

**Tai Lü manuscripts from Southern Yunnan and
Northern Laos:
The function and development of paratexts in a
recently revived manuscript culture**

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des Grades der Doktorin der Philosophie (Dr. phil.)

an der Fakultät für Geisteswissenschaften

der Universität Hamburg

vorgelegt von

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Hamburg 2019

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The date of the oral defense: 23.07.2019

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Preface

This dissertation is a study of paratexts and non-textual elements in Tai Lü manuscripts from southern Yunnan and northern Laos, focusing only on mulberry paper manuscripts (*pap sa*) as mulberry paper is the preferred writing support for manuscripts in the Tai Lü speaking areas during the second half of the twentieth century, both for the recording of religious and secular texts. Both corpora comprise altogether 290 manuscripts (southern Yunnan 211, northern Laos 79).

My research with Professor Dr. Volker Grabowsky in sub-project A03: “Organization of Historical Knowledge in Tai Lü Manuscripts: The Paratextual Sphere of a Recently Revived Manuscript Culture” at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (SFB 950 Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa), University of Hamburg, widened my view for studying of manuscripts very much because of my previous studies in this field usually focused on manuscripts’ contents and let me know about importance and interestedness of paratexts in manuscripts.

During my research I found many kinds of paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts, as well as of their functions, how they helped to structure and organize texts pertaining to the transmission traditional knowledge with the manuscripts and what they communicate with the readers and users of these manuscripts. Therefore, the main topic areas discussed in my dissertation are: different categories and kinds, roles and functions, as well as the development of paratexts and non-textual elements in Tai Lü manuscripts in a diachronic and synchronic perspective. It is also analyzed what information the paratexts reveal about the production and use of manuscripts as well as the intention of scribes and sponsors.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to express my highest respect, to Cao Mòu Kham Lù (Tao Sù Sin), the last ruler (*cao fa*) of Sipsòng Panna, whom I had the rare privilege to meet in person in August 2012, just five years before he passed away on October 1, 2017. It is him to whom I dedicate this dissertation.

I am most grateful to have had the opportunity to be a member of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) or Sonderforschungsbereich 950 (Manuscript Cultures of Asia, Africa and Europe) at the University of Hamburg. The CSMC financially supported my research over the over the years 2011–2015 through the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG). Moreover, I would like to thank all of the professors, colleagues and all the staff working for the CSMC, especially those attached to Project Area A (Paratexts) for their precious inspiration.

In particular, I would like to thank my academic advisor, Prof. Dr. Volker Grabowsky, for supervising my dissertation over all the years and for his continuous valuable support and kind advice as an expert in the field of Tai history and culture. The patience he showed to me throughout difficult stages of my project is very much appreciated.

I would also like to express my sincere thanks to the other professors who, as members of the examination commission (Prüfungskommission), gave me additional input during the oral defense of my thesis and gave precious advice and useful comments on the thesis: Prof. Dr. Jan van der Putten and Prof. Dr. Harunaga Isaacson.

I would also like to thank Associate Professor Renoo Wichasin, my great teacher in Chiang Mai and the very expert of Tai scripts, who provided me with excellent advice for my dissertation and her moral support to me.

Cao Maha Khanhawong, the Tai Lü scholar from Chiang Rung, who gave me the opportunities to visit him and allowed me to photograph many of his manuscripts, Khun Pathummakraisorn, a Tai Lü teacher who took me to Sipsòng Panna for photographing Tai Lü manuscripts for my MA Thesis, Dr. Hans Penth, the founder of the Archive of Lan Na Inscriptions at Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, who provided me with the great opportunity to work with him and continue our beloved archive, Professor Dr. Udom Rungruangsri, my great teacher of Lan Na script and literature, Dr. Anatole-Roger Peltier, the scholar of Tai Khün literature, who allowed me to copy his Tai Khün manuscripts.

A special thanks goes to Dr. Tristan Dunning who took great pains in polishing up the English for this dissertation, while also providing me additional general comments. Hanli Zhou helped with the transcription and interpretation of several Chinese terms.

I would like to thank my colleagues and friends in Hamburg, Bangkok and Chiang Mai, who helped, supported and pushed me to fight. A special thank you to Bounleuth Sengsoulin, Khamvone Boulyaphone and Aussana Nasrikhen who faced obstacles together and shared moral support for each other in all the hard times in Hamburg.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family, in particular my grandmother, Manee Dabbaransi, my late mother, Chatsiri Techasiriwan, as well as my father and brother, as well as other relatives and friends for their help, moral support and for understanding me.

“Mother ... I want you to be with me and see me today.”

Apiradee Techasiriwan
Hamburg, 24 April 2019

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations	Full names / meanings
AD	Anno Domini (Christian Era)
BE	Buddhist Era
BC	Before Christian Era
CE	Common Era
CS	Chulasakarat (Minor Era) / Cūḷasakarāja
CSMC	The Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures
DLLM	Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts
EFEO	École française d'Extrême-Orient
GBC	Great Buddhist Council
PLMP	Preservation of Lao Manuscripts Programme
LS	Laos
MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts
RLG	The Royal Lao Government
YN	Yunnan

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1. Tai Lü

1.1 Brief history of Tai Lü

The Tai Lü are a Tai ethnic group whose motherland is located in the autonomous Dai prefecture of Sipsòng Panna (Xishuang Banna Daizu Zizhi Zhou 西双版纳傣族自治州) in the far southwest of Yunnan Province in the People's Republic of China; this has probably been the case for over a millennium. However, the voluntary as well as forced migration of Tai Lü to neighbouring countries – namely contemporary northern Laos, northern Thailand, the Shan State of Myanmar, and northern Vietnam – resulted in a wide, but fragmented, area of settlement for the Tai Lü. Currently, the Tai make up 34%, or roughly one-third, of the total population in the areas, while the rest of the population tends to consist of ethnic Chinese who started to migrate to this area during the Republican period (1912–1949), and whose numbers continued to increase throughout the following decades.¹

According to the oral traditions of the Tai Lü detailing several local chronicles, in the past, the area of Sipsòng Panna was a large forest named *Moeng Mae Ya Pa Ma Hai Long* (Thai: เมืองแม่ย่าป่าหิมาราชหลวง). Here, there resided a group of women, which eventually came to be ruled over by an angel. The angel was born in the form of a giant dog. He then travelled to women's locality, where he wedded them all. After that, every time the women gave birth, the dog would kill the sons but spare the daughters. This continued until, one day, the dog was killed by a man named Cao Koek Ka (Thai: Cao Klüak Kla เจ้าเกลือกกล้า). Since then, the male population in the area increased, eventually leading to the establishment of the polities – or *müang* – of Moeng Mae Ya and Moeng Ma Rai. These later merged to form Chiang Rung, the present-day capital of the Tai Lü, and Moeng Ham, a smaller township in Sipsòng Panna.²

Conversely, the Tai Lü also believe that they emigrated from *Moeng Lü Long* (lit., Great Polity of Tai Lü) and that Phaya Alawo was their leader. They spent around two to

¹ Foon Ming Liew, Grabowsky and Renoo 2012, 7–11.

² Thawi 1986, 42, 51–55.

three years migrating to the land that was later to be called Sipsòng Panna. Here, they established Moeng Chiang Rung as their capital.³

The documented history of Sipsòng Panna, however, starts with the reign of Phaya Coeng (1160–1180 CE), the first king of the Tai Lü, who established Hò Kham Chiang Rung (The Chiang Rung Golden Palace). After that, the 44 kings of the Coeng Dynasty continued to rule the kingdom⁴ until the area was occupied by Chinese Communist forces in January 1950.⁵

1.2 Tai Lü way of life

The Tai Lü way of life is accustomed to the area's topography; the region is surrounded by mountains and forests, and provided nourishment by the Mekong River. As such, the main occupations of the Tai Lü are centered on agriculture and products derived from the forest. The Tai Lü people also conduct both local and long distance trade. Tai Lü's Pu'er tea is famous and it is one of their most important trading commodities.⁶

The Tai Lü practice Theravāda Buddhism, which spread to Sipsòng Panna during the late fourteenth century and early fifteenth century; however, the origins of their beliefs are derived from Animism, which saturates their lives from birth to death. Moreover, these beliefs continue to regulate their behavior and exert a strong influence on both culture and tradition into the present day. For example, there are always spirit houses in every Tai Lü villages, residences, markets, rice fields, mines, marshes, forests and other places – including even in Buddhist monasteries – to protect both the location and the lives of the people. These beliefs also appear in their customs and law, called *ฮึดบ้านครองเมือง* /*hīt bān khòng moeng*/. One rule, for instance, stipulates that when they establish a village, they must appoint a leader and set up *ไ้บ้าน* /*cai ban*/ (village pillar) and appoint *เทวดาบ้าน* /*thewada ban*/ (guardian spirit of village).⁷ Concomitantly, Theravāda Buddhism also exerts a strong influence on the Tai Lü way of life. The Tai Lü always attend religious activities and rituals. Such actions are regarded as a key responsibility through which they dedicate their strength and provide money to care for religious devotees. Tai Lü boys, for instance, must be ordained as novices so they can study the Dhamma and acquire other knowledge.⁸ Through these studies, Tai Lü

³ Kanya 1998, 170.

⁴ Kanya 1998, 170

⁵ Yanyong and Ratanaporn 2001, 339

⁶ Yanyong and Ratanaporn 2001, 195–215.

⁷ Yanyong and Ratanaporn 2001, 224.

⁸ Yanyong and Ratanaporn 2001, 215–242.

men learn the Tai Lü script, which allows them to produce manuscripts to transmit the teachings of the Buddha, as well as preserve Tai Lü literature and other cultural knowledge.



Figure no. 1.1: Rice fields in Sipsong Panna (Apiradee collection)



Figure no. 1.2: A Tai Lü woman weaving at her residence (Apiradee collection)



Figure no. 1.3: Tai Lü people attend a religious ceremony (Apiradee collection)

1.3 Tai Lü language and script

The Tai Lü language belongs to the Tai-Kadai linguistic family like the Thai and Lao languages. It is assumed that their script derives from Lan Na Kingdom; today, the former centre of the Lan Na kingdom is situated in the upper northern region of Thailand with Chiang Mai as its capital.

As noted, Theravāda Buddhism spread to Sipsòng Panna during the late fourteenth century. We can thus deduce that the religion came to this area during the reign of King *Tilokaraja* (1441–1487) of the Lan Na Kingdom. His reign is regarded as a golden era, during which the Lan Na Kingdom was at its strongest, and marked by the flourishing of Buddhism. During this time, the boundaries of the kingdom expanded in multiple directions, for instance, eastwards to the Nan Kingdom, westwards to the Shan areas east of the Salween River, and northwards to Chiang Rung (Sipsòng Panna). The expansion of the Lan Na Kingdom also brought Theravāda Buddhism to Sipsòng Panna together with the Dhamma script, which was used to transcribe the ‘Dhamma’ – or Buddhist Scriptures – in manuscripts.

While some Tai Lü people believe that their script has existed for more than 1,000 years, almost all Thai and international scholars agree that the Tai Lü script is simply a variant of the Dhamma script, which developed in the fourteenth century in the Kingdom of Lan Na. This, in turn, was derived from the Old Mon script of Hariphunchai⁹ and later spread

⁹ Hariphunchai was a Mon kingdom in the area of northern Thailand. It was occupied by King Mangrai, the first king of the Lan Na Kingdom in 1292.

to Sipsòng Panna during the reign of King *Tilokaraja* (1441–1487). Indeed, if one examines some of the old Tai Lü scripts, they look like Lan Na scripts from after BE 2100 (1557 CE).¹⁰ However, if one compares Lan Na and Tai Lü orthography, there are some differences between them. The Lan Na language, for example, has diphthongs in their spoken language, while Tai Lü has only monophthongs in their spoken tongue; however, like Lan Na, diphthongs appears in their written text. Therefore, a confusing phenomenon arises between Tai Lü orthography and the spelling that often appears in their manuscripts; for example: the diphthong /ua/; Tai Lü pronounces /o/, such as a word หัว /hua/ (head) in Lan Na, Tai Lü pronounces หอ /ho/; however, in their manuscripts this can appear both as /hua/ and /ho/. On the other hand, words containing the diphthong /o/ have also been written reversely. For example: the word โลก /lo:k/ (world) has been written both โลก /lo:k/ and ลอก /luak/, the latter spelling suggesting incorrect etymology and thus rendering it orthographically in a misleading way. This incongruence between written and spoken language might have resulted from the fact that the Tai Lü script and orthography was developed from Lan Na script at a time when significant vowel changes in the Tai Lü dialects (such as the change from /ua/ to /o/) were underway.¹¹ This phenomenon, known as “hypercorrection”, which appears in Tai Lü orthography (for details, see chapter two), was one of the reasons for the reformation of the Tai Lü script and orthography in later periods.

Moreover, the Chinese government, realizing the concentration of Tai people in Sipsòng Panna, also called for improvements in Tai script. As such, the government began to research the matter and conduct surveys in 1952, before formulating a plan to improve the Tai written language by cutting “unnecessary” characters and tone marks. The Chinese government also added a variety of other graphemes considered necessary for devising a simplified new script. It also regulated Tai spelling to replace the confusing old system in 1955.¹² The new system markedly changed the Tai Lü script and orthography. Some letters and overlapping sounds were removed. Tai Lü orthography was changed completely; i.e, in the old system, the vowels, final consonants and tone marks could be surrounded by the initial consonants, while in the new system, all of them are put on the same line with the initial consonants.

¹⁰ Prasert 1986, 3.

¹¹ Apiradee 2003, 121–153.

¹² Tao Sü Sin 1986, 11.

For example:

“น้อง” /nòng/ (younger sister/brother)

Old Tai Lü

New Tai Lü

ᨾᩃ

ᨾᩃᩃᩃ

In 1958, the first newspapers, magazines, textbooks and Tai Lü literature were printed in the new Tai Lü script. The old Tai Lü script, however, did not disappear and continued to be used until the present day, especially in the writing of manuscripts circulating in religious circles.¹³

Later, during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), the situation vis-à-vis Tai Lü manuscript culture deteriorated markedly. A large number of manuscripts, especially those kept in monasteries, were destroyed by the Red Guards, as well as other religious sites and artifacts. However, some manuscripts belonging to private collections were secretly kept and secured, while others emigrated with their owners to foreign lands. Nevertheless, very few manuscripts survived.¹⁴

After the Cultural Revolution, the situation returned to peaceful again in early 1980; Buddhism, religious ceremonies as well as Tai Lü script and literature were revived.¹⁵ Subsequently, the Chinese government provided ethnic groups with opportunities to express and record their cultures and traditions; the Tai Lü culture, language and literature were revitalized from this period. Tai Lü people in Sipsòng Panna came together to restore monasteries and invited Tai Lü monks from Mūang Yang, Chiang Tung and Tha Khilek in Burma to live at the monasteries. This allowed the Tai Lü of Sipsòng Panna to revive their culture, practice their religious rituals, and teach the Dhamma to the people. Religious manuscripts were once again reproduced by the Tai Lü scribes – i.e., experts in Tai Lü script and literature. They copied these texts from old manuscripts, which had been kept safe by villagers and escaped the devastation of the Cultural Revolution.¹⁶ Since the late 1970s and early 1980s, the scribes returned to their work and have continued to copy and compose manuscripts until the present day.

¹³ Tao Sū Sin 1986, 17–18.

¹⁴ Kato and Isra 2001, 3.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Peltier 2011, 23–24.

1.4 Tai Lü Manuscript Culture

We can distinguish roughly two main types of writing support for Tai Lü manuscripts, namely, palm-leaf manuscripts (*bai lan*) and mulberry paper manuscripts (*pap sa*). The majority of Tai Lü manuscripts contain religious texts and are mostly written on palm leaves. Conversely, secular texts are written almost exclusively on mulberry paper. Manuscripts may also comprise texts of different categories. According to the classification system for Northern Thai (Lan Na) traditional literature, these categories¹⁷ are:

- Buddhism (*phutthasatsana* พุทธศาสนา)
- Folktales (*nithan* นิทาน)
- Customary Law (*kotmai boran* กฎหมายโบราณ)
- History (*prawattisat* ประวัติศาสตร์)
- Astrology (*horasat* โหราศาสตร์)
- Traditional medicine (*tamra ya* ตำรายา)
- Rituals (*phithikam* พิธีกรรม)
- White magic (*saiyasat* ไสยศาสตร์)
- Miscellaneous (*pakinnaka* ปกิณกะ)

Tai Lü literature is not so different from the literatures of Lan Na, Lan Chang (Lan Sang) and Chiang Tung, with noticeable similarities in aspects such as title, structure, material and the purpose of producing manuscripts. However, differences may arise in terms of literary styles, the forms of some scripts, and the names of people and places; such discrepancies help readers identify the work as Tai Lü literature, rather than that of Lan Na or another ethnic group.¹⁸

In the past, Tai Lü manuscripts were normally kept in monastic libraries and private collections. However, after many manuscripts were destroyed during the Chinese Cultural Revolution, local scholars began collecting extant manuscripts in the early 1980s in order to preserve the old manuscripts and the texts by copying and reproducing. Manuscripts dedicated to Theravada Buddhism were also imported to Sipsong Panna. Finally, the renewed ability to ordain boys and men as novices and monks, respectively, further revived the study of the Tai Lü script.¹⁹

¹⁷ These categories are adapted from the classification system for Lan Na manuscripts of Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, which was classified by Thai scholars such as Dr. Sommai Premjit who is an expert on Pali language as well as Lan Na and Lao manuscripts. (Personal talk between Apiradee Techasiriwan and Dr. Sommai Premjit at Archive of Lān Nā Inscriptions, Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, on 12 February 2019.

¹⁸ Peltier 2001, 19

¹⁹ Kato and Isra 2001, 1–4

In contrast, the political and social crises of Mūang Sing (Laos) during the late 1970s did not result in similar discontinuities. However, one can also observe the increased production of manuscripts from the 1990s as the government became less ideological.

1.5 Paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts

From preliminary studies of paratexts and non-textual elements in Tai Lü manuscripts, it can be deduced that they fulfil very important functions. The three main functions of paratexts supporting the principal text are: 1) structuring, 2) commenting, and 3) documenting (for more details, see chapter three). Paratexts can provide a lot of information about the scribes, donors and/or the manuscript itself, for instance: the name of the scribe/donor(s), the name of the monastery, the title of the text(s), the place where the scribe/donor lives, the desire(s)/purpose(s) of the scribe/donor, and/or the date of the donation and the completion of the writing process. They may also reflect the personal thinking and emotions of the scribes, the scribe's biography, and/or detail important contemporary historical events. Non-textual elements also play an important role in manuscripts. Such examples include: frames to emphasize certain key words within the text and special ornamental symbols indicating the beginning/end of a text or the separation of different chapters/sub-chapters from each other. They are not only beautiful decorations, but also help to structure the text and aid the reader in understanding where a new topic or chapter begins. They serve as a kind of navigator through the text.

Furthermore, an examination of the paratexts and other non-textual elements in the manuscripts of each period clearly reveals some of the influences of Western and Chinese printing technology. In brief, it is clear that the paratexts have changed over time. Therefore, it is very interesting to study the paratexts and non-textual elements in Tai Lü manuscripts, a study I have entitled: *Tai Lü Manuscripts from Southern Yunnan and Northern Laos: The Function and Development of Paratexts in a Recently Revived Manuscript Culture*.

2. Review of related literature and theoretical framework

There has been little quantitative analysis of paratexts in the field of Tai (including Thai and Lao) manuscriptology. In Thailand, philologically-oriented scholars usually regard the manuscript only as a carrier of text(s), thus focusing on the content of the main text(s) – for instance, by embarking on critical editions – or they are interested in comparative and linguistic studies. However, some foreign scholars study paratexts. Paratexts not only provide

background information about the text itself, but also help us to better understand the production and use of the manuscript as a material object. In my corpus, colophons are the most important category of textual paratexts and a crucial element for understanding the production, use and dissemination of manuscripts.

Nonetheless, the research of paratexts in Tai manuscripts is still very rare; however some western scholars have studied paratexts in northern Thai manuscripts. *Chips from Buddhist Workshops Scribes and Manuscripts from Northern Thailand* by Oskar von Hinüber, for instance, was presented at the 5th International Conference on Thai Studies in London, on 7th July 1993. It examines a collection of Pāli manuscripts kept at Vat Lai Hin in Lampang Province (see also von Hinüber 2013). This is a very important monastic library in northern Thailand, containing the oldest palm-leaf manuscript written in Lan Na Tham script dating from 1471 CE; it also houses around 140 Pāli manuscripts. The section of the paper exploring paratexts describes the wishes of the scribes, which appear in the colophons of six manuscripts and reflect the Buddhist belief that the age of *sāsana* (Buddhism) will end after 5,000 years. Therefore, the scribes are concerned about the eventual disappearance of their religion and express such feelings through the wishes and purposes of copying and donating manuscripts, i.e. so the teachings of Buddha will endure for 5,000 years. Other wishes of scribes and donors include a desire to be reborn in the time of the future Buddha named Metteyya, and wishing to become a Buddha or Arahant in the future (see the documentation of such colophons in Von Hinüber 2013).

Another article, entitled ‘The Colophons of Thirty Pāli Manuscripts from Northern Thailand’²⁰ by Harald Hundius, examines the colophons of the thirty Pali manuscripts, dated between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century, from Vat Lai Hin. He notes that colophons are texts appearing in a paragraph of one to three lines – but sometimes up to a page in length – written in vernacular language. The colophons not only provide information about the date, when and/or where a manuscript was completed, but also the name and social background of the scribe and/or the sponsor/donor of the manuscript. The colophons also reflect the scribes’ principal motivations for making Dhamma manuscripts, that is, to help Buddhism endure for five thousand years. Furthermore, the making the manuscripts is a means to acquire merit, which is aimed at reaching three kinds of happiness: happiness during their present and future lives, and the ultimate happiness of eventually reaching Nibbāna, the highest aspiration of a Buddhist. The scribes also remark on the quality of the copied work. As some scribes may

²⁰ The article was published in *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, Vol. XIV, 1990.

not be very familiar with the Pāli language, mistakes and errors can work their way into copies. Others make humble apologies about the quality of their hand writing, blaming the use of a common feather, or merely engaging in the tradition of politeness prevalent in Thailand (and, also, Tai ethnic groups incidentally). Conversely, maledictions may also appear in the colophons in cases where scribes want to preserve the unblemished nature of the manuscripts; therefore, they curse anybody who might write on the manuscript.

In addition, Daniel M. Veidlinger's *Spreading the Dhamma: Writing, Orality, and Textual Transmission in Buddhist Northern Thailand* investigates the scribal colophons of palm-leaf manuscripts from northern Thailand. These colophons provide a wealth of historical information not only the general details – such as the title, the name of the sponsor, the name of the monastery where the manuscript was made etc. – but also the reasons for making the manuscript, the living conditions of the scribe, and the amount of remuneration for copying the manuscript. However, the very earliest Lan Na manuscripts from the fifteenth century contain only short colophons, which provide only the most vital information. Other paratexts that appear in the manuscripts are marked in the margins, in the front of interlinear glosses. However, the markings provided in the margins are quite limited on some leaves, with their contents comprising the title of the text and the date of the manuscript. In the part of commentary, it is founded only in *Nissaya* text, which is ideas, comments and notes are records in the margins. Interlinear corrections are found in numerous manuscripts, with most written in ink. Another non-textual element mentioned in this text is a *gomūtra*, which is referred to as an ornament or illumination in palm-leaf manuscripts, that is sometimes found at the beginning or end of a section of text.

Justin Thomas McDaniel (*Gathering Leaves & Lifting Words Histories of Buddhist Monastic Education in Laos and Thailand*, 2008) refers to an important event regarding Lan Na manuscript culture, which is mentioned in colophons of several manuscripts and in three inscriptions. The event is about translocation of manuscripts which produced by Kruba Kañcana. Kruba Kañcana Araññavāsi Mahāthera (born 1789), the abbot of Sung Men monastery in Phrae Province in northern Thailand, went to Nan Province and collaborated with the governor of Nan to order the copying of 1,103 Tipitaka manuscript fascicles. He then brought them back to Phrae Province and Kruba Kañcana's is now known as one of two of Lan Na's outstanding "Buddhist librarians" (McDaniels, 2009, 77–80). He also went to Luang Prabang (northern Laos) to arrange the copy of manuscripts to transport to Phrae. Furthermore, many colophons of the manuscripts in monasteries in northern Thailand indicate that they were produced in order to teach writing skills.

In a similar vein, Bounleuth Sengsoulin, a Lao scholar from Vientiane, studied the accumulation of knowledge recorded by Buddhist monks in Laos through an examination of manuscripts from the personal collection of Sathu Nyai Khamchan (1920–2007), the senior high ranking monk of Luang Prabang, Laos, in his dissertation titled: *‘Buddhist Monks and their Search for Knowledge: an examination of the personal collection of manuscripts of Phra Khamchan Virachitto (1920–2007), Abbot of Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang’* (2016). In the part of his dissertation regarding paratexts, he explores the contents of manuscript margins, in which the left-hand margin of the first page of a palm-leaf manuscript traditionally contains the title or name of the story. In both palm-leaf and paper manuscripts, moreover, the separation of various texts or sections is also noted in the left-hand margin. The information appears in the left-hand margin because the text is written from left to right in horizontal lines; therefore, it is easier for the reader to read the information written in the left-hand margin in contrast to the right.

Furthermore, the colophons of the manuscripts examined can appear both before and after the main text, providing documentary information such as the era, the date, the name of scribe, sponsor(s) and/or donor(s), the title of the text, and the objectives and wishes vis-à-vis the creation of the manuscript. The objectives of manuscript-making appearing in the colophons are similar to a number of other Theravada Buddhist manuscript cultures in Southeast Asia: i.e., that producing manuscripts will help enable Buddhism to flourish for 5,000 years; that it will aid the donor(s) in attaining *nibbāna*; that it is dedicated to a deceased person; that it will bring happiness; and/or that it will remove an evil or disease from the donor’s body. One special motivation for some of the manuscripts in this collection marked some milestones of Sathu Nyai Khamchan’s life, namely his birthday and the second cycle anniversary of his birthday. Nonetheless, the wishes of manuscript initiator(s) mostly pertain to the desire to reach *nibbāna*, and the hope that making-merit will improve their happiness and help them to follow the Buddha’s teachings in their day-to-day life. These characteristic features of paratexts in Lao manuscript culture are generally similar to other Tai manuscript cultures, including the Tai Lü and Lan Na, as well as other Theravada Buddhist manuscript cultures in Southeast Asia.

Regarding the theory of paratexts, Gerard Genette²¹ provides a basic definition of a paratext as follows: “... the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and more generally, to the public.” Conversely, Syeed Ali Mirenayat and

²¹ Genette 1997, 1.

Elaheh Soofastaei²² stipulate that “para means ‘beside’ and paratextuality is the relation between a text and its ‘paratext’”.

Genette²³ also divides paratexts into two categories: first, the *peritext*, which constitutes the paratexts located inside the book, such as title, preface, chapter titles and other notes. Second, the *epitext* comprises the paratexts located outside of the book such as interviews, conversations, letters and diaries. One interesting aspect of the study of paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts relates to how they support the text and what they communicate to readers.

3. Core Questions

The main purpose of this dissertation is to study the paratexts and non-textual elements of Tai Lü manuscripts from southern Yunnan Province in China and northern Laos. Most of these manuscripts are made from either mulberry or industrial paper. The core research questions informing this dissertation are as follows:

1. What kinds of paratexts and non-textual elements are found in Tai Lü manuscripts?
2. What are the concrete functions of these paratexts in the Tai Lü manuscripts from Yunnan and northern Laos?
3. What are the diverse functions of non-textual elements in Tai Lü manuscripts and how do they interact with paratexts?
4. How can the diachronic development of the paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts be determined?
5. What are the main thematic issues present in the paratexts, notably colophons, in Tai Lü manuscripts?

Through these questions, the dissertation hopes to achieve the following goals:

- to survey and study paratexts and non-textual elements in Tai Lü mulberry paper manuscripts from southern Yunnan and northern Laos;
- to study the function of the paratexts and non-textual elements in Tai Lü manuscripts;
- to study the development and change of the paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts in each time period such as Corpus Southern Yunnan: Period 1 (1884–1949), Period 2 (1950–

²² Syyed Ali, Mirenayat and Soofastaei 2015, 534.

²³ Genette 1997, 4 – 5.

1979) and Period 3 (1980–2013), and Corpus Northern Laos: Period 1 (1883–1914), Period 2 (1915–1974) and Period 3 (1975–2003);

- to study and present the content – for instance, regarding the beliefs, state of society - evident in the paratexts of Tai Lü manuscripts.

4. Sources

A corpus of 56 mulberry paper manuscripts from Yunnan and 30 from Laos formed the point of departure for this project. Among the objectives was to study how the scribes organised knowledge when producing their manuscripts and which criteria they applied. The analysis also addresses the question of whether certain texts were copied directly from older extant manuscripts or from printed material, and/or whether they were based on oral traditions. Furthermore, the networks of authors, scribes, sponsors and collectors of manuscripts needed to be identified to better understand the social function of manuscripts in the still ongoing process of ethno-cultural revival. Over the course of fieldwork, the number of manuscripts included in the analysis was considerably expanded to a Yunnan corpus of 333 and a Laos corpus of 119 manuscripts. In this dissertation, 290 manuscripts (211 from the Yunnan corpus and 79 from the Laos corpus) were selected to be studied. The manuscripts are from several sources that is 202 manuscripts are from Project area A, 57 manuscripts are from Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (DLLM), 20 manuscripts are from Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan's collection, five manuscripts are from Renoo Wichasin's collection, four manuscripts from the Payap University Archives, one manuscript is from EFEO Vientiane and one manuscript is from Dr. M.R. Rujaya Abhakorn's collection.

The field research in Laos was conducted by Prof. Grabowsky in February 2013 and February 2014 over a total period of two weeks. The main target area was the district of Müang Sing in the province of Luang Namtha bordering Sipsòng Panna. In addition, Tai Lü and Tai Yuan villages in the valley of Luang Namtha itself were also visited. Like in China, the research in Laos proceeded very efficiently and without any interference from government agencies. While preparing the field trips – to Yunnan as well as to northern Laos – information about important monastic repositories, local scribes and collectors of manuscripts was collected in advance.

The field trips resulted in the documentation and digitization of more than three hundred manuscripts in addition to our original corpora. With few exceptions, these manuscripts were obtained from monastic repositories and private collections. However,

collections in museums and libraries in China were, in general, inaccessible; a visit to the National Museum of Sipsòng Panna in Chiang Rung (Jinghong) demonstrated this. In the main office of the museum was a special room for keeping old documents, including mulberry paper and palm-leaf manuscripts. At present, this room is still quite disorganised and it has yet to be determined when manuscripts will be made accessible to scholars and researchers. We were informed that a large number of mulberry paper manuscripts are also kept in the Information Centre situated behind the main administrative building of Sipsòng Panna Prefecture, but foreigners are not permitted to study these.

5. Note on transcription and Romanization

In this study modern Thai script are used for transcribing Tai Lü words because the modern Thai script is widely used among the scholarly community in the field of Southeast Asian Studies. In general, Tai Lü words are Romanized according to their pronunciation. However, some words like *müang* respectively *moeng*, two variant spellings for the traditional Tai polity, are mixed up in my study. I decided to prefer the local usage. Therefore, polities in the Tai Lü speaking areas in Yunnan are called “Moeng”, such as Moeng Laem, Moeng Long and Moeng La, while Tai Lü and other Tai township in Laos, such as Müang Sing, Müang Luang Namtha, are called “Müang”, according to a convention in Laos and Thailand. In addition, the word *chiang* (walled town under a prince) is used for replacing *ceng* in Tai Lü, and *ciang* in Northern Thai pronunciation.

Moreover, the Romanization of Thai words almost follow faithfully the system of the Standard Romanization of the Royal Institute of Thailand. However, there are a few exceptions, for example I prefer to differentiate between initial consonants ɨ and ʈ by Romanizing them *c* and *ch*, respectively. Citations of Thai texts follow the spelling of the Tai Lü, even if they contratic the modern Thai orthography. Furthemore, the Pali words and terms follow the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration, based on the standard system proposed by the International Congress of Orientalists in Geneva in 1894.

The Romanization using in this study as following table:

Table 1: Standard Romanization

Thai consonants	Roman scripts	Thai consonants	Roman scripts
ก ก	k	ป ฝ	p
ข ข ค ฅ ฆ	kh	ผ ผ ฝ	ph
ง	ng	ฟ ฟ	f
จ ช	c	ม	m
ฉ ฌ	ch	ย	y
ซ ฌ ฌ ฌ ฌ	S	ร	r l h
ญ	ñ	ล ฬ	l
ฎ ฏ ท	t	ว	w
ฐ ฑ ฒ ณ ฑ	th	ห ฮ	h
ณ น	n	อ	a
บ	b		

6. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis examines the paratexts contained within Tai Lü manuscripts from southern Yunnan in China and northern Laos and comprises five chapters, the first of which entails the introduction and the last its conclusion.

Chapter Two first provides a brief history of the Tai Lü in Laos and Sipsòng Panna. This is followed by an exploration of Tai Lü manuscripts culture, including the Tai Lü language and script, as well as some general characteristics of Tai Lü manuscripts. The history of the Tai Lü indicates that they were once the rulers of a prosperous kingdom. A key indicator of the prosperity and independence of Tai Lü civilization is the existence of their own language and script, through which they produced and copied a great number of manuscripts containing both religious and secular texts. This continued until the destruction of the Tai Lü Kingdom and its culture by outside forces during the twentieth century, a process through which the land was appropriated, too. After the crisis resulting from foreign conquest and the subsequent Chinese Cultural Revolution, which destroyed much of Tai Lü

culture, the Tai Lü people have tried to revive their culture in its entirety through the documentation of personal knowledge and the reproduction of surviving literature. To this end, the Tai Lü script and attendant manuscript culture have been revived, and continue to be improved and developed to the present day.

Chapter Three investigates the nature of the paratexts that appear in the Tai Lü manuscripts under examination. In my preliminary study, I found several kinds of paratexts, which perform very important functions vis-à-vis the manuscripts. Specifically, these functions include: 1) titles and intertitles, 2) paratexts in the margin of the page, 3) colophons, 4) tables of contents, and 5) prefaces, but especially in the colophons. Colophons are the most interesting element of the paratexts found in the manuscripts. They not only appear at the end of manuscripts, but also on the front/ back covers, at the beginning of manuscripts, and between the main texts. Moreover, the forms or formulae regarding the creation colophons are not fixed. Several components can be interchanged. Sometimes colophons are composed of only one or two components. As such, we find a wide variety of colophons in Tai Lü manuscripts. Sometimes they are very short, whereas others are very long. Another important component found in the colophons of Tai Lü manuscripts is the dating system. The manuscripts use the lunar calendar system mixed with the Tai calendar system. This is a specific style used by some other Tai ethnic groups, such as Tai Yuan (Lan Na), Tai Khuen, Tai Yai (Shan), etc. Consequently, an examination of the position and composition of colophons, as well as the dating system used, is included in this chapter.

In addition to the important roles played by paratexts, non-textual elements appearing in Tai Lü manuscripts also serve important functions in supporting the main text. Therefore, I investigate various non-textual elements present in the manuscripts, e.g. ornamental symbols and punctuation, and their function.

In my preliminary study, I, furthermore, found that paratexts and non-textual elements may change over time; this phenomenon is especially observable in the manuscripts produced since the late 1970s. In brief, the influence of modern printing techniques and other advanced technologies – for instance, from China and France – have affected the production of Tai Lü manuscripts. Such influences include changes in writing support, the formatting of texts as books, and the evolution of various orthographical features, like punctuation, which are absent in traditional writings. Therefore, the ongoing development of the Tai Lü manuscripts is examined. The study contained within this dissertation, however, is only an overview due to a lack of accessible manuscripts dating before nineteenth century. Many old manuscripts were burned during a variety of political crises, predominantly the Chinese Cultural

Revolution. Moreover, many of the surviving Tai Lü manuscripts in China and Laos are not systematically catalogued, as I discovered during my field trip to the south of Yunnan in 2012. During this visit, I had the opportunity to visit the office of the Xishuangbanna Museum of the Nationalities. Here, while a number of the manuscripts are kept in file cabinets, they are yet to be categorized, meaning they are very difficult to search in any systematic fashion. There are also a number of the manuscripts kept in the archives of the University of the Nationality of Yunnan in Kunming that have been preserved; however, I was unable to survey the manuscripts keeping at the two places because foreigner scholars are not normally permitted access.

Next, the content of all the textual paratexts in my corpus will be analyzed in chapter four. There is a lot of information provided in these paratexts regarding scribes, donors and the manuscript itself, especially in the colophons and prefaces. The section about the scribes and donors basically details their name, the name of their family members, and their place of residence, all of which are referred to in the same colophon. Only in some cases does the occupation of the scribe appear after his name. Furthermore, the purposes and wishes of the scribes/donors for copying/donating the manuscripts are frequently provided, most of which reflect the religious beliefs of Tai Lü people. In some of the colophons, the scribes apologize for their mistakes while copying texts and humbly disparage their own (allegedly poor) hand writing, even if the script is undeniably beautiful. Curses also appear in some colophons. Sometimes scribes want to ensure that anyone who borrows the manuscripts makes sure to return it. Most of the manuscripts, moreover, are very long; therefore scribes often complain of aches and pains stemming from the long periods spent copying such texts.

Furthermore, with regard to the information detailing the manuscript itself, the title of the manuscripts is basically provided on the cover folio, in the margin of a page, in the preface and colophon. Long stories are usually divided into several chapters. In this case, the number of the chapter is also provided together with the title.

The date of the copying process is also typically provided, especially the time and date when it was completed. However, some scribes also provide the date that copying process commenced, thereby letting us know how long the text took to copy.

In some rare cases, the price of the manuscript is detailed in a colophon, all of which raises some interesting questions. The appearance of this characteristic may indicate the price and transmission of a manuscript from one place or country to another.

One piece of information, which is important and often appears in prefaces and colophons, pertains to the background of the text. Due to the great number of Tai Lü

manuscripts destroyed, it is now necessary for scribes to interview knowledgeable elders and collect previous manuscripts in order to rewrite and reconstitute Tai Lü literature.

Last but not least, aside from the information pertaining to scribes, donors and manuscripts noted above, historical events are also detailed in the prefaces and colophons, especially the political events and crises constituting the Cultural Revolution. Scribes express their views about the crisis, thereby passing this history onto younger generations so that they remember the cruelty faced by Tai Lü people during this period.

Chapter 2

General information about Tai Lü history and Tai Lü manuscript culture

1. A Brief history of Tai Lü in Laos / Sipsòng Panna

1.1 General information of Tai Lü

The Tai Lü are an ethnic group whose members live in territories connecting five countries in Southeast Asia. The largest Tai Lü group – almost 400,000 people – lives in the Tai Autonomous Prefecture of Sipsòng Panna (Xishuang banna daizu zizhi zhou 西双版纳傣族自治州) in the south of Yunnan province in the People's Republic of China. This region is considered the ancestral homeland of the Tai Lü. Owing to forced resettlements and voluntary migrations, notably in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Tai Lü have spread throughout the region and today are found in large numbers in neighbouring areas of the upper Mekong basin, especially in Burma. Here, more than 200,000 Tai Lü live in the Keng Tung (Chiang Tung) region in the eastern portion of Shan State. In Vietnam, there is a very small population located in the north of Lai Chau Province. In Laos, the roughly 130,000 Tai Lü are concentrated in the northern part of Phong Saly province (districts of U-Tai and U-Nüa)¹ and in Luang Namtha province, specifically in the districts of Müang Sing and Müang Lòng, but also in other provinces of upper Laos. In Thailand, they settled in Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Nan and Phayao provinces in the north of the country (Michaud 2006, 146).² Significant Tai Lü communities also live in northern Thailand, in particular in the provinces of Nan, Phayao, Chiang Mai, Lampang, and Lamphun. In the latter province at least two-thirds of its over 400,000 inhabitants have Tai Lü ancestry. They are descendants of war captives who have been resettled from Müang Yòng in the eastern Shan area of Burma in the early nineteenth century. However, most of the more than half a million Tai Lü in Northern Thailand have been culturally and, to a large extent, also linguistically assimilated into the Khon Müang (or Tai Yuan) mainstream. The total number of Tai Lü in China and upper mainland Southeast Asia may be put at 1.1 to 1.2 million.³

¹ These two districts once belonged to Sipsòng Panna and were ceded by China to French Indochina 1896.

² There is extensive ethnographic literature on the Tai Lü. A classic is the essay "Ethnic Identification in a Complex Civilization: Who are the Lue?" by the American anthropologist Michael Mormaen published in 1965. More recent ethno-historical studies include Lemoine 1987; Hsieh 1989; Hasegawa 2000; Ratanaporn 2000, and Davis 2005.

³ For Tai Lü demography with a focus on Sipsòng Panna, see Liew-Herres et al. 2012, 7–11.



Figure no. 2.1: Present-day borders of the Upper Mekong Region
(Grabowsky and Claudia Schoer Collection)

In China the Tai Lü are not classified as a separate ethnic group (*minzu*) but put together with other groups of the Southwestern branch of the Tai-Kadai linguistic family under the ethnic category “Dai” (*daizu*).⁴ The Tai Lü homeland of Sipsòng Panna was once known as Moeng Lü – the “[Tai] Lü polity” – or the Kingdom of Chiang Rung. This historical kingdom was considerably larger than the present-day Tai Lü ‘autonomous prefecture’ in southern Yunnan. The borders of the autonomous prefecture began to shrink in the second half of the nineteenth century due to treaties between China and a variety of European powers. Pertinently, the Sino-French treaty signed in September 1895 formally ceded an important

⁴ The variants Dai, Tai or Thai can be traced back to the same root. Dai reflects the Proto-Tai pronunciation of an originally voiced and unaspirated dental, represented by the grapheme *thò thahan* in modern Thai (๓) and *thò thung* (๓) in modern Lao. In both language it is today pronounced /tʰ/, as a voiceless and aspirated dental. In most other languages and dialects of the large linguistic family, such as in Northern Thai (Kam Müang), Tai Lü or Shan, the same initial consonant is pronounced /t/, as a voiceless but unaspirated dental. Therefore, “Tai” is preferred to denote the speakers of the linguistic family reaching from southern China to the Malay peninsula and from northern Vietnam to northeastern India. This includes, of course, also the Thai and Lao.

district, or *panna*, comprising Moeng U-Nüa and Moeng U-Tai to French Indochina. These two *müang* (Tai Lü: *moeng*) are now part of Phong Saly Province in the Lao People's Democratic Republic. In 1913, moreover, the area of Puer (Moeng Maen) in present-day Simao District, changed jurisdictions from Sipsòng Panna to the province of Yunnan and thus became part of China proper (see Liew-Herres et al. 2012, 7).

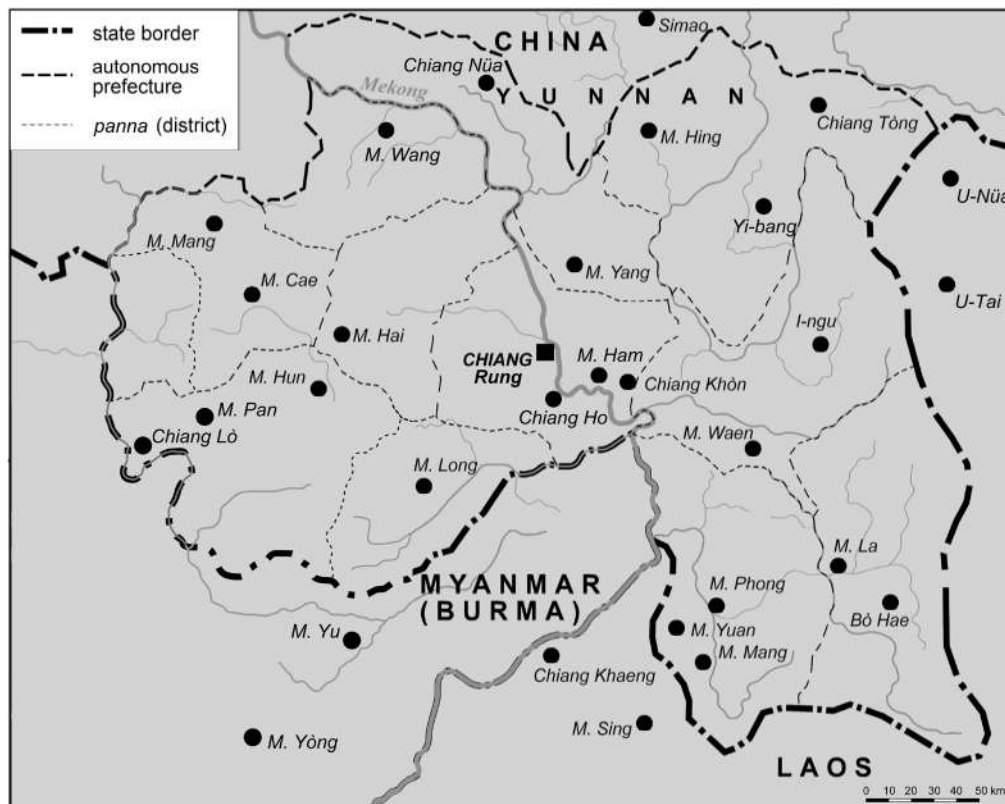


Figure no. 2.2: Map of Sipsòng Panna, China (Grabowsky and Claudia Schoer Collection)

The Tai Autonomous Prefecture of Sipsòng Panna was founded in 1953. It is located in southern Yunnan, in the northeast of Burma (Myanmar), and the northwest of Laos, and encompasses an area of almost 20,000 square kilometres. Today, the average population density in Sipsòng Panna is one of the lowest in Yunnan as 95 percent of the autonomous prefecture's territory is covered by mountains. Less than one-third of the population, mainly members of various montagnards of Tibetan-Burma or Austro-Asiatic extraction, such as the Hani (19 percent), Lahu (6 percent), and Bulang (4–5 percent), live in mountainous areas. The vast majority of the population lives in the agriculturally productive plains which make up only five percent of the territory. The thirty plains comprise slightly less than 1,000 square kilometres. The plain of Moeng Chae, a fertile rice-growing area of 160 square kilometres, is the largest plain followed by the plains of Moeng Long, Moeng Ham, and Chiang Rung, each

of which comprise 70–80 square kilometres (Liew-Herres et al., 2012, 5). The Mekong River, called Lan Cang Jiang by the Chinese, flows across Sipsòng Panna in a northwest to southeast direction, dividing the region into two almost equal halves (Chia Yaencong 2005, 259–60; Yanyong and Ratanaporn 2001, 197). As such, the Mekong River is considered the lifeblood of the Tai Lü autonomous prefecture.



Figure no. 2.3: Map of Tai settlements in Yunnan, China (Grabowsky and Claudia Schoer Collection)

Together with smaller Tai groups, such as the Tai Nüa (pronounced: Tai Noe) and Tai Ya, the Tai Lü make up over 350,000 or 34 per cent of Sipsòng Panna's slightly more than one million inhabitants. According to Yanyong Ciranakhòn (Chia Yaencòng)⁵, a leading expert of Tai culture and history, there were 750 Tai villages counted in Sipsòng Panna by the turn of this century. Of these villages, 714 are inhabited predominantly by Tai Lü, 19 by Tai Nüa, and 17 by Tai Ya. The villages of the two smaller Tai groups are concentrated in two northern districts (Liew-Herres et al., 2012, 7–9) where, as wet-rice cultivators, they live in small intra-montane river basins. Han Chinese, constituting 26–28 per cent of the population, are concentrated in towns where the Tai make up less than 30 per cent of the inhabitants. Most of the ethnic Chinese who live in Sipsòng Panna with the Tai Lü and other indigenous

⁵ Yanyong Ciranakhòn or Chia Yaencòng in Chinese name, was a Thai scholar of Chinese nationality who is a prominent expert in the field of Tai cultural studies.

nationalities (*minzu*) have migrated from various provinces in southern China, such as Hunan, to the border area since the late 1950s. This migration mainly occurred during the aftermath of the Great Leap Forward and the great famine caused by this social and economic disaster. Chinese migration to Sipsòng Panna has continued in post-Mao China due to the economic opportunities offered by border trade with China's Southeast Asian neighbours. Before January 1950 when the Communist People's Liberation Army seized power in Yunnan, however, the ethnic Chinese presence in Sipsòng Panna was relatively insignificant, with the Han making up only five percent of the local population in the first half of the twentieth century.⁶

1.2 A Brief History of the Tai Lü

Tai Lü in Yunnan

The history of the Tai peoples is recorded in many legendary stories and annals. The earliest of the Tai historiographical writings are called *tamnan* or *phün* (pronounced *pün* in Tai Lü)⁷ which might be roughly translated as “chronicle”. These writing detail the origins of the first Tai settlements, the indigenous beliefs of the first Tai migrants, and their sometimes violent encounters with the indigenous populations. The fightings between the invading Tai groups with the autochthonous, mostly Mon-Khmer speaking, groups are trope regulary occuring in the chronicles of the Tai Lü as well as of other Tai groups.⁸

The history of Tai Lü can be divided into two parts: Tai Lü proto-history and documented history. Tai Lü proto-history derives from local evidence, namely chronicles and folk tales. Although the content of these stories may at first seem like unreliable myths, they can also provide information regarding the characteristics of the ethnic group, such as

⁶ For more detailed population statistics of Sipsòng Panna, see Liew-Herres et al. 2012, 9–10. This publication offers a rather concise summary of the population history and population dynamics of the region as well.

⁷ In Northern Thai *pün* –like the corresponding Siamese word *phün* –signifies the surface of flat objects. However, it can also be used in the sense of “level”, “stripe” as a classifier of flat objects, such as saws. Its secondary meaning *pün* signifies “the past”, “the origin”, and “history”. This explains its close semantic connection with *tamnan*. See Udom 1991, 882.

⁸ *Tamnan* is a complex term, borrowed from Pāli through Khmer, that evokes the concept of “descent” and “origin”; it can thus also arouse historical references. In contrast to its Siamese counterpart, the *phongsawadan*, *tamnam* is not limited to the chronicles of famous families and dynasties. It could also characterise texts that are almost exclusively religious in nature, for example, the *Jinakālamāllpakaraṇaṃ* by Bhikkhu Ratanapañña, which was written in Pāli after 1516. However, it seems highly exaggerated to take this atypical case as a paradigm of the complete genre of *tamnan* and execute a definition contradictory to the *phongsawadan* based on these, such as Charnvit Kasetsiri (1976) suggested in his much-noted work on the beginnings of the Ayutthaya empire. Other *tamnam* combine elements of religion with dynastic chronicles. The Pāli chronicle *Cāmadevīvaṃsa*, the “Chronicle of the dynasty of queen Cāma” written at the beginning of the 15th century by Bhikkhu Bodhirāṃsi, may serve as an example. For details, see Grabowsky 2004, 46–47. See also Wyatt 1976.

governmental structures and the application of their rules and traditions (Yanyong and Ratanaporn 2001, 22). For example, the chronicle titled *Tamnan Patama Kap Phrom Sang Lok*, or *Chronicle of Brahma Creating the World*, details the migration of the Tai Lü people in ancient times. The narrative recounts how the female leader of the Tai Lü named Ya Kham Daeng spent around two years leading her people from Moeng Lü Long (Müang Lü Luang or “Great Lü County/Polity”) in the north – albeit no evidence has yet been unearthed vis-à-vis the location of their putative original homeland – southward to the area of the Mekong basin where they settled and established Moeng Lü Mai (“New Lü Country/Polity”) as their new homesteads. This area is known in the present day as Chiang Rung (Cia 2005, page xxiii and 463). Tai Lü chronicles speak of clashes between the migrating Tai and aboriginal groups called Tamil or Milakkha resulting in the subjugation of the latter groups moving to the hills and recognizing the political and cultural dominance of the Tai.

Conversely, Joachim Schliesinger (2003, 61) argues that the Tai Lü most likely came from Kwangtung Province in south-eastern China or northern Vietnam. They then migrated through north-western Vietnam to today’s southern Yunnan province. Perhaps revealingly, a few Tai Lü communities still exist in Lai Chau Province of north-western Vietnam in the present day.

In addition, Cao Kham Wong, a former advisor to the ruler (*cao fa*) of Sipsòng Panna, recorded that Sipsòng Panna once composed of smaller independent polities that were joined through intermarriage among the ruling elite. Later, the first king of Chiang Rung, Phaya Coeng (1180–1192), came to this area and subdued the Lawa (or Wa), the aboriginal population of the area, and established a unified kingdom named Anacak Hò Kham Chiang Rung, or Chiang Rung Golden Palace Kingdom, in 1180 (Sumitr 1983, 123–137).⁹

In the story of Phaya Coeng and the history of this period seems to be based on myth. There is no contemporary – for example, epigraphic – evidence testifying to his existence as a historical figure. Nevertheless, the story of Phaya Coeng not only appears in Tai Lü history, but also in mythologies of other Tai ethnic groups living in the Black and Salween rivers areas; the middle Mekong basin – for instance, the Tai Dam (Black Tai) and Tai Khao (White Tai) in Vietnam; the Tai Yuan in the Lan Na Kingdom (the center of the Lan Na Kingdom was situated in the upper northern region of Thailand with Chiang Mai as its capital); and among the Lao and Khmu in northern Laos (Dhida 1989, 43–49, see also Prakong 1987). In the legends of the Tai, Phaya Coeng has many roles; he is a cultural hero of an epic poem, a champion against oppression, a conqueror, the founder of new kingdoms, the original ancestor,

⁹ The unification of the Tai Lü country by Phaya Coeng exhibits some similarities with the gathering of the Lao principalities by the founder of the Lan Sang Kingdom, King Fa Ngum, in the mid-fourteenth century. See Stuart-Fox, Martin, 1998. *The Lao Kingdom of Lān Xāng: Rise and Decline*. Bangkok: White Lotus.

and a deity (Chamberlain 1995, 1–20). Rosenberg (1984) identifies Nong Zhi-gao, an ethnic Nung ruler in the Vietnamese-Chinese border area, fighting in 1053/55 a guerilla war against superior Chinese troops, as the blueprint for the later Phaya Coeng (Cüang) myth.

Most of the Tai Lü chronicles start with the story of Phaya Coeng as the founder of the kingdom and the first king of the Coeng dynasty. After he conquered the other cities, he established his Hó Kham (Golden Palace) in Chiang Lan village, and changed the name from Chiang Lan to Hó Kham Chiang Rung, or Chiang Rung Golden Palace, in 1160. He had four sons named Lao Yoe Hoeng (Roeng), Ai Kong (or Pong), Yi Kham Hoeng (Roeng) and Sam Khai Noeng respectively. Phaya Coeng ruled for 21 years before passing away in 1180. His fourth son, Sam Khai Noeng, succeeded to the throne in 1181. The family reigned uninterruptedly until the last king in the mid-twentieth Century named Cao Mòm Kham Lü (Tao Sū Sin–Dao Shixun c. 1944–1950), encompassing a dynastic legacy of some 41 rulers.¹⁰

During the long rule of the Coeng dynasty, Chiang Rung was invaded and repeatedly occupied by its more powerful neighbours, that is to say, China, Burma and the Lan Na Kingdom. From the reign of its eighth king, Cao Ai (1286–1345), Chiang Rung was perpetually embroiled in warfare. The first of these wars commenced in 1292, when the army of the Yuan dynasty, en route to make a war with Lan Na, passed the hitherto unknown area of Chiang Rung and, thus, proceed to attack and occupy it. This is held to be the first encounter between the Yuan dynasty and Chiang Rung (Sumitr and Samerchai 2003, 22). In a similar vein, King Tilok of Lan Na¹¹ (r. 1443–1487) waged many wars against Chiang Rung and the Tai Yuan army (Renoo 2001, 39–45)

Henceforth, Sipsòng Panna became a tributary state of China – one of the six Pacification Commissions (*xuanwei sei*) established by the Ming court in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century¹² – until the reign of Cao Un Müang, the twenty-second ruler (*cao fa*) of Chiang Rung (c. 1530–1588)¹³, when a significant change in regional geopolitics took place; Burmese power was on the rise and gradually extended to the middle and upper sections of the Mekong basin. As such, Chiang Rung was invaded by “Fa Suttho Thammaracha” – a generic

¹⁰ Some versions of the chronicle of Sipsòng Panna list even 44 rulers since the reign of founding king Phaya Coeng and its last ruler Cao Mòm Kham Lü who ruled until the Communist victory in early 1950. See Liew-Herres et al. 2012 345–352 (Appendix 1).

¹¹ King Tilaka Lan Na, who is referred to in the Tai Lü chronicles, is not King Tilokaraja of Lan Na (1409–1487), but King Mangrai (the first king of Lan Na, 1239–1311), who in Chinese documents is recorded as collaborating with Chiang Rung against Chinese rule. (Sai Sam Tip. "The Lu in Sip-Song Panna from the Earliest Times Down to A.D. 1644". M.A. Thesis, Arts and Science University of Rangoon 1976, p.105; quoted in Yanyong and Ratanaporn 2001 73)

¹² As for the establishment of these Pacification Commissions, see Liew-Herres et al. 2012, 35–40. The Pacification Commion of Cheli (Moeng Lü) was established in 1384.

¹³ Liew-Herres et al. 2012, 348.

term referring to Burmese kings, but here relating specifically to King Thalun (1629–1648), who conquered Chiang Mai in 1558. The Burmese king subsequently invaded Chiang Rung, whereupon Cao Un Müang surrendered in 1564. At that time, parts of the territory of the Tai Lü country were ceded to the Lao kingdom of Lan Sang and the Tai Khün principality of Chiang Tung (Renoo 2001, 151–159). In 1570, the *panna* system, which originated in Lan Na,¹⁴ was used in Chiang Rung. The 30 *müang* of the Tai Lü country were divided into twelve *panna* or districts. Six of these *panna* were situated on the west bank of the Mekong, the other six on the east bank of the river. Only the *panna* of Chiang Rung comprised territories on both banks (Liew-Herres et al. 2012, 28–29).

China did not obstruct the territorial expansion of Burma. This was probably because of political turmoil in China and the Chinese wanted to avoid any frontier wars. As such, China accepted the premise of ruling Chiang Rung in conjunction with the Burmese. Since this time, the successor to the throne of Chiang Rung needed the approval of China and Burma. This is evident in the metaphor: “*Hó pen phò, man pen mae*” (ฮ่อเป็นพ่อ ม่านเป็นแม่), “China is [like] a father, Burma is [like] a mother”. Chiang Rung thereafter became a Chinese-Burmese condominium, a polity with two overlords (*müang sòng fai fa* เมืองสองฝ่ายฟ้า), an arrangement that remained relatively stable until the first half of the eighteenth century.¹⁵ After that, Chiang Rung was plunged into chaos: not only was the royal family divided into two factions supporting China and Burma respectively, but warfare also erupted between China, Burma and Lan Na, each of which aimed to enhance their power and expand their territories. Later, after Burma was colonized by the British in 1885, the relationship between Chiang Rung royal court and Burma was brought to a conclusion (Yanyong and Ratanaporn 2001 75–117).

Although Sipsòng Panna was controlled by the Chinese royal court for many hundreds of years (1292–1911), the Tai Lü enjoyed relative autonomy because China did not install a regional governor to rule over them. In January 1950, however, the Kuomintang administration collapsed in Yunnan, several months later than in the northern and central parts of China, and with this came the end of the Coeng dynasty (as Phaya Coeng is considered the founder king of Moeng Lü) of Sipsòng Panna. The Kuomintang had previously appointed a government official to govern Sipsòng Panna in conjunction with Chiang Rung’s historic feudalistic rulers. Later, Chao Mòm Kham Lü (alias Dao Shixun), the last king of Sipsòng Panna, who succeeded to the

¹⁴ The emergence and spread of the *panna* system as well as its close connection with the local irrigation system is discussed in Grabowsky 2005 19–39.

¹⁵ The dual overlordship of the Chinese and Burmese in Sipsòng Panna is discussed in-depth by Liew-Herres et al. 2012, 48–56. See also Grabowsky 2008, 41–49. Such dual overlordships and multiple sovereignties are a widespread phenomenon in pre-colonial Southeast Asia. During the first half of the nineteenth century, for example, Cambodia was a kingdom with two overlords, with the Siamese king as the Cambodian ruler’s “father” and the Vietnamese emperor as his “mother”. See Chandler 1993, 116.

throne in 1947 at the age of twenty-two, abdicated in 1950, thus ending eight centuries of Tai Lü statehood (for more details, see Liew-Herres et al. 2012, 71–72).

This period also encompassed the Second World War when the Kuomintang government fought against Japanese troops in the south of Yunnan. As a frontier zone bordering the Shan state of Chiang Tung, which came under Japanese control in 1942, Sipsòng Panna was considered of vital strategic importance by the Chongqing government under Chiang Kai-shek. Kuomintang troops were stationed in almost all districts of Sipsòng Panna which was the cause of the local population was in trouble during the war.

Later, the Cultural Revolution, which officially started in 1966, brought about major ruptures in the social, cultural and religious life of the Tai Lü, as well as other ethnic groups. Thousands of Tai Lü people fled to adjacent Tai speaking areas in Burma (such as Müang Yang, Phayak and Chiang Tung) and Laos (notably Müang Sing), though the respective situations of state of society in these places were far from stable.¹⁶ Müang Sing, under the control of Laos forces since 1962, was itself suffering from the ‘ultra-leftist mistakes’ of the local Laos leader, who was a native of neighbouring Müang La in the southern part of Sipsòng Panna and allegedly influenced by the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Several thousand Tai Lü, including refugees from Sipsòng Panna, consequently fled to areas under the control of the Royal Lao Government and even to Thailand.

During the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guards destroyed numerous temples and pagodas, sacred sites were desecrated, sutra texts and old Tai Lü texts seized, and images of the Buddha publicly burned. Sacred forests believed to be homes of Tai Lü spirits and ancestors were cut down. A few former monks hid books and scriptures in the rafters of their residences or buried them in the forests. Many people, especially monks and their families, fled to Laos and Thailand. This wanton destruction of heritage can be encapsulated by the reflections of one Tai Lü man: “We Tais have lost a generation. It will take many generations to build our culture up again to where it was before the Cultural Revolution” (Davis, 2005: 20–21).

Following these depredations, the last supreme patriarch of Sipsòng Panna, based at Wat Pa Che Maha Rajasathan in Chiang Rung, passed away in 1974 and the highest religious position in the prefecture remained vacant for almost twenty years (see Casas 2008, 294). Japanese anthropologist Kiyoshi Hasegawa reports that in the 1950s there were 574 monasteries with almost 6,500 monks and novices in Sipsòng Panna.¹⁷ This number declined to 556 monasteries with 4,090 monks and novices in 1966. Fifteen years later, when the

¹⁶ For instance, Wasan Panyagaew contends that groups of Tai Lü had already fled to Moeng Sing immediately after the Communists ‘liberated’ Sipsòng Panna in early 1950 (see Wasan Panyagaew 2008, 310).

¹⁷ Formoso quotes a Chinese source stating that in 1957, immediately before the Great Leap Forward, 1,034 monks and 6,606 novices were counted. These 7,640 conventuals were spread across 594 monasteries (Formoso 2008, 156).

Chinese government allowed the restoration of temples and pagodas, only 145 monasteries with some 600 novices and far fewer monks had survived.

Nevertheless, Sipsòng Panna experienced a remarkable cultural revival during the 1980s. In 1988, 474 village monasteries housed 642 monks and 4,980 novices (Hasegawa 2005). By 2000, the number of monasteries had further increased to 560, with a total of over 7,000 monks and novices (Davis 2006, 58). Based on his fieldwork undertaken in the late 1990s and early 2000s, Thomas Borchert concludes that most Tai Lù families still want their sons to become ordained as novices, if only to learn the old Tai Lù script. He estimates that in 2000 “approximately 15 percent of the male population between the ages of eight and twenty were ordained as novices” in Sipsòng Panna (Borchert 2008, 132).

Since then there have been some contrary trends. Families have become reluctant to send their son(s) to monasteries for long periods of time because they fear it might disadvantage them in a booming and increasingly competitive economy. In September 2012 and February 2013, for instance, Grabowsky observed that few novices expressed a wish to become ordained as monks or stay in the monastery for long. In the border districts of Moeng Long and Moeng Phong – and even in Chiang Rung – there were quite a large number of monasteries where monks came from adjacent Tai Lù areas in Burma – such as Moeng Yang, Moeng Luai, and Phayak in the Chiang Tung region – or from northwestern Laos.¹⁸ In some – probably rare – cases, foreign abbots are employed by the local government to supervise the young novices who still predominantly come from nearby villages. Theravāda monks from outside of China require the approval of the Bureau for the Management of Religious Affairs of Nationalities (*Minzu zongjiao shiwu guanli ju*) to remain monks in Chinese territory, regardless of whether they are employed by the government or not. It is an overarching concern of state authorities to incorporate monks – both local and foreign – into the Chinese system of religious administration to ensure that they do not cause any political trouble.¹⁹

Some scholars have concluded that new forms of transnational connectivity allow the Tai Lù diaspora in Laos, Burma and elsewhere to associate themselves with their ancient homeland in Sipsòng Panna (see Wasan Panyagaew 2005 and 2008; Cohen 2001). The emergence of a new Tai Lù identity across national borders has been challenged by Antonella Diana whose field research demonstrates that, at the very least, the younger generation of Tai

¹⁸ Kojima Takahiro and Nathan Badenoch have recently observed a similar situation in the Tai Noe-Jingpo autonomous prefecture of Dehong. According to their survey of twenty-nine temples in Ruili city in 2010, “71 percent of the monks were from Myanmar, including both Shan and Palaung, while 81 percent of novices crossed the border to take up residence on the Chinese side.” (Takahiro and Badenoch 2013 114).

¹⁹ Christian Daniels (personal communication with Volker Grabowsky) points out that the Bureau’s concerns in this regard also relate to the control of religious activities by other Buddhists, as well as followers of Daoism, Christianity and Islam.

Lü in Yunnan increasingly identifies itself through their daily social relations with the Chinese nation-state (Diana 2009, 212).

Though more than 95 percent of ethnic Tai Lü in Yunnan live in Sipsòng Panna, the cultural influence of this group extends beyond the prefecture's borders. Closely connected to Sipsòng Panna is the district of Moeng Laem (Chinese: Menglian). This district borders the territory of Moeng Cae, a district in the far west of Sipsòng Panna, and the territory of Chiang Tung in present-day Burma (Myanmar). Along with the rulers of Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Tung, the ruler of Moeng Laem once held the prestigious title of Lord of the Golden Palace (*cao hò kham*). In the twentieth century, Moeng Laem lost parts of its territory and now no longer shares a border with Sipsòng Panna. At present, it is recognised as an autonomous county of the Tai, Wa and Lahu nationalities within the Simao (Puer) Prefecture. Moeng Laem comprises a territory of almost 2,000 square kilometres and had 114,000 inhabitants in December 2004. The Tai make up 26,000 people, which is less than the Lahu (33,000) and Wa (28,000) populations.²⁰ The Tai of Moeng Laem are a mixture of Tai Nüa – who form the majority – Tai Khün and Tai Lü. As Theravada Buddhism was introduced to Moeng Laem via Chiang Mai and Chiang Rung, the “Tai Laem” also use the Tai Lü variant of the Dhamma script when writing religious texts. They also use the Lik (or Tai Nüa) script of Dehong,²¹ but this is only used for non-religious texts. Nevertheless, many non-religious texts are written in the Dhamma script too.

Tai Lü in Laos

According to the latest Lao national census of 2015, the Tai Lü are the eighth largest recognized ethnic group in the Lao People's Democratic Republic with slightly more than 126,000 members or 2.0 percent of the country's 6.66 million inhabitants (2015). Tai Lü settlements are concentrated in the northern provinces of Luang Namtha, Bokeo, and Phongsaly, all bordering China and Myanmar. Due to migrations waves – both voluntary and forced migrations – during the last three to four centuries, Tai Lü villages are found in substantial numbers also in the inland northern Lao provinces of Udomxay and Luang Prabang, as well as in Xaingabuli province bordering the northern Thai province of Nan. The largest

²⁰ Data provided by Zhang Yun Wiang (Tai name: Sam Weng), an official working in the People's and Religious Department (Ming Zong Ju) of Menglian. Interview (together with Renoo Wichasin and Foon Ming Liew-Herres) with Zhang Yun Wiang, Moeng Laem, 4 April 2005. For the history of Moeng Laem, see also Grabowsky 2008, 19–22.

²¹ For more about the origins and development of the Lik script, see Sai Kam Mong, *The History and Development of the Shan Scripts* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2004); and, from a different perspective, Christian Daniels, 'Script as the Narrator: Oral Tradition and Literacy in Tay Maaw Chronicles', *Senri Ethnological Studies*, Vol. 74 (2009): 173–192.

concentration of Tai Lü is found in the district of Müang Sing (Luang Namtha province) where they have been the dominant ethnic group in society and politics. It is this district where I have concentrated my field work on Tai Lü manuscript culture in Laos.

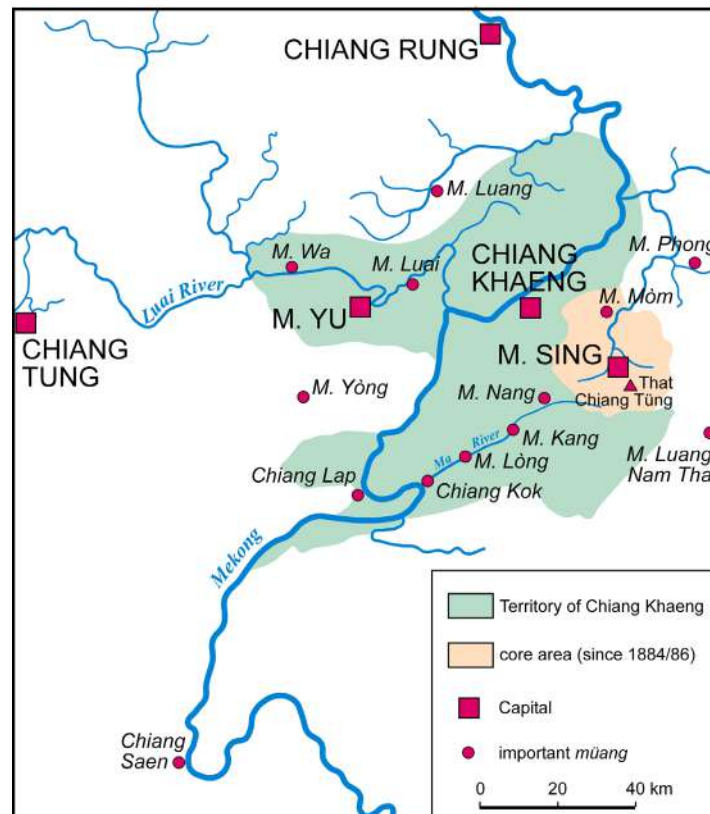


Figure no. 2.4: Map of Müang Sing, Laos (Grabowsky and Claudia Schoer Collection)

Müang Sing is located in the extreme northwest corner of Laos in the province of Luang Nam Tha. This small town of less than 2,000 inhabitants is just 10 km south of the Chinese border and 30–40 km east of the Burmese border. According to the most recent census figures in 2010, the district of Müang Sing has 37,000 inhabitants of which less than 40 percent are Tai Lü or members of other Tai groups, notably the Tai Nüa (Tai Noe) and Tai Dam. The largest ethnic group are the Akha who dominate the hill areas. The district's territory of 1,344 square kilometres is 60 percent forested. The Tai are settled in the lowlands. Their villages are mostly clustered around the rice-growing plain of the Nam Sing and Nam Dai, two rivers that drain an area up to 25 km in length and 19 km in width. The plain is situated 700m above sea level and surrounded by mountains reaching altitudes of 1,658 m to the east and 1,041m to the north.²² Three Tai Lü villages are situated along the eastern bank of the Mekong River: Ban

²² District Office (Müang Sing) 1993. See also Grabowsky and Kaspar-Sickermann 1997.

Sai, Ban Bò, and Ban Siang (Chiang) Khaeng.²³ The last settlement was the original site of the capital of the principality of Chiang Khaeng, which once possessed territories on both sides of the river. It is difficult to reach by land. The tiring trek from Müang Sing to the old site lasts at least two full days, traversing various Akha villages.

Müang Sing has a long and complicated history being settled, abandoned and resettled several times. It was last refounded in 1885 as the third and final capital of the principality of Chiang Khaeng whose name it bore for a while. The original location of Chiang Khaeng is situated on the east bank of the Mekong River. It is now a small Tai Lü village of some 50 households. The name “Chiang Khaeng” is first mentioned in a western source, in a report from 1837 by the British diplomat-explorer Captain W.C. McLeod. Here, he describes some impressive waterfalls and rapids “between the towns of Kiang Khieng and Kiang Tsén (Chiang Saen)” and continues: “After passing Kiang Khieng it takes a south-westerly direction to below the town of Kiang Tsén, where again it turns off to the south-eastward and flows on in that direction; no trade is at present carried on by the river.”²⁴

The manuscripts detailing the history of Chiang Khaeng – namely the Chiang Khaeng Chronicles (including the Wat Ta Pao version, Ban Nam Kaeo Luang version, Ban Wiang Nua version and the custom and rules of Cao Fa Sali Nò Kham of Müang Sing) – record that the first ruler of Chiang Khaeng was Cao Fa Dek Nòi (who is also known as Cao Hua Lòk), who was the exiled son of Cao Saenwi Fa, the ruler of Chiang Rung. As part of his exile from Chiang Rung, Cao Fa Dek Nòi was placed on a raft and floated downstream on the Mekong until he settled in the area and established himself as the ruler of Chiang Khaeng-Hò Kham. The Cao Fa Dek Nòi myth reflects the close relationship between Chiang Khaeng and the larger Tai Lü federation of Sipsòng Panna in the north since its early beginning. Though Chiang Khaeng is not mentioned in Chinese records as a Chinese vassal state (unlike Moeng Lü or Sipsòng Panna), Chinese influence was probably strong in Chiang Khaeng (Grabowsky and Wichasin 2008, 22–28).

However, since the second half of the sixteenth century the whole region north of Chiang Saen became a special military zone of the Burmese empire which had extended its grip of power over Lan Na and neighbouring areas, including the eastern Shan region. Burmese influence remained strong until conquest of Chiang Saen by Siamese troops and their allies from Chiang Mai, Nan and Luang Prabang in 1804. Thereafter the region north of Chiang Saen, including Chiang Khaeng, was constantly raided by troops from Lan Na, notably Nan to

²³ In this translation the term *chiang* (เชียงใหม่), meaning “fortified capital town”, is used. This is spelled according to Siamese pronunciation, which is adopted in most literature. In the Tai languages of the North, such as Tai Yuan, Tai Khün, and Tai Lü, the word is pronounced *ciang*, whereas the Lao pronounce it *siang* (written - PC), sometimes Romanised as *xiang*.

²⁴ MJ, 24 March 1837, cf. Grabowsky and Turton 2003, 392.

where parts of its population were resettled in various waves (f.e. in 1812/13 and 1838). The growing insecurity in the region forced the ruling elite of Chiang Khaeng to abandon its old capital, situated on the eastern bank of the Mekong, further inland to the western bank where in c. 1855 a new capital was founded at Müang Yu. When the security situation improved and further raids from Nan were no longer posing a real threat the prince of Chiang Khaeng felt that Müang Yu was rather impractical as the administrative centre of his principality, due to limited ricefields nearby, and the decision was taken to move the capital again to the eastern bank of the Mekong, this time to the wide and fertile plain of Müang Sing which had been left deserted since the last raid of Nan in 1838. The resettling of Müang Sing took almost a decade and was finished in 1886 with the move of the then ruler, Cao Fa Sali Nò Kham, to the newly built town (see Grabowsky and Wichasin 2008, 34–37).

Local tradition relates that Müang Sing was abandoned by its inhabitants for most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because of the incessant raids of rival polities in the south. The same oral tradition narrates that due to the initiative of Nang Khemma, a woman of aristocratic background from Chiang Khaeng, the valley of the Sing River was repopulated in 1792. Müang Sing prospered again, but less than half a century later the bulk of its population had disappeared. Most people were deported to, and resettled in, the Tai Yuan principality of Nan. Large-scale resettlement campaigns by the ruler of Nan against Müang Sing and other smaller *müang* in the region were carried out in 1805/06, 1812/13 and 1838. For the next forty years the plain of Müang Sing laid wasted and abandoned.

Preparations for the refounding of Müang Sing started in 1877/78. The bulk of the immigrants were either Tai Lü from Müang La and Müang Phong in Sipsòng Panna²⁵, or a mixture of Tai Lü, Tai Nüa, and Tai Khün people from Chiang Tung. The Tai Khün were the smallest of these three Tai speaking groups. Among the first settlers who arrived to the plain of Müang Sing was a group of people called the Tai Nüa or “Northern Tai”. Some Tai Nüa probably arrived as early as 1878 (Saimöng 1981: 270). According to local tradition, the Tai Nüa of Müang Sing originate from Chiang Ku and Müang Lò in the Szemao (Simao) district, which is situated to the north of Sipsòng Panna in southern Yunnan (Witdhaya 2003: 25). They fled this district not long before 1878 when Chinese troops were scouring the borders in search of remnants of the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864).²⁶ The ruler of *cao fa* (literally, “Lord of Heaven”) of Chiang Tung, who granted the Tai Nüa refugees shelter in his territory, regarded these brave and industrious people as ideal settlers for the deserted plain of Müang Sing (Ganesco 1904: 5). Their main village was Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, situated on the outskirts of

²⁵ For information on the relationship between Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Khaeng, see Liew-Herres, Grabowsky and Wichasin 2012; Yanyong and Ratanaporn 2001.

²⁶ “Mission du Haut Mékong ...”, CAOM, GGI, No. 20162. The Taiping rebellion was led by a Hakka named Hong Xiuquan (1814–1864) who founded the “Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace”, called *Taiping Tianguo*.

Müang Sing town. It was in this relatively densely populated village that British troops who temporarily occupied Müang Sing in 1895/96 established their camp.²⁷

Despite efforts to assimilate them into the Tai Lü mainstream, the Tai Nüa of Müang Sing have preserved their language and culture until the present day. Most of them are bilingual (Tai Nüa and Tai Lü) and they proudly preserve old mulberry paper manuscripts, which are written in a script completely different from the Dhamma script of the Tai Lü, but almost identical to the script used in Dehong (Yunnan). The Tai Lü variant of the Dhamma script is also used for inscribing Buddha images. Of the thirty-two ethnic Tai villages that are on the plain of Müang Sing, five villages are still inhabited by Tai Nüa.²⁸ According to the latest census, Tai Nüa make up one-twelfth of the total of population and one-fifth of the Tai population in Müang Sing.

The Tai Lü settlers who, along with their Tai Nüa kinsmen, were gradually transforming the landscape of Müang Sing, belonged to three different groups:

a.) The first group arrived at Müang Sing together with Cao Fa Sali Nò Kham when he transferred his capital from Müang Yu. They came from areas in “Western Chiang Khaeng”.

b.) The second group were descendants of former inhabitants of Müang Sing who had been deported to Nan during the first half of the nineteenth century. Until 1891, only about a quarter of the 2,000 deportees had returned and resettled in Müang Sing. Plans to repatriate one-third of the remaining 1,500 persons in 1893 were rejected by the Siamese Ministry of the Interior (Grabowsky 1999, 248).

c.) The third and by far largest group consisted of Tai Lü who immigrated from adjacent districts of Sipsòng Panna, notably from Müang Phong and Müang La (Warry 1895: 13).

Cao Fa Sali Nò Kham reigned during a period of French and British colonialism and the fate of Müang Sing fell was subject to Anglo-French border negotiations. The British supposed to be accepted from the ruler of Chiang Khaeng, but it failed. Cao Fa Sali Nò Kham and his family fled to Luang Nam Tha, Laos – that is, French-held territory – and urged both the officials and population of Chiang Khaeng to boycott the British. The conflict in Chiang

²⁷ The period of British occupation of Müang Sing and the reaction of Chao Fa Sali Nò Kham and the ruling elite of this small Tai Lü principality of Müang Sing is recorded in the Chiang Khaeng Chronicle, translated and analyzed by Volker Grabowsky and Renoo Wichasin. See Grabowsky and Renoo 2008, 48–50, 148–160.

²⁸ Apart from Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, these are the villages of Ban Silihüang, Ban Kum, Ban Thong Mai, and Ban Pang Kham (Ban Pa Tòi). The first four villages did already exist by the turn of the twentieth century with almost half of the population living in Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, with 260 inhabitants one of the largest villages in the plain of Müang Sing at that time. See COAM, GGI No. 20162 (section: Territoires de Muong Sing).

Khaeng ended in 1896 when the European colonial powers reached an agreement. In brief, British troops evacuated Müang Sing and Cao Fa Sali Nò Kham returned to his rump state, which became a French protectorate (Grabowsky and Renoo 2008, 28–51). The division of the principality of Chiang Khaeng along the course of the Mekong river with the western half falling under British rule and only the eastern half with the plain of Müang Sing remaining under the rule of the *cao fa* as a French protectorate, caused resentment on the side of the Tai Lü elite. Hearing that France was almost defeated by German troops, Mòm Ong Kham, since 1901 successor of his father Sali Nò Kham as *cao fa* of Müang Sing, tried to seek independence with the support of Chinese armed groups but failed. He fled into exile in Sipsòng Panna and Müang Sing came under direct French rule in 1916. Since then the area was part of the province of Haut-Mékong with Luang Namtha as its centre. At the end of World War II, in the spring of 1945, Chinese Kuomintang troops shortly occupied Müang Sing but were forced to leave the following year (Grabowsky 2016, 447–48).

According to a “History of Müang Sing” composed in August 2002 by Mai Thamdi, a local historian from Müang Sing who became district chief in the 1990s and retired in 2004, the Pathet Lao leaders in Müang Sing committed “ultra-leftist mistakes” that provoked the flight of thousands of Tai Lü and Tai Nüa villagers to RLG-controlled areas along the Mekong valley, and to Thailand (Mai Thamdi, 2002/04, 53). Though hundreds of Tai Lü families from Sipsòng Panna – mostly from the districts of Müang Phong, Müang La, and Müang Long – fled to Müang Sing after the Great Leap Forward (1958) and, once again, at the height of the Cultural Revolution (1966/67), Müang Sing suffered from a net loss of inhabitants during the Lao Civil War which ended in 1973.²⁹ Moreover, the rude and arrogant behaviour of the local Pathet Lao leadership, heavily influence by Maoist ideology, drove the Yao villages near the border with China into open rebellion and directly into the arms of the RLG. The RLG, in turn, armed the Yao with American weapons. After the armistice agreement of Paris from January 1973 the situation in Müang Sing improved as many refugees returned from Huai Sai and other areas controlled by the Royal Lao Government. Though the years immediately after the founding of the Lao People’s Democratic Republic (2 December 1975) were rather tranquil in the area of Müang Sing this changed after the outbreak of hostilities between China and Vietnam in 1979, following the Vietnamese invasion of Democratic Kampuchea in December 1978, a conflict the Lao government was forced to side with the Vietnamese. In retaliation of the Lao government’s anti-China policy, the Chinese began to support and train anti-communist Lao insurgents in Yunnan in the second half of the 1980s. These insurgents made frequent incursions

²⁹ Cohen (2000: 190) arrives at a similar conclusion arguing that the population loss resulting from the mass exodus of Tai lowlanders to royalist strongholds in Bokao province was “only partly compensated by the influx of Lue from Sip Song Panna as a result of the collectivization campaign in China.”

into the district of Müang Sing until 1989. Afterwards the situation improved again (Grabowsky 2016, 451–52).

Since the late 1990s Müang Sing has experienced rapid economic development. This accelerated from 2008 after the Lao government allowed the establishment of Chinese businesses in Müang Sing town. By early 2016 around 1,000 to 1,200 Chinese lived with legal residence in Müang Sing district, mainly in the urban centre. The town itself, formerly an agglomeration of four village-like quarters (*chiang*) inside the old city walls, has increasingly become an urban space, that is, “a small town and an important centre for business, tourism and services” (Houmphani 2008, 263).

2. Tai Lü manuscript culture

2.1 Language and script

The Tai Lü have their own language and script. The language belongs to the Tai-Kadai linguistic family like Thai and Laos languages. The Tai Lü script is a version of the Dhamma script, which could mean it is derived from the old Mon script that was used in the Mon Kingdom of Hariphunchai (current day Lamphun Province) (Kanikar 2011, 103). The Dhamma script³⁰ was widely used in Lan Na Kingdom after King Mangrai (the first king of Lan Na Kingdom, CE 1261–1311) occupied Hariphunchai. It then spread to Chiang Tung and from there to Chiang Rung during the fifteenth century when the political and cultural power of the King of Lan Na in Chiang Mai was at its apex. Both the Tai Khün of Chiang Tung and the Tai Lü of Sipsòng Panna developed their own variants of the Dhamma script. This script was originally devised for the writing of Pali texts, while secular texts, such as most stone inscriptions, were written in the so-called “Tamarind Pod Script” (*tua aksòn fak kham*). Later it was the Dhamma script which was used also for bilingual Pali-Tai (vernacular) texts and finally became the only script of the country while the Fak Kham script fell into oblivion. This was the case in Lan Na, Chiang Tung as well as in Sipsòng Panna. Only the Tai Nüa groups living in Menglian (Moeng Laem), Gengma, Moeng Ting and Jinggu continued to use their own secular script, the Lik To Ngok (Bean Sprout Script) along with the Tai Lü variant of the Dhamma script until modern times (see Grabowsky 2008, Sai Kam Mong 2004).

Furthermore, the Tai Lü script has spread, along with the Lan Na tradition of Theravada Buddhism, via Chiang Tung to some areas in Lincang and Pu'er prefectures, such as the Tai Nüa populated districts of Jinggu, Gengma and Moeng Ting. The Tai Nüa here also have their

³⁰ The earliest evidence of the Dhamma script is from the year 1376. It is a Pāli inscription of one single line discovered in the early 1980s on a golden leaf in a cetiya in Sukhothai province, Thailand. (Grabowsky 2008, 16).

own language and culture, the so-called Lik Hto Ngouk or Tai Noe script. Moreover, due to migration and the settlement of many Tai Lü people in eastern Burma, northern Laos and northern Thailand, the Tai Lü script has been found in these areas as well.

It is difficult to estimate when exactly the Tai Lü script was developed because many of the old Tai Lü manuscripts were destroyed by the Red Guards during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Among the manuscripts that we have found, the oldest one only dates back to 1874. Nevertheless, according to Cao Bavònwong, a member of the royal family of Chiang Rung, the Tai Lü people believe that their script was created more than 1,000 years ago, when the King Asokarāja and Indhirāja brought Buddhism and the Lek Tham (or Lai Tham) script (which used to be the written Pālī language) to Sipsòng Panna in approximately 1080 CE (1623 BE).³¹ Moreover, Cao Maha Khanthawong (1925–2013), an eminent Tai Lü scholar from Ban Chiang Lan in Chiang Rung, notes that some of the Tai Lü believe that they have had their own script for more than 3,000 years. This belief takes into consideration the contents of some religious manuscripts – for instance, epic poems and literature – which refer to situations that pre-date the birth of the Lord Gautama Buddha.³² However, we do not have any physical evidence to support these beliefs and thus cannot fully explain the genesis and exact age of the Tai Lü script.



Conversely, when we compare the history, spread of scripts, and the orthographic features of the Dhamma script between Tai Lü and Lan Na (an ancient Tai Yuan kingdom the centre of which was located in present-day Chiang Mai Province in northern Thailand), we can make some plausible deductions about the derivation of the Tai Lü script.

The historical evidence of Sipsòng Panna and Lan Na³³ refers to the family background of King Mangrai (the first king of Lan Na Kingdom, A.D. 1261–1311) in the same way; i.e., that his mother was a princess of Chiang Rung (the previous name of Sipsòng Panna) whose name was Nang Ua Ming Khai Fa (*or Nang Ok Aen; Nang Kham Kai*; Chiang Mai called Nang Thep Kham Khai). This is probably due to the very close relationship between the two kingdoms. Moreover, during the reign of King Tilokarat (the ninth king of Lan Na, 1441–1487), which is considered a period of significant territorial conquests and flourishing of Buddhism, the king extended the boundaries of the kingdom to the south and the east by conquering the kingdoms of Nan and Phrae (present-day provinces in northern Thailand), while in the north he overcame Chiang Rung and Müang Yòng (Saraswadee 1996, 102–147). In consequence, Buddhism was also brought to Sipsòng Panna alongside the Dhamma script which was used for writing the ‘Dhamma’ or Buddhist doctrine of manuscripts.



³¹ See Term Meetem 1986, 31

³² Interview with Cao Maha Khantawong, 5 October 5 2002.





³³ Namely, *Chüa khriia cao saenwi sipsòng panna* (*The Genealogy of cao saenwi sipsòng panna*) and *Tamnan phün müang chiang mai chabab chiang mai 700 pi* (*The Chiang Mai Chronicle, 700th Anniversary Edition*).

Besides political expansion by war and the spread of the Theravada Buddhism as detailed above, some observations regarding the script and the orthography of the Tai Lü script make the assumption that it might have been influenced by Lan Na. Prasert Na Nakorn argues that some of the Tai Lü scripts, such as  /má/ and  /ná/, and the sub-scripts are similar to the Dhamma Lan Na script of the post-1557 period. Therefore, Tai Lü could have received the Lan Na version of the Dhamma script during the reign of King Tilokarāja after the council of Tipitaka (the eighth, though nowadays not officially recognized, Buddhist World Council or *saṅgāyana*) which the King supported in 1477 (Prasert 1986, 3; 76).



Even though the Tai Lü script is derived from Lan Na, some scripts and orthographies have developed their own style. Indeed, the *Development of Tai-Lü Scripts and Orthography* by Apiradee Techasiriwan (2003) studied the Tai Lü script and orthography in 51 Tai Lü manuscripts dated between 1786–2002. The work found that most of the Tai Lü script in the early period (1786–1921) still resembled the Lan Na version of the Dhamma script; nevertheless, some of the scripts started to develop a distinct Tai Lü style. In the second period (1949–1986), the distinctiveness of Tai Lü script was more developed but with regard to orthography the Tai Lü script still continued to keep traits of Lan Na orthography in a rather hybrid way, which is obvious even in recently produced manuscripts from the period 1989–2002. This may be illustrated by the following examples:

	<u>Lan Na</u>	<u>Tai Lü</u>
/pá/		

As the shape of the consonant \mathfrak{p} /pá/ is similar to the consonant \mathfrak{n} /ká/, they often confuse the reader. Therefore, the tail of the Tai Lü consonant has been added below the script.

	<u>Lan Na</u>	<u>Tai Lü</u>
/khá/		
/dá/		

Some of the Lan Na Dhamma consonant graphemes often have a curly line at head of scripts, but the Tai Lü script has changed this to a curving line.

	<u>Lan Na</u>	<u>Tai Lü</u>
/cá/		

Some of the Lan Na Dhamma consonant graphemes are disconnected lines, whereas Tai Lü has modified these to form a unbroken line.

	<u>Lan Na</u>	<u>Tai Lü</u>
/á/	ᩃ᩠	ᩃ

Besides the consonant ᩃ /pá/, the consonant ᩃ /á/ is characteristic of the Tai Lü script, and very much resemble the corresponding consonant graphemes of the Lan Na variant of the Dhamma script. The first line of the script has been reversed to the opposite side and connected to the second line.

Moreover, the orthographies is the one point that support the presumption that Tai Lü script and orthography derives from Lan Na. As the Lan Na have diphthongs (Thai: *sara prasom*) in their spoken language, they also have diphthongs in their written language. Conversely, the Tai Lü have no diphthongs in their spoken language but they have diphthongs in their written language, for example:

The diphthong /i:a/, is pronounced /ee/ in Tai Lü.

The diphthong /u:a/ is pronounced /oo/ in Tai Lü.

The diphthong /u:a/ is pronounced /əə/ in Tai Lü.

However, when we study Tai Lü manuscripts, we usually find a large number of diphthong words where the same word has been written in both monophthong and diphthong in the same manuscript, for example:

<u>Word</u>	<u>diphthong</u>	<u>monophthong</u>
Wife	ᩃ᩠ᩃ /mi:a/	ᩃ᩠ /mee/
Cow	ᩃ᩠ᩃ /wu:a/	ᩃ᩠ /woo/
Tiger	ᩃ᩠ᩃ᩠ /suu:a/	ᩃ᩠᩠ /səə/

The difference between spoken and written language can confuse scribes when they write a word. In consequence, one interesting phenomenon that often appears in Tai Lü manuscripts is “the reverse of orthography and spelling” or “hypercorrection” or “overcorrection” (Renoo Wichasin, in Liew-Herres et al. 2012, 101–2), which means that monophthong (monosyllabic) words were written as diphthong or were sometimes combined in a hybrid form appearing within the same manuscript, for examples:

World	ငလ္လ /lok/ written in လ္လ /luak/ ငလ္လ /lok + luak/
Wicked things	ငဒ္ဒ /thot/ written in ဒ္ဒ /thuat/ - ငဒ္ဒ /thot + thuat/
Hungry ghost	ငဗ္ဗ /phet/ written in ဗ္ဗ /phiat/

The old Tai Lü script and orthography mentioned were extensively in Sipsòng Panna until the encroachment of Chinese Communism into the area.

