

PHALI TEACHES THE YOUNG

A Literary and Sociological Analysis
of the Thai Poem *Phālī s̄n n̄ng*

by

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translated from the German by

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Dedicated to the memory of

PRINCE AJAVADIS DISKUL

and to

VOLKMAR ZÜHLSDORFF

PREFACE

The idea for the present study was conceived when a catalogue of Thai manuscripts in Germany was being prepared, a project within the more comprehensive, indeed monumental, undertaking of "Cataloguing Oriental Manuscripts in Germany." Research required for the description of a manuscript from the Heidelberg Völkerkunde-Museum (J. und E. von Portheim-Stiftung für Wissenschaft und Kunst)¹ established the existence in Thai literature of not just the poem *Phāi s̄n n̄ng* but of no less than, altogether, ten versions. The discovery of further texts so far unknown, i.e., not yet printed or bibliographically listed, may by no means be excluded.

Thus, this publication may also be taken as one more example showing how large are the segments of Thai literature that have not yet been subject to scholarly research and analysis and how much still remains to be done before it may eventually become possible to write a history of Thai literature. Further, it seemed to me important to point to the significance that must be ascribed to at least part of Thai literature as sociological documentation--a fact which has so far received too little attention, although new perspectives might be opened by it in the future.

I should like to express once again my sincere appreciation to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for repeatedly financing visits of mine to Thailand. The present study came about over the years as a by-product of these visits undertaken in connection with other projects. It is only with the freedom afforded to scholarly work by such assistance, unfettered by bureaucratic constraints or excessive planning, that ideas and projects--however modest in themselves--may be conceived and have a chance to mature in their own good time.

Pinneberg 1976

Klaus Wenk

1. Ms without signature, no. 223, in Wenk, *Thai-Handschriften*, part 2, p. 17.

PREFACE TO THE AMERICAN EDITION:

This edition is an unchanged rendering, in English, of the original German text which was published in 1977 in Hamburg, Germany, as *Mitteilungsband LXVIII der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ost- und Südost-asiens (MOAG)*. The author asks for the English-speaking readers' indulgence for having left unchanged most bibliographical references to German and French writers, such as, for example, Sigmund Freud or Max Weber, rather than substituting the corresponding data from English or American translations, wherever these exist.

Regarding the translation of the Thai texts: While my own rendering in German is more intent on following the meaning of the original as closely as possible without too much regard for rhythm or rhyme, the translator into English, my friend Dr. Volkmar Zühlsdorff, consulting the Thai texts in addition to my German translation, has endeavored to keep somewhat more closely to the poetic Thai form, at least as far as rhythmic language is concerned. In Versions IV and VI he has, in addition, salvaged the end rhymes, and in the first three verses of Version III he has attempted to reproduce even the intricate pattern of *khām khlong* inner rhymes. Readers familiar with the Thai language will no doubt recognize that Volkmar Zühlsdorff, who himself spent seven years in Thailand, has in many cases succeeded in achieving a sensitive approximation to the Thai original without excessive linguistic contortions.

In an early friendly and discriminating review of the German edition of the present book Peter Bee from the School of Oriental and African Studies in London wrote (in *Erasmus* XXXI, pp. 104-107): "This book contains a preconception about Thai kingship which has been nourished by the *Lehren* and by reference to legal codes...but which does not accord with history. Recorded behaviour belies the motives here ascribed to it." If I beg to disagree, at this time and place, it is not because I should wish to commit the unpardonable sin of criticizing a review of my own book. Rather, I am anxious to point out to the American reader that it is the distinctive intention of my study to observe, understand, and criticize historic conditions in Thailand not, as has so far in large measure been done, through the eyes and often with the conscious or unconscious prejudices of Western conceptions, but first from within, as it were, on the bases of Siamese thoughts and ideas as revealed by historic Thai sources, before applying foreign yardsticks. "Recorded behaviour" indeed, but--recorded by whom? By Western observers, among them as superficial and prejudiced a man as John Crawford?

I have stressed in the conclusions to this book that my suggestions, which I consider partly as questions, partly as cautiously probing approaches, cannot be taken as an "apology for interior conditions in ancient Thailand." I do, however, conceive as challenging, indeed noble, the obligation for any Orientalist to be open to the voices of peoples who are "different" from us and to provide for them, beyond all clichés of Western making, a fair hearing in our part of the world.

Quite possibly I may have, here or there, attached too much significance to one or another detail, yet I insist that my method as such is correct as conceived. I intend to submit in the not too distant future a body of various poetic Thai texts from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries more voluminous than the teachings of Phāīī, permitting insights into still other aspects of Thai culture and society. How fruitful it may be for scholarly analysis if--all necessary critical objectivity notwithstanding--the voice of the nation under study is taken seriously is evident in I. W. Mabbett's "Kingship in Angkor" published recently in the *Journal of the Siam Society* (vol. 66, part 2). It also appears from that contribution that among the rulers of those times and areas there were not merely Oriental despots of unrestricted power but kings and princes of sometimes outstanding personality permitting, surely in Cambodian or Thai eyes, a great deal of freedom within their societies.

I wish to thank Southeast Asian Studies of the University of Hawaii for having undertaken to publish this book in English.

Hamburg University, 1979

K.W.

TABLE OF TRANSCRIPTIONS

The transcription used in the text follows, with few exceptions, the system proposed by the Royal Institute of Thailand (in *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. XXXIII, 1, pp. 49-65). This system offers an approximation to the spoken word, disregarding tones or spelling. Pali and Sanskrit terms are transcribed in the system valid for these languages.

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-------|----|-------|----|----|-----|--------|
| k | ก | p | ป | ü | อุ | ua | วัว |
| kh | ข ก ฌ | ph | ผ พ | ū | อู | ai | ไ อัย |
| ng | ง | f | ฝ ฟ | u | อุ | āi | อาย |
| ç | จ | ph | ภ | ū | อู | au | อู |
| ch | ฉ ฐ | m | ม | e | เอ | āu | อว |
| s | ศ | y | ย | ē | เอ | ui | อูย |
| y | ญ | r | ร | ae | เอ | oi | ไ อัย |
| d | ฎ | l | ล | āe | เอ | oi | อัย |
| t | ฏ | w | ว | o | โ | oei | เอ อัย |
| th | ฐ ฑ ฒ | s | ศ ษ ฐ | ō | โ | ūai | เอ อัย |
| n | ณ | h | ห | o | โ | uai | ว อัย |
| d | ด | l | ฬ | o | โ | iu | ว |
| t | ต | a | ะ | oe | เอ | eu | เอ |
| th | ถ ฑ ฒ | ā | า | ōe | เอ | aeu | แ อ |
| n | น | i | ิ | ia | เอ | iau | เอ |
| b | บ | ī | ี | üa | เอ | | |

No mark is used to indicate a short vowel. Horizontal dash above indicates long vowel.

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INTRODUCTION

A. Suphāsīt Poetry in Thailand

Suphāsīt poetry is one of the most extensive genres in Thai literature, with a large variety of content. The explanation for this is not merely historical, due to the influence of Indian literature and of Buddhism, but it may also be found in the character and artistic inclination of the Thais.

Suphāsīt in Thai means "a sentence that contains a moral teaching,"¹ in its Sanskrit and Pali origin² "a word expressing something good." Since this leaves a wide field for interpretation, the word *suphāsīt* covers a great variety of forms of poetry in Western terminology: proverb, aphorism, maxim, apothegmatic poetry, and, generally, any wise or witty short sentence.³

The content of *suphāsīt* poetry, which tends towards the sententious and moralizing, is explained by its literary origins. It may be assumed as certain that the numerous verses with teachings of a Buddhist or generally moral nature one finds in Thailand beginning about the Sukhothai period in Buddhist canonic as well as extra-canonic writings were the, or at least one of the, determining models for *suphāsīt* poetry. Here we should think in the first place of the Gāthas in the Jātakas,⁴ further of the well known collection of verses Dhammapada.⁵ The Indian book of fables from the classical period, the Pancatantra, which is interspersed with numerous sentences in metric form,⁶ may also be assumed to have become known in Thailand at an early time.⁷ Above all, however, the work Lokanīti,⁸ written in Pali, seems to have had a decisive influence on Thai *suphāsīt* poetry.⁹ In the wake of these works there sprang up in Thailand a *suphāsīt* poetry rich both in volume and content,¹⁰ beginning probably with the *Suphāsīt phra ruang*,¹¹ from the thirteenth century onward. If we compare the *Suphāsīt phra ruang* with *Phālī sōn nōng*, we find that clearly the two works must be classified among different categories of literature.¹² The *suphāsīt* of Phra Ruang consists of proverbs collected or created by the poet, often but loosely, or not at all, related to each other, whereas *Phālī sōn nōng* is a work confined to one topic only, developed--more or less--according to a plan, comparable in a way to the *Suphāsīt sōn ying* of Sunthōn Phū.¹³

The comprehensive meaning of the word *suphāsīt*, which has already been mentioned, makes it necessary to define in each case the literary type of a *suphāsīt* poem more precisely. If Sunthōn Phū's work mentioned above may still be described--considering the poetic temper--as characterized also by lyrical elements, *Phālī sōn nōng* belongs exclusively to an epic category.

As was already pointed out elsewhere,¹⁴ the Thais in large measure are living extrovertly in this visual world, and their poetry, therefore, is concerned with what is objective and tangible. In the face of death,

conscious of injuries he committed against the god, Phali "teaches" just as soberly, objectively, dryly, with condescension, albeit benevolently, as he might have pronounced orders to his subjects down from his throne.

Here we touch a point where Indian Buddhism became a fertilizing influence, meaning that in a gentle way it kindled certain talents and inclinations already latent in those influenced by it, the Thai peoples, stirring them to creativity. Contrary to some restrictive influences Indian culture exercised on the arts of Thailand,¹⁵ the didactic poetry of India did strike and bring to life an artistic and intellectual chord in the Thai character that otherwise might perhaps have remained mute.¹⁶

In a cultural community striving to find in all things the "middle path," to cultivate equanimity and a calm, serene mind, poetry intent not primarily on aesthetic values or effect but on teaching, on being a vehicle towards the "middle path," could not but fall on fertile ground.

Within the pleasant environment of a luxuriant nature which permits obtaining what is necessary for life with much less effort than in northern climates, the struggle for existence is also much more relaxed. To enjoy life serenely, with a quiet mind, without excesses, not "reaching for the stars," and not desiring the "preciousness of toil and trouble" either--"Do this, do not do that"--there can be no doubt *sūphāsīt* poetry by what it says and the way it says it is Thai poetry.

1. *photānānukrom thai*, (Chabap khōng bōrisat phrāe phitthayā) p. 1369.
2. Skr.: *sūbhāṣita*; Pali: *subhāṣito*.
3. In this connection also see Wenk, "Ein Lehrgedicht für junge Frauen--Suphāsit son ying--des Sunthon Phū," pp. 66 ff.
4. See also section I A 2.
5. At what time the Jātakas or the Dhammapada became known to the Thais or when this literature is first mentioned in a Thai source I do not know.
6. Glasenapp, *Die Literaturen Indiens*, p. 227.
7. According to Schweisguth, *Étude sur la littérature siamoise*, p. 137, a text of the Pancatantra, in Thai *Pakaranām*, is known from the 17th century. Finot, "Recherches sur la littérature laotienne," pp. 84 ff., mentions no dates concerning the Lao version of the Pancatantra.
8. "Manual (Guide) for Mankind."
9. Thus in any case Schweisguth, *op.cit.* p. 40, and Gerini, "On Siamese Proverbs and Idiomatic Expressions," p. 52. The latter invokes "native Thai authorities," p. 3, without however identifying them. Gerini's statement must therefore be taken cognizance of unchecked. Alabaster, *The Wheel of the Law*, p. 206, remarks on the other hand, "The only works called Suphāsit that I know of are translations of Chinese Confucian teachings." In fact, Chinese "proverbs" are reprinted in *Prachum suphāsit (chabap hō samut hāeng chāt)* pp. 42 ff. and 62 ff., with a note concerning the *suphāsit khōng cū*, p. 32, that these were translated from Chinese in the year 2369, i.e., 1826, which is at the beginning of the reign of Rama III who was very openminded towards everything Chinese. The date of the translation shows that it could not have had any significant influence any more on Thai *suphāsit* poetry. In any case, the *suphāsit khōng cū* are prose translations of Confucius' discussions with his disciples. (In Thai histories of literature these translations are not even mentioned.) Sternbach's welcome attempt to examine, on the basis of the Lokanīti text, the influence of the Indian didactic poetry of Cāṇakya on the Southeast Asian countries does not attain--especially as far as Thailand and Laos are concerned--to more than an enumeration of literature already generally known. See *The Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms over "Greater India,"* pp. 47 ff.
10. A bibliographical listing, although not complete, with comments may be found in Gerini, *op.cit.*, pp. 52-58; see also Gühler, "Über Thai Sprichwörter," pp. 97 ff.; for a summary of the findings of these authors see Sternbach, *op.cit.*; pp. 48 ff.
11. Text and translation in Gerini, *op.cit.*, pp. 59-78; text also in *Prachum cāriuk wat phra chētuphon*, vol. II, pp. 327 ff.; remarks

concerning history of literature in Gerini, *loc.cit.* and in Schweisguth, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

12. This is already pointed out by Gerini, *op.cit.*, p. 17.
13. Cf. Wenk, *op.cit.*, pp. 66 ff.
14. Wenk, *Die Ruderlieder--k̄ap hē r̄üō--in der Literatur Thailands*, p. 18.
15. Cf. Wenk, *Thailändische Miniaturmalereien*, pp. 6 f.; same author, *Mural Paintings in Thailand*, vol. 1, pp. II ff.
16. Let me merely point to the fact that in Vietnam, within the cultural sphere of influence of China, didactic poetry in the proper sense of the word is lacking. Here we only have proverbs by which a people gives vent to its wit, its sarcasm, its feeling of harassment. See Nguyen Van Ngoc, *Tục ngữ phong dao*, vol. I (Popular Tunes and Songs), further Vũ Ngọc Phan, *Tục ngữ và Dân ca Việt Nam* (Vietnamese Popular Tunes and Songs).

B. Notes on Comparative Literature

Poetic works of a content like that of *Phālī sōn nōng* may in theory--in one form or another--come to be written in any society with a sociological structure similar to, or identical with, that of Thailand, as for example in the countries immediately adjacent to Thailand. But in addition to this, the wise sayings of the monkey ruler must be considered not merely under the aspect of their sociological relevance, they must also be assigned their proper place in the long line of poetic works generally classified as "moral teachings," from the literature of ancient Egypt up to the French moralists.

If we look at the generally human aspect of this kind of literature, not only at its admonitions to adjust to law and order in the state but at its desire to make life easier for the individual by good advice, exhortations, and cautioning, it seems hardly surprising that in the "Instructions of Ptahhotep" (for his son), an official from the Fifth Dynasty, in other words from Egypt's Ancient Empire (about 2470 to 2320 B.C.), we already come across "precepts" that are the same, sometimes almost literally, sometimes in their substance, as Phālī's teachings of at least three thousand years later: "Speak more softly when greeted by your superior, laugh when he laughs, that will give him pleasure."¹

In Indian literature we know the texts called Arthaśāstra. Their most important branch is the one concerning politics, which as a science of its own is also called Nītiśāstra, the "science of leadership or government."² Particular reference must be made to the Kautiliya (Cāṅakya) Arthaśāstra.³

In Chinese there exist the Ch'en-kuei, "Directives for Subjects," from about the seventh century.⁴ Some of the topics from this treatise, such as "Loyalty," "Correctness," "Behavior (towards the Emperor)," "Sincerity," "Incorruptibility," and "Favoritism" are also found, even though perhaps in different forms, in the Thai poems.

Here one might point en passant to the "Courtier" (Cortegiano) of Castiglione (1528), to certain chapters from Francis Bacon's "Essays" (1612, 1625), to the "Character Studies" (Les Caractères de Théophraste) of La Bruyère (1688/89), to the "Maxims" (Reflections ou sentences et maximes morales) of La Rochefoucauld (1655), to "The Art of Worldly Wisdom" (Oraculo manual, y arte de prudencia) of Baltasar Gracian (1647), or to the "Letters written by the Earl of Chesterfield to His Son Philip Stanhope" from the year 1774. Note also the "Directions to Servants" by Jonathan Swift (1745), whose jaundiced humor, occasionally cynicism, is worlds apart from the formal and serious Thai poems. One might further mention Knigge's "Über den Umgang mit den Menschen" (1788) as well as, not overly far-fetched, many a manual of marketing and salesmanship. Many of Phālī's teachings may find their

counterparts, in some similar or identical form, in the proverb collections of various nations, as for instance in Johann Michael Sailer's "Die Weisheiten auf der Gasse" (1810) and surely in other collections as well.

The works of this kind in the countries adjacent to Thailand need to be studied more thoroughly. The common cultural background shared to a certain degree by all of them as well as their racial affinities encourage the assumption that in those countries, too, didactic poems may hold a prominent position in their national literatures. The legend of Rāma, which is known throughout that region in one form or another, might also have been, as in Thailand, a direct source of inspiration.

Regrettably, since our studies of Mon, Burmese, Khmer, and Lao literatures are still in their initial phase, one cannot at the present time go beyond a few general remarks.

Burma. Some light is shed on Burmese didactic poetry by the publications of Sternbach who offers detailed proof of Indian influence in this field.⁵ However, his research is confined to the generally known works in Pali. No original Burmese titles are mentioned by him, nor does he so much as point to a possibility that the Rāma legend might have had an influence on Burmese didactic poetry, and only this would be of interest for our topic here of *Phālī Teaches the Young*.

Pali works like Lokanīti or Rājanīti that were translated into Burmese⁶ appear by contents only peripherally connected with *Phālī sṅn nṅng*. Well known is the *Lokathara pyo* of Kandawmingyaung Sayadaw with exhortations to laymen, kings, and Brahmins to obey Buddhist precepts.⁷ Collections of proverbs exist both in Mon and in Burmese, but there is no evidence of a didactic poetry comparable to the *Phālī sṅn nṅng* in Thai. That it may exist is possible but, in view of the fact that the Rāmāyana has only a subordinate place in Burmese art and literature, somewhat unlikely.

Laos. What has been said about Thai literature is basically true also for the literature of Laos. In view of centuries of intimate political ties and a close ethnic as well as linguistic affinity, this was to be expected. Yet it would be far off the mark were one for this reason to deny to Lao literature any identity of its own. Its rustic charm, among other things, puts it in pleasant contrast to many a laboriously stylized Thai work. There is no didactic title like the Laotian "Grandfather teaches the tots" (*Pū sṅn ṅn*) in Thai, and all solemnity of a "didactic work" is finally dissolved when one adds that this text contains also "Grandson's lessons to grandpapa."⁹

Solange Thierry makes reference further to the "manuals of the perfect official or the perfect head of government."¹⁰ These presumably are texts offering possibilities for direct comparisons with *Phālī sṅn nṅng*.

Cambodia. Poetic works in Cambodian literature corresponding to the *Arthaśāstra* are those designated by the term *epāp*, "moral teachings, books of wisdom." They were written from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries--an obvious parallel to developments in Thailand.

Contents and tenor of the *epāp*, compared to Thai *suphāsīt* poetry, show greater emphasis on Buddhist moral teachings, expanding less than these into the realm of what is generally human. The "Moral Precepts for Children" (*epāp kūn cau*), "Moral Precepts for Women" (*epāp arī*), the "Rules of the Glorious Tradition" (*epāp ker kalor*) the "Books of Proper Behavior" (*epāp kram*)¹¹ do also offer, it is true, advice on how to handle practical problems of life, but their primary *fabula docet* is to insist that Buddhist ethics must be respected.

Thailand's *suphāsīt* poetry may generally be called more emancipated, more worldly wise. Phāli's teachings could hardly have developed in a one-sided, purely Hinayāna, climate without at least the beginnings of a recognizable political consciousness of its own. Here parallels may perhaps be seen to developments in Burma. Even though a manuscript owned by the École Française d'Extrême-Orient with the title *Kbuon Krôn Pāli* is mentioned by Finot¹² as "une version Khmère de ce texte Pāli son nōh," it may be supposed with a high degree of probability that what we have here is merely the translation of one of the Thai versions.

1. I refer quite generally to the edition and French translation of this text by Zāba, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep*.
2. See Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. III, p. 308; I also refer to the highly interesting essay by Heinrich Zimmer, "Der Brauch der Fische, Altindische Politik und der Geist des Abendlandes," in *Yoga and Buddhism*; see also Ling, *Buddha*, pp. 60 ff.
3. Glasenapp, *Die Literaturen Indiens*, p. 140.
4. Professor Mau-Tsai Liu, Hamburg, kindly drew my attention to this work.
5. *The Spreading of Cāṅakya's Aphorisms over "Greater India,"* pp. 34 ff; see also *id.*; *Subhāṣita, Gnostic and Didactic Literature*, pp. 41 ff.
6. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 51; Sternbach, *op.cit.*, pp. 35 ff., 39 ff.; *id.*, "The Pali Lokaniti and the Burman Niti Kyan," *passim*; Bernard-Thierry, "Littérature Birmane," p. 1390.
7. See Whitbread, "An Introduction to Burmese Language and Literature," p. 49.
8. Bernard-Thierry, *loc.cit.*; Kin Maung Lat, "Burmese Proverbs," *passim*; Po Byu, "Burmese Proverbs and Sayings," *passim*.
9. Thierry, "Die laotische Literatur," p. 656; the title mentioned is a manuscript. In Finot, "Recherches sur la littérature laotienne," p. 200, another manuscript with the title *Pū sṅn lān*, "Grandfather teaches the grandchildren" is listed under no. 633, and also in Wenk, *Laotische Handschriften*, under no. 182e. According to Sternbach, the title *Pu sōn lan* (recte *Pū sṅn lān*) = (*Pū sṅn ḡn*) proves "clearly Indian influence...in particular the influence of a Cāṅakya's maxim." It must, however, be added to this remark that this "clear" Indian influence is confined to the title and thus to the citation of the topic, while the contents of the poem present an unmistakably autochthonous, rustic-Laotian range of thoughts. See also *id.*, *Subhāṣita, Gnostic and Didactic Literature*, p. 42.
10. *loc.cit.*, note 9. See further Wenk, *loc.cit.*, under no. 182d.
11. See the survey by Bernard-Thierry, "*Cpāp*," *passim*; *id.*, "Sagesse du Cambodge," pp. 436 ff.
12. *op.cit.*, p. 148, footnote 3.

I. PHALI SŪN NŪNG AS A WORK OF POETRY

A. Origins1. The Rāmākiana. Tale and text of the *Bot Lakhōn Rāmākian*

The verses of *Phālī sŷn nŷng* are first of all known as a section of the *Rāmākian*, the Thai version of the Rāmāyana. There they are the conclusion of the earthly existence of Phālī, king of the monkeys. The *Rāmākian* received its present form in writing in its essential parts most likely at the time of Rama I (1782-1809).

The Rāmāyana of Valmiki also contains the last words of the monkey ruler.¹ There, however, the text is shorter, more concentrated than in the *Rāmākian*. Bālī (Phālī) confesses his guilt and turns over his kingdom to Sugrīva (Sukhrīp). He calls upon the latter to protect Angada (Ongkhot) and Tāra (Dārā) and to "carry out whatever Raghava (Rāma) may demand." Then "Bālī speaks to his son Angada: Conduct yourself in the proper manner.... Bear pleasure and pain with equal calm; obey in gladness and sorrow. Sugrīva....do not keep company with those who are not his (i.e., Raghava's) friends.... Despise no one." Then death comes to Bālī.

For a better understanding of *Phālī sŷn nŷng*, let us give a brief sketch of Phālī's life, from the sections of the epos concerning him.

Khōdom, ruler of the city of Ayuthayā, has withdrawn to the solitude of the woods to live there as a hermit. During the two thousand years he has already spent there his beard has grown till it came to touch the earth. A pair of weaver-birds² have built their nest in it.

Khōdom, who understands the language of the birds, overhears what the couple say to each other one day. During an argument, the mate protests that he is telling the truth, otherwise may the sin of the hermit, who so piously obeys all the commandments, fall on him.³ Khōdom asks the bird what he meant by this and must hear his reproach that not to have sired progeny is a sin.

Thereupon the hermit by his magical power creates for himself a spouse. Kāla Atčānā he names her, and she gives birth to a daughter of his, Sawāha.

The gods in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven know that the time for the struggle against the powerful demon Thotsakan is approaching. In order to bring forth brave warriors for Phra Nārāi, who will be the leader, Phra In and the sun-god Phra Āthit come to see Kāla Atčānā. While Khōdom is out gathering fruit for the family in the forest, Kāla Atčānā becomes pregnant from the gods and gives birth first to one son, then to another. The first, Phra In's son, has a green face, the

younger one's is white. One day Sawāha, jealous for her father's love, betrays her mother's infidelity to him. Khōdom thereupon throws all three children into the water, with a curse that only the child begotten by himself should come back to the shore while the others should make off into the woods as monkeys.⁴ Sawāha returns, the sons turned into monkeys flee into the jungle on the other side.

Phra In and Phra Āthit recognize in the monkeys their own sons. They decide to build a city for them and to name it Khītkhin. The green-faced monkey Kākāt is made its king, with the bright and shining Sukhrīp sired by the sun-god becoming second king.

One day Phra Isuan notices that the Mountain of the World, Phra Sumēru, is tilting to one side. No one is able to put it straight again. Then the god calls for the monkey kings from Khītkhin. The two succeed in lifting it up into its former position. As a sign of his gratitude Phra Isuan bestows on Kākāt the title of honor, Phālī Thirāt, and presents him with a trident. He also invests the monkey ruler with the magic power that any foe he fights against shall lose half of his strength.⁵ As a present for Sukhrīp the god turns over to Phālī the fair heavenly maid Kaeu Dārā who is entrusted to him in a crystal case. However, on the way home Phālī is unable to withstand the temptations emanating from Kaeu Dārā. He opens the case. Overwhelmed by Dārā's beauty he succeeds in making her his consort.

When the powerful lord of the demons, Thotsakan, with his lady Monthō overflies Khītkhin, Phālī with his trident challenges him.⁶ The proud demon scoffs at the monkey, but a little later Phālī's vigorous attacks put him to flight. He loses Monthō, and she too is possessed by Phālī.

Thotsakan wants to recover her whom he has lost. A seer, Angkhot, offers to mediate. But Monthō is already pregnant from Phālī in her sixth month. Were she to be returned to Thotsakan in this state, he would surely kill the child. The seer, however, knows how to remedy the situation. Initiating a magic ceremony he succeeds in transplanting the child yet unborn from Monthō's womb into that of a goat. After that Monthō returns to Thotsakan.

Out of the goat Phālī's son is born. He receives the name of Ongkhot. When he is ten years old the Brahmin bathing ceremony is to be held for him in the river Yamanā.⁷ Thotsakan considers this a favorable opportunity for killing Ongkhot, the living evidence of his shame. He changes into a giant crab lurking in the river, lying in wait. But the guards discover him and Phālī pulls him ashore. Once again Thotsakan is overcome and humiliated by the king of the monkeys.

Phālī is also destined by the gods to kill the powerful buffalo Thōraphī, a parricide.⁸ He manages to challenge the buffalo, who is superior in strength, to fight with him in a narrow mountain cave. Before the duel Phālī leaves instructions with his brother Sukhrīp. Should he, Phālī,

be killed Sukhrīp is to seal the cave so that no one would learn of his disgrace. If the blood running from the cave should be light red, it would be Phālī's, if dark red, Thōraphī's.

Phālī defeats the buffalo. Out of joy over this outcome the gods cause rain to fall from the skies, whereby the buffalo's dark red blood running out from the cave is diluted. Sukhrīp assumes, therefore, that it is Phālī who has been subdued and slain. Mourning greatly he seals the cave and returns to Khītkhin. But Phālī succeeds in freeing himself and comes down on Sukhrīp in a rage, convinced his younger brother had wanted to cause his undoing. All protestations to the contrary are of no avail, Sukhrīp has no choice but flight.

Roaming in the wilderness of the woods the exile meets Hanumān, who has already joined Rāma in his march on Lankā,⁹ and through Hanumān's mediation Sukhrīp, too, becomes a servant to the king. In return Rāma promises the monkey prince to help him in his struggle with Phālī. Rāma knows that his arrow, Phromāt, is to strike Phālī fatally. This is Phra Isuan's curse after Phālī, disobeying his command, took as his own Kaeu Dārā whom the god had intended for Sukhrīp.

There is a duel between the two brothers.¹⁰ Sukhrīp is defeated by Phālī as Rāma (Phra Nārāi) fails to intervene. Rāma explains he could not shoot off the arrow because in the turmoil of battle he could not make out clearly who was Phālī and who Sukhrīp. In a second duel Sukhrīp puts a white bandage around his wrist. Now Rāma recognizes who is Phālī and shoots off the arrow Phromāt at him. But Phālī sees the arrow coming and catches it in midair. He recognizes in Rāma the god Phra Nārāi, offers his submission, and confesses his wrongdoing. Phālī realizes that according to divine judgment he must die. He says good-bye to Sukhrīp and Ongkhot with the teachings of Phālī, the wording of which in this epos is as follows:¹¹

๖ ๖ คำ ๖ โศก

๐ กรนเสวราชงดาพระสักร วานรเคว้าไกรมนัส
 รงสังสุกรพอนซา พระลาสนชพชนมาน
 เจ้าระอยู่เป็นชาพระทรงจักร รงพิภกรภยากันอาหสถาน
 หมั้นเฝ้าเขาเป็นเป็นนากวตุ อย่าเกยคร้านแต่ตามอำเภอโ
 สิ่งใดพระองค์ระครัดตาม อย่าเขาคความเพ็ทกุดแกไคยไค
 อย่าแก่งทวิโอชวคพระทรงชัย ที่ในพระโรงรักษา
 หมอบเฝ้าอย่ากมิอย่าเงยหงาย อย่าแคว่ทวายเหล็อบแล

ซ้ายขวา

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| พระทนต์ขลตงกอลงการ | อย่าผผันชนนงององค |
| อันฝูงพระสนมนางใน | อย่าผูกพิศมัยไหลหลง |
| รงภักคกอไค้ขากขงสุ | อย่าทะนงว่าทรงพระเมกทา |
| แขกเมืองอย่าบอความลับ | อย่าสนิก้านนิคยหา |
| อันรางวัลให้ขึ้นเสนา | อย่ามีโธฉนทาทักทาน |
| มั่นกรวโกรอลงไทยผู้ไท | อย่าใส่ไคยบงรงผลลาญ |
| อย่าโลภลักรษทวิพิศคุงคาร | พระบรรหารสิ่งไครงำความ |
| อาสาเจ้าคนานทวิทาย | รงนัยว่าเป็นชายชาญสนาม |
| เจ้ารงำคำทาทาม | กรำเวญความสวัสค |
| สอนนองสนเสียงสนสัง | สนกาลงสนฤททกรบค |
| วางศรไค้บคองทวิ | สนชวไปเกิดในวิมาน ๖ |

- (1) Then, all accomplished, he was ready¹² to take leave of Rāma,¹³
Sadness woefully welled up in all monkeys' hearts.¹⁴
- (2) Sukhrīp, his junior brother, he did order approach;
Farewell to life, he wished to bid, the proud lord.
- (3) Always be minister to the one who "throweth the disk,"¹⁵
Protect, Sukhrīp, and you, Ongkhot, each other.¹⁶
- (4) Do serve him with respect,¹⁷ morning, night, at all time,
Be not lazy nor idle, pursuing your pleasure.¹⁸
- (5) If the king does request some information whatever,
Do not twist the matter¹⁹ in your own favor.²⁰
- (6) Do not ostentatiously dress up in the presence of majesty,
There at his jeweled palace. Be ever respectful.
- (7) Bow not too low, nor raise up your head too high. Wander not
Aimless about, glancing left, right, or sideways.
- (8) On to throne or into sedan bedecked with jewels, do not
Ever let yourselves down in trespassing fashion.
- (9) As to the company of the royal concubines:²¹ do not
Burn in love for them, in his majesty's castle.²²
- (10) True be always to him "to whose feet you are dust."²³
Do not boast that you enjoy his favor.²⁴
- (11) Do not speak about secret matters with out-of-town strangers,
Be neither intimate nor have intercourse with them.²⁵
- (12) To ministers²⁶ render what is due them.
Hesitate not²⁷ to choose the middle path.²⁸
- (13) When (the ruler), enraged, punishes someone, do not
Further incite him on purpose so he may destroy him.
- (14) Do not covet the royal treasures, to steal them.
Be attentive when the "great guardian"²⁹ pronounces (an order).
- (15) Serve of your own free will until death overtakes you, then
Wise³⁰ indeed will you be held by all.³¹
- (16) Do remember my words, act in accordance with them,
Then you will be exalted by fortune and bliss.
- (17) Thus did he teach the young. His voice broke. Mute his command.
Fade did his strength and also his bright sword's power.
- (18) Seizing the arrow he thrust it into his chest.³² His life,
Consummated, he ascended to rebirth in heaven.³³

The solemn cremation is described in detail,³⁴ Phāliī on Rāma's command receiving divine honors. Sukhrīp becomes the new ruler of Khītkhin and is united with Kaeu Dārā according to Phra Isuan's wishes. After that he sets out for Lankā with Khītkhin's simian army as Rāmā's ally.

b. The "Teachings" from the *Kham phāk rāmākian*

Apart from Phāliī's teachings from the *Rāmākian* text quoted above, another version is extant from the *Kham phāk rāmākian*. These works during the Ayuthaya era served as texts for *khon* performances.³⁵ Within the second section of the *kham phāk*, *Phra Rām dai khītkhin*,³⁶ Phāliī's teachings are inserted as *ōēraḍā*, i.e., a purely direct speech text (dialogue).³⁷ Surprising from the point of view of literary history is that the teachings here are more extensive than in the *Rāmākian* edition

๖ เจริญ ๖

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| • ปางนั้นกระบินบุตร เรียกลูกพระวรี | วัชรินทรเรื่องศรี ผู้เป็นน้องอันร่วมกรรม |
| • มาสอนสุภาสิต ว่าพี่จะถึงอัน- | ก็จระเขียบระนอบบรรพ์ ทรายซีพสุกปราณ |
| • เจ้าไชร้ออยู่รองบท องคกหนุมาน | นเรศไทนฤบาท จงรอบรู้รักษาถิ่น |
| • เฝ้าแหนอย่าแหห่าง อย่าเห็นแก่นอนวัน | พระนรินทร์ทรงธรรม ว่าสนุกอย่าอนเนา |
| • หนึ่งโสภเมื่อทวิตตาม พิศทูลจงกึกเคา- | จงอย่าขามด้วยปากเบา รพเบื้องยุบลตาม |
| • เฝ้าท้าวอย่าโอโดง อย่าแค้นงให้คณงาม | ที่พระโรงอย่าสามผลาม เมื่อเฝ้าไทในโรงกัถ |
| • พระสนมอันงามสรรพ หนึ่งโสภพระกำนัล | ประกับท้าวคือสาวสวรรค เมื่อเฝ้าท้าวอย่าลอบแล |
| • ฝิด้าจะทูลความ ทอกพระเนตรเล็งแล | ถ้อยเมื่อท้าวธมน์แปร จึงถ้อยทูลเมื่อสำราญ |

of Rama I. Whereas the latter has as Phāī's teachings only 18 two-line verses in the meter of the *kl̄ṇ bot lakh̄ṇ*, there are 52 in the *Kham phāk rāmākian*, plus the four verses in the meter of the sixteen-syllable *chan wānini*.³⁸ This fact is surprising because the *Rāmākian* is in general the most elaborate and detailed text about Rāma's war against Thotsakan, and parts of it must even be described as rather long-winded. We do not know what reasons may have prevailed upon the editor or editors at the court of Rama I to shorten, of all passages, the teachings of Phāī, that text which gives more highly significant information about the inner structure of the ancient Thai monarchy than hardly any other. One might venture the guess that, being aware of the existence of several other versions of *Phāī s̄ṇ n̄ṅṅ*, the editors decided to be satisfied with this more succinct text for the standard edition of the *Rāmākian*.

The text from the *Kham phāk rāmākian* runs as follows:³⁹

Āeracā:⁴⁰

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) Then did the monkey, son call the child of the Sun, | of Indra, ⁴¹ highly praised, who was brother to him from one womb. |
| (2) I came to teach you words For I have reached the threshold ⁴³ | of duty, order and custom. of death. My life ends. |
| (3) You, follow the path Ongkhot and Hanumān, strive | of the king, the people's ruler. each to protect the other. |
| (4) Keep, with respect, not too far Look not, droopy-eyed, far into the day | from the ruler, "the giver of laws," taking it for amusement, do not sleepily lose it. |
| (5) Further: when questioned, When reporting, do so with respect | make not light of your answer. ⁴⁴ and to the point. |
| (6) Waiting on the lord, be not too ostentatious. Do not dress too proudly, ⁴⁷ too sumptuously | In the palace ⁴⁵ be quick and adroit. ⁴⁶ when waiting on the king in the audience hall. ⁴⁸ |
| (7) The concubines, all those beauties, And then: the queen's maidens! | are heavenly ladies gracing the king. Do not, when attending to the king, glance furtively their way. |
| (8) When wishing to report on a matter, till his eye rests on you; then, | wait till the ruler turns to you, slowly, speak out while he is of good cheer. ⁴⁹ |

- ชอบทุลไซรัจทุล
กริ่งเกลือกจะรำคาญ
 - ราชอาสน์พระภูบาล
กองแก้วกนกรอง
 - หนึ่งโสกเมื่อเฝ้าไท
อย่านั่งไกลกับพระองค์
 - ศิวราชวงวัด
อย่าทานทักษ์ธยา
 - เมื่อเฝ้าต่อมอาหาร
เกรงเกลือกจลาจล
 - หนึ่งโสกสันท่านไท
อย่าคิกอย่าควรวัง
 - หนึ่งบพิงทำ
สื่อเมืองค่างเมืองมา
 - หนทางที่พระฉนวน
ลาไปยังหน้าสีห์
 - ความนี้กุสังสาร
เฝ้าแหนกำเช่าใน
 - ท่านไซรัหากเป็นมง—
เว่งยาพระอาชญา
 - กิจเพื่อระงับเชิญ
ไซรัหากีสืบสาย
 - ทั้งชื่อภักดิ์ก่อ
ท่านเคี้ยก้อย่าทำกต
- มิชอบทุลอย่าทุลทาน
พระหฤทัยจะมนหมอง
 - มุกกาหารประดับทอง
อย่าขึ้นเล่นแลอิงองค์
 - อย่านั่งไกลทะนงยง
เกลือกท่านท้าวบเห็นหา
 - บำเหน็จสรรพเสนา
ศัยค้วยคำรงคน
 - อย่ากินเกือบให้อิมสกันร์
จะยากใจในเวียงวัง
 - ประสมไว้ในพระคลัง
จะเอาออกนอกโกษฐา
 - ล่านำราชาจา
อย่าหวังสนิทชอบพาทิ
 - บบังควรจะจรวลี
บัญญัติท้าวอย่าควรวไป
 - สองอาหสถานจงคังใจ
ประคิทินอย่ากลากกลา
 - กุฎโถกนาตา
นรนาถนารายณ์
 - ให้เย็นโลกทั้งหลาย
สุอาหสถานจงเจียมคน
 - นรนาถจุมพล
จะเคี้ยกตอไซรัเชิงความ

- (9) Desires the king your report, do report. If he desires no report, do not
Or else you provoke, I fear,⁵⁰ his majesty's anger, displeasure.
- (10) The throne of him "who rules the realm," embellished with pearls and gold,
bedecked with diamonds in gold, do not as a jest mount it, nor
lean on it.
- (11) Further: when waiting on the king, do not take, self-pleasing, your
but neither so far from the lord seat too near,
that it be doubtful whether he notices you.
- (12) When the king metes out rewards to the hosts of officials,⁵¹
do not contradict his intention with stubborn insistence.
- (13) When paying homage eat not too much before lest
submissively, you be overstuffed.
Prostrations (before him), may (else) be difficult in the
standing, proceeding palace.
- (14) Further: the king's wealth amassed in the treasure house,⁵²
do not think nor hope to pilfer it.
- (15) Further: do not make songs of what the ruler has spoken.⁵³
With strangers⁵⁴ coming do not hope to have trustful
from various lands intercourse.⁵⁵
- (16) On the king's canopied courses,⁵⁶ you shall not take a stroll,
nor pass too near before the lord's "lion window."⁵⁷
- (17) These matters I command you, uncle and nephew to one another,
Wait on (the king) morning remember them!
and night, round the year,⁵⁸ do not neglect
to meet him.
- (18) Even though you two wear a mighty crown yourselves,⁵⁹
be quick to venerate him who punishes, who shelters, Nārāi.
- (19) Act righteously to avoid so that all the worlds be content.⁶⁰
misfortune, you, uncle to nephew, and nephew to
Perpetuate your house, uncle, care for each other.
- (20) Be trustful and loyal to him who is refuge and supreme commander.
When in anger, (yet) use no when enraged, (yet) commit nothing
trickery, improper.

- หนึ่งโศกเมื่อรับสั่ง
 คุรหส์อย่าว่าวาม
 - อย่าทะนงว่าทำวรัถ
 เร่งยำกำนัฒมา
 - อย่ากั่มอย่าเฆยหงาย
 ลุกนั้จงผ่อนผัน
 - อาสาเมื่อการศึก
 เร่งรบจงหวาคไหว
 - สงครามอย่ากัคกั้ว
 อาสาจนสิ้นแรง
 - ความนั้จิงสั่งสอน
 กล่าวไว้เป็นบรยาย
 - สั่งสอนสั่งกำแดลงไซ
 ที่แหะทลออกอุระพา
 - กินเลือกเชือกใจม้งสา
 ชำระให้ห่มทมลทิน
 - แล้วกินเข้าแสงแสงศิลป์
 ก็มีวชีวิตคั้วพลัน
 - เพียงพระเมรุมาศถงัน
 ณฑพแนวนที ๖
- กฎหมายคั้จงทำตาม
 แสคงคั้ให้เตียงสา
 อย่าทำศัคคั้ต่อราชา
 ถึงกั้เกลาบั้จกมกั้
 อย่าเหลียวซ้ายแลขวาพลัน
 จะเผ้าแหนบรจใจ
 อย่าให้นั้กคัคกั้วกั้ว
 ให้ได้หลังเข้าศึกแสง
 อย่าคัคกั้วจงเข้มแข็ง
 สิ้นชีวิตจิงว่าชาย
 สองอาหลานโดยภิปราย
 นุราณราชวินัย ๖
 วางบั้นเข้าไป -
 ไปยังยมนา
 พาลีสูกอินทร์
 ท้าวลั้กลางอร-

- (21) Further: when receiving orders,
When discovering a secret,
do not act rashly, carry them out according to the law.
discourse, act like wise men.⁶¹
- (22) Do not boast of having the king's affection,
Be quick to revere him,
always⁶² do not display your worth as
against the king.
bow your heads before him.
- (23) Do not turn your eyes to the ground, nor up high,
When you rise, rise with ease,⁶⁴ do not turn around, unsteady,
to left or right.⁶³
but honor the king assiduously.
- (24) Volunteer your services in war.
Red-hot with rage hurry to fight, Give no thought to fear when in
danger.
pursue the foe to make him afraid.
- (25) In wars do not think of yourselves.
Of your own free will (fight) till the end of your strength and of your lives. Then one
will say you were men.
- (26) This I teach on both,
passing it on as precepts uncle and nephew, with fore-
thought,⁶⁵
of ancient royal wisdom.
- (27) The teaching of these words for your instruction is ended.
to tear his mighty⁶⁷
chest apart. He grasped the arrow,⁶⁶
thrusting it
- (28) Shed was his blood,⁶⁸ cut his heart's fiber.
to cleanse himself of all that was blemish. Into the Yamanā⁷⁰ he made his entry,
- (29) Quiver⁷¹ and bow he gave departed from life with speed. back. Phālī, Indra's son,
- (30) Down from Mount Mērumāt⁷² into the floods of water. the lord dived straight

c. *Khlong niang ramakian*

For completeness' sake, mention is made here of another *khlong* verse from one of the inscriptions on the walls and pillars of the Wat Phra Kaeu, Wat Si Ratanasatsadaram, Bangkok, which relates merely that Phali taught the younger already "with weak lips," then killed himself.⁷³

| | |
|---|--|
| "Concluded was his talk to the younger. | Mourning (overcame them). |
| With weak lips did he teach them, | to take his counsel. |
| After the manner of kings | did he expire. |
| His lessons completed, he seized the arrow and | killed himself. To heaven did he ascend." |

2. The Vidhurapandita Jataka

It may seem questionable whether the Vidhurapandita Jataka can properly find its place within the section "Origins." But surely this Jataka, No. 545, must be given consideration as one of the possible sources for Phali's teachings.

The story of this Jataka we shall presume to be known to the reader;⁷⁴ in any case, it is of little relevance here. What we must draw attention to and examine is merely the chapter in which the Brahmin Vidhura takes leave of his relatives, a passage known as "the chapter of the royal court."⁷⁵ Before having to leave his king, Dhananjaya, Vidhura explains to his relatives the "manners and practices at the king's court."

A few of these verses we shall quote here, followed by references to parallel passages in the various versions of *Phali sgn ngng*, chosen in a purely selective fashion. The Roman numerals indicate the number of the respective version, in the order given them in the present publication; the Arabic numerals following refer to verse or line, respectively. For some of the verses quoted from the Jataka, reference to the Thai versions is superfluous because the former are so general in their meaning, so comprehensive, that their contents, their "lessons," are reflected in practically every line of those works.

- (7) At day or at night the wise man,
who is charged with affairs by the king,
if completing them promptly and well,
such a man may well live at the court.
Cf. I.5; V.22 f.; V.49; V.61 ff.; V.102.
- (10) Not garments to equal the king
nor garlands shall he wear, nor by ointments,

or ornaments, or manner of speech
 try to bear himself like the king.
 Let him choose a different attire...
 Cf. I.8; III.8; IV.40.

- (11) When the king plays with his ministers
 in the company of his consorts,
 let the prudent courtier refrain
 from alluding to the royal ladies.
 Cf. I.8; III.8; IV,112 ff.
- (12) Neither haughty, nor hasty, but wise,
 his senses well under control,
 with a mind that is quick to decide,
 such a man may well live at the court.
- (13) He shall not sport with the ladies of the king,
 nor converse in secret with them,
 nor lay hands on the royal treasure,
 then he may dwell at the court.
 Cf. II.8; II.15; III.23; IV.52 ff.;
 IV.104 ff.; V.52 ff.; VI.120 ff.
- (14) Not too much must he value his sleep,
 nor imbibe strong drink to excess,
 nor kill deer in the woods of the king,
 then he may well live at the court.
 Cf. III.7; VI.114.
- (15) Not the king's high seat, nor his cushion,
 nor his pillow, or chariot, or elephant
 shall he mount and imagine: "I'm privileged."
 Then well may he stay at the court.
 Cf. II.11; III.18; V.32 f.
- (16) Not too far let him stay from the king,
 nor too close, if prudent he be,

before the eyes of the king shall he stand,
 looking into the face of his lord.

Cf. I.12 f.; III.12; IV.42; V.34 f.

