

**Ayutthaya Literature in the Hands of
Bangkok Scribes and Scholars:
Paratexts and Transmission History of
Ayutthaya Literature in the Bangkok Period**

Dissertation

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LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

BCE	Before the Common Era
BE	Buddhist Era (CE + 543 = BE)
CE	Common Era
Com	Composite (manuscript)
CS	<i>Cunla sakkarat</i> (CE – 638 = CS)
Fr.	French
Ger.	German
Gr.	Greek
Kh.	Khmer
Lat.	Latin
MTM	Multiple-text manuscript
Ms	Manuscript
Mss	Manuscripts
PLMs	Palm-leaf manuscript
P.	Pali
Skt.	Sanskrit
Th.	Thai
RS	<i>Rattanakosin sok</i> (CE – 1781 = RS)

ABBREVIATIONS IN MANUSCRIPT REFERENCES

BKK: DSBPhr	Devasathan the Brahmin Temple, Bangkok
BKK: CU: Arts Lib	The Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok
BKK: HRH SDh	The HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn's Private Library
BKK: SS	The Siam Society under the Royal Patronage, Bangkok
BL: MAK	The Museum for Asian Arts (Museum für Asiatische Kunst), Berlin, Germany
BL: StaBi	The State Library of Berlin (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin), Berlin, Germany
CM: DHC: NTIC	The Northern Thai Information Center, Digital Heritage Collection, Chiang Mai University Central Library, Chiang Mai, Thailand
CM: DHC: SKNM	Sukich Nimmanheminda's Collection, Digital Heritage Collection, Chiang Mai University Central Library, Chiang Mai, Thailand
CPH: RDL	The Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Denmark
DD: SLUB	The Saxony State and University Library of Dresden (Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden), Germany
LEID: StaUBi	The State and University Library of Leiden, the Netherlands
LOND: RAS	The Royal Asiatic Society of London, England
LPh: SWL	Singkha Wannasai's Library, Lamphun, Thailand
LZG: Grassi	GRASSI Museum for Ethnology, Leipzig, Germany
MCH: BStaBi	The Bavarian State Library of Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek zu München), Germany
MSWT: NPT	The Manuscripts of Western Thailand, The Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre (Nakhòn Pathom, Thailand)
NKST: NLT	The National Library of Thailand, Nakhòn Si Thammarat
PR: BnF	The National Library of France, Paris
PR: EFEO	École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, France
SPB: IOMs	The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of Saint Petersburg, Russia
NLT (National Library of Thailand, Bangkok):	
ASS	<i>Aksònsat</i> ('orthography') Section
ChSs	<i>Chan</i> Subsection, Literature Section
CMHS	<i>Cot Mai Het</i> ('historical dispatches') Section
KHKhlSs	<i>Kap Hò Khlong</i> Subsection, Literature Section
KhINRSs	<i>Khlong Nirat</i> Subsection, Literature Section
KhISs	<i>Khlong</i> Subsection, Literature Section
KhISPhSSs	<i>Khlong Suphasit</i> ('didactic <i>khlong</i> poems') Subsection, Literature Section
KIASs	<i>Klòn An</i> (' <i>klòn</i> poems for reading') Subsection, Literature Section
KISSs	<i>Klòn Suat</i> ('chanting poems') Subsection, Literature Section
LLSs	<i>Lilit</i> Subsection, Literature Section
PhlYSWSs	<i>Phleng Yao Sangwat</i> ('love letters') Subsection, Literature Section
PKTh	<i>Pakinka Tham Tang Tang</i> ('miscellaneous topics on Dhamma') Subsection, <i>Thamma Khadi</i> ('Dhamma texts') Section
PLS	Palm-Leaf Manuscript Section

PRPTSs	<i>Phra Ratcha Phithi</i> (‘royal ceremony’) Subsection, Treatise Section
PrWS	<i>Prawat</i> (‘biography’) Section
RSs	<i>Rai</i> Subsection, Literature Section
STWSSs	<i>Sattawasat</i> (‘animal lores’) Subsection, Treatise Section
ThSNChD	<i>Thetsana Chadok</i> (‘preaching on <i>Jātaka</i> ’) Subsection, <i>Thamma Khadi</i> (‘Dhamma texts’) Section
TRPhSs	<i>Tamra Phap</i> (‘illustrated manuscripts’) Subsection, Literature Section

NOTES ON ROMANIZATION

The Romanization of Thai words in this study follows the Standard Romanization of Asia-Africa-Institute within the University of Hamburg, which is close to the system of the Romanization applied by the Royal Institute. The Romanized Thai words and terms, as well as the titles of the literary texts, will be presented in *italic*. Nevertheless, the authors' names presented here will appear as it appears in their own works published in English, if available. Otherwise, the Romanization of the author's name will follow the Royal Institute. Citations of Thai texts follow the spelling of the original form, even if they contradict the modern Thai orthography. In referencing or citing any Thai works in this study, both the authors' name and surname will be provided. For works written in Western languages, for instance in English and in German, only the surname of the authors will be given.

Furthermore, the Pali and Sanskrit words and terms will follow the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (I.A.S.T.), based on the standard system proposed by the International Congress of Orientalists at Geneva in 1894. The Romanization of Khmer is based on the American Library Association and Library of Congress Romanization (ALA-AC) – this system does not accurately denote the pronunciation, but all the letters are represented according to their original spelling in Khmer. The Romanization found in citations, however, will be not altered, preserving the original form.

STANDARD ROMANIZATION OF THAI LANGUAGE

Asia-Africa-Institute, University of Hamburg

Consonants

ก	ข/ค	ฅ/ก	ฆ	ง			
k	kh	kh	kh	ng			
จ	ฉ	ช	ซ	ฌ	ญ		
c	ch	ch	s	ch	y		
ฎ	ฏ	ฐ	ฑ	ฒ	ณ		
d	t	th	th	th	n		
ด	ต	ถ	ท	ธ	น		
d	t	th	th	th	n		
บ	ป	ผ	ฝ	พ	ฟ	ภ	ม
b	p	ph	f	ph	f	ph	m
ศ	ษ	ส					
s	s	s					
ย	ร	ล	ฬ	ว			
y	r	l	l	w			
ฮ	ห	ฮ					
(?)ò	h	h					

Vowels and Diphthongs

-ะ	-า	-ิ	-ี	-ึ	-ื	-อุ	-ู
-a	-a	-i	-i	-ü	-ü	-u	-u
เ-	แ-	ไ-, ใ-	โ-	-อํ	เ-า		
-e	-ae	-ai	-o	-am	-ao		
-น	-ัน	-าน	-ิน	-ีน	-ئين	-ئين	-ุน
-on	-an	-an	-in	-in	-ün	-ün	-un
-ุ่น	เ-น	แ-น	โ-น	-อน	-วน	เ-ียน	เ-ือน
-un	-en	-aen	-on	-òn	-uan	-ian	-üan
เ-ิน	เ-อน						
-oen	-oen						
เ-ย	เ-อย	-าย	-าว	-ิว	-ืว	-ุย	-ูย
-oei	-oei	-ai	-ao	-io	-io	-ui	-ui
เ-ว	แ-ว	โ-ย	-อย	-วย	เ-ียว	เ-ือย	เ-ีย
-eo	-aeo	-oi	-òi	-uai	-iao	-üai	-ia
เ-ียะ	เ-ือ	เ-ือะ	เ-อ	เ-อะ	-ัว	-ัวะ	เ-ะ
-ia	-üa	-üa	-oe	-oe	-ua	-ua	-e
แ-ะ	โ-ะ	เ-าะ	-อ				
-ae	-o	-ò	-ò				

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1 Ayutthaya Literary Source and Its Transmission

In April 1767, the Kingdom of Ayutthaya, the great political power and wealthy trade center of the Siamese or Thai people in the Cao Phraya river basin which stood proudly for more than four centuries (1351–1767), fell decisively in the war against the Burmese. King Ekkathat of Ayutthaya (r. 1757–1767) was soon after found dead outside the city wall, while almost all the remaining members of the royal family and the nobility had been taken as captives to Ava, the capital of the Burmese Kingdom. The Burmese army under the royal order of King Hsinbyushin (r. 1763–1776) had sacked the city before putting the royal palace and the city to the torch. The objective of the Burmese in this war was clearly different from the Burmese conquest over Ayutthaya in 1569 by King Bayinnaung (r. 1550–1581), who had taken Ayutthaya as a vassal state under his emperorship (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2017a: 95; Grabowsky, 2010: 60). The city itself, thereby, was not razed to the ground in the sixteenth century. Contrastingly, in 1757, King Hsinbyushin aimed to annihilate the Siamese political and economic center, including all the palladiums of the Buddhist realm, ranging from Buddha images to manuscripts of the *Tipiṭaka*, the Pali canon (Nidhi Eoseewong, 2005: 4). A monk who survived this riot of the fallen city and later earned the high-ranking monastic title “Phra Phonnarat” in Bangkok composed a chronicle of the Buddhist Grand Councils spanning from India after the Buddha’s death to eighteenth century Bangkok in Pali, the canonical language of Theravada Buddhism, and completed this work in 1789, around 22 years after the fall of Ayutthaya. This Pali text entitled *Samgītiyavaṃsa* (literally ‘*Chronicle of the Councils*’) mentions the fall of the Ayutthaya Kingdom and its aftermath as follows:

Buddhasakkarāje dasasaṃvaccharatisatādikāni dvesaṃvaccharasahassāni atakkante
sunakkhasukaraghaṭasaṃvacchare cetamāse sukappakkhe navamīthiyāṃ bhūmavare
sorayāme rattiyāṃ saṅkānte taṃ nagaraṃ yathākālaṃ yathāvināsaṃ yathākhīṇāyukam
yathāpariyāyāṃ yathāsuññaṃ nassati mahājane | rājavaṃsādhike bahūni dhanāni |
gāhāpetvā nagarañca tipāsādañca ārāmaṇi hārañca jhāpetvā pākāraṃ bhindāpetvā
ayojyanagare vatthūni dhammavinayapiṭakādīni ca vanāsetvā attano nagaraṃ nivattitvā
bahudhanāni rājakulādīni khuddakamahanta-āvidhāni ca attano sāmikassa deti |

(Phonnarat, 2007: 68–70)

Translation: 2310 BE, in the junction from the Year of the Dog to the Year of the Pig, the ninth day of the waxing moon, the fifth lunar month, on Tuesday between 7:30–9:00 pm (*sorayāme*)¹ on the night of *Songkran* (traditional New Year) (equivalent to 7 April 1767),

¹ The word here literally means ‘the time of Saturn’. For the case of nighttime on a Tuesday, the term refers to the time during 7:30 – 9:00 pm. The same period of time has been known as *yam klòng doek*

the city [of Ayutthaya] fell, was annihilated and vanished from then on. Capturing all the people, royalties, and properties, burning the city and the three Royal Halls and all the monasteries, laying ruin to the fort and destroying objects in the city of Ayutthaya such as [the manuscripts of] the *Dhamma- and Vinayapiṭṭaka* (referring to *Tipiṭaka*), they (the great army of the Burmese) returned to their city with all these treasures, royal captives, as well as all the weapons as gifts to give to their king.

Even though the *Samgāṭiyavaṃsa* hardly contains anything original regarding the history of the earlier Councils (von Hinüber, 2000: 97), there is evidence that Phra Phonnarat, the author of this text, was born in 1734 and witnessed the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767 (Dhanit Yupho, 1973: 8). The depiction of the fall found in this Pali chronicle, thus, reflects what happened in the incident collected from his direct experience. In the aftermath of the fall of Ayutthaya, all the territories formerly bound under the power of the Ayutthaya Kingdom, covering the main part of present-day Central and Southern Thailand, broke chaotically into a number of political factions. The fall of Ayutthaya in 1767 brought about a significant crisis in the history of the Thai-Tai world, the pressures of which would either spawn the successful forming of another powerful Siamese kingdom in the region, or the fading of its political influence into oblivion, a similar fate shared by other Tai ethnic groups in previous centuries (Nidhi Eoseewong, 2005: 4–5). This was also a critical moment for the literary texts of the Siamese, as many of the manuscripts bearing these texts were destroyed. Arguably, even though the division of the periods of Thai history according to the dominant capital cities (i.e. Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, and Thonburi-Bangkok) as commonly seen in many Thai historical researches might not perfectly represent the characteristics of each historical period, and might instead lead to misunderstandings (Thaweesak Phueksom, 2018: 14), the literary texts from Ayutthaya all share the same condition due to the mass loss of manuscripts after the city's fall.

In the midst of this political chaos, King Taksin of Thonburi (r. 1767–1782), and also the later King Rama I of Bangkok (r. 1782–1809), both of whom formerly served the royal court of Ayutthaya, successfully established the new kingdom as the successor state of the fallen capital in terms of politics, economy, and culture, including literary and manuscript culture, with its new founded center in the lower delta of the Chao Phraya river. King Taksin conquered all the political fractions and took control over the former territory of Ayutthaya in 1774. This newly founded center of Siam then succeeded in encompassing Lan Na, Laos, Cambodia, as well as a part of Malay peninsula into its sphere of influence in a way that the earlier kings of Ayutthaya had failed to do (Wyatt, 2003: 122). In order to reestablish Buddhism within the kingdom, King Taksin had the palm-leaf manuscript fragments of the *Tipiṭaka* and other Buddhist texts recollected in his new capital. The uprising in the capital in 1782, however, led to the execution of King Taksin and subsequently King Rama I's ascendance to the throne, who

(‘time of the evening drum’) in the Lan Na culture in the northern Thailand (Winai Pongsripian, 2009: 63).

then moved the capital to the eastern side of the river and called the new city *krung thep*, nowadays known as Bangkok in English. Going beyond the tasks undertaken by his predecessor in reestablishing the kingdom, King Rama I promulgated a number of projects to restore the “essence” of the Ayutthaya Kingdom rather than merely the “form” as King Taksin did (Nidhi Eoseewong, 2005: 183). This literary restoration, as defined by contemporary scholarship, covered the renovation of monasteries, the recompilation of the legal codex, the reestablishment of the *Tipiṭaka* in 1788, as well as the restoration of other secular texts and poetry (Niyada Lausoonthorn, 1996).

In the context of this literary restoration initiated by the royal court, many religious texts (mostly in monolingual Pali or bilingual Pali-Thai) were copied and translated into Thai, while some were written completely anew. Furthermore, royal chronicles transmitted from the Kingdom of Ayutthaya were edited, along with some texts of Ayutthaya poetry which had survived the fall, perhaps either via manuscript fragments or memory. Though the Ayutthaya texts in the Bangkok period are not all complete, the surviving manuscripts suggest that the tradition of Ayutthaya literary texts was still widely continued not only in the royal court, but also among the monasteries as well. Interestingly, the scribes and scholars of Bangkok still recognized some texts as having originated earlier, i.e. from the Ayutthaya Kingdom, thus indicating they were not newly composed in the Bangkok period by any Bangkok poet. For example, three of the seven extant manuscripts of *Kamsuan Samut* (*‘Lamentations to the Sea’*), an ancient poetic travelogue (NLT: KhISs: Mss no. 148, 149, 150), have been marked as originally being from the “fallen city” of Ayutthaya in a versified preface identical in three manuscripts:

กำสรวลศรีปราชญ์ร้าง	แรมสมร
เสาะแต่ปางนคร	ลุ่มแล้ว
ไปภบไปพานกลอน	โคลงท่าน จบนนา
จวบแต่ต้นปลายแคล้ว	หนึ่งน้อยขี้มกดาฯ ฯ

Translation: The [manuscript of] the *Lamentations* of Si Prat, when he was separated from his beloved, has been sought out since the time of the Fallen City [of Ayutthaya]. I could not find the complete text, only the beginning has been found, while the latter part is lost. Thus I have borrowed this exemplar [to copy it] for the king/the prince.

On the other hand, most often we find cases where the scribes mentioned themselves in the paratexts of manuscripts as copyists, compilers, and editors, as can be seen from the earliest manuscript (dated 1782; see NLT: ASS: Ms no. 60) of Phra Horathibòdi’s *Cindamani* (literally *‘Jewel of Thought’*), a treatise on orthography and poetics of the Ayutthaya Kingdom, in which Khun Maha Sitthiwohan, a royal scribe, proclaimed himself as the editor of this text, not the author, marking the perception of the Bangkok scribes and scholars towards these earlier texts and how they differentiated them from texts newly composed in Bangkok, which would be

properly called Bangkok literature, or would be attributed by the scribes to a particular Bangkok poet. Furthermore, the text of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* was also copied and later edited by the monastic communities as well. We have a lot of extant manuscripts with paratexts written by monastic scribes, mentioning their monastic titles and merit of copying the text, as appears in the preface of a manuscript dated 1832 CE (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 81), for instance.

The practice of copying and editing Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* continued even until the early twentieth century, as the latest extant manuscript is dated in 1911 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 64). Even though the names of editors appear in some cases, most of the more than one hundred extant manuscripts still include a note that reads "Phra Horathibòdi, who formerly lived in the city of Sukhothai, composed this *Cindamani* to be presented to King Narai while he ruled over the city of Lopburi" into the main text, attributing the original text to Phra Horathibòdi, the court astrologist in the royal court of King Narai (r. 1656–1688) of Ayutthaya. With this long tradition of copying and editing lasting until the early twentieth century, Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* has become one of the most complicated cases of Ayutthaya literature transmitted into the Bangkok period.

Obviously, the surviving Ayutthaya literature was still read and studied among the early Bangkok poets, even being used as poetic models. Despite the unique characteristics of the early Bangkok literature, the influences of the Ayutthaya literature are still apparent. One famous example of Ayutthaya influences in the Bangkok literature is an early Bangkok text titled *Nirat Narin* ('*Narin's Poetic Travelogue*'), in which many allusions to *Kamsuan Samut* ('*Lamentations to the Sea*') of the Ayutthaya Kingdom are employed (see Duangmon Chitchamnong, 1991: 1–2). Furthermore, at the end of his work, the poet also compared his own lamentations to earlier similar works, namely *Kamsuan Samut* and *Thawa Thotsamat* ('[*Poem of*] *Twelve Months*'), in stanza no. 123 as follows:

กำสรวลศรีปราชญ์พร้อง	เพรงกาล
จากจุฬาลักษณ์ลาญ	สวาทแล้ว
ทวาทสมาสาร	สามทวย ถวิลเฮ
ยกทักกลางเกศแก้ว	กึ่งร้อนทรวงเรียม

(Narinthibet (In), 1970: 67)

Translation: *Lamentations* of Si Prat from the distant past, in which he left his beloved Chulalak behind. *Thawa Thotsamat*, the poem of the three poets who yearned for their beloved. I adore [both of the poems] in my mind with my burning, mourning heart.

The two poetic travelogues from the Ayutthaya Kingdom, *Kamsuan Samut* and *Thawa Thotsamat*, mentioned here in the Bangkok text, indicate that the earlier poems transmitted from the "distant past" (Th. *phreng kan* / เพรงกาล) were read by and even inspired the poets in later generations such as Narin. Even later, in the second half of the nineteenth century, some texts of Ayutthaya literature were continually read and approached in the form of traditional

manuscripts. One literary text of the nineteenth century Bangkok *Chan Chom Kudi* ('Praising the Monastic Residence') describes a monk's residence in an unspecific monastery in the capital city, in which the traditional manuscripts of classical poetry were found (see Huang, 1923) along with fascinating modern inventions and imported objects, including even printed books. The section of *Chan Chom Kudi* describing the traditional paper manuscripts mentions seven titles of literary texts, only two of which are attributed to Bangkok poets, namely Narin and Phraya Trang, whereas the other five have been widely known as Ayutthaya texts.

สมุดทั้งขาวดำ	ลิขิตคำเป็นโคลงฉันท์
นานกพากย์พัน	รพีพิชประดิษฐ์กลอน
ญวนพ่ายและกำสรวน	ศรีปราชญ์ครวญนิราสจร
จากมิ่งสุมาลย์สมร	วรลักษณ์ประจักษ์มี
พระยาตรังค์กระสันโศก	ทิวโศกสวาทศรี
เสวภาคยเทพี	จรสู่ทวยเวียง
นรินทร์นิราสโรย	จร โดยฉกลางเพียง
มรณชีพและสงเสียง	สื่อนหาสุดาเดียว
ทวาทสมาสสาม	อุระโศกกระสันเสียว
พึงเพราะเสนาะเทียว	สุรถ้อยที่พจนา
สมุดฉันทกัณฑ์หลายชุด	อนิรุทธสมญา
บุณโณวาทสูตรา	เสนาะใดจะเปรียบปาน

(Huang, 1923: 6)

Translation: Both white and blackened paper manuscripts of all the poetry in various meters [are housed in the room]: *Yuan Phai* and *Kamsuan*, in which Si Prat lamented to his beloved, the poems of Phraya Trang (*Nirat Phraya Trang*) who bewails having to abandon his fair lady for a trip to Tavoy. The poems of Narin (*Nirat Narin*) who traveled to Thalang with a broken heart, yearning for his lover. *Thawa Thotsamat*, in which the three poets mourn woefully and present this beautiful sounding piece of poetry. Many volumes of *chan* poetry are entitled *Anirut*, as well as *Bunnowat Sutta*, which is incomparably beautiful to listen to.

The description above demonstrates that many of the Ayutthaya texts, or five texts mentioned here: *Yuan Phai*, *Kamsuan Samut*, *Thawa Thotsamat*, *Anirut Kham Chan*, and *Bunnowat Kham Chan*, were widely known and could have been seen among the monasteries in the form of traditional manuscripts even in the second half of the nineteenth century despite the availability of printed books. The survival of Ayutthaya literary texts in the Bangkok period implies a considerably strong tradition, in which the texts were still considered significant and were therefore further reproduced for certain purposes, even though several centuries had passed since the time of their original composition.

However, the literature of Ayutthaya survived under the condition that most of the literary sources of Ayutthaya literature we do have nowadays are based mainly on the

manuscripts produced during the Bangkok period, while the hardly any originals have survived from the Ayutthaya era (Sumalee Weerawong, 2015: 261), except in a few rare cases. None of them, as in the cases of the early texts in the other manuscript cultures elsewhere (Maas, 1958: 1), can be proved to be the original manuscript. Furthermore, in the Bangkok period alone, the literary evidence of the surviving Ayutthaya literature retains complex and dynamic features due to the scribal practices of copying, emending, compiling, and editing in a process called manuscript transmission, by which the texts have been conveyed from one party to another (Beal, 2009: 420) mainly in the form of traditional manuscripts. The apparent role of scribes in emending and editing texts is considered to be a natural part of the transmission of Thai literature (Trisilpa Boonkhachorn, 1987: 19, 28). Despite this, scribes as agents of textual transmission have remained understudied in the Thai literary sphere.

As a result of this situation pertaining to literary sources and its transmission, it can be argued that none of the Ayutthaya literary texts have survived in their “pure original form” (Eoseewong, 2005: 5). The researchers and students of Ayutthaya literature in different fields such as literary studies, historical linguistics, history, as well as cultural and intellectual history, must depend much on the critical assessment of manuscripts (Ibid.) in order to investigate the changes made by the scribes and to reach a satisfying reading of the text. However, it seems that, at the time of this writing, we have neither significant critical editions nor any other philological research on the Ayutthaya literature. Correspondingly, many authoritative editions of Ayutthaya literary texts do not provide much information on manuscript sources, their transmission history, or the editorial procedure (see Krom Sinlapakòn, 1986a–c; 1997; 2002a–b), so as to cultivate a better sense of awareness for modern readers.

It is noteworthy, nonetheless, that the original forms of texts do not reflect necessarily the only approach for studying Ayutthaya literature, especially given the conditions of the literary evidence at hand. In fact, if one reads the texts of Ayutthaya in order to perceive the meaning and its function in the Ayutthaya period, then the original forms must be considered and carefully approached with the help of critical editions and their critical apparatuses. It should also be noted that we cannot overlook the dynamic features bound to occur in texts that have been transmitted within the manuscript culture before they found their forms as we know them today in their printed editions. This state of manuscript transmission of Ayutthaya literature, which stands between the original composition and the printed editions, can reveal how the texts of Ayutthaya were transmitted in the Bangkok period, as well as how they were read and perceived by the readers, scribes and scholars of Bangkok. This dynamic aspect of the social life of texts should not be disregarded when approaching Ayutthaya literature.

On the one hand, the study of textual transmission, especially in the context of textual criticism, can be conducted via an investigation of scribal errors, interference, and adaptation of texts among different manuscripts, in order to trace back a text and perhaps to an earlier state and establish the probable nature of the original text if it is no longer available (Beal, 2009:

420). On the other hand, for the study of textual culture, textual transmission can reveal the dynamics of textual reception in later periods and even the interaction between texts and readers in different periods as well as in different cultures. Sometimes within the process of transmission, some texts can be transformed into other literary or artistic forms and even can be translated into other languages (Wallis and Wisnovsky, 2018: 1–2). Hence, the study of textual transmission does not necessarily aim at tracing back to the earlier state of texts, but instead aims to understand the later state of texts, their development, as well as their social contexts based on varying temporal and geographic aspects. Ignoring this textual transmission, one could easily dismiss all the complicated dynamics present and, for instance, mistake the texts in their state of the Bangkok period as an earlier version.

Comparably, the written texts from ancient, “classical,” and medieval cultures such as in Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, or Old English, originally created in the traditional period long before the dawn of printing technology, have survived into the modern period thanks to the continual textual transmission by scribes and scholars throughout the ages (Bodmer, 1961: 17; Katre, 1954: 24; Pöhlmann, 2003: 1). While the history of textual transmission has long been studied and been advanced among the fields of classics (Reynolds and Wilson, 2013: vi), the topic is still very understudied in the field of Thai literature, despite the shorter history of Thai literacy in comparison to the more than two millennia of Greek and Latin textual transmission. Among the texts from the traditional periods of Thai history, the literature of the Ayutthaya Kingdom has constituted a core of the classical Thai literature, being studied as poetic models for poets in the later generations even until nowadays, praised as the poetic gems of Thai vernacular, and also perceived as an essential part of Thailand’s national literature (see Krom Sinlapakòn, 2018b). However, knowledge of the manuscripts of the Ayutthaya literary texts and their transmission has never been developed, and the role and identity of the scribes as agents of textual transmission has yet to be researched. This study, thus, embarks on an attempt to point out the complexity of the textual transmission of the Ayutthaya literature, as well as to understand the Siamese manuscript culture which underlies the transmission of these texts.

The term transmission, as suggested by Wallis and Wisnovsky (2018: 1), can connote the sense that the texts have been transmitted “across time” and “across sibling cultures”. In order to shed new light on Ayutthaya literature and its milieu in the later period, this study focuses mainly on the process of transmission across time, namely, that of Ayutthaya literature in the Bangkok period, with its aim of answering the key question: to what extent did the Bangkok scribes and scholars take their parts in transmitting the texts of Ayutthaya literature? By answering this question, the scribal paratexts from the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature will be employed as the main source. This study, in a way, is also an attempt to fill the gap in the literary history of Ayutthaya literature, the transmission of which has been dismissed after the original composition of the texts, in order to reach a better understanding and awareness of the “nature” of these texts with the help of primary evidence from manuscripts, as well as to

provide more philological background for the further study of Ayutthaya literature, as the group of texts from this period are highly revered for their importance in forming and informing the classical and national literature of Thailand.

1.2 Previous Scholarship on Ayutthaya Literature

Some of the Ayutthaya literary texts were printed for the first time as *editio princeps* during the late nineteenth century by private printing houses such as Dr. Smith's Printing House, who also published the very first printed edition of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* in 1870. The early printed editions were based mainly on the manuscripts available at that time. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the editorial process has been undertaken by the official authority as the Wachirayan Royal Library, which has served as the national manuscript collection since its inception. The Wachirayan editions of Ayutthaya texts, as well as the classical texts from other periods, have been proposed by the scholars of the library, presided over by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab (1862–1943), who consulted the manuscripts kept at the library in the early twentieth century and provided an introduction to each text, explaining the texts' history, author, date, and manuscripts, as well as the editorial process. The Wachirayan editions of Thai literature have been widely accepted by readers as the standard editions with useful introductions to guide understanding. The introductions in the Wachirayan editions can be taken to be the pioneering scholarly works on Ayutthaya literature, as they have been widely cited by scholars of later generations and are often referred to as “classics” (Jory, 2000: 371).

After the 1932 revolution, which marked the political transformation from the absolute monarchy to the constitutional monarchy of Thailand in 1932, the task for editing the classical texts fell upon the Fine Arts Department (Th. *krom sinlapakòn*), a governmental department with its various tasks on cultural heritage conservation. The Fine Arts Department proposed the new editions, usually edited by Dhanit Yupho (1907–2004), head of the department from 1956–1968, along with adapting the Wachirayan editions. In 1986, the Fine Arts Department published *the Anthology of Ayutthaya Literature* (Th. *Wannakam Samai Ayutthaya*) in three volumes (reprinted in 1997, 2002a–b), covering 33 texts which are scholarly accepted as constituting the Ayutthaya literature. The anthology has been widely accepted as the authoritative edition, widely cited and employed for researches by scholars through the present. Furthermore, quite recently, the Fine Arts Department also published more texts other than what included in these three volumes, most of which were edited by Boontuen Sriworapot. Some of them have been perceived by the editor as Ayutthaya texts, for example, *Nirat Ton Thang Farangset* ‘Poetic Travelogue to France’ (Pridi Phitphumwithi, 2001), *Sawat Klòn Suat* ‘[Tale of] Sawat in Klòn Suat Meter’ (Boontuen Sriworapot, 2005b), and *Trai Phum* ‘Treatise of the Three Worlds’ (2011).

Although the authoritative editions of Ayutthaya literature have been made available and widely accessible by the Fine Arts Department, the information on the manuscripts, transmission history, as well as the editorial process has not received much mention or been updated other than the introductions from the earlier Wachirayan and Fine Arts Department editions. For example, Dhanit Yupho, the editor of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani*, provided information on nine manuscripts in a discussion on the recensions of the text in his introductory article entitled *Notes on Cindamani* (see Dhanit Yupho, 2015: 15–19, 22–24). Nevertheless, there are more than one hundred manuscripts of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* found in the National Library of Thailand nowadays. The quantity of the extant manuscripts is very different from the information provided by Dhanit Yupho in 1942, due to the fact that the National Library continued to acquire new manuscripts from many different sources after the period in which Dhanit Yupho conducted his edition. Therefore, modern scholars who have no access to the actual manuscripts cannot question or make any arguments concerning the literary sources; they must depend on the printed editions alone. As a result, the research on Ayutthaya literature, based on the printed editions of the Fine Arts Department, has focused mainly on the literary history, their content and literary styles, rather than addressing philological questions such as those regarding the manuscripts and their transmission.

In addition, it is to be noted that, of all the available editions out there, a critical edition of Ayutthaya literature, in which the problems of manuscripts and their transmission have been sufficiently discussed and a critical apparatus has been systematically offered, is still a rare find in the Thai literary sphere. Among the three volumes of the Fine Arts Department's *Anthology of Ayutthaya Literature*, only a few texts have been provided with a critical apparatus, namely, *Anirut Kham Chan* '[Tale of] *Anirut in Kham Chan Meter*', *Süa Kho Kham Chan* '[Tale of] *the Tiger and the Cow*', *Thawa Thotsamat* '[Poem of] *Twelve Months*', and *Bunnowat Kham Chan* '*Legend of the Buddha's Footprint in Kham Chan Meter*', all done by scholars of the Department (i.e. Rit Rueangrit) in the 1980's. Even though some textual critical research on Ayutthaya literature has been proposed at times, for instance, by Wudhichai Kosolkajana (1988) who proposed a critical edition of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* '*Oath of Allegiance on Water*' with a discussion of the manuscript transmission of the text along with a stemma diagram, the textual studies for other Ayutthaya texts do not provide a comprehensive overview of the Ayutthaya manuscripts and textual transmission. Furthermore, the discussion of the manuscripts and textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature has not been included in the study of Thai literary history either.

Usually, works on the history of Ayutthaya literature, from school and university textbooks to research works on the topic, pay a lot of attention to the historical background, the author's biography, literary elements, synoptic information about each particular text, as well as their literary significance and influence, whereas the discussion of literary sources and

transmission is seldom covered². Even the more recent volume of the Fine Arts Department's *National Literature Volume II* (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2018b), which aims to offer a more recent history of the early Ayutthaya literature and also includes more unrecognized texts from Ayutthaya, still follows the same structure. The history of Ayutthaya literature in these works is offered as a part of the entire Thai literary history, which comprises the Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, Thonburi, and Bangkok periods.

Furthermore, the academic works in the field of literary studies, corresponding to the works of history of Ayutthaya literature, emphasize mainly the literary elements, the language and styles used, the author's biography, the content, the unity of each work, and discussions of literary characteristics and influences from a specific period of Ayutthaya literature. Some examples are Nitaya Kanchanawan's *Ayutthaya Literature* (1978), Cholada Ruengruglikit's *The Early Ayudhya Poetry: Characteristics and Influence* (2001, reprinted 2004), and Natthawut Khlaisuwan's *Literature in Later Ayutthaya* (2016). These academic works succeed in describing the literary and historical background, the literary characteristics of the period, and the influence on later works. However, the issue of manuscript sources and the history of textual transmission are left completely unmentioned. One aspect that has unfortunately been ignored is that the texts of Ayutthaya all have their post-Ayutthaya existence and development in the hands of the Bangkok scribes and scholars, as most of the researches on literary history of Ayutthaya literature mainly aim to understand the texts in their original state rather than their later history.

Many scholars have very different opinions regarding the periodization of Ayutthaya literature. As a result, it has become controversial, particularly for several texts, as some are doubted to even have been written in Ayutthaya at all. Cholada (2001), for instance, thoroughly compared the literary styles of Ayutthaya poetry and concluded that eight texts should properly be taken as part of the early Ayutthaya literature (before 1569), while the school textbook proposed by the Ministry of Education in 2007 has included only three of them for the early period and attributed the other five texts to the reign of King Narai, the period known as the middle Ayutthaya period (see Sukhon Duangphaktra, 2007). Furthermore, a text recently proposed by the Fine Arts Department as Ayutthaya literature, *Ton Thang Farangset*, has sometimes been questioned with regards to its Ayutthaya origin, due to the words and meters employed (see Sumalee Weerawong, 2015: 254–255; Yuphorn Saengthaksin, 2004: 46–49). This problem of dating determines the scope of the Ayutthaya literary texts, but still needs to be discussed among scholars. It is noticeable that the textual elements, such as literary styles, word choices, and poetic forms, have been often employed as the source of evidence for determining the date of Ayutthaya literature, while the paratextual elements, which reflect the

² See the various textbooks on Thai literary history, notably, Jumsai (1973); Phichit Akkhanit (1993); Pluang Na Nagara (2001); Priya Hiranpradit et al (1990); Saksri Yaemnadda et al (1988); Schweisguth (1951); Sukhon Duangphaktra (2007); Wannao Yuden (1984); Wenk (1992); Worawetphisit (1953).

scribe's view and knowledge, have been considered less significant and often too spurious in their accuracy to be used for determining the date of the original composition.

Even though most of the scholarly works on Ayutthaya literature mainly discuss the texts themselves rather than their extant manuscripts and the textual transmission through manuscripts, the most comprehensive remarks on literary evidence for Ayutthaya literature have been given by Sumalee Weerawong in her article entitled *Remarks on Development of Language and Culture of the Late Ayutthaya Literature in Oral Narratives and Written Literature* (2015), which points out a number of significant aspects regarding Ayutthaya literary sources, and presents conditions undeniable to modern scholars:

เราไม่มี “ต้นฉบับเดิมแท้” ที่พิสูจน์ได้ว่าเป็น “ลายมือเขียนของผู้แต่ง” จริงเลยแม้แต่ฉบับเดียว แม้แต่ฉบับที่มีรายละเอียดระบุชื่อผู้แต่งชัดเจนอย่างงานนิพนธ์ของเจ้าฟ้าธรรมาธิเบศร์ ก็เป็นลายมือเขียนของผู้อื่น ซึ่งน่าจะเป็นอาลักษณ์หรือเสมียนที่เลือกใช้งานเขียนอื่นๆ ของผู้อื่น เช่น โคลงกวีโบราณ ซึ่งพระยาธรรมาธิเบศร์ก็น่าจะเป็นลายมือของผู้คัดลอกมากกว่าตัวท่านเอง [...] เรื่องใดมีคนชื่นชอบมากก็จะมีฉบับลายลักษณ์หลายฉบับ ซึ่งมักไม่มีฉบับใดครบถ้วนทั้งเรื่อง ทั้งนี้อาจเป็นไปได้ว่าผู้สืบลับบับอาจคัดไว้แต่เท่าที่พอใจหรือจำเป็นต้องใช้หรือฉบับขาดสูญเพราะปัญหาในการเก็บรักษา [...]

วรรณคดีไทยยุคเก่าถือกำเนิดและพัฒนาสืบสานมาในวัฒนธรรมมุขปาฐะอาศัยวาจาในการแต่ง และอาศัยความทรงจำทั้งของผู้แต่งและผู้ฟังในการสืบทอดสาร ใช้ลายลักษณ์สืบฉบับแต่ในวงจำกัดของผู้รู้หนังสือ ซึ่งส่วนมากก็ยังใช้วิธีบอกด้วยวาจาให้ศิษย์หาหรืออาลักษณ์ช่วยเขียนอยู่นั่นเอง ผลก็คือความเพี้ยนในอักขรวิธีเกิดขึ้นได้ตั้งแต่ฉบับต้นเดิม

(Sumalee Weerawong, 2015: 216)

Translation: We do not have any single “original autograph” that can be proved to be the author's handwriting. Even the manuscript that clearly mentions the author as in the work by Prince Thammathibet is actually supposed to be the handwriting of another, possibly clerks or scribes being assigned to the task. Other works like *the Collection of Ancient Poems*, which Phraya Trang has collected, might have also been handwritten by another scribe rather than Phraya Trang himself. [...] The texts which have been popular among readers appear in many copies, which are always incomplete. In these cases, it is possible that the scribes made copies only for those parts they wanted or needed, or the exemplar was damaged because of the condition of preservation [...]

Traditional Thai literature was created and developed within an oral tradition, composed orally and preserved by memory, only seldom being preserved onto handwritten manuscripts and only among the limited literate. Principally, the literate gave dictation to their pupils or scribes to write down. The result is that orthographic variation can occur even in the original manuscripts.

All the points concerning the manuscripts and transmission mentioned above are not only applicable to the late Ayutthaya literature, but also to all works of traditional Thai literature

before the arrival of printing technology. Furthermore, Sumalee Weerawong (2015: 217–222) also discusses three periods with differing editorial processes in Thai literature, namely:

1. First Phase (1782–the mid-19th century)

This first phase started after the fall of Ayutthaya in the Thonburi period, in which King Taksin had the Buddhist texts collected to the new capital, and continued towards the Bangkok period, covering the literary restoration of King Rama I, and also other literary phenomena in the royal court in which the later kings (i.e. Rama II and Rama III) ordered the royal poets, scribes, and scholars to compile and edit the texts of Ayutthaya. This phase, thus, can be taken as the editorial process in the traditional period.

2. Second Phase (the mid-19th century–ca.1945)

The second phase is a result of the printing technology and modern ideas of editing texts. A number of Ayutthaya literary texts were edited and published under the Wachirayan Royal Library, in order to establish the modern knowledge on history, culture and literature of the modern nation state. The texts of the Wachirayan editions are always accompanied by introductions.

3. Third Phase (ca. 1982–present)

This contemporary phase of editing Ayutthaya texts has been dominated by the Fine Arts Department and the Royal Institute. The Fine Arts Department continues to publish more Ayutthaya texts which have so far been unknown and only recently recognized, while the Royal Institute aims to publish the literary lexica of each particular text starting from the early Ayutthaya period.

The remarks raised by Sumalee Weerawong here can be considered as a sign of an increasing awareness regarding the relationship between text and source, which all students and readers of Ayutthaya texts should keep in mind, especially when the scribes and scholars of the Bangkok era, the producing agents of the most primary source surviving to us, i.e. the actors during the first editorial process, played such an important role in editing the texts. However, the main part of this article emphasizes the characteristics of late Ayutthaya literary texts over their transmission into later periods, and unfortunately does not aim to provide any extensive discussion of the primary sources of each text. A deeper discussion or even an overview of the manuscripts and transmission of Ayutthaya literature in the traditional period, or the first phase of the editorial processes mentioned by Sumalee Weerawong above, has thus been left unexplored.

Considering the studies of the texts in neighboring cultures to the Siamese kingdom, such as Lan Na in the northern part of Thailand, we find more philological studies conducted on Lan Na literature than on classical Siamese texts. Despite the fact that the Lan Na texts have

not been made available by the official authorities, the critical editions of the Lan Na literary texts using the Paul Maas method have been widely circulated since 1985 (see Harald Hundius, 1985; Udom Rungrueangsri, 1985). These editions were issued mainly by scholars of Chiang Mai University and Silpakorn University both for Pali texts and vernacular Lan Na texts. The studies on Lan Na manuscript culture have made advancements with their investigation of manuscripts and their paratexts, as the studies on colophons of Lan Na palm-leaf manuscripts by Hundius (1990) and von Hinüber (1996) have shed new light on the production of the manuscripts and the transmission of texts. Furthermore, research by Daniel M. Veidlinger (2006) on the textual transmission of Buddhist texts in Northern Thailand has also offered an overview on how the canonical texts have been transmitted through orality and literacy among the Lan Na Buddhist communities, revealing many significant aspects on Lan Na manuscript culture, including scribal culture.

On the other hand, the manuscripts and their transmission of Ayutthaya literature has remained yet another *terra incognita* in the Thai literary sphere, still left unsurveyed, forgotten, and even “mysterious” in many cases, as we still do not exactly know how many manuscripts came to be available for any particular text. Especially the transmission of Ayutthaya literature in the early Bangkok period can be considered significant within the entire history of transmission and seems to be a key to understanding how the Ayutthaya literary texts came to exist and be developed within the Bangkok manuscript culture. Such an inquiry should, more or less, expand the horizon of philological knowledge in the Thai literary sphere. It stresses that while the academic interest in the ways communication technologies affect both the texts that are transmitted and the ways they are received has been growing among the scholarship on different cultures during the last few decades (Veidlinger, 2006: 4), a deeper study of the topic has yet to be seriously undertaken for the case of classical Siamese literature.

1.3 Scope of Study

With its aim of analyzing the manuscript transmission of Ayutthaya literature in the Bangkok period, as well as providing updated information on Ayutthaya literary sources, this study presents the scribal paratexts of the selected texts of Ayutthaya literature along with their content, structure, and functions as the primary subject of investigation. Then the scribal paratexts will be brought into further conversation with other historical sources in order to trace the context of transmission, namely, the place and time of textual transmission, and the identity and roles of the Bangkok scribes and scholars. In the last part of this study, the texts in transmission will be presented in different transmission modes: copying, rewriting, editing, and collection creation. This part aims to point out the complexity and variety appearing in the transmission of Ayutthaya literature in the Bangkok period, rather than to propose an exact stemma for any particular text.

The texts written in the Ayutthaya period covering various genres and literary forms ranging from prose to verse in Pali and Thai languages still appear in large numbers that obviously cannot be studied only by a single researcher. Therefore, so as to emphasize on the Siamese manuscript culture of vernacular poetry rather than of the prose or of the canonical tradition, only the main part of Ayutthaya poetry, either in monolingual Thai vernacular or in bilingual Pali-Thai, transmitted in the form of traditional manuscripts, will be included in this study.

Poetic texts have long been considered to be the core of Ayutthaya literature, as a number of textbooks and research works on Ayutthaya literary history attest. Most often these are texts which have survived in various genres and hold significance and influence for the literature in later periods, aside from prose. Sometimes scholars even use the term Ayutthaya literature (Th. *wannakhadi ayutthaya*) as a synonym for Ayutthaya poetry³. Undeniably, the study of poetry has dominated the field of Ayutthaya literature, and thus to understand Ayutthaya literature without poetry has become impossible. Correspondingly, focusing on the transmission of poetry texts of Ayutthaya in this study might provide a good starting point for comprehending an overview of the transmission of Ayutthaya poetry, the academically perceived essence of Ayutthaya literature, which will hopefully allow for later expansion of the study to prose texts such as legal texts, secular treatises, treatises on Buddhist cosmology, chronicles, and other administrative documents. Although the various types of prose texts also reflect a long manuscript tradition, this study will focus mainly on poetry due to its strong position within the literature of Ayutthaya.

This study aims to include as many of the the titles of poetry mentioned as Ayutthaya texts as possible. The texts have survived in the form of traditional manuscripts, namely *khò*-paper manuscripts and palm-leaf manuscripts. Texts which have survived only in the form of Western paper manuscripts, typescripts and printed books will be excluded, as well as texts transmitted purely in oral tradition without any manuscripts being found. The genres of the texts being studied cover royal eulogy, ceremonial poetry, poetic tales (inspired by *Jātaka*, mythology and folktales), poetic travelogues, didactic poems, love letters, as well as the treatise on orthography and poetics. Although the texts of poetic treatises sometimes include prose along with verse, the tradition of poetic treatises has long been closely related to the tradition of poetry, and thus would also offer us an insight into the transmission of Ayutthaya poetry. However, this study cannot cover all the genres of poetry, especially performance texts (i.e. *khon*, *lakhòn nai* and *lakhòn nòk*) and *klòn suat* poetry ('chanting poems'). Both genres have strongly been connected with oral performance and have survived in a large amount of manuscripts with an unknown total number. Due to their complicated nature, these two genres

³ For example, the title of Cholada Ruengruglikit's work (2001) in Thai *Wannakhadi Ayutthaya Tòn Ton: Laksana Ruam Lae Itthiphon* has been officially translated into English as "the Early Ayudhya Poetry: Characteristics and Influence".

of Ayutthaya poetry should be studied separately, in order to understand their manuscript transmission along with the performing tradition.

Finally, texts originally composed and transmitted in manuscript cultures other than the Siamese (i.e. Lan Na, Lao), though contemporary to the Ayutthaya period, will not be included.

1.4 Theoretical Framework on Orality and Literacy

1.4.1 Writing as a Technology

Transmission of any knowledge, including that of texts, is a part of four stages of sign usage in human communication (Assmann, 2012: 57) in which the oral technique and the medium of writing have been employed for handing down the knowledge to successive generations. Writing is a technology created by humans and, like other communication technologies, is a significant communication tool which has heavily influenced human society and social development for millennia (Finnegan, 1988: 15). Writing conveys a message through a chirographic system signifying verbal utterances of a human language with the help of a writing support, such as paper, palm-leaf, parchment, etc., for bearing the writing in a durable condition. Manuscripts thus can be only considered as a consequence of literacy, and inevitably tied very close to chirographic or written culture.

In a purely oral society, knowledge and lore can be stored only in memory and require direct contacts to people or two-way communication in order to be orally and aurally transmitted. Any knowledge and lore, if not properly organized for memorization, risks being forgotten. Formulaic patterns are one of the techniques used in an oral society to render the creation of the long epic such as *Iliad* and *Odyssey* possible for transmission before the arrival of writing technology. This oral technique is also found in epics, songs, and tales in many different oral cultures (see Ong, 2012: 20–26). Furthermore, Walter J. Ong (2012: 8–9) has pointed out that without the help of writing, abstract thought cannot even be developed, and all knowledge cannot really be structured or studied. The way people in oral societies perceived and perceive the world, psychologically and philosophically, is very different from that of people acquainted with chirographic culture like in our present day. Based on the absence of writing, Ong has also studied some characteristics of oral-based thought and expression. For instance, the expression in the pure oral tradition tends to be less abstract, related to the human lifeworld rather than the distant world, and situational rather than general (2012: 42–43). The absence of writing, furthermore, makes any transmission of experience and knowledge far from the audience's impossible. With knowledge stored merely in memory, the oral tradition tends to be homeostatic in the sense that any knowledge and lore considered unnecessary would be easily substituted by the necessary (Goody and Watt, 1968: 30–34; Ong, 2012: 46–49). This condition changed as soon as writing came into use as a cultural technique.

Writing emerged in Mesopotamia circa 3200–3000 BCE (Michalowski, 1996: 33), in Egypt around 3100–3000 BCE (Davies, 1990: 82; Ritner, 1996: 73), and in China in the second half of the second millennium BCE (Boltz, 1996: 191), mainly for political, economic, and religious purposes (Ong, 2012: 85). The urbanization among these ancient civilizations relied a lot on bureaucracy and trade, which were organized via written records. Writing puts law, accounts, and contracts into a visible and durable form, creating a context-free discourse in which the distance between reader and author appears both in terms of time and space (2012: 77). At the beginning, writing was created to be an aid of human memory, an extension of human efficiency to cope with the limitation of human nature, rather than as an autonomous and independent mode of communication (Goody and Watt, 1968: 40). Nevertheless, literacy has gradually diffused into society over many centuries, shaping human consciousness in many aspects (Ong, 2012: 81). While all oral communication is evanescent and requires a direct contact for communication, writing, on the other hand, establishes a permanence to verbal expression, creating possibility for precise communication at a greater distance, especially for lengthy and complex statements, which makes bureaucracy, as well as abstract reasoning, possible (Finnegan, 1988: 17–19), while at the same time creating a historical sense of time, an awareness of a difference between past and present (Crain, 2009: 470–471; Goody and Watt, 1968: 56). The technology of writing is thus relevant both for the transmission of accumulated knowledge from one generation to another and for contact between different cultures (Finnegan, 1988: 22).

Literacy in early traditional societies has been often described as “restricted literacy” (Goody, 1968: 11; Goody and Watt, 1968: 34–42) in the sense that the knowledge and use of writing was restricted to some specific group of people, a small portion of the entire population. In Sumerian and Assyrian cultures, for instance, writing was perceived as having magical and ritualistic power, meaning it mostly circulated among the priests. On the other hand, writing has also been developed as a craft and skill, and eventually a trade for scribes. This concept dominated writing production in ancient civilizations. Furthermore, the invention of writing also requires the invention of equipment to be employed as writing supports, writing materials, as well as a writing substance, from clay tablets, stone slabs, and papyrus, to stylus and ink. Each particular writing equipment also requires professional preparation in turning natural material into proper equipment for writing. Inevitably, the restrictions on these writing utensils also determined the restriction of literacy in many early writing cultures.

The system of early writing itself was another factor that debarred the spread of literacy to different classes of people. Many different writing systems were developed in antiquity, even pictographic and ideographic systems, which did not primarily correspond to spoken sounds. As a result, the process of learning these ancient writing systems like cuneiforms and hieroglyphs took and takes much study time in order to attain mastery. The condition is still the same in the case of the Chinese writing system nowadays (Ong, 2012: 90–91). However,

the Greek alphabet took the next great step for world writing systems. Adapted from the syllabic writing system of Phoenician, a Semitic ethnic group in the ancient Near East, the Greek alphabet, firstly emerging around the eighth century BCE (Threatte, 1996: 271), divided sound elements into consonants and vowels, rendering all sound units in language visible (Ong, 2012: 90). The letters for vowels can also be considered a Greek invention, as in all the Semitic syllabic writing systems, vowels have always been omitted. The system of the Greek alphabet made its writing directly correspond to the pronounced sounds. Thus some scholars have argued Greek alphabet to be a democratizing writing system in the sense that the Greek alphabet was simpler for learning and made literacy more widely spread (Ong, 2012: 90), at least among the freemen, a precondition for the development of Greek democracy and philosophy in Athens around 500 BCE (Goody and Watt, 1968: 55).

Although Greek literacy in classical Athens (5th century BCE) had already spread among the Greek freemen and diffused into Attic society, a persistence against writing still appeared in Plato's works. In *Phaedrus*, for example, Socrates made his famous critiques on writing, viewing it as a threat to memory and as a weak imitation of true knowledge (Plato, 2002: 68–70). These criticisms strongly reflect the oral residue in the Greek society three centuries after the Greek alphabet had already begun to be used (Ong, 2012: 78–80). Eric Havelock (1986) has clarified this state between the purely oral and the literate societies with which Greek in classical Athens was confronted. Writing inevitably prepared the Greek consciousness to develop abstract ideas. Although Plato, a man belonging to the society in which literacy was still a new invention, praised, through Socrates, orality over literacy, the complicated ideas discussed in his Platonic dialogues became possible only with writing. In any case, Plato's texts have been transmitted in the form of writing since the classical period.

While literacy, with the help of an alphabetic system, had been widely diffused into the Greek society, and then in the Roman society, where the Greek alphabet was adopted into another alphabetic writing system known as the Roman alphabet, literacy in many ancient writing cultures was still restricted to a limited group or class of people. In ancient India, writing was also limited to the upper castes such as *brāhmins* ('priests, lawgivers and scholars') and *kṣatriyas* ('rulers and warriors'). The caste of merchants or *vaiśya* is supposed to have known and benefited from writing without having mastered it, while the lower castes, *śūdra* and *caṇḍāla* were excluded from the traditional system of literacy (Gough, 1968: 70–71). The writings in ancient India were never even close to being pictographic or ideographic, save the Indus writing which remains undeciphered, instead using a mixture between syllabic and alphabetic systems known by modern linguists as an "abugida," a type of phonographic writing in which vowels are typically written as diacritics over or below consonants and one vowel – usually the /a/ vowel in Sanskrit and other Indic languages – is not written (Rogers, 2005: 221–222, 289).

Except for the cases of the undeciphered Indus script and the Aramaic-influenced Kharosthi script, all the writing systems widely used in ancient India have evolved from the Brahmi script used in the inscriptions of King Aśoka in the third century BCE, thus being called “the Aśokan Brahmi”, the writing which is the origin of all other scripts in India (i.e. Nagari, Grantha) and in Southeast Asia (i.e. Mon, Khmer), including the Thai script (Diller, 1996: 458). The name of the script “Brahmi” might also suggest the sacred origin of the script in relation to the god Brahman (von Hinüber, 1989: 59). Although the Aśokan inscriptions in the third century BCE have been widely regarded as the beginning of writing in ancient India (von Hinüber, 1989: 10–11), clues of writing can also be found in earlier periods, though they heavily feature the primacy of orality (Falk, 1993: 324). The use of writing in India was probably for the aid of memory, as the word *akṣara* (literally ‘imperishable’; Pali *akkhara*), a Sanskrit word for script, implies durability through its etymology. Even though the abugida writing in ancient India was not as complicated as pictographic and ideographic systems and rather close to an alphabetic system, the literacy in ancient India never spread like in Greek and Roman society, instead remaining restricted to a single group of people for a very long time.

Manuscripts as objects related to the complicated technology of writing are employed in different usages and functions. Veidlinger (2006: 5) mentions two main usages of manuscripts in religious contexts, namely discursive and cultic. The discursive, or textual, usage apparently served as the main function of manuscripts when manuscripts were produced for preserving and transmitting written texts. However, the cultic usage of manuscripts can be commonly found in rituals. In this case, a manuscript is taken as a sacred object, sometimes being worshipped on its own without any direct textual use. In addition, the other non-textual usages of manuscript, other than cultic, are still found in many cultures. For example, a manuscript can also be used as a symbol signifying the social status of the owner, as well as an art object and decoration (see Watson, 2009: 483–491). It can be argued that a manuscript with its common definition as a carrier of text still maintains complex aspects in usages and functions related closely to its social and cultural context.

Writing reached a more advanced state with the arrival of printing technology and became more internalized in humans’ consciousness and unconsciousness, as the printing press made the production of writing into a mass production. Its influence is historically unparalleled. When the printing press was invented by Johann Gutenberg in Mainz (Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany) in the fifteenth century and then brought to Italy, it began the Italian renaissance with eventually spread to all other European cultures (Eisenstein, 1979 mentioned in Ong, 2012: 115). Printing not only allows the transmission of texts in mass production, but also permits the exact reproduction of writing, graphics and illustrations in a way that was impossible for manuscript production. Every single copy of a manuscript is a unique product, even in the case that a particular text has been copied more than once by an identical scribe. On the other hand, all books reproduced by a printing press are identical. This condition of mass and precise

reproduction further opened the doors of compiling well-structured knowledge and organizing complicated texts such as dictionaries, charts, tables, and maps. In addition, the printed version of a text also established the finality of a text, representing the most correct and authoritative version. Simultaneously, printing technology created more distance between readers and authors than manuscript culture ever could, leading to the tendency of silent reading (Ong, 2012: 127–131). In the context of printing technology, literacy has not mainly been an extension or an aid to oral communication anymore, but rather found its way to another separate function, distant from oral communication.

To continue further along the timeline of human writing would inevitably lead us closer and closer to the present day, in which literacy pervades modern society so much that it is often taken for granted. As this thesis is focused more on the function of manuscripts in Siam prior to the printing era's arrival, let us quickly conclude communication technologies such as writing in manuscripts and print have had massive effects on human society over the millennia and centuries, respectively. The dynamics of the communication technology of writing, as well as the use of manuscripts as a communication tool, will be considered in this study in terms of their psychodynamic effects and their functions in social and cultural contexts, particularly in Siam from the eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries.

1.4.2 Orality and Literacy in Textual Transmission

Even though manuscript transmission is based on a literate culture, the polarity between orality and literacy cannot be simply taken as a binary opposition in the study of textual transmission, as one must realize that orality was never immediately and absolutely substituted by literacy, instead persisting to play important roles in textual transmission in many manuscript cultures. The theoretical discussion on orality and literacy has been widely developed in the field of cultural media studies during the last few decades. Even though literary studies in Thailand has been dominated much by written texts, especially in the form of printed editions, many scholars are beginning to conclude that the relationship between orality and literacy in Siamese textual transmission appears to be complex and cannot simply be overlooked. Thereby, the theory on orality and literacy will be further adapted for contemplating on textual transmission as a method of communication in the traditional society.

Formerly, scholars had long perceived purely oral culture, or a culture untouched by writing, as more primitive, and prioritized the written culture and written production of texts. Thus, oral textual creation has been often taken as a variation of written production and as undeserving of serious scholarly attention (Ong, 2012: 8). Only after the extensive scholarly discussion of the so-called Homeric Questions, the questions on the life of Homer, his composition and transmission of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (see Cline, 2013; Nagy, 1996), did the topic of orality and literacy again gain academic attention. A study by Milman Parry in the 1930s discovered that the texts of both Homeric epics were woven with a number of formulae, namely

for epithets of characters and cities, as well as for describing actions of characters (Ong, 2012: 20–26). These formulaic patterns were not only chosen to be used by their meaning, but the formulae all fit the meter as well, being easily reproduced and recalled in dactylic hexameter. These hexametric formulae have been employed as a mnemonic technique for the Greek bards before the texts of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* found themselves in their written forms around the eighth century BCE, several centuries after their original oral form, with a number of formulae as a result of their oral origin.

Despite the presence and consequence of literacy, the transmission of knowledge and texts in different traditional societies has still been strongly dominated by orality, a situation which Ong has called a result of “oral residue”. In Western manuscript cultures, the texts, despite being preserved in written forms, were approached orally and aurally through the tradition of reading aloud in public until the nineteenth century (Ong, 2012: 113). Dictation still dominated the composition or the copying of the text. Writing in ancient Greek society has also been used as an aid to memory as the verbatim recall, as in the case of Greek tragedies, in which the actors memorized all the written texts verbatim to be orally performed to the audience. In other cases, many texts were composed with the use of mnemonic devices, where a manuscript serves as an object that helps collecting various mnemonic poems together for further uses and learning. Public reading has been widely practiced in many ancient cultures (i.e. Roman) (Fischer, 2005: 142; see more in Harris, 1989). Silent reading, which is common in modern readers, was still rare in traditional societies. Therefore, it can be seen that in manuscript cultures, oral communication held the primary function in society, only to be aided by writing and its bearer, i.e. manuscripts. In summary, orality and literacy in manuscript transmission became “mixed” together, rather than “pure” and separated as polar opposites (Finnegan, 1988: 142).

Due to India’s strict caste system, knowledge and lore, including literacy, were restricted to the higher castes, especially the Brahmins who dominated the rituals and the education system. The skill of literacy was regarded as sacred and secret. Although writing has supposedly been known in ancient India before King Aśoka’s inscriptions, it has been used mainly for bureaucratic proposes (i.e. royal proclamations and records) (Salomon, 1998: 14), not to store sacred texts, which have mainly been transmitted orally from teachers to students in two-way communication. Orality has played an essential part in the textual transmission of ancient Indian texts, while written culture has been regarded as inferior to oral (Gough, 1968: 74). One of the most important philosophical Sanskrit texts of Hinduism, the *Upaniṣad*, which has the literal meaning of ‘sitting down at the feet of another to listen to his words’ (Monier-Williams, 2008: 201), suggesting the tradition of learning a sacred text orally and aurally directly from one’s teachers. Even though some longer texts might have found their way into written form, the availability of the written texts were strictly restricted among the group of teachers and not dispersed to the common public. Under these conditions, the transmission of

written texts occurred through guru-like institutions, in which the sacred and secret knowledge was transmitted orally through the chains of teachers in the past or guru, with the help of some restricted written texts (Goody, 1968: 11–12). The teachers benefited from the restricted access to the written scriptures and from the condition of orality, in which evanescence of sounds allows their knowledge to be kept as secret, giving them more authority.

With this condition of restricted literacy in ancient India, when Gotama Buddha established Buddhism in northern India around the sixth century BCE, his teachings and doctrines were transmitted orally for several centuries - even though writing might have been in use already at that time - due to the rejection of the caste system and its restricted literacy, as well as, undeniably, the strong oral residue dominating the ancient Indian society. It was not until the first century BCE that Buddhist teachings came to be written down. According to the Theravada tradition, the Buddhist Pali canon was written down due to the awareness of the decay of sentient beings, as mentioned in the chronicles *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*. Correspondingly, historical evidence also indicates that the catastrophic famine as well as the political and social chaos in Lanka during the first century before Christ which resulted in many deaths, including numerous monks, inevitably breaking the chain of the canonical oral transmission, contributed to the decision to commit the texts to writing (Bechert, 1992: 52; Falk, 1993: 285). However, even though the Pali canon was written down, oral transmission still existed in the tradition of chanting and recitation.

For the case of Thai literature, Sukanya Sujachaya has recently published *Thai Oral Literature* (2013; in Thai: *Wannakam Mukkhapatha*), which not only discusses different genres and characteristics of Thai oral literature, but also points out many significant aspects on orality within the written transmission of Thai literature. One point is that oral literature, i.e. folktales and myth, is often taken as the origin of the written text, as in the case of *Lilit Phra Lò*, an Ayutthaya poetic tale composed in *lilit* meter, whose narrative is based on a folktale orally transmitted among Tai people, possibly the Shan. On the other hand, some written texts have also been transformed into oral performance, such as many dramatic plays in the nineteenth century's Bangkok which have adapted the written text of *Lilit Phra Lò* (Sukanya Sujachaya, 2013: 2–3). Furthermore, the text of *Lilit Phra Lò* itself also mentions in its beginning that the text was supposedly recited audibly, suggesting orality within the textual transmission of *Lilit Phra Lò* since the period of its original composition.

Accordingly, it can be argued that in the long history of textual transmission from its original composition, regardless whether it was purely oral or not, to manuscript transmission and lastly to print transmission, the relationship between orality and literacy has never been a simple matter of polarity. When studying the manuscript transmission of the texts, orality can never be ignored.

This study focuses on the manuscript transmission phase ranging “from the palaeographical begin to the bookprint” (Bodmer, 1961: 18) of Ayutthaya literature. This phase can be considered as the most significant and most complicated, as it is the only phase of transmission to which the primary source of a text can be traced back and on which all the printed editions we have are based. However, the orality within the manuscript or the written transmission of a text will be kept in mind, even though this study employs a number of written sources, both from paratexts and texts from the manuscripts.

1.5 Methodological Frameworks

The methodological frameworks applied in this study are mainly approaches from the field of philology, the study of written records in socio-cultural contexts (Simon, 1990: 19). The framework of paratexts will be the main framework used in this study, with textual criticism and palaeography also providing analytic support.

1.5.1 Paratexts

The word “paratext” was first coined by Gérard Genette (1987) to refer to the liminal devices and conventions that mediate the book to the reader, covering titles and subtitles, forewords, dedications, notes, afterwords, etc. (Genette, 2001: xviii, 2). These paratextual elements are the means by which a text makes itself a book or proposes itself as such to its readers. For example, a book without its cover or title might be considered not to be properly and completely functioning for a modern reader. Genette (1991: 261) also suggests that these elements, situated around the texts, not exactly within or without the texts are the “threshold” (Fr. *Seuil*) with a vestibule which offers to anyone and everyone the possibility either of entering or of turning back. Regarding its function, the paratext is subordinate to its text, giving authorial commentaries to the text (i.e. in title, subtitle and author’s preface), editor’s commentaries to the text, including the dedication that connects the text to the other person. With his sources based on printed books, Genette mentions paratexts from different agencies: most importantly authorial paratexts, editor paratexts, illustrator paratexts, as well as paratexts from the printing press or pertaining to the series of publication. The concept of paratexts by Genette, even though based mainly on Western printed books, has been widely received among scholars of literary studies and has been expanded beyond the field of modern printed books to early printed books (i.e. Smith and Wilson, 2011) and is also used in manuscript studies (i.e. Jansen, 2014).

In the field of manuscript studies, the concept of paratexts has shifted beyond Genette’s idea that a paratext is just a threshold introducing readers to texts, for paratexts pertain not just to the texts but also to their carriers, or in this case, manuscripts (Ciotti and Lin, 2016: vii). In many cases, the paratexts in manuscripts appear to have their own complex tradition within their manuscript cultures. A colophon, one of the most common types of paratexts in Siamese manuscripts, might reveal the information on manuscript production, the history of a

manuscript, the history of a text, as well as the attitudes towards the transmission of a text, for instance. Thus the paratexts can mirror the activities of anyone 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) According to the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) within the University of Hamburg, paratexts of manuscripts have at least three main functions, which are:

1. Structuring

Structuring paratexts offer navigation aids that guide the reader when using manuscripts, such as tables of contents and pagination, revealing how a manuscript has been structured as well as how the readers have been guided.

2. Commenting

Commenting paratexts, such as glosses and annotations, offer interpretations and explanations of a text. These paratexts provide insight on the meanings of the texts in the manuscript cultures.

3. Documenting

Documenting paratexts record information about the manuscript's production (i.e. date of copy, scribe, donor, initiators, illustrators etc.), on the texts copied to the manuscript (i.e. author, date of text, history of text etc.), as well as social beliefs concerning the manuscript (i.e. merit). Documenting paratexts provide a lot of useful information concerning the manuscript in its context.

Though informative paratexts have been found in limited numbers in some manuscript cultures, the study of extant paratexts always helps to reveal many fascinating aspects on scribes, as demonstrated by Oskar von Hinüber (1996) in the case of the Lan Na manuscripts, as well as helps us in placing the time and space of manuscripts and their texts, for example, in Apiradee Techasiriwan's studies on colophons of Tai Lü and Tai Khün manuscripts in the Upper Mae Khong river (Techasiriwan, 2016; 2019). Furthermore, in Daniel Veidlinger's study on the orality, writing and transmission of Buddhism in Northern Thailand (Veidlinger, 2006), colophons of Lan Na Buddhist palm-leaf manuscripts were included into his study, which impressively revealed the information on the manuscript production within the monasteries, the tradition of making merit through manuscript donations, as well as the economic aspects of the manuscript production.

In the case of Siamese literary manuscripts, which are mostly in the form of *khòì*-paper leporello manuscripts, the paratexts appear in various ways. In order to focus on the transmission of Ayutthaya texts in the Bangkok period, the paratexts belonging to scribes and scholars of Bangkok, often referred to as **scribal paratexts**, namely those created by the copyists, editors and compilers, owners and sometimes also readers and users of the manuscripts, will serve as the main primary source in this study. However, in some cases, authorial paratexts appear, as a prologue or epilogue, in which the author mentions his name,

the date of composition, the objective of composition, his reverence to the Lord Buddha or the king and his kingdom. In many cases, the authorial paratexts are supposed to be an accompanying part of the main text and are often further transmitted along with the texts, thus appearing in a number of manuscripts rather than belonging to any specific manuscript and its scribe. For instance, the beginning and ending parts of *Lilit Phra Lò* which commonly appear in all the manuscripts are considered authorial paratexts. The beginning part, following the tradition of *pranam phot* or *bot wai khru*, reveres the king and his glorious rule over his kingdom before beginning the main narrative of the tale. In the ending part of *Lilit Phra Lò*, there often appear two stanzas of *khlong* meter, marking the end of the text and mentioning Maha Rat (literally ‘the great king’) as the author. In some cases, the author even refers to himself with a first-person pronoun, as seen in the beginning part of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002b: 115–116). These cases will be taken as examples of authorial paratexts, rather than as scribal paratexts, as they do not belong to the scribes and scholars themselves.

In order to differentiate the authorial paratexts from the scribal, I will employ the terms “prologue” and “epilogue” referring to authorial paratexts that have been most often taken as a part of the text and its main tradition, different from the scribal paratexts “preface” and “colophon” which belong to the scribes and scholars in the course of transmission. Nevertheless, in a few cases, the differentiation between authorial and scribal paratexts is still in need of closer investigation and more satisfying arguments.

Among the scribal paratexts found in the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature, the types of paratexts which concern the transmission of the text will be more emphasized and marked here as **significant scribal paratexts** as being listed as follows:

1. Prefaces and Colophons

Prefaces and colophons constitute the bulk of the scribal paratexts found in this study. Traditionally, the word *ban phanaek* (literally ‘sight page’) can connote both a preface at the beginning of the manuscript and an ending colophon on the last page. Even though a preface is written at the beginning, normally it is written when the copy has been finished, for it often records the date on which the copy has been completed. The content of prefaces and colophons in the case of Siamese literary manuscripts covers the date of the manuscript, the name of the scribes and proofreaders, as well as other aspects on manuscript production. Interestingly, the names of initiators or donors of manuscripts have rarely been found in the corpus of Siamese literary manuscripts, unlike the cases of Lan Na and Lao manuscript cultures. This is likely because the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature were not primarily used for religious purposes.

2. Scribal Notes

Scribal notes in the case of Siamese manuscripts refer to the short writings inserted between the text or added on the margin of pages to mark the end or beginning of the

text, as well as the text's title. Sometimes scribal notes also mention the author and date of the text, revealing information on the history of a text as the scribes perceived.

Furthermore, there are also other types of interlinear notes, which might not necessarily belong to the scribes of the manuscripts, but rather to traditional scholars who had used the manuscripts. These paratexts will be referred to here as **scholarly paratexts**, covering interlinear glosses and chanting markers as mentioned below.

1. Interlinear Glosses

Interlinear glosses provide the meanings of some obscure words as well as explanations of the text, helping readers interpret the text. Such glosses are not common, save for in some archaic texts from the Ayutthaya period, namely, *Yuan Phai 'Defeat of the Yuan (Lan Na),'* *Khlong Nirat Hariphunchai 'Poetic Travelogue to Hariphunchai,'* and *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*. The interlinear glosses function as an annotation to the main text, while the scribal notes mentioned above often record the authorship and date of the main text rather than offering any interpretation of the main text.

2. Chanting Markers

In some extant manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, chanting markers in the form of lines and graphic have been added between the line in order to guide the chanting tone and rhythms for the chanter during the royal ceremony. These markers are closely tied to the chanting tradition, indicating how the text has been transmitted orally and aurally. This type of paratext will be included in the study as well.

Both types of scholarly paratexts mentioned here do not reveal as much on the textual transmission as the significant scribal paratexts (i.e. prefaces and colophons) do. The glosses and chanting markers do tell us about how the texts were interpreted or chanted. These aspects, more or less, reflect how the Ayutthaya literary texts existed in the traditional manuscript culture. Thereby, these two types of scholarly paratexts will be also surveyed.

Information on the history of textual transmission in regards of place, time and personal agents can often be found in the prefaces and colophons, as well as in the scribal interlinear notes. Furthermore, there are also other categories of scribal paratexts which can be commonly found in traditional manuscripts, but with less information on textual transmission. This less significant category of scribal paratexts, called **common paratexts** here, though commonly found as their name suggests, are also collected but not thoroughly investigated.

1. Titles and Fly-leaf Titles

Titles of Siamese literature are often written on the cover page of *khòi*-paper leporello manuscripts and on the first leaf of palm-leaf manuscripts. When the title has been repeated in the following page, they are known as fly-leaf titles. In addition, titles can also appear on the cutting edge of *khòi*-paper manuscripts. Even though titles and fly-leaf titles have rather more structuring function and reveal less about the history of

textual transmission, in some cases they also include short bits information on the textual history as well such as the author and date of the text. Nevertheless, such cases are quite rare.

2. Side-markers

As *khòì*-paper manuscripts are made by folding a piece of *khòì* paper together in a leporello or concertina manner, it is important for the reader to find the correct page and side to begin on (most often the first page of the recto). Side-markers have been provided by the scribe to mark the recto and verso sides of the manuscripts. Sometimes a side-marker includes the text's title, and occasionally the author of the text.

3. Meter Markers

In most manuscripts containing Ayutthaya poetry, the markers on poetic meters are commonly found, either as a note or as a numeral inserted above the line when the first stanza in the particular meter begins. The meter markers are mostly identical among manuscripts of the same texts.

4. Correction Markers

The corrections made by the scribes are sometimes combined with signs added to the text to mark the corrected text. This type of paratext can be widely found.

5. Pagination

For the case of palm-leaf manuscripts, the pagination, or properly foliation, is normally made on the verso side of each leaf, employing the syllabic combination of Pali consonants and vowels to signify page order.

The paratexts in this category will also be surveyed with regard to their structure and functions, but not directly related to the transmission history of the text. Only very few cases of these common paratexts have revealed useful information on transmission history to be discussed here, such as the fly-leaf titles which sometimes mention the scribe's will.

The paratexts collected in this study are mainly verbal paratexts, while illustrations, decorations, as well as visual organizations, all of which require alternate approaches to those employed here, will be excluded. As the term paratext suggests the core text as its counterpart, paratext in this verbal sense by itself contains text or writing. On the other hand, the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures within the University of Hamburg has proposed a term "paracontent" referring to a set of visual signs (writing, images, marks) that is present in a manuscript in addition to the core content(s), highlighting the limited element related to the main content, which does not necessarily contain the text or writing (CSMC, 2018: 1). As only the verbal paratexts have been included as part of the corpus, this study, nevertheless, employs the term paratext rather than paracontent, in order to emphasize the use of writing as a threshold to the main writing of a traditional manuscript.

In a number of the Siamese manuscripts preserved in the National Library of Thailand, the paratexts of the librarians since the early twentieth century in the days of the Wachirayan

Royal Library, the pre-runner of the National Library of Thailand, can still be found, covering librarian's notes and commentaries, stamps of the library as ownership statements, as well as the library's label on the manuscript's cover, which presents a bibliography and more importantly the history of the library's acquisition. When the librarians and scholars of the Wachirayan Royal Library in the early twentieth century made notes or comments on a manuscript, they often used red chalk, a writing substance rarely used within the traditional Siamese manuscript culture, to differentiate their own additional writing to the original writing of the scribe in the manuscript. These notes can also provide a useful piece of information on the manuscript and the text it carries. Furthermore, the history of the library's acquisitions of the manuscripts marked on the label, despite its limited length, has offered clues to trace the origin of the manuscripts before coming into the library's possession. These paratexts belonging to the librarians, or the librarian's paratexts, will be collected for this study as supporting evidence.

1.5.2 Textual Criticism

Textual criticism has been long considered as a core competence of philology in general (Bod, 2013: 279; Greetham, 1994: 314) and sometimes even a synonym of philology itself. Although the main purpose of textual criticism is, most often but not necessarily, to restore texts to a form which corresponds as closely as possible to their original forms (Kenney, 2003: 614; Maas, 1958: 1), the application of textual criticism should neither be limited merely to editing texts nor be considered as the sole enterprise of the editor, for it can also be applied by students and researchers for purposes other than editing texts (West, 1973: 8–9). Some of these purposes include questioning the trustworthiness of a text in any edition they encounter, reading a text more “critically” by investigating the variant readings among manuscripts, and reviewing an edition.

The authoritative practice of textual criticism was first scientifically and systematically demonstrated by Karl Lachmann, a German philologist of the early nineteenth century (Lernout, 2013: 65), whose method was later clarified and exemplified thoroughly by Paul Maas in his *Textkritik* (originally published in German in 1927). He divides textual criticism into a two-part process: *recensio* and *emendatio* (Timpanaro, 2005: 43). To resolve the problem of the loss of autograph manuscripts, the textual critic must examine the relationship among the surviving manuscript copies to recover – to the greatest extent possible based on the evidence available – the most primitive state of the lost manuscript. This first process of textual criticism is known as *recensio*, in which the relationship between manuscripts is traced through their shared significant errors and then usually written out in the form of a family tree or stemma. Then, to constitute the text, the textual critic must decide whether the transmitted text is authentic or not. If not, he or she must emend it, hence this process being called *emendatio* (Pöhlmann, 2003: 139–143; Reynolds and Wilson, 2013: 208–209). The result of this editorial process conducted

in the framework of textual criticism is called a “critical edition,” one of many different variants of the “scholarly edition” (Greetham, 1994: 347–348).

A manuscript is not merely a carrier of text, even though the primary function of the manuscript in many cases appears to be its discursive function, as manuscripts were and are produced to be used as the carrier of particular text, which is especially true for the case of Ayutthaya literary manuscripts. In the study of textual transmission, the investigation of text cannot be ignored. Therefore, in this study, along with a paratextual investigation, the approach of textual criticism will be applied to investigate texts on different manuscripts in aspects concerning the structure and order of the texts in the course of transmission, rather than to trace the common errors or propose any earlier state of texts as scholarly editions. This text critical approach towards the structure of texts might not lead to any exact manuscript stemma for explaining the transmission history of any particular text, but will help us portray the modes of transmission in which the texts were further copied, compiled and edited in the traditional period. Especially for the cases of the texts being made into a collection of text or an edition of text, the comparison of textual structure among different manuscripts will provide an insight that allows us to see how far the texts have been arranged among different scribes at different place and time. Therefore, this textual evidence will shed light on the history of transmission while also providing and summarizing the paratextual evidence found.

1.5.3 Palaeography

The other methodological framework adapted in this study is palaeography (Gr. *paleion* ‘ancient, old’ + Gr. *graphein* ‘writing’), the study of the history of writings, most often of handwritings, and their forms in order to understand the evolution of handwriting, as well as to be able to read and classify different ancient scripts (von Boeselager, 2004: 11). Palaeography was developed thanks to a historians’ skill for detecting authenticity through investigating handwriting (Rohr, 2015: 128), nowadays taken as one of the auxiliary sciences of history (Ger. *historische Hilfswissenschaften*). With the knowledge of handwriting in different period and a careful investigation on handwriting, in aspects on form of scripts and orthography, palaeography also allows us to attribute dates and provenance to the writing (Bischoff, 2009: 17–18). Thus, palaeography has become a useful device, and even a compulsory skill, for philologists and historians dealing with written records in different cultures.

In many cultures, palaeography is often material specific, limited to ancient writing on soft material surfaces (i.e. parchment and paper), in opposition to epigraphy, the study of ancient writing on hard – mostly inorganic – material (i.e. stone, metal) (Diringer, 2005: 18). This definition of palaeography as a discipline based on the history of manuscript writings continues to dominate the field of classics, in which the term palaeography first appeared in use in 1708 in Bernard de Montfaucon’s *Palaeographia Graeca* (Bischoff, 2009: 17), and other fields as Medieval European manuscript culture (Derolez, 2003), Ethiopian, Armenian and

other manuscript cultures in the middle east (see Buzi and Maniaci, 2015: 267). However, in the fields of manuscript cultures in India and the Southeast Asian mainland, works on palaeography focus on the history of ancient scripts in the broader sense, regardless of which material surfaces. Therefore, ancient scripts from stone inscriptions and manuscripts are always collected together for discussion, constituting the entire history of ancient writings in the works on Indic palaeography (see Burnell, 1878; Bühler, 1904; Dani, 1963) as well as on Thai palaeography (see Thawat Punnothok, 1990; 2006; Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 1983). The use of the term palaeography in this study follows the definition employed in these Indian and Thai palaeographical studies.

The works on Thai palaeography that give us a history of Thai script and orthography range from the pioneering work by George Coedès (1925) entitled *A History of Thai Script* (Th. *Tamnan Aksòn Thai*), to later works by Kongkaew Weeraprachak (1983), Kamthorn Sathirakun (1984), and to textbooks by Thawat Punnothok (1990). Furthermore, the work *Evolution of Thai Script and Orthography* by Ing-orn Supanvanit (1984) presents a number of palaeographic tables in which the forms of each letter, collected from different epigraphic and manuscript sources, are presented together. Her work has become one of the most widely referenced in terms of Thai script and orthography in different periods. In addition, *From Lai Sū Thai to Aksòn Thai*, a more recent work on Thai palaeography by Churairat Laksanasiri (2008) has also offered a history of the Thai script with a number of palaeographic tables from more various inscriptions and manuscripts selected from different periods. Khòm palaeography has been conducted much less in comparison to its Thai counterpart, though some do offer a concise overview of the script with a short palaeographic table, for instance, Kannika Wimonkasem (2009), Suranee Kaewklom (1983), Thawat Punnothok (1990; 2006), and Wirote Phadungsoondararak (1997). For the case of the Siamese Grantha script used among the Siamese Brahmins in Thailand, no research on its history or origin has been conducted. Nevertheless, there do exist some works giving an overview on the Grantha script culture in Bangkok (see Marr, 1969) and clarifying the form and orthography of the Siamese Grantha script (see Wudhichai Kosolkajana, 1988).

“Palaeography” in this study will be applied to assess the handwriting found in the manuscripts, namely, to differentiate the periods of handwriting and to distinguish between different hands as well as develop a handwriting typology. As the estimation of the date of Thai handwriting is concerned, the script and orthography from manuscripts will be compared to the palaeographical tables given by Ing-orn Supanvanit (1984) and Churairat Laksanasiri (2008). If the differentiation of the hands is to be done, especially in cases of composites and multiple-text manuscripts, the orthographic styles and the writing substances within the same manuscript will be compared. For example, different hands and different writing substances can help us identify a multiple-text manuscript when one part has been written by several hands and with varying substances within the same manuscript.

1.6 Selection of Sources

The criteria for selecting the primary source material for the study, namely the manuscripts of the specific Ayutthaya poetry along with their scribal paratexts, and the secondary sources, or the other supporting evidence in the study of textual transmission, is clarified below.

1.6.1 Selection of Primary Sources

The genres of the literary texts of Ayutthaya mentioned above will form the scope of the study, namely, royal eulogy, ceremonial poetry, poetic tales (from *Jātaka*, mythology and folktales), poetic travelogues, didactic poems, love letters, as well as the treatise on orthography and poetics. Texts from these genres are listed detail in Table I below. The list of selected texts begins with the texts presented in the Fine Arts Department's *Anthology of Ayutthaya Literature Volume I–III* (Krom Sinlapakòn, 1986a–c), except for the prose texts and performing texts (i.e. *Luang Prasert's Royal Chronicle*, *Cindamani-The Version of King Bòrommakot's Reign*, the Dramatic Plays of *Manora* and *Sang Thòng*). The order of the list largely follows the Fine Arts Department's *Anthology*, whose order of the texts is based on the department's opinion on the chronological order of these texts, albeit with some scholarly dispute. The only manuscript source we have for the text of *Nirat Cao Fa Aphai* (from *the Anthology of Ayutthaya Literature Volume III*; Krom Sinlapakòn, 1986c), is Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems*, which collects fragments and short poems of various poets together, including *Nirat Cao Fa Aphai*. Therefore, this text will be mentioned together with *the Collection of Ancient Poems* by Phraya Trang. The texts in *the Anthology of Ayutthaya Literature* as well as other texts recognized and proposed by modern scholars to be Ayutthaya texts are provided in alphabetical order:

- ***Kaki Kham Chan*** '[Tale of] Kaki in Kham Chan Meter' (Boontuen Sriworapot, 2004)
- ***Kap Khap Mai Phra Rot*** '[Tale of] Phra Rot in Kap Khap Mai Meter' (Sukanya Sujachaya, 2007)
- ***Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang*** 'Didactic Poem of Phra Ruang' (Lekda Imchai, 1985; Natthawut Khlaisuwan, 2016)
- ***Khlong Rachanuwat*** 'Royal Conducts' (Lekda Imchai, 1985; Natthawut Khlaisuwan, 2016)
- ***Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan*** 'Kritsana Teaching Younger Sister in Khan Chan Meter' (Thongthaem Natchamnong, 2016)
- ***Lilit Cantha Kinnòn*** '[Tale of] Candakinnara in Lilit Meter' (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2014)
- ***Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap*** 'Mother Teaching Children in Kap Meter' (Boontuen Sriworapot, 2005b)
- ***Phleng Yao Phayakòn Krung Si Ayutthaya*** 'Prophetic Poem about the Ayutthaya Kingdom in Phleng Yao Meter' (Phichit Akkhanit, 1993)
- ***Mòm Phimsen's Phleng Yao Poems*** (Natthawut Khlaisuwan, 2016)

- *Phra Rot Kham Chan* '[Tale of] Phra Rot in Kham Chan Meter' (Boontuen Sriworapot, 2005a)
- *Ton Thang Farangset* 'Poetic Travelogue to France' (Boontuen Sriworapot, 2001; Pridi Phitphumwithi, 2008)
- *Supridi Thammarat Chadok* '[Tale of] Suprīti Dhammarāja Jātaka' (Niyada Lausoonthorn, 1992a)

Altogether, the 41 texts selected as the source material for this study are as follows:

Table I: List of Ayutthaya texts with number of manuscripts and number of manuscripts with significant paratexts. These are to be employed as the primary source for this study.

No	Text Titles	Manuscripts found	Manuscripts with paratexts
1	<i>Ongkan Chaeng Nam</i> 'Oath of Allegiance on Water'	14	5
2	<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang</i> 'The Royal Version of the Great Birth'	93	36
3	<i>Yuan Phai</i> 'Defeat of the Yuan (Lan Na)'	24	9
4	<i>Lilit Phra Lò</i> '[Tale of] King Lò in Lilit Meter'	75	9
5	<i>Kap Maha Chat</i> 'Poem of the Great Birth'	6	6
6	<i>Khlong Nirat Hariphunchai</i> 'Poetic Travelogue to Hariphunchai'	4	2
7	<i>Samutthakhot Kham Chan</i> '[Tale of] Samutthakhot in Kham Chan Meter'	56	22
8	<i>The Collection of Didactic Poems:</i> - <i>Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng</i> 'Phali Teaching his Brother' - <i>Khlong Thotsarot Sòn Phra Ram</i> 'Thotsarot Teaching Rama' - <i>Khlong Ratchasawat</i> 'Royal Glory'	2	2
9	<i>Süa Kho Kham Chan</i> '[Tale of] the Tiger and the Cow in Kham Chan Meter'	61 (-1 Mtm/Com ⁴)	28

⁴ In the case that any manuscript contains more than one text, either as a multiple-text manuscript or a composite, and was already mentioned in the earlier entry of the table, the manuscript in the later entry

No	Text Titles	Manuscripts found	Manuscripts with paratexts
10	Phra Horathibòdi's <i>Cindamani</i> ' <i>Jewel of Thought</i> '	140	41
11	<i>Kamsuan Samut</i> ' <i>Lamentations to the Sea</i> '	7 (– 2 MTMs/Com)	4
12	<i>Anirut Kham Chan</i> '[<i>Tale of</i>] <i>Anirut in Kham Chan Meter</i> '	44	13
13	<i>The Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Poems</i> - <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i> ' <i>Poem of the Three Classes of Consonants</i> ' - <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i> ' <i>Poems in Kap Hò Khlong meter</i> ' - <i>Khlong Nirat Nakhòn Sawan</i> ' <i>Poetic Travelogue to Nakhòn Sawan</i> '	8 (–1 MTMs /Com)	7
14	<i>Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Narai</i> ' <i>Eulogy for King Narai</i> '	3	3
15	<i>Thawa Thotsamat</i> '[<i>Poem of</i>] <i>the Twelve Months</i> '	12	5
16	<i>The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises</i> - <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i> ' <i>Ritual Poem for Elephant Ceremony in Kham Chan Meter</i> ' - <i>Kham Chan Klong Chang Krung Kao</i> ' <i>Ritual Poem for Soothing the Elephants from the Old Capital in Kham Chan Meter</i> ' - <i>Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun</i> ' <i>Treatise on Elephants' Features in Kham Chan Meter</i> '	16	13
17	<i>Rachaphilap Kham Chan</i> ' <i>Lamentations of the King</i> '	10	4
18	<i>Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng</i> ' <i>Eulogy for King Prasat Thòng</i> '	1	1
19	<i>Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat</i> ' <i>Poem on the Relocation of Sleeping Buddha Image of Wat Pa Mok Monastery</i> '	1 (–1 Mtm)	1 (–1 Mtm)
20	<i>Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang</i> ' <i>The Royal Version of Nanthopanantha Sutta</i> '	1	1
21	<i>Phra Malai Kham Luang</i> ' <i>The Royal Version of [the Tale of] Phra Malai</i> '	9	7

will be marked with the number of identical manuscripts in parentheses as a multiple-text manuscript or composite (MTM/Com) and will not be counted in the total number of manuscripts employed in this study.

No	Text Titles	Manuscripts found	Manuscripts with paratexts
22	<i>Kap He Rüa</i> ‘Barge Procession Poetry’	19	4
23	<i>Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Thòng Daeng</i> ‘Poetic Travelogue to Than Thòng Daeng in Kap Hò Khlong Meter’	2	2
24	<i>Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Sok</i> ‘Poetic Travelogue to Than Sok in Kap Hò Khlong Meter’	2	1
25	Prince Thammathibet’s <i>Phleng Yao Poems</i>	5	0
26	<i>Bunnawat Kham Chan</i> ‘[Tale of] the Buddha’s Footprint in Kham Chan Meter’	38 (–1 MTM)	32
27	<i>Khlong Nirat Phra Bat</i> ‘Poetic Travelogue to the Buddha’s Footprint’	10 (–8 MTMs)	8 (–7)
28	<i>Konlabot Siriwbunkit</i> ‘[Tale of] Siriwbunkit in Konlabot’	7	3
29	Phraya Trang’s <i>Collection of Ancient Poem</i> (including <i>Nirat Cao Fa Aphai</i>)	1 (–1 MTM)	1 (–1)
30	<i>Kaki Kham Chan</i> ‘[Tale of] Kaki in Kham Chan Meter’	17	1
31	<i>Kap Khap Mai Phra Rot</i> ‘[Tale of] Phra Rot in Kap Khap Mai Meter’	2 (–1 MTM)	0
32	<i>Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang</i> ‘Didactic Poem of Phra Ruang’	1 (–1 MTM)	1 (–1)
33	<i>Khlong Rachanuwat</i> ‘Royal Conducts’	1 (–1 MTM)	1 (–1)
34	<i>Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan</i> ‘Kritsana Teaching Younger Sister in Khan Chan Meter’	9	2
35	<i>Lilit Cantha Kinnòn</i> ‘[Tale of] Candakinnara in Lilit Meter’	2	1
36	<i>Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap</i> ‘Mother Teaching Children in Kap Meter’	1	1
37	<i>Phleng Yao Phayakòn Krung Si Ayutthaya</i> ‘Prophetic Poem about the Ayutthaya Kingdom in Phleng Yao Meter’	1	0
38	Mòm Phimsen’s <i>Phleng Yao Poems</i>	23 (–5 MTMs/Com)	7

No	Text Titles	Manuscripts found	Manuscripts with paratexts
39	<i>Phra Rot Kham Chan</i> '[Tale of] Phra Rot in Kham Chan Meter'	7	1
40	<i>Ton Thang Farangset</i> 'Poetic Travelogue to France'	1	0
41	<i>Supridithammarat Chadok</i> '[Tale of] Suprīti Dhammarāja Jātaka'	1	0

With many cases of one manuscript containing more than one text either as a multiple-text manuscript or a composite, the total number of manuscripts, if every single manuscript is counted only once, is 714. Among them, there are 274 manuscripts (36 texts) in which significant scribal paratexts can be classified, namely, prefaces, colophons, and interlinear notes, as well as glosses, and chanting markers. The manuscripts with significant scribal paratexts will be collected as paratextual sources for this study. It appears that manuscripts containing some particular texts do not have any paratextual elements at all, while in many cases the texts have survived in a single manuscript or *codex unicus*. Therefore, the transmission history of some texts will be difficult to discern. However, the information on these manuscripts will be mentioned as a part of this study.

The corpus covers many different genres, thus various poetic meters and contents are to be found. However, all of them share the same problem regarding their literary source and transmission from the Kingdom of Ayutthaya to the Bangkok period. The scope of this group of poetry texts will provide an insight on how the texts from the earlier kingdom were transmitted among the later generations of the Bangkok scribes and scholars. Nevertheless, this study cannot cover every single poetic texts of Ayutthaya, even in the selected genre. For the case of *Phleng Yao* poems, there are around one hundred different pieces of love letter poems known as *Phleng Yao-the Old Version* (Th. *Phleng Yao Khwam Kao*). Despite being labelled as the old version, many poems in the printed editions (1917; 1924–1925; 1961; 1968) have been marked by various authors from various periods, sometimes recognizable as Ayutthaya poets (i.e. Prince Thammathibet) or Bangkok poets (i.e. Narin, Phraya Trang, Prince Phuwanet, etc.). However, in most cases, the names of the authors given in the printed editions is the only information we have about them, and so it is not feasible to attribute their work to any particular time period. Therefore, in this study, the only texts of *Phleng Yao Poems* included are those proposed by scholars to belong to Ayutthaya literature, which are *Phleng Yao Phayakòn Krung Si* ('Prophetic Poem about the Ayutthaya Kingdom'), *Phleng Yao Poems* by Prince Thammathibet (three poems), and *Phleng Yao Poems* by Mòmm Phimsen (24 poems in total).

Furthermore, for the genre of didactic poetry, all of the known pieces of Ayutthaya didactic poetry are included, except for *Khlong Lokkanit* (literally 'Conducts of the World'), a

collection of didactic poems in *khlong* meter, which might have been transmitted from the Ayutthaya period (Nitaya Kanchanawan, 1978: 85–86). Among many different versions of *Khlong Lokkanit*, the most widely known is the one edited by Prince Dechadison in 1834 and inscribed on the stone slabs established in Wat Phra Chetuphon Monastery, making it the version most widely known and accepted as a Bangkok text from the reign of King Rama III (see Worawetphisit, 1953: 148). However, it is clear that Prince Dechadison edited this collection of didactic poems based on earlier versions. At least four different earlier versions have been marked by the librarians of the National Library and by the printed edition as “the old version” along with many alternative versions (see Niyada Lausoonthorn, 1999). Nevertheless, it is unclear which one of the old versions is originally from the Ayutthaya period. The total number of manuscripts from the entire *Khlong Lokkanit* tradition exceeds one hundred manuscripts in these various versions. Thus, the transmission of *Khlong Lokkanit* from the so-called “old version” to the royal version edited by Prince Dechadison deserves its own research project and will not be addressed further here.

Entire genres that are excluded in this study, as mentioned above, are performance literature and *klòn suat* literature. The performing literature covers scripts for *khon* performance, *bot lakhòn nai* (the dramatic plays for the palace or royal plays), and *bot lakhòn nòk* (the dramatic plays outside the palace or folk plays), which have sometimes been mentioned as part of the late Ayutthaya literature. However, the tradition of performance literature flourished in the Bangkok period with the hundreds of manuscripts that survived. Unfortunately, we can hardly differentiate the Ayutthaya texts from the Bangkok ones, even though some texts have been published and widely recognized as Ayutthaya texts, for example, *Bot Lakhòn Ramakian* (see Daorat Chusap, 1998) and the dramatic plays of *Sang Thòng* and *Manora* for the cases of the folk plays. Among the more than one hundred manuscripts of the dramatic plays at the National Library of Thailand, a number of them have been labeled as “the old version”, which are different from other well-recognized versions, especially the versions by King Rama II. But again, there is no further clarification on the definition and features of the old version given. Even in the study of *bot lakhòn nòk* manuscripts by Sowalak Anantasant (1972), in which many manuscripts of the old versions have been consulted and taken as Ayutthaya texts, the clear determination between *bot lakhòn nòk* in the Ayutthaya period and in Bangkok has not been sufficiently provided. As the texts in this performing genre are tied closely to their oral performance, the texts and manuscripts of this genre should be further studied as a separate work.

The *klòn suat* literature constitutes another large and important literary genre circulated among the people in the area of Central and Southern Thailand. The texts of *klòn suat* literature offer various narratives, often from Buddhist *Jātaka* and folktales, in the amalgamation of three *kap* meters, supposedly used for chanting in Buddhist ceremonies (Trisilpa Boonkhachorn, 2004: 2). Thus, the genre covers hundreds of different narrative texts, which are mostly undated,

even if some rare cases of *klòn suat* texts can be proved to be Ayutthaya texts. For example, the earlier manuscripts of *Phra Malai Klòn Suat*, which constitute the famous illustrated manuscript tradition within the Siamese manuscript culture, are evidently from the Ayutthaya period. Although Dhanit Yupho (1958: 27) mentions the earliest manuscript as dated in 1738, I can merely identify one other manuscript of *Phra Malai Klòn Suat* (in Khôm script), dated 1762 (NLT: PKThSs: Ms no. 88) and kept at the National Library of Thailand nowadays. The original text of *Phra Malai Klòn Suat* is thus unquestionably dated in the Ayutthaya period, though without any certain date. Furthermore, the tradition of *Phra Malai Klòn Suat* was continually practiced even until the middle twentieth century (i.e. CPH: RDL: OS Acc. 725 preserved at the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen dated in 1935). As a result, a large number of illustrated manuscripts have survived and are kept in different libraries and museums worldwide⁵ due to their artistic value. In addition, a version among many of *Phra Si Sao Klòn Suat* now preserved at the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) in Paris mentions the date of its original composition as 2266 BE or 1723 CE in the prologue (PR: EFEO: S.30), while a version of *Sawat Klòn Suat* has survived in a manuscript written in a handwriting contemporary to the late Ayutthaya (see Boontuen Sriworapot, 2005b: 163–176). However, there are a lot of manuscripts of *klòn suat* to be investigated in order to determine whether they really do stem from Ayutthaya or not. The transmission history of *klòn suat* texts from Ayutthaya to Bangkok, therefore, also requires more space for its own study.

Despite the exclusion of the texts and genres mentioned here, the 41 texts included in this study represent the main body of texts as perceived by scholars of Ayutthaya literature nowadays. Textbooks on Ayutthaya literary history always prioritizes this group of texts, especially the ones included in the Fine Arts Department's *Anthology of Ayutthaya Literature*. The manuscripts of these selected texts preserved at the libraries and institutions in Thailand⁶ and European countries were consulted during my manuscript fieldwork between 2015–2019. The 714 manuscripts found and collected for this study are preserved in fifteen different institutions, as listed below in Table II along with the number of manuscripts found.

⁵ For example, there are at least five *Phra Malai* illustrated manuscripts preserved at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of Saint Petersburg, namely, SPB: IOMs: VII, 57; 58; 59; 60; 61. Even though all of them are damaged, the number still reflects the interest of these institutes worldwide to preserve these damaged illustrated manuscripts.

⁶ I would like to express my highest gratitude to Her Royal Highness Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn who has granted me her royal permission to access the manuscripts from Her Royal Highness's private library and collection in conducting this research, as well as to the other libraries and institutions in Thailand which I consulted for this thesis.

Table II: The institutions in Thailand and European countries that preserve the manuscripts used as the primary source for this study.

No.	City, Country	Institute	Number of manuscripts found
1	Bangkok, Thailand	National Library of Thailand	636
2	Bangkok, Thailand	Siam Society	3
3	Bangkok, Thailand	Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University	1
4	Bangkok, Thailand	Devasathan the Brahmin Temple	1
5	Bangkok, Thailand	HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn's Private Library and Collection	5
6	Central and Western Thailand	Manuscripts of Western Thailand, The Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre (Online)	1
7	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Northern Thai Information Center, Digital Heritage Collection, Chiang Mai University	39
8	Chiang Mai, Thailand	Sukich Nimmanheminda's Collection, Digital Heritage Collection, Chiang Mai University	1
9	Lamphun, Thailand	Singkha Wannasai's Library	1
10	Nakhon Si Thammarat, Thailand	National Library, Nakhon Si Thammarat	2
11	Paris, France	National Library of France	4
12	Paris, France	École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO)	10
13	Berlin, Germany	State Library of Berlin	6
14	Leipzig, Germany	GRASSI Ethnological Museum of Leipzig	1
15	Dresden, Germany	Saxony State and University Library of Dresden	1
16	Munich, Germany	Bavarian State Library of Munich	1
17	Leiden, the Netherlands	State and University Library of Leiden	1

1.6.2 Preservation of Primary Sources

Most of the manuscripts employed as primary sources for this study come from the Manuscript Collection of the National Library of Thailand (Bangkok), the national authority on and the largest collector of Siamese manuscripts. First founded as the public state library in 1905 with its former name as the Wachirayan State Library, three former libraries and their collections consisting of the former Royal Library of Wachirayan (the first modern library in Thailand established during 1880's)⁷, the Royal *Tipitaka* Hall (“Monthian Tham Library”), and the monastic library of Wat Bencama Bòphit (“Phutthasangkhaha Library”) were combined together to form the national collection at the State Library (Damrong Rajanubhab, 1916: 2). The manuscripts originally owned by these three institutes were recorded on the National Library's labels as “old possession of the library” (Th. สมบัติเดิมของหอสมุดฯ). Furthermore, after its founding, the Wachirayan State Library then acquired a number of manuscripts from other institutions. For instance, Princess Wong Can (Th. พระองค์เจ้าวงศ์จันทร์), a sister of Prince Wichaichan, the last Grand Prince of the Front Palace, donated all the manuscripts once in the procession of the Front Palace to the State Library in 1907, 1912 and 1916, consisting of some unique literary works unknown among the Grand Palace's royal collection (Damrong Rajanubhab, 1916: 76). Prince Damrong played the most important role by requesting the elites in the royal court to donate manuscripts from their own private collection and by purchasing a large number of significant manuscripts from antique dealers.

During the construction of the Chakri Maha Prasat Royal Hall between 1876 and 1892, the collection of the traditional royal library went “astray” and was “stolen” while being stored outside the palace. A number of royal manuscripts were not returned to the palace after the construction was completed, but were instead circulated in the antique market at that time. With his well-grounded knowledge on Siamese culture, Prince Damrong Rajanubhab (1960: 173–174) could identify a significant number of important manuscripts, including former royal manuscripts, and so he made the tradesmen an offer and purchased them. Normally the library would record the donor's name and the date of acquisition so as to honour the donor. Yet in order not to frighten the antique dealers, who might have obtained the manuscripts illicitly and out of fear would have decided not to vendor them to the library, the manuscripts purchased from the antique dealers were recorded without the identity of the vendor (Damrong Rajanubhab, 1960: 172) as “purchased by the library” (Th. หอสมุดซื้อวันที่.../ หอพระสมุดซื้อวันที่.../ หอฯซื้อวันที่...) along with the date of purchase.

Even after the 1932 Revolution, the Wachirayan Library, later renamed “The National Library of Thailand” still continued to acquire manuscripts from other governmental departments which once partially possessed the traditional manuscripts since the Absolute Monarchy period. For instance, the Ministry of Education transferred the traditional

⁷ For a history of the Royal Library of Wachirayan, please see Damrong Rajanubhab, 2012.

manuscripts from its possession to the library in 1937. Furthermore, between 1936 and 1939 the larger collection comprising thousands of *khòì* manuscripts owned by the traditional Department of the Royal Scribes was transferred from the Secretariat of the Prime Minister, to which the modern office of royal scribes belonged, into the possession of the National Library. In addition, the manuscripts from private collections also found their ways into the library's hands, either by way of purchase or donation. One of the most important collections is the legacy of Prince (Mòm Cao) Piyaphakdinat Supradit (Th. หม่อมเจ้าปิยภักดินาต สุประดิษฐ์, 1857–1928), whose grandson and heir Mòm Luang Daeng Supradit sold the entire collection to the National Library in 1936. In his lifetime, Prince Piyaphakdinat was famous for collecting the old manuscripts which he had purchased from antique dealers (Damrong Rajanubhab, 1960: 162). Thus, his private collection consists of hundreds of manuscripts with old dates, unique texts, fine calligraphy, and skillful illustrations. Some of the manuscripts purchased by the National Library from the Supradit family can even be identified as part of the royal collection, due to the prefaces of the royal scribes (i.e. NLT: RSs: Mss no. 35, 37).

In addition, the National Library of Thailand also acquired a number of manuscripts from different donors, including several intellects of the royal court in the early twentieth century, such as Luang Darunkit Withun (Chot Menabodhi) (Th. หลวงครุณกิจวิฑูร (ชด เมนะโพธิ์), 1889–1970), an official teacher under the Ministry of Education and a co-author of the famous primer *Baep Rian Reo Mai* (Th. แบบเรียนเร็วใหม่ ‘*New Fast Primer*’) (Anake Nawigamune, 2008: 273–274), as well as Cao Phraya Mukkha Montri (Uap Paorohitya) (Th. เจ้าพระยาภูษมนตรี (อวบ เปาโรหิตย์), 1876–1933), a famous noble official under the Interior Ministry in the early twentieth century (see Nuansiri Paorohitya, 2017: 17–48). Therefore, the national manuscript collection has long stood as the largest and the most important collection of Siamese manuscripts. Even the royal manuscripts, which were partially missing from its original possession, have finally been returned, though not entirely, to the national collection, thanks to the great efforts and contributions of the scholars and librarians since the early twentieth century. Despite the significance of the collection, the catalogue of the entire collection has never been officially published. The typewritten, and sometimes handwritten, catalogues of manuscripts, though having been systematized and revised by the librarians throughout decades, are available only in the reading room. During the last several decades, a large number of manuscripts, both palm-leaf and *khòì*-paper, have been microfilmed and sometimes even digitized. The access to the manuscripts of the collection, as well as to their microfilms and digital copies, requires the strict permission of the library.

Aside from the “national manuscript collection” preserved at the National Library of Thailand in Bangkok, other institutions in Thailand also house minor manuscript collections, including manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature. For instance, the library of the Siam Society Under Royal Patronage houses a manuscript collection covering palm-leaf and *khòì*-paper leporello manuscripts, in which four manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature have been found. The

local branch of the National Library of Thailand in Nakhòn Si Thammarat houses a minor collection in which three manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature can be found. In addition, one manuscript of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* is kept at the library of the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University. Devasathan the Brahmin Temple (Th. *thewasathan bot phram* / เทวสถานโบสถ์พราหมณ์), the central temple of the court brahmins situated in the old town of Bangkok, has also preserved one manuscript of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* written in the Siamese Grantha script (BKK: DSBPhr), a manuscript supposedly used in a Brahmin ritual. A photocopy of this manuscript has already been published in a study on this text by Wudhichai Kosolkajana (1988: 305–316). Furthermore, Her Royal Highness Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn's private library and collection also houses traditional manuscripts, which have been offered to Her Royal Highness the Princess by various agents in the different times, from which five manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature have been identified, namely, three manuscripts of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani*, one manuscript of *Thawa Thotsamat*, and one manuscript of *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*.

Manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature have been found in provinces other than Bangkok. For instance, one manuscript of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* (MSWT: NPT001-016), originally from Wat Tha Phut monastery in Nakhòn Pathom, was found in “The Manuscripts of Western Thailand,” the digitization project carried on by the Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, which covers the manuscript digitization of many manuscripts and institutions in various provinces in Central Thailand. The project based on the manuscript survey in 2001 has since been developed and became accessible online in 2015. Two additional manuscripts, namely, *Cindamani* and *Konlabot Siriwiwunkit*, have also been found at the National Library of Thailand at Nakhòn Si Thammarat in southern Thailand, though both are in the condition of damaged fragments. Furthermore, manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature have also been found in the northern provinces of Thailand. The library of the late Singkha Wannasai (Th. สิงห์วรรณสัย, 1920–1980), a leading scholar of Northern Thai literature, in Lamphun, also owned another manuscript of *Cindamani* (LPh: SWL: Cindamani).

Significantly, the Central Library of Chiang Mai University also houses several collections of Siamese manuscripts accessible for research. One is a part of the collection of the Northern Thai Information Center (Th. *Sun Sonthet Phak Nüa* / ศูนย์สนเทศภาคเหนือ), in which more than three hundred Siamese *khò* manuscripts have been found. Within this collection, thirty-nine manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature have been found. All of them were formerly owned by Kraisri Nimmanheminda (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเหมินท์, 1912–1992), an important cultural activist and philanthrope of northern Thailand (see more in Wasan Panyakaew, 2012). The other collection is called after the former owner “Sukich Nimmanheminda's Collection” within the Central Library of Chiang Mai University. Despite his higher education in physics as well as his long governmental and political tenures, the former minister and ambassador Sukich Nimmanheminda (Th. สุกิจ นิมมานเหมินท์, 1906–1976), an older cousin of Kraisri, also collected

old printed books and old manuscripts as one of his hobbies and interests (see Sukich Nimmanheminda, 1976: 272–273). One manuscript of the selected Ayutthaya texts has been among his manuscript collection now under the conservation of the Chiang Mai University Central Library, namely, a manuscript of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* which has been edited by Prince Paramanuchit (CM: DHC: SKNM). Both collections in Chiang Mai mentioned here have already been digitized and made accessible online within the Digital Heritage Collection of the Chiang Mai University. Noteworthy is that the Siamese manuscripts in the collections in Northern Thailand seem not to have been originally created in the northern provinces where the Tham script culture flourished at all, but rather came into the private collections of these prominent scholars, namely Kraisri Nimmanheminda, Sukich Nimmanheminda, and Singkha Wannasai, before becoming a part of these current collections in Chiang Mai and Lamphun.

Siamese manuscripts also found their way to European countries during the last few centuries, preserved today as a part of oriental manuscript collections in many different institutions (McDaniel, 2017a: 4, 13–14). According to several publications on Siamese manuscripts in Europe, the geography of Siamese manuscripts ranges from the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin in the most west (McDaniel, 2017b) to the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of Saint Petersburg in the eastern part of Europe (Posova and Chizhikova, 1999), and from the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen in northern Europe (Coedès, 1966) to the University of Naples' "L'Orientale" library in Italy in the south (Cicuzza, 2017). In Germany alone, with its long history of decentralized library systems, there are more than twenty institutions which preserve Siamese manuscripts at present (Terwiel, 2017: 84). However, not every library and museum possesses manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature (for the preliminary catalogues of Siamese manuscripts in Germany, please see Wenk, 1963; 1968).

The institutes housing significant numbers of manuscripts of Ayutthaya texts are the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO)'s library in Paris (ten manuscripts), the State Library of Berlin (six manuscripts), and the National Library of France in Paris (four manuscripts). The other institutes preserving a smaller number of the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature are the Saxony State and University Library of Dresden, the GRASSI Museum for Ethnology in Leipzig, the Bavarian State Library of Munich, and the University and State Library of Leiden. Each of them preserves one manuscript of Ayutthaya text. The manuscripts in the different institutions in Thailand and Europe have already been surveyed and investigated during 2015–2019, should the digital copies not be available.

1.6.3 Selection of Secondary Sources

Apart from the scribal paratexts of the manuscripts of the selected 41 literary texts, other sources will be also consulted as a part of this study in order to investigate the manuscript transmission of Ayutthaya literature. The librarian's paratexts, especially for the cases of manuscripts preserved at the National Library of Thailand, concealing brief information on the library's acquisition of the manuscript, will also be consulted to form hypotheses about the former owners of the manuscripts. However, in many cases of the manuscripts sold to the library by antique dealers, the information on their exact owners will be absent to us. Furthermore, the paratexts from other significant manuscripts dated in Ayutthaya, despite their non-poetic content, will be also consulted as a part of the manuscript culture of Ayutthaya - for instance, the manuscript of Luang Prasoet's *Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya* dated in 1680 (the earliest Siamese *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript ever found), a manuscript of *Rachawat Chadok*, a *Jātaka* tale in prose with the date of manuscript in 1724, as well as the paratexts of the canonical palm-leaf manuscripts dated in Ayutthaya period (published in Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 2002). Furthermore, some other manuscripts dated in the Thonburi period and the early Bangkok period with significant paratexts, if already published, will also be collected, in order to compare them with the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature contemporarily dated in the Bangkok period. Some examples of these are the paratexts from the manuscripts of King Taksin's *Ramakian* (published in Krom Sinlapakòn, 2018a) and *Trai Phum* (discussed in Terwiel, 2014), as well as the paratexts of the King Rama I's manuscripts of the royal legal codes (published in Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan, 2007a–b). These manuscripts will be also taken as supporting evidence to investigate the manuscript culture from Ayutthaya period to the early Bangkok period.

In order to give an overview of the manuscript culture in relation to the epigraphy culture, the corpus of inscriptions of Sukhothai (Hò Samut Haeng Chat, 2005) and Ayutthaya inscriptions (Santi and Nawarat Pakdeekham, 2018) will be consulted. The administrative documents preserved now at the Section of *Cot Mai Het* ('historical dispatches') within the Manuscript Collection at the National Library of Thailand have become an astonishing piece of evidence revealing the role and functions of the scribes in the Siamese royal court in nineteenth century Bangkok. The court documents concerning the royal scribes will also be analyzed along with the scribal paratexts found in the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature. The other supporting evidence collected as secondary evidence is mainly the historical evidence, ranging from the texts of the royal chronicles from Ayutthaya to the Bangkok period, the Europeans' travel writing on Siam (if the manuscript culture relevant), as well as the testimonies of Ayutthaya captives in Burma (known in Thai as *Kham Hai Kan*), which have survived in various versions, though not without complications in their transmission history (see Baker, 2011: 72–74).

1.7 Terms and Definitions

Text and Manuscript

The word “text” (< Lat. *textus* literally ‘thing woven’) generally refers to the wording of any piece of writing, or, in a literary context, the main body of wording or verbal structure which constitutes a book or manuscript (Beal, 2009: 414). The word “manuscript” broken down means ‘written by hand,’ denoting any non-printed or pre-publication forms (2009: 244) or handwritten copies of a text (Katre, 1954: 95). Therefore, manuscripts in this study will be referred to as the carrier of a given text, not as the text itself. When a manuscript has been written and functions as a book in the modern sense, the term manuscript book will be applied to mark its condition of being written rather than being a blank manuscript.

The term “leprello” will be adapted for the traditional *khòì*-paper manuscript to describe the accordion or concertina-like fashion with which a long piece of paper has been folded to form a book. Along with the term leprello, sometimes *khòì*-paper manuscripts are also called folding books (i.e. Gaur, 1979: 20; Igunma, 2013b: 631). In term of etymology, the term derives from the servant Leporello in Mozart’s opera *Don Giovanni* (premiered in 1787), as Leporello’s list of ladies who had been won over by his master, Don Giovanni, became so long that he had to fold and refold it (Terwiel, 2014: 42).

Typescript and Printed Books

In opposition to manuscript, the term typescript refers to any record produced by the use of a typewriter (Beal, 2009: 423), a modern invention which has been known among the Siamese since the late nineteenth century. The typescript is mostly singly produced, while the printed book refers to any record produced identically in mass number by a printing press.

Multiple-Text Manuscript and Composite

The term “multiple-text manuscript” refers to a codicological unit ‘worked in a single operation’ with two or more texts or a ‘production unit’ resulting from one production process delimited in time and space. Composite, on the other hand, refers to a codicological unit which is made up of formerly independent units (Friedrich and Schwarke, 2016: 15–16). The same handwriting and writing implemented also help to differentiate a multiple-text manuscript from a composite.

Write, Copy, Edit

The word “to write” is ambiguous in modern English. The same is also true in modern Thai for the word *khian* (Th. เขียน), which can mean not only to mark a letter or sign on a surface, but also to compose, and even to draw (as in the modern Thai phrase *wat khian* ‘drawing’). The word *khian* found in manuscripts also often means to copy, or to mark a letter of the text on a surface of manuscript. In order to avoid the confusion connoted with the English word “to

write,” which can also mean to compose, sometimes the Thai word *khian* in the scribal paratexts will be translated as “to copy”.

Manuscript Copy

However, the term “copy” when used as a noun connotes the product of copying a text, i.e. a manuscript or a group of manuscripts. In many cases, for shorter texts, one copy might contain a single codicological unit. On the other hand, longer texts often required more than one manuscript to finish, making one copy a set of copies containing several manuscripts with the continuity of the text. For example, one complete set of *Lilit Phra Lò* which covers 659 stanzas of *khlong* and *rai* meters normally takes up three or four volumes of manuscript. In order to see how much one text has been circulated and further copied, the number of copies must be taken into consideration, not every single manuscript. The classification of each manuscript copy can be conducted through a careful investigation on the continuity of the text among the manuscripts, by analyzing the corresponding handwriting and writing material, as well as the relevant size of manuscript, which would allow us to believe that a group of manuscripts have been produced together by the same agent around the same time and have belonged to each other as the same set of copy. In many cases, nevertheless, the surviving manuscripts appear to be an incomplete part of the set and cannot be related to any other manuscript, as it once belonged to a different set of copies, which have already gone astray. In these cases, each of them will be counted as a copy of its own, though incomplete, as it still represents the product of the text’s copying.

Scribes and Royal Scribes

The word “scribe” used in this work refers to the person responsible for the writing or copying of a manuscript’s text (Beal, 2009: 361), or the copyist of a manuscript in general, thus covering anyone engaged in the practice of copying texts, known as *phu khat lòk* (Th. ผู้คัดลอก, literally ‘copyists’) in Thai (Visudh Busyakul, 1993: 154), regardless of whether the scribe was a royal professional or not. On the other hand, professional scribes, especially those within the royal court, will be referred to as royal scribes as the translation of the Thai term *alak* (Th. อาลักษณ์). However, in the process of textual transmission, the roles of other scholars as the compiler and editor of text can also be found. In order to refer to the copyist along with the other scholars involved in transmitting texts, such as a compiler, an editor, a teacher, etc., the phrase “scribes and scholars” will be applied in the same way modern scholars in many fields have used it to describe the agents of textual transmission (for example, see Reynolds and Wilson, 2013; Cohen, 2009).

Users and Readers of Manuscripts

When a traditional manuscript has been used in an actual situation, the term “users” will be employed referring to the personal agent of manuscript usage. The users can be readers of manuscripts, in the case that the users read the text from the manuscript, either aloud or silently.

However, the sense of traditional readers is still different from the one perceived in the modern sense. Reading a manuscript in the traditional context is not always silent reading as can be found in the modern sense, but closely related to a context in which a manuscript has been used. Sometimes a manuscript is present in the ceremony or ritual and its text was even read aloud in the manuscript's presence. As the reading habits in the traditional manuscript culture significantly differ from the modern reading culture, the use of the term readers alone might be misleading. Hence, the terms "users and readers" will be employed to emphasize the traditional use of the manuscripts, in which the practice of using and (traditionally) reading can be found together.

Tradition

Among the studies on textual criticism, the term tradition has been employed to denote the same meaning as textual transmission, often in relation to stemma form (Beal, 2009: 419). In this work, the term will be used without the connotation of a stemmatic presentation of textual transmission, but rather to refer to the continuation of transmission and reception practices for any particular text.

CHAPTER II

Background of Ayutthaya Literature: Introduction to Siamese Literary and Manuscript Culture

This part of the study aims to provide a background of Siamese literary and manuscript culture. Therefore, only the literary and manuscript culture will be offered here, without a detailed historical background as commonly provided in the works on Thai literary history (for more details on the history of the Ayutthaya Kingdom, please see Baker and Phongpaichit, 2017a; a brief history of Thailand is available in: Wyatt, 2003; Grabowsky, 2010). It will provide an overview on the history of Thai literacy and manuscript culture, an overview of Ayutthaya literature, and a discussion of the continuation of Thai literacy and manuscript culture in Bangkok, in order to lay the historical foundation for further discussions of Ayutthaya literature in the Bangkok period in later parts of the study.

2.1 The Tai before Literacy: Origin and Migration

The Siamese belong to the southwestern group of the Tai-Kadai ethno-linguistic family, whose ancestors migrated from Southern China southwards to mainland Southeast Asia throughout the first millennium CE, though mainly during the ninth to twelfth centuries (see more in Wyatt, 2003; Baker, 2002). The languages of the Tai-Kadai are non-inflected tonal languages, sharing many mutual words and sounds (Hudak, 2008: 1–2). Linguists suggest the origin of the Tai speaking people in Guang Xi province as well as some parts of Guizhou. Before the Common Era, the Tai belonged to the group of non-Chinese people settling on the south of the Yang Zi river known in early Chinese records as “Yue,” a word in use until the beginning of the Common Era (Baker, 2002: 4). Chamberlain (1998: 5) suggests that the Proto-Tai was separated from neighbouring languages by the Han military push around 330 BCE. Then, around the beginning of the Common Era, the language had split into three groups: the central Tai (i.e. Nung, Tho), the northern Tai (i.e. Zhuang), and the Southwestern Tai. The latter group constitutes the languages spoken along the Upper Mekong and the mainland Southeast Asia, including that of the Siamese or Thai.

Over these migrations throughout many centuries, the Tai people became part of ancient kingdoms on the southwestern frontiers of the expanding Han empire, such as Dian, Nanchao, and Piao. However, the Tai were more likely settlers, soldiers, and slaves, while the core people of these states were probably Tibeto-Burmese (Baker, 2002: 7). The patronymic tradition of the Nanchao kings, for instance, appears to be a Tibeto-Burmese rather than a Tai tradition (Prasert Na Nagara, 1998: 55–56). As a result of the different courses of migration during many centuries, the Southwestern Tai-speaking people spread from Assam across the Upper Salween and Irawadi river basins to the Mekong in Lao and northern Vietnam. The climax of

this migration process took place in wake of the fall of the Nanchao kingdom in the twelfth century and the expansion of the Mongol in the thirteenth century, forcing the Tai to migrate further to the southwest (Baker, 2002: 5). However, the long migration of the Tai was not only a result of this external military push, but also a result of the internal development and expansion among the Tai people themselves (Grabowsky, 2010: 30).

With their origin in southern China, the Tai people share several traditions with the ancient Chinese, for instance, the hexadecimal calendrical system and shared administrative divisions (see Cheah, 1988: 230–233). Nevertheless, there is no evidence of literacy attested among the Tai in these centuries. The legends of the Tai during this migration period, which were later found in written forms like the legendary chronicle (Th. *tamnan*) of *Singhanawat Kuman*, *Suwanna Kham Daeng*, as well as the epic *Thao Hung Thao Chüang*, provide an image of warrior societies in which the chieftains gain power through wars against other tribes and the indigenous people (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2017a: 30). As far as the research indicates, Tai communities appeared to be purely oral, with no practice of the written word being present. It seems that writing did not emerge among the Tai until after these centuries of migration, when the Tai came into contact with the cultures of the indigenous people of mainland Southeast Asia, who had already adapted writing systems from India centuries prior. The southwestern Tai speaking groups then adapted the writing and diffused into the Indianized culture such as Buddhism, gradually differentiating themselves from the other groups of Tai-Kadai in China, such as the Zhuang, which remained animist and later adapted, probably around the eleventh century, the Chinese writing system to notate their vernacular languages (Cheah Yanchong, 2005: 417–426).

2.2 Literacy before the Tai: Early States in Southeast Asian Mainland

Writing as a cultural practice existed in Southeast Asian Mainland already since the fifth century CE within the ancient civilizations in the mainland, all of which were strongly influenced by India. This was long before the great migrations of the Tai-speaking people during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The early writing found in Southeast Asia appears identical to the South Indic Brahmi, which at that period was widely used in the Kingdom of the Pallava dynasty in South India (see Hò Samut Haeng Chat, 2016a: 32–33, thus being called “Pallava Grantha,” literally ‘the writing of the Pallava (dynasty)’). This branch of South Indic writing has commonly been labeled as the origin of almost all Southeast Asian scripts in the mainland since the fifth century, as well as the early writings in the archipelago before the ascendancy of the Arabic writing in the thirteenth century.

Initially, the Pallava Grantha script found in several ancient civilizations in Southeast Asia during the fifth and sixth centuries was mostly identical with its counterpart in South India.

Nevertheless, after centuries had passed, the form of writing in Southeast Asia gradually came to differ from that found in India. During the seventh and eighth centuries, it begins to take on its own identity (Kannika Wimonkasem, 1999: 315; Hò Samut Haeng Chat, 2016a: 45), hence the script is known among modern scholars as “Post-Pallava”. This Post-Pallava script has been widely used in different regions throughout Southeast Asia before the script evolved into its unique form in different regions and cultures, namely Old Mon and Old Khmer in the mainland, as well as Old Kawi in archipelago. The scripts that evolved from the Pallava Grantha of South India have now become the branch which most dominates the scripts of Southeast Asia even in the present.

In the Cao Phraya river basin, an ancient civilization known among scholars as “Dvaravati” flourished during the fourth to the eleventh centuries (Saraya, 1999: 42). Among the influences from various religions and beliefs, Theravada Buddhism is dominant in Dvaravati arts and culture (Sakchai Saisingha, 2019: 101). Dvaravati artistic styles and city planning methods are evident in the city plans of cities in central Thailand as well as in some parts of the northeast. Whether this cultural network among different city states ever had any political unity is questionable, for the archeological evidence implies unity in terms of trade networks and artistic unity rather than political unity (see Saraya, 1999: 102–104). Writings in Pallava and Post-Pallava scripts have often been found in the Dvaravati sites, (Hò Samut Haeng Chat, 2016a: 53), though not as extensively as described in the inscriptions. Mostly the Pali quotations from the canonical texts, either on a stone stele or other objects such as the Dhammacakka wheel, are attested. Coins with a legend in Sanskrit: *Śrī dvāravatīśvarapuṇya* (‘By the Great Merited King of Dvaravati’) have been found in significant number at various Dvaravati sites. The main cities of Dvaravati were Nakhòn Pathom, U-Thòng (Suphanburi), and Lopburi. The vernacular language attested among the Dvaravati inscriptions appears to be Old Mon. Therefore, the Mon were supposedly the ruling people among these cities. Around the ninth century, another Mon center was established in Hariphunchai, nowadays Lamphun, in the northern part of Thailand. According to *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* (‘*Chronicle of Queen Cāma*’) a Pali chronicle from Lan Na written centuries later, a Mon princess moved from Lopburi to establish Hariphunchai as the new capital with Mon Theravada Buddhism as its religious base. The Dvaravati culture fell from power around the tenth and eleventh centuries with the expansion of a neighbouring culture in the east: the Khmer.

The early settlements of the Khmer are attested to have existed since the first century in the Mekong delta, especially in Oc Keo, southern Vietnam. This is also supported by the Chinese records on the “Funan” kingdom since the third century (Phasuk Inthrawut, 2002: 133). Along with the Pre-Angkorian periods known as the “Funan” (circa 1st–6th centuries) and “Chenla” (circa 6th–9th centuries) periods, the Pallava writing can be widely found in the inscriptions along the territory of modern Cambodia, eastern and northeastern Thailand, as well as southern Vietnam. The inscriptions indicate a strong Sanskrit culture in ancient Cambodia,

while no Pali inscriptions were found there until the thirteenth century (Santi and Nawarat Pakdeekham, 2018: 45). However, the Khmer became the dominant culture on the Southeast Asian mainland during the Angkorian period (9th–13th centuries), especially between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, in which the political power of the Khmer at Angkor reached its peak. Lopburi served as an additional center of Khmer culture in the Cao Phraya river basin. Even though the kings of Angkor could not always take total control of all the peripheral cities far from Angkor such as Lopburi, the culture in Lopburi and surrounding cities during these centuries was obviously heavily influenced by the Khmer (Dhida Saraya, 2009: 220–224).

Khmer and Sanskrit literacy were widespread among the ruling classes, especially the members of the royal family and the court brahmins. The extensive inscriptions, both in Sanskrit and Old Khmer, demonstrate their advanced literacy in Classical Sanskrit and in the vernaculars. Sanskrit poems in *chan* meter have been often found newly composed and engraved in the Angkorian inscriptions. The traces of manuscripts can also be attested in the epigraphic evidence. For instance, an inscription in Old Khmer script dated in 1038 found in Phreah Vihear mentions the engraving of texts on palm-leaf manuscripts (Hò Samut Haeng Chat, 1986a: 168), while the libraries for storing Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts were mentioned in the Old Khmer inscriptions since the sixth century onwards (see Goodall, 2017: 131–150). In addition, Zhou Daguan, a Chinese diplomat who arrived in Angkor in 1296, recorded the use of parchment made of deer leather as a common writing material, along with the use of a similar material which had been blackened (Zhou Daguan, 2014: 24–25). The Khmer people wrote on this black writing support with a stick made of white steatite pencil called “sò” (meaning ‘white’ in Khmer), which was easily erasable by any wet cloth or object. Zhou Daguan’s description of the writing tools of the Khmer does resemble the use of blackened paper and white steatite pencil in Siam and Cambodia as evidence from many centuries later suggests. We cannot know exactly whether the blackened writing support mentioned in Zhou Daguan’s account was *khòì* paper or not, but the account has provided us with one of the earliest sources on the use of white steatite pencil as a writing substance.

Khmer literacy also spread to the surrounding states dominated by Khmer culture. For instance, the Inscription of Dong Mae Nang Müang dated in 1167 CE (Hò Samut Haeng Chat, 1986b: 109) found in Nakhòn Sawan (upper part of the Cao Phraya basin) was written bilingually with a variation of Old Angkorian Khmer script: Pali and Old Khmer, mentioning the names of the non-Angkorian local kings in the Khmer language and script (Winai Pongsripan, 2011: 8; 2016a: 45). This inscription from the upper part of the Cao Phraya basin suggests that Khmer literacy spread along with Khmer culture, and not necessarily via political power.

Another ancient civilization in southern Thailand is called Srivijaya, which was once the most powerful maritime center in the peninsula, with its center most plausibly having been in Palembang on Sumatra. Proof of Indian settlements stretches back to the fourth century,

while the “Indianized state” of Srivijaya was founded during the fifth to eleventh century. In Srivijaya, Sanskrit culture flourished alongside Buddhism and Hinduism. Apart from the Sanskrit inscriptions of Srivijaya found in Southern Thailand (see Coedès and Damais, 1992), the Chinese monk I-ching, who visited Srivijaya in the seventh century along his path to India, regarded Srivijaya as one of the most important centers for Buddhist learning. I-ching himself stopped in Ligor (Nakhòn Si Thammarat) to study Buddhism, marking the higher level of Sanskrit literacy of Srivijaya (Wolters, 2008: 80–81).

No Tai languages were found within the ancient civilizations of the Southeast Asian mainland. Only after the migration did the Tai adapt the writing of the indigenous people according to the different regions they resided in. The fall of Angkorian power in the thirteenth century as well as the fall of the Pagans due to the Mongol invasions cleared the way for the establishment of political polities among the Tai-speaking peoples. Among the Tai settlements in the Cao Phraya river basin, where the Khmer culture still played a most important role, the writing system was adapted to fit the Tai vernacular language of Sukhothai in the late thirteenth century, marking the earliest evidence of any Tai-Thai language in written form. Around the same time, the Tai Yuan people established the Lan Na Kingdom in northern Thailand, where the Tham Lan Na script emerged since at least the late fourteenth century for the purposes of writing Pali and later vernacular Lan Na Tai by adapting the Old Mon writing system of Hariphunchai (Kannika Wimonkasem, 2009: 108–109). The Tai Nüa people in southern Yunnan adapted the Old Mon and Burmese writing to write their vernacular languages in the period prior to the fifteenth century (Wharton, 2017: 26; Anchali Chuthachandra, 1994: 55–56) using a script known as Lik Tai Nüa (‘script of the Northern Tai’) or Lik Thua Ngok (‘bean sprout script’). The Tai Nüa script was then adapted further by the Shan, a Tai Nüa-related ethnic group in northeast Burma, into the Burmese-influenced Shan script in the following centuries (Kam Mong, 2004: 120). Although the various writings of the Tai emerged around the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the earliest writing among them appears to be the writing of Sukhothai, which later developed into both the modern-day Thai and Lao writing systems.

2.3 Dawn of Thai Literacy: The Writing of Sukhothai

Around the second half of the thirteenth century, Tai-speaking warlords conquered several Khmer-dominated cities in the regions of upper-central and northern Thailand. One of the most significant cities thereof was Sukhothai. The inscription at Wat Si Chum (Inscription No. 2) dated in circa 1369 depicts the early history of Sukhothai in the twelfth century. It states that Pha Muüang, one of the Tai-speaking lords, had taken the city of Sukhothai back from another lord who held the Khmer title “Sabat Khlon Lamphong,” and then decided to give the city to another lord, Bang Klang Hao, as well as his title granted from the king of Angkor “Si Inthrathit” (see Hò Samut Haeng Chat, 2005: 104–105). Then, Bang Klang Hao, holding the

title of “Si Inthrahit”, ruled the city as king (r. 1238–1270) and formed the royal house of Sukhothai. In the nationalist historiography, Sukhothai marks the beginning of Thai national history and the era is often referred to as the “Dawn of Thai History,” corresponding to the literal meaning of Sukhothai, i.e. ‘the rise or dawn of happiness’ (Dhida Saraya, 2017: 5). Undeniably, the earliest form of the Thai script cannot be evidenced until the 13th century.

Among the two hundred inscriptions from Sukhothai, the earliest inscription ever found in the Thai language is the one created by the second son of King Si Inthrahit, King Ram Khamhaeng (r.1279–1298), who ruled over Sukhothai after his brother and who also, according to the inscription, “created” (Th. *sai* / ใ้) the Thai script in 1283. The inscription is commonly known as the “Ram Khamhaeng Inscription” or “Inscription No. 1 of Sukhothai,” and is dated 1292. The inscription refers to the writing used within it as *lai sū thai* (‘Thai writing’), stating that there was no Thai writing in this form until King Ram Khamhaeng created it (Hò Samut Haeng Chat, 2005: 50). The form of writing was mainly adapted from Old Khmer and also, though to a lesser degree, possibly Old Mon, while the orthography is more altered (see Thawat Punnothok, 2006: 99–100). Unlike other South Indic writing systems, including those of Old Khmer and Old Mon, in which the second component of a consonant cluster is normally written as a ligature under the line (known in Thai as a “foot” or *choeng* < Kh. *joeng*), all the consonants in *lai sū thai* are written on the same line, resulting in the Thai script having no cluster consonants in ligature form from the beginning of its history. Furthermore, the dependent vowels in the Ram Khamhaeng Inscription do not surround the consonants on all sides, as is typical for an abugida script, but instead follow the consonants as in most phonetic alphabets. This orthography of vowels, probably adapted from the independent vowels⁸ in the Indic writing systems, is unique and perhaps not so popular among the Sukhothai people, who must have been more familiar with Khmer orthography rather than this new organized orthography, as vowels do appear written around the consonants in later documents of Sukhothai, following the orthography of Old Khmer and Old Mon, as well as other Brahmi writing systems.

Literacy in Sukhothai does not cover merely the Thai language and script. Epigraphic evidence indicates that the Khmer writing system was also used alongside that of the Thai. As the Khmer culture dominated the region around Sukhothai and the Cao Phraya river basin for centuries, the Old Khmer script still continued to be used to write the Pali language. Furthermore, one inscription also uses the Khmer script to write the Old Khmer language, along

⁸ Independent vowel (Th. *sara lòi* สระลอย) in the Indic writing systems is an individual letter representing the initial vowel at the beginning of a word. The use of the independent vowel in Thai writing system has rarely been found. Only some cases of the independent /i/ vowel are attested in several inscriptions of Sukhothai dated around 1360’s, namely, Inscriptions no. 2, 3, 62 (see Thawat Punnothok, 2006: 101; Hò Samut Haeng Chat, 2005: 58–69, 101–114, 129–133). Interestingly, the form of the independent vowels from these inscriptions significantly corresponds to the vowel found in the Ram Khamhaeng Inscription.

with another inscription with identical content in Thai language and script. This pair of inscriptions, both dated in 1361 and both engraved under the initiation of King Lithai (r. 1347–1368), commonly known as Inscription No. 4 and Inscription No. 5 (two of the four Wat Pa Mamuang Inscriptions), suggesting that Sukhothai and the surrounding regions in the late fourteenth centuries were multilingual societies, in which at least two vernacular languages, in this case Thai and Khmer, were employed for everyday communication, with Pali being reserved for religious purposes.

The Pali language was most often written in Khmer script, but sometimes also in Thai script, though much less frequently and systematically (i.e. Inscription no. 107 is dated circa 1339; see Hò Samut Haeng Chat, 2005: 54). The form of Khmer script used in Sukhothai can be considered a variation of the Angkorian Khmer script, since some elements appear which were altered from the script used in Angkor. The tradition of using Khmer script for writing Pali texts has been continually practiced in Siamese culture (Grabowsky, 2011: 145), while the Thai script was not systematically organized for consistently writing Pali until the late nineteenth century. The Khmer script in Thailand, with its associations to Old Khmer culture due to its form, was and is still commonly referred to in Thai as the “Khòm” script, the term in Thai language notating Old Khmer culture in general and also the Khmer script used in Thailand. In addition, apart from writing Pali, the Khmer script in Thailand (henceforth: Khòm script) was also adapted to write Thai language as well, even as early as the Sukhothai period in the Wat Pa Daeng Inscription (Inscription no. 9) dated in 1406 (Hò Samut Haeng Chat, 2005: 322). The tradition also continued on until as late as the twentieth century.

