

ON A QUEST FOR THE JEWEL: A REVIEW OF THE FINE ARTS DEPARTMENT'S EDITION OF PHRA HORATHIBODI'S CHINDAMANI¹

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บทความฉบับนี้มุ่งทบทวนการตรวจชำระวรรณคดีเรื่อง จินดามณีของพระโหราธิบดี ฉบับชำระตีพิมพ์ของกรมศิลปากรโดยชนิด อยู่โพธิ์เมื่อ ค.ศ. ๑๙๔๒ (พ.ศ. ๒๔๘๕) นับว่าเป็นฉบับชำระตีพิมพ์ที่สำคัญที่สุด ได้รับการอ้างอิงในการศึกษาภาษาและประวัติศาสตร์ไทยอย่างต่อเนื่อง ด้วยแนวการศึกษาเชิงวิภาษคดีฉบับนี้ ผู้วิจัยจะมุ่งทบทวนปัญหาเชิงตัวบทของจินดามณีและปัญหาการตรวจชำระของฉบับตีพิมพ์เผยแพร่ โดยใช้เอกสารตัวเขียนที่เก็บรักษาอยู่ ณ หอสมุดแห่งชาติเป็นแหล่งข้อมูลหลัก ในแง่ของปัญหาเชิงตัวบทของจินดามณี พบว่าเอกสารตัวเขียนฉบับดั้งเดิมของผู้แต่งได้สูญหายไปแล้ว ขณะที่เอกสารตัวเขียนที่คัดลอกสืบมาต่อมิจำนวนมากถึง ๑๐๕ ฉบับเก็บรักษาอยู่ ณ หอสมุดแห่งชาติ อย่างไรก็ตาม เอกสารตัวเขียนแต่ละฉบับมิได้มีเนื้อความสอดคล้องตรงกันทั้งหมดแต่อย่างใด ทั้งในแง่การรวบรวมเนื้อหาและการเรียงลำดับ

เนื้อหา จากลักษณะที่เหมือนและต่างกันเหล่านี้ ชนิด อยู่โพธิ์ได้จัดกลุ่มเอกสารตัวเขียนเรื่องจินดามณีของพระโหราธิบดีไว้เป็น ๔ สาขา แต่ก็ไม่ได้เพียงพอที่จะแก้ปัญหาเชิงตัวบทตลอดจนทำความเข้าใจประวัติการคัดลอกตัวบทที่ซับซ้อนของจินดามณีได้ดังที่ยังมีเอกสารตัวเขียนจินดามณีของพระโหราธิบดีอีกมากมาย ที่ไม่สามารถจัดอยู่ในสาขาทั้ง ๔ นี้ได้

ในแง่ของปัญหาด้านการตรวจชำระ พบว่า ฉบับชำระตีพิมพ์ดังกล่าวมิได้ให้หลักฐานจากเอกสารตัวเขียนไว้อย่างเพียงพอ ขณะที่คำอ่านที่ตรวจชำระเกิดจากเนื้อความหลายสาขาประกอบกัน มิได้ยึดโยงกับเอกสารตัวเขียนฉบับใดฉบับหนึ่งหรือกลุ่มสาขาหนึ่งสาขาใดเป็นสำคัญเพียงหนึ่งเดียว นอกจากนั้น การนำเสนอข้อความที่ตรวจชำระได้ละเลยลักษณะสำคัญของตัวบทไปหลายประการ ที่สำคัญที่สุด ฉบับชำระตีพิมพ์ดังกล่าวนี้มิได้แสดงเกณฑ์หรือหลักฐานการตรวจชำระที่เป็นระบบ อันแสดงคำอ่านที่แตกต่างกันระหว่างเอกสารตัวเขียนต่างๆ ตลอดจนอธิบายการตัดสินใจชำระของผู้ตรวจชำระ

แม้ว่าการตรวจชำระของชนิด อยู่โพธิ์นี้ จะนับว่ามีคุณภาพอย่างยิ่งต่อการศึกษาวรรณคดีไทย ทั้งยังพึงได้รับยกย่องในฐานะงานรื้อนุถุกรรมของการตรวจชำระวรรณคดีไทย แต่ผู้ศึกษาก็ควรตระหนักถึงปัญหาเชิงตัวบทที่ปรากฏในเอกสารตัวเขียนตลอดจนข้อจำกัดในการตรวจชำระของฉบับตีพิมพ์ดังกล่าวด้วยในขณะที่ใช้ศึกษาอ้างอิงต่อไป

¹ บนเส้นทางสู่อินดามณี: บททบทวนการตรวจชำระวรรณคดีเรื่อง จินดามณีของพระโหราธิบดี ฉบับตีพิมพ์ของกรมศิลปากร

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Abstract

This article offers a review of the Fine Arts Department's edition of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani, edited by Thanit Yupho in 1942. The textual problems of the Chindamani and the editorial problems of the edition are reviewed using a text critical approach, and the conclusions presented are based on evidence found mainly in 109 manuscripts kept at the National Library of Thailand.

Regarding the textual problems found in the Chindamani itself, there are a number of significant discrepancies between the manuscripts in terms of their content collection and their content order. Though Yupho has classified the manuscripts into 4 recensions, these recensions do not seem to be able to resolve the textual problems of the Chindamani and the complicated history of its transmission. As for the editorial problems, insufficient evidence is provided supporting the constitution of the text, and the presentation of the edited text ignores other significant parts included in the original content. Most importantly, the edition does not contain any critical apparatus. Therefore, even though this edition by Yupho should be praised as an industrious and pioneering work of editing in Thai literary studies, one should be wary of the textual problems belying the analysis of the manuscripts as well as the edition's editorial problems when using it as a reference for further research.

Introduction

Within the history of Thai literature, the Chindamani (Th. จินดามณี, literally 'jewel of thought,' < P./Skt. *cintā* 'thought' + P./Skt. *maṇi* 'jewel, gem') is the earliest

traditional manual on the Thai language and poetics which was transmitted during the Ayutthaya Period to the Bangkok Period. The text itself states that "This Chindamani was composed (for the King) by Phra Horathibodi, originally from Sukhothai, when King Narai was the Lord of Lop Buri"³ (Yupho 2011: 39). Because of its author, this version of Chindamani has been called the Chindamani of Phra Horathibodi (the noble title of the royal astrologist), and though the exact year of composition is still unclear it should be attributed to the period during which King Narai, a king of Ayutthaya (reigned 1656-1688) and had already moved his royal courtship to Lopburi, in 1673 at the very latest, as historical sources suggest (Eoseewong 2000: 38-39), until the end of his reign in 1688.

There is no evidence that any autographed manuscripts survived after the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767 (Rattanakun 1997: 20). However, there are more than one hundred transmitted manuscripts entitled Chindamani kept in the Manuscript Collections at the National Library of Thailand, and in other sources both in Thailand and in foreign countries. For example, one manuscript of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani is preserved at the Humanities Information Center⁴ at the

³ Translated from original Thai: จินดามณีนี้ พระโหราธิบดี เดิมอยู่เมืองสุโขทัยแต่งถวายแด่ครั้งสมเด็จพระนารายณ์ ฝนเจ้าพลพริช (Yupho 2011: 39)

⁴This manuscript is entitled "Samut Chindamani Chop Boribun", formerly owned by Prince (Mom Chao) Nopphamat Nawarat, as indicated on the label on the last page of the manuscript. I thank Miss Nirahane Jantasang, the Librarian of the Humanities Information Center, for allowing me to access and study this manuscript and also for her kind assistance.

Faculty of Arts at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok and another manuscript from Tha Phut Temple in Nakhorn Pathom Province has recently been edited and published online by the Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropological Center in Thailand (Phayaksri 2006). Furthermore, in Germany, Klaus Wenk has catalogued 5 manuscripts entitled Chindamani into his *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland Band IX,1* (1963) and *Band IX,2* (1968). Of the large number of manuscripts entitled Chindamani, most of them could be classified as manuscripts of the Phra Horathibodi version.

During a survey of manuscripts in the National Library of Thailand, I found 114 manuscripts entitled Chindamani (and other related titles) in the Orthography Section of the Manuscript Collections (see Appendix I). 109 of these manuscripts could be determined to be part of the Phra Horathibodi version, while another 4 manuscripts contain the Odd Content version, with one additional manuscript containing the version of King Barommakot's reign⁵.

⁵ Ms no. 84, not the same as the "Chindamani" manuscript of the Royal Asiatic Society in London (reference number: "RAS Thai Ms 8") which Kajorn Sukphanit discovered, photocopied and sent back to Thailand in 1958 (see cover page of RAS Thai Ms 8), thereafter publishing it for the first time in 1961. The writing support of Ms no. 84 is Black Khoi paper written with white stroke, while "RAS Thai Ms 8" uses White Khoi paper, written in black ink. Both of them preserve the same text of the Chindamani-the version of King Barommakot's reign. Interestingly, the National Library of Thailand had already received Ms no. 84 from the Bureau of the Royal Household on 16 March 1938 (see cover page of Ms no. 84). Apart from this, there is one other (Ms no. 32), in which the

Despite the large number of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani manuscripts (henceforth: *Ms* for singular and *Mss* for plural), we have only 3 published editions of this text which have become widely known in the Thai literary sphere: the first edition published by Doctor Smith, an American missionary in 1870, the second edition by Thanit Yupho in 1942, and the third edition by Chanthit Krasaesin in 1961. However, the best-known edition, which has been cited most often by Thai scholars, is the edition by Yupho (1942), the only one of these three editions which received the Ganesha Seal of approval from the Fine Arts Department for its publication, a seal which marked its high status as the Fine Arts Department's edition.

