

## A PACT BETWEEN UNCLE AND NEPHEW

### Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 5\*

by

A. B. Griswold and Prasert ๑a Nagara

The slab of stone on which Inscription XL is engraved is 7.5 cm. thick and 57 cm. wide, with a maximum height of 66 cm. It consists of three fragments, pieced together with cement. Two of them were found in 1956 by the Department of Fine Arts in the ruins of a small building in front of the Cetiya Hā Yòt ('cetiya with five spires') in the southern part of the precinct of Vāt Mabādhātu at Sukhodaya; the third was presented by Mr. Puñdharma Būnasvāsti in the same year. The stone is now in the Manuscript and Inscription Division of the National Library at Bangkok.

The largest fragment has writing on both faces. The other two are fractured in such a way that while the written surface belonging to Face I survives, that belonging to Face II is lost. (Compare Figs. 1 and 2). The upper portion of the slab has disappeared, carrying away the beginning of the text of both faces save for a few illegible bits of the line that preceded I/1. The lower portion of Face I has also disappeared, carrying away an unknown amount of text. On Face II, however, the concluding lines survive in part.

Face I (Fig. 1) has been edited by Mahā Chām Dòṅgāṃvarṇa at *Prajum Śīlācārīk*, III, p. 43. It contains 29 lines of Siamese, written in Sukhodaya characters. A few letters at the beginning and the end of most lines are broken off or obliterated. Apart from that, lines 1 to 3 are virtually intact. Approximately the first half of each of the other lines survives, plus fragments of the remainder of lines 7 to 14, amounting to about 30 per cent in line 7, decreasing to about 15 per cent in line 24.

Face II (Fig. 2), edited by Mr. Prasāra Puñpragòṅ, is published in *Śīlpākara*, XI/3, 106 ff., with annotations by Prasert ๑a Nagara.

\* No. 1 was published in JSS LVI ii July 1968 and nos. 2, 3 and 4 in JSS LVII i January 1969.

It has 25 lines of Siamese in the same script as Face I, in similar handwriting. Then follow three lines of mixed Sanskrit and Pali in Khmer characters (of which Mahā Sēn Manavidūra gives a Siamese translation, loc. cit., p. 109). The beginning of each line of Face II is lost, amounting to about 20 per cent in the first few lines, and as much as 40 per cent in lines 11 to 22. In addition several letters at the end of lines 27 and 28 have disappeared.

As the passage at I/12-27 was evidently almost identical to that at II/1-13, the surviving portions of each can be used to restore the losses of the other. In our translation we indicate such repairs by brackets plus an asterisk. Brackets without the asterisk, as usual, indicate conjectural reconstructions based on the context. Lacunae which we are unable to reconstruct are indicated by dots, the number of which corresponds to the estimated number of lost or illegible letters in the text.

The inscription is dated on Friday, the full-moon day of Vaiśākha (April-May), in a year whose designation has disappeared (II/23 f.). The orthography and style of writing suggest the second half of the 14th century or later. The 𑄖𑄦𑄢 appears several times, which is unusual among the Sukhodayan inscriptions.

The purpose of the text is to record a solemn agreement between two kings (brañā), an uncle and a nephew, both of whom speak in the first person (𑄖𑄦). The lost upper portion of Face I perhaps contained no more than an exordium, for the real substance of the uncle's statement, which occupies the whole surviving portion of Face I, appears to begin at I/1. In it he refers to the nephew as 'Samtec Cau Brañā.' The nephew's statement, the beginning of which is lost, occupies most of Face II. In it he calls himself 𑄖𑄦𑄢, 'the nephew', and refers to the other king as 𑄖𑄦𑄢𑄦𑄢, 'my uncle the Brañā', or, to be more precise, 'my mother's younger brother the Brañā.'

The uncle makes four specific pledges (I/1-9) :

(1) Not to harm the nephew's officials if the nephew causes them to do something which was doubtless set forth in the lacuna that follows (query : to come to the uncle's Court ?);

(2) To refrain from doing something (lacuna) in case ministers or kings of foreign countries come to his Court (query: to refrain from making any disclosures to them that might be harmful to the Saṃtec Cau Brañā ?);

(3) To refrain from doing something else (lacuna);

(4) To give the nephew free access at all times to come and salute the Saṃtec Braḥ Mahādbātu and the relics of Mahādharmarājādhirājāpabitra.

He then asserts his firm resolve to remain true to his oath (I/9-11); calls down the usual supernatural sanctions on his own head in case he should prove false (I/11-26); and pronounces the wish that if he remains faithful he will reign for a long time, and finally attain nirvāṇa. This appears to be the conclusion of his statement.

It seems likely that the nephew's statement began in the lost lower portion of Face I and continued in the lost upper portion of Face II, for at II/1 he has already got to the same point in the supernatural sanctions that the uncle reached at I/12. As his statement follows the same general pattern as his uncle's, the specific pledges he is making to him must have been set forth in the lost lower portion of Face I, so we can do no more than guess at their contents. At II/1-12 the sanctions continue in nearly the same words as the uncle used at I/12-26. At II/12-13 the nephew makes the same wish as the uncle did at I/26-27, that if he remains faithful he will reign for a long time.

At II/13-18 the text continues without a break, and the nephew is evidently still speaking; but this part of his statement consists of matter which is lacking in the uncle's: a wish that the uncle and the nephew shall be bound together by friendship; a wish that there shall never be any anger or hostility between them; a mutilated passage in which, as well as we can make out, the nephew refers to an earlier pact he had made with 'the grandfather Brañā', saying that he is now pledging the same thing to the uncle; and so on.

From II/19 on the two kings seem to be speaking jointly, or perhaps a third person is speaking on behalf of both. At II/19-25 comes a declaration that the mahāsubarṇapatra, i.e. the document

containing the oath, has been duly executed.<sup>1</sup> At II/21-25 the exact moment is given at which the inscription recording it is to be erected at the Bra Sr Ratanamahdhtu Cau.

The last three lines, in mixed Sanskrit and Pali, appear to be a magic formula intended to make the oath endure forever.

Obviously the 'Bra Sr Ratanamahdhtu' where the inscription is to be erected is Vt Mahdhtu at Sukhodaya, where it was actually discovered. The 'Satec Bra Mahdhtu', which the nephew will be allowed to salute whenever he wishes, is its principal monument, the magico-religious center of the kingdom. The expression also refers to the Buddha relics it contained.<sup>2</sup> 'Mahdharmarjdhirjpabitra', whose relics the nephew will be permitted to salute at all times, is Mahdharmarj I of Sukhodaya, i.e. idaiya (*L Tai*), who came to the throne in 1347 and died some time between 1368 and 1374.<sup>3</sup> The remains of many funerary monuments can still be seen in the precinct of Vt Mahdhtu, and his relics were doubtless enshrined in one of them.

