City University London

Mapping Classical Shan Literature

Jotika Khur-Yearn

January 2015

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MSc or MA in Library Science

Supervisor: Professor David Bawden
Abstract

The initiative plan for this research project came from the idea of working along the lines of my interest areas, especially the classical Shan manuscript literature that I have been working on for the last ten years.

The purpose of this research project is to do a survey on Shan manuscript literature, by examining collections of Shan manuscript data through available resources including two books on the biographies of the most well known Shan authors and the lists of Shan manuscripts as well as through the unpublished research data collected in the last decade through a number of research projects.

Also a major method used for an analysis of Shan manuscripts for this research is the making of a list of selected Shan manuscripts, arranged by the dates of composing, in order to see the timelines or big picture of Shan manuscript literature and the lineage of Shan authors. The list is added as an appendix to this dissertation. I also created another list of Shan manuscripts arranged by titles, similar to index, in order to see the variety of subject areas of Shan manuscript literature.

The significant findings of this research include some earliest dated Shan manuscript texts, “less known” Shan authors who were excluded in Lung Khun Maha’s book on “most well known” six Shan scholars, and notable titles of some classical Shan manuscript texts, to show a picture or map of existing collections of Shan manuscripts with a variety of subject areas, especially in the fields of studies in humanities and social sciences.


Acknowledgement

The completion of this research project has not been possible without cooperation of work from individual and group involvement. First and foremost, I am grateful to my supervisor, Professor David Bawden, at the Department of Library & Information Science of the City University London for his guides and advice especially during the time I worked on planning and preparation for this research and during the early period of writing up this dissertation.

I would also like to thank my current employer, SOAS University of London, for its granting financial support towards the tuition fees for my two years part time study in Library Science at the City University London. I am also grateful to senior management team of SOAS Library, especially my two line-managers, Babara Spina and Beth Clark, for their encouragement, support and making necessary arrangements between my works and studies during the period of two years between 2012 and 2014.

I would also like to express my special thanks to all members and participants involving in the SOAS-based Shan Buddhism at the Borderlands Project and the Oxford Bodleian Library-based Revealing Hidden Collections Project, especially Professor Kate Crosby (King’s College London) who has played a key role for both of the projects, Dr Andrew Skilton & Dr Gillian Evison (both Oxford Bodleian Libraries) whom I have cooperated works for the Revealing Hidden Collections Project.

My special thanks also go to Venerable Dr Khammai Dhammasami (Trustee of the Oxford Centre of Buddhist and Head of the Oxford Buddha Vihara) for his spiritual and financial supports, especially for funding me to read my two papers related to this research: one at ASEASUK Conference in Brighton, September 2014 and the other at the Second Conference on Lik Loung Shan Manuscript Literature at Laikha, Shan State, Myanmar, December 2014.

Last but not least, I cannot say enough thanks to my wife, On, for all her love and care, and looking after our two young daughters, Amara and Kinnari, during my time of writing up this dissertation.
# Table of Contents

## Introduction

I. The Background: Shan People, Language, Culture, Literature .......................... 5
II. Previous Research Works on Classical Shan Literature ........................................ 5
III. Aims of this Research Project .................................................................................. 7
IV. Research Methods and Plans .................................................................................. 8
V. Overview of the Chapters ......................................................................................... 8

## Chapter One

The World of Shan Manuscripts: Creation, Practices and Preservation

1.1. Introduction ........................................................................................................... 10
1.2. The Backgrounds of Shan Manuscripts: Text and Context ................................. 11
1.3. The Shan Tradition of Making Papers and Manuscripts ..................................... 13
1.4. The Shan Traditions of Practices Behind the Making and Use of Manuscripts .... 15
1.5. Preservation and Conservation of Shan Manuscripts ......................................... 16
1.6. Chapter Summary ................................................................................................. 18

## Chapter Two

Exploring the World of Shan Manuscript Literature: Shan Authors and Their Works

2.1. Introduction ........................................................................................................... 20
2.2. Well-Known Shan Authors and their Works ....................................................... 21
2.3. Less-Known Shan Authors and their works ......................................................... 24
2.4. Chapter Summary ................................................................................................. 26

## Chapter Three

Genres and Styles of Writing in Shan Manuscript Literature

3.1. Introduction ........................................................................................................... 27
3.2. The Standard of Writing Colophons in Shan Manuscript Literature ................. 27
3.3. Styles of Writing in Shan Manuscript Literature ................................................ 28
3.4. Variety of Subjects in Shan Manuscript Literature .............................................. 29
3.5. Chapter Summary ................................................................................................. 34

## Findings and Conclusions

........................................................................................................................................ 35

## Bibliography

........................................................................................................................................

## Appendices

........................................................................................................................................
Introduction

I. The Background: The Shan People, their Language and Literature

The term ‘Shan’ here refers to the Shan people who call themselves ‘Tai’ and speak the Shan or Tai language. Shan language is a branch of Tai-Kadai language-family to which the Thai and Lao languages also belong.

Today Shan or Tai speaking people can be found in the Shan, Kachin, Kayah States, Sagaing, Yangon and Mandalay Divisions of the Union of Myanmar; in Sipsongpanna (Xishuangbanna) Dai Autonomous Prefecture and Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture to the Dai Zhuang, Yunnan Province, China; northern and central Thailand; Arunachal Pradesh in India; in Europe, America and Australia.

The Shan ethnic group is one of the Asian ethnic groups with a long history of civilization as seen in their rich cultural traditions, arts and literary works. One piece of evidence for this is the large collections of old Shan manuscripts, which can be found everywhere in Shan communities and in special collections at research libraries around the world.

A significant feature of classical Shan literature is that many of its texts are still preserved in the traditional form of manuscript written on locally made papers, and the tradition has still continued to this day although it is in significant declining. Some of the large collections of old Shan manuscripts are found at research libraries in Western countries such as UK, US and Germany. In UK, many of these Shan manuscripts were brought by British colonial officials during the late 19th and early 20th centuries and later they were donated to the national research libraries, such as the British Library, the Cambridge University Library, Oxford’s Bodleian Libraries, and the library of SOAS, University of London.

II. Previous Research Works on Classical Shan Manuscript Literature

Since the late 20th century, there were a few research projects and academic events on classical Shan manuscript literature. These include the research projects that have resulted in published books, recent projects on collecting Shan manuscript data as well as cataloguing the
manuscripts, and my previous research with special focus on a single work of Shan classical poetic literature.

A book with research and survey of works on classical Shan literature is entitled *Puen Khu Maw Lik Tai 6 Zao* ['The Biographies of 6 Shan Scholars'] written by Lung Khun Maha, which was first published in 1970 after conducting a large scale of fieldworks across the Shan State and other parts of the country working with local people who could provide information data of those authors and lists of their works. In his second edition of the book, published in 1986, Khun Maha added three more biographies of Shan authors, under the revised title *Puen Khu Maw Lik Tai 9 Zao* ['The Biographies of 9 Shan Scholars']. Prior to Khun Maha’s work, to my knowledge, there is no such kind of a work on the biographies of Shan authors written before 1970 although the history of Shan classical literature and Shan authors dates back to the 16th century CE. It is also obvious that Khun Maha’s work on the biographies of the six or the nine Shan authors is far from complete, because obviously there are more than nine Shan authors. Perhaps we may assume that Khun Maha has compiled the biographies of the most well-known Shan authors. However, from my experience in working with Shan manuscript collections, especially the temple collections in northern Thailand, I found that there were many Shan manuscripts written by authors, who are not mentioned in Khun Maha’s book. In this dissertation, I shall use the term “less-known Shan authors” to refer to those authors who were not included in Khun Maha’s book.

Another book on the classical Shan literature is *Shan manuscripts*, part I, by Barend Jan Terwiel and Chaicheun Khamdaengyordtai (2003). Although the book’s main content is the catalogue of Shan manuscripts in the collections national and research libraries in Germany, it also covers a beautiful introduction to the world of Shan manuscript cultures, such as historical backgrounds, famous Shan authors, which are obviously based on Khun Maha’s book above, and how the Shan made their papers from the bark of *sa* or the mulberry trees. The catalogue in the second half of this book contains over three hundred records of Shan manuscripts from several collections in Germany.

In addition, there are several unpublished works containing handlists or catalogues of collections of Shan manuscript data: these include Sao Saimong Mangrai’s catalogue of Shan manuscripts at the Cambridge University Library; my own lists of Shan manuscripts in Panglong (Khur-Yearn 2004) & Wat Tiyasathan (Khur-Yearn 2005-6), Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation in Bangkok (Khur-Yearn 2006), and Wat Papao (Khur-Yearn 2010); Shan Buddhism at the Borderland project’s lists of Shan manuscripts at Wat Tiyasathan (updated),
Zare Saw’s handlists of the temple collections at Wat Pang Mu, Wat Jong Klang, Wat Pha Non, and Wat Houi Fa (2009-10). All these manuscript data are now being integrated into the Oxford Bodleian Library based catalogue of Shan manuscripts online, which is a major part of the ongoing Revealing Hidden Collections Project, funded by the Dhammakaya Foundation.¹

In the past decade, a number of academic events on Shan studies were held nationally and internationally to raise the awareness of Shan culture, language and literature. These include the First International Conference on Shan Buddhism and Culture (SOAS, University of London, December 2007) organised by myself and Kate Crosby; the Shan Studies Conference at Chulalongkorn University, Thailand, October 2009); Shan panels at three ASEASUK Conferences since 2008); and two iterations of the Lik Loung Shan Manuscript Conference, the first held in Yangon, December 2013 & the second time held in Laikha, December 2014. The main organiser of these last events was Ven. Dr. Khammai Dhammasami, who had also been involved in the first of these events, the London 2007 conference.

Another related event was the Shan exhibition that was held in the Wolfson Gallery at SOAS Library in November and December 2014. This exhibition coincided with the 2014 (2109 Shan era) Shan New Year celebrations at SOAS. This was a project of my own initiative, design to promote awareness of Shan arts and culture in order to raise public awareness of hidden (or understudied) resources of the Southeast Asian region to scholars and students. The exhibition unveiled about 50 photos of Shan manuscripts covering various aspects of Shan manuscript culture. This exhibition was funded by the SOAS Southeast Asian Art Academic Programme (SAAAP) of the University of London, the Oxford Buddha Vihara, the Shan Cultural Association UK (SCA-UK) and two private donors: Dr Sai Tin Maung & family and Sao Phong Keau & family. These are some of the most notable research projects, publications and activities that have taken place in relation to Shan manuscripts in the last decade.

III. The Aims of this Research Project

The main aim of this research project is to create a map or a big picture of the world of Shan manuscripts by examining the manuscript data from available resources including the two

¹ http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/bodleyfinding-resources/special/projects/hidden-collections [9.1.2015].
books by Khun Maha (1970) and Terwiel (2003) above. We hope to see the timelines of Shan authors and their works. We also hope to see more information about the variety of subjects as well as distinct characteristics of the classical Shan manuscript literature.

What we have done so far with the study on the dating of Shan manuscripts is checking such information usually found in the colophons sections of the manuscripts. We will have more discussion in Chapter Two. Here to give an example, the earliest dated manuscript we found so far is entitled *Abhidhammasangaha Suttasangaha Vinayasangaha* [‘A short version profound doctrine, a short version of the discourses and a short version of the teaching of the discipline’]. It was composed by Sao Dhammadinna and Sao Kunasara in 1597; the text is now kept at a library in Berlin, Germany (Terwiel 2003: 72-74). Another dated text composed by Dhammadinna is the *sutta nibbāna kyām long*, dated 1618; a copy of this text is now kept at Wat Pang Mu (Zare Saw’s handlist of Wat Pang Mu’s collection of Shan manuscripts). It is worth noting that the records of the dates of the manuscripts in Terwiel’s *Shan Manuscripts* seems to be a mixture of records, i.e. some are dates of original composition while some are the dates of copying of that specific manuscript.

