A STUDY OF THE DRAMATIC POEMS OF THE PANJI CYCLE IN THAILAND

Thesis submitted for the Ph.D. degree of the University of London, by Miss KHOMKHAI NILPRAPASSORN

School of Oriental and African Studies

August 1966.
ABSTRACT

Despite the important pioneer work of H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab and H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat, Kromamun Bidyalabh Bridhyakorn, no fully detailed descriptive study of the Thai versions of dramatic poems deriving from the Malay-Javanese Panji cycle has been made. The aim of this thesis is to provide such a descriptive study based chiefly on the printed texts of the two major poems in the Thai tradition, Dālang and Inao, and with reference to surviving manuscript items which have been available to the author in Bangkok and London. Thai translations of certain Malay texts belonging to the Panji tradition have also been taken into account.

The thesis consists of eight chapters and five appendixes.

The Chapters.

Chapter 1 deals with the origin of the Thai versions according to traditional evidence and presents historical evidence on their development.

Chapter 2 relates the history of the texts with comparative references to manuscript and printed texts.

In Chapter 3, the overall structure of the complex poems Dālang and Inao is analysed, and the fundamental
variations are set out and related to the Malay versions as known in Thailand.

Chapters 4 and 5 present the content of the poems in terms of setting and major aspects of treatment.

Poetic techniques are examined in Chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 6 presents an analysis of the versification, and Chapter 7 examines poetic diction.

Chapter 8 contains a concluding general statement on the subject of court drama.

The Appendixes.

Appendix 1 sets out the lexical variants, not involving structural rhyme, between the Somdet Phra Rācha Pitulā manuscript and the printed text of Dālang.

Appendix 2 sets out the lexical variants involving structural rhyme between the above two texts.

Appendix 3 provides comparative tables of lexical variants existing between the India Office Library manuscript and the printed text of Inao.

Appendix 4 lists the epithets used in the Dālang and Inao printed texts.

Appendix 5 is a glossary of Malay-Javanese terms used in the poems.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The encouragement and unfailing help which my supervisor, Mr. E.H.S. Simmonds, has given me throughout my work and the interest he has shown in my thesis have been invaluable. I am greatly indebted to him.

I am grateful to the Librarian of the National Library, Bangkok, the Librarian of the India Office Library, London and the Director of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for permission to examine manuscripts in the possession of their libraries.

I am also grateful to the Governing Body of the School of Oriental and African Studies for granting me a Studentship which has enabled me to carry out the present work.
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Abstract</strong></td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acknowledgements</strong></td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. The Background and Environment of the Poems</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. History of the Texts</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. The Overall D.-I. Structure and Fundamental Variations</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. The Physical Setting</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Aspects of Treatment</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Versification</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Poetic Diction</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Concluding Statement</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Appendix</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Minor Lexical Variants Between the Somdet Phra Racha Pitulà Manuscript and the Printed Text of Dalang</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Lexical Variants Involving the Structural Rhyme Between the Somdet Phra Racha Pitulà Manuscript and the Printed Text of Dalang</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Lexical Variants Between the India Office Library Manuscript and the Printed Text of Inao</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The Epithets Used in the Dalang and Inao Printed Texts</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. The Malay-Javanese Terms Used in Dālang and Inao ........................................ 345

Bibliography .................................................. 350
CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND AND ENVIRONMENT OF THE POEMS

Of all the poems ever composed for Thai dance-drama, Inao by Phra Bât Somdet Phra Phuttha Loet Lâ Naphâlai (King Rama II, 1809-24 A.D.) and his court poets is the most excellent in both theatrical and literary aspects. Its fascinating story, dealing with the love and adventures of a hero-king of ancient Java, has been well known among the Thai since the Ayuthaya period.

The original source of Inao is the Panji cycle which gained popularity in Java and the Malay Peninsula long before being introduced into the Thai kingdom. The tradition is that these tales existed in Ayuthaya about the middle of the eighteenth century, yet the extant Thai versions based on the Panji cycle date only from the first reign (1782-1809) of the Ratanakosin period. They are assumed to derive from the Ayuthaya versions which have not survived.

There are two diverse stories of Inao in the dramatic poems, simply called Inao Yai (greater Inao) and

(1) The transcription used in the body of the text is that of the general system of the Royal Institute of Thailand, with the use of a macron to mark long vowels in contrast to short. Common place-names and personal names, especially those of authors and critics cited, have been transcribed according to accepted usage and not necessarily systematically.

(2) They are entitled 'Dâlang' and 'Inao'.
Inao Lek (lesser Inao). According to tradition, they refer to the separate works of two daughters of Somdet Phra Čhao Bōromakōt. The Princesses had Malay maids who narrated different tales from the Panji cycle to them. Being inspired by the recitals, Princess Kunthon, the elder, composed Dālang while Princess Mongkut, the younger, composed Inao as dance-drama texts. Though the contents differed, they dealt with the same hero - Inao; in consequence, Dālang was called Inao Yai signifying the work of the elder princess, and Inao was called Inao Lek signifying the work of the younger.

Similarly, Dr. Adolf Bastian mentioned that "Inao was brought to Krung Kao (Ayuthia) by Yaiyavo, a Muslim woman, and there it was translated by the Prince Chao Kasat-krī from the language of the Khek Xava into Siamese in order to be adapted for the stage." Though Dālang is not taken into account here, and there is a misinterpretation of the word 'Chao Kasat-krī' (or 'Čhao Kasattrī' if correctly pronounced) by making the name refer to a male person, this passage comes to the same conclusion as the above tradition and also agrees with the epilogue to King Rama II's version which runs as follows:

(1) It is orally reported from generation to generation.
See: H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Tammān Ru'ang Lakhōn Inao, Bangkok, 1921, pp. 81-82.

In the Krung Kao period, Inao was composed by Chao Sattri (a princess), but that original version got scattered and lost. Then His Majesty the King wanted the story to be played and the poem to be revised and completed as a delight to all citizens. (1)

A significant reference to our subject occurs in an eighteenth century poem, where a court drama is mentioned as presenting the episode of the abduction of Busbā:

They sing about the prince who succeeds in abducting Busbā, his betrothed. He takes her to a cave in a mountain. (2)

This incident occurs in Inao but not in Dālang and is an indication, however slight, of the existence of an Inao-type drama in the Krung Kao period.

Thai dance-drama, which the Thai call 'Lakhōn', has a rather obscure background. We find no trace of such performance in the Sukhothai period. Music, singing, candle-burning and fire-works were mentioned as entertainments during the reign of Phū Khun Rāmkhamhaeng (the second half of the thirteenth century). The existence of dancing to the accompaniment of songs and music, which the Thai call 'Rabam', was first reported in a Thai context during the

(1) King Rama II, Inao, Bangkok, 1949, p. 1208.
(2) Phra Maha Nāk, Bunnōwāt Kham Chan, Bangkok, 1917, p. 27.
(3) The term is probably related to Javanese 'lakuan', a general term widely used from ancient times in the islands for theatrical entertainments connected with ceremonies. The direction of borrowing may have been via Khmer; cf. Cambodian 'lokkhōn, lukkhūn'.
(4) Prachum Silā Čhāru'k, Pt. 1, Bangkok, 1924, p. 55.
The reign of Phaya Lithai (1353-71). In early Ayuthaya, they had a sort of open-air performance called "Len Kän Du'kdam-pan" in connection with grandiose ceremonies of the court. It is based on an episode of the Râmâyana where the gods, the demons and the monkeys stir the ocean to acquire immortal nectar. However, the technique of representation was closer to the masked-play. As far as we know, Lakhôn existed as a sort of stage-play in the reign of Somdet Phra Nārāi (1656-88) according to De la Loubère:

"The show which they call Lacone is a poem intermixed with epic and dramatic, which lasts three days, from eight in the morning till seven at night. They are histories in verse, serious, and sung by several actors always present, and which do only sing reciprocally. One of them sings the historian's part, and the rest those of the personage which the history makes to speak; but they are all men that sing, and no women... The Lacone serves principally to solemnize the feast of the dedication of a new temple, when a new statue of their Somana-Godom is placed therein." (4)

The above passage is the earliest authentic mention ever found. Reference to Lakhôn of that period does not occur in any Thai source. It may be assumed that at this early date in its history Lakhôn was not yet renowned as a prominent histrionic art. The style might still have

---

(1) Ibid., pp. 132-33.
been simple, with extempore singing following the story as it was played on the stage. It is not hard for the Thai to perform extempore, as they are poetically minded. In the reign of Somdet Phra Nārāi, they were well-known for their ability to produce intelligent talk and raillery in verse. De la Loubère also acknowledged this fact:

"... as well the women as the men are all very readily verset therein; the most ordinary method of which is amongst them a continued raillery, wherein emulously appears the briskness of the answer and repartees." (1)

Such natural aptitude exists not only among the intellectual class but among the illiterate as well. Numerous rhymesters in rural districts, during festive times or when they are not busy, frequently enjoy themselves in singing verse extempore.

In the southern region of the Thai kingdom, there has long existed a dance-drama called 'Lakhōn Nōrā' or 'Lakhōn Chātrī'. Its legendary history is such as to suggest that it is the prototype from which the Ayuthaya

(1) A.P. Gen. R.S.S., op. cit., p. 54.
(3) Nakhōn Sīthamarāt, otherwise Ligor or Mu'ang Lakhōn, is the centre of Nōrā and is also assumed to be the first province where this type of Lakhōn came into existence. See: Department of Fine Arts (comp.), Tamnān Lai Kham Klōn Wai Khrū Lakhōn Chātrī, Bangkok, 1951, pp. 51-76.
drama developed. The term 'chātrī' which means strong, valiant, or powerful serves as its primary name. It is probably a derivative of a Sanskrit term—ksatriya—referring to a warrior-king, because the repertory of Lakhōn Chātrī consists of heroic tales dealing with the adventure of a king or a prince who performs deeds of valour to win the girl he loves. The tale of Nāng Manōrā was frequently played by Lakhōn Chātrī in the early period, and the performance was accordingly called 'Lakhōn Manōrā'. As syllabic reduction is a feature of southern Thai dialects, the trisyllabic form 'manōra' is represented by dissyllabic; hence 'Lakhōn Manōrā' became 'Lakhōn Nōrā'.

There is a comic character in Nāng Manōrā known as Phrān Bun. He is a hunter and a loyal attendant of Phra Suthon, the hero in that story. This can be compared with a strikingly similar mention in the legendary history of Lakhōn Chātrī. We find, in the latter, that a deity transforms a rock into a man, gives him a golden mask representing a hunter and names him Phrān Bun. Then this fellow becomes the companion of Phra Thēp Singhōn, the hero of the earliest Chātrī troupe.

(2) Manōrā is a bird-woman who is captured by a hunter. She is led to meet a prince who finally marries her. This tale derives from Sudhana Jātaka.
The legend runs that in former times Lakhôn Châtrî employed only men. They travelled from place to place, carrying theatrical properties with them, to entertain people. After having gained popularity in the southern part of Thailand, they were led to Ayuthaya where they obtained richer costumes from the King. The Châtrî performance was then started in the central region (Ayuthaya) and, as it was the delight of all people, their histrionic art was preserved to later generations.

The above account suggests that Lakhôn Châtrî had a function as an entertainment without religious purpose. But, this type of drama, even though it is performed less frequently to-day, has a magico-religious function. It is performed in honour of Brahministic deities, with mention also of Buddhist religious concepts, as a thank-offering or propitiation. In former times such motives may have been relatively more dominant. The players themselves felt the need to safeguard themselves against adverse magical influences by wearing amulets and reciting incantations. In central Thailand, the Châtrî style has developed until it differs from Nôrâ in the southern region, yet the magico-religious function still operates.

The dance-drama which De la Loubère described in Du royaume de Siam is known by another name as 'Lakhôn Nōk', signifying the dance-drama performed outside the royal palace by outsiders. It stands in some relation to Lakhôn Châtri as regards the purpose of representation and the players. The Lakhôn Nōk repertory consists of a variety of tales such as Kā rakēt, Khāwī, Chaityathat, Phikunthōng, Phimsawan, Phinsuriwong, Nāng Manōrā, Mōngpā, Manīphichai, Sangthōng, Sangsinchhai, Suwannahong, Suwannasin and Sōwat. The earliest date of these texts is ascribed to the Ayuthaya period. Nāng Manōrā appears to be the earliest example. It contains irregular metre with tautological and uncultivated expressions, and unfixed orthography, which indicate the possibility of extempore performance during its early existence as an entertainment for the commoners. The poem was presumably copied down by some spectators who also wanted to enjoy it by reading, or by descendants of the Lakhôn performers who found it more appropriate to play by using the text.

(1) The extant versions of these texts are in the form of manuscripts, being kept in the custody of Vajirañān National Library, Bangkok. None of them are complete. However, Nāng Manōrā and Sangthōng were published so as to exemplify the characteristic of Lakhôn texts composed in the Ayuthaya period.

(2) H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, op. cit., p. 103.
Prince Damrong Rajanubhab expressed his idea that the term 'Lakhôn Nök' was used after the court drama had come into existence as a contrast. The court drama was formerly called 'Lakhôn Nāng Nai', signifying a theatrical performance of the court ladies, otherwise 'Lakhôn Khāng Nai' — a theatrical performance made in the interior, restricted part of the royal court, and hence 'Lakhôn Nai', owing to syllabic attrition in later periods.

The dancing, songs and music of Lakhôn Nök are of quick movements if compared with Lakhôn Nai. The comic character plays an important part, because it is he who provokes the hilarity of the audience. The stories presented in Lakhôn Nök are adapted from legends, Buddhist Jatakas and local tales, except the Rāmakien, Unarut, Dālang and Inao which are confined to Lakhôn Nai. The latter is a display of grace and beauty in every respect, i.e. the verses, melodies, moving gestures and costumes. In former times, one could find another main difference between Lakhôn Nök and Lakhôn Nai: the restriction of employing entirely men in the former and entirely women in the latter.

The earliest date of Lakhôn Nai is still unknown, but it is certain that such performance existed in the reign of Somdet Phra Čhaio Bōromakōt and once took place.

outside the royal court as an entertainment in connection with a religious celebration at Saraburi, according to Bunnōwāt Khamchan:

They dance, performing Lakhôn Nai for the King's pleasure.
The stage is near the hill, hidden from prying eyes.
All are pretty young girls, chosen with special care.
A single glance — one dreams of them forever.

The passage quoted is the earliest source referring to the existence of Lakhôn Nai. We have no other evidence to clarify whether it was initiated in that reign or if it had been known before. The reign of Somdet Phra Chao Bōromaköt was long and peaceful. Ayuthaya was in friendly relationship with neighbouring countries. So it would be reasonable that the court ladies would have had the opportunity to produce an elaborate specialized form of drama like Lakhôn Nai to entertain the King. There is no evidence that this specialized form of high-class drama existed as early as the reign of Somdet Phra Nārāi, even if it had come into existence in a reign prior to that of Somdet Phra Chao Bōromaköt. De la Loubère mentioned only Lakhôn performed by men, and another style of dancing without

(1) Phra Mahā Nāk, op. cit., p. 27.
The Rabam is a double dance of men and women which is not martial, but gallant; and they presented unto us the diversion thereof with the others, which I have therefore mentioned. These dancers, both men and women, have all false nails, and very long ones, of copper. They sing some words in their dancing, and they can perform it without much tiring themselves, because their way of dancing is a simple march round, very slow, and without any high motion; but with a great many slow contortions of the body and arms, so they hold not one another. Meanwhile two men entertain the spectators with several fooleries, which one utters in the name of all the men-dancers, and the other in the name of all women-dancers. . ." (2)

The term 'rabam' is of Khmer origin and referred in the Khmer context to temple dances of a ritual character. This term is attested from the sixth to the seventh century under the verbal form 'ram' or 'ramam', parallel with another derived substantive 'rpam' or 'rapam' in the sixth and the seventh century only.

Lakhôn Nai appears to contain elements of Rabam, Lakhôn Nûk and Khôn (the masked-play). The technique of

(1) If the tradition was followed, they would have been women-dancers dressed up in men's costumes.
(2) A.P. Gen. R.S.S., op. cit., p. 49.
representation, beautiful dancing by women to the accompaniment of music and songs sung by a group of singers, is comparable to Rabam; the long performance in continuation also called Lakhôn, seems to follow Lakhôn Nok; and the stories of Unarut and Râmakien which were presented in the early period are probably adapted from those in Khôn. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab expressed his opinion as follows:

"The origin of Lakhôn Nai may be traced back to one of the Kings of Ayuthaya who wanted the court dancers to present Rabam in connection with Brahministic stories, for instance to dress themselves as heavenly beings and dance in the story of Rāmasūn. They might have performed this type of Rabam at some court ceremonies, the same as Len Kān Du 'kdamban. Perhaps it is the story of Rāmasūn that became the inspiration for Lakhôn Nai, since it has been represented in a prelude dance to Lakhôn Nai until the Ratanakosin period. It is probable that once Rabam developed into a long story, it became a custom to make this performance at royal ceremonies within the court, like the court masked-play which used to be performed at royal ceremonies outside. Later on, when they got the idea of having Rabam based on other stories, they selected some episodes from the masked-play which suited the dancing, for instance the story of Unarut in Krisnāwatān, and adapted those extracts with the Lakhôn technique and trained the court dancers. Such performance would be satisfactory and the court drama existed thenceforth!" (1)

Lakhôn Nai seems to have flourished only in the reign of Somdet Phra Čhao Bāromakōt and fell out of fashion thereafter. When Somdet Phra Čhao Ekathat (1758-67) wanted to watch Lakhôn, they had to send for men-performers from

The Ayuthaya period ended with a great loss of Thai culture and fine arts by the Burmese sack in 1767, but that resulted in the spreading of Lakhôn Nai. Among the captives taken to Ava, there were many Lakhôn Nai teachers. There they formed a Lakhôn troupe and restarted the fascinating performances which pleased the King of Ava so much. They were offered the same duty as before the fall of Ayuthaya — to be a royal Lakhôn and make the performances in connection with state ceremonies only. They were also offered residences in the capital of Burma even when the latter was shifted to Mandalay. Phra Aranraksā, the Head of Royal Forest Department in Prince Damrong Rajanubhab's time, who was a citizen of Mandalay, related that there was a Yodaya village in Mandalay provided for the Thai Lakhôn troupe.

The art of Thai drama had a great influence over Burmese drama after 1767. Members of the Thai nobility became teachers of drama at the Burmese court and the Thai technique of representation was adopted for the Burmese

---

(2) The term 'Yodaya' represents Ayuthaya or the Thai kingdom in those days.
(3) H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Thiao Mu'ang Phamā, Bangkok, 1948, p. 16.
stage. Maung Htin Aung described Thai Lakhôn in Burma at that period as a faithful reproduction of the Thai model:

"... The play was presented with Siamese (which were very similar to the Cambodian) dresses and costumes. ... The introduction of Burmese elements into the play through the professional actors was prevented by the tradition of rigid faithfulness to the Siamese model. The Siamese courtier-captives of course discouraged any interference with the form of their entertainment, which they took to be a perfect art; probably they thought the Burmese, as far as dramatic representation was concerned, to be barbarians. Moreover, many of the Burmese scholars themselves were against any substantial changes in the presentation of the play at their court. They were for borrowings from, and imitations of, the Siamese play, but they held that the model must be kept unchanged and intact... However, changes were introduced in the actual words of the songs and speeches... The gesture, rather than actual acting and facial expression, was of great importance in the Siamese play, and that the Burmese court rigidly followed." (1)

The most important stories presented by Thai Lakhôn in Burma were Rama and Eenaung. The latter was of greater length and also distinguished in its refined language, dialogue and characterization. There were some performances of Lakhôn Nök as well, probably introduced by the Thai captives who were commoners.

After long periods of living there, from generation

---

(1) Maung Htin Aung, Burmese Drama, London, 1937, p. 44.
(2) The Râmâyana and Inao.
(3) Maung Htin Aung, op. cit., p. 47.
to generation, and mixing with the Burmese, Thai dramatic art gradually fell under Burmese influence. There is a dramatic dance commonly used in Burmese performances of the Rama epic known as Yodaya dance which indicates the Thai origin, but it contains almost entirely Burmese characteristics when performed nowadays. The Thai model remains only in the beginning of the basic postures, i.e., the salutation of the celestials, the preliminary movement and the four-faced Brahma. Besides, it can be found in the names of some yodaya songs which are clearly derived from Thai:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yodaya</th>
<th>Thai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khamein</td>
<td>Khamēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngu Ngit</td>
<td>Yu Ngit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahothi</td>
<td>Mahōrī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Htanauk</td>
<td>Tanāo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farantin</td>
<td>Farang Ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khetmung</td>
<td>Khaek Mōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parim</td>
<td>Palim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lakhōn Nai did not only spread to Burma but also to the southern region of Thailand after the Ayuthaya period. Nakhōn Sithamarāt became the refuge of some court actresses who fled from the calamity in Ayuthaya. The training for Lakhōn Nai was revived under the Governor's patronage until 1769, in the Thonburi period, when Somdet Phra Chao Krung Thonburi (King Tāk Sin) gained a victory

over Nakho'n Sithamarat. The court actresses and the female Lakhon troupe were taken up to Thonburi. There Lakhon Nai was restarted and confined to the royal court in order to preserve the old custom. However, the Governor of Nakho'n Sithamarat, being regarded with much favour and also honoured as the king of a vassal state, obtained the privilege of having a Lakhon Nai troupe of his own. His actresses were called to Thonburi at times to play in competition with the royal Lakhon troupe. During that period, Lakhon Nok which had been popularly played by the commoners still existed in some other provinces far from the Burmese attack. In 1779, when there was a reception of the Emerald Buddha Image, individual Lakhon troupes played in competition. The royal pavilion was in the middle, the female Lakhon on one side and the male Lakhon on the other.

Somdet Phra Chao Krung Thonburi (1767-82) took much interest in dance-drama. Only a short time after the victory over Nakho'n Sithamarat, he revised a few episodes of the Ramakien to be used as royal texts for the court performance. The poem was written down in four samut thai:

Samut thai 1 — Phra Mongkut and Phra Lop try

(2) Thai books used in former days. For the nature of samut thai, see Chapter II.
the arrows; Phra Phrot captures Phra Mongkut; and Phra Lop rescues Phra Mongkut.

Samut thai 2 — Hanumān courts Nāng Wānarin; Thāo Māliwarat comes to assume the duty of a judge.

Samut thai 3 — Thāo Māliwarat judges the case; Thotsakan returns to Longkā.

Samut thai 4 — Thotsakan performs a ceremony to acquire magic; Phra Lak is hit by the Kabilaphat spear; Hanumān ties Monthō's hair with Thotsakan's.

Tradition had said that Inao was also presented on the stage. As there is no written record of the revision of Inao in this reign, it is probable that they followed the Ayuthaya text through the memory of some actresses.

The restoration of Lakhōn went on more effectively at the beginning of the Ratanakosin period. Phra Bāt Somdet Phra Phuttha Yōt Pa Ėhulā Lōk (King Rama I, 1782-1809)

(1) See: Somdet Phra Ėhao Krung Thonburi, Rāmakien, Bangkok, 1941.
(2) An episode known as 'A Request for the Oracle by the Candlelight' was played in the royal court. On the stage, Busbā, the heroine, was urged by the second queen of Dāhā to ask the Holy Image about her true partner. Busbā was shy and did not want to utter any word, but finally had to comply with the second queen's wish. Somdet Phra Ėhao Krung Thonburi who had been watching the performance was annoyed all of a sudden, saying that the second queen was a busybody. The actress who acted as the second queen was then taken out to be punished by the royal command. This incident happened not long before the end of the Thonburi period. See: Dhanit Yupho, Silapin Haeng Lakhōn Thai, Bangkok, 1954, pp. 21-23.
permitted the princes who were the Heads of various Departments to have Lakhôn Nai troupes of their own on condition that each troupe should consist of men only, thus preserving the old custom that the female Lakhôn Nai should be confined to the Grand Palace. Tradition says that a training of small girls for Lakhôn Nai in the Front Palace had to be given up. However, it was the first time that Lakhôn Nai could be considered as a general term for a certain type of stage performance which did not need to be a female Lakhôn but had to maintain the high standard of theatrical art and beauty. The King and his court poets revised all the four Lakhôn Nai texts. The Râmakien was rewritten in 106 samut thai, Unarut in 18 samut thai, Dâlang in 32 samut thai and Inao in 38 samut thai.

The Râmakien and Inao seemed to gain larger popularity than the other two, judging from the epithets of the renowned actresses in that period which referred to the characters they represented. Complete versions of the Râmakien and Unarut have been preserved down to the present day, but only seven samut thai of Inao remain in existence.

(1) H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Tamnân Ru'ang Lakhôn Inao, p. 16.
(2) Ibid., p. 108.
(3) Ibid., p. 105.
(4) Dhanit Yupho, op. cit., pp. 52-65.
The content of Inao (King Rama I's version) can be combined into six episodes as follows:

Episode 1 — The history of the Divine Race; Inao's first visit to Manyā.

Episode 2 — Inao's visit to Čhintarā's apartment; his decision not to marry Busbā.

Episode 3 — Wiyāsakam on a hunt in the forest; a letter from King Kurēpan to King Manyā.

Episode 4 — The Kamangkuning war.

Episode 5 — Inao's visit to Malakā; Unākan's visit to Mt. Patōhā-ngan.

Episode 6 — The abduction of Yāran to Ma-ngādā; his return to Kālang.

Only a single version of Dālang, with an incomplete story, exists at present. The story develops as far as the reunion in Kālang. The authorship is not mentioned, yet there is a credible possibility that it was composed in the reign of King Rama I because the language used is comparable to the Rāmakien of that period.

The purpose of writing these palace texts was mainly to present the stories in full detail. However, the Lakhôn experts discovered later that some parts could not be acted on the stage because they were too long and some expressions did not suit the dancing postures. Such defects might be the source of inspiration to the revisions of the
Rāmakien and Inao in the succeeding reign.

Phra Bāt Somdet Phra Phuttha Loet Lā Naphālai (King Rama II, 1809-24) was a Lakhōn lover who brought the court performance to high distinction. He produced various Lakhōn texts which revealed his talent as one of the best poets. When he was the Second King in his father's reign, he adapted an episode of Unarut for his Lakhōn Nai troupe which consisted of small girls. Such activity did not last long for fear of transgressing the royal custom. When he ascended the throne, he was first interested in promoting the playing of Inao which, in olden days, had been under the management of the princes and princesses of senior rank. The whole story of Inao was revised and written in 45 samut thai approximately. It is this version that gained great popularity, being chosen by the Royal Society of Arts and Literature of Thailand in 1916 as the most excellent of all Lakhōn texts.

King Rama II realised later on that the story of Rama, which portrays an incarnation of Vishnu, had been considered as an important traditional performance in which some religious undertones were perhaps preserved by the former kings. Though he was not much interested, he thought it ought to be played to safeguard the honour and glory of the royal Lakhōn. So, to continue the tradition, he adapted the Rāmakien as another Lakhōn Nai text for the
Grand Palace. This version was written in 33 samut thai, but did not cover the whole story. It consists of two unconnected parts suitable for the stage. On the basis of methods of adaptation which were followed by the poets in later periods, the reign of King Rama II may be called a transition from the old style of Ayuthaya to the new style of Ratanakosin. The old style of composing and presenting on the stage each story entirely from the beginning right down to the end went out of fashion, because some episodes might not suit the theatrical art. The performers might not find them convenient as they had to depend on the style and sequence of the text. Besides, it may have been easier to compose dramatic versions of suitable incidents rather than to draw on sections of a long text and perform them verbatim. This, in any case, appears to have been the way in which the Lakhôn texts developed in the Ratanakosin period.

Since Lakhôn Nôk became more and more popular outside the Grand Palace, King Rama II had the idea of having it as another royal entertainment and probably to compete with that of the commoners. He initiated the royal Lakhôn Nôk, employing the court actresses who were trained in that jocular style. It was the first time that Lakhôn Nôk was performed by the court ladies side by side with Lakhôn Nai in the royal quarter. Suitable sections of six
stories were chosen and written for the performance of the royal Lakhôn Nôk. Those texts were: Chaiyachêt, in 4 samut thai; Sangthông, in 7 samut thai; Kraithông, in 2 samut thai; Khāwī, in 4 samut thai; Maniphichai, in 1 samut thai; and Sangsinchâi, in 2 samut thai.

All the palace texts for Lakhôn Nai and Lakhôn Nôk were composed with great care so as to be perfect for the stage. A version once produced by the collaboration of the King and his court poets was taken into a council for approval. Then it was sent to be modified by the Lakhôn experts till they found it satisfactory. Moreover, the court actresses were trained and the performance took place in the presence of the King for his final agreement.

Consequently, the royal Lakhôn in the reign of King Rama II turned out to be excellent in all respects. The standard of the costumes and other properties, the texts, the technique of representation and music were of such good quality that there has been nothing since to compare with them. However, that perfect pattern was restricted to the

(2) Damrong Rajanubhab, H.R.H. Prince, Tamnān Ru'ang Lakhôn Inao, pp. 144-5.
Grand Palace. The other members of royalty did not dare imitate the King's production. The old custom was still preserved: the female Lakhôn belonged to the King only, and on special occasions they made performances before the public.

Phra Bát Somdet Phra Nang Klao Čhao Yu Hua (King Rama III, 1824-50) also had dramatic talent and used to join his father in composing the Lakhôn texts. He was responsible for training players of the male masked-play in his palace during his father's lifetime, yet his increasing trend to strict religious views led him to consider that theatrical performances were unworthy. Therefore, when he ascended the throne, both the male-masked-play and Lakhôn of the Khâng Nai type were discouraged by him and given up. They were not recommenced in his reign.

There are some references to such an incident in the Decrees of King Mongkut which indicate that King Rama III did not exactly prohibit the Lakhôn training by other patrons outside the Grand Palace, but only showed his disapproval of the royal families who carried on such activity:

(1) In this case they did not employ women of high rank. If the performers were not sufficient in numbers, the royal concubines were then employed to fill the cast. See: The Decrees of King Mongkut, No. 64, Bangkok, 1922.
"... The King was not interested in Lakhon and reproached those who produced it, yet there were quite a number of secret performances..." (1)

"... There was no royal Lakhon Khang Nai. Or if there was any at all, it was merely performed in secret by the royal concubines. The King, in fact, found out about it and was displeased. Consequently, they had to stop it. Then Malay female Lakhon was started up. The hero was a man; the heroine was sometimes a girl. When a company wanted to train girls for Lakhon, they did so for the Malay type. Later on, the officials of various ranks secretly trained female Lakhon in various stories on quite a large scale, but these all took place in their home. They never came to the stage or acquired sponsors openly, because it would cause the situation to be talked about in the public. It was simply a secret activity among friends who knew each other very well, the whole matter being kept from the King's knowledge." (2)

The princes and officials of senior rank had been fascinated by the royal Lakhon of the previous reign. Therefore, despite the fear of transgressing King Rama III's view, they started up female Lakhon of their own, having two experts, who had trained the royal Lakhon of King Rama II, (3) as the teachers. Since there was no theatrical training in the Grand Palace, such imitation would not be considered as an emulation. They followed that perfect pattern, and the texts they used were mainly King Rama II's versions among which Inao retained its popularity. Excerpts from

(1) Decree No. 58, promulgated in 1855. 
(2) Decree No. 64, promulgated in 1861. 
(3) H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Tannan Ru'ang Lakhon Inao, p. 126.
Inao were also sung by the female Mahōri singers to the accompaniment of music. A reference to this adaptation was made in a sarcastic poem on the inappropriate behaviour of a senior official in that period:

After having audience with the King, Chaokhun wanted a singing
Of 'Inao going to the cave',
And cheerfully did his concubines sing.

The story of Inao was a favourite theme of Sakrawā as well. In 1831, during the celebration at Wat Rācha Œrot after renovation, an episode of 'Thanksgiving Ceremony at Dāhā' was sung in the presence of King Rama III. Then, in the same year, at Wat Sa Kōt on the same occasion, the Sakrawā singers sang an episode of 'Nāng Ėhintarā'.

There were three companies of female Lakhōn. The first one was Lakhōn Wang Nā or Lakhōn of the Front Palace, under the management of the Second King – Krom Phra Rācha Wang Bōwn Mahā Sakdi Phonlasēp. He not only presented King Rama III's texts but also composed some more

(1) Mahōri has been a sort of entertainment for aristocrats since the Ayuthaya period. As female Lakhōn was restricted to the Grand Palace, the aristocrats had male Lakhōn and musicians, and employed girls in singing.

(2) This poem is anonymous but assumed to be written by Phra Mahā Montrī (Sap) against Ėhāmōn Rāchāmāt (Thōngpān).

(3) Men and women in separate groups sing alternately while boating.

for Lakhôn Nôk, i.e. the Râmakien - Hanumân volunteers and the quarrel between Nâng Benyakâi and Nâng Suwan Kanyumâ; Kâkî - the abduction of Nâng Kâkî by King of Garuda; Phra Lô - where Phra Lô is charmed; and Khun Châng Khun Phaen - The meeting between Nâng Lâothông and Nâng Wanthông, Khun Phaen enters Khun Châng's house, the ghost of Nâng Wanthông stops the army. The performance went on for eight years, then it was given up after the death of the Second King.

The second company of female Lakhôn had a senior official, Chao Phrayâ Bôdin Déchä, as the patron. Some actresses became the trainers for royal female Lakhôn of the Cambodian court.

The third company belonged to Chao Phrayâ Nakhôn Sithamarât (Nôi), a relative to the Second King from whom he obtained Lakhôn properties and several actresses of the Front Palace. These actresses became Lakhôn teachers in the southern region in later periods.

The other famous Lakhôn companies employed only men. Among those under the management of the princes, Lakhôn of Kromaluang Raksa Ronarêt played Inao and used the version

(2) Ibid., pp. 128-9.
(3) Ibid., p. 129.
of King Rama I, while the Lakhôn of Kromaluang Phûwanêt Narinthrarit followed the Lakhôn Nai style in dancing but played in the Lakhôn Nêk stories, the texts being composed by Kromaluang Phûwanêt himself. (1)

The commoners still preserved the old custom. They performed only Lakhôn Nêk, employed only men and were dependent on old texts. The most famous company was the Lakhôn of Chao Kfap. (2)

Lakhôn was not only an ordinary entertainment but also an activity significant for the Thai Kingdom. Lakhôn Nai, especially, was for the honour and glory of the Kings. There were performances for foreign missions who went to seek audience of the Kings. They formed part of royal celebrations and ceremonies, especially those of a religious nature, and thus were closely connected with the Sacred White Elephant, another symbol linking the monarch with religion. Indeed, some of the Thai people had thought that there was no Sacred White Elephant in the reign of King Rama III because there was no Lakhôn Nai. Nevertheless, towards the end of his life in 1850, after having carried on his policy and practices in the religious sphere as a

(2) Ibid., pp. 126, 130.
(3) See: The decree of King Mongkut No. 64.
devout Buddhist, King Rama III decreed that the gold in his possession, which would be left over after all merit-making, could be distributed for Lakhôn properties as well as for state affairs.

Phra Bát Somdet Phra Čhôm Klao Čhao Yû Hua (King Rama IV, 1850-74) had a liberal mind and agreed with the nobles and courtiers that Lakhôn Nai should be revived to preserve the royal tradition. In 1854, a ceremony for qualified actresses took place, and they started their performance in this year on the reception of a Sacred White Elephant. The King let the court ladies who, formerly, were actresses train the children whose parents had bestowed them for services in the Grand Palace as determined by their abilities and numbers. But, he forbade them to go out and select children whose parents had not agreed to offer them so as not to cause distress among such families. It used to happen in former days that some people, who did not want their daughters to be confined within the Grand Palace, hastened to marry their daughters off so that they could be claimed as being the property of a husband. Some parents hid their daughters or even fled with them for fear of the investigators. Some people caused their daughters to use

(1) Prachum Phongsäwadân, Pt. 25, Bangkok, 1929, p. 3.
eye-drops to damage the eyes, or caused wounds and used preparations to make them worse so that they would not heal until they became cancerous. Some advised their daughters (1) to appear crippled or infirm. In the reign of King Rama IV, there was not a single woman in the royal Lakhōn troupe who was taken by force. The princes and officials of various ranks were also permitted to train female Lakhōn openly to create joy and honour for the Thai Kingdom. They played together on some occasions, thus forming a big company. Sometimes only the leading characters from one troupe were sent to join those in another troupe. This was a further step in the development of Lakhōn.

However, the royal permission for training female Lakhōn outside the Grand Palace was given with certain restrictions. One can deduce from the details of these restrictions that there were important features of the symbols of royalty and nobility which were desired to be preserved for the royal household only. Non-royal dancers were not allowed to use any spired decorations for the hair top-knot, ornaments encrusted with enamel, golden trays, and boxes used (2) to show ranks. The use of a stage property representing the

(1) See: The decree of King Mongkut No. 64.
(2) See: The decree of King Mongkut No. 58.
White Elephant's head was also forbidden except when showing Êrāwan.

While Lakhôn was flourishing in the reign of King Rama IV, some individual companies turned their performances to pecuniary advantage. Many of them were sponsored by the casino-managers who wanted to draw people's attention. The profit which professional Lakhôn players gained became beneficial to the state after the promulgation of another decree on Lakhôn taxation in 1859.

As it was more convenient to collect and train girls in histrionic art, and their performance also pleased the audience, the male Lakhôn was discouraged. Even Lakhôn Châtri employed both men and women. The royal Lakhôn Châtri which existed in the Grand Palace for the first time, however, consisted of women; they were the former Lakhôn Nai actresses from Nakhôn Sithamarat. Lakhôn texts increased in great number. They were adapted from episodes of Brahministic and historical tales among which the best known was the Râmâkien. Some narrative poems of Sunthôn Phû were also adapted for female Lakhôn, and some episodes of Khun Châng Khun Phaen for mixed companies.

(1) The decree of King Mongkut, No. 42.
(3) Ibid., p. 146.
The royal permission for all people in training female Lakhôn caused Lakhôn Nok and Lakhôn Nai to acquire some characteristics in common. The players could be either men, women, or both. The place of performance could be outside or inside the royal court. Only the original purpose of each type was preserved: Lakhôn Nok was meant for amusement while Lakhôn Nai was acted for beauty.

The number of new Lakhôn texts in the reign of Phra Bát Somdet Phra Čhula Čhôm Klao Čhao Yû Hua (King Rama V, 1878-1910) grew much larger than in the preceding period. Most of them were taken from well-known stories such as Phra Samut, Nâräî Sip Pâng, Phra Aphaimanî, Phra Lô, Kraithông, Khun Châng Khun Phaen and Râchâthirât. The Chinese chronicles and narrative poems were also adapted into the form of Lakhôn texts, though some of them were not really aimed to be used for the stage.

In accompaniment to the performance of Inao, another literary piece entitled 'Dialogues for the Dance-Drama of Inao' was used in the reign of King Rama V. It was a work of collaboration by the King and his brothers. They used it for the first time in the performance connected with the celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of Bangkok in 1882.

(1) For instance: Ngo Pâ by King Rama V.
The royal female Lakhôn, consisting of former actresses of King Rama II and King Rama III's reigns, had the chance to present Sangthông in 1870 and Inao in 1872, both connected with the celebration of the Sacred White Elephant. The third and last performance of Inao by this Lakhôn troupe took place in 1897 in honour of King Rama V on his return from Europe.

The theatrical stage, the technique of representation and the dramatic texts met with further development during the last decade of the reign of King Rama V. Prior to that period, there was no scenery for Lakhôn because they thought that it would mar the attractiveness of the performers who danced in gorgeous costumes. Whatever the place of action was — in heaven, in a royal palace, in a forest, on a sea, etc. — the audience had to imagine it themselves. The Lakhôn dancers moved about in front of a large screened which was hung across the stage as the permanent background, leaving a space on the right and left for the entrance and exit. Close to the screen there was a raised seat, the only stage furniture. A band of singers sang with musical accompaniment for the performers who spoke from time to time in the dialogue. Another evidence

of the characteristics of the Ayutthaya court performance, revived after 1767 in the Burmese court, is found in Burmese Drama by Maung Htin Aung:

"The actors and actresses wore gorgeous dress. Though the majority of the performers were professionals, many lords and ladies probably took part often, for at the Burmese court exiled members of the Siamese nobility took part in the earlier presentations of the play, but it may be that they had to do so as teachers of the new art of court dramatic performance. Music and songs were essentially connected with the play, and all the characters danced. There was no scenery, and change of scene was denoted (apart from references in the dialogue) either by the characters leaving the stage, or when some of the characters were supposed to be going on a journey, the actual journey was bridged over by the orchestra playing while the characters walked up and down the stage — a dramatic practice which was taken from the Siamese and used on the Burmese stage. The language was the language of the court, artificial, but not so removed from reality as to prevent it from being understood by the lowest classes. The play was mostly in verse. The prose was poetic and elegant except in comic scenes."(1)

The relationship between Thailand and European countries brought two modern types of Lakhôn into existence: Lakhôn Du'kdamban and Lakhôn Phanthâng. They were the adaptations of the developed concert band in Bangkok, the European Opera and the Lakhôn technique together. Scenery was provided, action was divided into parts, and the scenes

(1) Maung Htin Aung, op. cit., pp. 41-42.
(2) Prachum Bôt Lakhôn Du'kdamban Chabap Bôribûn, Bangkok, 1943.
were changed in accordance with the incidents. The dancers themselves sang at times. Local dances and games were also woven into the story.

Lakhôn Du'kdamban may be considered as a type developed from Lakhôn Nai, because it displays beautiful dancing and songs. It was produced by Prince Narisaranuwattiwong and Chao Phraya Thêwêt Wong Wiwat in 1899. Prince Narisaranuwattiwong wrote many texts for Lakhôn Du'kdamban:

1. Sangthông, in 6 scenes, 3 parts: from Rotçhanâ choosing a husband, to the retransformation of Chao Ngô (Sangthông) into his real identity.

2. Khäwl, in 7 scenes, 3 parts: from That-prasat burning Khäwl's sword, to the jealousy of Queen Khandhamälî.

3. Inao, 5 scenes, 3 parts: from Inao cutting a flower and casting a reflexion from his kris, to King Dâhâ making offerings to the tutelary deity at Mt. Wilismârâ.


The first episode consists of 6 scenes, 3 parts: from the six princes murdering Sangsinchâi, to the sight of an oracle.

The second episode also consists of 6

(1) Ibid.
scenes, 3 parts: from the return of the long lost members of royalty, the reception, to the revival of Sangsinchai.

5. Krung Phăn Chom Thawip, in 4 scenes, 2 parts: from the invasion of Krung Phăn in heaven, to the incarnation of Vishnu.

6. Rămakien, in 2 scenes, following the incidents in the Rămăyana, about the jealousy of Surpanakha.

7. Unarut, in 1 scene: from King Bṛromacchak-krit giving assistance to Unarut, the latter slaying Krung Phăn, to a celestial dance. The style is similar to that of the masked-play.

8. Maniphichai, in 1 scene, following the text composed by King Rama II: Maniphichai and Nâng Yợ Phra Klin, disguised as a Brahmin, in the forest.

It is evident that these texts derive from those of Lakhôn Nai and Lakhôn Nôk. They were only adjusted to suit the modern style of performance, e.g. speed-up with speaking in verse. The other well-known texts for Lakhôn Du'kdamban were written in the reign of King Rama VI: Sông-Kôn Wřrawik, Čhantha Kinnari and Phra Yotsakêt. All of them were based on Brahministic tales.