Who are the uncle and the nephew in our inscription? The uncle is necessarily a king of Sukhodaya, since no one else could guarantee the nephew access to the Mahdhtu; and he is necessarily one of idaiya's successors, since the reference to the relics shows that idaiya is already dead. The nephew, judging from his title Satec Cau Bra, is a king of Ayudhya.

idaiya had only three successors—Mahdharmarj II, III and IV. His immediate successor, Mahdharmarj II, who reigned from idaiya's death until c. 1398, was an independent monarch during part of his career, and a vassal of Ayudhya during part of it. The same is true of Mahdharmarj III, who reigned from c. 1398 to 1419. Mahdharmarj IV (r. 1419-38), was a vassal of Ayudhya throughout

1) See below, note 30.

2) Two of them had been brought from Ceylon around 1343; see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, pp. 17-20; for the magico-religious importance of the monument, see *ibid.*, pp. 20-22, 33-34.

3) For idaiya's dates, see *ibid.*, pp. 29, 30, 39, 40 and note 108 (observe that the date 1357, *ibid.*, p. 29, line 36, is a misprint for 1347); cf. Prasert a Nagara in SSR, June 1966, p. 50.

his reign, and after his death the kingdom of Sukhodaya was abolished.<sup>4</sup> These facts may help us to identify the uncle in the inscription.

If the uncle were the nephew's vassal, we should expect him to swear allegiance to him unilaterally, without receiving any reciprocal undertaking at all.<sup>5</sup> But both parties to Inscription XL swear oaths, and both invoke sanctions of the sort invoked in the treaty of 1393 between Sukhodaya and Nān, which has every appearance of being a pact between two sovereign states.<sup>6</sup> Though the specific pledges made by the nephew in Inscription XL are lost, it may be suspected that they were of the same character as the uncle's; even if they were not, they must have constituted a real *quid pro quo*, for they are backed up by no less solemn sanctions than the uncle's. On these grounds alone we should probably be justified in concluding that both parties to the pact are sovereign monarchs; and there is evidence in the sanctions which seems to prove it. Each party pronounces the wish that, in case he should prove false, 'the upholders of pure righteousness' (i.e. the monks), will accept no alms from him—a grave penalty, as it would exclude him from an important means of making merit, and so lessen his chances of happiness in future

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4) For the history of Sukhodaya in the reigns of Mahādharmarājā II, III and IV, see Griswold and Prasert *na Nagara*, Epigraphic and Historical Studies, Numbers 1 to 4 (No. 1 : USS LVI/2; Nos. 2-4 : JSS LVII/1); cf. Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, pp. 47-55; Griswold and Prasert *na Nagara*, *On Kingship and Society at Sukhodaya*, to appear in Felicitation Volume for Professor Lauriston Sharp, Ithaca, 1969.

5) Cf. the oaths of allegiance in 12th-century Cambodia, and the oaths that accompanied the drinking of the water of allegiance in Siam in the late Ayudhyā and early Bangkok periods (Coedès, *Le serment des fonctionnaires de Śūryavarman I*, BEFEO XIII/6, p. 11 f.; Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, London, 1931, p. 194 f.). These oaths were unilateral; the first monarch to give a reciprocal pledge to the people was Rāma IV (see Frankfurter, *King Mongkut*, JSS I/2, p. 204). An order of appointment ('sanad') issued by a suzerain to a vassal was presumably unilateral in the other direction, with the vassal taking no part in it; see Sao Saimong Mangrai, *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, Ithaca, 1965, Appendix VII, pp. xxxi ff.

6) See Griswold and Prasert *na Nagara*, Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 3, JSS LVII/1, pp. 57 ff.

births. 'The upholders of pure righteousness,' exclaims the uncle, 'whether living in my land, or in the land of the Cau Braṇṇā, or in any other land, may they not accept anything from my hand, may they not accept any alms from me at all!' (I/23-24), while the nephew exclaims the same thing, but with the substitution: 'whether living in my land, or in my uncle's land, or in any other land' (II/10-11). These expressions, which are obviously intended to make the coverage as broad as possible, would be inappropriate if the uncle were the nephew's vassal.

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These observations show that the uncle is either Mahādharmarājā II or III, and that the pact dates from one of the times that Sukhodaya was an independent kingdom.

Let us review the kingdom's relations with Ayudhya.

Īdaiya was on very friendly terms with the founder of Ayudhya, Rāmādhīpati I. Interest as well as inclination drew them together. Īdaiya needed peace in order to rebuild the political and economic fortunes of Sukhodaya after the losses sustained in his father's reign; Rāmādhīpati, whose grand design was to conquer Cambodia, needed Sukhodaya's benevolent neutrality in order to launch his campaigns in that direction without exposing his northern flank. They must have had an understanding to respect each other's frontiers; they may have had a formal alliance; and they certainly wanted their descendants to carry on the policy of friendship between the two kingdoms. Rāmādhīpati died in 1369, and was succeeded by his son Rāmeśvara, the Prince of Labpurī. Rāmeśvara was no less amicably disposed toward Sukhodaya than his father; but he was deposed the following year by Paramarājā, the Prince of Subarṇapurī, who sent him back to his former post at Labpurī and seized the throne for himself.

Paramarājā, believing that Sukhodaya's independence was an obstacle to Ayudhya's greatness, quickly undertook a series of armed

attacks against the kingdom in the hope of reducing it to vassalage.<sup>7</sup> As he possessed the military machine with which Rāmādhipati had conquered Cambodia, it ought to have been easy for him to overwhelm Sukhodaya; but he was not a very capable general. Līdaiya's successor Mahādharmarājā II managed to maintain his independence until 1378, when Paramarājā had the good fortune to take him prisoner at Kāmbēñ Bejra, made him swear an oath of allegiance, and sent him back to Sukhodaya to rule the kingdom as his vassal. Mahādharmarājā II, no matter how unwillingly, seems to have remained loyal to his oath; but the forces of freedom gradually gathered strength; and Paramarājā died ten years later without having been able to pacify the kingdom. His costly but inconclusive campaigns, in contrast to Rāmādhipati's successes, may have discredited the house of Subarṇapurī in Ayudhyan eyes: at any rate, a few days after his death, the ex-king Rāmeśvara regained the throne by a *coup d'état* (second reign: 1388-95).

Rāmeśvara quickly reverted to the policy of friendship with Sukhodaya. His father would have wished it; in addition, he and Mahādharmarājā needed each other's good will, for the house of Subarṇapurī was an equal menace to both. We have guessed elsewhere that Mahādharmarājā II, whose oath of allegiance expired with Paramarājā's death, swore allegiance to Rāmeśvara, in exchange for which he received virtual independence from 1390 on.<sup>8</sup> Now we are doubtful: it is equally possible that Rāmeśvara, preferring an easy alliance to an uneasy suzerainty, recognized Mahādharmarājā's complete independence in 1390, *de jure* as well as *de facto*.<sup>9</sup> But trouble was on the way.

7) See Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art*, 31 f.; O.W. Wolter, *A Western Teacher and the History of Early Ayudhya*, SSR, June 1966, p.; see also Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara, *On Kingship and Society at Sukhodaya*, to appear in Felicitation Volume for Professor Lauriston Sharp, Ithaca, 1969.

8) Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara, *Epigraphic and Historical Studies*, No. 1, JSS LVI/2, p. 216; No. 2, JSS LVII/1, p. 66.

9) In 1393 Mahādharmarājā II's son Prince Sai Līdaiya, acting on his father's behalf, concluded a treaty with Nān which appears to be a pact between two sovereign states. See our *Epigraphic and Historical Studies*, No. 3, JSS LVII/1, pp. 57 ff. In that article we argued that Mahādharmarājā II was at

Rāmeśvara's son and successor Rāmarāja (r. 1395-1409), whatever his personal inclinations may have been, soon showed that Sukhodaya could not count on his friendship. It seems likely that the Subarnapurī faction compelled or persuaded him to do some things he would not have done if left to his own devices. Somehow or other—whether by force of arms, diplomatic pressure, or a trick—he or his Subarnapurī advisors succeeded in getting Mahādharṃarāja II to capitulate; for in 1397 Rāmarāja made a state visit to Sukhodaya, and formally proclaimed himself suzerain over the kingdom on Thursday the full-moon day of Vaiśākha (April 12 in the Julian calendar).<sup>10</sup> Mahādharṃarāja II died less than two years later.

His son and successor Mahādharṃarāja III (Sai Līdaiya) invaded Ayudhyan territory at the head of an army in 1400, took possession of the province of Nagara Svarga, and declared himself independent.<sup>11</sup> Rāmarāja's humiliation at the hands of a former vassal state must have strengthened the Subarnapurī faction and enabled them to increase their pressure on him. Finally in 1409 he tried to regain his freedom of action by dismissing his chief minister, who was in league with the house of Subarnapurī; but it was too late. The minister organized a *coup d'état* which deposed Rāmarāja and placed Prince Indarājā of Subarnapurī on the throne in his stead. Indarājā was faithful to the traditional policy of his house. At an unknown date between 1409 and 1412, he reduced Mahādharṃarāja III to vassalage.<sup>12</sup> That was the end of Sukhodaya as an independent kingdom.

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The uncle in Inscription XL might therefore be Mahādharṃarāja II, acting as an independent monarch either before 1378 or else between

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least nominally a vassal of Rāmeśvara, and that he therefore stepped aside temporarily and allowed his son Sai Līdaiya to make the treaty with Nān on his behalf. But we can easily imagine other reasons why he might have done so.

10) See our Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 4, JSS LVII/1, pp. 109 ff.

11) See our Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 1, JSS LVI/2, p. 221.

12) See our Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 1, JSS LVI/2, p. 221.



1390 and 1397; or he might be Mahādharṃarājā III, who was independent from 1400 to some time between 1409 and 1412. As far as we can see, there are no other possibilities.

Whichever he was, the Saṃtec Cau Brañā calls him 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀮, 'my mother's younger brother.' While several terms denoting family relationships are loosely used in the Sukhodayan inscriptions, this one is so specific that the speaker seems unlikely to have chosen it unless his mother, or, at the very least, his foster-mother, really was an elder sister of the King of Sukhodaya with whom he is making the pact, and hence either a daughter or a granddaughter of Līdaiya.

We can therefore be pretty sure that the Saṃtec Cau Brañā is neither Paramarājā nor Indarājā, both of them usurpers from Subarṇapurī, who are very unlikely to have been related to Līdaiya in any way.<sup>13</sup> That means the inscription was composed some time between Paramarājā's death in 1388 and Indarājā's accession in 1409, in other words either during Rāmeśvara's second reign (1388-95) or in Rāmarāja's reign (1395-1409). Which is more likely?

Intermarriage between the houses of Rāmādhipati and Sukhodaya must have been fairly frequent, though we have no real information on the subject. Rāmeśvara's own mother, it is generally believed, was Rāmādhipati's chief queen, the former Princess of Subarṇapurī (Paramarājā's sister); but we know almost nothing about that lady; she may have died young and been replaced by a daughter of Rāmādhipati's friend Līdaiya, and the latter lady may have become Rāmeśvara's foster-mother. On the other hand it is possible, and even probable, that Rāmeśvara himself married a daughter or granddaughter of Līdaiya, and that Rāmarāja was an offspring of the marriage.

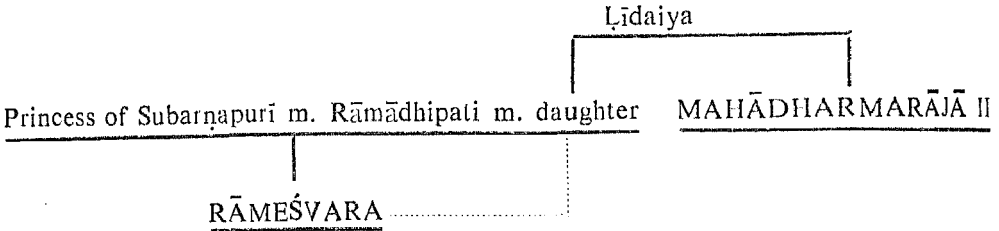
As two different identifications are possible for each of the parties to the pact in Inscription XL, three possible combinations must be considered.

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13) In addition, Paramarājā, who must have been roughly the same age as Līdaiya, could not possibly have had a daughter of Līdaiya as his mother or foster-mother.

## 1

If they are Mahādharmarājā II and Rāmeśvara, the genealogy would be as follows (the dotted line representing a foster-relationship):



There is much to be said in favor of this identification. At II/13-14 the Saṃtec Cau Brañā expresses the wish that he and his uncle shall be bound together by friendship, avoiding all anger and hostility; then he continues: 'In my oath to the grandfather Brañā, I spoke sincerely.' The most natural interpretation of the expression  $\text{ᦺᦑᦟᦺᦑᦺᦑᦺ}$ , which we have translated as 'the grandfather Brañā' in order not to prejudice the case, would be 'my grandfather the Brañā'. In modern Siamese, the term  $\text{ᦺᦑᦟᦺᦑᦺ}$  (here written  $\text{ᦺᦑᦟᦺᦑᦺ}$ ) means 'paternal grandfather', but it is more loosely used in the Sukhodayan inscriptions.<sup>14</sup> In the present context it could easily mean 'my foster-mother's father', i.e. Līdaiya. As Līdaiya died in 1374 at the latest, the only time that Rāmeśvara could have made a pact with him was during his own brief reign, 1369-70, for it stands to reason that he would not have done so before coming to the throne, or after being deposed. Other than the retrospective allusion at II/14-15, we have no knowledge of such a pact; but (if we accept Jinakālamāli's statement that Līdaiya outlived Rāmādhīpati, and not the view of some scholars that he died in 1368<sup>15</sup>) there is no reason to doubt that there was one. We may guess that it was intended to perpetuate the good relations between Sukhodaya and Ayudhyā that had prevailed in Rāmādhīpati's time, and to make sure that Rāmādhīpati's death would not invite aggressive designs on either side; indeed it may have been an even closer alliance.