**IV. Research Methods**

The research project for this dissertation is mainly to analyse the previous research works on Shan manuscript cultures and data from temple manuscript collections. Thus I have used the two published books on Shan manuscripts: Lung Khun Maha’s Puen Khu Maw Lik Tai Houk Zao [Biographies of Six Shan Scholars] (1970) and Terwiel’s Shan Manuscripts, Part I (2003) and added to that information by working with the Shan manuscript data at temple collections of Shan manuscripts in Northern Thailand and data from manuscripts at private and temple collections in Lashio, Northern Shan State of Myanmar (Burma). All of this information was collected during the fieldwork for Shan Buddhism at the Borderlands Project in 2009.

As for the transliteration of Shan terms into Roman scripts, I will use of the Library of Congress’ Shan Romanization Table as the main method of Romanization for general terms. However, for the names of Shan people and places, I will follow the established Romanization words that are already in use and will give references to original source accordingly. The Library of Congress system is a new development, partly informed by the Revealing Hidden Collections Project at the Bodleian Library, of which I am a team member.
V. Overview the Chapters

The presentation of this dissertation is divided into three main chapters plus the Introduction and the Concluding Remarks.

Chapter One presents a basic guide to the world of Shan manuscript literature, with a focus on the creation, practices and preservation of Shan manuscripts, covering the traditions of practices, such as merit-making and rituals for charm, healing and protection.

Chapter Two has explored the world of Shan manuscript literature, focusing on the biographical data of the authors of Shan classical literature and the dating of their works.

Chapter Three discusses the significant features of the classical Shan manuscript literature, with special focus on the characteristics of the texts, such as genre, style and content of the texts.

In the Findings and Concluding Remarks, I briefly discuss the significant findings of this research project and also raise the concerning issues of the physical collections of Shan manuscripts.
Chapter One

The World of Shan Manuscripts:

Creation, Practices and Preservation

1.1. Introduction

In Shan communities, the production of manuscripts or hand written texts had been the main method of publishing books or carrying written records for many centuries. This continued to be the case until as late as the 1960s, and although the tradition is declining, it still continues in many parts of the Shan communities today. Also there are beliefs and rituals that play important roles for making copies of manuscripts. As a result, Shan manuscripts can be found everywhere all over the Shan State, in Buddhist monasteries as well as in people’s houses. There are very few Shan houses where you do not find manuscripts. Not surprisingly, large numbers of Shan manuscripts can be found even outside the Shan communities such as antique shops, research libraries and art collections. However, until recently, the works and collections of Shan manuscripts have been very little known to the outside worlds, even in the field of academic studies.

This chapter attempts to provide a guide to the world of Shan manuscripts. I shall first discuss some historical backgrounds of Shan literature and some significant features of Shan literature, such as the historical background of Shan literary works. Secondly I shall explore the Shan tradition of making manuscript books, such as the traditional method of making papers and manuscripts, and related ritual performances in which the creation and use of manuscripts are often involved. Thirdly, I shall deal with the Shan traditional way for the commissioning of manuscripts. Fourthly and finally, I shall talk about preservation and conservation of Shan manuscripts, with special focus on the traditional homes of Shan manuscripts in the Shan State of Myanmar and Northern Thailand. In the conclusion, I will say that Shan manuscripts are of great treasures and resource of information for various areas of studies, and at the same time I will also raise some major concerning issues about the conditions of physical collections of Shan manuscripts.
1.2. The Backgrounds of Shan Manuscripts: Text and Context

The history of Shan manuscript literature is at least 500 years old. There are two strong pieces of evidence to confirm this. The first one is the 1407 Chinese painting scroll, which contains Tai or Shan language and scripts, now kept in the Tibet Museum of Lhasa (Daniels 2012), and the second one is the biographical data and works of the earliest known Shan poet, Sao Dhammadinna, who lived in the 16th and 17th centuries CE (Khun Maha 1970).

The 1407 Chinese painting scroll confirms not only the existence of Shan scripts but the high status, i.e. government’s official use of Shan scripts by the turn of the 15th century CE. This scroll contains five languages and scripts, i.e. Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Persianised Turkic and Tai. The scroll was first examined by H. E. Richardson in 1949 and research on it continued throughout the 1950s. However, the research was mainly focused on the Tibetan text, with a translation into English, and touched very little on the texts written in other four languages, particularly the Tai text which was not identified until very recently by Christian Daniels. It is believed to be the earliest known Shan or Tai script, and Daniels believed it is the Lik Toh Moan Tai script, not the Hto Ngok script, which, prior to this, was widely believed to be the original Tai script. However, Sai San Ai (2000), a native Shan scholar, refers to a manuscript, which is believed to be written in Hto Ngok script, now kept in a library in Beijing, China dating the script to the 824 CE.

Nevertheless, the 1407 Chinese scroll has told us that the Shan or Tai language and writing was widely used in the early 15th century CE. Also the scroll is significant in that it was made for a special occasion by the order of the First Chinese Ming Emperor to be presented to the head of the Karmapa sect of the Tibetan Lama Buddhism, who made his visit to the Ming Empire in the year 1407 CE. Therefore anything mentioned in this scroll had to be very important. Hence the Tai text in this scroll indicates the importance of Tai polity at that time. It has clearly flagged up the presence of Shan literature on the map of Asia in the early 15th century CE as well as the legitimacy of its high status as regarded by the Chinese Ming Emperor at that time. Suggesting that Shan writing system was widely used in 1407, the history of Shan writing may go back long before this event. In fact, the Ahom Shans recorded

---

2 Daniels, 2012: 155. Daniels uses the Roman term ‘Tay’ which is an alternative spelling for the term ‘Tai’ or Shan people. Also see http://the17thkarmapa.blogspot.co.uk/2014/01/buddhist-ritual-assembly-performed-by.html a blog post on the ‘Buddhist Ritual Assembly Performed by Karmapa to Glorify the First Ming Emperor Taizu’; Images number 4, 10 and 11 in this blog contain Tai/Shan scripts as shown among the other four languages [Accessed 02/12/2014].

3 Although Sai San Ai refers to a library in Beijing, he does not mention the name of the library.
as referred by Terwiel (2003: 13) that, when they migrated to the place now in Assam in the early 13th century, they had brought their writing scripts with them.

The biographical data and works of the great poet Sao Dhammadinna confirm the development of Shan literature and the established tradition of high standard Shan poetic literature. Further, Sao Dhammadinna mentioned in one of his texts that his teacher was a great poet. Thus, it is possible to trace the lineage of early Shan poets and their works, by coordinated reading of different texts of Shan literature. One of Sao Dhammadinna’s popular works is entitled Sutta Mawn Tham (the essential teachings of the discourses), which has great influence on the tradition of Buddhist merit-making in connection with the custom of producing manuscripts.

In addition to the two historical accounts above, there are other aspects of Shan literature, such as the traditions of practices in connection with the production of manuscripts, which are surely dated back to early history and pre-recorded history of Southeast Asia. These include the customs of ritual practices, such as spiritual healing, charm and tattooing customs in which the production and use of manuscripts are often involved. These centuries old traditions and ritual practices have surely influenced the business of producing manuscripts, and as a result, Shan manuscripts can be found everywhere all over the Shan State.

Nowadays, Shan manuscripts can also be found outside the Shan communities such as antique shops, archives, and art collections. For example, in Germany, there are over three hundred Shan manuscripts, which were catalogued by B. J. Terwiel and Chaichuen Khamdaengyodtai in 2003, the first ever catalogue of Shan manuscripts to be published in English. In the United Kingdom, there are a number of libraries, which have excellent collections of Shan manuscripts, and of them the Cambridge University Library has the biggest collection, with over 400 texts, of Shan manuscripts, which were brought by Sir James George Scott, the British colonial officer, who ruled over the Shan states in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These manuscripts were first catalogued by Sao Saimong Mangrai, a Shan scholar who worked on the Scott Collections at Cambridge in the early 1980s, but surprisingly this catalogue has never been published. Nevertheless, the good news is that this catalogue is now being integrated into the Oxford Catalogue of Shan Manuscripts Online, the work of which is still in progress. The second largest UK collection of Shan manuscripts is the holdings of the Bodleian Libraries of the Oxford University, with over 120 items. The third largest UK collection of Shan manuscripts is the British Library, which has over 80 items of Shan manuscripts. In addition, there are many other UK libraries and museums,
which possess rare Shan manuscripts and these include the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, the British Museum, the Horniman Museum, and the Brighton Museum. More details of all these manuscripts will be published online at the completion of the Catalogue of Shan Manuscripts Online, as the major part of Revealing Hidden Collection project, mentioned earlier in the Introduction.

Remarkably, most Shan manuscripts are written on local handmade papers as shall be discussed below.

1.3. The Shan Tradition of Making Papers and Manuscripts

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, manuscript or handwritten texts had been the main method of publishing books among the Shans for many centuries and it had been the case until as late as the 1960s. Even today most Shan classical poetic literature is still preserved in the form of manuscript.

The Shans use different types of materials for writing, including piece of cloths, bamboo plates, wood plates, palm leaves and native papers. Among the different sources of materials for writing, the native paper, which is made from the bark of sa or mulberry tree, is the most common material for making Shan manuscripts. The Shans also use their handmade pens and ink. They use the fern plant to make pens and soot to make ink. More details of such traditional products of handmade papers, pens and inks are discussed in Koretsky (1991), Terwiel (2003) and Khur-Yearn (2009). The Koretsky (Elaine and Donna) have done some extensive fieldworks on hand papermaking in Burma in the 1980s at various places. They also recorded different methods and purposes of papermaking among the Burmans and the Shans. Remarkably Koretsky recorded that the mulberry papers in the markets of big cities in Burma were simply known as “Shan Paper” (Koretsky, 1991:82), indicating the popularity of the Shan tradition of making papers. Terwiel (2003: 17-26) and his assistant Chaichuen Khamdaengyoadtai have described both papermaking process as well as the manuscript book making.

Although the Shans have a long tradition of hand papermaking, it is not known or unclear when they started the business. It is possible that the Shan handmade papers may have traced backed to the invention of papermaking in China more than two thousand years ago.\(^4\)

\(^4\) Carter (1925: 3) stated that the invention of paper in China took place around the year A.D. 105 by Ts’ai Lun (also spelled “Cai Lun”, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cai_Lun, accessed 03/12/2014).
but there has been very little study on the tradition of papermaking in the Shan regions, let alone a comparative study with papermaking in China or other regions. One reason for this is that, most parts of the Shan State, where most Shan papermakers are located, are not accessible by researchers due to the political conflict and civil war that have been going on for many decades. Nevertheless, with some survived Shan manuscripts of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century CE, we can ascertain that the custom of papermaking among the Shans is at least 300 years old. The history of papermaking among the Shans may date back to many centuries earlier. With the evidence of Shan scripts in the Chinese scroll and the biographical data of the earliest known Shan author, Sao Dhammadinna and his works above, we can assume that the tradition of making papers and manuscript books among the Shans is perhaps as old as the age of Shan script and writing culture, which is over 600 years.

It is notable that the Shans created manuscripts in their own unique styles, features and formats (Terwiel, 2003: 17-26). Typically, there are two major formats of Shan manuscript: 1) rolled manuscript, known as \textit{pap ken}, and 2) folded manuscript, \textit{pap tūp}. Of the two formats of Shan manuscripts, the rolled manuscript seems to be more authentic and older form of Shan manuscripts, because many old Shan manuscripts are found in the rolled format. However, it is perhaps the folded form of manuscript that makes the Shan manuscripts with more characteristic, unique and recognisable as Shan works without knowing the scripts of the texts in the manuscripts. Apparently one distinctive feature of folded Shan manuscripts is that they often have gold-gilded covers, decorated with floral art works and precious gems, which can be recognisable as Shan style.