Lakhôn Phanthâng is a combination of Lakhôn Nŏk and Lakhôn Du'kdamban. It displays humour and quick dancing movement, and scenery is provided. The best known text is Kraithông, composed by Prince Narathip Praphanphong in the reign of King Rama V.

The classical drama lost its popularity when new types of entertainments under Western influence were brought into Thailand during the twentieth century. After the second world war, a school of dance-training was established in Bangkok to preserve the high ancient standards of national theatrical art. The school has developed and become a university called Silpakorn. The students are trained in the arts of dancing and acting on the stage. Their annual performance takes place at the National Theatre, with a good deal of scenic display, and the texts used are modified from those written in former times.
CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE TEXTS

The original manuscripts of Dālang and Inao composed in the Ratanakosin period have not been preserved. Only a few later copies survive and even these exist in a defective condition — some pages being defaced by time or partly eaten by insects, or some books missing from the sets. Many scribal variants are also found among the same versions due to different copyists who worked at different periods.

Prior to the introduction of printing in Thailand, literary works were written down in 'samut khūj' or 'samut thai' — long strips of thick paper made from the bark of the khūj plant (Streblus asper), blackened with charcoal paste and folded forward and backward in concertina fashion. The standard size of such a book is 37 cm. by 13 cm. approximately and it contains about 24 folds. There are about 8 lines in each opening, with an average of 20 words to each line. The writing was done with white steatite pencil, otherwise with gamboge or yellow orpiment.

In comparing the manuscripts of Lakhōn texts, it is convenient to refer to an opening of the samut thai. This comprises 2 folios (an upper and a lower) as the leaves of the book are turned. The text normally contains a title
folio and it is written in continuous lines from left to right, and the primary division is in terms of a 'wak' which is the smallest metrical unit. However, signs are used to mark larger units, particularly the canto. The number of 'khamklôn' (= 2 wak) in each canto is normally stated. Both sides of the folding book are used and there are normally two title folios: one being the lower folio of the last opening of the first side and the other being the upper folio of the first opening of the second side. At the end of the book a final folio normally indicates that it is the last volume of the tale or that the tale is continued in other volumes. In this thesis, reference is made occasionally to openings and folios but normally to chapters, cantos, khamklôn (lines) and wak (half-lines).

The publication of Lakhôn texts started during the second half of the nineteenth century. The earliest edition of Dālang known as Nāi Thēp's edition is dated 1890, having the same content as the manuscript comprising 32 samut thai available in the Vajirān National Library together with another manuscript comprising 39 samut thai. The latest edition was accomplished in 1956 in connection with the royal cremation of Somdet Phra Phan Wassā Aiyikā Chao. It is a revision of Nāi Thēp's edition which now exists in a damaged state and the manuscript comprising 39 samut thai which has been already mentioned. As the
orthographic forms in the earlier writing, especially those of Indic loans, are unfixed, this edition follows the standard spelling in the Royal Institute Dictionary. The content of the text, however, is the same as that of Nāi Thēp.

When the manuscripts are examined side by side with the printed text, apart from orthographical variants, lexical variants are normally found to be minor ones though some of them may involve the structural rhyme.

There are some fragments of the manuscripts of Dālang existing in the Vajirañān National Library. For example, one copy of the first samut thai which primarily belonged to a prince of senior rank — Somdet Phra Rācha Pitulā — had been in the possession of the Library since 1931. It contains 62 cantos in which, if being considered comparatively to the 1956 edition, minor lexical variants not involving the structural rhyme occur in 47 places. Differences in the structural rhyme occur in 5 places only, and we find the rhyme match again after a short interval which, in this text, is not more than 1 khamklōn.

Dālang was a favourite theme of the theatre

---

(1) See: Appendix I.
(2) See: Appendix II.
under the management of Chao Phraya Mahinthra Sakdi Thamrong which was one of the best known theatres in the reign of King Rama V (1868-1910). Another copy of the first samut thai written for that Lakhôn company was offered to the Vajirañan National Library in 1917 by a princess — Phra-ong Chao Chutharat Racha Kumari. The manuscript reveals itself as a work adapted from the Dâlang version of King Rama I. The first canto of each is illustrated here to exemplify the differences.

The Dâlang of King Rama I:

mu'a nan
(At that time)

phra-ong song phiphop ru'ang si
(The glorious ruler of the world)

hen song ṭhān kō yindī
(is pleased to see both sons)

phûmî ning nu'k tru'ktrai
(He thinks over and over again)

thang song ċhamroen wai darun run
(They have grown up to adolescence)

song sunthôn chôm phitsamai
(With charming appearance)

(1) This Lakhôn company had started their performances during the reign of King Rama IV, but their theatre was established in the reign of King Rama V. They performed both Lakhôn Nai and Lakhôn Nok. See: Damrong Rajanubhab, H.R.H. Prince, Tamnân Ru'ang Lakhôn Inao, pp. 163-4.
khuan mī khū sūsom phirom čhai
(They should enjoy a married life)

thāo thai chom sōng phra lūk rak
(The King admires his two beloved sons)

phra čhu'ng sāng pramaisūrī
(Then he orders Pramaisūrī)

čhong čhät isātī thī mī sak
(Select two girls of noble birth)

thī choet čhōm chalao yaowalak
(Who are young and beautiful)

mā hai lūk rak rao sōng rā
(For our two beloved sons)

The version of Čhao Phrayā Mahinthra Sakdi

Thamrong:

mu'a nan
(At that time)

thāo thēwānurāt ru'ang sī
(The glorious King of the Divine Race)

sathit nu'a thaen rat rūčhī
(Sits on the shining gemmed divan)

phrōm phra maheśī sōphā
(With all his beautiful queens)

song ramphu'ng thu'ng sōng phra ōrot
(He thinks about his two sons)

luan mō mot raek run chanasā
(Both have reached adolescence)

yang rai khū sūsom phiromyā
(But still remain single)

(1) Rama I, King, Dālang, p. 11.
kwä čha sēk busbā yang nān nak
(The marriage with Busbā is still far off)

čham čha čhat satrī mī sakun
(I should choose girls of noble birth)

thī rāek run nā chom som sak
(Who are young and whose beauty suits their high estate)

hai khang khū sūsom phirom rak
(To stay with them as consorts)

yang tāmnak tū'k farang wāng nāi
(In the Inner Palace built in European style)

There is another manuscript of Dālang, copied by Khun Rācha Sāt, a royal secretary. Though it is based on the same story as the other copies, it is a later synthetic version adapted from the Dālang of King Rama I, the Inao of King Rama I and the Inao of King Rama II, and will not be considered in detail.

The Inao of King Rama I is preserved only as a number of fragments. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab explained that this version was once composed of 38 samut thāi with an epilogue saying that it was a royal work derived from an earlier unfinished version; the material after the nun

(1) Opening 1.
episode has been added to complete the story. It happens
that this version got scattered and nearly all of the
samut thai were lost. Only 7 samut thai representing dis-
connected parts of the story remained in 1917. These
fragmentary copies were published in that year by the
Vajirānān National Library as the first edition of the
Inao of King Rama I.

A copy of the first samut thai of the Inao of
King Rama I was purchased from Nakhon Sithamarat in 1907
for the Vajirānān National Library. It contains 80 openings,
with the incidents from the beginning to Inao falling in
love with Čhintarā. The orthographic forms are very old,
with rare use of the tone-marks, possibly dating from
the early Ratanakosin period or even earlier. The same
impression is to be gained from the script style.

An example from canto 1, khamklōn 23-26:

อันระคูภูภึ่งชิงชือเวียงกู่ กี่ไก่หัดควบคุมภูที่
สัญญาณทองโคม่า  khángจานหูบุกบ่มภายใต้
ไม้ทานเหลี่ยมอร่าดี รักทั้งต้องงั่งหัวกู้ เมืองลืมในกลางอาจถว

(1) For the content of this version, see Chapter I,
p. 19.
When the verse is examined thoroughly, the structural rhymes in some passages are found to be imperfect.

Example 1: canto i, khamklōn 14.

'\textit{an}' linked with 'iam':
\begin{align*}
\text{khāo khiao khaeng khae phling phan} & \quad \text{khomkhām loet lōk lakkhana} \\
\end{align*}

Example 2: canto i, khamklōn 21.

'\textit{ēt}' linked with 'ēp':
\begin{align*}
\text{phra dēchā nan kračhāi chōn dēt} & \quad \text{phra isa-ōng phong thēp ruāng si} \\
\end{align*}

Example 3: canto ii; khamklōn 20, wak 2 – khamklōn 22, wak 2.

'\textit{iāng}' linked with 'ian' and 'iam':
\begin{align*}
atklap mōrā rāi riang & \\
mān thōng krōng duang maengthap phrài & \quad \text{pen narāi song suban sām sian} \\
\text{chōngkōn phūklin rāi riang} & \\
sattānī pū iam ralān tā \\
\end{align*}

Example 4: canto ii, khamklōn 38.

'\textit{ān}' linked with 'ām':
\begin{align*}
\text{koey song sumonthā phisēk chān} & \\
rōng ālak riang tām pen lan mā \\
\end{align*}
Example 5: canto ii, khamklön 51.

'on' linked with 'ong':

an phan phru'ksā phalāphon
thuk sing bančhong wai naknā

Example 6: canto ii, khamklön 59–60.

'āng' linked with 'ān' and 'uāng' linked
with 'uan':
luan laeo duai kaeo thang kao yāng
ōlān prasōet choet chuang
saen sanuk suk lam samrān ruan
wāyu huan hōm bu-ngā thang phraiwan

Example 7: canto iii, khamklön 5–6.

'ot' linked with 'op':
an krung singhatsārī nan
chū' kunung kutowan an prākot
dang ngoen yuang khāo phōng pen lak phop
prākot thang sī thānī

The printed text reveals some alterations of words to produce identity of sound where rhyming is needed in the structural pattern, and there is also normalization of the spelling of Indic loans and colloquial terms.
The following extracts from the printed text are given in comparison with those from the manuscript.

Example 1: canto i, khamklōn 14.
khāo khiao khaeng khae phring phan
khomsan loet lōk lakkhanā

Example 2: canto i, khamklōn 21.
phra dēchā nan khačhōn sayōn dēt
phra-ong wong thewēt ru'ang si

Example 3: canto ii; khamklōn 20, wak 2 - khamklōn 22, wak 2.
atōhaklap mōrā rāi wian
mān thōng krōng duang maengthap phraī
pen nārāi song suban nāk sām sian
chéongkon phūklin dū naepnian
suōhanī pū lian lalān tā

Example 4: canto ii, khamklōn 38.
koey song murathā phisēk čhān
rōng ālak riang khanān pen lan mā

Example 5: canto ii, khamklōn 51.
an phan phru'ksā phalāphon
lu'a lōn bančhong wai naknā
Example 6: canto ii, khamklôn 59-60.

luan laeo daei kaeo kao prakăn

ōlān prasoet choet chuàng

saen samrān rārū'n chū'n suang

hōm phuang bu-ngā thang phraiwan

Example 7: canto iii, khamklôn 5-6.

an krung singhatsārī nan

chū' kunung kutuwan khačhon čhop

dang ngoenyuàng khāo phông pen lak phop

prākot khrop thang sī thānī

In the Decree of King Mongkut No. 64, there is a passage saying: "The story of Inao was the Lakhôn of the princesses who were the King's daughters. It had been played since the old days. In the beginning of the reign of Phra Bāt Somdet Phra Phuttha Yot Pā Čhulā Lōk, the King decreed the training of Lakhôn Khāng Nai in the Rāmakien and Unarut as in the former time, and later the training in Inao and others." This suggests that Inao was revised after the Rāmakien and Unarut in the reign of King Rama I. But, if we examine these three texts comparatively to one another, we may ascribe Inao to an earlier date. In the description of the four god-created states, Phrathinang Song Pū'n and Phrathinang Čhakrawat are mentioned as
existing in the royal quarter. This points to the setting of the Ayuthaya palaces before the Burmese sack in 1767.

It may be possible that the Inao of King Rama I is partly copied from the Ayuthaya version through the memory of the court actresses who fled and took refuge in Nakhon Síthamarát. There are indications that the Nakhon Síthamarát text may have passed through a stage of oral transmission. These are:

a) The imperfections of the structural rhymes which would not be so noticeable in a recited text but which could hardly form a part of a wholly written manuscript tradition because they are not merely scribal errors.

b) The appearance of certain colloquial forms such as 'phling' for 'phring' (canto i, khamklôn 14) and the repetition of phrases e.g. 'rāi riang' (canto ii, khamklôn 20 and 22).

The Ayuthaya court actresses restarted the training of Lakhôn Nai in Nakhon Síthamarát and also in Thonburi after Nakhon Síthamarát had become a vassal state.

(1) Rama I, King, Inao, cantos 3 and 5.
(3) The examples are given in pages 44 and 45.
under King Tâk Sin in 1769. During that period they might not have been able to make a thorough revision of dramatic poems, because the experts in drama and the poets were not sufficient in number. Only a fragmentary version of the Ramakien composed by King Tâk Sin is known and has been preserved to the present day. The performance of Inao possibly relied upon the Ayuthaya version until the reign of King Rama I when the old scattered materials were compiled and completed.

Since it was favoured by King Rama II, Inao was promoted to a distinctive position in his reign. They revised this poem with great care. It may have been due to the popularity of this high-quality product that the Inao of King Rama I was neglected and scattered away afterwards. Many manuscript copies of the Inao of King Rama II are available in the Vajirañān National Library. Variant readings are normally only orthographic variants and lexical variants not involving the rhyme structure.

Example 1: canto i, khamklôn 1-8, from the copy given to the Vajirañān National Library in 1929 by Čhao Čhôm Sombun. This manuscript represents a work of an early date.

(1) See: Chapter I, pp. 15-6.
(2) For the content, see pp. 16-7.
(3) Most of them are fragments.
and is in several hands. Many scribal errors are found.

Example 2: canto i, khamklûn 1-8, from the copy worked by a royal secretary named Nai Taeng. Though it is undated, the writing indicates that it is of a later period.
Example 3: canto i, khamklōn 1-8, from the copy worked by Phra Nimit Aksōn (Phut Sālak), a royal secretary, in 1925. It is identical with the printed text of 1921 edition.

The earliest printed text, 1874 edition, was produced by J. S. Smith who followed the manuscript copy in the possession of Somdet Chao Phrayā Borom Mahā Sī Suriya Wong. There were some other editions by other presses.

(1) This edition, if compared with the 1921 edition, differs in minor variations of a lexical nature only.
having Smith’s edition as the model. Those who remembered the original version of King Rama II found that many errors occur in these later editions, so a revision was started by Phrayā Wisut Suriyasak (or Čhao Phrayā Phra Sadet Surēnthrāthibodi in a later period) under the royal patronage of King Rama V. He accomplished only the first 6 samut thai and had them reprinted in 1913. A revision of the whole text was done in the reign of King Rama VI by the Vajiraṇān National Library Committee, and the complete version of the Inao of King Rama II was printed in 1921. Later editions are the copies of this one.

There is one manuscript copy of the Inao of King Rama II in the India Office Library, London. It was well written, possibly by a royal secretary, but the writing is much rubbed by time. This manuscript consists of 56 openings. The incidents begin from Panyī's second journey to Manyā until Bussinā's death and the offering of two princesses and one prince to Panyī. In this manuscript, there is a date put down as Wednesday, the 13th day of the waxing moon, ninth month, the year of the tiger, the 10th year of the decade, which suggests that this particular samut thai had been used before. The date mentioned above could correspond to 1818 or 1878, but the script style of this date entry with reference to Čhao
Phrayā Čakrī, the Chief Minister, is consistent with the earlier date. The script style of the text, however, is more consistent with the later date, perhaps late nineteenth century.

Comparing the India Office Library manuscript with the printed text of 1949 edition, it is seen that they are not much different in orthographic style. Lexical variants occur in 104 places and syntactic variants in 44 places. Variations involving the structural rhyme can be found in 27 places. Cantos 46 and 49 in the manuscript are not only different from the printed text in syntactic forms but also in length. However, the rhyme match again towards the end of the canto. Below is an example of such a variant involving the structural rhyme:

**Canto 46**

The India Office Library Manuscript:

mu'a nan
(At that time)

panyī mī sak sūng song.
(Panyī who is of high dignity)

sadet čhāk thaen suwan bančhong
(Leaves the beautiful golden seat)

---

(1) See: Appendix III.
(2) Opening 22.
pai chamra sa song sākhôn
(And goes to take a bath)

(1)

sōt sai khru'ang phichai songkhram
(He wears a war costume)

sa-ngā ngām dang rācha kraisōn
(And looks graceful, like the king of lions)

taeng yāng chāopā phanādōn
(He dresses up as a forester)

kum krīt ritthirōn samrap mū'
(And holds the mighty kris in his hand)

(2)

The printed text:

mu'a nan
(At that time)

misāra panyī sukārā
(Misāra Panyī Sukārā)

chu'ng sa song song khru'ang murathā
(Takes a royal ceremonial bath)

tām tamrā ronarong yongyut
(In accordance with the treatise on the art of warfare)

bančhong song sōt sanapphlaø
(He carefully wears the tight-fitting drawers)

phūsā nung nuang nao mai lu'ān lut
(And wears the nether garment firmly)

(1) The expression is a technical one, implying an appropriate costume for victorious war. It does not conflict with his actual dress as a forester.

(2) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 129.
chalông-ong krọ suwan kan āwut
(Then the upper garment of golden armour
to protect him from all weapons)

čhiarabāt phātphut phanarāi
(The waist-band is beautiful and
glittering)

tāp-thit thapsuang duang kūdān
(The tāp-thit and the pendant are in the pattern
of four-petal flowers placed in sequence)

khāt khemkhat rat man krasan sāi
(He tightens the belt)

sangwān pradap thaphim phrāi
(The sangwān is adorned with glowing rubies)

thōngkōn čhamlak lāi longyā
(The bangles are carved and overlaid
with enamel)

thammarong khā mu'ang ru'ang rayap
(The rings worth the city's value are glittering)

tāt phap phan phōk kōsā
(He folds the tāt and wraps it
round his head)

taeng pen chen chāo aranyawā
(He dresses up as a forester)

kum krit ritthā samrap mū'
(And holds the mighty kris in
his hand) (1)

There is another manuscript copy of the Inao
of King Rama II in the possession of the Royal Asiatic
Society. It comprises the incidents after Panyī (Inao) has
ekilled King Bussinā in a fight near Mt. Parāpī. He leads

(1) Untranslated technical terms in this quoted
passage: tāp-thit, sangwān and tāt are explained in Chapter IV.
his army towards Manyā, taking along two princesses and one prince given by King Pakamā-ngan and King Panōharākan who becomes his vassals. He enters Manyā and succeeds in winning his first love's hand. There is no information on the date of copying but the script is possibly of the early twentieth century. This manuscript consists of 54 openings and it was written with white steatite pencil, except for the first opening where the copyist's name — Khun Phinit Sūrasak — was put down with yellow orpiment. The title of the Royal Asiatic Society manuscript mentions the nature of the major incident. The particular book was No. 6 and the link point with Inao is close to this, taking place towards the end of Book 5 of the printed text.

In comparing the above manuscript with the printed version, we find that the incidents develop in the same way, but there are some striking differences which can be marked:

a) A forest description in the manuscript (Opening 12-13) reveals the use of wordplay without expressing the emotion of the traveller (Inao), while in the printed text flowers of different kinds in that forest remind him of his distant love.

b) The printed text contains descriptions of the inhabitants of Manyā who are frightened by Panyī's army. They do not exist in the manuscript, but occur twice
in the printed text (cantos 32 and 39).

c) The preparation of the army is described in more detail in the manuscript than in the printed text.

On the other hand, the names of all major participants are identical (except a very small number of minor lexical differences) both in Inao (printed text) and the Royal Asiatic Society manuscript.

An example of a minor lexical difference, not involving the structural rhyme, between the manuscript and the printed text is given below.

**Canto 2**

The Royal Asiatic Society manuscript:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Canto 2} & \\
\text{The Royal Asiatic Society manuscript:} & \\
\text{thu'ng thî haeng dai kasêm suk} & \\
(\text{Wherever the landscape is pleasant}) & \\
\text{saen sanuk duai thân lae khao yai} & \\
(\text{With a stream and a high mountain}) & \\
\text{kq hai tang prathap phlapplâ chai} & \\
(\text{He orders a pavilion to be built}) & \\
\text{long wai klai choeng khîrî} & \\
(\text{Near the foot of the mountain}) & \\
\text{wang ñha hai sông nâng sawâng sôk} & \\
(\text{He wants to lessen the grief of the two princesses}) & \\
\text{thî wiyök prayûn mårasi} & \\
(\text{In being separated from their families}) & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(1) Opening 3.
thang ćha ao raeng phon yōthī
(And to bring energy to the soldiers)

mi hai mī du'at-rōn winyā
(So that none of them will be distressed)

The printed text:

thu'ng thī haeng nu'ng kasēm suk
(Reaching a pleasant landscape)

saen sanuk thān thā chalā lai
(Where there is a running stream)

phra sang hai yut yang tang thap chai
(He orders the army to stop and camp)

thī rōm mai klai noen khīrī
(In the shade near the foot of the mountain)

wang čha hai sōng nāng khōi sāng sōk
(He wants to lessen the grief of the two princesses)

su'ng wiyōk wongsā mārasī
(In being separated from their families)

thang ao raeng rīphon montrī
(And to bring energy to the soldiers)

hai khāikhī lālu'ai nu'ai mā
(So that they will recover from tiredness)

In this case, it is noteworthy that the rhyme types in the structural rhyme are identical throughout, though the choice of words produces minor lexical differences.

(1) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 154.
In the former case of the comparative example of the India Office Library manuscript and the printed text, a similar close lexical and rhyme-type resemblance cannot be shown but the printed text obviously represents a natural extension of the sense of the simpler manuscript version. It should be noted that the same essential features of content are present in both texts and this is especially marked by the similarity of the final line.

There is no indication on the evidence of differences of these kinds that the Royal Asiatic Society manuscript and the India Office Library manuscript belong to different traditions. They belong to the same manuscript tradition of which the most complete exemplar is the Rama II text.
CHAPTER III
THE OVERALL D. - I. STRUCTURE
AND
FUNDAMENTAL VARIATIONS

Examining the contents of D. (Dālang) and I. (Inao), one will find that the preliminary feature which both have in common is the setting of the four states — Kurēpan, Dāhā, Kālang and Singhatsārī.

The Setting

These states are created at the same time by divine power as mentioned briefly in D. and related in detail in I. The divine ancestor of the four kings is called by the same name — Patārakālā. The other identical

(1) Rama I, King, Dālang, Bangkok, 1956, p. 1.
(2) Rama II, King, Inao, Bangkok, 1949, pp. 139-40.

The story can be summed up as follows:

An ancient Javanese state called Manyā once happened to meet a calamity of famine after the mystic appearance of a khan (short sword) and a banner upon the court terrace. Nobody on earth but the four gods from Mt. Krailāt (Kailāśa) who transformed themselves into human beings could repair the disastrous situation by pulling off the khan and the banner. The ruler then married his daughters to the four gods and also offered them half of the state as a reward. The gods refused to stay in Manyā. They took the princesses to their earthly realms which they created and ruled apart. Their descendants, therefore, were known as the members of the Divine Race.
mentions concerning these states are found in the ranks of the queens of each ruler — Pramaisuri, Madewi, Matō, Likū and Maolā-ngi; the ranks of the chief courtiers — Pāteh, Tamma-ngong, Damang and Yāsā; the retainers of a Crown prince — Yarudeh, Pūntā, Karatālā and Prasantā; and the ladies-in-waiting of a princess — Bāyan, Sā-nget, Pra-sēran and Palā-ngan.

Numerous neighbouring states are introduced into both poems. The following are identical in names though variant in incidents involved:

1. Bālī

(1) In D., this state becomes subject to the heroine while wandering, after having been transformed into a man, in search of the hero. It serves as a temporary accommodation where the heroine gets possession of a princess sent as the tribute by the ruler, and also a number of sailing ships for further journeys.

(2) In I., the ruler lends a number of sailing ships to the hero who wanders in disguise in search of the heroine.

2. Pramōtan

(3) In D., the ruler is frightened by the hero's

(2) pp. 590-92.
(3) pp. 687-88.
power and pays tribute to him as a vassal.

(1) In I., this state plays a part of importance concerning the heroine's life. She spends some time there as the adopted son of the ruler. She is disguised as a man and the ruler does not know her real identity. A war breaks out in this state during her absence, because the ruler refuses to send the prince and princesses in her possession to their fathers who come to claim them back. The hero gives military assistance to Pramōtan as being asked for and, after gaining a victory, renders peace to it. The kings of the Divine Race regard the ruler of Pramōtan as the heroine's benefactor and invite him to her marriage.

3. Pakamā-ṅgan

(2) In D., it becomes subject to the hero. The ruler sends his daughter to the hero as a tribute.

(3) In I., The ruler of this state, after the death of his brother in a fight with the hero, decides to be a vassal and sends his daughter and son to the hero.

4. Pančharākan

(4) In D., the hero takes the ruler's daughter by

(1) pp. 564-71, 1066-79.
(2) pp. 139-48.
(3) pp. 139-46.
(4) pp. 105-25.
force, because she looks like his first love whose death makes him wander in grief. The ruler is furious at first, but after knowing the hero's identity he willingly accepts him as the son-in-law and appoints him to be the second king of Pančharākan.

(1) In I., the hero gets possession of this state at the same time as Pakamā-ngan; he also gets the ruler's daughter.

5. Ma-ngādā

(2) In D., it is the hero's secret enemy. The ruler tries to rid the hero by inviting him to uproot a magic octagonal pillar on a neighbouring land. The soldiers of Ma-ngādā accompany the hero in the ship and try to drown him on the way back, but he survives. His brother takes revenge for him by attacking Ma-ngādā and killing the ruler, but refuses to accept the latter's daughter offered by the queen.

(3) In I., its ruler plans to get rid of the hero during his stay in Kālang. He sends four prisoners to kidnap the hero. By mistake, they kidnap the heroine's brother and take him to Ma-ngādā. The ruler puts the captive in prison, but his daughter who falls in love with the captive secretly

---

(1) pp. 139-46.
(2) pp. 158-88, 199-214.
(3) pp. 869-83, 911-5, 948-73.
releases him and accompanies him to Kālang. A fight between the ruler of Ma-ngādā and the heroine's brother occurs. The ruler of Ma-ngādā is defeated and made prisoner, but finally released. He becomes subject to the heroine's brother.

6. Lāsam

(1) In D., it is another state which becomes subject to the hero's brother during his journey in disguise to search for the hero. He kills the ruler of this state in a fight, but refuses to accept the latter's daughter offered by the queen.

(2) In I., it is subject to the heroine, while she is wandering in disguise. She gets the ruler's daughter as a tribute.

(3) There is a state in D. called Burā-ngan, subject to the heroine when she wanders as a man by name of Misā Pramangkuning, but Burā-ngan in I. is a frontier town in the territory of Dāhā and is once conquered by the ruler of Kamangkuning.

(1) pp. 216-32.
(2) p. 619.
(3) p. 444.
(4) pp. 286-90.
Slight differences between D. and I. are noticeable in the following names, but each pair probably points to the same state.

1. Pataram, Patāram

(1) In D., the ruler of Pataram has a daughter who marries the hero by the help of a tree-god. After a short stay with her, the hero leaves this state and wanders in search of the heroine. His consort gives birth to a son later.

(2) In I., the ruler of Patāram becomes subject to the heroine in disguise, sending her tribute.

2. Panansalat, Pamansalat

(3) In D., Panansalat becomes subject to the heroine. The ruler's daughter is sent to her as tribute.

(4) In I., Pamansalat is subject to the hero. The ruler acknowledges his suzerainty in a war and gives him his daughter as tribute.

3. Sačha-u-nū, Sačha-nū

(5) In D., Sačha-u-nū is mentioned twice in different

(2) pp. 616-8.
(3) p. 444.
(4) p. 339.
(5) a) pp. 131-7; b) p. 444.
episodes:

a) It is subject to the hero who kills the ruler and the Crown prince in a war. The Crown prince's betrothed is married to the hero.

b) It is subject to the heroine, and the ruler sends his daughter to her as tribute.

(1) In I., Sačha-nū is mentioned as another vassal to the heroine. She gets possession of the ruler's son.

4. Manyāpā-et, Manyā

(2) In D., Manyāpā-et is a state which the hero visits in disguise as a dalang (shadow-play master) while searching for the heroine, his brother and his cousin. He is invited to rule this state after the deaths of its ruler and the Crown prince. He marries the latter's sister and begets another son by her.

(3) In I., Manyā plays a very important part in relation to the Divine Race. The former ruler has three daughters. The eldest daughter is King Kurēpan's chief queen and the hero's mother. The second daughter is King Dāhā's chief queen and the heroine's mother. The youngest stays in Manyā as the chief queen of the present ruler.

(1) p. 619.
(3) pp. 8-24, 1080.
who is of a non-divine lineage. She is the mother of the hero's first love who finally becomes his chief queen.

There are many other minor states related to the hero and the heroine as their subjects, with differences in names and incidents. All indicate the individual power of these two leading characters as warriors.

The table below illustrates the relationship between the hero, the heroine and the subordinates as far as mentioned in D. and I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D.</th>
<th>I.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hero</strong></td>
<td><strong>Heroine</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakamā-ngan (vassal, giving a daughter)</td>
<td>Bālī (vassal, giving a daughter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pataram (related by marriage)</td>
<td>Pramōtan (vassal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pančharākan (related by marriage)</td>
<td>Panansalat (vassal, giving a daughter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero</td>
<td>Heroine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sačha-u-nū</td>
<td>Sačha-u-nū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vassal)</td>
<td>(vassal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manyāpā-et</td>
<td>Kālemang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(related by marriage)</td>
<td>(vassal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kralambā-ngan</td>
<td>Kalanbumī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vassal)</td>
<td>(vassal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nusātan</td>
<td>Burang-ngā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(related by marriage)</td>
<td>(vassal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tra-sē</td>
<td>Burā-ngan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vassal)</td>
<td>(vassal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bānulan</td>
<td>Busunā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vassal)</td>
<td>(vassal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongkon</td>
<td>Pratāhon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(conquered, ruled by his son later on)</td>
<td>(vassal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarūtan</td>
<td>Pamā-sē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vassal)</td>
<td>(vassal, giving a daughter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero</td>
<td>Heroine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panōhakusunā</td>
<td>Tiwang-ngan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vassal, giving</td>
<td>(vassal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a daughter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morakatsuruū</td>
<td>Bussinā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vassal)</td>
<td>(vassal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malā-ngit</td>
<td>Pakūwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vassal, giving</td>
<td>(vassal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a daughter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malārā</td>
<td>Patālang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vassal)</td>
<td>(vassal, giving a daughter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sačha-u-rī</td>
<td>Patālam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vassal)</td>
<td>(vassal, giving two daughters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sārat</td>
<td>Pāyang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vassal)</td>
<td>(vassal, giving a daughter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singharābulā</td>
<td>Malakā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vassal, giving</td>
<td>(vassal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a daughter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wala-ngit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vassal, giving</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a son)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are some relationships between the other

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D.</th>
<th>I.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hero</td>
<td>Heroine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wangkan (vassal, giving a daughter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samāranga (vassal, giving three sons)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santārā (vassal)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are some relationships between the other

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D.</th>
<th>I.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The hero's brother</td>
<td>The heroine's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-ngādā (vassal, giving a daughter)</td>
<td>Ma-ngādā (vassal, giving a daughter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marayakatyulī (vassal, giving a daughter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāsam (vassal, giving a daughter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suranmarayū (vassal, giving a daughter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Dālang of King Rama I and the Inao of King Rama II are of great length, approximately 19,500 lines in Dālang and 22,000 lines in Inao. These two poems seem to be rather complex in structure at first sight, but the basic plots revealed by analysis appear to have clearly stateable resemblances. From the historical point of view, it might have seemed more logical to introduce comparisons of basic plot structure between Dālang and the Inao of King Rama I, then to introduce the text of King Rama II. However, the basic structure of the Inao of King Rama I does not possess any features which do not occur in that of King Rama II. The former text is, of course, merely a fragment. Features of the stages and links set out below which also occur in the Inao of King Rama I are marked thus (I.R.1). To compare Dālang and Inao is therefore to set side by side the polar points of the Panji tradition in Thailand.

Plot Structure Common To Dālang And Inao

Stage 1:

The betrothal between the hero and the heroine without their having met. (I.R.1)
The hero loves a daughter of a less exalted family. (I.R.1)
He stays with his first love and refuses to
marry his betrothed. (I.R.1)

Stage 2:

The hero and his first love are separated by events. (I.R.1)

The hero meets the heroine in her state and falls in love with her. The heroine is betrothed to a ruler of a minor state who asks for her hand, and the arrangements for their marriage are made. The hero devises ways to win her from his rival and he is successful.

Stage 3:

The hero and the heroine conceal their identities and both have adventures as wandering warriors. (I.R.1)

The hero becomes an ascetic for a short time while searching for the heroine. (I.R.1)

Because of the spell of their divine ancestor,
they meet each other without recognition. The hero follows the heroine who is dressed up as a man to Kālang, trying to find out her real identity, while the ruler does not recognise them.

The heroine leaves Kālang and becomes a nun. The hero follows. The divine spell ends. They recognise each other and the hero takes the heroine back to Kālang.

Stage 4:

The other three kings of the Divine Race are informed of the reunion in Kālang.

Fundamental Variations

Although Dālang and Inao have the basic overall structure in common, variations occur in minor incidents and detailed descriptions. For example, the relations among members of the Divine Race:

(1) She becomes a female ascetic in company with former ladies-in-waiting. They live in retreat in the forest. The term 'nun' is here used for these women in this condition, especially for the heroine.
D.
Kurepan: 2 sons — Inao and his half-brother Čharang Kanangloh.

Dāhā: 2 daughters — Busbā Kāloh and her half-sister Busbā Wilit.

Inao is betrothed to Busbā Kāloh, and Čharang Kanangloh to Busbā Wilit.

Kalang: 2 daughters and 1 son — Busbā Ākong, her half-sister Busbā Ranā and her half-brother Sirikan.

Singhatsāri: 2 sons — Čhintara Wannā and his half-brother Čhindā Sārī Čhintara Wannā is betrothed to Busbā Ākong,

I.
Kurepan: 2 sons and 1 daughter — Inao, his half-brother Karattapātī and his sister Wiyadā.

Dāhā: 1 daughter and 1 son — Busbā Nu'ng Rat and her brother Siyatrā Nu'ng Rat

Inao is betrothed to Busbā Nu'ng Rat, and Wiyadā to Siyatrā Nu'ng Rat.

Kalang: 2 daughters — Sakāra Nu'ng Rat and her half-sister Busbā Rākā.

Singhatsāri: 1 son and 1 daughter — Surānākong and his sister Čhindā Sārī

Surānākong is betrothed to Sakāra Nu'ng Rat, and Karat—
and Čhindā Sārī to Busbā Ranā, tapātī to Busbā Rākā.

The disparity in principal events between Dālang and Inao can also be seen in every stage and link.

Stage 1

D.

In spite of being betrothed to the heroine, the hero has a minor wife during his adolescence.

The hero's first love is a daughter of a forester. She lives with her widowed mother in the forest where the hero goes hunting and meets her.

The hero stays with his first love in his pavilion built in that forest.

I.

There is no mention of the hero's minor wife during his adolescence.

The hero's first love is a princess of a non-divine lineage. But she is related to him as his cousin. The cremation of their royal grandmother in her state is the cause of their meeting.

After being called back to his state at his sister's birth, the hero makes a secret journey in disguise to the state of his first love. On
D.
Neither the journey in disguise nor the fight occurs.

I.
the way, three minor states become his vassals after he has killed one of their rulers in a fight. He gets possession of two princesses and one prince given by the other two rulers who acknowledge his identity. At the state of his first love, he succeeds in asking for her hand and stays with her in her palace.

Link

D.
By the command of the hero's father, his first love is killed during his absence.

Anguished at her death, the hero wanders in disguise and has many adventures dealing with new loves and heroism.

I.
The divine ancestor causes a war to break out at the state of the heroine and thus punishes the hero for his inconsiderate behaviour, because the hero has to leave his first love and perform his duty as a warrior of the Divine Race.
D.

He accidentally arrives at the state of the heroine.

Stage 2

D.

The hero visits the state of the heroine in disguise and makes himself popular as a dalang. He has audience with the king and meets her while he is performing the shadow-play through which he pays secret visits to her several times later on. She does not know his identity and is very much annoyed.

The hero acquires the knowledge of magic and murders his rival who is due to marry the heroine.

I.

Neither disguise nor adventure occurs.

I.

After winning a victory over the enemy, the hero visits the state of the heroine as a rescuer. The heroine is introduced to him. He falls in love with her and gives up the thought of returning to his first love.

The heroine's brother helps the hero to get in touch with her.

The hero causes disturbance to the heroine and his rival. On her wedding day, he causes a tumult to occur in the city and kidnaps her from the palace. He takes her to a cave which has been already decorated for him.
The heroine has to burn herself on the funeral pyre. She is rescued by the divine ancestor, and disappears.

The heroine is transformed into a man by divine power. The ancestor tells her that she will be retransformed into her real identity when she meets the hero with recognition. Several minor states become her vassals.

The hero searches for the heroine in disguise. His brother and his cousin accompany him at first, but they are separated later on.

While the hero leaves the cave for the state of the heroine to clear himself of all suspicions, she disappears in a storm caused by the divine ancestor.

The heroine disguises herself as a man. A ruler of a minor state adopts her as his son. Then she wanders, accompanied by an army, in search of the hero. Her power is acknowledged by several rulers of minor states.

The hero takes his sister from the state of the heroine so as to provide her with a companion. The loss of the heroine whelms him with grief.
The hero marries some princesses of minor states and begets two sons.

The heroine journeys through a city where the hero stays as the ruler, and visits Kālang. The hero follows to Kālang in disguise as a man with feminine manners so that he can visit her in the palace without being forbidden. She recognises him to be her betrothed, and the divine spell ends.

The heroine escapes from Kālang after being magically retransformed into

The hero, his sisters and all the followers disguise themselves as foresters and wander to search for the heroine. The latter's brother, also in disguise, joins them later on.

The hero and the heroine meet each other in the forest without recognition.

They meet again in Kālang and join as allies in a war.

Being afraid that her identity may be revealed, the heroine leaves Kālang and lives
her real identity. The hero follows and finds her living as a nun in the forest. They stay together in a pavilion built by the hero's soldiers.

Stage 4

D.

The hero's brother sends messages to the other three kings of the Divine Race, informing them of the reunion in Kālang.

The extant poem stops before the marriage episode.

I.

in retreat as a nun. The hero takes her back to Kālang and finally discovers that she is his long lost beloved. (The recognition occurs through a shadow-play performance arranged by his retainer.)

The heroine's brother sends messages about the reunion to the three god-created states.

The three kings visit Kālang and arrange the intermarriage. The hero's first love and the heroine are his chief queens.

A detailed comparison follows between the plot structures of Dālang and Inao and those of versions of Panji tales whose proximate source is the Malay Peninsula
and which have been translated into Thai. References to the titles of these versions are being made in abbreviations:

D. — for the Dâlang of King Rama I.

I. — for the Inao of King Rama II.

A.N. — for the version of Ari Nagara, entirely in prose, originally written in middle Javanese. It was translated into Malay in a later period, then from Malay into Thai in 1918-49 by Khun Nikorn Känprakit (bin Abdullah) (1) for Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.

H.P.K.S. — for Hikayat Pandji Koeda Semirang, a Dutch version translated from Malay by Dr. Poerbatjaraka. The original version was composed in middle Javanese. There is a summary of this tale in Thai by Prince Dhani Nivat in Wičhân Ru'ang Khaomûn Nîthân Inao Không Thai. Another summary in English was done by Sir Richard Winstedt (4) in A Panji Tale From Kelantan.

(1) It was written by hand on foolscap papers, now kept in the custody of Prince Damrong's Library, Bangkok. There are 405 pages altogether, each page containing 17 lines. (2) See: R.M. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, Pandji-Verhalen Onderling Vergelehen, Bandeong, 1940. (3) It was first published in 1941. See: Dhani Nivat, H.H. Prince, Prawat Thao Woraanlan Loe Wičhân Ru'ang Khaomûn Nîthân Inao Không Thai, Bangkok, 1941, pp. 71-104. (4) See: Richard Winstedt, Sir, 'A Panji Tale From Kelantan', J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, Singapore, 1949, pp. 53-60.

P.S. — for Panji Semirang. This version was originally written in Javanese, later on translated into Malay, then translated into Thai by Prince Nakhōn Sawan Wōraphinit in 1938 and summarized by Prince Narisaranūwat-tiwong in the same year.

Stage 1

Similarities can be found between D. and I. on account of the hero's birth.

a) His position: he is the Crown prince of Kurepan born to the chief queen.

b) The chief queen's dream before conception: the sun falls down into her arms.

c) Peculiar phenomena prior to the hero's birth: earthquake, thunderstorm, heavy rains, gloomy sun amidst fog and clouds, etc.

d) The court seer's prediction: the chief queen is going to have a son whose power and suzerainty


will be acknowledged by all other Javanese kings. Her son is fated to be away from Kurêpan at the age of fourteen. After long years he will return and become a far-famed king with ten queens.

e) The gift from Patârakâla, the divine ancestor: a kris upon which the name 'Inao' has been carved.

The mention of the heroine's birth amidst the fragrance of blooming flowers occurs in both D. and I., but variations are found on account of the other princes and princesses of the Divine Race. The mention of King Kurêpan's first son born to the fourth queen in I. shows some resemblance to A.N. This prince is known as Karattapâti in I. and Kertapuna in A.N. The hero's name 'Inao' and his half-brother's name 'Karattapâti' in I. probably derive from 'Inao Kertapati' in A.N., the latter being used as the hero's name. The hero's elder half-brother is mentioned in H.P.K.S., but his mother is the second queen and his name is Brajadanta. However, the mention of King Kurêpan paying offerings to the tutelary deity of the city and asking for a son to be born to his chief queen as found in I. is comparable to that in H.P.K.S..

Charang Kanangloch in D. who is the hero's younger half-brother born to the second queen appears in H.P.K.S. as Charang Tinangluh, the hero's younger brother
born to the chief queen. He also appears in A.N. as Jarang Tanangloh.

In I., the hero has a younger sister called Wiyadā. This princess is mentioned in H.P.K.S. and A.N. but the names are different: Ratna Wilis in the former and Kusuma Galoh in the latter.

The betrothal during childhood between the hero and the heroine occurs in every version except that in S.S..

The heroine's name in the Thai versions begins with 'Busbā': Busbā Kāloh in D. and Busbā Nu'ng Rat in I.. The hero's first love is known as Busbā Sārī in D. but Chintarā Wātī in I. We find Busbā Nu'ng Rat exist in P.S. as the name of the chief queen of Dāhā. The heroine in P.S. is called Tjendera Kirana, in A.N. Chintara Kiran and in H.P.K.S. Galoh Čhandra Kirana.

