

# A Historical Approach to the Palm-Leaf Manuscripts Preserved in Wat Mahathat, Yasothon (Thailand)

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Northeastern Thailand is still rich in palm-leaf manuscripts that have been preserved in monasteries or with lay people. Needless to say, historically speaking, this area has been closely related to Laos across the Mekong. Therefore, old palm-leaf manuscripts located in northeastern Thailand are most interesting not only in the light of local culture of today's Thailand, but more in the context of broader Lao cultural heritage across national boundaries.

While northern Thai palm-leaf manuscripts have been systematically surveyed by the staff of Chiang Mai University since the 1970s and a considerable number of manuscripts have been microfilmed, and the Preservation of Lao Manuscripts Programme has strenuously worked on Lao manuscripts for more than a decade, those of northeastern Thailand have been largely neglected and only a preliminary survey was conducted in the 1980s (Sun Watthanatham Cangwat Mahasarakham, Witthayalai Khuru Mahasarakham, 1986). A systematic survey of the palm-leaf manuscripts of northeastern Thailand is urgently needed, comparable to the cases of northern Thai manuscripts and those of Laos.

In order to contribute to filling this gap, I set up a small research project in 1997, intending to survey a certain part of the palm-leaf manuscripts located in northeastern Thailand, namely those preserved in Wat Mahathat in Yasothon. The research site was chosen because it had been known that Wat Mahathat held a sizable number of manuscripts and prevailing local oral traditions concerning the *ho trai* (library of scriptures) of Wat Mahathat claimed that manuscripts inscribed on palm-leaves there had been brought from Vientiane in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The preliminary survey was carried out from August 1997 until October 1998 with the help of research staff from nearby Mahasarakham University. During the course of this preliminary survey, the research team listed almost 2,700 titles of palm-leaf manuscripts; of which 1,002 titles were found on eight-stage shelves and 1,694 in nine scripture boxes and cabinets. Under various circumstances the planned work of compiling a catalogue was not finished at once and it later became clear that the preliminary survey had not been satisfactory enough to make a durable catalogue, so it was decided to conduct another round of survey and a more careful reinvestigation was resumed recently.

As the survey is still ongoing, this paper is meant as a progress report, using only a small part of data obtained from the preliminary survey, but I would also like to make some suggestions for the more thorough study in the near future.

### A Brief History of Muang Yasothon

As is well known, after King Sulignawongsa's death around 1695 Lan Sang fell into a period of disarray and early in the eighteenth century split into the three kingdoms of Luang Phabang, Vientiane and Campasak. Vientiane may have inherited from Lan Sang some sphere of influence but only over *muang* along the Mekong River on the northern rim of the Khorat Plateau<sup>1</sup>. Although later on Campasak, under the suzerainty of the Thonburi and Bangkok dynasties seemed to be able to absorb some *muang* on the Mun and Chi rivers, the vast plateau remained relatively unpopulated and the population was by no means uniformly 'Lao.' The 'Lao-isation' (Evans 2002: 30) or the shift of 'the demographic centre of gravity' (Grabowsky 1995: 122) of the Lao only really occurred after Cao Anou's uprising had failed.

However, the disintegration of the unified kingdom of Lan Sang in the early eighteenth century no doubt accelerated the migration of the Lao southwards and into the Khorat Plateau, which had begun since the early days of Lan Sang, and the founding of *muang* Yasothon occurred in the time of this migration movement (Grabowsky 1995: 114).

According to the *Yasothon Chronicle*<sup>2</sup> (PMY), "originally, the royal family that came to found Muang Yasothon had forefathers, whose name were Phra Ta Phra Wo, and had been established in Nong Bua Lumphu [*sic.*], in a district of Krung Canthaburi [Vientiane]." The name of Phra Ta Phra Wo is veiled in a mass of legends (Wyatt 1994: 188-193, Lorrillard 1995: 277-280, Artha 1986: 155). However, they (or he, as it is regarded as a single person in some versions) apparently had been officials in the service of the king of Vientiane, Siribunnyasan (c.1751-1779) and later became disobedient. They then left Vientiane and went across the Mekong to Nong Bua Lamphu in today's northeast Thailand (Wyatt 1994: 188-9).

Intermittent warfare between Vientiane and Nong Bua Lamphu ensued. As the PMY continues, after Phra Ta was killed by the king of Vientiane in one of the battles, and the rest of Ta and Wo family fled to Campasak and some settled in Dong Sing Khok Sing Tha (located around today's Yasothon) on the way. Since the king of Vientiane did not stop threatening the Ta and Wo family, they asked the king of Campasak for help but failed to get sufficient support.

<sup>1</sup> It is reported that at the time of the uprising against Bangkok led by Cao Anou in 1827, 86 *muang* along both sides of the Mekong were under the control of Vientiane (Bung-on 1998: 56).

<sup>2</sup> Presumably compiled by a group of local officials of Yasothon in c. 1897 soon after the deceased (and last) *cao muang*, Phrasunthonratchawongsa (Suphrom) was replaced by a royal commissioner of the Siamese government (SWTPI: Vol 8, p. 2880; Vol. 11, 3724-5).