However, one of the challenging issues in concerning with the Shan manuscript literature is about the dating of the manuscripts. The problem is that, while some Shan authors clearly stated the dates of their works, many of them, especially the older ones, are undated. Also in many cases, many old manuscripts are incomplete and the pages that contain dating information, usually the colophons or the last page of the text have been damaged or lost. Hence, for such manuscript fragments, other alternative methods of finding the dates, such as serious scientific and/or comparative studies of the texts, the scripts of the texts and the source of materials for making the manuscripts, are essential for estimating the date or age of these manuscripts.
1.4. The Shan Traditions of Practices Behind the Making and Use of Manuscripts

In Shan communities, there are traditions and rituals of practices in which the production and use of manuscripts are often involved. Most of these traditions had been widely practised in the communities and therefore have great influence on the custom of producing and reproducing manuscripts.

There are a few research works (Cochrane, 1915; Crosby & Khur-Yearn, 2010; Khur-Yearn, 2012: 30-35), which have extensively explored and discussed about the Shan custom of Buddhist merit-making at memorial service which has great influence on the commissioning of manuscripts. Here, before looking at non-religious or semi-religious rituals that have involved with the production of manuscripts, I would like to first give a brief account of the Buddhist tradition that has been extensively discussed somewhere else.

Basically, when a family member has died, the remaining members of the family request a scribe/copyist to produce a new text or new copy of their favourite text for such an occasion and donate it to the temple at the memorial service. And, it is also a tradition that even though the text is already donated to the temple, the donor is allowed to take it back and keep it as a sacred treasure in their home. As a result, Shan Buddhist manuscripts can be found everywhere in Shan communities and special collections at research libraries around the world. While many Shan manuscripts are now ended up in archives and special collections, the traditions practices, both the commissioning of manuscripts and related Buddhist rituals, are still continuing among the Shan communities today, as discussed by a Pali and Buddhist scholar Kate Crosby in her new book, *Theravada Buddhism: Continuity, diversity and identity.*

In addition to the main stream of Buddhist merit making at memorial service, there are other Shan rituals, which have great influence on the tradition of manuscript culture. These include special occasion such as house blessing, ordination ceremonies and other ritual practices such as healing, charm and tattooing customs in which manuscripts are created and used for the events or produced as manuals for professional working on ritual practices.

Of them, the rituals of healing and protection have been very popular and widely practiced in Shan communities. Due to the high demand by communities, there were innumerable professionals working on the fields. These professionals are usually known as

---

“Sra” which can be translated as ‘teacher’ or ‘master’. Each of these professionals had their own manuals or notebooks, which contain methods and formulas for the process of making ritual practices. These manuals were usually written on native handmade papers. Some young professionals maybe inherited with such notebooks from their predecessor or older members of their families, but for others, who do have such luxury, have to make their own new notebooks by copying such manuals from their teachers’ books. Some captivating features and stories of protective and charm-related rituals related to the use of manuscripts are discussed in Susan Conway’s *Tai Magic: Arts of the Supernatural in the Shan States and Lan Na* (2014). Throughout this book, she writes about the use of manuscripts both written on paper and cloth for the rituals of protection and charm. She also discusses about the threat to the Shan traditions of practices including the loss of manuscripts and other cultural heritages.

I shall now look at the traditional Shan methods of keeping manuscripts, followed by discussion on projects and proposals for the preservation and conservation of the manuscripts.

1.5. Preservation and Conservation of Shan Manuscripts

Broadly speaking, most of the oldest Shan manuscripts are now housed at research libraries in the West, especially in the United Kingdom, the United States and Germany. For example, we are certain that the Shan manuscripts in the Scott Collections at the Cambridge University Library are over a hundred years old because the age of the collection itself is dated back to the time of Sir James George Scott, the British Colonial Officer, who collected those manuscripts in the late 19th century. Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the possibility of finding the oldest Shan manuscripts in the Shan regions where Shan manuscripts have been naturally grown for many centuries. But, as the tradition of making manuscripts is dying out, the remaining manuscripts in the communities are facing the danger of disappearing. In contrast, the Shan manuscripts in the archives and special collections are much safer. Therefore, the real concerning issue is about the preservation and conservation of Shan manuscripts in the Shan communities.

Traditionally, the production and maintenance of Shan manuscripts have been handed down through generations of social customs and beliefs in ritual practices. For example, Buddhist manuscripts were produced for special occasions, such as memorial service, and donated them to local monasteries where they were usually kept, although some were returned...
to the donors and kept next to the Buddha’s shrines in their houses as family treasures. There was no specific building such as library, archive or museum built for special collections or conservation of manuscripts. For non-religious or simi-religious text such as manuals for charm, healing and protection, they were produced by individual professionals and kept with them as private properties.

However, nowadays, due to several circumstances, the Shan traditional way of making and keeping manuscripts is facing great danger. While the rituals of practices in connection with Shan manuscripts are still continued, the tradition of making and keeping of manuscripts are fast declining. Another problem is that the holdings of Shan manuscripts at traditional temple and private collections are deteriorating at an alarming rate. Gradually the damages of pests, environmental conditions and time, or in the convulsions of fire, flood, or wars of ethnic cleansing, thousands precious manuscripts have been lost.

While there are some projects on preservation and conservation of Shan manuscripts going on at universities, research libraries, archives and museums around the world as mentioned above, the situation of Shan manuscripts in their homeland is in a grave danger. State or national institutions in Myanmar and the Shan State, such as research libraries or museums may have a few Shan manuscripts for showcases, but in the real world, so far there is no sign of interest in the work or support for the preservation or conservation of Shan manuscripts at the state level. There is no programme in action to rescue or protect the endangered Shan manuscripts. There are a few small groups and individuals, who made attempts to do the big job for preservation and conservation of Shan manuscripts but they do not have adequate support to do the works that are urgently needed to be done. They do not have fundamental requirements such as trained personnel and facilities for the preservation and conservation of the manuscripts.

However, perhaps there is hope that, with the recent changes of political situation in the Shan State, there is a good opportunity for politicians, government officers and community leaders to raise this issue seriously, taking it as an important part of rebuilding and transforming the communities. For example, there should be projects allocated at higher education institutions with the support from the state or local authorities and funding bodies.

Here, I would like to reflect on the fieldworks for cataloguing Shan manuscripts Wat Jong Klang, a Shan temple in Maehongson, northwest Thailand, where we had performed some basic needs for the conservation the manuscripts. There are over 150 manuscripts at this temple and group fieldworks were carried out twice, first in 2009 and second in 2014. The
manuscript data collected during the fieldwork is now being integrated with the Catalogue of Shan Manuscripts Online, which is a major part of the Oxford-based Revealing Hidden Collections project, funded by the Dhammakaya Foundation.7

Generally speaking, this temple collection of manuscripts is perhaps regarded by local Shan communities as one of the best collections of manuscripts that are being well looked after and preserved. The manuscripts are kept in the locked cabinets, which are located in the temple museum. However, when comparing them with those in the archives and research libraries, these century old manuscripts deserve better support and care. Venerable Vicitta, the abbot of this temple, is very keen and enthusiastic on the conservation of these manuscripts. But I feel that he needs better support – finance, advice and cooperative works – for the maintenance of these manuscripts.

During our fieldworks, apart from cataloguing the manuscripts, we had done some basic work in our capacity on the maintenance of the manuscripts. Work tasks include: repairing, dusting, finding the right pairs of loose or damaged manuscripts, many of which had been separated apart; protecting the damaged/loose manuscripts with hard card-stock papers (board cards) and bound with cotton threads/ropes. The condition of many manuscripts in this collection now look much better, although the long term plan for maintenance of the collection is a big concern, considering that these manuscripts are invaluable, they are often targeted by antique traders.

Overall, the condition of manuscript collections in Shan communities is a great concern. The main concerning issues include suitable buildings and spaces for storing manuscripts and trained personals to carry out works for the preservation and conservation of the manuscripts.

1.6. Chapter Summary

The long tradition of papermaking and related rituals of practices have resulted in large collections of Shan manuscripts, which can be found both inside and outside of the Shan communities. The tradition of making manuscripts among the Shans was at its peak during the 19th and 20th centuries.

---

7 Members of the project are: Professor Kate Crosby (King’s College London), Dr Andrew Skilton (Oxford Bodleian Library), Dr Gillian Evison (Oxford Bodleian Library) and myself. During this fieldwork, we also worked with local Shan traditional scholars whose professions are directly related to the production and use of Shan manuscripts. They are Zare Saw, Zare Dhamma, and Zare Mule.
This chapter has touched on three major issues of Shan manuscripts: 1) the tradition of Shan papermaking and production of manuscripts, 2) the Shan rituals of practices that have influenced on the making and use of Shan manuscripts, and 3) the physical conditions of Shan manuscripts in their homelands of Shan State and other parts of Myanmar and Northern Thailand.

I hope that this chapter has provided a basic guide to the world of Shan manuscript culture. I attempted to say that the Shans have a long history of making papers and their unique style of manuscripts are of great value, containing resources of information for various areas of studies, but these claims maybe still to be tested, because most Shan manuscript collections are still very much understudied. So, only time will tell, when more research works have been done, how the Shan manuscripts are of good value for the academic communities. As for the physical conditions of the Shan manuscripts, I would like to say that, while some of these Shan manuscripts have been well preserved in archives and special collections, many of those in the traditional community collections are facing all sorts of danger – civil war, natural disaster, antique trade, theft, etc. While individual manuscripts from private Shan owners are more vulnerable to theft and antique trade, those in the temple collections need all sorts of help – finance, advice and cooperative works – for the preservation and conservation of these manuscripts.
Chapter Two

Exploring the World of Shan Manuscripts:
Shan Authors and Their Works

2.1. Introduction

In Chapter One, I discussed that the production and collection of Shan manuscripts grew out of the traditions of practices, such as merit-making and rituals for charm, healing and protection, that have resulted a great number of Shan manuscripts, which can be found all over the places in Shan communities as well as research in libraries around the world. These manuscripts were written at different times by a number of authors. However, one problem is that many of these manuscripts are undated and therefore it is a real challenging to have a clear frames or timelines of the authors and their works on the map of Shan manuscript literature.

In this chapter, I will explore the world of Shan manuscript literature, focusing on the biographical data of the authors of Shan classical literature and the dating of their works. First I shall investigate the biographical works on the most well-known Shan authors, with emphasis on the lists of their works so far found by Khun Maha (1970). I will also compare and contrast them with those found at temple collections in northern Thailand as well as those in the research libraries in the UK and Germany. Secondly, I shall examine the works of less-known Shan authors by looking at the research data of Shan manuscripts, mainly collected in northern Thailand for the project of Shan Buddhism at the Borderlands in 2009. I shall focus on the dated manuscripts only for my analysis and examination on the timeline or lineage of Shan authors and their works. For this purpose, I have created a list of dated Shan manuscripts, arranged by dates, across the collections and the list is added as an appendix to this dissertation.

The core aim of this chapter is to pinpoint some significant information of Shan manuscripts as landmarks for a map of the classical Shan manuscript literature, with particular attention to looking at the manuscripts that contain the dates of composing, in order to see the clearer timelines or features of Shan manuscript literature of the past few centuries.
2.2. Most Well-Known Shan Authors and their Works

First, let us explore the world of six most well-known Shan authors and their works. In his *Puen Khu Maw Lik Tai 6 Zao* [The Biographies of 6 Shan Scholars] (1970, reprint 1996), Lung Khun Maha has written, after having done some extensive fieldworks, some great detail of the six scholars. An English version of the biographies of these six Shan authors can be found in Terwiel’s *Shan Manuscripts, part I* (2003: 14-17). While some of the texts listed in Khun Maha’s book contain the date of composing, most of them bear just titles without any additional information. For this dissertation, in addition to the titles of the texts, we intend to add dating information and the location of the existing copies of the texts, by exploring the manuscripts data collected during the research projects I have worked with since 2003 and checking against those in Lung Khun Maha’s book as well as Terwiel’s book.