During the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) , the cultural, traditional, and religious life of the Tai Lü – as well as that of other national minorities and the Han themselves – was severely threatened. The script and languages of the Tai Lü were very much endangered. Nevertheless, the political situation gradually improved after the demise of the “Gang of Four” centred around Mao Zedong’s widow, and minorities were, once again, given the chance to express their cultural particularities. At that time, the Government of China also became interested in the cultures, traditions and languages of its minority populations (Isra 2001, 2–3).

Chinese policy of standardising the written languages of the national minorities was suggested to some of the minorities who had flaws and imperfections in their written language that they might receive support to rectify it. Therefore, in 1952 The Language Research Institute, National Science Council of China and the Commission of Ethnic Affairs of Yunnan collaborated to observe closely and research the state of languages and scripts of the Tai (Dai) ethnic groups in Yunnan. They divided the dialects into two groups, namely Sipsòng Panna dialect (Tai Lü dialect) and Dehong dialect (Tai Na dialect), as the scripts are different in shape. Thus, a plan for the improvement of the scripts was hatched. The plan consisted of several policies, namely: to remove excessive characters and graphemes while adding other necessary characters and graphemes, to eliminate overlap between the writing systems and to clarify ambiguous writing. Therefore, the old, unstable, Tai Lü script and orthography were replaced by a new Tai Lü script and orthography based on the idea of clarity and certainty. The plan was tested for the first time in 1955 while producing official documents for teaching in primary school, and was later extended to newspapers, magazines, textbooks and the printing of works of traditional Tai Lü literature.

However, the Tai Lü had different opinions about the new script, some people agreed to continue to use the new script due to its much more simplified orthography. Others felt rather uncomfortable as the new script no longer reflected the etymology of lexemes and, thus, became completely unsuitable for writing Pali texts. As a result, these critics requested to use both the old and new scripts simultaneously. Some of them even called for the cancelation of the new script and a return to the old ways as they did not want to be cut off the literary tradition of their ancestors and that of all neighbouring groups of the Dhamma Script Cultural

Domain. For these reasons, the old script is still publicly used throughout Sipsòng Panna until the present day, albeit at a reduced rate (Tao Sū Sin 1986, 11–18, see also Isra, 2001: 6–12). In Moeng Laem (Menglian) and also in Moeng Ka (Jinggu), however, the new Tai Lü script has never been introduced by the Chinese authorities for the simple reason that this area was not part of the autonomous prefecture. Here the old Tai Lü script has survived much more in tact and is more highly visible in the public sphere. It is used, for instance, on road signs and for the inscriptions on the front of monasteries and other public buildings.³⁴

2.2 Tai Lü manuscripts

Concerning to the writing support of Tai Lü manuscripts, we can distinguish roughly two types of material, namely

1. palm-leaf manuscripts;
2. mulberry paper manuscripts.

Palm-leaf (Thai: ใบลาน, *bai lan*) and mulberry paper (Thai: กระดาษสา, *kradat sa*). Roughly speaking, religious texts are mostly written on palm-leaf whereas secular texts are written almost exclusively on mulberry paper which is less durable in the humid climate of Southeast Asia and nowadays is the preferred writing support in Tai Lü manuscript culture for any kind of manuscripts. There is a tendency during the last century in favour of mulberry paper, perhaps due to easier accessibility. In Tai Lü manuscript culture, there has two types of binding the mulberry paper manuscripts that is a) whirlwind binding (typical); b) concertina-like format



Figure no. 2.5: a (whirlwind binding)



Figure no. 2.6: b (concertina-like format)

³⁴ My field notes from August 2012 and personal communication with Prof. Grabowsky who visited Moeng Laem again in March 2017.

The concertina binding which has its origin probably in China is used in Tai Lü manuscript culture less frequently than in the manuscript cultures of the Tai Khün (Chiang Tung) or the Tai Yuan of Lan Na. The folios of concertina manuscripts were made by pasting sheets of paper together, either with glue or by stitching, in one long continuous sequence before folding them in a long and rather narrow rectangular shape. The concertina format is also found in Thai manuscript culture but the paper of manuscripts were produced from the bark of the *khòì* tree. More frequent in Tai Lü manuscript culture is the whirlwind binding where the folios bound by stitching them together at one of the narrow sides which was then the top of the manuscript. The writing is parallel to the binding, and the manuscript would be read from top to bottom. The finished manuscript can be rolled up and stored like a scroll. The size of these manuscripts vary considerably. Some Tai Nuea manuscripts, written in Lik script, could have a width of more than one meter. The standard sizes of Tai Lü as well as Shan manuscripts of whirlwind binding is 43 cm x 17 cm or 44 cm x 18 cm.

It can be assumed that Theravāda Buddhism spread into the area of northern Thailand around the eleventh century during the reign of king Anawrahta Minsaw of Burma (1044–1077), who was a strong believer in Buddhism. He moved his troops to Yunnan and the kingdom of Lavo³⁵ (Naradhip Prabhanbhong 2007, 47–52). During the reign of King Sabbadhisiddhi of the Mon kingdom of Hariphunchai in twentieth century, moreover, Buddhism flourished and prospered in Hariphunchai. This can be seen in the stone inscriptions from this period which report in detail that the king and the royal family were strongly devoted to Buddhism.³⁶ They restored religious objects and the king himself used to ordain as a Buddhist monk (Champa, Term and Khongdej 1990, 7–10).

The prevalence of palm-leaf manuscripts in Lan Na and Tai Lü might to be attributed to the influence of South Asia. Indeed, this is evident in the history of Lan Na. During a Golden Age of Lan Na from the fifteenth until the beginning of the sixteenth centuries – which covered the reigns of Sam Fang Kaen (1401–1441), Tilok (1441–1487), Yot Chiang Rai (1487–1495) and Muang Kaeo (1495–1526) – the political power of Lan Na expanded and solidified, while Theravāda Buddhism flourished (Veidlinger 2006: 1–4). In those times, notably in the second half of the fifteenth century, Lan Na was the leading centre of Theravada Buddhist scholarship. There were many sage monks who were extremely well-versed experts in the Pali language. They created most precious Pali literary works, such as the *Jinakālamālīpakaraṇaṃ*, composed

³⁵ Lavo was an ancient Mon kingdom situated in present day central Thailand. Lavo extended its territory into northern Thailand under the rule of Queen Camadevi, the daughter of a Lavo king. She was the first ruler of the Mon kingdom of Hariphunchai.

³⁶ For example, the Wat Dón Kaeo stone inscription found at Wat Dón Kaeo in Lamphun province, northern Thailand. It was inscribed in old Môn language and script in seventeenth Buddhist era. The content refers to the King Sabbadhisiddhi donated land for building a monastery name Chetawan and donated many people for serving and taking care monks and the monastery. Then when he was 32, he and his two sons ordained to become a monk and novices at the monastery. (Champa, Term and Khongdej 1990: 11–14).

by the senior monk Ratanapañña; *Cāmadevīvaṃsa*, written by the monk Bodhirāṃsi; and *Mangalatthadīpani*, written by the monk Sirimangala. Moreover, King Tilokarat (r. 1441–1487) presided over the Eighth Buddhist Council in 1477 (although this has not been officially recognized by Buddhists outside of Northern Thailand).³⁷

The advent and spread of Buddhism not only introduced the canonical works of the teachings of the Buddha, associated commentary literature and other Buddhist literature, but also disseminated Buddhist material culture (such as architecture and art), and the tradition of copying Buddhist works to palm-leaf manuscripts as can be seen in Lan Na, Tai Lü and other Tai manuscript cultures.

As stated above, the Tai Lü manuscripts, religious texts are mostly written on palm-leaf whereas secular texts are written in ink on “mulberry paper”. The use of mulberry paper for all kind of texts could have been a result of Chinese influence on the one hand and the availability (and lack of availability) of writing material (palm-leaf versus mulberry paper) on the other side. In the early twentieth century, many manuscripts in Müang Sing were still written on palm-leaf and in the more inland province of Xayabuli palm-leaf remained the dominant writing support for Tai Lü manuscripts throughout the first half of the twentieth century (see data of the Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts).

At present, however, we have found that religious texts and secular texts are written on mulberry paper in nearly equal amounts. This is perhaps due to the fact that it is easier to write on mulberry paper than inscribe a text on a palm-leaf with a stylus.

Tai Lü manuscripts consist of both religious texts and secular texts, such as:

1). Religious texts

- Buddha’s legendary history (*phuttha-tamnan* พุทธตำนาน)
- History of Buddhism (*prawattisat phutthasatsana* ประวัติศาสตร์พุทธศาสนา)
- Tripiṭaka (Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma พระวินัย, พระสูตร และ พระอภิธรรม)
- Jataka story (*chadok* ชาดก)
- Ānisaṃsa (*anisóng* อานิสงส์)
- History of sacred objects (*tamnan puchaniyawatthu* ตำนานปูชนียวัตถุ)
- Story of the famous disciples (*phrasawok thi mi chue siang* พระสาวกที่มีชื่อเสียง)
- Sangha Ceremonies (*phithikam song* พิธีกรรมสงฆ์)

2). Secular (non-religious) texts

- History (*tamnan, phün, cotmai het* ตำนาน พื้น จดหมายเหตุ)
- Customary Law (*kotmai boran* กฎหมายโบราณ)
- Folktales (*nithan* นิทาน)

³⁷ As for the development of Pali literature in the golden period of Lan Na culture (mid-fifteenth to early sixteenth century), see Pentth’s introduction to his *Jinakālamālī Index* (Pentth 1994).

- Astrology (*horasat* โหราศาสตร์)
- Poetry (*khlong-kap* โคลงกาพย์)
- Traditional *medicine* (*tamra ya* ตำรายา)
- Rituals (*phithikam* พิธีกรรม)
- (White) magic (*saiyasat* ไสยศาสตร์)

Today, Tai Lü manuscripts are largely kept in monastic libraries and private collections. Many other manuscripts are kept in university libraries, museums, and in government institutions but it is almost impossible for a foreigner to access such data.

Nevertheless, a thriving manuscript culture came to an end in Sipsòng Panna when the Chinese communists seized power in Yunnan in early 1950. This abolished the far-reaching political and cultural autonomy that Sipsòng Panna and other minority regions had enjoyed for centuries under the so-called Pacification Commissionership (*tusi*) System.³⁸ In 1953, the new rulers in Beijing designated part of the Simao Prefecture as an Autonomous Prefecture of the Dai nationality in Sipsòng Panna. To facilitate the learning of the Tai Lü language and script, particularly among members of non-Tai ethnic groups, including a growing number of Chinese immigrants, the Chinese authorities set up a commission of local scholars and bureaucrats to design a completely new Tai Lü alphabet that was officially introduced in 1955 (He Shaoying *et al.* 2008, 215; Isra 2001, 459–60). The simplified alphabet abolished Pāli consonants, did away with the use of ligatures and the subscript and superscript symbols which are a typical feature of the Dhamma script, ‘simplified’ the shape of the remaining consonant and vowel graphemes, and lined up consonants, vowels and tone markers in one single line. Since then, the younger generation has been educated exclusively in the new script, which is also used for the typesetting of vernacular books and newspapers, such as the *Xishuang Banna Baoshi* (Sipsòng Panna Newspaper) founded in 1957 (Isra 2001 461).³⁹

The script reform constituted a radical break with the past; those acquainted only with the new alphabet were unable to read texts written in the traditional Tai Lü Dhamma script, which was probably one of the goals, or at least calculated side-effects, of the simplification of the script. As monastic education declined and practically came to a halt during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), very few Tai Lü people in Sipsòng Panna are now still proficient in reading traditional literature. After the end of the Cultural Revolution, public pressure caused the Sipsòng Panna Newspaper to switch back to the old Tai Lü script during the early 1990s, but already by 1995 it had returned to the new Tai Lü script once again,

³⁸ For an introduction into the *tusi* system in China’s southwestern borderlands see Liew-Herres *et al.* 2012, 35–46; Liew-Herres and Grabowsky 2008, 28–42.

³⁹ See also Apiradee Techasiriwan 2003, 7–10; to date, this is the most in-depth study of the Tai Lü script(s) and writing system(s).

probably, as Sarah Davis surmises, due to pressure from the provincial government (Davis 2006, 66).⁴⁰

Many Buddhist temples were destroyed and numerous valuable Tai Lü manuscripts were burned or lost during the decade-long persecution of local heritage. According to some informants, up to ninety percent of Tai Lü manuscripts were destroyed during this time. This period was a dark age not only for the Tai Lü and other ethnic minorities in China, but also for the Han Chinese majority. It is worth mention that the destruction of Buddha images seems to have been carried out even more thoroughly than the destruction of manuscripts. During our four field studies in Sipsòng Panna between 2002 and 2013, we were unable to find even a single inscribed Buddha predating the Cultural Revolution in the reopened and renovated monasteries throughout the region.

Nevertheless, a number of old Tai Lü manuscripts have survived, in many cases due to courageous laypeople who managed to hide them from the eyes of the Red Guards and zealous party officials. Manuscripts were sometimes buried or hidden in places where nobody would expect to find them, such as henhouses or washrooms. In one case reported from Jinggu county, a Tai Nüa minority area in Simao prefecture, courageous monks stored the precious manuscripts from their monastic library in a room which they had named the ‘Study Room of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought’. No Red Guard dared to enter the place.⁴¹

Since the early 1980s, when China reopened its doors, a relatively scholarly atmosphere has gradually emerged, and the Tai Lü region, like other places in China, is now enjoying a cultural renaissance. Local authorities and researchers in Sipsòng Panna have again begun to collect and copy Tai Lü manuscripts, the largest collection of which is currently stored in the Cultural Office of Jinghong (Zhou Zheng Xie). It should also be noted that after the opening of borders with Burma in the early 1990s, manuscripts from Tai Lü-speaking Shan areas in eastern Burma, notably Chiang Tung, Moeng Yang, Moeng Yòng, and Moeng Luai, have entered the southern border districts of Sipsòng Panna (Isra 2005, 191). During the last three decades, moreover, the Yunnan National Minorities Publishing House (*Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe*) has published a series of bilingual books containing Tai Nüa and Tai Lü literary and historical texts written in Tai Nüa script or Old Tai Lü script along with Chinese translations.⁴²

In 1998, Japanese historian Kumiko Kato of the University of Nagoya and her Thai husband Isra Yanantan initiated the first survey of Tai Lü manuscripts in Sipsòng Panna in

⁴⁰ Interview of Grabowsky with Ai Un Tan, former editor of the Sipsòng Panna newspaper who retired a couple of years ago, at his home on February 25, 2013.

⁴¹ I am grateful to Zhou Hanli, Simao, for kindly providing me with this information.

⁴² This series includes several versions of the Chronicle of Moeng Lü (Chinese: *Leshi*), discussed in detail in Liew-Herres 2004.

collaboration with Ai Kham, a local scholar in charge of the collection held at Zhou Zheng Xie, and Chao Maha Khanthawong (Dao Jinxiang). They prepared a questionnaire to document the characteristic features of the surveyed manuscripts (language, script, date, writing material, etc.). The survey took place in 1999 and 2000.

Ai Kham selected the persons suitable to undertake the survey in the different localities. These persons took the questionnaires to survey the places where manuscripts were kept, putting down the [relevant] information in the questionnaires. Then the [data] were returned to Chiang Rung. The number of manuscripts documented in this way amounted to roughly 6,000 entries. After the completion of the survey the collected data were recorded in a register of interesting documents in monasteries as well as private collections (Kato and Isra Yanatan 2001, 150).

As Kato and Isra admit, the number of manuscripts surveyed and documented, as well as the reliability of the data collected, depended very much on the interest of the person completing the survey. The incompleteness and unreliability of the data is mirrored by the large number of manuscripts which lack information regarding the writing material (one fifth of the total), provenance, and/or number of fascicles and folios. Kato's catalogue indicates that their two-year project located a total of more than 6,500 manuscripts in monastic libraries and private collections (Kato 2001).

A comprehensive survey and documentation of Tai manuscripts in Sipsong Pannas and adjacent Tai inhabited areas, including the microfilming of the most important holographs, is an urgent task. In spring 2004, the Yunnan Provincial Archives at Yunnan University implemented a project to survey, catalogue and microfilm Tai Nuea manuscripts in Gengma County of Lingcang Prefecture (Yin Shaoting *et al.* 2002). A catalogue, published in 2005, contains synopses of almost 200 manuscripts, mostly written in Tai Nuea script, while twenty-two manuscripts are of Tai-Lü Dhamma script provenance (Yin Shaoting and Daniels 2005). A few years later, in 2010, a catalogue of Tai manuscripts from the small autonomous county of Moeng Laem, located along the border with Burma, was published. This catalogue contained synopses of 142 manuscripts written in Tai Lü script along with facsimile copies of the title pages and, in some cases, also the last pages containing the colophons (Yin Lun *et al.* 2010). Another recent project of documenting and digitizing Tai manuscripts has been carried out by a team of researchers from Payap University in Chiang Mai under the leadership of Dr. Ratanaporn Setthakul, one of the few Thai experts in Tai Lü history and culture. By the conclusion of this project in late 2012, a total of 210 manuscripts were collected in the Payap University Archives where they are accessible in digitized form and partly also through transcriptions into modern Thai script to scholars and experts in the field.

In his recent study on the state of Buddhism in Sipsòng Panna, Borchert argues that the survival of Buddhism and of Tai Lü scriptuality very much depends on the monastery as it ‘has historically been the main institution for cultural reproduction (...) [T]he monastery rather than a court provided many of the key tools for long-term cultural reproduction’ (Borchert 2008, 134). I agree with Borchert’s observation, which is supported by the large number of manuscripts either copied by monks or donated to monasteries during the last thirty years. Quite a large number of manuscripts – most of them containing religious texts – were copied from older extant manuscripts imported from areas outside of China, in many, though not all, cases by Tai monks coming from Burma, Laos, and Northern Thailand. In the village monastery of Ban Kong Wat, a Tai Lü village at the outskirts of Chiang Rung which has one of the oldest monasteries in Sipsòng Panna, in February 2013, Professor Dr. Volker Grabowsky met two young monks who could speak some Thai. They were Shan from the Chiang Tung area and could not only read Shan script, but also the Tai Lü and Tai Khün variants of the Dhamma script. Their families had fled the Shan State and were now living in Chiang Rai province, Thailand. One of the monks had spent several years in a monastery in the Burmese border town of Tha Khi Lek opposite Mae Sai. When the monk opened the monastic library housing dozens of new and a few old manuscripts, Grabowsky’s attention was drawn to a leporello manuscript; it was a recent copy (2000 CE) from Moeng Yòng (a Tai Lü speaking area southeast of Chiang Tung) of the *Vessantara Jātaka*, which has been used in recent years for the popular *Mahachat* recitations, not only in Wat Ban Kong Wat, but also in other nearby monasteries.

While the prominent role of monks and monasteries in the process of reviving Tai Lü manuscript culture is clearly evident, the role of lay scribes should not be ignored either. Throughout Sipsòng Panna, there are still several dozen lay scribes, the vast majority of them in their seventies and eighties who active in manuscript production. Chinese scholars have recently estimated that ‘[t]here are about 5,700 books or volumes kept in temples and in private homes’ in the autonomous prefecture (He Shaoying *et al.* 2008, 215). Mulberry paper manuscripts bearing secular texts – such as dynastic and local chronicles, astrological treatises, and texts on divination and rituals – are mostly copied, collated, and composed by these lay scribes, some of whom had been ordained as novices and monks in their youth. Many of them had already started their scribal career a before the Cultural Revolution and resumed this work in the early 1980s. The following cases, which are based on field work carried out by Grabowsky from 2012 to 2017, portray the life and work of five lay scribes with different biographical trajectories.

First case: Ai Saeng Kham (Chiang Rung)

When Grabowsky arrived at Ai Saeng Kham's house in Ban Mong Mangrai (Chiang Rung) on 26 February 2013, the latter's wife invited him to the verandah of the upper floor where her husband was copying a mulberry paper manuscript. This was a lucky coincidence which allowed Grabowsky to take some photos documenting the writing process and writing utensils. Ai Saeng Kham remembered him from his previous visit in 2005 and showed him the main living room where manuscripts were stored in several corners, some of which were hanging on the walls. Ai Saeng Kham gave a lengthy interview talking about his personal life and several other matters related to the production of manuscripts. Ai Saeng Kham was born in June 1932 in Ban Chiang Pom, Chiang Rung. He himself has confirmed his year of birth in the colophon of a multiple-text manuscript (dated 2012–13) collecting various religious verses (*gāthā*) which appears on the back-cover folio: 'I, Ai Saeng Kham, am eighty-one years old' (YN151). Ai Saeng Kham was six when his mother died. After the remarriage of his father, the family moved to Ban Mong which is now on the outskirts of Chiang Rung City. He had two younger half-brothers – Ai Sang and Ai So – and a younger half-sister. At the age of ten, he was ordained as a novice. After spending eight years in the local monastery, he disrobed at the age of eighteen. In the colophons of one of his more recent manuscripts (a mulberry paper manuscript recording the *Chronicle of Wat Phra Sing Luang, Chiang Mai* consisting of seven sections), he mentions his monastic names (YN192):

My monk's name is Tipañña (lit. 'who [is endowed with] three [kinds of] wisdom'), as a novice I was called Pha Com Si. My ordinary name is Ai Saeng Kham.

He started copying manuscripts three years after ordination at the age of thirteen. He has copied hundreds of manuscripts throughout his life and continues to do so. He has experience with very different kinds of writing support including palm-leaf ('difficult to make'), mulberry paper, and industrial 'Chinese' paper. Grabowsky then asked questions related to the production process and the manuscript economy. He fixed a price of his manuscripts arguing that four folios of mulberry paper, each with two layers to be written recto and verso, cost 1.5 Yuan.⁴³ To finish a medium-sized manuscript of about forty folios, he would need ten full days. His average annual output is four to six manuscripts. It was his wish,

⁴³ Ai Un Tan (born 1948), the former editor-in-chief of the Sipsong Panna newspaper who has become an active scribe after retirement, confirms Ai Saeng Kham's information about the price of mulberry paper. He recently bought 100 large folios of mulberry paper from Moeng Hun at the price of 120 Yuan. One large folio would be cut into four standard-sized folios used for writing manuscripts. However, this is a cheap price as Ai Un Tan bought these folios from someone who was not interested in making a profit by selling the paper. The standard price might be at least 20 percent higher (Interview of Grabowsky with Ai Un Tan, former editor of the Sipsong Panna newspaper who retired a couple of years ago, at his home on 1 March 2014).

Ai Saeng Kham stressed, to inspire the younger generations to continue his activities as a scribe. Of his seven children – two sons and five daughters – only his younger son, Khanan Mok, now forty-six years old, has become a scribe himself. Khanan Mok learned the Dhamma script during his time as a monk. Unlike his father, who writes almost exclusively in the old Tai Lü script, the son prefers using the new script.

Second case: Ai Saeng Nòi (Moeng Long)

Ai Saeng Nòi, also known as Po Long Khan Kaeo, lives in Ban Foei Lung (Moeng Long). When we met him for the first time on 13 September 2012, he was already seventy-seven years old (thus he was born in 1934 or 1935), though the colophon of a manuscript he had copied indicated that he was born a bit earlier around 1932. This is a mulberry paper manuscript entitled *Tamnan Tungkha Rasi* ‘The Chronicle of Tuṅgarasī’ which is divided into six ‘bundles’ (*phuk*) indicating that the master copy for that manuscript was probably a palm-leaf manuscript. In the context of a mulberry paper manuscript the original meaning of *phuk* – indicating the beginning of a new codicological unit – changed to denote the start of a new chapter. The colophon at the end of the fifth *phuk* (here: chapter) states:

I [finished copying] in the *kap set* year, BE 2538, CS 1356, on the seventh waxing day of the fifth [lunar] month, the fourth day [according to the] Mon [tradition], a *poek set* day [according to the] Tai [tradition], at the auspicious time of four, when the drum is beaten. (8 March 1995) May this bring me benefit. My name is Ai Khan Kaeo, I live in Ban Foei Lung [in] Moeng Long. I am sixty-three years old.

Ai Saeng Nòi started his career as a scribe at the early age of fourteen or fifteen when he was still a novice. Having left the monkhood, Ai Saeng Nòi learned the Chinese script. Most mulberry paper manuscripts copied by Ai Saeng Nòi bear texts pertaining to local history. His main motivation for writing or copying such texts was his determination to preserve the historical and cultural heritage of Moeng Long and Sipsòng Panna for future generations. However, young people today are no longer interested in old manuscripts and the Dhamma script. Those who still have an interest are mostly elderly people. Though Ai Saeng Nòi did not count the exact number of manuscripts that he copied each year, he estimated that in good years he copied up to twenty manuscripts in his spare time. In 2012, he did not use mulberry paper as writing support but only Western paper. Thick mulberry paper suitable for manuscript production is produced in Moeng Hai. In former times, this high-quality mulberry paper was also available in Chiang Rung and Moeng Long but nowadays mulberry trees are no longer planted in these places. At present, mulberry paper is available only in the three western *müang* of Moeng Hai, Moeng Chae, and Mong Hun. According to Ai Saeng Nòi, apart from manuscript production, mulberry paper was also used for wrapping tea leaves and fireworks.

Third case: Nan Chaen (Moeng Ham)

Nan Chaen or Po Can Kaeo, interviewed in August 2012, lives in Ban Son Mon, Moeng Ham.⁴⁴ He is very experienced in copying palm-leaf manuscripts. These manuscripts are copied mostly from manuscripts made of Western paper. Nan Chaen told us that in 1966, a great flood had destroyed numerous mulberry paper manuscripts in the village. Since then, people have preferred industrial paper as writing support. However, in the last few years, many people have approached him to copy texts to palm-leaf manuscripts. Over the years he had copied more than 100 bundles. One folio had five lines on each side. To inscribe five lines on one palm-leaf folio, he needed at least thirty minutes. For a palm-leaf manuscript of seven folios (written on both sides in four lines) Nan Chaen would take one full working day. One folio (unwritten) costs about 0.6 to 1 Yuan; thus, palm-leaf is quite an expensive writing support. The donors or sponsors of manuscripts are mostly Tai Lü people, but there are also some Chinese from as far away as Kunming among his clients. Twelve folios would be bound together to one fascicle. Nan Chaen, aged seventy-two, has three sons. The youngest son, Ai Choi, lived with his father and worked in a rubber plantation. Nan Chaen became a novice at the age of fifteen and stayed in a monastery for a total of nine years, the first five years as a novice, the following four years as a monk. At the age of twenty-four he left monkhood. Nan Chaen confirmed that the renewed interest in copying manuscripts started around 1980. In 2009, the authorities in Kunming organised a seminar on manuscript production and culture in nearby Ban Kaeng, in which monks and local experts like himself participated.

Fourth case: Ai Choi Cha Han (Moeng La)

Ai Choi Cha Han, interviewed on 19 February 2013, was born in 1933 during the Republican era. His family originally came from Moeng Ham in the district of Chiang Rung.⁴⁵ Although he was never ordained as a monk or novice, he nevertheless learnt the Tai Lü script. He started to learn it in 1943, at the age of ten, together with a dozen other boys his age, in an evening school. Since then he has never ceased copying manuscripts. When he was younger he used to copy many manuscripts for other people as he was famous for his beautiful handwriting. This did not, however, prevent him from apologising in the colophons of several

⁴⁴ Interview of Volker Grabowsky with Nan Chaen or Po Can Kaeo at his residence in Ban Son Mon in Moeng Ham on 16 September 2012.

⁴⁵ This information does not come from the interview but is stated in the colophon that appears at the end of section four of a multiple-text manuscript recording six poems. The manuscript, dated 17 October 2012, bears the title *Kham Khap Hek Phi Müang 6 Müang 8 Bot* 'Eight Incantations for Invoking the Guardian Spirits of Six Müang'.

manuscripts for his allegedly ‘bad’ and ‘clumsy’ handwriting.⁴⁶ His favourite texts were blessings (*kham phon*), folktales and myths, and, most importantly, historical texts. Asked about the sources for his texts, Ai Choi Cha Han insisted that he never composed original texts himself, but was always looking for interesting texts, recorded in other manuscripts or in printed books, which he collated according to his needs. For example, he once decided to write poems on the spirit cults in Sipsòng Panna. He thus collected texts on the topic from different districts and sub-districts (*müang*), arguing that the spirit cults might not be the same in different *müang*. Nonetheless, he refrained from deliberately changing the content of already existing texts as he did not feel authorised and competent enough to do so. A good example of such a collation of texts is Ai Choi Cha Han’s collection of eight poems pertaining to the ‘calling of guardian spirits’ from six *müang* in Sipsòng Panna. In each of the six scribal colophons – at the end of each poem – he shortly discusses his sources and their reliability. At the end of the second poem he reveals his second name and his long career as a government official:

My name is Ai Sang Yong, Chan’s son. I became a government official in
Moeng La where I have been living for more than fifty-four years.

Fifth case: Pò Saeng Sam (Moeng Laem)

The last case portrays the life of the most prolific scribe in Moeng Laem, Pò Saeng Sam Cün (or Pò Sam for short). When interviewed by Grabowsky in March 2017, he stressed that he was born in the Year of the Tiger (*pi süa* or *pi khan*) and was now almost 80 years old. This would correspond with the *poek yi* year, CS 1300 (CE 1938). Having spent several years of this youth between the ages of 12 and 18 as a novice in a monastery, he married and founded a family. He has one son (Ai Sam), who was 55 years old at the time, and one daughter (Su Long) of 46 years who was born in *pi ngoek* or Year of the Dragon. Pò Saeng Sam was a close friend of the son of the last *tusi* (a local Tai ruler also known as the *cao hò kham*) of Moeng Laem with whom he had grown up. They were in fact neighbours and, as Pò Saeng Sam’s father was a Phaya Cang, or head of the ruler’s elephant department, his family belonged to the old “feudal” ruling class. On the request of the interviewer, Pò Saeng Sam later wrote, in April 2017, a short bionote to record and reflect upon the main stages of his personal life and his career as a scribe. This note has been written in the most beautiful handwriting on a sheet of mulberry paper (first published in Grabowsky 2018):

⁴⁶ For examples of apologies for real or allegedly clumsy handwriting as a common topic in scribe’s colophons, see the next part of this paper. The colophon at the end of the fourth poem states: ‘My name is Ai Sang Yong, a native from Moeng Ham. I came to work in Moeng Paen.’

- 1) : พ่อสามมีคำปาก : ฝากปิ่นถึงข้านโพลี เทอคอ เชื่อว่าอ๋อเค้อ : อยู่ดีกินหวานข้า
- 2) พ่อสามเกิดปีเถาะปี 1300 ตัว : ถึงปี 1310 ตัว : บวชเป็นภะ : ถึง 1317 ตัว เป็น
- 3) บ่าว : ถึงปี 1321 ตัว : เอาเมสั่งเร็น เหน่นากินเข้า : ถึงปี 1339 ตัว เหน่น
- 4) ท้าว : ถึงปี 1343 ตัว : ขึ้นเหน่นแสน เป็นตัวราช อันเดียวกัน : ถึงปี 1346 ตัว
- 5) เหน่นศาสนา : ถึงปี 1347 ตัว พอกเมอแต่ศาสนาใหม่ : ตั้งปี 1334 ตัว ยุธา
- 6) ศาสนาอุแว กาช้าแล้ว : ศาสนาหายค่าได้ 13 ปี : ถึงมาปี 1346 มาแต่
- 7) ใหม่ โกวมันหายค่าพายน้า : ถึงมาปี 1355 ตัว : ออกกาแต่สังคองมูหลวง
- 8) เมิงแลมปีนั้นข้าแล : ตัวข้าพ่อสาม คิดว่า ตัวลิกตัวธำไทย ก็หายค่า
- 9) หลายแล้ว : ข้าก็มิใจคิดสืบกาวนพายน้า หื้อพ่อถึงโช้วหลูก ชั่วหลาน : ตัวข้า
- 10) กานตัวลิก ตัวธำ คำปากเมิงไทยอันหลิ อันงามนั้น ก็เอามาแต่ซึมไว้กับ
- 11) บ้าน กับเมิงไทยเรา กาวนพายน้า บ่หื้อไปเวนิเมิงไทย 5 พันวสา
- 12) หายค่าว่าดังนี้ข้าแล : ตัวข้าพ่อสาม ก็เข้ามาหลายแล้ว : อายุก็มี 80 ปีแล :
- 13) หลายวันสู่เจ้ามีเวดา ก็มาเอวทวยพ่อสามข้าแล : หื้อสู่เจ้าอยู่ดีกินหวานข้าแล
- 14) : ปีเมิงเร้า : 1379 ตัว : เณ 6 สังขานปีใหม่แต่แล :
- 15) คำปากไทยแลมมีดังนี้แล

Translation:

1. Pò [Saeng] Sam makes the [following] statement to be forwarded to the German professor whose name is Volker [Grabowsky]. May he be well.
2. [I], Pò [Saeng] Sam was born in the *poek yi* year⁴⁷ [Cūḷasakarāja] 1300 (AD 1938). Later, in CS 1310 (AD 1948) I was ordained as a novice. In CS 1317 (AD 1955),
3. I disrobed. In CS 1321 (AD 1959) I married, built a house and worked in the ricefields. In CS 1339 (AD 1974) I became a *pu tao*,
4. in CS 1343 (AD 1981) I became a *pu saen* or *ton cang* (ranks of a local administrative official). In CS 1334 (AD 1972)
5. I worked for the [Buddhist] religion. In CS 1347 (AD 1985), I returned to work for the [Buddhist] religion once again because since CS 1334 (AD 1972)
6. the [Buddhist] religion was destroyed and it disappeared for 13 years until CS 1346 (AD 1984)
7. when the religion was revived. I was very much concerned about the religion's future. In CS 1355 (AD 1993) a great stupa was built
8. in Moeng Laem. I, Pò [Saeng] Sam, think that both the Lik script and the Dhamma script have already disappeared to a large extent.
9. Thus I have made up my mind to transmit [these scripts] to the generations of my children and grandchildren. Whenever I, Pò [Saeng] Sam,
10. see the Lik script and the Dhamma script, literary texts in the Tai which are most beautiful, I write them down

⁴⁷ The Year of the Tiger is the tenth year of the decade.

11. to keep them for our Tai country so that it will be transmitted to future [generations] so that the Tai customs [which have to last until the end of] 5000 years
12. will not fade away. I, Pò [Saeng] Sam are now very old. This year I will already turn 80.
13. If you all have time, please come and visit me. May you live in happiness.
14. I wrote [this statement] in the *moeng hao* year,⁴⁸ CS. 1376, in the sixth [lunar] month, on the new year day (Saturday, 16 April 2017).
15. The statement of a Tai from Moeng Laem ends here.

One important episode in his life is missing in Pò Saeng Sam's autobiography. This episode was revealed in a later conversation with Professor Cao Kham Non, a retired professor of history from Puer University who is a native of Moeng Laen and who accompanied Grabowsky to the scribe's home. As a young man, a few years after having left the monastery, Pò Saem Sam fled to Burma. This happened during the "Great Leap Forward" (1958). Whole villages, especially those situated in proximity to the China-Burma border, were depopulated. After a general amnesty (1959/60) most refugees returned home, including Pò Saeng Kham who married soon after and founded his own family.

His old age notwithstanding, Pò Saeng Sam is still a productive scribe writing several new manuscripts per year. His writing support, mulberry paper, is, however, produced outside in China, in neighbouring Moeng Yang and Chiang Tung in Mynamar (Burma). These locations are nearer than the production centres in southwestern Yunnan, such as the five Cultural Villages in Moeng Hun (Sipsòng Panna), Moeng Nim, and Moeng Ka. Mulberry paper production in Moeng Laem itself has come to a halt. One large-sized folio costs 2.5 Yuan, according to one informant. Ai Un Tan, former editor-in-chief of the Sipsòng Panna newspaper, confirmed in an interview with Volker Grabowsky in March 2014 that 100 large folios would cost 120 Yuan. One large folio would be cut into four standard-sized folio used for writing manuscripts. However, this is a cheap price as he bought these folios from someone in Moeng Hun who was not interested in making a profit by selling the paper. He does not know about the standard prices (Grabowsky's field notes from his conversation with Ai Un Tan on 1 March 2014).

Some of the scribes portrayed above have inserted some biographical elements in the paratexts of the manuscripts they copied or composed. As we have seen, these are in general very short remarks on their family environment, their place of origin, their professional background, and their ordination or non-ordination as monks and novices. They provide a complete but brief *curriculum vitae* in very rare instances. The only manuscript in our corpus in which the scribe, Phra Khen Saeng, discloses his life in considerable detail is a mulberry paper manuscript in leporello format from Moeng Ting (Gengma Prefecture), entitled *Kammathan*, elaborating a specific mode of Buddhist meditation. The scribe identifies himself

⁴⁸ The Year of the Horse is the sixth year of the decade.

as a monk and inserts lengthy remarks on his own monastic career within the main text, without highlighting them with decorative or structural visual elements as would be expected. Perhaps the scribe deliberately hid his biography for the prospective reader to stumble on it when studying the text carefully. Phra Khen Saeng mentions his name only in the colophon and notes his birthday, the date when he was ordained as a Buddhist monk, the dates when he rose successively to a higher rank in the Sangha administration, and finally the date when he finished copying the manuscript:

In [C]S 1274 (1912–13 AD), the *tao cai* Dhamma year [which is] a *ruang rao* Tai year, at the auspicious time of six, I was born.

In the *ka rao* Dhamma year [which is] a *moeng met* Tai year, [CS] 1295, on the seventh waning day of the second [lunar] month, the Mon [say] a Saturday, the Tai [say] a *rat rao* day (Friday 24 November 1933), I was ordained as a Buddhist monk.

In the *rawai cai* Dhamma year [which is] a *kat met* Tai year, [CS] 1298, on the twelfth waxing day of the first [lunar] month, the Mon [say] a Tuesday, the Tai [say] a *tao sa-nga* day (Tuesday 27 October 1936), I became a *thera* (abbot).

In the *ka pao* Dhamma year, [CS] 13[1]1 (1949–50 AD) I became a *sami*.⁴⁹

In the *ruang sai* Dhamma year, [CS] 13[1]3 (1951–52 AD), I became a [high-ranking member of the] Sangha.

In the *ka sai* Dhamma year [which is] a *moeng mao* Tai year, [CS] 1315, on the eleventh waxing day of the forth [lunar] month (Sunday 14 February 1954), I became a *khuba*.

In CS 13[1]6, in the *kap sanga* Dhamma year [which is] a *poek si* Tai year, on the ninth waxing day of the eleventh month (Monday 6 September 1954), I have written this manuscript, *Kammathāna*.

It is difficult to estimate the number of scribes, sponsors or donors, and private collectors of manuscripts in Sipsòng Panna and other Tai minority areas in Yunnan. There might be at least two to three dozen scribes still active. They are found everywhere in both urban and rural areas. It remains to be studied how the network of scribes and collectors is organised and how it perpetuates the circulation of texts, as well as of manuscripts as physical objects. Some scribes at least mention the origin of the master copy or copies for their manuscript, but rarely do they identify the names of fellow scribes who helped them collect the material, nor do they usually reveal the provenience of the master-copies of their respective

⁴⁹ A *sami* is a special rank for a highly respected abbot or senior monk among the Tai Lü.

manuscripts. A fine example of such acknowledgement of the origin of a master copy or other material used for compiling a new text is the preface to *Phün Müang Atikamma Latthabuli Nuai Thi Nüng* ‘The Chronicle of Atikamma Rāṭhapuri, vol. 1’. It states:

In the eleventh /lunar/ month of the year [CS] 1353, Ai Saeng Noi [alias] Po Kham Lū put draft records (*kak*) together to write this manuscript. The manuscript of Po Oi [from] Ban Ping served as the principal text, but the records kept by Po Long Ton [from Ban] Foei Lung [and] Po Oi Long Khū [were used as] additional material. I have to express my gratitude to all three of them.

However, very few manuscripts in our corpus contain paratextual information which could be used to reconstruct such a network of scribes, collectors and sponsors. Nevertheless, a few accidental discoveries over the course of our fieldwork have provided some clues for further research on this topic. One of these lucky finds was a manuscript copied in 1994 by Ai Saeng Nòi from Bang Foei Lung in Moeng Long who, in the preface, acknowledges his gratitude to twenty persons who provided help (YN124: *Khao Nithan Satsana Moeng Long Atikamma Latthabuli Thuan Sam* [Religious Legends of Moeng Long Atikamma Rāṭhapuri, vol. 3]).⁵⁰ There are a few more cases of acknowledgements, but they rarely provide such a long list of fellow scribes and contributors. Another example comparable to the one cited above is a list of seventeen ‘contributors’ (lit. ‘[persons who] brought texts, adding and helping’) provided in the preface of a manuscript copied by a scribe called Po Kham Lū who also comes from Ban Foei Lung in Moeng Long. The seventeenth person mentioned did not make any contribution to the manuscript but is given credit for casting the image of the Standing Buddha erected at the famous That No Stupa of Ban Foei Lung.

3. The influence of printing technology

From the standard form of the earlier period of Tai Lü manuscripts, the characteristics which allow the reader to clearly see that it is the main text show that this main text was usually written in *linea continua*, i.e. without any spacing to separate sentences, sub-chapters or whole chapters, to indicate the start of a new chapter or a new subject. I also found some non-textual elements, namely flower symbols (mostly of lotus flowers) signifying the beginning and/or

⁵⁰ There are a few more cases of acknowledgements, but they rarely provide such long lists of fellow scribes and contributors. Another example comparable to the one quoted above is a list of seventeen ‘contributors’ (lit. ‘[persons who] brought texts, adding and helping’) provided in the preface of a manuscript copied by a scribe called Po Kham Lū who also comes from Ban Foei Lung in Moeng Long. However, the seventeenth person mentioned did not make any contribution to the manuscript but is given credit for casting the image of the Standing Buddha erected at the famous That No stupa of Ban Foei Lung.

ending of the main text and/or a chapter. Furthermore, symbols resembling a *gomūtra* (ꨀ) (Thai: *khomut* โคมุตร), literally “cow’s urine”) were used to mark either the beginning or end of a story, or the end of a longer chapter within the text. The so-called *ang khan* (อังคั่น) symbol (ꨁ or ꨂ), as it is called in the Thai language, is used to divide a text according to different topics divided by chapters and sub-chapters. Like the *gomūtra* (ꨀ), the *ang khan* symbol (ꨁ or ꨂ) thus helps to structure and organize knowledge in Tai Lü manuscripts. These symbols appear in both religious and secular manuscripts. Moreover, the frames can have different shapes, for example rectangular, oval or circular shapes, and in some cases the frames are decorated with flower patterns, even the tails of (final) consonant letters are dragged in length to form a frame to emphasize certain key words within the text.

Paratexts that appear in Tai Lü manuscripts, such as text titles on the recto page of the cover folio, sometimes mention the name of the scribe, the sponsor/donor, and the date that the copied manuscript was completed. Colophons of the older “generations” of manuscripts provide information about scribes, sponsors, donors, sometimes owners, and of the manuscript as an object to be used for recitations at ceremonies or for the scribe’s, user’s or owner’s own studies. It can appear on the title page or before and/or after the main text. In addition, some manuscripts have more than one colophon, especially in the case of manuscripts which were copied from an older palm-leaf manuscript comprised of several fascicles (*phuk*). This phenomenon is discussed in more detail in chapters 3 and 4.

When paratexts appear in the margin of a page, it is usually in the left-hand margin, but they can sometimes appear on the right-hand side. Paratexts written in the margin of a page used to detail the title of the text, the title of a chapter, or indicate the sequencing of a fascicle (i.e. when the text was copied from a palm-leaf manuscript). In such cases, the meaning of the term *phuk* changes from “fascicle” – referring to the smallest codicological unit of a palm-leaf manuscript – to “chapter” within a mulberry-paper manuscript (regardless of the book’s format). Paratexts can also summarize particular aspects of a paragraph that the scribe considers important. On occasion, missing words are inserted in the page margin (both left and right) for clarification.

Blank lines are used to indicate the beginning of a new text or a new bundle. They appear mostly in multiple-text manuscripts or in texts copied from palm-leaf manuscripts which consist of multiple bundles. However, blank lines may sometimes simply indicate a new chapter or sub-chapter within a text. In many cases, a blank line is also inserted between the main text and the colophon.

The influence of print technology and its effect on Tai Lü manuscripts in Müang Sing already started to show in manuscripts dating from 1914/16 onwards (when Müang Sing lost its political autonomy). The layout of these manuscripts has been noticeably influenced by

Western books, such as, where the text is formatted in two columns, the use Western punctuation marks such as curly brackets ({ }) or *pik ka* (ปีกกา; literally, “crow’s wings”) which indicate that the text of two or more lines belong to one and the same context, and the appearance of Arabic numerals. However, these “modern” features appear to be exceptions rather than the rule. Most manuscripts dating from this period continue to maintain the paratextual characteristics of the earlier period. In brief, Western influence on Tai Lü manuscript culture was still limited.

Finally, the manuscripts of the later “socialist and post-socialist” period (1975–2013) already show a growing Western influence vis-à-vis paratexts. Some manuscripts contain texts copied from printed, mostly Thai language, books. As has been in the case of modern Tai Lü manuscripts from Sipsong Panna, we can observe the underlining of key words, spacing at the beginning of paragraphs, the placing of numerals to indicate the sequence of contents within a paragraph, and finally the appearance of a Table of Contents. Nonetheless, quite a large number of manuscripts still preserve the characteristics of the earlier two periods. The characteristic features of paratexts in the manuscripts have been noticeably changed as follows:

- Prefaces, which were previously unknown, now precede the main text.⁵¹
- Headings are centred.
- Paragraphs are indented.
- A special symbol, a Chinese stamp, is placed at the end of a paragraph. Sometimes this symbol is inserted within a paragraph.
- Occasionally Arabic numerals are used, along with Tai Lü numerals.
- Chinese characters are mixed with Tai Lü characters.
- A list of items, numerated and written line by line appear, as well as Tables of Contents

Moreover, perhaps due to a lack of mulberry paper as the preferable writing support, some manuscripts have been copied from older manuscripts on Western paper.

We also have evidence from printed books which either publish parts of a manuscript in facsimile or, as is more often the case, copy it in neat handwriting, in general following the Chinese translation of the same text. The paratexts in these manuscript copies have quite modern features, such as:

- The title of the text or sub-headings are put at the centre of a page.
- Paragraphs start with a new line following sub-headings.

⁵¹ In my corpus, the oldest evidence for a preface appears in the manuscript titled *Pòp pakkathün* (1983) but it this is a printed book. For a mulberry paper manuscript (*pap sa*), the earliest evidence is the manuscript entitled *Pün moeng atikammalattha-bulithi nuai thi 1* of Ai Saeng Nòi. It is dated 1991.

- In most cases there is a Table of Contents following the title page and preceding the main text.
- The end of a paragraph is indicated by colons (:) in some cases, and by the use of traditional ornamental symbols in others.
- In almost all cases there are title pages, as is the case in all modern and older mulberry-paper manuscripts.
- Special ornamental symbols appear at the end of the text.
- Sometimes there are colophons separated by blank lines from the main text.

In the manuscripts of Period Two (1915–1974) and Period Three (1975–2013), Lao letters occasionally appear in colophons. This might reflect an old tradition in Tai manuscript culture, which dictates the use of different scripts for religious and secular texts. This helps to explain why the colophon of the manuscripts entitled *Tamnan Phaya Tham*, a religious chronicle, is written in the Dhamma script, whereas the colophon, running over the last six lines of the final folio, is written in modern Lao script even though its content is also of a religious nature.

Compared to the Corpus Sipsòng Panna, the Tai Lü manuscripts from Müang Sing in northwestern Laos exhibit only relatively minor changes over the last century. Their more conservative character might, at least partially, be explained by the lack of a strong Western influence. French colonial presence was, indeed, much stronger in the central and southern regions of Laos than in the north where the King of Luang Prabang and other local authorities still exercised traditional power. In contrast to Thailand and China the impact of modern book printing on the rural population in Laos is very limited.

Further details regarding the influence of printing technology on the development of Tai Lü manuscript culture will be provided in the chapter three.

Chapter 3

Paratexts in Tai Lü Manuscripts

The word ‘paratext’ is composed of two words: ‘para’ from Greek, meaning ‘beside’ (The America Heritage Dictionary, 1987, 497), and ‘text’. Therefore, a rough definition of the word ‘paratext’ may describe the words written beside the main text. While Gérard Genette examined the definition of paratexts that the word ‘paratexts’ is combined between two words that is ‘Peritext’ and ‘Epitext’. The paratexts is a composition of its text for spelling out and/or giving proposes of the text. The role of paratexts is an instrument which helps or supports its text or book to present or communicate to readers and/or the general public. Moreover, existence or nonexistence of paratexts can effect to guide or change meaning or interpretation of its text (Genette 1991). Genette argues, moreover, that a paratext is not just an accessory for making the text look nice, but it can also provide information to the reader both within the book and on the outside, namely: the name of author, titles and subtitles, pseudonyms, forewords, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces, intertitles, notes, epilogues, and afterwords, which can detail the intentions or interpretations of the author. However, there are no fixed rules when it comes to providing a paratext; that is, the role of a paratext may be different depending on the period, culture, genre, author, work, and/or edition (Genette 1997). Genette mentions the paratexts from different agencies: most importantly authorial or author’s paratexts, editor’s paratexts, illustrator’s paratexts, as well as, paratexts of the printing press or the series of publication. Genette’s concept of paratext has been widely acknowledged among philologists and literary scientists worldwide. However, Genette has based his ideas almost exclusively on Western printed book but largely ignored manuscripts, in particular manuscripts from non-European cultures.

While Genette focuses his theory on “paratext” based on printed books and other printed material, whereas the study regarding paratexts of Project Area A of The Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures at the University of Hamburg, which I was a member of, provided the definition takes issue with paratext in manuscripts. We argued that paratexts are very essential to the medium of manuscript and have developed in all manuscript cultures from the very beginning. Moreover, one could argue that paratexts in printed books actually developed from paratexts in manuscripts. In this context, we defined the term ‘paratexts’ thus:

Paratexts in manuscripts are part of the physical instantiation of a text, musical notation or pictures, comprising of textual and pictorial elements. The functions of these elements concern first the content, but often the manuscript as a

physical object, too. Main categories are: structuring and guiding (both content and object), explicating the content, and documenting the usage. In this regard paratexts depend on the main text, that is, the part of a text which can be transmitted independently. Beyond the functions already mentioned the usage of paratexts is closely related both to the given type of the main text and the format and layout of the manuscript. Fostered by the material conditions of the manuscript, paratexts are dynamic and subject to change, according to the way manuscripts are produced, transmitted and used.

[And this is why the study of paratexts in manuscripts cultures is of so much importance.]

Thus the idea of paratext has shifted beyond Genette's concept of a paratext as a threshold introducing the reader of a book to the text. In fact, paratexts pertain not only to texts but also to their carriers, such as manuscripts (Ciotti and Lin 2016, vii). We might even argue that the idea of paratext developed in parallel to the medium manuscript, and a manuscript without paratext is hardly conceivable. The paratexts can mirror the activities of everyone's involved in the production, transmission, dissemination and reception of the manuscript and its content: authors, editors, scribes, artisans, commentators, readers, sellers, owners and so on (2016: viii).

Genette developed his idea of "paratext" against the background of printed edition, in particular of Western (printed) book culture. This is one of his shortcomings as he did not really take into account the use and function of paratexts in manuscripts, notable in manuscripts of non-European manuscript cultures, such as in the Islamic World, India, China, or Southeast Asia. In the field of manuscript studies, a colophon is much more than just a threshold to introduced a text to its readers. One of the most widespread and variegated kinds of paratexts, the colophon, hardly appears in printed editions. In the frame of traditional manuscripts it might provide most valuable information on the production of a manuscript recording the name of the scribe, his geographical and professional background and the date when he finished writing the text. But also the activities of other actors involved in the production, transmission, use, and reception of the manuscript might be recorded. Thus they might contain also information pertaining to author(s), donors, users (readers) and owners of manuscripts. Some paratexts might have been copied later, others might have disappeared in the process of manuscript transmission (see Ciotti and Lin 2016, preface). According to the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures at the Universität Hamburg, paratexts can serve into three functions, namely:

- 1) structuring paratexts which offer navigation aids guiding the reader through the text and the manuscript. Such paratexts are, for example, a table of contents, titles, sub-titles which can help to navigate the text and structure of the manuscript;
- 2) commenting paratexts: these kinds of paratexts provide interpretations and explanations of the text, for instance, as glossaries, annotations and commentaries. These paratexts provide insights into the meaning of the text and help the reader to better understand the text and its transmission.
- 3) documenting paratexts that provide information on the production of the manuscript: these paratexts feature diversely, and they can provide a lot of information of scribes, donors and the provenance of manuscripts. To this category belong the texts which appear on the front and back folios, and colophons, though the former can also combine traits of functions 1 and 3 (Ciotti and Lin, 2016, VII) . Thus the documenting paratexts provide a lot of useful information concerning the manuscript in its social and cultural context.

1. Paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts

In Thai or Siamese manuscript culture, the word เกษีณ (Thai: *kasian*) is used to denote text inserted behind the main text in palm-leaf manuscripts or text at the top of government documents (Office of the Royal Society 1982, 112). If we adopt the definition of paratexts described earlier, it can argue that *kasian* is similar in meaning to paratext in the Thai language. Conversely, I have not found an indigenous term in Tai Lü manuscript culture that describes the meaning of paratext.

In Tai Lü manuscript culture, there is two types of element which support content in manuscripts by helping to structure the contents and support the manuscripts themselves by providing their information. The paratexts that appear most prominently in Tai Lü manuscripts can be divided into the following five categories:

1. Text titles or intertitles
2. Paratexts in the margin of a page
3. Colophons
4. Table of contents
5. Prefaces

1.1 Text titles or intertitles

In Tai Lü manuscripts the title of a text usually appears on the front and/or back cover folios. The title may also appear at the beginning of the first page, shortly before the main text starts. In some cases, scribes also write the title in the margin of the recto side of the first inscribed folio which belongs to the main text (regardless of the writing support).¹ Moreover, some titles appear in colophons with other information such as name of the scribe and/or donor, the date that the manuscript copy was completed, and so forth (see chapter four for further details).

1.2. Paratext in the margin of a page

Paratexts found in the margins of Tai Lü manuscripts usually appear on the left-hand side, but they may also appear in the right-hand margin and/ or at the top of the page in some manuscripts.

Paratexts in the margin of a page in Tai Lü manuscripts may have the following contents:

- the title of a text which usually appears in the left margin at the start of the text;
- the chapter number;
- the substance of the following paragraph;
- explanations by the scribe to clarify the text of the main body to raise a problem related to the text (for details, see chapter 4).

1.3 Colophons

In the field of Tai manuscript cultures there is no generally accepted indigenous Tai term that corresponds to “colophon”. Thai scholars use the word *banthük thai rüang* (บันทึกท้ายเรื่อง), which literally means the “note at the end of the text or story”. In his seminal study of colophons in 30 Pali manuscripts from Northern Thailand, Harald Hundius provides the following short definition of “colophon” characterizing them as “short paragraphs written by the scribes in their native language”. However, this is not entirely true as some Tai colophons include phrases in Pali and are thus bilingual (Hundius 1990, 10). The Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts uses the following working definition, namely *kham banthük khòng phu litcana*, which literally means “scribe’s note”. This is further explained by an English definition denoting a colophon as: “a section of writing, usually found at the end of a manuscript, which is added by the scribe, giving details such as the name of the scribe, the donor, the time, date, and place of completion of copying the text, personal remarks, etc. Colophons can also be

¹ This is a widespread practice which we find also in the palm-leaf based manuscript cultures of Northern Thailand and Laos.

found at the end of bundles within a text or on the covers of paper manuscripts”.² In Lan Na manuscript culture, colophon is called คำมักคำปรารภณา (*kham mak kham prathana*) / คำมักคำพาณา (*kham mak kham phathana*), literally “word of intention/desire”, (Udom 2004, 135) which is similar to the Tai Lü, tradition as can be deduced from the colophon of the manuscript **LS78: ธรรม์เขยสังคหะ (Tham caiya sangha)**, Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, AD 1988, which is the only manuscript in my corpus, appearing the term of the colophon in Tai Lü language. The colophon is placed directly after the end of the main text where the scribe provides his name, Nai Nòi Insong, his wishes for copying the text, his apologies for any spelling mistakes which might have occurred during the copying process, and the date that the manuscript was completed. Below the colophon, the scribe then invites anyone who would like to act as sponsors (or “principal monastic supporters”, usually called *sattha* or *munlasattha*) of the manuscript to add their wishes.

สระเดมแล้วยามตอนแรง เดิน 3 ขึ้น 8 คำ เมงวัน 7 ไทยกาบเสด ปีจุพสัักขาด
1350 ตัว ข้าผู้เขียนแม่นนายน้อยอินสง ไว้คำฐาสนา 5000 ภวัสสาเทียงแท้ดีหลีแล ขอ
หื้อเป็นพรอานิสงคำฐาคนตัวผู้ข้า トラบต่อเท่าเข้ารอดเวียงแก้วยอดมหานรพานแท้ดีหลี

สุทินัน วุตตเมทานัน นิพพานัน ปรมิ สุขุขิ

แลแม่นได้ผิดแลหลงถือเต็มถือแปงไฟ คีขออย่าหื้อเป็นบาปเป็นกัมม์แลโหด ผู้
ข้าขอสูมมาธัมมไว้เห่นอหัวแต่เทอะ

ถ้าผู้ใดจะเป็นสัทธาคีหื้อเขียนคำปรารภณาต่อใส่นี้ไฟเทอะ

[The copying of the manuscript] was completed in CS 1350, on the eighth waxing day of the third month,³ the Mon [say] the seventh day of the week (Saturday), the Tai [say] a *kap set* day. I, the scribe, Nai Nòi Insong, have written (*khan*) [this manuscript] to support the religion to last [until the end of] 5,000 years. May this bring the benefit (*phala-ānisaṃsa*) to support me entering Nibbāna. *Sudinnaṃ vatame dānaṃ nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ*. [Some letters] have been omitted, may this not be considered a sinful act. I apologize if I made omissions.

If anyone would like to be the principal monastic supporter (*sattha*), please write your desire (*kham phathana*) here.

² Definition of colophon: Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (DLLM), <http://www.laomanuscripts.net/en/glossary> (July 1, 2018).

³ 1350 Pausha 8 = Saturday, 14 Saturday 1989.

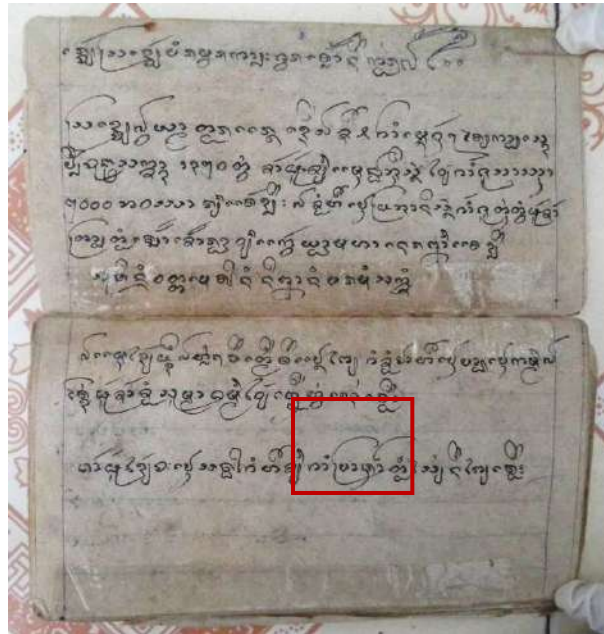


Figure No. 3.1: LS78 (Collection Grabowsky)

1.3.1 Position of colophons

Colophons in Tai Lü manuscripts normally appear after the end of the text. Whether manuscripts comprise a single text divided into several chapters or are multiple-text manuscripts, colophons usually appear at the end of each chapter respectively text. In such cases, there would be several colophons distributed throughout the manuscript. Moreover, my research has also found that colophons can appear on the front and/or back cover folios, before the start of the main text, and inserted throughout the main text. Sometimes, colophons were provided in more than one position in the same manuscript.

In my corpora of Tai Lü manuscripts, colophons appear in a variety of different positions. The following table lists twelve different combinations of such positioning:

Table 3.1: Position of colophons

Position	Yunnan	Laos	Total
1. Front cover folio	28	12	40
2. Back cover folio	3	—	3
3. Front & back cover folio	19	3	22
4. Before the main text	1	—	1
5. After the main text	33	16	49
6. Before & after the main text	4	1	5
7. Front cover folio and after the main text	56	21	77
8. Back cover folio and after the main text	3	—	3
9. Back cover folio, Before and after the main text	—	2	2
10. Front and back cover folio, and after the main text	30	14	44
11. Before, inserted and after the main text	3	—	3
12. Inserted, after the main text and back cover folio	1		1

As the table above, it obviously shows that the positions on the front cover folios and after the main text are preferred to write colophons by most scribes (on the list No. 7). While in the position No. 5, 10 and 1 are fashionable to write colophons secondary. Therefore, we may assume that the positions which the scribes prefer when writing their colophons are 1. front cover folio; 2. back cover folio and; 3. after the end of the text. We may assume that all of the three positions are easy to find colophons and easy to draw the reader's attention to the names of the owners, scribes and donors.

1. Front cover folio

The manuscript **YN95: ธรรม์พหูสูตร (*Tham pahu sut*, “Various Sermons”)** from Ban Cong Monastery in Müang Laem, dated 1986 CE, has a very long colophon listing/recording the manuscript's sponsors and donors on the front cover folio. It provides the title of the text, the names of the donors and their places of origin, the dates of the donation of the manuscript, and the intentions of the donors. The donors express their hope that their act will help them lead a good life and accrue wisdom.



Figure No. 3.2: YN95 (Collection Grabowsky)

2. Back cover folio

The manuscript **YN61: ตำรายา (*Tamra Ya* / “Medical Treatise”)** from the Documentation Centre of Tai Lü Culture at Yunnan University in Kunming is undated. It has two colophons written by different hand, i.e. by different scribes, both colophons appear on the back cover folio. The first colophon is written in black ink which suggests that it is the original colophon of the manuscript; it provides the names of the owner and the scribe, named “I Nam”, who lives in Ban Chang, Müang Long.

“ใส่ตำรายาก่อนแลเปนพับอินามบ้านช้างเม็งหลวงแล ใผอย่าเอาไปเส่งเนอท่านเอย”

[I am] writing this medical treatise. The manuscript belongs to I Nam [at] Ban Chang, Müang Long. Whoever takes it must not hide it.

In contrast, the second colophon informs us that this manuscript has changed its owner. It is written in blue ink and provides the name of another owner, Ai Saeng Taem, who is a traditional folk medicine healer (*mò ya*) from the village of Ban Ang in Müang Long, Chiang Rung District.

“พอบตำราน้ายแสงแต่ม หมอขายบ้านางเม็งโงง”

The medical treatise manuscript [belongs to] Ai Saeng Taem, a traditional medicine healer (*mó ya*) [who lives] at Ban Ang, Müang Long.

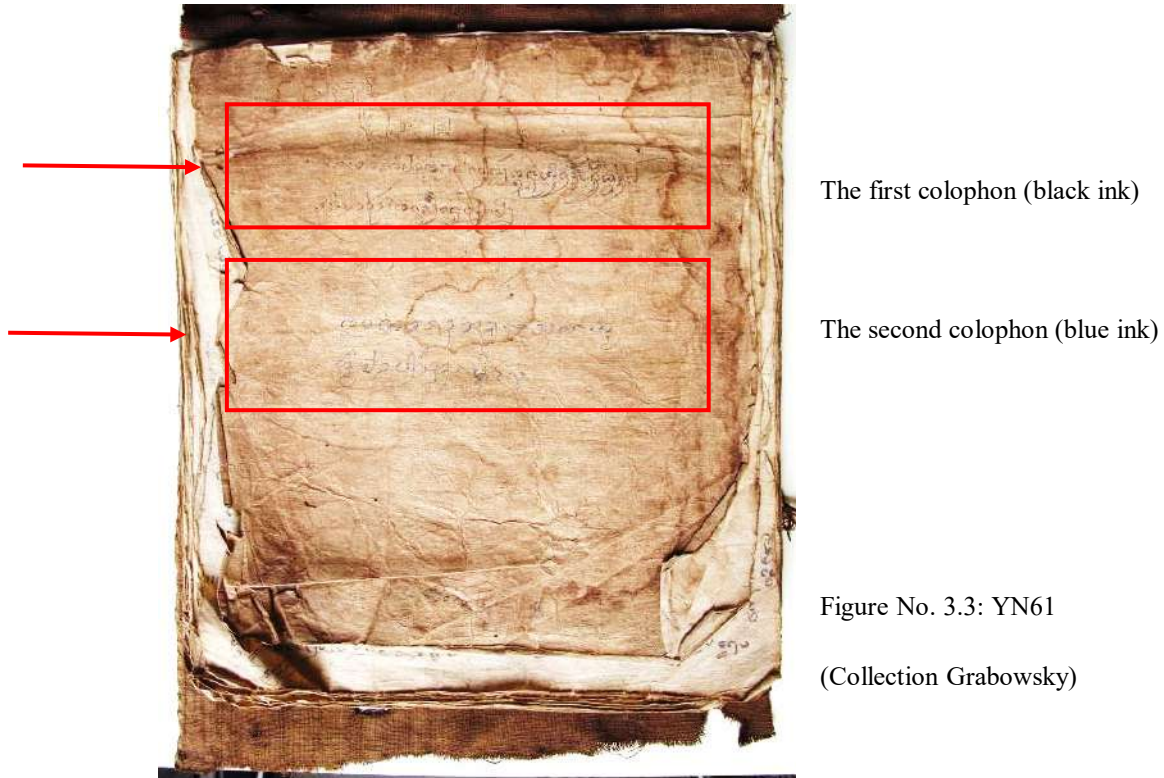


Figure No. 3.3: YN61

(Collection Grabowsky)

3. Front and back cover folio

The manuscript **YN98**: ^๕ลึกลงเมืองและป่าเมือง (*Lik pün moeng lae pacā moeng / Chronicle*) from the residence of Pò Saeng Sam, Müang Laem, is undated. The colophons of this manuscript appear only on the front and back cover folios in a triangular layout. Though their exact wording differs slightly, both colophons provide basically the same information, that is, the titles of the two stories – *Pün moeng* and *Pacā moeng*, a note from scribe that the two stories have been compiled in the one manuscript, and then the name of the sponsor, whose Tai name is Khun Paeng, comprises the last line. However, the first colophon (front cover) also mentions the government office to which the scribe belonged to: Min Cung Cawi (in Tai phonetic rendering) or Mín Zōng Jú (民宗局) in Pinyin. This is the “Office of Ethnic and Religious [Affairs]”.⁴

⁴ I am grateful to Zhou Hanli for her explanation of this Chinese term.

ปกหน้า

: หน้าทับพายเค้า : ลึกพื้นเมืองแลปชาเมืองอยู่ด้วยกัน : พื้นเมืองเมืองแลม

สองเมืองอยู่ด้วยกันซ้ำแล ;

สัตธานพวงมื่นจุงจิ :

(Front cover folio)

The front cover folio: *Lik pün moeng* and *Paca moeng* are together [in one manuscript]: *Pün moeng moeng laem* (Chronicle of Moeng Laem).

Two stories are put together.

Lay supporter (*saddhā*) Khun Paeng [from] Min Cung Cwi.

ปกหลัง

หน้าทับพายปลาย : พื้นเมืองแลปชาเมือง :

เมืองแลม อยู่ด้วยกัน :

สัตธานพวงซ้ำแล

(Back cover folio)

The back cover folio: *Pün moeng* and *Paca moeng*:

Moeng Laem are put together. [in one volume]

Monastic supporter (*sattha*) Khun Paeng, it is me.



Figure No. 3.4: YN98: Colophon on front cover folio
(Collection Grabowsky)



Figure No. 3.5: YN98: Colophon on back cover folio
(Collection Grabowsky)

4. Before the main text

The manuscript **YN128**: ปฏิสังขยาโย (*Patikangkhayo*) from Wat Long Cao Còm, Mūang Cae, dated 2010 CE, is a leporello manuscript. The colophon is placed on the verso side of the front cover folio. The colophon states the name of the main or principal sponsor (Pali: *mūlasaddhā*), Ai Kham Saeng, and his wife, Nang Bo Non, dedicates the manuscript to Wat Long Cao Còm in 2010 to support Sasana, and wishes for the benefit of making merit to support their family.

However, I cannot be sure that the manuscript contains only this single colophon because, due to the lack of time during our field trip in August 2012, I was unable to digitize the whole manuscript, but only parts of it, including the colophon.

ก่อนเริ่มเรื่อง

มหมุลลสัทธาไธ่คำแสง ภริยาเชื่อว่านางบัวนวล ทั้งสองผัวเมียเป็นเค้า ลูกเต้าทั้ง
มวลง ส้างเปนทานกับศาสนาวัดหลวงเจ้าจอม ในปีคคชี่ จุฬสักราชเจ้าได้ 1372 ตัว
เดิน 11 ขึ้น 7 คำ หยาดน้ำหมายทาน . ขอให้อไ้เปนผลาอาานิสงส์ชุนตัวข้อยพ่อแม่
ลูกแต่

Translation: Before the beginning of the main text.

The principal monastic supporters (*mahā mulla saddhā*), Ai Kham Saeng and his wife Nang Bo Non, and all their offspring (*luk tao*) have sponsored and donated [this manuscript] to the *sāsanā*⁵ at the monastery of Wat Long Cao Còm in the *kot yi* year, CS 1372, on the seventh waxing day of the eleventh month⁶ when the consecration ceremony was carried out. May this bring religious benefit (*phala ānisaṃsa*) to us, parents and children.

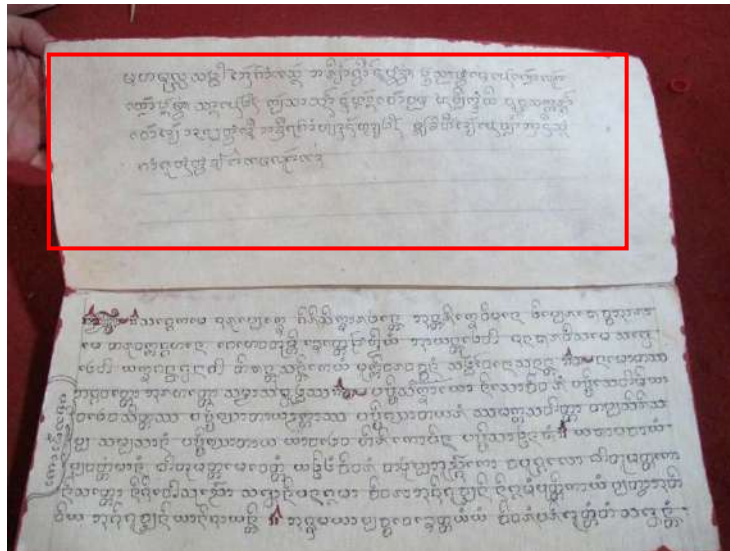


Figure No. 3.6: YN128 (Collection Grabowsky)

5. After the text

The manuscript **LS11: ธรรม์นคร (*Tham nakhòn*)** from Wat Ban Nakham, Müang Sing District, is dated 2003 CE. The colophon of the manuscript appears after the main text. It can be broken into two parts. First, in the opening line after the symbol almost in the middle of the page, the colophon of the scribe is written in the same black ink as the main text. The colophon provides the name of the scribe, Khanan⁷ Tham Sali, the date when he completed, the writing and his wishes for having copied the text.

⁵ The term of *sāsanā* can be mean both the Buddhist religion (Bhuddism) and the teaching of the Buddha (Dhamma).

⁶ 1372 Bhadrāpāda 7 = Wednesday, 15 September 2010.

⁷ Khanan (Thai: ขนาน) or Nan (Thai: นาน) is a honorific title designating men who have left Buddhist monkhood.

Then, in the following paragraph, the colophon of the sponsor is written in blue ink also by the scribe, but this happened one month and ten days later. It provides the name of the sponsor, Nan Paeng, his wife, Nang Kong Can Yai, and the names of their three daughters. They donated the manuscript to Wat Long Na Kham in Müang Sing in 2003.

Colophon ท้ายเรื่อง

ผู้ข้าขานามธัมมัสริกจิตตแต่้มเจียร ธัมม่นครผูกนิ ในปลีกล่าเมด จุฬสักราชสัถชาดได้
1365 ตัว เคน 10 แลได้ 6 คำ ผู้ข้าขอหือเปนมัลลธัมม ผละธัมม นีพพานธัมม นำเอา
ตนโตผู้ข้า พัดจากทุกถึงสุกแล้วลวดได้ เอาตนเข้าสู่ เวียงแก้วยอดมหานรพาน แท้ซ้อย
แต่ จิปปิเม พันนั้กเทอะ

(เขียนตัวปากกาหมึกแห้งสีน้ำเงิน)

ผู้สร้างถวายเปนทานเมอไว้พายหน้าแม่น้ำหานาแพงเปนเค้ากว่าภริยาชื่อว่านางกอง
จันใหญ่ก้อมด้วยลูกผู้ 1 ชื่อว่านางอินอ้อย ผู้ 2 นางคำแก้ว ผู้ 3 นางหล้าสมใจ ถวาย
ทานในปลีกล่าเมด สขาดได้ 1365 ตัว เคน 11 ลุง 3 คำ หยาดน้ำถวายทาน แม่นรี 13
- 9 - ปี - (เลขอารบิก) 2003 (อักษรลาว - เลขอารบิก) พัส 2546 - (อักษรธรรม) ธีวัด
หลวงนาคำเม็งถึง ซ้อยแล

Colophon (end of the text):

I, Khanan Tham Sali, wrote the manuscript [titled] *Nakhòn* in the *ka met* year, [C]S 1365, on the sixth waxing day of the tenth month.⁸ I wish that this will [support me to reach the path leading to the cessation of suffering *maggdhamma*, the good result of the Dhamma (*phala-dhamma*) and Nibbāna. May it lead me to escape from suffering bring for being happy until reaching Nibbāna. ...

(Written with dry dark blue ink.)

The sponsor (lit., “maker”) [of this manuscript] has donated [it] for posterity. I, Nan Paeng, who takes the lead, along with my wife, Nang Kòng Can Yai, and our daughter Nang In Òi, our daughter Nang Kham Kaeo, and our daughter Nang La Somcai, have donated it in the *ka met* year, [C]S 1365, on the third waning day of the eleventh month⁹ when the consecration ceremony was performed – [This date] is equivalent to September 13th, 2003, BE 2546 – at Wat Long (Luang) Na Kham, Müang Sing.

⁸ 1365 Sravana = 3 August 2003.

⁹ 1365 Bhadrapada 18 = Saturday, 13 September 2003.

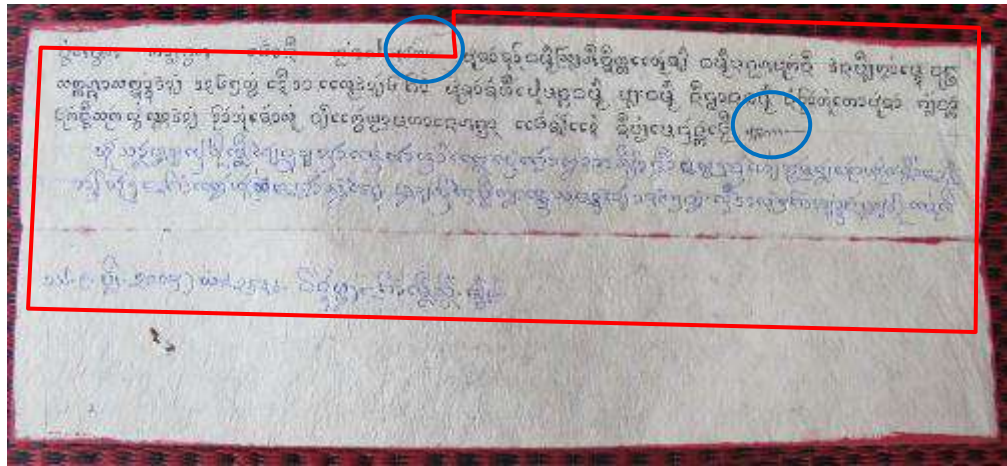


Figure No. 3.7: LS11 (Collection Grabowsky)

Note: We may observe that the two *gomutra* symbols function as separators. The first symbol separates the main text from the first colophon, and the second symbol separates the second colophon from the first.

6. Before and after text

The manuscript **YN73: Anisong Ai Lan Loet** **ห่มผ้าอานิสงส์้ายลั้งเล็ด** contains an *anisong* (*ānisamsa*) text¹⁰ from Wat Long Tòng Keng, Moeng Ting, in Gengma County. It is dated 1992 CE. The colophons of the manuscript are placed in two positions. The first colophon appears on the page before the main text starts. The text on this page is composed of two parts, namely the Pali phrase which is a homage to the Buddha, followed by a rather short colophon providing the name of the scribe, Pha Tham Òn, and the purpose of copying the text.

In contrast, the second colophon is placed after the text and it is written in blue ink. The colophon belongs to the sponsors from the two villages of Pa Dòi Ye Lung and Pa Ok Asung. They donated the manuscript to Wat Long Müang Ting in 1992 CE.

¹⁰ *Anisong* (*ānisamsa*) is a kind of a religious text which is popular in Lān Na, Tai Lü, Tai Khün, and Lao manuscript cultures. They are considered to be didactic literature because their contents focus on cogency people to do good. The role of *Anisong* texts could be effected into two ways to people that is in concrete way which make people make merit by donating objects to monks, monasteries and/or public benefit, and in abstract way by teaching people to do good and supporting activities of local people belief and culture. See Singkham Rakpa, Phramaha 2000, 169–174).

หน้าแรก

(ต่อจาก นโมฯ) ข้าผูกนิเป็นพระธำม่อนแด่มไว้กับศาสนาหื้อถ้วน 5 พันวัสสะข้าแด

Translation: First folio.

This manuscript has been written by Pha Tham Òn to ensure that the Teachings [of the Buddha] will last [until the end of] 5,000 years.

โคโลโฟนท้ายเรื่อง

(เขียนด้วยปากกาหมึกแห้งสีน้ำเงิน) จุฬศักดิ์ราชได้ 135[4] ขุ (ขุ ภาษาพม่า = ปี) ข้าผูกนิเขาเป็นเจตนาสัทธา ปาดอยเขลึงแด่ ปาโออาสูง เขาสองเร็นสองเยได้มาหุตทานตั้งสอมตอหลวงในวัดหลวงเม็งตึงข้าแด่ ส่วนกะเขาสองเร็นสองเยขอนได้กินได้ทานได้พบไฟแสงไฟคำ ส่วนกะได้มาหุตข้าผูกนิได้ออนหานอนถึง เม็งแสงเม็งคำหานิพพานแท้ ๆ ข้าแด่มุนเอยมุนนอ

Translation: Colophon at the end of the main text.

(Written with dry dark blue ink) This manuscript¹¹ has been donated in the year, CS 135[4] by the principal lay supporters (cetanā-saddhā) Pa Dòi Ye Lung [and] Pa O A Sung. Both householders have donated it to Wat Long [in] Moeng Ting. The families of our both households might get a reward of merit though this donation. May we reach the splendid and golden city of the great Nibbāna. May we get merit.

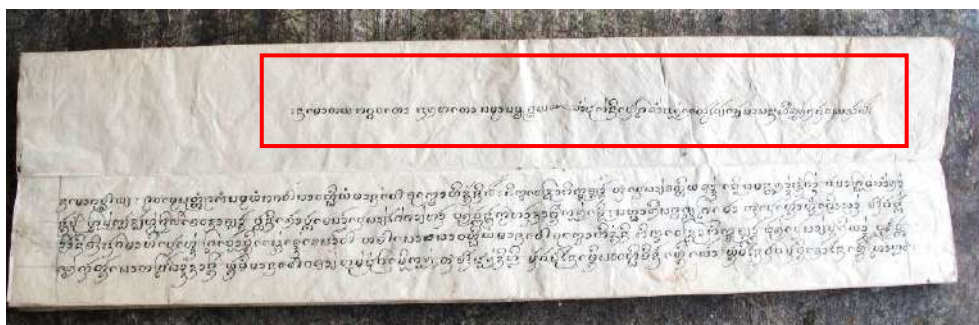


Figure No. 3.8: YN73: colophon before text (Collection Grabowsky)

¹¹ Literally, “this *phuk* of a religious manuscript”. *Phuk* should here not be translated as “fascicle” because the word “fascicle” is always connected to palm-leaf manuscripts and does not make sense for denoting codological units in mulberry paper manuscripts.

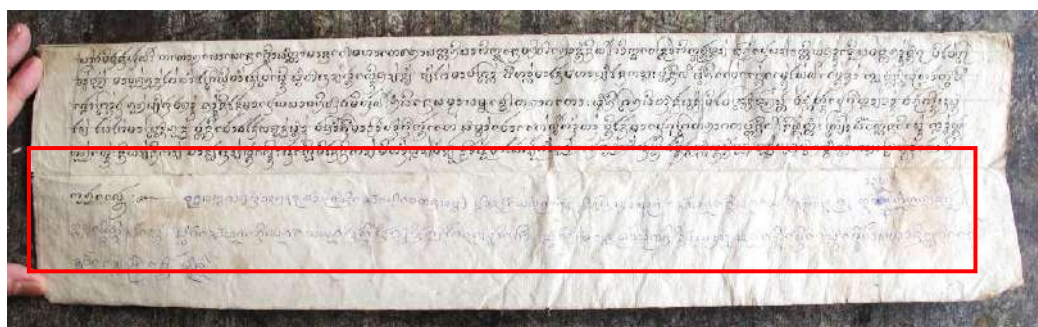


Figure No. 3.9: YN73: colophon after text (Collection Grabowsky)

7. Front cover folio and after text

The manuscript YN66: *ธัมมปาตพราคำดอยก้อน* (*Tham pat pha kham dòì kòn*) is from Wat Patha Dòì Kòn in Jinggu County and dated 2005 CE. The two colophons of this manuscript are placed in two different positions within the manuscript. The first, rather short, colophon is provided on the front cover folio together with the title of the story. It records the names of the sponsors and donors, the name of the monastery, and the year of the manuscript's donation. The second colophon appears directly after the main text. It provides the same information as the first colophon, that is, the name of the sponsors and the year of donation. Moreover, this longer colophon also gives additional information, i.e. the names of the Tai and Tham years following the 60-year cycle, as well as the purpose and wishes of the sponsors vis-à-vis the donation of the manuscript.

หน้าทับ

นาซัยควรเท่าทั้งบ้านทั้งสวน

หน้าพับธัมมปาตพราคำดอยก้อนผูกเดิยเข้าแล วัฒนาซัย 1367

Translation: Front cover folio

Na Sai in the name of all villagers.¹²

The front cover folio. This manuscript [entitled] *Pat pha kham dòì kòn* comprises only one fascicle. Wat Na Sai, [CS] 1367.

¹² Literally, “in all villages and garden lands”.

ท้ายเรื่อง

จุฬศักราชได้ 1367 ตัว ปีระคับเร้าปีไทกัถ(มท)ข้าแล == เข้าเป็นเจตนาสัทธา
นามชื่อว่า (ต่อไปเขียนด้วย ปากกาหมึกแห้งสีน้ำเงิน) นาซ้ายทั้งบ้านทั้งสวนหมกันส้าง
ทานไว้ค้ำชูศาสนาพระโคตมเจ้าหื้อถ้วน 5 พันวัสสาข้า ส่วนศตุดข้าควนเท่าทั้งบ้านทั้ง
สวนก็ขอย้อนหื้อได้เป็นทั้งมัลลธา ผลธา นิพพานธา ขัวแสงเริงค่านำเอาตุข้าทั้งบ้านทั้ง
สวนหื้อได้เข้าสู่เวียงแก้วยอดมหานรพานแท้แท้ข้าแลบุญนอย ผินอ

Translation: End of the text

In CS 1367, a *dap rao* year,¹³ I as the principal lay supporter (*cetanā saddhā*) whose name is Na Sai, together with all villagers, jointly sponsored the making (*sang*) of [this manuscript] [and] donated [it] with the intention that the Teachings of Lord Buddha Gotama will last until the completion of 5,000 years. As for myself as well as for all [other] villagers, I wish that [this donation] will become the path to the Dhamma, the good result of the Dhamma, [and lead to] the Nibbāna of the Dhamma, a brilliantly shining golden bridge which will take me and all villagers to enter the splendid city of Nibbāna, the peak [of happiness]. May this bring merit.

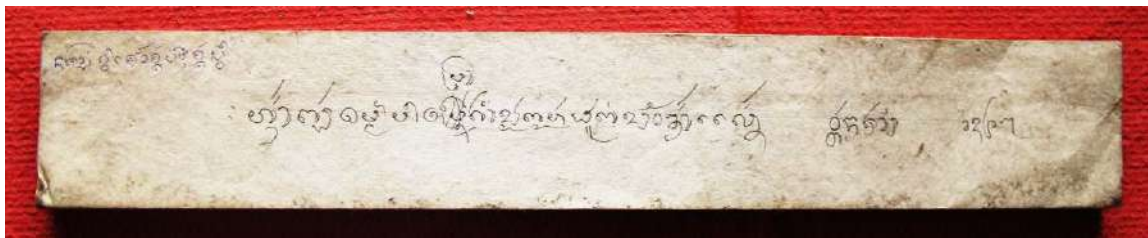


Figure No. 3.10: YN66: colophon on front cover folio (Collection Grabowsky)

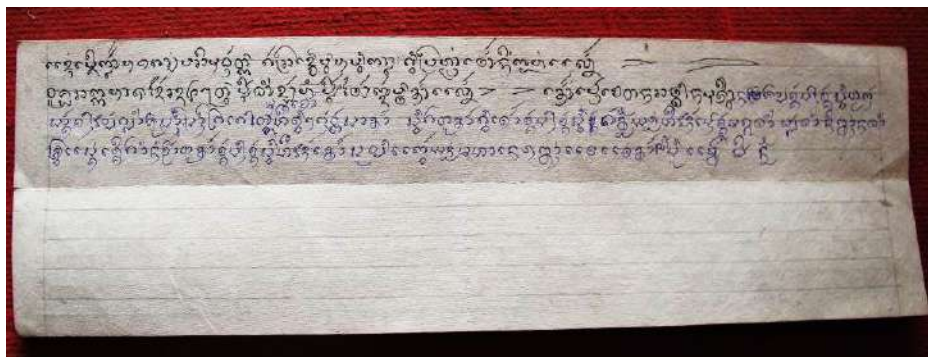


Figure No. 3.11: YN66: colophon after text (Collection Grabowsky)

¹³ Corresponding to CE 2005/6.

8. Back cover folio and after text

Manuscript YN52: คำวพินคอ (*Khao pün kò* / *Chronicle*), is from Müang Lòng, Sipsòng Panna, and dated 1997. Only the title of the text is given on the front cover folio. Conversely, on the back cover folio not only is the title given, but there is also a very short colophon recorded. This colophon mentions the name of the scribe, Pò Un Kham Phom [from] Ban Thang.

ปกหลัง

หน้าทับพันนิยาย คำวคอแล เป็นของพ่ออุ่นคำมบ้านตางแล

Translation: The back cover folio

[bears the title] *Khao pün kò*. [The manuscript] belongs to Pò Un Kham Phom [from] Ban Thang.

โคโลโฟนท้ายเรื่อง

ผู้แต่งคอออกนิ ปูจันขนานแสงยันเขียน เขียนไว้หื้อลูกหลานไว้สืบอ่านเมอพายหน้าใน
ปีมิ่ง(มิ่ง)เปลา จุฬสัปดาห์ได้ 1359 โด เดือน 9 แล 7 คำ สัปดาห์โลก 1997-7-26 เข้าแล
พ่อจันขานแสงยันแต่งไว้หื้อลูกชายอ้ายกมแล (...)

Translation:

I copied this [manuscript]. I, Pu Can Khanan Saeng Yan, wrote/copied it for [my] offspring (*luk lan*) so that they continue reading it in the future. [The copying was finished] in the *moeng pao* year, CS 1359, on the seventh waning day of the ninth month, [equivalent to] 26 July 1997. Pò Can Kh[an]an wrote/copied [the manuscript] for his son Ai Phom. (...)

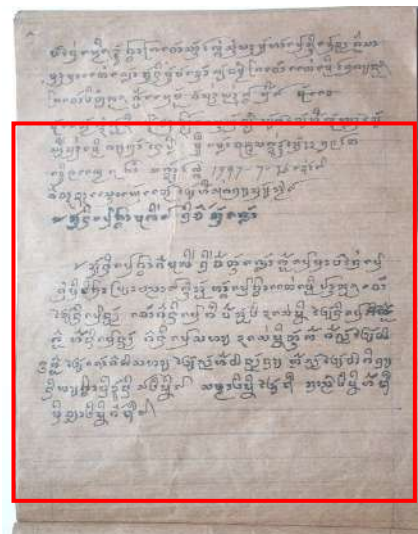


Figure No. 3.12: YN52: Colophon on back cover folio Figure No. 3.13: YN52: colophon after text

(Collection Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan)

9. Back cover folio, before and after the main text

The manuscript LS6: รวมพิธีกรรมต่าง ๆ (*Hom pithikam tang tang / Rituals*) is from Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Mueang Sing, and dated 1908 CE. The colophons of this manuscript appear at three points: on the back cover folio, before the beginning of the main text, and after it finishes. The first colophon on the back cover folio is written in Lao script with felt-tip pen in blue ink. It provides only the name of the owner, Nan Thera Saengwong, together with the mention of an apotropaic ritual. The second colophon is written by another scribe, Thera Dhammapañña Bhikkhu, who was the first owner of this manuscript and created it in 1908. He also describes the disgraceful situation of Buddhism at Ban Nam Kaeo Long at that time (this will be discussed later in the section ‘Historical events from colophons’ in chapter four). Finally, the third colophon records the name of the scribe, Achan Nan Then (Thera), which might be assumed that he is the same person with Nan Thera Saengwong mentioned in the first colophon.

The third colophon provides the date of the writing process detailing that the text was written in 1971, which is 63 years later than the date in the second colophon. The scribe also lists the writing date as 1972. The various colophons of this manuscript inform us about the manuscript’s life and transmission. One manuscript created in an earlier period can be still written by another scribe in later period. In this case, the handwriting of the first scribe stops on page 29 of the manuscript, but there was still paper remaining so the second scribe/owner decided to write another text in the same manuscript.

The first colophon (in modern Lao script)

ปกพับหลัง

(ตัวอักษรลาว เขียนด้วยเมจิกสีน้ำเงิน)

แก้อุปาท ราชนาต่าง ๆ ของหนานเธรแสงวง

Front cover folio:

(Passage in Lao script written with a blue ink ball-point pen colloquially called a magic marker in Thai)

The [various proposals for] overcoming calamities and [achieving] satisfying results are from Nan Thera Saengwong.





Figure No. 3.15: LS6: colophon before the text
(Collection Grabowsky)

A third colophon appears at the very end of the manuscript, directly following the main text from which it is neither visually separated by a blank line nor by a slightly smaller-sized writing. Though rather brief, the colophon records the scribe's name, the place of writing and the exact date when the writing was finished.

The third colophon

Colophon ท้ายเรื่อง

ผู้ข้าอาจนหนานเถียนใส่ค้ำน้ำแก้วแค้นในปี 1333 ค่ำ เดือน 6 ขึ้น 3 ค่ำ วันนั้นแล

Colophon (end of the text):

I, Acan Nan Thera [Saengwong] has written [the manuscript] to [Ban] Nam Kao [Luang] in the year [CS] 1333, on the third waxing day of the sixth month.¹⁷

¹⁷ 1333 Caitra 3 = Friday, 17 March 1972.