Due to its age and significant contents regarding the Thai language and poetics, in academic texts that followed, the Chindamani has been studied and referenced time and time again by many scholars from different fields. Interestingly, most of them studied this text via the edition from the Fine Arts Department, which was edited in 1942 by Yupho, the former Head of the Department. However, through my survey of *Mss* in the National Library, I discovered that, for a number of reasons, such as non-matching content and variations in the ordering of the sections, none of the 109 *Mss* perfectly corresponds with the edition of the Fine Arts Department. Furthermore, the edition does not provide a systematic critical apparatus. Therefore, there remain in this

text of the version of King Barommakot's reign has been collected together with some poetic parts of Phra Horathibodi's version. However, in this article on Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani, I have treated Ms no. 32 as one of the *Mss* of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani, but have remarked on its mixed content across versions.

edition a number of textual and editorial problems, guaranteeing that it should be neither read nor studied as a standard edition without questioning the evidence presented in the Mss. In this article, I would like to review the edition of the Fine Arts Department⁶ by employing a text critical approach that uses the information on Mss kept in the National Library as its primary source.

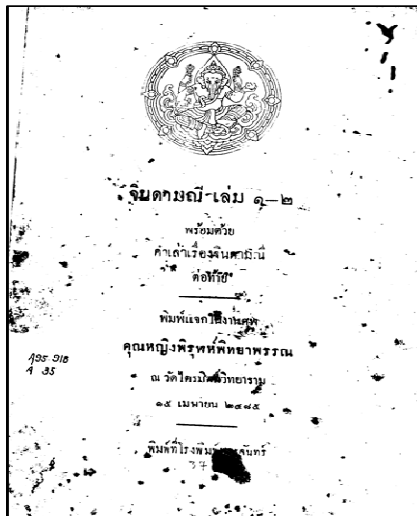


Illustration I: Front Cover Page (Yupho 1942) the first publication in 1942 of Phra Horathibodi's Cindamani edited by Thanit Yupho

⁶ Although this edition has been republished by many presses since its first distribution in 1942, the later reprinted editions of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani (see Yupho 1942; 1959; 1961; 1969; 1971; 1987; 2000; 2008; 2011) all retain the same text, including footnotes as well as significant typography. In order to make the text more accessible for contemporary readers, I have used the edition reprinted by Petchkarat Press (2011) as the representative of the Fine Arts Department's edition (1942), though the reprinted edition of 2011 seems to be the only one among the others mentioned above in which the seal of the department is absent from the cover page.

On Theoretical Framework: Textual Criticism

The study in this article will be undertaken within a framework of textual criticism, a philological approach (Bajohr, Dorvel, Hessling and Weitz 2014: 1; Greetham 1994: 314). However, it should also be noted that the definition of philology here is neither “the love of words and learning,” as its etymology suggests, nor “the study of language in general” as it is being used by scholars in the Great Britain (Lepper 2012: 46; Turner 2014: ix) and Thai scholars such as Phraya Anumanratchathon (1956: 1-2; see more in Buncuea, 2000; Phiriyakit, 1968). Philology in this article refers merely to “textual philology”⁷ (Turner 2014: x), which has been defined as “the study of the written record in its cultural context” (Simon 1990: 19) or “the study or the discipline of making sense of text”, which is neither linguistics—the theory of language—nor philosophy—the theory of meaning or truth—but rather the theory of textuality as well as the history of textual meaning (Pollock 2009: 934). The basic practices of philology include identifying fragments, editing texts from primary sources, and writing historical commentaries (Gumbrecht 2003: 3), as well as explaining textual transmission histories (Lepper 2012: 99; Bajohr et al. 2014: 1-2). According to these definitions, philology has become the foundational knowledge that serves as the precondition for any further literary criticism or historical and interpretative work (Culler 1990: 50), including historical linguistic research (Hale 2010: 21).

⁷ Some scholars also refers to the discipline as “textual scholarship” (see Greetham 1994: 10; see also Fraistat and Flanders 2013).

Though the scope of philology encompasses multiple fields or methods, the employment of which are necessary in order to study primary written texts (Ziolkowski 1990: 6), the philological approach mainly employed in this article is textual criticism, which has been traditionally perceived as a core competence of philology (Bajohr et al., 2014: 1-2; Bod, 2013: 279; Greetham, 1994: 314).

Textual criticism⁸, the technique of restoring texts as nearly as possible to their original form (Kenney 2003: 614; Maas 1958: 1), is always required for the study of ancient texts (West 1973: 8). Although textual criticism has its origin in the field of classics and biblical studies (Timpanaro 2005: 58-59; 70), the basic problem it confronts as clarified by Maas (1958: 1), that “we have no autograph Mss of the Greek and Roman classical writers and no copies which have been collated with the originals,” is a problem that is faced by those who study texts of other languages as well, such as Sanskrit, for instance (see Katre 1954: 18).

Due to the loss of autograph Mss, transmitted copies may contain scribes’ errors, omissions, interpolations, as well as a range of other inconsistencies with the original. In order to resolve these problems, the textual critic examines the relationship among the surviving Ms copies in order to restore, to the greatest extent possible based on the evidence available, the most primitive state of the lost Ms. However, it should be noted that

textual criticism is different from many schools of literary criticism in the sense that textual criticism concentrates on textual questions which are the basis of the text’s authenticity and transmission, rather than focusing exclusively on its content as is so often the case with scholarly works of New Criticism (Lernout 2013: 83).

The authoritative practice of textual criticism, according to Karl Lachmann, a German philologist of the early nineteenth century (Lernout 2013: 65), whose method was later thoroughly clarified and exemplified by Paul Maas in his *Textkritik* (originally published in German in 1927), is divided into two processes: “recensio” and “emendation” (Hall 1923: 108; Timpanaro 2005: 43). The first process, that of “recensio”, in which the “recension,” or relationship between Mss, is investigated through their significant discrepancies in order to assess the age and trustworthiness of each Ms to determine the most reliable Ms or Mss to then be used as the source(s) for editing. After the process of “recensio” has been carried out so as to constitute the text, the textual critic, as editor, has to decide whether the transmitted text is authentic or not. If not, he or she must emend it; thus the second process is called “emendatio” (Pöhlmann 2003: 139-143; Reynolds and Wilson 2013: 208-209). Therefore, the practice of textual criticism becomes inseparable from the editor’s or the textual critic’s subjectivity (Housman 1972b: 1063; Tarrant 1995: 98).

Furthermore, the editor should indicate and explain the editorial process, the Mss evidence employed in editing and other significant information on the texts and editions used in the “Prolegomena” (Isaacson 2009: 13), in a critical introduction which usually precedes the

⁸ Harald Hundius, one of the first scholars who employed a text critical approach in the study of Thai literature, has provided the Thai translation of textual criticism as “การวินิจัยต้นฉบับ” (Hundius 1985: 313).

edited text. Importantly, the established text is always presented with “a critical apparatus,”⁹ which is supposed to provide the reader with explanations regarding the variants among different Mss and the evidence supporting the editor’s choices, generally presented in order with footnotes or in a separate appendix (Katre 1954: 90; Beal 2009: 20; Butsayakun 1993: 154). The critical apparatus should be presented so that the reader will not be dependent on the editor when interpreting and making conclusions about the text, since editors are not necessarily reliable (West 1973: 9). Each time that readers fail to agree with the editor’s judgement of the constituted text, they can investigate these judgements via the Mss from which they resulted in order to reach conclusions based on their own reading of the Mss.

The result of text editing printed from one setting of type can be considered as “an edition” in the broad sense (Greetham 1994: 167), but not every edition is necessarily conducted with scholarly methods of editing. Therefore, many textual critics differentiate the so-called “scholarly edition” from that of the normal edition, because the latter employs no scholarly methods of editing (Eggert 2013: 104; Tanselle 1995: 9-11). When the scholarly editing process is conducted within a text critical framework in which many different Mss are collated and the evidence and editor’s judgement are systematically conducted and presented, the edition is called “a critical edition” (Greetham 1994: 347-348). Furthermore, it should always be remembered that the

critical edition is properly considered as a hypothesis about some particular state of a text, most often, but not necessarily, assumed to be the original (Isaacson 2009: 13).

As described above, the main practice of textual criticism is the editing of texts, especially ancient texts. However, textual criticism should not be considered as an enterprise for the editor or the philologist alone, as it can also be applied by students and researchers for purposes other than editing texts (West 1973: 8-9). Some of these purposes include questioning the trustworthiness of a text in any edition they approach, reading a text more “critically” by investigating the variants among editions, studying the history of textual transmission as well as the relationship among Mss via a critical apparatus and, as with the purpose of this article, writing a review of a certain edition.