They then turned to King Taksin of Thonburi. Upon their request, Taksin sent an army led by General Cakri (later Rama 1 of the Bangkok Dynasty). Though Phra Wo had been killed before the army reached the Campasak area, the army eventually attacked Vientiane in 1778 and put both Campasak and Vientiane under Siamese control. The Ta and Wo family went to settle in Ban Sing Tha and rendered service to the Siamese army later on. In 1791 Thao Na, the chief of Ban Singtha, was appointed as *cao muang* of Campasak by King Rama 1 and in 1812, Ban Singtha was promoted to the status of *muang*, as muang Yasothon of which the ruler was appointed Phrasunthonratchawongsa Cao Muang. Thus Yasothon, formerly established by descendants of the royal house of Lan Sang, chose to rely on Bangkok and received, as a reward, the spoils taken from the Campasak domains.

In the early phase of the uprising of Cao Anou in 1826, part of the population of Yasothon was transferred to Vientiane by the advancing Lao army led by Cao Tissa Upalat (the Vice King and Cao Anou's brother by a different mother), who was second in command in the Lao military hierarchy (Mayoury & Pheuiphanh 1998:159-160, 175-176). The ruling family of Yasothon did not give support to the uprising and stayed loyal to Bangkok.

Yasothon was successively ruled by five Phrasunthonratchawongsa until the Siamese government took over its administration (SWTPI: Vol. 11, 3720-3725): The first Phrasunthonratchawongsa (Singh), from 1815-1823; the second (Thao Sicha), in 1823; the third (Fai), from 1823-1857; the fourth (Thao Men), from 1857-1873; and the fifth (Suphrom), from 1873-1895. It is to be noted that during the time of the third Phrasunthonratchawongsa (Fai), when the situation after the uprising of Cao Anou was still in disorder especially on the left bank of the Mekong, Fai was active in encouraging left bank people to migrate to establish their *muang* on the right bank. King Rama 3, in recognition of his achievements, also appointed him as *cao muang* of Nakhon Phanom and he ruled both Yasothon and Nakhon Phanom briefly.

### **Wat Mahathat and its *Ho Trai***

Tradition has it that when the members of Ta and Wo family first settled in Ban Sing Tha, they encountered the ruins of a monastery and Buddha images in the forested area so they constructed a new monastery in that place. It is supposed that the monks that had followed them from Nong Bua Lamphu came to reside in the monastery (Banphen na Ubon, n.d.). This tradition tells us that they were devout Buddhists.

It was Thao Na, who became *cao muang* of Campasak (1791-1811), who laid the foundations of Wat Mahathat, the Monastery of the Grand Reliquary. The tradition of the Grand Reliquary known as Phra That Phra Anon says that the reliquary of Phra Anon, one of Buddha's disciples, had been brought from India first to Vientiane by two Vientiane people,

but their plan to construct a stupa to install the reliquary was rejected, so they left Vientiane and migrated until they finally found a place to construct a stupa with the help of a Khmer ruler at the present site of Phra That Phra Anon (Chumphae 2000: 2-3). The *bot* (sanctuary) and monks' compound are said to have been constructed at the time of Thao Na, but none of original buildings are extant today. The *Ho Trai* was constructed later on around 1830 during the period of the third Phrasunthonratchawongsa. There are two different versions explaining the circumstances of the construction of the *Ho Trai*.

The first version is connected with the Siamese King Rama III of Bangkok, who was pleased to know that the ritual conducted by a monk called Phra Maha Ratchakhru Lak Kham Ku on the occasion of the Siamese army taking the field from Yasothon to suppress the uprising of Cao Anou had brought victory to the Bangkok army, and granted scriptures (Tripitaka) to Yasothon. So Phrasunthonratchawongsa, Phra Maha Ratchakhru and other local people constructed the *Ho Trai* (Banphen na Ubon, n.d.).

The second version derives from Vientiane. A monk named Cao Phra Khru Lak Kham Ong Hu Kwaeng went to Vientiane to study Buddhism and obtained a high degree of honour. On returning to reside at Wat Mahathat, he requested the Chief Monk of Vientiane to bring back the scriptures, which were given to him. It took three months to travel by boat from Vientiane by way of Ubon Ratchathani. When the monk arrived in Yasothon with the scriptures, to the welcome of the people of Yasothon, they constructed the *Ho Trai* to preserve the scriptures (SWTPI: Vol. 11, 3504). The credibility of these two conflicting versions shall be discussed later.

### **Palm-Leaf Manuscripts of Wat Mahathat**

The manuscripts preserved in the *Ho Trai* are all inscribed on palm-leaves with Tham script (*to tham*) of Lao type (called *tham Lao* in Thailand), which is one cultural marker of 'Lao-ness,' so we may safely call them *bailan Lao*. As for language, the greater part of the manuscripts seem to be in Pali (see Appendix B), but each text needs to be examined in detail to see whether Lao language is mixed or inserted or not. The colophons, from which we draw most of the data to be presented below, are mostly written in Lao.