Epigraphic evidence from Sukhothai does reveal many significant aspects, but its content is limited to only some groups or genres: royal announcements, laws, merit announcements, as well as oaths and contracts, including the citations of Buddhist canonical texts (see Skilling, 2018). Unfortunately, the manuscript evidence from Sukhothai did not survive. Thus, the literary texts of Sukhothai are not commonly discussed today aside from the inscriptions (Nomnit Wongsutthitham, 2006: 9). One of the rare cases in Sukhothai literature which has survived in the form of manuscripts is *Trai Phumi Katha* ‘*Treatise on Three Worlds*,’ a treatise on Buddhist cosmology composed by King Lithai in 1345, two years before his ascension to the throne of Sukhothai. This cosmology text, the earliest of the genre in vernacular Thai available to us, has also thus commonly been known as *Trai Phum Phra Ruang* ‘*The [Treatise on the] Three Worlds of King Ruang*,’ King Ruang, a title which also appears in texts of the later periods, is a generic title referring to all the kings of Sukhothai (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2012a: 7). *Trai Phumi Katha* was preserved in two complete copies of palm-leaf manuscripts, each containing ten bundles dated in the eighteenth century, and another being an undated incomplete copy (Krom Sinlapakòn, 1985: 1). All copies are written with Khòm script. The authorship and date of *Trai Phumi Katha* are clearly mentioned. The text is regarded as an

important source for Thai prose in the Sukhothai period, as well as for the study of Buddhist history in Thailand in general.

Apart from *Trai Phumi Katha*, two other texts have also been included in the Fine Arts Department's *Anthology of Sukhothai Literature* (1985) as well as other textbooks on Sukhothai literature (i.e. Nomnit Wongsutthitham, 2006), namely *Suphasit Phra Ruang* 'Maxim of King Ruang' and *Tamrap Thao Si Culalak* 'The Textbook of Lady Si Culalak'. The authoritative version of *Suphasit Phra Ruang*, a didactic poem in one stanza of *rai* meter which collects various proverbs in rhyme, is the printed edition⁹ which has been proved by modern scholars to be an amalgam of different edited versions, even having been newly composed in the Bangkok period (Chosita Maneesai, 2013: 112–113). Even though the text mentions King Ruang of Sukhothai as the original provider of these proverbs and maxims, the text is more likely of oral origin, only then later being orally transmitted, probably from Sukhothai due to its association with King Ruang, before being written down in different versions in different poetic meters, and in different periods, though nevertheless always retaining the same proverbs and lessons. Thus, *Suphasit Phra Ruang* cannot be taken as an authentic written text from the Sukhothai era.

The other text included in *the Anthology of Sukhothai Literature* is *Tamrap Thao Si Culalak*, a didactic prose text providing lessons on ceremonies and maxims for the ladies of the court. Lady Si Culalak, the lesson provider in this text, appears to have been a royal consort to King Ruang of Sukhothai, leading to the understanding that the text is originally from Sukhothai as well. The true origin of this text has also been questioned, starting with the criticisms by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab in the late nineteenth century. Even if some part of the text might have been transmitted, possibly orally, from the Sukhothai period (i.e. the parts mentioning the royal ceremonies), most parts of the text must have been then interpolated in during later periods, particularly that of early Bangkok (Cholada Ruengruglikit, 2013: 130–141), as the text also discusses world geography classified by nations (listing the likes of Spain, France, and America), which is in alignment with the context of the early nineteenth century, quite far removed from the context of fourteenth century Sukhothai. Furthermore, some parts of the text are believed to be a royal composition of King Rama III, with one manuscript thought by the nineteenth century's courtiers (i.e. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab and Prince Sommot

⁹ This version of *Suphasit Phra Ruang* has been engraved as a part of the Inscriptions of Wat Phra Chetuphon initiated by King Rama III of Bangkok in 1830. Among various inscription texts composed and edited by the scholars of the royal court, this version of *Suphasit Phra Ruang* has been believed to be composed by Prince Paramanuchit Chinorot, an important scholar and poet of the early Bangkok (Chosita Maneesai, 2013: 118).

Amarabandhu) to be in Rama III's own handwriting¹⁰. Thus, according to some modern scholars, the text of *Tamrap Thao Si Culalak* is more properly attributable to the early Bangkok period (Nidhi Eoseewong, 2012: 298–299). For these reasons, both *Suphasit Phra Ruang* and *Tamrap Thao Si Culalak* cannot be simply taken as written texts directly transmitted from Sukhothai, rendering *Trai Phumi Katha* the only Sukhothai text which has survived in manuscript form, though it should be pointed out that none of the manuscripts from Sukhothai have actually survived until the present.

Even if we do not have any direct evidence of the manuscript culture of Sukhothai, some implications on the existence of manuscripts have been left for us to examine. For instance, the Inscription of Wat Khema (Inscription no. 14), dated in 1536, provides a list of objects offered to the monastery, in which the trace of manuscripts has been found, covering a cloth bearing the Dhamma manuscript as well as an “incised” manuscript of *Vessantara Jātaka* (Th. มหาวะสัณดรจารสำหรับนิ่ง, equivalent to modern spelling: มหาวะสัณดรจารสำหรับนิ่ง) (Hò Samut Haeng Chat, 2005: 282), suggesting the use of palm-leaf manuscripts in the monasteries of Sukhothai. Furthermore, the Inscription of Wat Khema, along with the Inscription of Wat Hin Tang (Inscription no. 95, dated around the early fifteenth century), also mentions a stand of palm-leaf manuscripts known in Thai as *kakayia* (Th. กากะเยีย) along with some donated objects (2005: 206, 282), suggesting the stand was used for reading and writing on manuscripts (Boontuen Sriworapot, 2013: 6; Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 2002: 27). The Inscription of Wat Chang Lòm (dated 1384) also mentions the *Tipiṭaka* Hall of the monastery, serving as the manuscript depository of the monastery (Hò Samut Haeng Chat, 2005: 145; Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 2002: 27). Furthermore, several inscriptions also mention the titles of some Pali canonical texts, though without any mention of their writing supports. In the prologue of *Trai Phumi Katha*, the author refers to titles of various texts on Buddhist cosmology which he consulted during his composition, suggesting that the author, or in this case King Lithai, should have had access to a rather large manuscript collection of these texts, perhaps at Si Satchanalai where he resided at that time (Krom Sinlapakòn, 1985: 22; 2013: 78). There is, unfortunately, no clear mention of the use of paper manuscripts that has been found in later periods as a significant writing support.

The political power of Sukhothai shrank in the fourteenth century and even more so after the founding of Ayutthaya in 1351. The new neighbouring political center gradually took over the territory on the upper Cao Phraya river basin. It can be said that Sukhothai was able to maintain its political power only less than a century, but its influence in arts, culture, and religious held sway for much longer (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2017a: 36). The writing from Sukhothai spread to its neighbours in Ayutthaya, where *lai sū thai*, as well as Khò script, were

¹⁰ The manuscript believed to preserve the handwriting of King Rama III is now registered with the current system of the manuscript inventory as Ms no. 35/1 ก, the Biography Section (Th. *muat prawat*), the National Library of Thailand (NLT: PrWS: Ms no. 35/1 ก).

commonly used in the royal court and the monasteries. Furthermore, *lai sū thai* also found its way to Lan Na and then Laos. In Lan Na, where Tham script had been used since the late fourteenth century, the Sukhothai script, from the period of King Lithai's reign, was adapted to write the vernacular Lan Na Tai language during the early fifteenth and the early seventeenth centuries (see Kannika Wimonkasem, 1981: 36–37), before the Tham Lan Na script gradually came to become the dominate force both for writing Pali and the vernacular Lan Na Tai. The script adapted in Lan Na with the influence of Tham script is now known among scholars as “Thai Fak Kham” (Th. ไทฝักขาม ‘tamarind-seed Thai’). Correspondingly, the Sukhothai script was also adapted in the Lan Xang (Lao) kingdom to write the vernacular Lao language. The script is known as the Old Lao script in Laos or as the Tai Nòi script in Thailand (see Thawat Punnothok, 2006: 247).

Although Sukhothai lost its place and eminence as a powerful political center, and was gradually “absorbed” into its neighbor and enemy in the southern river basin such as Ayutthaya, taking place officially when the king of Sukhothai accepted the supremacy of the king of Ayutthaya in the fifteenth century (Kasetsiri, 1976: 94), the royal house of Sukhothai still held prestige in the northern cities of the basin and was finally able to take the crown of Ayutthaya in the sixteenth century (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2017a: 43–44).

2.4 Ayutthaya Literacy amidst the Drought of Written Sources

The kingdom of Ayutthaya rose from the city states once dominated by Dvaravati and then Khmer culture in the river basin of the Cao Phraya. When King Ramathibòdi I (r. 1351–1369) officially established Ayutthaya as his capital in 1351, King Lithai of Sukhothai (r. 1347–1368) did not take sufficient steps to eliminate this new rival. Although Ayutthaya did not accept the suzerainty of Sukhothai, it was strongly dominated by Sukhothai arts and culture, including writing culture. The script identical to *lai sū thai* in the period of King Lithai has been found used in the early inscriptions of Ayutthaya Kingdom (George Coedès, 1925: 9; Santi and Nawarat Pakdeekham, 2018: 42). In later centuries, the script evolved its own form distinct from the script of Sukhothai used in inscriptions from the fourteenth century (Churairat Laksanasiri, 2008: 140).

While there is significant evidence of literary activity during the four centuries of the Ayutthaya kingdom's existence, its total amount is limited due to the fall of the kingdom. The inscriptions in Thai and Khò̃m scripts were produced most often for merit announcements in religious activities and royal announcements on law and administration in the kingdom of Ayutthaya (Santi and Nawarat Pakdeekham, 2018: 66). A curse on anyone stealing offerings or breaking the oath has also been recorded in the inscriptions. Apart from stone stele, the precious metal as gold or silver plate was also used, either for merit announcements on an imitated palm-leaf format or for royal appointments on metal plates called *suphannabat* (< Skt. *suvarṇa-patra*

/ P. *suvaṇṇa-paṭṭa* ‘golden plate’) and *hiranyabat* (< Skt. *hiraṇya-patra* / P. *hiraṇṇa-paṭṭa* ‘silver plate’. In order to appoint the titles of high-ranked monks or of high-ranked noblemen, *suphannabat* inscriptions were engraved under the royal authorities and then given to the appointed (2018: 33). Later, some *suphannabat* inscriptions recording titles of famous monks were kept in stupas and worshipped as relics (2018: 59). The languages used in the inscriptions of Ayutthaya are mainly Thai and Pali, but the Old Khmer language has also been found in the inscriptions, especially those of *suphannabat*, and was also widely used even in everyday life, especially in the early period of Ayutthaya in the late fourteenth to fifteenth centuries (Kanittanan, 2004: 376).

While epigraphic evidence of Ayutthaya survives from the late fourteenth century, the manuscript evidence can only be traced back to the seventeenth century. The earliest official document of the Ayutthaya royal court that survived to us is a diplomatic letter to the Portuguese viceroy dated 1615–1616 in the reign of King Ekathotsarot (r. 1605–1620). This document is the earliest manuscript in the form of *phlao* paper, the writing support common for Siamese court documents (Churairat Laksanasiri, 2008: 337). Another earliest document (2008: 155) is a trade contract to Danish merchants dated 1621 in the reign of King Song Tham (r. 1620–1628), now preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (see Ginsberg, 2000: 21). Moreover, some palm-leaf manuscripts dated from the Ayutthaya period have also been preserved at the National Library of Thailand. Among them, the earliest is a manuscript of *Vinayaṭṭhakathā Dutiya Pācittiyavaṇṇanā* (the canonical commentary on the *Vinaya Piṭaka*) dated in 1615, considerably the earliest palm-leaf manuscript written in Khôm script ever found¹¹. There are also around twenty palm-leaf manuscripts (Khôm script, Pali language) with exact dates in the Ayutthaya period (see Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 2002: 86–92), but only from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Furthermore, we also have additional court documents from the end of the seventeenth century, namely, two royal charters donating the land and servants to a monastery in Phatthalung, a city in Southern Thailand, known among modern scholars as *Phra Tamra Bòromma Rachuthit Phüa Kanpana* (published in Samnak Nayok Ratthamontri, 1967). These two royal charters, dated in 1699, appear in *phlao* paper written with black pencil. One charter was written in Thai language and Thai script, while the other in Khmer language and Khôm script. Both charters, however, preserve the same content, despite different languages and scripts. The authorizing seals of the Minister of Finance and of the Head of the Royal Scribes are found in both charters (1967: 1, 44–45), suggesting their status of original documents. These charters represent the case of court documents bestowed to the provincial area within the Ayutthaya kingdom surviving in form of *phlao* paper. The use of two languages here, in

¹¹ However, the earliest palm-leaf manuscript ever found in Thailand is from the Lan Na manuscript culture written in Tham script with the date of 1471: the manuscript of *Timsa-nipāda* from Wat Lai Hin monastery in Lampang Province (northern Thailand) (Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 2002: 29).

addition, indicates bilingualism (Thai and Khmer) in the southern city even in the late seventeenth century.

Khòì-paper leporello manuscripts, the most common support for literary and secular texts, have been found dated since the late seventeenth century, considerably much later periods in comparison with palm-leaf manuscripts, due to their sensitivity to the climate and preservation conditions. The earliest (blackened) *khòì*-paper manuscript known nowadays is the manuscript of Luang Prasoet's *Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya* dated in 1680. The preface of the manuscript mentions that the king (referring to King Narai) ordered the author of the text, probably Phra Horathibòdi, to compile a chronology of the kingdom from many different written sources, namely, the astrologist's dispatches, the historical dispatches from the manuscript hall, and the royal chronicles, suggesting that different groups of historical written texts be preserved among the royal court of Ayutthaya (see Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002a: 417). The manuscript was supposedly a copy produced to King Narai himself, as is stated in the preface.

Apart from this famous early manuscript of Luang Prasoet's *Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya*, around twenty Ayutthaya manuscripts have survived from the late seventeenth century. For instance, one manuscript of *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng* ('Eulogy for King Prasat Thòng') was copied in 1748 from an exemplar that Prince Thep Phiphit brought out of the royal manuscript hall of Ayutthaya (NLT: ChSs: Chò: Ms no. 2), suggesting the circulation of the text among the members of the royal court, though not everyone was allowed to access the royal manuscript depository. One manuscript (NLT: ThSNChD: Ms no. 30) of *Rachawat Chadok* was copied in 1724 by the order of a high-ranked Prince from an exemplar owned by a monk of a famous monastery of Ayutthaya (Phra Maha Phutta Rakkhit of Wat Phutthai Sawan monastery), implying a close relationship between manuscript cultures of the royal court and of the monasteries. The date mentioned in its scribal preface makes the manuscript of *Rachawat Chadok* one of the earliest greyish *khòì*-paper manuscripts that we have on record. Greyish *khòì*-paper manuscripts have also preserved texts with illustrations, for example, the cases of *Phra Malai Klòn Suat* surviving from the Ayutthaya period (i.e. NLT: PKTh: Ms no. 88 dated 1762). The tradition of illustrated *Phra Malai* manuscripts has belonged to the monastic manuscript culture since the Ayutthaya period, in which the lay sponsors of the production of manuscripts donate the manuscripts to the monasteries and expect to earn merit from them. In this case, manuscripts did not serve only as the carrier of the text, but also as an offering to the monasteries for earning merit.

In the late Ayutthaya period (probably between 1741–1755), the manuscript of Prince Thammathibet's *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* ('the Royal Version of *Nanthopanantha Sutta*'; NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 120) was written in a calligraphic style later called "Thai Yò" ('angled/cornered Thai [letter]'; see Ing-orn Supanvanit, 1984: 85–89) along with "Khòm Yò" as its counterpart when writing Pali text throughout the manuscript. It is noteworthy that Khòm Yò is not supposed to be incised, but written with an ink-infused quill (George Coedès, 1925:

5). The carefully written hand in the calligraphic style of Thai Yò and Khòm Yò found in this manuscript, corresponding to the writing in an inscription done by Prince Thammathibet in 1747,¹² suggests a decorative function of the script as well. There is an additional manuscript of *Jātaka* known among modern scholars as *Supridi Thammarat Chadok* (‘[Tale of] *Suprīti Dhammarāja Jātaka*’; NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 138) which was written in a related style of Thai and Khòm scripts. Hence, the manuscript, along with its text, has been proposed to be originally from Ayutthaya as well (Thipawat Sriwatcharawit, 2015: 1).

Apart from palm leaves and *khòì* paper, the manuscripts from Ayutthaya have also survived on Western paper, as appearing in the famous case of Òkya Kosathibòdi (Pan), a Siamese ambassador who traveled to Paris in 1686–1687 for a diplomatic mission. A famous record known as *the Diary of Kosa Pan*¹³ (dated 1686) has survived on Western parchment kept at the Library of the Foreign Mission in Paris (Bibliothèque des Missions étrangères de Paris) (Phuthorn Bhumadhon, 2016: 137). Furthermore, there are also ten letters on Western paper which Òkya Kosathibòdi (Pan) sent to other noblemen and foreign merchants, now kept in different institutes in France. Several of these letters dated in 1687 contain the stamp of Òkya Kosathibòdi’s personal seal with its legend in Khòm script that reads: Phra Wisut Sunthòn (his noble title at that time) (see Phuthorn Bhumadhon 2016: 144–145). According to the records of European travelers, the personal sigil was only seldomly used for personal letters among the Siamese (de la Loubère, 1986: 71), except among higher-ranked noblemen who had been granted sigils from the king.

Apart from direct evidence on literacy, namely the original Ayutthaya writings from inscriptions and manuscripts, there are also some other sources mentioning the use of writing in Ayutthaya. Many versions of *the Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, though edited later in the early Bangkok period, mention heralds carrying the written messages in the context of wars and diplomatic missions (Cushman, 2006: 12, Krom Sinlapakòn, 2017: 6, 27). Writing is referred to with the terms *suppha aksòn* (Th. ศุภอักษร ‘auspicious letters’) for royal messages (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2017: 27) and *nangsü* (Th. หนังสือ ‘written parchment, writing’) in the more general sense (2017: 6). According to its etymology, the word *nangsü* is compounded from two words: *nang* ‘skin, leather, parchment’ and *sü* ‘message, writing’. Although there is no other direct evidence for the use of leather or parchment as a writing support in pre-modern Siam, the etymology suggests that the bearer of the message was originally made of leather rather than paper (Chit Phumisak, 2005: 206). This word was then later used for any writing in general, in

¹² This inscription is commonly known as *Cariük Mae Aksòn Khòm Khut Paròt* (Th. จารึกแม่อักษรขอมปรอท ‘*The Mercury Inscription of Khòm Alphabet*’), providing the alphabet and basic orthography of Khòm script with a brief explanation in Thai language with the Thai Yò type of script (Hò Samut Haeng Chat, 1986c: 193–195). Considerably, the inscription is one of the earliest manuscripts preserving the treatise or knowledge on orthography (Santi and Nawarat Pakdeekham, 2018: 553).

¹³ For the available English translation of *the Diary of Kosa Pan*, see Smithies, 2002.

the sense of a text, a manuscript, as well as a modern printed book, as it is most commonly used nowadays.

Further mention of or suggestion for the use of manuscripts can also be found when the production of several texts is mentioned in chronicles, for instance, in *Maha Chat Kham Luang* ‘The Royal Version of the Great Birth’ in 1482 and *Tamra Phichai Songkram* ‘Treatise on Victorious Warfare’ in 1498 (Cushman, 2006: 18–19). The establishment of the Department of Registration (Th. *krom suratsawadi* / *krom satsadi*) in 1498 also required manuscripts to compile the registration of people in each city. In 1635, moreover, when a royal daughter of King Prasat Thong passed away and a trace of black magic was found by palace authorities during her cremation, almost all the magic performers in the capital feared blame and so they threw their manuscripts of magical treatises into the river and canals (see Cushman, 2006: 220; Krom Sinlapakòn, 2017: 215). Such actions lead us to conclude that these manuscripts were made of paper, especially *khòì* paper, which can be easily destroyed by water. This indicates that paper manuscripts were commonly used for preserving secular treatises such as (black) magic in seventeenth century Ayutthaya.

Apart from the Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya, some European travelers’ accounts also record different aspects of the manuscript culture of Ayutthaya. For instance, Jeremias van Vliet, the director of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in Ayutthaya between 1633–1642, mentions, in one of his accounts on Siam, the use of “black paper” in everyday life in Ayutthaya, but for more important affairs, such as royal announcements, sentences of law and contracts, “fine Chinese paper” was used with black ink (van Vliet, 1910: 97–98). Interestingly, whenever the letter consists of more than one sheet of paper, each sheet is signed at the corner, so that it cannot be exchanged for another or forged. Furthermore, he also briefly mentions that the documents, especially trade documents, have been seldom alphabetically organized (Ibid.).

Later, several decades after van Vliet’s tenure in Siam, Nicolas Gervaise’s *The Natural and Political History of Siam* (1688) interestingly mentions that the king (referring to King Narai) spent a part of his leisure time in the palace listening to the text read aloud by “the reader”, who lay flat on the ground and read the text from a manuscript before him for several hours with an uncomfortable gesture (Gervaise, 1989: 208–209). Gervaise also records that the king preferred to listen to the chronicles of foreign kings, for instance, Chinese, Japanese, and, especially, the biography of King Louis XIV of France (Ibid.). According to Gervaise’s account, the king most likely only heard these accounts rather than having read them, so we can assume their being written down to serve more of a recording purpose rather than presentation. Interestingly, the king of Ayutthaya must have possessed a large collection of manuscripts if it even covered the chronicles and biographies of foreign kings.

In addition, Simon de la Loubère, a French diplomat in Siam in the 1687 mission, provides more insights on the use of manuscripts in the Siamese legal system in his account,

noting that the lending contracts were written down by a third agent and would become valid in the court without any signature (de la Loubère, 1986: 71). The Siamese did not use a personal sigil to authorize them. Corresponding with van Vliet (1910: 98), he mentions that a cross-mark serving as a signature would be enough and most people would recognize their own marks (de la Loubère, 1986: 71). Only the noblemen with higher ranks, such as Òkya Kosathibòdi (Pan) as mentioned earlier, would be granted their own sigils for authorizing official documents. The Siamese also preserved legal texts in their manuscripts, but they were very difficult to access (1986: 81). Possibly with the help of the Siamese literates, de la Loubère (1986: 176–177) also published the Siamese and the Khò̃m alphabets including vowels and numerals, indicating the handwriting of the period and the biscriptual tradition of Ayutthaya. Noteworthy is that Siamese literacy has been dominated mainly by males, as it has been recorded that Siamese women in the seventeenth century rarely learned how to read and write, instead staying at home and learning household skills like sewing and spinning, according to Jeremias van Vliet (1910: 88).

After the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767, the testimonies (Th. *Kham Hai Kan*) of Ayutthaya captives in Burma were compiled by different agents and have survived in various versions. One of them, known as *Kham Hai Kan Khun Luang Wat Pradu Songtham* (*‘Testimony of the King from Wat Pradu Songtham Monastery’*), contains a part describing the landscape of the city of Ayutthaya, in which several toponyms in relation to manuscript culture are mentioned, for example, “Talat Ban Samut” (*‘market on the of [khò̃i] paper manuscript village’*) and “Talat Ban Din Sò” (*‘market of the white pencil village’*), where the writing material could be found and purchased (see *Prachum Kham Hai Kan Krung Si Ayutthaya*, 2018: 241–243). The other related document explaining the geography and city landscape of Ayutthaya known as *Phumi Sathan Krung Si Ayutthaya* (Th. ภูมิสถานกรุงศรีอยุธยา *‘Geography of Ayutthaya’*), which corresponds with the description of *Kham Hai Kan Khun Luang Wat Pradu Songtham* but with more detail (Baker, 2011: 76), also mentions the markets for writing materials in the city of Ayutthaya in the same way (see Winai Pongsripian, 2008: 80–82).

The information on Ayutthaya manuscript and literary culture is available to us through more direct and indirect evidence than what is left from the earlier periods, even though some of them appear only in fragment form. Despite this “drought of written sources” (Nidhi Eoseewong, 2012: 6), there has nevertheless emerged a body of texts which are discussed and analyzed as Ayutthaya literature today.

2.5 Ayutthaya Literature: A Short Overview

A large amount of the early poetry in Thai language is supposed to have been orally transmitted, but not all of it would have survived the course of time without the help of writing. A number of Ayutthaya texts also found their written form, which is relatively more fixed and more durable. One must be aware, therefore, that the literature of Ayutthaya we have nowadays is only the part transmitted via the written tradition, but unfortunately not even the entire written part, due to the damage to the manuscripts after the fall of the capital. Thus, Ayutthaya literature, as we know it, is merely a fragment of the entire Ayutthaya literature in the written tradition that once existed together with a countless number of unknown oral texts.

The periodization of Ayutthaya literature, following that of Ayutthaya history, has been generally classified into three phases: early, middle, and late. According to textbooks on Thai literary history (Chamnan Rothetphai et al, 1979: 292; Priya Hiranpradit et al, 1990: 86), the early Ayutthaya begins with the foundation of the capital Ayutthaya in 1351 and ends with the ascendancy of King Prasat Thong (r. 1629–1656). The middle period starts after that year and continues till the end of the reign of King Narai in 1688, while late Ayutthaya refers to the last eighty years under the rule of the House of Ban Phlu Luang until the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767. Although several scholars might have already proposed other schema for the years of each period, most proposals are still based on a three-phase periodization (see Nitaya Kanchanawan, 1978: 49).

The earliest poetry of Ayutthaya which found its way into written form most often has a ritualistic function. The very first text of Ayutthaya, *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* ‘Oath of Allegiance on Water,’ was supposedly employed in the royal ceremony of the allegiance oath, possibly since the beginning of the foundation of Ayutthaya (Cholada Ruengruglikit, 2001: 38; 2007: 690). The other text attributed to the early period is *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, the Royal Version of the Great Birth or *Vessantara Jātaka*, composed under the royal initiative of King Trailokkanat in 1482. *Maha Chat Kham Luang* was originally chanted in royal ceremonies as well.

The early poetic meters found in *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* are *rai* (Th. ไร่) and *khlong* (Th. ไคลง). *Rai*, perhaps the oldest form of Thai poetry developed from rhymed prose, is a style that can be detected in many Sukhothai inscriptions even as early as Inscription No. 1. The complete form of *rai* as a verse can be found in the inscriptions of Ayutthaya (Santi and Nawarat Pakdeekham, 2018: 49–50). One stanza of *rai* in an early form called *rai boran* (‘ancient *rai* meter’), as appearing in the literature of early Ayutthaya, contains an unfixed number of lines, while the number of words in each line is also unfixed, only requiring each line to rhyme with any word in the following line, continuing in this fashion until the end of the stanza. Rhymed language was perceived as a higher register of language and was often employed in old texts when addressing or speaking to supernatural beings (Nidhi Eoseewong, 2012: 21). *Rai* has also

widely been used in the *Jātaka* literature, which normally appears bilingually in Pali-Thai. While Pali citations are inserted throughout the text, the text in Thai is always in *rai* meter. In the case of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, most of the text has been written in *rai*, but other poetic meters (i.e. *khlong*, *kap*, and *chan*) have also been inserted, perhaps for the purpose of chanting.

Khlong, on the other hand, is a poetic meter playing with tones, fixing the tone (namely, either *mai ek* ‘the first [tone] mark’ and *mai tho* ‘the second [tone] mark’) of certain syllables in each line. With this feature of tonal play, *khlong* is possibly one of the indigenous meters of Thai-Tai speaking people (Dhanit Yupho, 1974: 37–39). The most common type of *khlong* contains four lines per stanza, thus also known as *khlong si* (Th. *si* ‘four’). There are also further categories for *khlong* meters. For instance, a *khlong* stanza in which the last line comprises of nine words or syllables is called *khlong suphap*, while a *khlong* poem with the last line containing seven words is called *khlong dan*. The variation in rhyme also creates further categories of *khlong*, especially for older forms of the meter. In many cases, *khlong* meter has also been used in amalgamation with *rai* meter within the same text. Texts containing the amalgamation of these two meters is known among modern scholars as *lilit* (literally ‘harmonious’).

A few surviving texts from early Ayutthaya were composed in *khlong* meter. *Yuan Phai* ‘Defeat of the Yuan (Lan Na)’, possibly originally dated in the fifteenth century, is another early text of Ayutthaya, eulogizing King Trailokkanat for his victory over Lan Na in 1474, comprising mainly of *khlong dan* meter, with only two stanzas of *rai boran*. *Kamsuan Samut* or ‘Lamentations to the Sea’ is also composed in *khlong dan* meter, describing the narrator’s feelings for his lover along his journey away from the capital. Another *khlong dan* text with related stylistics is *Thawa Thotsamat* ‘[Poem of] Twelve Months,’ in which the narrator describes his feeling for his lover through time, instead of through space as in the case of *Kamsuan Samut*, namely through twelve months as well as the festivals and royal ceremony of each month. *Kamsuan Samut* and *Thawa Thotsamat*, possibly composed in the fifteenth century, are the earliest poetic models for the literary genre called *nirat* (Th. นิราศ ‘without hope, departing’), in which the narrator describes his feeling in the occasion of departing from his lover through space (i.e. journey) or through time (i.e. months, festivals).

While *Yuan Phai*, *Kamsuan Samut*, and *Thawa Thotsamat*, are possibly the oldest extensive cases of *khlong dan* meter, *Lilit Phra Lò* is the most well-known case for *lilit* meter, in which a number of *khlong si suphap* stanzas are used, together with *rai* meter. All of these four texts have been attributed to the period around the late fifteenth to sixteenth centuries due to linguistic and other corresponding evidence. Nevertheless, the authorship of them remains unclear and controversial.

Kap is another meter employed in *Maha Chat Kham Luang*. It was possibly adapted from Pali meter. Normally only the rhyme scheme and the number of syllables for each line of

kap are fixed. *Kap* can be further classified into *kap yani* (with eleven words in each line), *kap chabang* (with sixteen words per stanza), and *kap surangkhan* (either with 28 or 32 words per stanza). As the rhyme scheme of *kap* is closely related to another meter called *chan*, both meters have also been used together in an amalgamation called *kham chan*. *Chan* itself originates from the Pali and Sanskrit poetic traditions and was then adapted in the Siamese poetic tradition, most possibly through Pali rather than Sanskrit. One significant feature of *chan* meter adapted in Thai is the rule on *kharu* (< P. *garu* ‘heavy’) and *lahu* (< P. *lahu* ‘light’) syllables, fixing the position of *kharu* (i.e. any syllable with long vowels and finals) and *lahu* (i.e. non-final short syllable) syllables for each type of *chan* meter. As, in the Thai language, words do not contain as many *lahu* syllables as in Pali and Sanskrit, the words used in Siamese *chan* literature are very commonly loanwords from Pali, Sanskrit, and Khmer, making *kham chan* the most difficult echelon of Thai poetic meters (Hudak, 1990: 173). The earliest use of *chan* in Thai poetry appears in *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, but the first entire piece of poetry in *kham chan* meter, though not necessarily a complete work in itself, can be found in *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* ‘[Tale of] *Samutthakhot* in *Kham Chan* Meter’ and *Anirut Kham Chan* ‘[Tale of] *Anirut* in *Kham Chan* Meter,’ both attributed by contemporary scholars (i.e. Cholada Ruengruglikit, 2001) to the period around the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth century within the early Ayutthaya period.

These early texts of Ayutthaya were presumably not for personal, silent reading as a leisure activity, but rather were composed in order to be read aloud to an audience on a specific occasion (Nidhi Eoseewong, 2012: 11–14), in some cases even recited to a particular rhythm and melody, such as with the case of *Ongkan Chang Nam* and *Maha Chat Kham Luang*. The text of *Lilit Phra Lò* itself suggests that the text was originally to be recited (Krom Sinlapakòn, 1997: 387). Even though *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* was left incomplete until the early Bangkok period, it states clearly at the beginning that the text was composed under the king’s command to be recited along with the shadow play on the tale of *Samutthakhot* (stanzas no. 16–18; Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002a: 112). *Anirut Kham Chan* has been proposed to have shared the same original function (Cholada Ruengruglikit, 2001: 243; Nidhi Eoseewong, 2012: 14). We do not know exactly when these texts were written down, but the length of these early texts and the complicated stylistics playing with sounds and meaning suggest that the written form was a prerequisite for their correct recitation. In spite of their existing written form, oral communication still played an important role, as it was probably the main way for most people to receive these early texts of Ayutthaya at the time.

It should be noted that the early texts do not aim at providing entertainment through their narratives, as people were supposed to know the stories of *Jātaka* or folktale already by heart from the oral tradition. The entertainment for the readers, or more aptly, the listeners, of the early Ayutthaya poetry lies in the poetic eloquence, the beauty of sounds and figures of speech, the complicated metaphors and allusions to the classical Pali and Sanskrit texts, which

was entertainment only accessible for the well-literate from higher social classes (Nidhi Eoseewong, 2012: 15–16). *Yuan Phai*, for instance, employs complicated foreign words and literary allusions to Buddhist texts, Hindu mythology as well as the Sanskrit epics *Maha Bhārata* and *Rāmāyana* in the beginning part praising King Trailokkanat. The author of the text must have been a great poet and scholar of the period without any doubt, and the readers or listeners of the text must have been equipped with higher level literary knowledge as well in order to follow along with the meaning of the text. In addition, the tradition of poetic features called *konlabot*, which covers various plays with sounds, rhymes, and repetition, can also be found in the early Ayutthaya period, at least as early as *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, but also in *Yuan Phai*, *Kamsuan Samut* and *Thawa Thotsamat*. The use of *konlabot* in these early texts implies that the readership and audience were mainly members of the elite, often but not necessarily from the royal palace (Nidhi Eoseewong, 2012: 11).

There is scarcely any textual evidence regarding the first Burmese conquest of Ayutthaya in 1569. Although the earliest court document was dated in King Ekkathotsarot's reign during 1605–1620, the only literary text attributed to the early seventeenth century, according to modern scholars, is *Kap Maha Chat 'Poem of the Great Birth,'* another bilingual Pali-Thai version (in *rai* meter) of *Vessantara Jātaka*, in the reign of King Song Tham (r.1620–1628), son of Ekkathotsarot. It can be said that the early seventeenth century presents a gap in the history of Ayutthaya literature, as no other texts are known from this time at all. The period to which a lot of texts have been attributed is then the second half the seventeenth century, namely, the reign of King Narai between 1656–1688. This period was perceived among scholars of the early twentieth century as the “Golden Age of Thai Literature” (Pluang Na Nagara, 2001: 109).

During the early twentieth century, many texts were attributed to the reign of King Narai, along with a group of legends and hearsay concerning poets and literary activities in his royal court (Priya Hiranpradit et al, 1990: 143). These legends of the texts were apparently transmitted orally within the Bangkok period. For example, Phra Maha Ratcha Khru, the title for the highest court brahmin and the royal mentor in the court of King Narai, was known as one of the eminent poets of his day. *Süa Kho Kham Chan '[Tale of] the Tiger and the Cow in Kham Chan Meter'* has been attributed to him and has been praised for its poetic beauty. Legend has it that Phra Maha Ratcha Khru was also assigned by King Narai to compose *Samutthakhrot Kham Chan* to be used as the shadow play's script, but he passed away before the text had been completed. Then King Narai continued the writing of the text, but his untimely death in 1688 left the text incomplete (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002a: 81–82). *Samutthakhrot Kham Chan* remained incomplete until it was divided into two different parts based on its differing authorship. Corresponding to the legend, the authorship of *Lilit Phra Lò* as Maha Rat (literally 'great king') as mentioned at the end of the text has then been interpreted by scholars to be a variation form of Maha Ratcha Khru and thus attributed *Lilit Phra Lò* to King Narai's reign as well.

Apart from the legend on *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*, the legend concerning the life and work of Si Prat is also widely known among the early Bangkok period through oral tradition, before finally finding its first written version retold by Phraya Pariyat Thammathada in 1919. According to legend (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002a: 501–512), Si Prat was a son of Phra Horathibòdi, the royal astrologer in the reign of King Narai. He gained the king's favor through his poetic talent from a young age. Si Prat then became a famous poet in the royal court, attending the poetry competition with other royal poets and scholars. When one of the king's consorts insulted him with a poem in *khlong* (*si suphap*) meter, he replied with his own stanza wittily playing with the consort's words. A few short poems relating to the legends have also been recorded in written form, though most often fragmentarily, for example, those collected in *the Collection of Ancient Poems* compiled by Phraya Trang in the early nineteenth century. Furthermore, it is also told that Si Prat wrote *Anirut Kham Chan* to compete with *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*. Finally, possibly under accusation of committing adultery with royal consorts, Si Prat was exiled from the capital, and wrote *Kamsuan Samut* from his exile location. The legends concerning the poets in the reign of King Narai mentioned here have led to the attribution of many texts, especially the ones considered masterpieces in the later period such as *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*, *Anirut Kham Chan*, as well as *Kamsuan Samut*, to the reign of King Narai, and also to the perception of his reign as the literary Golden Age of Ayutthaya.

However, the text of *Cindamani*, the earliest treatise on orthography and poetics originally composed by Phra Horathibòdi in the court of King Narai, mentions several titles of literary texts as poetic models, as well as citing some stanzas from other texts as poetic examples (i.e. *Kamsuan Samut*, *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*, as well as *Lilit Phra Lò*). The texts mentioned and cited in Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* should have been composed some time earlier than the original composition of *Cindamani*, which praised these texts as its poetic models. Therefore, along with other evidence on language, poetic meter, as well as correspondence with other historical sources, the texts of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*, *Anirut Kham Chan*, and *Kamsuan Samut* have recently been attributed to an earlier period by contemporary scholars.

Even though sufficient doubt has been cast on the legends of the great poets of King Narai's court and several Ayutthaya masterpiece texts have been attributed to the earlier periods, there are still many literary texts attributed to the reign of King Narai, regardless of whether the period is deserving of being called the Golden Age or not. Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* constituted a great tradition of the Siamese poetics within the traditional system of education that was then continually transmitted into the early twentieth century. *Süa Kho Kham Chan* has long been popular for centuries after the reign of King Narai. A group of the texts attributed to Phra Si Mahosot, another poet in King Narai's court, whose biography apart from his noble title has rarely been known to us (Dhanit Yupho, 2004: 58), contributes a number of significant texts. Namely, his *Kap Hò Khlong* also served as the poetic model for a new amalgamation of *kap* and *khlong* (thus called *kap hò khlong*). His incomplete eulogy for King

Narai is the first eulogy in *khlong suphap* meter as well as his incomplete *Nirat Nakhòn Sawan* the poetic travelogue in *khlong suphap*, indicating the popularity towards *khlong suphap* in the period (Nitaya Kanchanawan, 1978: 56). More recently, the Fine Arts Department published *Lilit Cantha Kinnòn* ('[Tale of] Candakinnara in Lilit Meter'), which was evidently composed in the reign of King Narai. Furthermore, the earliest text of the elephant ritual called *Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangvoei* was composed by a poet from the reign, Khun Thep Kawi of Sukhothai though again without any remaining information on his identity (Dhanit Yupho, 2004: 65). Despite the recent proposals on the attribution of the literary masterpieces to the earlier period, the reign of King Narai still remains an active one in terms of literary production. The earliest *khòì*-paper manuscript (Luang Prasoet's *Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya*) is also dated within the reign, having been produced under the royal order of the king for compilation of the chronicle (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002a: 417).

After the reign of King Narai, the next period from which literary texts have survived covers the last fifty years of the Ayutthaya Kingdom, and is most often that which is meant when one refers to the late Ayutthaya literature. King Bòrommakot (r. 1733–1758) himself was one of the poets of the period. His works also survived into the later period, albeit not widely. One of his famous works is *Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat Wat Pa Mok* ('Poem on the Relocation of Sleeping Buddha Image of Wat Pa Mok Monastery'), originally composed in 1727 (Lekda Imchai, 1985: 5). The text narrates and commemorates the incident of moving a large Buddha image at Wat Pa Mok monastery (in Ang Thòng province) in 1726. In addition, several didactic poems have also been found attributed to him in the preface of the manuscript NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 202, for instance, *Phali Sòn Nòng* 'Phali Teaching his Brother', *Thotsarot Sòn Phra Ram* 'Thotsarot Teaching Rama', *Khlong Ratcha Sawat* 'Royal Glory', including *Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang*, a version of Phra Ruang's didactic poem and the only Ayutthaya version we have. All of King Bòrommakot's works mentioned here were written in *khlong si suphap* meter, suggesting the continuing popularity of *khlong suphap* over *khlong dan* since the period of King Narai.

The most famous poet in the reign of King Bòrommakot is undeniably Prince Thammathibet (commonly known by his birth name, Kung) (1715–1746), whose works have been praised as masterpieces of the period (Priya Hiranpradit et al, 1990: 172). Prince Thammathibet was the eldest son of King Bòrommakot, and was appointed as the Grand Prince of the Front Palace (Th. *krom phra ratcha wang bòwòn sathan mongkhon*), or the viceroy, in 1746. He was accused of committing adultery with two of his father's consorts and then tortured to death. His most famous work is *Kap He Rüa* 'Barge Procession Poetry,' the text recited during the barge procession to provide a rhythm for the paddlers to follow. *Kap He Rüa* describes the royal barge procession before then moving on to the narrator's feelings of longing for his lover evoked by the experience of his natural surroundings along the journey. When Prince Thammathibet was ordained after having attacked one of his cousins who was also

potentially eying the throne, he composed *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* in 1736 during his monastic stay (Anant Laulertworakul, 2007: 214). This text is considered a masterpiece of his due to its poetic value, though the text has survived in only a single manuscript (NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 120). Furthermore, two *kap hò khlong* texts have also been attributed to him: *Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Thòng Daeng* ‘Poetic Travelogue to Than Thòng Daeng in Kap Hò Khlong Meter’ and *Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Sok* ‘Poetic Travelogue to Than Sok in Kap Hò Khlong Meter’.

A number of the late Ayutthaya texts recount pilgrimages to the Buddha’s footprint (Th. *phutthabat* < P. *buddha-pāda* ‘Buddha’s foot, footprint’) in Saraburi. After the Buddha’s footprint was rediscovered in 1606 (Cushman, 2006: 209), it became a pilgrim destination for the Ayutthaya people, including the king (see de la Loubère, 1986: 5). The legend of the footprint is told in a text from the late Ayutthaya period called *Bunnowat Kham Chan* ‘[Tale of] the Buddha’s Footprint in Kham Chan Meter,’ written by a monk named Phra Maha Nak of Wat Tha Sai monastery. Due to the continuation of the pilgrimage tradition through the early Bangkok period, the text of *Bunnowat Kham Chan* then became the most widely transmitted text among late Ayutthaya literature. Apart from *Bunnowat Kham Chan*, the other texts are also related to the pilgrimage to the Footprint as well. The other surviving text of Phra Maha Nak’s *Nirat Phra Bat* is also a poetic travelogue to the footprint, despite its incompleteness. Prince Thammathibet’s works such as *Kap He Rüa*, *Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Thòng Daeng*, and *Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Sok* also share the same destination of the journey. After that, the Buddha’s footprint became an important theme in late Ayutthaya literature.

Within this late Ayutthaya period, more folk literature can be found in the written form. The tradition of *klòn suat*, a poetic narrative in *kap* meter for recital in monasteries, spread among the people with some texts from the late Ayutthaya period, for instance, *Phra Malai Klòn Suat*. Furthermore, a new poetic meter was also widely used called *phleng yao* (‘long (written) song’) or *klòn phleng yao*. This meter was most often used for love letters. The tradition of *phleng yao* has been proposed to originate from folk songs (Nidhi Eoseewong, 2012: 33), in which love has always been the main theme, before becoming popular among the royal court. The *phleng yao* poems have survived in a large amount, with several of them being attributed to poets of late Ayutthaya, such as Prince Thammathibet and Mòmm Phimsen, the latter of whose identity is unclear, though many parts of his poems have survived. Apart from the love theme, one of the *phleng yao* poems contains a prophecy for the city, known as *Phleng Yao Phayakòn Krung Si*.

Furthermore, the folk influence in late Ayutthaya literature also appeared in the emergence of the dramatic play (Th. *bot lakhòn*). Not only a few of the folk dramatic plays, known as *bot lakhòn nòk* (‘external play’), are believed to have survived from late Ayutthaya

(Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002b), (at least in King Rama II's *Inao*)¹⁴ two princesses of Ayutthaya, Kunthon and Mongkut, composed the dramatic plays *Inao* and *Dalang* based on the tale of *Panji*, possibly told to them by Malay war captives. Although there is no evidence that both texts have survived, the dramatic play was evidently adapted in the royal court of late Ayutthaya. The mention of the lost works of Princess Kunthon and Princess Mongkut might also imply literacy among high-born ladies of the palace as well.

The history of Ayutthaya literature normally ends with the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767. During the incident, the written evidence of the literature was destroyed, while the poets and scholars of the court were taken captive and brought to Burma, including both princesses, the earliest Siamese poetesses, whose names are on record, though none of their work has been found. Despite the loss of the capital and a large number of the ruling class, Siamese literacy found its way into the new capitals in the southern part of the Cao Phraya river basin, namely Thonburi and Bangkok, where the remaining Siamese loyalists had established a new political and cultural center on the model of Ayutthaya.

2.6 After the Fall: Thai Literacy in Thonburi and Bangkok

The new Siamese capitals in Thonburi (1767–1782) and Bangkok (since 1782) successfully established themselves as a new cultural center, in which the Siamese manuscript culture flourished before eventually becoming the national culture in the late nineteenth century. Although we do not have much information on the manuscripts of the Thonburi period, the manuscripts of the early Bangkok period have survived in countless number, though not always in their entirety.

There is no information on the royal manuscript hall of Thonburi remaining to us, but a few manuscripts produced by the royal scribes of Thonburi have survived indicating scribal activities within the Thonburi royal court. For instance, King Taksin of Thonburi ordered that illustrated manuscripts of Buddhist cosmology be produced by the royal scribes and royal painters dated in 1776. Among several extant copies, the finest and the most complete, most likely the original royal copy presented to the king, is the manuscript preserved at the Museum of Asian Arts in Berlin (Terwiel, 2014: 50). With the specific size of an illustrated cosmology manuscript (see Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 2010: 3), these manuscripts are large with each page full of coloured illustrations along with shorter explanatory texts. Furthermore, six manuscripts of *Ramakian-The Royal Composition of King Taksin of Thonburi* written with gold (five of

¹⁴ The text of *Inao-The Royal Composition of King Rama II* has mentioned on the original Thai version of *Inao* in one stanza from the epilogue: “This text of *Inao* has been composed as to be sung (recited) for the occasion of any celebration (of the city). The text has been (originally) composed by the Princesses of the Old Capital (Ayutthaya), but has already been lost,” (Th. อันนิเหนาเอามาทำเป็นคำร้อง สำหรับงานการฉลองกองกุศล ครึ่งกรุงเก่าเจ้าสตรีเชอนิพนธ์ แต่เรื่องต้นตกหายพลัดพรายไป) (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2003: 1012).

them preserved at the National Library of Thailand and the other one at the State Library of Berlin) contain the prefaces of the royal scribes dated in 1780. The manuscripts produced under the royal order of King Taksin as mentioned here indicate the continuation of the Siamese manuscript culture in Thonburi, as well as King Taksin's interest in these particular texts.

King Rama I (r. 1782–1809) promulgated a number of projects concerning the restoration of the texts and manuscripts as a part of restoring the kingdom. A Grand Council was held in order to edit the canonical texts in 1788, rendering the royal palm-leaf manuscript copies of the Pali Canon preserved at the Monthian Tham Library (Th. *hò phra monthian tham*), the royal deposit for the Pali canon in the Royal Grand Palace of Bangkok (Damrong Rajanubhab, 1916: 3–4). The Royal Manuscript Hall (Th. *hò nangsü luang*), where the legal and administrative documents, as well as the literary and secular texts, were housed, and where the Department of the Royal Scribes of Bangkok was located, was also supposedly founded in the reign of King Rama I as well (Damrong Rajanubhab, 1960: 142).

Within the context of late eighteenth century Siam, the task of literary restoration and manuscript production is considerably significant, as it was undertaken in order to reestablish the new capital and newly founded kingdom as the new center of both the religious and secular realm (Saichon Wannarat, 1982: 210). Regarding its status as the new center of Buddhism, the royal court of Bangkok was successful in becoming the center of the Pali text network in the region as well. The royal Pali manuscript collection at the Monthain Tham Hall became the main deposit for religious texts of the city and the surrounding region. Many royal palm-leaf manuscripts copies of the *Tipiṭaka* were continually produced within the royal court until the late nineteenth century (see Kongkaew Weeraprachak and Wirat Unnathornwarangkun, 2003: 14–16), from which a number of copies have been borrowed from the royal deposit by monks from various monasteries for copying (Thanet Aphornsuvan et al, 2006: 344–345). Furthermore, in 1854, King Ang Duong of Cambodia (r. 1841–1860) even made a request to King Rama IV for some copies of the Siamese canonical manuscripts to be preserved at his capital of Oudong in Cambodia (NLT: CMHS: R4: 1216CS: Ms no. 17).

Apart from the canonical texts, the manuscripts of Pali chronicles from Lan Na were also copied in the royal court of Bangkok. As a result, a significant Pali chronicle such as *Jinakālamālinī* ('*Garland of the Buddha's Era*'), which was originally composed in Lan Na in 1517, survived only in a single manuscript in Khôm script within the early Bangkok period (Anant Laulertworakul, 2016: 32–34). Correspondingly, another famous Pali chronicle from Lan Na called *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* ('*Chronicle of Queen Cāma*') originally dated in the early fifteen century was also copied in Bangkok with Khôm script, and all the extant manuscripts in Tham script preserved in northern Thailand have been proved to have been copied from the Bangkok exemplar, according to a study by Anant Laulertworakul (2016: 130–131, 144). Furthermore, along with the copy of Pali chronicles transmitted from the Lan Na kingdom centuries ago, a few of the Pali chronicles were also newly written in the early Bangkok period

as well, proving a higher level of Pali literacy, namely, *Samgāṭiyavaṃsa* ‘Chronicle of the Grand Council’ in 1789, *Mahāyuddhakāraṃsa* ‘Chronicle of the Greater Battles’ or the Pali version of Mon chronicle in 1806¹⁵, and *Culayuddhakāraṃsa* ‘Chronicle of the Lesser Battle’ or the Pali version of *the Ayutthaya Royal Chronicles* possibly around the same period. Though the latter two texts have survived in fragmentary form, these texts have their Bangkok authors’ high level of Pali scholarship. Therefore, the royal court of Bangkok was arguably the new center of Pali manuscripts, in which Pali manuscripts, literacy and scholarship had been successfully restored.

The evidence suggests that both the manuscript and the epigraphic cultures of Bangkok apparently followed those from the Ayutthaya period. The traditional writing supports and substances of Ayutthaya manuscripts have been found to be used through early Bangkok. Manuscript production was active both in the palaces and the monasteries. Correspondingly, stone and metal inscription was also used as a permanent record for the royal announcements, as well as merit announcements. The tradition of *suphannabat* was practiced further, even in the royal coronation of the king, in which the full royal title was inscribed on a gold plate (i.e. in Thiphakonwong, 2012: 986). Within this continuation of the manuscript and epigraphic culture from Ayutthaya, the literature of Ayutthaya was restored throughout the early Bangkok period, not only in the reign of King Rama I. These topics constitute the main question of this study.

Even though the literature and manuscript culture of Bangkok followed the tradition of Ayutthaya in many aspects, the characteristics of the Bangkok period are undeniably evident in their own fashion. As a result of the expansion of the middle-class or merchants in the late Ayutthaya period and the change of the Siamese ruling class after the fall of Ayutthaya, the literature of the royal court began to embrace a number of folk and other outside traditions (Nidhi Eoseewong, 2012: 31). The royal court of King Rama I not only compiled a complete set of the royal dramatic plays (i.e. *Ramakian*, *Unnarut*, *Dalang*, and *Inao*), but later in the reign of King Rama II himself composed a collection of (royal) folk plays, as well as assigning various poets of his court to compose *Khun Chang Khun Phaen* (‘[Tale of] *Khun Chang and Khun Phaen*’), a story originating from the folk tradition, so that there would be a royal version. Moreover, the interests of the early Bangkok readers seem to have changed vis-a-vis the earlier periods. The foreign chronicles have been translated at very great length. Narratives in *klòn* meter have expanded in number, since reading had become a part of entertainment for the higher and middle classes.

¹⁵The manuscript of *Mahāyuddhakāraṃsa* is believed to have been lost due to the fire incident in 1960 and remains unpublished. Nevertheless, the manuscript is still in existence and has been long kept at the National Library of Thailand (see more in Peera Panarut, 2016b).

The most popular poet of the early Bangkok and even the national poet of modern Thailand, Sunthòn Phu (1786–1855), received much inspiration from folk culture in his works and he embodies the intellect of the bourgeoisie background. His narrative poem on the tale of *Phra Aphai Mani* has become so popular that countless manuscript copies survived in the late nineteenth century, despite its date of original composition in the early nineteenth century. The literature of Bangkok also abandoned the austere fashion of the early Ayutthaya literature in many aspects and turned to be a part of entertainment culture, as a parody text called *Raden Landai* by Phra Maha Montri shows by making a parody on the tale of elegant high-born Prince Inao, for example. However, the Bangkok poets who followed but did not perfectly imitate the stylistics of the Ayutthaya classical texts also appear in large number. Prince Paramanuchit Chinorot (1790–1853) is one of the classic examples. His works represent the poetic taste of the literati and high-class intellectuals. He even declares his aim to compose texts as beautiful and poetic as those of the Ayutthaya poets and scholars (Kusuma Raksamani, 1994: 135–136).

In the early nineteenth century, the traditional manuscript and epigraphic cultures were confronted with the arrival of modern writing materials such as Western industrial paper, which were less complicated in mass production, as well as the arrival of printed books and printing technology. The modern knowledge derived from printed books brought by foreign merchants and missionaries was available merely for the members of the Siamese elites, who could afford imported goods like printed books. A number of the Siamese royal family and nobility were fascinated by the modern knowledge imported with these books, while the earlier generations of the Siamese refused the European inventions that challenged their traditional knowledge. In 1830, King Rama III promulgated the renovation project of Wat Phra Chetuphon, a significant monastery situated beside the Royal Grand Palace's wall, and had various secular treatises and didactic poems engraved on a large amount of stone slabs (1,360 in total) to be placed within the monastery. The Wat Phra Chetuphon inscriptions are considered a milestone in Siamese intellectual history, as traditional knowledge was declared to be public instead of being kept as secret as had been the tradition before.

Another phenomenon within the history of the Siamese manuscript culture is the “epigraphic manuscripts” which collect the inscription text, either imitating the writing from inscription or transcribing it into contemporary Thai or Khò̃m script. This group of manuscripts reflects the relationship among manuscripts and inscriptions, and in some cases also the printed books, at the time when ancient inscriptions had become a topic for study. The modern fields of palaeography and epigraphy had not been introduced and established among the Siamese until the rediscovery of the Old Siamese inscriptions in 1833. After that, the Siamese elites began to show their interest in deciphering the ancient scripts, mainly Old Thai and Khò̃m. Then there appeared a few manuscripts, in which the different inscriptions were copied with transcription, indicating the attempts to understand the epigraphic evidence available to the nineteenth century Siamese. One of the most impressive manuscripts on epigraphy is the

manuscript which once belonged to Prince Pawaret Wiriyalongkorn (1809–1892) (NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 186). This manuscript collects the most various range of ancient scripts from many epigraphic sources being found in Thailand at that time, for example, Angkorian Khmer, Old Mon and Pallava inscriptions. In addition, the manuscript provides the ancient scripts from India, whose evidence cannot be originally found either in Thailand or other Southeast Asian countries (see Panarut, 2016). As being noted in the manuscript itself, the compiler of the text in the manuscript also consulted the printed source for several cases of Indic epigraphy. This manuscript, therefore, can be perceived as one of the early milestones in modern epigraphy and palaeography in modern Siam. In this case, inscriptions and printed books (on epigraphy) became a source and exemplar of copying for a traditional manuscript. Implicitly, the traditional writing materials were preferred, even to bear a branch of modern knowledge.

In the nineteenth century, an important turning point of the Siamese literacy and manuscript culture, traditional knowledge was challenged by the influx of modern concepts and inventions, which would transform the traditional education into the modern system by the end of the nineteenth century. The printing technology gradually surpassed the practice of copying within Siamese manuscript culture. Before discussing the advent of printing in Siam and its impact, a background on several other significant topics in the traditional manuscript culture of Siam, namely the traditional system of Siamese education, the writing materials, and the culture of scripts and handwritings, will be briefly provided.

2.7 Poetry and Manuscripts in Traditional System of Education

According to Jeremias van Vliet's *The Description* (1910: 87–88), the Siamese in the Ayutthaya period educated their children at home until they reached the age of five or six. Then, they were sent to a priest to learn, with the priest teaching both secular and religious subjects. De la Loubère (1986: 58–59) mentions the Siamese system of education in the same way, starting from basic alphabet, first in Thai and then in Khôm script, and basic arithmetic. From various evidence from the Ayutthaya and early Bangkok periods, we know the traditional education of the Siamese, most often taking place in the monasteries if not in the royal palace in the case of royal families, always began with the primary orthography, for that kind of knowledge was the precondition to accessing other sorts of specific knowledge and sciences. The students were first taught the basic orthography or the knowledge of how to read and write Thai script.

From the early Bangkok period, several manuals on basic orthography whose title begins with *Pathom* (from Pali: *paṭhama* 'primary'), *Pathom Kò Ka* ('*Alphabetic Primer*') and *Pathom Mala* ('*Primer (of Alphabetic) Garland*') for instance, have been transmitted to us, along with some reading texts of poetry which helped students practice their reading skill (see Niyada Lausoonthorn, 2009). These treatises on basic orthography were supposedly used for the beginning phase of education. Most often the texts explain basic orthography through simple

poetic meter and provide reading texts for practice, also in verse form. Once capable with the basic orthography of Thai, the students will start learning Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani*, the more advanced manual for orthography and poetics. The text of *Cindamani* appears as a collection of lessons with an explanation on orthographic rules, an explanation and examples of various Thai poetic meters, and also a traditional lexicon. The lesson on orthography in *Cindamani* no longer provides any basics, but instead offers a complicated explanation on the three classes of the Thai script, an essential principle for understanding the use of Thai tonal markers. On the other hand, the extended part on Thai poetics provides examples of various poetic meters cited from old literary texts. For some poetic meters there are relatively short explanations on composition and rules, while for others merely examples of the meter are given. Apparently, the students of the text were trained to read and write these poetic meters, and most likely along with the knowledge on the cited texts. In addition, the lexicon part, the earliest evidence of Siamese lexicography, compiling a variety of allophones, allographs and synonyms together, also enhances the students' lexica and knowledge of literary words.

Knowledge of orthography and poetics was not only necessary for serving as royal officials and noblemen, who were expected to be "well read", but also necessary as a key to accessing other traditional sciences, whose manuals are written both in prose and verse. With these lessons, *Cindamani* became the most advanced among traditional manuals on orthography and poetics (Pariyat Thamthada, 1972: 30–33; Suriya Rattanakul, 1997: 11), being widely used and studied in Siam until the early twentieth century (Wenk, 1992: 19). However, *Cindamani* does not provide any extended explanation for all the lessons, as the students were presumably expected to gain most of the knowledge orally from their teachers, for the text of *Cindamani*, like other manuals of other sciences was used as a manual for teachers and students, in which the essential knowledge is compiled (Brun, 1990: 44), but not as a self-teaching manual. Furthermore, the transmitted text of *Cindamani* was compiled and edited by many scribes and scholars at least from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. As a result, there are many different recensions of *Cindamani*, and the collection and order of lessons is different from one recension to the next. Some recensions have omitted parts included in others and vice versa, likely based on the needs of the compilers for their respective teaching purposes. Thus, the different recensions of *Cindamani* in the early Bangkok period also reflect the different curricula for different teachers and schools.

It should also be noted that *Cindamani* mainly covers Thai orthography and poetics, but not Pali. The ordained students would have learned Khòmm script for Pali orthography, grammar and poetics in the monasteries, possibly along with learning *Cindamani*. Evidence indicates that a number of *Cindamani* manuscripts were transmitted in the monasteries, while some teachers of the text were also Buddhist monks. Having studied orthography and poetics, the literate students began studying other fields of knowledge, such as Buddhist education, mathematics, astrology, divination, medicine, or began training in other skills and lores (Wyatt, 1969: 14–16)

which were necessary for further occupation, trade, or working as an official at the royal court. In many fields of higher traditional knowledge, the treatises have survived in written form, and also often in verse. Thus, poetry has played an important role within the traditional system of Siamese education, both as a topic of study and as a medium for the transmission of other fields of knowledge itself.

2.8 Materials of Literacy: On Siamese Writing Materials

As mentioned earlier, the writing materials for the Siamese manuscript culture in the Bangkok period followed those of Ayutthaya, but origins earlier than Ayutthaya are unclear. The tradition of palm-leaf manuscripts might have been influenced by Buddhism from India, especially from Lanka, where palm-leaf manuscripts have been used for preserving the canonical texts since the fifth Grand Council in the first century BCE (Kongkaew Weeraprachak and Wirat Unnathornwarangkun, 2003: 28). The origin of *khòì* paper for manuscripts is also unclear. Perhaps the blackened writing support used in Angkor mentioned in Zhou Daguan's account might be identical to what we know as the blackened *khòì*-paper manuscript nowadays. However, the use of white pencil as a writing substance and also as a writing instrument (when being formed in the proper shape) can be clearly observed since the period of the late Angkorian Khmer (Zhou Daguan, 2014: 24–25).

Within Siamese manuscript culture, the preference on writing supports is often determined by the content of the text. Religious texts, especially in the Pali language, were written on palm-leaf manuscripts, while secular treatises and literary texts in the vernacular are regularly found on *khòì*-paper manuscripts. In Thai, the term *khamphi* (Th. คัมภีร์), which refers to religious and sacred texts, also connotes the meaning of palm-leaf manuscripts, while the term *tamra* (Th. ตำรา), secular treatises, also implies the use of *khòì* paper as a writing support. Another common term for paper manuscript is *samut*, which refers to both a blank manuscript and a written-on one, but the term *samut* is only rarely used to refer to a palm-leaf manuscript. As this study focuses mainly on the literary works in vernacular language from Ayutthaya, the *khòì*-paper manuscripts are the main materials of interest and will be discussed in more detail below.

2.8.1 Palm-leaf Manuscripts

A palm-leaf manuscript fascicle (Th. *phuk*), most commonly consisting of 24 leaves with an additional leaf as the cover page, is bound by thread through the hole on the middle of each leaf. Many fascicles of palm leaves together constitute a bundle. Although palm-leaf manuscripts are rarely decorated, the tradition of decoration on their wooden covers (Th. *mai prakap*) flourished over many eras. Corresponding with other manuscript cultures in Thailand and the Southeast Asian mainland, many palm-leaf manuscripts contain wooden tags informing

the reader of the texts' titles and other notes. If a number of palm-leaf manuscripts are kept on a single shelf, the wooden tags are convenient for searching and organizing.

According to Kongkaew Weeraprachak (2010: 25–33), the production of palm-leaf manuscripts begins with finding the proper leaves from the right kind of palm tree, particularly the lontar palm (*Corypha utan*) in Southeast Asia. After their leaf stalks have been removed, the leaves are immersed in water for 24 hours and then dried out in the sunlight. Hundreds of dried leaves are then put together and cut into the proper size for manuscripts before being put into a brick stove to prevent molding and mildew. The well-prepared palm leaves must next be polished on their surface and edges. The binding hole has to be pierced in the middle of each leaf by a hot metal spike. One fascicle typically contains 24 leaves. Corresponding to the manuscript culture of South India, the palm-leaf manuscript in Thailand are most often incised by stylus and then filled in with a black substance made of soot. However, the palm-leaf manuscripts written in brush are also occasionally found.

2.8.2 *Khòì*-paper Leporello Manuscripts

Khòì manuscripts contain no wooden covers or tags. The cover of *khòì* manuscripts is most often blackened, regardless of whether all the paper pages are blackened or not, and sometimes lacquered. To inform the reader of the title of the texts in the manuscripts, the space on the cover page and the manuscript's sides are employed. The writing on the side edge (Ger. *Schnitt*; see Jakobi-Mirwald, 2015: 133, 231) of *khòì* manuscripts can be easily seen and recognized when the manuscripts are put together on the shelf. The *khòì* manuscripts with titles on their side edges are commonly found in the ones belonging to a large collection, such as in the traditional Royal Library.

The production of *khòì* leporello manuscripts, though having unclear origins, appears at least as early as the Ayutthaya Kingdom and then continues into the Bangkok period. According to Kongkaew Weeraprachak (2010: 3–20), *khòì*-paper leporello manuscripts are made from the bark of *khòì* trees (*Streblus asper*), which can be widely found in tropical forests and alongside the water. For making paper, the branches of a *khòì* tree are cut from the trunk and then peeled. The peeled bark is then immersed in water for several days. Once it becomes more tender, the bark is torn into smaller pieces, mixed with lime and then steamed in a big steamer particularly used for papermaking. Then the steamed bark is hammered many times into a dry, soft pulp. Mixed with water, the *khòì* pulp is poured into the long paper block in different sizes, which will be put further into the water surface. Having been exposed to the sun, the dried paper has to be painted with gluten paste (Th. *paeng piak* 'wet flour, glue, paste') made of rice flour to prevent ink absorption. In the case of the greyish *khòì* manuscript, the gluten paste has to be mixed with limewater. When making blackened *khòì* manuscripts, on the other hand, one mixes the goo with soot. Finally, the long pieces of paper are folded in leporello fashion. As this

complicated production of *khòì*-paper requires a lot of water, the papermaking sites are always located close to a stable water source.

The writing on the *khòì* manuscript runs from the beginning to the end of the recto side, after which the manuscript has to be turned onto the verso side, with the writing continuing from the first to the last folded page of the verso. The writing substance for the greyish *khòì*-paper manuscript is mostly black ink, but red ink made of vermillion is sometimes used also. On the other hand, various writing substances can be found used for blackened *khòì* manuscripts, such as, white steatite pencil or white chalk, yellow ink, white ink or gold.

The differentiation in terms of usage between the greyish and the blackened types of *khòì*-paper manuscripts is sometimes unclear. Both of them were used as monastic manuscripts, but the greyish type appears in more significant numbers. Most of the court documents and manuscripts were written on the blackened type, but the greyish type also appears among the royal court manuscripts. In many cases, the same texts or genres can be found in both types. However, for some particular genres like juristic codes, the royal manuscripts of *the Three Seals Law* are all of the greyish type. Perhaps the texts on the greyish paper cannot be erased or made changes without any visible traces, while one can erase the writing on the blackened paper by the black soot, potentially the same soot used for blackening the paper page background. Thus, the blackened type is more convenient and also more economical, as it is simpler to erase mistakes and also to reuse the manuscript.

If being stored in good condition, the *khòì*-paper manuscripts can last for several centuries, while the palm-leaf can endure even longer. However, the main obstacles for the manuscript storage are the humid weather of the region and the insects. Furthermore, *khòì*-paper manuscripts should not come into contact with any water whatsoever, for ink or white steatite pencil can be easily blurred by water, unless being waterproofed through a complicated procedure which is rarely used. Furthermore, one will not even be able to open the pages of a manuscript if the entire manuscript has been submerged. Therefore, *khòì*-paper manuscripts become more fragile and require more care to be preserved. Despite the complicated production process of *khòì*-paper manuscripts, the Siamese in the late nineteenth century complained that there was scarcely *khòì* paper with high quality, unlike the Western paper which was far more convenient to be kept and used (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2008: 27). Since the nineteenth century, Western paper and notebooks, therefore, became gradually more well-known and widely used among the Siamese. Traditional *khòì*-paper manuscripts have become widely known today as *samut thai* (literally ‘Thai notebook/manuscript’), in opposition to *samut farang* (‘Western notebook/manuscript’), referring to the more modern Western type of notebook.

2.8.3 Writing Substances

Siamese paper manuscripts can be written with different writing substances, most of which are made from natural pigments and dyes (Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 2010: 22–23). One of the most common is white steatite pencil or white chalk (in Thai: *din sò*) cut from the marlstones. High quality marlstones suitable for use as a writing substance are typically found in Nakhòn Si Thammarat in southern Thailand. Different types of ink, mostly based on the latex of the wood apple tree (*Limonia acidissima*), also commonly appear in the Siamese manuscripts, not only in black ink either like the soot mixed with the wood apple latex or the Chinese inkstick, but also in other colours. Yellow ink is a mixture of the latex of the wood apple tree, the yellow latex of the gamboge tree (*Garcinia hanburyi*), and orpiment. White ink is made of wood apple tree latex and ground white shells, while red ink is made of vermillion. To write text with ink, one infuses the writing instrument, pen or quill, into ink before writing on the support. Therefore, writing with ink takes more time than with white steatite pencil, but the ink writing lasts longer. Sometimes the text is written first with white steatite pencil and then re-written with ink.

Writing with gold ink is most complicated, for the text must be written first with the translucent wood apple latex, then gilded with gold leaves. The glittering gold writing obviously requires an expensive cost to afford; thus, the gold ink can be found merely among few manuscripts created under the royal or wealthy patrons. The gold writing throughout a manuscript is rare, but also found, for instance, in the manuscripts of *Ramakian-The Royal Composition of King Taksin of Thonburi*, which have been proved to be the royal versions. In many cases, gold is used to highlight parts of a text, along with other common substances such as yellow ink and white pencil which were used for the main part of the text. For example, in the manuscripts of the bilingual Pali-Thai *Kap Maha Chat* produced by royal scribes in 1782, the main text in Thai is written with white pencil, while the Pali verse inserted has been gilded with gold, as a decoration and emphasis on the Pali verse (i.e. NLT: RSs: Mss no. 160, 195, 199).

The writing substances of blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscripts appear in a variety of colours. White steatite pencil and yellow ink are most common, while white ink, red ink and gold ink are also used. However, black ink is scarcely found due to the black background of manuscript pages. On the other hand, the black ink is regularly used in the greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscripts, which provide a white or grey page background, though red and gold ink are also found in some manuscripts.

2.8.4 Writing Instruments

An account of a European traveler who stayed in Ayutthaya in the seventeenth century recorded the use of “a little round pen of soft baked earth” as the writing instrument in the everyday life of the Siamese (van Vliet, 1910: 97), perhaps for writing with ink, but without any further information. According to a study on the Siamese writing material (Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 2010: 22–23, 34), a few different instruments have been found. The stylus is the common instrument of choice for incising the writing onto the palm-leaf surface, while white steatite pencil is used as the sole instrument for writing if it is cut or formed properly. In the case of Siamese *khòì*-paper leporello manuscripts, white steatite pencil can be the writing instrument by itself, if being properly cut or formed in the convenient size to hold. When writing with ink, a writing instrument is used which can infuse and store ink in its opening. The traditional quill called *pak kai* (literally ‘chicken’s mouth/beak’) or *pak ka* (‘crow’s mouth/beak’) is a wood stick or feather with a sharpened tip and slit, sharing many similarities with the Western quill. The traditional quill was widely used for writing the leporello manuscripts with ink until the turn of the twentieth century, when it was gradually replaced by the Western pen. However, the word *pak ka* (‘crow’s mouth/beak’) is still used in modern Thai to refer to pens of all types.

2.9 Culture of Scripts and Handwriting: Thai, Khòì, and Grantha

Traditional Siamese manuscript culture has been dominated by two main scripts: Thai and Khòì, corresponding to the biscriptual tradition of many Tai manuscript cultures from the Southeast Asian mainland (Grabowsky, 2011: 146). Both Thai and Khòì scripts have been evidenced since the Sukhothai period. More often Thai script was used to write Thai language, as the script was originally created to serve this purpose. The use of Thai script for writing Pali language also appears in different sources, but rather inconsistently, as Thai script was not systematically organized for writing Pali until the late nineteenth century. The script mainly used for Pali language throughout the traditional period is Khòì script, though the script has also been adapted to write Thai language as well, but rather limited to the religious vernacular texts, such as *Phra Malai Klòn Suat*. Khòì script has also been perceived as the “sacred script of the Cao Phraya river basin” (Santi and Nawarat Pakdeekham, 2018: 45), as it has been used in the Buddhist scriptures, as well as in Yantra and talismans.

These two scripts can be further classified based on their styles and purpose. The polarity of *tua bancong* ‘finely written/ neat script, calligraphy’ and *tua wat* ‘scribbling script’ in Thai script is well documented in many studies (see Illustrations I–II in Appendix V). The forms of Thai script among these two types are relatively identical, the only difference is that *tua wat* or the scribbled hand has been quickly written, while *tua bancong* has been carefully written (Naritsara Nuwattitong and Damrong Rajanubhab, 1961b: 249; Santi and Nawarat

Pakdeekham, 2018: 43). The main text in many manuscripts often exhibits uniformed neat handwriting, with each letter being easily recognized. This requires more time, of course, but also guarantees maximum legibility and durability. Scribbled handwriting also has its uses, such as making quick notations to save time. Nevertheless, its low legibility makes it less than ideal for preserving the content of important texts.

Khò̃m script is also distinguished by two types: Khò̃m Mun ('round Khmer (script)') and Khò̃m Chariang ('italic Khmer (script)'). Both types share most of the same letter forms, but with some variation (i.e. *ja*, *na*, *da*) (see NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 153). Khò̃m Mun as the neat type of Khò̃m handwriting has been regularly used in palm-leaf manuscripts, as well as in the paper manuscripts (i.e. bilingual *Jātaka* texts, see Illustration IV). Khò̃m Chariang, on the other hand, was used in situations where speed was a factor.

Furthermore, both the Thai and Khò̃m scripts also appear in a minuscule fashion called *tua kasian* (literally 'writing,' here *kasian* is varied from Thai word *khian* 'to write') referring to the writing in a very small size, written by a smaller sized writing instrument. The purpose of *tua kasian* is for writing additional notes, such as glosses and annotations, to the main text. Some of the treatises on various scripts include *tua kasian* (see NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 153) along with other types or variations of Thai and Khò̃m scripts. Sometimes the Pali palm-leaf manuscripts also contain annotation in *tua kasian*, or the smaller size of Khò̃m Chariang, written in the margins or between the lines. However, the additional notes as well as glosses are not always found in *tua kasian*, sometimes appearing simply in the scribbling hand.

In the manuscripts of the late Ayutthaya period, the decorative variation of the Thai script has been found, known as Thai Yò̃, along with the decorative Khò̃m Yò̃ (Illustration III). The earliest evidence for this decorative Thai script is dated in the early seventeenth century. Thai Yò̃ then became more popular in the reign of King Narai (Churairat Laksanasiri, 2008: 158). Subsequently, the script developed and found a consistent form as appears in the *Cariik Mae Aksò̃n Khò̃m Khut Parò̃t* Inscription (Hò̃ Samut Haeng Chat, 1986c: 194) and the manuscript of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* (NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 120), which is considered most beautiful (Churairat Laksanasiri, 2008: 190). The Thai Yò̃ script is considered by modern scholars as the most beautiful type or variation within the tradition of Thai writing. The manuscripts and inscriptions of the early Bangkok period also imitated the decorative Thai Yò̃ of late Ayutthaya, but idiomatic variation can still be seen. Although being perceived as calligraphy, Thai Yò̃ script is still different to the tradition of beautiful writing in Chinese, Arabic, or European cultures in many senses (see more in Gaur, 1994: 143). Most important is that the Thai Yò̃ script does not reflect the individuality or creativity of the hands, but instead serves to preserve a uniform style of decoration.

The uniform neat handwriting also played an important role in the Siamese manuscript culture as a trade and skill for the administrative works. Fine penmanship was a prerequisite for

many positions in the royal court. The royal pages, for instance, were trained in handwriting as well, as there was a position within the Department of the Royal Pages recorded in a document dated 1850 CE as the handwriting examiner (Th. กำกับคัดลายมือ ‘[the one who] examines handwriting’) (NLT: CMHS: R3: 1212CS: Ms no. 165). Furthermore, all the departments in the royal court had their own clerks (Th. *samian* เสมียน) as well as a chief clerk (Th. *samian tra* เสมียนตรา) serving as the registrar of the department. These clerk positions also required proper penmanship as an important skill for working. Among other departments, the positions in the Department of the Royal Scribes seem to have required the skill of handwriting, as one of the royal scribes’ main tasks was to make copies of documents, treatises, and literary texts for the king. All the manuscripts presented to the king were regularly written with the fine handwriting of the well-trained scribes, with all the letters easily recognizable and with relatively identical form for each particular letter throughout the manuscript. Interestingly, the manuscripts written with the neat handwriting of the royal scribes in the same period usually appear in the same fashion (Naritsara Nuwattitong and Damrong Rajanubhab, 1961b: 250) as if they have been written by the same hand despite the names of different scribes mentioned in the paratexts (i.e. in the royal manuscripts of juristic codes; see Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan, 2007a–b), suggesting that the royal scribes had been trained to handwrite in a common uniform style, which of course changed over the years. With the uniformity of the royal scribes’ hands in the same period, historians and philologists have benefited when determining the period of such undated manuscripts.

Even though the handwriting training of the court leads to the common uniform style of the script, especially the neat script or *tua bancong*, handwriting was sometimes employed by the court authority to identify its owner. For example, *the Royal Chronicle of King Rama II* (Thiphakonwong, 2012: 502–503) mentions that many anonymous letters were left in the royal palace in 1816, accusing several princes of the false charge. The king then assigned the judges to find the ones who wrote these anonymous letters by investigating handwritings of the princes, princesses, and the court officials. The investigation led to the execution of many court members. The incident points out that the handwriting of the court members, presumably the scribbling script or *tua wat*, still reflects the identity of its owner and can be differentiated from the others’ through the judges’ investigation.

One interesting aspect of Thai handwriting that has also been mentioned in the early Bangkok literature such as *Khun Chang Khun Phaen* ‘[Tale of] Khun Chang and Khun Phaen’, in a scene in which the female protagonist Wan Thong is teaching her son Phlai Ngam before they depart. The mother wishes her son success in learning in the future and says “handwriting is the dignity of a man, be industrious in practicing this clerk’s work” (Th. ลูกผู้ชายลายมือนั้นคือยศจึ่งเฝ้าอดสำหรับทำสมาธิเขียน; Krom Sinlapakòn, 2001: 436), suggesting that fine handwriting was not only a trade or skill for serving at the royal court, but also a dignity of the literate class in the

early Bangkok period. In addition, her teaching here also implies the common perception on handwriting practice as an arduous task to master.

Apart from the Thai and Khò̃m scripts commonly used in the Siamese manuscript culture, the manuscripts written in South Indian Grantha can also be found in a limited corpus. The Siamese Grantha script (known in Thai as *Khriin*, *Chiang Khriin*, or *Chiang Phram*), a variation of South Indian Grantha (most possibly Grantha Tamil¹⁶) developed among the court brahmins in Thailand, is used in the manuscripts of the ritual texts uttered by the brahmins in the state ceremonies in Bangkok (Marr, 1969). The brahmins, whose ancestors came from India, had served in the Siamese court for centuries under the Department of Court Brahmins with the tasks of jury in the traditional court and conducting the brahmanic state ceremonies (Kanjana Suwanwong, 1996: 19–20; Wales, 1931: 54–60). The Siamese Grantha manuscripts of the ceremonial texts have been found among the court brahmins of Bangkok, whose main temple or Devasathan the Brahmin Temple is located nearby Wat Suthat monastery facing the Giant Swing. The languages of these manuscripts are Sanskrit, Tamil, and Thai. It is not known when exactly the Grantha manuscript culture in Siam began, but only the evidence in the Bangkok period has survived into the present

The Siamese Grantha script and its orthography, though an affiliation with South Indian Grantha still obviously appears, were adapted under the influences of Thai and Khò̃m scripts, especially when writing Thai texts (see Wudhichai Kosolkajana, 1988: 98–128). The script can be further categorized into ordinary Grantha (Illustration V) and decorative Grantha (Illustration VI), the latter of which is more angular and affiliated with Khò̃m (Marr, 1969: 282–284). The National Library of Thailand has preserved around fifteen manuscripts written in the Siamese Grantha script, mostly being ceremonial texts, hymns, chants, as well as Yantra patterns. Apart from the National Library's collection, there are also other two Grantha manuscripts kept in the National Library of Thailand in Nakhò̃n Si Thammarat (NKST: NLT: Mss no. 460, 461; see Illustration VII), one additional at the Bavarian State of Library of Munich (MCH: BStabi: Cod. Siam 99; see Illustration VIII), and the additional group of the Grantha manuscripts kept among the Brahmin communities in Bangkok and used in actual ceremonies today. A group of brahmins were trained to read Grantha for recital purposes, but readers of the script in the present day, even among modern scholars in Thailand, are rather rare.

The role of handwriting changed when printing became widely available. Now there was another way to preserve texts in a quick and legible manner. Specifically regarding the

¹⁶ It is worth mentioning that there is a tradition of two scripts used together in Tamil Nadu. The regular Tamil is used for the vernacular Tamil texts, while Grantha Tamil (sometimes also Tamilian Grantha; i.e. Ciotti and Franceschini, 2016) is used for writing Sanskrit texts. The Grantha Tamil contains a number of additional characters required for Sanskrit but not differentiated in the regular Tamil script or unknown to Tamil phonetics (Wilden, 2011: 121).

Khòmm script, its role in writing Pali texts was taken away by a modern system of Thai transliteration for Pali which was created for the printed edition of the Pali Canon in 1888–1893. The practice of copying Pali manuscripts has gradually become less needed. This has also resulted in the Khòmm script being transformed into a more sacred, albeit completely obsolete, script, mainly used for the sake of its sacredness during rituals, such as its current use in the Yantra tradition.

2.10 Advent of Printing Technology in Siam

It seems the Siamese had already come into contact with printing technology since as early as the period of King Narai. Òkya Kosathibòdi (Pan) also visited the royal printing house in Paris during his diplomatic mission in 1687. The records of European missionaries suggest that a plan to create a printing press in Thai script was initiated in 1670 by a French priest in Ayutthaya, Pierre Langrois, who made a request to Paris for the engraving of a Thai printing type (Thanet Aphornsuvan et al, 2006: 5). Unfortunately, the end of the reign of King Narai in 1688 also ended the close contact with the Europeans, as well as the interest in Western inventions such as printing. Thereby, the printing press was not finally established in Thailand until almost a century later. In 1796, the first printed book and perhaps the first printing press ever appeared in Bangkok, evidenced by a printed book containing a Christian sermon in Thai, but in Roman script (see Kamthorn Sathirakul, 1994: 114–115).

The earliest printed book in Thai script was James Low's *A Grammar of the Thai* (1828), though it was printed outside Thailand by the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta (India). The first printing press using Thai script in Bangkok was run by Dan Beach Bradley (1804–1873), a famous American missionary, and opened in 1836. The newspaper, books, as well as royal announcements were printed by Bradley's printing press, including the first Siamese newspaper (1844) in Siam called *Bangkok Recorder*. Bradley, thus, established the modern printing culture in Siamese society, which had for centuries been based on manuscript cultures. King Rama III also hired Bradley to print a royal announcement on forbidding opium in Siam in 1839 (Amphai Chanchira, 1972: 55). Although the main purpose of Bradley's printing house was originally to publish Christian sermons, in the later years the printing house also published more secular texts due to financial troubles, as such content was much easier to sell (Thanet Aphornsuvan et al, 2006: 15). In 1841, Bradley gave one set of his printing types to Prince Mongkut (the future King Rama IV, r. 1851–1868), who at that time resided at Wat Bòwòn Niwet monastery in the monkhood. Not long thereafter, a printing press was established in Wat Bòwòn Niwet for publishing Buddhist chants and sermons. After ascending to the throne, King Mongkut established the royal printing house, possibly prior to 1854, at the Royal Grand Palace, and called it Aksòn Phimphakan Printing House, with the purpose of publishing royal and official documents (Thanet Aphornsuvan et al, 2006: 20). The early typeface, as appearing in the early

printed documents, was obviously based on the neat handwritten type or *tua bancong*, which was widely used in the official court documents and traditional manuscripts (Churairat Laksanasiri, 2008: 322), before being developed into the “common typeface” significantly different from the handwriting since the mid-nineteenth century (Kamthorn Sathirakul, 1984: 133).

In the late nineteenth century, many private printing houses were in operation in Bangkok. One of them was “Doctor Smith’s Printing House,” (1868), owned by the famous Doctor Malcolm Smith, who was successful in printing literary texts based on the manuscripts which had been made available to the printing house. The other famous printing houses owned by the Siamese, for example, “Wat Kò’s Printing House,” (1850) whose printed texts, especially folk tales, were also widely known (see Thanet Aphornsuvan et al, 2006: 24–27). As a result of these new printing houses, Thai literary texts, legal texts and historical documents became widely popular in their new printed form. After many of the literary texts had been printed out in mass, most often without any careful editorial process, official authorities such as the Wachirayan Library for the Capital (later “The National Library of Thailand”) began to publish the texts edited by its own scholars in order to preserve the important texts from the manuscripts owned by the library (Damrong Rajanubhab, 1960: 169), as well as to present more carefully edited texts under the authority of the library. The Wachirayan editions of Thai literature, thus, have then been long perceived as the standard and authoritative editions among scholars and readers in the later period.

Though printing had been widely introduced among the Siamese in the late nineteenth century, the making and use of traditional manuscripts were still widely practiced until the early twentieth century. While the Siamese elites in the capital could access and utilize the printed books and Western writing materials, Siamese writing culture in the provincial towns and monasteries throughout Central and Southern Thailand was still based on traditional materials. With the help of printing technology, the centralized modern education established in 1884 and the emergence of the standard school textbooks gradually displaced traditional education and subverted its close relation to traditional manuscript cultures. Within a century after the advent of print in Siam, traditional Siamese manuscripts had lost their discursive function and had been transformed into sacred objects used mainly in rituals, or as exquisite art and antique objects in the twentieth century and the present.

CHAPTER III

Texts and Manuscripts of Ayutthaya Literature

This part of the study provides an overview of the texts and manuscripts of the corpus; namely, background information on the textual and poetic forms, the number of the manuscripts found and their paratexts, as well as general remarks on transmission for each particular text. This will serve as the basis for a later discussion of scribal paratexts and textual transmission.

Ongkan Chaeng Nam ‘Oath of Allegiance on Water’ (Th. โองการแช่งน้ำ)

In every textbook on Thai literary history, *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* has always been put at the beginning of Ayutthaya literature, thought to have co-existed with the founding of Ayutthaya itself (Pluang Na Nagara, 2001: 43; Sukhon Duangphaktra, 2007: 42). The original text of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* was supposedly written by the brahmins in the royal court of King Ramathibòdi I in order to be recited in a royal ceremony called *phra ratcha phithi thü nam phra phiphat sattaya* (Th. พระราชพิธีถือน้ำพระพิพัฒน์สัตยา), or *phra ratcha phithi si satca pan kan* (Th. พระราชพิธีศรีสัจปานกาล), in which all princes, nobles and officials swore this special oath of allegiance to the king (Cholada Ruengruglikit, 2007: 690). The court brahmins recited this text during the royal ceremony, inviting all the gods and demons to witness the event and “curse” the water, before all attendees swore an oath and drank a cup of the water.

The text begins with an invocation to the three Supreme Gods in Hinduism, then depicts the beginning of the universe (according to Buddhist and Hinduist cosmology) and the birth of the rightful royal lineage, after which it invites all the gods and demons in the universe to curse any attendee who violates the oath. The text ends with an encomium to the king, which interestingly mentions the royal title of King Ramathibòdi, suggesting that the text originated in his reign. The idea of the oath on water and this ceremony is believed to have originated from Angkorian culture. The language used in this text is, however, apparently old, employing more Old Tai words rather than Pali-Sanskrit loanwords, even in the part referring to the Indic gods and cosmology. Thus, several scholars have also proposed that *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* might even have predated the founding of Ayutthaya itself (Chit Phumisak, 2004: 64).

The poetic meter of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* has been arranged as an amalgamation of *khlong* and *rai* meters, traditionally known as *lilit*. Hence, the text has also been known as *Lilit Ongkan Chaeng Nam*. However, the determination of the particular *khlong* meter is unclear. According to the earliest treatise on poetics called *Cindamani*, possibly dated in the seventeenth century, the poetic meter of *khlong* in *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* is known as *khlong ha* or *khlong monthokkhati*. However, various scholars have proposed that the meter in *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* is rather a variation of *khlong dan* (see a summary on these arguments in Sutheera Satayaphan, 2013: 53–64). For example, King Rama VI has determined the meter to be *khlong dan maha*

citlada, *khlong dan maha witchu mali*, and *khlong dan witchu mali alongkot* in his study on the meters of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* in 1914. Most recently, Cholada Ruengruglikit (2001: 51–52) has proposed the meter to be *khlong dan bat kunchon* with the poetic features of *konlabot* (Th. กลบพ).

Fourteen extant manuscripts of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* have been found in total. As the text is rather short, all the manuscripts bear the complete copy of the text. The text of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* is often collected together with other texts, based on their similar content, in the manner of a multiple-text manuscript. For example, six of the fourteen manuscripts¹⁷ are collected with other ceremonial texts all of which were recited in the royal oath ceremony, while one of them was collected along with other brahmins' chanting and ceremonial texts in Sanskrit and Tamil languages (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 360)¹⁸. Four manuscripts are written in the Siamese Grantha script, while the others are in Thai script. Despite being suggested by several scholars (Nitaya Kanchanawan, 1978: 63), none of the manuscripts preserved the text of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* in Khôm script. The earliest extant manuscript seems to be dated in the reign of King Rama IV (r. 1851–1868), who rearranged this particular royal ceremony, as the manuscript mentioned the royal title of King Rama IV in the later part (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 258). Another dated manuscript (NLT: KhLSs: Ms no. 175) was produced according to its scribal preface in 1901, in the reign of King Rama V (r. 1868–1910), with other five manuscripts mentioning his royal title in the later part. Thus it might have originated from his reign as well. The other dated manuscript (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 262) was produced around 1914 under the royal order of King Rama VI who also rearranged the text following his determination of the *khlong* meter.

Most of the *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* manuscripts are preserved at the National Library of Thailand, save one manuscript in Grantha script owned by the court brahmins for their ceremonial purposes (BKK: DSBPhr). This manuscript is still preserved by Chawin Rangsiphrammanakun, the present-day supreme brahmin, and so it is known among scholars as Chawin's manuscript of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam*. Though this manuscript is not accessible to the public, photocopies of the manuscript have been published (in Wudhichai Kosolkajana, 1988: 305–316) with transliteration into Thai (in: Niyada Lausoonthorn, 1992c: 13–19; Wudhichai Kosolkajana, 1988: 305–316). The scribal paratexts found in the manuscripts of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* are brief ceremonial notes, instructing the brahmins to infuse the sacred weapon with the ceremonial water during the ritual (in NLT: LLSs: Mss no. 259, 360; BKK:

¹⁷ Namely, NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 258; NLT: KhLSs: Ms no. 175; NLT: KhLSs: Ms no. 175/ṇ; NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 33; NLT: PRPTSs: Ms no. 312; NLT: PRPTSs: Ms no. 389

¹⁸ This manuscript belongs to the same set as two other manuscripts (NLT: PRPTSs: Mss no. 672, 677), in which the ceremonial texts in Sanskrit, Tamil, as well as Thai, have been collected together and written in the decorative Siamese Grantha script. All three manuscripts were donated to the National Library by Phra Ratcha Khru Wamathep Muni (Sawang Rangsiphrammanakun).

DSBPhr). The scribal prefaces mention the royal scribes who made copies and provides the date of 1901 (in NLT: KhLSs: Ms no. 175).

It is noteworthy that some scholars (see Wudhichai Kosolkajana, 1988: 99) believe that there is also one manuscript of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* in Tamil script, based on what has been published in Sarma (1972). However, according to the introduction by Jean Filliozat (1972: ix), this so-called “Tamil copy” of *Ongkan Chang Nam* published in Sarma appears to be the transliteration of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* as well as other brahmanic texts in the Siamese Grantha script, based on the photocopies and microfilms from the National Library of Thailand, into the Grantha Tamil, the script widely used in Tamil Nadu nowadays for Sanskrit texts (instead of regular Tamil). The text of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* in Sarma (1972: 116–122) was apparently transliterated from NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 360. Thus, this Tamil manuscript, as published in and reproduced in Wudhichai Kosolkajana (1988: 417–428), even though written by hand, is neither a traditional copy of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* nor a product of the traditional Siamese manuscript culture at all, but a modern scholarly work aiming to make some texts originally written in the Siamese Grantha script available for scholars of Sanskrit and Tamil studies. Therefore, this manuscript will not be included in this study. In short, the scripts bearing the text of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* in the traditional manuscript are either Thai or Siamese Grantha, never appearing in the Grantha Tamil or the regular Tamil script.

Maha Chat Kham Luang ‘*The Royal Version of the Great Birth*’

(Th. มหาชาติคำหลวง)

Maha Chat Kham Luang, literally ‘the royal version of the great birth’, depicts the story of Prince Vessantara, the Buddha’s final former-life before his birth as Gotama Buddha, following the Pali text of *Vessantara Jātaka* in *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, one of the Pali canonical commentaries. The Pali text in *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* contains around one thousand verses, which is why is sometimes alternatively known as *khatha phan* (‘one thousand verses’) (Wakul Mitphraphan, 2018: 121). Among the various versions of *Vessantara Jātaka* in Thailand, *Maha Chat Kham Luang* appears to be the earliest bilingual Pali-Thai version and has been traditionally thought to be the royal version or *kham luang*, originally written in 1482 under the promulgation of King Trailokkanat (r. 1448–1488) of Ayutthaya (Dhanit Yupho, 1958: 17). The text was supposedly used for ceremonial recital in the royal palace. Uniquely, the poetic meter in *Maha Chat Kham Luang* is mixed between various types of meters, ranging from *rai* - the most common meter used - to *khlong*, *kap*, and *chan*, along with the insertion of a Pali citation. The peripheral title *kham luang* (‘royal version’) suggests the existence of a monastic version or *kham wat* (Nidhi Eoseewong, 2012: 20), though no such text has been found at the time of this writing. Compared with the other versions of *Vessantara* in Thailand, which are typically in *rai*

meter with the insertion of a Pali citation, and are used for sermons (or *thet* / เทศน์ in Thai), *Maha Chat Kham Luang* was originally chanted (Th. *suat* / สวด) in a particular melody.

Corresponding to other *Vessantara* texts, *Maha Chat Kham Luang* depicts the story of Prince Vessantara, who fulfilled the perfection of alm-givings (P. *dānapāramī*) over thirteen chapters or *kan* (Th. กัณฑ์ < P. *kaṇḍa* ‘part, chapter’), following the canonical Pali commentary text, as listed below:

Chapter I: *Thotsa Phòn* ‘Ten Blessings’ (Th. ทศพร < Skt. *daśa* ‘ten’ + P./Skt. *vara* ‘preferable, blessing’)

Chapter II: *Himaphan* ‘[Chapter of] *Himavanta*’ (Th. หิมพานต์ < P./Skt. *himavanta*, referring to the forest of Himalaya)

Chapter III: *Thanna Kan* ‘Chapter of Giving’ (Th. ทานกัณฑ์ < P./Skt. *dāna* ‘giving’ + P. *kaṇḍa* ‘part, chapter’)

Chapter IV: *Wana Prawet* ‘Entrance to the Forest’ (Th. วนประเวศน์ < P./Skt. *vana* ‘forest’ + Skt. *praveśana* ‘entering, entrance’)

Chapter V: *Chuchok* ‘[Chapter of] *Jujaka*’ (Th. ชุชก < P. *jūjaka*, referring to Jujaka)

Chapter VI: *Cunla Phon* ‘Lesser Forest’ (Th. จุลพน < P. *cūla* ‘lesser’ + P./Skt. *vana* ‘forest’)

Chapter VII: *Maha Phon* ‘Greater Forests’ (Th. มหาพน < P./Skt. *mahā* ‘greater’ + P./Skt. *vana* ‘forest’)

Chapter VIII: *Kuman* ‘[Chapter of] Children’ (Th. กุมาร < P./Skt. *kumāra* ‘child’)

Chapter IX: *Matsi* ‘[Chapter of] *Maddi*’ (Th. มัทรี < P. *maddi*, referring to Maddi, Vessantara’s wife)

Chapter X: *Sakka Bap* ‘Chapter of Indra’ (Th. สักกบรรพ < P. *sakka* ‘lord, chief, king,’ referring to God Indra + P. *pabba* ‘chapter’)

Chapter XI: *Maha Rat* ‘[Chapter of] the Great King’ (Th. มหาราช < P./Skt. *mahā* ‘greater’ + P./Skt. *rājā* ‘king’)

Chapter XII: *Chò Kasat* ‘[Chapter of] the Six Lords’ (Th. ฉกษัตริย์ < P. *chaṭṭha* ‘six’ + Skt. *kṣatriya* ‘warrior, lord, king’)

Chapter XIII: *Nakhòn Kan* ‘Chapter of the City’ (Th. นครกัณฑ์ < P./Skt. *nagara* ‘city’ + P. *kaṇḍa* ‘part, chapter’)

According to the prologue found in all manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter I Thotsa Phòn*, six chapters of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* were lost after the fall of Ayutthaya, while the other seven chapters survived¹⁹ (i.e. NLT: RSs: Mss no. 23, 34 etc). In response to this, King Rama II restored the tradition of chanting *Maha Chat Kham Luang* as a royal

¹⁹ The chapters whose old version has survived from Ayutthaya are *Thotsaphòn*, *Wana Prawet*, *Chuchok*, *Maha Phon*, *Kuman*, *Maha Rat*, and *Nakhòn Kan*, while the lost chapters are *Himaphan*, *Thanna Kan*, *Cunla Phon*, *Matsi*, *Sakka Bap*, and *Chò Kasat*. Some modern scholars have proposed the other arguments, for example, Cholada Ruengruglikit (2004: 84–85) has determined that there are ten old chapters transmitted from Ayutthaya.

ceremony in 1814, and demanded that the missing six chapters be re-written, while the other seven older chapters were copied so that complete copies of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* could be kept in the royal palace for use in chanting ceremonies (Wakul Mitphraphan, 2018: 140).

As the complete text contains thirteen individual chapters, there are a high number of manuscripts surviving containing parts of or all of the text. For some chapters which contain longer texts, one complete copy might contain two volumes of manuscripts (i.e. *Maha Rat* and *Nakhòn Kan*) or even three volumes for the case of the *Kuman* chapter. The total number of manuscripts found containing chapters of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* is 94 manuscripts, as summarized in Table III below. All of them are now preserved at the National Library of Thailand.

Table III: Manuscripts containing chapters of the *Maha Chat Kham Luang* at the National Library of Thailand

No.	Chapter	Remarks on Version	Number of Manuscripts Found
1	<i>Thotsa Phòn</i>	Old Chapter	10 Mss
2	<i>Himaphan</i>	Re-written	2 Mss – 1 MTM
3	<i>Thanna Kan</i>	Re-written	6 Mss
4	<i>Wana Prawet</i>	Old Chapter	6 Mss
5	<i>Chuchok</i>	Old Chapter	8 Mss
6	<i>Cunla Phon</i>	Re-written	6 Mss – 1 MTM
7	<i>Maha Phon</i>	Old Chapter	11 Mss
8	<i>Kuman</i>	Old Chapter	16 Mss
9	<i>Matsi</i>	Re-written	1 Ms
10	<i>Sakka Bap</i>	Re-written	2 Mss
11	<i>Maha Rat</i>	Old Chapter	14 Mss
12	<i>Chò Kasat</i>	Re-written	4 Mss
13	<i>Nakhòn kan</i>	Old Chapter	12 Mss – 2 MTM

It can be seen that the number of manuscripts varies in each chapter, suggesting that each chapter has a different degree of circulation and that all thirteen chapters were never transmitted together, despite all chapters having been completely restored together in 1814 under the royal command of King Rama II. Some chapters, especially the so-called old chapters, have more

copies of manuscripts, for instance, *Thotsa Phòn* and *Maha Phon*. On the other hand, a few of the re-written chapters have hardly survived, such as the cases of the manuscripts of *Himaphan* and *Sakka Bap*, which have survived in very limited number and in very damaged condition. When the Wachirayan Library published the complete text of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* in 1917, the library committee had to spend many years searching for the manuscripts of these re-written chapters (i.e. *Sakka Bap*) which scarcely survived in order to compile the complete collection of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* into a printed edition (Krom Sinlapakòn, 1997: (2)–(3)). The lack of manuscript copies of these chapters suggests that they were neither widely read nor chanted in the late nineteenth century at all. Although the prologue appearing in *Thotsa Phòn* mentions that all the chapters were chanted during the royal ceremony, the tradition seems to have not been so popular and thus appears minimized, as only eight chapters were transmitted in the royal court of King Rama V during the late nineteenth century (Chulalongkorn, 1973: 520). The only chapter that continued to be chanted in the ceremony is *Maha Phon*, a chapter which is chanted in the Royal Grand Palace even in the present day (Arthid Shiravanichkul, 2011: 188).

Among the manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, significant paratexts such as prefaces and colophons providing dates of manuscripts, scribes' names or titles, as well as the history of the text have been found. Based on the preface and colophon information, the earliest dated manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* were produced in 1814, namely, NLT: RSs: Ms no. 35 (*Thotsa Phòn*), Ms no. 56 (*Wana Prawet*), Ms no. 65 (*Cunla Phon*), Ms no. 93 (*Kuman*), and Ms no. 125 (*Nakhòn Kan*). The other manuscripts are dated in 1817, 1830, 1886, 1888, and 1890, suggesting the continuation of copying text of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* until the late nineteenth century, though this was not the case for every single chapter. Furthermore, the scribes mentioned in the preface and colophon in the dated manuscripts are mostly royal scribes with noble titles. The scholars who were assigned to rewrite the “lost” chapters are also mentioned in the preface and colophon, but only for two chapters, namely, *Thanna Kan* by Phra Rattana Muni of Wat Ratchasittharam (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 49) and *Cunla Phon* by Khun Maha Sitthiwohan (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 65).

Furthermore, we can see that the text of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* is closely related to the chanting tradition, as King Rama II restored this tradition of chanting *Maha Chat Kham Luang* in 1814, which has continued until the present despite a number of changes. For this reason, a group of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* manuscripts contain chanting markers throughout the text, most often notated either under or above the lines of the main text with white steatite pencil or white ink (see Illustration XX). Almost all the chapters appear in their manuscripts with chanting markers, save *Sakka Bap*, whose manuscripts have survived in very limited number and in very poor condition. The high number of extant manuscripts with these chanting markers implies an extant chanting tradition of various chapters, possibly all thirteen chapters in the reign of King Rama II. The tradition, nevertheless, might not have been popular among the

royal court in the late nineteenth century. Potentially only the chapter of *Maha Phon* was chanted in the royal ceremony. The use of chanting markers in the manuscripts reveals many significant aspects in the Siamese manuscript culture, witnessing oral transmission of the text through chanting and revealing an attempt to represent the complicated chanting melody and rhythm with the signs, even if the interpretation of the chanting markers was already obsolete among the royal court in the late nineteenth century (Chulalongkorn, 1973: 522).

Unfortunately, we do not have any complete sets of thirteen manuscripts that were all produced at the same time, even though the complete set might have once been produced in the reign of King Rama II. What we have now are the copies of each chapter which have been produced separately. Only some chapters seem to have been considered significant enough to be further transmitted into the late nineteenth century (i.e. *Thotsa Phòn*, *Maha Phon*), whereas several chapters faded away from the course of transmission during the later nineteenth century.

Yuan Phai ‘Defeat of the Yuan’ (Th. ขวนฟ่าย)

Yuan Phai, which means “the defeat of the Tai Yuan of the Lan Na Kingdom”, is a eulogy for King Trailokkanat (r. 1448–1488) of Ayutthaya celebrating his victory over the Lan Na Kingdom in the war of 1474 (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2007b). The date of original composition is unclear, but must have been some time after the war in the reign of King Ramathibòdi II (r. 1491–1529) (Savanit Vingvorn, 2007b: 406). The text of *Yuan Phai* consists of 295 stanzas of *khlong dan* (most of them *khlong dan bat kunchon*) and two stanzas of *rai*. Thus, the text has also been known as *Lilit Yuan Phai* as it contains the use of both *khlong* and *rai*. *Yuan Phai* begins with word of reverence to the Three Jewels of Buddhism and praise of King Trailokkanat with his various merits, perfections, and capabilities. Then the text contains his biography from birth to his ascension to the throne, telling of his various deeds as king before describing the war against King Tilok of Lan Na at the city of Chaliang (north of Sukhothai) in 1474 in detail. The war description ends with the victory of King Trailokkanat over Chaliang. The text concludes with an encomium to King Trailokkanat, praising his wisdom and mercy. The text provides significant historical information and also represents one of the the most complicated literary works in Siamese poetry. Thus, *Yuan Phai* was widely transmitted into the Bangkok period, influencing the poetry of Bangkok and acting as a model for royal eulogies.

In total, there are 24 extant manuscripts of *Yuan Phai*, all of which are preserved at the National Library of Thailand. As the text is rather long, most of the manuscripts do not preserve the complete text. Only six manuscripts can be considered complete copies, in which the complete text has been copied within one codicological unit. The other manuscripts, however, preserve only a part of the text, either Volume I or Volume II. Among all manuscripts, only two of them contain colophons informing on the date of manuscript production. One is dated in 1838 (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 204) and the other in 1857 (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 210).

Although prefaces and colophons are not commonly found in the manuscripts of *Yuan Phai*, glosses explaining the meaning of obscure terms and loanwords in the main text can be found in seven manuscripts of *Yuan Phai*. The most complicated stanzas of this literary work are the famous twenty stanzas (stanzas no. 12–32) which play on the repetition of Pali numeral words, from one to ten, to describe the various prestigious characteristics and abilities of the king. Therefore, in some manuscripts, glosses for archaic terminology have been added to these twenty stanzas in order for readers to better understand the details of this section,.

Of the 24 extant manuscripts of *Yuan Phai* which are preserved at the National Library of Thailand today, seven of them contain glosses for these twenty stanzas. Furthermore, in all seven manuscripts, the glosses correspond to each other, though with some variant spellings, suggesting a common origin of the glosses. It seems it was standard for those scribes who intended to provide such a gloss to leave extra space under each quarter stanza (in Thai known as *bat*) for the extended glosses. In most of these manuscripts, the handwriting and writing substance appears identical both in the main text and the glosses, though sometimes the glosses are a bit smaller in size, probably in order to save space and to visually differentiate the glosses from the main text. In addition, the glosses are always been simply copied along with the main text without any further additions. In NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 196, for example, one of the seven manuscripts with annotated text, glosses appear for additional stanzas apart from stanzas no. 12–32 as well. In these cases, the twenty stanzas have extra space allocated for their glosses, while the other annotations are simply inserted directly below the line of the main text. This leads us to conclude that the commentator of this manuscript adopted the transmitted glosses of those twenty stanzas first and then added further glosses of his own into some other stanzas.

Lilit Phra Lò ‘[Tale of] King Lò in Lilit Meter’ (Th. ลิลิตพระลอ)

The narrative poem on King Lò in lilit meter, commonly known as *Lilit Phra Lò*, has long been praised as a Thai classic, even deemed as the best above all other *lilit* poetry by the Literary Society presided over by King Rama VI in 1916. The story of the text tells of a romance between King Lò of Suang city and two princesses, Phüan and Phaeng, of Sòng city. Despite an existing conflict between the two cities, they fall in love and manage to meet with the help of their entourages and magic spells. The relationship between the three lovers leads to a tragic end, as all three characters are killed. Nevertheless, the story ends with the political reconciliation of the two royal houses. The story of Phra Lò was once believed to have originated from the northern provinces of Thailand, specifically in Phrae. However, modern folklorists have proposed that the story was based on a folktale from the Shan tribes (i.e. Sukanya Sujachaya, 2013: 3). Like other early Ayutthaya literature, the identity of the original author and the exact date of *Lilit Phra Lò* remain unclear. Modern scholars have suggested the date of composition to a period around the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth centuries (Cholada Ruengruglikit,

2001: 169). The poetic meter used is *lilit*, an amalgamation of *rai* and *khlong* meters (in this case consisting of *khlong si suphap*, *khlong sam suphap*, and *khlong song suphap*).

The authoritative edition of *Lilit Phra Lò* consists of 659 stanzas. This authoritative text was based on the printing made at the behest of King Chulalongkorn, estimated to have been done around 1902. Later, the Wachirayan Library reprinted the same text in 1915 and 1926, and since the National Library of Thailand and later the Fine Arts Department have both reprinted the text several times with minor changes until the present. Nevertheless, the relationship between the authoritative printed edition and the manuscripts remains complicated. Apparently, the text of *Lilit Phra Lò* from the printed edition does not always represent the text circulating in the traditional manuscript culture (Brickner, 1991: 65). One example is that the authoritative edition ends with two epilogue stanzas, one mentioning Maha Rat (literally ‘a great king’) as the author and the following stanza mentioning Yaowa Rat (‘a young prince,’ the title used for princes born to royal consorts) as the original scribe who copied by following the dictation of the author (Krom Sinlapakòn, 1997: 493), though being considered spurious by modern scholars (i.e. Cholada Ruengruglikit, 2001: 168; 2010: 9). However, none of the manuscripts available at the National Library of Thailand contain this stanza on Yaowa Rat (Phan-orn Chongprasit, 2018: 100). The only manuscript found containing the last epilogue stanza mentioning Yaowa Rat is now preserved at Chiang Mai University (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17078 (2)), while the other thirteen manuscripts preserving the same part of text all mention Maha Rat twice.

Due to the length of the text, as well as its popularity in the Bangkok period, *Lilit Phra Lò* has survived in a rather large amount of manuscripts, with 75 in total. One complete copy often consists of four volumes. At the National Library of Thailand, 59 manuscripts have been found, while the Northern Thai Information Center within the Chiang Mai University Central Library preserves another twelve manuscripts, all once possessed by Kraisri Nimmanheminda. Furthermore, the École française d’Extrême-Orient in Paris also keeps four additional manuscripts, all of them belonging to the same set of copies, making it a complete set.

Despite the large number of extant manuscripts, scribal paratexts appear in very limited number. One manuscript bears the exact date of 1860, mentioning a monk from Wat Bunnatharam as the scribe (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 104). Another manuscript is dated in 1844 without any scribe’s identity (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 101). Several manuscripts also contain scribal prefaces and colophons providing the scribe’s name and a summary of the text, though no exact date of the manuscript is found. Some of them also reveal the history of textual transmission. NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 108 has preserved its preface mentioning the intention of King Chulalongkorn to make *Lilit Phra Lò* available as a portable printed book, most likely around the turn of the twentieth century, though the manuscript itself is undated and its text is incomplete (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 108). Another manuscript with significant paratext (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17077) not only mentions Nai Chai as the scribe and the date of manuscript in 1790, its

colophon also mentioned that Luang Sòrawichit had long attempted to recollect and restore the text of *Lilit Phra Lò* after the fall of Ayutthaya until he found the surviving exemplar twelve years after the fall (1779 CE) (see Illustration XII). This colophon provides us a significant piece of information on the transmission of the text in the early times after the fall of Ayutthaya. Hence, paratexts of *Lilit Phra Lò*, despite their limited number, also shine an important light on some aspects of Thai manuscript transmission history.

Kap Maha Chat ‘Poem of the Great Birth’ (Th. กาพย์มหาชาติ)

Another bilingual Pali-Thai version of the *Vessantara Jātaka* is known among modern scholars as *Kap Maha Chat* and is believed to be a version in *rai* meter composed under the royal order of King Song Tham (r. 1620–1628) of Ayutthaya, according to Prince Damrong Rajanubhab (Krom Sinlapakòn, 1997: (12)). This version is, therefore, considered as the second earliest Thai version of *Vessantara Jātaka* after *Maha Chat Kham Luang* (1482). Unlike the various poetic meters of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, *Kap Maha Chat* consists exclusively of *rai* meter (for the Thai text), interrupted by citations of Pali *Jātaka* commentary, a common practice found in *Jātaka* texts used for preaching. Three chapters of *Kap Maha Chat* (i.e. *Wana Prawet*, *Kuman*, and *Sakka Bap*) are available in the printed editions by the Wachirayan Library (1916 for *Wana Prawet* and *Kuman*; 1927 for *Sakka Bap*) and later by the Fine Arts Department (Krom Sinlapakòn, 1986a; 1997). Hence, the text of these three chapters has been only recognized rather recently (Winaittharamanop Kantasilò, 2007a: 393). All of them come from the manuscripts²⁰ copied by the royal scribes of King Rama I in 1782, as recorded in their prefaces. Furthermore, all of them appear to have been written using the same writing substance, namely white steatite pencil for Thai text and gold for Pali text (in Khòm script). The preface of *Wana Prawet* even mentions Phra Alak, or the Lord of Royal Scribes, as the author who *taeng* (Th. แต่ง) or composed the text. Prince Damrong considered it his task to rewrite only this chapter of *Kap Maha Chat* rather than rewriting the entire text (Krom Sinlapakòn, 1997: 498). Thus, *Wana Prawet* is also considered a part of *Kap Maha Chat* of King Song Tham.

Apart from the printed text of *Kap Maha Chat*, there are also two additional manuscripts of other chapters produced in 1782 in the same manner as the other manuscripts mentioned above: NLT: RSs: Ms no. 195 (*Matsi*) and NLT: RSs: Ms no. 210 (*Maha Rat* Volume I). These two manuscripts are unpublished, but should be taken as a part of *Kap Maha Chat* as well, since the scribal preface and the use of writing substance so obviously corresponds with the other manuscripts of *Kap Maha Chat* that the text from these two chapters arguably belongs to the

²⁰ The manuscripts of the published text of *Kap Maha Chat* are: NLT: RSs: Ms no. 160 (*Wana Prawet*), NLT: RSs: Ms no. 196 (*Kuman* Volume I), NLT: RSs: Ms no. 199 (*Kuman* Volume II), NLT: RSs: Ms no. 204 (*Sakka Bap*).

other three published chapters. The preface of *Maha Rat* even mentions the Lord of Royal Scribes as the author of the text, corresponding to the preface of *Sakka Bap*. In conclusion, six manuscripts of *Kap Maha Chat* (five chapters) have been found. Each of them contains its own individual text and none of them appears to have been further copied. Noteworthy is that the paratexts of the manuscripts might suggest that this version of *Vessantara Jātaka* was copied, or even rewritten, by the royal scribes in the very early period of King Rama I. However, there is no mention, either in the text or paratext of any manuscript, that this version of *Vessantara Jātaka* is exactly the same version as King Song Tham's.

***Khlong Nirat Hariphunchai* ‘Poetic Travelogue to Hariphunchai’**

(Th. โคลงนิราศหริภุญไชย)

Khlong Nirat Hariphunchai is a poetic travelogue in *khlong* meter, narrating a pilgrimage from Chiang Mai to Hariphunchai (in Lamphun) in the period sometime between the 15th and the seventeenth centuries (see Lagirarde, 2004). The original text is written in Tai Yuan (or Kam Müang) language, and a group of manuscripts of *Khlong Nirat Hariphunchai* have survived and been transmitted within Lan Na manuscript culture in the indigenous scripts of Lan Na: Tham Lan Na and Thai Nithet²¹ (Lamoon Janhom, 1989: 66). The poem has also been transcribed into Thai script and transmitted within the Siamese manuscript culture as well. According to some modern scholars, the process of transcribing this Lan Na poetry into Thai script has been believed to have been carried out since the Ayutthaya period (Saksri Yaemnadda et al, 1988: 40). The text as known in Siamese manuscript culture contains 178 stanzas of *khlong si suphap* and was first published in the Fine Arts Department's *Anthology of Ayutthaya Literature* (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002a: 1–78). The more recent edition by Prasert Na Nagara (2004) presents the Siamese text along with the Lan Na text (in Thai script) in parallel.

Four manuscripts of the text are now being preserved at the National Library of Thailand. All of them were purchased in bulk by the library from anonymous antique dealers on April 18th, 1911, suggesting they all came from the same vendor. Unfortunately, this history of the library's acquisition does not imply any specific origin of the manuscripts. However, the paratext from the manuscripts, in this case glosses, imply that the former owners of some manuscripts of *Nirat Hariphunchai* must have been scholars, as two of the four manuscripts contain different glosses on Lan Na Tai words, as well as Pali-Sanskrit words in Lan Na fashion (NLT: KhINRSs: Mss no. 402, 405).

²¹ Thai Nithet script (Th. ไทขนิเทศ) is another script found in a limited group of the Lan Na literary manuscripts dated during 1812–1845 (Thawat Punnothok, 2006: 205). The form and orthography of Thai Nithet script is closely related to Fak Kham script used in Lan Na, as well as Old Lao or Tai Nòi script used in Laos.

Samutthakhot Kham Chan ‘[Tale of] *Samutthakhot in Kham Chan Meter*’

(Th. สมุทรโฆษคำฉันท์)

Samutthakhot Kham Chan was praised as the best of *Kham Chan* literature by the Literary Societ in 1916. The history of the composition itself is incomparably unique among other literary texts. According to the tradition, the complete text of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* was written by three different poets in different periods, thus the text has been divided into three parts based on these different authors. The first part covers stanzas no. 1–1242, attributed to an author called Maha Rat, which either refers to one of the kings or is an abridged form of “Phra Maha Ratcha Khru”, the title for the royal mentor and the supreme brahmin of the royal court. The second part, stanza no. 1243–1446, is a royal composition of King Narai (r. 1656–1688) of Ayutthaya in the second half of the seventeenth century. Legend has it that King Narai passed away before the text had been completed. The text was left incomplete until the early nineteenth century, when a prominent poet of the early Bangkok period, Prince Patriarch Paramanuchit Chinorot (1790–1853), composed the ending of the text (stanzas no. 1447–2011), following the storyline found in *Samuddaghosa Jātaka*, the *Jātaka* version of the tale. With this unique history of textual composition, *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* can be considered both Ayutthaya literature (in the case of its first two parts) as well as early Bangkok literature (the third part by Prince Paramanuchit). However, based on the correspondence of the poetic styles, more recent studies have suggested that the Ayutthaya parts were written by a single author, possibly in the period during the second half of the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century (Sumalie Kieyakul, 1976: 224–225; Cholada Ruengruglikit, 2018: 319–322).

The text narrates the story of Prince Samutthakhot’s romance and adventure, corresponding to *Samuddaghosa Jātaka*, an apocryphal *Jātaka* from the *Paññāsa Jātaka* collection. The parts from the Ayutthaya period, especially part I, also contain some scenes and elements different from the *Jātaka* version. Some examples of this are the scene of the elephant hunting and its ceremony, the angel’s matching, and the matrimony of Prince Samutthakhot. The early parts of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* are thought to have been originally written to function as the the script recited during the shadow play, even though no evidence on the shadow play of Samutthakhot has survived. The third part of the text by Prince Paramanuchit, however, follows the storyline of *Samuddaghosa Jātaka* to the end of the text, followed by an epilogue mentioning the legend or oral history of the text and his aims in composition.

A total of 65 manuscripts of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* have been found, nine of which contain only the third part written by Prince Paramanuchit. The other 56 manuscripts all preserve the Ayutthaya parts of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*. This number renders the Ayutthaya text of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* as one of the most circulated texts in the Bangkok period, despite its incompleteness. Due to the length of the complete text, part I alone can take up several volumes of manuscripts. Most likely is that the Ayutthaya parts of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* and Prince Paramanuchit’s part were separately transmitted in most cases. The two Ayutthaya

parts are typically found in the same set of copies, while Prince Paramanuchit's *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* exists individually in its own separate set of copies (please see the list of the manuscripts of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* part III in the Appendix IV at the end of this study). Only two manuscripts containing Prince Paramanuchit's part (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Mss no. 3, 4) are found in the same set of copies as the other two manuscripts containing the Ayutthaya parts. Thus, this might be the only set of manuscripts in which the complete text of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* (i.e. all three parts) were collected together²².

Paratexts informing on the date of manuscripts are rare. Fortunately, we have one set of manuscripts, though incomplete and severely damaged, with the date rather early in 1817 (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Mss no. 47/2, 47/3, 47/4). The title of the royal scribes mentioned in paratexts suggests this set of manuscript is the royal copy presented to King Rama II. The other dated copy has considerably been made to present it to King Rama III in 1848–1849, copied by Nai Pan, one of the royal scribes in his reign (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17177, 17070 (1), 17070 (2)). Apart from these dated manuscripts, we have several manuscripts with prefaces and colophons informing on the name of the scribes, but none of these manuscripts are dated.

Furthermore, in the manuscripts preserving the end of part I (stanza no. 1242) the scribe would mark the authorship of the text of part I as “the composition of Maha Rat” (Th. มหาราชเจ้านิพนธ์), before the text of part II begins. The manuscripts which preserve the ending of part II often end with a colophon versified in a stanza of *khlong* meter marking the ending scene of the text of part II. This stanza of colophon is commonly found in eight manuscripts. Only one manuscript (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 19) marks the beginning of part II with a short note on authorship reading “the royal composition of King Narai” (Th. พระราชนิพนธ์สมเด็จพระนารายณ์มหาราช). These scribal notes and colophon have their main structuring function as a mark of the end of the part, while at the same time informing about authorship.

The Collection of Didactic Poems (Th. ประชุมโคลงสุภาษิต)

Text I: *Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng* ‘*Phali Teaching his Brother*’ (Th. โคลงพาลีสอนน้อง)

Text II: *Khlong Thotsarot Sòn Phra Ram* ‘*Thotsarot Teaching Rama*’ (Th. โคลงพศรสอนพระราม)

Text III: *Khlong Ratchasawat* ‘*Royal Glory*’ (Th. โคลงราชสวัสดิ์)

The standard textbooks on Thai literature have attributed these three short didactic texts: *Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng* ‘*Phali Teaching his Brother*’, *Khlong Thotsarot Sòn Phra Ram* ‘*Thotsarot Teaching Rama*’, *Khlong Ratchasawat* ‘*Royal Glory*’, to King Narai (r. 1656–1688) of

²² This complete set of copies contains four manuscripts which are NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 1 (Volume I), Ms no. 2 (Volume II), Ms no. 3 (Volume III), Ms no. 4 (Volume IV). Volume III (Ms no. 3) of this set contains the latter section of part I, the entire part II, and the beginning of part III.

Ayutthaya (Sukhon Duangphaktra, 2007: 75–77). However, a study on a manuscript of this didactic collection by Lekda Imchai (1985: 186) has disclosed that these three didactic poems, along with three other texts in *khlong* meter from the same manuscript: *Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat Wat Pa Mok* (‘Poem on the Relocation of Sleeping Buddha Image of Wat Pa Mok Monastery’), *Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang* (‘Didactic Poem of Phra Ruang’), and *Khlong Rachanuwat* (‘Royal Conducts’), were originally composed by King Bòrommakot (1733–1758) of Ayutthaya, as the preface of the extant manuscript suggests. This manuscript mentioned by Lekda Imchai (1985) as well as by Niyada Lausoonthorn (1992d) has now been registered at the National Library of Thailand as NLT: KhLSs: Ms no. 202. This manuscript also contains a colophon mentioning the titles of two royal scribes as the copyists.

Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng is an expansion of a scene from *Ramakian* (the Siamese version of the *Rāmāyana*), in which Phali (Skt. *Vali*), before his death, gave teachings to his younger brother Sukhrip (Skt. *Sugrīva*) on how to be a good royal servant to the Lord Rama. This didactic poem presents the proper conduct for royal servants over 32 stanzas of *khlong* meter. *Khlong Thotsarot Sòn Phra Ram*, also set around a scene from *Ramakian*, details the good conduct for being a good king and prince through the teachings King Thotsarot gave to his son, Phra Ram. The text of *Khlong Thotsarot Sòn Phra Ram* comprises twelve stanzas of *khlong* meter. *Khlong Ratchasawat*, on the other hand, is based on the *Vidhura Jātaka*, detailing the conducts of the king over 63 stanzas, according to the authoritative printed edition.

Two manuscripts containing these three didactic texts are preserved at the National Library of Thailand (NLT: KhLSs: Ms no. 202; NLT: KhLSPhSs: Ms no. 141). Neither of these two manuscripts was employed for the constitution of the authoritative printed text, which is based on a manuscript from Phraya Boran Ratcha Thanin (Damrong Rajanubhab et al, 1973: 242), a manuscript yet to be identified with any available manuscripts in any accessible institutes. In the two extant manuscripts at the National Library, the texts of these three didactic poems have been collected together with various texts in the sense of multiple-text manuscripts, but in different selection of the texts. In the manuscript NLT: KhLSs: Ms no. 202, the one studied by Lekda Imchai (1985), these three didactic poems have been collected with other three *khlong* poems attributed to the same author, King Bòrommakot. *Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat* (discussed below) is the only non-didactic text in this collection. Although this manuscript might have been produced within the Department of the Royal Scribes, many obvious mistakes can be found, for instance, the latter part of *Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat* has been confusingly copied in mixed fashion with the text of *Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng*. Furthermore, the composition date of *Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng* as provided in the preface has been proved to be miscalculated (see Lekda Imchai, 1985: 6). Perhaps the royal scribes of Bangkok made this copy from the fragments in which the mixture of the texts within this collection had already occurred. Despite this confusion and these errors, NLT: KhLSs: Ms no. 202 appears to be the most complete copy of the three didactic poems, *Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng*, *Khlong Thotsarot*

Sòn Phra Ram, and *Khlong Ratchasawat*, still accessible in the present. Especially for the text of *Khlong Ratchasawat*, this manuscript preserves 64 stanzas in total, while the authoritative printed edition contains 63.

The other manuscript of these three didactic texts is NLT: KhISPhSs: Ms no. 141, which also contains a collection of didactic poems in *khlong* and *rai* meters. The texts of *Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng*, *Khlong Thotsarot Sòn Phra Ram*, and *Khlong Ratchasawat* were collected along with two versions of *Bandit Phra Ruang* in *rai* meter, and a fragment of a didactic poem known as *Lokkanit* (‘Conduct of the World’). This manuscript preserves less number of stanzas for two texts, namely 31 stanzas of *Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng* and 59 stanzas for *Khlong Ratchasawat*. As both manuscripts (NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 202; NLT: KhISPhSs: Ms no. 141) contain different texts in the manner of multiple-text manuscripts, the scribal notes have been added into the lines when a particular text ends, marking the text’s title and its end.

Süa Kho Kham Chan ‘[Tale of] the Tiger and the Cow in Kham Chan Meter’ (Th. เสือโคคำฉันท์)

Süa Kho Kham Chan, a poem in *kham chan* meter depicting the romance and adventure of Honwichai the Tiger and Khawi the Cow, is another popular poetic work that has been widely transmitted through the Bangkok period. Even though the story of the tiger and the cow in *Süa Kho Kham Chan* significantly corresponds to *Halavi Jayagāvi-Jātaka* from *Paññāsa Jātaka*, the collection of apocryphal *Jātaka*, some elements found in *Süa Kho Kham Chan* are also varied from the *Jātaka* version, suggesting its close relation to the oral folktales rather than the written *Jātaka* version (see more in Nawin Wannawet, 2017). The printed edition contains 758 stanzas of *kap* and *chan* meters, followed by four stanzas of colophon in *khlong* meters. One of the stanzas of colophon mentions Phra Bòromma Khru (‘the great teacher, sage’) as the author of the original text. Modern scholars have thus interpreted this ambiguous mention of the author as Phra Maha Ratcha Khru, the title for the royal mentor and the supreme brahmin, probably in the royal court of King Narai. This interpretation has also been widely further referenced, but of course leading to controversy, as the word can also refer to Lord Buddha as well (Sumalee Weerawong, 2007a: 616). The problem of the authorship of *Süa Kho Kham Chan* has been revised with the finding of a significant manuscript (dated in 1748) of *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng* (‘Eulogy for King Prasat Thòng’) (NLT: ChSs: Chò: Ms no. 2), whose scribal preface notes the author to be Phra Maha Ratcha Khru in the reign of King Narai, “the same person who wrote *Süa Kho*” (Th. คนเดียวกับที่แต่งเสือโค). Thus, according to this preface of a manuscript dated in late Ayutthaya, it is widely accepted that the text of *Süa Kho Kham Chan* was originally composed by Phra Maha Ratcha Khru at some time in the reign of King Narai (see Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002b: 5).

Among the 61 extant manuscripts of the text *Süa Kho Kham Chan*, two copies of them, both incomplete, have been transmitted in the form of palm-leaf manuscripts (NLT: ChSs: Sò: PLMss no. 3, 4), while the others are preserved on *khòì*-paper leporello manuscripts. With the length of the text, one complete copy most often, albeit not always, requires two volumes of paper manuscripts. Apart from the National Library of Thailand (53 manuscripts of the text found in total), two additional manuscripts have been now preserved at the library of the Siam Society under the Royal Patronage in Bangkok. Both of them belong to the same set of copies as Volume I and II. Moreover, five more manuscripts have been found at the Chiang Mai University Central Library, while the other manuscript is housed in the École française d’Extrême-Orient in Paris.

Despite a large number of extant manuscripts, none of them is dated. The paratexts suggest one complete copy (containing two volumes) as the royal copy presented to the king (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Mss no. 91, 92), as the preface mentions the titles of the royal scribes. The paratexts commonly found in the manuscripts of *Süa Kho Kham Chan* are the versified preface in *khlong* meter giving the text’s title and summary. The colophon comprising four stanzas, as appearing in the printed edition, can be taken as the “common colophon” found in most of the manuscripts with the ending part, although not all of them contain all four stanzas in the same order as the printed edition. These stanzas mark the end of the text and also mention the author of the text. In the manuscript NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 96, the stanza on authorship from the common colophon was even adapted further, mentioning Prince Paramanuchit instead of Phra Bòromma Khru (see Illustration XVII). Prince Paramanuchit is mentioned in the colophon as the editor of the text *Süa Kho Kham Chan* as it appears in this set of manuscript copy (Volume I: Ms no. 95; Volume II: Ms no. 96), rather than as the original author of the entire text. Furthermore, some manuscripts also bear a note of the scribes who made copy for religious purposes (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 140/1), suggesting that the text of *Süa Kho Kham Chan* borne the same status with the other religious texts supposed to be produced for Buddhism, perhaps due to its relationship to *Jātaka* literature.

Phra Horathibòdi’s *Cindamani* ‘Jewel of Thought’

(Th. จินตามณีของพระโหราธิบดี)

Cindamani, literally ‘Jewel of Thought’, has long been considered as the earliest treatise on Thai orthography and poetics. As the text is attributed to Phra Horathibòdi, the court astrologist, in the reign of King Narai, the text has been widely known as Phra Horathibòdi’s *Cindamani*. Among five different versions of *Cindamani* known in Thai literary sphere nowadays (Boontuen Sriworapot, 2015: 2–6), three of them have survived in the traditional manuscripts, namely, Phra Horathibòdi’s *Cindamani* (also known as *the Coinciding Version*; Th. ฉบับความพ้อง), *Cindamani-The Odd Content Version* (Th. ฉบับความแปลก), and *Cindamani-The Version of*

King Bòrommakot's Reign (Th. ฉบับพระเจ้าอยู่หัวบรมโกศ). Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* is considered the earliest and constitutes the main tradition, while the other two latter versions were possibly created within the tradition of Phra Horathibòdi's version itself.

As the text was continually employed in the traditional system of Siamese education in the Bangkok period (Suriya Rattanakul, 1997: 3), Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* has survived in over a hundred manuscripts in a wide range of variations in terms of the content's selection and order. The Fine Arts Department's edition we use today as the authoritative text for further reference was edited by Dhanit Yupho in 1942 based on a group of manuscripts kept at the National Library at that time. However, the text from this edition does not always correspond to what is found in the manuscript sources (see Panarut, 2015), as there exists some type of variation in every single manuscript. The text from the Fine Arts Department's edition starts from the lexicon, then the orthography, followed by the part on poetics ranging from various poetic meters to the encoded writing (Th. รหัสอักษร). On the other hand, the manuscripts sometimes contain an additional unique part other than the text found in the printed edition, more often omitting some parts, and most often varying the order of the content. Dhanit Yupho (1942 in: Krom Sinlapakòn, 2015a) also classified the manuscripts into four different subversions or recensions of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani*, based on the selection of content and its sequence. Evidentially, the scribes and scholars played an important role in editing the text of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani*, as is mentioned in the paratexts. However, among the different recensions, even in which the editor's names are mentioned, the text in various manuscripts often contains a part attributing the original text to Phra Horathibòdi in the royal court of King Narai.

Dhanit Yupho (2015: 12–19) proposed the following four recensions of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* in his introductory article called *Notes on Cindamani* (Th. บันทึกเรื่องหนังสือจินดามณี):

Recension I: Earliest Manuscript Recension (Th. ฉบับลายมือเขียนเก่าสุด)

The earliest manuscript here refers to a manuscript dated 1782 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 60), which is the earliest manuscript we have. The preface of the manuscript states that “Khun Mahasit did the editing” (Th. ขุนมหาสิทธิชำระ) in 1782 to be presented to the king, with the other two royal scribes making copies. These three royal scribes also proofread the copied text three times. Apparently, this manuscript was taken as the royal copy of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani*, edited and copied within the Department of the Royal Scribes. This manuscript begins with the use of the three *sò* consonants in *wasantadilok chan* meter without any revering prologue, followed by the other orthography parts. Next comes the lexicon and then the part on poetics, covering *chan*, *kap*, *khlong*, the encoded poems, *konlabot* and *khlong lao*. There is a group of manuscripts that can be classified under this recension, but some variations still appear. The Fine Arts Department published the text from the earliest manuscript, as well as the

manuscript photocopies in 2015 with the title *Cindamani 1144 CS* (*‘Cindamani of Cunla Sakkarat 1144 or 1782 CE’*) (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2015a: 147–209).

Recension II: Maha Cai Phak’s Recension (Th. ฉบับมหาใจกัณฑ์)

A group of manuscripts of Phra Horathibòdi’s *Cindamani* is known as the Recension of Maha Cai Phak, which was named after the noble title of the editor as mentioned in the common colophon *in khlóng* meter.²³ Maha Cai Phak (Th. มหาใจกัณฑ์) is a title of the royal page of the Front Palace, as appearing in the Directory of the Nobilities of the Front Palace published in *Thamniap Nam Phak Thi Sòng* (1919). Thus, his title mentioned here in the colophon suggests that the text in this recension was edited in the court circle of the Front Palace. However, it appears that Maha Cai Phak’s recension was widely transmitted later, even among monasteries. For example, one manuscript of *Cindamani* found in Wat Tha Phut monastery in Nakhòn Pathom also bears the text in this recension, including its common colophon of Maha Cai Phak. The text of Maha Cai Phak’s recension, as clarified by Dhanit Yupho, is based on the manuscript NLT: ASS: Ms no. 93. It begins with the use of the three *sò* consonants and its revering prologue followed by the orthography parts, the statement of authorship and the prose explaining the poetic composition. Thereafter follows a revering prologue on poetics and the parts explaining *chan*, *kap*, and *khlóng* as well as the code poems. The lexicon part, starting with its revering prologue, is inserted into the second half of the manuscript, before the other poetics part on *chan* and *khlóng monthokkhati* meter continues to the end.

Recension III: Phraya Thibet’s Recension (Th. ฉบับพระยาธิเบศร์)

The third recension classified by Dhanit Yupho is named Phraya Thibet’s Recension after the common colophon found in the manuscripts of the recension. Corresponding to the colophon of Maha Cai Phak, the colophon of Phraya Thibet appears contains the same content and choice of words but mentions Phraya Thibet instead of Maha Cai Phak²⁴. Regarding its content compilation, this recension uniquely contains only the sections on poetics, while the others regarding orthography are absent. This recension also begins with a unique revering prologue in *rai* meter (see Dhanit Yupho, 2015: 16–17). The content of this recension consists of the parts on *chan* meter, *kap*, *khlóng monthokkhati*, *chan lanlong*, *konlabot*, *khlóng lao*, *kap khap mai* and *kap hò khlóng*, the code poems, as well as the lexicon part. Ten manuscripts were found to correspond to one another in terms of their content arrangement, the lexicon part and

²³ The colophon reads: “This (recension of) *Cindamani*, was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Maha Cai Phak, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students.” Translated from the Thai original: จินดามุณีนี้นายมหาใจกักราชสมยา เสด็จให้ จดองลักษณ์เทียบทานมาสามฉบับแล้วพอเลือกแต่ส่วนควรไว้สืบสั่งศิษย์สอน (i.e. NLT: ASS: Ms no. 93).