The earliest known Shan author is Sao Dhammadinna who was born in 1541 in Mong Ting (now in Che Hak District, Yuannan Province of China) and died in 1640 (Khun Maha, 1996: 32-33; Terwiel, 2003: 14-15). Khun Maha has listed seven Shan manuscript texts of Sao Dhammadinna. One of the seven texts is the *Sutta Nibbana Maun Tham* [the essence of the discourses for Nibbana], which is the masterpiece of the author, and as I have previously discussed, it is also the most influential work for the Shan Buddhist ritual of donating books for the departed relatives at their memorial services. Not surprisingly copies of this text can be found in every Shan temple. It is one of a few Shan Buddhist manuscript texts that have been published by printing press, so copies of this text can be found in both manuscript and print versions. As for the duplicated copies of the manuscript texts, each of them will surely have their own unique characters, such as the handwriting styles and the colophons of the copy. As there are numerous duplicated copies of this text, it is potential for a big research project on comparative studies.

It is also worth noting that the list of Sao Dhammadinna’s work by Khun Maha seems to be far from complete. For we came across a text, which was co-authored by Sao Dhammadinna, which is not mentioned in Khun Maha’s list of Dhammadinna’s works. This text is entitled *Abhidhammasangaha Suttasangaha Vinayasangaha* [A short version of profound doctrines, a short version of the discourses and a short version of the teaching of the discipline], which is now kept at the Berlin Library in Germany (Terwiel, 2003: 72-74). The most interesting feature of this text is that it contains a colophon and that Dhammadinna was not the only author of the text, as he was co-authored by Venerable Kunasara. The colophon also contains the date of the completion of this text but in the traditional Shan dating system,
which needs to be calculated in order to match with the modern dating system. It was also mentioned that Dhammadinna was 56 years old when the writing of the text was completed. When calculating with the year of Dhammadinna’s birth, we know that this text was written in 1597 CE. Perhaps, this indicates that there are many other Shan classical authors and their works, which are yet to be found. I shall discuss more on this in the next section on the “Lesser Known Shan Authors”.

The second Shan classical author listed in Lung Khun Maha’s book is Sao Kang Sur, who was born in 1787 at Na Kaeng village, Wan Lao sub-district near Keng Taung and Kun Hing in southern Shan State. He lived a long life of 94 years and died in 1881 (Khun Maha, 1996: 37-50; Terwiel, 2003: 15). It is obvious that he was listed as the second most popular Shan authors because he was born after Sao Dhammadinna. In terms of their popularity, it would be very difficult to compare between them, as they have their own special characters and lived at different times. There are 183 works of Sao Kang Sur as recorded by Lung Khun Maha (1996: 68-71). In addition, we also found another text entitled Paramat Cu [A collection of profound teachings] written by Sao Kang Sur in 1861 and a copy of this text is kept at Wat Pang Mu in Maehongsorn, Northwest Thailand. This text is not mentioned in Khun Maha’s list, suggesting that there are more works of Sao Kang Sur, which are yet to be found. Sao Kang Sur has written on a various subjects, including astrology, history, traditional medicine and Buddhism. More detail of Sao Kang Sur’s works, including the contents, genres and styles of writing, will be discussed in the Chapter Three.

It is worth noting here that there is a big gap of over a hundred years between the earliest known Shan author Sao Dhammadinna (1541-1640) and the second earliest one, Sao Kang Sur (1787-1881). There must be other Shan authors during or after the time of Sao Dhammadinna and before the time of Sao Kang Sur.

The third well-known Shan author is Sao Koli, who was born on 1822 in Mong Pan, a township in Southern Shan State, and died in 1895 (Khun Maha, 1996: 79-88). He is no doubt one of the greatest Shan authors of all time. Khun Maha has not provided a list of Sao Koli’s works, like he does for Sao Dhammadinna and Sao Kang Sur, although he did state that there are over 200 works written by Sao Koli (Khun Maha, 1996: 94). Sao Koli was very

---

8 The years added next to the authors’ names are the years of their birth and death. The original dating by Khun Maha (1970) was in Burmese era. There are two different versions for dates for the birth and death of Sao Koli. Khun Maha’s Puen Khu Maw Lik Tai 6 Zao (reprinted 1996:79-88) has the year 1822 for Sao Koli’s year of birth and 1895 the year of his death but in Terwiel’s Shan manuscripts (2003: 16), it is stated that Sao Koli was born in 1847 and died in 1910.
learned in Buddhism and he translated all Buddhist canonical texts into Shan and the collection was known as “Sam Kaung Mong Pan” (Three Collections of Mong Pan” referring to his his version of the Buddhist Tipitaka canonical texts. A lot of his works were found during our fieldworks for cataloguing Shan manuscripts at Shan temples in northern Thailand. Remarkably most of his works contain colophon with clear statement of the dates of the texts.

The fourth well-known Shan author is Sao Nang Khamku, who was born in 1853 and died in 1918 (Khun Maha, 1996: 97-104; Terwiel, 2003: 16). She is the only female Shan author among the well-known Shan authors. She was the daughter of Sao Kang Sur, above, and therefore she was educated mainly through his father. She started writing her own works at the age of 22. Her best-known work is the love story Khun Sam Law Nang Oo Pem, which is one of the best Shan classical works of all time and was translated into other languages including Burmese, English, Thai and Chinese. The story was often dubbed by its readers as the Shan version of the Western classical romantic and tragic story of Romeo and Juliet. Thus, with this love story alone Sao Nang Kham Ku is well deserved to be one of the greatest Shan writers of all time.

The fifth well-known Shan author is Sao Mong Naung, better known as Sao Amat Loung (“The Chief Minister”), who was born in 1854 in Mong Naung, a township in central Shan State, and died in 1905 (Khun Maha, 1996: 107-130). Khun Maha (1996: 134-137) stated that Sao Mong Naung has written more than 200 titles of works but he only found 44 titles. He is a contemporary and friend with Sao Nawkham, the sixth well-known Shan author, as shall be discussed below. I have written a short biography of this author (Khur-Yearn, 2012: 90-97) and also translated one of his works, Mahasatipatthan [The Foundation of Mindfulness], into English as the major part for my PhD thesis (Khur-Yearn, 2012: 98-189 and 255-319).

The sixth well-known Shan author is Sao Nawkham, who was born in 1856 and died in 1895 (Khun Maha, 1996: 139-156; Terwiel, 2003: 16). He lived his life only 39 years but left a great legacy for being regarded as one of the most talented and celebrated Shan authors of all time.

Other three authors added by Lung Khun Maha in the second edition of his book on the biographies of Shan scholars, Puen Khu Maw Lik Tai 9 Zao (1986) are: Sao Worakhae, Zare Kham Pang (Mong Yai) and Sao Pannyabhoga (Mong Su). The aim of Lung Khun Maha for having three more Shan authors added to his work seems to be that he wanted to extend his works on finding more biographies of Shan authors. However, his addition of the three Shan
authors to the list of well-known Shan authors rather led to some controversy. On the one hand, Sao Pannyabhoga (Mong Su) was not a classical author, as he was rather a modern Shan scholar and founding Head of Shan State Sangha Council, which was responsible for the translation of Tipitaka (Buddhist canonical texts) from a Burmese version into Shan in the 1950s. On the other hand, there were many other Shan classical authors who have written a great number of works, as I shall discuss below.

2.3. “Less-Known” Shan Authors and Their Works

In addition to the nine well-known Shan authors above, there are many other Shan authors who have written a number of texts. Among them, some notable ones include: Sao Punnya (Wan Yok), Zare Kyaung Citta (Mong Nai), Zare Jina (Mong Yang Leng), and Zare Suriya (Maehongson).

Of the so-called “less-known” Shan authors, Sao Punnya (Wan Yok) is probably the most notable one. His full name was Sao-sra Punnasara, the abbot of Wan Yok, a village temple in Kesi, a town in central Shan State. Despite not being included by Lung Khun Maha in his biographical works on Shan authors, Sao Punna was well known in Shan communities for his talent in writing. Among a number of his works, the notable ones include: Satipatthan vatthu [the story of mindfulness meditation], which was written in 1906 and Jambupati Mang Kyam [the history of King Jambupati], which was written in 1915. The latter one was revised and published in modern book form by Sao Nandavamsa (2002), along with a short biography of Sao Punnasa on the back-cover of this book.

Second notable less-known Shan author is Zare Kyaung Citta (Mong Nai), who lived his life mostly in the 19th century and possibly in the early 20th century CE. He seemed to have been born and lived in Mong Nai, an old town in southern Shan State, but his biographical detail, including the dates of his birth and death, is not yet known. He has composed at least six poetic texts on Buddhism, and most of them are on the Abhidhamma or the profound teaching of the Buddha.

A research is yet to be done to find more information about the biographical data of Zare Kyaung Citta (Mong Nai). His earliest known work is entitled Dhammasaradipani [commentary on the essence of the teaching] dated 1855. A copy of this text is kept at Wat Pha Non, a Shan temple in Maehongson, Northwest Thailand. His last dated work is Aung

Zare Saw’s List of Wat Pha Non’s Collection of Shan Manuscripts. This text is listed as number 29.
Pet Poeng [the eight victories] written in 1906 and a copy of this text is kept at Wat Jong Klang in the town centre of Maehongson. His other notable works are: Gihicārita (1857, WJK/044), Sānkṣhārabhājanī (1857, WJK/131), Kan to mi ni kyau ni (1863, WJK/067), Pit ce sav sī (1876, WJK/018, WPM/H203), and Au ni khyi ni sī pa (1893, WPN/H38).

There are more of his works with similar titles, raising question whether they are duplicates or revised versions. For example, the work with title Au ni khyi ni sī pa or the eight victories has two different dates of writing, i.e.1893 and 1906. A comparative study of these two manuscripts would help clarify if they are the same version or different ones. He was likely to be a contemporary author with Sao Koli (1822-1895), one of the six most well-known Shan authors above. He seemed to live at least 70 years of age, by judging the date of his first manuscripts would help clarify if they are the same version or different ones. He was likely to be a contemporary author with Sao Koli (1822-1895), one of the six most well-known Shan authors above. He seemed to live at least 70 years of age, by judging the date of his first (1855) and the date of his last work (1906), with addition of about 20 years of his early life. Judging the dates of his works, we can assume that he was born sometimes in the first half of the 19th century and probably died in the late 19th or early 20th century.

Next, the third notable less-known Shan author is Zare Jina (Mong Yang Leng), who lived in Kayah or the read Karen State. His notable works include: Tatrāyatāta kyām (1908, WJK/068), sujanakan da vatthu (1911, WPM/H233), Mahāki nca vatthu (1913, WPM/060), Samsāra cakkapāsān kyām (1916, WJK/013), Nippān pau k lān kamma thān vat thu (1921, WPM/H99), Mahāki n'cāyāna vat thu (1931, WPN/H54), Upo sathacārita (1932, WPN/H74), Jinatthappāsānt pačama toi (1936, WPM/H91), Ekanipāt (1942, WPM/H137), Punnakirīyā vat thu (1945, WPM/H138), Mahākassapa rāhān tā vat thu (1951, WPM/H167). It is worth noting that Zare Jina spent a long career of nearly 50 years on writing, stretching at least from the year 1908 CE, which is the date of his first known dated work, to the year 1951 CE, which is the date of his last known work. I believe that there are many of his works, which are yet to be found.

The fourth and last less-known Shan author I would like to mention here is Zare Suriya of Maehongson. His notable works are: Bud dhavaṃsa sthānayā kān (1901, WJK/094), Cav arinda mā (1921, WJK/071), Mi ni ka lā sā ra dīpanī (1922, WPM/037), Sāmane kyō stā pā vat thu (1926, WPM/H140), Dasanipāt cāt tō (1938, WJK/009), and Puin sūn tāku ni, mūn tō phra kyī (1949, WPN/H32). It is worth noting that there are gaps of years between his works. Perhaps this suggests that there are many more of this works, which are yet to be found.

