religion. It was believed that all the sacred buildings and constructions in Si Satchanalai and Sukhothai were mostly renovated in this period (Srisak: 2534 BE, 18). Buddhism flourished in Sukhothai; there were many important monks such as, Sumana Thera or Phra Ano Massi, who had learnt the tenets from Ayudhya then later moved to Sukhothai. Phaya Lithai was fascinated when he heard the news about the monks who had learned the Tripitaka from Nakhon Pan (a city located on the gulf of Martaban); the two monks re-ordained themselves at Nakhon Pan, then spread the teachings at Sukhothai which highly satisfied Phraya Lithai. Phraya Lithai provided support to many Theravada monks from Nakhon Pan, encouraged Buddhism to be spread outside the land and to other kingdoms such as Ayudhya, Luang Phra Bang, Chiang Mai and Nan, which gained faith from the rulers of these kingdom, especially

Chiang Mai where Sumana Thera went. Phra Chao Kuena, who was the ruler at that time, had so much faith in Buddhism that he offered a big land area of flower garden for Sumana Thera to use as his monastery, which nowadays is called “Buppharam Temple” or “Wat Suan Dok”. By spreading Buddhism in this period, Sukhothai and Chiang Mai were reunited again, following their split over Tak province.

Aside from joining the various states together, Phraya Lithai also tried to expand his powers outside these nations as well. He conquered the north up to the province of Prae, forcing people to be his captives and slaves at Pa Daeng Temple in Si Satchanalai, and he conquered the east until the town areas in the Pasak River basin. In 1902 BE, the status of him as a warrior has ended. There was no inscription about him in this warrior’s status, rather there were the stories of temple construction and the spread of Buddhism. Piset Chiachanpong has stated that the reason he had to stop being a warrior was because he “went over the line” while conquering the towns in Pasak River areas since it had affected the network of Ayutthaya kingdom which was already well-established, with multiple wide networks of connections with many cities and a stable political system at that time.

In Lanna documents it is also stated about how Phaya Lithai was being reckless at that time. Phra Ramathibodi I (King U-thong) had taken over Song Kwai (Pitsanuloke), letting Khun Luang Pa Ngua (Phra Borom Rajadhirat I), who was the ruler of Suphan Buri, to rule over Song Kwai. Phraya Lithai had to offer many tributes in order to ask Song Kwai back from Phra Ramathibodi I. After the incident, Khun Luang Pa Ngua returned back to rule Suphan Buri. This event does not appear on any Sukhothai’s inscriptions but is consistent with the 8<sup>th</sup> inscription that stated about how he had committed to stay in Song Kwai for 7 years.

Piset Chiachanpong believes that the reason why Phra Ramathibodi had to conquer Song Kwai was because he wanted to prevent Phaya Lithai from invading the areas in the Pasak River basin and the reason why Khun Luang Pha Ngua had to stay in Song Kwai was due to the good relationship with Sukhothai according to what was stated in the 1<sup>st</sup> inscriptions. Therefore, the negotiation of asking Song Kwai back is like the compromise between family members. The reason Phraya Lithai had to stay in Song Kwai for 7 years was due to the conditions that Ayudhya proposed in order to

get rid of the public's image of Dhammaraja Lithai so that he could be significant only in terms of religion. Phraya Lithai had to stay in Song Kwai since the year of his ordination in 1905 BE. Piset Chiachanpong has said that he was the first king to do such things which later became a model for several kings who followed his actions, such as Phra Chao Tilokkarat of Lanna, King Borommatrailokkanat of Ayutthaya.

In the meantime, while Phaya Lithai was ordained at Wat Pa Mamuang, he established the temple for monks to stay in the forest area. He also established Dhevalai Mahakaset to place Phra Narai and Phra Shiva (these Sukhothai statues were subsequently shown in the National Museum of Pranakhon). This revealed that his interest was not only in Buddhism alone but also in Astrology and that he was able to make calendars. After he had stayed at Song Kwai for 7 years, around 1912 BE, he returned back to Sukhothai with various noblemen and those who were still loyal to him. In the 8<sup>th</sup> inscription, it was stated that he returned to worship the Buddha's Footprint replica that was simulated from the one in Sumonnakut Mountain on Sri Langka Island which was established on the Khao Luang Mountain that was also named as "Sumonnakut".

Piset Chiachanpong recognizes that there were captives from 12 different towns around Sukhothai that Phaya Lithai brought together with him. It shows that he might have been ready to rule Sukhothai once again because, in the meantime, Ramathibodi I has just died, there was an issue of usurpation between Prince Ramesuan, the son of King Ramthibodi I and Khun Luan Pa Ngua, the brother of Ramathibodi I's queen. However, he could not restore Sukhothai's political power. He died after he had sent out Sumana Thera to spread Theravada Buddhism, in 1913-1914 BE. After the death of Phaya Lithai, the families in Sukhothai fought against each other to succeed to the throne until Khun Luang Pa Ngua succeeded as Boromrajadhirat I, conquered all the states in Sukhothai in 1914 BE and supported Maha Dhevi who was the sister of Dhammaraja Phaya Lithai to rule Sukhothai by falling under Ayutthaya Kingdom for 10 years and finally died peacefully. Although this reign of Sukhothai seems to have been a time of peace, the rulers in each state of Sukhothai did not comply with the authority of Ayudhya. Phra Boromrajadhirat I had to conquer several times to create peace for the areas. (Piset: 2538 BE, 58, 63-64)

**3.4 The early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century BE to 2127 BE.** This was the time that the kingdom was merged to be part of Ayudhya Kingdom until the collapse of Sukhothai (when King Naresuan moved the people forcibly to reside at Phitsanulok and abandoned the city of Si Satchanalai).

The Chronicle of Ayudhya, of the Luang Prasoet and Paramanuchitchinorot editions, and the Chronicle of the North authored by Phra Vichien Preecha (Noi), showed that in the reign of King U-Thong, Khun Luang Pa Ngua marched an army to conquer the remarkable cities within the Sukhothai Kingdom, with the result that Sukhothai became the dependency under the Ayudhya Kingdom in 1914 BE. All through the early period of the Ayutthaya era, the kingdom was uniting Sukhothai to Ayudhya until it became the dependency in the north. Then, it relocated the centre from the river Yom basin where Si Satchanalai–Sukhothai was the capital to the river Nan basin where Phitsanulok was the capital to administer the northern territory. Then Si Satchanalai was degraded to be just a province. In the reign of King U-Thong, there were the rulers of 16 dependencies and Sawankhalok (Si Satchanalai) was one of them. Prince Mahavajiravudh (who became King Rama VI of the Rattanakosin Kingdom between 2453-2468 BE) gave the opinion that in the early Ayudhya era, although Si Satchanalai was under the control of Ayudhya, there was still the royal family of the Sukhothai dynasty to rule the city (Prince Mahavajiravudh: 2451 BE).

In 1931 BE, Ayudhya experienced a big change that extremely affected Sukhothai. After the death of Phra Boromrajadhibodi I, the 1<sup>st</sup> of the Suphanburi Dynasty, the throne had fallen under Phra Ramesuan from the U-thong Dynasty, who came to succeed to the throne from Lopburi. When King Ramesuan died in 1938 BE, Phra Ram Rajadhirat, his son succeeded to the throne for the next order. In the transition period from the Suphanburi Dynasty to the Uthong Dynasty, all the states were free from Ayudhya and in the meantime they had good relations with the Suphanburi Dynasty. In this period, the historical documents of Ayudhya do not mention Sukhothai or Suphanburi. But in the Sukhothai's stone inscriptions, there were some traces of records but these are not recorded continuously. In this period, there were two or three sons and grandsons that used the title of Phra Maha Dhammaraja to rule Sukhothai.



The stone inscriptions found at Wat Sri Pichit Keerati Kanyaram have stated that one Dhammaraja who was Phaya Lithai's grandson had reunited many Sukhothai states by accepting the higher authority at Kamphaeng Pheat. Piset Chiachanpong has suggested that the authority at Kamphaeng Pheat was the power of the Suphanburi Dynasty which did not surrender to Ayudhya. Therefore, Suphanburi and Sukhothai were good bargaining powers for Ayudhya rulers. Eventually in 1952 BE, chief officials and courtiers from Ayutthaya had invited Phra Nakarindrathirat of the Suphanburi Dynasty to succeed to the throne. They also summoned Phra Ram Rajadhirat to stay at Ptah Ku Cham. Thence, the Kingdom of Sukhothai was successfully merged with the Kingdom of Ayudhya. Somdej Nakarindrathirat had his former name as "Chao Nakhon In". There is a Chinese archive that mentioned about him, the prince from Suphanburi who had come to trade with China several times which he was favorable with the Chinese Royal Court more than the rulers from Ayudhya. The people in the north usually heard this as a legend about how "Phra Ruang Goes to China". The Royal Court of China had given him a princess, along with several technicians of earthenware and ceramics to make the potteries in Sukhothai. Piset Chiachanpong hypothesized that before Somdej Nakarindrathirat succeeded to his throne, he must have already succeeded to the throne in Kamphaeng Pheat so that is why he would have had great intimacy with the Sukhothai Dynasty. He had a son with a princess from Sukhothai named "Chao Sam Phraya" who succeeded to the throne in Ayutthaya and was bestowed the title of "Somdej Phra Boromrajadhirat II", King Nagarindrathirat had the significant role in the manufacturing of Si Satchanalai's celadon which derived from China and then developed to be stoneware of high quality and an exported product throughout the region and overseas. The product made a lot of income for the kingdom. There is the evidence of plenty of kilns around the area of Ban Koa Noi and Ban Pa Yang, located along the river Yom basin in the north of Si Satchanalai. The Chronicles of the Ayudhya Kingdom by King Mongkut mentioned the events in the reign of Somdej Phra Borommarachathirat II (Chao Sam Phraya) of Ayutthaya, that he sent his son Prince Ramesuan to rule Phitsnulok and the neighbouring provinces included Si Satchanalai. Later, Prince Ramesuan succeeded to the throne of Ayutthaya as Borom

Trailokkanat, and he appointed Si Satchanalai as the fortress which was equivalent to a tributary state and the ruler of the land was in the position of Phraya Chalieng.

In the reign of King Borom Trailokkanat, in order to control those petit states of Sukhothai, King Borom Trailokkanat changed the regulations and administrative method so that every ruler had to comply under Ayudhya; these limited the powers of the previous rulers resulting in them joining with the Lanna Kingdom. When Ayutthaya had controlled all the northern provinces in this period, Si Satchanalai was a very significant city since it was the outpost and the buffer state located on the tactical route between Lanna and Ayudhya (Srisak: 2534 BE, p.18, 20). And might have been more important than Sukhothai, there were laterite walls that surrounded the area, making it a more defensible.

Phraya Yutthitsathien had grown up with King Borom Trailokkanat and was very close with him while they were living in Phitsanulok, but he was not appointed to be the king to rule all the northern states and this caused him to be dissatisfied. Therefore, he submitted himself to King Tilokaraj of Lanna which brought King Borom Trailokkanat to reside at Phitsanulok for 7 years in order to battle with Lanna. So Phitsanulok became the capital of Ayudhya temporarily. Lanna called Si Satchanalai "Chaing Chueon", and after King Tilokaraj died, Ayudhya then took Si Satchanalai back. After 2003 BE Ayutthaya established Phitsanulok as the main province of the northern region and Si Satchanalai as a "vice" main province. All rulers would have an authority over 1,000 Sakdina which was equivalent to Sukhothai. Kamphaeng Pheat, Nakhon Ratchasima and Ta Nao Sri (Srisak: 2534 Be, 18, 20).

Afterwards, the Chronicles of the Kingdom of Ayutthaya renamed Si Satchanalai as Sawankhalok which united Chalieng and Si Satchanalai together. The name of the city probably came from its reputation of the Sangkhalok stoneware of which the city was the manufacturing centre in the old time, and from the distorted pronunciation "Sawankhalok" to "Sangkhalok".

The Chronicles of the Kingdom of Ayudhya by Luang Prasert mentioned the critical event during the period of King Worawongsathirat, when Khun Phirenthep

invited Phraya Pichai and Phraya Sawankhalok to get rid of Worawongsathirat. Once the mission was accomplished, both noblemen were granted to be Chao Phraya. It showed that Si Satchanalai had no ruler during that time. Further, the statement in these chronicles mentioned the incidence when King Maha Chakkraphat visited Lavaek in 2075 BE and asked for Phra Sutho and Phra Suthantabut, the sons of Phraya Lavaek, to be his adopted children. Then he assigned Phra Sutthun to rule Sawankhalok. It showed that Si Satchanalai was an insignificant state at that time. Then, in 2079 BE King Maha Chakkraphat appointed Phra Suthun to be the army leader to conquer Phra Suttha who stole the throne from Phra Suthun's father. Unluckily, he was killed on the elephant's neck while he was fighting with Annam and Sawankhalok returned to be under Phitsanulok as previously.

The Chronicles of the Kingdom of Ayutthaya by Luang Prasert noted that King Mahathammaracha recruited the troops of Sawankhalok to combine with the army of the north for many battles. However, there is no any critical statement until the late period of King Mahathammaracha, to the effect that King Naresuan the Great declared independence and drove out the Hansawadee army and settled the army at Chaing Thong in 2109 BE. Phaya Pichai did not join King Naresuan, moving the families and villagers forcibly to Si Satchanalai. Moreover, he invited Phaya Sawankhalok to attack Phitsanulok. When King Naresuan acknowledged this, he marched the army to attack Si Satchanalai. King Naresuan set up camp at Wat Sri Chum in Sukhothai and conducted the oath of allegiance ceremony. The next morning, he led the armed forces to Khao Kub and then arrived at Si Satchanalai and set up the army at Wat Mai Ngam. King Naresuan sent the governor to persuade them, but they did not accept. Therefore, he marched to attack the city via three gateways located in the north and the west – Sam Kerd gates, Tao Mo gates, and Saphan Chan gates. Until midnight the troops could not get through the gates. Then, two days later King Naresuan attacked at Don Laem gate in the south nearby the Yom river following the recommendation of the astrologer and could enter the city on the next day. Phraya Sawankhalok escaped hiding inside Wat Pai, while Phraya Pichai ran to Chiang Mai but was under arrest at Kao Joon checkpoint. King Naresuan ordered to put them both to death and moved all villagers forcibly. Further, he requested to bring the sculptures of Phraya Ruang and Phraya Leu sculpture which

were engraved from the black ivory of the white elephant that belonged to Phra Ruang to Phitsanulok, as well.

To handle the Burma war in 2127 BE, King Naresuan brought the captives to stay in Pitsanuloke, abandoning Si Satchanalai. After King Naresuan had won the war, Si Satchanalai was freed but never prospered as in the past. At the end of Ayudhya period, Si Satchanalai was deserted again in 2310 BE and when the second fall of Ayudhya occurred, Rama I moved the city to Tambon Wang Mai Khon. Si Satchanalai was completely abandoned for hundreds years.



## Chapter 4

### Interpretation

The ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (2008), has mentioned that interpretation of a heritage involves full range of potential activities to raise the awareness and understanding of the cultural heritage site. In the case of Si Satchanalai there are vast methods used at different places to interpret values and raise awareness of significantly important cultural heritage of Thailand, Si Satchanalai. The responsibility of Si Satchanalai Historical Park is to look after and conserve the archaeological sites, gather and study information about the ancient Si Satchanalai. Including to provide educational and tourism information, media and learning materials services, tour guide services for visitors and local youth in the park (Source: Si Satchanalai Historical Park website at <http://www.finearts.go.th/sisatchanalaihistoricalpark/site-map/...>). The interpretation of learning resources in the Si Satchanalai Historical Park are as follows:

- 4.1 Information Center
- 4.2 Wat Chom Chuen archeological site museum
- 4.3 Center for Study and Preservation of Sangkhalok kiln (site number 61)
- 4.4 The Study and Preservation of Si Satchanalai kilns project (Phase 2) (ON-Site Museum for kilns 42 and 123)
- 4.5 The interpretation at each monuments site in Si Satchanalai Historical Park

During 2556-2559 BE, Si Satchanalai Historical Park has increasing number of visitors. There are about 220,000 visitors per year. There are about 50,000 students, 25,000 foreigner visitors, 5,000 priests, 5,000 government's guests, and the remaining number are Thai visitors. In 2560 BE, the number of visitors increased to 320,000 visitors per year. The 100,000-increasing number are Thai visitors. (Source: Data base systems of the resource of Art and Cultural Heritage, Fine Art Department, <http://mis.finearts.go.th/Visitor.aspx?rs=1>, Access 3 February 2018) This is the result from the promotion from the province and local level at the beginning of the year and towards the end of the year. These visitors can be categorized for "Art and Culture Tourism." The researcher has refer the information of these group of visitors in

perception, attitude, interest, behavior, priority given to the cultural attraction, and other aspect from questionnaires and discussions of the result from online-questionnaires, The Study of architectural ruins for cultural tourism interpretation: Case Studies of Wat Mahathat Sukhothai and Wat Mahathat Chaleang. This research has been conducted by Dr. Kriengkrai Kerdsiri and team. It was conducted almost the same time, therefore, the researcher can refer the information gain from this research to analyze the achievement of Si Satchanalai interpretation.



Figure 7: The front and the porch at the entrance to the Information Center are the applied Sukhothai architecture.



Figure 8: The applied Sukhothai architecture of the Information Center building and the corridor connected between the enclosed buildings which open space in the middle.

**4.1 Information Center** is the center of the important content, distinctive information and publicize about the important cultural heritage ( or learning resources/ archaeological sites/ archeology resources) in the Si Satchanalai Historical Park. The Information Center also provides overview information of the cultural heritage sites for visitors to understand before visiting each site. According to the ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (2008) it can be refer to “ Interpretive Infrastructure” as it is physically built and specifically use for the purpose of interpreting Si Satchanalai. The Information Center has 5 categories/ groups as follows:

- 1) The King and the ancient Si Satchanalai city
- 2) Terrain, physical composition and location of the archaeological sites.
- 3) Chaliang city
- 4) History and development of Si Satchanalai
- 5) World Heritage Site of Si Satchanalai
- 6) The QR Code label at the front of the Information Center for publicizing the park's general information.

1) The King and the ancient city of Si Satchanalai city convey information by the pictures of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej and Her Majesty Queen Sirikit at the Royal Visit of the Si Satchanalai Historical Park in 1958 and 1972. These three pictures were combined into a large picture on the wall of the hall. The front of the Information Center, sorting the location from the front door into the interior is Wat Nang Phaya in 1972, Wat Chedi Chet Thaew in 1958 and Wat Khao Suwan Khiri in 1972. Therefore, the King also made a worship at the Don Laem gate in 1966, but the picture has not been exhibited. The exhibits in this section signifies that the King and the Royal family emphasizes the value of the cultural heritage of Si Satchanalai city and supports the conservation of these cultural heritages. As shown in the large picture on the wall, the King went to the ceremony and observed it by himself. This has been a great influence because he is a role model for all Thai people who follow the activities of conserving ancient sites and cultural heritages in the time of his arrival. The conservative procedure has made great progress and been continued to develop in order until now. When visitors get brief description from the park guide/speaker, they can understand information of this section easily.



Figure 9: His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej was visiting the archaeological sites of the Si Satchanalai Historical Park.





Figure 10: His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej and Her Majesty Queen Sirikit at the Royal Visit of the Si Satchanalai Historical Park.

2) Terrain, physical composition and location of the archaeological sites. The exhibits in this section include a model, a 3D terrain and a map of the park which are used for conveying. The miniature model can clarify visitors the content clearly, find the whole overview of the park as it is scaled down and shown in this transparent half circle glass. The map on the wall is the same as the printed one on brochures for visitors, but it is only expanded to fit the wall, so that the guide/speaker can pinpoint the location on the map while conveying important content to the visitors. Also, the visitors will receive the same map on the brochure which can be used during the park tour.



Figure 11: The miniature model, the 3D terrain and the map of the Si Satchanalai Historical Park

Furthermore, the archaeological sites should be grouped together on another map for guiding the visitors in determining the routes and planning to visit the ancient sites and heritage sites at the park. These sites divide into 5 groups as 1) The archaeological site located around Chaliang city. 2) The archaeological site located on the center of Si Satchanalai city and on Khao Phanom Phloeng - Khao Suwan Khiri. 3) The archaeological site located outside the wall of the Northeast Si Satchanalai city. 4) The archaeological site located outside the wall of the Southeast Si Satchanalai city. 5) The archaeological site located outside the wall of the South Si Satchanalai city. 6) The archaeological site and Celadon Kiln area located outside the wall of the North Si Satchanalai city. In interviewing Mr. Somchit Diandath (position as an attendant and a guide for visitors at the archaeological site for 20 years) on December 9, 2017, was found that most visitors often chose to visit the historical sites in group 1) and 2). Other groups were groups of teachers and students who were interested in specific fields, such as archeology, architecture, Celadon wares. Also, most teachers usually have plans and schedules for visiting the archaeological sites and provide the interpretation program on their own, because they visit the



documents by using Wat Chao Chan castle pictures with explanation. Plus, the Chaliang city landscape surrounded by Yom river picture, which was used for mistily background and made a big scene full the whole wall to attract visitors into the atmosphere of the ancient Chaliang city. The short text describes about the Chaliang city name that was found in the Yonok historical records and the Chinese annals since the 16th Century BE for acknowledgement. However, the following statement, "In the first stage of belief that the Buddhist community was from the Khmer empire ..." makes the visitors misunderstand easily that the 16<sup>th</sup> Century BE period was the initial stage of the community. Then refer to the archaeological remains evidence, that is the Khmer Prasat at Wat Chao Chan. Although it is said that the age of the Khmer Prasat was in the same period as the Prasat of Wat Phra Pi Luang. The visitors can not realize if the whole description means the 16<sup>th</sup> Century BE period. Besides, the next paragraph describes about art work and Archaeology evidence were found and shown that the settlement and development of the community had been continued, but not specify the time frame. This conflict information can also mislead the visitors and find the conflict information in the following sections. In order to convey the visitors' understanding of the statement, that had been through for centuries. In consequence, it is important to correct the statement for making it clearer by specifying the time period. For example, "The evidence of the art work and archaeology shows that the beginning period of the settlement of the ancient community was cut back to the 9th Century BE and continued to develop until the 18th Century BE, that the Khmer influence was found the same period in the Chaliang city, it is the Khmer Prasat at Wat Chao Chan".



Figure 13: Castle photo of Wat Chao Chan and description is a big scene full the whole wall to attract visitors into the atmosphere of the ancient Chaliang city.



Figure 14: Castle photo of Wat Chao Chan and description with the Chaliang city landscape surrounded by Yom river picture, which was used for mistily background.

The exhibition pad on the wall on the left, which convey the development of the Chaliang city by using photos and large letters that the Chaliang city name was called in different periods. The photos used are pictures from Wat Phra Sri Rattana Mahathat Chaliang, for example, art work format of the arched entrance was influenced from Khmer in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century BE since Chaliang city period, art work format of the Buddha in the posture of walking picture was in Sukhothai period, and picture of Phra Mahathat Chedi was a stupa in Ayutthaya period. The large letters are called as the name of the Chaliang city in various periods, such as Chaliang (old name between the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century BE), Chiang Cheun (during the period was under the rule of Lanna), Si Satchanalai (Sukhothai period) and Sawankhalok (Ayutthaya period) and also describe details about location, community settlement history (repeated information on the wall on the right as mentioned before). Including the significance of the Chaliang city or Si Satchanalai in various periods. However, if city names would be called in chronological order, they should be ranked as Chaliang, Si Satchanalai, Chiang Cheun and Sawankhalok respectively.



Figure 15: Exhibition pad pictures convey the development of the Chaliang city by using photos and large letters that the Chaliang city name was called in different periods and the temple arch picture of Wat Phra Sri Rattana Mahathat Chaliang



Figure 16: The protruding walls from both sides are the triangle and adorned with stripes like the door frame.

Between the first part and the second part, the walls are protruded in triangle shape for both sides and decorated with lined pattern from the arched entrance of Wat Phra Sri Rattana Mahathat Chaliang. It functions as a door frame or doorway that opens to invite visitors to enter the next section.

- The second part presents Wat Chom Cheun Archaeological Site, the Khmer Prasat of Wat Chao Chan and Wat Phra Sri Rattana Mahathat Chaliang.

The archaeological site of Wat Chom Cheun was presented by the exhibits of archaeological finds from the excavation unit. They are Carnelian agate beads and Terracotta stick for body scrubbing. Including the human skeleton model, pictures of the Mandapa and the chapel from Wat Chom Chuen, the aerial photographs of the Chaliang city, and exhibits of pictures from the archaeological excavation unit together with description for each picture. The pictures have shown the community settlement evidence since the 9<sup>th</sup> Century BE and the community had been developed until the Dvaravati period in 11<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Century BE. The 15 graves were found and associated with the pictures of the beads in the Dvaravati period shown there. Plus, the exhibits are publicized to visit each site museum. In this section can convey the archaeological excavation unit of Wat Chom Chuen shortly, concisely and effectively.



Figure 17: Archeology exhibits of Wat Chom Chuen and the Khmer Prasat of Wat Chao Chan.



Figure 18: The photo exhibition plate from the archaeological excavation unit at Wat Chao Chan and short description.





Figure 19: Carnelian agate beads from archaeological sites at Wat Chao Chan.



Figure 20: Terracotta stick for body scrubbing.



Figure 21: The aerial photographs of the Chaliang city.



Figure 22: The human skeleton model from archaeological sites at Wat Chao Chan.

The next section presents the influence of Khmer architecture by using the Khmer Prasat pictures from Wat Chao Chan together with narrative text. The text describes the age of the Khmer Prasat approximately since the 18<sup>th</sup> Century BE, including the miniature model of Prasat Wat Chao Chan, ruins of chapel base and Mandapa Phra Atta Russa as it appears nowadays. Plus, there are duplicate descriptions of the Khmer Prasat's picture. It is indicative that the Khmer Prasat was

influenced by Khmer architectural art and built in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century BE. Later it was modified into a temple in Theravada Buddhism.



Figure 23: The exhibits of Wat Chao Chan and Wat Phra Sri Rattana Mahathat Chaliang.



Figure 24: The miniature model of Wat Chao Chan, ruins of chapel base and Mandapa Phra Atta Russa.

Wat Phra Sri Rattana Mahathat Chaliang exhibits photos of chapel and Pha Prang from the front view, beside and panoramic views on the L-shaped curved wall. Plus, the miniature model of the arched entrance from Khmer Bayon Art style is

exhibited including the exhibit of Khmer terracotta roofing tiles that are influenced by Khmer Bayon Art style in 18<sup>th</sup> Century BE. That was discovered in this temple.



Figure 25: The front view and side view of Wat Phra Sri Rattana Mahathat Chaliang.



Figure 26: The picture of Wat Phra Sri Rattana Mahathat Chaliang in panoramic views on the L-shaped curved wall.



Figure 27: The miniature model of the arched entrance from Khmer Bayon Art style.



Figure 28: The Khmer terracotta roofing tiles that are influenced by Khmer Bayon Art style and it was discovered at Wat Phra Sri Rattana Mahathat Chaliang

Part 3 History and development of Si Satchanalai. The exhibition pads are ranked in chronological order since prehistoric Neolithic-Metal age, Dvaravati period, Sukhothai period, Ayuttaya period and Rattanakosin period, which describe history, milestone and important information related to the Si Satchanalai city at each time. It

can be interpreted to understand the history and development of the Si Satchanalai city to clarify visitors very well.



Figure 29: The exhibits sort out by period since Prehistoric Neolithic-Metal age to Rattanakosin period for expressing the history and development of the Si Satchanalai city.

However, the statement in Prehistoric Neolithic-Metal age has informed that approximately 2,500 years ago, there were prehistoric community settlement. The community had traded with other communities, but it was conflict with mentioned statement in part 2. The evidence of community settlement from archaeological sites at Wat Chom Chuen was found since the 9<sup>th</sup> Century BE. It's different periods for 9 centuries and question what evidence of the community settlement and exchange trading 2,500 years ago were from exactly.

Towards the finish of exhibition, the visitors will walk out of the building from this pathway to the next building. The exhibition center is a group of buildings that consists of four buildings. They are built with the garden at the center. The landscape of the garden is beautifully made for a short relaxation which helps the visitors not be stress from a long exhibition.



