

**Relationship between *Anisong* Manuscripts and Rituals:
A Comparative Study of the Lan Na and Lao Traditions**

Dissertation

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SILPSUPA JAENGSAWANG

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First Evaluator: Professor Dr. Volker Grabowsky

Second Evaluator: Professor Dr. Michael Zimmermann

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The Upper Mekong region



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Notes on Transcription and Transliteration of Thai and Lao

As the study deals with manuscripts written in slightly differing variants of the Tham (Dhamma) script – Tham Lan Na, Tham Lao and Tham Lü – it is very important to avoid inconsistencies and misunderstandings: the transcription from this script into the modern Thai script or the Roman alphabet have to be done carefully. As the language of Lan Na (Kam Müang or Tai Yuan), the Lao and Tai Lü languages, belong to the same southwestern branch of the Tai-Kadai linguistic family, differences with regard to syntax and grammar as well as to lexemes are rather minor, more important are phonetic differences, notably concerning tones and deviating pronunciations of consonants and vowels, not the grammatical structures. Thus, the transcription in this dissertation follows the regional pronunciation of the three particular languages by means of the Romanization system devised for conveying Thai syllables at the Asia-Africa-Institute at the University of Hamburg, which largely follows the system of Romanization stipulated by the Royal Thai Academy (*Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. 33, Part 1, 1941, pp. 49–65) with only slight modifications. For example, there are two additional symbols (ü, ò) applied (for representing ື່ອ and ອອ). This simplified system of Romanization of Thai (and Lao) terms neither indicates vowel length nor tones.

The different pronunciation between Thai or Siamese, on the one hand, and Lao and Northern Thai, on the other hand, pertains, in particular, to initial consonants; for example, /r/ in Thai (pronounced similarly to /r/) is pronounced /h/ in Lao and Northern Thai (like Thai /ร/), although it is represented as /r/ in the Dhamma script. Thus we transcribe Northern Thai and Lao words with initial /r/ as /h/: *hong mò* (hospitals), *haksa sin* (precept observation) and *hot* (to bathe). The aspirated voiceless palatal /ch/, written /ช/ in central Thai, becomes a voiceless sonorant /ʃ/ in Lao, thereby being transcribed as /s/: *Chiang Thòng* in central Thai becomes *Siang Thòng*. In Northern Thai the same consonant is pronounced as an unaspirated and voiceless palatal /c/.

The /r/ derived from foreign languages in Lao becomes /l/ and is transcribed into /l/, such as *thela* (senior monk), *lù* (or) and *palami* (perfections). Khamvone (2016) gives the explanation related to the /l/ as follows: “The old orthography, which was in use until the Lao revolution of 1975, differs from modern Lao with regard to the use of certain consonants and terms. For example, the old orthography retained both “l” and “r” in terms such as “*phra*” and “*thera*”. However, in modern Lao, the letter “r” was either eliminated or replaced by “l”. As such, the two above mentioned words are now spelled “*pha*” and “*thela*” (2015: xi).” Hence, the Thai /r/ and /l/ included in double-consonant syllables are omitted. Thus, /plong/ (ปลง) in Thai becomes /pong/ (ປົງ) in Lao; /pradap/ (ประดัพ) in Thai becomes /padap/ (ປະດັບ) in Lao. There are some exceptions, however, in the case of proper names and honorific titles of monks: Luang Prabang, Vientiane and Sathu Nyai Khamchan Virachitto follow the standardized orthography.

The different pronunciation between Thai and Tai Lü focuses more on vowel sounds; for example, the Thai /ia/ vowel becomes /e/ in Lü (*mia* VS *me* = “wife”), the Thai /ua/ vowel becomes /o/ in Lü (*hua* VS *ho* = “head”), and the Thai /üa/ vowel becomes /oe/ in Lü (*hüan* VS *hoen* = “house”). The Romanization system applied to the transcription of Tai Lü language follows the same pronunciation as in the case of Lao.

Regarding specific temple names in Laos, the Lao consonant /ᵛ/ is usually transcribed as “v” by scholars of Lao Studies; thus, the term “temple-monastery” is spelled as “vat” in Lao instead of “wat” in proper names. This tradition will be respected in my dissertation: Vat Suvannakhili, Vat Siang Muan, Vat Manolom, Vai Si Bun Hüang, etc. In the case of the two monasteries Vat Saen Sukharam and Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, however, the “ram” is used instead of “lam”, as is underlined, in order to be consistent with publications authored by Professor Dr. Volker Grabowsky and other Thai-Lao scholars. Yet, when referring to a Thai or Lao temple-monastery as a general term, I consistently use “Wat”.

This thesis applies the central Thai script for the transliteration of Northern Thai, Lao or Tai Lü texts written in the Tham script because the quotations excerpted from the manuscript corpora include Pali and vernacular languages which can be more comprehensively transliterated by means of the Thai script. Namely, due to the limitation of the Lao alphabets comprising an inventory of thirty-three consonants and twenty-eight vowels which is insufficient for the transliteration of Pali words, the Thai alphabets with forty-four consonants and twenty-one vowels are more appropriate to be applied to the research. By making use of the Thai script, the transliteration will thus follow the Thai orthography. The transliteration from Lao and Tai Lü manuscripts will be done with the Thai alphabet and orthography like Northern Thai manuscripts; for example, ເຂົ້າ (“rice”) in Lao is transliterated into ข้าว in Thai orthography.

To sum up, the transcription using a system of Romanization follows the pronunciation in Lao and Northern Thai, while the transliteration uses the central Thai script and follows modern Thai orthography. However, there is no translation from one language into another and the dialectal differences between Northern Thai, Lao and Tai Lü in the transcription and transliteration are kept, such as *het* (L: ເຮັດ “to do”), *khua* (NT/L/TL: ขัว “bridge”), *hü* (NT/TL: หื้อ “to give”), *thung* (NT/L: ทุ่ง “flag, banner”), *sao* (NT/L: ชาว “twenty”), *lua* (NT: หลัว “firewood”), *pham* (L: พาม “pavilion”), *paeng* (NT/L: แปง “to build”), *bòk fai* (NT: บอกไฟ “firework”) and *chòm* (L: ขอม “to give”). The following tables show the Romanization system applied to the study:

Consonant					
ก	ข/ค	ค/ค	ฆ	ง	จ
k	kh	kh	kh	ng	c
ฉ	ช	ช	ฌ	ญ	ฎ
ch	ch	s	ch	y	d
ฏ	ฐ	ฑ	ฒ	ณ	ด
t	th	th	th	n	d
ต	ถ	ท	ธ	น	บ
t	th	th	th	n	b
ป	ผ	ฝ	พ	ฟ	ภ
p	ph	f	ph	f	ph
ม	ย	ร	ล	ว	ศ
m	y	r	l	w	s
ซ	ส	ห	ฬ	ฮ	ฮ
s	s	h	l	ò	h

Table 0.1: Romanization system of consonant transcription

Vowel					
ะ	า	ิ	ี	ึ	ุ
-a	-a	-i	-i	-ü	-ü
ุ	ู	เะ	เ	แะ	แ
-u	-u	-e	-e	-ae	-ae
โะ	โ	เาะ	อ	เอะ	อ
-o	-o	-ò	-ò	-oe	-oe
เียะ	เีย	เือะ	เือ	เัวะ	เิว
-ia	-ia	-üa	-üa	-ua	-ua
ไ, ใ	าย	เา	าว	ำ	ุย
-ai	-ai	-ao	-ao	-am	-ui
ุย	ไย	อຍ	เย	อຍ	เือย
-ui	-oi	-òì	-oei	-oei	-üai
วย	ิว	เัว	เว	แัว	เียว
-uai	-io	-eo	-eo	-aeo	-iao

Table 0.2: Romanization system of vowel transcription

Notes on Dates and Eras

In Northern Thailand and neighbouring regions, documents were usually dated according to the Lesser Era (*cunlasakkarat* or *cūlasakarāja*), starting in the year 639 CE. This era originated from Burma (Myanmar) – where it is also called the “Burmese Era” – and spread almost all over central mainland Southeast Asia, including the Thai-Lao area, since the fourteenth century (see Mangrai 1981). The Great Era (*mahasakkarat* or *mahāsakarāja*), an era year calculation which was popular in the Thai-Lao world before the spread of the Lesser Era, remained the dominant era in Cambodia. Central Thai (Siamese) documents written in the early Rattanakosin period and even later, until the early twentieth century, were also dated in the Lesser Era. Later, in the late nineteenth century, the Rattanakosin Era (*rattanakosin sakkarat*), starting with the founding of Bangkok (CE 1782) as year 1, was used in official Siamese government documents. However, the Buddhist Era (*phutthasakkarat* or *buddhasakarāja*) has been applied to official documents since the reign of King Rama V (1868–1910) and has so far remained in use as the official calendar in Thailand. The following table provides the formulae to calculate the Lesser Era, the Great Era, the Rattanakosin Era and the Buddhist Era in terms of the Common Era (following the Gregorian Calendar):

Cunlasakkarat (Lesser Era, C.S.)	+638	= C.E.
Mahasakkarat (Great Era, M.S.)	+78	= C.E.
Rattanakosin sakkarat (Rattanakosin Era, R.S.)	+1781	= C.E.
Phutthasakkarat (Buddhist Era, Ph.S or B.E.)	-543 or -544	= C.E.

Besides numerals, year calculations found in Northern Thai manuscripts were identified by names, each of which comprises two elements – the year of the decade (10-year cycle) in relevance to the Lesser Era and the year of the animal cycle (12-year cycle). The combination is made up by means of pairing the two cycles, thereby arriving at a 60-year or sexagesimal cycle; i.e., the series of ten is repeated six times and the series of twelve five times. This calculation assists chronological investigations, especially those with year inconsistencies. The Tai (Northern Thai, Lao, Tai Lü, etc.) also know a sixty-day cycle¹. Many of the dates in

¹ However, Ferlus (2013) notes that the sexagesimal cycle is derived from the Chinese tradition: “Since the remotest antiquity, to describe the units of time, the Chinese have used a sexagesimal cycle named *tiāngān dìzhī* 天干地支, or *gānzhī* 干支, formed by combining a decimal cycle, the (ten) Heavenly Stems, *tiāngān* 天干, and a duodecimal cycle, the (twelve) Earthly Branches, *dìzhī* 地支. This system is attested in the Shang oracular inscriptions (15th–10th c. BCE) to record days. Later, it came to be used to refer to years. In some minority populations, the sexagesimal cycle is used in birth horoscopes to note any unit of time: year, month, day, hour, and even the moment of birth. According to Chinese tradition, the sexagesimal cycle was created in 2637 BCE by Huangdi, Huángdì 黃帝, the Yellow Emperor, a civilizing sovereign, when he was sixty. The calendar was calibrated on the birth of Huangdi, and began in 2697 BCE (see Table 1 below). The name of the first year of the

the colophons contain the day of this sexagesimal day cycle as well, either alone or along with the date of the week, which is considered a “Mon Tradition”.

Year of the decade	Siamese		Tai Lü, Tai Khün, Lan Na	
1	เอกศก	<i>ekkasok</i>	กัต	<i>kat</i>
2	โทศก	<i>thosok</i>	กต	<i>kot</i>
3	ตรีศก	<i>trisok</i>	ลัวง	<i>luang</i>
4	จัตวาศก	<i>cattawasok</i>	เต่า	<i>tao</i>
5	เบญจศก	<i>bencasok</i>	ก่า	<i>ka</i>
6	ฉศก	<i>chòsok</i>	กาบ	<i>kap</i>
7	สัปตศก	<i>saptasok</i>	ดับ	<i>dap</i>
8	อัศศก	<i>atthasok</i>	รวาย	<i>rawai / rai</i>
9	นพศก	<i>nopphasok</i>	เมิง / เมือง	<i>moeng / müang</i>
10	สัมฤทธิศก	<i>samritthisok</i>	เป็ก	<i>poek</i>

Table 0.3: Decimal Cycle of the Tai Lü and Siamese calendars

Nakṣatra / Animal cycle		Siamese		Tai Lü, Tai Khün, Lan Na	
1	Rat	ชวด	<i>chuat</i>	จั่ว	<i>cai</i>
2	Ox	ฉลู	<i>chalu</i>	เป้า	<i>pao</i>
3	Tiger	ขาล	<i>khan</i>	ยี่	<i>yi (ñi)</i>
4	Rabbit	เถาะ	<i>thò</i>	เหม้า	<i>mao</i>
5	Dragon	มะโรง	<i>marong</i>	สี่	<i>si</i>
6	Small snake	มะเส็ง	<i>maseng</i>	ไส้	<i>sai</i>
7	Horse	มะเมีย	<i>mamia</i>	สะง่า	<i>sanga</i>
8	Goat	มะแม	<i>mamae</i>	เม็ด	<i>met</i>
9	Monkey	วอก	<i>wòk</i>	สัน	<i>san</i>
10	Cock	ระกา	<i>raka</i>	เร้า	<i>rao</i>
11	Dog	จอ	<i>cò</i>	เส็ด	<i>set</i>
12	Pig	กุน	<i>kun</i>	ไก	<i>kai</i>

Table 0.4: The Twelve-year Animal Cycle of the Tai Lü and Siamese calendars

sexagesimal cycle is jiǎzǐ, formed by combining the first terms of both cycles. The second year is yǐchǒu, the third bǐngyín, and so on, spelling out all the possible combinations. The jiǎzǐ year appears again every sixty years, starting a new sexagesimal cycle. Seventy-eight cycles have elapsed since the beginning of computation. The year 2013 of the Gregorian calendar (or more precisely, from 2 February 2013 to 31 January 2014), named guǐsī 癸巳, is the thirtieth year of the seventy-ninth cycle” (2013: 1).

Different regions begin the year in different months. In Laos and Siam, the *caitra* month was known as ‘the fifth month’, as ‘the seventh month’ in Northern Thailand and as ‘the sixth month’ in Chiang Tung and Chiang Rung (Sipsòng Panna). However, as a result of the immigration from Chiang Tung and Chiang Rung towards Northern Thailand, dating systems written in local inscriptions and manuscripts were, instead of following the Chiang Mai calendar, calculated by the Chiang Tung calendar. The following table shows the Sanskrit names of the months in comparison to the three calendars used among the Tai-speaking domain:

Sanskritic month name	Corresponding Tai Month-Number		
	Siamese / Lao	Tai Lü / Tai Khün	Lan Na
Caitra	5	6	7
Vaiśākha	6	7	8
Jyeṣṭha	7	8	9
Aṣāḍha ²	8	9	10
Śrāvaṇa	9	10	11
Bhādrapada	10	11	12
Aśvina	11	12	1
Kārttika	12	1	2
Mārgaśīrṣa	1	2	3
Pauṣa	2	3	4
Māgha	3	4	5
Phalguṇa	4	5	6

Table 0.5: Month-numbering System in the Tai lunar calendar (Eade 1996: 242)

The Northern Thai, the Lao and the Tai Lü calculate in lunar months, each month being divided into a waxing and a waning phase. The names are known by their Tai number, the only exceptions being the first and second months called *ciang* (*ceng*) and *kam*, respectively. The fifteenth day is nearly always called “full moon” (*wan pheng*). Whenever possible, all dates have been converted into the Western (Gregorian) calendar with the assistance of J. C. Eade’s manuals (1989, 1995 and 1996) and with Lars Gislén’s computer programme based on Eade’s work. It is important to note that the Christian year, *anno domini*, starts on 1 January, whereas the *cūlasakarāja* year (CS) begins approximately three months later.

² To balance the differences between the lunar and the solar year, a three-month (lunar) is introduced every two to three years by a doubling of the month Aṣāḍha; for example, the year CS 1166 (AD 1804/05) has a “first month Aṣāḍha” (Pratomaṣāḍha) and a “second month Aṣāḍha” (Tutyaṣāḍha) (see Eade 1989).

Notes on Citations and Bibliography

Publications written in English, Lao and Thai languages by Thai and Lao scholars – such as Apiradee Techasiriwan, Arthid Sheravanichkul, Bounleuth Sengsoulin and Khamvone Boulyaphonh – are cited in the dissertation according to their names, not their surnames as is the case for citations of works written by western scholars. Thus the four scholars above are cited as Apiradee, Arthid, Bounleuth and Khamvone (and not Techasiriwan, Sheravanichkul, Sengsoulin, and Boulyaphonh), regardless of languages of their publications. Here I follow a general convention in Thai and Lao studies because in Thai and Lao cultures, persons are commonly called by their names rather than recognized by their last names. In the Bibliography, unlike those of western scholars, their first names precede the last names without interruption of a comma (,) consequently.

