

Epigraphic and Historical Studies No. 24

AN INSCRIPTION OF 1563 A.D. RECORDING A TREATY
BETWEEN LAOS AND AYODHYĀ IN 1560

by

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1.

In 1560 King Jayajettḥādhirāja of Laos, who was then ruling at Candapurī (= Vian Candra, Vientiane), concluded a treaty of friendship with King Mahācakrabartī of Ayodhyā (= Ayudhyā). A cetiya called Braḥ Dhātu Śrī Sōṅ Rāk, the 'monument of the two affectionate kings', or some variant of that name, was built in Mōaṅ Tān Jāy (*Dān Sāi*), now part of the province of Loei (*Lōi*), to commemorate the alliance; and a stone inscription recording the treaty was erected at the monument in 1563.

When Etienne Aymonier saw the stone in 1884, it was already broken into many pieces.¹

In 1905 the pieces were gathered up by the Mahā Uparāja of Hlvaṅ Braḥ Pāṅ (*Luang Pra Bāng*) during the course of a trip he made with French and Siamese officials to delimit the frontier between Laos and Siam. Though the Uparāja was a good scholar, he was at first unable to extract any connected sense from the text, so he made an investigation to see if an ancient copy of it was available. He found one inscribed in an old palm-leaf manuscript at the monastery of Tān Jāy. He put the stone inscription on a boat to send it to Hlvaṅ Braḥ Pāṅ, but the boat was wrecked and many of the fragments were lost. The eight pieces that remained were taken to Hlvaṅ Braḥ Pāṅ, where they were kept for several years at the Uparāja's palace. In 1914 the Uparāja presented them, together with the old palm-leaf manuscript, to Louis Finot of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient to be deposited in the Hanoi Museum.²

2.

Finot read most of the text that remained on the stone fragments, and published the results in 1915, together with photographs of both faces (*BEFEO XV/2*, pp. 28-36). According to him, the slab of sandstone on which the inscription is written measured 69 cm. × 81 cm. by

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1. Aymonier, *Voyage dans le Laos*, Vol. I, Paris, 1895, p. 324; Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, Vol. II, Paris, 1901, pp. 147-148.

2. Finot, "Les inscriptions du Musée de Hanoi", *BEFEO XV/2*, pp. 28-36.

8 mm. in its broken condition. Face I contains 28 lines of writing; face II, 27 lines. Face I, giving the pledge made by the King of Candapurī, is in the *Lāo* language, written in **dhamma** script; face II, giving the pledge made by the King of Ayodhyā, is in Siamese, written in Khmer script. In face I, Candapurī precedes Ayodhayā; in face II, Ayodhyā comes first. Apart from that, and some minor verbal differences, the text of both is identical. Finot gives a romanized transcription of face I, with footnotes calling attention to certain differences in face II; a French translation of face I; and a French synopsis of the manuscript copy (*BEFEO XV/2*, p. 30 ff.).

Here is the text, which we have transcribed into modern Siamese letters. Our transcription is based mainly on the photograph of face I, aided in part by Finot's romanized transcription, in several cases with amended readings. The expressions we have put in parentheses with an asterisk are those supplied by Finot from some other source, presumably the manuscript, and are not found in the photographs of either face. The ones we have put in square brackets with an asterisk are found in face II but not in face I. Those in square brackets without an asterisk are conjectural readings from face I.

In our translation we have followed the same system. In addition, the words in parentheses without an asterisk are those we have supplied in order to fill out the sense.

TEXT

Face I

๓๓๗๕๐๒

๑. สุกมสตุ สุวสตุยาดิเรก ๑๔๘๒ สก
วอก นกษัตระ ปุรุณณมีเกิด
๒. อาสาชอาทิตยวาร จำเดิมกา[ล] แต่
พระสรเพชญพุทธเจ้าสเด็จจเขาสุ
๓. ปถเมากุยมหานครนิพพานได้สอง
พน [*รอย] สามปีมีพระมหากษัตรา
ชิราชเจ้าสองพระอ
๔. งุคทรงพระนามสมเด็จจพระบรมมิก
ราชพระ... เสวียราชยสุวรุย ใน
เมืองจันทบุรีศรีศตนาคน
๕. หุตมหานครรตน [แล] มีพระมหา
ก [ษ] ตระเอกองค ทรงพระนาม
สมเด็จจพระบรมมहाจก