14) Sometimes it means any paternal ancestor (Inscr. XLV, I/3-10); sometimes it means 'maternal great-uncle' (Inscr. XLV, I/23, et passim; Inscr. LXIV, I/3 et passim); etc.

15) See above, note 3.

Paramarājā's usurpation in 1370 made this pact a dead letter; his aggressions forced Sukhodaya into a long war; and even Mahādharṃarājā II's capitulation in 1378 did not put an end to the bloodshed (p. 95). But Mahādharṃarājā II was released from his oath of allegiance by Paramarājā's death in 1388, and Rāmeśvara's accession in the same year would raise anew the whole question of Sukhodaya's relations with Ayudhyā.

The purpose of Inscription XL may be to define these relations precisely. If so, we can see the significance of the passage at II/14-16, in which the Saṃtec Cau Brañā, after alluding to his sincerity in taking his oath to the grandfather Brañā, adds: 'that thing I also pledge as stated in this document' (i.e. the pact recorded in Inscription XL). The passage would mean that Rāmeśvara is now making exactly the same pledge to Mahādharṃarājā II as he had made long ago to Ḍidaiya, including a guarantee to respect his sovereignty. In the succeeding passage (II/16-17), though it is too much mutilated to be clear, he may be asking his uncle to accept his assurance of good faith, and excusing himself for having been prevented by Paramarājā's usurpation from carrying out his pledge to Ḍidaiya. Mahādharṃarājā II, for his part, gives Rāmeśvara the four specific pledges cited above (p. 90), and a general pledge of love and friendship (I/10-11). The allusion to the worship of Ḍidaiya's relics would be a kind of psychological reminder that the miseries inflicted on Sukhodaya by Paramarājā are now at an end, and the happy conditions that prevailed in the time of Rāmādhipati and Ḍidaiya are to be restored.

There seems to be an echo of the same idea in the Asokārāma Inscription, composed in 1399 after Mahādharṃarājā II's death.<sup>16</sup> The Pali face, composed on behalf of his widow by her younger brother, contains a short eulogy of the deceased monarch. If we interpret this mutilated passage correctly, it alludes to his marriage,

16) See our Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 2, JSS LVII/1, pp. 49-52.

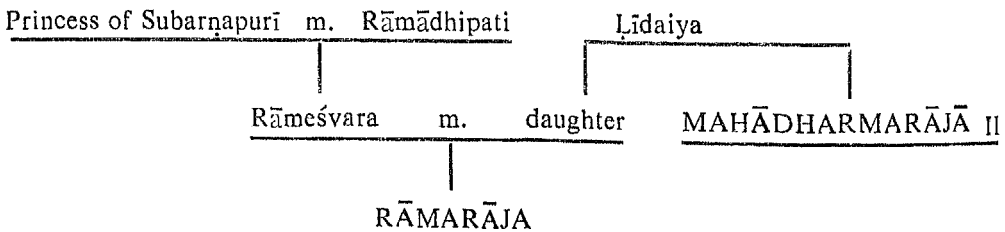
at the age of 16, in the year 1368; then it skips straight to the time when he was 38, i.e. in 1390. At that time, we are told, 'his kingdom was broad and free from danger'; the limits of his kingdom are then given; and the eulogy concludes: 'having established the boundaries of his kingdom, he who gave joy to all creatures [was honored] both by gods and by men.' He is referred to as Mahādhammarājādhirāja, which seems to imply a sovereign monarch with vassals of his own; there is no hint that he himself was anybody's vassal in 1390; and the years when he was a vassal of Paramarājā are passed over in discreet silence.

There is nothing surprising in the allusion to his marriage at the age of 16; that was one of the events that would be uppermost in his widow's mind. But it is less clear why the author chooses the year 1390 to describe the happy condition of the kingdom and to specify its limits. Perhaps the best explanation is that that was the year when he became independent *de jure*.

If we construe Inscription XL as recording the formal instrument by which Rāmeśvara recognized Mahādhammarājā II's independence in 1390, it is an historical document of considerable importance. But the lacunae in the uncle's specific pledges, and the total of loss the nephew's, leave us in doubt.

## 2

Here is the genealogy if the two parties are Mahādhammarājā II and Rāmarāja:



The main difficulty is the allusion at II/14-15 to the earlier pact the Samtec Cau Brañā made with 'the grandfather Brañā' for it is hard to see how Rāmarāja could have made a pact with his grandfather Līdaiya, who had died more than twenty years before Rāmarāja's accession: the only explanation that occurs to us is that he could have made it on behalf of his father Rāmeśvara in 1369-70, much as Prince Sai Līdaiya made the pact with Nān on his father's behalf in 1393 (see above, note 9).

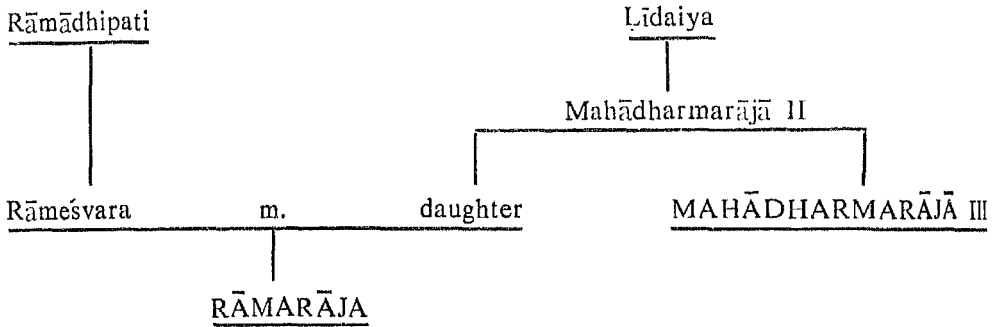
For the rest, we could build up a plausible story. Inscription XL would date from some time after Rāmarāja's accession in 1395 and his formal assertion of suzerainty over Sukhodaya in 1397, since the uncle is still a sovereign monarch. As both Inscription XL and the assertion of suzerainty are dated on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, the first in an unknown year when the day fell on a Friday, the second in 1397 when it fell on a Thursday, we might well suspect that the first was in 1396.<sup>17</sup> We might guess that in 1396 Rāmarāja—or rather the members of the Subarṇapurī faction who controlled him—did not yet feel strong enough to extort a full oath of allegiance from Mahādharmarāja II after his six years of independence, and instead extorted certain rights which would make it easier the next year. If Rāmarāja was a grandson of Līdaiya, it would be perfectly natural for him to wish to salute his relics—or, under pressure from the Subarṇapurī faction, to use such a wish as a pretext to gain access to Sukhodaya whenever he liked, without letting his uncle suspect a plot against his independence.