List of Abbreviations

BAD	Buddhist Archive of Documents
BAP	Buddhist Archive of Photography
BMZ	German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development
C	Calendrical (ritual)
CE	Common Era
COM	Composite Manuscript
CR	Chiang Rung (in Sipsòng Panna)
CR	Common (ritual) (only in Chapter Four)
CS	Cunlasakkarat or <i>Cūlasakarāja</i> (Lesser Era)
CSMC	The Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures
CVG	Collection of Volker Grabowsky
DELMN	Dokumentarische Erfassung literarischer Materialien in den Nordprovinzen Thailands
DFG	German Research Foundation
DLLM	Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts
DLNTM	Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts
E	English
EUR	Euro
EAP	(The British Library's) Endangered Archives Programme
EFEO	École française d'Extrême-Orient
G	Gift-giving (ritual)
Ger	German
Khm	Khmer
LFNC	Lao Front for National Construction

LPRP	Lao People’s Revolutionary Party
L	Lao
Lao PDR	Lao Peoples’ Democratic Republic
LE	Lesser Era
Lit	literally
M	Miscellaneous (ritual)
ML	Müang Lòng
MS	Manuscript
MTM	Multiple-text manuscript
NT	Northern Thai
P	Pali
PNTMP	Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Programme
PUA	Phayap University Archives
R	Rite of passage (ritual)
RR	Regional (ritual)
Skt	Sanskrit
STM	Single-text manuscript
Th	Thai
THB	Thai Baht
TL	Tai Lü
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VXC	Vat Siang Cai in Luang Namtha, Laos
ชม	เชียงใหม่ (Chiang Mai province)
ชร	เชียงราย (Chiang Rai province)
นน	น่าน (Nan province)
พย	พะเยา (Phayao province)

พร	แพร่ (Phrae province)
มส	แม่ฮ่องสอน (Mae Hông Sòn province)
ลป	ลำปาง (Lampang province)
ลพ	ลำพูน (Lamphun province)

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Introduction

The primary concern of having pure generosity (*dāna*), basically conceptualized by Theravāda Buddhist notions¹, is the genuine devotion of donors towards the recipients of their meritorious deeds. As these deeds ought to be done voluntarily, recipients are not expected to compensate the donor's kindness, feeling obliged to express their gratitude for the gift. The purist intention of gift-giving, as can be seen, is reflected in a large amount of Buddhist literature which mentions or deals with the meritorious outcomes or benefits resulting from meritorious deeds; the benefits are perceived as 'rewards' or *bun* (P: *puñña*) in contrast to *bap* (P: *pāpa*) or 'bad result' or 'punishment' caused by sinful deeds. *Bun* and *bap* are thus considered the 'fruits' (P: *phala*) generated from individual deeds (Skt: *karma*, P: *kamma*)². Although recipients are not necessarily expected to give something back to donors, merit-makers can look forward at least to rewards (*anisong*) in future lives or an improved life quality in their present existence due to the good *karma*. Benefits, rewards or incentives gained from meritorious actions are known as *anisong* (P: *ānisaṃsa*) which is textually categorized as a Theravāda Buddhist literary genre especially found in the Tai-Lao cultural domain, but is also known in other Buddhist countries in Southeast Asia like Burma (Myanmar) and Cambodia. *Anisong* is a large corpus of Buddhist literature and is directly associated with the belief in meritorious rewards resulting from generosity.

Based on the fundamental belief in glorious rewards one could gain from meritorious deeds, unlike the Pali short recitation given immediately by recipient monks³, *anisong* sermons, in

¹ *Dāna* or generosity is included in various Dhamma classifications such as the Ten Meritorious Actions (P: *dasā puñṇakiriya vattu*, บุญกิริยาวัตถุ ๑๐), Four Bases of Sympathy (P: *saṅgaha vattu 4*, สังคหะวัตถุ ๔), Three Actions of Righteous People (P: *sappurisa pañṇatti 3*, สัพปุริสปัญญัตติ ๓), Ten Royal Virtues (P: *dasabhidhā rājadhama*, ทศพีธราชธรรม ๑๐), Four Powers (P: *bala 4*, พละ ๔), Five Moralities (P: *pañca dhamma*, เบญจธรรม), Thirty-eight Steps towards enlightenment (P: *maṅgala 38*, มงคล ๓๘) and Ten Perfections (P: *dasā pāramī*, ทศบารมี) (Arthid 2009: 30–31). Generosity is followed by people to give up selfishness and considered as fundamental moral deed before stepping forward to higher morality because it is said to develop detachment in one's mind.

² Deeds or actions are judged as *bun* or *bap* depending on one's 'intention' to deliberately cause positive or negative results. Right intention is known as *sammāsaṅkappa* and leads people to the ultimate peace. Ajahn Munindo explains that "the factor of the Path mentioned following on from right view is right intention, *sammāsaṅkappa*. This is the link between our views and the next three factors of speech, action and livelihood. The domain of views addresses our underlying perspectives on life, while the factor of intention can be considered as referring to how the thinking and perceiving which arise out of these views in turn condition our actions. It serves to connect our basic consumptions with our active participation in life" (1997: 100–101).

³ The short verse recitation aims at blessing the donors (*anumodanā*) while not intending to explain to the donors the content of a Pali blessing that is totally different from *anisong* sermons in which preaching monks read the texts written verbatim in Pali and vernacular languages (but not *nissaya* texts, see Chapter Five) so that the audience could understand it. Another difference is the length of the two activities; while *anumodanā* lasts not over one minute, *anisong* sermons spend circa twenty minutes and are planned in a more structured and serious way. Sihlé explains *anumodanā* as follows: "In striking contrast to the oft-mentioned, seemingly normative non-

response to the expectation of benefits in return, are given as part of religious rituals on different kinds of occasions, in which the merit makers are assured of their donation or effort in a merit-making participation, because *anisong* is defined by results of positive deeds generated by merit-making, thereby being used as a religious literary genre explaining the benefits derived from meritorious acts. The textual content is generally composed of an introductory text and an embedded narrative derived from Jātaka stories or referring to canonical texts and is mainly aimed at explaining past situations, narrated by Lord Buddha or his disciples during their lifetimes, in which somebody was greatly rewarded for his/her particular meritorious actions. Lay merit-makers would become convinced of their forthcoming rewards in future rebirths, heaven or future life conditions; the sermons are thus called *anisong* due to the core intention to explain fruitful benefits of certain meritorious deeds. Sihlé states the following:

In the present case, a worthy recipient of the gift is needed, but no agent can be said to reciprocate the gift. Instead, we find the expectation that the act of gift-giving in itself will generate positive *returns*, typically in the form of merit, the increase of which will contribute to a favourable rebirth or future worldly benefits for the donor (Sihlé 2015: 363).

In Laos, however, the sermon is popularly known by the terms *salòng* or *sòng* – from Khmer *chlañ* ផ្កា “to dedicate”, “to celebrate”⁴ – which literally mean ‘to transit’ or ‘to celebrate’. *Anisong* sermons in Laos are held as the Lao terminological interpretation of the term insinuates – for the Lao audience attending *anisong* sermons, to virtually celebrate their accomplished meritorious acts in expectation of rewards. Besides the aforementioned meanings, evidenced by scribal colophons, *anisong* manuscripts from Laos diversely conceptualize the notions of *anisong* or *salòng* in broader senses. The following quotation is from the colophon of a palm-leaf manuscript kept at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, a monastery which had been under royal patronage for centuries and was the seat of the Supreme Patriarch of Laos until CE 1975. The underlined *salòng* in this sense is defined by “rewards”, similar to the notion of *anisong* or “benefits” in the Northern Thai tradition.

acknowledgement of the gift of alms by a monastic recipient, we also find instances in which alms or donations are acknowledged by the recitation of verses, the choice of which may depend on circumstances such as the nature of the goods donated. These verses, often described as ‘blessings’ in the literature, aim at encountering liberality and often consist in wishes of happiness, well-being, protection from misfortune and the fulfillment of the donor’s desires (see for instance Tambiah 1970, p. 208; Guruge & Bond 1998, p.85; Gellner 1992, pp. 120–121, 185–188). The term most commonly used to describe them is *anumodanā* (P./S.), which literally refers to an expression of thanks or rejoicing” (Sihlé 2015: 363).

⁴ The primary meaning of the Khmer word ផ្កា, however, is “to cross”, “to intersect”, as is also the case in the infixed form *camlòng* (จำลอง) in Thai and there also means “to celebrate across” (e.g., to the New Year). Bounleuth defines the two terms *sòng* and *salòng* as follows: “In comparison with other types of religious texts, *Anisong* texts are not long, however, their contents and structures are particular. However, another Lao word related to the name of the category of these texts should be mentioned, *sòng*. At first, this word might have been used to indicate this category, and *salòng* was then used as a variant form of *sòng*. Later, Buddhist scholars changed the Pali word *ānisamsa* into the Lao word *Anisong*, meaning, in essence, the results of merit-making. However, this word might have become common and familiar in Laos before being used as the name of the category (2016: 131).”

The manuscript was given together with other items to a monastery and the sponsors considered all the objects in this donation unit as ‘agencies’ generating meritorious rewards for themselves. Hence, the definition of *salòng* in the manuscript is comparatively identical to and/or perhaps influenced by the Northern Thai culture of *anisong* preaching.

กัปปิยะและจิ้งห้นของฉันทันประณีตบรรจงแก่พระภิกษุสงฆ์ มีองค์พระปฏิมากรเป็นต้นเป็นประการในกาลครั้งนี้ ก็มีผลานิสงส์นั้นยิ่งขึ้นไปกว่าเก่า เรียกว่าสลอนนี้ ได้ชื่อว่าเฉลิมเพิ่มเข้าให้ผลมากกว่าเก่า ดังอาตมาสำแดงมา เอวัง ก็มีด้วยประการฉะนี้แล

[May our] *kappiya canghan* or delicious foods together with the Buddha image as the principal dedication reward us with greater benefits known as *salòng* that could enhance us with even greater merit, in response to our presented donation. That is all⁵.

Another example is from a palm-leaf manuscript recording a liturgical sermon⁶ directly given by the Supreme Patriarch of Laos during the annual *Kathin* festival on October 27, 1968. The international Thai-Lao ceremony was hosted by His Excellency Sawai Sawaisaenyakòn and attended by a large number of participants. The *anisong* sermon, clearly explained in the excerpted colophon below, was publicly delivered as a supplement to ‘praise’ the religious faith (L: *sattha*) of the participating laypeople who accomplished the joint merit in the big annual event. The sense in which *salòng* is used corresponds precisely to ‘celebration’.

บัดนี้จะได้แสดงพระธรรมเทศนา อนุโมทนาบุญกุศล จริยสัมมาปฏิบัติพอเป็นเครื่องฉลองศรัทธาอุปสาทะ ความเชื่อความเลื่อมใส และบำรุงสติปัญญาของพุทธบริษัทในมหาสมาคมโดยอานุภาพแก่บุญราศีกฐินสามัคคีในครั้งนี้ตามสมควรแก่กาลเวลา

From now on, [I] will deliver a Buddhist sermon to congratulate the well-behaved merit for the purpose of celebrating [the Buddhist religious] faith and sustaining the wisdom of the Buddhist community on the proper [auspicious] occasion of the *Kathin* festival⁷.

Hundreds of *anisong* texts from Northern Thailand and Laos inscribed in extant manuscripts made of different kinds of writing support – palm leaves, mulberry paper and industrial paper – reveal that not only were religious activities carried out by Buddhist laypersons on various ceremonies, but they were also frequently accompanied by an *anisong* sermon given by monks after the accomplishment of meritorious activity. The textual content is in general composed of introductory texts and embedded narratives derived from Jātaka stories or referring to canonical texts, and is mainly aimed at explaining past situations, narrated by Lord Buddha or his disciples during their lifetimes, in which somebody was greatly rewarded

⁵ The colophon of a multiple-text manuscript containing three similar texts, each of which pertains to rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon, code: 06011406003-24, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1942.

⁶ This manuscript was intended to record the preaching words given by the venerable monk on the occasion of the annual festival. The names of persons, the place and the date of the event were recorded as part of the text, not as paratexts/paracontents; the manuscript thus cannot be read for any sermons. Meritorious wishes expected by the sponsors are not mentioned in the manuscript because it was not written for accumulating merit for them.

⁷ *Salòng kathin* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Kathin* festival), code: 06011406001-03, Luang Prabang, year unknown.

for his/her particular meritorious actions. Unlike many other Buddhist texts, *anisong* were written in Pali and vernacular languages, so that the contents could be easily followed by the lay audience.

The concept of *karma* is evidently reflected in the *anisong* texts, which have drawn the attention of scholars especially from Buddhist studies who concentrate on this literary genre, since it is thought to represent the ultimate truth pertaining to the polarity of good and bad *karma* that subsequently generate good and bad results, according to the Buddha's Teachings. The meritorious deeds, based on Theravāda Buddhist beliefs, can lead practitioners to have a better rebirth in heaven, the human world or the new era of the forthcoming Buddha Maitreya after the end of the present Buddhist period, approximately 2,500 years henceforth. The ideal society will be created in that period, after the disappearance of the present Buddhist era and the deterioration of Buddhism, i.e., at the end of five-thousand years.

After seven days, they⁸ would emerge and create a new society based on mutual goodwill and a commitment to morality. Gradually the human life span would begin to increase again. Following a period of intense rainfall, the earth would flourish with vegetation, and villages would be thickly populated. The surface of the earth would be as smooth as a drumhead, rice would husk itself, people would be handsome and free from physical disabilities, spouses would be faithful to one another, and all beings would live in harmony. At that time, Metteyya would be born in the human realm and attain enlightenment (Brereton 1995: 11).

The rewards written in *anisong* texts, on the one hand, illustrate their wishes of improved lives in the future and indicate the dissatisfaction with their present lives, on the other hand. The belief in good *karma* leading to good results⁹ thus influenced the concept of 'generating' rewards or *bun*; making merit is popularly considered as 'exchange'¹⁰ to gain meritorious benefits in return, as is explained by the venerable monk Luang Pu Fan Acāro (หลวงปู่ฝั้น อาจาโร) in his book entitled กรรมกับอานิสงส์การทำบุญ (Karma and Rewards derived from Merit-Making):

⁸ Wise people who had retreated to the forest and hidden themselves in caves.

⁹ *Karma* might appear to be a straightforward idea: as its English glosses suggest, "You get what you deserve," or "What goes around comes around." In Thai, *karma* is usually discussed fairly straightforwardly, too "*Tham di dai di tham chua dai chua* (ทำดีได้ดี ทำชั่วได้ชั่ว)," meaning "Do good and meet with good, do bad and meet with bad," echoing a phrase found in speech and school textbooks throughout the country. But the way *karma* understood to work is complicated. Unlike a general sense of things changing that people in all time and place may feel, the felt reality of *karma* is not typically as graspable for people who have not grown up with it. As a description of moral causation, *karma* is about actions that carry with them the seeds of their effects (see Cassaniti 2015: 149–150).

¹⁰ However, Sihlé cautions that the notion of exchange is not to be generalized in the context of gift-giving to monasteries or monks for the official organization of religious ceremonies: "The notion of remuneration or exchange appears to be strongly avoided in Theravāda Buddhism contexts, and terms like *dāna* or its vernacular equivalents are preferred to designate the presentation of goods in return for religious services" (Sihlé 2015: 370).

เราต้องเชื่อมั่นไว้ในผลานิสงส์ที่เราได้ทำไว้ทางวัตรนี้แหละ เช่นว่า เราต้องการวัตถุ ข้าวของเงินทอง ก็ต้องอาศัยอานิสงส์ของเราที่ได้สละไว้ คือ เมื่อเราได้ทำบุญให้ทานแล้ว เกิดในชาติใดภพใดในปัจจุบัน และในเบื้องหน้าก็ดี ผลานิสงส์ของเรานี้แหละนำผลสะท้อนมา จึงได้มีโภคสมบัติ เป็นคนไม่อดไม่อยาก เป็นคนไม่ทุกข์ไม่ยาก เพราะเราได้ฝากไว้แล้วในพระพุทธรศาสนา ฝังอยู่ในจิตใจของเราแล้ว เพราะเราได้ทำไว้สร้างไว้ ผลานิสงส์นั้นๆ ก็ติดตน นำตัวเหมือนกับเงาตามตัวของเราไป ไปในชาติใดภพใดก็ตาม

We have to be assured of the results gained from our practices. For instance, [if] we desire properties, commodities and money, we can expect [to gain it] from the outcomes of gift-giving (*ānisaṃsa*); namely, as a result of *dāna* (donation), [the merit derived from the donation] leads us to wealth without starving and suffering in every present and future life; as we accumulate [the merit] in Buddhism and the merit stays in our minds. Thanks to the accumulated merit, the rewards derived from merit-making accompany us like a shadow in any of our next lives (Fan Ajaro 1996: 13–14).