The tradition of reviewing editions seems to be neither well-known nor widely practiced in the field of Thai literary studies, although it is quite popular in many other literary spheres (for example see Housman 1972a; Isaacson 2009; Nagy 2000; Sanderson 2002). The main purpose of the edition review, though also depending on each reviewer’s objectives, is generally to provide the readers with some significant information regarding the edition and its text, to evaluate the trustworthiness of the constituted text by questioning whether the edition resolves the textual problems of the transmitted texts and investigating whether any editorial problems are apparent as the edition’s shortcomings. For editions of ancient texts, the reviewer might examine and consult the primary source of the texts, mainly Mss, in order to assess the

⁹Sometimes appearing in the Latin form “apparatus criticus” (Beal, 2009:20), this term has been translated into Thai as “Lak than kan truat chamra” (Th. หลักฐานการตรวจชำระ) by Wisut Butsayakun (Butsayakun 1993:154).

editorial process and text presentation in the edition. Additionally, the reviewer might propose improvements for future “improved” editions when addressing textual or editorial problems in a number of ways, such as making it more systematic, more evidence-based, more critical, and more precise in regard to its original state.

On the Fine Arts Department’s Edition of Phra Horathibodi’s Chindamani

The entire Fine Arts Department edition, first published in 1942, is actually a collection of many versions of Chindamani texts: Phra Horathibodi’s version (Chindamani Volume I), Prince Wongsathiratchasanit’s version (Chindamani Volume II) composed in 1849, as well as “Notes on Chindamani”¹⁰, an article introducing the text and the edition written by Yupho in 1942. Furthermore, after Kajorn Sukpanit discovered the Ms of another version of the Chindamani at the Royal Asiatic Society, London in 1958, it has been included in the Fine Arts Department’s edition of Chindamani texts (since 1961) and referred to as the version of King Barommakot’s reign. However, in this article, I will discuss only Phra Horathibodi’s Chindamani, along with some related parts in “Notes on Chindamani”.

The text of Phra Horathibodi’s Chindamani in this edition begins with the

lexicon or Aksarasap (in Thai อักษรศัพท์), consisting of lists of homophones, homographs, and synonyms. The text starts with the prologue, worshipping the Three Jewels of Buddhism and the Goddess Surassavati (in Rai Meter). Following the lexicon, there are poems exemplifying the use of the three So consonants: Ś<ศ>, Ṣ<ษ>, and S<ส>, starting with the prologue worshipping the Three Jewels of Buddhism (in Wasantadilok Chan Meter), and then the use of the two Ai vowels: Ai<ไ> and Ai<อี> (in Kap Yani Meter). Then the text explains the use of R̥<ร>, R̄<ฤ>, L̥<ล>, and L̄<ฬ> (in prose, followed by the explanation of three classes of Thai script, beginning with a Pali verse, “namo buddhāya siddham”). Together with the explanation of the three classes of Thai scripts, many different syllabic combinations of consonants, vowels, and tonal markers (mainly the first and the second), including the combination of consonant clusters are exemplified and explained in prose. Then the statement of authorship is inserted, before the text continues to provide the poems in Khlong meter explaining Thai orthography. This first half of the entire text, or the part on the Thai language and orthography, seems to end here, before the part on poetics in the second half.

The part on poetics begins with the prologue in Kap Surangkhanang Meter, praising the Three Jewels and teachers in the past, and presenting an overview of the text’s content, orthography, poetics, and authorship. Then there are collections of examples and explanations for many different poetic meters, which are, Khlong Suphap, Khlong Lao, Khlong Monthokkhati, Khlong Konlabot, Kap Khap Mai and Kap Ho Khlong. Then the

¹⁰ This article first appeared with the title: *Kham Lao Rueang Nangsue Chindamani* (Th. คำเล่าเรื่องหนังสือจินดามณี), which was changed to *Banthuek Rueang Nangsue Chindaman* (Th. บันทึกเรื่องหนังสือจินดามณี) in the later reprinted edition.

commentaries and explanations on Poetics based on the Vuttodaya Scriptures are inserted (in Thai prose and Pali keywords), followed by the composition of many different Chan meters, chan lanlong meters, and the Code Poems. The text in this edition ends with a unique ending a part of Doctor Smith's Edition (1870, see Yupho 2011: 88-91).

In Yupho's introductory article "Notes on Chindamani" (1942), the information on important Mss as well as the different versions and recensions of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani were provided. In the article, Yupho classified the Mss of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani kept in the National Library at that time into 4 recensions, which are (1) the recension of the Earliest Ms (dated 1782), (2) the recension of Maha Chaiphak, (3) the recension of Phraya Thibet, and (4) the recension of Prince Petrarch Paramanuchit (Yupho 2011: 177-182). Each recension differs from its counterparts in terms of content order, selection of contents, the absence or presence of a prologue, as well as word choice.

However, Yupho clearly stated that the main Mss used in editing the text for this edition by the Fine Arts Department was a Ms in the recension of Maha Chaiphak or Ms no. 1/๙.8 (Yupho 2011: 178). However, Yupho's classification system is today no longer in use by the Manuscript Collections of the National Library of Thailand. Based on Yupho's note that the colors used for the writing were in gold and yellow, I, therefore, have determined Ms no. 1/๙.8 to be Ms no. 93 in the Orthography Section according to the new reference system officially used at present by the National Library of Thailand.

With the publication being in the name of the Fine Arts Department and carrying its Ganesha seal, this edition by Yupho gained more credibility than any other edition. Most of the academic works concerning Thai language and poetry in Ayutthaya period, as well as Thai history textbooks employ this edition as their main source of study.¹¹ For example, there is the interpretation of Thai tones in the Ayutthaya Period based on Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani by Varisa Kamalanavin (2003), the study of the relationship between the poetic manual and Thai literary conventions by Thanet Vespada (2000), and the study of the development of Thai textbooks by Thawat Punnothok (1999). All of these works take Phra Horathibodi's version as their definitive and authoritative source. Therefore, the edition of the Fine Arts Department could be said to be the most often cited text in Thai academia.

On the Textual Problems of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani Manuscripts

Before discussing the problems of Yupho's edition, the textual problems of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani, or the problems of the sources of the text, its

¹¹ There are also a few scholars who have studied Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani through other editions, for example, Suriya Rattanakun employed the text edited by Chanthit Krasaesin (1961) as a reference in her article on the study of the Thai language in the past (in: Rattanakun 1997). It should also be noted that the edition done by Chanthit Krasaesin (1961) is the only edition in which commentaries on content are extensively provided. However, the number of scholars employing this edition is remarkably fewer than those employing the Fine Arts Department's edition.

authenticity, and its transmission, which have been challenging the editors of this text for a very long time, will be explored.

As mentioned at the beginning of the article, there is no evidence that the autograph Ms survived after the fall of Ayutthaya (Rattanakun 1997: 20), while 109 unautographed Mss have been preserved at the National Library of Thailand. The problem of autographed Mss being lost and the paradoxical situation of having both too much and too little evidence, which also confronted the editors of the classical texts (Maas 1958: 1; Tarrant 1995: 95), has challenged editors and students of Thai literature at great length. In the case of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani, to study all the Mss thoroughly would be a very cumbersome task and seemingly impossible in the viewpoint of many Thai scholars. For instance, Niyada Lausoonthorn states in her research "Changes in Thai Readers"¹² (2009: 38) that a study dealing with hundreds of Mss like Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani cannot be of much benefit, because the original complete text was lost and all Mss were interpolated by scribes in the later period.

Most of the Mss are undated. However, a few dated Mss are sufficient to imply a long tradition of transmission. The earliest Ms (Ms no.60, Orthography Section) is dated 1782, the first year of King Rama I's reign and the Bangkok Period. This Ms

states in its preface, "CS 1144 Year of Tiger, the Year ending with Four ("Cattawasok"), I, Khun Mahasit, did the editing (of this Ms). I, Muen Thep Maitri – Muen Thip Maitri wrote (this Ms). We have revised it three times."¹³ The use of the first person pronouns in royal language (Th. ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า, literally 'I, We,' used in the royal language.) suggests its conception having taken place within the palace and its royal purpose as well as its status as a "Nangsue Ho Luang" (Th. หนังสือหลวง) or the Ms formerly owned by the (traditional) royal library (Prince Damrongrachanuphap, 1960: 163). This royal copy of Chindamani could be considered to be a part of King Rama I's literary restoration, in which many traditional texts from Ayutthaya were collected and recopied to be kept as part of the royal procession.

Furthermore, we have a Ms dated 1818 (no.239), 1832 (no.81), 1844 (no. 68), 1846 (no. 39), 1850 (no. 235), 1894 (no. 76), and the latest dated Ms in 1901 (no. 64). Apart from these dated Mss, around one hundred Mss are undated.

The number of Mss and the information on Mss dating suggests that the tradition of this text was so strong that it was able to survive to be renewed popularly from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century in spite of the loss of the original complete Ms, which was allegedly written in the second half of the seventeenth century. In addition, the opinion on Mss dating given by some scholars, that the Ms copies of Phra

¹² In "Changes in Thai Readers" (Th. วัฒนธรรมการอ่านไทย), Niyada prefers the word "reader" for the translation of Thai word "Baeprian" (Th. แบบเรียน) because it consists of principles and exercises (Th. หลักเกณฑ์และแบบฝึกหัด), thus should not be called a "textbook" in the broader sense (Lausoonthorn 2009:10).