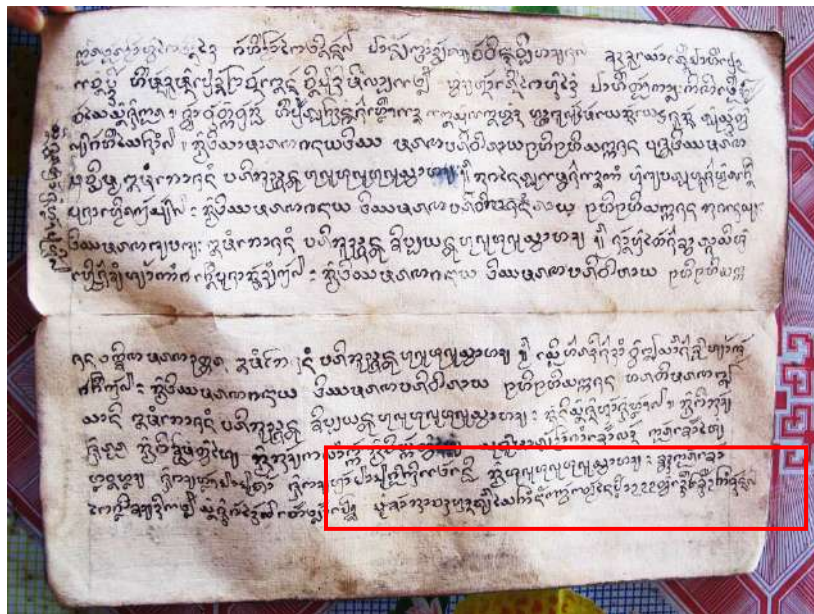


Figure No. 3.16: LS6: colophon before the text (Collection Grabowsky)

10. Front and back cover folio, and after the text

The manuscript **LS60**: สัตตโพชฌังคาทังเจด (*Satta pocanangka tang cet*) is from Müang Sing and dated 1993 CE. It consists of three colophons. Two colophons belong to the donors and the other belongs to the scribe. The first one appears on the front cover folio. This is the colophon of the donors. It provides the title of the text, the names of the male donor and his wife, and describes the purpose of, and wishes desired from donating the manuscript. It also includes the names of some Indian gods, including Lord Indra, Lord Brahma, the Lord of the Underworld, and the Goddess of the Earth.¹⁸ The donors have asked them to be witnesses of the meritorious deed of donation.

¹⁸ The Goddess of the Earth is called in Thai 'Mae Thorani' (Thai: แม่ธรณี; Sanskrit: Vasudhārā). She is respected as the Goddess of the Earth who sustains everything / every life on the earth. In Buddhist belief, 'Mae Thorani' will receive water from making merit. Buddhist believes that she is as a witness who record *punya* (Thai: บุญ) or benefit of making merit. (Sirinit, 2001, 20–21). Therefore, Buddhist in Southeast Asia today usually pure water to ground every time after making merit which is an important rite to do.

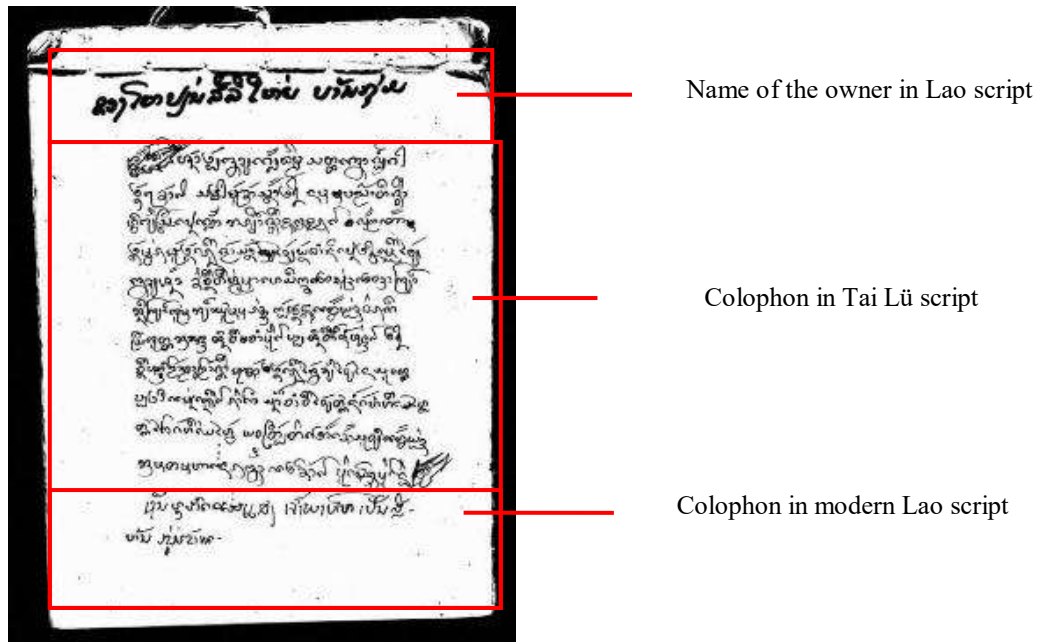


Figure No. 3.17: LS60 - Colophon on the front cover folio

(Collection of Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

The second colophon appears after the end of the main text. It is the colophon of the scribe, a monk named Bhikkhu Khuatsaeng (Khotsaeng) of Ban Kum. He apologizes for his orthographic mistakes and clumsy handwriting. He also expresses his wish that copying the manuscript will benefit him by the making merit and help him to reach his ultimate goal, Nibbāna.

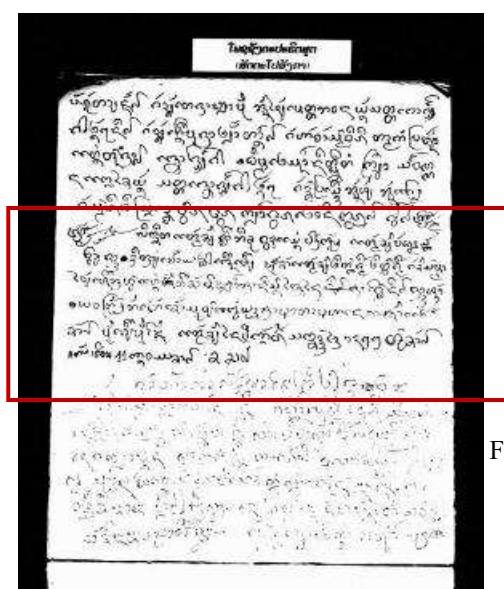


Figure No. 3.18: LS60 - Colophon after the end of the text

(Collection of Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

The third colophon appears on the back cover folio. It records the same donors as the colophon appearing on the front cover folio, but this one is shorter. The colophon still provides the name and place of the sponsors/ donors, the purpose of donation, the sponsors'/donors' desired wishes for donating the manuscripts. However, it does not provide the name of the donor's wife and the list of the Indian gods like in the first colophon. Moreover, the date of the donation is provided in this third colophon, whereas it does not appear in the first colophon on the front cover folio.

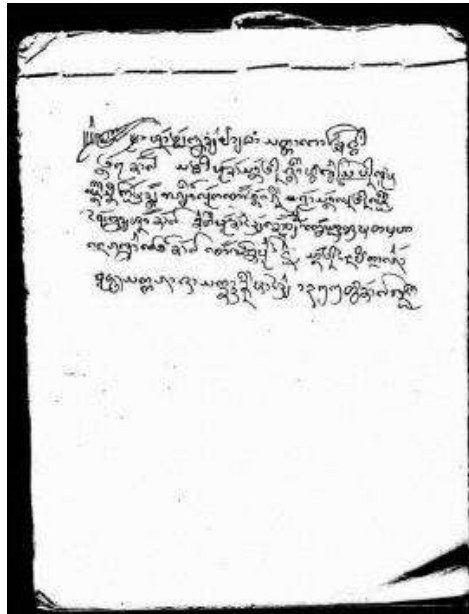


Figure No. 3.19: LS60 - Colophon on the back cover folio
(Collection of Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

11. Before, between and after text

The manuscript **YN81: கம்மநித்தான (Kammatthan/ Meditation)** is from Moeng Ting in Gengma County and dated to 1954 CE. It is also has three colophons, but they are positioned differently from the previous manuscript. However, the colophons in this manuscript can be attributed to the same scribe. The first colophon appears before the beginning of the text. The date when the scribe started to write the manuscript is recorded here.

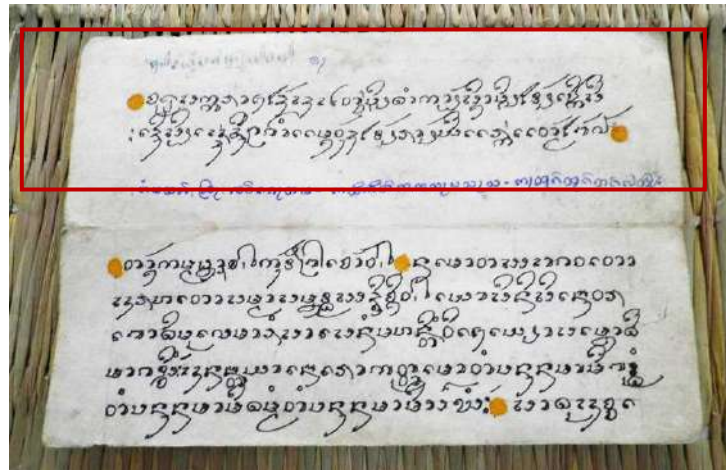


Figure No. 3.20: YN81 - Colophon before the beginning of the text (Collection Grabowsky)

The second colophon is inserted on page 57–58 and the first line of page 59. The manuscript comprises a total of 75 pages. The scribe inserted his biography between the end of the text *Kammathan* and before the start of the second text, *Kayanupassana*, which is part of the Satipathana Sutta. This Sutta is very important for learning how to practice Vipassana Kammathana (Vipassana Meditation).¹⁹ The scribe is a monk. He noted his birthday; the date when he was ordained as a Buddhist monk; the date when he rose up to higher ranks of the Saṅgha (literally, “association” or “assembly” - referring to the Buddhist monastic community of ordained monks and novices); and the date when he wrote this manuscript.

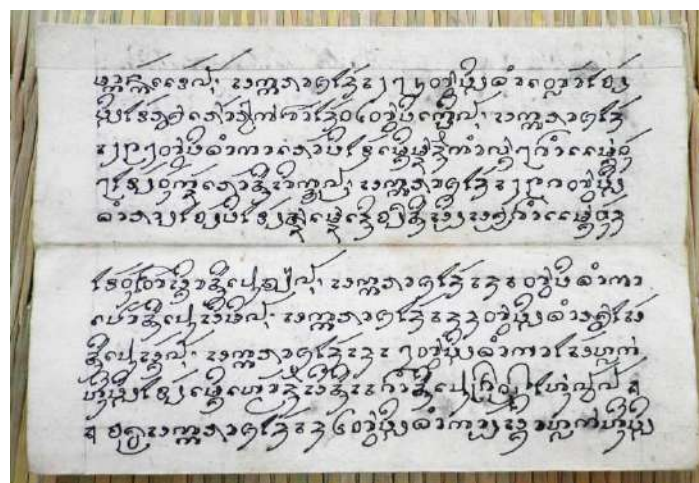


Figure No. 3.21: YN81 - Colophon inserted between the text (Collection Grabowsky)

¹⁹ Vipassana is a kind of meditation, focusing on consideration to instability, suffering and uncontrollable of body sensations and mental, which Guatama Buddha said if we always do it, all *kilesa* or defilement in our minds will be killed, and we will reach Nibbhāna eventually. See Chaiyaporn, Phra, 2012, 57–59.

The last colophon appears after the end of the second text. It also provides the date when the manuscript was completed. Moreover, the scribe added additional information, including his name, Phra Khen Saeng, and the purpose and intent of writing the manuscript.

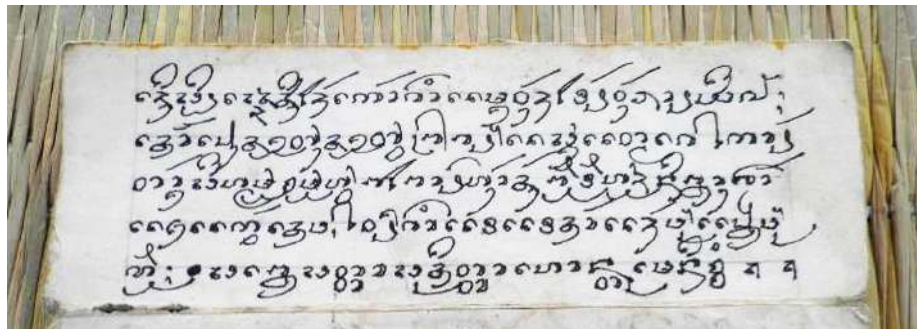


Figure No. 3.22: YN81 - Colophon at the end of the text (Collection Grabowsky)

12. Between, after text and back cover folio

The manuscript YN176: มหามูลกันไทร, จุลโพธิ, อวหัง, สมภเสียด (*Maha munkantai, cunlapothi* (Pali: *culabodhi*), *awahang* (Pali: *avaham*), *somphaset*) is from Ban Seo, Moeng Phong, it is dated 2001 CE. The colophons of this multiple-text manuscript appear in three positions: between the text, after the text, and on recto side of the back cover folio. The scribe inserted the short colophons in-between each text for telling readers that the new stories start here. In figure no. 3.23, the first story, *Cunlapothi*, comes to an end. Before the new text begins in the following paragraph, the scribe added short message in the guillemots; <<ต่อหน้าไปเป็นมูลกันไทรแล>> (“from now on is *Mulakantai*”). In addition, following the final conclusion of the texts, the scribe provides information regarding the time and that he completed writing the manuscript. He also provides his name, Ai Mai Kham, and the place of his abode, Ban Seo in Moeng Phong. Finally, he reminds readers who would like to borrow this manuscript to bring it back.

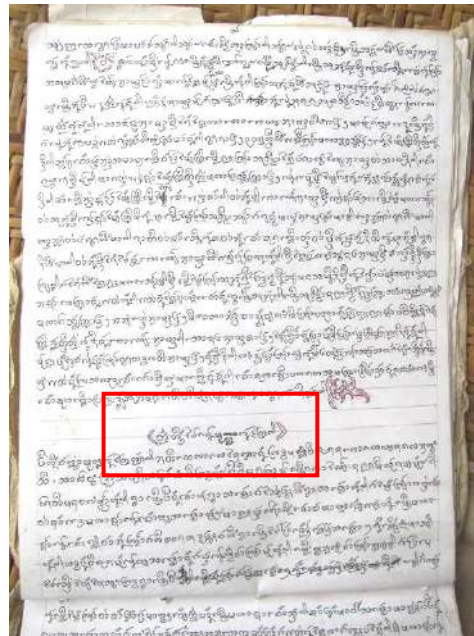


Figure No. 3.23: YN176 - Colophon between the text (Collection Grabowsky)

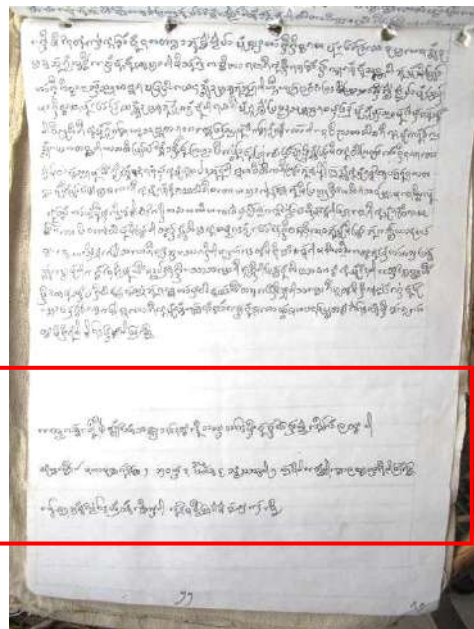


Figure No. 3.24: YN176 - Colophon after the text (Collection Grabowsky)

In contrast, on the recto side of the back cover folio, a Tai Lü proverb appears but its meaning does not connect with the texts. It is written by another hand. The last line following the proverb provides a date, namely the year 2006 CE, which is five years after the manuscript was completed (2001 CE). Moreover, the name of the owner has changed from Ai Mai Kham

to Pò I Thao, the writer of this proverb. This may indicate that the manuscript has been transmitted from one scribe to another scribe during this five-year period. However, I am not sure whether this is the same person or not because Tai Lü people can have more than one name (the issue of scribes having multiple names will further discussed in chapter four).

The Tai Lü proverb

ได้ลุ่มฟ้ายิ่งกว่าสแพง

คำแดงแพงใจจ่ายเฮายังได้

ซื้อบ่ได้เที่ยงแท้แห่งใจคุณ

2006 . 4 . 18 พ่ออีเถา ...

Under the sky, with money one can buy everything even if it is very expensive,
but one cannot buy a human's mind and heart.

2006. 4. 18 Pò I Thao

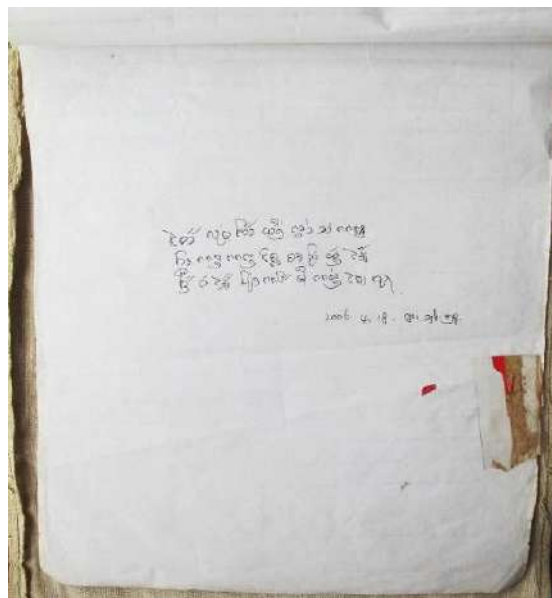


Figure No. 3.25: YN176 – The Tai Lü proverb on the recto of the back cover folio
(Collection Grabowsky)

This manuscript has a front and back covers made of cotton, which are bound together with the paper folios inside. The scribe provides short notes indicating which side is the front and which is the back cover to prevent confusion on the side of potential users and readers.



Figure No. 3.26: YN176 – front textile cover
(Collection Grabowsky)



Figure No. 3.27: YN176 – back textile cover
(Collection Grabowsky)

From the examples discussed above, it is evident that the colophons in Tai Lü manuscripts can appear in a variety of positions and one manuscript can have colophons in more than one place.

1.3.2 Composition of the colophons

Through the study of the colophons in my corpus, I identified several structural characteristics of colophons containing a plethora of additional features. The colophons are usually dated and mention the name of scribes and donors, the purpose of the donations, and the aspirations of the donors and scribes regarding the results of such a meritorious deed. The titles of the text(s) recorded in the manuscripts are also mentioned. Sometimes, the scribe apologizes to the reader for his bad handwriting, even though it may be the beautiful and accurate handwriting of an experienced scribe. Such expressions of humbleness feature prominently in many colophons. Furthermore, the scribe might give advice to the reader about how to closely adhere to Buddhist precepts, for example, by referring to the model behavior of the leading actor of the story preceding the colophon. Apart from cases where the

scribe and the sponsor or donor of a manuscript are one and the same person, the colophon most prominently mentions the sponsor or donor and only casually, if at all, the scribe's name. Thus, a typical colophon of a Buddhist Tai Lü manuscript would have the following components:

- (a) Title of the main text
- (b) Date (day, month, year)
- (c) Time (of day)
- (d) Name of the donor(s) /scribe (and place)
- (e) Purpose and objective of copying and donating the manuscript
- (f) Wish of the donor(s)/scribe
- (g) A Pali phrase which is either an extension or a translation of (f).
- (h) An expression of humbleness or an apology (especially for bad handwriting)

However, the internal structure of the colophons seems to be more flexible and complicated. There is no fixed structure to colophons and the position of all the eight elements can change. Few colophons contain all eight elements. At least one or more elements are missing in most cases. The varied nature of a colophon's structure can be seen from the three examples below:

- 1) The manuscript **YN203**: ตำนานพื้นชาตมหายัคจอมของ (*Tamnan phün that mahiyangka còm yòng* / **Moeng Yòng chronicle**) is from Ban Thang, Moeng Long Tai, in Sipsòng Panna and dated 2000 CE.²⁰

ผู้ข้าพ่อแสงอินหมอยาเถ่าบ้านถาง ริกขิดแต่มีปีกคสิ สักขาดได้ 1362 ตัว เดือน 10 แรม
ได้ 11 ค่ำ เขียนแล้ว ผู้ข้า บูชาทานเมอไว้พายหน้าช้อยแล ขวนิพพาน ปรหม์ สุขขั แล้ว

I, Pò Saeng In, an old traditional pharmacist (*mò ya thao*) [from] Ban Thang, finished writing (*likkhita*) it in the *kot si* year, [C]S 1362, on the eleventh waning day of the tenth month.²¹ I donate it for posterity. *Yava nibbānaṃ paramaṃ su{k}kham*.²²

²⁰ Còm Yòng Stupa is the most important stupa of Müang Yòng (in Shan state, Myanmar, situated east of Chiang Tung) where is the homeland of the Yòng people who is also Tai Lü ethnic group but call themselves differently.

²¹ 1362 Sravana 26 = Saturday, 26 August 2000.

²² Nibbāna is the highest [stage of] happiness.

2) The manuscript **LS60: สัตตโพชฌังคาทังเจ็ด (*Satta pocangka tang cet, Bojjhaṅga: enlightenment factors*)** is from Ban Kum, Müang Sing, and dated 1993 CE.²³

หน้าทับพายปลายธำสัตตโพชฌังคาทัง 7 ข้างแล สัทธาผู้ข้าสร้างทานชื่อว่าหวั่นเพียนสรี บ้าน
กุ่ม เมืองสิง พร้อมด้วย ภริยาลูกเต้าทั้งเรือน ก็มาสร้างเป็นทานเมื่อไว้พายหน้าข้างแล ขอหื้อผู้
ข้าได้เข้าสู่เวียงแก้วอมต มหานรพานแท้ๆ ข้างแล เจ้าเอย บุนนอ สร้างทานในปีกำเร้า จุฬ
ลักราชาสักขาตขึ้นมาได้ 1355 ตัว ข้างแลนอ

The back cover folio [contains the title] of the religious manuscript, *Satta pocancangka tang cet*. The religious faithful who sponsored it are Ho Pen Sali (Hua Phian Si) from Ban Kum, Müang Sing, his wife and children, the whole household. They came to donate [the manuscript] for posterity. May we enter the crystal city of immortality the great Nibbāna. The donation happened in the *ka rao* year, CS 1355 (CE 1993/94).

3) The manuscript **YN69: มหาสัพพธัมมสูตรหลวง (*Maha sappathammasut long*)** is from Wat Khwaen Ka, Moeng Ka, in Jinggu County and dated 1983 CE.

สาธุนิพพานปัจจุโยโหตุโนนิจันฐวูปรมสุขิ

มหาสัพพธัมมสูตรหลวงผู้นี้ผู้สร้างข้าเป็นสมณสัทธาในวัดหลวงแคว้นเหนือครุบาทมหา
สังฆราชา

เข้ามาสร้างทานกับปริวาสกัมมันในดินค้ำพายนอก เดิน 3 ในธำ ขึ้นได้สิบ 5 คำ พร้าเป็น
วันอุทรมังคลอันประเสียด ขอหื้อผละนาคูนเย่งนินำเอามันเข้าได้เมื่อเกิดเมิงสวน(สวรรค์)
หื้อได้เถิงที่สุกขาสารานที่วิเสด มีประเพดว่าโสดา สากิทาภา อนาคา อรหันตา ตามบุญ
สุมพานอันได้กัญญชกร หื้อได้เถิงนรพานที่ประเสียดแท้แท้ข้าแด่บุนนอ

²³ *Satta pocangka* (Pali: Bojjhaṅga) means enlightenment factors which comprise of seven elements:

1. Sati: mindfulness
 2. Dhammavicaya: truth investigation
 3. Viriya: effort; energy
 4. Pīti: zest; rapture
 5. Passaddhi: tranquillity; calmness
 6. Samādhi: concentration
 7. Upekkhā: equanimity
- (Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto), Phra, 2016, 205–206).

*Sādhū nibbāna paccayo hotu no niccaṃ dhuvam paramam sukham.*²⁴

This *Maha sappatham sut long* manuscript has been sponsored by the faithful monk of Wat Long [in the], northern district, *khuba* Mahāsaṃgharājā *cao* (i.e., the supreme patriarch). He sponsored and donated it at [the occasion of is] ecclesiastical self-restraint (*parivāsākamma*) in the second month (“outer calendar”) or the third month (“Dhamma calendar”), on the fifteenth waxing moon, which is an auspicious day. May this bring him religious benefit (“field of merit”) and lead to rebirth in heaven. May he reach supreme happiness and contentment which are *sotā*, *sākidāgā*, *anāgā*, *arahantā*,²⁵ according to the accumulated merit. May he reach Nibbāna, the supreme stage.

The three colophons above can be broken down into the following patterns:

- 1) Name of the scribe / date (Tai year-CS-month-lunar day) / purpose / Pali phrase

(d)+(b)+(e)+(g)

- 2) Title of the text / name of the donors / purpose / wish / date (Tai year-CS)

(a)+(d)+(e)+(f)+(b)

- 3) Pali phrase / title of the text / name of donors / purpose / date (month-lunar day) / wish

(g)+(a)+(d)+(e)+(b)+(f)

These patterns show that the three colophons are quite different. Each of the eight elements present in colophons can change positions, appear or not appear respectively. Moreover, these characteristics are not only appear in Tai Lü manuscripts, but also prefer to use in other Tai manuscript cultures. Indeed, there many cases in my corpus where colophons contain only a few elements. Some of the colophons provide only a single element, for example:

²⁴ Well done! May this be a condition for us [to reach] nibbāna, the highest [stage of] happiness, continuously and forever.

²⁵ The four kinds of the noble man (Thai: อริยบุคคล 4) who is on the way reaching Nibbāna, comprising of:

1. Sotāpanna: Stream-Enterer;
2. Sakadāgāmi: Once-Returner;
3. Anāgāmi: Non-Returner; and
4. Arahanta: the Worthy One

(Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto), Phra, 2016, 77).

The manuscript **YN172**: จดหมายคณาโคทานทั้งมวล (*Cotmai katha kho tan tangmon*, “Records of magic spells related to donations of a family”) is from Bang Seo, Moeng Phong, in Sipsong Panna, and dated 1993 CE. The colophon on the front cover folio of the manuscript provides two information, namely the title of the text (a) and the date it was copied (b).

หน้าปก

หน้าทับพับพายเจ้าจดหมายคณาโคทานทั้งมวลแลท่านทั้งหลายเอย

ปีกาเร้าจรัสกราสได้ 1355 ตัว เดือน 10 ลง 5 ค่ำแล

Front cover folio (industrial paper manuscript):

The front cover folio. The manuscript records all the *gathā* related to donations of a family. [I finished copying it] in the *ka rao* year, CS 1355, on the fifth waning day of the tenth month.²⁶

The manuscript **LS50**: จันทสุกกสิกะสูตร (*Cunthasukkalika sut*)²⁷ is from Ban Yang Kham, Müang Sing, and dated 1976 CE. The colophon at the end of the text is very short insofar as the scribe only provides the time when the copying process was completed (c).

โคโลโฟนท้ายเรื่อง

เขียนแล้วยามงาย

Colophon (end of the text):

The [copying] has been finished in the morning.

Besides the typical eight elements which usually appear in the colophons of Tai Lü manuscripts, I have found other components which provide interesting information. These include the complaints of scribes vis-à-vis hardships encountered while writing manuscripts and their curses, biographical notes regarding scribes, the background of the manuscript, the

²⁶ 1355 Sraavana 20 = Monday, 6 September 1993.

²⁷ Cunda Sūkarika Sūta is the story about the Bodhisatta when was born to be a dignitary named Dhammika Paṇḍita of the kingdom of Siviraṭṭha, under the reign of king Suruparā. During that time, four Bhikkhus (Buddhist monks) in Siviraṭṭha went to Tambapanaya, ruled by king Sudassana, in order to receive the Cundasukarika sūta and bring it back to Siviraṭṭha. When the four Bhikkhus returned, Dhammika Paṇḍita made offerings to them and asked them to recite the sūta to him. After the recitation of the sūta, to which the Bodhisatta listened attentively, Indra sent Mātula to bring Dhammika Paṇḍita back to the heaven in order to reward him for his offerings and for having listened to the sūta. However, Dhammika Paṇḍita would like to return to human world. Indra created for him a vast city where the kings of various countries came to worship him (Peltier 1987, 231–232).

price of the manuscript, and historical events mentioned in the colophons (the final of which will be discussed in more detail in chapter four).

Dating systems in Tai Lü manuscripts

The dating system which appears in the colophons is one interesting component uncovered throughout my research. As such, I will provide an overview of the system below.

The standard dating system employed in the manuscripts is a combination of the lunar calendar system and the Tai solar calendar system. The lunar calendar system depends on the phases of the moon and consists of twelve months in a year of 354 days (Visudh Busyakul, 2004: 470). Each month starts on the first waxing day until reaching the end of the cycle on the fourteenth waning day in the month of odd number and the fifth waning day in the month of even number. The Tai calendar system, in contrast, is a sexagesimal cycle or the sixty years and days cycle (Lan Na: *Pi Hon Tai*), which is composed of two sub-cycles, namely a decimal cycle (the ten stems; Lan Na: *Mae Pi*, lit., “mother year”) and a duodecimal cycle (The twelve branches; Lan Na: *Luk Pi*, lit., “children year”), interacting with each other. Moreover, the duodecimal cycle (*Luk Pi*) is related to twelve animal zodiac signs. The sexagesimal cycle is not only used by Tai ethnic groups such as the Lan Na, Tai Lü, Tai Khün, Tai Yai (Shan) and Tai Ahom, but similar systems are also found in Chinese, Lao, Vietnamese, Khmu calendars.²⁸ The details of the Tai Lü sexagesimal cycle are outlined in the tables below:

Table 3.2: *Mae Pi*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Mae Pi</i>	<i>kat</i>	<i>kot</i>	<i>luang</i>	<i>tao</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kap</i>	<i>dap</i>	<i>Lawai/lai</i>	<i>Möng/müang</i>	<i>poek</i>

Table 3.3: *Luk Pi*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>Luk Pi</i>	<i>cai</i>	<i>pao</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>mao</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>Sai</i>	<i>sanga</i>	<i>met</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>lao</i>	<i>set</i>	<i>kai</i>
animal signs	rat	ox	tiger	rabbit	naga	snake	horse	goat	monkey	rooster	dog	pig/ elephant
remainders	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	0	1

The sexagesimal cycle (*Pi Hon Tai*) starts with the combination of the sixth of *Mae pi* (*kap*) and the first of *Luk Pi* (*cai*) that is *kap cai* year and the second is *dap pao*, and then *rai yi*, *müang mao*, *pük si*, *kat sai*, and so forth, until the completion of the cycle in the last year, *ka kai*. Moreover, the *Cūlasakaraja* (CS) year – that is, the little era or minor era – is

²⁸ Ferlus, 2013, 1–12, see also Terwiel 1980 and Bounleuth 2016, 74–76.

commonly used in Tai Lü manuscripts. The era begins in March 639 CE. It is derived from the Burmese calendar and was adopted in large parts of mainland Southeast Asia during a period of Burmese political dominance in the sixteenth century (Sāimǒng Mangrai, 1981: 34–42).

The numeration of months varies from region to region as in general it follows the agricultural cycle. The first month of the lunar year usually coincides with the end of the rainfall (October-December). It is not to be confused with the first month of the calendar year which is called *caitra* or *vaiśāka*, according to Indian tradition, and starts at the end of March or beginning of April. According to Eade (1989: 11), one has to bear in mind that the new *cūlasakarāja* years must begin within a span bounded (inclusively) by the sixth day of *caitra* and the first five days of *vaiśāka*.” In Laos, like in Thailand (except the upper north), *caitra* is called “the fifth month”, in Lan Na (upper northern Thailand) “the seventh month”, and in the Tai Khün and Tai Lü inhabited areas of the Upper Mekong region “the sixth month”. Each animal year consists of twelve lunar months, which are divided into odd-numbered months comprising 29 days and even-numbered months with 30 days. The name of each month begins with the word *düan* and is followed by its number, with the exception of the first two months called *ciang* (one) and *nyi* (two) respectively (Tai Lü: *eng* resp. *yi*). Therefore, one animal year has 354 days. To reconcile the lunar calendar with the solar year comprising 365.25 days, every two to three years an intercalary month is added making up a total of thirteen months in those years. The added month is the Tai Lü or Tai Khün ninth lunar month, a thirty-day month known to the Tai Lü people as *kao sòng hon*, literally “second ninth month”.

Each lunar month comprises two fortnights. The first fortnight is called *düan khün*, literally meaning “the rising moon” or “the waxing moon”. It comprises 15 days. The second fortnight, comprising 14 or 15 days, is named *düang haem* which means “the waning moon”. Days of the week are named by numbers, beginning with the word *wan* (วัน) and followed by ordered cardinal numbers. The first day of the week is Sunday and the last and seventh day is Saturday. *Wan hok* – literally, “Day Six” – refers to the sixth day of the week corresponding to Friday. This way of reckoning days is usually called the “Mon reckoning” of the weekday. In addition, there is also a “Tai reckoning” which divides the days into cycles of 60 days, following the same sexagesimal pattern similar to the one used for the reckoning of years.

In addition, the sexagesimal cycle and the *Cūlasakarāja* are able to match each other: that is, the last digit of the *Cūlasakarāja*, which is equivalent to the year of *mae pi* and the remainder of the number representing *Cūlasakarāja* divided by twelve, is equivalent to the year of *luk pi*.

Example:

“CS 1349”

The last number of the *Cūlasakaraja* is the number nine, equivalent to the ninth year of *mae Pi*, which is *müang* (see table 3.2). Additionally, the remainder of $1349 \div 12$ is 5, equivalent to the fifth remainder of *luk Pi*, which is *mao* (see table 3.3).

Therefore, the CS 1349 corresponds to a *müang mao* year.

In case of missing or unclear names of Tai years or numerals of *Cūlasakaraja*, the calculation is very useful for verifying the missing word of Tai year and/or numeral of *Cūlasakaraja*, this is not the case when specifying the year in the 60 year calendar in terms of writing and/or donating manuscripts. The dating system consists of different forms and components. A complete dating formula comprises nine elements and each of these can change position as follows:

Tai year / Cūlasakaraja (CS) / Month / Lunar day / Mon day / Tai day / Auspicious moment / time of the day

Example:

The manuscript YN 7: พอบพื้น 12 พันนา แสนหวิฟ้า (*Pop pün sipsòng pan na saen wi fa*—“The Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna, a *xuanwei-shi*”)

The colophon reads:

ผู้ข้าเพียกถ่ายแล้ว ปีร่วงเม็ด สรีจุพสกราชได้ 1353 ตัว เดือน 9 ปทมลง 2 ค่ำ วัน 6 ไทยกั๊ด
ไส้ เริกฟ้าได้ 23 ตัว ยามกองแลงแท้แลเจ้าเอย

[The writing] has been finished in the *luang met* year, CS 1353, on the second waning day of the ninth month, [the Mon say] a sixth day, the Tai [says] a *kat sai* day²⁹, at the auspicious moment of 23, at *yam kòng laeng* (13.30 – 17.00).

However, like the composition of the colophons, there are very few instances where the dating of the colophons is complete and contains all eight components. Sometimes only one or two components are provided.

²⁹ 1353 Pratomashada 17 = Friday, 28 June 1991, which was indeed a *kat sai* day.

1.4 Table of contents

The appearance of a table of contents in Tai Lü manuscripts reflects a more recent innovation that was probably influenced by modern printing technology. I found only four manuscripts in my corpus – three from Yunnan and one from Laos – where a table of contents appear. All of them were produced during the period 1987–2004. The period follows the demise of the Lao royalist regime in 1974, the start of communist rule in Laos in 1975, and the end of the Cultural Revolution in Yunnan (1966–1976). Therefore, the influence of printing technology from western countries and China seemed to have affected the production of Tai Lü manuscripts in both areas.

The oldest manuscript in which a table of contents appears is the manuscript **LS21: ประวัติศาสตร์ลาว-ไท** (*Pawasat Lao-Tai / Lao-Tai history*); this manuscript, dated 1987 CE is from Ban Wiang Nüa in Luang Namtha province, a Tai Yuan or Kalòm village closely situated in the plain of Luang Namtha and only a few kilometres away from the provincial centre. It is written in a notebook made of industrial paper in a hybrid form of the Dhamma script combining features of the Lan Na and Tai Lü versions. The content of the manuscript talks about Thai, Lan Na and Laos history in chronological order. The scribe divides the work into several parts which are detailed in the table of contents. The first part examines the history of Lan Na, predominantly consisting of a list of rulers of the kingdoms of Chiang Saen Kingdom and Chiang Mai. The second section explores Thai history, namely the kingdoms of Sukhothai, Ayutthaya and Rattanakosin (Bangkok) kingdoms, here following standard Thai historiography. Each of these kingdoms are listed in the table of contents. The final part provides a history of Laos which lists each time period. Not only does the table of contents provide a the list of the topics, moreover, but it also provides chapter and page numbers. Furthermore, the scribe uses the Lao word *Salaban* (ສາລະບັນ) which is the cognate of the modern Thai term *saraban* สารบัญ to designate the ‘table of contents’.

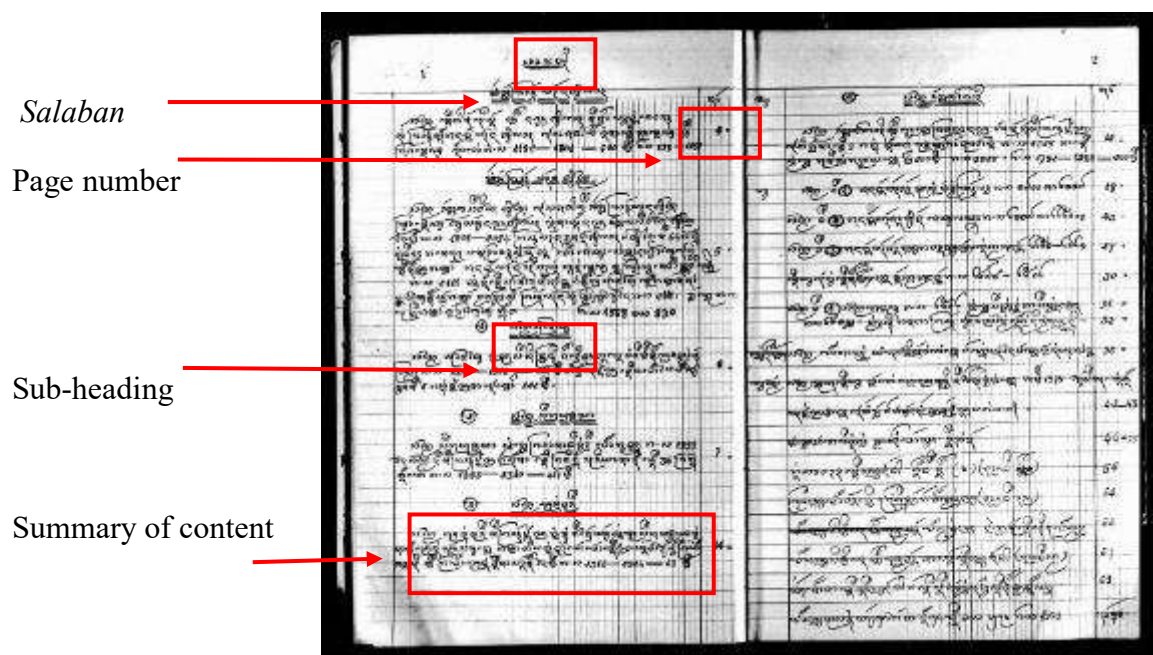


Figure No. 3.28: LS21 (Collection of Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

An example of the transcription and translation of the table of contents above now follows. In the last paragraph of the left-hand page, the sub-heading states number 3 ‘Krung Thonburi dynasty’ and the summary says “In Krung Thonburi, the dynasty had been ruled by only one king, who migrated from Ayutthaya Kingdom to settle down and set up the new kingdom named Krung Thonburi. Since the Ayutthaya Kingdom was conquered by the Burmese army in 1767, who destroyed the kingdom’s capital so that it was abandoned and not rebuilt again, unlike after the first conquest of Ayutthaya two centuries earlier (1569).” Therefore, King Taksin or Phra Cao Krung Thon established the restored kingdom of Siam in B.E. 2311 (1768 CE). King Taksin stayed in power for thirteen years, until B.E. 2324 (1782 CE) when he was toppled by a coup d’état which brought the Chakri dynasty to power which rules Thailand until present day. Moreover, on the right side of the paragraph, the scribe provides the page number for this chapter – page 14.³⁰

³⁰ After the Ayutthaya Kingdom was occupied by Burma in 1767, the ruler of Mueang Tak (present day Tak Province in lower northern Thailand) broke through the Burmese siege and defeated his rivals, including the Burmese invaders, within a few years. He then established his new kingdom at Thonburi (across the Chao Phraya river from Bangkok), and set up himself as king in 1767. His kingdom, however, came to an end in 1782 (Ooi Keat Gin 2004, 1088 and Thailand: Research and Development Policy Handbook, 2008, 135).

-3- สโหมกรุงธนบุรี

สโหม กรุงธนบุรี มีกระสัดปกคององเด็ว ที่ไต้ย้ายจากกรุงสือยุทธยาลง

มาตั้งกรุงธน ขัอรสายเหตุ ภูมิลาตีแตกจุดเลาเผาเมืองพอจะสร้างบไต้แล้วพระเจ้า 14 =

ตากสิน หลือพระเจ้ากรุงธนจึงมาตั้งขึ้นในปี ค.ศ 2311 ---- 2324 ---- 13 ปี

-3- Thonburi period

In the Thonburi period, there was only one king of the dynasty. The capital was moved from Krung Sri Ayutthaya to Thonburi, because [Krung Sri Ayutthaya] was attacked and burnt down by the Burmese so thoroughly that it could not be rebuilt. Therefore, King Taksin or Phacao Krung Thonburi established the new city in B.E. 2311 [until disestablished in] B.E. 2324, for the period of thirteen years.

In contrast, the three manuscripts from the Yunnan corpus that contain a table of contents were produced by the same scribe: Ai Saeng Nòi who lives in Ban Foei Lun, Müang Long, Sipsòng Panna. Professor Dr. Volker Grabowsky and I had the opportunity to visit his residence in September 2012. He was 77 years old at the time and still continued to produce mulberry paper manuscripts. He started his career as a scribe when he was a novice of fourteen years old.

The three manuscripts in which tables of contents appear are:

- YN185: พื้นเมือง 12 พันนา *Pün Müang Sipsòng Panna* (“Sipsòng Panna Chronicle”). Tai Lü manuscript written on mulberry paper, 76 ff° (2001 CE).
- YN123: ปฐมกัปป์พรหมสร้างโลก *Pathom kap phom sang lok* (“The first eon, Brahma created the world”). Tai Lü manuscript written on mulberry paper, 49 ff° (2004 CE).
- YN124: คำวนิทานศาสนาเมืองลวงอติกัมมรัฐธนบุรี (ถ้วน 3) *Khao Nithan Satsana Moeng Long Atikamma Latthabuli Thuan Sam* (“Religious Legends of Moeng Long Atikamma Rāṭhapuri”, vol. 3). Tai Lü manuscript written on mulberry paper, 74 ff° (1994 CE).

All three stories are lengthy. Therefore, the scribe integrates some formats from modern printing, which are very useful for readers who would like to read and understand the stories. Moreover, the vocabulary used to designate each table of contents in the Yunnan corpus is different from the manuscript from Laos. In contrast, Ai Saeng Nòi uses the Tai Lü word *ho bot*” (*ho* means head - Thai: *hua* – whereas, *bot* means chapter).

The manuscript **YN185** discusses the origin and establishment of Sipsòng Panna, both with regard to its mythical origins and historical record of the more than 40 rulers of the Coeng dynasty founded in the twelfth century. The table of contents lists four pages, detailing chapter headings and their respective page numbers, and thereby structures both the texts recorded in the manuscript and the manuscript itself. The scribe also inserted a preface between the first and the second page of the table of contents (for details of the preface, see Chapter four).

Below is a translation of the first four lines of the table of contents pictured in Figure no. 29. The title of the text - “The Sipsòng Panna Chronicle” – acts as a heading for the table of contents. Next, the first chapter examines the period prior to the establishment of Sipsòng Panna, whereas chapter two details Lord Buddha Kakusantha’s voyage around the world. Chapter three then explores the migration of the Tai peoples. The page number of each of these three chapters is found on the right. The direct transcriptions are depicted below:

โหบดพื้นเมือง 12 พนา เมื่อเกล้าก่อร ตั้งหนี่แลเนอ	หน้าธิ
12 พนาเมื่อบ่เปนบ้านบ่เปนเมืองเทอนั้น	
(ว่าด้วยคำวนิชายคำก่อนปิดบ้านแปงเมืองแล)	1
พระเจ้ากกุสพุทธมาเลบลวก	1
ไทยย้ายบ้านย้ายเมือง	2

The table of contents (*ho bot*) of the Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna since the ancient times begins here.

Sipsòng Panna before the founding of its polity	page 1
The Lord Kakusantha Buddha	
travels around the world	page 1
The migration of the Tai people	page 2

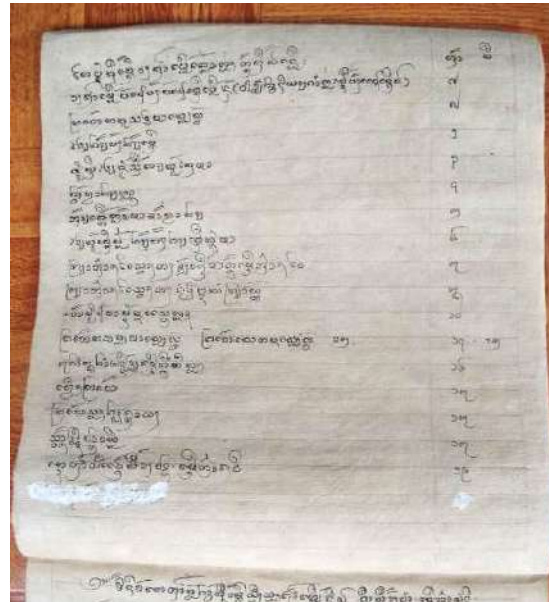


Figure No. 29: YN185 (Collection of the Payap University Archives)

Part of the manuscript **YN123** narrates the creation and development of the universe, including the earth and the origin of humanity, the heavens, and the underworld of Naga (fabulous serpent) and Asura (devil).³¹ The table of contents lists four pages and details a number of chapters, sub-headings in each chapter, and page numbers.

ผู้รู้	คำหวัดความใน	หน้า
ผู้รู้ตัว 1	ไฟม้างโลก	1
	ผู้สร้างโลก	2
	ลมล้างโลก	2
	พุกาหลาย	2
	ว่าด้วยเขาสเนโธ	3

³¹ Tai creation myth cultures, they have quite the same belief such as the belief about Submerged World, the first human was born from calabash. Moreover in Tai creation myths, they has the same method to create and start the myths that the original of their dynasties were from heaven, which this characteristic can be found in the creation myths of every Tai ethnic groups. (Ranee, 2001, 88 – 91)

The number of fascicle	Title	Page
The fascicle 1	Fire burns the world	1
	Rain cleans the world	2
	Wind cleans the world	2
	Mountains are destroyed	2
	On Mount Sineru	3

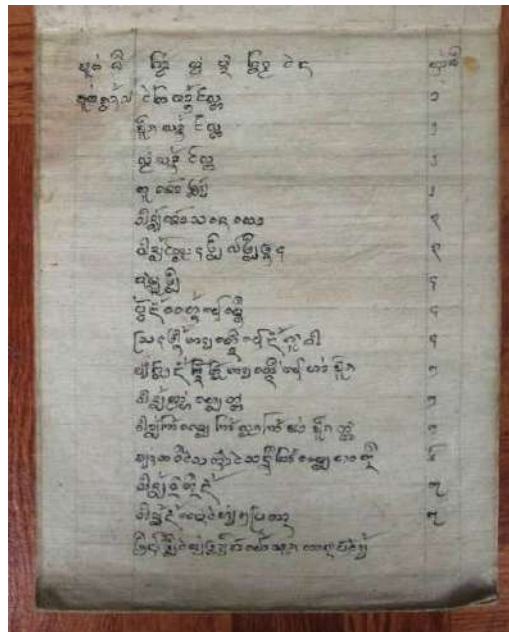


Figure No. 3.30: YN123 (Collection Grabowsky)

The last manuscript **YN124** explains the establishment, decadence and prosperity of *Sasana* (or religion, which in this story means Buddhism) in Müang Long. It provides information about monasteries, Buddha statues, pagodas, high ranking monks, knowledgeable people, and rituals in Müang Long. The manuscript's table of contents is slightly different from the two manuscripts mentioned above. Its layout is separated into two columns comprising a number of subtopics, a list of subtopics, and page numbers. The table of contents is written on three pages, followed by a preface which appears on the page after (for details of this particular preface, see chapter four).

The first six lines of Figure No. 31, for example, are split into two columns. The first line lists the word โหบต (*ho bot*) and the respective page number. Chapter one on the left side details that it explores the four instances when *sasana* was spread in Müang Long.

Conversely, the table of contents starts with chapters five and six, written in the small circles on the right-hand side; these chapters explain how (Buddhist) laymen and noblemen should act during three months of the Buddhist Lent Day.³² Specifically, the table of contents then elucidates that chapter five examines the *Parawassakam* ceremony, whereas chapter six details how monks should attend the *Patimok*³³ ceremony to give a recitation in the ordination hall (*Ubosot*). The last chapter of this example – chapter seven – provides information regarding high ranking monks of Müang Long.

โห บด	หน้า	โห บด	หน้า
1. ศาสนาแผ่เข้าเมืองหลวงอดิคมมรณัฐ (The <i>sasana</i> spreads to Moeng Long Atikammaratthaburi)	1	๕. เข้าสุสา 3 เดือน สหุทธาพายนอกเขตตั้งฤ (What laymen should do during the three months of the Buddhist Lent Day)	27
พอดั้วร 1 ศาสนาแผ่เข้ามาโห (The first time of <i>sasana</i> (Buddhism) spread to Moeng Long, part 1)	1	๖. เข้าสุสา 3 เดือน ท้าวบุรุษะตั้งฤ (What rulers should do during the three months of the Buddhist Lent Day)	27
ที่นี้จักจาดั้วศาสนาแผ่เข้าเมืองหลวงต่อถั้วร 2 (Spreading of the <i>sasana</i> to Moeng Long, part 2)	5	5. กานข้อ 5 เข้าก่า (Doing <i>Parivāsākamma</i>)	27
ที่นี้จักจาดั้วศาสนาแผ่เข้าเมืองหลวงต่อถั้วร 3 (<i>Sasana</i> spreads to Moeng Long, part 3)	6	6. สังฆเอาโบสุต (Monks give recitations in the Buddhist chapel)	28
ที่นี้จักจาดั้วศาสนาแผ่เข้าเมืองหลวงต่อถั้วร 4 (<i>Sasana</i> spreads to Moeng Long, part 4)	8	7. คูบาเมืองหลวง (High-ranking monks of Moeng Long)	28

³² The Buddhist Lent Day or Buddhist Retreat Day (Thai: เข้าพรรษา /Khao Phansa/) is a tradition of Buddhist monks in which they spend the three months of the rainy season at their residences to avoid stepping on young/new plants.

³³ Pātimokkha means the Fundamental Precepts; the fundamental rules of the Order; the 227 disciplinary rules binding on Bhikkhus; a collection of the fundamental precepts of the Order recited every fortnight; fortnightly recitation of the fundamental precepts; Disciplinary Code. (Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto), Phra, 2016, 338).

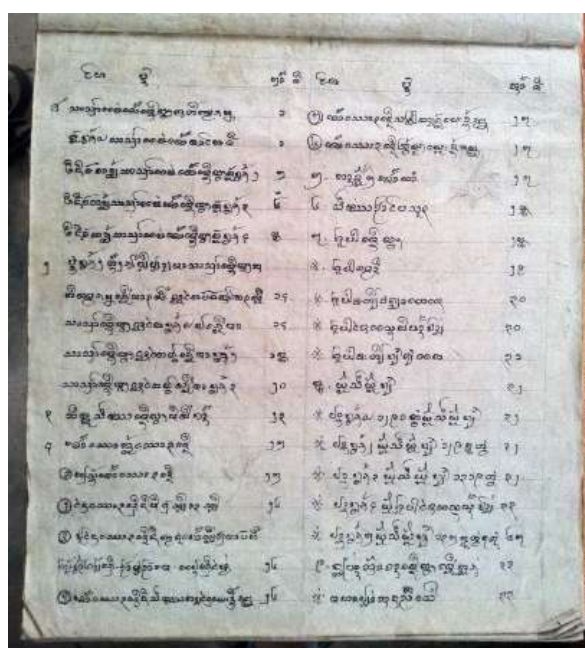


Figure No. 3.31: YN124 (Collection Grabowsky)

1.5 Prefaces

Using the same manuscript above, another influence derived from printed books that begins to appear in Tai Lü manuscripts is the preface. Prefaces only appear in manuscripts dated after 1980. Indeed, I have found only eight manuscripts in my corpus (seven manuscripts from Yunnan and one manuscript from Laos) that contain prefaces and these are dated between 1986 and 2005. This means that all of these manuscripts were produced after the Cultural Revolution in China (1966–1976), the demise of the Lao royalist regime in 1975, and the start of Communist rule in Laos in December 1975.

The prefaces explain the methods used by each scribe to complete their respective manuscripts. For instance, some of them collected stories from older manuscripts or printed books. Others are at least partially based on oral traditions based on interviews with elders who are familiar with the stories or lived through recounted events. One of the scribes from Yunnan also provides a commentary of political events in the preface. Specifically, he describes historical events, while expressing his feelings about the situation in Sipsòng Panna when it was controlled by the Chinese Communist Party, and the depredations of the Cultural Revolution (for details of all eight prefaces, please see the section “The reflection of the prefatory material in Tai Lü manuscripts” in chapter four).

2. Non-textual elements in Tai Lü manuscripts

While paratexts are very important and useful in Tai Lü manuscripts, non-textual elements also serve important functions in supporting both paratexts and the main text.

2.1 Symbols

Most special ornamental symbols in Tai Lü manuscripts comprise of geometric shapes, typically short lines and small circles. The symbol in Figure no.32, consisting of four small circles and short lines, is very common in not only Tai Lü, but also Lan Na manuscripts. It usually appears at the beginning of the title on the front cover folio before the content of manuscript begins. Through my research, however, I have also found variant of the symbol with lines, curves, and Tai Lü Dhamma characters added as decorative elements (see, for example, figures No. 33, 34 and 35). Moreover, some of them are adapted from the shape of *gomūtra* (ꨀꨣꨳ) (Thai: *khomut* โคมูลุตร), literally “cow’s urine, and integrated with curves together with some Tai Lü Dhamma scripts (see Figure no. 36).

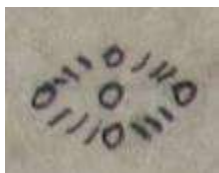


Figure No. 3.32: YN113



Figure No. 3.33: LS23

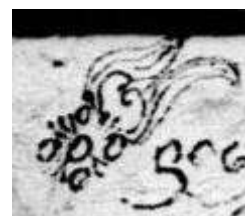


Figure No. 3.34: LS24

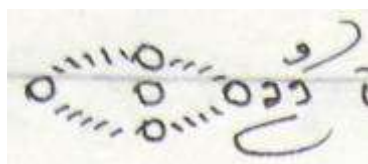


Figure No. 3.35: YN210



Figure No. 3.36: LS6

The *Khomut* or *gomūtra* symbol also appears frequently in central Thai manuscripts. It is usually found in Thai traditional verse literature. Scribes use the symbol to end chapters or texts. I have also found evidence that the symbol has been used in the area that is now present day Thailand for many hundreds of years.

For example, in the Sukhothai Kingdom period (1238–1438)³⁴, there is epigraphic evidence of the *Khomut* in an inscription on a stone slab depicting a scene from the Gojaniya Jātaka dated circa the late fourteenth and mid-fifteenth century. The stone slab is located on the ceiling of the tunnel of Mandapa of Wat Si Chum in Sukhothai Province. Figure no. 3.37–38 shows that the inscription has three lines engraved in the Sukhothai script. The text commences with a symbol that resembles the numeral “two” in the Sukhothai script. The text is then concluded by an inverted *Khomut* symbol. The inscription describes the picture of Gojaniya Jātaka stating:

โคขันธ์ชาดกพระโพธิสัตว์

เป็นมาเทศนาธรรมแก่พระญา

เจดคน อนนเป็นคำรับญีสืบสี่

Gojānīya Jātaka, [pertaining to the existence when the] Bodhisattvā was born as a horse teaches the Dhamma to the seven kings which is the forth time.

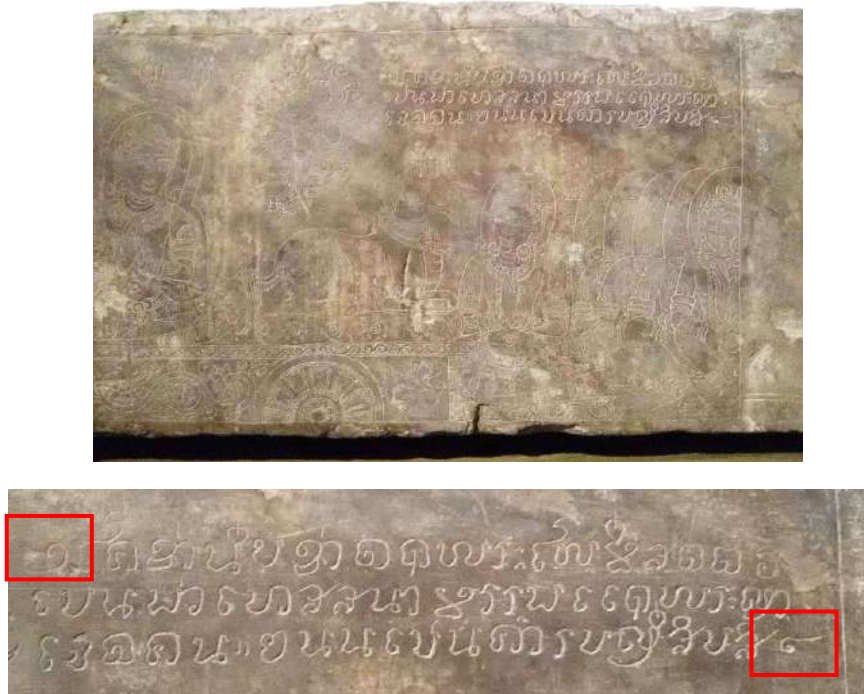


Figure No. 3.37 - 38: The stone slab of Gojānīya Jātaka (Collection Apiradee)

³⁴ The Sukhothai Kingdom was an early kingdom that existed from 1238–1438. The old capital now is located in Sukhothai province in north central Thailand. (Duthel. 2015. index_split_040)

Moreover, I have found one example which is interesting to use symbols. Figure no. 3.39 shows that the title of the undated manuscript as: พระสมุติไตรภูมิมนุษย์โลกยวินิโยกะถาทรงชำระเนื้อความแล้ว (Phra Samut Trai Phummantsalokayawinichaiyakatha / Traibhūmikathā, revised version). It is written in Thai and Khmer script in the Thai and Pali languages, on *Khòì* paper, in the format of leporello manuscript. As such, at the end of the first side of each page, the scribe notes the word กลับ /*klap*/ (reverse) in between the symbol ‘๐’ called ฟองมัน /*fong man*/ or ตาไก่ /*ta kai*/ (chicken’s eye), which is a sign indicating the beginning of a text, and then uses the *Khomut* to finish the text.

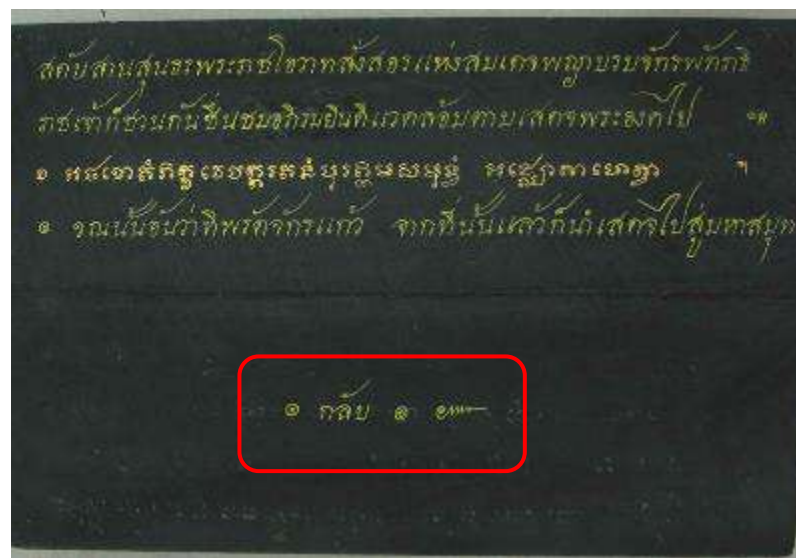


Figure No. 3.39: Traibhumikatha (Collection of Chiang Mai University Library Digital Heritage)

At Krüawan Monastery in Bangkok, moreover, there is a mural that was painted on the Uposatha’s wall during the reign of King Rama III of the Chakri dynasty (1824-1851 CE). This mural is very special because it depicts the 538 frames of the Jataka Commentaries, which the only place that this appears in Thailand. Under the pictures of each Jataka, the artist also lists the title of the Jataka and provides a short description of the accompanying picture. Figure no. 3.40 - 41, this flame is *Suvaṇṇa Sāma* Jataka.³⁵ The artist uses the symbol ‘๐’

³⁵ The *Suvaṇṇa Sāma* Jataka is the story regarding Bōdhisatta name *Suvaṇṇa Sāma*. He is a son of blinded hermits, and look after his parents very well. This story aims at teaching people about gratitude. (Phitak, Phramaha, 2006, 1- 4)

Fongman at the beginning of the text and the *Angkhan* (อังคั่น - ๗), *Visanchani* (วิสรรชนี - ๘) and *Khomut* (โคมุตร - ๘) symbols at the end of the text.³⁶

๑ สุวรรณสามชาถูก โปธีสัตว์เป็นสุวรรณสาม ต้องศรกับิลักษ์
สิ้นชีวิต เทพธิดาพสุนธรีได้ทำสังจะอธิษฐาน ช่วยสุวรรณสามรอดชีวิต
๗๘

Suvaṇṇa Sāma Jātaka (Suwanna Sam Chadok), Bodhisatta was born at Suvaṇṇa Sāma. He was shot with an arrow by Kabilayak (Kapilayakṣa), and died. The goddess Sunthari prays for helping Suvaṇṇa Sāma to resurrect.



Figure. No. 3.40 - 41: The mural of Suvaṇṇa Sāma Jātaka, Krüawan Monastery, Bangkok, Thailand

(Collection Apiradee)

³⁶ The symbol the *Angkhan* (๗), *Visanchani* (๘) and *Khomut* can be used together as one symbol indicating the complete ending of a text. In Thai, the three names of the symbols are written continuously as *Angkhan / Visanchani / Khomut* when used all three symbols together (Kamchai 2011, 174–185).



Figure No. 3.42: The three name plates at Bangkok National Museum, Bangkok, Thailand

(Collection Apiradee)

Besides the symbols mentioned above, we can find in Tai Lü manuscripts other symbols which have their role in the manuscripts that is the symbols resembling the shapes of flowers and bunches of vines are also widely used in the manuscripts, as evident in figures No. 3.43 – 48 below:



Figure No. 3.43: LS26



Figure No. 3.44: LS13



Figure No. 3.45: LS75



Figure No. 3.46: YN97



Figure No. 3.47: YN97



Figure No. 3.48: LS7

Besides the forms of the symbols mentioned above, my study also reveals the use of other stylistically modern images, which differ from earlier periods of manuscript cultures. These modern images are used as non-textual structuring elements in the more contemporary Tai Lü manuscripts. Figure no. 3.49 for instance, shows two red birds instead of the usual flower symbols. The bird images are on the left and right-hand sides of the title and a short

colophon on the front cover folio of the manuscript **LS26: กฎหมาย *Kotmai* (Law)**, written in Ban Na Kham, Müang Sing, and dated 1999 CE.

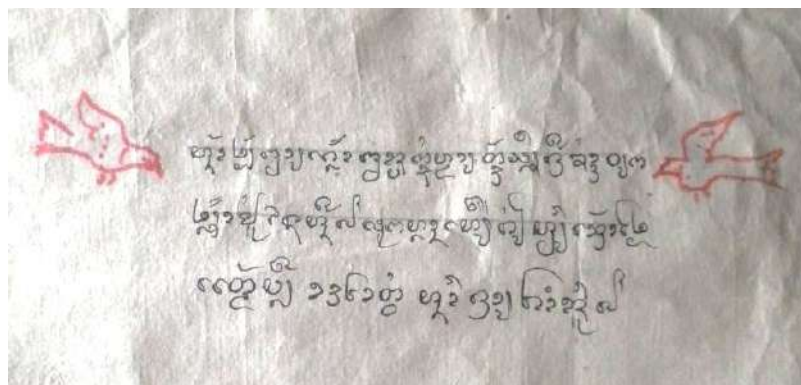


Figure No. 3.49: LS26 (Collection Grabowsky)

I also identified two manuscripts in the Yunnan corpus where hands point out the title and beginning of the texts. The first of these is the manuscript **YN161: พื้นเมืองหลวงหน่วยที่ 1 *Pün Moeng Long Nuai Thi 1* (the Chronicle of Müang Long, Vol. 1)**, which was written in Bang Thang, Moeng Long in 1987 CE. Here (see Figure no. 3.50), the scribe draws two hands one on the front cover folio with the title and another preceding the colophon of the manuscript on the first folio.

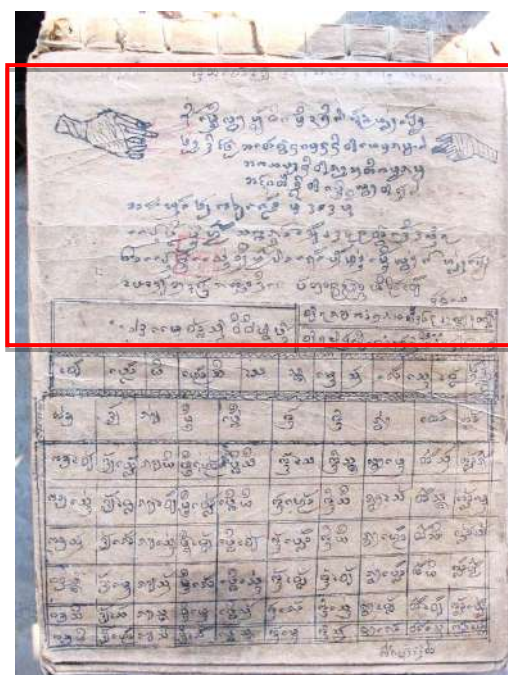


Figure No. 3.50: YN161 (Collection Grabowsky)

The second manuscript, **YN202: ตำนานพระเจ้าองค์หลวงเชียงกร (*Tamnan phacao ong long ceng kòn* / The chronicle of Cao Ong Long Ceng Kòn)**, was written in Ban Thang, Müang Long Tai, Sipsòng Panna, in 2002 CE. Here, a hand is used in conjunction with a flower symbol in black ink to indicate the beginning of the text.

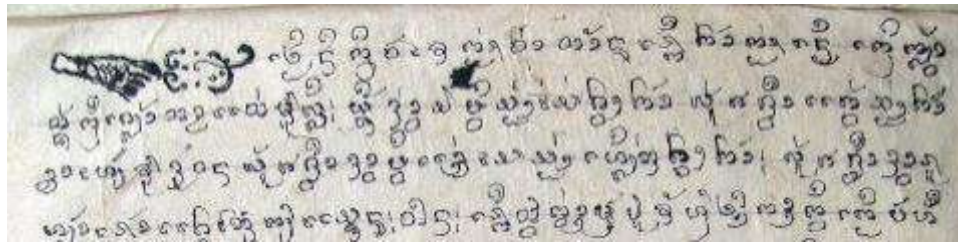


Figure No. 3.51: YN202 (Collection Grabowsky)

The use of a hand with outstretched index finger might appear as a kind of idiosyncrasy but there is evidence from at least one manuscript from Müang Sing showing a very similar pointing hand. It needs to be examined to what extent this symbol has been inspired by similar symbols used in printed publications.

Besides the ornamental symbols mentioned above, several forms of these symbols also appear in Tai Lü manuscripts. It could be argued that the styles of such symbols depend on the creative imagination of each individual scribes as there do not seem to be any fixed rules or formats for them. Manuscript **LS59: ปุสอณหลาน, พุทธปะเวณี (*Pu sòn lan, puttha paweni*)**, which was written in Ban Yang Peng (Piang) Long, Müang Sing, in 1991 CE, is one such example of this creativity. Following the end of the colophon after the main text, the scribe did not use any special symbol to indicate the end of the colophon but, rather, he drew a pattern by connecting the tail of the word “ແລ” (*lae*) to the drawing, which is a final particle in Tai languages, such as Tai Lü, Tai Khün, Lan Na, and so forth.

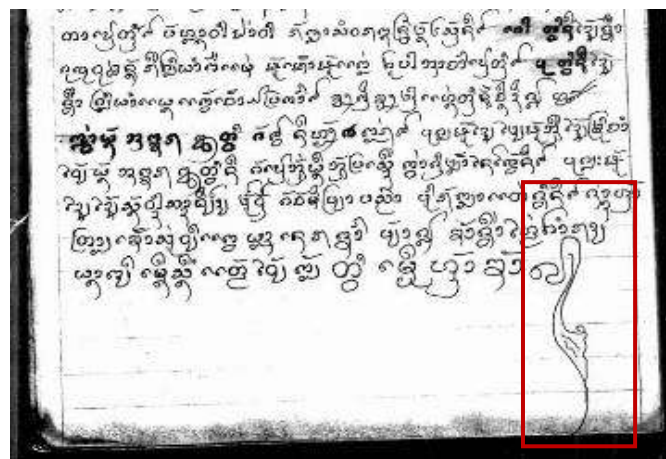
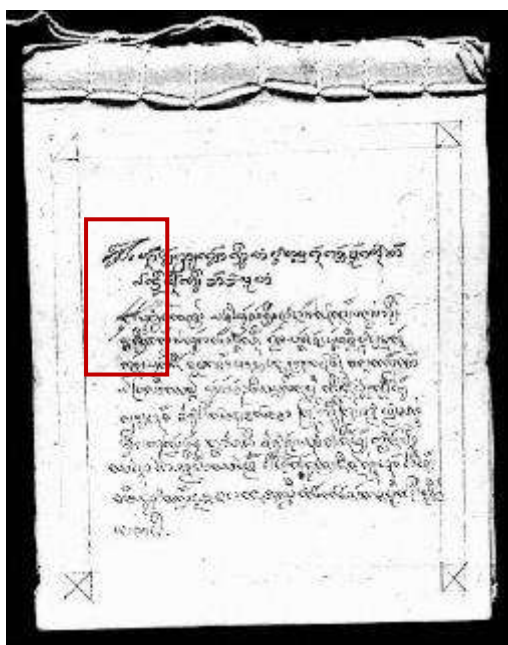


Figure No. 3.52: LS59 (Collection of Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

2.2 Functions of non-textual elements in Tai Lü manuscripts

The ornamental symbols that appear in Tai Lü manuscripts not only make the manuscripts more interesting, beautiful and colorful, but they also perform roles and functions related to the main texts.

These special ornamental symbols are usually found before the title of a text on the cover folio and/or chapter titles of a manuscript. In general, they also appear at the beginning and the end of the recorded story. They may even appear within a text to mark the end of a chapter or a paragraph. For example, on the front cover folio of the manuscript **LS48**: บัวหอมพันกาน (*Bo hòm pan kap*) detailed in Figure No. 3.53 (written in the Tai Nüa village of Ban Silihüang, Müang Sing, in 1993 CE), there are two ornamental symbols present. The first symbol appears before the text title, which forms part of the scribe's colophon, whereas the second precedes the following paragraph comprising the colophon of the donors. In this case, the two graphic symbols remind the reader of the fact that the respective content of each paragraph are not directly related to each other. In other words, the symbols help to separate the two texts from one another.



(ชื่อเรื่อง) หน้าพับพายเกล้าชื่อว่าธำบัวหอมพันกานผูกต้นข้า
แลเนอชานเหย ข้าขอสุธา

(Title) The front cover folio bears the title
Tham Bo hom pan kap, the first fascicle. I
apologize to Dhamma.

Figure No. 3.53: LS48 (Collection of Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

Another example is the undated manuscript **YN98: ลึกพื้นเมืองและปชาเมือง (*Pap pasa moeng laem* / *Cronicle of Moeng Laem*)** from Müang Laem. Here, the text describes the history of Müang Laem together with the history of the rulers of each period. As such, the scribe inserted ornamental symbols every time the history of a new ruler begins. Figure no. 54, for instance, shows that three symbols which look like small flowers immediately precede the sections pertaining to the reigns of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth rulers of Müang Laem.

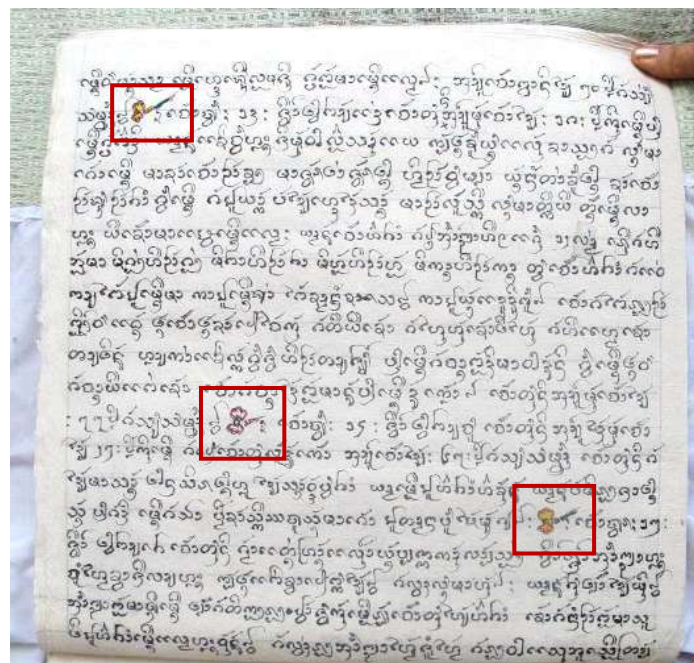


Figure No. 3.54: YN98 (Collection Grabowsky)

Another symbol that is widely used in Tai Lü manuscript, and which appears in several forms, is a rectangular frame. The scribes usually use these to emphasize titles of the text, the number and title of chapters, and to explain key words that appear in the text in the margins of the page. Sometimes these frames have an oval or circular shape; in other cases the frames are decorated with floral patterns.

The text of the manuscript **LS26: กฎหมาย (*Kotmai* / *Law*)** from Ban Na Kham, Müang Sing dated 1999 CE, details a variety of local laws and was written as a continuous text or scriptio continua. Therefore, the scribe drew red frames around legal subtopics contained within to make these more eye catching. The first subtopic emphasized in such a manner in

Figure no. 3.55, examines the discipline of Sangha (*vinaya* rule) warning against bad behavior such as molesting women, having dinner, drinking alcohol, and so forth. The ruler of monastic discipline is recorded in eight lines, whereas as the next two subtopics highlighted by a red frame explore how to manage instances of parricide, and the inheritance customs when a wife or husband die.

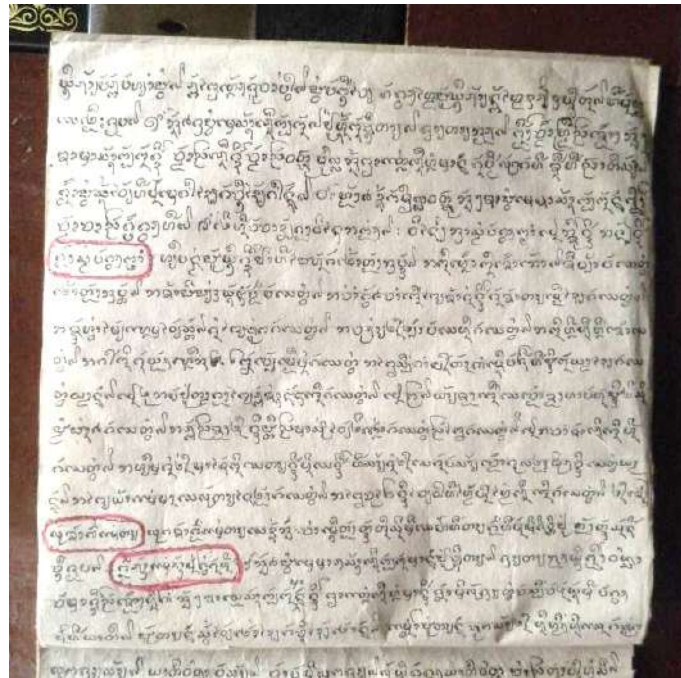


Figure No. 3.55: LS26 (Collection Grabowsky)

The manuscript **LS30: พุทธประวัติ (Putthapaveni)**, written in Ban Yang Kham, Müang Sing, in 1942 CE is another case in point. The content of the manuscript is composed of several chapters and sub-chapters. As such, the scribe places ornamental symbols where the chapters or sub-chapters start or finish. He also uses frames around the numbers of sub-chapters for the purpose of emphasis. In Figure no. 56, which is part of the chapter *Porana Paveni* (“The Ancient Tradition”), the first line of the folio is marked with an ornamental symbol at the end of the first sub-chapter. There, the scribe has added the words “ถ้อยสอง” (*thon song*; The Second Chapter) within a rectangular frame.

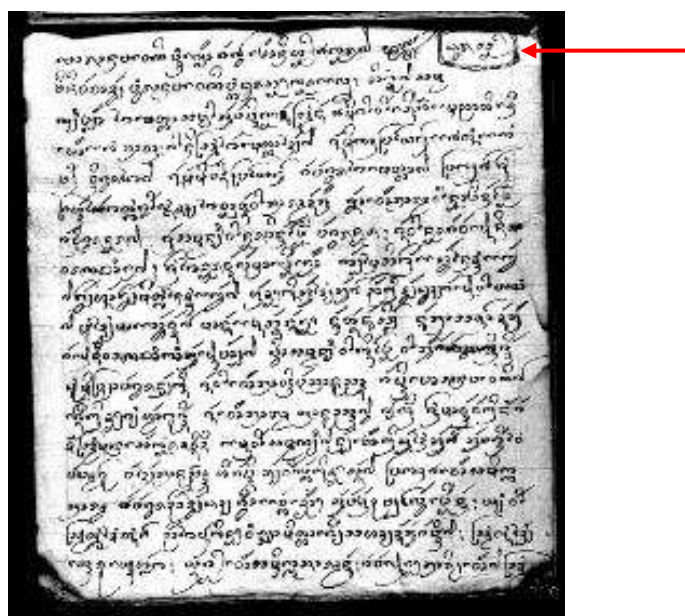


Figure No. 3.56: LS30 (Collection of Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

The last example is the manuscript **YN69: มหาสัพพชัมมสูตรหลวง (*M a h a sappathammasut long*)** written in Müang Ka, Jinggu County, in 1983 CE. The content of this manuscript relates to the Buddhist Sutta. In Figure no. 57, the first three lines mark the end of Caiyya Phakan Long Sutta. The following line is the beginning of the next Sutta that is ‘Maha Satipatthan’; therefore the scribe provides the title of the following Sutta in the left-hand margin and draws a decorative frame around the title. In this case, the frame is used to highlight the paratext (in this case: the title of the text). This kind of characteristic feature typically appears in Tai Lü manuscripts.

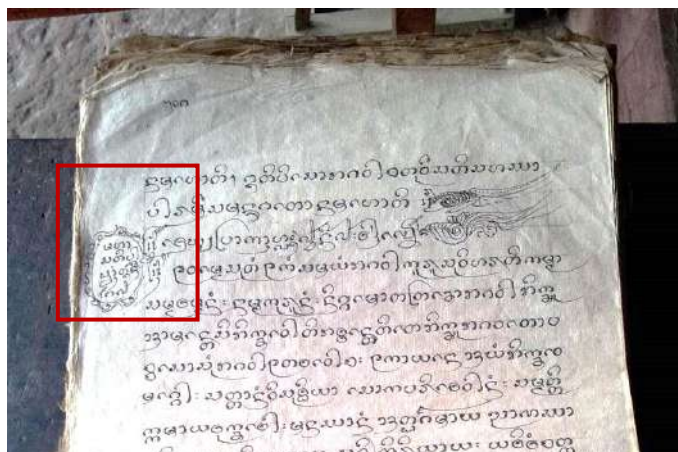


Figure No. 3.57: YN69 (Collection Grabowsky)

Furthermore, besides the ornamental symbols and frames mentioned above, punctuation is another element which serves important roles and functions in Tai Lü manuscripts.

The standard forms of the punctuations that usually appear in the manuscripts are as follows:



They are widely used for separating words and/or phrases, especially in Pali texts and Pali-Tai Lü texts and manuscripts.

As one can see from the manuscript **LS53: น โหม อัก ข ร ะ** (*Namo akkhala / Orthographical Treatise*), which was written at Ban Nam Kaeo Luang in Müang Sing in 1984 CE, These punctuation marks are typically used not only in Tai Lü Buddhist text manuscripts, but also in Lan Na, Tai Khün and Lao manuscripts. These texts usually begin with the Pali words ‘Namo Tassatthu’ (May all be advantageous). This is an invocation used before the main text and it is usually marked by symbols and/or punctuation at the beginning and the end of the phrase. As Figure no. 3.58 shows, the scribe starts the text with an ornamental symbol, then puts the punctuation ‘||’ and ‘:’ at each end of the invocation to separate it from the main text that follows.

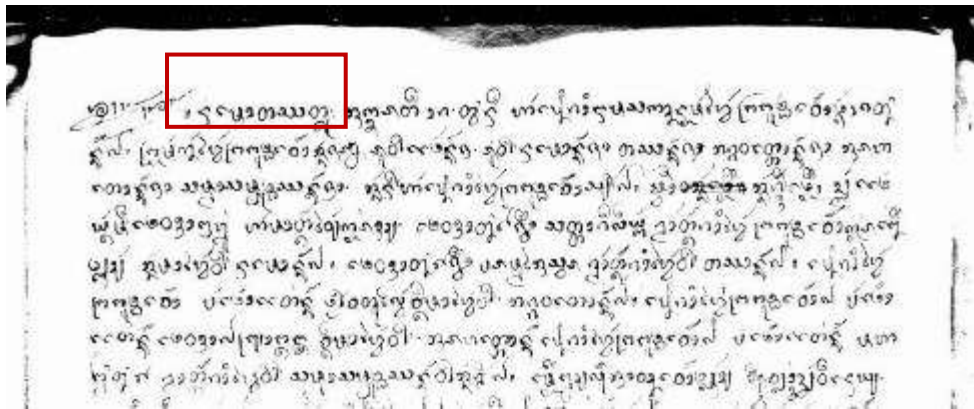


Figure No. 3.58: LS53 (Collection of Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

The undated manuscript **LS9: พิธีกรรม *Pithikam* / On Rituals**, written by a scribe called Nòi Cai, is a multiple-text manuscript examining various rituals and beliefs. However, from the middle of a recto pf the second folio until the end of the recto of the fifth folio, the scribe records Pali vocabulary with Tai Lü translations. Each word and its translation is separated by the punctuation ‘||’. For example, the first line of Figure no. 59 starts with the Pali word ‘Sarakaloham’ and is then followed by the punctuation || and a Tai translation of “ก้อง” /kòng/ (Gong).

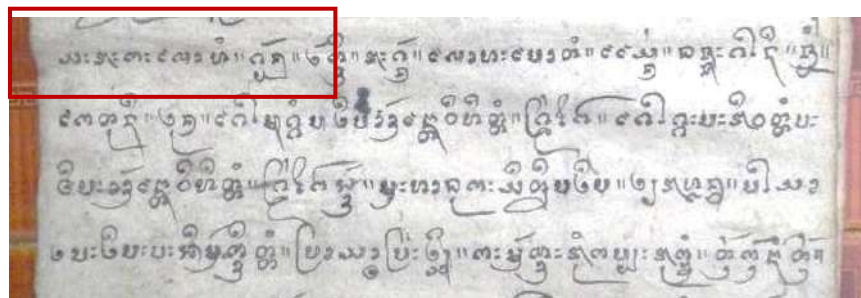


Figure No. 3.59: LS9 (Collection Grabowsky)

In some cases, moreover, punctuation is used to separate sup-topics or numbers from the main text, as illustrated by the manuscript **YN165: อุบาทว์สันตย์ *Ubat san* / The Wicked and the Good** written in Ceng Long Noe, Müang Mang, in 1999 CE. The content of this manuscript deals with names of previous and future Buddhas. Here, the scribe inserts the ordinal numbers in-between the punctuation “ฯ” – which is called *ang khan* (อังคั่น) in the Thai language – to emphasize each number and to clarify which Buddha is being discussed. This is shown in Figure no. 60–61 where the content continues to the end of the thirty-seventh

Buddha before commencing a description of the thirty-eighth Buddha, Sumaṅgalo – a future Buddha. The number ‘38’ is bracketed here by the punctuation depicted below.

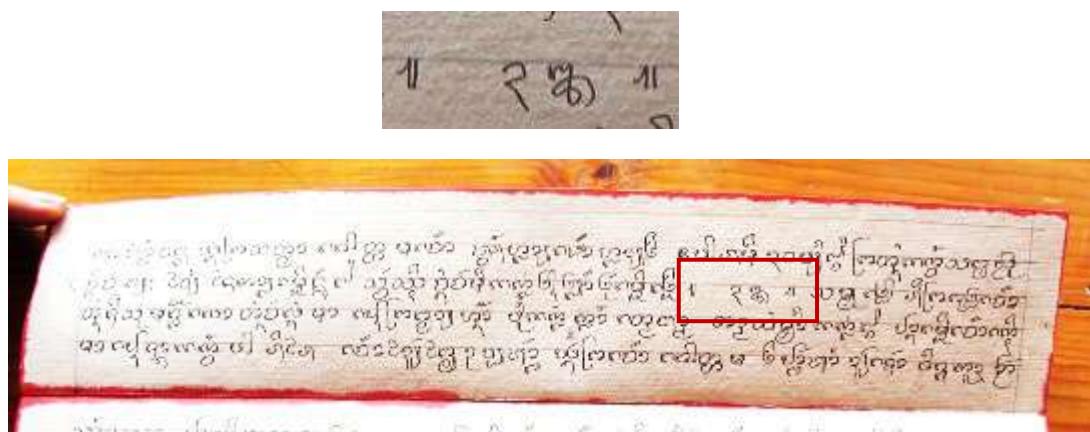


Figure No. 3.60 - 61: YN165 (Collection Grabowsky)

From the examples of non-textual elements in Tai Lü manuscripts discussed above, we can clearly see the important roles and functions that such elements play, and their usefulness in assisting the reader to make sense of the text. Some of these non-textual structural elements show a very close relationship with structuring paratexts such as subheadings. Imagine what would happen if these elements were to be removed? It would be very difficult for the reader to identify sub-headings, new chapters and topics within a manuscript. As such, non-textual elements perform important roles as navigators which guide readers through the text.

3. The diachronic development of paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts

While studying the Tai Lü manuscripts of my corpus, the diachronic development of manuscripts is one important issue that is clearly evident. I found that the format, layout, materials, paratexts, punctuations and script of the manuscripts of each period have substantively changed. Therefore, I consider it appropriate that the issue should be discussed in this dissertation to provide a deeper understanding of the state of Tai Lü manuscripts and how the scribes were influenced by technological innovations and other external influence. Through my research, I identified several Tai Lü manuscripts in Yunnan that were influenced by modern printing technology introduced by the Chinese authorities after the Communist Party of China rose to power in Yunnan in January 1950.

Of the 290 Tai Lü manuscripts in my corpora, 222 are dated and 68 are undated. In each corpus the manuscripts can be divided into three periods depicted in following tables:

Table 3.4: Corpus Southern Yunnan

Period 1 (1884–1949)	Period 2 (1950–1979)	Period 3 (1980–2013)	undated	total
5	5	144	57	211 mss.

Table 3.5: Corpus Northern Laos

Period 1 (1883–1914)	Period 2 (1915–1974)	Period 3 (1975–2003)	undated	Total
3	28	37	11	79 mss.

For each corpus, the dated manuscripts were selected for detailed analysis; these refer to important political events that have affected and influenced Tai Lü manuscript culture:

1) Corpus One: Southern Yunnan

The events marking the three periods of corpus one are:

a) Period One: 1884–1949 CE: The Communist victory in Yunnan and the end of the traditional *cao fa* system (1950);

b) Period Two: 1950–1966⁴⁰ CE: The beginning of the Cultural Revolution (1966), which lasted for fifteen years, during which manuscript production came to an end;

c) Period Three: 1981–2013 CE: The start of the reform period marking the revival of Tai Lü manuscript culture.⁴¹

⁴⁰ I found only one manuscript is written during the Cultural Revolution from 1966-1976: YN5 written in 1966. After end of the crisis, the only manuscripts that I found - YN146 and YN182 - were produced in 1981.

⁴¹ For details, see Grabowsky and Apiradee 2013 (in *Aséanie*).

2) Corpus Two: Northern Laos

The events marking the three periods of corpus two are:

- a) Period One: 1883–1914 CE: The beginning of direct French colonial rule in Müang Sing (1914);
- b) Period 2: 1915–1974 CE: The demise of the Lao royalist regime (1975);
- c) Period 3: 1975–2003 CE: The start of Communist rule (1975/76).⁴²

Corpus One: Southern Yunnan

From the table of Corpus One above, it is evident that there are few Tai Lü manuscripts from the the first two periods. Indeed, there are only five manuscripts for each period as follows:

Period One: 1884–1949 CE

The five manuscripts for period one of the Yunnan corpus comprise:

- 1) YN24: ตำนานวัดพระสิงห์หลวงเชียงใหม่ (Chronicle of Phra Sing Long in Chiang Mai), written in Chiang Rung, Sipsòng Panna, in 1942 CE;
- 2) YN55: ตำนานพื้นเมืองหลวง (Chronicle of Moeng Long), written in Chiang Rung, Sipsòng Panna, in 1884 CE;
- 3) YN64: อาญาหลวง (Great Power), in the Library of Ancient Documents, Yunnan University of the Nationalities, 1917.
- 4) YN67: อุปสมบท (Ordination), Moeng Ka, Jinggu county, 1874.
- 5) YN68: พุทธโลกจินดา (*Phutthalok cinda* / Thoughts about the Buddhist world), Moeng Ka, Jinggu county, 1886.

Period Two: CE 1954 – 1966

The five manuscripts for period two of the Yunnan corpus comprise:

- 1) YN5: พับคำวैयाเจิง (*Phaya coeng*), Yunnan University, Kunming, 1966.

⁴² The People's Republic of Laos was proclaimed on 2 December 1975. Herewith six centuries of Lao monarchy came to an end.

- 2) YN14: พับหนังสือเจ้าหน้าบ้านหัวเมือง 12 พันนามารับบ้านรับเมืองแล (Chronicle of rulers of Sipsòng Panna), collection of Renoo Wichasin, 1965.
- 3) YN77: มหาเจดีย์กะกองมูเมืองแสน (*Maha cetiya kòng mu moeng sae*), Wat Kun Nòng, Moeng Ting, Gengma County, 1964.
- 4) YN78: มหาเจดีย์กะกองมูเมืองแสน (*Maha cetiya kòng mu moeng sae*), Wat Kun Nòng, Moeng Ting, Gengma County, 1964.
- 5) YN81: กัมมัฏฐาน (Meditation), Wat Kun Nòng, Moeng Ting, Gengma County, 1954.

A large majority of manuscripts (as well as other Buddhist artifacts) were destroyed by the Red Guards during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Numerous old manuscripts were burned. There is a period of roughly fifteen years (1966–1979) during which we can barely find any surviving manuscripts. During my last field trip to Yunnan with Professor Grabowsky in August and September 2012, moreover, we found that many Tai Lü manuscripts were being kept in a university library, the Ethnological Museum of Chiang Rung (Jinghong), and other government offices, but these are very difficult for foreigners to access.

Period One: CE 1884 – 1949

The characteristics of the five manuscripts from this period seem to be of a standard form for Tai Lü manuscripts; that is, mulberry paper is used as writing support and the text is written in black ink. Four of manuscripts are bound at the top of mulberry paper and the other one is of a concertina form. The bound mulberry paper manuscripts have are characterized by traditional whirlwind binding where the folios are sewn with a cotton cord along the shorter edges, whereas the concertina format entails a folding book. Moreover, the content is written in scriptio continua without interpunctuation, though sometimes phrases or sentences are separated by space and/or punctuation and a blank line is inserted to separate the colophon from the main text.

Regarding paratexts, special symbols mark the beginning and the end of a text or chapter. Rectangular frames are also placed around certain key words within the text, which highlight short sub-chapters. Furthermore, neatly framed sub-headings in the left-hand margin indicate the title of a chapter, the number of the palm-leaf fascicle (*phuk*) from which the

manuscript was presumably copied, or other important pieces of information which are provided as paratexts in margin of a page.

