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THE SUDHANA-MANO HARĀ TALE IN THAI

A comparative study based on two texts from the National  
Library, Bangkok, and Wat Machimāwāt, Songkhla

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the  
University of London

1971

## ABSTRACT

The Sudhana-Manoharā literary tradition, descending in the jataka tale form from early Indian versions, has been a well-established story in numerous Southeast Asian languages. Two poems in the Thai language based on the story, and set in the Thai verse idiom known as klon suat, closely relate to a Pali version included in a Pali collection of extra-canonical jataka tales (Paññāsa-jātaka) thought to have been composed in northern Thailand. While the two Thai poems claim the Pali version as their source and adhere to it in all major and minor details, they also embellish and naturalise the background of the tale in keeping with the characteristics of Thai literature and culture. The two poems evidence numerous stylistic similarities in their treatment, employing description and digression, stylized phrases, epithets, similes, etc. in creating a Thai framework for the story. At the same time regional distinctions are apparent between the two versions, indicating a central Thai origin for the National Library poem and southern context in the Songkhla text. The Thai tradition of the Sudhana-Manoharā tale also relates indirectly to an indigenous southern

Thai popular dance-drama called manora or nora, which appears to borrow its name from the heroine of the tale.

The Lao, Cambodian, and Mon versions of the tale also reveal certain relationships with the Thai and Pali versions.

## Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge the continuous support and guidance of my advisor Professor E. H. S. Simmonds in every stage and aspect of the production of this thesis. Special points of difficulty with the Thai language, and especially southern Thai dialect were resolved through the invaluable and extensive assistance offered by Miss Kwandee Rakphongse. In my field work, Mr. Suthiwong Phongphaibun Head of the Thai Department, College of Education, Songkhla, provided incalculable help both in locating the Songkhla text and in preparing a printed text of it from the manuscript.

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND :

#### THE TEXTS AND THE THAI SUDHANA TRADITION

The story of Sudhana and Manoharā<sup>1</sup> is an ancient Indic tale which was already prominent in the literature of northern Hinayana Buddhism in the early centuries of the Christian era. Its early history has been carefully traced by P. S. Jaini in an article which compares the extant versions of the tale in Sanskrit and Pali with the story as it appears in reliefs on the great 8-9th century temple of Borobudur in central Java<sup>2</sup>. The Pali versions of it are part of a collection of jatakas ('birth tales')

1. Sanskrit and Pali words are written here according to the standard transliteration system. Thai words are transcribed according to the general system of the Thai Royal Academy ("Notification of the Royal Academy concerning the Transliteration of Thai Characters into Roman", Journal of the Thailand Research Society, XXXIII, 1, March 1941, 49-65) with the additional use of a macron to indicate certain long vowels as distinct from short, as a, ā; i, ī; u, ū; e, ē; o, ō; ai, āi; y, ū. Certain other vowels, oe and q, are always long in the examples cited in the text and so are not distinguished from their corresponding short vowels.
2. P. S. Jaini, "The Story of Sudhana and Manoharā: an Analysis of the texts and the Borobudur Reliefs," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, XXIX, Part 3, 1966, 533-558. The same issue, pages 506-532, comprises Sir Harold Bailey's edition of the



traditionally thought to have been composed by monks in Chiangmai in northern Thailand, from the fifteenth century onwards. The title of this Pali collection is Paññāsa-jātaka ('fifty birth tales'). Its Burmese recension is known as Zimmé Pannāsa ('the Chiangmai fifty'), a title which supports the suggestion of its origin in northern Thailand. The only story of this Pali collection which has been critically examined and edited, Samuddaghosa-jātaka<sup>1</sup>, suggests particularly in the form of its language that it was composed, together with the other stories, in Southeast Asia rather than borrowed intact from a Pali original from India or elsewhere. Further evidence is offered by the existence of three distinct collections of stories in the Paññāsa-jātaka tradition. These are the Khmer (-Thai) version, a single tradition known in various manuscripts all written in Khmer characters and showing slight variations from

- (2) (continued) Khotanese version of the story, "The Sudhana Poem of Rddhiprabhāva", which is discussed in the Jaini article. A possible reference to the Sudhana poem occurs in a Sanskrit inscription of 961 AD from Pré Rup in the Angkor region, in praise of Rajendravarman, where a poem named Manoharā is mentioned as something new: navārtha eva kenāpi kāvyē rāñkṣīn manohare (verse CCXXI). G. Coedès, Inscriptions du Cambodge, I, 98.

1. G. Terral, "Samuddaghosa-jātaka. Conte pali tiré du Paññāsajātaka", Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, XLVIII, 2, 1957, 249-350.

each other<sup>1</sup>, The Burmese Zimmé Paṇṇāsa already referred to above<sup>2</sup>, and a collection in the Lao language described by Louis Finot in 1917<sup>3</sup>. In each of these three collections more than half the stories are original, that is to say they do not reappear in either of the other two collections, and only fifteen stories are common to all versions<sup>4</sup>.

In Thailand, certain popular stories with a Buddhist setting, from the Paññāsa-jātaka and elsewhere, were translated into Thai verse from the Pali language and written down on the characteristic long Thai folding books of paper made

1. The Institut Bouddhique of Phnom Penh published the Pali text in 1953, and a translation into Cambodian was published in Phnom Penh in 1961, also by the Institut Bouddhique. A Thai translation, either slightly abridged or deriving from a somewhat shorter text than the Cambodian, was first published by the National Library in Bangkok in 1926. It is this Thai-Khmer version of the Paññāsa-jātaka which has served as the Pali source for the Sudhana tale in this thesis.
2. Zimmé Paṇṇāsa, Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon, 1911.
3. Louis Finot, "Recherches sur la littérature laotienne", Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, XVII, 5, 1917, 44-49.
4. Ibid. The Sudhana tale is one of the fifteen common to all three collections, but in the Burmese recension it is named the Sudhanu-jātaka. The Lao and Khmer collections each have a separate and additional story entitled Sudhanu which is not related to the story under consideration.

from the bark of the khqi bush (*streblus asper*)<sup>1</sup>, for the purpose of reading aloud to the laity on the sabbath day (*wan phra*)<sup>2</sup>. This genre of story, at once didactic and entertaining, is known in Thai as klon suat. It is composed in a variety of verse forms, the usual mixture being known as kāp (Sanskrit, *kāvya*), comprising the common Thai verse forms called *yānī*, *chabang*, and *surāṅkhanāṅ*. The Thai adaptors of these stories are all anonymous, but their work is often charming, and nearly always endowed with the Thai flair for the concrete, the realistic, and the human. In the process of transmuting the stories into the language and cultural terms of the Thai, the tales inevitably found themselves re-cast, and expanded to many times their original length.

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1. The Thai call these books samut khqi, or samut thai. Frequently the paper is blackened with a charcoal paste, and inscribed with white steatite pencil, or white or yellow ink. The black books are also known as samut dam. The plain, unblackened, books are inscribed with black ink. When folded, the book's average dimensions are 14-15" by 4½-5".
  2. The popular stories of Phra Suthon-Nāṅ Manōrā, of Sang Thong, Khāwī (*Sya khō*), Samuthakhōt, and Subin, are all found in the Paññāsa-jātaka.

It is two such versions of the Sudhana-jātaka, re-cast in Thai verse, that this thesis will principally examine. The first of these versions is known in numerous copies, preserved mainly in the National Library in Bangkok, with two other copies known elsewhere, one in the Royal Asiatic Society, London<sup>1</sup>, and one in the possession of Mr. Dyan Bunnāk in Bangkok<sup>2</sup>. However, only one copy of all these is in fact a complete copy of this version of the story, and it is this complete copy, in six volumes of the Thai folding book, that is adopted here to represent this manuscript tradition. This copy will be referred to as the National Library text, abbreviated below as NL<sup>3</sup>.

1. Professor E. H. S. Simmonds describes this manuscript and analyses a section from it pertaining to popular entertainments in "Mahōrasop in a Thai Manōrā Manuscript", Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, XXX, Part 2, 1967, 391-403. A further article by the same author compares the London text of this section with the corresponding section in the main National Library copy. See "Mahōrasop II. The Thai National Library manuscript", BSOAS, XXXIV, Part 1, 1971, 119-131.
2. This copy, in two books, lacking only the last one-fifth of the story, was published with original spelling as Manōrā čhāk samut khōi lae phāp khōng nāi dyan bunnāk. Thammasat University press, Bangkok, 1956. It is the only text in the NL manuscript tradition which has been published up to the present time.
3. On the understanding that the National Library holds in addition to this copy seventeen fragmentary copies in

It consists of six volumes of the Thai folding black book, each about 27 folds in length. The pages (or, more accurately, 'openings') are inscribed in white chalk on both sides of the folded paper, in a legible, rather neat hand, at eight lines per opening<sup>1</sup>. The total number of inscribed openings is 318, and each line has an average of 17 words, so the poem is approximately 45,000 words in length. The verse is of the normal k̄ap type.

The orthography and spelling suggest an early or middle nineteenth century date, and in fact the scribe states in the last line of the manuscript that the copy was completed at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, on the date corresponding to October 1, 1856. The six books are labelled by the library 'bot kl̄on', with no identifying numbers<sup>2</sup>, and indicated

- 
- (3) (continued) the same manuscript tradition, representing mainly single volumes of two-, three-, or four-volume copies of the text. These copies, although within the same tradition, are very likely to differ in spelling, word choice, and phrasing from each other and from the complete copy which is taken here as their fair representative.
1. Ten, twelve, and fourteen lines per opening are common in these books, which explains why six volumes (of rather smaller dimensions than average) were required to complete this copy, where three or four volumes suffice elsewhere.
  2. All the other copies in the National Library are labelled 'kl̄on suat' and numbered in sequence, 75/1

as coming to the library from the Secretary of the Council of Ministers (krom lēkhāthikān khana rathamontī).

The second version is called here the Songkhla text, or abbreviated as S, for the reason that the only known copy of it is preserved in the province of Songkhla in southern Thailand, in the museum collection of the Machimāwāt temple (also known as Wat Klāng). Shortly after its identification as a hitherto unknown Suthon text, a printed version, retaining the original spellings, was edited and published in June, 1970 by Mr. Suthiwong Phongphaibūn of the College of Education in Songkhla<sup>1</sup>. The Songkhla text was composed by a southern Thai poet with a good command of loanwords from Sanskrit and Pali. This is evident from a proliferation both of colloquial southern Thai expressions in the text, and from a learned use of difficult Indic vocabulary. The copy of the text preserved in Songkhla is dated to the equivalent of November 23rd, 1868, but from the style of the colophon it

- (2) (continued) through 75/15 (plus two unnumbered fragments). There is no significance in the different label headings, as the text is the same. Where 'klon suat' indicates a genre of story with Buddhist framework, 'bot klon' merely means a piece of verse, a poem.

1. Manōrā nibāt. Songkhla Teacher's College, 1970. With extensive notes and appendices, 395 pp.

can be assumed that this is only the date of a copy of an earlier text. It is contained in three folding books, thirty-seven, thirty-five, and forty-one folds in length respectively, in a very neat and careful hand in black ink at ten lines per opening. Insect damage to the otherwise well preserved manuscript causes occasional difficulty in deciphering. The total number of inscribed openings is 216<sup>1</sup>, with an average word count per line of twenty-four, so that the total length is approximately 51,000 words. The total number of verse stanzas is 2,134, including the standard kâp forms of yānī, chabang, and surāṅkhanāṅ, as well as eight further varieties of metre (comprising 263 stanzas) of uncommon type. There is no information concerning the place of origin of the manuscript.

There are occasional brief indications of the poets and scribes who created and preserved the Suthon tale in the Thai language. The poet of the NL text tells us in his introduction only that his tale is taken from the Buddha's words in Pali, and that the confusion of men's minds will be dispelled when they hear it. The Songkhla poet is more informative when he

1. Ten remaining openings in the final book are filled in the same hand, with another text, possibly the Subin tale.

writes in concluding his poem that he has 'in devotion composed it according to the Pali as they wrote it in ancient times. There is [here] no story of Nāng Kānom, daughter to the wicked brahman, no birdling of the lord of the birds<sup>1</sup>, [these] are not to be found in the old text (khamphī). I wrote the chan(d) verses<sup>2</sup> according to the Pali, the story as from old, of Manōrā' (S pp. 297-298).

Among the copies of the NL version surviving today, there are occasional mentions of the copyist's name and the date of his work, sometimes with further brief remarks by him concerning his writing, or on the proper use of the book.

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1. These are references to numerous accretions to the original story in the course of its transformation into a (southern) Thai folk tale, of which the most notable (and most natural, in the Thai cultural context) is the provision of other wives for Suthon, especially Nāng Kānom who is also named in the Cambodian Sudhana poem. These extraneous additions will be treated below in the body of the text.
  2. Although he calls his verse 'chan(d)', this is not the classical Thai chan(d) where syllable length is specified in imitation of Sanskrit verse, but a collection of verse forms in which the three common forms of yānī, chabang, and surāṅkhanāṅ are supplemented by eight other forms possibly invented by the poet, or at least highly uncommon.



In addition to the National Library and Songkhla versions of the Suthon tale, there are other Thai Manōrā manuscripts which represent a rather 'folklorized' tradition of the tale quite distinct from the two literary versions under direct consideration here. These folklorized texts all employ a great deal of colloquial southern Thai language, suggesting a strictly southern localization of the texts, comprising rough and rustic flavoured dialogue, and incorporating numerous alterations and additions to the plot, all in the way of naturalization of the story to a Thai social and cultural setting. They represent the Thai poet at his simplest and most unrestrained, and although they may possess little that is elevated or noble, they often rise to heights of affective natural sentiment unmatched in the conventional Thai literary styles, and merit further examination.

A complete text of this rustic type was reportedly found in Sathing Phra, Songkhla, in mid-1970 by Mr. Suthiwong Phongphaibun of the College of Education in Songkhla. Another text, nearly complete, belongs to the Provincial Boys' School in Nakhon Si Thammarāt province, and includes an extensive

sequel to the story as we know it in the Pali version<sup>1</sup>.

Finally, the library of the University of Edinburgh preserves a small fragment of such a text, relating the incident of Manōrā's capture and lament<sup>2</sup>.

A literary rendition of the Suthon tale into the somewhat artificial verse form known as chan(d) should also be mentioned here, a poem composed by Phrayā Isarānuphāp in the late nineteenth century<sup>3</sup>. The chan(d) form is an attempt to reproduce in Thai the metres and vowel length of Sanskrit versification, and the resulting effect is of necessity somewhat stilted, although its high flown and learned qualities must have endowed it with considerable prestige in

1. The six volume text on khōi books is lacking the first book which was borrowed by someone in Phuket province about ten years ago and subsequently untraced. Hopefully the set may still be united again. The southern Thai abbot of Rāchāthiwāt temple in Bangkok has transcribed long extracts from these books and said he hoped they would be published.
2. Thai manuscript PL 41/5.
3. Phrayā Isarānuphāp, Phra Suthon kham chan, Bangkok, 1927. The poem was first published in 1901 in serial form in the Wachirayān magazine. At the time the author's rank was Phra Phiphit Sālī; his personal name On. It was reprinted in book form in Bangkok in 1927 with an introduction by Prince Bidyalankarana whence the above information was obtained.

the Thai mind<sup>1</sup>. The effect of casting the Suthon story in this form is to rather break the story up into scenes upon which the author has written lyrical impressions or evocations. The narrative element which is dominant in all of the more natural Thai settings of the tale is almost wholly suppressed in this chan(d) poem.

Closely related to the folklorized literary tradition is a popular tradition of dance-dress indigenous to southern Thailand which bears the name 'manōrā', or 'nōrā',<sup>2</sup> a name testifying to the apparently dominant popularity of the Suthon-Manōrā story at some period in the history of this dramatic form. The manora dance-drama has been widely credited as a survival of primitive Thai drama<sup>3</sup>, perhaps because it is in effect the only surviving popular dance-drama

1. As mentioned above, the poet of the Songkhla poem labels his verse chan(d) although in fact he only employs the more natural verse forms of Thai kāp where vowel length and stress are not stipulated. The self-description of his verse as chan(d) may be a measure of the prestige attached to the word.
2. Syllabic reduction is a common feature in the southern Thai dialects.
3. Maha Vajiravudh, "Notes on the Siamese Theatre", Journal of the Siam Society, LV, Part 1, 1967, p. 9, and René Nicolas, "Le Lakhon Nora ou Lakhon Chatri et les origines du théâtre classique siamois", Journal of the Siam Society, XVIII, 1924, 101-105.

whose origins clearly go back further than living memory<sup>1</sup>.

It would be difficult however to assess its actual age or origins. Southern Thai scholars, proud of their own regional cultural traditions, have attempted to do so, but on the basis of wishful etymologies and inferences from the rather obscure invocation tradition attached to the manora drama, rather than solid evidence<sup>2</sup>. What can be said with fair certainty is that the manora is a cohesive southern Thai cultural entity<sup>3</sup>, which at some time in its past history was dominated by the Manōrā-Suthon story. Its small cast of three main players includes a clown always named Bun or Phrān Bun, which is the name of the hunter

1. The central Thai likē which is still performed in all parts of Thailand is known to have grown up late in the nineteenth century. See Michael Smithies, "A Note on the Origin, Form and Future of Siamese Folk Opera", Journal of the Siam Society, v. 59, part 1, 1971, 33-64. The fact that other indigenous forms of central Thai popular drama have failed to survive can probably be attributed to the overpowering influence, and often control, of the court over dramatic presentations in the last 150 years, as well as, more recently, foreign influences on dramatic forms.
2. Mr. Yiamyong Surakitbanhān of Songkhla has taken great pains to establish the independent origins of southern Thai culture in Thiao songkhla, edited by Phinyō Čhittham, Songkhla 1961, 238-249, and in Nōrā, edited by Phinyō Čhittham, Songkhla 1965.
3. Prince Damrong's supposition which has been widely repeated, to the effect that the Manora drama was

in the Suthon tale. The manora hero's name survives among the Kelantanese Thai, though not elsewhere, as Pasitong<sup>1</sup>, a clear reflection of Phra Suthon or Phra Sī Suthon (lord Suthon), as the hero of our story is commonly known in Thailand. And the heroine's part, always played by a young boy in former times, bears in its costume promising traces of her connection with Manōrā the kinnara princess. These are the wings and tail incorporated in the costume, and the steps of the dance identified as 'khinon', southern Thai for kinnara<sup>2</sup>.

The manora dance-drama is also known by the names 'chātrī', lakhon chātrī, or 'nōrā chātrī'. 'Chātrī' is an

(3) (continued) carried to the south from central Thailand is based on a vague passage in a manora invocation which in no way offers positive evidence for the alleged migration of the drama. Prince Damrong explains his ideas in the introduction to Bot lakhon khrang krung kao ruang nāng manōrā lae sang thong, Bangkok, 1919, introduction.

1. M. C. ff Sheppard, "The Ballet of Ligor", Straits Times Annual, 1959, p. 12.
2. The wings and tail are in fact common to both the hero's and heroine's costumes, as is the 'khinon' step. It is the clown's costume which is quite distinct, with its comic mask and simple trousers.

obscure, apparently Indic word, variously attributed in origin to Sanskrit 'yātr' ('going', hence, presumably wandering players) or 'kṣatra' (royalty, presumably referring to the high station of the characters portrayed). Its modern sense in Thai is 'valiant, manly, powerful'. It is probably of significance that a surviving Bengali dance-drama is named Jatra, from a word with the same ambiguous origins<sup>1</sup>.

Various Bangkok noblemen and court personages imported and maintained manora troupes from the south in Bangkok during the earlier Bangkok period<sup>2</sup>, These troupes came to be known exclusively as 'lakhon chātrī' in central Thailand, and the nature of the performance altered itself to suit the central Thai audience whose culture and dialect differed from that spoken in the south. It became a distinct type of dance-drama which, like its southern progenitor the manora, has been altered out of recognition in modern days, but was characterized by very rapid rhythm and verse forms which kept the action coarse and earthy, and largely comic.

1. Balwant Gargi, Folk Theater of India. University of Washington Press, 1966, pp. 11-35. Also, A. A. MacDonell, A History of Sanskrit Literature, Delhi, 1965, p. 293.
2. Damrong Rāchānuphāp, Tamnān lakhon inao, Bangkok, 1965 (fourth printing), p. 64-65.

The 'lakhon chātrī' in central Thailand widely served a magico-religious function, perhaps due to the established renown of the southern manora masters in magical matters. Their performances were employed as offerings to a particular spirit in thanks for the granting of a boon besought by a supplicant. Upon praying for the favour, the supplicant vows an offering in return; if the favour is given, he must placate the spirit with the promised offering, lest he incur misfortune upon himself from an angered spirit. This sort of offering is known as kae bon (releasing, or correcting, a vow). Whether or not the 'lakhon chātrī' in central Thailand ever had any fixed traditions in the past, it has none today in the places where it still survives, in performances at the Lak Myang ('city pillar') in Bangkok, abode of the capital's most potent spirits, or at Wat Sōthon in Chachoengsao, whose image of the Buddha is famed for its power to reward supplicants. The troupes that perform there today sing and dance their stories on a fairly makeshift basis. They do not carry on any continuous tradition, rather only a continuing function.

The southern Thai manora drama as it survived in the early part of the present century was well described in 1924 by René Nicolas<sup>1</sup>, who does not however distinguish between the southern manora, nora, or nora chatrī, and the central Thai form presumably descended from it known as lakhon chātrī only. In his description Nicolas has ignored the sort of variety show which occupied the first three or four hours of the old style manora performance, only at the conclusion of which would a dramatic presentation commence. Older manora players interviewed in rural south Thailand in 1969 contrasted the leisurely performances they knew in their younger days, up to sixty years ago, with the much altered and modernized manora of recent years. The format of the old style manora performances can not perhaps be adequately described by the term dance-drama, for a long series of solo and group 'numbers' either danced or sung, as well as skits, preceded the play, commencing with the youngest and least adept player of the troupe and culminating in the appearance of the lead player (nāi rōng)

1. René Nicolas, "Le Lakhon nora ou lakhon chatrī et les origines du théâtre classique siamois", Journal of the Siam Society, XVIII, 1924, 85-110. In retelling the jātika story, the hero's name is mistakenly transcribed as Sundara (for Sudhana).



whose skill in dance and in the spontaneous creation of a rhymed commentary could win him widespread fame throughout southern Thailand. The style of dancing is unique to the manora, and could conceivably reflect influence from Indian dance styles. Some of the steps are acrobatic in nature. Perhaps the most notable feature of the manora performance from the point of view of the audience's appreciation and enjoyment is the performer's skill in making up extemporaneous verses (mutō) on some topical theme<sup>1</sup>. It is this critical skill that served as the basic criterion for the reputation of the troupe leader. Competitive performances between two or more troupes were a popular entertainment and attracted the country people from considerable distances if the players had great reputations. The fame of the victory of Nōrā Toem of Trang over the older Nōrā Wan of Nakhon Sī Thammarāt is legendary throughout the south, and the defeated master forfeited to Nōrā Toem his daughters Win and Wāt, who are now the latter's wives and co-players.

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1. Manora players of lesser skill do not invent verses, but memorize them beforehand and recite them in performance, at least in modern times.

Only Nōrā Wān; among numerous manora masters interviewed claimed to have ever performed the story of Suthon and Manōrā in his repertoire, though not for many decades past. Another renowned master of former days, Nōrā Phum Thēwā (Khun Upatham) of Phathalung positively denied the predominance of the Suthon story within the manora drama, but many witnesses and other players testified to the former popularity of the tale, a popularity perhaps justifying the assertion by Nicolas that virtually the only stories played were those of Manōrā and of Phra Rot (Rathasena)<sup>1</sup>. But a tradition lists twelve tales for manora performance, all popular old Thai stories also performed in the central Thai Lakhon Nōk in former times<sup>2</sup>.

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1. Nicolas, op. cit., p. 95.

2. The plays in the list vary from informant to informant, but an invocation passage preserved by Nōrā Phum Thewa records the twelve as Manōrā, Phra Rot, Laksanāwong, Khō But, Dārāwong, Phra Aphai, Sang Thong, Chanthakhōrop, Sin Rāt, Sangsinchai, Nāng Yom Klin, and Nāi Krai. Nōrā, p. 49. Twelve is a key number in the manora tradition as all enumerations are remembered in twelves - twelve basic dance postures, twelve stories in the repertoire, twelve parts of the costume, etc.

Further evidence of the influence of the Suthon tale on the southern dance-drama is embedded in the invocations attached to the drama tradition, which are faithfully recited before every performance. Invocations are understandably an essential feature of a traditional form of drama, providing a formal framework for the continuity of a fixed tradition as well as formal sanctification of the player's powers, which in the setting of the manora are as much magical as artistic. For the manora idiom is imbued with higher magic content than any other southern Thai cultural form, and the entire tradition is closely bound up with the magic beliefs and practices of the southern culture. Players of the manora were the equivalent of shamans within the community, renowned for their knowledge of magic and employed for exorcisms (rōng khrū, also long khrū, song khrū, choen khrū) and other vital ceremonies. Either the entire troupe performed, sponsored by some member of the community who intended the performance as an offering (kae bon) or simply as entertainment, or else the master alone performed specific ceremonies without the full troupe. Young girls whose

families guarded them carefully were once commonly forbidden to watch the performances of the manora, lest they be bewitched into throwing themselves at the master to be one of his wives.

In such a context it will be readily seen that every aspect of the players and their art assumed magical significance. In former times players generally formed a family group whose performances were largely seasonal, as the dry season in southern Thailand is quite short, lasting only from March to May. During the remainder of the year they pursued normal occupations, and these were quite varied, for the manora player, at least up to fifty years ago, could either be very poor or wealthy. He was always however a prominent member of society, both from fear and respect of his magic powers and for his skill as a performer. There is evidence of a compulsive feeling to continue a family tradition. Players encountered in 1969, although retaining nothing of the technique of performance of their fathers and forefathers, spoke of the necessity of their continuing to play, lest a curse fall upon them for abandoning the family tradition<sup>1</sup>. The articles of

1. Motivation for one career or another in modern Thailand is not at all strong, and this sort of assertion can be as easily taken as justification for the path of least resistance as a significant consideration in career choice.

the performance were, and are, sacred magic objects, and any accident to them, such as the crown or mask falling from its place of storage, meant the end of their owners' career as manora players. And much attention was devoted to mantras in former times, particularly in the competitions between rival troupes where mantras were essential in protecting one's performance from the rival's curse, and in trying to spoil his ability with one's own spells.

The manora invocation (kāt khrū, in southern Thai) is intoned by the master, line by line. Each line is taken up by the chorus who are the musicians playing the drums, the mōng, the ching, and the oboe. They repeat the line and provide a rhythmic link into the next line. This method of recitation is automatically and perpetually self-preserving for the chorus constantly repeat and memorize the passages from the master's model at each performance, reinforcing each other's accuracy in repetition. By the same token the chorus have been observed to correct the master, who may be forgetful with age and err in the text. The technique should therefore be quite a stable means of transmitting a text, and in fact a comparison of invocation texts from widely separated

provinces shows only fairly limited variations in phrasing and content<sup>1</sup>.

The manora invocation commences, as do most Thai performances, with homage to teachers, parents, the Buddha, and spirits. What next follows is a long and curious melange of perhaps several traditions which refer in rather obscure fashion to the history of the manora. The story of Thēp Singhon, the legendary first manora master, who was born miraculously from the exiled princess Nuan-thong-samlī on the island of Sī Chang can be called the 'origin story' of the manora, and its details are recorded in the 1924 article by Nicolas<sup>2</sup>. But three masters of the manora encountered in 1970 told the story of Thēp Singhon with strong admixtures from the folkloric version of the Suthon tale. One of these 'mixed' origin stories is recorded in the appendix to the printed version of the Songkhla text<sup>3</sup>. It seems clear that it is the 'origin story' which has been contaminated by the Suthon

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1. Nōrā, pp. 7-16.

2. Nicolas, "Le Lakhon nora", pp. 89-91.

3. Manōrā nibāt, pp. 375-390.

elements rather than the other way around, which suggests the greater age of the former within the manora tradition. Relics of the Suthon tale within the invocation proper have also been encountered, in Songkhla and Surat, although none are to be found in the 1965 compilation of manora material published in Songkhla where a variety of invocation texts are assembled<sup>1</sup>. The two passages encountered during field study relate the episode of Manōrā's capture and marriage to Suthon, and the text of the longer of them is provided below in the appendix.

A single fragment of a play book of the Suthon story as performed in the southern dance-drama tradition is known to survive. This is a fragmentary Thai black book preserved in the National Library in Bangkok of rather untypical proportions, being more nearly square than the usual long rectangular Thai folding book. It relates the episode of Manōrā's flight from Krailāt with her sisters and her capture by the hunter at the lake in the forest. The text has many features which connect it with the southern Thai folk tradition

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1. Nōrā, pp. 5-33. Their omission may possibly reflect the selective preference of the compilers who were definitely trying to de-emphasize any possible links between the dance-drama and the Suthon tale, in order to stress the native antiquity of the drama.

of the Suthon tale, such as the names of Manōrā's six sisters, and the added scenes where her mother's dream is interpreted as predicting Manōrā's misfortune and where the sisters steal their wings from the sleeping queen after she scolds them<sup>1</sup>.

The whole episode is presented in a rough, crude style characterized by very colloquial and even rude language, far removed from the accepted Thai concept of respectable literary language.

On this account its printing under the sponsorship of the National Library, in 1919 and four further times since 1956<sup>2</sup>, has not met with warm approval by the Thai reading public.