¹³ The citation is translated from the original: จุลศักราช ๑๑๔๔ ปีขาลจัตวาศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าขุนมหาสิทธาระ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าหมื่นทิพเทพ ไม่ตรีบุบ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ทาน ๓ ครั้ง ฯ (Mss no.60, Orthography Section)

Horathibodi's Chindamani could not have stemmed from a time prior to the reign of King Rama III (r. 1824-1851) (Rattanakun 1997: 20; Krasaesin 1961: [26-27]), seems not to perfectly correspond with the information on Mss we have now.

In terms of content, the Mss of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani rarely correspond with one another perfectly. Due to the fact that the Chindamani is composed of many different sections like a collection of lessons both on orthography and on poetics, the order and the collection of content is somewhat different in each Ms. The text from each recension does not follow the same order with other recensions, while some recensions can omit some parts of contents and supplement other additional parts into the text. The correspondence or harmony between content order, content collection and colophon, or the statement on the production of a manuscript,¹⁴ has become the criterion used by some editors to classify the recensions of Mss, which are usually named after the scribes and compilers of the text, as Yupho has classified 4 recensions of the text of Chindamani in "Notes on Chindamani" (see Yupho 2011: 177-180).

The differences of content collection and order among the recensions are, for example, that the recension of the earliest Ms begins with the use of the three So consonants in Wasantadilok Chan Meter without any prologue, while the recension

of Maha Chaiphak begins with the prologue. Furthermore, though the earliest Ms or Ms no. 60 omits the statement of authorship and the prose explaining the poetic composition (beginning with อันว่านุนี้ นารถ), it uniquely contains a section discussing the spelling of the word "Bun" (Th. บุญ, literally 'merit') in prose, labeled by Yupho as วินิจฉัยการเขียนคำว่าบุญ (Yupho, 2011: 178), which never appears in the recension of Maha Chaiphak and other recensions. On the other hand, the recension of Phraya Thibet differs from other recensions in the sense that the recension contains only the extended sections on poetics, while the others regarding orthography are absent. Even some particular types of poetic meters, which are never regularly included in other recensions, are consistently compiled in the recension of Phraya Thibet, for instance, the extended parts on Konlabot playing with graphic and illustration, the parts on Kap Khap Mai and Kap Ho Khlong. As for the recension of Prince Paramanuchit, its identical parts are the composition of different types of Kap meter based on Kāvyaśāravilāsinī, a work of Pali poetic scripture believed to be the origin of Thai Kap meters (Phumisak 1981: 223; see more in Khamwilai 1931: 673-689), inserted in the middle of the text, and the colophon naming the editor and compiler as Prince Patriarch Paramanuchit (see more in Yupho 2011: 181). For these four recensions, many Mss can be classified into the groups (see Appendix II), though with some variations, except for the recension of Prince Paramanuchit, in which only one Ms can be identified (Ms no. 35).

Apart from these 4 recensions provided by Yupho, I found 33 Mss beginning with the prologue of the lexicon part (ศรีสิทธิวิจิตรบรรณ

¹⁴ A colophon, mostly attributed to the scribe, might provide information on the production of Mss, the scribe's name, the author's name, sponsors, as well as place and date of production (Beal, 2009: 80-81). In Thai, the colophon at the beginning of a Ms is traditionally called *Ban Phanaek* (Th. บานแพนบก) or in English, "preface."

ประพนธ์)¹⁵, the highest quantity of all the groups (see the list of Mss in Appendix II). I suggest this group of Mss be classified into another recension for further consideration, as in “Noted on Chindamani”, in which is included the Ms beginning with the prologue of the lexicon part into the recension of the earliest Ms (Yupho 2011: 178). Nonetheless, I still found that, in terms of content arrangement, this group of Mss corresponds to a greater degree with the recension of Maha Chaiphak than with the recension of the earliest Ms, for example, all Mss in this group contain the prologue on the part of the three So consonants (โนม นมัสการประพนธ์), the statement of authorship and also the prose explaining the poetic composition (อันว่ามนินารด) just as they appear in the Maha Chaiphak recension, while these parts are regularly absent from the recensions of the earliest Ms. However, even though the content arrangement of the Mss in this group relatively corresponds to the recension of Maha Chaiphak, the relationship between these two groups is still unclear and has never been thoroughly investigated.

Furthermore, there are many other Mss which cannot be simply classified into any of the recensions provided by Yupho for a number of reasons, such as being in damaged condition, in a fragmentary form, or having a unique arrangement of content. Example of cases of unclassifiable Mss due to their unique content arrangement are Ms no. 16, uniquely beginning with the

part on Chan meter followed by the unique explanation of the orthography and the alveolar ridge¹⁶ and Ms no. 4 and 43, sharing the same unique arrangement beginning with the explanatory poems on Thai orthography (in Khlong meter) followed by the poetics parts, in which the examples of each poem do not always correspond with the other recensions. Interestingly, these two Mss also share the same colophon at the beginning of the text, stating the name of the scribe and compiler as “Sri” (Ms no. 4, Orthography Section, the National Library of Thailand). Based on the unique content arrangement and the colophon, Ms no. 4 and 43 could be considered to be another group, or possibly another recension, as they do not fit clearly into any of the recensions discussed above.

Additionally, many Mss of Phra Horathibodi’s Chindamani, even those being classified into the recensions above, imply the practice of interpolation, for they also contain their own anomalies in some parts of the content which could be considered to be a result of interpolation by the scribe and collector. For example, Ms no. 68 and Ms no. 69, both from the recension of the earliest Ms, including Ms no. 83 in the group beginning with the prologue of the lexicon part, all contain a supplementary part explaining the alveolar ridge of each letter based on Pali phonetics in the final part of each Ms, differing from the other Mss in their own recensions. On the other hand, Ms no. 12 (from the Phraya Thibet recension), Ms no. 14 (from

¹⁵ Apart from 33 Mss of this group preserved in the National Library of Thailand, another additional Ms entitled “Samut Chindamani Chop Boribun”, which is now preserved at the Humanities Information Center within the Faculty of Arts at Chulalongkorn University, can be classified into this group as well.

¹⁶ From its writing material, unique content and history of library possession, I identify this Ms (no. 16) with the one mentioned by Yupho as Ms no. 1/๓ (, for the whole description of its unique content provided by Yupho, see Yupho 2011: 184-187).

the recension of the earliest Ms), and Ms no. 268 (unclassifiable to any recension) include the part on royal language (Th. ราชาศัพท์) into the lexicon part¹⁷.

As discussed above, the different arrangements of content, the scribe's interpolation, as well as the contamination of texts in the manner described suggest that the transmission of the Chindamani, at least from the beginning of the early Bangkok Period (after 1782), was a rather open tradition in which the scribe or compiler could select and rearrange parts of the content, and he was free to add or interpolate some texts into the Chindamani. Therefore, the surviving Mss are so different from each other and so "disordered" in their content arrangement that some scholars have described the Mss of Chindamani as a "Big Spicy Salad" (in Thai: ยำใหญ่ / Yam Yai) (Krasaesin 1962: [26]).

The reason for the mixture of content in the Chindamani Mss has normally been explained to be the result of the fall of Ayutthaya, in which the city and the palace as well as Ayutthaya's royal library were burnt. Since the complete Ms was damaged, the scribes in the early Bangkok

Period only had partial copies from which they themselves then made copies (Lausoonthorn 2009: 36). This could be one of the possibilities. However, I would like to add that another factor contributing to this contamination and interpolation could be the tradition of knowledge transmission in Thailand, in which the practice of attributing copied or reedited texts to the work of a teacher in the distant past seems to be part and parcel. As of the traditional transmission of secular knowledge, though scribes in the later period interpolated regularly for didactic purposes, any additions, omissions, and alterations to the bodies of text could be explained as attempts to restore the knowledge to its original, perfect form, as laid out by the original teacher (Brun 1990: 55; Jory 2000: 355). In this case, the first teacher was Phra Horathibodi, to whom the scribes and compilers of the text in the later period, though having "edited" and "compiled" the text, still attributed the main text, as in the case of Maha Chaiphak's recension. In addition, the interpolation can also be interpreted as the attempt to fulfil certain lessons which were absent in Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani, for example, the lesson on the third and the fourth tonal markers added to the text of Ms no. 95 (referred to as Ms no. 1/๗ in Yupho, 2011: 181), because the scribe considered the lesson "absent" (Th. เห็นว่ายังขาดอยู่) from the transmitted text, as stated in the colophon.

Apart from the large number of Mss, it seems that the degree of content agreement and disagreement in the Mss as well as the complicated history of transmission pose the most substantial challenges for modern editors, scholars and students. When approaching the text of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani, a student or scholar of Thai language and

¹⁷ Apart from Mss in the National Library of Thailand, another remarkable example for the scribe's interpolation in Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani appears in a Ms preserved at the State Library of Berlin (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) in Germany with the reference number "MIK I 4037". This Ms includes unique examples of poetic composition, as well as a unique supplementary part on Khom scripts and orthography, which the collector claimed s/he had learnt from the City of Cambodia (as recorded in Ms: เรียบมาแต่กำภูษัตรณครแล) (see MIK I 4037, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin). These features do not appear in other Mss or other recensions of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani.

literature should be fully aware of the textual problems of the Mss before simply presuming that the published edition contains the real and original text, stemming directly from Phra Horathibodi in the reign of King Narai. However, the way the edition we read corresponds to the facts in Mss and how the editor deals with the problems in these Mss are other questions that we should also address and take into further consideration.