The mention of the heroine's younger half-sister in D. is comparable to P.S. but the names are different: Busbā Wilit in D., but Galoh Adjoeng in P.S.. Moreover, the former is born to the second queen but the latter is born to the fourth queen.

The heroine in I. has a younger brother called Siyatrā Nu'ng Rat. This prince is also mentioned in H.P.K.S. and A.N. but the names are different: Perbata Sari in H.P.K.S.
but Kunung Sari in A.N. The name Siyatrah in I. probably derives from Kalana Siyata Kamara which is the name of Jarang Tanangloh in disguise in A.N.

The mention of the betrothal between the heroine's younger brother and the hero's younger sister in I. can be compared with those in A.N. and H.P.K.S.

The mention of King Kalang having two daughters and one son in D. is the same as in A.N., but variations occur on the part of their mothers. In D., the elder princess is born to the chief queen, the younger to the second queen and the prince to the fourth queen. In A.N., all of them are born to the chief queen. The name of the elder princess in D. — Busba Aikong — is comparable to Ratna Kumuda Agong in H.P.K.S. King Kalang's two daughters appear in I., but there is no mention of his son.

In D., King Singhatsari has two sons, the elder by his chief queen and the younger by his second queen. In I. which is comparable to A.N., he has one son and one daughter by his chief queen. The betrothal between the Crown prince of Singhatsari and the princess of Kalang, both born to the chief queen, occurs in the Thai versions.

Čhintarā Wātī in I. who is the hero's first love and related to him as his cousin can be compared with Kusuma Čhintara in A.N., yet there is a difference between
state-names. In I. she is the princess of Manyā, but in A.N. she is the princess of Bālī.

There is a remarkable similarity between D. and H.P.K.S. in the episode of the hero's first love. She is a commoner whom the hero meets in the forest while going on a hunt. It is not a co-incidence but an action of Karma and a predestination. Their meeting and their love lead to her piteous death, a punishment for the sin committed in her previous life. It is described in detail in H.P.K.S. (1) that in a former life she was a Bidadari (Vidyādharī) named Anggar and had a lover called Deva Jaya Sokma. The Supreme Deity was displeased at knowing about such an inappropriate behaviour. The Bidadari and her lover were driven from heaven to be reborn on earth and were destined to be killed in their new existence. The Bidadari is born as the only daughter of the chief of a rural district, while the Deva becomes a demon living in Sila Mengilang, a cave in Merta-pura forest. The hero's first love in D. was also a heavenly female in her previous life and she is reborn as a peasant girl living with her widowed mother and a loyal slave.

Only a slight difference between D. and H.P.K.S.

(1) A heavenly female.
(2) A heavenly male.
(3) Her previous demerit is not cited in detail. There is no mention of the Deva or any comparable heavenly male.
In D., the hero stays with his first love in the forest; in H.P.K.S., he takes her to his palace.

This episode in I. contains different incidents. The hero goes to a royal cremation at Manyā where he meets his first love (the ruler's daughter). His parents call him back to Kurēpan. He escapes from the forthcoming marriage between him and the heroine, using the hunting game as a device of leaving Kurēpan, and makes a secret journey towards Manyā in disguise. In the forest, he gets involved in a fight with King Bussinā whom he finally slays. The King's brothers become the hero's vassals and gives him two daughters and one son, while the widowed queen of Bussinā burns herself to death. The hero moves his troops on until he reaches his destination. There he is met with a warm welcome and stays with his first love. The themes of the hero breaking his marriage, pretending to go on a hunt, and winning his cousin's hand are comparable to A.N.. A slight difference is found in the fighting episode: in A.N. (1) it takes place when the hero travels back to Kurēpan with his first love after marrying her. However, the name of the hostage prince — Sangkhāmaratā — in I. is close to Sangkhādarapā in A.N..

(1) The 'disguise' theme does not exist in this episode.
Link

D. contains a tragic event — the execution of the hero's first love, by the command of King Kurēpan who discovers that she is the cause of the hero's distraction from his betrothed. The death of her loyal slave who wishes to accompany her to another world, the hero's grief when he returns from the hunt and sees his beloved's body, and the sudden death of her widowed mother are very well described in this episode. There is a similar theme in H.P.K.S.: death separates the peasant girl from the hero. However, in D. the executioner is a minister sent by King Kurēpan, but in H.P.K.S. the hero's mother murders his first love while he is away on a hunt. The death theme is also parallel to the story in S.S. which runs that all the royal people in Kurēpan, Dāhā, Kālang and Singhatsārī are of the same opinion that the hero should marry the princess of Dāhā, in order to preserve the Divine Race and combine these god-created states into one. At that time the hero has already married the chief minister's daughter who is his first love, and he refuses to betray her for the sake of political convenience. His relatives in Kurēpan, therefore, carry out a plan to murder her. Knowing that she is in the way of her husband's prosperous future, the girl commits suicide.
The disguise theme appears in D. after the peasant girl's death. The hero wanders as a forester called Panyī. His close retainer accompanies him everywhere. He meets new loves and has many adventures. For example, he takes the princess of Pančharākan by force and nearly gets involved in a fight with her father. Being informed of the hero's real identity, her father agrees to give him her hand. The princess of Pančharākan is mentioned in Štage 1 in I. as one of the hostage princesses. Though the incidents differ, the reason why King Pančharākan gives her to the hero is comparable between these two texts.

King Ma-ngādā appears in both D. and I., though in different episodes, as an envious person who fails to get rid of the hero.

The theme of Nusātan, the City of Women, where the hero visits after shipwreck and becomes the ruler by marrying the queen occurs in D. only. This incident does not occur in any of the Malay versions known in Thailand.

There is a divine intervention in D.: Patārakālā rescues the hero from danger caused by King Ma-ngādā, and inspires him to wander towards Dāhā so that he will meet his betrothed. The divine intervention in I. is of different purpose: Patārakālā separates the hero from his love as a punishment for his inappropriate behaviour. The hero has to
perform his duty as a warrior. The war theme in this episode is comparable to A.N. except for divine participation and variations in character-names.

Stage 2

In D. the shadow-play is used by the hero in disguise as a device of approach to his betrothed. By divine intervention during a night performance, the hero who is manipulating the hide-figures has a chance to see her for the first time. His furtive visits to her apartment in the following nights, his failure in courting her, her decision to elope with him after knowing about the arranged marriage between her and a king of a minor state, the hero's magic study and the death of her suitor occur in D. but not in I.

The shadow-play theme exists in A.N. and is partly similar to D.: after seeing and falling in love with his betrothed, the hero in A.N. also uses the shadow-play as a device of approach to her. During that time he wins her hand in A.N. but he does not in D..

The story in S.S. is also worth mentioning, as it reveals some plot in common with D.: the hero enters Dāhā in disguise as a dalang. His shadow-play performance

(1) Patāракāla transforms himself into a centipede crawling towards the heroine. She screams and a lighted torch is brought in to find the cause of her fright.
leads to the first meeting between him and his betrothed. Mutual love occurs and ends in elopement.

In I., the hero enters Dāhā in his real identity after the war. The royal audience is comparable to A.N.: the Crown prince of Dāhā and the heroine are introduced to the hero who decides to prolong his stay by telling the king that his soldiers need a few days' rest. The theme of the rivals as existing in I. is similar to D.: King Dāhā gets irritated by the hero's disregard for his daughter, and agrees to marry her to a king of a minor state who asks for her hand. Arrangements are made and the suitor comes. But, though the hero puts an end to the marriage celebration, the suitor in I. is not murdered as that in D.. Such a character in I., in fact, takes a comic part. Being of ugly appearance and a descendant of a non-divine lineage, he is a butt of contempt and mockery.

The incidents in I. after the first meeting between the hero and his betrothed develop in more romantic and more human aspects if compared with D.. There is no influence of magic. Siyatrā, the heroine's younger brother, plays a prominent role as an innocent little prince, prompt

(1) In A.N. and H.P.K.S. the equivalent character to Siyatrā (see p.84) does not play this prominent role in childhood.
to fulfil every wish of the hero in the matter concerning the heroine. For instance, Siyatistra takes the half-chewed betel nuts from her without her knowing that they serve as a love-token to the hero. He tells the hero not to wear the flower-tassel which was not made by the heroine as King Dāhā commanded. The hero's affection for the heroine is expressed in various ways. His jealousy arises at seeing his rival hugging Siyatstra who looks like her. His opportunity to approach her comes when the royal family makes a trip to Mt. Wilismāra to pay offerings to the tutelary deity. He asks Siyatstra to accompany the heroine in the same carriage with the purpose of seeing her closely when he goes to fetch the little prince for a ride in the forest. After having arrived at the destination, he hides himself behind the bushes and watches the heroine swimming in the stream. He sends her insulting letters concerning his rival. He purposely casts a reflection from his kris towards her when she is unaware of his presence. He hides himself in the holy temple where the second queen of Dāhā persuades the heroine to ask the deity about her true partner; he acts as the deity, talking to her in answer, and with the help of Sangkhāmaratā who drives the bats towards the candles to put out all the lights, he caresses her in the dark. While dancing in worship of the deity on the following day, in the presence of all members of royalty, the hero sings
an ambiguous song cursing his rival. Moreover, he accompanies
the heroine side by side, pretending to help her in carrying
the tray, to the hermitage and joins her in having holy
water sprinkled over by the hermit. After a fatal love-
sickness, with the help of Sangkhāmaratā, the hero succeeds
in breaking the marriage between the heroine and his rival
and also in winning her hand. This is where the theme of
burning the city and abduction to the cave are woven in,
and they occur in I. only.

Link

We find divine and magical aspects in D.. The
heroine has to burn herself on the pyre of her dead groom.
Patārakālā comes to her rescue. He creates a large golden
lotus in the middle of the fire and a carriage in the sky.
When the heroine and her ladies-in-waiting dash into the
fire, the magic lotus protect them from being burnt alive.
It floats up immediately, taking them to the carriage and
the latter floats away from that place.

In N., the heroine disappears from Dāhā and
from the hero at the same time, but in I., she is taken
from Dāhā first by the hero and is separated from him
afterwards by the divine ancestor. Patārakālā in I. creates
a storm which carries the heroine and her ladies-in-waiting
away. The purpose of divine intervention in I. is different
from D. in this incident, because it is a punishment on the hero for his incisiderate doings, so it is linked with the human aspect of the story.

The incident about the heroine and her ladies-in-waiting being carried away by a god-created storm occurs in H.P.K.S. as a punishment on King Dāhā who neglects to make offerings in worship of the tutelary deity. This incident takes place prior to the hero's first wandering in H.P.K.S.

The theme of the deity creating a storm to carry the princess away is found in A.N., but the princess in that version is King Singhatsārī's daughter, not the heroine.

The separation caused by Patārakālā occurs in A.N. and H.P.K.S., but the incidents differ. In A.N. the deity is displeased with the hero who neglects his betrothed at first but endeavours to win her hand afterwards. Therefore, after the hero has won his betrothed's hand and prolonged his stay in Dāhā, the heroine becomes insane under the deity's spell until the hero gets impatient with her and leaves for Kurēpan. In H.P.K.S., the hero marries the heroine while both are in disguise and do not know the real identity of each other. Then the heroine's younger brother, also in disguise, is killed by the hero in a fight. After this tragic incident, the deity carries the heroine
to a foreign land.

Stage 3

The divine aspect is strong in D.: the heroine is transformed into a powerful man. This is comparable to H.P.K.S.. The heroine in I. only disguises herself as a man and still has feminine manners. The disguise theme in this stage also exists in A.N..

The theme of wandering and search in disguise occurs in both D. and I. as well as in the Malay-Javanese versions. It is another long episode dealing with their meeting without recognition.

The theme of the hero having sons by his minor wives is found in D. and also comparable to A.N.

The theme of the hero following the heroine into Kālang where her real identity is revealed occurs in both D. and I.. There is a similarity between these two versions and H.P.K.S. in the beginning, but the disguised heroine in H.P.K.S. can conceal her identity while staying in Kālang and the recognition occurs later in another state.

The theme of the hero and the heroine joining as allies in a war at Kālang which occurs in I. also occurs in H.P.K.S.
The magical retransformation of the heroine into her real identity which occurs in D. is different from I.. In I., the shadow-play is used as a device of test to clear all doubts in each identity and the hero recognises the heroine.

The nun theme which occurs in both D. and I. also occurs in H.P.K.S.. This theme appears as a device of disguise used by the heroine when she decides to live in retreat in the forest.

Stage 4

The story in D. ends at the sending of messages to the royal parents of all the lost princes and princesses, telling them about their reunion in Kālang. This occurs in I. as well as in H.P.K.S. and A.N..

Towards the end of the story in I., we find the marriage in Kālang. The hero's first love is mentioned again as one of his chief queens, side by side with the heroine. The marriage in Kālang after recognition also occurs in A.N..

From the comparison, it is undeniable that D. and I. derive from diverse original sources, but it is not possible to trace clear-cut links between the Thai versions
and one or other of the Malay-Javanese versions known in Thailand. However, H.P.K.S. is found to be generally closer to D. while A.N. is closer to I. because these pairs of texts contain many themes in common as already stated. In D. there are 8 themes similar to H.P.K.S. and 4 themes similar to A.N.. In I. there are 14 themes similar to A.N. and 8 themes similar to H.P.K.S.. So it may be decided in all probability that D. is mainly influenced by sources of the type of H.P.K.S. and I. by sources of the type of A.N.. This does not imply that there are absolute differences between these source types. It is not to be expected that this would be so in the case of so complex a tradition as the Panji cycle. It is also entirely consistent with Thai literary tradition that original sources are subject to a process of adaptation and this is preferred to direct translation which is a rare phenomenon in Thai literature.
CHAPTER XV

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

One of the marked characteristics of Dalang and Inao is the naturalization of the background which brings the stories closer to the Thai cultural environment and creates a vivid impression that those imaginary events happened in Thailand. The local setting, especially the royal quarter which was familiar to the court poets, serves as the model for the capital cities of the Divine Race. In the poems we find idealistic descriptions of the fortified wall surrounding the city with crenellated parapets and leaf-shaped merlons on top, the main gates at regular intervals with chōng-kut in alternation, the palace outer-wall of battlements identical with those round the city, the throne hall, the king's apartments for the three seasons, the apartments of the queens and the concubines, the residences of the lady-attendants, the lawn in front of the royal palace, the garden with flowers in bloom, the lotus pond, the palace of the king's son, the royal temple, the ministerial offices, the royal treasury, the royal secretariat,

(1) Small, plain gates built in the wall.
(2) They are: the hot season, the rainy season and the cold season.
the royal kitchen, the almhouse, the arsenal, the cannon-
house, the royal chariot-house, the barge-house, the horse-
stables, the elephant-stables and the drum tower. All these
features of physical construction existed in Ayuthaya, the
former Thai capital, during its glorious days and also in
Bangkok in the early Ratanakosin period. The adoption of
local scenic elements becomes more obvious in some places
where names are cited, such as —

Thinang Song Pù'n on both sides (3)
Are graceful, glistening and vigourous;

or,

Chakrawat is lofty in the sky,
Elegant, adorned with gold. (4)

These named buildings are recognisable as the
Thai palace-pavilions in the royal quarter in Ayuthaya.
Thinang Song Pù'n refers to Phrathinang Song Pù'n near the
lotus pond which surrounded Phrathinang Banyong Ratanāt;
it was built in the reign of Somdet Phra Phēt Rāchā (1688-98).
Chakrawat refers to Phrathinang Chakrawat Phaichayon upon
the palace wall for the king to watch the military training

(1) See: King Rama I, Dalang, pp. 2-3; King Rama II,
Inao, pp. 2-7; King Rama I, Inao, Bangkok, 1917, pp. 1-7.
(2) See: Phraya Bōran Rācha Thānin, loc. cit.; H.R.H.
Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Tamnān Wang Na, Bangkok, 1925,
pp. 14, 19; Prachum Phra Rācha Phongsāwadān Phāk Thi 25,
Bangkok, 1922, pp. 4-25.
(3) King Rama I, Inao, p. 4.
(4) Ibid., p. 6.
and the annual procession; it was built in the reign of Somdet Phra Chao Prasat Thong (1630–55). Since Bangkok in its role of Thai capital was constructed deliberately in imitation of Ayuthaya, some people in the early Ratanakosin period who had been acquainted with the Ayuthaya setting still called Phrathinang Siwamok Phimān in Bangkok by the name of Phrathinang Song Pù'n, because both buildings are identical in the main feature. They also called Sanām Chāi, the lawn in front of Phrathinang Sutthaisawan in Bangkok, by the name of Sanām Nā Čhakrawat, the lawn in front of Phrathinang Čhakrawat Phaichyon in Ayuthaya for the same reason.

References to local names abound in the Inao of King Rama II, such as —

Lak Mu'ang, the sacred house of the guardian-deity, is renowned and respected by all citizens; Sao Chingchā (the sacred swing) and Wat Phrām (Brahmin's temple) are built for Brahministic rituals; Hāk Klōng (the drum tower) is in the middle of the city, giving warning if fire or war breaks out; Taphān Chāng, the bridge for elephants, is made of bricks and laid over with planks; Khlong Lōt (the canal) stretches forth as far as the eye can see. (3)

(1) The raised pavilion upon the palace wall.
(3) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 4–5.
At present, these places still exist in Bangkok except the drum tower which was demolished in the reign of King Rama V. The tower had been located in Suan Čhao Chêt near the royal palace. It consisted of three storeys and there was a drum in each. The three drums were called by different names in accordance with their functions: Yam Surisī, Akkhī Phināt and Phikhāt Phairī. Yam Surisī, kept in the first storey, was beaten at sunset as the signal for closing the city-gates. Akkhī Phināt was in the second storey and was used for calling the fire-brigade at the outbreak of fire. Phikhāt Phairī was in the third storey and was used for making signals at war-time to collect military force. Although the tower was pulled down, these drums still remain in the custody of the National Museum, Bangkok. Moreover, there are mentions of Tamnak Phae (the royal floating-pavilion), of people from the opposite bank crossing the river to the landing at Thā Chāng (near the royal palace), of the mandarins' wives watching the funeral procession in front of Rōng Khōn (the masked-play

(2) King Rama II, Ināo, p. 3.
(3) Ibid., p. 51.
(4) Ibid.
theatre, near the royal temple), of the young soldiers winding through the Sampheng Lane near Wat Ko, the military training on Sanām Chāi (the lawn near the eastern-wall of the royal palace) and the journey through Dong Phrayā Fai (a well-known jungle in the north-east of Thailand).

Further evidences to confirm that the poets were influenced by contemporary environments are the mentions of Chao Čhōm (the king's minor wives); different positions of the lady-attendants in the royal palace, such as — Thaokae, Thāo, Khlōn, Čhā; different ranks of the officials, such as Phrayā (with different titles: Phrayā Thāinam, Phrayā Sī Suriyaphā), Phra, Luang, Khun, Mū'n, Thānāi; and the names of the state barges, such as — Ru'a Sī with a golden throne, Ru'a Thinang, Ru'a Ekachai. The name 'Ong Čhan', the ruler of Cambodia at that period, is also introduced into the poem.

(1) Ibid., p. 1167.
(2) Ibid., p. 3; King Rama I, Dālang, p. 2; King Rama I, Inao, p. 6.
(3) King Rama II, Inao, p. 1112.
(4) Ibid., p. 1057.
(5) Ibid., pp. 2, 59, 1129, 1133, 1137, 1164, 1183, 1184; King Rama I, Dālang, p. 388
(6) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 1174, 1188, 1201; King Rama I, Dālang, p. 384.
(7) King Rama II, Inao, p. 3.
(8) Ibid., p. 1057.
Thai scholars acknowledge that the palace life as depicted in the Inao of King Rama II is based on the life of Thai royalty. The celebration of a new-born prince (the hero, in Kurëpan), the royal cremation (of the Queen Mother, in Manyā), the reception of an embassy (in Dāhā), the Sa Sanān (elephants and horses parade, in Kālang), the tonsure ceremony (when Śiyatrā is tonsured, in Dāhā) and the royal marriage (in Kālang and Pakamā-ngan) reflects Thai customs which have been observed for generations. A slight alteration is the replacement of Buddhist monks by hermits where the rituals are concerned, yet the hermits hold Tālipat (face-screen with a long handle furnished to Buddhist monks) and begin their prayer with 'Namo' (= I adore, an expression used by Buddhist monks to preface religious discourse). The hermits are introduced because they suit the story which was formerly subject to Hindu influence. This purpose of preserving some of the original atmosphere can be traced from the episodes dealing with

(2) Ibid.; pp. 48-65.
(8) Ibid.; pp. 1091-1093.
the Baela ceremony (= Suttee, self-immolation of a widow on her husband's funeral pyre). It is a Hindu family rite to confirm the faithfulness of the wife. There exist no references to this practice in Thai historical or legal texts, nor in literary texts except in Dālang and Inao.

The celebration of the birth of a prince as described in Dālang (in connection with the hero's first son, in Pataram) is rather abbreviated and does not have the special features characteristic of the Thai custom. However, in the episode dealing with the coronation and the marriage between the hero's first son and the Princess of Tra-sē, in Mongkon, there is a mention of Sēphā, Khap Mai and Mahōri in connection with the ceremony. These three terms make the ceremony look more or less Thai, because

(1) Ibid., pp. 151-2; King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 371-91, 723-5.
(2) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 653-4.
(3) Ibid., p. 933.
(4) Sēphā is a story-singing. The singer uses two pairs of krap (multiple castanets), one pair in each hand, rolling it back and forth to produce a rhythmic accompaniment to his singing.
(5) Khap Mai consists of three persons. One sings, one plays the sō (bowed stringed instrument) in accompaniment and the other one twists the bandq (percussion instrument) back and forth to produce rhythm.
(6) Mahōri is a group-singing, accompanied by music from a castanet, a three stringed violin, a thōn (percussion instrument) and a kračhappī (stringed instrument).
they are known as a part of entertainments in the Thai court.

The episode of the heroine asking for an oracle after having lighted candles in front of the Holy Image in Inao, portrays the Thai concept of mystic power. When one gets entangled in a problem and becomes eager to see into the future, the best consolation is to rely upon a holy being. The assassination of Khun Worawongsā as recorded in the Thai chronicles is a piece of evidence for this attitude of mind. Before carrying out their plan, the conspirators went into a temple and lighted two candles in front of the Buddha's Image. One of the candles represented Khun Worawongsā whom they wanted to assassinate, and the other represented Phra Thian Rāchā whom they wanted to place on the throne. They made a request for the oracle, asking the Holy Image to put out the light of the candle representing Khun Worawongsā if their wish would be fulfilled and, on the contrary, put out the light of the candle representing Phra Thian Rāchā if they were going to meet a failure. The heroine in Inao is also in an unhappy and a doubtful situation. She is pestered by the hero who tries

(1) Rama II, King, Inao, pp. 416-22.
(2) This incident happened during the third decade of the sixteenth century, in the Ayuthaya period. See: Phra Rācha Phongsawadān Krung Kao, Bangkok, 1863, pp. 38-9.
to declare his love, because her marriage with another person is drawing near. The idea of seeing the future by candle-lights occurs to the second queen of Daha who urges the heroine to question the Holy Image about her true partner. Three candles are lighted in front, representing the hero, the heroine and the suitor respectively, and the Holy Image is asked to put out the light representing the one who is not fated to be her partner.

The sprinkling of consecrated water to avert evil spirits (as applied to the heroine in Inao when King Dāhā thinks that she looks unhappy without reason), the 'tham khwan' ceremony for calling back the protecting spirit after some frightening event has passed (as the case of King Kālang's daughters after the war) and the compensation made to the guardian deity after a wish has been fulfilled (at Dāhā and Kālang after the war) are not new to people in Thailand at all.

The custom of chewing betels and that a portion once chewed by a girl being handed to a man represents her love for him, and the fashion of having shiny black teeth as expressed in Dālang and Inao, have been in existence for

---

(1) Rama II, King, Inao, pp. 435-40.
(2) Ibid., pp. 735-9.
(3) Ibid., pp. 427-34, 1118-23.
many countries. Evidences of these practices can be traced in literary works of an earlier period as well as in those works contemporary with these two versions.

There are musical bands, female singers and dancers to entertain royalty in Inao and Dalang, and sometimes the royal people participate when they are free. The terms Khap Mai, Mahôrî and Rabam are used in the poems, thus revealing local influence. These entertainments existed in Thai palaces in the olden days. The earliest evidence is found in Kot Monthian Bân, the Palace Law enacted in the fifteenth century, which mentions the places assigned to the Rabam dancers in the audience hall in the Ayuthaya court.

In Dalang and Inao, the games they play in the palace compound are of various kinds such as — Tô Taem (playing cards), chess (with the mention of Khun, Khôn, Mâ, Bia), cock-fighting, Khulâ Sôn Lük, Ngû Kin Hâng, Khaeng Ru'a Khon and Sak Sâo. The last four were popular among children in those days. Some games are mentioned as

(1) King Rama I, Dalang, pp. 112, 364, 496, 1003; King Rama II, Inao, pp. 650-1, 686-8, 804, 827, 1094.
(3) King Rama II, Inao, p. 215.
(4) Ibid., p. 1181.
(5) Ibid., pp. 677-84; King Rama I, Dalang, pp. 502-4.
(6) King Rama II, Inao, p. 838.
being played in the monastery compound such as — Takro (kick-ball) and Chongte (similar to quoits; the players have to draw lines so as to form rectangles and squares before skipping). These also show the interpolation of Thai games.

The scenes dealing with the inhabitants are probably based on the kind of life typical of the Thai in the capital. The rivers and canals are the principal thoroughfare where multitudes of trading boats are seen paddling along up and down the stream, and floating-houses are moored at the front landing of the city (comparable to Tha Tian in Bangkok). A great variety of wares are displayed by both local and foreign traders. Naturalization is evident in the mentions of girls having 'rai' (marks of hairs pulled out round the top-knot), the use of turmeric powder in beautifying the skin, Su'a Sänäkut (a tunic with the device of a lion printed upon it), and pretty girls hiding themselves in the house even at festival time for fear of being called to the royal palace. It really happened in those days that the royal Lakhon needed actresses for the performances outside the palace. As the king's minor wives were not allowed to act in such plays, the Lakhon teachers had to train the commoners' daughters who looked

(1) Ibid., p. 416.
pretty to attract the audience. The Palace Law governing
the Fāi Nai or the ladies in the royal palace was very
strict, and it was very difficult to get permission to visit
outside. So many of the commoners did not want to have their
daughters confined inside the palace walls.

Activities similar to those in the palace exist
among the outsiders as well. One can see ceremonial baths
and tonsure rites performed in some of the houses. Generally,
the local sports and games are animal-fighting (such as
between cocks, fishes, goats and buffaloes), racing
(between men or bullock-carts), kite-flying which consists
of Khulā or Čhulā (star kite) and Pakpao (small diamond-
shaped kite with a single long tail). In the field of
entertainments, the arts of singing, dancing and acting in
the plays are taught. Many local songs are heard such as —
Phlēng Khru'ng Thōn, Sutōhai, Kai Pā, Sēphā, Sakrawā and
Mahōrī. At nighttime, there are shadow-plays depicting
beautiful carved figures. The latter performance has been
one of the most popular entertainments for Thai people
since the Ayuthaya period. It is mentioned as existing in
the royal palace of Somdet Phra Bōroma Trailōkanāt (1448-88).

(1) Ibid., p. 5.
The favourite story in those days to be depicted on the screen was the Rāmākītī. Only in the reign of Somdet Phra Nārāi, the story of Samutthakhōt or Samutthakhōt Kham Chan was used for the court shadow-play performed in connection with his 25th birthday ceremony (1656 A.D.).

The public entertainments performed on ceremonial occasions are mentioned in great number. They are based on the popular performances held in the Thai capital such as Nang (shadow-play), Khōn (masked-play), Khōn Rōng Yai (masked-play in a big theatre), Lakhōn (dance-drama), Lakhōn Chātrī, Lakhōn Khaek (Malay drama), Rabam, Rabēng, Mongkhrum, Khulā Tī Mai, Ram Phaen, Mōn Ram, Singtō Yuan, Khōm Yuan, Khōm Mangkōn, Thaengwisai, Krabī Krabōng, the last eleven names being different kinds of dancing. There are also Hun (puppets) or Hun Čhīn (Chinese puppets), Ċng (Chinese drama), the playing of musical instruments such as Čhōngnōng (stringed instrument), Khī (flute) and others, and the singing of folk-songs such as Prop Kai and Thēp Thong.

Feats and acrobatic shows are also listed such as Nōn Dāp (lying upon sword-blades), Tai Luat (climbing the copper wire), Hokkhamēn (feats on top of the acrobat poles) and Khāp Khōn (hammer seizing). Besides, there are male and

---

(1) Rama, King, Dālang, p. 156; Rama II, King, Inao, pp. 56-9, 471, 498-9, 502-3, 1095-6, 1206.

(2) The performer lifts with the teeth a heavy sledgehammer by a piece of rope, and swings it behind above the shoulders. See: Gerini, G. E., Chulakantamangala, Bangkok, 1895, p. 120.
female boxing, gambling and fireworks.

An old form of etiquette — reverence for royalty — is emphatically mentioned throughout Dalang and Inao. Making obeisance (bowing low with palm-joined hands raised over the forehead), crouching and crawling are methods of demonstrating respect in the presence of the superior one. The overwhelming joy of a courtier who unexpectedly meets his long-lost lord (the heroine in disguise), even with the bewilderment that comes with sudden recognition of her real identity, is expressed in the accustomed way:

He crawls to her and makes obeisance,  
Places her feet upon his head,  
And bursts into incessant tears. (1)

The head is considered to be the most sacred part of the body while the feet are the lowest, yet the sovereign's feet are of higher position than the commoner's head.

Among the members of royalty, a younger or less-exalted one honours the elder or the superior in a similar manner. For example, when the hero's step-brother finds the hero delirious in the forest, he makes obeisance and, "throwing his arms round his brother's feet, he weeps

(1) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 984.
over and over again." The meeting between the hero's minor wives and the hero's step-brother and cousin reveals the same way of paying respect: the princesses run towards the two princes, make obeisance at their feet and weep. Even before handing the souvenir to the hero in exchange, each of his minor wives "joins her palms and prostrate herself at his feet."

Rank is everything. The Divine Race is exalted as the supreme rank which deserves worship by all royal descendants of non-divine race. In the first meeting between the hero and the suitor, the latter kneels down and makes obeisance while the hero only bows in return. Two of the hero's minor wives are offended, but obliged, to pay respect to his first love whom they consider to be equal to them in rank:

To make obeisance to Princess Busbā
Is better; it won't hurt our feelings.
She deserves having us as attendants,
Because she is a divine descendant. (5)

We find pride of rank in the Divine Race. They never show proper salutation to any less-exalted royalty. The hero in disguise never makes obeisance to the kings

(1) Rama I, King, Dālang, p. 428.
(2) Ibid., p. 638.
(3) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 309.
(4) Ibid., p. 363.
(5) Ibid., p. 205.
of minor states even though they are much more senior in age. The case of the heroine and King Pramōtan in Inao is an exception. She is adopted by him while wandering in disguise, so with gratitude she respects him as much as her own father.

The theme of 'conflict between the major and minor wives', which is popularly used by the Thai poets, occurs in Inao after the reunion in Kālang and gives us a picture of the court ladies who get involved in such a sentimental hostility. Other poems based on indigenous tales about commoners tend to reveal the aggressiveness and impetuosity of the wives, and sometimes the poets describe the husband joining in that violent quarrel by siding with one of the wives. The composers of Lakhōn Nai poems never create such scenes in the royal palace, because the main purpose is to exhibit beauty and gracefulness. The reaction of inner feelings portrayed at the meeting between the heroine and the hero's first love leaves an impression of the genteel nature of the court ladies. The description runs as follows:

At that moment,
Princess Chintarā who is of fine complexion
Prostrates herself at the (dust of) feet

(1) Ibid., pp. 1062-3.
(2) See: the quarrels between Wanthong and Lāothong, between Śimālā and Sōifā, in Khun Chāng Khun Phaen; the quarrels between Taphaothong, Taphaokao and Wimalā, between Wimalā and Lu'amālaiwan, in Kraithōng.
Of the chief queens of the four states. She also makes obeisance to the second queens With wholehearted respect And glances round inquisitively. "Which is Busbā?" She wonders.

At that moment, The chief queen of Dāhā Catches a glimpse of Chintara And apprehends what's in her mind. Annoyed, she turns and looks fixedly Into the eyes qf Princess Busbā. She forces her to make obeisance (to Čhintarā), But does not utter any word.

At that moment, Princess Busbā, the bright beauty, Perceives her royal mother's intent. Displeasure rouses up immediately. She hands to her (Čhintarā) the betel-tray: "Have some, please, Cousin Čhintarā." She does not make obeisance But gives a sidelong glance, Prying to find out her reaction.

At that moment, The beautiful Princess Čhintarā, Seeing Princess Busbā Greeting her in sarcastic manner, Becomes overwhelmed with anger. It's hard to hide her emotion; So, with her left hand She takes the tray and pushes it in front.

To give or receive things with the left hand is considered to be rude in society, especially when the other person is senior in rank or age. In this case, Busbā is younger than Čhintarā but her rank is higher. However, it is only one rudeness expressed by Čhintarā in that meeting and everybody understands that she does it in retaliation to Busbā's action. Busbā herself gets an ironical scolding from her mother and is compelled to pay respect
to Chintarā who is the 'major wife'. Being afraid that her father will become irritated, Busbā reluctantly joins her palms; but, since Chintarā turns her face away, Busbā does not make obeisance after all. During that time, Inao himself sympathizes with Busbā so much that he secretly sheds tears. This makes Wiyadā, his sister, feel displeased with Chintarā and burst out —

While wandering through forests,
My sister (Busbā) was Unākan
Whose power scared all kings.
Frightened of being killed,
They came to her and made obeisance.
Their sons and daughters — her attendants.
This time, oh, what a shame!
She should not pay respect
To one of low-degree.
Will you do it, sister dear?
If I were you — no fear!
Should His Majesty become angry,
I'd yield myself to penalty.
Death? — I wouldn't care; it should be better
Than living on in such a dishonour. (1)

However much offended she is, Chintarā has to keep calm at being asked by the chief queen of Kurēpan not to take those words seriously because Wiyadā is still very young and is always in a hot temper. This is a rare picture which does not exist in the other dramatic poems as far as 'the conflict between the major and minor wives' is concerned.

(1) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 1064.
The royal insiders, once coming out of the palace, have enclosed paths to walk along. Their conveyances must be covered round by curtains. This is to prevent them from being seen by men or people of lower ranks.

In the case of sickness, there are court doctors of several types. They use different methods of treatments according to their own knowledge. The medical doctor uses medicinal herbs and roots from the forest, the masseur treats with massage, the sorcerer makes a clay image representing the royal patient and employs incantations to remove the sickness, and the medium performs a ritual dance to invite the spirit of a deity to come into her and tells the cause of sickness as well as the way to overcome it. The atmosphere is created of a time when superstition abounds and permeates throughout life. Dreams and predictions, descriptions and interpretations of bad omens, consultations with astrologers, recur throughout Dalâng and Inao. The belief in supernatural power is implanted in everybody's mind and the practices are also mentioned by the poets who had experienced such environment. For example, when the queen is due to give birth, the lady-attendants who are spirit-worshippers pray for her and

(1) King Rama I, Dalâng, pp. 104, 144, 388, 473, 616, 725; King Rama II, Inao, pp. 32, 60, 397, 443, 1182.
(2) Ibid., pp. 98, 256-58, 471-72.
her baby's safety. Each one holds a coin in the hand, lifts it up while recalling a respected deity to accept it as a reciprocation for their protection, and tucks it in the partition of the queen's abode.

Inao reveals the influence of bribery among the attendants in the royal palace. Precious rings from the hero make the ladies-in-waiting in Manyâ and Kâlang act as the go-between when he wants to contact the princesses. We find that the gaoler, bribed with money, not only neglects his duty by unchaining the prisoner, giving him relief and better quarters but also helps the briber to visit the prisoner in secret. The palace guard, too, helps the insiders to pass through the back gate at night after they have bribed him with money. These incidents occur while the heroine's brother is in captivity in Ma-ngâdâ.

The natural manner and behaviour of the court ladies are portrayed under certain circumstances. Some of them do things for the sake of royal favour, such as the king's concubines who hasten in emulation to report him about the due birth of his child by the queen. Some lady-attendants untidy their hair when their princess is in

(1) Ibid., p. 98.
(2) Ibid., pp. 87, 746.
(3) Ibid., pp. 877-80.
(4) Ibid., p. 98.
distress, to show that they share the suffering with her. When a pleasure trip is arranged, the excitement of these court ladies who prepare to accompany the royal family unfolds the inner feelings of the confined ones who look forward to the chance of seeing nice things outside.

They sit and roll the betel leaves and chat with their friends. Then they carefully cut the betel nuts and put them into the containers. Some of them (2) have just recovered from sickness and have untidy rai. They keep on watching their reflection in the mirror, daubing the hair with wax and candle-smoke, lingering there and powdering their faces. Some wear phänung (the loin-cloth) made in Pattani and phähom (the sash worn across the left shoulder and under the right arm) made of designed silk in pale purplish colour. Examining themselves and finding that they do not look beautiful enough, they change their phähom into a better one. Some are sharp-tongued and look down upon others with insulting irony, thus causing a quarrel to occur. Those in love dress themselves daintily, rolling cigarettes made of the leaves from the nipa palm and putting sandalwood pieces inside with the purpose of giving them to their loved ones on the way. The ladies-in-waiting in the three palaces dress in competition... (3)

At a royal visit, especially when the visitor is a young prince, the lady-attendants will scramble for the partition-holes to watch and criticize him. Their curiosity is expressed similarly to that of the outsiders in some extent.

(1) Ibid., p. 229.
(2) For the meaning of 'rai', see page. 108.
(3) King Rama II, Inac, p. 217.
(4) Ibid., pp. 359-60, 365-66.
The panic of the insiders at an unexpected, frightening event is well described. For example, when a part of the city is set on fire, the insiders of all ranks run to and fro, bumping against one another. Some drag the others along while calling their friends. Some collect their properties, their money falling down and being lost through their excitement. Some unlock their cupboards, snatching their cosmetics and the rai-pullers, tweezers and scissors, and put them on the cloth-tray. Some have carried away big things but forget to take the mirror; they have to return and search for it (1).

Outside the royal palace, natural actions of the commoners tend to create comic scenes. The descriptions are more or less blended with the contemporary background. In Manyā, when a royal cremation takes place, tumult occurs in the big throng of people who want to watch the procession of carrying the urn from the Grand Palace:

The mandarins' wives put on airs, Waiting on the benches in front of the masked-play theatre. Some philanderers pass by And intentionally bump against women. Tradeswomen from floating-houses take their children along; Their husbands are junk-commanders, the Chinese new-comers Who cannot speak Thai properly. Wherever these women sit They are surrounded by young men.

(1) Ibid., p. 508.
The concubine of the chief custom-officer is not bad; she always smiles and behaves in an artificial manner till her husband becomes jealous. Some drunkards pass by, boasting of themselves in a loud voice; wherever they see a group of young girls they walk towards them and bar the way. (1) The interior constables chase and beat people.

And, when the procession comes in sight,

(2) Women scramble for the Rachawat-holes, swearing, scolding and pushing one another. Then one stands up, pointing angrily towards the other's face, and shouts: "Why do you hustle my mistress?" The daughters and relatives of both sides run up to give help, thus resembling a group-boxing.

Men are amused and they approach to watch (the strife). The interior constables disperse these people and tell them to keep calm. (3)

It is noticeable that the court poets purposely create comic scenes in the description of the mob, but this style helps to make the play close to real life. People who belong to the high class are restricted to gentility and dignity, while the middle class and low class tend to have unorthodox mannerisms. At festivities, we find that young nobles cover their heads with scarfs and

(1) Ibid., p. 51.
(2) Rachawat is a lattice fence decorated at intervals with small, tiered umbrellas. It is erected around the area in which ceremonies are performed (in open air).
(3) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 53.
stroll about. If they come across any acquaintance they quickly hide their faces by turning away. They conceal their identity and mix with the crowd to avoid being recognised, and make merry in their youthful way.

The entertainments which takes place after a state ceremony are the delight of old and young whose movements are realistically portrayed in Inac. During daytime,

They stroll in groups to watch the shows, Carrying babies, pulling the bigger ones by the hand.
Some carry their own benches along on their shoulders And use them as seats while watching Lakhon. They open their umbrellas against the hot sun. Young girls who are still single make themselves prominent; They walk around in vanity, holding sandalwood fans. Some with affected manner appear to be sullen, Applying the lip-wax and chewing the betels coyly. They cast a glance and meet men's eye, then turn away, Touching their friend with finger-tips in bashfulness. (2)

And at nighttime,

Young men throng in the middle of the road, Intentionally huddling among young girls. Some are mischievous, throwing bricks towards the shadow-play stage; Being caught, they give a statement in which they pass the blame on to their master.

(1) Ibid., p. 58.
(2) Ibid., p. 498.
Those who have just left priesthood walk together;
All are philanderers.
They act in vanity; some play chongnong and the others blow flutes.
They linger round to watch women.
Seeing salesgirls in stalls, They start courting them and jokingly beg for cigarettes.
Some are overcome with liquor
And haughtily make fierce quarrels.
Some hide themselves behind the bushes;
Seeing women walking home, They rush to them, put out the torches, And run away with their Phahom.
The owner pursues but are knocked down.
Some take their wives to watch the shadow-play; They stop to buy peanuts and lotus-seeds, Then make their way through the audience and sit in the middle. (2)
They are enthralled there by the performance.

The shadow-play generally gives joy to the audience who watch the beautiful carved figures on the screen and listen to the poems chanted with musical accompaniment. A dālang (shadow-play master) who has poetic aptitude can gain a large sum of money or other worthy things as a reward. He charms people more if his outward appearance is also attractive. In Dālang, the episodes where the shadow-play performance is concerned display the excessive enthusiasm of people who are captivated by the dālang's handsomeness as well as his artful technique of representation. For example, they run along as soon as

---

(1) Stringed instrument.
(2) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 503.
they hear the introductory music and huddle together in front of the screen. There they sit throughout the night until the performance is over. Then they go back home with the dalang in mind:

Those who live far off walk on, murmuring to themselves (about him),
So engrossed that they enter the wrong house. (1)

Women's reaction to the dalang is prominent in the shadow-play episode. During the performance,

Young girls make a resolution:
"I shall follow and visit him to-day.
If he does not care for me
I'll hang myself to death."
Those who are widows, unabashed,
Affectionately approach him;
They throw packets of scented flowers
to the dalang with love. (2)

At his dwelling place, the dalang has these women as regular visitors. They offer him various kinds of presents. Out of their parents' sight, some of the young girls sneak out of the house with perfumed powder, hair oil and cloths for him. Some prepare edible things, helped by their parents and relatives who are also full of love for the handsome dalang. They dress in competition and go to visit him daily with such offerings.

(1) Rama I, King, Dālang, p. 258.
(2) Ibid., p. 261.
(3) Ibid., p. 262.
(4) Ibid., p. 264.
Whoever arrives first gets in first; Those who come later pull faces. (1)

The shadow-play has a very important role in Dālang and Inao. The title of the former, Dālang, refers to the hero in disguise as a shadow-play master. His performance in Dāhā leads to the meeting with his betrothed. After the separation, he uses such a device of disguise once again in Manyāpā-ć and gains popularity among the citizens who finally invite him to ascend the throne by marrying the daughter of the late king. In Inao, the shadow-play managed by the hero’s retainer brings the discovery of the nun’s real identity after which the curse of Patārakālā ends.