๖. [รพ] รตฺติศุศรวรราชาธิราช พระ
 [*บาทเจาสปฺตเศวตกุณฺช] ร
 เป [น] ภูษรธิปตีเจ้าพระนครศรีหรือเขา
 ฑฺยามหาดี
๗. ลกภพนพรตฺน แลพระ [*มหากษตฺร]
 ... ทงฺสองปองหิตประเยชนฺสฺบ
 สตฺวกำนุด ... [*คำชฺ]
๘. พระสาสนฺนาพระตถาคตเจาทหา
 [*พฺัน... .. ตังเม] ตฺตวจิตฺตจิต
 ประเยวชนแกแผ่นดินทงฺสองพิภพธิปฺร
๙. รพฺหุหนักหนาคไ้ราชามาตฺย เถิง
 [*มหาอุปฺราชเจ]า ทงฺสองใ้หน้าคฺลตอง
 คัดไ้ไมตรีชฺรมมปรมตฺถ จึงพระมหากษ
๑๐. ตฺระเจาทงฺสองพระองคใ้หนีมนพระสง[ณ]
 เจาตนทฺรงศีลสํวรชฺพระมหาอุปฺาลี ศรีอารีย
 กสฺสปมหาชฺรมม เส
๑๑. (*นาปตีพฺทชฺวिलाสมหา) เถร ศีลวิสุทฺช
 มหาเถรวิริยาชิกมฺุณีแลพระสงฆอนฺดับ
 สิบพระองค พระสงฆ
๑๒. (*เจาฝายกรงฺศรีหรือเขาชยา ตนชฺว) [*พระกร
 ปฺร]มาจารย์ อารียม[นี] ศีลวิสุทฺชชุตฺตม
 สตฺยสาสนฺนาองค เปนปฺระชานพระคฺรุสฺเมชารุจิปฺริญา
๑๓. (*มหาชฺรมมาตฺลย) [*มหาพรหมสาค]ร มหา
 ราชนฺนี้ แลพระสงฆอนฺดับสิบพระองคมาอามาตฺย
 ฝุ่ยกรงฺพระมหานครศรี
๑๔. [*ศตนาคนฺหฺต].....พฺันสําริทธิไมตรี
 มาอามาตฺย ฝุ่ยกรงฺพระนครศรี [*อเขาชยา]

๑๕. [*ราช] มาตยานุชิตพันวิ [*มลดศย
ภกตี] . . . พระสงฆ แลมหาอมาตย์ทั้งสอง
มาชมกันไน
๑๖. [*ที่หูลื่อน้ำสจเจาทกอน . . . พระสงฆผุทรง
ศีลสมาธิ . . .] ลสยาธิปติ แลหลวงราชามาตยานุชิต
ค้ เอนำสبابไนกุดอ้อมแกวแห่งพระมหา
๑๗. (*กษตรเจาทัง ๒ เจือกันเปนกุดอ้อมอันเดียว
กันแลวจึงเอนำ) [*วักเอนำนาราย?] นหงษา
ไนกุดอ้อมทองแห่งพระมหากษตรเจาทังสอง
เจือกันเปนกุดอ้อม
๑๘. (*เดียวกันแลวจึงเอนำไนกุดอ้อมนาค) แห่ง
มหาอุปราชเจาทังสอง เจือกันเปนกุดอ้อมนาค
[สุวาส?] ดยวค้เอนำกุดอ้อมแกว
๑๙. (*เอนำกุดอ้อมเงินแห่งมหาอมาตย์) ทังสอง
เจือกันเปนกุดอ้อมรชฎดยว แล้วยให้อานสดย
ชยฐาน ปรฎิษญาการวาทังนี้ สมเด
๒๐. (*จพพระมหากษตรเจากรุงศรีศตนาค) นหุต
แลสมเดจพพระมหากษตรเจากรุงพระนคร
ศรีอเขาชยามีพระราชหฤทัย (ทัง) สอง
๒๑. [*พระองค] (*จิงจากับนางไห เปนพระราชไมตรี
โดยปุปพะระเวณี่เพือ) จ้ลึบศรีสุริยพ (*งขอ)
ภยพงษพนชมิตรอิฐฎารมมณ เพือให้
เป้นบรมสุขสวสดี ประเษา
๒๒. [*ชนแกสมณพราหมณาจารย์ประ] ชารายฎ
ทังหลายตราบ เท [าก] ปุ่ปาวสาน นางเป้น
ประกนสากษีไนมหาปรถพีคีรีตลกลสิลา.
๒๓. ยาพันพิเราชกรุน มลุนชิ่งชวง
ลวงดานแดนแสนยกรพิเราชแกกัน เทาต์
สิน พระ . . .

๒๔. ทั้งสองฝ่าย แล้วพระสงฆ
 แลอมาตยทั้งสองฝ่ายค้หลัง นำสจเจาทกตูก
 ในมหาปรถพี
๒๕. [*แมนสงฆ] (*ทั้งสองฝ่ายประสัคมีใจ
 พิมขึ้นยินค้มี) [*เสนาหาไมตรี] (*กัน)
 เทาสินมหาปรถพีบมีพุนพิเรชแกกุนเลีย
 ลุมหาสกราช ๑๔๘๕ สกนุนนฤษตุร [*วัน
 พุทชเดือนหกจีน
๒๖. สิบสี่คำพรวาไดจิตูร ฤ] กษภทุรเยาค พุระ
 อาทิตยสถิตปุระสพุภราชมีปุระมะหาอุปราจเจา
 ทั้งสองปุระญาปุระหัว เหมินมนตริ[*มุขแสน
 เหมินชุนุกัน เน อนุสนท]
๒๗. สี่มาสอรุรักเงจวันปรุหุสปติปุระณมมี
 ส.... กษปุระณเยาค พุระอาทิตยสถิต
 ปุระสพุภราช ปุระจัน.....
๒๘. [รว] ี่พุทช สถิตเมษราชี่ ปรุหุส
 ปติ พุระ เ [*สารสถิต] เมถุนราชี่ปุระศุกร
 สถิตมีนราชี่ปุระราหู [*สถิตมกรราชี่ถักณาสถิต]
๒๙. แลว นาถีกา ๔ บาท ...