- (18) The wise man, prudent, discreet,
 though convinced he is held in esteem,
 shall not answer back with rough words,
 should the king ever hold him suspect.
 Cf. IV.47.
- (25) When he speaks, let not talk him too long,
 nor be silent for ever and anon.
 A temperate word, yet concise,
 let him speak at auspicious a time.
 Cf. IV.96 ff.
- (26) Not angry, nor giving offense,
 true, gentle, sincere without guile,
 let him utter no foolish words;
 thus can he remain at the court.
- (27) Full of knowledge, self-controlled, and restrained,
 being skillful, reticent, gentle,
 full of eagerness, pure, and well versed,
 thus can he last at the court.
 Cf. I.6; II.22; II.9 f.; III.13;
 IV.60 ff.; V.18 ff.
- (36) If, engaged in all manner of work,
 dedicated, with high insight, and able
 to conduct his affairs with success,
 he may well live at the king's court.
 Cf. II.21.
- (41) Let him know the king's pleasure well
 and accomodate all the king's wishes,
 never acting against his intent:
 then indeed may he stay at the court.

The identity of substance of many of these statements might without difficulty be explained by objective reasons, i.e., on the basis of a common concept of autocratic monarchy: do not touch the regalia, be subject to the king in all things, take nothing from what is his. Ideas in similar form should probably be found in any instruction on "manners at a royal court." However, the identity of contents in many other verses of the Gāthas from this Jātaka is so striking, some manners of speech-- at day and at night serve the ruler, be not too far from him, nor too near, on middle ground, do not sleep too long -- are, within an otherwise highly stylized poem, everyday phrases in such a conspicuous way that just because of this one does not feel inclined to believe the concordance is accidental.

To bring forth proof that the author of the Phālī poem did borrow some or several of his verses from the Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka will hardly be possible, but it is generally known that in Thailand this Jātaka-- belonging to the "Ten Jātaka" group⁷⁶--is familiar even to the illiterate Buddhist. Thus, it may perhaps be more than just a vague possibility to assume that the Gāthas from the "chapter from the royal court" may have been one source of inspiration or borrowing for the *Phālī sṅg nṅng* poetry.

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1. *The Ramayana of Valmiki*, in book IV, Kishkinda, chapter 22.
 2. *nok kračang* (ploceidae)
 3. *Rāmakian*, vol. I, p. 73
 4. *loc.cit.*, pp. 81 ff.
 5. *loc.cit.*, pp. 105 ff.
 6. *loc.cit.*, pp. 145 ff.
 7. *loc.cit.*, pp. 165 ff.
 8. *loc.cit.*, pp. 437 ff.
 9. *op.cit.*, vol. II, pp. 725 ff.
 10. Represented in basso-relieve at the balustrade of the *ubōsot* at Wat Phra Chētuphon, plate nos. 6 and 7.
 11. *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 741, line 11 from the top, till p. 742, line 6 from the top.
 12. *set*: "fulfilled, accomplished"
 13. *phra sī kṅn*: "the four-armed one" here a synonym for "Rāma"
 14. *manasā*: *manat*.
 15. *phra son čak*: synonym for "Rāma"
 16. *ā lān*: *ā*, "uncle," and *lān*, "nephew," here used as elsewhere in terms of the relationship of Sukhrīp and Ongkhot to each other.

17. *man fau*: also "respectful"
18. *tām amphōe čai*: a colloquialism
19. *bau khuām*: literally "(to make) light (of the) matter," here however used as a manner of speech in the above meaning
20. *tāe dōi dai*: a colloquialism
21. *phra sanom nāng nai*: concerning the term *phra sanom* see Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, p. 23; concerning *nāng* see *Photčanānukrom thai-thai*, p. 500.
22. *wang luang*: The "main palace," as the residence of the Thai kings was called since the Ayuthaya era.
23. *tai bāt bong*: a polite flourish, part of the pronoun of the first person in addressing Thai kings
24. *mētā*: Pali *mettā* "benevolence, loving-kindness"
25. *kham nap khop hā*: literally "count your words and do not go after them," the idiomatic meaning however being as above.
26. *sēnā*: *sēnābōdī*, minister, may here more generally be rendered as "official."
27. *that thān*: "to resist"
28. *čai čanthā*: on this see remarks under chapter II.F.6, also VI/104.
29. *phra banhān*: synonym for "Rāma"
30. *nap wā*: "to count someone to be..."
31. *čhān*: *čhiau čhān*
32. *insī*: Pali *indriya*, "capabilities," meaning here something like the total of physical and mental abilities, in the above verse probably--taking into account the text of the legend--the "nucleus of spiritual and physical power." S. Nyanatiloka, *Buddhistisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 86 f.
33. *wimān*: "palace," here synonym for "heaven" or "heavenly palaces"
34. *loc.cit.*, pp. 747 ff.
35. Cf. Rosenberg, *Die traditionellen Theaterformen Thailands von den Anfängen bis in die Regierungszeit Rama's VI.*, pp. 27, 108 ff.
36. "Phra Rām conquers Khītkhin"
37. See Rosenberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 10, 112 ff.
38. About this meter see Wenk, *Die Metrik in der thailändischen Dichtung*, p. 108.
39. *Kham phāk rāmakan*, pp. 158 ff.
40. *čēračā*: cue for the speaker of the dialogue in the Thai theater to begin, see Rosenberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 112 ff.

41. "son of Indra": Phālī, see under A.I.a.
42. "child of the Sun": Sukhrīp, see under A.I.a.
43. *thūng antarāi chīp*: "having reached peril of life"
44. *pāk bau*: "easy-mouthed"
45. *phra rōng*: probably an archaism, "royal house"
46. *sām phlām*: contracted from *sām hān* and *phlī phlām*
47. *ngā*: *ngā ngōn*
48. *rōng khan*: see note 45
49. *samrān*: "(in) blissfulness."
50. *krīng kluak*: *krīng kreng*
51. *sēnā*: designates only the highest ranks of the hierarchy of officials, concerning which see Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, p. 79.
52. *phra khlang*: to this day the general term for "financial affairs."
53. *rāthawātēā*: slightly ambiguous whether here the "royal lingo" is meant (*rāthasap*) or the words actually spoken by the king.
54. *sū*: "mediator," possibly to be understood here as "merchant."
55. *sanit chōp phāthī*: "do not hope for words of trust"
56. *thī phra chanuan*: "locations with a roof over them" (for the king)
57. *sī banchōn*: a high-placed window-like opening in one wall of the audience hall, from where in ancient Thailand the king received ambassadors from abroad, see illustration before p. 419 in La Loubère, *Du Royaume de Siam*.
58. *nai pradithin*: "in the (time of the) calendar"
59. *pen mongkut lōk nāthā*: approximately "crown of the world and place of refuge"
60. *yen*: *yen cāi*
61. *dang hai diangsā*: "let worldly wisdom prevail"
62. *samā*: "the whole year"
63. *sāi lae khwā*: possibly one might see in this an allusion to the "ministers of the right and of the left."
64. *phōn phan*: "to ease one's position"
65. *phīprāi*: *aphīprāi*
66. *pūn*: "bullet, projectile," but here to be interpreted as above
67. *talōt*: "(the) whole..."
68. *kin lūat*: about: (his) blood consumed"

69. *mangsa*: *mangsa*
70. *yamanā*: also *yamna*, *yamunā*, one of the five big rivers in *chomphū-thawīp* (jambudīpa), with its source in the Himalayas, concerning which see Alabaster, *op.cit.*, p. 307, and Malalasekera, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 684. I am not aware what this tradition concerning Phālī's end is based on.
71. *khau lāeng*: *lāeng* according to contemporary orthography is to be read with a (high) -h.
72. *phiang phra mērumāt thangan*: doubtful translation; *phiang* here possibly is not to be understood as a conjunction but as a *kham phlēng* (see *Photānārūkrōm thai-thai*, chabap phrāe phitthayā, p. 959), *thangan*: "to hop, to jump." It must be left open whether this line may be an association of thought to the scene in *Rāmākian* when Phālī together with Sukhrīp straighten up the tilting Mountain of the World, see vol. I, pp. 103 ff.
73. *Khlong rüang rāmākian*, vol I, p. 662
74. German translation in Dutoit *Jātakam* vol. VI. pp. 316 ff. English translation in Cowell, *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, vol VI, pp. 126 ff.
75. *op.cit.*, pp. 352 - 58.
76. In Thai: *thosachāt*; on the general significance of this Jātaka group for Thailand, for example on painting, see Lyons, *The Tosachāt in Thai Painting*, pp. 3 - 6.

B. Phālī Sṅn Nṅng - Versions in Thai Poetry

1. Historic notes: origins and forms of the work

In Thai as well as, with one exception, in Western literature reference is consistently made merely to the poem *Phālī sṅn nṅng*.

In the (at this time) most comprehensive history of literature by Plüang na Nakhōn it is stated that the "*Khom khlōng rüang phālī sṅn nṅng*... is one of the three poetic works of which Phra Nārāi is said to be author.¹

With this, Plüang na Nakhōn refers to the version translated here under II. The preface to this text published in 2479 (1936) by the Krom Sūksāthikān states likewise that the poem--together with the similarly didactic work *Thotsarot sṅn phra rām* and *Rāteha sawatdi*--is royal poetry (*phra rātehaniphon*) from the time of Phra Nārāi.² Phra Nārāi ruled over Thailand from 1656 to 1688.³

The bibliographical notes by Schweisguth are somewhat confusing. *Phālī sṅn nṅng*, he asserts, is "a very short poem of 32 *khōng* verses."⁴ For this, bibliographical reference is made both to the version in *chan* metrics from the inscriptions at Wat Phra Chētuphon, printed here as Version I, and to the *khōng* version cited above.

Only Gerini⁵ in his compilation of Thai *sūphāsīt* poetry lists--not accurately, as it seems, and therefore hardly usable anymore--three versions, namely, 1) one poem, possibly then extant, from the Ayuthaya period. As source for this he cites "an acrostic" on *Phālī sṅn nṅng* which he found in the "grammar composed for King Nārāi by his Chief Astrologer (P'hyā Horādhīpati)." By this he can only mean the poetics *Cindamanī* by Hōrāthibōdī which, however--in the printed edition of today--does not contain this acrostic. 2) A "similar work by Nāi Narinthibēt, a highly esteemed poet whose writings fall in the third reign."⁷ 3) "A similar work by the monk Yaśara of which several editions were published....The title of this poem could be rendered as "The Courtier."⁸

All the other versions of the poem, as far as could be ascertained, are not mentioned in the relevant literature. And it was more or less by accident that the author of the present study, while cataloguing Thai manuscripts in Germany, became aware of the fact that further versions must exist.⁹

Specifically, the following texts are extant:

Version I

The text *Chan Phālī sṅn nṅng* is printed in the "Collection of Inscriptions at Wat Phra Chētuphon."¹⁰ No information is available concerning age, origins, or author of the poem.¹¹ We may point out, however, that the inscriptions in the various buildings of the Wat found their place

there at the time of Rama III,¹² i.e., between 1824 and 1851. It is entirely possible that the *chan* version was written specifically for the collection of inscriptions at Wat Phra Chētuphon, seeing that *Kritsana sṅn nṅng*, for example, a poem of a similarly didactic character as *Phālī sṅn nṅng*, was created only in that very period by Pōramānuchit, one of the important poets under Rama III.¹³ The same is known of other works.¹⁴ Some arguments, therefore, appear to speak in favor of *Phālī sṅn nṅng* having been written in the decades from 1820 to 1840. One might also submit for consideration whether *Kritsana sṅn nṅng* could not have been inspired--both as to metrics and contents--by Phālī's teachings. However, the rather irregular treatment of the *chan* metrics in *Phālī sṅn nṅng* make it appear unlikely that Pōramānuchit, who was renowned just for his artful mastery of the *chan* metrics, could have been the author. Rather this work suggests a writer of lesser stature than Pōramānuchit. What can be stated with certainty is, therefore, only that *Chan Phālī sṅn nṅng* could not have been written any later than around 1840.

The work consists of 34 verses in a *chan* meter. Due to the irregular lengths of the individual half-lines and the extremely irregular use of the *kham khru* and *kham laku*, the character of the meter defies precise definition. Possibly the *chan inthṅrawichian*¹⁵ may be intended, as the frequently five-syllable first half-lines and the six-syllable second half-lines seem to suggest. The 35th and last verse concluding the poem is in the *khlong krathū* meter.¹⁶

Version II

I have not been able to establish when this *khlong* poem was first printed.¹⁷ A reprint was published in 2479 (1936/37).¹⁸ Whether Phra Nārāi, king of Thailand in the second half of the seventeenth century, was really the author must be left undecided. I could find no reference in print to the origin of this assertion. Let us therefore take it as a tradition that cannot be verified at this time, although it must be noted in its favor that the work is called *phra rāteha niphon*, "royal poetry." The language of the verses as a whole, in the version available in print,¹⁹ does not support the conclusion that they should be about three hundred years old.²⁰

The fact that occasionally antique word forms are used as, e.g., *baurān* instead of *bōrān*, is not sufficiently compelling to lead to a different opinion. Quite generally it must again and again be stressed in this connection that the handing down of Thai literature has been in most cases so fragmentary and accidental that one ought to be wary of "compelling" conclusions.

The 32 verses are formed in a very regular fashion in accordance with the *khlong sī suphāp*.²¹ This is true not only for the *khana* and the end rhymes but, remarkably, also for the placement of the *kham ēk* and *kham thō*.

Version III

The *khlōng sī suphāp* meter is also used for the teachings of Phāī within the inconspicuous work *Lilit phongsāwādān nīa* of the little known author Somdet Krom Phrayā Pōwarēt Wariyalongkōn.

Concerning this author, only Schweisguth²² notes the dates of his life, 1809 to 1892, and also that he wrote, "dans un style précieux," a biography of King Mongkut.²³ *Lilit phongsāwādān nīa*, the work that interests us here, is mentioned neither by him nor elsewhere.

The preface to the edition used here²⁴ offers the information that *Lilit phongsāwādān nīa* was first published in the year 2423 (1880) "by the Palace Printing Office," with a second printing in 2451 (1908), but none since. It is called "a poetic work valuable for literature, history, and cultural affairs."

The author uses a roundabout, somewhat artificial way to include Phāī's teachings into his work where according to its title--"A Lilit Poem concerning the History of the North (of Thailand)"--they do not belong. A mentioning of the literary forms of *hūn* and *khōn* and of the title of "The History of King Phāī" as part of an entertainment program serves as a pretext for the author to elaborate on the contents of that *khōn* drama. Yet, while a "History of King Phāī" is announced in the first line of the second verse, what we hear about is only his death and, in connection with this, his teachings, although just this particular scene which is to a high degree undramatic and untheatrical lends itself least of all to a *khōn* performance. But perhaps the poet was guided by the intention to render homage, within this "History of Northern Thailand," to the Cakrī ruler in Bangkok.

Version IV

A further version of Phāī's teachings is written in another meter, that of the *klōn*. The National Library in Bangkok preserves a manuscript²⁵ that most probably is the one used for the printed text, which differs from the manuscript only in details of spelling. It is a folded-leaf manuscript of cardboard-like paper from the bark of the *khōi* tree,²⁶ tinted black, with the text written on it in white crayon. In many places it is no longer readable except by great effort. The headline *Phāī sōn nōng* is followed by the words: *Chabap phra mahā yotsā tāeng--laksana klōn ān*--"this volume has been written by Phra Mahā Yotsā (in the) form of the *klōn ān*."

Unfortunately, knowing the author's name does not lead us any further. No mention is made of it in the generally known literature. The combination of the titles *phra* and *mahā* might suggest a Buddhist monk, but in the last verse of the poem the author refers to himself as "a servant from the Front Palace." The expression used for this, *khā bāt mūlikā*, indicates that he was a court official of lower or medium rank.

The author cannot be counted among the great men of literature of his country. This is made evident not merely by the fact that his name is practically unknown but, indeed, by the quality of his poetry. Its plain, largely artless language is in clear contrast to the usually stylized diction of the well known, much praised works on Phāli's teachings--see particularly Versions I and II.

The manuscript at the National Library was acquired in 2458, i.e., 1925/26. But judging by its appearance it must be significantly older than fifty years. This poem, or rather this manuscript, may perhaps be said to date from the first half of the nineteenth century. I was unable to ascertain when the text was first printed. Gerini states²⁷ that several editions (or printings) were published, one of them, from the year R.S. 119 (1900), eleven pages long.

In deviation from the usual terminology, the meter of the poem is called *klōn ān*, "klōn poetry for reading." What this probably means is that the text is not intended for stylized recitation, and thus does not address itself to a connoisseur public. Nevertheless the meter, both in the *khana* as well as in the rhymes at the end of the lines and within, is quite regularly held.²⁸ One may, I think, classify it as *klōn nangsu*.²⁹

A second manuscript in the National Library, Bangkok,³⁰ is without the biographical data contained in the one mentioned above, but the text, apart from slight deviations, is identical with the printed version.

Version V

The text following Version IV is prosaically called in print "yet another version" (*ēk samnuan nūng*). In fact the two versions are in style and contents very closely related. It may be assumed that the author of Version V knew Version IV--or the author of IV knew Version V.

The printed edition seems to be based on a manuscript from the National Library in Bangkok,³¹ which states in its introduction:

wannakhadī: *phārī sōn nōng klōn nūng lem lēk thī nūng*
prawat: *dai ēāk lēkāthikān rātōmōn...sakkarāt 1183*
pī masēng thawāi

"Literature: *Phālī sōn nōng*, a book in the *klōn* meter, vol. No. 1

History: Received from the Royal Clerks Office... in the year 1183 (*ēulasakkarāt*), dedicated (or presented) in the year of the little serpent."

Important for us is the date, which corresponds to the year 1821. Presumably the author at that time presented his poem to a patron superior,

The handwritten and printed texts, apart from insignificant deviations in spelling, are identical.

The poem consists of 139 lines in the *kl̄ōn* meter. The author calls it (verse 138) a "tale," (*nithān*) and, at the same time, a "teaching text" (*sāt*). These designations, taking the terms in their usual meaning, are contradictory. *Nithān* is normally the word for "fairytale" or "fabulous story," whereas *sāt* means didactic text exclusively. The cumulative use of both terms shows that the author's sense of literary form cannot have been very distinct. His work is rather on the level of popular poetics. This he may perhaps have felt himself as might be deduced from verse 139. In this line, too, it strikes one as misleading that the poem is called a *phl̄ōng yāu*,³² while a classification as *kl̄ōn nangsū* would be more appropriate.

Version VI

A third *kl̄ōn* version, the longest of the Phālī poems so far known, is published in the collection *Prachum suphāsīt*.³³ It is based on a manuscript of the National Library in Bangkok listed as *l̄ēk thī* 159. Two further manuscripts³⁴ offer identical texts. They do not contain bibliographical or biographical details that might be used for dating. The opening six *kh̄lōng sī suphāp* verses and the last *kh̄lōng* verse (lines 291 to 295) of the printed version do not appear in the written texts.³⁵

In the fourth line of the first *kh̄lōng krathū* verse³⁶ the author introduces himself as a *khā luang doem*, that is a servant or official of the king who was retained by him already prior to his enthronization. In lines 24 and 284 he mentions the name of honor and nobility conferred on him by the king: Phra Thammasāt, which might be rendered as "gentleman learned in law." In line 21 he mentions also his original name, Suk, adding that in his younger years he was a "watchman." The preface to the printed edition notes further³⁷ that he was in service as a *khā luang*, surely under Rama V, Culālongkōn. Nothing further is known about him--and it would be fortuitous should anything more become known in the future.

Version VII

Another version of the poem, partly not yet printed, is the one discovered by the author while cataloguing Thai manuscripts in Germany. It is incorporated in a manuscript belonging today to the Völkerkundemuseum in Heidelberg (J. und F. von Portheim-Stiftung für Wissenschaft und Kunst), on folded-leaf pages 125 to 148.³⁸ It carries the seal and signature of the National Library, Bangkok, and thus must originate from there.

The style of writing on the first two pages (of the handwritten version) imitates present-day Khmer lettering. This can only be due to the

clerk's fancy. There are a considerable number of Thai manuscripts, it is true, which are written in Khmer letters. These, however, use the Khmer alphabet proper, not as the Heidelberg manuscript does the Thai alphabet assimilating the Khmer style of lettering, and all are confined to texts of a Buddhist nature.

The larger portion of the manuscript, lines 71 to 213, have more or less the same contents as the version listed here as IV, and parts of them are literally identical. As with Versions IV and V, the handwritten text is composed in the *klōn* meter. Nothing is known about the author or the time when this poem originated. The style of lettering suggests that the manuscript could have been written some time after 1800.

Version VIII

A further text with the title *Phālī sōn nōng kham chan* is preserved by the Thai National Library under the signature *lēk thī 3 - 26 kh (aksōn ph)*. It is written on typewriting paper (*kradāt farang phim dīt*).

As author figures someone unknown named Pērōmā in the headline. This name which sounds foreign rather than Thai is most likely a pseudonym. Wachirāwut, Rama VI, King of Thailand from 1910 to 1925, was fond of publishing his numerous works under pseudonyms. But that this work should be from his pen can, considering its contents, surely not be assumed. It is only 21 verses long, in the *chan* meter, sixteen syllables, very regular, and also the pattern of rhymes follows the *chan wāninī*.⁴⁵ The *khana* of the verses, however--as usually with *chan* poetry--does not fit any meter.⁴⁶

No precise dating of the work can be offered except that it seems fairly certain it must have originated in this century. For a persiflage as irreverent as this one the time was not ripe before that in Thailand. As author one might well imagine a man of spirited irony from the period of Rama VI.

2. General characteristics

In the field of Thai poetry, where curiosities are by no means rare, it may yet be deemed a stroke of luck, and somewhat confusing at that, to find on one and the same theme no less than ten different works, three of them sections from more comprehensive contexts, seven others independent creations.

Various authors at various times have labored to prove their poetic skill in the three meters most frequently used in Thai literature, *chan*, *khlōng*, and *klōn*. It can hardly be by accident that Phālī's teachings were treated in so many variations. What they wish to convey is so typically Thai and, beyond that, typically Asian and Buddhist that time and again they have offered themselves as a natural vehicle for such

teachings. What this type of poetry aims at is neither to amuse or entertain, nor to stir or move, but to offer precepts for practical purposes and use. And there is neither arrogance nor didactic condescension in them. They are, although Thai idiomatics would lend themselves to the most subtle nuances, neither esoteric in their language nor strikingly drastic or direct.

The death of the simian ruler Phālī serves as a framework for these poetic works. Actually, the authors could hardly have thought of a better one for this kind of teaching. The aura of spiritual exaltedness that sometimes, in the proximity of death, radiates from persons to whom an heroic character may be ascribed gives to the teachings an appearance not merely of ultimate personal wisdom but of objective revelations true to life far beyond mere moralizing instructions.

Phālī, portrayed in the epos as a mighty warrior, at once brave and cunning, has in the face of death his finest hour. He comes off well in this last trial by which all other deeds of his life will be judged.

Phālī expounds to the young the wrongness of his deed; he repents and makes known that atonement for it can only be death. "Then he was ready to take his leave," the *Rāmakiān* states, in solemn brevity, whereas in Version VI (lines 160 ff.) the farewell scene is elaborated in epic breadth and conveys an atmosphere of detachment such as may be attained by one whose struggle in life is consummated in ultimate freedom. Phālī chooses "death of his own free will," not however as a hymnic feast (in the sense of Nietzsche: "His own death dies the consummator, as a victor surrounded by men of hope and solemn vows"). With Phālī, the motivation for choosing death is a feeling of guilt for having trespassed against a divine command, and thus there is in his dying "no blasphemy against man or earth" (Thus Spake Zarathustra, pt. I, chapter on "A Freely Chosen Death").

It is quite evident that all these poems must go back to one and the same source. Their very structure is proof of this. In those parts that offer precepts for practical matters, thereby distinctly different from the rest which consist all too often merely of moralizing commonplaces, the sequence of the teachings is with few exceptions identical:

1. Service to the king: I.5; III.6; IV.36-37; V.64-66; VI.76-81.
2. Explain everything to the king (and truthfully): I.7; II.21; III.9; IV.40; V.16-17.
3. Admonitions concerning attire: I.8; III.8; IV.40; VI.134.
4. No intercourse with the royal concubines: I.8; II.8; III.8; IV.52,55; V.18-21; VI.120-123.
5. Report to the king only on suitable occasions: I.9-10; II.9-10; III.9; IV.88-91; V.22-23.

6. Do not touch the throne or the regalia: I.11; II.11; III.18; v.32-33.
7. Be not too close to the king nor too far from him: I.12-13; II.12; IV.41-42; V.34-35.
8. Do not speak out against rewards accorded to others: I.14; II.13; III.14; IV.100-103; V.36-37; VI.132-133.
9. Do not overeat before attending an audience: I.15; II.14; III.21; V.39-43.
10. Do not pilfer the king's property: I.16; II.15; III.21.
11. Distrust strangers: I.17; (II.16); III.24; IV.108-111; V.72-73.

The sequence in the section quoted from the *Rāmakīan*, using the above scheme of numbering, is as follows: 1,2,3,4,6,11,8,10. From this, one could not yet draw the conclusion that each later author knew his predecessor's works. It might be possible that the verses from the *Rāmakīan* alone served as an inspiration to each one of them, but to me this does not seem very probable. I can see no direct evolvement, without intermediary links, from the terse diction of the *Rāmakīan* verses to the epic effusion of Versions IV, VI, and VII with their numerous repetitions. Should Phra Nārāi actually be the author of Version II, or should it have been ascribed to his name, that poem as a *phra rātaḥa nīphon* ("royal composition") would be the one most likely to have been generally known.

Nearest to the teachings in the *Rāmakīan* is Version I. While the meter is different, the rather concise diction is similar. However, the poem in the *chan* meter is given more frequently to praising the king's majesty and to calling upon the young to be subject to him. It is to the poet's credit, on the other hand, that he tried to keep his verses free from a mannerism vitiating so many *chan* poems, namely, indulging in an erudite vocabulary of Sanskrit and Pali terms unfamiliar to the general public.

With 32 four-line *khlong* verses the work ascribed to Phra Nārāi is almost twice as long as Version I. Among all of the traditional Phālī poetry, this poem is the most difficult one from the point of view of language. Not because of some more ancient linguistic forms used, but because, due to the sometimes aphoristic terseness of diction, the meaning of many words and phrases may only be gathered by interpretation from the context.

If we could proceed with assurance from the assumption that this poem, at least in its concept, stems from Phra Nārāi, we should have in it the key for interpreting his period of government, the king's mentality, and probably also that of his century. What we have here is no less than an unquestionable assertion of Caesarism. Not one line may be found in this poem that does not directly or, as in the epilogue (verses 31 to 32), indirectly have reference to the king's majesty, to the "Cakrī," the "Ruler of the Earth," the

"Four-Armed One" who is "like Śiva." The state and its general order, which to uphold is the call of these verses, are their sole concern.

"Research the truth" (25), yes, but only to report it to his majesty.

The larger part of Version III, perhaps up to verse 26, is similar in content to Version II. But clearly the eulogies for the royal omnipotence are more subdued, expressed in a less exuberant manner. From verse 27 onward the poet, himself from a rank of higher nobility, ventures to pronounce teachings which, it is true, might also be useful when finding oneself in the presence of the royal majesty, yet are primarily intended to give advice to an individual, to a subject, on how to deport himself in delicate situations. This could be considered confirming evidence for the possible interval of perhaps 200 years that might have elapsed between the writing of Versions II and III.

The difference between the *Rōmakian* text and Versions I, II, and III on the one hand, and all the others is more significant. Even the first impression, leaving aside all formal criteria of divergent meters--*klōn* here, *chan* and *khlōng* there--conveys a feeling of a more relaxed atmosphere less affected by etiquette. The language of these poems is indeed simple, often artless. But in reading one gains the impression that the author has endeavored intentionally to make use of everyday language and figures of speech.

Phālī sōn nōng by Phra Mahā Yotsā (Version IV) is almost in the manner of a popular treatise, in its simplicity more like a sermon than poetry. Its short striking sentences are reminiscent of the terse language of Sukhothai inscriptions. The topic of the teachings often changes from line to line. The verses of this Version IV also make reference, it is true, to royal omnipotence, with exhortations to serve and be subject to the king. But these parts appear rather like a frame used to encompass advice on practical life directed to the general individual, rules of conduct intended to make life more tolerable to the reader and to preserve him from danger--urging him to show consideration for his fellow men and a righteous attitude toward life in general. "Common sense" one might call what these verses offer. "Be good or bad, fearful, brave? The mid-path be your own." (IV.139).

Version V is, by nuances, a bit less directed towards the average individual, a bit more focused on the king.

The poem least satisfactory formally is the one printed here as Version VI. It starts out with an unusually long introduction in ten four-line *khlōng* verses. As already mentioned above, the first six *khlōng* verses are missing in the manuscripts preserved at the National Library in Bangkok, on which the text evidently is based. In fact, they appear somewhat like an afterthought, as an introduction to the introduction proper, namely, the four *khlōng-krathū* verses. It seems

oddly unmotivated when the sixth *khlōng* verse containing biographical references to the author is abruptly followed by the statement that "Brahmā has created the law."

A large part of the verses have nothing to do with the theme proper of the poem. Lines 1 to 75, 164 to 210, 211 to 231, 246 to 283 do not offer teachings but contain formalities, votive verses, introduction, epilogue, and also (164 ff.) an otherwise unknown scene between Phālī and Phra Nārāi (Rāma), which may either have sprung from the poet's imagination or be derived from one of the numerous *Rāmākīan* fragments. Further, a number of interesting new aspects are brought up in these verses which do not properly belong to the teachings here under discussion; for instance, in VI 170, 171 reference is made to the idea of being content with a symbolic atonement rather than killing someone for a crime. Regarding the character of the teachings proper of this version, reference is made to what has been said above about *klōn* poetry in general.

Similarly elaborate as in Version VI is the introduction to Version VII, namely, 70 verses. Otherwise this poem is largely identical with the text of Version IV so that no further comment is required. Entirely extraneous to the general frame of characteristics common to Versions I to VII is Version VIII.

What may be called "traditional Thailand" was nearing its end at the time, following the era of the two great Čakrī rulers Rama IV, Mongkut (1851-1868), and Rama V, Čulālongkōn (1868-1910), and this was noticeable to sensitive minds already. Almost by necessity was a break with the past to be expected after the long period of 650 years during which the political and social fabric of the autocratic monarchy had sometimes been adjusted by nuances to utterly compelling new requirements but had never been basically changed. The relevance of so many of the teachings, which had been passed on for many centuries, seemed exhausted. As an independent mind the poet Pērōmā may have longed for something fresh and different, but since the frame of traditional society was then, around the year 1910, still, seemingly, intact the only way out for him was evasion into caricature. There was no chance for these verses to be printed, but they have been preserved (from whose heritage?).

Verses 1 to 13 require no comment. Suffice it to state that the author was a superb observer of the ways of monkeys in their natural behavior. In verse 14 the teachings of the "elders" are being made fun of, not just *en passant* or by the very existence of this new kind of poetry, but *expressis verbis*. In verses 19 to 20 the tutor invites the young to behave towards their lord in a positively "anti-authoritarian" way, to carry on in an even more defying manner than recommended by Swift to domestics in his "Directions to Servants." They should, in their own interest, "keep their eyes open," i.e., be on their guard in front of their masters yet have no qualms about engaging in "silly talk," which can only mean stooping to their master's level. And as to corporal punishment, the young ought to pay it back with all the monkey tricks of the trade.

In the last line of the last verse the dying ruler of the monkeys wishes himself to hell.

As poetry the short text of Version VIII can claim only a subordinate place but as an historic document of the spirit of its time it is of high significance.

From *Phālī Teaches the Young* we may indeed derive a basic outline of the historic development of the Thai spirit.

1. Plüang na Nakhōn, *Prawat wannakhadī thai* p. 152; likewise Satawēthin, *Prawat wannakhadī*, pp. 62 f.
2. *Phra rāteha niphon khlong*, p. (k).
3. Controversial, according to other sources only until 1682 or 1683, see Rosenberg, "Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Ayuthaya-Dynastien Thailands," p. 100.
4. *Étude sur la littérature siamoise*, p. 111.
5. "On Siamese Proverbs and Idiomatic Expressions," p. 44.
6. What does appear in the *Āindāmanī* version of Krom Luang Wong-sāthirātsanit, *Āindāmanī*, p. 13, as the fourth line of a *khlong kratū* verse--not as an "acrostic"--is: "the son of Indra teaches the younger." This can mean only Phālī. This line by itself, however, does not prove that reference is made here to a poem apart from the *Rāmākīan*.
7. Here, too, Gerini's statements are not exact. Narinthibēt did not live during the third reign but died probably already in 1810 (thus in any case Schweisguth, *op.cit.*, p. 215; less definite Plüang na Nakhōn, *op.cit.*, pp. 461 f.). Which alleged version Gerini refers to must be left open. Narinthibēt's name is mentioned neither in a manuscript nor in any printed version of *Phālī sōn nōng*.
8. See on this the remarks concerning Version IV.
9. See Wenk, *Thai-Handschriften*, part 2, p. 17.
10. *Prachum čāruk wat phra chētuphon*, vol. II, pp. 368-371; the text is also printed in *Kritsana sōn nōng Phālī sōn nōng kham chan*, Phra niphon Somdet Krom Phra Pōramānuchitchinōrot, pp. 20 - 23.
11. Thus expressly Dhani Nivat, "The Inscriptions of Wat Phra Jetubon," p. 60.
12. See on this the remarks by Vella, *Siam under Rama III*, p. 54.
13. Schweisguth, *op.cit.*, pp. 248, 253.
14. See for example Wenk, "Raden Landai, Das Leben und Werk des Phra Mahā Montrī," pp. 213 f.
15. See Wenk, *Die Metrik in der thailändischen Dichtung*, p. 97; *ibid.*, p. 89.

II. PHĀLĪ SŪN NŪNG AS A SOCIOLOGICAL DOCUMENT

A. Preliminary Remarks

The two-fold significance of this poetic work has been pointed out several times in the course of the present study: as a literary creation to be judged by aesthetic criteria and as a historic document, sections of which permit insights into the inner structure of monarchy in old Thailand.

According to the "formalistic method of interpretation," which at present is in use internationally, a work of art, a poetic creation, must be viewed neither as a "document or record of cultural history, nor as a repository of philosophical ideas" (Höllerer). The New Criticism even disdains anything except "masterpieces;" Emil Staiger, anything except "creations of a genius;" and Benedetto Croce insists that only "supreme achievements" should be acceptable in which "something of the absolute... manifests itself." Apart from this, the slogan is today "structural analysis immanent to the work itself."

Which works from Thailand, Laos, Burma, or Vietnam might be described as "masterpieces" or "supreme achievements" need not to be decided here, but what we may state, somewhat generalizing to be sure, is that poetic works in those countries, while also seen as aesthetic creations, are yet regarded primarily as works with a function: as didactic poetry, for example, in the widest sense, i.e., including the large number of texts inspired by Buddhism for rendering homage, for ceremonial purposes, or simply as literature to be read for entertainment, with practical lessons on how to order one's life according to the precepts of Theravāda Buddhism.

Were one to accept the rigorous aestheticism outlined above as ultimate wisdom, one would have done with most of the literatures of Southeast Asia before even properly starting, and that part of the cultural history of the nations living there would remain unexplored. While recognizing fully that works of art pertain to a sphere entirely their own, yet it seems also true that, as a rule, they are a product and a part of the spirit of their time and thus testimony to that spirit. Reading poetry does not just mean exploring "texts" that bear no relation to life whatever. This is all the more true when such poetic works, as in the present case, profess themselves that their primary purpose is to teach, not to be taken as aesthetic phenomena, let alone "masterpieces."

Jacob Burckhart's opinion seems to show deeper insight and more realism when he states that "history finds in poetry one of its most important sources, indeed one of the purest and most beautiful" (*Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*), and a contemporary writer has expressed the same thought rather strikingly by saying that an author

does not merely write a story, but history (Reinhard Baumgart, *Literatur für Zeitgenossen*).

The expression "sociological" is used on purpose in the title for this chapter in order to cover, in historical perspective, the entire domain of society. There is no justification for viewing the teachings restrictively only under, say, juridical or constitutional aspects. Moreover, it would be methodically incorrect to analyze the structure of the Thai state of the Ayuthaya period by using an abstract pattern of thought based entirely on Western thinking.

The constitutional structure of ancient Thailand is known in general outline. We are also informed by and large on the historic conditions that led to the conception of monarchy such as it prevailed in Sukhothai and Ayuthaya. We know very little, however, how matters "really" were, or might have been, meaning how interrelations were structured as seen from the inside and how the actual communication between ruler and ruled operated. Historical documents, which are not at all numerous, have the character of chronicles. They are informative, to be sure, often the only sources concerning events during the 400 years of the Ayuthaya period, but not once do the chroniclers, court officials presumably, express a personal opinion of their own, let alone permit themselves to be lured into venturing a critical comment. Misdeeds or defeats of many a great man, the cowardice or moral failings of an army leader, it is true, are not left unrecorded, but everything is reported with dispassionate aloofness. One need only read the account of the death of Čau Fā Thamathibēt, one of the greatest geniuses among the poets of ancient Thailand. While this, to be sure, is not the report of a callous contemporary, yet there is not a word to betray human sensitivity, neither pity nor understanding sympathy, and not the shadow of a doubtful question transpires as to whether all was done by right according to the existing order.

Accounts by European merchants, envoys, and clergymen from the 17th and 18th centuries frequently offer interesting details about customs at court, relations between king and subjects, in short the areas not touched upon by any of the chronicles. Yet, they can be used only with reservations as primary sources for the sociological situation of their time. One may doubt, on the one hand, whether foreign travellers, paying more or less transient visits to a country, preoccupied also with specific assignments, could have carefully and properly judged the atmosphere and fluidity of a royal court hermetically shut off from the outside world or of human interrelations in this nation with its complex social hierarchy, which had developed under totally different cultural and religious conditions unfamiliar to the outsider. On the other hand, one also finds obvious prejudices or intentional misinterpretations, particularly in the records of Christian missionaries.

What an observer interested in Thai culture is searching for is the kind of testimony that one might describe as the "voice of the people,"

coming from those sections not actively participating in shaping events but rather serving in nameless anonymity. Private documents, letters, or personal notes from that time have not come down to us. What remains are those few poetic works that do not recreate legendary tales nor deal with heroic subjects, Buddhist themes, or the innumerable, repetitious "travel accounts" (*nirāt*). Also to be discounted as a sociological source is the literary genre of the *tamrā*,¹ because the popular way of thinking often found in it has a different connotation from what we discuss here. An individual trait is revealed sometimes, as an exception, in some of the rare Thai lyric poems. Verses like Čau Fā Thamathibēt's answer to his love's anxious question: "Do you not fear the king, nor the dangers of your rash actions?," to which he replies: "I shall freely and without concern dare to be bold," express in fact indiscretion rather than boldness, springing from the rebellious spirit of a willful character without self-control. This is no case of personal distress, and even less could it be taken as a generally valid expression of a specific social situation.

In substance, Phālī's teachings do not go beyond what is by and large contained already as command or interdict in the voluminous collection of laws of the *Kotmāi trā sām duang*. Abstracted from the casuistries of detailed case regulations as they prevailed in the ancient Thai legal system, the teachings may be considered, *pars pro toto*, as the essence of those laws. Sociologically of interest, therefore, are not merely the individual teachings but also their selection and the sometimes unconventional manner of their presentation.

1. See Wenk, "Tamrā maeu-tamrā sunak" (A Treatise on Cats and Dogs), pp. 148-150.

B. Summary of Versions I to VIII

A summary of the texts, while neglecting perhaps some nuances or fine points, appears necessary and thus justified because if we wish to consider the accounts and information conveyed by them under other than literary aspects we must have the gist of them available in a compact form.

The expressions used in the following summary "Introductory history" or "Introductory history to Phālī's death" (VI, 160 ff.) signify that these sections are merely comments explaining the story's progress but do not contain teachings and are, therefore, irrelevant for an interpretation of the text as it is attempted here. The same applies to the words "Address," "Death of Phālī," "Epilogue," and "Colophon," which, as formal specifics, are of interest for the history of literature, yet by their contents are extraneous to the teachings.

Version I

Verse nos.:

- 1 to 3: Introductory history
- 4: Address to Sukhrīp and Ongkhot
- 5: Service to the king by day and night
- 6: Be circumspect, cautious
- 7: If the king asks, do explain all
- 8: No luxurious attire, no glances directed towards the royal concubines
- 9 to 10: Report to the king only when the occasion is auspicious
- 11: Do not touch the throne
- 12 to 13: Be neither too near to the king nor too far from him, keep a moderate distance
- 14: Do not object to rewards granted to others
- 15: Do not overeat before attending an audience
- 16: A thief is he who pilfers the royal treasury
- 17: Distrust strangers
- 18: Do not lounge about idly
- 19: Acclaim the king's words
- 20: Keep your distance from the king
- 21: Be grateful to the king
- 22: Be subject to the king
- 23: Do not contradict the king

- 24: Be devoted to the king
- 25: Be grateful to the king
- 26: Be devoted to the king
- 27: Serve with studious application
- 28: Be truthful yet supple
- 29 to 30: Be modest in front of the majesty
- 31: The king will reward you
- 32 to 33: Of your own free will fight to the death for the king

Version II

Verse nos.:

- 1 to 2: Introductory history
- 3 to 4: Address to Sukhrīp and Ongkhot
- 5: Be subject to the king, do not be idle
- 6: Be honest to the king
- 7: Do not behave conspicuously
- 8: No intercourse with the royal concubines
- 9 to 10: Be adroit and sensitive when having to do with the king
- 11: Do not touch the royal throne
- 12: Be not too near to the king nor too distant
- 13: No protesting when others are rewarded
- 14: Do not attend audience overstuffed with food
- 15: Do not rob royal treasures
- 16: Be careful when dealing with procurers
- 17: Keep out of the palace grounds
- 18 to 20: Be subject to the mighty majesty
- 21: Serve the king eagerly, report to him everything
- 22: Use prudence and caution when giving report to the king
- 23: Venerate the king
- 24: Be subject to the king
- 25: Be truthful and obedient
- 26: Praise and glory to the majesty
- 27: Render homage and flatter the king
- 28 to 29: Volunteer to fight to the death for the king
- 30 to 32: Follow these teachings

Version III

Verse nos.:

- 1 to 4: Introductory history
- 5: Addresses to Sukhrīp, Dārā, and Ongkhot
- 6: Serve and revere the king
- 7: No idleness, serve the king
- 8: No pompous attire, no glances toward the royal concubines
- 9: Report to the king only when the occasion is favorable, do not cover up faults
- 10: Do not contradict the king unless you are alone with him
- 11: Avoid entering the palace grounds
- 12: Be not too close to the king, nor too far from him
- 13: Be adroit and sensitive when attending the king
- 14: Do not object to rewards given to others
- 15: Be loyal and devoted to the king
- 16: Do not show intimacy towards the king, do not hide what deserves punishment
- 17: Protect the king, shield his property
- 18: Regalia must be taboo for you. Behave as required by etiquette
- 19: Be circumspect, do not boast of the king's favors
- 20: Offer submission to the king, no antagonism
- 21: Do not go to an audience overstuffed with food
- 22: No intercourse with treasury or other palace officials
- 23: No intercourse with royal concubines
- 24: Guard family honor--no association with foreigners
- 25: No boasting about the king's favors. Bearing royal anger calmly
- 26: Eagerness and unconditional loyalty in serving the king
- 27: Act prudently--do no harm to others
- 28: Render service to the king
- 29: Help your friends but remain loyal (to the king)
- 30: Do not destroy, be ready to help
- 31: Volunteer to fight for the king
- 32: Be faithful to the king
- 33: Be fair and considerate toward one's fellowmen

34 to 37: Death of Phālī

38: Epilogue

Version IV

Line nos.:

1 to 17: Praising Phālī

18 to 22: Address to Sukhrīp and Ongkhot

23 to 27: Be servants to the king

28 to 31: Behave as required by etiquette at court

32 to 35: Attentive, careful conduct in the palace

36 to 37: Serve the king

38: Do not be timid

39: Be adroit and skillful

40: Do not dress too elegantly

41: The middle path is right

42: Do not remain too far from the king

43: Do not do anything excessively

44 to 46: Praise the king

47: Give your answers in a seemly manner

48 to 51: Be just

52 to 55: Keep your eyes from the king's concubines

56,57,59: Be devoted to the king

58: Do not covet what is forbidden

60 to 67: Proper conduct: polite, circumspect, truthful

68: Be conscientious in doing your duty

69: Associate only with your equals

70 to 71: Retaliate evil for evil, good for good

72 to 73: Keep your temper

74 to 76: Destroy the wicked, not the good

77: Don't oppress the weak

78: Don't seduce others to gamble

79 to 82: Be devoted to the king

83: Doing nothing but good will be to your own benefit

84 to 85: Respect others, especially superiors

- 86 to 87: Be fully alert in the presence of the king
 88 to 91, 94 to 95: Report to the king only when he is in good humor
 92 to 93: Pay attention to everything, yet report only what is important
 96 to 99: Be brief and precise when reporting
 100 to 103: Do not object when others are rewarded
 104 to 107: Do not trespass against the royal treasury
 108 to 111: No intercourse with foreigners
 112 to 115: Let not your eyes wander towards the royal concubines
 116 to 117: Avoid entering the palace grounds
 118 to 119: Be self-controlled
 120 to 126: Volunteer to fight for the king
 127 to 143: Qualities of a good general: foresight, planning in advance, treating the soldiers well
 144 to 147: Do not fear death
 148 to 155: Honor the race of the simian kings
 156 to 161: Hang together, protect each other
 162 to 167: Phālī's death
 168 to 175: Colophon

Version V

Line nos.:

- 1 to 10: Introductory history
 11 to 14: Be subject to the king
 15: No stealing
 16 to 17: Report only what is true
 18 to 21: No contact with the king's concubines
 22 to 23: Make reports only at the proper time
 24: Do your duty conscientiously
 25: Bide your time
 26: Adjust to the respective situation
 27: Watch over the king
 28: Contradict when necessary
 29 to 31: Caution when contradicting or reporting bad news

- 32 to 33: Do not touch the royal throne
- 34 to 35: Be neither too close to nor too far from the king
- 36 to 37: No objecting when others are rewarded
- 38: Modesty
- 39 to 43: Be well groomed and don't overeat when attending audience
- 44 to 48: Be fully alert in the presence of the king
- 49: Take your official duties seriously
- 50: Be modest
- 51: Be faithful to friends
- 52 to 55,58: No intercourse with royal concubines and eunuchs
- 59: Reveal nothing when taken prisoner
- 60: Honor the authorities
- 61 to 63: Be zealous in fulfilling your duty
- 64 to 66: Be servants to the king
- 67: Act according to tradition
- 68 to 71: Steal nothing from the royal treasury
- 72 to 73: No intercourse with foreigners
- 74: Be sincere
- 75: Consider before speaking
- 76 to 79: Do not trespass into the palace grounds
- 80 to 82: Act in accordance with these precepts
- 83 to 89: Revere the king day and night
- 90: Fear the king's punishment
- 91: Do not be careless
- 92 to 93: Do not boast of the royal favor
- 94 to 95: Caution, no false friends
- 96 to 101: Do not give reports when the king is ill-tempered
- 102: Be dutiful
- 103: Report no untruths
- 104 to 107: Denounce no one unless you have to
- 108 to 109: The good shall be promoted
- 110 to 111: Promote your own race
- 112 to 119: Voluntarily and bravely you shall fight for the king
- 120 to 129: Protect each other

130 to 137: Death of Phālī

138 to 139: Colophon

Version VI

Line nos.:

1 to 20: Veneration of the Buddha, The Teaching, and the Community of Monks

21 to 24: The author presents himself

25 to 32: Ponder the wisdom of these teachings

33 to 40: Phālī announces his death

41 to 69: Introductory history and proclamation of Phālī's glory

70 to 75: Appeal to Ongkhot, Sukhrīp, and Hanumān

76 to 81: Be true and faithful servants of the king

82: Show modesty

83 to 85: Be brave fighters

86 to 91: Serve your own race, be loyal toward the king

92 96,99: Fight with art and strategy

97: Be not too trusting

98 to 99: Don't lose your head

100 to 101: Tell good things about good men

102 to 103: Be helpful

104 to 112: No ill will or contempt towards inferiors, modesty towards superiors

113: Don't make fools of yourselves

114: Avoid being drunk

115: No association with men of ill repute

116 to 119: Proper conduct towards the king

120 to 123: No intercourse with ladies of the palace

124 to 127: Honor your race, be loyal

128: Be the king's servants

129: Respect the king's treasures

130: Serve with careful attention

131: "Correct" behavior

132 to 133: Do not corrupt rewards given to others

- 134 to 135: Dress with care
 136 to 138: Minister your office well
 139 to 143: Be charitable, without ill-will or desire for revenge
 144 to 146: Be truthful
 147 to 148: Serve the king
 149 to 150: Be ready to help
 151: Guard your dignity
 152 to 154: Be content with your rank
 155: Show a sense of duty
 156 to 159: Pay homage to the king
 160 to 210: Introductory history to Phāḷī's death
 211 to 231: Phāḷī says goodbye; the last precepts: serve the majesty
 232 to 243: Let these teachings be a guide to all and everyone
 244 to 245: Be eager to serve
 246 to 283: In praise of this poem, and the benefit from it
 284 to 295: Epilogue

Version VII

Line nos.:

- 1 to 70: Introductory history
 71 to 219: See description of Version IV, lines 18 to 160
 220 to 227: Epilogue

Version VIII

Verse nos.:

- 1: Announcing the teachings
 2 to 20: Behave monkeyish, ye monkeys
 21: Death of Phāḷī

It may be pointed out that in none of the verses is there so much as a hint that anything of *material* value should be presented to the king. The command is only not to pilfer the king's property (I.16; II.15; III.17; IV.104 ff.; V.68 ff.; VI.129). Neither are there admonitions in any of the versions demanding good conduct toward the community of monks, and no infernal punishment is held up as a threat to those who might not honor one or another of the precepts. Thus, there is no direct connection between secular power and religion, and the latter is not pressed into immediate service of political ends or of the royal omnipotence. That the indirect influence of Buddhism on the teachings was, however, considerable becomes quite obvious in the following chapters.