It is worth noticing that the poems which have some association with the shadow-play tend to describe the method of representation. Samuthakhōt Kham Chan which was composed as a shadow-play text in the reign of Somdet Phra Nārāi is the best example of this feature. Dālang and Inao also contain passages describing how they perform such an entertainment. In Dālang, the poet starts with the principal accessories. First of all, the dālang makes the figures

(1) Ibid., p. 296.
(2) Ibid., pp. 256-348.
(3) Ibid., pp. 558-79.
(4) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 923-34.
out of the hide. Then he stretches a piece of white cloth as the screen. The musical instruments consist of an oboe, a xylophone, circular framed gongs and a drum. Prior to the performance, the hide figures are placed in order near the screen, and the dālang dresses himself beautifully in bright colour. When it is getting dark, the fire is lighted up and the orchestra play a prelude. The invocation begins, followed by the manipulation of 'Phrān' (comic character) on the screen. When the place is crowded, the dālang manipulates the hide figures representing the characters in his selected story and sings the poem extempore. The performance stops at dawn. The fire is quenched and the screen is rolled up. In Inao, the poets mention the manipulation of the 'early evening monkeys' as the prelude to the shadow-play, the torches burnt upon the table to give light to the screen, and the musical instruments which consist of a xylophone, gongs, drum, krō and krōng. The

(1) Rama II, King, Inao, pp. 502, 924, 1096.
(2) Krō is made from a section of bamboo which is cut in such a way that a node or joint of the bamboo is retained at each end of the section. A small slit is made in the side of the section running the length of the cylindrical column between the nodes. It is played by hitting the section of bamboo with a small beater which is made of another piece of bamboo or a piece of hard wood.
(3) Krōng, or long krō, is made from a long piece of bamboo, one or two metres in length, or as long as is desired. It is placed horizontally a few inches above the ground or floor, resting on two wooden supports one at either end, and one in the middle if the length warrants.
hide figures which the artists make in the nun episode
appear to be of small size and painted in beautiful colours.
The screen stretched between the posts is made of thin
white cloth. The invocation is made with three shouts while
the gongs and drum are beaten violently. Then the performance
starts with the manipulation of the leading character in

(1)

Another comic scene in which the commoners
participate deals with their reaction at the thought that
danger is near at hand. Once awakened in the middle of the
night by a tumultuous noise, they fancy that a fire is
breaking out and become panic stricken —

Some tighten their loin-cloth
And fasten the waist-band round,
Then climb up a side of their granary,
Trying to tear the roof down. (2)
Some run about, removing their properties;
They bump against the door, fall into the
space between floor-boards and tumble over. (3)

The movement after a presumption that the city
is going to be pillaged is graphically described though
mixed with the poets' sense of humour:

(1) In the nun episode, the figure representing Inao
is held up first because the dālang are depicting the story
of Inao — about the past relation between him and Busbā.
(2) It is the old method of preventing a wholesale
bonfire as the houses in those days had thatched roofs.
(3) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 846.
Some remove their properties to bury them
In secret, not telling any friend.
They keep in mind the very spot
And hide (their belongings) in earth.
Some take off their children's armlets
And, overwhelmed with fear,
They gather to consult one another.
Young girls and widows
Are frightened and unhappy,
Because they may not get husbands in time.
Each says, "I'll take the vow as a nun."
Some pray and make the offerings
To a woman sorcerer,
Questioning her about the city:
"How will the situation be?" (1)

Certain follies, rogueries and vulgarities as
displayed, in contrast with the dignified appearance, are
not incredible or fanciful. It is a realistic treatment
with respect to commoners and also a reflection of contem-
porary background. The dramatic poems of King Rama II are
noted for this distinctive feature. The Ramakien, for example,
gives us the same impression as Dālang and Inao in the
passages dealing with the entertainments and the crowd.
Even Longkā, the capital city of the demons, is humanized
and naturalized:

The mandarins' wives walk along, holding
their umbrellas.
Their hair is neatly combed and powdered
with soot.
Their servants walk behind.
Young girls from the royal court
Sit in an affected manner while watching Lakhūn.
...........................................

(1) Ibid., p. 164.
A peasant wearing phanung untidily
Crosses the 'path for insiders' and is caught.
The watchman threatens him with rattan,
But, being given four salu'ng (Thai money),
he lets him go.
The candy-vendor, a Chinaman, bawls: "Tang Mē!"
A rogue appears, snatches the candy and runs away.
The vendor pursues him along the road through the frightened crowd.(1)

As these poems are meant to be represented on the stage, the portrayal of costumes is another point worth taking into consideration. It is a way to draw people's attention to the pattern and the material of the costumes worn by the performers. They really dress themselves in the way described in the poems. Wherever a journey is involved or whenever a principal character leaves his or her abode for another place, a detailed description of the costume occurs. We get a stylized picture of the royalty in gorgeous clothes and ornaments:

a) A description of the hero's costume, (3)
on going to attend the Royal Cremation Ceremony at Manyā —

He dresses himself after smearing on a compound of scents.
Applying sandalwood oil to his hair, he combs it carefully.

(1) Rama II, King, Rāmakien, Bangkok, 1956, pp. 67-8.
(2) The quotations in a) and b) are made from Inao because it provides full descriptions which are the most useful index of comparison. In Dālang, descriptions of royal costumes are similar but brief and less detailed.
(3) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 36.
Then he puts on the sanapphlao (tight-fitting drawers),
The nether garment with läi-yaeng (a design),
The glaring purplish upper garment
Embroidered with threads of gold, silver and silk,
Which, confined together with scents,
spreads sweet fragrance,
The čhiarabāt (waist-band with its end hanging down to the knees, one at the front of each leg) embroidered all over with threads of gold,
The belt of as much value as the state,
The krongsū (ornament worn round the body on a level with the shoulders) with shining diamonds ornated in sangwian (a pattern),
The thapsuang (pendant) and a set of delicately made chains as the sangwān (worn from the shoulders to the hips diagonally),
The täp (plate attached to the sangwān upon the chest) decorated with gold and diamond in the pattern of four-petal flowers placed in sequence,
Nine pairs of pure gold bangles,
The rings radiant with diamonds,
The kančhiak (ornamental piece extending down behind the ear, from the lower part of the headdress) made to match the shape of the headdress,
And arms himself with the mighty kris used for fighting;
So handsome is he, as a deity coming. (1)

In other passages, some more ornaments worn by the royal personage are described. They can be listed as follows:

Dōkmāi Phet (diamond flower),
Dōkmāi That (flower worn above the right ear),
Kunthon (earrings),
Uba (string of flowers hanging down, from the lower part of the headdress, in front of the right ear),

Inthanū (epaulettes, worn only with the upper garment which has long sleeves), Phāhurat (armlets), Sa-ing (a set of chains) Panneng (buckle with belt) Tāp-thit (plate attached to the sangwan where the latter touches the hip),

including

Sābo (scarf) and hōi nā (cloth hanging down from the waist between the ends of the waist-band).

A handkerchief of bright colour or a fan is occasionally mentioned as being held in the left hand. The leading character sometimes wears a small garland round the wrist and tucks 'yā dom' behind the ear. The mention of slippers is found in the latter part of the poem.

The terms used in passages of the poem practically coincide with the conventional details of the male regal (1) theatrical costume used in Khōn and Lakhōn. The only omission in the text is the anklets (kamlai thao). Additional items appearing in the text are the scarf (sābo) and the slippers (chalōng-phra-bāt or rōng-phra-bāt).

(1) This term means drug used by inhalation. It is normally in a small container.

Modern Lakhon Chatri costume is similar. In earlier times the tunic was not worn. See: Damrong Rajanubhab, H.R.H. Prince, Tamrā Fōn Ram, Bangkok, 1923; and Nicolas, René, op. cit., p. 98. In paintings royal personages do not usually wear the battle tunic and their appearance is close to the convention for the older type of usage in Lakhōn Chātri.
The last mentioned item is perhaps significant in that it brings the costume worn one step nearer to the very similar costume of royal personages (dressed as for battle) where slippers are worn while they are not in the theatre. In royal battle costume anklets are not worn and do not appear in the text (Inao) as we have noted above.

b) A description of the heroine's costume, (2) on going to the audience hall —

She wears the light green, embroidered nether garment,
The sabai (phāhom) woven with threads of gold,
The bodice in ruby colour,
The chain (worn from the left shoulder to the hip opposite to it),
The plate (attached to the chain) ornated with diamond flowers,
The radiant gemmed bangles with raised surface,
The belt round her waist
And the resplendent diamond rings.
She powders her face and looks as clear
As the bright full-moon.
Then she wears the princess headdress.

There are also some more ornaments mentioned in other passages, such as

Kančhiak Čhōn (ear decorations attached to the headdress),
Uba (string of flowers hanging down, from the lower part of the headdress, in front of the left ear),
Kunthon (earrings),
Sōi Nuam (ornament worn round the body on a level with the shoulders),

(1) Ref. to royal costume description.
(2) King Rama II, Inao, p. 357.
Phāhurat (armlets),
Pawalam (bracelets of beads),
Thapsuang (pendant).

The fashion of holding a fan is mentioned occasionally. Slippers appear in the latter part of the poem.

The female royal costume in the text has close resemblance to the conventional theatrical costume. The only items not specifically mentioned in the text are the minor one of the flower above the left ear (dökmai that) and, once again, the anklets (kamlai thao) where slippers are mentioned in their place.

The material of these costumes and the grade of the ornaments vary in accordance with the importance of the character who wears them. During disguise as a forester, Inao does not wear the headdress (chadā); he lets his hair down and sometimes covers it with a piece of cloth. The description also reveals the colour contrast in the costumes, such as —

He wears a light green, 'khem khāp' nether
With an attractive blue, 'mōt' upper garment.

(2) A kind of cloth woven with the design running lengthwise.
(3) Embroidered silk with threads of gold or silver woven in alternately.
The 'tät' waist-band is embroidered with threads of gold; The pendant made of red stone shines bright. (2)

Or,

She wears the light green, embroidered nether garment, The sabai (phähom) woven with threads of gold, The bodice in ruby colour. (3)

For an important ceremony, such as in the burning of a widow, the tonsure, the coronation, or the marriage, the royal personage involved dresses in white.

The costumes of commoners are of simple pattern, consisting of two pieces of silk or cotton material. Among the men, the smaller piece is used for covering the shoulders as a scarf while the larger piece is worn in the form of breeches. Various designs or rich embroidery can be seen in the latter. The usual way of wearing it is to encircle the waist and tuck in the two ends neatly at the rear. In Inao, there is a mention of the dandy who give the fastening knot of the nether garment around the waist an extra twist; this style is known as 'kiao khō-kai'. In Dālang, the hero in disguise as a shadow-play master wears the nether garment in another style known as 'lōi chāi': he only twists
and fastens the upper ends at the waist, leaving the lower ends unrolled and not fastened up at the rear. The fashion of tucking 'yā dom' or a cigarette behind the ear is also found among the dandy. The mandarins wear su'a khrui (muslin jackets cut like short dressing gowns). The soldiers wear su'a sēnākut (tunics with 'the seal of the lion' printed upon them). Coloured military costumes are described occasionally.

The female commoners wear long nether garment called phānungh, with a sash or phāhōm as the upper garment. The ornaments are earrings, rings and gold chains. They smear their hair with scented oil or soot wax, comb it neatly and put it up in bun shape. The better class girls wear stylized costumes but they are less elaborate than those of the royalty. The poets also mention young girls walking along with a fan in one hand to draw men's attention.

There is a passage in Inao describing the female boxers. They let their hair down, daub their skin with consecrated turmeric powder and wear the phāhōm in 'tabaeng-mān' style (started from behind, passed under the armpits, across the chest and with the ends tied behind the neck). They tighten the loin-cloth up as the male boxers do. Their

---

(1) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 57.
hands are wrapped round with rope which serve as boxing gloves and a circular band of consecrated cord is worn round the head. This type of costume is considered to be suitable for fighting.

The descriptions in Dālang and Inao, therefore, show the difference between the stylized royal costume and the realistic costume of the commoner. The former, adapted from the actual royal costume which nowadays survives only in important state ceremonies in Thailand, fits the theatrical performance very well. Such pictures of the stylized costume are also found in miniature paintings in Thai manuscripts and mural paintings i.e. on the wall of the sanctuary of Wat Yom, Ayuthaya.

Outside the high thick wall of the populated city, the forest is the other main area which Thai poets take delight in picturing. Forest descriptions occur frequently because the action of the poem when it is not taking place in the palace or the city is concentrated in the forest. Travelling or the movement of an army through the forest is a very common theme. The striking characteristic of Dālang and Inao is that the contrast lies between

the palace and the city on the one hand and the forest on the other. There are no descriptions of the rice-field, people working in them, and the everyday actions of life in the country. Dramatic texts share this characteristic with narrative poetry in general, but contrast with the 'nirāt' type of travel poems where country scenes are frequently described.

Mountains, caves, waterfalls, streams, wild animals, birds, insects, trees laden with fruits and flowers constitute a pleasant view to the protagonists in Dālang and Inao on their journey. Among the simple and life-like descriptions we get these images:

The birds warble with pleasing notes;  
The gibbons sway along from branch to branch;  
There appear the ngogh, so dark and terrifying,  
Young oxen, stags, hedgehogs and bears.  
Beside a cave, the hares hops after one another.  
Peacocks are plentiful; some stand and dance,  
Some bathe, some preen their plumes upon the hill.  
The stream is filled with blooming lotuses  
From which sweet scents diffuse and intermingle.  
Carpenter bees and honey bees swarm about;  
Some hover round and suck the soothing nectar.(1)

The characteristic movements of bird life are often portrayed in Dālang, such as —

There are plenty of raw, under-ripe and ripe fruits  
At which a flock of birds are pecking.

(1) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 1186.  
The term 'ngogh' in this quoted passage refers to the negrito, an aboriginal race.
Some birds alight and roll themselves on open flowers;
Some hatch the eggs in their own nests;
Some return with prey and feed the young;
Some hover round, seeking for fruits;
Some coo and call in the forest,
Then dart away, affrighted by the marching troops.

Or,

The female birds are busy building nests;
The fledglings wait for their mothers;
The fully-fledged are taught to fly.

Birds and trees occupy an equally important place in the forest description. The poets take delight in citing their names, the vast majority of which are Thai or old assimilated borrowings from Mon-Khmer or Indic languages. There are some flower names of Indonesian origin used in Dālang and Inao only, such as

Butri Trasum — Clerodendron fragrans (Verbenaceae),
Bu-ngā Kantrū — Micromelum minutum (Rutaceae),
Bu-ngā Kārabuning — Murraya paniculata (Rutaceae),
Bu-ngā Tanyong — Mimusops elengi (Sapotaceae),
Bu-ngā Panan — Pandanus tectorius (Pandanaceae),
Bu-ngā Angsanā — Pterocarpus cambodianus (Leguminosae),
Bu-ngā Angsǒkā — Saraca indica (Leguminosae). (3)

Some of the birds and trees share the same name, for instance Kaeo, Nāngmuan, Yūng, Yāng, Wā and Anchan;
Some are partly similar, for instance Khapkhae (bird) —

(1) Rama I, King, Dālang, p. 682.
(2) Ibid., p. 874.
(3) See: Appendix V.
Khae (tree), Khaomong (bird) - Mong (tree), Chakkaphrak (bird) - Chak (tree), Nuanchan (bird) - Chan (tree), Rangnan (bird) - Rang (tree), Slikak (bird) - Kannik, Phka (tree), and so forth. These names form alliteration and wordplay, which are the most favoured devices in Thai poetic diction. Although there are some natural descriptions, the actual characteristics of the forest tend to fade out under the influence of poetic convention. Birds and trees mostly appear, either separately or associated with each other, as a display of linguistic beauty. For example, we find "chakkaphrak chap ckak chamnanckha" (= The Chakkaphrak bird perches and chirps on the Chak) which is an exaggeration. The bird is web-footed, belonging to the sea-gull family, so it would be unnatural for it to perch upon the tree. The occurrence here is to allow alliteration and wordplay. Besides, 'chak' also means 'to be separated from somebody' which fits the episode of separation very well.

Wild animals also serve as an enchanting background. They are of various species and some can be associated with certain trees as a device of wordplay, such as Chang (elephant) - Qichang (tree), Kwang (stag) - Hukwang (tree),

(1) This is a literal translation of the Thai term - 'len kham'.
(2) King Rama II, Inao, p. 315.
Khō (ox) – Chongkhō (tree), Su'a (tiger) – Tāsu'a (tree) and Mū (pig) – Summū (tree).

A large majority of the terms used describe actual examples of flora and fauna existing in Thailand. The following terms, however, refer to mythical creatures:

Kilën (four-footed, scaly creature with a dragon's head; Chinese origin.), Kraisōn (king of lions), Khotchasī (lion with an elephant's trunk), Nākkharat (king of the serpents, ruling the Naga world below the earth), Singtō (Chinese monster, very fierce and vigourous), Mangkōn (dragon, Chinese origin).

The sea journey seldom occurs in Dālang and Inao. There are 7 passages in Dālang and only 2 in Inao which illustrate aquatic animals, coral reefs, pearls, pebbles and sand. Various species of fish are cited, but they are a mixture of river fish and sea fish which does not give a realistic impression of the actual sea. It is another indication that the poets follow the usual convention while describing nature.
CHAPTER V

ASPECTS OF TREATMENT

Dālang and Inao exhibit certain features, with regard to the treatment of the subject, which are common in the Thai dramatic and narrative traditions. The emphasis as far as treatment is concerned lies with particular aspects. The two major aspects which can be isolated are those of war and of love — the martial and amatory aspects. It is also important to note the influence of magic. This is sufficiently marked for it to be named as a definite aspect of treatment. The relationship between divine intervention in human affairs and the exercise of magical practices is dealt with here in the section entitled 'Divine and Magical Aspects'.

Martial Aspect

Deeds of valour have been highly valued in all periods of Thai history, and this is reflected in literary texts. Heroic poetry commonly contains passages picturing the combat between hostile warriors. In the Lakhôn Nai texts, it is evident that the martial aspect is one of great importance. The major characters tend to get involved in warfare. The hero, being a descendant of Vishnu in Unarut, an incarnation of Vishnu in the Rāmakien, and a
descendant of the Divine Race in Dālang and Inao, always conquers his opponents, and so does the heroine in Dālang and Inao while acting as a man under the spell of the divine ancestor.

Lakhōn Nai has some particular elements in common with those of Sanskrit drama, such as adaptation from the legends or the lives of heroes in the remote past, having comic interventions while the leading characters are suffering from love, and a happy ending, yet they differ in the war episodes. Sanskrit drama never shows frightful events on the stage, but Lakhōn Nai presents fighting scenes. The descriptions in the texts are sometimes short, but sometimes in full length, according to the importance of the incidents and the characters involved.

When a royal personage journeys on warlike expeditions, he is usually escorted by an army arranged on the basis of fourfold division or 'चतुरोङ्ग योथः' which consists of infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots. The following phrases — 'crowded with चतुरोङ्ग योथः', 'move चतुरोङ्ग योथः', 'arrange चतुरोङ्ग योथः' and 'hasten चतुरोङ्ग योथः' — are common in both Dālang and Inao.

(1) It is interesting to note that information about the actual conduct of battles is very limited in the Arthasastra, the Sanskrit text on the theory of war. See: Basham, A.L., The Wonder that was India, London, 1956, p. 135.
We find a traditional pattern of warfare description which can be concisely illustrated as follows:

- The preparation of the military force by the royal command on the eve of departure.
- The costume and ornaments worn by a royal leader in the morning of the day of departure.
- The march and encampment at the destination.
- The fighting scene.
- The actions of the victor and the conquered after the battle.

The preparation of the army reveals the soldiers' attitude towards war, i.e., their eagerness for fighting. Weapons of various kinds are mentioned: daggers, swords, curved swords with long handle, two-edged swords, rapiers, spears, lances, javelins, long pointed iron bar, long sharp pointed bamboo-sticks, bows and arrows, crossbows, clubs, cannons, including shields of different shapes. The belief in supernatural power and the practice of magic flourish among the soldiers and there are frequent references to them. Most of the warriors possess the knowledge of making themselves invulnerable or invisible when required. They wear war amulets to safeguard themselves while fighting; these amulets are

Sāi Prakham (a string of consecrated beads).

Phā Pračhat (a magic cloth marked with intrinsic cabalistic designs, symbols, lettering and numbers),
Takrut (a consecrated hollow brass, lead or silver cylinder strung on a small cord and worn round the waist, or as necklace or armlet. It may be engraved with yantra.),

Mongkhon (a circular band of consecrated cord, worn round the head),

Phitsamôn (a small square amulet worn round the neck or waist).

Some talismans are imbedded in the skin; some of the warriors smear themselves with consecrated oil and powder; some take consecrated liquor, some bathe in herbal water while the others eat consecrated herbs.

This literary feature is held in common with historiographically motivated records of the skill and power of Thai soldiers practised for King Louis XIV's inspection in France. A passage in the Thai chronicle runs as follows:

"... the Ambassadors directed their teachers to prepare sixteen of his pupils, arm themselves with the mysterious numbers, and mystic sentences graven on charm-metal to ward off the impingement of weapons of death. The teacher was dressed in white, with a long fringed white coat, and a wand covered with white cloth. The sixteen pupils wore red flannel trousers and jackets. The great teacher and his pupils made in all 17 persons. These were conducted to the Royal Court into the royal presence. Having made their prostrations to H.M. they seated themselves upon the seats, and then entreated H.M. to allow the 500 sure-shot soldiers to fire at the 17 Siamese soldiers who were stationed upon the seats. H.M. gave orders that the 500 French soldiers simultaneously fire upon all the Siamese soldiers.
Under the protecting influence of the three refuges, and the merit of the mystic numbers and sentences, the skill of invincibility and exemption from harm, all the French soldiers fired their flint lock guns several rounds at close and long range, but the flint sparks did not ignite the powder, and none of the guns went off. The seventeen Siamese soldiers feasted themselves on the rich food and wines naturally and without any indications of perturbation. All the French soldiers had their anxieties and fears and paused to see the effects of their fire. The Siamese teacher cried out granting permission, saying, fire again, we will now allow the sparks to ignite the powder, and all the balls to escape from their barrels. All the French soldiers fired again simultaneously one more round, the sparks ignited the powder, the balls flew from their barrels, some fell directly under the muzzle of the guns, some fell off at a distance, some fell near the seat-stands, but did not hit one of the Siamese soldiers. . . "(1)

The above incident occurred when a Thai embassy visited France in 1657. Such knowledge of magic was a great benefit for warfare. In a war between Thailand and Burma, in 1662, the prowess of Phraya Siharat Decho, a leader of the advance Thai forces, was reported in the Thai chronicle:

" The armed Burmans . . . surrounded the Siamese soldiers, and engaged in a hand to hand fight. The Burmans being by far the most numerous, outnumbering the Siamese several times, effected the capture of many of the Siamese. P'raya daacho, however, possessed the art of making himself temporarily invisible so long as he held breath. With his lance in hand he urged on his white horse and pierced to death many a ten of the brave Burmans who sometimes saw him and sometimes were not able to see him. In groups, here and there, they pursued him and attempted to surround him. P'raya Sri Raht daacho fought till, overcome with fatigue, he fell from his horse. His breathing.

became rapid in consequence of his fatigue. The Burmans now were able to see him distinctly; they surrounded him, seized and bound him and they urged one another to stab, pierce and slay him, but he had the art of making himself impregnable, and he was able to resist the impingement of all their weapons. . . ." (1)

By means of magic, Phrayā Sīharāt Dēchō was able to release himself from being captive and he also gained victory over the Burmese army. His action was described as follows:

". . . P'raya Sri Raht daacho, who was still bound, was examining the clouds and their figures in the sky. He saw a favourable omen and a diffusion of propitious magic sentences, and all his fetters fell from him. He sprang to his feet, rushed and seized a sword from a Burman, assailed and slew several of those who guarded the prisoners. The Burmans fled at the approach of this wonderful and daring man. With his sword he severed the bands of about ten of his fellow prisoners. These rushed and seized weapons from their enemies the Burmans and severed the bands of all their fellow prisoners, and the entire Siamese party pursued, assailed and slew many of the Burmans in the fortification, the remainder fled, and the fortification was captured. . . ." (2)

Material of this kind provides a strong indication of the unity of historical and literary methods of treating a subject in the traditional Thai cultural environment. The ultimate influence of ancient India is plain.

(1) Ibid., p. 23.
(2) Ibid., p. 24.
The costume and ornaments worn by a royal personage when he goes to war are not much different from those worn in the time of peace. They are mostly the same, except for the war sangwan and the chalōng-ong song praphat which are sometimes mentioned in the place of the ordinary sangwan and ordinary upper garment, in order to emphasize that it is a war costume. His personal weapon is also mentioned. The soldiers in the army wear less elaborate costumes: the loin-cloth fastened round the waist with a belt, the upper garment and the headdress or head-scarf. These are of colour contrast. In Dālang, there is a mention of a general wearing armour and headdress while the general's deputy wearing a tunic with the device of a lion printed upon it.

The army on the march generally consists of the vanguard, the centre, the right wing, the left wing and the rear. If the chief of the army is a king or a prince, we shall find a passage describing the royal regalia and his decorated conveyance - war horse, elephant, or chariot. The march starts at an auspicious moment, fixed by the court astrologers, and is accompanied by a musical band. Then the tumultuous uproar occurs by the shouts of soldiers, the sounds made by horses, elephants, chariot-wheels and the clatter of weapons. The description of the battle array, such as in the form of naga, garuda, lion, eagle, or lotus,
and the description of the setting up of camp at a suitable site can be found throughout Inao.

At the battle field where the two well-prepared armies face each other, a negotiation between the chiefs starts and it usually ends in a single combat witnessed by all the rest of the soldiers. The chiefs fight for victory while the retinue fight for their chiefs. If one chief is captured or killed, his retinue will flee in utter confusion. The victorious troops follow in pursuit to capture the routed and confiscate their belongings.

It is noticeable that the use of elephants, or chariots, is very rare in battle. The elephants and chariots mostly serve as the medium of transport prior to the launching of the campaign. The soldiers fight on horseback as well as on foot. In scenes of warfare in Dālang, four royal chiefs are seated on their elephants and another royal chief is riding in his chariot, but such occurrences may be regarded as exceptional. In the first case, the two princes of Pratāhon who are seated on the elephants are making their journey back to their city. They happen to get involved in

(1) This is typical of the fantastic description of the South-east Asian warfare in the former days. Such military organization is also described in the Thai treatise on the art of warfare. See: Tamrā Phichai Songkhram Kham Klōn, Bangkok, 1950; E.G. Quaritch Wales, Ancient South-east Asian Warfare, London, 1952.

(2) In contrast to Thai panegyric and narrative poetry, e.g. Yuan Phāi and Phra Lō, where elephant charges are described.
fighting with Misâ Framangkuning who challenges him with insulting words. The latter, however, fights on foot. The other two chiefs - the King and the Prince of Mongkon - who are seated on their elephants on the battlefield are captured by Panyî's magic rope and are beheaded before the elephant charges start. The King of Pamâ-se who is riding in his chariot commands his soldiers to fight, but, when his adversary approaches him with a challenge, he surrenders without fighting. In Inao, the poets also mention only fighting on horseback and on foot. The elephants are used in tearing down the enemy's camp.

The image of battle in Dâlang is influenced by the ancient military rule. We find that the warriors attack similarly armed opponents, for example -

The curve-pointed spearmen against the curve-pointed spearmen,
The rapier-holders against the rapier-holders,
The lancers against the lancers, swaying their lances
In hands with skill and bravery;
The shield-holders encounter the shield-holders;
The swordsmen fight bravely against the swordsmen. (4)

Vivid descriptions of warriors rushing to smite their opponents are given in both poems. A general in Dâlang is fatally wounded, his entrails coming out of the wounds.

(1) King Rama I, Dâlang, pp. 403-410.
(2) Ibid., pp. 803-811.
(3) Ibid., pp. 435-437.
(4) Ibid., p. 225.
He falls down from the horseback, but

He subdues the pains with wrath.
Pushing his entrails back immediately,
He wraps his abdomen tightly.
Then, pulling out his kris, he pursues
The enemies in extreme anger.
Overtaking one, he grasps his (enemy's) hair,
Snatches him down from horseback
And stabs him to death.
He rushes on the other soldiers.
Many are wounded and some are killed
By his intensified force.
Finally, his energy expires;
Then he falls down, and dies. (1)

Magical intervention frequently occurs in the
martial theme in Dālang. The hero acquires magic from a
hermit. He can make himself invulnerable and invisible, and
can employ incantations to make the others fall fast asleep
or transform himself into any other figure. The heroine
also acquires magic from the divine ancestor, and so do her
ladies-in-waiting, after having been transformed into men.
These characters make use of magic when they get involved
in fighting and always gain victory, no matter how skilful
in magic their enemies are.

The divine aspect is associated with the magical
aspect in the martial theme. Apart from the human preparations
which involve normal magical practices, communications with
the divine world take place and the warriors are emboldened
by supernatural aids from the deities. The Mongkon war in

(1) Ibid., pp. 757-8.
Dālang strikingly deals with magic and divine assistance after a single combat between the hero and the King of Mongkon, in which one cannot defeat the other, such as is normal in Sanskrit heroic poetry.

Inao which appears more human presents realistic images of warfare. Though references to superstitious beliefs and supernatural aids are made in some places, the fighting scenes reveal normal heroic actions. The Kamang-kuning war contains detailed descriptions of the siege and conquest of a frontier town, the preparations for war in the capital city and the combat on the battlefield, without any occurrence of supernatural intervention.

The warriors in Inao are portrayed as ordinary human beings. Though they have an ideal that it is a great honour to fight unto death, they can be as much frightened as the civilians when danger befalls. The image of a routed army is given as follows:

Some run straight into the jungle;
Some swim away, struggling for life;
Some climb up the mountain and cross the hill, stumbling along the way;
Their properties and weapons fall;
Their clothes are left scattered around.
Attendants flee ahead, not waiting for their masters.
The cowardly ones rush off alone,
Not turning back to the victorious shouts.
Extremely scared of death,
They can do nothing but sit and pray. (1)

(1) King Rama II, Inao, p. 136.
In one of the martial preparations in Inao, we find:

Hearing the news of war,  
The cowards' hearts pound with awe.  
Pretending that they have fever,  
They ask their friends to inform their master of their sickness.  
Some bold warriors boast of themselves,  
Making loud noises in the camp.  
They boast of their abundant knowledge,  
Their talismans and incantations. (1)

The two quoted passages show that Inao displays not only the warriors' bravery but also their reverse side.

Amatory Aspect

Though fighting is the favourite topic in both Dālang and Inao, the element of love relationship plays a more dominant part in the dramatic appeal of the poems. It centres round the characters of royal parentage who reveal their emotional weakness. Woman's beauty is the main factor which brings love at first sight, followed by restlessness and wailings. The reactions of love-stricken personages are described in a vivid manner. We find two striking ones in Inao – the King of Čhōrakā and the Prince of Kamangkuning – who are fascinated by the portrait of the Princess of Dāhā. It happens that –

Love's passion, like a Kalpa fire, consumes his heart  
And the virtuous King (Čhōrakā) collapses to unconsciousness. (2)

(1) Ibid., p. 128.  
(2) Ibid., p. 233.
Similarly, the Prince of Kamangkuning feels as if the portrait is —

A disc of gold shining into his eyes,  
And he becomes overwhelmed with ardent love.  
Folding the paper, hiding it in his waist-band,  
He yearns for her with throbbing heart  
And suddenly swoons upon horseback. (1)

Inao is the typical hero. He takes part as a sentimental lover who can be easily charmed by woman's beauty and is always becoming involved in various complications because of his amorous attitude. The beginning part of Dalang and Inao inform us that the five queens of different ranks—Pramaisuri, Madewi, Mato, Liku and Maolangi—are confined to the four god-created states while the other kings of minor states have only one queen each. It points out the superiority of the Divine Race. However, after the omens of glory which accompany Inao's birth, the court seers prophesy that he will grow up to be a great king who marries ten queens. This particular elaboration, on the one hand, exalts him from the start to be an extraordinary being among the divine descendants, and, on the other hand, provides a convincing prediction that he is fated to meet many loves in his life.

Though the story of Dālang does not develop to

(1) Ibid., p. 251.
the marriage in Kalang, it displays Inao's numerous wives before he ascends the throne of Kurēpan. They can be listed respectively as follows:

Durīdhaṇā, one of the princesses serving in the royal household of Kurēpan.

Kēn Busbā Sārī, the daughter of a poor forester. (Inao's first love)

Busbā Sārī, the Princess of Pancharākan.

Kattikā Sārī, the Princess of Pakamā-ngan.

Nusātan, the Queen of the City of Women.

Čhintarā Wātī, the Princess of Pataram.

Yang Yang Sārī, the Princess of Manyāpā-et.

Kēn Pralā-ngū, one of the court ladies in Manyāpā-et.

The seven Princesses of the seven vassal states of Mongkon.

Busbā Kāloh, the Princess of Dāhā. (Inao's betrothed)

The complete version of Inao tells us about the names and ranks of Inao's ten queens:

Čhintarā Wātī  Pramaisuri, right side. (The Princess of Manyā - Inao's first love)

Busbā Nu'ng Rat  Pramaisuri, left side. (The Princess of Dāhā - Inao's betrothed)

Māyā Rasmī  Madēwī, right side. (The Princess of Pakamā-ngan)

Sakāra Wātī  Madēwī, left side. (The Princess of Pancharākan)

Busbā Wilit  Matō, right side, (The Princess of Pamansalat)
Busbā Kančhanā – Matō, left side.  
(The Princess of Wangkan)  
(1)  
Rana Karatikā – Likū, right side.  
(The Princess of Payang)  
Črasā – Likū, left side.  
(The Princess of Kurabumī)  
Surankančhā Sārī – Maolā-ngī, right side.  
(The Princess of Wala-ngit)  
(2)  
Hongyāyā – Maolā-ngī, left side. (3)  

Their relationships with Inao are of different categories. Kēn Pralā-ngū and the seven Princesses of the vassal states of Mongkon (in Dālang), Busbā Wilit, Rana Karatikā, Črasā, Surankančhā Sārī and Hongyāyā (in Inao) are not given any speaking roles. Kēn Pralā-ngū is mentioned as a court lady who falls in love with Dālang, or Inao in disguise, and expresses her affection while he is performing a shadow-play. She is put into prison by the Princes of Manyāpā-et for that inconsiderate behaviour. When Inao is chosen to be the ruler of that state after the rebellion, he releases her and reciprocates her love by appointing her to be his chief concubine. The other non-speaking characters whose names are cited above are all hostages sent to Inao by their parents who acknowledge his suzerainty.

(1) This name slightly differs from the first mention in the text, in p. 245, which appears as Ratanā Ratikā.  
(2) In the text, pp. 582–3, there is a mention of two princesses named Yāyā Sārī and Mā-nganyāyā, from Tamā-se and Patālang respectively, being sent to Inao. Hongyāyā may be one of these two, as slight variants in appellation can occur by different poets.  
(3) King Rama II, Inao, p. 1080.
Among the speaking ones, Duridgirasā (in Dālang) is Inao's first concubine. His parents offer her to him when he reaches the marriageable age. She plays a short role, only in a love scene in the beginning of the story, and fades out as an important character.

Another short love relationship is mentioned between Inao in disguise and Nusātan (in Dālang) who adopts him as her consort and lets him share the throne of the City of Women. He deserts her afterwards to seek for other adventures in other places.

Ōhintarā Wātī (in Dālang) sees Inao in a dream and falls in love with him. At that time, he is practising austerities as a hermit on a mountain. She gets divine assistance through which he is enticed to her palace and marries her. However, he deserts her to go on searching for his lost betrothed. During his absence, she gives birth to a son who, later on, succeeds in finding him and persuading him to return to her. He leaves her again for the Mongkon war, taking his son along to the battlefield. We find no further information about her, because, after gaining a victory over Mongkon and becoming its ruler, Inao meets his betrothed and follows after her to Kālang where the reunion occurs.

Kattikā Sārī and Yang Yang Sārī (in Dālang) are comparable to Māyā Rasmī, Sakāra Wātī and Busbā Kančhanā
(in İnão), being given to İnão when their states fall under his power and becoming his queens. A son is born to Yang Yang Sārī later.

Busbā Sārī (in Dālang) plays an interesting part as a princess who not only resembles İnão's first love but also shares the same name, as if fated to supplant the executed forest girl and demolish İnão's grief soon after that tragic incident. She is on a tour, accompanied by her parents, her attendants and an army, when İnão comes across her and takes her away by force because of the strength of his desire. Though İnão does not reveal his real identity, her father knows about it from the hermit. Pleased with İnão's exalted birth and appearance, her father gives her hand to him in marriage despite her betrothal with the Prince of Sačha-unū.

In both poems, İnão's first love and betrothed play the most influential role in his life. His first love who causes distraction from his betrothed is separated from him unexpectedly (forever by death in Dalang, but for a long time by a war and other incidents in İnão). The meeting with his betrothed, the matchless beauty on earth, who is due to marry one of her suitors, incurs his anguish in repentance:

_Lying or sitting,_
_He feels as if being amidst the Kalpa fire._
Overwhelmed with grief, he looks miserable. Clasping his arms around his knees, he loses consciousness. And tears fall down his face. At meal-time, he is absent-minded and forgets to chew. But turns around to look for her.

"How can I have a glimpse of you So that my heart will be refreshed?"

At bath-time, he takes his bath; The touch of water is like a burning fire. (1)

Though successful in breaking up her marriage, Inao suffers more by another unexpected incident which leads to the loss of her. Even after the long search under the god's spell, and the discovery, Inao's married life turns out to be unhappy at an early stage, as he fails to become reconciled with his first love who is appointed to be his chief queen. Moreover, his betrothed who becomes his other chief queen is separated from him by her mother. With his sister's assistance, he regains her on condition that he will conciliate his first love. All problems are solved at last when he makes another effort to pacify his first love and meets with success.

The poets' descriptions concentrate more on Inao's amatory feelings than on his prowess in warlike exploits. It is noticeable that though he awakes interest and admiration for his divine blood, personality and power, his emotional weakness makes him less ideal and perfect.

(1) Ibid., p. 448.
Passion always rules his heart, and he is best known as a philanderer who lures girls with pleasing words. His affection is unstable. Even during the search for his lost beloved, he is still eager to gain other beautiful princesses. In Inao, he blames Sangkhumarata for falling in love with the wife of another man, but when he himself meets Sakāra Nu'ng Rat, the Princess of Kālang, he is fascinated by her beauty and tries to win her hand even though she is his cousin's betrothed. His lawless passion is also found in the nun episode. The mere information that there is a beautiful nun on a mountain makes him long for her and devise ways to have her as his wife.

Sunthon Phū wrote in his Phra Aphaimanī, with reference to Inao, that "excessive love tends to die out very soon, like Inao who deserts Čhintarā." It is true that Inao's first love is very great. Čhintarā Wātī is everything to him, and he really wants her to be his chief queen. He stays with her in Manyā, ignores his father's summons, and refuses to marry his betrothed:

Though all arrangements have been made,
Don't wait for me.
If anyone asks for Busbā's hand,
Let his wish be fulfilled. (2)

(1) Sunthon Phū, Phra Aphaimanī, Bangkok, 1924, p. 61.
(2) King Rama II, Inao, p. 272.
The poets describe Inao's feelings in a vivid manner - his reluctance to part when he is obliged to give military assistance to Dāhā, his distress while being far from Čhintarā and his longing to return to her immediately after the war. But, when he meets Busbā who is much more beautiful than Čhintarā, he forgets the latter completely. In his thoughts while wailing in repentance, Čhintarā becomes a crow which he has blindly admired, and Busbā is a swan which he has neglected. His marriage with Čhintarā is arranged by King Dāhā, but she cannot regain his affection. The reconcilement is made just to please Busbā's mother.

Inao possesses the gift of talking, but it is in the amatory aspect that his words betrays his duplicity. After abducting Busbā to the cave, he pleads for her sympathy by defaming Čhintarā:

It is not that I wanted her.
She started first, giving me the chance;
My weak heart was then misled.
Her relationship with me — only a lover.
I did not consider her as a wife. (1)

He lures Busbā by continuing with a consolation:

Between you and me, it is understood,
The betrothal has been made since childhood.
Though I have had a hundred wives,
They shall be your subordinates
According to the custom of the Divine Race. (2)

(1) Ibid.; p. 515.
(2) Ibid.; p. 516.
When he tries to pacify Chintarā after she has become his Pramaisuri, he says:

I asked His Majesty to send for you
To join the marriage as my chief queen.

He tells her why he left Manyā for many years:

Since the war broke out, I had to come (to Dāhā)
To fight for the Divine Race.
Later Busbā vanished; and, by the King's
command,
I had to search for her all over the forests.(2)

The use of supernatural aid in talking does not occur as in Khun Chāng Khun Phaen, the indigenous story, in which the hero depends on incantations. Inao weakens every heart by his own talent.

The cultural atmosphere of Dālang and Inao is that of male polygamy and female monogamy. A woman once married is bound by ties of loyalty to her husband. If the latter deserts her, she can do nothing but remain single. If she is lucky to regain his affection, she may have a happy reunion afterwards. If the couple are separated alive, each may search for one another. A Hindu custom which requires the widow's self-immolation on her husband's funeral pyre is introduced into some circumstances where royal death is concerned.

Tears and sighs are the common expression of a person in love, and the way of showing affection is to
give betels, flowers, ornaments, or clothes to the loved one. The approach can be made by words or love-letters which, sometimes, are carved on the leaves or flower-petals. Girls who are minor characters, especially those who are enamoured of Inao and Busbā during their disguise, tend to reveal their affection first.

Nature is another important background in the love episode. The pond, stream, or garden is the place where a man meets his loved one. Flowers in bloom bring delight to the couple, but in their separation, the sight of nature will remind him or her of the distant love whose absence each continually deplores. In some passages dealing with a lovelorn character, the creatures of the forest also share the distress, and nature mourns as if it were animate:

The moon shines upon the leaves,
And she watches it with perplexity.
It reminds her of Dālang holding the beautiful hide-figures
While manipulating the shadow-play before the royal pavilion.
She feels as if hearing his pleasing songs.
The fragrance of blooming flowers
Whose stems are twining with one another
Remind her of the soothing fragrance from Dālang
When he entered her apartment. (1)

Or,

He glances at the birds in that forest.
They neither sing nor fly, but perch in drowsiness.
The flowers are falling from the trees,

(1) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 412.
The rest withering, not blooming as usual. (1)  
The deer forget the area where young leaves abound.

In Dālang, there are 9 and in Inao 5 scenes of love involving Inao. In both poems, there is a similar structure to the developed love-scene. First, the approach through conversation, then physical contact between the lovers. The description is realistic to this point. For the rest of love itself, the convention is to provide a symbolic description, for example —

The rising sun shines;  
The lotus is refreshed;  
The petals open  
And gladly welcome sunlight;  (2)  
The bee floats down (to the lotus).

Or,

Rains falls  
Upon the golden flower;  
The petals open;  (3)  
The bee visits the flower with delight.