On Editorial Problems of the Fine Arts Department's Edition

It seems that the editor, Yupho, realized the problems in the Mss he was confronting. As stated in "Notes on Chindamani", a large number of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani Mss have survived and many alterations have been made (Yupho 2011: 177). However, this edition did not solve the problems of the Mss and retained some problems of editing, which I will explore in this part. These editorial problems are, for instance, the lack of evidence supporting the constitution of the text, its presentation, and also the absence of a critical apparatus.

Evidence supporting the Constitution of the Text: the Compilation and Order of Content

Although information on editing the Mss was mentioned by Yupho in "Notes on Chindamani", the editor did not clarify the exact information in the Mss, but left it rather ambiguous. The exact number of Mss used for editing is unclear. Only 8 Mss and others were briefly mentioned in the article by Yupho, in spite of the fact that in 1942 the National Library possessed around 100 Mss of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani, according to

the National Library's labels on the cover page of each Mss, which all contain a bibliography and history of the National Library's acquisitions. The explanation regarding the recensions and the relationship between Mss seems quite clear for these 8 mentioned Mss, but not for the other hundred Mss.

The editor claimed that he employed Ms no. 1/๙.8 (or Ms no. 93 in the new reference system of the National Library), a Ms of the Maha Chaiphak recension, as the main Ms in editing the text (Yupho 2011: 178). However, the reason for choosing this Ms and its recension over others is unclear. Furthermore, Ms no. 93 does not perfectly correspond to the text in this edition in terms of content arrangement, for the extended parts of Khlong Lao meter, Kap Khap Mai and Kap Ho Khlong meter, which consistently appear in the recension of Phraya Thibet, are always absent in the Mss of the Maha Chaiphak recension, including Ms no. 93. The presence of these three poetic parts in the Fine Arts Department's edition implies that the constituted text of the Fine Arts Department's edition of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani was not based on any singular Ms or recension, but rather exists as an amalgamation of the contents from the Maha Chaiphak recension and the Phraya Thibet recension, without any arguments or explanations provided by the editor.

Additionally, there are some parts of content in the Mss excluded from the edition, again without any reason being provided. For example, some of Khlong Konlabot using graphic illustrations, which is always included in the recension of Phraya Thibet, is also absent, despite the fact that some identical parts of the Phraya Thibet recension, such as Kap

Khap Mai and Kap Ho Khlong, are included in the edition. More importantly, the part explaining the spelling of the word “Bun”, which appears even in the earliest Ms (Ms no. 60), is also excluded from the constituted text. Even if Yupho briefly mentions this part in “Notes on Chindamani” (Yupho 2011: 177-178), he does give any reason for its exclusion. Therefore, the framework underlying the compilation of the entire constituted text, used to decide which parts should be selected from which recensions, seems to be rather unstable and unsystematic.

In terms of the order of content, the constituted text in the edition begins with the prologue of the lexicon part (ศรีสิทธิวิจิตร บวร). However, Ms no. 93 and other Mss in the Maha Chaiphak recension do not begin with the prologue of the lexicon part, but with the use of the three So consonants at the beginning of its prologue in Wasantadilok Chan meter. The positioning of the lexicon part at the beginning of the text may be based on the group of Mss beginning with the prologue of the lexicon part. In spite of the fact that the editor was aware of the varying orders of content among Mss in each recension, as clarified in “Notes on Chindamani” (Yupho, 2011: 177-182), the reason for placing the lexicon part at the beginning is, unfortunately, not provided.

Still it is arguable that the content order of the constituted text may not be as significant as the content compilation or, in other words, the presence or absence of each section of content. Nonetheless, I would like to add that the content order of the Fine Art Department’s edition of Phra Horathibodi’s Chindamani has been interpreted as sharing all the characteristics of all the Mss of the Chindamani. When such assertions are

made to further academic arguments, they become problematical, for not all of the Mss follow the content order of this edition. For example, Niyada Lausoonthorn claims that the content order beginning with the lexicon does not correspond to the main purpose of the text as a manual for virtuous students (Lausoonthorn 2009: 38), suggesting that perhaps the lexicon part is not an elementary lesson but, on the contrary, an advanced one. In contrast, according to the Fine Arts Department’s edition, Anant Lualertvorakul has argued that the use of Pali-Sanskrit words in the Thai language, as collected into the lexicon part, was given high priority and was for this reason positioned at the beginning of the Chindamani to be learnt by students before beginning to read and write (Lualertvorakul 2010: 175). These arguments can reasonably be applied for many Mss beginning with the lexicon part, but not for other Mss in different recensions, in which the lexicon part is inconsistently positioned in many different places in the text.

From the information on the Mss, this edition of Phra Horathibodi’s Chindamani conducted by Yupho could be argued not to perfectly correspond to a single piece of evidence from the primary source, for it never relies on one single Ms or a single recension, but is rather the result of a mixture of at least 3 groups of Mss: the Maha Chaiphak recension, the Phraya Thibet recension and the group beginning with the lexicon part. However, it should be stressed that to constitute a text based on many different groups of Mss might not be problematical at all, if the editor clearly specifies his editorial process, the evidence he has used, states in which Mss such evidence does and does not appear, as well as the reasoning behind the textual

constitution of each part of his edition. Such a systematic methodology and practice turns the edition into a reliable source on the text, providing well-grounded hypotheses to be considered further by other scholars. However, without these clarifications, readers of the Fine Arts Department's edition of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani are left ill-equipped to question the procedures or trace the reasoning behind the editor's selection, with their only remaining option outside being to rely on the edition without questioning it, in spite of its status as a problematical set of hypotheses.

On the Edited Text and its Presentation

Regarding the presentation of the text, some of the texts in the edition were apparently added by the editor (Yupho) in order potentially to assist the reader to understand each section more easily. An example is that titles of sections are rarely found in the Mss. In the Fine Arts Department's edition, the title of each part was put in the center of pages with bold letters. The text added by the editor would not be any problem at all if some texts in Mss were not presented in the same way. From the illustration II, it can be seen that the text added by the editor and the text originally from Mss appear in the same characters. The reader has to decipher on his/her own which one belongs to the text in Ms and which one has been added by the editor.

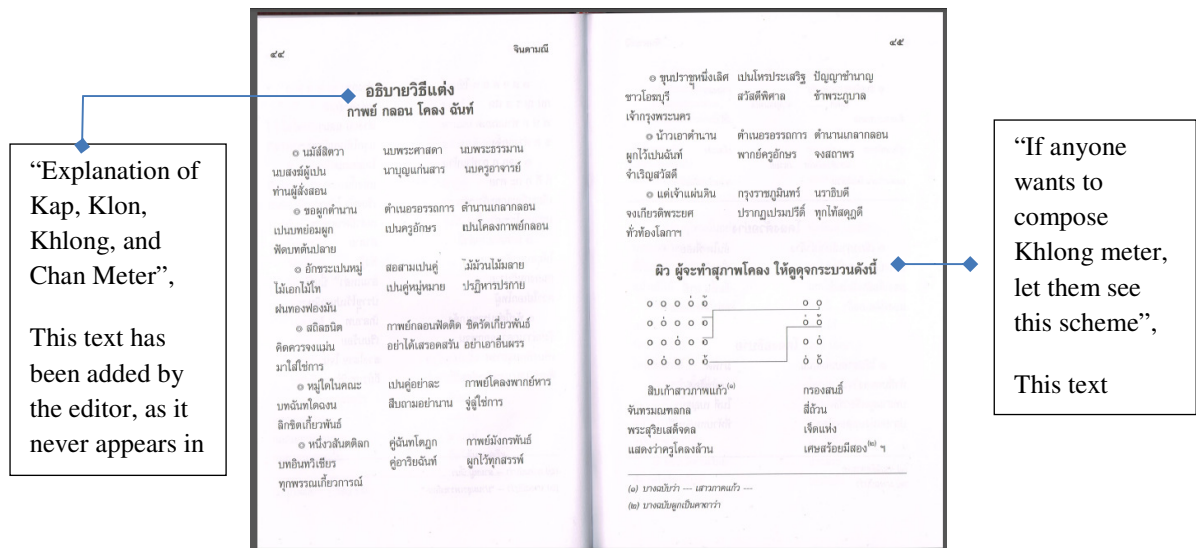


Illustration II: Fine Arts Department's Edition, p. 44-45 (Yupho: 2011 44-45)

From the example given above, it is fairly evident how the presentation of the text from two different sources with the same stylization could lead to misunderstanding. Moreover, at the beginning of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani in this edition, it is stated, again with centered bold letters, "Chindamani, composed by Phra Horathibodi in the reign of King Narai the Great" (Yupho 2011: 19). This text is not found in Mss and apparently was added by the editor, but it could lead to the assumption in the reader's mind that all texts in the edition could be easily attributed to Phra Horathibodi in spite of the actual complexity of textual transmission.