As stated previously, nearly 2,700 titles of manuscripts have been listed during the preliminary survey. Since most of those kept in boxes and cabinets are fragmentary and filing work is still in progress, only the data of manuscripts kept on the first four stages (I-IV in the third column of Appendix A) out of eight-stage shelves are dealt with in the analysis here. The number of manuscripts on the shelves is as below:

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
150	127	161	113	109	130	114	98

All the titles of stage I are given in Appendix B. Manuscripts listed in Appendix A are those clearly dated. However, the reliability of dates is not uniform, so they have been checked in the following manner:

According to Era: two kinds of eras are used in the manuscripts, the Little Era (Cunlasakkalat abbreviated as CS.) and the Buddhist Era (Phuttasakkalat abbreviated as PS.)

According to Cyclical Year: in many cases years are designated also by one of 60 Lao cyclical years, and in some cases by the 12 animal year cycle used in Siam. The cyclical years are important in checking the dates of manuscripts given in one of the two eras, because, generally speaking, cyclical years are supposed to be less vulnerable to carelessness of writers and copyists than mere numbers following the eras.

The dates underlined in Appendix A are those that are ‘correct’ when checked against the cyclical years when they are given, and the rest are the cases where dates of eras and cyclical years do not correspond to each other. Thus the earliest reliable date is 1569 of Number 58 and the latest is 1888 of Number 116.

## Sponsors

In Appendix A, manuscripts are arranged according to names of sponsors and, in a few cases, of copyists. More than one hundred and twenty names appear in about two hundred manuscripts. Three persons are conspicuous, being concerned with more than ten titles, i.e. Upalapannya (2-1~16), Phrasunthonratchawongsa (11-1~30), and Sihatanurasathipati (21-1~11).

Sihatanurasathipati is almost common with one of the many names of Cao Anou, known from chronicles and inscriptions (Surasak 2002: 253). There are eleven manuscripts sponsored by this person, ranging from 1804, the year when Cao Anou ascended the throne of the Kingdom of Vientiane, until 1826, the year before the uprising against Bangkok led by Cao Anou. As dates of all the eleven manuscripts fall within the reign of Cao Anou, this person is quite likely to be Cao Anou himself.

Upalapannya is designated as Sangkharasa or Ratsakhuru and dates of related manuscripts range from 1804 till 1824, all of which again fall within Cao Anou’s reign. This person might have been the representative on the part of Sangha.

If arranged chronologically, there are altogether 72 titles that fall within Cao Anou's reign. As we have seen that the *Ho Trai* was constructed around 1830, it may be safe to consider those 72 titles together with 69 titles dated before the reign of Cao Anou were made in Vientiane and that Cao Anou and Sankharasa were most active in manuscripts production.

There is an interval of fourteen years after 1827 (Number 113 which seems to be the last of the manuscripts made in Vientiane) until 1841 (Number 11-7). The second phase of manuscript production was inaugurated by Phrasunthonratsawongsa, *cao muang* of Yasothon, who was the most ardent sponsor of all and who dedicated manuscripts even during the time when he was in charge of Nakhon Phanom (Number 32).

### **Palm-Leaf Manuscripts in Historical Perspective**

As mentioned above, there are two different stories concerning the provenance of the earlier set of manuscripts. One is attributed to King Rama III of Bangkok and the other claims that they were brought from Vientiane. After having analyzed the sponsorship as demonstrated above, it is now evident that the older manuscripts, i.e. those made before the construction of *Ho Trai* around 1830, originated in Vientiane. Therefore, the first story cannot be sustained as historical fact. It is likely that the second story suggestive of a direct connection with Bangkok was fabricated in later years, when the common Lao past across the Mekong was to be buried in the course of regional integration into the modern Thai state as northeastern Thailand.

Therefore, the earlier manuscripts in Wat Mahathat should first of all provide valuable sources for Lan Sang history. It is noteworthy that there are as many as sixty manuscripts having dates before the nineteenth century, which should invite us to investigate the core of yet unknown Lao history. It is expected that the social stratification of the kingdom of Vientiane should be further revealed when most of the minor sponsors including many women are identified.

Another hopeful field of study might be the history of the development of Pali scholarship. It would be interesting to compare the contents of manuscripts produced in Vientiane with those made in other localities in order to study this. Several manuscripts of *pallāsajātaka* and *vamsamālinī* in the Wat Mahathat collection, for example, await critical investigation.

Together with textual studies of individual manuscripts, manuscript culture as a whole should also be put into historical perspective. It seems that the displaced manuscript tradition was succeeded in the new locality and has been preserved as a local treasure. Yet if we look at it against the historical background, the succession of manuscript traditions should be more properly placed in the context of broader regional history.

Our survey is still in progress and it is hoped that still more interesting fields of study will be revealed through these valuable palm-leaf manuscripts.