Divine and Magical Aspects

In the story of the Divine Race, the divine world and the human world are not far apart. The deity Patārakālā always cares for the reputation and happiness of his descendants. He often leaves his heavenly abode and

(1) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 547-48.  
(2) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 27.  
(3) King Rama II, Inao, p. 526.
comes down to earth on important occasions, especially when
the hero or the heroine falls into trouble. His role is,
therefore, comparable to that of Indra in the Buddhist
Jatakas. Apart from paying visits to the princes of the
Divine Race after their birth and giving individual kris to
each of them, Patārakāla intervenes in other incidents as
follows:

In Dālang,

1) He rescues Inao and Inao's followers from
being drowned by shipwreck.

2) He transforms himself into a centipede in
the court of Dāhā. It leads to the first meeting between
Inao and Busbā (his betrothed).

3) He rescues Busbā from being burnt alive
when she has to immolate herself on her bridegroom's funeral
pyre.

4) He transforms Busbā and her ladies-in-waiting
into men, giving an individual kris to each, blessing and
casting a spell on Busbā which inhibits her from recognising
the disguised Inao.

5) He tells Inao's cousin in his dream where

(1) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 6, 7, 9; King Rama II, Inao,
pp. 18, 22, 24.
(2) p. 186.
(3) p. 275.
(4) p. 390.
6) He creates a hermitage with beautiful surroundings for Inao, his brother and his cousin when they decide to perform austerities as hermits.

7) He tells the transformed Busbā to search for Inao.

8) He tells Busbā to go to Kālang where the King and her other two relatives are imprisoned by the King's son. He comforts those three captives in their dreams and shortens the journey for Busbā when she comes to release them.

9) He rescues Inao from being murdered in a rebel in Manyāpā-ēt.

10) He gives an order to a divine attendant, who is comparable to Vissakamma in the Buddhist Jatakas, to create a hermitage with beautiful surroundings for Busbā and her ladies-in-waiting whom he retransforms into their real identities.

All these interventions are meant to release misfortune and render happiness to the Divine Race.

---

(1) p. 416.
(2) pp. 429-30.
(3) p. 432.
(4) p. 527-8.
(5) pp. 572, 578.
(6) p. 976.
In Inao,

1) He steals one of Busbā's portraits from the sleeping artist and causes an event which makes Inao suffer from love.

2) He transforms himself into a golden stag and entices Wiyāsakam, the Prince of Kamangkuning, to find Busbā's portrait which is left beneath a tree in the forest.

3) He creates a storm to carry Busbā away from the neighbourhood of the cave.

4) He consoles Busbā in the forest, then disguises her and her ladies-in-waiting as men, giving an individual kris to each, and casts a spell on Busbā.

5) He tells the disguised Busbā in her dream to search for Inao.

6) He consoles Busbā in her dream when she feels worried about the war in which she has to take part in fighting.

7) He helps Busbā to kill the enemy on the battlefield.

8) He transforms himself into a peacock and

---

(1) p. 231.
(2) p. 248.
(3) p. 560.
(4) p. 562.
(5) pp. 610-11.
(6) p. 709.
(7) p. 720.
entices Siyatrā to Kālang where Inao and Wiyadā are staying in disguise. He also magically shortens the journey for Siyatrā when he is travelling.

The main purpose of Patārakālā in these actions is to punish Inao for his misbehaviour.

The loss of the earliest versions of Dālang and Inao and the rewriting done in the early Ratanakosin period possibly caused variations to occur in both stories. Among the dramatic poems composed in the reign of King Rama I, the Rāmakien is the most famous one. It abounds in themes of supernatural power and relations among divine beings, human beings, demons and monkeys. As this story has been popularly known since the Sukhothai period, such themes are familiar to the Thai. They may have been woven into some parts of Dālang because of such great influence from Indic sources. It appears that the heroic deeds of the princes of the Divine Race in Dālang are mostly connected with magic or divine beings. There are 4 episodes dealing with the minor deities who misbehave in heaven and have to suffer on earth by divine condemnation. They pretend to be malicious and let the divine descendants kill them so that they can be release from penalty.

The first deity, living on earth in the form of

(1) p. 810.
a demon, kidnaps the Princess of Kalang and leaves her upon a tree. He returns to heaven in his divine form after being killed by the transformed Busbā. (1)

The second deity, taking the form of a wild beast, kidnaps Inao's brother. The latter finally kills the accursed deity, thus sending him back to heaven. (2)

The third deity, taking the form of a wild buffalo, pretends to be hostile to Inao's son when he is travelling to visit Inao. After being killed and retransformed into divine appearance, the deity magically shortens the journey for Inao's son. (3)

The fourth deity, taking the form of a crocodile, pretends to frighten Inao and is killed by the latter. Before returning to heaven, the deity gives Inao a magic rope by which Inao can conquer his enemies. (4)

The divine aspect as found in Dalang is mostly blended with the magical aspect, especially in the martial theme. Inao is more human. Apart from the role of Patārakālā as already illustrated and the episode of the abduction of Yāran, there is no other practice of magic and not a single accursed deity is mentioned in Inao. Further examples

(1) King Rama I, Dalang, pp. 587-96.
(2) Ibid., pp. 600-7.
(3) Ibid., pp. 698-704.
(4) Ibid., pp. 797-800.
(5) See pp. 149-50 in this chapter.
(6) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 870-4.
from Dalang which indicate the preference for associating the divine world and magic with the human world can be given as follows:

1) The Prince of Kālang leaves for the forest where he prays and makes offerings to a tree deity in request of a magic rope. The deity appears before him and fulfils his wish. This is comparable to an episode in the Rāmakien of King Rama I in which Ravana's son prays for a divine weapon.

2) A tree deity appears before the King of Pataram who worships him with offerings. As the King's daughter wants to marry Inao whom she sees in a dream, the King needs divine help. The deity sends a magic hawk to entice Inao to the Princess of Pataram. This is also comparable to Lilit Phra Lō, the narrative poem composed in the seventeenth century, in which Phra Lō is enticed by a magic cock sent from Pū Čhao Saming Phrāi.

3) The transformed Busbā visits an island which is famous for the oracle given by a deity. She makes a request for the divine information about her long lost betrothed. Then everybody in that place hears the voice of the invisible deity telling her where to find him.

(1) King Rama I, Dalang, pp. 516-7.
(2) King Rama I, Rāmakien, pp. 609-10.
(3) King Rama I, Dalang, pp. 455-7.
(5) King Rama I, Dalang, pp. 870-1.
There are no incidents of these types in Inao. Though an episode of making a request for an oracle exists, the deity's supernatural power is not described. The second queen of Dāhā persuades Busbā to ask the Holy Image at Mt. Wilismārā about her true partner. The voice which everybody hears in reply is not that of the deity, but it is the voice of Inao who hides himself behind the Holy Image. This is typical of the reduced role played by divine and magical aspects in Inao as compared with Dālang and its attenuated nature. This operates in favour of increased emphasis on the human aspects of the story as it became naturalized in the Thai literary environment.

(1) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 418-22.
CHAPTER VI

VERSIFICATION

Thai versification is of several forms: Klōn, Khlong, Rāi, Kāp and Chan. Each of them, with numerous subdivisions, differs in syllable count, pattern of syllable groups and rhyming. The Lakhōn texts, which can be said to have existed as early as the middle of the eighteenth century according to reliable tradition, were composed in a particular verse form known as 'Klōn Bot Lakhōn', a subdivision of Klōn which is believed by the Thai people to be indigenous. A great number of lullabies and country-songs connected with festivities have been orally handed down from the olden days, revealing the primary function and varied characteristics of Klōn.

Examples.

1. nok khao oei
   khan tae chao ḍhon yen
   khan thoet mae ḍha fang siang len
   nu'a yen ḍhao khon diao oei

   - Lullaby.

   syllabic structure: 3 - 5

   7 - 6
rhyme scheme:

```
\[ \begin{array}{ccccccc}
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\end{array} \]
```

2. mae sī oei

mae sī sā hong
choen chao mā long
ao mae sūi thong
choen pi choen klōng
choen mae thong sī oei

- Mae Sī song.

syllabic structure: 3 - 4
4 - 4
4 - 5

rhyme scheme:

```
\[ \begin{array}{ccccccc}
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\end{array} \]
```

3. phitsathan oei

mū nu'ng thū' phān dōk chōk
koet mā chā t'ai saen dāi
khō hai dāi phuak bān krābōk

- Phitsathan song.
syllabic structure: 4 - 6
6 - 7

rhyme scheme:

```
o o o o o o o o
o o o o o o o o
```

Since these forms of Klön have been used for singing with additional melody in between the words, they do not contain many syllables in a wak (half-line). The introductory wak normally contains fewer syllables than others.

It is worth noticing that Klön Bot Lakhön in the early period, for example in the extant version of Nāng Manōrā, is comparable to the ancient songs in rhyme scheme:

```
krayot khao
nāng čhao mae song sättrā chai
čhap sai nu'a kēsā
strāngkhanāng nōk nāi
thā tōng thī dī hai chū' nam
thā tōng thī rāi hai chū' fai
čha dī čha rāi prakān dai
hai hen khāng nāi tamrā
```

(1) Bot Lakhôn Khrang Krung Kao Ru'ang Nāng Manōrā Kap Sangthōng, Bangkok, 1919, p. 28.
rhyme scheme:

```
<p>| | | | | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

Or,

mu'a nan
eowan khwan khao ñhao manörá
pen plä taphian thöng long nam mà
khû' dang phrayä rächa hong thöng
long khao nai uan chuan hö röng
(1) mi kông nai sa phra khongkhâ

rhyme scheme:

```
<p>| | | | | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

The rhyme scheme of the first three lines in the first passage quoted from Nâng Manörâ can be compared with the song no. 2 (Mae Sî song) and those in the second passage can be compared with the song no. 3 (Phitsathân song). Such similarities indicate that Klôn Bot Lakhôn might have been adapted from the ancient songs and in a

(1) Ibid., p. 53.
later stage developed to have the regular rhyming which is found in the latter part of Nāng Manōrā, for example——

manōrā
dai fang phrān pā mā prāsai
nāng ʻchu'ng yāng thao kao khu'n pai
āsai nai hāng thī klāng dong
phrān phrai
čhut tāi kō fai rē thiao song
phithak raksā nāng chōmyong
klua nāng čha long lop nī pai

rhyme scheme:

```
  o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o
  o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o
  o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o
  o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o
```

This pattern, having a set of couplets rhymed with one another (the last word of the first couplet rhymes with the last word of the first line of the next couplet), also occurs in the beginning part of Nāng Manōrā but it is not regularly used. The following canto, for instance, does not end with a full couplet:

(1) Ibid., p. 69.
It is probable that the standard form of Klön was set when Klön was written down, because one could see the irregular structure and rhyming more clearly than while hearing extempore songs. The love-poems in the middle of the eighteenth century serve as early evidence of the adjusted Klön-pattern which has been in use up to the present day.

(1) Ibid., p. 32.
The earliest date of the written Klōn is not known for certain. In Tamrap Thāo Sī Ēhulālak, one of the prose literary works ascribed to the Sukhothai period, appear three cantos of Klōn. But, the language used and the mention of westerners, especially Americans, make it impossible that it is a genuine work of that early age. The original version, if it ever existed, might have become impaired and needed revision; then some poet rewrote it during the Ratanakosin period but retained the name of Lady Nophamēt who was the original author.

The Palace Law enacted in the middle of the fifteenth century mentioned Sēphā as one of the royal entertainments at nighttime. Sēphā is composed in Klōn, but we do not have any evidence of written Sēphā dated to that period.

An anonymous love-poem in Klōn, written on a wall in Čhanthra Phisān Palace at Lopburi, has been assumed to be the work of Somdet Phra Nāraī (1656-88). It consists of 76 khamklōn (lines), beginning with ---

Chōm hōm hōm hoen wēhā huan
tae hōi hā mi dài wen thiwā khruan
khuan sa-nguan nēt thasanā nāng

(1) See: Prachum Phlēngyāo, Pt. 7, Bangkok, 1924, pp. 44-54.
The favoured verse forms in the reign of Somdet Phra Nārāi were Khlong and Chan which can be seen in the literary pieces produced by the court poets, such as Kamsuan Sī Prāt (written in Khlong), Su'a Khō Kham Chan, Samuthakhōt Kham Chan, Anirut Kham Chan and Dusdi Sangwoei Klōm Chāng Kham Chan. There is no mention of Klōn in Čhindāmanī, the earliest text-book on Thai language and versification, written in 1672 by Phra Hōrāthibōdi. It may be, then, that the quoted love-poem belongs to a later generation, its features being comparable to those of the eighteenth century Klōn. For example, one of the love-poems written by Prince Thamathibēt runs as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
pāng pī māt sāmān sūmān sāmān \\
dang māi du'an māi duang dārākōn \\
an lōjī phū'n amphōn phayōm phrai \\
maen pī hōen doen dai nai wēhāt \\
thu'ng ķhā māt kō mai sia su'ng raeng māi \\
mi dai chōm kō phō dai damnoen chāi \\
miāng māi rāsmī phīmān mōng
\end{align*}
\]

(1) See: Prachum Phlēngyāo Khwām Kao, Bangkok, 1924, pp. 54–60.

Klōn in its standard pattern consists of bot (couplets) linked to one another by a structural rhyme. Each bot consists of 2 khamklōn (lines) and each khamklōn
consists of 2 wak (half-lines). The 4 wak in each bot are called Wak Salap, Wak Rap, Wak Rōng and Wak Song respectively. Each wak consists of 7-9 syllables.

(Rhyming which is the essential feature of Thai poetry is of two kinds: the structural rhyme (samphat nok) and the additional rhyme (samphat nai). Between two couplets the last word of the first couplet rhymes with the last word of the next couplet which contains the identical pattern of rhyming as the former one.

Example:

laeo čhiam tua duai wā tua mu'an hinghōí
čha rū' rōi pai khaeng phra suri sai
kū mu'an nang mu'a yang mai ąk fai
rū' čha pai choet čhī prachan ngān

(1) For a love-poem or a narrative poem in Klon, the first bot consists of Wak Rap, Wak Rōng and Wak Song; all the following bot consist of 4 wak each (having Wak Salap before Wak Rap).

thang phērī piphāt ko khatson
thang rai khon chērāchā ćha wā khān
dang choet chū' hai khao lū' duai lāi phān
pramān thoet mi chai ćha kiatkan

(1)

(2)
rhyme scheme:

There is some affinity between the standard

(3)
pattern of Klōn and Kāp Yānī in rhyming. Below is an example
of Kāp Yānī from a love-poem of the Ayuthaya period:

tua nāi mu'an nu'ng nāi
pramong bet thī khit pōng
plā nōi nai plaeng nōng
ao yu'a lō' hai long kin
matchā tua dai khlaō
lae chōtchao bō' khit thawin
chōp chāp krachāk kin

(4)

kō' ćha sin chīwā wang

(1) Prachum Phlengyāo Khwām Kao, p. 2.
(2) The structural rhyme is marked by solid lines
and the additional rhyme by dotted lines.
(3) Kāp (Skt, kavya) is applied to a group of verse-
forms used especially in narrative dramatic and ceremonial
poetry earlier in date than Klōn.
(4) P. Na Pramuanmak, Sīp Kawī, Bangkok, 1955, p. 44.
The Yaññi form is attested at least as early as the fifteenth century. An extract from the 'Mahāphon' episode in Mahāchāt Kham Luang is given below as an example of Yaññi dated 1482:

sa kaeo sī mum krai
yū bō klai āt āsom
thī nan pen thī chom
pen pralom pralōm chai
tēm duai dōk duang bān
lenchōng mānya bang bai
nam chōpī chū'īn chon sai
khū' nai thēp sa sawan

(1) This poem is a translation from Pali into Thai in various verse forms: Rāi, Khlong, Kāp and Chan (except Klōn). The earliest version was written in 1482 as a work of collaboration by the poets in the court of Sömde Phra Bōrma Trai Lōka Nāt. After the Ayuthaya period, that version became impaired, with six episodes missing. It was completed by the court poets in the reign of King Rāma II.

(2) Department of Thai, Triam Udom Su'ksa School, op. cit., p. 108.
There would have been a close relation between Klën in the middle of the eighteenth century and Kāp Yānī. Both are in the form of couplets, or two-line (four half-line) verses, and contain a similar convention of structural rhyme. Besides, they have a function in common as the metrical types used for singing. Royal lullabies have also been composed in the Yānī form since the Ayuthaya period. The Rama I version of Unarut has this type of song woven into the episode dealing with the hero's infancy:

suam chīp phra thūn kramqūm
khuan pen chōm kāsat som
song ngām phō sāmchom
choen bānthom hai sāmrān
nāng dāi nāi tāi lā
chai nāngfā yēt songśān
čhāk mā thūn botthāmān
mai khuan phān phra-ōngōei
čhōm phō nī trīnēt
rū' kamalēt khanlaihong
rū' čhōm that čhan lōng
mā lōm lōk hai sōk sūn
thu'ng čhōm sām pen čhao
phū phin klāo čhak wāikūn

The quoted passages exhibit a strict convention of syllabic structure in Kāp Yānī. The first and third wak of every couplet contain 5 syllables each, while the second and fourth wak contain 6 syllables each. The number of syllables in every wak of Klōn varies from 6 to 9. Apart from the syllable count which differentiates Klōn from Kāp Yānī, a special feature of Klōn is that each wak has limiting conventions for the final syllable. Only Wak Salap can end with any tone. The final syllable of Wak Rap requires either the depressed tone (siang ék) or the period tone (siang thō) or the question tone (siang čhatawā). The final syllable of Wak Rōng requires either the circumflex tone (siang trī) or the common tone (siang sāman), and so does the final syllable of Wak Song. Since tone rules of this complex type do not exist in the various types of country Klōn, nor in Manōrā except for the latter part which is unlikely to be earlier than the eighteenth century, we may suppose that they developed when Klōn was established as a written literary form.

The length of a canto of Klōn is theoretically limitless. In Klōn Bot Lakhōn, there is a tune statement on top of some introductory wak. The number of lines is stated at the end of each canto which tends to be rather short.

(1) Rama I, King, Unarut, Bangkok, 1920, p. 69.
The introductory wak is the shortest, having only 2-5 syllables; it may consist of 6-8 syllables when it belongs to a descriptive canto.

There are 3 conventional phrases used for introducing the characters:

1. mu'a nan (= and then, at that time) for introducing the major characters or the personages of high rank.

2. bat nan (= and then, at that time) for the minor characters. But in some episodes, when a minor character acts in a prominent role, the introductory phrase is temporarily changed into mu'a nan. For example in the Rāmakien, when Hanumān (the White Monkey) takes part as a hero in pursuit of a demon and meets an accursed celestial nymph in a grotto, the usual introductory phrase for him - bat nan - is replaced by mu'a nan until he leaves the grotto after sending the nymph back to heaven.

3. mā čha klāo bot pai (= and now we speak of) for introducing the characters in another incident unconnected with the previous one.

No rhyme is needed between such introductory

---

(1) Rama I, King, Rāmakien, Bangkok, 1949, pp. 1698-1706.
wak and the wak which follows unless the introductory phrase is in the form of the beginning of Klön Đôk Sオリ, which may be found in passages describing nature, a royal conveyance, the light-waving rite, a conversation between the hero and the heroine, etc.

Examples.

Inao:

1. doen oei doen thăng
   sông khâng phâng phũ' n rũ' n rom
   phâliâng khâng khũi bangkhom
   phra chî chom rukkhachât dâtsadian

   rhyme scheme:
   o o o o o o o o o
   o o o o o o o o o

2. rot oei rot kaeo
   phorâtphrâeo taela kon khonla yâng
   saeng kaeo waeo wap âhap naphâng
   mî banlang tang klâng bon ru'an rot

(1) Klön Đôk Sオリ is a four-line verse, with 4 syllables in the introductory wak. The Third syllable is a repetition of the first one, having 'oei' in between. This word 'oei' also serves as the ending of the canto. The rhyme scheme follows the standard pattern of Klön.

(2) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 37.

(3) Ibid., p. 716.
rhyme scheme:

\begin{align*}
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
\end{align*}

3. wian oei wian thian
hai wian sāi song wong mā khwā
prakhōm intaphēri pichawā

\begin{align*}
\text{trae sang bangkalā malāyū} & (1) \\
\text{rhyme scheme:}& \\
\begin{align*}
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
\end{align*}
\end{align*}

4. nōng oei nōng rak
nuanla-ōng phōng phak phiang khaekhai
ngām ōng song lak wilai

\begin{align*}
\text{phit nai sārphan pen khwan tā} & (2) \\
\text{rhyme scheme:}& \\
\begin{align*}
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
0 & 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 \\
\end{align*}
\end{align*}

Dālang:

1. rot oei rot phet
saeng tret trat tōng phra surisi

(1) [Footnote: Πριν., p. 1295.]
(2) [Footnote: Πριν., p. 179.]


sao phanak คำลาก รู้ชี

บาริลิ ช่อง ทาง กระชัง ราล

rhyme scheme:

    ┌───────┬───────┐
    |   o o o  |
    └───────┴───────┘

2. sut oei sut sawat

นุชฉานะท เมอ  หั่น น้า โอ ผิ

ถ้า รายอ่อม ตรามตรอม ทุก น้ำทิ

rhyme scheme:

    ┌───────┬───────┐
    |   o o o  |
    └───────┴───────┘

However, this ดอก สิ่ง style occurs in ดัลลัง

in 5 cantos only. We find a preference for having the intro­

ductive wak in 2 syllables, such as-

1. doen pai

วังยัง ห้าว น้าอ ไว ผาเรย สิ

รู่ ได้รู้ ผู้ร่ ผัน มัลลิ

ซ่าง สิ ขึ้น สิ ชมโรอน ต้า

(3)

2. rot kaeo

ภรฤทพร้าโอ ศันธ์อง อาลอกอต

(1) Rama I, King, ดัลลัง, p. 934.
(2) Ibid., p. 13.
(3) Ibid., p. 128.
The use of two syllables in the introductory wak of Klōn Bot Lakhôn is dated to the Ayuthaya period. Moreover, we find some final syllables of Wak Rap in Dālang having the circumflex tone (siang trī) and the common tone (siang sāman) which also occurred in the old Ayuthaya songs and Lakhôn texts. So this version of Dālang might have been revised early in the reign of King Rama I when the Ayuthaya pattern was still adopted by the poets, and is unlikely to have been revised later than this.

There are two episodes in Dālang dealing with the songs sung by the major characters. It is interesting

(1) Ibid., p. 100.
(2) Ibid., p. 578.
(3) Ibid., p. 48.
to note that they have patterns different from Klön Bot Lakhôn:

The song sung by Inao’s consorts in disguise as strolling dancers —

bun phi dai sang ma
thewet metta
pha ma saman sangong
nimmuan khuang chom
dai ruam phirom som song
saen sawat mai khlat nong
rak choo mi hai mung choi oei
rak ru' choa thing wai
choon nong thong dai ha du'an
khwam rak khrai cho mi mu'an
pai lai nu'a laeo chu'an ni oei
rak ru' choa thing wai
ana khlo kot choo yai
worn payai i-nga-ra
tam ha patchapayi
pan chanri yang mai hen ma
an phuchai ni lai na
thearacha mai mi oeing oei
ana ru' khrai cho mi rak
duai phi mi kangwon nak
This apparently continuous passage can be separated into six cantos:

(a)  bun phi dai sang ma
    thewet mettā
    pha ma samān sanāng

(1) Rama I, King, Dālang, pp. 649-50.
nimnuan khuan chom
dai ruam phirom som sòng
saen sawát mai khlát nong.
rak _kwargs mi hai mòng _kwargs oei
rhyme scheme:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\end{array}
\]

(b)
rak rū' _kwargs thing wai
  phong thong dai hă du'an
khwam rak khrai _kwargs mĭ mu'an
  pai lai nu'a laeo chu'an nī oei
rhyme scheme:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\end{array}
\]

(c) rak rū' _kwargs thing wai
ana khlôt kĕ phong yai
  wŏn pai ma-ngum-ma-ngā-rā
tam ĕ pat̄hapā-ayī
  păn chanī yang mai hen mā
  an phūchāi nī lāi nă
  ẖerāchā mai mĭ ẖing oei
rhyme scheme:

(d) ana rū' khrai čha mi rak
  duai phi mī kangwon nak
  thuong rak kọ čham čha pai
  isatri mai mī tao chao
  khang nu'ng khao čha noi čhai
  mai hän fāo čhao yū dai
  khanu'ng ū'n čhu'ng pai kōn oei

rhyme scheme:

(e) khanu'ng ū'n čha pai
  thē bōk hēt hai
  čha hai pai dōi dī
  duai endū ana
  thī nai loey čha mī
  koet mā apprīl
  chen nī mī khō phop oei
The songs sung by Inao who is happy at hearing the news of his lost betrothed —

ō chao ngām praṅhong song lak
sāi sut thīrak khūṅ phī
bandā ngām nai phū'n thōranī
mai mī khrai thiam thiap priap chōm nōṅg
This passage can be separated into three cantos. The first one consists of two couplets rhyming with each other and having 'oei' as the final syllable. The second and third ones are similar to the cantos (a), (c), (d) and (e) which have been illustrated above, containing seven

(1) Ibid., pp. 665-66.
wak each and also ending with oei.

These examples are not comparable to any other forms occurring in Thai literary texts. The rhyme schemes show general similarity to those of country songs. In the context of the poem, the singers sing extempore, so realistic representations of extempore singing may have been intended.

There are nineteen songs sung by the characters in Inao, and these follow the standard pattern of Klǒm. For example —

sāi samǒn nǒn thoet phī ćha klǒm
chéao ngām ćhing phring phrǒm dang lēkha
nuan la-ćng phǒng phak sǒphā
dang ěnthrā song klat mot monthin
ngām nēt dang nēt maru'kha mēt
ngām khanong wong wāt dang khan sin
ǒrchǒn ćō-an ěng kinnarin
wān thawin mai wen wāi oei.

However, the section dealing with the shadow-play in Inao contains three other kinds of verse forms: Kāp Yānī, Kāp Chabang and Rāi in 1, 12 and 12 cantos respectively. These have clearly been introduced to simulate the traditional

(1) See: Rama II, King, Inao, pp. 361, 432, 434, 532, 533, 650, 651, 686, 687, 688, 744, 745, 1122, 1123.
(2) Ibid., pp. 532-33.
verse form of a shadow-play.

Examples.

Kāp Yānī.

fāï ong phra nong nut
raden busbā song
kansaeng rathuai ong
thawī thawēt thu'ng chētthā
sōng nāng pralōm plōp
bō chu'a chōp nai atchā
ying song phra sōkā

phirai ram rakam ċhāi

rhyme scheme:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot \\
\end{array}
\]

Kāp Chabang.

pāng nan raden montrī
phra sadet ċhōralī
yang choeng kunung bō' mi nān

(1) Ibid., p. 931.
It is not to be expected that great differences would be found in the metrical structure of these two poems,

(1) Ibid., p. 926.
(2) Ibid., p. 927.
because they were both intended for the same type of
theatrical performance and the main verse form used - the
Klōn - was fully developed by the middle of the eighteenth
century when, according to tradition, the Malay-Indonesian
sources from which these poems developed were entering
Thailand. However, the frequent occurrence of two-syllable
introductory wak, apart from the three conventional
introductory phrases for the characters - mu'a nan, bat nan
and mā ēgha klāo bot pai - which are commonly used, suggests
that Dālang is the earlier of the two texts. Among 2370
introductory wak in Dālang, only 13 are found to be of
normal length, containing 6-9 syllables, and only 5 appear
in the Dōk Sōi style; all the rest consist of two syllables
each which indicates the Ayuthaya influence. The use of the
circumflex tone and the common tone at the end of Wak Rap
in Dālang is also comparable to those in old songs composed
in the Ayuthaya period. On the other hand, the King Rama II
version of Inao demonstrates the consistent use of the
standard pattern of Klōn, the only exception being the use
of Kāp and Rāi for the shadow-play performance in the nun
episode, probably in order to create verisimilitude.

(1) See: Rama I, King, Dālang, pp. 234, 245, 260, 273,
300, 440, 508, 697, 804, 896, 937, 967.
(2) Ibid., pp. 13, 627, 934.
(3) Ibid., pp. 450, 452, 453, 454, 458, 560, 608, 735,
1000.
CHAPTER VII

POETIC DICTION

The most important influence on the diction of Thai poems is the need to supply appropriately placed syllables for both structural and additional rhymes. This factor is most marked in Chan metre. Not only is the number of the syllables in the line fixed in accordance with the known Sanskrit metrical type but also the measure of each syllable, long or short, is predetermined. In addition to these requirements which are derived from the theory of Sanskrit versification, an important Thai feature not required in the Sanskrit model is introduced. That is — rules for the placing of rhyming syllables, both structural and additional. These features together mean that the poet is very strictly controlled as to his choice of words and, inevitably, has to rely on a high proportion of Sanskrit vocabulary. This is certainly the case with the later and stricter examples of Chan metre composed in the Ratanakosin period.

In the poems with which we are concerned, where the metre is the more flexible Klōn, the need for placing rhyming syllables and certain rules for syllable tone is what restricts the choice of vocabulary. A good example of the
working of this metrical influence is shown by the way in which the 'rāchāsap' or court language is employed. Since the middle of the fourteenth century, the beginning of the Ayuthaya period, the Thai have regarded their monarch as a demi-god, due to Brahministic influence. The court language was then established to mark the sanctity of royalty. Words and phrases referring to the royal families, their properties and their movements are used in conventional expressions. But it is noticeable that literary works, especially those composed in verse, dealing with kings, queens, princes and princesses, contain their own peculiarities in the use of court language. These conventions relate to the needs of the literary form in preference to those required in a realistic representation of court life. Poets customarily make adjustments in the form of the court language term employed so that it fulfils the metrical requirements of its particular context, or court language does not appear in a situation where it would be necessary in real life. The writers of Dālang and Inao followed this tradition and, therefore, the conventional expressions of court language are not so rigidly fixed as they would be in actual court contexts. For instance, the word meaning 'royal father' is found to be altered into several forms —
wang ถ้าห้าย่ำลุ่่ม ชะนอง ชะนนนิ่ม พระ ชุ่ง นิ้ม สันธ์อน ว่าช้า (D.)

an อง พระ ชะนอง ชะนนนิ่ม รัก ราชอาญา บุตรลี ดัง ดวงชะห้า (D.)

พระ ชะนอง ชะนนนิ่ม โค ปั้ด แสเนาะ ดัง ดวง รูทาย (I.)

ฝ่าย รานัน ศิริกาน ช่อม ยอง โค ตรง กحاอ แครบ บัด พระ บิดา (D.)

ยุเรยอัย ถัด กอน คลาลกฮละ สดัด ไผ่ ฟ้า อง พระ บิดา (I.)

พระ ราชอาญา บิดา พุ่่ ริ้ง ริง ปทิตสาวะต โอรส ยอตสายอง (D.)

นิ ชลธุ่ง ชุ่ง ชม เช็ก ไผ่ พระ ราชอาญา บิดา (I.)

ก้าว ฟ้า สมเด็จ พระ บิดา ทู้น ทาวาย ศร้า ทันเเดย (D.)

สมเด็จ พระ บิดา ห้า ห้า ปิ้ม ไช้ ท้า แครง นิ้ว นาน ห้า ไม (I.)

สดัด มา ฟ้า อง พระ บิดอน ยัง น่า มึก บั้นชู่น แซ่ง ไ协同 (D.)

ได้ ช้าง ราสาง พระ บิดอน บางคัน ทัววิน ชินด้า (I.)

(1) p. 151.
(2) p. 8.
(3) p. 25.
(4) p. 506.
(5) p. 549.
(6) p. 9.
(7) p. 305.
(8) p. 763.
(9) p. 304.
(10) p. 505.
(11) p. 356.
nu'ng ong phra rācha bidōn
sadet mā phra nakhōn rū' yū pā (D.)

an ong somdet phra bidōn
thān sathāwōn pen sukhā (I.)

sōka phlāng thūn biturong
lūk tām pai daen dong noen salai (D.)

čhaeng wā biturong song thān
chai hai damang nan pai nat kān (I.)

phrōm mū mātayā sēnā nai
kō khao pai klai phra biturong (D.)

maen phra biturong song sāp hēt
songdet čhā damrī tri thūt dāi (I.)

biturāt mātturong lae phong phan
phrōm kan prathān nām phra thidā (I.)

lāeo čhū'ng thūn ong phra biturāt
lūk čhā lā pai praphāt phanāsī (D.)

mai khu'n fāo biturēt māndā
kāyā sūt phrōm duāi trūm čhāi (D.)

tō biturēt tu'an čhū'ng khlu'ankhlāi
rawang čhāi song saphāk čhāk hom (I.)

(1) p. 546.
(2) p. 746.
(3) p. 88.
(4) p. 103.
(5) p. 505.
(6) p. 175.
(7) p. 21.
(8) p. 511.
(9) p. 507.
(10) p. 85.
choen sadet klap khao phra nakhôn
phra bituret mândōn čha khōi hā (D.)

phra bituret mândā thang hā ong
phitsawong čhongrak naknā (I.)

All the underlined terms exhibit the poetic
technique of alterations of the 'royal father' to fit the
Klōn metre and rhyme scheme. In real life, this word is
used in fewer varied forms, such as 'somdet phra rācha bīdā'
or 'somdet phra bōroma chanok nāt'.

The Malay-Indonesian term for 'royal father'
also appears in Dālang and Inao, for example —

maen pāpā-ayī čha liang khā
su'ng mai čhōp tā nan khuan hām (D.)

pāpā-ayī hai phā mā
krāp klaō wanthā phra āčhān (I.)

However, the 'royal father' is sometimes referred
to by the use of common terms, such as —

čhū'ng čhāp čhā'ak mon thēwā
sang hāi mat bīdā phā pai (D.)

kranī rū' bīdā mi phītsawāt
čhon phīnāt duai ārotsā (I.)

(1) p. 88.
(2) p. 9.
(3) p. 74.
(4) p. 439.
(5) p. 526.
(6) p. 340.
This is permissible only in poetic language.

In conversation with a superior who is a member of a royal family, we find that there are not many variations of pronouns used in the poems. The terms for 'I', when the speaker is a commoner or a royal person of less exalted rank, appear as follows:

khā hai pai tām kō mai than nėt nī atsāchān naknā phra-ong ąhong phra mēttā chuai ao chiwā khābāt wai khāngūi mai mī thī leng hen čha pen thī phamnak āsai (D.)

khā mā kep panan long yū čha klap pai kō mai rū haeng hon (I.)

khābāt dai thūn ċhōn ċhao khūn nakhōn khētkhan (I.)

khāngūi nī čhāo dong dōn tae hen čhāo phra nakhōn čha ying kwa (I.)

In real life, the court language term for 'I' while speaking to the king is more elaborate: 'khā phra phuttha čhao'. The inflexibility of this five syllable phrase in most metrical situations is obvious.

(1) p. 972.
(2) p. 370.
(3) p. 410.
(4) p. 1012.
(5) p. 395.
In the poems, when a king or a prince is addressed, there is a great choice of terms which can be used, depending on the wish of the poet to introduce a variety of different expressions as well as on the requirements of the metrical structure and rhyming scheme. Most of these terms are epithets which refer to dignity, virtue, power or handsomeness. However, there are two simple terms commonly used as pronouns, both second and third person, for denoting a king or a prince. They are 'phra' and 'phra-ong'.

Examples.

Second person:—

phra čhong ramlu'k tru'ktra
mai sek saeng mānyā phāthī (D.)

čhu'ng thūn plôp hai chōp atchā
phra yā ranthot kamsot song (I.)

phra-ong song dēt dōk nan
prayong yaem kaem kan dang sawai (D.)

an phra thidā chōm yong
nai čha phon phra-ong yā songkā (I.)

Third person:—

charqī phra mai yū nai būrī
sathit thī fang nathī rū' chanai (D.)

(1) See Appendix IV.
(2) p. 25.
(3) p. 74.
(4) p. 28.
(5) p. 75.
(6) p. 707.
Though 'phra' is a term of respect, it is not used as pronoun in court language.

For a queen or a princess, the pronouns are also epithets referring to dignity, beauty or youthfulness.

Examples.

Second person:–

khao songsai nai ong phra butrī
cy khō hai thēwī banlai
pai tām ratū phū mōranā
kanlayā cha khit pen chanai

Third person:–

thu'ng ċhai hai phlāng pen rāngwan
wān thawai dōk panan nongyao
an sābo rōi song čhong phrathai
čha khō plian sabai čhōm chalao

(1) p. 80.
(2) p. 324.
(3) p. 243.
(4) See Appendix IV.
(5) p. 375.
(6) p. 87.
The rachasap used for royal movements and actions are numerous, such as 'to laugh', or 'song phra suan' in real life, which is generally in four forms:

1. suan phläng thằng sadet ďâk ět
   pai chung kôn sîng nût khanitthâ (D.)

2. suan phläng phra thằng wâ pai
   chao chông dû mai hai tem tô (I.)

3. fâi ong phra râcha anuchâ
   dai fang phra phîyâ kô suansan (D.)

4. mu'a nan
   radên montrî kô suansan (I.)

5. ong misâra panyî mî sak
   trat thâm lûk rak laeo sësuan (D.)

6. mi rû thî ďha tôp wâchâ
   kô suansé hêhâ pai duai kan (I.)

7. dai fang ong anuchâ thûn wûn
   phra phûthôn sâmruan laeo sang pai (D.)

8. khran mâ kłai khiang nà phâchî
   phra phâthî sâmruan suansan (I.)

Another example of royal movement which appears in a greater variety of terms used in the poems is 'to walk' or in actual râchâsap — 'sadet phra râcha damnoen':

(1) p. 659.
(2) p. 945.
(3) p. 664.
(4) p. 395.
(5) p. 736.
(6) p. 438.
(7) p. 898.
(8) p. 682.
lao sadet čhak rathā khlākhlaï
reng rip damnoen pai mi dai čhā (D.)

damnoen doen khiang miang mā
naiyanā lop nēt phūwanai (I.)

lao sadet long čhāk phichai rot
botthačhon dang kraisôn sî (D.)

čhu'ng phā sām ċrot botthačhon
mā fao phra phūthôn thibōdî (I.)

khran phra thidā mā phlan
thāo čhu'ng čhōncharan mi than čhā (D.)

sadet čhāk prāsāt kaeo phraeophran
čhōncharan pai thōng sanām chai (I.)

kap sōng phra thidā nārī
kǭ chuan kan čhōralī damnoen mā (D.)

trat phlāng yāng yu'ang čhōralī
sadet kūn yāng thī monthian thōng (I.)

phra yu'ang yāng long čhāk nāwā
mā yāng thāo bānulan thandai (D.)

khran thū'ng long čhāk atsadōn
phūthôn yāng yu'ang phāiphan (I.)

lao phra-ong song krit ritthirōn
yāng yu'ang botthačhon choetchāi (D.)

---

(1) p. 149.
(2) p. 438.
(3) p. 101.
(4) p. 143.
(5) p. 117.
(6) p. 25.
(7) p. 156.
(8) p. 353.
(9) p. 180.
(10) p. 69.
(11) p. 145.
khran thu'ng long  čhák atsadōn
botthačhōn yāng yū'ang phāiphan
(I.)

lílā mā khu'n rot song
hai yok  čhatturōng yātrā
(D.)

ong  čūn thōn ru thai pai mā
laeo lílā long  čhák atthačhān
(I.)

khran thu'ng čhū'ng  čhák rot
botthačhōn lílāt phātphan
(D.)

čhū'ng chuan chōm ngām sām sudā
lílāt long sū thā  čhalałai
(I.)

phra čhū'ng long  čhák atsawarat
yurayāt sū thōng phra rōng yai
(D.)

chuan raden dáyon yurayāt
long  čhák atsawarat phātphan
(I.)

tang tā phinit phit dū nāng
yū'ang yāng yurayāt dang rācha hong
(I.)

trat phlāng yāng yū'ang yurayāt
ong-āt dang kraisōn sī
(I.)

čhū'ng yurayātrā khlākhlai
long pai prāsāt phra butrī
(I.)

uba bu-ngā hōi rōi krēng
sōt chalōng phra bāt yātrā
(I.)

(1) p. 106.
(2) p. 222.
(3) p. 48.
(4) p. 437.
(5) p. 220.
(6) p. 29.
(7) p. 171.
(8) p. 230.
(9) p. 340.
(10) p. 357.
(11) p. 623.
kai khan krachan dai wēlā
yattra mā song wārī

These are poetic terms for 'to walk'. They are not really in rachasap forms. Even the non-royal term 'doen' can be used with a royal character, for instance —

lao khaeng čhai pai yang mondop
doen suan thuanthop mai ngoei nā (D.)

phra butrī mi dai chū'nbān
doen tām phra māndā mā (I.)

Such term sometimes appear after 'sadet' which distinguishes royalty from commoners.

Examples.

mai song sīwikā māt rācha yān
sadet doen pai sathān phra sitthā (I.)

hōi uba tanyong song klin fung
khran rung kq sadet čhōṇčharan (I.)

sang set phra sadet čhōralī
mā song phāčī an chaichān (D.)

sang set sadet čhōralī
phūmī khao yang wang nai (I.)

(1) p. 417.
(2) p. 95.
(3) p. 228.
(4) p. 119.
(5) p. 52.
(6) p. 29.
(7) p. 204.
The above examples indicate that the poets do not consider the court language as all important. The movements

(1) p. 520.
(2) p. 273.
(3) p. 194.
(4) p. 29.
(5) p. 168.
(6) p. 162.
(7) p. 495.
(8) p. 93.
(9) p. 32.
(10) p. 919.
and actions of royal personages are frequently described with common terms. The nominal side of the court language in Dālang and Inao is better preserved than the verbal side, though, for both, it is clear that the usage derives from poetical conventions rather than from real-life court styles.

Inao and Dālang are rich in epithets for royal personages. These conventional terms occur in elaborate forms, referring to superiority in power, rank, virtue and beauty.

The epithets for kings and princes.

As substitutions:

Dālang has 181 terms and Inao has 120 terms, 54 of which are common to both texts. Dālang introduces 127 terms which are not found in Inao. Inao introduces 66 terms, which are not found in Dālang.

With names:

Dālang has 122 terms and Inao has 131 terms, 55 of which are common to both texts. Dālang introduces 67 terms which are not found in Inao. Inao introduces 76 terms, which are not found in Dālang.

---

(1) See Appendix IV.
(2) Ibid.
The epithets for queens and princesses.

As substitutions:—

Dālang has 147 terms and Inao has 141 terms, 71 of which are common to both texts. Dālang introduces 76 terms which are not found in Inao. Inao introduces 70 terms which are not found in Dālang.

With names:—

Dālang has 66 terms and Inao has 86 terms, 46 of which are common to both texts. Dālang introduces 20 terms which are not found in Inao. Inao introduces 40 terms which are not found in Dālang.

The epithets for commoners.

For men:—

Dālang and Inao have 15 terms each, 6 of which are common to both texts. Dālang introduces 9 terms which are not found in Inao. Inao introduces 9 terms which are not found in Dālang.

For women:—

Dālang has 3 terms. All of them are found in Inao. Inao has 9 terms, 6 of which are not found in Dālang.