Face II

๒๔. (*มีสงฆ) [*ฝ่ายกรุงพระนครศุรีอเยาชยา
 ค้สัดเจปุระสัมราชาธิปตี ปุระสงฆปรินายก
 ติลกโลกาศุรย พุระ.....
๒๕. วุสปุระมะหาวิกรม พาหุปุระครุ ชรัมมาจารุข
 ปุระครุปรมาจารุขอายุมุณีปุระครุสทชรุม
 ราช
 ราช

๒๖. ชิปตีศุริมหาอุปปราชาเจาพระญามหาเสนา
ปตีแลพระญาพระสุดจสุรินทาชิปตี.....
๒๗. ศุรัราชโกษาชิปตีพระศุรัสวรรราช ขุนวิชัย
...ขุนศุรัรเนษุวรขุนโลกาปุร.....
...แลเจาเมือง.....]

Translation

337902¹

[I/1.] Let there be happiness and abundant good fortune!²

[I/1-9.] In 1482 saka, a year of the monkey, day of the full moon of Āsādha, a Sunday,³ 2103 years after the Omniscient Lord Buddha entered Nirvāṇa, there were two great kings: His Majesty King Dharmikārāja⁴ who reigned in Mōaṅ Candapurī Śrī Satanāganahuta Mahānagararatana;⁵ and His Majesty King Parama Mahācakkabartissara Vararājādhirāja,⁶ [*Lord of the Seven White Elephants], who was King of Nagara Śrī Ayodhyā Mahātilakabhābanabarātana. These two kings, resolving (to act for) the benefit.... of all creatures, and desiring to support the Lord Buddha's religion up to [the end of 5000 years⁷], mercifully thought [to assure] great prosperity for their two countries. So they sent royal counselors to the two Mahā Uparājas,⁸ to have them bring the matter of friendship (between the two kingdoms) to perfection.

[I/9-13.] The two kings then sent to invite monks of righteous conduct, namely (on the Candapurī side) Braḥ Mahā Upāli, Śrī Āriyakassapa, Mahā Dharmasenāpati, (*Buddhaviḷasamahāthera), Sīlavissuddhamahāthera, Viriyādhikamuni,⁹ and ten junior monks;¹⁰ the

1. The number is the Ahargaṇa, misread by Finot as 337904; the right number, 337902, appears clearly at the top of face I. The correctness of this number is confirmed by calculation: the Ahargaṇa is the number of days elapsed between the beginning of the Culasakarāja and the date of the inscription. The latter is Thursday, day of the full moon of the sixth month of Mahāsakarāja 1485 (= Culasakarāja 925). This date is equivalent to 6 May 1563 A.D. (Julian).

2. This Sanskrit salutation reads: subham astu svastyātireka.

3. 7 July 1560 (Julian).

4. Jayajetthādhirāja, King of *Lân Châng* (Laos) 1556-71, who had his capital at Viān Candra (Vientiane).

5. Candapurī = Viān Candra; Satanāganahuta ('ten thousand times a hundred elephants') is the Pali translation of the name *Lân Châng*, 'a million elephants'.

6. Mahācakkabartī, King of Ayodhyā (Ayudhyā) 1549-69.

7. According to an old prophecy, the Buddhist religion is destined to disappear in the year 5000 of the Buddhist Era.

8. Uparāja, a secondary or deputy king; a viceroy; in Laos, the title of the heir to the throne, who was associated with the king in governing the country; in Ayodhyā, the *Wang Nā* Prince, usually the king's brother or son whose chief duty was to protect the king's person in case of emergency.

9. The name of the seventh monk is missing.

10. พระสงฆ์อันดับ, bhikkhus of junior standing or rank. When a chapter of monks is chosen to perform an official act, it generally consists of junior as well as senior ones. In this case the Candapurī and Ayodhyā chapters each must have consisted of seventeen monks, seven senior and ten junior, though one name from the Candapurī list is missing.

monks (on the Śrī Ayodhyā side) were: Braḥ Garū Paramācārya Āriyamuni, Sīlavissuddha, and Uttamasatyasāsanā as leaders; (the others were) Braḥ Garū Sumedhārucipriṇā, (*Mahā Saddhammātulya), Mahā Brahmasāgara, Mahā Rājamuni, and ten junior monks.

[I/13-15.] The royal counselors on the side of Mahānagara Śrī [*Satanāganahuta] were..... (and) Bān Samriddhimaitrī. The royal counselors on the side of Nagara Śrī [*Ayodhyā] were [Hlvañ Rāj]āmātyānujita (and) Bān Vimala Satyabhaktī....

[I/15-19.] The monks and the royal counselors on both sides met together [*at the place where the water of truth was to be poured..... The monks who uphold right conduct and right concentration] (acted as witnesses?) (while) ... ādhipati and Hlvañ Rājāmātyānujita took water from the crystal ewers of (*the two kings and mixed it together in a single ewer). From the golden ewers of both kings they took [*water from Nārāyaṇa] Hamsā¹¹ and mixed it together in a single ewer. (*Then they took water from the gold-bronze ewers) of the two Mahā Uparājas and mixed it together in a single gold-bronze ewer. They took water from the crystal ewer and (*water from the silver ewers of the royal counselors) on both sides and mixed it together in a single silver ewer. Then the following oath was recited:

[I/19-23.] 'His Majesty (*the King of Śrī Satanāga)nahuta and His Majesty the King of Śrī Ayodhyā have both resolved in their hearts (*to discuss arrangements for presenting a lady) (in marriage as a guarantee of) (*friendship in accordance with ancient custom, so as) to carry on their two dynasties, the Sūryavaṃsa and the Abhayavaṃsa, and a means of royal alliance in order to obtain the highest degree of happiness, well-being and benefit [*for the monks, Brahmins, ācāryas and all] the people up to the end of the kalpa. The lady will be a surety, (as firm as a) rock, (for both) kingdoms (let there be no) opposition or precipitate attacks on each other's territory, and (no) opposition between each other's troops up to the end of.....'