If we disregard the verses described above as formalities or sections reporting events, the remaining bulk may be divided into three major groups with reference to their contents: First, those concerning the person or the office of the king directly, inviting absolute loyalty toward him; second, those exhorting to proper conduct toward one's fellow man and the general public; third, those having more or less the personal well-being of the addressee, i.e., the reader, in mind, offering "golden rules" for the individual person--behave like this, do not do that--for his own benefit.

Not all of these verses fit exactly into one of these three categories; there are too many passages with overlapping implications. An invitation like the one: "Keep your distance from the king" might be classified as belonging to any one of the groups. The meaning is often fluid. If the poet recommends to the young to report to the king "only when the occasion is favorable," it may be doubtful whether this is rather in their own interest to protect them from the majesty's anger or whether in the poet's opinion the venerable person of the ruler towers so high above all that his subjects ought to pay proper respect even to his whims and tempers.

The larger part of the teachings--so much becomes clear even after the first provisional reading--belongs to group number one. These teachings exhort one to show obedience, sometimes submissiveness; they admonish one to see in the king a refuge of all virtue and justice and to regard him--not unimportantly--as the sole benefactor and guardian.

Parallel to this grouping by contents runs a second one by authors--provided the data already set forth concerning the literary history of the poems generally corresponds to the facts. If the texts are thus classified, they equally divide into three groups, namely:

- A. A king of Thailand being the author, Version II;
- B. members of the (high) nobility being the authors, Version III, perhaps I;
- C. authors stemming from anonymous sections of the people, Versions IV, V, and VI.

It is interesting to note that this latter way of classification leads to almost identical groupings as that by contents given earlier. Only the authors classified under (C) wrote verses belonging to groups (2) or (3), while only the poem by the royal author consists exclusively of verses to be classified under group (1). Recognizing this leads one directly to the question as to how poets in Thailand perceived their own function and mission.

C. The "Teachers"--The Role Played by the Poets and How They Interpreted It

Through the mouth of the monkey ruler Phālī, ten poets of ancient Thailand have pronounced their teachings. As far as the few data of literary history that have come down to us on this subject permit to state, they were men coming from the most different social surroundings, and what they wrote was meant for contemporaries of various centuries (see I.B.1).

The fact that only few, if any, certain dates exist about the lives of the poets and that in some cases not even their names are known should not deter us from appraising the little we do know under sociological aspects.

Let us try to outline the problem by asking pertinent questions. What were the reasons that motivated one or another of the poets to write their teachings of Phālī?

From what perspective were those poems conceived--from a position of dependence or from the viewpoint of free men?

A follow-up question must be added to the last one: Was the writing of the poems commissioned, were the poems merely a product of leisurely imagination, or were they totally conditioned by a specific personal or social situation?

Do the teachings express the private opinions of the poets, or a collective opinion, or that of the sovereign?

Did any of the poets consider that his mission was to exhort, to foretell, to reform, or were they merely mouthpieces of royal omnipotence?

Did they see themselves as entertainers?

There is not a single one of these questions that we could answer irrefutably. All we can try to do is to make apparent by hypotheses the probability of some of our contentions.

One may submit that in a hierarchical society so thoroughly structured as that of ancient Thailand a specific role¹ was assigned to poets, too, and that they were well aware of it. They were firmly integrated into that section of the population to which they belonged according to their "worth" (*sakdīnā*).² The author of Version II, belonging possibly to royalty, will be disregarded in this connection.

The poet did not consider himself as having a "social contract" with society, rather he saw society as his own community, with himself as an integral part of the social fabric. Having a "clearly defined status, his role was thus free of conflict."³ The warning in 154/VI, "Behave as

is with your rank appropriate," articulated no doubt a generally recognized rule.

The poet did not feel an outsider in the role he played in society. Cult of the genius, the posture of the literary star, of someone "special"--special in regard to whom indeed? The country's king was so far removed from his subjects that his "worth" was infinite, beyond any counting. And the grand and mighty were watching jealously over their roles, intent on increasing their prestige and possessions. The poet needed patrons, just as everyone depended in some way, not merely economically, on everybody else.

Being content with one's role will often, if not usually, have implied also a certain degree of real satisfaction. That would be a Buddhist thought. As in all forms of rationality, in Buddhism, too, there is an element of renunciation. But it would also correspond to an insight into the actual distribution of power which, in a traditionally hierarchical society, made it impossible to break out, or possible only in a restricted way, sometimes endangering one's personal well-being. The poet was probably also incapable of assuming an attitude of a certain distance to society which is needed for any critical assessment of it, or for subjecting society to doubt.

Was the poet, then, one who adapted himself or was even willingly submissive, a conformist or even an opportunist? Was his an active, more or less creative, conquest of the world around him, or was it a passive, imitating, conformist attitude, a simple submission to the "normative power of the facts?" It will often be impossible to answer the question unequivocally; whether someone should be called an opportunist is, by the way, to a large extent a matter of personal opinion and thus extraneous to our discussion here. One will have to put the question more concisely: Were poets in ancient Thailand, due to whatever the situation, bound, even compelled, to behave like conformists or opportunists? Did social constraints press upon their personal situation, their freedom of decision, to such an extent that in order to preserve their physical or spiritual existence they had no alternative but to become conformists, opportunists? Actually, no one was forced to become a poet. Neither, therefore, was anyone pushed into assuming the part of a conformist thereby. Whoever felt the vocation of a poet, or rather of a teacher, was entirely free to devote himself to such an office. To envisage and to teach, in one's own words and images, ways of living together in society is an entirely legitimate undertaking and need not have anything to do with conformism, let alone opportunism. If it does, it will be on account of some personal inclination, not due to social constraints.

Surely the poet did feel "adjusted," and this he wanted to be to a high degree. He would not have had the slightest chance of finding an audience and being heard had his poetry presented teachings deviating from the generally accepted moral and social norms, i.e., teachings for which

no need was felt and which, therefore, would not have been readily understood (concerning this see also II. F.2).

In formal aspects, too, the *Phālī sōn nōng* poems are proof of an unbroken, unreflected relationship of the poets to their society. What they were using were traditional metrics familiar to every literate person, and the language chosen, particularly from Version VI on, consisted of plain figures of everyday speech.

A *khā luang*, a court official of modest rank, was one of the authors, another was presumably an abbot, a third a judge. This means that their positions could be considered, from a financial point of view, as relatively secure.⁴ None of the poets who wrote the *Phālī sōn nōng* verses was apparently a professional writer. There may have been individual cases of poets who spent their days in unfettered Bohemian liberty, living on a benefactor's or generous mistress's liberality or subsisting on occasional work. Sunthōn Phū surely spent part of his life this way;⁵ Phayāphrom's biography of him indicates something to that effect.⁶

If, therefore, there was no estate of professional poets, there was also no specific class consciousness, no specific "ethos" apart from the generally recognized and practiced rules of life. That one or another of the poets may have seen himself as on a different level from the rest of his environment would be natural, but this would not have been the result of a special group consciousness of poets but would rather testify to the strength of his own personality.

The question concerning the poet's subjective understanding of the sense and purpose of his poetry cannot be separated from another one, namely: "For whom?" Only in the case of a king of Thailand being the possible author--Version II--would such a question be superfluous. But in what role did a poet see himself who found it necessary to repeat over and over again in his verses, "Be subject to the king?" First of all, and presumably above all, is the role of a loyal subject addressing himself to all other subjects. Is the poet, then, as the servant of a social and political structure imposed on him, ministering to it as a praiser and glorifier?⁷ Yes, indeed, surely to a certain degree. But not as one who, ideologically conditioned, acted under direct compulsion, but as a citizen of pragmatic, possibly idealistic, character who felt secure in the part he played within his own society and therefore looked upon it in a positive way.⁸

Further, even praise and acclaim need not necessarily imply that a system of government ought to be, and remain, in all and everything exactly as it is. Only when royal rule was linked to extrasocial, transcendent laws, to ideas for example as those taken from Buddhist cosmology (see infra II.E.2.), did the poet find himself in the role of one proclaiming that the existing political structure could not even be imagined to be otherwise. In that case his role was no longer that of an enlightener who would want to encourage his listeners or readers to

give thought to the situation of society and to ponder the allegedly "true" interests of the individual. Thai poets did not enlarge upon the historical conditions of government or on the fact that it might be subject to change.

The poets of ancient Thailand were not preoccupied with educating for themselves a reading or listening public ; they rather wanted to cater to the needs of the one that already existed. Their intention was not critical analysis but describing the existing reality⁹--all this possibly without the poets fully and consciously rendering themselves account of it.

It may be assumed that poets also often found themselves called upon to render the leisure hours of some royal or otherwise highly placed patron more interesting and pleasurable by mellifluous verses in the lighter vein (aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae). And what poet is not inclined to hyperbolize, at least sometimes, if by this his verses become especially effective or pleasing to the ear? ("The poets," Nietzsche found in *Also sprach Zarathustra*, "are lying too much.")

Some poets may also have found special satisfaction in an artful mastery of the language,¹⁰ hoping to attract readers or listeners who would appreciate this. A Buddhist abbot may have justified his own manner of poetry by the need for spreading precepts derived from Buddha's wisdom in easily absorbed verses addressed to everyone, thus writing as a preacher rather than as a poet.

The author of Version VI sets up this demand (259): "Refrain from speaking out if something is not expounded in these present teachings." Indeed, the advice of a person convinced of himself, but probably it was meant rather as a "golden rule of life," a helpful directive for the average citizen with little or no social or political experience. That this was the way the poets themselves saw their task may be concluded also from 292/VI, "My poem is but a humble one"--meaning that what they considered their true mission was in the first place to help by advice and instruction, and only in the second place to be a poet--even though the same author invites us at the same time not to measure his verses by the mere yardstick of our own taste (275-276).

There remained, to be sure, an abstract sphere of freedom of inspiration for the poet, but at the same time he desired to make his living in as agreeable and effortless a manner as possible. This, by and large, he could do only with, not against, the society in which he lived and which, ultimately, was the judge as to whether his poetry was significant and true. Inspiration here is not to be understood as enlightenment from heaven but as igniting spark in speaking out about burning problems in one's own society, in their actuality and realism.

Any poet in ancient Thailand knew that he would remain, more or less, "unknown." The only way to distribute his verses was to put them down laboriously in writing, either by scratching them on palm leaves or penning them on the heavy, cardboard-like paper made from the bark of domestic trees.¹¹ That was expensive, often more than a *khā luang* or the abbot of a smaller monastery could afford. Here again one would have to have had a benefactor. And to read and write was still a privilege then, for those who had leisure or who due to their unusual talent were supported during their studies, for which economic security was a prerequisite. Whatever hypothetical alternative one may examine, the conclusion is that writing in old Thailand was largely determined by social and economic conditions.¹² This, however, was not so because of any "natural" law of dogmatic validity but because of a specific historical situation. There was nothing to encourage poets to see themselves as prophets or missionaries, neither was there any need for that.

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1. I am aware that in contemporary sociological literature the concepts of "role" and "playing one's role" are controversial by definition and application, see the comprehensive survey on this question in Haug, *Kritik der Rollentheorie*, as well as in Bernsdorff, *Wörterbuch der Soziologie*, under the heading "Rolle und Rollentheorie" (by Dahrendorf), vol. 3, pp. 673 ff. For the present study, which attempts an interpretation of partial aspects of social conditions in pre-industrial Thailand, this "theory of roles" turns out to be entirely practicable, unburdened by ideology. "The purpose of the theory of roles, therefore, is not to uncover the means by which reality is changed, but rather those means which mold the interpretation of this reality in our consciousness, in our experience," Haug, *op.cit.*, p. 130. I also feel justified in using the concept of role in view of, particularly, the more recent results of research in ethology, to which only occasional reference can be made in the present study and in view of the insight that acting a part implies at the same time "Triebverzicht," restraining one's sexual and other drives. (Concerning "Triebverzicht" as a fundamental precondition for the development of human civilization, see Freud.)
 2. Concerning the concept of *sakdinā* see Rabibhadana, *The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period 1782-1873*. pp. 98 ff.; Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, passim.
 3. Claessens, *Rolle und Macht*, p. 47; Boesch, "Autorität und Leistungsverhalten in Thailand," pp. 35 ff., speaks of "staying in one's proper place;" see also Sarkisyanz, *Buddhist Backgrounds of the Burmese Revolution*, pp. 68 ff., where references to further literature may be found. In this connection, it might be of interest to read what Priestly, *The English*, pp. 19 f. has to say in characterizing his fellow-countrymen, see also note 85.

4. It may be pointed out, however, that at least one of the poets according to his own testimony was a guardsman in his younger years (see VI/22), thus stemming from the lowest social stratum.
5. See the biography of the poet by Damrong, French translation by Notton, *La vie du Poète Sourthone-Bhou*, pp. 9 ff.
6. Phayāphrom, *The Poem in Four Songs*, pp. 5-7; Phayomyong, *Prawat wannakhadī lān nā thāi*, pp. 141 ff.
7. "Artistic creativity... always asserts itself in accordance with the needs of society, and it is expressed in forms corresponding to these needs." This statement by Hauser, *Kunst und Gesellschaft*, p. 32 (see also *ibid.* pp. 163 ff.), which would sound less ideological if instead of "needs of society" one were to put "the historical situation," describes accurately, in any case, the situation in a cultural community as tightly structured as old Thailand. Nietzsche (*Fröhliche Wissenschaft*) put it this way: "Poets...are always the valets-de-chambre of some morality or other." Compared to this somewhat flippant formulation, Sigmund Freud's repeated remark (see *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*, pp. 266 ff.) seems to lead much further, namely, that also "communities develop super-egos under the influence of which cultural development proceeds" and that these "cultural super-egos form ideals and pose demands."
8. Compare to this also Hauser, *op.cit.*, pp. 215 ff. concerning the position of the artist in the period of Mannerism and the Baroque Age. In the light of a poet's self-understanding in ancient Thailand such as we assume it here, Lenin's theory that there is only art of the exploited or the exploiters clearly miscarries.
9. See concerning this also Bourdieu, *Zur Soziologie der symbolischen Formen*, pp. 89 ff.
10. Nāi Khamwilai, a contemporary poet of the older generation, points again and again, in personal conversation, to the artful metrics of his verses, see Wenk, *Die Ruderlieder--kāp hē rūō--in der Literatur Thailands*, p. 90.
11. *Streblus asper*.
12. On the social determination of creative writing in general, see Löwenthal, *Literatur und Gesellschaft*, pp. 245 ff.; further the respective contributions in Fügen, *Wege der Literatursoziologie*, especially those by Bonald, pp. 39 ff.; Tocqueville, pp. 60 ff.; Plechanov, pp. 82 ff.; also Bourdieu, *op.cit.*, in the chapter on "Künstlerische Konzeption und intellektuelles Kräftefeld," pp. 75 ff. I have read this literature with, I hope, profit for my own theses. I have also consulted Bernsdorff, *Wörterbuch der Soziologie*, especially Vol. 2.

D. The Addressees

Phālī sōn nōng: *nōng* here is younger brother, that is, Sukhrīp, but in all versions the teachings are extended to others as well: Sukhrīp and Ongkhot in I, II, and IV; Sukhrīp, Dārā, and Ongkhot in III; "his (Phālī's) race, and also Ongkhot" in V; Ongkhot, Sukhrīp and Hanumān in VI, even though Hanumān does not figure in the respective account in the *Rāmākian*. All of these are without exception persons of royal rank and thus Phālī's equals. It is obvious, however, especially in Versions III to VII, that each of the poets addresses himself to a general public, to all sections of the population not directly connected with the royal court.

As far as the majesty of the Thai king was concerned, everyone without exception was subject to the same rules, prohibitions, and punishments, from the Mahā Uparāt, who had the "worth," or *sakdinā*, of 100,000, down to the slaves with a *sakdinā* of 5.

A generally formulated principle of equality, establishing that everybody was equal before the law and in court, did not exist in the laws of the Ayuthaya period. It would actually have been unthinkable, considering the general spirit and social conditions of the time. In fact, such a principle was entirely beyond any idea that could have been conceived at a time when people's minds were conditioned, at least subconsciously, by Buddhist teachings about merit, *bun*, acquired by each individual. More or greater merit meant to be nearer than others to the world of the gods and, ultimately, to *nibbāna*, and on this earth this included a better social position than that held by one with less merit. But we have a good many accounts to the effect that legal penalties were executed on a prince of Thailand, even a "celestial prince" of the highest rank,¹ with the same severity as on an unknown courtier or servant. The chroniclers of the country as well as Western literature mention not infrequently that members of the nobility suffered such punishment, usually resulting in death. Ministers who had the misfortune of incurring the displeasure of the king were condemned to flogging, and punishment was executed immediately in front of the entire court.²

Thus, all subjects were indeed, apart from individually granted favors, "slaves at the feet of the majesty." And further on in our study it will become apparent that this was true not only with regard to punishments but also to rewards accorded for special merits.

Phālī Teaches the Young is not addressed to a specific "class" or just one section of the people, but to everyone considered to be a subject of the king of Thailand (regarding this see also above, under II.C).

1. See for example the death of Čau Fā Thamathibēt, Wenk, *Die Ruderlieder--kāp hē rūō-- in der Literatur Thailands*, pp. 35 ff.

2. See Benedict, *Thai Culture and Behavior*, p. 4; Thompson, *Thailand: The New Siam*, p. 234.

E. Typology of Dominion

1. Instead of an introduction: the typology of the Thai monarchy according to Western sources

In the accounts given by Western authors, the monarchy of ancient Thailand is described as follows:

La Loubère (1691): "Le grandeur des Rois, dont l'Autorité est Despotique, est de pouvoir tout contre tous...."¹ "ces Rois qui sont si absolument les Maîtres de la fortune et de la vie de leurs sujets...."²

Crawfurd (1828): "A government so arbitrary and unjust, can place no reasonable reliance upon its own subjects...."³ "The government of Siam...is as thoroughly despotic as the absence of all legal restraint with the aid of religion and superstition can well make it...."⁴

Pallegoix (1854): "Le gouvernement de Siam est despotique dans toute la force du terme; le roi y est craint et respecte presque comme un dieu..."⁵ "Quoique le roi de Siam ait un pouvoir despotique et absolu, cela n'empêche pas qu'il a un règlement de vie auquel il doit se conformer...
Phra: raxa: monthieraban."⁶

Bowring (1857): "The authority exercised by the King of Siam...is altogether absolute."⁷ "So absolute is submission, that the severest punishments emanating from the authorities are submitted to without murmuring."⁸ "Honours almost divine,...humiliations the most degrading, mark the distance between sovereign and subjects...."⁹

Landon (1939): "Under the absolute monarchy the people were socially ranked in such a way that each rank respected and feared the superior while oppressing the inferior...."¹⁰

Thompson (1941): "In ancient Siam the absolutism of the king was such that his subjects were nothing but slaves and chattels. No one was exempt from the cruel and petty tyranny practised to inculcate meekness..."¹¹ "(Buddhism) has been eminently useful to an autocratic government by instilling in the people a cheerful humility and forbearance that has kept them submissive and loyal to the throne."¹² "Since the man who filled so uncompromisingly despotic a role was unknown to his people their loyalty was transferred from him as a personality to his office." "...(a) master-servant concept of kingship."¹³

Benedict (1952): "The omnipresent fact of Siamese history has been the absolutism of the king, an absolutism which in theory and practice meant that his caprice made and voided the fortunes of those who surrounded him."¹⁴

These quotations might easily be multiplied. With the exception of Crawfurd, all those quoted are men who knew the country well--clergymen

or diplomats--authors who, while they might be wont to be critical, yet bore interest and perhaps even benevolence to the country of their choice. In no case did they display ill-will or contempt. Nevertheless, the tenor of all these reports is that where the benefits of Western-Christian civilization, and that is to say the benefits of European colonial regimes, did not prevail, in good time, chaos, corruption, superstition, and tyranny were rampant.¹⁵ And the white man did not write only about Thailand in this manner. A special case even within the style of writing cultivated in the West is Crawford's *Journal of an Embassy...to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China*. This book, heaping contempt on the ways of life and culture of Asian nations with an acidity increasing from chapter to chapter, empties the cornucopia of Western arrogance to the dregs.¹⁶ To describe this work as "one of those classics of historical literature which at the same time serves both as a first-hand account of an historical event and as a scholarly [!] general treatment of the context in which that event occurred,"¹⁷ can only be the result of an astonishing ignorance of the book itself and/or Asian cultures.

From a Marxist point of view an attempt has been undertaken by Wittfogel to prove that the equation "Asiatic society = despotic society" makes sense.¹⁸ The author tries to build his thesis on a wealth of detail taken partly from some of his numerous earlier publications. Yet, already the thesis, taken by itself alone, must be considered as programmatic, which compromises its dispassionate quality and scholarly value from the beginning. There is too much generalization in his equation "Asiatic society = despotic society" to be accepted as satisfactory, let alone convincing. Every Asian society? And outright "despotic" at all times? Indeed, Wittfogel starts out with a program, and thus his argument suffers, despite all the substantial research that went into it, from a one-sided interpretation of the facts and a not infrequent substitution of assertion for proof. Quite apart from the questionable value of such a procedure, it must be pointed out that, at least in the opinion of this author, it ought to be considered a primary obligation and a point of professional honor by any Orientalist, i.e., scholar in the field of foreign peoples and civilizations, to describe and to judge the ways of life of such other nations, Chinese or Thai for example, in the light of Chinese or Thai sources. It is generally known for instance, that Eastern civilizations have a conception of personality, and thus also of society, fundamentally different from that of the West. We know that among Asian peoples one of the mental patterns for conceiving society and, in consequence, the state has been nature in its various forms of manifestation, i.e., its "elements"--however these may be defined--in their interaction and mutual displacement in a general struggle for survival. Applied to the human level, this means that the battle of all against all in which the stronger overpower the weaker, the bigger beast swallows the smaller one, is obviously one of the primary impulses of life. The history of the Thais, in other words, cannot be properly interpreted from merely the point of view of a religion or an ideology of Western origin.

Despite all professions of "objectivity," of "benevolent interpretation," the monarchy of old Thailand has for centuries been presented to Western readers as the prototype of Oriental despotism.¹⁹ Let us see whether on the basis of original Thai texts we come to the same or alternative interpretations.

2. The king--title and terminology

That in a language as rich in synonyms as Thai there should exist numerous terms for "king" is to be expected. In fact, there are several dozen of them, and in texts other than *Phālī sṅn nṅng* there are still further expressions.

However, the wealth of such expressions for the person or office of the ruler is not something typical for Thailand alone. A similar phenomenon may be observed in any state, also Western ones, that has or had a monarchical form of government. And it must be added that eulogies of the Western kind on monarchs are probably more aggravating to the modern reader than those from Thailand because the former almost invariably glorify the national past together with the ruler, stirring up not just patriotic emotions but overbearingly chauvinistic ones. Poems like *Phālī sṅn nṅng* are entirely free from such excesses, and that remarkable difference ought to be stressed. No parallels for "Lebensraum," "peace by victory," or "ruling the waves" are found in these Thai works.

"King" in these poems is expressed in the following ways:

- I. 1: *phū somyēt*: "He who has dignity (fame)"
- 4: *phra ċakrā*: "Bearer of the disk"
- 5: *ong phitsanuwong krasatrā*: "King of the race of Phra Nārāi"
- 7: *thāu*: "Lord"
- 9: *thai*: A "great" or "mighty one"
- 12: *ong*: "(Royal) person"
- 13: *phra banchā*: "Illustrious wisdom"
- 19: *rāteha manō*: "Royal heart"
- 19: *ċakraphat krasatrī*: "Greatest king of all kings"
- 21: *phū phān phau*: "He who stands above your head"
- 22: *pin ċutha tharēt*: "King with the golden pin in the (Brahmin) hair knot"
- 23: *isarāthibēt*: "Viśnu"
- 24: *bṅribān bṅdisīm*: "Savior and ruler of the solar race"
- 25: *phūthṅn*: "Preserver of things, of the earth"
- 26: *ċau*: "Prince, ruler, king"

- 28: *makut klau thom don*: "Highest, great, enlightened crown"
 31: *phra khun thāu*: "Great lord and ruler"
- II.1.3: *burintharāt*: "King of the great city"
 2.1: *ratch(a)*: "King"
 3.4: *kaeu nēt*: "He of the radiant eye"
 5.2: *thi bōdin pin rakhuwong*: "The twice great, with the (Brahmin) hairpin, from the race of Rakhu"
 6.2: *singhanāt*: "The one with the lion's voice"
 8.3: *thai phū song tham*: "Ruler giving the law"
 8.3: *thī prāt*: "Twice wise"
 9.2: *phūwanai*: "Lord of the earth"
 10.3: *narēn(tr) sūn*: "Great king"
 12.1: *thāu narūbōdī*: "Sovereign and great king"
 13.3: *thamik(a) rāt*: "King and dispenser of justice"
 18.1: *tha bōdin*: "He, the great"
 18.3: *nōranāt*: "Divine being and king"
 19.1: *thōranin*: "Ruler of the earth"
 20.2: *čaturaphut*: "The four-armed one"
 23.1: *thāu song sōn*: "Ruler and lord of the arrow"
 25.3: *bōrom isasawarāt*: "Supreme Śiva-king"
 26.1: *insī*: "The one with the five senses"
 26.1: *phayābān*: "Guardian of the sick"
 28.1: *witsanu*: "The one who protects," *Viśnu*.
 30.3: *ong song sakdi thōranīnāt*: "Most worthy one in whom the earth trusts"
- III.6.2: *phra nārāi pin klau*: "Phra Nārāi, highest majesty"
 7.4: *čau lā*: "Lord of the earth"
 19.3: *phū bān*: "Ruler of the earth"
 21.1: *čōm krasat*: "Supreme king"
 28.1: *phra harirak*: "Phra Nārāi"
 32.3: *bōphit*: "The venerable one"
- IV. 25: *phra dēt pok klau*: "The mighty reigning highest"
 27: *phra bātha*: "(The one with) the noble feet"

- 30: *khun bun*: "Benefactor"
 37: *phra thai*: "The gracious one"
 44: *phra khatiyawong kasatrisut*: "King of the highest royal blood"
 45: *mongkut traiphop*: "Crown of the three worlds"
 88: *phra phiro*: "The man of wrath"
 90: *phra banchā*: "The wise one"
 100: *phra bōrirak bōromanāt*: "The regent, the highest, the protector"
 174: *phra mahā yotsā*: "The powerful, most worthy one"
 V.12: *phūwanāt*: "Ruler of the earth"
 88: *phra phū song čop phiphop*: "He who lords it over the whole world"
 89: *mōli trī lōkhanāta*: "Head of the three worlds"
 111: *phra harithai*: "He of a knowing mind"
 VI.83: *phra sī kōn*: "The four-handed one"
 118: *phra bōromin*: "The Highest, Indra"
 129: *luang*: "Lord"
 184: *phra dēt pok kēt kaeu*: "The mighty, commanding, illustrious head"
 217: *phra dēchānuphāp*: "The mighty one"

Expressions from Versions I and II recurring identically in III to VII were not repeated in this list.

The sum of all these words and phrases, when surveyed and examined in detail, are found to present in mosaic fashion no less than a pattern of Thai political philosophy and, beyond that, of the cosmological ideas on which Thai culture is based. The "general characteristics" of these poems as outlined above might be repeated here at the hand of the terminology used for "king."

In the beginning of Thai history there surely was no specific word for king, rather expressions like *thāu*, "lord, prince," or *thai*, "great, mighty one," among others were used. These are original, monosyllable Thai words.²⁰ In Version III the poet uses without exception *thāu* and, less frequently, *thai*. Also in Versions IV, V, and VI these terms are predominantly used. These are the poems in which attention is not focused exclusively on the person of the king.

Also *čau*, *luang*, and *khun* belong to the group of autochthonous Thai terms. Among the people, even today, the king of the Thais is referred

to as *nai luang*, which in their everyday language expresses the reverence they hold for the highest ranking Thai. There is no submissiveness in this expression, at least no more than is demanded of the individual by the customs of the country. *Nai luang*, roughly "lord in (the palace)," is the simplest title possible for expressing a relationship of a certain superiority and subordination, implying at the same time, notwithstanding a citizen's distance from the royal court, a touch of familiarity. The expression recalls directly Rām Khamhāeng's title,--*phō khun*, "Father and Lord," during the patriarchal monarchy of that Sukhothai ruler's time, as well as the pater familias of Bodin's theory of state.

Here we cannot help feel doubtful as to whether "the concept of Thai kingship has always rested on the religious belief of the people" and whether "history offers only two concepts--the Hindu and the Buddhist ones."²¹ This may be correct regarding the self-understanding of the Thai kings of the Ayuthaya period, not however for those of Sukhothai, and never did the Buddhist concept of kingship, much less the Hindu one, enter into the minds of the broad masses of the people; in fact with them it could not but meet with incomprehension.

The authors of Versions III to VII were taking a relationship of a higher and lower standing, such as it is found in one form or another in any community, as natural and matter of course. If the *nai luang*, the *thāu* or *thai*, was also a "lord of the earth," a "crown of the three worlds," this was merely one aspect among others, and it applied only in a cosmological or religious sense which did not directly touch the common individual confined to his modest sphere of life.

At this point in our analysis the question must be asked whether Thai monarchy was indeed that kind of a tyranny that Western writers have invariably presented it as being. There are levels of differentiation which were entirely neglected in so many of their sweeping generalizations. One may be certain that a people living in fear and terror of a tyrant would not call him *thāu* or *nai luang*, especially when expressions like "lord of the earth" sound so much more impressive and surely more ingratiating.

All references to Phra Nārāi must be counted among the titles with a cosmological, religious connotation. Nārāi²² is a synonym for Viṣṇu, who plays an important part in Thai royal ceremonies.²³ Among the attributes of this god--according to Thai iconography--are the conch-shell, the disk (*čak*),²⁴ and a bow shooting off arrows of miraculous power.²⁵ "Bearer of the disk," or "ruler and lord of the arrow" are therefore paraphrases of Viṣṇu-Nārāi-Rāma. Also the "four-armed-one" or "four-handed-one" probably refers to him, although one of the other four-armed gods²⁶ might possibly be meant by this likewise. Only once is the ruler held up to be the equal of Śiva, on one other occasion, of Indra. The Brahmin gods, too, are included in the wide network of Thai court and state ceremonials. At the ceremony of shaving the

tonsure,²⁷ the king personifies Śiva, and this god is present also at the festival²⁸ generally called the "Swing ceremony."²⁹

Among Brahmin deities, Indra takes the highest place in Thailand as lord of the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. Knowledge of this god has entered the religious imagery of the people by the way of Buddhist legends.³⁰

It must be stressed once again that it was only in connection with ceremonies adopted from the Khmer tradition that any relation was established between Brahmin gods and the Thai kings, who otherwise were not regarded, either in theory or practice, as godlike and therefore were not accorded divine adoration.³¹

Other designations like those describing the king as "ruler of the earth," "preserver of the earth," or as the "greatest of all kings" must be assigned to a different category. These refer to a concept significant in Buddhism, namely, the Cakravartin,³² or Ruler of the World (*dominus mundi*).³³

The one who observes the ten royal virtues,³⁴ the five obligations for laymen,³⁵ the eight precepts for "holy days,"³⁶ and the four principles of justice³⁷ is the true king of righteousness and therefore called like a Bodhisattva, to be a universal ruler.³⁸

This Buddhist teaching has been adopted into the *Phra Thammāsāt*,³⁹ the "Most Excellent Treatise on Law," which is the fundamental constitutional law⁴⁰ from the revised codex of 1805.⁴¹

Another group of terms directly connected with the designation of the king as "ruler of the earth" refers to qualities of a great sovereign: "royal heart," "enlightened wisdom," "the one of the radiant eye," with the "voice of a lion," the "guardian of the sick," the "wise man," the one "of a knowing mind." All these physical characteristics and intellectual or moral qualities are taken from the "Canon of human perfections"⁴² as it was developed in India and taken over by the Thais via Buddhism. Reference is made here to the thirty-two "Physical characteristics of a great man," *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*, and to the eighty secondary marks,⁴³ as well as the enumeration of royal virtues in the Cakkavattisihanāda-sutta and the Aggañña-sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya.

In a final group we may assemble those titles which, while also with or without modification taken from the "Canon of human perfections," yet express at the same time aspects of ancient Thai political life: the "ruler giving the laws," "the king meting out justice." In theory, the Thai kings were legislators only in a restricted sense,⁴⁴ but, as they were omnipotent rulers in the eyes of the people, these may have regarded them also as unrestricted legislators.

These titles must, however, not be considered as mere technical terms. Rather we shall have to ask ourselves whether the poets, in using

epithets like "the king who metes out justice," did not also want to express something of a more programmatic or atmospherical nature such as, for example, that the Thais of their time felt that justice was always done to them, and that this was the general opinion.⁴⁵ One can only pose this question, not answer it--at least not on the basis of the teachings of Phālī. The epithet mentioned may have been, after all, no more than a courtier's flourishing flattery.

3. Characteristics of royal rule

Here, then, are the premises underlying the teachings: (1) The ruling power of the kings of Thailand is real, meaning that it is not a mere claim but actually prevails, due to the existing relations of power; (2) the government is just, which expressly follows from the epithets given to the kings as quoted above, "the ruler dispensing justice" (III.13.3), from the king being equated with various deities, from his designation as the "wise one full of dignity," and conclusively from the absence of any doubt or seed of criticism concerning royal government; (3) the king's rule is inviolable, which is the tenor of all the verses; (4) his royal power is so exalted, so majestic that nothing is left to the teacher but to repeat this fact again and again and to give counsel to the king's subjects on how best to comport themselves toward the royal majesty; (5) the rule of the kings of Thailand is all-powerful and that everyone's well-being on this earth depends on it.

Proof of these five qualities of rulership is, more or less, advanced *expressis verbis*. Legitimacy is not mentioned, either positively or negatively. However, one will have to go on the assumption that qualifying dominion as "just," coupled with "inviolable," "majestic," and "all-powerful" implies legitimacy. Also, it is quite generally accepted that the exercise of actual power must after a certain period of time be considered as legitimate, meaning that assent to the structure of a regime is no longer considered depending on the quality of a ruler's government⁴⁶-- in other words, a case of the "normative power of facts" (a concept, by the way, which ought to be handled with utmost discretion).

Max Weber, too, admits more or less that there is an assumption of legitimacy for a government provided certain conditions are met. On this, more under the heading that follows.

4. Type of government

If we take Max Weber's typology of government⁴⁷ as our basis, to which category should we have to assign a dominion showing characteristics as enumerated above?

Dominion is defined by him as the "chance to find obedience for commands of a specific content from identifiable persons."⁴⁸ This implies "a certain minimum of preparedness to obey, thus an interest to obey," and "a conviction of legitimacy."⁴⁹

Weber distinguishes "three pure types" of legitimate dominion: dominion of a rational, a traditional, or a charismatic character.

The Thai kingship may have been of a charismatic character temporarily during short intervals, perhaps at the time of King Phra Narēsuan or Rama I. But this is a rather subjective assumption, lacking any documentation. What we may very well deduce from Phāli's teachings, however, are the types both of rational dominion and of a traditional one.

Rational is a "dominion based on the conviction of the legitimacy of laws and statutes and the rightful directive authority of those called by them to exercise dominion (lawful dominion);" traditional is a "dominion resting on the common, everyday belief that traditions which have always been valid are sacred, and that the authority of those entrusted with it by such traditions is legitimate."⁵⁰

"Laws and statutes" have existed in the Thai monarchy from the very beginning. Even the patriarchal royal rule of Sukhothai was formalized. The king had to exercise his office according to the *Phra Thammāsāt*, called dhammasattha in Pali. The Thais had adopted this from the Mons, but its origin is probably to be found in the Dīgha Nikāya.⁵¹ In the Aggañña-sutta the ideal of a "king of righteousness" is described: "who is elected by the people" (mahāsammata), a king who is a khattiya, "a lord over the countries." And we know that Thai legislation was conceived entirely as a derivation from the *Phra Thammāsāt*.⁵² "King of righteousness"⁵³ necessarily implies, however, if not in strict theory at least practically, a belief that his power of command is rightful, and clearly there must be faith in the "sanctity of traditions that have always been valid" in the case of kings whose legitimacy was expressly derived from laws founded on religion.

Legitimacy, i.e., the rightful exercise of government authority, depends on the will of the people according to Rousseau's theory of the social contract. "Will of the people," which is not easy to define theoretically in any case, has to this day remained an amorphous concept in Thailand. Weber, however, proceeds from the assumption that such a popular will supporting a certain form of government exists when the mass of the people behave in accordance with the prerequisites of legal or traditional dominion, in other words when there is no sign of opposition of any kind against such a form of government. In this connection it seems important to point out that Thai monarchy surely has been, to a certain degree, elective, but we do not know enough about this yet to enter into a discussion of this question here.

Kingship in ancient Thailand was thus both legal and traditional in the sense of Weber's definitions. This covers so far only constitutional theory, yet Phāli's teachings enable us to obtain a better insight in the constitutional reality and to become aware that the theoretical concept of royal power was identical with people's understanding of it.

Within the frame of legal-traditional dominion, the king's power was in theory, as we shall see below, partly absolute, partly limited.

From the beginning of the Sukhothai era, i.e., about 1250, till the beginning of the twentieth century "dominion" in Thailand was a social phenomenon but not a social problem. During this period of several centuries of continuous Thai history, internal conditions for the existence of monarchy were changing so little that neither was the "level of satisfied needs" ever in danger nor were there any "noticeable alternatives to the traditional way of life ever approaching the possibility of realization."⁵⁴

5. Legislative power

According to the *Phra Thammasāt*,⁵⁵ the code of legal norms of former times is divided into two groups.

There are "basic laws," *mūnlakhadī*, namely, ten titles concerning laws "for judges" and twenty-nine concerning laws "for anyone engaged in a dispute." The former had reference only to arriving at a judgment; the others contained legal facts and provisions which anyone seeking legal redress could consult for guidance. These titles in their entirety constituted, according to the conception on which the *Phra Thammasāt* was based, a definitive condification of the law. This follows directly from the legal text which states that these ten and twenty-nine *mūnlakhadī* "are the laws of Manōsara, explained by him."⁵⁶ By Manōsara is meant the legendary creator of the Indian Law Code of Manu.

This notwithstanding, there exists a large number of laws apart from those termed *mūnlakhadī*, namely, laws issued by the kings of Thailand. Some of these were probably collected decisions which acquired the force of laws, others were perhaps original codifications. We need not go into this further, since, in any case, all of them were emanations of royal power that became law. However, those acts and decisions did not become law because they were based on royal jurisdiction or executive authority but only and exclusively because they were considered as supplementing or interpreting the divine Law of Manu. This is an important limitation of the royal legislative power, even though in essence this is merely of a theoretical significance. Yet it is a limitation that must be taken into account when passing an overall judgment on the allegedly limitless royal omnipotence. Titling the king as "ruler giving the laws" (II.8.3) can therefore be accepted as valid only in a qualified sense. Also, the word law (*tham*, Pali: *dhamma*) must not be interpreted solely as a juridical term; its meaning according to general use must rather be taken as "custom" or "generally recognized directive norm." It may be pointed out in this connection that among the more than sixty epithets given to the king in several hundred verses the title of "giver of laws" is found only once.

6. Executive and judiciary powers

What becomes evident only occasionally in the chronicles is brought out with unmistakable clarity by Phāli's teachings, namely, that the omnipotence of the kings of Thailand was limited only by the precepts of Buddhism in theory and by the actual power constellations in practice. As far as the third segment of state power, the judiciary, is concerned, it was probably not yet clearly enough distinguished from the executive. Kings, governors, and government officials must actually have been in many cases judges and administrators at the same time, even though a special estate of professional judges did already exist.

We have already pointed out which qualities an ideal ruler was supposed to have and what precepts he was to honor (see II.E.2). It would mean underestimating these rules were one to regard them merely as moral barriers which to heed or disregard was entirely within the king's discretion. They certainly did have constitutional significance as laws of a higher, quasi-divine order, even though they were not directly enforceable and thus cannot be considered as norms protecting the individual.

More incisive than Buddhist precepts must have been the part played by actual power relations in circumscribing royal omnipotence.

First of all, one may point out that, as experience teaches, the power of an absolute monarch is never as absolute and unlimited as it may seem. The allegedly all-powerful majesty, too, is an individual finding himself, because of his position, as part of a network of mutual interdependencies. It sounds almost imploring when I.30 urges: "Accede to the royal pleasure, the king will respond with thanks...." Again and again we read that the king ought to be served "gladly" and "of one's own free will." He could preserve the latitude of his power only by a balanced strategy, paying in his government due regard to all the imponderables of an intricate pattern of court society.⁵⁷ There was no such thing at the Thai court, therefore, as an "individual as such." Nevertheless, the spectacle of a monarch ruling invariably gives rise to the wondering question as to how it was possible for one single man to be able to lord it over millions by his nod and beck, and that for decades. What factors, real or atmospheric, and how many of them had to coincide to create a situation like that?

Among the real factors contributing to this situation in Thailand must surely be counted the discretion, even indolence of that race, also their understanding and judgment as well as being accustomed to follow custom, further a desire for veneration, and finally, the balancing function of being aware of one's own role in society and that of one's neighbor. Possibly, the effect of an (inborn) disposition toward obedience present in all of mankind must also be included into our considerations.⁵⁸

Phāli's teachings are not sufficiently comprehensive to support a generally valid conclusion as far as conditions in Thailand were concerned, but they permit the recognition of at least part of the restrictions to which even the king was subjected, limiting the sphere of his own free decision while enlarging that of his subjects. In VII.39, for example, Phāli points out to the divine lord Rāma that, before pronouncing judgment on him, he would have to abide strictly by the precepts of the law and that, therefore, he could not simply kill him. And in the *Phra ayakān laksana rap fong*, the "law on filing suit," a law of procedure by modern terminology from the legal code *Kotmāi trā sām duang*, it is expressly and repeatedly mentioned that any "inhabitant" may at any time bring an action against any "highly placed person" or any "office or magistrate." (In Germany, the latter principle was realized fully only in the twentieth century).

1. *Du Royaume de Siam*, p. 408.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 410.
3. *Journal of an Embassy...to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China*, p. 141.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 372.
5. *Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam*, I, p. 259.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 269-270.
7. *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, I, p. 422.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
10. *Siam in Transition*, p. 149.
11. *Thailand: The New Siam*, p. 673.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 633.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
14. *Thai Culture and Behavior*, p. 4.
15. See on this also the instructive contribution by Adas, "Imperialist Rhetoric and Modern Historiography: the Case of Lower Burma Before and After Conquest," *passim*.
16. See by way of some examples *op.cit.*, p. 88, note 3: "The Siamese: These people, half-naked and enslaved barbarians....;" similarly on pp. 355 f.; or Crawford's opinions on Thai literature based on total ignorance, p. 337: "...the Thais are rude people, incapable....;" p. 346: "The virtues of a Siamese are all of a negative complexion....;" p. 389: Crawford's far-off-the-mark opinions concerning Thai legislation which, certainly, he was unable to read.
17. Thus *op.cit.*, Wyatt's preamble.
18. *Oriental Despotism*, *passim*. Also, Karl Marx already dealt with this phenomenon, and as sources for this he was able to draw on literature like that quoted above.
19. It is an exception that more objective reports on internal conditions in old Thailand by critical observers are found in earlier Western literature, see for example the *Bericht der Preussischen Expedition nach Ostasien*, vol. 4.
20. See on this especially Damrong, *Laksana kān pok khrōng prathēt sayām tae bōrān*, pp. 232 ff.; also Mocarapong, *History of the Thai Revolution*, p. 44.
21. See Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, p. 29; see also Sarkisyanz, *Buddhist Backgrounds of the Burmese Revolution*, p. 15.
22. In Sanskrit: Nārāyana.

23. See evidence in Wales, *op.cit.*, pp. 13, 19, 50 ff., 72 ff., 122 ff.; Mocarapong, *op.cit.*, pp. 47 ff.; see also Glasenapp, *Die Religionen Indiens*, p. 144.
24. In Sanskrit: *cakra*,
25. See illustrations on p. 5 in *Tamrā phāp lāi thai*, phāk 2, tōn 2.
26. See the table in Glasenapp, *op.cit.*, pp. 148 ff.
27. Wales, *op.cit.*, pp. 126 ff., 130.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 238 ff.
29. *Lī ching chā*, in Sanskrit *triyambavay tripavay*.
30. Wales's opinion, *op.cit.*, p. 31, that "no Buddhist king would feel flattered to be regarded as an incarnation of a Hindu deity," is not correct.
31. The Deva-rāja cult adopted from the Khmer ceremonial influenced Thai court ceremonies only. Neither in Thai literature nor in the arts is there a single piece of evidence that any of the kings were regarded by (Buddhist) subjects as gods; cf. Dhani, "The Old Siamese Conception of the Monarchy," p. 71. This is also true for the Burmese rulers, even though they used to stress their omnipotence with particular emphasis, Thaung, "Burmese Kingship in Theory and Practice," p. 176. Concerning the attribute of "divinity," see further Kulke, "Der Devaraja-Kult," passim; also Mocarapong, *op.cit.*, pp. 47 ff.
32. In Pali: *cakkavatti*.
33. Dhani, *op.cit.*, pp. 163 ff.; Chomchai, "Development of Human Rights in Thailand--a Historical Sketch," p. 8; Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, pp. 11, 12, 181, 184, 225; Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, pp. 137, 202 f., 205, 210; Ling, *Buddha*, pp. 178 f., 187 f.
34. Dhani, *op.cit.*, p. 164; Vacha, "Kingship in Siam," p. 4.
35. See Schlingloff, *Die Religion des Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 13; vol. I, pp. 53 f.
36. Wells, *Thai Buddhism*, pp. 51 ff.
37. Dhani, *op.cit.*, p. 163.
38. See concerning this the Cakkavattisīhanāda-sutta (26) and the Aggañña-sutta (27) from the Dīgha Nikāya; compare also Sarkisyanz, *op.cit.*, pp. 59 ff., with extensive references to the corresponding situation in ancient Burma.
39. In Pali: *dhammasattha*.
40. The presumed genesis of this law is commented on by Dhani, *op.cit.*, p. 163.
41. See on this Wenk, *The Restoration of Thailand under Rama I 1782 - 1809*, pp. 35 ff.