A variety of merit-accumulating methods are thus found to be inextricably interrelated to religious, socio-cultural and economic aspects in different localities, in which laypeople are exposed to diverse meritorious practices according to their personal choices. *Anisong* sermons accordingly emerged to play a significant role in accordance with individual expectations of great rewards derived from certain meritorious actions. Religious ceremonies in which laypeople could expect meritorious outcomes often include an *anisong* sermon at the end of the ceremonies in order to confirm upcoming rewards that could be gained, on the one hand, and, being collaborative ceremonies assisted by local people, to thank the audience for their investment of time and labour and their participation in the ceremonies, on the other hand. The large number of *anisong* manuscripts provided for preaching rituals reflect the popularity of religious ceremonies; i.e., *anisong* manuscripts used for popular ceremonies were more frequently made than those for other ceremonies. The sermons delivered by monks who read texts from the manuscript in their hands can symbolize direct liturgies given by Lord Buddha, because monks are considered as successors of Buddha Gotama and manuscripts in Buddhist rituals record the Dhamma or Teachings of the Buddha. Besides, resulting from the explanation of rewards, the audience can seemingly experience being ‘blessed’ by Buddha with his teaching words. *Anisong* preaching is thus additionally held at the end of religious activities in order to psychologically serve as a confirmation of upcoming rewards and ‘mark’ the completion of merit-making as follows:

การแสดงพระธรรมเทศนาบอกอานิสงส์เพื่อปลูกปสาทศรัทธาของเจ้าภาพและพุทธศาสนิกชน ให้เห็นผลของงานแต่ละประเภท แต่ละฤดูกาลที่มาถึง

An *anisong* sermon aims at promoting Buddhist religious faith of ceremonial hosts and followers to realize the consequences of different kinds of religious occasions [in which they participated] dated in different seasons (Pui Saengchai 1968: unspecified page number).

The diversity of merit-accumulation written in *anisong* texts can therefore illustrate myriad ways of merit-making in Buddhist religious cultures that are not merely restricted to gift-giving but also include the participation in different religious ceremonies; i.e., the belief in meritorious rewards and the *anisong* preaching tradition are significantly present in several kinds of rituals. The sermon is delivered by a monk who holds a book or manuscript in their

hands while preaching the liturgical *anisonḡ* texts to the audience which generally takes within half an hour. Nowadays, *anisonḡ* sermons are sometimes additionally required at the end of religious ceremonies.

Like the tradition of *anisonḡ* sermons which is still alive in the Thai and Lao world, the accumulation of merit and karmic results written in the textual genre of *anisonḡ* are reproduced in present-day printed books and online media and emphasized by scholars of religious studies and textual origins, such as canonical sources, *Jātaka* and folk tales. Arthid explains that narratives in *anisonḡ* texts are from *sutra* and other texts such as the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, the *Commentary on the Apadāna*, the *Paññasa-Jātaka*, along with many new and non-classical compositions (see Arthid 2012: 40–41). The main focus of *anisonḡ* studies has thus concentrated on the textual contents rather than manuscripts as objects, materials or books, or the relationships to ritual practices. Further investigation reveals that *anisonḡ* texts inscribed in palm-leaf manuscripts are mainly found in Northern Thailand (Lan Na) and Laos where the tradition of *anisonḡ* sermons is still alive. The earliest extant *anisonḡ* manuscripts from the two regions are made of palm leaves and were written in the mid-17th century; the earliest one from Northern Thailand is *Anisonḡ buaṭ* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies) found in Lampang province, written in CE 1666 (source: PNTMP, code: ลป 0306004-05), and the earliest one from Laos is *Salòṅ paeng pham* (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions), found in Attapū province and written in CE 1652 (source: DLLM, code: 17010106001-11). Furthermore, the development of *anisonḡ* manuscripts led to the use of mulberry paper and industrial paper, as well as different writing tools, following the arrival of modern printing technology which has substantially influenced manuscript production.

A limited accessibility of *anisonḡ* manuscripts was caused by the specific Tham script (will be explained later) which was exclusively taught and transmitted among monastic schools, despite other scripts being prevalent in the locality, which raises the question of why *anisonḡ* manuscripts were not exposed to other secular scripts. Such a restriction to Tham script users reveals how particular copies and transmissions were limited to the group of people literate in the Tham script. This question could be simply resolved if the Tham script was specifically used in palm-leaf manuscripts, but, on the contrary, mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts were also written with the Tham script. The script was not determined by a certain kind of writing support but by the genre of religious texts or liturgical texts in the case of *anisonḡ*; it is thus clear that *anisonḡ* manuscripts were particularly intended for preaching merely by monks and novices, as is stated by an instruction statement shown at the beginning of the following book that collects a number of *anisonḡ* texts:

เหมาะแก่ท่านเจ้าอาวาส นักรธรรมกถึก ท่านผู้สนใจในธรรมปฏิบัติ และนักค้นคว้าทั่วไป

[This book] is appropriate for abbots, preachers (who are supposed to be monks), users with interest in practical Dhamma and researchers (Pui Saengchai 1968: unspecified page number).

Regarding the perception of *anisonḡ* manuscripts as ‘tools’, considering the scribes and sponsors of *anisonḡ* manuscripts in the corpus, scribes or writers had to be monks, novices and ex-monks who were regarded as Tham script experts, whereas sponsors were unspecified in terms of social status, age, gender and the number of people allowed in group dedications. Accordingly, commissions and donations of *anisonḡ* manuscripts comparatively resembled other kinds of donation items: Buddha images, ordination halls, pulpits; in other words, an *anisonḡ* manuscript was another popular alternative to be dedicated to the religion in exchange for meritorious rewards. Yet, *anisonḡ* manuscripts are not only carriers of ‘texts’ but are also considered as ‘objects’ in response to the beliefs, notions and values of Theravāda Buddhism. The copying of an *anisonḡ* text is itself considered a meritorious act which is marked by a “completion ceremony” (Khm: *chlañ*, L: *salòḡ*) determining the “fruitage and benefits” (Th: *phon anisonḡ* ผลอานิสงส์; P: *phala-ānisaḡsa*) accruing to the scribe and to the donor (Bernon n.d. b., p. 8). Thus, if *anisonḡ* literature is obviously destined to promote the Dhamma and to incite believers’ faith and devotion, it also assumes through its practical expressions and economic dimension which rest upon the subsistence and thus the very existence of the community of monks and, on a broader level, the upholding of the socio-religious structures. In practical terms, *anisonḡ* manuscripts can be divided into two categories. The first consists of manuscripts composed or copied by monks themselves for their personal use in ceremonies and liturgy. The second category comprises manuscripts sponsored either by members of the *Saḡha* themselves or – more frequently – by laypersons who once had been ordained as monks or novices.

After having thoroughly analysed the manuscripts as objects and as microfilmed files, it becomes even clearer that *anisonḡ* manuscripts are not only composed of texts but also of other elements relevant to both texts and contexts. As they are found ‘around’ (*para*) the texts in *anisonḡ* manuscripts, textual elements are called paratexts and (non-)textual elements are called paracontent¹¹. Paracontents and paratexts have rarely been studied yet, given the focus on the text maintained by most religious scholars or the lack of literacy in the Dhamma script which was commonly used for writing *anisonḡ* manuscripts. As manuscripts are productive outcomes made within certain societies, all parts which together make up a manuscript bear culture-related features. Thus, having been ignored or simply overlooked so far,

¹¹ “Prefaces, notes, tables of contents, commentaries, titles, sub-titles, interlinear and marginal glosses, colophons, subscriptions, epigraphs, *ex-libris*, and seals, some illuminations, pictures, diagrams, and tables, and in some manuscript cultures even punctuation, diacritics, reading-aids, accentuation and marks (if not an essential part of the writing system) are paracontent (e.g., the addition of hand-written punctuation marks in Chinese block-prints by a reader). According to our definition of paracontent, page/folio numbers, quire numbers, catchwords should also be included in the list, since they provide data about manuscripts as physical objects. Manuscript cultures have their own categories to name different kinds of paracontent. Paracontent can have a bearing on both the core-content and/or the manuscript. If a manuscript containing a poem in addition features glosses to the words perceived as difficult, these will tell us something about the core-content. The same manuscript may also contain a colophon, where one can read the name of the scribes, the date and place of production of the manuscript, etc. At the same time, paracontent can also tell us something about the manuscript, thus helping us to reconstruct the activity of a specific scholar” (TNT Working Group 2018: 2–3).

paratexts/paracontents in *anisong* manuscript are likely to fill the gap of knowledge concerning the socio-cultural contexts in which the manuscripts were written for the purpose of ritual usage on different kinds of occasions. Through the analysis, *anisong* manuscript contexts or ‘settings’ can be more comprehensively viewed from a wider angle; paracontents and paratexts are tools for discovering cultural traces hidden on another layer behind the superficial surface, as is explained by Ciotti et al in the following:

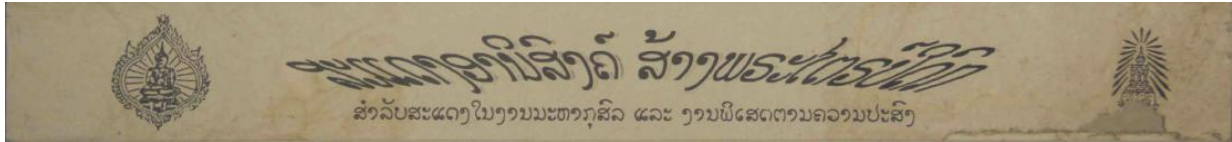
Paracontent can provide explicit and/or implicit information about the manuscript’s setting and the people who produced and used it. To modern scholars, paracontent may yield more information than that which its producers originally intended to convey. For instance, a scribal colophon intended to preserve the scribe’s name and to have it included in the users’ prayers may give us information about the manuscript’s setting, scribal practices, the scribe’s status as a cleric or layperson, the status of scribes, and so on (TNT Working Group 2018: 2).

Appearing in a large number of *anisong* manuscripts, colophons are the main documentary paratexts comprehensively giving socio-cultural information about the contexts of manuscripts. According to the colophons, the production purposes of the manuscripts were considerably influenced by the belief in the era of the next Buddha Maitreya (Metteyya) period or the new Buddhist era coming after the disappearance of the Dhamma. Before the end of the current Buddhist period, the Dhamma or Buddha Gotama’s Teaching is prone to become extinct if the Buddhist canon (P: *tipiṭaka*) or other religious books are not copied or increased in number. Although the sponsors were not assured that their donated manuscripts would really be used by monks in any rituals, like the present-day donation of prayer books, they wanted the specific merit generated by offering books to help extend the religion on the primary belief in Buddha Maitreya. This is also the case of *Phra Malai* palm-leaf manuscripts in Northern Thailand studied by Brereton, who explains the main intention of manuscript commissioning to support Buddhism as follows:

The colophons of these manuscripts, written in Lan Na Thai, provide valuable information concerning the time, place, and circumstances in which the text was copied. A theme echoed repeatedly in the colophons is the importance of preserving Buddhism – if it is to be kept vital, the basic texts must continually be copied. The vast majority of colophons explain the motivating factors in their creation with a declaration similar to the following: “Written...in support of the Excellence Teachings of [the] Buddha so that they may [last] for five thousand years (Brereton 1995: 53).

In many cases, *anisong* manuscripts were dedicated to monasteries due to their short-length texts written within approximately fifteen folios, thereby investing less labour, materials and budget. Although not every dedicated manuscript could be expected to be used in rituals, the liturgical texts written in the manuscripts illustrate the notion and belief in different kinds of merit including the means to gain merit. Not only can *anisong* manuscripts reveal the preaching tradition, but they can also evidence diverse meritorious deeds which have been practised until the present day. In addition, a number of *anisong* manuscripts in the corpus have been textually and materially influenced by new kinds of merit-making and modern

printing technologies, revealing that *anisong* sermons have been developed and dynamically transformed over time. Modern printed manuscripts clearly reveal the strong belief in the acquisition of merit through book-copying and the tradition of *anisong* preaching which is still commonly believed and existent in the present time.



(First line): (Title) Sermonic text of rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon

(Second line): (Aim) For the purpose of preaching on auspicious and special occasions

Figure I.1: Printed *anisong* mulberry paper manuscript

Anisong sang pha trai pidok (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon)

Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-033, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, year unknown

Secondly, merit-transfer to dead recipients is found to have been another frequent reason¹² for commissioning *anisong* manuscripts, influenced by the aforementioned belief in the merit derived from copying religious books; and any kinds of merit can be transferred to spirit recipients who usually are deceased family members and relatives¹³, venerable persons¹⁴ or even deities¹⁵. A commission of *anisong* manuscripts could be done individually or in a group; a large number of *anisong* manuscripts are found to have been produced in collaboration with a group of family members who were responsible for different tasks,

¹² The study of Apiradee Techasiriwan on religious manuscripts of the Tai Lü shows the dominant purpose of manuscript dedication as follows: “154 colophons found in the manuscripts that constitute my corpus and, in particular, those found in manuscripts containing religious texts written in Tai Lü inform us that the main reasons for donating manuscripts to monasteries were to support Buddhism, paying homage to the triple gems (Buddha, *dharmma*, *saṅgha*) and producing merit for future lives until reaching *nibbāna*” (Apiradee: 2016: 38).

¹³ For example, the colophon in a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong sappathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) (Source: DELMN, code: 1043, Wat Sung Men, Phrae, CE 1913) states: “Moreover, I dedicate the merit [derived from copying the manuscript] to my father, my mother, my teacher, my preceptor and my relatives who have passed away to the otherworld. May the merit successfully reach them”, ข้าข้าจักอุทิศส่วนบุญเจ็งนี้ ไปรอดไปถึงแก่พระบิดา พระมารดา ครูบาอาจารย์ อุปัชฌาย์ ญาติกาแห่งข้า ผุงอันจตุตตายไปสู่โลก ภายหน้า ขอให้อนาบุญเจ็งนี้ ไปรอดไปถึงแท้ดีหลี.

¹⁴ For example, the colophon in a multiple-text manuscript containing four *anisong* texts (Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0786, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 1946) states: “Pha Virachitto (Khamchan) from Vat Saen sponsored [the commission of copying the manuscript] to transfer the merit to Sathu Nyai Kaenchan in commemoration of the third anniversary of his death on the second waxing-moon day of the eleventh lunar month, on Friday, in the Year of the Dog, BE 2489 (CE 1946) (corresponding to Friday, 27 September 1946)”, พระวีระจิตโต (คำจันทร์) วัดแสน สร้างอุทิศกุศลแก่สาธุใหญ่แก่นจันทร์ เนื่องในการทำบุญชววันมรณภาพรอบปีที่ ๓ วันศุกร์ ขึ้น ๒ ค่ำ เดือน ๑๑ ปีจอ พ.ศ. ๒๔๘๙.

¹⁵ For example, the colophon in a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon) (Source: PNTMP, code: พร 0110019-00, Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1909) states: “I transfer the merit [derived from copying the manuscript] towards celestial deities, God Indra, God Brahma, Lord of Death, female Nāga underground, Earth Goddess, Garuda as well as male Nāga, ข้าขอผายนาบุญอันนี้ไป รอดเทวบุตรและเทวดาเจ้าทั้งหลาย ทั้งพระยาอินทร์ พรหม พญาอมราช ไปดำไต้นางนาคใต้ แม่ธรณีและครุฑ นาคินา.

especially the provision of writing tools and writing support¹⁶, or sometimes with an amount of budget to pay for the work, i.e., the inscribing¹⁷. The preliminary investigation into colophons gives a broad view of *anisong* manuscripts as a ‘tool’ to sustain the Buddhist religion and an ‘exchange’ to gain meritorious rewards. They are slightly different from the present-day printed books of *anisong* liturgical texts that are written in the modern Thai or Lao script, thereby being more easily accessible by an increasing number of readers than the handmade manuscripts written with the variant Tham scripts whose use is restricted to monks, novices and ex-monks, as it is a special script for writing religious texts.