จีนยกยาแสนแอาลัย

(In the period of *Phaya Saen Ae Lai*)

จีนเจ้าเจียงรายเป็นเจ้า

(In the period of *Cao Cheng Rai* is a ruler)

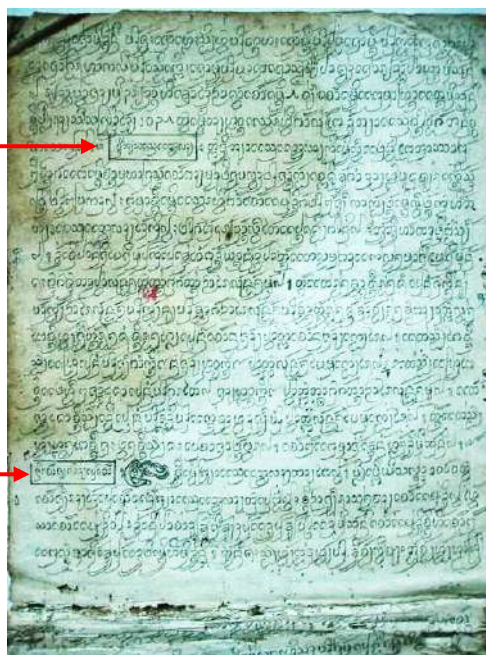


Figure No. 3.62: YN55: The oldest manuscript of Yunnan corpus

(Collection of Yunnan University, Kunming)

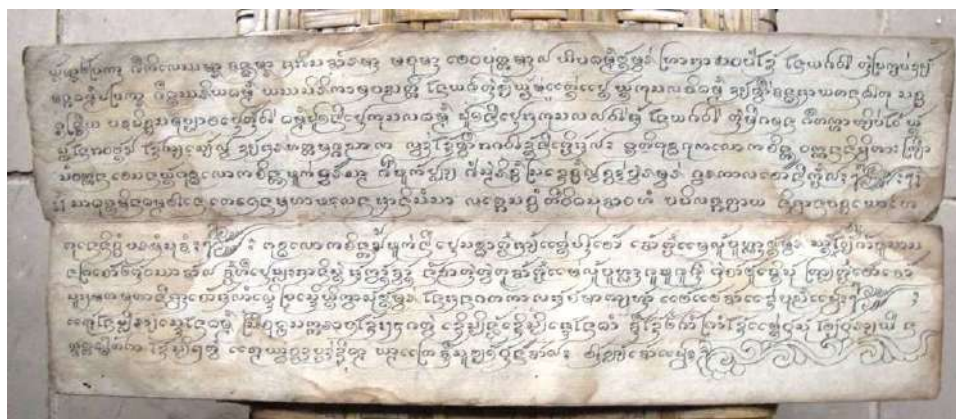


Figure No. 3.63: YN68 (Collection of Yunnan University, Kunming)

Period Two: 1950 – 1966 CE

The majority of the manuscripts (YN14, AN77, YN78 and YN81) in this period still exhibit the same features as the manuscripts in the first period; YN5, however, shows some changes. First, the material of the manuscript is completely different. It is made of industrial

paper and bound by staples. Nevertheless, it is still written in black ink in the standard form of Tai Lü manuscripts. Second, the layout of the manuscript is slightly different as well. The first line of a new paragraph is indented; nonetheless, some paragraphs in the same text still begin without spacing as is the case with the manuscripts of the first period. Third, punctuation and round brackets (), like those used in printed books, are used in the manuscript. Fourth, the colophon at the end of the text specifies the Common Era and dates the manuscript in accordance to the solar calendar, albeit written in Tai Lü numerals, thereby substituting the older Cūḷasakaraja (CS) system which dates manuscripts according to the lunar calendar.

สักขาดลวก 1996 โตะ เดือน 3 ออก 25 คำ เฝือกถ่ายแล้ว ผู้คัดแต่้มเจ้าหยินชุง ผู้เฝือกถ่ายเท่าเงินควาง

Colophon (end of the manuscript): The copying [of the manuscript] was finished in [CE] 1966, on the twenty-fifth day of the third [lunar] month⁴³ by Tao Caen Kwang.

Period Three: 1980 – 2013 CE (144 mss.)

Although a number of the Tai Lü manuscripts in the later period still preserve the standard characteristics of the manuscripts of period one, many of the manuscripts from this period have changed markedly. Through these changes, we can clearly observe the growing influence of modern print technology. The characteristic features of the manuscripts in period three are described below.

In contrast, to one of the two standard formats of manuscripts mentioned in period one whereby the manuscripts are bound at the top, I have found some manuscripts from this period which are bound on the left-hand side, like printed books. This is evident in the case of manuscript YN135: **เสฐฐีทั้ง 5 ผูกปลาย (Setthi tang 5 phuk pai / The Five Wealthy Men (Skt.: śreṣṭhi) - the last chapter)**, which was written Müang Ham, Sipsòng Panna, in 2010 CE.

⁴³ This should be the solar year with the third month referring to March. Thus the corresponding date of the Gregorian (international) calendar would be 25 March 1966.

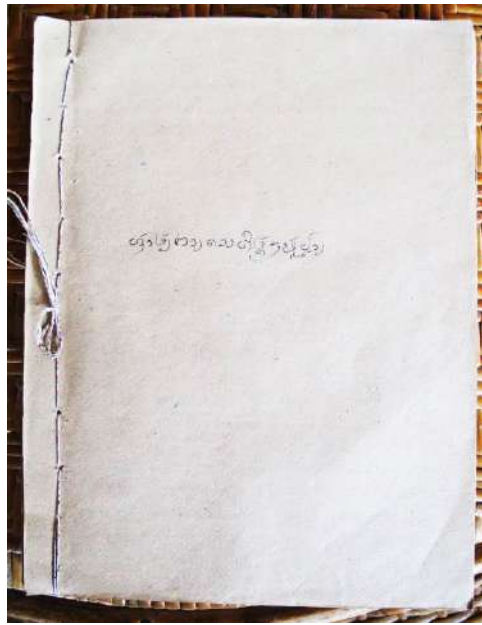


Figure No. 3.64: YN135 (Collection Grabowsky)

Aside from the format, the materials used to create some of the manuscripts from this period have changed too. Industrial paper is used instead of mulberry paper. In 2012, Volker Grabowsky and I made a field trip to Southern Yunnan in China, we found that a large number of manuscripts were being written on industrial paper in black ink and/or by ball point pen because of the increasing difficulty in obtaining access to mulberry paper - at least in certain areas.

Some of the oldest extant mulberry paper manuscripts of my corpus are written on industrial paper and contain dynastic histories of Sipsòng Panna, namely: manuscript **YN137**: ตำนานเมือง 12 พันนา (*Khao nitan moeng sipsòng panna* / **Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna**), written in Müang La, in 1986 CE by Ai Còi Ca Han; and **YN197**: เจ้าสิบสองปาง (*Cao sipsòng pang* / **The Twelve Rulers**), which was written Ban Chiang Lan, Chiang Rung, in 1986 CE by Cao Maha Khanthawong. Both of these scribes have copied numerous texts in notebooks and on sheets made of industrial paper and later sewn as whirlwind-bound manuscripts.

Figure no. 3.64 shows the front cover folio of manuscript YN137 mentioned above. The style of the title of the text is not typical for Tai Lü manuscripts. The scribe, Cao Maha Khanthawong, writes the Tai Lü scripts in rather unusual, artistic style in the title of the text ‘ตำนานเมือง 12 พันนา’ (*Khao nitan moeng 12 panna* or History of Sipsòng Panna) in the first semicircular line of the folio and his Chinese name ‘เต๋าส่งย่ง’ (Tao Sang Yong) inside the

small circle placed directly below the red seal in the middle of the folio. In the last line, however, he writes the date in the normal style, สักขาคหลวง 1986 ปี่ เดือน 5 ออก 20 ค่ำ เดือน (written it in CE 1986, on the twentieth day of the fifth month).⁴⁴



Figure No. 3.65: YN137 (Collection Grabowsky)

In a similar vein as in the example above, the front cover folio of manuscript YN197, which was also written by the same scribe, also uses artificial scripts for the title of the text. He writes the title เจ้าสิบสองปาง (*Cao sipsòng pang* or The Twelve Reigns of Rulers) in a square shape, while writing the last line in the normal way 12 พันนาเจ้าเงินเซ่เว่นซื่อวูยแฮ่น[ปู่ย] The Twelve Times/Reign of Rulers in Sipsòng Panna or *coen se woen sü wui yaen*.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ The date should refer to the solar year. It would then correspond to 20 May 1986.

⁴⁵ Zhou Zheng Xie Wen Shi Wei Yuan, i.e., “member of the Chinese People’s Consultative Conference on the literature and history the Sipsòng Panna Prefecture. I thank Zhou Hanli for her explanation.



Figure No. 3.66: YN197 (Collection Grabowsky)

Ball point pens are also used together with black ink throughout the manuscript **YN66: ธรรมปาทปราคำดอยก้อน Tham pat pha kham tòi kòn**, which was written in Wat Patha Dòi Kòn, Jinggu County, in 2005 CE. The main text of the manuscript is written in black ink, but the colophon following the text is written both in black ink and a blue ball point pen.

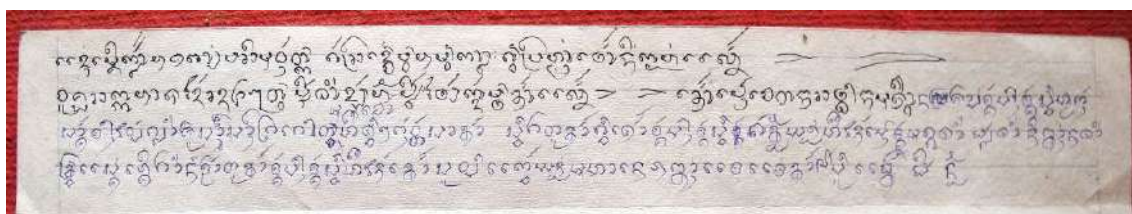


Figure No. 3.67: YN66 (Collection Grabowsky)

Furthermore, some of the scribes copied text to a notebook made of industrial paper as illustrated by manuscript **YN167: พิธีกรรม (Pithikam / Ritual)**, which was written in Ceng Long Noe, Müang Mang, in 1984 CE. Although, the scribe, Pò Nan Nò Kham, does not specify this, we can deduce from the text and language that it was copied from an older extant manuscript. Moreover, the scribe tries to preserve some old fashioned characteristics that

appear in mulberry paper manuscripts; that is, he still provides a short colophon on flyleaf which he calls “หน้าทับ” (*na tap*: front cover folio) as shown in Fig. no. 3.68, ornamental symbols at the beginning of the text and new chapters (Fig. no. 3.69), paratexts in the margin of the page (Fig. no. 3.69) and a colophon at the end of the text (Fig. no. 3.70).

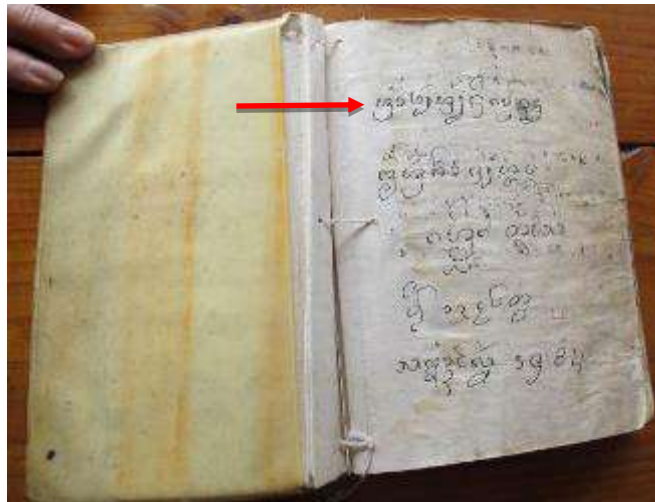


Figure No. 3.68

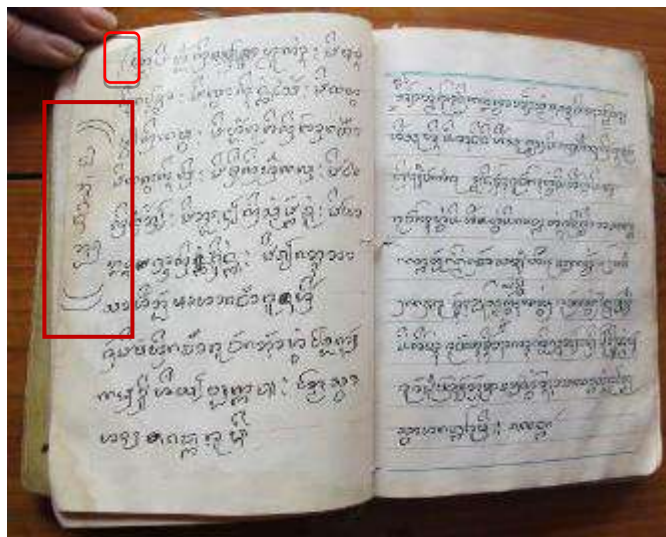


Figure No. 3.69

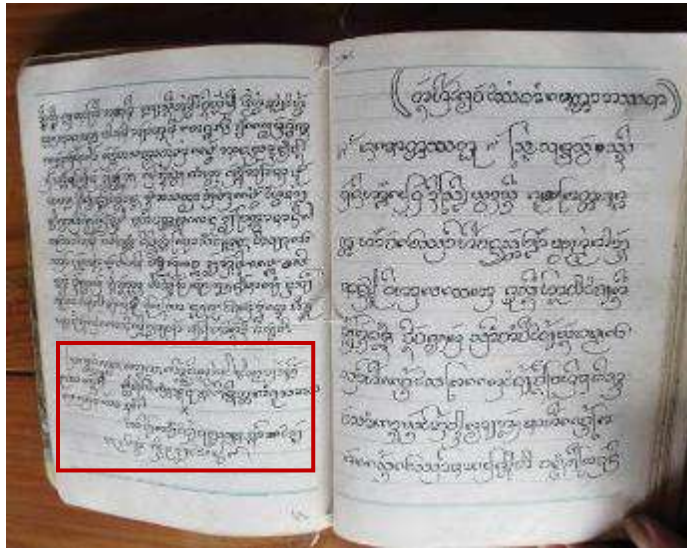


Figure No. 3.70

Figure No. 3.68-70: YN167 (Collection Grabowsky)

Moreover, manuscripts containing religious texts are used as objects by lay-people to make merit by donating these to monasteries. In the past, sponsors needed to hire scribes to produce manuscripts for them, but I found some manuscripts in the later period are produced by a photocopying machine. Indeed, during my field trip in 2012, I have found a number of such manuscript-copies being kept in a wooden casket at Latcathan Long monastery, situated in the city quarter of Ban Chiang Lan, Chiang Rung, in Sipsòng Panna. These are photocopies of older extant or mulberry manuscripts. One example of this is the manuscript **YN119: ပာရမီ Palami (Parami)** written in 2012 CE. Here, the main text of the manuscript is produced by a photocopier, while the title of the text and a colophon of sponsors are written by hand on the front cover folio. In this case, however, it is debatable whether or not such manuscript-copies should be called “manuscripts” in the strict sense of the word.

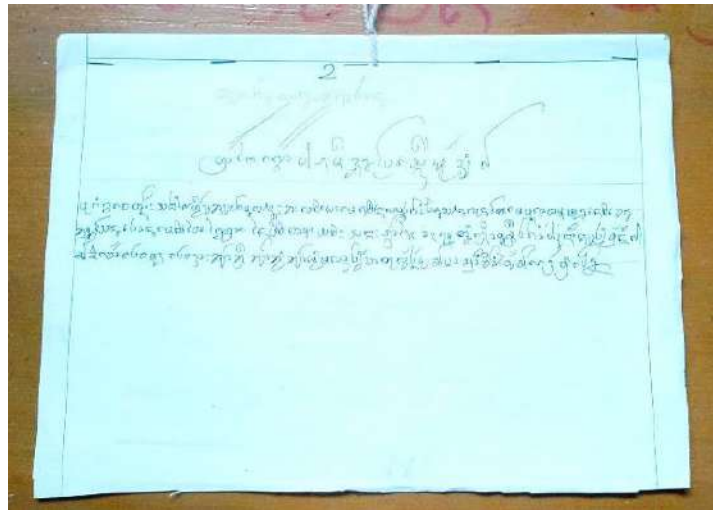


Figure No. 3.71: YN119: colophon written by hand on the front cover folio

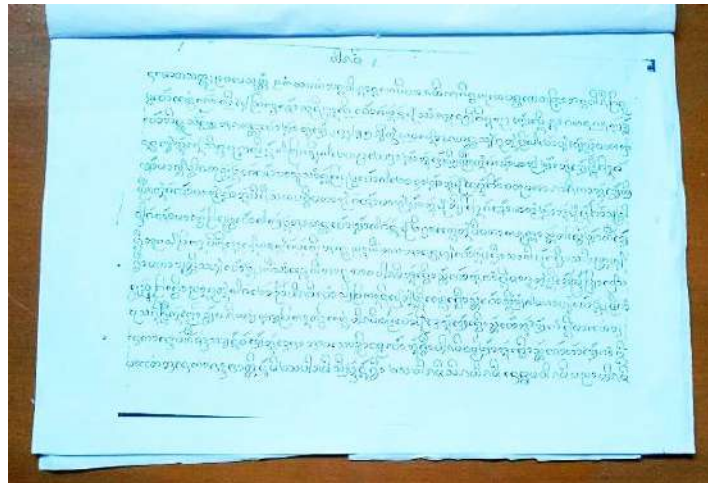
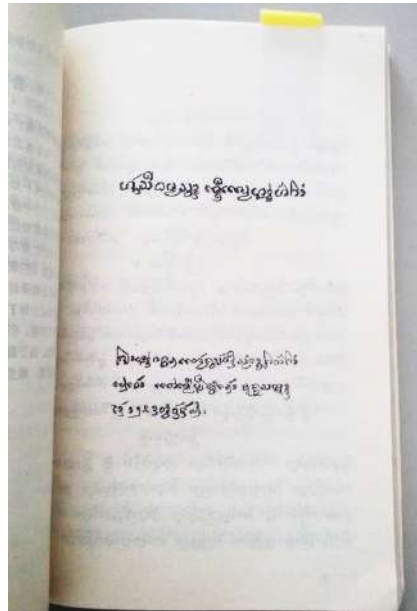
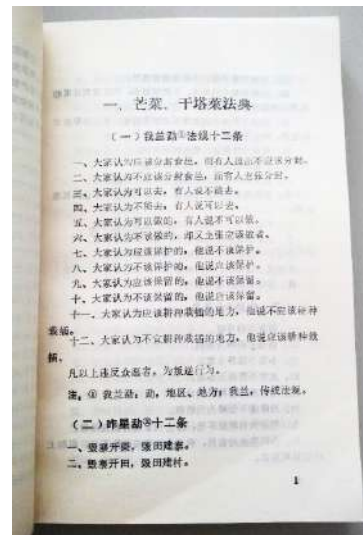
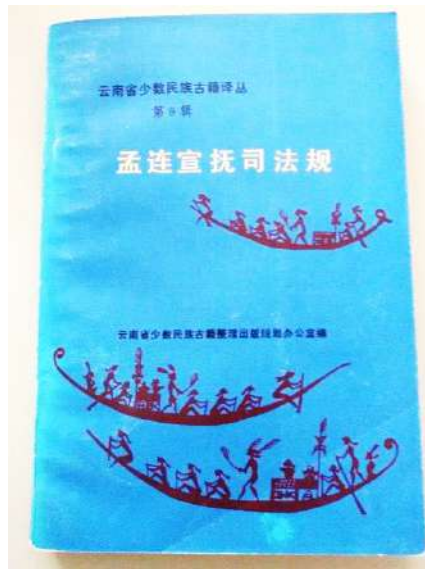


Figure No. 3.72: YN119: photocopy of the main text (Collection Grabowsky)

Nevertheless, I have found attempts to preserve and revive Tai Lü literature; notably, some Tai Lü texts have been produced in a bilingual Chinese-Tai publication printed in Kunming. The edited texts are a collection of local chronicles, legends and customary law of various Tai minority groups in Yunnan province. They are not printed in, i.e. simplified, Tai Lü script but handwritten in the old Tai Lü (Dhamma) script. Their sources are clearly older manuscripts, although they are not specifically identified as such.

The following example is a customary law text from Müang Laem, entitled “*Thammasat Moeng Laem Long Hò Kham*” (The Laws of Moeng Laem Long Golden Palace), which was published in 1986 in Kunming, China. The first part of this book is

printed in Chinese characters, with the following part printed in Tai Lü script in an handwritten style. On the title page of the Tai Lü part, the scribe's colophon states: “พระยาหลวงคันทร เต็มถวาทานสมเด็จพระทองคำเปนเจ้า แต่เมื่อปรีรงเร้า จุฬสภชาดได้ 1283 ตัว วันนั้นแล” ([I], Phaya Long Kanthara, wrote [this text] for offering it to the “Ruler of the Golden Palace” (*Somdet Pa Hò Kham Pen Cao*) in the *long lao (ruang rao)* year, CS 1283)⁴⁶



หนังสือธรรมนูญ เมิงแลมหลวงหอคำ
 “The book of law of Müang Laem Long Hò Kham”
 พระยาหลวงคันทร เต็มถวาทานสมเด็จพระทองคำ
 เปนเจ้า แต่เมื่อปรีรงเร้า จุฬสภชาดได้ 1283 ตัว วันนั้นแล
 ([I], Phaya Long Kanthara, wrote [this text] for offering
 it to the “Ruler of the Golden Palace” (*Somdet Pa Hò
 Kham Pen Cao*) in the *long lao (ruang rao)* year, CS
 1283)

Figure No. 3.73--75: YN119: Thammasat Moeng Laem Long Hò Kham

(Collection Apiradee)

⁴⁶ CE 1921.

Another case is the manuscript **YN150: พอบพื้ นเมิงเชียงรุ่ง (Pop pün moeng ceng hung / Chronicle of Ceng Hung)**, written in Ban Mòng Mangrai in 1999 CE. It is owned by Ai Saeng Kham (born in 1932), an elderly scribe and collector of manuscripts from Ban Mòng Mangrai, a village situated at the outskirts of Chiang Rung. This manuscript is a hybrid manuscript with regard to both its writing support and the writing methods applied. Only the front and back cover folios are made from mulberry paper and only the title of the text and a statement of ownership mentioning the owner's name and year of acquisition are written by hand. The main text, however, is not handwritten but printed in the Dhamma script on industrial paper. Nonetheless, the traditional whirlwind binding makes the manuscript appear to be a genuine reproduction.

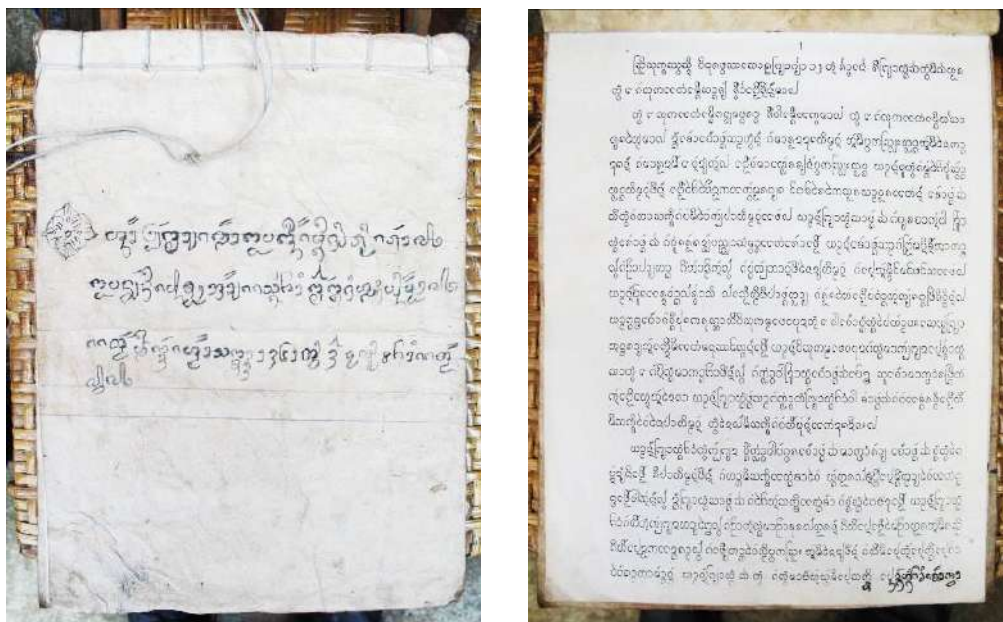


Figure No. 3.76-77: YN150 (Collection Grabowsky)

From the same manuscript mentioned above (YN119), the colophon of the donors on the cover folio also features an interesting characteristic for this period: the new Tai Lü script is mixed with the Tai Lü Dhamma script. This usage of this new script commenced in the print media in Sipsòng Panna in 1955 (see chapter two). Some complete manuscripts, such as YN208-211, are written in new Tai Lü script; these are located in the Payap University Archives and were produced in the 2000s by the same scribe, Ai Kham Löt from Ban Ceng in Müang Ceng Ha. Figure no. 3.78-79 is one such example of an industrial paper manuscript **YN209: คำวถูกแก้ววถูกแก้ว (Khao Luk Kaeo Luk Kaeo)** produced in 2001 CE. The entirety of the text is written in the new Tai Lü script, yet the scribe still provides symbols (a) at the end

of each chapter and the end of the text like the manuscripts written in the Tai Lü Dhamma script. Moreover, Chinese characters (b), Arabic numerals and Common Era dates – or the International Era (*sakkalat lok*) as it is called in Tai Lü language – are mixed with new Tai Lü characters. They appear not only in this manuscript, but also in many other manuscripts from this period.

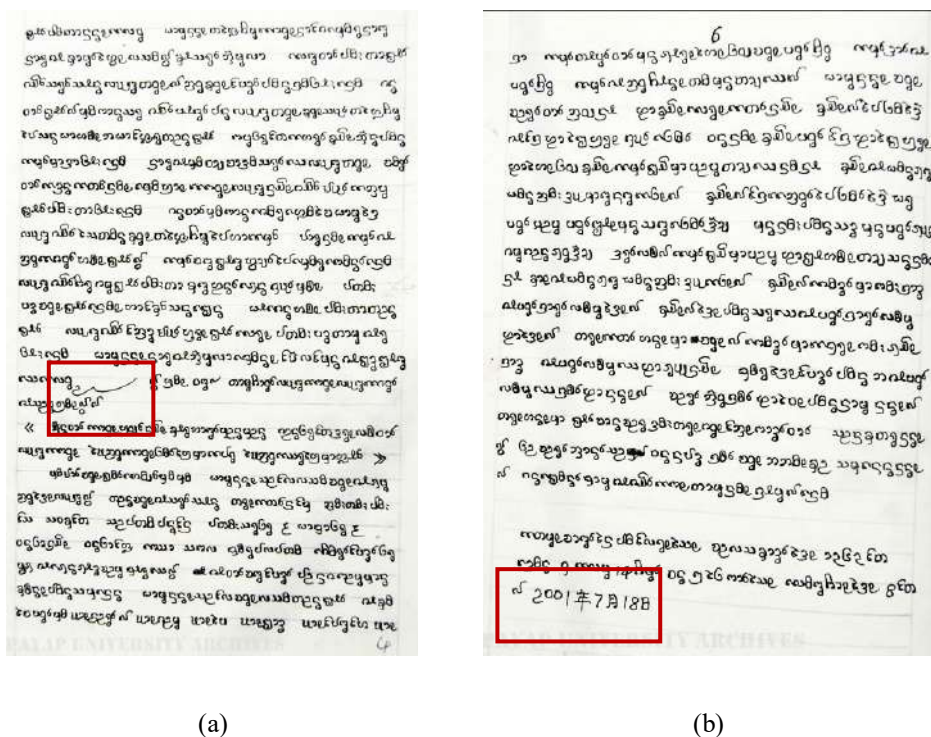


Figure No.3.78-79: YN209 (Collection of The Payap University Archives)

With regard to the layout of Tai Lü manuscripts, one can observe that Tai Lü manuscripts produced before the Cultural Revolution are usually written in *scriptio continua*; that is to say, in a continuous flow of letters without separation of words, sentences and paragraphs. In contrast, manuscripts from the post-1980 period exhibit a variety of influences from modern printed books. The layout of some manuscripts from that later period have changed quite considerably, for instance, headings of chapters are arranged at the center of the page and new paragraphs are indented. The manuscript YN6: *หนังสือพื้นเมืองลำ* (*Nangsü pün moeng la / History of Moeng La*) written by Ai Còi Ca Han in Moeng La in 1996 CE in one such example of this.



Figure No. 3.80: YN6 (Collection Grabowsky)

The use of full stops in paratexts is another noticeable influence of modern printing technology. New kinds of paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts have also appeared in this period; for example, a table of contents and prefaces (as mentioned above in the topic ‘Paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts’), neither of which had previously appeared in traditional Tai Lü manuscripts (see chapter four for details).

Notwithstanding the helpful insights obtained from the analysis of paratexts, other non-textual features must be taken into consideration as well when reconstructing the temporal and spatial features of manuscripts. What we want to stress here is the importance of a comprehensive approach to both textual and non-textual features and what this can represent for the study of manuscripts. In the following paragraphs we analyse features of the writing supports and substances, as well as aspects concerning page layout, while asking how these can help us localise manuscripts in space and time.

Corpus Two: Northern Laos

Period One: 1883 – 1914 CE (3 mss 6, 23, 24; 1883, 1893, 1905)

The manuscripts from this period are all from the time before the advent of French colonialism and the firm establishment of French rule. The amount of manuscripts from period one is very small. Here, we only analyse three manuscripts:

- 1) LS6: รวมพิธีกรรมต่าง ๆ (*Hom pithikam tang tang*), written in Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing, in 1908 CE.

- 2) LS23: กาบปู่สอนหลาน สมาดสงสาน (*Kap pu sòn lan samat songsan*), written in Ban Nam Kaeo Nòi, Müang Sing, in 1893 CE.
- 3) LS24: กะปู่คำ, โลกวุฒิ, อกาลวัดตสูต, อานิสงส์สลอง (*Kapu kham, lokawutthi, akalawattasut and anisong salòng*), written in Ban Thong Mai, Müang Sing, in 1883 CE.

The characteristic features of the manuscripts from this early period are similar to the manuscripts in period one from the Yunnan corpus. They also have two standard forms: either whirlwind bound manuscripts or folding books in the concertina style. Mulberry paper and black ink are used to produce the manuscripts. Concerning layout, the main text is both written without spacing of chapter and sub-chapters and by inserting blank lines to indicate the start of a new chapter or a new subject. Special ornamental symbols appear as paratexts at the beginning and the end of the story. They also appear within the text to mark the end of a chapter or paragraph. In multiple-text manuscripts or in single-text manuscripts where there are many chapters, the start of these is indicated by a title placed on the left-hand margin of the page.

In manuscript LS6, although modern Lao letters appear and blue ink written by ball point pen and magic marker are used in some parts of the manuscript, we can presume that they are written in a later period. Indeed, there are two colophons in the manuscript which are written by two different scribes. The first colophon precedes the text written by Thera Dhammapaññāsa Bhikkhu - the creator of the manuscript in 1908 - at a time when Müang Sing was under severe attack by bandits led by the son of a high-ranking official who had a dispute with the local ruler the year before.⁴⁷ Later, the manuscript was transmitted to a second scribe, Nan Saeng Wong, whose name is provided in the second colophon, which actually is a brief owner's statement written in modern Laos script and appearing directly after the text of the same manuscript he completed in 1971 (period two). As such, this manuscript is an example of a manuscript produced over an extended period of time. It illustrates the life and transition of a manuscript over time and demonstrates how manuscripts are repeatedly reproduced.

⁴⁷ See Grabowsky and Renoo 2008, 54–55.

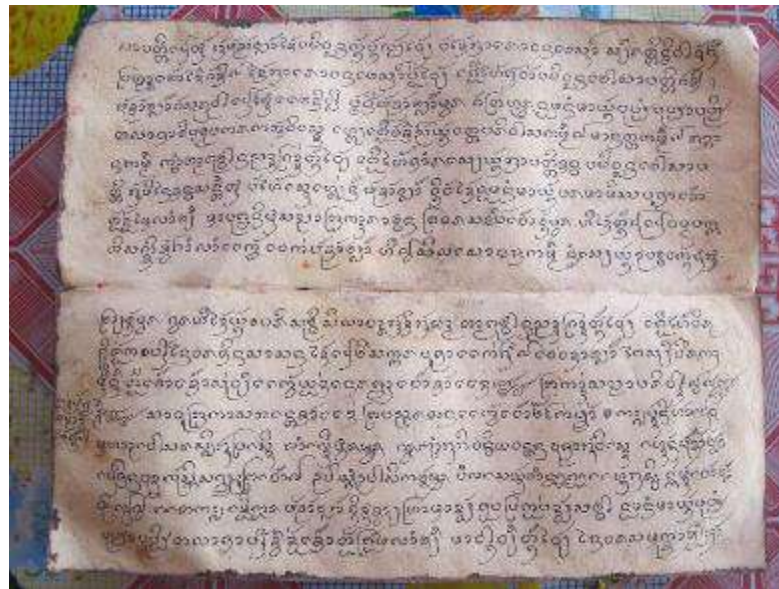
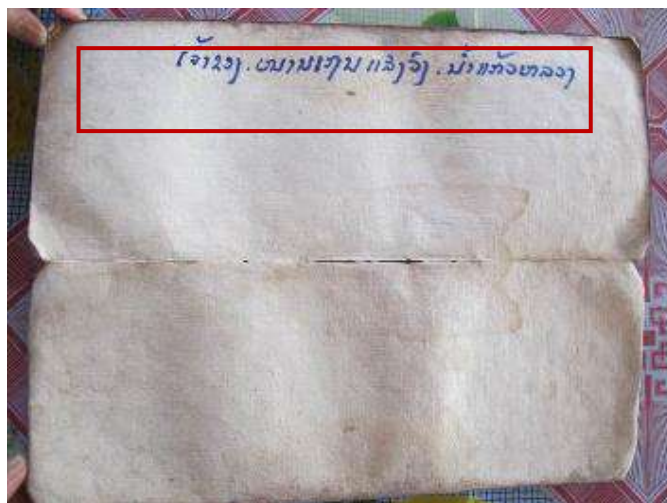


Figure No. 3.81: LS6: the text written by the first scribe, Thera Dhammapaññāsa Bhikkhu

(Collection Grabowsky)



The owner is Nan Thaen Sang

Wong [from] Nam Kaeo Luang

ເຈົ້າຂອງພານແສງວົງ

ນ້າແກ້ວຫລວງ

Figure No. 3.82: LS6: the name of the second scribe, Nan Saeng Wong, written in Lao lettering by blue magic marker. (Trans. The owner, Nan Saeng Wong, Nam Kaeo Luang), (Collection Grabowsky)

Period Two: 1915 – 1974 CE (28 mss)

In the manuscripts of period two, the majority of which still maintain the earlier characteristics of period one, Lao letters occasionally appear in the colophons. Also, some modern features, which appear to be exceptions rather than the rule, begin to appear. In this

period, the influences of Western print practices does not yet appear strong, even though Laos had been under French colonial rule since 1893.

Some of these modern features are evident in the manuscript **LS57: กำนทานพะยาเซกอง อุ**
ม่าว (*Kan than phanya sekong u mao / List of donation by Phaya Sekong or U Mao*),
 written in Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing in 1981 CE. This manuscript takes the
 concertina form, which is normally formatted as landscape, but scribe wrote the text in
 portrait form like Western books formatted. This characteristic is also found in manuscripts
 LS34 and LS42. Moreover, the use of curly brackets { }, or *pik ka* (Thai: ปีกกา; literally,
 “crow’s wings”), indicate that the contents of two or more than two lines belong to one and
 the same context.

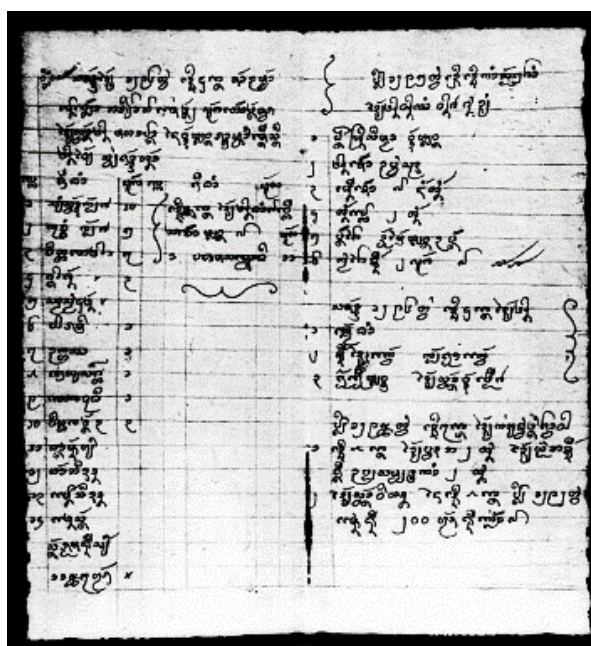


Figure No. 3.83: LS57 (Collection of Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

Although two manuscripts in this period (**LS7: อภิธรรมและมหาปฐฐาน, คำพรหลวง** (*Aphitam*
lae mahapatthan kam pòn long), written in Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing in 1940 CE
 and **LS14: มหาวิบากหลวง** (*Maha wibak long / The Great Retribution*), written in Wat Ban
 Nam Tung, in 1968 CE) have some texts written in ball point pen and/or pencil, they seem to
 be written or added in later period by other person, not the original scribes.

หน้าทับพายเค้าธัมมหาวิบากหลวงแล

หนานกางไต้ค้ำชูพุทธศาสนาเจ้าโคตมแล

(ใต้ทานขอมอิหล่ามุนบ้านดินธาตุปี – ข้อความนี้มีปากกาหมึกแห้งสีน้ำเงินขีดฆ่า) 1330 ตัว

ข้าขอหือเป็นผลอานิสงส์คุณผู้ข้าแล

ขอหือรอดจอดถึง (ตนตัวอิหล่ามุน – ข้อความนี้มีปากกาหมึกแห้งสีน้ำเงินขีดฆ่า และเขียนแทนว่า

– ค้ำชูตนตัว .. แล) นั้น ข้าแต่

วิบากหลวง (เขียนด้วยปากกาหมึกสีน้ำเงิน อักษรลาว)

Front cover folio:

The front cover folio [contains the title of the] religious text *Maha wibak long*.

Nan Kang dedicates [the manuscript] for supporting the teachings (sāsana) of Lord Gotama.

It is dedicated to I La Mun in Ban Tin That in the year [CS] 1330.

I ask for [this manuscript] to bring reward (phala ānisaṃsa) to me.

[This reward] shall [also] reach I La Mun.

A great disaster (*wibak long*). (Passage written in Lao script with blue dark magic ink:)

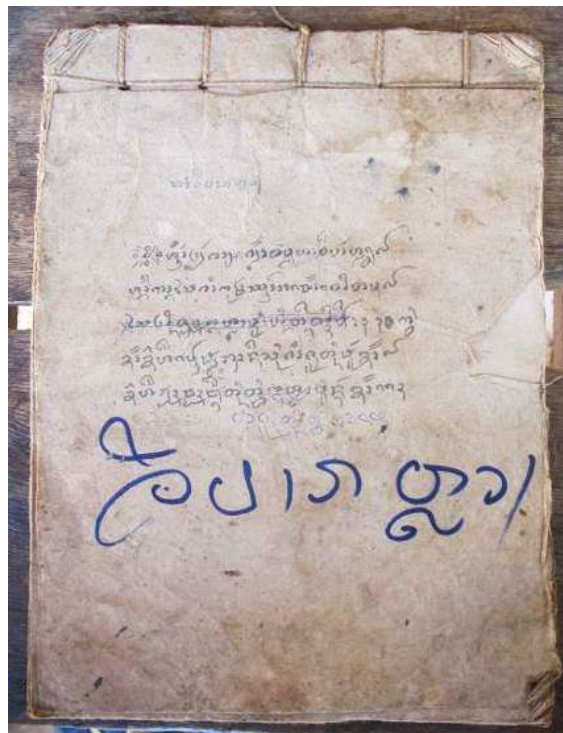


Figure No. 3.84: LS14 (Collection Grabowsky)

Period Three: 1975 – 2003 CE (37 mss)

The outlay of manuscripts of period three exhibit a growing Western influence. Similar to modern Tai Lü manuscripts from Sipsòng Panna, a preface and table of contents appear in the manuscript **LS21: *Pawasat Lao-Tai / Lao and Thai history***.⁴⁸

Moreover, in the manuscripts of period three Arabic letters and numerals, Thai letters, and new Tai Lü scripts occasionally appear in the colophons. For example, in manuscript **LS54: นันทเสน (*Nantasen*)**, written in Wat Ban Na Mai, Müang Sing in 1996 CE, the scribe, Tu Un Kaeo, wrote his name in Arabic and new Tai Lü in a colophon after the text of chapter three.

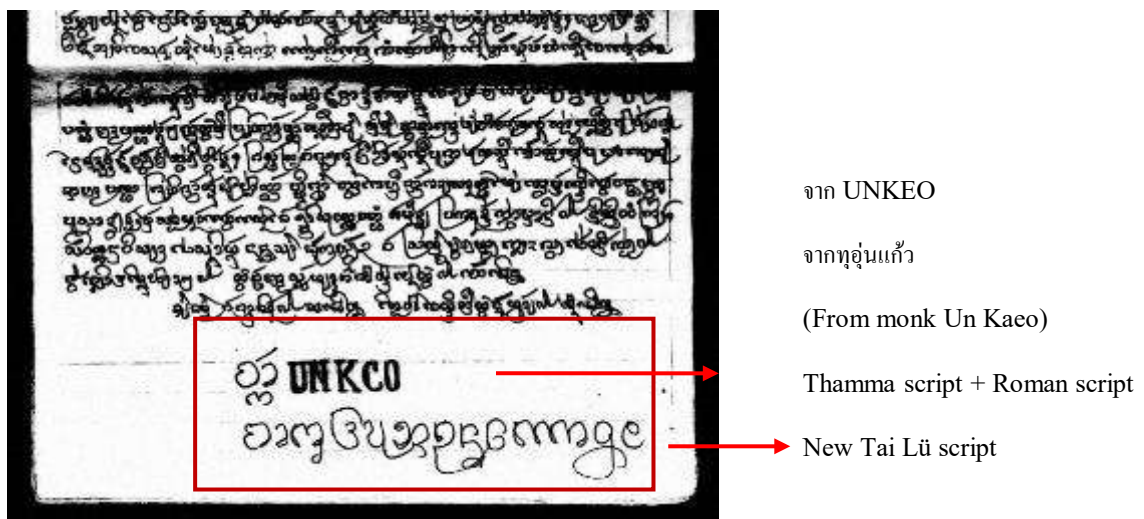


Figure No. 3.85: LS54 (Collection of Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

Furthermore, Christian Era and Buddhist Era dates are also provided together with the *Cūlasakaraja* (CS) year in some manuscripts from this period. For instance, on the cover folios of the first and second chapter of manuscript **LS64: สุตัสสนา นางหมากพร้าว (*Sutatsana nang mak pao / Sutassana, the coconut queen*)**, written in Ban Kum, Müang Sing, in 1985 CE, the scribe, Bhikkhu (monk) Kot (Kuat) Kham, wrote this manuscript in CS 1347. He provided the CS year 1347 in Tai Lü numerals and Christian era, 1985, in Arabic numerals.

⁴⁸ For details, see the topic ‘Table of content’ in this chapter and the topic ‘The reflection of the prefatory material in Tai Lü manuscripts’ in chapter four.

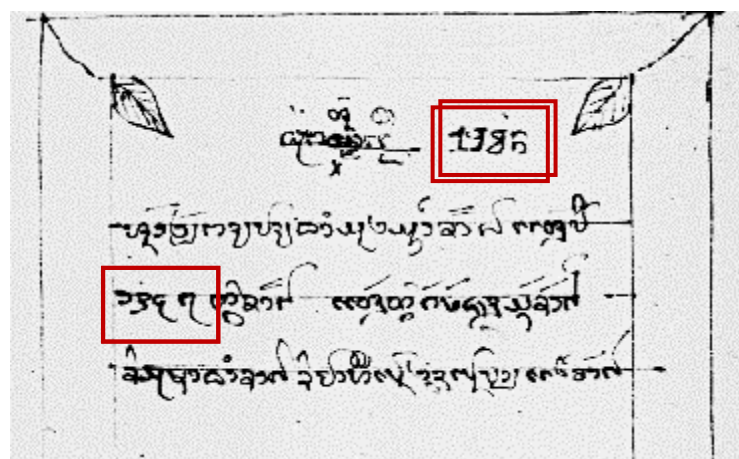


Figure No. 3.86: LS64 The cover folio of the first chapter.

(Collection of Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts collection)

With regard to the Yunnan corpus, we found only one case where the text is written in a notebook: the manuscript **LS1**: **ตั้งเมืองหลวงน้ำทาครั้งที่สอง** (*Tang müang luang namtha khrang thi sòng* / **The second time of establishment of Müang Luang Namtha**), written in Ban Nam Tung, Luang Namtha, in 1995 CE. The scribe copied the text regarding the history of Luang Namtha and Chiang Khaeng on a note book in ball point pen. However, he still preserves in some paratexts written in the margin of the page. The text in Figure no. 87, for instance, details how the Tai Dam ethnic group came to Luang Namtha and settled down in the plain of Luang Namtha in the early 1890s. Therefore, the scribe provides details of this event in the margin of the page (Transcription: พวกໄຫວຄຳເຂົ້າມາ; Translation: The Tai Dam people had arrived).

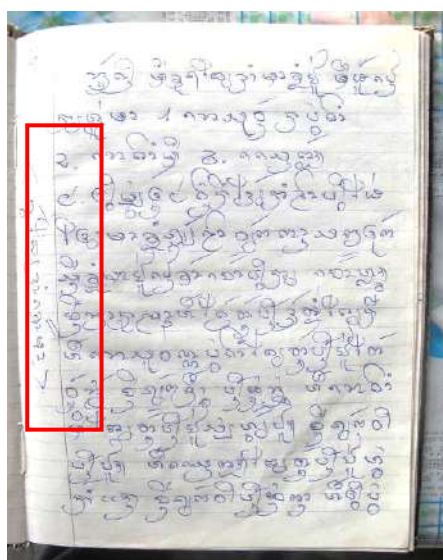
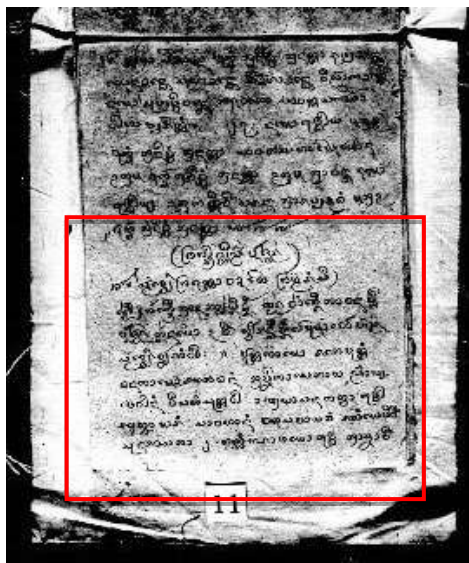


Figure No. 3.87: LS6 (Collection Grabowsky)

Moreover, when disclosing his sources he used for writing the manuscript **LS21: Pawasat Lao-Tai** the scribe refers to a historiographical book from Northern Thailand, entitled *Prachum Tamnan Lan Na Thai Lem Sòng* (The collected chronicles of Lan Na Thai, part two) written by the Northern Thai amateur historian, Sanguan Chotsukkharat (Thai: สงวน โชติสุขรัตน์).⁴⁹ The scribe, Nòi Insongkariyawong from Ban Viang Nüa,⁵⁰ explains in considerable detail all the other sources he used of his text. (see details on the topic ‘The reflection of the prefatory material in Tai Lü manuscripts’ in chapter 4). I have found one more manuscript that a scribe copied a text from a Thai printing book, that is the manuscript **LS70: ธรรมทานต่าง ๆ (Thammatan tang tang)**, Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing CE 1993. It is copied from a prayer book of Somdet Phra Phutthachan (To Phrommarangsi) who was one of the most famous Buddhist monks in nineteenth-century Thailand and highly revered until present.⁵¹



Jinapañjara, the well known in sacred texts of Somdet Phra Buddhacan To Phrommarangsi

Figure No. 3.88: LS70

(Collection of Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

⁴⁹ Sanguan Chotsukkharat (1930–1975) was a journalist and the owner of a printing house in Chiang Mai, northern Thailand. He has published three types of writing – local history, local documentaries and Lan Na rituals – which altogether consist of around twenty books and many other additional articles besides. It can be said that he was an important leader/navigator of local studies. (Thai Cultural Encyclopedia Foundation, Siam Commercial Bank, vol. 12, 1999, 6509-6511).

⁵⁰ As for the background of this manuscript, and its historiographical value for the history of northwestern Laos, see Grabowsky and Wichasin 2008, 62–63.

⁵¹ Somdet Phra Phuttacan To Phrommarangsi (1788–1872), also known as Somdet To, is one of the most famous monks in Thailand who lived in early period of Rattanakosin dynasty. He was born in 1788 and was ordained as a novice during the reign of King Rama I. He continued to be a monk until he passed away in 1872. He is known as an expert monk both in discipline and white magic. His amulets are both famous and expensive in present day; his magic, *Jinapañjara*, is well known in sacred texts. See Justin McDaniels biography of Somdet To. Please include this book here and in the Bibliography (see McDaniel’s *The Lovelorn Ghost and the Magic Monk* 2011).

Compared to the corpus concerning Sipsòng Panna, the Tai Lü manuscripts from Müang Sing in northwestern Laos exhibit only rather small changes over the past century. Their more conservative character might, at least partially, be explained by the lack of strong Western influence. French colonial presence was, indeed, much stronger in the central and southern regions of Laos than in the North where the King of Luang Prabang and other local authorities still exercised traditional power.

4. Conclusion

4.1 Paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts

In Tai Lü manuscript culture, there are several kinds of paratexts, supporting and structuring contexts and providing information of scribe, donor and/or manuscript itself. The paratexts Tai Lü manuscripts can divide into five categories as follows:

- 4.1.1 Text titles or intertitles
- 4.1.2 Paratexts in a margin of a page
- 4.1.3 Colophons
- 4.1.4 Table of contents
- 4.1.5 Prefaces

4.1.1 Text titles or intertitles

Text titles in Tai Lü manuscripts are usually provided on front and/or back cover folios. Moreover, they can also appear at the beginning, shortly before the main text starts, or in a margin of the page. Furthermore, it is typical of manuscripts that the title also appears together with other information in the colophons.

4.1.2 Paratext in margin of a page

Aside from titles, chapter numbers, summarizing a text or a paragraph, and explanatory notes also appear in the margins, usually on the left-hand side. In some rare cases, these may also appear in the right-hand margin or at the top of a page.

4.1.3 Colophons

Tai Lü colophons can appear at different places and in different positions within the same manuscript. Normally, we find them at the end of a text. In the case of manuscripts containing multiple texts, or a text that consists of several larger chapters, the colophon is usually

provided after the end of each text or chapters. Moreover, colophons are sometimes written on front and/or back cover folios with the title of the text. Through my studies, I have also found that some colophons are inserted within the main text, for example, at the end of each chapter (*phuk*). Originally *phuk* is a term used to denote a fascicle of palm leaves bound together by a cotton string which is led through a small hole made into the leaf. A multiple-text manuscript inscribed on palm-leaf that has several chapter would be physically divided into different *phuk* each *phuk* representing one text. Or a single longer text divided into chapters or sections would be divided the same way. Later, when palm-leaf was abandoned in favour of mulberry or industrial paper, the term *phuk* was preserved but changed its meaning from fascicle (related to the physical object) to chapter (related to the organization of the text).

Regarding the composition of the colophons, a typical colophon of a Buddhist Tai Lü manuscript may comprise of a combination of eight characteristics, that is: 1) Title of the main text, 2) Date, 3) Time, 4) Name of donor(s) / scribe, 5) Purpose and objective of copying and donating the manuscript, 6) Desire and wish of donor(s) / scribe, 7) Pali phrase, and 8) Expression of humbleness / an apology (especially for bad handwriting). However, colophons are not fixed compositions, there is always space for flexibility with regard to the arrangement of these eight principal components. The eight elements are interchangeable and various elements may or may not appear. As such, the structure of colophons in Tai Lü manuscripts is flexible and complex.

4.1.4 Table of contents

In the corpus examined in this research, a table of contents was provided in only four manuscripts: three from Yunnan and one from Laos. All of them were produced from 1987 to 2004 - the period after the end of the Lao royalist regime in 1975, the start of Communist rule in Laos (1975), and after the end of Cultural Revolution in Yunnan (1966–1976).

In the three manuscripts from the Yunnan corpus, the table of contents is called “Ho Bot” in the Tai Lü language, while in the manuscript from Laos it is called ‘Salaban’ which is the same word for ‘table of contents’ in Thai (สารบัญ).

All of these appear before the main text like in printed books, so it can probably be deduced that they were probably influenced by modern printing technology.

4.1.5 Preface

Similar to the tables of contents, prefaces in Tai Lü manuscripts have shown up in only eight manuscripts of our corpus (seven manuscripts from Yunnan and one manuscript from Laos), dating between 1986 to 2005. This means that all of them were also produced after the Cultural Revolution in China (1966–1976), after the end of the Lao royalist regime in 1975, and the start of Communist rule in Laos (2 December 1975).

The contents of each preface detail the methods of the scribes who produced the manuscripts. The sources of some stories have been collected from older manuscripts, printed books, and interviews with elders. In one of the prefaces from Yunnan, the scribe provides a description of political events during the Cultural Revolution, while also expressing his feelings about the unfolding situation.

4.2 Non-textual elements in Tai Lü manuscripts

The non-textual, pictorial elements are instruments which have important roles and function in Tai Lü manuscripts, in addition to the paratexts.

We can find the variety forms of special ornamental symbols in the manuscripts. These not only make the manuscripts look beautiful and intriguing, but they serve a variety of functions to help the reader navigate the text. The symbols usually appear at the beginning and end of a story, chapter, or paragraph; they act to separate different parts of the text from each other, including the main text from the colophon.

Frames are also used for emphasizing certain titles of texts, titles of chapters, the number of chapters, and key words, both within the text and in margins of the page. The frames help to distinguish these notes from the main texts.

Apart from ornamental symbols and frames, punctuation is another element which is usually used to separating words and/or phrases in the content, especially in Pali texts and Pali-Tai Lü texts manuscripts.

4.3 The development of Tai Lü manuscripts

The 222 dated Tai Lü manuscripts in my corpora of Yunnan and northern Laos can be divided into the following three periods:

1) Corpus One: Yunnan

a.) Period One: 1884 – 1949 CE: The Communist victory in Yunnan and the end of the traditional *cao fa* system (1950);

b.) Period Two: 1950 – 1979 CE: The beginning of the Cultural Revolution (1965) which lasted fifteen years, during which manuscript production came to an end;

c.) Period Three: 1980 – 2013 CE: The start of the reform period marking the revival of Tai Lü manuscript culture.

2) Corpus Two: Northern Laos

- a.) Period One: 1883 – 1914 CE: The beginning of direct French colonial rule (1914);
- b.) Period Two: 1915 – 1974 CE: The end of the Lao royalist regime (1974);
- c.) Period Three: CE 1975 – 2003 CE: the start communist victory (1975).

From the evidence collected from all these corpora, I arrive at some preliminary conclusions concerning the characteristics of Tai Lü manuscripts and appearance and function of paratexts in these manuscripts.

Before Western and, in the case of Sipsòng Panna, Chinese influence began to have a significant impact on traditional Tai manuscript culture, the Tai Lü manuscripts still exhibited two standard forms: mulberry paper binding on the top of the page and concertina-like folded books. Moreover, mulberry paper and black ink were the only writing material respectively writing substance used to produce manuscripts. Furthermore, the main text is written in *linea continua*, the scribes only occasionally separate words, phrases or sentences by a space and/or punctuation, and a blank line is inserted to separate the colophon from the main text.

As for paratexts, special symbols are used to identify the beginning and the end of texts, chapter or paragraphs; rectangular frames are used to highlight certain key words within the text, such as short sub-chapters. Furthermore, neatly framed sub-headings in the left margin indicate the title of a chapter, the number of the palm-leaf fascicle from which the manuscript was presumably copied, or other important bits of information which are provided as the paratexts in margin of the page.

In period two of both corpora, the manuscripts begin to exhibit the influence of print technology and modern printing styles. Industrial paper starts to be used to produce manuscripts. The beginning of the new paragraphs are indented and punctuation, such as round brackets (), is used in a manner akin to printed books. Moreover, dates referring to the Common Era dates based on the solar calendar being to appear in Tai Lü numerals in the colophons as a substitute for Cūḷasakaraja (CS) system based on the lunar calendar. However, the majority of manuscripts in this period are consistent with those of period one so Western influence does not yet appear to be strong in this regard.

In the last period, the influence of modern print technology is clearly seen in the production of these manuscripts; this is despite the fact that many of the Tai Lü manuscripts of this later period continue to preserve the standard characteristics of the first period.

Through my research, I have found that binding of the some manuscripts has shifted from the top of the page to left-hand margin, like Western books. Moreover, there is an increasing use of industrial paper and ball point pens to produce manuscripts in comparison to the first two periods. Some scribes have started to copy texts into a note book to reproduce a manuscript. Some donors have even chose to use modern technology, such as a photocopier, to make manuscripts to donate to monasteries, rather than hire a scribe to copy the text.

Chinese characters, Thai letters, Arabic letters and numerals, Buddhist Era and Christian Era or Common Era (Tai Lü: international era) dates also are appear in the colophons.

In conclusion, the influence of Western, Chinese and, in some cases, Thai, print culture have had a strong effect on Tai Lü manuscripts. As such, while the above analysis, nonetheless, implies an attempt by Tai Lü scribes to the preserve the specific characteristics of traditional writing practices it seems like Tai Lü manuscript culture will continue to change and evolve.

Chapter 4

Analysis of the Contents of Paratexts in Tai Lü Manuscripts

As discussed in chapter three, Tai Lü manuscripts have several kinds of paratexts, such as text titles, prefaces, colophons, etc. They are very useful parts of the manuscripts because they can provide a lot of information for readers. In particular, colophons are an important source that may provide valuable information about scribes, donors and the manuscript itself. Moreover, in the manuscripts since the late twentieth century, prefaces have been appearing in Tai Lü manuscripts, apparently reflecting the influence of printed books.

1 Contents of Text Titles

1.1 Text titles

The text titles in Tai Lü manuscripts usually appear on the front and/or back cover folios. In some cases, scribes provide additional information not only on titles, but also pertaining to stories which have several versions, or are split into several sections and/or fascicles.

Tai Lü palm-leaf manuscripts contain a lot of stories with rather long narratives. Scribes always separate the contents into several fascicles (*phuk*). The recto side of each fascicle usually notes its sequence number, sometimes even listing the total number of fascicles belonging to the same manuscript. The first fascicle would normally be called *phuk ton* (or “initial fascicle”) followed by *phuk sòng* (“fascicle no. two”), etc. until reaching the final fascicle called *phuk pai*.¹ Later, when scribes copied the texts from palm-leaf to mulberry paper manuscripts, the contents are usually still divided into several chapters. Therefore, after the title of a text, scribes usually provide number and/or amount of fascicles of the stories. This can be seen the following examples:

Manuscript LS16: สุชาวัณณ ผูกถ้วน 10 (*Sucawanna phuk thon 10 / Sujāṇṇa, chapter 10*), written in Müang Long, Sipsòng Panna, and undated. The title text of the manuscript provides the title of the story and a number of the fascicle, “หน้าทับพายเค้า สุชาวัณณ ผูกถ้วน 10” (The front cover folio [contains the title] *Sucawanna, chapter No. 10*).

¹ See Bounleuth 2016, 42–44; Bounleuth and Grabowsky 2016, 4.



Figure No. 4.1: LS16 (Collection Grabowsky)

Manuscript YN126: บัวหอมพันกาบ ผูกถั้วน 6 (*Bo hòm pan kap phuk thon 6 / A thousand petals lotus, sixth fascicle*), written in Müang Cae, Sipsòng Panna, and undated. The title of the manuscript reads: “หน้าทับพายเค้าธำบัวหอมพันกาบ ผูกถั้วน 6 เปนผูกปลายจ้อยแด่” (The front cover folio [contains the title] *Bo hòm pan kap*, chapter No. 6 [which is] the last chapter).

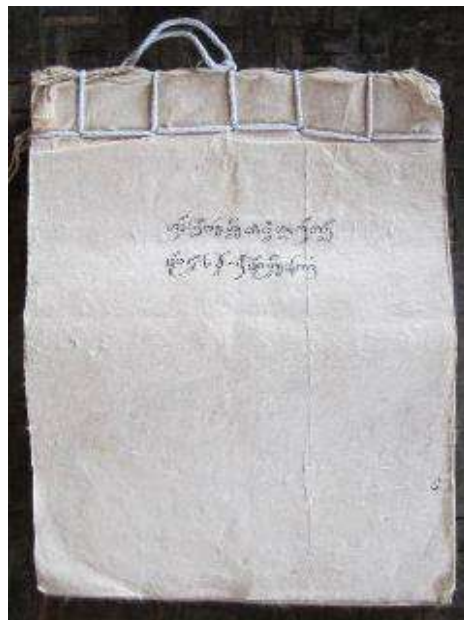


Figure No. 4.2: YN126 (Collection Grabowsky)

As mulberry paper manuscripts are easier to write and provide more space than palm-leaf manuscripts, moreover, scribes sometimes copy several *phuk* in the same volume, especially if they are part of the same text or story. In the context of paper manuscripts the meaning of *phuk* changes from “fascicle” to “chapter” or “sections”.

This is demonstrated by the manuscript **LS18: ธรรม์บัวรวงสา (*Tham borawongsa*)**, which was written in Müang Sing in 1982 CE². The title of the manuscript is ‘*Borawongsa*’. The scribe also provides the number of fascicles comprising this manuscript – that is the first, second, third, fourth and fifth *phuk* (here: chapters) – as well as the total number of fascicles of the story (fifteen *phuk*).

หน้าทับพายเค้าธรรม์บัวรวงสา

ผูกต้น ผูกสอง ผูกสาม ผูกสี่ ผูก 5

อยู่ด้วยกันนี้แล ทั้งหมดมี 15 ผูกปนพับ

ข้าแล เจ้าเอย จากคอยแล[เมืองสิง]...

This is the front cover folio of the religious manuscript [entitled] *Tham borawongsa*. The initial *phuk*, *phuk* 2, *phuk* 3, *phuk* 4 [and] *phuk* 5 have been put together in one folded manuscript comprising a total of 15 *phuk*. I come from Dòì Lae (in) Müang Sing.

Note that only the first five of a total of 15 *phuk* (chapters) have been recorded in this manuscript.

² This is the story about the Bodhisatta born as Prince Buarawong in the kingdom of Champa. He has an older brother named Suriya. When the two brothers has grown up, the second wife of the king names Kawai is afraid that they will be the future king because she wants her own son named Chaiyathat to become the future king. Therefore, one day she contrives up to call Buarawong and Suriya to her residence and then lies to everybody that they tried to rape her. The king believed his wife, thus driving the princes out from the town. Many years later, Buarawong and Suriya come back to the city again, but Kawai sets on the king to drive them out again. Then, the son of Kawai brings his army to kill them, but suddenly Kawai and her son are pulled to under the ground. Then, the king appoints Buarawong to be a king represents him. See Chankhanit 2016, 255–288.



Figure No. 4.3: LS18 (Collection Grabowsky)

Furthermore, in some multiple-text manuscripts, a list of text titles or chapters often appear on the front cover page. For example, in the manuscript **YN138**, titled คำขับเรียกผีเมือง 6 เมือง 8 บท (*Kham khap hek phi müang hok moeng paet bot / Poems invoking the guardian spirits of the müang, [a total of] eight poems*), which was written on industrial paper in Müang La in 2012 CE, the genre of the texts recorded in this manuscript is *kham khap*, which means “singing a poem”, while, *phi müang* means “goddess or guardians spirit of towns (*müang*)”. The name of the genre (*kham khap*) always precedes the title of the songs recorded by the scribe on the recto side of the front cover folio. As we can see on page four of the first chapter (“The *kam khap* calling the guardian spirits of Chiang Rung”), after the main text, the scribe makes the following invocation: “ก็เมืองี่เป็นเทวดาเลนาเจ้าทั้งหลายเอ๋ย” (The *phi müang* or guardian spirits³ of the polity are deities. O, all your lords). The contents of all six chapters pertain to the invocation of guardians/goddesses of six *müang* in Sipsòng Panna asking for protection. The purpose of the *kham khap* at the beginning is to call to the guardian spirits of Chiang Rung to guarantee protection. It says “เราไปไหนนิตี้ได้รื่องก็เมืองไปก่อรจิ่งดีห่อรมีไซ, จิงบ่ไลเสหน้า, จิงบ่ได้คกข้าเส เพิ่นทั้งหลาย” (If we call the *phi müang* before going to somewhere, may they all protect us from any kind of evil.)

³ The Tai Lü’s belief about the guardian spirits is the belief that inherits from the past. The Tai Lü guardian spirits can be divided into three levels that is 1). The guardian sirits of towns (Thai: ผีเมือง หรือ เทวดาเมือง); 2). The guardian spirit of villages (Thai: ผีบ้าน หรือ เทวดาบ้าน); and 3). The guardian spirits of houses (Thai: ผีเรือน หรือ เทวดาอารักข์). See Natcha 1998, 31–32.

The titles of the six chapters on the front cover folio of the manuscript are as follows:

คำขับเรียกผีเมือง 6 เมือง 8 บท

1. คำขับเรียกผีเมืองเมืองเชียงรุ่งบท 1

2. คำขับเรียกผีเมืองเมืองอำหลวง 2 บท

3. คำขับเรียกผีเมืองเมืองหลวงบท 1

4. คำขับเรียกผีเมืองเมืองนูนบท 1

5. คำขับเรียกผีเมืองเมืองภูงบท 1

6. คำขับเรียกผีเมืองเมืองลำด้ายเมืองแพน 2 บท

The *kam khap* (poem) calling the guardian spirits of six *müang* comprise eight poems.

The *kam khap* calling the guardian spirits of Chiang Rung: 1 poem.

The *kam khap* calling the guardian spirits of Moeng Ham Long: 2 poems.

The *kam khap* calling the guardian spirits of Moeng Long: 1 poem.

The *kam khap* calling the guardian spirits of Moeng Nun: 1 poem.

The *kam khap* calling the guardian spirits of Moeng Phong: 1 poem.

The *kam khap* calling the guardian spirits of Moeng La Dai and Moeng Paen: 2 poems.

It is the belief of the Tai Lü, as well as of other Tai ethnic groups, that each *müang* (i.e., polity) has its own set of guardian spirits which thus need to be invoked and placated in different ways. Thus different poems are needed for this purpose. At the same time, this manuscript points at the interrelatedness of the various (more than 30) *müang* of Sipsòng Panna through the same deep-rooted tradition of invoking their respective guardian spirits. The collector of these eight poems and scribe and owner of the manuscript, Ai Còi Ca Han, is based at Moeng La (see his biography in Chapter 2) which is a district town in the very southeast of Sipsòng Panna. Thus it is not astonishing that his perspective extends to various *müang* situated in the southeastern part of the autonomous prefecture. However, it also includes the capital Chiang Rung but does not extend to any of the *müang* on the west bank of the Mekong.



Figure No. 4.4: YN138 (Collection Grabowsky)

Another striking example of text titles is the industrial paper manuscript **YN140**: คำวจุลโพธิ์, คำวอาหาร 25, คำวคัมภีร์เถรจัน, คำวองคัลลปิประการ และคำวตำนานเม็ง (*Kao cunpothi, Khao awahan 25, Khao kamphi thelacan, Khao ong sip pakan, Khao tamnan moeng*), which is undated. This multiple-text manuscript has been written by the same scribe, Ai Còi Ca Han of Müang La, as manuscript YN138 cited before. On the front cover folio, the titles of five texts are provided, along with the respective number of pages of each text. However, the manuscript records only the texts of stories one to four, but not that of the fifth story. The first four texts are related to law and didactic literature.⁴ However, while the last and fifth title on the front cover folio is called คำวตำนานเม็ง (*Khao tamnan moeng* / Epic about the chronicle of the *müang*) but inside shows the title is กล่าวสักขาตพระเจ้าโคตม 5 พัน วัสสา มีสันนิ (*Klao sakkhad pha cao kotama ha pan wassa* / About the era of Lord Buddha Gotama [comprising] 5000 years) its content is about three events, occurring up new Chulasakkarat in the reigns of the kings Ajatasattu, Siricandharaaphaiyathuthakhamani and Anuruddha. After that, the text continues talking about the Dasavidha-rājadhamma (10 Royal Virtues). As the scribe added *Khao tamnan moeng* on the list, then cut it off, maybe it is because the story is too long to combined in this manuscript.

⁴ *Kao cunpothi, Khao kamphi thelacan* and *Khao ong sip pakan* are didactic literature, while *Khao awahan 25* is a customary law text.

พับหน่วยนี้มี 5 คำว เป็นพับช้อยชาหานคือว่าเท่าข้างข้าง

1. คำวจุโพธิ 25 ห้อง. <มี 23 หน้าแล>
2. คำวอาวหาน 25 <มี 40 หน้าแล>
3. คำวจาด้วยกัมพีเถียรจัน ((สุนทขีคั่วแล)) <มี 9 หน้าแล>
4. คำวองคสิบประกาน <มี 5 หน้าแล>
5. คำวตำนานเม็งมีสันนิ ((คิต้าวทั้ง 5 คั่ว <มี 7 หน้า>

This manuscript has five stories. This manuscript belongs to Còi Ca Han or Tao Sang Yuang.

Khao cunlapothi 25 hong: 23 pages

Khao awahan 25: 40 pages

Khao kamphi thelacan (or Sunthakhüt): 9 pages

Khao ongkha sip pakan: 5 pages

Khao tamnan müang (or Khati tao tang 5): 7 pages

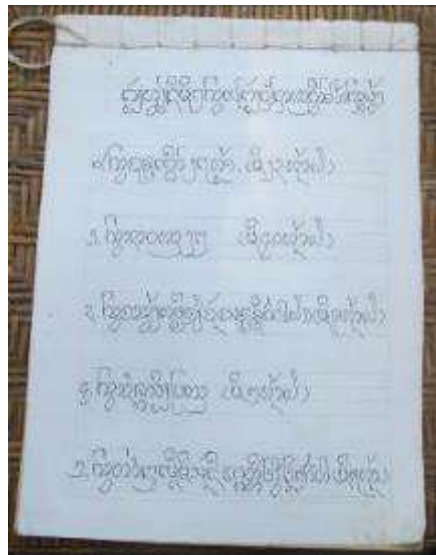


Figure No. 4.5: YN140 (Collection Grabowsky)

In some manuscripts, the scribes also mention the total number of folios of manuscripts, such as the manuscript **YN101**: ลักพื้นเม็งเม็งแลมหลวงหอคำ (*Lik pün moeng moeng laem long hò kham*), written in Müang Laem in 2001 CE. On the front cover folio, the scribe provides the title of the text as *Pün moeng laem long hò kham* (*The Moeng Laem Chronicle*), the purpose of writing the text, an admonishment to potential borrowers to return the manuscript

and ensure that it will not get lost, and the date when the writing was finished. A description of the length of the manuscript is also provided.

หน้าปก

: หน้าทับพายเค้า : ลึกพื้นเมิงเมิงแลมหลวงหอคำ : ไว้กับเมิงข้าแล ไผ่ยืมกา ลีหื้อเอา
มาส่ง ยังธาตุหลวง ที่นั่นแท้แล ท่านเหย อย่าหื้อม้นหาย เผกออกมาในปืรวงได้ : จุฬ
สักราชเจ้าได้ 1363 ตัว ปีนันแล

(เดิน 5 ไหม 3 คำ เต็มแล้ว)

: มีสลัปไหวข้าแล :

Front folio cover

Front folio cover: I have written *Pün moeng laem long hò kham* (The Moeng Laem Chronicle) to be preserved for our country. Anyone who borrows [the manuscript] must bring it back to the That Long (“Great Stupa”), just there. It must not get lost. I finished writing [the manuscript] in the *ruang sai* year, CS 1363 (on the third waxing day of the fifth month).⁵

[The manuscript] comprises 40 [folios].

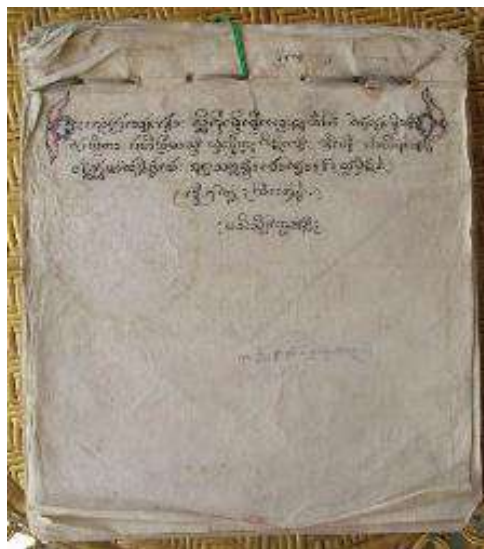


Figure No. 4.6: YN101 (Collection Grabowsky)

⁵ 1363 Phalguna 3 = Thursday, 14 February 2002.

Furthermore, there are variant versions of some manuscripts depending on where the manuscript was produced. This is evident in manuscript **LS13: ชัมมนคร ฉบับเมืองบ่อน้อย (*Tham nakòn chabap moeng bò nòi / Nakòn, Bò Nòi version*)**, which was written in 1993 at Wat Ban Nam Tung, the only Tai Lü village in the plain of Luang Namtha district, 1993 CE. This manuscript is the thirteenth section of the *Vessantara Jātaka*, named *Nakòn* (Thai: นคร; Nakhòn; city; town). The *Vessantara Jātaka* is the last story of the *Dasa Jātaka*, the ten stories of the Bodhisatta before he was born as Gautama Buddha.⁶ *Vessantara Jātaka* is the most popular story of the Buddha's past lives. The story is about a compassionate prince, Vessantara, who gives away everything he owns, including his children and wife, thereby displaying the virtue of perfect charity. The story is long, being composed of 13 sections (kaṇḍa)(Tassapon, Himmava, Dana, Vanapaves, Chuchaka, Jullaphon, Mahaphon, Kumara, Madri, Sakkabap Maharaja, Chokasat and Nakara), and there are a number of versions of the story titles which may differ according to the location of the scribe. As such, scribes usually provide the name of the version in the title of the text on the front cover page. Manuscripts recording the popular *Vessantara Jātaka* are widely sponsored in the Tai and Lao world.⁷

“นคร ฉบับเมืองบ่อน้อย ชำแล” (*nakòn chabap moeng bò nòi*)

Nakòn, Moeng Bò Nòi version



Figure No. 4.7: LS13 (Collection Grabowsky)

⁶ The Vessantara Jātaka has been praised as the most important of the ten longest birth-stories of the Buddha Jāataka tales because it is the story of Vessantara Bodhisatta which is the last live of the Bodhisatta before he was born as Gautama Buddha. Moreover, this existence as Prince Vessantara is the life where the Bodhisatta performs meritorious acts in accordance with ten virtues, that are Generosity (dāna), Moral conduct (sīla), Renunciation (nekkhamma), Wisdom (paññā), Energy (viriya), Patience (khanti), Truthfulness (sacca), Determination (adhiṭṭhāna), Loving-kindness (mettā), and Equanimity (upekkhā). However, the virtue that he did very obviously was Dana as he donated his beloved wife and children for succeeding the performance. See Pathitta 2010, 152.

⁷ *Vessantara Jātaka* manuscripts can be found in the following digital repositories or libraries 1) Archive of Lan Na manuscripts, Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University (<http://www.sri.cmu.ac.th/~elanna/manu/index.php/site/login>); 2) Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM) (<http://lannamanuscripts.net/en>), and 3) Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (DLLM) (<http://www.laomanuscripts.net/en/index>), the scores for Vessantara Jataka manuscripts are more than one hundred, which shows the popularity of this story in the Thai-Lao world.

Thus, as noted above, the cover folio of Tai Lü manuscripts not only provide information regarding the title of the recorded text, but they may also detail the number of *phuk* (chapters), the total number of folios, the name of the specific version of the recorded text, and a list of chapters or titles, all of which constitute a table of contents in a rudimentary form.

1.2 Intertitles

Titles usually appearing on front and back cover folios, they can also appear at the beginning of the main text as intertitles. We can see this, for instance, through manuscript **YN99: ^{พื้น}ผืนเมืองแลม** (*Pün moeng laem* / **The Chronicle of Moeng Laem**) –written in Müang Laem in 2001 CE and depicted in Figure no. 4.8 – in which the title, ‘^{ลือ}ลือพื้นเมืองเมืองแลม’ (*Lik pün moeng laem*, “Lüang Laem Chronicle”) immediately precedes the main text.

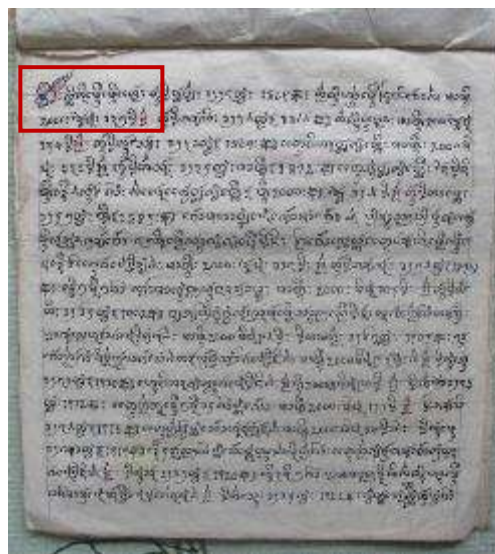


Figure No. 4.8: YN99 (Collection Grabowsky)

Moreover, intertitles often appear in multiple-text manuscripts between the end of an earlier text or chapter and the beginning of the next one.

An example of this is the multiple-text manuscript **YN176: ^{ธัมม}ธัมมหลวง** (*Tham long* / **Great Dhamma**), which was written in Müang Ting, Gengma county in 1986 CE, and comprises four stories. The titles of each story have been placed at the centre of a page.

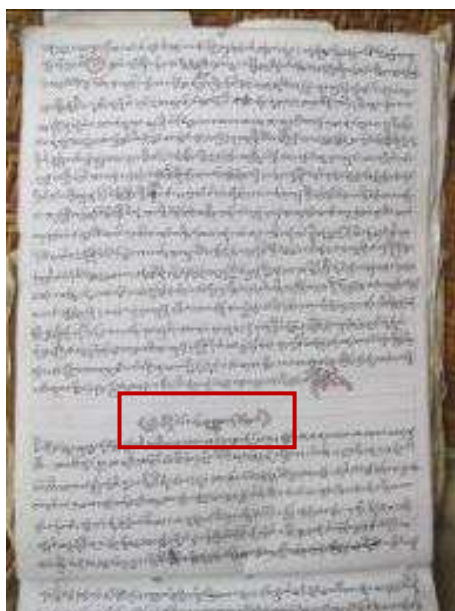


Figure No. 4.9: YN176 (Collection Grabowsky)

Manuscript LS12: เวสสันดรชาดก (*Wetsandòn cadok* / *Vessantara Jataka*), written in Müang Sing in 2002 CE contains the *Vessantara Jataka* mentioned above. This manuscript compiles all thirteen chapters (*khaṇḍa*). As such, the title of each new chapter precedes the commencement of the corresponding text. This allows the reader to clearly identify or search for the chapter that they would like to read.

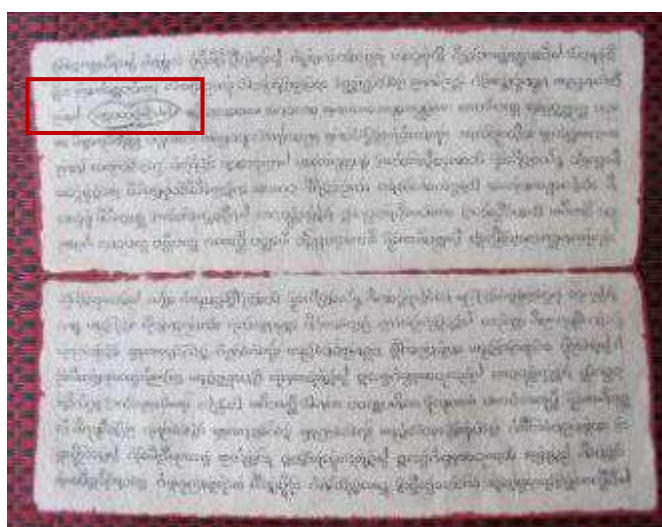


Figure No. 4.10: YN176 (Collection Grabowsky)

2. Paratexts in the margins of a page

2.1 Paratexts in the left-hand margin

Paratexts in a margin of the page in Tai Lü manuscripts made of mulberry paper usually appear on the left-hand side. The contents of these paratexts fall into only a few categories:

2.1.1 Titles of texts and number of fascicles

Some manuscripts list the title of the text again in the left-hand margin when the story starts. This is especially true in case of multiple-text manuscripts and manuscripts which consist of many *phuk*. These paratexts are very useful in helping the reader identify where a new story or chapter begins.

One example of this is the industrial paper manuscript **YN91: ทสปัญหาลองแพะคำ (*Thatsa panha alòng phae kham* / Ten questions of the golden goat)**, which was written in Müang Nga, a subdistrict of the autonomous Tai county of Moeng Laem (Menglian) at the borders to Myanmar, in 2009 CE. It is composed of seven *phuk*. Where the following *phuk* starts, the scribe provides the title of the text as well as the *phuk* number in each chapter. One can see the paratext in the left-hand margin of the page in Figure 4.11 (on the recto side of folio 21 of this manuscript), which reads: ช้าลองแพะคำ ผูก 7 สุดปลาย (*Tham alòng phae kham* / Golden goat who is the Bodhisatta), the seventh *phuk*, the last *phuk*).

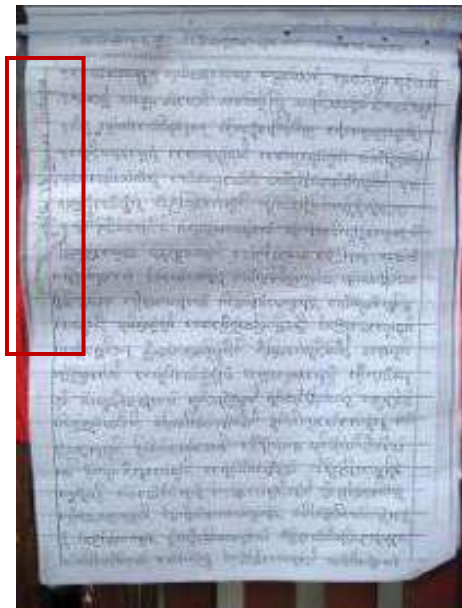


Figure No. 4.11: YN91 (Collection Grabowsky)

2.1.2 Certain important contents

Some long manuscripts are written continuously as a running text (*linea continua*). In these, the scribes often briefly explain the gist of the lines, paragraph or section in the left-hand margin for providing topics, main issues and/or important events to enable the reader to find quickly the topics he or she is interested in. One example of this is the undated manuscript **YN97: พับปชาเม็งแลม** (*Pap paca müang laem* / **Chronicle of Müang Laem**) written in Müang Laem, which details the chronicle of Müang Laem. Specifically, it records several important historical events which occurred in Müang Laem between 1864 and 1992. This on the recto side of the folio 11, depicted in Figure No. 4.12, mentions several events. One of these details a very important event concerning the ruler of Müang Laem, Tao Fai Yung or Cao Hò Kham Thao (The Elderly Ruler of the Golden Palace), who passed away in 1933. As such, the scribe noted this event in red ink in the left-hand margin of the page as follows: เจ้าหอคำเก่าตาย “Cao Hò Kham Thao died”.

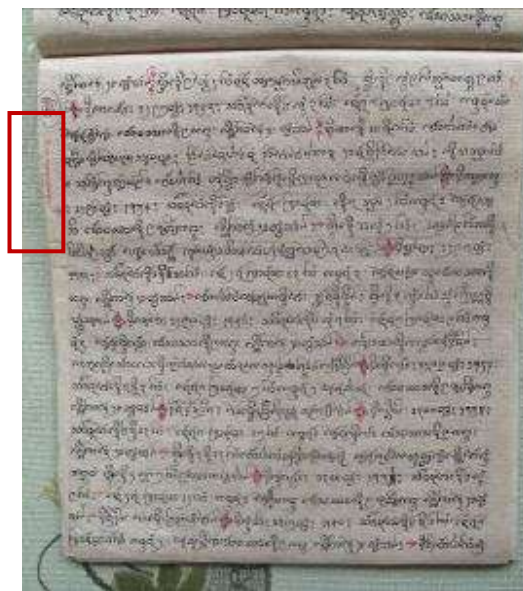


Figure No. 4.12: YN97 (Collection Grabowsky)

The manuscript **LS75: ตำรายา คาถาต่าง ๆ** (*Tamla ya khatha tang tang* / **Folk medical's recipes and incantations**), written in Müang Sing in 1927 CE, contains several recipes for traditional folk medicine. Figure No. 4.13 shows a traditional recipe to help alleviate headaches. Thus, the scribe noted this in the left-hand margin of the folio: “ยาเจ็บหัว” (*ya cep hua*; medicine for curing headache).

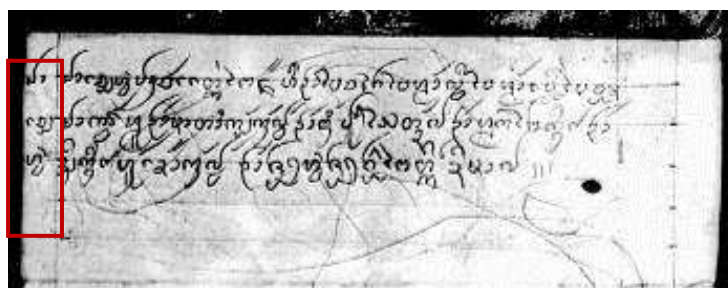


Figure No. 4.13: LS75 (Collection Grabowsky)

2.2 Paratexts in the right-hand margin

While paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts usually appear in the left-hand margin of a page, I have found some very rare cases where paratexts also appear on the right-hand margin.

The manuscript YN97: *ພັບປາເມິງແລມ* (*Pap pasa moeng laem*), for example, also has a short note of events written in red ink in the right-hand margin of the page. One event in this folio, shown in Figure No. 4.14) pertains to the construction of Vihāra at Chiang Ngoek Monastery. Here, in the right-hand margin, alongside the text describing the event, the scribe has made a note that “ตั้งวัดเชียงเจ็ก” (Wat Chiang Ngoek [has been] established).

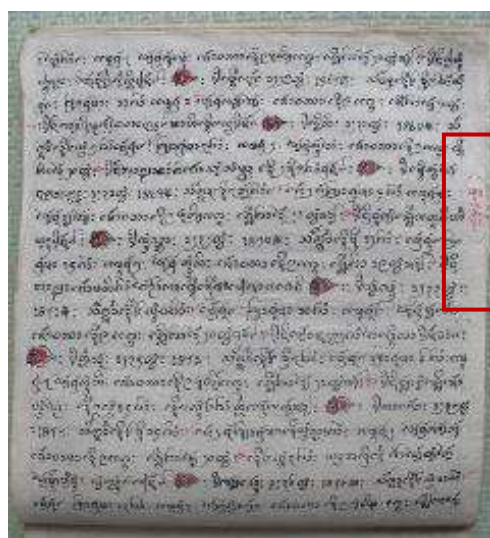


Figure No. 4.14: YN97 (Collection Grabowsky)

2.3 Paratexts on the top of a page

Besides paratext appearing in the left- and right-hand margins of a page, some Tai Lü manuscript have sections crossed out, although these are very rare occurrence. For instance, some pages of the manuscript **YN97: พับปชาเมืองแลม (*Pap paca müang laem*)** have been crossed out in red ink. In Figure No.4.15, the scribe notes at the top of the page that it has been ‘cancelled’. This notification is first written as “ไฉนบ่เอา” (this folio is no longer needed) in red ink and then “พ่ายไฉนบ่เอาเข้าแล” ([the text] below is no longer needed) in black.

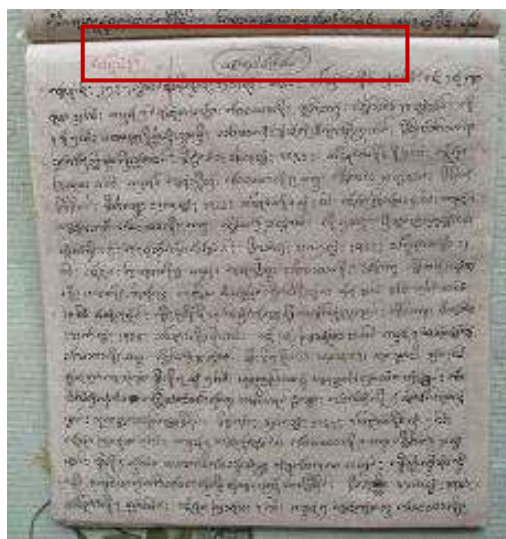


Figure No. 4.15: YN97 (Collection Grabowsky)

Unless a paratext appears at the top of the page, as discussed above, scribes often insert page numbers in Tai Lü manuscripts at the top or bottom of a page. Even though pagination might not be considered as a genuine paratext, it serves as a convenient navigation tool for the reader found in Tai Lü manuscripts besides the non-textual elements examined in Chapter Three. This is evident in the manuscript **YN90: สุชาวันณะ ผูก 7 (*Suca wanna phuk 7 / Sucha Wanna, seventh fascicle*)**, written in Moeng Nim Tai in 2011 CE. Here, the scribe inserts pagination in Tai Lü numerals and numbers written as words at the top of verso folios. In the figures below the scribe inserted the number two as a numeral on the left-hand side, whereas on the right-hand side he wrote “แปด” (/paet/; eight) at the top of the page.

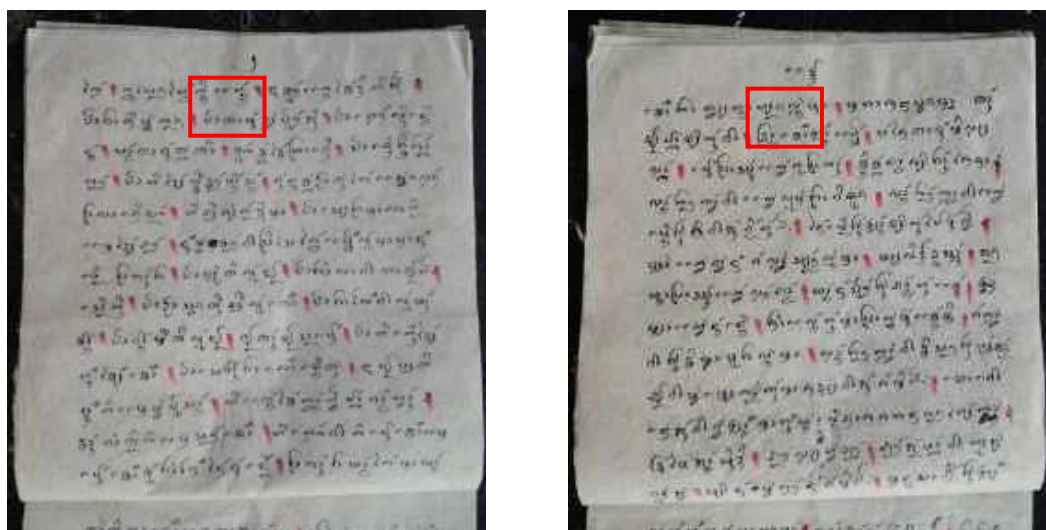


Figure No. 4.16-17: YN90 (Collection Grabowsky)

3. Prefatory material in Tai Lü manuscripts: concerns of scribes

In the 290-odd Tai Lü manuscripts from Sipsòng Panna and other Tai speaking areas in the south of Yunnan in China, as well as northern Laos, which make up the corpus of this dissertation, I have found only eight manuscripts that have prefaces. Seven of these are from southern Yunnan and the other is from northern Laos. These manuscripts comprise the following:

1. YN6: หนังสือพื้นเมืองลำ *Nangsi Pün Moeng La* (The chronicle of Müang La). Tai Lü manuscript written on mulberry paper, written and owned by Ai Chòi Cha Han, Moeng La, 25 ff° (1996 CE).
2. YN7: พอบพื้น 12 พันนา แสนหวิฟ้า *Pop Pün Sipsòng Panna Saenwi Fa* (The chronicle of Sipsòng Panna). Tai Lü manuscript written on mulberry paper, written and owned by Phò Ai Tan, Ban Foei Long, Müang Long, 30 ff° (1991 CE).
3. YN124: คำนิทานศาสนาเมืองหลวงอดิทัมมรัฐบุรี (ถ้วน 3) *Khao Nithan Satsana Moeng Long Atikamma Latthabuli Thuan Sam* (Religious Legends of Moeng Long Atikamma Raṭhapuri, vol. 3). Tai Lü manuscript written on mulberry paper, written and owned by Ai Saeng Nòi, Ban Foei Lung, Moeng Long, 74 ff° (1994 CE).
4. YN185: พื้นเมือง 12 ปันนา ชี 1 ชี 2 ชี 3 *Pün Moeng Sipsòng Panna Thi Nüing Thi Sòng Thi Sam* (Religious Legends of Moeng Long Atikamma Raṭhapuri, vol. 1, 2 and 3). Tai Lü

manuscript written on mulberry paper, written and owned by Ai Saeng Nòi, Ban Foei Lung, Moeng Long, 75 ff° (2001–2002 CE).