But it was the understanding of Prince Damrong, who edited the original printing, that the ostensibly archaic, obscure vocabulary and rather primitive verse structure of the text represented an unprecedentedly early example of central Thai

1. As will be seen below none of these elements are found in the Pali story or in the more literary Thai texts which are the proper subject of this thesis.
2. Bot lakhon khrang krung kao ryang nāng manōrā lae sang thong, Bangkok, 1919, and reprinted in 1956, 1965, 1966 and 1969. An extract from the text is translated into French in P. Schweisguth, Étude sur la littérature siamoise, Paris, 1951, pp. 150-152.



popular drama (lakhon) from the Ayuthayan period. Unfortunately it was not recognized at the time that the problems of verse and vocabulary were regional rather than historical. Southern scholars have established the regional southern character of the language of the text, including many words quite unfamiliar to central Thai<sup>1</sup>. The verse pattern and indications of rhythm in the text have also been recognized as appropriate to a 'lakhon chātrī' type performance by southern players to a central Thai audience<sup>2</sup>.

A curious survival of the Suthon tale within the manora dance-drama tradition is the ceremony known as 'khlōng hong' ('noosing the bird')<sup>3</sup>, employed in the old days as a sanctifying rite for initiation ceremonies ('kōn čhuk', cutting the topknot), particularly for young children taking up the performance of the manora officially, and having arrived at a stage of proficiency. The 'khlōng hong' is quite clearly an enactment of the capture of the kinnara princess Manōrā

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1. Manōrā nibāt, appendix, pp. 360-374. The editor provides a glossary of the southern Thai expressions in the play book.
  2. Loc. cit., p. 361.
  3. The 'hong' or hamsa bird refers here to a bird maiden, i. e. kinnara, so a less precise translation seems appropriate.

by the hunter Bun, an episode which is by nature bound to be a key scene from the tale in the popular imagination, with the element of the magic noose and dramatic juxtaposition of heroine and boorish hunter. In fact it was a most popular episode for manora performance, but once it became a fixed rite as 'khlóng hong', and as the popularity of the Suthon tale waned, its origin in the Suthon tale was curiously forgotten, and it survived as an entirely separate entity.

As described by elderly manora players, the enactment of the 'khlóng hong' was rigidly fixed by tradition and errors could endanger the efficacy of the rite. In the presence of the initiate, his sponsor (upachā), and teacher, the clown, dressed as a proper hunter rather than in his usual clown garb, and carrying twelve prescribed articles of food and clothing, approaches the place of performance and lassoes in turn seven girls dressed up in the manora costume. As women took no part in manora performances until perhaps the turn of the present century<sup>1</sup> it seems likely that the part was

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1. There is no positive evidence to date the introduction of women in manora performance, but may well have begun during the period when troupes began to expand from three players localized to a small region near their homes to larger groups travelling on the new railroad (completed c. 1900) and developing widespread reputations.

formerly taken by the young boys who played the female roles in earlier times, assuming that the 'khl̥ong hong' has a long history as seems probable. Nora Thong of Thung Song, Nakhon Si Thammarat explains that only one girl is caught for the requirements of the ceremony, but that the others dance and are roped by the hunter for the amusement of the audience.

Certain modern developments in the Thai Suthon-Manōrā tradition must also be included in this account. The Fine Arts Department (Krom silapakon) of the Thai government has undertaken within the past decades of this century to preserve or revive many forms of Thai dance and drama from the historical past into a more or less official mould, ranging from the court versions of Khōn and Lakhon to folk dances and artificially reconstituted versions of the supposed dance of 13th century Sukhothai or 10th century Srivijaya. These revival attempts have naturally involved a great amount of reworking and invention in the style of the restorers.

In this context the central Thai confusion between the southern manora dance-drama and the story of Manōrā and

prince Suthon has led to a generally held misapprehension that the Fine Arts Department version of Bot lakhon ruang manora of 1955<sup>1</sup> incorporated significant elements of the manora dance-drama, whereas in fact the entire production, based on a text of five acts offering disjointed scenes from the tale, is embellished with music and dance in the style which might be termed 'Lakhon krom sin'. It suffers somewhat for lack of the spontaneity which enlivens true popular drama, while falling far short of the elegance and formalism of the court-style entertainments. In the 1960's the Manōrā-Suthon story was also cast as a ballet in western style to music composed by H. M. King Bhumiphol. This ballet has been recorded in a film by the Fine Arts Department.

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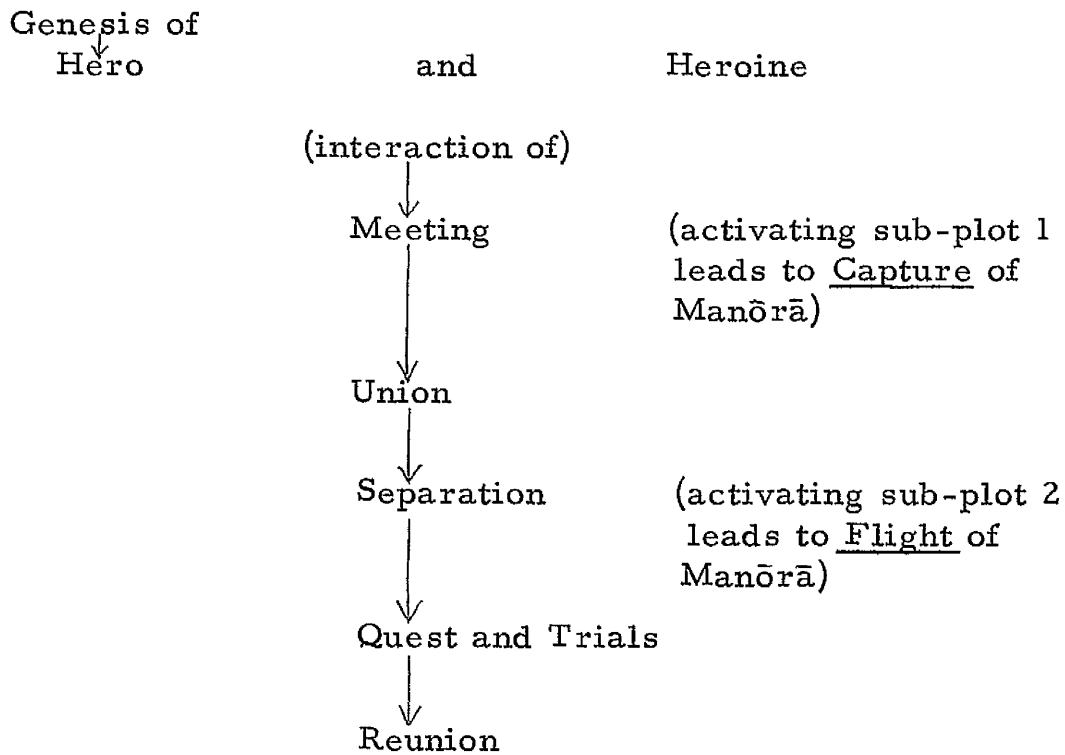
1. Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 1955.

## Chapter 2

### CHARACTERS AND INCIDENTS - DETAILED COMPARISON

The plot of the Sudhana story in all its versions, both Indic and Southeast Asian, can be said to consist in basic plan of the union, separation, and reunion, of the hero and heroine. The first sub-plot unites the couple by the events leading to the hunter's capture of Manōrā employing the naga's magic noose; the hunter then leads Manōrā to Suthon and offers her to him. The second sub-plot separates the couple by means of the purohit's jealously contriving to send Suthon away on a campaign and then demanding Manōrā for a sacrifice; her flight sets the scene for Suthon's great quest and trials and their final reunion<sup>1</sup>. This development can be diagrammed as below:

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1. Variations in the plot of the earlier Indic versions are carefully described in P. S. Jaini, "The Story of Sudhana and Manoharā".



The total number of characters in the Pali version of the Sudhana tale is fifteen, compared with sixteen and seventeen in the National Library and Songkhla texts respectively. All of the fifteen Pali characters occur in the two Thai versions, and they can be conveniently grouped in the following manner:

Sudhana group:	Sudhana King Ādiccavaṃsa Queen Candādevī
Manoharā group:	Manoharā King Duma Manoharā's mother Manoharā's six sisters

First sub-plot group:	Naga lord, Jambucitta King of Mahāpañcāla evil sorcerer brahmin forest hunter, Puṇḍarikā Kassapa the hermit
Second sub-plot group:	purohit brahmin promised promotion by Sudhana

The fifteenth character, the divinity Indra, appears ex machina at appropriate points in the plot.

In comparing the Pali characters with those in the two Thai versions, the following table indicates a number of variations in names and spelling of the characters.

Pali text (Thai translation)	NL text	Songkhla text
Sudhana	Suthon (Sudhana)	Suthon (Sudhana)
Manoharā	Manōrā (Manoharā)	Manōrā (Manoharā)
Sudhana's father Ādiccavaṃsa of Uttarapañcāla	Suthon's father Āthityawong (Ādityavaṃsa) of Udḍṇapan̐chā (Uttarapañcāla)	Suthon's father Āthityawong (Āditya- vaṃsa) of Udḍṇapan̐chā (Uttarapañcāla)
Sudhana's mother:	Suthon's mother:	Suthon's mother:
Candādevī	Čhanthathēwī (Candadevī) or Čhanthēwī	Čhanthā (Candā) or Čhanthēwī
neighbouring king of Mahāpañcāla:	neighbouring king Mahāpan̐chā:	neighbouring king Mahāpan̐chā:

Pali text	NL text	Songkhla text
Nandarāja	(unnamed)	(unnamed)
Manoharā's father:	Manōrā's father:	Manōrā's father:
Duma of Krailāśa (Kelāssa)	Prathum (Praduma) of Krailāt (Krailāśa)	Thumphon (Dumvara) of Krailāt (Krailāśa)
Manoharā's mother	Manōrā's mother	Manōrā's mother
(unnamed)	Čhankinnarī (Čanakinnarī)	(unnamed)
Manoharā's six sisters (unnamed)	Manōrā's six elder sisters (unnamed)	Manōrā's six younger sisters (unnamed)
Naga lord:	Naga lord:	Naga lord:
Jambucitta	Čhitchomphū (Citrajambhū)	Chumphūčhit (Jumbhūcitra)
brahmin sorcerer (unnamed)	brahmin sorcerer (unnamed)	brahmin sorcerer (unnamed)
forest hunter:	forest hunter:	forest hunter:
Pundarikā	Nāi Bun, Phrān Bun	Buntharik, Thryksā (Pundrksā)
		hunter's wife Mēkhabidā (Meghapitā)
hermit	hermit	hermit
Kassapa	(unnamed)	Katsop (Kassapa)



Pali text	NL text	Songkhla text
brahmin promised rank by Sudhana (unnamed)	son of officer (amātya) promised rank by Suthon (unnamed)	brahmin promised rank by Suthon (unnamed)
jealous purohit (unnamed)	jealous purohit (unnamed)	jealous purohit (unnamed)
the god Indra:	the god Indra:	the god Indra:
Sakkadevarāja	Phra In  vassal king in revolt: Nantharāt (Nandaṛāja)	Phra In  vassal king in revolt; Phrayā Čan, Čanthaphānu (Candabhānu)
(fifteen total)	(sixteen total)	(seventeen total)

A survey of this comparative chart of names of characters indicates a number of differences between the three texts. For example both Thai texts have provided a name for the rebellious vassal whom Suthon is sent off to subdue, NL apparently appropriating the name of the Pali version's king of Mahāpañcāla, a substitution which might have arisen from a misunderstanding that the king of Mahāpañcāla and the rebellious vassal were one and the same person, as in fact the rebel is not clearly identified in the Pali. The Songkhla poet on the other hand employs the

name Candabhānu or Phrayā Čhan. The latter form occurs widely in southern Thai folk versions of the tale where the role of this vassal rebel is considerably amplified. Here as elsewhere one finds evidence of clear links between the Songkhla poem and the broader southern Thai folk version of the Suthon tale. The popularity of the name Čhan (Canda, Pali; Candra, Sanskrit) can also be noted when an Indic name is required in a Thai context, for NL calls even the kinnara queen 'Čhan kinnarī' although she is unnamed in the Pali. 'Phrayā Čhan' is another example of readiness to supply this particular name.

Only the Songkhla text adds the hunter's wife as a character, and names her Mēkhabidā. This name has been encountered in only one of the southern folk versions, the fragmentary Edinburgh manuscript mentioned above, and is another example of the Songkhla poet's naturalization of the setting of the tale.

Detailed Comparison of Plot Development in  
three texts: Pali Paññāsa-jātaka (P),  
National Library Bangkok (NL), and Songkhla  
Wat Machimāwāt (S)

Abbreviations employed: M - Manoharā (Manōrā)  
S - Sudhana (Suthon)  
UP - the land of Uttarapañcāla  
(Udḍanpanchā)  
MP - the land of Mahāpañcāla  
(Mahāpanchā)

Pali text	NL text	Songkhla text
-	features of UP described	do.
-	queen's dream before birth	-
birth of Sudhana, appearance of four piles of gold	do.	do.
-	wet nurses, bāi sī ceremony, fortune told, anointment of infant (choem)	wet nurses (brief)
naming, lessons	do.	do.
prosperity of UP due to propitiation of naga at nearby lake	do.	do.

Pali text	NL text	Songkhla text
SUB-PLOT 1 (leads to <u>Capture</u> )		
land of MP in famine	do.	do.
king named Nandarāja	—	—
one brahmin chosen to catch naga	8 councillors advise king, one brahmin chosen to catch naga	8 brahmins sent to kill naga
reward offered equal to half of kingdom	do.	reward of clothes, jewels, 100,000 tamlung in money
spell cast at lake, first as a test, at evening	do.	do. (but time unspecified)
—	as spell affects naga, his wife questions and consoles him; naga rises up to look	when he rises up he is accompanied by his magic noose
hunter arrives; naga in brahmin's guise interro- gates the hunter	do.	do.
naga instructs: shoot evil brahmin but not to kill	do.	—

Pali text	NL text	Songkhla text
hunter threatens brahmin; spell halted	do.	do.
wicked brahmin killed	do.	- (eight brahmins return to MP?)
hunter welcomed in naga's under- world realm for seven days	do.+he is given half the realm but is soon dis- enchanted	as P
hunter returns home to UP	do.+ shows his wife the naga's presents supplies for re- departure (briefly mentioned)	do.+ wife named Mēkhabidā; hunter visit S and shows presents; details of supplies and dress for redeparture to forest
hunter travels to hermit's dwelling	do. (but first to the lake)	do.
greeting convention	do.	-
-	-	Krailāt kingdom introduced at this point
-	-	kinnarī princesses visit lake and bathe
hunter finds lake	do. (but above)	do.+ hunter stays overnight to see the kinnarī maids
hunter returns to question hermit	do.	-

Pali text	NL text	Songkhla text
hunter asks how to catch a kinnarī	do.	do.
naga's magic noose explained by hermit	do.+ hunter feels slighted by hermit	do.
hunter obtains noose from naga who protests	do.	do. naga lord urges hunter to drink with him first
-	in Krailāt, Manōrā and sisters set out for lake; mother forewarns them of danger	do.+ sister have first to steal their wings and tails from sleeping mother
hunter returns to lake and hides in wait	do.	do.+ hunter waits seven days, red-eyed
kinnarīs arrive; Manoharā is bound by the hand by the noose	do.	do.+ hunter instructs noose about which maid to choose; general discussion on selection of a wife
sisters' surprise they return for their mother	cries and struggles by Manōrā; bribes attempted on hunter	do. (as NL)
noose is called off	do. discussion between hunter and Manōrā, Manōrā's alai	do.
-	Manōrā objects to hunter's odour	do.

Pali text	NL text	Songkhla text
-	-	hunter returns noose to naga
sisters report to their parents	do.	do.
mother grieves	do.	do. (brief)
search proposed, king agrees	do. king allows queen to go	do. king sends queen with instructions to inveigle the hunter
Manoharā, resigned, prepares to depart	M continues to grieve and protest	as NL
Manoharā leaves some clothing with mountain and message: 'the hunter led me this way' then a sermon- like farewell	M leaves message with spirits in forest to implore help from her family; jewels tied to a tree	M pleads with hermit to dissuade hunter; leaves message with hermit not to follow her; hermit's blessing
forest journey (no details)	do.+Manōrā's trials,M bandages her sore feet	do.+ trials, M sleeps in tree, gets shoes from hunter to protect feet
why the hunter could not touch Manoharā	-	(below, after meeting)

Pali text	NL text	Songkhla text
MEETING AND UNION		
Sudhana on excursion riding Samudahatthī sees M and falls in love	do. + takes leave of parents; rides Kamutahatthī	do.+ long description of retinue and pre- parations; elephant unnamed. S sends officer to scout; hunter comes and explains; M's purity tested by appointed officers
Sudhana rewards the hunter	do.	do. (after the wedding he is elevated to phrayā rank)
-	-	extra scene with hunter's wife attending Manōrā
-	long love scene	- (union below, after wedding)
king and queen informed; city adorned for welcome	king and queen go forth to see M	do. hōrā examines Manōrā
wedding; 3 mangala-s	do. (outside of city) bāi sī cere- mony, spirits of the couple (khwan) called forth. rājavatra built, roadworks under- taken, pro- cession to city	do. + bāi sī cere- mony and horoscope cast



Pali text	NL text	Songkhla text
-	entertainment passage (mahōrasop)	(occurs later, at Krailāt reunion)
union of M and S	(above, at first meeting)	as P, but longer treatment
search for M to lake, queen's grief seeing M's garland; in forest she finds pieces of clothing	do.+ long laments jewels found in forest, more lament	do. queen sees foot- prints, flowers, no jewels found
return to Krailāśa king informed	do.	do.
SUB-PLOT 2 (leads to <u>Flight</u> of Manōrā)		
Brahmin serving S asks to become purohit on S's accession; S agrees; purohit becomes jealous	do. during a chess game the son of an officer asks; purohit's son informs his father	(as P)
jealous purohit accuses S to king	do.	-
a vassal rebels, and king takes counsel	do. + vassal is named Nandarāja	purohit writes letter to vassal king Phrayā Čhanthaphānu inciting him to rebel
purohit tells king to send S to fight S is summoned	do.	do.

Pali text	NL text	Songkhla text
SEPARATION		
S informs queen he must go to fight	do. + entrusts M to her; queen's farewell	do. (as NL) and entrusts M's wings and tail
S tells M	do. + M asks to go with him	do. (as NL)
	(Above two events in reverse order)	
S departs on elephant Matangakuñ- jara; description of cavalry, etc.	do. S's bath and toilet; king's advice. elephant Mugahatthī	do. elephant Mangala- haskanha, other ele- phants named; spirit lords and forces to protect S
enemy reached at Paccantajanapada, enemy withdraw	do.	-
king's dream: intestines flow out and encircle world three times	do. but less detail correct interpre- tation mentioned	queen's dream; more complicated
-	-	Manōrā called to interpret dream; she gives correct interpretation
king calls jealous purohit who gives false inter- pretation	do.	do. + the danger he foretells is tied to S's safe return (as well as the kingdom's safety)

Pali text	NL text	Songkhla text
preparations for sacrifice	do. + rājavatra made; king told to see no one for three days	do. (as P)
purohit says a kinnara is lacking king pleads for M	do.	do.
M's servant hears rumour and tells M	do.	do.
M rushes to queen	do.	do.
queen forbidden from king's presence	do. + long solo lament by Manōrā	the queen is admitted to plead with the king once but is forbidden the second time
M asks for her wings and tail and dances before queen	do.	M dances first, then asks for wings. Dance described (called chū chaī)
M leaves fare- well message for S (as though she were about to die)	-	-
officers arrive to take M to sacrifice	purohit and pupils come; they are refused	-

Pali text	NL text	Songkhla text
Manoharā flies off; no words	do. +her farewell to queen from the air; queen promises to save M. M leaves message for Suthon	do. + she leaves message for S not to follow her; queen suggests that M find Suthon first
		king asks queen why she gave the wings; he repents and grieves
M reaches hermit, leaves cloth and ring, message not to follow her, asks S's pardon, refers to karma	do. but she expects Suthon will follow her	do. short recapitulation of events at UP
M leaves detailed travel instructions for S in the forest	do.	brief two verse summary of forest perils
M flies home	do. + guardian checks her at gate	do. after bathing in pool
M must live apart (for seven years, days, and months) to be purified	do. bath regimen specified: 100 ladles, 500 jars per day	do.(as P)
new palace built for Manoharā	db.	(not specified)

Pali text	NL text	Songkhla text
-	M recounts in detail to her parents all that has happened	no recapitulation but time lapse specified (7 years, months, days)
-	Suthon's return journey and alai; bird poem	-
Sudhana's victorious return to UP	do.	do.
Sudhana reports to his father	do. his dress and adornments described. King grieves, not telling of M; prisoners presented	-
Queen embraces S and tells him of M's flight	do.	Suthon misses Manora's welcome and asks her attendants; they tell him
Sudhana goes to his quarters and faints, finding her scent her dried garland	do.	do. + vents his wrath on M's attendants

## Pali text

## NL text

## Songkhla text

## QUEST AND TRIALS

Sudhana grieves  
and decides to  
follow M

do. S is revived by  
servants; extended  
section of his grief  
and decision

do. queen and S  
are revived

Queen tries to  
dissuade S

do. + she gives M's  
message

do. (as P)

Sudhana leaves,  
queen pleads  
with him

queen pleads with  
S to take some  
followers (lengthy)

(as P)

Sudhana leaves  
the city! goes to  
hunter's house;  
weapons taken  
along

do. S passes  
hunter's house and  
asks him to go  
along

do. + provisions  
specified

Sudhana's alai  
to city

do.

do. he entrusts it to  
spirits

-

-

Queen informs king  
who sends messengers  
after S; S sends them  
back, queen consoled

Sudhana and  
hunter reach  
hermit's  
dwelling

do. + ālai, joined  
by animals, forest  
description

do. + bird poem

Hunter sent  
back

do.

do. (but below, after  
meeting the hermit)

Sudhana asks  
hermit about M

do. + greeting  
conventions

do. (as NL)

Pali	NL text	Songkhla text
Hermit delivers M's message to Sudhana together with magic cloth and two rings	do.	do.
Sudhana ties ring to his chest	-	next morning Suthon mixes potions, bathes in lake; lake description; Suthon circumambulates the lake three times
Sudhana makes an oath to find Manoharā	-	-
Sudhana picks a monkey	do.	-
Sudhana leaves the hermit	do.	do. (as above)
the JOURNEY		
Deep forest  (details mentioned in Manoharā's instructions above, not repeated at at this point:	poison rattan forest	impassable forest S applies salve and passes through <sup>1</sup>  thorn grass  elephant grass

1. Suthon overcomes each obstacle in turn here and in the other two texts with his magic salve, magic cloth, ring, with a mantra, or with his bow; these details are not indicated in this summary. The various obstacles are introduced in the Songkhla version with the phrase 'yōt nung', one yōjana, a measure of proverbially long distance. The phrase also occurs occasionally in NL and Pali.

Pali	NL text	Songkhla text
poison fruits in forest, rattan and khā forests, gold and silver mountain, sharp grass, bamboo, reeds, thorns, deep lake, serpents)		acid lake serpent in lake subdued  forest of creepers  two serpents battle  rattan thickets  two ogres battle  impassable forest
(mentioned in M's instructions)	hasti linga bird carries S beyond forest to tree; S claps and calls three times, bird drops S  serpent blocks way  32 ogres block way  elephant chief blocks way; S shoots it	hasti linga bird carries S to tree
Ogre 7 times length of palm trunk, red eyed, green bodied, weapons in either hand; S shoots it and follows in direction of fallen head	do. (no details)  S shoots ogre	(absent)



Pali	NL text	Songkhla text
	bamboo forest with poison thorns	
	huge serpent	
	ālai passage	
(mentioned in M's instructions)	Two mountains <sup>collide</sup> and burn, S tames them with oath and a shot	do. S controls the mountains with a mantra and magic ring
stinging river: serpent carries S across	acid river in 7 levels ( <sup>v</sup> chet chan)	
rattan forest	rattan forest	--
S grieves, lost		S reaches mountain called Bin <sup>v</sup> chaling where giant insī birds reside. S despairs and asks Indra's aid. Indra sends Viṣṇukarma who makes a ladder for S to climb to birds' nest where he hides.
Giant birds talk of M's reinstate- ment and plan to fly there	Insī birds talk of Manōrā  long ālai passage	Insī birds return to tree and talk of M
S crawls into bird's feathers and binds himself. He is carried to lake at Krailāt.	do.	do.  500 yojanas distance

Pali	NL text	Songkhla text
7 kinnari maidens go to lake with brass pots	do. but 500 maidens	do. 16 maidens
Sudhana hears them and thinks of a plan, takes a vow so one girl cannot lift her pot	do. Suthon addresses one maiden	do. banter and inter- play between Suthon and maiden
Sudhana puts M's ring in maiden's pot	do.	do.
During bath the ring falls onto M's finger	do.	do. the water is administered by a brahmin
Manoharā wonders at the ring	do.	Manōrā faints and is carried to the queen
Manoharā questions the maiden	do.	-
Manoharā sends presents to Sudhana	do. food and jewels	-
Manoharā tells the queen	do. she is carried to her by a chair; queen doubts that S has come	Manōrā asks the queen to tell the king
Manoharā goes to her father (in fear)	M and queen tell king; he also doubts	queen tells king

Pali	NL text	Songkhla text
King questions Manoharā and interviews her about her marriage to Sudhana	-	King questions the 16 maidens
-	Manōrā goes in her chair with her ladies to Suthon; reunion and long re- capitulation by M and S	-
King calls for Sudhana; M's maidens fetch him; S enters 'like Kraisara'	do. officers sent to invite Suthon	(as NL)
All admire Sudhana, unblinking	-	-
King pleased, asks Sudhana how he came; short account of journey	do.	do.
King applauds; proposes archery test; 'can you shoot?'	do. test proposed for the devas' sake	do. test proposed so as to know S's skill
Sudhana replies that he knows all	-	S says he can do it

Pali	NL text	Songkhla text
Bow test: 7 trees each 1 wā thick; 7 boards, each 3 sṛk by 1 wā, 7 brass sheets, each 4 sṛk by 1 wā; 7 carts; all these to be transpierced; Sudhana shoots through all and arrow returns to his hand	7 palm trees 1 wā apart, 7 fig planks (chumphon) each 5 sṛk thick, 7 stone slabs, 7 bronze sheets, 7 carts filled with sand	8-inch metal slabs, 12-inch planks of fig (uthumphon), 8 carts filled with sand, palm trees in line
General exclamation 'soon he will be Buddha'	devas also exclaim	king praises; all faint
Stone throne lift proposed	do.	do. specified as an 18 sṛk boulder
S says he can do anything	-	Suthon thinks: 'he really tries me', and despairs at M's apparent indifference
Sudhana makes three circum- ambulations	-	-
Sudhana makes a vow	do.	do. Indra comes
Sudhana lifts the stone	do. after a first try, before making the vow	(as Pali)

Pali	NL text	Songkhla text
King asks Sudhana's pardon	-	King and others bless Suthon
King asks if S can remember Manoharā	-	do.
	seven sisters prepare them- selves identically, preparations described	special room prepared, des- cription of preparations
Sudhana makes a vow	-	Suthon thinks of Indra
Saka changes into a golden fly to hover by Manoharā; Sudhana chooses M	do. (thī chong klāo kēsī)	do. he lands on Manōrā's hair
REUNION		
Investiture of the couple	do. bāī sī ceremony performed	arrangements for the investiture; Indra presides at bāī sī
-	-	Mahōrasop (entertainments) passage
piles of gold appear	-	-
union of couple	do.	-
In time Sudhana misses his parents	do.	do. 'after ten years'

Pali	NL text	Songkhla text
Manoharā asks why he is sad; says she will go back to UP with him	do.	do.
King will accompany them	do. also sisters and queen	do.
Departure for UP	do.	do. preparations described
Arrival at UP; night spent nearby	do.	do. palace seen approaching, by people in UP
People and king of UP are afraid	do.	do. hunter sent to scout, meets Suthon
Sudhana enters the city; reunion with parents; parents tell how they missed S	do.	Suthon sends hunter with the news; king and queen prepare to go forth
King Praduma received	do. greeting conventions	reunion at King Thumphon's pavilion
Seven days' visit; investiture	(unspecified)	Thumphon invited for coronation
Praduma returns to Krailāśa	do.	do. Thumphon's advice to M before he leaves
Coronation of Sudhana	-	-

Pali	NL text	Songkhla text
-	King asks M's pardon for letting purohit deceive him	King has brahmans judge purohit and hunter - one exiled and the other rewarded
King Ādityavaṃśa takes up hermit's life	King gives rule to S; both kings accept S as ruler of their land	
		Suthon's concubines
		Alms distributed
Identification of characters in the story with persons in the Buddha's life:		
King Ādityavaṃśa:		
Suddhodana	Suddhoprīchā	Suthot
his queen:		
Mahāmāyādevī	do.	do.
King Duma:		
Sāriputta	do.	Kassapa
Hermit:		
Kassapa	do. (krasop āchān)	---
Naga:		
Moggallāna	Moggallā	---

Pali	NL text	Songkhla text
Hunter:		
Ānanda	do.	do.
Sakka:		
Anuruddha	-	Anurut
Purohit:		
Devadatta	do.	do.
Manoharā:		
the mother of Rāhula	Bimbhā, mother of Rāhula	do.
retinue:		
Buddha's retinue	-	-
Sudhana:		
Buddha	do.	do.