Figure 30: Pathway that links the buildings is surround with beautiful garden



Figure 31: Open space is beautifully prepared surrounded with Sukhothai applied architecture buildings

4) Si Satchanalai City. The exhibition in this section is interpreting the glorious town of Si Satchanalai, including political, religion, arts, and Sikh industry by using photographs. The architectural, arts, and important and outstanding archaeological sites photographs along with summary of wording paragraphs in both Thai and English are being used in this section. The paragraphs and photographs are

printed on a big wall to lead visitors into the atmosphere of Si Satchanalai ancient city. They are represented with the presentations of artifacts such as elephant sculpture, stucco of architecture ornaments, including the miniature model of the park. They are placed harmony to each other as follow.

- Part 1 is the exhibition on the right wall. It is interpreting the glory of Si Satchanalai City in politics, religion, and architecture arts. The photographs of stone inscription and caption refer to the message from the inscription which is the historical evidence that shows the glorious time of Si Satchanalai. The photograph of the principle pagoda at Wat Chedi Chet Thaew in lotus bud topped style shows unique Sukhothai architecture style represents the glory of arts and architecture arts of Si Satchanalai. The wall on the left that shows photographs of important sites of Si Satchanalai, Wat Chang Lom, Wat Suwankiri, Wat Chedi Chet Thaew, Wat Nang Phaya, Wat Khao Phanom Pleang, Wat Suan Kaew Utthayan Yai, Wat Suan Kaew Utthayan Noi respectively, represents the aesthetic of Sukhothai architecture.



Figure 32: Exhibition shows photographs and description of the inscription and the principle pagoda of Wat Chedi Chet Thaew on the right wall





Figure 33: The left wall presents important Wat located in Si Satchanalai city wall respectively

- Part 2 Si Satchanalai arts has content and exhibition continue from part 1. It shows the glory of Si Satchanalai in arts. It exhibits the photographs of the four pagoda styles of Si Satchanalai, lotus bud topped, Bell-shaped, Prank-liked, and Mandapa. But the photographs of Bell-shaped Chedi, Prank-liked Chedi, and Mandapa do not show the pattern clearly. There should be architecture drawings, 3D image, or model to help interpreting these architecture styles. Addition to the style, the location and number of each style should be presented for the visitors to have the idea of where and how many are there as well as the relationship of pagoda to the overall area.



Figure 34: Si Satchanalai arts exhibition



Figure 35: Shows that the photographs cannot interpret the architectural style of Chedi clear

- Part 3 Natural resource of Si Satchanalai. The natural resource of Si Satchanalai are river and mountains such as Yom River Phra Si Mountain, Suwankiri Mountain, Panom Pleng Mountain, and Kang Loung. The geography drawings Si Satchanalai shows the mountains and river but does not mention the names. The interesting point is that the story of kiln has been put into this section instead of the industrial, economic, or arts section as mentioned in the English description that “....Si

Satchanalai had become an industrial town...” but mention in Thai description that “the production of kiln around early 19 BE - 22 BE was the most prominent resource of Si Satchanalai.” It is possible that the exhibitors put the story of kiln in the natural resources section because they both use the word “resource” in English.

However, in part 3 the exhibition about kiln was obvious. The ceiling of this section has a drawing of a fish as seen in the actual kiln. The photograph used in this section is a big photograph cover the area of the wall. The photograph in the Center for the Study and conservation of Sangkhalok kiln site number 42 and number 61 is about 4 time bigger than the layout picture. It is presented along with the artifacts. While it is interpreting about kiln, the topic on the wall of the exhibition wrote “resources.” This can give the visitors some confusion.



Figure 36: Shows the natural resources and kiln resources of Si Satchanalai



Figure 37: Kiln artifacts was prominently presented in part 3

The center area of the room located the sitting area for video presentation. The presentation is shown from a wall television. The staff can change the topic as needed.



Figure 38: Sitting area for video presentation

- Part 4 Interpretation of importance and distinctive architecture character of Wat Chang Lom and Wat Nang Phaya

Wat Chang Lom is located at the center of Si Satchanalai as same as Was Mahatat. It has distinctive architectural character. Wat Chang Lom grasps visitors interests second from Wat Phra Si Mahatat Chaleang. The interpretation is mainly about the importance and prominent pattern of Wat Chang Lom. It is presenting by using the photograph of the principle pagoda that has “chang lom” (surround with elephants) around the base of the pagoda along with some descriptions. The descriptions include the meaning of having the temple located in the middle of the city of Si Satchanalai as well as architectural forms and aesthetic elements. It also include the believe behind the built of Chedi Chang Lom which was influenced from Sri Lanka. It also presents the architectural drawings of Chedi Wat Chang Lom that indicates the location of architectural elements with description of the element. The exhibition also include the elephant stucco model.



Figure 39: The exhibition which interpret Wat Chang Lom



Figure 40: Exhibition about Wat Chang Lom and the elephant stucco statue

Wat Nang Phaya is a big temple located on the main axis of Si Satchanalai City, therefore it is considered a very important temple. It was built in the time of early Ayutthaya. The beautiful stucco pattern on the wall can still be seen today. The mimic of stucco pattern is being decorated on the wall of the front of Part 4. This easily show the beautiful character of the stucco. The photographs cover the wall, which is much bigger than the actual stucco shows the elegance and pattern of the stucco clearly. The photographs of Wat Nang Phaya was used to interpret the Pagoda style and the roof that protects the stucco on the wall from sun and rain.



Figure 41: Exhibition of Wat Nang Phaya that presents the beautiful pattern of the stucco clearly



Figure 42: Wall of Viharn at Wat Nang Phaya that has roof to protect the beautiful stucco pattern on the wall from sun and rain

- Part 5 The trading of kiln. The exhibition shows map of kiln trading from Si Satchanalai which cover the area from East India, Southeast Asia, and East Asia. The description describes the manufacture of kiln in Si Satchanalai until it became the biggest kiln manufacture area in Southeast Asia during 19 BE to early 22 BE. It was traded to many areas presented in the map. However, if the exhibition was presented along with the story of the kiln oven at Baan Koh Noi and Pa Yang, the story will be continuous and effective. It will have less effect to the visitors as already mentioned in Part 3



Figure 43: The exhibition shows the story of Sangkhlok trading



Figure 44: Maps about Route of Si Satchanalai Sangkhlok trading



5) World Heritage Site of Si Satchanalai. The exhibition explain that Sukhothai Historical park, Si Satchanalai, and Kampaengpetch has been registred in the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1991. It describes the character according UNESCO committee. It also use the model to show the area and location that has listed in the UNESCO World Heritage List along with other important physical elements of the Historical Park and Cities. Therefore the visitors have chance to remind themselves about location of the World Heritage and other important sites before they leave the exhibition to other sites. This is an effective and useful interpretation methods for visitors to understand.



Figure 45: Exhibition about UNESCO World Heritage of Si Satchanalai and the model of the park



Figure 46: Exhibition of Si Satchanalai as UNESCO World Heritage and the model of the park

6) The QR Code label at the front of the Information Center is used to convey about the park information to visitors. The QR Code label guides how to scan by Smart phones or Tablets. While scanning the QR code, go to URL <http://thailandscanme.com/sti002--Si-Satchanalai-Historical-Park>, which contains information about the historical park in Thai. The information divides in 3 parts as follows;



Figure 47: The QR Code label at the front of the Information Center

The first part is composed of the ancient pictures of the Si Satchanalai city that used to represent this historical park, including the Chedi of Wat Chang Lom, Wat Chedi Chet Thaew, Wat Phra Sri Rattana Mahathat Chaliang, Wat Kudeelai. Unfortunately, the name of each place is not informed. Next information below the QR Code is the name of Si Satchanalai Historical Park and the address, which is Tambon Si Satchanalai, Amper Si Satchanalai, Sukhothai province, telephone number 055-697-310. Only it is a telephone number of the Sukhothai Historical Park. The correct telephone number of the Si Satchanalai Historical Park is 055-950-714, which is published on the park's Facebook page, that is discussed in the next section. Next information is the park service time, which is available daily from 8.30 am - 4.30 pm. Plus, the fees are 20 baht for Thais and 100 baht for foreigners, while the park's Facebook page informs more detailed information, for example, 20 baht fee for Thais and 40 baht fee for combined ticket which visitors can visit Wat Chom Chuen archeological site museum and the Sangkhalok Kiln Conservations unit No. 61 and 42. For foreigner fee is 100 baht a person and 220 baht for the combined ticket. The bicycle rental fee for Thais is 20 baht and the tram fee for Thais is 20 baht but 40 baht for foreigner, or 300 baht for a tram rental (not more than 15 people each tram). At the bottom of the label, it is an icon to connect with the historical park's Facebook page, which shows photos and video clips of the activities during visiting the park, taken and uploaded by visitors. Most visitors are a group of teachers and students from schools and universities all over the country, including activity and festivals photos are taken at the park to promote local tourism (<https://www.facebook.com/อุทยานประวัติศาสตร์ศรีสัชนาลัย-...>).



Figure 48: The Smart Phone screen while scanning the QR code label (the first image on top)

The second part is a brief narrative about the history of Si Satchanalai city, number of archaeological sites and the remarkable historical sites (i.e. Wat Chang Lom, Wat Chedi Chet Thaeo, Wat Khao Phnom Phloeng, Wat Khao Suwankiri, Wat Phra Sri Rattana Mahathat Chaliang, Wat Chao Chan, Wat Chomchuen, respectively), including the learning resources and the Celadon Kiln Conservation unit at Baan Koh Noi. The next map of the park below, it should have showed the location of the archaeological sites and the learning resources which are mentioned, but the map shows most locations of the archaeological sites on the Phra Sri mountain range (except Wat Phra Sri Rattana Mahathat Chaliang). Surprisingly, why the location of Wat Suan Kaew Utthayan Noi is showed on this map, because it is not the temple which was built on the Phra Sri mountain range and not mentioned at all before. In

addition, this map is lacking in integrity of direction, rivers, streets, mountains, city boundaries and the meaning of symbols used in the map.



Figure 49: The Smart Phone screen showed the park map and location of each archaeological site

The third part is a map showing location of the Si Satchanalai Historical Park, a Google map can zoom in and zoom out to see more details about the location of the archaeological sites better than the map in the second part. Nevertheless, the map on the screen is gray or darker than usual, so that the map details and transport routes are very difficult to see clearly. The only visible thing is the red pin showing the location of the park. Next to the map below, it is a text describing the route from Sukhothai city to historical park, but the location of Sukhothai and the routes described are not shown prominently on Google map. However, the Google map shows the text "For development purpose only", so it's understandable that this map is under complete renovation.



Figure 50: The Smart Phone screen showed Google map and description of the route from Sukhothai city to the Si Satchanalai Historical Park.

Si Satchanalai Information Center is the center of interpretation (and public relations) to clarify visitors the value (in history, academic, aesthetics and social aspects) of cultural heritage, archaeological sites and learning resources in Si Satchanalai Historical Park. The Historical Park has permanent exhibits with various media for conveying information, such as photographs, maps, diagrams, labels, narratives, miniature models and antiques to present an overview of the Si Satchanalai Historical Park. Including, distinctive appearance of the cultural heritage and important archaeological sites. Despite, the shortcomings identified by the researcher and suggestions for solutions, it is only a small part because the exhibits can effectively communicate in a short and concise way about 30 minutes. Especially exhibits and decorations, both inside and outside the building, can create the atmosphere of an ancient city, making the visitors to enjoy the excursion. The visitors can easily appreciate the value, importance and distinctive characters of these valuable cultural and historical sites.

After visiting the Si Satchanalai Information Center, visitors can choose to visit the cultural heritage sites, archaeological sites, and various learning resources as needed. These sites are the places where visitors will see/ study the authentic cultural heritage (original) from its location. The contents of these sites are also available at Wat Chom Chuen archeological site museum or the Study and Preservation of Si Satchanalai kilns project (ON-Site Museum for kilns 42 and 123) and The Preservation of Sangkhalok kiln (site number 61), where are exhibited permanently in various content which related to the cultural heritage and more specific details are available at the Si Satchanalai Information Center.

**4.2 Wat Chom Chuen archeological site museum** was an archaeological excavation site in 1993-1994 and excavated in 1995-1996 to improve the site museum in 1997. The museum shows the main archaeological excavation unit. These excavations show what was discovered, it is a layer of soil that appears evidence of community settlement, 15 skeletons, ancient remains ruins, and archaeological finds in various eras. The visitors will have to walk along the corridor hanging on the roof structure of the building.

Another exhibition area inside the museum is the front entrance to the excavation unit. This permanent exhibition presents photos, drawings and descriptions, which are made up of exhibition plates and exhibits of important antique objects found in this excavation unit. Despite, to see the exhibition plates and antiques are showed 1 meter lower from the floor, it is difficult because they must sit down for seeing clearly. The highlight of the exhibit is the human skeletons model buried and excavated in this excavation unit. The permanent exhibits in this area shows as follows:



Figure 51: Top left: is the front of Wat Chom Chuen archeological site museum. Top right: The exhibition area. Bottom left: The walkway in the excavation section, the archaeological excavation unit. Bottom right: The first part of the archaeological excavation unit.



Figure 52: The exhibits sequence as circular directions of rotation, starting from top left, top right, bottom right and bottom left are exhibited 1-5 topics following the content next section.



1. History and development of the Chaliang and Si Satchanalai city are presented with photos and its description by making exhibition plates. It has the same content as the Information Center's but much less detail and content.

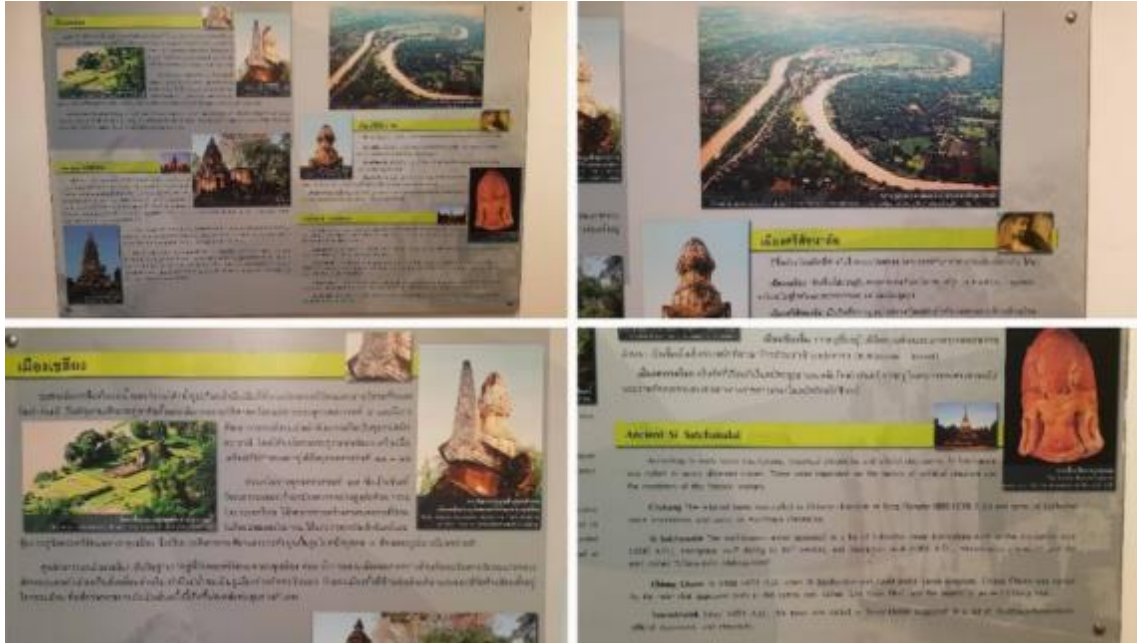


Figure 53: History and development exhibition plates of the Chaliang and Si Satchanalai city

2. History and significance of archaeological excavation units from Wat Chom Cheun are presented with photos and its description by making exhibition plates.



Figure 54: History and significance exhibition plates of archaeological excavation units from Wat Chom Cheun.

3. Important antique objects are excavated in this excavation unit. They are real antique objects and visitors can see the size, style, material, color, pattern and distinctive feature clearly. The model of ancient human skeletons was shown in the middle of the exhibition hall. They are not real skeletons but imitated from the human skeleton prototype in this excavation unit the same as shown in Information Center, but description labels give different details. The labels at this excavation unit indicates age between the 10<sup>th</sup> - 11<sup>th</sup> Century BE, but the labels at the Information Center indicates age between the 11<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Century BE.



Figure 55: Important antique objects found in this excavation unit and exhibits the real antique objects



Figure 56: Top left and bottom left: Model of human skeletons was exhibited at Wat Chom Chuen archeological site museum and description pads. Top right and bottom right: Model of human skeletons was exhibited at Information Center and description pads.

4. Cultural soil layer in excavation unit in the various time. The exhibition pads are large and very long size to show the stripes of the cultural soil layer in the excavation unit upon the exhibition pads.

Below the exhibition pads are photos and its description. They are divided into five periods, as shown in the lines of the Cultural soil layer, which are conveyed the cultural development in each era for visitors. The link between the lines of each ground layer and the content below in each era, it is difficult to understand by themselves without a guide/speaker. Otherwise, visitors will have to take longer to understand the link in the interpretation of the exhibits.

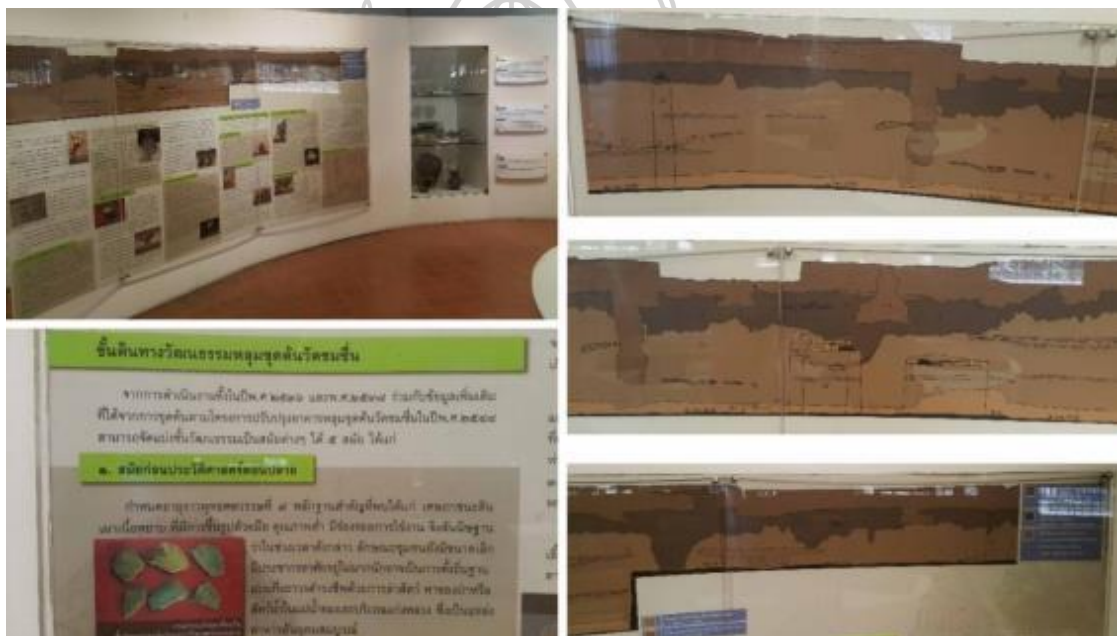


Figure 57: Top left: Exhibits exhibition pads of cultural soil layer in excavation unit. Bottom left: Photos and description labels of each cultural soil layer. Right: The lines of the Cultural soil layer.



Figure 58: Left side: This area exhibits antiques that were excavated. Right side: Important antiquities (genuine) that were excavated.

5. Conservation techniques of archaeological excavation unit and antique objects are presented with photos and description at each stage of the excavation unit conservation. Even photos will show the procedure in the excavation unit as key steps, the 4 photos are small and the details are not clear. If the graphic pictures are used to help conveying about problem solving of moisture easier and clearer.

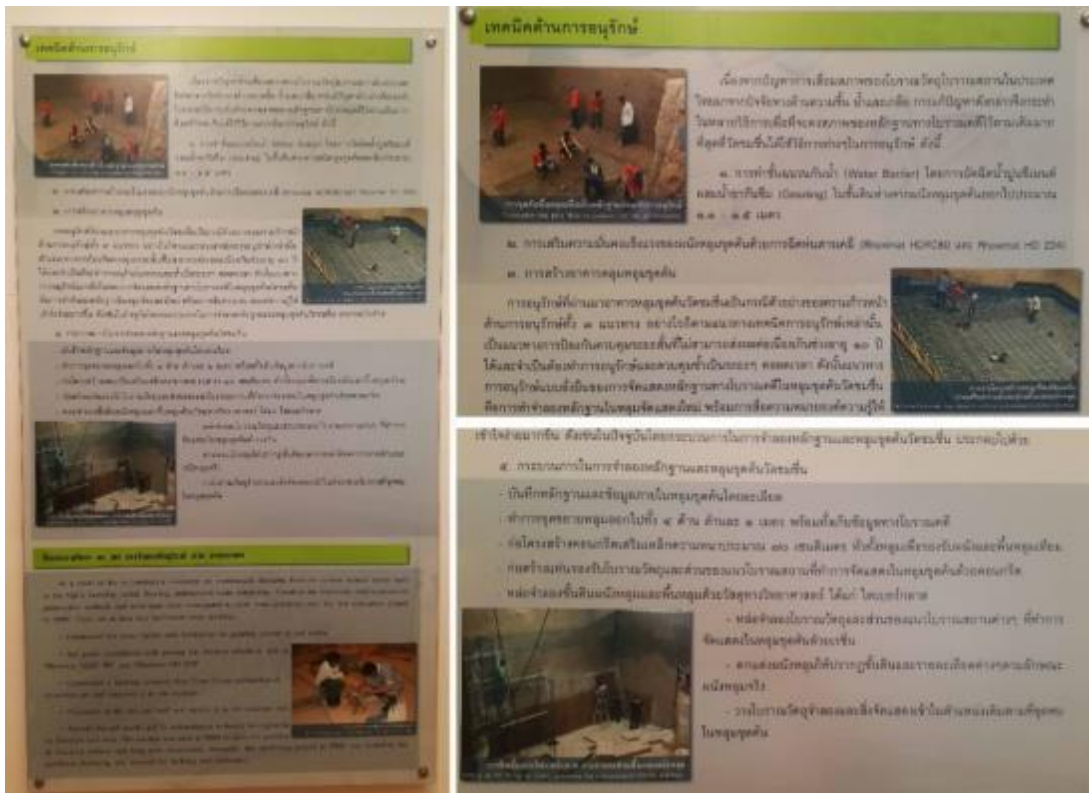


Figure 59: The conservation techniques exhibition pad of archaeological excavation unit and antique objects.

6. The 3D lined pattern pictures of Wat Chom Chuen architecture and the details. There are the lights which will light up the position on the lined pattern pictures when visitors press a button that identifies the name of the architectural element. These lights attract the visitors' attention and can clarify the visitors about the architecture and its elements. Including the names of those architectural elements as well.



Figure 60: The 3D lined pattern pictures of Wat Chom Chuen architecture and the details.

7. There is the QR code label to convey information technology by the Internet system. When using the smart phone scans the QR code label, it accesses to video clip displayed on Youtube application. The length of the video clip is 3 minutes 39 seconds. While the smart phone screen shows photos, exhibits in the museum, and its description (which is a slide), there will be description voice. Apart from that, there is no connection to other information technology resources by the Internet system, as well as the use of QR code installed around the cultural heritage sites, temples and historical sites of the park, which is as a tool to connect the Internet system for conveying information each place. Unfortunately, the interpretation channels on the Internet system cannot be linked to information technology and associate with other resources, such as, university database, Department of Mineral Resources, Royal Irrigation Department, etc. The visitors cannot access the provided interpretation channels any time or before the visit, during the visit and after the visit.



Figure 61: Top left: The QR code label. Bottom left: The interpretive sign in front of the museum. Right: The smart phone screen when scanned the QR code label, shows the exhibits in the museum and its description (which is a slide).

**4.3 Center for Study and Preservation of Sangkhalok kiln (site number 61)** The main archaeological excavation unit is exhibited and most of the exhibits are photographs, description, which are made up as the exhibition pads, including the exhibits of antique objects and the miniature model to convey the stories as the following:

1. The history of this learning center.
- 2 . General knowledge of pottery which is divided into pottery from the archeological sites in Thailand, the history of pottery, the world trade of pottery, the value of pottery in archeology field, the classification of pottery. ( divided by the texture of the soil and the level of heat used to burn with high heat and burned with low heat)
- 3 . Pottery production is divided into raw materials and soil preparation, soil mixing, molding, mold making, pottery coating and the impact of kiln heating.



4 . The Si Satchanalai Kiln is divided into the characteristics and the kiln property, the development of the Si Satchanalai pottery, the location of the Si Satchanalai pottery.

5 . The Si Satchanalai pottery products are divided into containers, weapons, dolls used in religious ceremonies - beliefs, and art jewelry.

6. The archaeological excavation units of Sangkhalok kilns No. 61 and 176 are shown, they are the excavation unit model to replace the actual kiln, which was washed away by the rain. This includes exhibitions of conservation techniques, archeological excavations, the Sangkhalok kiln No. 61, and pottery items excavated.



Figure 62: Top left: The front of Center for Study and Preservation of Sangkhalok kiln (site number 61). Bottom left: information, Top Right: The exhibition plate of topics 1 . The history of this learning center. Bottom Right: The exhibition plate of topics 2. General knowledge of pottery.



Figure 63: Top left: The exhibition plate of topics 2. The pottery from archaeology site of Thailand. Bottom left: The history of pottery and Sangkhalok World trade route. Top Right: The exhibition plate of topics 3. Pottery production. Bottom Right: The exhibition plate of topics 3. Pottery coating and the impact of kiln heating.



Figure 64: Left: The exhibition plate of topics 3. Pottery coating. Middle and Right: the impact of kiln heating.



Figure 65: Top left and Right: The exhibition plate of topics 4. The Si Satchanalai kiln present the type and properties of kiln. Bottom left: The model show the location of Si Satchanalai kiln.



Figure 66: Top left and Top right: Model of the habitat and surrounding of the kiln. Bottom left: Long section of kiln. Bottom Right: The cross and long section drawing of kiln.



Figure 67: Pottery product of Si Satchanalai, human and animal sculpture.



Figure 68: Pottery product of Si Satchanalai, animal and human doll pottery.



Figure 69: Pottery product, the sculpture of architectural decoration and the weapon.



Figure 70: Pottery product, the sculpture of architectural decoration.



Figure 71: Pottery product, the element and sculpture of architectural decoration.



Figure 72: The main archaeological excavation of Sangkhalok kiln NO.61



Figure 73: Pottery product from the archaeological excavation.



Figure 74: Pottery product from the archaeological excavation and the exhibition plate of the conservation of Sangkhalok kiln NO. 61.

**4.4 The Study and Preservation of Si Satchanalai kilns project (Phase 2)** (ON-Site Museum for kilns 42 and 123). The museum exhibits the archaeological excavations unit of Sangkhalok kilns No. 123 and 42. The museum was built for two buildings.

After covering the excavation units, and then created a corridor connecting the walls of the corridor around the two excavations. Most exhibits show photographs and its description, including the archaeological objects for the story interpretation.



Figure 75: The front of the Study and Preservation of Si Satchanalai kilns project (Phase 2) (ON-Site Museum for kilns 42 and 123) and the interpretation panel.

On the wall of the corridor around the excavation unit No. 123 shows various exhibits and arrange in the clockwise direction as follows:

1. History of Si Satchanalai
2. History of Ceramic
3. Ceramic Type
4. Factors contributing to the growth of ceramic production in the area
5. Ceramic production sites in Si Satchanalai
6. The role and importance of ceramics in relation to Si Satchanalai
7. The origin of archaeological excavation units (before the exit – the way back)
8. The conservation and development of Si Satchanalai kiln sites (before the exit - the way back)





Figure 76: Left and top right: The exhibition lay-out plan and warning panel.  
Bottom Right: Sangkhalok kiln NO. 123.