5. YN186: พื้นเมืองดึกดำบรรพ์ภูติ หน่วย ธิ 1 *Pün Moeng Atikamma Latthabuli Nuai Thi Ning* (The Chronicle of Atikamma Raṭhapuri, vol. 1). Tai Lü manuscript written on mulberry paper, written and owned by Ai Saeng Nòi, Ban Foei Lung, Moeng Long. 77 ff° (1991 CE).
6. YN192: ตำนานพระสิงหลวงเมืองเชียงใหม่ *Tamnan Pha Sing Luang Chiang Mai* (The Chronicle of Wat Phra Sing Luang Chiang Mai). Tai Lü manuscript written on industrial paper kept by Chao Maha Suliyawong, Ban Thin, Chiang Rung. 62 ff° (2005 CE).
7. YN197: เจ้าสิบสองปาง *Cao sipsòng pang* (The twelve reigns of rulers in Sipsòng Panna). Tai Lü manuscript written on industrial paper kept by Chao Maha Suliyawong, Ban Thin, Chiang Rung. 81 ff° (1986 CE).
8. LS21: ประวัติศาสตร์ลาว-ไทย *Pawasat Lao-Tai* (Lao-Tai History). Tai Lü manuscript written on industrial paper, Ban Wiang Nüa, Luang Namtha. 160 pages (1987 CE).

All of these manuscripts were produced during the period 1983–2005 CE, that is to say, after the end of the Cultural Revolution in China (1966–1976). As mentioned in Chapter Three examining the historical development of paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts, the paratexts in the manuscripts produced in period three (1980–2013) changed considerably in terms of their layout, table of contents, indentation of paragraphs and the appearance of prefaces. As such, we can assume that these manuscripts were significantly influenced by printed books.

In my corpus, the prefaces of Tai Lü manuscripts are called “ว่าแจ้ง” (*wa caeng*), which literally means “information, advice”, but may also be rendered as “introduction”. They mostly appear prior to the main text, except in YN192 where it appears at the end. In manuscript YN124, the preface is inserted in the table of contents.

The prefaces of the eight manuscripts listed above can be divided into two categories with regard to content:

3.1 Political events and scribal criticism

3.2 Intentions and concerns of scribes (and donors)

3.1 Political events and scribal criticism

Additional information, such as the historical context of the manuscript, is sometimes mentioned in the preface. One preface I examined, for instance, refers to the cruelty of the Cultural Revolution in Sipsòng Panna.

The manuscript YN197, “*Cao sipsòng pang*” (The twelve reigns of the rulers of Sipsòng Panna), is written on industrial paper and contains an astrological treatise called *Pakkatün* (“Calendar”). It was copied by Cao Maha Khanthawong (1925–2013), a former government employee from an aristocratic background, who became a productive scribe after retirement and a scholar most knowledgeable in the history and culture of Sipsòng Panna. Cao Maha Khanthawong copied numerous secular texts on notebooks made of industrial paper.

The preface of this manuscript refers to the situation after Sipsòng Panna, which like the rest of Yunnan, came under the leadership of the Communist Party in early 1950; that is, the “Gang of Four”, whose policies during the height of the Cultural Revolution aimed at destroying the cultural identity of the ethnic minorities. Countless old Tai manuscripts were burned or otherwise destroyed during the dark years of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). After 1982, the situation in Sipsòng Panna normalised and the local population was again allowed to practice its religion and ethnic culture. The traditional literature of the national minorities was revived. After that in 1984, literary experts came together to reconstruct a corpus of traditional Tai Lü literature by collating old extant manuscripts and interviewing elderly people. In these newly arranged manuscripts, the compilers organized the contents by themes; for instance, the stories related to religion were grouped together under the label “religion” (*sāsana*), whereas the stories about traditions were placed under the title “traditions”. Unlike many older manuscripts, different themes were not mixed together.

The Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), furthermore, had profound impact on the Tai Lü culture, especially the cruelty of ‘The Gang of Four’ had disastrous effects. The impacts of this period are detailed in the first three paragraphs of the long preface of a manuscript entitled “*Cao sipsòng pang*” (The Twelve Eras of Rulers -YN 197), from Chiang Rung, Sipsòng Panna, dated 1986.

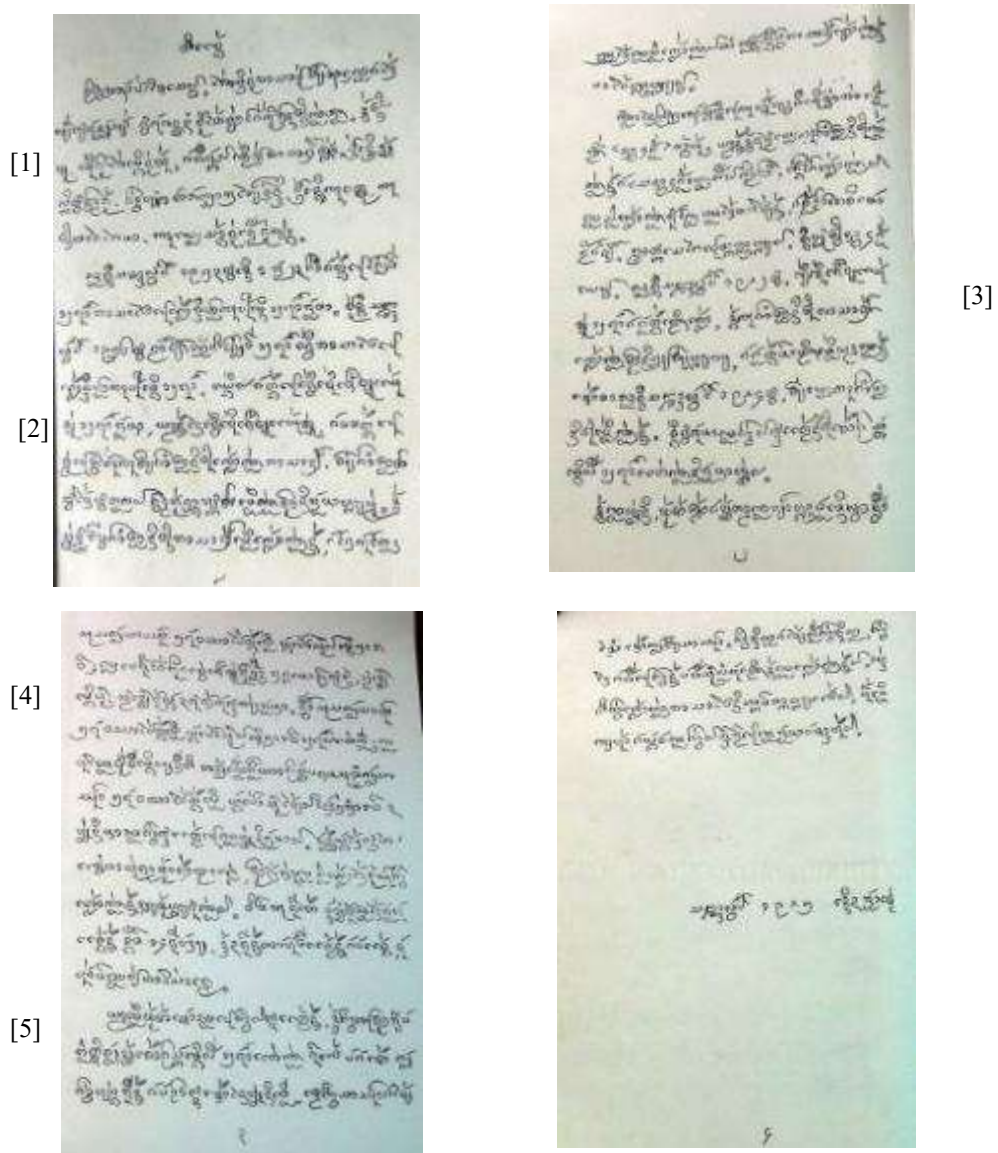


Photo 2: recto

Photo 2: verso

Figure No. 4.18-21: YN197 (Collection Grabowsky)

The first and second paragraphs of this manuscript refer to the relatively liberal atmosphere in Sipsòng Panna after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. During this period, Tai Lü people were supported by the Chinese Communist authorities, which improved their quality of life, for example, in the domains of education and public health. This included the establishing an editorial committee to collect and conserve a large number of the Tai Lü manuscripts. This also served to transmit indigenous knowledge, for instance, literature and traditional Tai Lü medicinal recipes:

ว่าแจ้ง

ประเทียเราปอຍໄພແລ້ວ, ໄກ່ເມິງຮູ້ກາສາອຸຝ່າຍຣາຮກອ່ງຄືໄດ້ເລີຍເປັນກັນ
ນັບເສຍ ສັງກັນພັນຮນອຸໄດ້ ສ່ວງໂຄ້ງຮານທາງກ່ອນອອນ. ດັ່ງທາງວຸຍ, ເຈີນຟູໄກ່ເມິງຮູ້
ດ້ານ, ຄືຄືອນັກແຕ່ເຕັມຮ່ອຍກາສານ້ອຍທັງຫລາຍ, ປັງເນິງດ້ວຍ ລືກດ້ວຍຄວາມຮູ້, ຕ່າງຫຍກຍາ
ຣັກສາອໄກຍຮີວິດ, ປັງເນິງກາວັດຖຸ, ກາທາງລະໄວໄປມາ, ກາຍະສ້າງຮູ້ເຮືອຮູ້ຫຍ່າງ.

[1] After the liberation of our country the members of all ethnic groups were treated equally by the government authorities in all fields. They were united under the Chinese working class. The Central Committee of the Communist Party and the rank and file of the masses did their utmost to support all ethnic minorities, develop their education and elevate the level of knowledge, improve medical treatment, raise the standard of living, improve roads and infrastructure, [in sum] to build up everything.

ຮອດເຖິງສາດລວກປີ 1953 ຕົວ ເດີນ 1 ອອກ 23 ຕຳ ຄືຕັ້ງເປັນໂຄບທີ່ 12 ພັນນາກາສາໄທເປນ
ເຄົ້າຄືປອກກາ ບ້ານເມິງ 12 ພັນນາອອກມາ. ອຸ່ງເຖິງສັກສາດລວກປີ 1956 ຕົວ ຄືມາເປັນຮ້ອງ
ວ່າໂຄບທີ່ 12 ພັນນາເຮົາກາສາໄທເປນເຄົ້າຄືປອກກາບ້ານເມິງ 12 ພັນນາ. ເຢິງ 1 ຄືຕັ້ງເປນ
ເຮົາເຈີນເຮົາຮູ້ເຮົາຮູ້ 12 ພັນນາອອກມາ, ຍາມນັ້ນໃນເຮົາເຈີນເຮົາຮູ້ເຮົາຮູ້ ຮູ້, ຄືມາຕັ້ງເປນຮູ້
ເປນຮວງ ປ້ານກາຝ່າຍຄຳທອງນິທານເກ່າກ່ອນກາສານ້ອຍ, ຝ່າຍຄຳທອງອາຫ້ວໄມ້ຫ້ວດອກແຕ
ຄວາມຮູ້ ຮາງຫຍກອາເມອກ່ອນຮູ້ນືອອກມາຫລາຍຮູ້. ດັ່ງຮູ້ຮູ້ຝ່າຍຄຳທອງນິທານກາສາ
ນ້ອຍເມອກ່ອນນັ້ນ, ຄືໂຮກັນເກະ ຮອມໄດ້ຮູ້ປອກສອເກ່າກ່ອນແລ້ວ ກັບທັງເຖິງຄຳກາສາ
ນ້ອຍເກ່າກ່ອນນັ້ນມາໄວ້ຫລວງຫລາຍແລ້ວ.

[2] On 23 January 1953, the Sipsong Panna Tai (Dai) Autonomous Prefecture was established. Later, in 1956, the name was changed to Sipsong Panna Autonomous Tai (Dai) Prefecture. Furthermore, the Political Consultative Committee was officially founded as an institution. The traditional literature of the ethnic minorities flourished. People who appreciated traditional literature of the ethnic minorities collected large numbers of old manuscripts – both secular and religious – and material artefacts.

Conversely, in the third paragraph, the author describes the terrible situation in Sipsong Panna when the power of Gang of Four⁸ came to power. At that time, the people who worked on traditional literatures were persecuted, and a large number of ancient artifacts and old manuscripts, which had been collected and preserved, were burned and destroyed. This

⁸ The Gang of Four (1966-1977) comprised Jiang Qing (Mao Zedong's wife), Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan and Wang Hongwen. This group held power during the Cultural Revolution. They expressed radical views and supported the persecution of anyone who did not follow Mao's directives (Xiaobing, 2012, 131–133).

continued until 1982 when the situation in Sipsong Panna returned to be in peace and the study of traditional Tai Lü literature was revived.

ดูมาในประวัติเราบังเกิดเป็นกานหย่งหยาวคือเว็นข้าว่าคำเค่อหมิ่น <ชาว 4 ค่อ> ม้างลู่. ยามนั้นตั้ง คนชมเยกานคำทองนิทานเก่าก่อนนั้นคือเสชาว 4 ค่อเยะหื้อแลฟุ้งซ้ำ , เล็งโกเก่าก่อนแลพอบสอเก่าก่อนอันเกาะ หอมได้มาไฉน, คีจ้อเอาไปเผาคีมีบ่น้อย , พาดกเสไปเป็นมากหลวงหลายแล. ถึงบุบท่าวชาว 4 ค่อเสแล้ว. รอดถึงสักขาดลวกปี 1982 คัว, เช่วเจิ่นเช่วยแชนซุ่ย 12 พันนา คีพอกตั้งเหมินเกา, ดังกานคำทองนิทาน ภาษา น้อยเก่าก่อนฝูงนิหลายฝ่ายหลายพาย, คีพอกตั้งมีเหมินเมื่อยามนั้น เข้ามารอดถึง สักขาดลวกปี 1984 คัว, ฝ่ายเยะ กานคำทองนิทานเมื่อก่อนนั้น, จึงชักกันมารวมท่าวแล กดแต่มินทานเจ้ากระสัดเม็งลือ 12 พันนาแต่ก่อนนือออกมา หน่วย 1.

[3] Later, our country was plunged into chaos when the Gang of Four destroyed the people. At that time, people who studied traditional literature were prosecuted. The Gang of Four created confusion. All the ancient material artefacts and old manuscripts were taken [by the Gang of Four] to be burned. Thus a huge amount of manuscripts were thrown into the fire. After the demise of the Gang of Four, this time of confusion still lasted until 1982 when the situation in the Dai Autonomous Prefecture of Sipsong Panna returned to normal. The study of traditional literature of the ethnic minorities revived.

In addition to a critical evaluation of political events following the Communist victory in Yunnan in January 1950, which culminates in an open and rather courageous critique of the ultra-leftist policies of the Cultural Revolution, the historical background of the text also appears in the fourth and final paragraphs of this lengthy preface. The scribes explain that the text is composed from three manuscripts, as well as interviews with elderly people who had read the old manuscripts. The text is as follows:

ดังพอบหน่วยนิ, ผู้ข้าทั้งหลายคีด้วยตามพอบภยาหลวงชอกเม็งลงงชื่อว่าสุสกับป สาสนา 5 พันวัสสาไป ตั้งเทอ ยังเป่าสุนแลเม็งอาร์วี; พอบแชนโคฟู้แจ่วเช่วยฝู ชูย ขาง อักโกโมฟิเชียงรัง, สมเค็มเม็งหุน, สมเค็มจูปลัง 3 คน ช่วยกันกคก่ายออกมา, ชื่อว่า สุสกับปาสนา 5 พันวัสสาไปตั้งเทอ ยังเป่าสุนแล เม็งอาร์วี 12 พันนาแต่ก่อน; พอบ หานานจอมรุ่งจ้อเม็งรายชื่อว่า จาด้วยเชื้อเคอมหากระสัดปถมสุญญกับปาสนา 5 พัน วัสสาไปตั้งเทอ ยังเป่า สุนไ่ว้แล ในโซอาร์วี 3 หน่วยนิมารวมท่าวกดแต่มินพอบ หน่วยนือออกมาแล นอกนั้นยังได้ลงไปแ่วหาสู่ถาม ผู้เฒ่าคุณแก่, ฝูงได้อ่านพอบสอ เก่าได้รู้ฮินท่าวเก่าก่อนนั้นหลายผู้หลายคนก่อนแล ว่ามี 17 ชิ่นเจ้า บัดเดียวอัน ทองได้

ออกหันเจ้านั้น จึงมี 14 ชื่นบ่คาย, ดัง 3 ชื่นนั้นหาบ่หันที่แต่มั่นคืบแจ้ง, วันหน้ามี
พอบค้อยหาใส่แถม

ยามเมื่อผู้ข้าเขารอมเปนท้าวแลกดแต่มั่น, ตั้งท้าวگانฝูงอันบ่พอดิจับด้วยเจ้ากระ
สัดเมิงลือ 12 พันนา แต่ก่อน (คิน) แท้ก็เข้ากับท้าวหย่างอื่นนั้น คืบเอาคเเข้าในหน่วย
นิเพื่อ เทมท้าวศาสนาไว้ใส่เข้ากับฝ่ายศาสนา, ท้าวริดคองก็ไว้ก่อท้าวริดคอง, ท้าว
ใดลือคือเป็นท้าว นั้น บ่หื้อสูลอกันเหม็นดังพอบเก่านั้นแล เหตุว่าท้าวเก่า ก่อน
ภาษาไทหนักมีมากมายแท้แล, หนีเมอพายหน้าก็ยังจักรอมท้าวแลอีคิมเป็นพอบอ
ออกมาบ่ขาดหันแล

สัปดาห์ 1985 เดือน 3 ออก 10 [ชม]

[4] We all [wrote/composed] this manuscript by following the
manuscript of Phaya Long Thòk of Moeng La called *Susakap
satsana ha pan watsa pai tang toe yang pao sun lae moeng alawi*
(The 5,000 years of the religion and the founding of Moeng Aravi
on deserted land), *Saen ko fu caeo se khui khui hang akkamoli
ceng hung* (Founding of the Vice-Director of the National
Buddhist Organisation) ; *Somdet moeng hun* (Rulers of Moeng
Hun) , *Somdet pulang sam ton* (The three Bulang rulers) . We
helped each other to copy [these manuscripts]. Three manuscripts—
namely *Susakap satsana ha pan watsa pai tang toe yang pao sun
lae moeng alawi sipsòng panna tae kòn* (The 5,000 years of the
religion and the founding of Moeng Aravi on deserted land), *Nan
còm thung cù moeng hai* (Nan Còm Thung founds Moeng Hai),
[and] *Cao doi coe khoe maha khasat pathom sunyakap satsana ha
pan watsa yang pao sun wai lae nai co alawi* (About the early
kings during the 5,000 years of the religion and their founding of
Alawi on deserted land)—contributed to the composing/writing (*kot
taem*) of this volume/manuscript. Moreover, we travelled to ask
numerous elderly people, persons who read old manuscripts or
heard of old stories. Once it was believed that there were 17 rulers
(lit., *cìn cao* “generation of rulers”) but now there are only 14 have
left. The reigns of three rulers have been omitted as they are not
clear. In the future additional books might appear.

When we collected the histories for this publication (lit. , to be
written/ copied) we did not integrate those histories which
contradicted the genealogy of kings of Moeng Lü-Sipsòng Panna
into this manuscript-copy. Stories related to religion were put
together under the label “religion”, stories pertaining to customs
and traditions (*hit-kòng*) were put together under the label
“customs and traditions”. They should not be mixed together as

was the case in old manuscripts. As the old manuscripts were once large in number, there will be many more editions in the future.

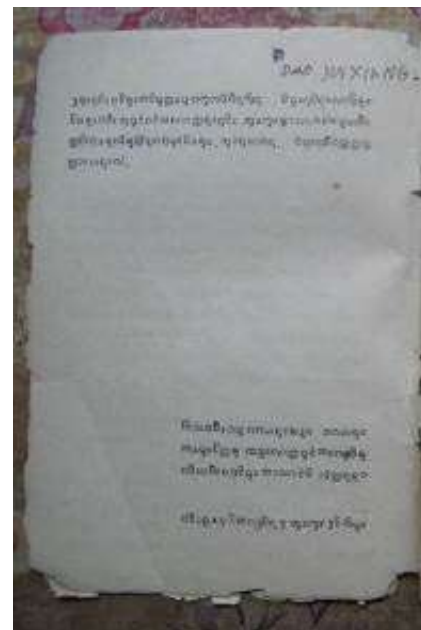
10 March 1985

This preface indicates that the vision of the scribe, Cao Maha Khanthawong, is different from those of the scribes of previous generations. The last paragraph of the preface is particularly revealing. Here, the scribe explains that the data collected from earlier extant manuscripts has been regrouped to produce a more coherent text. Unlike earlier scribes, Cao Maha Khanthawong discloses his primary sources (he does not, however, specify the provenance of each part of his manuscript vis-à-vis the three source manuscripts). Moreover, he makes use of oral traditions through interviews with elderly people. As such, he did not just copy the texts from older extant manuscripts, but he also tried to conduct research on the chronicle using several manuscripts. In this way, he was able to collect additional information and correct the texts to create a new, better, version of the chronicle. He also aimed to systematize and classify the texts, a characteristic which is often missing in the older extant manuscripts.

The historical events in Sipsòng Panna discussed above not only appear in the paratexts of the manuscript, but we can also find them in the Tai Lü printed book entitled “*Pakkatün*” (“Calendar” - YN106), dated 1983, which was printed in the new Tai Lü script.



recto



verso

Figure No. 4.22-23: YN106 (Collection Grabowsky)

The preface here details to the condition of Tai Lü manuscript culture in Sipsòng Panna before Communist rule. In short, the Tai Lü used to have a large number of manuscripts containing several different texts. During the Cultural Revolution, unfortunately, Lin Biao (林彪)⁹ and the Gang of Four destroyed indigenous customs, traditions, and languages, and burned a very large number of the manuscripts. Very few manuscripts have survived.

ว่าแจ้ง

ภาษาไทเราตั้งแต่ใดมามีลูกโหม่หนังสือหลายเล่มบันทึกพื้นพอบหนังสือ
กือนาต่างต่างไว้มาก มากหลายหลาย, ป่อยไขเสแล้ว, ทางแลเงินฟูไ่ก่เม็งก็หากเอาจัด
ใส่ใจเสกาน ปู่เนิงลึกโตความรู้ภาษา ทะแท้. เท่าว่าในเมื่อวัน . ค่าเค่อหมิ่นปึงปาว
10 ปีนั้น, ดังโพกหมู่สิ้นแพ้วแล “ชาว 4 ค้อ” อันพื้นค้อเคื่อ หมิ่นนิ, เขาเอ่ยบ่แย้ม แล
ม้างผู้รืคองภาษาแห่งทาง, ดังพอบบันทึกพื้นพอบหนังสือต่างต่างเบว่าอันดีแล เบ่าดี
ค้อหากจิเลาเผาไหม้ เสมามากหลายหลาย, ดังพอบหนังสือกือนา ภาษาไทเราอัน
โคโนค่านั้นค้อรอด ถึงที่จิบหายวายวอด, อันลอดหลอไวนั้นค้อเบ่ามีหลายแล้ว, เหมดัง
พอบบันทึกพื้นแม่ปึงนี้, อันบัดแล้วเกิดค้าง ไวนั้น เบ่าเท่าเบ่าหลาย, เยิง 1 ค้อเบ่าพอจับ
กัน, เบ่าป็นแสนเดวกัน.

เพื่อไค้หื้อวิชาไค้ซ้อ แลความรู้ไ่ก่เม็งภาษาไทเราโยกสูงปึงเนิงไฟพายหน้า,
ง่ายใจก่านปู่แลไ่ก่เม็ง ภาษาไทเรา ป็นแสนเดวกันนับส่อนทองสชาดปีเดินวันยามแล
เดิน 6 สังขาน, ดังนี้จึงมิพอบบันทึกพื้นอัน เท่าขึ้นแซ้งไ้จ้งจ้อเอาใจใส่แผ่นนิ
ออกมาแผ่ผายหื้อพี่น้องทั้งหลายเถมทอง. อ่านเรน. ใช้ถ้อไฟพายหน้า หั้นแล.

Since times immemorial, our Tai people (*phasa tai hao*) have a script, and countless different astrological treatises and calendars. These are found in large numbers. After liberation, [our traditions] were still well preserved by the inhabitants of the region. The education and knowledge of the [Tai] people were even further developed; they were like in former days. However, during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution when Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, who were counter-revolutionaries, held power, our customs and traditions, and language were destroyed. Calendars and books of all kinds, regardless of whether good or bad, were burned in very large numbers. Our Tai people lost numerous precious [manuscripts]: many were destroyed and very few survived. Very few [traditional] calendars were left. (...) To increase knowledge among our Tai nation and develop [our country] in the future, and for the sake of convenience for all of us Tai people, who start the

⁹ Lin Biao (1907–1971) was a Marshal of the People’s Republic of China. He was once one of the closest comrades of Mao Zedong and aided Mao become leader of Communist China during the famous “Long March” (1934–1935). However, he was also a victim of Mao who got rid of him when he became too powerful (Lee, 2005, 168–188).

new year in the sixth lunar month, this calendar has been printed.
(...) It shall be distributed to all Tai Lü people to be read and
studied in the future.

Note that the scribe follows the official Chinese (communist) political line denouncing Lin Biao and the Gaeng of four as counter-revolutionaries following the official political line of the Chinese communists of the early 1980s.

3.2 Intentions and concerns of scribes (and donors)

The prefaces of the seven manuscripts from southern Yunnan (YN6, YN7, YN124, YN185, YN186, YN192 and LS21) provide explanatory information regarding their respective manuscripts as discussed below.

1). YN6: หนังสือพื้นเมืองล้า *Nangsü Phün Moeng La* (The Chronicle of Müang La)

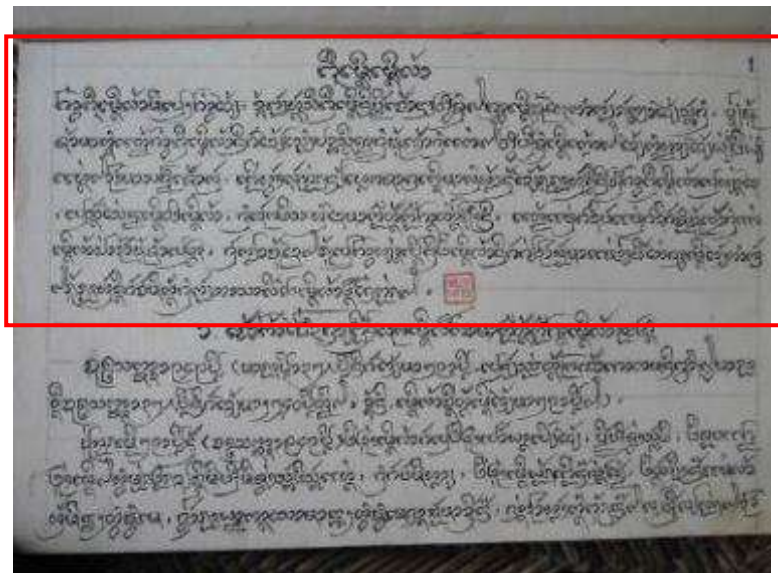


Figure No. 4.24: YN6 (Collection Grabowsky)

The short paragraph comprising the preface appears on the first page of the manuscript before the beginning of the main text. Here, the scribe explains that there are no extant manuscripts to be found of this particular chronicle. Thus he decided to interview elderly people and noblemen to collect information about the history of Moeng La, a district situated in the southeastern part of Sipsòng Panna that borders the Lao province of Luang Nam Tha. Having compiled these data he wrote his findings in this manuscript so that future generations

might get informed about the history of Müang La. Finally, he apologizes for his miswritings; it is also not uncommon to find such statements appearing the end of colophons.

คำวพื้นเมืองล้ามีเปน 2 คำไว้, ดังพับหนังสือพื้นเมืองนี้มีเจ้านายท้าวขุนแลชาวเมืองผู้
ไหนกำกับรักษาไว้สักคน, บดเคี้ยวผู้เข้ามาดัดแก้คำวพื้นเมืองล้านี้ก็ได้โสบปากสิ่งถาม
คนผู้เฒ่าคนแก่แลท้าวบ้านชนเมืองเล่าได้บอกหมายไว้เยี่ยงที่เยี่ยงแห่งแลเอามาสะสม
เข้ากัน, เพื่อหวังลูกอ่อนน้อยเหลกษาจะเกิดมาจนหลานนั้น ได้รู้รอดหันถึงนิทานคำวพื้น
เมืองล้าเป็นหย่างใด, เปนสังใจนามเมืองว่าเมืองล้า, คนลูกที่สะหนไคมาก่อตั้งก่อทางต่าง ๆ
ฝูงนี้, แด้มแม่นี่คือบ่แม่นี่คือคือผู้เฒ่าคนแก่เมืองล้าอย่าเอาผู้เข้าเป็นทวด, ถันกาลผู้ใดแล
รู้เป็นคำวหย่างเป็นพื้นพื้นเมืองล้านี้คือเอาออกมาเผยแพร่หื้อไ่ชาวเมืองได้กำกับแลรู้รอด
หันถึงจ้กมีก่งคนกับภาสาชื่อไทเมืองล้าทั้งโซ่ก่อนแล.

This folded manuscript on the Chronicle of Müang La had no nobleman (*cao nai tao khun*) or citizen (*cao moeng*) who had kept and guarded it. Now I (*phu kha*) wrote/composed (*kot taem*) this Chronicle of Müang La by interviewing elderly people as well as former officials (*tao ban khun moeng*) and collected all these stories for future generations to learn about the history of Moeng La, about the reason for its name and about the person who founded [Moeng La]. Whether having written correctly or wrongly I ask the elderly people of Moeng La not to put the blame on me. Whenever someone sees this Chronicle of Müang La he shall spread it to the people so that they can appreciate the Tai Lü people of Müang La in the past.

It is worthy to note that the scribe did not just copy his text from an older extant manuscript but combined written sources with oral traditions, including own interviews. Thus his writing exceeds that of pure copying, to a certain extent at least it can be interpreted as the outcome of his own scholarly work.

2). YN7: พอบพื้น 12 พันนา แสนหวี ฟ้า *Pòp Püen Sipsòng Panna Saenwi Fa* (The Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna)

This manuscript has an unusually long preface, consisting of one full page and almost another two lines of the next. The scribe notes that he copied this manuscript from a previous version kept by Cao Capalawong from Chiang Rung – one of the three most high-ranking officials in the capital, and a member of the Council of Nobles in Chiang Rung. The scribe explains that he copied the story so that common people who are not members of the Council

might have an opportunity to read the story which should be preserved for future generations. Finally, the scribe curses whoever borrows the manuscript but does not return and/or take good care of it. In the same vein, he also blesses whoever would like to copy, look after and pay respect to the text.

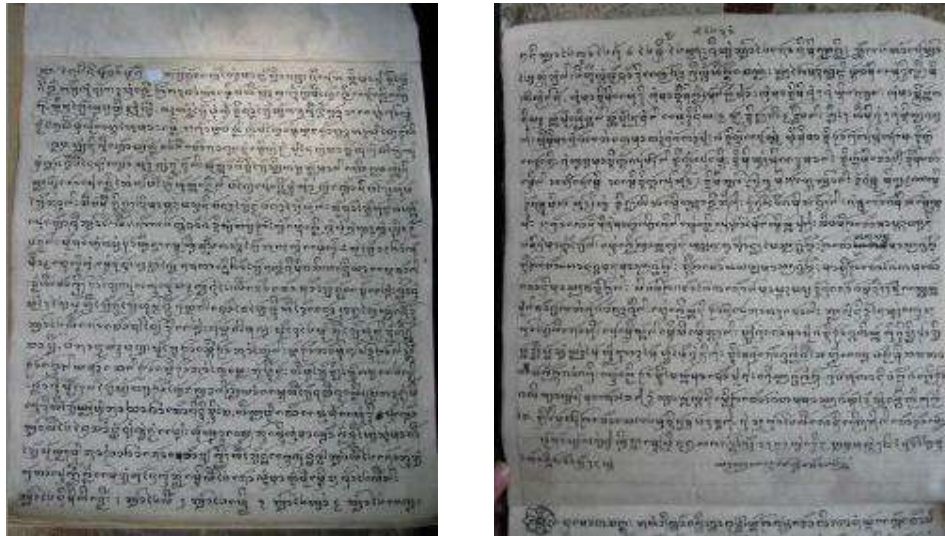


Figure No. 4.25-26: YN7 (Collection Grabowsky)

The colophon starts with a short biographical note of the scribe emphasizing that he once was ordained as a monk and spent some time in a monastery, where he probably learned and studied the Dhamma script. After leaving the monkhood the scribe, Ai Khan Kaeo, worked as a government official for many years. After retirement he started his career as a scribe dedicating his spare time to studying the history of Sipsòng Panna.

ในที่นี้ผู้ข้าผู้ชื่อ อ้ายขันแก้ว ไหขมาแล้วชื่อว่าขันระ ชื่อเปนกะ ลิกมาแล้วจึงได้ชื่อพ่ออ้ายคง
เวียกการส่งเพื่อเอากลับหมื่นบ่หื้อหว่าง นาข้างดั่งมีไว้เพื่อแบ่งเชื้อเหยพัน หิงนานได้หลายปี
เชียว กานหากได้มดพันจึงช่างได้เสียก่ายพื้นลวกกว้าง 12 แห่งพันนาเชียงรุ่งไถลื้อมณฑุกแห่งไหน
มา เมื่อ 12 พันนายังบ่ก่อตั้งบ้านดั่งเมือง ยังเปล่าหว่างห่างสูนไฉนแล

My name is Ai Khan Kaeo. When I was growing up I was called Khantha which was my name as monk. When I left [the] monkhood I was called Pò Ai Tong. I always worked for my country, as a *na cang* (a certain rank?) for a long time over many years. Now that I have retired I copied (*phek kai*) the chronicle of Sipsòng Panna-Chiang Rung, [telling] from which places the Tai Lü had come at a time when Sipsòng Panna had not yet been established as a country but was an empty and unpopulated land.

Thereafter the scribe reveals the background of the manuscript which inspired him to write his own. Furthermore, he provides information on the writing process. Unlike colophons which appear at the end of the manuscript, this colophon records the moment when the scribe started writing: the evening hours of Monday, 10 June 1991.

พอบหน่วยนี้พื้นเกล้าฝอยออกจากที่เจ้าชาพละวง เมืองเชียงรุ่ง อยู่ในเวียงผาคัง คน
ท่านก็ได้เป็นขุน 3 ครั้งในที่ในเวียงเกล้าสนามเชียงรุ่งนั้นแล ผู้ข้าจึงได้สืบถ่าย
ออกมาแลเห็นพอบหน่วยนี้ออนทางเราเปน เชื้อไถ่น้อยบ่ได้หันสักเทอแล บ่ใช่เป
นเชื้อขุนสนามเวียงเกล้านี้ บ่ได้หันบ่ได้อ่านแล สืบมีโรคทองทางมา ผวดผายนี้ บ่ช่างได้
รู้ บ่ช่างได้หันแล ผู้ข้าได้หันแล้วก็หากเปนเกล้าพื้นภสาไทลื้อเราแท้ ตัวข้าจึงฝอย
ถ่ายเอาไว้เหตเพื่อกลัวกั้วหลานกั้วหลินรู้บ่รู้แล ผู้ข้าฝอยถ่ายเอาปลิรวงเมด สิริจุรศักดิ์
ราชได้ 1353 ตัว แม่นดิน 8 ลงได้ 13 คำ เปนมื้อ 14 เหน็ดดินหน แม่นวันจัน ไทยรู้
วงไคสั นขตาริกฟ้าได้ 5 ตัว ชื่อมิลลริก ยามแลง ข้าแล

This folded manuscript is copied from [a manuscript] of Cao Capalawong from Chiang Rung who [lives] at Wiang Phakhang.¹⁰ He is one of the three *khacoeng* officials in the capital, [member of] the Council of Nobles (*kao sanam*) in Chiang Rung. I myself am a commoner (*cua phai noi*), not a member of the Council of nobles in the capital. [We] have not seen or read anything. There were no traditions to help [us]. There was total lack of knowledge. When I saw (here: discovered) the manuscript written in our Tai Lü language, I [decided to] copy [it] as I fear that otherwise future generations will not know [the customs of their ancestors]. I [started] the writing in the *ruang met* year, CS 1353, on the thirteenth waning day of the eighth month, which is the fourteenth day. It is a Monday (*wan can*), a *ruang kai* day [according to the] Tai [tradition],¹¹ at the auspicious time of five called *migasira*, in the evening.

Now the scribe makes an appeal to the readers admonishing them to preserve their country's ancient customs and traditions. This fervent appeal is followed by a second appeal which asks the readers to pay respect to the manuscript and do not do any harm to it (in case they borrow it for reading).

¹⁰ Wiang Phakhang is in the south of Chiang Rung. The place was a residence only of the kings, royal families and noble men. See Yanyong and Ratanaporn 2001, 40.

¹¹ 1358 Jyestha 28 = Monday, 10 June 1991. This day was indeed a *ruang kai* day.

ขอให้อาจารย์นำเอาไปเป็นแก่นเป็นฐานกับคนไทลื้อเราเจ้าข้าได้รู้แจ้งแท้แล กันว่าคน
ผู้ใดไทยผู้อื่นได้รู้ ได้เห็นแล้วก็ดี กันยังว่าเข้าใจไว้ก็ดี หื้อได้เต็มหมายไว้กับเชื้อชาติ
ภสาไทลื้อเราเจ้าข้าไว้ดีแท้แล กันยังว่าบุคละผู้ใดไทยผู้อื่นได้เห็นแล้ว ขอให้อริภค
คิหิ บ่ออนุญาตบุคละผู้ใดเอาสิ่งเอาอาไว้แล ยังเอาก้ามัดน้อยปาดเอา แลสึกเอาเฟด
แล ยะม้างเสแล เอาสิ่งเอาอาไว้ ยะอันปัดนั้น ห้อมันได้จับได้หยาแท้แนอ

I ask you, sisters and brothers, to be the centre/nucleus of our Tai
Lü people. Whoever will learn of the content [of this manuscript],
it will be fine. (...) It is copied for the sake of our Tai Lü
nationality (*cüa cat*), and ethnicity (*phasa*). Whoever sees [this
manuscript] shall keep it well. No permission is given to any
person to hide it and to make something wrong with it. Those who
take a knife and tear it apart shall be destroyed. Those who conceal
it and make [other] wrongdoings with it shall indeed be punished.

The final paragraph describes the merit that will be accrued by any individual
who preserves and pays respect to the manuscript. Finally, the scribe praises the
preeminent role of the traditional rulers (*cao fa*) of Sipsòng Panna who might
serve as a kind of guardians for the Tai Lü people in the present and the future.

กันว่าคนผู้ใดแลได้เฝือกถ่ายเอาไว้รักษาแลครบยำแขงหื้อได้วุฒิเข่งจุประกาศ รังมีเป็นดีหื้อ
ได้ฮ้อนนุน อาญาเจ้าชีวิตจิตใจ หื้อฮ้อนนุนเจ้าแผ่นดินน้ำแผ่นดินเป็นเกล้าภสาไทลื้อไทในสำนัก
เวียงเชียงรุ่งแท้แล ลูก หลานเหลนอันเกิดลนมาหล้า พอขึ้นใหญ่สงมา หื้อได้ฮ้อนนุน
อาญาเจ้าข้าขอขพื่อน้อง หื้อได้รักแพงกันนักคำภสาไทลื้อไทเราอันเดียวกัน หากเป็นพี่น้องพ่อ
แม่เดียวกัน ไชกันออกเม็งลื้อไทเราลงมาตั้งอยู่เม็ง 12 พันนาไทลื้อแล ภสาไทลื้อนี้มีเชื้อ 1 ภสา
ไทลื้อ 2 ภสาไทเหนือ 3 ภสาไทหยา 4 ภสาไทแคละ 5 นี้ภสาไทกล้าไทกัน 6 ไทจีน 7 ไทชวน
8 ไทดำ ชื่อเสียงภสาไทเรานี้มี . เชื่อด้วยแท้ หากเป็นภสาไทอันเดียวกัน

Any person who copies (*phək kai*) [the manuscript], keeps and
preserves it, or pays respect to it, will be awarded with all kinds of
benefit/prosperity (*vuddhi*) and will become wealthy (*hang-mi*)
because of the merits (*bun*) [and] the power (*aya*) of the Lord of
Life (*cao ciwit*), because of the merits of the Lord of the Land (*cao
phaendin*), who was the chief (*kao*) of the Tai Lü people at his
residence in the walled city (*wiang/weng*) of Chiang Rung. [Our]
children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren to be born in
future times, when grown up, will get happiness because of his
merits and power. We all, brothers and sisters, shall love each
other as we had the same Tai Lü ruler (*phaya lü tai*) and have the
same parents (i.e., are of the same ethnic group).

3). YN124: คำวนิทานศาสนาเมืองลวงอติกัมมราษฎร์บุรี (ถ้วน 3) *Khao Nithan Satsana Moeng Long Atikamma Latthabuli Thuan Sam* (Religious Legends of Moeng Long Atikamma Raṭhapuri, vol. 3), 1994 CE.

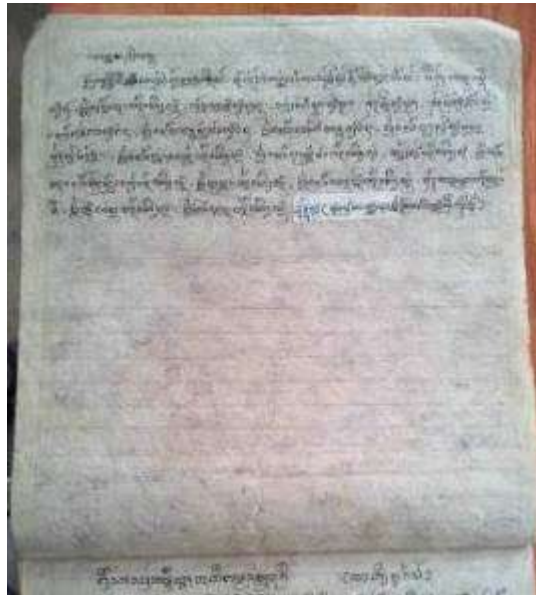


Figure No. 4.27: YN124 (Collection Grabowsky)

The preface appears after the three pages of the table of contents and before the beginning of the text on the next page. The scribe explains that he spent several months writing this manuscript. He then lists the names of 21 Tai Lü people who helped him by providing information about the text which is a collection of religious legends putting the scribe's native district of Moeng Long on the (mental) map of important Buddhist sites. This very much resembles the acknowledgement section in modern printed publications, but its appearance is unusual in traditional Tai Lü manuscript culture. However, long lists of people are frequently found in Lan Na inscriptions cataloguing the witnesses or villagers.¹²

¹² In Lan Na stone inscriptions, the long lists of the name of witnesses or villagers, in case kings built monasteries and donated villagers to serve the monasteries, are usually appearing on the inscriptions, for example a stone inscription of Jula Khirī (in present day is situated at Dòi Nòi monastery in Chaing Mai provinve, Thailand), dated 1554 CE, providing a long list of 22 families and four villages who were donated by Phayā Mekuti (King of Chiang Mai, 1551 – 1564 CE) to serve a cetiya at Cula Khirī. See Penth, Silao and Apiradee 2007, 21–37.

เกิดคนว่าแจ้ง

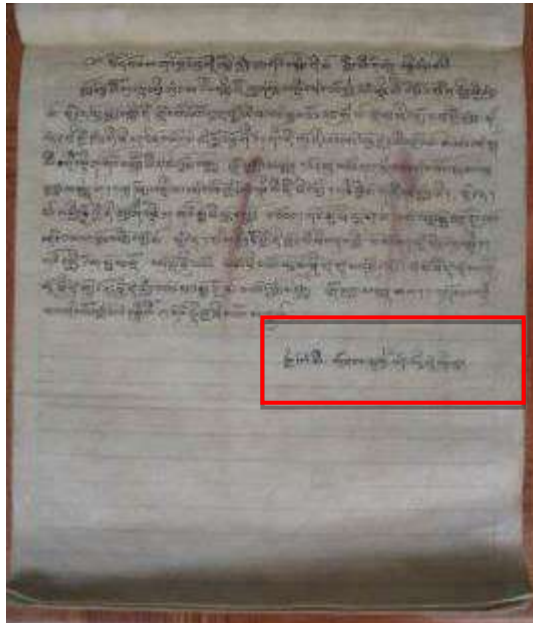
พับหน่วยน้าเข้าแค้นไว้หลายเดินแล ผู้[อัน]เอาากากคำมาเดิมช้อยนั้นมิพายได้แล
มีขนานแพงเมิง เชียงจัน, พ่ออายตุน บ้านเพยลง, อ้ายชายชน เชียงหลวง, อ้ายคำผุง
เชียงมูน, ขนานพิงเชียงมูน, ขนานบัน เชียงจัน, พ่อเจ้าชาโบ [เชียง]ใน, พ่อเจ้าแดง
หมอยา เชียงใน, พ่อเจ้านาคำแดง เชียงใน, พ่อเจ้านูนน้อย เชียงหลวง, ขนานช้อย
บ้านทอง, พ่อเจ้าอ่อนแก้ว บ้านเพยลง, พ่อเจ้านุนหมอยา บ้านเพยลง, อ้ายช้อย
บ้านเพยลง, พ่อเจ้าจันเจ้า, ขนาน[หน่อ]แก้ว บ้านเพยลง, พ่ออิมอน บ้านเพยลง, พ่อ
เจ้าแดงสิง บ้านเพยลง, ขนานแดงยวง บ้านล้องซ้อ, พ่ออ่อนแพง บ้านเพยลง, พ่อคำ
หลวง บ้านเพยลง

Introduction

This manuscript was written over [a period of] several months. Those who have made contributions (lit., “brought texts adding and helping”) are as follows: Khanan Paeng from Moeng Chiang Can, Pò Ai Tun from Ban Foei Long, Ai Cai Khon from Chiang Long, Ai Kham Phung from Chiang Mun, Khanan Ping from Chiang Mun, Khanan Ban from Chiang Can, Pò Thao Ca Bo from Chiang Nai, Pò Thao Daeng [who is a pharmacist (*mò ya*)] from Ban Foei Long, Ai Còi from Ban Foei Long, Pò Thao Can [and] Thao Khanan Nò Kaeo from Ban Foei Long, Pò I Mòn from Ban Foei Long, Pò Thai Daeng Sing from Ban Foei Long, Khanan Saeng Yong from Ban Lòng Khi, Pò On Paeng from Ban Foei Long, Pò Kham Long from Ban Foei Long, Khanan Dam (the person who casted the image of the Standing Buddha at That Nò stupa).

It is interesting to note that most of the persons to whom the scribe feels indebted are fellow villagers from Ban Foei Long (8 persons). The other places mentioned are – as far as they can be identified – located in nearby districts. Most contributors are ex-monks or *khanan* (six persons), even one pharmacist (*mò ya*) is mentioned. The preface resembles very much an “acknowledgement” as we know it from modern printed book publications which might have served as a model here.

4). YN185: พื้นเมือง 12 ปันนา ธิ 1 ธิ 2 ธิ 3 *Phùn Müang Sipsòng Panna Thi Nüng Thi Sòng Thi Sam* (Religious Legends of Moeng Long Atikamma Rāṭhapuri, vol. 1, 2 and 3), dated 2001 – 2002 CE.



พ่อคำลือ อ้ายแสงน้อย บ้านเพยลง เมืองหลวง
(Pò Kam Lù, Ai Saeng Nòi, Ban
Foei Lung, Müang Long)

Figure No. 4.28: YN185 (Collection Grabowsky)

The preface of this manuscript is inserted in the table of contents. The scribe started by writing a page of the table of contents, which is then followed by a page of the preface, whereupon the table of contents again continues for another three pages.

This preface provides the scribe's explanation of the text, which records the 14 reigns of the rulers of Sipsòng Panna during a period of over 650 years, from the reign of *Cao Mok Kham* until the reign of *Cao Sam Lò*. However, the 258 years following the reign of *Cao Sam Lò* in CS 264 are passed over in all of the manuscripts that deal with the Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna. The names of rulers during this period are also unrecorded. As such, the scribe wonders why the history and the names of the rulers during this period have disappeared. Nevertheless, following this lacuna of two and a half centuries the history of Moeng Lü or Sipsòng Panna returns to the year CS 522 (CE 1160/61), when *Phaya Coeng* ascended the throne.

พินิจเกิดนาคอ้าวพื้นเมืองสิบสองพม่านหน่วยนิแล .ชื่อว่าลือ 12 ปาง. เมืองอาลาวี.

พัวคำลือ 12 ปางเมืองอาลาวีหน่วยนิออนพระยาเจิงเปนเจ้าหอคำเมืองลือได้ 6 ร้อย 5 สิบปีปลายแล. อยู่ในพัวพม่านนี้ตั้งเจ้าฟ้าหลวงหมกคำมาแควเจ้าสามลอแล สักลุมไว้ 4 ร้อยปีปลาย อยู่ใน 4 ร้อยปีปลายนี้ มี 14 โชเจ้าแล ว่าด้วยอ้าวพื้น 12 พม่านนี้ อันนี้หากเปนอ้าวปอดธิเคล้ำแล ก็หากเปนหนังสือพื้นเมือง 12 พม่านหน่วยนิ 1 แล ทั้งหลายเอย. ตั้งจุฬศกาด 264 ตัว เจ้าสามลอมาเปนเจ้าแล้ว แควจุฬศกาด 522 ตัว พระยาเจิงเปนเจ้าหอคำเมืองลือนี้มีไว้ 257 ปีแล อันนี้เป็นปอดธิ 2. อยู่ใน 2 ร้อย 5 สิบ 7 ปีนี้ พัวพื้นเมือง 12 พม่าน ก็บ่มีสักหน่วย เจ้า 12 พม่าน ก็บ่มีสักคนแล เปนบ่สังคี่ บ่ข่างรู้ หากเปนเวลาเปล่าเปยไว้แล. อยู่ใน 2 ร้อย 5 สิบ 8 ปีนี้ มองว่ามีกานเล็ก บ่คี่ กานอยู่ของยาวในเมือง 12 พม่าน เชื้อไหนคี่บ่แจ้ง เปนสังบ่มีเจ้า บ่คี่มีเจ้าแล้วแลบ่มีคน กดแต่มีไว้. บ่คี่มีคนกดแต่มีแล้ว บ่มีคนเผียกไว้ บ่มีคนสืบเรามาบ่รู้แล เจ้าทั้งหลาย เอย. ตั้งจุฬศกาด 522 ตัว พระยาเจิงมาเปนเจ้าหอคำเมืองลือ 12 พม่าน จึงพอกมีเจ้าแถม แล

พ้อคำลือ. อ้ายแสงน้อย

บ้านเพยลงเมืองหลวง

Here I will talk about my intention why this Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna, which bears the title *Lü sipsòng pang moeng alawi* (The twelve reign of the Tai Lü rulers of Moeng Arawi), is being told.

This *Lü sipsòng pang moeng alawi* manuscript records [the history of Moeng Lü] over a period of more than 650 years until Phaya Coeng became the Lord of the Golden Palace in Moeng Lü. From the reign of *cao fa* Long Mok Kham until the reign of Cao Sam Lò more than 400 years passed. In this period of over 400 years there were 14 generations of rulers. In the first part of the History of Sipsòng Panna the ascension to the throne of Cao Sam Lò in CS 264 (CE 902/03) is recorded. A total of 257 years have passed until Phaya Coeng became the Lord of the Golden Palace in Moeng Lü in CS 522 (CE 1160/61). Part 2 deals with this 257-year long period. For unknown reasons there is no extant manuscript about the history of Sipsòng Panna. During these 257 years there were many wars which are so far unrecorded. Dear all! In CS 522, Phaya Coeng became the lord of the golden palace in Moeng Lü. Since than Sipòng Panna has rulers.

Pò Kham Lü [alias] Ai Saeng Nòi [from] Ban Foei Long [in] Moeng Long

Note that the mention of the scribe's name and his place of residence is physically separated from the preface by a blank line and written on a separate, indented line, resembling

prefaces in printed publication. This is obviously a modern innovation in Tai Lü manuscript culture.

5). YN186: พื้นเมืองอติกัมมรัฐบุลี หน่วย ๓ 1 *Pün Moeng Atikamma Latthabuli Nuai Thi Nüng* (The Chronicle of Atikamma Raṭhapuri, vol. 1)

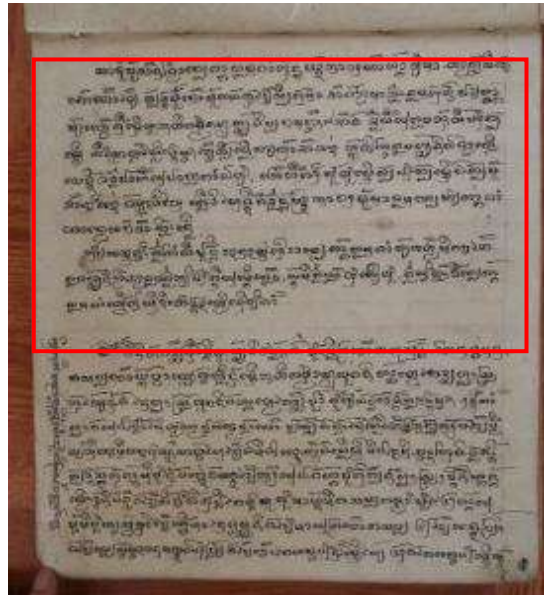


Figure No. 4.29: YN186 (Collection Grabowsky)

This preface appears on the third folio, directly following the table of contents and a list detailing the villages under the administration of Moeng Long. It is written on the same page as the start of the main text. The scribe notes that he collected older extant manuscripts from elderly people to write this manuscript. He expresses his ardent desire that it records the history of the home country and hopes that the younger generations will inherit the story and pass it on to future generations. In addition, he humbly apologizes to the contributors for any mistakes. This preface indicates the scribe's desire to preserve the story for future generations.

สาธุ ผู้ขึ้นน้อยก็มาเก็บกาหมคำอันนาคผาดอาจานเจ้าหากเขียนมา ตามหนังสือไทย
เราแล้วไว้ กับทั้ง ผู้เฒ่าผู้แก่อนได้สืบกันมา ข้าก็เอามา[ต่อ]รวมกันแล้ว อยาย[ตาก]
เพียงแต่พื้นเมืองอติกัมมรัฐหน่วยธิปถม ถ้วน 1 ข้าแล ขอให้อุปนพอนอันสื่อ
บ้านกับเมือง หื้อลูกหลานหลินทั้งมวลได้สืบเมอพาหหน้าข้าแต่ หนึ่งว่าคำพอนหน่วย
นิแลหุดเหลือเสด็จ ก็ขออย่าให้อุปนพปกาแลเวียร เท้าให้อีก้านกุ่มลงเลิงกับบ้านกับ
เมืองแลกับผู้ข้า น้อยแต่ ก็ชุดที่ไหนด เหลอที่ไหนดก็ดี ก็ขอนากปราดอาจานผู้มาชม
เกบ อยาย[ตาก]ไปแลมแต่ข้าเทาะเนอ

อ้ายแสงน้อย พ่อคำลือ อยู่ปี 1353 ตัว เค้น 11 เกบกากหอมคำเฝือกแค้นมีพายได้พอบ
หน่วยนิเอาตาม พอบพ่ออ้อยบ้านพึงเปนเท็กเค้า, ยังมีพ่อหลวงตนเพยสูง, พ่ออ้อยล้อง
[ชื่อ]เกบกากหอมคำแค้นชอยินดีเจ้าทั้ง 3 เค้นเรินช้อยคำ

Sādhū. I (*phu kha nòi*) have kept the draft [of this manuscript] by putting the records of learned scholars written in our Tai [language and script] along with the [oral?] traditions of elderly people. I have put them all together when I wrote the “Chronicle of Moeng Long, Part 1” (*Pün moeng long atikam latthabuli noi thi pathom thon nüng*). May this be a manuscript [recording] the history of the country (*ban-moeng*) so that the younger generations (lit., Thai: ลูก “children, Thai: หลาน grandchildren, and Thai: เหลน great-grandchildren) can pass it on to the future. This manuscript and all other extant manuscripts shall not be considered as sinful acts. May they contribute to the prosperity of the country and to my own prosperity. If in this manuscript there is anything missing learned scholars shall expand and amend it.

In the eleventh month of the year [CS] 1353 (September/October 1991), Ai Saeng Nòi [alias] Pò Kham Lü put records together to write this manuscript. The manuscript of Pò Òi [from] Ban Ping served as the principal text, but the records kept by Pò Long Ton [from Ban] Foei Lung [and] Pò Òi Lòng Khü [were used as] additional material. I have to express my gratitude to all three of them for helping.

6). YN192: ตำนานพระสิงหลวงเมืองเชียงใหม่ *Tamnan Pha Sing Luang Chiang Mai* (The Chronicle of Wat Phra Sing Luang Chiang Mai)

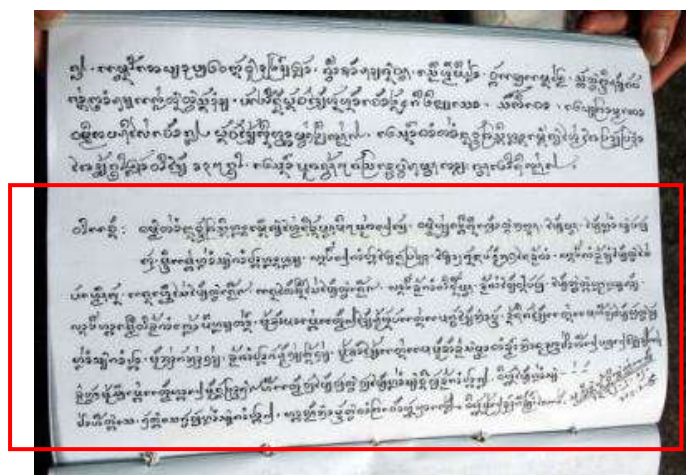


Figure No. 4.30: YN192 (Collection Grabowsky)

This preface is different from other prefaces as it appears at the end of the manuscript. Nevertheless, I prefer to call it a ‘preface’ rather than a colophon or an afterword because the scribe used the word *wa caeng* (ว่าแจ้ง), which means “introduction”, i.e. a text that introduces and explicates the main text.

Regarding the content, the scribe, Cao Maha Suriyawong (1925–2017), a learned layman from the Tai Lü town quarter of Ban Thin in Chiang Rung, explains that the master copy of the manuscript contains a lot of mistakes, especially with regard to the use of tone markers because omitting them would mean that the Tai Lü people might not easily understand the words borrowed from other Tai languages and dialects. Therefore, he has decided to create a new version, not only to correct the mistakes, but also to make it easier for readers to comprehend the text.

ว่าแจ้ง

ว่าแจ้ง : ธรรม์ตำนานวัดพระสิงห์หลวงเมืองเชียงใหม่ทั้งมวณมี 7 ผูกปนกับ ธรรม์หน่วยเท็กพื้นเค้าตัวอักษร ไม่ผวน ไม่หล้าเสียงบัจจับกัน ผิดแผกหล้าเสียงคำปากหลวงหลาย ลางที่ปนคำปากไทนอกประเทศ ไทย 12 พันนาบรู้ออในข้อคำ ลางที่คำข้อเดียวไม่ตัวใส่บ่เหมินกัน แชนเหนอใส่ไม้ ตัวเชื้อ 1 แชนใต้คิ่นใส่ไม้ ตัวเชื้อ 1 ลางที่ข้อคำ ว่าป็นผวน ข้อคำไว้วางบัจจับ ไม่ตัวคกหลุงหลายร้าย ลางที่หากเชิมว่าข้อคำเก่ามีหลายต่าง ๆ ผู้เข้ามาผกแต่้มแล ได้รู้หั้นบ่แต่งแมกัจจักได้อาบัด ดังนั้นคี่ได้แต่งแมหื้อจับไม้จับตัวจับหล้าเสียงคำปาก ผู้อ่านคี่อ่านง่าย ข้อคำปากคี่รู้ง่ายฟังง่าย ผู้เข้าได้แต่งแมผู้เข้าขอสมมาธาขมาอนุญาตอย่าหื้อเป็นบาปเป็นโทษข้อยแต่ ขอหวังผู้สืบผกแต่้ม หากเป็นผู้นำกปราคาคน 1 หื้อแต่้มจับไม้จับตัวจับไม้หล้าเสียงจิงจิงข้อคำปากชะแล ธิหนักไม้หล้าเสียง อย่าหื้อดกเส คันดกเสคี่บัจจับหล้าเสียงคำปากแล หากถ้องอาบัตตัวพระเจ้าหนักหนาแท้แล ธิหนักผู้เป็นขานหื้อ ขระอย่าใจแท้

สุริยวงบ้านถิ่น เชียงรุ่งแต่้ม

1372 . 2 . 12 .

2011 . 2 . 15:

Wa caeng: The manuscript [entitled] *Tamnan wat pha sing long moeng ceng mai* (The Chronicle of Wat Phra Sing Long, Chiang Mai) comprises seven fascicles in one volume. In the older manuscript (which I copied from), the consonants are written quite disorderly. The vowels (*mai phon*) and tone markers (*mai lam seng*) do not touch each other. The tone markers might not reflect the spoken language. Sometimes there are Tai words from outside the country which the Tai in Sipsong Panna do not know the meaning of. Sometimes the same word is written differently. In many instances it was considered necessary to make additions to the original text and I did it. If I saw their necessity but did not add

them this would be a sinful act. Thus I made the additions in accordance to the spoken language to make it easier for the reader to read [the text]. The spoken language is easy to grasp and easy to listen to. Having made the additions I ask for pardon. May it not be considered a sin. I ask those scribes who would like to copy the text, please be careful for the tone marks which must not be omitted because if they are missing the words will no longer be pronounced correctly and it will do wrong to the teachings of the Buddha.

Suriyawong, Ban Thin [in] Chiang Rung wrote [the manuscript] on the twelfth waxing day of the second month in the year [CS] 1372,¹³ [equivalent to] 15 February 2011.

It is noteworthy that the scribe has put his name and place of residence not on a separate line, following the end of the preface (like in example 4), but in the lower right corner, maybe because of lack of space. However, he underscored this last statement (for emphasis?) and added the date, calculated both in the traditional Cūlasakarāja era (CS) and the international Common Era (CE). Both dates are given in a modern abbreviated form: year, month, day.

7). LS21: ประวัติศาสตร์ลาว-ไทย *Pawatsat Lao-Tai* Lao-Tai History)

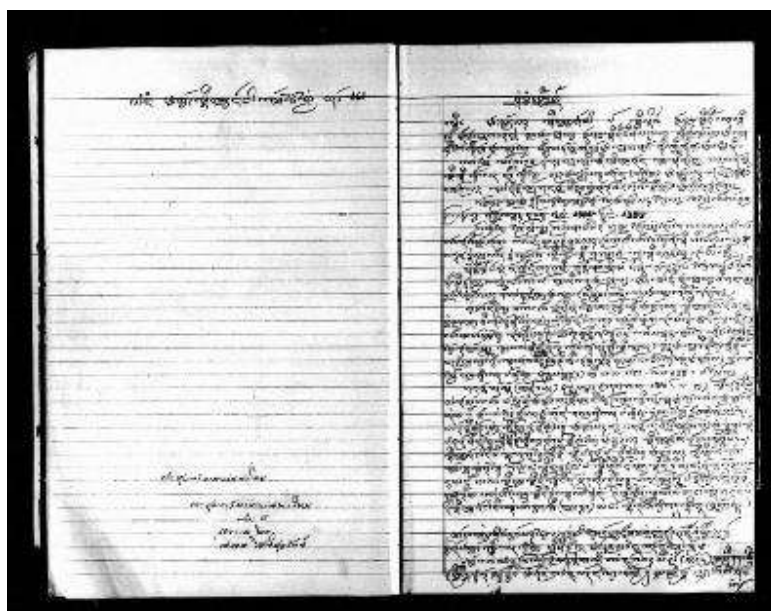


Figure No. 4.31: LS21 (Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

¹³ 1372 Margasirsha 12 = Saturday, 18 December 2010.

In this very long preface, the scribe states that the previous historical works are still defective; thus, he would like to compose a new version based on the old texts. He also notes that he studied the history of Lan Na and recorded it in this manuscript for being referable to any information which is defective in Laos history, because both of the kingdoms were closed and related together.

The first short paragraph details the location of Müang Luang Namtha and Müang Sing, which were positioned in the west of Laos, with their borders adjacent to Thailand, Myammar and China. Conversely, the second to the fifth paragraph discuss relations between the sister kingdoms (Thai: บ้านพี่เมืองน้อง *ban phi müang nong*) of Ayutthaya, Lan Na and Lan Sang.

From the sixth paragraph until the end of the work, the scribe explains how he compiled the manuscript. To be precise, he assessed that the story regarding the history of Müang Luang Namtha contained many errors. As such, he studied and complied the histories of Chiang Saen, Lan Na, Chiang Mai and Luang Namtha to make this revised edition.

First, the scribe provides the basic geographical setting in which the local histories of Luang Namtha, his own home district, and of Müang Sing, a neighbouring district, are to be placed.

บทนำเบื้องต้น Preface

เล็ง ปละหวัดสาต เมืองหลวงน้ำธา แล เมืองสิงห์ ทั้งสองเมืองนี้ แม่นเมืองน้อย ตั้งอยู่
ภาคตะวันตก ของประเทศลาว ทั้งสองเมืองนี้ก็มีสายแดน ติดต่อกับสามประเทศ ชิด
ได้ติดกับ ประเทศไทย ชิดตะวันตก ติดกับประเทศพม่า ชิดเหนือติดกับประเทศจีน,

The history of Müang Luang Namtha and Müang Sing, the two
cities are small *müang*, established in the west of Laos. Their
bordering are close to three countries that is south to Thailand,
west to Burma and north to China.

Next, he outlines the historical borders of the kingdoms of Lan Na and Lan Sang, the two
Tai kingdoms with which the histories of Luang Namtha and Müang Sing are most closely
intervowen.

แต่ไซม เจ้าฟ้าผู้ม ดินลาวภาคเหนือถึงสิบสองพันนา เขมเมืองเชียงรุ่ง ภาคตะวันตกถึง
เมือง เชียงแสน หลือ เชียงใหม่ ตามปละหวัดสาตล้านนา (เชียงใหม่) ปละหวัดสาต
ล้านช้าง หลวงพระบาง เวลานั้นทั้งสองอาณาจักร มีความกั้วกันกัน คือ ((บ้านพี่เมือง
น้อง)) สิบเชื้อสายเดียวกันมา,

As for the history of Lan Na (Chiang Mai) and the history of Lan Chang (Lan Sang) Luang Prabang, the Lao territory in the reign of Cao Fa Ngum spread out to Chiang Rung, Sipsong Panna, in the north, and in the west to Chiang Saen or Chiang Mai. At that time, the two kingdoms, Lan Na and Lan Chang, were related to each and descended from the same lineage.

It follows short remarks about the origin of the Lao people based on the Khun Burom myth. It is interesting to see that the scribe refers here to the modern-nation state of Laos as the heir of the old Lao polities.

อ้างตามเหตุผล ดังกรัสด์ไชยกล่าวไว้ในประวัติศาสดาไชยลาว ในไสมเจ้าฟ้าผู้ม
กรัสด์ลาว จุฬสภชาด 715-ภอสอ 1896 (เลขอารบิก) คอสอ 1353 (เลขอารบิก)

กรัสด์ไชย ไสมสมมเคม พระรามาชิบดี อุทอง ได้กล่าวไว้ในภราชสานว่าเรา
หากเปนพี่น้องกันมา แต่ปางบูรุมมหาราถฐันมาว่าเจ้าไขได้บ้าน หื้อเจ้าเอาเขยแดน
คงสามเสา คงยาไฟ เมื่อเทล้าถึง พุกยาพ่อ แคนเมืองนคอไรช เปนเจ้าเทือะ

อันนิงขอยจักส่งน้ำอ้อยน้ำตานฐูปลี อันนิงลูกยังข้า ซื่อนางแก้วยอดฟ้า ใหญ่
มาแล้วจักส่งหื้อ บิดเสื่อปูหมอนแก่เจ้าฟ้าแล ตอนนึ่งแม่นปละเชยลาวเจลิน เวลานั้น
ปละเชยลาวมีอนาเขยกว้างใหญ่โกสาน มีอำนาจปกครองปละเชยเปนที่ถาษาปรกคแก่
ปละเชยเพิ่นบ้านเปนอันมาก,

Refer to the reason of a Thai king which said in Thai-Lao history, in the reign of Cao Fa Ngum, the Lao king, in CS 715 / BE 1896 / CE 1353. The Thai king, Somdet Phra Rama Thibodi U Thong, said in his royal letter that “we have been the relatives since the reign of Khun Burom Maharat who also ruled over in the Tai area. [I] would send cane juice and sugar every year; as for my daughter, Nang Kaeo Yòt Fa, when she grew up, I would send her to be a concubine of the king”. At that time, Laos (*pathet lao*) had an extensive territory, was very powerful and was held in great esteem by neighboring countries.

The following section imbeds Luang Namtha, the scribe's home place, within the domain of the history of the whole Dhamma script. He then reflects upon the local histories of the Tai Lü and Tai Yuan peoples, who are, historically the most important Tai ethnic groups in the area. The third group, the Tai Dam, are not mentioned in this context as they migrated to the Luang Namtha area much later, over the course of the twentieth century.

ต่อจากนี้ไฟ ข้ากเจ้า น้อยอินสง พิจรณาแล้ว เล็งประวัติศาสดา เมืองหลวงน้ำหานี้ชาด
ดกบกฟองหลาย ที่เพิ่นได้เขียนใส่หลายเงินไว้นั้นบระเอียด ชื่อนว่าผู้มาเป็นเจ้าขงเขย
นึ่งแม่นเชื้อสายเจ้ามาจากบ่อนใด เปนเชื้อสายชนเผ่าใด ผู้นึ่งเปนได้จักปลี แต่สักขาด

เหล่านี้ได้เขียนบอกไว้เป็นหลักฐาน เพียงแต่เขียนต่อกันลง เพื่อบันทึกอ้างอิงถึงเหตุการณ์ระหว่างปะเทะมีสิ่งใดเกิดขึ้นแล กานปกครองเวลานั้น แม่เณรราชศักดิ์นาซ้องถิ่นหรือเป็นตัวเมืองขึ้นตามข้ากเจ้าได้อ่านประวัติศาสตร์นับแต่สมนครเชียงแสนแลเชียงใหม่ จุฬลัษชาด (1) หรือ ภ.ศ. 1181 (เลขอารบิก) ค.ศ 638 (เลขอารบิก) แลไสมลาว

อนาจักล้านช้าง (หลวงพระบาง) จุฬลัษชาด (119) ภ.ศ 1300 (เลขอารบิก) ค.ศ 757 (เลขอารบิก) เมื่อเป็นดังนี้แล้ว จำเป็นข้ากเจ้า จะได้เขียนประวัติศาสตร์ทั้งสองนี้ไว้ประกอบเพื่ออ้างอิงเหตุผลไว้แต่ระปะหวัดที่ผ่านมา คือ ตั้งแต่ไสมตั้งอนาจักล้านนา นครเชียงแสน แลเชียงใหม่ลงตามลำดับ [ด้วย]จะเขียนย่อบ่อนใดสำคัญจึงเขียนเอาหมด เนื้อความแล้วจึงต่อใส่ ปะหวัดสาด เมืองหลวงน้ำธา ผู้มาสร้างครั้งที่ 1-2 เมืองหลวงน้ำธานี้มีเหตุการณ์ใดเกิดขึ้น ถึงปะจุบันแล จึงต่อใส่ ปะหวัดสาด เมืองสิงห์รีเป็นมา ย้อนเหตุผลอันใด ภาะว่าเมืองหลวงน้ำธาแล เมืองสิงห์ ทั้งสองเมืองนี้มีกานเกี่ยวกันกันมาแต่านมาแล้ว ชาติาเมืองสองเมืองนี้ค้ายคือกัน หมดสิดเชื้อสายเจ้าลงพร้อมกันแล ทั้งได้เป็นหัวเมืองขึ้นก้อมกันมา แต่ว่าคนสองเมืองนี้บ่แม่นเผ่าเดียวกัน คนเมืองสิงห์แม่นเผ่าลื้อมาจากเขษ 12 พันนาลื้อ คนเมืองหลวงน้ำธาแม่นเผ่ายวนหรือ (กลอมยวน) มาจากเมืองเงินหรือ เวียงหนาน เมืองหนาน (จังหวัดหนาน)

Henceforth, I, Nòi In Song, have already examined the history of Luang Nam Tha. It has a lot of shortcomings because the story which is recorded on a silver plate is not detailed. It does not record to what ethnic group [each] ruler of this area belonged, how long did the reign of each ruler last and what are the years [of his reign].

As I have read the history since the period of Chiang Saen and Chiang Mai in CS 1 / BE 1181 / CE 638 and the period of Laos, the kingdom of Lan Sang (Luang Phra Bang), in CS 119 / BE 1300 / CE 757, I will write the histories of Lan Na, Chiang Saen and Chiang Mai, repectively. Then, I will continue with the history of Laos from the Lan Sang kingdom (Luang Prabang) until the present time. After that, I will write the history of Luang Nam Tha about its first and second founding, and any events which happened in Luang Nam Tha until now. Afterwards, I will continue with the history of Müang Sing, because of the two *müang*, Luang Nam Tha and Müang Sing, has been connected with each other since ancient times. Their destinies were similar to each other, that is, their monarch came to an end and they were dependency. Nevertheless, their inhabitants are not from the same ethnic group (*phao*), the people of Müang Sing is [Tai] Lü from Sipsòng Panna, while the people of Luang Nam Tha are [Tai] Yuan or Klòm Yuan from Müang Ngoen or Wiang Nan; Müang Nan (Nan province).

The final paragraph reveals some of the historical sources used by the scribe. One important source is a two-volume collection of local Northern Thai chronicles by the Chiang Mai local historian Sanguan Chotsukkharat.¹⁴

ถ้าจะกล่าวถึงประวัติศาสตร์ไทยลาวกล่าวว่าไทยกับลาวนั้นมาจากบ่อนเดียวกันนั้นคือ
ถักต้องแล้ว คั้งคั้งปะหวัดเชียงแสน เชียงใหม่ อันมีอยู่ใน ปละชุมตำนานล้านนา
ไทยเล่ม 2 (เลขอารบิก)

นับแต่ตำนานพระแก้วมรกตลงมาถึง ตำนานพระบาทสี่รอย (รางรุ่ง) รวมมี 22 เก่ง
อยู่ [บ่มีพินหนบ]เดียวกัน ได้ชื่อว่า ปละชุมตำนานล้านนาไทยเล่ม 2 รวบรวมด้วย
สงวน โชติสุภะรัต

If mentioned to Tai-Laos histories, it can be said that they come from the same root, which is correct to say, as the beginning of the history of Chiang Saen and Chiang Mai which is recorded in the chronicle of Lan Na Thai, part 2, since the chronicle of the Emerald Buddha to the chronicle of the four Buddha foot prints (*hang hung*), in total 22 altogether with the same manuscript, named ‘Prachum Tamnan Lan Na Thai Lem Song’ (The collected chronicles of Lan Na Thai, part 2) which has been collected by Sanguan Chotsukkharat.

4. Colophons

The colophon is a prominent category of paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts as the contents of these can provide copious amounts of information about scribes, donors and the manuscript itself. Moreover, some of them reflect the state of local society at the time. The contents of colophons can be divided into the following three main categories:

- 4.1 contents concerning the scribes and donors;
- 4.2 contents concerning of the production and the transmission of the manuscript itself;
- 4.3 manuscript economy;
- 4.4 mentions of historical events not directly related to the recorded text.

¹⁴ ‘Prachum Tamnan Lan Na Thai Lem Song’ (The collected chronicles of Lan Na Thai, part 2) of Sanguan Chotsukkharat was published in 1972. The book is composed of twenty-two topics as the scribe mentioned on the preface.

4.1 Contents concerning the scribes and donors

Colophons in Tai Lü manuscript usually provides valuable information pertaining to scribes and donors, especially their names and location. The intentions of the scribes and donors, as well as their wishes for writing and donating manuscript, also appear. This is elaborated in the following section.

4.1.1 Name, place and occupation of scribes and donors

Names of scribes and donors usually appear in the colophons of Tai Lü manuscripts. Most of them are male names because all Tai Lü scribes seem to be men. This is due to the fact that the study of the Dhamma script only takes place at Buddhist monasteries; therefore the only persons who can learn the script are ordained. Thus, the scribes can be monks, novices and ex-monks. Female names, however, appear as donors and as the scribe's wife, daughter or relatives.

Moreover, in a number of cases a scribe is designated by several names as demonstrated, for example, in the manuscript YN124: คำวนิทานศาสนาเมืองหลวงอติกัมมรัฐบุรี (ถ้วน 3) (*Khao nitan sasana moeng long atikamma-latthabuli* / The story about the religion in Moeng Long Atikamma-ratthapūri) from Sipsòng Panna, and dated 1994 CE.

The scribe's name Ai Saeng Nòi of Müang Long, Sipsòng Panna. However, he records three names in the colophon on the front cover folio: 1) Caiyasi, 2) Ai Saeng Nòi, and 3) Pò Kham Lü. In August 2012, I had an opportunity to visit and interview the scribe at his residence where he explained the three names recorded in the colophon: the first name "Caiyasi" was his name when he was a monk; second, "Ai Saeng Nòi" is his real name; and finally "Pò Kham Lü" means father of Kham Lü, who is his eldest son. The last characteristic is also found in Thai and Lao cultures. They usually call their associate by their son or daughter's name.

หน้าพับซ้าย คำวนิทานศาสนาเมืองหลวงอติกัมม

รัฐบุรี

ดาตยถ้วน 3

ไชยยศรี. อ้ายแสงน้อย. พ่อคำลือบ้านเพยลงเมืองหลวง

แต่งเขียนในปีจุลศักราช 1356 ตัวเลขเดิมไว้กับเงินแล

“ [The manuscript is entitled] *Khao nitan sasana moeng long atikam latthabuli*. Caiyasi Ai Saeng Nòi Pò Kham Lü [from] Ban Foei Long [in] Moeng Long copied [it] in the year CS 1356 (CE 1994/95) at his home.”



Figure No. 4.32: YN124 (Collection Grabowsky)

In contrast, reflecting the influence of Chinese rule, some scribes in Yunnan also have their Chinese name, as we can see on the front cover folio of the undated manuscript **YN195**, รวม 8 เรื่อง (*Hom 8 loeng / Altogether with eight titles*) from Sipsòng Panna. This is a multiple-text manuscript comprising eight stories. The scribe provides three alternative names. First, he calls himself Pò Kham Lao Sü of Müang Laem, then he lists his original name, Ai Aun Saeng, and finally records his Chinese name, Tao Yong Min.

หน้าปก

...

พันพ่อคำเลาชื่อเมิงแถม

นามมป็นชาติชื่ออ้ายอันแสง

ชื่อห่อนชื่อว่า เทาขงมิน

Front cover folio:

...

This manuscript belongs to Pò Kham Lao Sü of Müang Hem.

My name is Ai Un Saeng

My Chinese name is Tao Yong Min



Figure No. 4.33: YN195 (Collection Grabowsky)

The same method is applied in the colophon of the manuscript **YN194: กัมปปีหุราหลวง** (*Kampi hula long* / **Scripture of great astrology**) from Sipsòng Panna, dated 1994 CE. The scribe provides his four names in Tai Lü script and Chinese characters.

ขนานอุ่นน้อย เจ้าลิ้น	康朗温因	照律星	4 ชื่อเป็นผู้
แสงวาด	相晚		เดียวมี 4 ชื่อ แด
เท้ายวงจีน	刀永兴		

Khanan Un Nòi [alias] Cao Li Sin (Chinese characters)

These four names are Saeng Wat (Chinese characters) the same person who has four names.

Tao Yong Sin (Chinese characters)”

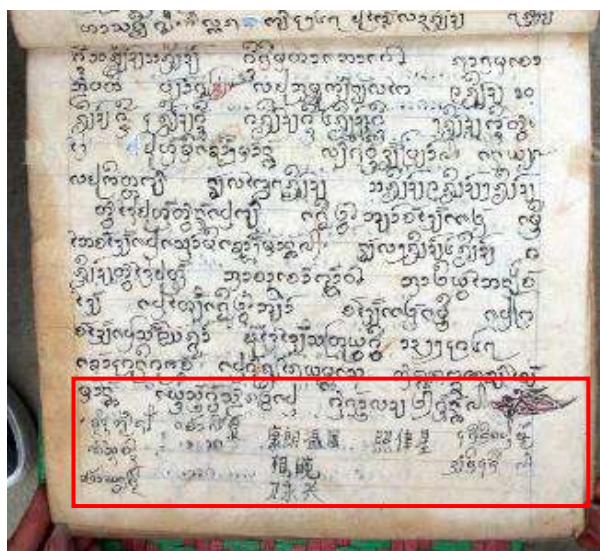


Figure No. 4.34: YN194 (Collection Grabowsky)

Moreover, the locations of the scribes and donors' habitation often appear together. Indeed, they often add the names of their monastery, village and township. This can be seen in the colophon of the eighth *phuk* of the manuscript **LS64**: สุตัสสนา นางหมากพร้าว (*Sutassana nang mak pao*) from Müang Sing, dated 1985 CE. The scribe of this fascicle is a novice, named Kao Nòi who comes from the monastery and village of Ban Yang Kham in Müang Sing. He wrote the short colophon in modern Lao script after the end of the eighth *phuk* (here: chapter), the content of which is written in Tham Lü script.

ผู้แต่งแล้วเวลา 1 มวง

พะแก้วน้อยบ้านยางคำเมืองสิง

I finished (to copy the text) at 1 o'clock.

Pha Kao Nòi (of) Ban Yang Kham, Müang Sing.

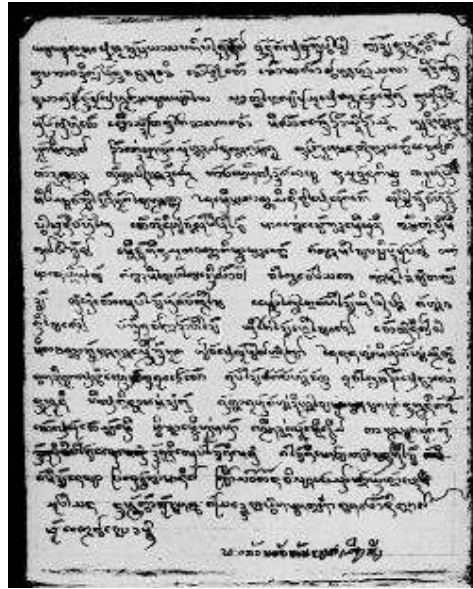


Figure No. 4.35: LS64 (Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

Aside from the name of the scribes and donors and their places of habitation usually mentioned in the colophon, some of the manuscripts in my corpus detail the occupations of scribes and owners. I found only two occupations in my corpus, which are recorded in a total of thirteen manuscripts. The occupation which is most frequently mentioned is *อาจານ* / *Acan*/ (Thai: อาจารย์; Sanskrit: Ācārya). The word *Acan* means teacher in Thai, but in Lan Na and among the Tai Lü this word is used to designate a man who leads laymen during chants, conducts ceremonies in Buddhist monasteries, and also performs local rituals. In the central Thai language, this person is called *มัคนายก* / *Makkhanayok*/ (Pali: Magga (way) + Nāyaka (leader)). This occupation appears in my corpus together with the names of the scribes in seven manuscripts: YN15, YN26, YN95, YN165, LS5, LS22, and LS63.

One example of can be found in the colophon of the manuscript **YN95: ธรรม์พหุสูตร (Tham pahu sut / Dhamma of scholar)** from Wat Ban Cong, Müang Laem, dated 1986 CE. The scribe, named *Pu Nan Deo*, provides the title of one of the chapters in this manuscript, the number of days he spent writing the text, the date when he finished, and his wishes and desires attendant on writing the text. The name of the scribe appears twice in the colophon as *Pu Nan Deo Acan*, which is composed of four words. The first two of words are titles: *Pu* (Thai: ปู่ means grandfather; also used for calling a male elder) and *Nan* (Tai: นาน / or *khanan* ขนาน; called ex-monks). This is then followed by his name *Deo* (Thai: เดียว เดียว means one), while the last word reveals his occupation, *Acan*, as explained above.

โคลงโคลนท้ายเรื่อง

มหาโม 28 หนัณ ข้าแต่ 3 วันถึง แต่ ๓ ๓ (ยะ)จ้งเข้าบ่ลือยัง(ยะ) ขอหื้อข้าได้
พบพอยแสงพอยคำ พระเมตเตยเจ้าเมออันท่านมาผดโลกวันนั้นแท้ข้าได้ สาธุ ข้า
แต่บุณเฮย ในรายสีปีหักเป็นปรายี มหา จุฬสกราชได้ 1348 ตัว สระเค็มเข้ามา
ในเดิน 9 ปถมขึ้นมาได้ 4 คำ แรกแต่แมลงวัน 3 ไทวันรับเร้า วันท้ายโพ ผู้ข้าปุ
นายนเดียวอาจนก็มาบ่งยังจิตตจักขุแลมือแห่งคนแลมาแต่แมลงวันยังหมมพหูสูตพันนิ
ต่อถึง เดิน 9 ทุติยขึ้นมาได้ 12 คำ ไข้อคบบรรมวลแล ผู้ข้าขอหื้อได้ช่างแต่ช่วง
หมายคุโฆชาดข้าแล ขอหื้อ เป็นโลกิยะแลโลกุตตร้าผลธำนำเอาคนตัวผู้ข้าชื่อว่า
นายนเดียวอาจนหื้อได้ห่วยหนัรอดจอดถึง เวียง แก้วยอดนครพานแท้ ๆ ข้าแต่บุณ
เฮยบุณนอผีเหยผีนอ นิพพาน ปรมิ สุขขั

Translation: Colophon at the end of the main text.

I have copied this *Maha Mo Saopaet Ho* [manuscript] in three and a half days. I did this without making a rest. May I [be reborn] in the times of Lord Metteyya¹⁵. Sādhū. May this bring merit. In the *rai si* [Tai] year or *rai yi* Dhamma year¹⁶, CS 1348, on the fourth waxing day of the ninth [lunar] month,¹⁷ I started writing. This was a Tuesday as the Mon [say], a *dap rao* day as the Tai [say]. **I, Pu Nan Deo Acan**, put down my mind, my eyes and my hands to copy this *Tham Phahusut* manuscript. I copied it until the twelfth waxing day of the ninth month until I completed it. I wish to become an experienced scribe in all existences. I wish to be a mundane person (lokiya) whose lokuttra-dhamma as well as the phala-dhamma may bring me, **Pu Nan Deo Acan**, forward until reaching the splendid city of Nibbāna, the peak [of happiness]. May this bring merit. Nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ.¹⁸

¹⁵ In Theravada Buddhism, it is believed that in this eon, Bhaddakappa, there are five Buddhas, that is Kakusantha, Khonakamana, Kassapa, Guatama, and Ariya Metteyya, which current period is the period of Guatama, and after that will be the period of Ariyametaiya Buddha (Bampen, 1999, 78).

¹⁶ Some of the dating in the colophons of my corpus are provided in two systems: the Tai calendar system or *Pi Hon Tai* (see “Dating systems in Tai Lü manuscripts” in Chapter 3), and the Tham calendar system which I do not currently understand due to my inability to locate a specialist to explain it.

¹⁷ 1348 Ashada 4 = Thursday, 10 July 1986.

¹⁸ Nibbāna [is] the highest [stage of] happiness. This day was indeed a *dap mao* day.

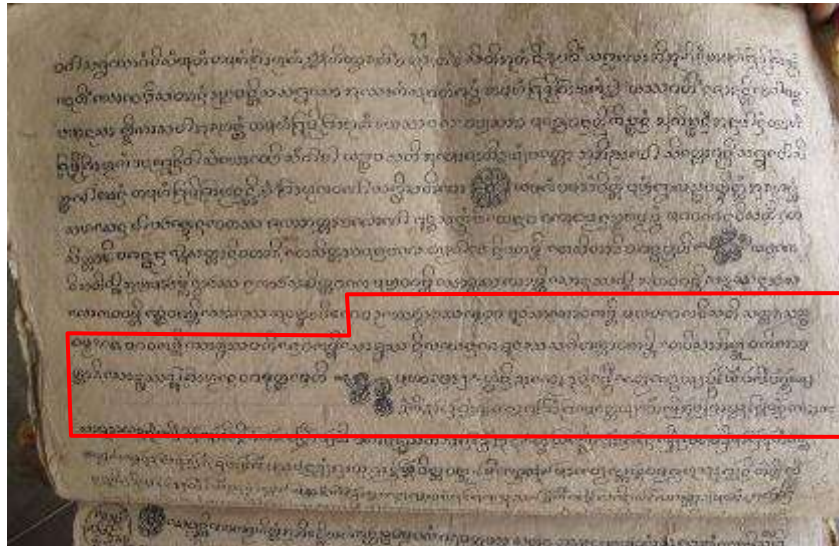


Figure No. 4.36: YN95 (Collection Grabowsky)

Another occupation that appears in the manuscripts is *Mò Ya* (Tai: หมอยา or traditional pharmacist). This occupation is recorded together with the names of scribes/owners in six manuscripts, namely: YN51, YN61, YN91, YN161, YN201 and YN203. One example of this is in the manuscript **YN201: สิบหกเมืองหลวง (*Sip-hok moeng long* / **Sixteen capitals**)** from Müang Lòng Tai, Sipsòng Panna, dated 2001 CE. The scribe mentions his name, *Saeng In*, and his occupation, *Mò Yā*, on the front cover folio.

หน้าปก

หน้าทับไฟเล่าสิบหกเมืองหลวงเปนของพ่อแสงอินหมอยาบ้านดางแล ตัวก็บ่พองาม
ค่อยพิจารณาเถาะ

Front cover folio:

The front cover folio [bears the title] *Sip-hok moeng long* (“Sixteen Capitals”). [The manuscript] belongs to **Pò Saeng In, a traditional pharmacist** [from] Ban Thang. [My] handwriting is not beautiful enough. Please consider this carefully.

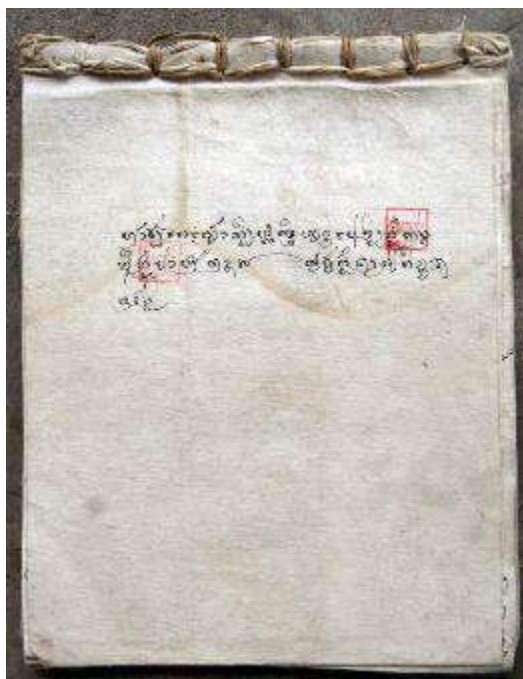


Figure No. 4.37: YN201 (Collection Grabowsky)

As already noted during my discussion of the prefatory material in Tai Lü manuscripts, this occupational background has also appeared in the preface. The manuscript **YN124: คำวนิทานศาสนาเมืองหลวง อติกรรมฐาน ๓ (Khao nitan satsana moeng long atikamma latthabuli thon sam / Religious legends of Moeng Long Atikamma Rāṭhapuri, vol. 3)**, for example, mentions the name of the scribe as well as the names of the scribe's twenty-one informants and their locations. It is also noteworthy that two of the names also provide hints about the career of the informants, that is: พ่อเจ้าแดงหมอยา เชียงไน (Phò Thao Daeng Mò Ya [from] Chiang Nai) and พ่อเจ้านุ่นหมอยา บ้านเพยลง (Pò Thao Bun Mò Ya [from] Ban Foei Lung). The word 'หมอยา' (Mò Ya) means a local healer.