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## Appendix A: Manuscript Sponsors

1	Somdet Thewarat	I-2	936	<u>1574</u>
2-1	Upalapannya, Cao Somdet	I-5	CS. -176	<u>1814</u>
2-2	Upalapannya, Cao Somdet	I-30	CS. -171	<u>1809</u>
2-3	Upalapannya, Sangkharasa	I-136	-177	<u>1815</u>
2-4	Upalapannya, Cao Somdet	II-6	CS. -170	<u>1808</u>
2-5	Upalapannya, Somdet	II-9	CS. -173	<u>1811</u>
2-6	Upalapannya, Sangkharasa	II-10	CS. -184	<u>1822</u>
2-7	Upalapannya, Cao Somdet	II-69	CS. -170	<u>1808</u>
2-8	Upalapannya, Huacao	II-75	CS. -166	<u>1804</u>
2-9	Upalapannya, Sangkharasa	III-3	CS. -177	<u>1815</u>
2-10	Upalapannya, Ratsakhru	III-102	CS.-185	<u>1823</u>
2-11	Upalapannya, Ratsakhru	III-103	CS.-185	<u>1823</u>
2-12	Upalapannya, Ratsakhru	III-104	CS.-185	<u>1823</u>
2-13	Upalapannya, Somdet Sangkharasa	III-129	CS. -177	<u>1815</u>
2-14	Upalapannya, Ratsakhru Cao	III-156	CS. -186	<u>1824</u>
2-15	Upalapannya, Cao Somdet	IV-40	CS. -184	<u>1822</u>
2-16	Upalapannya, Cao Somdet	IV-44	CS. -184	<u>1822</u>
3	Cao Hona	I-6	CS. -128	1766
4	Phraya Muang Song	I-8	-164	1802
5	Cao Suphromthi Upahat	I-13	PS. 2419(?)	1876(?)
6	Somdet Sutthiwongsa Pannya	I-14	CS. -216	<u>1854</u>
7	Cao Khanan Thammacinda	I-15	CS. -157	<u>1795</u>
8	Luang Caw Muang Yasothon lae Pharina	I-20	1210	1848
9-1	Phrasunthonrasathipati Phuminthonthirat, Somdet Phraborombophit	I-22	CS. -140	1778
9-2	Phrasunthonrasathipati Phuminthonthirat, Somdet Borombophit	II-55	CS. 1209, Mamae	<u>1847</u>
9-3	Phraunthonrasathipti Phuminthonthirat, Somdet	III-87	1209, Mamae	<u>1847</u>
10	Kwan Caowkromsomnai lae Phrinya	I-25	-177	1815
11-1	Phrasunthonratsawongsa Mahakhatinya	I-28	CS. -129	1767
11-2	Phrasunthonratsawongsa Mahakhatinya	I-29	CS. 1209	1847
11-3	Phrasunthonratsawongsa Mahakhatinya, Phramahabophit	I-84	CS. 1208, Mamiya	<u>1846</u>
11-4	Phrasunthonratsawongsa, Cao	I-115	CS. 1208, Mamiya	<u>1846</u>
11-5	Phrasunthonratsawongsa	I-116	CS. 1247, Raka	<u>1885</u>
11-6	Phrasunthonratsawongsa	I-133	CS. 1208, Mamiya	<u>1846</u>
11-7	Phrasunthonratsawongsa	I-139	1203	1841
11-8	Phrasunthonratsawongsa, Phramahabo-phit	I-141	CS. 1208, Mamiya	<u>1846</u>
11-9	Phrasunthonratsawongsa	I-142	CS.1208, Mamiya	<u>1846</u>
11-10	Phrasunthonratsawongsa	I-149	CS. 1209, Mamae	<u>1847</u>
11-11	Phrasunthonratsawongsa	II-8	CS. 1280	1918
11-12	Phrasunthonratsawongsa, Phramahabo-phit	II-22	CS. -209, Mamae	<u>1847</u>
11-13	Phrasunthonratsawongsa, Phramahabo-phit	II-113	CS. 1208, Mamiya	<u>1846</u>
11-14	Phrasunthonratsawongsa	II-114	CS. 1248, Co	<u>1886</u>