42. Kirfel, *op.cit.*, *Symbolik des Buddhismus*, p. 36.
43. Kirfel, *loc.cit.*
44. On this more extensively Lingat, "Evolution of the Conception of Law in Burma and Siam," pp. 27 ff.; see also Dhani, *op.cit.*, p. 171.
45. Wittfogel *Oriental Despotism*, pp. 101 ff., defines "Despotic power = absolute power and not benevolent"; and *ibid.*, p. 133, "Absolute power corrupts absolutely." Together, this would exclude the possibility of a "king dispensing justice."
46. See on this also Hondrich, *Theorie der Herrschaft*, p. 85.
47. In *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 122 ff. Without wishing to interfere in the sociologists' discussion of the matter, the present study will continue to use Weber's concept of dominion, which still appears to be the one best fitting the historical situation in ancient pre-constitutional Thailand. Hondrich's redefinition of the concept of dominion, *op.cit.*, pp. 62 ff., is applicable rather to present-day constitutions of democratic states.
48. *op.cit.*, p. 28.
49. *Op.cit.*, p. 122.
50. *Op.cit.*, p. 124.
51. Dhani Nivat, *op.cit.*, p. 164.
52. Lingat, "Evolution of the Conception of Law in Burma and Siam," pp. 26 ff.
53. See concerning this also the comments by Wilhelm, *Gesellschaft und Staat in China*, p. 16, who quotes Confucius to the effect that "to govern means to make things right."
54. Hondrich, *op.cit.*, p. 9.
55. See there mātrā 7, *Kotmāi trā sām duang*, vol. 1, p. 24.
56. See also Lingat, *op.cit.*, p. 27.
57. Elias, *Die höfische Gessellschaft*, p. 12; Griswold, *King Mongkut*, p. 8.
58. The suggestion--somewhat shocking but explaining a good deal--is advanced by Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *Der vorprogrammierte Mensch*, pp. 108 ff.

F. The Teachings in Practical Application

1. Duty to give information

At the top of any hierarchy there was always the king. He was followed by the Mahā Uparāt, the royal princes, the other princes of lower rank, and a profusion of concubines. There were innumerable court offices, and every member of the service had a deputy, the *palat*.¹ Thai monarchs used to have up to a hundred and forty children, with the elder princes among them very often having sired progeny already, too. For all these, service personnel were required: cooks, laundry maids, nurses, guards, clerks, and so on. The ministers had to present themselves for audience every day, and they, too, had a large staff also structured hierarchically. The ruler had to take into account not only the rivalry of princes and high officials among themselves, as well as the intrigue-laden atmosphere in his own and other harems, but also scheming targeted against himself.

In order to rule the kingdom of the Thais it was first of all necessary to keep the court firmly in hand. For this it was essential, among other things, to be completely informed about everything. Top priority in all the admonitions advanced in Phāli's teachings is therefore given to: "Serve the king, explain to him everything." This is elaborated in I.7: "Do not reply to royal requests with thoughtless words, explain, veil not the gist on purpose, to deceive."

Even more precise is the formulation in III.16.3: "Do not, uncaring, cover up (what must be) punished." This verse is not merely an invitation to denounce misdeeds in the interest of the king but corresponds to a legal obligation. Such a clause, or a similar one, is to be found in numerous provisions of the *Kotmāi trā sām duang*, especially in the *Kot monthiambān*. Any punishable fact or action had to be reported to the king by anyone on his own initiative. It must be assumed that general conditions made such legal provisions necessary. Chronicles mention, especially in connection with plotting or affairs with royal concubines, that such crimes punishable by death were, or were not, reported to the king,² and that in the latter case not merely the delinquents but all those privy to the plot were executed.³

But again, thinking of the courtier's own best interest, it is said (V.31): Pay attention to carry only agreeable news ; and only when being alone with his majesty should one, "whispering, explain all the true facts of the case" (III.10).

All verses having reference to conversations with, or reports to, the king stress that one ought to speak simply, plainly, and to the point, without long-windedness. There is not one line counselling that one should try to impress the king by one's own wisdom or cleverness, or inappropriately stress the importance of a matter laid before him.

To see in this merely good advice toward submissiveness would surely be the wrong interpretation. To show a reticent, unassuming behavior was a sign of politeness--and in the background there was always the Lord Buddha's teaching that the ego is really a non-ego (*anatta*), merely a compositum of causalities attached to each other (*khandā*) from which to be liberated must be the sole aim in life. This duty to reveal information--a legal duty which, as I want to stress here again, was surely a necessity in order to maintain the Thai state and society under the conditions of that time--is made out to be an obligation of spying on each other and of mutual denunciation by La Loubère in his book quoted above (I, p. 397). Did that author in fact have any detailed knowledge of the legislation of that country, about which he passes such definite judgments? Today's readers surely know that practically all civilized states have in their penal codes provisions that make it an express obligation under the law for anyone obtaining information about the planning or intended execution of particular punishable actions to communicate such information without delay to the competent criminal authorities.

2. Serving the king loyally

Another group of teachings request loyal service to the king (I.5; III. 6.28; IV.36 f.; V.64 ff.; VI.76 ff.; 128, 147), veneration for him (II. 23, 27; V.60, 83 ff.; VI.156 ff.), being subject and devoted to him (I.22, 24; II.5, 18ff., 24, 27; III.15, 20, 26, 29, 32; IV.23 f., 50 ff.; 79 ff.; V.11 ff., 86 ff.), praising him (II.26; IV.44 ff.). Varying in diction but invariable in their tenor these verses invite first of all unconditional loyalty. However, they demand more than this, more than simple routine in doing one's duty: they ask for personal affection, for demonstrations of a feeling of attachment, and that in the proper ways.

Veneration, or at the very least respect, for the man at the helm is a matter of course coming naturally in traditional Thai society.⁴ At the head of one's own family (or clan) there was always a respected senior who directed what had to be done and who frequently--during the pre-scientific age--represented the sum total of collective experience, knowing when work had to start in the fields and offering the best counsel at the approach of danger. How the Thais felt about reverence towards "elders" may be seen from Chandruang's beautiful description in *My Boyhood in Siam*.⁵

Further: the state becomes personalized through the king so that it does not appear as either a Leviathan or monster, nor as an abstract creation of philosophical speculation unrelated to the individual human being in his limited sphere of daily life. As the pater familias is the head of the family, so is the king the head of the larger social entity of all Thais, preventing what according to Freud is the worst impediment to civilization, war of all against all. For properly understanding Thai society one ought to keep in mind this rather personal

relationship in the nature almost, despite the distance, of a family relation between the Thais and their *phō thāu* or *phō luang*, a relationship that has always existed and still does, although not with every single Thai.

One fact of importance for a detailed discussion of the following teachings must be mentioned first. It is, that a cultural community largely inspired by Buddhism proceeds from a concept of the human personality different from that in the West. If here we have the immortal personality created by divine omnipotence, each soul with a unique, inexchangeable identity, Buddhism conceives of man as a being more or less accidentally composed of the "five groups of attachment": body matter, sensation, perception, mind formations, and consciousness. And each of these groups is subject to the all-embracing law of impermanence.⁶ The dualism of Western thinking: here man, there nature, has no place in that philosophy. That the "highest bliss of the children of this earth is their personality" is a thought alien to that part of the world which gave birth to Phālī's teachings. Here not even one's personal name was of great importance, it used to be chosen rather arbitrarily and changed with little hesitation on proper occasions. Further, despite their strictly circumscribed position in society with a clearly defined division of roles, one highly democratic institution was familiar to all Thais, namely, the organization of the sangha, the Buddhist clergy.⁷ Every monk could, and can, participate in the legislation, administration, and juridical proceedings within the order. Each one had a chance to ascend, according to his abilities, to the highest offices without regard to his social provenience. Prestige and reputation of a monk have rested above all on his monastic integrity and his learnedness.

How large a sphere of freedom remained, by the way, for the individual and how vigorously uninhibited the sections outside the court, i.e., peasants and burghers, led their own lives, is sufficiently documented by the existence and the topics of Thai genre painting, which took a relatively important place within Thai mural painting in general, especially since the turn of the eighteenth century. These scenes, often comical, even drastic, more rarely painted with delicate sensitivity, show an everyday life proceeding quite unconcerned with what, in the same picture, is happening in the "big world," meaning the court.⁸

Only if we keep these general conditions fully in mind shall we, proceeding from our Western viewpoint, still be able to appreciate the following teachings adequately and to understand them in the context of their culture and their time.

Among the teachings quoted above there are surely some that owe their existence to the poet's whim or a mood of the moment. It must be noted that quite generally Thai epic poetry abounds in verses with little function other than filling space, repeating endlessly what has already

been said, devoid of significant content or poetic charm, sometimes merely playing with words and pleasant sounds. But here is not the place for censoring aspects or details of Thai poetry that are not of immediate significance to the subject of our discussion.

Another part of the summons to loyalty may have as its motive the desire or necessity for flattery. If so, the question must be asked whether the authority of the Thai kings rested on such feeble ground as to give to the constantly repeated admonitions in all versions of the poem the function, as it were, of a necessary state-preserving ritual. This question may at best be answered hypothetically. Judging by Thai history in general--as it presents itself to us both from native chronicles and, more clearly even, from the reports of foreign observers--an affirmative answer does not seem called for. Nevertheless, we read often enough in the country's chronicles about revolts generated in most cases in the immediate entourage of the king by one of the many princes frustrated in their ambitions. Sometimes, during the Ayuthaya era, changes of government were accompanied by slaughter.⁹ It is known that as late as in the reign of Rama III (1824-1851) one of the king's uncles tried to rebel against him and was beaten to death with a sandalwood club. And in the report of the Prussian delegation of the year 1861, i.e., during the reign of King Rama IV, Mongkut, we read that the Mahā Uparāt of that time dared only with hesitation to receive the Prussian Minister Count Eulenburg because he had to be wary of the king's jealousy--even from so outstanding a monarch as Mongkut.¹⁰

The omnipotence of the Thai kings did not exist of itself at all times, it had to be jealously guarded and constantly established anew--which, however, does not mean that royal power could not strike an individual very harshly indeed even in periods of weakness. The violent acts, reports about which have come down to us in chronicles and even more so through Thai literature and Western travelers, may often have been motivated only in part by "reasons of state." There were instances when an execution seems to have been ordered in a momentary outburst of wrath.¹¹ And as far as Taksin's actual or alleged misdeeds are concerned, there are ample reports about them in both Thai and Western literature.¹²

The poets may well have also felt that for this part of their teachings they could count on a receptive audience. There is no reason to assume that an author, in ancient Thailand, would intentionally have disregarded the mood of the audience he wanted to reach. The addressees, citizens of Thailand of the time of the old monarchy, must therefore have felt that these admonitions were entirely befitting, lawful, and necessary, by no means offensive or degrading to themselves. This implies, as we have pointed out above, that the individual Thai considered a certain relationship of superiority and submission as natural, not something forced on him. There is no particular class consciousness or feeling of inferiority connected with this on the part of the

subjects but rather an insight, conscious or unconscious, that a particular role in life is assigned to every human being depending on what kind of "merit" (*bum*) he had gained in his previous existence. Buddhists in particular are aware of the dialectics of fate--and this makes them all the more inclined to leave the outward guidance of their lives to others. He who is powerful must act, and he who acts cannot avoid guilt. "Whoever acts sets aside his conscience; no one is conscientious but he who contemplates" (Goethe, *Maximen und Reflexionen*). Thus, one need not even fall back on a thought advanced by Freud (*Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse; Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*), according to whom the individual in his feeling of impotence identifies with a leader, an authority, in order to participate thereby in his power and glory. There is no need to assume such a kind of more or less passive psychical participation in the case of Thailand. Here in a Buddhist society these interrelations of authority can be explained out of the teachings of the Buddha themselves.

Quite apart from religion, there is that inclination of the Thai race toward a life of peace with as much *samuk* (fun and pleasure) as possible, which can only be achieved and enjoyed if some directive power with sufficient authority guarantees the maintenance of peace. The state, here represented by the king, is necessary if the individual is to pursue his career and make his living in civilized forms. Society with its ever-present open or latent conflicts between its members could not possibly exist without a state authority which, while not suppressing antagonisms, directs them into orderly channels.¹³

What other system of government would have been possible, and in the best interest of the Thais under the political and cultural conditions prevailing in ancient Thailand, but absolute monarchy? Even geography, the vast plain from Bangkok to Northern Thailand suitable for rice cultivation, invited a central authority which alone could provide the protection expected by the community from the state. No other alternative offered itself, nor was there need for any.

The fact that we find such frequently repeated summons to loyalty in the poems also leads, however, to the conclusion that the individual Thai, despite several centuries of absolute monarchy, had apparently (still) not been "power programmed," that there had (still) not been a "personality transformation" to the effect that the wielding of power (by the king) was in every case regarded by those subject to that power as a highest value, or at least, a positive feature.¹⁴

These recurring admonitions to loyalty and obedience, while at the same time stressing the fullness of the king's power, may also serve an intention of transforming the quantity of power into the quality of legitimacy or, to express it differently, to render the citizens receptive to "power programming." Any existing society has its own inner reason, which prudence and wisdom require the individual to recognize. This need not lead to blind submission, rather to acceptance by reason

and insight, which make man free and put him at ease to ponder matters of deeper significance than the actual and usually transient political constellations.

Also under the heading of "loyalty," with a specific connotation, may be seen such teachings as "Do not contradict (the king)" (I.23;V.25) or, expressed positively, "Respect his sovereign might" (I.19). As a compensation for these quite undifferentiated demands apodictically set forth, the poets suggest that the king would be "grateful" (I.30). And repeatedly there is also an intimation of the Machiavellian maxim¹⁵ that to feign being dumb at the proper time may be a sign of great wisdom (see also under II.F.3).

While the *chom* Version (I) says: "Do not contradict the Divine one," V.28 offers a more discriminating formula: "Gainsay nought unless such seems proper." Here the poet leaves it to the discretion and tactical prudence of the reader to decide whether the matter of the conversation or of the royal order lets an objection to it appear worthwhile and whether this is an opportune moment to voice it. Not to contradict, by the way, is not only a sign of loyalty, of recognizing the "higher" wisdom of the majesty. He who does not contradict gets to know more--his partner's opinion, that is, he does not spoil an auspicious hour in which the one who for him is the mightiest on earth condescends to communicate something to him, and he resists the not inconsiderable temptation to show off his better knowledge. Warnings like the one: "Do not object should the king offer rewards (to others)" belong only in part to this category (I.14; II.13; III.14; IV.100 ff.; V.36 f.; VI.132 f.). Not only contradicting the king is discouraged, but with equal emphasis (VI.118): "Do not molest the king with flatteries." This verse seems to be inconsistent with so many others in these poems, but Thais have a fine ear for the subtle difference between flattery and "what the king will be pleased to hear."

What strikes one is that the invitation to obedience and loyalty names as person of reference only the king. Although the latter may be taken as the one symbolizing the state, yet it seems remarkable that no other persons or groups of persons are mentioned even marginally. There was, then, in the opinion of the poets, no power group worthy of mention between the sovereign and the mass of the people under him.

A different interpretation would have to be given to this part of the teachings were one to follow Wittfogel's thesis that there exists in response to the "despotic power" of the ruler a "total submission" on the part of the subjects.¹⁶ Wittfogel's key words are "obedience" and "total adjustment" to the "monster" of despotic power.

Obedience and adjustment are ways of behavior demanded, with more or less insistence, by any society. It surely is one of the primary challenges to the individual to take cognizance of environmental

conditions within the social fabric and to make an effort to adjust the behavioral pattern of his psycho-physical organism to the community norms of his society. Coexistence necessarily presupposes that individual behavior is to a certain degree calculable, at least in typical everyday situations (with due allowance to the fact that the consequences of one's actions, words, or writings often expand beyond what was intended, due to what Kant has called the "heteronomy of purposes," or what poets like Schiller, Novalis, and even Eliot and Gide have referred to as the "infinite," or "inspiration"). In Thailand's ancient monarchy loyalty, therefore, also meant among other things a coexistential way of behavior with an awareness for one's own role and recognition for the existing hierarchy whereby the latter need not be classified as a value in itself but rather as an instrument neutralizing the ever-present mechanisms of open or latent aggression.

Compulsion and barbarity--even if these should only be felt as such by certain individuals personally--will always exist in the wake of obedience and adjustment, everywhere and at any time. To recognize this one need not fall back on Bayle, to whom history is nothing more than an accumulation of monstrous deeds. But to proclaim, on the other hand, that obedience and adjustment are the exclusive, more or less opportunistic, ways of behavior of the individual reacting to total power--even if that power is not one pushing him into a corner ideologically--that surely means, all the humanitarian intentions of Wittfogel's point of departure notwithstanding, to concede to man only a very low evaluation indeed. It means in fact to see in him nothing but a mechanism whose only goal is--even in non-exceptional situations when he is not exposed to extreme mental or physical pressures acting on his naked instinct for existence preservation--to survive.

There is also something like a specific dignity in serving. There are cardinal virtues like friendship, decency in our daily associations, reticence, an open mind towards others (without necessarily adopting their opinions), taking injustice or humiliation with calm composure. All this may appear to a sweeping, indiscriminating view as "obedience" and "adjustment," when actually it is a wise and dignified behavior rooted in the fullness of human life and relations. Here is not a case of the "servant honoring the violent despot" (Hölderlin), rather does the Thai serve him who because of his more meritorious kamma has become his superior. The perception of oppression does not exist for one who has insight and who of his own free will accepts, submits to, authority (see also Schiller, *Über das Erhabene*). And quite generally, for a person with a sensitive mind there is no difficulty in recognizing natural nobility. Plump familiarity or hail-fellow backslapping are beyond what comes naturally to Thais in their behavior anyway.¹⁷ Their thinking and acting is nuanced and subtle; and there is usually a great deal of personal pride in their social relations.

3. Serving king and state

The above headline may, in view of the preceding section, seem like a

hendiadys. Serving the king means at the same time to behave loyally toward him, at least in actual fact. We shall bring together in this group not merely precepts referring directly to the king but also to the state, better to the community, like the ones to serve with eagerness (I.27; II.21; III.7, 26; IV.68; V.24, 49, 61 ff., 102; VI.130, 136 ff., 244 f.), not to be lazy (I.18; II.5; III.7), to fight bravely in war (I.31 f.; II.28 f.; III.31; IV.120 ff.; V,12 ff.; VI.83 ff.; 92 ff.).

I and II urge that orders received be carried out quickly, precisely, and with concentrated application, while III.26 demands that one in royal service "should look around in every direction." V.61/62 adds, "Don't sleepily dose into morning's bright sun. Your duties attend to with body and soul."

These teachings imply to a certain degree the encouragement to show initiative: "look around in every direction;" yet this is supplemented by: "Report (what you have seen) to the king." This verse leads to a central problem which to this day has remained latent in Thai society. It is a problem that has to be seen--apart from the general duty to pass on information--in connection with, for example, the concept of *kān krēng čai*, which means roughly an "attitude of respect and awe" but also "reverence" or "acting shy."¹⁸

To behave in a *krēng čai* manner results among other things in a drastic stifling of one's own initiative; it means holding back one's personal ideas and opinions, acquiescing to orders of one's superiors against one's own better judgment, and trying to find out beforehand what someone asking for advice would like to hear. *Krēng čai* means therefore--seemingly or actually, depending on the individual personality--a loss of independent thinking or acting. The lesson of III.26 is therefore not, "keep your eyes open in office and then act to the best of your knowledge" but "report (first) to the king."¹⁹

Perhaps the only positive aspect of such an attitude in life is compatibility, the politeness of a conduct guided by *krēng čai*. In all other respects this term might indeed seem to be indicative of a society in which the relationship of superiority and submission is based on fear and terror.²⁰ But the concept of *krēng čai* reveals itself more clearly when it is compared with one found in Tacitus and derived from the reigns of terror of a Caligula, Nero, or Domitian--*simulatio*. *Simulatio* meant to put on a show, simulating an attitude and behavior that would enable one to save one's life. *Krēng čai*, on the other hand, means first of all not being prepared to take on responsibility. It may be regarded as typical for a society not yet touched by any self-doubts, still safely structured within the firm framework of a generally accepted social and ethical-religious behavior. Everyone has to play the role that is his, within the sphere assigned to him by tradition and custom. The problem here is entirely a matter of the actual case in question--when someone trespasses beyond his legitimate domain.²¹

It might seem that the command to serve the king and the state, combined with a behavior patterned by *krēng chai*, must result in a kind of negative inducement towards achievement, an inhibition of efficiency. We shall have to deal with this later (see II.F.6).

The problem of *jeunesse dorée* seems to have existed already in ancient Thailand. I.18 and II.5 are quite comparable to decrees that were issued at the time of Prime Minister Sarit Thanarat in the fifties and sixties of our century, by which the frequentation of cinemas by flocks of idle teenagers in Bangkok and elsewhere was to be discouraged. Idleness is apt to spoil good customs and manners, and that does not serve the state.

In none of the versions is there any lack of admonitions to volunteer in war and to show no fear. I, II, and III demand: fight "for the king." IV.142 ff. and V.116 ff. elaborate on this: It is also in order to uphold the honor of one's own clan, not only to save the sovereign, that one must not behave like a coward. Which goes to show again how important the "family" was as a basic unit of the state in ancient Thailand,²² within a social structure built around the king, but not the king alone.

To suggest that this urging to fight bravely because of one's own honor was also merely an exploitation of his subjects, egotism by the ruler, would surely be a one-sided, unhistoric interpretation. That he who bears responsibility for a larger polity than merely his own clan must aim at inspiring all on whom he depends for the fulfillment of his task to a supreme effort is natural and legitimate.

Most noteworthy concerning conduct in battle is section IV.120-147. Not only do we find here a few very intelligent remarks on strategy but also good advice on morale (128): "To subjects be kind so they be of good cheer," (135-136): "Be careful, not too far from your soldier's place. In lost causes be steadfast, desert not your men," and (140-141): "Think not of yourselves, nor do quickly abscond. What is hard is what you ought to do, you alone." These are formulations from the nineteenth century or an earlier time and they can in no way be reconciled with that kind of a tyrannical posture scornful of man which the Western authors quoted above write about. We do not recall from the time of absolute monarchy in Thailand a single sentence that would propagate heroic slogans of holding out to the last man, *ad maiorem regis gloriam*, or to the glory of the only true ideology. Rather are Phāī's teachings, in dealing with such situations of risk and peril, characterized by a spirit of humaneness, sympathy, and responsibility.

Regarding verse IV.141, a further comment is called for in connection with the general interpretation offered here. "What is hard is what you ought to do, you alone." Anyone who knows Thailand is aware that to induce a Thai to do what appears to him as *lambāk* is very hard indeed. No employee or servant would go out of his way, not even nowadays, to

conceal his aversion if he is charged with a commission that goes against his grain. This holds true for anyone in relation to almost anyone else. What is highly remarkable in that line IV.141 is that it pays attention to something most personal concerning non-ruling subjects, and such an attitude loses nothing of its ethical value by the fact that, as we wish to point out, it corresponds at the same time to a precept of Buddhism (Dīgha Nikāya, Sihālovādasutta).²³

4. Living with, or within, the hierarchy

An important, perhaps the most important, characteristic in the pattern of the Thai monarchy of old was its hierarchical structure. Hierarchy means a succession of levels, so that one is always superior in rank to the preceding one. The wider the distance, the greater the power of command of the higher ranking and the more comprehensive their discretion in disposing as they see fit.²⁴

This hierarchical structure of society was but the translation of Hindu-Buddhist cosmological ideas to the reality of man's existence in this world. The cosmos, graded by stages, was seen to ascend in pyramid-like fashion, with the vertical line as the dominant feature in this stereometric configuration. And altogether vertical also was the social structure of the Thai community, with consequences that will have to be dealt with later.

This hierarchy extended down to the lowest free subject, who on his part was still higher in rank than the slave. The intensiveness and tenacity with which societies usually hold on to a hierarchy once established may perhaps in part be explained by psychological reasons. An order of ranks offers an excellent means for self-identification and, to a certain degree, for security within society.

Even the Thai language is endowed with a hierarchical quality. The special idioms that have to be used in the presence of royalty, *rātchhasap*, for example, are familiar only to the courtiers. And nothing shows more clearly that the hierarchical order was accepted as something natural than the large number of personal pronouns which had to be used with subtle differentiation depending on who was addressing whom. This art for the nuances was developed to perfection throughout the Thai language.

What the Thai kings, as any autocratic rulers, were aiming at was to maintain, implement, or, whenever necessary, restore their position established above and beyond any imaginable *sakdīnā*, or "worth." Many ways were open to them for this, and these were, at that time, probably more effective than we can visualize today: insistence on etiquette in general, special rules for dress and attire, observance of decorum and behavior at court, forms of address and cultivated speech, display of stately pomp and splendor as a demonstration of power.²⁵

Nursing jealousies among his subjects, presenting himself, if possible, in the light of a charismatic ruler, or at least creating the proper

appearances of one, and perhaps appealing ever anew to state-supporting sentiments were of benefit to the sovereign and also, in the historic situation of that time, to the commonwealth. A large number of sometimes pompous ceremonies were spread over the whole year,²⁶ staged surely not for religious needs alone but as a demonstration of power for the greater glory of the king and, last but not least, to break the tedium of the routine of life.

The words "courteous" and "conventional" were, and still are today, correlated terms. Originality and spontaneousness are expected of a court jester, hardly of the courtier.²⁷ A sense of measure and keeping one's reserve--not the perversion of these qualities by the ways of the timorous, unprincipled tactician--have always been the courtier's virtues par excellence. It follows from this that courtly or uncourteous behavior are not primarily a matter of one's estate or social provenience, but of education. It is in this context that the following teachings must be understood.

The teachings concerning attire at court suggested one should take care not only to avoid sumptuousness or extravagance (I.8; III.8; IV.40) but also that one should dress "with care, not too shabbily" (VI.134). In connection with the first counsel, the word "ostentatious" is used besides "sumptuous," implying that no one should permit himself to forget he was a slave before the face of the majesty. One had to keep one's distance also in outward formalities.²⁸ Thus there is no reason to assume that the exhortation had anything to do with the insight that "the luxuries of the little people are what ruin the state" (Joubert). Rather might one see a connection between that counsel of simplicity and the Buddhist attitude frowning on hedonism. But it might also seem risky to "offend the eye of the majesty" by a shabby, slovenly appearance. "Well groomed come to serve so that favor you court" (V.39).

Dress, jewelry as a sign of rank, and hair fashion were largely standardized in each period,²⁹ not by any official "regulations of dress" but by custom and economic restraints.

There are no detailed guidelines in the teachings concerning proper etiquette in behavior, as this was a matter of savoir-faire, tact, and general worldly prudence rather than specific rules. Here, too, the influence of Theravāda Buddhism discouraging emotion and cultivating tranquillity of soul may have played its part.

That one ought to not cross the road in front of the majesty (III.18), raise one's hands in greeting when entering the palace gate (IV.28f.), utter no vulgar or offensive words before the king (IV.62), "answer him civil in manner" (IV.47), not appear at audience abulging, "overstuffed with food" (I.15; II.14; III.21; V39ff.), or drunk (VI.114) are no more than elementary rules for any courtier, or anyone, in any land. These teachings reveal more to us about Thai society of that time than about behavior at court. The admonitions to avoid lavishness suggest a certain affluence,

if not of everybody, at least in the broad economic sense. Since special rules of etiquette are not found, as far as I am aware, in the rest of Thai literature either, we shall have to assume that court life in Ayuthaya and Bangkok proceeded largely without such a specific ceremonial code. There was the usual prostration in front of the king, the most perfect gesture of outward submission, but that was perhaps the only indispensable norm valid on any and all occasions (see also II.24)-- a polite gesture, by the way, which any well-bred Thai offers to his elders and to monks, though not in the most elaborate form of execution.³⁰

If one compares the customs at the Thai court with the cramped rules of etiquette, sometimes bordering on the ridiculous, at the court of Louis XIV as we know them from Saint-Simon's memoirs, we cannot but conclude that there must have been a great deal of freedom in Siam, much more than ignorant or arrogant observers from Western countries seem to have been able to recognize.

Of course we cannot overlook that court life without much ceremonial, while affording greater ease and liberty to the courtiers, makes the courtiers appear less significant, depriving them of opportunities to make their status manifest by impressive display, perhaps even stifling their ambition to do so. No one can properly become the high priest of the idol of his own honor, nor bask in the feeling of his own perfection through meticulous service to it, without the rituals of an elaborate etiquette.

This absence of a highly developed court ceremonial also reveals the relative lack of importance of the nobility as a social estate or group of political power. Certainly, those with a higher "worth" could come closer to the majesty, squatting on his right side rather than on the left, but no traditional, generally recognized social or political set of rules vested them with the privilege to carry out in their own right this or that ceremony or significant action in favor of the majesty.

5. Distance from the king and reticent behavior

Some of the verses enjoin very specifically "avoid the palace grounds" (II.17; IV.116f.; V.76ff.) and as far as possible "behave inconspicuously" (II.7).

The palaces of any monarch were at all times to a certain degree forbidden cities, for various reasons. The kings of Thailand, although not regarded as "sons of heaven," were yet a supreme majesty far above any imaginable "worth." The king was too elevated to permit his residence to be accessible to the *plebs communis*. His position was so lofty that it would have been "improper and unbecoming to walk the ways which he had set foot on." The sentence: "Don't thoughtlessly follow his footsteps, at fault would you be" (V.78) must be taken quite literally. This expression, "follow someone's footsteps" is used in the teachings

in still another connection. For whoever follows someone else's footsteps "pursues a foe," chasing someone who is fleeing before him. It is not quite clear what the poet intended to say by such stern sounding verses as: "Approaching exalted places in royal proximity might if you trespass, cost your lives" (II.17). Presumably there was a general prohibition for those not in the royal service to enter the palace grounds without a specific petition or summons.

What was true for the palace was true to an even higher degree for the regalia (I.11; II.11; III.18; V.32f.). One should not as much as "lean on" the throne or "rest one's arm on the cushions" belonging to it. This is not to say that the throne, as part of the regalia, was supposed to be sacrosanct, rather this exhortation was probably intended to have a psychological effect, as though the throne were untouchable, in preparation for the enjoinders following: "Hope not to sit on it," "Do not ascend playfully up there in wanton boasting" (II.11). That these admonitions were not without some real background may be seen, for example, from Ēkathat's conduct during the reign of Cau Fā Uthumphōn. Ēkathat "desired in his heart the royal dignity. He would not go to any other place (but the throne hall). He ascended upon the throne of Suriyamarin," we read in the chronicle.³¹ By his deportment, which strikes one as half insane, half infantile--"he would not go to any other place but the throne hall"--Ēkathat succeeded in obtaining Uthumphōn's abdication and for himself the royal crown. Had he not gained it peacefully, factional fights and bloodshed would inevitably have followed.³²

Quite generally, there are recurring reminders not only to keep one's distance in having to do with the king but also to use "caution" and "prudence" (I.20; II.22; III.13, 19, 27, 32ff., 39, 43; V.25f., 47f., 75, 91; VI.97ff., 114), to refrain from "familiarity" (II.16, 19) or from boasting about alleged familiarity. (III.19, 25; V.92f)

This group of teachings was surely not only meant as good advice to the individual warning him against arrogance, wantonness, or frivolity, but also as a protection for the royal authority which requires distance. As Gracian has written: "Whoever puts himself on a level of familiarity with someone else loses at once his superiority. Any affability prepares the way toward disrespect," and "Communicating oneself openly reveals imperfections heretofore guardedly covered."³³ Both for the king and his courtiers it may have always been wise to keep something in reserve in all things in order to safeguard one's own importance (before others)--reserve being a sure sign of prudence, saving one annoyances. No one is great before his valet-de-chambre, according to Hegel, as constantly being a witness to the large and small weaknesses of one's master renders one blind to the stature he may have as a great mind.

If the poet admonishes not to brag about alleged familiarity with the king, he may not only want to suggest that the sovereign stands too high

above all his subjects to condescend to confidentiality with any of them, but also that it would not be to the advantage of a courtier to make a display of his privileged position. Vaunting oneself by claiming special personal qualities may still be tolerated at court but scarcely the boasting about a signal standing or special dignity (see below under 6.). It might also be unwise to drop remarks about sharing secrets with a superior, be they real or alleged, since the latter most likely did not communicate them as a favor but because he found himself in a situation not calculated beforehand. Imprudently bragging only serves to activate rivals and the envious.

In largest part the advice given, such as "Do not try to chum up with his majesty, this conjures up dangers," are generally human and could have been written for any other court or period as well. Much psychological wisdom is to be found in verses such as: (III.13) "should the ruler be cross, withdraw not, not lazy be but keen to serve your high lord. Acclaim his orders, stand by with counseling word. Then gladness will induce him to waive all punishment." And again and again the poems admonish (I.9f.; II.9f.; III.9, 13; IV.88ff., 94f.; V.22f., 96ff.): give report only when the king is in good humor, in a favorable mood, when "his eye rests graciously" on the informant. All this means that one ought to preserve one's place before the majesty with prudence, not be too self-assured nor too obtrusive. Who avoids being obtrusive will not be put back in his place, and news, however pleasant or important, will not be appreciated nor rewarded when presented at the wrong moment. To adjust to the occasion, living not merely according to one's own pleasure and purpose, that is the proper fashion for a courtier. It is not by accident that astrology is so widely popular in Thailand, supplementing one's own intelligence and intuition by information about "favorable" constellations.

6. Keeping on middle ground

A natural, tactful conduct, good fortune in not stirring up the sovereign's ire or jealousy, and unconditional loyalty were not only sufficient but also indispensable for occupying and holding the sphere of liberty available to the individual.

The teachings directing Thais to behave in the proper manner in front of the king offer the following details.

The most important rule heading all others was: "Be not too close to the king, neither too far" (I.12f.; II.12; IV.4; V.34f.), keep just about in the middle in order to be at the right place at the right moment--this is not only a precept of circumspection and the prudence of a courtier and man of the world, it contains at the same time a key element of Eastern wisdom, also of Buddhism, namely, to choose the "middle path"; and surely the teachings just quoted must be seen under this aspect as well.

"To keep in the middle" is perhaps the central theme in the Thai character. A few additional observations concerning this group of teachings seem therefore called for. While this ideal of the "middle" opens up a great many positive possibilities, yet there are also some effects that may be prejudicial to community and state.

Striving to stay in the middle, in a balanced position, may, among other things, lead to indifference, shunning or fleeing from responsibility; it may even be an alibi for personal cowardice, or indolence. In fact we find in the Thai language expressions that point in this direction, and this is mentioned here not gratuitously but because these words are significant in everyday life.

The word *choei* means "indifferent, uninterested, not caring, aimless, silent, unconcerned." As adjectives these expressions indicate the virtues most highly to be praised according to Thai conceptions.

If a man's conduct in dealing with his fellowmen can be described as *choei choei*, this is considered quite commendable. Take life as it comes, keep an even face, don't get excited. *Choei* implies restraint, indifference toward successes as well as toil and trouble, but also jealousy and even stronger feelings against him who tends to break out from the rhythm of life attuned to these attitudes. *Choei*, in other words, is an excellent regulator for keeping a society under control with relative ease. To cultivate the qualities indicated by *choei*, seeing that they are highly effective as an instrument of ruling, could not but lie in the interest of the powers that be. In making this judgment we should not overlook, however, that a life so ordered was quite bearable for the individual and could offer him perhaps even satisfaction (not self-satisfaction) or aspects of a moderate happiness. The overcoming of passion was in harmony with the precepts of religion, too, and a conduct shaped by *choei* did not exclude the realization of one's own personality.

Interpreted more positively, *choei* also means a "leisurely conduct." Perhaps we find here something reminiscent of the Chinese concept of "civilized manners."³⁴ *Choei* includes aversion to radical revolutions and a desire to uphold the existing, stable order. We are faced here, in a specific historical situation, with another way of behavior maintaining the state, an Eastern one which corresponds to the character of that race, the Thais. Here at last it becomes evident that the lack of state conceptions and philosophical theories in political science had its root not merely in a disinclination towards abstract, speculative thoughts but also in the fact that no need was felt for them. Thais did not aspire for an interpretation of their lives (in the community) by some "system," being well aware that any such "explanation" would only be shipwrecked eventually in some way or other on the cliffs of the theory of cognition. They would rather prefer to remain in a suspense more true to life, to gain insight rather than a penetrating analysis.

In the *Rāmākīan* epos, the word used in the section translated above (under I.A.1a), of which *Phālī Sgn Ngng* is part, is not *choei* but an expression belonging rather to literary language, *čai chantha*, and equally for instance in IV.104. What this idiom expresses is "approval benevolence, contentment," thus indicating--yet in a positive sense--a similar attitude of life as *choei*. He whose life is marked by benevolence and contentment will usually be carefree, reticent, not torn by ambition or craving for recognition.

To walk the "middle path" does not mean to choose the path of "mediocrity." No argument is needed to prove this in the sphere of morals and ethics. But an attitude marked by *choei* has also very practical consequences in everyday life.

It was pointed out above (under 3.) that a negative effect on efficiency might appear to be the consequence of a combination of the teaching to serve king and country with the concept of *krēng čai*. Here now we have to add that Thais feel they must behave with due attention to hierarchy and keep in all things on middle ground. An elaboration seems called for.

The fact is that the teachings just mentioned are connected by an imperative of negative effect. The enjoinder is to serve for the benefit of the whole, of superiors, and surely also for one's own benefit. However, one's achievements must not include in any demonstrative fashion the intention to break away thereby from one's present social status and to rise above the level of hierarchy to which one belongs.³⁵ Thus, there is in itself no pressure to the negative effect not to do any more than just called for under the respective circumstances, but rather pressure to see what one has actually achieved at least partially under the aspect of the community.³⁶ In order thereby to cement the social fabric ad infinitum? By no means. There existed in Thai society of old specific avenues in large number for attaining to higher positions. How pervious they were at various periods depended on changing historic conditions. Taken all in all, the system may be assumed to have worked in a satisfactory fashion.³⁷

7. No intercourse with foreigners

Of all the teachings, the enjoinder to submit information was in its substance probably the one most important to the king. But connected with it is the admonition not to have intercourse with certain groups of persons, namely "foreigners," "procurers," and "officials." All these might themselves be privileged informers or even bearers of secrets, and it would not have served the king's purposes to see subjects exchange information among each other.

"To strangers lend no confidence" (III.24); similar formulations are found in IV.108ff., V.72f. A further touch is added hereto by the verses from I.17: "With strangers in town have no friendship, be not confidential with them. Distrust and doubt all their wiles, lest the king

disincline toward you." These verses are not an expression of open or latent xenophobia. Any foreigner was welcome in Thailand at any time, except temporarily when there were weighty political reasons militating against this, as for instance after Phra Nārāi's coming to the throne. Xenophilia is widely documented in Thai history. The Thais also showed themselves wide open to any foreign cultural influences, with little bias or prejudice. Pride of race and a certain national conceit are known to exist among Thais,³⁸ but these qualities express themselves in more subtle ways than a crude disdain for all things "foreign," let alone hostility towards foreigners.³⁹

In the Rāmāyana of Valmiki (book IV, chapter 22) we find among "Bāli's last words" the sentence: "Do not form ties with those who are not his (i.e., the king's) friends." This, and this alone, is also meant by the corresponding verses in Phālī's teachings: no passing on or receiving of news to or from persons who are not under the king's immediate control, who may be suspect because of their engaging in not quite transparent affairs, and who in addition, by not being permanent residents in the country, would have less to lose than a subject of the Thai king. It is interesting that all the texts cited use for "foreigner" the word *khāek*, not *farang*, by which it becomes clear that it is not, or not primarily, Europeans who were meant by this but foreigners of Asian, especially Indian and Malay, origins.

A different chapter, without actuality yet at the time when Phālī's teachings were written, was the official hostility towards the Chinese beginning under Rama VI, Wachirāwut, and climaxing in the Phibun era, as documented by numerous acts of law.⁴⁰ A further chapter under the heading of "nationalism" would have to sum up anti-Japanese and also anti-Western tendencies manifesting themselves more strikingly in recent years. Such phenomena have nothing in common with verses such as "Have no intercourse with strangers" from the poems we are considering here.

Exhortations against confidential intercourse with "procurers" (II.16) may have been addressed to readers also for their own protection, for such persons "report to the king," just as dealings with the "eunuchs" (III.22; V.54) and other court officials might merely lead to "entanglement in guilt and punishment, even unto death." These specialized teachings are supplemented by the general admonition to "be reticent" (V.94), meaning to be wary of the trustworthiness of others.

8. No intercourse with the king's concubines

A matter concerning the person but also the office of the king directly are enjoinders, not lacking in any of the versions, to avoid contact with the royal ladies (I.8; II.8; III.8, 23; IV.52ff., 112ff.; V.18ff., 52ff.; VI.120ff.).

According to the historic sources, most death sentences against members of the royal family were pronounced for trespassing against this

particular law. Article (*mātrā*) 120 of the *Kot monthianbān* states unequivocally: "Anyone who enters into adulterous relations with a royal concubine shall be killed, so that he dies within three days. And also the female person shall be put to death."⁴¹ The text of the law leaves no room for doubt, and thus the exhortations concerning this most human of all spheres of life are justified; they are but paraphrasing the provisions of the law. There is no need for arguing about the necessity of that particular law within the historic and social context. Criminal sanctions as well as the manner of their execution were generally harsh and cruel in ancient Thailand.⁴² On the other hand, in eighteenth century England, too, a man was hanged for the stealing of a pocket handkerchief.

9. Commandments of ethical conduct

A last group of the verses enjoin the individual person to observe a moral conduct. The poets' intention is not, however, to set up a code of ethics of universal validity without regard to any concrete application. Rather all the commandments must be seen in the context of the most important one: "be devoted to the king." This follows logically also from Theravāda Buddhism which teaches that here and now, on this earth, in this life, "merit" must be gained by which the cycle of reincarnations may be shortened. Merit, redemption, meaning extinction, can only be gained by one's own effort. No supernatural powers, according to the teaching of (Theravāda) Buddhism, can help one to attain to extinction but only a community organized and directed by Buddhism-- a Buddhist state.

Specifically, these verses demand: be honest (I.28; II.6, 25; III.26; V.28, 74; VI.144ff.), be modest (I.29f.; V.38, 50; VI.82, 104ff., 152ff.), do not harm others (III.27, 30, 33; V.104ff.), help friends (III.29; V.51, 103ff.; VI.149ff.), be just (IV.48ff., 74ff.; V.108f.; VI.131, 139ff.), guard your equanimity (IV.72), do not be fearful (IV.38; V.28), do not seduce others to gambling (IV.78).

It is interesting from the point of view of sociology that the larger part of these teachings referring mostly to the weal and reputation of the individual are found in Versions IV to VII.⁴³

"Be honest"--when the sovereign questions you; "be modest"--in his presence. Honesty and modesty, then, not because of these virtues themselves but only to please his majesty and to present oneself in a favorable light? Hardly, for honesty and modesty are also, among other things, primary precepts of Buddhism familiar even to illiterate people.

Of greater interest is the group of admonitions to the effect, "do no harm to others." According to III.27 one ought not to try and "trap men, strewing thorns on their path" because in an emergency this might strike home on the catcher. By doing something like that one would reveal that one lacks the conduct of "prudent persons." Motivated

differently, by moral reasons, is III.30: As a soldier, meaning in war, one ought to refrain from willful destruction, as this means guilt which one would come to regret. Help should be offered to a family after its downfall. And transcending all theologies is this most deeply human enjoyment: "Do not threaten others with the torments of hell" (III.33). One should not denounce friends, except when their offense is so grave that--presumably in the general interest--it ought to be made public (V.104ff.; III.29). But there is no invitation to condemn, to act as an accuser, to persecute the delinquent with one's hatred.

If the king, in ire, calls another man to account, one should not interfere or comment "presumptuously" on the royal doings (V.98f.). A courtier must be aware that for a ruler there must always be others to take his own failures upon themselves and that this, in an autocratic monarchy is ultimately a necessity for the good.

The teachings enjoining the individual to be honest and just include being impervious to blackmail. Express reference to this admonition is made once again in the group of verses stressing that the royal treasure, which at that time represented the total of public finances,⁴⁴ must be inviolable (I.16; II.15; III.17; IV.104ff.; V.15, 68ff.; VI.129). This seemed so significant to the poets that it is raised in all of the versions. With a sense of realism drastically formulated, II.6 considers that "often may a king...be robbed."

Also of special interest are the lines enjoining one to maintain the honor of one's own family (III.24; IV.148ff., 156ff.; V.110ff.; VI.86ff., 124ff.). Only in I and II, the most royally-authoritarian poems, are such teachings lacking. Benedict, whose study summarizes the general opinion of Western authors, remarks however: "The chief endeavor of any man who had attained status was, not to consolidate his power for the benefit of his family line, but to keep a fairly precarious footing with his superiors."⁴⁵ One cannot fully agree with this rather one-sided assertion. Benedict may fail to some degree here to recognize the fundamental role played in Thai society, even to this day, by the family and the clan, i.e., the family in the wider sense. The state, in whatever form, is presupposed as a necessary institution, but to most people it remains an abstraction. There is initially no conceivable community that as such could impose itself as an obligation toward acting ethically but the family. All of the impulses toward a behavior sustaining the community have evolved from the rules determining life within the family--at least up to the most recent times.⁴⁶ Only he to whom "family honor" meant something could possibly be receptive to concepts such as the honor of that larger community of which families were part.

"Uphold the honor of your family" can only mean, in the context of Phāli's teachings, "Conduct yourselves toward the king as you have been accustomed to do within your family." This verse is a warning that the

original, ethical conduct within the family must not dissolve into egoistic pursuits in society. The attitude toward life, usually unreflected, which resulted from membership in the family collective was expected to remain the basis also for the general posture taken toward the wider collective, the state.⁴⁷

Concerning the king-subject relationship there is still another group of teachings which have reference to rewards or remunerations dispensed by the king.

One ought to be grateful that the king supports those devoted to him in the very best fashion (I.31), that he "sustains his servants" (I.21). It is significant that statements of this kind are found only in I. All other versions proceed no doubt from the (tacit) understanding that a man is worth his wages.⁴⁸ Version I intends perhaps to make it appear as though the ruler is doing out of generosity what he has to do by necessity.

More important in the eyes of the authors seems to be the admonition not to object when rewards are handed out by the king (I.14; II.13; III.14; IV.100ff.; V.36f.; VI.132f.). As these teachings are contained in seven of the eight versions, it may be assumed that they were considered significant at that time and perhaps even touched on a primary problem in court society.