Besides colophons, other paratexts appearing in *anisong* manuscripts are significantly related to rituals, especially codicological markers that represent ritual uses. Three types of codicological units in the case of *anisong* manuscripts – single-text manuscript, multiple-text manuscript and composite manuscript – can be classified through paratexts. A large number of *anisong* single-text manuscripts had been separated from their original bundles, then were combined into a new composite manuscript bundle by later users. The investigation shows that, normally, the manuscripts were logically re-grouped in appropriation of ritual classifications. In addition to the combination as ‘objects’, ‘texts’ were also combined or collected by the scribes in multiple-text manuscripts; many of them are, like composite manuscripts, definitely relevant to rituals uses.

Based on paratextual evidence, the time and place recorded in *anisong* manuscripts are connected to two kinds of religious rituals – dedication rituals and preaching rituals. In Northern Thailand, *anisong* manuscripts are most frequently found in the provinces of Nan and Phrae, where the Buddhist education was alive and popular and thus influenced the manuscript culture in which *anisong* manuscripts were considerably functional in a wide range of usage areas – production, circulation, transmission, storage, and religious rituals. In Phrae province, *anisong* manuscripts were more frequently produced during the nineteenth century than in other periods; this can be explained by numerous religious projects, especially those for gathering or ‘copying’ the Buddhist canon or religious books kept in different repositories, led by the Venerable Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi Mahathera from Wat Sung Men¹⁸. The following is excerpted from the colophon of a palm-leaf *anisong* manuscript

¹⁶ For example, the colophon in a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon) (Source: PNTMP, code: พร 0110012-00, Wat Sung Men, Phrae, CE 1910) states: “A Ton Nòi (novice) [named] Khattiya managed to collect palm leaves and tools to have Acan (senior monk) Mahawong inscribe [the manuscript] for me who willingly devoted the manuscript commission [for benefits of] sustaining the Buddha Gotama religion”, ตนน้อยชัตติยะ ก็ขงขวยหาได้ไปผูกใบลานแล้วตฤ มหาท่านอาจารย์มหาวงศ์ รงนาหื้อผู้ ข้าใคร่สร้างธรรมปิฎกอันนี้ไว้ค้ำชูศาสนา พระโคตมะเจ้า.

¹⁷ For example, the colophon in a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong sang tham* (Rewards derived from copying religious books) (Source: PNTMP, code: ชม 0106003-01, Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai, CE 1920) states: “The principal initiator, Thao Kham Luang, along with his wife, children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, hired [a scribe] to inscribe *Anisong haeng sang tham* to support Buddhism [to last until the end of] five-thousand years“, ปฐมมูลศรัทธาหมายมีท้าวคำหลวงเป็นเกล้าภริยาลูกเต้าหลานเหลนชุกคน ได้จ้างเขียนยังอนิสงส์ แห่งสร้างธรรมนี้ไว้ค้ำชูศาสนา ๕ พันวัสสา.

¹⁸ This will be discussed in the next chapter.

demonstrating that the monk-scribe wrote the manuscript during his religious duty of gathering religious texts in Chiang Mai province:

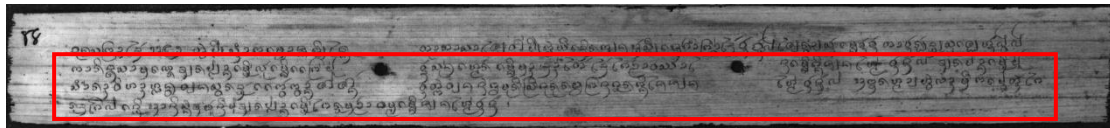


Figure I.2: Colophon explaining that the manuscript was written during a certain task of the scribe

การินทาสามเณร เขียนปางเมื่อลู่เมืองแพร์อยู่วัดสูงเม่นเมืองม่านตานใต้ ได้ไปเอาวัสสาในเมืองพิงค์
 เชียงใหม่วันนั้นแล เขียนปางเมื่ออยู่สำราญวิหารหลวงเวียงสวนดอกแก้วกว้างทางวันตก เวียงนพบุรี
 ศรีศุภรัฐพระนครพิงค์ไชยเชียงใหม่ วันนั้นแล อักษรหมายหัวลานมี ก เป็นต้นไปรอด โค แลเนื้อ
 อานิสงส์ผูกนี้เขียนปางเมื่อไปรวมเอาธรรมเมืองเชียงใหม่วันนั้น

[I], Karintha Samanen (novice named Karintha), [after] I left Wat Sung Men [located] in Phrae province, I wrote [the manuscript] during [my] stay in Chiang Mai. I wrote [the manuscript] at the grand monastery of Wat Suan Dòk in the west of Wiang Nopburi Sikhururath Phra Nakhòn Phing Chai Chiang Mai. The folio-ordering alphabets (Th: *akkhara mai huan lan*, อักษรหมายหัวลาน) start from *ka* (ก) to *kho* (โค). This *anisong* manuscript was written during [the duty of] gathering (copying) religious texts (Dhamma) in Chiang Mai.

Anisong sappathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)
 Code: พร 0113009-02, folio 63 (verso), Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1830

The colophon above comprehensively illustrates the cultural context of manuscripts from the mid-nineteenth century concerning time, place, collection and commissioners. The manuscript was written by a novice from Phrae province. He was in charge of a religious duty at Suan Dòk temple in another province, Chiang Mai, in CE 1830¹⁹. The colophon historically corresponds to the time period of the venerable monk’s projects dealing with religious manuscripts from CE 1826 onwards. He was also invited in CE 1828 by Cao Inthawichai Racha, the Phrae ruler, to bring the manuscripts copied in Chiang Mai back to Phrae province, resulting in the large number of manuscripts kept at the monastic library of Wat Sung Men (Aphilak 2018: 17–18). The sentence อักษรหมายหัวลานมี ก เป็นต้นไปรอด โค แลเนื้อ, or in English “the folio-ordering alphabets (Th: *akkhara mai hua lan*, อักษรหมายหัวลาน) start from *ka* (กะ) to *kho* (โค)”, evidently explains the foliation markers. Folio orders are marked by a pair of one consonant and one vowel to form one syllable. Namely, different *anisong* texts could be kept in one manuscript, all of which were marked by a single foliation system for the whole bundle. Its obligatory stay in a foreign locality for a religious mission, documented by paratexts, notably colophons, occurred in the first lunar month (Th: *diian kiang*, เดือนเกียง) of

¹⁹ The venerable monk Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi was born in Sung Men district, Phrae province, in 1789, a year of the cock, or eight years after the foundation of Bangkok by King Rama I. His former name was Pòi. He was interested in Lan Na literacy since he was young and ordained as a monk in 1809. He learnt meditation in Chiang Mai and advanced intuitive contemplation in Burma. He brought relics from Burma, revised the Buddhist canon in Chiang Mai (CE 1826) and Nan (CE 1833), copied the Buddhist canon in Luang Prabang (CE 1836) and participated in several other monastic projects. His collaborative projects, dated from CE 1826 to CE 1878, furthered the development of Buddhism and increased religious manuscript productions throughout Northern Thailand and neighbouring areas (see Aphilak 2018).

the Northern Thai calendar, corresponding to the first half of October or the end of the Buddhist Retreat (mid-July to mid-October) and significantly reveals the involvement of the *Sangha* community's doctrines in the manuscript culture, as is explained by Veidlinger (2006: 123): "The dates found in manuscript colophons demonstrate that the work was carried out mostly during the rainy season. The vast majority of dated manuscripts were completed in months nine, ten, eleven, and twelve."

In Laos, *anison* manuscripts (here called *salòng* or *sòng*²⁰) are widely found in Luang Prabang, the ancient royal capital, where monasteries and Buddhist education were cherished by royal patronage. Like those in Northern Thailand, temporal and spatial paratexts are found in Lao *anison* manuscripts and also reveal the manuscript culture with regard to their ritual usage. Notwithstanding the primary purpose of *anison* manuscripts for preaching, they were also involved in dedication rituals in which laypeople could offer manuscripts, with or without other kinds of donated items, to monks who linked the secular world to the spiritual world as 'media', so that the merit generated from copying *anison* manuscripts could be transferred to deceased persons, preferably the sponsors' and donors' close relatives. Being mentioned in the colophons of the manuscripts, names of the deceased were sometimes announced by monks during the dedication rituals. In this way, monks were regarded as witnesses who realized the donation and the spirits to whom the donors transferred the merit. In general, in dedication rituals donated manuscripts were used as objects; meritorious outcomes, as was explained above, could thus be received by the donors, because *anison* manuscripts contain the Teachings of Buddha read by preaching monks in future religious ceremonies, congratulated in advance by the donors of the manuscripts.

Interestingly, *anison* manuscripts could traditionally also be re-donated, based on the notion of merit-appraisal, although the merit-makers were not the original "makers", i.e., sponsors, of manuscripts, donating them directly to a monastery. Some manuscripts evidently show re-donation statements newly written in later time. *Anison* manuscripts in re-donation rituals were iconically 'symbolized' for the meritorious congratulations; the donors sometimes supported monk-scribes financially as a means to generate merit from copying religious manuscripts as well. The following represents a clear example of this:

²⁰ The terms *anison*, *salòng* and *sòng* will be discussed in a later chapter.

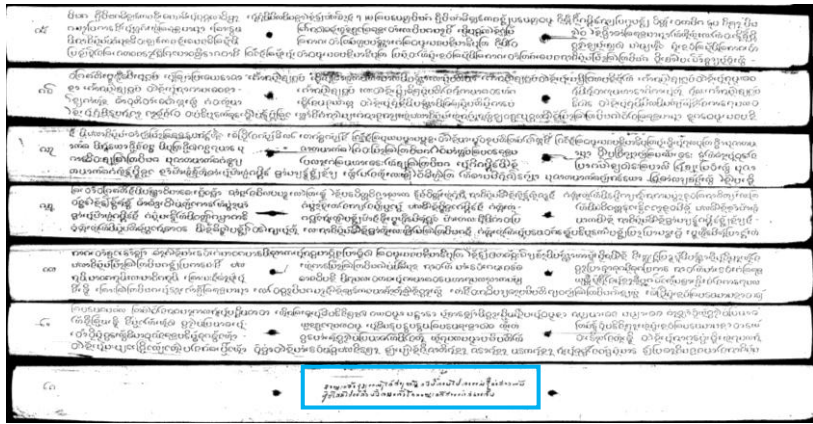


Figure I.3: Palm-leaf manuscript with a newly written colophon

Multiple-text manuscript containing three *anison* texts pertaining to rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon, code: 06011406003-24, folio 36 (verso), Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1942

The example above is an *anison* multiple-text manuscript from Luang Prabang. The first colophon, written in the Tham Lao script, says that the manuscript was sponsored by a group of people led by a laywoman (Sathu Nying) named Kham In who lived in Mün Na village. A new colophon in the blue frame was newly written in the modern Lao script and says the following:

ຂາພະເຈົ້າຂຽງແພງໄດ້ສ້າງໜັງອັນນີ້ ທານໄປທາແມ່ຊື່ວ່າສາວພັນຜູ້ລະໂລກໄປແລ້ວນັ້ນ ຕາບເທົ່າ
 ໕໐໐໐ ພູະວັດສາແດກໍຂ້າເຫິນ

I, Siang Phaeng, commissioned the manuscript to dedicate [the merit of copying the manuscript] to my mother named Sao Phan who has passed away. May [the dedicated manuscript] last until the end of 5000 years.

Hence, *anison* manuscripts were textually and physically involved in religious rituals because they functioned as *texts* recording the Teachings of Buddha conveyed by preaching monks (in sermonic rituals) and as *objects* ‘in exchange’ of merit (in dedication rituals); text and object are definitely composed into manuscripts and the merit generated from copying *anison* manuscripts could be transferred to both living and dead recipients, all of which is explained in the following diagram. Partitioned by the vertical green dotted line, an *anison* manuscript can be characterized by two features – as a ritual object and as a carrier of text; each individually serves the dedication ritual and the preaching ritual. In dedication rituals, donors or sponsors offer the manuscript as an *object* to Buddhism, while, in preaching rituals, monks give the *text* of a manuscript to the lay audience by reading it. No matter where the merit involved in *anison* manuscripts is generated from, the merit supports the living donors and is further delivered to deceased recipients.

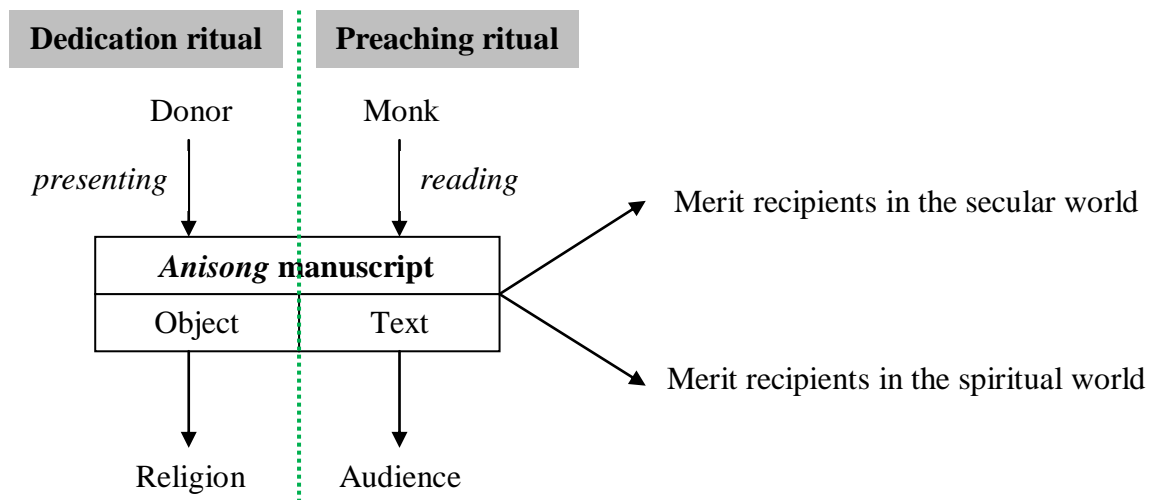


Chart I.1: *Anisong* manuscripts involved in religious rituals

Having analysed the essence of *anisong*, the relationship between *anisong* and rituals or ceremonies is definitely a close one. Being a sermon given by preaching monks for confirming meritorious rewards, *anisong* manuscripts were created to contain the liturgical texts. Evidenced by the textual titles which obviously represent different religious occasions, *anisong* sermons can be delivered at calendrical rituals, rites of passage, all kinds of gift-giving events and miscellaneous rituals²¹.

The tradition of *anisong* has survived in Northern Thailand and Laos. In order to be comprehensively explored and conceptualized, *anisong* manuscripts from the two regions are to be wholly investigated using the theoretical and methodological tools of manuscript culture studies and ritual studies, dealing with the extant corpus of *anisong* manuscripts from a comparative perspective by contrasting the Northern Thai and Lao manuscript cultures. Accordingly, the contextual usage and function in rituals of *anisong* manuscripts is regarded as the main focus to investigate similarities and differences between the two regions which are culturally and linguistically closely related. Coming from neighbouring regions, their manuscript cultures mutually influenced each other; features of rituals are manifested in both texts and paratexts/paracontents in both regions. Evidenced by the extant manuscripts, *anisong* sermons also served for non-Buddhist or originally secular ceremonies, such as birthday anniversaries (*Anisong het bun wan koet*) or weddings (*Anisong taeng ngan lü kin dòng*). The sermons were therefore oriented to fit contemporary donations or secular

²¹ For example, (1) *Anisong pi mai* (Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year celebration), source: PNTMP, code: ๗๓ 0106001-04, Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai, year unknown, (2) *Sòng buat pha buat nen* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies), source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0430, Vat Si Bun Hüang, Luang Prabang, CE 1951, (3) *Sòng sala* (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions), source: DLLM, code: 06011406004-01, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1919, and (4) *Anisong liang phò liang mae* (Rewards derived from taking care of one's own parents), source: PNTMP, code: ๗๘ 0106001-00, Wat Si Khom Kham, Phayao, CE 1879.

activities, reflecting the negotiation between traditional Buddhist rituals and modernity, in which laypeople still believe in meritorious rewards derived from positive deeds. No matter how innovative the donations are, they can thus be concerned with merit-making.

The study of *anisong* as manuscripts is fundamentally different from the study of *anisong* as texts. *Anisong* manuscripts were individually written by hand and uniquely commissioned for different purposes. Hence, the study of *anisong* manuscripts requires multidisciplinary approaches leading to different results. In order to comprehend the topic from a wider point of view, including the cultural contexts of production and usage, the methodology of manuscript culture studies is appropriate as practical tools to be applied in the research, as stated by Friedrich and Schwarke: “The call for linking manuscript studies with cultural history has obviously become part and parcel of the rhetoric of the literary specialists, including earlier observations by codicologists” (2016: 7). The available data suggests that *anisong* manuscripts need to be studied in terms of their ritual usage; this realization determined the direction of investigating the manuscripts in this thesis and ultimately led to its title and structure becoming ‘The relationship between *anisong* manuscripts and rituals’. As *anisong* manuscripts are most frequently found in the neighbouring Northern Thai and Lao regions, a comparative study of the two similar manuscript cultures serves as the analytic approach to shed light on the Thai-Lao relationship from the perspective of concerning manuscripts and rituals.