11-15	Phrasunthonratsawongsa	III-1	CS. 1208	1846
11-16	Phrasunthonratsawongsa	III-27	CS. 1208, Mamiya	<u>1846</u>
11-17	Phrasunthonratsawongsa, Somdet	III-47	1209	1847
11-18	Phrasunthonratsawongsa, Somdet	III-58	CS. 1209, Mamae	<u>1847</u>
11-19	Phrasunthonratsawongsa, Somdet	III-59	CS. 1209, Mamae	<u>1847</u>
11-20	Phrasunthonratsawongsa	III-65	CS. 1208, Mamiya	<u>1846</u>
11-21	-----, Phramahabophit	III-110	CS. 1208, Mamiya	<u>1846</u>
11-22	Phrasunthonratsawongsa Rasathipadi Phumithonraatsacao, Somdet Borombo-phit	III-147	CS. 1208, Mamae	<u>1847</u>
11-23	Phrasunthonratsawongsa	III-160	CS. 1209, Mamae	<u>1847</u>
11-24	Phrasunthonratsawongsa, Somdet	IV-23	CS. 1209, Mamae	<u>1847</u>
11-25	Phrasunthonratsawongsa, Somdet	IV-26	1208	1846
11-26	Phrasunthonratsawongsa	IV-35	1208, Mamiya	<u>1846</u>
11-27	Phrasunthonratsawongsa, Phraborombo-phit	IV-86	CS. 1209	1847
11-28	Yotsothonratsawongsa, Phramahabophit Sathit Yu	IV-91	CS. 1208, Mamiya	<u>1846</u>
11-29	Phrasunthonratsawongsa	IV-109	CS. 1207	1845
11-30	Phrasunthonratsawongsa	IV-110	CS. 1207	1845
12-1	Mae Thum, Phi Nong, Luk Tao	I-35	PS. 2211(?)	1668(?)
12-2	Mae Thum, Phi Nong, Luk Tao	I-36	PS. 2211(?)	1668(?)
12-3	Mae Thum	I-47	PS. 2211(?)	1668(?)
13	Hua Cao Phiya	I-39	CS. 1248	1886
14	Somdet Phramahasangkharat Satham-makanlanya	I-49	-130	<u>1768</u>
15	Thao Um kap Mia	I-56	-161	<u>1799</u>
16	Cao Kaeosikanlanya kap Manda	I-59	1120	<u>1758</u>
17	Cao Sithamma	I-66	1161	1799
18	Rasakhamphosok lae Pharinya	I-68	CS. -180	<u>1818</u>
19	Somdet La	I-69	CS. -115	1753
20	Mahasangkharasa Satthambanlaphit	I-81	CS. 976	<u>1614</u>
21-1	Sihatanurasathipati Phuminthonthirat, Somdet Boromphit	I-85	CS. -173	<u>1811</u>
21-2	Sihatanurasa, Somdet Borombophit	I-104	CS. -167	<u>1805</u>
21-3	Sihatanurasathipati Phuminthonthirat, Somdet Borombophit	II-106	-171	<u>1809</u>
21-4	Sihatanurasathipati Phuminthonthirat, Somdet Borombophit	III-7	-166	<u>1804</u>
21-5	Sihatanurasawipati Phuminthonthiratsa-cao, Somdet Borombophit	III-111	-188	<u>1826</u>
21-6	Sihatanurasathipati Phumintharathirat, Somdet Borombophit	III-127	-176	<u>1814</u>
21-7	Sihatanurasathipati, Somdet Borombophit	IV-20	1170	<u>1808</u>
21-8	Sihatanura(sa)thipati, Somdet Borombo-phit	IV-21	1171	1809
21-9	Sihatanurasathipati Phuminthonthirat, Somdet Borombophit	IV-50	-166	<u>1804</u>
21-10	Siihatanurasathirat, Somdet Borombophit	IV-96	-166	<u>1804</u>

21-11	Sihatun[sic.]rasathip Phuminthonthirat	IV-108	-166	<u>1804</u>
22	Huanyai Khampha	I-87	CS. 1179	<u>1817</u>
23-1	Wongsa Sena, Pho Ok	I-91	CS. 1212	<u>1850</u>
23-2	Wongsa Sena kap thang Pharinya Luk Tao	II-120	CS. -213, Kun	<u>1851</u>
23-3	Wongsa Sena	III-16	CS. -214	<u>1852</u>
23-4	Wongsa Sena kap thang Pharinya Luk Tao	IV-82	CS. -214	<u>1852</u>
24	Pho Cuanut kap Pharinya	I-95	-105	<u>1743</u>
25	Cao Khanan Kunlawongsa	I-96	CS.-1159(?)	1797(?)
26-1	Phraphothisan Rasathiratcao, Somdet	I-98	CS. -988(?)	1626(?)
26-2	Phraphothisan Rasathiratcao, Somdet Borombophit	I-135	-985	1623
27	Pho Khamtoen kap Pharinya	I-101	CS. -164	<u>1802</u>
28	Pho Ok Palatkaeo kap Pnarinya	I-103	CS. -141	1779
29-1	Somdet Ratsakhru Sisumang(khala)	I-105	CS. -167	1805
29-2	Somdet Ratsakhru Sisumang(khala)	I-112	-169	<u>1807</u>
29-3	Somdet Ratsakhru Sisumang(khala)	III-81	-169	<u>1807</u>
30	Somdet Borombophit Sisahaphan-tarasathipati	I-107	-175	<u>1813</u>
31	Cao Baocitcetcitkhan	I-109	-121	<u>1759</u>
32-1	Cao Muang Yotsothon Lakhonphanom	I-114	-289(?)	1927(?)
32-2	Cao Muang Yasothon Lakhonphanom kap thang Pharinya Butra	II-51	CS. 1207 (?), Maseng	<u>1845(?)</u>
32-3	Cao Muang Yasothon Lakhonphanom lae But Phanranya	II-73	CS. 1289	1927
32-4	Cao Muang Yasothon Lakhonphanom, Somdet	III-71	-188	1826
32-5	Cao Yotsunthon Lakhonphanom, Somdet	III-105	-188	1826
32-6	Cao Muang Sisunthon Lakhonphanom	III-107	CS. 1208	<u>1846</u>
32-7	Cao Muang Yotsothon Lakhonphanom	IV-71	CS. 1207	1845
32-8	Cao Muang Yasothon Lakhonphanom	IV-77	CS. -208	1846
33	Cao Somdet But	I-125	-169	1807
34	Nen Thumma	I-130	-211	<u>1849</u>
35	Caohua Sasi	I-132	CS. -169	1807
36	Mahacan	I-134	-980	<u>1618</u>
37	Caonyangkhamomluang Muang Yasothon	I-140	CS. 1248	1886
38-1	Atcanya Khuluang Lakkham	I-146	CS. 1235	1873
38-2	Nyakhru Lakkham	II-71	CS. 1247	<u>1885</u>
39	Phrakhanan Hottao Sahamata	II-3	CS. 1137	1775
40	Sainyawongsa Sena	II-4	1214, Chuat	<u>1852</u>
41	Moennong Sanglo	II-11	CS. 960	<u>1598</u>
42	Phanya Song Muang kap thang Parinya But Cao Satip Koi pen Prasan Phainai	II-14	-164	<u>1802</u>
43	Mahaphutthakhosacan Wonsasi	II-16	995	<u>1633</u>
44	Phramahaphumminthara Thammikarasa	II-17	CS. 1151	<u>1789</u>
45	Saemsom kap thang Pharinya But	II-19	CS. -180	<u>1818</u>
46	Cao Pathum lae Luk Tao Miya	II-20	CS. -215, Salu	<u>1853</u>
47-1	Luang Thera	II-36	PS. 2389	1846
47-2	Luang Thera	II-37	PS. 2389	1846