²⁴ The colophon reads: “This (recension of) *Cindamani* was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Phraya Thibet, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students”. Translated from the Thai original: จินดามุณีนี้นามพญาธิเบศราชสมยา เสด็จให้ จดองลักษณ์เทียบทานมาสามฉบับแล้วพอเลือกแต่ส่วนควรไว้สืบสั่งศิษย์สอน (i.e. NLT: ASS: Ms no. 52).

the final colophon. Nonetheless, the colophon of Phraya Thibet was found only in three manuscripts (NLT: ASS: Mss no. 34, 52, 86), while the other three bear Maha Cai Phak's colophon despite their preserving Phraya Thibet's text (NLT: ASS: Mss no. 53, 73, 74), perhaps due to error or confusion. The other four manuscripts also preserve the text of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* arranged as Phraya Thibet's Recension, but without any colophon.

Recension IV: Prince Patriarch Paramanuchit Chinorot's Recension (Th. ฉบับกรมสมเด็จพระปรมานุชิตชิโนรส)

The last recension mentioned by Dhanit Yupho (2015: 17–19) is the one called Prince Paramanuchit Chinorot's recension. One complete copy of the text from this recension contains two manuscripts which the Fine Arts Department recently published in 2016 (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2016). The manuscript *Volume I* (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 38) and *Volume II* (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 35) contains a content arrangement like that of the Maha Cai Phak recension, in which the orthography parts with their revering prologues are placed at the beginning before the poetic parts and the lexicon begin. However, in the manuscript *Volume II*, the poetic parts also include the unique parts covering the composition of fifteen different types of *kap* meter based on a Pali poetic treatise called *Kāvyasāravilāsinī* (known in Thai as *Kapphayasaravilasini*), as well as the extended part on the code poems. The colophon naming the content compiler as Prince Patriarch Paramanuchit Chinorot²⁵ has been inserted at the end of the poetic part, before the lexicon part begins (see Krom Sinlapakòn, 2016: 176). Apart from one complete copy (containing two volumes) at the National Library of Thailand, there is also another manuscript of the recension of Prince Paramanuchit kept at the Chiang Mai University Central Library (CM: DHC: SKNM). However, the manuscript contains only the second half of the text as *Volume II* (as mentioned in the manuscript title) and also has some variation from the other copy. One example of such variations is that this manuscript contains no colophon.

Apart from these four recensions classified by Dhanit Yupho (1942), I also found other manuscripts which could be classified into the additional recensions as suggested below:

Recension V: Chabap Yai Bòribun (Th. ฉบับใหญ่บริบูรณ์)

There are also two additional manuscripts (NLT: ASS: Mss no. 4, 43) entitled *Cindamani Chabap Yai Bòribun* (literally 'the complete large volume of *Cindamani*') which share the same unique arrangement, beginning with the explanatory poems on Thai orthography

²⁵ "This (manuscript of) *Cindamani* was recompiled and modified by Prince Paramanuchit. (When dealing with old manuscripts,) they (sages and teachers in the past) put the lexicon (Th. *nammasap*) at the beginning and then wrote words of reverence in the following part. If anyone prefers the text as found in the old manuscripts, then they should have the lexicon part appear at the beginning and add the words of reverence afterwards, as I have indicated here". Translated from the Thai: จินดามานีนี ฉบับสมเด็จพระปรมานุชิต ประดิษฐ์ดัดแปลงแต่งต่อใหม่ ท่านเอานาม สรรพท้าวไว้หน้าเบื้องต้น แม้ว่าบทกล่าวยกย่องอย่างฉบับเดิม ก็พึงลิกขิตเขียนนามสรรพนันก่อน แล้วจึงย้อนไปเขียนนมัสการต่อท้ายหลัง ดังเราบอกไว้ตั้งแต่เกิด ฯ (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 35).

(in *khlong* meter) which are then followed by the poetics parts, in which the examples of each poem do not always correspond with the other recensions. Interestingly, these two manuscripts also share the same preface at the beginning of the text, stating the name of the scribe and compiler as “I begin this writing with industriousness so that the people may be well-read. I write by following the old versions of *Cindamani* in order to pass it on to the virtuous students from respectable families when beginning to read and write,”²⁶ (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 4). Based on the unique content arrangement and the colophon, Mss no. 4 and 43 seem to compose another group, or possibly another recension, as they do not fit clearly into any of the recensions discussed above. The Fine Arts Department has recently published this *Cindamani Chabap Yai Bòribun* in 2015 (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2015b).

Recension VI: Beginning with the Lexicon

A large number of manuscripts of Phra Horathibòdi’s *Cindamani* can be broadly classified into this group, in which the content starts with the lexicon part, followed by the orthography and then the poetics. There is still some variation among them, as some manuscripts still contain a unique part inserted in the middle.

Recension VII: The Odd Content Version (Th. ฉบับความแปลก)

The text of *the Odd Content Version* has been long taken as another version separate from the tradition of Phra Horathibòdi’s *Cindamani*, mainly due to its long absence of printed editions²⁷ and the suggestion found in Dhanit Yupho’s article (2015: 13–14). However, it can be seen that half of its content is obviously based on Phra Horathibòdi’s *Cindamani*, while the other part containing the unique content must have resulted from the editing and compiling process, which can also be commonly found in the other recensions of Phra Horathibòdi’s *Cindamani*. Hence, *the Odd Content Version* should be viewed as a recension or subversion of Phra Horathibòdi’s *Cindamani* rather than a separate version²⁸. The unique content in *the Odd*

²⁶ The whole colophon appears in two stanzas of *khlong* meter as follows: หน้าฉัน เราแต่งตั้ง จำลอง หนังสือ มี มากของ เล่นใช้ จินดา ค้างแก้วทอง มุนมั่ง มากนา มุณี ปราศอุจางไว้ เพื่อให้ศิษย์เรียน ฯ เรา สรรวิธรังข้อ อักษรา เขียน เพื่อให้ชนมา รอบรู้ เขียน ตามเรื่องจินดา ฉบับเก่า ท่านเอ๋ย ไว้ สืบกตบุตรผู้ เริ่มได้อ่านเขียน (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 4).

²⁷ *Cindamani-The Odd Content Version* was first published by the Fine Arts Department in 2015 (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2015a), while its critical edition and preliminary translation into English is available in Panarut, 2018.

²⁸ The other separated version of *Cindamani* is *the Version of King Bòrommakot’s Reign*. Its printed edition (since 1961) is based on one manuscript found in the Royal Asiatic Society in London by Kajorn Sukpanit in 1958, which contains mainly the explanation on orthography in prose without any poetic parts and without any clear content relationship with any branch or recension of Phra Horathibòdi’s *Cindamani*. Despite the totally different content, the text is still entitled *Cindamani* in the manuscript, suggesting that this different version has still been created within the tradition of *Cindamani*. As this version does not contain any poetry, thus it is not included in this study. However, it has been found that apart from the manuscript in London (LOND: RAS: Thai Ms 8), there are also

Content Version covers a lesson on Khò̃m script and orthography, a lesson on traditional counting and measurement, as well as a collection of *khlong* stanzas in different *konlabot*.

Apart from the classifiable manuscripts above, there are many other manuscripts which cannot be classified into any of the recensions above for a number of reasons, such as their being in damaged condition, fragmentary form, or unique arrangement of content. Examples of unique arrangement of content can be found in NLT: ASS: Ms no. 16 which uniquely begins with a part on *chan* meter followed by a unique explanation of the orthography and the alveolar ridge. Another example of manuscripts with unique content arrangement is NLT: ASS: Ms no. 81, which begins with the statement of authorship and is followed by explanatory poems on Thai orthography (in *khlong* meter), the code poems, and the poetic compositions in different meters. The lexicon part and the orthography part appear in the second half of the manuscript. This content arrangement seems not to correspond with any of the other recensions, even though NLT: ASS: Ms no. 81 is dated 1832, making it one of the earliest dated manuscripts available.

Many manuscripts of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani*, even those classified into the recensions mentioned above, imply the practice of interpolation, for they also contain their own anomalies in some parts of the content which seem to be a result of interpolation by the scribe and compiler. For example, NLT: ASS: Mss no. 68 and 69, both related to the recension of the earliest manuscript, as well as NLT: ASS: Ms no. 83 in the group beginning with the prologue of the lexicon part, all contain the supplementary section explaining the alveolar ridge of each letter based on Pali phonetics at the final part of each manuscript, which is different from the other manuscripts of their own recensions. On the other hand, NLT: ASS: Ms no. 12 (from the Phraya Thibet recension), NLT: ASS: Ms no. 14 (from the recension of the earliest manuscript), and NLT: ASS: Ms no. 236 (unclassifiable to any recension) include a passage on the royal language or *rachasap* (Th. ราชศัพท์) in the lexicon part. Apart from the manuscripts kept in the National Library of Thailand, another remarkable example of the scribe's interpolation in Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* appears in a manuscript preserved at the State Library of Berlin (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) in Germany (BL: StaBi: MIK I 4037). This manuscript includes unique examples of poetic composition, as well as a unique supplementary part on Khò̃m scripts and orthography, which the compiler claimed they had learnt from the Capital of Cambodia (as recorded in the manuscript: เรียนมาแต่กรุงรัตนครแล). These features do not appear in other manuscripts or other recensions of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani*. The scribe's name is not mentioned in this manuscript.

other two manuscripts kept relatively the same text (NLT: ASS: Mss no. 84, 664) and the other two which arranged the text of this version with other additional explanation (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 32; CM: DHC: NTIC: 16024). For the introductory discussion on the manuscripts and textual transmission of *Cindamani-the Version of King Bòrommakot's Reign*, please see the review article on the standard edition of the text (in Peera Panarut, 2016a).

Among all the manuscripts found and collected in this study, paratexts regarding date of composition can be found in a number of manuscripts, namely, NLT: ASS: Ms no. 60 (1782 CE), NLT: ASS: Ms no. 239 (1819), NLT: ASS: Ms no. 11 (1829), NLT: ASS: Ms no. 81 (1832), BKK: HRH SDh: Cindamani (1) (1842), NLT: ASS: Ms no. 68 (1844–1847), NLT: ASS: Ms no. 31 (1848), NLT: ASS: Ms no. 235 (1850), NLT: ASS: Ms no. 72 (1869), NLT: ASS: Ms no. 76 (1893), and the latest manuscript, NLT: ASS: Ms no. 64 (1911). The paratexts informing on dates reveal a long transmission history of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* from the late eighteenth century (1782) to the early twentieth century (1911).

Furthermore, the paratexts also indicate the roles of the scribes and scholars as editors of the text, as mentioned above in the preface of Khun Maha Sitthiwohan in the earliest manuscript, the colophons of Maha Cai Phak and of Phraya Thibet, as well as the colophon on Prince Paramanuchit. Other than these aforementioned editors, there are also other manuscripts mentioning that the text was edited and interpolated by other scribes and scholars in different periods, namely, Luang Likhit Pricha in 1819 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 239), the Lord of the Royal Scribes in 1822 (though the manuscript is dated in 1842; BKK: HRH SDh: Cindamani (1)), as well as the name and titles of monks such as Phra Yen. Along with the editors' names and noble titles, the scribes as copyists of manuscripts are often mentioned as well, for example, Khun Nimit Aksòn, Khun Suwan, as well as other monks and novices. Many of the manuscripts circulated in the monasteries also contain prefaces or colophons in which the scribes express their wish to reach *nibbāna*. Copying a treatise such as *Cindamani* has also long considered a good deed which creates merit that will grant wisdom in the next life (as mentioned by Phra Sami Òn) and even bring one to *nibbāna* in the future.

The wide range of paratextual information also reveals that Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* was transmitted both within the royal court of Bangkok since the late eighteenth century as well as later being edited in different periods under many different names or titles of editors known to us. Furthermore, the text was also circulated among the monasteries, where it was used for teaching and training purposes. Not only various readership of *Cindamani* can be found throughout the centuries, but the various forms or sub-versions of the text also appear as well due to the rich tradition of compiling and editing texts which flourished at that time.

Kamsuan Samut ‘Lamentations to the Sea’ (Th. กำสรวลสมุทร)

Kamsuan Samut, literally ‘*Lamentations to the Sea*’ or sometimes also *Kamsuan Si Prat* ‘*Lamentations of Si Prat*’, is considered one of the earliest works of poetic travelogue or *nirat* literature (Th. วรรณคดีนิราศ), in which the narrator describes his own lamentations for his lover through the surrounding nature as well as through the word play of toponyms along his journey. For most of the Bangkok period, *Kamsuan Samut* has been considered the poetic model for the poetic travelogue. The text of *Kamsuan Samut* we now have, covering 129 stanzas of *khlong dan* meter, is supposedly incomplete, due to the fall of Ayutthaya. According to the textbooks of Thai literary history, *Kamsuan Samut* is attributed to a legendary poet called Si Prat who gained his poetic fame in the court of King Narai. According to legend, Si Prat, despite having gained the favour and respect of the king through his poetic talent, was exiled to Nakhòn Si Thammarat in southern Thailand after having a conflict with one of the royal consorts. Thus, he composed the original text of *Kamsuan Samut* during his exile to the south, in order to express the lamentations he felt for his lover whom he left behind in the capital (Dhanit Yupho, 2004: 99).

Scholars since 1976, however, have mostly agreed that the text of *Kamsuan* was originally composed in the early Ayutthaya period, based on the type of language, styles as well as poetic forms used in *Kamsuan Samut* (Sumalee Weerawong, 2007b: 48). Furthermore, Phra Horathibòdi’s *Cindamani* originally dated in the reign of King Narai also lists *Kamsuan Samut* as one of the poetic models to be studied by students and poets, along with other earlier Ayutthaya texts such as *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*, *Thawa Thotsamat*, and *Racha Philap Kham Chan*. Thus, the text of *Kamsuan Samut* could not have been originally written in the reign of King Narai, but rather must have been transmitted from an earlier period, making it very improbable that Si Prat was actually the author.

Despite the text being praised in the literature of Bangkok as a poetic model, the manuscripts of *Kamsuan Samut* have survived in seven copies, all kept at the National Library of Thailand. Three manuscripts (NLT: KhLSs: Mss no. 148, 149, 150) out of seven contain an identical preface (versified in one stanza of *khlong* meter) marking the title of text and its content corresponding to the legend (“*Kamsuan* of Si Prat who was separated from his beloved”) and then mentioning that the complete text has been lost since the fall of Ayutthaya, while the first part was found and then copied to be presented to the king or princes. This common preface, albeit its contradiction to the contemporary scholars’ arguments, indicates the knowledge on the text circulating among the traditional scribes and readers, which most likely corresponds to the oral history on Si Prat. In addition, the title of one manuscript (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 211) has also marked the author as Si Prat from the period of the “Old Capital” (Ayutthaya).

Anirut Kham Chan ‘[*Tale of*] *Anirut in Kham Chan Meter*’ (Th. อนิรุทธคำฉันท์)

The tale of Prince Anirut in *kham chan* meter, commonly known as Anirut Kham Chan, is the romantic story of Prince Anirut, a grandson of Krishna, the eighth reincarnation of God Vishnu. The story of *Anirut Kham Chan* corresponds to the tale of Anurut in the Sanskrit text of *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Dhanit Yupho, in Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002a: 616), albeit with variations in some scenes and motifs. The scholars of the early twentieth century (i.e Prince Damrong) have believed the text of *Anirut Kham Chan* to be originally written by Si Prat in the reign of King Narai. Contemporary scholars such as Sumalie Kieyakul (1976: 57) and Cholada Ruengruglikit (2001: 214) have proposed that the text is a poetic work from the early Ayutthaya period around the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth century, due to its use of language and styles. The authorship of the text has become a topic of controversy among various scholars (Chanida Sihamat, 2018: 340–343). However, standard textbooks on Thai literary history still include this text as part of the literature of King Narai’s reign (see Sukhon Duangphaktra, 2007: 87–89).

The text contains 738 stanzas of *kap* and *chan* meters. One complete copy of *Anirut Kham Chan* makes up two manuscript volumes in all cases. A total of 44 manuscripts have been found, from which 39 manuscripts have been preserved at the National Library of Thailand. One additional manuscript preserving the latter part of the text as Volume II is kept at the library of the Siam Society Under Royal Patronage (BKK: SS: Kap: Ms no. 1-16). In Germany, one is available at the State Library of Berlin (BL: StaBi: Ms orient fol 3201) and the other in the Bavarian State Library of Munich (MCH: BStaBi: Cod. Siam 53). Both of the *Anirut Kham Chan* manuscripts in Germany preserve the first half of the text as Volume I. In addition, one complete copy, consisting of two volumes (PR: BnF: Indochinois 284, 285), is kept at the National Library of France in Paris.

Among the surviving manuscripts of *Anirut Kham Chan*, several sets of copies contain scribal paratexts informing on date. We have one manuscript, dated 1787, created as a royal copy presented to King Rama I, though now surviving merely as Volume II in damaged condition (NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 81). The set of copies kept in Paris is most possibly dated in 1795 (PR: BnF: Indochinois 284), also relatively early. Another incomplete set of the royal copy Volume I is dated in 1817 in the reign of King Rama II (NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 75). Apart from these dated manuscripts, we also have other manuscripts with a preface or colophon mentioning the noble titles and ranks of the royal scribes, identifying them as the copyists, which implies their status as the royal manuscripts. One manuscript also mentions Si Prat as the author in the colophon versified in the *khlóng* meter (NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 60), reflecting the oral history on the text in the period of traditional manuscript culture. Other manuscripts also contain miscellaneous colophons marking the end of the text (NLT: ChSs: Ò: Mss no. 61, 63, 69) or stating the scribe’s will for users to read the manuscript carefully (in NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 51).

The Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Poems (Th. ประชุมนิพนธ์พระศรีมโหสถ)

Text I: *Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu* 'Poem of the Three Classes of Consonants' (Th. โคลงอักษรสามหมู่)

Text II: *Kap Hò Khlong* ('Poems in Kap Hò Khlong Meter'; Th. กาพย์ห่อโคลงพระศรีมโหสถ)

Text III: *Khlong Nirat Nakhòn Sawan* 'Poetic Travelogue to Nakhòn Sawan' (Th. โคลงนิราศนครสวรรค์)

A group of texts commonly collected together attributed to Phra Si Mahosot, a nobleman from the Department of Royal Medicine in the reign of King Narai, consists of three texts, namely, *Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu* 'Poem of the Three Classes of Consonants', *Kap Hò Khlong* 'Poems in Kap Hò Khlong Meter', and *Nirat Nakhòn Sawan* 'Poetic Travelogue to Nakhòn Sawan'. These three texts are most often collected and transmitted together in the traditional manuscript culture. This group of texts is, therefore, referred to here as *the Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Poems* or *Prachum Niphon Phra Si Mahosot* in Thai (Th. ประชุมนิพนธ์พระศรีมโหสถ). Phra Si Mahosot is one of the most mysterious poets of Ayutthaya, as only his noble title is known to us, with no other information on his life and identity available except for the several literary works attributed to him (Dhanit Yupho, 2004: 75).

The three literary texts in *the Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Poems* are considerably short pieces of poetry, perhaps due to their incompleteness after the fall of Ayutthaya. *Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu* 'Poem of the Three Classes of Consonants' (Th. โคลงอักษรสามหมู่) contains 29 stanzas composed in *khlong* meter, in which each stanza contains words playing with three different tone marks (the first, the second, and the no-tone marks) in different classes of consonants, one of the poetic features known as *konlabot*. The poem narrates a battle scene in Nakhòn Ratcha Sima and describes the natural surroundings along the route, while at the same time exemplifying the use of the *konlabot* playing with different tonal marks in three classes of consonants. The second poem in this collection is known as Phra Si Mahosot's *Kap Hò Khlong* ('Poems in Kap Hò Khlong Meter'; Th. กาพย์ห่อโคลงพระศรีมโหสถ), comprising 36 *kap hò khlong* stanzas. One *kap hò khlong*, literally 'kap wrapping khlong,' consists of a pair of one *kap* stanza and one *khlong* stanza, the content and the words of which correspond to one another closely. The content of the text concerns the courtship of people from the higher classes of Ayutthaya in a royal celebration. The other text in this collection is *Khlong Nirat Nakhòn Sawan* 'Poetic Travelogue to Nakhòn Sawan' (Th. โคลงนิราศนครสวรรค์) surviving in only 69 stanzas of *khlong* meter. The poem describes the narrator's feelings to his lover along the route from Ayutthaya to Nakhòn Sawan, possibly on the occasion of King Narai's pilgrimage to the city of Nakhòn Sawan (Suwakhon Chongtrakun, 2007: 208).

These three texts attributed to Phra Si Mahosot have always been transmitted together as one collection. We have a total of eight manuscripts preserving *the Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Poems* at the National Library of Thailand. Most of them preserve these three texts

in the order mentioned above, save one manuscript which places *Khlong Nirat Nakhòn Sawan* at the beginning (NLT: KhINRSs: Ms no. 350) and one manuscript which omits *Khlong Nirat Nakhòn Sawan* from the collection (NLT: KHKHsSs: Ms no. 22). Most of them contain paratexts recording the title of each text and the author, as well as mentioning that the author has written the three texts in various periods, for example. The only dated manuscript of *the Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Poems* is a royal manuscript (NLT: KHKHsSs: Ms no. 18) produced by the royal scribes in 1817.

Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Narai 'Eulogy for King Narai'

(Th. สรรเสริญพระเกียรติพระนารายณ์)

The other text attributed to Phra Si Mahosot in the reign of King Narai is *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Narai* or *the Eulogy for King Narai* in 78 stanzas of *khlong* meter. This eulogy, however, has never been found collected and transmitted together with *the Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Poems* mentioned above, but rather was transmitted individually. The text was supposedly composed in the period between 1680–1685, as it mentions the establishment of the royal palace in Lopburi as well as other historical incidents occurring around the period (Savanit Vingvorn, 2007a: 120–121). This short text of eulogy reveals historical facts about King Narai's biography, thus making it one of the historical sources on King Narai.

Only three manuscripts of *the Eulogy for King Narai* have survived. All of them have paratexts clearly marking the title of the text and its authorship as Phra Si Mahosot. All three manuscripts are undated. Only one of them has a preface mentioning a royal scribe as the copyist (NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 193).

Thawa Thotsamat '[Poem of] the Twelve Months' (Th. ทวาทศมาส)

Thawa Thotsamat is a poem of lamentations in which the narrator describes his feelings of longing for his lover throughout twelve months in a year. The royal ceremony in the cycle of twelve month has been described as a sign of passing time, in which the narrator had to be apart from his lover. This manner of lamentations through the period of time has also been considered by modern scholars as a type of *nirat* literature, of which *Thawa Thotsamat* appears to be the earliest (Sukanya Sujachaya, 2018b: 181). The text of *Thawa Thotsamat* contains 259 stanzas of *khlong dan* and one stanza of *rai* at the end as an epilogue. The authorship of the text has been traditionally attributed to three poets: Phra Yaowa Rat, Khun Phrom Montri, and Khun Sara Prasoet, as mentioned in the manuscript colophon, as well as mentioned in the Bangkok literary work *Nirat Narin*. Modern scholars interpreted one stanza from the latter part of the text (stanza no. 258) and proposed that the authorship should include Khun Si Kawi Rat and thus contains four authors (Sumalee Weerawong, 2007c: 178). Concerning the date of

composition, modern scholars still have various arguments. Among them the most accepted one is that the text has been most likely composed in the early Ayutthaya period during the reigns of King Trailokkanat and King Ramathibòdi II (Sukanya Sujachaya, 2018b: 183).

Nine manuscripts of *Thawa Thotsamat* are preserved at the National Library of Thailand, while other two additional manuscripts are found in the collection of the Northern Thai Information Center within the Chiang Mai University Central Library (hence totally eleven manuscripts). Five manuscripts bear the complete text of *Thawa Thotsamat* as known in the printed edition nowadays, while three manuscripts contain only the beginning part, Volume I, with the other two manuscripts bearing the latter part, Volume II. A date is found only in the preface of a single manuscript (NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 228), but with a surprisingly early dating in the first year of the Bangkok period in 1782 and with its status as a royal copy of *Thawa Thotsamat* presented to King Rama I. Two manuscripts also contain an identical paratext in prose, mentioning three poets as the original authors and praising the poetic superiority of the text. One manuscript puts this anecdote at the beginning of the manuscript as its preface (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17012), while the other at the end as a colophon (NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 220). This short passage of paratext mentioning three original authors also reflects the scribes' own understanding to or relationship with the text.

The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises (Th. ประชุมคำฉันท์กล่อมช้างของเก่า)

Text I: *Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei* ‘Ritual Poem for the Elephant Ceremony in *Kham Chan Meter*’ (Th. คำฉันท์ดุขยฎีสังเวย)

Text II: *Kham Chan Klòm Chang Krung Kao* ‘Ritual Poem for Soothing the Elephants from the Old Capital in *Kham Chan Meter*’ (Th. คำฉันท์กล่อมช้างกรุงเก่า)

Text III: *Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun* ‘Treatise on Elephants’ Features in *Kham Chan Meter*’ (Th. คำฉันท์คชกรรมประยูร)

The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises (Th. ประชุมคำฉันท์กล่อมช้างของเก่า) consists of three different elephant treatises composed in *kham chan* meter, namely, *Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei* ‘Ritual Poem for the Elephant Ceremony in *Kham Chan Meter*’, *Kham Chan Klòm Chang Krung Kao* ‘Ritual Poem for Soothing the Elephants from the Old Capital in *Kham Chan Meter*’, and *Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun* ‘Treatise on Elephants’ Features in *Kham Chan Meter*. The Fine Arts Department has also published these three texts together in this order (Krom Sinlapakon, 2002a). The first text, *Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei*, was supposedly used for the ritual of worship before the king of Ayutthaya went off elephant hunting. The text is divided into different parts based on the part of ritual, for example, *la phrai* and *sadudi*. The text has been traditionally attributed to another poet in the reign of King Narai known as Khun Thep Kawi of Sukhothai. The second text is known as *Kham Chan Klòm Chang Krung Kao*, which was supposedly recited in the ceremony of *Klòm Chang* to tame the elephants after being

caught from the wild. The date of composition in this text is unclear, but most of scholars have proposed it to be around the seventeenth century. These two ritual texts also strongly influenced the royal ceremony literature of the Bangkok period, both in form and content (Chairat Polmuk, 2009: 44–45). The third text in this collection is *Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun*, which explains the significance of a specific family of elephants, as well as their auspicious signs, in *kham chan* meter. The text mentions that Luang Ratcha Wang Mueng has composed this text in 1748 in the reign of King Bòrommakot (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002a: 760). Considerably, *Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun* is the only one text in this collection which is not a ritual text, but a treatise on elephant lores. It can be seen that these three texts of old elephant treatises collected together here were originally written to serve different purposes, with two of the three texts used for different rituals on elephant and one used for reference on elephants and their lore, though all of them concern knowledge on elephants and have been transmitted from the Ayutthaya period.

Fifteen manuscripts have been found bearing the texts in this *Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*. Among them, eleven manuscripts have preserved the complete collection in the common order, save one manuscript beginning with *Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun* (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 47). Interestingly, one manuscript of the complete collection is written in the Siamese Grantha script (NLT: PRPT: Ms no. 598; see Illustration IX). Three manuscripts have preserved only two ritual texts: *Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei* and *Kham Chan Klòm Chang Krung Kao*, along with other elephant ritual texts written in Bangkok period (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Mss no. 21, 24, 49). On the other hand, the text of *Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun* has also been copied separately out of the collection as is found in the manuscript NLT: STWSSs: Ms no. 16, in which the illustrations of the elephants have been provided in colours along with the text. Furthermore, this illustrated manuscript also collects *Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun* with other prose texts discussing characteristics of different types of elephants.

As the texts have been preserved and transmitted together as one single collection, the paratexts marking the title and sometimes also its authorship are commonly found either in the margin or in the same line as the main text. The only dated manuscript is the royal manuscript made by the royal scribes in 1817, preserving the complete collection in its common order (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 17). Another manuscript, in which the two ritual texts from the collection have been collected together with other texts from Bangkok period, also appears with the preface mentioning the royal scribes, though without any date (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 21), suggesting that two different collections of elephant treatises have been transmitted in the Bangkok period. In addition, one complete manuscript also preserves the glosses, perhaps the reader's paratext, written in scribbled handwriting, providing explanations for and definitions of obsolete words and lines (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16).

***Racha Philap Kham Chan* ‘Lamentations of the King’** (Th. ราชพิลาปคำฉันท์)

Racha Philap Kham Chan retells the story of *Ramakian*, Rama (Th. Phra Ram) lamented for his wife Sita after she was kidnapped, in *kham chan* with the length of 336 stanzas. The literal meaning of the title, *Racha Philap* (< P./Skt. *rājā* ‘king’ + P. *vilāpa* ‘lamentations, mourning’) refers to Rama in this scene. The exact date of *Racha Philap* is unknown, while the authorship is anonymous. Evidently, the text must have been composed before Phra Horathibòdi’s *Cindamani* since it cites many stanzas from *Racha Philap Kham Chan* and even mentions the text with the title *Phra Yot Racha Philap* (literally ‘lamentations of the honourable Rama’). Thus, the text of *Racha Philap Kham Chan* must have existed sometime before it had become an important enough work to be quoted in a great treatise on poetics such as Phra Horathibòdi’s *Cindamani*. Modern scholars believe the text was written around the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries.

We have ten manuscripts of *Racha Philap Kham Chan* available to us today, all preserved at the National Library of Thailand. Paratexts have rarely been found, however. All manuscripts are undated. Three manuscripts contain prefaces versified in *khlong* summarizing the text and providing the text’s title (NLT: ChSs: Rò: Mss no. 3, 5, 7). Therefore, the transmission history of the text *Racha Philap Kham Chan* remains unclear to us.

Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng

‘*Eulogy for King Prasat Thòng*’ (Th. สรรเสริญพระเกียรติพระเจ้าปราสาททอง)

The Eulogy for King Prasat Thòng has surprisingly survived in only a single manuscript, which has been registered as an old possession of the National Library of Thailand. The text and manuscript were first recognized by scholars rather late in the 1980s²⁹. The surviving text constitutes 398 stanzas of *kap* and *chan* meters. Despite only one manuscript (NLT: ChSs: Chò: Ms no. 2), the authorship of *the Eulogy for King Prasat Thòng* as well as its background are quite clearly known to us. The preface of the manuscript mentions the original author as Phra Maha Ratcha Khru, the same person who authored *Süa Kho Kham Chan*. It is also surmises that *Süa Kho Kham Chan* must have been written after the eulogy due to its greater poetic beauty, though both texts still share the same stylistics (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002b: 4–5). Perhaps this short passage in this preface is one of the earliest evidences on traditional literary criticism in Siam.

²⁹ The first scholar who found and recognized this manuscript at the National Library appears to be Savanit Vingvorn when she conducted her PhD dissertation on the royal eulogy literature before graduating in 1987. The text was then first published by the Fine Arts Department in 1986 (Krom Sinlapakòn, 1986c).

The manuscript, according to its scribal preface, was copied in 1748 from an exemplar taken from a chest in the royal manuscript hall of the royal palace of Ayutthaya by Prince Thep Phiphit, one of the sons of King Bòrommakot. According to *the Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya* (Cushman, 2006: 471), Prince Thep Phiphit then found exile in Sri Lanka in 1759 and did not return to Siam only in 1766. We do not know how this manuscript came into the old possession of the National Library even before the founding of the library in 1905. Many possibilities can be proposed but can only be convincing with further evidence.

Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat Wat Pa Mok

‘Poem on the Relocation of the Sleeping Buddha Image at Wat Pa Mok Monastery’

(Th. โคลงชะลอพระพุทธรูปไสยาสน์วัดป่าโมก)

According to the *Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya* (Cushman, 2006: 409–413) in 1725 in the reign of King Thai Sa of Ayutthaya, a chapel of Wat Pa Mok monastery (in Ang Thòng Province, Central Thailand) located on the bank of the Cao Phraya river subsided due to the erosion from the river current. An important and large sleeping Buddha image in the chapel had begun to collapse from the basis. Thus, the king assigned the Grand Prince of the Front Palace (later King Bòrommakot) to plan and recruit men to lift and move the Buddha image from the collapsing chapel. This became a historic event, in which the king came to observe the relocation of the sleeping Buddha. The project and plan proved to be successful. The royal chronicle in the later period mentions this incident. A short piece of poetry in 69 *khlong* stanzas was written by King Bòrommakot to record and celebrate this event of relocating the sleeping Buddha image, thus the text is commonly known as *Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat Wat Pa Mok ‘Poem on the Relocation of Sleeping Buddha Image of Wat Pa Mok Monastery’*. This text has been widely accepted and included in almost every textbook on Thai literary history as a part of the late Ayutthaya literature and an important historical record (Saksri Yaemnadda et al, 1988: 72; Sukhon Duangphaktra, 2007: 123).

The text has survived only in one multiple-text manuscript (NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 202), accompanied by other short didactic texts written by King Bòrommakot, including *Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng*, *Khlong Ratchasawat*, as well as *Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang*, in the sense of the anthology of King Bòrommakot’s works. *Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat Wat Pa Mok* is the only text in this collection which does not concern didactic themes. The date of the manuscript is unknown, but was apparently produced by the royal scribes, as mentioned in the colophon. The preface, on the other hand, provides the date of composition as 1727 and tells of King Bòrommakot improvements to the text in 1754, according to the calendrical calculation of modern scholars (Lekda Imchai, 1985: 5).

Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang ‘*The Royal Version of Nanthopanantha Sutta*’ (Th. นันทโปกปนนทสูตรคำหลวง)

Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang is the second text with the peripheral title or *kham luang*, denoting its status as the royal version, following *Maha Chat Kham Luang* from the fifteenth century. *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* is clearly attributed to Prince Thammathibet, the heir apparent to King Bòrommakot, who composed this text in 1736 while ordained as a monk. The text is bilingual Pali-Thai. The Thai text was written in *rai* meter, while the Pali text, supposedly cited from an earlier Pali text, was inserted next to the Thai text. *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* retells the story of Mogallana, one of the great disciples of Gotama Buddha, when he had been assigned by Lord Buddha to tame the arrogant Naga named Nanthopananda Nāgarājā. The end of the manuscript mentions that the story of *Nanthopanantha Sut* comes from one *Sutta* in the *Suttanta Piṭaka* (*Dīghanikāya: Sīlakhandhavagga*), the commentary of a Pali text called *Apadāna* which collects the story of Buddha’s famous disciples, and the other anonymous Pali text written by Maha Buddha Siri Thera. However, the *Suttanta Piṭaka* does not contain any related story, while the commentary of *Apadāna* includes one chapter called *Nandopananda-damana* ‘*Taming of Nandopananda*’, which shares the story with *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang*, but bears a totally different Pali passage (Anant Laulertworakul, 2007: 215–216). Modern scholars, therefore, believe that the author of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* actually based the Pali passage on the Pali text written by Maha Buddha Siri Thera and then translated the content into Thai language in full eloquence.

Only one manuscript of *Nanthopananda Sutta Kham Luang* has survived to us (NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 120). The manuscript was seemingly never a part of the royal collection before it was donated to the National Library by Khun Withun Darunkòn in 1908. The physical condition of the manuscript is surprisingly perfect and the handwriting throughout the manuscript is skillfully decorative, appearing in a calligraphic type which has come to be known as “Thai Yò” – the style often appears in the manuscripts and inscriptions of the late Ayutthaya period. The text from this manuscript is convincingly complete, accompanied with impressingly extensive paratexts both at the beginning and at the end of the manuscript. The preface informs on the history of the text and its authorship, along with the Pali verses revering the Three Jewels of Buddhism. The colophon also mentions the origin of the story, the merit of the author, as well as the names of the scribes. The manuscript is unfortunately undated, but the paratexts mention the author as the Grand Prince of the Front Palace, the title he held from 1741 to his death in 1755, suggesting that the manuscript was produced between that period. This only copy might have also been the copy personally owned by Prince Thammathibet himself or any other prince, but perhaps not the king, as there is no mention of the king in the paratexts and the scribes mentioned at the end do not hold any noble titles for royal scribes either. At present, we do not have any other manuscript or other evidence on the further transmission of *Nanthopananda Sut Kham Luang* in the Bangkok period.

Phra Malai Kham Luang ‘The Royal Version of [the Tale of] *Phra Malai*’

(Th. พระมาลัยคำหลวง)

Phra Malai Kham Laung is another text that modern scholars have attributed to Prince Thammathibet. It is also considered to be an authoritative royal version. The text is based on the tale of Phra Malai, a monk who gained Arhatship and traveled throughout the Buddhist cosmos to demonstrate to his disciples the noble truth through the different worlds from the hells to the heavens. The story of Phra Malai has also been written in many versions of text. One of them was particularly popular among the commoners, known as *Phra Malai Klòn Suat* due to its *klòn suat* meter. On the other hand, *Phra Malai Kham Luang* was written only in *rai* meter (with Pali verses inserted) and possibly originated from the royal court, hence it is commonly accepted as one of the *kham luang* texts as well (Brereton, 1995: 149). However, the text itself does not state any clear authorship; neither do its paratexts. Thus, the authorship of the text has long been questioned among modern scholars (Winaitharamanop Kantasil, 2007b: 314).

In total, there are nine manuscripts preserving the text of *Phra Malai Kham Luang*. One complete copy takes up two manuscripts. However, among the nine manuscripts, only one pair of manuscripts can be attributed to the same copy for both Volume I and Volume II, thanks to the continuation of text, handwriting, and writing material. The other seven manuscripts preserve the text partially either as Volume I or as Volume II, but none of them match one another as the same set of copy. The paratexts have been found in six manuscripts in the form of *khlong* stanzas, either as prefaces or colophons. One versified preface of a manuscript mentions that the text has been composed by the Grand Prince of the Front Palace (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 229). Three manuscripts preserve an identical versified colophon providing the date in 1737, which has been interpreted to be the date of composition (Natthawut Khlaisuwan, 2015: 29). This interpretation of date, along with the attributing of the text to the Grand Prince of the Front Palace in the manuscript NLT: RSs: Ms no. 229, has then led to the hypothesis that Prince Thammathibet was the original author of *Phra Malai Kham Luang*. In addition, there are also two additional colophons notating different dates in two manuscripts, in which one of them is dated in 1768 (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 221) and the other in 1804 (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 217). These dates have been interpreted by the librarians of the National Library to be the date of the manuscripts rather than of the text itself. Apart from this information on date of text and manuscript, there is no other information on the scribes or other aspects on manuscript production. Despite the status accepted among scholars as *kham luang* literature, the paratexts of the manuscripts do not suggest that any of the manuscripts are royal copies done by the royal scribes of Bangkok.

Kap He Rüa ‘Barge Procession Poetry’ (Th. ภาพยนตร์เรือ)

One of the Ayutthaya masterpieces, *Kap He Rüa* by Prince Thammathibet has long been read and studied among Thailand’s high school students, even today. *Kap He Rüa*, literally ‘*Barge Procession Poetry*’ or the poetry recited in the barge procession to provide the paddlers a rhythm to paddle to, has also been used to refer to a special arrangement of *khlong* and *kap* poetic meters. In the poetic meter called *kap he rüa*, one stanza of *khlong* comes at the beginning, followed by an unlimited number of *kap yani* stanzas, the first of which, however, must follow the words and meaning of the previous *khlong* stanza. The original purpose and usage of the text in the Ayutthaya period have been a matter of controversy among scholars, as it was either used within the King’s royal barge procession during the royal pilgrimage to the Buddha’s Footprint at Saraburi, or for the private barge procession of Prince Thammathibet, the author himself, to the Buddha’s Footprint (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002b: 197). In the Bangkok period, however, the text was and continues to be used for the royal barge in the royal ceremony restored by King Rama IV. The text of *Kap He Rüa* by Prince Thammathibet consists of five different parts in related themes, as listed according to the order in the printed edition below.

Part A: *He Chom Krabuan Rüa ‘Praising the Royal Barge Procession’* (Th. เข้มกระบวนเรือ)

Part B: *He Chom Pla, Mai, Nok ‘Praising Fish, Flora, and Birds’* (Th. เข้มปลาไม้นก)

Part C: *He Kaki ‘The Tale of Kaki’* (Th. เข้กาคี)

Part D: *He Sangwat ‘Intimacy’* (Th. เข้สังวาส)

Part E: *He Khruan ‘Lamentations’* (Th. เข้ครวญ)

The National Library of Thailand houses nineteen manuscripts in total, which have preserved the text of Prince Thammathibet’s *Kap He Rüa* considerably well, even though not all of them appear in the same manner as in the printed edition. Eleven manuscripts do preserve the parts of the text in the same order as the list above. The text in the other two manuscripts appears in different order, starting with Part C with additional stanzas on Kaki³⁰, then followed by Part D, E, and A (NLT: KHKHsSs: Ms no. 1, NLT: KISSs: Ms no. 466)³¹. The other manuscripts have preserved the text only in fragments either due to damage or to the scribe’s intention. For example, one manuscript has preserved only the leading *khlong* stanza and the

³⁰ The additional stanzas on Kaki included in these two manuscripts are the one starting with สุบรรณแพลง เดชล้ำ บินบน and the one with กาคีปิดป้องปิด กรครุฑ. These stanzas also appear in another manuscript fragment (NLT: KHKHsSs: Ms no. 13), followed by Part B and E. However, the text of Part C as regularly appearing the other extant manuscripts as well as in the first printed edition in 1917 begins with the verse ทางกรโอบอุ้มแก้ว กาคี (Hò Phra Samut Wachirayan, 1917: 9–10). The additional stanzas on Kaki have then been included in the later editions of the Fine Arts Department (i.e. Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002b: 207–209; *Prachum Kap He Rüa*, 1961: 9–12) and have been marked by editors to be the new stanzas later composed, though with controversy (see Ruenruthai Sujjapun, 2013: 59).

³¹ NLT: KISSs: Ms no. 466 also contains Part B at the end.

first *kap* stanza of each part collected together with other *khlong* and *kap* poetry from various authors, while several manuscripts have suffered from damage and thus bear the text only partially (i.e. NLT: KHKhlSs: Mss no. 10, 11, 12). Most often is the case that the text of *Kap He Rüa* has been collected with other related texts in a multiple-text manuscript. The most common collection of texts, in which *Kap He Rüa* is regularly included, contains Prince Thammathibet's *Kap He Rüa*, King Rama II's *Kap He Chom Khriang Khao Wan* ('Praising Foods Savory and Sweet') which is also written in *kap he rüa* meter, and Phra Maha Nak's *Nirat Phra Bat* ('Poetic Travelogue to the Buddha's Footprint'). We have six manuscripts preserving such a collection of the texts³². It is possible that all the texts in this collection were once recited during royal ceremonies since the reign of King Rama IV. In the other cases, *Kap He Rüa* has also been collected with other unrelated texts such as *Bunnowat Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 12) or a group of didactic poems (NLT: KISSs: Ms no. 466). The collection with these unrelated texts, however, was not copied further in a widespread manner.

Apart from the markers on poetic meters that are commonly found, the paratexts found in the manuscripts of *Kap He Rüa* are limited in number. The only dated manuscript (NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 52) was produced in 1870 by a private scribe named Khum (Th. ฤๅ) who was hired by Luang Sara Prasoet, Deputy of the Royal Scribes Department, for the job of copying. Furthermore, another manuscript also contains a preface, in the same manner as the preface found in the royal manuscripts, mentioning the titles of royal scribes of the Front Palace as the scribe and proofreaders (NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 2), though without any date. Even if the history of the library's acquisition records the manuscript as the old possession of the library before 1905, this preface suggests that the manuscript was originally produced by the royal scribes of the Front Palace, whose noble titles differ from those of the Royal Grand Palace. Apart from these manuscripts, paratexts are found in various themes but are rather miscellaneous. For instance, the flyleaf page of one manuscript (NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 5) briefly records that the text was composed by Prince Kung (or Prince Thammathibet) from the Old Capital of Ayutthaya, marking the recognition and attribution of authorship. Furthermore, as the text was recited with a special rhythm in the barge procession, one manuscript (NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 14) also contains the transcription of the three different rhythms of recital as a note added (in different handwriting and writing substance) to the blank page at the beginning of the verso side.

³² Namely, NLT: KHKhlSs: Mss no. 2, 4, 8, 12, 17, 52.

Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Thòng Daeng ‘*Poetic Travelogue to Than Thòng Daeng in Kap Hò Khlong meter*’ (Th. ภาพยัห่อโคลงนิราศธารทองแดง)

Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Thòng Daeng was written by Prince Thammathibet, possibly during the time when King Bòrommakot made a pilgrimage to the Buddha’s Footprint in Saraburi. The text describes the natural surroundings, including various types of flora and fauna, along the land route in the form of *kap hò khlong*. It has been believed that the beginning part has been lost (Supanee Padthong, 2007a: 270). The text as it appears in printed editions contains 108 pairs of *kap hò khlong* stanzas, accompanied by five stanzas of *khlong suphap* as the epilogue at the end, which mentions the authorship of the text.

The National Library of Thailand preserves two manuscript copies of the text. One of them is the complete known text (NLT: KHKHlSs: Ms no. 53), while the other has survived only as a fragment (NLT: KHKHlSs: Ms no. 26). Both preserve the five *khlong* stanzas of the epilogue mentioning Prince Thammathibet as the author. An identical colophon at the end found in both manuscripts mentions the text’s title and summarizes the total number of stanzas in the entire text to be 205 pairs of *kap hò khlong* stanzas and an additional seven stanzas of *khlong*, thus yielding 417 stanzas in total. This total number, identical in the two manuscripts, might not be the result of miscounting, but instead suggests the loss of the first half of the text (possibly 97 pairs of stanzas). For the additional seven *khlong* stanzas, we have only five stanzas as the epilogue, while the other two, possibly the prologue, might also have been lost. Even though the epilogue does not refer to the author as the first person and could also have been later added by any scribe and scholar, the words referring to the stanzas in the colophon appear in the form of royal language as *phra khlong* and *phra kap*, for the text was written by a prince and the prefix *phra* (< P./Skt. *vara* ‘preferable’) was often employed in transforming a common noun to a royal noun (a word used when referring to the king and princes). Interestingly, the colophon mentions the additional seven stanzas (in the epilogue and probably in the lost prologue) as *phra khlong* as well, suggesting that these epilogue stanzas were also attributed, at least by the scribe who originally noted this colophon and also by the ones who copied it further, to Prince Thammathibet as well, not to any scribe or scholar in the later period.

Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Sok ‘*Poetic Travelogue to Than Sok in Kap Hò Khlong meter*’ (Th. ภาพยัห่อโคลงนิราศธารโศก)

Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Sok is another text in *kap hò khlong* meter that is attributed to Prince Thammathibet. Supposedly the text was written when King Bòrommakot traveled to pay homage to the Buddha’s Footprint in Saraburi (Supanee Padthong, 2007b: 202), the same occasion on which the texts of *Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Thòng Daeng* were written. However, *Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Sok* describes the river route through which the procession of the royal barges traveled. The narrator in *Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Sok* describes his

feelings of longing for his lover via the cycle of months and seasons, as well as through the natural surroundings along the river route. The printed edition of the text as it is known might indeed be the complete version of the text, containing 152 pairs of *kap hò khlong* stanzas.

Two manuscripts of *Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Sok* have survived and are now preserved at the National Library of Thailand. The printed text corresponds to the complete manuscript (NLT: KHKHs: Ms no. 25), while the other manuscript contains only the latter part (stanza no. 100) up until the end of the text (NLT: KHKHs: Ms no. 24). Interestingly, at the end of the text, both manuscripts contain additional *khlong* stanzas which are identical to the epilogue of *Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Thòng Daeng*. The complete Ms no. 25 contains three stanzas, while the Ms no. 24 bears four. This could be a result of the adaptation of the epilogue from *Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Thòng Daeng*, but could also be the other way around. Furthermore, the complete Ms no. 25 also preserves two *khlong* stanzas at the beginning of the manuscript as the preface, referring to Prince Thammathibet as the author in the third person. It suggests that the two additional *khlong* stanzas might have been added later by another scribe.

Prince Thammathibet's *Phleng Yao Poems* (Th. เพลงยาวเจ้าฟ้าธรรมาธิเบศร์)

Among the hundreds of poems in *phleng yao* meter, three poems have been attributed to Prince Thammathibet. All of them express the narrator's feelings in the form of love letters to his lover(s). The text of these three poems have been praised as a model for the poetic love letter in *phleng yao* meter and have also been included in the Fine Arts Department's *Anthology of Ayutthaya Literature* as well as the textbooks on Ayutthaya literary history. In order to avoid confusion when referring to each poem, the siglum will be assigned to each individual piece of Prince Thammathibet's *Phleng Yao Poems*, represented by its incipit, as follows:

Poem A: ปางพืมาดสมานสุมาลย์สมร (Th. *Pang phi mat saman suman samòn*)

Poem B: สวงรักหรือมาหกอารมณ์หวาน (Th. *Sanguan rak rü ma hak arom huan*)

Poem C: เห็นจิตบิดเบือนทำเชือนเฉย (Th. *Hen carit bit büan tham chüan choei*)

Of these three poems attributed to Prince Thammathibet, Poem A has been praised as the most poetically beautiful (Natthawut Khlaisuwan, 2015: 63). As the text of *phleng yao* as love letters, traditionally called *phleng yao sangwat* (Th. เพลงยาวสังวาส), does not cover any longer texts, the manuscripts of this literary genre have always appeared as multiple-text manuscripts, collecting various *phleng yao* poems from various authors and sometimes various periods together as a collection of *phleng yao* poems. Of all the manuscripts preserved at the Subsection of *Phleng Yao Sangwat* (PhlYSWSs) at the National Library of Thailand, the three poems commonly attributed to Prince Thammathibet have been found only in five manuscripts, two manuscripts of which preserve all three poems. None of them contain paratextual

information, not even any note of attribution to Prince Thammathibet. The extant manuscripts and the poems they bear have been summarized in the table below.

Table IV: The manuscripts found and Prince Thammathibet's *Phleng Yao Poems* preserved in each manuscript

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Text
1	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 2	Poem C
2	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 9	Poem ABC
3	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 21	Poem BC
4	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 22	Poem ABC
5	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 32	Poem B

Bunnawat Kham Chan ‘[Tale of] the Buddha’s Footprint in Kham Chan Meter’ (Th. บุญโณวาทคำฉันท์)

Bunnawat Kham Chan is the only text from the Ayutthaya period that explains the history of the Buddha’s Footprint and the building of a pillared hall (Th. *mondop* / มณฑป) over the Buddha’s Footprint (Th. *phutta bat* / พุทธบาท < P. *buddhapāda* ‘Buddha’s foot, footprint’) by the king. This text is one of the most widely transmitted Ayutthaya texts, perhaps because its content underlies the tradition of pilgrimage to the Buddha’s Footprint in Saraburi, a tradition popular among people of the late Ayutthaya. The author of the text is believed to have been a monk called Phra Maha Nak of Wat Tha Sai monastery. According to modern scholars, the date of composition lies between 1751–1758 (Wiphut Sophawong, 2007: 250). *Bunnawat Kham Chan*, composed of 297 stanzas of *kap* and *chan*, starts with revering words to the Three Jewels of Buddhism, Hindu Gods, and the king of Ayutthaya, then narrating the legend of the Buddha’s Footprint in Saraburi, over which King Bòrommakot had a decorated pillared hall built. Then the king celebrated the Buddha’s Footprint for seven days before returning to the capital with a royal procession. The text ends with the narrator’s wish for the eternity of his text and his aim for *nibbāna*. In the text, it is mentioned that *Bunnawat Kham Chan* is based on *Puṇṇovāda Sutta*. Nevertheless, *Puṇṇovāda Sutta* cannot be found in the *Tipiṭaka*. Perhaps the title has derived from the name of the hunter Bun who found the Buddha’s Footprint, according to the legend (Wiphut Sophawong, 2007: 251).

The manuscripts, 38 in total, of *Bunnawat Kham Chan* can be found in various libraries and institutes. As the text is rather short, every single manuscript of *Bunnawat Kham Chan* represents its entire copy as a complete volume, though in some cases the manuscript is damaged and thus the copied text is incomplete. With the subsection of *chan* literature, the

National Library of Thailand has preserved 32 manuscripts in total, from which one copy appears in form of a palm-leaf manuscript (NLT: ChSs: Bò: PLMs no. 1). Another copy is found kept at the Chiang Mai University Central Library (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17014). The other five copies are preserved at institutes in Europe, namely, one at the State Library of Berlin (BL: StaBi: Ms orient fol 3247), another at the Saxony State and University Library of Dresden (DD: SLUB: Eb. 424.m), another at the State and University Library of Leiden in the Netherlands (LEID: StaUBi: Or. 20.497), and the other two manuscripts at EFEO in Paris (PR: EFEO: S.50bis; PR: EFEO: S.53). Unfortunately, none of them are dated. Noteworthy is that none of them appear with the titles of the royal scribes.

The most common paratexts found in the manuscripts of *Bunnawat Kham Chan* are versified colophons, from which the printed edition includes four stanzas of the common colophon at the end. The first two stanzas are arranged in *khlong krathu*, in which the first word of each line can be read together, reading “จบบริบูรณ์” (‘completely finished’). These two stanzas mark the end of the text, as well as providing the text’s title. The other two stanzas mention Phra Maha Nak as the author of the text and praise on the text’s poetic beauty. However, among the extant manuscripts, there is only one manuscript containing all four stanzas in this order (NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 19). Most of them (sixteen manuscripts) contain only the first two stanzas that mark the end of the text, sometimes along with an additional unique stanza. Four manuscripts contain the last two stanzas of the colophon as found in the printed edition. The other manuscripts might contain only one or two stanzas of the four common stanzas.

Apart from this common colophon, the paratexts of the manuscripts of *Bunnawat Kham Chan* still provide other information on transmission. For instance, the scribe’s names are given in the colophons of two manuscripts, both laymen: one versified in a *khlong* stanza following two common stanzas giving the name of the scribe as Suthat (NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 25) and the other mentioning the scribe’s name as Phut (NLT: ChSs: Bò: PLMs no. 1) along with his asking for forgiveness for any errors. Phut also mentioned that he made copy of this manuscript in order to be used for teaching. The demand for forgiveness in the cases of errors and bad penmanship can also be found in four other manuscripts (NLT: ChSs: Bò: Mss no. 3, 9, 14, 28). One additional manuscript also contains a scribal note asking readers to read with care (NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 29). Interestingly, the making of the copy of *Bunnawat Kham Chan* was considered by the scribe as a way to create merit, even to reach *nibbāna*, as mentioned in the colophons of several manuscripts (NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 21, LEID: StaUBi: Or. 20.497, PR: EFEO: S.53).

Khlong Nirat Phra Bat ‘Poetic Travelogue to the Buddha’s Footprint’

(Th. โคลงนิราศพระบาท)

This short fragment of the poetic travelogue to the Buddha’s Footprint (in Saraburi) has also been attributed to Phra Maha Nak of Wat Tha Sai monastery. The text describes the route from Ayutthaya to the north, possibly with the destination of the Buddha’s Footprint as the text’s title suggests, but the text ends before the narrator reaches his destination. Apparently, the text survived the fall of Ayutthaya, but only in a small fragment, yet there are still at least two different versions of *Khlong Nirat Phra Bat* which have survived to us.

The first and most widely recognized version consists of 25 *khlong* stanzas, as included in *the Collection of Ancient Poems* by Phraya Trang in the mid nineteenth century, the collection which survived only in a single manuscript (NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 154). The authoritative printed edition also follows this manuscript. However, the text has also been found in other manuscripts, containing merely sixteen stanzas and being collected together with *Kap Khap Mai Phra Rot* and other ancient poems in *khlong* meter (NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 47). However, the other version found in a larger number of manuscripts (nine in total) appears in the form of *kap hò khlong* meter, thus containing a pair of *kap* and *khlong* stanzas with corresponding words and content. This version has thus also become known as *Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Phra Bat*³³. But only eleven pairs of stanzas have survived, from which all *khlong* stanzas correspond to *the Collection of Ancient Poems* as well as the printed edition but without any *kap* stanza. The text of *Khlong Nirat Phra Bat* in *kap hò khlong* meter was found collected together with *Kap He Rüa* and *Kap He Chom Khruang Khao Wan* in seven multiple-text manuscripts, due to its related meter and possibly related purpose of recital. The other has also been found collected with other texts: one with the royal eulogy for King Taksin and other didactic poems (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 6). Noteworthy is that despite its number of copies, which suggests a wider range of transmission, the version in *kap hò khlong* meter has never been published. The question as to which version among these two are older or whether the *kap* stanzas have been later added, hence, has yet to be answered.

Paratexts clearly informing on the authorship, as well as the text’s title, are commonly found in the manuscripts of *Khlong Nirat Phra Bat*, mostly as a scribal note at the end of the text or on the margin, found in seven manuscripts out of nine. Furthermore, one manuscript is dated in 1870 (NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 52) and the other suggests its origin within the court of the Front Palace (NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 2). Note that both are multiple-text manuscripts also bearing *Kap He Rüa*.

³³ Interestingly, *Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Phra Bat* might be the only text that begins with *khlong* before *kap* stanza, while the other *kap hò khlong* texts (i.e. Phra Si Mahosot’s *Kap Hò Khlong* and Prince Thammathibet’s *Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Sok*) regularly appear *kap* before *khlong*.

Konlabot Siriwbunkit ‘[*Tale of*] *Siriwbunkit in Konlabot*’

(Th. กลบทสิริวิบูลย์กิติ)

Konlabot Siriwbunkit ‘[*Tale of*] *Siriwbunkit in Konlabot*’ has been included as one of the last Ayutthaya texts in the Fine Arts Department’s *Anthology of Ayutthaya Literature*, as well as in the standard textbooks of Thai literary history. The text depicts the tale of Prince Siriwbunkit in *klòn* meter, which has been arranged into different types of the *konlabot* poetic features, totally 86 *konlabot* types. The tale of Prince Siriwbunkit was based on *Yasakitti Jātaka* from *Paññāsa Jātaka*, but was translated from Pali into Thai as a treatise on *konlabot* poetics by a poet called Luang Si Pricha (Seng), as mentioned at the beginning of the text. The determination of the period is still controversial (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002b: 371). Prince Damrong proposed the late Ayutthaya period, while contemporary scholars such as Niyada Lausoonthorn (1992b: 70–72) propose that the text was originally composed in the early Bangkok period. As the text was used as a *konlabot* treatise, the text in the manuscripts, as well as in the printed edition, also contains the paradigm and structure of each type of *konlabot*, provided each time a new type of *konlabot* begins.

Due to the length of the text, one complete copy of *Konlabot Siriwbunkit* can contain either three or four volumes. However, among the seven extant manuscripts, five of which are kept at the National Library of Thailand in Bangkok, with an additional manuscript fragment found at the National Library of Thailand in Nakhòn Si Thammarat in southern Thailand (NKST: NLT: Ms no. 188) and the other one at the Chiang Mai University Central Library (CM: DHC: NTIC: 16004), none seem to belong to one another as part of the same set, instead all being part of seven different copies, since each of them preserves different parts of the text, overlapping frequently rather than continuing where any of the other manuscripts left off. Despite the overlapping texts among the different manuscripts, the complete text can still be traced from the beginning to the end, as can be found in the first printed edition (1914) based on the five manuscripts at the National Library of Thailand. Paratexts have been found in only two of the seven manuscripts. One is a scribal note asking the reader and borrower to “love the manuscript as their own possession” (NLT: K1ASs: Ms no. 21). At its fly-leaf page, the other manuscript from Nakhòn Si Thammarat (NKST: NLT: Ms no. 188) contains a note on ownership, though it is very faint, which reads “the manuscript of Luang Wan...”. Although no further writing is visible, the surviving note implies that the manuscript originally belonged to a noble with the rank of *luang*.

Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems*

(Th. ประชุมโคลงกวีโบราณของพระยาตรัง)

As we know, many works of Ayutthaya literature have survived only in fragments. One work evidencing this is *the Collection of Ancient Poems*, consisting of fragments of poems in *khlong* meter from various authors in various periods of Ayutthaya. This collection has been commonly known as Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems*, for the preface mentions Phraya Trang as the editor of the collection as it reads "I, Phraya Trang, collected the ancient poems (for the king)". The preface of the manuscript also provides a list of poems categorized by the authors and the sources, as well as the total number of stanzas in his collection (127 stanzas). As Phraya Trang himself served the Grand Prince of the Front Palace (Prince Maha Sak Phonlasep) in the reign of King Rama III (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2004: 13), this manuscript is supposed to have been produced during the time Prince Maha Sak Phonlasep held the title of the Grand Prince of the Front Palace (1824–1832).

Apparently, Phraya Trang, one of the eminent poets in the early nineteenth century, collected the fragments of Ayutthaya poetry from various sources, some of which are very vague in nature. For example, seven stanzas have been marked to be the royal composition without any reference to any exact king, three stanzas have been attributed to the Princess or Lady (Th. Phra Thewi) of Sukhothai, and another one to the King of Lan Chang (Laos). Twenty-two stanzas have been marked to be the work of Phra Maha Nak. After being published in 1917, these twenty-two stanzas became the authoritative version of Phra Maha Nak's *Khlong Nirat Phra Bat*, despite the existence of the other more commonly transmitted version. However, the text of this version cannot be found apart from this manuscript. Furthermore, another 25 *khlong* stanzas from this collection have been attributed to Prince Aphai, and thus they are commonly known as *Khlong Nirat Cao Fa Aphai* or '*Poetic Travelogue of Prince Aphai*' (Th. โคลงนิราศเจ้าฟ้าอภัย). This fragment of the text cannot be found elsewhere apart from this manuscript. This collection also includes eight stanzas from *Thawa Thotsamat*, another literary work of Ayutthaya described above. Phraya Trang also included his own 25 stanzas, which he composed following the ancient stylistics, into this collection. Thus, Phraya Trang, apart from his role of editor, became the only Bangkok poet among the other different Ayutthaya authors, whose works have been collected. Noteworthy is that this collection also contains nine stanzas of *chan* meter (*wasantadilok chan*) possibly cited from a literary work, although the collection is widely known as a collection of *khlong*.

The collection has survived only in one manuscript (NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 154), which was originally owned by the Front Palace. Apart from the preface, this manuscript also contains scribal notes, most often on the margin of the page, marking the author or source of each poem. Furthermore, in the part containing nine stanzas of *chan*, glosses have been found added between the lines explaining some words and phrases (see Krom Sinlapakòn, 2004: 314).

Kaki Kham Chan ‘[Tale of] *Kaki in Kham Chan Meter*’ (Th. กากีคำฉันท)

The tale of Kaki (literally ‘crow lady’), originating from several *Canonical Jātaka* (i.e. *Kuṇāla Jātaka*), has survived in many versions since the Ayutthaya period. The tale tells the story of a lady called Kaki who was the wife of King Phrommathat and then committed adultery twice before being found out and abandoned by all of her lovers. Apart from the adapted version collected as a part of Prince Thammathibet’s *Kap He Rüa*, the version in the *kham chan* meter commonly known as *Kaki Kham Chan* has also been taken as a literary work of Ayutthaya based on its wordchoice. The Fine Arts Department adapted the first edition (1931) which is based only on one single manuscript but has also recently released a new edition based on readings of multiple manuscripts kept at the National Library of Thailand in 2004 (Boontuen Sriworapot, 2004: 13–15). The most recent edition contains 1057 stanzas of *kap* and *chan* meters in total.

There are currently eighteen manuscripts of *Kaki Kham Chan* at the National Library of Thailand in total. Each of them has partially preserved the text either as Volume I or Volume II and there are many overlaps. However, only one manuscript (NLT: KISSs: Ms no. 1) contains a preface in *khlong* meter providing a summary of the text and its title, while the other manuscripts do not contain any scribal paratext.

Kap Khap Mai Phra Rot ‘[Tale of] *Phra Rot in Kap Khap Mai Meter*’

(Th. ภาพยัจับไม้พระรถ)

The tale of Phra Rot and Meri is one of the most popular folktales in Thailand and other neighbouring countries. The tale can also be found in the collection of *Paññāsa Jātaka*, known as *Rathasena Jātaka*, while the folk version is known as *Nang Sipsòng* (‘[Tale of] *Twelve Sisters*’) or *Phra Rot Meri* (‘[Tale of] *Phra Rot and Meri*’). One of the earliest versions is *Kap Khap Mai Phra Rot* (Th. ภาพยัจับไม้พระรถ), a poem in *kap khap mai* meter which was recited during higher royal ceremonies such as the Celebration of the Royal Parasol. It was supposedly composed in the Ayutthaya period (Sukanya Sujachaya, 2007: 320). The first printed edition in 1922 was based on one manuscript, supposedly dated in the reign of King Rama IV due to the handwriting of the royal scribes (Damrong Rajanubhab, 1922 in Krom Sinlapakòñ, 2018b: 146) that was found at that time (NLT: KHKHs: Ms no. 48). This manuscript, however, preserves only the first part of the text as Volume I, with its continuation in Volume II having been lost. However, there is also an additional manuscript (NLT: KHKHs: Ms no. 47) which also partially preserves the text of *Kap Khap Mai Phra Rot*, interestingly in scribbled handwriting, suggesting it was a draft, collected together with other texts, including Phra Maha Nak’s *Khlong Nirat Phra Bat*. No scribal paratext was found in these two manuscripts.

Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang ‘*Didactic Poem of Phra Ruang*’ (Th. โคลงประดิษฐ์
พระร่วง)

Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang is a didactic text traditionally attributed to King Ruang, a generic title used to refer to the kings of Sukhothai. The text pertains to worldly conduct in everyday life while also collecting various proverbs and sayings in the form of 56 stanzas of *khlong* meter. There are other texts with related titles such as *Bandit Phra Ruang* (Th. บัณฑิตพระร่วง ‘*Phra Ruang the Scholar*’) different versions of which were written in the Bangkok period, but all in *rai* meter. *Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang* seems to be the earlier version versified in *khlong* meter and dated in the Ayutthaya period, though the study of modern scholar has shown the obvious relation between *Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang* of Ayutthaya and *Bandit Phra Ruang* of Bangkok (see Niyada Lausoonthorn, 1984).

Only one manuscript preserves the text of *Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang*, namely NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 202, or the multiple-text manuscript of King Bòrommakot’s poems. According to the preface of the manuscript, the text was composed by the king in 1754, possibly on 9 March 1754 (Lekda Imchai, 1985: 6).

Khlong Rachanuwat ‘*Royal Conduct*’ (Th. โคลงราชานุวัตร)

Khlong Rachanuwat, ‘*Royal Conduct*,’ a didactic text on royal conduct in *khlong* meter, has also been collected in the manuscript of the collection of King Bòrommakot’s poems (NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 202), together with five other texts: *Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat*, *Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng*, *Khlong Thotsarot Sòn Phra Ram*, *Khlong Ratchasawat*, and *Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang*. The text contains 128 stanzas of *khlong* meter, but has gained less academic attention by scholars for many years in comparison to *Khlong Ratchasawat*, another didactic poem by the same author. According to the preface of the manuscript, the text was composed by the king on 15th February 1754 (Lekda Imchai, 1985: 6). Thus the text is properly attributed to King Bòrommakot of Ayutthaya.

Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan ‘*Kritsana Teaching Younger Sister in
Khan Chan Meter*’ (Th. กฤษณาสอนน้องคำฉันท์)

Within the history of Thai literature, there are two recognized versions of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng* (‘*Kritsana Teaching Younger Sister*’) in *kham chan* meter. Both concern the teachings of how to be a good high-born lady and a good wife of the king or prince which Kritsana gave to her sister. Kritsana here refers to Draupadi, the wife of the five Pāṇḍava brothers in *Maha Bhārata* (Saksri Yaemnadda, 1991: 159). Among two different versions of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan*, the earlier one is known as the *Version of Thonburi*, because the text has been restored in the reign of King Taksin of Thonburi, as the end of the text mentions that Phraya

Ratchasuphawadi of Nakhòn Si Thammarat, most likely within the Thonburi period, persuaded a monk named In to restore the text due to the lost manuscripts (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2012b: 21). However, as the Thonburi version of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* was evidently composed in the Ayutthaya period and then restored after the fall, the text has been properly recognized as the Ayutthaya version of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng*.

The other recognized version of the text is the one written by Prince Patriarch Paramanuchit Chinorot in the reign of King Rama III, thus commonly known as Prince Paramanuchit's version. According to its prologue, this version was written in order to surpass the earlier one, which Prince Paramanuchit considered unpoetic in comparison to the works of other great poets and scholars of Ayutthaya (Kusuma Raksamani, 1994: 136). Thus, two versions of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng* appear in very different styles and arrangements, though they are based on the same story and characters while also containing similar teachings. This study includes only the earlier version of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng* as it has been transmitted from the Ayutthaya period, while Prince Paramanuchit's version was entirely rewritten in the Bangkok period and is thus more suitably classifiable as Bangkok literature.

The Ayutthaya Version of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* has survived in nine manuscripts (with eight manuscripts kept at the National Library of Thailand and the other at the Chiang Mai University Central Library). The only dated manuscript (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 79) has a colophon versified in a stanza of *khlóng* meter providing the date as 1753 in the reign of King Bòrommakot of Ayutthaya. This date is likely to be the date of the manuscript, rather than the date of original composition, which must have been sometime earlier than the manuscript itself. This manuscript contains 260 stanzas of *kap* and *chan* meters, which obviously form the complete text. However, the other eight manuscripts are undated. Two of them are fragments (NLT: ChSs Kò: Mss no. 77, 86). Three of them (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Mss no. 73, 86; CM: DHC: NTIC: 08002) contain an additional nine stanzas of *chan* meter (269 stanzas in total), mentioning Phraya Ratcha Suphawadi as the initiator of the text's restoration and the monk In as the editor of the restoration. These nine stanzas are apparently later additions to the restored Ayutthaya text, and it seems they became widely accepted as the main tradition of the text. In addition, three more manuscripts (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Mss no. 74, 75, 76) also bear these nine stanzas informing on the text's restoration, but with an additional seven stanzas of *chan* meter (*wasantadilok*) mentioning the orthographic signs and elements one can learn from this text. The content of these additional seven stanzas is completely irrelevant to the content of the previous text, and was possibly added onto the end of the text by later scribes and scholars to mark the topics on orthography for readers.

Apart from the paratext on the date found in the manuscript (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 79) at the National Library of Thailand, one manuscript contains a versified preface in *khlóng* meter, providing the text's title and its summary (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 76). The other

manuscript collecting the text with other didactic poems provides a scribal note marking the end of the text and its title before the other text begins (CM: DHC: NTIC: 08002).

Lilit Cantha Kinnòn ‘[Tale of] *Candakinnara* in *Lilit* Meter’

(Th. ลิลิตจันทกินนร)

Lilit Cantha Kinnòn is another Ayutthaya text, which has been less recognized by modern scholars due to its late printed edition in 2014. However, the text has been studied by Sawinee Khonkaen in her article (2013) and her Master’s thesis (2014) on the poetic adaptation of the text from *the Canonical Jātaka* to Thai poetry. The text depicts the tale of *Candakinnara* from the commentery on a canonical *Jātaka* in *lilit* meter, containing 99 stanzas in *khlong* and *rai* meters. In stanzas no. 96–99, it is mentioned that the author of the text was Maha Rat who composed *Lilit Cantha Kinnòn* in 1684 in the reign of King Narai of Ayutthaya (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2014: 51).

There are two manuscripts of *Lilit Cantha Kinnòn* preserved at the National Library of Thailand. Both contain the complete text (99 stanzas of *khlong* and *rai* meters). Only one manuscript appears with scribal paratext (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 32), which in this case provides the date of the manuscript as 1809 and the scribe’s name as monk Intha Suwan.

Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap ‘Mother Teaching Children in *Kap* Meter’

(Th. แม่สอนลูกคำกาพย์)

Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap is another didactic poem in *kap* meter. It contains teachings from a mother to her children on how to be a good adult. The text has unfortunately survived only in a fragment of a manuscript (NLT: KISSs: Sò: Ms no. 604) and is not widely recognized as Ayutthaya literature. When the Fine Arts Department published the text of *Sawat Klòn Suat* in 2005, the text of *Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap* was also included since it was found in the same manuscript as *Sawat Klòn Suat* (NLT: KISSs: Sò: Ms no. 604) and had never been published before (Boontuen Sriworapot, 2005b). The writing throughout this manuscript, albeit not exactly dated, significantly corresponds with works dated in the late Ayutthaya period from the late seventeenth to the early eighteenth centuries (see Illustration XI). Hence the texts from this manuscript, namely *Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap* and *Sawat Klòn Suat*, are now also considered as belonging to the literature of Ayutthaya. Since the manuscript itself has survived in fragments due to damage, the text of *Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap* has also been left incomplete, containing only 25 stanzas of *kap* meter. A scribal note at the end, though also damaged, seems to say that the text is not yet finished and that readers should continue to the next manuscript, which likely has been lost to us.

Phleng Yao Phayakòn Krung Si Ayutthaya ‘Prophetic Poem about the Ayutthaya Kingdom in Phleng Yao Meter’ (Th. เพลงยาวพยากรณ์กรุงศรีอยุธยา)

Although almost all the poems in *phleng yao* meter, especially those from the Ayutthaya period, are poetic love letters, there are also some works in *phleng yao* meter that recorded prophecies for the future of the kingdom and its people, such as *Phleng Yao Phayakòn Krung Si Ayutthaya ‘Prophetic Poem about the Ayutthaya Kingdom in Phleng Yao Meter,’* which has also been attributed to Ayutthaya period. The text depicts the catastrophe that will happen when the luck of the Kingdom of Ayutthaya runs out, the signs of which can all be obviously found in the city. The authorship of the poem is unclear, but is claimed to have been written by King Narai. Modern scholars, however, now attribute the work to the late Ayutthaya period (Benchamat Phaethong, 2007: 283).

The text, as we know from the printed edition, has been found only in one manuscript (NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 20) without any paratext on authorship or date, either of text or of manuscript. However, other sources also suggest that there are various versions of the text, not only in the form of *phleng yao* meter, as the *Testimony of the Inhabitants of the Old Capital*, the one transmitted in the Burmese version, also mentions the same prophecy, though in prose rather than verse (in *Prachum Kham Hai Kan Krung Si Ayutthaya*, 2018: 110). This suggests that the prophecy was originally transmitted from the Ayutthaya period through the oral tradition or before it found its written forms, one of which, as far as we know, is the *phleng yao* meter.

Mòm Phimsen’s Phleng Yao Poems (Th. เพลงยาวหม่อมพิมเสน)

A number of love letter poems in *phleng yao* meter have been attributed to Mòm Phimsen, another recognized Ayutthaya poet, though no further information has been included. Whether Mòm Phimsen was male or female, and what the title *mòm* here denotes, have been long discussed and yet not clearly answered (Natthawut Khlaisuwan, 2016: 35). However, the poems of Mòm Phimsen, most likely male due to the expression found in the poems, have become the most well-recognized and most widely transmitted among the *phleng yao sangwat* texts. Various pieces of poems have been attributed to him and the number of copies of his *phleng yao* poems has far surpassed those by Prince Thammathibet, despite his poems having gained much less attention from scholars in comparison to Prince Thammathibet’s. One of the most known Phimsen poems is the poem starting with “อนูชามาทางทุรัสถาน” (Th. *Anucha ma thang thurat sathan*; referred to in this study as Poem R) which tells of the route he took and the things along the way which cause him to long for his lover. Thus this poem (with a length of 178 stanzas) also shares elements of *nirat* literature, and it is also commonly referred to as *Nirat Phetchaburi* (*Poetic Travelogue to Phetchaburi*). It is considered to be first *nirat* literature in

klòn phleng yao meter (Natthawut Khlaisuwan, 2016: 36), before the genre came to flourish in the early Bangkok period.

When the various *phleng yao* poems were first published in 1917, a note on authorship was provided for each poem, though without any source of reference. In this edition, eighteen poems have been attributed to Mòmm Phimsen. However, six additional poems (Poem S-X), which have been attributed by the printed edition (*Phleng Yao Kao*, 1917) to other poets, have been found attributed to Mòmm Phimsen in the traditional manuscripts. Thus, a total of 24 poems attributed to Mòmm Phimsen will be included in this study as the *Phleng Yao Poems* by Mòmm Phimsen. In order to refer to each poem of his, a siglum is assigned to each poem following the order arranged in the first edition (1917), as shown in the table below.

Table V: List of Poems attributed to Phimsen with sigla, reference to the first edition, and the manuscripts in which each poem was found.

No.	Sigla	Incipits	Reference to the First Edition (1917)	Manuscripts Found (NLT: PhlYWSs)
1	A	ได้เห็นพื้จิตต์คิดสงสาร	p. 3	Ms(s) no. 32
2	B	สารศรีนุสรเสนาหา	p.40	Ms(s) no. 32
3	C	พิสวาสดีไม่คั่นขาดเสนาหา	p.44	Not found
4	D	พึงสารสุจริตขนิษฐา	p. 45	Ms(s) no. 5, 22, 24, 41
5	E	คลี่สารอ่านสอ์ฤทัยหวล	p. 46	Ms(s) no. 5, 41
6	F	อนิจาตาลอยคอยหาสูญ	p. 47	Ms(s) no. 5, 41
7	G	พอสบเนตรสรเนตรอนงค์สมร	p. 59	Ms(s) no. 5, 41
8	H	จะก่งคอห้าวร้อให้คอแหบ	p. 62	Ms(s) no. 5, 41
9	I	พึงกำหนดแนใจให้ไปสถาน	p. 63	Ms(s) no. 5, 41
10	J	ประมาญรักประมาณรสฤดี สงวน	p. 71	Ms(s) no. 5, 41, 70
11	K	อนิจาช่างไม่มีปราณีถนอม	p. 79	Ms(s) no. 5, 28, 30, 33, 36, 37, 41, CM: DHC: NTIC: 17127
12	L	โถมสุคนธ์ปนคันธเกสร	p. 107	Ms(s) no.
13	M	ผลกรรมซ้ำใจกระไรหนอ	p. 108	Ms(s) no. 9, 21
14	N	ศุกสารเสนาะ(สำเนา)เสนาหา	p. 113	Ms(s) no. 33, 58,
15	O	ชาว (ข่าว) ศรีสมบุรณ์พูล สวัสด์	p. 119	Ms(s) no. 1, 30, 36, 58,
16	P	ลายลักษณ์อักษรานุชาสนอง	p. 139	Ms(s) no. 2, 3, 4, 11, 21, 54
17	Q	โอ้อว้าครวญนวลนาฏประพาธ สนิท	p. 143	Ms(s) no. 2, 9, 21, 22, 24, 58,
18	R	อนุชามาทางทุรัสสถาน	p. 146	Ms(s) no. 2, 36, 68

No.	Sigla	Incipits	Reference to the First Edition (1917)	Manuscripts Found (NLT: PhlYWSs)
19	S	สารโศกสุดโศกแสนถวิล	p. 26 *attributed to Phraya Phra Khlang (Hon)	Ms(s) no. 24 *attributed to Phimsen
20	T	อนิจจาช่างไม่มาปราณีสนอง	p. 73 *attributed to Phraya Yommarat (Kun)	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17127 *attributed to Phimsen
21	U	อกเอ๋ยเมื่อไม่เคยหรือควรถวิล	p. 91 *attributed to Prince Chit	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17127 *attributed to Phimsen
22	V	โหมหอมหอมเหินเวหาหวาน	p. 102 *attributed to Prince Chit	Ms(s) no. 24 *attributed to Phimsen
23	W	ชาวเขียนแข่งแฉวิมลโหม	p. 125 *attributed to Sunthòn Duang	Ms(s) no. 68 *attributed to Phimsen
24	X	เสียดายรักยหลังรักกระไร หนอ	p. 155 *attributed to Phraya Mahanuphap	Ms(s) no. 68 *attributed to Phimsen

There are twenty manuscripts preserving Mòmm Phimsen's *Phleng Yao Poems*. Mostly, the poems of Mòmm Phimsen are found collected together with works by other poets both named and unnamed in the various collections of love letters in *phleng yao* meter (found in 19 manuscripts). Several poems are also kept in the same manuscripts with Prince Thammathibet's poems (NLT: PhlYWSs: Mss no. 2, 21, 22). Some paratexts have been found as a scribal note marking the authorship as Mòmm Phimsen, either at the beginning or at the end of the poems (in NLT: PhlYWSs: Mss no. 2, 30, 58). One of them even marks Poem R as Phimsen's *Nirat* (Th. ภิรมเสนนิราช), indicating the recognition of the text as a piece of *nirat* literature, at least for that scribe. Note that even in the same manuscript in which authorship has been noted, not all of the poems have been marked. Nevertheless, Phimsen is name most often noted. Poem C (starting with: พิศวาสดีไม่ค้นขาดเสน่หา), though being attributed to Phimsen in the printed edition (1917: 44), has not been found in any manuscript housed within the National Library of Thailand.

Furthermore, another four manuscripts, which include only texts attributed to Phimsen, also form part of the collection. As the cover titles of three manuscripts correspondingly read “the manuscript of *Phleng Yao Poems* by Mòmm Phimsen [from] the Old Capital” (Th. สมุดเพลงยาวหม่อมภิรมเสนบ้านเมืองดี) and mark the number of volume, it appear that these three manuscripts belong to the same set of copy as the different volume, namely, Volume I (NLT: PhlYWSs: Ms no. 66, collecting Poem RXW), Volume II (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17127, for Poem TKU), and

Volume IV (NLT: PhLYSWSs: Ms no. 24, for Poem VQSD). Volume III of the set might, unfortunately, have been lost. Although Volume II (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17127) has been now preserved at the Chiang Mai University Central Library, the paratext of the manuscripts, as well as other codicological elements, indicates its common origin with the other two manuscripts. Furthermore, these three manuscripts also provide the incipits of all included stanzas in the flyleaf page as a summary and table of content in the same manner. Thus, it can be said that the poems by Mò̃m Phimsen were so popular that they have found their way to their separate collection of *phleng yao* poems all attributed to one single author.

Phra Rot Kham Chan ‘[Tale of] *Phra Rot* in *Kham Chan* Meter’

(Th. พระรถคำฉันท์)

Apart from the version in *kap khap mai* meter mentioned earlier, the tale of *Phra Rot* has also been found in several different versions of *kham chan* meters. At least three versions of *Phra Rot Kham Chan* were published by the Fine Arts Department in 2005 and proposed to be Ayutthaya texts due to their stylistics (Boontuen Sriworapot, 2005a). The National Library of Thailand keeps seven manuscripts of *Phra Rot Kham Chan*, which are classifiable into three different versions as follows:

Version A: *Phra Rot Kham Chan I* (three manuscripts, namely, NLT: ChSs: Phò: Mss no. 12, 13, 14)

Version B: *Pha Rot Kham Chan II* (three manuscripts, namely, NLT: ChSs: Phò: Mss no. 15, 16, 17)

Version C: *Phra Rot Kham Huan* (one manuscript, NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 11)

The Versions A and B significantly correspond to each other, but with many variations in wordchoice. Boontuen Sriworapot (2005a) proposes that Version B was adapted and improved based on Version A. On the other hand, Version C, marked at the fly-leaf page as *Phra Rot Kham Huan* (‘*Lamentations of Phra Rot*’), contains an apparently different text from the other two versions altogether, but has survived only in one manuscript fragment. Apart from the title of the text, no other significant paratext can be found in any of the seven extant manuscripts.

***Ton Thang Farangset* ‘Poetic Travelogue to France’** (Th. ต้นทางฝรั่งเสศ)

The text of *Ton Thang Farangset* was neither scholarly recognized nor published until 2004, because it had survived in a single manuscript preserved at the National Library of France in Paris (PR: BnF: Indochinois 317). *Ton Thang Farangset*, the title as given in the manuscript, narrates the travel of Siamese ambassadors from Ayutthaya across the sea to France in 1685–1686 (Phuthorn Bhumadhon, 2016: 76). Although the destination of the journey was the royal court of Louis XIV in Paris, the surviving text ends when the narrator, as well as the other diplomats, arrived at Brest, a French port city in Brittany (Pridi Phitphumwithi, 2001: 49). Perhaps the text continues further, but the manuscript in any case bears only the incomplete copy. The narrator records the different natural landscapes and people he encounters along his journey while also describing his feelings of longing for his lover in the fashion of *nirat* literature, resulting in the text also coming to be known as *Nirat Ton Thang Farangset*. The author of the text was likely one of the diplomats in this diplomatic mission in 1686.

Despite many doubts on its authenticity as an Ayutthaya text and manuscript (i.e. Sumalee Weerawong, 2015: 254–255; Yuphorn Saengthaksin, 2004: 46–49), the writing found in the manuscript of *Ton Thang Farangset* in Paris (Illustration X) significantly corresponds with the writing from the documents and manuscripts dated in the reign of King Narai, for example, the diary and letters of Kosa Pan or Òkya Kosathibòdi (Pan) dated in the 1680’s (see Phuthorn Bhumadhon, 2016: 142–149), as well as the Inscription of Wat Chula Muni dated 1679 (see Churairat Laksanasiri, 2008: 168–169). No paratext of the manuscript, other than the text’s title given in the side-marker, has been found.

***Supridithammarat Chadok* ‘[Tale of] Suprīti Dhammarāja Jātaka’**

(Th. สุปรดิธิธรรมราชาดก)

This text has also been recently proposed to be Ayutthaya literature, due to the writing found in the only available manuscript (NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 138), which corresponds to the calligraphic Thai Yò type of the late Ayutthaya period, especially the one found in the only manuscript of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* (NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 120). Hence, the text’s title has been suffixed as *kham luang* (‘royal version, royal writing’) as well (Niyada Lausoonthorn, 1992a; Thipawat Sriwatcharawit, 2015). However, apart from the correspondence of the writing type, there is no other evidence that the text of *Supridithammarat Chadok* was written under the king’s order or composed by any prince or king. The text, first published by the National Library of Thailand in 2015, narrates the story of King Supridithammarat, who attained perfection in order to become Buddha. The text cuts off before the end due to physical damage to the manuscript. The manuscript does not preserve any paratext.

CHAPTER IV

Paratexts in the Manuscripts of Ayutthaya Literature

Though various types of paratexts can be commonly found in Siamese manuscripts, only a part of these manuscripts contains paratexts significant for studying the transmission history of their texts. Most of the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature mentioned in the earlier chapter are dated in the Bangkok period and one-third contains paratexts revealing information on the place and time of their creation, as well as the agents of the transmission. Therefore, only one group of texts can be traced in terms of its textual transmission within the manuscript culture. In this chapter, the paratexts under study were found in manuscripts which date from periods prior to Bangkok: Ayutthaya and Thonburi. They will be surveyed as early evidence, before then moving on to a discussion of paratexts of Ayutthaya literature found in the manuscripts of the Bangkok period.

4.1 Paratexts Prior to Bangkok: The Early Evidence

Paratexts might have co-existed with traditional manuscripts since the beginning or the early phase of the manuscript culture itself, but we have no evidence to confirm this as the only actual manuscripts and their paratexts available to us today are from the seventeenth century. The writing on manuscript covers, as well as prefaces and colophons, can be attested in the earliest group of manuscripts surviving from the Ayutthaya kingdom, informing on the date of manuscript, the intention of scribes and sponsors, and sometimes also the date of text and other information on its textual history. Thus, an investigation of paratextual evidence, apart from the examination of handwriting, has also been most often employed by modern scholars in determining the date of manuscripts in the Ayutthaya period. The earliest extant Siamese palm-leaf manuscript can be attributed to the year 1615 CE, though this is only confirmed by its preface on the cover leaf that reads: 2158 BE in the Year of the Rabbit (Th. พุทธศักราชไท ๒๑๕๘ ปีเถาะ) (Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 2002: 91). Correspondingly, the manuscript of Luang Prasoet's *Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya* can be determined to be the earliest *khòì*-paper manuscript, also due to its preface³⁴ mentioning the royal order in 1680 to compile a royal

³⁴ The preface of Luang Prasoet's *Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya* reads: สุกมัสสุ ๑๐๔๒ สกาวอก นั้ก (ยัตร ณ วัน) (๔) + ๕ ทรงพระ (กรุณาโปรด) เหนือเกล้าเหนือกระหม่อมสั่งว่า ให้เอากฎหมายเหตุของพระ (โหราเขียน) ไว้แต่ก่อนและกฎหมายเหตุซึ่งหาได้แต่หอหนังสือ และเหตุซึ่งมีในพระราชพงสาวดารนั้น ให้คัดเข้าด้วยกันเป็นแห่งเดียว ให้ระดับศักราชกันมาตึงเท่าบัดนี้ (NLT: CMHS: Ayutthaya: Ms no. 30). The available English translation (Cushman, 2006: 10) reads: May it be of good omen! In 1042, a year of the monkey, on Wednesday, the twelfth day of the waxing moon of the fifth month (equivalent to Wednesday 10th April 1680), the King [Narai] was pleased to order, "Get out the chronicles of events recorded by the royal astrologers of earlier times and the chronicles of events to be found in the Hall of the Archives, cull out the events to be found in these royal chronicles and collate them together in one place in chronological order, extending to the present".

chronicle. Although the preface mentioning the compilation of various written sources seems to be attributed to the author (or compiler) of this chronicle rather than the actual scribe, the preface has been accepted as the original preface, and so the manuscript has been accepted as an original manuscript as well. With the help of paratextual evidence, modern scholars are enabled to better examine and understand these earliest Siamese manuscripts.

Most paratexts found in the manuscripts dated in the Ayutthaya period appear in prose, ranging from a short passage on a palm-leaf manuscript cover to an extensive paragraph covering several pages of a *khò*-paper manuscript. Apart from the preface of the earliest extant manuscript of the Luang Prasoet version of *the Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya*, the manuscript entitled *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng* dated in 1748 contains a longer text on its cover page with information on the author in addition to the text's title. The cover title of the manuscript (NLT: ChSs: Chò: Ms no. 2) reads:

พระสมุคสรเสริญพระเกียรติ ครั้งสมเด็จพระพุทธเจ้าหลวงปราสาททอง พระมหาราชครูมหารัษฎ์ เป็นคำ
ฉันท์ ครั้งสมเด็จพระนารายณ์เป็นเจ้าลพบุรี เป็นพระมหาราชครู พระบอโรหิต ๑ ๑

Translation: Manuscript of *the Eulogy for King Prasat Thòng*. Composed by Phra Maha Ratcha Khru Mahethòn in *kham chan* meter. When King Narai was Lord of Lopburi, he (the author) was (holding the title of) Phra Maha Ratcha Khru Phra Purohit.

The cover title here states the original writing occurred when “King Narai was Lord of Lopburi,” i.e. 1673–1688. Furthermore, the date of copy is mentioned to be 1748 in the preface, also in prose, on the first recto page, as follows:

ครั้งสมเด็จพระพุทธเจ้าหลวงปราสาททอง พระมหาราชครูพระบอโรหิตแต่งคนี่ที่แต่งเสื่อโค การมอัน
เดียวกัน เหนจะแต่งสรรเสริญพระเกียรติสมุคนี้ก่อนเสื่อโค เสื่อโคแต่งทีหลังเพราะกว่านี้
วัน ๖๕ คำจุลศักราช ๑๑๐๕ ปีเถาะนพศก คัดสำเนาออกจากฉบับเจ้ากรมหมื่นเทพพิพิธ เอามาแต่หีบพระ
สาวยศราชม

Translation: This text was written by Phra Maha Ratcha Khru Purohit (‘Lord Grand Royal Mentor and Priest’), the same person who wrote *Süa Kho*, in the reign of King Prasat Thòng. He seems to have written this text before *Süa Kho*, which was written later and made more beautiful.

On Friday, the seventh waxing day of the fifth month 1109 CS the Year of the Rabbit, the ninth year of the decade (equivalent to Friday 5th April 1748), this manuscript was copied from the manuscript which Prince Thep Phiphit took from the chest of the Royal Hall.

This preface also suggests that this copy was produced within the royal court, though not directly under the king's order, but rather under the order of a prince. Modern scholars have surmised that this copy has been made from an exemplar taken from a chest in the Royal Hall, which is referred to here in the preface as (*hò*) *phra sattrakhom* (Krom Sinlapakòn, 2002b: 3).

Another manuscript which might have been produced under the order of a prince, according to its paratexts, is the earliest manuscript (dated 1724) of *Rachowat Chadok* (NLT: ThSNChD: Ms no. 30), a *Jātaka* didactic tale in prose (bilingual Pali-Thai). Other than informing on the manuscript production under a prince's order, the paratexts of this manuscript also indicate the interaction between the monasteries and the royal court, as well as the circulation of the *Jātaka* text and its manuscripts in different places. This manuscript, furthermore, demonstrates the complicated layers of paratexts, as there are at least three parts of paratexts that can be attributed to three different agents in textual transmission, namely, author, editors, and scribes. The colophon at the end of the text mentions the author as Somdet Phra Phuttha Khosacan of Wat Doem monastery, along with the author's intention, a blessing from the author offered to the king, and the date of original composition in 1675. The colophon of this manuscript (NLT: ThSNChD: Ms no. 30) reads as follows:

๑ ราโชวาทกาลา พรณาวัดปฏิบัติ อันเปนพระราชกิจสำหรับ สมเด็จพระบรมมหาราชเจ้าราช อันมีในพา
หิรนิบาต สมเด็จพระพุทธโฆษาจารย์ อธิการวัดเดิมขอลายไว้ ประดับพระราชกรณียกิจ เพื่อให้อำริญพระ
ปัญญาญาณบานมีอันประเสริฐ แต่สมเด็จพระมโหฬาร พระราชสมภาร พระองค์บรมธรรมมิกราชเจ้าผู้
ประเสริฐ ขอลายพระพรจำเริญพระราชศรีสวัสดิ์พิพัฒมงคล พระชนสุขทุกจงทุกประการ สารสิทธิสวัสดิ
นรินตรง ศักราช ๑๐๓๗ ปีเถาะ สัปดาห์ วัน ๖ + ๖ ค่ำ ฯ

Translation: *Rachowat Khatha*, which describes the royal conduct of the kings according to the non-canonical *Jātaka* (Th. *phahiranibat* < P. *bāhira-nibāda*), was (composed and) offered by Somdet Phra Phuttha Khosacan, the abbot of Wat Doem monastery, to the merited King in order to embellish the royal family with the perfection of the great wisdom. (I) bless His Majesty the King with all the glories and health. Let this writing be powerful and last forever. In 1037 CS (1675 CE), the Year of the Rabbit, the seventh year of the decade, on Friday the tenth waxing moon of the sixth month (equivalent to Saturday 4th May 1675).

The blessing here begins with the phrase *khò thawai phra phòn* (Th. ขอลายพระพร), a phrase used by monks to offer blessings to the king, suggesting that this passage of colophon was written by the original author, a Somdet Phra Phuttha Khosacan, one of the highest monastic ranks for Ayutthaya monks. The authorial paratexts have been placed at the end of the text as the colophon. The preface at the beginning appears in two different parts. On the first page of the manuscript, the first part of the preface (written in black ink) provides information on the editors and the date of editing:

๑ ๒ ๓ ๔ ๕ ๖ ๗ ๘ ๙ ๑๐ ๑๑ ๑๒ ๑๓ ๑๔ ๑๕ ๑๖ ๑๗ ๑๘ ๑๙ ๒๐ ๒๑ ๒๒ ๒๓ ๒๔ ๒๕ ๒๖ ๒๗ ๒๘ ๒๙ ๓๐ ๓๑ ๓๒ ๓๓ ๓๔ ๓๕ ๓๖ ๓๗ ๓๘ ๓๙ ๔๐ ๔๑ ๔๒ ๔๓ ๔๔ ๔๕ ๔๖ ๔๗ ๔๘ ๔๙ ๕๐ ๕๑ ๕๒ ๕๓ ๕๔ ๕๕ ๕๖ ๕๗ ๕๘ ๕๙ ๖๐ ๖๑ ๖๒ ๖๓ ๖๔ ๖๕ ๖๖ ๖๗ ๖๘ ๖๙ ๗๐ ๗๑ ๗๒ ๗๓ ๗๔ ๗๕ ๗๖ ๗๗ ๗๘ ๗๙ ๘๐ ๘๑ ๘๒ ๘๓ ๘๔ ๘๕ ๘๖ ๘๗ ๘๘ ๘๙ ๙๐ ๙๑ ๙๒ ๙๓ ๙๔ ๙๕ ๙๖ ๙๗ ๙๘ ๙๙ ๑๐๐	พระครูสุคำ มหานารอดวัดคูสิต มหาจุวัดแค นายบุญนาค นายอิน	}	ชำระชาฎกเนื้อความแล้วณวัน ๓ + ๒ ค่ำมโรงจอกศก ฯ
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Translation: We (Th. *attama*, the first person pronoun for monks in Thai monastic language), Phra Khru Sadam, Maha Narot of Wat Dusit monastery, Maha Cu of Wat Khae monastery, Nai Bunnak, and Nai In, edited this text of the *Jātaka* on Tuesday, the fifth waxing day of the second month in the Year of the Dragon in the sixth year of the decade (1086 CS, equivalent to Tuesday 19th December 1724).

The second part of the preface is written in yellow ink, mentioning the date of copying and the prince's order to make copy from an exemplar owned by Phra Maha Phuttha Rakkhit of Wat Phutthai Sawan monastery. This part of the preface reads:

๑ วัน ๖ + ๕ ค่ำมโรงฉกจุลศักราช ๑๐๘๖ มีพระบันฑูล สั่งให้คัดราโชวาทชาฎกออกจากฉบับเขียนรง
ของพระมหาพุทธรักขิต วัดพุทไธยสวรรค

Translation: On Friday, the seventh waxing day of the fifth month, in the Year of the Dragon the sixth year of the decade, 1086 CS (equivalent to Tuesday 20th March 1725), (the Prince) gave his royal order to make copy of *Rachowat Chadok* out of the copy in yellow ink owned by Phra Maha Phuttha Rakkhit of Wat Phutthai Sawan monastery.

These different layers of prefaces and colophon reveal one significant aspect in transmission history of *Rachowat Chadok*, namely that the text was originally written in 1675 to be presented to the king (referring to King Narai). Then the text was edited (Th. *chamra nūa khwam*, literally 'purified/edited the content') by a group of editors, consisting of three monks and two laymen, in 1724, until around three months later, when a prince gave the order to make this copy of the manuscript from the exemplar of Wat Phutthai Sawan monastery. Though the identity of the prince is not mentioned, the word used for the order here (Th. *phra banthun*) was most likely employed only for higher ranked princes, particularly for the Grand Prince of the Front Palace. It is possible that the prince who gave the order to make this manuscript copy was Prince Phon, who was the Grand Prince of the Front Palace in 1724 before his ascendancy to the throne in 1733, later known as King Bòrommakot.

This manuscript of *Rachowat Chadok* provides early evidence on the different layers of paratexts, some of which have been further transmitted along with the main text. Most likely is that the authorial colophon at the end of the text was attached to the text since the time of its original composition, as it records the original purpose of the text and the blessings offered to the king by the original author. Thus, this authorial colophon must have been further transmitted along with the main text for some time before being found in a manuscript dated in 1724, along with the paratexts of the editors and scribes of 1724.

Another manuscript dated in the Ayutthaya period with extensive paratexts is the *codex unicus* of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* (NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 120). The preface preceding the main text contains a summary of the epithets (of Buddha and Nanthopanantha) found in the text and the revering words in Sanskrit and Pali, following by the authorial preface

in Pali and its translation into Thai, mentioning the author in the first person as the ordained Prince Thammathibet who later held the title of the Grand Prince of the Front Palace. Thus, this part mentioning the author can be considered to belong to the author himself, not the scribes, although the attribution for the epithet summary at the beginning of the preface is unclear. Interestingly, the mention of Prince Thammathibet's title as the Grand Prince of the Front Palace suggests that this part, the authorial preface in Pali and Thai, was added years after the date of its original composition in 1736, as Prince Thammathibet, according to the historical evidence, entered the monkhood during 1735–1737, before being anointed with the title of the Grand Prince of the Front Palace in 1741. Hence, this authorial preface must have been added after 1741. It is probably a unique case in which the author evidently added an additional preface to the text after its original composition.

Furthermore, the manuscript of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* also contains an extensive colophon written both in verse and prose. After the main text (in *rai* meter), two stanzas of *khlong* have been added, followed by a long passage in prose. This ending part has been considered by modern scholars as a paratext of the manuscript rather than a part of the text (see Assanee Poolrak, 2012: 69–70), as its content suggests the attribution to the scribes, not to the original author. For the two stanzas of *khlong*, one marks the end of the text with the text summary. The other stanza attributes the text to Prince Thammathibet by mentioning him in the third person pronoun. Interestingly, these two stanzas appear in the fashion of *khlong krathu* ('heading *khlong*'), in which the first word of each line can be continually read and has to be read before the normal lines. Normally, the heading or *krathu* would comprehend the main message of the stanza. The *khlong krathu* stanzas as appearing in the colophon of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* read as follows (NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 120):

นนโท	พ่ายลิตยชัย	กะคะวา
ปะนันทะ	นาเคนทรา	กราบเกล้า
สูตร	ทีมนิกายสา	ทรวลอส
บริบูรณ์	ธรรมพระเจ้า	เทศนะไว้ควรว

Krathu reads: *Nanthopanantha Sut* completely ends. (Th. นนโทปะนันทะสูตรบริบูรณ์)

Translation of the whole stanza reads: Nandopananda has been defeated by the left disciple of Gotama Buddha and then bowed to the Lord, as appearing in the Pali text of *Dīghanikāya*, which completed with the Dhamma given by the Lord Buddha.

เจ้าฟ้าธรรม ท่านแท้	พยายาม
ธีเบศร กุमारนาม	บอกแจ้ง
ไชยเชษฐ ปัญญากาม	กิริภาพ
สุริยวงศ ธรรมแต่งแก่ง	กล่าวเกลี้ยขนนโท

Krathu reads: Prince Thammathibet Chaiyachet Suriyawong (Th. เจ้าฟ้าธรรมธีเบศรไชยเชษฐสุริยวงศ)

Translation of the whole stanza reads: The prince whose title is Thammathibet has attempted to compose this refined *Nanthopanantha Sut* text with his profound wisdom.

Colophons in the fashion of *khlong krathu* have not survived much in the manuscripts dated in the Ayutthaya period, even if the tradition did flourish in the Bangkok period. Within the limited evidence, the one in the *Nanthopanantha Sut* manuscript is the earliest case of *khlong krathu* colophon ever found so far. After these two *khlong* stanzas, a long passage of a prose colophon (NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 120) begins as follows:

๑ พระบาทนโทปนทสูตรนี้ พระมหาพุทธสิริเถรเจ้าแต่งไว้แต่ก่อนบมิได้ลงพุทธสักกะราชไว้ ว่าเมื่อแรกแต่งพระบาทสำเร็จนั้นน พุทธสักกะราชได้เท่านั้นเท่านั้น แลเจ้าฟ้าทรงพระผนวศกรัณขุนเสนาพิทักษ์มาทรงแต่งเป็นเนื้อความคำประดับครั้งนี้ เมื่อสำเร็จนั้นพระพุทธสักกะราชล่วงไปแล้วได้ ๒๒๑๕ ปีกับ ๓ เดือน ในวาร ๑๕ ๘ พุทธสาธปิมโรงนักศัตรอัยฐศก ๑๑๑๑๑๑๑๑

๑ จุลสักกะราช ๑๐๕๔ ศก แลแต่งพระบาทมาค้อมเท่าถึงทรงแต่งเนื้อความคำประดับในครั้งนี้ แลรู้ว่าว่างอยู่นั้น ไกลกันสักสิบปีนั้นบมิได้แจ้ง ๑๑๑๑ ๑๑๑๑๑๑๑๑

๑ เมื่อแรกแต่งพระมหาชาติคำหลวงนั้นจุลสักกะราชได้ ๘๔๔ ศก ๑๑๑๑๑๑๑๑

๑ แต่งนโทปนทสูตรคำหลวงครั้งนี้ จุลสักกะราชได้ ๑๐๕๔ ศก ว่างกันอยู่ถึง ๒๕๔ ปี ๑๑๑๑๑๑๑๑

๑ นนโทปนทสูตร ที่พระบาทเป็นปรกติทางเทศนาทงปวงมีอยู่ในพระกัมพิทิมะนิกาเยศิละขันธนั้นด้งเอว้มเมก่อน นนโทปนทสูตรอันมีในพระอรรถกะถาแก้พระกัมพิอับปะทานนี้ อันพระมหาพุทธสิริเถรเจ้าแต่งเป็นพระบาทคำประดับนี้บมิได้ด้ง เอว้มเมก่อนเลย บุคคลผู้มีปัญญาอย่าพึงสงสัยว่า นนโทปนทสูตรนั้นนอกคำพระอนนทะแลนอกสังคายนาเย นนโทปนทสูตรนี้มีในสงคายนาเยแท้จึงแล ๑๑๑๑๑๑๑๑

นายสัง			
๑ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า	หุบพระบาท	๑๑	๑๑
นายสา			
นายทอง	หุบเนื้อความ	๑๑๑๑๑๑๑๑	

๑ พระสมุคขาวหย่างนี้ โบกด้วยพุนสามครั้ง จึ่งลงน้ำกันเชื่อมครั้งหนึ่ง จึ่งเขียนพระอักษร แล้วจึ่งลงน้ำกันเชื่อมอีกสามครั้ง แม้นว่าต้องน้ำมิได้ลบเลือนเลย หย่าง โบกด้วยพุนแลน้ำกันเชื่อมนี้ของหลวงโซคิกนอกราชการทูลเกล้าทูลกรม่อมถวาย ๑๑๑๑๑๑๑๑

๑ พระสมุคนี้ซึ่งได้หนัก	๒	
	๒	๑
	๒	๒

Translation:

This Pali text of *Nanthopanantha Sut* was composed by Phra Maha Phuttha Siri Thera (P. *Mahābuddhasirithera*) but has never exactly been dated. It has been said that it should be dated at this time or that time. The prince who ordained, holding the title of Prince Senaphitak (Thammathibet), composed this decorated text (in Thai). When he completed his composition, Buddhism had existed (after Buddha's death) for 2279 years and three months. [This happened] on Sunday, the full moon day of the second eighth month, in the Year of the Dragon, the eighth year of the decade (equivalent to Monday 23rd July 1736).

How many years lie between the year of the composition of Pali text and the year 1098 CS (1736 CE) in which the Thai text has been composed (by the Prince) is not clearly known.

When the text of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* was originally composed, it was the year 844 CS (1482 CE). Then *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* was composed in 1098 CS (1736 CE) or 254 years later.

The Pali part of *Nanthopanantha Sut* is normally found in the Pali text of *Dighanikaya Silakhandha* beginning with *evamme [suttam]*, being used in preaching. The text of *Nanthopanantha Sut* is been found in the Commentary of the Pali text *Apadāna* composed by Phra Maha Phuttha Siri Thera without *evamme [suttam]* at the beginning. The wise one would not doubt whether this *Nanthopanantha Sut* was originally from the mouth of Ananda, because it is originally included in the canonical text truly approved by the Grand Council.

We, Nai Sang and Nai Sa, have made a copy of the Pali text (in Khò̃m script). I, Nai Thò̃ng, have made a copy of the (Thai) main text.

This kind of white (greyish) paper manuscript has been covered with powder three times and then with a protecting liquid one time before writing. After writing, it was covered with three more layers of protective liquid. This makes the writing waterproof. This kind of manuscript covered with powder and protecting liquid was given (to the king or the prince) by Luang Chodük Nò̃k Ratchakan ('outside of official royal duties').

This manuscript has a weight of two *chang*, two *tamlü̃ng*, one *bat* and two *salü̃ng* (approximately two and a half kilograms).

The extensive colophon of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* not only provides us with information on the author, the date and origin of the text, and the name of the scribes, but also on the writing materials used and their preparation. Perhaps the waterproof powdering process was what helped the manuscript become one of the manuscripts with the finest condition to have survived from the late Ayutthaya period. Such discussions of the writing support itself is not commonly been found in paratexts, especially among the manuscripts produced among the royal court. However, the use of the first personal pronoun in the royal language (Th.

ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ‘servant to the Buddhist King’) suggests that the manuscript was produced among the royal court to be presented to a prince or a king. Apart from the use of the royal language here, there is no other evidence, nonetheless, that this manuscript is indeed the royal copy presented to the king. The scribes here (Nai Sang, Nai Sa, and Nai Thong) do not hold any noble rank or royal scribe titles. The preface associates itself with Prince Thammathibet the Grand Prince of the Front Palace, while the paratexts at the end of the manuscript appear to be less formal when recording the material aspect and the weight. With the help of its paratexts, this manuscript has been perceived by modern scholars as originally having been produced to be presented to Prince Thammathibet during his tenure at the Front Palace (1741–1746), even though the exact date of manuscript is absent from these extensive preface and colophon.

Apart from the versified colophon in the manuscript of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang*, the earliest manuscript of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 79) contains a *khlong* stanza as the colophon at the end of the manuscript, informing on the date in 1753. The colophon does provide an exact date of traditional calendar, but whether it is the date of text or of manuscript is unclear. The stanza begins that “the writing has been finished in the Year of the Goat, the sixth year of the decade” (Th. เถลิงสารสำฤทธแท้ วาจก ปีมเมียจอกศก เสรจจอย) without any mention of the author or scribe. However, when considering the words used in the stanza, in which none of the words are associated with composing such as the word *taeng* (Th. แต่ง, the one often employed in the colophon of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang*) or *niphon* (Th. นิพนธ์ ‘compose’) has been found, the meaning of this stanza fits the context of copying rather than composing. The original date of copying must have been some time earlier than 1753 in the Ayutthaya period, though the exact year has never been known. From the cases of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* and *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan*, it can be seen that the meter of *khlong si suphap* was preferred in the versified colophon, at latest in the late Ayutthaya period, regardless in which meter the main text was written. Nevertheless, paratexts in prose are found in more significant number among the manuscripts dated in the Ayutthaya period.

In a group of manuscripts produced for the monasteries, i.e. palm-leaf manuscripts for Buddhist texts and illustrated manuscripts of *Phra Malai Klòn Suat*, the sponsorship for the manuscript production and the merit aimed to be gained by the sponsors and the scribes are common aspects mentioned. The early evidence of *Phra Malai Klòn Suat*, whose illustrated manuscript tradition can be traced back to the late Ayutthaya period, also mentions this aspect of the monastic manuscript culture of Ayutthaya. An illustrated manuscript dated 1762 contains a short passage of colophon at the end of the text reading: “May this cause (me) to attain *nibbāna*,” (Th. ขอไห้ไท้พระปริณิพพานปัจจุโยโหติ) (NLT: PKThSs: Ms no. 88) indicating the merit expected to gain from the production of the *Phra Malai* manuscript. Furthermore, a study conducted by Dhanit Yupho in 1958 also mentions the earliest illustrated *Phra Malai* manuscript ever found, dated in 1738, whose colophon records the names of the layman sponsors as “Ta (‘grandfather’) Ròt” and “Yai (‘grandmother’) Sang” (Th. ท่านดาดรดท่านชายสั่ง

สร้างไว้; Dhanit Yupho, 1958: 27). Unfortunately, this earliest manuscript cannot be identified with any registered manuscript of *Phra Malai Klòn Suat* kept at the National Library of Thailand. Apart from these two manuscripts, no other illustrated *Phra Malai* manuscript dated in Ayutthaya could be identified.

Apart from the manuscripts of the vernacular Thai texts and the bilingual Pali-Thai texts mentioned above, the domain of the palm-leaf manuscripts bearing Pali texts (both canonical and non-canonical) also contains interesting paratexts revealing significant aspects of the monastic manuscript culture of Ayutthaya. According to a study by Kongkaew Weeraprachak (2002: 93–99), the palm-leaf manuscripts dated in the Ayutthaya period now preserved at the National Library of Thailand most often contain cover titles, and sometimes also a preface on the cover leaf informing on the date of manuscript and its sponsorship. In many cases, the year has been mentioned, for instance, a manuscript of *Cūḷaniddesa* Fascicle IV contains a preface “2178 BE The Year of the Pig” (Th. พุทธศักราชใด ๒๑๗๘ ปีกร ๑), the year equivalent to 1635 CE, without any mention on the sponsor or scribe (Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 2002: 125). On the other hand, many cases demonstrate the preface of palm-leaf manuscripts, in which the names of scribes or sponsors, as well as the merit they aimed to gain, are mentioned. The Thai word *uppakara* (Th. อุปการ) is used referring to the sponsor of the manuscript, especially laymen sponsors, as it appears in the preface of a manuscript entitled *Pathamasambodhi lakkhaṇaparigāhaka viṭṭhāraparivatta* Fascicle III dated in 1689 as “The layman Khun Phrom Phakdi and the laywoman Nang Oet sponsored the creation of this manuscript” (Th. หุ่นสุริอณี มหาอุบาสกขุนพรหมภักดีแลมहाสีกานางเอียนเปนอุปการ; Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 2002: 130–131).

Furthermore, the cover leaf of a palm-leaf manuscript titled *Linatthapakāsiniṭikājātaka* contains the date (in 2190 BE/ 1647 CE) along with its title written on the middle of the cover leaf. However, on the left side of the leaf, there is a short passage mentioning Cao Ram, the royal scribe who sponsored this manuscript, which says “the manuscript is produced for the religion by (under sponsorship of) Cao Ram the royal scribe. If any monk borrows it for studying, please do not restrict it only for himself” (Th. หนังสือเจ้ารามอาลักษณ์สร้างไว้สำหรับพระศาสนา พระสงฆ์ใดยืมไปเล่าเรียนหาหรงเห็นไว้ ๑; Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 2002: 127). The preface here suggests that this group of Pali palm-leaf manuscripts produced by the laymen to the monasteries were used for studying. In addition, this manuscript might be one of the earliest evidences for the Thai word *alak* ‘royal scribe’ so far, though here it is written in Khòmm script. Apart from the lay sponsor, monks have also been found sponsoring the production of palm-leaf manuscripts as well (see Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 2002: 131), as well as being scribes themselves (2002: 128). In some rare case, monks have also been mentioned as the editors of the copied text. For example, a palm-leaf manuscript dated 1638 mentions on its preface that “Maha Son, Maha Mi, Maha In of Wat Bangwa Yai monastery edited (from) Phraya Photcana’s manuscript of Wat Hong monastery” (Th. มหาสน มหามิ มหาอิน วัดบางว่าใหญ่ได้ชำระคัมภีร์ฉบับวัดหรง ของพระยาพจนา; see 2002: 125). Rather often the sponsors and the scribes of these religious

manuscripts mention the merit of manuscript production they aimed to gain to allow them to attain *nibbāna* (2002: 138). From the various cases of the preface of palm-leaf manuscripts compiled and published in a study done by Kongkaew Weeraprachak (2002), some interesting aspects on the Siamese monastic manuscript cultures of Ayutthaya have been reflected through the preface of palm-leaf manuscripts, even though most often appearing merely in a short passage.

Despite the limited number of manuscripts originally dated in the Ayutthaya period, the early evidence on the paratext tradition of the Ayutthaya manuscript culture seems to be rather developed and complicated, and was by no means in its early phases. The variance in forms (i.e. prose and verse) and content, suggesting different place and time of transmission, as well as different agents of transmission, all point to a flourishing network of manuscript creation. The paratexts of the manuscripts produced in the circle of royal court have often employed the royal language, as the matter concerns the king and the royal family, who sponsored the production of manuscripts. On the other hand, the paratexts of the religious manuscripts reveal a wider range of sponsorship, from laymen (noble and commoner) to monks, as well as other aspects on the monastic manuscript culture, in which religious manuscript production was perceived as a good deed. Interestingly, the case of *Rachowat Chadok* manuscript has demonstrated the different layers of paratexts and indicates the transmission of paratexts, as the authorial colophon providing the date of original composition and the author's intention was also copied into manuscripts produced in the later period, while the paratexts of the editors and the scribes have also been found at the beginning of the manuscript. On the other hand, the manuscript of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* shows that the authorial preface in Pali and Thai did not belong to the original text, but was composed by the author several years after the original composition of the text. The paratexts have become another significant source for studying the manuscript culture of the Kingdom of Ayutthaya, even though they have survived in only limited number.

Regarding the origin of the manuscripts, it can be said that the surviving manuscript of Luang Prasoet's *Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya* might be the only royal manuscript which was originally produced to be presented to the king as a royal copy of the text. The other manuscripts might have been produced among the circle of the court, but under the order of the princes rather than the king, namely, the manuscripts of *Rachowat Chadok*, *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thong*, and *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang*. The structured preface of the royal scribes, in which their noble titles have been provided as the copyists and proofreaders along with the date of copy and the intention to present to the king, as can be commonly found in the Bangkok manuscripts, has not been found in the manuscripts dated in Ayutthaya. The earliest manuscripts containing the paratexts of royal scribes have been dated in the Thonburi period, or fifteen years between the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767 and the founding of Bangkok in 1782. These are namely the illustrated cosmological manuscript or *Samut Phap Trai Phum* of King

There are six extant manuscripts of *Ramakian-The Royal Composition of King Taksin of Thonburi*, five of which are now preserved at the National Library of Thailand, with the other one being housed at the State Library of Berlin. All six manuscripts (dated in 1780) were written in gold, containing the same structure of paratexts. The preface (written in gold like the main text) of all the manuscripts mentions the date of composition by King Taksin. The colophon (written in yellow ink) is written at the end, informing on the date of manuscript and the names of the royal scribes who copied and proofread it.

For example, the manuscript now kept at the State Library of Berlin (BL: StaBi: Ms orient Fol 333) contains the following preface:

๑ วัน ๑ + ๖ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๓๒ ปีขารโทศก พระราชนิพนธ์ทรงแต่ขึ้นต้นเป็นประอม ยัง
 ทราม } อยู่
 พอดี }

Translation: On Sunday, the first day of the waxing moon of the sixth lunar month of 1132 CS, the Year of the Tiger, the second year of the decade (equivalent to Sunday, 14th April 1771), His Majesty the king composed this text which is still current and sufficient.

The scribal colophon at the end of the manuscript reads:

๑ วัน ๑ + ๑๒ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๔๒ ปีขวดโทศก ๐๐
 ขุนสรปรีดิ }
 ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า นายเชตอาลักษณ์ ขุนเสนาทอง } ทาน ๓ ครั้ง
 ขุนมหาสิทธิ }

Translation: On Sunday, the eighth day of the waning moon of the twelfth month of 1142 CS (equivalent to Sunday 19th November 1780), the Year of the Rat, the second year of the decade, I, Nai Chet the royal scribe, has copied this manuscript with gold stroke. We, Khun Sara Prasoet and Khun Maha Sit, have proofread for three times.

The other five manuscripts preserve the prefaces and colophons in the same structure, even if the names of the royal scribes and the dates vary from one another (see Boontuen Sriworapot, 2019: 38–44). The colophons at the end of these manuscripts reaffirm that the manuscripts were produced within the Department of the Royal Scribes in King Taksin's royal court, as the noble titles of the royal scribes are mentioned. Even for those holding no title at all such as Nai Chet (in BL: StaBi: Ms orient Fol 333), the noun *alak* 'royal scribe' has been attached to his name, indicating his status as a royal scribe, in the same fashion found in the preface of the illustrated cosmological manuscript mentioned above. Although not many royal manuscripts survived in the periods prior to Bangkok, the paratexts found in the manuscripts of

King Taksin's *Ramakian* may represent a tradition of paratexts among the royal scribes upon which the paratexts of the royal scribes from the Bangkok period were based.

In the periods prior to the founding of Bangkok in 1782, the manuscript evidence, despite its limited number, suggests a complicated tradition of paratexts which are varied in form and content. The manuscript culture of Ayutthaya was carried on in the royal court of Thonburi. The large number of manuscript evidence dating from the Bangkok period was undeniably also based on and part of this continuation of the Ayutthaya manuscript tradition.

4.2 Paratexts of Bangkok Manuscripts: General Remarks

The domain of paratexts from the Bangkok period appears in significantly larger numbers, which is no surprise as the manuscripts we have were mostly produced in the Bangkok period. The tradition of paratexts was continued alongside the further development of Siamese manuscript culture. The most commonly found paratexts are those with a structuring function offering navigation aids that guide the reader when using the manuscripts, for example, titles and fly-leaf titles, side-markers, and meter markers. Though these common paratexts have not often revealed the transmission history of the text, some exceptional cases can still be found.

The paratexts essential to this study are those which provide more information on place, time, and agents of textual transmission, namely, prefaces, colophons, along with some parts of the marginal and interlinear notes. From the manuscripts of the Bangkok period, it can be seen that the tradition of prefaces and colophons has flourished and has been further developing from the earlier periods. The use of versified prefaces and colophons, especially in *khlong krathu* fashion, has become popular among the scribes and the poets of Bangkok. The royal manuscripts have regularly contained the structured prefaces of the royal scribes. Considerably, the prefaces and colophons of the royal scribes have become the only group of Siamese manuscripts, whose paratexts have been relatively well structured. The paratexts of the royal scribes, moreover, indicate the circulation of the texts in the royal palace, the place where a lot of Ayutthaya literature, though not every single text, was restored, edited, and further transmitted. From this, we begin to see how, in many ways, the textual history of Ayutthaya literature can be traced best from these prefaces and colophons, as well as the scribal notes of the manuscripts dated in the Bangkok period. This is particularly the case given the lack of extant manuscripts from the Ayutthaya period itself.

The other groups of paratexts briefly mentioned here in this part are glosses and chanting markers. The glosses provide support in interpreting the text, while the chanting markers give guidance as to how the text is to be chanted aloud. Although the glosses do not present any information directly regarding textual transmission, they do represent the traditional textual scholarship in the early Bangkok period, making them more “scholarly” paratexts rather than

scribal paratexts. Therefore, some remarks will be given as an overview on glosses and chanting markers as well as some aspects which should not be dismissed by modern scholars.

In some cases, the paratexts have also been further transmitted along with the texts as well, but only the paratexts informing on the background of texts and authorship, rather than on the manuscript and the scribes, were most likely to be copied further. The different layers of paratexts can still be seen in some cases of texts, which will be further discussed below, while in some cases, the paratexts have even become a part of the texts, being accepted by modern scholars nowadays either as the prologue or epilogue of the texts.

Noteworthy is that this study concerns the paratexts of manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature only, which of course does not cover the paratextual domain of the entire manuscript culture of Bangkok, as there are countless literary texts first composed in the Bangkok period and also a countless number of their manuscripts. However, the paratexts covered in this study represent only that part of the manuscript culture in which the texts from earlier periods were copied, compiled and edited in the later period.

4.3 Structuring Paratexts: Navigation Aids for Readers

When confronting a Siamese manuscript, especially a *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, the most common paratext in almost all manuscripts are titles and fly-leaf titles, side-markers, as well as meter markers, which offer readers navigation aids for reading and storing (for the case of cover titles) manuscripts. There is an apparent common pattern among these paratexts, though variations still appear.

The first thing readers have to recognize from a *khòì*-paper manuscript even before turning it over to read it is the title on the cover page identifying the text, as well as the correct side of the manuscript to read. Other than the title of the text, the cover title sometimes provides the sequel order of the volume in the set, if the entire text exceeds one codicological unit of a paper manuscript. Most often is the case that the cover title has been written with ink, either with yellow or white, now that ink can be more durable on the cover page than white pencil. On the first page of the manuscript, with or without title on its cover, the fly-leaf title has been provided, sometimes even repeating the cover title. In the absence of the cover title or the cover page, the fly-leaf page serves as the cover title, indicating the text's title for readers.

In addition, a title can also be found on the side edge of a *khòì*-paper manuscript, bearing only a brief title and its volume, as the space on the manuscript edge is rather limited. The writing on the edge might be slightly damaged every time the manuscript was opened or unfolded; the edge title can get faded very easily. The title on the side edge might help the manuscript to be stored easily when many different manuscripts were placed together in a

cabinet or a shelf. Thus, the edge title is not only a paratext that helps readers recognize the text, but also supports the process of manuscript storage as well.

After the cover title, readers of a *khòì*-paper manuscript have to be aware of the side-marker, which indicates the recto or verso side of the manuscript. In a manuscript, side-markers can be found in four locations: the beginning of the recto side, the end of the recto, the beginning of the verso, and the verso end of the manuscript. Normally the reader has to identify the correct side to turn to, most often the first recto page, in order to read the text properly from its beginning. In absence of the cover title, the side marker of the first recto page will function as the mark of the manuscript's beginning. The phrase "Recto page" (Th. หน้าต้น) can be widely found. In addition, the title is also often mentioned in the side-marker, for example, "Recto page of *Samutthakhot* Volume I" (Th. หน้าต้นสมุท พระสมุทโฆษคำฉันท์ เล่ม ๑), (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 41) serving both as a side-marker and a manuscript title. At the end of the recto page, the side-marker always instructs readers to turn the manuscript over with words like "Please turn to the other side" (Th. กลับไปหน้าโน้นเถิด) or sometimes a bit more briefly, such as "Turn" (Th. กลับ).

As leporello manuscripts are made of a long-folded piece of paper and then written on both sides of the surface, the side-marker is crucial to assisting readers, while the pagination on each page has become unnecessary, as each page cannot be transposed like they can in the case of palm-leaf manuscripts. Even in the present day, modern readers or researchers of the Siamese *khòì*-paper manuscripts still have to depend on side-markers to identify where to begin their reading. On the other hand, a fascicle of a palm-leaf manuscript, consisting of many leaves tied together, always contains pagination on each leaf, as they can become easily disorganized. Normally, pagination appears on the verso side of each leaf, employing the syllabic combination of Pali-Sanskrit alphabets to signify the page order, starting from *ka k̄a ki k̄i ku k̄ū ke kai ko kau kaṃ kaḥ* and then *kha khā* etc (Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 2010: 35). In many cases, the syllabic combination can be altered to the Thai alphabet, rendering one set of combination containing more vowels and thus more sequel numbers. The pagination – to be more precise: foliation – of palm-leaf manuscripts can be found either in Khòì or Thai script.

In the main text of a manuscript, the numeral is often marked above or in front of the *fòng man* (literally 'chicken's eye or chicken's egg') sign < ◉ >, a circular sign which marks the beginning of each stanza. The numeral given in the manuscript can mark the sequel number of the stanza, such as in the case of *Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Thòng Daeng* (NLT: KHKHLSs: Ms no. 53). But the sequel number for each stanza is not often found, especially in longer texts. More often numerals are given as the meter markers, in which each number signifies the number of syllables in a stanza or a line in each different meter. The meter markers are often given only when a poetic meter in the text has been changed. The readers of a manuscript are supposed to be able to recognize the poetic meter right after seeing each number (Kamchai Thonglor, 1990: 501). For example, in the texts of *kham chan* from the Ayutthaya period, the meters employed

are six different types of *chan* and two different types of *kap*. The numerals used as the meter marker can be listed as follows:

- 11 = *inthawichian chan* 11 (P. *indavajira*)
- 12 = *totaka chan* 12 (P. *toṭaka*)
- 14 = *wasantadilok chan* 14 (P. *vasantatilaka*)
- 15 = *malini chan* 15 (P. *mālinī*)
- 16 = *kap chabang* 16
- 19 = *satthunwikilita chan* 19 (P. *saddulavikkīṭita*)
- 21 = *satthara chan* 21 (P. *saddharā*)
- 28 = *kap surangkhanā* 28

This tradition of the meter marker can be found in almost all the manuscripts of *kham chan* literature, with the earliest manuscript evidence dated in the late Ayutthaya period, namely, *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* dated in 1753 (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 79). When seeing these numerals at the beginning of the stanza, the readers are expected to recognize the meter, as well as its structure, before reading. Each number has not normally been used to represent two different meters. Actually, in the poetic tradition of *kap*, there is also a poetic meter called *kap yani* 11, which is represented by “11” as the meter marker as well (the same number as *inthawichian chan* 11). However, *kap yani* meter is rarely used in the *kham chan* literature of Ayutthaya. The use of *kap yani* can also be found along with *kap chabang* and *surangkhanang*. Thus, the numbers “11” “16” and “28” can be used to represent these different *kap* meters without any confusion, as found in the manuscript of *Nirat Ton Thang Farangset*. Apparently, the use of numerals as meter markers became standard in Siamese manuscript cultures sometime during the Ayutthaya period. However, it is still noteworthy that sometimes meter markers have also been found for short texts noting the poetic meter at the beginning of the stanza, i.e. *kap* and *khlong* (i.e. in a manuscript of *Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Sok*, see NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 25), though such cases are much rarer than their numeric counterpart. These meter markers are structuring paratexts which aid readers to differentiate the use of different meters within the same text and to read it properly.

The structuring paratexts mentioned above can be considered “common paratexts,” as they can be commonly found in the domain of the above mentioned manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature. Even though they function as navigation aids for reading and storing, in a few rare cases the structuring paratexts can also reveal other information on text and authorship as well. One of the earliest examples is the cover title of the manuscript of *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng* dated 1748 (NLT: ChSs: Chò: Ms no. 2), which provides the authorship (Phra Maha Ratcha Khru) and the unspecific date of composition in the reign of King Narai. Correspondingly, the extant manuscripts of *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Narai* kept at the National Library of Thailand have also mentioned the authorship (Phra Si Mahosot) in the cover title (NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 193) or in the fly-leaf title (NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 648). Furthermore, the

mention on the authorship and the approximate date of text as being “composed by Si Prat since (the days of) the old capital” (Th. ศรีปราชญ์แต่งครั้งกรุงเก่า) can be found in the cover title of a manuscript of *Kamsuan Samut* (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 211). In these cases, cover titles do not inform only on the texts’ title, but also reveal the perception on the text regarding its authorship and approximate date of composition which has been circulated among the scribes at the time of the manuscript production.

Furthermore, the fly-leaf title found in several manuscripts of *Phleng Yao Poems* by Mòmm Phimsen not only reveal the authorship and the approximate date (in the scribes’ perception), but also allow us to identify the manuscripts belonging together as different volumes of the same copy. At least the fly-leaf titles of three manuscripts of *Phleng Yao Poems* by Mòmm Phimsen appear in the same fashion as follows:

“The manuscript of *Phleng Yao Poems* by Mòmm Phimsen [from] the Good City (referring to Ayutthaya)³⁷ Volume I.” (Th. สมุดเพลงชาวหม่อมกิมเสนบ้านเมืองดีเล่ม ๑ ๆ)” (NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 66)

“The manuscript of *Phleng Yao Poems* by Mòmm Phimsen [from] the Good City (referring to Ayutthaya) Volume II.” (Th. สมุดเพลงชาวหม่อมกิมเสนบ้านเมืองดีเล่ม ๒ ๆ) (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17127)

“The manuscript of *Phleng Yao Poems* by Mòmm Phimsen [from] the Good City (referring to Ayutthaya) Volume IV.” (Th. สมุดเพลงชาวหม่อมกิมเสนบ้านเมืองดีเล่ม ๔) (NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 24)

Though the three manuscripts above have not been kept at the same place (two in Bangkok; the other in Chiang Mai), the fly-leaf titles of all three manuscripts, along with the corresponding handwriting and writing material, suggest a common origin for all these of three manuscripts. Most likely is that all of them were produced together as the same set of copy. Note that the manuscript Volume III from this set has yet to be found. Furthermore, in all of the three manuscripts of *Phleng Yao Poems* by Mòmm Phimsen, the page following the flyleaf contains the incipits or the first line of each *phleng yao* poems collected in the volume, serving likely as the table of content in the modern sense. It is obvious, however, that the incipits here in the manuscripts of *Phleng Yao Poems* do not aim to provide the location of each poem in the volume, but to offer an overview as to which poems have been collected in the volume.

The structuring paratexts are so common that they offer only few insights on the textual transmission, especially when compared to the prefaces and colophons discussed below. However, in some interesting cases, the structuring paratexts such as cover titles or fly-leaf titles contain precious pieces of information on the text and manuscripts. Furthermore, with

³⁷ The phrase *ban müang di* often refers to the period of Ayutthaya (Damrong Rajanubhab et al, 1973: 205).

these structuring paratexts, modern readers can reflect on the reading habits of traditional readers, who also depended much on these structuring and navigating paratexts. Hence, these liminal elements such as structuring paratexts should not simply be ignored by modern scholars of Siamese manuscript culture. Instead, they must be further explored so we can gain even more insight into the nature of Siamese manuscript culture and its development.

4.4 Scribal Prefaces and Colophons: Mirror on Traditional Scribes and Scholars

The main part of the paratexts employed in this study consists of prefaces and colophons from the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature, not only due to their higher number of extant evidence, but also due to the information on textual transmission they convey. Remarkably, the prefaces and colophons are the space, though often small and concise, in traditional manuscripts that record the perceptions of the texts and their authorship among the scribes and scholars of the later period, while also documenting the production of the manuscripts themselves. It is to be noted that the scribal prefaces discussed here in this part cover the scribal prefaces appearing at the beginning of the text, most often at the beginning of the manuscript itself, while the colophon refers to the paratexts at the end of the text, and often but not necessarily at the end of the manuscript in the case of a multiple-text manuscript.

The differentiation of prefaces and colophons here is based mainly on the location in which they appear in a manuscript, while the form and content found in prefaces and colophons corresponds to each other. In addition, the prefaces and colophons discussed here are mainly located in the main lines of the manuscripts in the same fashion as the main text, not mainly on the margin of pages or between the lines. Although a preface is most often found at the beginning of the manuscript, in many cases it has been clearly written after the writing had been finished, thus might have been the last part being written for the manuscript, now that the preface always states the date of finishing writing. Only some rare cases mentioning the date of starting writing have been known to us.

4.4.1 On Form and Structure

A large amount of prefaces and colophons from the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature can be found in prose, as well as in verse, especially for the manuscripts dated in the Bangkok period. Almost all the prefaces and colophons have been written in vernacular Thai (thus also in Thai script), though a short passage of Pali may be inserted or used alongside the vernacular. The length of the prefaces and colophons differs in each case, but most are no longer than one page of *khòì*-paper manuscript. A preface is sometimes merged with the fly-leaf title, for example, the preface of a manuscript of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 140/1) records the intention of the sponsor (or the scribe) along with marking the recto

beginning of the leporello manuscript, reading “The beginning of the recto side of *Sūa Kho Volume I*, produced to honor our religion” (Th. นาคันสมุคเสื่อโคเล่ม ๑ ทรงพระสาชะนำ).

In cases of multiple-text manuscripts, a shorter passage of colophon has been given to mark the end of a text before the following text starts. These cases are the manuscripts in which the texts have been collected and then transmitted together as a collection of texts, namely, *the Collection of Didactic Poems* by King Bòrommakot, *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*, and *the Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Poems*. These colophons have offered readers a navigation aid, the same function as other structuring paratexts, but sometimes also provide the authorship of the text as well. For example, in all manuscripts of *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*, when the first text in the collection, known as *Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei*, has ended, there always appears a colophon, corresponding to all extant manuscripts, that the text has been originally written by Khun Thep Kawi of Sukhothai. As the colophons in these cases of multiple-text manuscripts appear at the end of each text, they can be located in any page of the manuscript, not only on the last page.

The language found in prose prefaces and colophons varies with regard to formality from very formal to very informal, though the former is more common. The date or the authorship, as well as other information provided in preface and colophon, has been recorded in the formal tone of language. Readers have always been addressed politely, when a preface or colophon asks readers or users of manuscripts to forgive any errors or poor penmanship. Furthermore, the special registers of Thai language, such as the royal language and the monastic language, have also been attested in a number of manuscripts, suggesting their different origins and circulation, as well as different situations of communication. Royal language has been used only in those manuscripts produced for the king, known as royal manuscripts, or the manuscripts produced for the member of the royal family. On the other hand, monastic language was used when referring to a monk. Sometimes a preface records the first personal pronoun for a monk, i.e. *attama* (Th. อาตมา), as the scribe or editor, while a layman scribe always refers to a monk in his preface and colophon using monastic language, especially when the manuscript has been produced to be donated to the monastery.

Informal language, while not common, is also used in some paratexts. A request to the manuscripts' readers and users for their sympathy regarding the industrious task of copying, for example, has been recorded in the colophon of a manuscript of *Bunnawat Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 28): “The end of *Bunnawat Sut*. Please do not doubt. I wrote this till I almost die of it, my dear! Please reward me... or have mercy in giving me at least one *tamliing*³⁸.” (Th. จบขุนโนวาทสูตรแล้วอย่าสงไส ข้าเขยีนเจยีนจะบันไลแล้วนะแม่ ท่านจงสั่งวัน....ไนแลได้เมตตาข้าสักตำลึง). With the pleading tone, the scribe here seems to address his female reader (Th. *mae* ‘mother, titles

³⁸ In the traditional currency, one *tamliing* containing four *bat* can be considered a rather large amount of money. Please see the discussion on the economy of the scribal works in Chapter V of this study.

used in front of girls or women’), perhaps imaginary, to sympathize in his work and then to pay him for it. Some complain on the damage that can occur to the manuscript, when its reader and borrower does not turn it with enough care, has also been found. In some rare case, rude and swear words can be used when mentioning careless readers or book thieves as well³⁹.

Aside from the prose paratexts, the versified prefaces and colophons appear most commonly in *khlong si suphap* meter. The versified preface appears for only a few stanzas, while colophon can be in several stanzas and even much longer, though not often, for example, the versified colophon in two manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter VII Maha Phon* (NLT: RSs: Mss no. 71, 76) appear twelve stanzas in length. These versified paratexts are considerably the space that allows the scribes and scholars to perform their poetic ability. In many cases, the prefaces and colophons do not appear in a perfect poetic structure (i.e. Krom Sinlapakòn, 2014: 11) and sometimes even signify ambiguous meaning of the whole stanza. However, writing a preface or colophon in *khlong krathu* stanza requires higher poetic ability, now that the first word of each line of *khlong krathu* has to be read along as a heading of the stanza, which often states the text’s title or marking the end of a text. The entire stanza of *khlong krathu*, when being read regularly, must bear the corresponding meaning to its heading. The tradition of *khlong krathu* in prefaces and colophons, earliest attested in the first part of the colophon of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* composed in the Ayutthaya period, has been widely practiced throughout the early Bangkok period. The heading of the *khlong krathu*, or the first word of each line (normally written a space before the rest of the line), can easily catch the readers’ eyes, either with the text’s title as preface or with the ending mark as colophon. Hence, these *khlong krathu* stanzas also share the structuring function as well.