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17) If CS 758 (corresponding mainly to A.D. 1396) a year with an intercalary month, the full-moon day of Vaiśākha would indeed fall on a Friday in 1396. But it is doubtful whether the date in the lacuna at II/23 could have been 758 after all. CS 758 was a year of the rat (๔๓๘), whereas the fragmentary letter at the end of the lacuna appears to have been either ๗, ๗ or ๗; and if that is right, the date must have been in a year of the tiger (๔๓๗), the horse (๔๓๖), the goat (๔๓๕), or the boar (๔๓๔).

## 3

If Mahādharmarājā III and Rāmarāja are the parties to the pact, we must suppose them to be related as follows:



Mahādharmarājā II was born in 1352; and if we allow 14 years as the minimum age at which a boy or girl was likely to become a parent, he would not have a grandson before 1380. Rāmarāja would therefore be no more than 15 years old at the time of his accession, and perhaps a good deal less. That, indeed, might account for the Subarnapurī faction's ability to manipulate him.

The 'grandfather Brañā' in the allusion to an earlier pact (II/14-15) would be Rāmarāja's grandfather Mahādharmarājā II.<sup>18</sup> It is likely enough that Rāmeśvara expressed the wish before he died that Rāmarāja should make just such a pact; it is possible that, for a year or two after his accession, Rāmarāja still had enough freedom of action to do so; and it is possible that a lad of 15 or 16 would take the initiative. It is more likely that he was a good deal younger; but in the first two years of his reign he would probably be surrounded by advisors his father had appointed, or be under the guardianship of a regent named by his father. By 1397, however, it seems probable

18) Theoretically the 'grandfather Brañā' might be Mahādharmarājā III's grandfather Līdaiya (in Inscription IX, for example, which dates from 1406, Līdaiya is called 'Mahādharmarājā the grandfather' (มหาธรรมราชา ๗ บ) at I/11, I/15, I/29-30, and II/3, to distinguish him from the reigning monarch, Mahādharmarājā III, who is called 'Mahādharmarājādhirāja the grandson' (มหาธรรมราชาธิราชลูกหลาน), but if Rāmarāja was not born before 1380 he could obviously never have sworn an oath to Līdaiya.

that the Subarnapurī party had somehow or other managed to replace Rāmeśvara's appointees with persons of their own choosing, and so to engineer the assertion of suzerainty over Sukhodaya in 1397.

This reconstruction of events has its weaknesses; but if it is right, the pact in Inscription XL would date from some years after Mahādharṃarājā III's declaration of independence in 1400. By that time Rāmarāja may have felt the need of his uncle's friendship, for his own situation was growing more and more precarious as the Subarnapurī party increased their pressure on him. It would be natural for him to want to salute his grandfather's relics, and to excuse himself to his uncle for not having been able to carry out the earlier pact with his grandfather (II/15-17): the 'ministers and retainers' in the mutilated passage at II/18 might be the advisors the Subarnapurī party imposed on him. But would the Subarnapurī party have allowed him out of their clutches long enough for him to make the pact recorded in Inscription XL? An alternative explanation is that they were forcing him to play a trick on his uncle: it may have been the prelude to the unknown events that extinguished Mahādharṃarājā III's independence some time between 1409 and 1412.

### Conclusion

It is difficult to choose between the three alternatives we have suggested. On the whole the first seems the most likely; but the lacunae and obscurities in the inscription make it impossible to be certain. In the present state of our knowledge, it would be more prudent to avoid trying to reach a definitive choice.

## Face I

๑. .... พรญาจุงรุต้วยนานปรมาณสองเดือนสามเดือนกคือ .....
๒. กตึบมีสังครามกตึแลส้เตจเจ้าพรญาไหมนตริกวีราชผู้ใหญ่มุราม  
.....
๓. ... ต้วยบริพารเขากตึเรามิกทำให้เปนอนตรายอนิง..... มนตริ....  
.....
๔. .... พรญาบอรเทศมาส้านักเรากตึเรามิ (กทำ).....
๕. คนส้เตจเจ้าพรญาไคอนิงเพลาเมื่อไคเตส้เตจ(จ).....
๖. ....หรรสาภิमत ตว้ยกนัคตึเรามิอจก(ทำ).....
๗. ... เตส้เตจเจ้าพรญาอนิงเพลาเมื่อไคส้เตจ(เจ้าพร) ญาจกัใครใจ  
มาไหว้ย ส้เต
๘. จพ(ระ) มหาธาตุกตึธาตุมหารัชมราชธาธิราชบพิต (รกตึเรามิ)  
มิอจกทำสร้พอบทรพา
๙. นตรายเคเจ้าพรญาอัยค่านาสตัยปรีช(ญา).....(ม)าตราทัง  
หลายทงักลาวนี้
๑๐. เตส้เตจเจ้าพรญาใสใจรกชักัไมตรีโดยปร.....(ฐา)ปหน้าให้หมัน  
คงตรงอญ
๑๑. เลวจลาจลเตเราหากทางยงกบงวาเจ้า.....เหตุเราญินปากผู้วาคำ
๑๒. ผู้รายญายใจจากหลายบริคณสนธิสตัย.....อยอญายกทำสร้พโทสา
๑๓. นตรายอนห์มายในพระสตัยปรีชญา.....พระสตัยทงหลายทงัก
๑๔. ลาวมานี้เรากัให้เตส้เตจเจ้าพรญาไว.....ตัไทรบพิตรเปนเจ้าเ
๑๕. เคแห่งาพระมหาสวามีศรีสังฆราชพระ.....คี่อิกขุ่ส่งขคามวาสือ



๑๖. เรณูวาศีทั้งหลายเป็นทิพพิชฌานแ ..... (จ)งใจชี้อีเอาสตัยปร  
ติชฌา
๑๗. ในพระมหาสุพรรณบตรีนี้แต่เราเอาไป(มตรี).....โสภายาย  
นอกในใจใสจ
๑๘. งกทำสรรพโทษคงกล่าวแน่ใสจริง..... (สรรพ) โทษานทราย  
ในตนยล
๑๙. ปรัตย์กัษทนัจาญาใดเป็นท้าวเปน(พญา) .....เมื่อน้ำพาย  
เมื่อไปใน
๒๐. บอโลกกดี หนทางทุคตือนั้นเปนตน.....แกระอน้ำวบบ  
ทั้งห้
๒๑. ลายอนันทานหมายบิงทนเปนตนวบบัญ (จานนตริก) ..... (หน)  
กัหันางมีแกระอนิ
๒๒. งโสคหนทางสารุสตับุรุษทั้งหลาย....(ไป)พบไปเหนเปนอนั  
.....
๒๓. มิตมนทอนธการแกระอนิงโสคแ.....(ปริ)สุทธสีล  
อนัญจ (ธ)
๒๔. อรमानในปรเทศเรากดี ปรเทศเจ้าพญา.....(ก)  
บัหตรแ
๒๕. เราญาให้เอาบิณฑบาตรแกระเราเลยหิน...ายก.....
๒๖. ทาวพญาอนันมีในโลกนี้แลที่แ.....
๒๗. เราสัทธิทรชมราชด้วยอำนาจกุสสตัย.....
๒๘. แกระบรปกะทั้งหลายในอสตทิสนี้.....
๒๙. .... ธาตุเข้ายังบัทโมกะ.....