Version II, in the usual apodictic, lapidary brevity, limits itself to a bare warning not to contradict. Emphasis here seems to rest on the act of obedience and loyalty; thus in essence also IV and V. Version I, however, is not content with the exhortation alone but adds: "Be devout," appealing for purity also in one's inner attitude. Even more clearly expressed and reasoned is this admonition in III. One should not be envious of other people's gains because this would (1) put one to shame and bring no luck; (2) make one lose face; and (3) only make the king angry about an objection coming from his servant. In any case, the purely tactical aspect is placed last among the reasons. Another entirely different motive for this group of teachings is brought up in VI.133: "Do not hold back" anything of what the king distributes. There is some criticism in this, indirect yet impossible not to overhear, hinting at existing abuses.

All of these motives--obedience, loyalty towards the king, loss of personal integrity, fear of corruption--may have played their part, more or less unconsciously, in each of the versions, but always one of them specifically was in the foreground of the respective poet's mind.

1. A survey, although not complete, of the hierarchical system of government in ancient Thailand is found in Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, pp. 21 ff.; see also Rabibhadana, *The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period*, pp. 103 ff.; Vella, *Siam under Rama III*, pp. 3 ff.; Wenk, *The Restoration of Thailand under Rama I*, pp. 28 ff.; Jones, *Thai Titles and Ranks*, passim.
2. See for example the affair that led to the death of Čau Fā Thammathibēt and ten other persons, Wenk, *Die Ruderlieder - káp he rūö - in der Literatur Thailands*, pp. 35 f.
3. See for example Vella, *Siam under Rama III*, p. 10.
4. I should like to point here to the earliest document in writing of Thai civilization, Khun Rām Khamhāeng's stone inscription by which that ruler stated at one passage in beautiful classic Thai "I served my father, I served my mother, I served my elder brother." See Coedès, *Receuil des inscriptions du Siam*, vol. I, p. 44; see also the initial verses 2 and 3 of Version VI and the section on "Autoritätsverhältnisse" in Thailand, in Boesch, *op.cit.*, pp. 33 ff.
5. P. 11.
6. For an extensive discussion of the concept of personality in Buddhism see Grimm, *Die Lehre des Buddha*, pp. 35 ff.; Nyanatiloka, *Buddhistisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 106 ff.
7. Details in Wells, *Thai Buddhism, Its Rites and Activities* pp. 7 ff.; see also Chomchai, *op.cit.*, pp. 8 f.; Sarkisyanz, *op.cit.*, pp. 21 ff.; Ling, *The Buddha*, pp. 159 ff.
8. See on this reproductions in Wenk, *Mural Paintings in Thailand*, vol. II, parts 1 and 2, passim.
9. See for example Wood, *A History of Siam*, pp. 231 ff.
10. *Die preussische Expedition nach Ostasien*, vol. IV, pp. 317, 323.
11. See for example the scene in the first chapter of the epos *Khun Chāng Khun Phāen*, *ibid.*, pp. 23 ff., which may assumed to have been conceived after a realevent. The king here has the almost totally innocent Khun Krai beheaded on the spot when he fails in trying to drive a herd of buffaloes into a kraal (translation of the scene in Wenk, *Die Metrik in der thailändischen Dichtung*, p. 126); according to the report by Koenig, "Journal of a Voyage from India to Siam...", pp. 164 f., Taksin had his barber beheaded because allegedly he had not cut his hair evenly enough. A wealth of quite colorful descriptions from neighboring Burma concerning arbitrary decisions based on sheer personal incompetence is contained in Fielding, *Thibaw's Queen*, especially on pp. 92 ff.
12. See quotations in Stránský, *Die Wiedervereinigung Thailands unter Taksin 1767 - 1782*, pp. 140 ff.; and also the same author's comments on this, *ibid.*, p. 148.

13. Only en passant do I wish to point here to the parallels between these ideas and the conception of state and society with Hobbes, Kant, and Hegel, further to the findings of fundamental significance in the field of ethology concerning "social hierarchy and rank," "aggression control," "area control and distance."
14. Hondrich, *op.cit.*, p. 83.
15. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, p. 279.
16. *Oriental Despotism*, pp. 149 ff.
17. See, by way of comparison, Priestly, *The English*, p. 20: "The truth is, most of the English have an inbuilt sense of class, part of their Englishness...."
18. See on this in particular Landon, *Siam in Transition*, p. 149.
19. The inertia of Thai bureaucracy because of this pattern of behavior has been one of the principal targets for the violent attacks by critical Thai students, see, e.g., the article by Nitiwanakun, "The Hidden Danger of the Seniority System," and Ungphakorn, "The Society of Siam," pp. 3 ff. Concerning the same complex see also the study by Boesch, *op.cit.*, passim, as well as the chapter "On the problems of social ethics of Theravada Buddhism" in Sarkisyanz, *op.cit.*, pp. 37 ff., in which his dismissal of Weber's theses of the alleged incompatibility of the Arahāt ideal with active social engagement should be noted.
20. In fact we find occasionally that people in the service of others are called *khon klua*, "people who fear (somebody)", see Wenk, "Tamrā maeu-tamrā sunak," p. 151, note 19; see also I.29, note 43.
21. A negative example may be found in Chandruang, *My Boyhood in Siam*, p. 40: "I soon realized that in playing with a prince it paid not to win. Deception was what was wanted. This diplomatic tact father also applied when he played chess with the Viceroy"; compare also Fielding, *Thibaw's Queen*, p. 66: one must never seem to "excel" the great.
22. And also that "only men who are fighting for their own glory are good and faithful soldiers," thus also Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, p. 117--a thought which if we pursue it further draws our attention to the fact that an absolutistic system of power, in order to maintain itself, needs the personal engagement, even pleasure, of its subjects in what they are doing for it, in modern terminology, their motivation by identification.
23. Compare also Rosenberg, "Bemerkungen zum buddhistischen Gehalt des Romans Phū Dī von Dōk Mai Sot," p. 48.
24. See on this also the analysis by Luhmann, *Zweckbegriff und Systemrationalität*, pp. 70 f., according to whom a system of government is "structured hierarchically in order to assure that purposes are achieved through obedience to orders, regardless of the character of the motivations of other participants"; see also *ibid.*, p. 78.

In this connection a remark by Fontane, *Meine Kinderjahre*, chapter 8, may be of interest: "One honestly believed (around the year 1830) in the pyramid of the state, which had as its natural law that the upper stone pressed upon the lower."

25. See Veblen, *Theorie der feinen Leute* ("The Theory of the Leisure Class"), pp. 41 ff.
26. See on this Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, passim.
27. In Thai literature, I know in this context only the series of stories around Sī Thanon Chai who plays a role there somewhere between a buffoon and a court jester.
28. Compare verse 472 in Wenk, "Ein Lehrgedicht für junge Frauen - suphāsīt sōn ying - des Sunthōn Phū," "...Evil will come to you because of your coveting (gold jewelry), you have not stayed within your station"; compare also on this topic Priestly's remarks in *The English* pp. 19 f. about "class distinctions" in England: "Critics fail to understand that an accepted class system may be easier, more comfortable, even cosier, for most people than what passes for an egalitarian society.... And men and women can be truly independent even while acknowledging class distinctions."
29. See *Samut phāp*, pp. 33 ff.; *Tamrā phāp lāi thai*, passim.
30. See Chandruang, *op.cit.*, p. 11, where he describes a visit of his family with the mother of his father: "Yes,...an old woman was waiting for us on the veranda of the old house. Father jumped down from the car. Hurriedly he climbed the ladder and bowed his head upon her feet." Young, *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe*, p. 130: "The national etiquette is the natural result of the national condition of society.... As the head is the most sacred part of the body, the chief rules that concern the behaviour of an inferior person in the presence of his superior relate to the position of the body." See also Boesch, *op.cit.*, pp. 35 ff. It should be pointed out that prostration is not unknown in the Occident either, including Byzantium, as a form of paying respect or also expressing recognition in the non-religious sphere. For details and further bibliographical notes see Ohm, *Die Gebetsgebärden der Völker und das Christentum*, pp. 135 ff. Further, I should like to mention here, as Griswold does in *King Mongkut*, that the Western custom of remaining on one's feet in the presence of persons of higher rank appears as shockingly servile in Thai eyes.
31. See Wenk, Čau Fā Uthumphōn - ein Mönch auf dem Thron Thailands, p. 656.
32. Stránský, *Die Wiedervereinigung Thailands unter Taksin 1767 - 1782*, pp. 9 ff.
33. *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, Aphorism 177.
34. See Wilhelm, *Gesellschaft und Staat in China*, p. 15; also Döhring, *Siam*, p. 16.
35. It seems to be a basic, generally valid law in human community life

that members of a group behaving differently from the rest stir the latter to acts of aggression, or at least feelings of aggression, by creating a "situation of irritation"; see on this Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *Der vorprogrammierte Mensch*, pp. 97 f. And this complex of problems must be expanded on behavior at variance with the legal norms of a community, e.g., criminal law. (At the basis of this from a psychological viewpoint may be the fact that an exceptional social ascendancy brings home to others that they are remaining behind in their present social status or perhaps even falling back, and thus they feel disturbed by such ascendancy because it is putting their everyday routine, their "normalcy," and their system of order in disarray.) I should further like to point to Hofstätter's idea in *Einführung in die Sozialpsychologie*, pp. 99 f., concerning a "ceremonial of rivalry" which appears to fit Thai conditions singularly well, running parallel to the aggressive behavior just described: the frequent existence of an inarticulate, perhaps even unconscious consensus previous to the contest, who is to be the victor, i.e., the one distinguishing himself and thereby moving up in the hierarchy.

36. See on this Boesch, *op.cit.*, pp. 38, 41. In a wider sense also Luhmann, *Zweckbegriff und Systemrationalität*, pp. 149 f., according to whom "an action aiming purposely at inter-human relations must not only be carried out appropriately to the purpose but also demonstrated with great care and due consideration for the respective audiences."
37. To elaborate on this in detail would transcend the frame of the present study. I shall therefore limit myself to a few cue-words to indicate in which direction the argument would have to aim, pointing to elevations to highest ranks of nobility, often from the lowest social strata, (especially) because of military prowess, even ascendancy to the kingship (e.g., Taksin, Rama I); elevation due to outstanding poetic genius (especially under Rama II); from 1860 onward because of excellent technocratic or scientific achievements; ascendancy to the highest dignities in the Buddhist hierarchy. See on this also Rabibadhana, *op.cit.*, pp. 155 ff.
38. See for example Embree, in Evers, *Loosely Structured Social Systems: Thailand in Comparative Perspective*, p. 10; Wenk, *Mural Paintings in Thailand*, vol. I, part 1, pl. XXXVIII.
39. See Dodd, *The Thai Race*, p. 312.
40. See on this Vella, *The Impact of the West on Government in Thailand*, pp. 351 ff.; Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand*, pp. 244 ff.; see also a remark in Stifel, *Rubber and the Economy of Southern Siam*, p. 9; Döhring, *op.cit.*, p. 16; and also Crawford, *op.cit.*, p. 88.
41. *Kotmāi trā sām duang*, vol. I, p. 119.
42. See illustrations LI to LV and LXIII to LXVI in Wenk, *Mural Paintings in Thailand*, vol. II.
43. On this see under I.B.2 and II.C.

44. The legal and factual separation of the royal priyy purse and public finances was not effectuated till Rama V, Cūlālongkōn, see on this Mocarapong, *op.cit.* p. 54; Chula Chakrabongse, *Lords of Life*, p. 250.
45. *Thai Culture and Behavior*, p. 6. Also Embree, "Thailand, A Loosely Structured Social System," p. 4, gives on the whole a negative evaluation of the Thais as members of the family.
46. This latent or manifest process of socialization within the family or clan, it must be pointed out, is at the same time a decisive contribution towards stabilizing society, inasmuch as shaping the attitude and role assumed with regard to state and society is probably the main factor in this process of socialization. See the authors quoted in Milhoffer, *Familie und Klasse*, pp. 220 ff. From this it follows that "old Thailand," already on account of its solid family structure, was not ready for any larger social upheaval.
47. These arguments lead to the same conclusions as Bodin's theory (*Six livres de la Republique*, 1576) developed on the basis of public conditions in an absolute monarchy, to the effect that the real life cell of the state is the family, with the state being a family of larger dimensions and the sovereign a pater familias.
48. Compare in this connection also chapters IV and V in Sarkisyanz, *op.cit.*, pp. 26 ff., 33 ff. Concerning the salary system in ancient Thailand see further Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, pp. 215 ff.

G. Conclusions

The versions of *Phālī sōn nōng*, among the many *sūphāsīt* poems in Thai literature, are not to be counted among the great works created by Thai poets. Whoever desires to read poetry for its own sake will hardly choose these teachings.¹ Neither was it the poets' intent to offer edification or aesthetic enjoyment, as the concluding passages of each version clearly show. Their essential purpose was to offer useful precepts. This aspect has so far hardly received scholarly attention in the history of literature. Not only has *Phālī sōn nōng* remained unexplored under aspects other than aesthetics or literary history but also so has the larger part of Thai *sūphāsīt* literature as well, although that literature too is of interest mainly from the point of view of sociology.

The present study may be taken, for one thing, as a contribution to the history of literature. There is not merely one poem *Phālī sōn nōng*, but no less than ten versions of the same title. A similar situation may well be found to exist in the case of other poetic works in languages of the Thai peoples.

The interpretation of the poems attempted here under sociological aspects proceeds, independently of any ideology, from the premise that within a state community there have never existed perfect conditions assuring supreme happiness to everyone; the best that can be achieved is a tolerable situation for all members of the community. As Freud has already stated: "nature by endowing individuals with highly unequal physical capabilities and mental talents has instituted injustices against which there is no redress,"² thus anticipating basic insights of genetics and of the present-day science of behaviorism, such as the "law of nature of the inequality of all living things." Not everything is there for everyone or, rather, much is out of reach for many. Total equality does not exist except where there is total tyranny or, reversely, freedom exists only where people may still be unequal.

Within the old Thai monarchy, moral and spiritual values rendering life tolerable were passed on for centuries.³ In this connection we may point to the affirmative position toward dominion generally and toward the actually existing system of government in particular as documented by the very existence of the poems. There are no passages which, under the influence of Theravāda Buddhism's pessimistic world view, might question this positive attitude toward the political community.

We do not intend to offer here an apologia for political conditions in old Thailand. Barbaric acts of many kinds can be documented for that country from works of literature, chronicles, sanctions threatened by numerous laws⁴ --just as the same may be done from the respective sources of any other country. Yet, how infinitely small was the number

of those who fell victim to individually committed or instigated crimes in Thailand compared to the masses that were put to death for the benefit of even a single "true" religion or dogma or ideology.

Not everyone succeeded or is succeeding in sublimating their aggressiveness or urge for power--neither did all Thai rulers. But they did succeed in preserving a society in which the ego-transcending impulses were channeled toward seeking the "middle path" rather than trying to bring salvation to others by violence--within or without the country--in blind submission to the sovereign or for some other reasons for which the latter must take responsibility. There was no urgent need for measures to change society fundamentally under the actual conditions prevailing during the Ayuthaya and Bangkok periods, up to the beginning of the reign of Rama IV, Mongkut, in the year 1851. That nevertheless much was modified in an evolutionary way during that time without hysteria, without physical or psychical force, and without slaughter is sufficiently well known from the works of historians specializing in that period. The factual content of the poems here studied is limited; it might even be called modest. Considerably more problems exist within a social fabric than one finds touched upon in *Phālī sōn nōng*. I have carefully resisted the temptation to use these poems as a pretext for an elaborate theoretical superstructure for which they were not intended. Perhaps as a result of this procedure the present study may be considered to be to a certain degree one-sided; not in the sense of partiality but because there are sociologically relevant facts and problems of importance that were necessarily left unmentioned. This is a criticism that cannot be avoided. What Phālī's teachings offer is merely the subject matter for a first study--which will have to be followed up by others.

Nothing of a metaphysical nature nor any indulgence in morality is to be found in *Phālī sōn nōng*. Certainly, the king is termed the repository of all virtues, but this is always done in some concrete context. Reverence is owed for practical reasons to him whose decisions are valid for all Thais. We do not find in the poems such rather big words as freedom, truth, equality, and so forth--concepts that automatically conjure up their contrasting antinomies: oppression, lying, inequality. Even moralizing commonplaces found in some of the verses refer always to perfectly concrete matters, and thus the poems are not overly burdened by weighty metaphysical implications.

What is it, then, that Phālī's teachings teach us? The identity of "Asiatic society = despotic society?" That they surely do not teach. They do show us that the constitution of ancient Thailand offered under certain conditions possibilities for handling state power despotically, even tyrannically--certainly according to the teachings of Version II, less strikingly according to IV to VII. Here again we should make reference--merely in a few key words, in order to recall certain fundamentals rooted in nature which in the opinion of this author are common to all beings living in communities--to more recent findings of the science of ethology which can no longer be ignored in scholarly discussion. I

should point especially to the concept of "dominance in social structures" (Lorenz) and to the "social behavior" laid into all living beings by nature with a "relationship of superiority and subordination" (Tinbergen, Eibl-Eibesfeldt).

At what time, how often, and in what manner tyrannical power was used is a question that can only be answered on the basis of specific historic research. The teachings show, however, at least *pars pro toto*, that the common man, the *phrai*, wanted to live just the way he actually did,⁵ in harmony with his natural surroundings, the peculiar characteristics of his race, and the cultural traditions of his community. His own proper role as he himself understood it was not that of a downtrodden something or other deprived of any personal dignity. Phāli's teachings do not express the ethos of slaves but of free men to whom service and reverence towards others did not mean degradation.

The state of the Thais was ruled in the manner of absolutism, as was probably necessary in a society whose members were ready to undertake but little (too little) responsibility themselves.⁶ However, I should qualify as despotic or tyrannical only governments which pursue the individual by their compulsion, constraints, and brainwashing into the last corner of privacy and into domains of everyday life. The suggestion that every people has the form of government it deserves would seem to be, if you abstract its cynicism, rather close to the truth. In any case, the various capitals, Ayuthaya, Lopburi, and Bangkok, seemed always far off to the peasants in their rice fields and the tradespeople in their stalls.⁷

The poems do not convey the impression of an utterly atrocious absolute state in the background, such as do works by some European poets from the same period. According to Lessing's "Emilia Galotti" or Schiller's "Kabale und Liebe," to name only two of the better known examples, the state in the age of absolutism (of Western vintage) was a wholly corrupt and arbitrary regime. Comparing the two models, East and West, will always give rise to the question whether their widely different tenors must be explained by contrasting objective conditions or by the poet's divergent conceptions of life. Whichever alternative may be more correct, both of them offer equal justification for considering the state of the Thais, an Asian people, as a polity *sui generis*, to be evaluated without falling back on the hardened formulas of Western mentality, ideology, or *weltanschauung*.

-
1. Benedetto Croce would no doubt have dismissed these works as "non poesia," as merely time-bound rhetorics or tendential poesies.
 2. Freud, *das Unbehagen in der Kultur*, p. 242, note 1. (I do not ignore the existence of an opinion--see the Myrdal Report of 1969 according to which we are called on today to "correct nature's inequalities"--in order to achieve what kind of equality?)

3. A similar development as that in Thailand is suggested in the case of Malaysia by Alatas, "Feudalism in Malaysian Society, a Study in Historic Continuity," *passim*.
4. Some such barbarities springing from human imagination are rather drastically presented in Thai mural paintings depicting scenes from hell, see Wenk, *Mural Paintings in Thailand*, vol. I, pp. 129 ff., 149 ff., vol. II, illustrations LI to LV, and LXII to LXVI.
5. Compare with this, among other things, the description of a proletarian environment in the poetic work *Raden Landai*, see Wenk, "Raden Landai--das Leben und Werk des Phra Mahā Montrī," there especially under II.3. d,e.
6. See on this also the remarks by Chomchai, "Development of Human Rights in Thailand," p. 7, and Ungphakorn, "The Society of Siam," pp. 3 ff.; Wenk, *Die Verfassungen Thailands*, p. 7.
7. In the narrative by Thirabutana, *Little Things*, p. 69, which describes conditions in her home in Northeastern Thailand, the author states that her mother (in the year 1970) did not even know where Bangkok, a city of many millions, was situated.

III. THE TEXTS

ฉันทพาลีสอนน้อง

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| ปางปิ่นชืดชินบุเรศ | ผู้สมยศพาลี |
| สู้เสียดลละจี | พิตร เพื่อสงวนกาย |
| แผลแผลงแห่งพรหมาสตร | แต่ณพาคฤพานรกาย |
| กุมศรตรีสเรียกสาย | สวาหุคัพโภทร |
| สุครีพพระนุสน้อง | ธพร่าพร้องนุสนธิ์สอน |
| อ้าพีจะ เมือมรณ | อาลัยหลังจักสังสาร |
| สูเนาภิโอรส | คือองค์หิ้งอ่าวหลาน |
| ฉลอง เรณูพมลาย | บ้ำ เรอรัทษพระจักรา |
| เผ้าแหนย่ำห่างองค์ | พิศณพงศกระษัตรา |
| ว่างเว้นทิวาชา | สุกกิจนิหรานาน |
| เล่นหลงพวงพวก | สนุกนักรักการ |
| ทุกชโหษภยพาล | พึงระมัดประหยัดยา |
| ยามท้าวมันฑูรตาม | อย่าชานความแต่เบาคำ |
| แถลงถวนบควรอำ | อรรคแสรงจักแบ่งมัจ |
| เผ้าให้ออย่าอ้าโถง | ณ พระโรงระวังระแวง |
| พระสนมอย่าเิกหวัง | ชำลักลอบชำ เลืองแล |
| หูลสนของคตัก | เมือพักครไทรณันแปร |
| สบเนตรบทางแห | เสนอดอยคยสำราญ |
| ชอบชองจิงพร้องพจน | ไซ้ชองงคย่าหูลสาร |
| เกรงเกลือกว่าคาญคาล | อดูรใหม่พหัยหมอง |
| อลงกรบณัฐธาศัน | รัตนราชบัลลังก์ทอง |
| อย่าหวังขึ้นนั่งฉลอง | พนักอิงแลพิง เชนย |
| ยามเผ้าอย่าไถลองค์ | ทรนงว่าคุ่นเคย |
| ไถลนักรักลวงเลย | พระเนตรลัมรับสั่งหา |

A. Texts in Print1. Version I--Phālī sōn nōng (Kham chan)

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) That glorious day, ¹ in Khīt- did sacrifice his life, ³ | kin town, ² Phālī the king so he might save his soul. ⁴ |
| (2) The arrow ⁵ struck ⁶ --yet tore he clutched the arrow, then | but hair. Mocking ⁷ his miss, called his beloved brother, ⁸ |
| (3) Sukhrīp, the young. To him My death is near. Past deeds | did he expound his teachings. ⁹ repenting, I bequeath you |
| (4) My counsel. You ¹⁰ and Ongkhot, most noble, of royal seed: | my son, both closest kin, ¹¹ Do serve and shield the king! |
| (5) Wait on, keep not too far from, be it for leisure hours ¹³ | the lord of Viśnu's line, ¹² at day, or work at night. ¹⁴ |
| (6) Beware ¹⁵ at play and pleasure, ¹⁶ pain, punishment, and peril. | lest frolics should not lead to ¹⁷ Thus: prudence, care, ¹⁸ restraint! |
| (7) Do not reply to royal explain, veil not the gist | requests with thoughtless words, ¹⁹ on purpose, to deceive. |
| (8) At audience be not sumptuous, Do not with furtive glances | at the palace prudent, careful. lust for the concubines. |
| (9) If, while you give report, displeased, then speak subdued, | the king should shun your eyes, resigned and bide your time. |
| (10) When auspices be fair, Be anxious, wary. ²⁰ Being | report, when not, stay silent a firebrand may bring sorrow. ²¹ |
| (11) On the king's throne, adorned, hope not to sit, nor lean | aglow with jewels and gold, on it, nor on the cushion. |
| (12) At audience be not too near or too far, concealed from his eye, | to the king, seeming intimate, bold, ²² lest he order a search for you. |

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| สถิตยสถานประมาณกลาง | บซึกห่างพอเสาวนา |
| นุสนธิซึ่งพระบัญชา | ทุกสิ่งทราบสนองहुล |
| ปางท้าวขรางวัล | ผู้โคบันบำเห็นจับุณ |
| พึงอวยพืงอณุกุล | โองการครัสออย่าหักทาน |
| เข้าเฝ้าพืงเพลลาภักษ | อย่าอื่มนักภูกคทาหาร |
| เหลือล้นกัวงลการ | อุทรทุกซจกซุกเคื่อง |
| ราชทรัพย์สำหรับคลัง | อันมูมมิ่งอเนกเนือง |
| หน่วยชวนจักปล้นเปลือง | ประโยชน์ถวิลเป็นสินคน |
| แขกเมืองอย่าหมายมิตร | สนิหสนองนุสนธิสน |
| หนาแห่งระแวงกล | รังเกียจใ้ทุทัยราน |
| แถวทางระหว่างฉนวน | บมิควรจักเหื่อมหาญ |
| เที่ยวท่องลำพองพาล | อ่าเภาอแยกอย่าแปลกลปลอม |
| หอนเกินโองการประกาศ | บันโคยราชมโนदनอม |
| ควรรชลาคอาชญาจอม | จักรพรรคิกระษัตริย์ |
| สิงหาศน์บัญญัติไชย | อย่าร่วมให้โทษฎี |
| พูนภัก์จัญไรมี | ประหัยคยั้งเร่งกลัวเกรง |
| คิคคุณผู้ผ่านเฝ้า | ทุกคำเข้าพืงยาเบง |
| บุญพระแต่โพ้นเพรง | มาอำรุงผคงไ้ |
| เป็นนั้จุชาธาเรศ | ชำระแศวคฉัตรไชย |
| ควรรบเคารพใน | บทรชนิรันคร |
| อย่าซัดพระอริยา | ศิคราธิเบศร |
| ฤาอกอระลำพร | หุยศในบหมูล |
| ห่นเหมอมอหังการ | บริบาลบคี่สุรย์ |
| สวามีภักคีนุกุล | กิจอุอปกคี่ญู |

- (13) Keep about the middle, not close, nor too far to hear the requests²³
of "His Wisdom," but rather to all things, to respond and to act.
learn
- (14) When the king, in mood to reward, dispenses small gifts to some,
do not object to his pleasure, but gladly give your acclaim.
- (15) Attending audience at noon, be sure you did not overeat,
or else you might feel ill at ease. Overstuffing may bring discomfort.
- (16) The treasury²⁴ of the king, while richly provided and filled,
some may try to rob.²⁵ (Thieves) have but their own good
in mind.
- (17) With strangers in town have no be not confidential with them.
friendship, lest the king disincline toward
Distrust and doubt all their you.
wiles,
- (18) On streets and arcaded lanes²⁶ do not brazenly stroll like
idlers, across all counties²⁷ worthless
where you may not yet be known.
- (19) Do never trespass beyond the king's commands, respect
and fear his sovereign might, the monarch's majesty.
- (20) The lion throne of triumph!²⁸ Try not to chum up with the king,
or you may conjure up peril. Be cautious, circumspect, fearful.
- (21) Be grateful²⁹ to him who above you, tremble³¹ morning
towers³⁰ his power, sustaining his servants.
and night. Perpetual will be
- (22) He is the ruler,³² he raises the white baldaquin³³ of conquest,
In reverence bow to his royal wisdom,³⁴ time without end.
- (23) Do not contradict the intent³⁵ of him, the divine,³⁶ nor commit
any crime that might distress the dignity of the king.
- (24) Be not presumptuous, proud toward the lord of the sun race,³⁷
Be devout, of a loyal mind,³⁸ do offer help in all things.

อักคัคเวที
 เป้าแหบแห้งภู
 เจ้าเคี้ยกอย่าเคี้ยกคอบ
 รุณโหมพิโรธสา
 ปางท้าวธรรพหาร
 ผดุงกิจพิพิจฉัย
 หูลแกลงแสงกล
 สนงเขตรสนองกรรม
 ย่าถวิลว่าท้าวรัก
 จิตรเจียมเสงี่ยมคน
 ยามเฝ้าสำรวมองค์
 ทำชอบชชอบใจ
 ชุมเลี้ยงภิญโญยศ
 เพื่อผลไพบุลย์
 ยาสาเมื่อมีศึก
 คอสูริบุญแทน
 ไปคือชีวิตรอด
 เจ็ดชัชรบปีชโค
 จงจำนุสาสน์สาร
 มาคยานุวัตรแลลง
 พา ลีกระบี่ราชผู้
 ลี ลาศคาลาคท้าวหา
 สอน แสดงแห่งมาคยา
 นอง สดับรับรสร้อง

พริยภาพคำชู
 ทรราชฤคสาทศลา
 บมิชอบประทุษรทา
 หสังคพึงอกใจ
 ให้พิจารณาณคคีไท
 บัญชาชอบรบอบธรรม
 ยบุตราชแค้นศัศสรพ
 มกฏเกล้าชมกล
 กำเวปศักก็สูงสกนช
 ประพฤติคำยาเียงไท
 ฤาทรนงฤทัยใน
 จักไปรคปรานบ้านาณูปูน
 ปรากฏเกียรติเพ่อมพูน
 ภักศิบาทมชาคแคลน
 บแห่งนิกจักกลัวแกสน
 พระคุณท้าวฤาหนาวภย
 แม่เมื่อมคคชธาสัย
 ภพเลื่องบันภฤาแลลง
 สองอ่าวหลานภูแจ้งแจ้ง
 สำหรับเสวกากร ๆ
 พงศหา นรินทรฤ
 พระนอง
 นุวัตรเร่ง เรียนพ้อ
 ทว่าแล้วลาฤเชนม ๆ

- (25) And then: be grateful, eager,³⁹ show providence and care,⁴⁰
 revere the ruler, protect him with never relenting zeal.
- (26) To an angry king reply not in anger, or he will resent⁴¹
 and harshly punish the slight. Do patiently bide your time.
- (27) When receiving a royal command for investigating a case,
 take care to decide the matter as is proper by custom and law.
- (28) Reporting events to the king do tell nothing but the truth,
 yet in a manner to please⁴² the exalted majesty.
- (29) Don't expect that the king show affection
 affection by raising your ranks to the sky.
 But be modest and courteous who humble themselves⁴³ to the
 like men great.
- (30) At audience be self-controlled, not haughty⁴⁴ at heart, accede
 to the royal pleasure, the king will respond with thanks and
 rewards.
- (31) Regaling you to the best, he increases your might, to your
 and advantage. Revere him, and you will be in need of nought.
 boon
- (32) Do volunteer service in war, harbor no fear but fight
 bravely the foes of your king. In peril be unperturbed.
- (33) Do not think your life will end: should you die, then so let it
 be.⁴⁵
 Your name in the three worlds⁴⁶ will be exalted by fame.
 beyond
- (34) Remember, younger brother and these precepts⁴⁸ that I did
 son,⁴⁷ expound
 to you, the sovereign's Obey⁵⁰ what I put before you.⁵¹
 servants.⁴⁹
- (35) Phālī, the monkey's king, scion of the ruling house,
 then went up to the heavens. Seeking the younger, he had
 taught the king's servants well, abundant for them. The young
 Eagerly listened and learnt. Here (Phālī's) life does end.

1. The word *pin* following *pāng* might possibly be a *kham sgi* used for the interior rhyme, but it could also give to *pāng* the sense of "great, glorious time."
2. *burēt: burī*
3. *chāphit: chāwit*
4. *kāi: "his body, his self"*
5. *phromāt: the divine arrow of Phra Nārāi*
6. *phlāe phlāeng: "wounded"*
7. *khāi: "to spit"*
8. *sawāt khū khaphōthōm: ...khamphōthōm*
9. *tha phram phrōng nuson: ...anuson*
10. *sū nau: likely sū eau*
11. *thang ā lān: "both, uncle and nephew," i.e., Sukhrīp and Ongkhot, uncle and nephew to each other.*
12. i.e., Rāma, the incarnation of Viśnu, in Thai Phra Nārāi
13. *wāng wen...phāsuk*
14. *nitsā nān: "sleeping long"*
15. *phawong phawak: "apprehensive, anxious in view of the future"*
16. *len long: "longing for pleasure"*
17. Interpretive translation of this line, literally: "Excessive fun, then look for the cause (of the evil)"
18. *prayat: "frugal, simple"*
19. *bau kham: "with light words"*
20. *đān: kham sgi*
21. interpretive rendering of this line
22. *tha(ra)nong: thanong*
23. *nuson: anuson*
24. *khlang: a term in use till this day for "financial (matters), ministry of finance"; see Wales, ancient Siamese Government and Administration, pp. 98 ff.*
25. While there is no "do not" in this line, it is undoubtedly implied.
26. *chanuan: canopied, arcade-like paths for pedestrians*
27. *amphōe: administrative region, today corresponding to a "county"*
28. The reference here may be to a throne called Phatharabitha (bhadrapitha) on which the coronation proper of the Thai kings takes place. Across the seat and back of this throne there is spread a

cloth of gold brocade with a vermilion "lion" woven into it in the shape of a *rāṭhasīha*, see Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, p. 83 and illustration IX.

29. *khīṭ khun*: *khōp khun*
30. *phū phān phau*: "who is above your head"
31. *yam yēng*: also "timid"
32. *pin eutḥā tharēt*: "King with the needle in the (Brahmin) hair knot"; regarding "hair knot" see illustration pp. 104 and 105 in Döhring, *Siam*, part I.
33. *sawēt chat*: "White baldquin," a symbol of royal power and dignity, see Wales, *op.cit.*, pp. 93 ff.
34. *bot*: among other meanings a numeral for poetry or teachings of wisdom in writing
35. *athayā*: *atchanāsai*
36. *isarāthibēt*: "Viśnu," see note 12
37. *bōribān bōdīsūn*: "Savior and ruler of the race of the sun"; concerning "race of the sun" see under I.A.a.
38. *nukūn*: *anukūn*
39. *phīr(aya)*: *phīra*, or *phīriya*
40. *khlāt khlā*: "much," here probably to be understood in the sense of "intensively"
41. *prathut*: "to do evil to someone, or to put him in rage"
42. *sanṅng nēt sanṅng kan*: "pleasant to the eye, pleasant to the ear"
43. *tom yam yēng*: "lowly and fearful"
44. *thar(a)nong*: *thanong*
45. *bō ālai*: an idiom
46. *traiphop*: here probably the heavens, earth, and hell are meant, not the Buddhistic "Three Worlds" of desire, forms, and non-forms.
47. *ā lān*: "uncle, nephew," see note 11 above.
48. *nusāt sān*: *anusāt*
49. *māttayā*: *amāt*
50. *nuwat*: *anuwat*
51. *sawēkākōn*: probably *sawēk*, "court official," and *kōn*, here numeral for the preceding
52. *rot*: "with gusto"

โคลงเรื่องพาลีตอนน้อง

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| ๑ พาลีมีเกชลา | เลขกระบิล |
| เป็นเหล่าอภินทรอินทร์ | แย่งยื่น |
| ผ่านแคว้นแก่นชิกจีน | ยุรินทราช |
| ปรากฏยศยงชั้น | ฟากฟ้าสุธาสถาน |
| ๑ วานรวรราชเรื่อง | พาลี |
| เรียกอนุชอกุมศวี | แน่น้อง |
| องคกยศยงมี | ใจเสนห์ |
| มากล่าวพนาพร้อง | ถัดวันชยวนความ |
| ๑ ทีวีเจ้าผ่านชองเนอง | ชนัน |
| ในจิกศสนทเสนห์มี | ท่อนแก้ว |
| พี่ชายระวาช | พิกนาศ |
| ทั้งสองสนของเสนอแก้ว | เนครเนอหทัยางค์ |
| ๑ สององค์รงวิกควัย | ภักดี |
| เป็นทาสยาภักวี | เลิศล้ำ |
| องคกยศยงศวี | เสมอนเนคร |
| อาว์หลานท่านพึงปล้ำ | ปลุกเลี้ยงประโลมกัน |
| ๑ เฝ้าแทนแสนเสนห์ควัย | โจง |
| อภินทรปิ่นรวงค์ | ถ่ายเกล้า |
| อย่ากิกะนิทรปลง | ขาวบัก |
| ว่าสนุกสุขเกษมเซ้า | คำกัษะคุยอน |
| ๑ หนึ่งคอบชะถอยเสที่ไ้ | เวียงราม |
| สิงหนาทอาไรไ้ตาม | ถัดอัย |
| ทูลพิศภิกถความ | คามสัคย์ |
| อย่าชานการเขานอัย | เนองเนอคกักรง |
| ๑ เฝ้าไทอย่าไ้ไ้อ่า | โองค์ |
| อย่าแก่งแน่นอัยผาง | นอชนอัย |
| ที่ทางกลางโรงปลง | หะกงอาคม |
| ๗ โรงกัถนินโคยอัย | อย่าไ้สามผลาม |
| ๑ นกัสนมกรมชะแม่แม่ัน | สาวสวรวค์ |
| นางโมไนพูถ์ยพรพณ | แน่นอัย |
| เฝ้าไทภุทรวงธรรม | ชิปราช |
| อย่าไ้ไ้ในเสนห์กถอัย | เนครเลี้ยวเลียมแสวง |

2. Version II--Phālī sgn nṅng (kham khlōng)

- (1) Phālī holds highest rank,¹ above all rank and file,²
 a ruler of Indra's order,³ sharing his might.⁴
 He lords it over Khītkin land, as king,
 his fame far flung,⁵ even unto⁶ heaven's blessed fields.⁷
- (2) The monkeys' glorified king, famous Phālī,
 he called his worthy younger brother, and
 Ongkhot, most honorable, of gentle heart,
 in solemn words revealing them the core and course of things.
- (3) To you, young kin, same blood by mother's womb,
 I'm deeply bound at heart,⁸ as never more.⁹
 Farewell I bid to life,¹⁰ choosing death.
 You two with kind heart honor¹¹ the one of "radiant eye!"¹²
- (4) Both shall you ever love him with respect and faith.¹³
 Be slaves at Ćakrī's¹⁴ feet, the highest light.¹⁵
 Ongkhot, extolled and brilliant like mine eye,¹⁶
 Uncle and nephew, do defend with mutual care each other.
- (5) Devoted¹⁷ be a thousandfold to the crowned¹⁸
 ruler from Rakhu's¹⁹ line, bow²⁰ to his head,
 and fancy not you may stay idle forever,²¹
 with joy and bliss all morning, while fast asleep all night.²²
- (6) Then:²³ Often may²⁴ a rich king be robbed of gold.
 When roaring²⁵ he requests a precise report,
 relate²⁶ the cunning deed to him in truth,
 not answering at the surface,²⁷ but making clear the case.²⁸
- (7) At audience with the great, appear not too elegant.
 Your dress be not too sumptuous, your conduct humble.
 Approach the palace²⁹ with a polite deportment.
 At court move quietly, not all too rash or rumbling.³⁰
- (8) Court³¹ concubines are like celestial ladies,
 of fairest figure,³² fine and most delicate.
 Do not while serving the "giver of laws,"
 sovereign, them with furtive glances.³³
 "twice wise," lust for them,
 searching

๑ กุฎพิภภิจแจ้งจัก

คอบกุ่มเออภูวโนย

แปร์ผันยัตฑาฐไร

โจงค้อบชละอบเกิมแก้ม

๑ ขอบกุดมุดเหตุหัน

มิชอบประกอบธากูร

เกรงนเรนทรสูร

หฤทขางค์หมางหมั่นกิ่ง

๑ หนึ่งอาสน์อิราชไท้

ทองสุกมุกคาศรรพ์

กระหนกรคั่นจำรัสวรร

อย่าผันชั้นเล่นแล้ว

๑ นัยหนึ่งพงเพ้าท้าว

อย่าไกลนักษิกกัศวี

ทะนงระงมิ

อย่าไกลนัยน์นครไต้

๑ หนึ่งเมื่อเฉลอเปลี่ยงไปล

บ้ำาเห็นเสวีระพรพอน

อย่าทักชกขวางธรร

รงคอบชละอบคามาถวัน

๑ เมื่อเฝ้าเข้าค่ากล้อย

รงย้อมอมกระยาหาร

อย่ากินสันเสวีระประมาณ

เกล็ดอกกวนย้วนทองไต้

๑ หนึ่งของทองโกศไฉ

อย่าคิกขักแสงหวง

เอาออกนอกคตังรัง

อย่าไต้มิใจเื่อม

๑ กล่าวกโไว้วากย์เว็น

กัจองค์ทรงจักรลทฤษณ์

สี่อุมิควรรทัก

อย่าชกสนิกเข้า

ประการไก

ข้องเข้ม

สิงหน่าท

เมือท้าวสุขสานัก

โจงกุด

หยุกข้ง

เคื่องค้อง

แก้วอันสกนักรม

ทรงธรรม

ก้องแก้ว

โณภาส

อวกอ้างกรอิงอร

นฤยัก

ทำนไต้

ทวิโทษ

นเรนทร์พรอ้งตามถ้ง

รางวัล

ถัดวัน

มิกราช

เดห์ถ่าคฤผล

สกลกาล

ทบอนไว้

ประมุขขนาด

ชากข้ายในวัง

ในคตัง

อาวเื่อม

แรงโทษ

เงอนร่ายสลายคณ

สูงคักัก

ก่ายเกล้า

สะเทือนโทษ

พุกพรอ้งสน่าเสนอ

- (9) On king's request expound clearly each case.
 (Yet) wait till the "world's lord" is pleased to smile.
 Then, when he turns to address you with "lion voice,"
 elaborate plainly, plausibly, while the king's grace lasts.
- (10) If reasons he wishes to hear, do respond,
 if, undisposed, he remains silent, desist.
 Do dread to stir the sovereign's temper,³⁴ lest he,³⁵
 his heart sad, dark, disgusted, should bring harm³⁶ to all.
- (11) The throne of his majesty, the "giver of laws,"
 enriched with gold and pearls of brilliant beauty,
 with precious gems, bright colors illustrious,³⁷
 do not ascend playfully up there in wanton boasting.
- (12) Another rule: When going up to court,
 draw not too near the king's radiant might.
 Pride may provoke a twice hard punishment.
 Yet, neither stay too far, so they need not search for you.
- (13) When (the king) dispenses³⁸ in order to
 presents
 reward for some particular full achievements,
 you shall not blame the ruler's righteousness.
 Wholeheartedly do emulate him³⁹ who brings good fruit.⁴⁰
- (14) Attending morning's audience for a survey,⁴¹
 refrain from overeating before, be frugal.⁴²
 Don't feast yourself so full⁴³ that, maybe,
 your angry inner man⁴⁴ impair you at the palace.
- (15) Wealth and precious wares⁴⁵ from the king's treasure⁴⁶
 do not try to conceal, nor even touch.
 Take but non-treasure, under harsh penalty.
 Let not a greedy heart,⁴⁷ like a villain's, break your worth.
- (16) About the monarch speak with supreme respect,
 as though the disk bearer⁴⁸ were upon⁴⁹ your head.
 Shun the town's procurers,⁵⁰ fear what might follow.⁵¹
 Don't talk to them in confidence, for they inform the king.

๑ ทางโคไปแทยท้อง

อย่าไกลไม่บังควร

๕๕
กษัตริย์ชรรวณ

จ่ายทพณ์ฉะนั้เท้า

๑ ธิบกินทรป็นเถล้า

ไทรภพวยโลกา

เกรงพณ์ยทอชญา

เป็นนิกิจการแมน

๑ ท่านไซร์โกปถบ้อง

เป็นอิศวรไทรในกิน

มิใช่ในเผ่าพินธุ

๕๕
ทงสองสนของคำช

๑ สวามิภักดิ์กรท้วมเจ้า

แก้ทฤรภูชวุคินล

ท่านเคี้ยกอบ่าเคี้ยกกล

คิงก่อทรบชเจ้า

๑ หนึ่งไซร์ในเมือไซ

แรงทพณ์นำคำ

อย่าห่างทางสระเทือนน้ำ

พิททูลมุลกก็ร้อบ

๑ กรรมสันทิชชเือแล้ว

ทก็ไซ ในคุษสสถาน

เห็นรททระกถการ

ทก็แสดงแก่ทพณ์ร้อบ

๑ อย่าคิกว่าสนิทท้าว

อย่าทูลทักพณ์รอน

อย่าเบงเกรงศกัคชริ

๕๕
ถึงสถานขานทก็คัง

๑ แหนนทมิภักดิ์มิอย่า

ช้ายชวออย่าถบถาย

อย่าหันผันผายหมาย

๕๕
ทงทคันจในช้า

เกียมถนวน

ไท่เก้า

นบันเนนทร

๕๕
ชัพม์วบอย่าจร

อบุชยา

เชกค้แกว้น

นรนาถ

๕๕
ชัพม์วบกวรสนอง

ชรฉินทร

ทวป็น

๕๕
กระบิลชาติ

๕๕
ชอมเจ้าเก็บมทน

๕๕
ชุมพล

๕๕
คำเจ้า

๕๕
โกบโทษ

๕๕
เชกค้แกว้นประณมสนอง

๕๕
รงจำ

๕๕
ถิตถอย

๕๕
เกียมทล

๕๕
สิ่งไซในการ

๕๕
ยคียาล

๕๕
ถิตถอย

๕๕
รงท้ว

๕๕
เลห้เลขวเคี้ยบงนา

๕๕
ทรวงศร

๕๕
บ้อยง

๕๕
นินาถ

๕๕
แก่นธัมประณมถวาย

๕๕
งยหงาย

๕๕
กลถกหน้า

๕๕
ชลทชลุ่ม

๕๕
อย่าแกล้งกลางสถาน

- (17) The king's canopied walks,⁵²
because that is unseemly,
Approaching exalted places
might, if you trespass,⁵³ cost
- (18) His majesty, the highest of
of three worlds, world end beyond
Do fear the word and power
and serve him ever truly,⁵⁴
- (19) This high lord shielding you,
potent like Siva in
not be (compared to) millions⁵⁶
You both⁵⁷ be subject to him,⁵⁸
- (20) Be loyal vassals to the lord of
the four-armed,⁶⁰ rich one, always
Yield to his sovereign anger,
Do not resist, nor roam his
- (21) And further: When (the king)
should
remember what he explains,
not absent-minded⁶³ nor lazy,⁶⁴
Report on a hundred matters,⁶⁵ all
- (22) If you are the sovereign's
confidant,
about secrets any place⁶⁶ in
If you see through matters,⁶⁷
in measured words aptly⁶⁸
- (23) Presume no intimacy with the
Do not speak curtly to him in
Your fear, respect, be boundless
When near the throne,⁷⁰ be
mindful⁷¹
- (24) Be submissive,⁷² reticent, do not
nor left, nor right, unsteadily⁷⁴
Don't turn or wander around,
Be firm, collected, enduring,
- step not on them,
and quite improper.
in royal proximity
your lives, therefore desist!
Ayuthaya,
limits and lands!
of the king,
until your lives will end.⁵⁵
lord of the earth,
this world, can
of races, nations.
love him, preserve our house.⁵⁹
assembled armies,
most powerful.⁶¹
and punishment.
realm like rebels. Respect him!
need you, obey,
mind his words,
and no sly twists!
things useful to the king.
do not prattle
so many words.
do expound
your finely spun schemes.
lord of the arrow.⁶⁹
abrupt words.
of his majesty.
of revering him alone.
face up to him⁷³
shifting sideways.
disregarding him.
innocuous before the throne.

| | |
|------------------------|------------------|
| ๑ สรวพสิ่งจริงแท้จริง | ทูลพิท |
| อย่าทูลประมุขกตกิจ | เคล็อยไคถ์ |
| บังคมขรมอิศ | ศรรราช |
| (ฉบบัถย) | เว้งรัฐฤททขางค์ |
| ๑ อินทวิทย์โทษเกียร | พยายาด |
| ทกแห่งแสดกงในสถาน | เก็ชไว |
| ทงส์อิริยาขรพระมาณ | เสมอเล้า |
| สองประการสารสิทธิ์ให้ | ทาสท้าวควรแสดง |
| ๑ เฝ้าแทนแผ่นดินภพด้วย | จงจิกค์ |
| อย่าใฝ่ในกตกิจ | เก็ชงเก็ชว |
| แสดงชคยประกอยนิชา | ทกเมือ |
| เก็ชงให้โพยล้วยเก็ชว | ถ่วงร้อบแสดงสนอง |
| ๑ อาสาวินณเมือ | มีศัก |
| อย่าเกรงนระเลงเกรงคัก | เช่นเช็ชว |
| รยเว้งตะเบงตะบิงสะอิก | ถกุนโล |
| งไค้ในหลตงเหล็ชว | ทกให้สยบแสดง |
| ๑ สงครามขุทธุ์แบ้งอย่า | คิกขาม |
| ขุกขันประจัญชานคาม | ท้อท้วย |
| เช่นฆ่าอย่างกตวิความ | มรณาค |
| รุกรันชานชีพม้วย | จงอ้างฮาองค์ |
| ๑ เสรีการสารสังข่า | คำสอน |
| ทงสองสนองในกตอน | ถล่าวไว |
| เฝ้าองค์ทรงศักกัชว | นินาด |
| ขระนิกินสันงไค้ | อย่ามกล้วไคตกลลา |
| ๑ พจนาคำแกถ้งถล่าว | ฮาวิทลาน |
| เฉลยไซในเขาราวณ | เว็ชไว |
| จงจำอิมฤทศาร | เสมอฮากรณ์ |
| ขรรขายคกฉายอรรดให้ | โตกรูวินัยเสนอ |
| ๑ พาลมีศักกัพน | สกลโกร |
| กตอนถล่าวรวอรรดไซ | ถัดอัย |
| ทงสองสนองเสนอใน | พจนารด |
| เป็นเฉลิมเจิมภพร้อบ | โตกรูศรรเสวีณู, |

- (25) Research in each case the truth, then report.⁷⁵
 Do not exaggerate, slyly alleging magic.
 Obedience render always the supreme majesty.
⁷⁶ eager to know his opinion.
- (26) His majesty,⁷⁷ lord of punishment,⁷⁸ healer of the sick,
 is teaching on the throne of the six spheres,⁷⁹ pondering,
 expounding the four postures⁸⁰ ever anew, also
 the two kinds of perfection⁸¹ to you slaves, so you may take heed.
- (27) Revere the lord of the earth⁸² with a collected mind.
 Don't devise subtle schemes for his adulation
 Rather find what befits and pleases at all time.
 If you flatter him thus, his response will be a millionfold.⁸³
- (28) Volunteer to serve when the monarch wages war,
 not fearful⁸⁴ (but) brave, teeth gnashing in rage.⁸⁵
 Thus fight and fiercely surge forward⁸⁶ routing (the foe),
 following in hot pursuit,⁸⁷ slaughtering, spreading terror.
- (29) In the battles of war do fight, never frightened,
 combatting with utmost courage all enemies.
 Kill, slay, spreading destruction, dreading death,
 not
 attacking to your last breath. Then your gallant deeds' tale will
 be told.
- (30) Complete is now my report. I bid you repeat
 the precepts I taught you both, dear kin, honor them.
 Revere the mighty majesty, your savior.⁸⁸
⁸⁹ shall come to an end, depart not yet.
- (31) Thus he spoke to the uncle and nephew.
 Already then⁹⁰ his words were duly recorded.
 Always mind these teachings like your own selves.
 Do spread them for the boon of all the world to know.
- (32) I, Phālī, wielded wide power in the universe.
 This poem reports explicitly for your benefit.
 Absorb the value, both of you, of all these words.
 Most worthy, blessed are they, all the world will give them
 praise.