It is evident from this detailed plot summary of the Sudhana tale in Pali and in the two Thai literary versions under consideration that there are no differences of primary significance between the three versions. They can all be said to be clearly in the same overall tradition, and moreover the fact that the two Thai versions omit nothing significant from the Pali, and only occasionally alter or add to it, strongly



indicates that they both derive directly from it. Indeed the poets themselves have each stated unequivocally that they took the story faithfully from the Pali text<sup>1</sup>, and there is nothing to suggest that we should doubt this.

The following twelve points stand out as the most prominent differences in the three texts:

1. In Pali the scheme to kill the naga lord is formulated by King Nandarāja on advice from his ministers. Neither of the Thai texts mentions this king's name [but in NL this name, Nandarāja (Nantharāt) is given to the enemy vassal whom Suthon must subdue, as indicated above.] The number of advising ministers in NL is specified as eight (unspecified in Pali) and one brahmin is chosen to catch the naga as in Pali, but in S the king chooses eight learned brahmins who all undertake the mission in company. In Pali the reward for the naga, dead or alive, is half the kingdom. NL has the same reward, but the king asks for the naga alive. In S the reward is cloth, jewels, silver and gold, and the naga lord must be killed.

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1. S 298, NL 1, 1-2.

2. The initial events at the hermit's hut and pool differ in the various texts. In Pali the hunter arrives, greets and questions the hermit, finds the pool, returns and asks the hermit about it, then watches Manōrā and her sisters bathing in the afternoon (of the same day), which happens to be the day of the full moon. Finally he returns again to the hermit and asks about catching a kinnara maid.

In NL the hunter reaches the lake first, then the hermit's, where the hermit explains that it is the kinnara's lake. The hunter stays overnight to spy on the maidens. Thus the order of events is different and one interview with the hermit is absent.

The same interview is lacking in the Songkhla version where the hunter first reaches the hermitage and asks to spend the night. The following morning he sets out and by chance finds the lake where the kinnara maids are already bathing and playing. He hides and watches them, then returns to question the hermit about catching one.

In addition to these minor variations, the two Thai

texts add scenes in Krailāt not found in Pali, where Manōrā's mother warns her about the excursions to the lake. The Songkhla text additionally includes the incident prominent in southern Thai folk versions of the tale where Manōrā and her sisters must steal their wings from the sleeping queen before they can set off for the lake.

3. At Manōrā's capture, Manōrā and her sisters respond to the crisis with calm acceptance in the Pali version, with frantic desperation, violent laments, reproaches and appeals in NL, and with a tempered alarm and fear together with appeals to the hunter in S<sup>1</sup>. Manōrā's farewell as she leaves with the hunter is, in the Pali, a moralizing address in which she points out the universality of misfortune, of union and of separation. In NL Manōrā's farewell is an impassioned grief passage where she recalls the pleasures of home and family she will never see again. The Songkhla text substitutes for these an additional interview with the hermit in which Manōrā pleads with him to intercede with the hunter on her behalf.

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1. In S and in the Royal Asiatic Society copy of the NL version Manōrā and her sisters additionally try to bribe the hunter into releasing her.

In each version Manōrā leaves a token and a message behind: in Pali, pieces of her clothing entrusted to the mountain and a noncommittal message for her family should they follow her indicating merely the direction in which the hunter had led her. In NL she ties her jewellery to a tree as a sign for her rescuers, having failed to bribe the hunter with it. Then she leaves messages with forest spirits along the way, begging her family to save her. In S, the messages are delivered to the hermit, but they are contrary to those in NL, as she asks that they not follow her.

4. King Praduma's attitude to his queen's plan to go in search of Manōrā is agreeable in Pali, but in NL he has to be talked into agreement. In the Songkhla text on the other hand, it is the king's own suggestion that the queen go looking for Manōrā, and he tells her to inveigle the hunter into giving back their daughter.

5. Concerning the question of Manōrā's purity, as she must travel alone in the forest with the hunter for many days, Pali includes a passage explaining that Manōrā's superior state of being made it impossible for the hunter

to approach or touch her. For the same reason, it is explained that the hunter's only thought was to offer Manōrā to Prince Suthon, whose merit was equal to hers.

The whole question obtains no specific consideration<sup>1</sup> in the NL text, but in the Songkhla version it is treated separately in the section where the couple meet for the first time. Suthon is concerned and suspicious here of the hunter's proper behaviour during the long forest journey, so he tells the hunter to take four men to the place where Manōrā is waiting. The four men find themselves unable to approach closer to the maiden than four sōk (the measure from elbow to fingertips) because of the heat radiating from her. Thus Suthon is assured of her purity.

6. In the first encounter of Suthon and Manōrā each of the three versions describes Suthon's departure from the city for an excursion. In Pali his mount is the elephant Samudahatthi (Kamutahatthi in NL; unnamed in S). In Pali, when the hunter and the maiden come across the

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1. Although not treated directly, the hunter's attitude to Manōrā in the NL text is clearly depicted in his familiar but respectful treatment of her.

royal path, Suthon is struck with love and questions the hunter, then rewards him, and plans are commenced for the marriage of the couple. In NL Suthon is angry initially. He questions both the hunter and Manōrā, and falls in love with her<sup>1</sup>. Then he withdraws with Manōrā to a pavilion and makes love to her in a long amorous passage, wherein she protests at length at his advances and arguments.

This first encounter receives quite different treatment in S. The hunter and his prize are first seen from a distance, and Suthon sends a scout to look. He returns with the hunter who explains. Then Manōrā's purity is tested (as above). The hunter's wife named Mēkhabidā (unique to this text) is set to attend and guard Manōrā. Suthon's parents are informed and they come out of the city to see her. She is interviewed and her

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1. Suthon's anger is a feature of Thai naturalization of the story. Carried to its extreme degree, as in folktale versions from the south, Suthon punishes the hunter for returning without any game and has to force him to disclose the arrival of Manōrā (information from oral sources - see bibliography).

horoscope is read. Preparations for a wedding begin, and the couple are united only after the ceremonies, as in Pali.

7. The royal dream which provides occasion for the jealous purohit's false interpretation is dreamed by the king in Pali and NL, but by the queen in S where Manōrā is called to interpret it before the purohit is called. Manōrā gives the correct, auspicious interpretation. The dream itself is briefly described in NL where the king dreams that his intestines spread and flow around the earth (čhakrawān), where Pali specified that they issue forth from his breast and thrice encircle the continent of men (jambudvīpa), then return to his body.

The queen's dream in the Songkhla version is more involved: the enemy king cuts off Suthon's head with a sword, and all his entrails are seized and tied around the city; his blood flows out all the four gates of the city. Then a man takes Suthon's clothing and puts it into a fire. The clothing rises up into the air from the queen's hand (čhāk kɔn thēwī). Manōrā interprets the decapitation as a mark of the gods' respect for Suthon's powers. The

sacrifice of his entrails around the city she explains as a sign that the populace (tāng yā khā thai) are in an auspicious state within the limits of his authority. Lastly she explains that the burning of Suthon's clothing and their disappearing into the sky show his imperviousness to the attacks of his enemy.

In S alone the purohit's false interpretation ties the alleged ill omen to Suthon's safe return from the campaign. In Pali and NL the ill omen is said to threaten calamity for the land of Udḍṇapañchā rather than for Suthon.

8. In the Pali text Manōrā's flight occurs after officers come to seize her and take her to the sacrifice. She flies away without hovering and turning to leave messages from the air, as in the two Thai texts. Her farewell is given in the palace after she dances before the queen, and she takes her leave as if she were about to die in the sacrifice, rather than as in the Thai versions where she has already effected her escape. This casts a quite different complexion on her messages to Suthon



and her farewell. The Thai texts also lay stress on the element of guile in Manōrā's obtaining her wings from the queen whose loyalties and duties are in conflict, as she has been assigned by her son to protect Manōrā, and clearly feels a motherly love for Manōrā, yet her husband requires that Manōrā be taken for the sacrifice. In NL the queen desperately appeals to Manōrā, in an attempt to dissuade her, when she realizes that Manōrā is actually going to flee, protesting that she would never let Manōrā die, that Manōrā could trust her and come down from the air. Manōrā's philosophical reply is that fear compels her to flee, that living creatures by nature flee the threat of death. In the Songkhla text the conflict of loyalties is dealt with in a calmer fashion: Manōrā flies out the window, stops and takes her leave, giving a long and eloquent message for Suthon. The queen's suggestion in response is quite sensible, that Manōrā should first fly to Suthon and take his leave. But Manōrā explains that she would not be able to find her way, and she wings off to the hermit's dwelling.

9. The instructions for Suthon entrusted to the hermit by Manōrā are enumerated in the Pali version in great detail; there are eighteen separate items in her description of the way to Krailāśa. Twelve of these are enumerated in NL, with slight variations in order and content. S includes only a very brief resumé of the journey ahead of Suthon, but the journey itself is described at length in this version, incorporating approximately fifteen incidents which correspond in major details to the Pali journey.

10. Suthon's return from battle and discovery of Manōrā's flight finds variant treatment in the three versions. In Pali he reports at once to the king on his campaign, then his mother embraces him and tells the bad news of Manōrā's flight. In his palace Suthon is reduced to a fainting state by his grief and he takes his leave to follow Manōrā under his mother's strong protestations. He leaves the city and stops at the hunter's house. In NL the events are the same but they are elaborated in somewhat greater detail. The elaborations include Suthon's return

through the forests and anticipation of Manōrā, details of the booty and prisoners he has brought back, long and repetitive grief passages and pleadings on the part of the queen, the repetition of Manōrā's instructions (not in Pali) and Suthon's final departure. The variants in the Songkhla text are the following: there is no interview with the king at all, and Suthon misses Manōrā at once, learning from servants of Manōrā's flight. Then the queen comes to him and they both faint and require medicines. No instructions are relayed, as in this version Manōrā has left them with the hermit rather than the queen. Only after Suthon departs does the king appear, and the queen informs him of the events. He sends messengers after Suthon to dissuade him from his quest, but the prince sends them back and continues on his way. The hunter accompanies Suthon on a seven day journey to the hermit's dwelling, where Suthon sends the hunter back after they talk to the hermit together. In Pali and NL, Suthon sends him back before interviewing the hermit.

11. All three texts agree that Suthon finds kinnara maidens drawing water from a lake when he arrives at Krailāśa. But the number of maids is seven in Pali, sixteen in Songkhla and 500 in NL.

12. There are variants in the Songkhla version of Manōrā's discovery of Suthon's arrival at Krailāśa which recall this text's variants in the incident above of Suthon's return and discovery of Manōrā's flight. First a detail is added; the purifying water in S is administered by an appointed brahmin (in NL and Pali by the maids). Then, finding the ring, Manōrā faints and is carried to the queen whom she begs to tell the king. The queen does so and the king then questions the maids who carried the water about the human stranger. This contrasts with the events in Pali and NL where Manōrā first sends presents to Suthon, then informs first her mother and then her father. Pali includes an interrogation of Manōrā by the king which seemingly ought to have occurred seven years previously when Manōrā first returned from the human world (this interview is absent in NL).

Notable differences also arise in the trials employed to test Suthon, which slightly alter the depiction of the prince's character in the three versions. The pretext for the three trials is not mentioned in Pali; the king merely asks Suthon whether he can perform the feats. Suthon replies with casual confidence that he can do anything. In NL the king explains that he only proposes the feats to satisfy the devas concerning Suthon's merits. In Pali, Suthon performs each feat with almost arrogant confidence, although he must invoke Indra's help in the last test of choosing Manōrā from among her sisters. In NL he makes no specific assertion or boast of his abilities, and he must invoke an oath on the second as well as the last trial, when he tries unsuccessfully to lift the stone throne a first time. Only Songkhla presents the trials as a difficult challenge to Suthon. The king proposes them, he says, for the sake of knowing the extent of Suthon's skill. The bow test is accomplished easily (but eight rather than seven is the number of layers of trees, slabs, metal sheets, etc. pierced by his arrow). But Suthon, when the second test

is proposed, feels sorely taxed, and wonders in despair at Manōrā's calm appearance as she watches. For the lifting test he takes an oath and Indra appears, whereupon he is able to lift the massive rock here specified as eighteen sṃk in size. Indra assists in the choice, as in the other versions, but in Songkhla he attends the reunion of Manōrā and Suthon as well, and presides at the ceremonies, thus playing a more prominent role in this version than in the others. An additional detail in Songkhla is the preparation of a special room for the choice. NL describes only the preparation of the seven sisters. Southern folk versions also mention a room for the choosing of Manōrā.

### Chapter 3

#### ASPECTS OF TREATMENT

Traditional Thai narrative literature is characterized by a somewhat stylized treatment of certain convention-favoured topics, topics which may not necessarily relate directly and significantly to the content of the story at hand. The most prominent of these topics can be summarized as (1) the emotions of love and the longing which accompanies separation from a loved one, (2) genre description which depicts in lively detail the features of everyday life, and (3) passages of a didactic nature purporting to instruct in some practical aspect of life.

This chapter will examine in detail the treatment accorded to these three topics in the two poems under consideration. The genre and didactic passages can be termed digressive in nature, for they interrupt the course of the narrative with embellishing but extraneous material. The treatment of love on the other hand must stem from elements within the story itself. What the Thai poet does with these elements however is consonant with a conventionalized frame of reference peculiar to his own

culture and literary traditions.

Each of the two Thai texts under study emphasizes the sexual and romantic love elements of the Sudhana story well beyond the treatment they obtain in the Pali version. Heroic love is already, to be sure, the main theme of the story, irrespective of treatment, for the basic plot formula consists simply of the union, separation, and final reunion, of the hero and heroine. In the Buddhist (Pali) context the tale is employed to instruct a monk in Jetavana who has been struck with love for a girl he has seen by chance. The Buddha produces the tale of Sudhana to show how in a former life He too had suffered from the effects of excessive love (*mātugāma*). While the Thai poets do not remove the story from its' religious context (on the contrary, their stated purpose is religious edification) inevitably in the process of translation and resetting the story into Thai, the enormous secular appeal of the tale as a popular romance takes precedence for the poet, who can by this means provide diversion to his Thai audience, whether or not it was his specific intention to do so. And descriptions of love, and of the separation from loved ones (*ālai*), are already ubiquitous motives in the literature of Thai culture.



The primary occasions for depicting the love of Suthon and Manōrā would presumably occur at the moments of their first meeting, at and during their separation, and at their final reunion. And these in fact are the key scenes of the love between hero and heroine in the two Thai versions, with the exception of the final reunion which is summarily treated in the Songkhla poem, presumably following the Pali, thus depriving the audience of the 'recognition' scene, which is however fully depicted by the NL poet. In fact the amorous element is somewhat more heavily emphasized in the NL text, as compared with the Songkhla poet's version. For example, the initial meeting of Suthon and Manōrā in the NL poem is followed directly by a long amorous section of thirty-three surāṅgkhanāṅg verses. Suthon is made to retire with Manōrā to a pavilion in the wood where they have met, and there, after a long session of coaxing and petting which Manōrā resists as best she can, he makes love to her. From the western point of view this passage is perhaps uncomfortably drawn out and rather cruel towards Manōrā in the prince's treatment of her, but certain amorous conventions of the Thai must be borne in mind, particularly the convention that a girl is expected to resist the advances of a man whether

or not she welcomes them, and must feign repugnance if she has had no previous experience in love. Four successive times Suthon makes advances to Manōrā, with ever increasing ardour, explaining first that he wants to console her grief, and then that he will make her his queen, ruler of the inner palace, and confer honour upon her with his love: "I have obtained you who are like a golden 'monthā' bush in the three heavens, and my love for you is beyond restraining". He then presses close to her and caresses her back, saying 'Seeking out a wife to live with me and rule my palace, when I found you, you fitted every wish and qualification.' (NL 2-15, D35)<sup>1</sup>. Manōrā responds with appeals to Suthon's sense of honour before her own innocence. She pushes off his caresses, and offers her life before her honour: "'If you will offend me like this, then cut off my head right now", and she put forth her head to him"' (NL 2-14, D35). At the climax of the scene the poet employs similes to express the sexual tensions:

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1. References to the National Library text indicate the volume number (of six) and the folio number within the volume. For convenience an additional reference is given to the corresponding point in the Dyan Bunnāk printed text, which corresponds fairly closely to the NL text in content. Page references are also given for the printed Songkhla text.

The prince's heart was burning like hot coals. He caressed her lovely breasts, but she covered them. Love flared up within him, exciting his passion. His arms holding her were like tightly wound ropes. The hands of the trembling girl pushed him back, she turned her face aside in utter confusion, continually weeping and entreating him with her lovely voice. "I have fallen to this, I cannot escape you, be merciful, please," and she pushed back his hands. "Alas! what a plight, you will not let up. You want to have your way and just rush on. How shall I escape it? Have pity on me. Wait just a moment! Like a little chick in your hand, you want to put me under your foot." (NL 2-18, D36-7).

But once the couple are united, Manōrā's attitude reverses and she clings adoringly to Suthon in total devotion to him from that moment onwards.

Turning to the comparable passage in the Songkhla text there also is found an extensive description of the union of Suthon and Manōrā, of nearly identical length in fact to the NL passage (32 verses of surāṅgkhanāṅ type as compared to 33 in NL), but this only occurs after the couple are properly wedded and invested in the kingdom of Udōṇpanchā. In this passage Suthon also talks Manōrā into making love, but his approach is far less forceful than in NL, and he does not actually touch her until they

have talked at length. It is Manōrā who speaks first, asking Suthon to spare her his passion, because of her innocence and inexperience. He remarks on her origins, her wonderful wings and ornaments, on the fate which has brought her to him, and on the inevitability and rightness of their making love together. She then points out how worn out she is after her long journey in the forest and how, like a dried out flower, she might not survive another exposure to a fire. In fact the extensive wedding ceremonies and preparations thereof have intervened between the forest journey and the wedding night, and it can be noted that the dialogue here (and elsewhere) is at times not much to the point, a not infrequent feature of Thai narrative verse. The important thing here, after all, is a conspicuous display of Manōrā's shyness rather than a wholly logical dispute relevant to the topic at hand. To Manōrā's objections the prince patiently repeats his own arguments, but by now not three exchanges have occurred, and the poet carries on with a stylized, metaphoric account of the love making itself.

The use of simile in this Songkhla passage is more extensive than the corresponding NL version. The poet first

compares Manōrā to an untried ox and cart, whose capacity and strength are about to be tested. Then Suthon compares the pair of them to a boat and the sea, referring to their interdependence upon each other, and compares Manōrā to a lotus flower which must in its time, through the influence of the sun, open its petals and bloom. Would she escape his advances, he asks, any more than a flower can avoid the bees? What man would let her go, any more than a tiger would let go a piece of game fallen into its reach, or ants would honey? Manōrā replies with her image of herself as a dried out flower, as already mentioned.

The scene of the parting of Manōrā and Suthon when the prince must go off to fight the rebel vassal is described by each of the two texts in eighteen surāṅkhanāṅ verses. This parting scene is only briefly mentioned in the Pali version, and the Thai texts have added, presumably on their own initiative, a plea by Manōrā, to follow Suthon on his campaign. Their content is as follows:

## NL

## S

M asks to follow S at  
whatever difficulty

M asks to follow S and act as  
his elephant driver

S caresses her and tells  
her she must not, that he  
will entrust her to his  
parents who love her

S replies that it is not customary  
to do so (phit prawēnī). He quotes  
two maxims from old texts, the  
first on the fearless conduct of  
war, the second (from the  
Kammaphichai) for the need to  
avoid women in matters of war

M recognises their kind-  
ness to her, but says that  
grief at parting is natural  
for husband and wife

M implores him further and  
bemoans the karma that has  
brought her to this second  
separation in her life.

S says he must go, and  
tells her not to grieve

S quotes again (from the Buddha)  
on the inevitability of separation,  
promises to return soon, and to  
obtain his mother's protection for M

2 verses of love play

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The emphasis in the two texts is similar. By means of an  
interview the poet finds occasion to verbalize the distress of  
the heroine. Suthon's attitude, on the other hand, is not  
elaborated (in contrast with his solo grief passages on other  
occasions). Here he is but a foil to Manōrā's grief. The NL  
passage has conventional references to physical contact between  
the couple - Suthon caresses Manōrā as he consoles her, and  
after the interview there is a brief amorous description. The

passage in the Songkhla text has none of this, and here Suthon is made to resort to maxims (kham bōrān) from various books (tamrā) in order to console Manōrā. There is a notable absence of simile in the treatment of this incident in both texts.

A final reunion scene between the couple after their long separation of more than seven years is obviated by the circumstances of the plot in the Pali version, and this is followed in the Songkhla text: Manōrā cannot rejoin Suthon until the latter is accepted by her father. Hence the incidents at the lake which enable Manōrā to learn of Suthon's arrival from her maidservants, and the trials of Suthon. NL does include a reunion scene just after Manōrā informs her parents that her husband has arrived. It is followed by a long recapitulation of the intervening events by the couple to each other.

Another main aspect of the treatment of love in the two texts is the depiction of the grief which accompanies separation, known in Thai as ālai. The poetry of separation, or nirāt, is a major Thai literary genre, and separation is naturally emphasized in the Thai setting of a literary story such as the Sudhana tale. In addition to passages of yearning between the separated hero

and heroine, there are found separation laments between parents and children as well. As the comparison below indicates, the separation motif obtains heavier emphasis in the National Library than in the Songkhla text:

Ālai of:	NL text (volume and folio)	Songkhla text (page no. )
Manōrā to her home and family	1, 51-52, 54-55	120
to Suthon on flight	3-54; 4, 15-16	-
Manōrā's mother to M after her capture	1-56; 2, 2-3, 4-6	92
Suthon to Manōrā on his campaign	3-18; 4, 28-30	-
Suthon to Manōrā upon return to UP	4, 35-36, 40-43	195-198
Suthon to Manōrā during quest	4-54 to 5-5-3; 5, 12-13; 5-17, 5-20; 5, 26-27	-
Suthon to home (UP) during quest	4-52	-
Suthon to home (UP) and parents from Krailāt	6, 17-19	(265)
Suthon's mother to Suthon	-	(164, 204)

(Page reference numbers between parentheses mean that the grief is mentioned briefly but not elaborated in the usual fashion).



The ālai passages in the NL text are often quite extensive in length. They generally begin with a vocative appeal to the beloved, as below, where Manōrā's mother, leading the search party, arrives at the shore of the lake where Manōrā was captured:

When the lady Čhanakinārī reached the place where they had bathed, she saw her lovely daughter's footprints, and threw herself down by the edge of the lake: 'Oh, my child! What have I done to merit this fate? To have you separated from me, my own and dearest child. I cannot find your face and form, where further shall I go, for you have left me. I can only weep and wail for ever more. Oh, my child! you have never walked on foot before, wherever you went you flew in the air, and your feet are [as] soft [as] cotton. They will swell up dreadfully, suppurate and be bruised, and when you will weep who will pity you, my most beloved? I do not know how hard it is for you, whether you are alive or not; I would be your companion so your grief would abate. Staying here how shall I see your face? I must follow you no matter how difficult it may be. If I am so fortunate as to catch you on the way I can implore the hunter and promise him gifts.' And she set off into the woods with all her maidens and her six daughters leading the way ... (NL 2, 2-3; D29-30)

In the Songkhla text this grief obtains only brief mention, with a single simile, and at an earlier point in the narrative, when

the queen first hears of Manōrā's capture: "She took fright and became terribly upset, like a mother hen, when someone seizes her chick in their two hands. The queen ran to the king to tell him." Oddly there appears to be a lessening of the grief element in the Songkhla version at this point, for even the Pali text includes a grief passage here, apparently omitted by the Songkhla poet: "Oh Manōrā my dear child! I do not see you before me and I miss you as though my heart would break. It is as though the hunter has pierced me with a spear. Without you I would rather die than live, for if you live you will be apart from me, and what use is that? Surely I will die!"

An example of extended ālai in the Songkhla text occurs when Suthon first discovers Manōrā's absence upon his return home from the campaign. Missing her welcome he learns that she has fled, and in a state of shock he goes to their bed-chamber. There her scent on their pillow torments him further: "He wept and grieved, his tears flowed down and bathed the pillow. 'Oh! have you flown from your love, so that I may grieve thus?' Servant maidens come in to attend him, and anger

flared up in him, his face was full of wrath and holding up his sword he chased them out as though he would cut off their heads. He cursed them for not looking after Manōrā." The servants report to the queen who rushes to Suthon, explains<sup>1</sup> and tries to console him: "When Suthon heard his mother's words he sobbed and lost his breath, and swooned at his mother's feet, losing consciousness (dyat din nai winyā at patsā khāt wāyō)." (p. 196-8). Once revived, however, Suthon firmly resolves to follow Manōrā, and he carried out his intention steadfastly without any elaborate displays of grief such as occur on five further occasions in the NL account of the quest for Manōrā.

#### Digressive Passages - didactic and descriptive

One feature that characterises these two Thai settings of the Sudhana tale is the appearance of digressive passages in the course of the narrative which relate to various realistic aspects of Thai life. In the NL text the most notable of these

1. The queen's account of the events leading to Manōrā's flight is not accurate at one point. She says "I went to tell your father, and when I came back I saw that she (Manōrā) had put on her wings and tail." In fact she herself gave Manōrā the wings and tail while she was captivated by Manōrā's dance.

are the very full description of entertainments (mahōrasop) accompanying the marriage of Suthon and Manōrā (43 surāṅkhanāṅ verses)<sup>1</sup>, and a passage describing the relative merits of different types of wet nurses, relevant to Suthon's infancy (10 yānī verses). There are also numerous passages with details of clothing and dressing, food, ceremonies and preparations for ceremonies.

The Songkhla text also includes a notable mahōrasop passage, but occurring in the Krailāt kingdom after Suthon and Manōrā have been reunited (21 surāṅkhanāṅ verses). Another remarkable digression occurs when the hunter is about to send the naga's noose off to catch Manōrā; he delivers a discourse on the various demerits of certain kinds of wives, and asks the noose to choose with great caution from among the kinnara maids. For, he says,

"the high born woman is also subject to faults. Certain of them are called 'yakkhinī': this type speaks boldly, her heart is generous and when her husband's relations come, she shells the betel nut, calling out to the drinkers. She hurriedly catches

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1. For a detailed examination of this entertainment passage, see E. H. S. Simmonds, 'Mahōrasop II. The Thai National Library manuscript', BSOAS, XXXIV, Part 1 (1971), 119-131.

a duck, takes the mother hen from its eggs and stretching its neck she cuts it off with a knife, dices it up and fries it, tasting bits and dipping them in the liquor, blowing up the fire at the same time. Whether it's ready yet or not, she keeps tasting bits of it, and when she is quite full herself, her belly bloated, she comfortably offers it to the relatives.

Another kind is called 'čhonthān'. She is addicted to evil, steals her husband's things to sell or give her lovers as she pleases. She listens to no criticism, and however much he tries to teach her, she just talks back to her husband and challenges him.

One wife is called 'butrī'. She is sombre (mūt mua), all feminine wiles, pouting and imploring her husband. One kiss and she has her arm around your neck, she is reclining, facing up, enticing you. Soon after she is deceiving you with other men.

Another type is called 'phāsī'. She is reliable (nāthā), but when her husband sets her to sewing she diligently spins out a thread the size of a pulley band. She bastes and sews so generously that the eye of her needle could be the size of an iron rod. Then her husband puts her to folding up a cloth, and she pulls it away from him, grabbing the edges and turning them over in confusion. This one talks back and argues. As for the various chores (tak nām dam khāo plā) she cannot manage them, and by the time it is dark she still has not finished. With her belly protruding, she is off to her neighbours, her friends such silly women, nobody on earth is like them. She sleeps late, has her husband wake her, sits about stretching and yawning. If he scolds her, she argues back and never gives in. Bold in speech, she has to be the winner. Will he strike her, she will hit right back; he makes a fist, and there she is, fighting back with

her own. He shoves her in the neck, she pushes him back; he elbows her, and pow! she gives it back, and hard!

And as for the 'krasoe' type, she has strong magic within her, born from her evil nature (akuson). She craves sexual relations, she is just like a dog; she makes charms to catch her man, and feels great jealousy of a second wife. But she conceals these thoughts. She has no fear or shame before her husband, and never does she give in to him (phae); when the other wife entertains her husband, she goes down to sit and wait, blocking the way. Her possessiveness is inhuman, her evil results from her karma, and she is addicted to evil things." The hunter instructed the noose: "Do not be hasty, consider and tie up the one who is unblemished, lovely and good, high-minded, the perfect kinnara maiden." (S 67-70).

These five examples of deficient wives clearly seem to descend from some other source, possibly Indic<sup>1</sup>, rather than being the poet's own creation, as the type names have no apparent direct relation to the characteristics mentioned. In fact their faults are all consistent with the main Thai canons of feminine behaviour, where the worst transgressions are excessive forwardness, awkward, gauche manners, and

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1. Vatsyāyana's Kāmasūtra lists women to be avoided in chapter 5 of Book 1, section 32 but the types mentioned do not correspond to the ones here.

treachery. Three of the types depicted are deficient in their very natures, being plainly addicted to evil (the čhonthān type), or jealous and witch-like (krasoe type), or flirtatious and fickle (butrī type). The other two lack rather in manners, and fail in the proper performance of their duties. They are both coarse and graceless, but the yakkhinī only excessively forward, whereas the phāsī type is incapable of efficient work, spoils whatever she turns her hand to, and is lazy and shrewish as well.