(1) Ibid.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
The epithets used for both male and female:-

Dālang has 39 terms and Inao has 37 terms, 30 of which are common to both texts. Dālang introduces 7 which are not found in Inao. Inao introduces 5 terms which are not found in Dālang.

There are other conventional epithets for some particular words. The city is often called 'the crystal city', 'the glorious city', 'the excellent city', or 'the victorious city'. The city-wall is called 'the crystal wall'. The palace is called 'the crystal palace', 'the gold palace', 'the victorious palace', and so is the royal pavilion. The throne hall is called 'the golden hall', 'the crystal hall', 'the beautifully decorated hall', 'the shining hall', or 'the victorious hall'. The royal throne is called 'the crystal throne'. The royal conveyance, i.e. the chariot, is called 'the crystal chariot', or 'the victorious chariot'. The garden is called 'the glorious garden'. The pond is called 'the glorious pond'. The cave is called 'the golden cave'. The brick, the stone, the sand and the street are called 'the golden brick', 'the golden stone', 'the golden sand', and 'the golden street' respectively. The royal message is sometimes called 'the glorious message'. The royal feet are

(1) Ibid.
called 'the golden feet', or 'the lotus feet'. Such terms abound in both Dālang and Inao.

Detailed examination of the structure and semantics of the epithets does not lead to the conclusion that Dālang and Inao have recognisably different poetic conventions. The whole schema of epithet associates Dālang and Inao with the tradition of Indic influence.

The places where the major characters live are compared with heavenly abodes. Such comparison occurs in the other Lakhôn texts as well. It is another traditional expression.

A greater number of similes are used in the descriptions of characters, actions, emotions and nature.

The hero's handsomeness —

Dālang introduces 9 similes: he is as beautiful

(1) Dālang, pp. 1, 74; Inao, pp. 2, 140, 209, 245.
(2) It occurs in the literary works of the seventeenth century. See: Samuthakhöt Kham Chan, 1925, p. 13; Anirut Kham Chan, 1924, p. 2; Kamsuan Khlông Dan, 1925, p. 7; and Thawāthosamat, 1925, p. 42.
(3) In Dālang, we also find that the hero is 'more beautiful than a divine drawing' (p. 6); 'more beautiful than the bright sun' (p. 162), 'so beautiful that the beholder wishes to swallow' (p. 253).

These similes can be applied to the other major characters (male) as well.
'as a deity', 'as the bright sun', 'as a perfect sculpture', 'as a divine drawing', 'as an image carefully polished by a deity', 'as a divine creation', 'as a deity floating in the sky', 'as the sun floating in the sky', or 'as (a sharp arrow) piercing (the beholder's) eyes'.

The first four similes in Dālang are found in Inao. The last simile, referring to piercing beauty, also occurs in Inao, but it is used in irony for King Čhṛraka's ugliness.

The hero's movement —

Dālang introduces 4 similes: he is as graceful 'as the King of swans', 'as the King of lions', 'as a deity

(1) Dālang, pp. 11, 20, 169, 261, 592, 682, 695, 914. The deity's name is mentioned in some places, for example - 'as Indra coming from his heavenly abode' (p. 806), or 'as Vishnu' (p. 417).


(3) Ibid., pp. 643, 652.
(4) Ibid., p. 913.
(5) Ibid., p. 652.
(6) Ibid., p. 11.
(7) Ibid., pp. 16, 739, 770.
(8) Ibid., pp. 197, 838.
(9) Ibid., p. 566.
(10) Inao, pp. 25, 36, 41, 647, 666, 1202 (as a deity); pp. 666 (as the sun); p. 133 (as a sculpture).
(11) Ibid., 366.
(12) Dālang, pp. 197, 222, 592, 599, 787, 925.
coming down from heaven', or 'as a figure in a drawing'.

The first two similes are found in Inao.

The hero's power —

Dālang introduces 3 similes: he is as powerful

(1) 'as the sun', (2) 'as Vishnu who conquers the demons', or 'as the

(3) King of lions'. The first simile is found in Inao.

The heroine's beauty —

Dālang introduces 6 similes: she is as beautiful

(4) 'as a blooming lotus in a pond', 'as the moon' or 'as the

(5) moon visiting the earth', 'as a celestial being', 'as a

(6)

(7) Dalang, p. 322.

(8) Ibid., pp. 733, 779, 780, 809.

(9) Ibid., pp. 779, 808, 904 (as the King of swans); pp. 169, 442 (as the King of lions).

(10) Ibid., p. 322.

(11) Ibid., p. 359.

(1) Ibid., pp. 182, 592.

(2) Ibid., p. 927.

(3) Inao, pp. 177, 269, 808, 904 (as the King of swans); pp. 169, 442 (as the King of lions).

(4) Ibid., p. 322.

(5) Ibid., p. 359.

(6) Ibid., pp. 733, 779, 780, 809.

(7) Ibid., pp. 322.

(8) Ibid., pp. 733, 779, 780, 809.

(9) Ibid., pp. 779, 808, 904 (as the King of swans); pp. 169, 442 (as the King of lions).

(10) Ibid., pp. 8, 10, 305.

(11) Ibid., pp. 24, 53, 284, 383, 616.
nymph coming from heaven', 'as a Kinnari', or 'as a drawing'.

Such terms of comparison are all found in Inao.

There is a traditional pattern of beauty description from head to foot, where similes are used in accordance with the ideal and fashion at the time of writing. For example, the hero in Dalang describes the heroine as follows:

Your fair complexion is as pure as the moon
On a full-moon day, beaming without blemish.
Looking at your hair, it resembles beetle-wings.
Your brow matches the brows, like bending bows.
Your nose is like the hook used for Indra's Elephant.
Your eyes look like the star-sapphires.
Your pretty lips look as if they had been vermilioned;
When you smile, they (your lips) glow as red rubies.
Your teeth grow in a smooth row,
All glistening in black.
Your ears are like lotus-petals.
Your neck is round and well-shaped as in a drawing.
Your bosom is as beautiful as the lotuses
That float upon water, spreading sweet odour.
Your arms are like the elephants' trunks
That move about to grab the forest grass.
Your fingers are lovely.
You are charming. Entirely! (5)

(1) Ibid., pp. 277, 390, 383.
(2) Ibid. pp. 815, 913.
(3) Ibid., p. 105.
(4) Inao, p. 359 (as a lotus); pp. 21, 60, 97, 230, 344, 357, 400, 496, 513, 532, 587, 622, 643, 651, 652, 732, 819, 837, 843, 1077, 1203 (as the moon); pp. 1, 11, 23, 97, 99, 228, 258, 531, 643, 689, 738, 855, 1079, 1100 (as a celestial being); pp. 233, 797 (as if coming from heaven); pp. 400, 533 (as the Kinnari); pp. 245, 247, 249; 400, 514, 532 (as a drawing).
(5) Dalang, p. 990.
Similar descriptions are found in the other Lakhôn Nai texts composed in the reign of King Rama I. In the Râmakien, Thosakan describes Sîdā as follows:

Looking at your face, it is as clear as the moon.
Looking at your brows, they curve like bows.
Looking at your eyes, they resemble those of the fawns.
Looking at your teeth, they are like sapphires in smooth rows.
Looking at your lips, they seem to smile
And glow like red rubies.
Looking at your cheeks, they can be compared with
golden maprang.
Looking at your ears, they are like lotus-petals.
Looking at your rai, it is as though it had been
carefully drawn.
Looking at your neck, it is well-shaped like a swan's neck.
Looking at your arms, they resemble the elephants' trunks.
Looking at your figure, it is like that of a Kinnari.
Looking at your bosom, it is like the lotuses.
Looking at your waist, it is flexible as in a drawing.
Looking at your skin, it glows as if tinted with gold.
Looking at your manner, it captures my heart. (1)

In the Rama I version of Inao, we find:

The face is clear and beautiful,
Like the pure full moon.
The waist is slim and flexible.
The skin is beautifully brown.
The hair is like the beetle-wings.
The eyes are like star-sapphires.
The ears are like lotus-petals.
The eyebrows look like bows. (2)
The nose is like the hook used for Indra's Elephant.

This traditional pattern of description dates from the Ayuthaya period, being found in the narrative poems

(1) Rama I, King, Râmakien, p. 691.
(2) Rama I, King, Inao, pp. 58-8.
of the seventeenth century. In the Inao of King Rama II, though the description is more precise and variation of simile occurs, the classical style is mostly preserved, for example:

Your face is of fine complexion,  
Like the unblemished radiant moon.  
Beautiful are your eyes, like those of a golden fawn.  
Beautiful are your brows, curving like bows.  
Your slim figure resembles that of a Kinnari. (1)

The construction of pattern and similes used reflect Indian influence. A few indigenous ideas are added, e.g. the mention of the rai which refers to the hair-style of Thai girls in those days, and the mention of black teeth which the Thai regarded as a part of human beauty. The poets followed this traditional style until the fashion changed. From the beginning of the twentieth century onwards, varied similes are used which reflect more modern conceptions, for example - 'the hair is black, like the sky dark with rain-clouds', 'the skin is like jasmines mixed with roses', 'the teeth shine beautifully like pearls', etc.

The detailed description of masculine beauty is not favoured in a Lakhon text. It does not extend beyond five half-lines. Inao is described as follows:

The complexion is like a divine drawing;  
The lips are pretty, as if he is smiling;

(1) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 97, 532.  
(2) H.R.H. Prince Phetchabun Inthrachai, Phra Yotsakot, Bangkok, 1923.
The manner is so graceful;  
The face is like the radiant moon;  
Both brows and eyes are attractive. (1)

Another way of making the hero's handsomeness  
prominent is to describe his rival in contrast. King Ḍhīrakā in Inao appears as an ugly person with frizzy hair, pock-marked face, big nose, hoarse voice, stout figure and dark complexion. As this character is given a comic role, being the butt of mockery, he is comparable to Khun Chāng in Khun Chāng Khun Phaen.

The matching beauty between the hero and the heroine is comparable to 'gold associated with crystal', 'the sun with the moon', or 'a god with a goddess'.

Delight —  
Dālang introduces 4 similes: the character feels 'as if having taken immortal nectar', 'as if becoming the ruler of the divine world', 'as if reviving after death',

(1) King Rama II, Inao, p. 1077.  
(2) Ibid., pp. 222, 365-6.  
(3) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 118, 342, 348, 914; King Rama II, Inao, pp. 85, 360, 1078.  
(4) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 109; King Rama II, Inao, pp. 360, 666.  
(5) King Rama II, Inao, p. 360.  
(6) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 85, 94, 121, 657, 742, 895.  
(7) Ibid., pp. 419, 457, 742.  
(8) Ibid., p. 985.
or 'as if gaining a divine crystal'. The first three similes occur in Inao.

When a character is happy at hearing a pleasing voice, he also feels 'as if being daubed with immortal nectar'. This occurs in both poems. However, another simile is found in Inao: the voice is 'like an arrow that strikes the hearer's heart'.

Anger —

In Dalang, there are 4 similes used: the character feels 'as if being burnt in a fire', 'as if being struck by a thunderbolt', 'as if being bitten by a poisonous snake', or he is 'so angry that his eyes shine like the sun'. The first two similes occur in Inao, and so are the following: 'as if being burnt in a Kalpa fire', 'as if an arrow pierces

(1) Ibid., pp. 166, 394.
(2) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 410, 964, 1015, 1069 (as if having taken immortal nectar); pp. 177, 184, 426, 839, 994, 1014 (as if becoming the ruler of the divine world); pp. 911, 935, 1075, 1076 (as if reviving after death).
(3) King Rama I, Dalang, pp. 94, 146, 147, 192, 308, 309, 629, 898; King Rama II, Inao, pp. 623, 633, 721.
(4) King Rama II, Inao, p. 687.
(5) King Rama I, Dalang, pp. 42, 44, 193, 202, 218, 345, 408, 760.
(6) Ibid., p. 41.
(7) Ibid., p. 756.
(8) Ibid., p. 193.
(9) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 723, 725, 849, 976, 977 (as if being burnt in a fire); pp. 287, 724 (as if struck by a thunderbolt).
(10) Ibid., pp. 124, 202, 279, 425, 431, 437.
(1) the ear', 'as if an arrow pierces the heart', or 'as if a
trident pierces the heart'.

Anxious fear —

Dalang introduces 6 similes: the character feels 'as if the soul is on the point of leaving the body', 'as if the God of Death is smashing the heart', 'as if the King of serpents is spraying venom to the heart', 'as if being executed', 'as if falling from a tree', or 'as if lying on top of a long pole'. The first two similes are used in Inao.

Agitation or anxiety —

Dalang introduces 4 similes: it is 'as if being bitten by a poisonous snake', 'as if the heart is burnt by a thunderbolt', 'as if the heart is burnt in a fire', or

(1) Ibid., p. 332.
(2) Ibid., p. 497.
(3) Ibid., p. 333.
(4) King Rama I, Dalang, pp. 44, 48, 95, 107, 591.
(5) Ibid., pp. 55, 142, 291.
(6) Ibid., p. 55.
(7) Ibid., pp. 52, 143, 812.
(8) Ibid., p. 50.
(9) Ibid., p. 50.
(10) King Rama II, Inao, p. 512 (as if the soul leaving the body); p. 517 (as if the God of Death destroys the heart).
(11) King Rama I, Dalang, p. 84.
(12) Ibid., pp. 43, 281.
'as if being burnt by a Kalpa fire'. In Inao, 5 similes are used: the character feels 'as if the heart is destroyed by fire', 'as if being amidst conflagration', 'as if burnt by a Kalpa fire', 'as if struck by a thunderbolt', or 'as if the heart is broken'.

Grief —

Dālang introduces 8 similes: the character feels 'as if being burnt in a fire', 'as if the god of Death destroys the heart', 'as if expiring', 'as if the soul is taken away, or the soul has left the body', 'as if the heart is broken', 'as if the body is destroyed', 'painful as if a sword pierces a wound', or 'as if Mt. Meru presses upon the heart'. Inao introduces 7 similes: it is 'as if being destroyed by fire', 'as if somebody slits the chest with a knife and

---

(1) Ibid., p. 693.
(2) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 83, 466, 513.
(3) Ibid., pp. 448, 459.
(4) Ibid., pp. 199, 408, 427, 834, 886, 1026.
(5) Ibid., p. 634.
(6) Ibid., p. 255.
(7) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 74, 95.
(8) Ibid., p. 95.
(9) Ibid., pp. 367, 379, 391.
(10) Ibid., pp. 107, 374.
(11) Ibid., pp. 372, 426.
(13) Ibid., p. 954.
(14) Ibid., p. 379.
(15) King Rama II, Inao, p. 1137.
takes the heart away', 'as if blood is dripping from the
eyes', 'as if suffering from or being struck by a poisonous
arrow', 'as if the heart is broken', 'as if dying', or 'as
if Mt. Meru presses upon the heart'.

Love —

In both poems, love is compared with 'fire'
or 'Kalpa fire' that burns the heart, 'a destructive arrow'
that pierces the heart, 'Mt. Meru' that presses upon the
heart.

The amatory aspect introduces a large number of
comparative phrases. Delight, fury, anxiety and grief are
mostly caused by love. Thus the metaphorical expressions
in the latter context are often identical with the former.

Besides, we find the conventional usage of 'the
hair yearning for the moon', or 'the crow longing improperly
for the royal swan', if one is of a higher rank than the
other where love is concerned. When King Čhôrakâ stays in

(1) Ibid., p. 1128.
(2) Ibid., pp. 179, 1148.
(3) Ibid., p. 1151.
(4) Ibid., p. 538.
(6) Ibid., p. 469.
(7) King Rama I, Dalang, p. 105; King Rama II, Inao,
(8) King Rama I, Dalang, p. 280; King Rama II, Inao,
pp. 203, 233.
(9) King Rama I, Dalang, pp. 276, 281, 295; King Rama II,
Inao, pp. 253, 497.
(10) King Rama I, Dalang, pp. 282, 295, 311; King
Rama II, Inao, p. 84.
Dāhā as Busbā's betrothed, he is criticized by the court ladies as follows:

... It is like a poor, blemished bead brought to mix with a gem worth the city's value; it is like a brass ring supporting diamond, or tile scraping against the glorious, pure gold. (1)

In both poems, the happiness of a person in love is equal to, or even greater than, the happiness obtained from ruling over heaven. But, in the wailings of the hero's first love, who is suspicious that he cares no more for her, love is 'like a running stream which only flows onward and never returns'. Another conventional comparison is also used:

When love exists,
The bitter vegetable soup is admired as sweet;
When love dies,
Even the juice from sugarcane becomes tasteless. (3)

When love at first sight occurs, the idea of 'Bupphēsanniwāt' or 'living together in a previous existence' (4) is often introduced, for example:

We live far apart, yet we meet each other According to our Bupphēsanniwāt. (5)

Or,

According to Bupphēsanniwāt, He falls in love with her. (6)

---

(1) King Rama II, Inao, p. 366.
(2) Ibid., p. 304.
(3) Ibid., p. 1152.
(5) King Rama I, Dalang, p. 459.
(6) King Rama II, Inao, p. 777.
Karma and rebirth are also frequently referred to in poetic works. The mention of merit and demerit created in former existences occur 123 times in Dalang and 117 times in Inao. Most of them are found in the love episodes, such as —

My demerit separated me
Far from the kingdom,
But my merit leads to our meeting. (1)

Or,

What merit can it be that gave the chance
Of holding you in my arms?
What demerit is it that takes you away?
Have I severed any pair of creatures
in a previous life? (2)

Further examples can be drawn from other situations, such as a consolation given to the hero's first love by the executioner:

You are of a pleasing beauty,
According to merit created previously. (3)

The queen of Framōtan wails over the loss of
Unākan:

Perhaps my merit is very little,
Thus making my dearest son leave me. (4)

The King of Kamangkuning decides to move his army to attack Dāhā, in spite of being restrained by the

(1) King Rama I, Dalang, p. 985.
(2) King Rama II, Inao, p. 468.
(3) King Rama I, Dalang, p. 57.
(4) King Rama II, Inao, p. 797.
court astrologers, saying:

It's up to my merit and demerit;
I won't care for your advice. (1)

A consolation to the long lost princes and princesses after the reunion:

The misfortune which has happened is caused by your demerit. (2)

The heroine in Dālang is calm at knowing that she has to commit self-immolation:

I shall exhaust me demerit
To live in great honour in future life. (3)

The grief for death is usually lessened by the mention of transitoriness of life:

Once born in this world of uncertainties, No one can flee from the God of Death. Even the kings, the rich, the poor, The people in the three worlds, The mighty Brahma, Yama, The Wāyuphak (bird) in the sky, All have to die, Either sooner or later. (4)

The means used to portray emotion thus involves the application of Buddhist conceptions and, in detail, recourse to a set of conventional similes partially differentiated into sets according to the nature of the

(1) Ibid., p. 280.
(2) Ibid., p. 1033.
(3) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 376.
(4) Ibid., p. 30.
emotion portrayed.

Sovereignty.—

In both poems, sovereignty is symbolically represented by a crystal or white umbrella (in nine tiers) which gives shade to all subordinates.

Among the sovereigns themselves, those of 'Divine Race' are praised as surpassing all others in every respect. Their superiority and their unconquered warriors are acknowledged by minor states. Various similes are used to mark a barrier between the divine descendants and the non-divine race, for example:

> The members of 'Divine Race'
> Are warriors of great power and skill.
> Their armies are adroit in warfare,
> An awe to all Javanese!
> Hundreds of kings are their vassals.
> Our realm is such a tiny one;
> (It is) like a glow-worm that tries
> To rival with the sun. (2)

Or,

The non-divine race cannot be compared with your Grace,
So this will cause displeasure to your lotus-feet.
'Tis like a white-ant hill and the golden Meru,
A (powerless) deer and the King of lions,
The terrestrial and etherial sphere. (3)

---

(1) Ibid., pp. 24, 34, 371, 488, 813, 827; King Rama II, Inao, pp. 307, 1089.
(2) King Rama II, Inao, p. 265.
(3) Ibid., p. 239.
Descriptions of nature —

In drawing an image of colourful scenery, a variety of precious stones is used as standards of comparison, for example:

Some (flowers) are as red as a ruby's brightness; Those in white are pretty as cat's eyes; The yellow ones shine beautifully As if tinted with pure gold. (1)

Or,

The red (flowers) look as if they are vermillioned; The purple ones look as dark as sapphire; The white are like moonstone. (2)

Or,

The green coral-reefs are as bright as emerald; Those with lineal designs look as if they are enamelled; The red and yellow shine like onyx. (3)

In a cave description, the stalagmites are compared to bunches of flowers and the stalagmites to the tassels of a brass lantern.

These are the similes used to portray natural beauty while emotion is left aside. The poets just depict the pleasant view of the forest or the sea with idealistic expressions.

(1) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 164.
(2) Ibid., p. 553.
(3) King Rama II, Inao, p. 591.
(4) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 924; King Rama II, Inao, p. 476.
Another aspect of poetic diction is the highly stylized use of alliteration. This feature is a common poetic device, not confined to dramatic texts. It is known as 'len kham', literally word-play. The word-play is not merely mechanical but involves the use of puns. It is most commonly found in descriptive passages, especially in the description of nature. This practice has been referred to in Chapter IV, page 138, but it is worth supplementing here with further examples.

Internal rhyme and word-play add beauty to Thai poems. Simple descriptions of different birds on different become more lively and gay, such as —

nok kaeo  čhąp king kaeo phlōt
   chu'ai chót chū'n chom ärom wang
rawangphrai kā kōng rōng rawang
   rāngnān čhąp rāng riangrai
nok kāthā čhąp ton khōnthā khan
   benchawan čhąp wan laeo phanphāi
yāng čhąp yāng daeng laeo faeng kāi
   khamen māi mutchalin čhā kīn plā

Or,

krāthung thong long thong nāi thong thān
   krawāo čhąp krawān prasān siāng

(1) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 997.
The description of dawn when the cuckoo sings in harmony with the other birds and when the cool breeze brings the fragrance of wild flowers —

duwao röng song siang wän
siang prasän kap khanā paksā
phraphāi ch'ai phat ramphoei mā
ḥôm klin bu-ngā ranōhuan ḍhái

Or,

prasän siang samniang duwao waeo
kai kaeo kāng pīk krāphū' khan
burong röng phrōng phriak phraiwan
tū'n tā hā kan thang dongdān
namkhāng phrāng phrom phru'ksā
yu'akyen kēyā yōtā hān
phraphāi ramphoei phat phān
phā klin sumāmān tralop mā

(1) King Rama II, Inao, p. 455.
(2) King Rama I, Dālāng, p. 863.
(3) King Rama II, Inao, p. 480.
The image of the forest at night under the moonbeams, amidst the flowers' sweet scents brought by the cool breeze, with dew-drops sparkling on the leaves and glow-worms glittering on the twigs —

hôm huan uan rot sumālā

phraphāī phā klin tralop op āī
namkhāng tok tōng bai phru'kṣā
čhap saeng čanthrā čhamrāt čhāī
hinghōi yōi rayap čhap mai rāī

phraiphrāi phraeophraeo thi thaeo thāng

These are impressive with the beauty of sounds created by internal rhyme and alliteration.

A passage of mechanical word-play in Inao can be compared with a forest description in Khun Chāng Khun Phaen.

Inao:

ฏิ-ชān g pen rūi chān g chak
king kān rān hāk long mai mai
hū-
kwāng kwāng kin rabat bai
laeo laen lōt dōt lai lōn g choeng
chong-khō kho khao yū ngao rom
bāng tām tit chit chom thu'k thaloeng

(1) Ibid., p. 113.
(2) Ibid., p. 658.
Khun Châng Khun Phaen:
su'a mông yông aep ton tā-su'a
rom hū-kwâng kwâng fu'a füng kwâng pā
ūi-châng châng nāo pen râo mā
sâlikâ chap king phikun kim

This stylized diction is attested early in Thai literature. It dates back at least to the fifteenth century, for similar word-play is found in Lilit Phra Lô:
tā-su'a su'a phât phâi
kwâng naep hū-kwâng fân
châng nāo mū bong sâng
châng lôt ēi-châng len
nī thâng
fik ren
sôn yū
pâ lî lap dòng

Emotion portrayed in the form of puns abound in Dâlang and Inao, such as —
sâo-yut yut yang chang čhai
su-krom krom ru'thai mông sî
kâ-fâk mu'an fâk maitrî thawî
tao-râng mu'an râng burî mā doen phrai

Or,
bênhawan mu'an wan mu'a khao fao
dai hen čhao tông čhai ru'thai huan

(1) Khun Châng Khun Phaen, Bangkok, 1950, p. 368.
(2) Lilit Phra Lô, p. 49.
(3) King Rama I, Dâlang, p. 609.
When Inao is travelling through the forest, to give military assistance to Dāhā, the birds and trees remind him of his three wives who stay behind in Manyā —

benchawan chap wan chāli

mu'an wan phi klaw sam sudā mā

nāng-nuan chap nāng-nuan rōn

mu'an phi nae p nuan samūn čhintarā

čhākkaphrāk chap čhāk čhamnāčhā

mu'an čhāk nāng sakāra wātī

khaek-tao chap tao-rāng rōng

mu'an rāng hōng māyā rasmī

nok kaeo chap kaeo phāthi

mu'an kaeo phi thang sam sang khwām mā

trawēn-phrai rōn rōng trawēn phrai

mu'an wēn dai hai nirāt sanēhā

khao-mōng chap mōng yū ēkā

mu'an phi nap mōng mā mu'a klaw nāng

khap-khae chap khae sandōt diao

mu'an plao pliao khap čhai nai phrai kwāng

chom wihok nok mai pai tām thāng

khanu'ng nāng phlāng rīp yōthī

(1) King Rama II, Inao, p. 491.
(2) Ibid., p. 315.
The model of this passage is found in the Rāmakien of King Rama I. When Phra Rām (Rama) wanders in search of Sītā (Sita), he bewails:

\[\text{nok kaeo chap king kaeo phlōt} \]
\[
\text{mu'an siang yaowayōt sanēhā} \]

\[\text{sālikā chap kannikā} \]
\[
\text{čhamnanchā mu'an čhao phāthī} \]

\[\text{khaek-tao chap tao-rāng rōng} \]
\[
\text{mu'an phi rāng hānğ hōng mārasi} \]

\[\text{benčhawan chap wan mālī} \]
\[
\text{mu'an wan čhao wōn phi hai tām kwānɡ} \]

\[\text{nok yūng chap yūng hōihuan} \]
\[
\text{mu'an phi hōihā nuan phū naep khāŋ} \]

\[\text{nok wā chap wā rim thānɡ} \]
\[
\text{mu'an wā nānɡ mai chu'a wāčhā} \]

\[\text{nānɡ-nuan chap nānɡ-nuan nōn} \]
\[
\text{mu'an nuan nu'a nuan samōn sanēhā} \]

\[\text{čhākkaphrāk chap čhāk laeo rōn rā} \]
\[
\text{mu'an phi kap kaeo tā čhāk kan} \]

\[\text{nok lānɡ chap lānɡ-līnɡ rōnɡ} \]
\[
\text{mu'an lānɡ mu'a phlat nōng phi sōksan} \]

\[\text{khruan phlānɡ phra sadet čhōnčharan} \]
\[
\text{song than sa-ū'n sōkī} \]

\[(1)\text{ King Rama I, Rāmakien, p. 715.}\]
The use of similar expressions generally occurs because the poets in a later generation follow the style of an earlier period. It occurs more frequently among contemporary works, especially when they are produced by the same writers. Many of the court poets in the reign of King Rama I outlived their monarch and joined in the literary works of King Rama II. King Rama II himself had been one of the court poets on his father's reign, so the diction used in his works is not far from that in the preceding reign.

We find that some passages in Dālang are similar to Inao, such as —

The beauty of the heroine's face:

la-ŋ-ông phōng phak phāng plāng plēng
   dang bulan wan phēng chāmrat chāi  \( D. \)^1
   And
song prat phat phak phāng plēng
   dang bulan wan phēng phōng si  \( I. \)^2

A refusal to share the seat with royalty:

phrā čhā nang ruam āt duai čhāt čhā
   klōa tūlā pāpā čhā koet mī  \( D. \)^3

---

\( (1) \) p. 273.
\( (2) \) p. 357.
\( (3) \) p. 21.
And

chestra raya

klua tulā pāpā cha koet mī

When the long-lost beloved is found:

phra lot ong long aep naep nong

kōn prakhōng kōt kaeo laeo rap khwan
dang tāi laeo koet mai dai phop kan

cha bit phan pai yai na nōng rak

bun phā mā hai dai som sū

mi sia thī pen khū tunā-ṅgan
koet nai khō hai dai phop kan

yā sōksan nak loei na ērathai

And

hen phra nōng song sōk kansaeng hai

phra suam sōt kōt wai laeo rap khwan
dang tāi laeo koet mai dai phop kan

yā sōksan nak loei na kanlayā
dēcha rao dai patāpā

yā hai ēr ḋhältkhlā khung āsan

(1) p. 597.
(2) pp. 985, 991.
koet nai ̀chong dái khröng kan
hai rak ruam chīwan ̀chon banlai 1

Between the Rāmakien and the Inao of King Rama II, there are many similar passages, for example—

The mention of a smooth lawn:

th롱 sanām klaeng präp rāp rūn
phăng phūn patthaphī mai mī yā 2 (I.)

And

thaeo thanon hon thăng kọ rāp rūn
phăng phūn patthaphī mai mī yā 3 (R.)

At sunrise:

dào du'an lu'an lap mēkhā
suriyā yaem yiam liam salai 4 (I.)

And

khran dào du'an lu'an lap mēkhā
suriyā yaem yiam liam salai 5 (R.)

How Indra knows that a leading character is in trouble:

mā čha klāo bot pai
thu'ng ong patārakālā

1. King Rama II, Rāmakien, p. 66.
2. p. 935.
3. p. 3.
5. p. 228.
This passage is also comparable to another mention of Indra's seat in Sangthong:

We also find similar descriptions of the stylized costumes between the Inao and the Rāmakien of King Rama II.

Inao:

phra chāi tang khanchōng sōng ngao
sōt sai sanapphlao phrao phaōhong
song phūsā yok yaeng yāng nōk
phū'n muang duang dōk tanyang
mōt thēt riu thōng chalōng-ōng
krasān song chīarabāt khāt thap (4)

(1) p. 810.
(2) p. 718.
(4) pp. 39-40.
Rāmakien:

phra chāi tāng khānchōng sōng ngao
sōt sai sanapphlao phrao phāchōng
phūsā yok yaeng khrut at
chōng krawat wai wāng hāng hong
mōt thēt riu thōng chālōng-ōng
krasan song cḥiarabāt kḥāt thap (1)

Or,

Inao:

nam sai khāi fak prathum thōng
phin phān hān khānōng khaō rōng sū
song sukhon pon suwan kamphū
hōm raru'n chū'n chū klin chamot (2)

Rāmakien:

khāi surāi prāi prōi tok tōng
phin phān hān khānōng khaō rōng sū
song sukhon pon suwan kamphū
hōm raru'n chū'n chū klin chamot (3)

Or,

Inao:

song sukhon tralop o̠p mālī
nāng yū ngān phatchanī ramphoei phat (4)

(1) p. 508.
(2) p. 95.
(3) p. 690.
(4) p. 716.
Rāmakien:

song sukhoṇ tralop op māli
nāng yū ngān phatchanī ramphoei phat (1)

Or,

Inao:

krōng-sō sangwian wichian chuang
tāp-thit thapsuang huāng hōi
thōngkōn ṭhamlak pen rak rōi
thhammarong phet phlōi ruang rung (2)

Rāmakien:

krōng-sō sangwian wichian chuang
thapsuang pradap nu'ang fu'ang hōi
thōngkōn ṭhamlak pen rak rōi
thhammarong phet phlōi phrāi tā (3)

The most striking similarity extending through a whole canto between Inao and Rāmakien is found in the description of Siyatrā's costume for the tonsure ceremony (in Inao) and the description of the costumes worn by Phra Mongkut and Phra Lop for a reception ceremony (in the Rāmakien). The passage in Inao runs as follows:

(1) p. 52.
(2) p. 52.
(3) p. 284.
khat sī monthin wārin rot
nam dökmai sai sot song sanān
lūp lai khru'ang ton sukhon thān
nāng yū ngān ramphoei phatchani
madēwī khao phat phak hai
nuan-la-ōng amphai phōng sī
kān kuat kramuat mun maoli
sai kia o kaeo manī naowarat
hai sōt sanapphlao phroetphräi
choeng ngôn ngām lāi plāi sabat
song phūsā phū'n khāo khōmaphat
phāliang chuai čhīp čhat čhōng praōhong
soi nuam tāp pradap banphāp phet
.sangwān waeo kaeo ket kōng kong
thōngkōn kao rōp rūp phuchong
thāmmarong phet ru'ang rūčhī (1)
(2)
To compare with the Rāmākī, only slight variations occur in four places: 'madēwī' in the first half-line of the third khamklōn is replaced by 'phra aiyakī'; 'sōt' in the first half-line of the fifth khamklōn is replaced by 'sōng song', and, at the end of this half-line, 'phroetphräi' is replaced by 'phraophräi'; the last variation

(1) p. 801.
(2) p. 817.
is seen at the end of the sixth khamklōn where 'pračhong' is replaced by 'phačhong'. All the rest are identical with Inao.

It is clear from the remarks on diction that both Dālang and Inao belong, in general terms, to an old established stylistic tradition which continues over a period of at least a century and extends over a variety of genres. Nevertheless, we can point to certain stylistic differences between the two poems.

If we examine Dālang thoroughly in the field of versification, we shall find that the structural rhymes between Wak Salap and Wak Rap, and between Wak Rōng and Wak Song, are not well fixed. Normally, when the Klōn verse is read aloud, two slight pauses after every two or three syllables can be marked in a wak. For example —

\[\text{tae thiao/rop ruk/thuk thānī} \]
\[\text{kham nathī/ma-ngum/ma-ngārā} \]
\[\text{phiang čha sin/phaen din/daeń chawā} \]
\[\text{kō mai čhaeng/kitchā/prakān dai (2)} \]

In the other words, every wak consists of three sections. Wak Salap here is linked with Wak Rap by a structural rhyme, from the end of the third section of Wak

\[(1)\] Details of this characteristic have been given in Chapter VI, but that account is supplemented here because of the effect on diction.

\[(2)\] King Rama I, Dālang, p. 864.
Salap to the end of the first section of Wak Rap. Similarly, the end of Wak Rǒng here rhymes with the end of the second section of Wak Song. Between Wak Rap and Wak Rǒng, there is a structural rhyme from the end of the former to the end of the latter. This is the rule for rhyming within a bot or couplet. But, it frequently occurs that the rhyme from Wak Salap and Wak Rǒng in Dālang does not fall at the end of the section, either the first or second section, of Wak Rap and Wak Rǒng respectively. The rhyme, therefore, becomes imprecise to the Thai ear, for example —

čhong mí/sawat/sathāphon (Wak Salap)  
yā hai/phairi/phāchon dai (Wak Rap)  

Or,

thūn wā/phra-ong/song chai (Wak Rǒng)  
hai choen/sadet/čhōńčharan (Wak Song)  

Or,

an thīdā/nongyao/khung rao nan (Wak Rǒng)  
čha kiat/kan wai/yai mí (Wak Song)  

(1) The end of Wak Salap can also rhyme with the end of the second section of Wak Rap.  
(2) The end of Wak Rǒng can also rhyme with the end of the first section of Wak Song.  
(3) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 126.  
(4) Ibid., p. 126.  
(5) Ibid.; p. 139.
This characteristic is also apparent in the other Lakhôn Nai texts produced in the reign of King Rama I. Extracts from the Inao of King Rama I are given below in comparison with the quoted passages from Dalang:

thī khiao/kō ngām/dang mørakot (Wak Salap)  
ząng dang/thapthim/sot sī (Wak Rap)  

Or,

thang sa kaeo/prathamêt/rāi riang (Wak Rōng)  
phiang bōk/khōranī/nai mu'ang in (Wak Song)  

Or,

mī prāng/prāsāt nōi/rāi rōp (Wak Salap)  
prakōp kāp/surakān/mai nap dai (Wak Rap)  

Or,

thu' chet/nā bāng/tāng sī (Wak Rap)  

Or,

tae rōn rum/klum klat/yū attra (Wak Rōng)  
phu'ng dai/suthā thip/mā yā ēhāi (Wak Song)  

---

(1) King Rama I, Inao, p. 136.  
(2) Ibid., p. 5. Such a rhyme can also be found in pp. 3, 4, 16, 63, 86, 87, 88, 131, 134, 135, 151, 174, 177, 190.  
(3) Ibid., p. 3. Such a rhyme can also be found in pp. 1, 4, 7, 135.  
(4) Ibid., p. 8. Such a rhyme can also be found in pp. 32, 79, 86, 135, 207.  
(5) Ibid., p. 74.
From the Rāmakien:

From Unarut:

Another attitude towards rhyming is to avoid the same sounds, such as 'dai' should not rhyme with 'dai', or 'nī' should not rhyme with 'nī', even if the tones are different. But, homophonic rhyming occurs many times in Dālang, for example:

---

(1) King Rama I, Rāmakien, p. 56.
(2) King Rama I, Unarut, p. 80.
In the latter quotation, we can also see an unsuitable rhyming between a short vowel in 'nopphakhun' and a long vowel in 'čharūn'.

Homophonic rhyming also occurs in the Rama I version of Ināo, for example —

čhù'ng thūn sanŋŋ phră wāchā
trat mă dang nī mī khuan nak

an koet pen chāi laeo sai

phū dāi dāi phān trai ēhāk

yōm rū kān rop khrop nak

khuan ēhāk hai khrōŋ wīaŋ chai

Variety in word-forms is a necessity to the poet and the choice is generally controlled by the verse structure. Repetition of the same meaning may occur; it is permissible

---

(1) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 161.
(2) Tīāē, p. 164.
(3) King Rama I, Ināo, p. 157.
in some cases, such as 'phra rip reng līlā khlākhlai', but it can spoil the beauty of the poem by its superfluousness, for example —

fan tōng raden tok ãchā

$$\begin{align*} 
mōt & \text{muai} \quad mōranā \quad taksāi \\
\text{(die)} & \quad \text{(die)} \quad \text{(die)}
\end{align*}$$

Or,

hai pen si sawat sathāphōn

$$\begin{align*} 
nai & \text{krung} \quad nakhōn \quad thānī \\
\text{(city)} & \quad \text{(city)} \quad \text{(city)}
\end{align*}$$

Or,

khao pāi yang nai nakkharēt

phra song dēt ñhong prōt kēsā

khō ñhong phūwanai khlāikhlā

phānřā ñhong ñhaeng khādī

(The specified terms here are all epithets for a form in the second person.)

All these defects in versification are uncharacteristic of the works of King Rama II which were produced with more care. In the reign of King Rama II, Dālang had ceased to attract attention and interest. However, the Inao of King Rama I was used in the later reign, and it is worth comparing some extracts from the two versions of Inao to exemplify

(1) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 136.
(2) Ibid.; p. 155.
(3) Ibid.; p. 168.
techniques of revision.

To improve the defective rhyme:

The Inao of King Rama I —

\[ \text{čham čha khām/pai ko/malaka} \]
\[ \text{hā dū/hai sin/songsai} \] (1)

The Inao of King Rama II —

\[ \text{čha khām pai/mu'ang ma/lakā ko} \]
\[ \text{sū'p sq/hai sin/songsai} \] (2)

Or,

The Inao of King Rama I —

\[ \text{sū wiya/sakam/phū sakdā} \]
\[ \text{phra ēhong yū'n/mā dū/pen prathān} \] (3)

The Inao of King Rama II —

\[ \text{sū wiya/sakam/phū sakdā} \]
\[ \text{phra-ong/ēhong yū'n mā/pen prathān} \] (4)

Or,

The Inao of King Rama I —

\[ \text{tae rōn rum/klum klat/yū attrā} \]
\[ \text{phu'ng dai/suthā thip/mā yā ēhai} \] (5)

(1) King Rama I, Inao, p. 135.
(2) King Rama II, Inao, p. 590.
(3) King Rama I, Inao, p. 135.
(4) King Rama II, Inao, p. 331.
(5) King Rama I, Inao, p. 74.
The Inao of King Rama II —

We can see that satisfactory phrases are preserved, and alterations take place where proper rhyming is needed.

Changes of words generally occur where the poets want to create better sounds as well as better signification, for example —

The Inao of King Rama I —

The Inao of King Rama II —

phra-ong dang duang thinnakōn
song dēt khaōchōn thuk haeng hon
phra ōrot yot ying phūwadon
mu'an mēk klu'an klon khao bang wai
su'ng pen khwan talop op amphōn
phūthōn ēha thuk thon mon mai
duai ōrotsā ēha khaěkhlaī
čham pen čham hai kamōhat kan
phra ēha thiao ma-ngum-ma-ngārā
yamyl bithā thuk khēt khan
sipsām pī ēha khū'n kurepan
čha dai sōng nāng nan mā thānī (1)

Superfluous words of Malay-Javanese origin are
cut out:

The Inao of King Rama I —

chū' raden karatchapātī
ārat sārī kārā
harikan misāran kumārā
mā-ngoŋ ngrayā thibōdī (2)

The Inao of King Rama II —

chū' karattapātī kumān
rūp song santhān sōphā (3)

(1) King Rama II, Inao, p. 13.
(2) King Rama I, Inao, p. 11.
(3) King Rama II, Inao, p. 9.
Or,

The Inao of King Rama I —

chū' raden surānākong

yāyā ritthirong rang-sī
kudā lang eng yang pātī
cūrakat sāri chān chāi (1)

The Inao of King Rama II —

chū' raden surānākong (2)

Imitation in the use of words sometimes brings defects to the poems. Being influenced by the Ramakien, the writers of Dālang once used 'lōthan' for a king's charioteer. This term normally refers to Rāvana's charioteer in the Rāmakien and does not occur in any other story. In another episode of Dālang, the terms 'thōraphā' and 'thōraphī' are used in referring to an accursed deity who takes the form of a wild buffalo and fights with Inao's son. This is also a derivation of the story of an accursed deity in the Rāmakien. That deity takes the form of a buffalo called Thōraphā and is finally killed by his own son whose name is Thōraphī. The inappropriate use of these two names in Dālang makes the poem look absurd.

(1) King Rama I, Inao, p. 33.
(2) King Rama II, Inao, p. 82.
(3) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 437; cf. King Rama I, Rāmakien, p. 1257.
(4) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 699.
A dance-dramatic poem is a work of refinement. The poets must also have sufficient knowledge in music, classical songs and dancing postures. This classical art reached its zenith in the reign of King Rama II. The revision of each text was carefully done. Superfluous words were removed. The terms improperly used and the phrases not clearly expressed were altered. The use of epithets is a good example. The variety of epithetic phrases in Dālang is much larger than in Inao, because Inao introduced only the appropriate ones.

The use of epithets is nevertheless the most obvious characteristic of the poems under consideration. In summarizing the evidence offered on this subject, we can say that the epithet occurs as:

1. in substitution for a personal name or title, e.g. 'phra-ong song phop trai' (the ruler of the three worlds).