Moreover, due to the fact that Chindamani Mss consist of many graphics such as the circle graphics describing the rhyme scheme of Khlong meter (as appearing in the illustration II), the lines linking syllables with different tones or different final consonants (see the illustration III), and the graphic of Khlong Konlabot, in which texts and graphics are put together and the reader has to decode the whole

stanza from the graphic (see the illustration VI), at this point, the graphic in Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani has the function of being both a medium for communication and a carrier of its own meaning. Moreover, its consistency in most of the Mss suggests that the graphic also belongs to the entire transmitted text as well, apart from scripts or written texts. Therefore, the graphic should be considered as the text of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani as well. The editor of the Fine Arts Department's edition might have already realized this, so he added some of them into this edition, for example, with the rhyme scheme of Khlong meter above. However, there are still other significant graphic texts which have been ignored in this edition. For example:

The lines linking the syllabic combination in different tonal markers, which implies the drift of different tonal phonemes, have been absent from the edition since its first publication (Yupho 1942: 20), presumably to avoid complications in the formatting and printing processes.

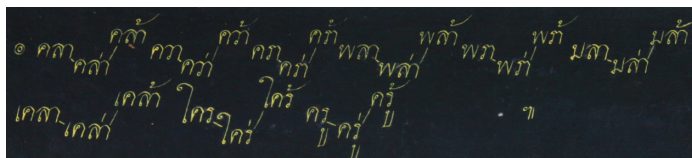


Illustration III: words written at different levels linked with lines (Ms no. 93, Orthography Section)

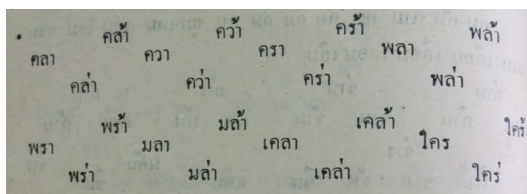


Illustration IV: the texts printed at different levels without any lines in the first publication (Yupho 1942: 20)

คล้า	คว้า	คว้า	พล้า	พร้า
คลา	ควา	ควา	ปลา	ปรา
คล้า	คว้า	คว้า	พล้า	พร้า
มล้า	เคล้า	ไคร้	ครู้	
มลา	เคลา	ไคร	ครู	
มล้า	เคล้า	ไคร้	ครู้	

Illustration V: the texts reprinted with altered spacing (Yupho 2011: 37)

Unfortunately, without any lines linking the words, the spacing of the words was then altered from that of the original and its first publication in later reprinted editions, at the very latest since the edition reprinted in 2000 (see Yupho 2000: 27; 2008: 27; 2011: 37).

Furthermore, in the Khlong Lao section part of the Chindamani Mss, some poems belong to a group of Konlabot type¹⁸ which presents text together with a graphic or picture. Words are always put in an order that can not be normally read. The reader of the text has to trace the order of each word from the graphic. This method was traditionally called “to decode Konlabot” or in Thai ถอด/ถอดนกลบพ in order to read the text along the stanza. The Khlong Konlabot section consistently appears in Mss of Phraya Thibet’s recension with such graphics, lines, and pictures. These graphic elements have been referred to as a kind of concrete poetry which reflects the creativity of Thai traditional poets (Lausoonthorn 1993: 5-6). Nonetheless, these graphic elements are also absent from the Fine Arts Department’s edition.

The Fine Arts Department’s edition seems to mostly present the written text, while ignoring some graphic texts which also possess their own meaning in the Chindamani. Furthermore, a part of Khlong Konlabot in Phraya Thibet’s recension which contains a lot of graphic

poems was excluded from the edition, while the Khlong Lao Meter section in the same recension was included but without the graphics.

In addition, this edition presents the written text exclusively in Thai script despite the fact that two different scripts, Thai and Khom, were consistently used in all Mss of Phra Horathibodi’s Chindamani. The Khom script, a branch or variation of the Old Khmer script in Thailand, is regularly found in Mss in Central, Eastern and Southern Thailand from the Sukhothai period to the late nineteenth century when writing in the Pali language, with some later texts also using this script for writing in the Thai language as well (Wimonkasem, 2009: 23-24). The earliest extensive evidence of the Khom script in the Sukhothai Period is Inscription no. 4 dated 1362, into which the text was inscribed in monolingual Pali, whereas the first evidence for the writing of the Thai language with Khom script appears to be Inscription no. 9 dated 1401 (Kaewklom, 1983: 1). The long tradition of the Khom script in Thailand was based on the fact that Thai script, from its birth in the area of the Sukhothai Kingdom in the late thirteenth century, did not incorporate Pali properly into its orthographic system until the reign of King Rama V in the late nineteenth century (Punnothok, 2006: 129). Furthermore, Khom script still retained a sense of sacredness for writing and preserving sacred texts in Pali, as well as for ritual and magical purposes (Igunma, 2013: 30; Wimonkasem, 2009: 23-24). Therefore, the traditional Pali texts in the early Bangkok Period were transmitted through Khom script.

¹⁸ Konlabot is not really a particular meter in the tradition of Thai poetry, but a play with the complication of alliteration and syllabic repetition, as well as graphic illustrations. Konlabot could be employed to any meter, for instance, with Khlong meter then called Khlong Konlabot, with Klon meter called Klon Konlabot (see more in Phraya Upakitsinlapasan 2002; Dhanachai 2011).

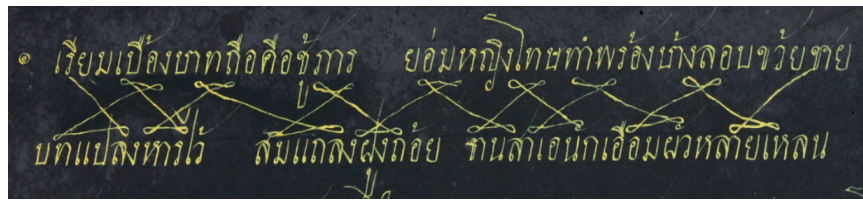


Illustration VI: Mai Yung Pan Nam, a Khlong Lao meter, which can be properly read only by following the line (Ms no. 52, Orthography Section)

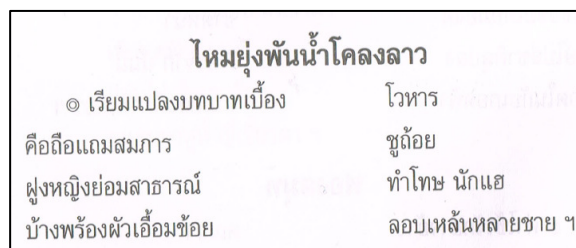


Illustration VII: the decoded texts without any lines, arranged as a normal stanza (Yupho 2011: 50)

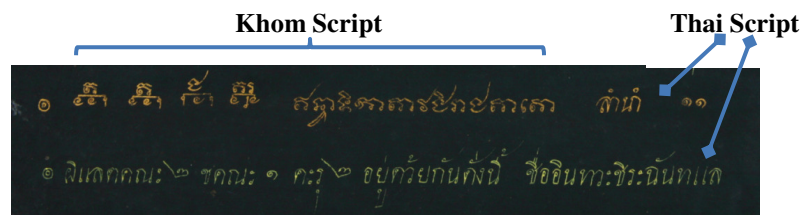


Illustration VIII: Text from Ms no. 93, showing a quarter of a Pali stanza in Inthawichian Chan cited from the Vuttodaya scripture with Khom script and with an explanation in Thai using Thai script. (Ms no. 93, Orthography Section, the National Library of Thailand)

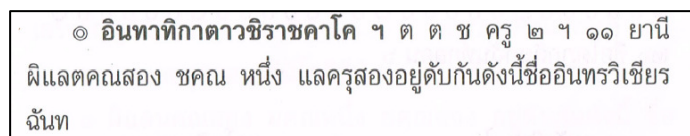


Illustration IX: Texts from the edition. All are written in Thai script. (Yupho 2011: 65)

In Mss of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani, the variation between two scripts is remarkable. Almost all Pali verses mentioned in Chindamani were written in Khom script while Thai texts are written in Thai. In the edition, the transliteration from Khom to Thai script without any remarkable differentiation ignores the existence of the two scripts in Ms evidence. One can not easily realize which part of the text was originally written in Khom script and which one in Thai script (see Illustration VIII-IX).

For the reasons explained above, I contend that the Fine Arts Department's edition contains several editorial problems because of undifferentiated and, therefore, improper presentation. Unless one reads the texts from the Mss themselves, he will never realize which parts of the text are missing or different from the primary source in the edition.

On Critical Apparatus

The edition of the Fine Arts Department provides nothing which can be properly called a critical apparatus, which, as mentioned before, is expected to provide the reader with an explanation regarding the variants among different Mss and evidence supporting the editor's choices, generally presented in order with footnotes or in a separate appendix (Katre 1954: 90; West 1973: 86). Although some footnotes have provided information on the variants in other Mss, these footnotes occur inconsistently and ambiguously, while the reasons for or evidence behind the editor's choices and corrections are not given. In every footnote, the variant in other Mss is noted after the phrase "Some Mss record that..." (in Thai: บางฉบับว่า...) (for instance see Yupho, 2011: 46, 48, 51-53). The use of the phrase "Some Mss record that..."

has been argued by scholars to be meaningless due to the ambiguity as to which particular Ms these footnotes refer (Butsayakun, 1993: 163). Therefore, these footnotes are not helpful for readers because the evidence from the Mss is scarcely identified and, when so, in an inaccurate manner.