48	Somdet Cantha	II-45	2413	1870
49	Mae Hok	II-48	CS. 1250, Chuat	<u>1888</u>
50	Nang Mo Bannaphakhang	II-53	CS. -144	<u>1782</u>
51	Cao Somdet Sinabut	II-70	-127	<u>1765</u>
52	Cao Mi	II-79	CS. 985	<u>1623</u>
53	Sangkarasa Suthamwongsa kap thang Mada lae Phi Nong	II-81	CS. -170	<u>1808</u>
54	Mahakhanan Caopaklang	II-87	CS. 981	<u>1619</u>
55-1	Mahasomdet Awakkharawon Ratsakhru Phithilanco Wat Sibunhuang Comphet	II-89	CS. -113	<u>1751</u>
55-2	Akkharawon Ratsakhru, Mahasomdet	III-158	CS. -113	<u>1751</u>
56	Phramahatham Cao	II-91	CS. 992	<u>1630</u>
57	Caokhanan In	II-94	PS. 2396, Salu	<u>1853</u>
58	Cao Han yu Ban Koen Sang Cedi Kwanbun Nang Bo	II-95	CS. 931	<u>1569</u>
59	Uai Maharatsacao Phraratsa Manda Nang Saenyat Somdet Ratsamuli pen Ongkham Phainai	II-96	CS. 973	1611
60	Somdet Phraboromthammikarat Sang nai okat prapadaphisek ni Krung Rat(na)-kosin	II-97	PS. 2324	1781
61	Phranya Sieng Nuea	II-101	CS. -176	<u>1814</u>
62	Ratsakhru Kham Cao Khankham	II-103	CS. -183	<u>1821</u>
63	Sasuphrompannya	II-116	CS. -178	<u>1816</u>
64	Somdet Phrapencao Song Muang Yotsothon	II-121	1209, Mamae	<u>1847</u>
65	Khanan Mo Suwanno	II-126	CS. -129, Salu	<u>1817</u>
66	Pho Ok Suwanno Luk Tao Cao Sano Nang Kaeo Noi	II-127	CS. -167	1805
67-1	Nang Khaolun	III-10	-184	<u>1822</u>
67-2	Nang Khaolun	III-12	-185	<u>1823</u>
68	Caonai Yot	III-18	CS. -126	<u>1764</u>
69	Moen Anya	III-28	968	<u>1606</u>
70	Phrasattharat Somdet Borombophit Mahakasat Katinya Thammikarasathirat	III-29	CS. -147	<u>1785</u>
71	Maecao Sasuk	III-31	CS. 1185	<u>1823</u>
72-1	Uai Phanyacao	III-35	CS. 981	<u>1619</u>
72-2	Uai Phanyacao	III-36	CS. 981	<u>1619</u>
73	Phraratsakhru Haisok	III-38	-187	<u>1825</u>
74	Caokhanan Phrom	III-39	CS. 1176	<u>1814</u>
75	Acan Kluai	III-40	-184	<u>1822</u>
76	Canthorasat Phuamia lae Luk Tao	III-67	CS. -155	<u>1793</u>
77	Luang Cao Muang Yasothon	III-70	1210, Wok	<u>1848</u>
78-1	Huacao Prasit	III-77	CS. 1186	<u>1824</u>
78-2	Huacao Prasit	III-78	CS. 1186	<u>1824</u>
79-1	Cao Phrasunthoratsawongsa Maha Kathinya Thammikarasathirat	III-79	CS. -110	1748
79-2	Cao Phrasunthonratsawongsa Maha Katinya	III-80	CS. -110	1748