1. *ḍēt*: also "dignity, power"
2. *loei krabin*: literally "more than the rank and file (of the monkeys)"
3. *lau*: "group"
4. *bāeng pan*: "to share (power) with someone"
5. *yong chan*: "of high caliber"
6. *fāk*: "(at the) side"
7. *suthā sathān*: "heaven's balmy places"
8. *ēt*: "in heart and mind"
9. *hṇ laeu*: literally about "There is not the like anymore"
10. *chīphit*: *chīwit*
11. *hathayāng*: *hathaya*
12. *kaeu nēt*: here synonymous with "Rāma"
13. *phakḍī*: signifies generally "loyalty"
14. *ḍakrī*: "bearer of the disk," here a synonym for "Rāma"
15. *lōet lam*: "of the exceedingly brilliant one"
16. *nēt*: (see note 12), but here surely used with relation to Phālī, therefore in the meaning "...like myself"
17. *sanē duai ḍai*: "friendliness on purpose"
18. *pin*: a golden needle around which the Brahmin hair knot is slung, see also note 32 to Version I.
19. *rakhu*: signifying Rāma's provenience generally, without directly alluding to the Rakhu-Vamsa of Kalidasa
20. *kāi*: also "to lean on," here however in the meaning of *tai*
21. *yāo yūt*: "prolong"
22. *khui takhui*: inserted for euphony, without proper meaning
23. *nūng khṇi*: "firstly"
24. *chalṇi*: *changṇi*
25. *singhanāt*: "the roar of the lion," i.e., a royal command, feared by men like a lion's roar
26. *thūn phit*: *phet thūn*
27. *kān bāu ngi*: "not too simple"
28. *nūang nūa khadī trong*: "(expounding) the most important matter coherently and correctly"
29. The word *plong* following here is but a *kham sṇi* without further significance
30. *sāmphlām*: a contraction of *sām hān* and *phlī phlām*

31. *krom chamāe*: "Office for the (royal) concubines"; what is meant here does, however, not seem to be a *krom* in the proper technical sense.
32. *phaibūn phan*: a pleonasm
33. Concerning the situation of the ladies of the palace see Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, pp. 49 ff.; see further--despite a great many reservations against these books--Leonowens, *The English Governess at the Siamese Court*, and *Romance of the Harem*, passim.
34. *khōng*: here *kham ēk*, "to be mixed up in something," probably to be taken as a synonym for *khūang*
35. *tang tae*: "from this time on"
36. *rōn*: "(it is) hot...."
37. *nōphāt*: the meaning not clear beyond doubt; perhaps a corrupted form for *nopharāt* (ninefold gem)?
38. *chalia*: *chalia*
39. *ōng khōi chālōi tām*: an idiomatic figure of speech which cannot be translated literally.
40. *sup phon*: "(to produce) honorable results"
41. *khlōi*: has also the secondary meaning "to be on the look out for an opportunity."
42. *yōn wai*: "to let up, to disengage"
43. *pramūn khanāt*: "don't treat (yourself) to such quantities..."
44. *klūāk kuan puan*: "to be cross, irritated"
45. *khōng kōng kōt wai*: more literally, "goods kept together at the various administrative units." *kōt* may be meant to point to the preciousness of the royal urns.
46. *khlang*: see note 24 to Version I.
47. *ngūam*: really "grabbing, leaning to"
48. *ōak(ana) laks(ana)*: epitheton ornans for Viśnu
49. *kāi*: "piled up"
50. *sū*: also "mediator, agent"; possibly *sū* may be an abbreviation for *sū sān*, "spy."
51. *thōt*: "punishment," but the translation here must no doubt be in the more general sense, as rendered.
52. *charuan*: canopied walkways often especially set up for persons of royal rank. See also note 26 to Version I.
53. It is not quite beyond doubt whether the translation as rendered actually exhausts the full meaning of this line.

54. *khuan sanōng*: "to do a favor"
55. *chīp mūi*: the text, which is here rather formalized, permits also another interpretation, namely, "even if (because of this) your life should end."
56. *phin*: numeral for 10,000,000
57. i.e., Sukhrīp and Ongkhot
58. *sanōng kham chī*: "doing a favor and explain by words"
59. *xiām ton*: "to preserve the line"
60. *Ṭaturaphut*: a by-name of Phra Nārāi
61. *kham chau*: *chau* (*siang sāmān*) will have to be read here as *kham thō*, therefore, "at day and at night."
62. *yā khiat kon*: "be not incensed about a ruse"
63. *sathān*: "excited, confused"
64. *kiat*: khī kiat
65. *mūnlakhadī*: "something that happened, a legal case"
66. *sathān*: "place," here surely in the meaning as rendered
67. *kon kām*: "ruses, tricks"
68. *liāu diāngsā*: "to turn, to meander," and "being omniscient"
69. An allusion to Rāma whose arrow ultimately kills Phālī
70. *sathān*: "place," but here no doubt to be translated as synonymous with *phra thī nang* --compare, e.g., verse 24, fourth line.
71. *tang*: *tang Ṭai*
72. *hāen*: *fau hāen*, compare verse 27, first line.
73. At the time of the Ayuthaya monarchy it was--under the influence of the Hinduist conception of royalty taken over from Cambodia--forbidden under penalty of death to look the king in the face. This rule, although much less rigorously handled as far as sanctions were concerned, seems to have been maintained also during the Bangkok era, in any case till the reign of Rama IV, Mongkut, which can be documented from chronicles and law codes.
74. *klap klāi*: "to change (one's mind)"
75. *thum phit*: *phet thūn*
76. Line missing; in the text carries a note: "Volume (at this spot) defaced."
77. *insī*: *indrāya*, "the one with the five senses"
78. The meaning of the word *thian*, which follows here, could not be established beyond doubt; perhaps "insignificant," i.e., *thian* ending with an -r?

79. *hok hāeng*: in the absence of further indications in the text it remains open what exactly is meant by this, presumably the "six heavens of the divinities," see on this Alabaster, *The Wheel of the Law*, p. 308.
80. *iriyā*: what by this is to be signified in (Thai) Buddhism could not be ascertained; there are numerous thoughts and ideas connected with the number "four."
81. *sit(thi)*: also "success, right, power"; see Panyānuphāp, *Phoṭṭānānukrom sap phra phutha sātsanā*, p. 421; the text does not permit being more specific.
82. *phāenphop*: "surface of the earth," to be supplemented "the lord of..."
83. *luang rōi sāen*: "exceeding this a million times"
84. The word *malēng* following here is no doubt meant only as an onomatopoeitic insertion.
85. *khēn khiāu*: "gnashing one's teeth with rage"
86. *rēng tabēng tabing sa-ūk*: *tabēng tabing* are onomatopoeitic *kham sōi*
87. *lang liau*: *liau* is to be read here without *mai thō*.
88. *thoranānāt*: "on whom earth relies"
89. *pranithin*: The meaning of this word could not be established beyond doubt. It may be assumed that it is a corrupted form of *patithin*, "time, calendar."
90. *baurān*: *bōrān*

- ๑ การเสด็จสมโภชฉวัน
 แสนสนุกฤตธรรม์
 กาลเล่นทุกอย่างสรรพ
 ชนแน่นหลายพันร้อย
 สามวัน
 ใช้น้อย
 แท่งจึก
 มากล้นคนดู ๖๕
- ๑ หุ่นโขนเล่นเรื่องท้าว
 กรองชี่ชินบุรี
 เกิดวิวาทรบคี่
 ยามเมื่อคราวจึกท้อง
 พาสี
 ฟีน้อง
 สุกกริพ นุชานา
 นิราศร้างไอศวรรย ๖๕
- ๑ พาสีฤทธิรุ่งฟ้า
 อวิราชกรอน
 ชี่ชินปิ่นนคร
 ปรากฏยศท้าวแก้ว
 คินขจร ท้าวแฮ
 ย่านท้าว
 กรองราชฎรี
 เทืองหึ่งสรเสรอย ๖๕
- ๑ ปางกระบี่จึกท้อง
 กวขลาคบาศศรส
 ม้วยมิกปีคอาชุก
 บาคคักฤจึกเสื่อมช้ำ
 ศรธนู
 สลคหน้า
 คึกว่า
 ชั่วชี่กะลิก ๖๕
- ๑ กุมศรท้าวเป็ล่ง
 เรียกสุกริพเค่ารา
 องคตราชบุกรว
 คุจึกเมื่อมรณเจ้า
 วาจา
 กู้เกล้า
 ่ว่มชี่พ คนแฮ
 พวคห้องกรองกัน ๖๕
- ๑ สุตม์จึกน้อม
 เปนค้ำพระนาราย
 มอบชี่พิทิจกรกาย;
 อย่ำประมาทหมั้นเฝ้า
 คนถวาย
 บินเกล้า
 จลองบาท
 ทานไค้อย่าทง ๖๕
- ๑ นิทรಾಯ่าล่งฉ้า
 ทวีลวักคักจึกเสื่อมหาย
 นอนคริกนิกวงวิงกาย
 อย่ำคตาศกคุณแจ้วหล้า
 เลยสาย
 ลากหน้า
 กาวกิ
 คิ่นชั้นนมกการ ๖๕

3. Version III--Phālī sṅn nṅng (kham khlōng)

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) Then, all those festive ways, high ¹ merriment and praise the many pretty plays Huge crowds of men attended, | three days' were ended, prepared with care. who flocked to watch. |
| (2) King Phālī's lot by <i>hun</i> ² There reigned in Khītkhin town A quarrel flared; his own Sukhrīp, did fight, and in | and <i>khōn</i> ³ were shown. his kin. young brother, the end must leave the realm. |
| (3) Phālī, with might on earth did smite his foes; in flight His realm he ruled, delight- Throughout the world there spread, | and height of heaven, this king they dread. ful town Khītkhin. exceeding bright, his fame. ⁴ |
| (4) Then was the monkey struck by I ⁵ dread ⁶ that royal arrow, ⁷ To die, or hide in shame (And yet) this arrow lessens | the bow's arrow. my face pales. ⁸ were better. my guilt, baring my fault. ⁹ |
| (5) Arrow in hand I speak to Sukhrīp he called and Dārā, Ongkhot of royal blood, too, I shall now die. You here | you kings. that intimate pair. most close to him. protect and shield each other. |
| (6) Do freely bow to, honor as servants at the feet of life, limb, and spirit ¹⁰ subject with eager care revering | Phra Nārāi, his majesty, to him in praise, the king. Do not be idle. |
| (7) Sleep not too long, nor late or else good fortune found by Even at rest have only ¹¹ Neglect not the king's grace but | (into the morning), you will dwindle. service in mind. be quick to render homage. |

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| ๑ เผ่าท้าวอย่าแต่งโธ | อวคงาม |
| ท้องพระโรงอย่าลาม | เหิมหน้า |
| พระสนมราชนงราม | เผ่ากระษัตริย์ |
| เนตรไสยกอย่าสอกควัว | ลัทท้วงประโลมนาง ๖๕ |
| ๑ จักทูลพิพากษพริ้ง | กอยสงบ |
| ชู้นึ่งกักจงสบ | ช่องไค้ |
| ชอบที่นอบเกราพย์ | กราบบาท มุลนา |
| อย่ากลบผิดชอบไว้ | เชอชู้ทูลลอง ๖๕ |
| ๑ แม้วาท้าวจะครีฬหลัง | ราชสาคร |
| อย่าทักกลางอำมาตย์ | หมื่นไค้ |
| ครันครีฬแต่เกียรราช | ทิลบ โสทนา |
| กระซิบทูลแต่ไค้ | เชอชู้กักรวม ๖๕ |
| ๑ หนึ่งทางโคยเสกจ้าว | ทิมฉนวน |
| รัตนอาศนราชยานควาร | คู่ไค้ |
| อย่าร่วมผิดฉนวน | เทียมกระษัตริย์ |
| สองเร้งกักจำไว้ | เหล่านัจจรวัง ๖๕ |
| ๑ เผ่าท้าวอย่าห่างไค้ | พอประมาณ |
| พอกครีฬหน้าคำชาน | สั่งไค้ |
| จำชื่อราชบรรหาร | จงสรรพ |
| ปะระกอบเพชทุลไค้ | ปลตเปลื้องภารลกล ๖๕ |
| ๑ หนึ่งท้าวพิโรธซึ่ง | อย่าดอย |
| อย่างวังสนใจคอย | จิครท้าว |
| เหนชอบครีฬมาพลอย | ทูลปลค |
| ให้ขึ้นวันจิครจำ | ผ่องพันโทษมุล ๖๕ |
| ๑ หนึ่งท้าวบาเหนงให้ | รางวัล |
| อย่ากักอิจจากัน | ลากไว้ |
| จักมีแต่กำหนดัน | อับประภากย์ |
| หนึ่งจักชวยอยู่ไค้ | บาทซึ่งกำรณ ๖๕ |
| ๑ หนึ่งสุเปนคำท้าว | ใช้ชิด |
| อย่าคลาตรวงฉิค | โทษร้าย |
| ทำคามราชนีกักจ | บวรญูติ |
| สุยกเอาเป็นช้าย | เชื่อนต้อมกันคน ๖๕ |

- (8) For audience with the king don't
nor enter palace halls with
To royal concubines, so
lend neither ear nor eyes in
- (9) Conversing (with the king) speak
If he be wroth, look for a
Aspire to do homage
Don't cover up trespasses,
- (10) If once the king's command is
in his advisers' presence,
But should he order you in
then whispering, close, explain
all
- (11) Then, courses where the king is
his alleys, arcades, jewelled
all these¹⁴ do not frequent, as
Observe this well, you two, and
- (12) At audience be not too far
just right.¹⁵ His orders do
keep
any and all, whatever
Good counsel do advance to
- (13) And further, should the ruler
not lazy be but keen to
Acclaim his orders, stand by
Then gladness will induce him
- (14) And: should rewards be granted
don't envy those so favored,
would put you up to ridicule,¹⁶
make you lose face¹⁸ as servants
- (15) And, as the king's attendants,
forsake him. Shun deceit, fear
Do act according to all
aware they shield you like a
- dress flashy fair,
brusk excitement.
devoted, cheerful,
furtive flattery.
slowly and calm.
better occasion.¹²
at his feet.
rather reveal, report them.
in error,¹³ argue not
for fear of insult.
secret, alone,
the (true) facts of the case.
wont to proceed,
throne and sedan,
though the king.
to all this pay attention.
or near the king,
correct in mind,
his wisdom wills.
your king to ease his burden.
be cross, withdraw not,
serve your high lord.
with counseling word.
to waive all punishment.
by royal grace,
for that in truth
bad luck,¹⁷ and would
arousing their lords' anger.
do trust him, don't
his wrath, revenge.
the royal laws,
protecting wall and rampart.

- ๑ หนึ่งอย่าอ้างว่าท้าว
ครองครึกทุกคำกึก
อย่าเอาประหม่าหมึก
จักรทักกั้งเพลิงกู่
- ๑ หนึ่งที่ประทับท้าว
บานเบิกขันกลเม็ด
อย่าล่าวงดอกส้มเกล็ด
เป็นโทษสุอย่าไต่
- ๑ หนึ่งพระแสงอย่าเหล้น
หนึ่งเสกจอย่าวิ่งกัก
หนึ่งห้องพระโรงรัทเ
นุ่งห่มสอกลีผ้า
- ๑ อย่าถือคนเคอบแก่น
ชาติบุรุษขริการ
อย่าทงงว่าภูบาล
จะพลาถุกกระทุ้
- ๑ หนึ่งกระบดคกต่อเจ้า
อย่าแปดกลั้ววากิน
เจียรอันก่อนแผ่นดิน
คนผัดคบบักบ้าย
- ๑ หนึ่งสุจักสู้เผ้า
ประหยัคภักษามัก
อย่ากินคัมท้องอ๊ก
ลูกเจอนเซอนชักทล้อง
- ๑ หนึ่งอย่าคึกคกค้ำ
แลกเปลี่ยนซ้อลับหลัง
ขันทีที่เซาวัง
อย่าส้อสอกลสารเกี้ยว
- ๑ ชาววังอย่าลักไต้
หน่อกระษัตริย์อย่าอาจใจ
แข่งชักสอกลสารไ้
ไกรจับความทูลท้าว
- เกษศนิท
รอบรู้
ปกโทษ
วิ่งเข้าพลันกาย ๗๕
- ทรงเสกจ
มิดไว้
เปือกออก แลนา
อาจอ้างใจทง ๗๕
- แกว่งกวัก
ผ่านหน้า
ที่เสกจ ออกนา
คอกไม้หักกรรณ ๗๕
- เป็นทหาร
รอบรู้
รักใคร่ คนนา
ชักท้าวควรวัง ๗๕
- ธรรณิน
เรื่องร้าย
จึงชอบ
โทษร้ายถึงคน ๗๕
- จอมกระษัตริย์
ยอมท้อง
เกอนชนาก
โทษร้ายทลยลง ๗๕
- ชาวคลัง
ลักเลียว
นักเทศ
โทษร้ายถึงกาย ๗๕
- โลมไถล
หมิ่นจ้าว
ส้อสอ
โทษม้วยประโลยลาญ ๗๕

- (16) Avoid all boasting you be
Weigh well each word, in thinking
Do not, uncaring, cover up
or the disk bearer's¹⁹ flames
- (17) Then, where the king sojourns in
make fast the doors and gates
with
Do not remove, nor ever
To do so would be crime, never
- (18) And, do not swing playfully
Don't overtake the king, then
And: in the jewelled hall where
don't wear fine dress, color-
striped,²¹ and
- (19) Don't see yourselves as mighty
Men should act wisely,²² with per-
Brag not the king bestow his
if closely queried by him,
- (20) And then: revolts against the
don't get enmeshed in such crimes²³
Serve ardently²⁴ to stay in
Associating with bad men
- (21) And then, to show respect to
be moderate at meals, keep
not overstuff your inwards
impeding your digestion,²⁵
- (22) And further, don't rub shoulders
to swap or buy, for gain or
Don't pass on word to eunuchs,
lest you should not account for
- (23) Don't court the palace ladies²⁷
Shun disrespect or arrogance
princesses.²⁸ Write no letters
Learning of such--the penalty
- the king's confidant.
be circumspect.
(what must be) punished,
will, roaring, sear your lives.
the royal palace,
unbreaking bolts.
release these locks.
dare such a brazen deed.
the royal sword.
crossing his way.
the king appears,²⁰
a flower behind the ear.
like lords of war.
spicacity.
affection on you:
you might fall down--beware!
lord of the earth,
or evilness.
the sovereign's favor.
brings guilt, disgrace, and
punishment.
the majesty,
good measure, do
beyond capacity,
with perilous consequences.
with publicans,
for stealthy stealing.
to courtiers, Brahmins,²⁶
your guilt, even unto death.
with secret lure.
toward the young
of secret courtship.
is death--inform the king.

๑ สุธยาให้ชื่อแต่
วงษญาติหลานเอารส
แล้วเอาเก้าประนค
หนึ่งเขกเมืองมาไซวี

ฎากก
ศึกไว้
ถวชบาท มุทนา
อย่าได้สื้อสนอง ๖๖

๑ หนึ่งอย่าคิดว่าท้าว
ท้าวพิโรธเร่งนบ
อย่าสทีกเสทินหลบ
อย่าคั่งคอบท้าวได้

เสนหส์ลบ
นอบไหว
ทล็กภักคร ท่านนา
โทษแพ้โทษานุ ๖๖

๑ หนึ่งราชกิจท้าวทุก
จงศอกเหนึงปวง
ทูลกระษัตริย์อย่าลวง
ไกรถางหักให้ก้าน

กระทรง
ทกกัน
ล้นล้อย
ซากิรยารอนเสย ๖๖

๑ หนึ่งอย่าฟังเล่ห์ลับ
อย่าก็กรวากหนามเกาะ
กบิเซนกะระสีละ
จึงจะสมควรใช้

คนเปลาะ
มรรคไว้
ลามลูก ใต้นา
ชื่อไถ้มนกรี ๖๖

๑ หนึ่งพระทริภักษล้า
เลิกกว่าพานรภัยษ
ควรรสุจกจรงภัยษ
บพิตรจจอเมเจ้าฟ้า

เลอศักดิ์
ท้าวหล้า
ฉลองบาท
อย่าให้รกายเคื่อง ๖๖

๑ หนึ่งมิตรเพื่อนคู่ใช้
ประหมาทพลาทหลังผิด
ถ้าความใหญ่ไปมิก
แม้ว่าใครชอบให้

ราชกิจ
ยกไว้
กราบบาท ทูลนา
เชอช้กราบทูล ๖๖

๑ หนึ่งทหารอย่าหักช้า
ให้ผิดเสียใจหงา
กระตุลทกอยู่เฉา
อ้อมโอบจงถ้วนหน้า

ทูลเอา
ง่วงกล้า
ทูลชค ชันนา
โพรฟ้าสี่พราหมณ์ ๖๖

๑ หนึ่งจักออกเจนนช้า
หักศีกอาษาจง
ถึงพินาศชพงษ
อย่าชลาทให้ศีกก้าว

กลางณรงค
ชีกท้าว
พานเรศ
เหยียบได้รอยคน ๖๖

- (24) Impair not the repute of
Your children,²⁹ nephews, kin--do
Then lead them here to venerate
To strangers lend no confidence
- (25) And further, presuppose not
Be quick to pay respects to
present yourselves, do not hide
nor answer crossly back, lest
- (26) Further, in royal service,
you all should look around³⁰ in
report to, not deceive the
Reveal malicious twists so
- (27) Also, refuse your ear to
Try not to trap men, strewing
for one in stress or peril
Behave like prudent persons,
- (28) And then, to Phra Nārāi,³³ of
higher than monkey kings, or
to him be eager guards, not
This highest lord of heaven
- (29) Should friends who are like you in
go once astray, do help them.
affair break open, prostrate
Of noble deeds do likewise
- (30) As soldiers don't destroy with
or you will rue your wrong in
A clan struck down--assist in
Give succor, help to all, to
- (31) In war surge forward, routing
Do volunteer to serve, be
Yea, glory would your death add
Fight fearless, or (the foe)
will
- your noble clan.
teach them all this.
the sovereign lord.
nor offer them mediation.
royal affection.
an irate king,
in trembling fear,
ill luck ensue and punishment.
in any office,
every direction,
king by smooth talk.
that evil men may perish.
frail men's³¹ glib tongues.³²
thorns on their path,
might leak this out.
as does befit your station.
supremest rank,
all Yaks³⁴ together,
devoted helpers.
you never shall offend.
government service,
(But) should a grievous
yourselves: report!
give notice to the king.
wanton intent,³⁵
exceeding sorrow.
their resurrection!
burghers, nuns, and Brahmins.
the enemy.
in battle bold.
to your kings' race.
be hotly at your heels.

- (32) And, having drunk the "water
 you shall not bring deceit or
 The Venerable's fire of wrath will
 No waters, even flooding
- (33) Also, no quarrels, pray you,
 Do not distrust nor try to
 Don't threaten others with the
 Control yourselves at all time,
- (34) I wrote these teachings down (of)
 You loved ones, do not part ways,
 All fortune, justice, truth and
 like of the "ninefold gems" is
- (35) To you do I entrust young
 Don't humble nor oppress this
 Cherish her tender soul and
 At this dark time of mourning,
- (36) Complete are all the monkey
 I, noble simian rulers,
 Seizing the artful arrow,
 with thunderous sound into his
- (37) Reincarnated will he
 the simian king, a god then
 He enters Indra's palace,
 surrounded by fair maidens,
- (38) Throughout the world will monkeys
 and artful humans play it
 still flock to hear the story
 the monkey monarch's memory
- oath"³⁶ to the king,
 stealth to his face.³⁷
 find all and strike.
 the heavens, could smother
 such flames.
 about (mere) things.
 bribe any man.
 torments of hell.
 and heavenly bliss be yours.
 all things and men.
 illustrious princes!
 beauty withal
 given to you, the young.
 delicate Dārā.
 priceless jewel.³⁸
 leave her never.
 stay close to, watch each
 other.
 king's teachings now.
 end strong, secure.
 he thrust the weapon
 own breast. Extinct his life!
 rise, as he yearned
 to a new life.³⁹
 his equal now,
 celestial Apsaras.⁴⁰
 then spread this poem,
 as *khōn*, *lakhōn*,⁴¹
 when long, long since
 did fade into oblivion.⁴²

1. *sāen*: "a hundred-thousandfold"
2. *hun*: Thai puppet theater, see about this Rosenberg, *Die traditionellen Theaterformen Thailands von den Anfängen bis in die Regierungszeit Rama VI*, pp. 357 ff.
3. *khōn*: a genre of classical Thai theater, see Rosenberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 7 ff., 99 ff., et passim.
4. *s(a)rōen*: *sansōen*
5. *tūw(a)*: *tua*
6. *khlāt*: *chī khlāt*
7. *bāt*: the meaning here is doubtful, could be an abbreviation for *nākhābāt*, Inthōrachit's arrow of miraculous power; compare line 4 of that verse.
8. *salot nā*: meaning roughly "(making my) face pale, sad"
9. An interpretive rendering of this line
10. *ēit kāi*: this must be read as *ēit*, "heart, mind, spirit," rather than *ēit(r)*, since the meaning of *ēit kāi*, "tiger," would make no sense in this line.
11. *rawang kāi*: to be understood, in connection with *nūk trūk*, in the sense of "to concentrate on."
12. *sop*: *sop ēai*
13. *sāt*: instead of *sāt(r)* the author reads *sāstr*
14. *phiu nuan*: "surface" and *chammuan*
15. *phō pramān*: "just about"
16. *mi tae kham yan*: "just teasing, mocking" must be related to the acting persons in the sense of "ridiculous"
17. *apraphāk*: *apaphāk*
18. *ēāk khāi*: "would sell," probably to be interpreted as rendered
19. *ēakraphat*: "disk," one of Rāma's divine weapons
20. *thī sadet q̄k nā*: to be understood in the sense of "official activities"
21. Meaning only that the dress ought to consist of elegant material, not of plain fabric woven without stripes.
22. *yatri*: *yati*
23. *pāet klua rākhn*: *pāet* here is an abbreviation for *pāet pūan*, *klua* for *klūak klua*.
24. *ēep rōn*: roughly "to be inflamed"
25. *khōen khat lōng*: "impeded drainage"
26. *nak thēt*: literally "preachers"

27. *chāu wang*: here surely to be understood as rendered, considering the general contents of this verse.
28. *nā krasatri*: not entirely beyond doubt whether "youthful queens" refers to princesses or to other female members of the court.
29. *au rot*: *ōrot*
30. *sāt hen*: "looking around secretly, with a searching eye"
31. *pl̄*: "fragile"
32. (deceitful) "tongues"
33. *phra hariraka*: synonym for "Rāma" or "Phra Nārāi"
34. *yak*: "demons"
35. *sam thūn au*: meaning roughly "to state repeatedly"; the translation as given above might well be questioned.
36. *nām pīphat*: see concerning this Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, pp. 193 ff.
37. *tā nā*: "right in front of his face"
38. *rot rākhā*: approximately "of exquisite taste and worth"
39. *num nā*: "once again youthful"
40. *apsara*: see Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythologie*, pp. 19 f., and compare notes 2 and 3 to the present version.
41. As to forms of Thai classical theater see *op.cit.* under note 2, pp. 9 ff., 17 ff., et passim.
42. *mā klop bagnā*: "(Will be) buried, hidden"

พาลีสอนน้อง

๑ จะกล่าวถึงพานเรศเรื่องสนาม กำแหงหาญชาญ
 เชี่ยวในสงคราม ทรงพระนามสมญาว่าพาลี กิ่งทองอินทชัย
 ไทรครุฑ ผ่านสมบัติชัชชินบุรีศรี สยมภาคห่มฟ้าในราตรี
 สี่ทวีปก่อนหาญพาสผจญ ทศทิศเทวัญก็กรั้นกร้าม อสุรินทร์
 ยินนามแสงชน อ้อมเอิบกำเริบฤทธิ์แรงรณ. โสภณสมพงศ์
 เป็นวงศ์อินทร์ เมื่อต้องศรพรหมาศนารายณ์ผลาญ แต่
 ปลายชนมิให้พานเป็นแผลศัลป์ หวังจะให้เกียรติยศ
 พานรินทร์ ให้ผ่องภิญโญยศชั่วกัลป์ เป็นเยี่ยงอย่างฉบับ
 สำหรับทหาร จะทำการรณรงค์ไปภายหน้า พระกุมศรกร
 กวักอนุชา ทั้งบุตรของกยศไกร. เจ้ามานีมาพิจะสั่งสอน
 สองพระยาพานรพิศมัย จะลาเจ้าเข้าสู่พิฆานชัย ทั้งสองไท
 จงเป็นข้าพระจักรี ให้ปรากฏสุริวงศ์พงศ์เพศ เอาพระ-
 เทชปกเกล้าเกศี จงกัจจิสจวิภักดิ์ วางชีวิตไว้พระบาท
 เมื่อขึ้นเฝ้าเข้าถึงทวารวัง จงหยุดยั้งประณมนิ้วเหนือ
 เกษา บังคมกุดบุญเบื่องมุลิกา. จึงก้อยกลาสู่ท้องพระ-
 โรงทรง. , อนึ่งเมื่อเจ้าเนาในนิเวศน์ อย่างบังเหตุว่าเรียง
 ละเล็งหลง

4. Version IV--Phālī sōn nōng (kham klōn)

- (1) The tale will I tell of the glorious king
(2) of the monkeys, Phālī, whose name does ring
(3) as a skillful brave warrior's of famous renown--
(4) a warlord supreme like the radiant sun.
(5) He rules at Khītkhin, the splendorous town,
(6) a lord¹ of the earth and of heaven.² Unknown
(7) anyone in the four worlds³ so brave he dares fight.
(8) Phālī, whom even the gods of ten directions⁴
(9) do fear like Rāhu.⁵ His name gives them fright,
(10) as he basks in his burgeoning battle might.
(11) Of God Indra's race is he worthy⁶ to be.
(12) When struck by the arrow Phromāt of Nārāi,
(13) it scratched but his fur, yet no wound had Phālī.
(14) Our hope is the simian king's glory will be
(15) for ever and anon resplendent and bright,
(16) a model for his soldiers to emulate
(17) on the field of battle in future fight.
(18) Then, clutching the arrow, he waved to invite
(19) his brother, his illustrious son Ongkhot, too:
(20) Approach, my young kin, for the wisdom that I,
(21) O highly praised princes, shall now teach to you,
(22) ere the glories of heaven⁷ I shall enter into.
(23) So farewell. You twain lords do serve the Ākrī,⁸
(24) for thus you serve also the fame of your race.
(25) (Alone) to the king shall each of you be
(26) with heart and with soul a true devotee.
(27) Your life and your trust put in him. When through
(28) the palace gate passing for audience, do pause,
(29) lift hands over head⁹ for a greeting, bow to
(30) the giver of bounty,¹⁰ like true servants do.
(31) Approach then the palace in dignified pace.
(32) And further: when inside the castle don't sport
(33) exuberant frolics, nor laugh out of place--

อย่าประมาทราชกิจกึกทะเลนง ระวังองค์กลัว
 ราชอาณาจักร ให้อบรมรู้คุณราชการ โดยสถานที่พระทัย
 ปรารภณา ถ้าคุณความอย่าได้ขามพจนา จงตรึกครวไว้ให้
 กล่องทำนองใน อย่าอ่าองค์ส่งกลิ่นเมื่อยามเฝ้า อย่าสก
 เสว่าพอเพียงอัชฌาศัย อย่าเมินหมอบลอบลับพระเนตรไท
 พองามใจงามพักตร์พอแสงาม อันพระชคิยวงศ์กษัตริย์สุก
 เป็นเมงกฎไทรภพทั่วทั้งสาม พระบัญญัติใหญ่ยิ่งอย่ากริ่ง
 ความ กระทำตามคอบต้องทำนองคน ไครเริงร้ายให้ร้อน
 ไปโดยร้าย ไครชวนชวยแสวงผลก็ให้ผล เป็นตราชูชัง
 ในน้ำใจชน ช้างไหนลันเหลือนักก็หนักไป อนึ่งแสนสมนาง
 สุรางค์ราช ทรมสวาทพักตร์เพียงอุทัยไซ โดยเสด็จ
 หริรักษ์บำเรอไท พ้ออย่าได้เหลือบลอบทำยินดี กุพระทัย
 สึงท้าวคำวิรริก สวามิภัก์โดยเบื่องบคศรี สึงโคห้ามปราม
 ใจอย่าให้มี ประเวณีข้าท้าวจึงบังควร ท้าวรักอย่าบันเทิง
 ละเลิงหลง ถนอมองค์ระวังผิกคนสงวน อย่าสามหาหว้าวฮึก
 ทะนงนวล อย่าก่อกวนให้เคืองพระบาท ถนอมยศเจ้าเลี้ยงแต่
 เพียงศักดิ์ อย่าฮึกฮักอาจเอื่อมเกินวาสนา อย่าลากผิกตาม
 หลั่งอหังกา จะนุ่งผ้าแก่งคนให้คนชม

- (34) no slighting of duties, no arrogant face!
 (35) Be alert and do fear your lord king's penalty,
 (36) circumspect and aware of which duties are yours,¹¹
 (37) as the pleasure may be of his high majesty.
 (38) Stern queries don't parry with timidity.
 (39) Your bearing should be an appropriate sight,
 (40) not splendorous nor perfumed at audience hall,
 (41) not too gay, nor too sad, just proper and right.
 (42) Do not kneel too concealed to his majesty's sight.
 (43) Fair mind and fair mien, but in good measure shown,¹²
 (44) no excess. Your august and sovereign lord,
 (45) of all the three worlds¹³ is he ruler¹⁴ and crown.
 (46) His wisdom don't ever deny nor disown.
 (47) When answering be civil in manner and mood.¹⁵
 (48) If some man be evil, indict¹⁶ him as such.
 (49) To hard working men¹⁷ yield their labor's fair fruit.
 (50) Men's doings do weigh as with scales,¹⁸ (sharp and shrewd).
 (51) If a matter be weighty, do give it acclaim.¹⁹
 (52) The king's host of ladies with faces so fair,
 (53) the rising sun even (might feel put to shame),
 (54) they step forth, and to wait but on him is their aim--
 (55) do not look toward them with secret delight.
 (56) Alert be to what the king favors or likes.
 (57) Devote yourselves wholly to the majesty's might,²⁰
 (58) and lust not for any forbidden delight.
 (59) In fact, you are servants, be pliant,²¹ not daring
 (60) nor wanton when favored by royal affection.
 (61) Controlled be, of anyone falsehood beware,
 (62) not using words vulgar, impolite, overbearing.²²
 (63) Do never provoke what might serve to offend
 (64) the king. Do behave as befitting your rank,²³
 (65) not greedy for more than your conscience²⁴ will stand.
 (66) No evil do, boasting of it in the end.²⁵
 (67) Your dress choose so others will compliment you.

- (68) Be versed in all tasks that pertain to the king.
 (69) Associate with those of the same rank as you.
 (70) To men good and true do be generous, too.
 (71) To wily men counter with wiler still art.
 (72) Though losing possessions keep honor intact,
 (73) then yours, will they (say), is a soldier's brave heart.²⁶
 (74) Encountering men evil, do batter them hard,
 (75) intent to destroy. They shall hold you in awe.
 (76) But raise not your hands against those who are good.
 (77) You²⁷ shall not oppress²⁸ the weak,²⁹ neither draw³⁰
 (78) into gambling your light-minded friends (galore).
 (79) Do dread the king's power. And never you ought,
 (80) though chastised³¹ a thousand times even by him,
 (81) to bear any grudge, any rankling bad thought,
 (82) nor scheme of deceit at his feet,³² in aught.
 (83) Good deeds do, they will to your own boon convert.
 (84) At court, seated ministers don't pass with high head.³³
 (85) Stare not after (people) with a mocking word.
 (86) In front of the throne be attentive, alert.
 (87) Don't, kneeling, take orders with blank, absent mind.
 (88) While, angry, the king then explains his command,
 (89) to ministers³⁴ left and at right³⁵ side inclined:
 (90) no smiles or disruption of, pray, any kind!
 (91) If his mood be not right,³⁶ do withhold till your score
 (92) seems important enough to report to the king.
 (93) All news in--and outside³⁷ explore to the core,³⁸
 (94) then, when the king's countenance be radiant, before
 (95) him lay your petition, expounding it plain.
 (96) Report but at royal command, to the point,
 (97) add nothing, don't ever embellish in vain.
 (98) Speak sparsely, too much may not be to your gain,
 (99) for good might turn bad, which you dare not afford.
 (100) And further on: all those officials who do
 (101) their duty receive from our high sovereign lord,

ผู้ทำชอบประกอบในกิจการ พ่อ
 อย่าทานทุลทัชชัศพระทัย สิ่งใด ๆ ได้ชื่อว่าเป็นของหลวง
 อย่าลบล้างเลขละอักษณาสัย แต่โดยนัยนิตหนึ่งเท่าของโย
 จงเอาใจปกป้องเป็นของตน หนึ่งเล่าแขกเมืองต่างเมืองมา
 อย่าซบซิบสนทนาไม่เป็นผล อย่าผูกพันสันตวะให้ปะปน
 จะแก่นเคืองเบื่องบุคคลนั้นไม่ควร หนึ่งองค์พระทวิรัจฉกร-
 เพชร เสกีสู่ตำหนักทองฉนวน สพริบพร้อมย่อมองค์อนงค์
 นวล อย่าลบล้างเหลือบลดบช้าเลื่องแล สถานใดท้าวไท
 ค้ำรัศหำม อย่าลบล้างปามจงระวังพังกระแสด ระวังจิตจง
 มั่นอย่าผันแปร จะแผ่ผลทำพิชให้จงดี จงอาสาสงครามเมื่อ
 ยามศึก เจ้าอย่าหนีใจหลาขยาตหนี อย่าย่อท้อต่ออริรินทร์
 ไพร จงกู่ที่ถวัลชนวนชาญ ประพฤติในพระพิชัยสงคราม
 ชัน บูรณนั้นบอกแจ้งแถลงสาร ถ้าเห็นควรดาโตมเข้า
 โรมราญ ถ้ากลการศึกศึกให้เกินกล จงโอบอ้อมถนอม
 ไพรให้ชื่นใจ อย่ากักกันเหตุให้เห็นผล เจ้าก็กลให้สม
 เป็นจอมพล จะใช้คนกุนให้ควรการ จะทำศึกนั้นศรีให้
 รอบคอบ จะสื่อสารโต้ตอบให้อวหาญ สุขแท้แต่ความ
 เพียรเป็นประธาน อย่าเกียจกร้านทอคนให้ห่างตา

- (102) if meeting his wishes, their proper reward.
 (103) The king speaking out, you shall not disagree.
 (104) Whatever is the sovereign's dare not touch, nor take
 (105) the tiny least bit with intention for free,
 (106) not so much as the web of a spider may be.
 (107) His treasures do shield as though yours and for you.
 (108) And then: with so many lands' strangers in town--
 (109) no intercourse with them, for that would not do,
 (110) and bonds of close friendship with them do shun, too,
 (111) the king would be wroth, and that must not be.
 (112) And further on: when towards his palace of gold
 (113) approaches the disk bearer's high majesty,
 (114) in the fold of the royal concubines he:
 (115) to furtively leer would be vile disrespect.
 (116) Any place out of bounds by the king so designed
 (117) don't rudely intrude. To commands pay respect,
 (118) collected and firm. Do not (orders) neglect.
 (119) First sow, then may grow a fruit-bearing tree.
 (120) In war be always a quick volunteer.
 (121) Do never in fear turn around, neither flee
 (122) being wary of foes,³⁹ neither cowardly.
 (123) Be prudent⁴⁰ yet brave at the battle site.⁴¹
 (124) In war do conduct yourselves in such ways⁴²
 (125) as have from old days been passed down as right.
 (126) If combat you must then do ardently fight.
 (127) If tricked do pay back with a double-trick wand.
 (128) To subjects⁴³ be kind so they be of good cheer.
 (129) Your thought be not flighty,⁴⁴ quick gain not its end.
 (130) Your planning be right, for as warlords you stand.
 (131) When posting men take care that fitting they be.
 (132) When fighting be sure that you do it with skill.
 (133) To messages react with spirit and free.
 (134) When challenged⁴⁵ display the utmost bravery.
 (135) Be careful, not too far from your soldiers' place.

จะ อับจนผ่อนปรนอย่าหนีไพร่ เจ้าหมายใจเอากายไปกายหน้า
 เป็นจอมทัพใจอย่าอหังกา จะตีชู้กลัวกล้าแต่พองาม อย่า
 รั้มากบากหนีแต่ที่ง่าย ที่ไหนหนักหักกายเข้าหาบหาม เป็น
 ชาติชายไว้ลายในสงคราม จะเรื่อนามชู้โลกกัลดปา จง
 คุย้อย่างพิผู้มีศัษย์ ไม่กำหนดในชีวิตนเท่าเกษา ไม่ควร
 ม้วยจึงเสียตายดวงชีวา อันกรรม้วยมรณาอย่าอาลัย ทั้ง
 สององค์สุริวงศ์พงศ์เทเวศ กังวิเชียรดวงเนตรพิศมัย จง
 อดุส่าห์กิจการอย่าคร้านใจ พ้ออย่าให้เสียวงศ์พานรินทร์
 จงประกอบทามสกุลพุนสวัสดิ์ คำรงราชสมบัติในชัคชิน
 อดุบัมภ์บำรุงสูงธานีนทร์ บำเรอราชกระบิลโยธี ขอฝาก
 แก้วการรายพาพัคทร์ ดนอมรักอย่าให้หน่ายเสนห์หนี เจ้า
 ปกป้องครองกันให้จงดี ทั้งกระบี่กำแหงหนุมาน จง
 สงเคราะห์สุริวงศ์อย่าหลงไหล เอาใจใส่ปกป้องนะน้องหลาน
 สั่งปลางวางศิลป์พระอวตาร สั้หารกายตายเกิดเป็นแหว่ญ
 จึงได้นามสมญาว่าพาลี ก็เพราะมีความศัษย์นั้นเหมาะมั่น
 กับเศษพระนารายณ์ประกอบกัน เสวยสวรรคโอรหาร
 ตำราญใจ สุภามิตซึ่งวินศบูรณเรื่อง ก็สื่อเสื่องล้ำโลก
 แดงไข

- (136) In lost causes⁴⁶ be steadfast,⁴⁷ desert not your men,
(137) aware that sure death⁴⁸ you would otherwise face.
(138) Though leaders in war, be no arrogant race.
(139) Good or bad, fearful, brave? The mid-path⁴⁹ be your own.
(140) Think not of yourselves, nor do quickly abscond.
(141) What is hard is what you ought to do, you alone.⁵⁰
(142) You are men, and your mettle⁵¹ must in battle be shown.
(143) Your name shall shine bright in this world that is bad.
(144) Let me be your model, for I did keep faith.⁵²
(145) Don't cling to your lives like to honor and head.
(146) Before one's time comes one does fear being dead,
(147) then, time being fulfilled, one yearneth no more.
(148) You, princes fair of the sun gods' (mighty) race,⁵³
(149) you jewels, I truly shall praise you all,⁵⁴ for
(150) your dutiful fervor shall come to the fore:
(151) The royal simian race let not ever fall down,
(152) rather down on your progeny blessings do draw.
(153) Khītkhin shall you govern, the kingdom and crown,
(154) maintaining that mighty and towering town.
(155) Your service as warriors to the monkey king give.
(156) Shield also Kaeu Dārā, the young-faced, I pray.
(157) In reverence, friendship and love shall you live,
(158) each other protecting so you all may thrive.
(159) You monkeys all, not least keen blade Hanumān,
(160) give help to the sun-race, not lax nor remiss.
(161) Defend do each other, you, brother, you, son!
(162) Then, seizing the arrow,⁵⁵ the glorious one⁵⁶
(163) struck dead himself. Then as a god was reborn.
(164) Thenceforth was he given the name of Phālī,
(165) because of his faith to the end, unforlorn.
(166) With Phra Nārāi's⁵⁷ majesty, Phālī, reborn,
(167) ascended to heaven, to the peace of the same.
(168) These proverbs here taught⁵⁸ and from olden times known,
(169) expounded here fully are world-wide in fame,

สาธุชนพื้นที่จะเห็นไป จึงไขข้อเรื่องราวพจนนา
เป็นคดีราวความแต่ตามเห็น แก่ผู้เป็นราชการไปภายหน้า
สำเนาเราพระมหายศรา เป็นข้าบาทมุสิกาวังหน้าเอย.