---

10 Zare Saw’s List of Wat Jong Klang’s Collection of Shan Manuscripts. This text is listed as number 19.
2.4. Chapter Summary

Lung Khun Maha (1970) has compiled the biographies of the six most well known Shan authors and listed some of theirs works. But many of the listed titles are undated. Through the analysis of Shan manuscript data from all available sources, we found 12 Shan manuscripts that contain the year of composing dating before 1850 CE and interestingly some of them were not written by any of the six authors. We in fact found the names of lesser known authors with their works dated ranged from mid 19th to mid 20th centuries.

We also noted that there is a big gap of over a hundred years between the earliest known Shan author Sao Dhammadinna (1541-1640) and the second earliest one, Sao Kang Sur (1878-1981). This again suggests that there must be other Shan authors during or after the time of Sao Dhammadinna and before the time of Sao Kang Sur.

Therefore, there is a possibility of finding more information about Shan authors and their works. One reason is that the world of Shan manuscript literature is very much understudied. The other reason is that there are many collections of Shan manuscripts, which are yet untouched and uncatalogued.
Chapter Three

Characteristics of Shan Manuscript Literature:
Genre, Style and Contents

3.1. Introduction

Having explored the general background and context of Shan manuscripts in Chapter One and timelines of Shan authors and their works in Chapter Two, I shall now discuss, in Chapter Three, the significant features of the classical Shan manuscript literature, with special focus on the characteristics of the texts, such as genre, style and content of the texts.

I shall first discuss the Shan custom of writing colophons in the manuscript literature. Secondly, I shall explore the characters and styles of writing in the classical Shan manuscript literature. Thirdly, I shall examine the data of Shan manuscripts to see the subject areas as found in these manuscripts. Fourthly, I shall discuss the variety of Shan manuscript literature and argue that while the large portion of Shan manuscript texts are on Buddhist literatures, some are also on other subjects such as history, folktale, romantic story, charm and traditional healing and protection methods, such as manuals for making magical candles, and tattooing manuals. In the final section of this chapter, I shall raise the concerning issue of the physical collections of Shan manuscripts, as large portions of them are facing great danger from disappearing.

3.2. The Standard of Writing Colophons in Shan Manuscript Literature

First of all, a notable character of Shan manuscript literature is that many of them have the colophon sections. Three types of colophon can be found in three places within one Shan Buddhist and simi-religious manuscripts: 1) at the beginning of the manuscript, 2) in the introduction of the manuscript, usually known as “the section of praising the sponsor” of the manuscript, and 3) in the conclusion of the manuscript. This three-types colophon format is the standardised format of writing colophon or publication details for most of the Shan Buddhist manuscript literature.
First, the colophon at the beginning of the manuscript usually contains the names of the donor of the current copy of the manuscript and it also often contains the name of place, e.g. village, where the donor lived as well as the reason for donating the manuscript. This type of colophon rarely contains information on the date or the author of the manuscript. Nevertheless, we can see that this type of colophon contains useful resources of information for historical studies such as local history and family history.

Second, the colophon in the introduction section usually contains the information about the original version of the text including the names of the sponsors, who first requested the author to write the text. This type of colophon section is known as the ‘sponsor’ section, which is usually written after the ‘homage’ section and before the main text. Usually details of the original sponsors such as the names of their relatives and names of their villages and surrounding areas are extensively described in a decorative way of writing. This section is therefore is very informative, with the exception that only a few authors who described about themselves clearly, as some of them described themselves in an indirect or hidden way while some of them did not mention about themselves at all.

Third, the colophon section in the end of the text is very much similar to the second colophon section above but it is a shorter version, which is part of the conclusion of the text. In addition to the three-types colophon sections, there is also a short description of the date of the completion of the text right at the end of the manuscript. These are the standardised format for most of the Shan Buddhist and simi-religious Shan literature.

There are non-standardised formats of Shan manuscripts with non-standardised colophons and these include manuscripts on rituals of charming, healing and protection. Therefore, it is a great challenge to find information about the authors and dates of those manuscripts. Perhaps it is possible to estimate the date of such a manuscript by doing comparative studies on the scripts of the manuscripts or doing so with sophisticated tools and scientific studies.

3.3. Styles of Writing in Shan Manuscript Literature

Another interesting aspect of Shan manuscript literature is that many of them, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, are written in the narrative styles of poetic writing, with variety of genres and rhyming systems. They are written in entertaining style, as they were composed for reading out loud to oneself (almost like singing without musical instrument) or to family
members or friends at home, or for certain type of literature to the audience at ritual events, such as new house blessing, memorial services and religious festivals in which a new manuscript or a new copy of an existing text is usually produced and recited. For instance, Leslie Milne, a British anthropologist, who made some extensive research on social traditions and customs in the British colonial Shan states, described the Shan customs in connection with manuscript literature, as she wrote in her famous book, *Shans at Home*, “many Shans read their scriptures with manifest sincerity and delight. In their homes, in rest-houses, in monasteries, or gathered around an open fire, Shans may be seen listening with reverence to the rising and falling cadence, as their reader chants a birth story of their Lord Gautama, or of the beauty and bliss of Nirvana” (Milne 1910, p. 214).

The Shan term for classical poetic literature is called ‘langka’ which is probably derived from the Sanskrit or Pali word ‘alāṅkāra’, literally meaning ‘decoration’ or ‘ornamentation.’ It also means ‘poetics’ as found for example in the title of the 12th-century work the *Subodhālāṅkāra* by Sāriputta, which is a book of rules for poetic writing, written under the influence of Sanskrit alāṅkāraśāstra. Hence, langka indicates ‘decorated/ornamented writing’ or ‘writing that is decorated in a poetic style.’ The composer or reciter of poetic texts is usually called zare, which literally means ‘clerk,’ but refers to a poet or poetry reader in this context.

Basically there are two categories of Shan poetic *langka* literature: Langka Awn (small or minor poetry) and Langka Loung (great poetry). Langka Awn literature is usually a type of secular or non-religious works such as love story, folklore and history. The Langka Awn literature is popular among young adults, as almost all of them are on love, heroic, romantic or tragic stories. Some of such stories are often based on local legends or myths. Langka Loung literature is mainly used for religious texts and formal documents such as history, astrology, and customary law. Thus, both Langka Loung and Langka Awn cover a variety of subjects.

### 3.4. Variety of Subjects in Shan Manuscript Literature

Shan manuscript literature covers a variety of subjects, from the secular to the religious, histories, folk tales, and manuals for particular events such as the ceremony of ordination, the anniversary of a temple, honorary ceremonies, etc. Here, I would like to discuss the variety of subjects in Shan manuscript literature with more detail of the genres and subject categories.
First, one of the most popular subjects of Shan classic or manuscript literature is the narrative writing, usually accompanied by stories. Narrative texts in Shan manuscript literature can be divided into three categories: 1) Buddhist Jataka stories, 2) other Buddhist stories, and 3) folk stories. Of the six most popular Shan authors above-mentioned, Sao Kang Sur seemed to have written more works and also more with story or narrative writing, as when examining the list of his over 180 titles, we can see that at least half of them are obvious stories, because the titles of these texts contain either a name of the main character in the story or a certain term such as “Alaung” (Bodhisattva or Buddha-to-be) and “Nang” (Miss, Ms or Lady) at the beginning of the titles of the texts, clearly indicating that they are story literature. For instance, in Lung Khun Maha’s list of Sao Kang Sur’s works, there are 39 titles with the term “Alaung” and 26 titles with the term “Nang” that begin the titles. Here are a few titles for examples: Alaung yuiv lav [The Bodhisattva who shoot the star], Alaung ma yui [The Dog Bodhisattva with Long Hairs], Alaung khai maw [The Bodhisattva who sells pots], Nang khu nang ngoung [The Lady with a Big and Long Nose], Nang kin bu [The Lady who Eats Crabs] and Nang haw leik [The Princess at the Iron Palace] are a few examples for the titles of Sao Kang Sur’s works on stories (Khun Maha, 1996: 68-71). It is worth noting that all the mentioned titles are possibly simi-religious stories rather than canonical based Buddhist stories. Such simi-religious stories are popular and attracted for young and old members of the audience because they were composed in the entertaining style while the content of the stories contains the teaching of moral behaviour, indirectly urging people to behave well and do good for society.

Of the Shan narrative texts, the most popular one is called Sutta Mawn Tham, also known as Sutta Nibbana. This text is in fact has great influence on many aspects of Shan traditions and practices including the belief in Karma and life after death as illustrated by the story of a couple of hungry ghosts or black ghosts. This text was written by Sao Dhammadinna, the earliest known Shan author as discussed in Chapter Two. Here is a short version of the ghost story. Once upon a time, there was a rich man and his wife, living in the age of the Buddha Wipasi. They were very religious and also very generous in making offering to the clergy and giving things to people who are in need. But, their weakness was that they were very immoral. After they died, unexpectedly they became black ghosts and did so because they were immoral during their previous life, killing others and having mis-sexual intercourse with others. Therefore, they became black ghosts and suffered much from frost and heat. When they died, they left two daughters who loved their parents with a great love, and spent a large part of their inheritance in offerings to get them out of purgatory. One night,
at midnight, their parents appeared to them and asked them to go to the Buddha Wipasi and ascertain whether anything could be done for them to get them out of their dire distress. The affectionate and dutiful daughters went to Wipasi, as requested, and reverently laid the case before him. The Buddha asked them to donate a copy of the Sutta Nibbana, the scripture so precious that even the Buddhas bow down before it in worship. They were so happy and asked a writer skilful in copying the scriptures to write for them a copy of the Sutta Nibbana. When the book was ready, they wrapt it in a clothing cover and laid it on a tray with sweet-scented flowers; then bowing down reverently they adored the book, with hands uplifted in worship. Though the book had not yet been offered to Wipasi, the merit thereof went immediately to their parents. They, instantly benefiting thereby, were changed in the twinkle of an eye into a good spirit-prince and a good spirit-princess; and its power also created a golden palace in the abode of spirits, formed by the meritorious power of the Sutta Nibbana and the power of generosity the did in their previous life. They returned to their daughters and praised the Sutta Nibbana, and told them how they were now living in the beautiful palace, free from all their past transgressions and sufferings. Thus, this story tells us that both generosity and morality are equally important. This story also has great influence on the Shan tradition and belief behind the custom of creating manuscripts and donate them to the monastery at memorial services as already discussed in Chapter One.

I shall now discuss the significance of canonical Jataka stories in Shan manuscript literature. Of the five hundred and fifty Jataka stories, there are ten of them which are particularly notable and significant. They are Temi Jataka, Candakumara Jataka, Suvannasama Jataka, Nemi Jataka, Mahosadha Jataka, Puridatta Jataka, Janaka Jataka, Narada Jataka, Vidhura Jataka and Vesantara Jataka. The titles for each of the Jataka is the name of the main character in the stories. For example, Temi Jataka is the text on the story of Prince Temi. Some titles of these ten and other Jataka stories are slightly changed when they were translated into Shan manuscript literature. Here are a few examples of those Jataka stories found at Wat Tiyasathan (WTY), Wat Jong Klang (WJK) and Wat Pang Mu (WPM) in northern Thailand: Alindama Jat Taw (WTY/121), Candakumara Cat Taw Kyi Vatthu (WTY/87), Phra Alaung Kalidasa (WTY/147), Kassapa Vatthu (WJK/082), Mahajanaka Jataka Jat Taw Loung (WPM/H73), Mahosadha Vatthu (WPM/H238), Narada Jat Taw (WPM/013), and Nemi Jat Taw Sao (WJK/041). This suggests that the translation of canonical Jataka stories into Shan language has been adapted and modified in order to suit with the Shan audience.
Other popular Buddhist texts in Shan manuscript literature include topics on the subjects such as generosity, morality and meditation. Shan manuscript texts on generosity have the titles such as Dana Bheda Kyam [An Analysis of the Treatise on Giving] (WTY/83), Danakatha Vatthu [A Talk and Story about Giving] (WJK/22), Dana Sakse [The Evidence of Giving] (WPM/H146), etc. Texts on morality include Nibban Swe Lan Sila Khan [Morality as the Way to Nibbana] (WPM/H153), Vene Nga Kyam [The Five Collections of the Rules] (WTY/137), etc. Texts on meditation have the titles such as Anicca Sapho [The Nature of Impermanence] (WTY/52), Asubhabhavana Tra [The Teaching on Mental Development on the Inappropriateness] (WPM/H186), Buddhahanussati [Reflection on the Qualities of the Buddha] (WTY/29, WPM/048, WJK/053), Kammathan Dipani Kyam [A Commentary on Meditation Practice] (WPM/H229, WTY/66), Khandhapura [The City of the Aggregates] (WJK/109), Patipattippakasani [A Commentary on the Practice of Meditation] (WTY/10), Vipassana Nyan Zen Sip Pa [Ten Steps of Insight Meditation] (WTY/105), and so on. The titles mentioned here are just a few examples to indicate the richness of meditation texts as found in classical Shan manuscript literature.