	Thammikarasathirat			
80	Khanan Sisumangkhalala Pannya	III-82	CS. -141	1779
81	Cao Somdet Ratanapannya Sahapita Mata Phakhini	III-83	CS. 1177	<u>1815</u>
82	Mae Ok Nang Tu	III-89	CS. 1233	<u>1871</u>
83	Sao Kluai kap Thao Hot Phua-mia	III-91	CS. -126	1764
84	Cao Phrom Phikkhu	III-92	CS. 955	1593
85	Mom Budda	III-95	CS. -173	<u>1811</u>
86	Cua Khao Tabun	III-98	CS. 966	1604
87	Nong Somdet Borombophit Rasathiratcao Ton sue wa Ommarat	III-117	-127	<u>1765</u>
88	Caonai Waen kap thang Thit Natta	III-119	-165	<u>1803</u>
89-1	Cao Khanan Suwannason	III-121	CS. -136	1774
89-2	Cao Khanan Suwannason	III-122	CS. -137	1775
89-3	Cao Khanan Suwannason	III-123	CS. -137	1775
90	Cao Khanan Sangkhasanya Khot-tuangsa	III-125	CS. -164	<u>1802</u>
91	Phonsiri Bunsanyato	III-126	970	<u>1608</u>
92	Ta Nam Phuamia Luk Tao Lan Laen	III-132	CS. -188	<u>1826</u>
93-1	Patsa, Mom	III-133	CS. -171	<u>1809</u>
93-2	Patsa, Caohua	III-161	2361	1818
94	Ta Phuk kap Parinya But Natda	III-136	CS.-184	<u>1822</u>
95	Huacao Sanon	III-146	-173	1811
96	Moen Suea kap thang Pharinya But Natda	III-148	988	<u>1626</u>
97	Huacao Soi	III-154	CS. -187	<u>1825</u>
98	Cao Somdet Thammalokda kap Ok-phanthum Luk Mia	III-155	CS. -177	1815
99	Cua Khao Tangson	III-159	CS. 975	<u>1613</u>
100	Mae Cao Phumapara Muang Yotsunthon	IV-2	CS. 1209, Mamae	<u>1847</u>
101	Sainyawongsa Sena kap Parinya	IV-6	CS. -213	<u>1851</u>
102	Phranya Luang Can	IV-8	CS. -153	1791
103	Pho Ok Phrasi	IV-9	CS. 1242	1880
104	Nang Phinyamun kap Phua Luk	IV-10	CS.-123	<u>1761</u>
105	Cao Khanan Thipwongsa	IV-14	2340	<u>1797</u>
106	Cao Somdet Phrom	IV-33	CS. -185	<u>1823</u>
107	Cao Sumon kap Saencan lae Saensilawat	IV-36	CS. -123	1761
108	Somdet Phrasainyasetthathipati Surinya-wong Phuminthonthirat	IV-37	1163	1802
109	Maha Ratsakhru Mathurama	IV-41	-173	<u>1811</u>
110	Cao Khanan Kluai	IV-61	-159	<u>1797</u>
111	Cao Hua Phaengmat	IV-62	-168	<u>1806</u>
112	Cao Khanan Kannya	IV-68	-162	<u>1800</u>
113	Cao Khampu kap But	IV-69	1189	<u>1827</u>
114	Ok Khao Phok	IV-81	979	<u>1617</u>
115	Phraratsa-manda Caofa	IV-83	(PS.?)2365	1822
116	Khun Somdet Phan	IV-84	CS. 1250	<u>1888</u>
117	Pho Man Phua-mia	IV-87	1182	<u>1820</u>

118	Cao Hua Candi	IV-90	CS. 1211	1849
119	Moen Nyinya kap Cao Somdet Pannya	IV-92	-169	1807
120	Cao Hua Phumi	IV-95	CS. 1233, Mamae	<u>1871</u>
121	Pho Ok Hua Cao Sukha Mae Ok Sat	IV-97	-182	<u>1820</u>
122	Cua Ubon	IV-98	CS. -163	<u>1801</u>
123	Nai Pha	IV-101	CS. -173	1811
124	Cao Sangkharasa Khotamapannya	IV-106	1171	<u>1809</u>
125	Cao Nyangkhamom Muang Yasothon	IV-107	CS. 1209	1847
126	Cua Kham	IV-113	CS. -163	1801