State of the Art

Studies on *anison* have so far concentrated on *anison* as homiletic texts representing a special genre of Buddhist texts. Such works have investigated *anison* literature with regard to their specific historical and regional contexts and thus it is not surprising that mostly scholars of Buddhism have taken interest in the study of *anison*. Apart from the edition of original texts by Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University (MCU), the main Buddhist university in Thailand under the auspices of the *Sangha*, few more in-depth studies have been published both in Southeast Asia and outside the region. It is astonishing that despite their popularity among monks and laity likewise and notwithstanding their cultural importance, *anison* have so far received little scholarly attention. Ginette Martini was probably one of the first Western scholars who pointed out their significance for specific Buddhist rituals in Thailand and Cambodia (Martini 1973), while Louis Gabaude published the only in-depth study on a particular collection of Thai-Lao *anison* related to the rituals of construction of sand stupas (Gabaude 1979). Other scholars have discussed particular *anison* texts, such as Donald K. Swearer (2004) in his study of rituals of the consecration of Buddha images in Thailand and Gregory Kourilsky (2008) who studied an *anison* text titled “Celebration of the parents’ virtue” (*Salòng khun manda pida*) relying on classical Indic texts and the traditional value of filial piety, although adapted and rephrased with a contemporary wording in accordance to the date of its composition.

A major step forward in the study of *anison* as a textual genre is Arthid’s doctoral dissertation, written in Thai with the English title *Dana and Danaparami: Significance in the Creation of Thai Buddhist Literature* (2009). In this thesis *anison* texts from various regions of present-day Thailand are used, among many other Buddhist texts, to examine the fundamental concept of *dāna*. In this dissertation, a summary of which has been published in English (Arthid 2012), a number of canonical as well as non-canonical Buddhist texts are included that serve as the sources of *anison* narratives. He provides a typology of *anison* texts which has served as a useful tool also in my dissertation. In his Chapter Four, thanks to his expertise in Buddhist literature, he gives us rich information on several Buddhist literature texts relevant or influential for *anison* texts. However, as literature study is the main focus, the observation of manuscripts as objects is not mentioned in the research, nor does he refer to the role of manuscripts in rituals. Arthid argues that the kinds of gifts recommended in *anison* texts pertain to a.) giving alms to the *Sangha* (food and medicine, robes and cloth, ritual offerings such as flowers and lamps, sponsoring the construction of temple buildings, copying of religious texts); b.) producing objects of worship (images, stupas); c.) constructing public works (bridges, roads, hospitals, schools); and d.) giving gifts in ceremonies or festivals (celebrating a new house, funerals, the Buddhist New Year, etc.). Though he undoubtedly enlightens our understanding of the textual richness and variety of the *anison* genre and its significance for understanding the concept of gift-giving or *dāna*, he almost completely overlooks the material aspects of *anison* manuscripts and their use in Buddhist

rituals and ceremonies. Relying exclusively on published versions of *anisong* texts as transcriptions from Dhamma script or Khôm script originals into modern Thai script, he fails to connect his analysis of *anisong* with a study of manuscript cultures in Thailand and Laos.

Though still textual based, the Thai master thesis entitled *An Analytical Study of the Lanna Anisong Scripture* from Chiang Mai University, submitted by the Venerable Maha Singkham Rakpa (2000), investigates thoroughly a well-defined corpus of manuscripts. The focus is here on *anisong* as texts, too. The author concentrates on the classification of *anisong* texts from 228 Northern Thai manuscripts. However, he refrains from analysing paratexts, such as colophons, nor does he discuss ritual-related aspects of *anisong* manuscripts. Venerable Maha Singkham Rakpa studies *anisong* as a genre of religious texts, investigating the origins, types, patterns and contents of the texts. In particular, he seeks to trace the origins back to the Buddhist canon (*Tipiṭaka*) but he also studies the innovative potentials of *anisong* with the emergence of new texts in the contemporary period. *Anisong* literature was on the other hand influential for sociological aspects, with the texts being composed in accordance with popular traditions regularly practised within a locality.

The findings have provided valuable information on *anisong* manuscripts and rituals for my dissertation, as the traditional 12-month ceremonies in Northern Thailand are mentioned as annual occasions in which laypeople could practice merit-making to gain beneficial rewards. Phra Maha Singkham's Master thesis therefore addresses the question why *anisong* manuscripts used in calendrical rituals were produced in large numbers. Whereas the manuscripts are seen as objects of textual containers dedicated to monasteries for the purpose of merit accumulation, as is discussed in my dissertation, his study, resulting from the main focus of textual content, stresses the role of *anisong* as didactic literature, functioning as an instructive tool to guide people to the proper ways. The people's visions and values are reflected in *anisong* literature pertaining to various meritorious activities such as gift-giving, religious ceremonies and the construction of monastic buildings.

Besides being a textual source for religious studies, *anisong* literature is investigated to identify traditional knowledge and local wisdom by Phra Maha Suthit Ābhākaro in his dissertation entitled *A Study of the Body of Knowledge and the Local Wisdom Appearing in Lan-Na Buddhist Literature: A case study of Anisamsa and scriptures preached on various occasions in Lan-Na* (2006). The author argues that *anisong* texts were not only used as liturgical texts on different kinds of occasions, but also influenced the cultural features, norms, concepts, beliefs and proper ways of life. The 'body of knowledge' explained in this study is divided into Buddhist knowledge, customary (pre-Buddhist) knowledge and the integration of folklore into Buddhist literature. Historical investigation into the advent of Buddhism, royal Buddhist patronage, the proficiency of Buddhist monks in the Dhamma and the fundamental belief in meritorious rewards is carried out by studying into the commission and dedication of religious books to monasteries and the continuous creation of religious texts in Northern Thailand. Phra Maha Suthit Ābhākaro's study, however, mainly focuses on the cultural background reflected in *anisong* manuscripts but overlooks the perspective of manuscripts

cultures, in particular the dimension of manuscripts as objects and the uses of these manuscripts in religious rituals.

A large number of manuscripts bearing the title *Anisong pitaka (thang sam)* have been found in Northern Thailand, especially in Phrae province. They proved to be an important source in my dissertation. Therefore, the master thesis entitled *An Analytical Study of the Lanna Buddhist Literature: Pitakatung Sam* (2009) authored by Phra Phanumat Dhammānando (Thilawan) constitutes a valuable source as well as it provides information in terms of literary studies with the author investigating the contents, the purpose of scribes and local beliefs influencing the creation of *Pitaka thang sam* texts which are brief summaries of the Buddhist canon (*Tipiṭaka*). The *Pitaka thang sam* manuscripts are dedicated to monasteries in response to the fundamental belief in meritorious rewards (*anisong*) derived from copying religious books.

The Analysis of Profit of Literature in the Northeastern Region of Thailand (2013), authored by Somchai Srinok, studies *anisong* texts written in palm-leaf manuscripts found in northeastern Thailand, a predominantly Lao-speaking region adjacent to Laos. *Anisong* manuscripts are explained from various perspectives, concerning the manuscripts as objects, their production, textual categories, content and composing styles. The author collected *anisong* texts from different monastic repositories but gives no detailed explanation on the textual contents, nor does he identify the rituals in which the *anisong* texts are read as sermons. He concludes that the tradition of inscribing *anisong* is derived from Laos rather than from Northern Thailand, as is evidenced by the script, titles and contents of the manuscripts. Relevant to my dissertation are *anisong* manuscripts from northeastern Thailand which are either single-text or multiple-text codicological units resembling the features of the corpora of *anisong* manuscripts from Northern Thailand and Laos used in my study. However, he gives no definition of such codicological units as ‘single-text manuscripts’ or ‘multiple-text manuscripts’. He explains the tradition of producing an *anisong* manuscript, sponsored by devout sponsors, as follows:

เอกสารใบลานที่เป็นวรรณกรรมอานิสงส์ สามารถจะอยู่ได้ผูกเดี่ยวอย่างเป็นเอกเทศ แต่ในกรณีที่เป็นผูกหรือเป็นมัดรวมกันหลายผูก แสดงถึงการสร้างวรรณกรรมอานิสงส์เป็นชุด หรือเจ้าครุฑธาสร้างวรรณกรรมอานิสงส์ที่เดี่ยวหลายเรื่อง ต้นฉบับจึงมีขนาดเดียวกัน ลักษณะเดียวกัน รวมทั้งผู้จารคนเดียวกัน

Anisong palm-leaf manuscripts can be made of a single fascicle (*phuk*) as an independent unit. But in the use of a bundle containing several fascicles, a series of *anisong* texts was created or the writing of several *anisong* texts sponsored in one single unit by one principal initiator. As a result, the [fascicle of such a] manuscript have the same layout and done by the same scribe.

According to the author, the scribes worshipped holy spirits known as ‘teachers’ who enabled them to inscribe palm-leaf manuscripts without unexpected trouble because religious texts and scripts were considered sacred. Five processes of manuscript-inscribing are identified by the

author as well, i.e., inscribing (การจาร), surface-coating (การลือบหนังสือ), leaf-wiping (การเช็ดหนังสือ), gild-painting (การพอกหนังสือ) and book-binding (การเข้าผูก)²².

Being connected to the calendrical ceremonies in the Northern Thai culture, *anisong* manuscripts explaining meritorious rewards derived from merit-making in New Year celebrations are studied by Phra Anusorn Kittiwanno in his dissertation entitled *The Belief and Teaching Dhamma appeared New Year Tradition in Lanna* (2013). The author transliterated selected *anisong* manuscripts found in Northern Thailand into the central Thai script and made textual interpretation of beliefs and morality. Largely ignoring *anisong* manuscripts as ritual objects, this dissertation rather focuses on textual study. According to the research findings, six different kinds of beliefs in association with traditional New Year occasions and four different kinds of morality are mentioned in the manuscripts, being considered as traditionally fundamental beliefs:

ในบรรดาวรรณกรรมเหล่านั้น วรณกรรมที่มีความสำคัญอีกประเภทหนึ่ง คือวรรณกรรมเรื่องอานิสงส์ และคัมภีร์ที่ใช้เทศน์ในเทศกาลต่างๆ ของล้านนา ด้วยเหตุที่คัมภีร์ธรรมทั้งสองประเภท ได้มีส่วนสำคัญในฐานะที่เป็นฐานความเชื่อของการรจนาวรรณกรรมพระพุทธศาสนาในล้านนา เป็นรากฐานที่สำคัญของการส่งเสริมวัฒนธรรม จารีตประเพณี และที่สำคัญเป็นแนวคิดความเชื่อ และวิถีการปฏิบัติขั้นพื้นฐานในทางพระพุทธศาสนาของชาวล้านนา ซึ่งปรากฏเป็นองค์ความรู้ด้านต่างๆ คือ ๑) องค์ความรู้ที่แสดงถึงความเป็นมา แนวคิด และหลักธรรมในทางพระพุทธศาสนา ๒) องค์ความรู้ที่มีผลต่อการส่งเสริมศิลปวัฒนธรรม จารีตประเพณี และค่านิยมทางสังคมของชาวล้านนา และ ๓) องค์ความรู้ที่สร้างกระบวนการผสมผสานความรู้ในทางพระพุทธศาสนา และความเชื่อในท้องถิ่นเข้าด้วยกัน ซึ่งองค์ความรู้เหล่านั้นมีความเชื่อมโยงกับหลักคิด และวิถีการปฏิบัติที่นำไปสู่การสร้างกฎเกณฑ์ทางสังคม วัฒนธรรม จารีตประเพณี

Anisong and liturgical texts used at different kinds of occasions in Lan Na are substantial among the other genres of literature due to the fact that both are considered as a fundamental belief contributing to the writing or copying of Buddhist literature in Lan Na, as an important source for enhancing their culture, customs and traditions and, most importantly, as the belief and way that determines basic practices of Lan Na Buddhists. The knowledge [exposed in the *anisong* texts is divided into three perspectives:] are 1) the origins, concepts and morality in Buddhism, 2) the enhancement of art, culture, customs and social values of Lan Na and 3) the integration of Buddhism and local beliefs which relate to principles and practices of social laws, culture, customs and traditions (2013: 4).

The master thesis titled *An Analytical Study of Beliefs in Advantages of Merit in Thai Society* (2014), authored by Phra Khru Pariyat Warothai, studies the notion of *anisong* with regard to religious beliefs in Thai society. It explains that meritorious outcomes are gained from faith (*sattha*) in the Teachings of the Buddha (*phutthasatsana*) and the pure intention to behave virtuously, refrain from committing sinful deeds and refine one's mind according to the Teachings of Buddha, which is considered as the moral codes standardizing people to live in

²² ในอดีต ก่อนที่จะมีการจารคัมภีร์ใบลาน ผู้จารจะมีการบูชาครูเพื่อความเป็นสิริมงคล เพื่อไม่ให้เกิดความผิดพลาด เพราะความเชื่อที่ว่าทั้งเนื้อหาและตัวหนังสือในคัมภีร์ใบลานเป็นสิ่งที่มีความศักดิ์สิทธิ์และสูงส่ง จึงต้องระมัดระวังเป็นพิเศษ, “In the past, scribes paid homage to holy spirits before inscribing manuscripts to generate auspice and prevent inscribing from mistakes; because religious texts and scripts were believed as sacredness and holiness requiring special care” (Somchai 2013: 67–68).

the proper way. The accumulation of merit can be individually done by donations or gift-giving (*dāna*), the observance of the Buddhist precepts (*sīla*) and mental refinement (*bhāvanā*) for the purpose of being rewarded with great happiness in the present life and all future lives. The author points out that the meritorious advantages can also be transferred to other persons, notably deceased relatives, an aspect which will be further elaborated in my thesis. Fully faithful merit-making thus generates great rewards in the future. The sources of the study, however, are not derived from handmade manuscripts.

In his doctoral dissertation entitled *The Life, Works and Social Roles of the Most Venerable Sathu Nyai Khamchan Virachitta Maha Thela (1920–2007)*, Khamvone Boulyaphonh (2016) mentions *anisong* manuscripts as part of the personal manuscript collection of the venerable monk. In 2016, a doctoral dissertation entitled *Buddhist Monks and their Search for Knowledge: an examination of the personal collection of manuscripts of Phra Khamchan Virachitto (1920–2007), Abbot of Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang* authored by Bounleuth Sengsoulin studies *anisong* manuscripts kept in the abode of the same venerable monk, Phra Khamchan Virachitto. Bounleuth also devotes a chapter to the innovative, modern aspects of the production of *anisong* manuscripts in contemporary Laos in the volume *The Lao Sangha and Modernity* (Grabowsky and Berger 2015: 249–265). Bounleuth’s thesis is a major breakthrough in the study of Lao manuscript culture. Categorized by the textual content, *anisong* manuscripts can be used for twenty-seven ways of merit-making. The manuscripts were written in commemoration of the venerable monk’s birthday anniversaries as is explained in the following: “[...] a number of *Anisong* manuscripts were produced for the commemoration of Sathu Nyai Khamchan’s birthday, especially when he was twenty-four years old” (2016: 25). Thanks to the actual survey by the author at the place, newly discovered *anisong* manuscripts made of mulberry paper and industrial paper reveal the unfixed writing support used for writing *anisong* manuscripts and how modern printing technology has facilitated manuscript production; namely, a number of manuscripts including those containing *anisong* texts were written with a typewriter.

According to the literature review above, *anisong* manuscripts have mainly been studied in terms of ‘textual containers’, while their function as ‘objects’ playing a part in rituals has rather been neglected. One reason for this imbalance might be that *anisong* manuscripts from Northern Thailand, Laos and adjacent Tai speaking areas further to the north are written in variants of the Tham script; the lack of knowledge in this script prevents many scholars of Thai and Lao Buddhism from embarking on a more thorough investigation in this most interesting material. The four key factors, defined by the TNT Working Group of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) in the Occasional Paper No. 3 (Wimmer, et al. 2015), the factors involved in forming manuscripts – production, setting, usage and pattern – are, as a result, simply overlooked; historical and socio-cultural contexts consequently fail to be examined or comprehensively perceived. In response to the purpose of ritual usage, *anisong* manuscripts were written in connection with religious occasions included with *anisong* sermons. Paratexts or paracontents, which have been excluded from the aforementioned studies, provide evidence of traces that reveal how relevant the manuscripts

and religious ceremonies or rituals are. Codicological units inextricably interrelated with ritual usage will also be investigated. In summary, my dissertation thus aims at filling the gap which has not yet been examined by previous research.