- (170) to many a man known of most honorable name.
 (171) The themes of our history I put down to the last,
 (172) for you as examples, as here may be seen.
 (173) King's servants you be in the future as past.
 (174) This slate of our great high lord's wisdom⁵⁹ (so vast),
 (175) a Front Palace⁶⁰ royal official has cast. So be it.

-
1. *sayom*: perhaps abbreviation of *sayomphū*?
 2. The translation here is not quite certain: *phāk lom* meaning roughly "low land," also "swamp"; *fā nai rātrī*, literally "sky at night,"--"also" at night?
 3. *sī thawīp*: according to Hinduist-Buddhist cosmography the world consists of four part-worlds, see concerning this Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, passim.
 4. *thotsathit*: see on this Alabaster, *The Wheel of the Law*, p. 13.
 5. *asurin*: see on this Alabaster, *op.cit.*, pp. 191 f., 217 f; Rāhu: a demon devouring gods and stars.
 6. *sophon*: meaning approximately "thus it is well"
 7. *phimānchai*: here a synonym for heaven
 8. i.e., Rāma, the "bearer of the disk"
 9. Concerning the traditional Thai form of greeting see Rajadhon, *Thai Traditional Salutation*, pp. 9 ff.
 10. *khun bun*: *bun khun*.
 11. *hai rōp rū dū*: "be circumspect"
 12. *ngām cai ngām phak phō lāe ngām*: a proverbial figure of speech, literally "a fair heart, a fair face, but only just so much that it (still) looks good."
 13. *traiphop*: namely, the world of desires, the world of forms, and the world of non-forms, concerning which see Glasenapp, *Die Religionen Indiens*, p. 238; Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 111. Possibly, however, what is meant here may be merely the spheres of heaven, of earth, and of the infernos; compare verse 33 of Version I.
 14. *mongkut*: "crown"
 15. *tām thammōng khon*: "in accordance with the ways of the humans"
 16. *hai rōn*: probably an abbreviation of *rōn cai*
 17. *khuan khwāi sawāeng*: "to search for..."
 18. *chon*: must probably read here, like in verse 102 of Version VII, as *khon*.

19. Compare verse 102 of Version VII.
20. Identical with verse 112 of Version VII.
21. Identical in content with verse 114 of Version VII.
22. The word *thanong* preceding *nuan* surely is only a *kham sgi* without any particular meaning.
23. The translation of this line is not literal but renders the meaning of it.
24. *wātsanā*: "conscience, consciousness"
25. *aḥangkā*: *aḥangkān*
26. *khū khuan*: *somkhuan*
27. *yauwayēt*: *yauwarēt*, "you, the young"
28. *khomhēng*: "with violence, provokingly"
29. *khau*: here no doubt to be understood as a demonstrative pronoun.
30. *phā...chuan*: "to detract someone from working"
31. *than*: also "power"
32. *biāng mūlikā*: can also be translated as "servant"
33. This corresponds to the traditional Thai custom that someone inferior in rank must not keep his head above that of his superior.
34. *mātayākḥn*: *amātayā + kḥn*
35. See concerning this Döhring, *Siam*, part 2, p. 18 f.; Heine-Geldern, *Weltbild und Bauformen in Südostasien*, p. 35; Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, p. 79.
36. *khraū khiang*: "when (his majesty) is displeased..."
37. *nai nḥk*: "within and without," i.e., inside and outside the palace
38. *plḥt plüang*: meaning about "to extract something (from a matter)"
39. *arin phairī*: *arī phairin*
40. *đu thī*: *đu thā thī*
41. *khakuan*: "battle order"
42. *songkhrām*: the *khan* following is possibly an abbreviation of *khapkhon*, "to find oneself in a difficult situation."
43. *phrai*: members of the lowest social strata, except for the slaves, see Wales, *op.cit.*, pp. 43 ff.; Rabibhadana, *op.cit.*, pp. 79 ff.
44. *tūn*: also "excited"
45. *sut thāe tāe*: an idiom meaning "depending, as the case may be"

46. *ap ḥon*: "impoverished to the bone," with the general meaning of "a hopeless situation"
47. *phōn pron*: "to show compassion," which means in the connection of the text above "to stand by one's men"
48. *tāi nā*: text here probably corrupted; the reading *khāi nā*, "to lose face," as in the manuscript Version VII, verse 190 seems more appropriate.
49. *tāe phō ngām*: an idiom, meaning approximately "let it just be proper and right"
50. *hak kāi khau hāp hām*: meaning about "to take on personally and carry on one's shoulders"
51. *wai lāi*: idiom, "leaving one's trace, or imprint"
52. The somewhat far-fetched example in verse 197 of Version VII has here been transformed, thus perverting the contents of the poem, however.
53. *thēwēt*: *thēwadā*
54. *đuang nēt phitsamai*: "praiseworthy eyeballs"
55. *sin*: *son sin*
56. *phra awatān*: "he who shall be reborn"
57. *Nārāi*: here a synonym for "Rāma," compare verse 12.
58. *winit*: *phinit*
59. *phra mahā yotsā*: "the mighty, great, honored one"; *nā*: *kham sgi* without meaning
60. *wang nā*: residence of the Mahā Uparāt, the so called "Second King"

พาลีสอนน้องอีกสำนวนหนึ่ง

๑ จะกล่าวถึงพานรินทร์เรื่องศรี ผู้ประสิทธิสมญา
 ว่าพาลี ผ่านบุรีชัชชินทั้งทinker สวรรกายไม่เสียดายชีวาตม์
 แต่ผมผาคมิได้ผ่านแผลศร หวังจะไว้เกียรติชายกระจ่ายจร
 กุมครกวกักเรียกอนุชา มาสั่งสอนสนองวงศ์ทั้งองค์ ให้
 ปราบกฏกติกักพักไปภายหน้า พี่จะปลงชีพล่วงชีวาตา เจ้าผู้อา
 หลานน้องก่อยกรองกัน จะเป็นข้าชิดในภูวนาถ เฉลิมบาท
 พระนารายณ์รังสรรค์ อย่าผันแปรแห่งพระทรงธรรม
 สรรพสิ่งสุขอย่าเนานาม ถ้าทำวณาทูลทวนแต่ควรข้อ
 อย่าแค้นถือเลื่อนลั่นละลาหลาม พระสนมแห่งน้อยนงราม
 ตามเสด็จกับประทับคาราการ จงห้ามโศกเสียอย่าโดยสกับ
 ห้ามเนตรไว้ให้ลับอย่าเล็งสมร จะทูลท้าวคอยเมื่อสถาวร
 จงคอยผ่อนเพราะพระพักตร์เธอแปรแล ประกอบกิจสุจริต
 จงทูลเรื่อง ระวังเคืองคอยราชราวกระแเส ถ้าคุณไสยไหว
 ถ้อยให้ทันแปล อย่าหมอบแช่อยู่ให้ช้าล่าพียงพาด ชอบทูลเจ้า
 จึงทูลคิตทานทัต มีพอกที่ช้อย่าควรฉลองสาร ให้เกรง
 เคืองเรื่องราชรำคาญ จงประมาณญแต่ชอบกตีกิ. อนึ่งอาสน์
 แทนสุวรรณรัตน์

5. Version V--Phālī sōn nōng īk sammuan nūng (kham klōn)

- (1) Report shall I give of the monkey king's fame,
- (2) who attained to perfection, Phālī is his name.
- (3) He ruled over Khītkhin town, bright like the sun.
- (4) Forewarned, I no longer mourn for my life,
- (5) yet perish not yet, for the arrow did miss.
- (6) My dignity will I preserve like a man.
- (7) Detracting the arrow, he called his young kin,
- (8) Ongkhot, too, to teach, to the boon of his race,
- (9) these famous words that shall forever be known.
- (10) I shall in short while now take leave of my life.
- (11) You, son¹ and young brother, be ever good friends.²
- (12) Be servants who, close to and trusting the king,
- (13) Phra Nārāi, the creator, give praise at his feet.
- (14) No change introduce against majesty's wish,³
- (15) nor do of his treasures dispose on your own.⁴
- (16) Report on king's quest, yet alone what is true,
- (17) exaggerate never with warping a tongue.
- (18) His majesty's ladies, slim, gentle, and fair,
- (19) escort him like stars. Forbidden to hang
- (20) your eavesdropping ears, forbidden to throw
- (21) your secretive eyes on these beauteous gems.
- (22) Bide time till the king be prepared to receive⁵
- (23) your report, be alert when his eye turns to you.
- (24) Your duties do truly fulfill, then report.
- (25) Beware the king's ire, await his command.
- (26) If someone use magic, do counter it shrewd.⁶
- (27) If bad men approach (to the king) be concerned.⁷
- (28) Gainsay nought unless such seems proper and meet.
- (29) If something be wrong,⁸ do not carry bad news
- (30) to the king, such as might cause displeasure, alone
- (31) agreeable one. Pay attention to this!
- (32) And further: the throne, gem-studded, of gold,

เขาบูบักไว้อย่าเล่นให้เสียศรี อย่าเฝ้า
 ท่างจะหมางไม้ทันที อย่าชิดอยู่แต่ท่าที่สถานกลาง อนึ่ง
 ราชรางวัลอันบำเหน็จ สิ้นเสรีจอย่าไ้กั้กั้ทุลชั้ชวาง ให้
 เจียมจิตอย่าไ้ผิดในพาลทาง ให้สำอองในราชเมคตากอน
 อนึ่งเฝ้าเจ้าอย่าฝ่่ากระยาหาร จงประมาณอย่าไ้ให้กระเพาะ
 นั้นเหลือผล พอชุกยากจะวิบากสกนธ์ถน จลาจลจะวุ่นใน
 วังเวียง จงคอยข้อคักที่ไ้โดยครัส จงบำหยักใจฟังพระ-
 สุธเสียง จงตั้งโสศศคักบร้ศคักเคียง อย่าหมอบเมียง
 เหลือบแลแปรใจ จะลुकนังจระวังระไวผิด ราชกิจสืบเสาะ
 เอาใจใส่ อย่าอวคองคักทะนงว่าช่านาญใน ระวังภัยเพื่อเพื่อน
 ภักคัก อนึ่งนางบริรักษ์นั้กเทศ ในขอบเขตเจ้าอย่าคอบ
 กวรหนี พระสนมกำนัลและขันที อย่ายนิคั้ชมชื่นสนทนา
 หนึ่งองคักพระพงคักชคักเยศ อย่าพิศเพศแข่งชั้ชชีษา อย่าคอบ
 ชู้สู้สารไปมา ไ้กรจับว่าเล่าก็ไ้โทษถึงกายตาย ราชการ
 เป็นประมาณจงหมั้นเฝ้า อย่านอนเชานิทราให้แสงสาย
 พอไ้ภาระทังสกลกาย ไ้กรจะบ่ายเบียงทุลให้ทราบความ
 อนึ่งบุครนั้กคักเป็นข้าเฝ้า สอนสำเนาราชการให้ชาญสนาม
 ให้สืบสายคอยดววยวงศ่นาม

- (33) by servants attended,⁹ don't tarnish it.¹⁰ Keep not
 (34) too far from it lest your high lord be annoyed
 (35) if you tarry; but neither too near, just midway.
 (36) And further on: should there rewards be dispensed,
 (37) do not raise objections, insulting the king.
 (38) Be modest. Do not walk ways evil or wrong.
 (39) Well groomed¹¹ come to serve so that favor you court.
 (40) When going to audience do not overeat,¹²
 (41) be frugal, don't stuff yourselves up to the brim,
 (42) lest¹³ finding yourselves in, perchance, dire straits.
 (43) If boisterous, you might provoke turmoil at court.
 (44) Be patient to wait for, and careful to hear,
 (45) his majesty's voice and his wishes, close by,
 (46) absorbing his orders by straining your ear.
 (47) Before the king kneeling don't look to and fro,
 (48) shun lapses and errors while he holds his seat.¹⁴
 (49) Examine your duties in earnest, exact,
 (50) and boast not of prudence (in service) with pride.
 (51) Be true to your friends, to their perils alert.
 (52) And further: don't search, rather flee the fair maids
 (53) and well-guarded ladies in the castle compound.
 (54) With eunuchs¹⁵ and concubines frolic not, nor
 (55) keep company, neither together converse.
 (56) And then: you of royal descent do not mock,
 (57) self-centered and haughty,¹⁶ the rest of mankind.¹⁷
 (58) Initiate no flirts¹⁸ nor exchange billets-doux.
 (59) Who informs, taken prisoner, is punished by death.
 (60) Pay respect to authority set over you.
 (61) Don't sleepily doze into morning's bright sun.¹⁹
 (62) Your duties attend to with body and soul.²⁰
 (63) If some one is remiss²¹ make it known to the king.
 (64) And further: be servants, you, son, and you, kin.
 (65) Let me teach you wisdom in serving the king,
 (66) to perpetuate your race and the pride of your name.

หนึ่งโสภจะประสาทรราชทรัพย์ ึ่งท้องตามสลับเบ็องบราวณา
 อย่าปองรักสักเหลืออาตมา ึ่งสำหรับคลังแก้วโกษฐา
 หนึ่งแขกเมืองต่างเมืองมาอิวาท อย่าชอบชกพิศวาสนม
 สอง ึ่งกอกสตัยแล้วกำจัตที่ใจกะนอง จะพุกตรองคู่แต่
 ชอบกวรกี ึ่งทางเสด็จให้ทีในฉนวน อย่านาคนวลไปง
 หน่ายแห่งหนี อย่าเพลินพลอยให้เป็นรอยรำคมี ไซ้ที่
 สดานสองอย่าปองจร ึ่งโคในรโธวาท สองสวาทอย่า
 พลังกัสนอน ึ่งมนสิการไว้ในอวารณ เมื่อจะนอนจง
 คำนึงค่านับนารายณ์ จะเบือนพักตร์มานี้แน่นะเจ้า อกสำห
 ฝ้าบังคมบาทอย่าขาดสาย ำเข้าฝ้าแห่นอย่ากลากกลาย
 อย่าสวนหน่ายเสน่ห้ร้างกัองอาตมา ึ่งพระผู้ทรงจบนิภนี้
 เป็นโมหิตร์โลกนาถา ให้เกรงในพระราชาญา ึ่ง
 อกสำหอย่าประมาทหมิ่นทาย อย่าอวคองค้ทะนงว่าทำวรัค
 จะพลันหักเจ้าอย่าเจิกให้ฉาย ึ่งเจียมกุนให้พันอันกราย
 อย่าหมายผิกมิตรภาพระแวงแกลง ำทำวเคียดแล้วควรเข้า
 นบนอบ อย่าเคียดคอบนารายณ์จะกลายแห่ง ำทรง
 พระพิโรธใครทีในแสง อย่าทูลแสงเสียดอัยทะนงความ
 ชอบผิกจงวินิจเมื่อกราวสงบ

- (67) Do act as convenes to traditions of old.
 (68) Regarding his majesty's fortune and purse,²²
 (69) magnificent, marvelous treasure and chest,
 (70) don't secretly scheme to steal any of this,
 (71) nor abduct anything from the palace of gold.
 (72) Then: many lands' strangers who come for a call:
 (73) associate not with them as two of one cap.²³
 (74) Be honest, throw arrogance out of your heart.
 (75) Reflect first, then speak but what proper may be.
 (76) Don't loiter²⁴ on canopied palace ground²⁵ paths
 (77) the king does frequent, rather shun them at all.
 (78) Don't thoughtlessly follow his footsteps, at fault
 (79) would you be. Such places be sure to avoid.
 (80) These lessons may be to your temper and taste,²⁶
 (81) you twain. In nothing do fail that I teach
 (82) but long to preserve all with²⁷ careful intent.
 (83) Ere going to rest do adore Phra Nārāi.
 (84) Your eyes and your soul but to him shall be turned,
 (85) in reverent worship both morning and night,
 (86) with zeal all time,²⁸ truant not nor disinclined.²⁹
 (87) Don't ever desert him as I now must do.
 (88) Supreme majesty, of the universe lord,
 (89) and head of the three worlds,³⁰ our shelter and shield!
 (90) The sovereign's punishment fear, be alert,
 (91) not rude, unconcerned, lest chastised you be.³¹
 (92) Don't wantonly boast that royal favor you hold,
 (93) for that might change quickly. Don't dress fancily.³²
 (94) Be reticent. Prudently perils avoid.
 (95) All improper friendships disdain and distrust.
 (96) A monarch displeased do most humbly salute.
 (97) Don't venture unseemly replies to the king.
 (98) At court, if in ire at someone he rails,
 (99) don't break in, presumptuous, nor add to his words.
 (100) Right or wrong³³ ponder not till (the king has) calmed down,

แล้วนอนบนประดุมทุกตาม
 ประกอบกิจสุจริตจึงทุกความ อย่าก่อทามข้อเท็จมาดวงไท
 อนึ่งเพื่อนราชกิจพอฝึกพลัง ระวังฟังอย่าไ้แกลงไซ ถ้า
 ผิดเป็นมหันตความใหญ่ วิจาร์ณใจต้องแท้แล้วควรทุก โกร
 ชอบควรช^{๕๕}ชนทุกถวาย สร้อยช้อย่าให้ชอบเขาเสียสูญ
 ถ้าใครมีสุริวงค์พงศ์สกุล ก็ควรทุกให้ทราบพระหฤทัย จง
 อาสาราชการเมื่อยามศึก อย่าไ้ไ้กย๋อ^{๕๖}ท้อแกลงไซ อย่า
 ควรคิดว่าชีวิตจะบรรลั อย่าให้หลงแก่ราชไพริน ถึงจะ
 ม้วยบรรลัก็ไ้ยศ ให้ปรากฏแก่บุคคลควรทวิล ให้สม
 ชาติเป็นราชวานรินทร์ ถึงจะสิ้นชีพให้ชื่อนั้นลือชาย พี่ขอ
 ผากแต่วิเชียรการากัย จงช^{๕๗}ช่วยอย่าให้ศรีมณีณลาย จง
 พิทวาสนยานิราศแรมกลาย เอ็นกุสลายสมรกายโดยธรรม
 เจ้าผู้ร่วมอุทรทรวงทวงจิต อย่าลืมหักไปกงชีวาสัตย์ สงวน
 ทำบริรักษ์บำรุงกัน กว่าจะพลันพันทุกซ์สถาวร (ก้อยอยู่
 เด็กทั้งสองขอลาพัคทร์ จงร่วมใจสมักรตโมสร) กรันเสร็จ
 สั้งแล้วก็ตั้งใจจร วางศรศิลป์ต้องถลอกทรวง กับบรรลั
 ชันไปเป็นเทวบุตร ยังไม่สุดสิ้นชื่อที่ลือสรวง กังมดิ
 เพชรรัตนชัชวาลดวง

(101) then humbly you might broach the matter to him.
 (102) Your tasks fulfill truly, then do give report,
 (103) no falsehoods, distortions the king to deceive!
 (104) And then: be on guard with a friend who did wrong
 (105) in service, be alert, prick your ears, yet keep quiet
 (106) at first. If the trespass be grave, do enquire,
 (107) establish all evidence, then only report.
 (108) If some man be good, do submit to the king
 (109) he be raised; if excellent, likewise, so he, too
 (110) get his due. Make known who belongs to your race
 (111) of the sun,³⁴ so the ruler may well be aware.
 (112) In wars serve the sovereign of your own accord
 (113) with fervor, show never a coward's faint heart,
 (114) and don't ever muse that death you might meet.
 (115) Do not to your sovereign's enemies yield,
 (116) your lives you dare lose, yet your dignity not.
 (117) Thus will be revealed for the whole world to see
 (118) that truly you be of the monkey king's race.
 (119) Your name, at life's end, shall be famed among men.
 (120) And Dārā, the precious, the jewel-like one,
 (121) do help her, I pray, let not perish this gem.
 (122) Show love to each other and separate not,
 (123) to your loved one compassion, by treating her just.
 (124) All you, of one womb, most intimate, close,
 (125) remember (you too will once) part from this life.³⁵
 (126) Protect and defend one another, secure,
 (127) until you escape from this valley of tears.
 (128) Live on now, you too, as from life I take leave.
 (129) Stand by one another, a community firm!
 (130) His teaching complete (Phālī) wished to depart.
 (131) The magic craft arrow he clutched, his own breast
 (132) he smote and died. Then as a god was reborn.³⁶
 (133) Yet dead he is not, for his name, highly praised,
 (134) stands brilliant, illustrious like jewels and gems

โชติช่วงอยู่ในพื้นพโยมบน กวรวที
 สมองเสนต์เนาเป็นราวขร ให้ขจรกัจจนาในนสนธ์ นิตาน
 ศาสตร์เป็นราชวิสัยสกล จังนิพนธ์ให้เป็นเพลงยาวไว้เออ.

-
1. *ā lān*: literally, "uncle-nephew," i.e., the relationship of Sukhrīp and Ongkhot to each other.
 2. *khōi khrgōng kan*: an idiom
 3. *hāe hāng*: meaning about "to march off brusquely"
 4. *nau nām*: "to tie firmly; to dispose of"
 5. *mīa sathāwōgn*: "till he sits at ease"
 6. *hai than plāe*: "adjust yourselves (correspondingly)"
 7. *hai cham lamphang phān*: "that (the king) is only (among) bad men"
 8. *mī phō thī khat*: a vernacular phrase
 9. *pat wai*: "cleaned"
 10. *len hai sia sī*: "don't let its luster be lost"
 11. *samāng*: a term used mainly for cosmetics like powder or perfume
 12. *fā krayāhān*: *fā fūn*
 13. *phō khuk*: "if unexpected..."
 14. *luk nang*: "while he is seated"
 15. *khonthī*: see on this *Sārānukrom thai*, vol. IV, pp. 1934 f.
 16. *phit phēt*: "do not stare (just) upon yourselves"
 17. *chī sā*: *chī* "lord"?
 18. What is meant are amorous relations to the royal concubines or consorts.
 19. *hai sāeng sāi*: "into the rays (of the sun)"
 20. *thang sakon kāi*: "with your whole body"
 21. *bāi biang*: "to put something aside"
 22. *sōt ěa prasāt*: meaning about "on the subject of..."
 23. *som sōng*: "two of one feather"
 24. *nāt nuon*: meaning "all at ease," or "prancing."
 25. *thī nan nai chanuan*: "a canopied, arcade-like lane"
 26. *rot*: "(having) the taste of"

- (135) whose fire does radiate through heaven and earth.
 (136) Love, worship are due, as though to one divine,³⁷
 (137) to him whose deeds' glory shall spread for all time.³⁸
 (138) Complete tale and text now, from royal spheres taught,³⁹
 (139) which here, written down, may be poetry⁴⁰ as well.
-

27. *āwōn*: "to yearn for something"
 28. *yā khāt sāi*: "be not remiss in..."
 29. *suan nāi sanē*: "contrary to someone's wishes"
 30. *trī lōk*: "compare note 46 to Version I."
 31. *tāi*: "to die," yet surely to be translated here in a more general sense.
 32. *yā chōet hai chāi*: "don't dress up too splendidly"
 33. *chōp phit*: "(whether) good or wrong..."
 34. i.e., belonging to their own race, the house of Sukhrīp
 35. *san*: *sanyī*
 36. *khūn pai pen thēwa but*: "arose and went in to be a son of the gods"
 37. *pen rāu sōn*: *pen rāu kap thip(aya)*
 38. *nuson*: *anuson*
 39. *nithān sāt*: concerning the concept of *sāt* (*sāstra*) see Glasenapp, *Die Literatur der Inder*, p. 140.
 40. *pen phlēng yāu*: concerning this metre see Wenk, *Die Metrik in der thailändischen Dichtung*, p. 128; yet the present one is not a *phlēng yāu* poem in the traditional sense.

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| อินทร์องค์ทรงสร้างเสร็จ | สืบศาสตร์ - นานา |
| พุทธฤทธิสถิตคึกคักสะท้อน | เทพสร้างรังสรรค์ ฯ |
| ๑ นบน์บัสรวพสืบสัน | พระพุทธร |
| พระธรรเมศวร์เวทมนตร์มห | มากน้อย |
| พระปเตยกโพธิสังเข | ชอกราบ ยาทเฮย |
| พระปัทมารคาช้อย | นอบน้อมอาจารย์ ฯ |
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| ทุกทิศเทพไทสถาน | ทั่วทั่ว |
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| ไปรตราช่วยจำเริญ | รังสฤษฏ์ |
| โดยเรื่องบูรณไว้ | ว่าด้วยสวัสดิ ฯ |
| ๑ อุกฤษัคัตถ์คัฐูปแท้ | เทียนทอง |
| เคียรพุ่มปทุมผลอง | เลิกแล้ว |
| กายแทนแวนฟ้ารอง | รัยเคือง สการนา |
| ชีพช่วงทังดวงแก้ว | เกี้ยวไว้จนถวาย ฯ |

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 คราวแก่ไปรคชำระความ
 เป็นพระธรรมศาสตร์แก้ว

๑ พระพรหมประสิทธิ์ไชวี
 ธรรม ทศกัประชา
 ม โนน่อุเบกขา
 ศาสตร์ ศุขสำนวนน้อย

๑ สอน คิคยฉนทิกค้วย
 ทำ เทียบเปรียบโบราณ
 สำ แกลงแต่งตามการ
 นวน เปรียบพาลัส

๑ พา นรวอนสังสัน
 ถิ ลาศชาสันเอนองค์
 สอน สิทธิฤทธิแรงณรงค์
 น้อย สนิทคิกควรชา

๑ พา ลีพิลาปแล้ว
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 สอน สุกสังทรามสงวน
 บุตร บิขุเรศแล้ว

๑ ขอบกยศยทกระบิรินทร์อินสันสุญ
 นามพระยาพาลีมีตระกูล
 กังจักรกรทศทศคิคคชยาก

เกิมนาม
 อยู่แล้ว
 โศภชอย
 กล่าวถ้อยทางธรรม ๑
 สัญญา บัศรนา
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 เรือง
 เดิมก่อน
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 สุริยวงศ์
 โขยรู้
 รอนชีพ แล้วพ่อ
 พี่แล้วยอมตาย ๑

โตมนวน
 คู่แก้ว
 งามเสงี่ยม ส่ง่าพ่อ
 ลูกทั้งระวังตัว ๑

๑ เรืองจำรูญฤทธิแรงกำแหงซึก
 เกษอำนาจคงพระกาฬมาผลาญคึก

ทุกทิศทั่วกลวช้อลพิถก
 เป็นยุคราตรีเนตรบรมนาถ
 กนิษวณนาฏการรายพาพิณ
 มีพระอนุชาชื่อสุครีพ
 แสนศักรูหม่มารไม้ทานกร
 เจอเป็นยุครบิตรงคองค้อชาติย์
 เทพทุกชั้นฟ้าสรวลย์
 แท้พาลพิชายนันเสี้ยสัตย์
 ชิงเมียน้องชายทำลายมิตร

๑ สงสารพระยาพาลีระพินาศ
 เห็นศรววิชัยศรวก้วยกรแรง
 พระหัตถ์ซ้ายกรายกวักอนุชา
 พร้อมยุครอนุชหนมาน
 พาลัญหลังแล้วตั้งสอน
 อย่าลุ่มคำจำรทกำหนดใจ
 เจ้าจะเป็นเกือกทองผลองพระบาท
 รงทั้งจิตสุวิคตอย่าคึกคก

โอฬารักโยธึกระบิกระบิรินทร์
 ค่างราชย์รุ่งเรืองเมืองชัคชิน
 อมรินทร์อวยฤทธิประสิทธิ์พร
 สัทธิวีเปเกรงหมคสยคสยอน
 ทศทิศฤทธิสะทอนเวิงพระทัย
 อิติฤทธิผลักพระเมรุกเอนไหว
 ก็อวยชัยสรวเสวีญเวริญฤทธิ
 เพราะกำหนดค้วยรคกรวิท
 เป็นความผิกจริงใจมิได้แคลง ๑

เมื่อต้องศรวพรหมาศครันารายณ์แผลง
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 เข้ากรายกรานโคกาค้วยอาลัย
 สามพระยาวานรผู้พิสมัย
 ะสอนให้สามกระบิท้วยค
 บรมนาถนาดาให้ปรวากฎ
 นักรกำหนดศรวพทให้สัจจริง

- (46) like fate,²⁷ his name everywhere²⁸ spreading fright.
 (47) The simian king as a warrior is known.
 (48) As son of the most supreme king of three eyes²⁹
 (49) he reigns in the realm and in famed Khītkhin town
 (50) with Dārā most fair, of exceeding renown.
 (51) Yet Dārā, auspicious and magic, Phra In
 (52) had given to Phālī's young brother Sukhrīp.
 (53) Phālī, though, by numberless foes is feared in
 (54) all four continents, yet none that could win
 (55) against the king's might which reverberates through
 (56) the cosmos.³⁰ For he is the sun god's great son.
 (57) With strength superhuman he moved Mount Mēru.³¹
 (58) The gods of all heavenly hierarchies, too,
 (59) gave fame him and triumph. His power moved on.
 (60) But woe, this elder brother broke faith,
 (61) by love lust unbridled³² beset upon--
 (62) he took Sukhrīp's wife. Then all friendship was gone.
 (63) O truly a trespassing deed without doubt!³³
 (64) Do pity Phālī, the king, now, he will die
 (65) when Phra Nārāi's arrow Phromāt seeks him out.
 (66) But seeing it come Phālī caught with a clout
 (67) and waved what for his undoing was meant.
 (68) His left hand beckoned his brother³⁴ approach,
 (69) his right held the arrow. O compassion no end!
 (70) Then his son and his brother and Hanumān³⁵ attend
 (71) prostrating themselves with grieved, loving mind.
 (72) Caressing their backs Phālī then did teach
 (73) the three simian princes, towards them inclined.
 (74) Let firmly my words in your mind be enshrined,
 (75) for I shall now teach how new honor you ought
 (76) to gain being servants³⁶ to glorious a king
 (77) most worthy, most high as is obvious in aught.
 (78) Be true by intent, have no fraudulent thought
 (79) and seek but the truth in all things without fail.

สุจริตจิตเป็นอุเบกขา

ทิวเป็นใหญ่ใจเป็นเล็กไม่จริงจัง

๑ อนึ่งโศกจะทำค้ำอกอย่างน้กขาม
 อย่าเสียชาติที่เป็นราชวานร
 แนะช้อหนึ่งฟังจำคำเชษฐา
 อย่าควรวกักรอดุทธธรงค่นารายณ์
 จะทำค้ำแล้วอย่าฮักโหมโมหันต์
 ที่ระล่าถ้าจะไล่อย่าไถนาน
 แม้นไพร่ค้ำคอบอย่าช้อยเช้อ
 อย่าเสียเชิงหลงระเวิงสตรังาม
 ผู้ไคค้ำมีช้อยประกอบกิจ
 ไครพลากพลั้งระวังค้ำช่วยประคอง
 อย่าฉันทาอาฆาตแถมมารร้าย
 แแต่ยรรคาซ้าทุลละของฮัก
 ระคยมีครแล้วจงคิกให้รอบคอบ
 ที่ทำค้ำก็รักเช่นอย่าเป็นพาล

๑ อย่าทะนงองอาจประมาทเขา

คั้งสัจจาไว้เป็นค้ำตราชูชั่ง

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ใช้ชายทรามเจ้าเป็นชายชาญสมร
 จงสังวรอินทรีย์คั้งพี่ชาย
 ถึงคักตาเจ้าจะถ้ำพระสุวิธาย
 เป็นชาติชายไว้ช้อให้ลือชานู
 กูเชิงชั้นพวกกระยี้โยฮัทยา
 จงตรองการกลคักให้ลือความ
 อย่าพินเผื่อเอาเป็นมิตรจงคิกขวม
 กลความกลคักจงครักตรอง
 จงควรคิกอนุกุลทุลผลอง
 เป็นทำนองตามธรรมเนียมประเพณี
 ทังไพร่นายอย่ากระเบียดแลเสียคสิ
 พ่อจงมีเมตตาเป็นประธาน
 เขาแแต่ช้อยเสียผิกคิกสมาณ
 ที่สูงน้กหากประมาทจงเจียมทิว ๖
 อันค้วเราก้ออย่าให้ผู้ไคหวี

- (80) Be faithful and loyal with a calm, even mind,³⁷
 (81) adjudging the truth as though reading a scale.
 (82) Though great, keep a child's heart,³⁸ don't brag tooth and nail.³⁹
 (83) Beware the four-armed god's⁴⁰ foes, if you will.
 (84) Further on: when you fight no fear shall you feel,
 (85) as men be not cowards⁴¹ but champions with skill.
 (86) For your race, which is royal, avoid evil or ill,
 (87) keep virtue intact as, in fact, I have done.⁴²
 (88) Of one thing make sure: that you lose not my words.
 (89) Although your own might⁴³ be more bright than the sun:
 (90) what runs against Phra Nārāi's power, do shun.
 (91) You are men: to be wise guard the fame of your name.
 (92) In war fly not off in foolhardy assaults,
 (93) but lead your brave troops by astute stratagem.
 (94) Foes in flight do not follow too far without aim.
 (95) Of strategy planning, precise, do not tire.
 (96) To enemy lures give no credence whatever.
 (97) Be wary, not trusty,⁴⁴ with friends you admire,
 (98) with fair women, too, whom as men⁴⁵ you desire.
 (99) To each situation give careful review,
 (100) in war⁴⁶ most of all. If a good deed was done,
 (101) report to the court in kind words that are due.
 (102) If one went astray: on your toes so that you
 (103) help extricate him as is proper and right.
 (104) Do strive⁴⁷ for good will, do evil exclude.
 (105) The lowly⁴⁸ or burghers you shall not incite
 (106) nor royal officials by arrogant spite.
 (107) Compassion and loving kindness⁴⁹ extend
 (108) to all. If attached to a friend, treat him fair,⁵⁰
 (109) just taking freely is not friendship's end.
 (110) Of men, if humble in rank,⁵¹ do not tend
 (111) to think badly;⁵² if lofty, be modest,⁵³ discreet.
 (112) No slighting indifference, no arrogant pride!⁵⁴
 (113) And also show conduct so that no one need

อย่าเสพรายาเหล่าให้เมามัว

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จะเจรจาสิ่งไรจงใคร่ครวญ

อย่าตามลวนเหลวระแหละและแทะโลม

เป็นบุรุษสุกตวิศกให้สศขชอ

สงวนชอริกเชออย่างรโมม

พ้อผู้พงศ์สุริยพันธ์ โขยม

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กุห้ามทวงอย่าให้หายเสียกายแทน

พระราชทรัพย์นโยโกฎไปรคประทาน พลทหารทั้งปวงอย่าทวงแทน

ทั้งเสอผ้าสารพคักอย่าแคลน

ตามแบบแผนชาวพระคตจักรวังการ

พระประสงศ์สิ่งไรให้สำเร็จ

ทุกสิ่งเสร์จพลเรือนเกอนทหาร

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อย่าแกลังกล่าวมรุตและมุสา

ไม่จริงใจแล้วอย่าไต่เจรจา

ควรเป็นข้าคู่บุญพระบาทยงส์

- (114) deride you.⁵⁵ Don't drink until drunken indeed.
- (115) With persons of ill repute do not carouse.
- (116) The following also be banned: Never be
- (117) impolite to the head of the royal house,⁵⁶
- (118) nor blow hot air flatteries⁵⁷ apt to arouse
- (119) displeasure. It behooves not for you to address
- (120) the king first.⁵⁸ To ladies in waiting⁵⁹ do not
- (121) make signs with a laugh and a cough,⁶⁰ from recess.
- (122) Converse not on matters whatever unless
- (123) first thinking. Don't flirt with suggestive intent.
- (124) As men of highest repute, your name's trust
- (125) and honor of race with all care do defend.
- (126) You, sons of the sun who from heaven descend,
- (127) don't oppose deed or word to the king's majesty.⁶¹
- (128) That servants should serve is befitting indeed.
- (129) Examine, reflect which the royal goods be.
- (130) Solicitous⁶² be for your own ministry.⁶³
- (131) Prohibitions respect, what is not yours don't lose.
- (132) If the king from his treasure immense does dispense
- (133) to officers, soldiers, keep nought for own use.
- (134) At court dress with care, not in shabby disuse,
- (135) correct like the Phra Khlang's⁶⁴ officials are.
- (136) Accomplish what may be the wish of the king,
- (137) and do any work, civil service or war.
- (138) In office be fully informed and at par.
- (139) In delicate⁶⁵ missions keep gentle reserve,
- (140) not inclined to ill-will nor to vindictive wrath.
- (141) Revenge and undoing of others won't serve.
- (142) Do guide and protect all the subjects with verve
- (143) and a heart for civilians and soldiers in aught.
- (144) To majesty's queries make honest reply,
- (145) do give no abusive, distorted report.
- (146) Unless the full truth, do rather speak nought.
- (147) King's servants be you in his honor⁶⁶ and praise,

พ่อหมั้นเฝ้าเข้าเฝ้าเป็นสวสัถ์
ภคิณญ์คู่ชีวิตจนปลื้มปลง
ท้าวชยุตเพียงพูนพอสมพักตร์
อชิวาสัยไว้คมให้สมยศ

๑ จะเหาะเหินถิ่นขึ้นนั่งนอนนี้
สิโรคมประนมทักถันมีสักการ
๑ พ่อช่วยพรสอนเจ้าแก่เท่านั้น

ผู้มีกรรมจำตาเจ้าครวไร
สิ่งแล้วช้าเลื่องภูวนาด

ขอฝากบุตรอนชานักกายคุณ
๑ ปางพระองค์พงศ์สยามบรมเศียร

ขอโลหิตในอกอ้อมแมลงวัน

๑ อดมกระบี่ชูลิผลของเฉลย
มีความผิดคึกคักมีขั้ยมลา

๑ พระศรีศกขอมปลอยพระยาพ่านเรศ ท่านเรื่องเคชชวรยพิภพสาม
เชิญท่านอยู่เป็นผู้ใหญ่ในสงคราม ช่วยกันตามโคมฉายที่หายไป
เราแรมทางกลางเดือนเป็นเพื่อนแท้ ไม่รู้แน่เลยว่านางไปทางไหน

สารพัคคัมภีร์อย่าไหลหลง
รักษาองค์ โอชอชมณอมยศ

อย่าเสริมศักดิ์ให้สูงเกินกำหนด
ให้เรียนกฎวัฏจักราชาการ ๑

เร่งระลึกพระคุณคึกจิตสमान
เป็นกำแพงจักรพาลไม่มีภัย ๑
สามกระบี่พ่อหนาอชิวาสัย

ขอมอบฉัตรเวียงชัยประชาชน
ขังคมยาทไทยงามครบสามหน

ถวายพลแสนสมุทรสุคสกรวรรค์ ๑
ทรงสังเวชครัสว่าอย่าอาสัญ

พอเริ่มขวัญปลาดยศรคามสัญญา ๑

มิขอคงชิงเฉยเท่าเกศา

ให้ล้นหน้าล้นเนตรทั้งล้นนาม ๑

- (148) revering him morning and night be your boon
(149) by warding off dangers, alert in all ways.
(150) Assist one another till the end of your days.
(151) Preserve yourselves, guard your dignity's fate.
(152) Sustained by the king be content⁶⁷ with your lot,⁶⁸
(153) pretend⁶⁹ not above your established estate,⁷⁰
(154) behave⁷¹ as is with your rank appropriate,
(155) Know the law so you may serve the government well.
(156) Of the king's benign grace be at all times aware
(157) where you go, fly, stand, sit, yea asleep even fell.
(158) Bow low⁷² to revere the disk bearer⁷³ you shall,
(159) for refuge is he without evil or art.
(160) Thus far, then, in kindness I taught you my thoughts,
(161) O three monkey kings kind to me at heart.
(162) Fate wills it that now I must from you depart.⁷⁴
(163) I hand you town, people, and royal parasol!⁷⁵
(164) This said, he saw Phra Nārāi stand at his side,
(165) he greeted him bowing down to his feet three
(166) times asking: "Protect brother, son, I pray thee!,"
(167) then rendered his might like the ocean immense.⁷⁶
(168) The supreme majesty in a merciful move
(169) then bade him delay, he should not depart hence
(170) but merely a drop⁷⁷ of his breast's blood dispense
(171) for wetting the arrow to honor the vow.⁷⁸
(172) Phālī⁷⁹ did not answer⁸⁰ at once, then said he:
(173) Pray, no, I will die,⁸¹ for that is my mind now,
(174) I bear guilt. Taking leave, to you do I bow.
(175) My face let be hidden, my eyes and my name.
(176) In reply, then, the king consoling spoke thus:
(177) You bright light whose might⁸² the three worlds acclaim,
(178) do continue as leader in war with the aim
(179) to assist in the search for my consort, I pray,
(180) raped into the jungle--you, truly my friend!
(181) Whither Sīdā was taken, I know not the way.