This discourse on the demerits found in wives is curiously paralleled in the National Library text in a different context. Here the choice is of a wet nurse for the infant Suthon, and the poet himself mentions the relevant features to be taken into consideration:

The royal father ordered a search for a wet nurse of the proper characteristics, good looks and shape, a fine girl of good family, the best home and background. Some maids with white and lovely skin have breasts reaching down to their navels with clear milk, not very good at all. Some are chubby, with breasts round and firm (pen phuang). Choose carefully, not these for the royal child. Some maids have big hard breasts, not right at all. Some have curved

breasts, their milk is sour and hot<sup>1</sup>, not sweet. Just take the right one; it is well to skip over some. A lovely soft skin, the most lovely of women, having the five characteristics<sup>2</sup>, clear skin of a nut brown hue (*nua dam daeng*), attentive to her duties, her milk sweet and good. He ordered them to quickly find slender and graceful, rather small girls, to be nurses<sup>3</sup>, about fifteen years of age, pure and chaste, daughters of noblemen, choose them and bring them. Their figures are astonishingly beautiful, small and lovely to look at, graceful with gay eyes, powdered faces and lovely soft skin. Whoever sees them falls head over heels in love; their manners are such that they simply charm one. (NL 1, 8-9, D5).

The translation reflects the rather unspecific nature of the various merits and demerits described in this passage, which falls into a tradition in Thai literature of rather generalized didactic writing.

In addition to the major digressive passages, there are numerous passages in both texts providing various realistic

1. The Thai distinguish among foods between 'hot' and 'cool' types, each having a particular effect on the body's constitution.
2. The five characteristics (*pañcalakṣaṇa*) are borrowed, or adapted, by Thai literature from an Indic type convention.
3. The text shifts rather ambiguously from a description of a wet nurse to that of general nurses (*phī liang*) to look after the infant prince.



details by way of embellishment to the course of the narrative.

These include details of festivities and ceremonies and preparations thereof, of clothing, and food. They can be

summarized as below:

(Narrative event)	Detail: in NL text	Detail: in Songkhla text
hunter's departure to forest	(supplies)	supplies, food, and dress
Suthon's excursion to encounter Manōrā	(elephant named)	preparations: bath, scents, dress, adornments, retinue
wedding	new palaces built	--
	roadworks and procession	--
	bāi sī ceremony	bāi sī ceremony, horoscope
Suthon to set forth on campaign	bath, dress forces	horses and elephants described forces
Suthon and hunter set out on quest	--	provisions
seven sisters prepared for Suthon's choice	bath, scents, dress, adornments	same

(Narrative event)	Detail: in NL text	Detail: in Songkhla text
Suthon and Manōrā reunited in Krailāt	bāi sī ceremony	arrangements ceremonies with Indra presiding
preparations for journey to UP		

A typical lively descriptive passage occurs in the NL text following the marriage of Suthon and Manōrā:

"When the investiture was complete, the royal father Āthitya returned to the city. He had the roads prepared, set up the royal fence and tiered umbrellas (rāchawat chat thong), neatly and properly. Supplies of water and fire were arranged on either side of the road. Do it not slowly but right away!<sup>1</sup> The men and women of the people wanted to catch sight of the maiden, as though their hearts would burst (dang ǎchai ǎcha khāt). They pressed against each other so, pushing and shoving, wanting to look at Manōrā, the young maiden from heaven. Some sat by the road to wait, desirous to see even

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1. Both the Royal Asiatic Society and the Dyan Bunnāk texts continue from this point with the following details absent in the NL version: "In the roads where there were dpresssions he ordered dirt brought to fill them, and the high parts were levelled, so that it was all flat and even, and then sand was spread on top. Whoever rich or poor had a house by the road in ill repair, ram-shackle and dilapidated, such houses were to be demolished at once and moved far away. Houses in a repairable state were ordered to be renovated, on both sides of the road where the maiden would pass.

a glimpse, enough to ease their hearts (phọ tham khwan tã). Those who got through [the crush] and saw the maiden told their friends: Her beauty is beyond belief (sut ǎchai). And those who could not see tried all the harder to peer and see because of their unsatisfied curiosity, crowding in to look; what is this heavenly girl like? They must get to see her, and tried with all their strength." (NL 2-33).

The NL version includes extensive description of the wedding of Manōrā and Suthon, preparations for it and its aftermath, including the long description of popular entertainments already mentioned. The Songkhla text's treatment is relatively brief, mentioning only the most essential features of the wedding, the bāi sī ceremony, and the traditional rotation of a tray of candles by the presiding purohit, blessings

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1. (continued) The inspectors (sārawat) were to see that all was beautiful. The officers and officials were ordered to have the inspectors of the market (ǎhao talāt) proclaim to the townspeople and the country people, telling them to sit in the shops, with gold and silver objects set out in piles (ọk kọng riang rāi). The fresh young girls wore dark red skirts hemmed at the edges, the hairs plucked (kanrai) from their foreheads, wearing rings, and reclining with their heads resting against their hands among the goods for sale, seated in orderly fashion on both sides of the road." (D44-5: RAS 71-2). This additional material suggests that various copyists of the text provided at will extra verses to the text as it reached them. Another perhaps less likely possibility is that the NL scribe in fact omitted sections of detail from texts like these quoted here.

by the holy men and king, and casting of a horoscope<sup>1</sup>.

In NL three new palaces are constructed to accommodate the new royal consort, which are provided with audience halls (thī ọk khun nāng), screens (lap lae), inside window shutters (lọng), pearl inlays on the thresholds, kračhang and kranok patterns, and decorated inside with illustrations from the Rāmākian (NL2-24, D39-40). In a great procession the royal parents travel in pomp to the park where Manōrā stays, and there they meet the kinnara princess. Then:

"the king had messages sent to every city large and small (nọi yai ēk thō trī), one hundred and one lands, to come at once and attend the investiture of his beloved son and the lovely Manōrā, and to marry them. In this park he had halls prepared, wondrously arranged in stories and adorned with mụk bon, chọ fā, and bai rakā (architectural decorations).

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1. Additionally the auspicious date for the union is here specified as Thursday, 4th day of the waxing moon of the 6th month, a detail characteristic of southern folk accounts of the tale.

The royal fence and the multi-coloured royal parasols for each direction were all set up as the king had commanded. The royal seats were covered in designs (lae lyaṃ lāi). The astrologers determined the right moment (for the union), free from danger, and informed the king of it. Hurriedly the persons responsible (nāi kān) saw that all was beautifully arranged. Garlands of flowers festooned [the place], colours upon colours overlapping, like garlands of jewels, glittering and shining so beautifully in the light. Cloths to sit on were spread about, and pillows for leaning, jewelled lanterns hung with the garlands on golden striped ropes (phra sūt lāi suwan), swaying and filling the great hall, piles of silver, gold, and jewels for the royal ceremony, the princely custom, the bejewelled bāi sī, gleaming and glistening, dazzling the eye, shining in the air, studded with jewels'(NL 2-28, D41-42).

There follows the preparation and dress of Manōrā and Suthon, who "treads like an elephant", and the couple are led to the great hall:

"The queen and royal relations came and led the couple to sit upon the pile of jewels. The king and his vassals

surrounded them seated on the left and right, the old palace ladies and young girls held the royal fans (phochawā chawī). The great auspicious moment arrived, they lit the candles and opened the bāi sī, [ the king ] ordered the reading of the ceremonies, the customs of the investiture. The brahmin(s?) poured water from the conch shell in blessing for their happiness, invited their two spirits (khwan) to live together in health (rōk rōkhā yā rākhī), in splendour and glory for ten thousand years, ruling the three worlds. They invoked the couple's spirits and gave their blessings to assure their success (? khit sī tī khap pai) and prevent bad luck (ǎchangrai)<sup>1</sup>. The conch shell was

1. This invocation of the spirits of the couple is a prime example of Thai naturalisation of the setting, for spirit invocation plays no part in an orthodox Hindu or Buddhist wedding ceremony. This feature is much expanded in the Royal Asiatic Society's text, where the brahmins' invocation is given in detail: "The princess's spirit is in the forest; the two khwans must be together so that the couple can live together and behave according to custom: this is how it must be. Having thought this, they began to pray (namō) in a strangely (? withān) loud voice -- I call on the prince's spirit; be not still, come forth at once. Go out and meet with the maiden's spirit left behind in the forest, and when you meet it, do not delay but return back to the prince.

sounded with a tumultuous racket and the musicians played, filling the hall with their noise. The orchestra sounded with all its instruments reverberating tumultuously, according to the custom from the days long before. Candles were lit and set on a jewelled holder, and sitting in rows around the pair, they turned the holder from left to right until all had done it, and then with a betel leaf the flashing flame was snuffed out according to the custom, and they waved the smoke in towards the couple while they gave blessings" (NL 2, 33-34, D43-44).

Details of bathing, adornment, and dressing, are prominent in both texts, as a prelude to important events, such as Suthon's campaign (NL), his excursion to meet

1. (continued) O spirit [now addressing Manōrā's spirit], you saw the naga noose, and fearing fled into the lake. Do not hide in the forest but return to the princess's body. If, crying out in fear, you dread the naga king, do not enter the lake. Come back to the princess. O spirit, the hunter frightened you out of her self; do not fear, and come back! Come and see the bāi sī on left and right, come and be with your master (phasadā); the two spirits will rule each other. O both spirits, come and assume dominion of the kingdom's wealth, come and take command, of the royal palace and the twelve treasuries (phra khlang), the treasury of jewels and of gold and silver, of endless wealth. Come and see the beautiful inner palace, lovely and happy, may you prosper and be free of sickness . . ." RAS 69-70.

Manōrā (S), and the preparation of Manōrā and her sisters for the choice by Suthon (both texts). The author of the Songkhla text suggests some sort of fountain arrangement in the bathing of these royal personages, for scented water is said to sprinkle and bubble during the bath: "As for the queen, she had her seven daughters bathe in sparkling fountain water (nām ku phu khai), sprinkling like rain, and fragrantly scented" (S). In this passage from the Songkhla text describing the preparation of the seven princesses for Suthon's choice, the bath is followed by the application of perfumes, made from the oil of the phim sēn bush (pogostemon patchouli, Labiatae) mixed with rose water. Then the seven maidens dress, and the following articles are specified:

sabai	a long cloth loosely wrapped
four sōk in length	around the bosom; one sōk is
binyaphan	the distance from elbow to
	fingertip. Binyaphan is multi-
	coloured, literally 'five colours'.
tāt	linen fabric interwoven with
	silver, gold, or copper threads
mančhirō	anklets
mēkhalang	a necklace impregnated with
	charms



mukhalang	pendants
tāp	brooch worn as a pendant on the breast
kudan	filigree jewellery encrusted with diamonds
sōi mukadā	necklace of pearls
thamarong <sup>1</sup>	rings

Decorative patterns are also mentioned: dōk krai, dōk duang, kiao kām kranok klāi, the latter of a creeper design, in which the garuda bird is seen 'to grip the naga in its claw, against a bright gold ground'. Some of the same ornaments are described in Suthon's dress when the prince prepares for his excursion (S 98-9): mančhirō, mēkhalang, mukhalang, tāp, and rings. He also bathes in splashing scented water, and applies perfume of phim sēn oil and rose water.

Additionally he wears:

sangwān	ornamental chain worn diagonally from the left shoulder to the opposite hip
<u>mongkut</u>	crown

1. Many of these ornaments are illustrated and identified in Prince Dhani's "Traditional Dresses in the Classical Dance of Siam", Journal of the Siam Society, XL, Part 2, 1952, 133-145.

kančhiak	adornment which hangs down from the head dress behind the ear
sanap phlao	folded and tied garment with large pleats folding out from each knee
kamphon	? (kamphalā = spear)
kamphloi	?
inthanū	ornament rising up from the shoulder
rasanā	belt

The NL text provides rather less detail of clothing.

In the passage where the seven sisters prepare for the choice, rings, bracelets, and the tāp, are mentioned, as above, as well as:

sqi	chain necklace
sa-ing	chain waist belt
chadā	crown-like head dress

Clearly the type of dress described is identical, and conforms to standard theatrical court dress of Thailand in recent centuries, as described in contemporary literary works<sup>1</sup>.

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1. See Khomkhai's thesis 'A Study of the Dramatic Poems of the Panji Cycle in Thailand', pp. 128-135, for an account of comparable details of costume in Dālang, and Inao.

A charming note on personal grooming among the common Thai folk is provided in the Songkhla text by the hunter, when Manōrā tells him to keep downwind of her so she will not be forced to smell him. Heavenly creatures such as Manōrā exude only fragrant odours, and the hunter is the first human being she has ever encountered: "Manōrā said, 'Hunter, do not walk up wind of me, you smell bad like excrement (āčhom, excrement or rubbish), and assault my senses with the odour". The hunter said, "Now listen, you, for seven months, nothing but sleeping in the jungle, where should I find powder to put on? There is no oil for my hair. Sleeping in such discomfort, if you tried it for a week, you would be full of sweat, hair in disorder, and ill-smelling. When I am in Udōnpančhā I smell nice and sweet, put on powder and dress up handsomely (krāi). The girls nudge each other in admiration (sakit kan phit chom)" (S p. 83-4). Standards of personal cleanliness are clearly as high for common people as for upper class Thai in this text, as indeed they are among the present day Thai.

The Songkhla poet clearly delights in depicting the hunter, with his dark complexion and huge frame (tua dam lam sūng, S32), and fills out his picture with a description of his dress:

nung dam sūa sai	baek mae thanū chai	saphāi dōk yā
nep phrā krai tō	san khom som ō	dām kalapāhā ... (S31)

"wearing a black cloth trouser and a shirt, with an arrow sheath over his shoulder, and a 'coral' knife tucked in at the waist, a blade long and sharp suiting [his] swagger". Later in the text his dress consists of the sanap phlao trousers, a cloth belt (phā tā khiao kiao rat), a shirt with buttons, buffalo hide shoes, and a bow slung over his shoulder (S47).

The requisite provisions for a forest journey are described in detail in the Songkhla text: "The hunter came to his house where he told Mēkhabidā to arrange foods, sadū and sweets<sup>1</sup>, to sustain himself [on the journey] . And his wife, hearing this, hastily sought rice roasted and pounded flat (khāo mao), dried rice (khāo tāk), sticky rice

1. Sadū is probably southern Thai for 'khāo tū': pulverized, sun-dried rice mixed with dry sugar.

prepared with buffalo milk, sadū and sugar, ground up into a powder, and stuffed as 'khāo lām čhīn'<sup>1</sup>, all dried things, she prepared them carefully and with effort, and put them all in a bag to carry. [And also] the tinder box set so easy to ignite, no trouble at all, a set of tinder (kradāt) for lighting it, these she gave her husband". This passage concludes with the hunter's homely instructions to his wife for the period of his absence: "You stay here and tend the house. If friend or stranger should pass (khaek pai thai mā), care for them well. Do not leave the doors and windows open, for the thief will sneak in and run off with things. He knows well how to do it, he will find a way in and tiptoe about" (S46-47).

### Social Relations

An inevitable aspect of the casting into Thai of a tale such as the Sudhana-Manōrā story is the translation of the story's social setting into terms consonant with the

1. The word 'lām' is spelled here with 'māi ēk'; when spelled 'khāo hlām' it refers to sticky rice with coconut milk, roasted in bamboo joints, and it may do so here.

culture of the Thai people and their way of life. These are marked by a life style in which basic values and habits are largely shared by rich and poor, and by a comparatively fluent social mobility. In the Suthon tale the character of the hunter conveniently represents the common man, and the hermit is of the monkhood. The remaining characters in the tale are all royal or court personages.

The relations between the hunter and the princess Manōrā, prince Suthon, and the naga king, are all quite egalitarian in the Thai versions. In dialogue between them, normal pronouns are employed as for speech between social equals<sup>1</sup>. The hunter is always depicted as aware of his lower station vis-à-vis these three characters, but social intercourse between them is not thereby much altered. In keeping with the relative ease of social mobility among the Thai, the hunter in the Songkhla text is elevated to the rank of phrayā for his services in the capture of Manōrā, and given the accoutrements of the rank -- a levy

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1. See appendix below for summary of pronouns in dialogue in the texts. Royal vocabulary is frequently found in the texts in dialogue between two royal personages.

of livestock (suai sat), fixed income and residence, ceremonial vessel and weapon (čhiat krabī), and clothing for his wife to be a palace retainer to Manōrā (čhao čhom phū yai), together with one hundred concubines for his comfort (S137-138). Additionally, at the end of this version he is made chief of the royal hunters. In the National Library text he is offered material rewards only, as in the Pali text.

A subtle picture of the dazzled commoner when faced with the rich fare of a king is found in the Songkhla text where the naga feasts the hunter after being saved by him from the evil brahmin:

The naga came out to dine together with the hunter without any repugnance, and with joy in his heart. The hunter Bunthariksā was not to worry<sup>1</sup>. The traveller took a glass (čhok) of liquor and emptied it down, so strong and concentrated in its nature that you could

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1. i. e., about their disparate stations. The phrase is apparently in the imperative - yā dai thæčhai - in the midst of a third person narrative passage.

light a fire with it, born from the fruit  
 of the grape<sup>1</sup>. And with each glass the  
 hunter burst out in speech. He seized the  
 various dishes and ate busily, his eyes  
 turning confusedly to the left and right,  
 eating non-stop in complete comfort and  
 happiness with the naga lord (S 42).

Here the hunter is in no way intimidated by the royal  
 reception. But the luxuries of the table are beyond his  
 polite acceptance, and he sets to eating and drinking  
 with childish enthusiasm. After his meal, he takes his  
 leave of the naga and returns to the forest to hunt. The  
 scene is presented differently in the NL text, where the  
 naga expects the hunter to stay in his underworld kingdom  
 and share half of his realm. The hunter protests: "You  
 are a king ruling your land in all its splendour, and I am  
 a forest hunter. When you call me friend, I feel  
 embarrassed and ashamed (čhiam čhit khit kâi)" (NL1-24, D13).

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1. The grape ('angun<sup>t</sup>) is not a native Thai fruit, or  
 word. The poet here borrows from a foreign context,  
 appropriately contrasting the naga's wonderful and  
 foreign life with that to which the hunter is normally  
 accustomed. Under other circumstances he would  
 normally naturalize into a Thai context, but the  
 non-naturalization here is to a purpose.



He can only suffer the honours accorded him for the length of a week, as they are too foreign to him.

For the Thai, a monk who takes up the life of a forest hermit is deserving of particular respect, both for his difficult life and for the extensive knowledge which such monks were known to attain. In the Suthon tale the hermit receives visits in his forest abode from the hunter, from Manōrā, and from Suthon. In the NL and Songkhla texts, the way in which Suthon initially greets the hermit in both texts, and the way the hunter greets him in NL, suggest a fixed convention, either literary or realistic, for a meeting with a hermit. In the two texts the layman asks after the well-being of the hermit, his safety amid the dangers of the jungle, his supplies of food, and his personal health. The hermit then replies to each point separately, so that the whole exchange occupies several verses.

In contrast, the behaviour of young girls of different social levels toward the opposite sex is illustrated in the NL text when the kinnara womenfolk of Krailāt see Suthon for the first time. Quite characteristically

the NL poet depicts them as real Thai maids who are confronted by a wondrously handsome stranger come into their midst:

Staring and admiring of the prince, the entire group of maidens left off blinking. And once they saw him turn his gaze to meet theirs, they stirred about slightly so as to attract his admiration, glancing about with their eyes. Some of them pretended to be shy, loosening their blouse-cloths (phāhom) and rearranging them, while smiling sweetly, as if wanting to invite him to speak. As for the servant girls, they were not so restrained or shy (mai chua klua čhai mi chai pho dī), and the group of nursemaids (phī liang) even less so, they crowded together alongside them and jostling one another, when [are they] restrained (pho dī mya rai)? They set their intentions, and thought to themselves (i. e., of ways to attract his attention); then shifting about they let their blouse-cloths slip aside as they readjusted them, letting their breasts show so that he would admire

them, in such a bold way, they spoke quite forwardly, invitingly and with odd expressions (lin lom chɔp kon). And not just the young maids, but the older ones as well followed suit (phlɔi phān klāo), every one of them, making eyes at the prince, time and again, quite oblivious of themselves and their behaviour (NL5, 51-2; D126).

The Songkhla text also provides a charming glimpse of relations between the sexes among the Thai, at the lake where Suthon arrives in Krailāt and, keeping with the plot of the Pali story, he contrives to send his ring to Manōrā in the water pot of one of the maidens who carried it from the lake. The Songkhla poet adds an exchange of teasing banter between Suthon and the maiden which brings the scene directly into the context of Thai life: "Suthon spoke: 'My dear girl, lovely kinnara maiden, comfort for the eyes, coming to get water from this lake, where do you carry it? I ask you in sincerity, not to fool you or to flirt with you, not to make you embarrassed and say angrily that someone has insulted

you (min khlaen). Are you a precious golden ring worth a fortune, are you married yet? These sixteen maidens coming to the lake, for what purpose do they fill their pots with water?" (S228). The kinnara maid would speak but she was too embarrassed to talk enticingly to the man, so she smiled charmingly, her eyes averted to the side, and glanced at him sideways. Then Suthon watched the sixteen maidens go down to the lake, bathe and fill their golden water pots. By a mantra Suthon prevented one maiden from lifting her pot. She called the other for help and they chided her "Sister, are you being modest, or are you just fooling us?" But two, three, and four of them try to lift the pot without being able to make it budge. They curse it: "Evil pot! Has it put down roots or what, that it will not stir from the ground!" One maid sees Suthon, and sends the owner of the pot to ask his help:

The maid spoke: "Please help me out of my trouble, the pot is [stuck] to the ground".

Suthon replied to her: "I would help you lift

the water, but if your husband finds out about it there will be trouble, and I'll be in for it!" The maid replied to him: "There is no husband to follow me about. I am an attendant of the princess Manōrā, the king's young daughter".

Suthon obtains further information about Manōrā, and the other girls set their pots on their hips and start off, turning back to look at Suthon and teasing one another about the handsome stranger, saying, "Does the tiger tire of his prey? Like a slithering snake and a long eel<sup>1</sup>, as the old proverb has it, ants near the sugar, and who grasps a knife by its blade (? mīt khua khrai hōm kum plāo), [ so ] a boy and a girl come near to each other [are bound to] tease each other and laugh together." And so the group of maids walked on, turning back and joking together (S 232).

- 
1. This melange of proverbial similes is not very clear, especially the reference to snakes and eels.

The aspects of treatment surveyed in this chapter reveal certain remarkable coincidences in the two texts, particularly in the closely parallel occurrence of digressive genre and didactic passages. Each text has a detailed description of popular entertainments, although occurring at different points in the narrative, and each offers a didactic passage relating to the merits of different types of women, as well as a variety of details of ceremonies, dress and toilet, and soldiery, including foot soldiers, cavalry, and elephant forces. Each text devotes a nearly equal number of *surāṅkhanāṅ* verses to a description of the courtship and the separation of the hero and heroine. These coincidences suggest at the least a similar approach to the descriptive tasks at hand on the part of the two poets, who appear to work in a chronologically and stylistically homogeneous setting, although regional differences are also apparent.

## Chapter 4

### POETIC DICTION

The characteristics of Thai poetic diction are determined in some measure by the nature of the Thai language itself, as well as by a marked inclination in Thai culture to conform to accepted and enjoyed modes of expression and behaviour. The tonal phonemes in the sound structure of Thai, for example, taken together with the essentially monosyllabic character of Thai words, assure that a relatively large number of words fall into relatively few groups of rhyming syllables. Rhyme, in consequence, comes naturally and easily for the Thai poet, and the Thai ear expects and relishes the element of rhyme in literature, whether it is verse written and read, or verse invented orally on the spur of the moment. In the Kāp verse form of the Thai Sudhana poems the organization of rhyme in terms of metrical patterns requires the poet to conform to a determined scheme of rhyme and metre which necessarily inhibits his expression and word choice to some degree, as in all Thai verse.

Yet in comparison with the more elevated verse forms such as Chan and Klɔn where the obligations are more complex and more rigid, the poet's ingenuity is not greatly taxed by the obligations to rhyme and metre. Indeed, one device available to the poet permits the alteration of the final syllable of a word to fit a particular rhyme without impairing the meaning in any significant degree. For example the word nāk (Sanskrit, nāga) occurs in the Songkhla text interchangeably as 'nāk', 'nākhā', 'nākhin', 'nākhang' and 'nākhī', even though the last form theoretically should indicate the feminine gender (as in Sanskrit). In this case the poet can match four common rhyme endings without the need to find a lexical alternative for the word 'nāk'. This flexibility in syllable endings clearly lightens the poet's task in the provision of rhyme.

Another flexible feature of Thai poetic diction is the syntactic freedom to combine synonymous nouns into compound nominal forms of two, three, or even more words. A forest, for example, can be any of the following:



pā

pā dong

pā phong

phong phī

pā phong phī

pā dong phong phī

to quote a simple combination of monosyllabic nouns.

The combination of polysyllabic words is correspondingly more elaborate in result. The last example quoted, 'pā dong phong phī', already constitutes a full foot of surāṅg-khanāṅ verse, although lexically it is equal to 'pā' alone. This feature is of obvious convenience in the provision of a requisite number of metrical syllables, for additional words of appropriate length can be added together without influencing the surrounding syntax. Many of the combinations are euphonious to the Thai ear and this, together with their convenience, promotes the creation of rather stylized fixed phrases. Carried to excess, however, it results in long redundant phrases of nouns strung together which are pointless and tiresome, and not admired by the Thai critic. The accumulation of nominal forms is a very

prominent feature of epithets, and will be discussed below in that context.

Beyond the fulfilment of anticipated rhyme and metre, Thai literature is expected, where the subject matter is a story, to depict the course of the narrative in an agreeable fashion, as well as to depict the setting of the subject according to rather conventionalized types of genre description, nature description, and depiction of emotional states appropriate to the leading characters of the story. The emotions most commonly depicted are grief, love, love longing, and joy. The above combination of emphasis on expected rhyme and expected description together with the grammatical feature of compounded synonyms makes for a poetic diction in which stylized phrases and expressions are common, and often repetitive in nature.

The NL poem in comparison with the Songkhla version shows a somewhat more marked use of stylized phrasing. For example, a common phrase in the NL text expressing haste which occurs frequently is 'yā chā chap wai'. Variant phrases with the same meaning are also found in NL, such

as 'mai chā man khong', 'hā chā yū mai', and 'chua chā mua rai'. Each of these phrases constitutes a whole foot of surāṅkhanāṅ verse and conveniently fills a space for rhyme and metre. It is curious that the Songkhla version entirely lacks these stylized phrases for the expression of haste. Where haste is expressed on rare occasions, as appropriate to royal commands and their execution, a short, simple word or phrase is employed in that text, as 'phlan' in 'mī ongkān phlan', or 'rēng rīp' in 'hai rēng rīp pai' (S119). These expressions of haste could not be called stylistically distinct from those of NL but they are in fact markedly less frequent in the Songkhla text, which suggests that the NL poet's awareness of certain fixed phrases may have prompted him to find occasions to employ them.

In a similar way the NL text offers a wider variety than Songkhla of words describing motion, all approximate lexical equivalents of 'pai', to go:

NL text	Songkhla text
cȟon	cȟon
cȟoralī	phanēcȟon (usually a

NL text	Songkhla text
san <sup>ˇ</sup> ch <sup>ˇ</sup> on	noun meaning
ch <sup>ˇ</sup> on pai	traveller, but used
bot ch <sup>ˇ</sup> on	verbally p. 204)
cha <sup>ˇ</sup> ra <sup>ˇ</sup> chan	
ch <sup>ˇ</sup> on khlā	
khlā khlai	
lon lān	
linlā, linlāt	linlā
phan phāi	
yarayāng, yiarayāt	
damnoen linlā	doen

Most of these words used by the NL poet are based on variants of ch<sup>ˇ</sup>on (from Sanskrit cara). The Songkhla poet uses 'ch<sup>ˇ</sup>on' freely and frequently, but alone and without combining it or expanding it in any way.

Words and phrases describing dying and death are once again of great variety in the NL text, including words that indicate the direct fact of death itself, but also employing the notion of death in figures of speech to emphasize situations of distress or despair. Suthon's

disregard of death, for example, in his desperate quest to regain Manōrā becomes a phrase of a fixed type in NL:

mai khit chīwā <sup>1</sup> (NL5-26, D113)	[he] thinks not of life
mai khit sangkhān (D107)	ditto
mai khit khwām tāi (NL5-11, D111)	thinks not of death
mi dai khit kāi (NL5-4, D107)	[he] thought not of his body (i. e. self)

In another stylized figure of speech, dying is equated with becoming a ghost (phī):

hen mai pen phī	saw [he] would not be a ghost (i. e. die) (NL3-46)
̣cha muai pen phī	will die and be a ghost (NL4-13, D85)
pai sū myang phī	go to the land of the ghosts (NL5-47, D124)
khrai mai hen phī	wanted to not see ghosts (NL5-11, D111)

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1. See note above, page 75, on text references given in this thesis.