With its editorial problems in terms of Ms evidence, edited texts and presentation, as well as its lacking critical apparatus, the Fine Arts Department's edition is not a reliable reference for the text of Chindamani and is questionable in terms of its historical value, as the edited text does not represent any specific Mss, or any reasonably hypothesized state of the text, and offers no summarizing conclusion based on Ms evidence. Therefore, any use of this edition as an academic reference should be undertaken with caution and a keen awareness of its shortcomings.

However, the Fine Arts Department's edition of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani is not the first or the only edited text which categorically neglects the use of a critical apparatus and Ms evidence. This edition was launched in 1942, the pioneering phase of editorial works on Thai classical literature. This pioneering phase could be considered as an extension of the earliest period in which the ancient texts were published based merely on the several Mss made accessible by the printing press in the late nineteenth century. In the first half of the twentieth century, many editions of Thai historical and literary texts were published under the authority of the Fine Arts Department as well as the National Library, which even today is still controlled by the Fine Arts Department. This group of editorial works should be considered pioneering based on the idea

that the editors recognized the variants in different Mss and made selections based on what they believed. The editorial works in this phase, including the Fine Arts Department's edition of Chindamani, were said to be the first step for more progressive editions (Boonkhachorn 1989: 58-59). However, these works contain a significant number of editorial problems and the critical apparatus, if used at all, is neither presented nor organized in a systematic or consistent fashion.

These editorial works should be praised for their pioneering quality, but should still be further questioned and considered academically by the students of subsequent generations. Above all, these pioneering editions, including the Fine Arts Department's edition of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani, should not be clung to as a refuge, or as it is put in Thai, a "Sarana" (Th. สรรณ, < P. *saraṇa* 'refuge'), only because of their standardized status bestowed on them by official authorities and respected scholars from former generations (Boonkhachorn 1989: 21).

Although the approach of textual criticism had already been introduced into Thai society in 1985 (Janhom 1989: 132; see more in Hundius 1985; Rungrueangsri 1985), there has not been a substantial growth in the quantity of editorial work and textual critical research. One reason that has been given is the difficulty of the task and the long period of time required for editing (Phinyomak, 2012: 205). I would like to add another possible reason to this, namely, that textual criticism might be understood to be an approach for editing "new" texts while most texts of Thai (classical) literature have already been published and standardized by the official authorities. Looking at the research that has employed a textual

critical approach in Thailand since 1985, most of it is limited predominately to editing "unpublished" and "unknown" texts found within the fields of local literature (see Lektrakun, 1986; Musikanukhroa, 1992) and Buddhist literature (see Singkirat, 1998; Padchasee, 2004), rather than being dedicated to the creation of new and improved editions of Thai literature which critically engage the work of former scholars.

However, I stress that editing an unknown text is also an important task which, undeniably, should continue to be carried out. This, however, does not mean that the approach of textual criticism is limited only to the editing of new texts, but that it should instead also be employed to assess and verify the editions we have already, in order to improve these editions and advance Thai literary studies in a more all-encompassing manner. When regarding Thai classical or traditional literature, one notices that most of the editions we still use today were released by scholars many decades ago, one example being the edition of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani by Yupho in 1942. Some of the editions still commonly cited even reach back a hundred years into the past. It should also be noted that even if we had the very best edition conceivable, it would not mean that we would then have no need to assess it in comparison with the evidence from the Mss, as there always exists the possibility that new evidence may be found at any time. Although, in some cases, a number of Mss available to previous scholars have indeed been lost to us today, it is more often than not the case that nowadays a lot of "new" Mss are found and then made more accessible in digital format, made possible by a globalized age in which many resources are available online under a number of Ms

digitalization projects undertaken by many various libraries and academic institutions, though predominately in foreign countries.

It should also be emphasized that neither the review of editions created by renowned scholars nor the proposal of new editions to handle the perceived shortcomings of their works should be considered as an attempt to challenge the scholars of the past or to question the authority of any academic whatsoever. On the contrary, if the editors and scholars of the past edited those literary works with faith in the literary, or sometimes historical, value of the text and with the intention of preserving the texts they found valuable enough to be published, then it would seem natural that, from their point of view, to review and improve their editions would not be to betray the work they had done, but would rather be an advancement of their work in the preservation of these valuable texts in the form of improved editions which continually seek to create a reading that is closest to the text's original state. Therefore, I find it imperative that text critical research be seriously conducted in the field of Thai literature, for Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani as discussed in this article, is absolutely not the only literary text we have in which the complicated textual problems remain unresolved.

On a Resolution

Although I have reviewed the textual problems of the Chindamani and the editorial problems of the Fine Arts Department's edition in this article, I have also found that the question as to how this text is to be edited optimally and agreeably can not be easily answered due to the complicated textual problems of Phra

Horathibodi's Chindamani. However, in this part, I would like to explore possible ways of improving and presenting a further edition of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani in the future, even though none of them might be a solid and all-encompassing solution.

First of all, one should be aware that the way of editing and presenting an edition depends a great deal on the editor's purpose and the target audience. An edition of a literary text released mainly for school students might not necessarily be the same as an edition for university students. In other words, the edition that is best for tracing Ms evidence and traditions is not necessarily the best for introducing the work to beginners (Schaps 2011: 106-107). If we aim to read any literary text seriously or critically for any academic or non-academic purpose, then the edition we employ must be critically edited and must provide detailed information on the editorial process and the evidence supporting the hypothesized constitution of the text, as well as a systematic critical apparatus. This kind of edition is called "a critical edition", named after the methodology it employs. For this short survey of possible resolutions, I will focus on the critical edition. That can be able to be employed academically and referred to as a legitimate source for a literary text.

When assessing the constitution of the text, all of the Mss, as well as other testimonies, must be collected, investigated and thoroughly evaluated by the editor. In the case of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani, apart from the 109 Mss in the National Library of Thailand, some other additional Mss are also preserved in other libraries and institutes, both in Thailand and in foreign countries. I suggest that all of them, or as

many as possible, be utilized and consulted when editing. Though the main propose of textual criticism as clarified by Maas (1958: 1) is to construct the original state of the text, a critical edition might not always attempt to present the original state of the text, if, for example, there is a lack of sufficient Ms evidence, or if the goal of the edition is to construct the significance of variants in the text (Reeve 2000: 197). For the text of Chindamani, the original state created by its author, Phra Horathibodi, might be, in my opinion, too distant to be precisely recovered due to the lack of available evidence. The Mss we have date no earlier than 1782, or around a century after the period that this text is supposed to have been originally written. Due to the obscurity of such a study, I propose two possibilities for the constituted text of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani, based on two different purposes of constitution.

One way, paying much attention to the historical state of the text, is to constitute an exclusive archetype of transmission to the Bangkok Period or before 1782. For this type of constituted text, any text consistently appearing in every Ms might be attributed to the archetype, but if some part of the text does not regularly appear in every Ms or every recension, the editor must determine which parts should and should not be included in the archetype (Kenney 2003: 616-617). Importantly, the reasons for the researcher's conclusions and the evidence used to bring them about must be indicated and clarified. This type of constituted text will be exclusive, presenting a hypothesis on the state of the text in the earliest period that evidence can support, while the parts of each Ms that can be proven not to be part of the archetype state will be excluded from the

constituted text, but should still be noted in the introduction or in annotations.

The other way is that of the inclusive constituted text, which requires the collection of all significant content variations from all recensions and Mss. All of the collected text must be annotated in order to indicate in which recension or group of Mss the text appears. The inclusive constituted text might not be an accurate representation of the earliest transmitted text, but it never overlooks the variation and interpolation of the scribes. Due to the fact that, in the transmission history of Chindamani, the scribe and collector played an important role in arranging the content and providing the supplemental content, this type of constituted text might be the more useful one when tackling the difficulties posed by the nature of Thai manuscript culture.

As described above, these two types of constituted text might be employed by the reader or student and become useful for different purposes. The reader who expects the earliest state of the text may prefer the first one, whereas the reader who expects a dynamic history of the textual transmission may choose the latter. However, it should be said as well that these possibilities are not the only or even necessarily the best ways to edit Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani; they are given here merely to serve as examples of the different purposes of editing texts.

Regarding the presentation of the text, Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani, as it appears in Mss contains some graphics that function as the carriers of meaning, including the differentiation between the two traditional scripts. These features should not be overlooked in the critical edition. Most importantly, the constituted

text must be clearly differentiated from the editor's notes in order to avoid confusion between these two vastly different sources of text. Furthermore, it is also important to provide detailed information on Mss, recensions, the editorial process, as well as the evidence used to constitute the text in the critical introduction called "Prolegomena". On the other hand, the other crucial part of a critical edition which cannot be ignored is the critical apparatus (Tarrant 1995: 131). The varied readings among Mss must be systematically recorded. Furthermore, the reasons for the editor's preferred reading as well as his changes must also be indicated, either in the same section as the critical apparatus or in separate text critical and editorial notes (Eggert, 2013: 104).