[I/24-25.] (After the oath was recited by) both sides, the monks and counselors on both sides poured the water of truth into the earth. The monks (*on both sides and the kings were pleased, happy, and full of) [*friendship and affection]. May there be no opposition whatever between them until the end of the earth!

[I/25-27.] In Mahāsakarāja 1485, a year of the boar, [*on Wednesday the fourteenth day of the waxing moon of the six month,¹² (when the Moon was) in Cittarkaṣa], (at the moment of) Bhadrāyoga, when the Sun was in Taurus, the two Mahā Uparājas, (as well as the officials with the rank of) Brañā, Braḥ and Hua Hmñ, the high counselors, and (the

11. Nārāyaṇa is an epithet of the god Viṣṇu; Hamsā is Hamsāvati (Pegu), which was then the capital of Burma. It is not clear how 'Nārāyaṇa' should be related to 'Hamsā'. Does the combination refer to the King of Burma? or does it mean that the water was brought from a Viṣṇu temple at Hamsāvati? In any case the use of water from Hamsāvati suggests that both Candapurī and Ayodhyā were acknowledging the suzerainty of Burma in July 1560 when the oath was taken; but it is not clear from other sources that they acknowledged it at so early a date. In the present context, the statement comes as rather a surprise, as it is generally assumed that the main purpose of the treaty was to defend Laos and Ayodhyā from conquest by the Burmese.

12. Wednesday, 5 May 1563 (Julian).

officials with the rank of) [*Sèn and Hmīn, met together in the connecting] territory¹³ at Sòn Rāk.¹⁴

[I/27-28.] On Thursday the day of the full moon¹⁵ (at the moment of) Pūṇayoga, when the Sun (was in) Taurus, the Moon in rāsī, Mercury in Aries, Jupiter and Saturn in Gemini, Venus in Pisces, Rāhu [*in Capricorn, and the Lagnā in]. . . . , at one nālikā and four pādas . . [the rest of Face I is lost].

[II/24-27.] (The monks) [*on the Ayodhyā side were: Samtec Braḥ Saṅgharājādhipati, Braḥ Saṅghaparināyaka Tilakalokāśraya, Braḥ , Braḥ Mahāvīkramabāhu, Braḥ Garū Dharmācārya, Braḥ Garū Paramācārya Āriyamuni, Braḥ Garū Saddharmarāya ādhipati. (The lay officials were:) the Śrī Mahā Uparāja Cau, Brañā Mahāsenāpati, Brañā Braḥ Stac Surindādhipati , Śrī Rājakosādhipati, Braḥ Śrīśvararāja, Khun Vijaya, Khun Śrī Raṇeśvara, Khun Lokāpra and Cau Mōaṅ]

3.

After comparing the old manuscript copy of the inscription of 1563 with the legible portions of writing on the stone fragments, Finot concluded that the copy is reasonably accurate, though certain Sanskrit terms in the stone are replaced by vernacular ones. Our opinion, based on Finot's synopsis, is somewhat less favorable; but as the points of difference are of minor importance, we still think the information drawn from the manuscript can be helpful in elucidating certain passages in the inscription which are partly illegible or missing altogether. So far as we know, the manuscript copy has never been published in its entirety. Here is our translation of Finot's synopsis of it, from which the reader can judge for himself. In it we have altered the transcriptions to conform to the graphic system we usually use.

Translation of Finot's synopsis

337904¹

In sakarāja 1482, year of the monkey, second of the decade, 2103 after the (Buddha's) Nirvāṇa,² the two kings, namely Brañā Dharmikarāja, king of Candapurī Śrī Satanāganahuta Mahānagara Pavararājadhānī, on the one hand; and Mahā Cakkavattivararājādhīrāja, king of Śrī Ayodhyā Mahātilaka Pavararājadhānī, on the other hand, having in view the happiness

13. anusandasimā, put for anusandhisimā, 'connecting territory'. This refers to an area between the two kingdoms which seems to have been free to both; the lacunae in the inscription leave some uncertainty about it; but Finot's synopsis of the manuscript copy is fairly explicit. See below, pp. and .

14. Braḥ Dhātu Śrī Sòn Rāk; see below, pp. and .

15. Thursday, 6 May 1563 (Julian).

1. The Ahargaṇa is wrongly read; see above, section 2, note 1.

2. The date is correctly given; see above, section 2, note 3.

and benefit of the two countries, resolved to conclude a treaty of friendship. They called together the two Mahā Uparājas, monks, and royal counselors of both countries. There were seven monks from Candapurī: Mahā Upāli, Āriya Kassapa, Mahā Dhammasenāpati, Buddhavilāsa Mahāthera, Saddhammavaṅṣī Mahāthera, Viriyādikamuni [*the name of the seventh is omitted*];³ and seven monks from Ayodhyā: Braḥ Garū Paramācārya, Braḥ Āryamuni, Braḥ Silavisuddha, Braḥ Garū Sumedharuciviñña, Mahā Saddhammatulya, Mahā Brahmasāla, and Mahā Rājamuni.⁴ Each of them had with him ten students [*lūk sit*].⁵ The Candapurī high officials were Candaprasiddhi Rājabhakti and Hmīn Upanāri, with their families and friends [*those from Ayodhyā are not mentioned*].