Core Questions

1. What are the similarities and differences, caused by different factors, between the two regions with regard to the functions of *anisong* manuscripts in different kinds of rituals?
2. What features of *anisong* manuscripts are revealed (both in texts and paracontents)?
3. How are *anisong* manuscripts in the two regions (Northern Thailand and Laos) transmitted and how was the social relationship between *Sangha* and laity associated with the manuscripts?
4. What is the role of *anisong* manuscripts in ‘Buddhisizing’ formerly non-Buddhist rituals and ceremonies?

Field Site and Fieldwork

As the manuscript corpus in my dissertation is archived in Northern Thailand and Laos and the study is focused on the perspective of ritual usage, my research field trips were organized in different provinces in the two regions in order to survey the manuscript repositories and observe religious rituals in which *anisong* manuscripts are used. The survey trips mostly took place in the provinces where *anisong* manuscripts are most frequently found, namely, Phrae and Nan provinces in Northern Thailand and Luang Prabang and Vientiane in Laos. According to the preliminary survey of microfilmed *anisong* manuscripts in the corpus, in Northern Thailand the manuscripts were most frequently inscribed and are mainly concentrated in Phrae and Nan; the two provinces are adjacently located, thereby sharing common features. In Phrae, especially, a famous monastery named Wat Sung Men is widely renowned for its old monastic school and manuscript library in which the largest number of palm-leaf manuscripts is kept; here, the venerable monk Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi played a crucial role concerning the preservation of the manuscripts. As for Laos, even though Vientiane is the capital city in which one would expect the largest number of manuscripts kept, *anisong* manuscripts were more substantially produced in Luang Prabang, the UNESCO

world heritage site, and are kept at different monasteries nowadays. Phrae, Nan and Luang Prabang are therefore well-known and have considerable collections of old palm-leaf manuscripts. Some temples in north-eastern Thailand and the National Library of Bangkok in central Thailand were also visited. The following survey trips were chronologically carried out in Laos and Northern Thailand in 2017–2018.

In Luang Prabang, thanks to the close vicinity of the various temples located there, I could easily survey many manuscripts and observe religious rituals. At that time, before I arrived, *anison* manuscripts from Vat Saen Sukharam and Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, had been gathered to be microfilmed, led by my thesis advisor Professor Dr. Volker Grabowsky, under the British Library's Endangered Archives Programme (EAP691) taking place at Vat Suvannakhili. During my stay in Luang Prabang, I visited Vat Manolom, Vat Siang Thong, Vat Pha Bat Tai, Vat Visun, Vat Cumkhong and Vat Maha That to observe various religious rituals which included *anison* sermons.

In Vientiane, the capital city of Laos, the manuscript survey mostly took place at the National Library of Laos where *anison* manuscripts are systematically archived together with other manuscripts of different textual genres. My advisor introduced me to the librarians and other officers who willingly supported me during my one-week survey. I was kindly allowed to take all the archived manuscripts under close scrutiny. The librarians assisted me with photographing, giving me the opportunity to access even the very old manuscripts. At the monastic library in Vat Ong Tü, printed manuscripts dominated the shelf of handmade books because the inscribed manuscripts had been mostly moved to be kept at the National Library of Laos. However, I was able to find a few unregistered *anison* manuscripts carelessly piled in the stack of old manuscripts. The survey of religious rituals including *anison* sermons was done at Vat Viang Saen Saiyalam and Vat Hüang Thong Bòlibun; the local people kindly informed me about the events as soon as they realized my interest. In addition, my advisor and I had a good opportunity to observe the ritual of Great Buddha image celebration (งานสมโภชพระ) at Vat Si Müang and to see a large number of inscriptions kept at Vat Sisaket because the two monasteries are located close to each other. At Vat Sisaket, the Hò Pha Kaeo or the wooden crafted hall is located and once housed the Emerald Buddha image which was later brought to Bangkok in Thailand. We also visited Vat That Luang, Vat In Peng, Vat Mi Sai and the Lao National Museum; numerous ideas pertaining to different topics in the dissertation were inspired by these visits.

Vat That Luang is located on the most elevated spot of Vientiane, due to the belief in the holy grand pagoda surrounded by a large area where different events regularly take place. At Vat In Peng, which is located in the vicinity of Vat Mi Sai, the monastic library was constructed in Lan Sang style and survived the devastation of the city during the reign of King Anuvong. The National Museum is well-known for the Lao historical exhibition divided into several showrooms focusing on the origin of the Lao, their wisdom, battles, cultural characteristics and national development. A few palm-leaf manuscripts are exhibited, included with a large board explaining manuscript production.

During the stay in Laos I crossed the Mekong River from Vientiane to Nongkhai province, north-eastern Thailand where I surveyed several temples located along the river. At Wat Lamduan, facing the bank of the Mekong River with the sculpture of twin *nāgas* as a big landmark, a number of monastic constructions sponsored by different donors exposed me to myriad ways of ‘faith’ manifested through several kinds of donations. Located within a distance of approximately two kilometres, recommended to me by local people whom I asked, Wat Si Chom Chün has a monastic library next to the ordination hall. Luckily, the monks and novices residing at the temple had a curricular examination at another place on that day, I was thus kindly allowed to survey the monastic library in which a large number of manuscripts are kept, though rather unsystematically. The manuscripts were stored in a big cabinet housed on the second floor of the building and kept in careless conditions full of dust and exposed to termites. I found a few unregistered *anisong* manuscripts severely damaged. Wat Pho Chai was also surveyed, actually the first temple of the single-day trip, but no manuscripts were discovered there.

In Northern Thailand, my main ‘station’ of manuscript surveys and ritual observations was Wat Sung Men located in Phrae province where most of the *anisong* manuscripts from the Northern Thai corpus are archived. There are three manuscript museums situated in the temple; one is opened daily for visitors while the other two are occasionally granted access to for special events. Thanks to the generosity and kindness of the abbot, the vice-abbot and the volunteers who are directly responsible for the monastic repository, I got full permission to access as many archived manuscripts as I intended. During the one-month stay, I worked at the manuscript museums every day to welcome and educate both Thai and foreigner visitors about the manuscripts, assisted and took part in every religious event held by the temple, thereby being able to closely observe the ceremonies in which *anisong* sermons were delivered by monks. Some were given by reading texts from the manuscripts, while others were improvised without reading any texts but the preaching monks just held a manuscript in their hands, which introduced me to the tradition of improvised sermons.

Located in the central city of Phrae province, approximately twenty kilometres away from Wat Sung Men, I visited Wat Phra Bat Ming Müang and Wat Phongsunan to discover unregistered manuscripts and an embroidery handmade manuscript made by the passed-away wife of the latest ruler, Cao Bua Lai. An *anisong* sermon was also given by a monk to a group of secondary school students; I could therefore experience another improvised sermon in which the preaching monk held only a microphone but no manuscript in his hand. I donated a piece of manuscript wrapping cloth to observe how the donors’ names were written on the cloth. Wat Salaeng, a monastery in Lòng district housing archaeological artefacts and old manuscripts in a monastic museum, was also surveyed. A large number of manuscripts there are made of mulberry paper in severely damaged conditions; no *anisong* manuscripts were, however, kept at the museum, presumably for the following two reasons: *anisong* manuscripts may have never been offered to the monastery, or there had been some but they got lost or damaged in later time. Further manuscript surveys were done at Wat Si Mongkhon and Wat Phra That Suthon Mongkhonkhiri but no *anisong* manuscripts were found there.

In neighbouring Nan province, assisted by Mr. Somjate Wimolkasem, I was allowed to closely survey *anisong* manuscripts archived partly with registration codes at Wat Monthian and Wat Phra Koet, because the two monasteries systematically keep palm-leaf manuscripts to serve as both exhibitions and monastic libraries. He kindly introduced me to the abbots of the two monasteries, so that I could access the manuscript libraries as long as I had time. Mr. Somjate also gave me precious suggestions for studying monastic manuscripts as well as valuable tips for scrutinizing *anisong* texts and sermons. Besides, Wat Suan Tan, Wat Phumin and Wat Hua Khuang were visited at the end of the research trip in Northern Thailand.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis deals with the relationship between *anisong* manuscripts and rituals from a comparative perspective by comparing the Northern Thai and Lao traditions. The core primary sources are *anisong* manuscripts from the two culturally closely related regions. Methodologically, the thesis combines the approaches of manuscriptology and ritual studies. The five main chapters, excluding the Introduction and Conclusion, are structured by the following three main sections: (1) Theory and Methodology, (2) Background of *anisong* manuscripts from the two regions, and (3) Relationship between *anisong* manuscripts and rituals. As for the last section, it is divided into two chapters providing different perspectives: (1) Textual and ritual categories and codicological units, and (2) Ritual usage and paracontent analysis. Chapter Six is the last chapter, giving the research conclusion and implications for further study.

Chapter One deals with *anisong* manuscripts from a theoretical perspective focusing on ritual usage, manuscriptology and ritual studies. It also provides background information on *anisong* manuscripts from Northern Thailand and Laos. Moreover, it explains in detail different theories and scholarly approaches. As the core materials of this thesis are *anisong* manuscripts, this chapter begins with the manuscript cultures of Northern Thailand and Laos in order to prepare the readers for a comprehensive understanding via ‘the first tool’ of investigation. Paratext and paracontent are briefly introduced; a more in-depth investigation of paratexts/paracontents follows in Chapter Four and Chapter Five. Three main codicological units – single-text manuscript, multiple-text manuscript and composite manuscript – will then be explained in terms of characteristic features and criteria of classification. Any serious study of *anisong* manuscripts requires knowledge of ritual theories as ‘the second tool’ coming in the second part of this chapter. Different functions of manuscripts are widely discussed at the end of the section. The following part pertains to ritual studies in which explanations of meanings, characteristics and functions of rituals are given. This section is based on the works of influential scholars who observed and experienced ritual processes from different parts of

the world. The section will then be summed up with ritual categorizations. The last part of this chapter provides fundamental information on *anison* manuscripts from Northern Thailand and Laos, focusing on the aspects of dedication and materials – a discussion of the key factors, to which the research at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), my affiliated institute, made valuable contributions.

In Chapter Two and Chapter Three, *anison* manuscripts found in Northern Thailand and Laos are investigated and explained in detail. Basic information on the manuscript sources and monastic repositories, including the coding systems for the manuscripts of my corpora, are given. Furthermore, the numbers of bundles and fascicles of these manuscripts are provided and categorized for each province. The various kinds of writing support, languages and scripts used in these manuscripts are explained as objects. The author then gives general and contextual views of *anison* manuscripts in terms of production; the aspects of time and space form the core discussion here, in which the methodology of manuscript culture studies is fully applied to investigate the background of manuscript productions. The numbers of *anison* manuscripts from both regions produced in different periods will be systematically presented with statistic charts and specific explanations in relation to historical information showing influences on the changing numbers of *anison* manuscripts. Despite being located in neighbouring regions full of similar traditional features, the characteristics of sponsors and scribes are to some extent different, which will be explained and differentiated throughout these two chapters, then followed by an analysis of the colophons, highlighting similarities and differences from both a synchronic (Northern Thailand vs. Laos) and a diachronic perspective. Similarities and differences of *anison* manuscripts in the two regions under study will thereby be revealed.

Chapter Four deals with the core question of the research, namely, the ‘Relationship between *Anison* Manuscripts and Rituals’ in the two regions. This fundamental issue must be structured and investigated carefully; it is thus divided into two chapters sharing a similar internal structure, namely, *Textual and Ritual Categories and Codicological Units* (Chapter Four) and *Ritual Usage and Paracontent Analysis* (Chapter Five). The content of Chapter Four, dealing with textual categories inextricably relevant to rituals and codicological units, is divided into two main parts. Four kinds of rituals in which *anison* manuscripts play a crucial role as containers of texts used by preaching monks in rituals are presented and discussed, ranging from calendrical rituals, rites of passage and gift-giving rituals to miscellaneous rituals, each of which is scrutinized with regard to the relationship between *anison* manuscripts and rituals. As *anison* manuscripts used in gift-giving rituals are the most frequently found, different kinds of donation items are therefore manifest in numerous examples that are derived from field research trips and evidenced in the manuscripts. As already mentioned in Chapter One, three types of codicological units will be discussed in-depth with regard to manuscript-ritual relations. The investigation and analysis are done in the form of a comparative study between the Northern Thai and Lao traditions.

Chapter Five discusses a topic which completes the investigation concerning the core question of the ‘Relationship between *Anisong* Manuscripts and Rituals’. It is discussed under the title *Ritual Usage and Paracontent Analysis*. As for ritual usage, the author distinguishes dedication rituals from preaching rituals. Both kinds of ritual are commonly facilitated by *anisong* manuscripts though with different roles in each case. In dedication rituals, donors offer the manuscripts to a monastery and look forward to being rewarded by meritorious benefits for themselves or to have the merits transferred to dead spirits; *anisong* manuscripts were donated as ‘objects’ for future uses among local monasteries. In preaching rituals, in contrast, the manuscripts are used for the sake of ‘sermonic texts’; the investigation of *anisong* manuscripts in this case will therefore be done to comprehend the functional elements of preaching rituals. The second part of the chapter will discuss three functional features of paratext or paracontent, namely, structuring, commenting and documenting. Paracontents found in the manuscript corpus will be divided into the three categories to reveal the relationship between manuscripts and rituals. This is achieved again by taking a comparative look at Northern Thailand and Laos.

Chapter 1

Theory and Methodology

1.1 The Study of Manuscript Cultures

Any material with a suitable surface can be written on or inscribed with writing tools for different usage purposes. Together with the inscribed texts, the materials or writing support serve as manuscripts. Etymologically speaking, the English term ‘*manuscript*’ is derived from Latin *manus* (“hand”) and *scribere* (“to write”). Thus, manuscripts were handwritten and, unlike printed books in present time, are all individually unique, even if some were copied from original versions, carry similar layouts or were written by the same scribes. In its broadest sense, a manuscript means a handwritten book, roll, tablet or other forms of portable means for storing information. Lorusso gives a comprehensive definition of manuscript materials here:

When we are asked what a manuscript looks like we often picture a number of quires of hand-written vellum or paper pages, bound together with parchment or with a leather-covered wooden fastening. Though generally true, such a picture is not always correct. Manuscripts can also be an album or a roll. Some manuscripts can even be written on plant leaves, as is the case in some parts of the tropics. In this study manuscripts are considered to be the end product of handwriting on either natural organic material or man-made paper (Lorusso et al. 2015: 5).

Many different materials have been used for the production of manuscripts, the choice of which depends largely on geographical availability, the stage of technological development and prevailing traditional values. These factors, in turn, have frequently played an important part in deciding the shape and appearance of the manuscript itself, as well as influencing the script (see Ward 2008: 355).

Manuscript studies are basically engaged in the study of *paratexts*, which was mainly started by Gérard Genette in his 1987 *Seuils*, translated into English in 1997 as *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* and which was initially associated with the interpretation of printed books in Western societies. The ancient Greek prefix *para-* means “surrounding”, the theory thus leads us to focus on other elements on the ground that every single aspect accompanying a text holds meanings and explains additional elements accompanying texts in a book that are intentionally written by the author to communicate with the readers. Paratexts pertain to carriers – not just to *texts* – but are still dependent on and included in texts. Genette defines the function of paratexts that “by which a text makes a book of itself and proposes itself as such to its readers, and more generally to the public” (1991: 261). Readers can more or less be introduced to a book before reading its content through its paratextual elements: titles, prefaces, introductions, decorations, etc. In the context of manuscript cultures, colophons, glosses, ownership statements, layouts (visual organizations), paper and scripts are focused in paratextual analysis to evaluate the temporal and spatial information of

individual manuscripts. Paratexts can also demonstrate the production, transmission, dissemination, usage¹ and reception of manuscripts.

In his article (2011), Genette preliminarily explains paratexts as follows: “The literary work consists, exhaustively or essentially, of a text, that is to say (a very minimal definition) in a more or less lengthy sequence of verbal utterances more or less containing meaning. But this text rarely appears in its naked state, without the reinforcement and accompaniment of a certain number of productions, themselves verbal or not, like an author’s name, a title, a preface, illustration” (Genette 2011: 261). In *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts* (2016), the editors Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin explain the roles, functions and importance of paratexts. Manuscripts are products relevant to their particular time and space, thereby being unique themselves: “The study of paratexts helps numerous ways in which texts are instantiated in manuscripts by tracing the temporal and spatial coordinates of these objects, each of which is a unique artefact” (Ciotti and Lin 2006).