4.1.2 Purposes of scribes/donors for writing /donating manuscripts

As the Tai Lü people are devout believers in Theravāda Buddhism, the majority of Tai Lü manuscripts contain religious texts. Therefore, religious beliefs are often cited among the purposes and intentions motivating the scribes and donors to write and donate manuscripts.

This characteristic feature not only appears in Tai Lü manuscript culture, but also in the other cultures based on the Dhamma script, for instance, Lan Na, Tai Khün and Lao manuscript cultures. Moreover, such dedications also appear in Indian manuscript cultures –

for example, Sri Lankan Buddhist manuscripts – especially in lands similarly dominated by Theravāda Buddhism. As such, one may presume that this characteristic feature may not only reflect the influence of Indian manuscripts, which spread to Southeast Asia along with the propagation of Theravāda Buddhism, but also represent a commonality of a Buddhist colophon.

As can be seen from manuscript production in Sri Lankan history,¹⁹ the Dhamma and Buddha's doctrine were recorded on palm-leaf manuscripts. The authors and scribes typically recorded their intentions at the beginning and the end of the work. These intentions may be divided into three types of paratexts, which are found in Sri Lankan manuscripts:

1) Blessing (*āsīrvāda*): scribes typically add blessings at the beginning and end of texts, for example: “May there be blessings and fulfillment”, “May there be success” and “May there be happiness”.

2) Affirmation: detail the benefits of listening to sermons and writing religious texts (*dharmānisaṃsa*).

3) Aspirations (*patthanā*): expressions of the scribe's wishes, such as the desire for, and expectation of, the benefits of the writing religious texts, which may bring them good fortune and become a Buddha in the future (Berkwitz 2009, 35–49).

The paratexts also appear in Tai Lü religious manuscripts. The blessing (*āsīrvāda*) is usually provided before the start main text in the form of the Pali phrase: “Namo Tassatthu” (“May there be goodness”). Moreover, the affirmation (Pali: *dharmānisaṃsa*) and aspirations (Sanskrit: *prārthanā*; Pali: *patthanā*) usually appear in colophons, where the scribes and donors express their motivations for writing and donating manuscripts containing religious texts.

The purposes

The majority of the purposes of scribes and donors pertain to religious beliefs, especially the transmigration of the soul and to help maintain the longevity of Buddhism to 5,000 years. These purposes as reflected in the colophons of the two corpora of Tai Lü manuscripts under study here can be divided into ten categories:

1. Supporting the teachings of the Buddha;
2. Paying homage to the Triple Gems;
3. Donating manuscripts to a monastery;

¹⁹ Berkwitz, Schober and Brown, 2009, 44–47.

4. Making merit for future lives;
5. Dedicating merit to the deceased;
6. Paying respect to manuscripts;
7. Writing manuscripts for the purpose of sponsors;
8. Teaching people;
9. Writing for posterity and the benefit of future generations;
10. Writing for the memory of the traditional polity (*moeng / müang*).

1. Supporting the Teachings of the Buddha

This pertains to the belief that the maximum duration of Buddhism in the period of Gautama Buddha is 5,000 years. This is very common in countries where people believe in Theravāda Buddhism, especially Thailand and Laos²⁰. Although the idea that Buddhism has a maximum lifespan of 5,000 years does not appear in the Tipitaka, Buddhists nevertheless strongly believe this. The historical evidence shows that there are numerous inscriptions and manuscripts in Lan Na, which record this belief as a key motivator for scribes to produce such texts. The stone inscription discussed below is the oldest instance where I have located this belief appearing as a primary motivator for altruistic acts.

The stone inscription was produced in 1412 CE in Phayao province, northern Thailand. It states that a white-clad ascetic presided over the building of Wat Kao Yòt (Kao Yòt Monastery) in 1376 CE. Later, he donated the monastery as a source of merit to the king, Cao Phaya Mae Nai²¹ and his mother. Later, Cao Si Mün Phayao, the ruler of Müang Phayao, ordered the addition of the stone inscription to the monastery in 1412 CE.

The king then spent 55,000 cowrie shells (Thai: เบี้ย, “*bia*”) to donate a plantation area to the monastery, while Cao Si Mün Phayao similarly donated 500 rice fields. The scribe wrote that the purpose of the donation was that the king and his mother wanted to make merit by supporting the *sāsana* (Buddhism) to continue for 5,000 years (Penth and Silao, 2003, 91–106).

²⁰ Buddhism is considered the main religion in Thailand. According to the Thai National Statistics Office (NSO) website, key indicators of population and housing indicate that 93.6 percent of the Thai population was Buddhist in 2010. Around 60% of the Laos population is Buddhist, similarly indicating that Buddhism is the dominant religion of Laos (Kislenko, 2009, 51–56).

²¹ Cao Phaya Mae Nai is the another name for Phaya Sam Fang Kaen, King of Lan Na Kingdom (r. 1402–1442 CE).



Figure No. 4.38: Wat Kao Yòt stone inscription

(Hans Penth, Archive of Lan Na Inscriptions, Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University)

Regarding the Tai Lü manuscripts in my corpus, I have similarly found that supporting the *sasanā* was the most widespread of motivations, appearing in 52 colophons. The maximum duration of the *sāsana* lasting 5,000 years, however, does not appear in all of these 52 colophons; in some, the scribes note that the purpose of producing the manuscript was just “for supporting the *sāsana*”, as illustrated by the following examples.

The first example is the manuscript **YN202: ตำนานพระเจ้าองค์หลวงเชียงกร (*Tamnan phacao long ceng kòn* / Chronicle of the great of Ceng Kòn Buddha statue)** from Ban Thang, Moeng Long Tai, in Sipsòng Panna is dated 2002 CE. The scribe, Pò Saeng In, states the purpose of writing the manuscript on the front cover page. He not only copied the manuscript to support the longevity of Buddhism for 5,000 years, but he also dedicates the manuscript to the Buddha statue mentioned in the story.

หน้าพายเกล้าตำนานสักขาตพระเจ้าหลวงเชียงคอนเหนือ

เชียงคอนเหนือพราเจ้าองค์หลวง พ่อแสงอินเจ้าหมอยาบ้านนาง

รักจิตต์คำซูลพุทธศาสนา 5 พันวสาต่อสืบพระเจ้าองค์หลวงแล

The front cover folio [bearing the title] *Tamnan sakkhath phacao long ceng (chiang) kòn noe, ceng kòn noe phra cao ong long* was copied (*likkhita*) by Pò Saeng In, an old traditional pharmacist (*mò*

ya) from Ban Thang, in support of the Buddhist religion so that it may last [until the end of] 5,000 years as well as the Buddha statue.

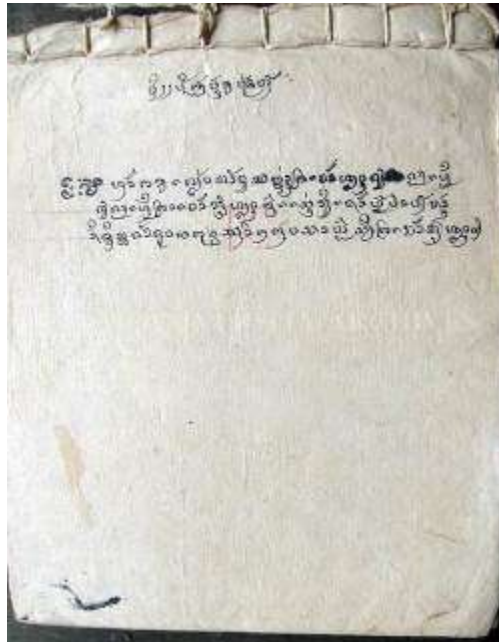


Figure No. 4.39: YN202 (Collection Grabowsky)

The manuscript **LS14: มหาวิบากหลวง** (*Maha wibak long / Great hardship*) from the monastery of Ban Nam Tung – the only Tai Lü village in the plain of Luang Namt Tha (Laos) – is dated to 1968 CE. The scribe, Nan Kang, wrote the manuscript to support the religion of Gautama Buddha.

หน้าทับพายเค้ามัหมมหาวิบากหลวงแล

หนานกางใส่คำชูพุทธศาสนาเจ้าโคตมแล

(ใส่ทานขอมือห้านมบ้านดินธาตุปี-ข้อความนี้มีปากกาหมึกแห้งสีน้ำเงินขีดฆ่า)
1330 ตัว

ข้าขอหื้อเป็นผลอานิสงส์คุณผู้ข้าแล

ขอหื้อรอดจอตถึง (ตนตัวหื้อห้านม-ข้อความนี้มีปากกาหมึกแห้งสีน้ำเงินขีดฆ่า และ
เขียนแทนว่า-คำ

คุณตัว...แต่) นั้นข้าแต่

The front cover folio [bears the title] *Tham maha wibak long*. Nan Kang wrote (this manuscript) in CS 1330 (1968 CE) to support the Buddhist religion of Guatama Buddha. May the benefit (of writing the text) help me to reach (Nibbāna).

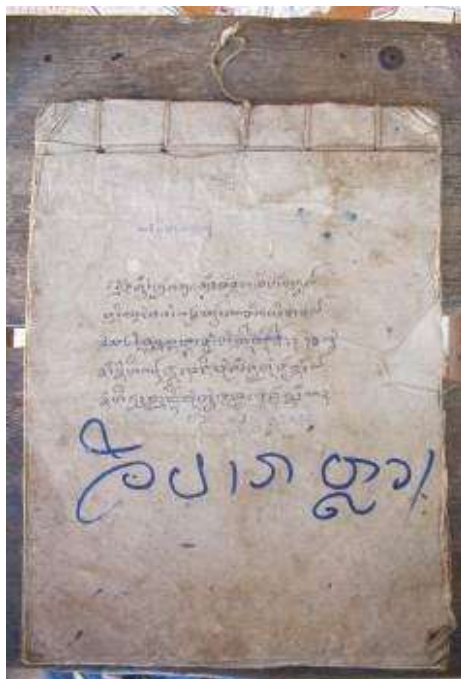


Figure No. 4.40: LS14 (Collection Grabowsky)

2. Paying homage to the triple gems

The Triple Gems (Tai Lü: *Kaeo Sam Pakan*, Pali: *Tiratana*) are held to be at the heart of Buddhism and command the highest respect of Buddhists; these Triple Gems comprise the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. Therefore, one of the purposes for writing and donating manuscripts is to pay homage to the Triple Gems. I have found this purpose in eight colophons of my corpus. One of these uses the phrase *Kaeo sam prakan* (LS22), five others state *Kaeo cao sam prakan* (LS48, LS68, LS69, LS75 and YN33), and another two elucidate *Phra tri rattana kaeo cao sam prakan* (LS56 and LS72). All of these three phrases eulogize the Triple Gems of the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha. These phrases are words positioned in the middle of the colophons. This can be seen in the following examples.

In the manuscript **LS22: ดำเนินทางเชิงตั้ง (*Tamnan that ceng tüng* / The chronicle of Ceng Tüng stupa)** dated 1959 CE, the motivation of the donors appears in a colophon on a front cover folio.

หน้าทับพายเกล้าธำณานชาดหลวงเชียงทิม ผูก 1 ย่ำขั้วรเข้าผูก 1 อยู่กับกันสองผูก
แล ปุพพิเจตนาสัทธาผู้ข้า อาจัน ขนานอินปรีชาแลลูกเต้าทั้งหลาย(ทั้ง 2) ชื่อว่าหัว
อินดวงแล อีป้อมเปนเกล้าลูกเต้าทั้ง 3 ทั้ง 4 ส้างปนทานแก้ว 3 ปรกาน ในปัสกิดได้
สักขาได้ 1321 ตัว ขอหื้อเปนอุปัณโโส ปรโใจล้ำช้วนแลชาดหน้า ยาว ทรายต่อเท้า
เข้าสู่ณิพพาน นิพพาน ปรมฺ สุกฺ ยาจามิ ขอหื้อถึงสุข ทแท้ข้าแลบุรเอย

The front cover folio [contains the title of] the religious chronicle of the great stupa of Chiang Tūm, one *phuk*, and of *Ya khwan khao*, one *phuk*. These two *phuk* are combined [in this manuscript]. As the leading initiator and religious faithful, I, Acan Khanan In Paya and my two children, whose names are Ho in Dong (Hua In Duang) and I Pòm, along with their three, respectively four children, **have sponsored the making [of this manuscript] as a donation to the Three Gems** in the year [CS] 1321. We ask that [this donation] will help us in this life and in the next existences until finally reaching Nibbāna. Nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ yācāmi. (Nibbāna [is] the highest [state of] happiness.) May this lead us to real happiness and religious merit.



Figure No. 4.41: LS22 (Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

The principal monastic supporter (*pubbaṃ cettanā saddhā*) was a learned man (*acan*) who was most probably a widower as his wife is not mentioned as a co-sponsor; rather, his two children (a son and a daughter) are mentioned instead, along with their respective children, i.e. the principal sponsor's seven grandchildren. Following the main intention for

sponsoring and donating the manuscript honouring the Triple Gems²², the colophon identifies escaping from the cycle of rebirth and reaching nirvana as the ultimate wish of Achan Khanan In Paya, his children and grandchildren.

3. Donating manuscripts to a monastery

As explained earlier, initiating the writing of religious manuscripts is held to be a way to support the religion. Therefore, scribes and donors often copy and donate manuscripts to monasteries. For example, the scribe of the manuscript **LS63: สุชาวันณจักพะยาวั (Sucawannacak phaya wo / Suchawanna, Lord of Cows)**²³ is a monk. He copied and donated the manuscript to Wat Long Yang Peng, his home monastery.

หน้าปกพับสา

หน้าทับพายเกล้าชื่อว่าธัมม สุชาวันณพระยาวั ผูกต้น ผูก 2 ผูก 3

อยู่กับกันมี 3 ผูก ทั้งมวรเปนกับแท้มี 7 ผูกเปนกับ กัน

บ่พอ 7 ผูกนี้บ่พอกับแล เจ้าเอยนายเอยครูเอย

ธัมมกับนี้ผู้ข้าทุกิกขวันสรี วัดหลวงเพียง ริจิตแต่

เขียนข้าแล เขียนไว้กับวัดหลวงยางเพียงข้าแล

The front cover folio [contains] the title *Dhamma Sucawanna Phaya Wo*, comprising of the first, second and third fascicles of a story which altogether has seven *phuk* (here: chapters) . **This manuscript was written by me, Thu Bhikkhu Wansri (at) Wat Long Peng. I have written (the manuscript) to donate it to Wat Long Yang Peng.**

²² Besides the intention to donate manuscripts for making merit to one's own ancestors, in every Tai ethnic groups there is the widespread belief that the donation of manuscripts will generate merit to its donors. (Interview of Apiradee with Renoo Wichasin, a specialist of Tai scripts and languages from Chiang Mai University, on September 29, 2018) Moreover, the colophon of the manuscript entitled อานิสงส์สร้างเขียนธรรมเป็นทาน (Anisamsa of writing and donating manuscripts), CE 1810, Wat Tung Yu, Chiang Mai, states that whoever produces or donates manuscripts will be born in fabulous family and born to be a rich person.

²³ *Suchawanna* is a story about the life of the Bodhisatta when he was born as *Suchawannacak*, the son of *Cumpu*, a king of *Chetuttara Nagara*. On the other hand, at Rajgir town, *Nāṅg Khemāwadi* was pregnant because she drank a cow's urine. Thereafter she gave birth to be a daughter named *Ummāthanti*. When *Ummāthanti* grew up, she travelled to look for the cow whis is her father. On the way, she met *Suchawannacak*, and he took her back to his palace for getting married, and govern the kingdom succeeding the late king, *Cumpu*. Later they got a son and when this son as old enough, they abdicated leaving the royal capital to become hermits (Peltier 1987, 104).

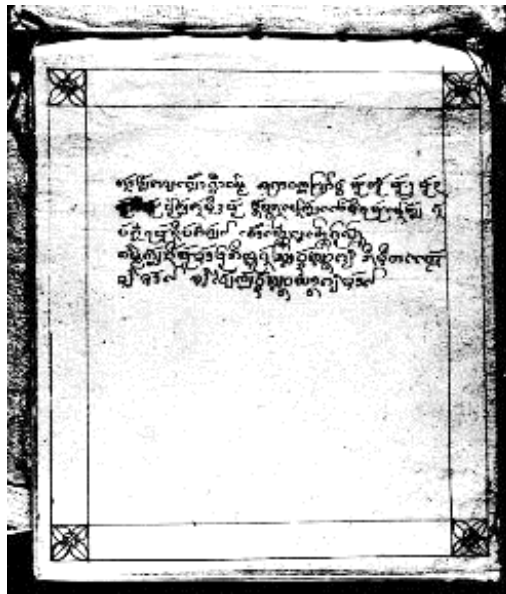


Figure No. 4.42: LS63 (Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

Another example is the manuscript **YN69: มหาสัพพัมมสูตรคหลวง** (*Maha sappathammasut long / All kinds of the Great Dhamma Sutras*), dated 1983 CE, from Wat Khwaen Ka, Moeng Ka, in Jinggu County, Yunnan. It is an example of a special donation of a manuscript. The donor not only gave the manuscript to the monastery, but he also did this on the occasion of the Parivāsākamma²⁴, which is an important activity for the penance and purification of Theravāda Buddhist monks who have committed *Saṅghadisesa* offences.²⁵ The donor of this manuscript is a monk named Mahā Guḷuseṭṭā Khuba Sangcao, who is the Supreme Patriarch at Wat Long Khwaen Nūa; he donated the manuscript during the Parivāsākamma in 1983 CE. The purpose of this donation also appears in two colophons, the first of which is on the front cover folio, while the second directly follows the main text.

หน้าทับพายห้วมหาสัพพัมมสูตร

หลวงผูกนี้ ผู้สร้างเข้าเป็นสมณสักขี

มหาคุุเสฐฐาครูบาสังเจ้าในวัดหลวง

แคว้นเหนือล้านทากับปวิสากัมม ในเดิน

²⁴ Parivāsākamma is one of the ceremonies and Vinaya (Buddhist monks' rules) for monks who have committed some ecclesiastical offenses. The monks have to do Parivāsākamma to control their behavior, cleanse their mistakes as well as purify their *Sīla* (religious precept). The ceremony usually occurs around November–December and lasts for seven to ten days. (The Project of the Buddhist Study Center for Neighbouring Countries 2009, 110–121)

²⁵ Saṅghadisesa is an offence entailing initial and subsequent meetings of the Sangha. (Brahmagunabhorn, Phra 2016, 352). It has thirteen rules which are considered as a strong offence. However, people believe that it can be solved by attending Parivāsākamma ceremony. See Pornsiri 2016, 21–22.

คล้า(เดือนก้า=เดือนยี่)แล สาขัคได้ 13405 ตัว กฏเข้ามา

ในปีเมิงเร้นอก ปีก้าไคล้าในร้า ปีน้นส้าง

ทานข้าแล ขอหื้อเปนประใจแก่นิพพานเจ้าเข้า

สู่มหานรพานเที่ยงแท้ซ้อยแด่บุญเอย

The front cover folio, the manuscript entitled *Maha sappatham sut long* has been donated by the faithful monk Mahā Guḷuseṭṭā Khuba Sangcao at Wat Long, northern district (*kwaen noe*), sponsored and donated at [the occasion of] ecclesiastical self-restraint (*parivāsākamma*) in the second month of the year [CS] 1345²⁶, a *moeng rao* year (“outer”) [or] a *ka kai* year in the Dhamma (tradition?). May this be a disposition to reach Nibbāna. May I really enter Nibbāna through this merit.

ท้ายเรื่อง

สาธุนิพพานปัจจโยโหตุโนนิจจุวัปรมฺสุขํ

มหาสัพพัมมุตฺตหลวงผูกนั้ผู้ส้างข้าเปนมณ

สัทธาในวัดหลวงแคว้นเหนือครุบาทมหาสังฆราชา

เจ้ามาส้างทานกับปริวาสกัมมในเดินคล้าพายนอก

เดิน 3 ในร้า ขึ้นได้สิบ 5 ค้า พร้าเปวันอุทธีม้งคลออันประเลิด

ขอหื้อผละนาบุญเข่งนินำเอามันเจ้าได้เมอเกิดเมิงสวน(สวรรค์)

หื้อได้เิงที่สุกขาสำรานที่วิเสด มีประเพดว่าโสดา ส

กิตถา อนาคา อรหันตา ตามบุญสุมพานอันได้กัฏฐธิการ

หื้อได้เิงนรพานที่ประเลิดแท้แท้ข้าแด่บุญเหยนุนอ

Translation: Following the end of the text.

*Sādhu nibbāna paccayo hotu no niccam dhuvam paramam sukham.*²⁷

This *Maha sappatham sut long* manuscript has been sponsored by the faithful monk of Wat Long, in the northern district, *khuba* Mahāsamgharājā *cao* (i.e., the Supreme Patriarch). **He sponsored and donated it at [the occasion of] ecclesiastical self-restraint (*parivāsākamma*) in the second month (“outer calendar”) or the third month (“Dhamma calendar”), on the fifteenth waxing**

²⁶ Period between Monday, 5 December 1983 and Monday, 2 January 1984.

²⁷ (May the benefit of the making merit) is a factor to reach nibbāna. May it serve us continuously and for evermore (and nibbāna is) the supreme happiness.

moon,²⁸ which is an auspicious day. May this bring him religious benefit (“field of merit”) and lead to rebirth in heaven. May he reach supreme happiness and contentedness which are *sotā*, *sākidāgā*, *anāgā*, *arahantā*²⁹, according to the accumulated merit. May he reach nibbāna, the supreme stage.

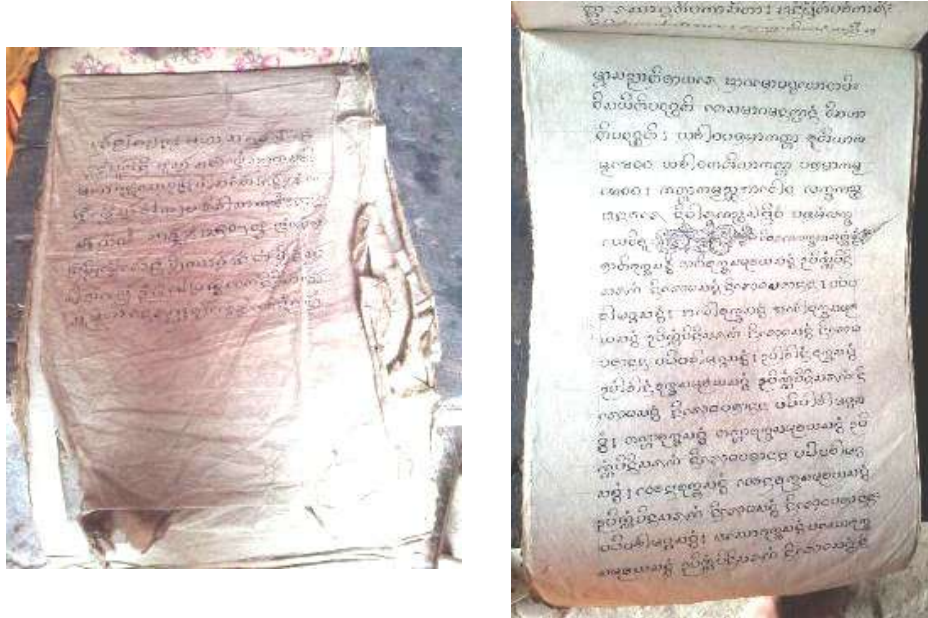


Figure No. 4.43-44 YN69 (Collection Grabowsky)

4. Making merit for the benefit in future lives

In Theravada Buddhism, the belief in transmigration or the cycle of death and rebirth (*samsāra*), as well as past and future lives, is of crucial importance. However, the Tripitaka does not put a lot of emphasis on that topic. However, many knowledgeable people propagate the idea of transmigration because they want people to believe in the law of karma. This posits that good or bad karma accumulates from past lives and can affect one’s present and future lives. Following this logic, people who believe in karma will lead their lives in more moral ways (Brahmagunabhorn, Phra (P. A. Payutto) 2012, 277–279).

²⁸ 1345 Pausha 15 is Tuesday, 17 January 1984.

²⁹ In Theravada Buddhism, there are four stages of becoming a holy person (Pali: *Ariyapuggala*) and attaining Nibbāna: 1. *Sotāpanna*: one who has attained the first stage of holiness; 2. *Sakadāgāmī*: one who has attained the second stage of the path and will be reborn on the earth only once more before attaining final emancipation; 3. *Anāgāmī*: one who has attained the third stage of holiness; and 4. *Arahanta*: one who has attained Nibbāna. (Brahmagunabhorn, Phra (P. A. Payutto) 2016, 344, 355, 356, and 358).

In a similar vein, Hirakawa (1998, 6) argues that one of the most important tenets of Indian religions is the belief in rebirth; indeed, Buddhists have developed theories to explain it. Nevertheless, rebirth is not the goal of Śākyamuni's teachings; he focused on liberation from the suffering of existence.

The upshot of this belief is reflected in colophons of Tai Lü manuscripts. Scribes and donors often reveal this purpose for the creation and donation of manuscripts; they hope that the benefit of this merit-making will support them in their future lives. An example of this is the manuscript **LS71: ธรรมธาตุหลวงเชียงทึม (*Thammathat long ceng tüm* / **The chronicle of Ceng Tüng stupa**)** from Luang Namtha, dated 1992 CE. Hua In Kham and his family donated the manuscript with the principal intention that this meritorious deed will prove to be beneficial in all their future existences.

หน้าปก

สัทธิหวัอินคำสร้างทานในปี 1354 ตัว ข้าแล

หน้าทับพายเคล้ำ ชื่อว่าธรรมธาตุหลวงเชียงทึมข้าแลเจ้าเหยีย ปุพุทธเจตนาสัทธิหวัผู้ข้า
ชื่อว่าหวัอินคำเปนเคล้ำกว่ากรียา ชื่อว่า นางโอ และลูกผู้ 1 ชื่อว่าหนาน . แสงแล ลูก
ไฟ ชื่อว่านางแสงอัยแล ลูกเขยผู้ 1 ชื่อว่าหวัธำประยาแล ลูกยิ๊งผู้ 1 ชื่อว่า นางแสง
แล ลูกยิ๊งผู้ 1 ชื่อว่านางคำแก้วแล ลูกเขยชื่อว่าอัยคำผายแล ลูกยิ๊งผู้ 1 ชื่อว่านางอ่อน
สีแลอัยแก้ว ผู้ข้าทั้งหวัทั้งเรินแล พ่อแม่ลูก ทั้งมวระคัมมาสร้างได้ยังธรรมตำนานธาตุ
หลวงเชียงทึมผูกนี้เพื่อจักทานเมื่อไว้พายหน้า ขอหื้อเทวนุดเทวดา พระยาอินพระยา
พรม พระยมราด ท้าวจุโลกทั้ง 4 แลนางชอระณี ศรีกุดดาอามาต จตุโลกกัปปาลทั้ง
หลาย มากคเณรายหมายเอาชื่อว่าผู้ข้าหวัอินคำเปนเคล้ำกว่ากรียาลูกเจ้าหลานคน
ทั้งมวระ ได้พ้นจากโอมวัดตสงสาน ถึงเนรพานเปนทิแล้วข้าแลบุญนอย สุทินนัวคุดา
เมทานัน ทาคูวาทานัน ยาจามิ ลิกขิตดาแด้มแล้ว เมื่อเดินเจียงขึ้น 13 คำข้าแล แด้มที่
ตกก็ตกที่หลวงก็หลวง ก็ขอสมมาธรรมแต่อย่าเปนบาปเปนโทษข้าแลแต่ ยาจามิ

The religious faithful (saddhā) Ho (Hua) In Kham sponsored and donated [this manuscript] in the year [CS] 1354.

The front cover folio [contains] the title *Thamma That Long Ceng Tümm (That Luang Chiang Tüng)*. The principal initiators, the religious faithful, Ho (Hua) In Kham, who takes the initiative, and my wife Nang O along with our son, Nan Saeng, and our daughter-in-law, Nang Saeng Oei, our son-in-law, Ho (Hua) Tham Paya, and our daughter, Nang Kham Kaeo, as well as our son-in-law, Ai Kham Phai, and our daughter, Nang Õn Si, and [finally] Ai Kaeo, our whole family and household, we parents and all our children, sponsored the making of this religious chronicle of the Great Stupa of Chiang Tüng. This manuscript will be donated for posterity. We ask the gods and goddesses, Lord Indra and Lord Brahma, the Lord of the

Underworld, the four guardian kings of the world, the Goddess of the Earth, and the chief ministers from the beginning until the end of the four quarters of the world, to record our names, namely of In Kham, who takes the lead, his wife and all his children. Thus they will be able to escape the torrent cycle of reincarnation [finally] entering nibbāna, due to our merit only. *Sudinnaṃ vattāme dānaṃ dātuvā dānaṃ yācāmi*.³⁰ The writing [of this manuscript] has been completed on the thirteenth waxing day of the first month.³¹ When writing [words] were misspelled or were omitted. I apologise for this. But may this not be considered a sinful action. *Yācāmi*.

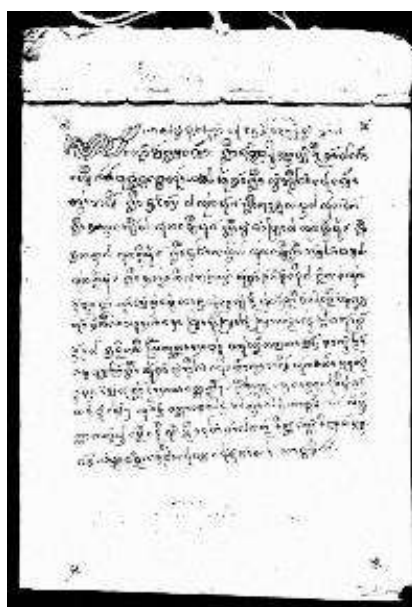


Figure No. 4.45: LS71 (Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

The belief in the cycle of rebirth (*samsāra*) is strongly reflected in the colophon vis-a-vis the donors' purpose and wishes for donating the manuscript. They desire that this merit-making will help and support their future lives, with the ultimate aim of escaping from the cycle of rebirth to finally reach Nibbāna, the final destination.

5. Dedicating merit to the deceased

As Buddhists believe in rebirth and life after death, it is typical in Thai and Tai cultures to make merit and dedicate the benefit to ancestors and relatives who have passed away. Instances of this

³⁰ May the merit deriving from my donation (by producing this manuscript) [support me to reach nibbāna]. I ask for it.

³¹ 1354 Karthika 13 = Saturday, 7 November 1992.

include offering food and/or objects to monks and donating Buddhist objects and/or permanent structures to monasteries. Similarly, the writing, sponsoring and donating of manuscripts represent different ways to make merit and dedicate it to the deceased. In my corpus, the dedication appears in colophons of five manuscripts, namely: LS4, LS14, YN89, YN116 and YN117. Manuscripts LS4 and YN116 are used as examples below.

The first manuscript, **LS4**: ธรรม์อันสงฆ์สัจจฐิสงฆ์ (Tham anisong satthi song khao) from Müang Sing, was donated by Ho Yi Thòn and his family in the name of his deceased mother, Mae Thao He Sao.

// หน้าทับพายเค้าชื่อว่าธรรม์อันสงฆ์สัจจฐิสงฆ์เข้าแลเจ้า ..

// ปุพฺพเจตนาสัทธาผู้เข้าชื่อว่าห้วยธอนเป็นค้ำกว่าภริยาชื่อว่านางไ้อ์คำแล

พร้อมด้วยท้าวทั้งเร็น คัชนกันมาสร้างได้ยังธรรม์อันสงฆ์สัจจฐิสงฆ์เข้าผู้นี้[จัก]อุท-

สผละนาบุญนี้ ฝากไปหายังมาตาผู้อันเป็นแม่ชื่อว่าแม่เถ้าเหี้ยเสอัน

ได้อะนิจจากัมไปสู่ปราโลกพายนั่นนั้น ขอหื้อหม่อมเหล็กขเทวนุดเทวดาพระยาอิน

พระยาพรหม พระยายมมาราดแล. ท้าวจตุโลกทั้ง 4 [นาง]แก้วยอดธรรณี ขอหื้อมาส
นำจ้อจ้อไว้คณน้ำค้อย่าเสไหล ใฟลามค้อย่าไหม้ ขอหื้อนำเอาไปรดแต่ ๆ เข้าแต่
ขอหื้อแม่เถ้าเหี้ย[เสา / เกา] หื้อได้พ้นจากทุกถึงสุขเข้าสู่เวียงแก้วยอดเนรพานเข้าแต่
ยจากมิ

// The front cover folio [contains] the title *Anisong satthi song khao*.

// The principal initiators, the religious faithful, Ho (Hua) Yi Thòn, and my wife Nang Ai Kham, along with our whole household sponsored jointly the religious manuscript (*tham*) [entitled] *Anisong satthi song khao* donating it in order [to gain] a field of merit. This is done on behalf of our mother called Mae Thao He (Hia) [Sao/Pao] who already has passed away and entered the otherworld lying ahead. May the gods and goddesses, Lord Indra and Lord Brahma, the Lord of the Underworld, the four guardian kings of the world, and the Goddess of the Earth, [record our names] to be remembered. [The record] shall not be dropped into water to be driven away. If a fire breaks out it shall not be burned. May it really survive. May our mother escape suffering and [finally] reach happiness entering the splendid city of Nibbāna, the peak [of happiness]. *Yācāmi*.

In this manuscript the dedication is directed towards the deceased mother of the sponsors and donors. In fact, one's own parents are the preferential choice for such merit transfer.

However, this beneficiary could also be a sibling, the son or daughter, or any other close relative, as is demonstrated in the following example.

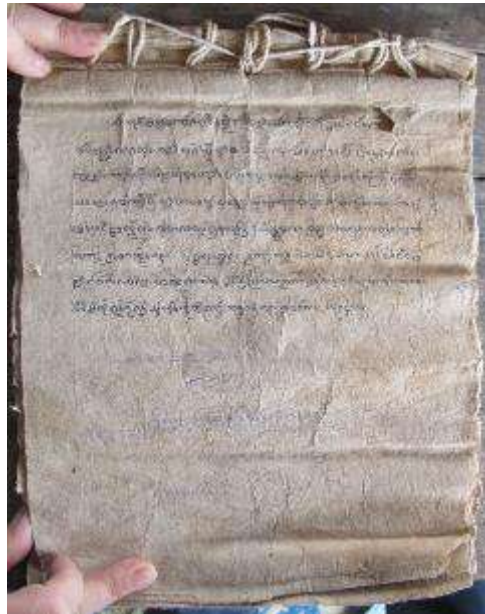


Figure No. 4.46: LS4 (Collection Grabowsky)

A second example is the industrial paper manuscript **YN116: ธรรมนิพพานสูตร (Dhamma Nibbāna Sūtra)**³² from Chiang Rung in Sipsong Panna, dated 2012 CE. Nan Kham Ngün, the scribe of the manuscript, donated it to his elder brother, Ai Kam Deo, who “already [has] gone and will not return”. The purpose is provided both in a colophon, which appears on the front cover folio, and in a second colophon following the text.

หน้าปก

หน้าทับพายเจ้าธรรมนิพพานสูตร ดวงประเลิด

ผูกเดียนี่แล ธรรมผูกนี้ นานคำนึงได้บูชา

ทานขอมพี่ชายชื่ออ้ายคำเดียว ขอหื้อเป็นผล้านานุน

กำซุโขนี้แลขาดหน้า ข้อยแด จดโลธัมมวเสด

ดูอายุวันนํ สุกข์พาลํ สฐ สฐ (บ้านมอ)

Translation: Front cover folio.

³² Nibāna Sūtra is a story telling about events since enlightenmenet of Gautama Buddha until he passed away and cremated his body. See Poon, Phramaha 2012, 24.

Front cover folio. *Tham nippan sut dong pasoet*. [The manuscript comprises] one single *phuk*. **This manuscript³³ has been donated by Nan Kham Ngün on [to the benefit of] his elder brother Ai Kham Deo.** May it bring fields of merit as a support in this life and [all] future lives. (...) *Āyū vannaṃ sukhaṃ phalaṃ sādhu sādhu*³⁴ (*Ban Mòng*).

โคโลโฟนท้ายเรื่อง

ข้าพชนี้ ภูษาอาทานหอมคนไปปพอก สักได้พูนจากทุกถึงสุขชาชะแล // ตัวข้อยแต่้ม
ตัวคี่บ่งามแลเนอ ตัวข้อยใส่ตกใส่รักเหคี่คี่ขอสมมา ขอยาหื้อเปนนบาปเนนตัวนข้อย
แต่ // นนาคำเงินบ้านมอญเชียงรุ่งแต่้มเขียนข้อยแล แต่้มเมอปีเตาสี สักขาได้
1374 ตัว ปีหื้อ (เลขาารบิก+อักษรไทย) 2012, ค 7, 20, (ตัวธรรม) ตัวข้อยใส่ทาน
หอมพี่ชาย ชื่อว่าอ้ายคำ(เดียว) ขอหื้อเปนนพณานุนำชุนตัวข้อยแดในโชนิจำคหน้า
ขอหื้อยอนนคนแก้วเจ้า 3 พระการ ข้อยแด สุดเข้า // (อักษรไทย+เลขาารบิก)
นนาคำเงิน บ้านมอญ เชียงรุ่ง(ตัว)ผมเขียนเมื่อ(ปี) พ.ศ. 2555 , สิงหาคม 20 เข้าได้
เขียนแล้ว คับพ่มจากใจ

Translation: Colophon at the end of the main text.

This religious manuscript has been donated for the benefit of people who have already gone and will not return (i.e., have died) so that they might escape from suffering and gain happiness. My handwriting is not beautiful. Some letters have been omitted, other letters are written messily. May this not be considered a sinful act.

Nan Kham Ngün [from] Ban Mòng [in] Chiang Rung wrote it in the *tao si* year, [C] S 1374, [equivalent to] the Chinese (here: international) year 2012, on 20 July. I dedicate the donation [of this manuscript] to my elder brother named Ai Kham Deo. May this bring religious benefit (*phon na bun*)³⁵ to support me in this life and in [all] future lives. May it bring benefit to The Three Gems. I, Nan Kham Ngün [from] Ban Mòng [in] Chiang Rung finished writing [the manuscript] on 20 August BE 2555 (20 August 2012).

³³ *Tham* (religious manuscript) + *phuk* (here: classifier for manuscript) + *ni* (demonstrative noun).

³⁴ May you have long life, good complexion, being happy and healthiness.

³⁵ Literally, “good results from a field of merit”.

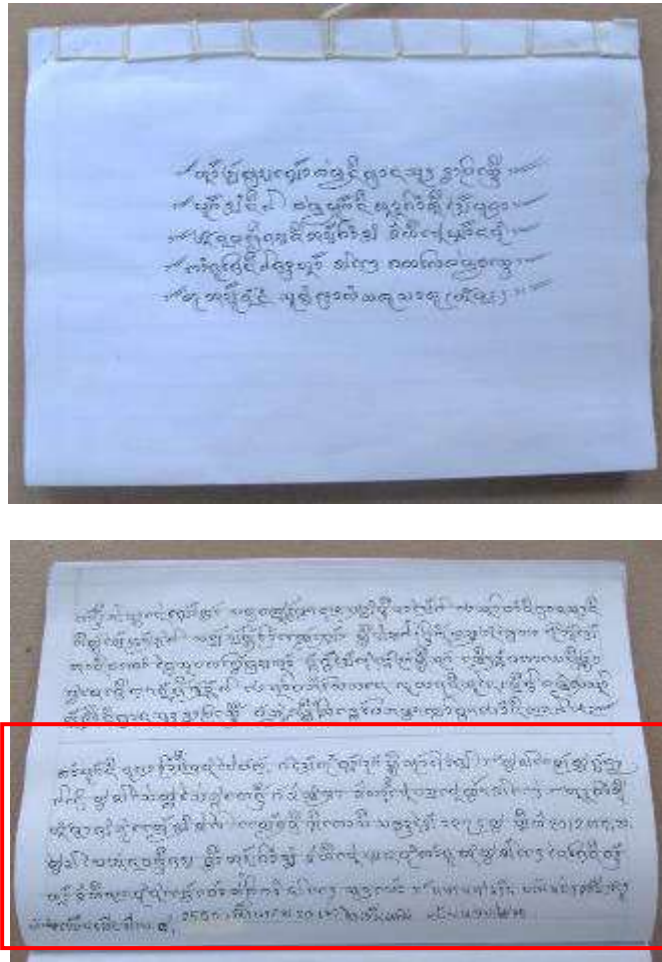


Figure No. 4.47-48: YN116 (Collection Grabowsky)

6. Paying respect to a manuscript

Since the majority of Tai Lü manuscripts contain religious texts, such as the teachings of the Buddha (i.e., Sutta, Vinaya), stories of the Buddha's past lives, and chronicles of Buddhist sacred objects and Buddha images. Therefore, the Tai Lü people pay respect to and worship the manuscripts, the texts of which are regarded as sacred objects. This characteristic not only appears in Tai Lü manuscript culture, but also in the manuscript cultures of other Tai ethnic groups, including the Thai and Lao, as well as in South Asian Buddhist manuscript cultures.

This devotion to manuscripts is reflected in a colophon of manuscript **LS72: ธรรมตำนาน เจี้ยวฝางคำเมืองลังกา** (*Tham tamnan khaeo fang kham moeng langka* / **The chronicle of Golden Canine Tooth of Moeng Langka**) from Müang Sing and dated 1987 CE. The scribe, Nan In Saeng, copied the manuscript for the sponsors, Ho In Kham and his wife, to keep in their house and pay respect to it every morning and evening.

โคโลโฟน

1348 ค่ำ ส้างแค้นแล้วยามหน้าหลี่ 12 มวง กางวัน เเดิน 12 แรม 12 ค่ำ นั้นแล ผู้
ข้าหนานอันแสงแค้นเขียน คีขอสมมาชมเข้าแด่ นิพพาน ปรม สุภัง ขาจา

ชมตำนานเขี้ยวฝางผูกนี้ เปนเจตนาสัทธาหัวอื่นคำแลกรียา ชื่อว่า แอโอ สองขา
เจ้าผวนางเมเปนเกล้าลูกเต้าทั้งมวสร้างทาน ไว้กับหอกับเรนแลไหว่นับครบย้า ชูเข้า
ไพนวันคำข้าแล

Translation:

The writing [of this manuscript] has been completed at noon, in
the year [CS] 1348, on the twelfth waning day of the twelfth
month.³⁶ I, Nan In Saeng, who wrote it, asks [the reader] for
forgiveness. *Nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ yācāmi*. (Nibbāna [is]
the highest [stage of] happiness.)

This chapter of the *Tamnan Kheo Fang [Kham]* (Chronicle of the
Golden canine tooth) has been sponsored and donated by the
principal initiators (*cetanā saddhā*) Ho In Kham and his wife, Ae
O, along with all their offspring (*luk-lan*), to be kept at [our] home
(*hò-hoen*) and be revered (*wai*) and worshipped (*nop khop am*)
all day and night.

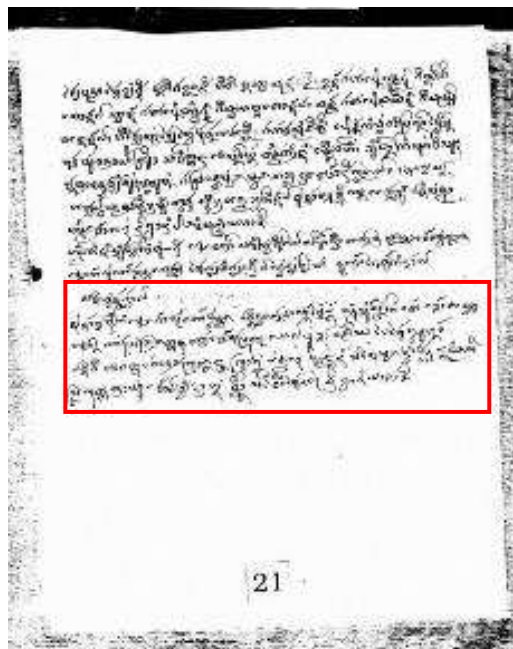


Figure No. 449: LS72 (Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

³⁶ 1348 Asvina 27 equates to Thursday, 30 October 1986.

In a similar vein is the manuscript **L25: ชัมมัตำนานเจ้าบุญหลวงชัมมิกราช (*Tham tamnan cao bun long Thammikarat / Tha chronicle of Cao Bun Luang Thammikarat*)** from Müang Sing dated 1950 CE. The scribe states the purpose for writing the manuscript on the front cover folio. He created this work for all people to pay respect to the manuscript every day and every night, thereby putting additional emphasis on his display of respect.

หน้าทับพายเกล้าพับธำมณานเจ้าบุญหลวงชัมมิกราช แปะออกมาหื้อคุณทั้งหลายไหว้
นบครบย่ำทุกค่ำเช้าวันคืนแท้แล

The front cover folio of the religious chronicle (*tham tamnan*) Cao Bun Long Thammikarat Cao. **It has been created for all people to pay respect to and worship it every day and night.**

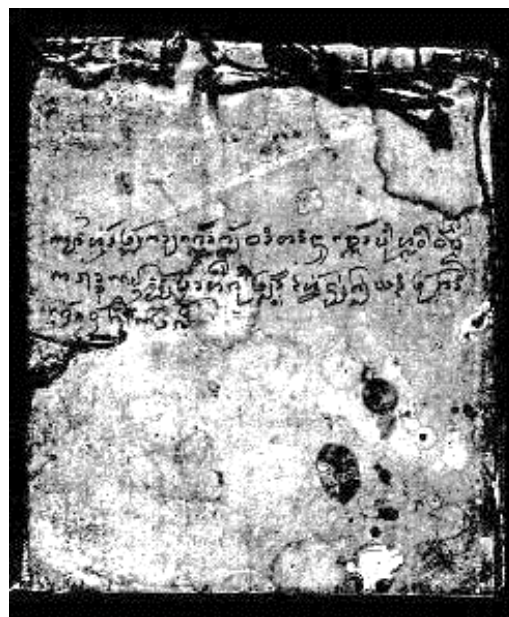


Figure No. 4.50: LS25 (Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

7. Writing manuscripts for sponsors

Among the Tai Lü, those who know the Dhamma script are almost exclusively monks, novices or have been formerly ordained as a monk. As a result, if lay people both men and women want to make merit by donating manuscripts, they need to hire scribes to copy the texts on their behalf. This we can see from the colophon of the undated manuscript **YN43: ชมมเมไตญเจ้าดวงประเส็ด (*Tham metaiyu cao dong pasoet*)** from Chiang Rung, Sipsòng Panna. The scribe, I Saeng Kham, copied the manuscript for a female sponsor, I Kham On.

หม่อมไคญเจ้าดวงปราเกิดสุกนิ อ้ายแสงคำรักจิตแถมเขียน หื้ออิตำอันบูชาเอาถาย
เปนทานเมื่อไว้พายหน้า แท้แล ถายเปนทานกับแก้วเจ้า ๑ ประทานแล คำฐาสนา
พระโคตมเจ้า ๕๐๐๐ วาสาแท้ซ้อยแล ขอหื้อเปน ผละอานิสงสมาคำฐาโตอิตำอันแด่ไซ้
นิแล ชาดหน้าตราบต่อเท้าเข้าสู่เวียงแก้ว ยอดมหานครพานแท้ซ้อยแด่ เทอะ ขอเจ้า
เทวบุตรเทวดา ะยาอิน ะยาภม ะยาขมมราด คุณาก(นาค)น้ำไอสวนขอสุเจ้าจื้อ
จ่านำไว้แท้ซ้อย แด่เทอะ

Translation: **Ai Saeng Kham has written/copied this manuscript [entitled] *Metaiyu cao dong prasoet* for I Kham On to donate it to posterity.** It has been donated to The Three Gems to ensure that the religion of Lord Gautama will last for 5,000 years. May it be a reward of merit (*phala-ānisaṃsa*) to support me in this life and any of my future lives until entering the splendid city, peak of nibbāna. May the male and female deities, Lord Indra, Lord Brahma, Lord Yamarāja, the garuda and the water deities record/remember [this donation].

8. Teaching people

Some contents of Tai Lü manuscripts have the explicit purpose of teaching people to behave well. The manuscript LS59: **ปู่สอนหลาน พุทธปะเวณี (*Pu son lan / Grandfather teaches his grand child, Puttha paweni / Buddhist Tradition*)** from Müang Sing, dated 1991 CE, is one such example of this. On the front cover folio of *Phuttha Paweni*, the scribe explains that the purpose of writing the manuscript is to teach ordained person and rulers about Buddhist traditions. The contents of the manuscript advises readers to comport themselves, both in the religious and secular sphere. For example, on the verso of the forth folio from lines fifteen to eighteen, the manuscript advises readers to follow the precepts (*sīla*) on Buddhist holy days. It also provides advice to women about how to look after their husbands, for example, to wake up before and go to sleep after their husbands.

พายเกล้าพุทธปะเวณี 6 ประการไว้

สอนสัมณพราหมณ์และท้าวภยา

แก่บ้าน นายเมืองทั้งหลาย

The front cover folio of six Buddhist traditions. [I wrote the manuscript] for teaching all monks, Brahman, kings, village heads and rulers of polities.

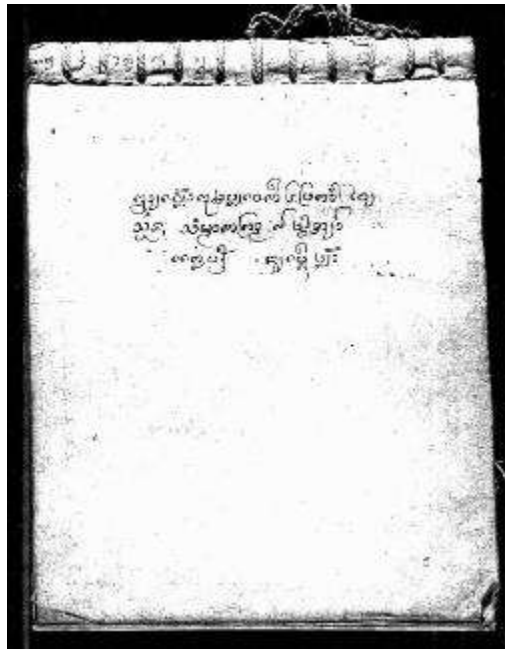


Figure No. 4.51: LS59 (Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

9. Writing for posterity and the benefit of future generations

In the case of manuscripts containing secular texts pertaining to the history of principalities (*müang*), scribes usually copied the manuscripts to preserve the stories for future generations. As result, future generations will understand the historical heritage of their homelands. As the scribes transfer the story to the future generations in the form of the old Tai Lü script, which the young generations in the present day can only rarely read, these manuscripts might not only transmit the story/historical narrative of the locality, but also the knowledge of this language and script. During our field trip in 2012, we interviewed Pò Saeng Sam, an elderly scribe from Müang Laem, who writes and copies many historical texts. He said he is interested in texts and manuscripts detailing the history of polities (*müang*), but the younger generation are rarely interested in the old stories and the Tai Lü script. As such, he fears that traditional literary works and the old script will disappear in the future.³⁷

One example of this is the manuscript **YN52**: คำวพินคอ (*Khao pün kò*) from Müang Long, Sipsòng Panna, and dated 1997 CE. The scribe, Khanan Saeng, wrote/ copied the manuscript for his son, Ai Phom, and his offspring to read in the future.

³⁷ Interview of Volker Grabowsky and Apiradee Techsiriwan with Pò Saeng Sam, at his residence in Moeng Laem, Yunnan Province, China on 9 September, 2012.

ผู้แต่งคอกอกนิ ปู่จางขานางแสงฮันเขียนเพียกไว้หื้อลูกหลานไว้สืบอ่านเมื่อพายหน้า
ในปีมิ่งเป่ล่า จุฬสัักชาดได้ 1359 โต เดือน 9 แล 7 ท่า สัักชาดโลก 1997-7-26 ข้าแล
พ่อจางขานางแสงฮันแต่งไว้หื้อ ลูกชายอายกมแล

Translation: I wrote this [manuscript]. I, Pu Can Khanan Saeng Yan, wrote/ copied it for [my] offspring (*luk lan*) so that they continue reading it in the future. [The writing was finished] in the *moeng pao* year, CS 1359, on the seventh waning day of the ninth month, [equivalent to] 26 July 1997. Pò Can Kh[an]an wrote/copied [the manuscript] for his son Ai Phom.

The undated industrial paper manuscript YN109: คำวสีกโลกครั้งที่ 2 และเจ้าแผ่นดินต๋นซื่อเจ้า หม่อม ผาถางนอนแฮ สีกขี้วสือ (*Khao sūk lok khang ti sòng lae cao phaendin ton cū cao mòm phakhang nòn hae sūk yiw lò*) from Chiang Rung, Sipsòng Panna, is another case in point. The content of this manuscript examines the cruelty of war. The scribe, Cao Maha Khanthawong, explains that he wrote the manuscript so that the future generations will know about the cruelty of Kuomintang soldiers/officials in Sipsòng Panna during the Second World War.

(อักษรไทย หมึกน้ำเงิน) เจ้ามหาหงษ์

พันเจ้ามหาหงษ์

(อักษรจีน 3 ตัว)

ไว้หื้อลูกหลานช่วงป่านลุนพิจจนาคำทองรู้แจ้งเล็งคำวนิทานล่วงแล้วหื้อไค้มีนทาง
เรียคร้ายช้ายชาด, หย้าหนีบคิบคาภาษาไทย, ภาษาชาวห้วงมอน 12 พันนา, ภาษาใน 12
พันนาโจบทยาพานเปดั่งรื้อนั้น

(Tai Lü script in dark blue ink:) Cao Mahawong

The manuscript [belongs to] Cao Mahawong

(three Chinese characters) 刀金祥 (Dāo jīn xiáng)

[I dedicate this manuscript] to the future generations to investigate in detail the history of the evil Kuomintang. Do not harm the hill people in Sipsòng Panna. [All the] ethnic groups in Sipsòng Panna must be preserved.

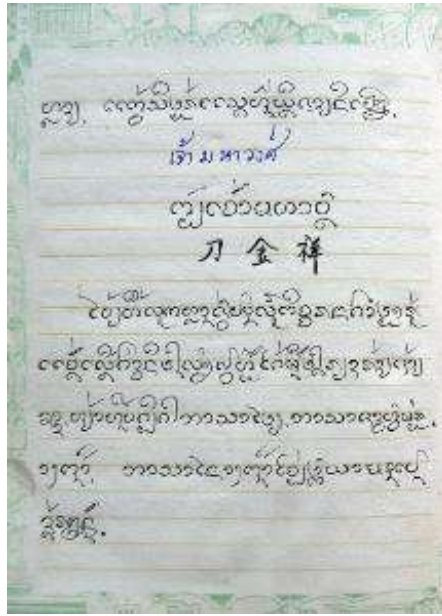


Figure No. 4.52: YN109 (Collection Grabowsky)

10. Writing for the memory of the traditional polity (*moeng* / *müang*)

Scribes also copy the history of their home districts for the younger generations. The aim is to preserve the history of the traditional Tai polities called *müang* (in Thai and Lao) or – following a slightly different pronunciation – *moeng* (in Tai Lü and several other Tai languages). This is evident in the manuscript **YN132**: คำว่าเจ้าแสงอินรายแต่ปถมตั้ง เมืองราย (*Khao cao saeng in hai tae pathom tang moeng hai* / **The History of Moeng Hai since its founding by Chao Saeng In**) from Müang Hai, Sipsòng Panna, dated 1999/2000 CE. The scribe, Cao Maha Bun Tan states that he wrote the manuscript recording the history of Moeng Hai in the hope that it will be preserved for future generations.³⁸

คำว่าพื้นเมืองรายหน่วยนิ เจ้ามหานันทันเชียงหลวงแต่มไว้กับเมืองรายหือได้เดาะสืบ
กันไปอย่าเสียดทอะ แต่มในปีกัถหม้าจุฬศักราชได้ 1361 ตัวแล

This manuscript [entitled] Chronicle of Moeng Hai was written (*taem*) by Cao Maha Bun Tan from Chiang Long [with the intention] to write [the story] for Moeng Hai and pass it on [to posterity] without interruption. [I] copied it in the *kat mao* year, CS 1361 (CE 1999/2000).

³⁸ Besides the manuscript YN132, I also found this characteristic on the other ten manuscripts from Yunnan that is the manuscripts YN3, YN12, YN17, YN39, YN49, YN123, YN124, YN130, YN164 and YN175.

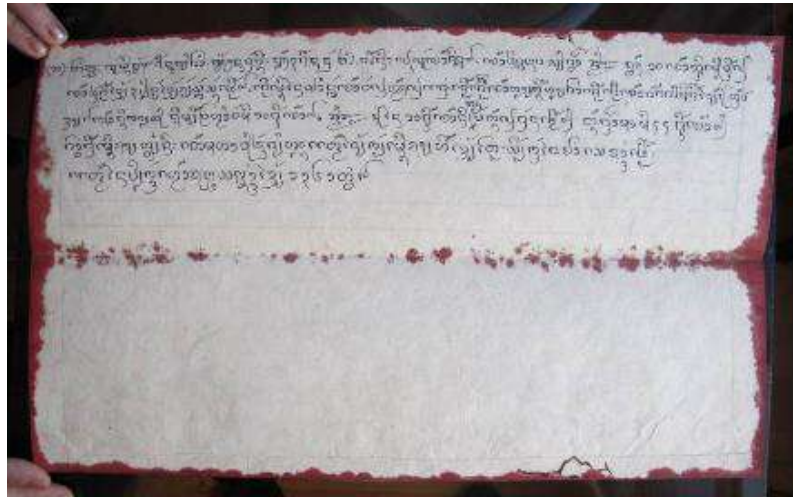


Figure No. 4.53: YN132 (Collection Grabowsky)

4.1.3 Wishes of scribes/donors for writing /donating manuscripts

The wishes of scribes and donors regarding the writing, sponsoring, and donation of manuscripts appearing in the colophons conform to the purpose and intentions. In the case of religious manuscripts, the wishes are still related to the belief in the cycle of rebirth (saṃsāra). The most ardent desire is the passing into Nibbāna. The greatest happiness before reaching this final destination would be rebirth at the time when Phra Si Ariya Metteyya, the future Buddha, appears on Earth. Less ambitious wishes include the accumulation of merit through the donation of manuscripts to contribute to happiness in the present and in future lives. In secular texts, like historical chronicles, the scribes still make express the desire to preserve the stories for subsequent generations. This is summarised as follows:

1. Hoping to see the next Buddha named “Sri Ariya Metteyya”;
2. Hoping such merit-making benefits them in future lives until entering Nibbāna;
3. Asking for three kinds of happiness;
4. Asking sacred items as witnesses to remember benefit of making merit;
5. Hoping for better conditions in future lives;
6. Hoping the text passes on to younger generations.

With regard to Lan Na manuscripts, Veidlinger similarly identifies a number of common subjects in colophons, pertaining to the wishes and desires of scribes and sponsors/donors. These also reflect the sentiments of Buddhist believers and, thus, could be quite similar to

colophons in Buddhist manuscripts of India and Nepal. Veidlinger classifies such wishes and desires into the following eleven categories:

1. Whoever borrows this manuscript should really bring it back. If the borrower keeps it, that person will be reborn as a hungry ghost (*peta*) {or some other curse will be put on him or her}

2. It was very hard to make the manuscript, so take care of it

3. Take the manuscript to worship (*prasong* or *puja*)

4. May the manuscript lead to *nibbāna*

5. May the donor be born in Metteyya's time {and reach *nibbāna* then}

6. May the manuscript support the Sāsana {for 5,000 years}

7. Written in order to earn merit

8. Do not try to alter the manuscript or add any writing

9. Please correct any mistakes

10. Please excuse the poor quality

11. May the manuscript lead to wisdom and knowledge {of the Dhamma/Tripitaka/Arahantmagga}

(Veidlinger 2006, 164–165).

Among all the wishes and desires of scribes and donors mentioned in Veidlinger's study of Northern Thai (Lan Na) manuscripts written in Pali, it can be argued that some of them, especially those reflecting widely spread Buddhist beliefs are almost the same as those appearing in Tai Lü manuscripts. This is in particular the hope of Buddhist monks as well as laypersons to be reborn at a time which will enable them to meet the next Buddha, "Sri Ariya Metteyya" in person which is considered a condition of reaching Nibbāna, indeed one of the main and most widely expressed wishes of Buddhists in Theravada Southeast Asia.

However, some other wishes and desires appearing in Veidlinger's text also appear in other topics in this chapter of my dissertation, namely purpose no. 1: cursing a borrower of a manuscript to be reborn as a hungry ghost (*pēta*) if the borrower does not return the manuscript. (see 4.1.6 Curses of scribes); nos. 3 and 6: producing manuscripts for supporting the Sāsana or the Teachings of the Buddha so that they will last until the end of 5,000 years; and performing the worship of the manuscripts. (see 4.1.2 Purposes of scribes/donors for writing/donating manuscript); no. 10: apologizing for the poor quality of making manuscript, that is the same as expressed by Tai Lü scribes who often apologize for their real or alleged

mistakes or their (often only pretended) bad handwriting. (see 4. 1. 4 Apologies and expressions of humbleness by the scribes writing the manuscripts).

From the six categories of wishes of scribes/donors mentioned earlier, it is clear that they are well reflected in Tai Lü manuscript culture as is discussed in the following section.

1. Hoping to see the next Buddha named “Sri Ariya Metteyya”

The Tripiṭaka, the Theravada-Buddhist canon, states that there have been and will be many Buddhas in the past and future, divided by a variety of very long period of times (Thai: กัป /*kap*/; Sanskrit: *kalpa*; Pali: kappa). In the current period called กัปปกัป (*patthakap*; Sanskrit: *bhadra kalpa*, Pali: *bhadda*, “good, auspicious”), there are five Buddhas, namely: Kakusandha Buddha, Konakhamana Buddha, Kassapa Buddha, Guatama Buddha and Metteyya Buddha.³⁹

Moreover, Theravada Buddhists in Southeast Asia believe that after the end of the current Gautama Buddha’s period of 5,000 years, the fifth Buddha named ‘Sri Ariya Metteyya’ will come to teach and help all living creatures be delivered from suffering and transmigration.⁴⁰ Therefore, when Buddhists makes merit they usually request that the benefits will allow them to reborn in Sri Ariya Metteyya’s age. The following is one such example.

In the manuscript YN94: หิค 12 หน้า (*Hik 12 Nang*) from Müang Laem, Yunnan, dated 1990/91, the scribe, Bhikkhu Tu Cao Khanan Peng, expresses such a desire in a colophon placed directly after the end of the text. He asks for wisdom and hopes to meet Lord Metteyya in one of his future lives.

เสวยพระผู้้ง แด้มแล้ว กางวัน หน่าริได้ยัแทนดี .. แล พ้อออกเจ้าขุนแพงมิง(มา)บ้าน
หลวงหางบ้านเฮาเฮย สฐ สฐ ข้าแล มุนเฮย ผู้ข้าดีแด้มลิกจิตตา ชื่อว่า ภิกขุพู้เจ้า
ขนานเพียง เมืองมาบ้านหลวงข้าแล ข้าขอหื้อ มีสติประยาปัญญา ขอหื้อได้ไฟแสง
ไฟคำพระเจ้ามตยาอันจักลงมาโผดโลกันตาพายหน้าันั้นแท้ ๆ ข้าแล มุนเฮย
บุนนอ⁴¹ แล

³⁹ The Pāli Canon (Tipiṭaka) and Commentaries (Aṭṭhakathā), Mahamakut Buddhist University version, Sutta Piṭaka, Khuddaka Nikāya, Apadāna, vol. 9, part 1, 401.

⁴⁰ In Mahāyāna Buddhism, there is also a belief in the five Buddhas (Kakusandha Buddha, Konakhamana Buddha, Kassapa Buddha, Gautama Buddha and Metteyya Buddha). This belief appears on Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra (Thai: สัทธรรมปุณฑริกสูตร), which discusses one of Buddha’s names, Manushibuddhas (Thai: มานุษิพุทธเจ้า). This is the group of Buddhas who will be born human and teaching all living creatures. They are also the five Buddhas who are members of this grouping (Santi, Phra 2011, 149).

⁴¹ บุนนอ บุนนอ /*bun hoei bun nò*/ is the final blessing of Tai Noe and Shan (Tai Yai) style which is different from Lān Nā Lü and Lao manuscripts that normally use postscript as ฐวิ ฐวิ สาธุ /*dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ sādhu*/. (Interview of Apiradee with Renoo Wichasin, the Thai specialist of Tai scripts and laguages, on September 29, 2018).

I, Pha Lung, finished writing [the manuscript] during daytime. Pò Ok Cao Khun Paeng Müang came to Ban Long, our village. Sādhu sādhu. I, the scribe, am named Bhikkhu Tu Cao Khanan Peng. I come from Ban Long [in] Moeng Ma. I ask for wisdom. **May I go to see the Lord Metteyya when he comes to this world in the future.** May this bring me merit.



Figure No. 4.54: YN94 (Collection Grabowsky)⁴²

2. Hoping that the benefit of making merit supports the donors in all future lives until entering Nibbāna

This desire resembles the purpose discussed earlier. The scribes and donors usually desire that the benefit of making merit (donating manuscripts) will help them to lead good lives in the future.

In the manuscript **LS22: ตำนานธาตุหลวงเจ้าเชียงใหม่ (Tamnan that long cao ceng tūm / The chronicle of the great stupa of Chiang Tūm)**⁴³ from Müang Sing, dated 1959, the donors, Ho In Dong, and his family, donated the manuscript to pay homage to the Triple

⁴² The image in this page does not relate to the top of a colophon. It seems to be drawn later.

⁴³ The Great Stupa of Chiang Tūm is situated on the top of a mountain at the southeastern fringe of Müang Sing (Grabowsky and Renoo, 2008, vii).

Gems, and with the hope that donating the manuscript will improve their current lives and all future lives until reaching Nibbāna.

หน้าปก

หน้าทับพวยเกล้าธำมณธาตุหลวงเชียงทิม (ทิม) ผูก 1 ย่าขวัรเข้าผูก 1 อยู่กับกัน
สองผูกแล ปุพพิคเจตนาสัทธาผู้ข้า อาจัน ขนานอินปรยาแลลูกเต้าทั้งหลาย(ทั้ง 2)
ชื่อว่าหัวอินดวงแล อีปอมเปนเกล้าลูกเต้าทั้ง 3 ทั้ง 4 ส้างเปันทานแก้ว 3 ปรกาน ในปติ
กัศไค์ สักขาไค์ 1321 ตัว ขอหีเปนอุปปนิโส ปรโใจคำฐ(ฐ)ชวนิแลชาดหน้า ยาวะ
ตราบค่อเท้าเข้าสู่นิพพาน นิพพานัน ปรมฺ สุขํ ยาจามิ ขอหือถึงสุข ทแท้ข้าแลนุน(เอช
นุนนอ)

(มีเส้นอักษรจางเขียนว่า เดือน 3 ออก 15 ค่ำ หยาดน้ำหมยทาน)

The front cover folio [contains the title of] the religious manuscript [entitled] Chronicle of the Great Stupa of Chiang Tūm (Tūng), one fascicle, and of *Ya khwan khao*, one fascicle. These two fascicles are put together [in this manuscript]. As the leading initiator and religious faithful, I, Acan Khanan In Paya, and my two children, whose names are Ho In Dong (Hua In Duang) and I Pòm, along with their three and four children respectively, have donated [this manuscript] to the Three Gems in the year [CS] 1321. We ask that [this donation] will be a disposition which will help us in this life and in the next existences until finally reaching nibbāna. *Nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ yācāmi*.⁴⁴ May this lead us to real happiness and religious merit. On the fifteenth waxing day of third month⁴⁵, the consecration ceremony was conducted.

⁴⁴ May I reach Nibbāna which is the most supreme stage of happiness.

⁴⁵ 1321 Pausha 15 = Wednesday, 13 January 1960.

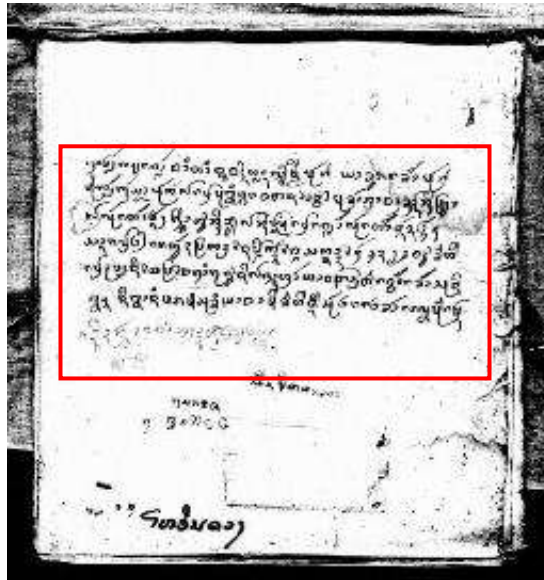


Figure No. 4.55: LS22 (Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

3. Asking for three kinds of happiness

This wish is also found frequently in Tai Lü, Tai Khün, Lan Na and Lao manuscripts. As the Tai Lü believe in Theravada Buddhism, most of these wishes refer to the scribe's aspiration to acquire merit by composing or writing a manuscript. Thus, they ask for three kinds of happiness, namely:

- a) happiness in the human world;
- b) happiness in heaven; and
- c) the most supreme stage of happiness which is Nibbāna.

This particular wish is clearly reflected in the manuscript **YN29: มหาวิบาก (*Maha wibak* / The great hardship)** from Müang Laem, Yunnan, dated 2002 CE. The scribe, Pò Saeng Sam Cün, expresses his wish to escape from suffering, to reach happiness in the human world, and then in heaven, before finally entering Nibbāna.

ผู้แต่งชื่อว่า พ่อแสงสามขึ้นเวียงหอคำ อยู่ธาตุหลวงกวางเมิง

แต่งแล้ว ปีเต้าส้ง 1364 ตัว เดือน 9 ปถม คง 8 จำวันนั้นเข้าแล 2002

ข้าขอหื้อได้พ้นจากทุกข์ถึงสุขในเมิงคน แต่เมิงฟ้า ขอหื้อได้เข้าสู่เวียงแก้วยอดมหาน
รพาน ชูโช ชูชาติ ข้า แล บุนเฮย ผีเฮย⁴⁶

I, the scribe, am named Pò Saeng Sam Cün [from Weng (Wiang)
Hò Kham]. I live [at/near] That Long Kwang Moeng.

I have finished writing [the manuscript] in the *tao sang*a year,
[CS] 1364, on the eighth waning day of the first ninth month, in
[CE] 2002.⁴⁷

**I wish to escape suffering and reach happiness in the human
world (*moeng khon*) [and] in heaven (*moeng fa*). May I enter
the splendid city, the peak of the great Nibbāna, [having
accomplished] all lives. O merit (*puñña*), o spirits (*phi*).**

Conversely, there is one manuscript which mentions the three kinds of happiness in a rather different manner. The scribe of the manuscript, **YN48: ตำนานศาสนา พระยาธัมมิกราชา (*Tamnan satsana phaya thammikalaca* / The religious chronicle of Phaya Thammikalaca)** from Chiang Rung, Sipsòng Panna, dated 1965 CE, is a monk named Tham Paya. He asks that the benefit of writing the manuscript may aid him in this life and all future lives. He also wishes to obtain the three stages of happiness: the Buddha's wisdom of enlightenment, the wisdom of the enlightenment of the Pacceka Buddha⁴⁸, and to become an *arahanta* or *arahanti*.⁴⁹

ธัมมัตำนานลักขาดสนาผูกนิ ธัมมปญาดิริกจิตแต้มเขียนในปีเป็กเสด สักขาดได้ 13
ร้อยปลาย 20 ตัว เดือนสิบ ออก 14 ค่ำ แต้มแล้วยามแตรสุเทียงนิแล เเดน 0 ออก 04 ค่ำ
มิงวัน 6 ไทยเป็กยิ เร็กฟ้าพาย บุนพร่าได้ 24 ตัวข้าแล ส่วนโกสุนนาบุนอันผู้ข้าได้
ริจิตแต้มเขียนค้ำขอหื้อเปนผลบุนคำชุนตัวแห่งข้าใน โชนิแลขาดหน้า แม่นว่าผู้ข้า
ปราดถนาอาสุก 3 ประกาน คือว่า พุทธโพธิญาณแลเป็กโพธิญาณ อรหันตอรหันตี
ปสามิกปารมีญาณควงโคดวง 1 ดังอันค้ำดี ทิฐธัมมเวทนยังประกคอุมุปษนุติเวทน
นิชคก ของหน้าอปร่าปรมเวทนียุขไว้อูถ้ำค่อเนรพานหื้อได้บังเกิดเปนสะเพา
สพายคำล้าลัมไหญ่ผู้ข้าขึ้นชีแล้วบ่ ไหวพวนห้วยสมุทสาครถึงฝั่งคำหาน้ำยามมอผู้ข้า
ม้างปัญจันร้ทั้ง 5 ค้ำขอหื้อได้ยากข้าหึ่งนานแต่ สุตินิวด เมทานิ นิพุพาน
ปจโยโหนตุโนนิจัฐวิรุปรมสุขุ ยาจามิ แล้วแล ธัมมกับวัดบ้านมอเงียงรุ่งแล เนอ
แล้ว

⁴⁶ บุนเฮย ผีเฮย /*bun hoei phihoei*/ is the postscript of Shan (Tai Yai) style. (Interview of Apiradee with Renoo Wichasin, a specialist of Tai scripts and languages at Chiang Mai University, on September 29, 2018).

⁴⁷ 1364 Pratomashada 23 equates to Tuesday, 2 July 2002.

⁴⁸ Paccekabuddha is a Buddha who has won enlightenment by himself, but does not teach others (Brahmagunabhorn, Phra (P. A. Payutto) 2016, 337).

⁴⁹ Arahanta means Bhikkhu and Arahanti means Bhikkhunī who can reach Nibbāna.

Translation: The writing (*likkhit taem khen*) of this manuscript [containing] a religious chronicle [was finished in the *poek set* year, [C]S 1320, on the fourteenth waxing day of the tenth month, in the morning hours between 9 and 9.30 o' clock, a Friday [according to the] Mon [tradition], a *poek yi* day [according to the] Tai [tradition], at the auspicious time of 24.⁵⁰ As for the reward of merit, I, the scribe, wish it will be a support for me in this life and any of my future lives. That means, **I have the desire to acquire the three stages of happiness: the Buddha's wisdom of enlightenment, the wisdom of enlightenment of the Pacceka Buddha, and [to become an] arahant or arahanti (...)** *Sūtiṇaṃ vata me dānaṃ nibbāna pac[c] ayo hontu nic[c] aṃ dhuvam dhuvam paramaṃ sukhaṃ yācāmi.*⁵¹ The manuscript belongs to Wat Ban Mòng [in] Chiang Rung.

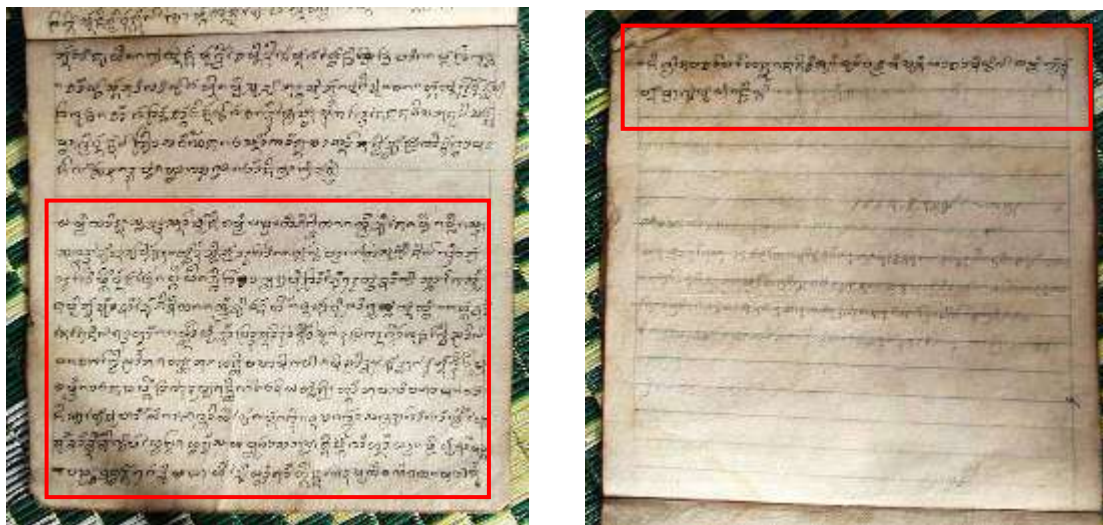


Figure No. 4.56-57: YN48 (Collection of Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanantan)

4. Asking sacred items as witnesses to remember benefit of making merit

Moreover, we have found some colophons which express special desires, in pertaining to the Indian gods Indra and Brahma, Phaya Yom (Yamarāja – the Lord of Death and Lord of the Underworld in Hinduism), *thao caturlokapāla* (the Four Guardian Kings of the World), *mae*

⁵⁰ 1320 Sravana 14 equates to Thursday, 28 August 1958. This day was, however, a *moeng pao* day. The following day, 29 August 1958, was indeed a Friday and a *poek yi* day. This is probably the correct date.

⁵¹ The merit [derived from writing this text], may bring me to reach Nibbāna which is the most supreme stage of happiness, permanently and certainty.

thòrani (the Goddess of the Earth), and the Garuḍa and the Nāgas. They all are called to act as witnesses of the meritorious act of donation and asked to record it in a “book of merit”.⁵²

Through my research, I have found a group of colophons that have a similar structure and express special desires, which invoke the Indian gods Indra and Brahma, Phaya Yom (Yamarāja) – the Lord of Death and Lord of the Underworld in Hinduism – the Four Guardian Kings of the World (*thao caturlokapāla*), the Goddess of the Earth (*mae thòrani*), as well as the Garuḍa and the Nāgas. They all are called to act as witnesses to the meritorious deed of donation and asked to record it in a “book of merit” that might serve as a guideline for deciding on a future rebirth. In several colophons such invocations figure quite prominently, such as in the manuscript **LS56: ปถมพื้นโลกชาดก (*Pathama pūn lok cadok*)** from Mūang Sing, Luang Nam Tha province, dated 1991 CE:

(...) คัจฉิน้อมนำมถปณถายเปนทาน แก่ประไตรรัตนแก้วเจ้า 3 ประการ สัพพะบุญ
พระพุทเจ้าที่หาคแล้วบวรมวล ส่วน 1 ผู้เข้าจกอุทิศผลนาบร เมอไว้พายหน้า คื่อขอหื้อ
เทวบุตรเทวดา พระยาอินพระยาพรหมมรดคุดนาคน้ำไอสรวรท้าวทั้ง 4 นางแก้ว
ยอดธรรณี สลิกุดตอมาตท้าว 32 คน ตนจ้อจ้านูรแลจ้อบาป ตนจ้อจ้าน้ำหยาดและ
หมายทาน ขอจ้องจกมาส่นำจ้อไว้แก้ข้าแต่ สุทินนวดตามทาน ทศวาทาน มหาผล
นิพพาน ปรม์ สุขข์ นิพพานปจโย โหนตุเมนิจจฐวูรวุ ยาจามิ ผู้เข้าหานอนินแสง
เปนเคล้ำกว่าลูกเต้าทั้งมวล คี่มาส้างได้ยังปถมพื้นโลก มาถายเปนทานแก่แก้วเจ้า 3
ประการ คื่อขอเทวบุตรเทวดา อินทพรหมเจ้าแลคุดนาคน้ำไอสรวรนางธรรณีสลิกุดดา
อามาตท้าว 32 คน จ้องจกมาส่นำจ้อไว้แก้ข้าแต่ นิพพาน ยาจามิ

(...) Thus it was dedicated to the Three Gems and the omniscient Buddha. I will donate the achievements from the field of merit (*phon na bun*) to posterity. **May the gods and goddesses, Indra, Brahma and the Lord of the Underworld (*yāmarāja*), the water nāgas, *aisuan*, the Four Guardian Kings of the World, as well as Goddess of the Earth (*nang thòrani*), Sri Kutta Āmātaya and the 32 chief ministers responsible for remembering [and taking record of] merits and sins and remembering the water dropped and the gifts aimed for. May [all our merits] actually be remembered. *Sudinnaṃ vattāmedānaṃ datvādānaṃ mahā phalaṃ nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ nibbāna paccayo hontu meniccaṃ dhuvam dhuvam yācāmi.***⁵³ I, Nan In Saeng, who is the

⁵² In Indian culture, it is believed that every action, both good and bad, will be recorded by Chitragupta (Yama’s assistant). After a person dies, their spirit will appear in front of Yama and Chitragupta reads out the balance sheet in their name with a recommendation that they should either be sent to heaven or hell (Raman 1993, 122). This belief is also widespread in Southeast Asia.

⁵³ May the great benefit of the making merit (writing the text) will bring me to reach Nibbāna which is the most supreme stage of happiness, permanently and certainty.

leading initiator, along with all his children sponsored this *Pathama pūn lok* manuscript and donated it to the Three Gems. May the gods and goddesses, Lord Indra, Lord Brahma, Garuda, the water *nāgas*, the *asura* deities, the Goddess of the Earth, Sri Kutta Āmātaya, and the 32 deities remember [my merit] . *Nibbānaṃ yācāmi*.⁵⁴

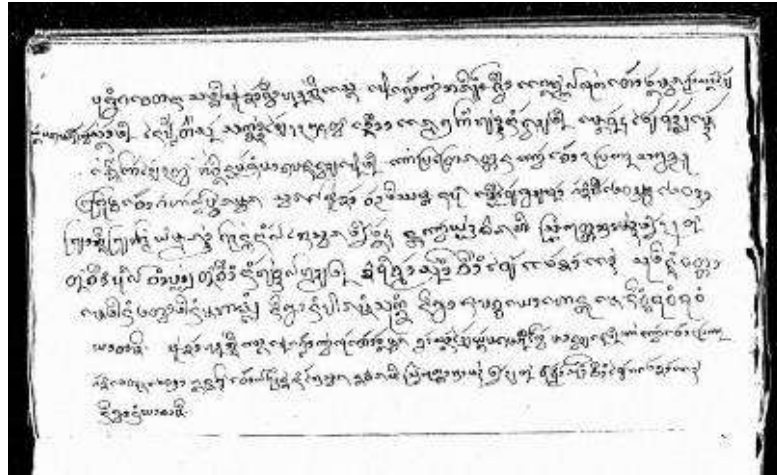


Figure No. 4.58: LS56 (Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

The invocation of divine witnesses is not only found in the colophons of Tai Lü manuscripts, but also in inscriptions on the pedestals of Buddha images and other sacred objects throughout northern Laos and northern Thailand.

Another example is an inscription on the pedestal of a wooden Buddha image from Ta Pòi monastery in Müang Sing, Laos, dated 1920/21 CE.⁵⁵ The donors, Sam Hin and his family donated the Buddha image and asked the gods (*devaputra devatā*) Indra, Brahma, the Goddess of the Earth, and all other lords to remember and bequeath them the benefit of making merit.

1. พุทธรูปเจ้าคนี่ตั้งปลัดสันตักกราช 1282 ตัวหมายมีสามหินเปนเคล้า
แม่ฮัดินหันอายเมาน้องชายนามคำเยออรแอ่แพง
2. แอ่ไอ้อีเองขอเทวบุตรเทวดาอินพรมนางทรมีสู่เจ้าทั้งหลายสนำจื่อไว้
ข้อยแคลนรเหยเสียนนี้สุทินนัง
3. วตโนทานังนินพานไปใจโย

⁵⁴ May [I reach] Nibbāna.

⁵⁵ The source is from the private digital manuscript collection of Professor Dr. Volker Grabowsky.

Translation:

1. This Buddha image was built in the *kot san* year, [C]S 1282, by Sam Hin, who is the initiator, Mae I Tin Can, Ai Mao, and his younger brother called Kham Ye Òn, Ae (I) Paeng.
2. Ae (I) Ai, [and] I Eng. May the gods (*devaputra devatā*), Indra, Brahma, the Goddess of the Earth, and all lords remember their names through this meritorious act. (...) *Sudinnam*.
3. *vat{t}a no dānaṃ nibbāna pacaiyo (paccayo)*.⁵⁶

Another example is the inscription on the bronze bell of Phrathat Dòi Suthep monastery in Chiang Mai, Thailand, dated 1897 CE. This states that Jao Phra Yā Sām Lān Sirirāchayōthā (Cao Phraya Sam Lan Sirirachayotha), a senior government official of public finance in Chiang Mai, and his wife, Nāng Jan Dī (Nang Can Di), presided over the casting of this bell to venerate Phrathat Dòi Suthep in 1897. He asks Phraya In (Indra), Cao Phraya Phrom (Brahma), all the gods and goddesses, and Nang Thòrani (Goddess of the Earth), to rejoice with their merit and invites the gods to protect and aid them attain prosperity.⁵⁷



Figure No. 4.59: the inscription on the bronze bell of Phrathat Dòi Suthep

(Apiradee Techasiriwan, Archive of Lan Na Inscriptions, Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University)

⁵⁶ Well donated is our gift. May it be a foundation for [the attainment] of nibbāna.

⁵⁷ Penth, Silao and Apiradee 2007, 223–233.

5. Hoping for better conditions in future lives

Scribes and donors usually hope that merit-making (by donating manuscripts) will help them to enjoy well-being in their future lives. They also often hope to be reborn into a better quality of life; for example they hope to be an intelligent, strong, and/or handsome man, in their future lives. This is illustrated in the following example, manuscript **YN 95: ธรรมพหุสูตร (*Tham pahu sut* / Dhamma of learned persons)** from Moeng Laem, dated 1986 CE. The scribes hopes that the donation of the manuscript will augment the four qualities: (long life, beauty, happiness, strength), prosperity in the Dhamma, prosperity with regard to wealth and rank, wisdom in all three kinds of knowledge (*veda*), and finally an overarching knowledge making him capable of solving all kinds of problems like Cao Mahā Nāgasena, Cao Mahosot and Phraya Milinda did in the past.

... ส่วนกุศลนาบุญอันเกิดมีในธรรมพหุสูตรและธำ 8 หมื่น 4 พันจันนิ บุญเมอพายถุนก็
จูงจักหื้อได้นามายังจดาโร ทั้ง 4 นามายังอายุพิบานใจ นามายังธมฺวดี นามายังยัสส
โกลาลกสกัน นามายังตักขปญ ชวนปญญา บัหารปญญา วิสารทะ องอาจจลาจวบ
แจงในเพียดทั้ง 3 คือว่า อิดุเพียด ยชฺฐเพียด สมญเพียด หุลาชาตาดั้งแต่สูทินสิธาน
สุริยาด สารมมุลลั ตราบถึงโชติโกตปนทิสุดแลสทาทั้ง 8 ข้าพระเจ้า 8 หมื่น 4 พันจัน
ขอหื้อได้กิดเข้ามาในหทยมโนจิตใจแห่งข้าผู้ชื่อว่าปุนานเคียวอาจน **ขอหื้อข้ามีใจอัน**
กล้าหาญแลอาจจักแก้เสยงปดสนาปณหาอันล็กเลบในทำทางทั่วพระยาแลหมุ่บริสัด
ทั้งหลาย (เสมอตั้ง)เข้ามหานาคเสียนแลเข้ามโหสถและพระยา(มิ)ลินทปณหา...

... As to the benefit (*kuson*, Pali: *kusala*) which derives from the donation of the Pahasut manuscript containing 84,000 *khandha*⁵⁸, may it bring about an increase in four qualities, namely long life, prosperity in the dhamma, prosperity with regard to wealth and rank, and wisdom in all three kinds of knowledge (*veda*), i. e., *rgaveda*, *yajurveda* and *sāmaveda*, and **finally the overarching knowledge in order to be able to solve all kinds of most difficult problems inmidst all noblemen (*tao phaya*) and the members of the lay community (*parisada*) like Cao Mahā Nāgasena, Cao Mahosot and Phraya Milinda . . .**

From the colophon we learn that the scribe hopes to be endowed with wisdom like the sage Nāgasena, a Buddhist monk who lived around 150 BCE and answered questions about Buddhism for King Menander I (**Milinda**) of north-western India. The story was recorded in

⁵⁶ *Khandha* means aggregate, comprising of five groups of existence that is 1). *Rūpa-Khandha*: corporeality, 2). *Vedanā-khandha*: feeling; sensation, 3). *Saññā-khandha*: perception, 4). *Sankhāra-khandha*: mental formations; volitional activities, and 5). *Viññāṇa-khandha*: consciousness (Brahmaguṇabhorn, Phra (P. A. Payutto, 2016, 162).

the famous Buddhist *Milinda Pañhā* or “The Debate of King Milinda”.⁵⁹ Moreover, **Cao Mahosot**, is the sage Mahosadha from the Mahosadha Jataka (Stories of the Buddha's Former Births). He is a very intelligent man and omniscient in various sciences, namely architecture, zoology, botany, anatomy, psychology, law, political science, craftsmanship, painting, linguistics, magic and philosophy.⁶⁰



Figure No. 4.60: YN95 (Collection Grabowsky)

In the manuscript **YN91: ทสปัญหาลองแพะคำ (จันทพราหมณ์) (*Totsa panha alòng pae kham/ Canda Brāhmaṇa*)**, from Wat Ban Lan, Moeng Nga (in Moeng Laem county) and dated 2009 CE, the scribe expresses his wish that the merit gained from writing the manuscript may support him to be endowed both with a handsome appearance and with wisdom. He also wishes to become a scribe in his next life as is expressed in the colophon at the end of the first fascicle.

สาธุ บุนเฮย ขอนเอาอุโส ผลา อานิสง หื้อ
 ได้คู่ ได้ทาน ชั่วนี้ แลขาดหน้า หื้อมีหน้าตาจามองอาด
 หื้อมีประชาฉลาด เปนจะเรเมิง เสถำขา แล (...)

Sādhu. O, merit. I ask for religious benefit from the writing of this manuscript. May I have opportunities to make merit both in this life and the next lives. May I be endowed with a handsome appearance and wisdom. May I become a scribe (*cere*, from Burmese: *sayei*) of the country. (...)

⁵⁹ Pesala, Bhikkhu, 1998, xv–xvii.

⁶⁰ Loedej, Phramaha, 2005, 72–79.

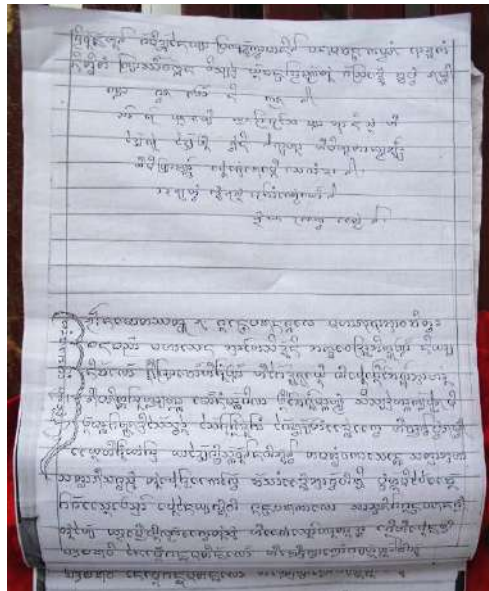


Figure No. 4.61: YN91 (Collection Grabowsky)

In the industrial paper manuscript **YN189: ตำนานตุงครสี (*Tamnan tungka rasi* / The Chronicle of Tungkha Rasi)** from Moeng Ham, Sipsong Panna, dated 1994 CE, the colophon appears at the end of the third fascicle. Here, the scribe expresses his wish to have wisdom and understand thoroughly of all Four Noble Truths (*ariya sacca*),⁶¹ the knowledge of which allows one to escape from suffering and finally enter Nibbāna. Of special interest is the scribe's wish to be endowed with wisdom in his future lives as wisdom (Pali: *sati-paññā*) is considered a precondition for recognising the Four Noble Truths.

ใต้แล้วเดิน 4 แลม 11 ค่ำ เมีงวันทิด เป็กใจ ฤกษ์ฟ้าได้ 21 ตัว ขามเที่ยงวันนั้นแล ขอ
หื้อเป็นประโยชน์แล ความสุขแก่ข้าแต่ แม้นข้อยแลได้เกิดมาในวตสูงสานหลายชาติก็ดี
ขอหื้อมีสติประยาปญญาแลได้รู้วิธีสังขัมมทั้ง 4 ขอหื้อได้เข้าสู่ณิพพานข้อยแล อ้ายขัน
แก้วบ้านเพยลูงเมิงลงแล

Finished on the eleventh waning day of the fourth month [in CS 1356], a Sunday [according to the] Mon [tradition], a *poek cai* day [according to the Tai tradition], at the auspicious time of 21, at noon. ⁶² I wish that this will bring me benefit and happiness.