The Kings had brought the water of truth in crystal ewers, the Uparājas brought theirs in gold ewers, and the high officials brought theirs in silver ewers. The monks mixed together the water in the Kings' ewers, adding to it some water from Haṅsā [Haṃsāvati]; then they mixed that of the Uparājas; and finally that of the officials.

Then they took the oath, declaring that the Kings of Śrī Sattanāga and Ayodhyā, with their families and their officials, were making a treaty of friendship to unite the (two) dynasties—the Sūryavaṃśa and the Yāttivaṃśa⁶—for the happiness and benefit of monks, Brahmins, ācāryas, and all their subjects; and that their descendants ought to live in peace with one another until the sun and moon fall down to the earth.

After taking this oath, the monks and officials poured the water from the ewers into the ground. Then they built an udissacetiya⁷ to serve as a border-marker. Work on building lasted from the year of the monkey to the year of the boar, fifth of the decade, 14th day of the waxing moon of the sixth month,⁸ in the ṛkṣa of Citrā, when the Sun was in Virgo. It was dedicated on the 15th day of the sixth month, at the full moon,⁹ when Jupiter was in Capricorn, the Sun in Leo, the Moon in Libra, Mars in Aquarius, Mercury in Aries, Saturn in Gemini, Venus in Pisces, Rāhu in Capricorn, and the Lagna in Gemini, at four o'clock.

3. The names of only six monks out of the seven on the Candapurī side are legible in the inscription. For the most part the six names in the synopsis are recognizably similar to those in the inscription; but for the fifth name the inscription gives Silavisuddha Mahāthera, whereas the synopsis gives Saddhammavaṅṣī Mahāthera.

4. The inscription, if we have divided these names properly, gives three monks as leaders: Braḥ Garū Paramācārya Āryamuni, Silavisuddha, and Uttamasatyasāsanā as leaders, plus four others: Braḥ Garū Sumedharucipriñā, Mahā Saddhammatulya, Mahā Brahmasāgara and Mahā Rājamuni. The synopsis lists seven names: Braḥ Garū Paramācārya, Braḥ Āryamuni, Braḥ Silavisuddha, Braḥ Garū Sumedharuciviñña, Mahā Saddhammatulya, Mahā Brahmasāla, and Mahā Rājamuni; the name Uttamasatyasāsanā is omitted.

5. Judging from the synopsis, the manuscript copy substitutes ลูกศิษย์, 'students', for พระสงฆ์อันดับ, 'junior monks'; cf. section 2, note 10. The inscription does not say that each of the seven monks in each group had ten students, but that there were ten junior monks altogether in each group.

6. Yāttivaṃsa stems from a false reading; the inscription has Abhayavaṃsa.

7. Pali udissa (originally a gerund of uddisati) = 'indicating', + cetiya, in this context a monument built to commemorate the treaty. The cetiya was variously called Udissacetiya Śrī Mahādhātu, Udissacetiya Śrī Sōṅ Rāk Cau, Braḥ Dhātu Sōṅ Rāk, etc. Cf. below, section 4, note 18.

8. 5 May 1563 A.D. (Julian).

9. 6 May 1563 (Julian).

List of the persons present.

The King of Ayodhyā Mahātilaka notified Aggajāyā¹⁰ Braḥ Ratnapuṭṭhādhirāja, King of Satanāganahuta, of the union of the Sūryabandhuvamśa vaṇṇavamśādhirāja. The two Kings left the anandasīmā(?)¹¹ on the sixteenth day of the sixth month, the first day of the waning moon, at three o'clock. The king returned to the city of Candapurī Satanāganahuta Mahānagara.

4.

Though Finot does not mention it, a stone copy of face I of the inscription of 1563 was erected in 1906 at Vāt Braḥ Dhātu Śrī Sòñ Rāk at Mōaṅ Tān Jāy (*Dān Sāi*), at or near the place where the original had stood. We have no information regarding the source from which the stone copy was made; but we assume that it was taken from a copy of the palm-leaf manuscript, made before the latter was sent to Hlvaṅ Braḥ Pāñ, or else from another manuscript. It is more informative than Finot's synopsis, though it contains several obvious mistakes.

The inscription of 1906, which is still *in situ* at Vāt Braḥ Dhātu Śrī Sòñ Rāk, measures 80 cm. × 2.50 m. × 4.5 cm. Mahā Prasāra Puñpragòñ's reading, with a commentary by Prasert ṇa Nagara, is published in *Śilpākara*, XIII/1, p. 60 ff. (1969).

TEXT

(จารึกขึ้นใหม่)

๑. พร
๒. ... วนักรีสจกัปี ๑๕๐๖
๓. ตรงกบวัน ๕ ๕ ๗ คำป้อมเมือยตฐสทกขุกลตสทกลาด ๑๒๖๘ ปถ
๔. นนามีรัตนเตยยัสพพิทชิสวสตุสตุจกัถ่าวนิทานตำนานสิลาเล็กพรยา
๕. ชมมิกุราตตงแต่สุพหุหมสนตงกัลาดอติเล็กไดพน ๔ รอย ๘๒ โทสกป้วอกอ
๖. ติตวรุพทชสาสนาตงแต่พรพทชเจ้าสรเดจ้เข้าสู่นัรพพานไปเลวได ๒ พน
๗. รอย ๓ ปัจจิมมีมหกรสตุตาชิราตเจ้า ๒ พรองชรงนามมกอรชัวพรยาชมมิก
ราตตนเปน