The uniqueness is one of six main features of manuscripts defined by Lorusso. They are planned, have prepared surfaces, carry handwriting, are portable, self-contained and unique, and “[t]hey have been combined and presented in a definition, which is intended to be as general as possible, in order to avoid any opposition such as MSS vs orality, or MSS vs inscriptions, or MSS vs printed books” (Lorusso et al. 2015: 1). Different regions of the world have considerably diverse types of manuscripts based on varying writing supports, depending on accessibilities, climate, values, limitations to particularly privileged users and specifically skilled experts. Conceivable surfaces are clay, slate, pottery shards, linen cloth, bark, palm-leaf, wood, metal, stone, animal skins, wax and paper. Popular writing supports in medieval and early modern Europe were parchments made of animal skin and, increasingly from the fourteenth century onwards, paper. However, the most common writing supports are papyrus, wax, metal, wood, parchment and paper (see Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham 2007: 3).

Manuscripts carry texts written with visible signs of being handmade, serving different usage purposes: liturgy, education, inscribing practices, taking notes, keeping information, dedications to the dead and deities, or consecrating the writing support to be powerful. They were made by people in specific societies; therefore, various aspects of manuscripts in their social environments are reflected both in the texts they contain and in their materiality (see Ciotti and Lin 2016: 7). Manuscripts can thus more or less reveal social values and are worth being studied or scrutinized from different angles. Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke (2016: 7) explain that “The call for linking manuscript studies with cultural history has

¹ Interestingly, manuscript usage functions can be changed when they are moved to another place in response to different purposes and spatial influences. Features and contents can therefore be linked to different regions, thereby reflecting different cultural contexts. In the article *Travelling Books: Changes of Ownership and Location in Ethiopian Manuscript Culture*, Stéphane Ancel (2016: 269) explains that “[...] the use that was made of manuscripts – in other words, their function – may have changed while they travelled from place to place, variously fulfilling the needs of different individuals and institutions”.

obviously become part and parcel of the rhetoric of the literary specialists, including earlier observations by codicologists”. When producing a book or manuscripts in an ancient world where printing technologies were still limited, not to mention texts for particular usage purposes, materials for writing such as paper and ink acquired from natural sources were important, on the one hand. On the other hand, certain materials could only be accessed limitedly by particular groups of people. Hence, manuscript studies need broad disciplinary approaches to reach adequate insights. In *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (1996), Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, the editors, define manuscripts as primary vehicles essential to medieval studies and state the following:

Such features as the ink and script of a given text; the quality and size of the material on which it is written; the layout in which it presents itself to the eyes; the makeup of each individual volume, with its gatherings, colophons, subscriptions, and binding; further, the company of other works in which a given text was first gathered and has been preserved; and finally, its particular textual variants, especially those that resulted from factors other than scribal misreading or carelessness – all these features yield information, over and above that implied in the texts themselves, about the text’s audience, its purpose, and even the intention an individual scribe may have had in producing this particular copy. Beyond transmitting basic information about a given text, they speak to us about its social, commercial, and intellectual organization at the moment of its inscription (1996: 1).

Manuscript studies are therefore interdisciplinary, requiring myriad ways of study and interpretation, since manuscripts were made by humans to serve certain aims and perhaps were influenced by religious, socio-cultural and economic factors, as well as extant chemical substances. However, the study of manuscript cultures itself pays less attention to the main texts of the manuscripts but rather to the paratexts, materials, production circumstances, circulations, storage, transmissions, usage and other aspects. The study is essentially concerned with the social and cultural contexts in which the manuscripts were produced, used or ‘alive.’ The manuscripts therefore existed and exist in relation to cultural practices and cultural techniques of writing; sub-cultural manuscripts can also be found in wider contexts within the same place. As material artefacts of manuscripts, focal points of manuscript culture studies are pluralistic, comparative (not deeply concerned with textual analysis), concrete, historical, systematic and sustainable. It is necessary to discuss the semantics of the following aspects within the study of manuscript cultures: writing support, writing materials, forms (scroll or codex²), visual organizations, types of scripts and execution of writing (handbook or casual).

² “A codex was made by taking a number of sheets of writing material, folding each sheet in half, and then sewing the sheets together down one edge. Each sheet would thus yield two double-sized leaves, both sides of which would typically be written on, just as with our printed books. The sheets before folding were usually of the same dimensions as those used in the preparation of a manuscript roll, a *volumen*; after folding and binding, then, a typical codex leaf would be eight inches high and about six wide – though there are a number of examples where each leaf is smaller and closer to square (about six by six inches), and several with much larger dimensions (up to eighteen by twelve inches for a leaf). These last would have been made from especially large and expensive sheets. Most often, each leaf was written upon in two narrow columns” (Griffiths 1999: 156).

1.1.1 Paratexts / Paracontents and Functions

The term *paracontent* has been developed to avoid confusion with the term *paratext* which is often used to refer to textual elements only. Paracontents are defined as including the following six features: “(1) Paracontent is a set of visual signs (writing, images, marks) that is present in a manuscript in addition to the core-content(s); (2) It provides data of the manuscript and/or its core-content(s), this distinguishes it from guest content(s); (3) Its three main functions are structuring, commenting and documenting; (4) It can sometimes be assigned a predetermined place within a manuscript as well as specific properties according to the patterns of the relevant manuscript culture, these properties may range from null-highlighting over segmentation marks to elaborate visual organisation; (5) It can be part of the manuscript in which it is found or be a later addition and; (6) It can be optional or mandatory according to the patterns of a particular manuscript culture” (Ciotti, Kohs, Wilden, Wimmer and the TNT Working Group 2018: 1). Hence, this dissertation deals with both paracontents and paratexts.

Paratexts or paracontents serve as a ‘threshold’ for readers to comprehensively understand printed books and manuscripts, as well as other media. Paracontents can be compared to ‘tools’ provided in Microsoft's Office Word for organizing words (texts) and layouts (visual objects); the arranged layout is similar to codicological manuscripts. Genette and Maclean (1991: 263) state that paratexts essentially describe the spatial, temporal, substantial, pragmatic and functional characteristics of printed publications: “To put this in a more concrete way: defining an element of the paratext consists in determining its position (the question *where?*), its date of appearance, and eventually of disappearance (*when?*), its mode of existence, verbal or other (*how?*), the characteristics of its communicating instance, addresser and addressee (*from whom? to whom?*), and the functions which give purpose to its message (*what is it good for?*)”. However, paratexts in manuscripts can become part of texts in the case of being transmitted by a scribe copying it from an earlier extant manuscript; manuscripts therefore require careful scrutiny. The following quotation stated by Ciotti and Lin is worth being wholly cited because it provides a comprehensive overview of paratexts:

In their capacity as texts in their own right, paratexts mirror the activities of everyone involved in the production, transmission, dissemination and reception of the manuscript and its content: authors, editors, scribes, artisans, commentators, readers, sellers, owners and so on. In particular, the various types and layers of paratexts document the temporal and spatial dimensions of the process of production and transmission of manuscripts. Time and space are universal categories to which each object or person is linked, and paratexts translate into texts – in other words, they give voice to the history of every single manuscript (2016: 8).

Paracontents can be written by various scribes or in languages different from the main text of the manuscripts. For instance, in the case of a major collection of manuscripts presenting

attestations of Mande languages³ in West Africa, the main texts in the manuscripts are in Arabic while the annotations are in the vernacular. Researched by the “Project Area A: Paratexts” of the Sonderforschungsbereich 950 at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at the University of Hamburg, Germany, to which the author is affiliated, there are three functions of paracontents defined: structuring, commenting, and documenting.

Structuring functions of paracontents in a manuscript give readers navigation aids: indicators of text insertions, tables of contents, paginations, and the like. Readers can easily find certain phrases or positions; structuring paracontents therefore guide readers to comprehend the structure of a manuscript. The following examples are excerpted from a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) from Nan province in Northern Thailand. This manuscript bundle (Th: *mat* มัด) contains three fascicles (Th: *phuk* ฝู๊), each of which contains multiple texts declaring benefits gained from all kinds of gift-giving (*dāna*). The table of contents framed by the green oval in the excerpted picture below was written on the recto side of the first folio showing a list of eleven texts in the fascicle. The green frames show the order of fascicle in the bundle. In the first picture, the two green frames show identical structuring paracontents stating “the first fascicle of *Anisong sapphathan*” (*Anisong sapphathan phuk ton*) and the centred oval shows the table of contents⁴. The second picture is excerpted from the cover folio of the last fascicle; the orange frame says “the last fascicle of *Anisong sapphathan*” (*Anisong sapphathan thang muan phuk plai*). The table of contents and the order statement are structuring paracontents telling what texts are contained and to be an arrangement tool for collecting manuscript fascicles after they have been selected for use.

³ The group of manuscripts remained unnoticed until it was discovered in 2012 by Nikolay Dobronravin in the Library of Trinity College. The works are referred to as ‘Old Mande manuscripts’ because the language in the annotations is related to Soninke; and the term ‘Old Mande’ was initiated by Dobronravin (see Ogorodnikova (2016: 2).

⁴ The eleven texts listed in the table of contents are *Anisong atthabòrikhan* (Rewards derived from the donation of eight commodities for monks), *Anisong khao sangkhaphat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food), *Anisong pluk mai si maha pho* (Rewards derived from planting *Bodhi* trees), *Anisong sang cedi maha that* (Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas), *Anisong khao phan kòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls), *Anisong cedi sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas), *Anisong nam bò* (Rewards derived from the construction of wells), *Anisong pha kanthin* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes on occasion of the *Kathin* festival) *Anisong sapphathan thang muan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong than fai nam man* (Rewards derived from the donation of light and oil) and *Anisong yò phikkhu hū pen sami chi then* (Rewards derived from the participation in monkhood-ranking promotion ceremonies).

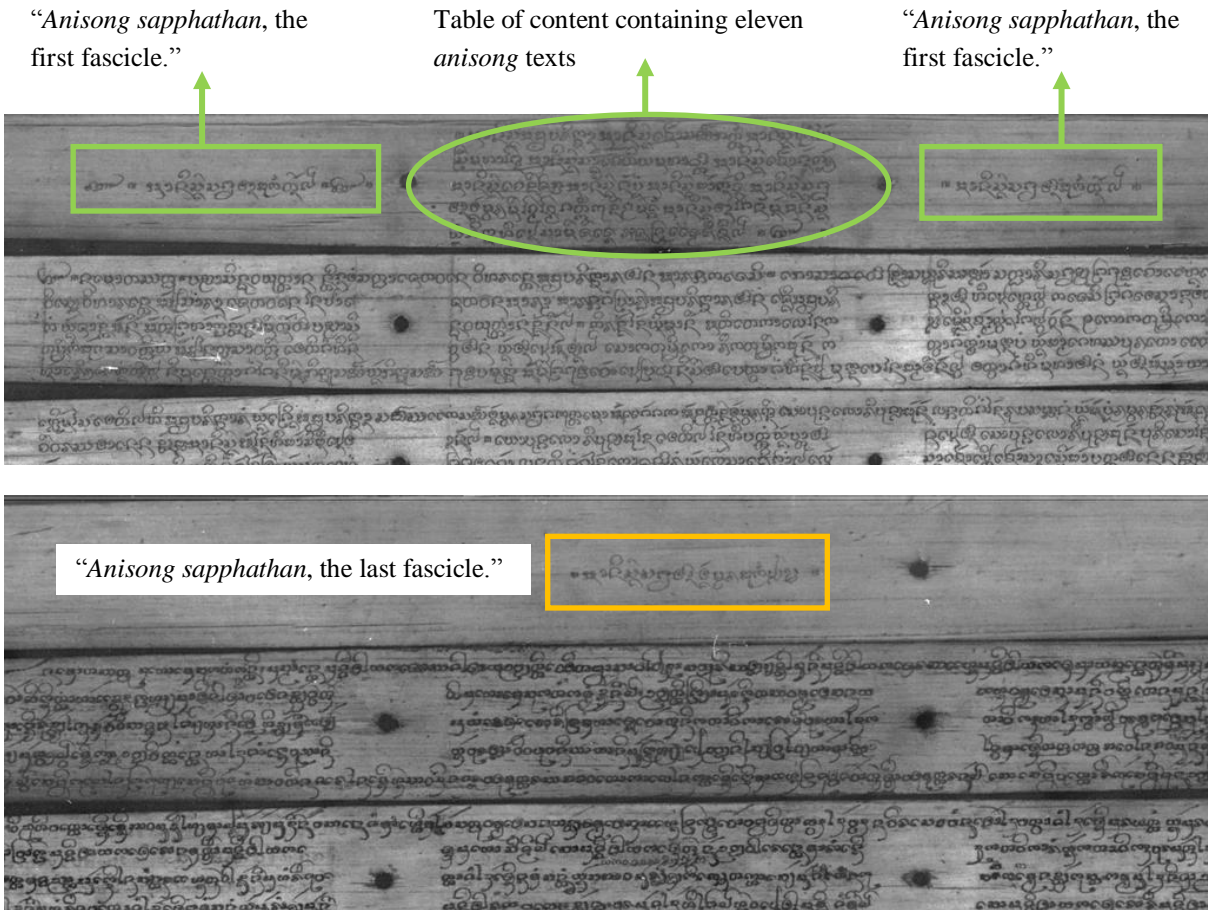


Figure 1.1: Multiple-text manuscript with structuring paracontents

Anisong sapphathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)

Source: PNTMP, code: นน 0920005-01, folios 1 and 77 (recto), Wat Na Pang, Nan province, CE 1796

Commenting paracontents aid readers to interpret or to comprehensively understand texts by adding explanations, glosses or annotations. For example, a number of manuscripts, especially those written with unfamiliar scripts and used by different cultures where people use different scripts, were added with commenting paracontents such as glosses or annotations in order to precisely explain pronunciations or meanings. The following example is excerpted from a mulberry paper manuscript entitled *Sappa payot* (All kinds of benefits). Being accompanied by a table which aids readers to calculate waxing-moon and waning-moon days in each lunar month, the text explains auspicious and inauspicious days for adopting animals or humans. The text written in Tai Lü language and the Tai Lü variant of the Tham script is translated below the picture.

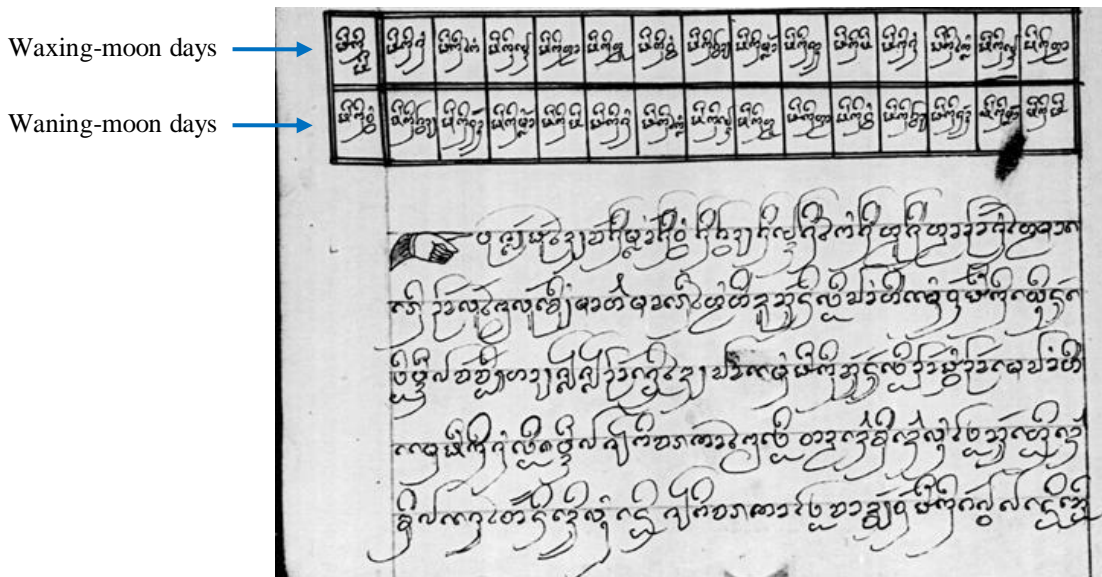


Figure 1.2: Calculation table in a mulberry paper manuscript
Sapha payot (All kinds of benefits)

Source: DLLM, code: 03021620008-00, side 55, Vat Na Kham, Luang Namtha, year unknown

บุคคลผู้ใดจักซื้อม้า ซื้อวัว ซื้อควาย ซื้อเป็ด ซื้อไก่ ซื้อหมู ซื้อหมา เอาคนใหม่มาเรือน เอาลูก(สะ)ไก่ ลูกเขย มาหอมมาเรือนใหม่ ทือคือนั้นเทอะ อย่าทือแมนวันฝีกินเอิงนั้นเทอะ บ่ดีแลจักฉิบหายแลแล เอา [...] ไคอย่าแมนฝีกินอันนั้นเทอะ เอาฝัวเอาเมียอย่าทือแมนฝีกินคนเทอะ บ่ดีแล ค่อยพิจารณาไปเทอะ ตามเดือนขึ้นเดือนลง ท่วงอันเหนือเดือนขึ้นแล ขึ้นได้้นเดือนลงน้อ ค่อยพิจารณาโงงจาด้วยวันฝีกิน ครั้นแล้วแลน้อ

For those who intend to buy a horse, a cow or an ox, a buffalo, a duck, a hen or a cock, a pig, a dog or accept somebody, including a daughter-in-law or a son-in-law, to stay at home, please match the day of adopting those livings to the formula table. Do not adopt them on the day of ‘being eaten by ghosts’ otherwise awful ruins could happen. No matter what you do, [never let any livings] on the day of being eaten by ghosts. Do not accept husbands or wives on the day of ‘ghosts eat humans’. Consider it well by checking waxing-moon and waning-moon days. The waxing-moon phase is represented by the upper row (*thuang an nua*) and the waning-moon phase is represented by the lower row (*chan tai*). [Each box contains words with the same structure of ‘ghosts eat something’ (Th: *phi kin* something ฝีกิน...); for example: *phi kin khon* (ghosts eat humans), *phi kin mu* (ghosts eat pigs), *phi kin ma* (ghosts eat dogs), which means that] we must consider and not accept ‘that thing’ to the house on the day of ghosts eating.