⁶¹ *Ariyasacca*: The four noble truths is composed of *Dukkha*: suffering; unsatisfactoriness, *Dukkha-samudaya*: the cause of suffering; origin of suffering, *Dukkha-nirodha*: the cessation of suffering; extinction of suffering, and *Dukkha-nirodha gaminī paṭipadā*: the path leading to the cessation of suffering (Brahmagunabhorn, Phra (P. A. Payutto) 2016, 155).

⁶² 1356 Magha 26 equates to Sunday, 26 February 1995. This day was, indeed, also a *poek cai* day.

Though I have already been born in the cycle of life and death several times, I ask for wisdom (*sati-panya*) and the recognition of all Four Noble Truths. May I enter Nibbāna. Ai Khan Kao [from] Ban Foei Long [in] Moeng Long.

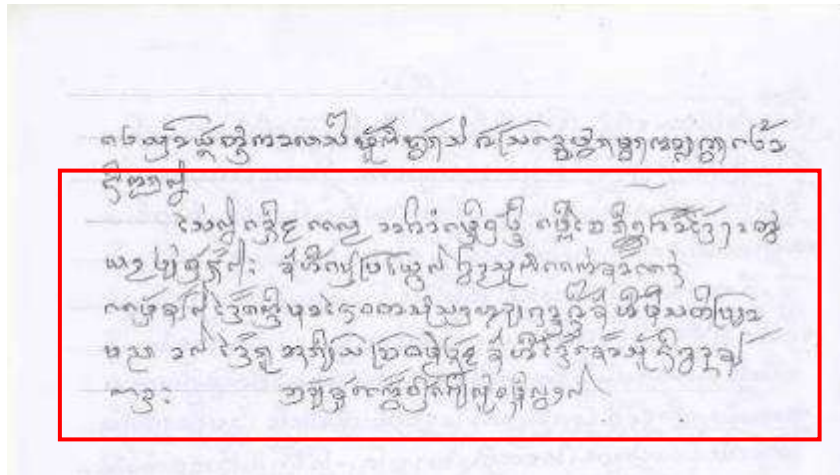


Figure No. 4.62: YN189 (Collection Grabowsky)

6. Hope to transmit texts to younger generations

This wish is similar to and expressed in the same way as the ninth purpose. In the case of texts pertaining to the history of traditional polities and local histories, the scribes usually express their wish that the recorded text should be preserved and transmitted to the next generations. This is conveyed in the manuscript **YN99**: **ลิกทอดพื้นเค้าเจ้าหอคำเมืองแลม** (*Lik thòt pün kao cao hò kham moeng laem* / **The chronicle of Moeng Laem**) from Moeng Laem, Yunnan, dated 2001 CE. The scribe, Pò Saeng Sam Cün, dedicated the manuscript to the Great Stupa of Moeng Laem in the hope that the story will be passed on to his children and grandchildren's generations.

หน้าพิบพายเค้า ลิกทอดพื้นเค้าเจ้าหอคำเมืองแลม ผู้แต่งไว้ชื่อว่าพ่อแสงสามจีน เมือง
แลมเวียงหอคำ อยู่ใน ชาติหลวงเมืองแลมนั้น ข้าได้มาแปลไว้กับในชาติหลวง หือมันถึง
ชั่วลูกชั่วหลานข้าแล

แต่งในปีระวงไส้ 1363 ตัว เคนเจียงแลม ๘ คำ แมงวัน 3 ไทวันกำเร้า นกขุดตริก เริกฟ้า
ได้ 8 ตัว วัน กำเร้า น้ำเต็มแล้ว

สุเหย สุนอ

The front cover folio specifies the title as Chronicle of Moeng Laem. The scribe's name is Pò Saeng Sam Cün from Moeng Laem Hò Kham who lives at the Great Stupa of Moeng Laem. I dedicate [this manuscript] to the Great Stupa so that it may last to the generations of the children and grandchildren. It was written in the year of the snake, CS 1363, on the sixth waning day of the first month, the Mon [say] a Tuesday, the Tai [say] a *ka rao* day. *Nakkhatta roek*, the eight auspicious time of the day.⁶³ It is now accomplished.



Figure No. 4.63: YN99 (Collection Grabowsky)

4. 1. 4 Apologies and expressions of humbleness by the scribes writing the manuscripts

In Tai Lü manuscript culture, we often find that scribes express their humbleness regarding their allegedly bad handwriting and other errors while copying the texts. Such expressions usually appear together with an apology directed towards the reader. This reflects a widespread attitude of humbleness not only among Tai Lü scribes but among Tai people in general. Moreover, the majority of Tai Lü manuscripts contain religious texts and Tai Lü people pay respect to these as sacred objects. Therefore, the scribes write the texts with awe and fear of committing a sin if they make copying mistakes. However, the reasons for erroneous spelling on the one hand and bad handwriting on the other hand may be different as is evident in the following examples.

⁶³ 1363 Karttika 21 equates to Tuesday, 6 November 2001, which was, indeed, also a *kao rao* day.

4.1.4.1 Apologies for bad handwriting because the scribe is still inexperienced.

In the manuscript **LS18: ธรรม์บัวรวงสา (*Tham borawongsa*)**, from Mūang Sing, and dated 1982 CE, the colophon at the end of the forth chapter (*phuk*) contain an apology by the scribe, a novice named Khong at Chiang Lae monastery in the town of Mūang Sing, regarding his handwriting because he just started learning to write the Tham script.

สุดแล้วยามเวลา .. มวงปายขาว 5 นาฬนี้ข้าแล
แม่น้ำข้าเสดกเสดงคี่ข้าขอสมมา[ยัง]ธมmani
สมมายังธมบัวรวงผูก 4 นีแล ข้าสมณิขรขง[พระ]วัดเชียงแลแล้วแลเจ้า
ตัวคี่บ่งามสักอิดสักน้อข้าขอสมมาแท้ ๆ แคนุนเอย สุทินวัดเม
พนนิตุพานปโยโฮนตุนอนิจทุวทุวปรัม สุข ยาจามิ
ตัวคี่บ่งามสักอิดสักอิดคี่ใหม่เสเจ้า[กะพิทุ]กะพื่นน้อเอย
หมดแซกนินแล ตัวคี่บ่งาม

[The writing of the text] has been completed at 25 minutes past (...) o'clock. Be it that I misspelled words or omitted them, I beg for forgiveness with regard to this manuscript. I apologise for [committing mistakes when writing] the fourth chapter (*phuk*) of *Tham borawong*. I, Novice Khong, from Wat Xiang Lae have not written beautifully. Thus I really beg for forgiveness. I only [want to gain] merit. Sudinaṃ vatame danaṃ nibbāna paccayo hontu no nic[c]aṃ dhuvam dhuvam parāmaṃ sukhaṃ yācāmi. 64 My handwriting is not beautiful at all because [I am just] a beginner of practicing. I should exercise again, dear fellow monks and novices. **My handwriting is awful.**

⁶⁴ Well donated is our gift, a condition for us [to reach] nibbāna permanently and continuously. May I reach this supreme happiness.

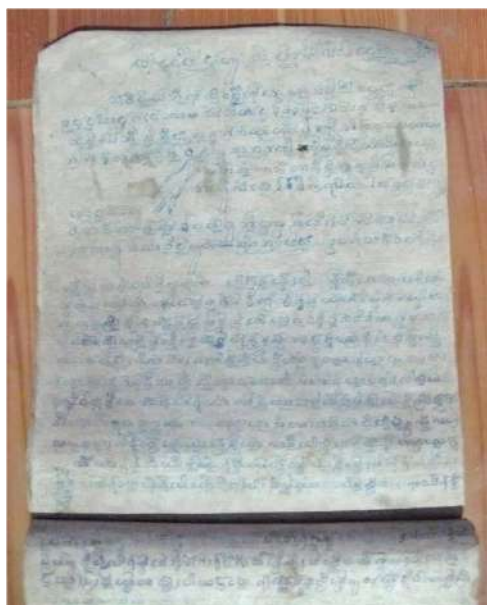


Figure No. 4.64: LS18 (Collection Grabowsky)

4.1.4.2 Apologies for bad handwriting and incorrectness due to copying the text from an older manuscript

In the manuscript **YN53**: *ธำปถมกับหิน* (*Tham pathom kap hin*) from Müang Long, Sipsòng Panna, dated 1986 CE, the scribe explains that he copied the text from an older extant manuscript and apologises for the mistakes within. Though the scribe seems to be an experienced person whose handwriting does not look clumsy at all, he nevertheless humbly compares his handwriting with “chicken scratch” (*kai khia*), not without an element of self-irony.

ผู้ข้าอุปสูกพ้อช้อยชมนานหล้าริจิตดแต้มเจียรค้ำชูโชติกาศาสนา 5 พันวสา ช้อยขอ
หื้อเป็นผลบุญถ้ำชุนตัวโชนิแลชาดหน้า ก็หื้อช้อยได้เข้าสู่เวียงแก้วยอดนิพพานแท้
แต่บุรเหย สติญณ์ วดเมทาน์ นิพพานปญโย หวนตุเม นิจ ญจามิ ถวายเปนทานวัน
นั้นแล แต้มแล้วปสิรายี สักขาได้ 1348 ตัว เเดิน 10 ลง 13 คำ มิงวันจัน ไทยกล่า
เว้า เริกฟ้า 11 ตัว แล ที่ดกคิมี่ ที่หลุงคิมี่แล ก็เหมรบจับกันดีแล ตัวช้อยก็ด้วยตาม
แม่ตั้งมันแล ใส่เนอ ค้อยพิจรนาไฟเพาะ เหมินไกล่เซแล ช้อยขอสมมาธำไว้
เหนอโหแท้แต่

Translation: I, a Buddhist layman, [whose name is] Pò Ci Nòi Khanan La, has written (*likhitta taem khien*) [this manuscript] wishing to ensure that the religion will last [until the end of] 5,000 years. May this bring merit (*phala-puñña*) to support me in this

life and any of the future lives so that I may enter the splendid city of Nibbāna, the peak [of happiness] . *Sutiṇṇaṃ vatame dānaṃ nibbāna pañcayo (paccayo) hontu me niccāmi*.⁶⁵ [The manuscript] has been donated on that day. It was finished being copied in the *rai yi* year, [C]S 1348, on the thirteenth waning day of the tenth month, a Monday [according to the] Mon [tradition], a *ka rao* day [according to the] Tai [tradition],⁶⁶ at the auspicious time of 11. Some letters have been omitted, others misplaced as if they were not well chosen. I copied according to the master manuscript. (?) Please carefully investigate yourself. [My handwriting] looks like chicken scratch. I ask for forgiveness.

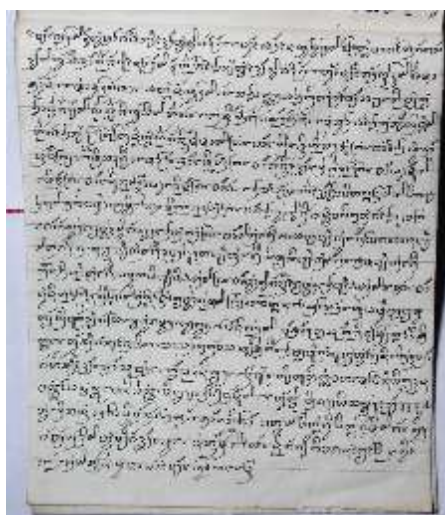


Figure No. 4.65: YN53 (Collection of Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanantan)

4.1.4.3 Apologies for bad handwriting and incorrectness because the scribe has never been ordained.

On example of this is the manuscript **YN139: คำว้ามูลกันไตรตัวพู้ (Khao cao munkantai to phu)** from Müang La, dated 2000 CE. In the colophon at the end of the text, the scribe, Ai Còi Ca Han, apologises for his mistakes and allegedly bad handwriting because he has never been ordained as a monk or novice. He also blames his advanced age and the fact that his eyes are weak. However, it is necessary to stress that Ai Còi Ca Han was widely renowned for his most elegant handwriting of which he himself was very proud (Interview of Volker Grabowsky, March 2013).

⁶⁵ May the benefit of the making merit (writing the text) bring me to reach Nibbāna permanently.

⁶⁶ 1348 Sravana 28 equates to Tuesday, 2 September 1986, a *kat rao* day.

ท้าวเจ้ามูลกลันไทรก็เผยกแล้วเมื่อสักขาดไทยปีกคสี 1362 ตัว เดือน 8 ออก 13 ค่ำ
 ทางคืนหน้าหรี 11 คาติม, เปนอ้ายช้อยชาหานคือว่าเท่าช่วงยั้งเอาพับเท่าไค้ช่วง
 มาเผยกแล, ย้อนว่าอ้ายบ่พิคบ่บวด, อายุก็เฒ่าแก่, ตาคีลม ๆ ลาย ๆ . ที่ตกที่ยอมที่
 เหลอคี่มีแล, ตัวคี่แถมบ่หน้าบ่งาม, ไผแลอ่านคี่ค้อยพิจารณาเอาเท่าเจ้าทั้งหลายเอย.

Khao cao munlakantai was finished being copied in the *kot si* Tai year, [CS] 1362, on the thirteenth waxing moon of the eighth month at 11 o'clock in the night.⁶⁷ Ai Còi Ca Han alias Tao Sang Yong borrowed a manuscript [belonging to] Tao Kho Sang for writing the text. **I have never been ordained [as a monk or novice]. I am quite old now, my eyes are weak. Thus letters have been omitted, are written too small-sized or have been added. My handwriting is not neat and beautiful. All the readers should take this into consideration.**

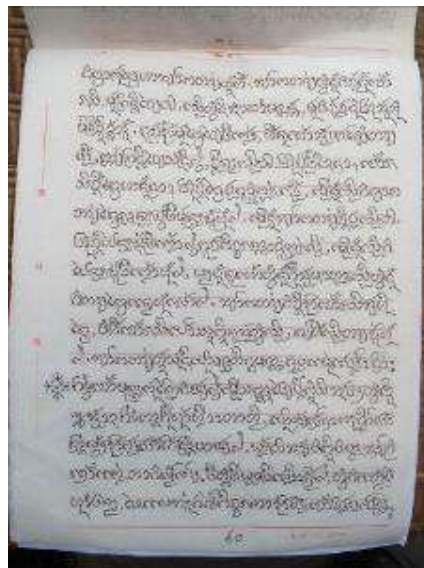


Figure No. 4.66: YN139 (Collection Grabowsky)

4.1.5 Complaints of scribes while writing manuscripts

In my corpus, I found only four manuscripts which express complaints of the scribes in their colophon (i.e. manuscripts LS66, YN58, YN142 and YN210). The majority of them complain about the pain caused by writing the text (LS66, YN58 and YN210). Many Tai Lü literary texts are very long. Therefore, it was necessary for scribes to spend a lot of time writing such texts, causing them pains and headaches. Thus, complaints about physical pain sometimes appear in the colophons. Such complaints are not entirely unusual as Hundius (1990) has demonstrated in

⁶⁷ 1362 Jyestha 13 equates to Thursday, 15 June 2000.

this study of colophons or thirty Pali manuscripts from sixteenth to nineteenth century Northern Thailand.

I also found one colophon (YN142) in which the scribe complains that he was running out of ink: namely the colophon of manuscript **YN142: ธรรม์นิยานิกกะและเวสสันดร (*Tham niyanikka lae wetsandòn*)** from Wat Bam Kòng Wat, Chiang Rung, dated 2000 CE. On the verso side of folio 119, the first paragraph is the ending of the *Kuman* chapter.⁶⁸ Following the end of the text, the scribe provides a short colophon detailing his feelings about running out of ink.

น้ำบิณฑมิมีเข้าคำ 1 บิณฑมิมีเข้าคำ 1 น้ำแต่บมิ ทุกข์แท้แล (...)

[I] do not have ink (*nam taem*) any longer, [thus] I am really suffering.

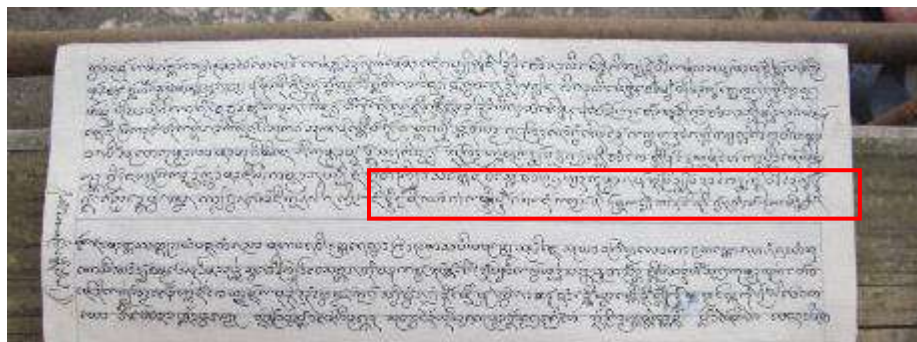


Figure No. 4.67: YN142 (Collection Grabowsky)

The manuscript **LS66: ธรรมพะยาแสน (*Tham phaya saen*)**, from Müang Sing and dated 1980 CE, consists of ten *phuk*. In the colophon at the end of the third chapter, which appears on the verso of the eleventh folio comprising nine pages, the scribe complains that he feels stiff after the writing the chapter.

ผู้เข้าใส่ธรรมผูกนี้คี่เมื่อย

I feel stiff having [finished the] writing of this chapter (*phuk*).

⁶⁸ *Kuman* is the eighth chapter of the Vessantara Jataka narrating how Prince Vessantara gave his children to Jujaka, poor elderly hinduis priest who beg Vessantara's children for being his servants.

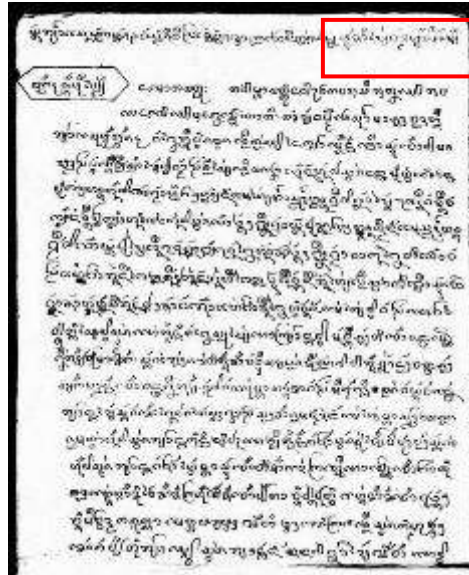


Figure No. 4.68: LS66 (Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

4.1.6 Curses of scribes

The exchange and/or borrowing of manuscripts among monasteries is common in Tai Lü and Lan Na manuscript cultures, especially vis-à-vis palm-leaf manuscripts. However, in the Lan Na tradition mulberry paper manuscripts are not exchanged and can only be borrowed for the purposes of copying.⁶⁹ Most mulberry paper manuscripts are not part of monastic and other repositories, but are owned either by learned laymen or stored in the abode of senior abbots and monks for their personal use.⁷⁰ Therefore, the disappearance of manuscripts sometimes occurs. As such, scribes and/or owners write curses in their colophons as a way to warn the lender to return the manuscript.

In my corpus, I have found only three manuscripts that contain the curses of scribes. One of them is a religious manuscript from Müang Sing, Laos. Two other manuscripts contain historical texts from Sipsòng Panna. One of these, however, manuscript **YN7: พอนพิน 12 พันนา แสนหวิฟ้า** *Pop Pün Sipsòng Panna Saenwi Fa* (**The Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna**), the curse appears in the preface as noted in the earlier section discussing prefatory material in Tai Lü manuscripts (see page 170–173).

In the colophon at the end of the fifth fascicle of manuscript **LS52: เขียวสองมอน** (*Kheo sòng mon*) from Müang Sing and dated 1985 CE, the scribe, a monk named Còm Can at

⁶⁹ Interview Mr. Srilao Ketphrom, a specialist in Lan Na inscriptions, manuscripts and rite. Interview by Apiradee Techasiriwan, July 2017.

⁷⁰ See also the personal collection of manuscripts of Pha Khamchan Virachitto (1920–2007), the late abbot of Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang (Bounleuth and Grabowsky 2016).

Müang Hun Monastery, curses anyone who borrows the manuscript and does not return it. He warns that should they fail to return the manuscript, they shall become a hungry ghost at the monastery. Theravāda Buddhists believe that a person who steals the belongings of another will be reborn as a *preta* or hungry ghost.⁷¹ This belief is reflected in the colophon of this manuscript.

แล้วแล แล้ว เวลา 7 โมงกังไหนเช้าแล ข้าเขียนปีดับเปล้า สขาดได้ 1347 ตัว
เดือน 11 โห่ม 28 ค่ำแล ข้า(เขียน)ธำผุก 5 ผูกนี้ 6 ผูกอันดิแต่ต่อไปนิตกเสกดี
หลงเสกดีก็ขออย่าเป็นบาปเป็นทวดแท้ซ้อยแต่ ข้าขอสุก 3 ประการ อันมิในเมิงกุน
และเมิงฟ้า ที่แลมีเวียงแก้วยอดมหารพาน แท้ซ้อยแต่

ริจิตาแต่เมฆน ภิกขุ จอมจัน แต่้ม (ลือเก่า)ไว้กับ (ลือใหม่)วัดเมิงกุน แล (อักษรลือ
ใหม่) แล ไผวัดใดบมิได้ยืมไปก็ดี รั้มบ่พอกกับได้ยืมๆ ไปก็ดี มารักเอาเจ้าอิการบ่
ฮับหู้ก็ดี เศสขาดบให้เอาไปปนกับวัดเขา กันถ้าวบเอารั้มมมาพอกสงนี้ ผู้ใดมาหยิบ
หื้อผู้นั้นมาปนเตยอยู่วัดเมิงกุน (เน)พระเจ้าบม้างกับบหื้อมันพันอันปนเตยดแล

[The writing of this manuscript] has been finished already at seven o'clock in the morning. I write [this manuscript] in the *dap pao* year, [C]S 1347, on the 28th day of the eleventh month.⁷² The fifth and sixth *phuk* which I will continue to write, if letters may have been omitted or misplaced, may this not be considered a sinful act with negative impact I have the desire that to acquire the three stages of happiness, namely happiness in the human world, [happiness in] heaven [and] happiness in nibbāna.

I, Bhikkhu Còm Can, wrote [this manuscript] for Wat Müang Hun.

If any monastery does not have [the text] or have it but incompletely [and thus] borrows [this manuscript] or take it without asking permission to the abbot, do not take it to their monastery absolutely. If [anyone] does not return [this manuscript], he shall be [reborn] as a hungry ghost, living at Wat Müang Hun eternally.

⁷¹ The people who has bad behavior for example hurting others, stealing others' property, being adulterer, etc. after passing away, the people will be *preta* (Sam Ang, Phra Athikara 2007, 12, 21–23).

⁷² 1347 Bhadrapada 28 equates to Saturday, 12 October 1985. The dating is quite unusual as one would expect the mention of the moon phase, such as “the thirteenth waning day of the eleventh month” in this case.

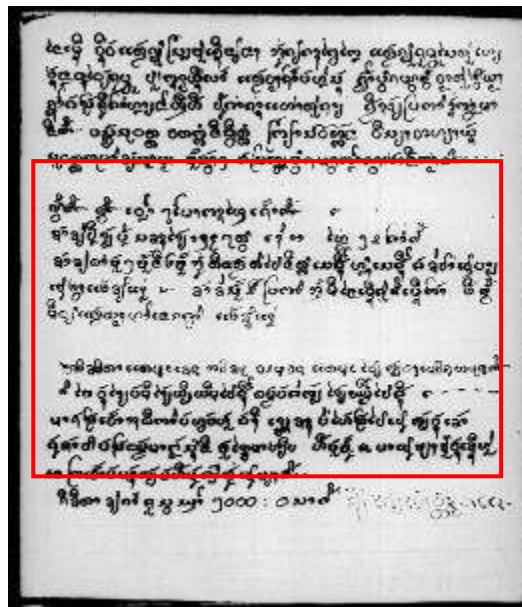


Figure No. 4.69: LS52 (Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

The next striking example of a scribe cursing potential thieves, including those persons who borrow a manuscript but “forget” to return it to its original owner after having studied it, is the colophon of the manuscript YN6: *หนังสือพื้นเมืองลำ (Nangsü Pün Müang La / The chronicle of Müang La)*, from Müang La and dated 1996 CE, which has already been discussed in the section dealing with the prefatory material in Tai Lü manuscripts, YN7, but here the scribe’s curse appears in the colophon at the end of the text. The scribe also curses anyone who borrows this manuscript and does not return it.

คำป็นพรหื้อคนลักโลบ
 หื้อมไปแล้วบไคร่ส่ง หื้อผิบ่งหัวใจ หื้อผีไฟลามไหม้
 หื้อเปนไข้ฉานหาย มีลูกยิงขายหื้อตายเสียง อย่าหื้อมีตัวเสียงถึงต่อชีวังเทอะ

The blessing for all thieves is [as follows] : Those who have borrowed [the manuscript] but do not want to send it back, shall be molested by spirits. The spirits shall spread fire everywhere. [The thieves] shall get sick for a very long time until they recover. Their daughters and sons shall all die. Throughout their life nobody shall take care of them.

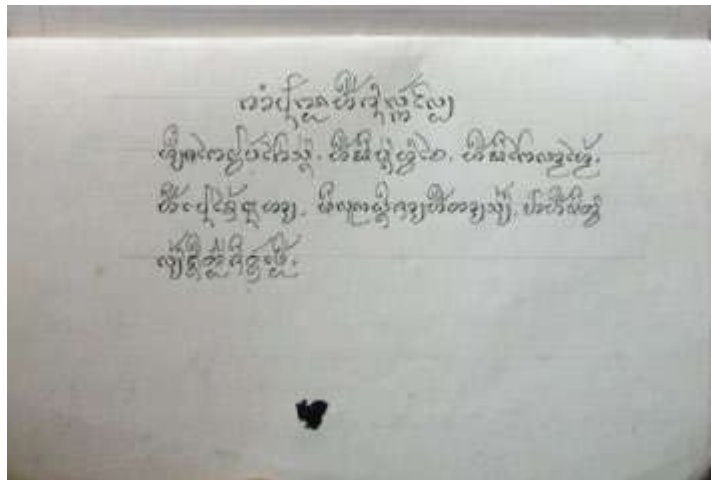


Figure No. 4.70: YN6 (Collection Grabowsky)

In the colophon above the sarcasm of the scribe is noteworthy. The curse here is not called a *kham da* or *kham chaeng* as expected by a *phòn* (Pali: *vara*), a word usually used with a positive connotation for “blessing”.

The curses mentioned above reflect the Tai Lü belief in vengeful spirits similar to the beliefs of other Tai ethnic groups, including the central Thai (Siamese), the Khon Müang people of Northern Thailand, Old Lan Na.⁷³

4.1.7 Biographies of scribes

The contents of the colophons mentioned above (4.1.1-4.1.6) are rather typical to find in Tai Lü manuscripts. However, I identified a total of ten colophons where the scribes or owners have inserted their autobiography and the biography of previous owners.

4.1.7.1 Autobiography

The inclusion of an autobiography is characteristic of the majority of this type of content. Eight colophons provide the scribe’s autobiography, that is manuscripts no. YN81, YN138, YN140, YN143, YN149, YN165, YN189 and YN190,⁷⁴ I would like to provide details for

⁷³ In the fields of Thai and Lan Na manuscript culture and (especially) epigraphy, we can often find curses on these texts, for example in Lan Na stone inscriptions, the contents mostly regarding kings or members of the royal family donating land for building monasteries, and donating villagers to take care and serve the monasteries and monks. Then they also contain certain curses saying that whoever wants to disobey their order will be go to hell, born into hungry ghost (*preta*), etc.

⁷⁴ YN138 and YN 140, the scribe is the same person as in YN190 mentioned above. In these two manuscripts, the scribe also provided his birth place that is Moeng Ham. As for YN143, another scribe told an event when he travelled to Moeng Hón, and visited and stayed overnight at Lung Can’s house. For YN149 and 189, the scribes provide only their ages.

these three following manuscripts. The industrial paper manuscript **YN190: คำขบคิดห้าทั้ง 5 (Kam khap kati tao tang ha / The poem of principle of five rulers)** from Moeng Ham, Sipsong Panna, dated 2010 CE, is one such example. The scribe of this manuscript is a layman named Ai Còi Ca Han. He records his biography inside the front cover folio. He provides his Tai Lü name ‘Ai Còi Ca Han’, his Chinese name ‘Tao Sang Yuang’ and his birthplace of Moeng Ham. He also details that he then moved to Moeng Paen where he has lived until the present day. He has lived in Moeng La for 47 years.

(...)

พันหน่วยนิพนธ์อายช้อยชาหานคือว่าเท้าช่าง

ยั้งตัวเกิดเมืองฮ่า, แพงดาค่าขายมออยู่

เมืองเพนกว้าง, ขายมออยู่ห้องเมืองล้าได้ (เลขอารบิก) 47

ปีมาแลเนอ

(เลขอารบิก+เลขโหรา) 2005625 ลวณแม่นัน 1367 . ปณมดิน 9 ลง 4

แต่มีไว้หื้อลูกหลานหลินหลอนร่ำเรียน

(...)

This manuscript belongs to Ai Còi Ca Han⁷⁵ alias Tao Sang Yuang⁷⁶ who was born in Moeng Ham. Precious [as] the pupil of an eye (*ta dam*). I came to live in Moeng Paen Kwang. I have been living in Moeng La for 47 years.

(Arabic numerals mixed with astrological Tai Lü numerals) 25 June 2005⁷⁷, equivalent to the fourth waning day of the ninth month, [CS] 1367.

⁷⁵ Tai Lü name.

⁷⁶ Chinese name.

⁷⁷ 1367 Ashadha 19 = Monday, 25 July 2005.

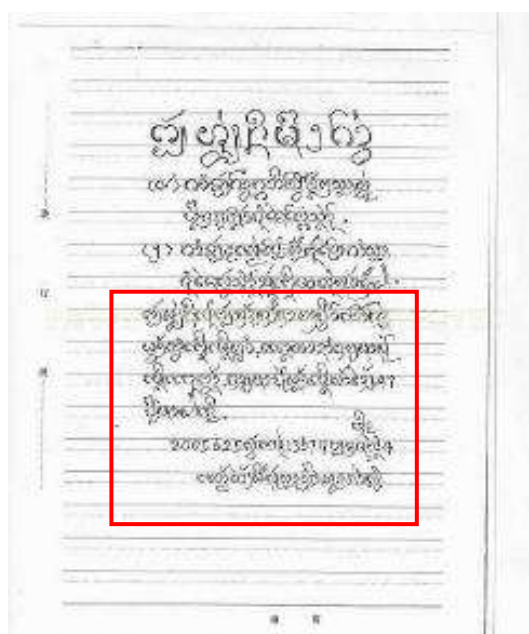


Figure No. 4.71: YN190 (Collection Grabowsky)

Another example is the manuscript **YN165: อุบาทว์สันตย์ (*Ubat san / inauspiciousness*)** from Müang Mang, dated 1999 CE. The scribe is a former monk. He mentions his three names, namely his real name, '*Ai Un Kham*', the name he was given when he became ordained, '*Pha In Kham*', and the name he was given after he left the Buddhist monkhood, '*Khanan In Kham*'. He also provides the name of his son, '*Nò Kham*', the name of his wife, '*I La Can Tip*', and her age (68 years), as well as his own age at the time when he wrote the manuscript (74 years). The use of different names by one and the same person is not only a characteristic feature in Tai Lü culture, but it is also present in Lan Na and Thai cultures. In Lan Na, they likewise place the word *Khanan*, or (in its shortened form) *Nan*, in front of the names of laymen who were once ordained as monk. In central Thai and also in Lao the word *Thit* (ทิศ) – derived from the Sanskrit word, Paṇḍitya – is used. Another characteristic feature found in Tai Lü, Lan Na and Thai cultures is calling individuals by reference to their children's names, especially their eldest son. I noted one such example while discussing prefatory material in Tai Lü manuscripts. In the colophon of the manuscript YN185, the original scribe's name is listed as *Ai Saeng Nòi*, but he also provides his second name identifying him as the father (*pò*) of his son Kham Lü. As such, fellow villagers would respectfully call him *Pò Kham Lü*.

ก่อนเริ่มเรื่อง

โตผู้ข้าชื่อน้อยชื่ออายอุ่นคำ เปนกะชื้อกะอินคำ ลิกออกแล้วชื้อขนานอินคำ มีลูกชื้อ
พ่อหน่อคำ ขามเม่อผู้ข้า ได้ธำรูปาตสันตย์กับนี้ อายุผู้ข้าได้ 74 ปี เม่อผู้ข้าชื้ออ้อหล้า
จันทิบ อายุเม่อผู้ข้าได้ 68 ปี ผู้ข้า 2 ตัวเม่อเลี้ยงยอทาน ในปีกตลี สักขาด 1361 โด
เคน (ข้อความจบเท่านี้)

Colophon before starting the text

My name is Ai Un Kham, [my] name when I was a novice was
Pha In Kham, my name after I left the monkhood is Khanan In
Kham. I have a son, named Pò Nò Kham. When I write this
manuscript, I am 74 years old. My wife is named I La Can Tip, she
is 68 years old. We, both husband and wife, donate [this
manuscript] in the *kot si* year, [C]S 1361 (CE 1999/2000), month
[the colophon ends here].

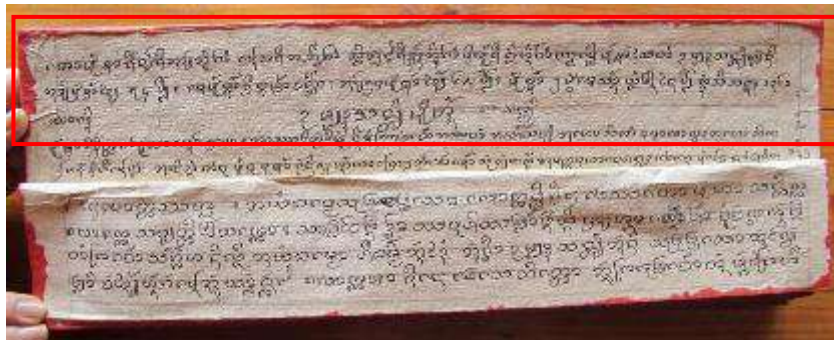


Figure No. 4.72: YN165 (Collection Grabowsky)

A third example is the manuscript **YN81: กัมมัญฐาน (*Khammatthan*)**, from Müang Ting, Gengma County, dated 1954 CE. This manuscript is rather atypical for Tai Lü manuscripts because, in addition to the three normal colophons on the inside of front cover folio, there is a colophon placed before the start of the text and another colophon following the end of the text. The scribe, a high ranking monk,⁷⁸ also inserted his biography in between the main text. He records the dates of when he was ordained as a monk, the dates he attained three higher ranks of the monkhood and, finally, the date of the manuscript's composition. Maybe this was done in order to make sure that only those persons who were willing to read and study the manuscript would trace the scribe's autobiography and learn about his personal background.

⁷⁸ The name of the scribe does not appear on the colophons in this manuscript.

ประวัติผู้แต่งแทรกอยู่กลางเรื่อง

สักกราชได้ 1274 ตัว ปีธำแต่ใจ ปีไพรวงเร้า ฤกษ์ฟ้าได้ 06 ตัว ปีเกิดแล ;
สักกราชได้ 1295 ตัว ปีธำแต่ใจ ปีไพรเมิงมด เดือนก่ำ ลง 7 ค่ำ แม่งวัน 7 ไทวัน
กัศเร้า ขึ้นภิกขุแล ; สักกราชได้ 1298 ตัว ปีธำรายใจ ปีไพรขดเมด เคนเจียง ขึ้น
สิบสองค่ำ แม่งวัน 3 ไทวัน(แต่?)สัง้า ขึ้นเปนเถียรแล ; สักกราชได้ 131 ตัว ปีธำ
ก่ำเป้า ขึ้นเปนสิมิแล ; สักกราชได้ 133 ตัว ปีธำรวงไส้ ขึ้นเปนสังแล ; สักกราช
ได้ 1315 ตัว ปีธำก่ำไส้หลกหนีปีไพรเมิงหม้า เดือนสี่ ขึ้น 11 ค่ำ ขึ้นเปนครูวาไหน
แล้วแล // จุฬสักกราชได้ 136 ตัว ปีธำก่ำสัง้าหลกหนีปีไพรเบิกสิ เดือน 11 ขึ้น
9 ค่ำ แต่งกับมัญฐานผูกนี้ไปแล ;

Biography of the scribe inserted into the main text

I was born in the *tao cai* Dhamma year [which is] *ruang pao* Tai year, [CS] 1274,⁷⁹ at the auspicious time of 6;

I was ordained as a Buddhist monk in the *ka kao* Dhamma year [which is] a *moeng met* Tai year, [CS] 1295, on the seventh waning day of the second month, the Mon [say] a Saturday, the Tai [say] a *kat rao* day;⁸⁰

I became a Thera in the *rai cai* Dhamma year [which is] a *kat met* Tai year, [CS] 1298, on the twelfth waxing day of the first month, the Mon [say] a Tuesday, the Tai [say] a *tao sa-nga* day;⁸¹

I became a Samī in the *ka pao* Dhamma year, [CS] 1311;⁸²

I became a Sangha (monk) in *ruang sai* Dhamma year, [CS] 1313;⁸³

I became a Khru Ba in the *ka sai* Dhamma year [which is] a *moeng mao* Tai year, [CS] 1315, on the eleventh waxing day of the forth month;⁸⁴

I have written [this manuscript entitled] Kammathāna.

⁷⁹ 1913/14 CE

⁸⁰ 1295 Margasirsha 22 equates to Saturday, 9 December 1933

⁸¹ 1298 Karttika 12 equates to Tuesday, 27 October 1936

⁸² 1948/49 CE

⁸³ 1951/52 CE.

⁸⁴ 1315 Magha 11 equates to Sunday, 14 February 1954.

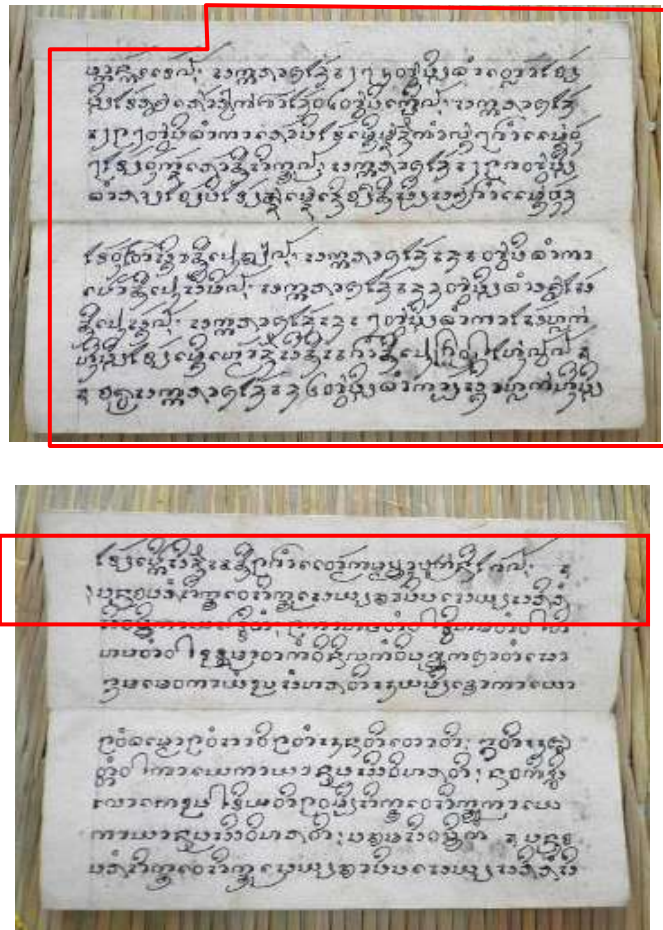


Figure No. 4.73-74: YN81 (Collection Grabowsky)

4.1.7.2 Biography

Besides the autobiography of the scribes discussed above, I found only two manuscripts where the colophons provide a biography of someone else, such as of the owner of the manuscript and the names of their family members.

In the colophon of the first undated manuscript from Müang Long, **YN160: พิธีกรรม (Pithikam / Rituals)**, the scribe, Pò Saeng In, notes the death and funeral of Khuba Sammisiddhi Thera, the abbot of Wat Ban Mong and the owner of the manuscript.

(เขียนด้วยปากกาหมึกแห้งสีน้ำเงิน) พันหน่วยนิเปนของขุนบ้านม่วงเมิงลาวแล

(เขียนด้วยหมึกดำ) ขุนบาทสมมิตธิธิเรียนเจ้าบ้านม่วงกฏิกานล้านนูนใน

ปีกาบสงะสักราชได้ 1316 ตัว เดือน 7 แรมค่ำ 1 มีวัน 3 ไทวันกาบ

เสดริกฟ้าได้ 1[8] ตัว ยามเที่ยงวัน : วันทานเจ้าเข้าป่าแก้วคงจินหอมขึ้น

คือเป็นวัน 6 ยามเที่ยงวันหนึ่งเก่าแล โสวันนั้นนาย : พ่อแสงอินหม่อชาเข้าบ้านนาง

สืบรักสาโโบไว้ศาสนาแล

[written in dry dark blue ink:] This manuscript belongs to the *khuba* [of] Ban Mong [in] Moeng Long.

[written in black ink:] Khuba Sammisa-siddhi Thera [of] Ban Mong passed away in the *kap sanga* year, [CS] 1316, on the first waning day of the seventh month, the Mon [say] a Tuesday, the Tai [say] a *kap set* day,⁸⁵ at the auspicious time of 18, at noon. On the day that his body was brought to a sandal wood forest (cemetery) was on the sixth day (Friday) at the same time, at noon. Pò Saeng In, a traditional pharmacist, an elder of Ban Thang maintained this tradition for the sake of the religion.

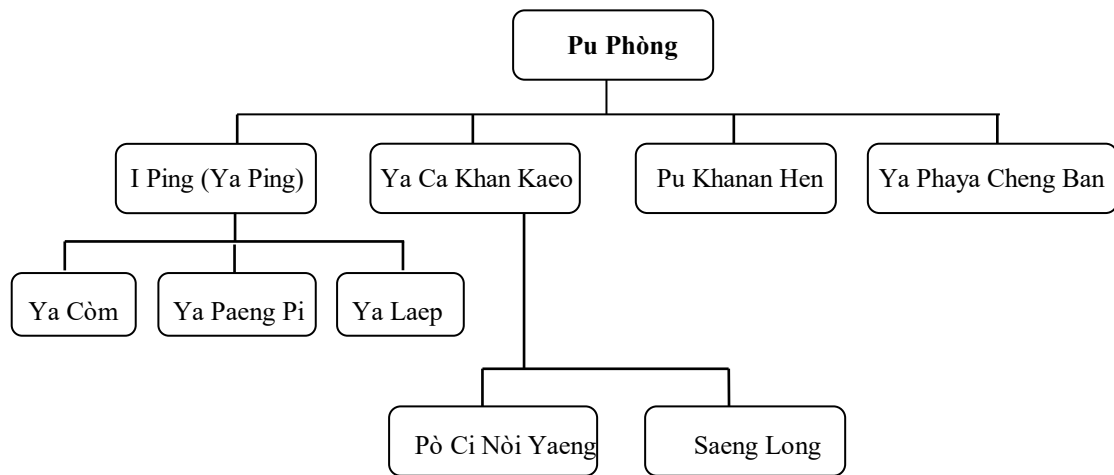


Figure No. 4.75: YN160 (Collection Grabowsky)

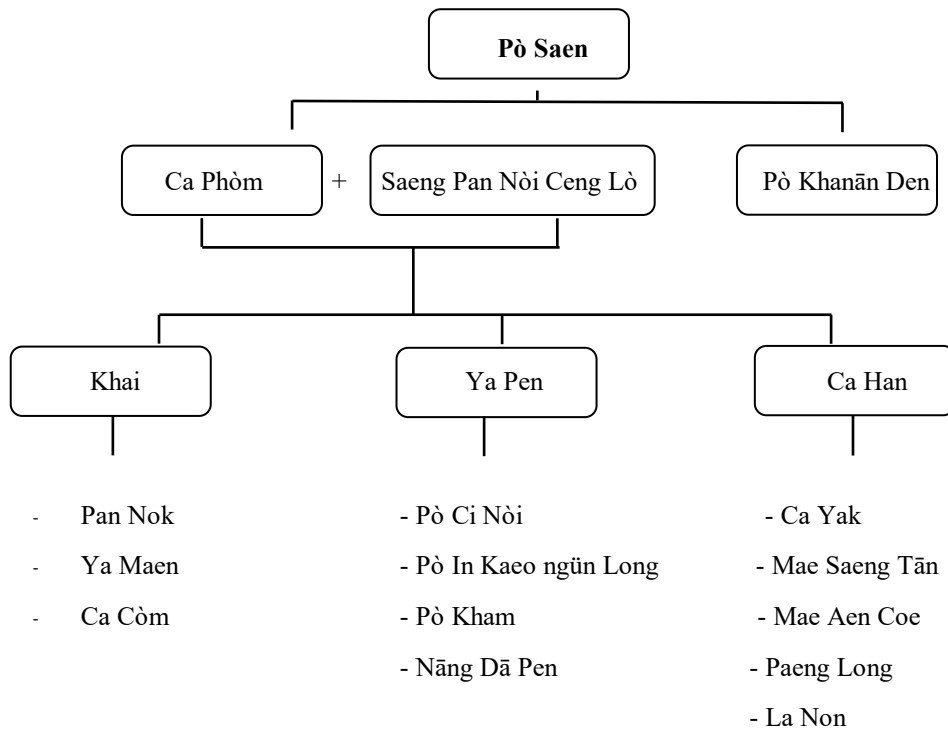
The final example is the manuscript **YN 205: แม่ปลีเลิกฟ้า หมื่อปอดวันดี** (*Mae pi loek fa ha mü pòt wan di* / **Calculation of picking auspicious time and day**) from Ban Thang, Moeng Long Tai, dated 2005 CE. The colophon of this manuscript is unclear. It appears on the last page of the manuscript and provides only the year when the scribe who might be *Pha Pun* (a novice named *Pun*) wrote the name of his ancestor. But from the information available we cannot affirm that he is the scribe of this manuscript or not. The biography is divided into two extended family branches, namely:

⁸⁵ 1316 Vaisakha 16 corresponds to Tuesday, 18 May 1954 (a *kap set* day, indeed).

1. The family of *Pu Pong* who has four children and five grandchildren.



2. The family of *Pò Saen* consisting of two children and at seven grandchildren, twelve great-grandchildren.⁸⁶



⁸⁶ The member of his family is not complete in the colophon. Some member are missing.

แถมปี 13[6]7 ตัว แถมท้ายเค้าพะขุนไว้แล

เค้าปู่เหรียนนิพอนชื่อปุกงแล ลูกมีไว้ 4 คน ตัวเค้าชื่ออิพิง ตัวถ้วน 2 นีชื่อย่าชาขัน
แก้วแล ตัวถ้วน 3 ชื่อปู่ ขนานเหรียน แล ตัว 4 ชื่อย่าพระยาเขียนบาน แล ย่าพิงมีลูก 3
คน 1 ย่าชม 2 ย่าแพงพิ 3 ย่าแลบ ย่าชาขันแก้ว มีลูกไว้ 2 คน ตัว 1 ชื่อ พ่อจีน้อยแย่ง ตัว
ถ้วน 2 ชื่อแสงหลวง แล ย่าพระยาเขียนบานบมีลูกแล

เค้าพ่อเจ้าชาภมนิ พอนชื่อแสน . . แล มีลูก 2 คน แล ตัวถ้วน 1 ชื่อชาภม ตัวถ้วน พ่อ
ขนานแคนแล ชาภมเมชื่อ แสงปิ่นน้อยเขียนลอแล มีลูกไว้ 7 คนแล ตัวถ้วน 1 ชื่อช้าย
มีลูก 3 คน ธิ 1 พ่อปิ่นหนวก ธิ 2 ย่าแม่น ธิ 3 ชาจ่อม; ย่าเขียนมีลูก 5 คน ธิ 1 พ่อจีน้อย
อม ธิ 2 พ่ออินแก้วเงินหลวง ธิ 3 พ่อคำ นางดาเขียนบมีลูกแล ตัว ธิ 3 ชาหานมีลูก 5 คน
ธิ 1 ชายัก ธิ 2 แม่แสงทาน ธิ 3 แม่แอ่นเจือ ธิ 4 แพงหลวง ธิ 5 หล้านวล

Written in the year [CS] 13[6]7, biography of Pha Pun's ancestor.

Pu Hian's father was called Pu Phong. He had four children. The
eldest child was named I Ping, his second child was named Ya Ca
Khan Kaeo, his third child was named Pu Khanan Hen (Hian), and
his fourth child was named Ya Phaya Cen Ban. Ya Ping had three
children, namely Ya Com, Ya Paeng Pi, [and] Ya Laep. Ya Chan
Khan Kaeo had two children, namely Pò Ci Nòi Yaeng [and]
Saeng Long. Ya Phaya Cen Ban had no children.

Pò Thao Ca Phom's father was called Saen (...) He had two
children. His eldest child was named Ca Phom, the second child
Pò Khanan Daen. Ca Phom's wife was named Saeng Pan Nòi Cen
Lò. They had seven children. The first child was named Khai. He
had three children, namely Pò Pan No, Ya Maen, [and] Ca Còm.
Ya Pen had five children, namely Pò Ci Nòi Om, Pò In Kaeo Ngün
Long, Pò Kham, Nang Da Pen (had no children), Ca Han. [Ca
Han] had five children, namely Cao Yak, Mae Saeng Tan, Mae
Aen Coe, Paeng Long, [and] La Non.

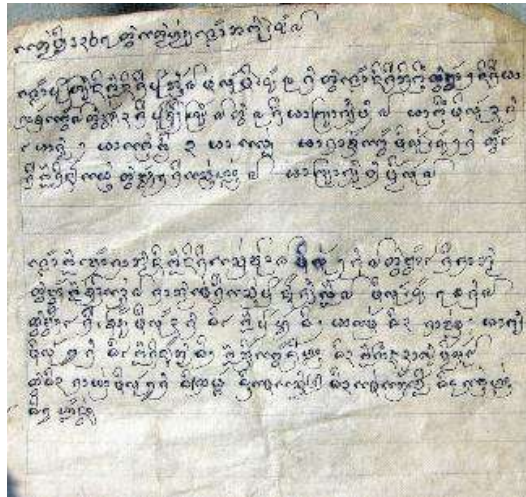


Figure No. 4.76: YN205 (Collection of the Payap University Archives)

4.2 Contents concerning of the production and the transmission the manuscript itself

Besides the information regarding the intention of the scribes and donors, and the desires which are conveyed in the colophons, I have also found some information concerning the “biography” of the manuscripts themselves. These data detail the background of the text or manuscript and its price.

4.2.1 Background of the manuscript

It is typical in Tai Lü and other Tai manuscript cultures for texts to have been repeatedly copied from previous manuscripts without mentioning the sources of the text and/ or manuscript itself. I found only a few manuscripts in my corpus which identify the background of the manuscripts and the sources of the text.

4.2.1.1 Transmission of the manuscript

From my study of Tai Lü manuscripts, I can suggest that for manuscripts in personal collections, the scribe and the owner may be the same person. However, some colophons reveal the transmission of the manuscript from one person to another, or from one place to another, and thus provide information on the manuscript’s life.

The undated manuscript **YN133: หนังสือหุราหลวง (*Nangsü hula long (hora luang) / Astrology*)** from Moeng Hai is one such example. The colophon of this manuscript is provided on the front cover folio. It states that the manuscript, containing a textbook on astrology, has been passed down for study purposes from generation to generation until the present day, where it belongs to a person called Maha Saeng Wat living in Moeng Hun. Such

information is very rare to find and it is only manuscript in my corpus detailing this. Mostly, the older extant manuscripts have been borrowed from other scribes for copying purposes.

หน้าทับพายเค้าพับหนังสือหูลาง
 หน่วยนิผู้ข้าสืบล่ำเรียนกันมารอดถึงเจ้าหน้ง
 สื่อหลายชนเสี่ยงชั่วไปแล้ว สืบมารอดถึงปิยสา
 ขนานแก้วแลงแล เจ้ามหาบุญแทนเชียงหลวงเมิง
 ฮายแล สืบมารอดถึงมหาแสงวาดเมิงฮุนอยู่บ้านหัว
 เมิงรักสาไว้กับรินแล ถ้ามีผู้สืบเรียนดี แล
 บัคนิเอาพอกสู่เมิงฮายเชียงหลวงรับ(หยุ่ง)ถือไฟดี แล

The front cover folio of the manuscript [entitled] *Hula long* (Great Astrologer) .⁸⁷ I have accumulated the knowledge of many generations of owners of manuscripts (*cao nangsi*) until Piyasa Khanan Kao Laeng. Cao Maha Bun Tan from Chiang Long in Moeng Hai who continued [the tradition] until Maha Saeng Wat from Moeng Hun keeps [the manuscript] at this home. If someone wants to study it he has to send it back to Chiang Long [in] Moeng Hai.



Figure No. 4.77: YN133 (Collection Grabowsky)

⁸⁷ Thai cognate: *hora* (*hon*) *luang* โหรหลวง.

Moreover, besides the handing down of the manuscript from one generation to the next, I found some manuscripts which were transmitted by trading. I will discuss this phenomenon in relation to the topic ‘Manuscript economy’ in one of the following sections.

4.2.1.2 The sources of the text in the manuscript

In addition to the background of the manuscript, the sources of the written and copied texts are also provided in the colophons.

As noted earlier, the majority of manuscripts have been copied repeatedly without mention of the original or source manuscripts. However, in my corpus some colophons do mention the older manuscripts from which they were copied.

The first case is an undated manuscript **LS79: สลักสร้างพุทธรูป (*Salok*⁸⁸ *sang putthahup* / **The casting of Buddha images**)** from Ban Wiang Nüa, Luang Namtha. The scribe states on the front cover folio that the text of this manuscript is a manual describing the casting of a Buddha image. The content of the text came from two old manuscripts: one belonging to Pò Achan at Ban Sò in Müang Sing district, and the other belonging to Pu Phaya Thep at Ban Bòn.

พื้บดำราแลสรกสร้างพุทธรูป เขียนมาจาก

พื่ออาจาน เมืองสิง บ้านซ้อ

แลได้เล็กเขียนเอาของเก่าของปู่ยาเทบ

[บ้าน]บอร์แต่ สองฉบับเข้ากันแล

A textbook and *salok* of casting Buddha image, [I] wrote [the text] from [a manuscript of] Pò Achan at Ban Sò in Müang Sing and wrote from the old [manuscript of] Pu Phaya Thep at Ban Bon.

⁸⁸ Normally, the word *Salok* (ไทย: โสลก) means a kind of verse is composed of four cantos in one stanza, but this text is written in prose form. (Online dictionary of Royal Society of Thailand: <http://www.royin.go.th/dictionary/>).

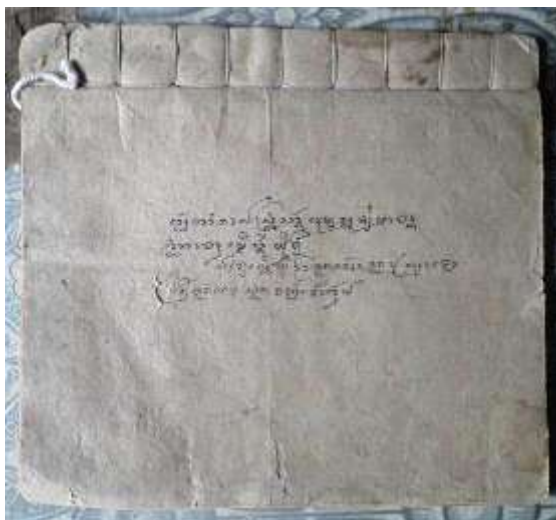


Figure No. 4.78: LS79 (Collection Grabowsky)

The second case is industrial paper manuscript **YN16: พับหนังสือพื้นเมืองรำ (Pap nangsü pün moeng ham / Chronicle of Moeng Ham)** from Chiang Rung, Sipsong Panna, dated 1996 CE. The scribe, Cao Maha Khanthawong, provides the background of the text in the colophons on the first and last pages. Here, he states that he copied the text from a manuscript entitled *Pap nangsü pün moeng ham* (Chronicle of Moeng Ham), which is kept by Khanan Nakasen at Ban Son Mòn in the district of Moeng Ham.

หน้าแรก

ของเจ้ามหาขันธวงศ์ เฝือกจากพับหนังสือพื้นเมืองรำ อันขนานนาคเสนบ้านสวนมอน
เมืองรำรักษา ไว้

ปีรายใจ จุฬศักราช 1358 ค่ำ เดือนเก้า ออก 8 ค่ำ

ศักราชโลก 1996 เดือน 12 ได้ 18 ค่ำ

หน้าสุดท้าย

ตำนานนิทานนิยายนิเปนเจ้ามหาขันธวงศ์ เฝือกจากพับหนังสือพื้นเมืองรำอัน
ขนานนาคเสนบ้านสวนมอนเมืองรำรักษาไว้. จุฬศักราช 1358 . 2 . 8

1906 . 12 . 18

Colophon (front page): [This manuscript] belongs to Cao Maha Khanthawong, he copied (*phiak/ phek*) it from the Chronicle of Moeng Ham, which Khanan Nakaen of Ban Suan (Son) Mòn, Moeng Ham, has guarded.

[The manuscript was finished] in the *rawai cai* year, CS 1358, on the eighth waxing day of the second month (*doen kam*), i.e. on the eighteenth day of the twelfth month, 1996 CE (according to the international calendar).⁸⁹

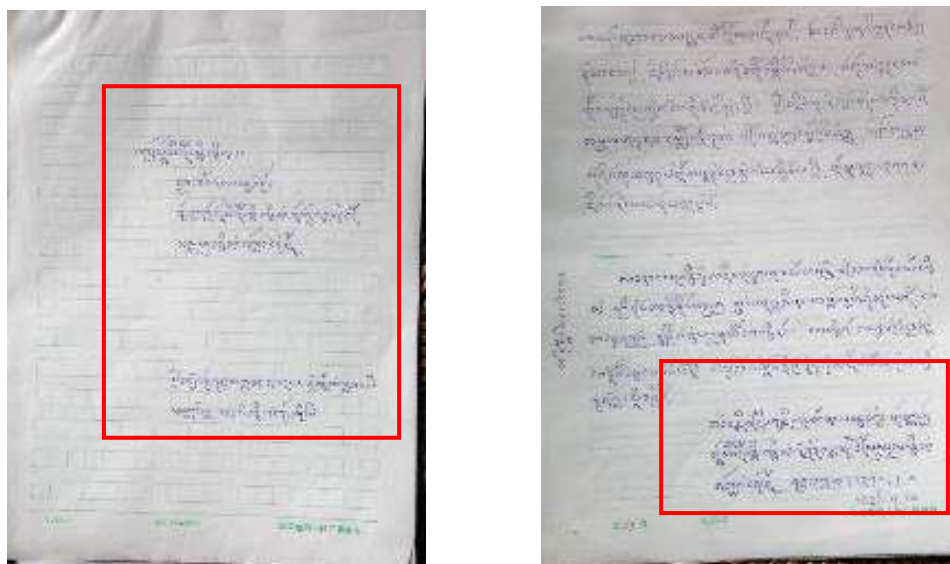


Figure No. 4.79-80: YN16 (Collection Grabowsky)

I found only one colophon which explicitly states that the source of the text derives from oral traditions. This is the manuscript YN 138: คำขับเรียกผีเมือง 6 เมือง 8 บด (*Kam khap hek phi moeng 6 moeng 8 bot* / The poem calling the guardian spirits of six towns comprise eight poems) from Müang La, dated 2012 CE. The text of this manuscript is *Kam khap* (คำขับ), a kind of Tai Lü work for singing. The singer of this type of work is called *Cang khap* (ช่างขับ). Tai Lü people like to listen to *Kham khap* very much and the *Cang khap* have to pay tax just half of ordinary people. *Kham khap* is used on several occasions including the courting of lovers, husbands singing to their wives, and also used on other ceremonies.⁹⁰ The colophon of the last poem entitled, “The poem calling the guardian spirits of Moeng La”, indicates that the text was composed from oral sources. In essence, the scribe asked local singers to write the poems for him, which he then collected and recorded in the manuscript.

⁸⁹ Wednesday, 18 December 1996.

⁹⁰ Charoen, 1986, 180. See also Sara Davis 2006.

ท้ายเรื่องคำขับเรียกผีเม็งล่า

ตั้งคำขับเรียกผีเม็งเม็งล่าเป็นคนช่างขับเม็งเม็งล่าพ่อเถ่าขานกัน ไชบ้านถ่าแลพ่อเถ่ามดบ้าน[ลาน]แต่ปี 1959 สักขาคลวกก้อมช่างขับทั้งแสนเลขขอเขาท่านแต่ปีนั้นก่อนแล .คำวเรียกผีเม็งบคนเอาแตกบดพ่อเถ่าซาไยแลแม่อันฟังเขาขับอยู่ก็มีที่แตกกันสน้อยแลเนอ.

At the end of the *Kam khap* calling the guardian spirits of Moeng La (second poem).

This *Kam khap* calling the guardian spirits of Moeng La is a poem composed by Grandfather (*pò thao*) Khanan Kancai and Grandfather (*pò thao*) Phomdi of Ban Lan who have been singers (*cang khap*) since 1959. Thus they were all asked to write this poem. If I compare this poem with that sung by Grandfather (*pò thao*) Cayai and Mae On Ping, small differences can be observed.

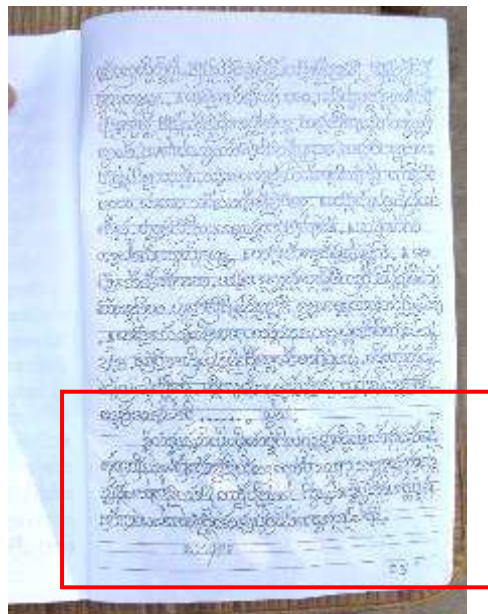


Figure No. 4.81: YN138 (Collection Grabowsky)

This case is quite special vis-à-vis the process of writing a text. Scribes do not just copy the text continuously, but sometimes they interview elderly local people to check the accuracy of the stories.

One example of this is the manuscript YN199: นิทานเชื้อเครือเจ้าแสนหวีฟ้า (*Nitan coe khoe cao saenwi fa* / **History of the genealogy of rulers in Sipsòng Panna**) from Chiang Rung, dated 1994 CE. One important event in the history of Sipsòng Panna, which occurred during

the rule of the Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party), was the holy man's uprising of Youle⁹¹ against the oppressive Chinese nationalist regime in 1941 because Chinese merchants from Simao and other towns used the power of Chinese administration to lower the price and had a monopoly of trading of tea and cotton which are the main careers and products of Youle, and also oppressed Youle in many way.⁹²

In the following colophon, the scribe explains that he interviewed Youle elders about the uprising and also copied text from a manuscript belonging to Ai Kham Phong.

ว่าด้วยคำเวกเขว่ลื้อนี้ ตามตัวผู้ข้าดูไปถามแหว่เขว่ลื้อ ยังมีชื่อปู่เลน, ย้อเซ่อ, บ้านคา,
 ซ่าเพ้อ, อุเซ่, เพ้อล้าเซอ, เพ้อซาลันบ้านย้า, อาเลาหมอยางแล, เพ้อล้าเซอ, ตัวอันคำ
 พิงเปนมันเงินก่านลื้อ ที่ขึ้นขึ้น ผู้เฒ่าคนแก่ฝูงนี้ อันล่วง แล้วตามตัวได้ก้อมเลกนั้น
 เอาคำวกานแซดจึงแห่งเลกเขว่ลื้ออุบหื้อผู้ข้า, เพ้อล้าเซอผู้เปนซือขางยังตามตัวซูก้อม
 แล ก้อมอุบใจด้วยเลกเขว่ลื้อนั้น, ผู้ข้าดูชาดมีความยินดีต่อทะแท้แล, ปีกาบเสด 1356
 ตัว เพียกถ่ายไว้แล

ทั้งปึกมี 69 บั้น พับหน่วยนี้แม่ตั้งเพียกถ่ายหนึ่งอายคำพงชี้ขางมา

คำพงในเขว่ล้าหือมาแล

The history of the Youle War is based on my own research on the Youle. I interviewed persons like Pu Loen, Yò Soe, Ban Kha, Sa Poe, U Se, Poe La Soe, Poe Sa Lin [from] Ban Ya, A Lao Mò Yang, Poe La Coe. These elderly people, who experienced the war and have now already passed away, provided information. I am very grateful to them. I have finished writing [the manuscript] in the *kap set* year, [CS] 1356 (CE 1994/95). I have copied this manuscript of 69 folios from a master manuscript of Ai Kham Phong Si Cang. (...)

⁹¹ Youle is a former name of Jino (Arcones, 2013, 15). This is the name of an ethnic minority who lives in Jinghong county, Xishuangbanna. It is said that they migrated from Pu'er and Mojiang. They have their own spoken language, which belongs to a Tibetan-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan phylum (Guo, 2017, 272).

⁹² Rattanaporn and Yanyong, 2001, 303–311.

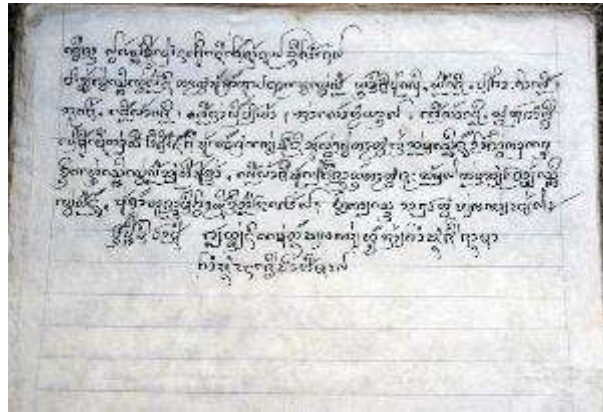


Figure No. 4.82: YN199 (Collection the Payap University Archives)

4.3 Manuscript economy

From the 290 manuscripts of my corpus, I have found only two manuscripts, one from Laos and another one from Yunnan, noting their price. In Tai Lü or even Lan Na manuscript cultures, it is typical for donors to hire scribes to copy texts, but it is not common for scribes detailing the work and recording their price in the manuscripts. Therefore, the colophons in these two examples are quite special for giving the information of the price of producing a manuscript.

The first example is the undated manuscript **LS15: พุทธเบ็ก (*Puttha boek*)** from Luang Namtha. The colophon indicates the trading of the manuscript, and the name and the place of residence of the former owner. These are stated in the colophon, which appears before the beginning of the text and is written in dry dark blue ink. The original owner is identified as a monk called Duang Saeng who previously lived in Burma. Afterwards, a monk called Khandhawathi Bhikkhu bought this manuscript at the price of eleven French Indochinese piasters (*man* หมั้น) – the equivalent of 55 Yuan – in order to donate it to the monastery of Ratchathan Wat Long Moeng Long in the north-western Lao province of Luang Namtha (see also Grabowsky and Apiradee 2013, 43).

พอบพุทธเบ็กหน่วยนี้ตัวข้าฉันชวทิกิกขุ พุชขายพุทธหลวงคอนหลวงบูชาซื้อเอาหนั่งทุ
ดวงแสงบ้านข้าวไห้ เมิงภยาก ปีหลวงเมด คำมัน 11 หมั้นเงินหนัก แม่นเงินกคกาด 55
เย้น น้อมถายเป้นทานกับ ลาชถานวัดหลวงเมิงลอง

I, Khandhawadi Bhikkhu Phra Cai, abbot of Wat Dòn Long, have purchased this *Phuttha boek* manuscript from Phra Duang Saeng at Ban Sao Hai in Moeng Phayak in the *ruang met* year [CS 1353 / CE 1991] at the price of 11 Indochinese/French piastres (*man*)

which is equivalent to 55 Yuan. I donated it to the monastery of Wat Long Moeng Lòng.

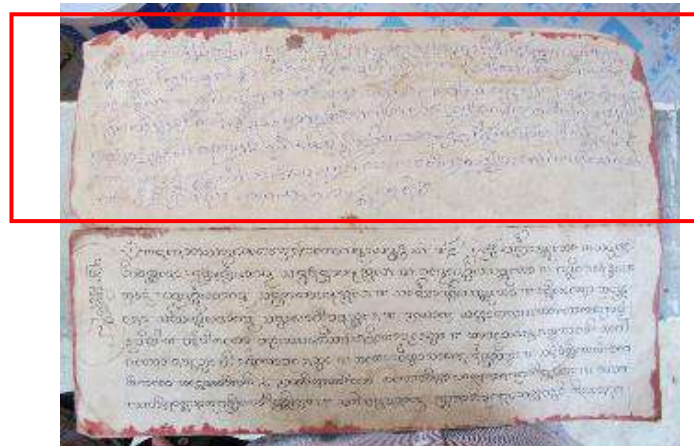


Figure No. 4.83: LS15 (Collection Grabowsky)

The second case is the manuscript **YN85: มหาปฐฐาน ๗๗ (Maha patthan⁹³ (and others))** from Moeng Nim Tai, dated 1997 CE. The price of the manuscript is noted briefly on the front cover folio. The scribe and owner states that he bought this manuscript for the price of 50 *man* in November 1997.

(ตัวอักษรสีขาว) [97-11 . ชื่อมา]

(ตัวอักษรสีเขียว) พับลูกนิช้องน 50 หมาน

(White characters:) Bought (it) in the year 97 in the eleventh month.

(Green characters:) This manuscript was bought at the price of 50 *man*.



Figure No. 4.84: YN85 (Collection Grabowsky)

⁹³ Mahā Patthāna is the seventh scripture of Abhidhammapiṭaka. It means the base of very important and braw knowledge (Nonthaphat, Phra 2011, 2).

4.4 Mentions of historical events not directly related to the recorded text

Although most of colophons in Tai Lü religious text manuscripts note the primary intentions of supporting the Teachings of the Buddha (*phuttha-satsana*) to reach 5,000 years, and the wish of the donor to achieve favourable rebirth and finally reach Nibbāna, I found most interesting information pertaining to historical events in one colophon. This appears in the sixth fascicle of the manuscript LS 52, entitled *ເຢົາວສອນມອນ* (*Khiao sòng mòn / Two parrots*) from Müang Sing, Laos, and dated 1983 CE:

ข้าขอขม(มุ) 6 ผูกนี้ ที่ดกเสกคี่ดี ที่หลงเสกคี่ดี ข้าขอสมมาขมมแด่นอ วิจิตตด้วยธุ
จามจน เขียนคำขุโขฏกกรพุทธศาสนา 5000 วสา ขอหื้อผู้ข้าได้ถึง สุก 3 ประการ โชนิ
และขาดหน้า ต่อทำหื้อได้ถึง เมื่องอเมริกาเพาะ หื้อ ได้เมื่องเกิดลูกเสกฐินนายชิน ลูกเจ้าลูก
นายเพาะ (...)

I have written the sixth *phuk* (chapter) [where some copied words] were misspelled or were omitted. I apologize for this. I, Thu Cāmacana, copied [this manuscript] to support the religion of Lord Gautama to remain for 5,000 years and **I wish for three kinds of happiness in this life and all future lives until reaching America**, and I hope to be born as a millionaire and/ or into a nobleman family (...)

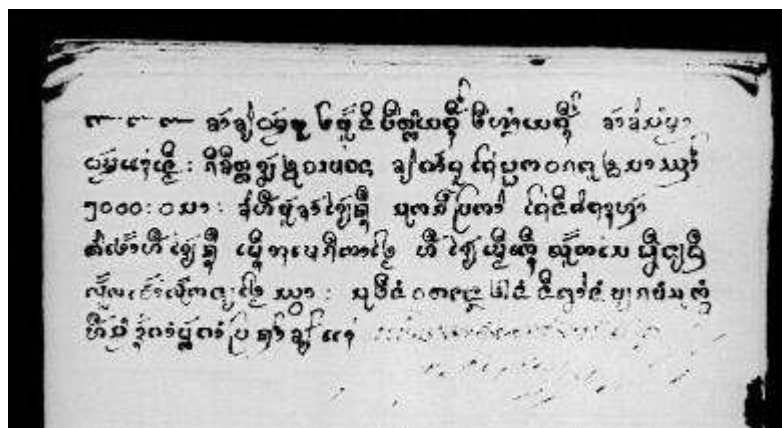


Figure No. 4.85: LS52 (Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts)

The desire of the scribe expressed in the colophon above is strange because, normally, in the structure of the colophons, when the scribes/donors makes a wish for the three kinds of happiness, this is usually followed by “reaching Nibbāna”, whereas in this colophon the scribe wishes to reach America instead of Nibbāna. In this case, if we take into account the history of Laos at that time, we can understand the scribe’s thinking more clearly.

After the end of French colonial rule (1893–1953), Laos returned to true independence under a democratic form of government with the King as head of the state system. Later, however, there were many conflicts in the coalition government (between the centrists, the right wing and the left wing) resulted in civil war in Laos. Meanwhile, the United States played a political role in supporting the Royal Lao Government, both economically and with the supply of arms to fight Communist forces. However, with the end of the Vietnam War in the early 1970s, the US withdrew their troops and terminated their support of the Royal Lao Government.

After the Communist victories in Cambodia and Vietnam in April 1975, the Pathet Lao movement, controlled by the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, saw the opportunity of seizing absolute state power in Laos as well. Through a combination of military pressure and pro-Communist demonstrations in Vientiane and provincial towns the pro-Western and neutralist forces in the uneasy tripartite Lao coalition government were forced to resign. Finally, on 2 December 1975, a Lao People's Congress convened, shortly after the abdication of King Sisavang Vatthana, and the Lao People's Democratic Republic (LPDR) was proclaimed. During and after the revolution, a large number of Lao people migrated to western countries including a small amount to New Zealand, Sweden and Australia, a larger number to France (around 50,000 immigrants), and more than 200,000 to the United States.⁹⁴

During the period of the American interference in Laos mentioned above, the US not only assisted with economic subvention and military aid, but also brought Western civilization and the US way of life to Lao society. This fostered the point of view among some Lao people that the United States represented a city of heaven where everyone enjoys wealth and well-being.⁹⁵ Moreover, refugees in the United States have sent money and medicine back to relatives in Laos, which has notably improved their quality of life.⁹⁶ The sentiments of the scribe appearing in the colophon might have been reflected these factors. Expressions of anger and depression of scribes facing terrible circumstances also appear in some colophons and prefaces.

Another example is the manuscript **LS6: รวมพิธีกรรมต่าง ๆ (*Hom pithikam tang tang / Collection of various* Rituals)** from Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing, dated 1908 CE. In the colophon before the text, the scribe, Thera Dhammapaññāsa Bhikkhu, who was the abbot of Nam Kaeo Luang Monastery in Müang Sing, northern Laos, expressed his feelings about

⁹⁴ Stuart-Fox, Martin 2008: xxxi–xlix and Grabowsky 2015; Evans, Grant 1998, 231–234. Halpern, Joel and Barbara 1964, 175–187; Siriphone Niradsay 2011, 46–69.

⁹⁵ Interview of Apiradee Techsiriwan with Khamvone Boulyaphonh and Bounleuth Sengsoulin at the University of Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany on 22 August 2014 and 28 May 2015.

⁹⁶ Evans, Grant 1999: 232.

the terrible situation of local Buddhism at that time.⁹⁷ Specifically, he laments the very small number of Buddhist laymen interested in ordination and the fact that novices did not respect monastic discipline.

พับลูกนิเปนของข้าคนชื่อว่าเรธัมมปัญญาสกิกขุสร้างไว้กับคนแล สร้างในปีสักราชได้
1270 ตัว ในเดือนสิบสองขึ้น 8 ค่ำ วันนั้นแล เราตนเปนอธิกอนสอนในศาสนาพาย
เมิงเหนอวัดน้ำแก้วหลวงเปนกาลวิปัติ คนอันไต่อยู่สาสนามีพายน้อยเปนที่สุดที่
ซ้อยพระน้อยกินเข้าคืบมีกาละยามเวลา คิมียามนั้นมิหั้นชะแล ยากแท้ ๆ ยากแท้ ๆ
เอยเอย . .

This manuscript is owned by me, Thera Dhammapaภิกขุสา Bhikkhu, who created (*sang*) it for myself in the year CS 1270, on the eighth waxing day of the twelfth month. **I am an abbot teaching the religion (*sāsana*) [according to the tradition] of the northern country at Wat Nam Kaeo Luang in difficult times. Those who have a desire in the religion are very few in number. It is deteriorating as the young novices (*pha nòi*) do not eat at the appropriate time. They eat whenever they like. It is really very difficult, so difficult.”**

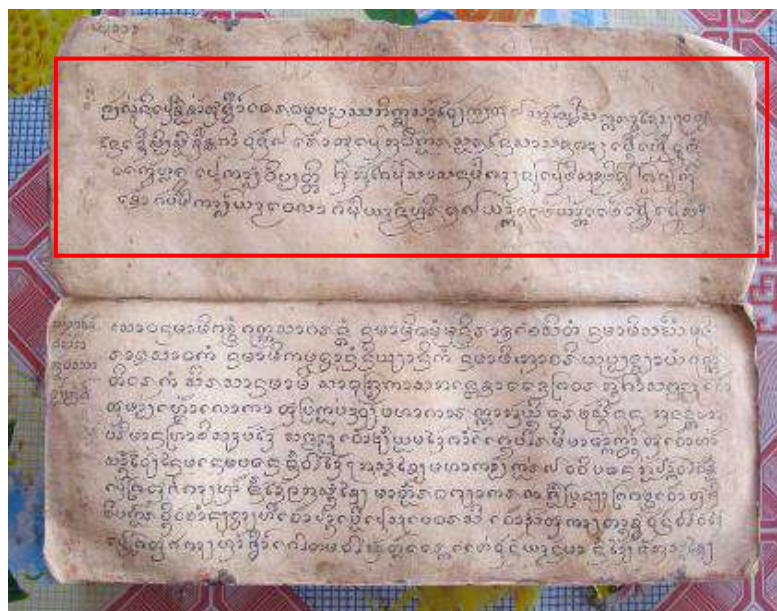


Figure No. 4.86: LS6 (Collection Grabowsky)

⁹⁷ The year 1908 was a terrible time for the people of Müang Sing. Bandits from Müang Phong and Müang La entered Müang Sing discontented with French rule. There was also much tension between the French and the *cao fa* (see Grabowsky and Renoo 2008).

This manuscript was produced during the French colonial period (1893–1953). This was a difficult time for the Lao citizens because France levied excessive taxes. Also, not only did they have to pay money directly, but Lao people were also overcharged for many products. Every Lao man had to be a government employee, moreover, meaning each person had to work for 100 days per year for the government.⁹⁸ We may conjecture that this was one of the reasons why the lay people and the ordained Buddhist monks did not adhere strictly to religious discipline.

As noted in the textual-paratexts of Tai Lü manuscripts from Yunnan, political crises were also recorded in the colophons and prefaces.

As discussed in the section ‘Writing for posterity future generations’, the industrial paper manuscript **YN 109: คำศึกโลก ที่ 2 (Khao Sük Lok Thi Song - The Story of World War II)** was written by Chao Maha Khanthawong, a former government official who lived in Chiang Rung, Sipsòng Panna (1925–2013). In the colophon at the end of the text, the author expresses his feelings about the difficult situation during the Second World War, when Yunnan was under the control of the Kuomintang. At this time, the Kuomintang established military bases in almost all districts of Sipsòng Panna and inflicted considerable hardships on the local population.⁹⁹ Therefore, the scribe wants to convey the story to his descendants to remember this terrible history.

ไว้หื้อลูกหลานชั่วป่านอุณพิจจนาคำทองสู้แจ้งเล็งคำวนิทานล่วงแล้วหื้อโล่มีนทาง
เรียดย้ายซ้ายขาด, หย่าหนีบคิบคาสาไทย, ภาษาชาวห่ม่อน 12 พันนา, ภาษาใน
12 พันนาโอบทกษาณเปนคั้งรื่อนั้น.

[This manuscript] is dedicated to [my] offspring to study these stories thoroughly and gain knowledge of the evil deeds of the Kuomintang Chinese who oppressed the Tai people (*phasa tai*) and the highland peoples (*phasa cao ho môn*). The nationalities (*phasa*) of Sipsòng Panna endured enormous sufferings.

Moreover, the effects during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1931–1945), World War II (1939–1945), and other events in the locality, are also detailed on the title page of the manuscript YN99: **พื้นเมืองแลม (Pün moeng laem / The Chronicle of Moeng Laem)** from Müang Laem dated 2001 CE.¹⁰⁰ The title page is not only comprises the colophon at the top of the page, which provides information about the manuscript and the writing process - i.e., the title

⁹⁸ Siriphone Niradsay 2011, 50.

⁹⁹ See Yanyong and Ratanaporn, 2001; Grabowsky and Apiradee, in *Aséanie*, No. 31.

¹⁰⁰ This manuscript also was mentioned under the topic ‘Intertitles’.

of the story, the name of the scribe, the purpose of writing the manuscript, the desire of the scribe and the date when the scribe copied the manuscript - but the scribe also noted some important historical events in Müang Laem.¹⁰¹

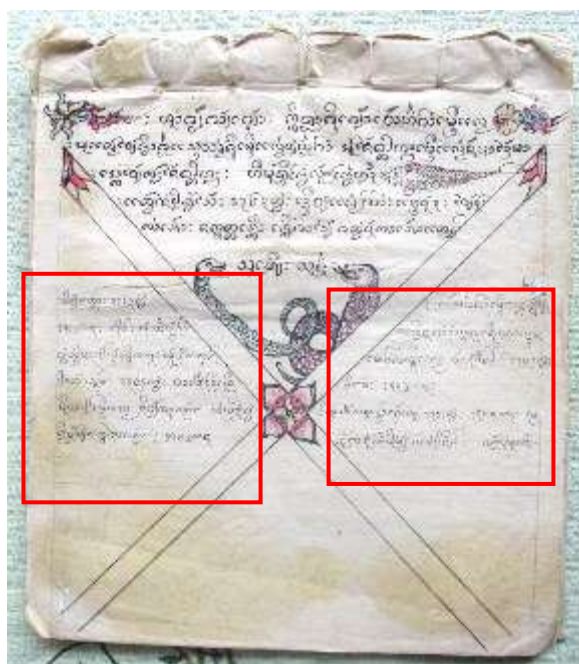


Figure No. 4.87: YN99 (Collection Grabowsky)

On the left-hand side, the first event mentioned occurred in 1951, when the communists came and screened films about their liberation struggle in Müang Laem and Kaeng Village. The second event recalls when Japanese aeroplanes bombed Müang Laem: one bomb hit Kat Village and another hit the *dong bua* (Lotus Flower Forest) on the outskirts of Wiang Kao Tai Village, the administrative centre of Müang Laem in 1942.

: ปลีรวงหมา : 1313 ตัว 1951 แนน : เดือน 6 : กุ้งสานทางเอาชาตสิงมาป้อยยังเมิงแลม :
 ยังบ้านแกงแล : ปลีเต่าสง : 1304 ตัว : จาปานเอาเหือบินมาป้อยเมิงแลม ที่บ้านกาด
 ลูก 1 ป้อยยังคงบัวริมบ้านเวียงแก้วได้ลูก 1 : 1942 แนน

In the Year of the Rabbit, CS 1313, 1951 CE, in the sixth month, the first event is in 1951, the communists showed films about their liberation struggle in Moeng Laem and [and] Ban Kaeng. In the Year of the Horse, CS 1304 [1942 CE] the Japanese came with

¹⁰¹ Interview of Volker Grabowsky and Apiradee Techsiriwan with Ai Saeng Sam, at his residence in Moeng Laem, Yunnan Province, China on 9 September 2012.

aeroplanes to drop bombs at Moeng Laem, one bomb hit Ban Kat, another one the “Lotus Flower Forest” at the outskirts of Bang Wiang Kaeo Tai.

I should be stressed that Pò Saeng Sam was close a close friend of the son of the last ruler of Moeng Laem. Thus a reference to things related to the ruling house should not be astonishing. On the right-hand side, the manuscript lists some important historical events of Müang Laem. First, the ruler of the Golden Palace of Müang Laem, Tao Fai Khung, took a lady named Nang Kham Dung as his royal consort in 1942. Second, in 1949, the precious *Hung* trees of Müang Laem perished and died in this year.

: เจ้าหอคำเมืองแลมท้าวฟายสูง กาเอานางคำดุงยังม้างเรินมาเหदनางเทวติเมืองแลม
คี่เปนปลีนี่แล : 1304 ตัว : ปลีนี่ 1942 เนน :

ปลีกัดเป้าสักกราชเจ้าได้ 1311 ตัว : 1949 เนน : ไม่รู้่งฟ้ารู้่งคำป็นท้าวคี่เปนปลีนี่แล :
ลูกหลายเหยีย:

The ruler of the golden palace of Moeng Laem, Tao Fai Khung, took Nang Kham Dung as his royal consort in the year CS 1304, the Chinese [say] 1942.

In the *kat pao* year 1311, CE 1949, the precious (*hung*) trees of Moeng Laem perished, and died in this year.

5. Conclusion

From the discussion of textual paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts above, it is evident that these provide a lot of useful information to readers.

5.1 Text titles

The scribes do not provide only the title of the texts, but the sequence of *phuk* (here: chapters), which a manuscript comprises, the total number of folios and, albeit occasionally, the name of the specific versions of the texts are often also given.

In the case of multiple-text manuscripts, a list detailing the titles of the texts often appears on the front cover folio. In some manuscripts, the number of pages of each text is also noted. The titles of each text usually appear on the front and/or back cover folios, but they can also frequently be found on the first page before the beginning of each text as intertitles. As for the multiple-text manuscripts or the manuscripts which record long stories comprising more than one *phuk* or chapter, the scribes usually copied the texts continuously as running

texts. In other words, the title of the next story or chapter is usually provided between the end of previous text and the new text. In some cases, the scribes has placed such titles at the centre of a page.

5.2 Paratexts in the margins of a page

Paratexts in the margins of Tai Lü mulberry paper manuscripts usually appear on the left-hand side. There are only a few categories of such paratexts: i.e. the title of the text and the number of *phuk* in the manuscript, especially in the case of stories containing many *phuk*. Moreover, the scribes usually take short summaries of paragraphs in the left-hand margin, with very few cases on the right-hand side.

In very rare cases, the textual paratexts can be found on the top of a page. In such cases, the scribe explains that the text of the page has been cancelled. Page numbers are also often provided at the top and bottom of Tai Lü manuscripts. Even though these are not paratexts per se, they are very useful navigating tools for the reader.

5.3 Prefatory material in Tai Lü manuscripts

The styles of printed books have had an influence on Tai Lü manuscripts dating from the late twentieth century. Prefaces appear in eight manuscripts in my corpus: seven for Yunnan and one from Laos. The word ‘*ว่าแจ้ง*’ (*wa caeng*), meaning ‘introduction’, appears in some manuscript before preface begins. This is the equivalent word to ‘preface’ in the Tai Lü language.

Most prefaces in Tai Lü manuscripts appear on a page before the main text. However, some of them are inserted between the table of contents and the main text. In one case, it appeared after the main text, but the scribe still identified it as ‘*ว่าแจ้ง*’ (*wa caeng*).

Most prefaces provide information on the background of the manuscripts. They usually explain that the scribe copied the text or collected the stories from older extant manuscripts. In some cases, the scribes interviewed elderly people for information. Moreover, the political history of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) is also mentioned in a preface from Sipsòng Panna, recording the cruelty of the Chinese government of that “dark age”.

5.4 Colophons

The colophons in Tai Lü manuscripts are very important. They can provide a lot of information about the scribes, donors and the manuscripts themselves. In addition, some of them record historical events. The colophons often provide the names and locations of the scribes and donors. Their occupations are supplied in some cases. Moreover, as Sipsòng Panna and the area of Tai people in southern Yunnan has been occupied by China, some scribes in Yunnan also

record their Chinese names. In other words, they often provide their Chinese names together with their Tai Lü names.

The Tai Lü people are devout adherents in Theravada Buddhism. Thus, the majority of Tai Lü manuscripts contain religious texts. Therefore, the purposes and wishes of the scribes and donors for writing and donating the manuscripts are embedded in religious beliefs. In brief, they copy and donate the manuscripts to support Buddhism and pay respect to the Triple Gems. They donate manuscripts to monasteries to accumulate merit for future lives and dedicate merit to the deceased. They pay respect to manuscripts and write and sponsor them for teaching purposes. Scribes also write historical texts for the purpose of informing the younger generations about their ancestral homeland and its history and culture.

Writing and donating manuscripts are considered to be meritorious acts. As such, scribes and donors usually make wishes requesting the benefit of merit accumulation. They hope to see the next Buddha named “Sri Ariya Metteyya” in future lives. They hope that the benefit of making merit will support them in all future lives until reaching Nibbāna. They hope to obtain three kinds of happiness and that the sacred items will bear witnesses to their meritorious deeds. Overall, they hope to lead better lives in the future. In the case of the historical texts, the scribes usually desire that the text will be read and passed on by the following generations.

Scribes also express their humbleness and apologise for their handwriting and any errors made when writing the text. In a few cases, scribes complain that they had to copy the texts over a period of long time. Some scribes curse anybody who borrows and does not return the manuscripts.

The contents of the colophons refer to the manuscripts both as carriers of texts and as objects. They often refer to the text’s background, which was usually copied from older extant manuscripts. In very rare cases, the scribe lists the price of the manuscript, thereby indicating the transmission of the manuscript from one person to another.

Similar to the contents of prefaces, historical events also appear in the colophons. They help the reader understand the state of society at that time and the feelings of the scribes vis-à-vis the situations described.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

This dissertation has examined the paratexts and non-textual structural elements (or paracontents) of Tai Lü manuscripts from southern Yunnan (i.e., Sipsòng Panna and adjacent regions such as Moeng Laem) and northwestern Laos. The five core questions underpinning the main objectives of this study outlined in chapter one comprised: (1) What are the concrete features of paratexts and non-textual elements that appear in Tai Lü manuscripts ?; (2) What are the functions of the various types of paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts ?; (3) What are the functions of the non-textual elements or paracontents in Tai Lü manuscripts ?; (4) How did the paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts develop in a diachronic perspective ?; and (5) How do the paratexts, in particular the colophons, of Tai Lü manuscripts reflect the intentions and aspirations, and thus the worldview, of the scribes, sponsors and donors ? My concluding comments will outline the main results of my study below.

General information of the Tai Lü ethnic group and Tai Lü manuscript culture

In chapter two, I provided general information about the Tai Lü, including a brief history of the Tai Lü in Yunnan and northern Laos. The motherland of the Tai Lü is Sipsòng Panna (lit., “twelve districts”), which is now an autonomous prefecture in the far south of Yunnan Province in the People’s Republic of China. However, there are Tai Lü people settled in other places such as northern Thailand, northern Laos, the eastern sections of the Shan State in Myanmar, and even in the northwest region of Vietnam.

The Tai Lü have a long history, which can be divided into Tai Lü proto-history and a historical period about which we possess historical evidence. Regarding the Tai Lü proto-history, it is imperative to detail the migration and settling of the Tai Lü people under their great king, *Phaya Coeng*. *Phaya Coeng*’s historical authenticity is questionable but he is revered as a cultural hero by several Tai ethnic groups in the Upper Mekong Basin. His revered status is reflected in narratives about this “heroic period” of ancient Tai history and, also, in many of the old chronicles of other Tai ethnic groups. In particular the Tai Lü consider *Phaya Coeng* as the founder of their Kingdom of Moeng Lü. He is believed to have established his *Hó Kham* Chiang Rung (Golden Palace of Chiang Rung) in 1160. According to Tai Lü historiography, the descendants of King Coeng, the Coeng Dynasty, continued to rule the country through its ups and downs until the last king (*cao fa*) of Sipsòng Panna, Cao Mòm Kham Lü (Tao Sü Sin–Dao Shixun c. 1944–1950), was forced when Chinese communists took over Yunnan Province in January 1950. Thus, over a period of 800 years, a

total of 41 rulers are recorded in the chronicles of Sipsòng Panna. During this period, Chiang Rung, the capital of the kingdom, was repeatedly invaded by Burma and China, until it was occupied by China in 1927 and, subsequently, integrated into the modern Chinese nation-state.