While *khlong si suphap* was most often used for versified prefaces and colophons, the other poetic meters other than *khlong si suphap* also found use, mainly corresponding to the meter used in the main text. For example, the colophon of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* (the part mentioning the editor who compiled the text) was written in *chan* meter, while two manuscripts of *Thawa Thotsamat* have preserved two additional stanzas in *khlong dan* meter as their prefaces (NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 217; CM: DHC: NTIC: 17012). The meter of the versified preface and colophon has not considerably been fixed, even though *khlong si suphap* has been widely preferred, perhaps because the limited number of words in one *khlong si suphap* stanza (between 30 and 34 words per stanza) was considered appropriate for a short and concise message (Dhanit Yupho, 1974: 42–43).

While the form of prefaces and colophons has varied and seems not to be fixed in any standard structure, the preference of paratext location (i.e. at the beginning or the end of the

³⁹ One example of such a case is found in a manuscript of *Suphasit Bandit Di*, a non-Ayutthaya didactic text, now preserved at the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen (CPH: RDL: Siam 6). The preface of this manuscript reads: “Whoever writes carelessly and playfully, may a horse fuck his mother!” (Th. ไครยเขียนเล่นให้ม้าเขดแม่มัน) (see Illustration XV in Appendix V at the end of this study).

text/manuscript) is sometimes ambivalent, as the same information (i.e. date etc.) can appear either at the beginning as the preface or at the end as the colophon of the manuscript. Sometimes the preface mentions only the information on the date of manuscript, while the authorship and textual history has been provided at the end as the colophon. But the opposite has been often found. In addition, the scribe's preference on prose and verse is sometimes unclear. The versified paratexts might be more poetically beautiful, both in sounds and meaning, while the *khlong krathu* would be also convenient for its structuring aid. Furthermore, the rhyme scheme of the verse might help the versified paratexts be easily memorized as well. Nevertheless, among the paratexts whose form and structure vary and seem not to be fixed, it can be seen that the paratexts done by the royal scribes as appearing in the royal manuscripts contain the relatively corresponding form and structure, though variations still visible. Hence, the paratexts of the royal scribes will be further discussed below. Noteworthy is that the paratexts of the royal scribes appear mainly in the formal language of prose, which pertains to formality more than the use of verse.

4.4.2 The Calendrical System

The traditional date found in the prefaces and colophons of the traditional Siamese manuscripts was based mainly on the lunar calendrical system, indicating the year with two common eras: *cunla sakkarat* 'the Lesser Era' and *phuttha sakkarat* 'the Buddhist Era'. The first (CS; CE-638) originated in Burma (Winai Pongsripian, 2009: 83) and was used mainly in secular texts. In Thai the era has been traditionally called the Lesser Era in opposition to the Greater Era (Th. *maha sakkarat*), the Era of King Śāka (MHS; CE-78), both of which were widely used in the inscriptions of Southeast Asian mainland until the thirteenth century. In the period of manuscript culture, the use of the Lesser Era has been widely found together with the Buddhist Era (BE; CE+543), which was commonly used in religious contexts. As the Buddhist Era is counted from the death or the *nibbāna* of Gautama Buddha in 543 BCE, the use of this era also makes known the current "age" of Buddhism.

The year in the Lesser Era is often given along with the year in the twelve zodiacs and the year order in the decade (according to the the Lesser Era), for instance, the date given in the preface of the earliest *Cindamani* manuscript (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 60) reads: "1144 CS the Year of the Tiger, the fourth year of the decade" (Th. จุลศักราช ๑๑๔๔ ปีชวดจัตวาศก). In many cases, some calendrical information can also be omitted. When the exact date in the lunar calendrical system has been provided, the cross sign <+> has been employed together with numerals, which would be located around the cross. The number written on the left-hand side of the cross signifies the day in the week (1-7), starting from Sunday (1) to Saturday (7). The numeral indicating the day in the lunar month is placed either above or below the vertical line of the cross. The numeral above signifies the day of the waxing moon (1-15), while the one below signifies the day of the waning moon (also 1-15). The numeral on the right-hand side of the cross sign indicating the lunar month in the year (1-12). The complete calendrical information

on an exact date can be seen the following example taken from a manuscript of *Kap Maha Chat Chapter VIII Kuman* (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 199):

วัน ๕ + ๗ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๔๔ ปีขาลจัตวาศก

Translation: “On Thursday, the fourth day of the waning moon in the seventh month 1144 CS, the Year of the Tiger, the fourth year of the decade (equivalent to Thursday 30th May 1782).”

The date above is equivalent to Thursday 30th May 1782 in the Gregorian calendrical system. Although the cross sign has been regularly used, the scribes have sometimes written out the date without the use of this sign. In some cases, even though some part of calendrical information has been absent (i.e. year in CS), the exact date can still be calculated by employing the other information, if sufficiently provided. However, whenever any discrepancy or error occurs in any part, the exact date would then not be able to be calculated.

Some changes can also be attested among the use of the traditional date. Initiated by King Rama IV in 1855, the year of the reign has also been written with a numeral over the word *sok* (i.e. in the word *ekkasok* ‘first year of the decade’ etc.), the system widely found in the official documents of the royal court in the late nineteenth century. Furthermore, the new era has also been officially used since 1889 according to a royal order of King Rama V, declaring the use of the Bangkok Era or *rattanakosin sok* (RS; CE – 1781) as the official era in the court document (Winai Pongsripian, 2009: 94). The Bangkok Era has started in 1782 CE, the first year of the founding of the capital. The use of the era, thus, also signifies the age of the capital, as well as that of the royal house of Chakri. In the same year of 1889, King Rama V also accepted the Gregorian solar calendar as well. As a result, the calendrical information given in the Siamese manuscripts produced since the late nineteenth century is often an amalgamation of the traditional system and the new. For instance, a manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter I Thotsa Phòn* (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 34) produced by the royal scribe in 1889 has begun with the preface as follows:

ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขุนสารบรรจง(แจ่ม)จำลอง ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า กรมหมื่นสมมตอมรพันธุ์สอบทาน แล้วเสร็จ
วันที่ ๑๖ สิงหาคมรัตนโกสินทร์ศก ๑๐๘ ขอบพระ ๒๒

Translation: “I, Khun Sara Bancong (Caem), made copy. I, Prince Sommot Amarabandhu, have proofread. This copy has been completed on 16th August 108 RS (1889 CE) in the twenty-second year of the Reign. May it please Your Majesty.”

In the case above, the year has been indicated in the Bangkok Era (here written out to be *rattanakosin sok*), while the year of the reign has been written over the word *sok* (Th. ศก^{๒๒}). The use of the Gregorian calendrical system also appears in the mention of the solar month above. Furthermore, in some cases, the date can also be provided both in the lunar (traditional)

calendar and in the solar (Gregorian) calendar, as the example below from the colophon of the latest dated *Cindamani* manuscript (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 64) reads:

เขียนณ ๗^๕ ๘ ค่ำจันวัน ๓^{๑๐} ค่ำปีภุมมะศกุนตศักราช ๑๒๗๓ ตรงกับวันที่ ๑๕ กรกฎาคม ๕ กัณย.ศ.
๑๓๐

Translation: The manuscript has been started copying on Sunday, the fifth day of the waning moon in the eighth month and has been finished copying on Tuesday, the thirteenth day of the waxing moon in the tenth month in the Year of the Pig, the third year of the decade 1273 CS, equivalent to 15th July 130 RS (1911 CE).

The use of the traditional calendar was then mixed with the modern system, namely the Gregorian calendar and the use of the Bangkok Era. Even though the use of the new calendrical system was initiated by the court authority (i.e. King Rama IV and King Rama V) and then widely used for the manuscripts produced in the royal court, the new system is also found in the latest dated *Cindamani* manuscript (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 64), which was produced in the monastery as well. The amalgamation of calendrical systems found in the prefaces and colophons of the Siamese manuscripts since the late nineteenth century reflects the transition from the traditional to the modern calendar, before the use of the Gregorian calendar eventually came to dominate the Siamese manuscript and printing cultures in the twentieth century.

4.4.3 Variety of Content

Modern scholars can gain a variety of information from prefaces and colophons. The most common information covers the title of the text, its summary, the date of manuscripts, the names of the scribes, the editor, the authorship and the date of original composition. Some part of textual history, though rather fragmentary, has sometimes also been included, allowing modern scholars to see which texts have been taken by the traditional scribes as the literature of Ayutthaya. In some cases, sponsorship and ownership of the manuscripts are mentioned along with the scribe's urge for readers' care. The merit the scribes and sponsors aimed to gain is also recorded in the prefaces and colophons, but only for some specific group of texts transmitted among the monasteries.

4.4.3.1 Text's Title and Summary

The **text's title** is most often given in the preface and colophon. As for the prefaces at the beginning of the manuscripts, prefaces with the text's title can serve as another fly-leaf page of the manuscript, in case that the cover page and its original fly-leaf page have been missing. The colophons at the end often mark the end of the text and at the same time provide the text's title. In many cases, the text's title in prefaces and colophons has been presented as the heading or the first word of each line in the *khlong krathu* stanza. These stanzas with the text's title tend to provide a **summary of the whole text**. This was potentially done to help readers memorize or at least become more familiar with the text more quickly. For example, one

one set of the complete *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* was produced (comprising four volumes of manuscripts), but this versified colophon has been excluded. In the case of the versified colophon in *khlong krathu* stanza whose heading reads “The end” (Th. จบบริบูรณ์), the content of the whole stanza also offers the text’s summary, as well as the ending scene, for instance:

จบ จนนารทให้	ลาวี
บ พิตรเสวอญริย์	ร่วมน้อง
ริ พลหมั่นตรี	ชมชื่น จิตรแฮ
บุรณ บำเรอรักษ้อง	แซ่ให้ถวายพร

Krathu reads: The end. (Th. จบบริบูรณ์)

The whole stanza reads: The text ends at the Lord Khawi has reunited with his lover in his city with all the joy of his counselors and his subjects, who keep blessing him.

The versified colophon above has been found in many manuscripts preserving the ending part of *Süa Kho Kham Chan* (i.e. NLT: ChSs: Sò: Mss no. 96, 115, 117). Corresponding to the example of the versified colophon given above, this colophon in *krathu* has also marked the scene in which the text has ended, but the ending mark has been emphasized in the heading of the stanza.

4.4.3.2 Textual History: Authorship, Date of Composition and Literary Reception

Aspects on textual history were also found in the prefaces and colophons, for example, **the authorship and the date of the text**. Even though these prefaces and colophons most likely belonged to the scribes of the Bangkok period, they reflect the knowledge on the text circulating among the traditional scribes from eras before as well. As the text itself does not often state its own authorship, the prefaces and colophons have become the sources of authorship employed when writing the literary history of Ayutthaya. These aspects on textual history have already been attested in the paratexts of the manuscripts dated in the late Ayutthaya period, for example, the preface of *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng* (attributing the text to Phra Maha Ratcha Khru in the reign of King Narai; NLT: ChSs: Chò: Ms no. 2) and the versified colophons of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* (mentioning Prince Thammathibet as the author with the third personal pronoun; NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 120). Furthermore, the date of the original composition is also mentioned in the scribal prefaces and colophons. In some rare cases, the exact year of the original composition has been provided, for instance, the preface of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter I Thotsa Phòn* mentioning the original composition in 1482, while the prose colophon of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* giving the date of its composition in 1736. However, the exact year given in prefaces and colophons has never become common. Mostly, the date of the original composition is broadly stated according to the reign of a particular king. The preface found in the manuscript of *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng*, for example, mentions the reign of King Narai for its date of composition, but not the exact year within the reign (NLT: ChSs: Chò: Ms no. 2).

The authorship mentioned in the prefaces and colophons consists often of no more than the personal name or (royal-noble) title, while the exact and extended identity of the author are not mentioned. The paratexts of the manuscripts of *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Narai* attribute the text to Phra Si Mahosot who composed the text for King Narai. Despite the name being recognized, the identity of Phra Si Mahosot, unfortunately, remains unclear. The prefaces and colophons in the manuscripts of *the Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Poems* also provide other fragmentary pieces of his biography. For example, a colophon at the end of *Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu*, one of three texts in the collection, states that “This *Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu* has been written by the old Phra Si Mahosot when he was 52 years old,” (Th. โคลงอักษรสามนี้ พระศรีมโหสถเก่าแต่งเมื่อแตงนั้นอายุสมได้ ๕๒ ปี ๑) (NLT: KHKHLSs: Ms no. 18). Furthermore, another manuscript of the collection of his poems (NLT: KHLNRSs: Ms no. 350) also preserves additional information on his background, as there is a prose colophon at the end of *Khlong Nirat Nakhòn Sawan* that reads: “Phra Si Mahosot, (whose personal name is) Rüang, son of Phra Khru Mahethòn of Ban Saphan Hoei Village⁴⁰. This piece of poem (referring to *Khlong Nirat Nakhòn Sawan*) was composed before any of his other texts” (Th. พระศรีมโหสถเรื่องเปนบุตรพระครูมเหธรบ้านสพานเหยแต่่ง ๑ โคลงนี้แต่งก่อนโคลงทั้งปวง ๑). These fragments of his biography might not offer any other details, but it can be seen that knowledge about the author of the text from the earlier period, though possibly having oral origins, was also transmitted through paratexts.

In addition to this authorial information, some paratexts contain sentiments regarding the lost capital (Th. ครึ่งกรุงเก่า) or the fallen city (Th. นครล่มแล้ว). One famous example of a preface mentioning the origin of the text from the fallen city can be identically found in three manuscripts of *Kamsuan Samut* (NLT: KHLSSs: Mss no. 148, 149, 150), which reads:

กำสรวลศรีปราชญ์ร้าง	แรมสมร
เสาะแต่ปางนกร	ล่มแล้ว
ไปกบไปพานกลอน	โคลงท่าน จบนา
จวบแต่ต้นปลายแคล้ว	หนึ่งน้อยยืมถวาย ๑

Translation:

The [manuscript of] *the Lamentations* of Si Prat, when he was separated from his beloved, has been sought out since the time of the Fallen City [of Ayutthaya]. I could not find the complete text. Only the beginning has been found, while the latter part is lost. Thus I have borrowed this exemplar (to copy it) for the king/the prince.

Though no date or reign has been specified, the paratexts reflect that the scribes of the Bangkok period attributed the original text to the Ayutthaya period. The condition of the

⁴⁰ Ban Saphan Hoei here most possibly refers to Talat Ban Saphan Lam Hoei (Th. ตลาดบ้านลำเหย), a market nearby Wat Monthian monastery in the inner city of the Ayutthaya island, as mentioned in historical sources such as *Kham Hai Kan* (please see the map of ancient Ayutthaya published in Sujit Wongthes, 2018).

manuscripts of old texts, furthermore, appears mostly in fragments. Another colophon which provides an interesting aspect on textual history is found in a manuscript of *Lilit Phra Lò* now kept at the Chiang Mai University Central Library (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17077). This versified colophon, consisting of four *khlong* stanzas, states that the manuscripts of the text have been lost since the fall of the city, but then being found by Luang Sòrawichit twelve years later (hence, in 1779 CE), who at that time has already been recognized as an eminent poet and scholar. Then the scribe, Nai Thok, made a copy, possibly in 1790, from the exemplar stemmed from Luang Sòrawichit's. These four stanzas read as follows:

พระลอลีลิตหุ้ม	กรุงลับ แล้วแฮ
สืบสืบสุนหาฉบับ	ไปได้
สิบสองสังวัชรนับ	นารพิง พบเอย
ขรวิชิตช่วยให้	สืบสืบสารเชชม
ฉบับบูรพเก๋าร้าง	รพุชราย
อักษรวิปลาศสลาย	สละถ้อย
ขาดบทพระลอผาย	จรจากแม่นา
เดิมแต่งตามสติน้อย	แทรกซ้ำสามไป
หลวงขรวิชิตเชื่อ	เมธา
ปราชญ์ไขปราชญศึกษา	เริ่มรู้
...พระลอกลา	กลายกลาศ ก็ดี
เชิญปราชญ์ปรีชาคู่	แต่งแต้มเติมงาม
นายถกลิขิตแล้ว	รวีวาร
อทิมาเสกาล	เสร็จหรือ
พระหัตถ์มีวาร	สุขปักษ์
สุนัขสังวัชรหนึ่ง	เสร็จแล้วบริบูรณ์

Translation: (The manuscripts of) *Lilit Phra Lò* could not be found after the fall of the capital (of Ayutthay), until twelve years later, (after the fall, thus 1779 CE), when Luang Sòrawichit helped us obtain the text. As the old manuscripts have been lost and left in fragments with many errors, the text on the scene in which Phra Lò said farewell to his mother has therefore been interpolated (by Luang Sòrawichit). Luang Sòrawichit was a great scholar. If any other wise scholar finds any errors, please help correct it. Nai Thok did the copywork in the second eighth month on Thursday of the waxing moon in the Year of the Dog (possibly in 1790)⁴¹.

The colophon above reveals that the text of *Lilit Phra Lò* had been lost after the fall of the city, before Luang Sòrawichit later got fragments of the manuscript and then interpolated the lost part of the text, namely the scene of Phra Lò departing his mother. Even though this colophon, possibly written by the scribe Nai Thok himself, is not poetically refined in its style,

⁴¹ Possible dates are either Thursday 15th July 1790 or Thursday 22nd July 1790.

as each stanza does not perfectly suit the structure of *khlong*, it provides a significant piece of information on the textual transmission of *Lilit Phra Lò*. The text from the scene of Phra Lò's departure from his mother has been claimed here to be interpolated, thus becoming spurious for its authenticity. Unfortunately, the manuscript (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17077) has survived only as a damaged fragment and the mentioned scene is missing. Hence, we cannot compare the text of the scene interpolated by Luang Sòrawichit in 1779 with any other manuscripts as well as with the printed edition.⁴² It should be noted that Luang Sòrawichit was recognized as a famous poet in the Thonburi period and was even promoted to Cao Phraya Phra Khlang the Minister of Finance by King Rama I of Bangkok. He then became one of the most recognized poets of the first reign of Bangkok, being responsible for a number of literary masterpieces from the era. His role in the transmission of Ayutthaya texts, however, remains unclear among modern scholars.

We have also information on **the editors** who “edited” (Th. *chamra* / ชำระ ‘purify, edit’) the text of the manuscript. The process of the edition might have occurred sometime before the production of the manuscript. Luang Sòrawichit mentioned above is one of the examples of the traditional editors who played an important role in restoring the text from the fragments and interpolating some lost part. Further mentioning of editors can be seen in the earliest manuscript of *Cindamani* dated 1782 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 60), whose preface records that Khun Maha Sit (the deputy of the Royal Scribes Department) has edited the text (Th. ขุนมหาสิทธิชำระ). According to its colophon, this manuscript was a royal manuscript presented to King Rama I at the beginning of his reign (Boontuen Sriworapot, 2015: 8). Furthermore, in 1819 the text of *Cindamani* was edited again by Luang Likhit Pricha for teaching and learning purposes (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 239), as mentioned in its colophon:

วันพฤหัสบดีขึ้นสามขึ้นสิบค่ำจุลศักราชพันร้อยแปดสิบปีขารสำเรศก พระมหาจักรพรรดิเสวยราชได้สิบปี
หลวงลิขิตปรีชาเจ้ากรมอาลักษณ์ชำระจินดามณีฉบับนี้ขึ้นไว้ สั่งสอกรกลบุตรผู้มีปรีชาสืบไปชั่วกัลปาวสาน
ฯ

Translate: On Thursday, the tenth day of the waxing moon of the third month in 1180 CS, the Year of the Tiger, the tenth year of the decade, the tenth year of His Majesty the King's reign (equivalent to Thursday 4th February 1819), Luang Likhit Pricha edited this *Cindamani* in order to be used for teaching virtuous boys (from good family) forever until the end of the aeon.

⁴² At the Chiang Mai University Central Library, there is another manuscript of *Lilit Phra Lò* registered as CM: DHC: NTIC: 17076 (2). It arguably belongs to the same manuscript with CM: DHC: NTIC: 17077 (the one with the colophon of Nai Thok), due to its handwriting, material condition, and the continuation of the text. As the manuscript has been torn apart, they have been registered separately. Still these two separate parts do not constitute a complete copy but containing the second half of the text merely. The scene of Phra Lò departing from his mother, unfortunately, could not be found.

Luang Likhit Pricha is the title of the Head of the Royal Scribes Department of the Front Palace, most possibly to Prince Bòwòn Maha Senanurak (1773–1817; tenure 1809–1817; henceforth: Prince Senanurak), the Grand Prince of the Front Palace in the reign of King Rama II. After Prince Senanurak died in 1817, all the noblemen to the Front Palace would be transferred to the service of the Grand Palace, including the royal scribes. Luang Likhit Pricha in 1819 might have hold the status of the Head of the Royal Scribes Department, as mentioned in the colophon above, but possibly working in the Grand Palace. However, the editor here does not intend to make this manuscript edition of *Cindamani* to present it to the king, as did Khun Maha Sitthiwohan in the reign of King Rama I (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 60), but rather for teaching purposes. Thus, we can see from the paratexts that even among the royal court, *Cindamani* has been edited by different scribes and scholars to serve different main purposes. With the help of the prefaces and colophons, the transmission history of Ayutthaya texts can be traced, though this is far from being the case for every text.

In the *codex unicus* of Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems* (NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 154), the editor, in the sense of compiler, has been mentioned to be Phraya Trang, a famous poet in the reign of King Rama III, as a part of its preface reads: "I, Phraya Trang, has collected/listed the ancient poems to be presented the king (or prince)," (Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าพญาตรัง จำโคลงโบราณไว้ได้ถวาย). Most possibly is that the text and manuscript has been presented to the Grand Prince of the Front Palace in the reign of King Rama III, namely, Prince Maha Sak Phonlasep (1785–1832; tenure 1824–1832). The scribe is not mentioned here. Even though Phraya Trang refers to himself in first person, he might not necessarily be the scribe of this manuscript, whose name or title might have been omitted entirely (Sumalee Weerawong, 2015: 216).

The literary reception of a particular text among the scribes and scholars of Bangkok can also be seen from its prefaces and colophons. Sometimes a literary judgement has been given, as is seen in the preface of *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng* dated in the late Ayutthaya period, mentioning that the text has been written by Phra Maha Ratcha Khru, the same author with *Süa Kho Kham Chan*, because of the corresponding stylistics, along with a comment that *Süa Kho Kham Chan* is poetically more beautiful and thus might have been composed after *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng* (NLT: ChSs: Chò: Ms no. 2). This short passage found in this manuscript of the royal eulogy might be the earliest source of literary judgement criticism or assessment given by traditional Siamese scribes. The prefaces and colophons found in the Bangkok period have often praised on the poetic beauty of the Ayutthaya literary works copied to the manuscripts. Sometimes the paratexts suggest the readers to take the texts the poetic model to learn. For instance, a versified preface of Phra Si Mahosot's *Kap Hò Khlong* in one manuscript (NLT: KhINRSs: Ms no. 350) praises the author's incomparable poetic ability in writing *kap hò khlong* meter as follows:

สารศรีมโหสถแกล้ง	เกลากลอน
บุตรพระครูมเหธร	ท่านไว้
ขยั้งขอดอักษร	แสนเล่ห์
โคลงแลภาพยห่อได้	แม่นเมียนฤาเสมอ ฯ

Translation: This refined poem was written by Phra Si Mahosot, son of Phra Khru Mahethòn. This poetic work, in which *kap* and *khlong* perfectly correspond to each other, cannot be compared to his work.

Correspondingly, a passage of paratext in prose found in three manuscripts out of twelve of *Thawa Thotsamat* tells about the authorship of the text and the total number of stanzas, along with praising the text and the authors' ability. This following passage of paratexts appears in two manuscripts of *Thawa Thotsamat* as the colophons (NLT: KhSs: Ms no. 218, BKK: HRH SDh: Ms no. 10), while the other manuscript preserves the same passage as its preface (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17012). It reads:

โคลงทวาทสมาศอันนี้ พระยาเวราช ขุนพรหมมนตรี ขุนสารประเสริฐแต่ง ทวาทสมาศ ๒๖๐ บท สวัสดิลาภ
ไว้ทำทางกลโคลงดี ท่านรู้แต่งแพ้ดีกว่าทุกหย่าง

Translation: This text of *Thawa Thotsamat* was written by Phra Yaowa Rat, Khun Phrom Montri, and Khun Sara Prasoet, in 260 stanzas. May it being wealth and glory. [The text] provides the model of *khlong* poetics. They [authors] know the poetics of composition better than anyone.

Apart from a suggestion on the poetic model, the colophon sometimes praised the text using the metaphor of a jewel, signifying the high and precious quality, as mentioned in the colophon found in one manuscript of *Anirut Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 55) as follows:

จบเรื่องอนิรุทธเกลี้ยง	เกลาสาร
ฉันทพากยพิศดาล	เลอศแล้ว
พระศรีปราชญ์ชำนาญ	กลแต่ง ไว้ना
เฉลิมนครคือแก้ว	ยอดพูนไพชยนต์ ฯ

Translation: The fine poem of Anirut has ended here, a beautiful piece of *kham chan* which Si Prat has composed to glorify the city as a jewel on top of the divinely hall in the heavens.

These prefaces and colophons mentioned above give insight regarding the literary reception among the scribes and scholars of the later period such as Bangkok and has become the early sources for the literary judgement within the traditional period (before the arrival of modern literary studies and criticism) as well.

4.4.3.3 Manuscript Production and Other Aspects on Manuscript Culture

Apart from the aspect on textual history, the prefaces and colophons also contain information regarding aspects of manuscript production, namely the date of copy, the scribes, and the sponsors. Sometimes **the date of copy** alone has been given without any mention of the scribes, such as in *Cindamani* (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 235) below:

จุลศักราช ๑๒๑๒ ปีจอโทศก เดือนห้าแรมสี่ค่ำสำเร็จ

Translation: In 1212 CS, the Year of the Dog, the second year of the decade, on the fourth day of the waning moon of the fifth month, the copywork was completed (equivalent to Monday 1st April 1850).

However, many prefaces and colophons mention the names or noble titles of **the scribes**, revealing a wide range of copyists in traditional Siamese manuscript culture, covering the royal scribes, monks and novices, as well as laymen. The manuscripts produced by the royal scribes to be presented to the king would preserve the title of the royal scribes as the copyist. The example of the scribal preface below comes from a manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter I Thotsa Phòn* dated 1817 (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 38), in which the date and the title and rank of the royal scribe are provided.

วัน ๕^{๑๕} + ๑๐ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๙๙ ปีฉลูนพศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าหมื่นสุวรรณอักษรบุษ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขอเดชะฯ

Translation: On Thursday, the full moon of the tenth month 1179 CS (1817 CE), I, Mūn Suwan Aksòn, made this copy. May it please Your Majesty (equivalent to Thursday 25th September 1817).

Various terms for copying have been employed in the prefaces and colophones. Some of them are associated with the writing substance and utensils used. For example, the term *can* (Th. จาร ‘incise’) has been distinctively used for the palm-leaf manuscript, when the writing was done by incising the stylus on the palm-leaf surface before filling the engraving with black soot. On the other hand, the term *chup* (Th. ชุบ ‘dip, infuse’) has been widely found in manuscripts written with ink (i.e. black, yellow, red ink), as a pen or quill had to be dipped in ink before writing. Thus the term *chup* has become one of the most common words used to mean copying. The generic word *s khian* (Th. เขียน ‘to write’) can be used to refer to writing regardless with which material, and thus is also commonly found. Furthermore, Khmer loanwords such as *chalòng lak* (Th. จล่องลักขณ์ < Kh. *chlañ* ‘to cross, transit’ + Skt. *lakṣaṇa* ‘mark, sign, writing’) and *camlòng* (Th. จำลอง ‘imitate’ < Kh. *camlōng* ‘crossing, imitating’) are also common in prefaces and colophons. The literal meaning of both *chalòng* and *camlòng* refers to a crossing or transition of sorts, thus here referring to the transition from original work to copied work. All of the terms mentioned above exhibit various words used for copying with different shades of meaning for different contexts.

Sometimes royal scribes were assigned to proofread texts, as can be seen from a preface of another manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter I Thotsa Phòn* dated 1814 (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 35), in which Khun Maha Sitthiwohan and Luang Likhit Rotcana have given proofreading to this manuscript copy, as follows:

วัน ๑ + ๑๑ ค่ำจตุลศักราช ๑๑๗๖ ปีจอ น้อยสก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า นายเทียรฆมราช หุป
 ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขุนมหาสิทธิโวหาร] ทาน ขอเดชะฯ
 หลวงลิขิตรจนา]

Translation: On Sunday, the fourth day of the waxing moon, in the eleventh month, in 1176 CS (1814 CE), I, Nai Thiankharat, has made this copy. We, Khun Maha Sitthiwohan and Luang Likhit Rotcana proofread. May it please Your Majesty (equivalent to Sunday 18th September 1814).

Monks have also been often found as the scribes as well. The example of a prose colophon of *Lilit Cantha Kinnòn* dated 1809 (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 32) below has mentioned Phra Maha Sing as the copyist and his intention to make the manuscript for the religion.

พุทธศักราชล่วงได้ ๒๓๕๒ พระวสา ปีเมศ่งสำเรทธิสก พระมหาสิงจำลองไว้ สำหรับพระศาสนา
 ขอเป็นปัจจัยแก่พระโพธิญาณ

Translation: In 2352 BE (1809 CE) the Year of the Snake, the tenth year of the decade, Maha Sing has made this copy for the religion. May I reach the enlightenment because of the merit of copying.

Another manuscript of *Cindamani* (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 48) mentions a monk who made a copy of the text for a novice, as its preface (and side-marker) reads: “The recto page of *Cindamani*. Maha Nòi has written [it] for Khian the novice” (Th. นำต้น จินดามณี มหาน้อยเขียนให้กับเนรเขียน แด). In some cases, novices and laymen can work together in the task of copying. A manuscript of *Cindamani* (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 27) is such a case, in which the recto page has been copied by a layman, while the verso by another layman together with a monk and a novice, as its colophon reads: For this manuscript of *Cindamani*, Nai Mit Müan has written the recto page of the leporello manuscript, while the verso page was written by Khun Khong and Nun the novice (Th. หนังสือจินดามณีนี้ นายมิสเหมือนเขียนหน้าต้น หน้าปลายคู่ลงกับสามะเนนุน ๑).

Furthermore, in a preface or colophon, the scribes sometimes provide us with information on the manuscript serving as the master copy. The manuscript of *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng* as mentioned above, for instance, has mentioned that it was copied from an exemplar which Prince Thep Phiphit brought from the Royal Manuscript Hall. The versified colophon of Nai Thok in the manuscript of *Lilit Phra Lò* mentioned above also suggests that he has made the copy of an exemplar interpolated by Luang Sòrawichit. Another

undated manuscript of *Cindamani* (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 62) has been stated by the scribe Nai Muang to be copied from the royal manuscript, as its colophon reads “This *Cindamani*, I, Nai Muang, have made copy from the exemplar of the royal copy and have already proofread” (Th. จินดามณีนี้ ข้าพเจ้านายมั่งจำลองจากฉบับหลวงทานแล้ว ๑). The colophon of this *Cindamani* manuscript does not suggest any status of the royal manuscript, even though it was copied from the royal version. The first person pronoun used by Nai Muang here does not appear in royal language, but in the common polite form, suggesting that the copy was not made for any member of the royal family, but rather either for noblemen or perhaps even commoners.

In some cases, the scribe might not have to master the text he copied or might even not have read the entire text at all. In one manuscript of *Konlabot Siriwbunkit* (CM: DHC: NTIC: 16004), the scribe has written in the colophon that the exemplar ends there, and he is not even sure whether it is the actual end of the text or not. The colophon reads:

ฉบับหมดแล้วเข้ามา ไม่มีที่จะหาอามาเขียนใส ลงบางว่ายังอื่นไป ลงบางเข้าใจว่าในเรื่องนี้เท่านี้แลหนา
เขียนจบวันเสาร์ใกล้จะค่ำ

Translate: The text (from the exemplar) ends here. There is no text to copy further. Some said that the text continues, others said the text ends as it does here. I finished writing on Saturday near the evening.

It is most likely that the scribe only had a single exemplar, so he had no reference to compare to. This would make it difficult to know whether the end he possessed was truly the end as it was intended. This is interesting, as it indicates again a respect towards the intentions of the original creator.

Sponsorship is also recorded in the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature, though not often when compared to the palm-leaf manuscripts and other genres of paper manuscripts produced in the monastic circle, in which the tradition of sponsoring religious manuscripts is more popular. The vernacular texts of Ayutthaya have been accompanied by less paratexts informing on their sponsorship. Most of the surviving information on the sponsors who initiates and might have paid for the manuscript production still appears among the Ayutthaya literary texts transmitted in the monasteries, namely the narrative poems on *Jātaka*. For example, a manuscript of *Lilit Cantha Kinnòn* (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 32) contains a colophon at the end mentioning a monk named Phra Intha Suwan as the initiator of the manuscript production as follows:

กัณฐกนิ	พระอินทสุวณ
มีจิตรเลื่อนไสปราโมช	ยังไซ้
สางไ้เปนประโยชน์	กลบุตร อานอ้าง
สร้อยสรพญูอย่าไ้	กลาสเกล้าหว่างไ้กลั

Translation: This text of *Kinnara Jātaka*, Phra Intha Suwan has faith in the religion, and thus has this copy made for the pupils to read. May the enlightenment not abandon me too far.

This manuscript also has a sponsor's colophon separated from the preface mentioning the scribe and the date of copy. Another manuscript containing information on its sponsorship is a manuscript of *Kap He Rüa* (NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 52), which Luang Saraprasoet paying Nai Khum to make copy in 1870 as its colophon reads, "This manuscript of the Royal Composition of *He Rüa Phra Thi Nang* ('*Royal Barge Poetry*') I, Luang Sara Prasoet, have hired Nai Khum to make copy. It has been completed on Wednesday the first day of the waxing moon of the first month in the Year of the Horse, the second year of the decade and the second year of the king's reign, in 1232 CS (1870 CE) (equivalent to Wednesday 23rd November 1870)," (Th. พระสมุท พระราชนิพนธ์ เหนือพระที่นั่ง ฯ ฯ ฯ ฯ หลวงสารประเสริฐ จ้างนายคุ้มเขียน แล้วณวัน ๔๑ ค่ำ ปีมเมียโทศก ศักราช ๑๒๓๒). This colophon indicates that the nobleman from the Department of the Royal Scribes also hired a private scribe (without any noble title of the royal scribe) perhaps for his personal purpose. Although the sponsor is not always clearly mentioned, the royal manuscripts produced by royal scribes to be presented to the king, however, were by default sponsored by the king.

The merit the scribes and sponsors anticipated to gain as a result of the manuscript production are also mentioned in the prefaces and colophons, but mostly in the manuscripts transmitted in the monasteries, the tradition commonly found in the Buddhist colophons of the neighbouring manuscript cultures such as Lan Na and Lao (i.e. Hundius, 1990; Sengsoulin and Grabowsky, 2016). However, the colophons mentioning the merit are not exclusively Pali religious texts. The vernacular texts of *Jātaka* tales have commonly been found produced and kept in the Buddhist monasteries, as mentioned in the example from *Lilit Cantha Kinnòn* above. Furthermore, a few manuscripts of *Bunnowat Kham Chan*, or a poem on the Buddha's Footprint, have also been produced for the monasteries with the mention on the merit aimed to gain as well. For example, one *Bunnowat Kham Chan* manuscript kept at the State and University Library of Leiden in the Netherlands (LEID: StaUBi: Or. 20.497) ends with a colophon that reads: "May I reach the Arhatship and *maggaphala*⁴³ in the future," (Th. ขอให้ไ้ พระอระหัดมคผลในภายภาน่าเกิด). Correspondingly, another manuscript kept in Paris (PR: EFEO:

⁴³ The term *maggaphala* (P. literally 'results of the path') refers to the result obtained by proceeding on the path to enlightenment and finally to *nibbāna*, which is considered the highest aim for a Theravada Buddhist.

S.53) has contained a colophon aiming to reach *maggaphala* as a result of the manuscript copying, as it reads: “The manuscript ends here. May it be *maggaphala*,” (Th. สิ้นฉบับเท่านี้ขอให้เกิดมรรคผล ฯ). Another apparent example that confirms the merit of copying or sponsoring the manuscript of *Bunnawat Kham Chan* is a versified colophon in *khlong krathu* found in a manuscript from the National Library of Thailand (NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 21). The heading of this *khlong krathu* reads: “Produce (the manuscript) to be merit” (Th. สร้างไว้เป็นบุญ), while the whole stanza, providing more details on the scribe’s or the sponsor’s intention of manuscript production, can be seen below:

สร้าง บุญโณวาทสูตรไว้	หมายผล
ไว้ สำหรับบุพชน	ภาคย์หน้า
เป็น นิไสยติดตามตน	ทุกชาติ
บุญ จงส่งให้ข้า	สู่ห้องเสวยสวรรค์

Translation: I have the manuscript of *Bunnawat* produced, wishing that the people in the future can read, and wishing the merit bringing me to the heaven in the next life.

Furthermore, the production of the manuscripts of *Cindamani*, which is supposed to be used in the monastic education, has also been considered to bring merit to reach *nibbāna* or to possess the wisdom perfection in the next life, as the colophon of a *Cindamani* manuscript (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 26) has recorded: “This is the end. I have produced this manuscript as an act of alms-giving. I wish I will reach *nibbāna* in the future,” (Th. จบละฯ ข้าพเจ้าสงไว้เพื่อจะให้เปันทานขอให้สำเร็จแก่พระประณีตพาน ในกาลเบื้องหน้าโน้นเถิดฯ). Furthermore, the production of *Cindamani*, the treatise on orthography and poetics, has also been considered to create the merit on the wisdom for the next life, as mentioned in the preface of another manuscript dated in 1832 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 81) that “Phra Sami Òn has written this *Wuttothai* (here referring to *Cindamani*) to prolong the religion. In the future may I possess the profound wisdom in Three *Piṭaka*, Three *Veda*, and three *vijjā*⁴⁴ in every birth of mine,” (Th. พระสมือนรจนาวุฒโตไว้ให้สืบบัลลังก์ขัตติยา ไปยในขอนาคตการเบื้องหน้าให้อาตมมีปัญญา คำกริภาพของไวยตรงไว้ซึ่ง ไกรปฏิญไศรยพรไตรวิชาจงทุกชาติทุกชาติเถิด ฯ). This shows that the practice of copying or sponsoring a manuscript bearing a traditional treatise such as *Cindamani* was expected to produce a more profound state of wisdom and knowledge in the next life as a result of the meritorious deed.

Other than the merit the scribes and sponsors aimed to gain, we can also find prefaces and colophons of several manuscripts mentioning the **ownership**, though not as often, save the royal manuscripts whose paratexts already suggest the king’s possession. The extant evidence, however, indicates that the owners of some manuscripts such as those of *Cindamani* could be

⁴⁴ The term *traī wiccha* (P. *tivijjā* ‘threefold knowledge/wisdom’) here in the context of Theravada Buddhism refers to *pubbenivāsanussati* (‘reminiscence of the past lives’), *cutūpapāta* (‘knowledge of the decease and rebirth of beings; clairvoyance’), and *āsavakkhaya* (‘knowledge of the destruction of mental intoxication’) (Pò Ò Payutto, 1995:119).

either noblemen or monks. An undated manuscript of *Cindamani* (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 231), for instance, has its preface marking its ownership as “This manuscript of *Cindamani* belongs to the Head of the Royal Scribes Department,” (Th. สมุดนี้ของเจ้ากรมอัครกัญญาบาลนี้ ฯ). We do not know to which Head of the Royal Scribes this preface refers, but this manuscript has become another example of the *Cindamani* manuscripts produced and owned privately by a nobleman. On the other hand, another manuscript dated 1911, the latest dated manuscript of *Cindamani* ever found (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 64), begins with a versified preface stating a monk named Maha Bun as the owner, as this *krathu* stanza reads:

สมุด คำเล่มนี้	ของมหา บุญเฮย
ฉบับ แบบเบารามา	ชื่ออั้ง
จินดา คังคังสา	กรหยัง ถึงฤ
มุนี นึกตรึกสร้าง	สืบไว้เป็นเฉลิม

Krathu reads: The manuscript of *Cindamani* (Th. สมุด ฉบับ จินดา มุนี)

Translation of the whole stanza reads: This blackened paper manuscript owned by Maha Bun is the old treatise called *Cindamani*. The thought (Th. *cinda*), which, unlike the sea, is too deep to be evaluated, has been created by the sages to be further transmitted.

In many cases, the identity or even the name of the owner has not been mentioned, but the preface or colophon also attributes the ownership to an anonymous person in the first person. One manuscript of *Lilit Phra Lò* (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 169) has been marked with the colophon at the end that the owner (referring to as “I,” Th. ข้าพเจ้า) has to be informed if anyone wants to take the manuscript away to read (in this case interestingly with the word *du* Th. ดู ‘to look’). The colophon reads: “This is the end of my manuscript. Please do not take it away. If anyone wants to take it for viewing, he must tell me beforehand,” (Th. ปลายสมุดของข้าพเจ้าใครอย่าเอาไป ถ้าผู้ใดจะต้องประสงค์เอาไปดู ก็ต้องบอกกับข้าพเจ้าก่อน). The tone employed in this colophon also implies that the owner highly valued the manuscript.

In several cases the scribes also urge readers to take care of the manuscripts. For example, a manuscript of *Konlabot Siriwebunkit* (NLT: KLASs: Ms no. 21) contains a note that “Anyone who borrows (this manuscript) should please cherish it as if it were his/her own.” (Th. ใครยืมไปให้รักเหมือนของตัวเอง). An even stronger phrasing can be found in a *Bunnawat* manuscript (NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 29), stating that “If anyone reads it, please do not turn or touch it too roughly, because the manuscript can be torn and which would be a true shame to see,” (Th. ถ้าผู้ใดขจอ่านทำมือนักขมิักขาดอุบาคคน). Similar suggestions and urging comments on manuscripts can also be testified in the neighbouring manuscript culture of Lan Na as well (see Hundius, 1990: 39; Veidlinger, 2006: 164).

Scribes often ask the readers for forgiveness in their errors and poor handwriting in the prefaces and colophons as a way to express their humility. The scribes might invite the readers

to help fixing any errors as well; one manuscript of *Anirut Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 55) ends with a versified colophon as follows:

ค่อย ค่อยอย่าจับหนัก	เลิการ
เขียน ยากพันประมาณ	ไชน้อย
ไม่ ร้อย่าให้อ่าน	เลิขนา
ดี แล้วจงใส่สร้อย	ซ่อมแซมใส่ลง ฯ

Krathu reads: I did not write well (Th. ค่อย เขียน ไม่ ดี)

Translation of the whole stanza: Please touch (the manuscript) carefully, because writing it was rather difficult. If one does not have knowledge, do not let him read it, as it would be a waste (of the manuscript). If he has enough knowledge to do, let him make any changes (needed) to the text.

Another manuscript of *Anirut Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 51) contains a colophon asking readers not to make any criticism, as the versified stanza reads:

อย่าได้นินทาเล่น	ภายหลัง
ดีเขียนมิจริงจัง	กล่าวถ้อย
ฉันเขียนคิดจิตหวัง	เป่นประ โยชนา
ไม่ดีก็อ่านได้	จะแจ้งตามความ ฯ

Translation: Do not make any gossip or any unserious criticism later [against my hands], as I made this copy hoping it be beneficial for anyone. If it is not fine enough, it is sufficient to be read and understood.

Correspondingly, a manuscript of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 17) contains a colophon in *khlong krathu* meter, whose heading records the name of the scribe Nai Rüang and the whole stanza expresses the scribe's modesty in his craftsmanship, asking readers to help fix the errors. The colophon reads:

นาย เสมียนสมิทธแม่	มือหัด เขียนเฮย
เรื่อง บ่เรื่องชาชัด	ชื่ออ้าง
จำ นานจำเนียรนัตว	แนวเนตร ส่องพ้อ
ลอง หัดเห่นพิศมล้าง	เลอกฤ์รอนเขียร

Krathu reads: Nai Rüang has made a copy. (Th. นาย เรื่อง จำ ลอง)

Translation of the whole stanza: The scribe (of this manuscript) is newly trained. His name is Rüang (literally 'light, glory') but he is not as glorious as his name suggests. After having been trained for a while, I have tried my hand (in copying). If anyone finds any errors, please erase it write in (the correct version).

The content found in the prefaces and colophons of the Ayutthaya literature manuscripts from the Bangkok period appears in a variety of styles, covering common information like the text's title to the textual history, as well as information on manuscript production and other aspects on manuscript culture.

4.4.4 Royal Manuscripts: Prefaces and Colophons of the Royal Scribes

Although the prefaces and colophons found in the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature are so various in form and content that a standard structure was not clearly established, a group of manuscripts produced by royal scribes for the king do contain prefaces and colophons with a rather consistent structure, in which the date of copy, the names or titles of the royal scribes as copyist and proofreader have been provided in royal language (see Illustration XIII). Most of them, in addition, have ended with the phrase *khò decha* (Th. ๗๐๑๔๕๖, literally ‘may the power of Your Majesty (protect me)’), which can be roughly rendered into English phrase as “May it please Your Majesty,” used as the final phrase of a message to the king. Modern scholars have benefited much from the consistent structure and use of royal language in the prefaces and colophons when identifying the royal manuscripts (i.e. Damrong Rajanubhab, 1960: 163).

As there no royal manuscripts with prefaces or colophons of royal scribes have directly survived from the Ayutthaya period, the earliest evidence for this case is King Taksin's illustrated cosmological manuscript kept in Berlin (BL: MAK: II 650) and the manuscripts of King Taksin's *Ramakian*. The colophons of the six manuscripts of *Ramakian-The Royal Composition of King Taksin of Thonburi* mention various royal scribes as copyists and proofreaders, along with the date of copy in 1780. The same structure of the royal scribes' paratexts can also be found in the manuscripts of the Bangkok period from its beginning in 1782 to the early twentieth century, indicating the continuation of this long tradition. The common structure of these royal scribes begins with the date of copy according to the traditional lunar calendar and the year in the Lesser Era (Th. *cunla sakkarat*; CS) along with the year in the twelve zodiacs and the year order in the decade, followed by the names or titles of the royal scribes who made copy and proofreading, before ending with the phrase *khò decha* ('May it please Your Majesty'). Within this order of the information, royal language is always used, for instance, the first personal pronoun the scribes referring to themselves, *kha phra phuttha cao* (Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า), literally 'slave/servant to the Buddhist king'. The example below comes from a royal copy of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter IX Maha Rat* dated in 1814 (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 106), containing the common information and structure as follows:

วัน ๑๑ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๗๖ ปีมะแมศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าขุนพิทักษ์อักษรรูป

ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า	ขุนมหาสิทธิโวหาร หลวงลิขิตรจนา]	ทาน ขอเดชะฯ
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Translation: On Sunday, the fourth day of the waxing moon in the eleventh month of 1176 CS, the Year of the Dog, the sixth year of the decade (equivalent to Sunday 18th September 1814), I, Khun Phitak Aksòn, made this copy. We, Khun Maha Sitthiwohan and Luang Likhit Rotcana, have proofread it. May it please Your Majesty.

In some cases, when any royal scribes or any scholars of the royal court took part in editing or (re-)writing texts, the names or titles would be mentioned in the prefaces of the royal scribes as well. An example of a preface mentioning a royal scribe as the editor can be seen in a manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter XI Maha Rat* (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 104), whose preface reads as follows:

วัน ๕ + ๕ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๗๖ ปีมะแมศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าหมื่นสิทธิอักษรรูป

ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า	ขุนมหาสิทธิโวหารชำระคดแต่ง	หลวงลิขิตรจนา ขุนหมื่นอาลักษณ์]	ทาน ๒ ครั้ง ขอเดชะฯ
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Translation: On Thursday, the tenth day of the waxing moon, in the ninth month, in 1176 CS (1814 CE), the Year of the Dog, the sixth year of the decade (most possibly equivalent to Wednesday 27th July 1814), I, Mūn Sitthi Aksòn, has made a copy. I, Khun Maha Sitthiwohan, did the editing. Luang Likhit Rotcana and the other royal scribes holding the titles of *khun* and *mūn* have proofread. May it please Your Majesty.

However, variation still appears, as some manuscripts might omit some elements of this structure, for example, sometimes the names or titles of the scribes are not mentioned at all other than the use of the first person in the royal language, as in the case of one manuscript of *Anirut Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 72), whose preface reads: “I have responded to Your Majesty’s royal order [to make a copy of this manuscript],” (Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขอรับพระราชทาน ฝ่าออกของฐิติบาท). On the other hand, several royal manuscripts have omitted the date of copy, but the titles of the copyist and proofreader have been provided, such as in the case of the only royal (undated) copy of *Sūa Kho Kham Chan* (Volume I: NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 91; Volume II: NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 92). In the latter case, the status of the royal manuscripts can be seen, even though the date has been left unclear. Thus, it can be concluded that even among the relatively structured paratexts of the royal scribes, the variation still occurs. And despite the variations, remarkably is the formality in the royal scribal paratexts, as there is no word play, no versification, and apparently no merit aimed to gain, unlike the paratexts possibly found in the manuscripts produced in the other contexts.

The prefaces and colophons of royal scribes in the structure and content mentioned above have been found throughout the nineteenth century, with their earliest evidence in the late eighteenth century. The last cases found date from the early twentieth century. It is

Translation: *The Oath on Water for the Inner Court.* I, Khun Patiphan Phichit (Rian) have made copy for the king on 18th September 120 RS, the 34th year of the reign (equivalent to 1901). May it please Your Majesty.

It is noteworthy that not all the manuscripts with the royal scribal paratexts might not have necessarily belonged merely to the Royal Grand Palace, but also possibly been the royal manuscript of the Front Palace, the seat for the viceroy. The structure found in these royal manuscripts of the Front Palace follows that of the Grand Palace, namely, from the use of the first personal pronouns in royal language to the ending phrase *khò decha* along with the use of the royal language;⁴⁵ but the royal scribes of the Front Palace always hold their distinctive titles different from those of the Grand Palace. For example, the Head of the Royal Scribes of the Grand Palace has been known as Phra Si Phuri Pricha, whereas the one of the Front Palace hold the title Luang Likhit Pricha (with the lesser rank of *luang*, one rank lower than *phra* in the hierarchy of the Siamese nobility). However, it would be complicated, when the titles of the royal scribes of the Front Palace were mentioned without any date, now that the nobility of the Front Palace was supposedly bound to one particular Grand Prince, and after the Prince's death

⁴⁵ Note that the register used for the Grand Prince of the Front Palace is very close to the one used with the King, as the viceroy is normally highest member of the royal family in the traditional feudal system of Siam, but only inferior to the king (see Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan, 2007a).

then being transferred to serve the Grand Palace but still maintaining their previous titles (as being found in the case of *Cindamani* edited by Luang Likhit Pricha in 1819 mentioned above). Hence, only the manuscripts mentioning the title of the royal scribes of the Front Palace with the exact date they were in the tenure of the viceroy can be taken as the actual royal manuscripts of the Front Palace. Such cases, unfortunately, are relatively rare.

Furthermore, one additional manuscript is to be considered a royal manuscript of the Front Palace, namely, the *codex unicus* of Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems*, whose preface mentions Phraya Trang as the editor with the use of the royal language attested. Phraya Trang himself never served as the royal scribe of the Front Palace, but the historical evidence suggests his close connection to Prince Maha Sak Phonlasep, the Grand Prince of the Front Palace in King Rama III's reign. The manuscript itself has been kept within the Front Palace until the early twentieth century. Hence, this manuscript of ancient poems has been considered a Front Palace's royal manuscript, even though its paratext does not follow the structure of the royal scribal paratext and none of the titles of the Front Palace's royal scribes is mentioned. But this can be taken as an exceptional case.

Apart from several manuscripts supposed to be the Front Palace's royal manuscripts, however, most of the manuscripts containing the royal scribal paratexts in this study were produced in the Grand Palace to be presented to the king.

Furthermore, the structure of paratexts in manuscripts presented to the king might contain paratextual elements other than those mentioned above, as the royal scribes could also mention their own titles as copyists and their intention to produce the manuscript for the king, but in form of verse. These cases are not commonly found, as only two cases contain the versified prefaces in this sense. One is a manuscript of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* now preserved in Chiang Mai (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17066), whose preface reads:

พระศรีภูริข้า	บาทบง
คิดพระคุณจิตรจง	จ่อเกล้า
คืนวันบ่อละหลง	ลืมนเลือน หายนา
สนองเรื่องสมุทโฆษเฝ้า	บาทพินสุขเขม

Translation: Phra Si Phuri (Pricha), the royal servant, realizes the mercy of the king in every moment in his heart, never forgets in days and nights, has presented this copy of Samutthakhot to the king, so that his joy can be flourished (when reading).

The other case can be found in two manuscripts (belonging to the same set of copy as Volume I and II) of *Anirut Kham Chan* (Volume I: NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 60; Volume II: NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 61) that have preserved the identical versified preface which read:

พระอาลักษณ์นอบเกล้า	บังคัล
แทบบาทอิศรธรรม์	หน่อไ้
หวังฝากชีพิจวัน	ตราบขึ้น สุณนา
ขอพระเดชปกเกล้าให้	สุขพ้องภูตเกษม ฯ

Translation: Lord of the Royal Scribes has paid homage to the king with his head, dedicating his loyalty and life to the king. May his power and glory protect him in joy.

The cases of the versified prefaces discussed above, thus, can be taken as royal manuscripts presented to the king as well, though without the official royal scribal paratexts. No date nor proofreader has been mentioned in these cases. The form of verse and the word choice are less formal than the common structure in prose. Perhaps these two manuscripts have been produced under the royal scribes' initiation, but not directly from the request of the king.

Visible is that the royal scribal paratexts, namely, prefaces and colophons, appear to be the only group among the paratexts found in the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature in which the structure, content and function have been relatively standardized. The royal scribal paratexts not only help us to identify the origin and ownership of the manuscripts, but also reveal the roles of the royal scribes in the manuscript production of the royal court. This royal scribes' tradition, in addition, has been long practiced, as we have manuscripts with the royal scribal paratexts from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century.

4.5 Marginal and Interlinear Notes: Unforgettable Liminality

Paratexts in Siamese manuscripts can be found on the margins of a page as well as inserted between the main lines of the texts. These marginal and interlinear notes, not belonging to the main text nor attributable to the original writers but rather added by the scribes and scholars of later period, have various functions and content. In some rare cases, the marginal space has been used for marking the beginning of the text as its preface or marking the end as its colophon, such as one manuscript of *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises* (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 24) has located the colophons of each texts in the margin, while the rest of manuscripts has regularly placed them in the main line when each text ended. The use of marginal space for the preface and colophon, however, does not appear often, as the preface or colophon might require more space rather than what is left on the margin or between the lines. The marginal and interlinear space has been used for various types of scribal notes, which are shorter in length and considerably more miscellaneous in content.

The marginal and interlinear notes discussed here are notes on authorship, ceremonial notes, glosses, and chanting markers. All these cases demonstrate how space on the page margin and between the main lines were employed for different purposes. However, only the notes on authorship and the ceremonial notes have implied us on the transmission history on the particular text. The glossing, on the other hand, suggests the textual interpretation and reading

in the traditional period through the annotations given to the manuscript, while the chanting markers are traces of the chanting tradition of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*. Without any direct information on the transmission history, these two latter categories will be briefly explored merely to gain further academic attention.

4.5.1 Notes on Authorship

The marginal and interlinear space were employed for notating the authorship, and sometimes also the textual origin, especially in the case of multiple-text manuscripts, in which the various texts from different authors and origins are compiled together in the same codicological unit. For example, in the manuscript of Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems*, in which short pieces of poetry from various authors are compiled together, the notes on authorship of each poem, if known to the editor (here: Phraya Trang), have been added in the left margin of each page, helping readers to realize the authorship of the poems from the various origins. Sometimes only the names and titles have been given without any clarifications on their identities, but still marking to the readers that each poems belong to different origins of texts. Notably the marginal notes given in Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems* have been written in the same hand and same writing substance (in this case, the yellow ink) as the main text, suggesting that these notes have already been written at the same time and perhaps given by the editor of the collection himself.

Correspondingly, in many manuscripts of *phleng yao* poems, in which various poems from various authors have been collected together, the notes on authorship have sometimes been provided, either between the lines or in the margin. However, the notes on authorship of each *phleng yao* poems are not as common. The only case for *phleng yao* poems recognized as Ayutthaya literature in which the notes on authorship has been provided is the one composed by Mòm Phimsen (i.e. NLT: PhlYSWSs: Mss no. 2, 30, 58). Many other poems in the collection, on the other hand, have been left anonymous, possibly because the scribes themselves could not attribute these anonymous pieces of poetry to any known authors. Even though the marginal or interlinear notes on authorship might not have been widely practiced, they still indicate that the scribes have utilized the marginal and interlinear space for locating the navigation aids and for the documentation on authorship.

4.5.2 Ceremonial Notes

In the manuscripts of the texts used for the actual ceremony, namely, *Ongkan Chaeng Nam*, which has been recited in the royal ceremony for the oath of allegiance in the Bangkok period, and possibly earlier since the Ayutthaya period. Ceremonial notes can also be found, instructing the brahmins to infuse the sacred weapon into the water during the text's recital in the ceremony. However, the ceremonial notes appear only at the beginning part of the text, which reveres three Supreme Hinduist Gods, and merely in the manuscripts supposed to be transmitted among the court brahmins. Out of fourteen extant manuscripts of the texts, three

manuscripts, all written in the Siamese Grantha script, contain corresponding notes, though not perfectly identical.

In one manuscript (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 259), the main text of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* is written in the Siamese Grantha script in the yellow ink, while the ceremonial notes have been added above the line, when the revering stanza ends, in Thai script, namely, the note “Infuse the sacred arrow of Palai Wat (into the water)” (Th. แทงพฺรแสงปลั๊ววด) (see Illustration XVIII), written at the end of the stanza no. 1 revering God Shiva) and the note “Infuse the sacred arrow of Phrom Mat (into the water)” (Th. แทงพฺรแสงพฺรหมาด), written at the end of stanza no. 3 revering God Brahmin). The use of Thai script in cursive for ceremonial notes suggests that the notes were added later, perhaps by brahmins, after the main text had already been copied. On the other hand, the other two manuscripts have preserved the ceremonial notes in the same line with the main texts, reading “infuse the arrow” (Th. แทงพฺรแสง) without any specific name of the sacred weapons, at the end of all the three revering stanzas (no. 1–3). One of them preserved the notes in the Siamese Grantha, the same as the main text (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 360), while the other manuscript, now kept by the court brahmins of Devasathan, the Brahmin Temple in Bangkok, contains the same notes in Thai script in the same line with the main text (BKK: DSBPhr). Interestingly, the manuscripts of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* produced and preserved by the royal scribes, mostly in Thai script, do not contain any ceremonial notes. Hence, it can be seen that these notes on ceremonial instruction have become necessary only for the court brahmins, who took their parts in reciting the text along with infusing the sacred weapons in the actual ceremony, as the notes appear only in the manuscripts written in the Siamese Grantha script. These notes, in addition, have also become the evidence of the usage of the manuscripts in the actual ceremony as well.

These notes found either on the page margin or between the lines, and sometimes even inserted into the same line as the main texts, have also revealed many significant aspects on the usage of the manuscript and on how the scribes and scholars have organized the layout of the page for paratexts in addition to the main text. The transmission history itself can sometimes be traced from these notes, though such cases are rather limited. Even if the notes given are relatively short and their content might be considered miscellaneous, these notes should not be forgotten by the literary scholars, for they provide some insights into the texts and their transmission history.

4.5.3 Glosses

The term “glosses” here refers to the paratexts inserted between the lines of the main texts which provide the annotation and comments on obscure words in the main texts. Thus, interlinear glosses have also illuminated how the text was interpreted in the traditional period. Even though the interlinear glosses have not been often found in the Siamese manuscripts, glosses have also been provided for some texts of Ayutthaya literature as well, but only for

some cases of old literary texts, whose some parts might have been considered obscure already for reading and interpretation when the old texts were transmitted to the Bangkok period, the glosses have been recorded in the manuscripts, perhaps by the individual scribes, readers, or users of the manuscripts, as an aid for comprehension and as a reminder when reading texts.

Most cases of glosses appear solely in one manuscript, seemingly belonging to an individual scribe or scholar, now that the glosses were not commonly preserved in all manuscripts of the same text. For example, among all the sixteen extant manuscripts of *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*, there is only one manuscript (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16) containing extensive glosses, offering the definition of each foreign word, as well as some short commentaries, along the texts. As the texts in this collection were strongly influenced by Old Khmer with the use of Sanskrit and Pali loanwords, glosses provided in the manuscript would help readers understand the meaning of the whole stanza (see Illustration XIX). Furthermore, in the case of *Khlong Nirat Hariphunchai* ('A Poetic Travelogue to Hariphunchai'), which was originally written in Lan Na Tai language some time between the 15th and the 17th centuries (see the discussion of its date in Lagirarde, 2004), and then has been translated and adapted into the Siamese version (see the comparison between two versions in Prasert Na Nagara, 2004), glosses have been added in two out of four extant manuscripts (NLT: KhlnRSs: Mss no. 402, 405), annotating on obscure words, mostly the Lan Na Tai words and the Pali loanwords in the Lan Na Tai language. Interestingly, the glosses from these two manuscripts are not identical. Though sometimes the same words are glossed, more often the two manuscripts carry the annotations of different words. The different glosses here suggest that the text was read and separately annotated by the different scholars.

Apart from the cases mentioned above, in which the glosses have been individually given to a single manuscript, the only single case among the manuscripts of the Ayutthaya literature, in which the transmitted glosses have been found appears to be the manuscripts of *Yuan Phai*, a royal eulogy from the Kingdom of Ayutthaya. As the text of *Yuan Phai* is considerably one of the most complicated royal eulogies ever written in Thai language, employing complicated foreign words and literary allusions to Buddhist texts, Hindu mythology as well as the Sanskrit epics *Mahā Bharata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*. Especially, the beginning of the text, which has been ornated with complex figures of speech, has always been considered to be too complicated and incomprehensible, resulting in readers tending to give up reading and be unable to appreciate the rest of the text (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2017b: 2).

The most complicated stanzas of this literary work are the twenty stanzas (stanzas no. 12–32) which play on the repetition of Pali numeral words, from one to ten, to describe the various prestigious characteristics and abilities of the king. The proper understanding of these stanzas of this part requires knowledge of Buddhist texts, apart from the knowledge of the foreign words used. Therefore, of the 24 extant manuscripts of *Yuan Phai* which are preserved at the National Library of Thailand up until today, there are seven manuscripts containing

Even though the glosses do not appear in all extant manuscripts accepted as the constituting part of the text's main tradition, the common glosses appear in significant numbers like on roughly one-third of the manuscripts indicating that the glossing has been transmitted together with the main text and thus should be considered as part of the tradition. The identity of the original commentator of the glosses is unknown. Still, according to the National Library's acquisition records and the opinion of the scholars in the nineteenth century, these manuscripts once belonged to the royal palace manuscript collections, implying that the commentator might have been some scholar in the palace surrounding of Bangkok period (Santi Pakdeekham, 2007: 2–3).

However, the glosses were not always simply copied along with the main text without any further addition. As in one of the seven manuscripts with the annotated text (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 196), there appear also the glosses of other stanzas, other than the stanzas no. 12–32. The scribe has prepared the space for these twenty stanzas, while for the other stanzas the glosses providing the annotation and interpretation of the text have simply been inserted under the line. Supposedly, the commentator to this manuscript has adopted the transmitted glosses of those twenty stanzas, and then added further glosses of his own into some other stanzas. The extended glosses from this manuscript (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 196) demonstrate that the glosses were not only transmitted along with the main text, but were also sometimes extended and expanded upon.

Given its highly complex language and stylistics, *Yuan Phai* is the only text of Siamese poetry that appears to have been transmitted together with glosses. Furthermore, it is also the first Siamese poetry being entirely “translated” into modern Thai in the form of a separate piece of commentary text (Santi Pakdeekham, 2007: 3). At least two versions of commentary to *Yuan Phai* in the late nineteenth century have survived to us: ‘*A Prose Version of Yuan Phai*’ (1887) and ‘*A Translation of Yuan Phai*’ (1888). Both are written by the same author, Phra Ubali Khunupamacan (Pan) (1828–1904), who was the abbot of Wat Phra Chetuphon monastery and a prominent scholar and poet during the late nineteenth century. The first commentary, ‘*A Prose Version of Yuan Phai*’, presents a paraphrase of the text in prose, while the latter records the main text in parallel to the translation of each word or line. Phra Ubali Khunupamacan might have consulted the manuscript glosses as well, as some explanations still correspond, though not perfectly, to the transmitted glosses found in the manuscripts⁴⁶. The glosses limited to merely twenty stanzas might have been considered confusing for scholars and readers of the late nineteenth century. Thus, *Yuan Phai* has become a very unique case for Siamese literature, as it exhibits the practice of manuscript glossing and, thereafter, separate commentaries.

⁴⁶ Noticeable is that the available literary dictionary on *Yuan Phai* such as the one published by the Royal Institute (Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan, 2001) has also based on these glosses found in the manuscripts as well.

According to the manuscript evidence of the Ayutthaya literature, the glossing of literary texts was at no point commonly practiced within the textual transmission in the Siamese manuscript culture. This can be deduced based on the fact that only a small number of manuscripts have survived with glosses, and are limited to a group of archaic and foreign-adapted texts requiring a more refined understanding of the language and the content. Despite the limited amount of extant manuscripts, the glosses should be properly considered as significant evidence to be examined further in the study of Siamese manuscript culture and the study of Thai literature. It is noteworthy that sometimes the interpretation suggested by the glosses might not necessarily correspond with the readings of modern scholars.

4.5.4 Chanting Markers

Among the Ayutthaya literature included in this study, the chanting markers, or symbols indicating the melody and rhythm of the chant, are found only in a group of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* manuscripts. These chanting markers have been added between the lines, either above or below, of the main text. The tradition of chanting *Maha Chat Kham Luang* might have been practiced in the Ayutthaya period and then has been restored by King Rama II of Bangkok in 1814, along with his restoration of the text of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*. The chanting of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* in the Temple of the Emerald Buddha within the royal palace has become a part of the royal ceremony during the rainy season or the *vassa* of each year. The markers found in the manuscripts are apparently closely related to the chanting tradition. The scholars of the late nineteenth century have been widely aware of these markers as a tool for the chanting practice and learning. In one manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* (*Chapter IV Wana Prawet*) preserving the chanting markers (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 52), there is an additional note written with red pencil on the first page, perhaps belonging to the librarian of the early twentieth century, that reads “the markers added with white pencil here are symbols for practicing the melody and the utterances (of the text) for chanting” (Th. ที่ตกเครื่องหมายด้วยเส้นฝุ่นขาวๆนี้ เปนเม็ดหัดทำนองเสียงทุ้มเอกสำหรับถวายเทศ). Correspondingly, in his work on the royal ceremonies first published in 1888, King Rama V also mentions the same function of these markers for helping the chanters to memorize the correct utterances of the chant (Chulalongkorn, 1973: 522).

Considering the chanting markers from the actual manuscripts, there are around fifteen different symbols which were used. Sometimes these signs were used together. Supposedly each sign represented different melodies, rhythms, or techniques of chanting. In terms of form, some of the signs are adapted from basic punctuation marks and symbols, for example, dots, cross signs, or curly strokes. The others even resemble the regular form of some consonant letters, such as *hò* <ห> or *lò* <ล>. Perhaps corresponding consonant sounds (/h/ and /l/) were uttered along with the chanting of the main text. Unfortunately, the tradition of learning the chants through these markers has been forgotten nowadays (Arthid Sheravanichkul, 2011: 193), making the interpretation of the chanting markers inevitably obscure.

Even though the chanting of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* in the royal palace has been taken as a symbol for the arrival of the rainy season, it appeared not to be popular even in the nineteenth century, as not many courtesans wanted to attend the ceremony to listen to the chanting (Chulalongkorn, 1973: 527–529). The melody of the chanting, furthermore, is obviously different from the other tradition of recitals and preaching. With less popularity, the chanting of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* slowly became reduced. Out of thirteen chapters, only eight chapters were chanted in the late nineteenth century (Ibid: 525). In the present day, only the beginning part of *Chapter VII Maha Phon*, not even the entire chapter, is chanted in the royal palace each year by the officers from the Department of Religious Affairs within the Ministry of Culture (Arthid Sheravanichkul, 2011: 189).

Although not all the chapters of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* have been chanted since the nineteenth century, the manuscript evidence suggests another direction. The paratexts of these manuscripts, for example, state that all the chapters were chanted in the reign of King Rama II when the text was restored, as the common preface of all the extant manuscripts of *Chapter I Thotsa Phòn* mentions. The versified colophon found in two manuscripts of *Chapter VII Maha Phon* (NLT: RSs: Mss no. 71, 76) offers a corresponding statement. The evidence of the chanting markers found in the actual manuscripts have also suggested that all the chapters once had been chanted. From the 94 extant manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, there are seventeen manuscripts preserving the chanting markers, covering almost all the chapters save *Chapter X Sakka Bap*, from which the complete manuscripts have scarcely survived. The markers have been added, most often with the writing substance different from that of the main text, throughout the texts of each chapter, suggesting that not only eight chapters have been actually chanted, and possibly not only some part of the chapter, as having been chanted nowadays.

In the present days, the chanters, or the officers from the Department of Religious Affairs, have learnt how to chant the partial text of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* orally from the senior chanters, dependent from the learning of the chanting markers. To encourage the learning and practicing process of chanting, the transcription of the chanting utterances in Thai script is employed (see Arthid Sheravanichkul, 2011: 194).

understand neither the chanting markers nor the Khò̃m script with which all the Pali texts inserted throughout the manuscript have been written (Arthid Sheravanichkul, 2011: 193–194).

As the tradition of the chanting markers has already been lost, the meaning and function of each particular symbol has become obsolete among contemporary scholars and yet to be reconstructed. In the only research concerning the topics has been done by Arthid Sheravanichkul (2011: 193), the interpretation of four chanting signs has been proposed, based on the modern chanting utterances. For example, the cross sign signifies the lower tone (relatively close to the first tone in Thai), while the serrated stroke means drawing the utterance. However, there are many markers whose meaning and function are still obscure, which requires more scholarly attention. It has to be stressed, in addition, that the reconstruction of these signs based on the modern chanting utterances might not necessarily correspond to the old chanting utterances to which the markers originally referred, since the chanting tradition has been transmitted mainly orally and the change of the utterances through the course of time cannot be traced.

Despite its obscurity, the chanting markers found in a group of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* manuscripts demonstrate how the chirographic signs were adapted to notate the chanting utterances, which the regular letters cannot easily represent. Furthermore, the markers were seemingly added to the manuscripts as a memorizing tool in learning and practicing, perhaps also in chanting during the actual ceremony. The interlinear space might have been considered convenient by traditional chanters, as the location of the markers between the lines would properly indicate the accurate syllables and words of the main text for each chanting utterance. As a trace of a lost tradition, the chanting markers still deserves the further scholarly attention. Even though the chanting markers have been found only in a single text among all the Ayutthaya literature of this study: *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, the chanting markers with the resembling form have also been found in some manuscripts of *Abhidhamma* in the parts supposed to be chanted during monastic ceremonies. For example, at the Bavarian State Library of Munich, there are at least three manuscripts containing chanting markers (MCH: BStaBi: Cod. Siam: 58, 123, 194) (see Illustrations XX–XXI). The relationship between the markers in *Maha Chat Kham Luang* and in *Abhidhamma* manuscripts is yet to be further investigated, but both cases probably reflect the adaptation of writing to represent the chanting utterances, as well as the utilization of the interlinear space for the same purpose.

Marginal and interlinear space in the traditional manuscripts was used for different paratexts for different functions and purposes, for example, recording the authorship in cases of the multiple-text manuscripts, noting the ceremonial instruction in case of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam*, preserving the annotations to the main texts (in the case of glosses), and marking the chanting utterances. However, the glosses and the chanting markers discussed above are rather different from the prefaces and colophons as well as other marginal and interlinear paratexts. The glosses and the chanting markers might not convey any information on the scribes or the

transmission history of the particular texts, but rather indicate how the texts have been read and interpreted (for the cases of glosses) and on how the texts have been orally uttered (for the chanting markers). These two categories of paratexts can be considered scholarly paratexts, as they most likely belong to the traditional scholars rather than to any common professional scribes. These two categories have been briefly explored here as part of the paratextual tradition found in the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature, but will not be further discussed in this study, as both of them contain scopes large enough to be treated as their own individual projects.

4.6 Transmission of Paratexts

Along with the transmission of Ayutthaya literary texts, we can attest that the paratexts, which once belonged to the scribes and scholars, were also passed down over the ages. Interestingly, the paratexts which were copied along with the main text inform on the text (i.e. date of text, authorship etc.) rather than on the manuscript (i.e. scribes' names, date of copy etc.). For example, the glosses of *Yuan Phai* as mentioned above have a wording almost identical in seven manuscripts, while in one manuscript (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 196) the glosses have also been further developed and extended. Correspondingly, the chanting markers in the case of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* have been further copied as well, though this is not the case for all the manuscripts, now that we have found manuscripts preserving the same chapter have also preserved the corresponding chanting markers, suggesting that these markers have shared the same origin, even though the tradition of these markers has now already become obsolete. These cases suggest that some paratexts have not only belonged to one single manuscript, but have also been further transmitted. In this part of the study, the transmission of the paratexts will be explored for discussion, in order to demonstrate how the scribes and scholars treated the paratexts from earlier manuscripts.

Another insightful example of a paratext which was further copied is the colophon of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* (i.e. NLT: ChSs: Sò: Mss no. 7, 8), marking the ends, though incomplete, of the parts transmitted from the Ayutthaya period. This colophon is found in all the manuscripts which preserve the text to the end of part two (traditionally attributed to King Narai). This common colophon reads:

จบจนวิทธยาธรลัม	สวนสมุทร โขมแฮ
กำสรดโศกาคุด	สวาคีใหม่
หาสมรนิราอุตม์	เสมอชีพ
ส่วนพฐฐู้ได้	แนบชู้ชวนเกษม

Translation: The text ends when Witthayathòn has met with Phra Samutthakhot and lamented to him on his lost lover, while the lady (wife of Witthayathòn) was happy with her new lover.

This colophon has the function of marking the end of the text by mentioning the ending scene. As the text of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* from Ayutthaya was not completed until Prince Paramanuchit did so in the middle of the nineteenth century, this colophon might have been necessary for the scribes and the readers to know how the story ended and help them in navigating the text. The only manuscript preserving the end of the text Part II which omits this colophon appears to be the one collecting Part I and II along with Part III of Prince Paramanuchit (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 3). Thus, the text from this set of copy has been considered complete in itself and this colophon is now obviated.

Sometimes the versified prefaces and colophons were further adapted by scribes and scholars in later generations, as attested by the case of *Süa Kho Kham Chan*. Normally two versified stanzas can be found at the end of many manuscripts, marking the end of the text with the mention on its authorship as Phra Bòromma Khru. These two common colophons read:

จบ จนนารณให้	กาวิ
บ พิตรเสวอขบุรี	ร่วมน้อง
ริ พลหม่มนตรี	ชมชื่น จิตรเส
นุรณ บำเรอรักษช่อง	แซ่ไหว้วายพร

Krathu reads: The end. (Th. จบ บ ริ นุรณ)

Translation of the whole stanza reads: The text ends at the Lord Khawi has reunited with his lover in his city with all the joy of his counselors and his subjects, who keep blessing him.

เสือโคไปผูกให้	ทั้งสอง
สิทธิฤๅย์สมพอง	เสกแสง
แดงคแลกกรบอง	เปนปิ่น เมืองนา
พระบรมครูแกลิ่ง	กล่าวไว้เปนเฉลิม

Translation: (The text of) both the tiger and the cow, casted to be human by the hermit's spell and then becoming the lords of the cities, has been said (composed) by Phra Bòromma Khru (literally 'the great sage/teacher') as a celebration.

These two colophon stanzas can be considered common colophons transmitted along with the main text, as they are commonly found in almost all the manuscripts of *Süa Kho Kham Chan*. However, in one manuscript (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 96), the second stanza above has been further adapted by substituting the author or Phra Bòromma Khru with the mention of Wòra Chinorot, most possibly referring to Prince Paramanuchit Chinorot (see Illustration XVII). Although the verb in the last line is still the same or “กล่าวไว้เป็นเฉลิม” (literally ‘said in celebration,’) most likely is that Prince Paramanuchit here edited the text rather than writing the whole text anew. This adapted colophon reads:

เสือโคไปผูกไว้	ทั้งสอง
สิทธิฤทธิสมพอง	เศกสร้าง
แลองค์แลกรุงปอง	เป็นปิ่น เมืองนา
วรชินอรสแก้ง	กล่าวไว้เป็นเฉลิม

Translation: (The text of) both the tiger and the cow, casted to be human by the hermit's spell and then becoming the lords of the cities, has been said (composed, possibly 'edited' here) by Prince Chinorot (referring to Prince Paramanuchit) as a celebration.

From this colophon mentioning Prince Paramanuchit, one can see the correspondence of the word choice with the common colophon (the second stanza) above. This correspondence suggests that the common colophon was adapted by the scholar who might have had edited the text.

Another example of the adaptation of colophons can be found in the manuscripts of *Phra Malai Kham Luang*. Three manuscripts (NLT: RSs: Mss no. 220, 230, 231) preserving the end of the text contain an identical stanza informing the date as 1737. Modern scholars have interpreted this date to be that of the original composition rather than the date of the manuscript, as it appears identically in multiple manuscripts. Hence, this colophon might have been taken as the date of composition by the scribes and then have been further copied. This colophon reads:

เมื่อเสร็จสักการชได้	สองพัน
สองร้อยแปดสิบสรร	เศษเหล้า
สิบเบ็ดเดือนหกวัน	พฤษ
เดือนห้าแรมเจดเช้า	เขตข้างปีมะเมีย ฯ

Translation: When (the text) was finished (composing), the Buddhist Era has passed (after Buddha's death) for 2280 years and eleven months and six days (2280 BE), in the morning of the seventh waning day of the fifth month in the Year of the Horse (equivalent to Tuesday 31st March 1739).

Apart from the colophons of these three manuscripts, two additional manuscripts contain other dates, which inform us on the date of the manuscripts. These two colophons from two different manuscripts, however, correspond to each other so much that it must have been adapted from each other. One manuscript (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 221) provides the date in 1768 (or one year after the fall of Ayutthaya), which reads as follows:

สองพันสามร้อยได้	โดยมี
สิบเอ็ดวษาปี	หนูน้อย
อังคารห้าดิษฐ์	กาละปักข์
เดือนสิบสองดับคล้อย	มาลัยถิ่นสถาน ฯ

Translation: This copywork was finished in 2311 [BE], on Tuesday, the fifth waning day of the twelfth month in the Year of the Rat 2311 BE (equivalent to Tuesday, 29th November 1768). The text ends with Phra Malai returned to the World.

The other manuscript (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 217), despite the corresponding words employed, lists the date as 1804, significantly suggesting that the colophon was adapted to notate the different date. This colophon reads:

สองพันสามร้อยได้	โดยมี
ศรีสิบเจ็ดวษาปี	หนูน้อย
วันระวิสามดิษฐ์	กาลปักข์
เดือนเจ็ดจบกลอย	มาลัยถิ่นสถาน ฯ

Translation: (This copy) was finished in 2347 BE, the Year of the Rat, on Sunday the third waning day of the seventh month (equivalent to Sunday, 27th May 1804). The text ends with Phra Malai returning to the world.

The examples given above suggest the tradition of adapting the paratexts from the earlier exemplars to provide different information, though the structure and word choice is still based on the original.

In some cases, some parts of the text commonly appear in a large number of manuscripts suggesting its origin as paratexts before being further copied and then becoming a part of the text itself. The mention of the original author found in *Cindamani* reads: “Phra Horathibòdi, who formerly lived in the city of Sukhothai, composed this *Cindamani* to be presented to King Narai while he ruled over the city of Lopburi.” (Th. จินดามณีนี้ พระโหราธิบดี เดิมอยู่เมืองสุโขทัย แต่งถวายแต่ครั้งพระนารายณ์เป็นเจ้าพลบุรี), for example. The mention of the period of original composition in the distant past as “while he (King Narai) ruled over the city of Lopburi” suggests that this sentence did not originally belong to the author himself, but rather was added by scribes and scholars of a later period. However, as this sentence appears rather frequently in a large number of manuscripts despite the tradition of editing this text, this sentence might have been later accepted as already being a part of the original text. In many manuscripts this sentence seems to have been more often located in the middle of the text, not at its beginning or its end of the text, the common location of the preface and colophon.

A more complicated case is found in the manuscripts of *Lilit Phra Lò*, which ends with two stanzas marking the end of the text along with mentioning Maha Rat (literally ‘the great

king’) as the one who composed the text. These two stanzas, now widely perceived as stanzas no. 659 and 660 of the main text, read:

จบเสร็จจมหาราชเจ้า	นิพนธ์
ขอยศพระลอกน	หนึ่งแท้
พี่เลี้ยงอาจเอาตน	ตายก่อน พระนา
ในโลกนี้สุดแล้ว	เลิศล้ำคุณสวรรคฯ

Translation of the stanza no. 659: This is the end of the text, which Maha Rat (‘the great king’) has composed to praise the dignity of Phra Lò. The manservants have bravely offered themselves to die before their lord (referring to Phra Lò). (The beauty of the text) is the best in this world and even superior throughout all the heavens.

จบเสร็จจมหาราชเจ้า	บรรจง
กลอนกล่าวพระลอก	ยิ่งผู้
ใครฟังยอมไหลหลง	ฤาอ้อม ฟังนา
ดิเรกแรกรักชู	เหิมแพะรักจริงฯ

Translation of the stanza no. 660: This is the end of the text, which Maha Rat⁴⁸ (‘the great king’) has beautifully composed and praised Phra Lò above all. Anyone who has listened to this text will be pleased and fulfilled by hearing the romance which has become true love.

We do not know for sure whether these two stanzas were originally written by the original author or not, but these two stanzas appear so frequently in almost all the manuscripts that we can accept them as a part of the main text. However, one manuscript contains a variant in the second stanza, stating Yaowa Rat instead of Maha Rat (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17078 (2)), while the rest of words in the stanza corresponds to the other manuscripts. Even though only one manuscript mentions Yaowa Rat, the printed edition has accepted this variant as the standard reading, leading to the interpretation that Yaowa Rat has made a fine copy from what Maha Rat has composed, as the Thai words “จบเสร็จเขวราชเจ้า บรรจง” (i.e. Aurapin Khamson, 2016 in: Winai Pongsipian, 2016b: 245–246). The manuscript evidence suggests that the mention of Yaowa Rat in the second stanza has never been the commonly accepted text, and might have been only adapted in the later period by the scribe, who perhaps held this princely title. Even though these two stanzas might have been either authorial or scribal paratexts, the variation on Yaowa Rat appearing in only the one manuscript suggests that the scribe in the later period altered the text in this stanza in the same way as it occurred in the cases of other Ayutthaya texts. The modern scholars, however, have accepted this variant as the standard text even until nowadays, despite its disagreement with most of the extant manuscripts.

⁴⁸ Note that stanza no. 660 in all the available printed editions appears the word “Yaowa Rat” instead of “Maha Rat” as recorded in almost all the manuscripts.

The case of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* impressively demonstrates a transmission of paratexts which eventually became a part of the main text in the main tradition and later a part of the printed editions. As the earliest manuscript dated in 1753 (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 79) contains 260 stanzas of the main text attached by its colophon on the date of manuscript, the text has been restored after the fall of Ayutthaya (most possibly in the Thonburi period) with nine additional stanzas of *inthawichian chan* meter, mentioning the restoration of the text by a monk called Phiksu In after the manuscripts were destroyed. These nine stanzas are obviously a colophon by the editor (Phiksu In or Monk In), but then have been widely further copied. At least six manuscripts from nine extant manuscripts have contained these stanzas (no. 261–269), which read as follows.

เริ่มกลอน บ พิตรท่าน	พระยาราชสุภา-
วดีลิขิตตรา	แสดงนามโดยมี
ผู้ช่วยบริรักษ์	นราโลกพราหมณ์ชี
ในกรุงนครศรี	ธรรมราชบุรินทร์
ทุกกาลผดุงการ	ประกอบชอบ บ เว้นถวิล
ซึ่งเป็นฉบับจิน-	ตนาท่าน บ ให้สูญ
นางกฤษณานาถ	ก็มีเรื่องบริบูรณ์
สมุดเดิมก็เศร้าสูญ	สลายลบ บ เป็นผล
เชิญเราชีโนรส	พระนามอินทนิพนธ์
พจนารถอนุสนธิ์	จำหลักฉันทของกลอน
ว่าไว้วิสัยโลก	โศลกสารสโมสร
เป็นสร้อยสถาวร	ประดับเกศกษัตริ
แม่นนางสุริยวงศ์	พฐราชเทวี
สามัญญกษัตริ	สดับคำประพาดิตตาม
ทั่วโลกก็เลื่องล	ก็ข้อมล้วนจะดูงาม
แผ่นภพทั้งสาม	นราเทวะชื่นชม
กฤษณาสุภายิต	ประสาทไว้ทุกสิ่งสม
สุกสวัสดิอุดม	จะพึงมี บ เว้นวัน

Translation: This poetic text was initiated by Phraya Ratcha Suphawadi, according to his noble title, who was the lord protector of all people in Nakhòn Si Thammarat and who always endeavoured to help people with his merit by restoring the text of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* to be complete. As the earlier manuscript of the text has unfortunately been lost, he has invited me, a monk named In (Phiksu In), to write (or make a copy of) this poetry to declare the secular conduct as a prestigious necklace for high-born ladies (and princesses). Any lady following this conduct will be praised by the beings from all three worlds. This maxim of Kritsana is collected here in its completion and thus there shall not be a day on which its blessings are not granted.

Although modern scholars believe that these stanzas were added in the Thonburi period, they seem to be widely accepted as a part of the main tradition⁴⁹. In addition, three out of the six manuscripts still preserve the additional part further than stanzas no. 261–269, as there are seven additional stanzas in *wasantadilok chan* at the end of these three manuscripts. The stanzas in *wasantadilok chan* have always been included in the printed editions, and thus are widely accepted by modern scholars as the main text as well. The most recent Fine Arts Department's edition has counted them as stanzas no. 270–276. However, when considering the meaning of these stanzas which neither concern the didactic lessons found in the main text nor the text's history, but instead summarize and praise the orthographic elements to be learnt from the text, the meaning is quite spurious. They might belong neither to the original main text transmitted from Ayutthaya nor to the additional colophon by Phiksu In either, but most possibly later added to Phiksu In's colophon by an anonymous scribe or scholar, as the content obviously differs, even though the rhyme between the stanzas no. 269 and 270 can be seen. These seven stanzas read:

เสร็จสารสฤณอนุสนธิ์	วจรประจกัณฑ์
ลำนนำประพดิกณอัน	นุประกอบขุบลกลอน
แต่งตามวุฒิตยวรา	ก็เสนาะสถาว
เอกโทประดับครุหลุสอน	กลนุตรพียงขล
มีทั้งสฤณและธนิศ	ก็ประเภทอำพล
อักษรสามวรรณกุล	ก็ประดับประดาการ
ไม้ทัณฑฆาตณฤศhit	ก็ประเสริฐโอฬาร
วิสรรชนีย์ประดิษฐาน	ก็วิเศษนานา
ฟองมันประมวณนิกรกล่าว	ก็เอนกอนก
ฝนทองประกอบกลกลา	ขณะเจ็ดประจำลง
คือสร้อยสุรัตนมนินทร์	สุรโลกประดับองค์
ข้าควรจะจินตณประสงค์	นุประเสริฐพียงเรียน
ด้วยเดชตะโบบบวรคุณ	ศีลข้าประพดิกเพียร
สารสิทธิจงสฤณเสถียร	ธรรณิศประลัยสูญ

Translation: The writing has been finished here in the refined meters of *kham chan*, which was composed following the treatise of *Wuttotthai* (P. *Vuttodaya*) and then made sonorous. The use of the first and the second tone marks, as well as the use of *kharu* ('hard') and *lahu* ('soft') syllables, should also be studied by (virtuous) boys from good families. The *sithin* ('voiceless') and *thanit* ('voiced') consonants have been properly depicted here. The three classes of consonants have also been included. The silencing marker (Th. *thantha khat*), the *nikhahit*, the *wisanchani*, the *fong man* sign and the *fon thòng* are all used correctly. Thus, the text is an ornamental chain for any scholar of the world. I myself should make

⁴⁹ Note that two manuscripts of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng* have survived in fragments. Hence, six manuscripts containing the stanzas no. 261–269 have become the majority of the extant manuscripts of the text.

sure to learn it. With the power of the precepts and good deeds I have conducted, let the text endure until the end of the world.

As these seven stanzas were not included in all the extant manuscripts and not even in all the manuscripts with the colophon of the monk In, it is hard to attribute them to the main tradition, despite being included in the printed edition. The number of three manuscripts found ending with the stanza no. 276 still reflects that these seven stanzas, though most possibly having been later added and not directly relating to the main text in term of content, have still been further transmitted in a limited group of manuscripts. Thus, the case of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* has become one of the complicated cases for the transmission of paratexts within the manuscript corpus of Ayutthaya literature.

It seems clearly evident that the paratexts, mostly scribal as discussed here, were a textual space which tolerated a certain degree of adaptation and alteration, so long as it served the purpose of informing its readers about the text, its creation, etc. Such dynamism within the transmission of these paratexts is quite interesting to note. Most of the transmitted paratexts convey formation on textual history, or have their structuring functions, while the paratexts informing on the scribes and date of copy tend not to be further copied, as they belong merely to one single manuscript. Thus, it would not be necessary to transmit them further along with the text.

4.7 Encoded Paratexts: Secrecy or Play with Readers' Eyes and Intellect

Some paratexts in manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature are presented in an encoded form, which might not conceal any secrets of the scribes, but rather presents a game for the readers' eyes and intellect. Despite surviving in a very limited group, the encoded paratexts also offer us another look at the dynamics of the paratext tradition in Siamese manuscript culture.

In the tradition of *Cindamani*, there is a lesson on this type of encoded text in which various types of orthographic alterations are mentioned and exemplified, though without any thorough clarification. These codes or the systems of letters, numerals, as well as orthographic alteration used to represent the others, known in Thai as *rahat aksòn* (Th. รหัสอักษร literally 'encoded/secret writing') must have been a part of Siamese manuscript and literary culture since the seventeenth century at latest, as the lesson on the encoded texts can be consistently found in almost all the manuscripts of *Cindamani*. The code systems might have been used in order to hide the message of the writing, possibly for the secret letters and military letters (Chanthit Krasaesin, 1962: 95; Dhanit Yupho, 2015: 32). Sometimes the code system from *Cindamani* has been considered as an extended part of the *konlabot* tradition (see Warangkana Srikamnerd, 2018: 109), or various poetic plays covering alliteration, repetition, irregular placement of words or lines, sometimes employing graphic and illustrations. Nonetheless, the codes still

significantly differ from the various types of *konlabot* in the Siamese poetic tradition in many aspects, seeing that the codes do not give any poetic embellishment as the *konlabot* playing with alliteration or repetition does, and that the rules of codes can also be adapted for writing both prose and verse, while the *konlabot* can be properly applied for writing poetry only. Therefore, the code system was not included in any other treatises on *konlabot* or any other literature demonstrating various types of *konlabot* (see Keerati Dhanachai, 2011), and seems to have developed its own tradition separately.

The codes appearing in *Cindamani* vary in their forms. The most basic one among them is the one called *aksòn lek* (Th. อักษรเลข ‘numeral writing’), in which a different numeral is used to represent each vowel. The numerals from zero to nine have been employed to represent the different vowels as follows:

๐ (1) = ุ	๑ (2) = ู	๒ (3) = ึ
๔ (4) = ะ, ั	๕ (5) = ัย	๖ (6) = ึ, ุ
๗ (7) = ิ	๘ (8) = ิ	๙ (9) = ิ

The words encoded in *aksòn lek* as “ภคฆธษทษ” can be properly decoded to “ภคฆธษทษ”. Other types of code might play with the orthographic alteration, for example, the one called *rüsi plaeng san* (Th. ฤณีแปลงสาร ‘hermit transforming the message’⁵⁰) has switched the orthographic order between the initial letters and finals of each word. Thus the vowels which are supposed to write in front of the initial consonant (i.e. ึ ุ ุ) would be written behind, while these vowels that are usually placed behind the consonants (i.e. ะ ั) and the final consonants would be written in front of the initial consonants. With this orthographic alteration, readers might not be able to make any sense of the encoded text, unless properly decoded, as the word regularly written “ข่าวสาร” would be altered to “วาชารส”. Some types of the code might play with the readers’ eyes, such as the code *phraya ok taek* (Th. ‘broken-chested lord’), presenting the letters in a distorted form, in which the upper part of each letter would be linked to the lower part of the following letter. Thus, the entire writing in *phraya ok taek* looks blurred, to read the encoded text one would take some time to recognized, but not too difficult anyway, for the orthography of the consonant and vowel still follows the regular rule of writing. The manuscripts of *Cindamani* also include other types of codes, which must have been known in the Siamese manuscript culture for many centuries (see more in Chanthit Krasaesin, 1962).

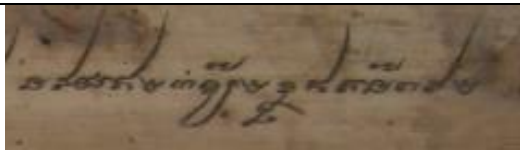
Despite the variety of codes, the evidence indicating the actual use of codes in the main text of the manuscript, apart from the lessons from the poetic treatises, is scarce among extant Siamese manuscripts, suggesting that the tradition of the encoded text might have been forsaken for many centuries. However, from my manuscript survey, I found several manuscripts which

⁵⁰ The name of the code *rüsi plaeng san* here refers to a hermit in the tale of Phra Rot Meri (Chanthit Krasaesin, 1962: 176)

contain a main text in encoded form, though fragmentarily. One example is a manuscript of *Vessantara Jātaka* in *rai* meter (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 169) and one palm-leaf manuscript on traditional sexology (see Sukanya Sujachaya, 2018a). The first case presents the encoded texts as a game for the reader, rather than concealing any message, while the latter case conceals some keywords or phrases in the most important part of the text in the manuscript, blurring the entire message of the treatise (in: Peera Panarut, 2018). The cases of the encoded main texts, however, are not common and are not found in any of the manuscripts consulted specifically for this study.

The earliest case for the encoded paratexts, as far as has been found, is a part of the preface from a palm-leaf manuscript on Buddhist cosmology (NLT: PLS: PLMs no. 6053/ Khò/10), dated in 2249 BE (equivalent to 1706 CE) during the reign of King Thai Sa (r. 1709–1732) of Ayutthaya Kingdom (Panarut, 2017). The text in this manuscript is bilingual Thai-Pali (in prose), while the script throughout the manuscript is Khò. On the cover leaf, not only the date is mentioned, but the name of the scribe is also written on the right side of the leaf. Despite the preface on the first page having been written only in Khò script, the part mentioning the scribe's name is surprisingly encoded in *aksò lek* (see Table VIII below), indicating that the tradition of the code was practiced since the late Ayutthaya period. Besides, the use of code was also used for encoding the writing in Khò script as well (at least for the case of *aksò lek*), not only in Thai script as being included *Cindamani*. Even though the text of cosmology found in this palm-leaf manuscript (still unpublished) has not been included in this study as a piece of Ayutthaya poetry, the preface found in the manuscript suggests that the practice in encoding paratext can be traced back at least to the early eighteenth century in the late Ayutthaya period.

Table VIII: The earliest evidence for the use of encoded paratext in Khò script

The encoded preface in <i>aksò lek</i> from a palm-leaf manuscript of cosmology (NLT: PLS: PLMs no. 6053/ Khò/10)	
Encoded paratext from the manuscript	
Encoded paratext in Khò (type)script	นฬ ยลลนจยลลลลลลลลลลลล
Decoded paratext in Khò (type)script	นายอินเขียนขอได้นิพาน
Transliteration into Thai script	นายอินเขียนขอได้นิพาน
Translation into English	Nai In wrote this manuscript. Wish I reach <i>nibbāna</i> .

Furthermore, the encoded paratexts also appear in the manuscripts of *Cindamani*. Not only does the text of *Cindamani* itself regularly include the lesson on various codes, some manuscripts of *Cindamani* have also preserved the encoded paratexts as well, such as the encoded side-marker in *aksòn lek* found in a manuscript dated 1832 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 81; see Table below) and the one encoded in *rüsi plaeng san* in the other manuscript dated 1844 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 68; see Table below). In these cases of *Cindamani* manuscripts, as the text itself has already provided the lessons on the various codes, the encoded paratexts might have been given here as a further practical example for the code, which could remind and at the same time encourage the readers when learning the code. On the other hand, these cases could also be an intellectual type of game between the scribes and the readers.

Table IX: Example of the encoded paratext in *aksòn lek* from a manuscript of *Cindamani*

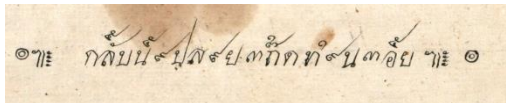

The encoded side-marker in <i>aksòn lek</i> from a manuscript of <i>Cindamani</i> dated 1832 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 81)	
Encoded paratext from the manuscript	
Decoded paratext	กลับน้ำปลายเถิดท่านเอ๋ย ฯ
Translation into English	Please turn to the verso side.

Table X: Example of the encoded paratext in *rüsi plaeng san* from a manuscript of *Cindamani*

The encoded side-marker in <i>rüsi plaeng san</i> from a manuscript of <i>Cindamani</i> dated 1844 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 68)	
Encoded paratext from the manuscript	
Decoded paratext	กลับไปยงนาปลายเจ้าคุณเอชอย่าว่าฉันนะเจ้าพอนุ ฯ ฯ
Translation into English	Please turn to the verso side. Please do not make complaints on me (and my writing).

Other cases of encoded paratexts found in the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature other than *Cindamani* are the marker of the verso page in *phraya ok taek* from a manuscript of *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises* (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 46) and the colophon in *aksòn lek* from a palm-leaf manuscript of *Bunnawat Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Bò: PLMS no. 1). Even

though the use of the code is rather short and fragmentary, these encoded paratexts also indicate that the various types of codes were used differently in the paratexts of different manuscripts.

Table XI: Example of the encoded paratext in *phraya ok taek* from a manuscript of *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*


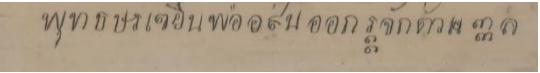
The encoded side-marker in <i>phraya ok taek</i> from a manuscript of <i>the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises</i> (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 46)	
Encoded paratext from the manuscript	
Decoded paratext	หน้าปลาย
Translation into English	[This is] the verso side.

Table XII: Example of the encoded paratext in *aksòn lek* from a *Bunnawat Kham Chan* manuscript

The encoded side-marker in <i>aksòn lek</i> from a manuscript of <i>Bunnawat Kham Chan</i> (NLT: ChSs: Bò: PLMS no. 1)	
Encoded paratext from the manuscript	
Decoded paratext	พุทธชรเจียนพ้ออ่านออกรู้จักตัวแล
Translation into English	Phutsòn has written [this manuscript] clear enough to be legible.

Even though not many cases of encoded paratexts have been found in the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature apart from those mentioned above⁵¹, these examples of encoded paratexts from the various manuscripts indicate that the codes have been known among the scribes and scholars of the Siamese manuscript culture for many centuries, at least from the early eighteenth century in the late Ayutthaya Kingdom as a palm-leaf manuscript dated in 1706 CE (NLT: PLS: PLMs no. 6053/ Khò ค/ 10), and the tradition was continually practiced until

⁵¹ The most extensive encoded paratext ever found comes from a manuscript of *Khlong Lokkanit* dated in 1843 (NLT: KhISPhSSs: Ms no. 40), whose colophon has been encoded in three different types of codes (see Illustration XXII). The encoded paratext in the manuscript cover three short sentences in prose and eight stanzas of *kap chabang* meter (Panarut, 2017). This extensive colophon, when properly decoded, does not imply any secrecy at all, but conveys regular messages found in colophons of other manuscripts, namely, the date of the manuscript, the scribe's intention, and the merit aimed to be gained.

around the middle nineteenth century, as a manuscript of *Cindamani* with the encoded side-marker dated in 1844 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 68). However, the encoded paratexts from these manuscripts do not convey any secret message other than the regular non-encoded paratexts at all, for instance, the information on the date, the scribe's names and the scribe's wish, as well as the marking of the recto-verso sides. The encoded paratexts, therefore, might have been added to the manuscripts by the scribes as a type of visual game for the readers' eyes, in the case of the codes with the visual distortion (i.e. *phraya ok taek*), as well as with the readers' intellect, in the case of the other more complicated codes employing the orthographic alteration, which require a lot of efforts and the higher level of knowledge to recognize and decode. The codes, we may conclude, have not been used not only to conceal any secret message, but also used as an intellectual play or even an intellectual test between the scribes and the readers of the manuscripts for many centuries, although sometimes the scribes and the readers do not necessarily contemporarily live.

4.8 Remarks on Functions of Paratexts

Even if the functions of paratexts can be broadly classified into structuring, commenting, and documenting (Ciotti and Lin, 2016: vii), the cases discussed above have indicated that the paratexts in the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature did not necessarily contain merely one function, with many cases clearly exhibiting an amalgamated sort of dual-function or multi-functionality.

Some groups of paratexts do indeed only have a single function. For example, glosses as found in *Yuan Phai* and *Khlóng Nirat Hariphunchai* have only the commenting function, providing readers with aids to comprehend and interpret the texts, while most cases of the cover titles or fly-leaf titles have their structuring function in helping readers to recognize the titles of the manuscripts, as well as indicating the correct side to turn the manuscript. However, in many cases, the titles of the manuscripts also contain some information on the author and the date or period of the original composition as well, thus bearing their documenting function as well. In more complicated instances, a colophon can also fulfill all three functions: marking the end of the text (structuring), mentioning the history of text or manuscript (documenting), and praising the poetic beauty of the text (commenting) all within a single stanza. An example of the case can be seen in a manuscript of *Anirut Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 61) as provided below:

จบอนิรุทธเรื่องเรื่อง	รณรงค
ศรีปราชญ์อายุข	แต่งไว้
ใครจแต่งประสง	เอาหย่างนี้น่า
จักเฟื่องฟูเกรียติให้	เลื่องล้าลาญผล

Translation: The battle story of Anirut has ended here, composed by Si Prat the sage.

Whoever composes a poem following this model will gain much fame and glory.

It can be seen that the structuring paratexts reveal to us insights into how the manuscripts were used, read and navigated in the traditional period. However, as mentioned earlier, they provide us less information on the transmission history of the text. The commenting paratexts such as glosses inform us as to how the text was interpreted in the past, or the colophon praising the poetic beauty records early traditional literary criticism. However, the paratexts which provide us the most on the transmission history of the Ayutthaya literature are those containing the documenting function. They record the textual history as perceived by the scribes, along with aspects on manuscript history, namely, the place, time, and agents of the transmission throughout the period of the traditional manuscript culture, the topics which constitutes the next chapter of this study. Even though these documenting paratexts do not appear often or detailed enough to allow any detailed hypotheses of textual transmission, the paratexts of the extant manuscripts still provide significant information on how the texts from Ayutthaya endured into periods after their original composition. This aspect has commonly been ignored in the study of Thai literary history, unfortunately. If this work inspires any scholars at all to take a greater interest in this great task, then this work will have achieved.

CHAPTER V

Transmission of Ayutthaya Literature in Context: Place, Time, and Agents of Textual Transmission

From the paratexts found in the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature discussed in the previous chapter, the traces of the context of textual transmission can be attested, although often as fragments and not in the case of every single text. The context of textual transmission which can be seen and assumed from the paratextual evidence covers the place and time of textual transmission as well as the personal agents of transmission, namely the scribes and scholars. The aspects of place and time reveal where and when the texts were made copied or edited in the period after their original composition, while the aspects of agents inform us on the group of people who have taken an important role in transmitting texts in the traditional manuscript culture of Siam. These aspects on the context of transmission are crucial in understanding how the texts have existed in the manuscript culture centuries after their original composition before they found their way into print. This is the forgotten part of the history of Ayutthaya literature.

5.1 Place of Textual Transmission

In many cases, the paratexts suggest the place where the manuscript was produced, at the same time suggesting the place where the text has been circulated. The main two institutions for textual transmission in Siamese manuscript culture which shall be further emphasized here are the royal palace and the monasteries. The royal palace represents the political and cultural center of the royal court as a whole, though it actually consists of different places for manuscript production and storage, for example, the Royal Manuscript Hall and the Monthian Tham Library. Furthermore, the other minor palaces, though still in the vicinity of the royal court, were also places in which the manuscripts and texts of Ayutthaya literature were transmitted. On the other hand, the monasteries have always been the main site for traditional education, both secular and religious, and also the institution in which the monks and laymen (noble or commoner) produced and sponsored manuscript production. As the monasteries are found in various locations in the capital, as well as in the other cities and villages, the dynamics between different group of monasteries can still be found.

The binary opposition of the royal palace and the monasteries can often be misleading, as some monasteries in Bangkok apparently gained royal patronage, while some higher-ranking monks were invited by the royal authority to rewrite or edit the texts in the royal court. To classify the place of textual transmission into the royal palace and the monasteries here is only preliminary, in order to point out two main institutions of textual transmission, not to ignore the interaction between them or to suggest any separate difference between both institutions.

5.1.1 Royal Palace: Center of the Royal Court

The royal palace of Bangkok, known as the Grand Royal Palace, is not only the seat of the king, but also the center of the kingdom's political administration. The royal palace is divided broadly into the inner part of the palace where the king and his consorts reside and the outer palace where the administrative offices are situated. The temple of the Emerald Buddha is also located within the royal palace as the palace temple which houses the Emerald Buddha, the palladium of the kingdom, and where royal Buddhist ceremonies take place. In the royal palace of the early Bangkok period, there were at least two manuscript deposits and two different departments taking responsibility for the manuscript production. These two libraries are the Royal Manuscript Hall (Th. *hò nangsü luang*, shortened as *hò luang*) and the Monthian Tham Library (Th. *hò phra monthian tham*). The Royal Manuscript Hall situated in a part of the outer palace serves both as the manuscript deposit of secular texts and administrative documents, and as the office for the Department of the Royal Scribes, thus also known as *hòng alak* 'royal scribes' chamber' (Damrong Rajanubhab, 1960: 142; 1971: 34). One of the official copies of *Kotmai Tra Sam Duang* ('*Three Seals Law*') authorized with three official seals⁵² has also been preserved at the Royal Manuscript Hall (Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan, 2007a: 78).

The Monthian Tham Library, on the other hand, housed the royal *Tipiṭaka* palm-leaf manuscripts as well as the other Pali texts in palm-leaf manuscripts. The department taking responsibility for storing the manuscripts in the Monthian Tham Library and for producing the palm-leaf manuscripts is called the Department of the Royal Pandits (Th. *krom ratcha bandit / กรมราชบัณฑิต*) (Damrong Rajanubhab, 1916: 3; Wales, 1965: 100). As the corpus of Ayutthaya literature is mainly written in the Thai vernacular and most parts of them are secular texts, the paratexts of the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature point at the Royal Manuscript Hall as the place where most Ayutthaya literature in the royal court was transmitted and not the Monthian Tham Library.

The Royal Manuscript Hall, likely founded not long after the founding of Bangkok in 1782 itself, might have been based on the royal manuscript hall of Ayutthaya (Damrong Rajanubhab, 1960: 142). According to historical evidence, the Royal Manuscript Hall is constituted of four buildings with wooden roofs, located in the same area where the Chakri Maha Prasat Royal Hall is situated nowadays. The project initiated by King Rama V in the late nineteenth century to renovate the outer palace to be modern and Westernized led to the deconstruction of the Royal Manuscript Hall. Even though the buildings were demolished, the appearance of the historic Royal Manuscript Hall can fortunately be traced in an old photo preserved at the National Archives of Thailand, as well as in a mural painting of Wat Ratcha Pradit in present-day Bangkok (see Phitchaya Sumchinda, 2012: 145; see Illustration XXIII).

⁵² The other two official copies have been preserved at the king's private chamber and at the Supreme Court (Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan, 2007a: 80).

The royal scribes had their scribal workshops in the Royal Manuscript Hall since the founding of Bangkok. As one of their main duties is to store the royal manuscripts, they have also been assigned to make the manuscript catalogues of the Royal Manuscript Hall, which have unfortunately survived only in fragments. The (traditional) catalogues of the Royal Manuscript Hall left and preserved at the National Library of Thailand nowadays⁵³ indicate that the manuscripts, most of them *khòì*-paper manuscripts, were placed in wooden cabinets and trunks, and the royal scribes recorded the catalogue following each cabinet or trunk in which the manuscripts were stored.

Based on the paratexts of the manuscripts, the production of a large amount of the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature can be placed in the Royal Manuscript Hall. The manuscripts produced by the royal scribes in order to be presented to the king have been known as royal manuscripts. At least thirteen texts of Ayutthaya literature were produced as royal copies, covering the texts such as *Cindamani*, *Thawa Thotsamat*, *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*, *Süa Kho Kham Chan*, *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*, *Anirut Kham Chan*, *the Collection of Didactic Poems*, *the Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Works*, *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Narai*, *Ongkan Chaeng Nam*, *Kap He Rüa* as well as the religious texts in bilingual Pali-Thai, namely, *Kap Maha Chat*, and *Maha Chat Kham Luang*. Almost all of these texts have been labeled by modern scholars as texts transmitted from the Ayutthaya period.

Apart from the royal manuscripts which were presented to the king and were likely under the king's request, there are many manuscripts which were produced by royal scribes but not intended to be presented to the king, perhaps having been produced to serve the royal scribes' own personal purposes. For example, a manuscript of *Cindamani* was edited by Luang Likhit Pricha in 1819 in order to be used for teaching purposes. Several manuscripts have been marked as being owned by the Head of the Royal Scribes Department, suggesting that these manuscripts were produced and kept within the Royal Manuscript Hall as well, though they were part of the collection of the royal scribes rather than of the king. Furthermore, after the 1932 revolution, the Royal Scribes Department was transferred to the Secretariat of the Cabinet, at which point all manuscripts owned by the department were transferred to the National Library. These manuscripts have been marked on their labels at the National Library as "transferred from the Secretariat of the Cabinet" (Th. ได้มาจากกรมเลขาธิการคณะรัฐมนตรี). All the manuscripts have been supposedly preserved at the Royal Manuscript Hall, but not all of them belonged directly to the king's collection, as some of them are administrative records of royal scribes while others are manuscripts possibly used among the royal scribes.

In some rare cases of manuscripts, the paratexts state that the manuscript were copied from the royal exemplar, suggesting the practice of having the royal manuscript as the exemplar in copying text. An attested case is a manuscript of *Cindamani*, which the scribe Nai Muang

⁵³ For example, NLT: CMHS: R3: 1186CS: Ms no. 34, NLT: CMHS: R3: 1199CS: Ms no. 66.

copied from a royal manuscript (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 62). Although we do not know for sure whether Nai Muang was one of the royal scribes or not, the case still suggests that the royal manuscripts can also be accessed and used as an exemplar for further copying, perhaps under the permission of the king or the royal scribes' authority. The royal manuscripts themselves seem not to have been totally forbidden to all people of the royal court (Thanet Aphornsuvan et al, 2006: 346), even if they are supposed to be the private belongings of the king.

Unlike the Royal Manuscript Hall, the Monthian Tham Library does not seem to play any important role in transmitting or storing the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature. The royal pandits themselves were responsible for making copies of the royal *Tipiṭaka* manuscripts, as well as editing the Pali texts and storing them in the Monthian Tham Library. From the paratexts of Ayutthaya literature, we know that none of the Ayutthaya poetry has been restored, edited or copied within the Department of the Royal Pandits, even though in some tasks of the royal court, the royal pandits have to work together with the royal scribes, for example, making a copy of the *Tipiṭaka* manuscripts in 1856 (NLT: CMHS: R4: 1218CS: Ms no. 215), and editing *the Three Seals Law* in the reign of King Rama I (see Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan, 2007a: 79). One case suggesting the part royal pandits played in storing the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature is evidenced in a manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 46), which contains a label made of the Western paper recording that nine manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* (but for eight chapters) once placed on an altar in the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in 1915 have been transferred to be under the care of a higher-ranking royal pandit, Phraya Pariyat Thammathada, the executive commissioner (Th. *cangwang* / จางวาง; Winai Pongsripian, 2016a: 111) of the Royal Pandits Department. This piece of information suggests the role of the royal pandits in taking care of the copy of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* manuscripts, not the role in producing it. Interestingly, these nine manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* can be considered one of the royal copies of the text, which was placed on the sacred altar of the royal palace and might likely served a ritualistic rather than a discursive function.

The evidence of the manuscripts suggests that the royal palace became one of the most important places for the manuscript production and the transmission of the Ayutthaya literature. The collections owned within the royal palace, namely the paper manuscript collection housed at the Royal Manuscript Hall, the royal palm-leaf collection of the Monthian Tham Library, as well as the manuscripts made by the noblemen of the royal court, supposedly constitute the largest collection of the Siamese manuscripts in the early Bangkok period as well.

5.1.2 Minor Palaces: Front Palace and Others

Apart from the royal palace, there are many minor palaces in the capital which patronized the transmission of Ayutthaya texts as well, even though the evidence for such minor palaces is rather limited. One of the most important palaces with paratexts indicating the manuscript production and textual transmission is the Front Palace, or the seat of the viceroy.

As mentioned earlier, the Grand Prince of the Front Palace possessed his own ministers and heads of departments⁵⁴, following the administrative structure of the royal palace, but the noble ranks of the ministers of the Front Palace were always inferior to those of the royal palace by at least one rank (see *Thamniap Nam Phak Thi Sòng*, 1968). Thus, it can be seen that the Front Palace possessed its own Royal Scribes Department, and the royal scribes of the Front Palace held titles different from those of the royal palace. After the death of a Grand Prince, all the ministers, officers, and servants of the Front Palace would be transferred to serve the royal palace (Damrong Rajanubhab, 2010: 72), while the Front Palace would be abandoned until the new prince was appointed to hold the title of the viceroy and thus become the new lord of the Front Palace. The manuscript hall and archives of the Front Palace must have suffered losses and damages when the Front Palace was vacant. Therefore, tracing the manuscript production of the Front Palace is difficult for modern scholars. The manuscripts and documents from earlier reigns have not survived much. However, the evidence implies that the new Grand Prince would have taken over all the possessions, including the manuscripts, of the earlier Grand Princes as well, even if such a case was rather rare.

A manuscript demonstrating this case is the *codex unicus* of Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems*. The preface of this manuscript implies that Phraya Trang has compiled *the Collection of Ancient Poems* for the Grand Prince of the Front Palace in the reign of King Rama III, or Prince Maha Sak Phonlasep (tenure 1824–1832). The manuscript, however, has still been kept throughout the nineteenth century at the Front Palace, before it was handed over to the National Library in the early twentieth century by Princess Wong Can (Trangkaphumiban, 1917: (2)), sister to the last Grand Prince of the Front Palace who held power over the inner palace of the Front Palace.

Furthermore, the noble titles of the royal scribes of the Front Palace appearing on the preface or colophon sometimes indicate that the manuscripts were produced within the Front Palace as well, but only if the date of the manuscripts is still in the tenure of any Grand Prince. Otherwise, it is most likely that the royal scribes of the Front Palace had already been transferred to the royal palace but continued to hold their previous noble titles. For example, Luang Likhit Pricha who has edited a manuscript of *Cindamani* (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 239) in 1819, or a year after the death of the Grand Prince, was most likely serving the king at the royal palace. Another

⁵⁴For the accomplishment of the Grand Prince of the Front Palace in the field of legislation, please see Dressler, 2014.

manuscript which was supposedly produced in the Front Palace is, for instance, a manuscript of *Kap He Rüa* ('*Barge Poetry*'), as all the royal scribes mentioned as the scribes and proofreaders hold the title of the Front Palace's royal scribes⁵⁵ (NLT: KHKHsS: Ms no. 2). This manuscript, however, is undated. Hence, we cannot exactly know which Grand Prince of the Front Palace they served.

Furthermore, some of the manuscripts transferred from the Front Palace by Princess Wong Can to the National Library in the early twentieth century include manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature such as *Cindamani* (three different copies)⁵⁶, *Lilit Phra Lò*⁵⁷, *Süa Kho Kham Chan*⁵⁸, as well as three additional manuscripts of *phleng yao* poems⁵⁹. The number of manuscripts implies that the manuscript hall of the Front Palace is apparently not small. In these manuscripts, some of them were never recognized and copied at the royal palace, for instance, the manuscript of Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems* and some of the *phleng yao* poems.

The other minor palaces for the other princes are thought to have housed manuscripts of Ayutthaya as well. As the princes were not allowed to stay in the royal palace after they reached their adulthood, most of the grown princes had to find their own residence outside the royal palace. In the early Bangkok period, the minor palaces were located in the area of the Bangkok old town, most of them surrounding the royal palace itself. The paratexts of the manuscripts do not tell us much about the minor palaces as the place for transmission of Ayutthaya literature, unfortunately. However, some historical evidence does indicate that some of the minor palaces also housed manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature as well, for example, the palace of Prince Kraisòn (also known as Prince Rak Ronnaret) located nearby the royal palace. The area is nowadays known as Suan Saranrom Garden (Nimit Tounnawarat, 2002: 75).

Prince Kraisòn (1791–1848), one of King Rama I's sons, gained his political power by supporting his nephew, King Rama III, in ascending to the throne. The conflict over the throne in the late reign of King Rama III eventually led to his execution in 1848. After being executed, his noble status as well as that of his children was recalled, with all of the personal belongings of the prince and his children being taken over by royal authorities, including his personal manuscripts. The royal scribes were assigned to make a list of the manuscripts taken from his

⁵⁵ The scribe of the manuscript is Khun Camnong Sunthòn (Th. ขุนจ้านงสุนทร) the Deputy of the Royal Scribes Department of the Front Palace, while the proofreaders are Luang Likhit Pricha (Th. หลวงลิขิตปรีชา) the Head of the Department, Khun Sara Bancong (Th. ขุนสารบันจง) the Deputy, and Nai Ratcha Aksòn Nai Wen (Th. นายราชอักษรนายเวร). All the noble titles of the royal scribes here correspond to the titles for the Front Palace's noblemen (see *Thamniap Nam Phak Thi Sòng*, 1968).

⁵⁶ Namely, NLT: ASS: Mss no. 24, 82, 83.

⁵⁷ NLT: LLSs: Mss no. 119, 151.

⁵⁸ NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 115.

⁵⁹ NLT: PhLYSWsSs: Mss no. 1, 2, 32.

palace, as well as the residence of his children within his palace. The list of the manuscripts from Prince Kraisòn's palace (NLT: CMHS: R3: 1210CS: Ms no. 181) reveals the prince's private collection of manuscripts, covering legal manuscripts, chronicles, secular treatises, and secular poetry. More than ten titles of Ayutthaya literature are recorded in the list, namely, *Kamsuan Samut*, *Anirut Kham Chan*, *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*, *Bunnowat Kham Chan*, *Kaki Kham Chan*, Phra Si Mahosot's *Kap Hò Khlong*, *Süa Kho Kham Chan*, *Lilit Phra Lò*, *Kap He Rüa*, *Thawa Thotsamat*, and *Dutsadi Sangwoei* (a text from *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*). Prince Kraisòn possessed a relatively large collection of manuscripts. All of them were transferred into the Royal Manuscript Hall under the conservation of the Department of the Royal Scribes and kept in a cabinet known by the royal scribe as Prince Kraisòn's cabinet. The manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature from Prince Kraisòn might be preserved at the National Library today, even though we do not exactly know which copy belongs to him, as none of the extant manuscripts mention the original ownership of Prince Kraisòn in their paratexts.

Furthermore, the National Library's label informing on the history of the library's acquisition also implies that some manuscripts might have been preserved at the minor palace of the capital as well, such as the ones donated to the library in 1908 by Mòm Phaichayonthep (or Mòm Ratchawong Phin Sanitwongse) are possibly the collection of Prince Wongsathiratcha Sanit (1808–1871; henceforth: Prince Wongsa), the grandfather of Phin Sanitwongse. Prince Wongsa himself was a prominent scholar who played an important part in composing and editing scholarly texts in the nineteenth century. The only annotated manuscript of *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises* (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16) has also donated by Phin Sanitwongse, possibly originally owned and perhaps annotated by the prince himself. Furthermore, one manuscript of *Cindamani* (NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 121) obviously comes from the collection of the prince, as a unique part of this manuscript was also included in the first printed edition by Doctor Smith. Seemingly, the manuscripts donated from Phin Sanitwongse seem to have been associated with the collection of Prince Wongsa, even though there are only three manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature in this case.

All the manuscripts discussed above were then likely a part of the collection of the minor palaces in Bangkok, which paratextual as well as historical evidence allow us to trace. Presumably, there must have been a lot of different collections owned by various princes from minor palaces, but there is no evidence left to us. The examples discussed here have demonstrated that, outside the royal palace, the manuscripts have also been circulated and owned by other agents among the royal court as well.

5.1.3 Monasteries

The monasteries have long been places where the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature have been transmitted. However, there are also many dynamics within textual transmission in the monasteries, particularly when it comes to differences between urban and rural monasteries. It can also be seen from the evidence that even among the monasteries in the capital, there are only some monasteries in which manuscript production appeared to be striving.

Even though the vernacular texts of Ayutthaya literature cover a number of secular texts, some of them were also copied in monasteries, which is somewhat surprising given the light erotic nature of much of its content. For example, *Lilit Phra Lò* was also copied in monasteries, as a colophon of a manuscript records that a monk from Wat Bunnatharam⁶⁰ copied the manuscript in 1860 (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 104). Perhaps the text was used as a poetic model on *khlong*, as the treatise on poetics, *Cindamani*, also provides a citation from *Lilit Phra Lò* as a model for a perfect *khlong* stanza. Furthermore, in a group of prefaces or colophons mentioning monks as scribes or sponsors, the manuscripts are supposed to be produced in the monasteries as well, although not all the cases mention the exact names of the monasteries. The cases cover a number of the Ayutthaya literary texts, but mostly related to Buddhism, one way or another, for instance the poetry on *Jātaka* tales such as *Süa Kho Kham Chan* and *Lilit Cantha Kinnòn*. Furthermore, the only vernacular text from the Ayutthaya period that narrates the legend of the Buddha's Footprint, namely *Bunnowat Kham Chan*, has also been widely copied in the monasteries, most possibly due to its main content that underlies the tradition of pilgrimage to the Buddha's Footprint in Saraburi (Wenk, 2009: 25).

As *Cindamani* was extensively used in the traditional system of education, which was centered in the monasteries, the text was edited and copied by monks and novices as well, as the prefaces and colophons of many manuscripts have revealed. With its content related to traditional education, the act of producing a *Cindamani* manuscript, as well as the sponsorship of it, was considered to create great merit, which would bring wisdom in the next life and all future lives, eventually leading to *nibbāna*, the highest state of happiness for Buddhists.

Another literary text whose paratexts suggest the origins of some of its manuscripts in the monasteries is *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, the so-called royal version of *Vessantara Jātaka*. It is true that the restoration of the text took place in the royal court of King Rama II in 1814, before they had been widely copied as the royal manuscripts in the later reigns until the end of the nineteenth century. The monastic part in the textual transmission of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* is also apparent. For example, the rewritten chapter of *Thanna Kan*, the third chapter of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* which might have been lost since the fall of Ayutthaya has also been rewritten in 1814 under the King's order by Phra Ratcha Muni of Wat Ratcha Sitharam (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 50), who only held a higher monastic rank, but might also have been a prominent

⁶⁰The exact location of this monastery is unfortunately unclear.

scholar at that time that time assigned by the king to rewrite, or fix, one of the lost chapters of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*. In addition, the manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* have also been copied in different monasteries, as one manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter VII Maha Phon* has recorded in its versified colophon, suggesting it was copied by a monk (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 82). Furthermore, the history of the library's acquisition of manuscripts as recorded by the librarians of the National Library of Thailand also indicates that a number of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* manuscripts were owned or kept by different monasteries, for example, Wat Maha That monastery (NLT: RSs: Mss no. 59, 107) and Wat Campa (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 36). Note that one manuscript copy (*Chapter XI Maha Rat*) from Wat Maha That monastery (consisting of two manuscript volumes) dated in 1830 even contains the prefaces of the royal scribes (NLT: RSs: Mss no. 107, 108)⁶¹, but the title of the royal scribe mentioned in this manuscript is most likely from the Front Palace, within which Wat Maha That monastery is located. Most likely is that both manuscripts were produced by the Front Palace before being given to Wat Maha That monastery which the Front Palace has patronized since the founding of Bangkok.

Wat Phra Chetuphon or Wat Pho monastery has long been patronized by the king of Bangkok since the reign of King Rama I. The monastery is located around the corner of the royal palace's southern wall. As the Temple of the Emerald Buddha within the confines of the royal palace housed the royal palladium such as the Emerald Buddha without any monks residing in it, the nearest active Buddhist monastery by the royal palace appears to be Wat Phra Chetuphon monastery. With the continuation of the royal patronage, the monastery became one of the most important Buddhist centers of the capital. Prince Paramanuchit, son to King Rama I, had ordained since the age of twelve and since then resided at the monastery in the rest of his life, including the period he was appointed to be the Supreme Patriarch. Due to his princehood, Prince Paramanuchit's residence in the monastery was called *tamnak* or a princely residence, in which he composed a large number of literary texts and treatises. In the reign of King Rama III, the restoration project initiated by the king also placed thousands of stone inscriptions preserving various literary texts that brings the monastery the epithet of the first public university in Siam. The literary activities conducted within Wat Phra Chetuphon attest the textual transmission and manuscript production of Ayutthaya literature there.

The paratexts found in the manuscripts indicate that Prince Paramanuchit took part in editing at least two texts of Ayutthaya literature. The first one is a copy of *Cindamani*,

⁶¹ Note that the titles of the royal scribes mentioned in the prefaces of two manuscripts are different, but all of them can be only associated to the royal scribes of the Front Palace rather than the royal palace. These two manuscripts, however, can be determined to belong together as the same set of copy due to the perfect continuation of the text from the Volume I (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 108) to Volume II (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 107), the corresponding fashion of structuring paratexts (i.e. cover titles and fly-leaf titles), the common writing substance, as well as the identical size of two manuscripts.

consisting of two manuscript volumes, namely Volume I and II (NLT: ASS: Mss no. 38, 35). The colophon clearly states that Prince Paramanuchit newly edited *Cindamani* and alternated the order of content from the earlier exemplars. The other text is *Süa Kho Kham Chan*, also consisting of two volumes of manuscripts (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Mss no. 95, 96), whose versified colophon suggests Prince Paramanuchit as an editor of the text (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 96). Both texts edited by Prince Paramanuchit are undated, but the colophon of the *Cindamani* manuscript addresses Prince Paramanuchit with the title granted to him when he has become the Supreme Patriarch in 1851. Thus, the manuscript was supposedly produced after the appointment. As the manuscripts of both *Cindamani* and *Süa Kho Kham Chan* have been written by a common hand with the same writing substance, both manuscripts might have been produced in the related period (see Illustrations XVI–XVII). The period in which Prince Paramanuchit edited both texts is somehow unclear, but the place where he has edited must have been his own residence in Wat Phra Chetuphon monastery without any doubt.

Not only did Wat Phra Chetuphon house a large monastic palm-leaf manuscript collection, but evidentially Prince Paramanuchit also owned his private manuscript collection (both paper and palm-leaf manuscripts) kept at his residence. In 1853, after Prince Paramanuchit's death, King Rama IV ordered all the manuscripts in the prince's collection to be transferred to the royal palace as a part of the royal collection. The royal scribes proposed a manuscript catalogue of the prince's collection (NLT: CMHS: R4: 1215CS: Ms no. 138) to be presented to the King. In this long list of manuscripts owned by Prince Paramanuchit, a variety of texts are found, including several titles of the Ayutthaya literature, namely, *Cindamani*, *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*-The Ayutthaya parts (three volumes), and *Anirut Kham Chan* (two volumes). As all the manuscripts were transferred to the royal collection in 1853, it is difficult to determine which manuscripts of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* and *Anirut Kham Chan* were originally from Prince Paramanuchit's collection of Wat Phra Chetuphon monastery as mentioned in the manuscript catalogue. The manuscript catalogue of his collection indicates that this large collection of manuscripts has been housed in the prince's residence within Wat Phra Chetuphon monastery, perhaps the largest monastic collection of *khòì*-paper leporello manuscripts ever known. The case of Wat Phra Chetuphon, it should be noted, has become exceptional among other monasteries in the capital also due to the continuation of the royal patronage towards the monastery.

Apart from paratextual information, which does not often mention the exact monastery as the manuscript origin, the information on the manuscript acquisition provided by the National Library of Thailand also indicates the monastic origin of a few manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature. Wat Maha That monastery, for example, housed several Ayutthaya manuscripts apart from the manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter XI Maha Rat* produced by a royal scribe in 1830 mentioned above, including a manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter V Chuchok* (undated; without the paratexts of the royal scribes) and one composite manuscript

of *Bunnawat Kham Chan* and *Kap He Rüa*. All of these manuscripts donated to the National Library by Phra Khru Thamma Withanacan (Sòn), a senior monk of Wat Maha That monastery, in 1924. The other cases of the minor monastic collections in Bangkok in which manuscripts of Ayutthaya have been found in significantly less number, are, for instance, Wat Bòwòn Niwet (with one manuscript of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*; NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47), Wat Ratcha Bòphit (with one *Süa Kho Kham Chan* manuscript; NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 117) and Wat Dusit (with one *Lilit Phra Lò* manuscript; NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 111). These cases demonstrate that the texts of Ayutthaya literature have been circulated in other monasteries in Bangkok as well, though not collected together as a large number.

Other than the chief monastery in Bangkok, it should be noted that Thonburi, the previous capital situated on the other side of the Cao Phraya river, was also another chief city aside from the current capital, though it was not officially recognized as a part of the capital city Bangkok until 1972. Despite the inferior status of the city, the palaces of many higher ranked princes were located in Thonburi, along with many old and chief monasteries. From the information on the library's manuscript acquisition, several monasteries in Thonburi have been attested as the former owners of the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature. For example, Wat Molilok in Thonburi, once a part of the royal palace of Thonburi, has impressively housed a group of manuscripts of various secular texts, which all were given to the National Library in 1907 by the monastery's abbot, Phra Wichian Thamkhunathon (Sotthi). The manuscripts from Wat Molilok comprise four manuscripts of *Cindamani* (all belonging to different copy; NLT: ASS: Mss no. 10, 32, 49, 86), one manuscript of *Kamsuan Samut* (NLT: KhLSs: Ms no. 165), one of *Thawa Thotsamat* (NLT: KhLSs: Ms no. 216), one complete set of *Anirut Kham Chan* (comprising two manuscripts; NLT: ChSs: Ò: Mss no. 54, 55), and one additional manuscript of *Yuan Phai* (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 196).

The numerous manuscripts of *Cindamani* and other pieces of secular poetry suggest that Wat Molilok was most likely an important center of traditional education in Thonburi with its possession of various old literary works, all of which have been taken as poetic models for various meters in the Bangkok period. Especially the manuscript of *Yuan Phai* (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 196) from Wat Molilok has not only preserved the common glosses, but is also the only manuscript preserving the extended glosses other than the common ones. Perhaps the extensive glosses might have been developed by one of monastic scholars from Wat Molilok itself, for the extensive glosses have never been found elsewhere in other extant manuscripts. Furthermore, one manuscript of *Cindamani* from the monastery (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 32) is the only *Cindamani* manuscript which preserves the text of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* along with *Cindamani-The Version of King Bòrommakot's Reign* (see more in Peera Panarut, 2016a). The process of this unique compilation and edition based on two different versions of *Cindamani* might have been conducted within Wat Molilok as well. Remarkably, Wat Molilok

monastery of Thonburi has once preserved one of the most unique monastic collections that cannot even be found in the capital city of Bangkok.

Another smaller monastic collection in Thonburi was attested in the case of Wat Anongkharam, which once housed several manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature, for example, one manuscript of *Lilit Phra Lò* (incomplete; NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 121), one copy of *Cindamani* (damaged; NLT: ASS: Ms no. 115) and two complete copies of *Süa Kho Kham Chan*, of which the first contains two manuscript volumes (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Mss no. 105, 106) and the latter is a complete single volume manuscript (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 111). Furthermore, a manuscript of *Phra Rot Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 16), which has been proposed by modern scholars to be a text transmitted from the Ayutthaya period, has been found in the collection of Wat Anongkharam as well. All manuscripts from Wat Anongkharam mentioned here were transferred to the National Library in 1932.

There are also other monasteries in Thonburi which once preserved a few manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature. For example, Wat Arun, another monastery once situated in the royal palace of Thonburi, had one manuscript of *Süa Kho Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 123) and one of *Anirut Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 43), both incomplete. Wat Rakhang, in addition, has preserved two different manuscript copies of *Cindamani* (NLT: ASS: Mss no. 44, 48). From the monasteries in the outskirts of the city of Thonburi, a few additional manuscripts were given to the National Library: one manuscript of *Cindamani* from Wat Còm Thòng monastery (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 667) is the only palm-leaf manuscript of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* ever found and preserved nowadays at the National Library of Thailand, while one manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter I Thotsa Phòn* (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 36) originates from Wat Campa monastery in Taling Chan district.

The information on monastic manuscripts found in the paratexts, the documents of historical dispatches, and the information on the library's manuscript acquisition indicates that the manuscripts of the Ayutthaya literature had been circulating in different monasteries in the two main cities: Bangkok and Thonburi. Some monasteries have once owned the relatively large collections for Ayutthaya literature, for example, Wat Phra Chetuphon in Bangkok and Wat Molilok in Thonburi. Lesser collections with only a few manuscripts can be found in many different monasteries from the inner city to the outskirt. Even the large monastic collection, however, cannot be compared to the number of the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature produced and preserved in the royal court, especially the royal collection privately owned by the King.

5.1.4 Minor Cities

In other cities apart from Bangkok and Thonburi, manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature are still being found in ever-increasing number at the time of this writing. It is worth mentioning that the monastic collections from the other minor cities and villages are yet to be surveyed, but the National Library has also acquired a smaller group of manuscripts from the local monasteries. For example, one palm-leaf manuscript of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* (incomplete; NLT: ChSs: Sò: PLMs no. 2) has been given by Wat Kò of Phetchaburi province (in the western part of Thailand nowadays), whereas a manuscript of *Bunnowat Kham Chan* comes from Wat Kudi (also in Phetchaburi). A manuscript of *Yuan Phai* dated 1838 (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 204) also comes from Phetchaburi. Furthermore, the text of *Cindamani* has been widely circulating and found in various monasteries from different provinces. The National Library acquired one copy from Wat Pak Nam (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 27) in Samut Prakan province since 1921. Furthermore, one additional *Cindamani* manuscript has also been found in Wat Tha Phut in Nakhòn Pathom province and has been recently digitized within a project called Manuscripts of Western Thailand (MSWT: NPT001-016).

There are also manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature which were handed over to the National Library of Thailand by different agents of various minor cities including laymen, local noblemen, as well as from modern institutions. For example, one *Cindamani* manuscript (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 14) has been given to the library in 1909 by Phra Phichai Phonlasin of Phetchaburi, while another (NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 22) was given to the National Library (in Bangkok) by the National Library in Nakhòn Si Thammarat (in southern Thailand). The latter manuscript has preserved both *Cindamani* and *the Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Works* as a multiple-text manuscript. However, one additional manuscript of *Cindamani* (NKST: NLT: Ms no. 12) is found preserved nowadays at the National Library of Thailand in Nakhòn Si Thammarat. Even though some of the manuscripts given from or found in the minor cities might not have often survived in a fine condition, they still reflect how far the particular texts of Ayutthaya literature have been circulating in the different, and even faraway, area. *Cindamani*, by the way, has become the Ayutthaya literary text most widely transmitted to the highest number of locations.