เชิญท่านช่วยอาสาช่วยบรรลีย์ เรามีไค้ถ้อโทษอย่าโกรธเลย ฯ
 ๑ ควรมีควรขอพระเกษปกเกศแก้ว ไค้ถั้นแล้วเหลือจะขายเป็นชายเฉลย
 พระไปรกข้าชอพระคุณเหมือนคุ่นเคย จะอยู่ไยให้เขาเหย้ผิกสัญญา
 เพราะรักเมียเสียดภัยจึ่งต้องคร ให้ซงรใจขายไปภายหน้า
 รักสนิทผิกสนิทคักชีวา ไค้ถัวข้าคนผิกจิกเป็นพาล
 ลูกเขาเมียใครมิไค้กิก เพราะเชื่อฤทธิทะนงศกิกเทียวหักหาญ
 ซิงเมียจากเมืองพระยามาร กระทำการกองกรรมว่าว่ามา
 อันความผิกคิกไปแล้วใจหาย เป็นเชื่อชวยอย่าควรเคียงคู้เยียงข้า
 ถึงกองกรรมจำจิกปลิกชีวา ในเวลานั้นแล้วไม่แคล้วเลย ฯ
 ๑ พระกุมกรพระกรสนันคันพระแสง ฤทธิศรแรงเหลือจะหน่วงแล้วทรวงเข็ย
 สงสารทรวงยังไม่มีวาคีเคย ศรเสวยแล้วไม่ชอวอชีวา
 ข้ารับผิกแก้พระองค์ผู้ทรวงเกษ จงไปรกเกศชอชอภัยให้แก่ข้า
 มีขอผิกคักตามความสัญญา พระอินทร์ยมพรหมายังมี้วยมรณ
 ไม่ขอเอื้อเพื่ออาลัยในชีวิต บรรจงจิกเขญจางค์แล้ววางศร
 ถ่มลงทรวงพัทกร์พระสีกร สามพระยาพานรเคียงประคอง ฯ
 ๑ พระเออนโอยรู้ออกว่าไอ้อนุชา พี่ชอลาอยู่หลังฝากทั้งสี่อง
 รงคังใจอาสาฝ่าละอง สามพสน้องบำรุงกัน

- (182) Please seek not your death,⁸³ rather help me and stay.
 (183) As I will not punish, so you be not wroth.
 (184) And yet, is it right?⁸⁴ I, your subject, high lord,
 (185) accused do I stand and feel shame, as I quoth.⁸⁵
 (186) I thank you, O king, for the grace, yet I'm loth
 (187) to live on despised for an iniquitous' deed.
 (188) For my vow-breaking love shall the arrow strike me
 (189) as a warning⁸⁶ in future for others to heed.
 (190) I loved too much wrongly, to death must I bleed.
 (191) How evil was I and how sinfully shown!
 (192) No matter whose wife,⁸⁷ I minded not but
 (193) relied on my courage, and might, and renown.
 (194) That woman I raped from the evil one's town.⁸⁸
 (195) And sin upon sin did I pile. Yea, in fact,
 (196) who strives for things wrong will end in despair.
 (197) No man ought to ever as I have done act,⁸⁹
 (198) in the wake of such deeds his life must be wrecked.⁹⁰
 (199) My time has now come. I escape not, I tear
 (200) and press with hands twitching that arrow upon me
 (201) whose magic is mightier than I can bear.
 (202) I pity myself, such great guilt is my share.
 (203) The arrow obtained, let life's end not delay,
 (204) because towards you I'm blameworthy, O kings.
 (205) For the favor of your forgiveness I pray.
 (206) The god's verdict readily⁹¹ shall I obey.
 (207) Phra In, Yom,⁹² and Brahmā come not yet to die,
 (208) but I have no longer desire for life.
 (209) Do cover my body with care!⁹³ Striking high,
 (210) Phālī did sink down before god Phra Nārāi.
 (211) You three royal monkeys, approach to sustain
 (212) me in death. From his lips came these words: Brother mine,
 (213) I take leave now. But you, to protect these twain
 (214) and to serve at the majesty's feet shall remain.
 (215) You juniors three, care for each other's sake

จงเจียมตัวกลัวพระราชาชญา
ประเสริฐศักดิ์ก็จักรเพชรเสกทัพ
เจ้าอยู่หลังพึ่งคำแล้วจำไว้
ให้เลื่องชื่อลือชานาน

ขอฝากสร้อยสาวสวรรค์ผู้ขวัญเนตร
พระสยามทรงญาณไปรคปรวนครัน
ตั้งตั้งพึ่งสิ้นกระแสดั่ง
เป็นเทพบุตรสุกฤทธิศิรา

๑ จึงปรากฏเป็นขบทขมขมขม
เรื่องมิใช่ในคาถาพระบาลี
เป็นทิวอย่างปางอยู่จำเรณูยศ
ไม่รักชัพรักแต่ขอให้ลือชานาน

๑ เรียมจำเรณูเรื่องนรินทร์กระบิรินทร์ราช นามพระธรรมคาสตรคุชโล
ประสงค์สอนผู้อ่านวิจาร์ณใจ
สำหรับชายภษาหน้าเป็นข้าท้าว
รำพันสอนสิ่งสิ่งมิ่งมงคล
พ้อหนุ่มน้อยหน้าเนื้อชมนพูนุก

พระเกษานภาพปรายสวรรค์
มาตั้งหล้าอาชรรมีอันนพาล
จงตั้งใจอาสาทั้งอาทธาน
ว่าทหารเอกองค์พระทรงธรรม

จะพูนทวยวิโยคเฝ้าโคกคัลป์
วงศ์สวรรค์เสวยทิพย์ระอาทวา
เชิบสำเนียงกบขิงสิ้นสังขาร
สืบมาจนปางล้างพิธิ ๗

เกียรติศัพท์เพื่องฟ้าทุกวาศี
เป็นคัมภีร์ไสยศาสตร์สืบมา
ยังปรากฏชวักปีสำหรับหล้า
อยู่ชั่วฟ้าดินฝนและลมไฟ ๗

สก็ยไต่เขียนปัญญาประสาธน์
ทุกคำเข้าปฏิบัติเป็นฉกัสน
ให้โสภณสารพักกำจักภัย
ประเสริฐสุกสิ่งสอนสร้างสงสัย

- (216) with zeal and in fear of a punishing king,
(217) a ruler with power the heavens to shake.
(218) Give praise to the diamant disk who will rake
(219) the universe clean of wrong doers and deeds.
(220) You, staying, do hear and harbor my words:
(221) serve readily, brother and son, so that needs
(222) your name will have fame that to future fame leads.
(223) Be champions first of the "giver of laws."
(224) The heavenly fair one entrust I to you
(225) whom dolorous mourning now overawes.
(226) Phālī⁹⁴ by divine inspiration and cause
(227) knew he would join a host in heavenly height.⁹⁵
(228) Farewell did he bid,⁹⁶ and no more was his voice
(229) then heard by them all; extinct his life's light.⁹⁷
(230) A god is he now of the uttermost might,
(231) alive⁹⁸ to this day in each ceremony.⁹⁹
(232) Therefore as example we chose him, the spell
(233) of his words being known in all signs¹⁰⁰ of the sky.
(234) This story is not just a chapter merely
(235) of Phālī's canon but of wisdom a lore.¹⁰¹
(236) May a model it be, respected and known
(237) through ages, throughout all the worlds ever more:
(238) not life should one love but fame that will soar
(239) through heaven and earth where rain, wind, fire spread.
(240) I enlarged on this simian king's tale. Be it known
(241) as Phra Thammasāt's now,¹⁰² and fame may it add,
(242) the young to instruct, be examined and read
(243) by all to gain knowledge and insight thereby.
(244) You men who his majesty's servants will be
(245) shall day and night work, not be ever amiss.
(246) What I here expound brings advantage and bliss,
(247) good augury for all, with all dangers banned.
(248) You young, still tender of limb, I do teach
(249) what is high and sublime, so your wondering may end

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| จงประจักษ์ควักจริงถึงความใน | เจียกออกแทรกแจกเอาใส่สอนกุมาร |
| อันสมใดในโลกโยกมนุษย์ | สิ่งที่สุกกลมมันไม่สิ้นหวาน |
| น้ำผึ้งรวงรสอ่อนน้ำอ้อยคาส | ไม่เปรียบปรวนชีวหาไอซารส |
| ประกอบกายกริยาอชฌาสัย | ทั้งวาน้ำใจแจ่มหมกกร |
| จงอ่อนคมสมควรสงวนคค | ที่แบบขอกนออกยทบรรยาย |
| เชิงอชฌาอย่างคี่เป็นที่คี่ | ระนอนนึ่งขึ้นเคินอย่าเหมินหมาย |
| เหมือนเกราะเพชรเจ็ทขึ้นให้กันกาย | สำหรับชายเชิงอชฌาสารพัก |
| ภูมิที่สอนพรที่สั่งพ่อพึ่งสาว | ใครเอ่ยอ่านขอให้มิศรีสวัสดิ์ |
| เกโซชัยในชมพู่ให้ชูชก | จงกำจกภัยกำวายให้หายจน |
| เจนจำใจจริงทุกสิ่งสอน | แต่พื้นพรโธภาสถาผล |
| ให้ภิญโญยศยิ่งทุกสิ่งขล | เสรีในพรสอนนิพนธ์สิ่งว่าพัน |
| พึงทำเทียบท่านครูเฒ่าสำเนาก่อน | แค้นกาพย์กลอนโคลงเพลงพากย์ฉันท |
| สอนเสนาะเพราะพรังทุกสิ่งอัน | ไม่ขอขึ้นคู่เคียงสำเนียงสำนวน |
| เหตุโหวทาทานเทียบจะเปรียบรส | เหมือนโธสถเสพแก้โคกกำศรวล |
| หลายขนานอ่านอ้างจางัญจน | ฉันทิณฺชวณชิมกระสายละลายชโลม |
| ล้วนเครื่องหอมพร้อมเสรีจกสรรสรรพ | แทรกอำพันชเมคเชิงพิมเสนโสม |
| กินแก้สรรพโรคที่โคกโถม | จะชูโนมิให้จำเวญเชิญอ่านเฮย ฯ |

- (250) and the truth of all things you may well understand.¹⁰³
 (251) To teach you I tried from my innermost vein.¹⁰⁴
 (252) By storms of this world man is battered and torn,¹⁰⁵
 (253) when finally calming¹⁰⁶ they still leave their strain.¹⁰⁷
 (254) The sweetness of honeycomb or sugar cane
 (255) is nothing compared to a mellifluous tongue.¹⁰⁸
 (256) Your conduct be courteous and studiously so,
 (257) your talk and intention be clear, without wrong.
 (258) Conceal your conceit, bow and get well along.
 (259) Unless backed by teachings¹⁰⁹ like these, rather keep¹¹⁰
 (260) your peace. Like a stallion¹¹¹ stand up for things good.¹¹²
 (261) Stay firm¹¹³ where you go, stand, sit, even sleep--
 (262) such as court dress,¹¹⁴ gem studded and sevenfold deep,¹¹⁵
 (263) clings firm to the figure of steadfast a man.¹¹⁶
 (264) These precepts,¹¹⁷ I wish you would take them to heart.
 (265) Who reads this, may fortune and fame he have when
 (266) on earth,¹¹⁸ victory, too, and be uplifted then.
 (267) Eradicate dangers, let perils be banned.
 (268) These precepts impress on yourselves and obey,
 (269) to your boon¹¹⁹ will it be from beginning¹²⁰ to end,
 (270) to highest honors may you all ascend.
 (271) Complete now my teachings. I first did collect
 (272) all complaints, then consulted revered teachers' texts,¹²¹
 (273) then *kāp*, *klōn*, *khlōng* wrote I, *chan*,¹²² songs, too, in fact,
 (274) to teach in melodious verse how to act.
 (275) Pray, do not by way of comparison¹²³ deal
 (276) with my poem, for you would but compare with your taste.
 (277) Like medicine take it your sadness to heal,
 (278) and oft bit by bit inspiration to feel.
 (279) This wholesome¹²⁴ good remedy try, it brings home
 (280) through flowery fragrances laden with musk,¹²⁵
 (281) ambrosia, too, and a spatter of Som,¹²⁶
 (282) the cure of all ills, of grief, too, by this poem--
 (283) a boost to uplift you. So do read, I pray.¹²⁷

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| ๑ สอนเสด็จพระธรรมศาสตร์รัง | สาธุการ |
| ปรุรงรสพจนโวหาร | แห่งข้า |
| ไว้สำหรับกษัตริย์ | มีศักดิ์ |
| เชิญอ่านวานข้าข้า | ขอใช้ในสนาม ฯ |
| ๑ ชกเขยไครอ่านไอ | เห็นกู |
| เชิญช่วยชมเชยชู | ขอขมถ้อย |
| ผลากเฉลียวเฉลิมหู | หาญสั่ง สอนนา |
| จงพ้อหน้มน้อยน้อย | นั่งเฝ้าอนพึง ฯ |
| ๑ ชกขรช่อนศักดิ์สู้ | สำแดง |
| เขียนว่าคำเวียนแดง | เล่าถ้อย |
| ข้อฝึกคึกพอแรง | แจกกระจำง ใจพ้อ |
| ว่าขบรยจำน้อย | ทนนาคำสอน ฯ |

khlōng

| | | |
|-------|--|-------------------------------|
| (284) | Phra Thammasāt ¹²⁸ ends here. | Amen. |
| (285) | The words ranged by my pen | with taste |
| (286) | for all the young, their ken | and boon, |
| (287) | to read with calm, not haste, | and use in public, too. |
| (288) | Who reads this poem may be | kindly inclined. |
| (289) | Pray, with respectful mind | do laud and praise |
| (290) | wise words, as here you find, | pleasing the ear. 129 |
| (291) | Enough, you young, always | do listen and obey. |
| (292) | Of humble strength is what | I, the poet, ¹³⁰ |
| (293) | alas, achieved, and wrote | to teach, explain. |
| (294) | If wrong I am, pray show it | clearly to me. |
| (295) | All now complete. Retain | these teaching words forever. |

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1. *phra phuttha m̄rakot*: The poet evidently refers to the jade Buddha sculpture in Wat Phra Kaeu (Wat Ratanasatsadāram), the most highly venerated statue of Buddha in Thailand; concerning the history of this statue see Lingat, *Le Culte du Bouddha d'Emeraude*, passim.
 2. *phadet dap r̄gn*: an idiomatic figure of speech, meaning "to suppress things hot and turbulent"
 3. See Lingat, *op.cit.*, note 1.
 4. *phra thamēt*: by this the Buddhist canon is meant here
 5. *wētmon*: literally "Vedas and Mantras," which expression, a bit general and not quite precise, is meant to point to Indian philosophical and religious literature with which the poet surely was only vaguely familiar.
 6. *māk n̄gi*: "much and little," linguistically a not very fortunate expression; to be interpreted as rendered since the poet pays his respect to the triad of Buddha, the doctrine, and the community.
 7. *phawak*: the "highest Brahmins"; not clear whether the poet means thereby the Brahman gods, or whether he, as here assumed, alludes to the Brahmins at the royal Thai court, see Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, pp. 54 ff.
 8. *phromān*: "Brahma" or also "Brahmin"
 9. The poet refers to the gods of the four directions of the universe--compare to this Alabaster, *The Wheel of the Law*, p. 127; Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary...*, p. 180.

10. *thua thāu*: *thāu* here, I think, refers to the gods.
11. *wā duai sawatdī*: could also mean that the story is considered as auspicious.
12. *thūp...thian thōng*: as part of the traditional offerings for Buddhist monks or temples
13. *phum*: an artificial flower arrangement, thus *kān ǎat đōk mai sot (I) (II)*, illustration, page unnumbered.
14. *wāen fā*: small tables of consecutive sizes, one fitting under the other, used for displaying the offerings, see, e.g., plates I and X in Wales, *op.cit.*
15. *prōt chamra khwām*: meaning about "commissioned (by the king) to clean up (cases)"; presumably one has to think of a judiciary activity, which is supported by the honorary title mentioned in the following line.
16. *Phra Thammasāt*: "the one knowledgeable in law"
17. *doi chōp*: "as one likes to see it, or expects it"
18. *phra phrom*: see note 8; the question remains open whether the poet meant "laws created by the Brahmins," or those created "by Brahmā," or "by the gods" generally.
19. *sanyā bat*: "Book of the Teachings of Wisdom"
20. *chōp thqi*: "to pay attention to the words"
21. *sammuan*: has frequently the additional meaning of "sophistical, artificial."
22. *khā luang đōem*: signifies, 1) a servant or official of the king who served already before the latter's enthronization or accession to office, 2) a royal official of higher rank generally.
23. *phra thammasāt*: today used in the sense of "jurisprudence" but also means "moral teachings, law of ethics" in general; compare notes 16 and 4.
24. *banthit*: means also "adroitness"
25. *kān tōem*: *kān đōem*
26. *ǎak(ra)*: an allusion to Rāma's unfailing divine weapon; possibly also to be translated as "disk bearer," i.e., "Rāma."
27. *phra kān*: "time, age, death"
28. *thuk sit...lū philok*: *lū philok* vernacular for *phiphop*
29. *trīnēt*: i.e., Viśnu
30. *thotsathit*: "the ten directions," i.e., the four directions of heaven, the four intermediary directions, the

various levels of heaven, and the underworld; see Alabaster, *op.cit.*, p. 13; compare note 4 to Version IV.

31. *mēru*: according to Buddhist-Hinduist cosmography the cosmic mountain, concerning which see Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, pp. 15-19 of the introduction. This line alludes to the scene presented in the *Rāmakīan*, vol. I, pp. 103 ff.
32. *čarīt*: "in full action"
33. *čai mi dai khlāeng*: an idiom
34. *phra anuchā*: "younger brother," yet here Sukhrīp and Ongkhot are meant as is evident from verse 70.
35. *Hanumān*: obviously what is meant here is that Hanumān, as follows from verses 73 and 75, is being called, too. According to the *Rāmakīan*, however, Hanumān did not figure in this scene.
36. *kiak*: "shoe," which in general is an impolite, degrading designation for "servant."
37. *ubēksā*: *ubēkhā*
38. *pen dek*: "be like a child"
39. *mai čīrang*: an interpretive translation, *čīrang*: *čīra?*
40. *phra sī kōn*: i.e. Rāma as incarnation of the god Phra Nārāi, who is four-armed
41. *chai*: *mai chai*
42. *sangwōn insī*: in Sanskrit indriya, meaning about "honor the five forces," namely, faith, energy, attention, concentration, knowledge; see on this Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 53; differently in Alabaster, *op.cit.* p. 241.
43. *sakdā*: *sakdi*
44. *fan fūa*: vernacular expression for "being ecstatic"
45. *chōeng*: *chōeng chāi*
46. *kon khwām kon sūk*: the "ruse of a matter, ruse of battle"
47. *chanthā*: properly "contentment, good will," but here it may probably be understood as "striving for moderation and order," see also above under II.6 f.
48. *phrai*: term for the lowest stratum of the population excepting the slaves, compare note 43 to Version IV.
49. *prathān*: to be read with a *thō thān* instead of *thō thōe*
50. *rōp khōp*: meaning about "well ordered in every respect"
51. *rak chen*: "(someone one does not) love"

52. *yā pen*: "(yet he) is not"
53. *hak: hak čai*
54. *khau*: "toward them"
55. *hua: hua rə*
56. *bōrom phong ong sayom*: *bōrom* indicates the highest level of royalty and is only part of the Thai title for the king himself, but here it will have to be understood in a more extensive sense; *sayom* may be taken as an abbreviation for *sayomphōn* but could also be read as *sayām*.
57. The text here has the rather expressive figure of speech *duai lin lom*, "(to make) wind with one's tongue."
58. *tham*: "to overwhelm (with talk)"
59. *nāng nai*: "ladies from the inner (palace)," see *Photčānānukrom thai - thai*, p. 500.
60. *ai kra-āem*: *kra ai*
61. *čau phiphop*: "lord of power," synonym for "king"
62. *au čai sai*: vernacular, as also the *thai thām* following it
63. *krasuang*: "department, ministry"
64. *phra khlang*: had the position in pre-modern Thailand of a minister of finance and foreign trade, with regional authority at the same time for the coastal areas, i.e., south-central Thailand. See concerning this Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, pp. 89 f.
65. *yen rōn*: "hot and cold"
66. *khū bun*: vernacular expression
67. *phūn*: *phūn čai*
68. *phō som*: *phō somkhuan*
69. *sōem*: *s(a)rōem*
70. *kamnot*: "(as) regulated"
71. *atchanāsai wai khom*: about "intention to greet (in a special manner)"
72. *sirō*: *sīsa*
73. *čakraphān*: *čakarawān*
74. *khralai*: *khānlai*
75. *chat*: i.e., the royal parasol, the symbol of highest dignity, see Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, pp. 93 ff.
76. *sāen...sut sakān*: *kān(č)*

77. *im malāeng wan*: "...to still a fly's hunger"
78. Vow: made to Sukhrīp to kill Phālī. The idea of this verse to effect atonement by wetting the arrow with Phālī's blood instead of taking his life is not known otherwise either from the *Rāmakiān* or from any other version of the poem.
79. *čōm krabī*: "supreme monkey field marshal"
80. *chalī chalōng chaloēi*: "to venerate, to offer most reverent submission"
81. *chīwong*: *chīwonkhot*
82. *khačōn čop*: "to move everywhere"
83. *ban lai*: *pralai*
84. *khuan mi khuan*: "should one, should one not?"
85. *lau*: "to make a loud noise, to strike the bell"
86. *hai khačōn čai*: about "may courage dwindle"
87. *lūk khau mia khrai*: *lūk* here is *kham sgi* to *mia*
88. *phrayā mār(α)*: by this not Māra, "the evil one," is meant here but probably more generally "evil."
89. *khuan khiang khū yiang khāi*: about "...ought to take me as his model"
90. *čam čit*: *čam čai*
91. *phat*: *phat phōn*
92. *yom*: "the lord of death," an abbreviation for *yomaxāt*
93. *benčāng*: "five parts of the body," namely, head, two hands, two feet
94. *phra sayom*: probably *sayomphōn*
95. *āth(α)wā*: *ātama?*
96. *sang sang*: *lā*
97. *chīwang sangkhā*: *chīwa*, meaning approximately "life and ambition"
98. *sīp mā*: "provable"
99. *phithī*: see Wales, *op.cit.*, pp. 113, 122.
100. *rāsī*: a "house" in astrology
101. *khamphī saiyasāt*: "a philosophical didactic text," here however no doubt to be understood more generally as rendered.
102. *phra thammāsāt*: compare notes 16 and 23.
103. *khwak*: "extract (from matters)"

104. *ĕiat ḡk sāek ĕāek*: about "to press out of oneself"
105. This line and the three following ones can only be translated in an interpretive manner as only thus can the meaning of the folkloric metaphors be made comprehensible.
106. *lom lin*: according to the context it should be *sin* instead of *lin*.
107. *mai sin wān*: "do not cease being sweet"
108. *chiuhā ōchā rot*: a figure of speech hard to translate literally, meaning "the tongue's intensity of taste" and expressing that by talk (here by the teachings) more may be effected than by tangible things of nature.
109. *thī bāep bḡk*: should probably be *yā bḡk*
110. *nḡk bot banyāi*: "outside this didactic poem"
111. *chōeng atchā*: an idiom; *atchā*, "horse," often stands metaphorically for "brave, courageous," compare also verse 260.
112. *yāng dī*: i.e., the teachings here
113. *yā mōen māi*: "not to turn away intentionally"
114. *krḡ*: dress for the upper part of the body, richly adorned and iconographically determined to the last detail, see, e.g., illustration 69 in *Tamrā phāp lāi thāi*, phāk 2, tḡn 1.
115. *ĕet chan*: "seven levels"; the upper vestments--*krḡ*, see note 114--carries many additional ornaments which, in precise iconographical definition, are ordered in seven stages from the shoulders downward with persons or royal status.
116. *chōeng atchā*: see note 111.
117. *phām*: unusual use here, meaning "fundamentals"
118. *chomphū*: *chomphūphan*, *chomphūthawīp*, in Sanskrit *jambudvīpa*, "the rose-apple tree land," according to Hinduist-Buddhist cosmography one of the continents, see Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 358, and the remark in Alabaster, *op.cit.*, p. 187; Coedès-Archambault, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 78, 85, and *passim*.
119. *phḡn ōphāt sathāphon*: "blessing, luster, usefulness"
120. *tāe phūn*: "from the basis up"
121. *samṇau*: "draft, excerpt"
122. *kāp...chan*: all these are metres in Thai poetry, see on this Wenk, *Die Metrik in der thailändischen Dichtung*, *passim*. Actually, only *klḡn* and *khlōng* are used in this Version VI.

123. *khū khiang*: must be interpreted here as rendered.
124. *lalāi chālōm*: also meaning "going down well in liquid form"
125. *chamot chiang*: "musk-ox"
126. *Talium patens*, or *Asclepias acida*
127. In the manuscript there follows here as line 184: "these 122 lines," *rgiyāsisṅng kham*: this figure evidently refers to the number of lines the text has in the manuscript, namely 123, from verse 25 to 283.
128. Phra Thammasāt here surely indicates the poet's title, i.e., the poet himself, see line 24 of this text.
129. *nang fau nṅn*: "to sleep sitting at audience"
130. *aksṅn ṅn sak sū sandāeng*: meaning about "words of little power, (here) explained"

B. Texts not in print1. Version VII--*Phālī sṛṇ nṛṅg (kham klṇ)*

More than half of this handwritten version, i.e., verses 71 to 213, are more or less identical, in content and in part even literally, with the poem reproduced here under IV.

The following translation from verse 71 on will, therefore, give merely the variations. The numbers after the colon refer to the corresponding verses of version IV. If nothing further is added, this means that the two parallel verses are fully identical. If words or phrases are merely contrasted without further comment (or translation), this indicates that, while some different words are used in the two versions, they have the same or similar meaning. The textual variations of Version VII are given first, followed by the corresponding passages of Version IV, after the colon.

To the Reader.¹

- (1) On² the ruler³ of monkeys we shall give report,
- (2) who governed Khītkhin,⁴ the glamorous town,
- (3) with power surpassing all monkeys' might.
- (4) Yet when his ill-fortune's⁵ cause took its course,
- (5) he banished his brother⁶ from Khītkhin realm,
- (6) for since Thōraphī's⁷ defeat⁸ the two kings
- (7) of monkeys did hate one another like foes.
- (8) Intently the younger⁹ now aimed to regain
- (9) possession again of the splendid town.
- (10) Together¹⁰ they strode¹¹ towards the glorious mount.¹²
- (11) (Phālī) feels anger when seeing (Sukhrīp).
- (12) Displeased¹³ he raises his voice to demand¹⁴
- (13) of him¹⁵ to explain and make clear his intent.
- (14) Ever more does his ire increase then until,
- (15) outraged,¹⁶ he goes blindly out of his mind.¹⁷
- (16) Staying calm, just to listen, seems arduous indeed.
- (17) Thus ever more hatred¹⁸ does poison his heart.¹⁹
- (18) Sukhrīp, then, withdrew²⁰ from the city again,
- (19) a thousandfold sad, to abide in the woods,
- (20) by pain overpowered immeasurably great,
- (21) his countenance covered by tears. Then on²¹

- (22) did he storm on the chariot, the waters to cross.
(23) Before the Ćakrī (Sukhrīp) did bow down
(24) to earth to offer salute at his feet
(25) to Nārāi, a king like the radiant sun.
(26) Phra Rām bade him speak what might be his concern.
(27) (Sukhrīp) of the mutual insult²² gave report.
(28) Nārāi then did judge that Phālī must atone
(29) and submit²³ once again to him, the high lord.²⁴
(30) He broke faith,²⁵ broke away from the good, lawful path,²⁶
(31) expiation for which must be passing through death.
(32) Sukhrīp did he order to challenge (Phālī)
(33) and, while they fought, did his arrow dispatch.
(34) Phālī, having noticed, does make his defense
(35) by catching (the arrow), which thus does not kill.
(36) As one who has insight, he (acts) aptly, too.
(37) Then, speaking to Rāmā²⁷ he haughtily states:
(38) If we brothers quarrel, what is it to you!²⁸
(39) With prejudice do you²⁹ approach toward me,
(40) you heard but one side, neither did you consult,
(41) nor reflect, nor research by rules of the law.
(42) Once, Thotsakan came for the rape of Sīdā.
(43) For what cause...³⁰
(44) There is prejudice in you, inconstancy, too.
(45) Had you spoken to me³¹ at the right, proper time!³²
(46) For, Thotsakan even³³ I fear not to fight.
(47) Sīdā, the sublime, will I bring back (to you)
(48) and free shall she be,³⁴ if this be your wish.
(49) Let bygones be bygones,³⁵ think of them no more,
(50) and neither will I still resent³⁶ what is past.
(51) Nārāi thereupon made reply to Phālī:
(52) No prejudice have I, not by any means,
(53) yet covet you did (what) your brother's should be.
(54) You vowed to be subject to me, your high lord,³⁷
(55) yet broke faith, deserting the good, lawful path,³⁸

- (56) . expiation for which must be passing through death.³⁹
 (57) Despite such misdeeds I do still grant you life⁴⁰
 (58) for teaching.⁴¹ However, your blood must be mine.⁴²
 (59) Things flimsy as nought⁴³ have beclouded your mind.⁴⁴
 (60) If your soul you wouldst save, do render the realm.⁴⁵
 (61) Then to this announcement⁴⁶ Phālī answered thus:
 (62) Was wrong what I did, did I err in my thought,
 (63) then indeed shall I readily die without fear.⁴⁷
 (64) Live on still⁴⁸ a while, as I hear,⁴⁹ must that be?⁵⁰
 (65) What heinous a monkey, what demon am I?⁵¹
 (66) I gainsay and tell you⁵² the arrow shall strike!
 (67) Though, shot through the air, it killed not this time,
 (68) it is my resolve that to death I shall go.
 (69) Spread wide⁵³ will this story, to all men be known,⁵⁴
 (70) how else, then could ever my face still be saved?
 (71):18 *phlāng kom kōn kōt anuchā*
 "Then, clutching the arrow, he embraced his young brother."
 (72):19 *kap: thang*
 (73):20 *phī: mā phī; sanōng: sōn*
 (74):21 *phū phitsamai: phitsamai*
 (75):22 *yauwa mān: khau sū*
 (76):23
 (77):24
 (78):25
 (79):26
 (80):27 *hai prākot wai tai: wāng chūwī wai*
 "...so that you be known in his service"
 (81):28
 (82):29 *pranom: pranom niu*
 (83):30
 (84):31 *chai: song*
 (85):32 *ĕa nau phranīwēt: ĕaunau nai niwēt*
 (86):33 *len: rā*
 (87):34 *pramāt: yā pramāt; thanong: khīt thanong*

- (88):35
- (89):36 *yā hai: hai*
- (90):37
- (91):38 *thām: khām*
- (92):39 *krik: trük*
- (93):40 *yā ong āt ong: yā ā ong*
- (94):41 *phiang: phō phiang*
- (95):42 *miang: mōen*
- (96):43 *tāe ngām: phō ngām*
- (97):46 *hai ying: yai ying*
- (98):47 *khom: khon*
- (99):48 *rōn: hai rōn*
- (100):49 *dai: hai*
- (101):50 *pen krāchū chū chang nam ěai khin: pen trāchū chang nai nam ěai chon*
- (102):51 *chang: khang*
"Do ponder, if weighty,⁵⁵ give acclaim to its weight."⁵⁶
- (103):52 *sāen: anūng sāen*
- (104):53 *ngām sa-āt phiphāt: sām sawāt pak*
"Exceedingly⁵⁷ beautiful..."
- (105):54 *set harilak: sadet harirak*
- (106):55 *chamliang nāng: tham yindī*
"Towards the ladies you shall not secretly look."
- (107):-- *an nārī rōm rot ěamrōen rak*
"Those beauties are passionate⁵⁸ in their love."
- (108):-- *phō sop phak phra ěa khlēng rawāng māng*
"If you meet one of them⁵⁹ you may fall in disgrace."
- (109):-- *tāe chūa chāt sanom nāng*
"The host of the concubines!"
- (110):-- *thūng ngām pāng kinnōn yā yindī*
"Fair are they like Kinnari,⁶⁰ yet beware to enjoy them!"
- (111):-- *sing dai lap phra phak somdet harirak*
"Hide nothing to his majesty's face."
- (112):57 *sāphiphak:⁶¹ sawāmphak*
- (113):58
- (114):59 *pen khā thān: khā thāu; khuan: bangkhuan*

- (115):60 *than: thāu*
"Making love do be sure to refrain from excess."
- (116):61 *khrong: rawang; ĩung: ton*
"Be careful! If you wrongly direct, beware!"
- (117):62 *hāu: hāu hāu*
- (118):63 *biang bāthā: hai khūang phra bāthā*
"Be not onerous to the king."
- (119):64 *ĕāu: ĕau; phō: tae*
- (120):65 *kwā: kōen*
- (121):66 *phā: lāk*
- (122):67
- (123):68 *phūan rātehakitcakān khāng nā: phūa rātehakit sanit nā*
"And further: future friends in royal service."⁶²
- (124):69 *rom: ruam*
- (125):70 The correction made in the second half of this line in the handwritten text seems to aim at changing it to the wording of verse 70 of Version IV; the word *thahan* following *arom* was no doubt intended to be eliminated by the *thanthankhāt* which is written down twice.
- (126):71 *tōp hai chōp kon: khom hai khuan kām*
"Counter to wily people the way they deserve it."⁶³
- (127):72 *sia sin thū sat thī rak rū: thūng sia sin thanōm sak thī*
rak rū "Should wealth be lost, yet keep faith."
- (128):74 *ĕung: ĕung ĕa; dai: dai pen*
- (129):74 *ĕa khop hā khon: ĕa khop phān khom*
"If associating with bad men, you will become bad."
- (130):75 *khit prahān tām phān hai phān thalōng: khit prahān phān rāi*
hai phān krēng
"Planning evil⁶⁴ vile evildoers, evildoers you are."
- (131):76
- (132):77 *iang: ũam; yot: yawayēt; khum: khom hēng*
"Towards some one inferior in rank do not use violence."⁶⁵
- (133):78
- (134):79 *yam krēng khām phra yakhrā: yam yēng krēng phra ĕakrā*
- (135):80 *nūng phra ong long thōt: arūng tōng rācha than*
"His majesty may well punish a thousandfold."
- (136):81 *khāen sāen sā:⁶⁶ khāen sahatsā*
- (137):82 *krabot: khabot*

- (138):83 *khom: kom*
- (139):84 *phān nā: phān*
- (140):85 *photchanā kračim: čēračā mā yim*
- (141):86
- (142):87 *čong mōp: yā mōp mua; phrarāčha: phra*
"Listen submissively to what the king says."
- (143):88 *māen phra ong song phirōt phikhāt: māen wā phra phirōt prōt*
praphāt
"If the ruler, in anger, makes a serious threat."
- (144):89 *amāt: mātayākōn*
- (145):90 *sāeng: sāem*
- (146):91 *thēt: phēt; khāu: khāu*
- (147):92 *khō⁶⁷ phō cǎ thūn thāu: khō phō thūn čūng thūn thāu*
- (148):93 *plot: plōt*
- (149):94 *phitsaphak ramphōng: đū phraphak phōng ngām*
- (150):95 *thūn: tām khō*
"Then explain your concern."
- (151):96 *tām tǎe phiang rū: tǎe phiang thām*
"If the majesty asks, report, but only what you know."
- (152):97 *kwā chūang⁶⁸ an khwām: čau khwām kwā nun*
- (153):98 *mak: pāk; sia thī: ča sia thī*
- (154):99 *thūng ča: ča phā; mai dai: mai tōng*
"Even though speaking good things, they may yet turn bad,
which is not what you wish."
- (155):100 *ong harirak: phra bgrirak*
- (156):101 *phra rāčha thān: prasāt rāčha*
"...offers rewards to the officers..."
- (157):102
- (158):103
- (159):104 *an sing: sing dai dai; wā: wā pen*
- (160):105 *lōp luang dai nai: lām luang loei la*
- (161):106 *ngi ngi: ngi nit*
- (162):107 *au čai sai: čong au čai; mian: pen*
- (163):108
- (164):109 *čēračā: sonthanā*
- (165):110

- (166):111 *khūang: khāen khūang*
- (167):112
- (168):113 *phāe:⁶⁹ thōng*
- (169):114
- (170):115
- (171):116
- (172):117 *sām phlām: lām pām*
"Do not be talkative, listen attentively to orders."
- (173):118 *ramat: rangap ěit*
- (174):121 *chāe tham: nūk ěai*
- (175):122
- (176):123 *krabuan chai: khabuan chān*
"Be circumspect, prove in battle that you are men."
- (177):124 *phichai: phraphichai*
- (178):125 *bōk ěaeng*
- (179):126 *thum thōm ěung: thā thōm khau*
- (180):127 *thā kām kon khit: thā kon kām sūk khit*
- (181):128 *ěai chūn: chūn ěai*
- (182):129 *mai: hai*
- (183):130 *hai hen som: hai som pen*
- (184):131
- (185):132 *tham sūk ěung: ěa tham sūk nan*
- (186):133 *thū: sū; āt: uat*
- (187):134 *phon pramān: prathān*
"In a necessity⁷⁰ be brave beyond measure."
- (188):--- *yā kiat khrān chai khon pai tāng tua*
"Do not be lazy, exploiting others for you."
- (189):136 *thā: ěa*
- (190):137 *khāi: tāi*
"If this you did, you would lose face."
- (191):138 *kap phrai: ěai*
"As generals do not be arrogant⁷¹ towards soldiers."
- (192):139 *tua ěau: klua klā*
"Be good or be bad? Choose the middle path!"
- (193):140 *tham au: bāk nī; ngām: ngāi*
"Do not think but of yourselves,⁷² but do good."

- (194):141
- (195):142 *āi:*⁷³ *lāi*
- (196):143 *rū:* missing; *yot:* *chua lōk*
"Your name be illustrious throughout time."⁷⁴
- (197):144 *éam éurī an ngām mī sak:* *yāng phī phū mī sat*
"Look⁷⁵ to the example of that tree,⁷⁶ how beautiful it is
and worthy."
- (198):145 *chīwan:* *nai chīwan*
- (199):146 *tāi:* *mūi čüng;* *chīwa:* *duang chīwa*
- (200):147 *an kām:* *an khuon mūi*
- (201):148
- (202):149
- (203):150 *utahā khīt:* *čong utsā khīt*
"With zeal⁷⁷ think hard, do not be lazy."
- (204):151 *phong phaunarin:* *wong phānarin*
- (205):152 *ča prakōp:* *čong prakōp tām*
- (206):153
- (207):154 *phra thōranin:*⁷⁸ *sūng thānin*
"Assist,⁷⁹ support the king."⁸⁰
- (208):155 *lāe yōthī:* *yōthī*
- (209):156 *kandā:*⁸¹ *dārā*
- (210):157 *nōng rak yā khai kae sēnī:* *thanōm rak yā hai nāi sanē nī*
"You, my loved ones, do not argue⁸² with your counselors."
- (211):158
- (212):159
- (213):160 *som(khrō):* *song(khrō)*
"Good fortune may be the lot of the sun race..."
- (214) Phālī then took Phra Nārāi's⁸³ arrow to kill
- (215) himself. After death was reborn as a god,
- (216) receiving the name of "Divine Phālī,"
- (217) for having remained all faithful and true.
- (218) Protected by Phra Nārāi's majesty, he
- (219) does now partake of the heavenly bliss.
- (220) These sentences teaching wisdom of old,⁸⁴
- (221) world famous and known⁸⁵ have here been explained

- (222) for you who shall be the rulers to come.
 (223) My notes here like servants may be to the king.⁸⁶
 (224) I hope they are valid⁸⁷ for all,⁸⁸ and my words
 (225) may not be too many for precept and thought.
 (226) If things wrong, inexact be found in this poem,
 (227) forgive me, I pray. And blessed be you all.

-
1. *na thān oei*: "addressed to you"; a formula frequently found in poetic texts, which may be taken both as general or as directed to a specific person.
 2. *hāeng*: used here in a grammatically unusual manner.
 3. *bōwōn* (in the text *phowōn*): epithet used in the titles of princes of the two highest ranks, see among others Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, pp. 26 f.; in the text above, this choice of words serves to indicate that the monkey ruler is not a "supreme" Majesty, which would have been expressed by *bōrom*, compare note 56 to Version IV.
 4. *khītkhit*: the context renders the reading *Khītkhin* imperative.
 5. *phēt phai phit*: *phēt* is here a *kham sōi* without meaning.
 6. *ċit*: "the intimate one"
 7. *thōraphī*: a buffalo figuring in the *Rāmākian* who kills his father and is himself killed by *Phālī*; in a metaphorical sense it generally indicates a "wily, ungrateful person"; see *Rāmākian*, vol. I, pp. 435 ff. and supra under I.A.1.a.
 8. *bī*: has as *kham thō* the meaning of "to shatter, to crash to pieces"; possibly, however, the reading must be *bī yī*, which would be an abbreviation of *yam yī*.
 9. *ānut*: *anut*
 10. *somthop*: by this, *Sukhrīp* and *Ongkhot* are most likely meant.
 11. *klap*: "to return." The reading of the verse following is doubtful. *ċon mā* may be possible, "to go to," but also *ċōm* (*ċaxom*), "supreme"; both could fit into the context of the line.
 12. *khīrī sī*, or *ċom khīrī sī*, "glorious mountain"
 13. *mi dai*: a negation, "by no means," but here, to make sense, surely to be interpreted as rendered.
 14. *thai thuan*: probably *thai thām*
 15. *thēt*: here to be understood as a personal pronoun
 16. *mōha hak huan*: an idiom

17. *nük trük trā: trük trōng*
18. *khīt khāen khūang:* roughly "to work oneself up on purpose into the pretense of having been offended."
19. *hatsā: hathaya (?)*
20. *khap:* must probably be read as *klap*.
21. Doubtful reading: instead of *phō* I read here *thō* (*kham ēk*), which any way one would expect in the context, especially together with *pai*,
22. *khūang kan:* "to insult each other...", meaning Phālī and Sukhrīp
23. *satawa: sathaya*
24. *phrasūrīnarang:* as in verses 25 and 54. This line, apart from the initial word, is identical with verse 54.
25. See note 24.
26. *wibat thāng tham:* "destroyed the way of the law"
27. *phrōm:* probably contracted from *phra rām*
28. *chai kongkān:* an idiom
29. *thān:* reading here not quite beyond doubt as *thān*, "you" is written in all other verses of the manuscript correctly with an "n" at the end.
30. The remainder of the line cannot be established since it is physically destroyed in the manuscript.
31. *rau: pluralis majestatis*
32. *tām thāng than:* an idiom
33. *thamai kap:* expression used in informal language
34. *mā khūn dong:* meaning "coming out of the desert," unless *dong* should have to be taken here as a *kham sgi* without meaning.
35. *nī plāu plāu:* "these (past events) are null and void."
36. *phīt phāet phirōt:* *phāet* here probably *kham sgi* without meaning
37. This line, apart from the initial word, is identical with verse 29.
38. The wording of this line is identical with verse 30.
39. The wording of this line is identical with verse 31.
40. *ča liang wai:* "(I) shall guard you."
41. *sōn sai:* *sai* here surely to be read with *mai malāi* instead of *mai man*.

42. *lōhit pen phaksā*: literally meaning "your blood is nourishment (to me)" in the sense, probably, of spoils.
43. *sēn phom*: "downy hair"
44. *ĉet phāk*: *ĉet*, "mind, thoughts"; should this reading be correct, which is not beyond doubt, *phāk* might mean "all parts...";
doi trā: *kā tām*
45. *sia wong*: "give up (your) race"
46. *kham sanuang sām*: the meaning of *sanuang* could not be established.
47. *plit prong*: *plit plong*
48. *yong*: *yang*
49. *yin*: *dai yin*
50. *yai mai tōng*: roughly "why must that be?"
51. *āi kae krabin krabī pāsūrā rak*: the translation of this line is interpretive. It cannot be shown without doubt whom it refers to--to Phālī himself, as I have assumed, or to Sukhrīp and Ongkhot. Unclear also is the literal meaning of the final part *pāsūrā rak*, *sura*: *asura*?
52. *thuāng thak wā klau*: "(I) contradict by stating..."
53. *si khāu*: *sū khāu* (*khā khāng*)
54. I read here *thua kraphop*. Because of the rhyme, the last syllable in the handwritten text had to end with--ā, on the other hand it is indicated by the *thanthakhāt* that the vowel orthographically does not belong here.
55. *lon lūa nak*: means about "if something is overpowering..."
56. *kg nak pai*: "let it be that weighty..."
57. *phiphāt*: beyond all doubt..."
58. *rām rot čamrōen*: *rām* must presumably be read as *rān*, "hot."
59. *phak*: "face..."
60. *kinnān*: a mythological being half man, half bird; see Coedès-Archambault, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 115, 142, 214, as well as the illustration on p. 12 in *Tamrā phāp lāi thāi*, *phāk* 2, *tōn* 3, and plate L in Wenk, *Mural Paintings in Thailand*, vol. II, part 1.
61. Probably corrupted form of *sawāmi phak*
62. The reading in verse 68 of Version IV, in connection with verse 124 here, must be given preference.
63. *hai chōp kon*: an idiom
64. *khit prahān*: "intending to kill," but here probably to be taken in a more general sense.

65. *khum hēng*: vernacular for *khom hēng*
66. An abbreviation for *sahat(sā)*
67. This syllable, hardly legible in the manuscript, can be identified as rendered by a comparison with verse 92 of Version IV.
68. Probably to be read as *khūang (?)*
69. To be read as *phet(cha)?*
70. *sut thāe tāe*: an idiom meaning roughly "as the case may be."
71. *ahangā*: *ahangān*
72. *rū māk*: a colloquial idiom
73. *wai āi*: should in the context be read as *wai lāi*, as in verse 142 of Version IV.
74. *kralāpā*: *kanlapa*
75. In the handwritten text the "u" is missing under the "d."
76. The text here must probably be read as *ĉāmēūrī*, Samanes saman Merr., see further also Wanandon, *Chū phan mai*, pp. 220 ff., yet the reading as assumed here is not beyond doubt.
77. *utchā*: *utsā*
78. This deciphering of the handwritten text is not entirely certain.
79. *ubatham*: *upatham*
80. See note 78.
81. Considering the connection with *kaeu* and *yuphāphak*, I feel certain that instead of *kandā* should be *dārā*.
82. *khai kāe*: *kāe khai*, "to correct"
83. *phra āwatān*: *āwatān*, "the one descending from heaven," one of Phra Nārāi's, i.e., Viśnu's epithets.
84. *winit*: *phinit*
85. *lū lūang*: *lūang lū*
86. *mūlika*: *mūlikākṇ*
87. *wai*: "respected"
88. *prachāchāi*: "men"

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| พาลี สอน น่อง | เปโรมา แดง |
| จะเกล้าเรื่องพาลีสิง | สยมน้องก็จริง |
| เมื่อถูกหอกอะวะคาร | |
| กุมศรกรรกวักนงหลาย | จงจำคำชาน |
| พ้อพ้อพ้อพ้อพ้อ | |
| พญาเป็นที่พะง | โคตเสนเป็นระสิง |
| ข่มข่มข่มข่มข่ม | |
| ฝนตกลงมาหว่า ๆ | หักข่มพุ่มท่า |
| แล้วขึ้นไปนั่งบนหลังคา | |
| ผู้หยิ่ง เขาเดินไปมา | ยิงหันแหกตา |
| จงตั้ง ขันลูกศร | |
| ถ้าเห็นเขาแลร่องหู | โค้งทางกางหู |
| ยิงโยช้ห่มสมควร | |
| อย่างนี้อยู่เวลาดำเกากวน | หยิบฉวยตามกระบวณ |
| ทั้งมือทั้งตีนบีท่า | |
| เลิกควักแหกตามือคล่า | ควักดูออกกำ |
| มาคมแล้วโยนปาไป | |
| แม่นพบลูกไม้อันโต | กักกินกิ่งใบ |
| แล้วอมเอาไว้เยื่อหิว | |
| แมงวันแมงหวี่บินฉิว | มือคว้าตัวจิว |
| เมื่อแม่มันบินแลตาม | |

2. Version VIII--*Phālī s̄n n̄ng (kham chan)*Poem by Pērōmā¹

- (1) Of monkey Phālī shall I tell, to teach the young ones
well,
while I am struck by the spear.
- (2) The arrow, you young ones, I bear, remember my words, do
hear,
you all, tall and small, ape,² wee ape.³
- (3) The trees are your abode and escape, jumps, plays, to and fro,
any shape,
Somersaults and high vaults, without end.
- (4) When the skies gentle rain do send, break foliage to hide,
ascend
high up to sit under the crown.
- (5) The females, they trip up and down, rub eyes, their flashing
teeth shown.
Pull them up, sniff and suck on them, too.
- (6) If you catch one watching, call "wū," tail bent, ears stiff, do
acrobatics on all fours, if you will.
- (7) Scratch yourselves, and never sit still, grab something with
exquisite skill,
climb,⁴ feet and hands at one stride.
- (8) Twitch brows, fingers pulling eyes wide, pluck, suck, squeeze
(dirt from your hide),
first smell it, then fling it, to boot.
- (9) If on trees you spy some fruit, bite it off, twig,
leaves, and shoot,
store in cheek for subsequent fare.
- (10) Flies, gnats⁵ that buzz here and there, catch the little ones
from the air,
yet their moms will follow their call.

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| मैंजिभत्तमत्तुवुवाम ใ้เราขวกขี้ | คนแปะ เกาพลาน |
| พบรูปเียวตัวมี มันหนีบแล้วลากขึ้นมากิน | หวงพ่อจึงดี |
| เกรียง เเด่นของ เราจงยีน สองมือเจ้าคตลิ่งคิงคม | ห้งชูตแกะกิน |
| โบราณว่าไว้นามนม ถันเป็นคะคิตะคัง | ห้ามขยำนิยม |
| อันว่ากระปี่จิงพัง อย่าได้เข้าใกล้โลกมัน | พิงเกลียดพิงขัง |
| ดูคัวดูกห้งพองปลัน ดูหับ ๆ เคี้ยวเลยกสึน | ดูมือ ๆ คัน |
| โลกโชนโจนเด่นเด่นยีน ชุกชนลอนลานการ เรา | ที่กระดกห่มครัน |
| เป็นข้าท่นใช้แบกเตา รุกชนมาคมโยนป่า | ท่นหลับตึงเอา |
| เมื่อเข้าทาท่นแหกตา ท่นตึงแยงยงพัน | ร้องครอกหลอกมา |
| ใต้ที่โคตหัดกมัน แอ้วหนีขึ้นบนหลังคา | ควักคหันละวัน |
| เถ่นี้เราสอนลิ่งมา ดับจิตร ไปโลกกั้นค้ เกย | วางทรกโกฎุรา |

- (11) When on you they sit, crawl, and do scratch, hit them all,
sprawl,
with gusto do it and quick.
- (12) If you see a water crab,⁶ stick⁷ your tail down,⁸ sure it
will click!
When pinched, pull crab up and devour.
- (13) Attend to⁹ your own fleas¹⁰ galore, scrape, scratch, gulp them
down by the score,
with cupped hands roll them, then smell.
- (14) The ancients of olden times tell this be forbidden, one shall
much rather abstain, to be wise.¹¹
- (15) Apes must listen, they said, and that fleas they should hate
likewise and despise,
mortify for them all desire.
- (16) Stung all over, swelly belly itching hands, too: do scratch
fire, with ire;
if gums even, chew (the fleas) gobble-gob.
- (17) Leap up, down, and again, then stop, wing on the swing with a
flop,
running round wide and wild be your
sport.
- (18) As servants who must braziers transport, while their lord takes a
snooze with a snort,
pluck his pelt, sniff and flick off
(the dirt).
- (19) With the master, keep eyes open, alert, shriek apishly, blabber,
and blurt.¹²
If punished, show teeth him and claws.¹³
- (20) If you can, bite the brute raw,¹⁴ clutch his neck, again,
never pause,¹⁵
then flee up to the roof through the air.
- (21) Thus bid I and teach you, the spear I thrust thousand times
to tear
chest¹⁶ and life¹⁷--then to hell with
guffaws!

1. See on this under I.B.1.
2. *ph̄ h̄gi*: "you mussel," a vernacular expression corresponding to the English "you monkey" or "you ape" with the same disparaging implication.
3. *Ph̄ h̄ū n̄ū l̄ing*: vernacular diminutive to "monkey," again, as above in note 2, with a disparaging meaning.
4. *p̄*: here read as *p̄in*.
5. *m̄aeng w̄*: *w̄* to be read here with *mai ēk*; a kind of little gnat.
6. *p̄iao*: belonging to the ocipodidae, see *Akarānukrom ph̄m̄isāt th̄ai*, vol. I, p. 134.
7. *tua* probably designates here the opening visible in the sand where a crab has dug in.
8. *p̄tua*: "connect," meaning that by lowering the monkey tail from the tree into the hole in the sand the connection is made to the crab.
9. *kh̄riang len*: "toy," an ironic expression to be interpreted as rendered in view of the following lines.
10. *ǎong yin*: "you should listen"
11. This verse and the following one refer to the prohibition of Buddhism against the killing of any living being.
12. *l̄q̄k m̄ā*: must here surely be read in the sense of *l̄q̄k len*.
13. *ȳāek ying fan*: *ȳāek khiao ying fan*
14. The author uses here the derogatory personal pronoun *man*, different from verses 18 and 19.
15. *phan lawan*: "a thousand times daily"
16. Instead of *ǎit(r)* must be read *ǎit(t)* to make sense.
17. *l̄ōk kanta*: *l̄ōkan(tr)*, "end of the world," the name of one of the various hells," see Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. II, p. 786, under Lokantaranirayā.

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กรมศิลปากร พศ. ๒๕๑๑ (with English translation)

Sārānukrom thai

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