Emotional distress is compared to dying through similes:

phiang chīp taksai	(NL5-48, D124 differs)
dang plong chīwit	(NL5-46, D123)
maen muai banlai	(NL5-11, D111)
maen chīp wāng wāi	(NL5-48, D124 differs)

Death itself is indicated, usually in a metaphorical sense, by a widely varied vocabulary, employing as usual in Thai numerous words of Indic origin:

mṛanā	(NL5-13, D112)
sin chīwā	(NL4-15, D86)
sin sangkhā	(NL2-6, D30)
plong chīp sangkhā	(NL5-47, D124)
wāi sangkhān	(NL5-4, D107 differs)
wāi wṛt chīwā	(NL3-44, D74)
chīwī wāi prān	(NL4-13, D85)
wṛt wāi prān	(NL2-5, D31)
muai wāi prān	(NL4-47, D102)
muai chīwā	(NL4-13, D85 differs)
muai chīwī	(NL5-14, D112)
muai mit āsan	(NL2-7, D31)
thāng chīp banlai	(NL2-7, D31)

chīwīt ǎcha plot plong (NL4-37, D96)

thung kae kân sin muai mơn (NL5-17, D omits)

In contrast the Songkhla text has relatively few expressions to express dying, but these are not in fact stylistically different from the NL words, rather only markedly less frequent. This lesser frequency is doubtless due in some measure to the smaller role of grief passages in the Songkhla text as compared to the NL version. Most of the characteristic expressions can be noted from the Songkhla text, as follows:

phiang wāi  
(S79)

pim chīp chong  
(S79)

ǎcha khā hai sin chon  
(S177)

pim sut sin prān  
(S29)

pim pam sia chīwāt  
(S1237)

sin chīwātmāsan (jīva-ātma-āsana) (die ...  
and be vulture's prey)

... pen yua kae raeng kai  
(S81)

plot phra chon  
(S199)

sin chīp  
(S199)

Certainly the largest category of stylized vocabulary in the two Thai Sudhana texts consists of words expressing or describing grief. Phrases which compare grief with dying have already been noted above. An extensive vocabulary serves to depict weeping, sadness, and gestures of despair:

NL text	Songkhla text
ram	ram
ram rai	hai ram
ram phan	
ram phirai	
philāp	
kansaeng	kansaeng
hai hā	hai hā
hōi hai	hōi hai
ram rai hai hōi hā	-
-	rōng hai
sōk, sōkā	sōk, sōkā



NL text	Songkhla text
sōkālai	-
ālai	ālai
-	sōkā hai
sōk san	sōk san
-	wiyōk sōk sao
sao mōng	sao mōng
-	mōng mun, mōng mua,
	mong mǎi
-	mua mon
rathot rathuai	rathuai rathot
rathot kamsot	kamsuan kamsot
rathot sathōn	-
thōmanā, thōmanasā	-
salot	-
kriam krom	kriam krom
trōm	khlaeng phrakramonmān
	chai trōm

Tears are known as 'cholanai' or 'cholanā' (Sanskrit, jala-nayana), or 'cholanēt' (Sanskrit, jala-netra), also as 'asu' (Pali, assu) and 'asucholanai' (assu-jala-nayana).

These words are found in both texts. The Songkhla text also has 'phra suchon' (p. 90, derived presumably from asu-jala dropping the initial a-). Under extreme distress the characters are subject to rather violent actions and symptoms, such as beating the breast: 'khon urā' (NL4-41, D98), 'tī suang' (S95), 'tī phra uthon cham' (S190); throwing oneself down on the ground, 'thot ong' (NL2-7, D31); rolling about on the ground, 'kling kluyak' (NL4-16, D86). The face is bathed in tears, 'nam tā op āp phaktrā' (S77); the nose is running, 'rabāi nāsā' (NL4-34, D95); the eyes are swollen and red, 'phra nēt fok daeng' (NL4-40, D98), the tears even mixed with blood (?) 'lai tit lōhit pon daeng' (NL2-6, D31); the heart will burst, 'urā čha phang' (NL4-37, D96), there is oppression on the breast, 'klum klat urā' (NL4-35, D95), the face is pale and dejected, 'phra phak phiu phuat' (NL4-35, D95), and they frequently lose consciousness, 'mai som pradī' (passim, both texts). Once again it will be noted that the Songkhla text does not offer as wide a variety of expressions, and for the same reason, that the sum total of grief description is less than in the National Library version.

In another context, on the other hand, the Songkhla text is quite equal to the NL text in variety of vocabulary, as in the following words referring to the forest, necessarily a common item in both texts:

NL text	Songkhla text
phrai	phrai
phrai san	--
--	phrai s̄an
phrai sin	--
phrai wan	--
--	phrai s̄ī
phrai son	--
phrai son phryksā	--
phrai phryksā, phrai phryksan	--
phrai rahong	phrai phanom
--	phrai phanom uthiyān
phanāwā	phanāwēt
pā rahong	--
phanat dong dōn	dong dan nua nōn
--	phrong phrai

NL text	Songkhla text
don	dong don
--	pā
aran phong phī	aran rāo pā
--	aran wēt dong luang
phong phī, pā phong phī	--
pā phalālai	--

Certain other types of conventional phrases can be mentioned at this point. Both texts employ narrative structures which serve as connectives linking one narrative scene to another, and one verse form to another. With one exception they are all simple equivalents of 'when' or 'then' in English, as they occur in the two texts, where they are only an occasional rather than a frequent feature of diction:

NL text	Songkhla text
mũa nan	mũa nan
bat nan	pāng
bot nī	pāng mũa
Čha klāo thụng	klāo thụng
('I shall tell of . . .)	
	pāng nan

Both texts make frequent use of the particle 'rā', particularly in the phrase 'dū rā' which is fairly common in traditional Thai literary style. The introduction of a name is usually accompanied in both texts by the erudite phrase 'nām kṇ' deriving from the Sanskrit 'nāmakara'. Both texts use a fixed phrase for the hunter's crossbow: 'nā māi pūn yā'. Certain phrases expressing superlatives are found quite frequently in the NL text only, as:

sut thī čhēračhā

sut thī čha priap pramai

sut thī phananā

Numerous expressions from colloquial southern Thai dialect in the Songkhla text are indicated by footnotes in the printed edition of that text.

### Epithets and Pronouns

Epithets are a prominent feature of the poetic diction of Thai narrative verse, in part because of the wide choice they offer the poet in the co-ordination of a particular verse or rhyme context. The extendability of epithets into long phrases, as with other Thai words and

phrases, enables the poet to indicate the name of the character either succinctly with a single word, as 'suthon' or 'thāo', or with a long string of words occupying several feet of verse, as in 'somet bōrama phūbōdī čhao čhōm čhokrā suthon phahon thāo' (S155). In the two Thai texts under consideration, the nature of epithets employed is quite comparable, and many of the word elements of the epithets are common to both texts, yet there is very little precise duplication of epithets. This is probably a measure of personally idiosyncratic word choice on the part of the two poets rather than of regionally or chronologically distinct literary traditions.

The word elements of epithets in the two texts include groups of royal words and kinship words as well as more generally descriptive words. Royal characters are most commonly identified by royal vocabulary of mainly Indic origin, a selection of which is compiled below from epithets for the hero Suthon.

(Sanskrit origin)

krasat (kṣatriya)	S
rācha-, rāchā (rājā)	NL, S
nṛrabḍī (narapati)	S
narin (nara-indra)	S
phūthṇ (bhū-dhara)	NL, S
phūbḍī (bhū-pati)	S
phūbān (bhū-pāla)	NL
phūwanai (bhūvana)	NL
phūwadinthṇ (bhuva-ati-indra)	S
phūwanāt (bhuva-nātha)	S
bḥphit (pavitra)	S

(Khmer origin)

la-ḡng	NL
somdet	NL, S

(Thai origin)

<sup>v</sup> chao	NL
thāo	NL, S
pin, pin klāo, pin phān	S
phan pī	NL
chōm ngām	NL, S

A remarkable epithet in the Songkhla text is 'kamdyng', applied to Manōrā (S183) and to King Āthit (S166), which descends from the Khmer title 'kamrateng' and was apparently preserved in southern Thai. All the other royal epithets can be said to be standard literary central Thai words appropriate to a narrative text in verse.

Many epithets are familial terms, whether simple kinship terms elevated by ennobling affixes (as 'phra mae', or 'phua thulī') or elegant Indic-based terms, listed below. Colloquial kinship words are occasionally applied to royal characters, as when Suthon and Manōrā are called 'pho' and 'mae' respectively, which suits the normal colloquial context of old spoken Thai. The elegant Indic words are employed with all the characters and describe their mutual relationships. As son, Suthon is 'butrā' and 'ōrasā', as husband he is 'rāchasāmī' and 'phasadā'. His father King Āthit is 'bidā', 'bidon', 'biturēt', 'biturāt'. Epithets for mothers are many and varied, used with the two royal queens, the mothers of Suthon and Manōrā respectively: 'chonanī' (jananī),



'māndā', 'mādon', 'māturang', 'māndon', 'māturong',  
 et alia. As mother-in-law to Manōrā, Āthit's queen is  
 'māndā sāmī' (NL) as well as 'rācha mādun mae phua'  
 (S), an elevation of the ordinary kinship vocabulary.  
 As daughter, Manōrā is 'butrī', and 'thidā'; as daughter-  
 in-law she is 'saphai' and 'sunisā'. To her sisters and  
 to Suthon she is 'nong', younger sibling. Suthon is, as  
 her husband, 'phandā' (bhartr, bhartā) (S187), and  
 'phasadā' as well as 'phua thulī' and 'sāmī'.

Other epithets are more generally descriptive in  
 nature, and refer to the beauty or majesty of the character.  
 Words such as 'nāng', 'kalayā', 'thēwī', 'yaowamān',  
 'yuphāphān', 'nut', 'grathai', 'sīwilai', 'sām wai',  
 'nongkhrān', 'chōmyong', and 'naryumon' are all epithets  
 appropriate in describing a woman's beauty, youth or charm.

The appendix of this thesis provides a complete  
 glossary of epithets found in the two texts so that a more  
 detailed comparison can be made if desired.

An examination of pronouns in the Thai Sudhana  
 texts indicates some further points of interest to those noted  
 concerning epithets. The conventions of royal vocabulary

are often ignored, as has already been mentioned. In conversation between Suthon and the hunter in the NL text, each character uses the first person singular pronoun 'khā'. The pronoun 'khā' in fact embodies a certain ambiguity, for it represents in itself a familiar pronoun normally reserved for a superior speaking to an inferior, while at the same time it often stands as a shortened form of the pronoun 'khā phra ǎchao' which suits the opposite context, of an inferior speaking to a superior party. This is almost certainly the case in the Songkhla text where each of the hermit's three interlocutors refers to him or herself as 'khā', which must be taken as a contraction of 'khā phra ǎchao'. In this same context the NL text employs standard sacerdotal conventional pronouns:

NL text		Songkhla text
(Suthon)	yōm	khā
(Manōrā)	yōm, khā bot sī	khā
(Hunter)	tua yōm, chan	khā

An additional pronoun in this context from the Duan

Bunnāk text has Suthon refer to himself as 'dichān lān rak'

in talking to the hermit (D112, omitted from NL5-13), a curious form, although 'dichan', in current parlance a first person feminine pronoun, was used by male speakers in former times, particularly in the southern dialects and in a respectful context.

The distribution of pronouns in the first person singular in the context of Suthon speaking with the hunter is:

NL text	Songkhla text
(Suthon) nong, khā, rao	kū, rao
(Hunter) khā	khā, tua khā, khā phra

With the exception of 'tua khā' and 'khā phra', and remembering the possible ambiguity of 'khā' by itself, all these pronouns are familiar and conventional ones. It should be remembered that the Songkhla poet makes the prince and the hunter contemporaries, born on the same day. In the NL poem where the hunter is clearly older, Suthon refers to himself as 'nong', younger sibling, and addresses the hunter as 'phī' and 'phī phrān'.

The same familiarity of address holds between Manōrā and the hunter. She calls herself 'khā' (NL) and

'rao' (S). The hunter refers to himself as 'phī' (NL) and 'phrān' (S). Before the naga lord the hunter is 'tua' (NL), 'khā' and 'rao' (S), all familiar, while the naga also uses 'rao' (NL) and in the other text 'kloe' (friend) and 'ātmā' (sacerdotal, while he is disguised as a hermit).

Both texts use the curious form of address 'khā tae . . . ' which is an honorific vocative of an archaic type. It is frequently followed by a long epithet which serves the usual function of providing flexible alternatives for a metrical or rhyme space. It is frequently used in addressing the hermit, in the form 'khā tae āchān', and in addressing royalty.

### Vocabulary

Aspects of realistic vocabulary, as in the names of palace servants and officials, could theoretically give some indication of significant chronological differences between the two Thai Sudhana texts, if any. Such a comparison is offered below, which reveals that the content of the terms is basically the same in the two texts:

## NL text

## Songkhla text

## Female palace officials

khlōn ǎcha khā luang

nāng khlōn ǎcha

nāng thao kae

ǎchao phū thao kae

tua ǎchao khrua yāi

mū nāng thāo phra sanom

ǎchao khrua nai fāi wisēt

nāng thāo ǎchao khrua nai

khā sāo ǎchao mae

phī liang nōi yai

sāo san

nāng kamnar saen sāo san

nāng khāng nai

## Male palace officials

amāt akha mahā sēnā

mukhamāt thipōdī

mahā sēnā wisēt

sēnā chān

mahāt lek dek sāi

hua mūn mahāt

mahāt thai ǎchao thī

ǎchao krom wang

nāi tamruat

tamruat nai nāi wēn

ǎchao talāt

sasadī

It was mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis  
that the Songkhla poet had an unusual command of Indic

based vocabulary. Some of his Indic words would appear in certain cases to be compound words created by the poet himself from shorter Indic words, though rarely combined according to correct forms of Sanskrit euphonic combination. Whether the words are inventions or not, they are certainly unusual, and unmatched by the vocabulary of the NL version or other typical kāp texts of its type. Two examples of obscure Indic compounds will serve to illustrate the Songkhla poet's erudition. In the context of Suthon's birth, the queen's womb is 'mātukhrōthṇ', (mātugrōdhara; S17, 20), presumably constructed from mātu - garbha - udara, with the distortion of the middle element ('garbha') and misspelling of the last ('udhara' for 'udara'). Another rather obscure word seems to refer to the passing of air from the body which is supposed to accompany childbirth ('lom beng' in ordinary Thai) - 'wāyukamchawāt' (vāyu - karma - ja - vāta?; S19).

Among the words for king in the Songkhla text one finds 'ranyā', reflecting Pali 'rañño' (S25, 210), 'narāphiphū'

(nara - abhi - bhū -; S26), 'nṛāben' (nṛpa - indra; S37).

The following can also be noted as shorter words of Indic origin, of interest as they are not generally encountered in literary Thai, and hence of a 'learned' strain:

thumā	(dhuma)	smoke	p. 28
chōt sikhā	(joti-sikhā)	fire, flame	p. 38
chōk akhī	(joti-aggi)	do.	p. 195
kuta	(kunta)	insect	p. 83
pilikang	(pipīlika)	ant	p. 83
kukuta	(kukkuta)	cock	p. 92
rachatkā	(The context calls for 'chick'; source unknown)		p. 93
amphā	(amla)	mango	p. 101
ryṣadī	(ḍṛṣṭi)	to see	p. 191
kathalī	(kadali)	banana tree	p. 192
uthaka	(udaka)	water	p. 231
narychī	(nṛji)	die?	p. 26, 196
rachot	(rajata)	silver	p. 27
rachukhā	(rajugā?)	?	p. 34
tačhō	(taco)	skin	p. 18
āhuh (๑๗๕) <u>๕</u>	(āhuti?)	giving oblations	p. 36

### Similes

The use of simile is a common feature of the poetic diction of both texts, although in comparison with 'classical' Thai literature of the nineteenth century the similes are simple and straightforward, and do not conform in many cases to the conventional and fixed types of literary simile derived from Indic sources<sup>1</sup>. They are also markedly less abundant than in the classical texts, which again perhaps reflects that their use was optional in these Kāp texts, rather than mandatory.

Similes in the texts express grief and mental distress by other comparisons than those with dying as already illustrated. Suthon in his despair at learning of Manōrā's flight is 'as though someone had picked out his heart from his body and stolen off with it' (dang khrai mā luang ao duang hatthai khwae khwak lak pai čhāk kāi kāyā; NL4-34, D95). In the Songkhla version in the same context he is 'as if a fire had come and pierced his heart' (dang ao chok [surely

1. Such conventional similes are surveyed in Khomkhai Nilprapassorn's Ph D thesis, "A Study of the dramatic poems of the Panji cycle in Thailand", School of Oriental and African Studies, 1966.



for 'chōt' (jyoti, joti), light, brightness] akhī mā čhō  
 nun wun phra thai; S195). Again, Manōrā in grief is  
 'like a lovely banana tree blown by the wind' (S79).

Fire is understandably a useful source of comparison  
 for a number of emotional states, including shock (as  
 above), ardour, and danger. Bun leading Manōrā through  
 the forest is aroused by her beauty; in his chest it is as  
 though a fire has ignited (ok dae phrān dang fai sum; S79).  
 As Manōrā approaches the city, Suthon, although he has  
 not yet seen her, feels an excitement which is equated with  
 fire (rōn ārom khū fai kām; S97). It will be recalled as  
 well that the Songkhla poet depicts Manōrā's purity as  
 protected from persons unworthy of her by a great heat  
 emanating from her: 'rōn dang fai čhī' (S105). In the NL  
 text the danger in which Suthon left Manōrā is called 'a  
 heat greater than fire' (rōn ying kwā akhī; NL 4-38, D96).

Occasional similes compare the hero and heroine to  
 divinities. At his wedding, Suthon is 'like Amara' (i. e.  
 Indra; NL 2-31, D42). In the other text he is also compared  
 to Indra. At Krailāt with the maidens at the lake, he is

'like Amara in the Tusita heaven' (S). Upon his departure on campaign in the same text, Suthon in his power and glory is 'like Nārāi and Rāma, of Vaikuntha' (S157). In his wrath he is said to be like a kala-naga; beyond the strength of a thunderbolt (S 197). He is 'supreme in form like Indra flown down from the skies' (akhatirēk klāo kái dang amarin bāi yāt fā long mā; S128). The same descent from heaven is found in NL applied to Manōrā:

priap dang nāng sut chadā (i. e. suchādā, Indra's consort Sujātā) luan lòi fā long mā din (NL 2-31, D43)

Both Suthon and Manōrā are compared to mythical birds.

Suthon is 'like a peacock-hamsa' (mayūrahong; S231).

Manōrā's gait is as graceful and refined as a royal hamsa bird's (thuai rathot kɔn krāi dang rāchahong thong thamnong choeng chāi; S102). In NL she moves 'like a golden royal hamsa bird' (dang rāchahēm hong; NL5-38; cf. D119, dang nāng rāchahong).

A favourite type of comparison to express fear or offended innocence makes comparison with a chicken, mother hen, or baby bird. Manōrā's capture by the hunter

is seen by her grieving mother as 'like the seizure of a baby bird fallen from its nest' (myan phrāk lūk nok tok čhāk rang nōn, NL-2-7, D31). He has taken her, she says, 'like a hawk, grasping, clawing, and seizing her in its beak' (dut dang yiao kā chōp chāp thāp thā khāp phā ao pai, ibid. ). The latter example well illustrates the accumulation of words, all verbs in this instance - chōp chāp thāp thā khāp phā ao - for the sake of euphonious effect and internal rhyme while expanding and enriching the simile. Elsewhere Manōrā compares herself to a baby chick under Suthon's foot, when he woos her for the first time (NL2-18, D37). In the other text Manōrā's fear when she is called to the sacrifice is like that of a mother hen whom someone is chasing to strike (dang mae kai an khon tām tī; S180). The same simile is applied to Manōrā's mother when she learns of her daughter's capture (S92-93).

Other objects also stand comparison with the world of heaven. The garden outside Udōnpančhā is as lovely as the garden of Indra, (Čhitladā - Sanskrit, Citralatā; S114). Suthon's cavalry move as fast as Kraisara the lion-king (S155).

Simple comparisons play a part in expressions of endearment, where the beloved is equated with the heart of the other party. These expressions apply mostly to the love of the queen, Suthon's mother, for Manōrā, which is compared to the love a mother for her own child (S147, 151). Again, Suthon assures Manōrā that his mother loves her like her own heart (NL3-5).

The similes quoted above, taken together with the similes quoted in chapter 3 which can be called proverbial in type, constitute approximately one-half the total number of similes in the two texts, from which one may conclude that this type of figure of speech, while a fairly common feature of the poetic diction, does not obtain undue emphasis in these two poems, and is used occasionally rather than with predictable frequency.

#### Conventions of Forest Description

Verse descriptive of the forest and the natural phenomena associated with it is a fixed and standard convention in traditional Thai literature of all types. As the Sudhana tale finds much of its setting in the forest, one can expect that the Thai poet will include extensive forest

description of a standard type in his rendition of the story. Such is not in fact the case. The Songkhla poet provides only a single extended passage of forest description, and that of a specialized type, at the beginning of Suthon's quest, despite the many forest journeys and incidents in the narrative. Three briefer passages elsewhere in the text enumerate flowers and fruit trees in a conventional way. They fit neatly into the course of the narrative, first as the maids play in the lake before Manōrā's capture (description of flowers), then as Suthon sets out on the excursion where he will meet Manōrā (fruit trees admired and described), and finally on his quest when he reaches the lake (lotuses and fish described). The poet of the National Library text provides rather more nature description, but still less than one might expect from the setting of the tale. Two fairly long passages in NL combine an account of the natural features of the forest with Suthon's longing for Manōrā, first on his return journey from campaign when he anticipates reunion with his beloved and later as he begins his quest to regain her. On both occasions the sights and

sounds of the forest remind him of Manōrā, who is bird-like in form and nature, together with the fragrances of the flowers which recall her superhuman fragrances. In the latter scene Suthon asks the hunter who is accompanying him whether the creatures about him are not Manōrā<sup>1</sup>.

Shorter passages also occur in the National Library version, one later in the quest as Suthon sets out from the hermit's and one early in the narrative as the hunter discovers the kinnaras' lake for the first time. Like the three short passages in the Songkhla poem they also fit neatly into the course of the narrative first as the maids play in the lake before Manōrā's capture (description of flowers), then as Suthon sets out on the excursion where he will meet Manōrā

1. The similarity between this questioning and a passage in the Sanskrit version of the Sudhana tale in the Divyāvadāna is remarkable, as nothing comparable is to be found in the Pali versions which were the evident source of the Thai poems. See Jaini, "The Story of Sudhana and Manoharā", pp. 542-3. It would appear that the NL poet has approximated the treatment of the Sanskrit poet in the process of his own naturalization of the setting, or possibly in conforming to Indic-inspired conventions within the Thai literary idiom. The evidence which suggests direct transmission of elements not found in the Pali from earlier Sanskrit versions of the story into the Thai poems will be discussed below together with their implications.

(fruit trees admired and described), and finally on his quest when he reaches the lake (flowers and fish described).

There is no element on these occasions of forest features exciting the hero's love longing as in the NL text, nor in the major passage of nature poetry of the Songkhla text which stands out quite distinctly from the course of the narrative, although its pretext is Suthon's entry into the forest from Udōnpančhā at the commencement of his quest.

This poem of fifteen surāngkhānāng verses falls into a tradition of stylized punning verse attested in the major literary classics of the early nineteenth century, the Rāmākian of Rama I and the Inao dance-drama<sup>1</sup>. Presumably the Songkhla poet was trying his hand at a standard but difficult poetic form. The simple device of this punning verse is to employ the names of various birds and have the bird catch hold of ('ċhap') an object with the same name as that of the bird, or a name sounding like it or rhyming with it. Hence the 'chili' bird seizes a chili plant - 'nok phrik ċhap phrik' - and flies to her nest with it. The lexical

1. Described in the doctoral thesis "A Study of the dramatic poems of the Panji cycle in Thailand" by Khomkhai Nil prapassom, S.O.A.S. 1966, pp. 234-5.

significance of the punned words is of far less importance than the euphonious effect. Rhyming and punning names are underlined in the extract below:

ka ling khling khlōng      ǎchap mai lai kōng      hāng phrai pīk tai  
 ten kin lūk khling      wing lai kan khwai      nok khā kantrai  
                                  ǎchap māi kantrao  
 nok yāng ǎchap yāng      nāng nuan ǎchap pāng nāng chōi chāi khao  
 nok chumphū ǎchap      māi dōk kham nao-      wa nai sum khao  
                                  fak fōng sōng bai  
 khaek tao ǎchap taeo      sū wā nok kaeo      ǎchap kaeo ten tai  
 phrō dōk ǎchap māi      phō bāi chāi sai      hua khwān rān māi  
                                  mai rūǎchak phan  
 nok praǎchap pra      pōng kō kila      ǎchap kā fāk ǎchan  
 nok sak ǎchap sak      nok wan ǎchap wan      thāp lae yae khan  
                                  rōng thāk kwak kwā

(S207)

After eight complete verses of this type the poet tells us he has written of the birds 'pen thamnōng chan', once again calling his verse Chan as he did at the beginning of the text, and continues with five verses on forest animals,



but not of the same punning type as the bird verses.

The first three of these are devoted to the lion, elephant  
and tiger respectively, as:

khotchasān nam khlōng hak māi phai phōng rathuk thang phrai  
mēn mī mū mat                      singkha nat tok čhai uk āt phāt lai  
mā mae lōm lā

The bull elephant leads the herd  
breaking trees with a great din  
the sound frightening the whole forest  
porcupine, bear, boar, civet cat,  
'singkha nāt', [all] take fright,  
disperse in hasty disorder

The other forest poetry in the two Thai poems  
consists mainly of enumerations of trees, flowers, birds,  
and beasts seen in the forest. The actual appearance of  
the flowers and trees is expressed in simple stylized  
phrases, as is the effect the winds carrying fragrant odours  
of the flowers and recalling the beloved to mind. Similes  
are employed only occasionally.

The NL poet explicitly contrasts the fruit on the  
trees as either clustered in abundance on the branch or  
ripe and fallen to the ground:

lāng ton phon phuang dok      bāng suk tok krāt suthā

wān mot rot ōchā      (NL 1-28, D14)

[on] some trees the fruits are abundant in bunches  
 [on] some ripe and fallen, scattered on the ground  
 all sweet and tasty . . .

Or:

lāng ton phon phuang dok      pen yua nok dai āsai

lāng thī mī tae bai      lūk hā mai phit rydū  
 (NL4-53, D105)

[on] some trees the fruits are abundant in bunches  
 to be the prey of birds who live on them  
 some had only leaves  
 no fruits to be found, the wrong season . . .

Such description can also have metaphoric reference to the beloved, or to the beauty of women in general. In the examples above the various states of the fruit trees can be read as applying to various ages or kinds of womanhood. One context where the metaphoric comparison is unmistakable occurs in the Songkhla poem when Suthon reaches the shore of the lake on his quest where Manōrā had once come to bathe and play. The Songkhla poet at this point describes lotuses and fish in the water of the lake (S213-4). Various aspects of the lotus are explicitly compared to Manōrā's

person, breasts, hair, and fragrance. Then the names of eight kinds of fish are enumerated in punning fashion. The sexual symbolism of lotus and fish is a standard convention in Thai literature.

Flowers are contrasted with the same grammatical construction employed in the two examples quoted above, and with the same possibilities of metaphoric suggestion:

bāng yaem kaem sān    kām bān bāng bai (NL4-26)

(bāng naem kaem kām    bāng bān bāng bai) (D91 differs)

The opening of the lotus bloom and the course of a thunderstorm are the most usual metaphors in Thai to represent the act of love, which is never described literally, and they can be found in the love scenes of the two Sudhana texts (NL-D37, S134-35).

In the description of fruit trees, the standard words 'dok', 'dāt', 'phuang' and 'suk' recur virtually without fail in the two texts:

amphā phlā dok    suk hōm tok thōranī    phlap thōng phlōng līnchī

mangkhut dāt langsat phuang    (S101)

The mango fruits were abundant  
 ripe and fragrant, fallen to the ground  
 the golden 'phlap', 'phlong' and lichi,  
 mangosteen in abundance, bunches of 'lāngsāt'...

A stylized phrase used only by the NL poet expresses  
 the variety of fruits seen:

mī nā nā māk lāi phan

(NL1-27, D14)

phan dōkmāi mī nā nā

(ibid.)

phonlamāi mī nā nā

(NL4-53, D105)

sāraphat nā nā

(NL5-14, D112 differs)

mī nai himawā

(NL5-14, D112)

The principal contents of the nature passages  
 are however enumerations of trees, flowers, birds, or  
 animals. The various names are juxtaposed so as to  
 form euphonious word combinations and to rhyme in  
 accordance with the requirements of the verse form. The  
 Songkhla poet composes two yānī verses, for example,

employing the names of nine fruit trees as follows:

amphā phlā dok                      suk hōm tok thōranī  
phlap thōng phlōng linchī              mangkhut dāt langsāt phuang  
 phom ngō (short ọ) chọ chuk hoi      chamrai yoi sọ chū duang  
champhū mū phon phuang              luang mlak nēt thatsānā

(S101)

The fruits in order of mention are mango, 'phlap' (Diospyros embryopteris), 'phlōng' (Memecylon ovatum), lichi, mangosteen, 'lāngsāt (Lansium domesticum), rambutan, champuri (Malay word), and rose-apple. The poet of the NL text is even more concise in a corresponding passage of surāngkhanāng verse where he incorporates the names of 22 fruits:

kluai klāi nōi nā      som chārā ramyai  
khanun khanan      māk dūk lūk chan      khrop khran mī nai  
 suk sām hām lưang      mafyang mafai      khwit khwāt dāt pai  
    mī nai himawā  
krabāk māk sang      som phawā fārang      wā wāi kluai pā  
māk muang pling prāng      masāng phutsā      sāraphat nā nā  
    tok dāt klāt phrai

(NL 5-14, 15)

(For the sake of clarification and comparison the same passage from the text of Dyaṇ Bunnāk is below with variations underlined:

kluai ḡi nḡi nā    phawā lam yai  
khanun khanan    som suk lūk č̣han    khrop khran thao nai  
suk chām hāmlyang    mafyang mafai    khwit khwāt dāt pai  
mī nai himawā  
krabāk māk sang    som sā fārang    wā wāi kluai pā  
māk muang pring prāng    masāng phutsā    phonlamāi nai pā  
tok dāt klāt pai

(D 112)

The fruits here are banana (D adds ḡi, sugar cane); custard apple; 'som chārā' (? an extra syllable here suggests a possible scribal error; D has 'phawā' an unidentified tree; longan; jack-fruit; 'khanan' (related to jack-fruit); 'māk dūk' (unknown; D has 'som suk', ripe oranges); 'lūk č̣han', unidentified fruit; 'masyang' (Cucumber tree); 'mafai' (*Baccaurea sapida*); 'krabāk' (anisoptera); 'māk sang' (unknown); orange; 'phawā' unidentified tree; guava; jambolan; rattan; wild banana; mango; 'maprāng' (*Bonea burmanica*); 'masāng' (?);

'phutsā', Indian jujube.