10. Aggajāyā is really the title of a queen, not a king. The reference is doubtless to Jayajetṭhādhirāja's Chief Queen.

11. The 'connecting territory'.

๒๒. นำน้ำในเม็งหงสาในกรออมทองแห่งมหากรสดทั้ง ๒ เจ็อกันเป็นกรออมทอง
อนัตยวกันแล้วจึงเอาน้ำพุดตพงจำในกรออมน้ำแห่งมหาอุปพหลาด
๒๓. เจ้าทั้ง ๒ เจ็อกันเป็นกรออมน้ำอนัตยวกันแล้วจึงเอาน้ำในกรออมแก้วแล้ว
เอาน้ำในกรออมเงินแห่งมหาอมาตทั้ง ๒ เจ็อกัน
๒๔. เป็นกรออมเงินอนัตยวกัน แล้วไหอานสตุดยาวาดนี้สมเดย์พระมหากษัตริย์เจ้า
กรุงศรีสัตตนาสมเดย์พระมหากษัตริย์เจ้าเอากรุงสี่
๒๕. โยதியามหาดีหลกจึงมีพระราชวงสา ๒ พรองจึงจากบ้านงไหเป็นพระราชไมตรี
โดยปุพพประเวณี เพื่อจกสืบเชื้อคี่สุริยวงสาแลยาดติวงสาพนทุณิมิตวา
๒๖. อุตสาตำนาเพื่อจไหเป็นบิรมมสุขุขสวสตุดีเป็นประโยชน์ชนะแกสมมุนพราหมณา
อจาณเจ้าชาวปรชานาราดทล้าตามต
๒๗. เท้าถวรกบือนั้นเป็นเค้าเป็นปรทานสาคดีในมหาปตลภีคิริตโคโหมมหวยภูเขาร
รตริสิริวรจขงเปนเอกสิมมาปริมนคร
๒๘. เป็นอนัตยวกันกยงกมงามนทนเทาพงพนัถุ้เต้าหลานเหล็รยยาไคชิงขวง
หลวงदानแดนแสนหยอयाไคกทำโรบลยวแกกนจันเท้า
๒๙. สยงพรอาทิตพรจนเจ้าตกลงมาอยู่เหนือแผ่นดินอนันนี้เทินคนอันสจจอทิต
ฐานทั้ง ๒ ฟายแล้วพรสงขมแลอ้ามาตทั้ง ๒ ฟายค้ล้งนำสจจในมหาปตลภี
๓๐. แมนสงขมทั้ง ๒ ฟายกรสดคมีใจกริมขมชั้นยินดีมีเสนาหาไมตรีรักแพงกน้เทา
สยงมหาปตลภีพุททหนัดอรกบี่ ๑ แลวบมิไหกทำโรบลยวแกกน้เลียตง้แตอนัน
กทำสาข
๓๑. แบงอุทิสเจตีสัมหาทาตไหเป็นเอกสิมมาอนัตยวกันไว้ไหเป็นหลักดานตง
แต่หลักดานนี้ไปนำของแล่นำนานเก็งกันนี้แล่นำของแล่นำนานค้ปนี้ (दान)
๓๒. แदनกน้ โคกไมติดกนนี้แลแรกทำสาขแบงอุทิสเจตีสทาตส์ ๒ รกเจ้าสาข ปิ้วอก
โทสกเถิงปีกรเบงยสกเดิน ๖ ชั้น ๑๔ คำพาวาไคจิตตฤทธวราสี
๓๓. พรอาทิตสติดสิริราตมีพรมหาอุปพหลาดเจ้าทั้ง ๒ พรยาพรหวิเม็งมทมุกข
แสนหมัรชุนมุกน้ ในอนาสนทิสิมมา ๒ รกเถิงเดิน ๖ พงวัน ๕ ค้สรหลงแล
๓๔. บรรบัวร์พรปหัดสติดมังกอรราสีพรอาทิตสติดสิงราสีพรจนสติดตुरราสีพร ๓
สติดกุมราสีพรพุดสติดเมตราสีพรปหัดพรเสาสติดเมธูรราสี
๓๕. พรสุสติดมินราสี พรราหูสติด มังกอรราสีพรลคคนาสติดเมธูรราสีพ้เมื่อแล้ว
จตุตุนารีกาบาดสาया ๔ หลมมีคนสงขมหานากแลสงขมฟาย

๓๖. กรุงสี่ตตนำคัพรสงฆราชาเป็นแก้วเป็นปรัตนคัพรวตุมหาสุวรรณภูหัตถน ๑
มห(า) ญาณวชิรวณณราชีสากยาสงฆพลัแลพรหม
๓๗. หออุปฺพลาดราชสี่วิพคัคัพรวงอ์รหุตตกานพรยาพนรเทศนายกเจ้าทิพมน
ทาเจ้าคัศยสถยอนนัพรยามหานามหมีร ๓ แสน ๓ หมีรเจ้าชูร
๓๘. หมีรชูรแสนทลัพรสงฆฟายกุงสี่โยทียาคัสมเดชพรสงฆราชาทิปตติพรสงฆ
นายกคัพรอริยะกรสปคัพรทมมโคต(ม)
๓๙. มุณณคัพรอริยะวงสาคัคัพรหมานพพาหุคัพรคูนูรัมมจริยะแลมหารสดีเจ้า
ทงั๒ พรองจิงปราถนาเป็นพรยา
๔๐. พนทุมิตตสมเดชบพิตรเจ้ากรุงพรนคอรอโยทियามหาดีหลกกลาวแกอคค
ชายาแกพรตตน
๔๑. บุพพทริราชเจ้ากรุงพรหมานคอรคัโคตนาคนหุตตสัปสุริยพนทุงสา
๔๒. วณณวงสาชริราช สมเดชพรกรสตุรราช้อนาสนทสิมมาโนวัน ๖
๔๓. เदिน ๖ แรมคั ๑ คัแลวนาริกา ๓ บาท สมเดชไปยงัพรนคอรจันทบุรคั
๔๔. โคตนาคนหุตตมทานคอรปถมชมุสมสนัตา