5.1.5 Remarks on Place of Textual Circulation

The paratextual evidence, along with other historical documents and the information on the library's manuscript acquisition, does reveal the place where the particular texts of Ayutthaya literature were copied, edited, and then circulated in the various places from the royal court of the capital to the monasteries in the chief and minor cities. Some texts seem to be transmitted only among the royal court, for example, the texts on the royal ceremony such as *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* and *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*. On the other hand, several texts have no evidence that they have been transmitted and then recognized in the royal court

at all, but were more popular in the monastic manuscript culture, for example, *Lilit Cantha Kinnòn*.

Even though Ayutthaya literary texts relating to Buddhist texts (i.e. *Jātaka* etc.) tend to have been copied and studied in the monasteries, this is not so for all cases of Ayutthaya literature, as a version of *Vessantara Jātaka* in bilingual Pali-Thai called *Kap Maha Chat* was never further copied among the monasteries, while all the extant manuscripts were only produced for presentation King Rama I in 1782 without any further copies left to us. On the other hand, several copies of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, which was originally composed in the royal court of the early Ayutthaya period and was then restored in 1814 by the royal order of King Rama II, were preserved in the monasteries in the capital and the chief city as Thonburi, despite its background strongly associated with the royal court. The paratext of a manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* also out that the higher-ranking monk such as Phra Rattana Muni of Wat Ratcha Sitharam has taken part in restoring the text of a lost chapter by rewriting it for presenting to the King. There must have been other higher-ranked monks who undertook the same tasks for other lost chapters as well, according to what is mentioned in the common preface found in all manuscripts of *Chapter I Thotsa Phòn*. Unfortunately, information on their names or monastic titles is not available to us..

Apparently, not only religious texts were transmitted in the monastic spaces, but also a few texts of secular poetry, such as *Kamsuan Samut*, *Lilit Phra Lò*, *Anirut Kham Chan*, or *Thawa Thotsamat*, despite their strongly erotic elements. Even if some of them have based their narratives on *Jātaka* texts, i.e. *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* and *Süa Kho Kham Chan*, the love stories as well as the erotic scenes in these works have been fully embellished. These texts, nevertheless, have been preserved in the monasteries as a part of traditional education, as these texts were employed as poetic models for all learners of Thai poetry. *Cindamani* has even mentioned and praised these texts as poetic models.

The most popular texts of Ayutthaya literature widely transmitted in the monasteries across different cities and areas are *Cindamani* and *Bunnawat Kham Chan*. Both of them must have also been known among the royal court as well. Especially in the case of *Cindamani*, we have found the text was edited several times, at least, in the royal palace, while it was also edited differently in various monasteries. As the text of *Cindamani* was used for the monastic education for teaching orthography and poetics to students who had already learnt the elementary treatises, a copy or several copies of *Cindamani* had to be preserved in order to sustain the system of education.

Still, there are many cases in which the place of textual transmission remains uncertain. For example, all the manuscripts of *Phra Malai Kham Luang* contain neither paratexts mentioning the manuscript production in the royal palace, despite the modern scholars' perception of the text as "the royal version" (Th. *kham luang*), nor any mentioning of the origin

of any manuscript in the monasteries, despite its religious purposes providing moral lessons and explaining Buddhist cosmology.

5.2 Time of Textual Transmission

Time of textual transmission here refers to the time of manuscript production or the editorial and compiling process, not the time of the original composition, which supposedly lies in the Ayutthaya period. Although the aspect of time is not always directly mentioned in the paratexts of manuscripts and only one-third of all manuscripts included in this study contains paratexts informing on the date of the manuscript, time of textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature can be seen ranging from the late seventeenth century to the early twentieth century, considerably the range of time, from which we have the surviving manuscripts.

The manuscript evidence, though appearing in very limited number, also reflects that several texts have been continuously transmitted across the centuries, while other texts seem not to have been further copied in the later period. However, as a large number of manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature are undated, it has to be noted that the discussion on the time of textual transmission here covers mainly the dated manuscripts, or the manuscripts whose date can be calculated or assumed.

5.2.1 Before the Fall: Literary Remains of the Ayutthaya Kingdom

As mentioned earlier, the manuscripts that are dated before the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767 have survived in a very limited number. We do not know how they have been preserved after the fall of the city and found their ways into the modern libraries nowadays. Normally modern scholars can take advantage of the date of manuscripts in the Ayutthaya period by attributing the texts to the period earlier than the manuscripts themselves, as the original texts were supposedly composed before they had been copied to a manuscript.

The manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature with more exact dates in the Ayutthaya period are the *codex unicus* of *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thong* dated in 1748, and the earliest manuscript of *Kritsana Sòn Nong Kham Chan* dated in 1753. Both are dated in the reign of King Bòrommakot (r. 1733–1758) from the late Ayutthaya period. The hands from these two manuscripts correspond to those found in the inscriptions from the contemporary late Ayutthaya period. Furthermore, the *codex unicus* of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* can be assumed to have been produced during the viceroy tenure of Prince Thammathibet (1741–1746) in the reign of King Bòrommakot, even though no certain date of manuscript creation has been found. The correspondence of the handwriting between the *codex unicus* of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* and the *Mae Aksòn Khòm Khut Paròt* Inscription dated in 1747 has made the attribution of the *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* manuscript in the late Ayutthaya period convincing.

Other than these manuscripts mentioned above, the date of which has been given or can be assumed, there are several manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature with the handwriting corresponding to those found in the inscriptions of Ayutthaya, although the date has not been mentioned at all. One of them is the *codex unicus* of *Ton Thang Farangset* now preserved at the National Library of France in Paris (PR: BnF: Indochinois 317), in which handwriting and orthography obviously resemble those of the Wat Cula Mani Inscription dated in 1681 (see *Prachum Cot Mai Het Samai Ayutthaya Phak Nüing*, 1967: 32–33). The other is a fragment of a didactic poem called *Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap* from the National Library of Thailand (NLT: KISSs: Sò: Ms no. 604). The handwriting found in *Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap* corresponds to the early state of the Thai Yò type, which can thus possibly be tied to the early eighteenth century. These manuscripts have been determined by modern scholars (i.e. Boonteun Sriworapot, 2005b) to have originated from the late Ayutthaya period, mainly based on palaeographical arguments.

Among the Ayutthaya literature, whose manuscripts surely originate from the Ayutthaya period, not all of the texts mentioned above have been further transmitted into later periods. We do not have any further copies of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* and *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng* other than their single manuscripts, while the situation is the same for *Ton Thang Farangset* and *Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap*, suggesting that the tradition of these texts might have ceased in the Bangkok period, perhaps due to the lack of extant manuscripts. In addition, there is no other evidence implying that these texts were known amongst Bangkok scribes and scholars at all. It is possible that these texts, including the refined *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang*, might have already been forgotten after the founding of Bangkok. The only text whose further copies can be found is the earliest manuscript of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan*, the text that has been later restored and copied by a monk called In from Nakhòn Si Thammarat, before the edited version has survived in multiple copies. It seems evident that *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* is the only case of Ayutthaya literature so far, in which the time range of manuscript can be found from the late Ayutthaya to the later period, allowing modern scholars to trace the changes and developments of the text by comparing those from the early manuscript to the other extant manuscripts.

5.2.2 After the Fall: Literary Restoration of Bangkok

Following the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767, the transmission of Ayutthaya literature had not completely ceased, even though we do not exactly know how many texts were lost in total and never became known to us, such as several titles of Ayutthaya texts mentioned in *Cindamani* as poetic models (i.e. *Si Umathikaraya*), but neither a single copy of these texts nor their extracts left to us. The transmission of Ayutthaya literature in the Thonburi period (1767–1782) can be found in the case of a copy of *Phra Malai Kham Luang* dated in 1768. Furthermore, attempts to restore the Ayutthaya literary texts in the Thonburi period can be traced in a few cases, in which the paratexts of manuscripts mention the restoration process.

For instance, the *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* was restored by a monk called In of Nakhòn Si Thammarat due to the invitation of Phraya Ratcha Suphawadi who assisted governing the city of Nakhòn Si Thammarat in the Thonburi period during 1776–1783. Most of the extant copies of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* most possibly stemmed from the text restored by the monk In, as his colophons have been further copied as a part of the main text.

Furthermore, in one manuscript of *Lilit Phra Lò* (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17077), the colophon states that Luang Sòrawichit searched out the surviving manuscript of the text for a while before succeeding in the twelfth year after the fall, thus in 1779. Although the manuscript is supposed to have been produced in 1790, its colophon records the attempt to restore the text after the manuscripts have been destroyed during the fall of the Ayutthaya kingdom. In the cases of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* and *Lilit Phra Lò*, the manuscripts themselves might not have date from the Thonburi period, but the paratexts found in them have reflected the attempts of the Siamese scholars after the fall to search for the manuscripts to restore the texts. The paratexts in both cases have mentioned the loss of manuscript copies as the main reason for the attempts of restoration. However, all the cases mentioned here seem not to have been initiated by the King of Thonburi, but rather conducted individually by the scholars of the period.

Literary restoration, however, became one of the main projects of King Rama I, in order to reestablish the arts and culture of the Ayutthaya kingdom in his new capital Bangkok. He has initiated a number of projects on literary restoration, covering the compilation of the Pali palm-leaf manuscripts, the compilation and edition of the legal text *Kotmai Tra Sam Duang*, the composition of various secular texts following the models of Ayutthaya, including the restoration of Ayutthaya literary texts. A group of royal manuscripts dated in 1782, for example, can be seen as a part of the restoration of Ayutthaya literature within the royal court of Bangkok. These royal manuscripts of King Rama I cover *Kap Maha Chat* (six manuscripts), *Cindamani*, and *Thawa Thotsamat*. All of them contain prefaces by the royal scribes of the royal palace, indicating the restoration since the first year of his reign. Furthermore, we still have one complete copy of *Anirut Kham Chan* (consisting of two volumes; PR: BnF: Indochinois 284 (Volume I); PR: BnF: Indochinois 285 (Volume II)) dated in 1795. The preface of the manuscript Volume II reads “Khun Nin has made a copy and has already proofread with the exemplar. May it please Your Majesty,” (Th. คุณนิลเขียน ถวายทานแล้วตามฉบับ ขอเดชะ). The use of royal language here suggests that the manuscripts have been produced within the royal court, possibly as royal manuscripts, although the scribe and proofreader here, Khun Nin, might not have any noble titles of the royal scribes. The end of the preface with the phrase *khò decha* (‘May it please Your Majesty’) implies that this manuscript copy was presented to the king, or the higher-ranking prince such as the Grand Prince of the Front Palace. The list of the royal manuscripts in the reign of King Rama I can be seen in the following table (Table XIII).

Table XIII: The royal manuscripts dated in the reign of King Rama I (1782–1809)

Texts	Manuscripts	Date
<i>Kap Maha Chat: Chapter IV Wana Prawet</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 160	1783
<i>Kap Maha Chat: Chapter VIII Kuman</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 199 (Volume I)	1782
	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 196 (Volume II)	1782
<i>Kap Maha Chat: Chapter IX Matsi</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 195	1782
<i>Kap Maha Chat: Chapter X Sakka Bap</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 204	1782
<i>Kap Maha Chat: Chapter XI Maha Rat</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 210	1782
<i>Cindamani</i>	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 60	1782
<i>Thawa Thotsamat</i>	NLT: KhSs: Ms no. 228	1782
<i>Anirut Kham Chan</i>	PR: BnF: Indochinois 284 (Volume I)	1795
	PR: BnF: Indochinois 285 (Volume II)	1795

The restoration of Ayutthaya literature in the reign of King Rama I was not restricted to royal manuscripts. The manuscripts dated in the reign of King Rama I, though not surviving in large numbers, indicate that other agents have also taken parts in restoring the texts of Ayutthaya as well, for example, the manuscript of *Lilit Phra Lò* (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17077) mentioned above was copied in 1790 by Nai Thok, possibly a private scribe, from an exemplar that Luang Sòrawichit has found and then interpolated the lost part since the Thonburi period. Furthermore, we have found a manuscript of *Phra Malai Kham Luang* (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 217) dated in 1804, even though its origin is unclear. One additional manuscript of *Lilit Cantha Kinnòn* has been produced by a monk in 1809, the last year of King Rama I's reign. The earliest manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter XIII Nakhòn Kan* (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 136), dated 1809 only around one month before the death of King Rama I, has also been found from the first reign even before the restoration of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* by King Rama II in 1814. There is no evidence, however, that this earliest *Maha Chat Kham Luang* was produced by a royal scribe. Manuscripts created outside the royal context also reflect that the literary restoration has taken place along the reign outside the royal palace, even though we have the royal manuscripts of the Ayutthaya literature dated mainly from the beginning of the reign.

The restoration of Ayutthaya literature continued in the reign of King Rama II (1809–1824), even though it has gained less scholarly attention than that of the earlier reign. The complete text of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, for example, was restored in 1814 by King Rama II, along with the restoration of the chanting tradition of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* in the royal palace. The seven chapters that have survived from the Ayutthaya period were copied by royal scribes, while the lost chapters have been rewritten, perhaps from fragments and memory. We still have the manuscripts of all six lost chapters nowadays, but the rewriters or editors of these chapters have been known only for two chapters: *Chapter III Thanna Kan* rewritten by Phra Rattana Muni of Wat Ratcha Sittharam, and *Chapter VI Cunla Phon* by Khun Maha Sitthiwohan, the deputy of the Royal Scribes Department. The royal manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, as a result, are dated from 1814. Some of the chapters have also been recopied in the later years of the reign (1817 and 1818) (see Table XIV below). Note that the extant royal manuscripts do not cover all the chapters of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, for the manuscripts of some rewritten chapters (i.e. *Chapter II Himaphan* and *Chapter X Sakka Bap*) that we have nowadays do not contain any preface of the royal scribes, perhaps produced elsewhere other than the royal palace.

Apart from the royal manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, we also have royal manuscripts of other Ayutthaya texts dated in the reign of King Rama II as well, namely, the earliest manuscript of *the Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Poems* dated 1816, *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises* (dated 1817), *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* (1817), and *Anirut Kham Chan* (1817). The texts copied in the royal court of King Rama II appear more varied than what has survived from the previous reign, covering the earliest copies of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*, though in a damaged condition, of *the Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Poems*, and of *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*. We do not know whether these texts were first restored only in the reign of King Rama II or whether earlier manuscripts might have existed. In either case, these manuscripts reflect the manuscript production of several Ayutthaya texts by royal scribes, which can be viewed as playing a part in the restoration of Ayutthaya literature as well. It is to be stressed that there is a manuscript of *Cindamani* (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 239) edited by Luang Likhit Pricha in 1819. Though it was not presented to the king as a royal manuscript, this *Cindamani* manuscript was likely produced in the circle of the royal court in the reign of King Rama II.

Table XIV: Royal manuscripts dated in the reign of King Rama II (1809–1824)

Texts	Manuscripts	Date
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter I Thotsa Phòn</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 35	1814
	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 38	1817
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter IV Wana Prawet</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 56	1814
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter VI Cunla Phon</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 65	1814
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter VIII Kuman</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 93	1814
	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 84	1817
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter XI Maha Rat</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 104 (Volume II)	1814
	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 106 (Volume I)	1814
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter XII Chò Kasat</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 119	1818
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter XIII Nakhòn Kan</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 125	1814
<i>Samutthakhot Kham Chan</i>	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/2 (Volume IV) ⁶²	1817
<i>Anirut Kham Chan</i>	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 75	1817
<i>Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Poems</i>	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 18	1816
<i>Collection of Old Elephant Treatises</i>	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 17	1817

⁶²This royal copy of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* contains four volumes of manuscripts, but the preface of the royal scribes appears only in the manuscript of the Volume IV (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/2). However, the manuscript Volume I of the set of copy is identifiable to be the manuscript NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/3, while the Volume II is NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/4, due to the material, scribal hands, and their structuring paratexts. The manuscript Volume III of this set is unfortunately unidentified.

The continuation of manuscript production of Ayutthaya literature also occurred in the reign of King Rama III (1824–1851) both inside and outside the royal palace, though the number of royal manuscripts does see a decline in this period. We have a complete royal copy of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* dated in 1848–1849, possibly the earliest complete copy of the text ever found, along with a royal copy of *Anirut Kham Chan*. These texts had already been copied from the previous reign at the very latest, though perhaps earlier. The royal copies dated in the reign of King Rama III might have been done based on earlier exemplars kept in the Royal Manuscript Hall. Another case that demonstrates the practice of copying the text from an earlier exemplar can be found in the case of the royal copy of *Cindamani* dated in 1842 (BKK: HRH SDh: Cindamani (1)), whose paratext states that the text was copied from an exemplar which the Lord of the Royal Scribes edited in 1822 during King Rama II's reign. This case clearly highlights the transmission of text through the practice of copying from the earlier exemplars within the royal court. The royal manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature dated in King Rama III's reign can be summarized in the following table (Table XV).

Table XV: The royal manuscripts dated in the reign of King Rama III (1824–1851)

Texts	Manuscripts	Date
<i>Samutthakhot Kham Chan</i>	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17069 (Volume I)	1849
	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17070 (1) (Volume II)	1849
	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17177 (Volume III)	1849
	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17070 (2) (Volume IV)	1849
<i>Cindamani</i>	BKK: HRH SDh: Cindamani (1)	1842
<i>Anirut Kham Chan</i>	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 44 (Volume I)	1847
	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 81 (Volume II)	1847

Apart from the royal manuscripts listed in the table above, there is also a complete copy of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter XI Maha Rat* (containing two volumes of manuscripts; NLT: RSs: Mss no. 108 (Volume I); 107 (Volume II)) which was copied by royal scribes in 1830 and contained the same structure of the royal scribes' preface. The titles of the royal scribes mentioned in both manuscripts of this copy, however, appear to be those of royal scribes of the Front Palace, which are supposed to serve Prince Maha Sak Phonlasep during his tenure at the Front Palace in 1830. These two manuscript volumes of the copy are, therefore, most likely the royal manuscripts of the Front Palace rather than of the royal palace. Furthermore, it can be seen that the texts of Ayutthaya literature have also been transmitted outside the palace during the reign of King Rama III. For example, we have one manuscript of *Lilit Phra Lò* dated

in 1844 (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 101), while another manuscript of *Yuan Phai* dated in 1838 (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 204) has originally come from Phetchaburi province. Five additional manuscripts of *Cindamani* have been produced during this reign⁶³.

In the early Bangkok period, in which traditional manuscripts dominated as the main communication tool, the evidence of the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature dated after the fall of Ayutthaya discussed here has demonstrated the continued tradition of making copies and editions in the royal court and outside. The texts of Ayutthaya were still transmitted from the literary restoration in the early years of King Rama I's reign into later reigns, including the restoration of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* by King Rama II, in lost chapters were rewritten, so that the complete texts of all chapters could be used and chanted in the royal ceremony. Some texts such as *Cindamani*, *Anirut Kham Chan*, and *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* were copied multiple times during the first century of the Bangkok period, implying the popularity of the texts as well as the need for copies, especially in the case of *Cindamani*. The text of *Cindamani* itself was edited several times even within the royal court and seems never to have had a fixed or standardized form since the time of its earliest evidence.

5.2.3 Manuscripts after Printing Technology

Printing technology had already been introduced in Siam in the first half of the nineteenth century, as the first printing house was set in Bangkok in 1836 by Dan Beach Bradley, an American missionary. During the reign of King Rama III, the royal authority even hired Bradley's printing house to print an official announcement in 1839. A printing press has never been established in the royal palace, however, until around 1854 when King Rama IV founded the royal printing house known as the Printing Department (Th. *krom aksòn phimphakan* / กรมอักษรพิมพ์การ) or the Aksòn Phimphakan Printing House. The literary texts gained their popularity in the printed form by a private printing house founded in 1868 by Malcom Smith, making a number of the Siamese literature, including those transmitted from the Ayutthaya period, become accessible in form of printed books. Due to the mass number in a single production and the convenience of accessibility, the printed books have gradually become popular among the Siamese in the capital. Still, the printing press did not totally displace the manuscript production in its early days, as the manuscripts still co-existed with printed books in the late nineteenth century and even in the early twentieth century.

The establishment of the printing press in Siam impacted the production of the traditional manuscripts, especially the manuscripts of the royal palace, the place where the first Siamese-owned printing house has been established. The royal manuscripts of the Ayutthaya literature dated in the reign of King Rama IV (1851–1868), King Rama V (1868–1910), and

⁶³Namely, namely, NLT: ASS: Ms no. 11 dated 1829, NLT: ASS: Ms no. 81 dated 1832, NLT: ASS: Ms no. 68 dated during 1844–1847, NLT: ASS: Ms no. 31 dated 1848, and NLT: ASS: Ms no. 235 dated 1850.

King Rama VI (1910–1925) appear in significantly less numbers in comparison with the earlier reigns of the Bangkok period. It seems that only the ceremonial texts from Ayutthaya were continually continually copied by royal scribes, namely, *Maha Chat Kham Luang* and *Ongkan Chaeng Nam*, perhaps due to the manuscripts' ritual function in the actual ceremonies. For the case of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, only a single manuscript preserving both *Chapter V Chuchok* and *Chapter VI Cunla Phon* (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 63) was copied by a royal scribe in 1854 in the reign of King Rama IV, while one additional manuscript of *Chapter I Thotsa Phòn* (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 34) was copied by the royal scribes in 1889. In the case of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam*, one royal copy has been made in 1901 to be presented to King Rama V (NLT: KhLSs: Ms no. 175) and another copy around 1914 to be used in the actual ceremony in the reign of King Rama VI (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 262). The latter manuscript preserves the text newly edited by King Rama VI himself. These royal manuscripts of these texts are related to the royal ceremonies can be counted as the latest group of the royal manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature produced in the royal scribes of the Siamese court.

Since the late nineteenth century, the literary texts of Ayutthaya have found their way into printed form in various private printing houses in Bangkok. The members of the Siamese elites who were able to get access to the printed books at that time must have been aware of the benefits of this new form of books, since King Rama V has ordered the text of *Lilit Phra Lò* to be printed, possibly around 1902. One manuscript (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 108) preserves a passage of preface declaring the intention of King Rama V to have this text printed. The text of *Lilit Phra Lò* in this manuscript might be the one prepared for publication possibly sometime before 1902, but it seems that the process of copying this manuscript has never been finished. Nevertheless, the preface records the king's intention for the printed book, which certainly reveals the preference on the printed books to the traditional manuscript. The preface of this manuscript reads as follows:

๑ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ทรงพระราชดำริเห็นว่าโคลงต่างๆที่นักปราชญ์แต่ก่อนเรียบเรียงไว้
นั้น ผู้ซึ่งจะหาอ่านมีน้อยนัก ฉบับก็ไม่มีมากในเรื่องโคลงนี้ ก็ทำให้ผู้อ่านมีประโยชน์ได้บ้าง ไม่เป็นการซ้ำ
ร่ายทีเดียว เพราะถ้าอ่านโคลงที่เป็นเรื่องราวการ เหมือนหนึ่งกระบวนก็ขึ้นเป็นต้น ก็อาจให้รู้ธรรมเนียม
ราชการเก่าเล่าใหม่ ซึ่งจะมีต่อไปเช่นนั้นบ้าง อีกประการหนึ่ง ถ้าเป็นเรื่องพระราชพงษาวดาร เหมือนลิลิตเต
ลงพ่าย ก็จะรู้เรื่องราวพงษาวดาร แลราชประเพณีโดยละเอียด แลทำให้วิชาหนังสือที่จะให้อักษร แลอักษร
สกด แลเอกโทชอบในที่ควรจะใช้ แต่ถ้าจะว่าตำราที่เรียนก็มีอยู่ ทำไมจึงจะต้องมาอ่านโคลงจึงรู้เกล้าว่าตำราที่
มีนั้นผู้อ่านมักจะเกียจคร้านไม่ชวนอ่าน ถ้าเป็นคำโคลงแล้วผู้อ่าน ก็อยากทราบเรื่องแลฟังกลอนเมื่ออ่านไป
พบหลายๆหน ก็ติดตามใจ เหมือนหนึ่งบางคนเขียนว่า (ต้อง) ดังนั้นเมื่อดูๆก็น่าจะเขียนลงด้วยผล่อถ้าผู้รู้
โคลงแล้ว จะไม่ใคร่เขียนเลยเพราะคำนี้เป็นที่โท คงจะต้องเขียนลงว่า (ต้อง) เสมอไม่พลั้ง อนึ่งก็เป็นที่อ่าน
พาใจให้เพลินในที่ๆไม่มีการแลเล่นที่รำคาญจึงโปรดเกล้าฯ ให้พระเจ้าราชวรวงษ์เธอ กรมหมื่นอักษรสาสน
โสภณ ทำสมุดเล่มนี้เป็นเล่มเล็กๆเพื่อจะให้ติดไปในเป่าเสื้อ ฤๅหีบผ้าหีบหมากเพื่อไปในทางเรือ ฤๅมิดีไป
นานๆก็ไม่เป็นการลำบากที่จะจะรื้อ ด้วยเป็นของเล็กๆตีพิมพ์ไว้เพื่อให้ ผู้อ่านได้ถืออ่านตามสบาย

Translation: His Majesty King Chulalongkorn saw that the poems that the scholars in the past had composed were very difficult to trace in the manuscripts and thus there are hardly any readers for them. For this text of *khlong* (*Lilit Phra Lò*) there are not many manuscripts. Readers will find some benefits (from reading) and find it to be adequate. If one reads the *khlong* on the official ceremony as on the royal possession, one will know more on the old and new royal tradition. Correspondingly, if one reads a text on royal chronicle such as *Lilit Taleng Phai*, one will gain thorough knowledge on history and royal tradition. And if one would like to know the use of initial consonants, final consonants and the tonal markers (in poems), one might have to read the treatise, but many people would be too lazy to read. Thus, if the text is a *khlong* poem, then the reader will find suspense in the tale and want to read it further. After many times, one shall remember the text by heart, visually and aurally. For example, the one who knows (the text by heart) will not write the tonal marker *mai tho* in the false place. In addition, the text can also be read with joy and without any irritation. Hence, the king has assigned Prince Aksòsan Sophon to produce this manuscript or volume (of *Lilit Phra Lò*) into a small size (printed) book to be portable in pockets or in chests of betel or cloth for travelling by boats. Even for a long journey, it will not be difficult to transport or unload, as it has been printed out in order to be conveniently carried.

One of the common problems for traditional manuscripts mentioned in the preface above is that the manuscripts are difficult to access. As traditional manuscript production takes more time and gives a result in a single copy, the manuscript of a particular text is not always accessible. On the other hand, the printed books have been produced in mass, allowing the text to be found and accessed more easily and to be widely read. The other aspect of preferring printed books to traditional manuscripts mentioned in the ending part of the preface is the portability of printed books, which can be more conveniently carried, or packed, since the common size of traditional *khòì*-paper manuscripts is too large for carrying in the pockets or small chests. Furthermore, the entire text of *Lilit Phra Lò* is rather long and always requires multiple volumes to be preserved (normally four volumes), as there is no single manuscript which preserves the entire text surviving to us. The multiple volumes for one long text might have become a shortcoming of the traditional manuscript, which has been recognized by the Siamese around the turn of the twentieth century.

Despite the advantages of printed books, it can be seen that the use and production of traditional manuscripts continued, since printed books only became accessible for those who could afford the costs associated with obtaining them or those who had access to bookstores and printing houses in Bangkok only. Many texts of Ayutthaya literature weretransmitted in form of traditional manuscripts, even in the late nineteenth century. For example, one copy of *Yuan Phai* has been dated in 1857, while another manuscript of *Lilit Phra Lò* was copied in 1860 by a monk of Wat Bunnatharam monastery, even though the exact location of the monastery is unclear. *Cindamani* has still further transmitted in the traditional manuscripts such

as one copy in 1869 (NLT: KhSPhSSs: Ms no. 72). Even after the introduction of the modern textbook on orthography which has been in print since 1871, the traditional manuscripts of *Cindamani* have still been further produced, namely, a copy dated 1893 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 76) and the latest copy ever found in the National Library of Thailand dated in 1911 during the reign of King Rama VI (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 64). The latest copy was owned by a monk, who possibly still employed the manuscript in the traditional education system. The continuation of the *Cindamani* manuscript production even in the early twentieth century bears witness to the long tradition of the text along with the traditional Siamese education, which was not simply surpassed by the arrival of the modern education and modern textbooks. Note that this latest *Cindamani* manuscript is also the most current manuscript of Ayutthaya literature found and employed in this study.

5.2.4 Changes in Manuscript Functions

Even though the later dates of manuscript production might suggest the resilience of the use of traditional manuscripts, undeniably the functions of the manuscripts have gradually changed after the advent of printing technology. The discursive function of a manuscript has been reduced by the availability of the printed books, while its ritual function has been gradually highlighted. The actual manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, for example, has still been placed on the altar of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha even in 1915 (as noted in NLT: RSs: Ms no. 46) and one copy of *Chapter VII Maha Phon* has been used in the actual royal ceremony even until nowadays (Arthid Sheravanichkul, 2011: 193). Modern chanters have perceived the manuscript as the representatives of the teachers in the distant past, which is to be worshipped and respected as a sacred object, even though the modern chanters do not read the text from the manuscript anymore. Perhaps its traditional form suggests the association with the traditional culture from the past, while the handwriting in it represents the effort of scribes from the past.

The perception towards the traditional manuscript as a symbol of the traditional Siamese culture can also be seen in the image of the modern constitution even nowadays. Since the 1932 revolution, the political transition of Siam from the absolute monarchy to the constitutional monarchy, the constitution has always been portrayed in the form of a greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, imitating the traditional form of *the Three Seals Law* manuscripts, as being presented in the Democracy Monument built in 1939 in the heart of Bangkok. In present days, when a new constitution has been reinforced, modern royal scribes under the Secretariat of the Cabinet would be assigned to make copy of the constitutional text on the manuscript which imitates the form of greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscripts, though being manufactured with modern material and procedure. In the royal ceremony of declaring Thailand's constitution, three copies of constitution will be made and the king himself will sign all the copies to authorize these symbolic copies of the constitution. Apparently, the form of the traditional manuscript here signifies the traditional court culture from the past, which more or less represents the royal authority today as well (Thongchai Winichakul, 2019: 247).

Gradually, the use of traditional manuscripts with their discursive function became obsolete, when printed books eclipsed them in the twentieth century. As a result, traditional manuscripts have lost their discursive function, while the ritual and symbolic functions have become more significant and have still remained at the present days.

5.2.5 Duration of Manuscript Production

Information on the duration of manuscript production was not regularly recorded in the manuscripts' paratexts. If a date is provided, mostly it is the date on which the manuscript was copied or completed without any mention of the date when the writing process began. Even when the complete copy of a text covers multiple volumes of manuscripts, most often the scribe records only the date of completion on the first or the last volume⁶⁴, or the scribe records the date of finishing the entire copy on all the manuscripts on all the volumes⁶⁵, making the duration of copying each volume impossible to trace. Correspondingly, if each volume was copied by a different scribe at the same time, this would only further obscure the timeline for the manuscript's creation. Only very few cases from which the duration of copying can be traced have been found in the corpus of Ayutthaya literature. The duration of these cases, however, might not represent any regularity among the traditional scribes, as the cases are too limited in number.

One manuscript of *Cindamani* (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 68), for example, demonstrates a long duration of copying over the years, as its preface records the date on 16th October 1844 possibly as the date of start writing, while the colophon at the end of the manuscript clearly states that the manuscript has been finished writing on Thursday 30th September 1847. The process of writing this manuscript took almost three years in total. This long duration of copying is unusually long, as this manuscript of *Cindamani* contains only one single complete volume, suggesting that the copying process of this manuscript might have been interrupted for some reasons, before an anonymous scribe copied and completed it in 1847. On the other hand, the latest manuscript of *Cindamani* (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 64) has recorded in its colophon the

⁶⁴For example, a royal copy of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter VIII Kuman* (containing two volumes: Volume I NLT: RSs: Ms no. 91; Volume II NLT: RSs: Ms no. 93) bears a preface mentioning the date of finishing the copy (equivalent to Monday 29th October 1814) merely in the manuscript of Volume I (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 93). On the other hand, in a complete copy of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* (containing four volumes: Volume I NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/3; Volume II NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/4; Volume III unidentified; Volume IV NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/2), the date of finishing the copy (equivalent to Tuesday 19th August 1817) is mentioned in the preface of the Volume IV only (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/2).

⁶⁵The complete royal copy of *Kap Maha Chat: Chapter VIII Kuman* (containing two volumes) demonstrates the case in which the date of finishing the copies (equivalent to Thursday 30th May 1782) appears identical in both manuscripts Volume I (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 199) and Volume II (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 196).

duration of making copy from 15th July to 5th September 1911, covering 53 days or around two months. Apparently, the duration of copying a manuscript of *Cindamani* does not necessarily take several years as in the first case mentioned above. In addition, one additional *Cindamani* manuscript (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 50) bears a versified colophon stating that “Khun Suwan of the Royal Scribes Department, who possesses fine penmanship, completed this copy in ten days,” (Th. ขุนสุวรรณกรมอาลักษณ์เลอศลายมือ ขุนเสร็จสิบวันได้ ตกแต้มตามเดิม ฯ). This colophon indicates that the copying process of a complete *Cindamani* manuscript was possible within a shorter period, such as ten days.

Samutthakhot Kham Chan, dated in 1849 and presented to King Rama III, contains four volumes of manuscripts, all copied by the same royal scribe named Nai Pan. All the prefaces of four manuscripts record the date of completion. Nevertheless, since a set of copy consists of four volumes, it can be seen how long the scribe has spent in copying the following volume. The Volume I (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17069) of this set of copy was finished on Sunday 18th March 1849, before he finished Volume II (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17070 (1)) on Tuesday 27th March, Volume III (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17177) on Friday 6th April, and finally Volume IV (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17070 (2)) on Wednesday 11th April 1849. The date of finishing each volume indicates that the scribe took nine days after Volume I to finish the Volume II. Ten days later he finished Volume III, before finishing the last volume in five days. Approximately, this royal scribe has spent around one or two weeks for making copy of each volume of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*. It is noteworthy that each volume contains around 90 folded pages with the writing of the main text, while each folded page consists of four lines. This duration might represent the working time for a royal scribe, who must have been well-trained before being assigned to write a manuscript for the king, to make a copy containing a certain number of pages in fine handwriting using yellow ink. As the writing substance would have had to be infused with a quill before writing, this would have required significantly more time than making a copy in scribbled handwriting using white pencil.

Even though the duration of manuscript production has not regularly been recorded in the manuscripts, the different cases above indicating a totally different duration still preserve information on copy duration, which could be potentially useful for corroborating other hypotheses.

5.2.6 Remarks on Temporal Aspects of Textual Transmission

It is true that temporal aspects are not commonly found in the manuscript corpus of the Ayutthaya literature. Still, the paratexts undeniably reflect many significant aspects about the time of textual transmission which should not be ignored. The date of manuscripts, when it has been mentioned in the paratexts, does not only record the point of time in which the copy was finished, but also reveals the continuation of the particular texts in the course of transmission. Only with the help of the date of copy provided in the manuscripts can we identify the temporal context of one manuscript and then compare the texts and manuscripts with their counterparts in different periods of time. Unfortunately, a number of the Ayutthaya literary texts in the corpus do not preserve any information on time of transmission in their paratexts at all. As a result, we cannot locate the manuscripts and the texts they preserve to any specific period of time, unless the palaeographical elements suggest an approximate period of some sort. Ayutthaya literary texts without any paratextual elements on the date of copy are, for example, *Süa Kho Kham Chan* and *Bunnawat Kham Chan*, despite their relatively higher numbers of extant copies. Even though the paratexts found in the manuscripts of these texts might suggest the place of textual transmission, their temporal aspects are unclear.

Though restricted to a relatively small number of manuscripts, the paratextual elements on the date of copy can provide us with a handful of information on textual transmission. Some texts, such as *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng* and *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang*, which were transmitted in the late Ayutthaya period, have never been found copied in the Bangkok period at all, implying the tradition of these texts might have ceased and possibly have been forgotten. On the other hand, several texts have been continually copied, for instance, *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, which was copied throughout the nineteenth century, though not all the chapters. The treatise on orthography and poetics such as *Cindamani*, furthermore, was copied and edited since the first year of the founding of Bangkok. According to the date provided in the manuscripts, the tradition continued even until the early twentieth century. When conversing the paratextual information on time of transmission with the one on place of transmission, we can even capture a clearer context of transmission for the particular text, as not only the continuation of the tradition in the different period of time is pointed out, but also in the different places such as the royal palace and monastery. In addition, paratextual elements reveal the dynamics of the duration of the manuscript copying process, even though the duration of the text's writing is not commonly recorded in Siamese manuscripts. Hence, the paratexts from the manuscripts can become a significant source for the temporal aspects of the textual transmission as well, although it is not the case for all texts.

5.3 Scribes and Scholars: Agents of Transmission

Agents of textual transmission have not gained sufficient attention in the field of Thai literary studies so far. The term agent of transmission here refers to scribes and scholars in the period after the original composition of the text who took parts in making copy, editing, as well as compiling the text before the text was printed in the form of a modern book. These personal agents are significant in the studies of Thai literature, especially the texts transmitted in form of traditional manuscripts, as the scribes could make a faithful copy from the exemplar or they could alternate the texts in the way different from their original states, i.e. editing and compiling. Ignoring the roles of the scribes and scholars in the course of transmission, one would disregard the dynamics in textual transmission and then easily take the printed edition as the original texts for granted.

One of the most serious shortcomings in studying the scribes and scholars of the Bangkok period, which has led the topics to *terra incognita* in the Thai literary sphere, is the limitation of sources. The manuscripts of literary texts themselves do not offer much information on the scribes or the editors of the texts other than a short mention on their names or titles, if it has been mentioned at all. Most of the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature with paratexts informing on the scribes mention royal scribes of the court, while sources naming or mentioning monastic scribes have been found in more limited number. Thereby, the scholars dealing with the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature must have been familiar with the noble titles of the royal scribes, who did the copying and proofreading, but details about their identity activities have not been provided in the manuscripts, and thus have never been widely studied. However, the court documents from the nineteenth century in the group of historical dispatches preserved at the National Library of Thailand convey more information on the royal scribes, i.e. their tasks, their organization, their pension, as well as their background, though most of documents are fragmentary. The royal scribes, therefore, are the group of agents of textual transmission which give us real insight into the Siamese court manuscript culture.

Among the paratextual evidence providing hints on the royal and the monastics scribes in the transmission of Ayutthaya literature, the scribes, who were hired privately for copying manuscripts, are rarely found and even when they are, they appear with few details or information on them. For example, an undated manuscript of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 17) records the name of the scribe as Nai Rüang in its versified colophon, letting us to recognize the scribe as a laymen who holds no noble title, but the colophon does not tell us more other than expressing the humbleness of the scribe in his penmanship. Interestingly, however, the scribe refers to himself here as a *samian*, literally clerk or (non-royal) scribe, not an *alak* ‘royal scribe,’ the term distinctively used for the royal scribe working at the palace. The other manuscript mentioning another private scribe is a manuscript of *Bunnawat Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 25) whose versified colophon records the name of the scribe as Nai Suthat. In addition, the preface of a *Kap He Rüa* manuscript (NLT:

KHKhlSs: Ms no. 52) notes that Luang Sara Prasoet has hired Nai Khum to make the copy in 1870. Luang Sara Prasoet, despite his higher position in the Royal Scribes Department, seems to have hired a scribe named Nai Khum privately for his personal copy. The remuneration paid to the scribe is, unfortunately, not mentioned here. Further information or clues on the private scribes in traditional manuscript culture, aside from that already mentioned here, has yet to be found.

Due to the scarcity of the sources and the limited information provided only on the royal and the monastic scribes, the discussion on the scribes and scholars here in this part of the study is again based on a set of binaries: royal scribes and monastic scribes, though both did interact with each other and cannot be completely separated from one another. When examining the role of royal scribes in the transmission of Ayutthaya literature, the court administrative documents will be employed to understand the royal scribes mentioned in the paratexts. However, the evidence also suggests that other groups of scholars of the royal court have also taken part in the textual transmission, namely, the royal pandits, the court brahmins, as well as the royal pages. Thus, these groups of the court scholars will be briefly discussed as another part of the literary agents in the royal court as well. The monastic scribes, nevertheless, have not been mentioned in detail in the other documents apart from the paratexts of the monastic manuscripts themselves. Still, the aspects on the monastic scribes can also be assumed from this limited number of paratexts. In addition, a review of the paratexts of the manuscripts has also revealed that many famous poets and scholars in the early Bangkok period also played a role as traditional editors of literary texts.

5.3.1 Royal Scribes (*Alak*) as Scribes and Scholars

The royal scribes were the main agents of textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature, the paratextual and historical evidence of which have allowed us to gain more details for the discussion in this part of study. The Thai term for royal scribe, *alak*, is derived from the Sanskrit word *ālakṣaṇa* literally meaning ‘perceiving, observing’ (Monier-Williams, 2008: 153). The term is testified in the Angkorian Khmer inscriptions in the meaning of a royal message, rescript, or writ (Jenner, 2009: 758). Presumably the term might have been borrowed into Thai language through the Old Khmer, but has been used to refer to the officers who produced the royal writs. The earliest evidence for the word *alak* in Thai language has been found in the preface of a palm-leaf manuscript titled *Linatthapakāsiniṭikājātaka* dated 1647. The evidence from the Bangkok period has indicated that the term *alak* refers mainly to the royal scribes, while the non-royal scribes were referred to as *samian*, literally ‘clerk’ (Dan Beach Bradley, 1971: 704, 785).

The royal manuscripts have often mentioned the noble ranks and titles of the royal scribes, with which modern scholars are familiar, for example, Khun Maha Sitthiwohan, Luang Sara Prasoet, Khun Thep Kawi, Nai Thiankharat, or Nai Ratchasan. Sometimes the ones

without any noble rank or title have been given (referred to with the common title *nai*), but the form and structure of the royal manuscripts' paratexts have shown that they are the untitled royal scribes working with the higher-ranking ones. The paratexts of the royal manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature mention these royal scribes as the copyists, proofreaders, as well as editors of the texts. The historical documents, however, demonstrate that the royal scribes have various tasks in the royal court, while the Department of the Royal Scribes in the early Bangkok period was a rather large department consisting of more than one hundred officers in duty, according to the court documents from the nineteenth century. Since the beginning of the Bangkok period, the transmission of the literary texts, such as Ayutthaya literature, is considerably one of the main tasks of the royal scribes, not necessarily the core task. The royal scribes' task of textual transmission has then been gradually surpassed, however, by the printing technology since the late nineteenth century.

In the text of *Kotmai Tra Sam Duang* or *the Three Seals Law*, the hierarchy of royalty and nobility is listed in the part of a legal act called *Phra Aiyakan Tamnaeng Na Phonlariian* ('*The Legal Act of Civil Hierarchy*') originally promulgated in 1455 in the early Ayutthaya period, but later compiled and edited in 1805 (during King Rama I's reign). The act has provided the ranks and titles for the noblemen of the Royal Scribes Department from the higher to the lower, beginning with the Head of the Department called Phra Si Phuri Pricha, followed by Khun Sara Prasoet as the first deputy, Khun Maha Sitthiwohan the second deputy, Mūn Thep Kawi and Mūn Thip Kawi as two higher-ranking scribes, before four chief officers in duty, the position called in Thai as "Nai Wen," consisting of Nai Thiankharat, Nai Ratchasan, Nai Chamni Wohan, and Nai Chamnan Aksōn. Then the accountant of the department is mentioned as Mūn Ca Pholaphak, before mentioning the untitled *alak* (Th. *alak leo*) who was under all the ranks mentioned above.

The text of the legal act records only ten noble titles of the royal scribes, from which we have found taking parts in composition of several texts of Ayutthaya. For example, Khun Thep Kawi has been known by the paratexts as the original author of *Dutsadi Sangwoei Klòm Chang*, the first text in *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*, though mentioned as *khun*, a rank higher than *mūn* as provided in the legal act. Possibly, the author of the text was promoted to a higher rank but maintained his former title. In addition, Sara Prasoet has also been mentioned as the editors who make a revision on *Thawa Thotsamat*, possibly around the same time in which the text has been originally composed by Phra Yaowa Rat ('young prince'), as mentioned in the stanza no. 258 of the text. Even though not any further information on these two noblemen of the Royal Scribes Department in the Ayutthaya period is found, the mention on Khun Thep Kawi and Sara Prasoet in two cases above demonstrates that the royal scribes took part in composing and editing literary texts since the Ayutthaya period.

5.3.1.1 The Organisation and Tasks of the Royal Scribes

The court documents from the Bangkok period, however, have provided us more on the structure and organization of the Royal Scribes Department. In a group of documents called *banchi bia wat* ('pension records'), in which a list of all the officers in the department is provided with the pension they gained each year (see Illustration XXIV). The pension records were supposed to have been written by the department's accountant and then sent to the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Royal Treasury every year. The records, nonetheless, have survived in incomplete form. For the Department of the Royal Scribes, there are only eleven pension records for eleven different years left to us, dated from 1829 to 1867 (during the reigns of King Rama III and King Rama IV). The records from the other years or the years earlier than 1829 have not survived due to the damage, loss, and the practice of reusing the manuscripts of old records, while the pension records from the reign of King Rama V have unfortunately been burnt during the fire incident on 9th November 1960, according to the librarian's note found in the current manuscript catalogue of the historical dispatches from King Rama V's reign of the National Library of Thailand. Therefore, only eleven complete pension records from the middle nineteenth century are accessible nowadays⁶⁶.

According to the pension records of the Royal Scribes Department, the hierarchy of the officers begins with the Head of the Department or Phra Si Phuri Pricha. Sometimes other historical documents, as well as the manuscripts of literature, refer to the Head of the Royal Scribes Department briefly as Phra Alak, literally 'grand scribe' or the Lord of Royal Scribes. There are at least two deputies of the department mentioned: Khun Sara Prasoet and Khun Maha Sitthiwohan. Then the higher-ranking royal scribes, all with noble ranks and titles such as Khun Thep Kawi, including the department accountant, are mentioned, most possibly the higher-ranking scribal officials mentioned here are directly under the head or the deputy of the department, followed by the lower-ranked scribes working under one of four head officers in duty or *nai wen*. In the pension records, the lower-ranked, as well as untitled, royal scribes will be divided in four groups and listed after one of the *nai wen* officers whom they are responsible for. In each of the four scribal sections under four *nai wen* officers, there are only several of them holding noble titles, mostly *mün* but also *khun*, while the rest are untitled or newly registered with or transfers to the department. Note that the untitled scribes would be called by the common title *nai*, the same title as the *nai wen* officers'. The ranks of *nai* in *nai wen* (i.e. Nai Thiankharat, Nai Ratchasan) have been abbreviated from *nai wen*, and thus have become a relatively high rank between *mün* and *khun*, according to the pension that four *nai wen* officers gained.

⁶⁶There are also other manuscripts of pension records for the Royal Scribes Department at the National Library of Thailand that partially preserves the pension for some sections of the officers in the department merely (i.e. NLT: CMHS: R4: 1218CS: Ms no. 222). These documents cannot be employed to see the entire number of the officers in the department, unfortunately.

Furthermore, apart from the division of the royal scribes into the four *wen* sections, the Department of the Royal Scribes still contains a further subdivision, called the section of manuscript technicians (Th. *kòng chang samut*), which can be divided into the right and left sections. The right section (Th. *kòng chang samut khwa*) is presided by Khun Samut (literally ‘lord of manuscripts’), while the left section (Th. *kòng chang samut sai*) is headed by Khun Ram. The officers in these right and left sections are called in Thai *chang samut* or manuscript technicians, whose duty is to prepare the manuscripts and distribute them in the royal court. In each section, some technician officers hold the title of *mün*, but the main portion is untitled technician. Comparing to the number of scribal officials of the department, the manuscript technicians appear in less proportion.

The number of officials in the Department of the Royal Scribes, according to the extant pension records, can be summarized in the table below (Table XVI). The table shows the number of officials in each year, followed by a parenthesis in which the number of scribal officials and manuscript technicians are separately given.

Table XVI: The number of officials in the Royal Scribes Department, according to extant pension records (1829–1867)

Date	Manuscript	Total Number of Royal Scribes (scribal officials/manuscript technicians)
1829	NLT: CMHS: R3: 1191CS: Ms no. 17	133 (84/49)
1837	NLT: CMHS: R3: 1199CS: Ms no. 68	139 (84/55)
1838	NLT: CMHS: R3: 1200CS: Ms no. 92	140 (89/51)
1839	NLT: CMHS: R3: 1201CS: Ms no. 314	197 (fragment)
1841	NLT: CMHS: R3: 1203CS: Ms no. 87	141 (86/55)
1847	NLT: CMHS: R3: 1209CS: Ms no. 173	134 (87/47)
1850	NLT: CMHS: R3: 1212CS: Ms no. 167	140 (81/59)
1858	NLT: CMHS: R4: 1220CS: Ms no. 202	179 (116/63)
1860	NLT: CMHS: R4: 1222CS: Ms no. 297	184 (116/68)
1862	NLT: CMHS: R4: 1224CS: Ms no. 317	207 (139/68)
1867	NLT: CMHS: R4: 1229CS: Ms no. 205	246 (165/81)

The table above shows that the number of the scribal officials makes up the main part of the Royal Scribes Department and exceeds that of the manuscript technicians. Even though

these technicians are included in the department, their duty is evidentially separated from that of the scribal officials. The titles granted to the manuscript technician are never the same as those of the scribal officials. The literal meaning of the titles for the manuscript technicians tends to be related to their skills and techniques or the beauty (of the artistic skills), signifying the ability and expertise the technicians expectedly process, for example, (Mün) Saen Chamnan ‘tremendously skillful,’ (Mün) Chamnan Nimit ‘skillful in creation,’ (Mün) Cong Cai Maen ‘accurate as the heart intents’ or (Mün) Nimit Banyong ‘beautiful creation’. On the other hand, the titles of the scribal officials associate most often with the scribal works, consisting of the words related to letters, speeches, or poets, for instance, (Khun) Sara Prasoet ‘highly message’, (Khun) Maha Sitthiwohan ‘great powerful speech,’ (Mün) Thep Kawi ‘poetic god,’ Nai Chamnan Aksòn ‘skillful in lettering,’ or Nai Thiankharat ‘(skillful on) long and short syllables’⁶⁷. The titles of the scribal officials and those of the manuscript technicians within the Royal Scribes Department are conspicuously different and suggest their different types of tasks and statuses.

From the titles found in the pension records, there are no titles of manuscript technicians appearing in any preface or colophon of the royal manuscripts as copyists, proofreaders, or editors at all, while the titles of the scribal officials are commonly found, suggesting that the technicians did not have their business in copying and proofreading the royal manuscripts at all. The court documents which specify the task of these manuscript technicians are, for example, the records on manuscript distribution (NLT: CMHS: R3: 1202CS: Mss no. 194, 195), in which the technicians have made notes about the blank manuscripts and paper given to different officers and departments in the royal palace. There are not any titled scribal officials mentioned as taking any part in this task.

The main tasks and duties of the scribal officials within the Department of the Royal Scribes (henceforth generally referred to as the royal scribes) cover both tasks concerning manuscripts and tasks related to royal ceremonies. The tasks related to the court manuscript culture are, for example, to preserve the royal manuscripts, diplomatic documents, legal manuscripts and records, administrative records, as well as the manuscripts owned by the Department of the Royal Scribes at the Royal Manuscript Hall. From this task on manuscript conservatory, we have several documents which can be relatively called the (traditional)

⁶⁷ The literal meaning of the title Nai Thiankharat has been proposed by Phraya Si Sunthòn Wohan (Noi Acarayangkura), the Head of the Royal Scribes Department during 1879–1891, in his treatise on Thai language called *Waiphot Praphan* (first published 1885) that the title Thiankharat here is derived from two Pali words *dīgha* ‘long’ and *rassa* ‘short,’ thus ‘(the one who is expert on both) long and short (syllables)’ (Noi Acarayangkura, 1972: 565). Even though the spelling of *rat* appears to be the one derived from *rāja* ‘king,’ the meaning proposed by Phraya Si Sunthòn Wohan makes more sense in comparison with the literal meaning of the other royal scribes which are always related to the scribal works, letters, as well as poetic element.

manuscript catalogues⁶⁸ done by the royal scribes, recording the lists of manuscript titles kept in each cabinets and trunks within the Royal Manuscript Hall. In addition, whenever there are any manuscripts transferred to the Royal Manuscript Hall, the royal scribes would be assigned to record the list of the transferred manuscripts and documents as well, such as in the case of the list of manuscripts formerly owned by Prince Paramanuchit (NLT: CMHS: R4: 1215CS: Ms no. 138).

The royal scribes also served as a group of literary scholars in the royal court, responsible for the editorial tasks regarding various secular texts. As we have seen in a number of manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature, the royal scribes have taken their roles as the editors of the texts, for example, *Cindamani* has been edited at least twice by the royal scribes to be presented to the king, namely, Khun Maha Sitthiwohan in 1782 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 60) and the Head of the Department (referring to Phra Si Phuri Pricha) in 1822 (BKK: HRH SDh: Cindamani (1)). In addition, the royal scribes have also been assigned, along with other court officers, to edit *the Three Seals Law* in 1805 (Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan, 2007a–b). Some were assigned to edit, and some even to rewrite, *Maha Chat Kham Luang* in 1814. In many cases, the royal scribes have proved themselves to be poets of the royal courts, originally composed the literary texts. For example, the Head of the Royal Scribes Department has originally composed a didactic poem called *Khlong Thamma Suphasit* (*Poems on Moral Proverbs in Khlong Meter*) in 1795 to be presented to King Rama I. Sunthòn Phu himself, the most famous poet of the early Bangkok period and nowadays Thailand's national poet, also spent some time working in the Royal Scribes Department in the reign of King Rama II as well.

Making copies of manuscripts and court documents is counted as another main duty of the royal scribes, and after the copy has been finished, the other royal scribes would be assigned to proofread the copied text. This practice is reflected in many royal manuscripts containing the royal scribes' paratexts. Sometimes when the royal scribes were assigned to make copies, the list of the assigned texts and the manuscripts being copied and to be copied has been recorded by the royal scribes (i.e. NLT: CMHS: R3: 1188CS: Ms no. 24), though the cases of this surviving to us are rather rare. The royal scribes, furthermore, were expected to be able to compose and draft the court announcements and royal orders, apart from their calligraphic skills. After the draft had been approved by the court authority, the copying of the draft to the official documents was done by the royal scribes.

In terms of the royal scribes' tasks concerning the royal ceremony, the royal scribes are expected to read the royal announcement and proclaim it aloud in the royal hall. In the royal ceremony on oath of allegiance, for instance, the royal scribes would read aloud the oath announcement (in prose) in the hall, while the court brahmins would recite the text of *Ongkan*

⁶⁸ I.e. NLT: CMHS: R3: 1186CS: Ms no. 34; NLT: CMHS: R3: 1199CS: Ms no. 66; NLT: CMHS: R3: 1200CS: Ms no. 88.

Chaeng Nam. Furthermore, in the traditional judicial system, when the truth has to be searched out in a trial by ordeal through firewalk or diving into the stream, the royal scribes had to be present at the juristic court to recite the text inviting the divine beings as the witnesses and cursing the convicted called *Ongkan Dam Nam Lui Phloeng* ('*Oath of Diving and Firewalk*'), according to the text of *the Three Seals Law* (Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan, 2007b: 88). In addition, when the golden leaves for appointing the ranks of the royal family, the higher-ranking monks, and noblemen, traditionally called *suphannabat*, are to be produced and sent to the appointed parties, the royal scribes must be present at the royal ceremony to inscribe the *suphannabat* hold at the royal hall, while the monks and brahmins would consecrate the *suphannabat* while being written.

In the Department of the Royal Scribes, there is one accountant called Mūn Ca Si Phonlaphak, as mentioned above. This accountant did not take part in other scribal tasks but seems to have dedicated himself to the account of the department. From the court documents preserved at the National Library of Thailand, all the pension records of the department were done by Mūn Ca Si Phonlaphak, and he would have to submit the records to the Ministry of Interior, which was responsible for the registration of the court officers, and to the Ministry of Royal Treasury, which would give him the pension money to be further attributed, in case that the pensions are not given to the officers by the king in an official occasion. Hence, Mūn Ca Si Phonlaphak has most often become the person who took care of money of the department. In one court document dated 1841, there is a draft of petition which a royal scribe wrote to submit to the higher court authority (in NLT: CMHS: R3: 1203CS: Ms no. 87). This petition accuses Mūn Ca Si Phonlaphak of corruption within the department, as the accountant did not distribute the money properly to the department officers.

The pension records not only provide us with information on the number of officers in the Royal Scribes Department and the amount of money they gained per year, but also offer us information on the scribes who were out of duty as well as newly registered royal scribes. The royal scribes who no longer worked at the department anymore were removed from the list of officers receiving the pension, with the reasons also recorded after their names, for example, "transferred to [the other department]," "died," "ordained," "ill," "become blind," or simply "escaped the duty". It seems that Mūn Ca Si Phonlaphak had to find all the people listed in the pension from the previous year and make notes as to who was no longer fit for duty in order to calculate the entire amount of money to be properly distributed. On the other hand, when there were any royal scribes registered and starting their duty at the department, this would be recorded in the pension documents from whichever department they were transferred. In most cases, in which the royal scribes were totally new at the royal court, the family connection to the other officers of the court is recorded. Interestingly, most of the new royal scribes, according to the pension records, are relatives to the officers working at the Royal Scribes Department. Thus, the pension records provide the personal background of the royal scribes as well, aspects

which cannot be simply found elsewhere. It can then be seen, for example, that most of the new royal scribes in the early Bangkok period themselves were the relatives of the officers within the department.

The royal scribes, though not having political and military power like other chief officers of the court, did gain some respect in the royal court due to their duties in the performing of royal ceremonies. The Head of the Royal Scribes Department or Phra Si Phuri Pricha, briefly called Phra Alak ('the Lord of the Royal Scribes'), counted as one of the six head officers of significant departments commonly known as the six *montri* or chief head officers (Th. *montri hok*), which is inferior merely to the four pillar ministers (Th. *catusadom*) in the noble council of the royal court. The six *montri* are the heads of the department considerably higher than other departments of the court. According to King Chulalongkorn (1888: 277), these six *montri* noblemen consist of:

Phraya Phet Phichai, the Head of the Royal and Palace Guards Department (Th. *krom lòm phra ratcha wang*)

Phraya Ratcha Suphawadi, the Head of the Recruitment Department (Th. *krom phra suratsawadi*)

Phraya Phra Sadet, the Head of the Monastic Affair Department (Th. *krom sangkhakari*)

Phraya Ratcha Phakdi, the Head of the Royal Treasury Department (Th. *krom phra khlang maha sombat*)

Phra Si Phuri Pricha, the Head of the Royal Scribes Department (Th. *krom phra alak*)

Phraya Uthai Thamma Racha, the Head of the Royal Regalia and Weaponry Department (Th. *krom phusa mala*)

The six *montri* possessed a status in the feudal hierarchy higher than the heads of other departments and worked under the supervision of the king himself, not of any higher ministers (Wales, 1965: 81). Most of the six hold the rank of *phraya*, save Phra Si Phuri Pricha of the Royal Scribes Department. Even though the rank inferiority among the six might imply the less political power of the Head of the Royal Scribes, Phra Si Phuri Pricha must have been very close to the king, as his main duty was to receive the royal order from the king, to announce it in the royal hall, and to compose the royal announcement and diplomatic charter. He, thus, served the king as his private secretariat. His presence in some royal ceremonies was also considered crucial and imperative. Furthermore, the Lord of the Royal Scribes also held the seal of the royal scribes in form of "a deity holding a sword and a chakra disk" (Th. *tra phra alak rup thewada thü phra kan cak*), according to an administrative record from 1791 in the reign of King Rama I (NLT: CMHS: R1: 1153CS: Ms no. 3). Stamping with this seal would authorize the documents, as well as the bag holding a *suphannabat*, within the name of the Lord of the Royal Scribes. This seal of the Lord of the Royal Scribes must have been used since the Ayutthaya period, as mentioned and stamped in the royal charters donating the land and

servants to a monastery in Phatthalung (Southern Thailand) dated in 1699 (see Samnak Nayok Ratthamontri, 1967: 44–45)

It should also be noted that the Front Palace possessed its own Royal Scribes Department, as well as other ministries and departments following those of the royal palace. The noble ranks of the Front Palace's royal scribes and their feudal hierarchy are, however, inferior to the royal scribes of the royal palace. In *the Directory of the Nobilities of the Front Palace* (in: *Thamniap Nam Phak Thi Sòng*, 1968), the chief royal scribes of the Front Palace have been provided, namely, Luang Likhit Pricha, the title and rank of the head of the department, Khun Sara Bancong, the first deputy, and Khun Camnong Sunthòn, the second deputy. Above these three chief scribal officials of the Front Palace, there is one higher position of *cangwang* or the executive commissioner with the rank and title Phra Sunthòn Wohan. If dated during the tenure of the Grand Prince of the Front Palace, the prefaces and colophons of any manuscripts containing these titles might have been produced within the Front Palace, for example two manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* (NLT: RSs: Mss no. 107, 108). However, in some cases it appears that the royal scribes of the Front Palace were assigned to work together with the royal scribes of the royal palace as well, even during the tenure of the Grand Prince, for example, the prefaces of several royal manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* dated 1814 contains the titles of the royal scribes from both palaces as the copyists and editors, suggesting that the co-working between two departments of the royal scribes has also occurred, especially for a large project as the restoration of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, which requires many processes in textual revision and manuscript production. Although some documents give clues about the tasks and roles of the royal scribes from the Front Palace, the cases of evidence on the Front Palace's royal scribes have, unfortunately, scarcely available today.

5.3.1.2 Changes of the Roles of the Royal Scribes

One of the main duties of the royal scribes was to produce court documents and manuscripts for the administration of the kingdom. The roles of the royal scribes changed, however, after the advent of the printing technology in Siam. As mentioned earlier, the royal manuscripts for the texts of Ayutthaya literature were produced in less number since the reign of King Rama IV compared to earlier periods. In a court document dated 1880 in the reign of King Rama V (NLT: CMHS: R5: Ms no. 2506), the instruction distinctively given for the royal scribes is provided. The tasks of the royal scribes mentioned in this instruction cover inscribing *suphannabat* for the royal appointment, writing the charters appointing the noblemen and charters recording royal donations of land and servants to monasteries, composing the official and diplomatic charters, as well as reading the announcements and royal orders (aloud) in the ceremony. The instruction also notes at its end that all new scribes must learn and be able to complete these tasks correctly after three or four months' service with the Royal Scribes Department. The tasks of writing documents and manuscripts were still crucial for royal scribes. But these tasks cover mainly the writing of various official documents by hand and reading the

official documents (aloud) in the ceremonies, not making copies of the manuscripts (i.e. poetry, legal texts, secular treatises etc.) or composing works of poetry. These tasks of writing official documents was potentially responsible for the growth of the Royal Scribes Department even after the advent of printing technology, as it can be seen in the Table XVI above. Furthermore, the royal scribes were also responsible for authorizing copyrights and licenses for printing any text after 1901 (see Amphai Chanchira, 1972: 119–120).

In the early Bangkok period, the department belonged to the court poets (Wales, 1965: 100), while poetic skills and literary knowledge were considered important for the royal scribes, as their tasks also concern the composition and editing of literary texts. For example, the paratexts of the Ayutthaya manuscripts mentioned earlier have indicated that the royal scribes took part in restoring the text of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* and even rewrote the lost chapter such as *Chapter III Thanna Kan*. In 1831, when King Rama III conducted his restoration project of the Wat Phra Chetuphon monastery and placed the inscriptions of various treatises in the monastery, he declared his wish of having the poetic treatises inscribed on the stone slabs that the students from good families might gain the (royal) scribal training (Th. *hat fük süksa khang alak*) in order to possess poetic skill⁶⁹. The association of (royal) scribal training with poetic skill here indicates that the royal scribes must have been significantly trained in their poetic skill as well, aside from than their training in calligraphy and royal tradition.

Although the instruction of the royal scribes' tasks dated in 1880 (NLT: CMHS: R5: Ms no. 2506) does not mention training in poetic skills at all, the royal scribes from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century still proved themselves to be prominent poets and literary scholars. Phraya Si Sonthòn Wohan (Noi Acarayangkura) who holds the position of the Head of the Royal Scribes during 1875–1889, has even composed the first modern textbooks on Thai orthography called *Munlabop Banphakit* in 1871 and also gained the epithet as “the supreme court of Thai language” in his lifetime. Phraya Si Sunthòn Wohan (Phan Salak), the Lord of the Royal Scribes during 1916–1923 in the reign of King Rama VI, has also been famous for his *kham chan* classic *Ilatat Kham Chan* or ‘*Tale of Ilarāja in Kham Chan Meter*’ first published in 1913, which King Rama VI has praised to be a poetic model for *kham chan* literature in the early twentieth century (in: Phan Salak, 1913: 5–6).

The Royal Scribes Department changed its administrative structure due to the administrative reforms by King Rama V in 1892, in which all departments were transferred to serve under one of the twelve Ministers. The Royal Scribes Department at that time has been

⁶⁹ This passage comes from a stanza in the poem no. 50 of *Klòn Konlabot Kon Aksòn*, which is believed to be the royal composition of King Rama III. The text of this stanza reads: ค่ายก่อนเก่าเหล่าลูกตระกูลปราชญ์ ทั้งเชื้อชาติชนผู้ดีมียศศักดิ์ ย่อมหัดฝึกสีกสาข้างอาลักษณ์ ล้วนรู้หลักพากย์พจน์กลบทกลอน (Khana Song Wat Phra Chetuphon, 2011: 526). The English translation reads: As in the past the children of the honorable scholar and noble families of rank would gain the royal scribal training and then know the principles of poetics (especially) of *klòn konlabot*.

transferred to the Ministry of Royal Secretariat (Th. *krasuang murathathòn*) along with the Department of Royal Secretariat and the Department of Minister Council. But in 1896 the Ministry of Royal Secretariat was then converted to the Department of Royal Secretariat directly under the king's supervision. The royal scribes still worked under this department until 1911, when King Rama VI re-established The Ministry of Royal Secretariat (Th. *krasuang murathathòn*). The Department of the Royal Scribes still served the royal court under this ministry until the 1932 revolution.

During this period of administrative reform (1892–1932), the royal scribes still fulfilled the tasks on inscribing and writing the official documents and charters, as well as reading the announcement in the ceremonies. Writing in the scribal hands was still reserved for the important official documents and charters. For example, the charters for granting the royal decorations were still written by the royal scribes in the early twentieth century, as can be seen from the charters granted to Sawat Nagadatta during 1916–1922 now preserved at the Bavarian State Library of Munich (MCH: BStaBi: Cod. Siam 193.1–4). The royal scribes' task in transmitting texts by making copies has already taken over by the printing technology, save the manuscripts used for the ceremony such as a few manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* and one manuscript of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam*.

In the establishment of the first State Library in Siam, The Wachirayan State Library, in 1905, the collections from three different modern libraries have been merged together, along with some parts of the collections of the Royal Manuscript Hall. However, the main part of the Royal Manuscript Hall's collections has been continually under the surveillance of the royal scribes. Only after the 1932 revolution, the royal scribes have then been transferred to be under the Secretariat of the Cabinet and then have transferred all the manuscripts in the collections from the Royal Manuscript Hall to the Wachirayan State Library, already renamed as the National Library of Thailand, officially ending the royal scribes' task in preserving the manuscripts of the Royal Hall.

Nowadays, there is still an office for the royal scribes within the Secretariat of the Cabinet, known as the Office of the Royal Scribes and Royal Decorations (Th. *samnak alak lae khüang ratcha itsariyaphòn*). The royal scribes under this office are still responsible for the official documents for the cabinet. Handwriting has also been practiced by the royal scribes, but only for important occasions. Within the office, there is a section called the *Likhit* Section (Th. *klum ngan likhit*, literally 'the handwriting section') consisting of the ten officers for calligraphy in duty and one additional officer who preserves the royal seal (Th. *phanak ngan raksa phra ratcha lancakòn*). The occasions on which the royal scribes write the documents by hand are, for example, the *suphannabat* and *hiranyabat* (golden and silver leaves for the royal appointment), the traditional manuscript copies of the constitution, as well as the diplomatic charters. The handwriting task is directly assigned by the king to the royal scribes, and most often done as a part of a royal or state ceremony. Otherwise, the royal scribes would prepare

ypescript charters and documents, such as for the charters of royal decorations nowadays. Furthermore, the task of reading royal announcements in royal and state ceremonies is still practiced by modern royal scribes. For example, the head of the Office of the Royal Scribes and Royal Decorations, Mr Phumin Plangsombat, was assigned to announce the royal appointments when granting the new titles for all the members of the royal family in the most recent coronation of King Rama X in May 2019.

The modern royal scribes, especially the ones working within the *Likhit* Section, have been trained in calligraphy for writing the official charters or inscribing the *suphannabat*. The type of Thai script being trained by the modern royal scribes has apparently developed from the royal scribal hand in the early twentieth century (see Illustration XXV). As the tasks of the *Likhit* officers concern mainly calligraphic skill, the modern royal scribes in the *Likhit* Section mostly have their education background in fine arts, from which they have already been trained in Thai calligraphy (Nittaya Aphichaikitdamrong, Interviewed: 17th April 2019), not any education directly concerning texts. Primary training takes three months for the new royal scribe to write the basic letters properly under supervision of the senior royal scribes, before the new scribes begin to train writing longer and more complicated text. Note that the modern royal scribes nowadays have been trained to write merely Thai script in calligraphy, not Khò̃m script, seeing that Khò̃m script is no longer used in any official documents. In addition, there are also female royal scribes working at the Office of the Royal Scribes and Royal Decorations at the present days, while all the officers within the Royal Scribes Department in the traditional period were male, and the scribal works, as well as other administrative works, were always male dominated in traditional Siam. In 2019, there are two female royal scribes within the *Likhit* Section, the only section in the Office of the Royal Scribes and Royal Decorations which directly concerns the scribal works. The *Likhit* Section is now headed by a female officer, Miss Nittaya Aphichaikitdamrong. Even though most of the officials in the *Likhit* Section are still male royal scribes, the scribal business has not been completely male-dominated for quite some time already.

The most recent occasion for royal scribes to write an official document by hand is the royal ceremony of declaration of the constitution which took place on 6th April 2019. In this ceremony, the royal scribes have been assigned to write down the text of the 2017's constitution into the paper manuscripts imitated from the traditional form of the greyish *khò̃i*-paper leporello manuscripts. The royal scribes would calculate the length of the paper for recording the entire text of the constitution into one side of the long piece of paper before ordering the paper to be manufactured. Thus, the complete writing of the constitution manuscript would be only on the recto side, while all the verso page will be left blank. Three copies of the constitution manuscripts are made and presented in the royal ceremony to the king, who signs each copy in the beginning of manuscript as the authorization of the head of state. Interestingly, the modern royal scribes always record their names as copyist at the end of each manuscript, using the first

pronoun in royal language (Th. *kha phra phuttha cao*) and the ending phrase *khò decha* ('May it please Your Majesty'), the tradition which can be traced back to the royal manuscripts as late as the eighteenth century. The royal scribes who made copies also stated that they have proofread the copied text three times (Th. *than sam khrang*). The phrase three times here is more likely following the practice of the traditional royal scribes rather than signifying its literal meaning, as the royal scribes always had to proofread the texts more than three times in reality (Suwannachai Nonthasen, Interviewed: 17th April 2019). Thus, the modern royal scribes still preserve the royal scribes' tradition from the past through the production of the constitution manuscripts, the practice of the royal scribal hands, as well as the practice of the colophons following those from the royal manuscripts.

The changes of the royal scribes' roles from the past to present have run parallel with the changes of the roles of traditional manuscripts, as the common tasks on the traditional royal scribes always concern the traditional manuscripts. With the dispersion of printed books, the royal scribes since the late nineteenth century have less business dealing with making copies of the long literary texts anymore. The roles of the royal scribes in the textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature have been gradually surpassed by the printing technology and the modern editors of the printed editions. Only the ceremonial functions of the royal scribes, for instance writing the official charters by hands and reading the official announcement aloud in the state ceremony, have then been continuously practiced by the modern royal scribes since the early twentieth century. As the latest manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature produced by the royal scribe are two manuscripts of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam*: one dated 1901; the other around 1914, it is clear royal scribes have ceased to be the agents of transmission of Ayutthaya literature from the early twentieth century onwards.

5.3.2 Other Scholars of the Royal Court

In the early Bangkok period, there were also other departments within the royal court, which were made of a group of traditional scholars, for example, the Department of the Royal Pandits or in Thai *krom ratcha bandit*, the same term used for the Royal Institute in present-day Thailand. However, the royal pandits in the traditional period obviously have their tasks different from the modern scholars of the Royal Institute, since the royal pandits were responsible for preserving and editing the Pali palm-leaf manuscripts at the Monthian Tham Library, not functioning as the general academic institute of the royal court. The royal pandits have held their high status as the scholars of the Buddhist texts in the royal palace. Some of the royal pandits has also composed the vernacular text on Buddhism, such as a treatise on Buddhist cosmology called *Trai Phum Lokwinitchai* written by Phra Thamma Pricha (Kaew), the head of the Royal Pandits Department in the reign of King Rama I. In many cases, the royal pandits have worked together with the royal scribes, for example in the editorial process of *the Three Seals Law* in 1805. Furthermore, the common preface of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter I Thotsa Phòn* states that the royal pandits have also taken part in restoring and editing along with

the higher-ranking monks and other scholars of the court, even though none of the paratext from the actual manuscripts has ever mentioned any noblemen with the titles of the royal pandits as the scribes and proofreaders at all. As the texts of Ayutthaya literature does not concern directly to the topics on Buddhism, the royal pandits might have taken part only in restoring the text of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* only.

The other institution within the royal court pertaining to the transmission of Ayutthaya literature is that of the court brahmins, whose temple is known as Devasathan the Brahmin Temple in the heart of Bangkok. These court brahmins are responsible for the royal and state ceremonies, in the part related to Brahmanism and Hinduism. Due to the fall of Ayutthaya, the lineage of the court brahmins descended from the Angkorian brahmins has been broken. Hence, the royal court of Bangkok had to recruit the brahmins from Nakhòn Si Thammarat to reestablish the brahmin tradition in the royal court (Kanjana Suwanwong, 1996: 53). But it seems that the brahmins in the Bangkok period have also been further recruited from other places, now that the evidence from the nineteenth century has shown that the court brahmins at that time are originally from various parts of India.

In the brahmin community of Bangkok, the Siamese Grantha is used in ritual manuscripts, including four manuscripts of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam*. One of them has still been preserved by Devasathan the Brahmin Temple for the ritual purpose in the actual ceremony (BKK: DSBPhr). These manuscripts are most likely copied by the brahmins themselves, as the royal scribes have evidentially never widely been trained in this specifically used script, while the brahmins of the temple have been strictly trained to read and write the Siamese Grantha (Kanjana Suwanwong, 1996: 132). The tradition of learning the Siamese Grantha script continues among the court brahmins even nowadays⁷⁰. Four extant manuscripts of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* have been preserved in the Siamese Grantha scripts with the paratexts of ceremonial notes suggesting their origin among the court brahmins, while the rest manuscripts, most of them written and transmitted among the royal scribes, are in Thai scripts. The other case of Ayutthaya literature transmitted in this Siamese Grantha script is one manuscript of *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*, which might have never been used in any actual ceremony within the Bangkok period at all. Possibly this Grantha copy has been made by one of the brahmins of the royal court as well, though it is unclear why this copy is the only one written in this script, while the others are in Thai script.

Apart from the institutions related to the royal court, the traditional editors of the Ayutthaya literature appear to be individual scholars at the royal court as well, although most of them did not work within any department relating to the literary texts or manuscripts at all.

⁷⁰ As some Pali verses have also been chanted in some ceremonies and sometimes appear in a few manuscripts used by the brahmins. The court brahmins have also been trained to read and write Khòmm script as well, along with the training in the Siamese Grantha (Chawin Rangsiphrammanakul, Interviewed: 5th September 2015).

For example, Luang Sòrawichit who has restored and edited the text of *Lilit Phra Lò* in 1779 as mentioned in a manuscript (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17077) has then been promoted to be Cao Phraya Phra Khlang or the Minister of Finance in the reign of King Rama I. He has proved himself to be one of the greatest poets of the early days of Bangkok, even if his position does not have anything to do with the literary texts. The text of *Cindamani* has also been edited by Maha Cai Phak, which is a title for the royal page from the Front Palace. Even though we do not know the personal identity of this Maha Cai Phak or which Grand Prince of the Front Palace he served, this edition of *Cindamani* must have been conducted by a royal page of the Front Palace. Another editor of *Cindamani*, as mentioned in numerous manuscripts, is known as Phraya Thibet. Phraya Thibet's identity is scarcely known to us, but he must have been a member of the royal court with such a high noble rank as Phraya. The cases mentioned here demonstrate that the traditional editors of Ayutthaya literature did not have to be associated with any department or institution in charge of textual and manuscript production at all, instead acting more as independent agents of scholarship who had their own part in the transmission Ayutthaya literature.

5.3.3 Monastic Scribes and Scholars

According to the paratexts found in the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature, a number of manuscripts produced in the monasteries were copied, and sometimes also edited, by the monastic scribes and scholars, a term here referring not only to the monks and novices, but also to the layman scribes in the monastic circle as well. In many cases, it was the layman scribes who made copies of the manuscript for the monasteries. It is to be emphasized again that the monastic scribes and scholars were not necessarily distinctly separate from the royal scribes and scholars of the royal court.

As we have seen from the manuscripts dated in the Ayutthaya period, such as *Rachowat Chadok*, the manuscript exemplar was been borrowed by a monk to be copied for a prince. Furthermore, when the text of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* was restored in 1814 by the royal order of King Rama II, the scholars of the royal court worked together with other higher-ranking monks who might have been famous in the capital for their literary knowledge, as one of the rewriter of the lost chapters appears to be Phra Rattana Muni of Wat Ratcha Sittharam. Furthermore, another case of the Bangkok monastic scholars who had very close connections with the royal court is the case of Prince Patriarch Paramanuchit Chinorot, who, according to the paratexts of the extant manuscripts, edited at least two texts of Ayutthaya literature, namely, *Cindamani* and *Süa Kho Kham Chan*. Furthermore, Prince Paramanuchit also composed various texts on *Jātaka* tales, chronicles, as well as the treatises on the royal tradition and ceremonies. With this wide range of his works it has become difficult to determine whether he more represents the literary culture of the royal court or of the monasteries, perhaps both but in a complicated way.

In many cases, monks, who were the teachers within monastic education, became the editors of texts, especially in the case of *Cindamani*. Some of them even stated their intentions in editing or adapting the text for their own teaching purposes, for example, the case of Phra Yen who added the previously absent lesson on the five tone marks into the text of *Cindamani* (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 95), while another monk scribe claimed that he made the copy for a novice (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 48), possibly also for teaching purposes.

In the preface of one manuscript of *Cindamani* dated 1832 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 81), the editor refers to himself as “Phra Sami” (Th. พระสมี, or in modern spelling as พระสมิ์), a term understood nowadays as the title for any monk who has been deposed from the monastic community due to the commitment of the gravest transgression of the monastic rules, known in Pali as *parājika* ‘defeat,’⁷¹ according to the authoritative modern dictionary (Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan, 2013). However, in the traditional context, the title *phra sami* had been used referring to any common monk rather than to the deposed one (Ibid.). The term was also used in a poem entitled *Süa Kho Kò Ka* (Th. เสือโค ก กา ‘Alphabetic Primer on [the Tale of] the Tiger and the Cow’)⁷² composed in 1838 by a monk who refers to himself in the text as “Phra Sami Mi” (Th. พระสมิ์มี) (Onsara Saibua and Thippawan Boonsongcharoen, 2014: 35). But the historical evidence does not suggest that Phra Sami Mi has ever been deposed from the monastic community at all⁷³. The term *phra sami* here more likely refers to a monk as a common title. Correspondingly, for the case of a particular *Cindamani* manuscript (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 81), the scribe and editor Phra Sami Òn must not have transgressed one of these rules or been expelled. Furthermore, he still uses monastic language just like a common monk, referring to himself by the monastic first personal pronoun, *attama*. He also expresses his intention to gain wisdom in the present and all future lives as a result of a good deed in editing and probably making copy of *Cindamani*, just like the other cases of *Cindamani* manuscripts produced in the monasteries. Most likely is that the title *phra sami* was once a common monastic title referring to a monk, before the term came to be used specifically for deposed monks.

⁷¹ According to the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, any monk would be expelled from the monastic community for life if he transgressed against any of the four significant rules, namely, sexual intercourse, stealing, intentionally bringing about another person’s death, and lying about one’s own supernatural ability or superior state of mind. Monks who broke even one of these rules would be stripped of their title and banned from the monkhood for life.

⁷² The text of *Süa Kho Kò Ka* offers an alphabetic primer through the tale of the tiger and the cow (or *Halavijaya Jātaka*), the same origin as *Süa Kho Kham Chan*. Nevertheless, both are considerably different texts written in different poetic meters.

⁷³ Please see a biography of Phra Sami Mi or Nai Mi, the author of *Süa Kho Kò Ka*, proposed by Dhanit Yupho in 1961 (reprinted in Onsara Saibua and Thippawan Boonsongcharoen, 2014: 19–32).

5.3.4 Economy of Scribal Works

Aspects on the economy of scribal works are not easy to find within the Siamese manuscript culture as a whole, as they are only rarely mentioned in the manuscripts produced in the royal court. As the royal scribes worked for the court and received an annual salary through the system of pension, the paratexts of the manuscripts produced by the royal scribes never mention any remuneration or payment they gain. The case of remuneration, on the other hand, is sometimes observable in the case of private scribes. Nevertheless, in a manuscript of *Kap He Rüa* for which Luang Sara Prasert hired a private scribe called Nai Khum to copy, it is not mentioned how much he was paid for this task, unfortunately. Thus, the economic aspects on making copy of Ayutthaya literature have yet to be revealed.

Apart from the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature included in this study, the mention on payment for the scribes *has* been found in a manuscript of *Phra Malai Klòn Suat* dated 1833 (MCH: BStaBi: Cod. Siam 35) now preserved at the Bavarian State Library of Munich. The colophon at the end contains a passage interestingly mentioning the payment as follows:

เปนมุลกะสมุด ๑ + (๑ ตำลึง) เปนมุลกะจ้างเขียนนาอัด ๑ + ๒ (๖ บาท ๒ สลึง ๑ เฟื้อง) เกาทัณฑ์เป็นเงิน ๑ + ๒
(๑๐ บาท ๒ สลึง ๑ เฟื้อง)

Translation: The (blank) manuscript cost one *tamliing* (equivalent to four *bat*) and the wages for hiring a scribe cost six *bat*, two *salüing*, and one *füang*. Totally it (i.e. the writing material and the copying) costs ten *bat*, two *salüing*, and one *füang*.

Even though the cost of the manuscript has clearly been mentioned here, it is to be noted that the size of *Phra Malai* manuscript is far larger than the regular size of *khòì*-paper manuscripts commonly used to preserve the text of Ayutthaya literature included in this study. The wages for copying here can be considered somewhat much money, but it cannot be forgotten that the scribes in this manuscript consist of five persons, monks together with the layman. Therefore, these five scribes mentioned in the colophon might have shared the wages, but there is no other mention on how the money was divided. Thus, we have only a fragmentary piece of information on the manuscript economy which comes from the monastery.

The system of the traditional currency used in Siam as appearing in the example above consists of different units (Kongkaew Weeraprachak, 1987: 9) as follows:

800 <i>bia</i> (Th. เบี้ย)	= 1 <i>füang</i> (Th. เฟื้อง)
2 <i>füang</i>	= 1 <i>salüing</i> (Th. สลึง)
4 <i>salüing</i>	= 1 <i>bat</i> (Th. บาท, modern spelling: <i>baht</i>)
4 <i>bat</i>	= 1 <i>tamliing</i> (Th. ตำลึง)
20 <i>tamliing</i>	= 1 <i>chang</i> (Th. ชั่ง)

The expense for a blank manuscript that costs one *tamliing* in 1833 is not a small amount of money. *The Royal Chronicle of King Rama III* mentions the economic crisis due to drought and warfare in 1832 that the price for one bucket of rice got even higher than one *bat* (Thiphakonwong, 2012: 1118), suggesting that in the regular economic situation one *bat* should have traded more than one bucket (Th. *thang*, approximately twenty litre) of rice⁷⁴. The cost one *tamliing* (equivalent to four *bat*) of a blank manuscript, though in a larger size, was undeniably a rather large amount of money in 1833.

Other historical manuscripts, such as the pension records of the royal scribes, provide us information about the annual pension they gained for their duties in general, not specifically for the copy of manuscript. For example, according to the pension record in 1837 (NLT: CMHS: R3: 1199CS: Ms no. 68) the head of the department has gained one *chang* five *tamliing* per year, while the untitled royal scribes have gained two *tamliing*. The newly registered scribes received only one *tamliing*, perhaps due to their beginning phase of training. Note that the pension the new royal scribe gained per year was exactly the same amount with which one could purchase a blank *Phra Malai* manuscript in larger size. It seems, hence, that the new scribes, as well as the old but untitled scribes, were not paid particularly well. However, the royal scribes were also able to make money from other opportunities as well. For example, royal scribes were often paid for their real in reading the oath in a juristic trial by ordeal. According to the text of *the Three Seals Law* edited in 1804, each of both sides of litigants has to pay the royal scribes one *bat* two *salüing* for reading the oath, or three *bat* in total (Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan, 2007b: 82).

Correspondingly, in the royal ceremony in which the golden leaf or *suphannabat* is inscribed by the royal scribes for the appointment of the princes and princesses, the royal scribes might have gained extra payment from the princes or princesses who were granted new titles. The amount given to the royal scribes depended on the princes or princesses. In 1832, for example, Prince Kraisòn, when being granted the title “Prince Rak Ronnaret” gave he royal scribe who delivered the *suphannabat* two *tamliing* and the other royal scribes one *tamliing* two *bat* (in NLT: CMHS: R1: 1153CS: Ms no. 3). On the other hand, Prince Phiphit Phuben in the same year paid three *tamliing* to the royal scribe who delivered the *suphannabat*, one *tamliing* to the royal scribe who inscribed the golden leaf, and one *bat* to the other royal scribes who took part in the ceremony. These extra payments to the royal scribes, however, were only for the fulfillment of their ceremonial duties, no in relation to the actual production of the manuscripts. Further exploration of this payment setup might offer insight into the economy of manuscript production.

⁷⁴For the traditional Siamese scale of measurement, please see *Lek Withi Lem Sòng Samrap Rian Nangsü Thai*, 1900: 130.

A comparative aspect of the economy of manuscript production and printed book production in the middle nineteenth century can be found in the case of Mot Amatyakul in 1850, the first time that the printed books were forfeited in Siam. In 1849, Mot Amatyakul, a son to Phraya Maha Amat (Pom Amatyakul) a high noblemen in the royal court, hired royal scribes at the Royal Manuscript Hall in the amount of one hundred *bat* for copying a complete set of manuscripts of *the Three Seals Law* and then hired the Doctor Bradley's Printing House to print two hundreds of the printed copies with money of five hundred *bat* (Thanet Aphornsuvan et al, 2006: 350–351). Mot planned for two volumes of a printed copy. However, when the Volume I had begun to be sold in 1850, the king ordered that all the printed copies be forfeited and burnt, because the supreme legal text should not be accessible by the public, who could abuse the law (Naritsara Nuwattitong and Damrong Rajanubhab, 1961a: 33). From this case of Mot Amatyakul, it can be seen that the cost for manuscript production is rather high compared with the printing technology. One hundred *bat* was paid to the royal scribes to make a complete copy of *the Three Seals Law*, which contains at least 27 volumes of greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscripts (see Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan, 2007a–b). On the other hand, five hundred *bat* is the amount paid for two hundred complete printed copies (each complete copy costs two *bat* two *salüing*). Note that the same amount of money might have only been enough for five complete manuscript copies. The printing press thus made it possible to more widely distribute the texts at a much lower cost.

Even though not much on the economic aspects on the scribal works and the manuscript production of Ayutthaya literature is known to us, the evidence we have still reflects the economy of the manuscript culture in the Bangkok period. The scribal craftsmanship might have never been a trade or skill which leads to a high payment, but hiring them to make a complete copy of long texts can also cost a large amount of money for one reproduction of the longer texts. The mass reproduction of the texts by the printing technology inevitably changed the economic landscape of the scribal works, as the texts could be wider transmitted under the condition of the cheaper expenses.

5.3.5 Concluding Remarks on Agents of Textual Transmission

An insight on the personal agents of the textual transmission should be considered another significant aspect on the context of textual transmission, which has survived only in a limited number of sources. The paratexts from the manuscript, however, can be employed as one of the rare sources for exploring a wide range of scribes and scholars in the traditional manuscript culture. The scribes and scholars of Ayutthaya literature in the Bangkok period cover the royal scribes of the royal palace, who produced the literary manuscripts for the royal collection, and those of the other palaces such as the Front Palace, along with the monastic scribes and scholars such as monks and novices. The information on private scribes, however, is rarely found in the extant manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature.

The royal scribes not only represent the copyists of the royal court who were full-time scribes working under the assignment of the king or the prince, but they also served the court as a group of traditional scholars, who took part in editing and interpolating the literary texts. Mainly the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature transmitted in the royal court of Bangkok have been copied, compiled, and edited by the royal scribes, as the royal manuscripts regularly record the noble titles and ranks of the royal scribes identifying them as the copyists, editors, and proofreaders, rather than those from other departments (i.e. Department of Royal Pandits). Only for several cases, in which the scholars of the royal court other than the royal scribes took part in transmitting Ayutthaya literature, can be attested. For example, Luang Sòrawichit, who later held the position of the Ministry of Finance, has searched and then found a fragment of *Lilit Phra Lò* in the late seventeenth century. He also interpolated the lost part of the text, according to the colophon of the manuscript. Thus, Luang Sòrawichit also played his role as a traditional editor of the text of *Lilit Phra Lò*, even though he never served the court as a royal scribe or a royal pandit. The same goes for Phraya Trang who held the title of the governor of a city in southern Thailand and then compiled *the Collection of Ancient Poems* to be presented to the Grand Prince of the Front Palace. Both Luang Sòrawichit and Phraya Trang might not have copied the texts by themselves as scribes, but they did serve as traditional editors of the texts. We have found only remaining fragments and interpolated the lost parts, and the other was compiled with short poems and fragments to make an anthology. It remarkably demonstrates that the scholars in the surrounding of the royal court who have taken part in transmitting the texts of Ayutthaya literature do not necessarily restrict into a group of the royal scribes.

Monastic scribes and scholars, on the other hand, took part in transmitting the Ayutthaya literary texts pertaining to religion (i.e. *Bunnawat Kham Chan*) and traditional education (i.e. *Cindamani*). Though apparently the paratexts of the monastic scholars do not appear as well-structured as those of the royal scribes, the dynamics have still been attested. Monks, novices, and sometimes laymen have taken part in copying, editing, and sponsoring the manuscripts of some particular texts of Ayutthaya literature for monastic use. Especially for the manuscripts of *Cindamani*, the role of monks as the traditional editor is remarkable, as monks have often employed the manuscript for their own teaching purpose, thus had to rearrange the text and add some lessons into the text in order to serve their teaching. In addition, as a result of copying and editing (sometimes also sponsoring) the manuscripts of religious texts and the *Cindamani* treatise for monasteries, merit has always been mentioned in the paratexts of the monastic scribes and scholars. It is still worth mentioning that some monastic scholars had a close connection to the royal court. In many cases, the boundary between the royal court's scholar and the monastic scholar is still unclear.

Apart from the discussion of the backgrounds of the scribes and scholars found in the paratexts here in this part, the roles of the scribes and scholars in copying, compiling, and

editing the texts of Ayutthaya literature will be further examined in the next chapter on modes of textual transmission.

5.4 Reflections on Context of Textual Transmission

The context of textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature in the Bangkok period discussed in this chapter, namely, place, time, and personal agents of textual transmission, underlies the tradition of Ayutthaya literature considerably in the period in which manuscripts were the main device of communication. These aspects the context of textual transmission are unfortunately invisible in any available printed edition, but traceable in the paratextual elements of the traditional manuscripts.

Even though not all the texts in the corpus of Ayutthaya literature contain information related to the context of transmission in their manuscripts, it is still clearly visible that some particular texts originating from the Ayutthaya period found their place in the Royal Manuscript Hall of the royal palace of Bangkok, in the minor palaces, as well as in the monasteries in Bangkok and other cities. The practice of copying some particular texts can also be traced throughout the nineteenth century, such as the case of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, or throughout the period longer than a century, from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century, such as *Cindamani*, indicating a long period of textual transmission. Furthermore, the paratexts also indicate the different hands of the traditional scribes and scholars taking part in the textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature as well, ranging from the royal scribes at the center of the royal court to the Buddhist monks and novices in the monasteries. These aspects on place, time and agents of textual transmission show the existence of texts in the traditional manuscript culture after the period of their original composition, and also expand the knowledge of literary history which currently mostly focuses on the existence of the texts in the original period. This focus in Thai literary history, unfortunately, tends to dismiss the fact that these texts of Ayutthaya must have existed in different places and times, passing through the different hands of the traditional scribes and scholars in the early Bangkok period before they were presented in their printed editions.

CHAPTER VI

Texts in Transmission: Modes of Textual Transmission in Ayutthaya Literature from the Bangkok Period

In this chapter, the texts of Ayutthaya literature will be discussed in terms of their modes of textual transmission in the Bangkok period, which cover both the practice of copying and making editions in the traditional sense as well as the creation of a collection of texts. Each text of Ayutthaya literature has been transmitted in different ways, but all of them can be categorized under one of these three modes of transmission. However, the discussion of the textual transmission here is based on paratextual evidence with an investigation of the structure of the text that has been found in the manuscripts. Thus, the following discussion will give only an overview of the transmission of Ayutthaya literature, not a thorough transmission history of each particular text, which would require an investigation and comparison on the readings of each manuscript and the scribal errors among them rather than the analysis of paratextual evidence and textual structure. Nevertheless, the remarks on the modes of textual transmission given here will highlight some significant characteristics of the “nature” of textual transmission in Ayutthaya literature, which may hopefully lead to more awareness of these remarkable textual dynamics.

The later parts of this chapter will pay attention to two significant topics in textual transmission, but these topics are so significant and complicated that only some preliminary remarks on them can be given here, so that both will be further discussed and investigated by modern scholars in the wider range. These two topics are the orality in the textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature, and the attribution of Ayutthaya literature. The first topic on orality is more a survey of the traces of orality that can be found in the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature. The last section contains a brief discussion on the attribution of Ayutthaya literature, comparing findings from paratexts and manuscripts to the arguments of modern scholars on the attribution of the literary texts included in this study to the Ayutthaya period.

6.1 Copying and Beyond

Copying can be considered one of the most common modes of textual transmission in the traditional manuscript cultures all over the world in the period before the advent of printing technology. Written texts were copied over and over due to the limited accessibility to manuscripts and due to the fragility of the writing material, which does not allow the manuscripts to last long under the conditions of weather and insects. Thai literature from the traditional period was also transmitted down to the later centuries through the tradition of copy-making. Nevertheless, among the Ayutthaya literature selected for this study, the manuscript

evidence has shown that the texts have not been copied without dynamics. The practice of copying Ayutthaya literature and its dynamics, therefore, will be discussed here.

6.1.1 Finding Fragments and Exemplars

After the fall of Ayutthaya and the loss of countless manuscripts, the scribes and scholars had to find fragments and exemplars to copy, as a process of restoring the literature of the fallen kingdom. Sometimes the complete exemplars might have survived and then have been found, as some of Ayutthaya texts seem to have survived in its complete form, for example, *Bunnawat Kham Chan*, which has been widely copied in its completion from the revering prologue to the epilogue expressing the author's intention. The completion of some other texts, however, remains in question, but these texts were transmitted in the same form in most of the copies, and thus have already been accepted as the "complete" known texts, at least among Bangkok scribes and scholars. The texts in this condition are, for example, *Anirut Kham Chan* and *Thawa Thotsamat*. Both of them had their earliest copies already made in the reign of King Rama I. *Anirut Kham Chan*, in the Bangkok period, has survived in the length of 738 stanzas, but with the absence of the revering prologue, leading to modern scholars' argument that the text might not be complete (Phò Na Pramuanmak, 1972: 50). However, all the extant manuscripts of *Anirut Kham Chan* contain only these 738 stanzas, and the scribes of many manuscripts considered this length to be "complete," as the paratextual elements in many manuscripts (i.e. cover titles, flyleaf-title, and colophon)⁷⁵ note. Even though the text such as *Anirut Kham Chan* has been questioned in their completion, the number of manuscript copies of both texts suggests that these texts were considered complete, or at least the most complete of the exemplars that survived from the earlier period.

On the other hand, some texts have been marked by scribes as being incomplete, for example, *Kamsuan Samut*, whose paratexts in several manuscripts state that only the first half of the text survived the fall of Ayutthaya, while the rest seems to have been lost. The known text has covered 129 stanzas, as appearing in the extant manuscripts of *Kamsuan Samut*. *Lilit Phra Lò* is another text whose paratext in one manuscript (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17077) has recorded that the exemplars were destroyed in large number after the fall, then the scholar such as Luang Sòrawichit has spent twelve years finding them. However, the exemplars he had are not complete, for one part in the middle of the text has been lost. Thus, Luang Sòrawichit seems to have interpolated the lost part, as the colophon stated that he has "added and embellished" (Th. *toem taeng* / เติมแต่ง) the part. *Lilit Phra Lò* has then become one of the most popular Ayutthaya texts transmitted in the Bangkok period. How the text in the manuscript interpolated by Luang Sòrawichit agrees or disagrees with the other extant manuscripts is another question

⁷⁵ The paratextual elements that mark the completion of the text *Anirut Kham Chan* can be found in the colophon (i.e. NLT: ChSs: Ò: Mss no. 45, 76), fly-leaf title (i.e. PR: BnF: Indochinois 285), and cover title (i.e. NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 71)

yet to be further answered by the text critical investigation on scribal errors and variation. Nevertheless, the case of Luang Sòrawichit's *Lilit Phra Lò* demonstrates how the scholars after the fall of Ayutthaya made great efforts in finding the remaining exemplars and fragments, as well as in interpolating the lost part.

The situation of *Lilit Phra Lò* also corresponds to the transmission of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan*, whose transmitted colophon shows that the exemplars of the text have been destroyed in large numbers after the fall of the old capital. Thus, Phraya Ratcha Suphawadi invited a monk called In (known in Thai as Phra Phiksu In) to restore the text in the sense that he might have collected the fragments of exemplars (Ruenruthai Sujjapun, 2010: 284), as well as interpolated the missing part or word. The difference of these two cases is that the colophon of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* was then further transmitted along with the text, and then eventually accepted as the epilogue of the text, as the part appears in most extant manuscripts, as well as in printed editions. The colophon mentioning Luang Sòrawichit in the case of *Lilit Phra Lò*, on the other hand, was never re-copied and never appears in any other manuscript. These cases, however, represent the attempts to restore Ayutthaya literary texts from fragments and exemplars, which must have suffered from damages of varying degree.

The other case of a fragment or damaged exemplar is the manuscript of King Bòrommakot's works (NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 202), which contains five didactic poems⁷⁶ along with one poem commemorating the lying Buddha image of Wat Pa Mok monastery (or *Khlóng Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat Wat Pa Mok*). All six texts found in this multiple-text manuscript, all attributed to King Bòrommakot of Ayutthaya, are the complete known texts. The colophon inserted at the end of each text in the manuscript indicates that the scribe has recognized that the text has been completely ended. Though undated, the colophon of the manuscript has indicated that the manuscript was copied and proofread by royal scribes with noble titles, most likely during the Bangkok period, based on the handwriting. Thus, this manuscript was definitely another royal manuscript produced in the royal palace.

However, despite having been proofread by the royal scribes, there are a lot of discrepancies in this manuscript, which are not regularly found in other royal manuscripts. The dates of the original composition of each text provided in the preface are not perfectly correct, as if the scribes who wrote the passage were not the ones calculating them. The year recorded at the beginning of the preface and referring to the year of the original composition of *Khlóng Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat Wat Pa Mok*, reads: "1189 CS the Year of the Goat, the ninth year of the decade" (Th. ศักราช ๑๑๘๙ ปีแม่มณพศก), but the year 1189 CS is not the Year of the Goat, suggesting an error occurred in this passage. Modern scholars have proposed the correct year to be 1089 CS (equivalent to 1727 CE). Furthermore, the dates of the composition for some

⁷⁶ Consisting of *Khlóng Phali Sòn Nòng*, *Khlóng Thotsarot Sòn Phra Ram*, *Khlóng Ratcha Sawat*, *Khlóng Rachanuwat*, and *Khlóng Pradit Phra Ruang*.

texts mentioned in the preface cannot be calculated at all (see Lekda Imchai, 1985: 6), suggesting again scribal errors. The texts in this manuscript have sometimes been placed confusingly, as the first thirty-three stanzas of the text *Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat Wat Pa Mok* has been written at the recto beginning, while the second half (containing thirty-six stanzas) inserted in the verso side, the location where the text of *Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang* has been copied. Note that the content of the two texts is totally different: the first one commemorates the historical event, while the latter concerns the moral conducts.

With the discrepancies on the dates and the confusion of the texts' location in the manuscript, it is most likely that the scribes, in this case the royal scribes, had access only to the fragments or the damaged exemplar of the texts. The confusing preface might have been copied from a damaged or faded exemplar, making the date being copied become illogical in the traditional calendrical system. Furthermore, if the exemplar had already preserved this entire collection as a multiple-text manuscript before it was later torn apart into pieces, it would become difficult for the scribes to identify the continuation of the texts among the torn pieces. This might be the reason why the royal scribes incorrectly recognized two parts from two different texts and copied them together. Another possibility is that the royal scribes of this manuscript received the exemplar already containing these errors and made a faithful copy out of the exemplar. The case of this manuscript, hence, demonstrates that there can be a problem occurred in the process of copying a manuscript, and it is also possible that the problem might lie on the exemplar which the royal scribes have accessed, rather than because of the errors from the individual scribes of the manuscript, who had probably been well-trained before being granted their noble titles at the royal palace.

6.1.2 Fixing the Lost

Sometimes a process known by modern scholars as “rewriting” or in Thai *taeng sòm* (แต่งซ่อม, literally ‘write (to) fix,’ see Wakul Mitphraphan, 2018: 122) has been deemed a part of the literary restoration in the early Bangkok period. In a few cases, the process of rewriting the lost or damaged text has been attested by modern scholars, with the help of the comparison of the word choices and stylistics of each text, along with the implication of their paratexts.

Kap Maha Chat, for example, appears in the very first year of the founding of Bangkok and the Chakri Royal House. Not all the chapters have survived, but all the extant manuscripts are arguably royal manuscripts presented to King Rama I in 1782. The prefaces of each manuscript formally state the name or noble titles of the royal scribes as the scribes, sometimes also the one who “composed” (Th. *taeng*) the text of some chapters. At least three chapters (*Wana Prawet*, *Sakkabap* and *Maha Rat*; NLT: RSs: Mss no. 160, 204, 210) out of the extant five chapters of *Kap Maha Chat* contains a passage in their prefaces mentioning Phra Alak (the Head of the Royal Scribes) as the writer of the text. Modern scholars such as Prince Damrong Rajanubhab in 1916 has interpreted the word *taeng* here to be “rewrite” the lost chapters by

following the stylistics of the old texts. Furthermore, Prince Damrong proposed this version of *Vessantara Jātaka* in *rai* meter to be the version called *Kap Maha Chat* composed under the supervision of King Song Tham during the years 1620–1627 as mentioned in the royal chronicles⁷⁷ (see Cushman, 2001: 210). The paratextual evidence, on the other hand, suggests that three chapters were “written” by the Lord of the Royal Scribes at the very beginning of King Rama I’s reign, while only the other two chapters (i.e. *Kuman*, and *Matsi*) were copied by a royal scribe without any mention of the author or writer. Thus, only two chapters can be considered to have been transmitted from the earlier period and not “written” or “rewritten” by the Lord of the Royal Scribes in 1782.

The origin of the two chapters and the process of rewriting three chapters of Phra Alak, as surmised by Prince Damrong and other modern scholars, are not further mentioned in their prefaces. We can only see that the text known nowadays as *Kap Maha Chat* is the version of the *rai* meter restored at the royal court of King Rama I, perhaps as a royal version of *Vessantara Jātaka* in the *rai* meter. Furthermore, as the texts of two chapters have been copied, not “(re)written,” these two chapters are considerably the texts transmitted from the Ayutthaya period as well, even though it is still unclear whether this royal version of King Rama I has directly been transmitted from the royal version of King Song Tham of Ayutthaya or not.

In the case of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, the paratextual evidence found in the royal manuscript of *Cunla Phon* (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 65), most reasonably dated in 1814, states that there are seven chapters that survived the fall of Ayutthaya, while the other six chapters have been lost. Thus, the king assigned the scholars in the royal court to rewrite the texts to complete all the chapters of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*. The word used in Thai - *tok taeng khiin hai bòribun* - literally means ‘restore to completion’ all chapters of the text. The new chapters, rewritten due to their previous loss, cover *Himaphan*, *Thanna Kan*, *Cunla Phon*, *Matsi*, *Sakka Bap*, and *Chò Kasat*. However, there are only two of the rewritten chapters (out of six) in which the names of the editors have been mentioned. Phra Rattana Muni, a higher-ranked monk, of Wat Ratcha Sittharam monastery, rewrote *Chapter III Thanna Kan* (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 50), while Khun Maha Sitthiwohan, the Deputy of the Royal Scribes Department has rewritten *Chapter VI Cunla Phon* (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 65). The process of their rewriting is not clarified anywhere in the manuscript. Modern scholars have determined the texts of some chapters to be newly written in the Bangkok period. However, Cholada Ruengruglikit (2001: 80) has proposed that *Himaphan* and *Sakka Bap* was written entirely anew in 1814, while *Thanna Kan* is considered both to have been rewritten by Phra Rattana Muni in 1814 and partially based on the old fragments of Ayutthaya, due to its stylistics.

However, in the manuscript evidence for some rewritten chapters, despite being proposed as having been entirely recomposed in the Bangkok period, such as *Sakka Bap*, there

⁷⁷ The royal chronicles have mentioned the year of composition as 989 CS or 1627 CE.

are also some clues that the text must have been based on old fragments rather than being entirely attributable to any anonymous Bangkok author. The text of *Sakka Bap* contains a stanza quoted in *Cindamani*, a work from the Ayutthaya period, indicating that the rewriting process of the text found in the extant manuscript must have based itself on the old text as well. In a manuscript of *Sakka Bap* (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 105), there is a marginal note (on the left margin) marking the end of the part copied from the old fragment that “the old text ends here” (Th. *kao phiang ni* / เก่าเพียงนี้)⁷⁸. From this marginal note, we can see that some surviving fragments of the old text were employed in the restoration of *Sakka Bap*, even though the chapter has been widely recognized as one of the new or rewritten chapters of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*.

In the rewriting process of 1814, a rewritten chapter was not necessarily re-composed in one single version. In the case of *Chapter IX Matsi*, there are at least three different versions of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter IX Matsi* recognized by the National Library of Thailand (i.e. NLT: RSs: Mss no. 98, 99, 100, 101, 102). More than one manuscript has its title on its cover and side edges as *Matsi Kham Luang* (*‘the Royal Version of Matsi’*) despite its different text (i.e. NLT: RSs: Mss no. 98, 100, 101). Modern scholars in the early nineteenth century have identified one version found in the manuscript NLT: RSs: Ms no. 102 as the old version transmitted from Ayutthaya. This version has been widely accepted as the authoritative text of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter IX Matsi* due to the printed edition. The preference for the text from this manuscript might not be only because of its poetic style, but also the chanting markers added throughout the manuscript, suggesting that this version of text has been chanted in the actual ceremony⁷⁹. Thus, the manuscript should be accepted as a part of the royal version of Bangkok. This version has also contained two stanzas of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter IX Matsi* quoted in *Cindamani* as a poetic example (beginning with “ครั้นเช้าก็หิ้วเข้า ชายป่าเต้าไปตามชาย”)⁸⁰. Modern scholars tend to believe that the text of *Matsi* as found in this manuscript is the old version, even though the paratextual element of a manuscript dated 1814 states that the text of *Matsi* has been rewritten in the restoration of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* by King Rama II

⁷⁸ This marginal note appears in front of the line that reads “แลดูผู้ท้าวนิรเทศจากเมืองมิ่ง”, signifying that the whole text from the beginning to this line (covering the beginning part of the text) originally came from the old fragment.

⁷⁹ *Matsi* is one of the eight chapters of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* which were still chanted in the late nineteenth century as mentioned by King Chulalongkorn (1973: 521).

⁸⁰ These two stanzas from *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter IX Matsi* cited in *Cindamani* reads: ครั้นเช้าก็หิ้วกรรเข้า ชายป่าเต้าไปตามชาย ลูกไม้บนทอนงาย จำขาราชอดขึ้น แม่ฮาฯ คิดใดคืนมาคำ อยู่จรห้ำดอกลางคืน เพราะเห็นภูโหด หีน แลดูกลอนถูกกลใด ดังงนี้ ฯ (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 102; Krom Sinlapakòn, 1997: 232). The translation reads as follows: “Early in the morning you left with the basket into the forest for fruits and returned in the very late evening, my wife! What kept you so long that you return this late? Or is it because I am inferior? Why must you insult me?”. Please note that the stanzas quoted in *Cindamani*, as appearing in the manuscripts and the printed editions, still contain variations from the one found in this manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter IX Matsi* (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 102), even though they carry the same meaning across all the stanzas.

(NLT: RSs: Ms no. 65). The chanting markers appearing in this manuscript indicates its relation to the chanting tradition restored in the royal court of King Rama II, as the prologue in all manuscripts of the first Chapter, *Thotsa Phòn*, indicates that all thirteen chapters have been chanted from 1814 on. The text from this manuscript is, hence, most likely rewritten, as a manuscript from 1814 perceived this chapter as “new”.

Apart from the authoritative version of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter IX Matsi* (from NLT: RSs: Ms no. 102), two other versions have also been found. Both are referred to in the manuscripts’ titles as *Matsi Kham Luang*, despite their different texts both in Pali and Thai verses. These different versions make salient that the text was also rewritten in various versions, but only one version among them (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 102) was accepted and chanted in the ceremony. But the manuscript titles found in the other two versions still indicate that both versions of *Matsi* have been perceived as a part of *kham luang* tradition not the *klòn thet* tradition. The use of the poetic meters follows those in the *kham luang* tradition, namely the amalgamation of *rai*, *kap*, and *chan*. (Note that the meter in all the text of *Vessantara* in the *klòn thet* tradition is mainly *rai*.) Other than the authoritative version, another version of *Matsi Kham Luang* was found in the manuscripts NLT: RSs: Mss no. 98, 100, while the other was found in the manuscripts NLT: RSs: Mss no. 99, 101. Both versions contain two stanzas quoted in *Cindamani*, corresponding to the authoritative version, despite their significantly different texts. In the version found in the manuscripts NLT: RSs: Mss no. 98, 100, the two stanzas quoted in *Cindamani* has even been marked by an interlinear note as “the old stanzas” (Th. *bot kao* / บทเก่า) as well as “the end of the old stanzas” (Th. *sin bot kao* / สิ้นบทเก่า). The mark of the part of text transmitted from the earlier exemplar and known as “the old text/stanza” in these two manuscripts shows that the scribes and scholars of Bangkok employed the old surviving part along with their new composition, a case resembling that of the marginal note found in the manuscript of *Sakka Bap* mentioned above. However, there is more than one version of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter IX Matsi* surviving from the early Bangkok period, even if the text of the chapter has been stated to have been rewritten in 1814.

Although the rewriting process is not directly mentioned in the manuscript evidence, some clues reflect that the old fragments of the so-called lost chapters must have been employed, even in the case of *Sakka Bap*, which has been widely accepted as a new chapter. On the other hand, the old chapters which have survived from the fall of Ayutthaya were supposedly copied from the exemplars earlier from 1814, according to the preface found in a royal manuscript of *Cunla Phon* dated 1814 (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 65). It is not mentioned how the text was interpolated in the process of copying the complete old texts from the exemplars in 1814, as most of the extant manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* are dated from 1814 onwards, save the only single manuscript of *Nakhòn Kan* (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 136) dated 1809 in the reign of King Rama I. Comparing this earliest *Nakhòn Kan* manuscript with the royal manuscript dated 1814 (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 125), some variations on spelling still appear, while

the text significantly corresponds to each other. This earliest manuscript represents the old exemplar prior to the royal restoration of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* in 1814, which at that time must have existed for the seven chapters recognized as the old ones, but have not survived in the present days. Furthermore, it demonstrates the case of the old transmitted chapter, in which not many changes were made, in opposition to the cases of the new or rewritten chapters, in which the old fragments were fixed with the new composition from the Bangkok scholars, in order that all the thirteen chapters would be complete.

The cases discussed above show that the scribes and scholars of the early Bangkok period made copies of Ayutthaya literature from the fragments and earlier exemplars available to them. In many cases where the exemplars are damaged and the old texts have not completely survived, the scribes and scholars interpolated the texts to ascertain extent, often mentioned in the paratexts as *taeng team* or *tok taeng*, both signifying a meaning of ‘to embellish/decorate’. The traditional editor might have interpolated the lost part of the text, such as Luang Sòrawichit in the case of *Lilit Phra Lò*, while the text whose chapters had been lost were assigned to scholars for rewriting and completion of all chapters, such as in the case of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*. The fragments of the so-called lost chapters of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* were employed in the process of rewriting, even though the main part of the lost chapters was recomposed. These cases show that in the process of making copies, the scribes and scholars of Bangkok took part in interpolation and even rewriting the lost part, the process traditionally known as embellishing texts or *tok taeng*. Therefore, it is not always the case that the scribes made faithful copies without making any variations or interpolations to the damaged text.

Among the manuscripts of *Cindamani*, the earliest treatise on Thai orthography and poetics, the paratexts do not mention the process of embellishing texts, but rather the process of editing or *chamra* (literally ‘purify, edit’), which connotes the process of rearranging, selecting, omitting, and adding the parts of the text in a wider sense than embellishing or interpolating mentioned above. Within the corpus of Ayutthaya literature, the tradition of editing text can be commonly found in the case of *Cindamani*, which will be further discussed below.

6.2 Making Editions of *Cindamani*

Among the many texts of Ayutthaya literature with paratexts mentioning the process of editing, the tradition of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* has mainly consisted of the making of various editions of the text, as indicated by the structure of various manuscripts and their paratexts. And at least since the very beginning of the Bangkok period, the text of *Cindamani* has been widely further edited by the scribes and scholars of Bangkok until the early twentieth century. The earliest extant manuscript dated 1782 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 60) was edited by Khun Maha Sitthiwohan from the Department of the Royal Scribes in the royal court, while the latest manuscript dated 1911 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 64) has preserved its own unique order, suggesting the continuation of the editorial process within the practice of copying the text of *Cindamani*.

As a result of the continuing editorial tradition, a large number of *Cindamani* manuscripts have preserved various forms of the text, both with regard to the order of content and the selection of content. As a traditional treatise, the text of *Cindamani* consists of a wide range of different lessons from orthography to poetics. Most of the lessons appear in the form of mnemonics, but most often without any clarification on each mnemonic. For instance, the lesson on the use of three *sò* consonants <๙ ๒ ๙> has provided the examples of words using three different *sò* consonants in form of *wasantadilok chan*, without any correspondence in content among these stanzas. Following the poems exemplifying the use of three *sò* consonants <๙ ๒ ๙>, there are also other poems exemplifying the use of two *ai* vowels <๑ ๑> and the use of the semivowels *rü* <๑> and *lū* <๑>. These poems offer a mnemonic aid for different topics of orthography rather than any explanation on their use. Sometimes the explanation on orthography is presented in the form of *khlóng* stanzas, which also enables easier memorization.

Furthermore, in the part on poetics, in which a wide range of meters in the Siamese poetic tradition have been included, the rule of each stanza is sometimes briefly given in the form of short poems (such as the ones in *khlóng* meter) along with example stanzas which are often cited from earlier literary works (see Thawat Punnothok, 1999: 46–50). Sometimes the diagram of some poetic meters is given as well. A detailed explanation on each poetic meter is not really provided in the text of *Cindamani*, which seems to cover mainly the core knowledge in the form of mnemonics, collection of example stanzas, and diagrams. The manuscript which bears the text of *Cindamani* has served mainly to preserve the core of knowledge as a memory aid to the manuscripts' users (i.e. readers, teachers, and students). The real explanation on each lesson, orthographic or poetic, in *Cindamani* was transmitted orally from teachers to students with the help of the manuscripts.

As the text of *Cindamani* contains a variety of mnemonics and examples in various topics on orthography and poetics, the order of content is usually rearranged from manuscript to manuscript, along with differing selections of the lessons in each manuscript. When *Cindamani* was used in the traditional system of education, it appears that the scribes and

scholars, sometimes teachers themselves, took part in selecting, rearranging, and adding the content to suit their own teaching. The process referred to here is called the “editing tradition”. As a result, the content order of the *Cindamani* manuscripts rarely perfectly corresponds to its counterparts, while the lessons included in each manuscript sometimes also differ, as some manuscript might exclude some lesson on a few poetic meters. This situation of discrepancies among the manuscripts of *Cindamani* has been described to be “a big spicy salad” (Th. *yam yai*) by Chanthit Krasaesin (1962: [26]), a metaphor which well represents the various forms of text found in the *Cindamani* manuscripts.

The paratexts from the manuscripts, in addition, reveal the intention of the scribes and scholars in the process of editing *Cindamani* and have sometimes even stated the names or the titles of the editors. The colophons of Maha Cai Phak and Phraya Thibet, for example, have clearly stated the intention of both traditional scholars, Maha Cai Phak and Phraya Thibet, in editing *Cindamani* by choosing the lessons that should be taught to the students. The differently edited manuscripts of *Cindamani* constitute various subversions or recensions (Th. *chabap yòì*), in case that multiple manuscripts can be classified into the same group due to their corresponding arrangement, selection of content, as well as the paratexts (i.e. preface or colophon) mentioning the same editor. However, in many cases, the manuscripts contain text with their own unique content without any further copying. As a result, the textual form of *Cindamani* never appears in a single form, at least not since the early Bangkok period, from which we have the extant manuscripts. Dhanit Yupho (1942) classified the manuscripts of *Cindamani* at the National Library of Thailand at that time into four recensions, namely, the earliest manuscript, Maha Cai Phak’s recension, Phraya Thibet’s recension, and Prince Paramanuchit’s recension. He also provides remarks on several manuscripts with unique content as well.

At the royal court of Bangkok, *Cindamani* was copied and edited many times since the founding of the new Siamese capital in 1782. Even within the royal palace, there were different forms of *Cindamani* known, recognized, read and used. The royal scribes were assigned to produce a manuscript of *Cindamani* in 1782, the earliest manuscript ever known, which Khun Maha Sitthiwohan edited (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 60). In 1822 in the reign of King Rama II, the Lord of the Royal Scribes at that time has edited another manuscript of *Cindamani*, from which a royal scribe in 1842 made a copy to be presented to King Rama III (BKK: HRH SDh: *Cindamani* (1)). These manuscripts are obviously royal manuscripts produced and edited by royal scribes. The content of the text from these two manuscripts, however, is different in terms of content arrangement and order, despite the same status of the royal manuscripts. In addition, one of *Cindamani-The Odd Content Version* manuscripts, which should be considered as one of the subversions or recensions of *Cindamani*, was also produced by a royal scribe called Nai Pan to be presented to the king (Th. สมุด จินดามณีนี้ ข้าพทูลเจ้านายปานหุบทูลเกล้าฯ ถวาย) (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 6). The form and structure of the preface found in this manuscript suggest its status as

a royal manuscript. Even though undated, the handwriting of Nai Pan found in this *Cindamani* manuscript obviously corresponds to four manuscript volumes of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* (i.e. CM: DHC: NTIC: 17069), which were copied by Nai Pan in 1849 to be presented to King Rama III. It is most likely that both were copied by the same royal scribe called Nai Pan in the reign of King Rama III. This royal manuscript of *Cindamani-The Odd Content Version* indicates that there is a variety of subversions or recensions of *Cindamani* recognized by the king and by the royal scribes of the court.

Furthermore, there is a manuscript of *Cindamani*, in which the preface mentions that the scribe Nai Muang made a copy from a royal manuscript of *Cindamani* (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 62). It is not mentioned from which royal manuscript of *Cindamani* Nai Muang has copied. However, the content found in the manuscript copied by Nai Muang does not perfectly correspond to any royal manuscripts of *Cindamani* mentioned above, suggesting that there are also other royal manuscript of *Cindamani* that are not known to us and has preserved the arrangement of the contents other than the extant royal manuscripts.

The members of the Bangkok royal court played an important role in editing *Cindamani* on different occasions. In 1819, the Head of the Front Palace's Royal Scribes Department, Luang Likhit Pricha edited a manuscript of *Cindamani* (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 239) by rearranging the order and adding one lesson on the composition of *klòn* meter, which was never included in the text of *Cindamani*. In the paratext, Luang Likhit Pricha did not intend to present this manuscript to the king as a royal manuscript but instead edited it to teach his students (Th. *samrap chai sòn sit*). Furthermore, Maha Cai Phak, who edited a recension of *Cindamani*, must have been a member of the royal court, as the title Maha Cai Phak has been specifically used for the royal pages of the Front Palace. The recension of Maha Cai Phak begins with the orthography part (on the use of three *sò* consonants) with all the revering stanzas, followed by the lessons on poetics. Despite its origin in the royal court, the manuscript of the recension of Maha Cai Phak, which supposedly originated from the Front Palace, was found copied in the monastery as well, such as a manuscript found in Wat Tha Phut monastery in Nakhòn Pathom. There are at least ten manuscripts with paratexts mentioning Maha Cai Phak as the editor and containing the corresponding content arrangement. With the number of ten extant manuscripts, Maha Cai Phak's recension is the most widely transmitted recension of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani*.

On the other hand, another recension called Phraya Thibet's can be considered a widely transmitted recension with five extant copies found with the same content arrangement. Unlike the other recensions, the text of Phraya Thibet's recension contains only the poetics lessons without any orthography part. The title of Phraya Thibet also suggests that he was a member of the royal court as well, even though his identity is unclear. It can be observed that apart from the royal manuscripts produced for the king by the royal scribes, the various members of the royal court also took part in editing the text of *Cindamani* in different ways.

Furthermore, the texts of *Cindamani* are also widely dispersed in the monasteries. Obvious is that the monks played an important role in editing *Cindamani* in the monasteries, especially the monks who are the teachers themselves. Therefore, the text of *Cindamani* was edited by various individual monks to suit their own teaching process. The names of the monastic editors of *Cindamani* have sometimes been mentioned. Prince Patriarch Paramanuchit represented a monastic intellect who had a very close connection to the royal court. In his edited *Cindamani*, Prince Paramanuchit included another poetic text called *Kāvyasāravilāsini* into *Cindamani*, as well as some additional codes in the part on encoded poems. Another monastic scholar mentioned in the paratexts of some manuscripts is Phra Yen, who added the explanation on the third and fourth tone marks into the text, as the topics are absent in the transmitted text of *Cindamani*.

A recension of *Cindamani* called in the manuscripts *Chabap Yai Bòribun* is unique for its method or arrangement. This recension can be taken as another significant one, though its origin and the identity of its editor are uncertain. The text of *Chabap Yai Bòribun* compiles of the mnemonic poems starting from the ones on orthography. Then the mnemonic poems on poetics and the example stanzas are given, sometimes with the poetic diagrams. No lexicon part has been included. At least two copies of *Cindamani* in this arrangement have been found (NLT: ASS: Mss no. 4, 29). The versified preface at the beginning of both manuscripts does not mention the name of the editor, but does state the intention of the editor in compiling the old text of *Cindamani* in order to be learnt by the students.

In a number of manuscripts, the addition of some part of lessons has been found. All of them concern the lesson on orthography and poetics, but are not included in the transmitted text from earlier periods. Some manuscripts, for example, have included additional types of encoded texts such as *fon saeng ha* (Th. ฟณแสนหา) and *fòng hu chang* (Th. ฟองหูช้าง) other than the five common ones (i.e. NLT: ASS: Mss no. 28, 35). Furthermore, around the middle nineteenth century, when the old inscriptions from Sukhothai were discovered and moved to the capital, the Siamese then began their interest in deciphering and reading the old writing on the stone. It can be seen that the lesson on Old Thai script (based on the writing of Sukhothai inscriptions such as the Inscription no.1) was included in several manuscripts of *Cindamani* as well (see NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 121 in Illustration XXVI; CM: DHC: SKNM).

Within the tradition of editing *Cindamani*, a version known as *Cindamani-The Odd Content Version* or in Thai *Cindamani Chabap Khwam Plaek*, which Dhanit Yupho (2015: 12–14) has proposed as another version separate from Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani*, can still be argued to be another edition compiled and edited from the transmitted Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* as well. The content arrangement from *the Odd Content Version* consists of the orthography parts corresponding to the other recensions of *Cindamani*, with its own unique content, for example, the lesson on Khòm script, the unique synonym lexicon, as well as the lesson on traditional measurement. As *the Odd Content Version* shares a part from the other

Cindamani recensions, most likely is that *the Odd Content Version* is another recension or subversion of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* itself. Like other recensions of *Cindamani*, the order of content can be rearranged, while the unique lessons can always be added by the editors.

Although we do not know exactly the identity of the editor of *Cindamani-The Odd Content Version*, at least two copies from four extant manuscripts originate from the royal court, as one manuscript was originally owned by the Royal Manuscript Hall (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 94) and the other contains the preface of the royal scribe mentioning that Nai Pan copied it for the king (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 6), indicating its status as a royal copy. Even though the date of this royal copy is not recorded, the name of this untitled royal scribe Nai Pan has also been found in the other royal manuscripts produced to King Rama III, for example, the royal copy of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* dated 1849 (i.e. CM: DHC: NTIC: 17069). The corresponding handwriting among these manuscripts has pointed out that all have been written by the same royal scribe named Nai Pan in the reign of King Rama III. Thus, *Cindamani-The Odd Content Version* is arguably another recension of *Cindamani* transmitted among the royal court, apart from the other recensions mentioned above.

With its variety of content order and arrangement, the tradition of *Cindamani* is to be considered an open one, in which the scribes and scholars can rearrange and edit the texts according to their needs. Despite the mention on the editors of the text, many manuscripts have still contained a passage stating the original author as Phra Horathibòdi in the royal court of King Narai of Ayutthaya. The editorial tradition found in the case of *Cindamani* can also be compared to the transmission of other traditional treatises. The transmission of *Cindamani* text has long been perceived as a good deed, which creates merit to the manuscript's sponsor, scribe, and editor. As *Cindamani* has been used as a core text of traditional education for orthography and poetics at a higher level, the transmission of *Cindamani* (, i.e. copying, having the manuscript copied etc.) must have long been closely related to the monasteries. The dynamic within the transmission of *Cindamani* has, by the way, reflected the dynamic within the traditional education, which has not yet been standardized and depended much on the teachers and their chains of knowledge.

The various forms of Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* found among the extant manuscripts are considerably different from what we find in the Fine Arts Department's printed edition (1942). Employing the printed edition alone might lead one to ignore the dynamics within the transmission, because the text of *Cindamani* is never static as appearing in the printed form. It is true that the main part of lessons appearing in the printed edition can be found in a number of manuscripts so often that they can be perceived as the text transmitted from Ayutthaya. Still, the readers of the printed edition have to bear in mind that the content order in the actual manuscript evidence and the selection of each lesson is ambivalent in each case of manuscripts, while there are many parts included in the unique manuscript, as a result of the editor's addition. Therefore, it can be argued that the tradition of *Cindamani* is the only case

among all Ayutthaya literature in which the editorial tradition can be traced from the structure of the text found in manuscripts and their paratexts.

6.3 Making Anthologies

In many cases, Ayutthaya literature has been preserved in the same manuscript along with other texts in the form of a multiple-text manuscript or a composite manuscript. This part will discuss the Ayutthaya literature in multiple-text manuscripts, or manuscripts collecting a group of texts which have been planned and copied together at the same time, not as a result of co-incidence. The process of making an anthology can also be considered one of the important modes of transmission of Ayutthaya literature, which allows the short texts or fragments of text to be collected and further transmitted together. A few texts of Ayutthaya literature have survived only as a part of the anthology or collection of texts, for example, *Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat Wat Pa Mok* and *Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang* as a part of the collection of King Bòrommakot's works.

Sometimes shorter texts can be found collected in different anthologies. For example, King Bòrommakot's didactic poems such as *Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng*, *Khlong Thotsarot Sòn Phra Ram*, and *Khlong Ratcha Sawat* have been included in the collection of King Bòrommakot's works (or NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 202) along with other didactic poems by the same author as *Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang* and *Khlong Rachanuwat*, as well as with a poem commemorating a historical incident as *Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat Wat Pa Mok* also by the same author. This anthology found in the manuscript NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 202 is collected together due to the same authorship, not the same theme or literary genre. On the other hand, three texts of King Bòrommakot: *Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng*, *Khlong Thotsarot Sòn Phra Ram*, and *Khlong Ratcha Sawat*, are also found in another anthology, which is included in the manuscript NLT: KhSPHSSs: Ms no. 141, which collected only the didactic poems from various authors and dates. This case has exemplified that the same texts can be found in different anthologies, which have collected the texts based on different criteria.

Many texts of Ayutthaya literature survived the fall of Ayutthaya in the form of fragments, while several texts are rather short. Making an anthology might be considered a method that allows a group of short texts or fragment to be preserved and transmitted together. One impressive example is Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems*, presumably collected in the reign of King Rama III. This anthology covers short poems transmitted from the Ayutthaya period. Some of them might have been orally transmitted as well, as there appears a group of stanzas related to the legend of Si Prat included in the anthology. The scenes and stories from the oral legend underlying these stanzas by Si Prat have never appeared in the written form until the late nineteenth century. Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems* has also included fragments of *Khlong Nirat Cao Fa Aphai* and *Khlong Nirat Phra Bat*. This

anthology, furthermore, provides the only piece of evidence for the text of *Nirat Cao Fa Aphai*, which does not exist elsewhere. Despite the wide range of the authors, the short poems collected in this anthology offer poetic models to the users of text. Most of them are transmitted from the Ayutthaya period, except for several stanzas which Phraya Trang has composed by following the models. In this case, a manuscript can be interpreted as a “corpus organizer” (Bausi, 2016: 128), where the contents were selected and compiled by the scribes and scholars finds a specific arrangement.

Some texts of Ayutthaya literature were also collected along with non-Ayutthaya texts, due to related themes or functions. *Ongkan Chaeng Nam*, for example, was and still is recited in the royal ceremony on oath of allegiance. This short text has been found collected together with other ceremonial texts. Five manuscripts⁸¹ out of the extant fourteen are the collection of the text recited in the actual ceremony by both the royal scribes and the court brahmins, covering the oath of allegiance in prose, the Pali verses inviting the deities, including *Ongkan Chaeng Nam*, as an anthology of the ceremonial texts for the royal ceremony on oath of allegiance. One additional manuscript (written in the Siamese Grantha script), furthermore, preserves the text of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* along with other Brahmanical chants in Tamil and Sanskrit as an anthology of Brahmins’ ceremonial texts (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 360). The compilation of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* with other ceremonial texts might be practically convenient for the manuscript’s users.

6.3.1 Transmitted Anthologies

Some anthologies of Ayutthaya literature have been further transmitted. Some texts have never been transmitted individually at all. The transmitted anthologies suggest the success of the preservation of texts in the form of collections. The obvious cases of the transmitted anthology of Ayutthaya literature are *the Collection of Phra Si Mahosot’s Works* and *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*. *The Collection of Phra Si Mahosot’s Works* consist of three incomplete poems in different themes, but all the texts are attributed to the same author, Phra Si Mahosot. On the other hand, the texts collected in *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises* are related to one another through the theme on elephant tradition in the royal court of Ayutthaya, but do not share any common origin or authorship. The main part of the manuscripts of these two texts appears in the form of an anthology.

We do not have any direct mention of when the texts of Phra Si Mahosot and the texts of old elephant treatises were anthologized. The paratexts indicate that the earliest manuscripts of these two anthologies are dated in the reign of King Rama II. Both are royal manuscripts. Still it is not stated whether any royal scribe compiled the texts into the collection. It is possible that the royal scribes copied the texts from an exemplar manuscript which had already the

⁸¹ Namely, NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 258 (in Grantha); NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 175; NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 175/n; NLT: PRPTSs: Ms no. 312; NLT: PRPTSs: Ms no. 389

character of an anthology. However, as the texts of Phra Si Mahosot appear only in fragments, it is possible that the complete texts became lost and only fragments survived and thus were collected with others in the Bangkok period. For *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*, it appears that the third text in the collection, *Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun*, is more likely a treatise on the elephant lore, not the text for the ceremonial recital as the other two. The author of the text *Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun* records the date of the original composition in the late Ayutthaya period and the text itself does not have any direct connection to the other two texts, which were composed more than a century earlier. More likely is that the three texts on elephant treatises of Ayutthaya had been collected together as an anthology only after the fall of Ayutthaya, due to their related theme on elephant tradition and their origin from the Ayutthaya period.

The text of *Kap He Rüa* by Prince Thammathibet can also be taken as another text transmitted mainly in an anthology together with other texts. The text of *Kap He Rüa* itself consists of different parts, namely, *He Chom Krabuan*, *He Chom Pla Chom Mai Chom Nok*, *He Kaki*, *He Khruan*, and *He Sangwat*. We have three manuscripts in which each part of *Kap He Rüa* has been collected in this order (NLT: KHKhlSs: Mss no. 14, 15, 16). The additional six manuscripts⁸² have collected each part of *Kap He Rüa* in this order, but together with the other texts in the related poetic meters (*kap he rüa* and *kap hò khlong*). This anthology begins with *Kap He Rüa*, followed by *Kap He Chom Khriiang Khao Wan*, a literary work in *kap he rüa* meter believed to be the royal composition of King Rama II of Bangkok. Then begins the text of Phra Maha Nak's *Nirat Phra Bat* in *kap hò khlong* meter before ending with the collection of ancient poems. The number of six copies indicates that the anthology has been further transmitted. According to Prince Damrong, who got the information from the sayings of the elder members of the royal court in the late nineteenth century, the texts of Prince Thammathibet's *Kap He Rüa* and King Rama II's *Kap He Chom Khriiang Khao Wan* were collected together to be recited in the ceremony of the royal barges and only in the reign of King Rama IV. This anthology is thus dated within the fourth reign of Bangkok, and seems to have been circulating in the royal court at that time. The only dated manuscript of this *Kap He Rüa* anthology (NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 52) was copied in 1870 under the sponsorship of Luang Sara Prasoet, a higher ranked royal scribe of the royal palace. Another manuscript (NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 2), though undated, has evidentially been copied and proofread by the royal scribes of the Front Palace, highlighting the circulation of this anthology in the palace other than the grand royal. The cases of transmitted anthologies prove that anthologization must have been widely practiced and had become a useful mode of transmission in the traditional manuscript culture, which allows many texts to be transmitted together in a single process of copy.

⁸² Namely, NLT: KHKhlSs: Mss no. 2, 4, 8, 12, 17, 52

6.3.2 Dealing with Short Love Poems

Among the corpus of this study, the group of *phleng yao* poems has survived merely in the form of an anthology. Although *phleng yao* poems were originally used as correspondence letters, especially love letters, the manuscripts of the texts of *phleng yao* poems are most likely the anthologies of the *phleng yao* poems. The writing support for the actual correspondence must have been small in size so as to be portable, thus also making it subject to being easily lost or damaged. The *khòì*-paper leporello manuscripts kept at the chief libraries nowadays were used for preserving texts in a more durable way than a small piece of paper supposedly used for letters. The anthology of *phleng yao* poems indicates that the scribes and scholars, perhaps since the late Ayutthaya period, collected the poems together for further reading as well as using them as poetic models, making the text lose its original function of a love letter.

Each different anthology contains various poems from different authors, who are mostly anonymous. Nowadays there are around 70 manuscripts of *phleng yao* anthologies preserved at the Subsection of *Phleng Yao Sangwat* within the National Library of Thailand. All the extant manuscripts rarely perfectly correspond to one another, suggesting the compilation by an individual scribe and scholar rather than a tradition of anthology. In the group of *phleng yao* poems included in this study, the poems attributed to Phimsen cover 24 poems preserved in 23 manuscripts. Phimsen, furthermore, is the only single *phleng yao* poet whose works have been individually collected in an anthology. The complete anthology of *phleng yao* poems by Mòmm Phimsen consists of at least four manuscripts, from which only three have survived. Apart from Phimsen's single anthology, the poems attributed to Phimsen have also been collected in other *phleng yao* anthologies of various authors, with or without the notes on authorship. The name Phimsen is sometimes mentioned in the interlinear and marginal notes of the anthology manuscripts, while most of the poems are left anonymous. Phimsen is the poet to whom *phleng yao* poems have been clearly attributed by the scribes and scholars of Bangkok, although his identity has never been clear to us. However, the large number of the poems attributed to him clearly indicates the popularity of his works.