Figure 77: Top left, top right, and bottom left: The corridor wall around the excavation unit Sangkhalok kiln shows the exhibition and artifacts object.  
Bottom Right: The exhibition plate of topics 1. History of Si Satchanalai



Figure 78: Top left, middle, right: The exhibition plate of topics 2. History of Ceramic and topics 3. Ceramic type. Bottom left: Roof structure and sky light.



Figure 79: The exhibition plate of topics 3. Ceramic type.



Figure 80: Left: The exhibition plate of topics 4. Factors contributing to the growth of ceramic production in the area. Middle: The exhibition plate of topics 5 . Ceramic production sites in Si Satchanalai. Right: The exhibition plate of topics 6. The role and importance of ceramics in relation to Si Satchanalai.



Figure 81: Left: The exhibition plate of topics 7 . The origin of archaeological excavations. Middle: The exhibition plate of topics 8 . The conservation and development of Si Satchanalai kiln sites. Right: The badges of Modern Thai Architecture Award, 2533 BE.

The corridor wall around the excavation unit No. 42 shows the story and arrange in the clockwise direction as follows:

1. Types of kilns in Si Satchanalai
2. Cross draft kiln
3. Ceramics production techniques
4. Loading ceramics into kiln (Type of setters)
5. Firing
6. Ceramic products and the exhibits include various types of terracotta pottery, architectural products including photographs and description, and exhibits of real work pieces, such as the parts of the lamps, the roof tiles, architectural decoration, doll pottery, and net accessory.
7. Meanings of motifs on ceramics
8. Defects from the production process and sample of defect products (real products, not photos)
9. The end of ceramic production



Figure 82: The excavation unit of Sangkhalok kiln No. 42 shows the exhibition plate and artifacts object.



Figure 83: Top left and bottom right: The exhibition plate of topics 1. Types of kilns in Si Satchanalai. Top Right: The exhibition plate of topics 2. Cross draft kiln. Bottom Right: The exhibition plate of topics 3. Ceramics production techniques.



Figure 84: Top left: The exhibition plate of topics 4. Loading ceramics into kiln and show the sample object of each type of setters. Right: The exhibition plate of topics 5. Firing. Bottom left: The exhibition plate of topics 6. Ceramic products.



Figure 85: The exhibition plate of topics 6 . Ceramic products for decorate the architecture.



Figure 86: The exhibition plate of topics 7 . Meanings of motifs on ceramics and show the piece of motifs on ceramics.



Figure 87: The exhibition plate of topics 8 . Defects from the production process and topics 9. The end of ceramic production.

#### 4.5 The interpretation at each monuments site in Si Satchanalai Historical Park

The location at the historical park of Si Satchanalai are 1) QR Code signage to scan and listening to descriptions which the visitors can choose from 5 different language; Thai, English, Japanese, Chinese, and French. 2) Sign of the name, history, and some information of the historical site, and 3) Sign of the assumed image of the historical site, which has presented in only one possible image. This gives some obstacle to the comparative study of architectural arts and information of each historical site



Figure 88: The interpretation panel at Wat Chang Lom



Figure 89: Left: The interpretation panel at Wat Chang Lom show the lay-out plan of Si Satchanalai Historical Park. Middle: QR Code panel.

In the interpretation of each temple monuments is not enough for the visitors understand the values, importance, and identity of the historical monuments. This is because there are only 1) QR Code signage link to the 5 languages audio information, Thai, English, Japanese, Chinese, and French 2) Name sign of each historical monuments and a brief history and information and 3) The presumption of the historical site.



This information describes history and information on the sign at the front of historical monuments with area limitation. At the same time, the interpretation should be easy to understand, and does not take too much of the visitor's time. For the information received from Information Technology from smart phone via QR Code, display on screen only shows 1-2 photographs of the historical monuments. The audio information which describe in 5 language, Thai, English, Japanese, Chinese, and French duplicate the information display on the sign at the front of the historical monuments, with a few extra information, for example, Wat Chang Lom has the story about believes in the building Chedi Wat Chang Lom, architectural form and elements spite of the fact that information technology can be more efficiency. For example;

- 1) Visitors can access interpretation of historical monuments at anyplace, anytime including the pre-visit, during-visit, and post-visit of the historical monuments. This is especially from the visitors that has behavior, readiness, and ability to comprehend to the interpretation, and interest of the topics so that visitors can choose the meet their own interest.
- 2) The can be more links for visitors (such as people's name, specific words, name of architectural elements, places, arts form, etc.) and the extended information. Or, the link can present historical evidence, archaeological evidence, arts and architectural form comparison, and other analysis that the researcher has already show in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 to support the information. There can also be links to other information resources which the visitors can learn and has further search on.
- 3) Show architectural form of these historical monuments with 3D model or 3D drawings. It can point the location and element of the architecture. It can zoom in for more details or show with other photographs or color to highlight the part and describe about the artifacts utilities, origin, development, etc.
- 4) It can present computer animation that reveal intangible heritage related to the culture or way of life that link to the historical monuments and cultural landscape of Si Satchanalai in present day. They are such as the candles tradition as mentioned in the inscription, and way of life that related to Yom River, forest, mountains, and water management system.

- 5) Interpretation through information center or site museum in all three sites and each historical monument are one-way communication (except that visitors communicate to quest speakers or questionnaires). Therefore, the questionnaires and comments from the internet can be another continence communication channel. The historical park of Si Satchanalai will later receive these information in statistics and qualitative information for further development of effective interpretation.



**Table 1: Findings in the Interpretation Process and Suggestions**

No.	Interpretation Sources	Findings		Solutions/ Suggestions
		Used Medias/ Instruments	Defects/ Missing Interpretations	
1	Information Center, 2) Terrain, physical composition and location of the archaeological sites	Exhibitions showing the following media types: 1. The 3D terrain model 2. The large map of the park shown in the wall 3. The guide	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. There's no grouping the archaeological sites on the map and no guidelines for routing and planning to visit the archaeological sites and learning resources.</li> <li>2. There's no the missing or destroyed physical composition, which are the main elements in the cultural landscape that is very important to the way of life.</li> <li>3. The flood protection system of Si Satchanalai city has only description from the guide and it's explained that the ridges shown on this map are used to direct the water to prevent the city from flooding (the media cannot be self-defined).</li> <li>4. There is no interpretation about the water consumption management system of Si Satchanalai city.</li> </ol>	<p>Organize into the groups of the archaeological sites on the map for guiding visitors to set the routes and plan to visit the ancient sites and heritage sites in the park.</p> <p>Create computer animation or 3D Model and bring the missing physical compositions back, which are Kaeng Loung before being bombed, the missing ridges, water level in the Yom River and underground water level to convey the meaning of the water resources management system of Si Satchanalai city. There are 2 topics as follows;  <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The use of ridges directs the flow of water to prevent floods, river flow systems, and reservoirs.</li> <li>2. The water consumption management system of Si Satchanalai city, which is the relationship between the use of weirs, ancient bales, earthen pipes, trenches, canals and ponds.</li> </ol> </p>

No.	Interpretation Sources	Findings		Solutions/ Suggestions
		Used Medias/ Instruments	Defects/ Missing Interpretations	
2	Information Center, Exhibition topic 3) <u>Chaliang City</u> Part I	Exhibitions using the following media types: 1. Exhibition pads show the pictures of the archaeological Prasat Wat Chao Chan and descriptions in Thai and English 2. The guide	<p>5. There is no interpretation about the way of life that is related to physical composition.</p> <p>1. The text on the exhibition described the events and evidence that occurred at different periods. It is between the 9<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, and 18<sup>th</sup> Century BE, but did not specify exactly each period. Only the first part of the text states that "The name of the Chaliang city appeared in the Yonok historical records and the Chinese annals since the 16<sup>th</sup> century BE," and then described other important events. The visitors can mislead easily that all of this means the 16<sup>th</sup> century BE.</p> <p>2. The name of the Chaliang city in various periods, is Chaliang (old name between the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century BE), Chiang Cheun (during the period was under the rule of Lanna), Si Satchanalai (Sukhothai period) and Sawankhalok (Ayutthaya period)</p>	<p>Create computer animation of fishing and aquatic animals catching simulations from Kaeng Luang for cooking.</p> <p>Each period should be clearly marked. In consequence, it is important to correct the statement for making it clearer by specifying the period. For example, "The evidence of the art work and archaeology shows that the beginning period of the settlement of the ancient community was cut back to the 9<sup>th</sup> Century BE and continued to develop until the 18<sup>th</sup> Century BE, that the Khmer influence was found the same period in the Chaliang city, it is the Khmer Prasat at Wat Chao Chan", etc.</p> <p>They should be arranged in chronological order, i.e. Chiengmai, Si Satchanalai, Chiang Chuen, and Sawankhalok.</p>

No.	Interpretation Sources	Findings		Solutions/ Suggestions
		Used Medias/ Instruments	Defects/ Missing Interpretations	
3	Information Center, Exhibition topic 3) <u>Chaliang City</u> Part II	Model of human skeletons from the archaeological sites at Wat Chom Chuen	They are the same format as the Wat Chom Chuen museum, but the subtitle labels give different details, especially this label indicates the age between 6 <sup>th</sup> -11 <sup>th</sup> century BE. On the other hand, it's indicated the age between 11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> century BE at Wat Chom Chuen.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The location map of the human skeleton model should be added to show that which of the 15 skeletons was excavated at Wat Chom Chuen.</li> <li>2. Improve the label with detailed description of the skeleton on the same standard.</li> </ol>
4	Information Center, Exhibition topic 3) <u>Chaliang City</u> Part III	1. The large exhibitions on the wall describe the history and development of the Si Satchanalai city, sorting the Prehistoric: Neolithic-Metal Age to Rattanakosin period.	<p>The statement in Prehistoric Neolithic-Metal age has informed that approximately 2,500 years ago, there were prehistoric community settlement. The community had traded with other communities, but it was conflict with mentioned statement in topic 4 Chaliang City, Part II: the evidence of community settlement from archaeological sites at Wat Chom Chuen was found since the 9<sup>th</sup> Century BE and its different periods is 9 centuries</p>	<p>Check the evidence and information resources again and correct them accordingly, so that the visitors will not get confused. Also, giving more explanation that the community settlement was about 2,500 years ago. In addition, the community had traded with other communities mentioned. According to the evidence, there was no evidence of housing later. Until, there was evidence of resettlement in the 9<sup>th</sup> Century BE, as found the evidence from the archaeological excavation unit of Wat Chom Chuen.</p>

No.	Interpretation Sources	Findings		Solutions/ Suggestions
		Used Medias/ Instruments	Defects/ Missing Interpretations	
5	Information Center, Exhibition topic 4) Si Satchanalai cit, Part II:Si Satchanalai Art	1. The photo exhibitions of the four types of Si Satchanalai, are the lotus bud shape pagoda, Bell-shape pagoda, Prasat-shape pagoda and Mondop-shape pagoda	<p>1. Photos of the pagodas in bell-shape, Prasat-shape and Mondop-shape, they are not clearly displayed and clarified the art and architecture styles of each pagoda.</p> <p>2. There is no interpretation about the evolution source and influence of the art and architecture.</p>	<p>1. Photos in the view must be clearly displayed and should be displayed architectural drawings in 3D or the miniature model. Moreover, it should also show locations of the various pagodas on the map for giving visitors a better idea of where each pagoda is located and how many of them.</p> <p>2. Create interpretations about religious influence from Srivijaya and Lanka, including the evolution source and influence of art and architecture from Khmer, Lanka, Burma and Srivijaya.</p>
6	Information Center, Exhibition topic 4) Si Satchanalai city, Part III: Natural resources.	1. The exhibition presents drawing photos of the park landscape map and Sangkhalok kilns, including the descriptions.	<p>1. There is no interpretation sufficiently about the utilization of those resources.</p> <p>2. No names of rivers, mountains, and other important physical compositions on the map.</p>	<p>1. Create interpretations of water resources management, digging ditches across the mountains, and building a temple on the hill.</p> <p>2. Specify the names of rivers, mountains, and other important physical compositions on the map.</p>

No.	Interpretation Sources	Findings		Solutions/ Suggestions
		Used Medias/ Instruments	Defects/ Missing Interpretations	
		2. Real potteries.	2. Exhibit sources of the Sangkalok kilns from Baan Koh Noi and Baan Pa Yang on the Natural Resources topic.	2. It should be exhibited the Sangkhalok separately, including the Sangkhalok trade (shown in topic 4 Part IV: the Sangkhalok trade) to exhibit together for continuation.
7	Information Center, Exhibition topic 4) Si Satchanalai city, Part IV: Interpretation of the architectural arts of Wat Chang Lom.	1. The photo exhibitions of the Chang Lom Pagoda, including the description. 2. The elephant stucco miniature.	1. The text is described that the construction principle of the Chang Lom Pagoda was influenced from Sri Lanka, but the Lanka Chang Lom Pagoda picture is not shown. 2. There is no interpretation of the elephant construction technology floating around the pagoda base, which is more advanced than other Chang Lom pagodas, whether they are located at Wat Chang Lom in Sukhothai, Wat Chang Rob in Kamphaeng Phet, Wat Chiang Man in Chiang Mai province or Wat Maheyong in Ayutthaya province.	1. Bring a picture of the Lanka Chang Lom Pagoda to show the comparison. 2. Create interpretations about the floating elephant construction technology of Si Satchanalai, which introduced by the Arch structure system. It was used to simulate the structure to show as the elephant stucco miniature. Also, present the assumptions on Construction Technology Influence or on development from the Sangkalok kiln making techniques, including compare it with other Chang Lom pagodas in the exhibition.

No.	Interpretation Sources	Findings		Solutions/ Suggestions
		Used Medias/ Instruments	Defects/ Missing Interpretations	
8	6) The QR Code label in front of the Information Center.	Information Services Website via the Internet.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The informed telephone number is the Sukhothai Historical Park's telephone number, but the correct telephone number of the park is informed on the park's Facebook page.</li> <li>2. The fee and service details provided on the website are insufficient and less than the details on the park's Facebook page.</li> <li>3. The map of the park which is next to the bottom of the text summarizes the history of the city of Si Satchanalai and its valuable historical sites, it should have showed the locations of the archaeological sites and the learning resources which are mentioned, but the map shows most locations of the archaeological sites on the Phra Si mountain range.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Correct the telephone number on the website and there should have been other channels for users to report errors or leave comments, as well as the administrator usually maintains the website.</li> <li>2. Edit fee and service details to provide the visitors sufficiently important details.</li> <li>3. Change the map which shows the location of the archeological sites and the learning resources as described.</li> </ol>



No.	Interpretation Sources	Findings		Solutions/ Suggestions
		Used Medias/ Instruments	Defects/ Missing Interpretations	
			4. Map showing the location of the Si Satchanalai Historical Park, which is the Google map and used to navigate to the park, it is not fully functional.	4. Improve Google Map to work perfectly. or use other navigation maps instead.

No.	Interpretation Sources	Findings		Solutions/ Suggestions
		Used Medias/ Instruments	Defects/ Missing Interpretations	
9	Wat Chom Chuen archeological site museum, exhibition section and excavation unit, and the QR Code label at the front of museum	<p>1. The exhibition pads presenting photos, drawings and their descriptions.</p> <p>2. Exhibits important antique objects found in this excavation unit.</p>	<p>1. To see the exhibition pads and the antiques showed, which is 1 meter below from the ground. It is difficult because the visitors must sit down for seeing them clearly.</p> <p>2. The link between the drawings of each ground layer and the content below in each era, it is difficult to understand by themselves without a guide.</p>	<p>1. Design the exhibition pads and rearrange the antiques to be at least 1 meter above the ground.</p> <p>2. Design and <u>remake</u> exhibition pads by using different colors to distinguish each cultural soil layer, and using the colors of each soil layer, which is basically the same color as the content background color of each period described below.</p>

No.	Interpretation Sources	Findings		Solutions/ Suggestions
		Used Medias/ Instruments	Defects/ Missing Interpretations	
			<p>3. Unable to read, memorize and understand the descriptions for all Cultural soil layers because of the excessive contents.</p> <p>4. The exhibition pads presenting the conservation techniques of archaeological excavation unit, which display so small photos that cannot be seen clearly and cannot convey about the moisture protection.</p> <p>5. Information technology in the internet is used inefficiently. The only thing shown to the visitors is the smart phone screen, which shows photos, exhibits, and brief descriptions, including audio message following those descriptions.</p>	<p>3. The exhibition pads should be made as brochures, which the visitors can easily pick up from there.</p> <p>4. Design and remake exhibition pads by using large pictures and enlarged pictures, including using graphic pictures to help interpretation about the moisture protection easily and clearly.</p> <p>5. Information technology in the internet can be used for interpreting efficiently, such as, assumption pictures of the ancient archaeological sites in 3D, computer animation, simulation of important events and the way of life, which link to the resources.</p>
10	Center for Study and Preservation of Sangkhalok kiln (site number 61) and	<p>3. The QR Code label for interpreting by Information Technology in the internet system</p> <p>1. The archaeological excavation units of Sangkhalok kilns and exhibits by using various medias.</p> <p>2. The exhibition</p>	<p>1. There is no exhibition map, which is an important tool to clarify the visitors about the museum overviews that what exhibition map looks like, how many of divided exhibitions, what each section is about, including shows the direction to the exhibition and how to sort the sections.</p>	<p>1. Make an exhibition map for interpreting to the visitors first when they entry to the museum and make a brochure for them.</p>

No.	Interpretation Sources	Findings		Solutions/ Suggestions
		Used Medias/ Instruments	Defects/ Missing Interpretations	
	The Study and Preservation of Si Satchanalai kilns project (Phase 2) (ON-Site Museum for kilns 42 and 123)	<p>pads presenting photos of pottery products and its descriptions.</p> <p>3. The pottery products include containers, weapons and architectural components.</p> <p>4. The miniature model showing the atmosphere and habitat surrounding the Sangkhalok kilns.</p> <p>5. The guide.</p>	<p>2. There are no brochures for guiding inside the museum. The brochures are also be used in the same way as the exhibition map mentioned above, but also summarized the contents and important photos shown in the museum, including general information of the museum such as history, open hours, telephone numbers.</p> <p>3. Unable to convey the visitors clearly to understand how to produce the pottery, including how to use weapons which made from the pottery, as well as the way of life related to the manufacturing and the Sangkhalok trade, which are intangible heritage.</p>	<p>2. Make brochures for public relations and museum tour (the museum normally has a brochure and the <u>exhibition map</u>).</p> <p>3. Use a video recording the pottery production of each process, including how to use weapons which made from the pottery, as well as the way of life related to the manufacturing and the Sangkhalok trade. This video can be used as a tool to convey more information from the exhibitions.</p>

No.	Interpretation Sources	Findings		Solutions/ Suggestions
		Used Medias/ Instruments	Defects/ Missing Interpretations	
11	Interpretation of the locations of each monuments site in Si Satchanalai Historical Park.	<p>Interpretation of the locations of each temple monuments as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) The QR Code label for listening to audio messages of 5 languages: Thai, English, Japanese, Chinese and French.</li> <li>2) Archaeological site label, history description, architectural style and brief</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Unable to convey the visitors clearly to understand the architectural style and elements, including the source and development of the architecture art of each site.</li> <li>2. There is no interpretation about Historical Environment factors in the physical field, Politics, Economic, and Social, which impact on each the archaeological sites, especially its artistic and architectural styles.</li> </ol>	<p>Improve the interpretation system by:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <u>Develop tools to use:</u> history, trade development, culture and cultural influences, physical community development, evidences from the archaeological excavation units, archaeological finds, art forms, architectural styles, and other related, as mentioned, by fixing defects and missing parts as shown in this table.</li> <li>2. <u>Develop medias to use:</u> the guides, Information technology through the Internet by using the smart phone scan the QR code label. The study found that at present the guides are the "media" using the tools mentioned in the topic 1 to</li> </ol>

No.	Interpretation Sources	Findings		Solutions/ Suggestions
		Used Medias/ Instruments	Defects/ Missing Interpretations	
		<p>information.</p> <p>3) The presumption picture labels of the archaeological site (which is displayed only in one form and some does not help to understand the architecture).</p>	<p>3. There is no interpretation about the culture of <u>habitation</u> or the way of life, which is related to the archaeological sites and cultural landscapes of Si Satchanalai at present.</p>	<p>convey most effectively because they have accumulated knowledge and experienced for so long, so they can correct the defects and fill in the missing part. Including, they can adapt to the situation immediately. It is important that the park should develop this valuable human resource by operating the knowledge management project and train the new guide leaders to replace.</p>

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion

The study of Si Satchanalai interpretation from historical evidence, previous research, field data collection, and data analysis conclude that overall of Si Satchanalai are interpreted for visitors at the Information Center. While at the other 3 museums; Wat Chom Chuen archeological site museum interpretation focuses in evidence and information of the archaeological excavation, Site Museum Center for Study and Preservation of Sangkhalok Kiln (site number 61) and Site Museum Center for Study and Preservation of Si Satchanalai Kilns Project (Phase 2) (On-Site Museum for kilns 42 and 123) interpretation focus on 4 Sangkhalok kiln sites that is exhibited as media in interpretation. The study also found that the most effective technique for interpretation is from the speaker. The false and missing part analysis and suggestions that is shown in chapter 4 can be concluded as follows.

1. Speaker can effectively interpret because the knowledge collection and long experiences. This fulfill missing parts of other interpretation. Also, speaker can adjust to the situation. Therefore, it is important that Si Satchanalai Historical Park should develop this human resource using the knowledge management technique for new generation speaker.

2. Develop information technology to be used through internet by using smart phone to scan QR code to effectively interpret as follows.

- 1) Visitors can access interpretation of historical monuments at anyplace, anytime including the pre-visit, during-visit, and post-visit of the historical monuments. This is especially from the visitors that has behavior, readiness, and ability to comprehend to the interpretation, and interest of the topics so that visitors can choose the meet their own interest.

- 2) The can be more links for visitors (such as people's name, specific words, name of architectural elements, places, arts form, etc.) and the extended information. Or, the link can present historical evidence, archaeological evidence, arts and architectural form comparison, and other analysis that the researcher has already show in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 to support the information. There can also be links to other information resources which the visitors can learn and has further search on.

3) Show architectural form of these historical monuments with 3D model or 3D drawings. It can point the location and element of the architecture. It can zoom in for more details or show with other photographs or color to highlight the part and describe about the artifacts utilities, origin, development, etc.

4) It can present computer animation that reveal intangible heritage related to the culture or way of life that link to the historical monuments and cultural landscape of Si Satchanalai in present day. They are such as the candles tradition as mentioned in the inscription, and way of life that related to Yom River, forest, mountains, and water management system.

5) Interpretation through information center or site museum in all three sites and each historical monument are one-way communication (except that visitors communicate to quest speakers or questionnaires). Therefore, the questionnaires and comments from the internet can be another continece communication channel. The historical park of Si Satchanalai will later receive these information in statistics and qualitative information for further development of effective interpretation.

3. Develop computer animation or 3D model. Use the missing part of Gang Luong before the bomb, missing clay line, Yom's river water level, and underground water level to interpret the water management system of Si Satchanalai. This includes 2 topics; 1) the clay line to control the direction of water to protect the city from flood, water flow in canals and river, and reservoir 2) water management for Si Satchanalai water consumption that is related to water-wheel call "Pong" (โพง), clay water pipe, canals, and ponds.

4. Design and make new exhibition panel such as new category, put the artifacts at least 1 meter above the floor level, use different colors to differentiate cultural layer in the soil, and used those colors to describe different era at the bottom, use photographs in different view that can clearly interpret, use big and zoom photographs instead of small photographs, use graphic to assist interpretation, and correct the descriptions that may lead to misunderstanding ideas.

5. Make a leaflet to promote and guide the museum. It should also include the exhibition layout including the indoor exhibition. The exhibition board should display cultural layer of soil and print it in the leaflet for visitors to easily collect. The leaflet

that present the historical monuments stories should be arranged into group to lead visitors to plan their route in visiting the historical monuments and heritage sites in the historical park.

From the study, even there are some issues in the interpretation of Si Satchanalai, the overall the interpretation is effective. The interpretation is concise and not too informative (which might get the visitors bore from too much information). However, because the interpretation is precise and not informative, it cannot response to the need of some visitors such as regular visitors, locals or nearby visitors, researchers, and visitors that expect the center to be the knowledge center of Si Satchanalai. The interpretation focuses on the interpretation of arts, architecture, artefacts, historical sites, and archaeological sites which are all the tangible aspects of heritage. They are evidence of culture and the way of life of human which are the intangible aspect of heritage. The intangible aspect of heritage is more difficult to interpret but this way of life can relate the actual cultural heritage of Si Satchanalai together. Although there are still many arguments about the intangible heritage but it should not be neglected as mentioned in the ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Site. One way to interpret this intangible heritage or the way of life of the people is to use technology which can be available from the internet.

One example of interpretation of this intangible heritage of way of life of human is Gang Luong, the water management, and the earthenware pipe that was excavated and found at Tao Mho Gate. Professor Saner Nildech has explained to his students during the excursion on 17 July 2011 that Gang Luong has role as dam – to keep natural water, and high the water level in Yom River and underground water of Si Satchanalai. The blight of Gang Luong in 1933 from the forestry concession company to transport log along Yom River has lower the level of underground water of Si Satchanalai to be much lower comparing to the past. In the past people of Si Satchanalai use water-wheel call “Pong” (โปง) to divert direction of water from Yom River to the earthenware pipe to use in the city. This links to the water management found in Si Satchanalai such as the canal system and earthen dike which can be seen at present. It especially links to the fresh water fishing at Gang lounq which consisted



of various fish species that swim upstream to spawn and became important food for Si Satchanalai people. The evidence can also be shown in the 40years old photographs of Si Satchanalai. And, this links to how the people of Si Satchanalai eat in the past.

Moreover, the interpretation about culture and way of life of Si Satchanalai should consist of other stories. They are as follow.

- The way of life the related to the production and trade of earthenware such as the plant of rubber plant and ma-kor-ta-moo plant that is used in production and trading the products from the source of production. This shows canals route and the wisdom of how to transport fragile products down the stream as well as the tax collection at the canal which pass the city of Si Satchanalai.

- The way of life about religion and historical sites that are related to religion and believes as well as the tradition of the people.

- The relationship to other region in Southeast Asia including physical, political, economic, and social relation: Examples of social relation can be shown in language, believes, traditions, music, literature, and food.

To improve the interpretation of Si Satchanalai, the interpretation should involve new technology which can be available for visitors through the internet. The use of smart phone to scan QR Code at the front of the Information Center or at the leaflet should able visitors to enter the Application. This application should have the 3D model of Si Satchanalai historical park that involves the physical elements, landscape and historical sites location. People should be able to find the information such as history, architecture form, conservation records, related research and academic documents from this application. It should also be able to link to other agencies such as university archives, Department of Mineral Resource, Royal Irrigation Department, etc. This is for visitors to be able to find interpretation of Si Satchanalai from anyplace and anytime, pre-visit, during-visiting, and post-visit. This is to solve the problem of visitor's differentiation, readiness, background, behavior, and intention. This technology that the researcher propose should serve the actual need of individual so that individual can choose the interpretation to the way they need it.