### Appendix B: List of MSS in Stage 1 of *Ho Trai* of Wat Mahathat, Yasothon

1. nissaya-abhidhānaśabda
2. nissaya-niyāssa
3. śabda-vinayakicca
4. śabda-nāma
5. samantapāsādikā
6. visuddhimagga
7. urāṅgadhātu
8. nissaya-dhammapada
9. nissaya- samantapāsādikā
10. śabda-nāma
11. nāma-śabda
12. nissaya-dhammapada
13. abhidhammatthasaṅgaha
14. pāli-saddā
15. śabda-pāli-mūlakaccāyana
16. abhidhamma chet khamphi
17. paṭhamasambodhi
18. yamakapakaraṇa
19. śabda-sammohavinodanī
20. nissaya-dhammapada
21. thamnankhunborom
22. samantapāsādikā
23. pāli-parājikakaṇḍa
24. saṅgahavatthu

25. phrawetsandonchadok (phra-vessantarajātaka)
26. porāṇaṭīkā-abhidhammatthasaṅgaha
27. subrammokkhājātaka
28. pāli-vīsatinipāta
29. cūḷaniddesa
30. pāli-pācittīya
31. kae-govindasutta
32. sambhojaṅgasutta
33. ākāravattasutta
34. candasukārisutta
35. chalongpidok
36. panyabarami (pallāpāramī)
37. sakkapaṇṇa (sakkapaḷhā?)
38. mūlanibbāna
39. sikkhāpada
40. saddasaṅgaha
41. sirimahāmāyā
42. paṭhamasambodhi
43. paetmuensiphanphrathamkhan
44. sammohavinodanī
45. śabda-nāma
46. dhammapada
47. uṇhisavijayā
48. uraṅgadhātu
49. nissaya-ṭīkādharmacakka
50. ākāravattasutta
51. kusarāja
52. pācittīya
53. ṭīkā-kaṅkhāvitaranī
54. paetmuensiphanphrathamkhan
55. nibbānasutta
56. pāli-parāṅgikakaṇḍa
57. śabda-nāma
58. uraṅgadhātu
59. pāli-samantapāsādikā

60. sikkhāpadavinayavinicchaya
61. yojanā-vatthupakaraṇa
62. aṭṭhakathā-kathāvatthupakaraṇa
63. anuṭīkā-dhātu
64. ṭīkā-kathāvatthu
65. aṭṭhakathā-kathāvatthupakaraṇa
66. suvaṇṇasaṅkha (?)
67. sanghomthat
68. śabda-samantapāsādikā
69. janasanda (janasandha?)
70. sujavaṇṇacakkakumāra
71. śabda-samantapāsādikā
72. uraṅgadhātu
73. samantapāsādikā
74. sanghomthat
75. śabda-nāma
76. maṅgaladīpanī
77. dhammasaṅgaṇī
78. samāsanissayakāraka
79. nissaya-taddhita
80. śabda-mūlakaccāyana
81. vessantaradīpanī
82. samantapāsādikā
83. nissaya-thatsakung
84. phrachaohasipchat
85. pāli-pallāsajātaka
86. phra-dhammapada
87. śabda-mūlakaccāyana
88. ekanipāta
89. samantapāsādikā
90. māleyyavatthuṭīkādiṭṭhāpanī
91. dībbamanta
92. sūttamonklang
93. śabda-abbhantara
94. nissaya-abhidhammatthasaṅgaha

95. vohāradesanā-aṭṭhanipāta
96. śabda-uṇṇā (śabda-uṇādi ?)
97. gaṇṭhīpāṭimokkha
98. ṭikā-saṅkhepavaṇṇanā
99. vajiraṭṭikā-mahāvagga
100. sanghomthat
101. dhammapada
102. sakkati
103. śabda-mūlakaccāyana
104. visuddhimagga
105. nissaya-mūlapaṇṇāsaka majjhimanikāya
106. abhidhamma chet khamphi
107. dhammapada
108. ṭikā-vibhaṅgapakaraṇa
109. śabda-nidāna
110. uppadesapaṭṭhāna
111. sammohavinodanī
112. sammohavinodanī
113. vajirabodhi
114. pāli-samantapāsādikā
115. vaṃsamālinī
116. śabda-atthasālinī
117. atthasālinī
118. pāli-samantapāsādikā
119. gaṇṭhīpāṭimokkha
120. atthakathā-yamakapakaraṇa
121. atthakathā-mahāpaṭṭhāṇa
122. pāli-vuttodaya
123. kaṅkhāvitaranī
124. nāma-śabda
125. śabda-kāraka
126. vajiraṭṭikā-samantapāsādikā
127. trailokavinicchaya
128. balasaṅkhyā
129. vinayasāratthasaṅgha

130. paetmuensiphanphrathammakhan
131. candagāta
132. subrammokkhā
133. ekanipāta
134. atthakathā-mahāvagga-dīghanikāya
135. pāli-samantapāsādikā
136. atthakathā-mahāvagga
137. atthakathā-mahāvagga
138. paṭhamasambodhi
139. pāli-samuhadhamma
140. vinayakicca
141. tiṃsanipāta
142. paetmuensiphanphrathammakhan
143. atthakathā-puggalapallatti
144. bojaṅgasutta
145. śabda-samāsa
146. pāli-parājjikakaṇḍa
147. dhammapada
148. paetmuensiphanphrathammakhan
149. śabda-atthakatha-visālinī
150. nissaya-taddhita