## Face II

๑. ....(ญาใจจากหลายบริคนสนธิ).....
๒. ....กทำ (สรัพโทษา) นตรายอนห์หมายในพระสตัยปรัคิษฐ์ญา  
มหาสุพรรณ ....
๓. .... (ค) งักลาวมานิเรากไหแต่น้ำพรญาต่น้ำพระศรีรัตนคั  
ไทรยบพิตรเปนเจ้า
๔. .... มหาสวามีศรีสังฆราชพระมหาเถรธัมมทวัศอีกขุ่สงฆ  
คามวาสีอรญาวาคี
๕. .... ทิพพิชญานแล.ที่แท้ผิเราบ่งใจชีอเอาสตัยปรัคิษฐ์ญาใน  
พระมหาสุ
๖. (พรรณบัตร์นี้แ)ตราเอาไมตรีมากงัให้เป็น โสภายายนอกใจใส  
จงกทำสรัพโทษดงั
๗. .... ใหจุงเกอดสรัพโทษานตรายในตนยล ปรัคิษฐ์กันทันตา  
ญาไคเปนทาว
๘. ....(เมือ)นำพายเมือไปในปอรโลกกที่ทุรคติในน่รกอกอพิจิ  
มีแต่เราอนัว่า
๙. .... หมายถึงพนัเปนตนัว่าบัญชาณนตริกอนัอธิกหนกัหนา  
จุงมีแต่เรา
๑๐. ....ญงัทรงธอรมานในปประเทศเรากติปประเทศน้ากติปประเทศอิ
๑๑. (น).....ญาใหเอาบินทิบาตรแตราเลย.หินให้ตะตยน  
ตยลนิ

๑๒. ....(พญา)อนันมีในโลกนี้แล้วที่แท้เราอยู่ในสตัยปรัชญา
๑๓. ....(ตัว)ยอำนาจกุสสตัยจุงเผื่อน้ำหลานปรัทพัทไม่  
ตรีมิ
๑๔. ....พณณามีปรัทิมเวรานุเวรสั๊กเมื่อเลขาในปร
๑๕. ....แถบพณณานันไรกลาจริงแล้กม้อมิอนอคุมรัยม
๑๖. ....อนันนไรกให้สตัยตังว่าในบัตร์นิแล้แม่น้ำพร  
ญา
๑๗. ... (บ)ต๋ันนิแล้แมจวาสวรूपลงอคุมใส่เปนปราฏ  
รทก
๑๘. ....(ก)อปรมนตริบริพาทงหลายแล้
๑๙. ....บัตร์สตัยปรัชญาตราบริบูรณ์มุลไม่ตรีมิปรัท
๒๐. (ทัช).....ที่พยพิชณานิทุกปรการเสจรเหตุส่เตจส
๒๑. ....พระไมตรีบโหมี่จ้ลาจลท่านจิงจักคำกลแผน
๒๒. ....อนันมีในพระศรีรัตนมหาธาตุเจ้าพอเมื่อมหา
๒๓. ....นักษัตร์มาสไพศาขบรณมี ศรีศุภฤกษวิศาขวัน ๖
๒๔. ....ปรตมราตรีพระจันทรอุไทยขึ้นให้สำงอนธการุ
๒๕. ....
26. .... (me)rurāja rāja'ḥurātṇabhavanāṇvadhī sutāra-  
kāśva tāva tiṣṭhātā'stu
27. .... trika cālūvijayassa tatam varena // merukula-  
giriṇrāja .....
28. .... rājassa yaśodharādhīpassa ca tāva tiṭṭha .....

## TRANSLATION

## Face I

[I/1.] May it be known to the [Saṃtec Cau] Brañā:

[I/1-3.] Whether for a period of two months or three months, whether . . . . .,<sup>19</sup> or whether there is no war, if the Saṃtec Cau Brañā causes his ministers and royal counsellors, his officials of high or middle rank to . . . . . with their<sup>20</sup> retainers, I will do nothing to endanger them.

[I/3-5.] Furthermore . . . . if ministers . . . . . or rulers of foreign countries, come to my Court, I cannot make . . . . . for the Saṃtec Cau Brañā's people.<sup>21</sup>

[I/5-7.] Furthermore, whenever to the Saṃtec [Cau Brañā] . . . . . or whether taking pleasure<sup>22</sup> together, I will not venture to . . . . . to the Saṃtec Cau Brañā.

[I/7-9.] Furthermore, whenever the Saṃtec [Cau Bra] ñā desires to come and salute the Saṃtec Brah Mahādbātu, or the relics of Mahādaṃmarājādhiraṃjapabitra, [I will not] venture to cause any sort of distress or danger to the [Saṃtec] Cau Brañā.

[I/9-11.] The words . . . .<sup>23</sup> of this solemn oath<sup>24</sup> . . . . . all the clauses as stated above to the Saṃtec Cau Brañā, earnestly, with love and friendship, in accordance with . . . . . are established to remain firm and durable.

19) sc. 'whether there is war'.

20) We assume that *ເົາ* is the pronoun, 'their', rather than the verb *ເົ້າ*, 'to enter'. Conjecturally reconstructing the lacuna, the passage may have meant: 'if the Saṃtec Cau Brañā sends his ministers (etc.) to my Court with their retainers'.

21) We assume that the skeleton of the main clause is *ເົາບໍ່ເຣົາ* \_\_\_\_\_ ໃຈ້. Perhaps the uncle is promising that he will not make any disclosures that would be harmful to the Saṃtec Cau Brañā.

22) *harrābhimata* (Skt. *harṣa*, 'pleasure', etc. + *abhimata*, 'agreed', 'desired', 'a wish', etc.

23) The meaning of *sāṃnā* (ສ້າມ, I/9) is obscure. Is it equivalent to *ສາມາດ*, 'to do something in exchange'?

24) *saṃyaparatiṃ* (ນ້າ), for *satyapraṭijñā* (I/19).

[I/11-26.] Then if I should waver and try to find fault, saying that the Cau [Brañā] . . . . ., because I hear it from the mouth of a malicious man who utters the words; if I am faithless to any contracts or oaths . . . . ., causing by trickery any sort of harm or danger which is cited in the solemn oath [\* in this great golden document,<sup>25</sup>] or the various promises, stated above, which I am giving to the Saṃtec Cau Brañā [\* in the presence of] the Three Gems, and to the Patriarch<sup>26</sup> Braḥ Mahāsvāmi Śrī Saṅgharāja Braḥ [\* Mahāthera Daṛmadaṛ]śī<sup>27</sup>, as well as the assembly of all the Village-Dwelling and Forest-Dwelling monks<sup>28</sup> as witnesses;<sup>29</sup> [\* or if in truth I am not] sincere in taking the solemn oath in this great golden document,<sup>30</sup> but am using friendship [\* as a screen to give] a fine outward appearance while in my heart I am bent on doing all sorts of harm referred to above; then indeed [\* may] all sorts of harm and danger come upon me instantly,<sup>31</sup> for everyone to see! May I never be a king<sup>32</sup> . . . . . in the future! When I go to the next world, may the woeful path [to hell and Abici<sup>33</sup>] be mine. May the retributions for all the evil deeds which people<sup>34</sup> say are the most grave, for example the five [\* most terrible hellish crimes<sup>35</sup>], be mine! Furthermore, the path which all virtuous people will find and see, may it be hidden from me in my

25) See *infra*, note 30.