Three *phleng yao* poems which modern scholars attribute to Prince Thammathibet appear in a much smaller number of manuscripts, and are not always transmitted together. Prince Thammathibet's *phleng yao* poems have been collected together with Phimsen's poems and other anonymous ones, without any individual anthology entirely attributed to the prince, as in the case of Phimsen. It should be noted that there are no paratextual elements such as the interlinear note that attributes these three poems to Prince Thammathibet appearing in any extant manuscript. The attribution can be found among the works from scholars in the early twentieth century, which were based mainly on oral history. On the other hand, *Phleng Yao Phayakòn Krung Si* might be an exceptional case for *phleng yao* poems whose content does not concern love letters, but a prophecy on Ayutthaya. However, *Phleng Yao Phayakòn Krung Si* has also survived as a part of an anthology of love poems, despite its differing content. No

authorship for the text is mentioned. Perhaps it was collected in this anthology due to its corresponding poetic meter or due to its origin attributed to the Ayutthaya period.

In the case of *phleng yao* poems included in this study, an anthology has been employed in order to compile the various short poems in one volume. Though the anthology of *phleng yao* poems is not the original manuscript form of these love letters, it has to be noted that the *phleng yao* poems have survived to the present days only with the help of the anthologies preserved in these leporello manuscripts. The love poems in the actual epistolary forms, considerably the original writing support of *phleng yao*, has yet to be found.

From the cases mentioned above, the anthology, in which the various texts were collected under the criteria of their authorship, their theme, their genre or their related purpose, has proved itself to be a useful and successful mode of transmission for the Ayutthaya literary texts, which suffered from loss and damage of manuscripts since the city's fall. Many short and fragmentary texts have survived merely in the form of an anthology, being collected together with other texts. A manuscript containing an anthology, thereby, can become the *codex unicus* for various fragmentary texts. On the other hand, the anthology has also secured the transmission lineage of the related texts when being further copied, as in the cases of transmitted anthology. The number of the extant manuscripts preserving the anthology of Ayutthaya literary texts indicates the tradition of the anthology and its significance in the Bangkok manuscript culture, a significance which should most definitely not remain overlooked.

6.4 Remarks on Orality in Textual Transmission of Ayutthaya Literature

The studies of Ayutthaya literature have long been dominated by the study of written sources, which often refer merely to printed sources. Despite including the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature as the main corpus, this study is still based mainly on written sources and thus biased towards them. However, the traces on orality in textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature have also been attested in the manuscripts and their paratexts. These traces indicate that the textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature, which has closely been related to the writing culture, appears many aspects of orality. This part of the study can merely offer the remarks on orality in textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature, based on the manuscript evidence. Further study of orality will still be required by all means.

Most importantly, the texts of Ayutthaya literature were not composed for silent reading in the modern sense. *Ongkan Chaeng Nam*, for example, is intended to be recited by the court brahmins in the royal ceremony in the Bangkok period, and most possibly since the early Ayutthaya period. *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, on the other hand, was and still is chanted. The chanting markers found in the manuscripts dated from the Bangkok period indicate that almost all the chapters, old and new, were chanted once before the tradition became obsolete and only

a part of a chapter (*Maha Phon*) is chanted in the royal ceremony nowadays. Though the interpretation of the chanting markers has already been lost, they still indicate the existence of the chanting tradition that covers various chapters in the reign of King Rama II. From *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*, *Dutsadi Sangwoei* has been proposed by modern scholars to be originally recited in the royal ceremony before the elephant hunt began, while *Kham Chan Klòm Chang Krung Kao* has been recited in the ceremony after finishing the hunt. *Kap He Rüa* is to be recited in order to provide the rhythm for the peddlers in the procession of the royal barges. The audiences of these texts, possibly since its original state, have long received these texts aurally, rather than visually via (silent) reading.

In the literary texts of Ayutthaya, most often the poetry is praised for its beautiful sonorance, suggesting its primary purpose of being performed and read aloud. *Lilit Phra Lò* provides a very famous example of this aspect of orality in textual transmission. The prologue of *Lilit Phra Lò* praises the text as sonorant and melodious (Th. *phairò* and *phrò*) in the stanza no. 3 line 3.⁸³ In stanza no. 4, it claims this text is more enjoyable to listen to than any other. From this stanza, it is also suggested that the text of *Lilit Phra Lò* has been originally read aloud or recited to the king. The stanza reads as follows:

สรวลเสียงขับอ่านอ้าง	ใดปาน
ฟังเสนาะไฉน	เปรียบได้
เกลากลอนกล่าวกลการ	กลกล่อม ใจนา
ถวายบำเรอฟ้าไว้	วิราชผู้มีบุญ ฯ

Translation: The smiles of people hearing the recital (of the text) is incomparable. It sounds so beautifully that there is no text that can be compared. The reading of this refined text certainly caresses the heart (of the audience) and is offered to serve the meritorious king.

Apart from the prologue above, in the epilogue of *Lilit Phra Lò* (stanza no. 658), the text itself has also been compared to be a glory for the composer's mouth (Th. *pen si kae pak phu phacong chan*) as well as for the embellishment to the ears of the listeners (Th. *pen thanim pradap kan*). The stanza reads:

เป็นศรีแก่ปากผู้	พจฉันท
คือคู่มาลาสร	เรียบร้อย
เป็นถนิมประดับกรรณ	ทุกเมื่อ
กลกระแจะต่อน้อย	หนึ่งได้แรงใจ

Translation: (This text of *Lilit Phra Lò*) is the glory of the composer's mouth. It is a fine decorated bunch of flowers, and at anytime the earrings (embellishment) for the listeners. It is like a fragrance (Th. *kracae*), soothing the minds (of listeners) even with the slightest touch.

⁸³ Th. ไพเราะเรียบบรรยาย เพราะขี้ เพราะนา

From stanza no. 658 of *Lilit Phra Lò* above, the association of the texts with mouth and ears here reflects orality in the textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature. The texts of Ayutthaya poetry, it needs to be stressed, were mainly read aloud and received aurally by the audiences from the Ayutthaya period to the early Bangkok period. The manuscript might have been originally used for recording the texts for proper and continuous recital. The main audience of the poetry might not always have access to the manuscripts at all.

In the transmission of the traditional treatise on orthography and poetics such as *Cindamani*, the orality still plays an important part. As the text of *Cindamani* contains a number of mnemonic devices, diagram, and examples rather than a thorough explanation, the students of *Cindamani* absolutely requires an oral explanation from their teachers, in order to make sense of each mnemonic and diagram. The manuscripts of *Cindamani* have preserved merely the core knowledge, offering the aid of memory to the teachers. The paratexts suggest that many of the owners or scribes of *Cindamani* were teachers, not students. In the context of the Siamese traditional education system, the transmission of knowledge had been closely related to the chain of teachers, and the students were supposed to gain knowledge directly from the teacher. The use of manuscripts in the transmission of knowledge would offer teachers a recall to the mnemonics and diagrams. Thus, traditional education still relied much on the oral communication despite the widely transmitted written text of *Cindamani*. The text of *Konlabot Siriwbunkit* had supposedly been used as the treatise for *konlabot* poetics as well. The text presents a *Jātaka* narrative in different types of *konlabot* in *klòn* meter, along with the diagram demonstrating the structure of each *konlabot*. However, the explanation of each diagram and *konlabot* has not been given in the manuscripts. When the text was read or studied, most likely additional oral instruction on each *konlabot* was required.

The paratexts found in the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature, mostly dated in the Bangkok period, also occasionally make reference to oral culture. The structuring paratexts such as the side-marker or colophon often address readers in a more casual or spoken tone, asking the readers to turn the manuscript's page, informing the readers as to the beginning or the end of the text, or asking the readers for forgiveness for any errors or poor penmanship. The passage of the structuring paratexts employs colloquial ending particles such as *na than oei* (Th. นะท่านเอ๋ย) or *na than phu an oei* (Th. นะท่านผู้อ่านเอ๋ย). The word *phu an*, 'reader,' is often used to address the manuscripts' users and audiences. In some cases, the paratext has even addressed its audience as the listener (Th. *phu fang*) rather than the reader. For instance, the side-marker of a manuscript of *Bunnawat Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 28) has recorded that "The verso page of *Bunnawat Sut*. Oh listeners, please do not criticize me, and remember this correct (text)," (Th. หนาปลายบุรณโนวาทสูตรท่านผู้ฟังอย่าติเตียนจงจำไว้ไม่ผิดเลย ฯ). From the example here, the paratext itself addresses the manuscript's users as if the scribe were speaking directly to them. This situation demonstrates how paratexts often imitated oral communication. The writing here

is a type of extension of oral communication, allowing the users of the manuscripts in different instances of space and time to have access to the scribe's words from the past.

Along with the tradition of recital and reading texts aloud, silent reading may have existed in the traditional manuscript culture, but the extent of its prevalence is yet to be clarified. The examples from the texts and paratexts above suggest that silent reading never seems to be the standard for communication of the literary texts. Some clues of silent reading, however, are still found. For example, the preface or colophon of many manuscripts have marks noting that the copied text has been proofread. The royal scribes would often state the text has been proofread three times. A phrase often found in these paratexts mentioning the proofreading process is that the copied text has been “already proofread with the (manuscript) exemplar” (Th. *than laeo tam chabap* / ทานแล้วตามฉบับ), suggesting that the proofreading process has been done by comparing to the written exemplar. Suggested by these paratexts of manuscripts, the process of proofreading based on the written exemplar should have been done visually, and thus should consist of silent reading.

In many cases, even though the main text was read aloud, some paratextual elements recorded in the manuscript are often supposed to be interpreted and read silently by the readers. For example, the meter markers added along with the manuscripts of *Lilit Phra Lò* were provided in order to aid the readers to recognize the meter before they read the stanza aloud. They are not typically read aloud when the texts are recited to an audience. Correspondingly, the numerals signifying the poetic meters commonly given in the manuscripts of *kham chan* literature (i.e. *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*) are not to be read aloud, but to be recognize (silently) by the readers. Furthermore, the ceremonial notes for the case of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* which instruct the brahmins about the auspicious moment when to infuse the sacred arrow into the water are not to be read aloud during the recital of the text in the ceremony. These paratexts still suggest that silent reading must have existed for some certain extent, even though it never seems to be practiced in the way modern readers are familiar with.

The rise of modern silent reading was one of the consequences of the printing technology. The mass production of printed books has allowed texts to be more accessible, more portable, and more durable than in manuscripts. The printed book market in Siam of the mid-nineteenth century paved the way for a more modern reading society there.

Around the beginning of the twentieth century, when King Rama V wanted the text of *Lilit Phra Lò* to be published in the form of a printed book, he expressed his intention to make *Lilit Phra Lò* portable for leisure reading, according to a preface in a manuscript (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 108). This demonstrates that the reading habits of the Siamese gradually changed from the traditional to the modern. The codex had already become a portable object to be carried along when traveling, and was read for leisure. With the mass production of the printing technology, the king also wanted to print the text to promote the benefits of reading (seeing)

the text for remembering it by one's "eyes and heart" (Th. *tit ta khiin cai* / ติดตาขึ้นใจ), which more suggests habits of silent reading for the case of the literary texts. This preface of the manuscript of *Lilit Phra Lò* is a milestone for the change of reading habits among the Siamese in the early twentieth century. Oral communication in the case of the printed texts was no longer the main way to transmit and receive the literary texts as it had been before in the previous days of manuscript culture.

Remarkable is the extent to which orality played a role in the textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature. To study the texts of Ayutthaya literature, despite its predominantly written form, one has to be aware of these aspects on orality in textual transmission as well. The writing or the manuscript itself seems to be a memory aid and an extension of the oral communication. Silent reading, the main way of modern reading habit, must have existed in the traditional manuscript culture, but not as common as we know nowadays. Orality, hence, never exactly becomes the binary opposition to the writing in the textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature. However, as an impact of printing technology, orality is then not always the main way of receiving texts of Ayutthaya literature, when the mass production of printed books allows more people to get access to the texts, promoting more opportunities for private and silent reading.

6.5 Remarks on Attribution of Ayutthaya Literature

The last topic to be discussed here concerns the attribution of Ayutthaya literature, or the methods to determine whether a literary text is originally from the Ayutthaya period or not, which has long been a debate and controversy in Thai literary sphere. Modern scholars have based their arguments of attribution on different criteria. However, the study of the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature has revealed that only a group of texts known today as Ayutthaya literature is attributable to Ayutthaya via manuscript evidence. Their perception about attribution among the scribes and scholars of the traditional period. This part of the study will offer some remarks on the attribution found in the manuscripts and their paratexts.

In the case of the manuscripts dated in the Ayutthaya period, if the dates are to be believed, the texts preserved in these manuscripts should have been attributed to the period prior to the manuscripts, thus in the Ayutthaya period, though the exact date of composition is often not known. The cases of literary texts from the manuscripts dated in Ayutthaya are *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng* dated 1748 (NLT: ChSs: Chò: Ms no. 2) and *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* dated 1753 (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 79). The paratext does not clearly mention the year of composition of both texts, except the attribution of *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng* to Phra Maha Ratcha Khru in the reign of King Narai. On the other hand, the manuscript of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* contains information on the exact date of composition (1736) in its colophon, but the date of manuscript remains unclear.

However, the manuscript has been widely accepted to be originally from the Ayutthaya period, due to the paratext associated with the original author and also due to its palaeographic features. The writing found in the manuscript of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* significantly corresponds to the one found in the inscription dated in the late Ayutthaya period. Therefore, these three texts mentioned above have been widely accepted as Ayutthaya literature without any controversy.

In some undated manuscripts bearing handwriting which correspond to that of other sources exactly dated in the Ayutthaya period, the preserved texts have most often been proposed as Ayutthaya literature as well. A fragment of a didactic text called *Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap* ‘Mother Teaching Children in Kap Meter,’ for example, has been proposed to be Ayutthaya literature due to the handwriting in the manuscript (Boontuen Sriworapot, 2005b). Correspondingly, *Ton Thang Farangset* has also been proposed to originate from the Ayutthaya period because of the handwriting found in its *codex unicus*. Despite the controversy on the attribution to the Ayutthaya period based on the literary styles and unrefined poetic skill of the author, the handwriting found in the manuscript of *Ton Thang Farangset* significantly corresponds to the inscriptions and documents dated in the reign of King Narai. Modern scholars, thus, have argued that these two texts are originally from the Ayutthaya period due to the palaeographical argument, though not without controversy.

In some rare instances of Ayutthaya literature, the date of original composition appears already in the main text itself, confirming the direct attribution to the Ayutthaya period. The text in this case is *Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun*, one of the three texts in the *Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*, in which Luang Ratcha Wang Müang mentions his original composition in 1748. Furthermore, the epilogue of *Lilit Cantha Kinnòn* found in both extant manuscripts has directly stated the date of original composition in 1684. In some cases the exact date might not have been provided other than the reign of a specific king, such as Phra Horathibòdi’s *Cindamani*, seeing that the text always contains a passage mentioning the original authorship as Phra Horathibòdi in the reign of King Narai. Even though this passage might be later added by the scribe and scholar and then has become a part of the text, this passage has been widely found so often that it has considerably been perceived as a part of the text already in the Bangkok period. *Cindamani* was widely perceived in the Bangkok period as an old text transmitted from Ayutthaya. The scholars of Bangkok, on the other hand, referred to themselves only as editors of the text, a text which they attributed to Phra Horathibòdi, the royal sage in the reign of King Narai of Ayutthaya. In these cases, the attribution to the original authors in the Ayutthaya period is rather clear for the readers and audiences of these texts in the early Bangkok period, as well as for the modern scholars.

In *Cindamani*, many citations and mentions of the old literary texts of Ayutthaya have been found in the part which can be considered transmitted from Ayutthaya and not later added by Bangkok scribes and scholars. *Cindamani* mentions the titles of a few texts which relatively

correspond to the transmitted texts, for example, *Kamsuan Samut*, *Samutthakhot*, *Thawat Thotsamat*, *Anirut*, along with the titles whose texts have never been known to us such as *Si Umathikaraya* and *Nonthakasattri Sangwat*. Furthermore, in the part pertaining to the composition of *khlong ha*, the text of *Cindamani* has mentioned that the poetic form of *khlong ha* “corresponds to the text *Khlong Chaeng Nam Phra Phat*” (Th. อย่างโคลงแห่งนี้ว่าพระพัช), most possibly referring to *Ongkan Chaeng Nam*. In addition, *Cindamani* has also given the examples of poems cited from several texts we know, for example, *Lilit Phra Lò* and *Racha Philap Kham Chan*. These texts are mentioned and cited as poetic models. Thus, it is more likely that they were originally composed in a period earlier than *Cindamani* before being praised and accepted as poetic archetypes. Although we do not have any *Cindamani* manuscripts dated from the Ayutthaya period, the parts mentioning the earlier literary texts have been commonly enough found in the extant manuscripts to be perceived as a part of the text transmitted from the Ayutthaya times rather than one being added by the scribes and scholars of Bangkok.

Apart from the information given in the text of Ayutthaya literature, the paratexts found in the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature have provided us a useful piece of information which reveals the attribution and perceptions of the scribes and scholars in the Bangkok period. The original composition of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* is mentioned in the royal chronicles of Ayutthaya, and then also mentioned in the paratexts of the manuscripts, which have even provided us the list of the old texts and the lost chapters. The manuscript of King Bòrommakot’s works (i.e. *Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat Wat Pa Mok*, *Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng* etc) has implied the authorship and date in its preface, though the discrepancy and error still appear.

In many cases, the date of original composition might not have been mentioned in the paratexts at all, but only the generic mention of Ayutthaya period as the text “from the old capital” as appearing in the cover title of a manuscript titled *Kamsuan Samut* (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 211) or as by the author “[from/of] the period of the good city” (referring to Ayutthaya) as appearing in the fly-leaf titles of the collection of Phimsen’s *Phleng Yao Poems* (Th. สมุดเพลงยาวหม่อมกิมแสนบ้านเมืองดี; i.e. in NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 66). Sometimes only the reign in which the original text was composed is mentioned in the paratext, as in the case of *the Collection of Phra Si Mahosot’s Works* or the case of Phra Maha Ratcha Khru’s *Süa Kho Kham Chan* and *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng*. All of these texts have been attributed to the reign of King Narai in the Ayutthaya period, though without the known exact date. Sometimes the authors, who lived in the Ayutthaya period, are mentioned, allowing modern scholars to count these texts as Ayutthaya literature. For example, *Kap He Rüa* has been attributed to Prince Thammathibet, as recorded on the cover title of a manuscript (NLT: KHKHLSs: Ms no. 5). The attribution of the poem to Prince Aphai has also been found in *Nirat Cao Fa Aphai* in the manuscript of Phraya Trang’s *Collection of Ancient Poems*. *Bunnowat Kham Chan* and *Nirat Phra Bat* have been commonly attributed to Phra Nak of Wat Tha Sai monastery, who was widely known among the early Bangkok people as a poet of the late Ayutthaya period.

These mentionings on date or authorship which indicate or suggest an origin in the Ayutthaya period are found in the paratexts of the manuscripts mostly dated in the Bangkok period. It reflects that among the scribes and scholars of the Bangkok period, there are a group of the texts recognized as old texts transmitted from the Ayutthaya period. It should be stressed that the attribution of date or authorship found in the paratexts might not necessarily correspond to the modern scholar's opinion. For example, two manuscripts of *Süa Kho Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Mss no. 106, 111) contain an identical versified colophon stating that the author, Phra Maha Ratcha Khru, also composed *Yuan Phai* as well. This stanza reads:

บรมครูแต่งถ้อย	คำขวัญ ฝ่ายเส
ระจิตรเลื้อยสุนทร	สุดท้าย
ขอเป็นศิษย์สืบสวน	สารกล่าว กลอนนา
ในอนาโณ้นค้าย	พบเทอญ

Translation: Phra Bòromma Khru (the great sage/teacher) has composed the text of *Yuan Phai* and then *Süa Khu* (referring to *Süa Kho*) as his last work. I would like to be his pupil by studying his work. May my wish come true in the future.

Modern scholars might find this piece of information unconvincing, as the text of *Yuan Phai* eulogizes the victory of King Trailokkanat (r. 1448–1488) that had taken place more than a century before Phra Maha Ratcha Khru of King Narai's reign (1656–1688), while the language and stylistics of *Yuan Phai* itself correspond to the texts dated in the fifteenth century. Even though this piece of information is inaccurate, it still reflects the perception of the scribes and scholars in the Bangkok period. *Yuan Phai*, though possibly falsely attributed to Phra Maha Ratcha Khru in the reign of King Narai, was taken to be an old text from the Ayutthaya period by the scribes and scholars of Bangkok. As scholars of Thai literature, it is not sufficient to be content with an explanation at this level. Instead, we should probe further with questions like: “why might this have been the common interpretation at that time? Are there any sociopolitical indications from the time to help us understand this inaccuracy? Or was it instead an error in copying?”. Only then can we begin to more clearly determine the multi-faceted and complicated milieus in which these scribes were active.

Even though there are a number of the texts with manuscript evidence indicating their Ayutthaya origin, there are still a group of texts with unclear attribution to the Ayutthaya period, despite their common perception among modern scholars as being part and parcel of Ayutthaya literature. *Phra Malai Kham Luang*, for example, has been attributed to Prince Thammathibet based on modern scholars' interpretation of a versified colophon found in one manuscript (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 229). Yet it is unclear whether the text was really composed by Prince Thammathibet or not. There is no evidence found in the manuscripts, either, that the scribes of Bangkok recognized the text as an Ayutthaya text. Furthermore, some of the texts have been taken to be Ayutthaya literature based on oral history (or “hearsay”) amongst scholars of the

late nineteenth century. Making up one prominent example are the three *phleng yao* poems which have been attributed to Prince Thammathibet since the nineteenth century, despite the total lack of manuscript evidence to substantiate these claims.

Literary stylistics have also been often employed by modern scholars as a significant criterion to determine the Ayutthayan origin of the text. Prince Damrong determined a text of *Vessantara Jātaka* in *rai* meter from the royal manuscripts of King Rama I dated in 1782 to be the same text mentioned in the royal chronicles as *Kap Maha Chat* composed in the reign of King Song Tham (r. 1620–1628), not due to the scribal paratexts, but because of the literary styles. Modern scholars nowadays compare texts with others believed to be Ayutthaya literature in order to determine the date. For example, Boontuen Sriworapot from the Fine Arts Department has determined *Kaki Kham Chan* and *Phra Rot Kham Chan* to be Ayutthaya literature as well, based mainly on arguments focus on their literary styles and word choices. The manuscript evidence of these texts, nevertheless, does not state any attribution to the Ayutthaya period at all.

The various criteria mentioned above reflect different arguments proposed and different evidences employed by modern scholars for determining the nature and details of Ayutthaya literature and its history. Any student or researcher on Ayutthaya literature must be aware of these complications, especially for controversial cases. Though not always and necessarily accurate, the paratexts reflect that a group of texts was widely accepted in the traditional period as old texts transmitted from the Ayutthaya period. In the corpus of this study, a number of texts have been mentioned in the manuscript evidence, ranging from its text (mentioning directly on date of composition), its paratext, its palaeographical traits, as well as its intertext with the Ayutthaya treatise such as *Cindamani*, while there are still a group of texts, despite their wide reception as Ayutthaya literature in the present days (i.e. *Kap Maha Chat*), whose manuscript evidence does not suggest any attribution to the Ayutthaya period. Thus, the cases remain spurious and are to be further investigated by modern scholars. The remarks on the attribution of Ayutthaya literature provided here aim to offer a brief review on the attribution found in the manuscript evidence comparing to the one without any support from manuscript evidence but mainly on the investigation of the literary styles by modern literary scholars. Though not all the texts perceived nowadays as Ayutthaya literature contain attributes of the Ayutthaya period directly in their manuscripts, the tradition of the old texts from the fallen kingdom has been firmly established since the early Bangkok period and, for many cases of texts, has continued on even after the advent of print.

Among various arguments and evidences for determining attribution, paratexts, as one of the evidences from manuscript, have become a mirror that offers insight in the attribution of the texts in the eyes of the scribes and scholars of Bangkok. Regardless whether it has been falsely attributed or not, these attributing paratexts point out the Ayutthaya literature for the scribes and scholars of Bangkok, another significant piece of information of any scholars

pursuing the understanding on how the old literary texts have existed and have been transmitted in the Bangkok period. This aspect of attribution from paratexts, thus, should not be simply forgotten.

6.6 Reflections on Modes of Textual Transmission

The paratexts and manuscript evidences discussed above demonstrate that the literary texts of the Ayutthaya kingdom were transmitted to the Bangkok period in various modes of textual transmission, namely, making a copy from fragments, rewriting (in the case of *Maha Chat Kham Luang*), embellishing (or interpolating), making different editions (in the case of *Cindamani*), and making anthologies. These various modes of textual transmission reflect the dynamics within the textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature which took place under the context of the manuscript culture of the Bangkok period. The investigation on the paratextual elements and the text's structure in the extant manuscripts pointed out that several Ayutthaya literary texts did not necessarily survive in their single form.

The treatise on orthography and poetics such as *Cindamani* has survived in more than one hundred manuscripts, in which various recensions and many unique content arrangements can be found as a result of the tradition of making editions of the text being practiced widely in the royal court and monasteries. Phra Maha Nak's *Khlong Nirat Phra Bat* ('*Poetic Travelogue to the Buddha's Footprint*'), on the other hand, survived only as a fragment after the fall of Ayutthaya. However, there are at least two different versions of the text found in the extant manuscripts. The first version contains the text merely in *khlong* meter, such as 25 stanzas collected in Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems*, the version available in the printed editions nowadays. The latter, on the other hand, containing eleven stanzas of *kap hò khlong* meter, has survived in a higher number of manuscripts, but is less recognized among modern scholars and has never been published. These dynamics of the Ayutthaya literary texts can be simply ignored, when one approaches the Ayutthaya literary texts through the available printed editions.

Furthermore, in the paratextual elements of the extant manuscripts, the intention of the scribes and scholars of the Bangkok period in interpolating, editing or compiling the texts is often clearly stated, stressing the various roles of the scribes and scholars in the textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature. Two traditional editors of *Cindamani*, namely, Maha Cai Phak and Phraya Thibet, mentioned in their versified colophons that they edited the text of *Cindamani* by choosing only the lessons that should be taught to their students, for instance. As none of the original manuscript has survived and most of the extant manuscripts of the Ayutthaya literary texts are dated in the Bangkok period, the roles of the scribes and scholars should be respected and taken into consideration in order to not mistake any interpolated part or newly arranged form of text as the original texts from the Ayutthaya period.

Whether the texts have been copied, compiled, interpolated, or edited, orality still plays an important role in transmitting the Ayutthaya literary texts. Even though the literary evidence of Ayutthaya literature appears in the written form of manuscripts, the texts were most likely widely accessed aurally, as they were read aloud, recited, or sometimes even chanted to the audience. The paratextual element such as chanting markers in the manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* can be taken as an oral trace or remnant of textual transmission. Sometimes the side-marker, which usually addresses readers and users of manuscripts as if it was in the oral communication, even addresses the audience as the listeners (Th. *phu fang*) rather than readers (Th. *phu an*). These paratextual elements highlight the significance of orality in the textual transmission, which is indispensable for the understanding of traditional Siamese literary and manuscript cultures.

It is worth mentioning that the dynamics of the modes of textual transmission discussed here in this chapter, however, provide merely general remarks on the significant roles of the Bangkok scribes and scholars in transmitting the Ayutthaya literary texts before they are accessible through the modern printed form. It mainly aims at pointing out the complication and variety of textual forms among Ayutthaya literary texts for any readers and students who aspire to further approach these texts either in printed or in their original manuscript form.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

“ถ้าเราขยันพลิกอ่านหนังสือสมุดไทยและใบลาน
ก็จะพบเห็นปณิธานของผู้แต่งและผู้สร้างหนังสืออื่นๆบ่อยๆ”

“If we are patient enough to turn and read the folded pages of *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript and the leaves of palm-leaf manuscripts, we will then often see the aspirations of the scribes and sponsors of those manuscripts.”

Dhanit Yupho, 1958: 31

Dhanit Yupho, the late former Head of the Fine Arts Department and one of the most prominent scholars of the classical Thai literature in the mid-twentieth century, made this statement to point out the significance of paratextual elements such as prefaces and colophons in offering insight to the aspirations, as well as intentions, of the authors (for authorial paratexts) and those who produced the manuscripts (the scribes and sponsors in the cases of scribal paratexts). This statement should be widely appreciated by students of Thai literature even in the present day; unfortunately, it is much less cited than it should be. Nevertheless, paratextual elements not only provide us with the aspiration of the author or the scribe, they also tell about various aspects of textual transmission and manuscript culture, as has been shown through the examination of the Ayutthaya manuscripts included in this study.

7.1 Paratexts as a Key to the Transmission History of Ayutthaya Literature

Paratexts have long been an indispensable part of traditional Siamese manuscripts. Although being liminal and sometimes even marginal, the forms and content of paratexts from the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature vary in a wide range from structuring paratexts (i.e. cover titles, side-markers etc.) to documenting paratexts such as prefaces and colophons found both in prose and verse. Other than the aspiration of the authors, scribes, or sponsors as suggested by Dhanit Yupho (1958: 31), the paratexts found in the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature have allowed us to trace the textual transmission of a number of Ayutthaya texts in the Bangkok period, as well as to see *how* the Ayutthaya texts existed in the manuscript culture of Bangkok.

On the one hand, paratexts can be employed to trace the context of textual transmission. The place where the particular text has been circulated, namely, the royal court and the monasteries, is reflected in paratexts such as prefaces and colophons. Aspects of time can also be found in the paratexts, providing the temporal context of textual transmission. Not only have the documenting paratexts such as prefaces and colophons been widely used by

modern scholars as the primary evidence for dating the manuscripts, but they also allow us to see the continuation of the tradition of the text as well, as some texts such as *Cindamani*, *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, or *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* were continuously copied throughout the nineteenth century, all thanks to the information provided in their paratexts. According to the aspects on place and time recorded in the prefaces and colophons, we can see which particular Ayutthaya text has continuously been transmitted over the centuries and how far it has been circulated. Furthermore, paratexts of the manuscripts seem to be one of the rarer records on the agents of textual transmission, namely the scribes and scholars of the Bangkok period, as well as on their intention to copy, compile or edit the text. This information regarding scribes and scholars and their transmission of texts has not been found elsewhere. The paratextual elements have preserved and continue to preserve their voice, however. Sometimes their intentions along with their wish to gain merit, as well as their perception of the text's history and authorship can be clearly discernible. .

On the other hand, paratexts also reveal the scribes' and scholars' roles in textual transmission. The voice of the scribes and scholars as the traditional editors of Ayutthaya texts can be found from the paratextual elements of the manuscripts. Rather often the paratexts in the *Cindamani* manuscripts indicate the tradition of editing *Cindamani* to serve teaching purposes, thus the editors' intention to select and omit the lessons of text has been mentioned in the prefaces and colophons. Furthermore, the other significant aspects in textual transmission can also be found as well. For example, the mention of the scribes and scholars searching for fragments to restore the texts (as in the case of *Lilit Phra Lò* restored and partially interpolated by Luang Sòrawichit), the statement of the traditional editor to make an anthology of short poems and fragments (as in the case of Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems*), or the assignment given to the scholars of the royal court to fix the lost text of Ayutthaya (such as *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter VI Cunla Phon* rewritten by Khun Maha Sitthiwohan) with the help of the surviving fragments, all these roles of the scribes and scholars cannot be found elsewhere, save the paratextual elements from the traditional manuscripts. Even though the study of the transmission history of each particular text has to be done carefully with the help of textual criticism, carefully comparing the reading from all significant extant manuscripts, rather than simply employing the paratextual elements alone, the paratexts are proposed here as a key to understanding textual transmission through the context of manuscript transmission as well as the roles of the scribes and scholars provided by them. These aspects are necessary to determine for any further manuscript and textual investigation of an Ayutthaya literary text.

Some special features of paratexts were also found which reflect a high level of variety within the paratextual tradition. The prefaces or colophons of the manuscripts produced by the royal scribes to be presented to the king follow the same structure. Even though the dynamics can be attested through the course of time, such as the transition from the traditional calendar to the modern one, the formal character of these prefaces and colophons was still emphasized,

as the manuscripts were to be officially presented to the king himself. These paratexts can also be employed to identify the royal manuscripts of the royal palace, along with those of the Front Palace, in case that the structure of the paratexts, the use of royal language, as well as the noble titles of the royal scribes are attested. On the other hand, the encoded paratexts presented with codes like *aksòn lek* or *riisi plaeng san* represent the informal part, demonstrating the playfulness of the scribes who employed the codes as a form of play with the readers' eyes and intellect rather than to conceal any secrets. The encoded structuring and documenting paratexts have been found in a very limited group, but they still indicate the existence of the code tradition as well as represent the dynamics of the paratextual elements from the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature.

Most of the paratexts providing information on textual transmission are documenting paratexts such as prefaces and colophons, which often record direct information on the date of manuscripts, names and titles of scribes and scholars, as well as their aspiration and intention. Commenting paratexts such as glosses, on the other hand, might not directly reflect these transmission aspects, but significantly reveal how the text has been interpreted in the traditional period. Structuring paratexts, which can be commonly found in mostly manuscripts in the same form, have sometimes provided us on the transmission history as well, in case that the history of the text and its authorship has been recorded in the cover titles, fly-leaf titles, or side-markers. The classification of paratexts based on their functions here is only preliminary in order to differentiate their various functions more conveniently. In many cases, however, one paratextual element might serve more than one function.

The paratextual tradition in Siamese manuscript culture can be traced to the early evidence of the Siamese manuscripts dated from the seventeenth century. The practices were then continued into the early twentieth century. This is not the case for every text of Ayutthaya literature included in this study, however. Several texts such as *Kaki Kham Chan* and *Phra Rot Kham Chan* have survived in multiple manuscripts, but none of them contains any paratext significant for the study of textual transmission. Although the significant scribal paratexts of Ayutthaya literature can be found only in around one-third of the entire corpus of Ayutthaya literature, the paratexts still undeniably reflect many aspects of textual transmission, and thus should not simply be ignored by modern scholars of classical Thai literature.

7.2 Reflections on Writing, Orality and Literacy in Siamese Manuscript Culture

When considering writing as a human technology and cultural practice in the traditional period, Siamese manuscripts functioned as the main device to bear this technology of writing, especially for literary texts, though the discursive function was not always their only function. Manuscripts help us overcome the limitations posed by the human memory and oral communication as tools for storing information, as long as the writing materials and substances remain intact. As Ayutthaya literature in the corpus of this study mainly contains longer vernacular poetry, which memory alone cannot accurately preserve, writing offers a visual reference for these texts, allowing the texts to be accessible and to be recalled at any time. This condition cannot take place via an oral tradition alone. There must be a number of texts transmitted orally from the Ayutthaya period to the Bangkok period, but no evidence has been attested due to the evanescent nature of the oral texts. Only for some exceptional cases, the shorter poems, such as poems by Si Prat told and retold as a part of the legend of Si Prat widely known and transmitted orally in the Bangkok period, were preserved in the written form in Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems*, reflecting the preference of the collection's compiler, in this case Phraya Trang, of the written form to the oral one. *The Collection of Ancient Poems* itself can be interpreted as an attempt of the Bangkok scribes and scholars to conserve the short oral poems along with a number of fragmentary poems transmitted from the earlier period together in the same volume.

It is true that a higher level of literacy was likely restricted to the members of the elite, i.e. those in the royal court. But literacy was always a part of traditional education, which mostly took place in monasteries. The manuscripts of the traditional treatise on the basic Thai alphabet and the so-called advanced knowledge on orthography and poetics were widely transmitted in the monastic circle, where young boys, especially those from good families or *kunlabut*, were sent to obtain their basic education (Pipada Youngcharoen and Suwadee Tanaprasitpattana, 1982: 43). Thus, a rather large portion of the male population must have possessed a basic level of Thai literacy. Only the ones who ordained and gained the higher monastic education would have been taught Khôm script as the prerequisite for learning Pali, the canonical language. Khôm literacy in Siam was, therefore, more restricted than Thai literacy. Due to its function as the script for Pali religious texts (canonical and non-canonical), Khôm script has long been perceived as a sacred script in the traditional Siamese culture and is still used in talismanic and magic rituals even nowadays (Iguma, 2013a: 30; Kannika Wimonkasem, 2009: 23).

While the Khôm script was used for preserving religious texts (written in Pali and sometimes vernacular Thai) and has been perceived as the sacred script in the Buddhist community, the Siamese Grantha script was used for preserving mantras in Sanskrit and Tamil, mainly among the court brahmins, which constituted a small portion of people with the brahmin blood lineage. Siamese Grantha literacy was arguably the most restricted among three scripts

used in the traditional Siamese manuscript culture. The form and orthography of the Siamese Grantha script itself already implies a higher level of inaccessibility. Although resembling its predecessor from the Southern Indian Grantha, the Siamese Grantha is a adapted form with orthographic elements from Thai and Khò̃m scripts. Some Siamese Grantha consonants such as *ḍa* perfectly correspond to its counterpart in Khò̃m script <ḍ> (see Wudhichai Kosolkajana, 1988: 100), for example, while the consonant *ḍa* in the South Indian Grantha (i.e. Grantha Tamil) looks completely different (see Grünendahl, 2001: 2, 80, 122). The numerals in the Siamese Grantha script are still the same as those in the Thai and Khò̃m tradition. Hence, the Siamese Grantha cannot be easily recognized by Grantha readers from South Indian, while regular readers in the Siamese culture who are familiar merely with the Thai and Khò̃m scripts will not be able to understand the writing either. The readers of the Siamese Grantha are, thereby, rather rare in the traditional Siamese manuscript culture and restricted only to a small group of the Siamese court brahmins who were trained in the Siamese Grantha literacy.

The Ayutthaya literature included in the corpus was transmitted in these three different scripts, though Thai script is the most commonly found of the three. In a group of bilingual Pali-Thai texts, namely, *Maha Chat Kham Luang*, *Kap Maha Chat*, *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang*, and *Phra Malai Kham Luang*, the Pali verses were regularly written with Khò̃m script, along with the vernacular passages in Thai script. Only two texts of Ayutthaya literature, *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* ('Oath of Allegiance on Water') and *the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*, have survived both in Thai script and the Siamese Grantha script. The manuscripts written in the Siamese Grantha reflect the association of both ceremonial texts with the court brahmins. Especially a manuscript of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* (written in the Siamese Grantha script) was present in the royal ceremony on the oath of allegiance, when the text was recited by a brahmin. Thus, the use of these scripts in the corpus of Ayutthaya literature also implies the different backgrounds for each manuscript among different groups of readers and users.

As mentioned earlier, the binary opposition of orality and literacy in textual transmission cannot always be applied, which is also true for the case of Ayutthaya literature, even though its source has survived in the written form, as orality played an important role in the Siamese manuscript culture as well. Not only were the texts of poetry widely received aurally when being read aloud or recital in different occasions, but orality also played an important role in the transmission of knowledge through the traditional treatise such as *Cindamani*. As the text of *Cindamani* consists of numerous mnemonic devices and examples classified by different topics or lessons on orthography and poetics without any further clarification, users and readers of a manuscript must rely on the oral explanation from their teachers. The written text of *Cindamani*, thus, was employed as a reference or a manual for a teacher, bearing the core knowledge in written form for teaching purposes.

Paratexts, though very closely associated with the written tradition, nevertheless preserve many traces of orality in the textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature. Paratextual

elements such as chanting markers are significant evidence proving that various chapters of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* were once chanted and the traditional audience was supposed to receive the text aurally in a chanted rhythm. Furthermore, the side-markers typically instruct users of the manuscript in casual spoken language rather than in the register of the official written language. Such kinds of paratexts have even become an extension of oral communication. Furthermore, in the case of the manuscript entitled *Bunnawat Kham Chan* (NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 28) the side-marker addresses the audience as listeners rather than readers, indicating the significance of the oral transmission and reception of the text despite being written down onto a manuscript. The paratextual element, hence, can be considered an extension of oral communication between the scribes and the users or readers of the manuscripts, despite both agents being from different periods of time.

7.3 On an Endless Quest for Manuscripts

It is worth mentioning that the extant manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature are merely a small part of the whole that has found its way into the possession of the chief libraries and institutions, helping them remain preserved into the early twenty-first century. The number of extant manuscripts, thus, is incomparable to those that once existed. However, the manuscripts included in this study do not represent every surviving manuscript of Ayutthaya literature. It is to be noted that the monasteries in Bangkok and other provinces in Central and Southern Thailand still possess their own collections of traditional manuscripts which might contain texts of Ayutthaya literature, but the monastic collections have never been systematically surveyed and digitized, except for in some particular case like the collection was included in the digitization project called the Manuscripts of Western Thailand within the Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre. In addition, many manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature have been preserved in private collections in Thailand and other foreign countries.

This study is based on the manuscripts preserved in the main libraries in Thailand, particularly the National Library of Thailand, and in Western Europe, mainly in Germany and France. There are other institutions in foreign countries housing their own collections of the Siamese manuscripts which might also house several texts of Ayutthaya literature, for example, the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Igunma, 2017: 78), the Otani University Library in Japan (Unebe, 2017: 158), and other libraries in the United States of America (Kerekes and McDaniel, 2017: 208–209). The manuscripts from these institutions have yet to be further surveyed. Thus, the extant manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature included in this study are merely the ones, to which the access has been gained during 2015–2019. With the help of the digitization projects, the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature have also become accessible online, for instance, the Digital Heritage Collection within the Chiang Mai University Central Library and the Manuscripts of Western Thailand within the Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology

Centre, and thus have also been included as the corpus of this study. Still, a greater number of manuscripts is expected to be found in the chief institutions in different countries and in digital collections in the coming future.

The task of finding manuscripts is a never-ending project in itself. The chief libraries such as the National Library of Thailand continue to receive more and more manuscripts over the years⁸⁴, as Siamese manuscripts in the libraries, museums and monasteries have begun to gradually gain more recognition by and interest from modern scholars. Thereby, the researchers of traditional Siamese manuscripts and classical Thai literature must be aware that the knowledge on the manuscripts must be updated often, always staying on the hunt for new manuscripts in different locations wherever they may go.

As there is no previous study that offers any updated list of the manuscript sources of Ayutthaya literature, and since the manuscript catalogues of the National Library of Thailand remain unpublished, the knowledge and recognition of the manuscripts of each particular text remains lacking among scholars of the classical Thai literature. Accordingly, any scholar who has to consult the manuscripts would face the problem of how to begin searching for the proper manuscript source for his or her study. As an attempt to solve this dilemma, this study has proposed a list of the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature in Appendix I as a handlist of the manuscripts with the shelf marks of different institutions along with general information on their material and text. Even though this handlist does not suffice as a manuscript catalogue of Ayutthaya literature, it might serve as an aid to any further study on Ayutthaya literature in finding access to the proper manuscripts for consulting. This handlist of the manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature, nevertheless, requires continual updating and revision from the scholars who share this endless quest and thirst for manuscripts.

⁸⁴ Most recently on 28th May 2019, Nuansiri Paorohitya as the heir to Cao Phraya Mukkha Montri has donated additional manuscripts (104 in total) formerly owned by Cao Phraya Mukkha Montri (Uap Paorohitya) to the National Library of Thailand. Thus, these 104 additional manuscripts (consisting of 35 palm-leaf manuscripts and 69 *khòì*-paper leporello manuscripts) are now under the process of cataloguing and will be available for researchers at the manuscript reading room of the National Library in the coming future (Hò Samut Haeng Chat, 2019). Apart from a large collection of manuscripts donated by Cao Phraya Mukkha Montri himself in 1930, this additional part of Cao Phraya Mukkha Montri's collection recently donated in 2019 might contain more significant manuscripts, which are to be further investigated by modern scholars in the future.

7.4 Ayutthaya Literature in the Hands of Bangkok Scribes and Scholars

Another point to be emphasized here is the problem of how to determine Ayutthaya literature, or which texts should be properly taken as literary texts originally composed in the Ayutthaya period before being transmitted to the Bangkok period. This problem is still controversial among modern scholars even today. This study includes the texts proposed and recognized by modern scholars as Ayutthaya literature, a total of 41 texts. Among these texts included in the corpus, each text has been proposed by modern scholars to be part of Ayutthaya literature based on different criteria. The study of manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature, nonetheless, has shown that not all the texts recognized as Ayutthaya literature contain manuscript evidence that supports this claim. Only one group of texts has evidentially been perceived by the traditional scribes and scholars of Bangkok as the Ayutthaya literary texts, according to the paratextual elements found in the extant manuscripts. Some of the literary texts do not have paratexts which suggest the original composition date in the Ayutthaya period, but the handwriting from the manuscript corresponds with the inscriptions and historical documents in the Ayutthaya period, for instance, *Ton Thang Farangset* ('Poetic Travelogue to France') and *Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap* ('Mother Teaching Children in Kap Meter'). Even though the authenticity of these texts and manuscripts has been sometimes questioned by scholars (for example in Yuphorn Saengthaksin, 2004, regarding *Ton Thang Farangset*), they still contain some evidence from the manuscripts, in this case the handwriting, to support the claim that it belongs to Ayutthaya literature.

On the other hand, there are a number of texts recognized nowadays as Ayutthaya literature although the manuscript evidence of these texts does not contain any information attributing them to the time period at all. Many of these assumptions or understandings appear to be based on oral histories circulated by scholars in the early 20th century. Some examples include the three *phleng yao* poems known as Prince Thammathibet's *Phleng Yao Poems* which were even included in the Fine Arts Department's *Anthology of Ayutthaya Literature Volume III* (Krom Sinlapakòn, 1986c; 2002b). Another group of texts has been attributed to the Ayutthaya period due to its literary stylistics and word choice as examined by modern scholars, even though the manuscript evidence itself does not support such conclusions.

Importantly, the study of the manuscripts of the so-called Ayutthaya literary texts has revealed that not all the texts widely recognized as Ayutthaya literature possess manuscript evidence supporting the determination of its original date. We cannot even be sure for these cases whether the scribes recognized these texts as the old texts transmitted from Ayutthaya themselves or not. However, this study does not aim to re-determine the texts to be properly taken as Ayutthaya literature, but rather to point out the various criteria employed by modern scholars to determine Ayutthaya literature, as it is not always based on the information found in the manuscripts. This will then helpfully spur further discussion so that scholars become

more aware of the pitfalls of such analysis and in future will more carefully engage with the earliest bearers of texts, i.e. their original manuscripts, as well as the tradition of these manuscripts' transmission.

The manuscript evidence, in addition, has demonstrated the plurality of the particular texts of Ayutthaya literature. Not only does the variation appear among the extant manuscripts of the same text, but in some cases the text was further edited by scribes and scholars in the early Bangkok period. The investigation into the text and paratext from the manuscripts of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* ('*Kritsana Teaching Younger Sister in Kham Chan Meter*') point to a highly developed state of the text. One manuscript of the text originally survived from the Ayutthaya period (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 79) with the date of 1753, preserving one state of the text in the late Ayutthaya period, while the other manuscripts contain additional stanzas mentioning a traditional monastic scholar and monk called In who restored the text in the Thonburi period. All the extant manuscripts suggest that most of them stemmed from the version restored by Monk In, representing another state of the text in which the additional stanzas had been accepted and included into the textual transmission. Thus, the text found in the manuscripts of *Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan* offers us at least two different forms of text: one representing those transmitted in the late Ayutthaya period (as found in NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 79 dated 1753), the others (stemmed from the text restored by the monk In) representing the form being recognized among the traditional scribes and scholars since the Thonburi period. Therefore, the text found in the traditional manuscripts does not always appear in the single form, as the printed edition often suggests.

The case of the *Cindamani* manuscripts demonstrates a complicated editing tradition at least from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century which resulted in the plurality of textual forms. As the scribes and scholars took part in editing the texts by rearranging the content, the text of *Cindamani* found in each manuscript is almost never identical to its counterparts, with some manuscripts even containing entire sections or multiple sections of unique content. Undeniably, this study of the manuscripts in Ayutthaya literature has pointed out the complication of textual forms over the course of its transmission history beyond the fixed single forms found in the authoritative printed edition.

Something that all modern scholars must confront is the fact that the Ayutthaya literary texts we have are mostly Ayutthaya literature as they were transmitted interpolated, and edited by the scribes and scholars of the Bangkok period, as only very few cases point to original transmission of manuscripts during the Ayutthaya era. Thus, one must be aware that the Ayutthaya literature that we have access to nowadays is actually the "Ayutthaya literature in the hands of Bangkok scribes and scholars" rather than the original texts.

7.5 Textual Transmission: The Lost Chapter in Thai Literary History

This study has employed the paratexts of manuscripts as a key or main device to trace the transmission history of Ayutthaya literature in the Bangkok period, in order to point out some important details of textual transmission in relation to Thai literary history. Normally scholarly works on Thai literary history have classified literary texts in chronological order (based on their original composition date proposed by modern scholars) so as to discuss their original author, original intention and original function. However, the use and existence of the texts in the later period are rarely mentioned, even though the transmission of many particular texts must have been occurred throughout the centuries before the introduction of printing technology to the Siamese around the mid-nineteenth century. The manuscript evidence of each particular text, which would support the discussion on its transmission history, has also rarely been included. These aspects have unfortunately been ignored in Thai literary history. The students and readers of Ayutthaya literary texts can have merely a vague idea of the text in its original state as suggested by what is mentioned and discussed in the scholarly works on Thai literary history. Most often researchers have taken the printed edition as the original state of the text without any investigation into the actual manuscript evidence and at the same time without any awareness on its complex transmission history.

In the transmission history, as suggested by the paratexts and manuscripts included in this study, some texts did not survive in its single form such as is the case with *Cindamani* mentioned earlier. Furthermore, the function of the text can change over time. *Samutthakhot Kham Chan*, for example, has originally been composed to be a script for shadow play as mentioned in the text itself, while the extant manuscripts do not contain any paratext in relation to the shadow play at all, indicating that the text at least in the early Bangkok period has not served its original purpose anymore, but has rather been used and read as a poetic model for *kham chan* meter in the early Bangkok period. These aspects in textual transmission have represented the nature of the text on the one hand, and pointed out the dynamics of the text on the other.

This aspect of the transmission history of Ayutthaya literature should be further supplemented in the literary history that we have nowadays. Though it is not the case for all the texts in which we have sufficient evidence to trace the transmission history, at least the discussion on the primary written source, namely manuscripts, would by itself lead to the awareness on the transmission history, as the surviving manuscripts are a result of the transmission period of the text rather than a product directly launched from the original composition period of the text. With this awareness, students of Thai literature could read and analyze the texts more carefully before consulting any available printed editions as the original text.

In his essay on Thai literary historiography, Chetana Nagavajara (1983) discuss the lacking significance of oral literature in Thai literary history. Correspondingly, Sukanya Sujachaya (2013) has recently proposed a work on Thai oral literature and tradition in order to fill this gap in Thai literary history. Oral literature, as proposed by these modern scholars, should share the field of Thai literary history along with written literature. However, it should be highlighted that even for the cases of literary texts surviving in form of written sources such as manuscripts, orality has also played an important role in transmitting the written literature, now that the tradition of recital and reading the text out loud has been widely practiced according to the traces found in the paratexts. The audience of the literary texts has more often received the texts aurally rather than by reading silently. Furthermore, Chetana Nagavajara (1983: 118) also emphasized the knowledge of reading culture that is still absent in Thai literary history. The reading culture is undeniably connected with the traditional manuscript culture, since traditional manuscripts such as *khoi*-paper leporello manuscripts and palm-leaf manuscripts were employed as the main writing support for preserving literary texts. Hence, the study of traditional manuscripts would by all means enhance the knowledge of the reading culture in the Siamese manuscript culture and Thai literary history.

This study has been proposed as an attempt to promote the significance of the study of manuscripts and transmission history of the Thai literary texts. However, this study covers merely a single group, not all, of the texts perceived nowadays as Ayutthaya literature. A number of other texts excluded from this study have yet to be further researched in terms of their manuscripts and transmission, for example, *Phra Malai Klòn Suat*, other *klòn suat* poems of Ayutthaya and the group of the Ayutthaya dramatic plays (Th. *bot lakhòn nòk*). It is true that there are research works done by modern scholars that have employed manuscripts as the primary sources for the study, for example, the works by Niyada Lausoonthorn (1984; 1992a–d). Still, there are a lot of Thai literary texts other than Ayutthaya literature whose manuscripts and transmission history have never been discussed academically and thus remain unclear even nowadays. Especially for the literary texts originally written in the early Bangkok period, from which we have a larger amount of surviving texts and manuscripts, the problem on the manuscripts and transmission is still to be further discussed, in order to fulfill the background on the primary written sources and their problems of each particular literary text, considerably the philological background, in Thai literary history. This discussion of philological problems in literary history is a way to avoid the state of being “lost in transmission,” in which the problem of textual transmission remains totally ignored, often misleading modern scholars to arguments which conflict with the primary sources.

7.6 A Call for A Return to Thai Philology

This study of the manuscripts and transmission history of Ayutthaya literature largely falls under the discipline called philology (in Thai *niruktisat*), or the study of written records in a socio-cultural context (Simon, 1990: 19). It also aims to promote the significance of this field in the Thai literary sphere. Thus, the definition of philology will be briefly discussed here, now that the word philology itself is said to be one of the most misused, abused or even snickered-about words in English and other Western languages (Bod, 2013: 278; Lepper, 2012: 9; Turner, 2014: x). From its etymology, the first definition of the word philology given in many English dictionaries is always attributed to ‘the love of learning’ or ‘love of word’, referring to the traditional literary scholarship of the West. Though this sense of philology is the root of the later-developed discipline of the humanities (see more in Bod, 2013; Turner, 2014), this etymologically based definition is nowadays rarely used in its general sense (Ziolkowski, 1990: 5). Another definition of philology refers to the study of language in general, including historical-comparative linguistics. This usage as ‘the study or science of language’, a popular perception since 1716, was later subsumed under the term linguistics, which came into use in 1837 (Alexiou, 1990: 56). Even though nowadays the word philology is still interpreted in a linguistic sense by some readers in Great Britain (Lepper, 2012: 46; Turner, 2014: ix), this definition is strongly rejected by a significant number of “self-described” philologists (see Ziolkowski, 1990: 6) and even by linguists themselves (Hale, 2007: 19–22).

In the Thai language, the most authoritative translation of the word philology is *niruktisat* (Th. นิรุกติศาสตร์), first used at Chulalongkorn University in 1935 as the official Thai title of the course “Philology”. The course’s textbook was entitled *Niruktisat*, written by its lecturer, Phraya Anuman Ratchathon (1956: 1–2). The textbook employs philology in a sense which stresses the scientific study of language in general, or, in other words, linguistics. Several later scholars have continued the usage of this term in this particular sense from Phraya Anuman Ratchathon’s work (see Sompong Phiriyakit, 1968; Sricharung Buncuea, 2000). However, despite the strong influence of Phraya Anumanratchathon’s *Niruktisat* within the Thai academic sphere and its status as a pioneering work on linguistics, the term philology here will never refer to this sense. Instead, the term philology is used according to the definition and delineation presented below.

The definition to which most philologists in recent times refer is the study of the primary written text, thus also being known as “textual philology” (Turner, 2014: x). Therefore, the object of study for textual philology seems to be the written text and its cultural context, which is not limited to the knowledge of language, though language skills are obviously required when approaching the texts in question. Though many scholars since the late twentieth century have offered varying definitions of this field, there is a relatively wide degree of agreement between these definitions, for instance, “the study of the written record in its cultural context” (Simon, 1990: 19), “the historical text curatorship” (Gumbrecht, 2003: 2), or “the

study or the discipline of making sense of text”, which is neither linguistics – the theory of language – nor philosophy – the theory of meaning or truth – but rather the theory of textuality as well as the history of textual meaning (Pollock, 2009: 934). The basic practices of philology include identifying fragments, editing texts from manuscripts, and writing historical commentaries (Gumbrecht, 2003: 3), as well as explaining textual transmission histories (Lepper, 2012: 99; Bajohr et al, 2014: 1–2).

According to these definitions, philology is the foundational knowledge that serves as the precondition for any further literary criticism or historical and interpretative work (Culler, 1990: 50), including historical linguistic research (Hale, 2010: 21). Though some scholars refer to the discipline as “textual scholarship” (Greetham, 1994: 10; see also Fraistat and Flanders, 2013), this discipline in the name of philology has become a renewed and rejuvenated popular topic of interest for scholars and students in many different fields of language and literature in which the scope of philology, its legitimacy and its future have been discussed and debated since the turn of the twenty-first century (Lepper, 2012: 9; see more in Bajohr et al, 2014; Pollock, 2009). Although these definitions seem to stress the importance of studying the primary written text in order to actually be doing philology, its study should not be limited only to the text as such, as the process of approaching and making sense of a text, especially a text from the more distant past, clearly requires additional historical and cultural knowledge other than the linguistic knowledge needed to read the text itself (Ziolkowski, 1990: 7), as well as a set of particular technical skills used in the analysis of the primary source. Considering the definitions above, the scope of philology encompasses multiple different fields or methods⁸⁵, and its employment is necessary in order to study primary written texts (Ziolkowski, 1990: 6).

Among the different approaches of philology mentioned above, textual criticism has been mainly perceived as a core competence of philology (Bajohr et al, 2014: 1–2; Bod, 2013: 279; Greetham, 1994: 314). Nevertheless, this study has been mainly oriented by the approach of manuscript studies, employing paratextual elements to trace the transmission history as well as the manuscript culture that underlies the transmission of the texts. Textual criticism, along with palaeography, has also been employed, as a type of supporting methodology, as was mentioned in the first chapter of this study. This study, therefore, does not aim to present the detailed textual relationship among all the manuscripts of each text. One of the most ambitious

⁸⁵ One of these philological methodologies is textual criticism – the technique of restoring texts as nearly as possible to their original forms (Kenney, 2003: 614; Maas, 1958: 1–2), palaeography (the study of ancient handwriting), codicology (the study of manuscripts as physical, artistic and cultural artifacts, also known as manuscript studies for the sense broader than the Western codex manuscript form), including any other ancillary sciences of history related to the written source (Brandt, 2012: 15; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2003: 574), such as epigraphy (the study of inscriptions), bibliography (the study of the printed book), diplomatics (the study of ancient charters and official documents), and numismatics (the study of coins) (see more in Beck and Henning, 2012: 239–398; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2003: 574–620; Howell and Prevenier, 2001: 43–60).

aims of this study is to provide a philological background of Thai literary history, which should then act as a call for a return to philology among Thai literary scholars. As the knowledge and criticism of the primary written sources for Thai literary texts has not been widely discussed and developed until the present days, this study might hopefully raise the significance of philological approaches and might, more or less, reveal some forgotten aspects within the Siamese manuscript and literary culture.

The return to philology amongst modern scholars more recently⁸⁶ has been perceived as a scholarly tendency within the different fields of humanities since the last decades of the twentieth century in which scholars are more inclined to discuss primary sources and their cultural context. This tendency can be considered a result of the growth of digital technologies in the last decades (McGann, 2013: 327). Due to the numerous digitization projects in Thailand and foreign countries, more sources can now be accessed online without any long journey across cities or countries to find the manuscripts as they existed in previous centuries. Furthermore, in a number of chief libraries nowadays, the digital reproduction of the manuscripts can be requested, offering more convenient devices for modern scholars to have access to digital copies of manuscripts for their further research, though not always free of charge. Now modern scholars, consequently, do not always have to sit at the manuscript reading room all day long and keep copying (transliterating and transcribing) the texts from the manuscripts into their personal notes anymore. Furthermore, such digital reproduction not only preserves the text, but also the layout, handwriting, and decoration, as well as other paratextual and codicological elements, which cannot be easily conserved via the transliteration of modern scholars. With the help of digital technologies, philological approaches can be more efficiently conducted in the study of Thai literature nowadays.

Unfortunately, the students of classical Thai literature nowadays are less trained in philological skills such as reading or studying texts from their primary written sources. A limited number of critical editions have been proposed in the cases of classical texts. The place to find the actual manuscripts of each text is still unclear for most scholars. The transmission history of the literary texts from the Ayutthaya to the Bangkok periods has long been overlooked. Hence, there remain a lot of philological problems and questions in the Thai literary field to be explored in further research, which might end up changing the critical views on the particular texts from our time.

The last point on philology to be raised here is that the philological task of identifying fragments is to work on the “metonymic” state of the text and its primary source, as proposed by Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht (2003: 13). The term metonymy refers to an object as a part of the larger whole, which has been used to represent the whole. Scholars dealing with fragments (i.e. of text, of manuscript etc), thus, have to take the incomplete object as a metonymy by reading

⁸⁶ Please see Culler, 2002; Eisner, 2011; de Man, 1986; Said, 2004.

the cultural meaning of the whole which the fragment represents. The scholars of Thai literature must be aware of this state of metonymy that occurs in the study of Thai literary texts, now that the knowledge of literature is based mainly on the surviving manuscripts. The more we employ these fragments of texts and manuscripts as a representative of the larger whole, the more we must be aware of the lost part of the whole, which is unseen and unknown to us at the same time. Therefore, the metonymical meaning of the fragments we have is still subject to change whenever other new fragments are found and employed to constitute a new interpretation. The situation appears to be the same for the case of the study on paratexts and textual transmission of Ayutthaya literature in the Bangkok period. The same can also be said of the study of classical Thai literature transmitted in the form of traditional manuscripts.

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- MCH: BStaBi: Cod. Siam 53 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Bavarian State Library of Munich, Germany.
- MCH: BStaBi: Cod. Siam: 58 “Abhidhamma (อภิธรรม)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink with coloured illustrations, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Bavarian State Library of Munich, Germany.
- MCH: BStaBi: Cod. Siam 99 “Wettang (เวตตาง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white ink, the Siamese Grantha script, Sanskrit-Tamil-Thai languages. The Bavarian State Library of Munich, Germany.
- MCH: BStaBi: Cod. Siam: 123 “Abhidhamma (อภิธรรม)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink with coloured illustrations, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Bavarian State Library of Munich, Germany.
- MCH: BStaBi: Cod. Siam 193.1–4 “Sanyabat Phra Ratchathan Khrüang Ratcha Itsariyaphòn (สัญญาบัตรพระราชทานเครื่องราชอิสริยาภรณ์)”. Western paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Bavarian State Library of Munich, Germany.
- MCH: BStaBi: Cod. Siam: 194 “Abhidhamma (อภิธรรม)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink with coloured illustrations, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Bavarian State Library of Munich, Germany.
- MSWT: NPT001-016 “Cindamani (จินตามณี)”. [Online]. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khòm-Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. Wat Tha Phut Temple (Nakhon Pathom, Thailand), The Manuscripts of Western Thailand, The Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre. [Accessible from: <http://www.sac.or.th/databases/manuscripts/en/main.php?m=document&p=item&id=53>]
- NKST: NLT: Ms no. 12 “Cindamani (จินตามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The National Library of Thailand, Nakhòn Si Thammarat.
- NKST: NLT: Ms no. 188 “Konlabot Siriwbunkit (กลบทสิริวิบูลย์กิติ)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The National Library of Thailand, Nakhòn Si Thammarat.
- NKST: NLT: Ms no. 460 “Tamra Buat Phram (ตำราบวชพราหมณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white ink, Siamese Grantha script, Sanskrit-Tamil languages. The National Library of Thailand, Nakhòn Si Thammarat.

- NKST: NLT: Ms no. 461 “Tamra Buat Phram (ตำราบทพราหมณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white ink, Siamese Grantha script, Sanskrit-Tamil languages. The National Library of Thailand, Nakhòn Si Thammarat.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 4 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 6 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 10 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 11 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 12 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 14 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 16 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 24 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 26 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 27 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 29 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 31 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 32 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 34 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 35 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 38 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 43 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 44 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 48 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 49 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 50 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 52 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 53 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 60 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai script, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 62 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai script, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 64 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 68 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai script, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 69 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai script, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 72 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 73 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 74 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 76 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 81 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 82 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 83 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 84 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 86 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 93 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, gold and yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 94 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, gold and yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 95 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 115 “Cindamani (จินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 231 “Cindamani (จินตามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 235 “Cindamani (จินตามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 236 “Cindamani (จินตามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 239 “Cindamani (จินตามณี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 664 “Lak Phasa Thai (หลักภาษาไทย)”. Palm-leaf manuscript, incised and filled with black soot. Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ASS: Ms no. 667 “Cindamani (จินตามณี)”. Palm-leaf manuscript, incised and filled with black soot. Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 3 “Bunnawat Kham Chan (บุญโฆวาทคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 9 “Bunnawat Kham Chan (บุญโฆวาทคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 12 “Bunnawat Kham Chan (บุญโฆวาทคำฉันท์)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 14 “Bunnawat Kham Chan (บุญโฆวาทคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 19 “Bunnawat Kham Chan (บุญโฆวาทคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 21 “Bunnawat Kham Chan (บุญโฆวาทคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 25 “Bunnawat Kham Chan (บุญโฆวาทคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 28 “Bunnawat Kham Chan (บุญโฆวาทคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 29 “Bunnawat Kham Chan (บุญโฆวาทคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: ChSs: Bò: PLMS no. 1 “Bunnowat Kham Chan (บุญโณวาทคำฉันท์)”. Palm-leaf manuscript, incised and filled with black soot. Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Chò: Ms no. 2 “Chan Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Yu Hua Prasat Thòng (ฉันทสสรเสริญพระเกียรติพระเจ้าปราสาททอง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 6 “Klòm Klòng Lae Khlong Nirat Phra Bat (กล่อมกลองและโคลงนิราศพระบาท)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16 “Klòm Chang Krung Kao (กล่อมช้างกรุงเก่า)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 17 “Klòm Chang Krung Kao (กล่อมช้างกรุงเก่า)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 21 “Klòm Chang Krung Kao (กล่อมช้างกรุงเก่า)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 24 “Klòm Chang Krung Kao (กล่อมช้างกรุงเก่า)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 33 “Klòm Chang Kham Chan Lae Ongkan Chaeng Nam (กล่อมช้างคำฉันท์และโองการแช่งน้ำ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 46 “Klòm Chang Krung Kao (กล่อมช้างกรุงเก่า)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 49 “Klòm Chang Krung Kao (กล่อมช้างกรุงเก่า)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs Kò: Ms no. 73 “Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan (กฤษณาสอนน้องคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs Kò: Ms no. 74 “Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan (กฤษณาสอนน้องคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs Kò: Ms no. 75 “Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan (กฤษณาสอนน้องคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs Kò: Ms no. 76 “Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan (กฤษณาสอนน้องคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: ChSs Kò: Ms no. 77 “Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan (กฤษณาซอนน้องคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 79 “Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan (กฤษณาซอนน้องคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 86 “Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan (กฤษณาซอนน้องคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 43 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธ์คำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 44 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธ์คำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 45 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธ์คำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 51 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธ์คำฉันท์)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 54 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธ์คำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 55 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธ์คำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 60 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธ์คำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 61 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธ์คำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 63 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธ์คำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 69 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธ์คำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 71 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธ์คำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 72 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 75 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 76 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 81 “Anirut Kham Chan (อนิรุทธคำฉันท์)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 11 “Phra Rot Kham Chan (พระรตคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 12 “Phra Rot Kham Chan (พระรตคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 13 “Phra Rot Kham Chan (พระรตคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 14 “Phra Rot Kham Chan (พระรตคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 15 “Phra Rot Kham Chan (พระรตคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 16 “Phra Rot Kham Chan (พระรตคำฉันท์)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 17 “Phra Rot Kham Chan (พระรตคำฉันท์)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 3 “Racha Philap Kham Chan (ราชาพิลาป)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 5 “Racha Philap Kham Chan (ราชาพิลาป)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 7 “Racha Philap Kham Chan (ราชาพิลาป)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- [illegible]

- NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 91 “Süa Kho Kham Chan (เสือโคคำฉันท)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 92 “Süa Kho Kham Chan (เสือโคคำฉันท)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 95 “Süa Kho Kham Chan (เสือโคคำฉันท)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 96 “Süa Kho Kham Chan (เสือโคคำฉันท)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 105 “Süa Kho Kham Chan (เสือโคคำฉันท)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 106 “Süa Kho Kham Chan (เสือโคคำฉันท)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 111 “Süa Kho Kham Chan (เสือโคคำฉันท)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 115 “Süa Kho Kham Chan (เสือโคคำฉันท)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 117 “Süa Kho Kham Chan (เสือโคคำฉันท)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 123 “Süa Kho Kham Chan (เสือโคคำฉันท)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 140/1 “Süa Kho Kham Chan (เสือโคคำฉันท)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Sò: PLMs no. 2 “Samutthakhot Kham Chan (สมุทรโฆษคำฉันท)”. Palm-leaf manuscript, incised and filled with black soot. Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Sò: PLMs no. 3 “Süa Kho Kham Chan (เสือโคคำฉันท)”. Palm-leaf manuscript, incised and filled with black soot. Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: ChSs: Sò: PLMs no. 4 “Süa Kho Kham Chan (เสือโคคำฉันท)”. Palm-leaf manuscript, incised and filled with black soot. Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: CMHS: Ayutthaya: Ms no. 30 “Phongsawadan Chabap Luang Prasot (พงสาวดารฉบับหลวง ประเสริฐ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R1: 1153CS: Ms no. 3 “Cotmaihet Carük Phra Suphannabat (จดหมายเหตุนายกรีกพระสุพรรณบัฏ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R2: 1177CS: Ms no. 14 “Banchi Boek Cai Phra Ratcha Sap Suan Phra Ong (บัญชีเบิกจ่ายพระราชทรัพย์ส่วนพระองค์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R3: 1186CS: Ms no. 34 “Banchi Nangsü Nai Hò Luang (บัญชีหนังสือในหอหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R3: 1188CS: Ms no. 24 “Samut Banchi Yüm Phra Samut (สมุดบัญชียืมพระสมุด)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R3: 1191CS: Ms no. 17 “Banchi Bia Wat Krom Phra Alak (บัญชีเบี้ยหวัดกรมพระอัครกษณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R3: 1199CS: Ms no. 66 “Banchi Nangsü Nai Hò Luang (บัญชีหนังสือในหอหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R3: 1199CS: Ms no. 68 “Banchi Bia Wat Krom Phra Alak (บัญชีเบี้ยหวัดกรมพระอัครกษณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R3: 1200CS: Ms no. 88 “Banchi Nangsü Phra Ratcha San Thi Mi Nai Hò Luang (บัญชีหนังสือพระราชสาส์นที่มีในหอหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R3: 1200CS: Ms no. 92 “Banchi Bia Wat Krom Phra Alak (บัญชีเบี้ยหวัดกรมพระอัครกษณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R3: 1201CS: Ms no. 314 “Banchi Bia Wat Krom Phra Alak (บัญชีเบี้ยหวัดกรมพระอัครกษณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R3: 1202CS: Ms no. 194 “Banchi Rai Nam Phu Nam Samut Ma Song (บัญชีรายนามผู้นำสมุดมาส่ง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R3: 1202CS: Ms no. 195 “Banchi Cai Kradat Phlao Dam Phlao Khao Lae Samut Thi Chai Nai Ratchakan (บัญชีจ่ายกระดาษเพลาด้า เพลาขาวและสมุดที่ใช้ในราชการ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R3: 1203CS: Ms no. 87 “Banchi Bia Wat Krom Phra Alak (บัญชีเบี้ยหวัดกรมพระอัครกษณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: CMHS: R3: 1209CS: Ms no. 173 “Banchi Bia Wat Krom Phra Alak (บัญชีเบี้ยวัดกรมพระอาลักษณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R3: 1210CS: Ms no. 181 “Banchi Nangsü Nai Tu Mòm Kraison Nai Ni (บัญชีหนังสือในตู้หม่อมไกรสร ในนี้)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R3: 1212CS: Ms no. 165 “Banchi Bia Wat Phanak Ngan Fai Nai (บัญชีเบี้ยวัดพนักงานฝ่ายใน)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R3: 1212CS: Ms no. 167 “Banchi Bia Wat Fai Phola Rüan Wang Luang (บัญชีเบี้ยวัดฝ่ายพลเรือนวังหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R4: 1215CS: Ms no. 138 “Banchi Nangsü Somdet Krom Phra Paramanuchit Thi Mi Nai Hò Luang (บัญชีหนังสือสมเด็จพระปรมาณูชิตที่มีในหอหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R4: 1216CS: Ms no. 17 “Samnao Plae Suppha Aksòn Ong Phra Harirak (สำเนาแปลสุกอักษรองค์พระหริรักษ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R4: 1218CS: Ms no. 222 “Banchi Hang Wao Phu Dai Rap Phra Ratcha Than Bia Wat Chamnan (บัญชีหางว่าวผู้ได้รับพระราชทานเบี้ยหวัดนายชำนาญ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R4: 1218CS: Ms no. 215 “Banchi Nangsü Luang Thòng Yai Khang Lai Nai Tu (บัญชีหนังสือหลวงทองใหญ่ข้างลายในตู้)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R4: 1220CS: Ms no. 202 “Banchi Bia Wat Krom Phra Alak (บัญชีเบี้ยวัดกรมพระอาลักษณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R4: 1222CS: Ms no. 297 “Banchi Bia Wat Krom Phra Alak (บัญชีเบี้ยวัดกรมพระอาลักษณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R4: 1224CS: Ms no. 317 “Banchi Bia Wat Krom Phra Alak (บัญชีเบี้ยวัดกรมพระอาลักษณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R4: 1229CS: Ms no. 205 “Banchi Bia Wat Krom Phra Alak (บัญชีเบี้ยวัดกรมพระอาลักษณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: CMHS: R5: Ms no. 2506 “Kotmai Samrap Hòng Alak (กฎหมายสำหรับห้องอาลักษณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKHs: Ms no. 1 “Kap He Rüa (กาพย์เห่เรือ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 2 “Kap He Rüa (ภาพเขียนเรือ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 4 “Kap He Rüa (ภาพเขียนเรือ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 5 “Kap He Rüa (ภาพเขียนเรือ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 8 “Kap He Rüa (ภาพเขียนเรือ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 12 “Kap He Rüa (ภาพเขียนเรือ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 13 “Kap He Rüa (ภาพเขียนเรือ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 14 “Kap He Rüa (ภาพเขียนเรือ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 15 “Kap He Rüa (ภาพเขียนเรือ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 16 “Kap He Rüa (ภาพเขียนเรือ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 17 “Kap He Rüa (ภาพเขียนเรือ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 18 “Prachum Nippon Phra Si Mahosot (ประชุมนิพนธ์พระศรีมโหสถ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 22 “Prachum Nippon Phra Si Mahosot Lae Cindamani (ประชุมนิพนธ์พระศรีมโหสถและจินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 24 “Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Sok (ภาพหล่อโคลงนिरาตธารโสก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 25 “Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Sok (ภาพหล่อโคลงนिरาตธารโสก)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 26 “Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Thòng Daeng (ภาพย์ห่อโคลงนิราศธารทองแดง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 47 “Nirat Phra Bat Lae Kap Khap Hò Khlong Phra Rot (นิราศพระบาทและภาพย์ขับไม้ห่อโคลงเรื่องพระรถ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 48 “Kap Khap Hò Khlong Phra Rot (ภาพย์ขับไม้ห่อโคลงเรื่องพระรถ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 52 “Kap He Rüa (ภาพย์เห่เรือ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 53 “Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Thòng Daeng (ภาพย์ห่อโคลงนิราศธารทองแดง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhINRSs: Ms no. 350 “Prachum Nippon Phra Si Mahosot (ประชุมนิพนธ์พระศรีมโหสถ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhINRSs: Ms no. 402 “Khlong Nirat Hariphunchai (โคลงนิราศหริภุญไชย)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhINRSs: Ms no. 405 “Khlong Nirat Hariphunchai (โคลงนิราศหริภุญไชย)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISPhSSs: Ms no. 40 “Khlong Lokkanit (โคลงโลกนิติ)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink and red ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISPhSSs: Ms no. 72 “Khlong Lokkanit Lae Cindamani (โคลงโลกนิติและจินดามณี)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISPhSSs: Ms no. 141 “Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng (โคลงพาลีสอนน้อง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 148 “Kamsuan Samut (กำสรวลสมุทร)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white steatite pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 149 “Kamsuan Samut (กำสรวลสมุทร)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white steatite pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 150 “Kamsuan Samut (กำสรวลสมุทร)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 154 “Prachum Khlong Kawi Boran Khòng Phraya Trang (ประชุมโคลงกวีโบราณของพระยาตรัง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 165 “Kamsuan Samut (กำสรวลสมุทร)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 175 “Ongkan Chaeng Nam (โองการแช่งน้ำ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 175/ก “Ongkan Chaeng Nam (โองการแช่งน้ำ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 193 “Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Narai (สรรเสริญพระเกียรติพระนารายณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 202 “Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat-Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng (โคลงชะลอพระพุทธไสยาสน์-โคลงพาลีสอนน้อง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 216 “Thawa Thotsamat” (ทวาทศมาส). Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 217 “Thawa Thotsamat” (ทวาทศมาส). Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 218 “Thawa Thotsamat” (ทวาทศมาส). Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 220 “Thawa Thotsamat” (ทวาทศมาส). Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 228 “Thawa Thotsamat” (ทวาทศมาส). Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 648 “Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Narai (สรรเสริญพระเกียรติพระนารายณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KIASs: Ms no. 21 “Konlabot Siriwbunkit (กลบทสิริวิบูลย์กิติ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KISSs: Ms no. 1 “Kaki Kham Chan (กากีคำฉันท์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: KISSs: Ms no. 466 “Kap He Rüa (กาพย์เห่เรือ)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: KISSs: Sò: Ms no. 604 “Sawat Klòn Suat Lae Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap (โสดกลอนสวดและแม่สอนลูกคำกาพย์)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 32 “Lilit Cantha Kinnòn (ลิลิตจันทกนิณร)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 101 “Lilit Phra Lò (ลิลิตพระลอ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 104 “Lilit Phra Lò (ลิลิตพระลอ)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 108 “Lilit Phra Lò (ลิลิตพระลอ)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 111 “Lilit Phra Lò (ลิลิตพระลอ)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 119 “Lilit Phra Lò (ลิลิตพระลอ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 121 “Lilit Phra Lò (ลิลิตพระลอ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 151 “Lilit Phra Lò (ลิลิตพระลอ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 169 “Lilit Phra Lò (ลิลิตพระลอ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: MS no. 188 “Yuan Phai (ชวนพ่าย)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 196 “Yuan Phai (ชวนพ่าย)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 204 “Yuan Phai (ชวนพ่าย)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 210 “Yuan Phai (ชวนพ่าย)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 211 “Yuan Phai Lae Kamsuan Samut (ชวนพ่ายและกำสรวลสมุทร)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 258 “Ongkan Chaeng Nam (โองการแข่งน้ำ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Siamese Grantha script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 259 “Ongkan Chaeng Nam (โองการแข่งน้ำ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Siamese Grantha script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 262 “Ongkan Chaeng Nam (โองการแข่งน้ำ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white ink and white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 360 “Phithi Tiampawai Lae Ongkan Chaeng Nam (พิธีดื่มน้ำปวย และ โองการแข่งน้ำ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Siamese Grantha script, Sanskrit-Tamil-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWs: Ms no. 1 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWs: Ms no. 2 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWs: Ms no. 3 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWs: Ms no. 4 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWs: Ms no. 5 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWs: Ms no. 9 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, red ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWs: Ms no. 11 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWs: Ms no. 20 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWs: Ms no. 21 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWs: Ms no. 22 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWs: Ms no. 24 “Phleng Yao Mòm Phimsen (เพลงยาวหม่อมพิมเสน)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWs: Ms no. 28 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWs: Ms no. 30 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 32 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 33 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 36 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 37 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 41 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 54 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 58 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 66 “Phleng Yao Mò̃m Phimsen (เพลงยาวหม่อมพิมเสน)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 68 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 70 “Phleng Yao San Rak (เพลงยาว สารรัก)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PKThSs: Ms no. 88 “Phra Malai Klòn Suat” (พระมาลัยกลอนสวด). Greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, black ink, Khò̃m and Thai script, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PLS: PLMs no. 5808/ Kò̃ ã / 14 – 16 “Mahayuddhakāravamsa (มหาอุทฺธการวงศ์)”. Palm-leaf manuscript, incised and filled with black soot, Khò̃m script, Pali language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PLS: PLMs no. 6053/ Khò̃ ã / 10 “Trai Phum (ไทรภูมิ)”. Palm-leaf manuscript, incised and filled with black soot, Khò̃m script, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PrWS: Ms no. 35/1 ค “Tamrap Thao Si Culalak (ตำรับท้าวศรีจุฬาลักษณ์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: PRPTSs: Ms no. 312 “Kham Prakat Chaeng Nam Lae Ongkan Chaeng Nam (คำประกาศแข่งน้ำและ
โองการแข่งน้ำ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai
language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PRPTSs: Ms no. 389 “Kham Prakat Chaeng Nam Lae Ongkan Chaeng Nam (คำประกาศแข่งน้ำและ
โองการแข่งน้ำ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Thai script, Thai
language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PRPTSs: Ms no. 595 “Athanpasat Bucha Kun (อาถรรพศาสตร์ บูชาคุณ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper
leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Siamese Grantha script, Sanskrit-Tamil-Thai languages. The
Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PRPTSs: Ms no. 672 “Phithi Bucha Hong (พิธีบูชาหงส์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello
manuscript, yellow ink, Siamese Grantha script, Sanskrit-Tamil-Thai languages. The Manuscript
Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: PRPTSs: Ms no. 677 “Phithi Phomma Hong (พิธีพรหมหงส์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello
manuscript, yellow ink, Siamese Grantha script, Sanskrit-Tamil-Thai languages. The Manuscript
Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 23 “Thotsa Phòn Kham Luang (ทศพรคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello
manuscript, yellow ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection,
the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 34 “Thotsa Phòn Kham Luang (ทศพรคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello
manuscript, yellow ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection,
the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 35 “Thotsa Phòn Kham Luang (ทศพรคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello
manuscript, yellow ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection,
the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 36 “Thotsa Phòn Kham Luang (ทศพรคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello
manuscript, white pencil, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript
Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 37 “Thotsa Phòn Kham Luang (ทศพรคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello
manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The
Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 38 “Thotsa Phòn Kham Luang (ทศพรคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello
manuscript, yellow ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection,
the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 46 “Thotsa Phòn Kham Luang (ทศพรคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello
manuscript, yellow ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection,
the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 49 “Thanna Kan Kham Luang (ทานกัณฑ์คำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello
manuscript, yellow ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection,
the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 50 “Thanna Kan Kham Luang (ทานกัณฑ์คำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello
manuscript, yellow ink, Khòm and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection,
the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 52 “Wana Prawet Kham Luang (วนประเวศน์คำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 56 “Wana Prawet Kham Luang (วนประเวศน์คำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 59 “Chuchok Kham Luang (ชูชกคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 63 “Chuchok Kham Luang Lae Cunla Phon Kham Luang (ชูชกคำหลวงและจุลพนคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 65 “Cunla Phon Kham Luang (จุลพนคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 71 “Maha Phon Kham Luang (มหาพนคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 76 “Maha Phon Kham Luang (มหาพนคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 82 “Maha Phon Kham Luang (มหาพนคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 84 “Kuman Kham Luang (กุมารคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 93 “Kuman Kham Luang (กุมารคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 98 “Matsi Kham Luang (มัทรีคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 99 “Matsi Kham Luang (มัทรีคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 100 “Matsi Kham Luang (มัทรีคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 101 “Matsi Kham Luang (มัทรีคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 102 “Matsi Kham Luang (มัทรีคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 104 “Maha Rat Kham Luang (มหาราชคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 105 “Sakka Bap Kham Luang (สักกบรพคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 106 “Maha Rat Kham Luang (มหาราชคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 107 “Maha Rat Kham Luang Lem Sòng (มหาราชคำหลวง เล่ม ๑)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 108 “Maha Rat Kham Luang Lem Nüng (มหาราชคำหลวง เล่ม ๒)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 119 “Chòn Kasat Kham Luang (ฉกษัตริย์คำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 125 “Nakhòn Kan Kham Luang (นครกันท์คำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 126 “Nakhòn Kan Kham Luang (นครกันท์คำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink and white pencil, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 136 “Nakhòn Kan Kham Luang (นครกันท์คำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai languages. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 160 “Kap Maha Chat Kan Wana Prawet (ภาพัฒมหาชาติ กันจ้วนประเวศน์)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil and gold, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 195 “Kap Maha Chat Kan Matsi (ภาพัฒมหาชาติ กันจัมมัทรี)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil and gold, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 196 “Kap Maha Chat Kan Kuman Lem Sòng (ภาพัฒมหาชาติ กันจัทกุมาร เล่ม ๒)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil and gold, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 199 “Kap Maha Chat Kan Kuman Lem Nüng (ภาพัฒมหาชาติ กันจัทกุมาร เล่ม ๑)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil and gold, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.

- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 204 “Kap Maha Chat Kan Sakka Bap (ภาพพิมพ์หาชาติ ถิ่นศักดิ์กบรพ)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil and gold, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 210 “Kap Maha Chat Kan Maha Rat Volume I (ภาพพิมพ์หาชาติ ถิ่นทมหาราช เล่ม ๑)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, white pencil and gold, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
- NLT: RSs: Ms no. 217 “Phra Malai Kham Luang (พระมาลัยคำหลวง)”. Blackened *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, yellow ink, Khò̃m and Thai scripts, Pali-Thai language. The Manuscript Collection, the National Library of Thailand.
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Interviews

Chawin Rangsiaphrammanakul (ชวิน รั้งสิทธิพรหมณกุล; the Supreme Court Brahmin, Devasathan-the Brahmin Temple, Bangkok). Interviewed at Devasathan-the Brahmin Temple: 5th September 2015

Nittaya Aphichaikdamrong (นิตยา อภิษฐ์กิจดำรง; the head official of the *Likhit* Section within the Office of the Royal Scribes and Royal Decorations, the Secretariat of the Cabinet). Interviewed at the Office of the Royal Scribes and Royal Decorations, the Secretariat of the Cabinet: 17th April 2019.

Suwannachai Nonthasen, (สุวรรณชัย โนนทะเสน; a senior scribal official of the *Likhit* Section within the Office of the Royal Scribes and Royal Decorations, the Secretariat of the Cabinet). Interviewed at the Office of the Royal Scribes and Royal Decorations, the Secretariat of the Cabinet: 17th April 2019.

APPENDIX I: List of Manuscripts of Ayutthaya Literature and General Information

Ongkan Chaeng Nam ‘Oath of Allegiance on Water’ (Th. โองการแช่งน้ำ)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support/ Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 258	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete text in Siamese Grantha script	Old possession of the National Library
2	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 259	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text in Siamese Grantha script	Old possession of the National Library
3	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 262	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white ink and white pencil	Complete text in Thai script	Old possession of the National Library
4	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 264	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete text in Thai script	Old possession of the National Library
5	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 265	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text in Thai script	Old possession of the National Library
6	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 270	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text in Thai script	Old possession of the National Library
7	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 271	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text in Thai script	Old possession of the National Library

8	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 360	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text in Siamese Grantha script (Decorative)	Phra Ratcha Khru Wamathep Muni (Sawang Rangsiaphramanakun) (Th.พระราชครูวามเทพมุนี (สว่าง รังสิพรหมณกุล)) has given to the library.
9	NLT: KhSs: Ms no. 175	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text in Thai script	Old possession of the National Library
10	NLT: KhSs: Ms no. 175/ ก	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text in Thai script	Mòm Phaichayon Thep (MR Phin Sanitwongse) (Th.หม่อมราชวงศ์พิน สนิทวงศ์) donated to the National Library 08/07/1908.
11	NLT: ChSs: Ms no. 33 ก	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete text in Thai script	Phra Pramun Thanarak (Th.พระ ประมุขธรรมาธิบดี) has donated to the National Library 1917
12	NLT: PRPTSs: Ms no. 312	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete text in Thai script	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet 07/04/1939.
13	NLT: PRPTSs: Ms no. 389	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete text in Thai script	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet 07/04/1939
14	BKK: DSBhr	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text in Siamese Grantha script	Private Procession of Chawin Rangsiaphramanakun (Phra Maha Ratcha Khru), the Highest Brahmin Priest in the present days. This manuscript has been used by the court Brahmin in the actual ceremony. The photocopy of the manuscript has been published in Wudhichai Kosolkajana, 1988: 305–316.

Maha Chat Kham Luang ‘The Royal Version of the Great Birth’

(Th. มหาชาติคำหลวง)

No	Manuscripts’ Inventories	Writing Support/ Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
Chapter I: Thotsa Phòn (10 Mss)				
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 23	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 34	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / Yellow ink	Complete text	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 35	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mòmm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 36	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete text MTM: <i>Thotsa Phòn</i> and <i>Thanna Kan</i>	Campa monastery (Th. วัดจำปา) donated to the National Library
5	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 37	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mòmm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
6	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 38	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library.
7	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 39	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library 19/03/1912.
8	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 40	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library.

9	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 45	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
10	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 46	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Given to the National Library on 04/04/1974 by Tej Bunnag (PhD), Head of East Asia Division, Department of Provincial Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Chapter II: Himaphan (2 Mss)				
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 41	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mòì Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 42	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mòì Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
Chapter III: Thanna Kan (6 Mss – 1 MTM)				
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 36	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete text MTM: <i>Thotsa Phòn</i> and <i>Thanna Kan</i>	Campa Monastery (Th.วัดจำปา) donated to the National Library
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 43	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library.
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 47	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library.
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 48	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete text	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.

5	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 49	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
6	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 50	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
Chapter IV: Wana Prawet (6 Mss)				
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 51	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 52	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 54	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 55	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
5	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 56	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
6	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 57	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
Chapter V: Chuchok (8 Mss)				
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 53	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.

		and white pencil		
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 58	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library.
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 59	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Given to the National Library by Phra Khru Thammavithanacan (Sòn) of Maha That Monastery (Th.พระครูธรรมวิธานจารย์ (สอน) วัดมหาธาตุฯ) in 1924.
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 61	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Given to the National Library by Luang Phatphong Phakdi (Thim) (Th.หลวงพัฒนพงษ์ภักดี (ทิม)) on 24/07/1908.
5	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 62	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
6	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 63 (MTM Chuchok and Cunlaphon)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
7	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 66	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library.
8	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 67	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
Chapter VI: Cunla Phon (6 Mss – 1 MTM)				
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 63 (MTM Chuchok and Cunlaphon)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.

2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 64	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Transferred to the National Library from the Ministry of Education on 10/06/1937.
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 65	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 68	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library.
5	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 69	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
6	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 70	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
Chapter VII: Maha Phon (11 Mss)				
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 71	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 72	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 73	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.

4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 74	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
5	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 75	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library 01/04/1907
6	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 76	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library.
7	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 77	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library.
8	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 78	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library.
9	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 81	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library.
10	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 82	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library.
11	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 83	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Given to the National Library from the President of Library Council (Th.เสด็จสภานายกทรงพระทาน) in 07/03/1913
Chapter VIII: Kuman (16 Mss)				
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 79	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (pp157–167)	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 80	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume II (pp 167–178)	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 84	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (pp 178–186)	Given to the National Library from His Highness the President of Library Council in 1888 (Th.เสด็จ

		and white pencil		สถานายกทรงประธาน ณ วัน ๒+๙ คำ ปี่ ชวดสัมฤทธิ์ศก ^{๒๐} จ.ศ.๑๒๕๐).
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 85	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (pp 157–169)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
5	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 86	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (pp 169–177)	Old possession of the National Library.
6	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 87	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (pp 157–167)	Old possession of the National Library.
7	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 88	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (pp 157–167)	Purchased by the National Library on 19/03/1912.
8	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 89	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume II (pp 167–178)	Purchased by the National Library on 19/03/1912.
9	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 90	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III (pp 178–186)	Purchased by the National Library on 19/03/1912.
10	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 91	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume II (pp 167–178)	Purchased by the National Library on 19/03/1912.
11	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 92	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume III (pp 178–186)	Purchased by the National Library from Mòì Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
12	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 93	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (pp 157–167)	Given to the National Library from Khun Phibun Sombat (Po Sugaradhamat) (Th.ขุนพิบูลย์สมบัติ (โป๊ะ สุกรรมัต)) on 07/02/1927.

13	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 94	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (pp 167–178)	Given to the National Library from His Highness the President of Library Council in 1888 (Th.เสด็จ สภานายกทรงประทาน จ.ศ. ๑๒๕๐).
14	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 95	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (pp 167–178)	Old possession of the National Library.
15	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 96	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III (pp 178–186)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
16	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 97	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (pp 157–167)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
Chapter IX: Matsi (1 Ms)				
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 102	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
Chapter X: Sakka bap (2 Mss)				
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 103	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Fragment	Old possession of the National Library.
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 105	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
Chapter XI: Maha Rat (14 Mss)				
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 104	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (pp 235–242)	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 106	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (pp 227–235)	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.

3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 107	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume II (pp 235–242)	Given to the National Library by Phra Khru Thamma Withanacan (Sòn) (Th.พระครูธรรมวิธานจารย์ (สอน)) in 1924.
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 108	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (pp 227–235)	Given to the National Library by Phra Khru Thamma Withanacan (Sòn) (Th.พระครูธรรมวิธานจารย์ (สอน)) in 1924.
5	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 109	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text (pp 227–242)	Purchased by the National Library 19/03/1912.
6	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 110	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text (pp 227–242)	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
7	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 111	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (pp 227–235)	Given to the National Library from Prince Rattanophat (Th.ม.จ.รัตโนภาส) on 01/10/1921.
8	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 112	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume II (pp 235–242)	Given to the National Library from Prince Rattanophat (Th.ม.จ.รัตโนภาส) on 01/10/1921.
9	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 113	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and White pencil	Volume II (pp 235–242)	Old possession of the National Library.
10	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 114	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume II (pp 235–242)	Old possession of the National Library.
11	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 115	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (pp 227–235)	Purchased by the National Library in 1912.
12	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 116	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (pp 235–242)	Purchased by the National Library in 1912.

13	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 117	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (pp 227–235)	Old possession of the National Library.
14	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 122	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
Chapter XII: Chò̃ Kasat (4 Mss)				
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 119	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library.
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 121	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text MTM: <i>Chò̃ Kasat</i> and <i>Nakhòn Kan</i> (Volume I)	Purchased by the National Library on 19/03/1912.
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 123	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 128	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text MTM: <i>Chò̃ Kasat</i> and <i>Nakhòn Kan</i> (Volume I)	Old possession of the National Library.
Chapter XIII: Nakhòn Kan (12 Mss – 2 MTM)				
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 118	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (pp 273–280)	Given to the National Library in 1888 by His Highness the President of Library Council (Th.เสด็จ สถานยกทรงประทาน ณ วันที่ ๑๙๗ ค่ำ ปีชวดสัมฤทธิ์ศก ^{๒๐} ๑๒๕๐)
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 120	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (pp 265–273)	Old possession of the National Library.

3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 121	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (pp 265–274) MTM: <i>Chò Kasat</i> and <i>Nakhòn Kan</i> (Volume I)	Purchased by the National Library on 19/03/1912.
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 124	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (pp 265–273)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
5	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 125	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (pp 273–280)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
6	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 126	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (pp 265–272)	Purchased by the National Library from Mòì Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
7	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 127	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume II (pp 273–280)	Purchased by the National Library from Mòì Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
8	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 128	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (pp 265–274) MTM: <i>Chò Kasat</i> and <i>Nakhòn Kan</i> (Volume I)	Old possession of the National Library.
9	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 131	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume II (pp 273–280)	Old possession of the National Library.
10	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 133	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (pp 265–274)	Purchased by the National Library from Mr Sut (Th.นายสุต) on 01/02/1918.

11	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 134	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (pp 273–280)	Old possession of the National Library.
12	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 136	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete text (pp 265–280)	Purchased by the National Library from Mr Sut (Th.นายสุต) on 01/02/1918.

Yuan Phai ‘Defeat of the Yuan (Lan Na)’ (Th. ขวนพ่าย)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support/ Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 188	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms/ yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–180)	Old possession of the National Library.
2	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 189	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms/ yellow ink	Complete (Stanza no. 1–295)	Old possession of the National Library
3	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 190	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms/ white ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–182)	Old possession of the National Library.
4	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 191	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms/ yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–201)	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
5	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 192	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–259)	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
6	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 193	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–181)	Old possession of the National Library.
7	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 194	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Given to the National Library from Prince Damrong Rachanuphap (Th.สมเด็จพระบรมราชาธิบดี) in 1913.
8	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 195	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–142)	Old possession of the National Library.

9	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 196	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 142)	Given to the National Library by Phra Wichian Thamkhunathon (Sotthi) of Molilok Monastery (Th.พระวิเชียรธรรมคุณาธร (โสด) วัด โมลีโลกยาราม) on 20/07/1907.
10	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 197	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 181)	Given to the National Library by Khun Ying Pathum Ratchaphinitchai (Th.คุณหญิงปทุม ราชพินิจชัย) in 23/04/1972
11	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 198	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Fragment	Given to the National Library by Prince Naretworarit (Th.กรมพระ นเรศวรฤทธิ์) on 12/12/1925.
12	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 199	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I Stanza no. 1– 181	Old possession of the National Library.
13	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 200	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 181)	Given to the National Library by the heir of Luang Darunkitwithun (Th.ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิฑูร) in 12/03/1975.
14	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 204	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 279)	Given to the National Library from Mr Yoi of Ban San Cao Suea, Phetchaburi Province (Th.นายย้อย บ้านศาลเจ้าเสือ เมืองเพชรบุรี) in 1908.
15	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 205	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 200)	: Given to the National Library by the heir of Luang Darunkitwithun (Th.ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิฑูร) in 12/03/1975.
16	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 207	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 181–267)	Old possession of the National Library.
17	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 208	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 181–267)	Purchased by the National Library from Mòm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
18	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 209	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume II (Stanza no. 182–295)	Old possession of the National Library.
19	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 210	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Purchased by the National Library on 20/12/1910

20	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 211	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 201–295) MTM: <i>Kamsuan Samut</i>	Purchased by the National Library from Mòm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
21	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 212	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Old possession of the National Library.
22	NLT: Khls: Ms no. 148	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume II (Stanza no. 267–293) MTM: <i>Kamsuan Samut</i>	Old possession of the National Library
23	NLT: Khls: Ms no. 195	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / white ink	Complete	Old possession of the National Library.
24	NLT: Chs: Ms no. 49	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Fragment (Stanza no. 203–295)	Given to the National Library by Phra Maha Wichatham (Rueang) (Th.พระมหาวิชชาธรรม (เรือง)) in 1908.

Lilit Phra Lò ‘[Tale of] King Lò in Lilit Meter’ (Th. ลิลิตพระลอ)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support/ Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 98	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 158)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
2	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 99	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 197)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
3	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 100	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 168)	Given to the National Library by Phraya Chaiyananniphatphong (Th.พระยาไชยนันทน์พิทพงศ์) on 12/12/1925.

4	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 101	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 149)	Old possession of the National Library
5	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 102	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 226)	Given to the National Library by the Ministry of Education on 10/06/1937.
6	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 103	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 253)	Given to the National Library by Cao Phraya Muekkha Montri (Uap) (Th.เจ้าพระยามุขมนตรี (อวบ)) in 1930.
7	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 104	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 178)	Purchased by the National Library from Mr William J. Gedney (Th.นายวิลเลียม เจ. เกดนี) in 29/12/1953
8	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 105	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 158)	Given to the National Library by the heir of Luang Darunkit Withun (Th.ทายาทหลวงจรูญกิติวิฑูร) in 12/03/1975.
9	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 106	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 290)	Given to the National Library by the heir of Luang Darunkit Withun (Th.ทายาทหลวงจรูญกิติวิฑูร) in 12/03/1975
10	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 107	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 178)	Old possession of the National Library
11	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 108	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 158)	Given to the National Library by Cao Còm Som Bun, a consort to King Rama V (Th.เจ้าจอมสมบุญ ร.๕ ถวายหอพระสมุดฯ).
12	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 109	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 318)	Given to the National Library by Cao Phraya Muekkha Montri (Uap) (Th.เจ้าพระยามุขมนตรี (อวบ)) in 1930.

13	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 110	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume III (Stanza no. 556–659)	Purchased by the National Library from Mr Som (Th.นายสอม วันที่ ๔ ส.ค. ๒๔๖๐) on 04/08/1913.
14	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 111	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 334)	Given to the National Library from Dusit Monastery (Th.วัดดุสิต) in 1910.
15	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 112	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 198)	Old possession of the National Library
16	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 113	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 113)	Given to the National Library by Mr Charoen Yaemphong (Th.นาย เจริญ เข้มพงศ์) on 30/10/1924
17	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 114	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 180)	Old possession of the National Library
18	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 115	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 153–317)	Given to the National Library by Prince Damrong Rachanuphap (Th.กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพประทาน) on 13/09/1914
19	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 116	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 201–421)	Given to the National Library from the Ministry of Education on 10/06/1937
20	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 117	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 291–659)	Given to the National Library by Phra Ratchadet Phakdi (Bua) (Th.พระราชเดชภักดี (บัว)) in 1908.
21	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 118	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume II (Stanza no. 173–358)	Given to the National Library from Phraya Chaiyananniphatphong (Th.พระยาไชยนันทน์พิพัช พงศ์) on 12/12/1925
22	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 119	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 176–364)	Given to the National Library Princess Wong Can (Th.พระองค์เจ้า วงศ์จันทร์) in 21/04/1912.

23	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 120	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 151–319)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secratarial of the Cabinet.
24	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 121	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 150–316)	Given to the National Library by Anong Monastery on 15/08/1931 (Th. ได้มาจากวัดอนงคาราม ๑๕ สิงหาคม ๒๔๗๔).
25	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 122	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 150–316)	Old possession of the National Library.
26	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 123	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III (Stanza no. 486–659)	Old possession of the National Library.
27	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 124	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 198–366)	Purchased by the National Library on 15/04/1907
28	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 125	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume III (Stanza no. 357–474)	Old possession of the National Library
29	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 126	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume III (Stanza no. 388–626)	Old possession of the National Library.
30	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 127	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III (Stanza no. 319–553)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secratarial of the Cabinet.
31	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 128	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume III (Stanza no. 367–598)	Purchased by the National Library on 15/04/1907.
32	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 129	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume III (Stanza no. 333–558)	Given to the National Library from Cao Phraya Mukkhamontri (Uap) (Th. เจ้าพระยาหมุขมนตรี (อวบ)) in 1930.

33	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 130	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III (Stanza no. 317–501)	Old possession of the National Library.
34	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 131	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume III (Stanza no. 318–529)	Given to the National Library by Phraya Thewathirat (Th.พระยาเทวาทิ ราช) on 19/01/1920
35	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 132	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume IV (Stanza no. 539–659)	Given to the National Library from Cao Phraya Mukkhamontri (Uap) (Th.เจ้าพระยามุขมนตรี (อวน)) in 1930.
36	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 133	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume IV (Stanza no. 598–659)	Purchased by the National Library on 15/04/1907.
37	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 134	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume IV (Stanza no. 554–659)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secratarial of the Cabinet.
38	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 135	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume IV (Stanza no. 554–659)	Given to the National Library from Queen Sukhuman Marasi (Th.พระ นางเจ้าสุชุมาลมารศรี) in April 1916.
39	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 136	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume IV (Stanza no. 502–658)	Old possession of the National Library
40	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 137	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume III (Stanza no. 556–659)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secratarial of the Cabinet.
41	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 138	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume IV (Stanza no. 422–659)	Given to the National Library by Mr Ploi (Th.นายพลอย) on 01/09/1922.
42	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 139	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume III (Stanza no. 320–658)	Purchased by the National Library on 26/10/1909.

43	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 140	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–160)	Given to the National Library from Miss Chian (Th.นางเจ็ญ) on 05/05/1920.
44	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 141	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–156)	Old possession of the National Library.
45	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 142	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume IV (Stanza no. 561–659)	Old possession of the National Library.
46	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 143	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III (Stanza no. 331–560)	Old possession of the National Library.
47	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 144	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 156–330)	Old possession of the National Library.
48	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 145	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume III (Stanza no. 318–655)	Old possession of the National Library.
49	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 146	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–158)	Old possession of the National Library.
50	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 148	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–259)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secratarial of the Cabinet.
51	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 149	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 257–543)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secratarial of the Cabinet. (but there is a note at the first page using red chalk that “ชื่อวันที่ ๒๒/๕/๑๓๐”)
52	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 150	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III (Stanza no. 544–659)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secratarial of the Cabinet. (but there is a note at the first page using red chalk that “ชื่อวันที่ ๒๒/๕/๑๓๐”)

53	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 151	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume III (Stanza no. 331–546)	Given to the National Library by Princess Wong Can (Th. พระองค์เจ้า วงศ์จันทร์) on 23/04/1912.
54	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 152	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 227–428)	Given to the National Library by the Ministry of Education on 10/06/1937.
55	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 153	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume IV (Stanza no. 502–659)	Old possession of the National Library.
56	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 154	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Fragment	Old possession of the National Library.
57	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 169	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Fragment (Stanza no. 1– 55)	Old possession of the National Library.
58	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 171	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Fragment (Stanza no. 1– 55)	Old possession of the National Library.
59	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 281	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Fragment (Stanza no. 1– 55)	Old possession of the National Library.
60	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17011	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III (Stanza no. 331–546)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhem (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเท มินท์)
61	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17013	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III (Stanza no. 317–501)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhem (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเท มินท์)
62	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17020	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III (Stanza no. 312–496)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhem (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเท มินท์)

63	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17075	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 253)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเท มินท์)
64	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17076 (2)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Fragment (Stanza no. 462–606) Belonging to the same copy with CM: DHC: NTIC: 17077	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเท มินท์)
65	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17077	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Fragment (Stanza no. 382–461, 607– 658)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเท มินท์)
66	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17078 (1)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume IV (Stanza no. 547–658)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเท มินท์)
67	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17078 (2)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume IV (Stanza no. 500–658)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเท มินท์)
68	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17079 (1)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 150–311)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเท มินท์)
69	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17079 (2)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 150)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเท มินท์)
70	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17079 (3)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 151)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเท มินท์)
71	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17134	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 269–381)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเท มินท์)

72	PR: EFEO: S. 27 (1)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume IV (Stanza no. 529–659)	Possession of the Library of École française d’Extrême-Orient, Paris, France
73	PR: EFEO: S. 27 (3)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III (Stanza no. 318–528)	Possession of the Library of École française d’Extrême-Orient, Paris, France
74	PR: EFEO: S. 27 (4)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 154)	Possession of the Library of École française d’Extrême-Orient, Paris, France
75	PR: EFEO: S. 27 (5)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 155–318)	Possession of the Library of École française d’Extrême-Orient, Paris, France

Kap Maha Chat ‘Poem of the Great Birth’ (Th. ภาพัฒมหาชาติ)

No	Manuscripts’ Inventories	Writing Support/ Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
<i>Chapter IV: Wana Prawet</i>				
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 160	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / gold and white pencil	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library.
<i>Chapter VIII: Kuman</i>				
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 196	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / gold and white pencil	Volume II	Given to the National Library by Phraya Boran Ratchathanin (Phon) (Th. พระยาโบราณราชธานินทร์ (พร)).
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 199	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / gold and white pencil	Volume I	Old possession of the National Library.
<i>Chapter IX: Matsi</i>				
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 195	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / gold and	Complete (Unpublished)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.

		white pencil		
Chapter X: Sakka Bap				
5	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 204	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / gold and white pencil	Complete	Old possession of the National Library.
Chapter XI: Maha Rat				
6	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 210	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / gold and white pencil	Volume I (Unpublished)	Purchased by the National Library from Mòm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.

Khlong Nirat Hariphunchai ‘Poetic Travelogue to Hariphunchai’
(Th. โคลงนิราศหริภุญไชย)

N o	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support/ Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: KhINRSs: Ms no. 367	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library 18/04/1911
2	NLT: KhINRSs: Ms no. 402	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library 18/04/1911
3	NLT: KhINRSs: Ms no. 403	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library 18/04/1911
4	NLT: KhINRSs: Ms no. 405	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library 18/04/1911

Samutthakhot Kham Chan ‘Poetic Tale of Samutthakhot in Kham Chan Meter’
(Th. สมุทรโฆษคำฉันท์)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support/ Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 1	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–641)	Purchased by the National Library 12/01/1913.
2	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 2	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II / Part I (Stanza no. 642–1288)	Purchased by the National Library 12/01/1913.
3	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 3	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III / Part I–III (Stanza no. 1289–1839)	Purchased by the National Library 12/01/1913.
4	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 5	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–518)	Old possession of the National Library.
5	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 6	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II / Part I (Stanza no. 519–987)	Old possession of the National Library.
6	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 7	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III / Part I–II (Stanza no. 988–1446)	Old possession of the National Library.
7	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 8	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III / Part I–II (Stanza no. 988–1446)	Old possession of the National Library.
8	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 10	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–304)	Old possession of the National Library.
9	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 11	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II / Part I (Stanza no. 305–669)	Old possession of the National Library.

10	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 12	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III / Part I (Stanza no. 670–984)	Old possession of the National Library.
11	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 13	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–364)	Given to the National Library from Phimsen (Th.พิมเสน เจ้ากรมพุทธรัตนสถาน) in 1900.
12	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 14	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II / Part I (Stanza no. 365–654)	Given to the National Library from Phimsen (Th.พิมเสน เจ้ากรมพุทธรัตนสถาน) in 1900.
13	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 15	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III / Part I (Stanza no. 655–978)	Given to the National Library from Phimsen (Th.พิมเสน เจ้ากรมพุทธรัตนสถาน) in 1900.
14	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 16	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume IV / Part I (Stanza no. 979–1267)	Given to the National Library from Phimsen (Th.พิมเสน เจ้ากรมพุทธรัตนสถาน) in 1900.
15	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 17	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–367)	Old possession of the National Library.
16	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 18	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume II / Part I (Stanza no. 368–738)	Given to the National Library from Phra Racha Phirom (Chaem Burananan) (Th.พระราชพิธีบรมราชาภิเษก) in 1907.
17	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 19	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume III / Part I–II (Stanza no. 1080–1241)	Old possession of the National Library.
18	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 22	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–354)	Old possession of the National Library.
19	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 23	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II / Part I (Stanza no. 355–712)	Old possession of the National Library.
20	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 24	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III / Part I (Stanza no. 713–1079)	Old possession of the National Library.
21	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 26	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume IV / Part I–II	Old possession of the National Library.

			(Stanza no. 1080–1446)	
22	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 27	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III / Part I (Stanza no. 823–1242)	Purchased by the National Library from Mr Willaim J. Gedney (Th.นายวิลเลียม เจ. เกดนี วันที่ ๒๙ ธันวาคม ๒๔๙๖) on 29/12/1953.
23	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 28	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume IV / Part II (Stanza no. 1243–1446)	Purchased by the National Library from Mr Willaim J. Gedney (Th.นายวิลเลียม เจ. เกดนี วันที่ ๒๙ ธันวาคม ๒๔๙๖) on 29/12/1953.
24	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 29	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II / Part I (Stanza no. 519–987)	Old possession of the National Library.
25	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 30	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III / Part I–II (Stanza no. 988–1446)	Given to the National Library by Cao Còm Manda Chum (Consort to King Rama IV) (Th.เจ้าจอมมารดาชุมในรัชกาลที่ ๔) in 1914.
26	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 32	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–377)	Old possession of the National Library.
27	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 33	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–391)	Old possession of the National Library.
28	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 34	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–354)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
29	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 35	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–373)	Old possession of the National Library.
30	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 36	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–354)	Given to the National Library from Prince Naret Worarit (Th.กรมพระนเรศวรฤทธิ์ประทาน พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๘) in 1925.
31	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 37	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–367)	Given to the National Library by Phra Ratchaprasit (Thiam Chuto) (Th.พระราชพิธี (เทียม ชูโต) ให้

		and white pencil		เมื่อ ๕ กันยายน พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๘) on 05/09/1925.
32	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 38	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–370)	Old possession of the National Library.
33	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 39	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–412)	Given to the National Library by Princess Praphat (Th.พระเจ้าน้อยนางเธอ พระองค์เจ้าหญิงประภัสรประทาน ๒๔ มิถุนายน พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๑) on 24/06/1908
34	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 40	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–333)	Given to the National Library by Phra Suwannaphak (Un) (Th.พระสุวรรณภักค (อุ้น)) n 24/04/1909.
35	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 41	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–465)	Given to the National Library by Ms Khrueawan Thephatsadin (Th.นางเครือวัลย์ เทพหัสดินทร์ ให้ ๒๗ กันยายน พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๕) on 27/09/1932.
36	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 42	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 66–807)	Given to the National Library by Cao Phraya Mukkhamontri (Uap Paorohit) (Th.เจ้าพระยามุขมนตรี (อวบ เปาโรหิตย์) ให้ พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๕) in 1926.
37	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 43	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II / Part I (Stanza no. 329–654)	Given to the National Library by Princess Praphatson (Th.พระเจ้าน้อยนางเธอ พระองค์เจ้าหญิงประภัสรประทาน พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๑) in 1908.
38	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 44	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II / Part I (Stanza no. 180–827)	Old possession of the National Library.
39	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 46	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume III / Part I (Stanza no. 1170–1234)	Old possession of the National Library.
40	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II / Part I (Stanza no. 568–894)	Possession of Monks of Bawonniwet Monastery (Th.หนังสือของสงฆ์วัดบวรนิเวศ)

41	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/1	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume IV / Part I–II (Stanza no. 1110–1446)	Given to the National Library from the heir to Luang Darunkit Withun (Th.ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิธูร ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘) on 12/03/1975.
42	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/2	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume IV / Part I–II (Stanza no. 979–1267)	Given to the National Library from the heir to Luang Darunkit Withun (Th.ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิธูร ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘) on 12/03/1975.
43	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/3	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 69–305)	Given to the National Library from the heir to Luang Darunkit Withun (Th.ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิธูร ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘) on 12/03/1975.
44	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/4	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II / Part I (Stanza no. 605–845)	Given to the National Library from the heir to Luang Darunkit Withun (Th.ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิธูร ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘) on 12/03/1975.
45	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 140	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Fragment Part I (Stanza no. 1–90) MTM: <i>Süa Kho Kham Chan</i> and <i>Samutthakhot Kham Chan</i>	Given to the National Library from Khun Ying Pathumratchaphinitchai (Th.คุณหญิงปทุมราชพินิจชัย ให้ ๒๓ เมษายน ๒๕๑๑) on 23/04/1968.
46	NLT: ChSs: Sò: PLMs no. 1	Palm-leaf manuscript / Black soot	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–65)	Old possession of the National Library.
47	NLT: ChSs: Sò: PLMs no. 2	Palm-leaf manuscript / Black soot	Volume III / Part I–II (Stanza no. 725–1258)	Given to the National Library by Ko Monastery, Phetchaburi Province (Th.วัดเกาะ จ.เพชรบุรี).
48	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17007	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–505)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisi Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมนนเหมินท์)

49	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17066	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III / Part I-II (Stanza no. 1060–1446)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
50	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17067	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–844)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
51	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17069	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I / Part I (Stanza no. 1–364)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
52	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17070 (1)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II / Part I (Stanza no. 365–651)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
53	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17070 (2)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume IV / Part I (Stanza no. 976–1267)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
54	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17073	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II / Part I (Stanza no. 453–934)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
55	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17074	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II / Part I (Stanza no. 466–940)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
56	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17177	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III / Part I (Stanza no. 655–978)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)

The Collection of Didactic Poems (Th. ประชุมโคลงสุภาษิต)

Text I: *Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng* ‘*Phali Teaching his Brother*’ (Th. โคลงพาลีสอนน้อง)

Text II: *Khlong Thotsarot Sòn Phra Ram* ‘*Thotsarot Teaching Rama*’ (Th. โคลงทศรถสอน
พระราม)

Text III: *Khlong Ratchasawat* ‘*Royal Glory*’ (Th. โคลงราชสวัสดิ์)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 202	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Text I, II, III MTM: <i>Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat, Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang, Khlong Rachanuwat</i>	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet
2	NLT: KhISPSs: Ms no. 141	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Text I, II, III	Purchased by the National Library on 30/04/1907.

Süa Kho Kham Chan ‘[*Tale of*] *the Tiger and the Cow in Kham Chan Meter*’
(Th. เสือโคคำฉันท์)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 91	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–355)	Old possession of the National Library.
2	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 92	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 356–758)	Old possession of the National Library.
3	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 93	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–355)	Given to the National Library by Phra Patiphanphiset (Alexander) (Th. พระยาปฎิภาณพิเศษอาเล็กซานเดอร์ ให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๒) in 1929.

4	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 94	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume II (Stanza no. 356–758)	Old possession of the National Library.
5	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 95	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–392)	Purchased by the National Library in 1921.
6	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 96	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 392–355)	Purchased by the National Library in 1921.
7	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 97	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–378)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
8	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 98	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 379–758)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
9	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 99	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 3–427)	Old possession of the National Library.
10	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 100	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 428–758)	Old possession of the National Library.
11	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 101	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–393)	Old possession of the National Library.
12	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 102	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 393–758)	Old possession of the National Library.
13	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 103	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–403)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
14	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 104	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 404–758)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.

15	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 105	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–412)	Given to the National Library by Anong Monastery on 15/08/1931 (Th. ได้มาจากวัดอนงคาราม ๑๕ สิงหาคม ๒๔๗๔).
16	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 106	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume II (Stanza no. 413–758)	Given to the National Library by Anongkharam Monastery on 15/08/1931 (Th. ได้มาจากวัดอนงคาราม ๑๕ สิงหาคม ๒๔๗๔).
17	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 107	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–390)	Old possession of the National Library.
18	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 108	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 391–758)	Old possession of the National Library.
19	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 109	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete (Stanza no. 1–758)	Given to the National Library by Phra Athikan of Thong Monastery on 14/10/1921 (Th. พระอธิการวัดทองให้วันที่ ๑๔ ตุลาคม ๒๔๖๔).
20	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 110	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete (Stanza no. 1–758)	Old possession of the National Library.
21	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 111	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete (Stanza no. 1–758)	Given to the National Library by Anongkharam Monastery on 15/08/1931 (Th. ได้จากวัดอนงคาราม ๑๕ สิงหาคม ๒๔๗๔).
22	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 112	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–383)	Old possession of the National Library.
23	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 113	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 377–758)	Old possession of the National Library.
24	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 114	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–383)	Purchased by the National Library 1907.

25	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 115	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 381–758)	Given to the National Library by Princess Wong Can in 1907 (Th.พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ พระองค์เจ้าหญิงวงศ์จันทร์ประทาน พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๐).
26	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 116	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–416)	Given to the National Library by Cao Phraya Mukkhamontri (Uap Paorohit) in 1930 (Th.เจ้าพระยามุขมนตรี (อวป เปาโรหิต) ให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๓).
27	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 117	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 416–758)	Given to the National Library by Cao Krom of Ratchabophit Monastery in 1911 (Th.เจ้ากรมวัดราชบพิธ ให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๔).
28	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 118	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–518)	Old possession of the National Library.
29	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 119	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–600)	Purchased by the National Library in 1907.
30	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 120	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Damaged	Old possession of the National Library.
31	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 121	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–344)	Given to the National Library by Luang Thaklaewkanchanakhet (MR Khoi) in 1928 (Th.หลวงแก้วกาญจนเขตร (ม.ร.ว.คอย) ให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๑).
32	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 122	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–395)	Given to the National Library by Cao Phraya Mukkhamontri (Uap Paorohit) in 1930 (Th.เจ้าพระยามุขมนตรี (อวป เปาโรหิต) ให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๓).
33	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 123	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–523)	Given to the National Library by Phra Sunthon of Arun Monastery (Th.พระสุนทรฯ วัดอรุณ ให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๕) in 1922.

34	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 124	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–715)	Old possession of the National Library.
35	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 125	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–365)	Purchased by the National Library in 1912.
36	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 126	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–435)	Purchased by the National Library in 1916.
37	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 127	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete (Stanza no. 1–758)	Purchased by the National Library in 1907.
38	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 129	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 402–758)	Given to the National Library by Phra Yanawichit (Sit Rotcananon) (Th.พระญาณวิจิตร (สิทธิ์ โรจนานนท์) ให้อ.พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๐) in 1907.
39	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 130	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 412–758)	Purchased by the National Library in 1907.
40	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 131	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 433–758)	Old possession of the National Library. (ตามฉลากระบุสมบัติเดิมๆ แต่ท้ายหน้าปลายมีบันทึกดินสอดแดง น่าจะเป็นลายมือบรรณารักษ์ ระบุว่า นายตรีย ลาศ สุนทรารชุน ให้อ.สมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อวันที่ ๖ สิงหาคม ๒๕๐๐)
41	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 132	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 409–729)	Old possession of the National Library.
42	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 133	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 409–758)	Purchased by the National Library in 1908.

43	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 134	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 429–758)	Given to the National Library by Khun Ying Pathumratchaphinichai on 23/04/1968 (Th.คุณหญิงปทุมราชพินิจชัยให้ ๒๓ เมษายน ๒๕๑๑).
44	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 135	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–383)	Old possession of the National Library.
45	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 136	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 9–355)	Old possession of the National Library.
46	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 137	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Fragment (Stanza no. 121–670)	Old possession of the National Library.
47	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 138	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–156)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
48	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 139	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–425)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
49	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 140	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–90) MTM: <i>Samutthakhot Kham Chan</i>	Given to the National Library from Khun Ying Pathumratchaphinichai (Th.คุณหญิงปทุมราชพินิจชัย ให้ ๒๓ เมษายน ๒๕๑๑) on 23/04/1968.
50	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 140/1	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–400)	Given to the National Library by the heir of Luang Darunkit Withun on 12/03/1975 (Th.ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิฑูรให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติ เมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘).

51	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 140/3	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 526)	Given to the National Library by Khun Ying Dunyakonphithan on 28/04/ 1977 (Th. คุณหญิงดุยคุณทรัพย์ ทาร์ณ มอบให้หอฯ ๒๘ เมษายน ๒๕๒๐).
52	NLT: ChSs: Sò: PLMs no. 3	Palm-leaf manuscript / Black soot	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 216)	Old possession of the National Library.
53	NLT: ChSs: Sò: PLMs no. 4	Palm-leaf manuscript / Black soot	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 422)	Given to the National Library from the Storage Section of the Fine Arts Department on 12/05/1953 (Th. ได้มาจากแผนกคลัง กรมศิลปากรวันที่ ๑๒ พฤษภาคม ๒๔๙๖).
54	BKK: SS: Ròi kròng: 1-7	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 615)	Given to the Siam Society under the Royal Patronage from Phitthaya Bunnag (Th. พิทยา บุญนาค) on 01/01/1993.
55	BKK: SS: Ròi kròng: 1-8	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 616–758)	Given to the Siam Society under the Royal Patronage from Phitthaya Bunnag (Th. พิทยา บุญนาค) on 01/01/1993.
56	PR: EFEO: S. 34(B)	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 559–758)	Possession of the Library of École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, France
57	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17008	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 396–758)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhem (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
58	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17022	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 419)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhem (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
59	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17036	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 378–758)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhem (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)

60	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17039 (1)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 377)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemim (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
61	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17039 (2)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 395)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemim (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)

Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* 'Jewel of Thought' (Th. จินตามณีของพระโหราธิบดี)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 1	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet. 05/01/1936
2	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 2	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the National Library from the heir to Luang Darunkit Withun (Th. ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิจิตร ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘) on 12/03/1975.
3	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 3	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Old possession of the National Library
4	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 4	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink, white pencil and gold	Chabap Yai Boribun	Given to the library by Nai Yim in 1908 (Th. นายยิ้มมอบให้เมื่อพ.ศ. ๒๔๕๑).
5	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 5	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
6	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 6	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	The Odd Content Version	Old possession of the National Library

7	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 7	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Old possession of the National Library
8	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 8	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
9	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 9	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Beginning with lexicon	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
10	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 10	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Given to the National Library by Phra Wichian Thamma Khunathon (Sotthi) of Molilok Monastery (Th. พระวิเชียรธรรมคุณาธร (โสทธิ) วัดโมลีโลกยาราม) in 20/10/1907.
11	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 11	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Purchased by the library from Nai Tuan on 01/08/1916 (Th. หอฯซื้อ ๑ สิงหาคม ๒๔๕๕ (ซื้อจากนายต่วน))
12	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 12	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Phraya Thibet's Recension	Purchased by the library in 1916.
13	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 13	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Given to the library by Phra Phalatsadanurak (Khong) on 30/09/1907 (Th. พระพลัยฐานุรักษ์ (คง) มอบให้หอฯ เมื่อ ๓๐ กันยายน ๒๔๕๐).
14	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 14	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Given to the library by Phra Phichai Chonlasin of Phetchaburi on 13/10/1909 (Th. พระพิไชยชลสินธุ์เพชรบุรี ให้หอฯ ไว้เมื่อ ๑๓ ตุลาคม ๒๔๕๒).
15	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 15	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Given to the library by Princess Prabala Rasmi in 1908 (Th. พระเจ้าน้องนางเธอ พระองค์เจ้าประพาฬรศมี ประทานเมื่อ พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๑).

16	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 16	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Unique	Purchased by the library on 26/03/1909.
17	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 17	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
18	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 18	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
19	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 19	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Damaged	Old possession of the National Library
20	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 21	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Given to the library by Khun Ying Pariyatthamthada (Wat) in 1927 (Th. คุณหญิงปรีดีธรรมธาดา (วาสน์) ให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๐).
21	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 22	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Beginning with lexicon	Old possession of the National Library
22	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 23	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Damaged	Given to the library by Khun Ying Pariyatthamthada (Wat) in 1927 (Th. คุณหญิงปรีดีธรรมธาดา (วาสน์) ให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๐).
23	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 24	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the National Library by Princess Wong Can (Th. พระองค์เจ้า หญิงวงศ์จันทร์) and Prince Phitthayalongkorn (Th. กรมหมื่น พิทยาย) on 12/07/1916
24	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 25	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	The Odd Content Version	Given to the National Library by Prince Damrong Rachanubhap in 1909 (Th. สมเด็จฯ กรมพระยาดำรง ราชานุภาพประทานเมื่อ พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๒).
25	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 26	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Damaged	Given to the National Library by Nai Piam in 1908 (Th. นายเปี่ยม มอบให้เมื่อ พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๑).

26	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 27	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Damaged	Given to the National Library from the Abbot of Wat Pak Nam monastery in 1921 (Th. เจ้าอธิการ วัดปากน้ำ มอบให้เมื่อ ๑๘ สิงหาคม ๒๔๖๔).
27	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 28	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Unique	Purchased by the library on 10/06/1909.
28	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 29	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Unique	Old possession of the National Library
29	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 30	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Damaged	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
30	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 31	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Unique	Given to the National Library by Nai Praoroet Thephatsadin on 23/05/1922 (Th. นายเพราเรอด เทพ หัสติน ณ กรุงเทพฯ มอบให้เมื่อ ๒๓ พฤษภาคม ๒๔๖๕).
31	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 32	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Mixed	Given to the National Library by Phra Wichian Thamma Khunathon (Sotthi) of Molilok Monastery (Th. พระวิเชียรธรรมคุณา ธร (โสทธิ) วัดโมลีโลกยาราม) in 20/10/1907.
32	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 33	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Old possession of the National Library
33	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 34	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Phraya Thibet's Recension	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
34	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 35	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Prince Paramanuchit's Recension – Volume II	Purchased by the library on 07/09/1921.

35	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 36	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the National Library from Cao Phraya Mukkhamontri (Uap) (Th.เจ้าพระยามุขมนตรี (อวป เปาโรหิตย์)) in 1930.
36	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 37	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Old possession of the National Library
37	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 38	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Prince Paramanuchit's Recension – Volume I	Purchased by the library on 17/09/1921.
38	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 39	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Beginning with lexicon	Purchased by the library in 10/08/1907.
39	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 40	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Beginning with lexicon	Purchased by the library in 1908.
40	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 41	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the National Library by Nai Ròt on 22/11/1922 (Th.นาย รอด มอบให้เมื่อ ๒๒ พฤศจิกายน ๒๔๖๕).
41	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 42	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the National Library by Wat Phiren monastery on 15/07/1921 (Th.วัดพิเรนทร์ มอบให้เมื่อ ๑๕ กรกฎาคม ๒๔๖๔).
42	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 43	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	<i>Chabap Yai Bòribun</i>	Given to the National Library by the heir of Phraya Si Thammarachathirat on 23/06/1950 (Th.ทายาทของพระยาศรีธรรมราช มอบให้เมื่อ ๒๓ มิถุนายน ๒๔๙๓).
43	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 44	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the National Library by Phra Palat Choei of Wat Rakhang monastery in 1920 (Th.พระปลัดเชย วัดระฆัง มอบให้เมื่อ พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๓).

44	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 45	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Damaged	Given to the National Library by Phra Khru Pricha Chaloem of Wat Chaloem Phra Kiat on 27/03/1908 (Th.พระครูปริชาเฉลิม วัดเฉลิมพระ เกียรติ มอบให้เมื่อ ๒๗/๓/๑๙๐๘).
45	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 46	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / gold and white pencil	Damaged	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
46	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 47	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the National Library by Luang Lokkathip on 16/11/1921 (Th. หลวงโลกธิป มอบให้เมื่อ ๑๖ พฤศจิกายน ๒๔๖๔).
47	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 48	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Given to the National Library by Phra Palat Choei of Wat Rakhang monastery on 18/02/1920 (Th.พระ ปลัดเชย วัดระฆัง มอบให้เมื่อ ๑๘ กุมภาพันธ์ พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๓).
48	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 49	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Given to the National Library by Phra Wichian Thamma Khunathon (Sotthi) of Molilok Monastery (Th.พระวิเชียรธรรมคุณา ธร (โสทธิ) วัดโมลีโลกยาราม) in 20/10/1907.
49	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 50	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
50	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 51	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
51	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 52	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Phraya Thibet's Recension	Given to the National Library by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab in 1915 (Th. สมเด็จพระยาธิบดีรามา ชาณุภาพประทานเมื่อ พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๘).
52	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 53	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Phraya Thibet's Recension	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.

53	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 54	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Old possession of the National Library
54	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 55	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
55	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 56	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white ink	Beginning with lexicon	Purchased by the library in 1909.
56	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 57	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the library by Khun Ying Pariyathamthada (Wat) in 1927 (Th. คุณหญิงปรีดีธรรมธาดา (วาสณ์) ให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๐).
57	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 58	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
58	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 59	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Phraya Thibet's Recension	Purchased by the library in 1909.
59	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 60	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Given to the National Library by Prince (Mòm Cao) Thatsana on 02/03/1928 (Th. หม่อมเจ้าทัศนาศรี ประทานเมื่อ ๒ มีนาคม ๒๔๗๑).
60	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 61	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Unique	Given to the National Library by King Vajiravudh (King Rama VI) on 18/01/1913 (Th. พระบาทสมเด็จพระมงกุฎเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว พระราชทาน ๑๘ มกราคม ๒๔๕๖).
61	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 62	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the National Library by Prince (Mòm Cao) Thatsana on 02/03/1928 (Th. หม่อมเจ้าทัศนาศรี ประทานเมื่อ ๒ มีนาคม ๒๔๗๑).
62	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 63	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Given to the National Library by Nai Ròt in 1930 (Th. นายรอด มอบให้เมื่อ พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๓).

63	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 64	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Unique	Given to the National Library by Nai Suwat Chawalaklikhit on 28/11/1950 (Th. นายสุวัฒน์ ชวลักษณ์ ลิขิต ให้หอสมุดฯ ๒๘ พฤศจิกายน ๒๔๙๓).
64	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 65	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Purchased by the library on 25/02/1935.
65	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 66	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Given to the National Library from Cao Phraya Mukkhamontri (Uap) (Th.เจ้าพระยามุขมนตรี (อว เปาโรหิตย์)) in 1930.
66	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 67	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the National Library by Luang Thep Wican (Plüm) on 20/11/1931 (Th. หลวงเทพวิจารณ์ (ปลื้ม) มอบให้เมื่อ ๒๐ พฤศจิกายน ๒๔๗๔).
67	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 68	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Given to the National Library by Nai Suwat Chawalaklikhit on 28/11/1950 (Th. นายสุวัฒน์ ชวลักษณ์ ลิขิต ให้หอสมุดฯ ๒๘ พฤศจิกายน ๒๔๙๓).
68	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 69	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
69	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 70	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Damaged	Old possession of the National Library
70	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 71	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Beginning with lexicon	Old possession of the National Library
71	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 72	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Given to the National Library by Prince Chainat on 6/02/1915 (Th. กรมหมื่นไชนนาท ประทานเมื่อวันที่ ๖ กุมภาพันธ์ ๒๔๕๘).

72	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 73	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Phraya Thibet's Recension	Old possession of the National Library
73	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 74	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Phraya Thibet's Recension	Purchased by the library on 10/01/1912.
74	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 75	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Given to the National Library by Phra Wisutthinayok (Chum) on 1907 (Th. พระวิสุทธินายก (ชุ่ม) มอบ ให้เมื่อ พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๐).
75	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 76	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Purchased by the library in 1908.
76	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 77	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Old possession of the National Library
77	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 78	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Given to the National Library by Nai Ui, the district chief of Nong Còk District, Nonthaburi Province on 11/01/1907 (Th. นายอุ้ย นายอำเภอหนองจอกเมืองนนทบุรี ทุน เกล้าถวายเมื่อ ๑๑ มกราคม ๒๔๕๐).
78	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 79	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Damaged	Old possession of the National Library
79	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 80	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Purchased by the library on 18/03/1909.
80	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 81	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Unique	Given to the National Library by Luang Racha Phirom (Caem) on 8/07/1907 (Th. หลวงราชาภิรมณ์ (แจ่ม) มอบให้เมื่อ ๘ กรกฎาคม ๒๔๕๐).
81	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 82	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the National Library by Princess Wong Can (Th. พระองค์เจ้า หญิงวงศ์จันทร์) on 19/04/1912.

82	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 83	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the National Library by Princess Wong Can (Th.พระองค์เจ้า หญิงวงศ์จันทร์) on 18/05/1907.
83	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 85	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Given to the National Library by the family of Phra Patiwet Wisit on 02/09/1970 (Th. ครอบครัวพระ ปฏิเวทย์วิสุทธิมอปปให้เมื่อ ๒ กันยายน ๒๕๑๓).
84	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 86	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Phraya Thibet's Recension	Given to the National Library by Phra Wichian Thamma Khunathon (Sotthi) of Molilok Monastery (Th.พระวิเชียรธรรมคณา ธร (โสทธิ) วัดโมลีโลกยาราม) in 20/10/1907.
85	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 87	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
86	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 88	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the National Library from Cao Phraya Mukkhamontri (Uap) (Th.เจ้าพระยามุขมนตรี (อว เปาโรหิตย์)) in 1930.
87	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 89	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Damaged	Given to the library by Nai Phrom Khamala on 30/05/1938 (Th. นาย พรหม ขมาลามอบให้เมื่อ ๓๐ พฤษภาคม ๒๔๘๑).
88	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 90	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white ink and yellow ink	Phraya Thibet's Recension	Purchased by the library on 20/04/1908.
89	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 91	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Phraya Thibet's Recension	Given to the library by Phraya Phetcha Pani on 21/06/1907 (Th. พระเพ็ชรปานิ มอปปให้เมื่อ ๒๑ มิถุนายน ๒๔๕๐).
90	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 92	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Unique	Given to the library by Luang Thamma Phimon (Thuek) on 30/05/1907 (Th. หลวงธรรมาภิมณฑ์ (เถิก) พูลเกล้าฯ ถวายเมื่อ ๓๐ พฤษภาคม ๒๔๕๐).

91	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 93	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / gold and yellow ink	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Purchased by the library on 24/05/1917.
92	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 94	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	The Odd Content Version	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
93	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 95	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the National Library by Mr Nok Chukanchana (Th.นายนก ชุกัญจน ให้ ๒๖ มีนาคม พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๕) on 26/03/1922.
94	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 115	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Damaged	Given to the National Library by Anongkharam Monastery on 15/08/1931 (Th.ได้มาจากวัดอนงคาราม ๑๕ สิงหาคม ๒๔๗๔).
95	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 144	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Damaged	Old possession of the National Library
96	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 230	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Damaged	Given to the National Library from the heir to Luang Darunkit Withun (Th.ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิฑูร ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘) on 12/03/1975.
97	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 231	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Given to the National Library from the heir to Luang Darunkit Withun (Th.ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิฑูร ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘) on 12/03/1975.
98	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 232	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white ink	Damaged	Given to the National Library from the heir to Luang Darunkit Withun (Th.ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิฑูร ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘) on 12/03/1975.
99	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 234	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Damaged	Given to the National Library from the heir to Luang Darunkit Withun (Th.ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิฑูร ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘) on 12/03/1975.