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APPENDIX



## APPENDIX A

### 4) Wat Chang Lom

The so-called “center of the universe” according to Buddhist belief. Chang Lom Temple was located on the main axis of the city. The front of the temple was facing southeast, having its main axis placed along the main axis of the city. The plan was in a rectangular shape, surrounded with walls made from laterite and bricks with a width of 55 metres and a height of 80 metres. The arched gates with 1 metre width were made for each direction of the city; the north, the west, the east and the south (Office of Archaeology, 1987: 83). Beyond the wall of the city, there was evidence that there were ancient canals that flowed through the front and the side of the temple. The canal on the northeastern side reached to the side of Wat Jedi Jet Taew Temple, WatSuanKaewUttayanYai and WatNanhPhaya which are still visible nowadays. The canal on the front of the temple was covered with the soil pile from the ancient ruins digging in BE. 2507-2512 to make a road instead of a canal. (Office of Archaeology, 1987: 19)

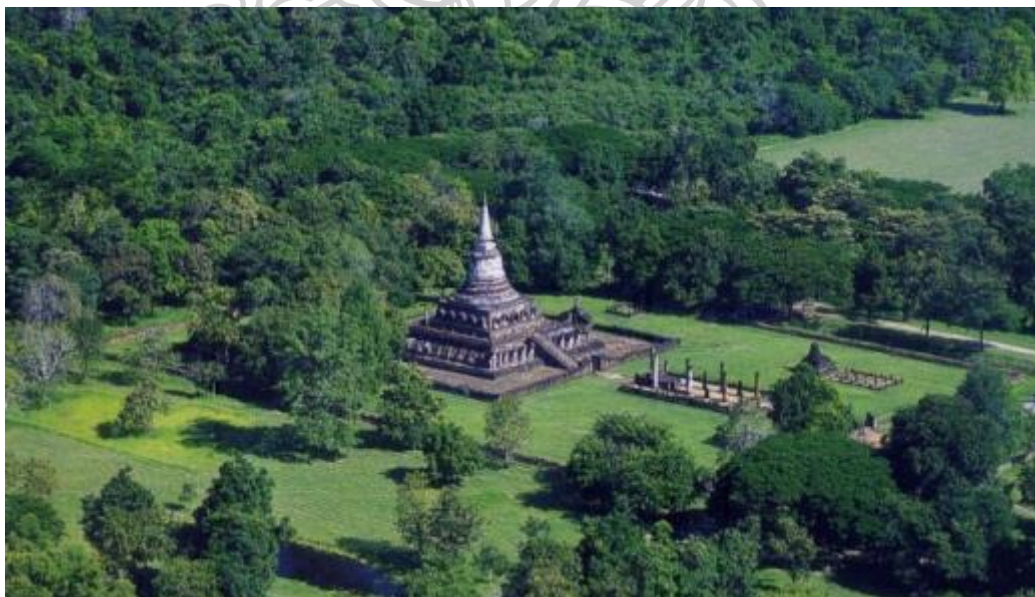


Figure 90: The monument of Vihara and main Chedi Chang Lom.

Source: Muang Boran Publishing house (2009)

Inside Wat Chang Lom, there was a big round-shaped pagoda placed on the main axis, as with the main pagoda. A wall of 29.20 metres were placed around the rectangular

area, having 4 gates on each face of the rectangular; two gates were used as the entrance and the exit while the other two were fake ones. (Office of Archaeology, 1987: 83). The floor within the wall was covered with well-organized laterites. There were 6 sanctuaries located on the main axis of the temple between the internal wall (that was surrounding the main Chedi) and the external wall. The remains of the sanctuary that were left are the plaster base for the small chedi and small chapels were located on the northeastern side, between the sanctuary and the external wall, along with a small rectangular-shaped building located on the southwest between the sanctuary and the external wall. All constructions in the temple were made from laterite, using mortar and plaster for the adhesive. (Office of Archaeology, 1987: 20, 45, 83)

The temple was 14.40 metres wide and had a length of 25.20 meters. The balcony that stretched out has a length of 10.40 x 4 meters. Inside the temple, there were four columns of octagonal poles, arranged in vertical order for seven poles. At the right of the main Buddha statue, there are seats for the monks with width of 1.80 meter and length of 10 meter right next to the wall. Behind the seats, there were 13 laterite poles made as the backrests for the monks. (Office of Archaeology, 1987: 20-21)



Figure 91: The monument of Vihara and main Chedi Chang Lom.





Figure 92: The stair way and elephant sculpture of main Chedi Chang Lom.



Figure 93: The Buddha and elephant sculpture of main Chedi Chang Lom.



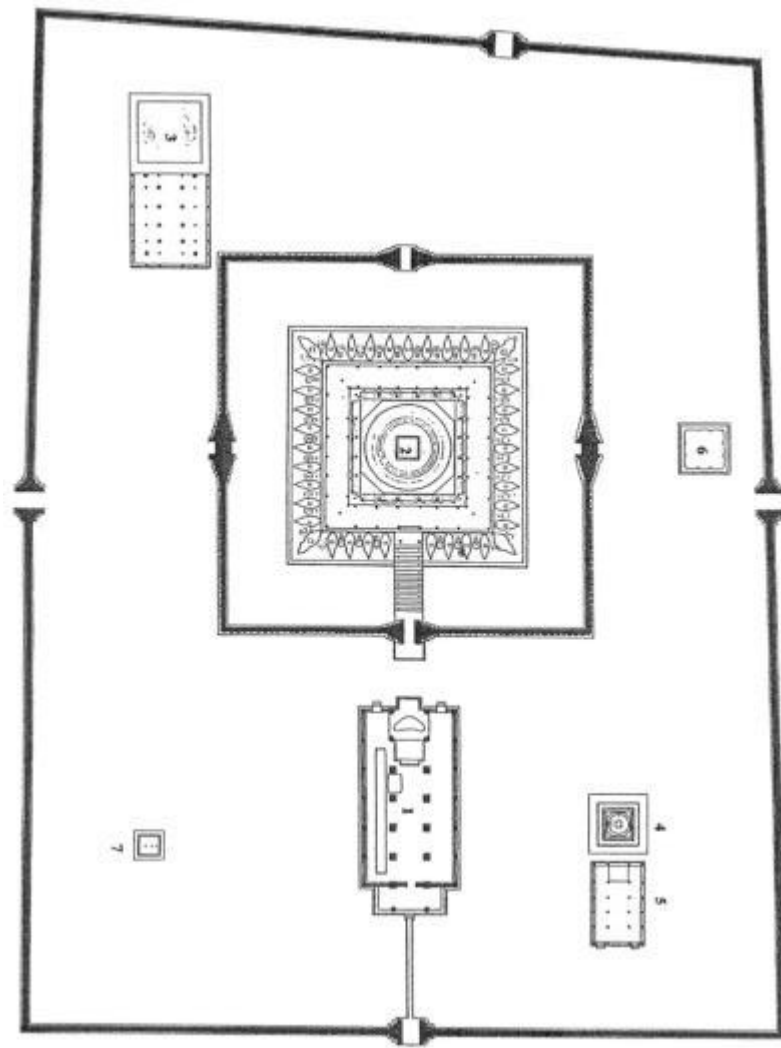


Figure 94: The Lay-out plan of Wat Chang Lom.

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

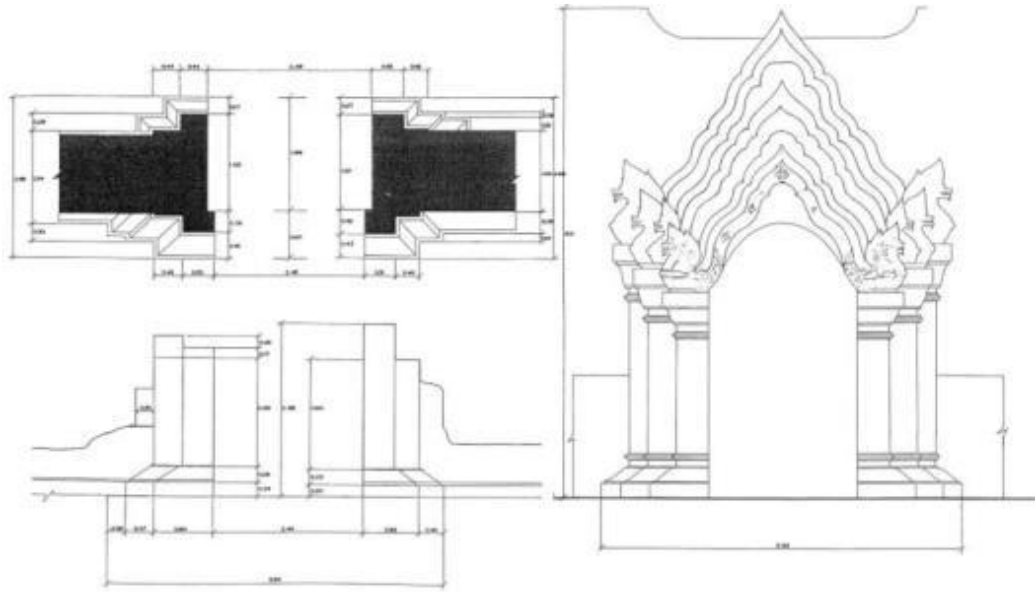


Figure 95: Reconstruction drawing of the southeast gate wall, Wat Chang Lom.

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

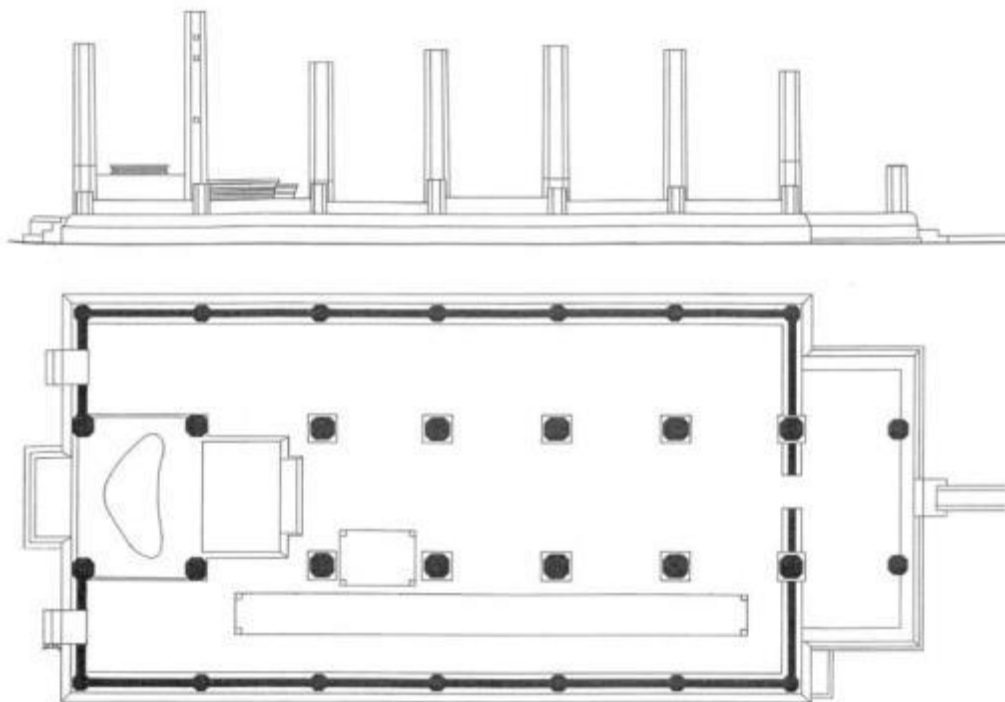


Figure 96: Lay-out plan and elevation of Vihara, Wat Chang Lom.

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

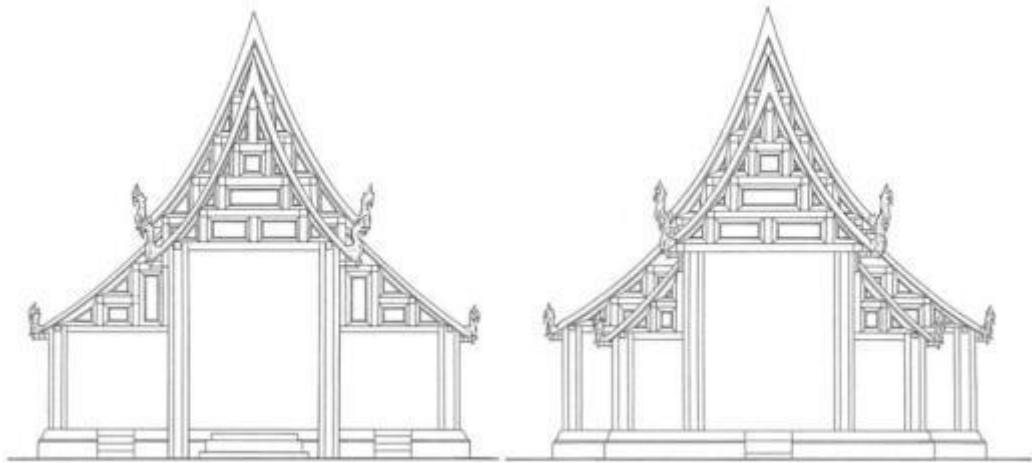


Figure 97: Reconstruction drawing of Vihara, Wat Chang Lom.

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

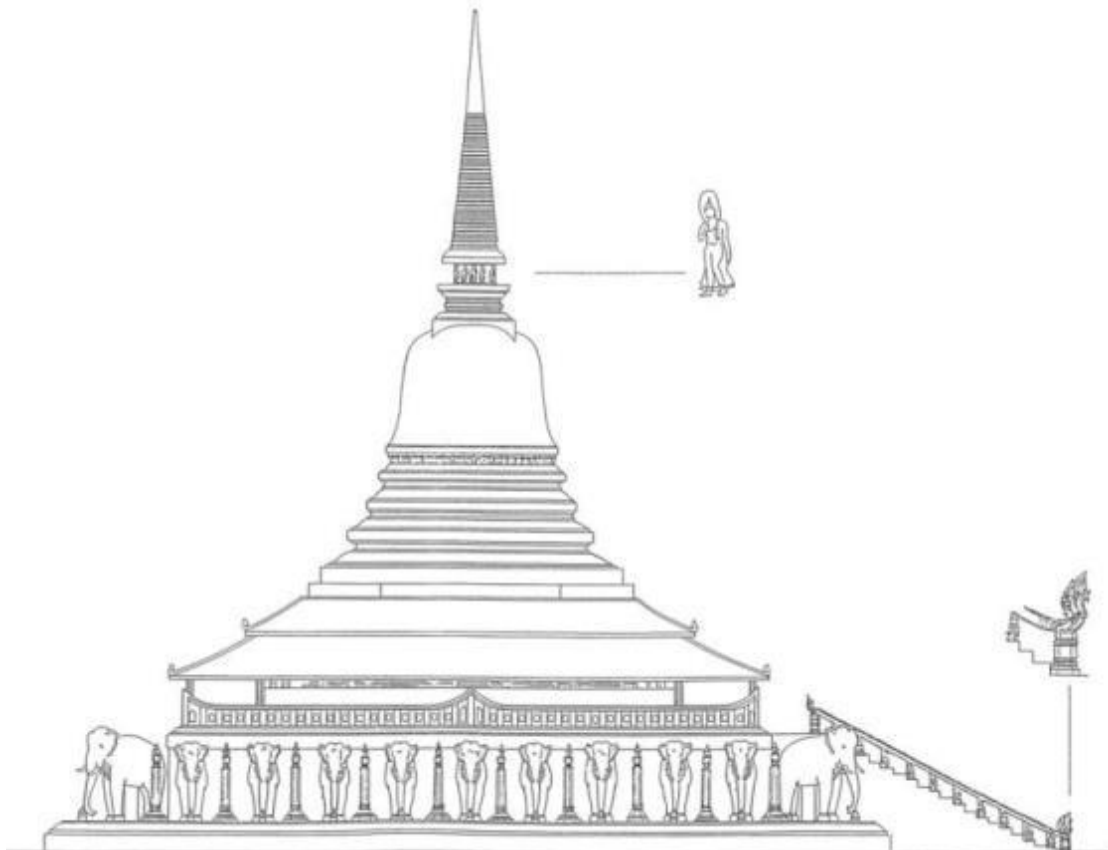


Figure 98: Reconstruction drawing of Jedi Chang Lom.

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

While reigning in Si Satchanalai, Phaya Lithai had written a book called “*Traibhumikatha*”, telling the stories of Buddhism through cosmology. He explained how the present world is compared as a small particle of the infinite universe. For each universe, there will be Mount Meru located at the center and on top of the mountain is located a heavenly city, Trai Trueng where Indra, the Great God of Hinduism resides. There were 4 guardians for each direction. Many sacred treasures were stored in the stupa of Chula Mani such as The Buddha’s Teeth and The Buddha’s Tress. Mount Meru was surrounded by 7 mountains on the outer ring and infinite ocean. The outer ring of these surrounding mountains are the locations of 4 great continents and 4 small continents included Uttarakuru which is in the north, Burapa Witeha in the east, Amornkoyan in the west and Jambul Dwipa in the south. The 4 great continents were the cradle of life where all human beings are born. For each continent, they will have different appearances only for Jambul Dwipa which is the birthplace of the great Buddha and Kings. Traibhumikatha also stated that the human world is the only realm where humans’ action could distinguish their destiny. In short, those who have done good deeds will be ascended to heaven or maybe reached Nirvana and those who have done evil things would be doomed in hell. There are 6 realms for Gods, 16 realms for Gods with forms and 4 realms of Gods without forms. The rest were realms for those who have become enlightened according to Buddhism. The abyss realms are separated into 4 realms which are Dherajchan, Prade, Asurakaya and the heliish abyss. (Fine art department: 2530, p. 89)

Therefore, Chedi Wat Chang Lom was built according to the beliefs of Buddhist Cosmology.

- Elephant statues placed all around the base of the pagoda, reflecting the Langawonse Buddhist beliefs that the universe is supported by an elephant.

- Lotus meaning the human glowing spirits which have been used to shown respect to the Buddha until the present time. Also a lamp pole and lotus shaped sculpted lantern.

- Nagas on the base of the staircase, on the banister and the railing of the terrace. In the Dhatu Nitan of the Mahawongse scripture, there was a myth concernining a naga who flew from the water world and transformed itself into an

elephant to support a pagoda housing Sarīra. The naga dedicated itself to support the pagoda from then on. The Traibhumikatha mentioned that the naga who lived at the foot of Mount Meru gives the world water, and that rainbows that appear after the rain is a naga who acts as a staircase leading from the human world to heaven. In Hindu art, the naga's body would coil around Mount Meru, hence, the naga also signifies abundance, or it could mean that the naga's place is higher than the elephant's.

- The monster statue with a club, placed on the banister, this could be Thao Wessuwan, the protector angel of Buddhism everywhere, or it could be Thao Guwen, the god of wealth.

- Not only do elephants, nagas and monsters have the meanings that have been stated, but they also signify abundance. Elephants give rain, nagas give water to the human world and Thao Guwen is the god of wealth

- The Buddha images are on the third level base of the pagoda, five on each side. This might signify Buddha after the enlightenment, the Five Dhyani Buddhas or Buddha in Pataragup.

- A roof that sticks out to cover the Buddha image arch, might have been beautifully decorated. It could have represented Amida, Buddha's place in Sukawadee heaven. It is mentioned in the Sukawadee Sutra of Mahayana Buddhism that the Buddha's place would have a bell hanging from the front side of the roof, when the wind blows the bell would make beautiful sounds. There would also be glass walls built from precious stones. This place is a representation of Sukawadee heaven.

- The square base acts as foundation for the octagon base, this might mean the four noble truths which is the heart of Buddhism, and The Noble Eightfold Paths from Buddha's teachings.

- The bell shaped part of the pagoda is where Buddha's Sarīra is housed.

- The throne means Buddha's throne where he sat through the Enlightenment.

- The pole of the multiple-tiered umbrella had moulded lime decorations of 17 monks walking, which signifies the far-spreading influence of Buddhism.

- The 32 tiers of Plongchanai ribs mean all the lands in Traibhumikatha, including the highest level which is Nirvana. Ascending from the lowest to the highest level; Abayabhumi 4, Manusabhumi 1, Dhevabhumi 6, Roobbhoma 16,

Aroobbhoma 4, and Nirvanna 1 (Office of archaeology, Fine Art Department, 1987 : 91-93). The water drop on the peak of the pagoda represents the state of freedom or Nirvanna.

Overall, I view the patterns of pagodas in Wat Chang Lom as symbols of Buddhist cosmological beliefs, presented in the features and architecture. In other words, the plan of pagodas in Wat Chang Lom temple, situating at the heart of Si Satchanalai, resembles that of the Buddhist universe, with the temple representing Mount Meru (when considered in terms of the relation between the pagoda and the city plan in lateral perspective) and *plong chanai*, the circular coils contributing the top section off a pagoda, connoting several multi-layered worlds (when considered from the vertical perspective). The patterns of manifold base and other architectural structures also symbolize the complex, interrelated, multi-dimensional relationships of things.

The re-establishment of Si Satchanalai with Wat Chang Lom at its center suggests the adoption of Langkawongse-Therawat Buddhism during the reign of Por Khun Ramkhamhaeng in building the new world near this isle. This is truly a Buddhist world, emerging from Buddhist beliefs, which might have been created at the same time as political policies, becoming the start of an important cultural change from receiving Langkawongse-Therawat Buddhism in the form of an overall new culture. The teachings have been transferred via an advanced culture, resulting in a significant cultural development, lifestyle, traditions, morals, etc., making it a cultural revolution.

Sri Satchanalai, The Origin of the Lotus-shaped Pagoda: Genuine Sukhothai-styled Stupa

In the reign of Phra Maha Dhammaraja Lithai (Phaya Lithai), starting from BE 1890 until his death in BE. 1917, the king came up with a governmental policy emphasizing that “*religion and politics are inseparable*”. Its success was more than evident; the reign of Phaya Lithai was often deemed the Golden Age of Buddhist arts and architectures, with most earlier constructions and temples renovated, both in Si Satchanalai and Sukhothai, during this period. (Srisak, 1991: 18) The artistic craftsmanship, especially the crafting of Buddha statues, reached its peak, setting the

arts of the era as the classic of Thai artworks. Buddhism flourished hand in hand. Entitling Sukhothai as the center of Buddhism, the king established networks of relationships among surrounding countries by sending out missions to spread the religion to such states as Ayothaya, Luang Phra Bang, Chiangmai, Nan, with considerable success, especially in the case of Chiangmai as discussed in chapter 3.

However, looking back to occurrences in Si Satchanalai in the reign of Phor Khun Ramkhamhaeng, it can be seen that the policy was already adopted when the king re-established the city of Si Satchanalai in BE 1828. Later when Phaya Lithai came to the throne during BE 1883 to 1890, he took up the same policy of combining religion and politics, “religion and politics are inseparable,” as stated, in governing Si Satchanalai. King Lithai also wrote Traibhumikatha during his reign in Si Satchanalai. He marched against and captured, then crowned himself the ruler of Sukhothai. Phra Sumana Thera and Phra Anomatsi, *sanghas* sent on religious missions to several countries, were born in Si Satchanalai. The symbol of Sukhothai, the Lotus-shaped Pagodas initiated by the king, spread across countries both under the governance of the Sukhothai Kingdom and other independent states with established relationships. The evidence suggesting that Lotus-shaped Pagoda was originated in Si Satchanalai includes the following.

5) Wat Jedi Jed Taew, with its Main Axis superimposed on that of the city, lies lengthwise to the city’s Main Axis, facing southeast like Wat Chang Lom temple. It is surrounded by rectangular walls, with a Lotus-shaped Pagoda as the main pagoda bordered in two layers of wall, literally walls of glass. The innermost wall is rectangular in shape, 59 meter wide, and 95 meter long. In front of the main pagoda constructed in a closed lotus shape is the vihara, or chapel, and on the other three sides stand orderly rows of stupas. Prince Damrong Rajanuparb speculated that the pagoda in the temple might contain the cremains of Sukhothai royals (Prince Vajirawut: 2526, p. 183). Later, in BE 2534, Santi Lekchum stated in his study concerning Sukhothai jedis in Wat Jedi Jed Taew that, following Prince Damrong’s speculations, the main lotus-shaped pagoda may contain the cremains either of highly esteemed royals or kings, while other subordinate ones might have those of lesser



royals, with pagodas readily built before the death of each. (Santi: 1991, p. 31) Hence, it might be claimed that the temple was the royal cemetery.



Figure 99: The aerial view of Wat Jedi Jedtaew.

Source: Muang Boran Publishing house (2009)



Figure 100: Vihara and Lotus Jedi, Wat Jedi Jedtaew.



Figure 101: The main Lotus Jedi, front views of Vihara, Wat Jedi Jedtaew.



Figure 102: Minor Jedi or stupa, Wat Jedi Jedtaew.



Figure 103: Minor Jedi or stupa, Wat Jedi Jedtaew.

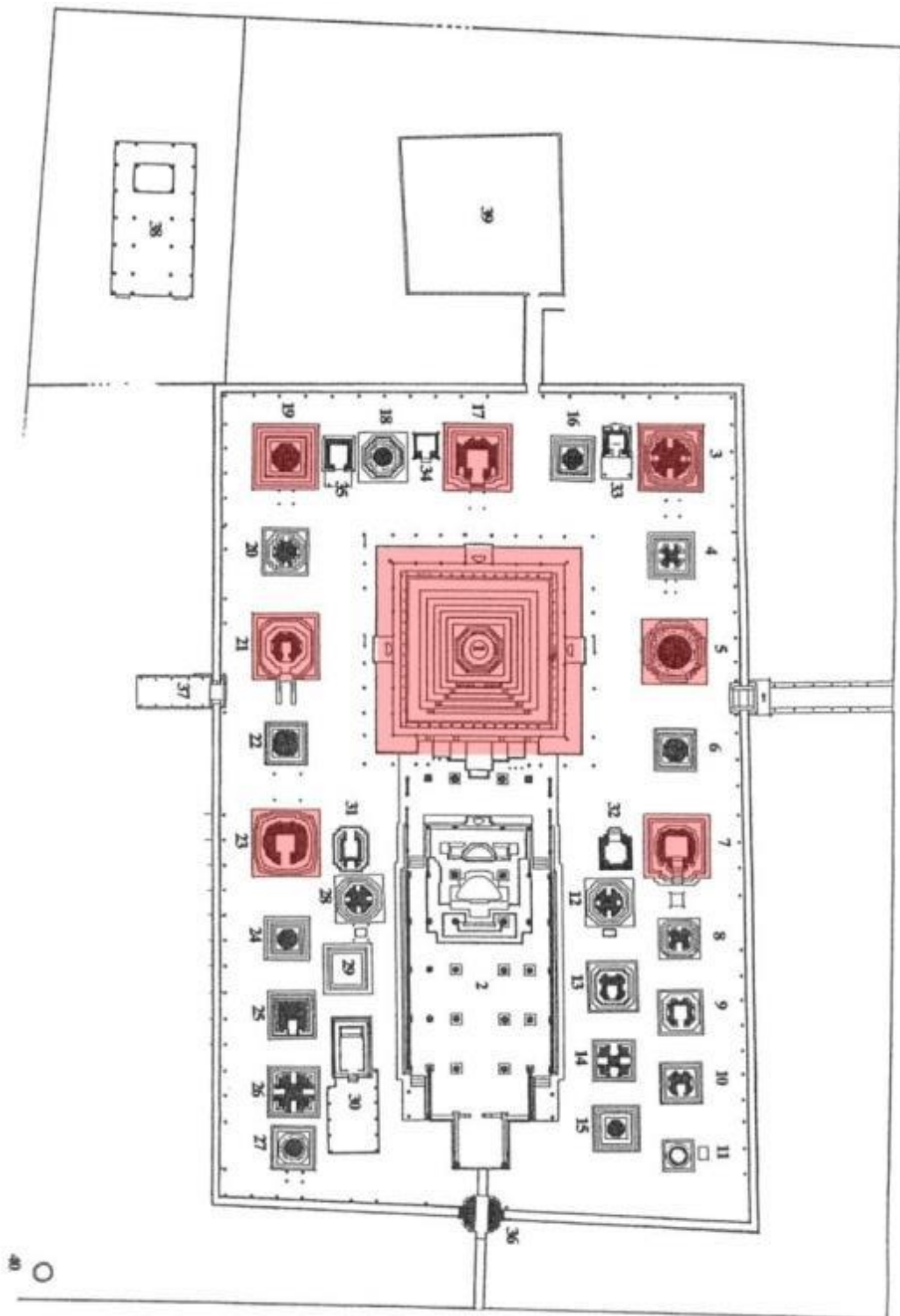


Figure 104: Lay-out plan of Wat Jedi Jedtaew

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

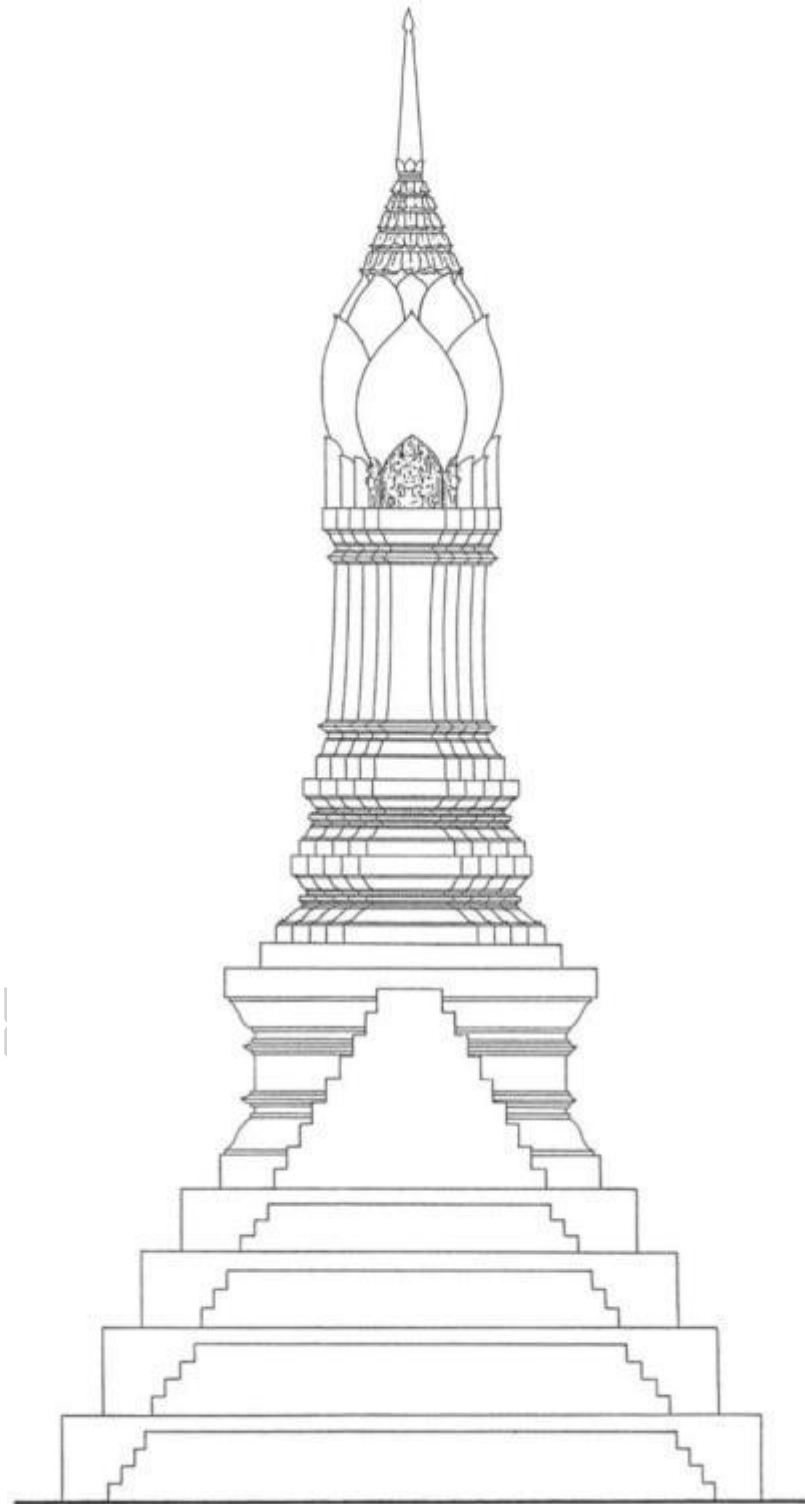


Figure 105: Front elevation of main Jedi (Lotus shape)