Moreover, the profound teaching (Abhidhamma) is also seen as a popular subject in Shan manuscript literature. This is approved by the titles with the word “Abhidhamma”. Here are a few tiles of the Abhidhamma texts as found in Shan manuscript literature: Abhidhamma Kathavatthu [A Talk and a Story about Abhidhamma] (WPM/H200), Abhidhamma Khunit Cet Kyam [The Seven Treatises of the Profound Teaching] (WTY/131), Abhidhamma Pathan [The Profound Teaching on Dependant Origination] (WTY/60), Abhidhamma Kyam Pawng Vatthu [The Story on All the Treatises of the Profound Teaching] (WJK/093) and Pit Ce Sao-See [The Twenty-Four Courses and Effects] (WPM/019). Most of these Shan version of Buddhist Abhidhamma texts were written in the late 20th and early 20th century CE, indicating the popularity of the Buddhist Abhidhamma texts surrounding the tradition of classical Shan manuscript literature at the time.

In addition, there are other popular subjects, which are often regarded as animist or non-religious even though many Buddhist Pali words and phrases are incorporated into the texts. These include the formula for ritual practices, such as charm, healing, protection and other magical works. Remarkably, such Shan manuscripts on magical works contain distinctive pictures and diagrams incorporated with the texts in the manuscripts. Notably, Shan manuscripts from the holdings of the Bodleian Libraries in Oxford are mostly on – but not limited to – such subjects as astrology, tattoo, charm, protection and healing, containing piece
of art works. Not surprisingly the huge collection of Shan magical art works at the Bodleian Libraries were first acquired by an art collector, who later decided to donate them to the library. These artistic physical features of Shan manuscripts are therefore great treasure of resources for various areas of studies, particularly the fields of astrology, healing, arts and the history of arts. These large collections of ritual texts clearly suggest the popularity of traditional beliefs and related customs of practices as well as the creation and use of manuscripts in the past Shan communities.

However, there is a grave concerning issue of the Shan manuscripts. While the production of new manuscript is dying out, the existing collections of Shan manuscripts, especially the traditional collections in the Shan communities, are in great danger. On the one hand, there is no doubt that these manuscripts are invaluable, as they contain useful resources of information for various areas of study and research. On the other hand, the physical collections of these manuscripts have been neglected and academically they are very much understudied.

The positive aspect of and a dream for the survival of Shan manuscript literature has been raised by a few researchers in recent years. There were a few project activities for the preservation and promotion of classical Shan manuscript literature and related traditions. Of them, there are two notable institution based projects. One is the SOAS-based Shan Buddhism at the Borderlands Project (2009-10), funded by the British Academy and SOAS Research Funding Board; the other is the Oxford Bodleian Library based Revealing Hidden Collections Project (2011-present), funded by the Dhammakaya Foundation. These two projects have enabled us to do some in depth fieldworks on collecting data of Shan manuscript as well as interviewing local traditional Shan scholars.

During these fieldworks, we found some rare manuscripts. For example, there are some manuscripts in this collection that we believe they are original works and perhaps they are the only copy existed. When we thought they are the original works because we found the names of the requesters/donors of the text/manuscript either in the introduction section for the original donors or in the concluding section of the main text, and there is no statement of copy’s donor/s. A thorough study of these manuscripts in checking/comparing with other collections would be an essential to confirm that they are the original works and not duplicated copies. Such original works are of great value, as both physical manuscript and the contents of the text would surely provide invaluable information for the subject of Shan
studies. I think the digitization of these rare manuscripts is an urgent work needed to be done, as I think keeping the hard copy alone is a great danger.

We also found lots of interesting information in the manuscripts, which I believe are of great value to various areas of Shan studies. For example, we found that some texts in this manuscript collection were written by local authors, and one of them is “Zare Suriya” who was born in the Maehongson town and described himself as the pupil of the abbot of Wat Kam Ko, which is believed to be the oldest temple in the Maehongson town. We also learned that one of the abbots of Wat Kam Ko was a great poet, who was originally from Shan State. We found a number works of Zare Suriya in Wat Jong Klang collection. I believe more of his works will be found in Wat Kam Ko and other temple collections in Maehongson. It would be interesting to see if any of his works was ever spread to other Shan communities outside Maehongson. Anyway, such manuscripts written by local authors are not only great value to the collections of manuscripts but also great value to local histories.

Moreover, we also discovered some remarkable manuscripts, which were donated by prominent and well-to-do people, such as rulers, abbots, and the poets who composed the texts. For example, the donor of the manuscript, entitled Kassappa vatthu (shelfmark 025), in this collection was a ruling prince (Saopha) of Mong Nai, southern Shan State. The covers of this manuscript are gold gilded and beautifully decorated with precious gems/ glass-cuts. It is one of the most beautiful manuscripts in the Wat Jong Klang collection. Also the handwriting in this manuscript is very neat and clear. The text was composed in 1898 by Sao Amat Long Mong Naung. This copy was made in Mong Nai, Southern Shan State in 1949 (1311 SE). It is not clear how this manuscript was ended up in Wat Jong Klang collection. It was possibly brought in by a lay devotee who came from Shan State, as I was told by Venerable Vicitta (abbot of Wat Jong Klang) when I asked him about the background of this manuscript during the fieldwork. I believe there are many more historical resources which are to be discovered in Shan manuscripts.

3.5. Chapter Summary

The significance of colophons in Shan manuscripts is that, in addition to the usual publication detail, they also contain a section for praising the sponsors of the manuscript. The pinpoint of this chapter is that the classical Shan manuscript literature covers a variety of subjects.
Findings and Concluding Remarks

The outcome of this research project is a number of significant findings which have made it possible to create a map of the classical Shan manuscript literature, through the analysis of Shan manuscript data and biographies of Shan authors from available sources, mainly from two books by Lung Khun Maha (1970) and B. J. Terwiel (2003) and other unpublished works.

Lung Khun Maha’s *Puen Khu Maw Lik Tai 6 Zao* [The Biographies of 6 Shan Scholars], first published in 1970 and reprinted in 1996, is the first book of its kind. In this book, Lung Khun Maha have compiled the biographies of the six Shan authors and basic lists of their works, as most of them contain titles of works only, with no publication detail. The second edition of this book was published in 1986, with addition of three more scholars, and hence with an updated title of the book *Puen Khu Maw Lik Tai 9 Zao* [The Biographies of 9 Shan Scholars].

B. J. Terwiel’s *Shan Manuscripts* (2003), the second book on Shan manuscript literature, listed over 300 manuscripts, with publication details, such as pagination, condition, and other remarks of the manuscripts. It is also worth noting that many manuscripts listed in this book include notebooks for magical candles and other yantra mantra texts.

With regard to the commissioning of Shan manuscripts, we discussed in Chapter One that the production and collection of Shan manuscripts grew out of the tradition of practices, such as merit-making and rituals for charm, healing and protection. These have resulted a great number of Shan manuscripts, which can be found all over the place in Shan communities as well as research libraries and special collections around the world. These manuscripts were written at different times by a number of Shan authors, providing information connecting the past events and their related surroundings such as people, places and dates.

Another significant finding about the classical Shan literature is that there are manuscript texts under similar titles but written by different authors at different times. For example, there are manuscript texts under the same title, *Gihicārītta ‘[Good] Conduct of Householders’*, written by different authors at different times. A comparative study between these texts needs to be carried out in order to see if the genres of the texts are the same or different. If they are different, then it is clear that there are two authors for the works, but if the genres of the texts are the same, then there will be another question: who is the actual
Chapter Two looked at the timelines of Shan manuscript literature, focusing on the biographical data of the authors of Shan classical literature and the dating of their works. Lung Khun Maha (1970) has compiled the biographies of the six most well known Shan authors and listed some of their works, but many of the titles listed in the published and unpublished catalogues and handlists that I have consulted are undated. Through the analysis of Shan manuscript data from all available sources, we found 12 Shan manuscripts that contain a year of composition dating to before 1850 CE and interestingly some of them were not written by any of the six authors. This indicates that some earlier Shan authors may have been overlooked or are yet to be examined.

We also noted that there is a big gap of over a hundred years between the earliest known Shan author Sao Dhammadinna (1541-1640) and the second earliest one, Sao Kang Sur (1878-1981). This again suggests that there must be other Shan authors during or after the time of Sao Dhammadinna and before the time of Sao Kang Sur. Therefore any information on Shan author or any literary work written in the 17th and 18th centuries would be helpful in filling the gap and providing the timelines or lineage of Shan authors and their works, making a map of Shan literature more informative and clearer.

Also, it is interesting to see some authors have their works dated with a big gap of years between them. For example, Zare Jina’s earliest work, Buddhavamsa srimāyā khan’" was written in 1901 and his second dated work, Cav’arindamā, was written in 1921. There is a gap of 20 years between them. Perhaps this suggests that there are more of his works written between those years, because it seems unlikely, though not impossible, for an author to have written a book then stopped for 20 years to write another. Such gaps are also found in the case of other Shan authors such as Zare Suriya and Zare Kyaung Citta. Perhaps this indicates that there are still many of their works, which are yet to be found.

It may be possible to find more information about Shan authors and their works. At present, the whole world of Shan manuscript literature is very much under-studied. Furthermore, there are many collections of Shan manuscripts, which are as yet untouched and uncatalogued. For example, in northern Thailand, there are many temple collections of Shan manuscripts, which are yet to be examined and catalogued. In the town of Maehongson in northern Thailand alone, there are at least three such temples, Wat Kun Yuam (Maehongson),
Wat Pha Wong (north) and Wat Pha Wong (south) in Maehongson, known by local scholars to contain important, uncatalogued collections (fieldwork in January 2014). Maehongson is an important centre of Shan culture founded only in the 19th century. What then of towns with a longer history.

Also a special attention should be made here that there is a big gap of over a hundred years between the earliest known Shan author Sao Dhammadinna (1541-1640) and the second earliest one, Sao Kang Sur (1878-1981). There must be other Shan authors during or after the time of Sao Dhammadinna and before the time of Sao Kang Sur. No matter if they were lesser known or if they are just co-authors, like Venerable Kunasara, co-author with Dhhammabuddha for the text entitled Vinayasangha, Suttasangha, Abhidhammasangha, because any Shan author or any literary works written in the 17th and 18th centuries will fill the gap and provide the timelines or lineage of Shan authors and their works, making a clearer map of Shan literature. Undated manuscripts are not included in the list (see appendix 1) and the date of copying is also not counted for this research as the aim of this list is to show the dates of creating/composing the texts. Also, the fragments or severely damaged manuscripts are not included in the list, as most of them are yet to be examined and catalogued.