100	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 235	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the National Library from the heir to Luang Darunkit Withun (Th. ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิธูร ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘) on 12/03/1975.
101	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 236	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Damaged	Given to the National Library from the heir to Luang Darunkit Withun (Th. ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิธูร ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘) on 12/03/1975.
102	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 237	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Beginning with lexicon	Given to the National Library from the heir to Luang Darunkit Withun (Th. ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิธูร ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘) on 12/03/1975.
103	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 238	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms /	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Given to the National Library from the heir to Luang Darunkit Withun (Th. ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิธูร ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘) on 12/03/1975.
104	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 239	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Maha Cai Phak's Recension?	Given to the library by Khun Ying Pariyatthamthada (Wat) in 1927 (Th. คุณหญิงปริยัตติธรรมธาดา (วาสน์) ให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๐).
105	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 268	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms /	Damaged	Given to the library by the Library of the Ministry of Education on 4/08/1976 (Th. หอสมุดกระทรวง ศึกษาให้มาเมื่อ ๔ สิงหาคม ๒๕๑๙).
106	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 336	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms /	The Odd Content Version	Given to the library by Asa Bunyananop (Th. อาสา บุญยามานพ)
107	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 550	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms /	Damaged	Old possession of the National Library
108	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 572	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms /	Damaged	Old possession of the National Library
109	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 580	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms /	Beginning with lexicon	Old possession of the National Library

110	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 602	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms /	Beginning with lexicon	Old possession of the National Library
111	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 604	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms /	Damaged	Given to the library by Nai Plío Aphasat on 14/04/1983 (Th. นาย ปลิว อาภาสตัย์ มอบให้เป็นสมบัติของ หอสมุดแห่งชาติ วันที่ ๑๔ เมษายน ๒๕๒๖).
112	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 606	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Unique	Given to the library by Nai Bamrung Sukhawat on 20/06/1984 (Th. นายบำรุง สุขวัฒน์ มอบให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๒๐ มิถุนายน ๒๕๒๗).
113	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 667	Palm-leaf manuscript / Black soot	Beginning with lexicon	Given by Wat Còm Thòng monastery (Th. วัดจอมทอง)
114	NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 121	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Unique	Given to the National Library from Mòm Phaichayonthep (Mòm Ratchawong Phin) (Th. หม่อม ไพชยนต์เทพ (ม.ร.ว.พิน)) on 08/07/1908.
115	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 22	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Maha Cai Phak's Recension MTM: Phra Si Mahosot's works	Given to the National Library by the National Library at Nakhòn Si Thammarat (Th. ได้มาจากสาขา หอสมุดแห่งชาติ จ.นครศรีธรรมราช).
116	NLT: KhlSPSSs: Ms no. 72	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Maha Cai Phak's Recension (MTM: <i>Lokkanit</i>)	Given to the National Library by Phra Khru Pricha Chaloem of Wat Chaloem Monastery (Th. พระครู ปรีชาเฉลิม วัดเฉลิม) on 27/03/1908
117	NP: MSWT: NPT001- 016	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Maha Cai Phak's Recension	Possession of Wat Tha Phut Monastery (Nakhòn Pathom)
118	BKK: CU: Lib Arts	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Possession of the Humanities Informatic Center within the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University (Bangkok, Thailand).

119	LPh: SWL	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Former possession of Singkha Wannasai
120	BL: StaBi: MIK I 4037	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Unique	Possession of the State Library of Berlin, Germany
121	BL: StaBi: Ms or fol 3243	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and gold	Beginning with lexicon	Possession of the State Library of Berlin, Germany
122	BL: StaBi: Ms or fol 3244	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Unique	Possession of the State Library of Berlin, Germany
123	BL: StaBi: Ms or fol 3245	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Beginning with lexicon	Possession of the State Library of Berlin, Germany
124	LZG: Grassi: SAs 14002	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension (but with addition on codes)	Possession of GRASSI Museum for Ethnology, Leipzig, Germany
125	PR: BnF: Indochinois 347	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Unique	Possession of the National Library of France (Paris)
126	PR: EFEO: S.41	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Beginning with lexicon	Possession of the library of École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, France
127	PR: EFEO: S.109	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Possession of the library of École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, France
128	PR: EFEO: S.114	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	Possession of the library of École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, France

129	NKST: NLT: Ms no. 12	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Fragment (only orthography part and partially chan composition)	Old possession of the National Library of Thailand (Nakhòn Si Thammarat)
130	CM: DHC: NTIC: 16014	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemim (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
131	CM: DHC: NTIC: 16021	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemim (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
132	CM: DHC: NTIC: 16022	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Unique (with Kavyasaravila sini)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemim (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
133	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17033	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Unique	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemim (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
134	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17034	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemim (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
135	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17035(1)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Beginning with lexicon	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemim (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
136	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17035(2)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Fragment	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemim (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์)
137	CM: DHC: SKNM	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Prince Parama's Version (Volume II)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Sukich Nimmanhemim (Th. สุกิจ นิมมาน เหมินท์)

138	BKK: HRH SDh: Cindamani (1)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Related to Khun Maha Sit's but with unique <i>khlong</i> collection	HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn's Private Library
139	BKK: HRH SDh: Cindamani (2)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Related to Khun Maha Sit's Recension	HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn's Private Library
140	BKK: HRH SDh: Cindamani (3)	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Unique	Offered to HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn by the Faculty of Industrial Textiles and Fashion Design within the Rajamangala University of Technology Phra Nakhon on 25/03/2013 (Th. มหาวิทยาลัยเทคโนโลยีราชมงคลพระ นคร คณะอุตสาหกรรมสิ่งทอและ ออกแบบแฟชั่น ทุลเกล้าทุลกระหม่อม ถวาย ๒๕ มีนาคม ๒๕๕๖)

Kamsuan Samut 'Lamentations to the Sea' (Th. กำสรวลสมุทร)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 148	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Old possession of the National Library
2	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 149	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Old possession of the National Library
3	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 150	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Old possession of the National Library
4	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 159	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Given to the National Library from Luang Udom Cinda (Hem) (Th.หลวงอุดมจินดา (เหม)) in 1911.
5	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 165	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Given to the National Library by Phra Wichian Thamma Khunathon (Sotthi) of Molilok Monastery (Th.พระวิเชียรธรรมคุณาธร (โสทธิ) วัดโมลีโลกยาราม) in 20/10/1907.

6	NLT: KhSs: Ms no. 7/1	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Purchased by the National Library from Mòmm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
7	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 211	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Purchased by the National Library from Mòmm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.

Anirut Kham Chan ‘[Tale of] *Anirut in Kham Chan Meter*’ (Th. อนิรุทธคำฉันท์)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 43	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–387)	Given to the National Library from Phra Sunthon of Arun Monastery (Th.พระสุนทรฯ วัดอรุณราชวราราม) in 1922.
2	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 44	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–387)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
3	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 45	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume II (Stanza no. 388–738)	Purchased by the National Library from Mòmm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
4	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 46	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–365)	Old possession of the National Library
5	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 47	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 366–729)	Old possession of the National Library
6	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 48	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–393)	Given to the National Library by Khun Bowonwannakit (Tiam Khotkarin) (Th.ขุนบวรวรรณกิจ (เตี้ยม คชกริน)) in 1921.
7	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 49	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume II (Stanza no. 394–738)	Given to the National Library by Phra Phalatchadanurak (Th.พระพลัษฏานุรักษ์) on 30/09/1907.

8	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 50	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 393)	Given to the National Library by Mr Nok Chukanchana (Th.นายนก ชุกัญจน ให้ ๒๖ มีนาคม พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๕) on 26/03/1922.
9	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 51	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 385–738)	Given to the National Library by Mr Nok Chukanchana (Th.นายนก ชุกัญจน ให้ ๒๖ มีนาคม พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๕) on 26/03/1922.
10	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 52	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 394)	Purchased by the National Library in 1921.
11	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 53	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 395–738)	Purchased by the National Library in 1921.
12	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 54	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 403)	Given to the National Library by Phra Wichianthamkhunathan (Sot) of Molilok Monastery (Th.พระวิเชียรธรรมคุณาธาร (โสด) วัด โมลีโลกยารามให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๐) in 1907.
13	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 55	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume II (Stanza no. 404–738)	Given to the National Library by Phra Wichianthamkhunathan (Sot) of Molilok Monastery (Th.พระวิเชียรธรรมคุณาธาร (โสด) วัด โมลีโลกยารามให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๐) in 1907.
14	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 56	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 398)	Old possession of the National Library
15	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 57	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 399–738)	Old possession of the National Library
16	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 58	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 384)	Given to the National Library by Mr Pia Wichitsunthon (Th.นายเปีย วิจิตรสุนทร ให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๒) in 1919.
17	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 59	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 385–738)	Given to the National Library by Mr Pia Wichitsunthon (Th.นายเปีย วิจิตรสุนทร ให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๒) in 1919.

18	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 60	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 403)	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̀m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
19	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 61	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 404–738)	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̀m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
20	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 62	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 398)	Purchased by the National Library in 1909.
21	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 63	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 399–738)	Given to the National Library from Prince (Mò̀m Cao) Rattanophat (Th.หม่อมเจ้ารัตโนภาส ประทานวันที่ ๑ ตุลาคม ๒๔๖๔) on 01/10/1921.
22	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 64	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 398)	Old possession of the National Library
23	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 65	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 399–726)	Old possession of the National Library
24	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 66	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 398)	Given to the National Library by Khun Ying Pathum Ratphinitchai (Th.คุณหญิงปทุมราชพินิจชัย มอบให้ หอสมุด ๒๓ เมษายน ๒๕๑๑) on 23/04/1968.
25	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 67	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume II (Stanza no. 399–616)	Given to the National Library from the heir to Luang Darunkit Withun (Th.ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิฑูร ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘) on 12/03/1975.
26	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 68	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 398)	Given to the National Library by Phra Patiphanphiset (Alexander) (Th.พระปฏิภาณพิเศษ อาเล็กซานเดอร์ ให้เมื่อ ธันวาคม ๒๔๗๒) in December 1929.

27	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 69	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume II (Stanza no. 399–738)	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
28	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 70	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 5– 401)	Given to the National Library from the Bureau of Royal Household on 16/03/1938 (Th.ได้มาจากสำนักพระราชวังเมื่อวันที่ ๑๖ มีนาคม ๒๔๘๑).
29	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 71	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 387)	Old possession of the National Library
30	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 72	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 393)	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
31	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 73	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 398)	Given to the National Library by Princess Praphat (Th.พระองค์เจ้า หญิงประภัสร์ประทาน พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๑) in 1908.
32	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 74	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 374)	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
33	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 75	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1– 398)	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
34	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 76	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 385–738)	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
35	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 77	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Damaged) (Stanza no. 461–?)	Given to the National Library by Princess Praphat (Th.พระองค์เจ้า หญิงประภัสร์ประทาน พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๑) in 1908.

36	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 78	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume II (Stanza no. 399–738)	Given to the National Library by the Ministry of Education (Th. ได้มาจากกระทรวงธรรมการ วันที่ ๑๐ มิถุนายน ๒๔๘๐) on 10/06/1937.
37	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 79	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 431–710)	Given to the National Library by the Ministry of Education (Th. ได้มาจากกระทรวงธรรมการ วันที่ ๑๐ มิถุนายน ๒๔๘๐) on 10/06/1937.
38	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 80	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 388–738)	Purchased by the National Library in 1907.
39	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 81	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 388–738)	Given to the National Library by the heir to Luang Darunkit Withun (Th. ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิฑูร ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๔๙๘) on 12/03/1975.
40	BKK: SS: Kap: Ms no. 1-16	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 385–738)	Given to the Siam Society under the Royal Patronage from Phitthaya Bunnag (Th. พิทยา บุณนาค) on 01/01/1993.
41	BL: StaBi: Ms orient fol 3201	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white ink and white pencil	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–398)	Possession of the State Library of Berlin, Germany
42	PR: BnF: Indochinois 284	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–370)	Possession of the National Library of France (Paris)
43	PR: BnF: Indochinois 285	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (Stanza no. 371–738)	Possession of the National Library of France (Paris)
44	MCH: BStaBi: Cod. Siam 53	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (Stanza no. 1–393)	Possession of Bavarian State Library of Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek zu München), Germany

The Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Poems (Th. ประชุมนิพนธ์พระศรีมโหสถ)

Text I: *Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu* 'Poem of the Three Classes of Consonants' (Th. โคลงอักษรสามหมู่)

Text II: *Kap Hò Khlong* 'Poems in Kap Hò Khlong Meter' (Th. กาพย์ห่อโคลงพระศรีมโหสถ)

Text III: *Khlong Nirat Nakhòn Sawan* 'Poetic Travelogue to Nakhòn Sawan' (Th. โคลงนิราศนครสวรรค์)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 18	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete collection	Old possession of the National Library.
2	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 21	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete collection	Old possession of the National Library.
3	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 22	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Text I–II (Text III absent)	Given to the National Library by the National Library at Nakhòn Si Thammarat (Th. ได้มาจากสาขาหอสมุดแห่งชาติ จ.นครศรีธรรมราช).
4	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 23	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete collection	Old possession of the National Library.
5	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 51	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete collection	Purchased by the National Library from Mòm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th. หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
6	NLT: KhlNRSs: Ms no. 344	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete collection	Purchased by the National Library on 16/05/1907.
7	NLT: KhlNRSs: Ms no. 345	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete collection	Old possession of the National Library.
8	NLT: KhlNRSs: Ms no. 350	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete collection (beginning	Purchased by the National Library from Mòm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th. หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.

			with Text III and then I–II)	
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Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Narai ‘Eulogy for King Narai’

(Th. สรรเสริญพระเกียรติพระนารายณ์)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 193	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete known text	Old possession of the National Library.
2	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 329	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete known text	Given to the National Library by the heir of Luang Darunkit Withun on 12/03/1975 (Th. ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิฑูรย์ให้หอสมุดแห่งชาติ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘).
3	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 648	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Fragment	Old possession of the National Library.

Thawa Thotsamat ‘Poem of the Twelve Months’ (Th. ทวาทศมาส)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 209	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I	Purchased by the National Library on 08/04/1907.
2	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 214	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Purchased by the National Library from Mòm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th. หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.

3	NLT: KhSs: Ms no. 216	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Given to the National Library by Phra Wichian Thammakhunathon (Sotthi) of Molilok Monastery (Th.พระวิเชียรธรรมคุณาธร (โสทธิ) วัด โมลีโลกยาราม) on 21/07/1907.
4	NLT: KhSs: Ms no. 217	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume I	Purchased by the National Library in 1912.
5	NLT: KhSs: Ms no. 218	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II	Given to the National Library from an heir of Luang Darunkit Withun (Th.ทนายหลวงคุณกิจวิฑูร) on 12/03/1975.
6	NLT: KhSs: Ms no. 219	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Given to the National Library by Luang Klao Kancanakheth (MR Khoi) (Th.หลวงแก้ว กาญจนเขตน (มรว.คอย)) in 1928.
7	NLT: KhSs: Ms no. 220	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete	Old possession of the National Library.
8	NLT: KhSs: Ms no. 228	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Volume II	Old possession of the National Library.
9	NLT: KhSs: Ms no. 230	Greyish <i>khòi</i> Ms / black ink	Complete	Given to the National Library by Mr Rot (Th.นายรอดให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๓๓) in 1930.
10	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17012	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhem (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์).
11	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17174	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Fragment	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhem (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมาน เหมินท์) on 12/04/1985.

12	BKK: HRH SDh: Ms no. 10	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn's Private Library
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The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises (Th. ประชุมคำฉันท์กล่อมช้างของเก่า)

Text I: *Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei* ‘Ritual Poem for Elephant Ceremony in Kham Chan Meter’ (Th. คำฉันท์ดุขยี่สังเวย)

Text II: *Kham Chan Klòm Chang Krung Kao* ‘Ritual Poem for Soothing the Elephants from the Old Capital in Kham Chan Meter’ (Th. คำฉันท์กล่อมช้างกรุงเก่า)

Text III: *Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun* ‘Treatise on Elephants’ Features in Kham Chan Meter’ (Th. คำฉันท์คชกรรมประยูร)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 15	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete collection	Purchased by the National Library on 10/10/1912.
2	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 15/1	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete collection	Old possession of the National Library.
3	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete collection	Given to the National Library from Mòmm Phaichayonthep (Mòmm Ratchawong Phin) (Th. หม่อมไผ่ชนดเทพ (ม.ร.ว. พิน)) on 08/07/1908.
4	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 17	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete collection	Old possession of the National Library.
5	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 18	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete collection	Purchased by the National Library on 29/12/1912.
6	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 19	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete collection	Purchased by the National Library from Mòmm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th. หม่อมหลวง แดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.

7	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 20	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete collection	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
8	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 21	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Only Text I–II with other elephant texts	Given to the National Library from the National Museum(Th. ได้มาจากพิพิธภัณฑ์ ๘/๑๑/๑๒๗) on 08/11/1908.
9	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 22	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete collection	Old possession of the National Library.
10	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 24	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Only Text I–II with other elephant texts	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
11	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 46	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete collection	Old possession of the National Library.
12	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 47	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete collection (beginning with Text III)	Old possession of the National Library.
13	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 49	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Only Text I–II with other elephant texts	Old possession of the National Library.
14	NLT: PRPTs: Ms no. 598	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Complete collection (Siamese Grantha)	Old possession of the National Library.
15	NLT: STWSSs: Ms no. 16	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Only Text III (with illustrations)	Purchased by the National Library from Mòm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th. หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.

16	BKK: HRH SDh: Ms no. 189	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindorn's Private Library
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Racha Philap Kham Chan 'Lamentations of the King' (Th. ราชพิลาปคำฉันท์)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 1	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Old possession of the National Library.
2	NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 2	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Old possession of the National Library.
3	NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 3	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Old possession of the National Library.
4	NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 4	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Old possession of the National Library.
5	NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 5	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Old possession of the National Library.
6	NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 6	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Given to the National Library from Cao Phraya Mukkhamontri (Uap) (Th.เจ้าพระยา มุขมนตรี (อวป เปาโฬหิตย์)) in 1930.
7	NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 7	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Old possession of the National Library.
8	NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 8	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Purchased by the National Library in 1907.
9	NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 9	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Purchased by the National Library in 1907.
10	NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 10	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Purchased by the National Library from Mòmm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.

Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng ‘Eulogy for King Prasat Thòng’
(Th. สรรเสริญพระเกียรติพระเจ้าปราสาททอง)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: ChSs: Chò: Ms no. 2	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	<i>Codex unicus</i>	Old possession of the National Library.

Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat Wat Pa Mok
‘Poem on the Relocation of Sleeping Buddha Image of Wat Pa Mok Monastery’
(Th. โคลงชะลอพระพุทธรูปไสยาสน์วัดป่าโมก)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 202	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	<i>Codex unicus</i>	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet

Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang ‘The Royal Version of Nanthopanantha Sutta’ (Th. นันทโพนนันทสูตรคำหลวง)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 120	Greyish <i>khòi</i> Ms / black ink, red ink and gold	<i>Codex unicus</i>	Given to the National Library by Khun Withun Darunkòn on 04/10/1908 (Th.ขุนวิจิตรณรงค์ ภูมเกล้าฯ ถวายให้เป็นสมบัติของหอฯ ๔ ตุลาคม ๒๔๕๑).

Phra Malai Kham Luang ‘The Royal Version of the Tale of Phra Malai’

(Th. พระมัลลย์คำหลวง)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Text (Reference to the Printed Edition: pp. 161–187)	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 217	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (pp. 174–187)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 219	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (pp. 161–174)	Given to the National Library by Prince Maen Khian on 29/5/1900 (Th. พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ พระองค์เจ้า แม้นเขียนทูลเกล้าถวายวันที่ ๒๙/๕/๑๙๐๐).
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 220	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (pp. 176–187)	Purchased by the National Library on 13/04/1907.
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 221	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume II (pp. 175–187)	Given to the National Library by Princess Nari Rattana on 18/07/1917 (Th. พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ พระองค์เจ้า นาริรัตนประทานหอสมุด วันที่ ๑๘ ก.ค. ๒๔๖๐).
5	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 222	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (pp. 161–174)	Purchased by the National Library from Mòm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th. หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
6	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 224	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume I (pp. 161–181)	Purchased by the National Library in 1908.
7	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 229	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume I (pp. 161–186)	Purchased by the National Library on 22/08/1907.
8	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 230	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (pp. 176–187)	Given to the National Library by Phra Nikon Muni on 27/02/1907 (Th. พระนิกรมุนี (นาม) วัดบพิตรภิรมย์ ถวายวันที่ ๒๗/๒/๑๙๐๖).

9	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 231	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume II (pp. 176–187)	Given to the National Library by Phra Thammarachanuwat (At) on 28/06/1919 (Th.พระธรรมราชาพันธุ์ (อาจ) ถวาย ๒๘ มิถุนายน ๒๔๖๒).
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Kap He Rüa ‘Barge Procession Poetry’ (Th. ภาพยนตร์เรือ)

Part A: *He Chom Krabuan Rüa ‘Praising the Royal Barge Procession’* (Th. เข้มกระบวนเรือ)

Part B: *He Chom Pla, Mai, Nok ‘Praising Fish, Flora, and Birds’* (Th. เข้มปลา ไม้ นก)

Part C: *He Kaki ‘The Tale of Kaki’* (Th. เข้กากี)

Part D: *He Sangwat ‘Intimacy’* (Th. เข้สังวาส)

Part E: *He Khruan ‘Lamentations’* (Th. เข้ครวญ)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Text	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 1	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Collecting Part C2C3C1DEA	Purchased by the National Library from Mòmm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวง แดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
2	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 2	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Collecting Part ABC1DE MTM: <i>Khlong Nirat Phra Bat</i>	Old possession of the National Library.
3	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 3	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Only the first <i>khlong</i> stanza of each part MTM: <i>Khlong Nirat Phra Bat</i>	Purchased by the National Library on 05/12/1908.
4	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 4	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Part ABC1DE MTM: <i>Khlong Nirat Phra Bat</i>	Old possession of the National Library.
5	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 5	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Collecting Part BC1DE	Purchased by the National Library from Mòmm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวง แดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.

6	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 6	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Collecting Part ABC1DE	Old possession of the National Library.
7	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 7	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Part ABDE	Old possession of the National Library.
8	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 8	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Collecting Part ABC1DE MTM: <i>Khlong Nirat Phra Bat</i>	Purchased by the National Library from Mòm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวง แดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
9	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 10	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Damaged Collecting Part B	Old possession of the National Library.
10	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 11	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Damaged Collecting Part BC1	Old possession of the National Library.
11	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 12	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Damaged Collecting Part ABC1DE MTM: <i>Khlong Nirat Phra Bat</i>	Old possession of the National Library.
12	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 13	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Collecting Part C2C3C1BE	Old possession of the National Library.
13	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 14	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Part ABC1DE	Old possession of the National Library.
14	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 15	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Collecting Part ABC1DE	Old possession of the National Library.
15	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 16	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Collecting Part ABC1DE	Purchased by the National Library from Mòm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวง แดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.

16	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 17	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Collecting Part ABC1DE MTM: <i>Khlong Nirat Phra Bat</i>	Purchased by the National Library on 26/11/1908.
17	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 52	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Collecting Part ABC1DE MTM: <i>Khlong Nirat Phra Bat</i>	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet on 07/07/1939.
18	NLT: KISSs: Ms no. 466	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Collecting Part C2C3C1DEAB	Given to the National Library by Prince Samon on 16/05/1916 (Th.กรมหลวงสมรฯ ถวายวันที่ ๑๖/๕/๕๕).
19	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 12	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Collecting Part ABC1DE MTM: <i>Bunnowat Kham Chan</i>	Given to the National Library by Phra Khru Thammawithanachan (Son) of Maha That Monastery in 1924 (Th.พระครูธรรมวิธานจารย์ (สอน) วัดมหาธาตุให้ พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๗).

Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Thòng Daeng ‘Poetic Travelogue to Than Thòng Daeng in Kap Hò Khlong Meter’ (Th. กาพย์ห่อโคลงนิราศธารทองแดง)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 26	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanza no. 1–15, 31–86, and the stanza no. 102 to the end of the text with the epilogue in <i>khlong</i> meter	Old possession of the National Library.
2	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 53	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete text	Purchased by the National Library from Mòm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.

Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Sok ‘Poetic Travelogue to Than Sok in Kap Hò Khlong Meter’ (Th. ภาพยนตร์โคลงนิราศธาร โศก)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 24	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Fragment stanza no. 100 to the end	Old possession of the National Library.
2	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 25	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Complete text	Old possession of the National Library.

Prince Thammathibet’s *Phleng Yao Poems* (Th. เพลงยาวเจ้าฟ้าธรรมาธิเบศร์)

Poem A: ปางพื้มาดสมานสุมาลย์สมร

Poem B: สงวนรักหรือมาหักอารมณ์หวาน

Poem C: เห็นจรีตบิตเปื้อนทำเชื่อนเฉย

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 2	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Poem C	Given to the National Library by Princess Wong Can (Th. พระองค์เจ้าวงษ์จันทร์) on 12/07/1916.
2	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 9	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / red ink	Poem ABC	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
3	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 21	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Poem BC	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
4	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 22	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Poem ABC	Given to the library by Phraya Photchana Pricha (Mòm Ratchawong Somroeng) on 28/06/1920 (Th. พระยาพจนปรีชา (ม.ร.ว. สำเริง) ถวายหอฯ ๒๘ มิถุนายน ๒๔๖๓)

5	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 32	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / white pencil	Poem B	Given to the National Library by Princess Wong Can (Th.พระองค์เจ้าวงษ์จันทร์) on 19/04/1912.
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Bunnawat Kham Chan ‘Tale of the Buddha’s Footprint in Kham Chan Meter’
(Th. บุญโผนาทคำฉันท์)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 3	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Given to the National Library by Cao Còm Manda Phum on 26/07/1917 (Th.เจ้าจอมมารดาพุ่มให้วันที่ ๒๖ กรกฎาคม ๒๔๖๐).
2	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 4	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete	Old possession of the National Library
3	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 5	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Old possession of the National Library
4	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 6	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete	Old possession of the National Library
5	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 7	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Complete	Given to the National Library by Police Captain Mi Sarakasetarin on 03/05/1918 (Th.ร.ต.อ. มี สารกเสตริน ให้วันที่ ๓ พฤษภาคม ๒๔๖๑).
6	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 8	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
7	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 9	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Incomplete	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.

		and white pencil		
8	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 10	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Old possession of the National Library
9	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 11	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Old possession of the National Library
10	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 12	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Complete	Given to the National Library by Phra Khru Thammawithanachan (Son) of Maha That Monastery in 1924 (Th.พระครูธรรมวิธานาจารย์ (สอน) วัดมหาธาตุให้ พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๓).
11	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 13	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Complete	Given to the National Library by Mr Nok Chu on 26/03/1922 (Th.นายนกชู ถวายหอสมุดเมื่อวันที่ ๒๖ มีนาคม ๒๔๖๕).
12	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 14	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete	Purchased by the National Library in 1935.
13	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 15	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Purchased by the National Library on 01/04/1907.
14	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 16	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Complete	Given to the National Library by Mr Nok Chu Kanchana in 1922 (Th.นายนกชู กัญจนะ ให้ พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๕).
15	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 17	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Old possession of the National Library
16	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 18	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Old possession of the National Library

17	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 19	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Incomplete	Old possession of the National Library
18	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 19/1	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Incomplete	Given to the National Library in Bangkok by the National Library of Nakhòn Si Thammarat (Th.ได้มาจาก สาขาหอสมุดแห่งชาติ จ. นครศรีธรรมราช).
19	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 19/2	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Complete	Given to the National Library by Phra Khru Winitwatcharathon of Kuti Monastery in Phetchaburi Province in 1976 (Th.พระครู วินิจวัชรพร วัดกุฎี อ.บ้านแหลม จ.เพชรบุรี ให้หอฯ พ.ศ. ๒๕๑๙).
20	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 20	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete	Given to the National Library by Muen Chan Chai on 05/09/1920 (Th.หมื่นชาญ ไชยให้วันที่ ๕ กันยายน ๒๔๖๓).
21	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 21	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Given to the National Library by Khun Wannarat on 22/04/1941 (Th.ขุนวรรณ รัตน์ให้วันที่ ๒๒ เมษายน ๒๔๘๔).
22	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 22	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
23	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 23	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Incomplete	Given to the National Library by Khun Ying Pathumratchaphinitchai on 23/04/1968 (Th.คุณหญิงปทุม ราชพินิจชัยมอบให้หอสมุดฯวันที่ ๒๓ เมษายน ๒๕๑๑).
24	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 24	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Given to the National Library by Cao Phraya Mukkhamontri (Uap) in 1930 (Th.เจ้าพระยามุขมนตรี (อวบ) ถวายหอฯ พ.ศ.๒๔๗๓).

25	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 25	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Old possession of the National Library
26	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 26	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Complete	Old possession of the National Library
27	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 27	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Incomplete	Old possession of the National Library
28	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 28	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete	Old possession of the National Library
29	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 29	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Incomplete (from stanza no. 3 to the end)	Old possession of the National Library
30	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 30	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Given to the National Library by the heir of Luang Darunkitwithun on 12/03/1975 (Th.ทายาทหลวง ครุณกิจวิฑูรย์ให้หอสมุดฯเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘).
31	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 31	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Given to the National Library by the heir of Luang Darunkitwithun on 12/03/1975 (Th.ทายาทหลวง ครุณกิจวิฑูรย์ให้หอสมุดฯเมื่อ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๘)
32	NLT: ChSs: Bò: PLMs no. 1	Palm-leaf manuscript / Black soot	Complete	Given to the National Library by Khun Prasanwannawit (Luang Prasanwannawit) in 1919 (Th.ขุนประสารวรรณวิทย์ (หลวง ประสารวรรณวิทย์) (ประทาน) ให้ พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๒).
33	BL: StaBi: Ms or fol 3247	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Complete	Possession of the State Library of Berlin, Germany

34	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17014	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white ink	Complete	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemint (Th. ไกรศรี นิมนานเหมินท์)
35	DD: SLUB: Eb. 424.m	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Possession of the Saxony State and University Library of Dresden, Germany
36	LEID: StaUBi: Or. 20.497	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Complete	Possession of State and University Library of Leiden, the Netherlands
37	PR: EFEO: S.50bis	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Complete	Possession of the library of École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, France
38	PR: EFEO: S.53	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Complete	Possession of the library of École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, France

Khlong Nirat Phra Bat ‘Poetic Travelogue to the Buddha’s Footprint’
(Th. โคลงนिरาตพระบาท)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 2	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms/ yellow ink	Totally 12 stanzas (in <i>kap hò khlong</i> meter) MTM: <i>Kap He Rüa</i>	Old possession of the National Library.
2	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 3	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Totally 11 stanzas (in <i>kap hò khlong</i> meter) MTM: <i>Kap He Rüa</i>	Purchased by the National Library on 05/12/1908.
3	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 4	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms /	Totally 11 stanzas (in <i>kap hò khlong</i> meter)	Old possession of the National Library.

		white pencil	MTM: <i>Kap He Rüa</i>	
4	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 8	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Totally 12 stanzas (in <i>kap hò khlong</i> meter) MTM: <i>Kap He Rüa</i>	Purchased by the National Library from Mòm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
5	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 12	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Totally 13 stanzas (in <i>kap hò khlong</i> meter) MTM: <i>Kap He Rüa</i>	Old possession of the National Library.
6	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 17	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Totally 11 stanzas (in <i>kap hò khlong</i> meter) MTM: <i>Kap He Rüa</i>	Purchased by the National Library on 26/11/1908.
7	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 47	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Totally 16 stanzas (in <i>khlong</i> meter) MTM: <i>Khap Mai Phra Rot</i>	Given to the National Library by Prince Chainat on 06/02/1915 (Th.กรมหลวงวงษาฯ กรมหมื่นไชยนาถ ประทาน ๖ กุมภาพันธ์ ๒๔๕๘)
8	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 52	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Totally 11 stanzas (in <i>kap hò khlong</i> meter) MTM: <i>Kap He Rüa</i>	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet on 07/07/1939.
9	NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 154	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Phraya Trang's <i>Collection of Ancient Poems</i> ; 25 stanzas (in <i>khlong</i> meter) Totally stanzas (without <i>kap</i> meter)	Transferred from the Front Palace (Th. ได้มาจากพระราชวังบวร)

10	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 6	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Totally 11 stanzas (in <i>kap hò khlong</i> meter) MTM: <i>Kap He Rüa</i>	Purchased by the National Library from Mòm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
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Konlabot Siriwbunkit ‘Tale of Siriwbunkit in Konlabot’ (Th. กลบทสิริวิบูลย์กิติ)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 539	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / white pencil	Volume I (pp. 377–389)	Given to the National Library from the heir of Luang Darunkitwithun on 12/03/1975 (Th.ทายาทหลวงครุณกิจวิฑูรมอบให้ ๑๒ มี.ค. ๒๕๑๘).
2	NLT: KIASs: Ms no. 18	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume II (pp. 394–412)	Purchased by the National Library 22/08/1907.
3	NLT: KIASs: Ms no. 19	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III (pp. 413–440)	Purchased by the National Library 01/03/1907.
4	NLT: KIASs: Ms no. 20	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume IV (pp. 415–431)	Given to the National Library by Prince Damrong Rachanuphap on 11/05/1908 (Th.สมเด็จพระเจ้าน้องยาเธอ กรมหลวงดำรงราชานุภาพประทาน ๑๑ พฤษภาคม ร.ศ. ๑๒๗)
5	NLT: KIASs: Ms no. 21	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Fragment Volume II (pp. 389–398)	Purchased by the National Library 25/07/1907.
6	NKST: NLT: Ms no. 188	Greyish <i>khòi</i> Ms / black ink	Fragment Volume II	Nang (‘Mrs.’) Plik Thepchuai gave to the National Library of Thailand at Nakhòn Si Thammarat in 2009. (The original owner is Nai (Mr.) Mi Thepchuai, Nang Plik’s father-in-law. Nai Chaiwat Sikaew, an ancient language specialist of the library acquired the manuscript on 3/09/2009.) (Th.

				นางปลีก เทพช่วย นำมามอบให้ ณ หข.นศ. เมื่อ ๒๕๕๒ (เจ้าของคือนายมี เทพช่วย พ่อสามีของนางปลีก เทพช่วย นายชัยวัฒน์ สีแก้ว นักภาษาโบราณ หข.นศ.รับไว้เมื่อ ๓ กันยายน ๒๕๕๒)
7	CM: DHC: NTIC: 16004	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Volume III pp. 404–436	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemint (Th. ไกรศรี นิมนหมินท์)

Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems*

(Th. ประชุมโคลงกวีโบราณของพระยาตรัง)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: KhSs: Ms no. 154	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	<i>Codex unicus</i>	Transferred from the Front Palace (Th. ได้มาจากพระราชวังบวร).

Kaki Kham Chan '[Tale of] Kaki in Kham Chan Meter' (Th. กากีคำจันท)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: KISs: Ms no. 1	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanzas no. 359–944	Given to the National Library by Khun Ying Pathumratchaphinitchai on 23/04/1968 (Th. คุณหญิงปทุมราชพินิจชัยมอบให้หอสมุดเมื่อ ๒๓ เมษายน ๒๕๑๑).
2	NLT: KISs: Ms no. 9	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanzas no. 19–1051	Old possession of the National Library.
3	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 58	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanzas no. 1–325	Given to the National Library by Cao Phraya Mukkhamontri (Uap Paorohit) in 1930 (Th. เจ้าพระยาภูษมนตรี (อวป เปาโรหิตย์) ให้หอฯ พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๓).

4	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 59	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Stanzas no. 1–390	Given to the National Library by Nai Thoem in 1932 (Th.นาย เทิมให้พ.ศ.๒๔๗๕).
5	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 60	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Stanzas no. 1–779	Given to the National Library by Phraya Sirithammabarirak on 28/03/1926 (Th.พระยาศิริธรรม บริรักษ์ (ทับ) ให้ ๒๘ มี.ค. ๒๔๖๙).
6	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 61	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Stanzas no. 1–436	Purchased by the National Library on 12/06/1913.
7	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 62	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Damaged Stanzas no. 4–443	Given to the National Library by Princess Phimpapsonsoi on 02/07/1917 (Th.พระองค์เจ้า หญิงพิมพัสสร้อยประทานหอสมุดฯ ๒ ก.ค. ๒๔๖๐).
8	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 63	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Stanzas no. 1–697	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวง แดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
9	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 64	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanzas no. 326–688	Given to the National Library by Cao Phraya Mukkhamontri (Uap Paorohit) in 1930 (Th.เจ้าพระยามุขมนตรี (อวบ เปา โรหิตย์) ให้หอฯ พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๓).
10	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 65	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Stanzas no. 486–875	Purchased by the National Library on 10/10/1907.
11	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 66	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanzas no. 325–688	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวง แดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
12	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 67	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanzas no. 389–776	Purchased by the National Library from Mò̃m Luang Daeng Supradit (Th.หม่อมหลวง แดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.

13	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 68	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanzas no. 533–1045 damaged	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
14	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 69	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Stanzas no. 899–994	Given to the National Library by Khun Ying Pathumratchaphinitchai on 23/04/1968 (Th.คุณหญิงปทุมราชพินิจนัยมอบให้หอสมุด ๒๓ เมษายน ๒๕๑๑).
15	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 70	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Stanzas no. 689–1057	Given to the National Library by Cao Phraya Mukkhamontri (Uap Paorohit) in 1930 (Th.เจ้าพระยาภูษมนตรี (อวป) ให้ พ.ศ.๒๔๗๓).
16	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 71	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Stanzas no. 715–1057	Given to the National Library by MR Nuankhachon Atthakamonlayabuttayanuwat on 23/12/1971 (Th.ม.ร.ว.นวลจร อรรถกมลยุดยานุวัตรให้หอสมุดฯ ๒๓ ธ.ค. ๑๔).
17	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 72	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Stanzas no. 761–832	Given to the National Library by Khun Ying Pathumratchaphinitchai on 23/04/1968 (Th.คุณหญิงปทุมราชพินิจนัยมอบให้หอสมุด ๒๓ เมษายน ๒๕๑๑).

Kap Khap Mai Phra Rot ‘[Tale of] Phra Rot in Kap Khap Mai Meter’

(Th. กายขับไม้พระรถ)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 47	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / white pencil	Fragment MTM: <i>Khlong Nirat Phra Bat</i>	Given to the National Library by Prince Wongsā, Prince Chainat on 06/02/1915 (Th. กรมหลวงวงษาฯ กรมหมื่นไชยนาถ ประทาน ๖ กุมภาพันธ์ ๒๔๕๘).
2	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 48	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete known text (printed edition)	Purchased by the National Library in 19/02/1910.

Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang ‘Didactic Poem of Phra Ruang’ (Th. โคลงประดิษฐ์พระ

ร่วง)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 202	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	<i>Codex unicus</i> (totally 54 stanzas)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet

Khlong Rachanuwat ‘Royal Conducts’ (Th. โคลงราชานุวัตร)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 202	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	<i>Codex unicus</i> (totally 128 stanzas)	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet

Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan ‘Kritsana Teaching Younger Sister in Kham Chan Meter’

(Th. กฤษณาสอนน้องคำฉันท์)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: ChSs Kò: Ms no. 73	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanza no. 1–269	Purchased by the National Library from Mòmm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th. หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.
2	NLT: ChSs Kò: Ms no. 74	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanza no. 1–276	Purchased by the National Library on 22/07/1907.
3	NLT: ChSs Kò: Ms no. 75	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanza no. 1–276	Purchased by the National Library in 1908.
4	NLT: ChSs Kò: Ms no. 76	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanza no. 1–276	Purchased by the National Library on 08/11/1909
5	NLT: ChSs Kò: Ms no. 77	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanza no. 32–254	Old possession of the National Library
6	NLT: ChSs Kò: Ms no. 78	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Stanza no. 1–269	Purchased by the National Library 12/08/1907.
7	NLT: ChSs Kò: Ms no. 79	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanza no. 1–260	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet.
8	NLT: ChSs Kò: Ms no. 86	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanza no. 59–103	Given to the National Library by the heir of Luang Darunkitwithun (Th. พยาทหลวงจรุณกิจวัชร) in 12/03/1975.
9	CM: DHC: NTIC: 08002	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Stanza no. 1–269	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemmin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเหมินท์) on 12/04/1985

Lilit Cantha Kinnòn ‘[Tale of] Candakinnara in Lilit Meter’

(Th. ลิลิตจันทกินนร)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 31	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Old possession of the National Library
2	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 32	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / yellow ink	Complete	Purchased by the National Library from Mòm Luang Daeng Supradit (Th. หม่อมหลวงแดง สุประดิษฐ์) on 1936.

Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap ‘Mother Teaching Children in Kap Meter’

(Th. แม่สอนลูกคำกาพย์)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: KISSs: Sò: Ms no. 604	Greyish <i>khòi</i> Ms / black ink	<i>Codex unicus</i>	Given to the National Library from Khun Ying Pathumratchaphinitchai (Th. คุณหญิงปทุมราชพินิจชัย ให้ ๒๓ เมษายน ๒๕๑๑) on 23/04/1968.

Phleng Yao Phayakòn Krung Si Ayutthaya ‘Prophetic Poem about the Ayutthaya Kingdom in Phleng Yao Meter’ (Th. เพลงยาวพยากรณ์กรุงศรีอยุธยา)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 20	Blackened <i>khòi</i> Ms / white pencil	<i>Codex unicus</i>	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet

Mòm Phimsen's *Phleng Yao Poems* (Th. ‘เพลงยาวหม่อมพิมเสน’)

- Poem A:** ได้เห็นพืมีจิตต์คิดสงสาร
B: สารศรีนุสรเสนาหา
C: พิสาวัดไม่กั้นขาดเสนาหา
D: ฟังสารสุจริตขนิษฐา ฯลฯ ไม่ควรการก็จะเกิดการเอย
E: คลี่สารอ่านสดุ้งฤทัยหวล
F: อนิจาตาลอยคอยหาสูญ
G: พอสมเนตรสรเนตรอนงค์สมร
H: จะก่งคอหวัรอให้คอแหบ
I: ฟังกำหนดแนใจให้ไปสถาน
J: ประมวลรักประมาณรสดีสงวน
K: อนิจาช่างไม่มีปราณีสนอง
L: โคมสุคนธ์ปนคันธเกสร
M: ผลกรรมซ้ำใจกระไรหนอ
N: สุขสารเสนาะ(สำเนา)เสนาหา ฯลฯ จะตั้งคาถาคอยสานสมานเอย
O: ขาวศรีสมบุรณ์พูลสวัสดิ์
P: ลายลักษณ์อักษรนาขาสอน
Q: ใ้อ้วครวญนวลนาฏประพาสนิท
R: อันอนุชามาทางทุรัสสถาน
S: สารโสภสุดโสภแสนถวิล
T: อนิจาช่างไม่มาปราณีสนอง
U: ออกเอ๋ยเมื่อไม่เกยหรือควรถวิล
V: โคมหอมหอมเห็นเวหาหวน
W: ขาวเขียนแข่งแฉวมลโคม
X: เสียขารักขหลงรักกระไรหนอ

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: PhLYSWs: Ms no. 1	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: O	Given to the National Library by Princess Wong Can (Th.พระองค์เจ้าวงษ์จันทร์) on 19/1/1912.
2	NLT: PhLYSWs: Ms no. 2	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: PRQ MTM: Prince Thammathibet's <i>Phleng Yao Poems</i>	Given to the National Library by Princess Wong Can (Th.พระองค์เจ้าวงษ์จันทร์) on 12/07/1916.

3	NLT: PhlYSWSSs: Ms no. 3	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: P	Old possession of the National Library.
4	NLT: PhlYSWSSs: Ms no. 4	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Collecting Poem: P	Given to the library by Cao Còm Sombun, Consort to King Rama V in 1929 (Th.เจ้าจอมสม บุญวร.๕ ถวายหอพ.ศ.๒๔๗๒).
5	NLT: PhlYSWSSs: Ms no. 5	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Collecting Poem: IHGDKEFJ	Old possession of the National Library.
6	NLT: PhlYSWSSs: Ms no. 9	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / red ink	Collecting Poem: MQ MTM: Prince Thammathib et's <i>Phleng Yao Poems</i>	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Prime Minister (Th. ได้มาจาก สำนักงานกฤษฎมนตรี)
7	NLT: PhlYSWSSs: Ms no. 11	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: P	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet
8	NLT: PhlYSWSSs: Ms no. 21	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: MPQ MTM: Prince Thammathib et's <i>Phleng Yao Poems</i>	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Prime Minister (Th. ได้มาจาก สำนักงานกฤษฎมนตรี)
9	NLT: PhlYSWSSs: Ms no. 22	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Collecting Poem: DQ MTM: Prince Thammathib et's <i>Phleng Yao Poems</i>	Given to the library by Phraya Photchana Pricha (Mòm Ratchawong Somroeng) on 28/06/1920 (Th. พระยาพจนปรีชา (ม.ร.ว.สำเริง) ถวายหอฯ ๒๘ มิถุนายน ๒๔๖๓)

10	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 24	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Collection of Phim Sen Volume IV Collecting Poem: VQSD	Purchased by the library on 17/04/1907.
11	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 28	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: K	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet
12	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 30	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: OK	Old possession of the National Library.
13	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 32	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: BA MTM: Prince Thammathib et's <i>Phleng Yao Poems</i>	Given to the National Library by Princess Wong Can (Th.พระองค์เจ้าวงษ์จันทร์) on 19/04/1912.
14	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 33	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: KN	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet
15	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 36	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: OKR	Purchased by the library on 23/09/1907
16	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 37	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: K	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet
17	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 41	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: IHGDKEFJ	Old possession of the National Library.

18	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 54	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: P	Transferred to the National Library from the Secretariat of the Cabinet
19	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 58	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: ONQ	Purchased by the library from Nai Ròt on 7/10/1921 (Th. หนังสือของนายรอด ห่อชื่อ ๗ ตุลาคม ๒๔๖๔)
20	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 66	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Collection of Phim Sen Volume I Collecting Poem: RXW	Old possession of the National Library.
21	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 68	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: DNR	Purchased by the library on 24/09/1907.
22	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 70	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Collecting Poem: J	Purchased by the library in 1908.
23	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17127	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Collection of Phim Sen Volume II Collecting Poem: TKU	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเหมินท์)

Phra Rot Kham Chan ‘[Tale of] *Phra Rot in Kham Chan Meter*’

(Th. พระรถคำฉันท์)

Version A: *Phra Rot Kham Chan I*

Version B: *Pha Rot Kham Chan II*

Version C: *Phra Rot Kham Huan*

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 11	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Version C	Purchased by the National Library in 1907.
2	NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 12	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Version A	Given to the National Library by Phra Wichianthammakhunathon (Sotthi) on 20/07/1907 (Th. พระวิเชียรธรรมคุณาธร (โตตติ) วัดโมลีโลกย์ ให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๐ (๒๐/๗/๑๙๐๗)).
3	NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 13	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Version A	Given to the National Library by Luang Thammaphimon (Thuek Chittarakathuek) on 27/02/1907 (Th. หลวงธรรมาภิรมย์ (เถ็ก จิตรกถึก) ให้พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๐ (๒๗/๒/๑๙๐๗)).
4	NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 14	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Version A	Purchased by the National Library in 1907.
5	NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 15	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Version B	Given to the National Library by Princess Phimpapsonsoi in 1917 (Th. พระองค์เจ้าหญิงพิมพ์สร้อยประทาน พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๐).
6	NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 16	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Version B	Given to the National Library by Anongkharam Monastery on 01/08/1931 (Th. ได้มาจากวัดอนงคาราม วันที่ ๑ สิงหาคม ๒๔๗๔).
7	NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 17	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms / black ink	Version B	Purchased by the National Library on 02/05/1907.

Ton Thang Farangset ‘Poetic Travelogue to France’ (Th. ต้นทางฝรั่งเสศ)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	PR: BnF: Indochinois 317	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	<i>Codex unicus</i>	Possession of the National Library of France (Paris)

Supridithammarat Chadok ‘[Tale of] Suprīti Dhammarāja Jātaka’
(Th. สุปริติธรรมราชาดก)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Writing Support / Writing Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library’s Acquisition
1	NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 138	Greyish <i>khòì</i> Ms /black ink and red ink	<i>Codex unicus</i>	Purchased by the National Library in 1907.

วัน ๕ + ๙ คำจุลศักราช ๑๑๗๖ ปีมื้อสวก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าหมื่นสิทธิอักษรบุ
ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขุนมหาสิทธิโวหารชำระตงแต่ง หลวงลิขิตรจนาทาน ๒ ครั้ง ขอเดชะฯ
ขุนหมื่นอาลักษณ์

วัน ๕+๑๕ คำจุลศักราช ๑๑๗๖ ปีมื้อจอก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าหมื่นสิทธิอักษรบุษ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขุนมหาสิทธิ
โวหารชำระตกแต่ง หลวงลิขิตรจนา / ขนหมื่นอาลักษณ์ ทาน ๒ ครั้ง ขอเดชะฯ

No	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratext
1	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 259	<p>Ceremonial Note (interlinear in Thai script, while the main text in the Siamese Grantha):</p> <p>“Infuse the sacred arrow of Palai Wat (into the water)” (Th. แทะพุดแสงปลั๊วต) (Written at the end of the stanza no. 1)</p> <p>“Infuse the sacred arrow of Phrom Mat (into the water)” (Th. แทะพุดแสงพุดหมต) (Written at the end of the stanza no. 3)</p>
2	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 262	<p>Note on editor (King Rama VI) at the beginning of the manuscript (in scribbling hand with white pencil):</p> <p>“<i>Ongkan Chang Nam</i> the Royal Version Newly Edited, having been used (in the actual ceremony) since 2457 BE (1914 CE)” (Th. โองการแข่งน้ำพระราชนิพนธ์ทรงแก้ไขเมื่อพ.ศ.๒๔๕๗ เป็นต้น)</p>

3	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 360	Ceremonial Note (written in the line of the main text between the Ang Khan signs <๑> in Grantha script) “infuse the arrow” (Th. แทงพุรแสง) (Written at the end of the stanzas no. 1–3)
4	NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 175	Preface on scribe’s name and date in 1901 “ <i>The Oath on Water for the Inner Court</i> . I, Khun Patiphan Phichit (Rian) have made copy for the king on 18th September 120 RS, the 34th year of the reign (equivalent to 1901). May it please Your Majesty.” (Th. คำโคลงแข่งน้ำฝ้ายใน ฯ ข้าราชการพุดเจ้า ขุนปฎิภาณพิจิตร (เหรียญ) จำลองพลเกล้า ฯ ถวาย วันที่ ๑๘ กันยายน รัตนโกสินทรศก ๑๒๐ ควรมิควรแล้วแต่จะทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้า ฯ ขอเดชะ)
5	BKK: DSBPhr	Ceremonial Note (written in the line of the main text between the Ang Khan signs <๑> in Thai script) “infuse the arrow” (Th. แทงพุรแสง) (Written at the end of the stanzas no. 1–3)

Maha Chat Kham Luang ‘The Royal Version of the Great Birth’

(Th. มหาชาติคำหลวง)

No	Manuscripts’ Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
<p align="center">Chapter I: Thotsa Phòn (7 Mss with paratexts)</p> <p>Common preface (found in all manuscripts of <i>Thotsa Phòn</i>):</p> <p>“According to the Royal Chronicle, in the manuscript of King Pathum Suriyawong Volume XIV, it is said in the Year of the Tiger, the fourth year of the decade, in 844 CS (1482 CE) King Trailokkanat has assembled the monks together with all the royal scholars and pandits to compose <i>the Royal Version of the Great Birth</i> (Th. <i>Maha Chat Kham Luang</i>) in all thirteen chapters, containing 1000 <i>gāthā</i> as follows:</p> <p><i>Thotsa Phòn</i> 19 <i>gāthā</i> costing two <i>tamlüing</i>; <i>Himaphan</i> 134 <i>gāthā</i> costing one <i>tamlüing</i> two <i>bat</i>; <i>Thanna Kan</i> 209 <i>gāthā</i> one <i>tamlüing</i> two <i>bat</i>; <i>Wana Prawet</i> 57 <i>gāthā</i> one <i>tamlüing</i> two <i>bat</i>; <i>Chuchok</i> 79 <i>gāthā</i> one <i>tamlüing</i> two <i>bat</i>; <i>Cunla Phon</i> 35 <i>gāthā</i> one <i>tamlüing</i> two <i>bat</i>; <i>Maha Phon</i> 80 <i>gāthā</i> one <i>tamlüing</i> three <i>bat</i>; <i>Kuman</i> 101 <i>gāthā</i> one <i>tamlüing</i> three <i>bat</i>; <i>Matsi</i> 90 <i>gāthā</i> one <i>tamlüing</i> three <i>bat</i>; <i>Sakka Bap</i> 43 <i>gāthā</i> one <i>tamlüing</i> three <i>bat</i>; <i>Maha Rat</i> 69 <i>gāthā</i> one <i>tamlüing</i> three <i>bat</i>; <i>Chò Kasat</i> 36 <i>gāthā</i> two <i>tamlüing</i>; <i>Nakhòn Kan</i> 48 <i>gāthā</i> one <i>tamlüing</i> two <i>bat</i>. [Totally one <i>chang</i>, three <i>tamlüing</i>, one <i>bat</i>]</p>		

All the thirteen chapters contain completely the one thousand *gāthā*. One tamlüŋ is given for revering the Lord Buddha. The chanter [of the text in the royal ceremony] receives one chang four tamlüŋ from the king. All three times are three chang twelve tamlüŋ in total.”

(Th. อนึ่งมีในพระราชพงษาวดาร ในเรื่องพระเจ้าปทุมสุริยวงษ์สมุค ๑๔ ว่า ในปีขาลจัตวาศก จุลศักราชได้ ๘๔๔ สมเด็จพระไตรโลกนาถให้ขุมพระสงฆ์พรพัสาศ แลนักปราชญ์ราชบัณฑิตยทั้งปวง ผูกพระมหาชาติคำหลวงเป็นพิสารทง ๑๓ กัณฑ์ มีพระคาถา ๑๐๐๐ ในนี้ ๑

๑ ทศพร ๑๕ พระคาถา ๒+ (๒ คำถึง) ๑ หิมพาน ๑๓๔ พระคาถา ๑+๒ (๑ คำถึง ๒ บาท) ๑ ทานกัณฑ์ ๒๐๕ พระคาถา ๑+๒ (๑ คำถึง ๒ บาท) ๑ วรรณประเวศ ๕๗ พระคาถา ๑+๒ (๑ คำถึง ๒ บาท) ๑ ชุชก ๗๕ พระคาถา ๑+๒ (๑ คำถึง ๒ บาท) ๑ จุลพน ๓๕ พระคาถา ๑+๒ (๑ คำถึง ๒ บาท) ๑ มหาพล ๘๐ พระคาถา ๑+๓ (๑ คำถึง ๓ บาท) ๑ กุมาร ๑๐๑ พระคาถา ๑+๓ (๑ คำถึง ๓ บาท) ๑ มัทรี ๕๐ พระคาถา ๑+๓ (๑ คำถึง ๓ บาท) ๑ สักระบรรพ ๔๓ พระคาถา ๑+๓ (๑ คำถึง ๓ บาท) ๑ มหาราชบรรพ ๖๕ พระคาถา ๑+๓ (๑ คำถึง ๓ บาท) ๑ น้อกระษัตริ ๓๖ พระคาถา ๒+ (๒ คำถึง) ๑ นครกัณฑ์ ๔๘ พระคาถา ๒+๒ (๒ คำถึง ๒ บาท) ๑ ศรี ๑๓ กัณฑ์ครบพระคาถา ๑๐๐๐ บริบูรณ์พุทธบูชา ๑+ (๑ คำถึง)
๑ ศรี นักสวดได้รับพระราชทาน ๔+ (๔ คำถึง ๑ ชั่ง) ทั้ง ๓ ครั้งเป็นเงิน ๑๒+ (๑๒ คำถึง ๓ ชั่ง) ๑)

1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 23	Chanting markers
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 34	<p>Preface dating 1889:</p> <p>“I, Khun Sara Bancong (Caem), made copy. I, Prince Sommot Amarabandhu, have proofread. This copy has been completely done on 16th August 108 RS (1889 CE) in the twenty-second year of the Reign. May it please Your Majesty.”</p> <p>(Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขุนสาราบรรจง(แจ่ม)จำลอง ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า กรมหมื่นสมมตอมรพันธุ์สอบทาน แล้วเสร็จวันที่ ๑๖ สิงหาคมรัตนโกสินทร์ศก^{๒๒} ๑๐๘ ขอเดชะ ๑)</p>
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 35	<p>Preface dating 1814</p> <p>“On Sunday, the fourth day of the waxing moon, in the eleventh month, in 1176 CS (1814 CE), I, Nai Thiankharat, has made this copy. We, Khun Maha Sitthiwohan and Luang Likhit Rotcana proofread. May it please Your Majesty (equivalent to Sunday 18th September 1814).”</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๑+^{๑๑} คำจุลศักราช ๑๑๗๖ ปี่จื่อจื่อสก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า นายเทียนราช ขุนข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขุนมหาสิทธิโวหาร/หลวงลิขิตรจนา ทาน ขอเดชะ๑)</p>
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 37	<p>Colophon dating 1857</p> <p>“Nai Sawat Phadung has finished [making this copy] in the afternoon of Friday the first waxing day of the third lunar month, 1219 CS.” (Equivalent to Friday 15th January 1858 CE)</p> <p>(Th. นายสวัสดิ์ผดุงจุลศกพระคุณสำเร็จในวัน ๖+^๑ ๓ เพลาย่ำ จุลศักราช ๑๒๑๙)</p>
5	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 38	Preface dating 1817

		<p>“On Thursday, the full moon of the tenth month 1179 CS (1817 CE), I, Mün Suwan Aksòn, made this copy. May it please Your Majesty (equivalent to Thursday 25th September 1817).”</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๕+^๕๑๐ คำจุลศักราช ๑๑๗๙ ปีนุณพศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าหมื่นสุวรรณอักษร ชูป ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขอเดชะฯ)</p>
6	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 39	Chanting marker
7	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 45	<p>Chanting marker</p> <p>Preface dating 1860</p> <p>“On Friday the eight day of the waning moon of the ninth month 2403 BE, [I] have made this complete copy of Thotsa Phon.” (Equivalent to Friday 10th August 1860) (Th. วัน ๖+^๕๙ คำพุทธศาสนากาล ๒๔๐๓ ได้ชูปทสพรบรรพคำหลวงจบบริบูรณ์ ฯ)</p>
8	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 46	<p>*On the first page of the verso side, there is an attached note written on a piece of Western paper, that:</p> <p>“On 10th August 1915, We have checked the base of the Emerald Buddha (in the Royal Grand Palace) and have brought nine manuscripts of <i>Maha Chat Kham Luang</i> to be kept by Phra Pariyattitham for the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, namely one manuscript for <i>Thotsa Phòn</i>, one for <i>Maha Rat</i>, two manuscripts for <i>Kuman</i>, one for <i>Chuchok</i>, one for <i>Matsi</i>, one for <i>Chò Kasat</i>, one for <i>Wana Prawet</i>, and one for <i>Maha Phon</i>. All of them contain the golden sigils. All these nine blackened <i>khòì</i> manuscripts in yellow ink have been given. Signed Mòm Cao Thatsana, Nai Khao the clerk, and Nai Phun the assistant.”</p> <p>(Th. วันที่ ๑๐ สิงหาคม พ.ศ. ๒๔๕๘ ขึ้นตรวจบลฐานสุขซึ่งพระแก้ว เอาหนังสือมหาชาติคำหลวงลงมา ๕ เล่ม ได้ส่งให้กับพระปรีดิธรรมรักษาไว้+สำหรับวัดพระศรีรัตนศาสดาราม+ คือ ทศพร ๑ เล่ม, มหาราช ๑ เล่ม กุมาร ๒ เล่ม ชุชก ๑ เล่ม มัทรี ๑ เล่ม จอกระษัตริย์ ๑ เล่ม วัฒนประเวศ ๑ เล่ม มหาพล ๑ เล่ม มีตราทองประจำทุกเล่ม สมุดคำตัวรง รวม ๕ เล่มได้ส่งแล้ว [ลงนาม] หม่อมเจ้าทัศน นายขาว เสมียร นายพูน ผู้ช่วยเวร)</p>
Chapter II: Himaphan (1 Ms with paratexts)		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 41	Chanting marker
Chapter III: Thanna Kan (2 Mss with paratexts)		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 43	Chanting marker
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 50	Colophon on Re-writer

		<p>“The complete chapter of <i>Thanna Kan</i> has been written by Phra Rattana Muni of Wat Ratcha Sitttharam Monastery to be presented to the king.”</p> <p>(Th. นิพนธ์พิศดารทานกัณฑ์ พระรัตนมุนี วัดราชสิทธิาราม ถวายสนองพระเดชพระคุณ จบเท่านี้)</p>
Chapter IV: Wana Prawet (2 Mss with paratexts)		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 52	<p>Chanting marker</p> <p>Additional note written with red pencil on the first page, perhaps belonging to the librarian, reads:</p> <p>“the markers added with white pencil here are symbols for practicing the melody and the utterances (of the text) for chanting”</p> <p>(Th. ที่ตกเครื่องหมายด้วยเส้นฝุ่นขาวๆนี้ เปนเม็ดหัดทำนองเสียงท่มเอกสำหรับถวายเทศ).</p>
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 56	<p>Preface dating 1814</p> <p>“On Friday the ninth day of waning moon in the eleventh month 1176 CS, I, Mün Sawatdi Aksòn has made copy and has proofread. May it please Your Majesty.” (Equivalent to Saturday 8th October 1814)</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๖+๑๑ คำจุลศักราชพันร้อยเจดสิบหกปีจอฉ้อศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าหมื่นสวัสดิ์อักษรจำลอง ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ทาน ขอเดชะ ฯ)</p>
Chapter V: Chuchok (2 Mss with paratexts)		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 63	<p>Chanting markers</p> <p>Preface dating ปีขานฉ้อศก</p> <p>“On Wednesday the fourth day of the waxing moon in the eighth month, the Year of the Tiger, the sixth year of the decade, I, Nai Ratcha San, has made copy. We, Khun Sara Prasoet and Nai Ratcha San, have proofread to be presented to the king. May it please Your Majesty.” (Possibly on Thursday? 29th June 1854) (Th. ณ วัน ๔+๘ คำ ปีขานฉศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้านายราชสารหุบทูลเกล้าฯ ถวายขอเดชะ ฯ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าขุนสารประเสริฐนายราชสารทานทูลเกล้าฯ ถวายขอเดชะ)</p> <p>MTM containing both <i>Chuchok</i> and <i>Cunla Phon</i> chapters</p>
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 67	<p>Preface dating 1888</p> <p>At the beginning of the recto side, there is a note in scribbling cursive script:</p>

		<p>“Luang Likhit Pricha has brought (the exemplar) on Friday the twelfth day of the waxing moon, the sixth month 1248 CS (14th May 1886 CE)” (Th. หลวงลิขิตปรีชาเอามาให้วัน ๖+^{๑๒} ๖ค่ำ ๑๒๔๘)</p> <p>on the next page there is another note from the same hand providing the copying date as:</p> <p>“The copy has been started on 27th July 107 RS (1888 CE).” (Th. ลงมือคัดตั้งแต่วันที่ ๒๗ กรกฎาคม ๑๐๗)</p>
Chapter VI: Cunla Phon (2 Mss with paratexts – 1 MTM)		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 63	<p>Chanting markers</p> <p>Preface dating ปีชานฉ้อศก</p> <p>“On Wednesday the fourth day of the waxing moon in the eight month, the Year of the Tiger, the sixth year of the decade, I, Nai Ratcha San, has made copy. We, Khun Sara Prasoet and Nai Ratcha San, have proofread to be presented to the king. May it please Your Majesty.” (Possibly on Thursday 29th June 1854) (Th. ณ วัน ๔+^๔ ค่ำ ปีชานฉศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้านายราชสารชุบทุลเกล้าฯ ถวายขอเดชะ ฯ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าขุนสารประเสริฐนายราชสารทานทุลเกล้าฯ ถวายขอเดชะ)</p> <p>MTM containing both <i>Chuchok</i> and <i>Cunla Phon</i> chapters</p>
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 65	<p>*Cover Title: The Royal Version of Cunla Phon, I, Khun Maha Sit, has composed for the king. May it please Your Majesty.</p> <p>(Th. จุลพนคำหลวง ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขุนมหาสิทธิแต่งทุลเกล้าฯถวายขอเดชะ ฯ)</p> <p>Preface:</p> <p>“According to the Royal Chronicle, in the manuscript of King Prathum Suriyawong, it is said that in 844 CS (1482 CE) King Trailokkanat has assembled the monks together with the royal scholars and pandits to compose the Royal Version of the Great Birth in thirteen chapters. When Ayutthaya has fallen to the Burmese, the manuscripts have been lost. The old has left for seven chapters, namely, Thotsa Phon, Wana Prawet, Chuchok, Maha Phon, Kuman, Maha Rat, and Nakhòn Kan. The other six chapters have been lost: Himaphan, Thanna Kan, Cunla Phon, Matsi, Sakka Bap, and Chò Kasat.</p> <p>In the Year of the Dog, the sixth year of the decade, 1176 CS (1814 CE), the king has revered the monks at the Royal Hall of Chakkraphat Phiman. Having had the text of <i>Maha Chat Kham Luang</i> read (aloud) to the monks, the king gave the royal order to the higher ranked monks and the royal scholars to rewrite the lost chapters of <i>Maha Chat Kham Luang</i></p>

		<p>in order that the complete thirteen chapters will be chanted in revering the Lord Buddha following the ancient royal tradition. I, Khun Maha Sitthiwohan, the Deputy of the Royal Scribes Department, have gained the royal assignment to compose the chapter of <i>Cunla Phon</i> to be completed with 35 <i>gāthā</i> for the king by following the poetic tradition. May it please Your Majesty.”</p> <p>(Th. อนึ่งมีในพระราชพงษาวดาร ในเรื่องพระเจ้าประทุมสุริวงษ์สมุค ๑๔ ว่าณะปี ขลางั้วาศก จุลศักราช ๘๔๔ สมเด็จพระไตรโลกนาถ ให้ประทุมสงฆสวาส แล นักปราชราชบัณฑิตยทั้งปวง ผูกพระมหาชชาติคำหลวงเป็นพิศฎารจบทั้ง ๑๓ กัณฑ์ ครันกรุงฯเสียดแก่พม่ามาศึก หนังสือก็สูญหายอันครทาน ของบูรณคงอยู่ ทศพร/วัน ปะเวศน/ชุษก/มหาพน/กุมาร/มหาราช/นครกัณฑ์ ๑ กัณฐูชาดเสียด หิมพานต/ ทานกัณฑ์/จุลพล/มัทธรี/ฉกบรพ/น้อกะษัตร์ ๖ กัณฯ ครันณปีจอ น้อศกจุลศักราช ๑๑๗๖ สมเด็จพระมบพิตรพระพุทธเจ้าอยู่หัวเสด็จออกณพระที่นั่งพระมหาจักรพรรดิ ทรงปฏิบัติพระสงฆ์ ครันถูกคากฤตยแล้ว มีพระราชโองการมานพระบันฑูลให้อ่าน พระมหาชชาติคำหลวงให้พระสงฆราชคณะฟัง แล้วมีพระราชโองการดำหัดเหนือเกล้าฯ สั่งว่า พระมหาชชาติที่ขาดหายไปนั้น ให้พระราชาคณะและนักปราชราช บัณฑิตย คิดคดแต่งขึ้นให้บริบูรณ์ทั้ง ๑๓ กัณฑ์ ไว้สำหรับจะได้สวดสรรเสริญบูชา พระพุทธรูณ ตามขนบบูรณราชประเพณีมาแต่ก่อน แลข้าพระพุทธเจ้าขุนมหาสิทธิ โวหารปลัดกรมอาลักษณ์ รับพระราชทานแต่งกัณฑ์จุลพน ตามกลทำนุกลิลิตโคลง พากยฉันทกาพย์ ครอบงำจบครบ ๓๕ พระคาถา ขอเดชะ ฯ)</p>
Chapter VII: Maha Phon (4 Mss with paratexts)		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 71	<p>Colophon on textual history</p> <p>Preface, reverering on Three Jewels of Buddhism, reads:</p> <p>“May I hold my hands and fingers, bowing to pay respect to the Lord Buddha, which is the Lord of all realms, to his Dhamma, which is the highly light, and to all the Sangha, who bear all the wisdom and merit.”</p> <p>(Th. ขอยอกรนบน้อม ประสารนี้วันนับพร้อม สัจจวันทา คุณพระพุทธเจ้า จอมโลกยหลักเกล้า นบทั้งพระธรรมา คือดวงประทีปแก้ว สร้งภพสว่างแล้ว เลอศล้ำนุชา อิกสงฆ์ประเสริฐแก้ว ครองมิขาท่วนแผ้ว ผ่องข้าขอนุญ)</p> <p>Side-marker, written in a stanza of <i>khlong si suphap</i>, asking readers to turn the manuscript with care:</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “Please turn to the verso side.” (Th. กลับ หน้า หนึ่ง เถิด) The whole stanza reads: “Please turn the manuscript with care, [because] it will get hurted and bruised. Please consider with heart, for it is my beloved belonging, beautiful with yellow ink.”</p>

		<p>กลับ พลิกโลกแต่ก็อช ควบคุมยอม หน้า สมุดจกเก็บบอม บอบซ้ำ หนึ่ง ท่านที่ใจจอม จงคิด เกิด พ่อของรักขล้า เล่มล้วนลายรง</p> <p>Colophon reads:</p> <p>“The manuscript of <i>Maha Phon</i> has completely ended, at the scene in which Jujaka has met Accuta the hermit, who knew all the routes (to Vessantara). In the Royal Chronicle of King Prathum Suriyawong of Angkor, in 844 CS (1482 CE), the monks and royal scholars have been assembled for composing all the thirteen chapters of <i>Maha Chat</i>. Then as reverence to the Lord Buddha, the text has been chanted with perfect continuation from the beginning to the end. All the words in the text can be contemplated for interpretation, but it is not allowed for anyone to make change of the scholars in the past. Please realize and do not criticize them. Only one word be altered, the meaning has then been distorted. The words of the ancient scholars should be revered as the teachers’, thus should not be distorted. This text (of <i>Maha Chat Kham Luang</i>) has been used for all the kings and has been chanted three times for the royal ceremony in the raining season. The chanting is most difficult and has been practiced following the tradition of the days of the old capital. The great kings of Ayutthaya have also given money to the chanters who chanted each chapter (of <i>Maha Chat Kham Luang</i>) to him. The chanting has been conducted in the Hall of Sanphet, and the king always attended and listened to the chanted <i>Jātaka</i>. When it ends, the king would give money to the chanter, totally three <i>chang</i> and twelve <i>tamliing</i>. All the chanters would be glad and then celebrate the royal glory of the king as the divinely King. This (chanted) text has been named <i>Kham Luang</i> (the royal version) as it has been initiated by the king, while the recital by the common folk is called <i>o e wihan rai</i> (literally ‘the recital [beside] the monastic hall’). Please realize this fact as it has been written here. May the scholars who possess wisdom read this ancient text called <i>Kham Luang</i>.”</p> <table><tr><td>(Th. ๑ จบเสร็จสำเร็จหรือ</td><td>มหาพน</td></tr><tr><td>เช่นชาติพืชน</td><td>คดคู่</td></tr><tr><td>สามารถอาจเอาตน</td><td>ตามติด ต่อณา</td></tr><tr><td>ถึงพระอรุณจตุรรู้</td><td>รอบถ้อยแถลงทาง</td></tr><tr><td>๒ หนึ่งมีในราชเจ้า</td><td>ษาวดาร</td></tr><tr><td>อะตีกาลนับนาน</td><td>เน่อนแล้ว</td></tr><tr><td>ครั้งพระปิ่นปทุมมาลย์</td><td>นครวัด</td></tr><tr><td>บรมราชเรืองแผ้ว</td><td>ผ่องพันเพยบุญ</td></tr></table>	(Th. ๑ จบเสร็จสำเร็จหรือ	มหาพน	เช่นชาติพืชน	คดคู่	สามารถอาจเอาตน	ตามติด ต่อณา	ถึงพระอรุณจตุรรู้	รอบถ้อยแถลงทาง	๒ หนึ่งมีในราชเจ้า	ษาวดาร	อะตีกาลนับนาน	เน่อนแล้ว	ครั้งพระปิ่นปทุมมาลย์	นครวัด	บรมราชเรืองแผ้ว	ผ่องพันเพยบุญ
(Th. ๑ จบเสร็จสำเร็จหรือ	มหาพน																	
เช่นชาติพืชน	คดคู่																	
สามารถอาจเอาตน	ตามติด ต่อณา																	
ถึงพระอรุณจตุรรู้	รอบถ้อยแถลงทาง																	
๒ หนึ่งมีในราชเจ้า	ษาวดาร																	
อะตีกาลนับนาน	เน่อนแล้ว																	
ครั้งพระปิ่นปทุมมาลย์	นครวัด																	
บรมราชเรืองแผ้ว	ผ่องพันเพยบุญ																	

		<p>๓ ปีขาลจั่ววาศก กระจานับบรปีก สี่สิบสี่สังวัจนะรัก หุมพระสงฆ์ใหญ่่น้อย ๔ นักปราชญ์บัณฑิตด้วย ผูกพระชาคกบรพ์ พิชฎารสิบสามกัณฑ์ ประกอบศัพทเสร็จแล้ว ๕ บุษามลิตุณด้วย ตั้งแรกแต่กะทำ บทหนึ่งประโคนคำ ปะชาดอักษรสร้อย ๖ อักษรระคะณะได้ ยิ่งคิดยิ่งจนแกลง ไครอย่าอาจอย่าอาจแปลง รู้ตื่นรู้คงไว้ ๗ สรบทหนึ่งพึงเปลี่ยนได้ ความคิดคิดความแคว ของท่านย่อมพรแปร ครอบนบควนิกไหว ๘ เรื่องราวเยี่ยงอย่างนี้ สำรับกรัษตรา เฉพาะสวดพระเวีย อย่างขอดขอดยากไซ้ ๙ ครั้งกรุงศรีอยุธยาเจ้า อนาคตเจ้าเดชะ ทรงพระเมตตาเอย โปรดพระทานนักสวดได้ ๑๐ ตั้งสวดอาวาสไว้ สวดนัคนึงท่านเสด็จ ทรงฟังจบจนเสร็จ มีพระศรัทธาตั้ง ๑๑ เป็นเงินสามชั่งไซ้ นักสวดท่านทูลพ้อง นบจิตรเจตนาปอง เฉลิมพรยศจอมหล้า ๑๒ มีนามว่าไว้พระ แรกเรียกตามกระทวาง ที่ตื่นคำสติปวง ขงอ่อนแออ่านอ้าง</p>	<p>จุฬศักระ แปดร้อย ราวเรื่อง นับหนึ่งแน่นโรง คับกัน เลอศแก้ว เกนทวนจบนา ผ่องไว้เป็นเฉลิม เงินคำ ทวนถ้อย คำหนึ่งนับนา เสดสิ้นเกลากลอน คับแกลง เคลือบไคล คำทาน เพราะนา อย่าได้ติเตียน แปลกแปล ขวักไขว้ เปรยวปรุปร้องนา ท่านไว้เป็นครู มีมา ทุกไท้ สามนัด สืบเหยียงพระนคร จอมเจวย ท่านไท้ สุธม္มสิริเสนา รับเชรื่องถวาทักข สรรเพชญ์ ทุกครั้ง ชาดกเรื่องนา ตอบต้องเงินตรา สิบสอง เพียบหน้า ปูนปั้นเกล้า เลอศล้ำกรุงสวรรค์ คำหลวง กระษัตริย์ ปองเรียกอิงนา โอเอฬัฬาราย</p>
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		<p>๑๓ จงทราบกระจ่างแจ้ง จริงมา ในอักษรเลขา จิตไว้ ขอปราศุญท่านปัญญา ขลออ่านเรื่องเอย ตามแบบโบราณไชร สืบเหยียงคำหลวง)</p> <p>Then the lamenting poems begin. Though this piece of poetry has been written with the same hand as in the main text, but in a rather smaller size of letter. Perhaps this part has been written sometime later than the main text.</p>
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 76	Colophon on textual history (identical to Ms no. 71)
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 82	<p>Chanting marker</p> <p>Colophon (in <i>khlong</i>): “This manuscript of Maha Phon in yellow ink has been made copied by Khru Phacong. [The one]... would be inspired to seek for it. The one who just starts learning and reads it would be in pain.”</p> <p>(Th. มหาวรรพเล่มล้วน ลายรง คือนบับครูพอง จรดไว้ ขอมพิศวง แสงพ้อ ใครรักเรียนแรกไชรี้ แสบสิ้นเสียงครวญ ฯ)</p>
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 83	Chanting marker
Chapter VIII: Kuman (5 Mss with paratexts)		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 84	<p>Preface dating 1817</p> <p>“On Saturday the fourteenth day of the waxing moon, the twelfth month, the Year of the Ox, the ninth year of the decade, I, Nai Thiankharat, has made copy for the king. May it please Your Majesty.” (Equivalent to Saturday 15th November 1817) (Th. วัน ๙+“๑๒ค่ำปีฉลูนพศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า นายเทียนราชรูป ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ทานขอเดชะฯ)</p>
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 88	Chanting marker
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 90	Chanting marker
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 91	<p>Preface on scribe’s name</p> <p>“I, Nai Ròt, who is Nai Wen, has made copy.” (Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า นาย รอดนายเวนจำลอง ฯ)</p>
5	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 93	<p>Preface dating 1814</p> <p>“On Monday the fourteenth day of the waxing moon of the tenth month, 1176 CS, I, Mūn Bancong Aksòn, has made copy. I, Khun Maha</p>

		<p>Sitthiwohan and Luang Likhit Rotchana, have made copy. May it please Your Majesty.” (Equivalent to Monday 29th October 1814)</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๒+^๔๑๐ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๗๖ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าหมื่นบันจงอักษรรูป ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าขุนมหาสิทธิโวหาร/หลวงลิขิตรจนานาน ขอเดชะฯ)</p>
Chapter IX: Matsi (1 Ms with paratext)		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 102	Chanting marker
Chapter X: Sakka Bap (None with paratext)		
Chapter XI: Maha Rat (7 Mss with paratexts)		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 104	<p>Preface dating 1814</p> <p>“On Thursday, the tenth day of the waxing moon, in the ninth month, in 1176 CS (1814 CE), the Year of the Dog, the sixth year of the decade (most possibly equivalent to Wednesday 27th July 1814), I, Mūn Sitthi Aksòṇ, has made a copy. I, Khun Maha Sitthiwohan, did the editing. Luang Likhit Rotcana and the other royal scribes holding the titles of <i>khun</i> and <i>mūn</i> have proofread. May it please Your Majesty.”</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๕+^๐๕ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๗๖ ปีมะแมออก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าหมื่นสิทธิอักษรรูป ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขุนมหาสิทธิโวหารชำระตกแต่ง หลวงลิขิตรจนานาน/ขุนหมื่นอาลักษณ์ ทาน ๒ ครั้ง ขอเดชะฯ)</p>
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 106	<p>Preface dating 1814</p> <p>“On Sunday, the fourth day of the waxing moon in the eleventh month of 1176 CS, the Year of the Dog, the sixth year of the decade (equivalent to Sunday 18th September 1814), I, Khun Phitak Aksòṇ, made this copy. We, Khun Maha Sitthiwohan and Luang Likhit Rotcana, have proofread it. May it please Your Majesty.”</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๑+^๔๑๑ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๗๖ ปีมะแมออก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าขุนพิทักษ์อักษรรูป ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขุนมหาสิทธิโวหาร หลวงลิขิตรจนานาน ขอเดชะฯ)</p>
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 107	<p>Preface dating 1830</p> <p>“...in the Year of the Tiger, the second year of the decade (possibly 1830 CE), I, Khun Wicit Bancong, has made copy. We.... for the king. May it please Your Majesty.”</p>

		(Th. ...ปีขาลโทศก ข้าพระพุทฺธิเจ้าขุนวิจิตรบันจงจำลอง ข้าพระ.....ทูลกระหม่อมถวายขอเดชะ)
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 108	<p>Preface dating 1830</p> <p>“On Wednesday the eleventh day of the waning moon of the seventh month, I ... Sathit has made copy. We, Luang Phiphit Wohan, Luang Likhit Pricha, Khun Sara Bancong, have proofread for the king. May it please Your Majesty.” (Equivalent to Friday 16th June 1830)</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๔+๑๑(๗)ค่ำ จุลศักราช ๑๑๘๒ ปีขานโทศก ข้า.....สถิตยจำลอง ข้าพระพุทฺธิเจ้า หลวงพิพิตโวหาร/หลวงลิขิตปรีชา/ขุนยาราบ้นจง ทานทูลเกล้าทูลกระหม่อมถวายขอเดชะฯ)</p>
5	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 110	Chanting marker
6	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 112	Chanting marker
7	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 114	<p>Preface mentionng 1886</p> <p>“Luang Likhit Pricha has brought (the exemplar) on Friday the twelfth day of the waxing moon, the sixth month 1248 CS (14th May 1886 CE)”</p> <p>(Th. หลวงลิขิตปรีชาเอามาให้วัน ๖+๑๒ ๖ค่ำ ๑๒๔๘)</p>
Chapter XII: Chò Kasat (3 Mss with paratexts)		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 119	<p>Preface on scribe’s name possibly dating 1818</p> <p>“On Monday the full moon day of the tenth month (most possibly on Monday 14th September 1818), I, Mün Thep Maitri, has completely made this copy. May it please Your Majesty.”</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๒+๑๐ ค่ำ ข้าพระพุทฺธิเจ้าหมื่นเทพไม้ตรีชุบ แล้วสำฤทธิบริบูรณ์ ขอเดชะ ฯ)</p>
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 121	<p>Chanting marker</p> <p>MTM containing two chapters: <i>Chò Kasat</i> (complete) and <i>Nakhòn Kan</i> (Volume I)</p>
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 128	<p>Chanting marker</p> <p>MTM containing two chapters: <i>Chò Kasat</i> (complete) and <i>Nakhòn Kan</i> (Volume I)</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">Chapter XIII: Nakhòn Kan (4 Mss with paratexts – 2 MTM)</p>		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 121	<p>Chanting marker</p> <p>MTM: containing two chapters: <i>Chò Kasat</i> (complete) and <i>Nakhòn Kan</i> (Volume I)</p>
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 125	<p>Preface dating 1814</p> <p>“On Thursday the tenth day of the waxing moon in the ninth month, 1176 CS, I, Nai Chamnan Aksòn, have made copy. We, Khun Maha Sitthiwohan and Luang Likhit Rotcana, have proofread. May it please Your Majesty.” (Equivalent to Wednesday 27th July 1814)</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๕+๐๐ ๕ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๗๖ ปีกจว้นอก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า นายชำนาญอักษรรูป ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขุนมหาสิทธิโวหาร/หลวงลิขิตรจนา ทาน ขอเดชะ ฯ)</p>
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 128	<p>Chanting marker</p> <p>MTM containing two chapters: <i>Chò Kasat</i> (complete) and <i>Nakhòn Kan</i> (Volume I)</p>
4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 136	<p>Chanting marker</p> <p>Preface dating 1809</p> <p>“The manuscript of the thirteenth chapter has completely ended. This manuscript has been finished writing on Saturday the tenth day of the waning moon, the second eighth month 1171 CS (1809 CE) the Year of the Snake, the first year of the decade.” (Equivalent to Saturday 5th August 1809)</p> <p>(Th. สมุด ๑๓ บริบูรณ์ ๑ หนังสุมุทนีเขียนแล้ววัน ๑+๐๘ พฤศจิกายน จุลศักราช พันร้อยเจ็ดสิบแปดปีมีเสงเอกศก)</p>

Yuan Phai ‘Defeat of the Yuan (Lan Na)’ (Th. ขวนฟ่าย)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 188	Glosses
2	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 191	Glosses
3	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 195	Glosses
4	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 196	Glosses (extended)
5	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 199	Glosses
6	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 200	Glosses
7	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 204	Colophon dating 1838 “1200 CS (1838 CE) the Year of the Rooster, the tenth year of the decade.” (Th. จุฬะศักราช ๑๒๐๐ ปีระกาสำเรทธิศก)
8	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 210	Colophon dating 1857 (or also possibly 1859) “It has been finished writing on Tuesday the sixth day of the eighth month in the Year of the Goat 1219 CS (1857 CE)” (Th. เขียนแล้ววัน ๓+๘ ปีมะแม จุลศักราช ๑๒๑๕) (Possibly on Wednesday 20 th July 1859= The Year of the Goat or Sunday 12 th July 1857 = the Year of the Snake)
9	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 212	Glosses (extensive)

Lilit Phra Lò ‘[Tale of] King Lò in Lilit Meter’ (Th. ลิลิตพระลอ)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 101	Preface dating 1844 “On Wednesday the third day of the waxing moon of the second eighth month, the Year of the Dragon, the sixth year of the decade at 11 o’clock in the time of Buppha Nimit” (Wednesday 17 th July 1844) (Th. วัน ๔๓ ๘ ค่ำ ปีมโรงศกเพลา ๑๑ ทุ่มบพณิมิต)
2	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 104	Colophon dating 1860 “It has been finished writing on Tuesday the thirteenth day of the waxing moon of the ninth month, the Year of the Monkey, the second year of the decade, 2403 BE, <i>Gaṅgarattanalikhitaṃ</i> (‘Ganga Rattana has written’) at Wat Bunnatharam Monastery.” (Tuesday 31 st July 1860) (Th. เขียนจบวันอังคาร เดือนเก้าขึ้นสิบสามค่ำ)

		ป๊วอกโทสก พระพุทศักราชลั้วแล้วสองพันสี่ร้อยสามพระวษา คงกระตณ ลิกขิตัง ฅวคคณนธาราม ฯ)
3	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 105	<p>Preface (versified)</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “Phra Lo Volume I” (Th. พระ ลอ สมุด หนึ่ง)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “Praising on the beauty of Phra Lo as the lighting moon of the sky, this manuscript of Phra Lo has been written by a scholar who said these words of <i>khlong</i>.”</p> <p>(Th. พระ เกรียดยอชท้าว ภาโณม ลอ เล็ลลยล้าพโยม ล่องฟ้า สมุด ลิลิตประโลม โลกเรื่อง พระลอ หนึ่ง ปราชญ์แต่งกลอนกล้า กล่าวกเลียงโคลงธรร)</p>
4	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 108	<p>Preface on King Rama V</p> <p>“His Majesty King Chulalongkorn saw that the poems that the scholars in the past had composed were very difficult to trace in the manuscripts and thus there are hardly any readers for them. For this text of <i>khlong</i> (<i>Lilit Phra Lò</i>) there are not many manuscripts. Readers will find some benefits (from reading) and find it to be adequate. If one reads the <i>khlong</i> on the official ceremony as on the royal possession, one will know more on the old and new royal tradition. Correspondingly, if one reads a text on royal chronicle such as <i>Lilit Taleng Phai</i>, one will gain thorough knowledge on history and royal tradition. And if one would like to know the use of initial consonants, final consonants and the tonal markers (in poems), one might have to read the treatise, but many people would be too lazy to read. Thus, if the text is a <i>khlong</i> poem, then the reader will find suspense in the tale and want to read it further. After many times, one shall remember the text by heart, visually and aurally. For example, the one who knows (the text by heart) will not write the tonal marker <i>mai tho</i> in the false place. In addition, the text can also be read with joy and without any irritation. Hence, the King has assigned Prince Aksònsan Sophon to produce this manuscript or volume (of <i>Lilit Phra Lò</i>) into a small size (printed) book to be portable in pockets or in chests of betel or cloth for travelling by boats. Even for a long journey, it will not be difficult to transport or unload, as it has been printed out in order to be conveniently carried.”</p> <p>(Th. ๑ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ทรงพระราชดำริว่าโคลงต่าง ๆ ที่นักปราชญ์แต่งก่อนเรียบเรียงไว้นั้น ผู้ซึ่งจะหาอ่านมีน้อยนัก ฉบับก็ไม่มี</p>

		<p>มากในเรื่องโคลงนี้ ก็ทำให้ผู้อ่านมีประโยชน์ได้บ้าง ไม่เป็นการชั่วร้ายทีเดียว เพราะถ้าอ่านโคลงที่เป็นเรื่องราวการ เหมือนหนึ่งกระบวนกฐินเป็นต้น ก็อาจให้รู้ธรรมเนียมราชการเก่าแก่ใหม่ ซึ่งจะมีต่อไปเช่นนั้นบ้าง อีกประการหนึ่ง ถ้าเป็นเรื่องพระราชพงษาวดาร เหมือนลิลิตเตล่งพ่าย ก็จะมีเรื่องพระราชพงษาวดาร แลราชประเพณีโดยละเอียด แลทำให้วิชาหนังสือที่จะให้อักษร แลอักษรสกค แลเอกโทชอบในที่ควรจะใช้ แต่ถ้าจะว่าตำราที่เรียนก็มีอยู่ ทำไมจึงจะต้องมาอ่านโคลงจึงรู้แล้วว่าตำราที่มีนั้นผู้อ่านมักจะเกียจคร้านไม่ชวนอ่าน ถ้าเป็นคำโคลงแล้วผู้อ่าน ก็อยากทราบเรื่องแลฟังกลอนเมื่ออ่านไปพบหลายๆหน ก็คิดตาขึ้นใจ เหมือนหนึ่งบางคนเขียนว่า (ต้อง) ดังนี้เมื่อดูกันน่าจะเขียนลงด้วยผลอกถ้าผู้รู้โคลงแล้ว จะไม่ใคร่เขียนเลยเพราะคำนี้เป็นที่โท คงจะต้องเขียนลงว่า (ต้อง) เสมอไม่พลั้ง อนึ่งก็เป็นที่น่าพอใจให้เพลินในที่ๆไม่มีการ แลเป็นที่รำคาญจึงโปรดเกล้าฯ ให้พระเจ้าราชวรวงษ์เธอ กรมหมื่นอักษรสาสนโสภณ ทำสมุดเล่มนี้เป็นเล่มเล็กๆเพื่อจะให้คิดไปในเป้าเสื้อ ฤทธิษผ้าฝิบหมากเพื่อไปในทางเรือ ฤทธิษที่ไปนานๆก็ไม่เป็นการลำบากที่จะขวนจะรื้อด้วยเป็นของเลกๆตีพิมพ์ไว้เพื่อให้ ผู้อ่านได้ถืออ่านตามสบาย)</p>
5	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 134	<p>Colophon on scribe's name</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “Mòm Plaek has made the copy for the king/the prince” (Th. มอมแปลกเขียนถวาย)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “Mòm Plaek has finely made this copy with all the letters. But without mastery, it can be errors in orthography. With my honour, it is aimed to be presented to the king/the prince.”</p> <p>(Th. มอม แปลกจำลองลักษณ์ล่อ เลิศแล้ว แปลก เปลี่ยนอักษรระแควแล้ว ตกต้อง เขียน บ่ชำนาญหมักคอง ตกไม้ เอ็กโท ถวาย ตามคิสมักชล่อง พูลเกล้าฯถวาย ๑)</p>
6	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 139	Common colophon and then additional colophon in rai meter
7	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 140	<p>Colophon on scribe's name</p> <p>“I, Nai Dit, has made copy for the king. May it please Your Majesty.”</p> <p>(Th. ๑ข้าฯ นายดิยจำลองพูลเกล้าฯ ๑ ถวายขอเดชะ ๑)</p>
8	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 169	<p>Colophon on ownership</p> <p>“This is the end of my manuscript. Please do not take it away. If anyone wants to take it for viewing, he must tell me beforehand.”</p> <p>(Th. ปลายสมุดของข้าพเจ้าใครอย่าเอาไป ถ้าผู้ใดจะต้องประสงค์เอาไปดู ก็ต้องบอกกับข้าพเจ้าก่อน)</p>

9	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17077	<p>Colophon on editor and scribe (หลวงขรรค์วิจิตรและนายถก)</p> <p>Colophon reads:</p> <p>“(The manuscripts of) <i>Lilit Phra Lò</i> could not be found after the fall of the capital (of Ayutthay), until twelve years later, (after the fall, thus 1779 CE), when Luang Sòrawichit helped us obtain the text. As the old manuscripts have been lost and left in fragments with many errors, the text on the scene in which Phra Lò said farewell to his mother has therefore been interpolated (by Luang Sòrawichit). Luang Sòrawichit was a great scholar. If any other wise scholar finds any errors, please help correct it. Nai Thok did the copywork in the second eighth month on Thursday of the waxing moon in the Year of the Dog (possibly in 1790)”</p> <p>(Th. พระลอเลิศดลัม กรุงลับ แล้วแฮ สืบเชื้อสายหาบับ ไปได้ สิบสองสังวษรนับ นารพัง พบเอย ขรรค์วิจิตรช่วยให้ สืบเชื้อสายหาบับ ฉบับบูรพาจารย์ รุขรหาย อักษรวิปลาศสลาย สลัด้อย ขาดบทพระลอผาย จรจากแม่นา เดิมแต่งตามสดน้อย แทรกซ้ำสามไป หลวงขรรค์วิจิตร เมธา ปราชญ์ใช้ปราชญ์ศึกษา เริ่มรู้ ...พระลอกดา กลายกลาศ ก็ดี เชิญปราชญ์ปรีชา แต่งแต่งเติมงาม นายถกลิจิตแล้ว รวิวาร อติกมาเสกาล เสร็จเหือง พระหัตถ์มีวาร สุขปาก สุนัขสังวษรหนึ่ง เสร็จแล้วบริบูรณ์)</p>
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Kap Maha Chat ‘Poem of the Great Birth’ (Th. กาพย์มหาชาติ)

No.	Manuscripts’ Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts and Sets of Copy
<i>Chapter IV: Wana Prawet</i>		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 160	<p>Preface dating 1782/83 and scribe’s names</p> <p>“On Wednesday the third day of the waning moon of the third month 1144 CS, the Year of the Tiger, the fourth year of the decade. I, Phra Alak (‘Lord of the Royal Scribes’), has composed</p>

		<p>the text for the king. I, Nai Chamnan Aksòn, have made copy.” (Wednesday 19th February 1783)</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๔+๓ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๔๔ ปีชวดจัตวาศก ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้าพระอลักษณ์แต่ง ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้านายชำนาญอักษรเขียน ฯ)</p>
Chapter VIII: Kuman		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 196	<p>Preface dating 1782 and scribe’s names</p> <p>“On Thursday the fourth day of the waning moon of the seventh month 1144 CS, the Year of the Tiger, the fourth year of the decade. I, Nai Chamnan Aksòn, have made copy.” (Thursday 30th May 1782) (Th. วัน ๕+๗ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๔๔ ปีชวดจัตวาศก ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า นายชำนาญอักษรเขียน)</p>
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 199	<p>Preface dating 1782 and scribe’s names</p> <p>“On Thursday, the fourth day of the waning moon in the seventh month 1144 CS (1782 CE), the Year of the Tiger, the fourth year of the decade (equivalent to Thursday 30th May 1782).”</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๕+๗ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๔๔ ปีชวดจัตวาศก ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า นายชำนาญอักษรเขียน)</p>
Chapter IX: Matsi		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 195	<p>Preface dating 1782 and scribe’s names</p> <p>“On Sunday the seventh day of the waxing moon the eighth month 1144 CS, the Year of the Tiger, the fourth year of the decade.” (Sunday 16th June 1782)</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๑+๘ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๔๔ ปีชวดจัตวาศก ฯ)</p>
Chapter X: Sakka Bap		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 204	<p>Preface dating 1782 and scribe’s names/author</p> <p>“On Sunday the eighth day of the waning moon of the tenth month 1144 CS, I, Phra Alak (‘Lord of the Royal Scribes’), has composed the text for the king. We, Nai Chamnan Aksòn and Mūn Thip Maitri, have made copy.” (Sunday 29th September 1782)</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๑+๑๐ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๔๔ ปีชวดจัตวาศก ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้าพระอลักษณ์แต่ง หลวงเกล้า ฯ ถวาย ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า นายชำนาญอักษร/หมื่นทิพไมตรีเขียน ฯ)</p>

<i>Chapter XI: Maha Rat</i>		
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 210	<p>Preface dating 1782 and scribe's names/author</p> <p>“On Tuesday the first day of the waning moon of the eleventh month 1144 CS, I, Phra Alak (‘Lord of the Royal Scribes’), has composed the text for the king. We, Nai Chamnan Aksòn, Mün Phimon, and Mün Thip Maitri, have made copy for the king.” (Tuesday 22nd October 1782)</p> <p>(Th. วัน๓+๑๑ จำจุลศักราช ๑๑๔๔ ปีขาลจัตวาศก ฯ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า พระอาลักแต่ง/ นายชำนาญอักษร/หมื่นพิมล/หมื่นทิพไมตรี เขียน ทูลเกล้าฯถวาย ฯ)</p>

Khlong Nirat Hariphunchai ‘Poetic Travelogue to Hariphunchai’

(Th. โคลงนิราศหริภุญไชย)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: KhINRSs: Ms no. 402	Glosses
2	NLT: KhINRSs: Ms no. 405	Glosses

Samutthakhot Kham Chan ‘[Tale of] Samutthakhot in Kham Chan Meter’ (Th.

สมุทรโฆษคำฉันท์)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratext
1	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 2	<p>Notes on author and part:</p> <p>“The composition of Maha Rat”</p> <p>(Th. มหาราชนิพนธ์)</p>
2	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 7	<p>Notes on author and part:</p> <p>“The composition of Maha Rat” (Th. มหาราชนิพนธ์)</p> <p>Colophon (versified) marking the end of the text (Common):</p> <p>“The text ends when Witthayathòn has met with Phra Samutthakhot and lamented to him about his lost lover, while the lady (wife of Witthayathòn) enjoyed happiness with her new lover.”</p> <p>(Th. จบจนวิทธยาธรลี้ม สวณสมุทร โฆษแฮ กำสรดโศกาสุด สวดีใหม่ หาสมรนิราอุตม์ เสมอชีพ ส่วนพริษฐ์ได้ แนบพู้ชวนเกษม)</p>

3	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 8	<p>Colophon (versified) marking the end of the text (Common):</p> <p>“The text ends when Witthayathòn has met with Phra Samutthakhot and lamented to him about his lost lover, while the lady (wife of Witthayathòn) enjoyed happiness with her new lover.”</p> <p>(Th. จบจนวิทธยารลัม สวณสมุทร โฆษแฮ กำศรดโสกาศุด สวาคิใหม่ หาสมรณิราอุตม์ เสมอชีพ ส่วนพฐฐู้ได้ เนบฐู้ชวนเกษม)</p>
4	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 10	<p>Preface on title (versified)</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “Phra Samutthakhot” (Th. พระสมุทฺธโฆษ)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads:</p> <p>“The king (referring to Samutthakhot) holds his incomparable honour, his mastery in archery, and his power in the battle against his enemies. All fear his power in tremble.”</p> <p>(Th. พระ เพรงยศยิ่งหล้า ภาไกร สะ มรรถรงสิลปป์ไชย เชื้อวแท้ มูทร ฤทธิรบรอนไท อริราช โฆษ ทักถั่วเดชเม้ สั่นเกล้าแสงโรม ๑)</p>
5	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 16	<p>Notes on author and part:</p> <p>“The composition of Maha Rat”</p> <p>(Th. มหาราชนิพนธ์)</p>
6	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 17	<p>Colophon on scribe’s name (<i>Krathu</i>)</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “Nai Rüang has made copy.”</p> <p>(Th. นาย เรือง จำ ลอง)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads:</p> <p>“The scribe (of this manuscript) is newly trained. His name is Rüang (literally ‘light, glory’) but he is not as glorious as his name suggests. After having been trained for a while, I have tried my hand (in copying). If anyone finds any errors, please erase it write in (the correct version).”</p> <p>(Th. นาย เสมียนสมิทรเม้ มือหัด เขียนเฮย เรือง บ่เรืองชาซัด ชื่ออ้าง จำ นานจำเนียรนัศว แนวนนตร ส่องพ่อ ลอง หัดเหนผิดมล้าง เลอกฤ์รอนเจียร)</p>

7	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 19	<p>Notes on author and part (at the beginning of Part II)</p> <p>“Royal Composition of King Narai”(Th. พระราชนิพนธ์สมเด็จพระนารายณ์มหาราช)</p> <p>Colophon (versified) marking the end of the text (Common):</p> <p>“The text ends when Witthayathòn has met with Phra Samutthakhot and lamented to him about his lost lover, while the lady (wife of Witthayathòn) enjoyed happiness with her new lover.”</p> <p>(Th. จบจนวิทธยาธรลัม สวนสมุทร โผยแฮ กำสรดโศกาสุคต สวาคิใหม่ หาสมรนิราอุตม์ เสมอชีพ ถ้วนพฐฐู้ได้ แนบฐู้ชวนเกษม)</p>
8	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 22	<p>Preface on scribe's name</p> <p>“I, Nai Ket, has made copy for the king. May it please Your Majesty.”</p> <p>(Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า นายเกษ จ้างลองทูลเกล้า ฯ(๑) ถวายขอเดชะ ฯ)</p>
9	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 23	<p>Preface on scribe's name</p> <p>“I, Nai Ket, has made copy for the king. May it please Your Majesty.”</p> <p>(Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า นายเกษ จ้างลองทูลเกล้า ฯ(๑) ถวายขอเดชะ ฯ)</p>
10	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 24	<p>Preface on scribe's name</p> <p>“I, Nai Ket, has made copy for the king. May it please Your Majesty.”</p> <p>(Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า นายเกษ จ้างลองทูลเกล้า ฯ(๑) ถวายขอเดชะ ฯ)</p>
11	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 26	<p>Preface on scribe's name</p> <p>“I, Nai Ket, has made copy for the king. May it please Your Majesty.”</p> <p>(Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า นายเกษ จ้างลองทูลเกล้า ฯ(๑) ถวายขอเดชะ ฯ)</p> <p>Notes on author and part:</p> <p>“The composition of Maha Rat”</p> <p>(Th. มหาราชนิพนธ์)</p>

		<p>Colophon (versified) marking the end of the text (Common):</p> <p>“The text ends when Witthayathòn has met with Phra Samutthakhot and lamented to him about his lost lover, while the lady (wife of Witthayathòn) enjoyed happiness with her new lover.”</p> <p>(Th. จบจนวิทธยารลัม สวนสมุทร โฆษแฮ กำสรดโสกาสุค สวาดิใหม่ หาสมรนิราอุตม์ เสมอชีพ ส่วนพฐฐู้ได้ แบนฐู้ชวนเกษม)</p>
12	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 28	<p>Notes on author and part:</p> <p>“The composition of Maha Rat” (Th. มหาราชนิพนธ์)</p> <p>Colophon (versified) marking the end of the text (Common):</p> <p>“The text ends when Witthayathòn has met with Phra Samutthakhot and lamented to him about his lost lover, while the lady (wife of Witthayathòn) enjoyed happiness with her new lover.”</p> <p>(Th. จบจนวิทธยารลัม สวนสมุทร โฆษแฮ กำสรดโสกาสุค สวาดิใหม่ หาสมรนิราอุตม์ เสมอชีพ ส่วนพฐฐู้ได้ แบนฐู้ชวนเกษม)</p>
13	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 30	<p>Notes on author and part:</p> <p>“The composition of Maha Rat” (Th. มหาราชนิพนธ์)</p> <p>Colophon (versified) marking the end of the text (Common):</p> <p>“The text ends when Witthayathòn has met with Phra Samutthakhot and lamented to him about his lost lover, while the lady (wife of Witthayathòn) enjoyed happiness with her new lover.”</p> <p>(Th. จบจนวิทธยารลัม สวนสมุทร โฆษแฮ กำสรดโสกาสุค สวาดิใหม่ หาสมรนิราอุตม์ เสมอชีพ ส่วนพฐฐู้ได้ แบนฐู้ชวนเกษม)</p>
14	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 31	<p>Preface on scribe’s name: “I, Khun Ratcha Sat, has made copy for the king. May it please Your Majesty.”</p> <p>(Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขุนราชสาตรจำลองทูลเกล้าฯ ถวาย ขอเดชะ ฯ)</p>

15	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/1	<p>Notes on author and part:</p> <p>“The composition of Maha Rat” (Th. มหาราชนิพนธ์)</p> <p>Colophon (versified) marking the end of the text (Common):</p> <p>“The text ends when Witthayathòn has met with Phra Samutthakhot and lamented to him about his lost lover, while the lady (wife of Witthayathòn) enjoyed happiness with her new lover.”</p> <p>(Th. จบจนวิทธยาธรลั่ม สวณสมุทร โฆษแฮ กำสรดโศกาสุค สวาคิใหม่ หาสมรณิราอุตม์ เสมอชีพ ถ่วนพฐฐู้ได้ แนบฐูชนเกษม)</p>
16	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/2	<p>Preface on scribe’s name and date in 1817</p> <p>“I, Khun Aksòn Sarawat, have made this copy of Samutthakhot Volume IV for the king on Tuesday the seventh day of the waxing moon of the ninth month 1179 CS the Year of the Ox, the ninth year of the decade.” (Tuesday 19th August 1817)</p> <p>(Th. ข้าพทฐิเจ้า พุนอักษรรยาวัดจำลองสมุทรโฆษเล่ม ๔ พุทธเกล้าฯ ถวาย แล้ว ณ วัน ๓+๕ค่ำ จุลศักราช ๑๑๗๙ ปีฉลูนพศก)</p>
17	NLT: ChSs: Sò: PLMs no. 2	<p>Notes on author and part:</p> <p>“The composition of Maha Rat” (Th. มหาราชนิพนธ์)</p>
18	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17066	<p>Preface (versified) on scribe’s name (Si Phuripricha):</p> <p>“Phra Si Phuri (Pricha), the royal servant, realizes the mercy of the king in every moment in his heart, never forgets in days and nights, has presented this copy of Samutthakhot to the king, so that his joy can be flourished (when reading).”</p> <p>(Th. พระศรีภูริข้า บาทบง คิดพระคุณจิตรจง จ่อเกล้า คั่นวันบ่อละหลง ลืมเลือนหาขนา สนองเรื่องสมุทรโฆษเฝ้า บาทพินสุขเกษม)</p> <p>Colophon (versified) marking the end of the text (Common):</p> <p>“The text ends when Witthayathòn has met with Phra Samutthakhot and lamented to him about his lost lover, while</p>

		<p>the lady (wife of Witthayathòn) enjoyed happiness with her new lover.”</p> <p>(Th. จบจนวิทธยาธรลัม สวณสมุทร โฆษเษ กำสรดโสกาสุค สวาลิใหม่ หาสมรณิราอุตม์ เสมอชีพ ส่วนพฐฐู้ได้ แนนฐฐวนเกษม)</p>
19	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17069	<p>Preface on scribe's name (Nai Pan) and dating 1849 CE</p> <p>“On Sunday the tenth day of the waxing moon of the fourth month 1210 CS the Year of the Monkey the tenth year of the decade. I, Nai Pan, have made this copy of <i>Samutthakhhot</i> Volume I for the king.” (Sunday 18th March 1849)</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๑+° ๔ คำจุลศักราช ๑๒๑๐ ปีวอกสำเรจรัชค ๑ พระสมุทโฆษ เล่ม ๑ ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้านายปานชุบทูลเกล้าฯ ถวาย ๑)</p>
20	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17070 (1)	<p>Preface on scribe's name (Nai Pan) and dating 1849 CE</p> <p>“On Tuesday the fourth day of the waxing moon of the fifth month 1211 CS the Year of the Roaster, the first year of the decade. I, Nai Pan, have made this copy of <i>Samutthakhhot</i> Volume II for the king.” (Tuesday 27th March 1849)</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๓+° ๕ คำจุลศักราช ๑๒๑๑ ปีระกาเอกศก ๑ สมุทโฆษเล่ม ๒ ข้า พระพุทธิเจ้านายปานชุบทูลเกล้าฯ ถวาย ๑)</p>
21	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17070 (2)	<p>Preface on scribe's name (Nai Pan) and dating 1849 CE</p> <p>“On Wednesday the fourth day of the waning moon of the fifth month 1211 CS the Year of the Rooster, the first year of the decade. I, Nai Pan, have made this copy of <i>Samutthakhhot</i> Volume IV for the king.” (Wednesday 11th April 1849)</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๔+° ๕ คำจุลศักราช ๑๒๑๑ ปีระกาเอกศก ๑ พระสมุทโฆษเล่ม ๔ ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้านายปานชุบทูลเกล้าฯ ถวาย ๑)</p>
22	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17177	<p>Preface on scribe's name (Nai Pan) and dating 1849 CE</p> <p>“On Friday the fourteenth day of the waxing moon of the fifth month 1211 CS the Year of the Rooster, the first year of the decade. I, Nai Pan, have made this copy of <i>Samutthakhhot</i> Volume III for the king.” (Friday 6th April 1849)</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๖+° ๕ คำจุลศักราช ๑๒๑๑ ปีระกาเอกศก ๑ สมุทโฆษเล่ม ๓ ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้านายปานชุบทูลเกล้าฯ ถวาย ๑)</p>

The Collection of Didactic Poems (Th. ประชุมโคลงสุภาษิต)

Text I: *Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng ‘Phali Teaching his Brother’* (Th. โคลงพาลีสอนน้อง)

Text II: *Khlong Thotsarot Sòn Phra Ram ‘Thotsarot Teaching Rama’*
(Th. โคลงทศรดสอนพระราม)

Text III: *Khlong Ratchasawat ‘Royal Glory’* (Th. โคลงราชสวัสดิ์)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 202	<p>Preface on the original composition of King Bòrommakot</p> <p>Colophon on the scribes' names</p> <p>The preface reads:</p> <p>“1189 CS (properly 1089 CS / 1727 CE) the Year of the Goat, the ninth year of the decade on Wednesday the eleventh day of the sixth month, the king has ... the Buddha image of Wat Pa Mok Temple. 1116 CS (1754 CE) the Year of the Monkey the sixth year of the decade on Saturday the twelfth day of the waning moon of the second month the king has composed the text of <i>Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat</i>. On Wednesday the second day of the waning moon of the fourth month at nine o'clock in the morning the king has composed <i>Khlong Phali Sòn Nòng</i> containing 32 stanzas. On Friday the fifth day of the waxing moon of the fifth month on three o'clock in the morning the king has composed <i>Khlong Thotsarot Sòn Phra Ram</i> in twelve stanzas. On Tuesday the seventh day of the waning moon of the fourth month at four o'clock in the morning the king has composed <i>Khlong Ratcha Sawat</i> in 64 stanzas. On Saturday the fifth day of the waxing moon of the fourth month at three o'clock in the morning the king has composed <i>Khlong Rachanuwat</i> in 128 stanzas. On Sunday the twelfth day of the waning moon of the fourth month at three o'clock the king has composed <i>Pradit Phra Ruang</i> in 55 stanzas.”</p> <p>(Th. ศักราช ๑๑๘๙ ปีมะแมนพศกฉวน ๔+๖ คำแปลพระพุทฺธไสยาสน์ ป่าโมก ๑ ศักราช ๑๑๑๖ (พ.ศ. ๒๒๕๑) แผ่นดินพระเจ้าบรมโกศ) ปาวอกข้อศก ฉวัน ๑+๒๒ คำแรกทรงแทรกทรงแปลงพระราชนิพนธ์โคลงพุทธไสยาสน์ป่าโมก วัน ๔+๔ คำเพลงข้าวโมงหนึ่ง ทรงพระราชนิพนธ์โคลงพาลีสอนน้อง ๓๒ บท ฉวัน ๖+๕ คำเพลงข้าว๑ โมง ทรงเรื่องท้าวทศรดสอนพระราม ๑๒ บท ฉวัน ๑+๔ คำเพลงข้าว๔ โมง ทรงเรื่องราชสวัสดิ์ ๖๔ บท ฉวัน ๑+๔ คำเพลงเช้า ๑ โมง ทรงเรื่องราชานุวรรต ๕ โมง เขาได้ ๑๒๘ บท ฉวัน ๑+๔ คำเพลงเช้า ๑ โมง ทรงเรื่องประดิษพระร่วง ๕๕ บท ๑)</p>

		<p>Furthermore, between each text there is a note on the title:</p> <p>“This is the end of <i>Rachanuwat</i> the Royal Composition containing 128 stanzas. Then begins the Royal Composition of <i>Pradit Phra Ruang</i>.”</p> <p>(Th. จบพระราชนิพนธ์โคลง เรื่องราชานุวรรตเป็น ๑๒๘ บท ๑ ตั้งพระราชนิพนธ์โคลง เรื่องประดิศพระร่วงสืบไปฯ ๑)</p> <p>“This is the end of <i>Phali Sòn Nong</i> the Royal Composition containing 32 stanzas. Then begins the Royal Composition of <i>Thotsarot Sòn Phra Ram</i>.”</p> <p>(Th. “จบพระราชนิพนธ์โคลง เรื่องพาลีสอนน้องเป็น ๓๒ บท ๑ ตั้งพระราชนิพนธ์โคลง เรื่องท้าวทศรดสอนพระรามสืบไป ๑”)</p> <p>“This is the end of <i>Pradit Phra Ruang</i> the Royal Composition containing 55 stanzas.”</p> <p>(Th. จบพระราชนิพนธ์โคลง เรื่องประดิศพระร่วงเป็น ๕๕ บท ๑)</p> <p>The colophon reads:</p> <p>“We, MÜN Thip Maitri and MÜN Thép Krawi, have made this copy containing 362 stanzas. MÜN Thipkewi and MÜN Ratcha Wathi have proofread.” (Th. ข้าฯ หมื่นเทพไมตรี หมื่นเทพกรวิ ชูบในพระสมุทนีเป็น ๓๖๒ บท หมื่นทิบเกวี่ หมื่นราชวาที ทาร ๒ ครั้ง)</p>
2	NLT: KhI SPSS: Ms no. 141	<p>Scribal note marking the end of the texts and titles inserted throughout the manuscript:</p> <p>“The end of <i>Rachanuwat</i> (actually known as <i>Rachasawat</i>)”</p> <p>(Th. ราชานุวัทจบแล้ว ๑)</p>

Süa Kho Kham Chan ‘[Tale of] the Tiger and the Cow in Kham Chan Meter’
(Th. เสือโคคำฉันท์)

Common Colophon A:

Krathu reads: “The end.” (Th. จบ บ ริ บูรณ)

The whole stanza reads: “The text ends at the Lord Khawi has reunited with his lover in his city with all the joy of his counselors and his subjects, who keep blessing him.”

. (Th จบ จนจอมนารถให้ คำวิ
บ พิตรเสวอยบุรีย์ ร่วมน้อง
ริ พลหม่อมมนตรี ชมชื่น จิตรแฮ
บูรณ บำเรารักษ์ช่อง แซ่ไห้วถววยพร)

Common Colophon B:

“(The text of) both the tiger and the cow, casted to be human by the hermit’s spell and then becoming the lords of the cities, has been said (composed) by Phra Bòromma Khru (literally ‘the great sage/teacher’) as a celebration.”

(Th. เสือโคไปฎกให้ ทั้งสอง
สิทธิฤทัยสมพอง เสกแสง
เลอองคแลกรงปอง เปนปิ่น เมืองนา
พระบรมครูแกลัง กล่าวไว้เปนเฉลิม)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 91	Preface on scribe’s name (royal) “I, MÜN Wichian Aksòn, have made copy for the king. May it please Your Majesty.” (Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า หมื่นวิเชียรอักษรชุบทูลเกล้าฯ ถววย ขอเดชะฯ)
2	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 92	Preface on scribe’s name (royal) “I, MÜN Si Sara, have made copy for the king. May it please Your Majesty.” (Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าหมื่นศรีสาราชุบทูลเกล้าฯ ถววย ขอเดชะฯ)
3	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 94	Common colophon AB (versified)
4	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 96	Colophon Common Colophon B (adapted) informing on Prince Paramanuchit as editor: “(The text of) both the tiger and the cow, casted to be human by the hermit’s spell and then becoming the lords of the cities,

		<p>has been said (composed, possibly ‘edited’ here) by Prince Chinorot (referring to Prince Paramanuchit) as a celebration.”</p> <p>(Th. เสือโคโปฏกให้ ทั้งสอง สิทธิญาสมพอง เสกสร้าง เลอองค์แลกรุปอง เป็นปิ่นเมืองนา วรชินโรสแกลิ่ง กล่าวไว้เป็นเฉลิม)</p> <p>Followed by Common Colophon A: <i>Krathu</i> reads: “The end.” (Th. จบ บ ริ นุรณ)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “The text ends at the Lord Khawi has reunited with his lover in his city with all the joy of his counselors and his subjects, who keep blessing him.”</p> <p>(Th. จบ จนจอมนารถให้ คาวิ บ พิตรเสวยบุรี ร่วมน้อง รี พลหม่อมมนตรี ชมชื่นจิตรนา นุรณ บำเรอรักรัษช้อง แซ่ให้ไว้ถวายพร)</p>
5	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 98	Common colophon AB (versified)
6	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 100	Common colophon AB (versified)
7	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 102	Common colophon AB (versified)
8	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 104	Common colophon AB (versified)
9	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 106	<p>Scribal note (versified) asking for forgiveness on errors (at the beginning of the verso):</p> <p>“In this manuscript, any writing error can occur, as the words and meaning of Pali are always difficult (for me). In these two volumes I have completely copied the orthography of the tale of the tiger and the cow with yellow ink.”</p> <p>(Th. ลิขิตผิดตกแต่้ม ตามบท แล้วพ่อ อัยฐพาคะมกธ แคะแค้น ในสองเล่มจบจด แจงเอก โทนอ โปฏกสองหุบเสริน สฤษฏีด้วยหรรดาล)</p> <p>Common colophon AB (versified) and an additional unique stanza (at the end of the manuscript):</p> <p>“Phra Bòromma Khru (the great sage/teacher) has composed the text of <i>Yuan Phai</i> and then <i>Süa Khu</i> (referring to <i>Süa Kho</i>) as his last work. I would like to be his pupil by studying his work. May my wish come true in the future.”</p>

		<p>(Th. บรมครูแต่งถ้อย คำขวัญ ผ้ายแห ระจิตรเสือกุสุณฐ์ สุดท้าย ขอเปนศิษย์สืบสวน สารกล่าว กลอนนา ในอะนาโน้นค้าย พบเทอญ)</p> <p>The name of the poetic meter, possibly only for the last stanza, has been then marked as “Kap Makara Khati” (Th. ภาพมกรคติ ๑)</p>
10	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 108	Common colophon AB (versified)
11	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 109	Common colophon AB (versified)
12	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 111	<p>Colophon asking for forgiveness on errors (versified / at the end)</p> <p>Common colophon AB (versified) and then two additional unique stanzas:</p> <p>“Phra Bòromma Khru (the great sage/teacher) has composed the text of <i>Yuan Phai</i> and then <i>Süa Khu</i> (referring to <i>Süa Kho</i>) as his last work. I would like to be his pupil by studying his work. May my wish come true in the future.”</p> <p>(Th. บรมครูแต่งถ้อย คำขวัญ ผ้ายแห ระจิตรเสือกุสุณฐ์ สุดท้าย ขอเปนศิษย์สืบสวน สารกล่าว กลอนนา ในอะนาโน้นค้าย พบเทอญ)</p> <p>“In this manuscript, any writing error can occur, as the words and meaning of Pali are always difficult (for me). In these two volumes I have completely copied the orthography of the tale of the tiger and the cow with yellow ink.”</p> <p>(Th. ลิขิตผิดตกแต่้ม ตามบท แล้วพ่อ อัยฐพาคยะมกฐ์ แคะแค้น ในสองเล่มจบจด แจงเอก โทนอ ไปถูกสองหุบเสร้าน สฤษฏีด้วยหรรดาล)</p> <p>Note that these two additional stanzas of colophon are identical to what appears in the manuscript NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 106, but placed in different order.</p>
13	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 115	Common colophon AB (versified)
14	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 117	<p>Common colophon AB (versified), followed by an additional unique stanza:</p> <p>“The text of <i>Süa Kho</i> is a very old text, which has always been copied with many errors. I admire the old works and fear they</p>

		<p>will be lost. [Thus, I made copy, as] no one would be able to restore it again.”</p> <p>(Th. เสือ โคไปภูนี้ นมนาน ลอกกันมกัการ พลาดพลั้ง รักแต่พจนบูรณ จักเสื่อมเสีย ผู้ที่จะซ่อมครั้ง ใหม่นี้ฤาเหิน ฯ)</p>
15	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 120	<p>Preface on text (versified)</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “The first volume of <i>Süa Kho</i>” (Th. สมุท ต้น เสือ โค)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “This is the Volume I of the text, in which the hermit has named the tiger Bahala and the cow Khawi. Both gratify the hermit.”</p> <p>(Th. สมุท หนึ่งแดงไวเเปน ประถม ต้น ฤศรีสม มุติชื่อ เสือ คฤาพหลราช กษตร โค คาวีไยเชื้อ สองถอยแทนคุณ)</p>
16	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 124	<p>Unique colophon in two <i>khlong</i> stanzas (Versified):</p> <p>(<i>Krathu</i> of both stanzas reads: “The end of <i>Süa Kho</i>” (Th. เสือ โค จบ แล้ว))</p> <p>“The tiger, the son of the dead tiger, and the cow, the son of his beloved dead [mother]. Their story has been written in kham chan as in this text, which should be taken as the master/teacher to be remembered.”</p> <p>(Th. เสือ สุนทรพชัยเมื่อ เถิงกรม (กรรม) โค บุคสุดชีวัน วายวอด จบ ทำมคำจันนัน ครีกรูฐนี้พ่อ แล้ว กิดเอาตัวรอด ชีพไวจาวร)</p> <p>“The tiger never lets his prey living in peace. Whenever the cows grow larger, the tiger will always want to have them. The text [in this manuscript] ends when the tigress has been killed, and her son and his friend (the cow) has developed their friendship along the way ever since.”</p> <p>(Th. เสือ หอร (ห่อน) ละเนื้อโห พัวงพี โค ครันใหญ่มันมี ปองผลาร จบ จวนพชัย ผลาญชีพเสียหน้า แล้ว บุตรสัตยสองส้า มีคภาพ (มิตรภาพ) ตามผลู)</p>

17	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 126	<p>Preface on text (versified)</p> <p>“The text of <i>Süa Kho</i> is very difficult, but has been made copy for the lord (possibly for the monastery), as the text is full with complicated orthography. But with this difficult tale, the different orthography from ko ka to koei has been infused and hidden in the recital sound.”</p> <p>(Th. เสือโคโอ้ยากแท้ ทำว่า กกาหาก่นล้ำ ฤกล้ำ วาไปในนี้ยาก ขอยยาก จึงพ่อ จบเลขเลขเสกล้ำ สอดซ่อนสำเนียง)</p>
18	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 127	Common colophon AB (versified)
19	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 129	Common colophon AB (versified)
20	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 130	Common colophon AB (versified)
21	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 133	Common colophon AB (versified)
22	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 134	Common colophon AB (versified)
23	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 135	Common colophon AB (versified)
24	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 139	Different prologue starting with the reverencing words
25	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 140/1	<p>Side-marker:</p> <p>“The beginning of the recto side of <i>Süa Kho</i> Volume I, produced to honor our religion”</p> <p>(Th. นาคันสมุดเสือโคเล่ม ๑ ทรงพระสาขะน้ำ)</p>
26	NLT: ChSs: Sò: PLMs no. 4	<p>Colophon on difficulty in reading chan in the text (versified)</p> <p>“This <i>Süa Kho</i> (as copied in the manuscript) can be read comprehensively. But in some place it can be very difficult to understand. Especially the part in the meter called Totaka chan is very difficult to read and difficult to listen to and precisely get the meaning of each word.”</p> <p>(Th. เสือโคกออ่านได้ โดยความ ปางแห่งก็ยากขาม ฤกล้ำ โคฏกฉันทังนนานาม อ่านยากอยู่ณพ่อ ยากที่จะฟังทำ เพียงแท้เองคำ)</p>
27	BKK: SS: Ròi kròng: 1-8	Common colophon A (versified)
28	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17036	Common colophon AB (versified)

Phra Horathibòdi's *Cindamani* 'Jewel of Thought' (Th. จินตามณีของพระโหราธิบดี)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 4	<p>Preface of <i>Chabap Yai Bòribun</i> (in <i>khlong</i>)</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “The recto page of the manuscript of <i>Cindamani</i>” (Th. หน้าต้น สมุด จินดา มณี)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “This is the recto page of <i>Cindamani</i>, which I have made copy. The manuscript books we have many like toys are a pile of jewels, which the sages have placed for the students to learn.”</p> <p>(Th. หน้าต้น เราแต่งตั้ง จำลอง หนังสือ มีมากของ เล่นใช้ จินดา ดังแก้วกอง มูนมั่ง มากนา มณี ปราศสูญวางไว้เพื่อให้ศิษเรียน)</p> <p>“I begin this writing with industriousness so that the people may be well-read. I write by following the old versions of <i>Cindamani</i> in order to pass it on to the virtuous students from respectable families when beginning to read and write”</p> <p>(Th. เราสรีรวิรังข้อ อักษรา เขียนเพื่อให้ชนมา ครอบรู้ เขียนตามเรื่องจินดา ฉบับเก่าท่านเฮย ไว้สืบกุลบุตรผู้ เริ่มได้อ่านเขียน)</p>
2	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 6	<p>Preface mentioning Nai Pan as the scribe</p> <p>“This manuscript of <i>Cindamani</i>, I, Nai Pan, have copied for the king.” (Th. สมุด จินตามณีนี้ ข้าพสุทธิเจ้านายปานหุบทูลเกล้าฯ ถวาย)</p>
3	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 11	<p>Preface dating 1829 (Thursday 28th May 1829)</p> <p>“In the Year of the Ox, the eleventh day of the waning moon of the sixth month, on Thursday three o'clock in the morning, the manuscript of <i>Cindamani Phadet Wuttothai</i> has been completely copied.”</p> <p>(Th. ในปีฉลูเดือนหกแรมสิบเบ็ดค่ำวันพฤหัสบดีเพลาสามโมงเช้า พระสัจจจินตามณี เสด็จจุทโศ จบบริบูรณ์)</p>
4	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 22	<p>Preface mentioning scribe's name (Khun Nimit Aksòn)</p> <p>“This <i>Cindamani</i>, I, Khun Nimit Aksòn, have made copy for the king.”</p> <p>(Th. จินตามณีฉบับนี้ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าขุนนิมิตอักษร หุบทูลเกล้าฯ ถวาย)</p>

5	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 26	<p>Preface making a wish for <i>nibbāna</i> /merit of copying</p> <p>“This is the end. I have produced this manuscript as an act of alms-giving. I wish I will reach <i>nibbāna</i> in the future.”</p> <p>(Th. จบละฯ ข้าพเจ้าสร้างไว้เพื่อจะให้เป้นทานขอให้สำเร็จแก่พระประนี พาน ในกาลเบื้องนำโน้นเถิดฯ)</p>
6	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 27	<p>Colophon in prose mentioning scribes’ names inserted to the last recto page (Nai mit and Nai Khung)</p> <p>“This manuscript of <i>Cindamani</i>, Nai Mit Mūan has made copy on the recto page, while the verso page written by Khun Khong and Nun the novice.”</p> <p>(Th. หนังสือจินดามุนีนี้ นายมิสเหมือนเขียนหน้าคั่น หน้าปลายคั่นลงกับ สำมะเนนุนฯ)</p>
7	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 31	<p>Preface dating 1848</p> <p>“In the Year of the Monkey, the tenth year of the decade.”</p> <p>(most possibly 1848) (Th. ปีวอกสาธุทิศก)</p>
8	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 34	<p>Colophon in <i>khlong</i> mentioning Phraya Thibet as an editor</p> <p>“This (recension of) <i>Cindamani</i> was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Phraya Thibet, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students”.</p> <p>(Th. จินดามุนีนี้ นามพญา ธิเบศราชสมขยา เสด็จให้ ฉลองลักษณ์เทียบทานมา สามฉบับ แล้วพ่อ เลือกแต่ส่วนควรไว้ สืบสั่งศิษย์สอน)</p>
9	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 35	<p>Colophon/Note inserted in the later part mentioning Prince Parama as an editor</p> <p>“This (manuscript of) <i>Cindamani</i> was recompiled and modified by Prince Paramanuchit. (When dealing with old manuscripts,) they (sages and teachers in the past) put the lexicon (Th. <i>nammasap</i>) at the beginning and then wrote words of reverence in the following part. If anyone prefers the text as found in the old manuscripts, then they should have the lexicon part appear at the beginning and add the words of reverence afterwards, as I have indicated here”.</p>

		(Th. จินดามุนีนี้นี้ ฉบับสมเด็จพระบรมนาถ ประดิษฐ์ดัดแปลงแต่งต่อใหม่ ท่านเอานาม สรืบท่างไว้เนะเบื้องต้น แม้ว่าบทกลผู้ใดชอบใจอย่างฉบับเดิม ก็พึงลิกจิตเขียนนามสรืบท่างนี้ก่อน แล้วจึงย้อนไปเขียนนมัสการต่อฝ่ายหลัง ดังเราบอกไว้เนะเถิด ฯ)
10	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 37	Colophon in <i>khlong</i> mentioning Maha Cai Phak as an editor “This (recension of) <i>Cindamani</i> , was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Maha Cai Phak, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students.” (Th. จินดามุนีนี้นี้ นายมหา ใจภักกราชสมยา เสด็จให้ ฉลองลักษณ์เทียบทานมา สามฉบับ แล้วพ่อ เลือกแต่ล้วนควรไว้ สืบสร้างศิษย์สอน)
11	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 43	Preface of <i>Chabap Yai Bòribun</i> (in <i>khlong</i>) Krathu reads: “The recto page of the manuscript of <i>Cindamani</i> ” (Th. หน้าต้น สมุด จินดา มุณี) The whole stanza reads: “This is the recto page of <i>Cindamani</i> , which I have made copy. The manuscript books we have many like toys are a pile of jewels, which the sages have placed for the students to learn.” (Th. หน้าต้น เราแต่งตั้ง จำลอง หนังสือ มีมากของ เล่นใช้ จินดา ดังแก้วกอง มุนมั่ง มากนา มุณี ปราชญ์วางไว้ เพื่อให้ศิษย์เรียน) “I begin this writing with industriousness so that the people may be well-read. I write by following the old versions of <i>Cindamani</i> in order to pass it on to the virtuous students from respectable families when beginning to read and write” (Th. เราสรวีร่างข้อ อักษรา เพียรเพื่อให้ชนมา รอบรู้ เขียนตามเรื่องจินดา ฉบับเก่าท่านเฮย ไว้สืบกุลบุตรผู้ เริ่มได้อ่านเขียน)

12	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 46	<p>Preface on author (Phra Horathibòdi)</p> <p>“Phra Horathibòdi, who formerly lived in the city of Sukhothai, composed this <i>Cindamani</i> to be presented to King Narai while he ruled over the city of Lopburi.”</p> <p>(Th. จินตามุนีนี้ พระโหราธิบดี เดิมอยู่เมืองสุโขทัย แต่งถวายแต่ครั้งสมเด็จพระนารายณ์เจ้าอนุบุรี)</p>
13	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 48	<p>Preface mentioning Maha Nòi and Nen Khian</p> <p>“The recto page of <i>Cindamani</i>. Maha Nòi has made copied to Khian the novice.”</p> <p>(Th. นำต้น จินตามุนี มหาน้อยเขียนให้กับเนรเขียน แล)</p>
14	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 49	<p>Preface on author (Phra Horathibòdi)</p> <p>“Phra Horathibòdi, who formerly lived in the city of Sukhothai, composed this <i>Cindamani</i> to be presented to King Narai while he ruled over the city of Lopburi.”</p> <p>(Th. จินตามุนีนี้ พระโหราธิบดี เดิมอยู่เมืองสุโขทัย แต่งถวายแต่ครั้งสมเด็จพระนารายณ์เจ้าอนุบุรี)</p>
15	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 50	<p>Colophon in <i>khlong</i> mentioning Maha Cai Phak as an editor, and then mentioning Khun Suwan as the scribe</p> <p>“This (manuscript of) <i>Cindamani</i>, has been revised by the royally appointed Maha Cai Phak. Khun Suwan of the Royal Scribes Department, who possesses fine penmanship, completed this copy in ten days”</p> <p>(Th. จินตามุนีนี้ นายมหา ใจภักกราชสมยา เสดให้ ขุนสุวรรณกรมอา ถักษณเลศ ลายมือ ชูปเสร็จสิบวันได้ ตกแต่งตามเดิม ฯ)</p>
16	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 52	<p>Colophon in <i>khlong</i> mentioning Phraya Thibet as an editor</p> <p>“This (recension of) <i>Cindamani</i> was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Phraya Thibet, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students”.</p> <p>(Th. จินตามุนีนี้ นามพญา ธิเบศราชสมยา เสดให้</p>

		ฉลองลักษณเทียบทานมา สามฉบับ แล้วพ่อ เลือกแต่ส่วนควรไว้ สืบสร้างศิษย์สอน)
17	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 53	Colophon in <i>khlong</i> mentioning Maha Cai Phak as an editor (despite its content following Phraya Thibet's recension) “This (recension of) <i>Cindamani</i> , was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Maha Cai Phak, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students.” (Th. จินดามุนีสนี้ นายมหา ใจภักกราชสมยา เสดให้ ฉลองลักษณเทียบทานมา สามฉบับ แล้วพ่อ เลือกแต่ส่วนควรไว้ สืบสร้างศิษย์สอน)
18	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 54	Colophon in <i>khlong</i> mentioning Maha Cai Phak as an editor “This (recension of) <i>Cindamani</i> , was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Maha Cai Phak, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students.” (Th. จินดามุนีสนี้ นายมหา ใจภักกราชสมยา เสดให้ ฉลองลักษณเทียบทานมา สามฉบับ แล้วพ่อ เลือกแต่ส่วนควรไว้ สืบสร้างศิษย์สอน)
19	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 60	Preface dating 1782 mentioning Khun Mahasit as an editor “1144 CS the Year of the Tiger, the fourth year of the decade, I, Khun Maha Sit, did the editing. We, Mün Thip Maitri and Mün Thep Maitri, made copy. We proofread for three times.” (Th. วัน คำ จุลศักราช ๑๑๔๔ ปีชวดจัตวาศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าขุนมหาสิทธิ ชำระ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าหมื่นทิพ/เทพ ไม่ตรีชูป ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ... ทาน ๓ ครั้ง ๑)
20	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 62	Colophon mentioning Nai Muang as the scribe who made copy from the royal manuscript “This <i>Cindamani</i> , I, Nai Muang, have made copy from the exemplar of the royal copy and have already proofread.” (Th. จินดามุนีนี้ ข้าพเจ้านายมั่งจำลองจากฉบับหลวงทานแล้ว ๑)

21	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 64	<p>Preface mentioning Maha Bun as an owner; Colophon dating 1911</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “The manuscript of <i>Cindamani</i>” (Th. สมุด ฉบับจินดา มุนี)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “This blackened paper manuscript owned by Maha Bun is the old treatise called <i>Cindamani</i>. The thought (Th. <i>cinda</i>), which, unlike the sea, is too deep to be evaluated, has been created by the sages to be further transmitted.”</p> <p>(Th. สมุด คำเล่มนี้ ของมหา บุญเฮย ฉบับแบบเบารามา ชื่ออ้างจินดา ดังดั่งสา กรหยัง ถึงฤา มุนี นึกตรึกสร้าง สืบไว้ไปนเฉลิม)</p> <p>“The manuscript has been started copying on Sunday, the fifth day of the waning moon in the eighth month and has been finished copying on Tuesday, the thirteenth day of the waxing moon in the tenth month in the Year of the Pig, the third year of the decade 1273 CS, equivalent to 15th July 130 RS (1911 CE).”</p> <p>(Th. เขียนณ ๗๕๘ คำจบวัน ๓๕ ขึ้น ๑๓ ๑๐ ถ้าปีฤกษ์ตรีศกจุลศักราช ๑๒๗๓ ตรงกับวันที่ ๑๕ กรกฎาคม ๕ กันยายน ร.ศ.๑๓๐)</p>
22	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 65	<p>Colophon in <i>khlong</i> mentioning Maha Cai Phak as an editor</p> <p>“This (recension of) <i>Cindamani</i>, was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Maha Cai Phak, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students.”</p> <p>(Th. จินดามุนีสนี้ นายมหา ใจภักกราชสมยา เสด็จให้ฉลองลักษณ์เทียบทานมา สามฉบับ แล้วพ่อเลือกแต่ส่วนควรไว้ สืบสร้างศิษย์สอน)</p>
23	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 68	<p>Preface dating 1844–1847</p> <p>“Let the glory be. In 2387 BE (1844 CS) the sixth year of the decade, the Year of the Dragon, the eleventh month, the fifth day of the waxing moon, on Thursday (equivalent to Wednesday 16th October 1844).”</p> <p>(Th. ศุภมัสดุ ๒๓๘๗ ฉศกนาคสังวัชรกติมาศกขบักปัญจยติดิถีรวาระ)</p>