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

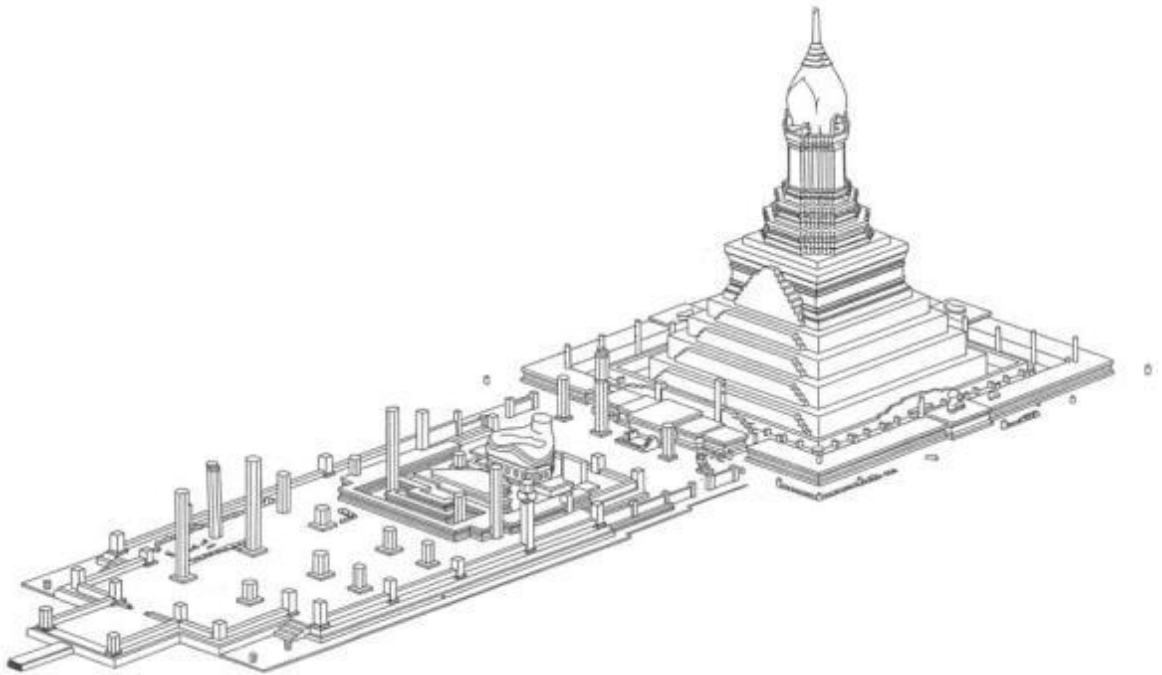


Figure 106: drawing of main Jedi (Lotus shape) and Vihara as seeing

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

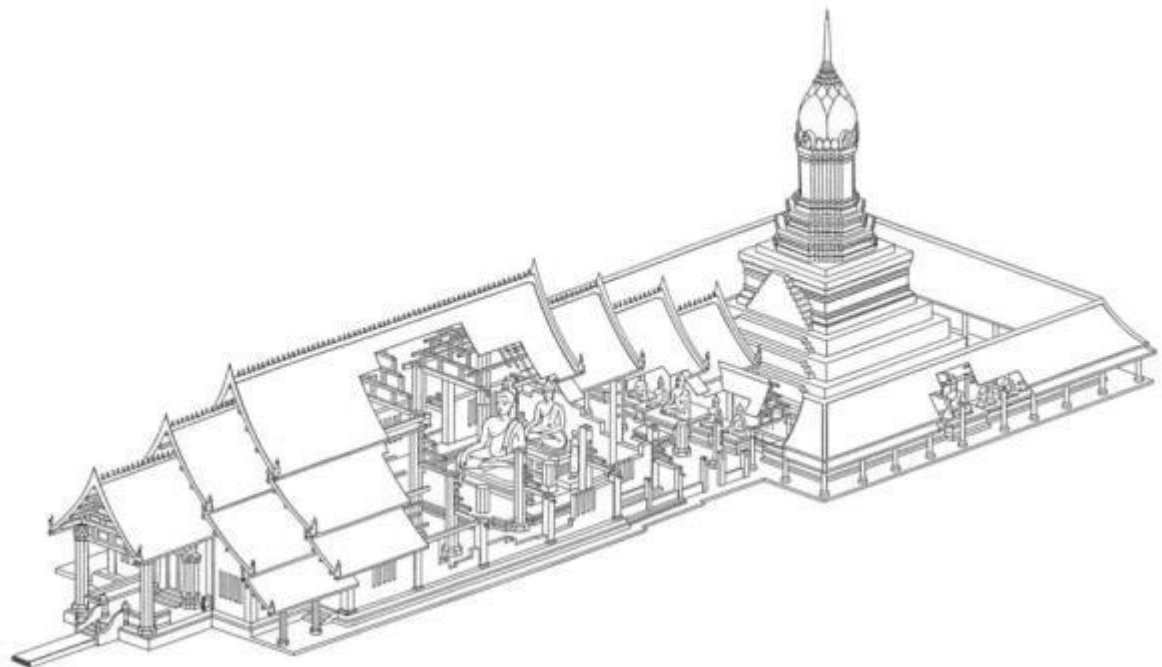


Figure 107: Reconstruction drawing of main Jedi (Lotus shape) and Vihara

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

Analyzing the plan of the temple and the location of the main pagoda as well as the other subordinate ones, 4 on each corner and 3 in the middle of each contributing side except the front, 7 in total, it is evident that the plan symbolizes Buddhist cosmology, with the main pagoda as PrsSumeru Mountain, the center of the universe, surrounded by 7 layers of Sattaboripan Range. (Santi: 2534, p. 31)

The origins and development of the architectural structure of the lotus-shaped pagoda can be traced through comparative study of the pattern of the main pagoda and the subordinate ones in Wat Jedi Jed Taew temple. The patterns of the pagodas can be divided into three main categories: lotus-shaped, castle-shaped, and round-shaped. Inspecting the bases, the bodies and the tops of each pagoda, the comparative study suggests that all the three types were mixtures of the castle-like pagoda of Lopburi, the round pagoda of Lanka, and the pagoda of Lanna tradition. (Santi: 2534, p. 33-155)

Regarding the origin of lotus-shaped pagoda, the base and body are miniature adaptations of the castle-styled Lopburi architecture, narrower and less angular in shape, leading proportionately to the lotus-shaped top. Lotus, the flower blooming under 7 footsteps of Buddha after his birth, is a symbol of purity and a popular offering epitomizing the pure state of heart. The floral symbols are also present in the nearby Wat Chang Lom temple, antedating Wat Jedi Jed Taew. The Lanka style round bodies of Wat Jedi Jed Taew's pagodas were influenced by the preceding one in Wat Chang Lom as well.

The comparative studies of Lotus-shaped Pagodas in Wat Jedi Jed Taew and those in Sukhothai, Pitsanulok and other provinces show that the closed-lotus shape was one of the very first lotus pagodas built. The lotus-like and the round features of the body of subordinate pagodas in Wat Jedi Jed Taew suggest the technical attempt to further develop the adopted patterns, with cut holes in the bodies of the pagodas in which Buddha statuettes are placed, and the adaptation of the patterns of *vihara* into the base of the pagoda. In brief, the architectural patterns of the pagodas in Wat Jedi Jed Taew embody the artistic advancements of craftsmen in Si Satchanalai, resulting in the invention of lotus-shaped pagodas, which were, in turn, imitated in Sukhothai

when Phaya Lithai came to the throne. The king had the original lotus pagoda of Si Satchanalai built in Wat Mahatat, the symbolic center of power of Sukhothai, as well as in other independent and vassal states under the governance of Sukhothai. The lotus-shaped pagodas, thus, became the symbols both of politics and religion simultaneously.

After the reign of Phaya Lithai the right to reign fell into Ayutthaya's hands, resulting in changes of political and religious symbols. The pagodas built at the time were round-shaped, Langa style pagodas which appeared in Nakorn Si Thammarat and Suphanburi, in Ayutthaya territory. Examples include the main pagoda of wat Suangaew Uthayanyai temple and the one in wat Nangpaya temple. The exterior of these pagodas and Buddha image halls featured decorative patterns made from moulded lime that were not found in Sukhothai art, however, this type of decoration is similar to that found on the Buddha image hall of wat Lai in Lopburi, on a stone slab in Wat Sichum temple's tunnel, and on walls and pagodas in the region of Lanna. Consequently, Associate Professor Srisak Wallipodom presumes that these artworks were created when Lanna occupied Si Satchanalai for seven years during the reign of King Triloganart of Ayutthaya. As for wat Nangpaya temple's Buddha image hall, with floor plans that were similar to the Pra Buddha Chinnaraja Buddha image hall, pottery decorations on pillars and walls were also found. This shows that it was created in the Ayutthaya period.

6) Wat SuanKeaw Uttayanyai





Figure 108: Vihara and main Jedi (bell shape) of Wat SuanKeaw Uttayanyai.

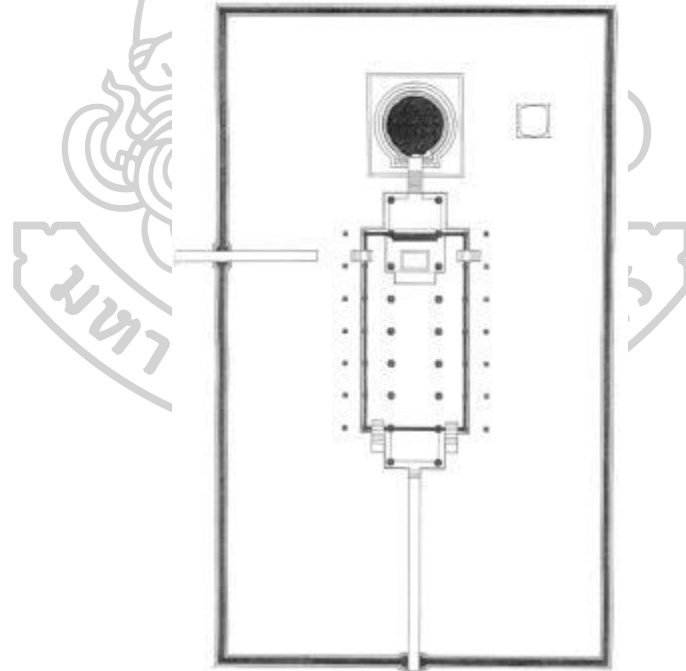


Figure 109: Lay-out plan of Wat SuanKeaw Uttayanyai

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

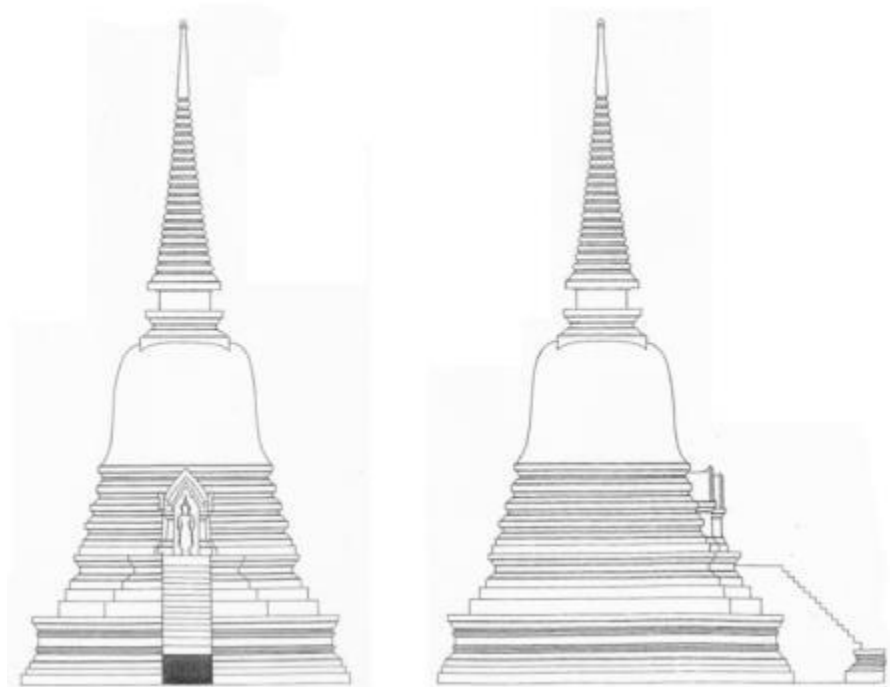


Figure 110: Reconstruction drawing of Jedi, Wat SuanKeaw Uttayanyai

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

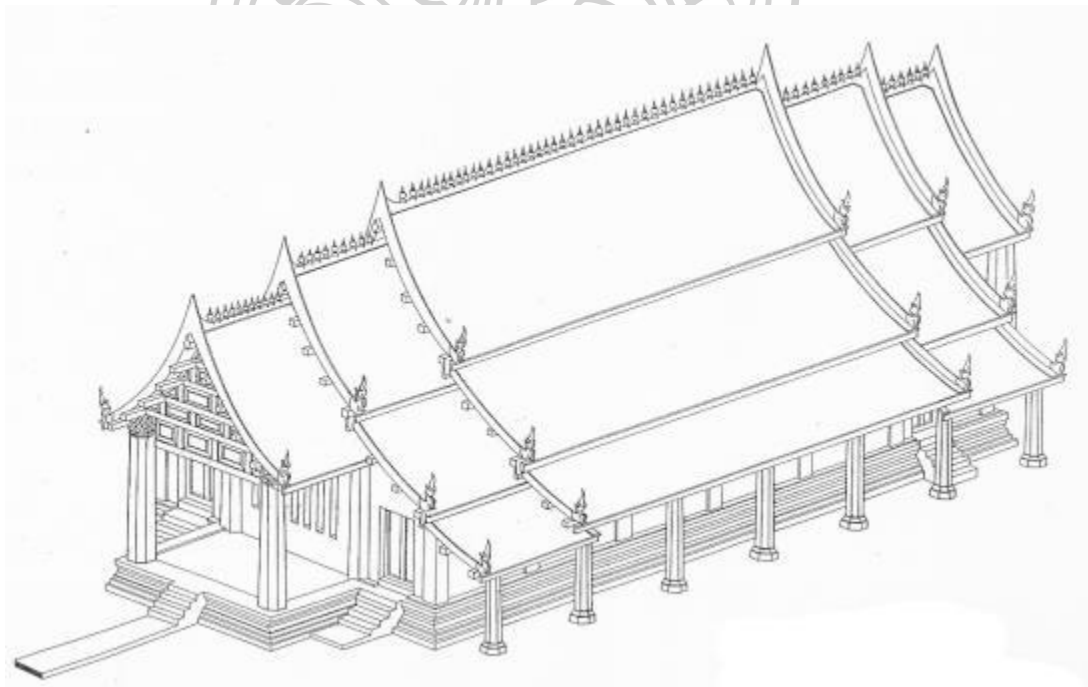


Figure 111: Reconstruction drawing type 1 of Vihara, Wat SuanKeaw Uttayanyai

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

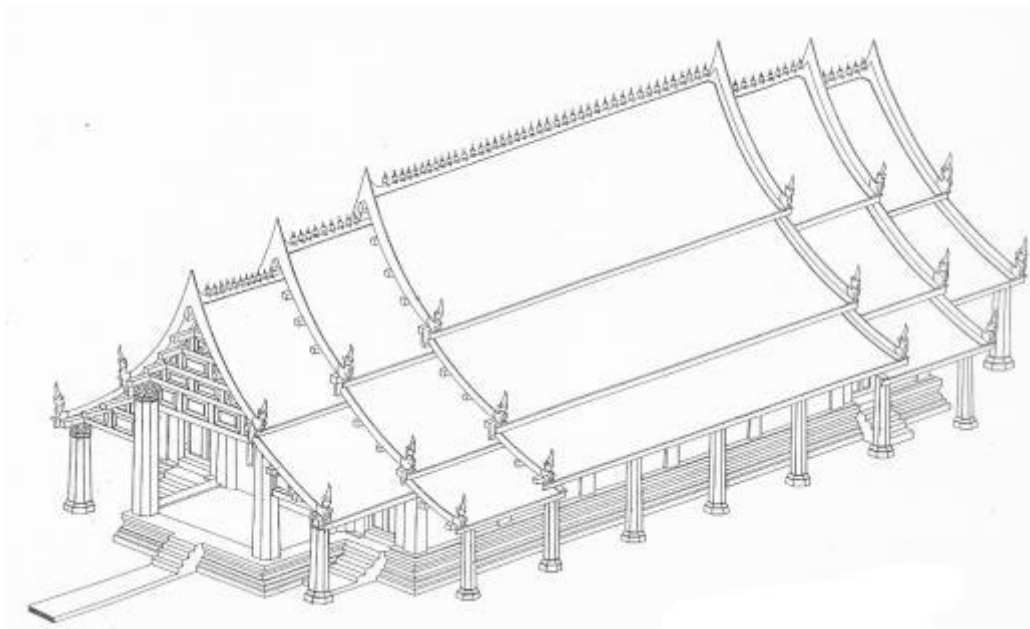


Figure 112: Reconstruction drawing type 2 of Vihara, Wat SuanKeaw Uttayanyai

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

7) Wat Nang Phaya





Figure 113: Vihara and main Jedi (bell shape) of Wat Nang Phaya, front view



Figure 114: Main Jedi (bell shape) of Wat Nang Phaya.



Figure 115: Vihara Wat Nangpya



Figure 116: The motif stucco on the wall of Vihara Wat Nangpya.



Figure 117: Sema around an ordination hall or Ubosotha, Wat Nangpya

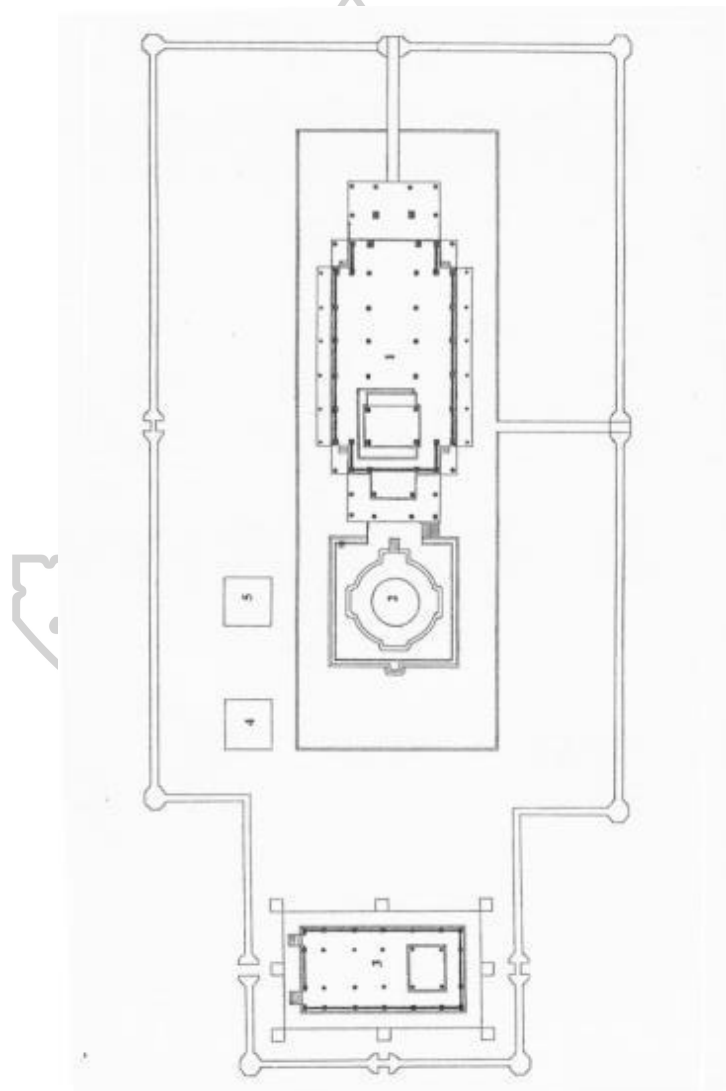


Figure 118: Lay-out plan of Wat Nangpya

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)



Figure 119: Lay-out plan of Main Jedi (bell Shape), Wat Nangpya

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

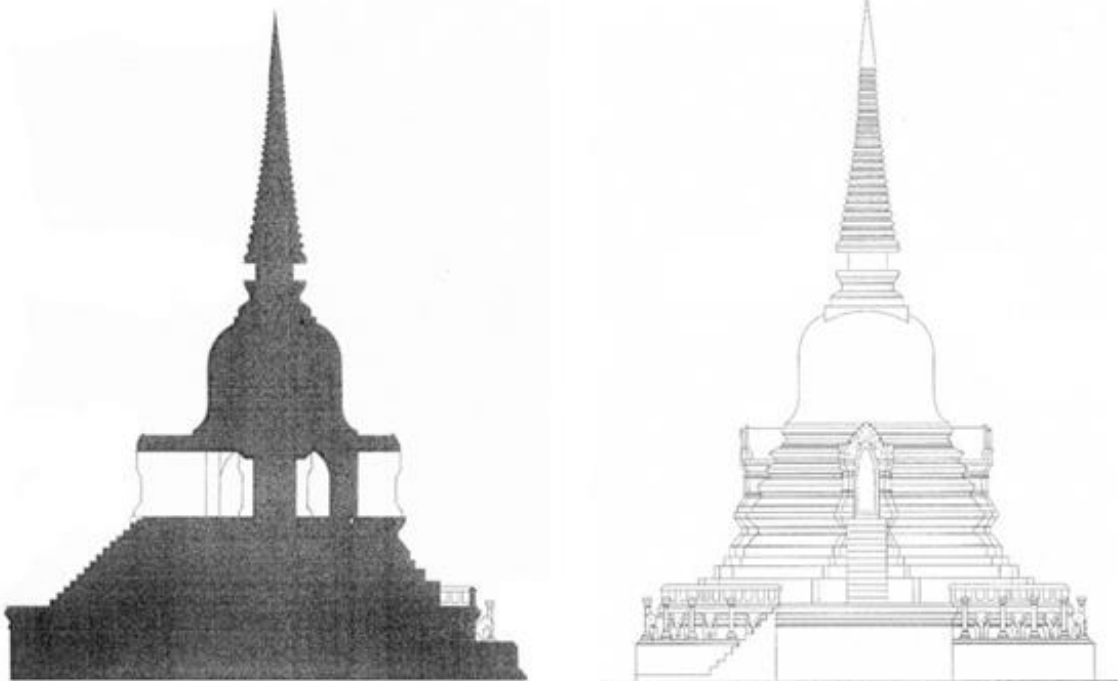


Figure 120: Section and Reconstruction drawing of bell Shape Jedi, Wat Nangpya

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

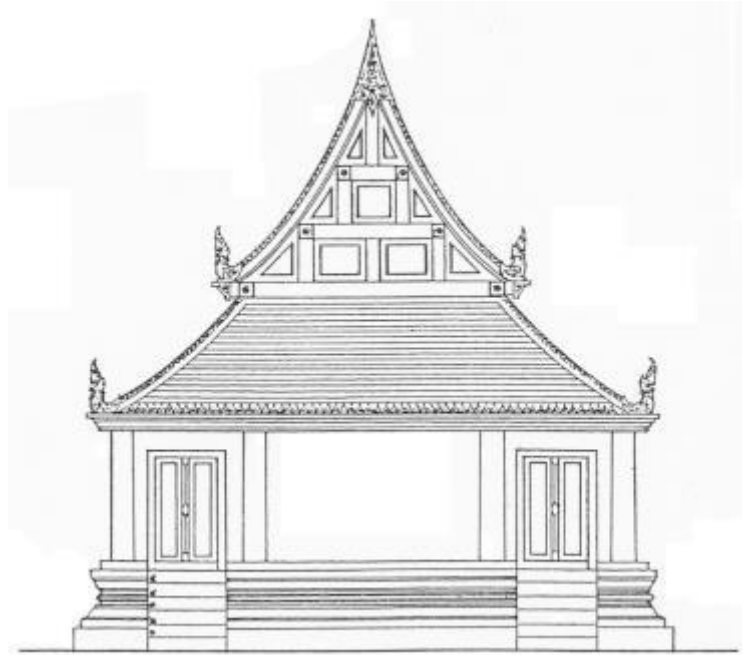


Figure 121: Reconstruction drawing of an ordination hall or Ubosotha, Wat Nangpya

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)