Conclusion

Although this "standardized" edition of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani has been used as an authoritative literary source and reference for a long time, it raises so many problems, both textual and editorial, that one simply cannot rely on this edition without any doubt or questions. Thereby, if philology's business of dealing with the variation of texts is compared with "a quest" for the textual truth, which might not necessarily appear in any one single form, (Pollock 2009: 953) and Chindamani, as the title of the text itself suggests, is the elegant and prestigious metaphor of the jewel, I would like to propose that we, or whoever attempts to approach Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani in a manner true to the original text launched in the Ayutthaya Period, accept that we are now still on a quest for that jewel. This quest remains incomplete, and the original text or any other form of the textual truth of Chindamani still

uncovered. This truth is not so much untraceable as it is obscured by the attempts to blur complications and problems in textual transmission and editing.

Although no resolution can possibly be found within a short time, I nevertheless hope that the review given in this article will help to stimulate further questioning of the Mss and the edition in question here, as well as an evaluation of the credibility for all works used academically as a reliable source or "Sarana" without further consideration of the evidence upon which the works are based. If this work succeeds in introducing the practice of the critical edition in Thai literary studies, then scholars will begin to take greater interest in Ms evidence and the application of a critical apparatus while conducting their studies.

Furthermore, there are still many other literary texts with unresolved textual problems and also other "standardized" editions with unnoticed editorial problems. Especially in the case of Ayutthayan literature, from *Ong Kan Chaeng Nam* to the *Ayutthaya Dramatic Plays*, textual problems seem dauntingly complicated and challenging to modern readers like us because of their long transmission history and the lack of autographed Mss. What I wish to say here is that the editions of other Thai literary texts should be further examined and reviewed as well, so that all editions will be read and studied further with an awareness of the textual and editorial problems in the reader's mind, so that future editions will more critically and objectively engaged with the society conveyed and portrayed through Thai literature.

Finally, I hope that this review on the Fine Arts Department's edition of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani will be successful in its attempt to promote the importance of using a critical apparatus in the Thai academic field. The incident of a classical professor saying calmly to his student, "Oh, you read Aristophanes without a critical apparatus," as mentioned by Eduard Fraenkel¹⁹ (in: West 1973: 7)

¹⁹Martin L. West (1973) begins his introductory part of textual criticism by citing Eduard Fraenkel's experience with Friedrich Leo, a German classicist, as follows: "I had by then read the greater part of Aristophanes, and I began to rave about it to Leo, and to wax eloquent on the magic of this poetry, the beauty of the choral odes, and so on and so forth. Leo let me have my say, perhaps ten minutes in all, without showing any sign of disapproval or impatience. When I had finished, he asked: 'In which edition do you read Aristophanes?'" I thought: has he not been listening? What has his question got to do with what I have been telling him? After a moment's ruffled hesitation I answered: "The Teubner". Leo: "Oh, you read Aristophanes without a critical apparatus." He said it quite calmly, without any sharpness, without a whiff of sarcasm, just sincerely taken aback that it was possible for a tolerably intelligent young man to do such a thing. I looked at the lawn nearby and had a single, overwhelming sensation: νῦν μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών. Later it seemed to me that in that moment I had understood the meaning of real scholarship. " (West 1973: 7) The Greek citation "νῦν μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών" (Ancient Greek: nūn moi chánoi eûreîa chthōn) here alludes to the text of Homer's Iliad Book IV line 182 and Book VIII line 150 (see West 1998: 121; 232), except for the word νῦν 'now', which obviously Fraenkel added into the sentence. Therefore, the entire sentence of this Greek citation could be translated as 'now let the wide world gawk at me' (my translation, for other authoritative English translations from Homer's Iliad see Fitzgerald 2008: 62; 131; Pope 1771a: 95; 1771b: 29).

does not seem likely to take place in the Thai academic sphere. Above all, I, as a student of Thai literature who has read literary texts without any critical apparatus being provided throughout most of my time studying, have reviewed the text above due to the wish and the hope that, one day in the future, a professor of Thai literature will say calmly and sincerely to his or her students, "Oh, you read Chindamani without a critical apparatus.", and that the student will have a choice of critical apparatuses from which they can choose, the reasons for which they will also be expected to explicate. Lastly, and this is perhaps the most ambitious of my hope, is that this incident will occur over and over, for other texts in the Thai literary sphere, and will be a phenomenon not limited merely to Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani.

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pages.)

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paper, Khom and Thai Scripts, Pali
and Thai Languages, White Steatite
Pencil and Yellow Stroke, 111 pages.)

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“**Chindamani.**” The Manuscript
Collections, The National Library of
Thailand. (White Khoi paper, Khom
and Thai Scripts, Pali and Thai
Languages, Black Ink, 109 pages.)

Ms no. 68. Orthography Section,
“**Chindamani.**” The Manuscript
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Thailand. (Black Khoi paper, Khom
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Languages, Yellow Stroke, 141
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Ms no. 235. Orthography Section, “**Samut Chindamani Lem Nueng.**” The Manuscript Collections, The National Library of Thailand. (Black Khoi paper, Khom and Thai Scripts, Pali and Thai Languages, Yellow Stroke, 140 pages.)

Ms no. 239. Orthography Section, “**Chindamani.**” The Manuscript Collections, The National Library of Thailand. (White Khoi paper, Khom and Thai Scripts, Pali and Thai Languages, White Steatite Pencil and Yellow Stroke, 179 pages.)

Ms no. 268. Orthography Section, “**Chindamani.**” The Manuscript Collections, The National Library of Thailand. (Black Khoi paper, Khom and Thai Scripts, Pali and Thai Languages, White Steatite Pencil and Yellow Stroke, 54 pages.)

Ms “Samut Chindamani Chop Boribun.” Humanities Information Center, The Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University. (Black Khoi paper, Khom and Thai Scripts, Pali and Thai Languages, Yellow Stroke, 145 pages.) [Uncatalogued.]

RAS Thai Ms 8. “Chindamani.” The Library of Royal Asiatic Society, London, the United Kingdom. (White Khoi paper, Khom and Thai Scripts, Pali and Thai Languages, Black Ink, 102 pages.)

Appendix I: Reference Number of Chindamani Manuscripts at the Manuscript Collections, the National Library of Thailand

(All the reference number below belongs to the Orthography Section /หมวดอักษรศาสตร์)
One should be aware that this number might not represent every Ms in the library, for there might possibly be some Mss that are unregistered or registered under other titles unrelated to Chindamani, or else they may be partially inserted in other Mss which collect more than one text. Therefore, there might possibly be other manuscripts of Chindamani that have yet to be noticed.

Version of Phra Horathibodi (totally 109 Mss) Ms no. : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32*, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 115, 144, 230, 231, 232, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 268, 550, 572, 580, 602, 604, 606, 667

Version of Odd Content (totally 4 Mss)
Ms no. : 6, 25, 94, 336

Version of King Borommakot's Reign (totally 1 Ms) Ms no. : 32*, 84
*Ms no. 32 contains text both from Phra Horathibodi's version and the version of King Borommakot's reign.

Appendix II: Recensions of Phra Horathibodi's Chindamani

Recensions I-IV here are based on Yupho's categorization, while the other groups I have broadly classified based on the information found on manuscripts.

Nevertheless, this classification still requires further consideration and a more thorough investigation.

Recension I The Earliest Manuscript (totally 16 Mss): Ms no. 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 55, 60 (CE1782), 63, 68 (CE1844), 69, 72, 85

Recension II Maha Chaiphak (totally 17 Mss): Ms no. 33, 37, 38, 48, 49, 50, 54, 65, 66, 75, 76 (CE1894), 77, 78, 93, 231, 238, 239 (CE1818)

Recension III Phraya Thibet (totally 10 Mss): Ms no. 12, 34, 52, 53, 59, 73, 74, 86, 90, 91,

Recension IV Prince Paramanuchit (totally 1 Ms): Ms no. 35

Additional Group I Beginning with Prologue of Lexicon Part (33 Mss in total): Ms no. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 22, 24, 36, 39 (CE1846), 40, 41, 42, 44, 47, 51, 56, 57, 58, 62, 67, 71, 80, 82, 83, 87, 88, 95, 235 (CE1850), 237, 580, 602, 667

Additional Group II Stating the scribe's name as Sri (totally 2 Mss): Ms no. 4, 43

Unclassifiable I Fragment and Damage (totally 20 Mss): Ms no. 19, 23, 26, 27, 30, 45, 46, 70, 79, 89, 115, 144, 230, 232, 234, 236, 268, 550, 572, 604

Unclassifiable II Unique Arrangement (totally 10 Mss): Ms no. 16, 28, 29, 31, 32, 59, 64 (CE1901), 81 (CE1832), 92, 606

Appendix III: List of Abbreviations and Conventions

CS	=	Culasakararat or Lesser Era, CE+638
CE	=	Common Era
Ms	=	manuscript

Mss	=	manuscripts
Ms no.	=	manuscript number (according to the National Library of Thailand)
p.	=	page
P.	=	Pali
Skt.	=	Sanskrit
Th.	=	Thai (language)
<	=	etymologically comes from