Translation

[I/1-3] 1906 A.D., corresponding to Thursday, the 9th day of the 7th month, year of the horse, 8th of the decade, culasakarāja 1268.

[4, *in Pali*] I salute the Three Gems and ask for prosperity and success.

[4-7] I shall tell the story of the inscription of King Dhammikarāja¹ beginning with subrahmasantu sakarāja 1482,² a year of the monkey, second of the decade,³ the year 2103 of the Buddhist religion since the Lord Buddha entered Nirvāṇa.

[7-11] There were two great kings, one named King Dhammikarāja, who ruled over Candapurī Śrī Satanāganahuta Mahānagara Pavararājadhānī;⁴ at the same time there was also a sovereign named Mahācakravartirājādhirāja who ruled over Śrī Ayodhyā Mahātilaka

1. Jayajetthādhirāja.

2. The era is the Mahāsakarāja. The word 'subrahmasantu' preceding the word sakarāja is obviously a mistake for subhamastu ('Let there be happiness!'), the opening salutation of the inscription of 1563.

3. 7 July 1560 A.D. (Julian).

4. Vian Candra (Vientiane).

Navaratnapurī Śrī Mahānagara Pavararājadhānī Purilōṅramabrahmacārīśrī.⁵ The two kings sought the advantage of pledging themselves to an alliance together.

[11-16] After taking an oath to uphold the Lord Buddha's religion to the end of 5000 years,⁶ they pledged benevolence and friendship (to each other) for the very great benefit of both countries in accordance with the Dhamma. They sent royal counselors to the two Mahā Uparājas to have them bring the matter of friendship to perfection. Both kings in concert sent an invitation to a monk, pure in conduct, named Mahā Upāli. Then they invited Braḥ Āriyakassapa, Braḥ Mahādhammasenāpati, Braḥ Buddhavilāsamahāthera, Braḥ Saddhammaraṅśimahāthera, and Braḥ Viriyādhikamuni, each of the 7 monks⁷ with 10 pupils to serve them.⁸

[16-18] The monks on the Ayodhyā side, led by Braḥ Garū Paramācāriya, Braḥ Āriyamuni, and Braḥ Śrīvisuddha-uttama, were: Braḥ Garū Sumedharucivīññā, Mahā Siddhammātulya, Mahā Brahmasāra, and Mahā Rājamuni, each of the 7 monks with 10 pupils to serve them.⁹

[18-20] The royal counselors on the Satanāgapurī¹⁰ side were Aṅga Candaprasiddhirā-jabhaktī and Hmīn Upanārī, (who) together with their whole families, were filled with friendship and affection for the royal counselors on the Ayodhyā side. Both sides were in agreement.

[20-24] The monks and the counselors on both sides made an appointment to meet together at a (suitable) place to pour the water of truth. The monks of pure conduct and Hlvaṅ Rājāmahāāṃmātya poured the water of truth from both kings' crystal ewers and mixed it together in one single crystal ewer. From the golden ewers of both kings they took water from the city of Hamsā and mixed it together in one single golden ewer. From the ewers of both Mahā Uparājas, they took water of truth from the Cā Pond¹¹ and mixed it together in one single ewer. They took water from the crystal ewer and water from the counselors' silver ewers and mixed it together in one silver ewer. Then the following oath was recited:

[24-29] 'His Majesty the King of Śrī Satanāga and His Majesty the King of Śrī Ayodhyā Mahātilaka, belonging to two (different) dynasties, discussed arrangements for a lady to be presented (in marriage) in token of friendship in accordance with ancient custom, to carry on the lineages of the Sūryavaṃsā and the Yāttivaṃsā,¹² with the prospect¹³ of striving to be in harmony so as to obtain the highest degree of happiness, well-being and benefit for monks, Brahmins, ācāryas, and all the people, until the end of the kalpā. This is the chief purpose for both kingdoms.¹⁴ May they be (like) a single country with a single boundary, smooth,

5. The expression 'purilōṅramabrahmacārīśrī' appears to be corrupt.

6. I.e. until the year 5000 of the Buddhist Era. See above, section 2, note 7.

7. The name of the seventh monk is not given.

8. This passage, as well as the identical one that appears a few lines further on, is corrupt. In the inscription of 1563 the expression used is พระสงฆ์อันดับ, 'junior monks', (not ลูกศิษย์, 'pupils'); there are only ten junior monks on each side; and nothing is said about their serving the senior monks.

9. Cf. above, section 3, note 4.

10. Satanāganahuta (Viañ Candra).

11. Probably a pond whose waters were fraught with magical potency. The pond cannot be identified.

12. 'Yāttivaṃsa' is a corruption; the inscription of 1563 has 'Abhayavaṃsa'.