Trees, flowers and birds are noted by Suthon as he returns to Udōnpanḥā in the longest nature passage of the NL poem (NL 4-26-30, D91):

#### T r e e s

kārakēt	pandanus (screw-pine)
teng	Shorea obtusa
taeo	Cratoxylon prunifolium
tum kā	?
mūk man	Wrightia tomentosa
muang pā	wild mango
phawā	(unidentified tree)
ram yai (for 'lam yai')	longan
māk sang	?
lāng sāt	Lansium domesticum

#### F l o w e r s

chō	Helicteres isora
sāosut (for 'sāoyut'?)	(Desmos chinensis)
phuthai	(unidentified flower)
malilā, maliwan	kinds of jasmine
sōn chū	tuberose

yōthakā	species of jasmine
kā long	(unidentified flowering tree)
sāraphī	Ochrocarpus siamensis
phikun	Mimusops elengi

### Birds

hong hēmarāt	royal golden hamsa bird
sārikā (Skt. śārika)	mynah bird
khamin lưang ợn	common iora
tranai	bird of woodpecker family
kai pā	jungle fowl
khaek tao	parrot
khao chawā	barred ground dove ('Java' dove)
kai fā phayā lợ	Siam firebacked pheasant

### Animals

lamang lamāt	a kind of deer (Pallegoix' dictionary, p. 379)
kathing	Indian bison
mahingsā (Skt. mahiṣa)	buffalo
singtō	tiger
khō khwāi	cows and water buffaloes
kwāng sāl	deer
sựa	tiger



plā	fish
chamot	civet cat (Pallegoix)
mū pā	wild pig
lem	?
lā	ass
khotchasān	elephant
ling khāng	langur (long-tailed monkey)
bāng	flying squirrel (Pallegoix)
chanī	gibbon
mēn	porcupine
mī	bear
mā nai	wolf (Pallegoix)

Interspersed with the enumerative verses in this section are short passages of longing in which objects of the forest recall Manōrā to Suthon. The evocation of the beloved by objects in the forest can be either explicit or metaphoric, as already mentioned.

Two verses may be noted particularly in the long NL passage. In the first, by a conventional device the final syllable of the name of one flower is followed by another flower's name beginning with the same syllable,

as 'yōthakā kā long sārāphī phikun'. The phrase 'yōthakā kā long' is also used by the Songkhla poet (S65). In the animal enumeration of the NL passage a phrase mentions the langur, flying squirrel and gibbon: 'ling khāng bāng chanī'. The identical phrase is found in a passage of Rāi verse in the Phra Lō poem descriptive of the forest<sup>1</sup>. The Phra Lō passage is comparatively somewhat more descriptive than the simply enumerative NL passage.

### Versification

Both Thai Sudhana poems are cast mainly in the verse form called Kāp, which is composed of three characteristic metres used in alternation with each other. This is typical in the setting of a Buddhist tale into Thai verse, and falls within the poetic genre known in Thai as 'klōn suat'<sup>2</sup>. The Songkhla text also contains a variety of additional metrical forms which function, as will be

1. Cited by Čhanthit Krasaeson in Prachum wannakhadī, Bangkok, 1954, p. 94. (Phra lō lilit).
2. For the scope and function of 'klōn suat' in Thai, see the article by Rit Ruangrit in the Sārānukrom thai (Thai Encyclopedia) of the Royal Academy, v. 1, pp. 553-556.

shown below, more as variants of the standard Kāp metres than as the more demanding Chan metres they may be intended to imitate in which syllable length should be controlled in imitation of the rules of Sanskrit and Pali poetics. The precise origin of the three Kāp metres is so far obscure. In common with the Chan forms, they appear to have a theoretical basis in some Indic treatise on poetics. But whereas the Chan forms derive directly from the Pali treatise entitled Vuttodaya<sup>1</sup> two of the three Kāp metres only can be traced to an as yet unidentified text known in a Thai translation which describes fifteen sub-types of a form called Kāp Sāravilāsinī and five further sub-types called Kāp Khantha, giving a metrical pattern and rhyme scheme for each type<sup>2</sup>. The provision of rhyme schemes suggests a Thai, or perhaps a Cambodian, hand in the work, for Sanskrit and Pali poetry do not generally require rhyme at all.

1. Translated into English by G. E. Fryer in the Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, XLVI, Part 1, 1877, pp. 369-410.
2. See Chumnum tamrā klōn, Thammasāt University, Bangkok, 1925, or Klaus Wenk, Die Metrik in der thailändischen Dichtung. Hamburg, 1961, pp. 32-37.

In the Thai verse form called Kāp, three particular metres, of 22 (11 x 2), 16 and 28 syllables per verse, are employed in alternation with one another, and are known in Thai as yānī, chabang, and surāṅkhanāṅ respectively. Two of these, yānī and surāṅkhanāṅ, of 22 and 28 syllables, correspond to metres identified in the poetic treatise referred to above, where they are named 'brahmagīti' and 'kākkati' respectively. These identical names are used to indicate the corresponding metres in Cambodian Kāp, which employs the same three metres as dominate Thai Kāp. The third metre is called 'pumnōl' in the Cambodian, and corresponds to the Thai chabang. From this we can surmise that the Cambodian names derive directly from this same text, or at least two of them may do so, but where the Thai names originate is not yet established.

The use of the terms Kāp and Chan in Thai is certainly ambiguous. While the two words do distinguish particular types of Thai verse, they also indicate poetry in general, as suits their Indic sense (Sanskrit 'kāvya', a poem, and 'chandas', metre). The practical distinction

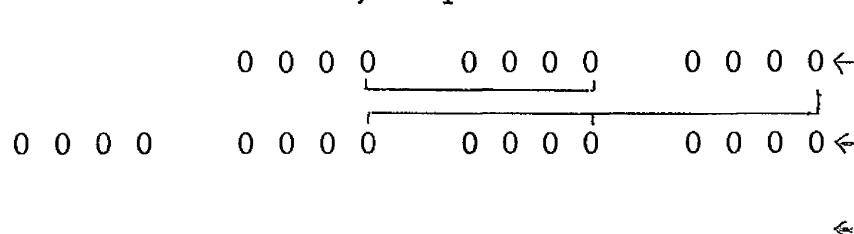
between them is that Chan imitates the prescribed syllable length patterns of various classical Indic metres where Kāp merely conforms to a given pattern of metre and rhyme<sup>1</sup>. Nor does Kāp observe any rules concerning the use of tone marks at the end of lines and half-lines, as do the Khlōng verse forms. By dint of not observing these requirements, Kāp is not a poetically demanding or particularly elegant verse setting in Thai. As such it is employed for rather less ambitious poetical works, for Buddhist stories in the 'klōn suat' idiom, and for other ceremonial and narrative texts.

Together with Chan, Khlōng, and Rāi, Kāp is recognized to be a relatively early verse form in Thai, although the transmission of texts over a period of time involves enough alteration and addition to the contents that it may prove impossible to establish an internal chronology in the history of these verse forms in Thai. They are all however accepted as predating the forms known as Klōn,

1. In Chan however the application of syllable length requirements is often overlooked or only carelessly applied, which serves to further blur the distinction between Kāp and Chan.

which came to predominate in classical compositions from the early Bangkok period onwards, in works such as the classical dance-dramas (lakhon), masked play (khōn), and many works by Sunthōn Phū. Klōn is considered to have been refined from indigenous popular verse forms<sup>1</sup>.

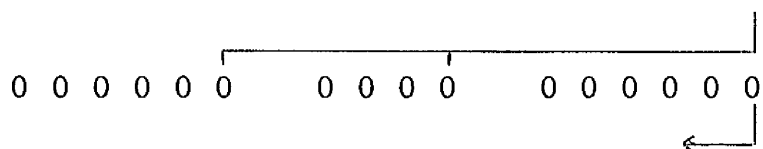
The three main Kāp forms as exemplified in the two texts are illustrated below. In addition, the Songkhla poet offers a wide range of additional metres which appear on closer examination to be mainly slight variations in the main Kāp forms. A comparatively greater proportion of each of the two poems is set in the surāṅg-khanāṅg verse form where the long line of 28 syllables is conveniently divided into seven groups of four syllables each. The schematized rhyme pattern is as follows:



1. Khomkhai's thesis A Study of the Dramatic Poems of the Panji Cycle attempts to depict this development from the 'primitive' Klōn of the Manōrā playbook which Prince Damrong took as an example of early, Ayutthayan, popular drama, where it now seems to be more likely a nineteenth century southern popular Klōn. In either case the play book is a good illustration of popular as opposed to refined Klōn verse.



Turning to the chabang form, the line is considerably shorter than in either surāṅkhanāṅ or yānī, sixteen syllables divided into three groups of six, four and six syllables. The standard rhyme scheme is



An illustration of chabang metre from the NL text:

mūa nan suthon rūthā      sadet sū phlap phlā

sēnā phrūp phrōm lōm ong

phra sadet sū thī song      chamra phra ong

song sukhontharot ōchā      (NL 4-31; D93)

The second group of the first verse and the first group of the second verse illustrate how a word such as 'sadet' can be considered as either one or two syllables for the purpose of metrical count. In the first example only four syllables are wanted, so 'sadet' can be considered as a single syllable; in the second it can as well be counted as two syllables to make up the required six. Again, the last group requires six syllables, so one of the short





The following example is drawn from a typical passage  
from the National Library text:

năng khruan thụng khoei khwan	sut thī klan cholanēt lai
sōkā sam ram phirai	phr <sup>1</sup> phra thai wēthanā
thidā thang ǎchet năng	ram khruan khrāng thụng rāchā
paet ong song sōkā	pim chīwā ǎcha banlai

(NL 4-24, D90)

Suthon's return and grief at Manōrā's flight is depicted in  
part by the Songkhla poet in yānī verse, as:

mai hen phra w <sub>3</sub> ra ak-	kha thēwī sanēhā
qk mā nisīthanā	rap sadet dang k <sub>3</sub> n k <sub>3</sub> n
chun ǎchai phra thai ǎch <sub>3</sub> t	thụng yaoway <sub>3</sub> t yua songsān
manōrā yuphā phān	ph <sub>3</sub> ya dai n <sub>3</sub> mai hen mā

(S 194-195)

These examples comprise no additional features of  
interest to those already indicated above in the first  
two Kāp verse schemes.

The Songkhla poem presents considerable interest  
in the matter of versification for its employment of eight  
metres ostensibly different from the three standard to Kāp.

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1. Short 'q'.

Each extra metre is identified by a numeral at the commencement of the new verse passage, apparently indicating the number of syllables in the verse form, as is often customary in the writing of Chan and Kâp texts. The very first two variant metres are additionally introduced by names written in Cambodian letters, 'yamamtalam' and 'pathamam'<sup>1</sup>, a feature not continued with the subsequent variations. A close examination of the syllable count in the variant forms discloses a rather careless fulfilment of the promised total number of syllables, with most verses either exceeding or falling short of the total. The metres indicated are 12, 14 (two instances), 15, 18 (four instances), 19 (three instances), 21 (two instances), 22, 24 and 25<sup>2</sup> giving a total of sixteen passages of variant metres, each generally shorter in length than the far more numerous passages of the three

1. Corresponding to metres of 24 and 14 syllables respectively. The names are written in the manuscript only and not reproduced in the printed text. They are not identifiable yet in a known work on poetics.
2. Of these, '12' and '24' prove on examination to be identical forms.

normal Kāp metres. It may be estimated that the variant metres occupy less than 15% of the whole text. The chart below summarizes their characteristics.

Variant Metres in the Songkhla Text:

Identifying numeral	Verse Pattern	Occurrence in printed text
12.	yānī type pattern, 6 x 4	p. 273
14.	yānī type pattern, 7 x 4 Called 'yamanthalam'	pp. 35, 178
15.	yānī type pattern 8 plus 7 x 2	p. 217
18.	chabang type pattern 6 - 4 - 8	pp. 87, 168, 226, 242
19.	yānī type pattern 5 - 6 - 6 - 2	pp. 121, 245, 255
21.	chabang type pattern	pp. 84, 170
22.	like 12. above, but lacking two syllables	p. 123
24.	like 12. above called 'pathamam'	p. 17
25.	five groups, 5 x 5	p. 264

The variant metres can be grouped according to the number of groups of syllables into which the verse

line is divided. Two of them are divided into three groups ('18' and '21') and these conform in rhyme scheme and general type to the chabang form, whilst the rest are grouped into four, and conform to the yānī type structurally, and in rhyme, with the exception of '25' which consists of five groups of five syllables each. The following examples will give an idea of the nature of these metres, their irregularity, and general resemblance to the Kāp forms.

The chabang type of syllable arrangement is effected in metres of 18 and 21 syllable length. The 18 syllable verse occurs most frequently of the variant verse forms, four times, and a typical passage is:

nāi bun thrüksā phrān	thūn rŷsī sān
sanong thoi phua čha fāk sām chom	
manōrā wai nai āsom	kōn krāp bangkhom
lā long pai song nākhabāt chai	(S87)

In this example the middle group contains only four syllables, as in usual chabang, but extra syllables are provided in the first and third group to increase the total number of syllables to eighteen, with approximate accuracy.



0 0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0 0 0	(5 - 6 - 6 - 2)
0 0 0 0 0 0	0 0	
0 0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0 0 0	(5 - 6 - 6 - 2)
0 0 0 0 0 0	0 0	

somdet thāo āthit                  phit chōm manōrā phlāng  
 rọng choen rọng chom phlāng          ban    sat  
 o mae khuan rŭ chao                  phra nŏ nao mǎ phrāk phrat  
 sia sŭng rāchasombat                  mŭang fā                  (S 121)  
 etc.

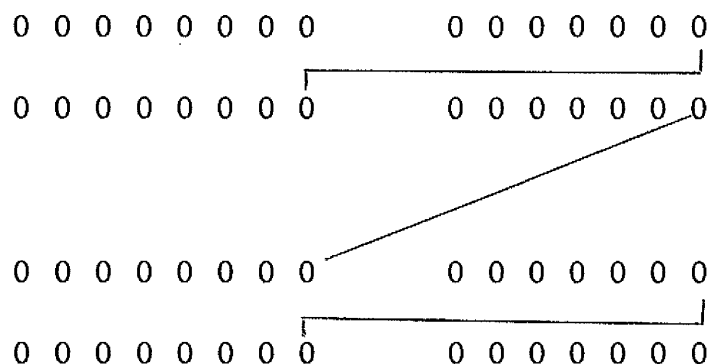
The '15' form among this group stands distinct  
 by its variant rhyme pattern and long phrases, as a  
 possible attempt to imitate a more authentically Chan form:

pāng mŭa bŏroma phōthi yŏt yān	nŏn thŏramān wŏra kǎi
mī nok hatsadī lŭng nŭng bāi	bin wēhā chāi kŏ lae hen
wŏra phūsā chomphū plaeng pen	kŏn nŭa nok hen bin thaek thā
chiao chāp ong wai nai krong nakhā	kāng pīk hāng rā kŏ
	phoe bin
	(S 218)

The metrical pattern aimed for is 8 - 7 - 8 - 7, and one can  
 note that the structural rhyme (samphat nŏk) differs from the

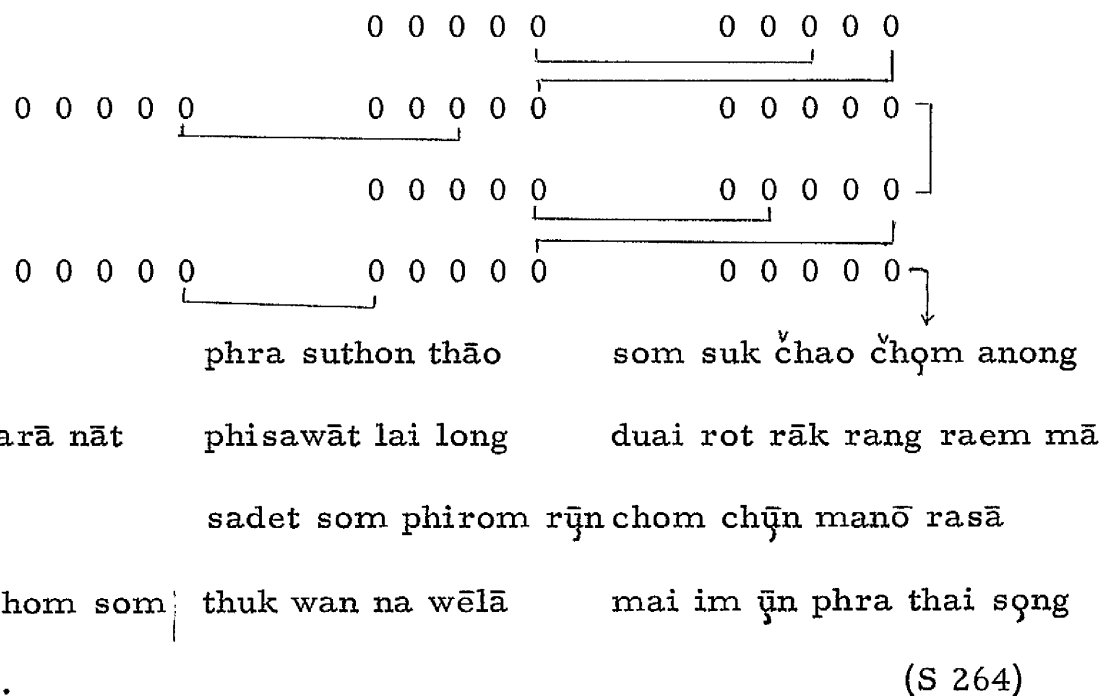
usual pattern in that the link from one couplet's last syllable carries to the end of the first half-line in the succeeding couplet rather than to the end of the first line.

The pattern diagrams as:



The last group of special interest is identified as

'25' and contains five groups of five syllables each. although here again the execution is not very precise. The rhyme scheme is comparable to that of *surāṅkhanāṅg*:





The survey of poetic diction in this chapter has indicated the fairly parallel ways in which two Thai poets have employed similar elements of vocabulary, conventional phrases, epithets, pronouns, similes, and versification in setting the Sudhana story into the klon suat verse idiom. Minor differences are apparent, attributable to regional and personal variations, and the NL poet exhibits a somewhat greater tendency to use formalized phrases and expressions.

A final comparison between the two versions is offered below in the form of parallel excerpts of the same moment in the narrative, being Suthon's words as he takes his mother's leave in order to follow Manōrā:

NL text	Songkhla text
lūk rak čha lā	lūk rak khọ lā phanēčhọn
tām hā thēwī	tām nāt kinọn
dēt bāramī	manōrā yā čhai
phop sī sām wai	maen mai sin chīp
som khwām prāthanā	nai singkhọn sathān phrai
čha phā klap mā	phop akharēt bua prāng
hā yū cham pai	čha klap mā krāp bāthāng

an yū nakhon

khit khlōn phrathai . . .

(Your) dear child (=I)

will take leave

to follow my wife

(if) my merit (suffices)

to find the maiden

as I wish it,

(I) shall bring her back

to stay again(?)

(But for me) to stay here

grieving in my heart . . .

(. . . I shall sorrow and die).

(NL4-44, D100)

sanong khun nāng mae

an dai phadung mā .

(Your) dear child asks leave

to journey

following the supreme kinnara

the lovely Manora.

If (I) do not die

in the forest,

(and) find my treasure

(I) shall return and bow at your feet

and serve you, mother,

who created me.

(S, pp. 199-200)

Each poet expands the basic message of the prince by means of epithets and short phrases. These are slightly longer in the Songkhla verse, here occurring in chabang form where six syllables are required in most feet, compared to only four in the corresponding NL surangkhanang verse. Compare 'phop

sī sām wai' (NL) and 'phop akharēt bua prāng' (S), identical in meaning. Each poet slightly extends the prince's basic message, that he will follow Manōrā and bring her back: in NL with the words saying he will surely die of grief if he stays, and in the Songkhla poem with his promise of filial devotion. The two passages well illustrate the close correspondence in detail and treatment of the two Thai Sudhana texts.

## Chapter 5

## CONCLUSION

In order to consider fully the external relationships of the two Thai Sudhana texts under study within the broader context of the Sudhana tradition in Southeast Asia, it will be necessary to summarize the Lao and Cambodian poems of the tale, both of which have become available in printed texts within recent years. Valuable indications regarding the Mon manuscript of the tale in the collection of Dr. Su-et Gajasenī in Bangkok have been kindly offered by Professor H. Shorto, and some of the salient features of that text are also considered below.

Summary of Lao poem: Thāo Sīthon, printed text, 113 pps., prepared from a palm-leaf manuscript and published, Vientiane, 1968.

In the land of Penčhān ruled Āthit-thāo and his queen Čhanthathēwī, who prayed to heaven for an heir. Indra felt his throne become warm, and he looked down to earth. Then he caused two (of his own?) children to be born below, one a prince for the land of Penčhān, and the other a kinnara princess, Manōrā, to be his mate. Simultaneously the queen Čhanthathēwī

dreamed that a beautiful gem came into her room, and she related her dream to the king who joyfully realized its import. In ten months a prince was born, and named Sīthon, and a palace was constructed for him (detailed description of palace). At fifteen years of age Sīthon was still without a royal consort, and at night he tossed restlessly, wondering where his intended one might be.

A hunter and his wife lived together in that land, childless, dressed in tatters. The hunter told his wife he would go to the forest, and that she should remain at home, and be faithful to him, in good spirits and health. (p. 10). She asked to accompany and care for him, but he went alone. In the forest he encountered a lotus pool where a naga lord questioned him and asked his aid in subduing a demon (no mention of naga's role in prosperity of the kingdom, or of sub-plot involving a second kingdom, as in Pali, etc.). The hunter prepared his bow, shot and killed the demon, and was rewarded by the naga with money and gold rings, and a promise of future help. The hunter made his way to a hermit's dwelling near a lotus lake, full of birds, and he longed for his wife. Meanwhile the beautiful Manōrā flew down to the

lake. The seven kinnara maids played happily, attracting the hunter's attention and excitement. He went to the hermit who explained that only the naga's noose could serve to catch Manōrā or her seven servants (the poet is inconsistent in indicating the number and relationship of the kinnara maidens). The hunter returned to the lake of the naga lord (who is called Čhitnāk), blew a spell into the water, and caused the naga to rise up to the surface (p. 20). The naga willingly loaned the noose, and the hunter went to the other lake where Manōrā and the seven maidens (manōrā phrōm čhet nāng) were playing. But Manōrā dared not go down to the water because of her dream the night before, where flowers wound through her hair and around her arms, the water in the pond thickened, a naga swam about, and lotus fibres entangled her body. When she awoke she changed her clothes, and flew with her companions (to the Anoma river?) where she played together with the seven servant maids. The hunter watched Manōrā, entranced, and instructed the noose to bind the maiden's arms. In a moment it was done. Manōrā trembled with fear, and her attendants flew off, abandoning her. The hunter released the noose and told Manōrā he would take her back to Sīthon. She agreed, asking only that the hunter not touch

her. An ālai (love longing) passage follows in which Manōrā misses her mother and father. Then the hunter led Manōrā through the forest, admiring her on the way.

Meanwhile the seven maidens returned to their land and related what had befallen Manōrā. Her parents grieved. And Prince Sīthon set forth to admire the countryside outside of Penčhān with his retinue. He met the hunter arriving with Manōrā (p. 30) and asked who she was, falling in love with her. The hunter explained how he obtained Manōrā and then he was rewarded by Sīthon with gifts (cloth, āphoṇ, 40,000 in silver, 400,000 in gold, slaves and servants). Then Sīthon declared his love to Manōrā who called herself his slave. She protested that she was only a lowly forest creature when Sīthon offered to make her his royal consort. The couple were blessed by a brahmin, and the people of Penčhān came to admire them. A description follows of their domestic life, at home and on excursion with retinue in the countryside. A lake reminded Manōrā of her home and six sisters, and she shed tears. At night the couple made love, and in the morning the procession returned to the palace.

Meanwhile at the borders of the kingdom enemies threatened and attacked (p. 40). Aid was requested from the king, and Sīthon in grief told Manōrā that he must leave her, and asked her to await his return patiently. Manōrā asked why he would not take her with him. Sīthon departed in splendour with his elephants and soldiers, carrying Manōrā's garland as a reminder of her.

One night the king of Penčhān had a strange dream that his innards ran out of his body and enveloped the land, then returned to him. The astrologer explained that Sīthon would be lost. Many animals were prepared for a sacrifice but the astrologer said that a 'devyādhara' (i. e. vidyādhara, confused in Lao and Thai with kinnara) was lacking, and the king agreed sadly to give up Manōrā. Manōrā's attendants informed her, and she attended the queen, saying she would fly to Krailāśa. The queen feared for the girl's life, and so she brought her wings and tail which Manōrā put on, and then she danced before the queen, and bowed to her. The queen asked Manōrā not to forget Sīthon. The maiden flew off to the hermit's, left her ring and a cloth (p. 50) and she told him to tell Sīthon to return home, that the way was long and full of dangers from wild beasts.



She flew on to her home whence she had been absent seven years and seven months. But first she had to rid herself of the odour of humans, before she could enter the palace, and she grieved deeply for her husband.

And Sīthon in the forest made his way by elephant, also missing Manōrā. He dreamed one night that a stranger cut off his right arm with a sword, and then his head. He awoke with a start, bathed, ate, and feared some misfortune to his beloved. Then he lost weight and was unwell. The enemy threatened, but with a single shot Sīthon caused the earth to tremble, clouding the sun with smoke and raising a great din. The enemy took fright and bowed down to Sīthon with offerings. He returned home at once, and was stricken with grief when the queen's servants told him what had befallen Manōrā. Sīthon told his officials (saen myang) that he would lead them to Krailāśa, but they said that the way was unknown except to the hunter. So Sīthon went to Manōrā's quarters, dismounted from his elephant, and was consoled in his grief by the queen his mother. (Ālai passage - love longing). Sīthon asked the hunter if he knew the way to the silver mountain (i. e. Krailāśa). The hunter replied

that the hermit knew the way. Sīthon joyfully rewarded the hunter and told him to lead him to the hermit. The hunter informed his wife, and found his bow. Sīthon took his leave, and his father failed to dissuade him (p. 60). They went off with a vast escort. And Lord Indra helped them, so that they covered twelve yojanas in a single day. Then his officers tried at length but failed to dissuade Sīthon from the journey. He sent them back home and it took them three months to return. The prince sent the hunter back to Penčhān as well, and approaching the hermit by himself, Sīthon asked after his well being, and for news of Manōrā. The hermit related Manōrā's account of the perils of the forest. Sīthon put on Manōrā's ring and again expressed his resolve to regain her at whatever risk. The hermit failed to dissuade Sīthon, and conveyed to him Manōrā's instructions regarding the forest journey (poisonous fruits, monkey, elephants, ghosts, ogre tall as seven palm trees, poisonous lake, giant birds, mentioned).

Sīthon took leave of the hermit and invoked the aid of various powers (devas, Indra, garuda-naga, Nāṅg Mēkhalā, 'Isūn thqranī') for the success of his quest. He entered the forest and lamented his beloved (p. 70) and his homeland, hearing

the cry of the gibbon. Various flowers recalled Manōrā to his mind. The prince's trials in the forest caused Indra's throne to become hot, and the god ordered Brahma, Nāṅg Mēkhalā, devas, Nāṅg Thōranī, nagas and all devas(? isūn phrōm) and the yamabhipālas to protect Sīthon, and the four yamabhipālas carried Indra's orders to the four worlds.

Sīthon continued wearily in the forest, warding off animals and demons with his bow, and reached (the image of?) a most beautiful lady, left by Indra to tempt a hermit (?), and she increased the prince's longing for Manōrā. Then he encountered great birds who gave him the first news of Manōrā from the silver mountain, and said that it was two years' journey there on foot. Sīthon proceeded to a wood full of female ghosts crying out for their mates, having estranged their former husbands from evil motives. Sīthon interviewed them and (p. 80) continued his way past the elephants, covering himself with bark in place of cloth, and was wakened at dawn by the sound of the wind(?). In another wood he encountered more ghosts who were also suffering in payment for former sins. They too related their story to Sīthon (briefly). Various flowers recalled Manōrā to the grieving prince, and seeing him there Nāṅg Thōranī changed into

the form of a beautiful maiden. She came to him and questioned him, and told him to give up his search. Sīthon saw that she was even more lovely than Manōrā, but knew that his fate was tied to Manōrā's. Nang Thōranī returned to her own form and protected Sīthon. He reached a mountain of jewels and passed beyond it.