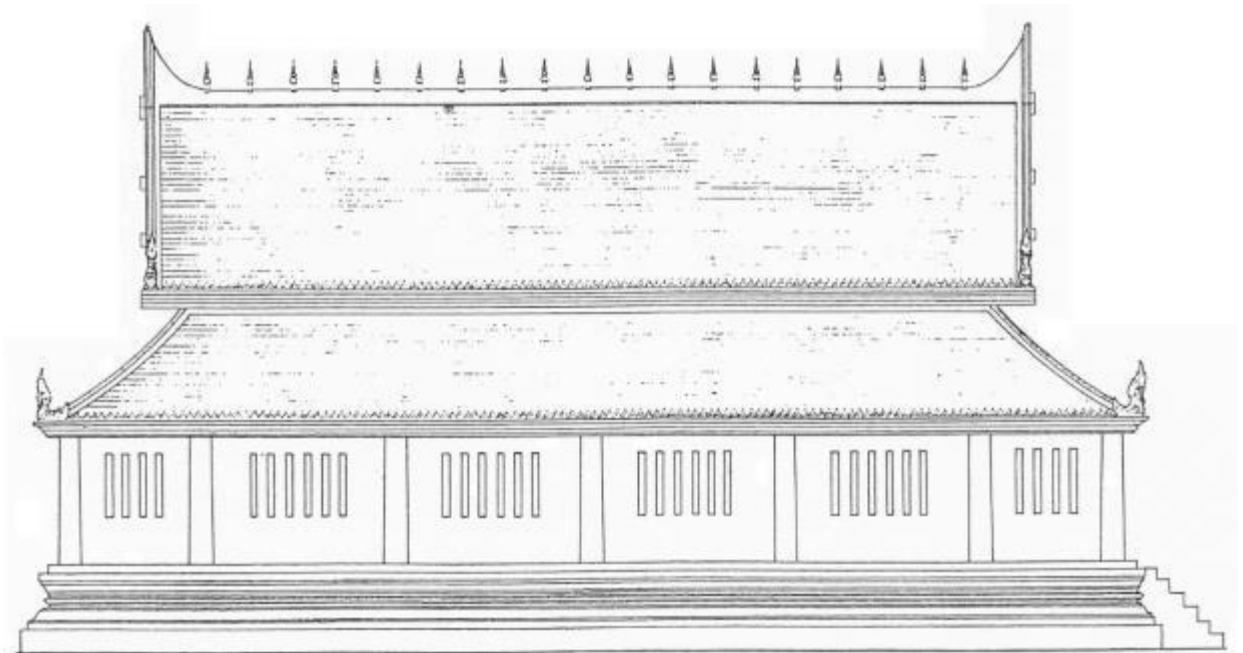


Figure 122; Reconstruction drawing of an ordination hall or Ubosotha, Wat Nangpya

Source: Art and Architecture Department, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University. (2006)

The other temple on the Main Axis of the city. There were also important temples on the hill in the city, Wat Khaosuwankiri temple and Wat Khaopanomploeung temple. Moreover the important temple on the hill outside the city wall was Wat Khao Phra Bat, on the east side of the river. (Srisak: 2534, p. 282)

#### 8) Wat Khaosuwankiri and Wat Kho Panom Pleng.

The main pagoda was round and taller than other pagodas on the hill. It was easily visible from afar and looked very similar to the Chedi at Wat Chang Lom, the difference being that this Chedi was built on a stacked base and there were no Buddha image arches around it like at Wat Chang Lom. Associate Professor Srisak Wallipodom presumes that this pagoda might be of the same age as the pagoda in Wat Chang Lom, and it might have also been built under Pothun Ramkhamhang's reign. The interesting feature is the entrance to the glass wall of the temple that looked like a Chinese entrance arch. There is also a statue of an entrance guard on both sides of the entrance. (Srisak: 2534, p. 282)

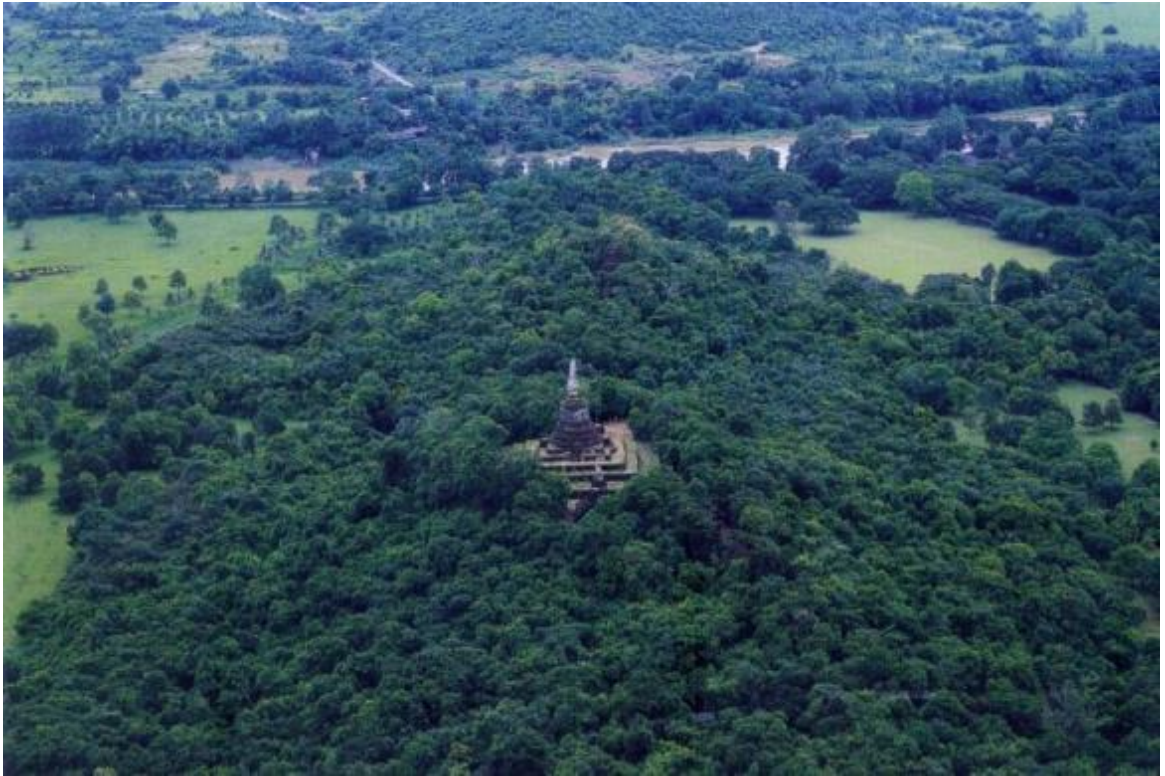


Figure 123: The aerial views of Wat Kho Panom Pleng.

Source: Muang Boran Publishing House (2009)

There are pagodas, mandapas, and remains of a small Buddha image hall. The pagoda is rounded and built on a Pat base; it looked like pagodas from the Lanna region. Associate Professor Srisak Wallipodom presumes that they might have been renovated under Lanna's power when they occupied Si Satchanalai. Both Wat Khaosuwannakiri temple and Wat Khaopanomploeung temple must have been important temples where people would go to worship Buddha or to participate in religious ceremonies because they have laterite steps leading up from the foot of the hill to the two temple, as for other temples on the hill are built next to wat Khaopanomploeung temple in the west and south west until Khao Rungrang and Khao Prasri, where there was a mix of old and new temples judging from the style of the pagodas. This shows the town's timeline up until the Ayutthaya period (Srisak: 2534, p. 282-283).



Figure 124: Stair way to Wat Kho Panom Pleng.

#### 9) Wat Khao Prabat

Wat Khao Prabat is situated on Khao Prabat hill on the east side of the Yom River. The front of the temple faces the north. There is a rounded laterite pagoda as the main pagoda. At present all that is left is the lower part from the bell shaped area, the peak having been destroyed. Other than that, there is a Buddha image hall, a mandapa, the base of a building and some small laterite sub-stupa. However, there is no evidence of a Buddha's Footprint has been found, despite the fact that this was mentioned as a historically important temple in the stone inscription no. 3 (Nakhornchum stone scripture), which was made in 1900 BE. According to the stone inscription, Phaya Lithai had the temple built to house a Buddha's Footprint. Even though Buddha's Footprints have been found in many temples, apparently those in Si Satchanalai were all created later. Associate professor Srisak Wallipodom found that

the Buddha's Footprints found in Payao at Wat Srikhomkhum temple or Wat Prajaotonluang looked very similar to the Buddha's Footprints that Phaya Lithai had built in Sukhothai, Bangphan and Prabang (Nakhornsawan). They might have been transported from Si Satchanalai to Payao when Phraya Yudhisthira committed his act of rebellion against King Borommatrailokkanat, for at that time he lead many people to befriend King Borommatilokkanat of Lanna who allowed Phraya Yudhisthira to govern Payao. Furthermore in wat Padangluang, which was a temple on a hill in Payao, there is a rounded shaped Chedi with 3 lines of lotus patterns on the lower part of the bell shaped area, which is in the Sukhothai pagoda style, but the base of the pagoda is highly elevated from the ground which means it is a late Sukhothai style pagoda (Srisak: 2534, p. 283-284).

### **Outside the city wall**

The temples outside Sri Satchanalai city wall are found on the hills and plains. At the temples on the plain outside the city to the west, there are mostly no large pagodas but there are remains of Buddha image halls and mandapas that house Buddha images like Wat Sraprathum.

### The northern group

#### 1) Ban Pa Yang Kilns Site (NO.10)

Ban Pa Yang kiln site is located alongside the Yom river's bank in the northern area outside Si Satchanalai, near the Tao Mo gate. This group of kilns is cross draft type, waterdrop-shaped in plan. The kiln comprises 3 main parts namely; firebox at the front, pottery chamber in the middle, and chimney at the rear of the kiln. Firing temperature can reach 1,250-1,300 degrees Celsius to produce stoneware potteries. The flourishing period of Sangkhalok wares of Si Satchanalai was approximately 200-250 years between the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>th</sup> centuries BE. These potteries were popular not only in Thailand, but also in Southeast Asia more widely and in Japan. As a result, a lot of Sangkhalok wares were found in shipwrecks in the Gulf of Thailand and archaeological sites in other countries, such as Indonesia, the Philippines and Japan.

There are the history signs and QR code for listening in 3-4 languages in front of the historical site for explaining about the history.

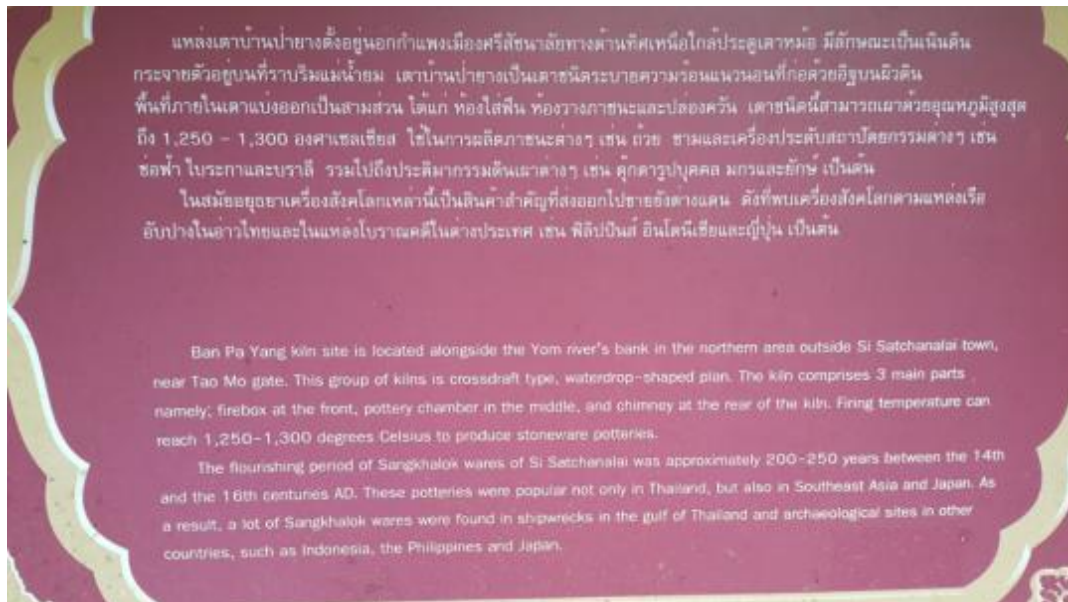


Figure 125: The History Sign in front of the historical site



Figure 126: Ban Pa Yang Kiln Site



Figure 127 Ban Pa Yang Kiln Site

2) Wat Kudi Rai (NO.9)

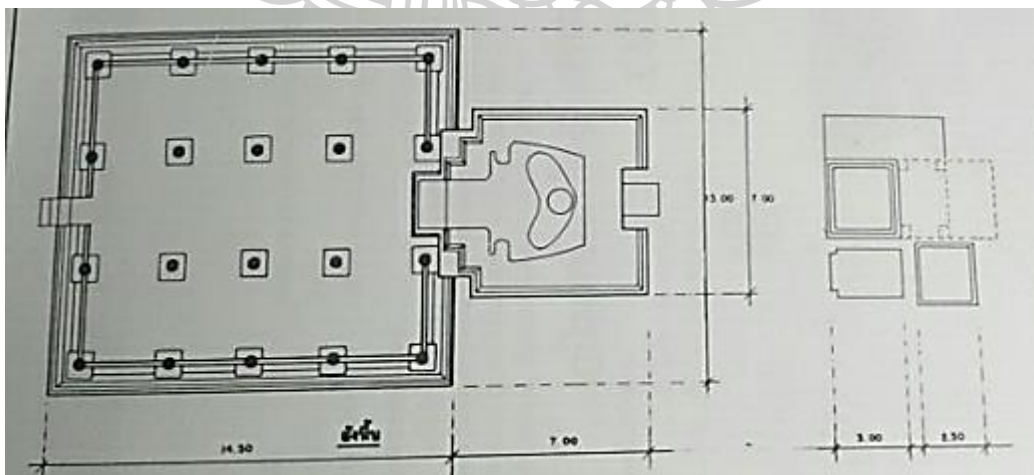


Figure 128: Figure Historical Plan of Wat Kudi Rai

Source: Si Satchanalai Archaeological Site List (1992)

Wat Kudi Rai is located alongside the Yom River to the north, outside Si Satchanalai town wall, facing south to Tao Mo gate. Principal structures comprise a

Vihara, or Hall of Worship, with a mandapa at its rear enshrined with a seated Buddha image, Ubosatha, or Ordination Hall with mandapa at its rear, also enshrined with a seated Buddha image, and 3 small lotus-shaped stupas and one round-shaped stupa situated behind the mandapa.



Figure 129: The architecture of Wat Kudi Rai





Figure 130: Chedi Rai of of Wat Kudi Rai.





## APPENDIX B

### 3) Wat Hua Khon (NO.11)

This temple is located about 400 metres from the town wall of Si Satchanalai. The largest and the most important historic building here is a main Satchanalai mandapa. Inside the mandapa is a huge standing Buddha image.

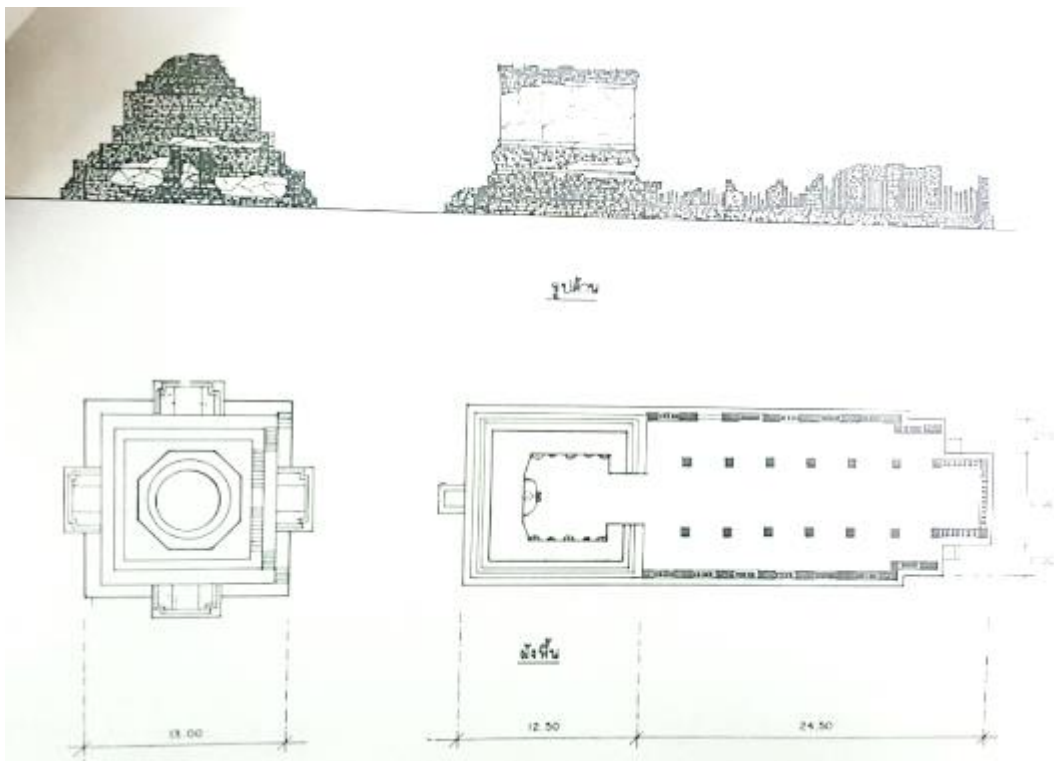


Figure 131: Plan and Elevation of Wat Hua Khon

Source: Si Satchanalai Archaeological Site List (1992)



Figure 132: The history sign and QR code for listening in 3-4 languages



Figure 133: Archaeological site in Wat Hua Khon



Figure 134: Archaeological site in Wat Hua Khon



Figure 135: The principal Buddha image inside the mandapa of Wat Hua Khon

### The Mountain Group or the Western Group

#### 1) Wat Khao Yai Bon (NO.12)

This temple on the top of Khao Yai has a large Sri Lankan style main chedi covering a small chedi. A vihara and a mandapa are in front of the chedi. At the southern foot of the hill are 2 cisterns. Fragments of ceramic roofing tile were found scattered around this southern foothill area, suggesting that meditation houses might have been present in this area.

This site has no security, no rails nor even warning labels. This is because of long distance from the city and lack of interpretation.



Figure 136: The degraded history sign



Figure 137: The slope of the historical site that has no rails



Figure 138: The main historical point of Wat Khao Yai Bon



Figure 139: Historic site around Wat Khao Yai Bon Area

## 2) Wat Khao Yai Lang (NO.13)

Wat Khao Yai Lang was constructed on slope of a hill called Khao Yai, west of Wat Chedi Ain. The most significant historic building here is a Sri Lankan style main chedi. The bell-shaped middle part of this chedi is relatively short when compared to other Sri Lankan style chedis. This suggests that it might be an early form of Sri Lankan style chedi found in Si Satchanalai town.



Figure 140: The history sign in Wat Khao Yai Lang



Figure 141: The main historic point of Wat Khao Yai Lang



Figure 142: The main Historic point of Wat Khao Yai Bon



Figure 143: The Chedi of Wat Khao Yai Bon



### 1) Wat Chedi Ain (14)

This temple is located on the same hill as Wat Chedi Chet Yod, on the opposite side. The important historic buildings here include a main Sri Lankan style chedi and a vihāra, both of blocks of laterite.



Figure 144: The Chedi of Wat Chedi Ain



Figure 145: Wat Chedi Ain

## 2) Wat Chedi Kao Yod (NO.15)

Wat Chedi Kao Yod was constructed in the Sukhothai period, located on Khao Yai mountain ridge, outside the Si Satchanalai town wall to the west. The temple was built on natural rock which was leveled to serve as foundation. At the front of the temple stands a Hall of Worship with stairs leading to the main stupa, which is mandapa-shaped with 12-indented corners. The top of the main stupa is decorated with 8 smaller stupas at the corners and over the niches. The chamber inside the stupa enshrines a seated Buddha image, and the walls are decorated with monochrome mural paintings that can be compared to the mural paintings of the same period as Wat Chedi Ched Thaeo

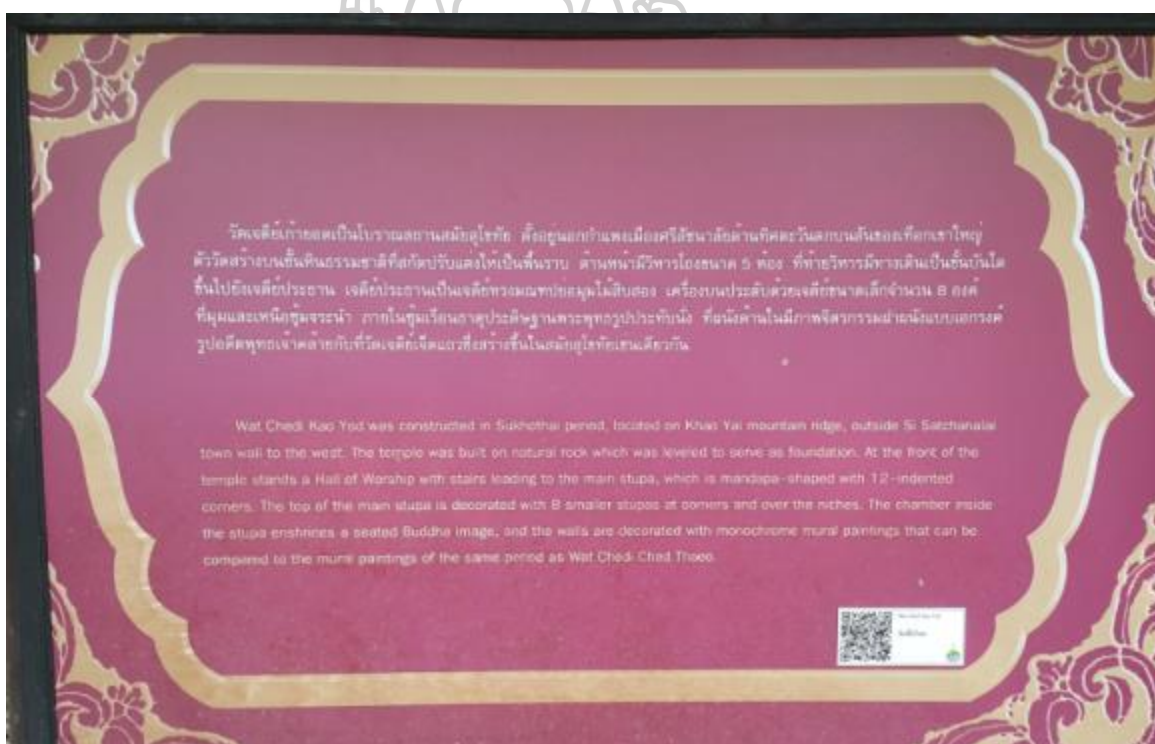


Figure 146: The history sign in front of the historical site



Figure 147: The presumed architecture of Wat Chedi Kao Yod



Figure 148: The main historic point of Wat Chedi Kao Yod

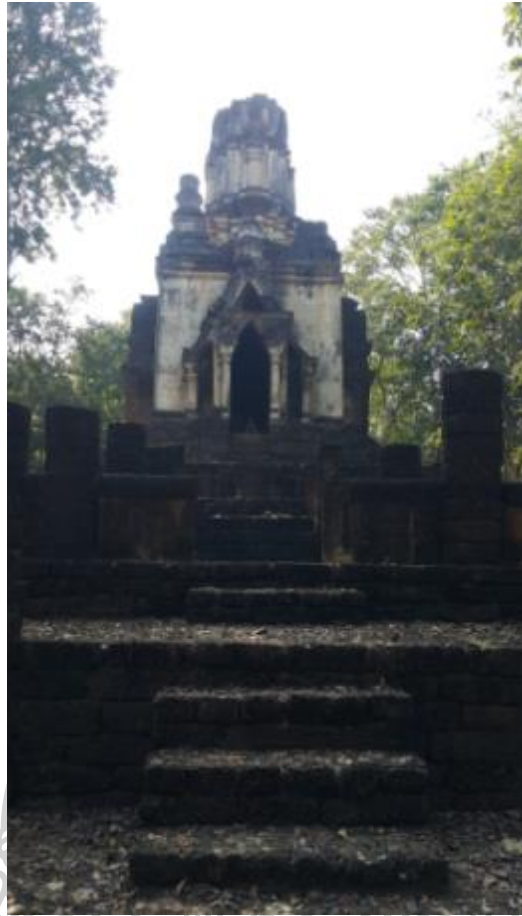


Figure 149: The Chedi Kao Yod



Figure 150: The base of Wat Chedi Kao Yod



Figure 151: Historic Site around Wat Khao Yai Bon area



Figure 152: Historic site around Wat Khao Yai Bon area

3) Wat E Pur (NO.17)

This temple was built at the foot of Khao Yai, with a main entrance facing toward the east. The important historic buildings in this temple include a vihara, uposatha (ordination hall) and a hexagonal foundation of a chedi.



Figure 153: Historical Plan of Wat E Pur

Source: Si Satchanalai Archaeological Site List (1992)

### The Southern Group

#### 1) Wat Rahu (NO.19)

Wat Rahu is located outside Si Satchanalai town wall to the west near Saphan Chan gate. The temple area is rectangular, facing east. On the temple grounds there is a Vihara, or Hall of Worship, in early Ayutthaya style. The interior of the Vihara presents a raised platform, which served as the monks' seating area, and a pedestal for the principal Buddha image. The main stupa is lotus bud-shaped in Sukhothai style, being the largest lotus bud-shaped stupa in S: Satchanalai, reaching 19 meters in height. Apart from the main stupa, there are 5 minor stupas, two of which are lotus bud-shaped and three which are round-shaped. The temple's original name is unknown and has never been found in any historical records. The name "Rahu", derived from the stucco Kala face or Rahu by local understanding, has been

discovered in the area and is believed to have been part of decorations on the main stupa.



Figure 154: The History Sign in front of the historical site

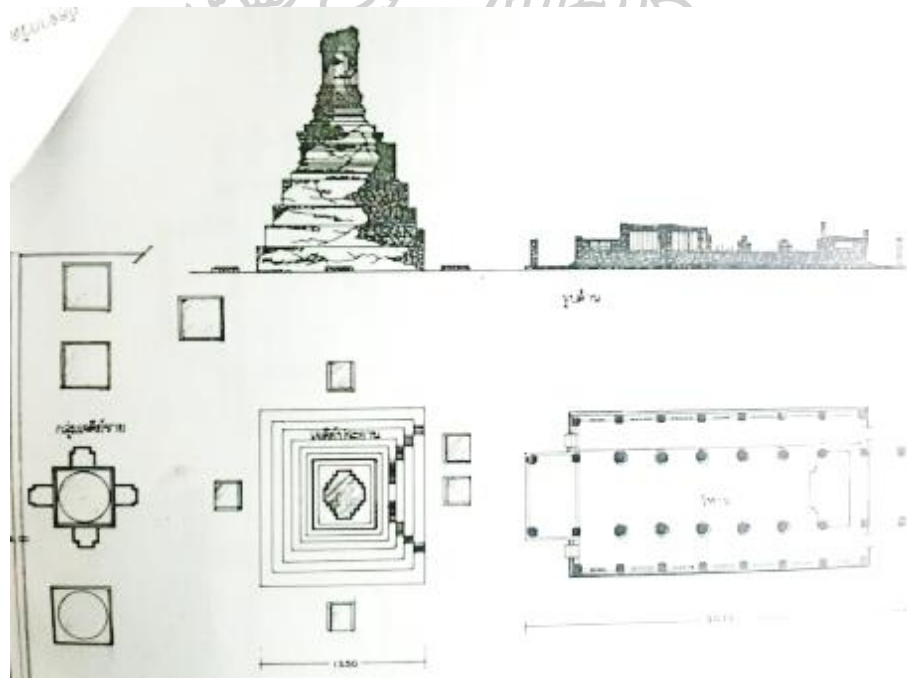


Figure 155: Plan and elevation of Wat Rahu

Source: Si Satchanalai Archaeological Site List (1992)

APPENDIX C



Figure 156: The overall view of Wat Rahu



Figure 157: The wall detail of Wat Rahu



## 2) Wat Look Keaw (NO.20)



Figure 158: The name sign in front of the historical site



Figure 159: Historic site of Wat Look Keaw

## 3) Wat Vihara Soong (NO.21)



Figure 160: The name sign in front of the historical site



Figure 161: Historic site of Wat Vihara Soong

#### 4) Wat Yai Ta (NO.23)

Wat Yai Ta is located outside Si Satchanalai town wall to the west near Saphan Chan gate. The most important monument in this temple is a mandapa, being the highest and largest mandapa in Si Satchanalai, enshrining the largest seated Buddha image in the town, of only parts of the legs remain. Traces of stucco on the mandapa's wall.