The largest Tai Lü settlement in northern Laos, the plain of Müang Sing – which is located in the extreme northwest corner of Laos in the present-day province of Luang Nam Tha – is considered the main centre of the Tai Lü in Laos. Müang Sing has a long and complicated history: it was settled, abandoned, and resettled several times, until its latest reestablishment in 1885. The present-day district of Müang Sing, along with the neighbouring district of Müang Lòng, are in fact the eastern half of the former small Tai Lü principality of Chiang Khaeng, whose origins can be dated to the fourteenth century. The territory of this principality once extended over both banks of the Mekong River until the present-day Lao-Burmese border was fixed by French and British colonial powers via a border treaty in 1896.

The Chiang Khaeng Chronicles record that the first ruler of Chiang Khaeng was Cao Fa Dek Nòi (also known as Cao Hua Lòk). He was the exiled son of Cao Saenwi Fa, the ruler of Chiang Rung. The golden era of this small principality occurred in the sixteenth century; thereafter, it belonged to the Burmese sphere of influence and possessed close relations with the neighbouring Tai Khün polity of Chiang Tung. When the plain of Müang Sing was resettled from the late 1870s, and the town of Müang Sing rebuilt as the new capital of Chiaeng Khaeng in 1885/86, we can identify three different groups in the area, whose descendants still live on the plain of Müang Sing. The first group arrived at Müang Sing together with Chao Fa Sali Nò Kham, when he transferred his capital here from Müang Yu (west of the Mekong River). They came from areas in “Western Chiang Khaeng”. The second group were descendants of former inhabitants of Müang Sing. They had been deported to Nan during the first half of the nineteenth century and slowly returned to their homes from the 1880s. Finally, the third and largest group consisted of Tai Lü, who immigrated from the southern adjacent parts of Sipsòng Panna, notably from Moeng Phong and Moeng La. During the Lao Civil War, moreover, which ended in 1973, Müang Sing suffered from a net loss of inhabitants, after many fled the rule of the pro-communist Pathet Lao forces which had seized Müang Sing in 1962.

Since the late 1990s until present times, the economy of Müang Sing has developed considerably, and the Lao government has allowed the establishment of Chinese businesses in Müang Sing. As a result, the Chinese population in Müang Sing town and surrounding villages has increased to around 1,000 to 1,200 permanent residents. Müang Sing is currently an important regional centre for business, tourism and public services in northwestern Laos.

Tai Lü manuscript culture

The Tai Lü possess their own language and script. Their language belongs to the southwestern branch of the Tai-Kadai linguistic family; it is close to the languages of the Tai Khün of Chiang Tung and the Tai Yuan or Khon Müang of Northern Thailand (old Lan Na). The Tai Lü script is a variant of the Dhamma script, which was introduced from the Lan Na Kingdom, probably from the mid-fifteenth century, along with the Lan Na's interpretation of Theravada Buddhism via Chiang Tung. The Dhamma script, which developed from the old Mon script of Hariphunchai (Lamphun), has become the only Tai script in Sipsòng Panna used both for religious and secular texts. Unfortunately, few very old Tai Lü sources (either manuscripts or inscriptions) survived the destruction of cultural artefacts by the Red Guards during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), leaving the old Tai Lü dating from the late eighteenth century as the oldest witnesses of the Tai Lü variant of the Dhamma script.

We can distinguish two types of material used as writing support for the production of Tai Lü manuscripts, namely: 1) palm-leaf and 2) mulberry paper 3) industrial paper. The vast majority of Tai Lü manuscripts contain religious texts regarding Buddhist scriptures including: canonical texts of the Tiiṭaka, Jataka tales (life stories of the Buddha in his previous incarnations), the legendary history of Buddha Gotama himself - including his travels to Sipsòng Panna - the history of Buddhism, the history of sacred reliquaries and stupas, Sangha ceremonies, Anisong or blessing texts, and so forth. Other Tai Lü manuscripts, however, contain secular (non-religious) texts pertaining, for instance, to political history, customary laws, folktales, astrological treatises, traditional medicine, rituals, and many other subjects. It is these manuscripts, containing such “secular” kinds of traditional knowledge, which comprise the main focus of my study of Tai Lü manuscript culture.

Even though numerous Tai Lü manuscripts were destroyed during the Chinese Cultural Revolution, the Chinese government and local Tai Lü scholars have cooperated in reviving Tai Lü script and manuscript culture since the early 1980s. At least three dozen, probably many more, scribes, most of them now in their seventies and eighties, have become the main agents of this remarkable cultural revival. Whereas traditional Tai Lü manuscript culture was based on the use of palm-leaf, notably for the writing of religious texts, the use of palm-leaf as the main writing support had already subsided in the first half of the twentieth century when mulberry paper manuscripts became more and more widespread, either in the form of concertina-like folded books (“leporello format”) or with whirlwind binding (where the folios are sewn at the upper shorter edges). The manuscripts analyzed in this study are all either mulberry paper manuscripts or manuscripts made of modern industrial paper.

In chapter three, I provided the categories of the paratexts and non-textual elements present in Tai Lü manuscripts, and described the development of these over time.

Paratexts in Tai Lü manuscripts

My research found that there are several kinds of paratexts in Tai Lü manuscript culture that either provide information documenting the production of the manuscript or function to structure the text or the manuscript. Others, moreover, provide information about the scribes, donors and/or the manuscripts themselves. The paratexts present in Tai Lü manuscripts can be divided into five categories: (1) text titles or intertitles; (2) paratexts in the margin of the page; (3) colophons; (4) table of contents; and (5) prefaces. These five categories of paratexts coincide with one or two of the three main functions of paratexts, namely: structuring – (1) and (4); commenting – (2) and (5); and documenting – (1), (3) and (5), while paratexts having a commentary function could not be identified in Tai Lü manuscripts of my corpora. These categories are discussed below.

(1) Text titles or intertitles: In Tai Lü manuscripts, text titles are usually found on the front and/or back cover folios. Titles can be found both alone and mixed together with additional information, such as name of the scribe and/or donor, and the date indicating when the manuscript was completed. We also find such information in colophons at the end of the text. Text titles or intertitles can also be placed at the beginning of the manuscript, shortly before the main text starts, or in the left-hand margin of the first (textual) folio.

(2) Paratexts in the margin of a page: Furthermore, text titles may appear in the margin of a page. Chapter numbers and other explanatory notes also appear in the margins, usually on the left-hand side. In some rare cases, these may be present in the right-hand margin and/or at the top of the page.

(3) Colophons: The colophons in the Tai Lü manuscripts can be found in a number of different places and positions, even within the same manuscript. Typically, and most widespread, we find colophons at the end of the texts, including the case of manuscripts containing multiple texts, or a text that consists of several chapters. In the case of manuscripts containing multiple texts, the colophon is usually provided after the end of each text or chapter. In some cases, the colophons were written on the front and/or back cover folios together with the title(s) of the text(s). I demonstrated that the position of the colophons can be divided into twelve different combinations vis-à-vis their positioning within the manuscript.

A typical colophon of a Buddhist Tai Lü manuscript may be comprised of a combination of eight characteristics, that is: 1) title of the main text; 2) date; 3) time; 4) name(s) of donor(s) / scribe; 5) purpose and objective of writing, sponsoring, making and/or donating the manuscript; 6) desires and wishes of the donor(s) and/or scribe; 7) Pali phrases (sometimes also translated into the Tai Lü vernacular); and 8) expressions of humbleness or an apology (especially for bad handwriting). However, colophons do not have fixed forms or compositions. These eight elements can be interchanged, and the various elements may or

may not appear. Therefore, the structures of colophons in Tai Lü manuscripts are flexible and complicated to categorize.

(4) Table of contents: A table of contents was provided in only four manuscripts that I studied: three manuscripts from Yunnan and one from Laos. All these manuscripts were produced between 1987 to 2004, that is, in the period after the end of the Lao royalist regime in 1974, the start of Communist rule in Laos in 1975, and following the end of Cultural Revolution in Yunnan (1966–1976).

In the three manuscripts from the Yunnan corpus, the table of contents is called *ho bot* (*hua bot*) in the Tai Lü language. Conversely, in the manuscript from northern Laos, it is called *salaban*, which is the same word for ‘table of contents’ in Thai (*saraban* สารบัญ).

All of these appear before the main text, as in printed books, and their form resemble the table of contents in printed books, for instance, providing a list of topics and page numbers. Therefore, it can probably be deduced that they were influenced by modern printing techniques.

(5) Preface: Similar to the tables of contents, I only found prefaces in eight Tai Lü manuscripts dating between 1986 to 2005. Seven of these were from Yunnan and one from Laos. Again, all these manuscripts were produced after the end of the Cultural Revolution in China (1966–1976), and after the end of the Lao royalist regime in 1974, and the start of Communist rule in Laos (1975).

Each preface provides details regarding the methods of the scribes who produced the manuscripts and the sources of some stories, which were collected from older manuscripts, printed books, and interviews with elders. A few of the Tai Lü manuscripts from Sipsòng Panna, produced during the early 1980s, contain critical statements made by the scribe, interpreting the political events which unfolded during the Cultural Revolution. The scribes express their morbid feelings about the situation during these “dark years”, when Tai Lü Buddhist culture was severely repressed, and their later relief about the changed attitude of the Chinese government following the end of the Cultural Revolution.

Non-textual elements in Tai Lü manuscripts

Non-textual, pictorial elements play important roles and functions in Tai Lü manuscripts. Non-textual elements can be found in a variety of special ornamental symbols in the manuscripts such as, *gomūtra* (Thai/Lao: *khomut*) (๐), *fong man* (๐), *Angkhan* (๐), *Visanchani* (๐), flowers symbols, bird symbols, pointed hands symbols, and drawing a pattern by connecting the tail of consonant. The non-textual elements not only make the manuscripts look beautiful and intriguing, but they serve a variety of functions to help the reader navigate

the text. The symbols usually appear at the beginning and/or the end of a story, chapter, or paragraph; they act to separate different parts of the text from each other, including the main text from the colophon.

The frames are also used to emphasize certain titles of texts, titles of chapters, the number of chapters, and key words, both within the text and in the margin of the page. The frames help readers to distinguish these notes from the main text. In addition to ornamental symbols and frames, punctuation is another element which is often used to separate words and/or phrases, especially in Pali texts and Pali-Tai Lü texts manuscripts.

The development of Tai Lü manuscripts

The 222 dated Tai Lü manuscripts in my two corpora can each be divided into three periods:

1) Corpus of Yunnan

a.) Period One: 1884–1949 CE: The Communist victory in Yunnan and the end of the traditional *cao fa* system in 1950;

b.) Period Two: 1950–1979 CE: The beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1965 which lasted almost fifteen years, during which manuscript production came to an end;

c.) Period Three: 1980–2013 CE: The start of the reform period marking the revival of Tai Lü manuscript culture.

2) Corpus of northern Laos

a.) Period One: 1883–1914 CE: The beginning of direct French colonial rule (1914);

b.) Period Two: 1915–1974 CE: The end of the Lao royalist regime (1974);

c.) Period Three: CE 1975–2003 CE: the communist victory and rule in Laos since 1975.

Through examination of the manuscripts collected for the corpora, I arrived at some preliminary conclusions regarding the characteristics of Tai Lü manuscripts, and appearance and function of paratexts within.

Before Western and, in the case of Sipsòng Panna, Chinese influences began to have a significant impact on traditional Tai Lü manuscript culture, Tai Lü manuscripts were produced in two standard forms: mulberry paper binding at the top of the page (whirlwind binding) and concertina style binding (folding books). Mulberry paper and black ink were the only the materials used to write the manuscripts in my corpora. Furthermore, the main text is written continuously. Finally, the scribes separate words, phrases or sentences by a space and/or punctuation, and a blank line is inserted to separate the colophon from the main text.

In terms of the non-textual elements (which may be called non-textual paracontents), special symbols are used to identify the beginning and the end of the texts, chapters and/or paragraphs, while rectangular frames are used to highlight certain key words within a text, such as short sub-chapters. Furthermore, neatly framed sub-headings in the left-hand margin of a page may indicate either the title of a chapter, the number of the chapter (or the number of the palm-leaf fascicle from which the manuscript was presumably copied), and other important bits of information.

In period two, the manuscripts of both corpora begin to exhibit the influence of printing technology and modern printing styles. Industrial paper also starts to be used for the production of manuscripts. The beginning of new paragraphs are indented and punctuation, such as round brackets (), are used in a manner akin to printed books. Moreover, Common Era dates based on the solar calendar begin to appear in the colophons in Tai Lü numerals, as a substitute for the Cūlasakaraja (CS) system based on the lunar calendar. However, the majority of manuscripts from this period remain consistent with those of period one in regard to dates, so Western influence does not yet appear to be strong at this juncture.

In the last period, the influence of modern printing technology is clearly seen in the increased production of bilingual Chinese-Tai Lü books, in which the Tai Lü text is based on photocopied manuscripts. Interestingly, most of the Tai Lü manuscripts from this last period (since ca. 1980) continue to preserve the standard characteristics of the earlier periods such as mulberry paper is still a material to produce manuscripts.

I also found that the binding of some manuscripts had been shifted from the top of the page to left-hand margin, resembling Western books. Moreover, there is an increased use of industrial paper and ballpoint pens to produce manuscripts in comparison to the first two periods. Some scribes started to copy texts into notebooks, instead of using mulberry paper to reproduce the manuscripts. Some donors have even chosen to use modern technology, such as a photocopier, to make manuscripts to donate to monasteries, rather than hire a scribe to copy the texts. Moreover, Chinese characters, Thai letters, Roman letters and Arabic numerals, Buddhist Era and Christian Era, the latter usually called *sakkalat lok* (lit., international or common era) also appear in the colophons. These characteristic features, pertaining to the transformation of Tai Lü manuscript culture in an era of print technology, deserve further in-depth research.

Further to the paratexts examined in chapter three, I continued to discuss the analysis of the contents of Paratexts in Tai Lü Manuscripts in chapter four. In every kind of the paratext, various information is provided as follows:

1. Contents of Text Titles

Normally, scribes not only provide the title of the texts in this section, but the number of folios of a *phuk* (meaning chapter in paper manuscripts, but fascicle in palm-leaf manuscripts), the total number of *phuk* in a manuscript, the total number of folios, and the name of version of the copied texts are often provided, too. In the case of multiple-text manuscripts, a list detailing the titles of the texts often appears on the front cover folio; in some manuscripts, the scribes also give the numbers of pages of each text. As noted, the titles of each text usually appear on the front and/or back cover folios, but the titles are also frequently found at the beginning of each text as intertitles. In the case of multiple-text manuscripts, or manuscripts that record a very long story comprising more than one *phuk* or chapter, the scribes usually copied the texts continuously as running texts; that is, the title of the next story or chapter is usually provided between the end of the previous text and before the new text starts. In some cases, the titles are placed in the centre of the page.

2. Paratexts in the margins of a page

Typically, paratexts in the margins of Tai Lü manuscripts appear on the left-hand side. However, there are only few categories of paratexts that appear in the margins of the page, namely: the text titles, the titles of chapters, the number of fascicles, and key words pertaining to the contents of paragraphs. I rarely found paratexts on the right-hand side – however, these included short notes about events that may not even be linked to the main text. Moreover, page numbers are often provided at the top or bottom of the page, while it is very rare to find paratexts at the top of the page; nevertheless, I found one single case, namely in manuscript YN90, where the scribe informs readers that the text of the page has been cancelled.

3. Prefatory material in Tai Lü manuscripts: concerns of scribes

Prefaces were found in only eight Tai Lü manuscripts in my corpora. These prefaces can be divided into two categories:

1. Political events and scribal criticism
2. Information about the manuscript

Six manuscripts from Yunnan and one from northern Laos (YN6, YN7, YN124, YN185, YN186, YN192 and LS21) provide information on the background of the manuscript. The scribes explain that they copied the text and/or collected the stories from older extant manuscripts. In some cases, the scribes interviewed elderly people to obtain information about the text. Only one manuscript from Sipsòng Panna, Yunnan (YN197), mentions the political history of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) in the preface of the manuscript; it reflects on the cruelty of the Chinese government during this period.

4. Colophons

Colophons in Tai Lü manuscripts are a very important kind of paratext because they can provide a lot of information about the scribes, donors and the manuscripts themselves. In addition, some of them record historical events to pass along this knowledge to readers and subsequent generations. The information in the colophons often details the names and locations of the scribes and donors, and their occupations are also given in some cases. Moreover, as Sipsòng Panna, the homeland of the Tai Lü people in southern Yunnan, had been occupied by China, some scribes in Yunnan also recorded their Chinese names, together with their Tai names, in the colophons.

As the Tai Lü people are devout believers in Theravāda Buddhism, the majority of Tai Lü manuscripts contain religious texts. The belief of the Tai Lü in Buddhism is embedded in the purposes and wishes of the scribes and donors, and their reasons for writing and donating the manuscript. They usually copy and donate the manuscripts to support the continuation of Buddhism and pay respect to the Triple Gems (Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha). Moreover, they donate manuscripts to monasteries to accumulate merit to improve their future lives, in which they hope to see the next Buddha named “Sri Ariya Metteyya” (Skt.: Maitreya). They hope that the benefit of making merit will help them lead better lives in all of their future lives, until they are able to reach Nibbāna. They hope to obtain three kinds of happiness: happiness in the human world, happiness in heaven, and the supreme happiness of reaching Nibbāna. They also wish that the merit of producing and donating the manuscripts will pass to their relatives and loved ones who have already passed away.

In the case of historical manuscripts, conversely, the scribes express their desire to record the history of Tai Lü, old customs, ritual texts and folktales, and any other kind of traditional knowledge, in order to pass this on to the younger generations of the Tai Lü. Thus, the writing of manuscripts is seen as an important cultural technique to transmit traditional, in particular historical, knowledge to posterity and ensure the very survival of Tai Lü culture.

Scribes also express their humbleness in the colophons and, in many cases, apologise for their bad handwriting, even though their handwriting might, indeed, be rather beautiful. They also further apologise for any inadvertent spelling mistakes or writing errors that may have crept into the text during the copying process. In a few cases, the scribes complain that they had to copy the texts over long periods of time, thereby causing them aches and physical pain. Furthermore, we find curses in some colophons in which scribes curse anybody who borrows a manuscript but does not return it to its owner. Indicatively, ownership statements, including the use of Chinese stamp marks, occur as a feature in more recently produced manuscripts.

Other interesting information in the colophons may refer to the text’s background, usually that it was copied from older extant manuscripts. In very rare cases, the scribe

provides the price of the manuscript, thereby indicating the transmission of the manuscript from one person to another.

Similar to prefaces, colophons may also provide information pertaining to historical events. Such information may help the reader understand the state of society at the time, as well as the feelings of the scribes vis-à-vis the situations described, especially regarding political history and wars.

Recommendations for future research

Aside from the topics detailed above, there are still more interesting aspects of Tai Lü manuscripts worthy of in-depth study including:

- 1) The changes and continuities in the use of dating systems that appear in colophons;
- 2) Ways of counting of time in colophons;
- 3) The use of different scripts and languages in the main text and colophons (phenomenon of multi-linguism and multi-scriptuality);
- 4) Differences of various compositions in Tai Lü manuscripts which come from different places;
- 5) In-depth studies of the gender, professional, social, and ethnic backgrounds of scribes, donors and sponsors as reflected in paratextual evidence;
- 6) A comparative study of paratexts in Tai Lü and closely related Tai Khün, Tai Yuan (Northern Thai) and Lao manuscript cultures.

My study of the paratexts and non-textual elements in Tai Lü manuscripts contributes to a rising interest among scholars – philologist as well as historians – of Thai and Tai manuscript cultures. Furthermore, I hope that my study will become the basis of further studies on paratexts in Thai and Tai manuscripts, also comparing them with epigraphical evidence. Thai and Tai manuscriptology is a very recent and still underdeveloped field that needs to be expanded in the future.

Bibliography

1. Primary sources

1.1 The Manuscripts of the corpora “Southern Yunnan” and “Northern Laos”

*Notes: The last column

1. The number 1, 2 and 3: The period to which the manuscript belongs

2. P = Preface (The manuscript has a preface)

3. C = Colophon (The manuscript has a colophon); Cov = Colophon on a cover page

1) Corpus 1: China (Southern Yunnan)

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
1.	YN1	C01	เชื้อเชื้อเจ้ากระต๊อเมืองลื้อ	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1348 [AD 1986]	Zhou Zheng Xie (Chiang Rung)	3 C
2.	YN2	C02	จดด้วยคำวก่อตั้งเลื้อบ้านเลื้อเมืองchronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	AD 1987	Ai Un Tan (Chiang Rung)	3 C
3.	YN3	C04	พอบพื้นเมืองเจ้าฟ้าเมืองราย	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1360 [AD 1998]	Maha Bun Than (Moeng Hai)	3 C
4.	YN4	C05	พอบคำวเจ้าแผ่นดิน ๔๔ ขึ้นเจ้าแล	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1346 [AD 1984]	ของโสทาวงศ์หลวง เมืองฮาย	3 C
5.	YN5	C06	พับข่าวภยาเจิง	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	AD 1966	Yunnan University, Kunming	2 C
6.	YN6	C07	หนังสือพื้นเมือง ๑๒ พันนา / หนังสือพื้นเมืองล่า	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1358 [AD 1996]	Ai Còi Ca Han (Moeng La)	3 P / C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
7.	YN7	C10	พาบเกล้าพอบ ^๕ พัน ๑๒ พันนา แสนหวี ฟ้า	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1353 [AD 1991]	Phò Ai Tan, Ban Foei Long, M. Long (วัดเพยลงเมิง ลวง)	3 C
8.	YN8	C11	มูลกันไตรง	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1360 [AD 1998]		3 C
9.	YN9	C14	หนังสือ ^๕ พันเมิงรำ	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1360 [AD 1998] 7 March 1999	Chiang Rung	3 C
10.	YN10	C15	พับสู่ ^๕ วอนคายก่อเอียรำ	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1344 [AD 1982] 26 July 1982	Chiang Rung	3 C
11.	YN11	C17	พับคำวานคำวอยู่ ^๕ วากินพอไร่แม่นาฯ + คำ จับคำวเจ้าหม่อมมณีนีคำฯ	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1324 [AD 1962] 21 October 1962	Dr. M.R. Rujaya Abhakorn	3 C
12.	YN12	C18	คำวนิทานปลั่ง ๑ ท้าว ๑๒ พันนาแล	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1280 [AD 1918] 10 March 1919	Renoo Wichasin	3 C?
13.	YN13	C19	พับคำจับคำวฟนเล็กฝิ ^๕ ปุนแล	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	21 May 1986	Renoo Wichasin	3 C
14.	YN14	C26	พับหนังสือเจ้าหน้าบ้านหัวเมิง ๑๒ พันนามารับบ้านรับเมิงแล	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	AD 1965	Renoo Wichasin	2 Cov
15.	YN15	C27	ตำนานทาดเชียงทีง	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1295 [AD 1933]	EFEO, Vientiane	1 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
16.	YN16	C29	พื้หนังสือพื้เมืองรำ chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1358 AD 1996	Sipsòng Panna	3 Cov
17.	YN17	C30	คำวพื้เมืองสิบสองพื้ณา chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	1992 (Sunday, 7 June 1992)	เป็นของอุ้นคำเชียงเหนือ Sipsòng Panna / Kato	3 C
18.	YN18	C31	พื้เมืองลวง chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper		Sipsòng Panna	C?
19.	YN19	C33	หนังสือไว้กับโลก customary law text	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1313 [AD 1951]	Renoo Wichasin	2 -
20.	YN20	C09	คำวเมืองราย chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper		Yunnan University, Kunming	Cov c
21.	YN21	C38	<i>Pakkatün</i> (ปักกพื้) divination	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	1988 Sunday, 29/5/1988	Moeng Chae, Sipsòng Panna	3 C
22.	YN22	C39	<i>Pakkatün</i> (ปักกพื้) divination	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	1987/88 Tuesday, 23/2/1988	Moeng Chae, Sipsòng Panna	3 Cov
23.	YN23	C40	ตำนานพื้เมือง chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper		Cao Maha Khanthawong, Chiang Rung	-
24.	YN24	C41	พื้เมือง (ตำนานวัดพระสิงห์หลวงเชียงใหม่) religious chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1302 [1941/42] (Monday, 16/2/1942)	Chiang Rung, Sipsòng Panna	1 C
25.	YN25	C43	พื้เมืองแลม Chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	1991	Moeng Laem	3 Cov

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
26.	YN26	C44a	หน้าทับฟ้าโคลัมรามิ สิบประการ ผูกเดี่ยวชาแล religion	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	1987	Moeng Laem	3 C
27.	YN27	C44b	หน้าทับฟ้าโคลัมรามิ สิบประการ ผูกเดี่ยวชาแล religion	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	1987	Moeng Laem	3 C
28.	YN28	C45	ตำนานพระยาอินดา religion	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	1981	Moeng Laem	3 C
29.	YN29	C46	มหาวิปาก religion	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	2002	Moeng Laem	3 C
30.	YN30	C47	มหาวิปาก (ผูก ๒) religion	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	2002 (Saturday, 31/8/2002)	Moeng Laem	3 C
31.	YN31	C48	นิพนพานสุด religion	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	1986 (Saturday, 11/10/1986)	Moeng Laem	3 C
32.	YN32	C49	พื้นเมืองเชียงรุ่ง chronicle (oral traditions)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	no colophon, undated (c. 1990s)	พ่อแสงคำ, Chiang Nun, Sipsòng Panna	-
33.	YN33	C50	ตำนานวัดพระสิงห์หลวงเชียงใหม่ religious chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1367 [AD 2005]	Renoo Wichasin	3 C
34.	YN34	C51	ตำนานวัดพระสิงห์หลวงเชียงใหม่ ฉบับบ้านมอ religious chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	no colophon, undated	Kumiko Kato	Cov
35.	YN35	C52	ตำนานวัดพระสิงห์หลวงเชียงใหม่ ฉบับหอพง religious chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	1996 (Saturday, 17 August 1996)	Kumiko Kato	3 C
36.	YN36	C53	ตำนานวัดพระสิงห์หลวงเชียงใหม่ ฉบับหอพง religious chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	1995 Tuesday, 20 June 1995	Kumiko Kato	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
37.	YN37	C54	หนังสือพื้นเมือง เมืองรำ chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	1996 18 December 1996	Kumiko Kato	3 C
38.	YN38	C55	พื้นเมืองลวง chronicle, cf. C10	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	no colophon, undated	Kumiko Kato	S Cov
39.	YN39	C56	พื้นเมืองสิบสองพินนา chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1354 [AD 1992] 7 June 1992	Chiang Rung, Sipsòng Panna	3 C
40.	YN40	C57	หน้าทับพายเกล้าตำนานเจ้าฟ้าพระเมตเตรยะเจ้าแล chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1353 [AD 1991] (04.09.1991)	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang Rung)	3 C
41.	YN41	C58	ตำนานเกจจา ปรบาทเชียงผาดาง chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1344 [AD 1982]	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang Rung)	3 C
42.	YN42	C59	ตำนานเกสาคำประบาทธาตุ ผูกเคียดสนิแล religious chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1357 [AD 1995] (21.01.1996)	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang Rung)	3 C
43.	YN43	C60	หน้าทับพายเกล้า ธรรมเมไถญเจ้าดวง ประเลิด religious chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang Rung)	C
44.	YN44	C62	ปักทึน divination	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1348 [AD 1986]	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang Rung)	3 Cov
45.	YN45	C63	ปลมกับ divination	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1345 [AD 1983]	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang Rung)	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
46	YN46	C64	พงศาวดารเมืองเชียงรุ่ง dynastic chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1362 [AD 2000] (16.02.2001)	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang Rung)	3 Cov
47	YN47	C66	กฎหมายราชสำนัก customary law text	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1358 [AD 1996]	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang Rung)	3 C
48	YN48	C67	ตำนานศาสนา พระยาธรรมิกราชา religious chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	12.08.1965	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang Rung)	3 Cov
49	YN49	C68	นิพนธ์ชาวจีน (ชาวจีนขาว) literature	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1344 [AD 1982] (20.03.1983)	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang Rung)	3 C
50	YN50	C69	พุทธศาสนา ๕๐๐๐ วสา (วรรณคดี) religion	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1358 [AD 1996] (13.10.1996)	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Moeng Long)	3 C
51	YN51	C70	ตำนานสงฆ์ religion	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1360 [AD 1998] (26.02.1999)	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Moeng Long)	3 C
52	YN52	C76	ตำนานพื้นคอก literature	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1359 AD 1997 (26.07.1997)	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Moeng Long)	3 C
53	YN53	C79	ตำนานกับหิน religion	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1348 [AD1986] (02.09.1986)	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Moeng Long)	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
54	YN54	C81	ตำนานพื้นฆราวาสของ religious chronicle	Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1359 [AD 1997]	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang Rung)	3 C
55	YN55	C82	ตำนานพื้นเมืองหลง (incomplete) chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1246 [AD 1884] (16.03.1885)	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang Rung)	1 Cov
56	YN56	C83	ตำนานพื้นเมืองหลง (incomplete) chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang Rung)	-
57	YN57	C84	ตำนานพื้นเมืองหลง chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang Rung)	C
58	YN58	C87	ชาดบ่อ เมืองหลง religious chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1359 [AD 1997] (18.01.1998)	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang Rung)	3 C
59	YN59	C88	ตำนานอุบาสก religious chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	(probably CS 1350 or AD 1988)	Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (from Chiang ung)	3 C
60	YN60	KM 01	พืชนานหล้าบ้านช้าง (โหราศาสตร์) Pap khanan la ban cang (astrological treatise) (Kunming-01)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	ศูนย์เอกสารและวัฒนธรรม ไทลื้อ มหาวิทยาลัยแห่งชาติยูนนาน Documentation Centre of Tai Lü Culture, Yunnan province	Cov

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
61	YN61	KM 02	ตำรายา Tamra Ya (medical treatise) (Kunming-02)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	ศูนย์เอกสารและวัฒนธรรม ไทลื้อ มหาวิทยาลัยแห่งชาติยูนนาน Documentation Centre of Tai Lü Culture, Yunnan province	Cov
62	YN62	KM 03	พับแปงแย่น(ยันต์) วูถิ Pap paeng yaen (yan) wuthi (Kunming-05)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	ศูนย์เอกสารและวัฒนธรรม ไทลื้อ มหาวิทยาลัยแห่งชาติยูนนาน Documentation Centre of Tai Lü Culture, Yunnan province	-
63	YN63	KM 04	ตำนานหมอยาม้าเปินไ้ไค Tamnan mò ya ma pen khai lae (Kunming-06)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	ศูนย์เอกสารและวัฒนธรรม ไทลื้อ มหาวิทยาลัยแห่งชาติยูนนาน Documentation Centre of Tai Lü Culture, Yunnan province	-
64	YN64	KM 05	อาชญาหลวง? Atya long? (Kunming-03)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1279 [AD 1917]	ห้องเก็บเอกสารโบราณ มหาวิทยาลัยชนชาติยูนนาน Library of Ancient Documents, Yunnan University of the Nationalities	1 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
65	YN65	KM 06	โหราศาสตร์? Horasat (astrological treatise) (Kunming-04)	Tham Lü /Lik	Lü/Tai	Sa paper	-	ห้องเก็บเอกสารโบราณ มหาวิทยาลัยชนชาตินานน Library of Ancient Documents, Yunnan University of the Nationalities	S -
66	YN66	JK 02	ธัมมปาตพราคำดอยก้อน Tham pat pha kham tòi kòn (Jinggu-02)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1367 [AD 2005]	วัดปาตดอยก้อน เมืองจิ่งกู่ Wat Patha Dòi Kòn, Jinggu county	3 C
67	YN67	JK 03	อุปสมบท Upasombot (Jinggu-03)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1236 [AD 1874]	วัดแคว่นกล้า เมืองกล้า Wat Khwaen Ka, Moeng Ka, Jinggu county	1 C
68	YN68	JK 04	พุทธโลกจินดา Phutthalok cinda (Jinggu-04)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1248 [AD 1886]	วัดแคว่นเหนือ เมืองกล้า Wat Khwaen Ka, Moeng Ka, Jinggu county	1 C
69	YN69	JK 05	มหาสังฆัมมสูตรหลวง Maha sappathammasut long (บางส่วน)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1345 [AD 1983]	วัดแคว่นเหนือ เมืองกล้า Wat Khwaen Ka, Moeng Ka, Jinggu county	3 C
70	YN70	JK 06	โหราศาสตร์ Horasat (astrological treatise) (1100409 – Gengma-01 ปกสีทอง)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	วัดราชฐานหลวง เมืองกึ่งม้า Wat Latcathan, Gengma county	-

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
71	YN71	T 01	ธัมมอันสงส้ายลึงเล็ด Tham anisong ai long loet (MoengTing-01)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1350 [AD 1988]	วัดหลวงตองเกียง เมืองต้ง Wat Long Tòng Keng, Moeng Ting, Gengma county	3 C
72	YN72	T 02	ธัมมัจริยานางกินปู ผูก 5 Tham anisong ai long loet (MoengTing-02)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1362 [AD 2000]	วัดหลวงตองเกียง เมืองต้ง Wat Long Tòng Keng, Moeng Ting, Gengma county	3 C
73	YN73	T 03	ธัมมอันสงส้ายลึงเล็ด (MoengTing-03)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 135 .	วัดหลวงตองเกียง เมืองต้ง Wat Long Tòng Keng, Moeng Ting, Gengma county	C
74	YN74	T 04	ธัมมนางทานดอกไม้ Tham anisong tan dòkmai (MoengTing-04)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	วัดหลวงตองเกียง เมืองต้ง Wat Long Tòng Keng, Moeng Ting, Gengma county	C Cov
75	YN75	T 05	ธัมมสูตรหลวง Tham sut long (MoengTing-05)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1364 [AD 2002]	วัดกุ่มหนอง เมืองต้ง Wat Kun Nòng, Moeng Ting, Gengma county	3 C
76	YN76	T 06	ธัมมหลวง Tham long (MoengTing-06)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1348 [AD 1986]	วัดกุ่มหนอง เมืองต้ง Wat Long Tòng Keng, Moeng Ting, Gengma county	3 C
77	YN77	T 07	มหาเจติยะกองมูเมืองแส Maha cetiya kòng mu moeng sae (MoengTing-07)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1326 [AD 1964]	วัดกุ่มหนอง เมืองต้ง Wat Kun Nòng, Moeng Ting, Gengma county	2 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
78	YN78	T 08	มหาเจติยะกองมูเมืองแสด Maha cetiya kòng mu moeng sae (MoengTing-08)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1326 [AD 1964]	วัดกุ่มหนอง เมืองดิ่ง Wat Kun Nòng, Moeng Ting, Gengma county	2 C
79	YN79	T 09	ธำสุตพระเจ้า Tham sut phacao (MoengTing-09-PN)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1348 [AD 1986]	วัดกุ่มหนอง เมืองดิ่ง Wat Kun Nòng, Moeng Ting, Gengma county	3 C
80	YN80	T 10	ลิกฮ้องขวันคน Lik hòng khwan khon (MoengTing-09)	Tham Lü /Shan	Lü/Shan	Sa paper	CS 1367 [AD 2005]	วัดกุ่มหนอง เมืองดิ่ง Wat Kun Nòng, Moeng Ting, Gengma county	3 C
81	YN81	T 11	กัมมฏฐาน Khammatthan (MoengTing-10)	Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1316 [AD 1954]	วัดกุ่มหนอง เมืองดิ่ง Wat Kun Nòng, Moeng Ting, Gengma county	2 C
82	YN82	T 12	การทอหลวงทั้งอุปโลก Kan tò long tang upalok (MoengTing-11)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1362 [AD 2000]	วัดกุ่มหนอง เมืองดิ่ง Wat Kun Nòng, Moeng Ting, Gengma county	3 C
83	YN83	N 01	ช้างสามงา Cang sam nga (MoengNim-01)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1362 [AD 2000]	วัดหลวงราชฐาน เมืองนิมใต้ Wat Long Latcathan, Moeng Min Tai	3 C
84	YN84	N 02	อานิสงลัฬพพาน Anisong sappatan (MoengNim-02)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1344 [AD 1982]	วัดหลวงราชฐาน เมืองนิมใต้ Wat Long Latcathan, Moeng Min Tai	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
85	YN85	N 03	มหาปฐฐาน ฯลฯ Maha patthan (and others) (MoengNim-03)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1360 [AD 1998]	วัดหลวงราชฐาน เมืองนิมใต้ Wat Long Latcathan, Moeng Min Tai	3 C
86	YN86	N 04	รวมพระสูตรและบทสวดมนต์ต่างๆ Hom phasut lae bot sot mon tang tang (MoengNim-04)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1357 [AD 1995]	วัดหลวงราชฐาน เมืองนิมใต้ Wat Long Latcathan, Moeng Min Tai	3 C
87	YN87	N 05	พระปริตร ? Pha palit (paritra) (MoengNim-05)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	วัดหลวงราชฐาน เมืองนิมใต้ Wat Long Latcathan, Moeng Min Tai	-
88	YN88	N 06	อานิสงค์แห่งสัพพทาน Anisong haeng sappatan (MoengNim-06)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1345 [AD 1983]	วัดหลวงราชฐาน เมืองนิมใต้ Wat Long Latcathan, Moeng Min Tai	3 C
89	YN89	N 07	ธัมมโฆหาร Tham wohan (MoengNim-07)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1359 [AD 1997]	วัดหลวงราชฐาน เมืองนิมใต้ Wat Long Latcathan, Moeng Min Tai	3 C
90	YN90	N 08	สุขวันณะ ผูก 7 Suca wanna (phuk 7) (MoengNim-08)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1373 [AD 2011]	วัดหลวงราชฐาน เมืองนิมใต้ Wat Long Latcathan, Moeng Min Tai	3 Cov
91	YN91	NG 01	ทศปัญญาหอลองแพะคำ (จันทพราหมณ์) Totsa panha alòng pae kham (MoengLaem-01)	Tham Lü	Lü	Photocopy	CS 1371 [AD 2009]	วัดบ้านลาน เมืองง่า Wat Ban Lan, Moeng Nga	C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
92	YN92	NG 02	นางอำเสียง Nang am seng (MoengLaem-02)	Tham Lü	Lü	Photocopy	-	วัดบ้านลาน เมืองง่า Wat Ban Lan, Moeng Nga	C
93	YN93	M 01	ธัมมัตถานนพระชาพรหม, กริวอนสอนโลก Tham tamnan phaya phom, kaliwòn sòn lok (MoengLaem-03)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1350 [AD 1988]	วัดหลวงเมืองมา Wat Long Moeng Ma	3 C
94	YN94	M 02	หิก 12 หน้า Hik 12 nang (MoengLaem-04)	Tham Lü	Lü	Photocopy	CS 1352 [AD 1990]	วัดหลวงเมืองมา Wat Long Moeng Ma	3 C
95	YN95	LM 01	ธัมมัพพุสูตร Tham pahu sut (MoengLaem-05)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1348 [AD 1986]	วัดบ้านจง Wat Ban Cong	3 C
96	YN96	LM 02	ตำนานสักขาด 5 พันวิสา Tamnan sakkhat 5 patsa (MoengLaem-06)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1356 [AD 1994]	บ้านพ่อแสงสาม residence of Pò Saeng Sam	3 Cov
97	YN97	LM 03	พับปาชาเมืองแลม Pap pasa moeng laem (MoengLaem-07)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	บ้านพ่อแสงสาม residence of Pò Saeng Sam	S Cov
98	YN98	LM 04	พับปาชาเมืองแลม Pap pasa moeng laem (MoengLaem-08)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	บ้านพ่อแสงสาม residence of Pò Saeng Sam	S Cov

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
99	YN99	LM 05	ลิกทอดพื้นเกล้าเจ้าหอคำเมือง แลม Lik thòt pün kao cao hò kham moeng laem (MoengLaem-09)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1363 [AD 2001]	บ้านพ่อแสงสาม residence of Pò Saeng Sam	3 Cov
100	YN100	LM 06	โหราศาสตร์ Holaset (astrological treatise) (MoengLaem-10)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1315 [AD 1953]	บ้านพ่อแสงสาม residence of Pò Saeng Sam	3 C
101	YN101	LM 07	ลิกพื้นเมืองเมืองแลมหลวงหอคำ Lik pün moeng moeng laem long hò kham (MoengLaem-11)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1363 [AD 2001]	บ้านพ่อแสงสาม residence of Pò Saeng Sam	3 C
102	YN102	LM 08	พับหมอหุรา Pap mò hula (MoengLaem-12-PN)	Tham Lü	Lü	Photocopy	-	บ้านพ่อแสงสาม residence of Pò Saeng Sam	Cov
103	YN103	CR 01	ธัมมวินัยปิฎก Tham winai pitok (ChiangRung-01)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1349 [AD 1987]	วัดเขี้ยวฝางคำบ้านถิ่น Wat Keo Fang Kham Ban Thin	3 C
104	YN104	CR 02	ธัมมัสมอกแทนใจ Tham samòk taen cai (ChiangRung-02)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1359 [AD 1997]	บ้านเจ้ามหาขันธวงศ์ residence of Cao Maha Khanthawong	3 C
105	YN105	CR 03	คำขับเจ้าเจียงหนาน Kham khap cao coeng han (ChiangRung-03)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	-	บ้านเจ้ามหาขันธวงศ์ residence of Cao Maha Khanthawong	Cov

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
106	YN106	CR 04	พอบปักขทึน Pòp pakkathün (ChiangRung-04)	New Lü	Lü	Printed book	AD 1983	บ้านเจ้ามหาขันธวงศ์ residence of Cao Maha Kanthawong	3 C Cov P
107	YN107	CR 06	มหาวิบาก Maha wibak (ChiangRung-06)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1356 [AD 1994]	บ้านเจ้ามหาขันธวงศ์ residence of Cao Maha Kanthawong	3 C
108	YN108	CR 07	พื้นเมืองแสนหวี Pün moeng sawenwi (ChiangRung-07)	Tham Lü	Lü	Notebook	-	บ้านเจ้ามหาขันธวงศ์ residence of Cao Maha Kanthawong	-
109	YN109	CR 08	คำวศีกโลกที่สอง Khao sük lok ti sòng (ChiangRung-08)	Tham Lü	Lü	Notebook	-	บ้านเจ้ามหาขันธวงศ์ residence of Cao Maha Kanthawong	C
110	YN110	CR 09	คำวนิทานเชื้อเครือเจ้าหลวง เคล้านาขาว, นิทาน และเชื้อเครือเจ้ามังสา, เชื้อเครือนางปุก และเชื้อ เครือ เจ้าหลวงเกล้าไฟไหม้ Khao nitan coe khoe cao long kao ma khao, Nitan lae coe khoe cao mangsa, Coe khoe nang puk lae coe khoe cao long kao fai mai (ChiangRung-09)	Tham Lü	Lü	Notebook	-	บ้านเจ้ามหาขันธวงศ์ residence of Cao Maha Kanthawong	C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
111	YN111	CR 10	ปเวณีและตำนานต่างๆ Paweni lae tamnan tang tang (ChiangRung-10)	Tham Lü	Lü	Notebook	-	บ้านเจ้ามหาขันธวงศ์ residence of Cao Maha Khanthawong	-
112	YN112	CR 11	(รวมเรื่องต่างๆ) (Hom loeng tang tang) (ChiangRung-11)	Tham Lü	Lü	Notebook	-	บ้านเจ้ามหาขันธวงศ์ residence of Cao Maha Khanthawong	-
113	YN113	CR 13	ปฐมกับปมุลมูลีหลวง Pathom kap munlamuli long (MoengLong-04)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1359 [AD 1997]	วัดบ้านมอญ Wat Ban Mông	3 C
114	YN114	CR 14	ธัมมอันนิสงส์เจติย Tham anisong ceti (MoengLong-05)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1362 [AD 2000]	วัดบ้านมอญ Wat Ban Mông	3 C
115	YN115	CR 15	ธัมมอันนิสงส์ตัฬพาทน Tham anisong sappatan (MoengLong-06)	Tham Lü	Lü	Photocopy	CS 1372 [AD 2010]	วัดบ้านมอญ Wat Ban Mông	3 C
116	YN116	CR 16	ธัมมณิปปนสูตร tham nippan sut (MoengLong-07)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	BE 2555 [AD 2012]	วัดบ้านมอญ Wat Ban Mông	3 C
117	YN117	CR 17	อันนิสงส์ทณทุงเหล็กทุงทอง Anisong tan tung lek tung tòng (MoengLong-08)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	-	วัดบ้านมอญ Wat Ban Mông	C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
118	YN118	CR 18	ธัมมจักกปิตตสูตร Thammacak palittasut (parittasutta)	Tham Lü	Lü	Photocopy	-	วัดราชฐานหลวงบ้านเชียง ล้าน สิบสองพันนา Wat Latcathan Long, Bang Chiang Laen, Chiang Rung	Cov
119	YN119	CR 19	ปารมี Palami (Parami)	Tham Lü	Lü	Photocopy	CS 1374 [AD 2012]	วัดราชฐานหลวงบ้านเชียง ล้าน สิบสองพันนา Wat Latcathan Long, Bang Chiang Laen, Chiang Rung	3 Cov
120	YN120	CR 20	แผ่นยันต์ Phaen yan	Tham Lü	Lü	Photocopy	-	วัดราชฐานหลวงบ้านเชียง ล้าน สิบสองพันนา Wat Latcathan Long, Bang Chiang Laen, Chiang Rung	-
121	YN121	LO 01	กล่าวพระเจ้าโคตมะ Khao phacao kotama (MoengLong-01)	Tham Lü	Lü	Notebook	CS 1349 [AD 1987]	ธาตุหน่อ เมืองหลวง That Nò Moeng Long	3 C
122	YN122	SP 54	ธัมม่อนโขคำ Ani kho kham (AiSaengKham-8)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper + Industrial Paper	CS 1347 [AD 1985]	Ai Saeng Kham, Bang Mòng Mangrai, Chiang Rung	3 Cov
123	YN123	LO 03	ปฐมกัปพรหมสร้างโลก Pathomkap phom sang lok (MoengLong-03)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1366 [AD 2004]	บ้านพ่อแสงน้อย residence of Pò Saeng Nòi	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
124	YN124	LO 04	ถ่านิทานศาสนาเมืองลวงอติกรรมรัฐบุรี (ถ่าน 3) Khao nitan sasana moeng long atikhamma- latthabuli	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1356 [AD 1994]	บ้านพ่อแสงน้อย residence of Pò Saeng Nòi	3 Cov P
125	YN125	CAE01	บัวหอมพันกาบ ผูก 4 Bo hò m pan kap (phuk 4) (Moeng-Cae-01)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	Moeng Cae	C
126	YN126	CAE02	บัวหอมพันกาบ ผูก 6 Bo hò m pan kap (phuk 6) (Moeng-Cae-02)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	Moeng Cae	Cov
127	YN127	CAE03	บัวหอมพันกาบ ผูก 5 hò m pan kap (phuk 5) (Moeng-Cae-03)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	Moeng Cae	Cov
128	YN128	CAE04	ปฏิสังขาย Patikangkhayo (Moeng-Cae-04)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1372 [AD 2010]	วัดหลวงเจ้าจอม ? Wat Long Cao Còm	3 C
129	YN129	HI 01	คำสอน Kam sòn (MoengHai-01)	Tham Lü	Lü	Notebook	-	Moeng Hai	-
130	YN130	HI 02	ปฐมมฤตโลกาพระยาพรหม สร้างโลก Pathommun loka phaya phom sang lok	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1358 [AD 1996]	Moeng Hai	3 Cov
131	YN131	HI 03	(การตั้งศักราช) (Kan tang sakkalat) (MoengHai-03)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	Moeng Hai	-

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
132	YN132	HI 04	กล่าวเจ้าแสงอินร้ายแต่ปถมตั้ง เมืองราย Khao cao saeng in hai tae patom tang moeng hai (MoengHai-04)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1361 [AD 1999]	Moeng Hai	3 C
133	YN133	HI 05	หนังสือหูลาหลวง Nangsü hula (hora) long (MoengHai-05)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	Moeng Hai	S Cov
134	YN134	HM 01	ธัมมัทพัง ผูกตัน Tham tanhang (phuk ton – firs bundle) (MoengHam-01)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1369 [AD 2007]	Moeng Ham	3 C
135	YN135	HM 02	เสฏฐีทั้ง 5 ผูกปลาย Setthi tang 5 (phuk pai – last bundle) (MoengHam-02)	Tham Lü	Lü	Brown paper	CS 1372 [AD 2010]	Moeng Ham	3 C
136	YN136	HM 03	(ไม่มีชื่อเรื่อง) No title (MoengHam-03)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper (damaged so much)	-	Moeng Ham	3 -
137	YN137 (=C20)	SP 01	คำวนิทานเมิง 12 พันนา Khao nitan moeng 12 panna (AiCòiCaHan-1)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	AD 1986	อ้ายจ้อยจาหาน (ช้อยชาหาน) เมืองล่า Ai Còi Ca Han (Moeng La)	3 Cov
138	YN138	SP 02	คำขับเรียกกิเมิง 6 เมิง 8 บด Kam khap hek phi moeng 6 moeng 8 bot (AiCòiCaHan-2)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	AD 2012	อ้ายจ้อยจาหาน (ช้อยชาหาน) เมืองล่า Ai Còi Ca Han (Moeng La)	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
140	YN140	SP 04	คำวจุฬโพธิ, คำวอาหาร 25, คำวคัมภีร์เถรจัน, คำวองค์สืบประการ และคำวตำนานเมือง Kao cunpothi, Khao awahan 25, Khao kamphi thelacan, Khao ong sip pakan, Khao tamnan moeng (AiCòiCaHan-4)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	-	อ้ายจ้อยจาหาน (ซ้อยจาหาน) เมืองล่า Ai Còi Ca Han (Moeng La)	C
141	YN141	SP 05	พับคำขับกันไตรตัวแม่ Pap kam khap kantai to mae (AiCòiCaHan-5)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1362 [AD 2000]	อ้ายจ้อยจาหาน (ซ้อยจาหาน) เมืองล่า Ai Còi Ca Han (Moeng La)	3 C
142	YN142	SP 06	ขัมมณิกานิกกะและเวสตันดร Tham niyanikka lae wetsandòn (ChiangRung-16)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper (leporello)	CS 1362 [AD 2000]	วัดบ้านกองวัด เชียงรุ่ง Wat Bam Kòng Wat (Chiang Rung)	3 C
143	YN143	SP 07	หนังสืออินทนามสภิกขุ Nangsü intanamasa phikkhu (ChiangRung-17)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	วัดบ้านกองวัด เชียงรุ่ง Wat Bam Kòng Wat (Chiang Rung)	C
144	YN144	SP 08	โหราศาสตร์ Holosat (ChiangRung-18)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	วัดบ้านกองวัด เชียงรุ่ง Wat Bam Kòng Wat (Chiang Rung)	Cov
145	YN145	SP 09	เวสตันดร Wetsandòn (ChiangRung-19)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper (leporello)	CS 1359 [AD 1997]	วัดบ้านกองวัด เชียงรุ่ง Wat Bam Kòng Wat (Chiang Rung)	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
146	YN146	SP 10	ปถมกัป Pathamakap (ChiangRung-20)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1343 [AD 1981]	วัดบ้านกองวัด เชียงรุ่ง Wat Bam Kòng Wat (Chiang Rung)	3 C
147	YN147	SP 11	มหาโลกวุธิสูตชาดก Maha lok wuthi sut cadok (ChiangRung-21)	Tham Lü	Lü	Brown paper	CS 1364 [AD 2002]	วัดบ้านกองวัด เชียงรุ่ง Wat Bam Kòng Wat (Chiang Rung)	3 C
148	YN148	SP 12	คำกล่าวเข้า 9 พุ่ Kam kao khao 9 pun (ChiangRung-22)	Tham Lü	Lü	Brown paper	AD 1996 ?	วัดบ้านกองวัด เชียงรุ่ง Wat Bam Kòng Wat (Chiang Rung)	3 Cov
149	YN149	SP 13	พอบพื้นเมืองเชียงรุ่ง Pòp pün moeng ceng hung (ChiangRung-23)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1347 [AD 1985]	อ้ายแสงคำ บ้านมอม่้งราย Ai Saeng Kham (Ban Mòng Mangrai)	3 Cov
150	YN150	SP 14	พอบพื้นเมืองเชียงรุ่ง Pop pün moeng ceng hung (ChiangRung-24)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper (cover pages) + Industrial paper (inside: typed content)	CS 1361 [AD 1999]	อ้ายแสงคำ บ้านมอม่้งราย Ai Saeng Kham (Ban Mòng Mangrai)	3 Cov
151	YN151	SP 15	พอบคำคาถาธัมม์ทั้งหลาย Pòp kam katha tham tanglai (ChiangRung-25)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1347 [AD 1985]	อ้ายแสงคำ บ้านมอม่้งราย Ai Saeng Kham (Ban Mòng Mangrai)	3 Cov

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
152	YN152	SP 16	พอบกาดชายแข่งผู้แซ่บ้านลุง ชื่อเล่าด้วยคำวาทศาสนาแห่งกาดชายแข่ง Pòp kat sai saeng fu sae pan kungsü lao doi khao kan sasana haeng kat sai saeng (ChiangRung-26)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	อ้ายแสงคำ บ้านมองม้งราย Ai Saeng Kham (Ban Mòng Mangrai)	Cov
153	YN153	SP 17	พอบพื้นบ้านเมืองเรา, คำไหว้ พระเจ้าพระธรรมพระสงฆ์, คำใช้ไฟใช้เม Pòp pün ban moeng hao, kam wai pha cao pha tham pha song, kam cai pho cai me (ChiangRung-27)	New Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1363 [AD 2001]	อ้ายแสงคำ บ้านมองม้งราย Ai Saeng Kham (Ban Mòng Mangrai)	3 Cov
154	YN154	SP 18	คำร้องขอน้อย, คำลาตหมู๋ซอน, คำถามผัวถามเม, คำลูกหลานมาสมมา, วันตัดผมหัว, วันตัดเล็บดินเล็บมือ, การทานสัพพะ Kam hòng khòn nòi, Kham lat mü khòn, Kham tham pho tham me, Kham luk lan ma som ma, Wan tat phom ho, Wan tat sep tin lep mü, Kan tan sappa (ChiangRung-28)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1352 [AD 1990] *ปกหลังระบุปี CS 1357	อ้ายแสงคำ บ้านมองม้งราย Ai Saeng Kham (Ban Mòng Mangrai)	3 Cov
155	YN155	SP 19	ปฏิทินและโหราศาสตร์ Patitin lae holasat (ChiangRung-29)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	อ้ายแสงคำ บ้านมองม้งราย Ai Saeng Kham (Ban Mòng Mangrai)	-

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
156	YN156	SP 20	คำขับโอกาสเจ้าหลวงมังราย, คำขอ 4 บท, คำขับเหกเทพดาเจ้าฟ้าหลวง หมกคำ, คำขอเร็นใหม่, คำหลอนเดิน Kam khap okat cao long mangrai, Kham sò 4 bot, Kam khap hek teppada cao fa long mok kham, Kham khò hoen mai, Kam lòn doen (ChiangRung-30)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1362 [AD 2000]	อ้ายแสงคำ บ้านมองมังราย Ai Saeng Kham (Ban Mòng Mangrai)	3 Cov
157	YN157	SP 21	พอบหนังสือหุราหลวง Pòp nangsü hula long (ChiangRung-31)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1364 [AD 2002]	อ้ายอุ้นทาน (ขนานน้อย) Ai Un Tan	3 Cov
158	YN158	SP 22	คำโบราณสอนใจ Kam bohan sòn cai (KhamBoran-sòncai)	Lü (Type)	Lü	Notebook	-	พระภิกษุคำด้อย วัดเชียงหลวงเหนือ เมืองมาง Phra Bhikkhu Kham Tui * หนังสือเล่มนี้จัดพิมพ์โดย พระภิกษุบุญเกษ อัครธัมโม วัดหลวงหัวข่วงเวียงเมียงของ	C
159	YN159	SP 23	คำใช้ไฟไหม้เขยใหม่, คำหมาย แคว้ใหม่ขอนแก่น, รายหมู่ขอนแก่น ๕ วันคนไปบ่พอก Kam cai pai mai khoei mai, Kam mai kaeo mai khòn, Hai mu khòn lao khwan khon pai bò pòk (MoengLa-KhananPòn)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1374 [AD 2013]	Khanan Pòn (Moeng La)	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
160	YN160	SP 24	พิธีกรรม Pithikam (MoengLong-10)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1316 [AD 1954]	พ่อแสงอิน บ้านถาง เมืองหลวง Pò Saeng In (Bang Thang, Moeng Long)	2 C
161	YN161	SP 25	พื้นเมืองหลวงหน่วยที่ 1 Pün moeng long nuay thi 1 (MoengLong-11)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1349 [AD 1987]	พ่อแสงอิน บ้านถาง เมืองหลวง Pò Saeng In (Bang Thang, Moeng Long)	3 Cov
162	YN162	SP 26	พุทธเบิก (MoengMang-1)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper (leporello)	CS 1351 [AD 1989]	พ่อหนานหน่อคำ (เชียงหลวงเหนือ เมืองมาง) Pò Nan Nò Kham (Ceng Long Noe Moeng Mang)	3 C
163	YN163	SP 27	มหาโลกวุฒิ Maha lok wuthi (MoengMang-2)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	พ่อหนานหน่อคำ (เชียงหลวงเหนือ เมืองมาง) Pò Nan Nò Kham (Ceng Long Noe Moeng Mang)	C
164	YN164	SP 28	ธัมปารมีแสนโกฏิ Tham palami saen koti (MoengMang-3)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1352 [AD 1990]	พ่อหนานหน่อคำ (เชียงหลวงเหนือ เมืองมาง) Pò Nan Nò Kham (Ceng Long Noe Moeng Mang)	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
165	YN165	SP 29	อุบาทว์สันตย์ Ubat san (MoengMang-4)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1361 [AD 1999]	พ่อนานหน่อคำ (เขียงหลวงเหนือ เมืองมาง) Pò Nan Nò Kham (Ceng Long Noe Moeng Mang)	3 C
166	YN166	SP 30	พิธีกรรม, โหราศาสตร์ Pithi kam, Holasat (MoengMang-5)	Tham Lü	Lü	Notebook	CS 1363 [AD 2001]	พ่อนานหน่อคำ (เขียงหลวงเหนือ เมืองมาง) Pò Nan Nò Kham (Ceng Long Noe Moeng Mang)	3 C
167	YN167	SP 31	พิธีกรรม Pithikam (MoengMang-6)	Tham Lü	Lü	Notebook	CS 1346 [AD 1984]	พ่อนานหน่อคำ (เขียงหลวงเหนือ เมืองมาง) Pò Nan Nò Kham (Ceng Long Noe Moeng Mang)	3 C
168	YN168	SP 32	ธัมมกัณฑ์สังขยา ผูก 1-3 Tham kai sangkhaya phuk 1-3 (MoengMang-7)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1344 [AD 1982]	วัดเขียงหลวงเหนือ เมืองมาง Wat Ceng Long Noe (Moeng Mang)	3 C
169	YN169	SP 33	ธัมมกัณฑ์สังขยา ผูก 4-5 Tham kai sangkhaya phuk 4-5 (MoengMang-8)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1344 [AD 1982]	วัดเขียงหลวงเหนือ เมืองมาง Wat Ceng Long Noe (MoengMang)	3 C
170	YN170	SP 34	นักขัตฤกษ์แห่งคนทั้งหลายเกิดมาในโลกนี้ Nak khat loek haeng kon tang-lai koet ma nai lok ni (MoengPhong-1)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1358 [AD 1996]	อ้ายไหมคำ บ้านเสียว เมืองพง Ai Mai Kham (Bang Seo, Moeng Phong)	3 Cov

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
171	YN171	SP 35	ธัมมอุปกุตเถร Tham upakut thela (MoengPhong-2-v1)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper		อ้ายไหมคำ บ้านเลี้ยว เมืองพง Ai Mai Kham (Bang Seo, Moeng Phong)	Cov
172	YN172	SP 36	จดหมายคธาโคทานตั้งมวล Cotmai katha to tan tangmon (MoengPhong-2-v2)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1355 [AD 1993]	อ้ายไหมคำ บ้านเลี้ยว เมืองพง Ai Mai Kham (Bang Seo, Moeng Phong)	3 Cov
173	YN173	SP 37	คำขั็บคำวมหางศ์แตงอ่อน Kam khap khao mahawong taeng òn (MoengPhong-3)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1374 [AD 2013]	อ้ายไหมคำ บ้านเลี้ยว เมืองพง Ai Mai Kham (Bang Seo, Moeng Phong)	3 C
174	YN174	SP 38	คำขั็บคำวบัวหอมพันกบ Kam khap khao bo hòm pan kap (MoengPhong-4)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1370 [AD 2008]	อ้ายไหมคำ บ้านเลี้ยว เมืองพง Ai Mai Kham (Bang Seo, Moeng Phong)	3 C
175	YN175	SP 39	คำขั็บคำวฝีน้อย Kam khap khao phi nòi (MoengPhong-5)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1361 [AD 1999]	อ้ายไหมคำ บ้านเลี้ยว เมืองพง Ai Mai Kham (Bang Seo, Moeng Phong)	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
176	YN176	SP 40	มหามุณฑกันไตร, จุลโพธิ, อวหัง, สมภเสียด Maha munkantai, cunlapothi, awahang, somphaset (MoengPhong-6)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1363 [AD 2001]	พ่อคาวจี บ้านเสียว เมืองพง Ai Mai Kham (Bang Seo, Moeng Phong)	3 C
177	YN177	SP 41	พระขามังรายพิริตคองหลวง Phaya mangrai phit hit kòng long (MoengPhong-7)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper		พ่อคาวจี บ้านเสียว เมืองพง Pò Khwai Ci (Bang Seo, Moeng Phong)	C
178	YN178	SP 42	ธัมมกัมมฐานคอกเหล็ก Tham kammathan kòk lek (MoengPhong-8)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper		พ่อคาวจี บ้านเสียว เมืองพง Pò Khwai Ci (Bang Seo, Moeng Phong)	C
179	YN179	SP 43	พรานป่าสังกาสีลบุญแลบป เค้าธัมมพุทฺธคุณ Phan pa songkasin bun lae bap kao tham putthakun (MoengYuan-ms) Width: 26.5 cm; Length: 17 cm (+ 2 cm)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper		วัดบ้านดอทอง เมืองยวน Wat Ban Tòk Tòng (Moeng Yun)	C
180	YN180	SP 44	สิบห้าวานสูด Sipha wan sut (WatBanHòk-1) Width: 43 cm; Length: 17.1 cm	Tham Lü	Lü	Papsa (leporello)	CS 1361 [AD 1999]	วัดบ้านหอก เมืองล่า Wat Ban Hòk (Moeng La)	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
181	YN181	SP 45	กัมม์ 5 Kam 5 (WatBanHòk-2) Width: 39.6 cm; Length: 16.6 cm	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper (leporello)	CS 1371 [AD 2009]	วัดบ้านหอก เมืองลำ Wat Ban Hòk (Moeng La)	3 C
182	YN182	SP 46	พอบหนังสือก้านาริดคอง Pòp nangsü kan na hit kòng (WatLongMoengLa-1)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	AD 1981	วัดหลวงเก่า เมืองลำ Wat Long Kao (Moeng La)	3 C
183	YN183	No. 12	พื้นเมืองหลวง Pün moeng long	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1372 [AD 2010]	อ้ายขันแก้ว บ้านเฟยลง เมืองหลวง Ai Khan Kaeo (Ban Foei Long, Moeng Long)	3 -
184	YN184	No. 13	ประเพณีรืดคองเมืองหลวง Paweni hit khòng moeng long	Tham Lü	Lü	Notebook		อ้ายขันแก้ว บ้านเฟยลง เมืองหลวง Ai Khan Kaeo (Ban Foei Long, Moeng Long)	-
185	YN185	No. 15	พื้นเมือง 12 ปันนา ธิ 1 ธิ 2 ธิ 3 Pün moeng atikammalattha-bulithi nuai thi 1, 2, 3	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1363-1364 [AD 2001-2002]	อ้ายแสงน้อย บ้านเฟยลง เมืองหลวง Ai Saeng Nòi (Ban Foei Long, Moeng Long)	3 Cov P

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
186	YN186	No. 18	พื้นเมืองอติกรรมรัฐบุลธิ หน่วย ที่ 1 Pün moeng atikammalattha-bulithi nuai thi 1	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1353 [AD 1991]	อ้ายแสงน้อย บ้านเพยลง เมืองลง Ai Saeng Nòi (Ban Foei Long, Moeng Long)	3 Cov P
187	YN187	No. 19	พื้นเมืองลงอติกรรมรัฐบุลธิ ถัง 2 Pün moeng long attakamma-latthabulithi thon 2	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1350 [AD 1988]	อ้ายแสงน้อย บ้านเพยลง เมืองลง Ai Saeng Nòi (Ban Foei Long, Moeng Long)	3 Cov
188	YN188	No. 23	พับหุรา Pap hula	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper		อ้ายแสงน้อย บ้านเพยลง เมืองลง Ai Saeng Nòi (Ban Foei Long, Moeng Long)	Cov
189	YN189	No. 29	ตำนานตุงครี Tamnan tungkalasi	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS1356 BE 2538 [AD 1994]	อ้ายหน่อ บ้านแก่ง เมืองฮำ Ai Nò (Ban Kaeng, Moeng Ham)	3 C
190	YN190	No. 30	คำขัณฑ์ท้าวทั้ง ๕ Kam khap kati tao tang 5	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1372 [AD 2010]	อ้ายหน่อ บ้านแก่ง เมืองฮำ Ai Nò (Ban Kaeng, Moeng Ham)	3 C
191	YN191	No. 32	นามขามหลวง Nam cam long	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	AD 2010'	อ้ายหน่อ บ้านแก่ง เมืองฮำ Ai Nò (Ban Kaeng, MoengHam)	3 Cov

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
192	YN192	No. 47	ตำนานพระสิงหลวงเมืองเชียงใหม่ Tamnan phasing long loeng ceng mai	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1372 [AD 2011]	เจ้ามหาสุริยวงศ์ บ้านถิ่น เชียงรุ่ง Cao Maha Suliyawong (Ban Thin, Chiang Rung)	3 Cov P
193	YN193	No. 55	ปักกทัน Pakkatün	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper		อ้ายอุ่นหลวง บ้านใต้ เมืองเฮม Ai Un Long (Ban Tai, Moeng Hem)	C
194	YN194	No. 56	กัมปีหูลาหลวง Kampi hula long	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	AD 1994	อ้ายอุ่นหลวง บ้านใต้ เมืองเฮม Ai Un Long (Ban Tai, Moeng Hem)	3 C
195	YN195	No. 65	รวม 8 เรื่อง Hom 8 loeng	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper		อ้ายอุ่นหลวง บ้านใต้ เมืองเฮม Ai Un Long (Ban Tai, MoengHem)	Cov
196	YN196	SP 48	ธัมมคัถา ๕ พันกฎ Tham Katha kao pan kot (AiSaengKham-2)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper		Ai Saeng Kham, Bang Mòng Mangrai, Chiang Rung	C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
197	YN197	No. 84	เจ้าสิบสองปาง Cao sipsòng pang	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1348 [AD 1986]	เจ้ามหาขันธวงศ์ บ้านเชียงล้าน เชียงรุ่ง Cao Maha Khanthawong (Ban Chiang Lan, ChiangRung)	3 C P
198	YN198	No. 86	เจ้าเครือเจ้าแสนหวี ประเวณีเจ้าหัวเมือง Coe khoe cao saenwi paweni cao ho moeng	Tham Lü	Lü	Notebook	AD 1983	เจ้ามหาขันธวงศ์ บ้านเชียงล้าน เชียงรุ่ง Cao Maha Khanthawong (Ban Chiang Lan, Chiang Rung)	3
199	YN199	No. 92	นิทานเจ้าเครือเจ้าแสนหวีฟ้า Nitan coe khoe cao saenwi fa	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1356 [AD 1994]	ขานคำ บ้านดัว เชียงรุ่ง Khanan Kham (Ban Tio, Chiang Rung)	3 C
200	YN200	No.116	ตำนาน ... พระยาอินทริลาด Tamnan ... phaya intathilat	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1370 [AD 2008]	พ่อแสงอิน บ้านถาง เมืองลงใต้ Pò Saeng In (Ban Thang, Moeng Long Tai)	3 C
201	YN201	No.133	สิบหกเมืองหลวง Siphok moeng long	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1363 [AD 2001]	พ่อแสงอิน บ้านถาง เมืองลงใต้ Pò Saeng In (Ban Thang, Moeng Long Tai)	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
202	YN202	No.143	ตำนานพระเจ้าองค์หลวงเขียงกร Tamnan phacaoong long ceng kòn	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1364 [AD 2002]	พ่อแสงอิน บ้านถาง เมืองลงใต้ พ่อแสงอิน บ้านถาง เมืองลงใต้ Pò Saeng In (Ban Thang, Moeng Long Tai)	3 C
203	YN203	No.144	ตำนานพื้นราตมหายคยอมของ Tamnan pün that mahiyaka còm yòng	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1362 [AD 2000]	พ่อแสงอิน บ้านถาง เมืองลงใต้ พ่อแสงอิน บ้านถาง เมืองลงใต้ Pò Saeng In (Ban Thang, Moeng Long Tai)	3 C
204	YN204	No.156	สิงงานหลวง ๑๒ ปันนา Sing ngan long 12 panna	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper		อ้ายอ่อน บ้านถาง เมืองลงใต้ พ่อแสงอิน บ้านถาง เมืองลงใต้ Pò Saeng In (Ban Thang, Moeng Long Tai)	Cov

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
205	YN205	No.157	แม่ปี่เล็กฟ้า หามือปอดวันดี Mae pi loek fa ha mü pòt wan di	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1367 [AD 2005]	อ้ายอ่อน บ้านถาง เมืองลงใต้ พ่อแสงอิน บ้านถาง เมืองลงใต้ Pò Saeng In (Ban Thang, Moeng Long Tai)	3 C
206	YN206	No.168	พระเจ้าเลียบโลก Phacao lep lok	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1353 [AD 1991]	วัดหลวงเจียงฮาย เมืองฮาย Wat Long Cheng Hai (Moeng Hai)	3 C
207	YN207	No.209	คำว ๔๔ ขึ้นเจ้าแผ่นดิน ๑๒ พันนาแลเมืองล่า Khao 44 cin cao phaendin 12 panna lae moeng la	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1343 [AD 1981]	วัดหลวงเก้าเมืองล่า Wat Long Kao Moeng La	3 C
208	YN208	10.5	ปี่บราสี (Payap Api 2013)	New Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 136 - [AD 200 -]	หอจดหมายเหตุ ม.พายัพ	3 Cov
209	YN209	10.10	คำวลูกแก้วลูกแก้ว	New Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1363 [AD 2001]	หอจดหมายเหตุ ม.พายัพ	3 C
210	YN210	10.11	คำวพญาอโศกราชา	New Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1397 [AD 2005]	หอจดหมายเหตุ ม.พายัพ	3 C
211	YN211	10.14	ไม้ทราบชื่อเรื่อง (คำวพญาสมมุติลงเกิด)	New Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 139 - [AD 200 -]	หอจดหมายเหตุ ม.พายัพ	3 Cov

2) Corpus 2: Northern Laos

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
1	LS1	L 01	ตั้งเมืองหลวงน้ำทาครั้งที่สอง Tang müang luang namtha khrang thi sòng (BanNamthung-Nan Tui-1)	Tham Lü	Lü	Notebook	CS 1357 [AD 1995]	หนานต้าย บ้านน้ำตุง Nan Tui (Ban Nam Tung, LNT)	3
2	LS2	L 02	ตำราโหราศาสตร์ Tamra horasat (BanNamthung-Nan Tui-2)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper (leporello)		หนานต้าย บ้านน้ำตุง Nan Tui (Ban Nam Tung, LNT)	
3	LS3	L 03	ตำราโหราศาสตร์ (Horasat-NoiCai-incomplete) * ไม่จบเรื่อง มี 2 ภาพ	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper		น้อยใจ (อาจารย์วัด บ้านเวียงเหนือ) Nòi Cai (Achan Wat, Ban Wiang Nüa)	
4	LS4	L 05	ธัมมอันสงสัฏฐิสังเขป Tham anisong satthi song kha (NanCaiSaeng-NKL-1)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper		หนานใจแสง บ้านน้ำแก้วหลวง Nan Cai Saeng (Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing)	Cov
5	LS5	L 06	เกวัน Phewan (NanCaiSaeng-NKL-2) * ดูเหมือนว่าจะนำพิบสา Papsaเก่า และใหม่มาเขียนเข้าด้วยกัน	Tham Lü /Lik	Lü/Tai	Sa paper	CS 1311? [AD1949?]	หนานใจแสง บ้านน้ำแก้วหลวง Nan Cai Saeng (Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing)	2 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
6	LS6	L 07	รวมพิธีกรรมต่าง ๆ Hom pithikam tang tang Width: 36.5 cm; Length: 14 cm	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper (leporello)	CS 1270 [AD 1908]	หนานแสงวง บ้านน้ำแก้วหลวง Nan Saeng Wong (Ban Nam Kao Luang, Müang Sing)	1 C
7	LS7	L 08	อภิธรรมและมหาปฐกฐาน, คำพรหลวง Aphitam lae mahapatthan kam pòn long (NanSaengwong-NKL-2)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper (leporello)	CS 1302 [AD 1940]	หนานแสงวง บ้านน้ำแก้วหลวง Nan Saeng Wong (Ban Nam Kao Luang, Müang Sing)	2 C
8	LS8	L 09	พิธีกรรม Pithikam (Papsa1-NòiCai)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper		น้อยใจ (อาจารย์วัด บ้านเวียงเหนือ) Nòi Cai (Achan Wat, Ban Wiang Nüa)	
9	LS9	L 10	พิธีกรรม Pithikam (Papsa2-NòiCai)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper		น้อยใจ Nòi Cai	- S -
10	LS10	L 11	ประวัติย่อเมืองหลวงน้ำทา Pawatsat nyò luang namtha (Pawat-LNT- NòiCai)	Lao	Lao	Notebook		น้อยใจ Nòi Cai	Cov
11	LS11	L 12	ธัมม่นคร Tham nakhòn (WatBanNakham-1)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper (leporello)	CS 1365 [AD 2003]	วัดบ้านนาคำ Wat Ban Na Kham (Müang Sing)	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
12	LS12	L 13	เวสตันครชาดก Wetsandón cadok (WatBanNakham-2)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1364 [AD 2002]	วัดบ้านนาคำ Wat Ban Na Kham (Müang Sing)	3 C
13	LS13	L 14	ธัมมนคร ฉบับเมืองบ่อน้อย Tham nakòn chabap moeng bò nòi (WatBanNamthung-1)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper (leporello)	AD 1993	วัดบ้านน้ำทุ่ง Wat Ban Nam Tung	3 C
14	LS14	L 15	มหาวิบากหลวง Maha wibak long (WatBanNamthung-2)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1330 [AD 1968]	วัดบ้านน้ำทุ่ง Wat Ban Nam Tung	2 C
15	LS15	L 16	พุทธเบิก Puttha boek (WatLongPhakham-1)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper		วัดหลวงผาคำ ? Wat Long Pha Kham (Müang Long, LNT)	C
16	LS16	L 17	สุขวัณณะ ผูก 10 Sucawanna phuk 10 (WatLongPhakham-2)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper		วัดหลวงผาคำ ? Wat Long Pha Kham (Müang Long, LNT)	C
17	LS17	L 18	ไม่มีชื่อเรื่อง no title * มีลักษณะเรื่องเป็นชาดก ตัวเอกชื่อรัตนมณี (WatLongPhakham-3)	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper		วัดหลวงผาคำ ? Wat Long Pha Kham (Müang Long, LNT)	
18	LS18	L 19	ธัมมบัวรวงสา borawongsa (WatXiangLae)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1344 [AD 1982]	วัดเชียงแล เมืองสิง Wat Chiang Lae, Müang Sing	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
19	LS19	PLMP Code: 03021214001_00	ตำนานเมืองเชียงแข็ง เมืองสิง Tamnan müang siang khaeng müang sing	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1295 [AD 1953]	Wat Ban Ta Pao, Müang Sing	2 C
20	LS20	PLMP Code: 03010320001_00	ประวัติเมืองเชียงแข็งต่อไ้เมืองสิง, ปืมปฏิทินของ โบราณ Pawat moeng ceng khaeng to sai moeng sing, pün patithin khòng bolan	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper		Ban Wiang Nüa, Luang Namtha	P
21	LS21	PLMP Code: 03010314001_00	ประวัติศาสตร์ลาว-ไท Pawasat Laos-Tai	Tham Lü	Lü	Industrial Paper	CS 1349 [AD 1987]	Ban Wiang Nüa, Luang Namtha	3 C
22	LS22	PLMP Code: 03020213004_07	ตำนานธาตุหลวงเจ้าเชียงทึม Tamnan that long cao ceng tùm	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1321 [AD 1959]	Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing	2 Cov
23	LS23	PLMP Code: 03020317001_08	กาบปู้สอนหลาน สมดสงสาน Kappu sorn lan samat songsan	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1255 [AD 1893]	Ban Nam Kaeo Nòi, Müang Sing	1 C
24	LS24	PLMP Code: 03020920001_01	กะปุกคำ, (โลกวุฒิ, อากาลวัตตสูตร, อนิสงส์สลอง) Kapu kham, (lokawutthi, akalawattasut, anisong salong)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1245 [AD 1883]	Ban Thong Mai, Müang Sing	1 C
25	LS25	PLMP Code: 03021612003_00	เจ้านุนหลวง (พื้น) Tamnan cao bun long	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1312 [AD 1950]	Ban Na Kham, Müang Sing	2 C
26	LS26	L 36 (2014)	กฎหมาย Kotmai (KhananChai-2)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1361 [AD 1999]	Khanan Chai, Ban Na Kham, Müang Sing, LNT	3 C
27	LS27	PLMP Code: 04010212015_02	กาหยอม Ka yom Buddhist chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1309 [AD 1947]	Wat Phu Khae, Müang Sai, Udomsai	2 C
28	LS28	PLMP Code: 03020412001_01	พระฤๅษีในเมืองกาย Pha lüsi nai moeng kai Folk tale	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1300 [AD 1938]	Ban Yang Kham, Müang Sing	2 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
29	LS29	PLMP Code: 03020408002_01	พุทธคุณสอนโลก Putthakun son lok Didactics	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1295 [AD 1933]	Ban Yang Kham, Müang Sing	2 C
30	LS30	PLMP Code: 03020409001_05	พุทธประเพณี Putthapaveni Custom and ritual	Tham Lü	ลือ Lü	Sa paper	CS 1304 [AD 1942]	Ban Yang Kham, Müang Sing	2 C
31	LS31	PLMP Code: 03020202010_00	สัททวิมาลา Sattawimala	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1298 [AD 1936]	Ban Yang Kham, Müang Sing	2 C
32	LS32	PLMP Code: 03020220002_01	สัพปัจจเวกขณะ, สัพปาฏิโมกข์ Sap patcavekkhana, Sap patimok	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1309 [AD 1947]	Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing	2 C
33	LS33	PLMP Code: 03020419003_00	สังเคราะห์สละเดาณาม Song kho sado nam Medicine	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1303 [AD 1941]	Ban Yang Kham, Müang Sing	2 C0v
34	LS34	PLMP Code: 08090117003_01	สุภายิตคำสอน Suphasit kham son	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	BE 2489 [AD 1946]	Ban Yang Kham, Müang Sing	2 C
35	LS35	PLMP Code: 03020915001_00	ตัดสินความ / พอบกคหมาย Tat sin khuam / phop kotmai Law	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1296 [AD 1934]	Ban Thong Mai, Müang Sing	2 C
36	LS36	PLMP Code: 03020703001_02	กัมมัญฐานคอกเหล็ก Kammatthan khok lek Abhidhamma	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1325 [AD 1963]	Ban Silihüang, Müang Sing	2 C
37	LS37	PLMP Code: 03020807028_01	กำพริ้งจั่วทอง Kampha ngo tong Jataka	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1341 [AD 1979]	Ban Yang Piang, Müang Sing	2 C
38	LS38	PLMP Code: 03021617006_00	กาพย์คำสอน Kap kam son Secular literature	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1313 [AD 1951]	Ban Na Kham, Müang Sing	2 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
39	LS39	PLMP Code: 03020201004_02	กัมมัทธงหา (สัพอุปสัมปัดกัมมและกิตตนานาค, กถินกัมม, ปริวาสสกัมม, มานัต, อัพพานกัมม) Kam thang ha(Sap upasampatthakam lae kittananak, kathinnakam, paliwatsakam, manat apphanakam) Vinaya	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1335 [AD 1973]	Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing	2 C
40	LS40	PLMP Code: 03020607007_02	กล้วยพันกอ Koi pan ko Jataka	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1322 [AD 1961]	Wat Ban Thin That, Müang Sing	2 C
41	LS41	PLMP Code: 03020402003_03	ปัญหาลาซุต Panha laca sut Sutta	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1336 [AD 1974]	Wat Yang Kham, Müang Sing	2 C
42	LS42	PLMP Code: 05011112003_00	พระลักขณพระราม Pha lak pha lam Folk tale	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1336 [AD 1974]	Huay Sai, Bokaeo	2 C
43	LS43	PLMP Code: 03020213012_00	ตำนานพระยาธัมมหาพระองค์ Tamnan phanya tham ha pha ong Buddhist chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1337 [AD 1975]	Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing	3 C
44	LS44	PLMP Code: 03020413004_01	ธัมมตำนานเขี้ยวฝางคำเมืองลังกา Tham tamnan khao fang kham moeng langka Buddhist chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1325 [AD 1963]	Ban Yang Kham, Müang Sing	2 C
45	LS45	PLMP Code: 03020413002_01	ธัมมตำนานเขี้ยวฝางคำเมืองลังกา Tham tamnan khao fang kham moeng langka Buddhist chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1334 [AD 1972]	Ban Yang Kham, Müang Sing	2 C
46	LS46	PLMP Code: 03020913005_00	ตำนานมหาเจติยธาตุหลวงเจ้าเชียงใหม่ Tamnan maha cetiya that long cao ceng tüm Buddhist chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1323 [AD 1961]	Ban Thong Mai, Müang Sing	2 C
47	LS47	PLMP Code: 03020706001_02	อนิสงสัพพทาน Anisong sappatan	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	AD 1995	Ban Silihüang, Müang Sing	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
48	LS48	PLMP Code: 03020707007_03	บัวหอมพันกาบ Bo hom pan kap Jataka	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1355 [AD 1993]	Ban Silihüang, Müang Sing	3 C
49	LS49	PLMP Code: 03020717001_01	จันทปโสด Canthapatsot literature	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1352 [AD 1990]	Ban Silihüang, Müang Sing	3 C
50	LS50	PLMP Code: 03020402001_01	จุนทสุกกrikสูตร Cunthasukkalika sut Sutta	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1338 [AD 1976]	Ban Yang Kham, Müang Sing	3 C
51	LS51	PLMP Code: 03020817004_00	คำขับกาหลง Kam khap ka long Secular literature	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	AD 2000	Ban Yang Piang, Müang Sing	3 Cov
52	LS52	PLMP Code: 03021707013_02	เขี้ยวsongมอน Khiao song mon Jataka	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1345 [AD 1983]	Ban Dòn Cai, Müang Sing	3 C
53	LS53	PLMP Code: 03020202014_04	นโมอักขระ Namo akkhala Sutta	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1346 [AD 1984]	Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing	3 C
54	LS54	PLMP Code: 03021312001_03	นันทเสน Nantasen Folk tale	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1358 [AD 1996]	Wat Ban Na Mai, Müang Sing	3 C
55	LS55	PLMP Code: 03021307003_02	งูลาย Ngu lai	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1353 [AD 1991]	Wat Ban Na Mai, Müang Sing	3 C
56	LS56	PLMP Code: 03020212006_00	ปฐมพื้นโลกชาดก Pathama pün lok cadok Folk tale	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1353 [AD 1991]	Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing	3 C
57	LS57	PLMP Code: 03020206009_00	ก้านทานพะยาเซกอง อู่ม้าว Kan than phanya sekong / u mao Anisong	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1343 [AD 1981]	Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
58	LS58	PLMP Code: 03020219001_00	พรหมโลก Phommalok Medicine / Magic	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1354 [AD 1992]	Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing	3 Cov
59	LS59	PLMP Code: 03020808003_00	ปู่สอนหลาน, พุทธปะเวณี Pu son lan, puttha paweni Didactics	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1353 [AD 1991]	Ban Yang Piang, Müang Sing	3 Cov
60	LS60	PLMP Code: 03020502005_05	สัตตโปชฌงค์าทั้งเจ็ด Satta pocangka tang cet Sutta	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1355 [AD 1993]	Ban Kum, Müang Sing	3 C
61	LS61	PLMP Code: 03020507016_00	สิงคาลกุมมารปัญหานกเป่า Singkala kumman panha nok pao Jataka	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1342 [AD 1980]	Ban Kum, Müang Sing	3 C
62	LS62	PLMP Code: 03020602001_00	สิงคาลกุมมารปัญหานกเป่า Singkala kumman panha nok pao Sutta	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1344 [AD 1982]	Vat Ban Thin That, Müang Sing	3 C
63	LS63	PLMP Code: 03020807029_06	สุชวัณณจักพะยาวั Sucawannacak phanya wo Jataka	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1350 [AD 1988]	Ban Yang Piang, Müang Sing	3 C
64	LS64	PLMP Code: 03020507015_00	สุทัสสนา นางหมากพร้าว Sutasana nang mak pao Jataka	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1347 [AD 1985]	Ban Kum, Müang Sing	3 C
65	LS65	PLMP Code: 03020414002_04	ตำนานถ้ำผาเสือป่าไผ่เมืองลำ Tamnan tham pha soe pa lai moeng la Secular history	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1339 [AD 1977]	Ban Yang Kham, Müang Sing	3 C
66	LS66	PLMP Code: 03021607010_03	ธรรมพะยาแสน Tham phaya saen Jataka	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1352 [AD 1980]	Ban Yang Kham, Müang Sing	3 C
67	LS67	PLMP Code: 03020507017_00	ธรรมพะยาสามตา Tham phaya sam ta Jataka	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1358 [AD 1996]	Ban Kum, Müang Sing	3 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
68	LS68	PLMP Code: 03020207012_00	ซัฒมบุนหลง Thamma bun long Jataka	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1361 [AD 1999]	Ban Kum, Müang Sing	3 C
69	LS69	PLMP Code: 03020208003_01	ซัฒมดาสอนโลก Thammada son lok Didactics	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1345 [AD 1983]	Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing	3 C
70	LS70	PLMP Code: 03020206005_03	ซัฒमतานต่าง ๆ Thammatan tang tang Anisong	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1355 [AD 1993]	Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing	3 Cov
71	LS71	PLMP Code: 03020213013_00	ซัฒมธาตุหลวงเชียงทึ่ม Thammathat long ceng tüm Buddhist chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1354 [AD 1992]	Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing	3 C
72	LS72	PLMP Code: 03020213009_03	ซัฒมตำนานเชียวฝางคำเมืองลังกา Tham tamnan khao fang kham moeng langka Buddhist chronicle	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1349 [AD 1987]	Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing	3 C
73	LS73	PLMP Code: 03021717002_00	คำขับพรหมสร้างโลก Kam khap phom sang lok Secular literature	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1338 [AD 1976]	Ban Dòn Cai, Müang Sing	3 Cov
74	LS74	PLMP Code: 03021618002_03	ตำราดูฤกษ์ Tamla du lük Astrology	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1299 [AD 1937]	Ban Dòn Cai, Müang Sing	2 C?
75	LS75	PLMP Code: 03020919002_00	ตำรายา คาถาต่าง ๆ Tamla ya khatha tang tang Medicine /magic	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1275 [AD 1913] CS 1289 [AD 1927]	Ban Thong Mai, Müang Sing	2 C
76	LS76	PLMP Code: 03021212001_03	ตำนานผาแตกและตำนานพระยาอิน Tamnan pha taek lae tamnan phaya in Folk tale	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1328 [AD 1976]	Vat Ban Ta Pao, Müang Sing	2 C

No.	Code	Code	Title	Script	Language	Material	Date	Place	*
77	LS77	L 24	ธัมมสังคัลลคมมมาร ผูก ๑๐ Tham singkala kummam, fascicle 10 (Vat Samakhixay-5)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	CS 1363 [AD 2001]	วัดสามัคคีชัย หลวงน้ำชา Vat Samakkhisai (LNT)	3 C
78	LS78	L 27	ธัมมเชยสังคหะ Caiya sangaha (VatViangNuea-1)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper (leporello)	CS 1350 [AD 1988]	หนานแสงวง บ้านน้ำแก้ว หลวง Wat Ban Wiang Nüa (Ban Wiang Nüa, LNT)	3 C
79	LS79	L 33	สโลกสังพุทธรูป Tamra salok sang putthahup (Insong-Ms2-Phuttharup)	Tham Lü	Lü	Sa paper	-	Nöi In Song Kariyawong, Ban Wiang Nüa, LNT	Cov

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Apiradee Techasiriwan was born on 29 January 1974 in Bangkok, Thailand. After she was at a kindergarten, Jurairat School, she continued her primary and secondary school levels at Chulalongkorn University Demonstration School. Then, she enrolled as a student at Bangkok University in 1992. In 1998, she left Bangkok to Chiang Mai to enroll as a student in the Lan Na Language and Literature program, Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University and graduated (MA degree) from the university in 2003.

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Zusammenfassung

Die Tai Lü sind ein Tai-Volk, deren Sprache zur südwestlichen Gruppe der Tai-Kadai-Sprachfamilie zählt. Ihr Kerngebiet liegt in Sipsòng Panna, einer heute autonomen Region der Tai (chin.: Dai) in der Provinz Yunnan in der Volksrepublik China. Im Laufe der Jahrhunderte hat sich ihr Siedlungsgebiet auf benachbarte Gebiete in Nordlaos, Nordthailand, den östlichen Teilen des Shan Staats in Myanmar und sogar in nördliche Grenzzonen von Vietnam ausgedehnt.

Die Tai Lü verfügen über eine eigene Sprache und Schrift, die sogenannte Tham (Pali: Dhamma) Schrift, welche im 14. Jahrhundert in Nordthailand (Lan Na) entstand und sich mit der Verbreitung des Theravada Buddhismus auch unter den Tai Lü durchsetzte. Die Manuskripte der Tai Lü, die für die vorliegende Dissertation untersucht wurden, sind ausschließlich auf Maubeerbaumpapier (mulberry paper) geschrieben, dem vorwiegenden Schreibmaterial in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Es wurde ein Korpus von fast 300 Manuskripten ausgewertet, von denen zwei Drittel aus Yunnan und ein Drittel aus Nordlaos stammen. Es handelt sich hauptsächlich um Manuskripte mit buddhistischen Texten, aber auch Volkssagen, Rechtstexten, astrologischen Abhandlungen und historiographischen Texten wie Chroniken.

Während der chinesischen Kulturrevolution (1966–1976) wurde der weitaus größte Teil des Bestands von Tai-Lü-Handschriften in Yunnan vernichtet. Doch seit Anfang der 1980er Jahre erlebte die Manuskriptkultur der Tai Lü in dieser Region eine bemerkenswerte Wiederbelebung. In Nordlaos hingegen war der Bruch in der Manuskriptkultur der Tai Lü nach der kommunistischen Machtübernahme 1975 weniger spürbar.

Die vorliegende Dissertation untersucht die Paratexte typologisch wie inhaltlich sowohl diachron (im Hinblick auf zeitliche Umbrüche in den beiden Regionen) als auch synchron (im Hinblick auf Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Regionen). Auf ein Einleitungskapitel (Kapitel 1), das den Forschungsstand und die Quellenlage diskutiert, folgt Kapitel 2 mit einem Überblick über die historische Entwicklung der Tai Lü in den beiden Regionen und die Besonderheiten der Tai-Lü-Manuskriptkultur. Kapitel 3 analysiert detailliert die Typologie der in den Manuskripten auftauchenden Paratexte und nichttextlichen strukturierenden Elemente. Schließlich werden in Kapitel 4 die Inhalte der vielfältigen Paratexte in Bezug auf Schreiber und Stifter von Manuskripten in einem größeren kulturgeschichtlichen Kontext untersucht.

Eidesstattliche Erklärung

Ich versichere an Eides statt durch meine eigene Unterschrift, dass ich die eingereichte Arbeit selbstständig und ohne fremde Hilfe angefertigt und alle Stellen, die wörtlich oder annähernd wörtlich aus Veröffentlichungen entnommen sind, als solche kenntlich gemacht habe und mich auch keiner anderen als der angegebenen Literatur bedient habe. Diese Versicherung bezieht sich auch auf die in der Arbeit verwendeten Zeichnungen, Skizzen, bildlichen Darstellungen und dergleichen.

Apirade Techasiruan