13. nimitra, 'prospect', is a corruption; the inscription of 1563 has bandhumitra, 'alliance'.

14. Literally: 'great earth, mountains, valleys and hills'.

round¹⁵ and beautiful! (May it be so) up to the generations of children, grandchildren and great-children, never taking (anything) by force or attacking at any border-posts or territory with its unlimited vegetation!¹⁶ Let there be no greed or trickery towards each other until the Sun and the Moon fall down on this earth!

[29-30] After the oath was recited by both sides, the monks and the counselors on both sides poured the water of truth into the earth. Moreover the monks on both sides, and the kings, were pleased, happy and full of affection. Until the end of the world, the end of the religion, and the end of one kalpa, let there be no greed or trickery between them!

[30-32] Starting from the time of building the Udissacetiya Śrī Mahādhātu, a single boundary was established between them (with the cetiya) as the marker. This marker is half-way between the Mè Khoñ and the River Nān; and the Rivers Khoñ and Nān (define) a territory that is shared (between the two kingdoms) and is contiguous to both, with its forested ridge.¹⁷

[32-35] Work was started on building the Udissacetiya Śrī Sòñ Rāk Cau¹⁸ in the year of the monkey, second of the decade, (and continued) until the year of the boar, fifth of the decade, the 14th day of the 6th month,¹⁹ exactly at the Cittaṅkṣarāsī when the Sun was in the mansion of Sirirāja.²⁰ Both Mahā Uparājas were present, as well as (the officials with the rank of) Brañā and Braḥ, the provincial rulers, the high counselors,²¹ (and the officials with the rank of) Sèn and Hmīn, meeting together in the connecting territory²² at the (Cetiya) Sòñ Rāk. On the full moon day of the 6th month, Thursday,²³ a ceremony was held for its completion. (The planet) Jupiter was in Capricorn; the Sun in Leo;²⁴ the Moon in Libra; Mars in Aquarius; Mercury in Aries; Jupiter and Saturn in Gemini; Venus in Pisces; Rāhu in Capricorn; the Lagnā in Gemini at 4 nāḷikā plus 1 pāda, (when the shadow of the gnomon measured) 4 pādas.

[35-40] (Among those present) were chapters of monks from Mahānāga²⁵ and monks on the side of Śrī Satanā[ga] with the Braḥ Saṅgharāja presiding, namely Braḥ Vattamahāsuvaṅṅāgūhā, Mah[ā] Nānavajiravaṅṅarāsīkāyā and many monks; and the Braḥ Mahā Uparāja Rājasīhaviḥbhaktī, Braḥ Vian Arahattakāra, Brañā Baladeśanāyaka, Cau Dībbamaṅḍā, Cau

15. The term denotes perfection rather than literal rotundity.

16. unlimited vegetation, which we have translated as 'unlimited vegetation', is literally '100,000 grasses'. But that is of little consequence, as it stems from a false reading of 'troops', in the inscription of 1563.

17. Sc. the watershed between the Mè Khoñ and the River Nān.

18. The 'indicating cetiya of the two affectionate kings' (śrī used in the sense of 'kings'; rāk, 'to love'; cau 'prince' or 'ruler', used as an honorific for the cetiya); cf. section 3, note 7.

19. 5 May 1563 (Julian).

20. sirirāja is a mistake; the inscription of 1563 says the Sun was in br̥sbhā, 'Taurus'.

21. mandamukh, 'slow counselors', put wrongly for mantrimukh, 'high counselors', as in the inscription of 1563.

22. anāsanda, put wrongly for anusandhi, 'connecting, continuing'. The reference is presumably to the 'shared' territory mentioned at line 31. In the inscription of 1563, the word is written anusanda.

23. 6 May 1563 (Julian).

24. See above, note 20.

25. mahānāga is a mistake; the reference here must be to the monks from Ayodhyā (sc. mahānagara śrī ayodhyā ?), in contrast to Śrī Satanā[ganahuta] = Candapurī.

Gīyasathiar . . , Braṇā Mahānāma, Hmīn Sām Sēn Sām Hmīn, and many (officials with the rank of) Cau Khun Hmīn and Khun Sēn. The monks on the Śrī Ayodhyā side were Samtec Braḥ Saṅgharājādhipati, Braḥ Saṅghanāyaka, Braḥ Ariyakassapa, Braḥ Dhammagota[ma]munī, Braḥ Ariyavaṃsa, Braḥ Mahā Navabāhu, Braḥ Garū Paramacariya; and both kings who pledged to be allies (with each other).

[40-42] His Majesty the King of Mahānagara Ayodhyā Mahātilaka announced (the presentation of a lady as) the Chief Queen of Braḥ Ratnapubbādhirāja,²⁶ ruler of the great kingdom of Gotanāghanuta,²⁷ to continue the Sūryabandhuvamsā dynasty of kings.

[42-44] His Majesty the King (of Candapurī) left the connecting territory on Friday the first day of the waning moon of the 6th month, at one nālikā and 3 pādas. His Majesty proceeded to his capital (at) Candapurī, that is, Gotanāghanutamahānagara Paṭhamadhammasamantā.²⁸

26. I.e. Jayajetthādhirāja (called Dhammikarāja earlier in the inscription).

27. Gotanāghanuta is manifestly a mistake for Satanāghanuta.

28. For gotanāghanuta, see the preceding note; paṭhamadhammasamantā may be a mistake for some other term.