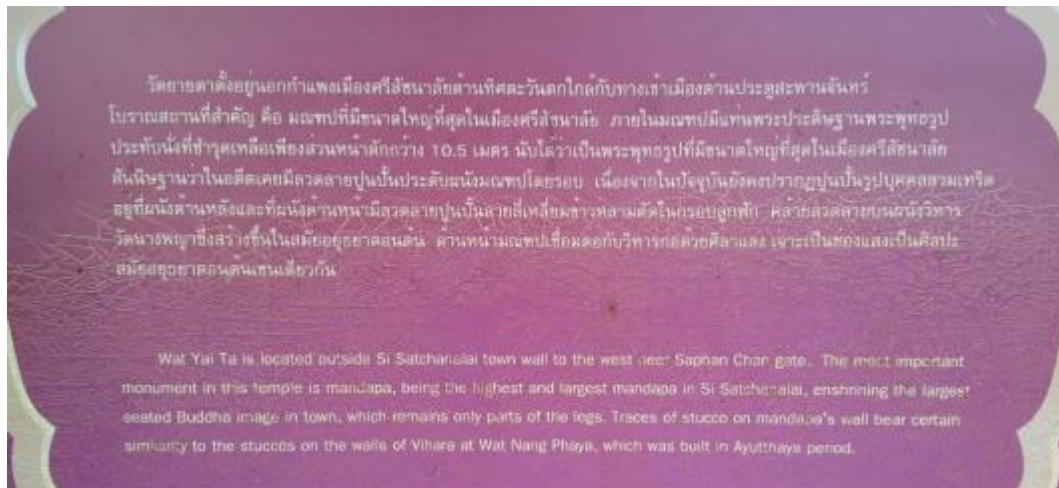


Figure 162: The history sign in front of the historical site



Figure 163: The wall detail of Wat Yai Ta



Figure 164: Historic site of Wat Yai Ta



Figure 165: The detail of historic site of Wat Yai Ta

5) Wat Prom Si Na (NO.24)

Wat Prom Si Na is situated 300 meters to the east from Wat Srprathum temple. The front faces the east, the main mandapa is built with laterite, and there is a large Buddha image on the inside. The mandapa has framed standing Buddha images on 4 sides. A monochrome mural of people with swords was found on the east side frame. The peak of the mandapa had been destroyed. Pieces of “อมฤต” and a piece of a star apple leaf-cornered pagoda were found. It is presumed that the mandapa’s peak was a star apple leaf-cornered Pagoda.

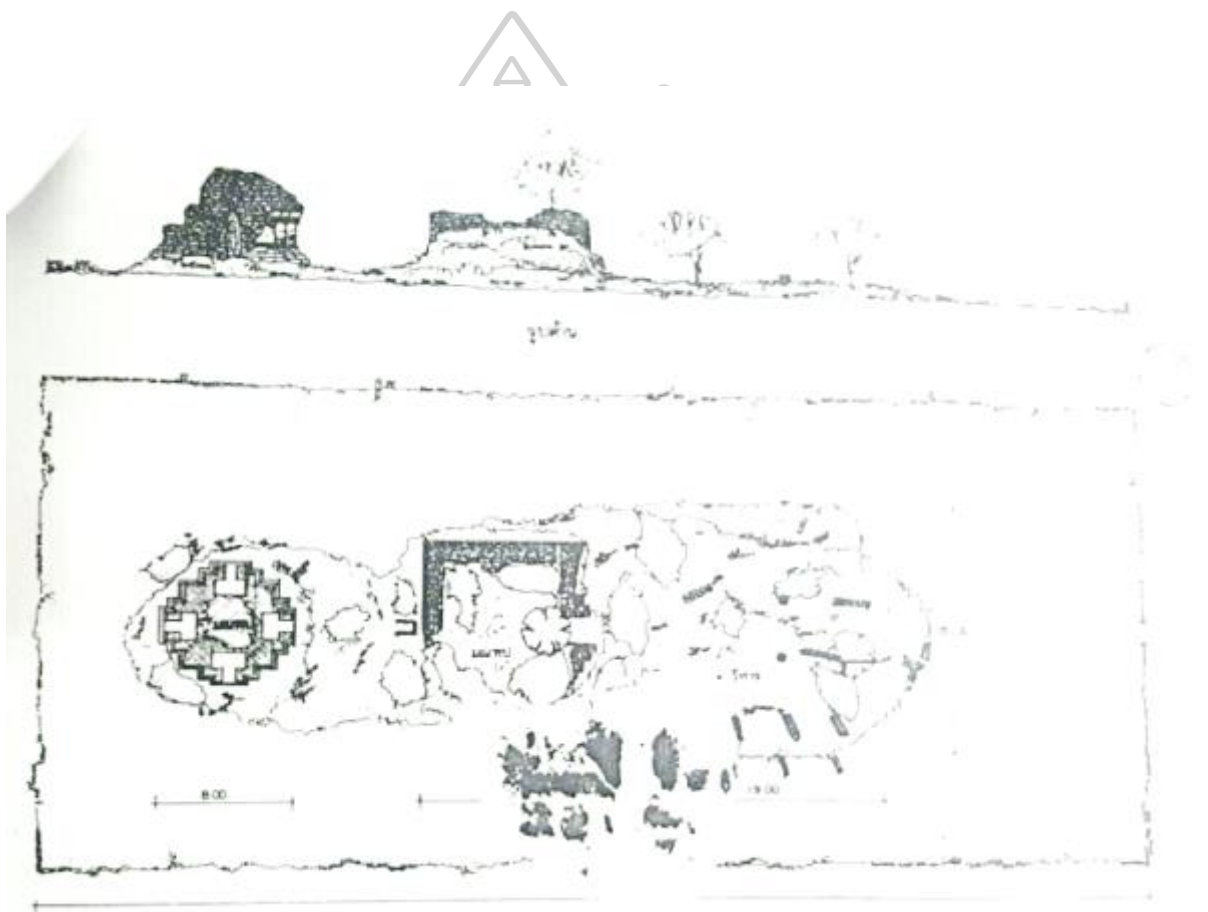


Figure 166: Plan and Elevation of Wat Prom Si Na

Source: Si Satchanalai Archaeological Site List (1992)



Figure 167: The name sign in front of the historical site



Figure 168: Historic site of Wat Prom Si Na

#### 6) Wat Sa Pathum (NO.25)

Wat Sa Pathum is the biggest temple in this area. The stupas in this temple were mandapa-styled, similar to what was found at Wat Sri Chum Temple, believed to be the popular trend of how to construct a pagoda at Si Satchanalai. This characteristic can be found at Wat Suan Kaew and Wat Ku di Rai on the trails leading to Pah Yang Pottery Kiln and Koh Noi Kiln. Many people believe that these temples that were built outside the city were Forest Temples (Wat Paa) but Srisak Wallipodom believes this temple is equivalent to an exclusive shelter for important monks. According to the inscription, Wat Pah Daeng is where Sumana Thera and Amano Dhassi resided and that these two monks were not just Vipasana Thera but Kanthadhura monks (educated in Buddhist teaching, experienced sage in Buddhism)

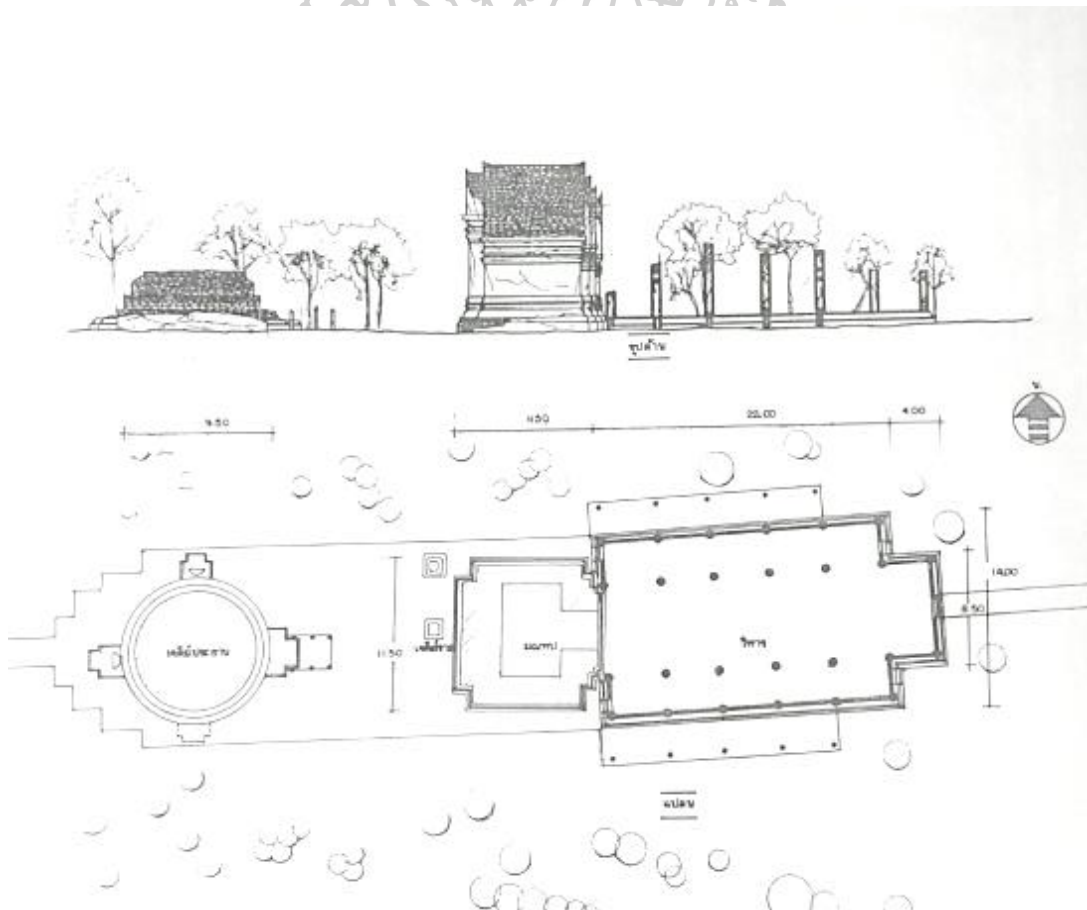


Figure 169: Plan and Elevation of Wat Sa Pathum

Source: Si Satchanalai Archaeological Site List (1992)

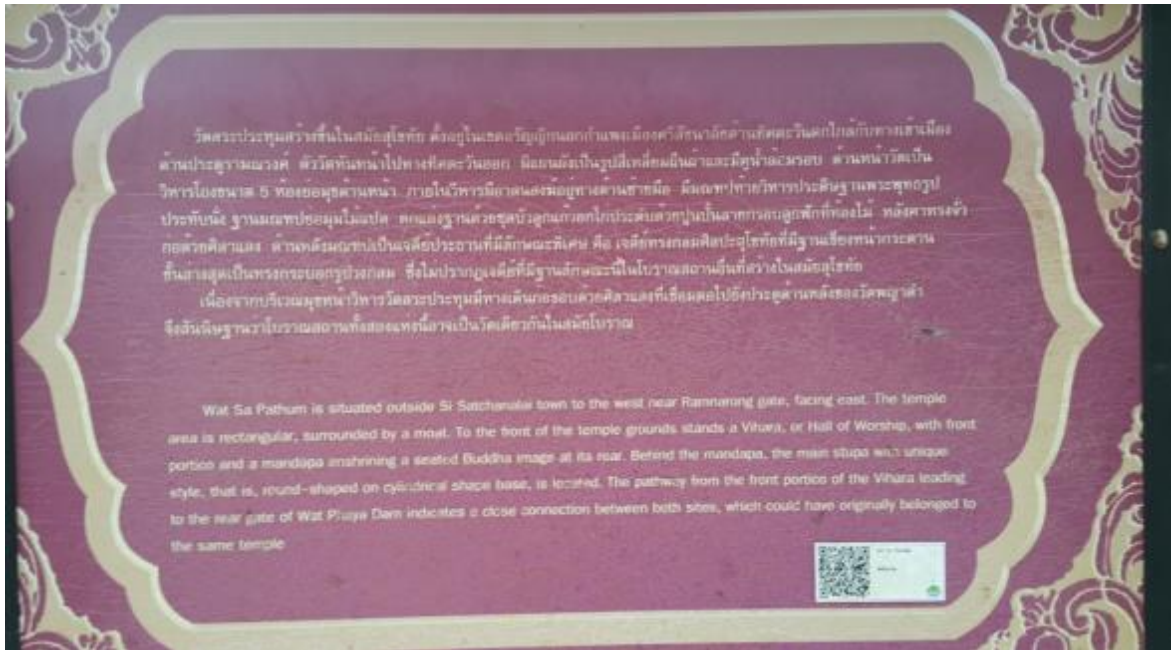


Figure 170: The history sign in front of the historical site



Figure 171: Historic site of Wat Sa Pathum





Figure 172: The detail of historic site of Wat Sa Pathum

#### 7) Wat Phaya Dam (NO.26)

Wat Phaya Dam Temple's former name is unknown but because a large amount of black magic amulets called Nangpaya were found in the area, hence the name Wat Payadum was given by the locals in the area. The main pagoda was a "Mulagandhakuti" (a Buddha image hall with tiled roofs for housing a Buddha image. (Fine Art department: 2546, P. 87), built with laterite and plastered. In front of it was a Mulagandhakuti built in the same way; the roof looked like the top of a boat built with Corbel Arch technique, making a 2 tiered roof. On the inside of the Mulagandhakuti the space was divided into stalls, the front stall housed a Buddha image in maravichai posture, but it has mostly been destroyed. The back stall housed 2 or 3 Buddha images; in the middle there was a standing Buddha image. (Fine Art department: 2546, P. 90-91)

Furthermore, other temples were scattered in other communities. These were mostly temples that were built to be the communal temples, for the people in the community to make merit and participate in religious ceremonies. They were built later, after being under Ayutthaya's power. Sema stones that were found around the monastery were all small and were decorated with Ayutthaya style decorations.

Temples with important historical places in the North West were Wat Huakhon temple and Wat Gudi rai temple.

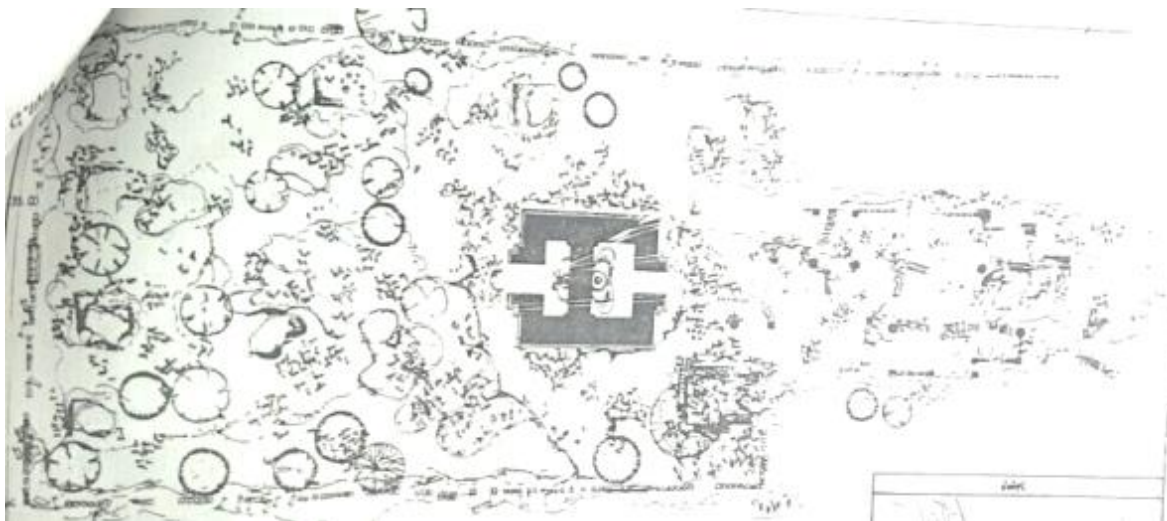


Figure 173: Plan of Wat Phaya Dam

Source: Si Satchanalai Archaeological Site List (1992)

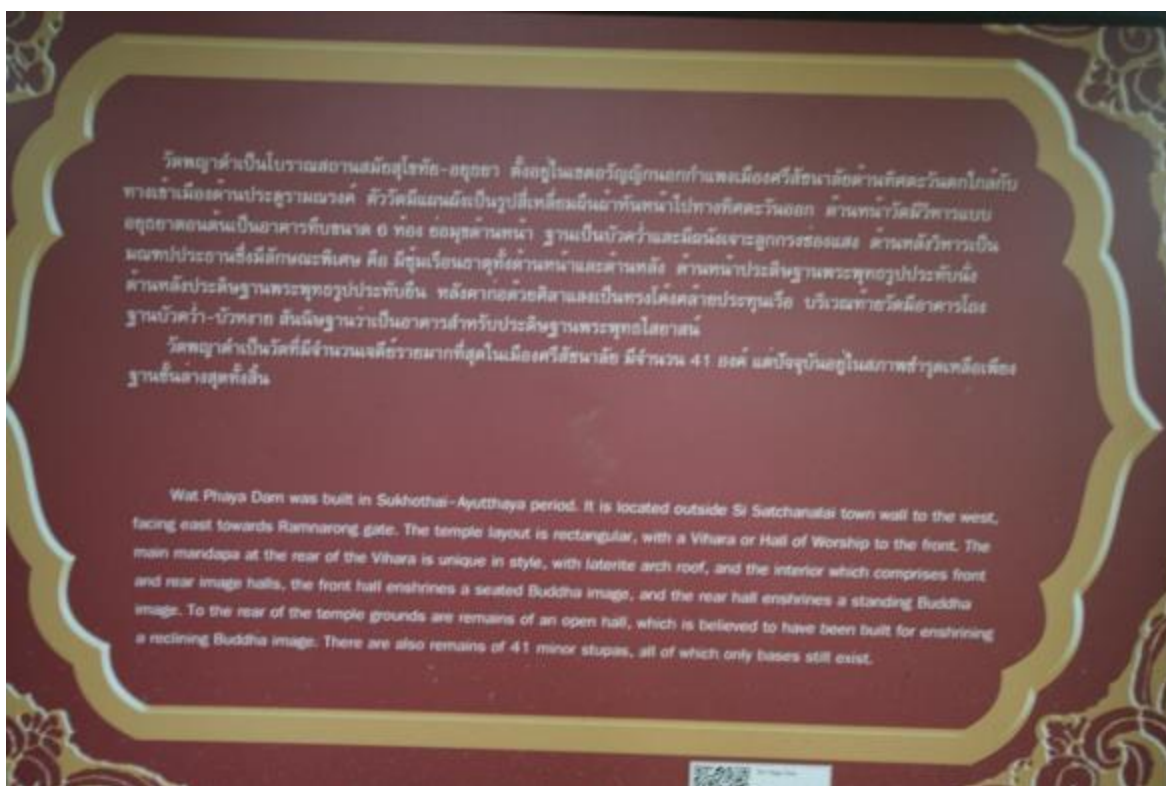


Figure 174: The history sign in front of the historical site



Figure 175: The Name Sign in front of the historical site



Figure 176: Historic site of Wat Phaya Dam



Figure 177: The wall detail of Wat Phaya Dam



Figure 178: The detail of historical site of Wat Phaya Dam

## 8) Wat Thung Setthi

Wat Thung Setthi was built in the Sukhothai period located near the Ramnarong gate outside the Si Satchanalai town wall, facing northeast. The temple is rectangular planned, enclosed on four sides by a wall made of vertical laterite blocks, with an entrance gate in the middle of each side. Remaining structures on the temple grounds comprise a Vihara, or Hall of Worship, installed with a 2-leveled pedestal for the principal Euddha image, the main stupa of Sukhothai style, round-shaped, situated behind the vihara, and remains of 4 minor stupa, the original styles of which are unidentifiable.

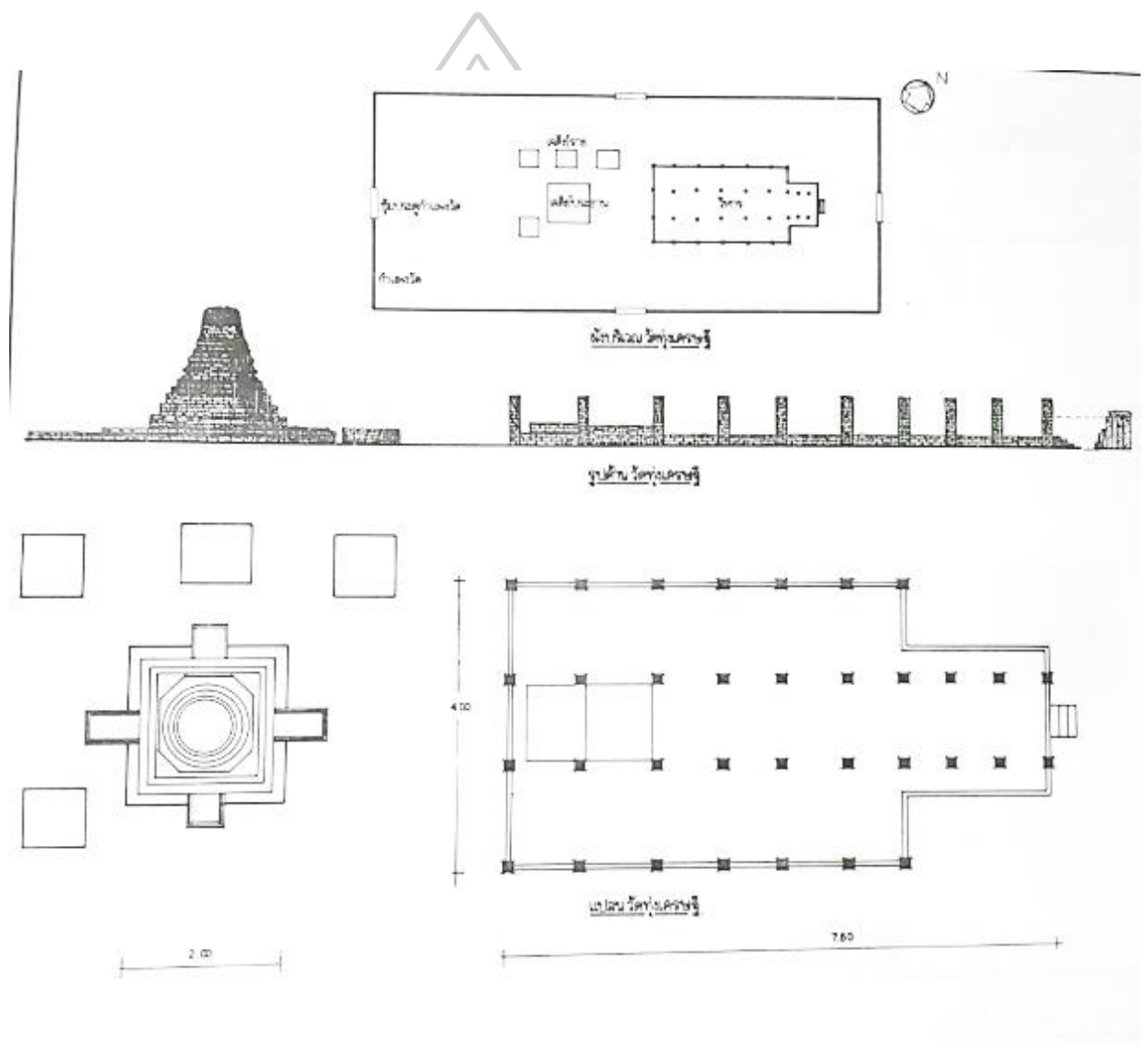


Figure 179: Plan and Elevation of Wat Thung Setthi

Source: Si Satchanalai Archaeological Site List (1992)



Figure 180: The history sign in front of the historical site



Figure 181: QR code



Figure 182: The name sign in front of the historical site



Figure 183: The laterite vihara of Wat Thung Setthi



Figure 184: The wall of Wat Thung Setthi

#### 9) Wat E-Bang

Approximately one kilometer from Si Satchanalai ancient town to the south, the monument No. T22 or Wat E-Bang is situated on the east side of the Highway No.1201. This monument is a Buddhist temple with a rectangular plan and faces to the east. All structures at this temple were made of laterite blocks and only the bases of them still remain. The main structure of this temple is a spire-topped square chedi on which some traces of restoration can still be seen. In front of the principal chedi, a vihara (assembly hall of worship) with a mandapa at the rear is located. Moreover, subsidiary chedis, located in the south and the west of the principal chedi, and a water well, located in the east of the chedi, are found at this temple. All the structures at the temple are enclosed by a wall. The result of the archaeological study conducted at this temple indicates that this ancient monument was from the late Sukhothai to early Ayutthaya period or about 20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>th</sup> century BE.



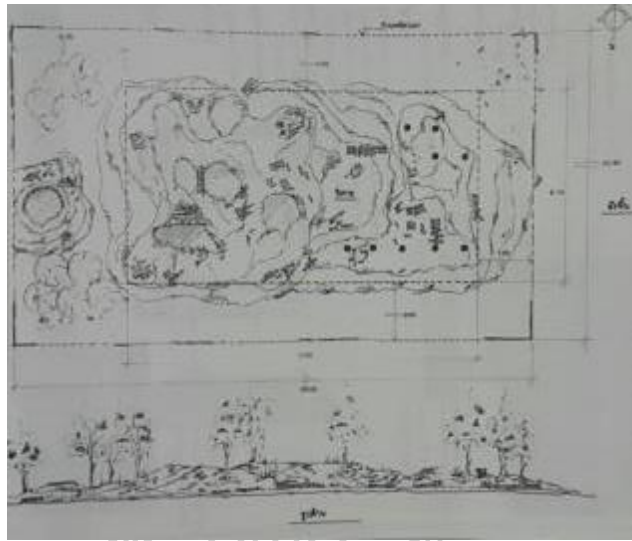


Figure 185: Plan and Elevation of Wat E-Bang

Source: Si Satchanalai Archaeological Site List (1992)

โบราณสถาน ค.22 (วัดอีบาง) ตั้งอยู่นอกกำแพงเมืองศรีสัชานาลัยมาทางทิศใต้ประมาณ 1 กิโลเมตร  
ริมฝั่งตะวันออกของทางหลวงแผ่นดินหมายเลข 1201 (สวรรคโลก - ศรีสัชานาลัย)

โบราณสถานแห่งนี้เป็นวัดในพุทธศาสนา แบบศรีสุทโธลหรือแบบล้านช้างด้วยวัดตามแนวแกนทิศตะวันออก- ตะวันตก  
หันหน้าวัดไปทางทิศตะวันออก โบราณสถานทั้งหมดก่อสร้างด้วยศิลาแลงส่วนใหญ่มีสภาพชำรุดเหลือเพียงส่วนฐานมีเจดีย์ทรง  
ปราสาทยอดเป็นประธานของวัด เจดีย์ประธานนี้มีร่องรอยการบูรณะซ่อมแซมอย่างน้อย 1 ครั้งด้านหน้าของเจดีย์ประธาน  
เป็นวิหารที่มีส่วนท้ายเชื่อมต่อกับมณฑป ด้านทิศใต้และทิศตะวันตกของเจดีย์ประธานมีเจดีย์รายตั้งอยู่มีป้อน้ำโบราณ  
ตั้งอยู่ทางด้านทิศตะวันออกของเจดีย์ประธาน โดยมีกำแพงวัดล้อมรอบสิ่งก่อสร้างทั้งหมดไว้

จากการศึกษาทางโบราณคดี พบว่าโบราณสถานแห่งนี้มีอายุอยู่ในช่วงปลายสมัยสุโขทัย - ต้นอยุธยา  
(ราวพุทธศตวรรษที่ 20 - 21)

Approximately 1 kilometer from Si Satchanalai ancient town to the south, the monument No. T22 or  
Wat E-Bang is situated on the east side of the Highway No.1201. This monument is a Buddhist temple with  
a rectangular plan and faces to the east. All structures at this temple were made of laterite blocks and  
only the bases of them still remained. The main structure of this temple is a spire-topped square chedi  
which some traces of restoration can still be seen. In front of the principal chedi, a vihara (assembly hall  
of worship) with a mandapa at the rear is located. Moreover, subsidiary chedis, located in the south and  
the west of the principal chedi, and a water well, located in the east of the chedi, are found at this temple.  
All the structures at the temple are enclosed by a wall.