Other collections untouched for this research project due to limit of time and their inaccessibility: More temple collections in Northern Thailand, including Kun Yuam (Maehongson), Wat Pha Wong Nuea (north) and Wat Pha Wong Taul (south) in Maehongson, as told by local scholars during our fieldworks at Wat Jong Klang in Maehongson for the Revealing Hidden Collections Project in January 2014.

Chapter Three discussed the significant features of the classical Shan manuscript literature, with special focus on the characteristics of the texts, such as genre, style and content of the texts. Our extensive discussions in this chapter include the Shan custom of writing colophons in the manuscript literature, the characters and styles of writing in the classical Shan manuscript literature, the data of Shan manuscripts to see the subject areas as found in these manuscripts, the variety of Shan manuscript literature. We also discussed that while a large proportions of Shan manuscript texts are on Buddhist topics, some are also on other subjects such as history, folktale, romance, charm and traditional healing and protection methods, such as manuals for making magical candles, and tattooing manuals.

The chapter also highlighted concerns regarding the physical preservation of collections of Shan manuscripts, as large portions of them are in danger of disappearing. Therefore, as for further improvement of the services for the preservation and conservation of
manuscripts, long-term plans should be put in place. For example, in order to produce the skilled professionals in the field, the establishment of regional training programmes is essential, and also selected staff should be trained abroad.

Reflecting our fieldwork on Shan manuscripts at Wat Jong Klang and other Buddhist temples in northern Thailand, with the cooperation of work and contribution from traditional Shan scholars, we have collected some great resources and research data for Shan studies in the academic environments. These resources of information have been integrated with the catalogue of Shan manuscripts. Funded by the Dhammakaya Foundation, this Oxford-based project for the catalogue of Shan manuscripts is in good progress and hopefully it will be accomplished and available for open access in the near future.

As for the physical maintenance of the manuscripts, it is crucial to have all the equipment and facilities required for practical works of preserving and conserving the manuscripts. These include suitable buildings and spaces for staff, storage and surgery solely dedicated to the preservation and conservation programmes. For example, a library building has to be damp-proof, air-conditioned, with all provision necessary in the interest of preservation; the ground floor of the library is preferred for storage of manuscripts, and also the wooded surroundings of the building counter the hot, dry and dusty conditions. Moreover, it is essential to have international meetings of specialists in preservation and conservation of archival materials with special focus on Shan manuscripts.

Another crucial programme needed for the preservation and conservation of Shan manuscripts is the building and development of digital libraries. Although we are now living in the global society of modern information technologies, the underdeveloped country such as Myanmar is far behind the developing and developed countries when it comes to term with online information services. For example, one can easily see the difference when comparing the use of mobile phone and internet services in Myanmar with its neighbouring country, Thailand, where mobile phones can be accessed from almost everywhere, where else in Myanmar, mobile phone signals are good only in the big cities, let alone about the Internet connection. It is worse for the lesser or limited use of online services, such as the library and information services. Fundamental requirements for digital library services include: the system provide access to cataloguing information describing the materials, the system provide access to high quality images, the system provide scholars with access to this information through the internet, the information should be provided in the most widely used data formats so that scholars with diverse hardware and software would be able to utilise this information.
and the system should enable humanities scholars, with modest computer literacy, to find desired materials using the system.

The requirements could not be met without forming a partnership with local professionals who are responsible for taking care of the manuscripts that the system capture images of manuscripts without damaging them, the system permit inspection of, and access to, digitized manuscripts at local storage/collection, the system protect the local authority / owners rights to the digitized materials, and so on.

In short, I would like to say that some old Shan manuscripts are of great value for various areas of studies, especially in the academic environments of Buddhism and Southeast Asia in general and Shan or Tai studies in particular. It is a great opportunity for researchers from various fields to make new and fresh research projects on Shan manuscripts or to connect their existing research works with Shan manuscripts. At the same time, there are also grave concerning issues and threats to the physical collections of the Shan manuscripts especially those are scarcely survived in the war-torn areas of the Shan State.
Bibliography

Primary Sources


3. Collections of Shan manuscript data collected during the Shan Buddhism at the Borderlands project, 2009-2010 (unpublished, now being integrated with Oxford-based Revealing Hidden Collections (RHC) project, below).


Secondary Resources


Khur-Yearn, Jotika (2009) ‘Richness of Buddhist Texts in Shan Manuscripts: Seven Shan Versions of Satipatthana Sutta’ in *Contemporary Buddhism*, vol. 10, no. 1 (Special Issue:
Shan Buddhism. Abington: Taylor & Francis. (First presented at the Conference on Shan Buddhism and Culture, SOAS, December 2007)


# Appendix

A Selected List of Shan Manuscripts, Arranged by Dates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID No.</th>
<th>Reference No. (Location of MS)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title [Title of the text]</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DTN</td>
<td>TW11 (Temel, 2003: 72-73)</td>
<td>1618</td>
<td>[suk-] ‘ta nībbāna kyām-’ ‘nīv’</td>
<td>(unknown)</td>
<td>[suk-] ‘ta nībbāna kyām-’ ‘nīv’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DTN</td>
<td>WPMH36</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>[sam-] kaus-‘nīv’</td>
<td>(unknown)</td>
<td>[sam-] kaus-‘nīv’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSKL7</td>
<td></td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>[sutta saangaha parama’ kauk]</td>
<td>(unknown)</td>
<td>[sutta saangaha parama’ kauk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WPMH364</td>
<td></td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>[pari-] ‘kyi’ ‘andā’</td>
<td>(unknown)</td>
<td>[pari-] ‘kyi’ ‘andā’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WPMH103</td>
<td></td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>[maragala ‘anyer’ ‘aipyre’]</td>
<td>(unknown)</td>
<td>[maragala ‘anyer’ ‘aipyre’]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WPMH143, WPMH239</td>
<td></td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>[pari-] ‘kyi’ ‘andā’</td>
<td>(unknown)</td>
<td>[pari-] ‘kyi’ ‘andā’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMSC11-12 (Kham Mong, 2012: 48-49)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>[lokassamuti suy-] ‘phyl’ (2 volumes)</td>
<td>(unknown)</td>
<td>[lokassamuti suy-] ‘phyl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMSC11-12 (Kham Mong, 2012: 46)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>[man sau manaw sarl shwe myin thammawd]</td>
<td>(unknown)</td>
<td>[man sau manaw sarl shwe myin thammawd]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS</td>
<td>WPMH64</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>[laush-] ‘kho khaw’</td>
<td>(unknown)</td>
<td>[laush-] ‘kho khaw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS</td>
<td>WPMH278</td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>[parmar-] ‘cu’</td>
<td>(unknown)</td>
<td>[parmar-] ‘cu’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- KL: Kanchanaburi Library
- WTY: Wijet Tangyee
- WJK: Wijet K assurances
- KCT: Kanchanaburi City
- KK: Kanchanaburi
- TW: Taiwan

1 of 28
### បញ្ហា ពិភពវត្តាយ្តការារ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ឆ្នាំ</th>
<th>ទិន្នន័យ</th>
<th>អត្ថប្រយោជន៍</th>
<th>គ្រប់គ្រង</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>បុរសបុរស  [gururita]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WPMH246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>បុរសបុរស  [gururita]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WJK044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>បុរសបុរស  [gururita]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WJK131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>បុរសបុរស  [gururita]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WJK075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>បុរសបុរស  [gururita]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTY4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>បុរសបុរស  [gururita]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTY06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>បុរសការ  [saksharama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTY131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>បុរសការ  [saksharama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTY116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>បុរសការ  [saksharama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTY40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>បុរសការ  [saksharama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTY116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>បុរសការ  [saksharama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTY58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>បុរសការ  [saksharama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTY48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>បុរសការ  [saksharama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>LSTP20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>បុរសការ  [saksharama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WPM047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>បុរសការ  [saksharama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WJK065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>បុរសការ  [saksharama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WJK115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ឆ្នាំ</th>
<th>ទិន្នន័យ</th>
<th>អត្ថប្រយោជន៍</th>
<th>គ្រប់គ្ភ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [mudhakaraka]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WJK065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [mudhakaraka]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WPMH238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [mudhakaraka]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>MM WPMH281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [parama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>KS WPMH189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [parama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTY101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [parama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTY101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [parama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTY121 WPMH201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [parama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WJK117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [parama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTL154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [parama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTL107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [parama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTL107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [parama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTL129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [parama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTL96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [parama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTY152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [parama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTY16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [parama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WPMH185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [parama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WTI46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ឆ្នាំ</th>
<th>ទិន្នន័យ</th>
<th>អត្ថប្រយោជន៍</th>
<th>គ្រប់គ្ភ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>អាវ៉ាន្ទី  [parama]</td>
<td>រូបមន្ត រសជី</td>
<td>WJOK078 WPMH212</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1872 សេវាការសម្រួលកុលសម្លាប់ (caudithammashara 
kuv‘ khna‘)  [ការសម្រួល]  Senma585, CemUL.2.2
1873 បរិស្ថានប្រយុទ្ធសម្រួល (caudithhammasila)  [បរិស្ថាន]  WJK0090
1873 សុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ ទៅ សុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ [grip‘ pah‘; 
san‘jān‘ * sikhān‘]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  AML 
WPMH153
1873 បរិស្ថានសេវាកុស្តិសាស្ត្រ និង កុស្តិសាស្ត្រ និង កុស្តិសាស្ត្រ [care‘ khnum‘ khnu‘; 
sā‘ khnum‘ khnu‘]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  LSMS6
1874 បរិស្ថានសេវាកុស្តិសាស្ត្រ [kāt‘ī hāp‘]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  AML 
WJK077
1874-5 សិរីសុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ  [maṇasatīparājita‘]  [សិរីសុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ* សិរីសុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ]  AML 
LSMA44, LST/64
1875 សេវាកុស្តិសាស្ត្រ និង កុស្តិសាស្ត្រ និង កុស្តិសាស្ត្រ [abhidhamma 
pugpago phis‘ i‘] [កុស្តិសាស្ត្រ* កុស្តិសាស្ត្រ* កុស្តិសាស្ត្រ]  KL 
WPM681
1875 សេវាបរិស្ថាន សម្រួលសម្លាប់  [abhidhamma kathā 
vathu‘]  [សម្រួលសម្លាប់* សម្រួលសម្លាប់]  KL 
WPMH200
1875 សុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ [dhammaśanipana]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  WJK043
1876 សុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ [paramatthamaticsa]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  AML 
WTY125
1876 ឯក្តីព្រះពុធ [khi‘ ce‘ sā‘ vī‘] [ឯក្តីព្រះពុធ* ឯក្តីព្រះពុធ]  KCT 
WJK038, WPMH203
1876 បរិស្ថានសេវាបរិស្ថាន [saddhammapatimadani kyām‘]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  AML 
WPMH216
1876 សេវាបរិស្ថាន [dhammaśanipadani]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  AML 
WPMH269
1876 មហាវិបត្តិកុស្តិសាស្ត្រ, សេវាបរិស្ថាន, ទៅ ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ, 
[mahāsaddhā ‘alau‘ ‘cau‘ vih‘kī]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  AML 
LST/960
1876 សុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ [parimāńca]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  KL 
LSTP/04
1877 បរិស្ថានអាស្រ័យ [ku tu‘; sī‘ k‘ pā‘]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  WPMH86
1878 ឯក្តីព្រះពុធ [dīlāthā-śvātā]  [ឯក្តីព្រះពុធ* ឯក្តីព្រះពុធ]  NK 
WPMH616
1878 សេវាបរិស្ថាន [sā‘ kṣām‘ sulilā phal‘]  [សម្រួលសម្លាប់* សម្រួលសម្លាប់]  KCT 
WJK066
1878-8 បរិស្ថានសេវាបរិស្ថាន [gāda-sākha-sīvāya dūthā ta‘]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  AML 
WYTV62, WPMH248
1878 កូរ៉យ [pāya sun‘; ma sūta-saṅgaha kyām‘]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  WPMH60
1878 សុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ [paramaṭṭha‘]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  WPMH652
1878 សេវាបរិស្ថាន [abhirama-saṅgha suk‘]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  NK 
WPMH286, LSTP/13
1879 សុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ [abhidhammapathṣhā‘]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  KCS 
WPMH262
1879 សុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ [āyatāsā πu pho‘]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  WJK085
1879 សុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ [uposathā shu pho‘]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  WJK/119
1879 សុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ [uposathā shu pho‘]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  WJK0085
1879 សុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ [kathā dipani (khandha dipani)]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  NKH? 
LSMA39
1879 សុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ [khandha dipani kyām‘]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  NKH 
WPMH88
1880 សុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ [khandha dipani Ư (khandha dipani Ư)]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  NKH 
WXYT02
1880 សុវត្ថិកុម្ភោែ [khandha dipani Ư]  [ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ* ប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ]  AML? 
WJK0037
1880 ឯក្តីព្រះពុធ [khi‘ ce‘ sā‘ vī‘]  [ឯក្តីព្រះពុធ* ឯក្តីព្រះពុធ]  KCT 
WPMH619
47
| 1388 | ឆ្លើយស្នើសុំម៉ាស៊ីន [��k*petekat* ឈ] | Unknown – Cav Koll? | TWI45 |
| 1387 | បញ្ជីនៃ, ឈូរក្នុងប្រការ [miilinda dutiya ti?] | ព្រែកប៊ុលទិន្នន័យ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [mum:cav*' kyawson* karn:* ko kham:* nau] | KK | WJK/061 |
| 1387 | ឈូរក្នុង [tritathos] | ព្រែកប៊ុលទិន្នន័យ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [mum:cav*' kyawson* na*pa*min* min:*cav'] | NP | WPMH250 |
| 1387 | ប្រការស្របស្រយោគ [sorana kabya vatthu] | ចិនញ្វាសើរ [tota] | WPNH153 |
| 1387 | មនុស្ស, ប្រការស្រយោគ [khandha hāt?*] | ចិនញ្វាសើរ ឈ. សុភាព [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | AML | LSMA22, LSKL25 |
| 1387 | ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [puntatta-jātaka vatthu] | ព្រែកប៊ុលទិន្នន័យ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | AML | LSKL44 |
| 1388 | ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [dhammapada dutiya ti?] | ព្រែកប៊ុលទិន្នន័យ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | AML | WTY140 |
| 1388 | ពេលដ៏វែង [vātana kyām?*] | ចិនញ្វាសើរ ឈ. សុភាព WTY143 |
| 1388 | ពេលដ៏វែង, ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [vātana kām?* cav* fris*] | ព្រែកប៊ុលទិន្នន័យ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | LSTP190 |
| 1388 | ពេលដ៏វែង, ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [vātana kām?* cav* fris*] | ចិនញ្វាសើរ ឈ. សុភាព WTY187 |
| 1389 | ពេលដ៏វែង, ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [vātana kām?* cav* fris*] | ចិនញ្វាសើរ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | NHK | WPNH200 |
| 1389 | ពេលដ៏វែង, ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [vātana kām?* cav* fris*] | ចិនញ្វាសើរ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | WPMH73 |
| 1389 | ពេលដ៏វែង, ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [vātana kām?* cav* fris*] | ចិនញ្វាសើរ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | WPMH59 |
| 1389 | ពេលដ៏វែង, ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [vātana kām?* cav* fris*] | ចិនញ្វាសើរ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | WPMH993 |
| 1389 | ពេលដ៏វែង, ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [vātana kām?* cav* fris*] | ចិនញ្វាសើរ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | LSMS97 |
| 1389 | ពេលដ៏វែង, ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [vātana kām?* cav* fris*] | ចិនញ្វាសើរ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | WPM125 |