One day he travelled twelve yojanas with the help of Indra (?), and reached a burning mountain which he tamed with his bow. After fourteen more yojanas he reached , , , ? and then the shore of a great sea, one yojana across, and beat his breast in despair. Sīthon aroused the creatures of the sea and a naga carried him across it to a mountain infested with vicious insects and beasts. From there he passed to a forest full of fruit trees and monkeys (p. 90). (Animals and birds named). Sīthon picked a kiang fruit to give to Manōrā later. (Ālai passage - love longing for Manōrā). He encountered an ogre and killed it with his bow. And he taught the spirits how to pray morning and night, and taught them the five precepts. Then Indra, Brahma and all the devas and demons honoured him with heavenly flowers. Sīthon asked Vesuvan (a chief of the ghosts?) what torments the spirits were enduring and the reasons for them. Eight such spirits are described in lurid detail, their torments and former

sins. Once again the spirits bowed to Sīthon and asked for his teaching. Sīthon took their leave and continued his way, grieving for Manōrā. One night he overheard the giant indrī birds discussing Manōrā's reinstatement among the kinnaras, where they proposed to go and eat the sacrificial remains. By a mantra Sīthon conveyed himself to the bird feathers of one bird and he was carried to the silver mountain on the next day. He stopped in a pavilion by a lake where Manōrā's servants came to fetch water. By an oath Sīthon prevented one maid from lifting her water pot, and she asked his help. He dropped his ring into the pot and as Manōrā bathed (p. 100) the ring fell to her finger. She questioned her servants about events at the lake, forbid them to inform anyone about the matter, and wrote a love letter to Sīthon which she sent to him together with food and clothing. Meanwhile the king asked Manōrā the name and homeland of her husband. He offered to unite them if Sīthon was indeed as wonderful as she said. Then Manōrā explained about her husband's recent appearance.

The king sent for Sīthon and the prince approached to the admiration of the whole city, and he was questioned about his journey and asked to show his skill at archery. Sīthon demolished

a huge pile of stone with a single shot, making the earth shake. The court honoured Sīthon, but the king proposed another test before giving over his daughter, and Sīthon, with an appeal to Lord Indra, lifted a bow (sqrasin) which a thousand men could not move. The king said he had seven kinnara maidens of identical appearance from whom Sīthon must choose Manōrā. The prince concentrated his powers and Lord Indra came down, saying he would change into a fly and indicate the correct maiden. Sīthon chose Manōrā correctly, was united with her, and installed in a palace.

In time Sīthon came to miss his mother and told Manōrā he would return home, but she said she would go too. They went to take leave of the king and queen, but the king proposed to accompany them as well. (p. 110) Sīthon was fitted with wings and tail and they all flew off. There is a brief account of the reunion in Penčhān. The Krailāśa king returned home, and Sīthon ruled happily with Manōrā until his death when he ascended to the Tusita heaven.

Summary of Sudhana poem in Cambodian verse, Rueng Phreah Sothuen, printed text 144 pps., prepared from a palm-leaf manuscript, Phnom Penh, 1963 (reprinted, 1968, in 249 pps.).

(Proper names are transliterated according to Indic spellings in the summary below rather than Cambodian pronunciation).

In the land of Pañcāla reigned Ādityarāja and his queen Candādhitā. (Various ornamental features of their palace are specified). Living with his queen and 60,000 concubines, still he was childless. Then a child was conceived in Candādevī his queen. The king called for an astrologer to ascertain whether the child was male or female. It was male, he was told, and the king joyfully rewarded the astrologer. In ten months the prince was born, and the finest wet nurses were found from among all the people. He was named Sudhana, and at the age of twelve a palace was constructed for him, and suitable girls were summoned from every land for the prince to choose his wife (their various features and dress described in detail). But none of the girls pleased Sudhana. He attended his father who decided he would send them all back. The purohit of a certain land had a daughter named Ekānom and he brought her to present as a wife for Sudhana

(p. 101), who accepted her although he did not much like her.

In the land of Pañcāla there also lived a hunter named Puṇḍarikā. Once the hunter found a lake where a naga dwelt, and where the Krailāśa kinnaras bathed. The king of the kinnaras was Udumvara and he had seven daughters. (Decorative features of his palace described). Of these seven daughters the youngest, Manōrā, was destined for Sudhana. Their mother the queen had a dream in which an evil man cut off (her?) head and took it away. On awaking she went to the king who summoned the astrologer. He reported the dream to be highly inauspicious concerning Manōrā, and advised them not to permit her to go to the lake.

At the lake in the forest the hunter once saw a garuda bird sweep down and seize the naga, so he shot his bow at the bird and freed the naga. (As in the Lao version, the whole sub-plot of Pali, etc. is absent). In his gratitude the naga offered to catch a kinnara maid for him. Accordingly the hunter hid in the wood as the naga instructed him, and the naga entered the water.

Now we turn to Krailāśa where the king warned the princess not to go to the lake. But Manōrā pined to go and play. And



her sisters invited her to sneak off, so they stole their wings and tails and flew to the foot of their mountain to the Himavanta forest (stylized alliterative descriptive list of flora and fauna at lake). As the maidens bathed, the naga approached and seized hold of Manōrā. She appealed to her sisters for help but they could not free her, and they wept. At this point the hunter emerged and told the sisters to fly away, leaving Manōrā's wings and tail. Then he told Manōrā he would present her to his prince, and he led the frightened girl away.

Meanwhile the six sisters flew home and related the events to their mother whose grief was great. She in turn told the king (p. 20). The king was angry and scolded the girls. The queen begged him to go search for Manōrā in the forest. A great expedition was prepared (description of apparel and trappings of horses) and set forth, but the search was fruitless. The hunter led Manōrā through the forest (stylized forest description) and Manōrā suffered, for she had only flown through the air before that. The hunter left her in a park near the city and proceeded to the palace. The night before, Sudhana had dreamed that the moon had fallen from the sky onto his heart

enveloped him completely, like a serpent, and that he  
crossed a high wooden bridge ( សត្វាច ឈើខ្ពស់ (ស្រឡះ) ).

Next day the king called in the astrologer to interpret and he explained that a girl was coming to Sudhana from heaven (signified by the moon) and that Sudhana would be fortunate and victorious (signified by the bridge), and the astrologer was rewarded. The hunter on arriving home first ate a meal, dressed and reported to Sudhana at the palace that he had captured Manōrā. He was rewarded with money and clothes suitable for a man of rank, and Sudhana informed the king. While Sudhana went to bring Manōrā, the court was assembled and royal vehicles were prepared to go out and receive Manōrā (p. 30). Sudhana spoke first to Manōrā about their predestined love and Manōrā modestly asked his protection. Sudhana led her to a pool, surrounded by palace ladies, and they splashed in the water, then admired the forest (animals and birds mentioned). Then preparations were undertaken for the wedding of the couple. Manōrā was brought on elephant back to the city where all admired her. The king and queen were greatly pleased by Manōrā. There follows an enumeration of foods prepared for

the wedding, and brief description of feasting, music, and seven days' entertainments (no details). Meanwhile all lands sent tribute to Pañcāla except one land, Uttarapañcāla. The king asked Sudhana to take a force and subdue the vassal state. (Description of forces, elephants and trappings, music, etc). When the officials reported that all was ready (p. 40) Sudhana called for the astrologer who approved his departure. Sudhana went straight to Manōrā and took his leave of her. Then he departed with his army. They surrounded the city (of the enemy) and the populace fled in fear. Sudhana dismounted and ordered his staff to surround and capture the enemy king. Seeing them approach, the king of Uttarapañcāla (this name often cited as Pañcāla, confusing it with the name of Sudhana's kingdom) took fright and thought he would lose the battle, so he sent an envoy to Sudhana begging for mercy. Sudhana suggested a contest between them both but agreed to accept the vassal's submission. Offerings were presented by the vassal king to Sudhana who admonished and instructed him.

The king of Pañcāla meanwhile dreamed that the enemy king appeared and hurled a spear into his son's stomach, took

his innards and wound them around the fortress. He awoke and thought of Sudhana, and called for the purohit, and told him the dream. The purohit thought, this dream is auspicious, but out of jealousy that his daughter had not been made Sudhana's queen, he told the king that the dream threatened him, his people, and his son, but that if he sacrificed his daughter-in-law and all types of beasts he could avoid the danger. The king consented unhappily, and informed the queen who shared his grief and mentioned the purohit's jealousy of Manōrā. The king asked the purohit to release Manōrā from the sacrificial formula, but the purohit chided him for retracting his given word. So Manōrā was called and informed. She accepted the news calmly (p. 50), and offered to dance for them preceding the sacrifice. The whole court watched, entranced, and when she asked for her wings and tail, saying the dance would be much more beautiful with them, the king sent for them. She donned them and flew up at once, causing the people to cry out, and she told the king that the purohit was jealous of her, and if Sudhana should return he must not follow her. Again the purohit chided the king for giving the wings,

but the king said, 'Why did you not stop me?'

Manōrā flew off in the direction of the Himavanta forest. Grieving for Sudhana, she stopped at the hermit's dwelling. She told the hermit who she was and what had happened and asked him to send Sudhana back home if he should follow her there. But in case the prince should refuse to return, she left a ring for him, magic salve, and drew a map of the journey. She further explained how to employ the magic salve and complete the journey in seven years, seven months and seven days. And she flew off, grieving for Sudhana. (p. 60). Meanwhile Sudhana consulted with his officers concerning their return home, and the subdued king Nandarāja (named here for the first time) was invited to attend. He prepared and came with his court, and honoured Sudhana, who told him to rule well in accord with the Buddha's dharma. Then the bodhisattva Sudhana ordered preparations for departure (enumeration of apparel of horses and elephants). Sudhana dressed and led his army into the forest. There he admired trees and flowers, and a white elephant was sighted. Prayers for its successful capture were obtained by officers from wise

men (mq) and the capture party set out.

Sudhana led his force back to Pañcāla where the queen told him of Manōrā's flight. He fainted and revived, and called for the hunter. He told the hunter to prepare for a journey (sadō, khau tāk mentioned) and went to take leave of his parents. The queen failed to dissuade him from the journey, and prepared foods for him. The hunter was called, and a horse (Manomaya?) readied (apparel specified) (p. 70) and they set off, the hunter leading the horse. (Forest flora and fauna mentioned). Sudhana longed for Manōrā as he went through the forest. They came out to a great field full of animals. They stopped at a pool (description of flowers) and continued, the prince grieving for Manōrā. Reaching the hermit's dwelling, the hermit asked Sudhana who he was. After resting the night Sudhana and the hunter took leave of the hermit who told Sudhana to travel north to the kinnara lake and thence for seven years to Krailāśa. And he gave his blessing. Sudhana set off on his horse with the hunter, missing Manōrā. When they reached the lake Sudhana sent back the hunter with the horse, with a message to the king saying

he would continue from the lake until he found Manōrā, and asking him to confine the purohit until his return. The hunter left very sadly, returned and informed the king as Sudhana had instructed him, and the purohit was confined. Sudhana read Manōrā's instructions and prepared himself and set off to the north. The forest birds excited the prince's longing (p. 80). He called out to the birds, and set out from the lake, travelling 100 yojanas, employing the salve and the ring, lamenting Manōrā. He applied the salve and travelled a further hundred yojanas, consulting Manōrā's letter as he encountered obstacles, elephants, beasts, an ogre seven times the size of a palm trunk, ghosts who brought him food, a lifeless burning plain, mountains and a great ocean full of fish. His difficulty there caused Indra's throne to heat up, and Indra sent a deva to aid him. The deva turned himself into a huge fish and carried Sudhana across the water. Next he came to a boiling river in which all things dissolved. He crossed it and passed many further forests (p. 90), full of fruit trees (enumerated), and reached the foot of a mountain where it was dark both day and night. With the aid of the salve Sudhana was able to find a way beyond, to a great and

brilliant plain. Seven days from the forest Sudhana encountered the gigantic tree of the indri birds, within sight of the Krailāśa mountain. (Ālai passage to Manōrā). The birds discussed in human language their journey to Krailāśa, and flew off in the morning. The birdlings left behind in the nest, seeing Sudhana, asked each other who he might be. He told them he was seeking Manōrā, and they said they would find out about her for him from their parents. Sudhana brought them food to eat.

Meanwhile the birds in Krailāśa took the food which King Udumvara had prepared in conjunction with the purification rites of his daughter. In the evening they returned, and as they fed the children, learned from them of the prince's coming, and were implored to carry the prince to Krailāśa. They agreed, and the next morning they carried Sudhana to Krailāśa where he saw the beautiful palaces (description of palace adornments and characteristics of the kinnaras), and stopped at a pavilion. (Ālai to Manōrā). When Manōrā had returned home from the human world the king had prescribed that her servants bathe her, and as Sudhana reached the pavilion the servants were taking water from the pool. Sudhana decided to



employ a spell to make one of the servants' pots heavy, and she was unable to lift it. She called her friends but they too were unable to move it. Then they saw Sudhana, and the first girl asked his help; then they all implored him (p. 100). He asked them where they took the water, and they told of Manōrā's bathing. He made another oath so that the ring, which he dropped into the pot, would fall onto Manōrā's finger when she bathed. And they carried off the water pots. Reaching Manōrā, they related what had happened at the pool, in a bantering exchange. Manōrā realized that her prince must have come, and finding the ring she knew it was so. So she sent scent and foods to Sudhana and a message, and attended the king, telling him of Sudhana's arrival. The king could hardly believe such an accomplishment, and wanted to reunite the couple, but from respect for the devas he dared not hand over his daughter straightaway. He called his officers and soldiers and told them to bring Sudhana to him. They found the prince at the pavilion, armed with all his weapons. Even these dauntless soldiers of heaven feared his terrible aspect. Sudhana made a spell which frightened the devas out

of their wits, and they returned to the king, saying that the prince's powers were too mighty for them. In anger the king decided to go confront the prince himself, but a clever minister chided him for considering combat and offered him his craft and knowledge in meeting the prince. Preparations were commenced and the minister went to invite the prince, and led him to the king's presence. The king was greatly impressed with his appearance. He asked Sudhana how he reached Krailāśa and offered to re-unite him with Manōrā if he would lift a special bow. The officers made all the arrangements, and all the kinnaras and devas gathered to watch (p. 110) for a thousand men had never been able to lift it before. But Sudhana was able to lift the bow easily. The king was pleased, and asked Sudhana to shoot the bow and pierce seven flag staffs. The prince accepted, asking for his own bow from the pavilion. An officer went to fetch it, but could not lift it, so a thousand of them had to help each other bring it. Sudhana shot and broke the seven staffs and seven walls (?).

The astonished devas honoured the prince, agreeing that he deserved Manōrā, but the king proposed to consult Lord

Indra as well. They all agreed, and preparations commenced to journey to Indra's heaven. (Description of apparel and trappings of horses and vehicles, insignia of ranks, adornments, etc.). King Udumvara dressed and set forth on the way, passing fragrant forests (stylized enumeration of names of trees, etc.) and arrived at Indra's palace (palace features described). The king halted his people and told them to prepare to attend Indra. Then they entered the gate. Lord Indra was informed of their arrival (p. 120), and he gave orders for their reception. To music and conch horns they attended the god, and King Udumvara related how his daughter had come to marry Sudhana, and of their separation and re-union. Lord Indra was pleased with the account of Sudhana's feats and agreed that he should rule Krailāśa with Manōrā. He gave orders to prepare for their investiture, devas were called from all the heavens, and Viṣvakarma built a palace for the couple, aided by Umāvatī. Lord Indra himself adorned the bodhisattva prince, while Sujātā and Umāvatī adorned Manōrā, and flowers were given by different gods (Vessavana, Kuverarāja, Virudha). All the devas assembled and Lord Indra instructed Sujātā to join the couple's hands. Indra blessed them and tied

their hands. They received presents, and entertainments followed. Their bed was prepared. The couple made love, bathed and dressed, and the Krailāśa king took leave of Lord Indra, and flew home, followed by the others.

There they lived in complete happiness, until Sudhana came to miss his mother, and Manōrā asked the cause of his sadness. Sudhana explained that it had nothing to do with her, but that he missed his parents. The next morning he attended the king, and explained to him (p. 130), and asked leave to return home. The king told his officers to arrange the couple's journey. The arrangements were completed, the prince dressed, and went to take leave of the Krailāśa king and queen. The king was loath to part with his daughter. Two scribes were ordered to write a message to the king of Pañcāla, which was dated Monday of the ninth month, year of the monkey, fourth year of the śaka cycle.

The bodhisattva prince led his wife and retinue flying into the air and they reached Pañcāla in seven days' time, and they astonished the people there. Sudhana dismounted from his vehicle and led Manōrā to his parents. The king's grief was

great and he told his son how much he had missed him.

Sudhana related what had befallen him (briefly), shedding tears (of joy, presumably) at their re-union. The whole court joined in their joy, and Sudhana presented the message from King Udumvara. The purohit was called for judgment, and condemned to death in the forest. Sudhana and Manōrā were invested in Pañcāla as king and queen, with 70,000 concubines. All the lands brought tribute.

And in a year's time Manōrā bore a son who was named Padumavaṃsa. At the age of twelve he was handsome and accomplished and his father found him a consort, the Princess Suvaṇṇamālāratna, the daughter of King Nandarāja. The royal grandparents died and Sudhana built a pavilion where the poor were fed and given money, and the couple visited Krailāśa regularly. Reaching old age, Sudhana decided to take up a hermit's forest life, so he instructed his son in proper rule and dharma, and instructed the ministers, and Manōrā as well (p. 140). The prince remembered Sudhana's teachings, but grieved with his mother to lose him. Sudhana set off alone into the forest (description of trees) and in seven days Lord

Indra sent Viṣṇukāra (i. e. Visvakarma) to make a beautiful dwelling for Sudhana, together with a lotus pool. There he lived like a hermit, for a thousand years, when he rose to the Tusita heaven, to be reborn again in time as the Buddha.

The king Āditya was reborn in the Buddha's lifetime as Suddhodana, his queen Candadevī as Mahāmāyā, the jealous purohit as Devadatta, the king of Krailāśa, Udumvara, as Moggallāna, the hunter as Ānandanujatathāgata, Manōrā as Bimbābhikkhunī, Padumavaṃsa as Rāhula-thera, and Sudhana as the Buddha.

Mon Text (From a handwritten copy of a palm-leaf manuscript owned by Dr. Su-et Gajasenī in Bangkok).

The manuscript text of the Sudhana tale in the Mon language owned by Dr. Su-et Gajasenī in Bangkok is written on palm leaf and dated to 1908, being doubtless a copy of an earlier manuscript. A preliminary examination of this text by Professor Shorto reveals clear correspondences with Burmese dramatic versions of the tale in its features of expansion not known in any Thai, Lao, or Cambodian version. These are, most notably, the birth of a son to Manōrā before her flight

(named Revala in the Mon text), the provision of additional tests for Sudhana by King Druma, namely the subduing of a wild elephant, and the choice of the seven princesses by their fingers only, exposed through a screen, as found in the Burmese works (Jaini, p. 556; Fytche, p. 33; Smith, p. 539). The hero's name is Sudhanu, as in the Burmese and the Burmese Pali text (Zimmé paṇṇāsa). Other elaborate additions in the Mon poem include Manōrā imploring Indra to protect Sudhana on his campaign, a lengthy toponymy of lands involved in Sudhana's campaign, and a full-fledged battle between Sudhana and the kinnara forces on their first confrontation in Krailāśa, in which the kinnaras propose to eat Sudhana if they conquer him. All these features are clearly foreign in letter and spirit to the Pali, Thai, Lao, and Cambodian versions.

The ensemble of the two Thai poems taken together with the Lao, Cambodian, and Mon versions, and their alleged Pali source, comprises a puzzle of literary influences difficult to resolve. Of the three poems, Lao, Cambodian and Mon, clearly none can be taken as a wholly independent version, for each corresponds closely in many major and minor details to

the Pali-Thai versions. And yet none could be called directly dependent upon the Pali or Thai. Indeed, we have no evidence to contradict the clear definite possibility that the Pali text itself may incorporate details from indigenous versions of the tale current at the time of its composition. Another possibility must also be considered, namely that the Lao, Cambodian, or Mon poems reflect local oral traditions current at the time of their composition.

Considering the treatment of the tale in its broadest sense, each of the southeast Asian versions described above shows definite signs on the part of its author of expanding and naturalizing the story in consonance with his own inclinations and local culture, often possibly reflecting the local variants in the tale which tend to arise in the propagation of an oral tradition. The extent of embellishment can be seen to expand in ascending order from the National Library text, to the Songkhla text, to the Lao, and Cambodian, and finally the Mon text which shows the greatest amount of embellishment.

Although the National Library text is a faithful retelling of the Pali tale, elements of naturalization can be identified



in the extra dream in which the queen anticipates Sudhana's birth, in the scene where Manōrā is warned by her mother of danger at the lake, in the scene of Manōrā's farewell before her flight, in the entertainment and didactic wet nurse passages, in the re-union scene between Manōrā and Suthon and their extended courtship love passage. And yet the extent of variation in this text is so limited in scope that one does not suspect influence from any active oral tradition.

Compared to the above, the Songkhla text shows more extensive evidence of naturalizing detail and embellishment, and here a knowledge of the folk versions current in southern Thailand, oral and written, enables us to identify their unquestionable influence upon the Songkhla poem. Such details are the hunter's wife Mēkhabidā, the rebel vassal named Phrayā Čhan(thaphānu), the theft of wings and tails by the seven kinnara princesses, the date for setting Manōrā's horoscope (Thursday, 4th day of the waxing moon in the sixth month), the lively description of the hunter's appearance, and Suthon's cursing Manōrā's servants in his distraction at her loss. Here also, comparable to the NL text, are an

entertainment passage, a didactic passage on choosing a wife, and a love passage.

Proceeding to the Lao poem, various major variants and additions can be noted for the first time, such as the absence of sub-plot 1 involving a second kingdom in famine and the naga lord (above, p. 31). In general the Lao poet displays considerable freedom in his treatment of the details of the narrative, corresponding less than strictly to what we find in the Pali version, although conforming in most major features. There are three dreams additional to the one present in the Pali story, apparently a pleasing feature which all the Southeast Asian adaptors of the tale saw fit to expand in some measure. Furthermore the god Indra makes repeated interventions in the course of the Lao narrative, especially in the considerably extended forest journey section of the poem where Indra thrice assists the questing prince. This forest section is further embellished by extraneous (to the Pali or Thai) encounters of the prince with ghosts who give accounts of their sins and sufferings, a feature which would seem to relate to locally popular buddhist stories such

as the Phra Mālai tale. One device of the plot is clearly omitted from this Lao poem by what can only be an oversight. Sudhana obtains from the hermit an account of what lies before him in the forest as described by Manoharā when she visits the hermit on her way home. This is specified in the Pali-Thai versions, and in the Lao poem the hermit also conveys to the prince her account of the forest quest. But in the Lao she fails to deliver to the hermit the original account in her visit, where the poet only mentions that she left her ring and cloth (fāk waen thang phā), and mentions some of the dangers of the forest in a generalized way. The 'cloth' must in fact be the magic cloth which as he know from the Thai versions is meant to assist the prince when he encounters dangers in the forest, but it is indicated in the Lao poem in such a way as to require prior familiarity with the story on the part of the hearer. A number of the most important points of the narrative are glossed over in this way, so that the story seems at times to be trivialized by the Lao poet, whose function may be more in the nature of

formalizing a well-known story, giving it 'literary' attributes. This he accomplishes by providing formalized literary framework and description, which come to assume greater importance for his text than the narrative itself. As a consequence the inherent drama of the narrative gets overlooked, and the potential excitement of Manōrā's capture, her first meeting with Sudhana, her flight, the prince's trials, etc., so vividly appreciated by the two Thai poems, are virtually ignored in this Lao version.

A similar tendency can be noted in the Cambodian poem, but here appear even more surprising omissions and additions. Yet the tendency to trivialize the dramatic content of the story is certainly less marked than in the Lao. The most remarkable omission from the Cambodian poem is the choice of Manōrā from among seven maidens, a key incident which makes no appearance in this poem. In its stead, following the performance of feats by the prince, the question of whether to re-unite him with Manōrā is proposed to Indra, and the entire court of Kṛailāśa journeys to Indra's heaven to lay the case before him. This represents a culmination of

the expansion of the role of Indra in the story which here reaches its zenith. Another major omission is, as in the Lao, the absence of sub-plot 1 concerning the kingdom in famine and the special role of naga lord. Equally remarkable in the Cambodian text is the addition of a character otherwise known only in southern Thai versions of the Sudhana tale. This is Nāng Kānom, the prince's first wife who is daughter to the purohit (whose jealousy indeed is aroused by Manōrā's pre-eminence over his daughter). This is the same Nāng Kānom that the Songkhla poet tells us he has excluded from his poem on the grounds that she is not to be found in the Pali text. In the same statement he says he has also excluded the birdling(s) of the lord(s) of the birds (lūk nok rāṭchapaksā), and in point of fact the Cambodian poem has an incident where the birdlings of the giant indri birds interview Sudhana before he is carried to Krailāśa. Clearly there is some link here between two geographically distant traditions, but at the current state of knowledge it is not possible to say whether the Cambodian poem was influenced by the southern Thai tradition, or if an early Cambodian tradition influenced the versions of southern

Thailand. The latter possibility would however be much better supported by more than only two correspondences between them.

The Mon version diverges even more widely from the Pali narrative, as the few notes above well indicate, but their clear relationship with Burmese versions rather obviates the possibility of a fruitful comparison of it with the other versions under consideration, forming as they apparently do two quite separate branches of the southeast Asian Sudhana tradition.

As summarized above, both the Lao and Cambodian poems offer evidence of subsumption of material in their alleged prototype, the Pali version. In the Cambodian poem, the two lakes of the Pali and Thai versions have become a single lake, which serves both as the naga's home and the kinnara maidens' bathing place. And the entire sub-plot of the jealous kingdom in famine which motivates the Thai-Pali plot and provides a more elaborate explanation for the hunter's access to the magic noose is absent from this version. The Lao poem on the other hand includes the two lakes, one where the naga dwells and another where the kinnaras play,

but similarly lacks the sub-plot of the kingdom in famine.

Curiously enough, the Mon version, which diverges farthest in later parts of the story, conforming closely to Burmese versions in its elaborations to the plot as mentioned above, contains the naga sub-plot in closely similar form to the Pali and Thai.

In a few isolated instances, correspondences in detail between Sanskrit versions of the tale and the National Library text only, suggest the possibility of direct transmission not involving any Pali intermediary version. The first of these is the mention in NL of the kinnara king having 500 maidens to fetch water for Manōrā, and the same is specified as the number of kinnara maidens from whom Sudhana must pick Manoharā in the Sanskrit Avadānakalpalatā (Jaini, p. 554).

Yet as the NL text agrees with the other Pali-based versions that seven maidens only were required for the choice test, it seems most reasonable to assume that the figure of 500 was merely employed to suggest a large group of maidens. In this context the Songkhla text specifies sixteen maidens fetching water at the lake, a fairly realistic figure for the task at hand.

A glance at the plot summary of the Songkhla text (above, chapter II) reveals a clear predilection for the figure eight (and multiples of eight) on the part of the Songkhla poet.

In his article on the Sudhana tradition Jaini also refers to a scene found in the Divyavadana and Avadanakalpalata, but absent from Pali, where Sudhana in the forest asks the animals the whereabouts of his beloved (Jaini p. 543). But, while absent from the Pali, passages of a comparable type, where Sudhana's grief is increased by seeing the creatures of the forest, whose appearance or cries delude the prince into mistaking them for his beloved, and causing him to cry out to them, are to be found in the Thai, Lao, and Cambodian poems, in their extensive forests laments. Here again, the correspondence can most likely be attributed to a poet's understandable inclination to this type of treatment, where the Pali author, very likely a monk, could have overlooked literary effect in favour of the moral value of the unembellished narrative.

To conclude, the various interrelationships of the Southeast Asian versions of the Sudhana tale cannot be clearly



defined at the present state of our knowledge. Certain links have been identified, however, where these are apparent, especially between the Pali and Thai versions, the Cambodian and southern Thai, the Mon and the Burmese. Yet although the evidence for establishing genetic relationships is limited, the homogeneity of the Southeast Asian Sudhana tradition has been established. Within this tradition, features of localisation are apparent in each individual version. Regarding <sup>the</sup> two Thai versions in particular, a close relationship to their Pali prototype is apparent as well as extensive stylistic and linguistic homogeneity within the Thai literary tradition.