26) เหง้า (I/15, i.e. เหง้า), 'root' (the chief of the monkhood) or 'sprout' (someone who has taken the vow to achieve Buddhahood in some future incarnation); our translation 'patriarch' dodges the issue.

27) i.e. Dharmadarśī.

28) saṅgha gāṃhavasi areñāvāśī (for araññāvāśī); I/15-16.

29) เปนเทพวิสุทธิ (I/16), 'possessing divine wisdom' (divyaviṣṇāna).

30) braḥ mahāsubarrapaṭṭa (I/17), the usual meaning of which is a gold sheet or tablet with official writing on it. Here we should perhaps understand that the official text of the pact was written on just such a sheet, and a copy of it engraved on the stone slab. Or else, but less probably, the term might be used by extension for the stone inscription itself.

31) yalapaṭṭayakṣa (I/18-19).

32) เปนพรหม (I/19).

33) See *infra*, note 41.

34) คน (for ฝูง), I/21.

35) See *infra*, note 42.

blindness and folly! Furthermore . . . . . [the upholders of] pure righteousness<sup>36</sup>, whether living in my land, or in the land of the Cau Brañā, [\* or in any other land], [may they not accept anything] from my hand, may they not accept any alms from me at all! [\* These] evil [\* acts which deserve to be condemned] . . . . . [all] the kings<sup>37</sup> there are in this world!

[I/26-29.] In reality [\* if I remain staunch in my oath,] [may] I be a long-enduring firmly-established king<sup>38</sup> by the power of merit and truth!<sup>39</sup> . . . . . to all enemies in the eight directions. . . . . relics, enter Nirvāṇa!<sup>40</sup>

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36) parisudhasīla (I/23), i.e. the monks.

37) สหคณา.

38) สหคณา (I/27), for sthiradīrgharāja.

39) The speaker is making a *saccakiriya*, an 'act of truth', which always included a declaration and a wish. Provided he had earned sufficient merit (e.g. in his past lives), and provided the declaration was scrupulously true, he could then be certain that the wish would come true too. See *Mahāvamsa*, translated by W. Geiger, Colombo, 1950, p. 125 note 3.

40) mokṣa, 'release from the round of rebirth', i.e. Nirvāṇa.

## Face II

[II/1-12.] ..... [\* if I am faithless to any contracts or oaths .....], causing [\* by trickery any sort of harm or] danger which is cited in the solemn oath in this great [golden document], [\* or the various promises,] stated above, which I am giving to my uncle the Brañā in the presence of the Three Gems, [\* and to the Patriarch Brah] Mahāsvāmī Śrī Saṅgharāja Brah Mahāthera Daṛmadaṛṣṭi, as well as the assembly of [\* all] the Village-Dwelling and Forest-Dwelling monks as witnesses; or if in truth I am not sincere in taking the solemn oath in this great golden document, but am using friendship as a screen to give a fine outward appearance while in my heart I am bent on doing all sorts of harm [\* referred to above]; then indeed may all sorts of harm and danger come upon me instantly, for everyone to see. May I never be a king ..... in the future. When I go to the next world, may the woeful path to hell and Abici<sup>41</sup> be mine. [\* May the retributions for all the evil deeds which people say are] the most grave, for example the five most terrible hellish crimes,<sup>42</sup> be mine! [\* Furthermore ..... the upholders of pure righteousness], whether living in my land, or in my uncle's land, or in any other land, [\* may they not accept anything from my hand], may they not accept any alms from me at all. These evil acts which deserve to be condemned ..... all the kings there are in this world!

[II/12-13.] In reality if I remain staunch in my oath, [\* may I be a long-enduring firmly-established king] by the power of merit and truth!

[II/13-14.] May the two of us, uncle and nephew, be bound together by friendship .....<sup>43</sup> May there be no anger or hostility at all between us for a single moment!

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41) The Avīci hell.

42) pañcānantarika (II/9). The pañcānantarikakamma are the five heinous 'actions bringing immediate retribution', namely patricide, matricide, killing an arahat, wounding a Buddha, and causing schism in the saṅgha.

43) We have not attempted to translate ॐ at the beginning of the lacuna and ॐ at the end of it (II/13-14).





jewels, and<sup>51</sup> [as long as] the stars! May .....<sup>52</sup> sweet<sup>53</sup> victory ..... by good fortune at all times! As long as Meru, the King of the Kulagiri<sup>54</sup>, so long may [the friendship?] of the King of .....<sup>55</sup> and of the Glory-Bearing Sovereign<sup>56</sup> endure! .....<sup>57</sup>

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51) We suspect that *sutārakāśva* is intended for *sutārakāśca*, and have translated accordingly.

52) Our translation omits *trika*, which may be only part of a word.

53) We assume that *cālu* stands for *cāru*.

54) The Kulagiri are the seven chief mountain ranges of India (Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Ṛkṣa, Vindhya, and Pāriyātra), or else, in a more specifically Buddhist context, the seven ranges surrounding Mount Meru, viz. Yugandhara, Īsadhara, Karavika, Sudassana, Nemindhara, Vinataka and Assakaṇṇa.

55) sc. Sukhodaya ?

56) Or 'of the Sovereign Yaśodhara' ? Yaśodharapura usually means Angkor Thom, but here Yaśodharādhipa appears to mean the King of Ayudhyā.

57) The general sense of the peroration, omitting the rhetorical flourishes, must be something like the following: 'May our friendship endure as long as Mount Meru and as long as the stars! May sweet victory be ours at all times! May the friendship of the King of Sukhodaya and the King of Ayudhyā endure as long as Mount Meru!'