2. in apposition to a noun or title. The epithet being

a) in the form of a nominal phrase. With regard to placement, such epithets belong to conventionally-established exclusive sets occurring in pre- or post-position in relation to nouns, e.g. 'phra chōm yong ong misāra panyī'

(1) Listed in Appendix IV. See also pp. 211, 212.
(2) Listed in Appendix IV. See also pp. 211-213.
(The handsome prince whose name is Misāra Panyī), or 'thāo kālang sūriwong nāṭhā' (King Kālang of the Solar Race, who affords protection).

b) in the form of an attribute, placed in post-position to the noun in the Thai grammatical order, e.g. 'madēwī sī sōphā' (the beautiful Madēwī).

3. in the form of a post-positional attribute in relation to nouns denoting objects connected with royalty, e.g. the crystal palace, the lotus feet.

A second favoured device is that of the simile.

1. These similes are of a descriptive nature and are employed in the physical description of persons. They can be either of simple or complex type. Complexity derives not from procedures comparable to the epic simile, but rather to the existence of conventional sets of similes, which may be compared with similar procedures well-known in classical Indian poetry.

2. The simile expressing human emotion.

A striking feature is the frequent use of a physical referent, e.g.

grief: 'painful as if a sword pierces a wound';

(1) Listed in Appendix IV.
(2) See pp. 213-214.
(3) See pp. 217-220.
(4) See pp. 220-224.
anxiety: 'as if the heart is burnt in a fire'.

A degree of variety occurs in the use of such referents, but a highly conventionalized set of referents of a religious or quasi-religious nature is also employed: e.g. divine characters, Mount Meru, Kalpa fire.

The epithet does not extend beyond a single wak (half-line) of the poem, and the simile is limited in extent to two wak (one line).

The use of punning language.

In the particular case of natural descriptions, the convention of punning language based in formal terms primarily on alliteration and secondarily on rhyme has developed in Thai dramatic and narrative poetry. The texts under consideration employ this feature fully. The extent of a punning passage is limited to one line.

The complex of features summarized above clearly establishes the existence of a conventional poetic diction. Within the formal limits available to the epithet, the simile and the punning passage, exact repetition and the repeated occurrence of controlled variants in similar contexts is to be observed. These devices are not extended to longer expressions of a formulaic nature but within their limits display

formulaic characteristics which might be thought of as ultimately referable to an underlying oral tradition. The features with which we are dealing are common to Thai dramatic and narrative poetry, and in Lakhôn Nai texts they are seen at their most highly developed. However, there is no evidence that Lakhôn Nai texts were ever composed orally, though this may have been a characteristic of the primitive drama of an earlier period. Whatever its putative connection with an oral tradition may be, these features of poetic diction represent a sophisticated literary development. In the Thai context, oral and literary traditions exist side by side, and the production of written texts for oral performance has a long history in the drama especially with regard to shadow-play and masked-play playbooks and, in the narrative tradition, with regard to Phra Lô. This conventional diction is part of a common heritage of Indic origin. Its most characteristic feature, the pun in the context of the description of nature, is widespread, though adapted to suit the requirements of languages as different as, for example, Sanskrit, Thai or Javanese.

A typical example from the old Javanese Rāmāyana is:

"The widu-birds, now say of them that they are very clever; they show off as though they are tree-frogs; they have learned to act." (1)

Here the puns are:

widu (J., bird-name) / widu-an vidvan (Skt., knowing);
a-katak (show off) / nataka (tree-frogs).

Compare the same general style type of an example from Inao (text on p. 232 of this thesis):

"There is a track through the sweet elephant-cane where the elephants have dragged it, the branches newly broken. Deer eat the young leaves of the deer's ear..."

Here the puns are:

či-chāng (sweet elephant cane) / chāng (elephant);
ńu-kwāng (deer's ear, tree-name) / kwāng (deer).

A limitation to noun elements in the puns is normal in Thai.

In striking contrast to the elaborate conventions which we have been describing is the realistic description which is employed for certain parts of the physical setting of the poems. The localization of cities in Thai terms and the references to the way of life of the people provide the best examples of this characteristic.

(1) Ibid., p. 368.
(2) See: Chapter IV, pp. 98-135.
The description of armies and their various functions, preparation for war, travelling and the battles themselves, fall into an intermediate position with regard to the development of a conventional diction. We can look outside the Thai poems of the Panji cycle to other dramatic and narrative poems and to historical texts for comparable conventions. Such conventions, however, take their rise from the needs of the relatively standard contexts and themes and an artificial diction, existing for itself, of the type of the punning language used in descriptions of nature does not develop.

Finally, it is necessary to consider the use of dialogue in the poems. This is of a special kind. The employment of dialogue is dependent on the method of performance. The norm is a mode of speech which in English terms, hence in translation, would occur as direct speech. This, however, is sung by the chorus. The presentation of such material was in the form of song tunes, which in Inao are usually named at the head of the canto concerned. On occasion the chorus may move from reported speech to direct speech in the middle of a canto. The marking of song tunes appears to be a late feature. It occurs in the Rāmakien and Unarut as well as in Inao and therefore covers the reign of King Rama I as well as that of King Rama II. However, this is not a characteristic of Dālang and is also absent in such
early (eighteenth century at least) dramatic texts like Nāng Manōrā. Thus the absence of the marking of song tune may be a further indication of the earlier date of Dālang.

An example of the marking of song tunes:

rāi
mo' a nan
busbā yaowayōt sanēhā
sathit nai rot manī līlā
mā dōî mōrakhā phanāwan
'2 kham'
chom dong
khran kham sonthayā rātrī kān
čhu'ng phoei mān ḍk chom saeng bulan
song klot mot mēk phrāi phan
saeng čhan čhap saeng rot song (1)

The nature of dialogue is illustrated below by examples drawn both from Dālang and Inao.

Dālang:

At that time,
The glorious Misā Pramangkuning
Says to Prince Wiyāsakam:
"Go and tell those princesses
That I'll take them to Palū-ngan Island
To see the beautiful garden.
They can gather fruits and flowers
For pleasure to-day."

At that time,
The glorious Wiyāsakam
Receives the commands of his powerful (foster) father.
He makes obeisance and hurries off
To the princesses' boat.
He informs them with delight:
"My royal father says
That he'll take all of you
To an island and a garden.

(1) King Rama II, Dimao, p. 443.
Definitely to-day!
Please get ready, dear sisters.
Then we shall have a good time together." (1)

Inao:

At that time,
The two young ladies-in-waiting
Cannot find the beautiful Busbā.
Startled, they come up (to the throne hall) together.

Arriving, they make obeisance
And ask the Holy Sovereign:
"When the fire broke out,
Your Majesty sent King Chōrakā
To fetch the Princess (from the inner palace).
We wanted to follow, but were forbidden.
Where is the Princess at this moment?"

Then,
The mighty King Dāhā of the Solar Race
Was shocked by their words.
Suspicion grows in his mind.
"Chōrakā went to put out the fire
With all the military officers.
I did not send him here (to the inner palace).
Who is so daring
To steal Busbā away?
I suspect that Raden Montri (Inao)
Came in disguise and abducted her." (2)

On occasions the dancers paused and themselves
spoke lines extempore. These points are marked in Inao and
in other dramatic texts of the early Ratanakosin period
with the term 'čhēračhā' at the close of the immediately
preceeding canto. Such spoken material is not recorded
either in the manuscripts or in the printed texts. It
normally reflected the matter that had been sung immediately

(1) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 868.
(2) King Rama II, Inao, p. 528.
before by the chorus. It is not possible to say whether this feature was an original part of Lakhôn Nai performance or a later development. There are no explicit indications of the practice in the Dâlang text. It is, in fact, of minor importance in Lakhôn Nai where the dances themselves, supported by accompanying music and the singing of the text, were the major object of the performances.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

The observations made by de la Loubère in the last quarter of the seventeenth century provide a good starting point for general comment on traditional Thai dance-drama. He said, in part, "The show which they call Lacone is a poem intermixt with epic and dramatic, which lasts three days, from eight in the morning till seven at night. They are histories in verse . . . The Lacone serves principally to solemnize the feast of the dedication of a new temple . . ." (1)

Here de la Loubère lays emphasis on the function of the play, its connection with religious activity. No doubt his opportunities to see Thai dance-drama at the court of Somdet Phra Nārāi were limited. If they had been greater he would have noticed that the dedication of a new temple was only one of a whole series of ceremonies in which the dance-drama had a part to play. It is worth noting that to whatever source we go, whether to historical documents or literary texts, the occasions on which mentions of theatrical activity are made are almost without exception of a ceremonial nature. This goes far to explain certain

(1) See page 4.
fundamental points about Thai dance-drama. In terms of religion, Thailand and its predecessor states lie within the orbit of influences deriving from India. Hinduism and Buddhism have been formative influences of an over-riding kind. By its very nature Buddhism does not offer a ceremonial web which provides for the everyday needs of a society as far as both court and commonalty are concerned. Buddhist ceremonial has to do mainly with action within the church itself such as ordination or activities connected with teaching and the following of a religious life. On the other hand Hinduism provided a ceremonial framework in which all could take part and which had reference to the needs of the layman in terms of rites de passage and so on. This was particularly true of the court and, though Brahministic practices spread widely through Thai society and indeed existed among the peoples of the Thai regions before Thai domination, nevertheless the court remained the centre and ceremonies performed in the country were easily recognized as being analogues of those held at court. The Thai rulers, in continuation of the Brahministic beliefs followed among the Khmer and also, for instance, in early Indonesia, saw themselves, in one of their aspects, as being of a semi-divine nature. Praise for the king, pronounced as a matter of course, in an invocation to a dramatic performance, was praise for the god, usually Shiva or Vishnu. Moreover,
in Brahministic terms the entertainment of the gods was an integral part of worship.

There is always something of the gay atmosphere of a fair about Thai ceremonial activity. All recorded evidence goes to show that this was the case in former times too. It is a common enough phenomenon and marks ceremonies of a religious nature in China, India and the West, especially in Catholic countries, as much as in South East Asia. However, in the Thai context a special dimension, shared by the Indian and Indianized cultures, was given to the idea of entertainment. A religious play was not only a method of demonstrating religious ideas, it was in itself an act of worship. Even accompanying feats and games, enjoyable for themselves alone on another level of entertainment, and appearing entirely secular to a casual view, fell into the same category.

In such context it was natural that the ancient drama of India which told the stories of the gods should have a prominent place in the court culture of people like the Thai. We have seen that Thai Lakhān employed subjects like the Rāmakītien, or stories like Anirut, drawn from the Purāṇas, or Buddhist birth-tales featuring the adventures and activities of kings and princes. The eventual acquisition of the special subjects of Lakhān Nai from Indonesian sources was natural enough in this context.
Apart from the function of the Lakhôn which was noticed by de la Loubère, he commented also on the style and form of drama. He uses the terms 'epic', 'dramatic' and 'histories', but perhaps the key word is 'intermixt'. He is, of course, an educated Western observer and he notices that Thai dance-drama does not fit into any of his preconceived notions about literature and the theatre. This is a just observation and leads us on to consider the nature of Thai dance-drama. Obviously it is dramatic. It is performed on a stage by actors and/or actresses. It is closely linked with the dance, and the Indian heritage gives the dance a language of dramatic interpretation which resembles a very specialized form of mime, even though this cannot be linked detail by detail with Indian practice. The musical aspect of the performance also has its conventions in the form of particular song tunes and of specialized themes repeated in appropriate contexts such as of an army on the march, a love-scene and so on. The music and the dance are linked particularly closely with the text of the play through the medium of the chorus. There is, too, an absence, in the older traditional practice, of any form of scenery, and this is compensated for in the text itself through the provision of background description on a large scale. These various elements are intimately linked to produce a unified performance of a very distinctive kind.
While the rendering of the text by means of a chorus instead of through the mouths of the actors is essential of this particular type of dramatic performance, this technique seems bound to reduce the impact of the inter-play between character and character. We have seen that there is recourse to a device of pseudo-dialogue which the nature of the Thai grammatical structure allows to appear close to realistic dialogue. This device is so frequently employed that it very greatly enlivens the presentation of the story which would otherwise be entirely a matter of narrative and description. In the love scenes it contributes to a heightening of feeling that enables a genuine emotional exchange between the characters to take place. Nevertheless, the requirements and purposes of this type of drama do not demand that the dramatic content of the play should be fully expressed through the characters in speech and action before a visual background. Such a conception of dramatic technique is common in the modern Western countries and modern Thai drama has adopted such an attitude. At its best the incidents of the plot can then seem to arise from the interaction of the characters expressed mainly in realistic dialogue. This, however, is not the case in traditional Thai dance-drama or other forms such as masked or shadow-play. In them the unfolding of plot is the most important and the characters take their
We can now refer again to de la Loubère and see why he was rather confused. He mentioned the epic and histories. This was because he observed the narrative quality of the Thai dance-drama. This perhaps made it look different from any kind of drama in his experience. It is true that the telling of a story which can spread over the lifetime of the characters or perhaps through several generations is a feature of much of Thai literature. We must of course leave the important genres of reflective or lyrical poetry to one side in this matter. Also there is no Thai prose novel until very recent times. Therefore the poems written for performance on the stage and those for reading or recital as poems are the two kinds which are linked. The true narrative poems are different as to subject because they are usually based on indigenous Thai supposed happenings which can sometimes be related to Thai history. They do show, however, the type of limited character development that we get in the plays. This is of course a perfectly acceptable quality in its own context. At least one type of narrative poem, that known as Sēphā, was performed by narrators who took individual sections of the poems, fighting sections, amatory pieces, or scenes of love-longing for example, as their specialities and the poems contained dialogue of the type we have been considering. There is also conventional
as well as realistic description. But this did not become
drama unless it had stage representation and costumed
actors as in masked-play or dance drama or hide figures
differently attired as in shadow-play. These types with
their special terms, Nang = shadow-play, Khön = masked-
play and the various types of Lakhön are what constitute
Thai drama. The magico-religious function shown by their
association with, primarily, royal ceremonial is common
to all of the types of drama and is not entirely absent
from narrative poetry such as Sēphā. The common aim, too,
is the telling of a verse tale. Choice of subject and
technique of presentation are the main criteria for differenti-
tiating drama and the latter is the only absolute one.
Lakhön Nai linking text, music and the dance in the most
intimate and developed fashion represents a particularly
specialized form of drama.

The main source of external influence is quite
obviously ancient India, and both motive and method have
been deeply influenced. Thai drama shares such influences
with other Hinduized states of South East Asia. The full
concentration on verse as a medium, where Sanskrit used
both verse and prose, seems to be shared particularly with
the old Khmer forms about which little can be said in the
present state of our knowledge. This may be the proximate
source for the Thai, and this is a probability on geo-political
grounds. We know too that Thai drama in turn, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, made contributions to Burmese and particularly to Cambodian drama since Cambodian kings and princes were resident in Bangkok and absorbed its cultural influence.

We have also seen that in matters of detail Thai drama and indeed Thai literature in general has been subject to influences deriving ultimately from Indian literary tradition. That this is clearly the case can be seen from the detailed study of versification and poetic diction. Nevertheless these foreign influences, though very significant indeed, are not all-embracing. The Thai elements are present as for example in the non-conventional description given in the localized background. In versification, although a partly Sanskrit-based terminological framework has been applied, the inevitable dominance of Thai metrical features is a fact.

In aspects of treatment Indian influence can also be seen. This is the case in relation to the Panji cycle tales employed in Lakhôn Nai as well as to the subjects drawn ultimately from the Rāmāyana and other Indian material. In the environment of a narrative exposition the adventures of a hero-ruler are projected. This is the martial aspect. A heroine normally plays an equally prominent part. This provides the important amatory aspect. There is, however,
nothing resembling the sophisticated cult of love that is found in European mediaeval literature. There is an element of romance introduced in its technical literary sense (in Western critical terms) of magic and mystery. However, this is not fully exploited in Thai literature though where it occurs it is clearly a reflection of classical Indian influence.

Amatory and martial attitudes certainly derive something from this external influence as can be seen from the conventional nature of their presentation.

A further literary term introduced by de la Loubere in his perceptive comment was that of 'epic'. Thai drama reflects Indian epic if that term can be accepted, as it popularly is, for Indian heroic tales. In the Thai context, epic is not a genre in its own right but there is an epic element in both dramatic and narrative literature and it is more marked in the latter because there it has a more indigenous quality.

Similar arguments concerning a blend of borrowed and of Thai features can be applied to the non-textual aspects of the drama — music and the dance. It is a question of adaptation in a local environment which has existed for at least five hundred years and the synthesis is a Thai one. This constitutes an original contribution to world drama.
Lakhōn Nai, the particular subject of this thesis is a specialized development within the general field of Lakhōn. More than any other type it has evolved within the confines of the court. The context of performance is that of a court ceremony involving the King and is on the occasion of ceremonies of an auspicious nature, as, for example, the welcoming of a royal white elephant.

The magico-religious function is present in the background as is the case with all forms of the drama. Moreover, the subject of Lakhōn Nai is drawn from a source which is less intimately connected with the religious aspect of the monarchy. The attention given to the aesthetic side of the performance in terms of the music, the dance and the text itself which reaches its culmination in the Inao of King Rama II suggests that Lakhōn Nai was also valued as an artistic activity in its own right produced by the ladies of the palace for the King. The poetry, the music, the dance and even the costuming demonstrate or have links with every kind of Thai court art and provide a supreme vehicle for their expression.
APPENDIXES
APPENDIX I

Minor lexical variants between the Somdet Phra Rācha Pitulā manuscript and the printed text (1956 edition) of Dālang.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opening</th>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Printed Text</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, C 1</td>
<td>พระองค์กั้นเครื่องสมบัติทรงมุ่ง</td>
<td>พระองค์กั้นเครื่องสมบัติทรงมุ่ง</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 7 / W 1</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, C 1</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 15 / W 1</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, C 1</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 26 / W 2</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, C 3</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 4 / W 2</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, C 4</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 7 / W 2</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, C 5</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 2 / W 2</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, C 5</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, C 5</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 7 / W 2</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, C 5</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 10 / W 1</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, C 8</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 3 / W 1</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, C 6</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 7 / W 2</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>พระอินทร์ยิ่งเพิ่มเติม</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
<td>Printed Text</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, C 11</td>
<td>เอาอุ่นนิ่ง kości ภูมิอากาศ</td>
<td>เอาอุ่นนิ่ง kości ภูมิอากาศ</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 6 / W 1</td>
<td>อันเทิ่งสัญญาณรุนแรง</td>
<td>อันเทิ่งสัญญาณรุนแรง</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15, C 12</td>
<td>เพื่อแก้ไขปัญหาพืช</td>
<td>เพื่อแก้ไขปัญหาพืช</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 12 / W 1</td>
<td>ระดับมั่นคง</td>
<td>ระดับมั่นคง</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18, C 13</td>
<td>เหมือนกันกับพืชทาง</td>
<td>เหมือนกันกับพืชทาง</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 17 / W 2</td>
<td>ระดับมั่นคงสูง</td>
<td>ระดับมั่นคงสูง</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19, C 14</td>
<td>ที่กระจายตัว</td>
<td>ที่กระจายตัว</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>ที่กระจายตัว</td>
<td>ที่กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19, C 14</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 3 / W 2</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19, C 14</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 4 / W 1</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20, C 14</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 17 / W 2</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23, C 21</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1 / W 4</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23, C 21</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 2 / W 2</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23, C 21</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 3 / W 2</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23, C 23</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1 / W 1</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23, C 23</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 2 / W 1</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24, C 23</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 4 / W 1</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24, C 23</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 8 / W 2</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>กระจายตัว</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28, C 28</td>
<td>มีการเคลื่อนไหว</td>
<td>มีการเคลื่อนไหว</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
<td>Printed Text</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28, C 29 K 1/W 2</td>
<td>พระละเอียดทรงสวัสดิ์มี</td>
<td>พระละเอียด-condensed-width-bold</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28, C 29 K 4/W 1</td>
<td>พระที่จะไปพิพากษาใคร</td>
<td>พระที่จะไปพิพากษาใคร</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, C 29 K 31/W 2</td>
<td>ได้ค้นทราบไปยุ่งไปหน้า</td>
<td>ได้ค้นทราบไปยุ่งไปหน้า</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, C 29 K 32/W 2</td>
<td>จะเหร่านุ่มน่า://{หมาย}</td>
<td>จะเหร่านุ่มน่า://{หมาย}</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32, C 30 K 9/W 2</td>
<td>ไปอย่างมาไขข้อหลุดหร่า</td>
<td>ไปอย่างมาไขข้อหลุดหร่า</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36, C 37 K 2/W 2</td>
<td>มูหน้าแม่นกระบำการใจ</td>
<td>มูหน้าแม่นกระบำการใจ</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38, C 46 K 3/W 1</td>
<td>ที่วามมาใจเหวี</td>
<td>ที่วามมาใจเหวี</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41, C 46 K 1/W 1</td>
<td>บักกิน</td>
<td>บักกิน</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44, C 52 K 3/W 1</td>
<td>ข้อที่อ่านแม่นูกังส่อง</td>
<td>ข้อที่อ่านแม่นูกังส่อง</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46, C 55 K 2/W 1</td>
<td>ใครอาจโน่นน่าหรี</td>
<td>ใครอาจโน่นน่าหรี</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47, C 57 K 3/W 1</td>
<td>ช็องว้าศรีปัตographsจะผูมี่ไฟ</td>
<td>ช็องว้าศรีปัตographsจะผูมี่ไฟ</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47, C 57 K 5/W 1</td>
<td>จะสันทักที่นกเงินใส</td>
<td>จะสันทักที่นกเงินใส</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50, C 62 K 2/W 1</td>
<td>เร่งร้นขันริ้งก์บรรมภ์</td>
<td>เร่งร้นขันริ้งก์บรรมภ์</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lexical variants involving the structural rhyme between the Somdet Phra Rācha Pitulā manuscript and the printed text (1956 edition) of Dālang.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opening</th>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Printed Text</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4, C 1</td>
<td>4, C 1</td>
<td>4, C 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 32/W 2</td>
<td>K 32/W 2</td>
<td>K 32/W 2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, C 1</td>
<td>4, C 1</td>
<td>4, C 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 33/W 1</td>
<td>K 33/W 1</td>
<td>K 33/W 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, C 1</td>
<td>4, C 1</td>
<td>4, C 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 34/W 1</td>
<td>K 34/W 1</td>
<td>K 34/W 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, C 1</td>
<td>4, C 1</td>
<td>4, C 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 34/W 2</td>
<td>K 34/W 2</td>
<td>K 34/W 2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46, C 55</td>
<td>46, C 55</td>
<td>46, C 55</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: For a more detailed comparison, refer to the original text and table.
APPENDIX III

Lexical variants between the India Office Library manuscript and the printed text (1949 edition) of Inao.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opening</th>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Printed Text</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, C 1</td>
<td>ผู้ร่วมใจ</td>
<td>อันร่วมใจ</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 2 / W 2</td>
<td>ทำนักการจัน</td>
<td>ทำนักการจัน</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, C 1</td>
<td>กิ่งบั้มพัดเป็นตะขอ</td>
<td>กิ่งบั้มพัดเป็นตะขอ</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 8 / W 1</td>
<td>รักเจิ้งโพกกากร</td>
<td>รักเจิ้งโพกกากร</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, C 5</td>
<td>จิ้นฆาภำรำนจำกาชัน</td>
<td>จิ้นเส็จจิ้งเข็งจัจจุบัน</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 9 / W 2</td>
<td>สาขาไทย</td>
<td>สาขาไทย</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, C 5</td>
<td>พวกเข้าต้องห้องจิ้งใจ</td>
<td>พวกเข้าต้องห้องจิ้งใจ</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 10 / W 4</td>
<td>ให้ไปขอ</td>
<td>ให้ไปขอ</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, C 6</td>
<td>จิ้งมาทำวิวาท</td>
<td>จิ้งมาทำวิวาท</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 2 / W 1</td>
<td>แดงจากมันสังรรถ</td>
<td>แดงจากมันสังรรถ</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, C 7</td>
<td>พยุทธิ์</td>
<td>พยุทธิ์</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>พุทธ</td>
<td>พุทธ</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5, C 10</td>
<td>พระเข้าต้องห้องจิ้งใจ</td>
<td>พระเข้าต้องห้องจิ้งใจ</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 8 / W 2</td>
<td>ให้ไปขอ</td>
<td>ให้ไปขอ</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5, C 10</td>
<td>จิ้งมาทำวิวาท</td>
<td>จิ้งมาทำวิวาท</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 9 / W 1</td>
<td>แดงจากมันสังรรถ</td>
<td>แดงจากมันสังรรถ</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, C 11</td>
<td>พยุทธิ์</td>
<td>พยุทธิ์</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 5 / W 1</td>
<td>พุทธ</td>
<td>พุทธ</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
<td>Printed Text</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, C 13</td>
<td>อาร์ฏิ</td>
<td>อาร์ฏิ</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 4 / W 2</td>
<td>กักกิ่งกองทมานี</td>
<td>กักกิ่งกองพวกทางนี้</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, C 14</td>
<td>เมื่อจะจึงฮัลภูมิมหา</td>
<td>เมื่อจะลักษาฮัลภูมิมหา</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 4 / W 2</td>
<td>เซมา</td>
<td>เซมา</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, C 16</td>
<td>นอกชั่ววิรุตคุณเอง</td>
<td>นอกชั่ววิรุตคุณเอง</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 2 / W 1</td>
<td>จึงเรียกบัว</td>
<td>ถึงเรียกบัว</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, C 18</td>
<td>เที่ยวมีชัยครรภ์</td>
<td>พอดีในแม่ระกร打通</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 4 / W 1</td>
<td>โ politic</td>
<td>ใกล้แสงสว่างในวิปโยค</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, C 19</td>
<td>หลักจักรพิกิระลงท่า</td>
<td>อายไม่ว่าใคร</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 6 / W 1</td>
<td>ไอแกล่ย์วลิ่นใคร</td>
<td>อ้ายไม่ว่าใคร</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, C 20</td>
<td>ไส่เสย</td>
<td>ที่ใส่</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1 / W 1</td>
<td>โอกาสพิทักษ์ท่านไม่</td>
<td>โอกาสพิทักษ์ท่านไม่</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, C 20</td>
<td>ใจแท้ใจบางใคร</td>
<td>ใจแท้ใจบางใคร</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 2 / W 1</td>
<td>Image</td>
<td>ที่ใส่</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, C 21</td>
<td>วิสัย</td>
<td>ที่ใส่</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 2 / W 1</td>
<td>จะรู้จักทรงพิภพนี้ไม่</td>
<td>ที่รู้จักทรงพิภพนี้ไม่</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, C 22</td>
<td>ถึงห่ม</td>
<td>ถึงห่ม</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 3 / W 1</td>
<td>เภู่ใจ</td>
<td>เภู่ใจ</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, C 22</td>
<td>กล่อมหน้าผู้คนในไร่</td>
<td>กล่อมหน้าผู้คนในไร่</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 3 / W 2</td>
<td>พวกทัศร์โคพิจิตรไม่รู้</td>
<td>พวกทัศร์โคพิจิตรไม่รู้</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, C 22</td>
<td>เว็งไม้พุ่งกับบากให้</td>
<td>เว็งไม้พุ่งกับบากให้</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
<td>Printed Text</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, C 23 K 4 / W 1</td>
<td>ออกกลางหน้าไม่เมือง</td>
<td>ออกกลางหน้าไม่เมือง</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, C 25 K 2 / W 2</td>
<td>วิ่งถูกออกมา</td>
<td>จึงถูกออกมา</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, C 25 K 3 / W 1</td>
<td>บางเวลาไม่ผลตง</td>
<td>บางเวลาไม่ผลตง</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, C 26 K 6 / W 2</td>
<td>ได้กระชิก</td>
<td>ได้กระชิก</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13, C 29 K 5 / W 2</td>
<td>มายุ่งเคลมมากหลาย</td>
<td>มามุ่งเคลมมากหลาย</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13, C 29 K 6 / W 1</td>
<td>แตกหนไปขามปลาย</td>
<td>แตกหนไปขามปลาย</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14, C 30 K 4 / W 2</td>
<td>จะมีลูกใคร</td>
<td>มีลูกใคร</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14, C 30 K 5 / W 1</td>
<td>อีกทีหลังหนา</td>
<td>อีกทีหลังหนา</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14, C 31 K 2 / W 2</td>
<td>ไปตรวจเยี่ยมโดยวิปุกการทรง</td>
<td>ออกมาด้นไปวิปุกการทรง</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16, C 35 K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>พร้อมสู้ยังคงค่อนค้ารบบเห็น</td>
<td>พร้อมยังคงค่อนค้ารบบเห็น</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16, C 35 K 5 / W 2</td>
<td>จะมีเหตุสังหันไปไก</td>
<td>คงมีเหตุสังหันไปไก</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16, C 36 K 2 / W 2</td>
<td>ยอมที่ที่เอกความ</td>
<td>ยอมที่เอกความ</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17, C 37 K 4 / W 1</td>
<td>ทำไปสิ่งไม่สมช่วยเหลือพวก</td>
<td>ทำไปสิ่งไม่สมช่วยเหลือพวก</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17, C 38 K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>ไกพิสัยสิ่งใสสิ</td>
<td>ไกพิสัยสิ่งใสสิ</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
<td>Printed Text</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17, C 39 K 3/W 1</td>
<td>กรังใจเข้าไปดูกยังสะท้าน</td>
<td>กรังใจเข้าไปดูกยังสะท้าน</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18, C 39 K 4/W 1</td>
<td>น้อง</td>
<td>ลุงน้อง</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18, C 43 K 1/W 2</td>
<td>พราวโมงวงองลงรวดหา</td>
<td>มีสารบบเหยี่ยงร่างเหลว</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19, C 43 K 2/W 2</td>
<td>จะไตรโตรรา</td>
<td>จะไตรโตรรา</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20, C 43 K 6/W 2</td>
<td>ออกซ่านมในร่างสิ้น</td>
<td>ออกซ่านมร่างสิ้น</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20, C 43 K 7/W 2</td>
<td>ให้พร้อมสำรับโดยระว่าง</td>
<td>ให้พร้อมสำรับตามกระท่อม</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20, C 43 K 8/W 1</td>
<td>ทำความผังกิ</td>
<td>ทำความผังกิ</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20, C 43 K 1/W 2</td>
<td>เส้นนำโล่</td>
<td>เส้นนำโล่</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21, C 45 K 3/W 2</td>
<td>ทีทีนี่ินพัน</td>
<td>ทีทีนี่ินพัน</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21, C 45 K 12/W 2</td>
<td>ทีทีนี่ินฟางแสนคง</td>
<td>ทีทีนี่ินฟางแสนคง</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22, C 46 K 1/W 2</td>
<td>มันเหนียวกูกุ่งสิ่ง</td>
<td>มันเหนียวกูกุ่งสิ่ง</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22, C 46 K 2/W 1</td>
<td>เลื้องจากแผลด้วยธนูมุ้ย</td>
<td>เลื้องจากแผลด้วยธนูมุ้ย</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22, C 46 K 2/W 2</td>
<td>ไปซาระยะบรรลุสระ</td>
<td>ไปซาระยะบรรลุสระ</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22, C 46 K 3/W 1</td>
<td>สดใสไพร้ชึ้งไว้สิ่งกรรม</td>
<td>สดใสไพร้ชึ้งไว้สิ่งกรรม</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22, C 46 K 3/W 2</td>
<td>สงครามแก้วราชกริยา</td>
<td>สงครามแก้วราชกริยา</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22, C 46 K 3/W 2</td>
<td>สดใสไพร้ชึ้งไว้สิ่งกรรม</td>
<td>สดใสไพร้ชึ้งไว้สิ่งกรรม</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
<td>Printed Text</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22, C 46 K 4/W 1</td>
<td>แก่งอย่างยาวปากพะคาร</td>
<td>แก่งเป็นเชิงราคาวัฏจักร</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22, C 46 K 4/W 2</td>
<td>ภูมิทูตุทูตอานสำหรับมือ</td>
<td>ภูมิทูตุทูตอานสำหรับมือ</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22, C 46 K 5/W 1</td>
<td>มหาสารคามชมภู</td>
<td>มหาสารคามชมภู</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22, C 46 K 5/W 2</td>
<td>พระหัตถ์หน่วงเหลี่ยมร้างสายธง</td>
<td>พระหัตถ์หน่วงเหลี่ยมร้างสายธง</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22, C 47 K 3/W 2</td>
<td>ชุมสายบินสายบัน</td>
<td>ชุมสายบินสายบัน</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23, C 47 K 8/W 1</td>
<td>จัตุราวงค์พ่อขรม</td>
<td>จัตุราวงค์พ่อขรม</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
<td>Printed Text</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23, C 48 K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>ฝ่ายชานุยสัตสินีนา</td>
<td>ราชญุสัตสินีนา</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23, C 49 K 1 / W 1</td>
<td>จังหวัดชานุยสัตสินีนา</td>
<td>จังหวัดชานุยสัตสินีนา</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23, C 49 K 3 / W 2</td>
<td>ภาคกองทุนเผ่าชายสอง</td>
<td>ภาคกองทุนเผ่าชายสอง</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23, C 49 K 4 / W 1</td>
<td>สถานวัฒน์שלושาตระกูลอังกฤษ</td>
<td>สถานวัฒน์สามส่วนใหญ่</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23, C 49 K 4 / W 2</td>
<td>ที่บั้งทางวงคุณจินดา</td>
<td>ที่บั้งทางวงคุณจินดา</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24, C 49 K 5 / W 1</td>
<td>สอดแท้แนวทรัพยากรทรัพยากร</td>
<td>สอดแท้แนวทรัพยากรทรัพยากร</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24, C 49 K 5 / W 2</td>
<td>เพาะพันธุ์พืชทางเดิมยาง</td>
<td>เพาะพันธุ์พืชทางเดิมยาง</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24, C 49 K 6 / W 1</td>
<td>เหลี่ยมภูษาติยะโสมไล้โคกแตก</td>
<td>เหลี่ยมภูษาติยะโสมไล้โคกแตก</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24, C 49 K 6 / W 2</td>
<td>เลี้ยงมันท้องทองเทวี</td>
<td>เลี้ยงมันท้องทองเทวี</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25, C 51 K 4 / W 2</td>
<td>บั้งแม่แม่ก</td>
<td>บั้งแม่แม่ก</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25, C 52 K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>ทวามุ้ยสันนา</td>
<td>ราชญุสัตสินีนา</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
<td>Printed Text</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25, C 52</td>
<td>วาใจอย่างนี้เกิดยา</td>
<td>วาใจอย่างนี้เกิดยา</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 2 / W 2</td>
<td>เกี่ยมกระท</td>
<td>เกี่ยมกระท</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26, C 52</td>
<td>ชุมพลรับสังเวยมา</td>
<td>ชุมพลรับสังเวยมา</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 7 / W 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26, C 55</td>
<td>ให้ตั้งให้สาทิชมิวษา</td>
<td>ทางคนทางชิมิวษา</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1 / W 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26, C 55</td>
<td>ระทมีหม่ำปึ่งที่ใหญ่</td>
<td>หม่ำเป็นปึ่งใหญ่</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 2 / W 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27, C 55</td>
<td>ที่นั่งหลุ่มสุขคนเคยรับ</td>
<td>ที่เหล่านั้งหลุ่มสุขคนเคยรับ</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 4 / W 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28, C 56</td>
<td>ของพูงหลักทั้งหมดก็</td>
<td>บ้างถูเกลือพุทถูกหลักก็</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 3 / W 1</td>
<td>เยาะเยี่ยมมา</td>
<td>เยาะเยี่ยมมา</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28, C 56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 5 / W 1</td>
<td>เหยื่าศักดิ์ศีลหูดูหมู่</td>
<td>เหยื่าศักดิ์ศีลหูดูหมู่</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29, C 56</td>
<td>ระทุมฉันเนื้อไม้ใหญ่</td>
<td>ระทุมฉันเนื้อไม้ใหญ่</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 6 / W 2</td>
<td>เทินใจโทษไกลตลอดยา</td>
<td>เทินใจโทษไกลตลอดยา</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29, C 57</td>
<td>ระทุมฉันเนื้อใหญ่</td>
<td>ระทุมฉันเนื้อใหญ่</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>เทินใจโทษไกลตลอดยา</td>
<td>เทินใจโทษไกลตลอดยา</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29, C 57</td>
<td>เทินใจโทษไกลตลอดยา</td>
<td>เทินใจโทษไกลตลอดยา</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 2 / W 1</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29, C 57</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 2 / W 2</td>
<td>เทีนระดูแก้วร้านมะลา</td>
<td>เทีนระดูแก้วร้านมะลา</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30, C 58</td>
<td>พรพนพวงซับในกองหลวง</td>
<td>พรพนพวงซับในกองหลวง</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 2 / W 1</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30, C 58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 3 / W 1</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30, C 58</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 4 / W 1</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30, C 58</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 4 / W 2</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>แตกกระราบายพาหมาสุนัขทับ</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
<td>Printed Text</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30, C 58 K 5 / W 1</td>
<td>ติ่งคันพันพาด</td>
<td>ติ่งคันเข้าพันพาด</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, C 59 K 5 / W 1</td>
<td>เหลือบเห็นบัลย์</td>
<td>และเห็นบัลย์</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, C 59 K 5 / W 2</td>
<td>พระพระเจ้าปั้นเหล้าหล่อ</td>
<td>พระพระเจ้าปั้นเหล้าหล่อ</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, C 59 K 6 / W 1</td>
<td>น้าละเห็นพวกเข้าเหล้าหล่อ</td>
<td>น้าละเห็นพวกเข้าเหล้าหล่อ</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, C 59 K 8 / W 1</td>
<td>ทางกลางวิสา</td>
<td>ทางมีวิสา</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, C 59 K 9 / W 2</td>
<td>ชวนกันตักการ</td>
<td>ชวนกันตักการ</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, C 59 K 12 / W 1</td>
<td>บัวเทียนห้องบางอาจาร์ใจ</td>
<td>บัวเทียนอาจาร์บางใจ</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, C 59 K 14 / W 2</td>
<td>เร่งส่งทั้วมีมาบานนิ</td>
<td>เร่งส่งทั้วมีมาบานนิ</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32, C 60 K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>องค์สวามันเตีย</td>
<td>องค์สวามันเตีย</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32, C 60 K 12 / W 1</td>
<td>จงเลิกพักสิปไป</td>
<td>จงเลิกพักสิปไป</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33, C 61 K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>หัวสุ่มสิหนา</td>
<td>ระสูบสิหนา</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33, C 61 K 3 / W 1</td>
<td>จิ้งจ้องว่าเหย่เหย่</td>
<td>จิ้งจ้องว่าเหย่เหย่</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34, C 63 K 3 / W 2</td>
<td>ไม่หย่อหูมุด</td>
<td>ไม่หย่อหูมุด</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34, C 64 K 3 / W 2</td>
<td>เหยียดกลมหู</td>
<td>เหยียดกลมหู</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36, C 68 K 4 / W 1</td>
<td>น้ำรังนกกลายคำ</td>
<td>น้ำรังนกกลายคำ</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
<td>Printed Text</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36, c 68</td>
<td>เที่ยงแตกห่วงสะทอนเกียนกลืนดึงเที่ยงแตกห่วงสะทอนเกียนกลืนดึงเที่ยงแตกห่วงสะทอนเกียนกลืนดึง</td>
<td>เที่ยงแตกห่วงสะทอนเกียนกลืนดึงเที่ยงแตกห่วงสะทอนเกียนกลืนดึงเที่ยงแตกห่วงสะทอนเกียนกลืนดึง</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 5 / W 1</td>
<td>พอกไพรใส้ซิ้ง</td>
<td>พอกไพรใส้ซิ้ง</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36, c 68</td>
<td>องค์สารบันหมู่</td>
<td>องค์สารบันหมู่</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 5 / W 2</td>
<td>เที่ยงแตกห่วงสะทอนเกียนกลืนดึงเที่ยงแตกห่วงสะทอนเกียนกลืนดึงเที่ยงแตกห่วงสะทอนเกียนกลืนดึง</td>
<td>เที่ยงแตกห่วงสะทอนเกียนกลืนดึงเที่ยงแตกห่วงสะทอนเกียนกลืนดึงเที่ยงแตกห่วงสะทอนเกียนกลืนดึง</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36, c 69</td>
<td>ส่องกระยะวิวชัยเรืองศิริ</td>
<td>ส่องกระยะวิวชัยเรืองศิริ</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>องค์สารบันหมู่</td>
<td>องค์สารบันหมู่</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36, c 69</td>
<td>อันสารบันหมู่</td>
<td>อันสารบันหมู่</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 2 / W 2</td>
<td>ส่องกระยะวิวชัยเรืองศิริ</td>
<td>ส่องกระยะวิวชัยเรืองศิริ</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37, c 71</td>
<td>องค์ทางประวิม</td>
<td>องค์ทางประวิม</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38, c 75</td>
<td>องค์ทางประวิม</td>
<td>องค์ทางประวิม</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38, c 75</td>
<td>อันสารบันหมู่</td>
<td>อันสารบันหมู่</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 3 / W 1</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38, c 75</td>
<td>อันสารบันหมู่</td>
<td>อันสารบันหมู่</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 4 / W 2</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยامตานก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38, c 75</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามตานก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 5 / W 2</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามตานก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39, c 77</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามตานก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 3 / W 1</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามตานก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40, c 77</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามตานก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 5 / W 1</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามตานก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40, c 77</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามตานก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 5 / W 2</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามตานก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40, c 77</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามตานก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 6 / W 1</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามตานก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40, c 77</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามตานก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 8 / W 1</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามตานก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40, c 77</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามตานก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 9 / W 1</td>
<td>ต้นยามั่นก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>ต้นยามตานก้าววุฒิบัณฑิต</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
<td>Printed Text</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41, C 80 K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>องประไท่สุขี</td>
<td>องประไท่สุขี</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41, C 80 K 3 / W 2</td>
<td>เมืองพราหม</td>
<td>เมืองพราหม</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42, C 80 K 11 / W 2</td>
<td>เขาเชี่ยดสุขก็ข้าไม่หวั่นไหว</td>
<td>เขาเชี่ยดสุขก็ข้าไม่หวั่นไหว</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42, C 80 K 12 / W 1</td>
<td>จึงล่าให้ค้น</td>
<td>จึงให้ค้น</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43, C 80 K 26 / W 2</td>
<td>ขวัญเมืองจงพ่อว่าที่</td>
<td>ขวัญพ่อว่าที่</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43, C 81 K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>ทั้งต้องคุ้น</td>
<td>ทั้งต้องคุ้น</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44, C 81 K 2 / W 2</td>
<td>พลางไช่กี</td>
<td>พลางไช่กี</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44, C 82 K 3 / W 1</td>
<td>เกเริ่มกรม</td>
<td>เกเริ่มกรม</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44, C 82 K 6 / W 1</td>
<td>หลองคลังไช่กี</td>
<td>หลองคลังไช่กี</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44, C 83 K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>สังเสริม</td>
<td>สังเสริม</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45, C 83 K 8 / W 2</td>
<td>จงคัลยอน</td>
<td>จงคัลยอน</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46, C 83 K 14 / W 2</td>
<td>พาทางเตียง</td>
<td>พาทางเตียง</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46, C 85 K 1 / W 1</td>
<td>ดอกกลองเมื่อนั้้นจ้งอาหา</td>
<td>ดอกกลองเมื่อนั้้นจ้งอาหา</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47, C 87 K 1 / W 2</td>
<td>ประประโร้ะสุทธิ์ศักกิทิ่งฮ</td>
<td>ประประโร้ะสุทธิ์ศักกิทิ่งฮ</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47, C 88 K 3 / W 2</td>
<td>พา Nghệต้องดององค</td>
<td>พา Nghệต้องดององค</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
<td>Printed Text</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47, C 88 K 4/W 1</td>
<td>ทางสอดส่องวาน</td>
<td>ทางใส่ส่องวานรรม</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47, C 88 K 5/W 1</td>
<td>ทางสอดทางตาน</td>
<td>ทางทรงทางตาน</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47, C 88 K 7/W 1</td>
<td>ทางมองทางบุก</td>
<td>ทางทรงมองทางบุก</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48, C 89 K 2/W 2</td>
<td>ใบเล่า</td>
<td>ใบเล่า</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49, C 92 K 2/W 2</td>
<td>ชื่นต้าน</td>
<td>ชื่นต้าน</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49, C 92 K 3/W 1</td>
<td>ม้าข้านมา</td>
<td>ม้าทรงมา</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49, C 92 K 5/W 1</td>
<td>พร้อมเพื่องทางลัน</td>
<td>พร้อมเพื่องทางลัน</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49, C 93 K 3/W 2</td>
<td>ให้ราญราห์</td>
<td>ให้รำญราห์</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50, C 95 K 1/W 2</td>
<td>มิสภร มะหัย</td>
<td>มิสภร มะหัย</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50, C 95 K 2/W 1</td>
<td>ซื่อธรรมติดนำไปไทย</td>
<td>ซื่อธรรมติดนำไปไทย</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50, C 95 K 5/W 1</td>
<td>แล้วเป็นคนใหม่</td>
<td>ทิ้งเป็นคนใหม่</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51, C 96 K 2/W 1</td>
<td>รั้งสร้างทางน้าใน</td>
<td>รั้งสร้างทางน้าใน</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51, C 96 K 2/W 2</td>
<td>แล้วออกไป</td>
<td>ออกไป</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51, C 97 K 1/W 2</td>
<td>องค์สำร บัณฑิต</td>
<td>องค์สำร บัณฑิต</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52, C 98 K 6/W 1</td>
<td>จะขจรบุตรทาน</td>
<td>จะขจรบุตรทาน</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
<td>Printed Text</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52, C 99 K 5/W 1</td>
<td>เราจะทำผิดอะไร</td>
<td>เราจะทำผิดอะไร</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52, C 99 K 7/W 1</td>
<td>สามองค์ทรงเยาว์</td>
<td>สามองค์ทรงเยาว์</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53, C 99 K 10/W 2</td>
<td>ร่มยังกว้างฟื้น</td>
<td>ร่มยังกว้างฟื้น</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53, C 99 K 12/W 2</td>
<td>เขาในทองทองที่สยาย</td>
<td>เขาในทองทองที่สยาย</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX IV