## APPENDIX I

## Royal Epithets

Character:

SUTHON

NL Text

Songkhla Text

suthon

suthon

phra suthon

phra suthon

phra suthon loet chāi

phra

phra suthon thāo

thāo thai

thāo

thāo thoe

phra ong

sī suthon

phra sī suthon

phra sī suthon

phra sī suthon: rācha rāchā

phra ǎchao sī suthon

phra ǎchao sī suthon phahon rācha  
rung panǎchā

phra ǎchao nḡ

phra ǎchao

ǎchao

## NL Text

rāchā  
 phōtisat  
 somdet phōtisat  
  
 suthon kumān  
 phra kumān  
 kumān chān chai  
 kumān  
 phra burut rāt  
 phra burut bōphit  
 phra burut song tham  
 suthon song tham  
 ong phra song tham  
 song tham phan pī  
 phan pī  
 phūthon

## Songkhla Text

phra sī suthon mahā  
 phra sī suthon phahon rācha  
 chāi chān  
 phra suthon phahon rāchā  
 narāchin

phra suthon mahā phōtisat

phra suthon mahā rāt

suthon kumān

suthon bōphit

suthon phahon song tham

NL Text	Songkhla Text
suthon phūthṇ	
phra phūthṇ	suthon phra phūthṇ
	suthon ṇṇrabodī
	phra ṇṇrabodī
	phra suthon ṇṇrabodī
phūwanai	phra phūwadin
phūmī	phūwadinthṇ
phūbān	
somdet phūwanāt	phūwanāt pin phān
	pin klāo
	pin krasat
	suthon pin krasat
	narin pin krasat
	phra pin phān
	phān klāo thāo
	phra pin phop nāthā
phra chōm ngām	suthon chōm ngām
	phra bāt suthon thirāt pin klāo song khun

NL Text	Songkhla Text
	yot phop trai
phra ǎchom kēt kaeo	somdet bōroma phūbōdī ǎchao ǎchom ǎchakrā
ǎchom rāt	suthon ǎchom lak
phra ōrasā	phra ōrasā
	ōrot sī
	ōrot krai
suthon butrā	
phua thulī	
phra rācha sāmī	ong phra phandā ǎchao
phasadā	
somdet phasadā thāo thoe	
	pho
fā la-ong	
phra song rit	
somdet song rit	
suthon rithikrai	

Character:

KING ĀTITHYA

NL Text

Songkhla Text

āthityawongsā

āthityawongsā rithā rān rōn

āthit phūmī

āthit phūbān

āthitya rāt

phra āthityawongsā

phra ǎchao āthityawong

phra ǎchao āthit isarā

āthit isarā rāchī

phra ǎchao phō phua

phra ǎchao phū pin aisūn

phra ǎchao phū pin phān udōn panǎhā

āthit bōdī

bōphit

āthit bōphit

bōphit biturēt phū rung rasamī

bōphit āthityawong

krung bōphit āthit thāo

phra pin klāo āthit thāo

thāo āthityawong

somdet thāo āthityawong

NL Text	Songkhla Text
somdet āthityawong	somdet thāo āthit bōphit
	somdet bōphit thāo āthit isarā
	thāo āthit
	thān thao āthit bōphit krāsēm san
	thān thāo āthit bōphit kamdụng
thāo thai	thāo
thāo thai somdet bōphit bidā	
phra rāchā	
somdet rāchā	
phra ong	
song tham	
song tham phan pī	phan pī
phra phūwanai somdet song tham	somdet biturēt song tham
phūbān	
somdet phūbān	
somdet phra phū bān	
somdet phūthōn	
phū phān phop trai	
	phra pin phān

NL Text	Songkhla Text
	phra pin klāo
	pin klāo narintharā
	phra pin ai sūn
	thāo pin ai sūn
	thāo pin klāo phūwadon
	āthit ison
	āthit ison thāo
	āthit isamēsuan
somdet bidon	somdet bidon
phra bidon	
biturēt	biturēt
somdet biturēt	āthit biturēt
biturāt	
somdet biturāt	
phra bidā	
phra biturāt	
ong somdet bidā	



Character:

MANŌRĀ

NL Text	Songkhla Text
manōrā	manōrā
ong manōrā	
nang manōrā	
nāng	nāng
nāng sām wai	nāng sawan
nāng nārī	
nāng mānsī	
nut nāng	manōrā nāt
	nāt
	nāt manōrā ō āt
	nāt ǎhao manōrā
	nuan nong nāt
	nāt kamdung
	noranāt
	nāt kinon manōrā yā ǎchai
	kaeo kinon manōrā

NL Text	Songkhla Text
manōrā thēwī	
thēwī	
phra thēwī	phra thēwī manōrā yuphāphān
	manōrā yuphāphān
	čhao manōrā yuphāphān
	manōrā čhao
	čhao manōrā
	thēwī phanīdā
chōm thēwī	chōm čhao manōrā
chōm sī	chōm anong nāt kao kinarā manōrā ā ong
chōm trū	chōm chalao yaowayot kinarā manōrā
chōm narumon	chōm chalao yaowarat manōrā
nut narumon	
nut narumon phra nong	
nut nong song lak	
nut sut sawāt	
nut nārī	

## NL Text

## Songkhla Text

nut kanlayā

kanlayā

nāng kanlayā

manōrā kanlayā

akha kanlayā

akha mahēsī

ong mahēsī

mahēsī

yaowamān

yaowamān manōrā suriyawong

nāng yaowamān

sī chōm yong

ḡra chōm yong

chōm yong nongkhrān

nongkhrān

ong chōm yong manōrā

ḡrasām wai

ḡrathai

nāng chōm chāi

manōrā eo wan

nim manōrā

Character:

QUEEN ČHANTHATHĒWĪ

NL Text

Songkhla Text

nāng

nāng

nāng čhan thēwī māndā sāmī

phra čhantha thēphī

phra čhantha thēphī ming myang  
ryang sī

phra čhan thēwī

somdet phra čhan thēwī

phra čhan thēwī māturong song sī

nāng čhan thēwī phū pen chonanī

thēwī

phra akha thēwī

phra čhan

chōm phra čhan thēwī

phra čhantha kalayā

phra čhantha māndon

phra rācha thēwī māndā

čhao

čhao khun

NL Text	Songkhla Text
	phra akha wilai thāo pin phop trai phra ǎchao mae phua
ong mahēsī	somdet mahēsī
	nāt
nāng khrān	
phan pī	
	phra chonanī ǎchan thēphī
phra chonanī	phra chonanī
somdet chonanī	somdet chonanī
somdet phra chonanī	
chonanī	
phra ǎrācha chonanī	phra chonamān
la-ḡng bāt phra rācha chonanī	phra chonamān nāt wimon rācha akha wilai
phra mae	phra mae
somdet phra mae	
somdet phra ǎchao mae	phra mae phua
	phra mae phua phū song khun
phra māndā	phra māndā

NL Text	Songkhla Text
ong mādā	wōrachōm nāt phra mādā
ong nongkhrān mādā	
somdet mādā	
somdet phra mādā	
mādā	
	phra wōra mādon
	chōm nāt māturang
	phra rācha māndon
	čhōm rācha mādurang
	phra māturong
	phra māturang
	māndon
	māturā
	rācha mādon
	rācha mādun mae phua
	rācha mādun phū song khun
	phra biturong (? p. 198)

ฉบับหอพระสมุดฉบับสงขลาพระสุชน

สุชน

พระสุชน

พระ

ท้าวไท

ท้าวเขอ

พระองค์

ศรีสุชน

พระศรีสุชน

พระศรีสุชนราชราชา

ราชา

โพธิสัตว์

สมเด็จพระโพธิสัตว์

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พระสุชน

พระสุชนเลิศชาย

พระสุชนท้าว

ท้าว

พระศรีสุชน

พระเจ้าศรีสุชน

พระศรีสุชนพหลราชรุ้งปญา

พระเจ้าหนอ

พระเจ้า

เจ้า

พระศรีสุชนมหา

พระศรีสุชนพหลราชาชัยชาญ

พระสุชนพหลราชานราชน

พระสุชนมหาโพธิสัตว์

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สุชน กุมาร

พระกุมาร

กุมารชาลัญชัย

กุมาร

พระบรมราช

พระบรมพิตร

พระบรมทรงธรรม

สุชนทรงธรรม

องค์พระทรงธรรม

ทรงธรรมพันปี

พันปี

ภทร

สุชน ภทร

พระ ภทร

ภวนัย

ภมี

ภบาล

สมเด็จภวานาถ

ฉบับสงขลา

พระสุชนมหาราช

สุชน กุมาร

สุชนพิตร

สุชนพหลทรงธรรม

สุชนพระภทร

สุชนนรบดี

พระนรบดี

พระสุชนนรบดี

พระภวคิน

ภวคินทร

ภวานาถเป็นนาง



ฉบับหอพระสมุค

พระโณมงาม

พระจอมเกศแก้ว

จอมราช

พระโอรสา

สุนนบุตรา

ฉวีบุลี

พระราชสามี

ภักศา

สมเด็จพระภักศาท้าวเขอ

ฝาละออง

ฉบับสงขลา

ปิ่นเกล้า

ปิ่นกระสักรีย์

สุนปิ่นกระสักรีย์

นริน ปิ่นกระสักรีย์

พระปิ่นผาน

ปิ่นเกล้าท้าว

พระปิ่นพบนาคา

สุนโณมงาม

พระบาทสุนนชิราชปิ่นเกล้าทรงคุณ

ยอดภพไตร

สมเด็จพระบรมภูษิตีเจ้าจอมจักรา

สุนจอมลักษณะ

พระโอรสา

โอรสศรี

โอรสไกร

องค์พระภรรคาเจ้า

ฟ้อ

ฉบับหอพระสมุทฉบับสงขลา

พระทรงฤทธิ

สมเด็จพระฤทธิ

สุชนฤทธิไกร

พระอาทิตย์วงศ์

อาทิตย์วงศ์

อาทิตย์วงศ์ ฤทธารานรอน

อาทิตย์ ภูมิ

อาทิตย์ ภูบาล

อาทิตย์ราช

พระอาทิตย์วงศ์

พระเจาพ่อฉัว

บพิตร

บพิตรบิฑูเรศมูรณรังสี

สมเด็จพระอาทิตย์วงศ์

พระเจาอาทิตย์วงศ์

พระเจาอาทิตย์อิสรว

อาทิตย์อิสรวราช

พระเจาณินไธสรย์

พระเจาณินผานอครัญจา

อาทิตย์บตี

อาทิตย์บตี

บพิตรอาทิตย์วงศ์

กรุงบพิตรอาทิตย์ทาว

พระปิ่นเกล้าอาทิตย์ทาว

ทาวอาทิตย์วงศ์

สมเด็จพระทาวอาทิตย์วงศ์

ฉบับหอพระสมุค

ท้าวไท  
 ท้าวไท สมเด็จพระพิตรบิดา  
 พระราชา  
 สมเด็จพระราชา  
 พระองค์  
 ทรงธรรม  
 ทรงธรรมพันปี  
 พระภูณัสมเด็จพระทรงธรรม  
 ภูบาล  
 สมเด็จพระภูบาล  
 สมเด็จพระพระภูบาล  
 สมเด็จพระ  
 ภูพานภพไตร

ฉบับสงขลา

สมเด็จพระท้าวอาทิตย์ยพิตร  
 สมเด็จพระพิตรท้าวอาทิตย์ยอิสร  
 ท้าวอาทิตย์  
 ทานท้าวอาทิตย์ยพิตรกระแสน  
 ทานท้าวอาทิตย์ยพิตรกำลัง  
 ท้าว

พันปี  
 สมเด็จพระปิตุเรศทรงธรรม

พระปิ่นผาน  
 พระปิ่นเกล้า  
 ปิ่นเกล้าฉนวนรวิธา  
 พระปิ่นไวยุทธ์

ฉบับหอพระสมุด

สมเด็จพระปิคร

พระปิคร

บิตุเรศ

สมเด็จพระปิตุเรศ

ปิตุราช

สมเด็จพระปิตุราช

พระปิศา

พระปิตุราช

องค์สมเด็จพระปิศา

นางมะโนรา (มะโนรา)

มะโนรา (มะโนห์รา)

องค์มะโนรา

นางมะโนรา

นาง

นางทราวมไ

นางนารี

นางมารศรี

ฉบับสงขลา

ท้าวปิ่นเกล้าภูวคน

อาทิตยอิส

อาทิตยอิสท้าว

อาทิตยอิสเมศวร

สมเด็จพระปิคร

บิตุเรศ

อาทิตยบิตุเรศ

มะโนรา (มะโนห์รา)

นาง

นางสวรรค์

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บุษนาง

มะโนราเทวี

เทวี

พระเทวี

โคมเทวี

โคมศรี

โคมตรู

โคมนฤมล

ฉบับสงขลา

มะโนรานาถ

นาถ

นาถมะโนราโอดาจ

นาถเจามะโนรา

นวดนองนาถ

นาถกำคิง

นรนาถ

นาถ กิณนรมโนรายาใจ

แก้วกิณนรมะโนรา

พระเทวีมะโนรายุพาพาล

มะโนรายุพาพาล

เจามะโนรายุพาพาล

มะโนราเจ้า

เจามะโนรา

เทวี พนิกา

โคมเจามะโนรา

โคมอนงค์นาถแก้วกิณนรามะโนราอาองค์

โคมเฉลาเขาวยอดกิณนรามะโนรา

โคมเฉลาเขาวรัตน์มะโนรา

ฉบับหอพระสมุด

นุชนฤมล

นุชนฤมลพระนอง

นุชนองทรงดักขณ

นุชสุคสวาทิ

นุชนารี

นุชกัลยา

กัลยา

นางกัลยา

มะโนรากัลยา

อัคคะกัลยา

อัคคะมเหสี

องค์มเหสี

มเหสี

เขาวมาลย์

นางเขาวมาลย์

ศรีโคมยง

อรโคมยง

โคมยงนงคราน

นงคราน

องค์โคมยงมะโนรา

อรทรามไว

อรไท

ฉบับสงขลา

เขาวมาลย์มะโนราสุริยวงศ์

ฉบับหอพระสมุด

ฉบับสงขลา

นางโฉมฉาย

มะโนราเอวรารณ

นิมมะโนรา

พระจันทเทวี

นาง

นาง

นางจันทเทวีมารกาสามี

พระจันทเทวี

พระจันทเทวี มิ่งเมืองเรืองศรี

พระจันทเทวี

สมเด็จพระจันทเทวี

พระจันทเทวีมาตุรง ทรงศรี

นางจันทเทวีผู้เป็นชนนี

เทวี

พระอัครเทวี

พระจัน

โฉมพระจันทเทวี

พระจันทกัลยา

พระจันทมาตริ

พระราชเทวีมารกา

เจ้า

เจ้าคุณ

พระอัครวิไล ท้าวปิ่นภพไตรพระเจ้าแม่ตัว

ฉบับหอพระสมุด

องค์มเหสี

นางคราน

พนปี

พระชนนี

สมเด็จพระชนนี

ชนนี

พระราชชนนี

ละอองบาทพระราชชนนี

พระแม่

สมเด็จพระแม่

สมเด็จพระเจ้าแม่

พระมารดา

องค์มารดา

องค์นงคราญมารดา

สมเด็จพระมารดา

สมเด็จพระมารดา

มารดา

ฉบับสงขลา

สมเด็จพระมเหสี

นาง

พระชนนีจันทิ

พระชนนี

พระชนมาน

พระชนมานนาถวิมล ราชอัคคะวิไล

พระแม่

พระแม่ตัว

พระแม่ตัวผู้ทรงคุณ

พระมารดา

วรโณมนาทพระมารดา

พระวรมาคน

โณมนาทมาตุรัง



ฉบับหอพระสมุดฉบับสงขลา

พระราชमारक्र

|  
จอมราชมาตุรัง

พระมาตุรง

พระมาตุรัง

मारक्र

มาตุรา

ราชมาคน

|  
ราชมาคนแม่ตัว

ราชมาคนบุตรทรงคุณ

พระปิตรง (? หน้า 198)

## APPENDIX II

### Pronouns Employed in Dialogue

NL Text	Songkhla Text
<u>Manōrā and Suthon:</u>	
(Manōrā)	(Suthon)
1st Person	
khā ǎchao, khā bāt	khā, khā phra ong phī
khā bot sī	khā phra phutha ǎchao
khā thūn la-qng	khanithā nī
mia, dichan	mia rak
2nd Person	
ǎchao, phra nong	phra, phra ong ǎchao, phra nong thāo
nut, nut nārī	thulī phanidā, phathē phra narēt

Manōrā and Hunter:

(Manōrā)	(Hunter)	(Manōrā)	(Hunter)
----------	----------	----------	----------

1st Person

khā

phī

rao

phrān

ǎchao, nāng, mae

phī, phrān

ǎchao, mae

phrān

nāng thai, thēwī

phī phrān phrai

kæo kinarī

tharųksā

Naga and Hunter:

(Naga)	(Hunter)	(Naga)	(Hunter)
--------	----------	--------	----------

1st Person

rao

tua

kloe, ātmā

khā, rao

2nd Person

thān

ǎchao

nākā

sahāi

thān ā

nāi nēsāt thān

NL Text

Songkhla Text

Suthon and Hunter:

(Suthon)	(Hunter)	1st Person	(Suthon)	(Hunter)
nong, khā, rao	khā		kū, rao	khā, tua khā
		2nd Person		khā phra
phra ong, fā thulī	phī, ǎhao		-	phrān
khā tae tai la-ong	phī phrān, thān			phrān bun

Hermit and Hunter:

(Hermit)	(Hunter)	1st Person	(Hermit)	(Hunter)
ātmā	tua yōm, chan		thān	khā
		2nd Person		
khā tae phra dābot	yōm, prasok		thān phū song phrot	phrān, nāi phrān
khrua tā			phra muni	ǎhao

NL Text

Songkhla Text

Hermit and Manōrā:

(Hermit) (Manōrā) (Hermit) (Manōrā)

1st Person

ātmā

yōm, khā bot sī

khā, rao

khā

2nd Person

phra phū chai ān,

sīkā, ubāsikā

-

chao

khā tae āchān

Hermit and Suthon:

(Hermit) (Suthon) (Hermit) (Suthon)

1st Person

-

yōm

ātmā

-

2nd Person

phra phū wisēt an dap

prasok

khā tae āchān

ubāsok, yōm,

kilēt, phra phū chai ān

bōphit isarā

an chān prichā

rāt

NL Text

Songkhla Text

Kinnara maiden and Suthon:

(Maiden)	(Suthon)	(Maiden)	(Suthon)
	1st Person		
nong, khā	-	-	riam rak
	2nd Person		
nong ā	thān	chao, phra nut,	-
		nut yāchhai, yāchhai	

Brahman and Suthon:

(Brahman)	(Suthon)	(Brahman)	(Suthon)
	1st Person		
klāo kraməm chan	-	khā	rao
	2nd Person		
-	dēt phuwanai	thān	thān, phra pin phuwadon

NL Text

Songkhla Text

Purohit and King Athit:

(Purohit)

(King A)

(Purohit)

(King A)

1st Person

khā bāt

-

-

-

2nd Person

thān

ong song tham,

thān

thān phra bāt thāo,

phra

phra pīn klāo

## A P P E N D I X III

SEGMENT OF MANORA INVOCATION TEXT RELATING PARTS OF  
THE SUDHANA TALE (FROM NORA THONG, SONGKHLA)

แล้วเจ็ดนางสาวโนรา ลูกสาวของท้าวเมืองชุมพร  
แล้วมามีปีกมีหางเปรียบเหมือนกับนางผีเสื้อ  
ลูกสาวของท้าวเมืองชุมพร คิดหนีพระมารดา  
จ้างพี่ที่ร้องตามไป แล้วเข้าคิดอย่างไรน้องนาค  
แต่หางโนราตอบว่าฉันไปคอยดูเสียให้ก่อน  
พอย่องเจ้าไปแต่ฮีสาวแม่हनหลับ เมล็ดตาบอกกับพี่ยาไป...?  
แม่हनเมล็ดตาแม่หลับแม่हन ลักปีกหางเสียก่อน แล้วจะจรไป  
สอดปีกสอดหางแล้วเจ็ดนางโนราหนีพระมารดาขึ้นควาใหญ่  
เจ็ดสาวลอยฟ้าเข้าเมฆาลัย เห็นสระใหญ่โคมข่มร้อนลงมา  
ถอดปีกถอดหางแล้วลักซ่อนเอาไว้เจ็ดนางพากายลงในสระ  
เล่นสนุกเล่นนาง นวลนางดีใจจัดกูเหวี่ยงไถลได้ชำระ  
เจ็ดนางเล่นน้ำอยู่ในสระ พราหมณ์ทุกกษัตริย์มาเดินไพร  
ได้ยินเสียงให้ร้องติดท้องผา ส่วนว่าพราหมณ์เมื่อย่องเจ้าไป  
แล้วเห็นเจ็ดสาว ตัวขาวพ่อง หวลละอองใสมาจากไหน  
เขามาดู...? ให้จัดใจ...? อะไรไปถวายนายสุธน



ผอยพราหมณ์บุญทฤกษาแล้วคิดขึ้นมาได้แล้วจับเผงไปถวายท้าวจะได้ผล  
คิดอย่างไรหัวใจร้อนรมยังมีเกลื่อนหนึ่งคนให้บาดาล

... กลายเป็นหนูเจียวเคลียวตีหมาลิ... คินโคมองหน้าสงสาร

ผอยพราหมณ์เห็นแม่หญิงยืนนิ่งอยู่เฉย สอว่าผอยพราหมณ์ย่องเข้าไป

ผอยพราหมณ์หยิบเรียกไม้จันทน์มาจ๊ะคลองหัวผ้าในสระใน

ผอยพราหมณ์เร่งรีเสนาดีใจคล่องลงไปตกเจ้าสาวโนรา

ทั้งหกคนพวกผีหนีบินไปยังหน้าไยหวลน้อง ...

นางคิดบ่วงผอยพราหมณ์ให้ร้ายจน ทรงโศกโศกาให้ฮาลัย

นางโนราผู้หนึ่งนั่งร้องไห้มาฟุ่มฟายชลตาแก้ทาไหล

ทั้งหกคนพวกผีหนีบินไปยังหน้าไยหวลน้องร้องเสียงจ๋า

ผอยพราหมณ์ก็พานูนางเดินแล้วข้ามช่องพะเนินห้วยเหวลา

ผอยพราหมณ์ก็พานูนางมาแล้วซ่อนไว้ที่ใต้ไม้กานลง

ว่ากานลงเรียกว่ากบไ้ ถ้าใครเข้าใกล้แล้ววางง

ซ่อนไว้ที่ใต้ไม้กานลงพาไปถวายสฤษดิ์พระราชา

นางโนราเมื่ออุ้มแม่ทองบุญหนัก สฤษดิ์ทำรักเป็นหมักหมก

แต่วันนั้นไปทำศึกยังไม่ได้กลับมา เจตเอานางโนราบูชาเพลิง

นางโนราเมื่อมีปัญญสาวมาก สั่งให้เปิดจากสามเหล็ง

เอานางโนราไปบูชาเพลิงโคมลินโนรินบินไป

ว่าบินแล้ว แม่ไม่ได้ฟื้น ไปเกาะที่ต้นไม้พระไทร

โคมลินโนรินแม่บินไปทันสมหวลสมโยนน้องนภา

ออ.....

## APPENDIX IV

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY  
BANGKOK

(All the Sudhana manuscripts in Thai in the National Library collection are copies of the text referred to in this thesis as the National Library Text, with the exception of the playbook fragment (published as Bot lakhon khrang krung kao . . .).

None of the manuscripts have been catalogued as yet by the library, but most of them have numbers in a series 75/1, 75/2, 75/3 . . . etc., being numbers assigned to them when stored in cabinet No. 75 in the old Library, and the list below retains the order of these old numbers.

75/1 'vol. 1' i. e. identified as volume 1 (lem 1) on the ms.

White book with blacked edges, two black covers covered paper. Excellent condition

48 folds          4 lines per page          37.5 by 12.25 cm

Side 2 ends with Mahōrasop passage. Dated at front

Chula era 1227 (1865 AD)

Acquired from <sup>v</sup>Chaophrayā Mukhamontrī (Uap Paorōhit) in 1930.

75/2 'vol. 1'

White book with two black covers      good condition

39 folds      7 lines per page      36.8 by 12.25 cm

Side 1 ends with brahmin's speech to king. Side two  
ends with hermit giving ring to Suthon and Suthon's lament.

Incomplete date at end with scribe's name.

Acquired as above.

75/3	White book with two black covers	fair condition (water damage to one half)
------	----------------------------------	---

39 folds          6 lines per page          36 by 12 cm

Side 2 ends on next to last fold with Manōrā being consoled by the queen before the sacrifice. Followed by scribe's postscript.

Acquired from Mqm̃chaoying Čhamrat, 1907.

75/4 'vol. 1'

White book covers                      good condition

36 folds      6 lines per page      37.2 by 12.5 cm

Fine introduction by scribe with remarks on using and reading the ms, borrowing it, etc.

Ends with queen entering and embracing Manōrā

Acquired from Nai Lom, 1917

75/5 'vol. 1'

White book (missing front cover) good condition (some  
worm holes)

35 folds      7 lines per page      37 by 12.2 cm

Begins with astrologer explaining queen's dream.

Ends (last illegible) with Manōrā getting back her wings.

Acquired from Mōmčhaoying Čhamrat, 1907.

75/6 'vol. 1'

White book (no covers)      good condition (frayed ends)

26 folds      5 lines per page      35.2 by 11.2 cm

Begins with queen's dream and ends with courtship of  
Manōrā by Suthon. Crude script.

Acquired from Khruatā Khrut, 1917.

75/7 'vol. 2'

White book with 2 black covers      good condition

38 folds      6 lines per page      36.3 by 12.5 cm

Begins with Manōrā's grief for Suthon and ends with  
identifications (klap chāt), followed by scribes remarks  
on caring for the ms.

Owned by Library from an earlier date.

75/8 'vol. 2'

White book (black front cover)      good condition, very neat hand

37 folds      6 lines per page      35.9 by 12.6 cm

Begins with hermit relaying Manōrā's instructions and

ends nine folds from the ends of side 2. 3 remaining

folds pencilled in child's hand from Phra Pa Aphai Manī.

Purchased in 1907.

75/9 'vol. 2'

White book (2 black covers)      good condition

39 folds      6 lines per page      38 by 12.4 cm

First and last pages of side 1 have penned drawings

(added?) of a man and a yaksa. Begins with Manōrā

getting back her wings and ends with Suthon's choice,

five folds from the end.

Acquired from Phra Phirēnthēp (Nētr), 1914.

75/10 'vol. 2'

White book (with front cover)      some worm eaten pages,  
neat hand

36 folds      5 lines per page      35.2 by 12 cm

Begins with Manōrā's flight and ends with Suthon

showing his powers.

75/11 'vol. 2'

White book with covers                      good condition

39 folds              5 lines per page (side 1)              36 by 12 cm

6 lines per page (side 2)

Begins with Manōrā's flight. Some Cambodian letters on cover. Interesting colophon.

Acquired from Nāi Mī, 1918.

75/12 'vol. 2'

White book with one black front cover              good condition

37 folds              6 lines per page              35.75 by 12.3 cm

First page hard to decipher, eight folds remain after end of texts. Last  $4\frac{1}{2}$  folds appear to be unrelated proverbs. Colophon refers to Phra sī ān.

Dated year of the Cock, 1st of the cycle, 2372 (does not correlate).

Purchased in 1907.

75/13 vols. 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Four black books, chalk script              good condition

28, 23, 10 and 27 folds respectively. 4/5 lines per page

34 by 10.7 cm, 30 by 9.5 cm, 31.5 by 9.5 cm, and 31

by 10.1 cm      v. 4 has extraneous material, Suriyēt story;

v. 5 is largely blank

Acquired from <sup>Y</sup>Chaophrayā Mukhamontrī, 1929

75/14 'vol. 2'

White book with two black covers      good condition

43 folds      5 lines per page (side 1)      38.1 by 12.5 cm

6 lines per page (side 2)

Begins with Manōrā taking leave of the queen and

ends with identifications (ṭklap chat); five folds

empty at end.

Purchased in 1907.

74/15 'vol. 2' (added in pencil)

White book      good condition (hole burnt in 1 side)

neat hand, modern spelling and orthography

35 folds      36.9 by 12.1 cm

9 folds empty to end

Acquired from Prince ~~Damrong~~ Damrong, 1908.

(unnumbered)

White book fragment (sewn together)      tattered and worm eaten

20 folds      7 lines per page      35.1 by 12.1 cm

Begins with Suthon's leavetaking before campaign and

ends with Manōrā asking to follow Suthon home to visit

his parents.

Acquired from Luang Thuranai phinit, 1965

(unnumbered)

White book fragment (possibly same copy as above) good condition

15 folds          5 lines per page          36 by 11.9 cm

Begins with naga's consort asking what troubles him.

Side 2 begins with the wedding of Suthon and Manōrā.

Label on wrong side. No donor mentioned.

(unnumbered)

Six black books                                  good condition

Each book 28 folds, 4 lines per page      34.7 by 11 cm

The only complete copy of this text known, and employed  
in this thesis as the 'National Library Text'.

Dated at end, corresponding to October 1, 1856.



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Information in Chapter 1 regarding the performance of southern Thai manora dance-drama was obtained from a number of elderly players of the idiom resident in various provinces of southern Thailand. I interviewed them during field research in 1969-70. The 'khlōng hong' ceremony (pp. 26-28) was described by Nora Čhōn of Songkhla town and Nora Thōng of Tambon Sai Yai, Thung Song District in Nakhōn Sīthammarāt Province. Other players interviewed were:

Nora Am	144 Ban Pang, Tambon Kuan Čhūm, Rōn Phibūn District, Nakhōn Sīthammarāt
Nora Wat	Mū 3, Bān Kluai, Ranōt District, Songkhla
Nora Wan	Tambon Ban Kō (i. e. island), Nakhōn Sīthammarāt
Nora Khāp	Wat Mon, Nakhōn Sīthammarāt (ca. 10 km. south of the town)
Nora Phum Thēwā (Khun Upatham Narākōn)	Khuan Khanun District, Phathalung

Modern performances were observed in Bangkok at the September Dyan Sip festival held at Wat Phichaiyāt in 1968 (by Nora Toem)

and 1971 (by Nora Lôi Benčhasin of Hāt Yai); at Sathing Phra in April, 1969 by Nora Prasoet Sōphonsin of Songkhla; at Hāt Yai television studio by the Malay speaking troupe of Nora Choei Nokyūngthong of Tāk Bai district in Narāthiwat.

Other players known of are:

Nora Plaek Chanabān	Bān Mū 5, Tambon Thākhae, Phathalung
Nora Phrat	near Thān Phō station, Tambon Māi Riāng, Chawāng District, Nakhon Sīthammarāt
Nora Phan	Surāt Province (performed at Siam Society, Bangkok in 1970).

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