| 1390 | ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [khandha hāt?*] | ព្រែកប៊ុលទិន្នន័យ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | WTY141 |
| 1390 | ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [khandha hāt?*] | ព្រែកប៊ុលទិន្នន័យ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | WTY148 |
| 1390 | ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [khandha hāt?*] | ព្រែកប៊ុលទិន្នន័យ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | WPMH73 |
| 1390 | ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [khandha hāt?*] | ព្រែកប៊ុលទិន្នន័យ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | WPMH59 |
| 1390 | ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [khandha hāt?*] | ព្រែកប៊ុលទិន្នន័យ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | WPMH993 |
| 1390 | ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [khandha hāt?*] | ព្រែកប៊ុលទិន្នន័យ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | WPMH178 |
| 1390 | ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [khandha hāt?*] | ព្រែកប៊ុលទិន្នន័យ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | WPMH127 |
| 1390 | ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [khandha hāt?*] | ព្រែកប៊ុលទិន្នន័យ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | WPMH257 |
| 1390 | ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [khandha hāt?*] | ព្រែកប៊ុលទិន្នន័យ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | WPMH885 |
| 1390 | ឈូរក្នុងប្រការស្រយោគ [khandha hāt?*] | ព្រែកប៊ុលទិន្នន័យ ឈ. សុភាព អ៊ូស [cav*' amāt*fris* min:*kān*] | WJK/141 |
1892 ពោធិសាត់ភ្លេ (cau’ kluoph) ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1893 ស្រុកពោធិសាត់ [cau’ sreum] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1894 មករាលដាលស្ថិតនៅ [cau’ phalad] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1895 ជីវិតស្ថិតនៅ [cau’ sly] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1896 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sry] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1897 ប៉ុស្បែងស្ថិតនៅ [cau’ svar] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1898 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sreum] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1899 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sly] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1900 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sry] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1901 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ svar] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1902 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sreum] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1903 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sly] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1904 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sreum] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1905 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sry] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1906 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ svar] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1907 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sreum] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1908 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sry] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1909 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ svar] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1910 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sreum] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1911 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sry] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1912 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ svar] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1913 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sreum] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1914 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sry] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1915 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ svar] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1916 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sreum] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1917 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sry] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1918 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ svar] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1919 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sreum] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1920 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sry] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1921 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ svar] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1922 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sreum] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1923 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ sry] ៖ ការបង្កើត។

1924 ស្រុកស្ថិត [cau’ svar] ៖ ការបង្កើត។
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>ពិភពយោងពីរាល់ជាងរីករាលដាល់ប្រភព (buddhavamsa stimsdy khan) ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>SRY WJK094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>សិធនាចែកជាតិដែលអាចនឹងជួយប្រភព [numiddha-pakkattha shiu phat pathama tca] ក្នុងជាតិសីលធម៌ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>WTY59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>ព្រះបាទមហាក្សត្រ ព្រះឃុន្ធដុន (naopya' ta thaua'; kot' ten' ko) ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>LSK723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>WJ842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យលេងរបស់ក្លឹបជាតិ (klaisthavattathu) ក្នុងជាតិសីលធម៌ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>WPMH204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>ជាតិសីលធម៌នៃក្លឹប [jatthuka akyaba] ក្នុងជាតិសីលធម៌ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>WTY720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>ព្រះបាទមហាក្សត្រ ព្រះឃុន្ធដុន (naopya' ta thaua'; kot' ten' ko) ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>AMIL WTY79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>ព្រះបាទមហាក្សត្រ ព្រះឃុន្ធដុន (naopya' ta thaua'; kot' ten' ko) ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>AMIL WTY784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>WTY61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>WPM032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>WJK015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>WPMH304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>WPMH312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>CDS LS41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>KK WPNH75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>កម្ពុជានៃ [kam' kha mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>KCT WJK019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>WJQ093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>PNY LS0A11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>LSA8M24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>CMN7 WPNH50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>CMN7 WPNH48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>WJQ094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>WPMH144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>WPMH1169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម៌ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>WJK028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>ប្រតិចារិយ្យសិទ្ធិជីវ្រូ ក្នុងក្បារពីសីលធម័ អង្គុយក្នុងក្បារ [care' siriemy mla taha's taur]</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>JNK WJK066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>អាយស្រែកទីពីរបំផ្លាញជាតិ ។ [កុរ្យីការីអ៊ីកស្រែក] ។ ឃុំស្រែក ។ នារី [ស្រែក] ។ ខ្សែយ ។ មុង (ស្រែក) ។ WPMH165</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>យូរ្យីនៅក្នុងការចាប់យកស្រែករបស់ភាគខាងក្រោយ ។ [ស្រែក] ។ យុត្តិបត្រការ ។ ខ្សែយ ។ មុង (ស្រែក) ។ WJK/142</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>បូព្យាយនៃក្រុមក្រុង [រូបវិញ្ញនាក្ស] ។ នារី។ នារី [ស្រែក] ។ WPMH150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>យូរ្យីនៅក្នុងការចាប់យកស្រែករបស់ភាគខាងក្រោយ ។ [ស្រែក] ។ យុត្របែបការ ។ ខ្សែយ ។ មុង (ស្រែក) ។ WTM116</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>យូរ្យីនៅក្នុងការចាប់យកស្រែករបស់ភាគខាងក្រោយ ។ [ស្រែក] ។ យុត្របែបការ ។ ខ្សែយ ។ មុង (ស្រែក) ។ WPMH244</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>យូរ្យីនៅក្នុងការចាប់យកស្រែករបស់ភាគខាងក្រោយ ។ [ស្រែក] ។ យុត្របែបការ ។ ខ្សែយ ។ មុង (ស្រែក) ។ TW/54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>បូព្យាយនៃក្រុងក្រុង [រូបវិញ្ញនាក្ស] ។ នារី។ នារី [ស្រែក] ។ WPMH139</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>យូរ្យីនៅក្នុងការចាប់យកស្រែករបស់ភាគខាងក្រោយ ។ [ស្រែក] ។ យុត្របែបការ ។ ខ្សែយ ។ មុង (ស្រែក) ។ SKZ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>យូរ្យីនៅក្នុងការចាប់យកស្រែករបស់ភាគខាងក្រោយ ។ [ស្រែក] ។ យុត្របែបការ ។ ខ្សែយ ។ មុង (ស្រែក) ។ WPMH242</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>យូរ្យីនៅក្នុងការចាប់យកស្រែករបស់ភាគខាងក្រោយ ។ [ស្រែក] ។ យុត្របែបការ ។ ខ្សែយ ។ មុង (ស្រែក) ។ WTM114</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>យូរ្យីនៅក្នុងការចាប់យកស្រែករបស់ភាគខាងក្រោយ ។ [ស្រែក] ។ យុត្របែបការ ។ ខ្សែយ ។ មុង (ស្រែក) ។ WPMH242</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>យូរ្យីនៅក្នុងការចាប់យកស្រែករបស់ភាគខាងក្រោយ ។ [ស្រែក] ។ យុត្របែបការ ។ ខ្សែយ ។ មុង (ស្រែក) ។ WPMH150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>យូរ្យីនៅក្នុងការចាប់យកស្រែករបស់ភាគខាងក្រោយ ។ [ស្រែក] ។ យុត្របែបការ ។ ខ្សែយ ។ មុង (ស្រែក) ។ WPMH150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>យូរ្យីនៅក្នុងការចាប់យកស្រែករបស់ភាគខាងក្រោយ ។ [ស្រែក] ។ យុត្របែបការ ។ ខ្សែយ ។ មុង (ស្រែក) ។ WPMH174</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>យូរ្យីនៅក្នុងការចាប់យកស្រែករបស់ភាគខាងក្រោយ ។ [ស្រែក] ។ យុត្របែបការ ។ ខ្សែយ ។ មុង (ស្រែក) ។ WPMH73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

khmer
Sample of Shan Manuscript Cover. This copy of Shan manuscript is entitled Sangkharabhajani, now kept at the British Library. Photo by Jotika Khur-Yearn, 2014.

Catalouging of Shan Manuscripts at Wat Jong Klang, Maehongson, Northern Thailand, January 2014.