		<p>*The side-marker at the end of the verso reads: "บถักปไปงขนาย ลาปจ้านคฺยอเขอว่านฉั้นจ้อพนคฺฯ" (Encoded in Rüsi Plaeng San code)</p> <p>Decoded text reads: "Please turn to the verso side. Please do not make complaints on me (and my writing)." (Th."ถักปไปงขน นายลาปจ้านคฺยอเขอว่านฉั้นจ้อพนคฺฯ")</p> <p>Colophon reads: "This manuscript has been dfinished writing on Thursday the sixth day of the waning moon of the tenth month, the Year of the Goat, the ninth year of the decade 1209 CS (1847 CE/ 2390 BE) (equivalent to Thursday 30th September 1847)"</p> <p>(Th. หนังสือ เขียนจบวัน ๕๔ (แรม) ๖ ๑๐ ค่ำปีมะแม้นักสัตตนพะศกฯ จุ ลศักราช ๑๒๐๕)</p>
24	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 73	<p>Colophon in <i>khlong</i> mentioning Maha Cai Phak as an editor (despite its content following Phraya Thibet's recension)</p> <p>"This (recension of) <i>Cindamani</i>, was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Maha Cai Phak, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students."</p> <p>(Th. จินดามุนีสนี้ นายมหา ใจภักกราชสมยา เสดให้ ฉลองลักษณ์เทียบทานมา สามฉบับ แล้วพ่อ เลือกแต่ส่วนควรไว้ สืบสร้างศิษย์สอน)</p>
25	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 76	<p>Preface dating 1893</p> <p>"On 19th June 112 RS (1893 CE)"</p> <p>วันที่ ๑๙ มิถุนายนรัตนโกสินทร์ศก๑๑๒</p> <p>Colophon in <i>khlong</i> mentioning Maha Cai Phak as an editor</p> <p>"This (recension of) <i>Cindamani</i>, was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Maha Cai Phak, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students."</p> <p>(Th. จินดามุนีสนี้ นายมหา ใจภักกราชสมยา เสดให้ ฉลองลักษณ์เทียบทานมา สามฉบับ แล้วพ่อ เลือกแต่ส่วนควรไว้ สืบสร้างศิษย์สอน)</p>

26	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 77	<p>Colophon in <i>khlong</i> mentioning Maha Cai Phak as an editor</p> <p>“This (recension of) <i>Cindamani</i>, was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Maha Cai Phak, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students.”</p> <p>(Th. จินดามุณีนี นามมหา ใจภักทรายสมยา เสกให้ ฉลองลักษณะเทียบทานมา สามฉบับ แล้วพ่อ เลือกแต่ส่วนควรไว้ สืบสร้างศิษย์สอน)</p>
27	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 81	<p>Preface mentioning Phra Sami Òn as an editor and date in 1832, making a wish for <i>nibbāna</i> /merit of copying</p> <p>“Phra Sami Òn has written this <i>Wuttothai</i> (here referring to <i>Cindamani</i>) to prolong the religion. In the future may I possess the profound wisdom in Three <i>Piṭaka</i>, Three <i>Veda</i>, and three <i>vijjā</i> in every birth of mine”</p> <p>(Th. ศุภมัทศคุณ พระพุทธศกราชล่วงแล้วได้ ๒๓๓๕ ประจวบปีนิมโรง จัตวาศก พระสมิออนรจนาวุตโตไว้ ให้สืบบัจจานันตดา ไปในอนาคต การเบื้องหน้าให้อาตมามีปัญญา คำภีรภาพของไวขรรังไว้ซึ่ง ไกรปฏิภกไตร เพททไตรวิชาจทุกชาติทุกชาติเกิด ฯ)</p> <p>Side-marker at the end of the recto encoded in <i>aksòn lek</i></p> <p>Decoded paratext reads: “Please turn to the verso side.” (Th. กลับน้ำปลายเกิดท่านเฮ้ย ฯ)</p>
28	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 86	<p>Preface in <i>khlong</i> mentioning Phraya Thibet as an editor (commonly found as colophon)</p> <p>“This (recension of) <i>Cindamani</i> was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Phraya Thibet, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students”.</p> <p>(Th. จินดามุณีนี นามพญา ธิเบทรายสมยา เสกให้ ฉลองลักษณะเทียบทานมา สามฉบับ แล้วพ่อ เลือกแต่ส่วนควรไว้ สืบสร้างศิษย์สอน)</p>
29	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 87	<p>Colophon making a wish for <i>nibbāna</i> merit of copying</p> <p>“I have made this copy of <i>Cindamani</i>. May I reach <i>nibbāna</i>.”</p> <p>(Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าจำส้องจินดามุณีสืบทเล่มนี้ ขอสำเร็จสุพระนิพพาน ฯ)</p>

30	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 90	<p>Preface summarizing text and marking the recto side (in <i>khlong</i>)</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “The recto page of the manuscript of <i>Cindamani</i>” (Th. หน้าต้น สมุด จินดา มุณี)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “This is the recto page of <i>Cindamani</i>, which I have made copy. The manuscript books we have many like toys are a pile of jewels, which the sages have placed for the students to learn.”</p> <p>(Th. หน้าต้น เราแต่งตั้ง จำลอง หนังสือ มีมากของ เล่นใช้ จินดา คั่งแก้วกอง มุนมั่ง มากนา มุณี ปราชญ์วางไว้ เพื่อให้ศิษย์เรียน)</p>
31	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 93	<p>Colophon in <i>khlong</i> mentioning Maha Cai Phak as an editor</p> <p>“This (recension of) <i>Cindamani</i>, was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Maha Cai Phak, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students.”</p> <p>(Th. จินดามุณีนี นามมหา ใจภักกราชสมยา เสด็จให้ ฉลองอักษรเทียบทานมา สามฉบับ แล้วพอ เลือกแต่ส่วนควรไว้ สืบสร้างศิษย์สอน)</p>
32	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 95	<p>Colophon in prose mentioning Phra Yen as an editor and his aim of production for the religion</p> <p>“If anyone would like to learn the five tones, show them what I have written in the final part. In the text of <i>Cindamani</i>, there are only three tones present. Because I found these to be insufficient, I added (the fourth one) into the text, but only as examples so that boys from respectable families (Th. <i>kunlabut</i> < Skt. <i>kula-putra</i>) could learn and understand the first tonal marker (<i>mai ek</i>), the second (<i>mai tho</i>), the third (<i>mai tri</i>), and the fourth (<i>mai cattawa</i>). This book of <i>Cindamani</i> by Phra Yen was created for religious purposes. Anyone holding this work in their possession is encouraged to please pass it along.”</p> <p>(Th. ถ้าบุคคลผู้ใด จะใคร่รู้อักษรห้าแล้วก็ให้ดูเอาที่เขียนไว้ข้างปลายนี้เถิด ด้วยว่าฉบับจินดามุณีนีมีแต่อักษรสาม ๕ ข้าง เห็นว่ายังขาดอยู่จึงได้เพื่อมเติมลง แต่ก่อนเป็นตัวอย่าง พึงให้กุลบุตรสิกสาให้เข้าใจไม่เือกโทตรีจัตวานี้</p>

		เทอน ๆ พระสมุทจินดานีนี่พระเอ็นสั่งไว้โนพระศาสนา ถ้านุคคลผู้ใดได้ไว้ก็พึงให้สืบสืบไปเถิด)
33	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 231	Preface mentioning the owner “This manuscript of <i>Cindamani</i> belongs to the Head of the Royal Scribes Department.” (Th. สมุดนี้ของเจ้ากรมอัครกิจญานูณ์นี่ ๆ)
34	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 235	Colophon dating 1850 “In 1212 CS, the Year of the Dog, the second year of the decade, on the fourth day of the waning moon of the fifth month, the copywork was completed (equivalent to Monday 1 st April 1850).” (Th. จุลศักราช ๑๒๑๒ ปีกจโทศก เดือนห้าแรมสี่ค่ำสำเร็จ)"
35	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 239	Colophon in prose mentioning Luang Likhit Pricha as the scribe/editor and date in 1819 “On Thursday, the tenth day of the waxing moon of the third month in 1180 CS, the Year of the Tiger, the tenth year of the decade, the tenth year of His Majesty the King’s reign (equivalent to Thursday 4 th February 1819), Luang Likhit Pricha edited this <i>Cindamani</i> in order to be used for teaching virtuous boys (from good family) forever until the end of the aeon.” (Th. วันพฤหัสบดีเดือนสามขึ้นสิบค่ำจุลศักราชพันร้อยแปดสิบปีขาร สำเรศิก พระมหาจักรพรรดิเสวยราชไคสิบปี หลวงลิขิตปรีชาเจ้ากรมอลักษณชำระจินดานีนับนี้ขึ้นไว้ สั่งสอรกลบุตรผู้มีปรีชาสืบไปชั่วกัลปาวสาน ๆ)
36	NLT: KhlSPSSs: Ms no. 72	Colophon in <i>khlong</i> mentioning Maha Cai Phak as an editor, and then mentioning date of copy in 1869 “This (recension of) <i>Cindamani</i> , was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Maha Cai Phak, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students.” (Th. จินดานูนีนี่ นายมหา ใจภักกราชสมยา เสดให้ ฉลองลักษณ์เทียบทานมา สามฉบับ แล้วพอ เลือกแต่ล้วนควรไว้ สืบสร้างศิษย์สอน) “1231 CS (1869 CE) the Year of the Snake, the first year of the decade.” (Th. ๑๒๓๑ ปีเมเสงเอกศก)

37	NP: MSWT: NPT001-016	<p>Colophon in <i>khlong</i> mentioning Maha Cai Phak as an editor</p> <p>“This (recension of) <i>Cindamani</i>, was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Maha Cai Phak, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students.”</p> <p>(Th. จินดามุนีนี้ นายมหา ใจภักกราชสมยา เสด็จให้ ฉลองอักษรเทียบทานมา สามฉบับ แล้วพ่อ เลือกแต่ส่วนควรไว้ สืบสร้างศิษย์สอน)</p>
38	BL: StaBi: MIK I 4037	<p>Colophon at the beginning of the verso page</p> <p>“I have made this copy of <i>Cindamani</i>.”</p> <p>(Th. พระจันทมณีนครประเลศข้าพระเจ้าจำลองไวแกล)</p>
39	BKK: HRH SDh: <i>Cindamani</i> (1)	<p>Preface:</p> <p>“This manuscript of <i>Cindamani</i> has been finished copying on Saturday the fourteenth day of the waxing moon of the ninth month 1204 CS the Year of the Tiger the fourth year of the decade, I, a scribe named Nai Pòm, has made copy and already proofread with the exemplar in order to be presented to Your Majesty the King, as best as my (humble) ability allows. May it please Your Majesty.” (Saturday 20th August 1842)</p> <p>(Th. ๑ สมุทจินดามะณีเสร็จแต่วัน ๑๔+๑๕ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๒๐๔ ปี ขานจัตวาศก เกล้ากระหม่อมผู้หีบชื่อนายป้อม ทานแล้วเสร็จฉลองพระ เดชพระคุณทูลเกล้าทูลกระหม่อมถวายตามเสด็จกำลัง ขอเดชะพระบารมี ปกเกล้าปกกระหม่อม ฯ)</p> <p>*Side-marker at the end of the recto side reads: “Please turn it carefully, [as] it is hard to write.” (Th. พลิกกลับจับค่อยค่อยเขียนยาก ฯ)</p> <p>Colophon:</p> <p>“On Wednesday the fourth day of the waning moon of the tenth month 1184 CS, the Year of the Horse the fourth year of the decade, the Head of the Royal Scribes Department has done the editing.” (Wednesday 4th September 1822)</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๔+๕ ๑๐ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๘๔ ปีมะเมียจัตวาศก เจ้ากรมอาลักษณ์ แล้ว ฯ)</p>
40	CM: DHC: NTIC:17035(2)	<p>Colophon of Maha Cai Phak</p> <p>“This (recension of) <i>Cindamani</i>, was copied, compared and revised from three manuscripts by the royally appointed Maha</p>

		<p>Cai Phak, choosing only those parts which should be taught to students.”</p> <p>(Th. จินดามณีสนี้ นามมหา ใจภักกราชสมยา เสกให้ ฉลองลัทธิเทียบทานมา สามฉบับ แล้วพ่อ เลือกแต่ส่วนควรไว้ สืบสร้างศิษย์สอน)</p>
41	CM: DHC: SKNM	<p>*Cover title</p> <p>“The manuscript of <i>Cindamani</i>-the Recension of Prince Paramanuchit Volume II” (Th. พระสมุท จินดามณี ฉบับสมเด็จพระ พระระมานุชิต เล่ม ๒)</p>

Kamsuan Samut ‘Lamentations to the Sea’ (Th. กำสรวลสมุทร)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratext
1	NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 148	<p>Preface (common)</p> <p>“The [manuscript of] the <i>Lamentations</i> of Si Prat, when he was separated from his beloved, has been sought out since the time of the Fallen City [of Ayutthaya]. I could not find the complete text, only the beginning has been found, while the latter part is lost. Thus I have borrowed this exemplar [to copy it] for the king/the prince.”</p> <p>(Th. กำสรวลศรีปราชญ์ร้าง แรมสมร เสาะแต่ปางนคร ล่มแล้ว ไปพบไปพานกลอน โคลงท่าน จบแฮ จวบแต่ต้นปลายแคล้ว หนึ่งน้อยยืมถวาย)</p>
2	NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 149	<p>Preface (common) (identical to NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 148)</p> <p>“The [manuscript of] the <i>Lamentations</i> of Si Prat, when he was separated from his beloved, has been sought out since the time of the Fallen City [of Ayutthaya]. I could not find the complete text, only the beginning has been found, while the latter part is lost. Thus I have borrowed this exemplar [to copy it] for the king/the prince.”</p> <p>(Th. กำสรวลศรีปราชญ์ร้าง แรมสมร เสาะแต่ปางนคร ล่มแล้ว ไปพบไปพานกลอน โคลงท่าน จบแฮ จวบแต่ต้นปลายแคล้ว หนึ่งน้อยยืมถวาย)</p>

		<p>After this didactic text, on the last pages there are two additional stanzas of <i>khlong</i> meter cynically mentioning Phraya Krang (possibly Phraya Trang, a famous poet in the first half of the nineteenth century) in impolite words:</p> <p>(Th. พญา ยามความชั่วช้า เหน้ไหน กรง เอยบอชโกรน สักน้อย ตั้ง ตัวตั้งตัวโจน จับยาก พจ ลวนนพนนรื้อย เลือกได้คำเดียว ก ไปกอลักษณอ้าง อวดโคลง ลา ไซ้ลาลยงโรง เทียบม้า ล่ยม เล่หล้าโพงโพง พุดมาก ทอง ไซ้ทองเนื้อห้า ที่แท้ทำทรม)</p> <p>All the texts written in this manuscript appear with the same hand, probably written by the same scribe around the same time (, though the cover title mentions only <i>Kamsuan Si Prat</i>).</p>
3	NLT: KhLSs: Ms no. 150	<p>Preface (common) (identical to NLT: KhLSs: Ms no. 148)</p> <p>“The [manuscript of] the Lamentations of Si Prat, when he was separated from his beloved, has been sought out since the time of the Fallen City [of Ayutthaya]. I could not find the complete text, only the beginning has been found, while the latter part is lost. Thus I have borrowed this exemplar [to copy it] for the king/the prince.”</p> <p>(Th. กำสรวลศรีปราชญ์ร้าง แรมสมร เสาะแต่ปางนคร ล่มแล้ว ไปพบไปพานกลอน โคลงท่าน จบแเส จวนแต่ต้นปลายแคล้ว หนึ่งน้อยยืมถวาย)</p>
4	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 211	<p>* Title marking the author and period</p> <p>“Kamsuan, composed by Si Prat since (the days of) the old capital (Ayutthaya)”</p> <p>(Th. กำสรวลศรีปราชญ์แต่งครั้งกรุงเก่า)</p> <p>MTM: <i>Yaun Phai</i></p>

Anirut Kham Chan ‘[Tale of] *Anirut in Kham Chan Meter*’ (Th. อนิรุทธคำฉันท์)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratext
1	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 43	<p>Preface on scribe’s name (Nai Chai)</p> <p>“I, Nai Chai, have made copy for the king. May it please Your Majesty.”</p> <p>(Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้านายฉายชุพลเกล้า ฯ ขอเดชะ ฯ)</p>
2	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 44	<p>Preface on scribe’s name (Nai Chai)</p> <p>“I, Nai Chai, have made copy for the king. May it please Your Majesty.”</p> <p>(Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้านายฉายชุพลเกล้า ฯ ขอเดชะ ฯ)</p>
3	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 45	<p>Colophon</p> <p>“The copy has been finished on Monday the fourth day of the waning moon of the second month the Year of the Dragon the sixth year of the decade. The scribe is named An.” (Th. จบวัน ๒+๒ ปีมโรงออก ๑๗๑ ผู้เขียนชื่ออัน)</p>
4	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 51	<p>Colophon marking the end and the scribe’s will (versified)</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “The end” (Th. จบ บ ริ บูรณ)</p> <p>“The text ends when the Lord (referring to Anirut) has returned to his city with joy. The tale of the lord of all world (Anirut) has completely ended.”</p> <p>(Th. จบ จนนรินทรนเรศได้ คั่นสถาน บ พิพรขึ้นเปรมปาน แหม่ช้อย ริ ร่างแต่ปานการ บริยุคดี มานา บูรณ สรรพเรียบร้อย เรื่องเจ้าจอมสกล ฯ)</p> <p>“Do not make any gossip or any unserious criticism later [against my hands], as I made this copy hoping it be beneficial for anyone. If it is not fine enough, it is sufficient to be read and understood.”</p> <p>(Th. อย่าได้นินทาเล่น ภายหลัง ดิเตียนมิจจิง กล่าวถ้อย ถิ่นเขียนคิดจิตหวัง เปนประ โยชนา ไม่ดีก็อ่านได้ จะแจ้งตามความ ฯ)</p>

5	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 55	<p>Colophon marking the end and the scribe's will for reading manuscript carefully (versified)</p> <p>“The fine poem of Anirut has ended here, a beautiful piece of <i>kham chan</i> which Si Prat has composed to glorify the city as a jewel on top of the divinely hall in the heavens.”</p> <p>จบเรื่องอนิรุทธเกลี้ยง เกลาสาร ถิ่นทพากยพิศดาล เลอศแล้ว พระศรีปราชญ์ชำนาญ กลแต่งไว้นา เกลิมนครคือแก้ว ยอดพูนไพชยนต์ ฯ”</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “I did not write well” (Th. ค่อย เขียน ไม่ ดี)</p> <p>“Please touch (the manuscript) carefully, because writing it was rather difficult. If one does not have knowledge, do not let him read it, as it would be a waste (of the manuscript). If he has enough knowledge to do, let him make any changes (needed) to the text.”</p> <p>(Th. ค่อย ค่อยอย่าจับหนัก เลิกการ เขียน ยากพินประมาณ ใช้น้อย ไม่รู้อย่าให้อ่าน เลียนา ดีแล้วจงใส่สร้อย ซ่อมแซมใส่ลง ฯ)</p>
6	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 60	<p>Preface on scribe's name and author (versified)</p> <p>The first stanza (in yellow ink, neat hand) reads: “Lord of the Royal Scribes has paid homage to the king with his head, dedicating his loyalty and life to the king. May his power and glory protect him in joy.”</p> <p>(Th. พระอักษณนอบเกล้า บังคัล แทบบาทอิศรธรรม์ นน่อให้ หวังฝากชีพชีวัน ตราบชั้น สุญนา ขอพระเดชปกเกล้าให้ สุขพ้องภูตเกษม ฯ)</p> <p>The following page also preserves an additional colophon, but written in cursive hand using white steatite pencil:</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “Anirut Chan” (Th. อะ นิ รุทธ ฉันท)</p> <p>“This text has been written by Siprat, the story of Anirut departing his beloved This is a beautiful piece of <i>kham chan</i> poem, which is hard to be compared.”</p> <p>(Th. อะ นีศรีปราชญ์เกลี้ยง เกลาบท นิ ราศ(อก)กีนพชด แซ่มซ้อย</p>

		<p>รฐ จเรศสารสินยศ ...นา ฉันท วิเสทสุดถ้อย เลิศล้ำาฤๅเสมอ ๑)</p>
7	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 61	<p>Colophon marking the end (versified)</p> <p>“Lord of the Royal Scribes has paid homage to the king with his head, dedicating his loyalty and life to the king. May his power and glory protect him in joy.”</p> <p>(Th. พระอาลักษณ์นอบเกล้า บังคัล แทบบาทอิศรธรรม์ หน่อไผ่ หวังฝักชีพชีวัน ตราบชิน์ สูญนา ขอพระเดชปกเกศให้ สุขพ้องภูลเกษม ๑)</p> <p>“The battle story of Anirut has ended here, composed by Si Prat the sage. Whoever composes a poem following this model will gain much fame and glory.”</p> <p>(Th. จบอนิรุทธเรื่องเรื่อง รณรงค ศรีปราชญ์ชาญ แดงไว้ ใครจแต่งประสง เอาหย่าง นี้นา จักเฟื่องฟูเกรียติให้ เลื่องล้ำาญผล)</p>
8	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 63	<p>Colophon marking the end (versified)</p> <p>“The battle story of Anirut has ended here, composed by Si Prat the wise. Whoever composes a poem following this model will gain much fame and glory.”</p> <p>(Th. จบอนิรุทธเรื่องเรื่อง รณรงค ศรีปราชญ์ชาญ แดงไว้ ใครจแต่งประสง เอาหย่าง นี้นา จักเฟื่องฟูเกรียติให้ เลื่องล้ำาญผล)</p>
9	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 69	<p>Colophon marking the end (versified)</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “The end” (Th. จบ บ ริ ฐรรณ)</p> <p>“The text ends when the Lord (referring to Anirut) has returned to his city with joy. The tale of the lord of all world (Anirut) has completely ended.”</p> <p>(Th. จบ จนนรินทรนเรศได้ คั่นสถาน บ พิทรขึ้นเปรมปาน แหม่มช้อย ริ ร้างแต่ปานการ บริยุคติ มานา ฐรรณ สรรพเรียบร้อย เรื่องเจ้าจอมสกล ๑)</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “The end” (Th. จบ บ ริ ฐรรณ)</p>

		<p>“The text ends when Lord Krishna came to end the battle and return peace to the world. Then he has become the Lord of the World, ending all the battle of the heaven...”</p> <p>(Th. จบ จนกฤษณล้าง ล้างเขม บ รัชคโลกเอิ้น ท้าวหล้า ริเริ่มพระมาเปน ปิ่นโลก บุรณ,,ฟ้า คีกลั่นสมสมรฯ)</p>
10	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 72	<p>Preface on scribe's will to serve the king</p> <p>“I have responded to Your Majesty's royal order [to make a copy of this manuscript].” (Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขอรับพระราชทาน ฟ้าล่องธุลีบ่าท)</p>
11	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 75	<p>Preface on scribe's name dating 1817</p> <p>“On Thursday the fifth day of the waning moon of the eleventh month 1179 CS the Year of the Ox the ninth year of the decade, I, Mūn Suwan Aksōn the royal scribe, have made copy. We, Mūn Rat and Nai Bun Rot, have proofread.” (Thursday 30th October 1817)</p> <p>(Th. วัน ๕+๑๑ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๗๙ ปีฉลูนพศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า หมื่น สุวรรณอักษรธรรมาลักษณ์ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า หมื่นราช/นายบุญรอด ทาน ฯ)</p>
12	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 81	<p>Preface on scribe's name dating 1847</p> <p>“This manuscript of Anirut, I, Nai Chai, have made for the king on Sunday the thirteenth day of the waning moon of the twelfth month in the Year of the Goat in the ninth year of the decade.” (Sunday 5th December 1847) (Th. พระสมุคอนิรุทธข้าพระพุทธ เจ้านายฉายชุบ ทูลเกล้าฯ ถวายแล้วณวัน ๑+๑๑๒ ค่ำปีมแมนพศก ฯ)</p>
13	PR: BnF: Indochinois 284	<p>Preface on date</p> <p>“This manuscript has been written by me on Sunday the twelfth day of the waxing moon of the third month in the Year of the Dog the sixth year of the decade.” (Sunday 1st February 1795)</p> <p>(Th. สมุท เล่มนี้ ข้าฯ เขียน แล้ว ๑+๑๒ ค่ำปีขารจอ ฯ)</p>
14	PR: BnF: Indochinois 285	<p>Note on scribe's name (Khun Nin) written on the 1st recto page:</p> <p>“Khun Nin has made a copy and has already proofread with the exemplar. May it please Your Majesty.”</p> <p>(Th. คุณนิลเขียน ถวายทานแล้วตามฉบับขอเดชะ)</p>

The Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Poems (Th. ประชุมนิพนธ์พระศรีมโหสถ)

Text I: Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu ‘*Poem of the Three Classes of Consonants*’ (Th. โคลงอักษรสามหมู่)

Text II: Kap Hò Khlong (‘*Poems in Kap Hò Khlong Meter*’; Th. กาพย์ห่อโคลงพระศรีมโหสถ)

Text III: Khlong Nirat Nakhon Sawan ‘*Poetic Travelogue to Nakhon Sawan*’ (Th. โคลงนิราศนครสวรรค์)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: KHKHlSs: Ms no. 18	<p>* Cover Title: พระสมุด กาพย์ห่อโคลงฉบับพระศรีมโหสถกรุงเก่า</p> <p>“The manuscript of Phra Si Mahosot’s <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i> since the old capital”</p> <p>Paratext: Preface on scribe’s names and date in 1816</p> <p>“I, Mūn Sitthi Aksòn, have made copy on Friday the third day of the waxing moon of the first month in 1179 CS the Year of the Rat the eighth year of the decade. May it please Your Majesty.” (Friday 22nd November 1816)</p> <p>ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า หมื่นสิทธิอักษรจำลอง ฌวัน ๖+๑๑ จุลศักราชพันร้อยเจดสิบเก้าปี ขวคฤศกขอเดชะ ฯ.</p> <p>Scribal notes on titles and authorship after <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i>:</p> <p>“Phra Si Mahosot has composed <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i>, consisting of 41 stanzas of kap and 41 stanzas of <i>khlong</i>, totally 82 complete stanzas. This <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i> has been written by the old Phra Si Mahosot when he was 52 years old” (Th. พระศรีมโหสถ แต่งกาพย์ห่อโคลง กาพย์ ๔๑ โคลง ๔๑ (ปีกกา) ๘๒ บทจบบริบูรณ์ ฯ โคลงอักษรสามนี้ พระศรีมโหสถแต่งเมื่อแต่นั้นอายุสมได้ ๕๒ ปี ฯ)</p> <p>A scribal note after <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i>: “Khlong Tri Phit Pradap, composing of 29 stanzas, completely ends.” (Th. โคลงตรีพิชประดับ ๒๙ บท จบบริบูรณ์ ฯ)</p> <p>A scribal note after <i>Khlong Nirat Nakhòn Sawan</i>:</p> <p>“Totally 69 stanzas but incomplete. When composing this text, the author was fifteen years old.” (Th. เปน ๖๙ บทไม่จบ เมื่อแต่นั้นอายุสม ๑๕ ปี ฯ)</p>
2	NLT: KHKHlSs: Ms no. 21	<p>Scribal notes on titles and authorship after <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i>:</p> <p>“Phra Si Mahosot has composed <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i>, consisting of 41 stanzas of <i>kap</i> and 41 stanzas of <i>khlong</i>, totally 82 complete</p>

		<p>stanzas. This <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i> has been written by the old Phra Si Mahosot when he was 52 years old.” (Th. พระศรีมโหสถ แต่งภาพห่อโคลง ภาพ ๔๑ โคลง ๔๑ (ปีกกา) ๘๒ บทจบบริบูรณ์ ๑ โคลงอักษรสามนี้ พระศรีมโหสถแต่งเมื่อแตงนั้นอายุสมได้ ๕๒ ปี ๑)</p> <p>A scribal note after <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i>: “<i>Khlong Tri Phit Pradap</i>, composing of 29 stanzas, completely ends.” (Th. โคลงตรีพิชประดับ ๒๙ บท จบบริบูรณ์ ๑)</p>
3	NLT: KHKHsS: Ms no. 22	<p>A scribal note at the beginning of <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i>:</p> <p>“This <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i> has been written by the old Phra Si Mahosot when he was 52 years old.” (Th. โคลงอักษรสามนี้ พระศรีมโหสถแต่ง เมื่อแตงนั้นอายุสมได้ ๕๒ ปี ๑)</p> <p>A scribal note at the end of <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i>:</p> <p>“<i>Khlong Tri Phit Pradap</i>, composing of 29 stanzas, completely ends.” (Th. โคลงตรีพิชประดับ ๒๙ บทจบบริบูรณ์ ๑)</p> <p>A scribal note at the beginning of <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i>:</p> <p>“Phra Si Mahosot has composed <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i> in 41 kap stanzas and 41 <i>khlong</i> stanzas. The other nine stanzas of kap and nine of <i>khlong</i> have been missing. Thus the text ends with 32 stanzas.” (Th. พระศรีมโหสถ แต่งภาพห่อโคลง ภาพ ๔๑ โคลง ๔๑ (ปีกกา) ขาด โคลง ๙ ภาพ ๙ คง ๓๒ ๓๒ จบบริบูรณ์ ๑)</p>
4	NLT: KHKHsS: Ms no. 23	<p>Scribal notes on titles and authorship</p> <p>A scribal note at the end of <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i> (ending with a note:</p> <p>“Phra Si Mahosot has composed <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i>, consisting of 41 stanzas of kap and 41 stanzas of <i>khlong</i>, totally 82 complete stanzas. This <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i> has been written by the old Phra Si Mahosot when he was 52 years old.” (Th. พระศรีมโหสถ แต่งภาพห่อโคลง ภาพ ๔๑ โคลง ๔๑ (ปีกกา) ๘๒ บทจบบริบูรณ์ ๑ โคลงอักษรสามนี้ พระศรีมโหสถแต่งเมื่อแตงนั้นอายุสมได้ ๕๒ ปี ๑)</p> <p>A scribal note after <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i>: “<i>Khlong Tri Phit Pradap</i>, composing of 29 stanzas, completely ends.” (Th. โคลงตรีพิชประดับ ๒๙ บท จบบริบูรณ์ ๑)</p> <p>A scribal note after <i>Khlong Nirat Nakhòn Sawan</i>:</p>

		<p>“Totally 69 stanzas but incomplete. When composing this text, the author was fifteen years old.” (Th. เปน ๖๕ บทไม่จบ เมื่อแตงนั้นอายุสม ๑๕ ปี ๑)</p>
5	NLT: KHKHlSs: Ms no. 51	<p>Scribal notes on titles and authorship</p> <p>A scribal note at the beginning of <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i>: “Phra Si Mahosot has composed <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i>, consisting of 41 stanzas of kap and 41 stanzas of <i>khlong</i>, totally 82 complete stanzas.” (Th. พระศรีมโหสถ แต่งกาพย์ห่อโคลง กาพย์ ๔๑ โคลง ๔๑ (ปีกก) ๘๒ บทจบบริบูรณ์ ๑)</p> <p>A scribal note at the beginning of <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i>: “Khlong Tri Phit Pradap, composing of 29 stanzas, completely ends.” (Th. โคลงตรีพิชประดับ ๒๙ บทจบบริบูรณ์ ๑)</p> <p>A scribal note at the end of a fragment of <i>Khlong Nirat Nakhòn Sawan</i> at the end of the manuscript: “Totally 69 stanzas but incomplete. When composing this text, the author was fifteen years old. The manuscript of Phra Si Mahosot’s poems ends here.”</p> <p>เปน ๖๕ บทไม่จบ เมื่อแตงนั้นอายุสม ๑๕ ปี ๑ หนังสือโคลงพระศรีมโหสถ สิ้นฉบับแต่เท่านี้แล)</p>
6	NLT: KhlNRSs: Ms no. 344	<p>Scribal notes on authorship</p> <p>A scribal note at the end of <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i>: “Phra Si Mahosot has composed <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i>, consisting of 41 stanzas of kap and 41 stanzas of <i>khlong</i>, totally 82 complete stanzas.” (Th. พระศรีมโหสถแต่งกาพย์ห่อโคลง กาพย์ ๔๑ โคลง ๔๑ (ปีกก) ๘๒ บทจบบริบูรณ์ ๑)</p> <p>A scribal note at the beginning of <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i>: “This <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i> has been written by the old Phra Si Mahosot when he was 52 years old.” (Th. โคลงอักษรสามนี้ พระศรีมโหสถเก่าแต่งเมื่อแตงนั้นอายุสมได้ ๕๒ ปี ๑)</p> <p>A scribal note at the beginning of <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i>: “<i>Khlong Tri Phit Pradap</i>, composing of 29 stanzas, completely ends.” (Th. โคลงตรีพิชประดับ ๒๙ บทจบบริบูรณ์ ๑)</p>
7	NLT: KhlNRSs: Ms no. 350	<p>A scribal note at the end of <i>Khlong Nirat Nakhòn Sawan</i>:</p> <p>“Phra Si Mahosot, (whose personal name is) Rüang, son of Phra Khru Mahethòn of Ban Saphan Hoei Village.”</p>

		<p>(Th. พระศรีมโหสถเรื่องเป็นบุตรพระครูมหารัชมังคลาจารย์แห่ง ๑ โคลงนี้แต่งก่อนโคลงทั้งปวง ๑)</p> <p>A scribal note at the beginning of <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i>:</p> <p>“This refined poem was written by Phra Si Mahosot, son of Phra Khru Mahethòn. This poetic work, in which <i>kap</i> and <i>khlong</i> perfectly correspond to each other, cannot be compared to his work.”</p> <p>(Th. สารศรีมโหสถแกสัง เกลากลอน บุตรพระครูมหารัชมังคลาจารย์ ยชียกคอกษร แสนเล่ห์ โคลงแลภาพห่อได้ แม่นเมี้ยนฤๅเสมอ ๑)</p> <p>A scribal note at the end of <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i>: “Phra Si Mahosot has composed <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i>, consisting of 41 stanzas of <i>kap</i> and 41 stanzas of <i>khlong</i>, totally 82 complete stanzas. This <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i> has been written by the old Phra Si Mahosot when he was 252 years old.” (Th. พระศรีมโหสถ แต่งภาพห่อโคลง ภาพ ๔๑ โคลง ๔๑ (ปีกกา) ๘๒ บทจบบริบูรณ์ ๑ โคลงอักษรสามนี้ พระศรีมโหสถแต่ง เมื่อแต่นั้นอายุศักราช ๒๕๒ ปี ๑)</p> <p>A scribal note at the end of <i>Khlong Aksòn Sam Mu</i>: “<i>Khlong Tri Phit Pradap</i>, composing of 29 stanzas, completely ends. Totally the poems of Phra Si Mahosot contain 41 stanzas of <i>kap hò khlong</i> meter [thus 82 stanzas], 69 stanzas of <i>khlong suphap</i> meter, and 29 stanzas of <i>khlong tri phit pradap</i> meter, thus 180 stanzas in entity. All end here.”</p> <p>(Th. โคลงตรีพิชประดับ ๒๕ บทจบบริบูรณ์ ๑) ศรีพระศรีมโหสถ (ปีกกา) ภาพห่อโคลง ๔๑ โคลงสวภาพ ๖๕ โคลงตรีพิชประดับ ๒๕ ๑๘๐ บทจบเท่านี้ ๑)</p>
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Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Narai ‘Eulogy for King Narai’

(Th. สรรเสริญพระเกียรติพระนารายณ์)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 193	* Cover Title: “The <i>khlong</i> poem by Si Mahosot” (Th. โคลงศรีมโหสถ)
2	NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 329	Preface on scribe’s name (Khun Nimit Aksòn) Scribal notes on title and authorship

		<p>“I, Phra Nimit Aksòn, have made copy. We, Phraya Prakat Aksònkit, Phra Barirak Kritsadika, and Khun Si Kawi Rat, have proofread for three times. May it please Your Majesty.</p> <p><i>The Eulogy for King Narai of Ayutthaya</i>, composed by Luang Si Mahosot.”</p> <p>(Th: ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า พระนิมิตรอักษรเขียน ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า พระยาประกาศอักษรกิจ พระบริรักษ์กฤษฎีกา ขุนศรีกระวีราช ทาน ๓ ครั้ง ขอเดชะ ฯ โคลงสรรเสริญพระเกียรติ สมเด็จพระนารายณ์มหาราช ฯ กรุงศรีอยุธยา หลวงศรีมหสถนิพนธ์)</p>
3	NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 648	<p>*Fly-leaf title reads: “The poem in <i>khlong</i> by Luang Si Mahosot, eulogizing on King Narai.” (Th. โคลงหลวงศรีมหสถนิพนธ์สรรเสริญพระเกียรติสมเด็จพระนารายณ์เป็นเจ้า ฯ)</p>

Thawa Thotsamat ‘Poem of the Twelve Months’ (Th. ทวาทศมาส)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratext
1	NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 217	<p>Preface on text (versified in <i>khlong dan bat kunchòn</i> meter)</p> <p>“May this poetic embellishment of the love poem be beautiful for the mind, making one forget other taste and scent (poetry).”</p> <p>(Th. สรวมสร้อยสุภาษิตสื่อง สารเพชฌ เพลงนิยมนกลกาม จดจิ้ม รงงศฤงษดิราเพอ กมลาคัน ยังบรูว์ศรีลิม เลือกดม)</p> <p>“<i>Wachirinthramat</i> (literally ‘the month of god Indra’ perhaps referring to the text) narrates (the poems of) four (seasons) containing three months each (Thus twelve months). The departing poem is completely finished. This text has been composed with the words of Khmer, Pali and Siamese, which one should use to decorate his own ears.”</p> <p>(Th. วชรินทร์มาสถวันสี่ มานสามโสดแธ เริ่มนิราศรมย์ เรียบร้อย กำกวมครสยาม พจนพากย์ ควรประดับสรวมสร้อย สอดกรรม)</p>
2	NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 218	<p>Colophon reads:</p> <p>“This text of <i>Thawa Thotsamat</i> was written by Phra Yaowa Rat, Khun Phrom Montri, and Khun Sara Prasoet, in 260 stanzas. May it bring wealth and glory. [The text] provides the</p>

		<p>model of <i>khlong</i> poetics. They [authors] know the poetics of composition better than anyone.”</p> <p>(Th. โคลงทวาทสมาสนนี้ พระยาวราช ขุนพรหมมนตรี ขุนสารประเสริฐแต่ง ทวาทสมาส ๒๖๐ บท สวัสดิลาภ ไว้ทำทางกลโคลงดี ท่านรู้แต่งแท้ ดีกว่าทุกหย่าง)</p>
3	NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 228	<p>Preface dating 1782</p> <p>“On Friday the sixth day of the waxing moon of the tenth month 1144 CS, I, Mün Thip Krawi, have made copy. Khun Maha Sitthiwohan and Nai Chamni Wohan, have proofread.” (Thursday 12th September 1782) (Th. ๑ วัน ๕+๑๐ คำจลศักราช ๑๑๔๔ ปีชาลจัตวาศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าหมื่นทิพกรวิจาลอง ขุนมหาสิทธิโวหาร/นายชำนาญโวหาร ทาน ฯ)</p>
4	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17012	<p>Preface on authors (in prose)</p> <p>Preface reads: “This text of <i>Thawa Thotsamat</i> was written by Phra Yaowa Rat, Khun Phrom Montri, and Khun Sara Prasoet, in 260 stanzas. May it being wealth and glory. [The text] provides the model of <i>khlong</i> poetics. They [authors] know the poetics of composition better than anyone.”</p> <p>(Th. โคลงทวาทสมาสนนี้ พระยาวราช ขุนพรหมมนตรี ขุนสารประเสริฐแต่ง ทวาทสมาส ๒๖๐ บท สวัสดิลาภ ไว้ทำทางกลโคลงดี ท่านรู้แต่งแท้ ดีกว่าทุกหย่าง)</p> <p>and Preface on text (versified)</p> <p>“May this poetic embellishment of the love poem be beautiful for the mind, making one forget other taste and scent (poetry).”</p> <p>(Th. สรวมสร้อยสุขุมาสสื่อง สารเผย เพลงนิยมนกลกาม จดจิ้ม รงงศฤษดิราเพอ กมลาคัน ยังบรูรีศลิ้ม เลือกดม)</p> <p>“<i>Wachirinthramat</i> (literally ‘the month of god Indra’ perhaps referring to the text) narrates (the poems of) four (seasons) containing three months each (Thus twelve months). The departing poem is completely finished. This text has been composed with the words of Khmer, Pali and Siamese, which one should use to decorate his own ears.”</p>

		(Th. วชรินทร์มาสถ์ เริ่มนิราศสมัย กำหมกรสยาม ควรประดับสรวมสร้อย มานสามโสดแฮ เรียบร้อย พจนพากย์ สอดกรรม)
5	BKK: HRH SDh: Ms no. 10	Colophon reads: “This text of <i>Thawa Thotsamat</i> was written by Phra Yaowa Rat, Khun Phrom Montri, and Khun Sara Prasoet, in 260 stanzas. May it bring wealth and glory. [The text] provides the model of <i>khlong</i> poetics. They [authors] know the poetics of composition better than anyone.” (Th. โคลงทวาทสมาสน์นี้ พระเขวราช ขุนพรหมมนตรี ขุนสาร ประเสริฐ สามปราชญ์แต่ง ทวาทสมาส ๒๖๐ บท สวดดีลาภไว้ ทำทางกล โคลงดี ท่านรู้แต่งแท้ ดีกว่าทุกอย่างะ)

The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises (Th. ประชุมคำฉันท์กล่อมช้างของเก่า)

Text I: *Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei* ‘Ritual Poem for Elephant Ceremony in Kham Chan Meter’ (Th. คำฉันท์ดุขฎิสังเวย)

Text II: *Kham Chan Klòm Chang Krung Kao* ‘Ritual Poem for Soothing the Elephants from the Old Capital in Kham Chan Meter’ (Th. คำฉันท์กล่อมช้างกรุงเก่า)

Text III: *Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun* ‘Treatise on Elephants’ Features in Kham Chan Meter’ (Th. คำฉันท์คชกรรมประยูร)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 15	Colophon: “The manuscript of <i>Dutsadi Sangwoei</i> , <i>Khò Chang</i> , <i>La Phrai</i> , and <i>Chan Khotsalak</i> , has completely ended.” (Th. สมุดสดุดี สงเวย/ขอช้าง/ลาไพร ฉันทพระคชลักษณ์จบบริบูรณ์ ฯ)
2	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16	Glosses Notes on texts’ titles and authorship A scribal note on authorship at the end of <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i> : “The text has been composed by Khun Thep Kawi of Sukhothai.” (Th. ขุนเทพกระวีเมืองสุโขทัยแต่ง)
3	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 17	Preface on scribe’s name and date in 1817 “On Sunday the thirteenth day of the waxing moon of the first month in 1179 CS the Year of the Ox the ninth year of the

		<p>decade, I, Nai Phinit San Sathian, have made copy. May it please Your Majesty.” (Sunday 21st December 1817)</p> <p>วัน ๑+๑๑ ถ้าจุลศักราช ๑๑๘๘ ปีนักษัตร ข้าราชการพหุกิจเจ้าชายพินิจสารส เถียรชูป ขอเดชะ ฯ</p> <p>A scribal note on authorship at the end of <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i>: “The text has been composed by Khun Thep Kawi of Sukhothai.” (Th. ขุนเทพกระวีเมืองโสโกโขทัยแต่ง)</p>
4	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 18	<p>A scribal note on authorship at the end of <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i>: “I, Khun Thep Kawi of Sukhothai, have composed this text for the king.” (Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าขุนเทพกระวีเมืองโสโกโขทัยแต่งถวาย)</p>
5	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 19	<p>A scribal note on authorship at the end of <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i>: “I, Khun Thep Kawi of Sukhothai, have composed this text for the king.” (Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าขุนเทพกระวีเมืองโสโกโขทัยแต่งถวาย)</p>
6	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 20	<p>A scribal note on authorship at the end of <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i>: “The text has been composed by Khun Thep Kawi of Sukhothai.” (Th. ขุนเทพกระวีเมืองโสโกโขทัยแต่ง)</p>
7	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 21	<p>Preface on scribe’s name</p> <p>“This is the recto page of the manuscript of <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i>. I, Khun Nimit Aksòn, have made copy for the king. May it please Your Majesty.” (Th. ต้นคำฉันท์คฤชศีสังเว เล่มนี้ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขุนนิมิตอักษร จำลองทูลเกล้าฯถวาย ขอเดชะ ฯ)</p> <p>Notes on texts’ titles and authorship added between the texts</p>
8	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 22	<p>Notes on texts’ titles</p> <p>The note on the content section of <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i> has been added in between the text (corresponding to the printed edition).</p>
9	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 24	<p>Notes on texts’ titles and authorship</p> <p>Colophon (versified)</p> <p>The note on the content section of <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i> has been added on the left margin of pages (corresponding to the printed edition).</p>

		<p>A scribal note on authorship at the end of <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i>: “The text has been composed by Khun Thep Kawi of Sukhothai.” (Th. ขุนเทพกระวีเมืองโสภโฑยัแต่ง)</p> <p>Colophon in <i>khlóng</i> meter at the end of <i>Kham Chan Klòm Chang Krung Kao</i>:</p> <p>“The end of the refined text, which has been composed from the old Khmer text and legend in the past, called Dutsadi La Phrai by its name, ending with the part on gaining the divinely elephant before the king returned to the capital.”</p> <p>(Th. จบเสด็จเสาวภาคัยถ้อย บรรหาร แก้กลอนกำภูษณานัน ก่อนแล้ว คุยดีลาไพรสถาน เทเวศ กล่าวเมื่อได้ช้างแก้ว สวัสดิ์ให้กินเมือง)</p>
10	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 46	<p>Notes on texts’ titles</p> <p>The note on the content section of <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i> has been added on the left margin of pages (corresponding to the printed edition).</p>
11	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 47	<p>Notes on texts’ titles and authorship</p> <p>The note on the content section of <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i> has been added in between the text (corresponding to the printed edition).</p> <p>A scribal note on authorship at the end of <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i>: “The text has been composed by Khun Thep Kawi of Sukhothai.” (Th. ขุนเทพกระวีเมืองโสภโฑยัแต่ง)</p> <p>The note on the different types of the elephants has been added on the left margin throughout the text of <i>Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun</i>.</p>
12	NLT: PRPT: Ms no. 598	<p>Notes on texts’ titles and authorship</p> <p>The note on the content section of <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i> has been added in between the text (corresponding to the printed edition).</p> <p>A scribal note on authorship at the end of <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i>: “The text has been composed by Khun Thep Kawi of Sukhothai.” (Th. ขุนเทพกระวีเมืองโสภโฑยัแต่ง) (In Grantha).</p>
13	BKK: HRH SDh: Ms no. 189	<p>A scribal note on authorship at the end of <i>Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei</i>: “The text has been composed by Khun Thep Kawi of Sukhothai.” (Th. ขุนเทพกระวีเมืองโสภโฑยัแต่ง)</p>

Racha Philap Kham Chan ‘Lamentations of the King’ (Th. ราชพิลาปคำฉันท์)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts and Copies
1	NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 3	<p>Preface on text (versified)</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “Racha Philap” or the lamentations of the king (Th. ราชพิลาป)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “The King (Rama) laments his parting from his wife. Angry with Thotsakan who kidnapped her, he cried for her without pause.”</p> <p>(Th. รา มิดวรราชเจ้า จาบัลย์ ชาเขศเขาวจรร จากไให้ พิ โรทศกัฏฐ์ผัน ภาณุช หนินา ลาป ฟีไรร้าให้ ห่อนเว้นวาทกระสัลย์)</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “Racha Philap” or ‘<i>The Lamentations of the King</i>’ (Th. ราชพิลาป)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “The Great and Mightly King Rama, when departed from his wife, has cried and suffered with yearning for his wife Sita.”</p> <p>(Th. รา มาธิราชเรื่อง ฤทธิ ชาเขศจากจรี ลาศเต้า พิ โยคยาแสนทวิ ทุกข์เทวศ ถวิลเฮ ลาป ร้ากำสรวเสร้า โศกสร้อยยมิดา)</p>
2	NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 5	<p>Preface on text (versified)</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “Racha Philap” or ‘<i>The Lamentations of the King</i>’ (Th. ราชพิลาป)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “The King Rama, who is the descendant of the gods, was parted from his beautiful lover, crying for his lover.”</p> <p>(Th. รามารามเสเชื้อ องค์อินทร์ อุกเขย ชา ยศอิสรยุพินท์ เพื่อนเคส้า พิ โดระฉมฉินท์ ฉายฉก ลาป ฟีไรไรเสร้า ไปแม่เราสอง)</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “Racha Philap” or ‘<i>The Lamentations of the King</i>’ (Th. ราชพิลาป)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “Rama has been in misery, along with the glory of his city. But his wife even felt more miserable. Both cried for each other with tears full off their cheeks.”</p>

		(Th. ราเมศหมองหม่นเศร้า ถึงศรี เมืองเอย ชาเขศแสนทุกข์ทวี กว้านั้น พิ โยคโสโกโสกี สองคร่ำ ครวณูฮา ลาป พิราไลยะอื่น ... แก้มกรรแสง)
3	NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 7	Preface on text (versified) <i>Krathu</i> reads: “Racha Philap” or ‘ <i>The Lamentations of the King</i> ’ (Th. ราชาพิลาป) The whole stanza reads: “The King (Rama) laments his parting from his wife. Angry with Thotsakan who kidnapped her, he cried for her without pause.” (Th. รา มีศวรรราชเจ้า จาบัลย์ ชาเขศยาวจรจัน จากไให้ พิ โรทศกักตร์ผัน ภาณุช หนินา ลาป พิไร่าให้ ห่อนเว้นวายกรศัลย์) This stanza is identical to the preface of NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 3.
4	NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 8	*Notes on Meters (Old names of meters as appearing in <i>Cindamani</i>)

Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng ‘Eulogy for King Prasat Thòng’
(Th. สรรเสริญพระเกียรติพระเจ้าปราสาททอง)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: ChSs: Chò: Ms no. 2	Cover Title: “Manuscript of <i>the Eulogy for King Prasat Thòng</i> . Composed by Phra Maha Ratcha Khru Mahethòn in <i>kham chan</i> meter. When King Narai was Lord of Lopburi, he (the author) was (holding the title of) Phra Maha Ratcha Khru Phra Purohit.” (Th. พระสมุคสรเสริญพระเกียรติ ครั้งสมเด็จพระพุทธเจ้าหลวงปราสาททอง พระมหาราชครูมเหศวรแต่ง เป็นคำฉันท์ ครั้งสมเด็จพระนารายณ์เป็นเจ้าลพบุรี เป็นพระมหาราชครู พระบอโรहित ๑ ๑) Preface: “This text was written by Phra Maha Ratcha Khru Purohit (‘Lord Grand Royal Mentor and Priest’), the same person who wrote <i>Süa Kho</i> , in the reign of King Prasat Thòng. He seems to have written this text before <i>Süa Kho</i> , which was written later and made more beautiful. On Friday, the seventh waxing day of the fifth month 1109 CS the Year of the Rabbit, the ninth year of the decade (equivalent

	<p>to Friday 5th April 1748), this manuscript was copied from the manuscript which Prince Thep Phiphit took from the chest of the Royal Hall.”</p> <p>(Th. ครึ่งสมเด็จพระพุทธเจ้าหลวงปราสาททอง พระมหाराชครูพระบอโรหิตแต่งคนนี่ที่แต่งเสื่อโค การมอันเดียวกัน เหนจะแต่งสรรเสอร์พระเกียรติสมุดนี้ก่อนเสื่อโค เสื่อโคแต่งทีหลังเพราะกว่านี้วัน ๖+๕ คำจุลศักราช ๑๑๐๕ ปีเถาะนพศก คัดสำเนาออกจากฉบับเจ้ากรมหมื่นเทพพิพิธ เอามาแต่หีบพระสาษตราคม)</p>
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Khlong Chalò Phra Phuttha Saiyat Wat Pa Mok

‘Poem on the Relocation of Sleeping Buddha Image of Wat Pa Mok Monastery’

(Th. โคลงชะลอพระพุทธรูปไสยาสน์วัดป่าโมก)

Please see the remarks on paratexts of the manuscript NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 202 in the *Collection of Didactic Poems* above.

Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang ‘The Royal Version of Nanthopanantha Sutta’ (Th. นันทopanันตสูตรคำหลวง)

<p>Preface of the manuscript NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 120</p> <p>(Mostly authorial paratext)</p>	
Transliteration in Thai script	Translation and Romanisation (for Pali text)
◎ พระนามสมเด็จพระพุทธเจ้า ๙๒ ฯ Cw	“92 epithets of Lord Buddha (found in the text)
◎ ชื่อพระญานาค ๔๔ ฯ Cw	44 epithets of the Naga (Nanthopanantha)
◎ พระมหาโมคคัลลานะเถรทรมานพระญานนโทปะนันทนาคราชสูตรจบบริบูรณ์ ฯ ๑ ฯ Cw	The complete text on Phra Mokkhalana taming the Naga Lord Nanthopanantha”
◎ สุตถุทธิกถยปญญะณัม โพธิญาณัม สุลาภัม ฯ Cw	
◎ นโม ตสฺส ภควโต อรหโต สมฺมาสมฺพุทฺธสฺส	
◎ นนุโทปนนุทกุฑฺถํ วิพฺพํ มหิทธิํ ปุตุเตน เถรกุฑฺถเลน ทมาปยุโต	[Sanskrit verse:] “susṛddhikṛtayaprṣaṭentam bodhiññāṇam sulābham”
อิทุฐูปเทสวีนํ ชิตวา มุนินุโท ตนุเตชสา ภวตุ เต ชยมงฺกลานํ II	
◎ นมสิตฺวา ชินพุทฺธํ สทฺธมฺมมมฺลํ ปิ จ	[Pali verse:] “namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa

อริยสัมมุตตมํ สามภาสาย สิริภูฏํ

นนุโทปนนุทนามกํ วุขามิ ปวริ วตุถุ

ตสพส วสาหมสุมิ

นปทุทวนุตรายโก ฯ ๘

© อหํ อันว่าข้า สิริปาโล นาม ผู้ซ่อมหาสิริบาล เมื่อ
ในกาลบรรพช ครั้นนิวัตตนิเวส เป็น ภริษครเพสวรา
ธมฺมธิเปสฺสชยเชฏฺฐสุริยวส นาม กษัตริย์เจ้าฟ้าธรรมธิเบศร
ไชยเชษฐสุริยวงษ์ เสวยราชย์ขงศฤงคาร วังบวรสถานมงคล
ดํากลเปนฝ่ายหน้า ผจนปัจจามิตรแพ้ยาย นมสิตฺวา ถวาย
นมัสการบังคม ชินพุทฺธ ซึ่งสมเด็จเจ้าพระชินนทรทสพล
อันผจนเบญจวิกรมทั้งห้ากิติ แลเข้าพระองค์นี้กนิมัสการ
เคารพย สรมฺมํ จ ซึ่งพระนพโลภุคฺคธรรมทั้งเก้า แล
พระบริยติธรรมเจ้าทั้งหลาย หมายทั้งแปดหมื่นสี่พันพระ
ธรรมชั้นนั้นกิติ แลพระสัทธรรมนี้อุคฺคมา อมล อันนถม
ลาจากมุกฺคิ แลเข้าถวิลนมนัสการ อริยสํฆ ซึ่งพระอัยญา
ริยสงฆกิติ ตราบเท้าสมมุติสงฆนี้กบังคม อุตฺตม อันอุคฺ
คัมบวรา ครั้นแลเข้าถวายนมนัสการ ซึ่งพระรัตนไตรย
สถานเสร็จประมาณนบ วุขามิ กปรารพเพื่อกจกล่าว
วตุถุ ในเรื่องราวนิทานธรรม นนุโทปนนุทนามกํ อัน
ชื่อนันโทปนนท ปวริ อันมีพจนฺสนธิบวร สิริภูฏํ ให้เกลี้ยง
เกลาในอักษรแลพากยา สามภาสาย ด้วยสยัมภาษาแห่ง
ไทย นิสุสาย เหตุอาไศรยพระบาฬิมครภาส์ ซึ่งมีในมคร
ภษา อหํ อันว่าข้าพระบาทยุคฺคัล นปทุทวนุตรายโก กพัน
จากอันตรายุปัททวสาสรพพาพธ วสา ด้วยอำนาจพระ
บารมี ตสฺส รตนตฺตยปณามสฺส แห่งพระศรีรัตนไตรย
ประมาณ อสุมิ จงมีตามปรารถนาแห่งข้าเทอญ

nandopanandabhujagam mahiddhim puttena therā
bhujagena damāpayanto

iddhūpadesavidhinā jītvā munindo tantejasā bhavatu
te jayamaṅgalānī

namasitvā jinabuddham saddhammamamalam pi ca
ariyasamghamuttamam sāmabhāsāya siliṭṭham
nandopanandanāmakam vakkhāmi pavaram vatthu
tasalasa vasahamasmi napaddavantarāyako ”

“*Ahaṃ I Siripālo nāma* whose name is Maha Siriban
during my ordination. After having disrobed and
returned to the princely life,
Dhammadhipessajayajetṭhasuriyavaṃsa nāma then
I gained my princely title as Thammathibet
Chaiyachet Suriyawong, who is the Grand Prince of
the Front Palace, who conquers all of my enemies.
Namasitvā I pay my respect *jinabuddham* to the Lord
Buddha who possesses the ten powers, who
conquered over the five Devils (Mara). I then pay my
respect to *Sadhammam* the Dhamma, consisting of
the nine doctrines of Lokuttaradhamma, all the
Pariyatti Dhamma of the Lord Buddha, containing
eighty-four thousand parts. All these doctrines
uttamā amalam are pure. I also pay my respect to
ariyasamgham ca all the Sangha, both the eight
Ariya Sanghas and all the common monks. *Uttamam*
I pay my highest respect to the Three Jewels of the
religion.

Having paid my respect, vakkhāmi I will tell vatthu
a story of Dhamma *Nandopanandanāmakam* which
is known by name as Nanthopanantha *pavaram* and
contains the wise word *siliṭṭham* into the refined
Sāmabhāsāya Siamese language of the Thai *Nissāya*
by following the Pali text *Magadhabhāsam*. *Ahaṃ* I
have been freed from all kinds of danger and
misfortune *vasā* with the great power *tassa*
ratanattayapaṇāmassa of the Three Jewels. *Asmi*
May my wish be fulfilled.”

Colophon of the manuscript NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 120	
(Mostly scribal paratext)	
Transliteration in Thai script	Translation and Romanisation (for Pali text)
<p>๐ นนโท พ่ายลิตยชัย กะคะวา</p> <p>ปะนันทะ นาเคนทรา กราบเกล้า</p> <p>สูตร ที่พระนิคายสา ทรเลศ</p> <p>บริบูรณ์ ธรรมพระเจ้า เทศนะไว้ควรขอ</p>	<p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “<i>Nanthopanantha Sut</i> completely ends.” (Th. นนโทปะนันทะสูตรบริบูรณ์)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “Nandopananda has been defeated by the left disciple of Gotama Buddha and then bowed to the Lord, as appearing in the Pali text of <i>Dīghanikāya</i>, which completed with the Dhamma given by the Lord Buddha.”</p>
<p>๐ เจ้าฟ้าธรรม ท่านแท้ พยายาม</p> <p>ธิเบศร กุมารนาม บอกแจ้ง</p> <p>ไชยเชษฐ ปัญญาาคม กิรภาพ</p> <p>สุริยวงสรงแต่งเกล้า กล่าวเกลี้ยขนนโท</p>	<p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “Prince Thammathibet Chaiyachet Suriyawong” (Th. เจ้าฟ้าธรรมธิเบศรไชยเชษฐสุริยวงส)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “The prince whose title is Thammathibet has attempted to compose this refined <i>Nanthopanantha Sut</i> text with his profound wisdom.”</p>
<p>๐ พระบาทนโทปนันทสูตรนี้ พระมหาพุทธสิริเถระเจ้าแต่งไว้แต่ก่อนบ่มีได้ลงพุทธสักกะราชไว้ว่าเมื่อแรกแต่งพระบาทสำเร็จนั้นน พุทธสักกะราชได้เท่านั้นเท่านั้น แลเจ้าฟ้าทรงพระผนวศกรมขุนเสนาพิทักษ์ มาทรงแต่งเป็นเนื้อความคำประดับครั้งนี้ เมื่อสำเร็จนั้นพระพุทธสักกะราชล่วงไปแล้วได้ ๒๒๗๕ ปีกับ ๓ เดือน</p> <p>ในวาระ ๑๕๕ พุทธศักราชปีโรงนักษัตรอัฐศก ๗๐๗๘</p>	<p>Then the colophon in prose continues as follows:</p> <p>“This Pali text of <i>Nanthopanantha Sut</i> was composed by Phra Maha Phuttha Siri Thera (P. <i>Mahābuddhasirithera</i>) but has never exactly been dated. It has been said that it should be dated at this time or that time. The prince who ordained, holding the title of Prince Senaphitak (Thammathibet), composed this decorated text (in Thai). When he completed his composition, Buddhism had existed (after Buddha’s death) for 2279 years and three months. [This happened] on Sunday, the full moon day of the second eighth month, in the Year of the Dragon, the eighth year of the decade (equivalent to Monday 23rd July 1736).</p>
<p>๐ จุลสักกะราช ๑๐๘๘ ศก แลแต่งพระบาทพินิจมาถึงตรงแต่งเนื้อความคำประดับในครั้งนี้ แลจ้กว่าว่าอยู่นั้นจ้ไกลกันสักสิบปีนั้นบ่มีได้แจ้ง ๗๐๗๘ ๗๐๗๘</p>	<p>How many years lie between the year of the composition of Pali text and the year 1098 CS (1736 CE) in which the Thai text has been composed (by the Prince) is not clearly known.</p>
<p>๐ แต่งนนโทปนันทสูตรคำหลวงครั้งนี้ จุลสักกะราชได้ ๑๐๘๘ ศก ว่ากันอยู่ถึง ๒๕๔ ปี ๗๐๗๘</p>	<p>When the text of <i>Maha Chat Kham Luang</i> was originally composed, it was the year 844 CS (1482</p>
<p>๐ นนโทปนันทสูตร ที่พระบาทเป็นปรกติอย่างเทศนาทางปวงมีอยู่ในพระคำพิทักษ์นิคายะศีลขันธนั้นตั้งเฝ้าเมื่อก่อน นนโทปะนันทะสูตรอันมีในพระอัครกะ</p>	

ถ้าแก้พระคำพิชัยปะทานนี้ อันพระมหาพุทธะสิริเถระเจ้า
แต่งเป็นพระบาฬีคำประดับนี้มิได้ตั้ง เอวัมเมก่อนเลย
บุคคลผู้มีปัญญาอย่าพึงสงสัยว่า นนโทปะนนะสูตรนี้
นอกคำพระอานนทะแลนอกสังคายนาจะ นนโทปะนนะ
สูตรนี้มีในสังคายนาจะแท้จึงแล ฯ๑๑๐๘

นายสัง
๑ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขุบพระบาฬี ฯ๑๑๐๘
นายสา
นายทอง ขุบเนื้อความ ฯ๑๑๐๘

๑ พระสมุคขาวหานี้ โบกด้วยปูนสามครั้ง จึง
ลงน้ำกันเชื่อมครั้งหนึ่ง จึงเขียนพระอักษร แล้วจึงลงน้ำกัน
เชื่อมอีกสามครั้ง แม้นว่าต้องน้ำมิได้ลบเลือนเลย ห่าง
โบกด้วยปูนแลน้ำกันเชื่อมนี้ของหลวงโซ่คินนอกราชการ
ทูลเกล้าทูลกระหม่อมถวาย ฯ๑๑๐๘

๑ พระสมุคนี้ขังได้หนัก

๒
๒ ๑ ๘
๒

CE). Then *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* was composed in 1098 CS (1736 CE) or 254 years later.

The Pali part of *Nanthopanantha Sut* is normally found in the Pali text of *Dighanikaya Silakhandha* beginning with *evamme [suttam]*, being used in preaching. The text of *Nanthopanantha Sut* is been found in the Commentary of the Pali text *Apadāna* composed by Phra Maha Phuttha Siri Thera without *evamme [suttam]* at the beginning. The wise one would not doubt whether this *Nanthopanantha Sut* was originally from the mouth of Ananda, because it is originally included in the canonical text truly approved by the Grand Council.

We, Nai Sang and Nai Sa, have made a copy of the Pali text (in Khò script). I, Nai Thòng, have made a copy of the (Thai) main text.

This kind of white (greyish) paper manuscript has been covered with powder three times and then with a protecting liquid one time before writing. After writing, it was covered with three more layers of protective liquid. This makes the writing waterproof. This kind of manuscript covered with powder and protecting liquid was given (to the king or the prince) by Luang Chodük Nòk Ratchakan ('outside of official royal duties').

This manuscript has a weight of two *chang*, two *tamlüing*, one *bat* and two *salüing* (approximately two and a half kilograms)."

Phra Malai Kham Luang ‘The Royal Version of the Tale of Phra Malai’

(Th. พระมัลลย์คำหลวง)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 217	<p>Colophon on the date of the manuscript in 1804 (versified)</p> <p>“(This copy) was finished in 2347 BE, the Year of the Rat, on Sunday the third waning day of the seventh month (equivalent to Sunday, 27th May 1804). The text ends with Phra Malai returning to the world.”</p> <p>(Th. สรองพันสามร้อยได้ โดยมี สรีลิมเจ็ดวัดษาปี หนูน้อย วันระวีสามดิษฐ์ กาลปักข เดือนเจ็จบกลอย มาโดยคีนสธาร ฯ)</p>
2	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 220	<p>Colophon on the date of text in 1737 (versified)</p> <p>“When (the text) was finished (composing), the Buddhist Era has passed (after Buddha’s death) for 2280 years and eleven months and six days (2280 BE), in the morning of the seventh waning day of the fifth month in the Year of the Horse (equivalent to Tuesday 31st March 1739).”</p> <p>(Th. เมื่อเสร็จสักการได้ สองพัน สองร้อยแปดสิบสรร เสศเหล่า สิบเบดเดือนหกวัน พฤษ เดือนห้าแรมเจดเช้า เขตข้างปีมะเมีย ฯ)</p>
3	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 221	<p>Colophon on the date of the manuscript in 1768 (versified)</p> <p>“This copywork was finished in 2311 [BE], on Tuesday, the fifth waning day of the twelfth month in the Year of the Rat 2311 BE (equivalent to Tuesday, 29th November 1768). The text ends with Phra Malai returned to the World.”</p> <p>(Th. สองพันสามร้อยได้ โดยมี สิบเอ็จะษาปี หนูน้อย อังกรรห้าดิษฐ์ กาละปักข เดือนสิบสองดับค้อย มัลลคีนสธาร ฯ)</p> <p>A librarian’s note: “This date on Tuesday the fifth waning day of the twelfth month in the Year of the Rat 2311 BE or 1130 CS (1768 CE) here is supposed to be the date of the manuscript copy, not of the original composition.” (Th. ขวด วัน ๓๑๑๒ ปีขวด พ.ศ. ๒๓๑๑ จ. ศ. ๑๑๓๐ จะเป็นปีที่คัดลอก ไม่ใช่ปีแต่ง)</p>

4	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 224	<p>Colophon on text (versified):</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “End of the manuscript” (Th. สิ้น ฉบับ เท่านั้น)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “The manuscript of the old text of Phra Malai which also contains other volume. This is what I have made the copy to help and the manuscript ends here. Please do not question me.”</p> <p>(Th. สิ้น สมุดยุดิไว้ เปนเกลิม ฉบับ มาโดย เดิม เย่อนเยื่อ เท่า ว่าแปลงแต่งเดิม เพื่อช่วย เขานา นี้ หมดเพียงนี้เพื่อ ทำเอื้อยอย่าจน)</p>
5	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 229	<p>Preface on author (versified)</p> <p>“The manuscript of Phra Malai, which Prince of the Front Palace has said (composed). The text is ended here as being decorated, ...”</p> <p>(Th. สมุดมาไลเลิศล้ำ ลิลิต กรมพระราชวังคิด ว่าไว้ จบเสร็จเรื่องราวปรดิด (ปรดัด)แต่ง เพราะพรำทำยากได้...(แจ่มแจ้ง) ใจจริง)</p>
6	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 230	<p>Colophon on the date of text in 1737 (versified)</p> <p>“When (the text) was finished (composing), the Buddhist Era has passed (after Buddha’s death) for 2280 years and eleven months and six days (2280 BE), in the morning of the seventh waning day of the fifth month in the Year of the Horse (equivalent to Tuesday 31st March 1739).”</p> <p>(Th.เมื่อเสร็จจ้ศักราชได้ สองพัน สองร้อยแปดสิบสรร เสศเหล่า สิบเบดเดือนหกวัน พฤษศ เดือนห้าแรมเจดเช้า เขตช้างปีมะเมีย ฯ)</p>
7	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 231	<p>Colophon on the date of text in 1737 (versified)</p> <p>“When (the text) was finished (composing), the Buddhist Era has passed (after Buddha’s death) for 2280 years and eleven months and six days (2280 BE), in the morning of the seventh waning day of the fifth month in the Year of the Horse (equivalent to Tuesday 31st March 1739).”</p> <p>(Th. เมื่อเสร็จจ้ศักราชได้ สองพัน สองร้อยแปดสิบสรร เสศเหล่า</p>

		สิบเบดเดือนหกวัน พุทธศ เดือนห้าแรมเจดเช้า เขตช้างปีมะเมีย ๑)
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Kap He Rüa ‘Barge Procession Poetry’ (Th. ภาพยนตร์เรือ)

Part A: *He Chom Krabuan Rüa ‘Praising the Royal Barge Procession’* (Th. เข้มกระบวนเรือ)

Part B: *He Chom Pla, Mai, Nok ‘Praising Fish, Flora, and Birds’* (Th. เข้มปลา ไม้ นก)

Part C: *He Kaki ‘The Tale of Kaki’* (Th. เข้กากี)

Part D: *He Sangwat ‘Intimacy’* (Th. เข้สังวาส)

Part E: *He Khruan ‘Lamentations’* (Th. เข้ครวญ)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 2	Preface on scribe’s name (Khun Camnong Sunthon) “I, Khun Camnong Sunthòn the Deputy of the (Royal Scribes Department), have made copy. Luang Likhit Pricha the Head of the Department, Khun Sara Bancong the Deputy, and Nai Ratcha Aksòn Nai Wen, have proofread for the king. May it please Your Majesty.” (Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าขุนจ้านงสุนทรปลัดกรมจำลอง หลวงลิขิตปรีชาเจ้ากรม/ขุนสาราบันจงปลัดกรม/นายราชอักษรนายเวร ชารพุดเกล้า พูลกระหม่อมถวาย ขอเดชะ)
2	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 5	Flyleaf Title: “The recto page of the text <i>Kap Hò Khlong</i> which Prince Kung (Thammathibet) of the old capital has composed.” (Th. หน้าต้นกาบห่อโคลง เจ้าฟ้าพระองค์ ๑ กิ่ง ครั่งกรุงเก่าทรงนิพนธ์)
3	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 14	Scribal note on recital
4	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 52	Colophon mentioning Luang Sara Prasoet paying Nai Khum to make copy in 1870 “This manuscript of the Royal Composition of He Rüa Phra Thi Nang (<i>‘Royal Barge Poetry’</i>) I, Luang Sara Prasoet, have hired Nai Khum to make copy. It has been completed on Wednesday the first day of the waxing moon of the first month in the Year of the Horse, the second year of the decade and the second year of the king’s reign, in 1232 CS (1870 CE) (equivalent to Wednesday 23 rd November 1870).” (Th. พระสมุท พระราชนิพนธ์ เหนือพระที่นั่ง ๑ ๑ ข้าฯ หลวงสารประเสริฐ จ้างนายคุ้มเขียน แล้วณวัน ๔๑ ^๑ ค่ำปีมะเมียโทศก ^๒ ศักราช ๑๒๓๒)

Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Thong Daeng ‘Poetic Travelogue to Than Thong Daeng in Kap Hò Khlong Meter’ (Th. กาพย์ห่อโคลงนิราศธารทองแดง)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: KHKHlSs: Ms no. 26	Ending mark of the text “The end of <i>Kap Hò Khlong Than Thong Daeng</i> : the royal kap 205 stanzas and the royal <i>khlong</i> 205 stanzas, including the seven stanzas of royal <i>khlong</i> , in total 417 stanzas.” (Th. จบกาพย์ห่อโคลงธารทองแดง พระกาพย์ ๒๐๕ พระโคลง ๒๐๕ พระโคลง ๗ (ปีกกา) ๔๑๗ บท)
2	NLT: KHKHlSs: Ms no. 53	“The end of <i>Kap Hò Khlong Than Thong Daeng</i> : the royal kap 205 stanzas and the royal <i>khlong</i> 205 stanzas, including the seven stanzas of royal <i>khlong</i> , in total 417 stanzas.” (Th. จบกาพย์ห่อโคลงธารทองแดง พระกาพย์ ๒๐๕ พระโคลง ๒๐๕ พระโคลง ๗ (ปีกกา) ๔๑๗ บท)

Kap Hò Khlong Nirat Than Sok ‘Poetic Travelogue to Than Sok in Kap Hò Khlong Meter’ (Th. กาพย์ห่อโคลงนิราศธารโศก)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: KHKHlSs: Ms no. 25	Preface (versified) mentioning the author <i>Krathu</i> reads: “Prince Thammathibet Chaiyachet Suriyawong” (Th. เจ้าฟ้าธรรมธิเบศร์ ไชยเชษฐ สุริยวงศ์) The whole stanza reads: “The Prince whose title is Thammathibet, He has attempted to compose this refined poetry with his profound wisdom.” (Th. เจ้าฟ้าธรรม ทานแท้ พยายาม ธิเบศร์ กุมารนาม บอกแจ้ง ไชยเชษฐ ปฐาคาม ภริภาพ สุริยวงศ์ ทรงกาพย์แก้แล้ว กล่าวเกลี้ยงโคลงการ ฯ) “ <i>Kap</i> and <i>khlong</i> poems praising on the forest has been composed by Prince Thammathibet. These finely written words, whoever reads them would be enchanted.” (Th. กาพย์โคลงชมเถื่อนถ้ำ ไพรพง เจ้าฟ้าธิเบศร์ทรง แต่งไว้ อักษรบรรจง พจนาคถ์ ใครอ่านวานว่าให้ เรื่อยต้องกลโคลง ฯ)

Prince Thammathibet's *Phleng Yao Poems* (Th. เพลงยาวเจ้าฟ้าธรรมาธิเบศร์)

Poem A: ปางพื้มาดสมานสุมาลย์สมร

Poem B: สงวนรักหรือมาหักอารมณ์หวน

Poem C: เห็นจิตบิตเบียนท่าเชือนเฉย

Bunnawat Kham Chan 'Tale of the Buddha's Footprint in Kham Chan Meter' (Th. บุนโผนาทคำฉันท)

Common Colophon A:

Krathu reads: "The end." (Th. จบ บุ ธิ บุรรณ)

The whole stanza reads: "The end of the revering words (on the Buddha's Footprint) of the text of Bunnawat as clarified in the Sutta. The honourifying words written in chan meter that has been begun has completely ended here."

(Th. จบ เสรจอภิวัตไวั	ศักการยั
บุ โผนาทพิศฐาน	สูตรแจ้ง
ริ รัสสรสรอยุสสาร	ฉันทภาคย์
บุรรณ เสรจสำหรัทธีแกลัง	กล่าวไว้เป็นเฉลิม ๑)

Common Colophon B:

Krathu reads: "The end." (Th. จบ บ ธิ บุรรณ)

The whole stanza reads: "The text ends when the king had finished celebrating (the Buddha's Footprint) and travelled through the forest with joy. This text has been completely written in order to glorify the king."

(Th. จบ จนกระษัตริสาง	เสรจฉลอง
บ คินทรเสด็จไพรคนอง	เถื่อนถ้ำ
ริ รวงสฤยติสสารสนอง	เสนอนเอดร์
บุรรณ เสรจเสด็จกรุงซ้า	เรื่องชรันสรสรอยุ ๑)

Common Colophon C:

"This chan poetry has been composed by Phra Nak of Tha Sai (monastery). Whoever listens to it will feel enchanted, because of its poetic beauty beyond the sweetness of sugar."

(Th. ฉันทพักย์พระนาคถ้ำ	ทราษผจง
อินยอมอาไลยหลง	เล่ห์ชู
แรกรักย์ร่วมจิตรปลง	ปลุกสวาคี สัมฤ
โสทรเสนาะเพราะรู้	รศอ้อยตาลหวาน ๑)

Common Colophon D:

“The end of the poetry of Phra Nak, the chan poem which is refined and beautiful to hear. If any has heard, one will rush to listen to it more because of its beauty and its neat description.”

(Th. จบกถอนพระนาคแก่สิ่ง กลาบท
 ถิ่นทพากษ์นิพนพจน์ เรียบร้อย
 เพียงทิพสุธารศ สรงโสรด ใจนา
 ฟังเร่งเสนาะเพราะถ้อย ถิ่นถวนกลอนแถลง ฯ)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratext
1	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 3	<p>Common colophon AB followed by a unique colophon in prose: “This manuscript belonging to Cao Bun Si has completely ended here. Please do not criticize me, as I just want to (use it to) teach writing. If error be found, please make the correction to it.”</p> <p>(Th. บุญโนวาทของเจ้าบุญศรี จบบอริบนแต่ถ่านนี้ อย่าใดติเตียนเลยฆ่าพรเจ้าถึงสอรชชีร แมนพิศเพียรช่วย แดมไสยอักษรตัวใดๆ ช่วยแดมไสด้วยเทิดน้ำ ฯ)</p>
2	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 4	<p>Preface mentioning the original owner</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “Wat Ratcha Pradit Monastery” (Th. วัด ราช ประดิษฐ์)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads:</p> <p>“This golden monastery which has been patronized by the king has established the merit in the sect of Dhammayuttika.”</p> <p>(Th. วัดทองประสาทสง เกลิมผล ราชฤทธิ์แรงแวน พิลิดแมน ประสิทธิ์สถากุศล ธรรมยุตต์ นิกายแสด ดิฐ วัฒนตั้งไวย ..</p> <p>Colophon: “The end of <i>Bunnawat Sutta</i>. Please do not criticize (my handwriting and error).” (Th. บวรโรวาทสุดงนิจูตรงง อย่าติเตียนเลย)</p>
3	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 5	Common colophon AB
4	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 6	Common colophon AB
5	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 7	Common colophon AB

6	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 8	Common colophon B
7	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 9	The manuscript ends with a note: “The text ends here. I just want to teach writing. Please forgive (my handwriting and error).” (Th. สิ้นฉบับแต่เถาณี ๆข้าฯถึงสอนเข ยีน ขออภัยเสียเถิด ๆ)
8	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 10	A preface in cursive hand using white steatite pencil reads: “This manuscript of <i>Bunnawat</i> belongs to Phra...” (Th. นั่งสือนุนโนวาทเล่มนี้ของพร..) Common colophon CD
9	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 11	Common colophon AB
10	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 12	Common colophon AB
11	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 13	Common colophon AB
12	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 14	Colophon (unique stanza) asking for forgiveness “The text in chan meter has ended here. If any letters such as tonal markers have been missing, please add them. But please do not complain as if I did not pay attention to my copy.” (Th. จบเสร็จสำเร็จสิ้น บรรยาย ฉันทพากยผูกพิปราย เรื่องแจ้ง เอกโทตกพลาดหาย แซมชวน ไสนา อย่าติเตียนว่าแก่ง ชุบให้ไม่ผิด ๆ)
13	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 15	Common colophon AB
14	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 17	Common colophon CD
15	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 18	Common colophon CD
16	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 19	Common colophon ABCD and then a unique stanza
17	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 20	Common colophon AB
18	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 21	Colophon containing six <i>khlong</i> stanzas: Common Colophon B, Unique I, Unique II, Common C, D, Unique III Colophon B Unique Colophon I: <i>Krathu</i> reads: “Produce (the manuscript) to be merit” (Th. สร้าง ไว้เป็น บุญ)

		<p>The whole stanza reads: “I have the manuscript of Bunnawat produced, wishing that the people in the future can read, and wishing the merit bringing me to the heaven in the next life.”</p> <p>(Th. สร้าง บณโณวาทสูตรไชร้ หมายผล ไว้สำหรับบุชน ภายหน้า เป็น นิไสยติดตามตน ทุกชาติ บุญ จงส่งให้ข้า ผู้ห้องเสวยสวรรค์)</p> <p>Unique Colophon II:</p> <p>Krathu reads: “Produce (the manuscript) to gain merit” (Th. สร้าง ไว้ได้ บุญ)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “I have the manuscript of <i>Bunnawat</i> produced, wishing that the people in the future can read, and wishing to gain merit that bring me to the heaven in the next life.”</p> <p>(Th. สร้าง บณโณวาทไชร้ หวังผล ไว้สืบบุทของชน ฝ่ายหน้า ได้ เป็นนิไสยตน ทุกชาติ บุญ จักส่งให้ข้า ผู้ห้องครองสวรรค์)</p> <p>Colophon CD</p> <p>Unique Colophon III:</p> <p>Krathu reads: “Go and come; say goodbye and greet (with respect)” (Th. ไป มา ลา ไหว้)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “(I had to) go away for the emergent business and thus disrope with humble. I come here to send the words (of <i>Bunnawat</i>) and pay homage to the teachers in the way that the scholars praise.”</p> <p>(Th. ไป เพื่อธุรร้อน กิจการ ลา อุปัชฌาจารย์ นอบน้อม มา แดงแสดงสาร โดยชอบ ไหว้ นบคารพพร้อม ปราชญ์ช้องสรรเสริญ ฯ)</p>
19	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 22	Common colophon A
20	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 24	<p>Side marker: “This is the recto side, layman!” (Th. หนาด้น ปะส่กเอี้ย ฯ)</p> <p>Common colophon AB</p>

21	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 25	<p>Common colophon AB and a unique stanza on scribe's name</p> <p>"I, whose name is Suthat, have done writing (this copy). Have copied this manuscript of the Buddha's Footprint with fine yellow ink."</p> <p>(Th. นายนามสุทท์สแท้ เลข้า สุกจิตรส...ญา หนึ่งเจ้าว ...โกศนิสำราน ก็แปลง เปลียนดิ หุบเรื่องพุทธิบาททกลาว เสรจแล้วเรื่องฉรงค ฯ)</p>
22	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 26	<p>Common colophon D</p> <p>Then there is a mark: "The manuscript of <i>Bunnawat Kham Chan</i> composed by Phra Nak completely ends." (Th. จบพระสมุทบุญโนวาทคำล้นท์ ของพระนาคแต่งจบบริบูรณ์)</p>
23	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 28	<p>On the first verso page, under the side marker "The verso page of <i>Bunnawat Sut.</i>" (Th. หน้าปลาย นูรณ์โนวาทสูตร ฯ) reads a note below (in a cursive hand using white pencil):</p> <p>"The verso page of <i>Bunnawat Sut.</i> Oh listeners, please do not criticize me, and remember this correct (text)" (Th. หน้าปลายนูรณ์โนวาทสูตรท่านผู้ฟังอย่าติเตียนจงจำไว้ไม่ผิดเลย ฯ)</p> <p>Common colophon AB and then a unique stanza (written in a cursive hand using white steatite pencil):</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: "The manuscript has ended." (Th. จบ สิ้น สมุทแล้ว)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: "The text of Bunnawat has already ended. The manuscript has also surely ended, please do not... away. And...this manuscript he has given to me."</p> <p>(Th. จบ นูณโนวาทสุทแล้ว แลแฮ สิ้น เสงสมุทแน่ นะท่าน สมุท สิ้นแล้วนะแม่ อย่า... ไปเลย แล้ว... สมุทนั้น ท่านให้ข้านา)</p> <p>Colophon in prose: "The end of <i>Bunnawat Sut.</i> Please do not doubt. I wrote this till I almost die of it, my dear! Please reward me... or have mercy in giving me at least one <i>tamlüing</i>." (Th. จบนูณโนวาทสูตรแล้วอย่าสงสัย ข้าเขียนเจียนจะบันไลแล้วนะแม่ ท่านจงล้งวัน....ในแลได้เมตตาข้าสักคำล้ง)</p>
24	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 29	Scribal note (at the last recto page in a cursive hand):

		<p>“If anyone reads it, please do not turn or touch it too roughly, because the manuscript can be torn and which would be a true shame to see.”</p> <p>(Th. ถาผู้ใดโดยจอนญาทำมือนักชิมักขาดอุบาทถน)</p>
25	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 30	Common colophon AB
26	NLT: ChSs: Bò: Ms no. 31	Common colophon D
27	NLT: ChSs: Bò: PLMs no. 1	<p>Common colophon AB and then in prose mentioning scribe’s name and asking for forgiveness</p> <p>“The text has completely ended here. If any error be seen, please consider (to correct).” (Th. จบบริบูรณ เรื่องร้าวฉลองเท่านี้ แล เหนผิดเงิน ช่วยพิจารณาด้วยเถิด ฯ)</p> <p>Then the colophon is encoded (in a code called <i>aksòn lek</i>, using numerals to represent vowels.): “พุทธษรเขียนพออ่านออกกรู้จักตัว ๓๓๓”</p> <p>The decoded text reads: “Phutsòn has written [this manuscript] clear enough to be legible.” (Th. พุทธษรเขียนพออ่านออกกรู้จักตัว แล)</p>
28	BL: StaBi: Ms or fol 3247	<p>Scribal note marking the end of the text</p> <p>“This is the end of the text <i>Bunnawat</i>. I who made copy am full of...”</p> <p>(Th. พระนุณโนวาช โคล้งจบแต่เท่านี้ ฯฯฯฯผู้เขียนก็เต็ม...)</p>
29	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17014	Common colophon AB
30	DD: SLUB: Eb. 424.m	<p>Common colophon ABD and then a unique stanza</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “The end” (Th. จบ บ ริ บูรณ)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “The text of Bunnawat has completely ended, when the king had already made his royal procession to pay homage to the Buddha’s Footprint and returned to his capital after seven days of his stay.”</p> <p>(Th. ๑ จบ นุณโนวาทสิ้น สารเสร็จ บ พิตรยกพยูเสด็จ หว่านไหว้ ริ สมโพธิสรพเพชญ พุทธบาท บูรณ เจควันแล้วให้ ท่านเข้าคั่นนคร ฯ)</p>
31	LEID: StaUBi: Or. 20.497	Common colophon A and then in prose aiming to reach <i>nibbāna</i>

		Then ends a note: “May I reach the Arhatship and <i>maggaphala</i> in the future.” (Th. ขอให้ได้พระอรรหัตถ์มรรคผลในภายภาคหน้าเถิด)
32	PR: EFEO: S.53	Common colophon A and then in prose aiming to reach Maggaphala “The manuscript ends here. May it be <i>maggaphala</i> .” (Th. สิ้นฉบับเท่านี้ขอให้เกิดมรรคผล ๑)

Khlong Nirat Phra Bat ‘Poetic Travelogue to the Buddha’s Footprint’

(Th. โคลงนิราศพระบาท)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 2	Preface on scribe’s name (Khun Camnong Sunthon) “I, Khun Camnong Sunthon the Deputy of the (Royal Scribes Department), have made copy. Luang Likhit Pricha the Head of the Department, Khun Sara Bancong the Deputy, and Nai Ratcha Aksò Nai Wen, have proofread for the king. May it please Your Majesty.” (Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าขุนจ้านงสุนทรปลัดกรมจำลอง หลวงลิขิตปรีชาเจ้ากรม/ขุนสาราบันจงปลัดกรม/นายราชอักษร นายเวร ธารพูลเกล้าทูลกระหม่อมถวาย ขอเดชะ) Note on authorship (common): “(by) Phra Nak of Wat Tha Sai monastery” (Th. พระนาควัดท่าทราย ๑)
2	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 3	Preface reads: “ <i>Khlong</i> collected with <i>kap</i> : 24 <i>khlong</i> stanzas and 24 <i>kap</i> stanzas, totally 48 stanzas including one additional stanza from (<i>Maha Chat</i>) <i>Kham Luang</i> .” (Th. โคลงเรียงกาพย์ โคลง ๒๔ กาพย์ ๒๔ (ปีกกา) ๔๘ บท ในคำหลวง ๑ บท) Note on authorship (common): “(by) Phra Nak of Wat Tha Sai monastery” (Th. พระนาควัดท่าทราย ๑)
3	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 4	Note on authorship (common): “(by) Phra Nak of Wat Tha Sai monastery” (Th. พระนาควัดท่าทราย ๑)
4	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 8	Note on authorship (common): “(by) Phra Nak of Wat Tha Sai monastery” (Th. พระนาควัดท่าทราย ๑)
5	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 12	Note on authorship (common): “(by) Phra Nak of Wat Tha Sai monastery” (Th. พระนาควัดท่าทราย ๑)
6	NLT: KHKhlSs: Ms no. 17	Note on authorship: “The end of the text composed by Phra Nak of Tha Sai monastery” (Th. จบพระนาควัดท่าทรายแต่ง)

7	NLT: KHKHs: Ms no. 52	<p>Colophon mentioning Luang Sara Prasoet paying Nai Khum to make copy in 1870</p> <p>“This manuscript of the Royal Composition of He Rüa Phra Thi Nang (‘<i>Royal Barge Poetry</i>’) I, Luang Sara Prasoet, have hired Nai Khum to make copy. It has been completed on Wednesday the first day of the waxing moon of the first month in the Year of the Horse, the second year of the decade and the second year of the king’s reign, in 1232 CS (1870 CE) (equivalent to Wednesday 23rd November 1870).”</p> <p>(Th. พระสมุท พระราชนิพนธ์ให้เรือพระที่นั่ง ฯ ข้างฯ หลวงสารประเสริฐ จ้างนายคุ้มเขียน แล้ววัน ๔๑๑ ค่ำปีมเมียโทศก^๒ สักราช ๑๒๓๒)</p> <p>Note on authorship (common): “(by) Phra Nak of Wat Tha Sai monastery” (Th. พระนาควัดท่าทราย ฯ)</p>
8	NLT: KHLs: Ms no. 154	Note on authorship (common): “(by) Phra Nak of Wat Tha Sai monastery” (Th. พระนาควัดท่าทราย ฯ)

Konlabot Siriwbunkit ‘[*Tale of*] *Siriwbunkit in Konlabot*’ (Th. กลบทสิริวิบูลย์กิติ)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: KLASs: Ms no. 21	<p>Note asking reader to take care of the manuscript</p> <p>“Anyone who borrows (this manuscript) should please cherish it as if it were his/her own.”</p> <p>(Th. ใครยืมไปให้รักเหมือนของตัวเอง)</p>
2	NKST: NLT: Ms no. 188	Note on ownership (on fly-leaf page): “The manuscript belonging to Luang Wan...” (Th. หนังสือหลวงวัน...)
3	CM: DHC: NTIC: 16004	<p>Scribal Notes at the end:</p> <p>“The text (from the exemplar) ends here. There is no text to copy further. Some said that the text continues, others said the text ends as it does here. I finished writing on Saturday near the evening.”</p> <p>(Th. ฉบับหมดแล้วเจ้ามา ไม่มีที่จะหาเอามาเขียนใส่ ลงบางว่ายังขึ้นไป ลงบางเขาใจว่าในเรื่องนี้เท่านี้แลหนา เขียนจบวันเสาร์ใกล้จะค่ำ)</p>

Phraya Trang's *Collection of Ancient Poems*

(Th. ประชุมโคลงกวีโบราณของพระยาตรัง)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 154	<p>Preface reads: “I, Phraya Trang, has collected (or listed) the ancient poems to be presented the king (or prince): seven stanzas of the Royal Composition, three stanzas by Phra Thewi (Princess/Lady) of Sukhothai, one by King of Lan Chang, one by the royal consort, three by Si Thanon Chai, one by SI Prat's father, nine by Si Prat, one by Phra Si Maha Rat, one by Phra Yaowa Rat, one by Nai Chali the royal page, thirteen stanzas from the old, seven stanzas collected with kap, twenty-five stanzas by Prince Aphai, twenty-two by Phra Nak of Tha Sai monastery, twenty-four by Phraya Trang, and eight stanzas from the large volume of Thawa Thotsamat, totally 127 stanzas.”</p> <p>(Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าพญาตรังจำโคลงโบราณไว้ได้ด้วย พระราชนิพนธ์ ๗ / พระเทวีสุโขไท ๓ / พระเจ้าล้านช้าง ๑ / สนมข้างใน ๑ / ศรีทนนไชย ๓ / บิดาศรีปราศ ๑ / ศรีปราศ ๕ / พระศรีมหาราช ๑ / พระเขวราช ๑ / นายชาติมหาดเล็ก ๑ / บารามแต่งไว้ ๑๓ / เจ้าฟ้าอะไพ ๒๕ / พระนาคท่าทราย ๒๒ / พญาตรัง ๒๔ / โคลงประจำกาย ๗ / ทวาทสมาตบับใหญ่ ๘ (รวม) ๑๒๗ บท ฯ)</p> <p>Scribal notes on authorship of the stanzas</p>

Kaki Kham Chan ‘[Tale of] Kaki in Kham Chan Meter’ (Th. กาเกีคำจันท)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: KISs: Ms no. 1	<p>Preface (versified) summarizing text</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “Kaki Kham Chan” (Th. กาเกี คำจันท)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “The black crows cannot have white feather, as Kaki who has committed adultery. The words (of this text) are the things all women should hate. Please do not know the point too little, but please love yourself and be loyal (to your men).”</p> <p>(Th. กา คำห่อนไปมี ขนขาว ก็ ดิสัประบีนาว เชนซู้ คำ แสสตรีสาว ฟิงเกลือด (ฉันท) ได้อยากอรู้ รักกายจึงสเงิวน)</p>

Kap Khap Mai Phra Rot ‘[Tale of] Phra Rot in Kap Khap Mai Meter’

(Th. ภาพขัณฑ์ไม้พระรถ)

None of the scribal paratext has been found.

Khlong Pradit Phra Ruang ‘Didactic Poem of Phra Ruang’

(Th. โคลงประดิษฐ์พระร่วง)

Please see the remarks on paratexts of the manuscript NLT: KhSs: Ms no. 202 in the *Collection of Didactic Poems* above.***Khlong Rachanuwat*** ‘Royal Conducts’ (Th. โคลงราชานุวัตร)Please see the remarks on paratexts of the manuscript NLT: KhSs: Ms no. 202 in the *Collection of Didactic Poems* above.***Kritsana Sòn Nòng Kham Chan*** ‘Kritsana Teaching Younger Sister in Kham Chan Meter’

(Th. กฤษณาสอนน้องคำฉันท์)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 76	<p>Preface on text (versified)</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “The manuscript of Kritsana Son Nong” (Th. สมุด กฤษณา สอน น้อง)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “This manuscript is named after the wise Princess Kritsana who taught her younger sister the meaning of proper conduct. Her sister has received and remembered all the teachings by heart.”</p> <p>(Th. สมุด นามชื่อชี้ จิตยวงษ์ กฤษณา ปัญยงษ์ ชึ่งไสร สอน จริตรักษากอง นุชนารถ น้อง รับคำจำไว้ใส่เกล้าเปนเลื่อม)</p>
2	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 79	<p>Preface dating 1753</p> <p>“The writing has been finished in the Year of the Goat, the sixth year of the decade on Tuesday the first waning day of the sixth month in 1115 CS (1753 CE).”</p> <p>(Th. เถลิงสารสำฤทเท วาจาก ปีมเมษนอศก เสรจถอย วันสะลิดเดือนหก แรมค่ำ นิงนา จดศักราชพันร้อยสี่สิบห้าปีปลาย)</p>

Lilit Cantha Kinnòn ‘[*Tale of*] *Candakinnara in Lilit Meter*’

(Th. ลิลิตจันทกีนนร)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 32	<p>Colophon dating 1809 and mentioning scribe’s name</p> <p>Colophon in prose:</p> <p>“In 2352 BE (1809 CE) the Year of the Snake, the tenth year of the decade, Maha Sing has made this copy for the religion. May I reach the enlightenment because of the merit of copying.”</p> <p>(Th. พุทธศักราชล่วงได้ ๒๓๕๒ พระวสา ปีมะเส็งสำเรทธิศก พระมหาสิง จำลองไว้ สำหรับพระศาสนา ขอเปนปัจจัยแก่พระโพธิญาณ)</p> <p>Colophon in a <i>khlong</i> stanza:</p> <p>“This text of <i>Kinnara Jātaka</i>, Phra Intha Suwan has faith in the religion, and thus has this copy made for the pupils to read. May the enlightenment not abandon me too far.”</p> <p>(Th. กีนรชาฎกนี้ พระอินทสุวัณ มีจิตรเลื่อนไสปรามุข ยิ่งไซ้ สงไว้เปนประโยชน์ กลบุตรอนอ้าง สร้อยสรรพเพชญอย่าได้ คลาศแคล้วห่างไกลฯ)</p>

Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap ‘*Mother Teaching Children in Kap Meter*’

(Th. แม่สอนลูกคำกาพย์)

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: KISSs: Sò: Ms no. 604	<p>Colophon:</p> <p>“The text of <i>Mae Sòn Luk</i> still continues for ... manuscripts but it has not been mentioned in the tale.” (Th. แม่สอนลูกยังมี... สมุดมิได้บอกไว้ตามนิทานแล ฯ)</p>

Phleng Yao Phayakon Krung Si Ayutthaya ‘*Prophetic Poem about the Ayutthaya Kingdom in Phleng Yao Meter*’ (Th. เพลงยาวพยากรณ์กรุงศรีอยุธยา)

None of the scribal paratext has been found.

Mòm Phimsen's *Phleng Yao Poems* by (Th. ‘เพลงยาวหม่อมพิมเสน’)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 2	Note on authorship Scribal note on authorship (inserted between the lines): “(Composed) by Phimsen” (Th. กิมเสน) “Nirat by Phimsen” (Th. กิมเสน นิราศ)
2	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 5	List of poems (incipits) and Preface making a wish for better handwriting “I wish I may have fine penmanship, so that I will never have shame on (it)... I wish Three Jewels (Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha) have made the sages of my ancestors advice my heart well this time. I wish the perfections and merit of Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha, my teachers, as well as my parents be my refuges.” (Th. หนึ่งขอให้ลายมือ ๆ ข้าฯ ดี อย่าให้ได้คว้ามอายกับ...(ทั้ง) หลายนเลยขอพร พุทธ/สาม/สงฆ จงช่วยคนใจให้ครูปติยาของข้าพเจ้า เน้นนำดวงใจข้าฯให้ดีขึ้นครั้งนี้เทียขอพรบารมีพบ พุทธ/สาม/สง/ครู/ บิดา/มารดา เปนที่พึ่งแห่งข้าฯ)
3	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 24	*Flyleaf title: “The manuscript of <i>Phleng Yao Poems</i> by Mòm Phimsen [from] the Good City (referring to Ayutthaya) Volume IV.” (Th. สมุดเพลงยาวหม่อมกิมเสนบ้านเมืองดี เล่ม ๔) The incipits of the poems in the collection provided
4	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 30	Scribal note on authorship (inserted between the lines): “(Composed) by Mòm Phimsen” (Th. หม่อมพิมเสน) “Words of Mòm Phimsen” (Th. คำหม่อมพิมเสน)
5	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 58	Scribal note on authorship (inserted between the lines): “(Composed) by Phimsen” (Th. กิมเสน)
6	NLT: PhlYSWSs: Ms no. 66	*Flyleaf title: “The manuscript of <i>Phleng Yao Poems</i> by Mòm Phimsen [from] the Good City (referring to Ayutthaya) Volume I.” (Th. สมุดเพลงยาวหม่อมกิมเสนบ้านเมืองดี เล่ม ๑) The incipits of the poems in the collection provided
7	CM: DHC: 17127	*Flyleaf title: “The manuscript of <i>Phleng Yao Poems</i> by Mòm Phimsen [from] the Good City (referring to Ayutthaya) Volume II.” (Th. สมุดเพลงยาวหม่อมกิมเสนบ้านเมืองดี เล่ม ๒) The incipits of the poems in the collection provided

Phra Rot Kham Chan ‘[*Tale of*] *Phra Rot in Kham Chan Meter*’

(Th. พระรศคำฉันท์)

Version A: *Phra Rot Kham Chan I***Version B:** *Pha Rot Kham Chan II***Version C:** *Phra Rot Kham Huan*

No.	Manuscript Inventories	Remarks on Paratexts
1	NLT: ChSs: Phò: Ms no. 16	<p>Colophon in <i>khlong</i> meter:</p> <p><i>Krathu</i> reads: “<i>Phra Rot Kham Chan</i>” (Th. พระ รศ คำฉันท์)</p> <p>The whole stanza reads: “The King (Phra Rot) has loved his lover more than one can count. No one can touch his hear apart from her. These words of chan here, like my words to you my dear, are true and no lying.”</p> <p>(Th. พระ รัชชยั้งสัน คนฉา รท อไรจจับอุรา เหมือนน้อง คำเดียวบ่อพร้อง อีกแม่ ฉัน กล่าวจึงแท้ บ่อลวง)</p>

Ton Thang Farangset ‘*Poetic Travelogue to France*’ (Th. ดันทางฝรั่งเศส)

None of the scribal paratext has been found.

Supridithammarat Chadok ‘[*Tale of*] *Suprīti Dhammarāja Jūtaka*’

(Th. สุปรดิธรรมราชชาดก)

None of the scribal paratext has been found.

APPENDIX III:

Manuscripts of *Maha Chat Kham Luang* with Chanting Markers

No.	Chapter	Manuscript Inventories
1	<i>Chapter I: Thotsa Phòn</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 23
2		NLT: RSs: Ms no. 39
3		NLT: RSs: Ms no. 45 (dated 1860)
4	<i>Chapter II: Himaphan</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 41
5	<i>Chapter III: Thanna Kan</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 43
6	<i>Chapter IV: Wana Prawet</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 52
7	<i>Chapter V: Chuchok and Chapter VI: Cunla Phon</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 63 (MTM; dated 1854; royal manuscript)
8	<i>Chapter VII: Maha Phon</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 82
9		NLT: RSs: Ms no. 83
10	<i>Chapter VIII: Kuman</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 88
11		NLT: RSs: Ms no. 90
12	<i>Chapter IX: Matsi</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 102
13	<i>Chapter XI: Maha Rat</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 110
14		NLT: RSs: Ms no. 112
15	<i>Chapter XII: Chò Kasat and Chapter XIII: Nakhòn Kan</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 121 (MTM)
16		NLT: RSs: Ms no. 128 (MTM)
17	<i>Chapter XIII: Nakhòn Kan</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 136 (dated 1809)

*Chapter X: Sakka Bap appears no chanting marker.

APPENDIX IV:
Manuscripts of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* Part III
(Non-Ayutthaya part composed by Prince Paramanuchit)

No	Manuscript Inventories	Support / Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
1	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 3	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume III / Part I-III (Stanza no. 1289-1839)	Purchased to the National Library 12/01/1913.
2	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 4	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Volume IV / Part III (Stanza no. 1840-2011)	Purchased to the National Library 12/01/1913.
3	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 9	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Only Part III (Stanza no. 1447-1803)	Given to the National Library by Cao Phraya Mukkhamontri (Uap Paorohit) (Th.เจ้าพระยามุขมนตรี (อวป เปาโรหิตย์)) in 1930.
4	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 20	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / white pencil	Only Part III (Stanza no. 1447-1845)	Old possession of the National Library.
5	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 21	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Only Part III (drafted) (Stanza no. 1846-2011)	Old possession of the National Library.
6	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 25	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink and white pencil	Only Part III (Stanza no. 1447-1900)	Given to the National Library by Princess Wong Chan (Th.พระองค์เจ้าหญิงวงศ์จันทร์) in 1916.
7	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 31	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Only Part III (Stanza no. 1447-1845)	Old possession of the National Library.
8	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 45	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Only Part III (Stanza no. 1652-1864)	Old possession of the National Library.

No	Manuscript Inventories	Support / Substance	Remarks on Texts	History of Library's Acquisition
9	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17071	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Only Part III (Stanza no. 1447-1845)	Donated to the Central Library of Chiang Mai University by Kraisri Nimmanhemin (Th. ไกรศรี นิมมานเหมินท์)
10	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17072	Blackened <i>khòì</i> Ms / yellow ink	Only Part III (Stanza no. 1846-2011)	

* NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 3 is the only copy which contains the part I, II, and III, thus the Ayutthaya part (part I and II) together with the non-Ayutthaya part, while NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 4 belongs considerably this set of copy.

APPENDIX V

Illustrations



Illustration I: Example of the neat or calligraphy type of Thai script taken from the earliest *Cindamani* manuscript dated 1782 (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 60).

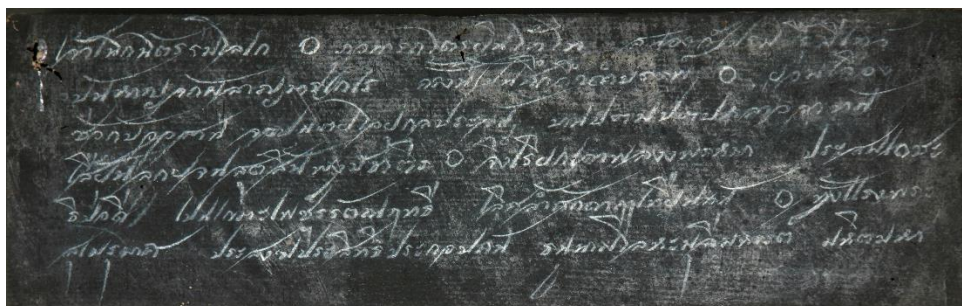


Illustration II: Example of the scribbled type of Thai script (NLT: ChSs: Rò: Ms no. 10).

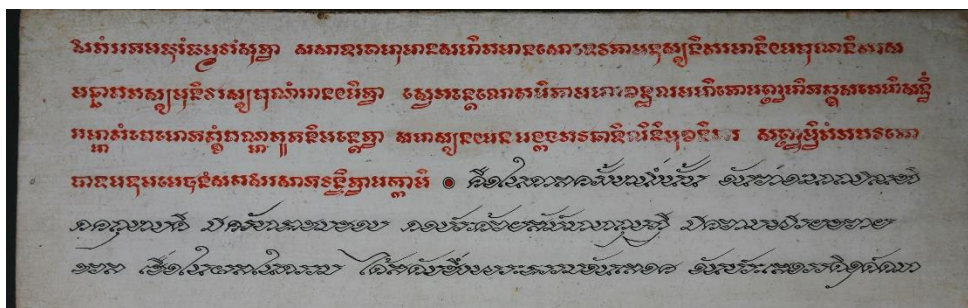


Illustration III: Example of the Thai Yò script (written with black ink) and Khòmm Yò script (written with red ink) taken from the manuscript of *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang* (NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 120).

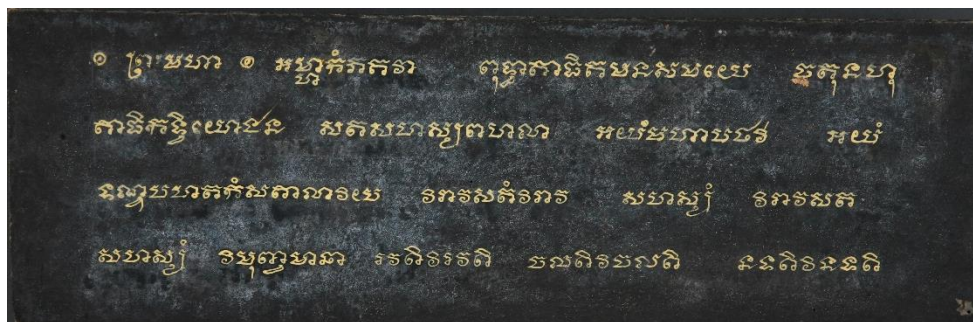


Illustration IV: Example of Khôm script used in Siamese manuscript culture to notate Pali texts (NLT: RSs: Ms no. 23).

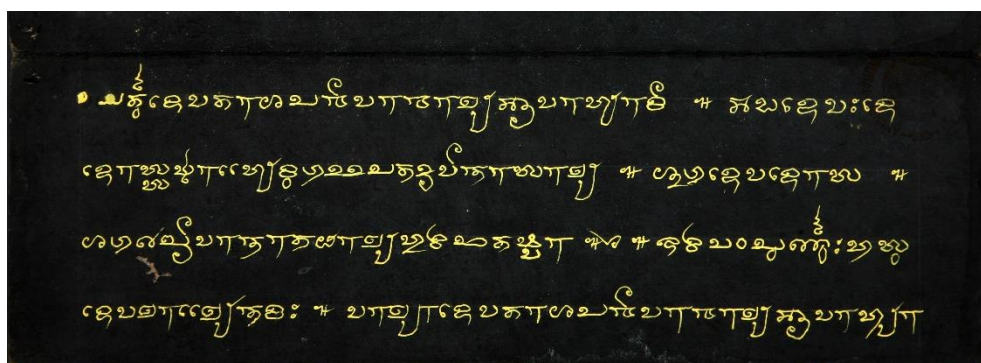


Illustration V: Example of the so-called "ordinary" type of the Siamese Grantha script used to notate Sanskrit, Tamil, and Thai in the brahmins' manuscripts (NLT: PRPTSs: Ms no. 595).

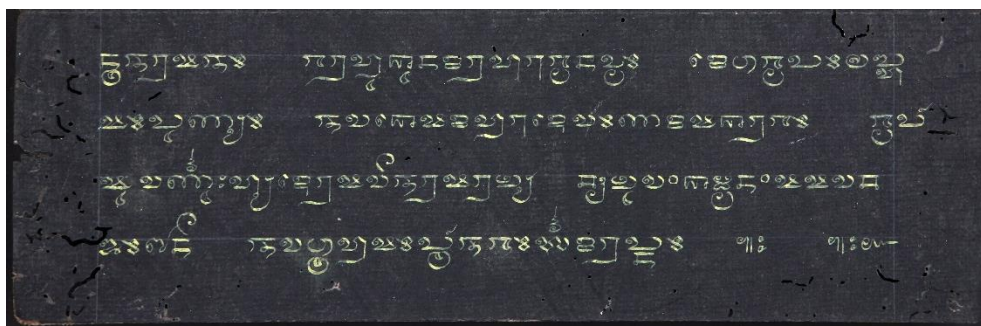


Illustration VI: Example of the decorative type of the Siamese Grantha script (NLT: PRPTSs: Ms no. 672).

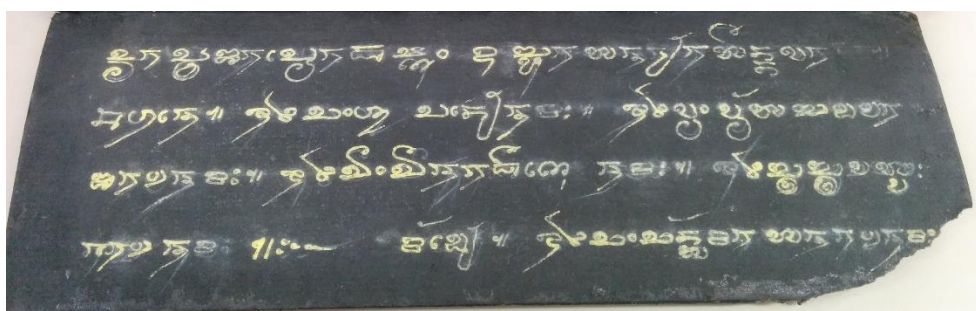


Illustration VII: A manuscript in the ordinary type of the Siamese Grantha script from Nakhon Si Thammarat (NKST: NLT: Ms no. 460).

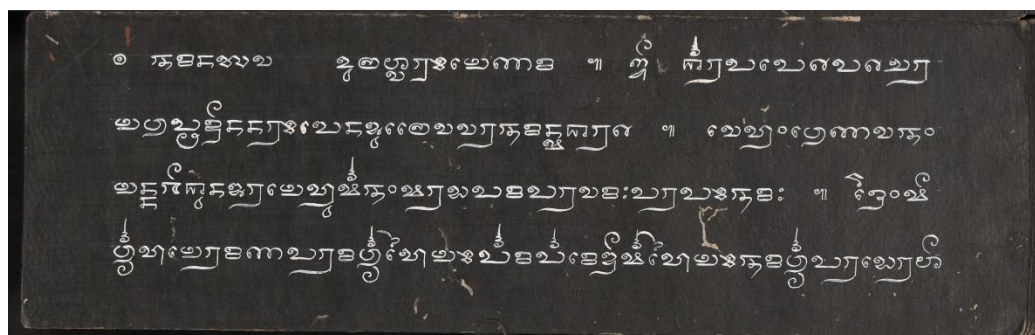


Illustration VIII: A manuscript in the decorative type of the Siamese Grantha script from the Bavarian State Library of Munich (MCH: BStaBi: Cod. Siam 99).

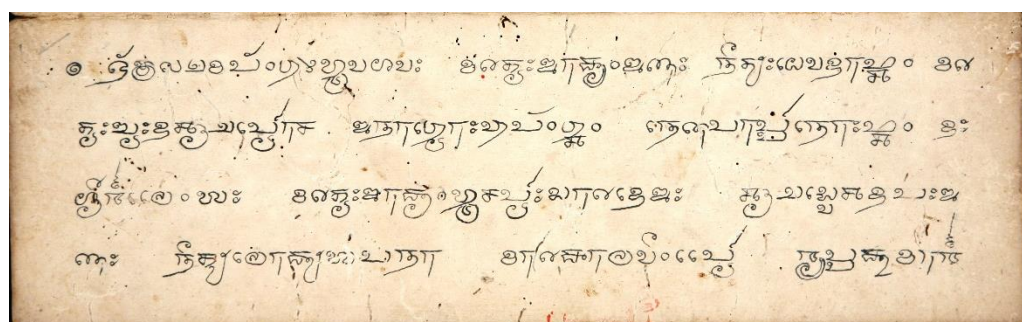


Illustration IX: A manuscript of the *Collection of the Old Elephant Treatises* written in the Siamese Grantha script (NLT: PRPTS: Ms no. 598).

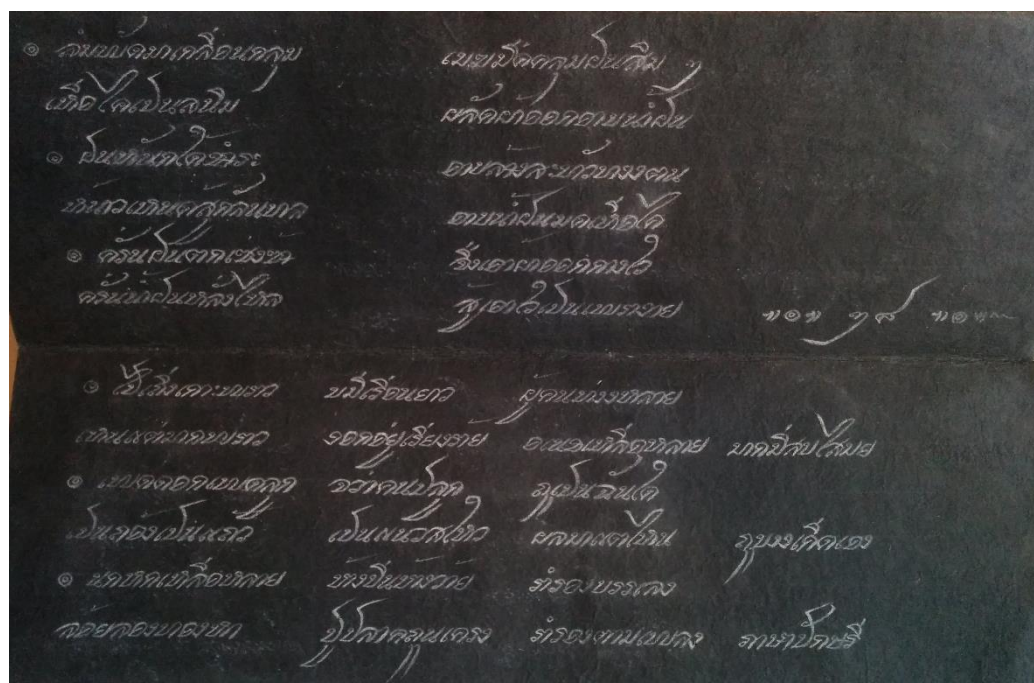


Illustration X: The *codex unicus* of *Ton Thang Farangset* or *Poetic Travelogue to France* with the handwriting presumably dated in the late seventeenth century (PR: BnF: Indochinois 317).

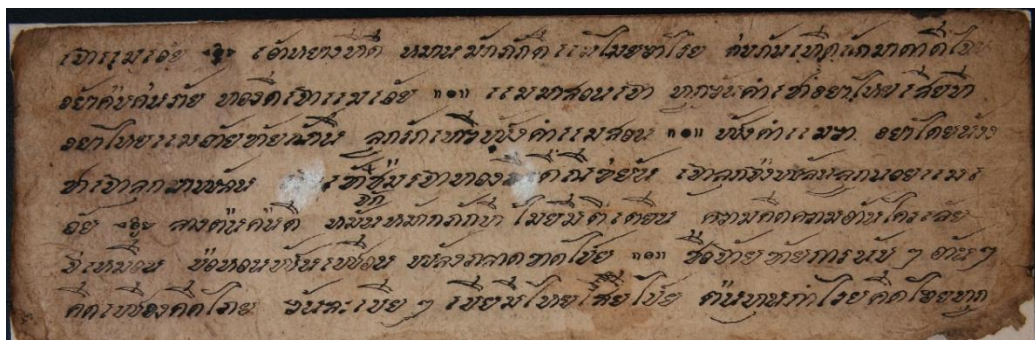


Illustration XI: The *codex unicus* of Mae Sòn Luk Kham Kap with the handwriting most possibly dated in the late Ayutthaya period. This text has been copied together with *Sawat Klòn Suat* as a multiple-text manuscript (NLT: KISSs: Sò: Ms no. 604).

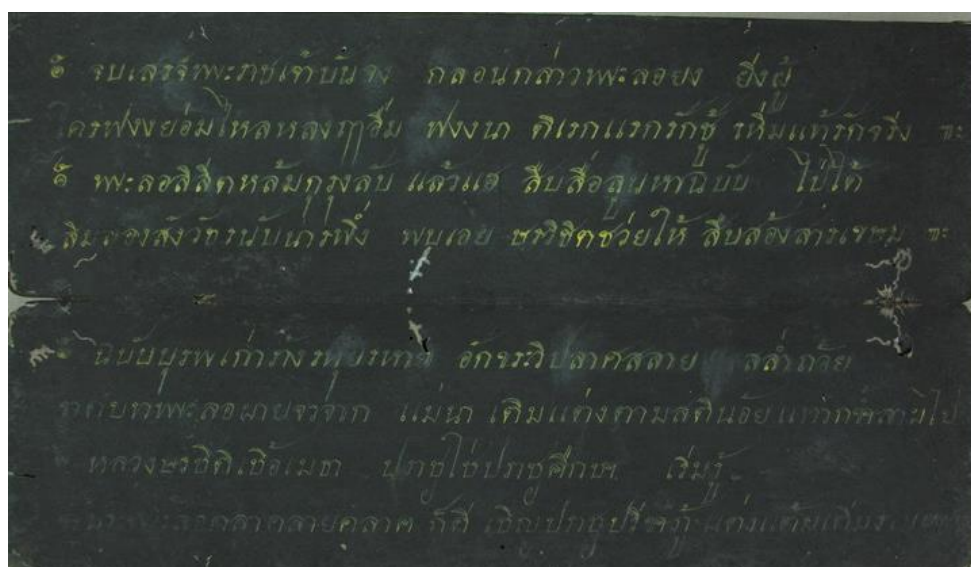


Illustration XII: A part of the colophon mentioning Luang Sòrawichit as the scholar who compiled the fragment of *Lilit Phra Lò* and interpolated the lost part (CM: DHC: NTIC: 17077)¹.

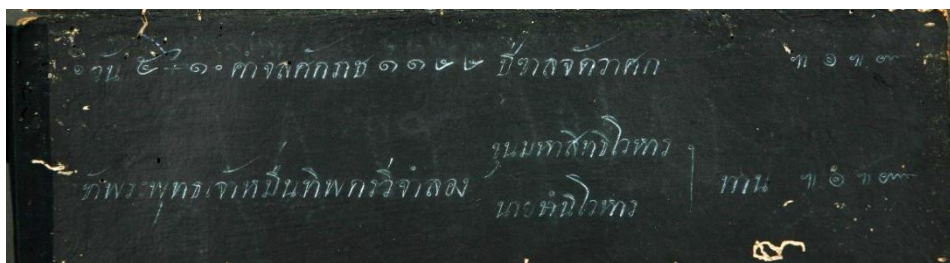


Illustration XIII: Example of a royal scribal preface with the noble ranks and titles of royal scribes as the copyist and proofreaders (NLT: KhlSs: Ms no. 228). This example is taken from the earliest manuscript of *Thawa Thotsamat* dated 1782.

¹ This manuscript is accessible online with the following link: http://library.cmu.ac.th/digital_collection/digitalheritage/show.php?RecID=507&FID=21530



Illustration XIV: Example of the paratextual element (side-marker) with informal and playful characteristics using the *aksòn lek* code found in a manuscript of *Cindamani* (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 81).

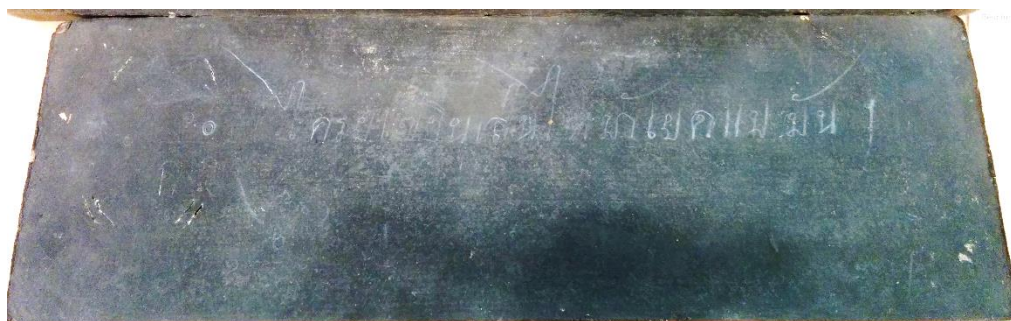


Illustration XV: Example of the informal paratext, cursing anyone who played and jotted in the manuscript, from a manuscript of *Suphasit Bandit Di* ('Proverbs for Good Scholars'), a (non-Ayutthaya) didactic text, preserved at the Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen (CPH: RDL: Siam 6).



Illustration XVI: Example of a manuscript of *Cindamani* edited by Prince Paramanuchit (NLT: ASS: Ms no. 35).



Illustration XVII: Example of a manuscript of *Sīa Kho Kham Chan* in which colophon mentions Prince Paramanuchit most possibly as the interpolator (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 96). Notably is that the handwriting, writing support, and writing substance corresponds to the manuscript of *Cindamani* edited by Prince Paramanuchit mentioned in the Illustration XIV above.

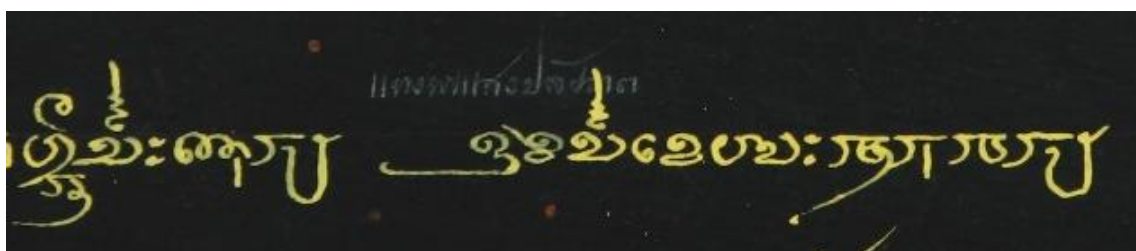


Illustration XVIII: Example of the ceremonial notes above the line of the main text found in a manuscript of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* instructing when the brahmin should infuse the arrow into the water (NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 259). The main text in this manuscript is written in the Siamese Grantha script, while the interlinear ceremonial note is written in Thai script.

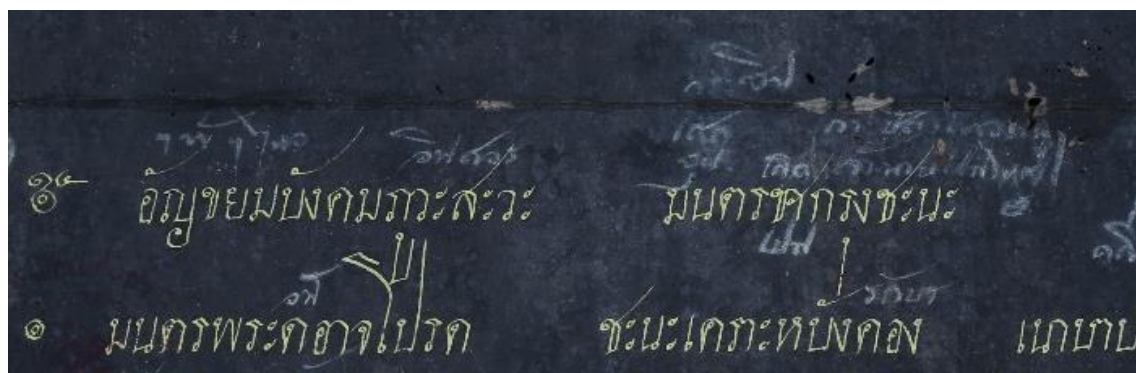


Illustration XIX: Example of the extensive glosses found in a manuscript of *the Collection of the Old Elephant Treatises* (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16).

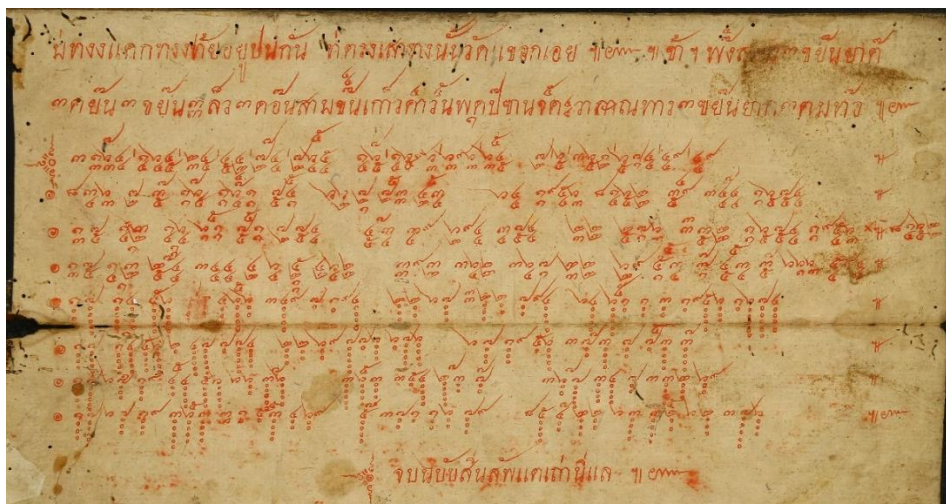


Illustration XXII: Example of a manuscript of *Lokkanit* (dated 1843) with the extensive encoded paratext (NLT: KhSPHSSs: Ms no. 40).



Illustration XXIII: Images of the Royal Manuscript Hall from the mural painting of Wat Ratcha Pradit (left) and the old photograph from the National Archives of Thailand (Phitchaya Sumchinda, 2012: 145).

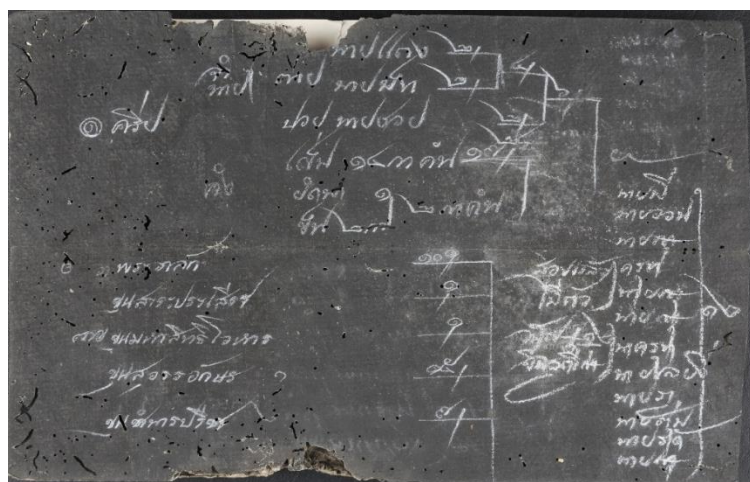


Illustration XXIV: Example of a pension record of the royal scribes (NLT: CMHS: R3: CS1200: Ms no. 92).

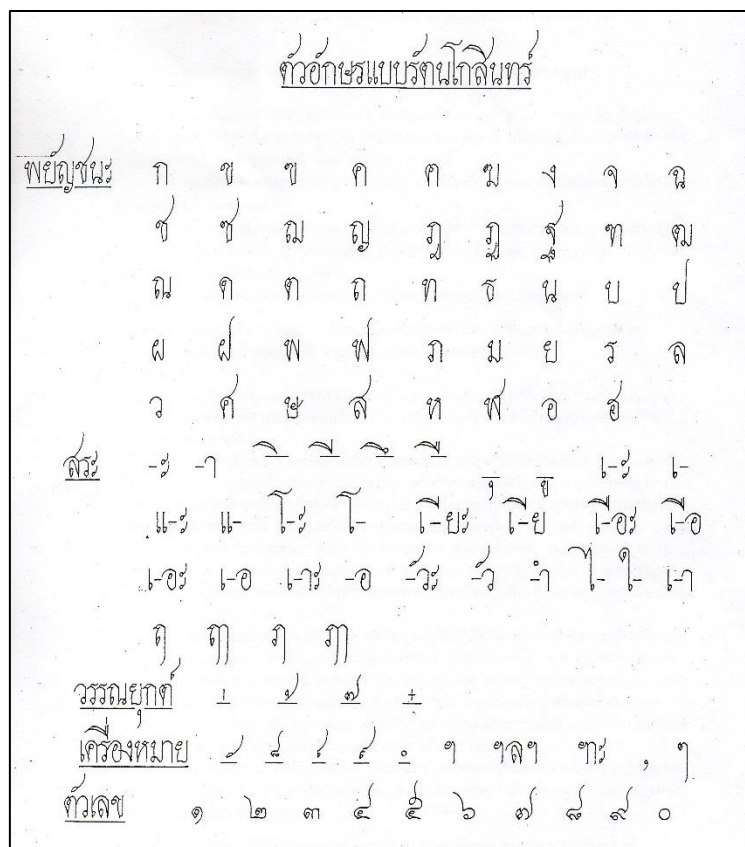


Illustration XXV: Example of modern royal scribes' handwriting as practiced by modern royal scribes nowadays. (Courtesy of the *Likhit* Section, the Office of the Royal Scribes and Royal Decorations within the Secretariat of the Cabinet)

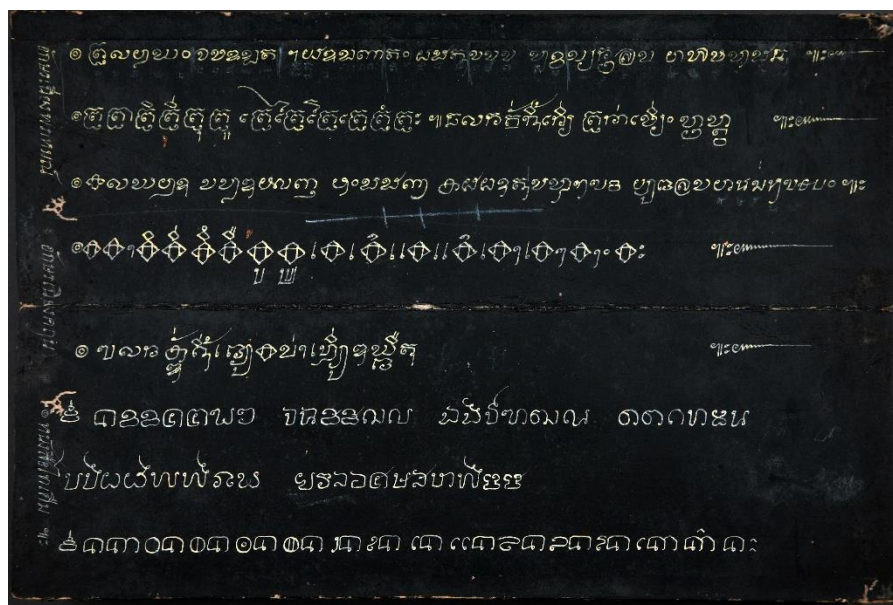


Illustration XXVI: A manuscript of *Cindamani* which includes the Siamese Grantha script and the Old Thai script (from Sukhothai inscription) in a unique lesson, as a result of the tradition of editing the text (NLT: TRPhSs: Ms no. 121).

Zusammenfassung

Diese Studie untersucht die Überlieferungsgeschichte der siamesischen (thailändischen) Literatur aus der Ayutthaya-Epoche (1351–1767) bis in die Bangkok-Zeit (ab 1782). Aufgrund der umfangreichen Zerstörungen auch schriftlicher Zeugnisse, die der zeitweisen Eroberung Ayutthayas durch birmanische Truppen folgten, verfügen wir nur über relativ wenige Manuskripte aus der Ayutthaya-Zeit selbst, die in der damaligen Epoche entstandene literarische Werke aufzeichnen. Die meisten Manuskripte, die derartige Werke beinhalten, stammen aus der nachfolgenden Periode, überwiegend aus dem 19. Jahrhundert. Diese wird nach der neuen Hauptstadt des wiedererstandenen siamesischen Königreichs auch Bangkok-Periode genannt. Schreiber und Gelehrte aus Bangkok haben ganz entscheidend an der Überlieferung der literarischen Werke aus der Ayutthaya-Zeit durch die Anfertigung von Kopien beigetragen. Die vorliegende Dissertation analysiert 41 ausgewählte literarische Texte der Ayutthaya-Literatur, die von der heutigen thailändischen Literaturwissenschaft der Ayutthaya-Epoche zugeschrieben werden, anhand ihrer Überlieferung in insgesamt 714 Manuskripten, die entweder in der thailändischen Nationalbibliothek in Bangkok oder in anderen Institutionen in Thailand wie auch in Europa archiviert sind. Diese Manuskripte sind ganz überwiegend aus dem pappartigen *Khòì*-Papier gefertigte Faltbücher. Als wichtigste Quelle für die Untersuchung dienen die von den Schreibern der Manuskripte verfassten Paratexte. Diese schließen solche mit einer vorwiegend dokumentierenden oder kommentierenden Funktion (wie Vorworte, Kolophone und interlineare Anmerkungen) als auch solche mit einer strukturierenden Funktion (wie Buchtitel, Seitenmarkierungen usw.). Aussagekräftige, von den Schreibern stammende Paratexte finden sich in insgesamt 274 Manuskripten. Sie geben Auskunft darüber, in welchem Umfange Schreiber und Gelehrte aus der Bangkok-Zeit die Literatur der Ayutthaya-Periode übertragen und bewertet haben.

Es werden im Einzelnen Ort, Zeit und Träger der Textüberlieferung untersucht. Die Überlieferungsorte umfassen sowohl den Königspalast in Bangkok als auch wichtige Klöster in der Hauptstadt wie auch in Provinzstädten. Die soziale Herkunft der Schreiber und Gelehrten reicht von königlichen Hofschreibern und hochgestellten Adligen am Königshof bis hin zu buddhistischen Mönchen. Die Paratexte identifizieren die an der Abfassung der Manuskripte beteiligten Schreiber und Gelehrten sowohl als Kopisten als auch als Editoren und Korrektoren. Die vorliegende Dissertation rekonstruiert durch eine eingehende Analyse der Paratexte die Zirkulation von Texten an unterschiedlichen Orten, Zeiten und Akteuren. Neben der Überlieferung einzelner Texte dokumentieren die Paratexte des der Arbeit zugrunde liegenden Korpus auch die Erstellung von Editionen und die Zusammenstellung von Anthologien. Dabei wird insbesondere die textverändernde Dynamik im Prozess der Transmission von Manuskripten analysiert. Obwohl die Überlieferung der Ayutthaya-Literatur eng mit Schriftlichkeit verbunden ist, spielt die mündliche Kommunikation eine wichtige Rolle. Es kann gezeigt werden, dass die Rezipienten der literarischen Werke diese in einem beträchtlichen Umfang stärker auditiv als visuell wahrnahmen. Die thailändischen literarischen Werke der Ayutthaya-Zeit besitzen eine recht komplexe Überlieferungsgeschichte, die Spezialisten der Thai-Literatur nicht ignorieren sollten.

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 desgleichen.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'M. Schmidt', is written over a horizontal line.