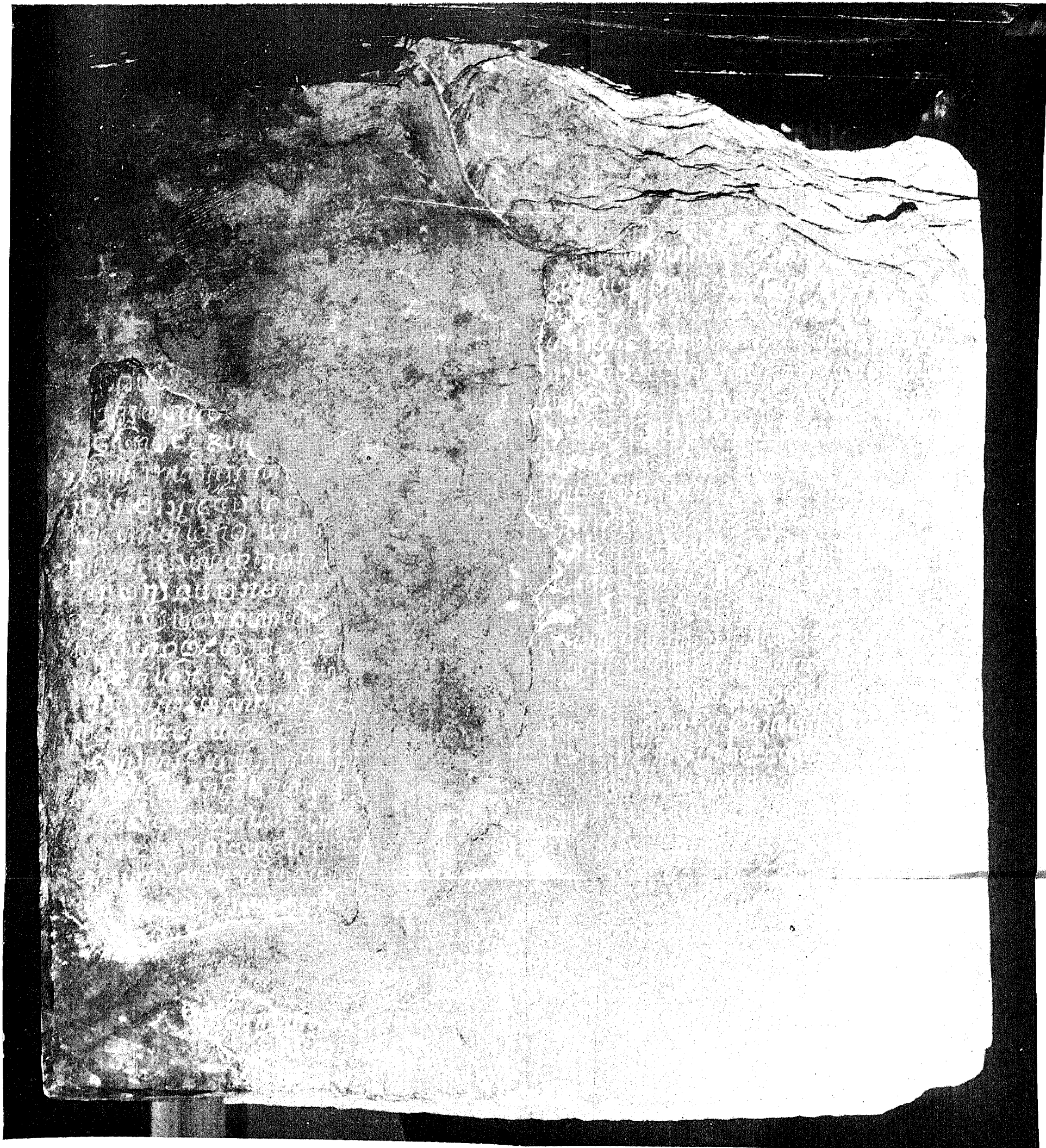


Fig. 1. Inscription XL, Face I



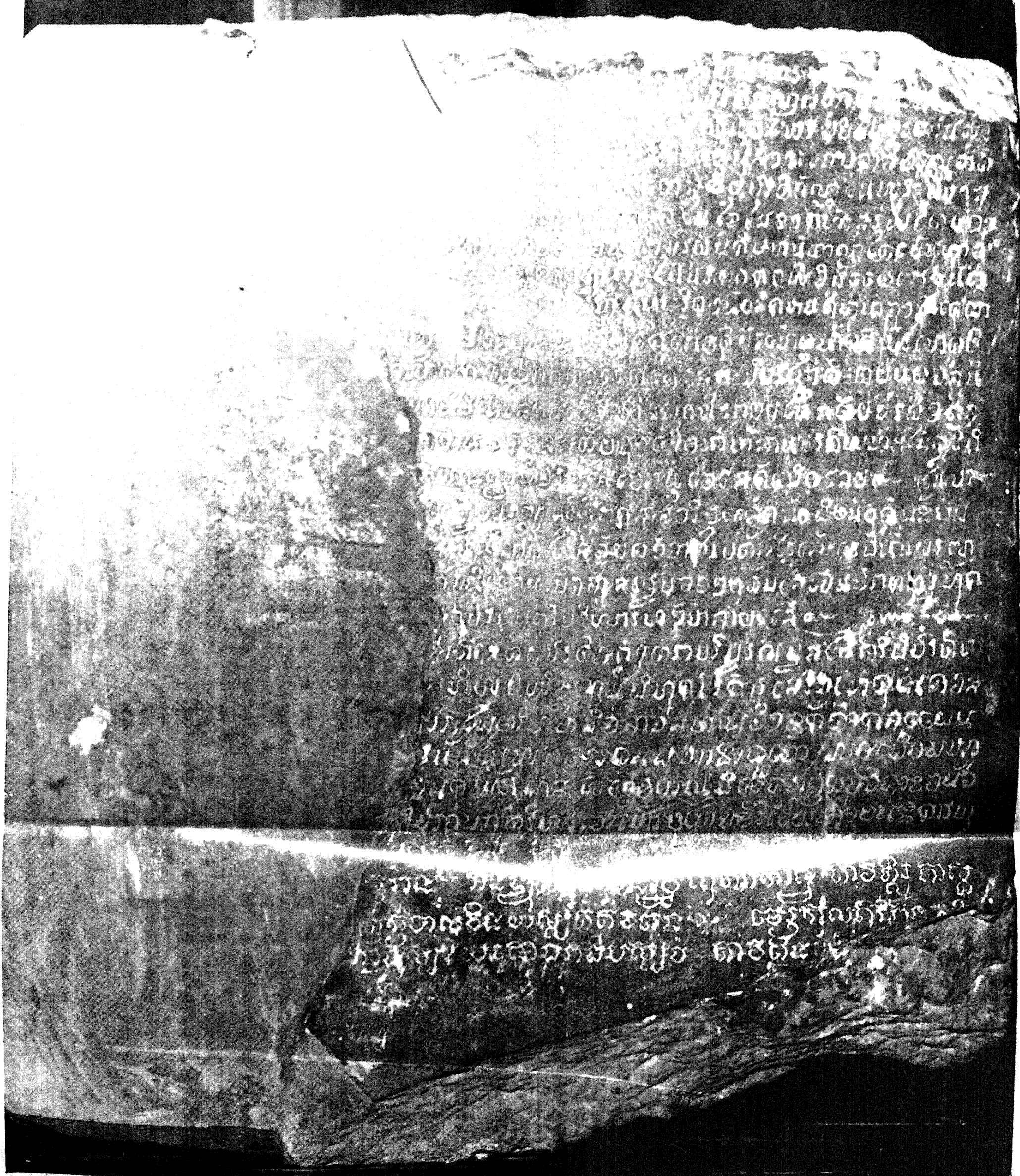


Fig. 2. Inscription XL, Face II