The result of the archaeological study conducted at this temple indicates that this ancient monument  
were in the late Sukhothai to early Ayutthaya period or about 15th - 16th century.

Figure 186: The history sign in front of the historical site

## APPENDIX D



Figure 187: The presumed reconstruction of the architecture of Wat E-Bang





Figure 188: Historic site of Wat E-Bang



Figure 189: Historic site of Wat E-Bang



Figure 190: Detail of the historic site of Wat E-Bang



Figure 191 Historic site of Wat E-Bang

10) Wat Den Li Kae

Wat Den Li Kae is situated outside the town wall of Si Satchanalai on a flat plain at the foothill of Khao Phra Sri mountain (eastern side). The monument faces east, the architectural elements comprise:

(1) Principal Mandapa: a rectangular building built of laterite on a high base. The front facade comprises a niche, the other three sides are solid walls with protruded niches in which Buddha images are enshrined. It is believed that originally this mandapa had enshrined the principal Buddha image

(2) Vihara: situated in front of the Principal Mandapa. It is an s-bayed hall, 10 x 14 metres, whose walls are perforated with openings.

The left side of the interior is the remaining part of a raised floor made for monks' seating.

(3) Two minor stupas made of laterite. The first minor stupa is situated to the rear of the Principal Mandapa, though only a 2 x 2 metres square base remains. From excavations, parts of the stupa which were discovered indicate that the stupa was originally in the Prasat style (tiered stupa). The second stupa is to the northeast of the Principal Mandapa, remaining only as a laterite base sized 1.50 x 1.50 metres

(4) Temple wall: made of long, rectangular laterite blocks placed contiguously, finished with plaster. The centre of a side of the wall is opened for an entrance. To the east of the monument, approximately 100 metres away, there is a small building and a round laterite well. The monument is dated to the Sukhothai period, circa 19<sup>th</sup> - 21<sup>th</sup> century BE.

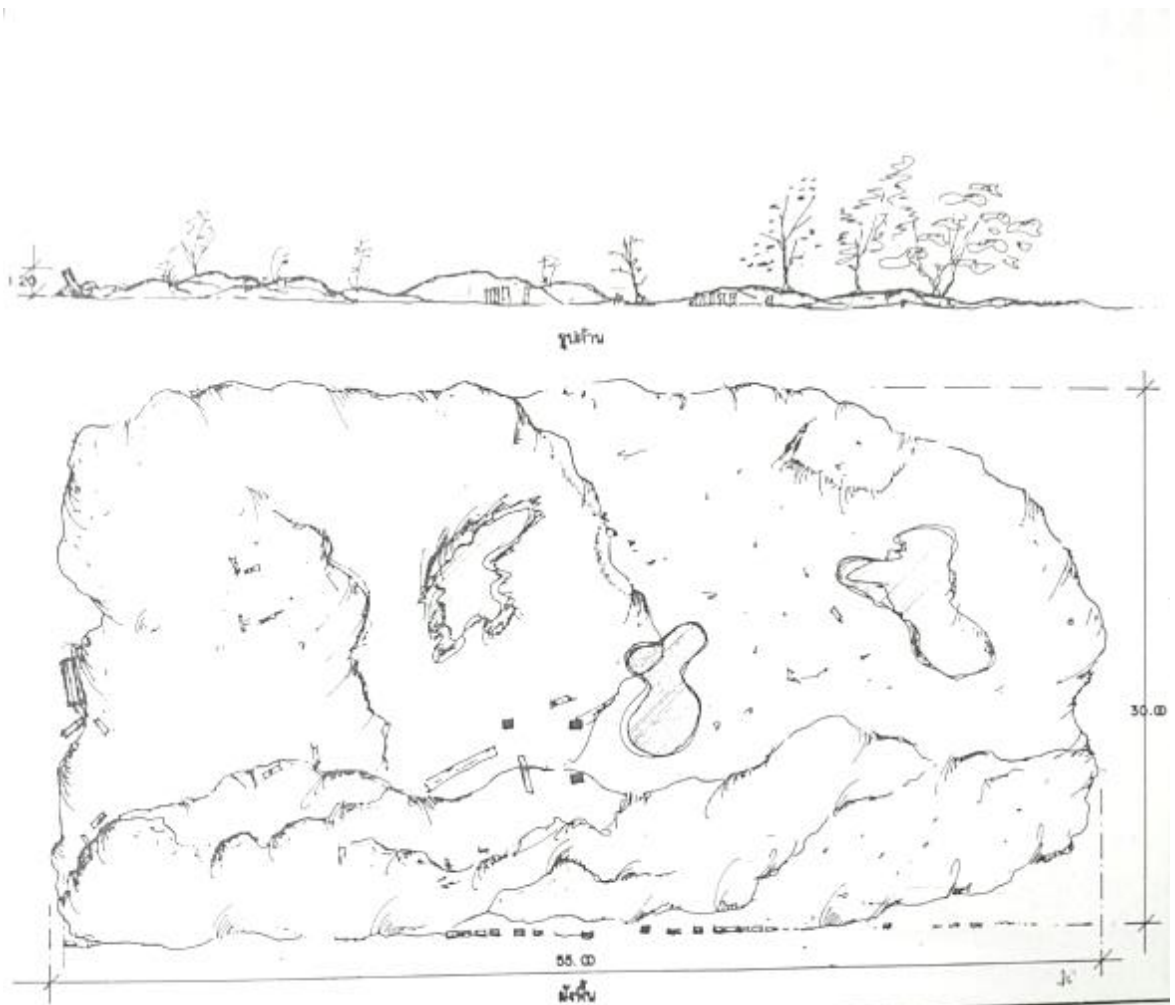


Figure 192: Plan and Elevation of Wat Den Li Kae

Source: Si Satchanalai Archaeological Site List (1992)





Figure 195: The detail of Wat Den Li Kae



Figure 196: The overall view of Wat Den Li Kae





Figure 197: Historic site of Wat Den Li Kae



Figure 198: The detail of Wat Den Li Kae

### 11) Ancient Laterite Site



Figure 199: The sign in front of the ancient laterite site



Figure 200: The detail of the ancient laterite site

The Eastern Group

### 1) Wat Khok Singkharam

Wat Khok Singkharam is located about 1 kilometre southeast of Si Satchanalai town; the major historic structures in this temple include a main Sri Lankan style chedi, a rectangular vihāra, an uposatha, and four subordinate chedis, all built from blocks of laterite.

"Phongsawadarn Nuae", or the historic chronicle of Northern Thailand, mentioned Wat Khok Singkharam as the temple located at the centre of the town where Brahmins, high-positioned Buddhist priests, high-positioned monks, 500 enlightened monks and other monks were invited to meet.

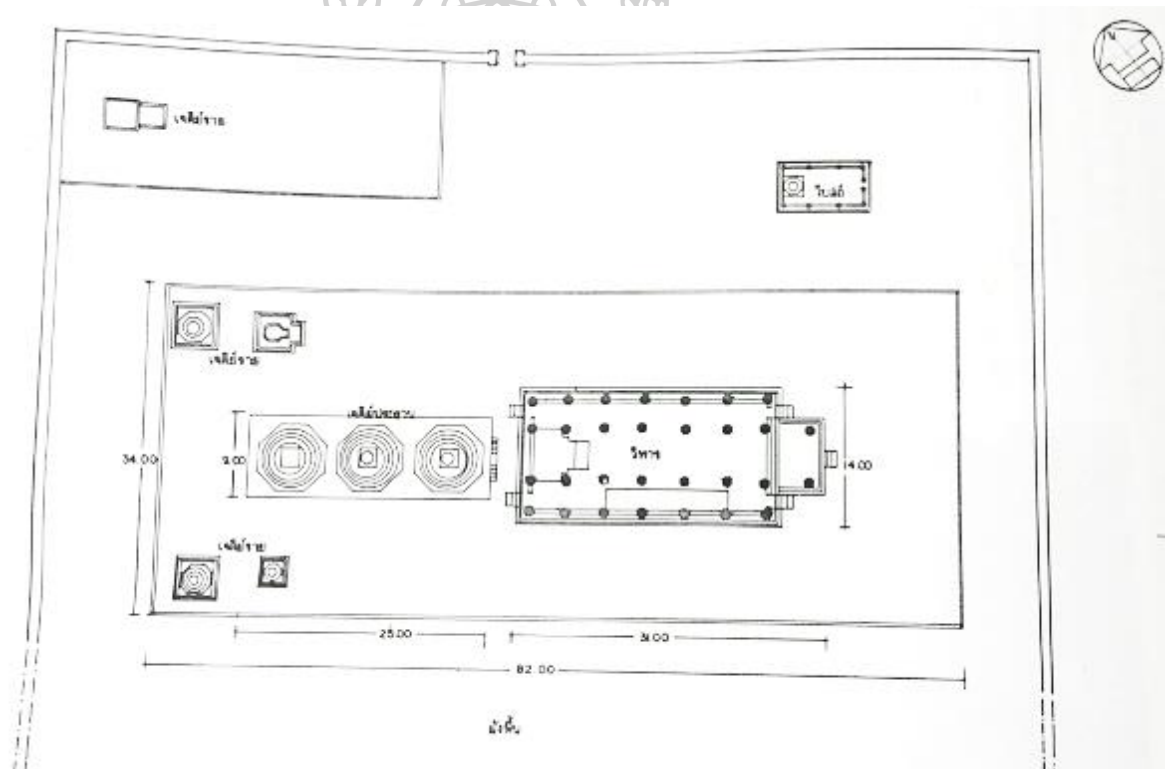


Figure 201: Plan and Elevation of Wat Khok Singkharam



Figure 202: Historic Site of Wat Khok Singkharam



Figure 203: The three laterite chedis of Wat Khok Singkharam



Figure 204: The remains of the ubosatha housing a chedi, Wat Khok Singharam

## 2) Wat Noi

This temple southeast of Si Satchanalai town has a small chedi with a lotus-shaped top. On 2 February 2450 BE, during his journey to visit the historic monuments of Si Satchanalai, King Rama VI stopped overnight near Wat Noi. This is another reason that this temple is considered important.

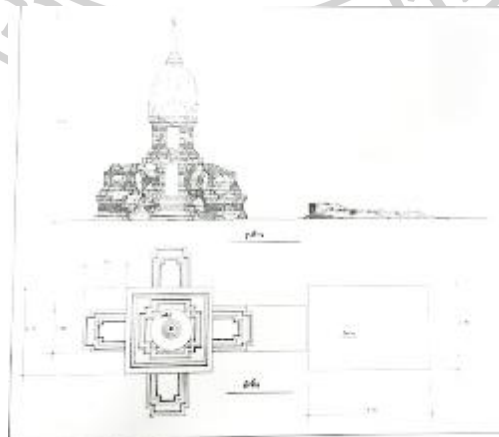


Figure 205: Plan and Elevation of Wat Noi

Source: Si Satchanalai Archaeological Site List (1992)

### 3) Wat Noi Cham Pi

This temple is located not far from Wat Chao Chan. The main historic buildings here include a Sri Lankan style chedi made of laterite and a vihara. The most interesting feature of this temple is the floor of the vihāra, which was covered with glazed ceramic tiles from the Ko Noi kilns. This was the only vihara in Si Satchanalai with a floor of glazed ceramic tiles.

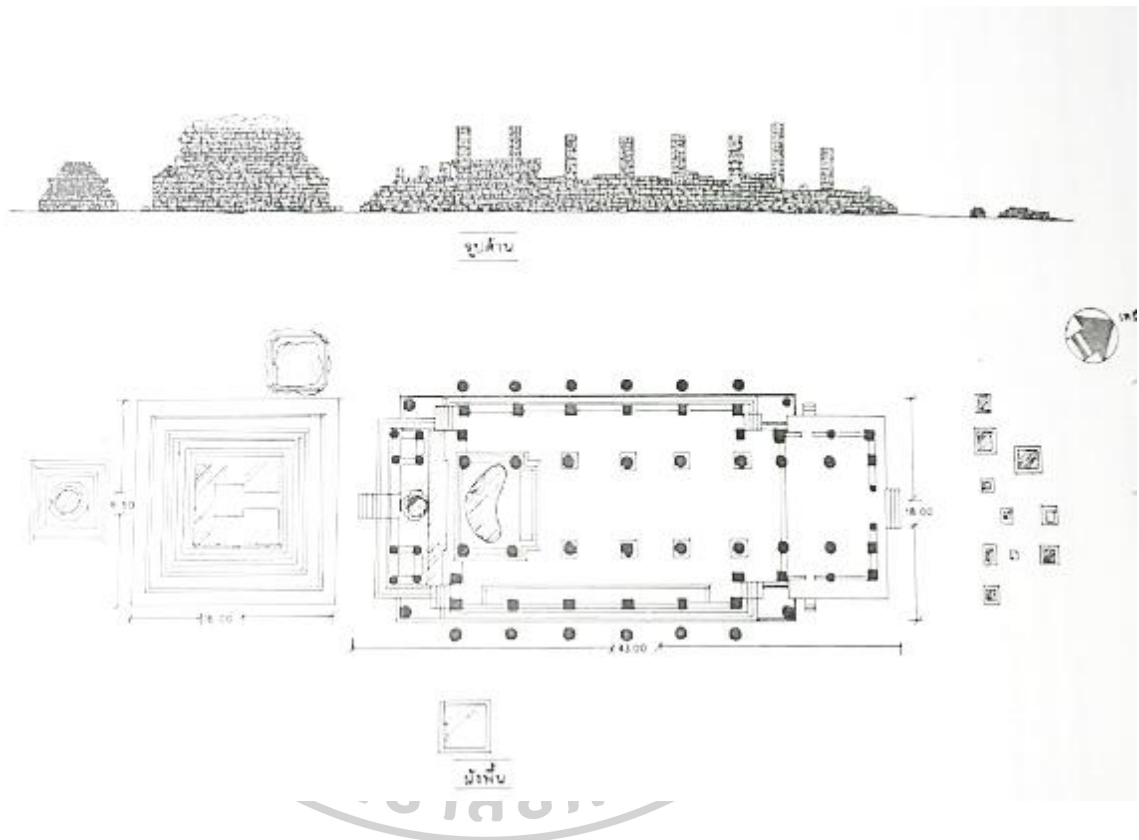


Figure 206: Plan and Elevation of Wat Noi Cham Pi

Source: Si Satchanalai Archaeological Site List (1992)

### Si Satchanalai's Sangkhalok

Since the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries BE, there is supporting evidence to show that there were three major sources of potteries and ceramics, of which Lanna, Sukhothai (including Pitsanuloke) and Ayuthaya are the locations where these earthenwares were mostly found. As for Lanna, Sukhothai and Pitsanuloke, these kingdoms were the great sites for potteries in the northern region while Ayuthaya served as the main source for the central region.

Although many types of earthenwares were discovered, “Sangkhalok” is the most outstanding pottery among all. It is always controversial since many scholars today are still debating about the period when they had first started trading these ceramics and when did they stop (Krisada, 1992: 9). These products made from kilns are called “Sangkhalok”.



Figure 207 Si Satchanalai's Sangkhalok Museum

Source: Jaroonsak Jarudhiranart (2017)

Saneur Nildej has said that the word “Sang” might derive from “Song” or “Song Dynasty” that reigned in China in BE. 1503-1822. For “Kraloke” or “khalok”, this must have changed from “Kholok” from the Chinese which means “kiln”. These two words are formed as “SongKholok” which means “The Kiln of the Song Dynasty”, where the Japanese also called these gray potteries “SonGoroku”. Nelson Spring believes that “Sawankhalok” is the real name of Si Satchanalai, later changed to Sawankhalok in the end of Trailokkkanat Period, possibly coming from a Chinese merchant unable to pronounce “Sawankhalok” correctly. The word “Sangkhalok” has become well-known such as in the Philippines, Indonesia and Europe.

## APPENDIC E



Figure 208: Si Satchanalai's Sangkhalok artifacts

Don Hein, who had been digging in Si Satchanalai's area for a long time, has explained in the article "Thai Ceramic: Righting the History" in Sawasddi Book that there was evidence found that there had been production of Sangkhalok since the 15<sup>th</sup> century BE (Krisada, 1992: 18), which is the time when Si Satchanalai adopted the Tolopoti Culture that was tied with Mon Culture and Buddhism from outside the nation. From the diggings at Si Satchanalai and Sukhothai in 2527 BE in the Thai Ceramics Archaeological Project which was a collaboration between the Fine Arts Department and Art Gallery of Adelaide University, Australia, they discovered that there were nine kilns in the same spot. When they looked at the structures, they found that there were techniques that had developed in an orderly fashion. Si Satchanalai has developed its own method of coating which was called "Mon Ware" at first. The Baan Pah Yang kiln and the Sukhothai kiln were constructed at the same time to be the source of mass production, aimed specifically to export outside the nation (Krisada: 1992, p. 17-18). Si Satchanalai was the biggest source that produced a lot of potteries in that time.



In the first period, these potteries were not of good quality, lacking in both aesthetics and quantity. It was produced just to be a product that circulate in the market flows. They might have come in a package with other goods because there is a discovery of Mon-styled green potteries in the area of Khao Tongchi Road in Tak province, Chiangmai and an archaeological site in the Philippines (Krisada: 1992, p. 239) Later, the pottery was developed well enough to be exported at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century BE. In this period, China was producing potteries to be exported into Asia and Southeast Asia, but the Ming Dynasty prohibited free trade outside the nations, resulting in the decrease of potteries. This period had given an opportunity to Thai's Sangkhalok which already had good quality especially in green color-coated potteries which were very popular at that time to be exported into foreign countries (Krisada: 1992, p. 243).



Figure 209: The first period Si Satchanalai's Sangkhalok artifacts



Figure 210: Si Satchanalai's Sangkhalok artifacts in the 20-21<sup>th</sup> centuries BE

Sangkhalok trading needed a representative merchant in the early period because Sukhothai was not a port city. Ayutthaya which is the port city became the center of trade instead. Since the 20<sup>th</sup> century BE when Ayutthaya acquired authority over Sukhothai, Ayutthaya controlled all the exports and production because the pottery industry at that time was the most wealthy income source. With Ayutthaya's readiness to trade, this resulted in the Golden Age of Sangkhalok in the 20<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>th</sup> centuries BE. (Krisada: 1992, p. 243)



Figure 211: Historic Site of Si Satchanalai's Sangkhalok artifacts

The Sangkhalok market was available in-country and also beyond in other nations. Partly, it was formed to fulfill the needs of the community and nearby areas since they needed these potteries to use in daily life, traditional beliefs, religious rituals and architectural decoration. There were two foreign market groups, first were the big markets, with traces mostly found in the graves of ancient communities such as in the Philipines, Indonesia and Borneo. The second group were small clients in a faraway land such as Japan, the Middle East, and Africa. Especially for Japan, Sangkhalok was very popular in the 21<sup>st</sup> - 22<sup>nd</sup> centuries BE. Japan also made their

own sangkhalok in forms of tea cups and tea leaves containers to use for the tea ceremony and also for snacks containers. (Krisada: 1992, p. 243-246)



Figure 212: Model of area historic site of Si Satchanalai's Sangkhalok artifacts

However, since the end of the 22<sup>nd</sup> century BE, the production of potteries was less popular since Chinese potteries were much better in quality. Meanwhile, there was chaos in the royal court and war and conflicts with the Burmese resulted in the decline of the potteries. The second fall of Ayutthaya in BE 2112 extremely affected the production of Sangkhalok until it was completely diminished when King Naresuan declared independence and sacked Si Satchanalai in 2127 BE. He herded the people to Pitsanuloke, completely deserted Si Satchanalai until it was a ghost town for hundreds of years, Sukthothai's Sangkhalok had ended (Krisada: 1992, p. 246).

Koh Noi Kiln was located on the Yom River bank, far from the main city around 4.5 kilometers. Evidence was found scattered over approximately 1.5 kilometers. There were around 200 kilns. The most important kiln group that has been discovered is the Group 61 which contained 4 kilns. Group 42 is an important source of archaeology that helps us to know the development process of the potter kilns, since 19 kilns were found inside. Koh Noi Kilns can be categorized in 2 types:

1) Takrab Kiln, a kiln that releases heat under 900 degree celcius horizontally and vertically, its shape was in circle with a diameter of 1-2 meters, separated into two compartments. The pottery slot was in the upper room, whose base was made with hole-punched clay plate designed to release the heat. The fire compartment was below. 2) Pra tun Kiln is another kind of kiln that releases heat horizontally similiar to Tu Riang kiln found at Baan Pah Yang.



Figure 213: Section of kilns in Si Satchanalai

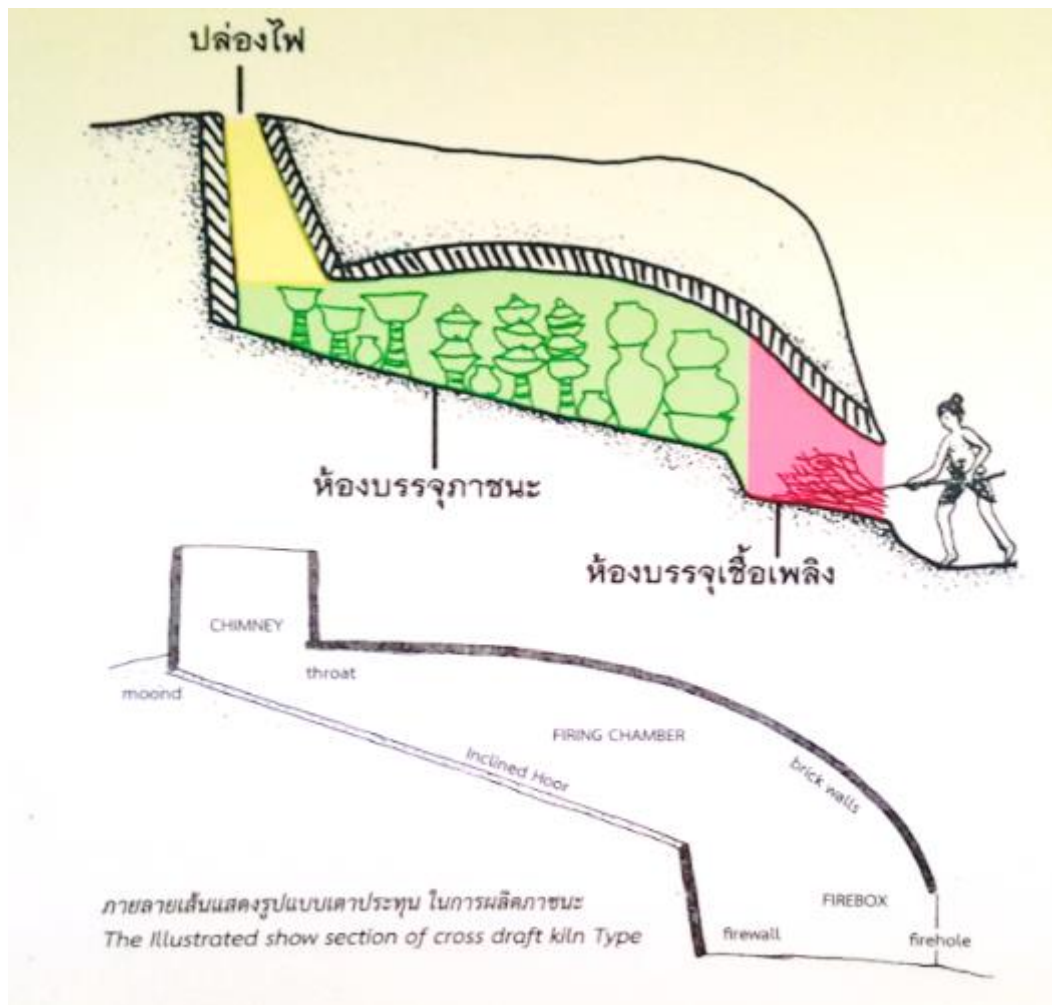


Figure 214: Section of cross draft kiln Type

Baan Pah Yang Kiln was located on the west bank of the Yom River, 500 metres away from Si Satchanalai. There are 21 kilns that were discovered, mostly found on high hills with the height of 24 metres, categorized into 2 groups, Ogre Kiln and Dolls Kiln. Ogre Kiln was the group that was closer to Si Satchanalai. There were 15 kilns established for different types of products, namely kilns for potteries, floating sculptures and architectural decoration such as the Ogres, angels, dragons and Chor Fah, according to the giant turtle's name from local legend. Dolls kiln was separated away from the Chor Fah kiln by around 600 meters. There were remains of 6 kilns which produced floating sculptures, both human and animals. The kiln structure was constructed like the roof of a ship, located on a slope of 10-30 degrees, separated in 3 parts: the fire compartment, pottery slot and the chimney part.

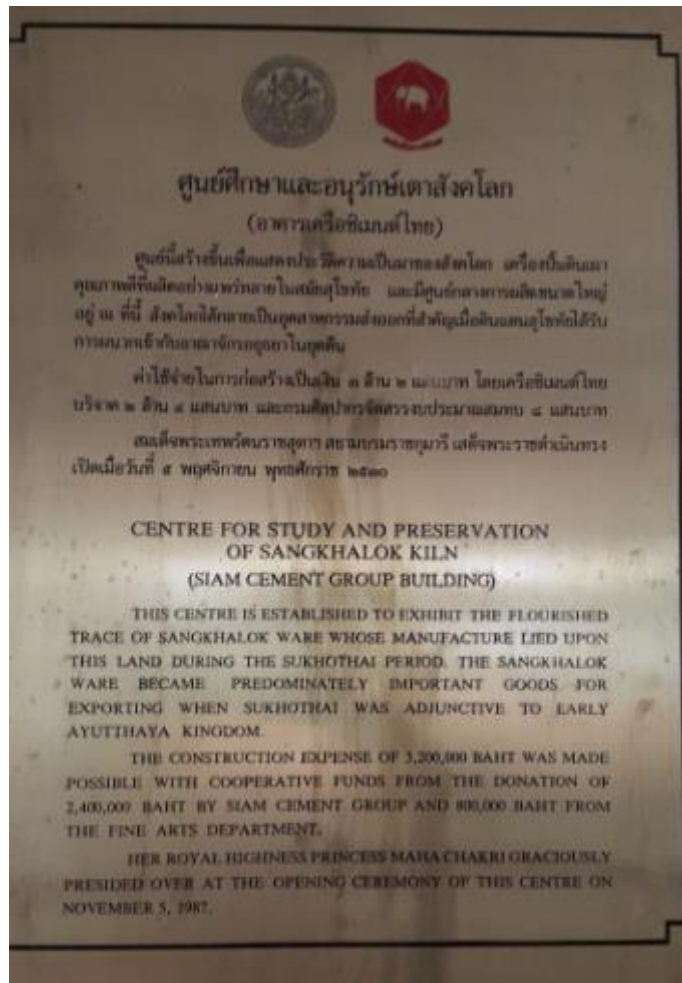
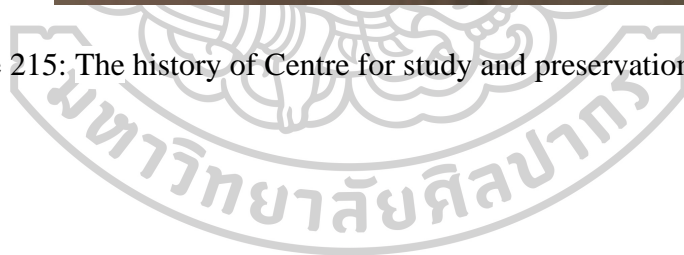


Figure 215: The history of Centre for study and preservation of Sangkhalok kiln



## VITA

**NAME** JAROONSAK JARUDHIRANART

**DATE OF BIRTH** 11 November 1973

**PLACE OF BIRTH** BANGKOK

**INSTITUTIONS ATTENDED** 1995-1996 ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION FACULTY, (B. Sc. Id. Ed.) KING MONKUT'S INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY LADKRABANG, BANGKOK

1999-2004 HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE, ARCHITECTURE AND RELATED ARTS, MASTER OF ART, SILPAKORN UNIVERSITY, BANGKOK.

2009-2017 ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT AND TOURISM, DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, SILPAKORN UNIVERSITY, BANGKOK.

**HOME ADDRESS** 67/109 Amornpan 9 vilage, Senanikom 1 Rd. Ladpraw Distric, Ladpraw Area, Bangkok. 10230