The epithets used in the Dālang and Inao printed texts.

a) Substitutions for kings or princes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dālang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ตั้งไทย</td>
<td>ตั้งไทย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระจอมเกล้า</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระจักรี</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระทรมงคล</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระอินทร์</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระเอกา</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระเจ้า</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระเป็นเจ้า</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระสุนทรเจ้า</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจ้าพระโพธิศิริ</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจ้าสมธิ</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระองค์ทรงธรรม</td>
<td>พระองค์ทรงธรรม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระยุธีธรรม</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระสนิทธรรม</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระมหาธรรมนูญ</td>
<td>พระมหาธรรมนูญ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระอาจารย์วงษ์</td>
<td>พระอาจารย์วงษ์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ท่าวิไนยธรรมนูญ</td>
<td>พระเอกเทิดไท</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระบรมราณ</td>
<td>พระมหาธรรมนูญ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระอาจารย์วงษ์</td>
<td>พระอาจารย์วงษ์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระจอมเกล้า</td>
<td>พระจอมเกล้า</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระจอมไกร</td>
<td>พระจอมไกร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระมหาธรรมนูญ</td>
<td>พระมหาธรรมนูญ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระมหาธรรมนูญ</td>
<td>พระมหาธรรมนูญ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระโอสมนุษ</td>
<td>พระโอสมนุษ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระโอษม</td>
<td>พระโอษม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระโอษม</td>
<td>พระโอษม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระโพธิสาย</td>
<td>พระโพธิสาย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โพธิสาย</td>
<td>โพธิสาย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระโพธิศรี</td>
<td>พระโพธิศรี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระทรงไทย</td>
<td>พระทรงไทย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระทรงเกศ</td>
<td>พระทรงเกศ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงเกศ</td>
<td>ทรงเกศ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระทรงธรรม</td>
<td>พระทรงธรรม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงธรรม</td>
<td>ทรงธรรม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระทรงยุค</td>
<td>พระทรงยุค</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงยุค</td>
<td>ทรงยุค</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระทรงจุฑี</td>
<td>พระทรงจุฑี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงจุฑี</td>
<td>ทรงจุฑี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระองค์ภูสร่ำจุฑีกร</td>
<td>พระองค์ภูสร่ำจุฑีกร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระทรงชัย</td>
<td>พระทรงชัย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระทรงจุกอด</td>
<td>พระทรงจุกอด</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงจุกอด</td>
<td>ทรงจุกอด</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ ช่าง สวัสดี</td>
<td>พระ ช่าง สวัสดี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระนามแซย</td>
<td>พระ พระนามแซย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ ธุกคร หม่อมม</td>
<td>พระ ธุกคร หม่อมม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระมนวกา</td>
<td>พระ พระมนวกา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ ปิณสุัตสารา</td>
<td>พระ ปิณสุัตสารา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ ปิณเก</td>
<td>พระ ปิณเก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ ปิณบัณฑารา</td>
<td>พระ ปิณบัณฑารา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ ปิณเป็นมรา</td>
<td>พระ ปิณเป็นมรา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ ปิณบัณฑารา เวส</td>
<td>พระ ปิณบัณฑารา เวส</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ ธนานเกล้า</td>
<td>พระ ธนานเกล้า</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ ธนานฟ้า</td>
<td>พระ ธนานฟ้า</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ ธนานฟ้าสุรัสสัย</td>
<td>พระ ธนานฟ้าสุรัสสัย</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dālang  Inao

พระพันปี

พันปี

พระมีเกล้า

พระเนินไอสวาง

ผู้ปานไอสวาง

พระผู้บางสถนี

พระผู้บางเกรง

พระผู้บางพิภพ

พระพิภพราชีย

พระเนินราชีย

พระเนินราชีย

พระพงค์อดิภุ
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dalang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>พะรังษีโรกิ</td>
<td>พะระงษีโรกิ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พะระงษีโรกิ</td>
<td>พะระงษีโรกิ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พะระกะสัย</td>
<td>พะระกะสัย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พะระนิมิตร</td>
<td>พะระนิมิตร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พะระโนเก่ว</td>
<td>พะระโนเก่ว</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some appear in the form of combined terms which also refer to sovereignty, power and divine race. Such epithets do not extend beyond a single wak (half-line).
น่านทรรศราatha น่านทรรศราทธุรกิจ
น่านทรรศราทภักดี
น่านทรรศราทภักดีเรื่อง
น่านทรรศราทภักดีเป็นใหญ่
น่านทรรศราทภักดีไปสู่ราย
น่านทรรศราทภักดีเจตคณ
น่านทรรศราทภักดีเรื่อง
น่านทรรศราทภักดี

พระจอมเกล้าบดุงทวี
พระจอมเกล้าเป็นใหญ่
พระจอมเกล้ามากเบี่ยนใหญ่

พระจอมเกล้าเจ้า

พระจอมเกล้า

พระจอมเกล้า

พระจอมเกล้า

พระจอมเกล้ามีเสียง
Dalang

- พระบาทสมเด็จพระบรมชนกาธิเบศร

Inao

- พระองค์ทรงรำคำ

- พระองค์ทรงถ่ายใส่ใหญ่

- พระองค์ทรงพลิกสามัญ

- พระองค์ทรงพลิกวินาศ

- พระองค์ทรงพลิกอยู่สภาวะ

- พระองค์ทรงกระทำ

- พระองค์ทรงแขก

Wat

- พระบาทสมเด็จพระบรมชนกาธิเบศร

- พระบาทสมเด็จพระบรมโกศ

- พระบาทสมเด็จพระบรมโกศ
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dalang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา</td>
<td>พระ พระ จุฬาลินยาราณิชยา จุฬาลินยار...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dilang

-  -  -

พระที่นั่งพุท◄ถวไไไสวารย์
พระานเกล้าเป็นพระราชา

-  -  -

พระยุญาณนิรรากรังศรี
ไทยานพลาดรา
พระานเกล้ารา
พระานพลาดโสวระย์รา

-  -  -  -

พระยุญาณโคไไไสวารย์
พระยุญาณโคไ�สุรย์
พระยุญาณพิราชไไไสวารย์
พระยุญาณเนกเรศ เนินใหญ่
พระยุญาณเนกเรศ เวียงศรี
Dâlăng

- vâng vào día binh nhãi
- vâng vào cõi phâp, vui ngày rằng
- vâng vân khả phủ điếu

Inao

- vâng vân khả phủ điếu

Dâlăng

- vâng vân khả phủ điếu
- vâng vân khả phủ điếu

- vâng vân khả phủ điếu
- vâng vân khả phủ điếu
- vâng vân khả phủ điếu

Inao

- vâng vân khả phủ điếu
- vâng vân khả phủ điếu

Dâlăng

- vâng vân khả phủ điếu
- vâng vân khả phủ điếu

- vâng vân khả phủ điếu
- vâng vân khả phủ điếu
- vâng vân khả phủ điếng

Inao

- vâng vân khả phủ điếng
- vâng vân khả phủ điếng

Dâlăng

- vâng vân khả phủ điếng
- vâng vân khả phủ điếng

- vâng vân khả phủ điếng
- vâng vân khả phủ điếng
- vâng vân khả phủ điếng

Inao

- vâng vân khả phủ điếng
- vâng vân khả phủ điếng
Dølang
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
Dalang

พระราชวังคู่เทวัญเป็นใหญ่
พระราชวังคู่เทวัญอันเป็นใหญ่
พระราชวังคู่เทวัญอันเวียงจูบ
พระราชวังคู่เทวัญสูงส่ง

Inao

พระราชวังคู่วิถีมหาสัตวาน
พระราชวังคู่วิถีพระราชทาน
พระราชวังคู่วิถีสภากาชาด

พระราชวังคู่วิถีสองสี่
พระราชวังคู่วิถีสภากาชาด
พระราชวังคู่วิถีสภากาชาด
พระราชวังคู่วิถีสภากาชาด
พระราชวังคู่วิถีสภากาชาด
พระราชวังคู่วิถีสภากาชาด
พระราชวังคู่วิถีสภากาชาด
The following epithets are used especially as substitutions for the hero; they refer to his handsomeness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dalang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>พระสุริย์บางศัสท้ายาหู</td>
<td>พระสุริย์บางศัสท้ายาหู</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระสุริย์บางพลังคุณบุญแล้วว้า</td>
<td>พระสุริย์บางพลังคุณบุญแล้วว้า</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระสุริย์บางทิวทัณฑ์มาคามะ</td>
<td>พระสุริย์บางทิวทัณฑ์มาคามะ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระสุริย์บางพิบูลย์สูงศรี</td>
<td>พระสุริย์บางพิบูลย์สูงศรี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระบางพิบูลย์สูงศรีสุขนา</td>
<td>พระบางพิบูลย์สูงศรีสุขนา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ภูวนางรัษฎาศรี</td>
<td>ภูวนางรัษฎาศรี</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dalang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>พระงามเดิมเคิลโฉมเสนหา</td>
<td>พระงามเดิมเคิลโฉมเสนหา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระเดิมเคิลโฉมปรากฏฤทธิ์แห่งเหลา</td>
<td>พระเดิมเคิลโฉมปรากฏฤทธิ์แห่งเหลา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระเดิมเคิลโฉมเสนหา</td>
<td>พระเดิมเคิลโฉมเสนหา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระโสมงหลวงพุทธิมาธูรยาน</td>
<td>พระโสมงหลวงพุทธิมาธูรยาน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระโสมงหลวงพุทธิมาธูรยาน</td>
<td>พระโสมงหลวงพุทธิมาธูรยาน</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b) The epithets placed after the names of male characters.

For a warrior:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dālang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>เกราวงไกร</td>
<td>น</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>น</td>
<td>คลังเสริม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>น</td>
<td>คลังหาญ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>น</td>
<td>แกวกลา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>น</td>
<td>ยุ้ยแกวกลา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>น</td>
<td>แข็งชิน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>น</td>
<td>ขันเสริม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>น</td>
<td>เข้มแข็ง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โจกลา</td>
<td>โจกลา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โจย mens</td>
<td>โจย mens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โจยา</td>
<td>โจยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โจย mens</td>
<td>โจย mens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dālang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ชาญ์กวิจาร์</td>
<td>ชาญ์กวิจาร์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ชาญ์กวิจหาร</td>
<td>ชาญ์กวิจหาร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ชัยระพู</td>
<td>ชัยระพู</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มติย์</td>
<td>มติย์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงชัย</td>
<td>ทรงชัย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เวียงชัย</td>
<td>เวียงชัย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ปู่อ้อย เวียงชัย</td>
<td>ปู่อ้อย เวียงชัย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ใจย์คัดจำSERVICE</td>
<td>ใจย์คัดจำSERVICE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ชาญ์สุสนำ</td>
<td>ชาญ์สุสนำ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ชาญ์สมร</td>
<td>ชาญ์สมร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มิตรพูคแห่งหนึ่ง</td>
<td>มิตรพูคแห่งหนึ่ง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มิตรฑาวาหาญ</td>
<td>มิตรฑาวาหาญ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เวียงเกช</td>
<td>เวียงเกช</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dālang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงอุบุรฉัตรทิพยา</td>
<td>ชายอุบุรฉัตร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>มีอุบุรฉัตรสี่มุม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มีอุบุรฉัตรเก้า</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มีอุบุรฉัตรสิบ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อุปกรณ์</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เรียงอุปกรณ์</td>
<td>เรียงอุปกรณ์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เรียงอุปกรณ์ถังไก่สา</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เรียงอุปกรณ์ถังก้ามสา</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>วราอุบุรฉัตร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>อุปกรณ์ยั่งเจี้ยง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อุปกรณ์ไก่</td>
<td>อุปกรณ์ไก่</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อุปกรณ์ไก่กระดูก</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>อุปกรณ์ไก่กล้า</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>อุปกรณ์ไก่ย่าย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ถุนที่ไก่ไข่หาญ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ถุนที่ไก่ข้าก้น</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ถุนที่วงก์</td>
<td>ถุนที่วงก์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ถุนที่วงทรงวงก์ที่</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ถุนที่วงทรงวงก์ที่หาญ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ถุนที่วงทรงวงก์เริ่งศรี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ถุนที่วงทรงวงก์เริ่งศรี</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ถุนที่วงทรงวงก์หาญ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ถุนที่วงทรงอาหารหาญ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ถุนทิระ</td>
<td>ถุนทิระ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ถุนทิระ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ถุนทิระเริงเรืองขนัน</td>
<td>ถุนทิระเริงเรืองขนัน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ถุนทิระเรึงเพียงฝ่า</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ถุนทิระสะควรสุริยบาน</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ถุนทิระสะควรสุริยใส</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ภูนาทิระพุทธศิริ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ภูนา savvy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dālang

- meye

- ผู้ศักกิกร

- ผู้ศักกิกร

- ผู้ศักกิกร

- ผู้ศักกิกร

- ผู้ศักกิกร

For a sovereign:

Dālang

ิปปี

- น้ำแก้

- น้ำแก้

- น้ำแก้

- น้ำแก้

- น้ำแก้

มหาศวสด (used for a Brahmin)

ยศไกร

ยศไกร

ยศยง

ยศยง
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dālang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ไม่เยฟ</td>
<td>ไม่เยฟ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ไม่เยฟคำ (also used for a chief courtier)</td>
<td>ไม่เยฟคำ (also used for a chief courtier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เรื่องย่ำ</td>
<td>เรื่องย่ำ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงสั่งฯ</td>
<td>ทรงสั่งฯ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ไม่เยฟคำ</td>
<td>ไม่เยฟคำ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ไม่เยฟคำ</td>
<td>ไม่เยฟคำ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงสั่งฯ</td>
<td>ทรงสั่งฯ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงสั่งฯ</td>
<td>ทรงสั่งฯ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงสั่งฯ</td>
<td>ทรงสั่งฯ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงสั่งฯ</td>
<td>ทรงสั่งฯ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงสั่งฯ</td>
<td>ทรงสั่งฯ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงสั่งฯ</td>
<td>ทรงสั่งฯ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงสั่ง_proc.</td>
<td>ทรงสั่ง_proc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ผู้หมายเชื้อสาย</td>
<td>ผู้หมายเชื้อสาย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เด็ก</td>
<td>เด็ก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ผู้</td>
<td>ผู้</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>สิ่งทาง</td>
<td>สิ่งทาง</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*For the divine race:*
Referring to glory:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dālang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ตูริยวงศ์น้าตา</td>
<td>ตูริยวงศ์น้าตา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ตูริยวงศ์เป็นใหญ่</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ตูริยวงศ์เรืองศรี</td>
<td>ตูริยวงศ์เรืองศรี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ตูริยวงศ์รังสรรค์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ตูริยวงศ์ถิ่นถิ่น</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ตรรสรัตถ์คุณิยา</td>
<td>ตรรสรัตถ์คุณิยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ผู้ทรงคุณิยา</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ราชสมบัติเสีย</td>
<td>ราชสมบัติเสีย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>สรีใส</td>
<td>สรีใส</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Referring to handsomeness:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dalang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>เวชของยา</td>
<td>เวชของยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มิตรี</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มิสางก์</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ผียงชา</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เวชองศรี</td>
<td>เวชองศรี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เบ้าหยดนิเวชองศรี</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ผู้เกลี้ยงเฉลียว</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจ็ดไหมหรือไหมกี่</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจ็ดไหมทิ้งมัย</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ปลีไหมแสนหา</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ผู้เกลี้ยงมะมิเตียย</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ผู้เกลี้ยงองศรี</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โอนทุม</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dālāng

- หลวงปู่สุนทร
- หลวงภูมิ
- พระพิชิตเนียบ
- เบวกรูปสุนทร
- ยุพย์
- หล่อเหล่า
- อ้าไพใส่

Inao

- หลวงแนวเนียบ
- หลวงภูมิสวัสดิ์
- เบรษเพริังเนียบ
- เบรษเพริังเนียบ
- เยาวยุพชา (also used for a female character)
- เยาวยุพชา
- กิลำทาญ
- ขนเขมร
- แสนกลคนชยัน
Dilang

กัน

ราชภูสนัคยกน

ไม่มีปติ (also used for royal characters)

ทัศคิววิบัณ

อักษรย่อ

อานิจฉาย

อานิจฉาย (also used for royal characters)

ปิ ใจกล้ก

ปญกคด

ปญปก

ปัฏฏิขา

ปัฏฏิขา (also used for royal characters)

ปีริขาสูน

ปีริขาสูน (also used for royal characters)

บัญญัติ

บัญญัติ

บัญญัติก
c) The epithets placed before the names of male characters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dalang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The poets may place the epithets on both sides of the character-names. This normally occurs in Wak Rap (the second half-line of a couplet) which is next to the introductory phrase 'mu’a nan'.

**Dalang**

พระจอมเกล้า...เป็นใหญ่

-

-  

พระจอมเกล้า...น่าก

-  

พระจอมเกล้า...ผ่าสส

พระจอมเกล้า...เป็นใหญ่

พระรามเกล้า...สุ่งสัง

พระรามเกล้า...สุ่งสัง

พระรามเกล้า...น่าก

พระรามเกล้า...สาสัน

พระรามเกล้า...สาสัน

พระรามเกล้า...เป็นใหญ่

พระรามเกล้า...เป็นใหญ่

-  

**Inao**

-  

พระจอมเกล้า...น่าก

พระจอมเกล้า...ผ่าสส

พระรามเกล้า...เป็นใหญ่

พระรามเกล้า...เป็นใหญ่

-  

พระรามเกล้า...สาสัน

พระรามเกล้า...สาสัน

พระรามเกล้า...เป็นใหญ่

พระรามเกล้า...เป็นใหญ่

-
d) Substitutions for queens or princesses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dālang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>กัลยาณี</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>แก้วกัลยาณี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางกัลยาณี</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>กัลยา</td>
<td>กัลยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางกัลยา</td>
<td>นางกัลยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>กัลยาบุพพาคดี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>จอมขวัญ</td>
<td>จอมขวัญ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>นางจอมขวัญ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โหมลาย</td>
<td>โหมลาย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางโหมลาย</td>
<td>นางโหมลาย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โหมเลดา</td>
<td>โหมเลดา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โหมเลดาเยาว์สัมพันธ์</td>
<td>โหมเลดาเยาว์สัมพันธ์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>โหมเลดาเยาว์สัมพันธ์วิไล</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โหมศรี</td>
<td>โหมศรี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางโอม้พุ</td>
<td>นางโอม้พุ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โอมยาง</td>
<td>โอมยาง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางโอมยาง</td>
<td>นางโอมยาง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โอมยางนางลำกันย์</td>
<td>โอมยางนางลำกันย์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>โอมยางนางเยาว์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>โอมยางยอดสังหาร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>โอมยางฮงกวงวะ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โอมเครี</td>
<td>โอมเครี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางโอมเครี</td>
<td>นางโอมเครี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โอมเครีเสนาหา</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โอมสวาร์ค</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ดวงจันทร์</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทะวัชย์</td>
<td>ทะวัชย์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางทะวัชย์</td>
<td>นางทะวัชย์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>ทะวัชย์ไว้ลำกันย์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>ทะวัชย์ไว้โคสรรม</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dalang

เฝือ
nang tiew

นางเทว
nang raep

นางราญ
nang yeaw

นางเยาว์
nang raam

นางราม
nang lakin

นางลักษณ์
nang yam madiy

นางลำหยาบ

nemuat, priam

นางนิรมิต
nang nemuat

นางนิรมิต
nang nemuat

naw nang

naw nang

naw da soong

naw da soong

naw da soong

naw da soong

naw soong

naw soong
data:
in Dailang, the names are "Dalang" and in Inao, the names are "Inao". The names are presented in Thai and there is no apparent issue with the given data.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dalang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>นางสาวศุภ์</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางสาวคุณ</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางสาวสม</td>
<td>นางสาวสม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางสาวไผ่</td>
<td>นางบังตร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เพราะพระราช</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มหาราชี</td>
<td>มหาราชี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ภูษพานิษ</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เยาวมารลัย</td>
<td>เยาวมารลัย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ยอดเยาวมารลัย</td>
<td>ยอดเยาวมารลัย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เยาวมิ่ง</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เยาวราช</td>
<td>เยาวราช</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เยาวเรศ</td>
<td>เยาวเรศ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เยาวลักษณ์</td>
<td>เยาวลักษณ์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เยาวลักษณ์แสนหา</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>วันิกา</td>
<td>วันิกา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พ่อค้า</td>
<td>พ่อค้า</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>พ่อค้าดวงจันทร์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>วินิจฉัย标记</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>วินิจฉัยสาระ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>วินิจฉัยivamente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>วรรษ</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ศรีสุมา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>สาวรษี</td>
<td>สาวรษี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางสาวรษี</td>
<td>นางสาวรษี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>สาวสาระ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>นางสาวสาระ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>สาวสาระกิจยา</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>สาวสาระกิจยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>สาวสาระกิจยาวัญญา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>สาวสวัสดิ์</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ธงไท</td>
<td>ธงไท</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above epithets, which are used as substitutions for royal female characters, refer to beauty, youthfulness, or dignity. The following ones are terms of endearment used by the hero.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dālang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>นางอรไท</td>
<td>นางอรไท</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>อรไทแอมรินทร์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>อรไทผี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>อรไทวิเคราะห์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อัครเรศ</td>
<td>อัครเรศ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เอกอัครกัลยา</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dālang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>แภว</td>
<td>แภว</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>แภวภักษา</td>
<td>แภวภักษา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>แภวภักษาภี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>แภวภักษาภัส</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>แภวภักษาใจ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>แภวภักษาตา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>แภวทาน</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation:

The above epithets, which are used as substitutions for royal female characters, refer to beauty, youthfulness, or dignity. The following ones are terms of endearment used by the hero.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dālang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>เจ้าแก้วก่า</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>แก้วกุญแจม้าสายพันธุ์</td>
<td>แก้วลายก้า</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dśláng</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจ้าหน้า</td>
<td>jomâyû meûng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>งำมสดวัด</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจ้าหน้าสดับยัคหนวด</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจ้าที่</td>
<td>เจ้าที่</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โอมยาง</td>
<td>โอมยาง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โอมเฉลามเจ้าผู้เดชิมารีย์</td>
<td>โอมยางทรงชาย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โอมเฉลามเยาว์รักษ์</td>
<td>โอมยางทรงส่วน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โอมเฉลามเยาว์ดอกกิ่มย์</td>
<td>โอมเฉลามเยาว์ดอกฟัก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>โอมเฉลามเยาว์แวร์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>โอมเฉลามเยาว์ยอดยาใจ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>โอมเฉลามเยาว์ยอดฟารา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>โอมเฉลามเยาว์ยอดเสินแท้</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dālang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ดวงยา</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจรครงยิ้มยาใจ</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ขวัญยิ้ม</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ดวงใจ</td>
<td>ดวงใจ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ดวงยิ้ม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจรครงใจ</td>
<td>เจรครงใจ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ดวงยิ้มว้า</td>
<td>ดวงยิ้มว้า</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจรครงยิ้มว้า</td>
<td>เจรครงยิ้มว้า</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ปู่ม่วงดวงใจ</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ปู่ม่วงดวงยิ้มว้า</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ดวงใจพิ้ยเอกเสนหา</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ดวงยิ้มว้าพี</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>เจรครงยิ้มว้าพี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ดวงยิ้มว้าภาค</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ดวงยิ้มว้าใจ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ดวงยิ้มว้าโสมสารภค</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dālang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>บี้ทัวบังอร</td>
<td>บี้ทวัง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ดวงสมบัติ</td>
<td>ดวงสมบัติ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ดวงสมบัติ เลนหน้า</td>
<td>ดวงสว่าง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ดวงสว่าง</td>
<td>ดวงสว่าง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ดวงสุคกิ</td>
<td>ดวงสุคกิ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงมอ</td>
<td>ทรงสว่าง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงสว่าง</td>
<td>ทรงสว่าง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงแซย</td>
<td>ทรงแซย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ซ่านแซย</td>
<td>ซ่านแซย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงภัก</td>
<td>ทรงล่าง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ทรงสายล่าง</td>
<td>ทรงสายล่าง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>หนวดมอง</td>
<td>หนวดมอง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ปุช</td>
<td>ปุช</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางปุช</td>
<td>นางปุช</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางลำกลับยามนี้</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางชะองเจื้อนยอดพิลปลัย</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางสาว</td>
<td>นางสาว</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>นางสาว</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นิ่มนวล</td>
<td>นิ่มนวล</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นิ่มนวลดูหยอกเส้นทาง</td>
<td>นิ่มนวลดูหยอกเส้นทาง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>นิ่มนวลดูหยอกเส้นทาง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นิ่มนวล</td>
<td>นิ่มนวล</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางนำภูมิราชวี</td>
<td>นิ่มนวล</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>นิ่มนวล</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นิ่มนวลเย็น</td>
<td>นิ่มนวล</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจานิ่มนวลเย็น</td>
<td>นิ่มนวล</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ปุณณาภู</td>
<td>นิ่มนวล</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>นิ่มนวล</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>นิ่มนวล</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ปั้นแจ้ง</td>
<td>ปั้นแจ้ง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ปั้นใจ</td>
<td>ปั้นใจ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ปั้นอาลัย</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พิศยาใจ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจาสูร</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจาสูร วงศ์ทกกระธุกหนิง</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พระวงศ์ วงศ์มาลัย</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มหาราชยูธัยพิสมัย</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มึงมหาราช</td>
<td>มึงมหาราช</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มึงมหาราช ราชวงศ์มาลัย</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มึงมหาราช</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ยอดพิสมัย</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ยอดเสนาหา</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ยอดสังหาร</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ยอดสังหาร</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ยอดสังหาร</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ยาใจ</td>
<td>ยาใจ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางสู่ะ สวารทก</td>
<td>สายส่วนรถใด</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>สวารทก</td>
<td>สายส่วนธ์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>สุกสวารทก</td>
<td>สุกสวารทก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจาสู่กสวารทก</td>
<td>เจาสู่กสวารทก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจาสู่กสวารทกสุกสวารทก</td>
<td>เจาสู่กสวารทกสุกสวารทก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางสู่กสวารทก</td>
<td>นางสู่กสวารทก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางสู่กสวารทก</td>
<td>นางสู่กสวารทก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อุรุมธ์</td>
<td>อุรุมธ์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เจาอุรุมธ์</td>
<td>เจาอุรุมธ์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เอกล้ม</td>
<td>เอกล้ม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เอกขั้ว</td>
<td>เอกขั้ว</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
e) The epithets placed after the names of female characters.

Referring to beauty and youthfulness:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dälang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>กัลยา</td>
<td>กัลยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>กัลยาลิ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>กัลยาณีชองสาร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>แจ่มเจ้าทร์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เอี่ย้นิย</td>
<td>เอี่ย้นิย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โหมดาษี</td>
<td>โหมดาษี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โหมดาล่า</td>
<td>โหมดาล่า</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โหมดุ</td>
<td>โหมดุ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โหมดิ</td>
<td>โหมดิ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โหมดิ</td>
<td>โหมดิ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โ podrak</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โ podrak</td>
<td>แผ่นทองโ podrak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>วงจักร์</td>
<td>วงจักร์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>ทรงลักษณ์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ท้าวบวย</td>
<td>ท้าวบวย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางสาวสุน</td>
<td>นางสาวสุน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางเยาว์</td>
<td>นางเยาว์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นางต้นหญิง</td>
<td>นางต้นหญิง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นวดสระวัง</td>
<td>นวดสระวัง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นิมในนวดสระวัง</td>
<td>นิมในนวดสระวัง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นิมเน่อนวดสระวัง</td>
<td>นิมเน่อนวดสระวัง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นวดหลวงสิ้น</td>
<td>นวดหลวงสิ้น</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>แฝงน้อยหลวงสิ้น</td>
<td>แฝงน้อยหลวงสิ้น</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นวดละอง</td>
<td>นวดละอง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นารี</td>
<td>นารี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นารีศรีใส</td>
<td>นารีศรีใส</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นารีใสเมย</td>
<td>นารีใสเมย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นารีต้นสมร</td>
<td>นารีต้นสมร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นารีวีเหล็ก</td>
<td>นารีวีเหล็ก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นารีสีสราห์</td>
<td>นารีสีสราห์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dālang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นิเรณก</td>
<td>นิเรณก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>แนวเยี่ยมศิริ</td>
<td>แนวเยี่ยมศิริ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>บังอร</td>
<td>บังอร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ปราสาทศรีแต่</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นุ่นศักดิ์โพธิ์</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นุ่นศักดิ์โพธิ์</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>เพิ่มสีพระยา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เผาเพลิงเล็กนั้น</td>
<td>เผาเพลิงเล็กนั้น</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>มารศรี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ไม้ยักษ์แดง</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มิตร</td>
<td>มิตร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ใช้มีผู้</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ยกคลัสสาร</td>
<td>ยกคลัสสาร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เยาวถดถษะสาร</td>
<td>เยาวถดถษะสาร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ยุพะยาว</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ยุพะพักตร์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ยุพะพาล</td>
<td>ยุพะพาล</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ยุพะพิน</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เยาวมาลย์</td>
<td>เยาวมาลย์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ลาหวงม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>วิลาวัญย์</td>
<td>วิลาวัญย์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>วิไลตักษณ์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>วิไลธรรม</td>
<td>วิไลธรรม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ศรีสวัสดิ์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ศรีสวัสดิ์นวลหลวงส์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ศรีโสภา</td>
<td>ศรีโสภา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โสภนา</td>
<td>โสภนา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ศรีโสภา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ศรีโสภา</td>
<td>ศรีโสภา</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dalang
---

Inao

Referring to dignity:

Dalang
---

Inao

เทว

วัตถุ

อุปกรณ์

อุปกรณ์เจิ้งฉาน

อุปกรณ์สูงส่ง

อรค์
Referring to a beloved one:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dalang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>กาลยิ้ม</td>
<td>กาลยิ้ม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>จอมขวัญ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ดวงใจ</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ดวงมาลาย</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ดวงสมร</td>
<td>ดวงสมร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ดวงสวัสดิ์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ดวงจุกกา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>นวลสมร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ยาจิก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ยาใจ</td>
<td>ยาใจ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ยาหยี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>ยาหยีศรีใส</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>สุวัฒน์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>สายนะร้า</td>
<td>สายนะร้า</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เส้นทาง</td>
<td>เส้นทาง</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
f) The epithets placed before the names of female characters.

**Dālang**
-  
โพยมนาง
โพยมนาง
-  
ทวามิย

**Inao**
-  
ทรงโพยมปราโมชวัจâว
ทรงโพยมเสนหา
-  
โพยมโพยม
โพยมนาง
โพยมนาง
-  
ทวามิย
We also find some epithets placed on both sides of the names of female characters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dālang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>นางสาวยุ</td>
<td>นางสาวยุ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มหาลัย</td>
<td>มหาลัย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อารียา</td>
<td>อารียา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อัครราช</td>
<td>อัครราช</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เอลิคครา</td>
<td>เอลิคครา</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dālang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>โสมทู...มาหาร</td>
<td>โสมทู...มาหาร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โสมนา...มหาศรี</td>
<td>โสมนา...มหาศรี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โสมนาย...สวลศรี</td>
<td>โสมนาย...สวลศรี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โสมยง...สวลสวัสดี</td>
<td>โสมยง...สวลสวัสดี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นวลนา...โสมเล็ก</td>
<td>นวลนา...โสมเล็ก</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For non-royal female characters, the epithets used are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dālang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>นางี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>รวมใจ, รวมทีป</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>สาวสระก</td>
<td>สาวสระก, นางสาวสระก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>สาวสระกทิป</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>สาวศรี</td>
<td>สาวศรี</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|        | อัฒยาบดี, ผู้มีชัยผลย
g) The epithets used for both male and female characters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dalang</th>
<th>Inao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>กดอยใจ</td>
<td>กดอยใจ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>แก้วตา</td>
<td>แก้วตา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ชนิสุราง</td>
<td>ชนิสุราง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ขอวุ่นนา</td>
<td>ขอวุ่นนา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ไกรจุ</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เล็กัน</td>
<td>เล็กัน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เพาะเพลิงเล็กัน</td>
<td>เพาะเพลิงเล็กัน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เล็กลาย</td>
<td>เล็กลาย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โอมลาย</td>
<td>โอมลาย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โอมเหลา</td>
<td>โอมเหลา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โอมนุ</td>
<td>โอมนุ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โอมยง</td>
<td>โอมยง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>โอมเศรี</td>
<td>โอมเศรี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ปู่เล็กโอมเศรี</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dâlang</td>
<td>Inao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>คุ้งตา, คุ้งเน่า</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>คุ้งใจ</td>
<td>คุ้งใจ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>คุ้งลูกกิ้ง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>รามแซย</td>
<td>รามแซย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>บูชาลู่</td>
<td>บูชาลู่</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>บ้างอ</td>
<td>บ้างอ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ฟิลิมัย</td>
<td>ฟิลิมัย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มี้ซั้น</td>
<td>มี้ซั้น</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นุ่ม้ี่ยง</td>
<td>นุ่ม้ี่ยง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มั่นกึ่ง</td>
<td>มั่นกึ่ง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มั่นจี</td>
<td>มั่นจี</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ไม่มีครี</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ยอดฟิลิมัย</td>
<td>ยอดฟิลิมัย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ยอดคลองสาร</td>
<td>ยอดคลองสาร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ยาใจ</td>
<td>ยาใจ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dalang Inao
## APPENDIX V

The Malay-Javanese terms used in Dālang and Inao.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The terms used in both poems</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Malay equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>งาลวยจันนิ</td>
<td>heavenly palace, heaven.</td>
<td>ค่ายังกัน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ภริญ</td>
<td>kris</td>
<td>คีริส</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 万欧元 | older brother | ก้า (
> | แยร์ |
> | ย 
> | ด |
| ละหาระ | spur a horse | แกร์ตัก |
| ภิกษานัน | royal page | คีด่าน (
> | ย |
> |ใ
> | | น |
| ภูคูลูง | mountain | กูงอน (
> | จ |
> | แยร |
| อาโยะ | sash, scarf | สะบก (
> | จ |
> | แยร |
| ภูษาง | make war, frighten the enemy | ตายัง |
| ศิษนถง | a fragrant flower, *Mimusops elengi* (Sapotaceae) | บุงกานเจง |
| ภูนิบานัน | to become engaged to be married | ทนันงัน (
> | จ |
> | |
<p>| ภูทสุบานา | calamity, evil | ทุกษาบานา |
| ภูฮง | flower | บุง |
| ภูพังกาน | <em>jasmine, Jasminum auriculatum</em> (Oleaceae) | บุงกานปุกัน |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The terms used in both poems</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Malay equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>บุษกรื่าไป</td>
<td>scented flower-petals enclosed in small fancy lace bags</td>
<td>bunga rampai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>บุษกร</td>
<td>bird, peacock</td>
<td>burong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>บุษกรัน</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>bulan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>แปลวิชา</td>
<td>to die, self-immolation of a widow on her husband's funeral pyre</td>
<td>bela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ประกาศป่า</td>
<td>to practise religious austerities, to become an ascetic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>บุษกรัน</td>
<td>Pandanus tectorius (Pandanaceae)</td>
<td>pandan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>บุษกรีจ</td>
<td>robber</td>
<td>pĕrajurit (J.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>บุษกรแท่ง</td>
<td>belt, waist-buckle</td>
<td>pending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ปาฏะรอปภี</td>
<td>royal father</td>
<td>bapa aji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ปรากฏ</td>
<td>to fight against</td>
<td>bentok (J.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มะรุมมะงำหารา</td>
<td>to wander about</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เมาตะวัดรีจี</td>
<td>incomparable in power</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ภาย逾期</td>
<td>dear sister or dear brother, a term of endearment</td>
<td>yayi (J.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ปิทำวา</td>
<td>the heart, a term of endearment</td>
<td>jiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The terms used in both poems.</td>
<td>English translation.</td>
<td>Malay equivalent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>วงศ์</td>
<td>prince, princess</td>
<td>radin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ราชสูตร</td>
<td>ruler of a minor state, king of a non-divine race</td>
<td>ratu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ราเชษฐา</td>
<td>king</td>
<td>raja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ศึกษา</td>
<td>a term representing a person of low-degree</td>
<td>lembu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>วายรัศนำ</td>
<td>to perform a shadow-play</td>
<td>wayang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อิศเน</td>
<td>eunuch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ศรัทธาเสน</td>
<td>holy ruler</td>
<td>Sri Bětara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>สาทามัน</td>
<td>a flower garden</td>
<td>sa taman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ศรีบุษราดล</td>
<td>hermit</td>
<td>sang petinggi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>สาทร์</td>
<td>pretty, flower</td>
<td>sari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อนิชตย์</td>
<td>a god</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อนิชตย์</td>
<td>child, children</td>
<td>anak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>จูทรัพย์</td>
<td>a perfumed cosmetic</td>
<td>urap-urap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เอกทกระจม</td>
<td>a nun</td>
<td>indang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The terms used in Dālāng but not in Inao.</td>
<td>English translation.</td>
<td>Malay equivalent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ภาระภูหลิง</td>
<td>the China box-tree flower, <em>Murraya exotica</em> (Rutaceae)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ศาสนา</td>
<td>shadow-play performer</td>
<td>dalang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ภูฏิงกระรุ้ม</td>
<td><em>Clerodendron fragrans</em> (Verbenaceae)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ภูฏิงกระรุ้ม</td>
<td>greenish white, scented flower, <em>Micromelum minutum</em> (Rutaceae)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ภูฏิงแยงผ้า</td>
<td><em>Melati</em>, jasmine</td>
<td><em>bunga mēlor</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ภูฏิงยังสนา</td>
<td>yellowish, sweet-scented flower, <em>Pterocarpus cambogianus</em> (Leguminosae)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ภูฏิงยังสนา</td>
<td>the <em>asoka</em> flower, <em>Saraca indica</em> (Leguminosae)</td>
<td><em>bunga angsgoka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อุ้ย</td>
<td>deer</td>
<td><em>rusa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ฝั้น</td>
<td>centipede</td>
<td><em>lipan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อาโปลา</td>
<td>strolling dancer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อินุสิณัต</td>
<td>royal mother</td>
<td><em>Ibu suri</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai Term</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
<td>Malay Equivalent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>กระลาหนา</td>
<td>rover, one of low-degree</td>
<td>kēlana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>กษัทศิวีรา</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td>gēmbala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>กะทะล่าป้า</td>
<td>used after a noun, signifying a product</td>
<td>kālapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>บปู</td>
<td>Buddhist monk</td>
<td>biku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ประมาทานา</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>Bērmana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ประหมมิ</td>
<td>maternal uncle</td>
<td>paman (J.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>สมัมิ</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td>sēmang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อุสังหัจฉี</td>
<td>palanquin</td>
<td>usongan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY
Unpublished Material in Thai

Mahinthra Sakdi Thamrong, Čhao Phrayā Dālang. (The Phra-ong Čhao Chuthārat Rācha Kumārī manuscript, Bangkok).


Rama I, King. Dālang. (The Somdet Phra Racha Pitulā manuscript, Bangkok).

______. Dālang. (The manuscript copied by Khun Rāchasāt, Bangkok).

______. Inao. (The Nakhōn Sīthamarāt manuscript, Bangkok).

Rama II, King. Inao. (The Čhao Čhōm Sombun manuscript, Bangkok).

______. Inao. (The manuscript copied by Nai Taeng, Bangkok).

______. Inao. (The manuscript copied by Phra Mīmit Aksōn, Bangkok, 1925).

______. Inao, Book 4. (The India Office Library manuscript, London).


Published Manuscripts

Rama I, King. Dālang. Bangkok, 1890.

Rama II, King. Inao. Bangkok, 1874.

Inao. Bangkok, 1921.


Books in Thai


Kotmai, Vol. II. Bangkok, 1902.


Phra Maha Nak, Bunnowāt Kham Chan. Bangkok, 1917.

Phra Rācha Phongsāwādān Krung Kao, Bangkok, 1863.


Si Prat, Anirut Kham Chan. Bangkok, 1924.


Tamra Phichai Songkhram Kham Klön. Bangkok, 1930.

The Decrees of King Mongkut. Bangkok, 1922.


Books in Western Languages


Basham, A.L. *The Wonder that was India*. London, 1956.


———. *Chulakantamangala*. Bangkok, 1895.


Young, E. *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe*. Bangkok, 1900.

**Article in Thai**


**Articles in Western Languages**


Koenig, J.G. "Voyage from India to Siam and Malacca" (English translation of his Danish-German MS), Journal Straits Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXVI, 1894.


________. "Intercourse Between Burma and Siam, As Recorded in Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi", Journal of the Siam Society, 1959.