Documenting paratexts give related information to manuscript contexts or settings: productions, usage, transmission or provenance that provide further details about the culture in which the manuscript existed and which can be mostly found in colophons and headings. In her 2016 article *Exploring Paratexts in Old Mande Manuscripts*, Darya Ogorodnikova explains that colophons are written at the end of manuscripts and contain information about the manuscripts itself. “Most commonly, it is here that one can find relevant information about the production, ownership and transmission of manuscripts, including the names of their scribes and owners, the names of the place where they were produced, and the time and purpose of writing or copying them” (2016: 3). In the case of Tai Lü and Tai Khün

manuscripts⁵, colophons provide the following eight kinds of information: title of the texts, names of the scribe and donor, dates of writing completion and of the dedication to a monastery, the places of manuscript writing and donation, the wishes of the scribe and donor, the purpose of the production and dedication, the price, as well as particular events or occasions (see Apiradee 2016: 38). The following citation gives a comprehensive explanation of colophons:

In our understanding, this is a short paratext containing information about the production, internal organization and storage of a particular manuscript. In this respect, one could name a colophon of this type a ‘scribal colophon’, since it is composed by scribes and generally relates to the material aspects of a specific manuscript. Being a text in itself, a colophon is composed according to a set of more or less fixed conventions, which translate, for instance, into a formulaic use of the language (e.g. use of a specific lexicon, fixed invocations, etc.) and a number of graphic devices (e.g. *puṣṭikās* and *piḷḷaiyār cuḷis*⁶). Colophons are among the main means by which scholars can outline the aspects characterizing a manuscript culture – in the present case that of Tamil Nadu (Giovanni Ciotti and Marco Franceschini 2016: 59–60).

Documenting paracontents are helpful when the manuscripts were moved to another place and need to be traced back to where they originated from or were kept, especially in many cases of local manuscript circulations. In early periods, manuscripts, especially liturgical manuscripts, were circulated among local temples as common uses because the monasteries possessed limited manuscripts. Temple names were thus frequently written on the manuscripts, so that borrowers could find where the manuscripts should be returned after using. Not only does spatial information shown in the manuscripts play a role in documenting paracontents, temporal information also does. Therefore, these paracontents cannot be independently studied without using other scientific approaches, especially those relevant to cultural contexts. The following excerpts show some documenting paracontents; the first one indicates the purpose of usage and repository. The red oval shows the usage purpose and the red frame shows the ownership statement, each of which was written with the modern Lao script because they are not read aloud by masters of ceremony or monks during the ritual. The manuscript was used in the annual *Tan khao lon bat* festival in which laypeople offer their newly harvested rice to local monasteries. *Tan* means “to give” and *khao lon bat* means “alms-bowls full of rice”; *Tan khao lon bat* thus originated from a pile of rice given by

⁵ Tai Lü is the name of Tai ethnic group mostly inhabiting the Sipsòng Panna autonomous prefecture (*Xishuang banna daizu zizhi zhou*), located in the south of Yunna, China, and conterminous to Myanmar and Laos. The manuscripts were written in Tai Lü and Tai Khün scripts, variants of the Dhamma script, and on two main writing supports: palm-leaf manuscripts (*nangsü bailan*) and mulberry-paper manuscripts (*phapsa*). Although Sipsòng Panna is considered to be the original homeland of Tai Lü, we also find numerous Tai Lü settlements in Northern Laos, eastern Myanmar and Northern Thailand as a result of forced resettlements and voluntary immigration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Apiradee 2016: 36).

⁶ Explained by Ciotti and Franceschini (2016: 60), *Puṣṭikās* (‘small flowers’) are floral signs that are variously used in South Asian manuscripts, in order to mark sections of a text, such as its beginning, end and its subdivisions. On the other hand, *piḷḷaiyār cuḷis* (‘Ganeśa’s trunk’) are peculiar to the manuscript culture of southern India, and are used both as section markers and as auspicious signs.

laypeople accumulating in alms-bowls. The dedicated rice is also known as *dòì khao* (ดอยข้าว) since the rice is piled up like a hill or *dòì* (ดอย). The usage purpose and ownership statement are documenting paracontents to indicate the contexts of manuscript usage and manuscript repository. The second picture shows a precautionary notification warning borrowers to return the manuscript to the owner temple.

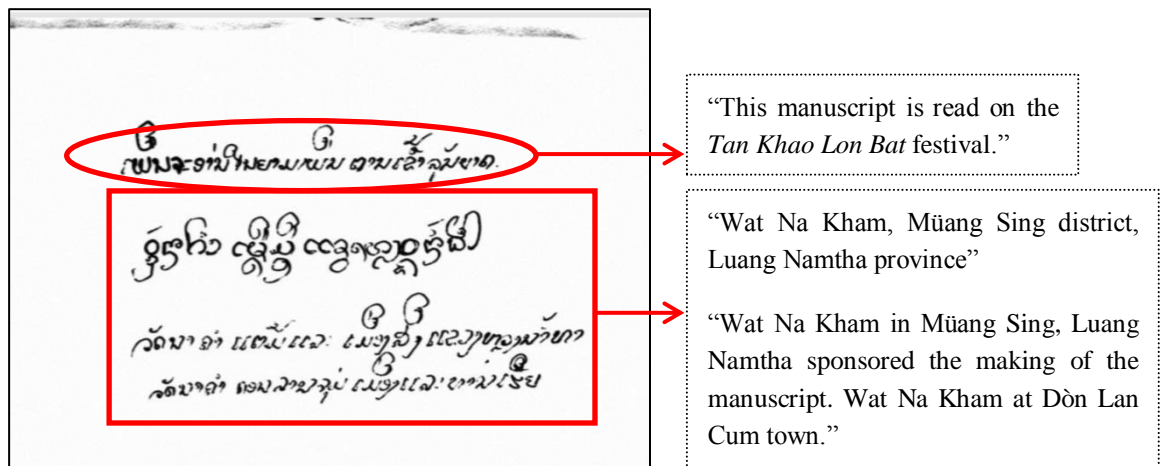


Figure 1.3: Documenting paracontents showing the usage purpose and repository
Ya khwan khao (Goddess of rice fields)

Source: DLLM, code: 03021606002-02, side 2, Vat Na Kham, Luang Namtha, year unknown

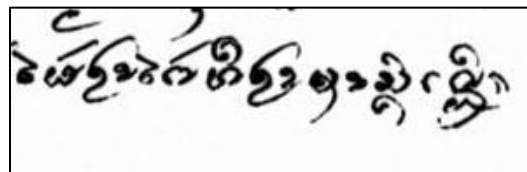


Figure 1.4: Documenting paracontent showing a precautionary note
“(Borrowers,) Please return it (back) (to the temple)”
Wetsantara chadok (Vessantara Jātaka), *Kuman* episode

Source: DLLM, code: 08090407021-00, folio 129 (verso), Vat Phothiyalam, Saiyabuli, CE 1895

According to Ciotti and Lin, paratexts can be further divided into the following two sub-categories:

The first provides explicit temporal and spatial information; this is the case for colophons, prefaces, postfaces, etc., in which the date and place of production are usually recorded. The second sub-category, on the other hand, contains non-explicit information that can only be accessed by means of philological, paleographical, codicological and material-based investigation, glosses may be written in a language or register which is peculiar to a specific region and moment in time, for example (2016: 8).

The first category can be widely found. The example below obviously shows a paracontent of the second sub-category which requires other approaches to trace the historical background of the manuscript. The manuscript pertains to Buddhist monk prohibitions (*Abat* or

Sangkhathiset) and was written in Pali with the Tham script; it is kept at the Eutiner Landesbibliothek in Schleswig-Holstein, Northern Germany.

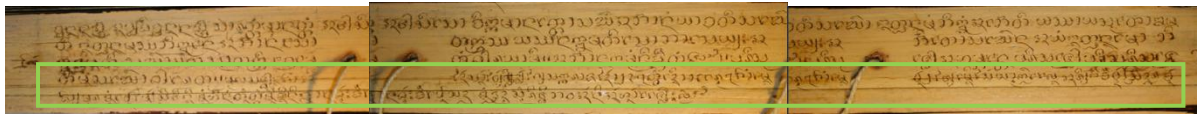


Figure 1.5: Colophon in a manuscript of Buddhist monk prohibitions (*Sangkhathiset*)

Regarding the colophon in the green frame, a temple name is mentioned as Wat Si Dòn Can Sai Mun (วัดศรีดอนจันทร์ทรายมูล). The temple name cannot be found nowadays, thus having possibly been changed. There are, however, three temples with similar names: Wat Dòn Can (วัดดอนจั่น) in Müang district, Wat San Sai Mun (วัดสันทรายมูล) in San Sai district and Wat Si Dòn Mun (วัดศรีดอนมูล) in Saraphi district, all of which are located in Chiang Mai province. As far as my assumption goes, the first name is likely to be Wat Dòn Can, although the manuscript records the monastery's name as Wat Si Dòn Can Sai Mun. The name Wat Dòn Can literally means Wat (Si) Dòn Can which is located in Sai Mun district; the word *sai mun* was probably added later in order to indicate where the temple was and the word *si* is often added to denote auspiciousness. In ancient time, moreover, districts were not officially demarcated; also the local people were likely to be confused about the exact locations.

1.1.2 Multiple-Text Manuscripts and Composite Manuscripts

The term multiple-text manuscript⁷ (MTM) was suggested by Professor Dr. Harunaga Isaacson during discussions held in Hamburg of the DFG Research Group 963 “Manuscript Cultures in Asia and Africa” (2008–2011). Multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) are the least formal genre of books among the familiar types of collecting and organizing knowledge in medieval manuscripts (Gerhard Endress 2016: 177) and designate codicological units ‘worked in a single operation’ (Gumbert) with two or more texts or a ‘production unit’ resulting from one production delimited in time and space (Andris, Canart, Maniaci) (see Friedrich and Schwarke 2016: 15–16). A MTM contains several texts in a single production unit, thereby summing up various bits of information as a single chronological textual piece. The other related term ‘composite manuscript’⁸ is also a codicological unit which is made up of formerly independent units (Friedrich and Schwarke 2016: 16). A composite manuscript in Northern Thailand and Laos is a bundle (Th: *mat*) including several fascicles (Th: *phuk*), each of which sometimes contains similar textual themes, was made in different times and later combined into a bundle. In his 2016 article ‘*One-Volume Libraries*’ and the Traditions of Learning in Medieval Arabic Islamic Cultural, Gerhard Endress studies maǧmū’a (collected

⁷ MTM can be also known as ‘anthology’, ‘excerpta’, ‘chrestomathy’, or ‘florilegium’.

⁸ In 1939 the German medievalist Edward Schröder (1858–1942) distinguished between ‘*Sammelhandschriften*’ and ‘*Miszellanhandschriften*’ (Friedrich and Schwarke 2016: 3) which were called ‘composite manuscripts’ by Lynn Thorndike (1882–1965). Their meaning is similar to ‘collecting manuscripts’ or multiple-text manuscripts; the term *Sammelhandschriften*, however, carries a narrative sense of meaning.

or *put together*) and distinguishes familiar types of maġmū'a codices including MTMs and composite manuscripts that are quite similar to Northern Thai and Lao manuscript cultures.

Composite Manuscripts, *recuelis factices*, were bound together from several cahiers or codicological units that in the first instance were produced and put to use separately, and then bound by bookseller or librarian, or the scribe himself. Multiple-text compilations (MTMs) organised and united by one scribe, and written in a continuous effort by a single hand. The text of one treatise would traverse the quire boundary after a quire had been filled, (A frequent practice, in the Arabic book as in the Latin West, consists of adding a catchword [reclamans] at the bottom of one quire pointing to the first word of the following quire in order to avoid disorder). These would grow in the course of several months, or even years, before they were finally bound by the *muġallid* 'bookbinder' in the service of the *madrasa* and library foundations, or in the market by 'papetiers', warrāqūn, who sold both paper and copies of books by commission (2016: 178).

As for *anisong* multiple-text manuscripts in Northern Thailand and Laos, one fascicle (*phuk*) contains more than one *anisong* text. The MTMs are bilingual (vernacular and Pali) and were written by monks or ex-monks. Sponsors who donated their money to commission copying the manuscripts are mentioned in the colophons, accompanied sometimes by names of scribes. A number of manuscripts show the names of familiar scribes who also wrote other manuscripts which were sponsored by different donors; one scribe could therefore be hired to inscribe manuscripts by many sponsors. MTMs contain different *anisong* texts that are sometimes not used for preaching on the same occasion; the texts were thus mixed for the purpose of making a textual collection of *anisong* as in the following example. There are distinctively rare cases where *anisong* MTMs also include non-*anisong* texts in the same unit. Compared to Laos, multiple-text manuscripts are more frequently found in Northern Thailand and contain several *anisong* texts that are supposed to be used in more diverse rituals; hence, the MTMs in Northern Thailand comparatively served as textual *anisong* collections (for further explanations, see Chapter Five). The following palm-leaf manuscript from Luang Prabang is a multiple-text manuscript containing five *anisong* texts, each of which is to be recited in different rituals.

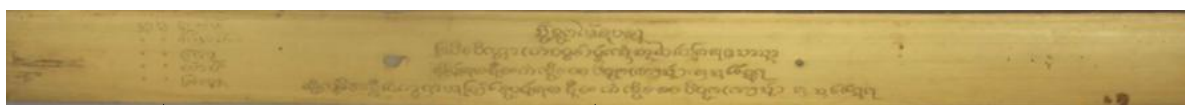


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สองดอกไม้รูปเทียน

พระวิริจิตโต (คำจันท์) วัดแสน สร้างไว้ในพระพุทธศาสนา เมื่อวันพุธ ขึ้น ๑๐ ค่ำ เดือน ๑๑ ปีวอก (กาบสัน) พ.ศ. ๒๔๘๗ เพื่อเป็นที่ระลึกในคราวอายุครบ ๒ รอบ วันพุธ ขึ้น ๑๐ ค่ำ เดือน ๑๑ ปีวอก (กาบสัน) พ.ศ. ๒๔๘๗

Sòng dòk mai thup thian

Pha Virachitto (Khamchan) from Vat Saen [Sukharam] produced and dedicated [the manuscript] to the Teachings of the Buddha on the tenth waxing-moon day of the eleventh lunar month, the Year of the Monkey (*kap san*), BE 2487 in commemoration of the second

twelve-year anniversary cycle on the tenth waxing-moon day of the eleventh lunar month, the Year of the Monkey (*kap san*) BE 2487⁹.

Figure 1.6: Cover folio of a multiple-text manuscript containing five *anisong* texts

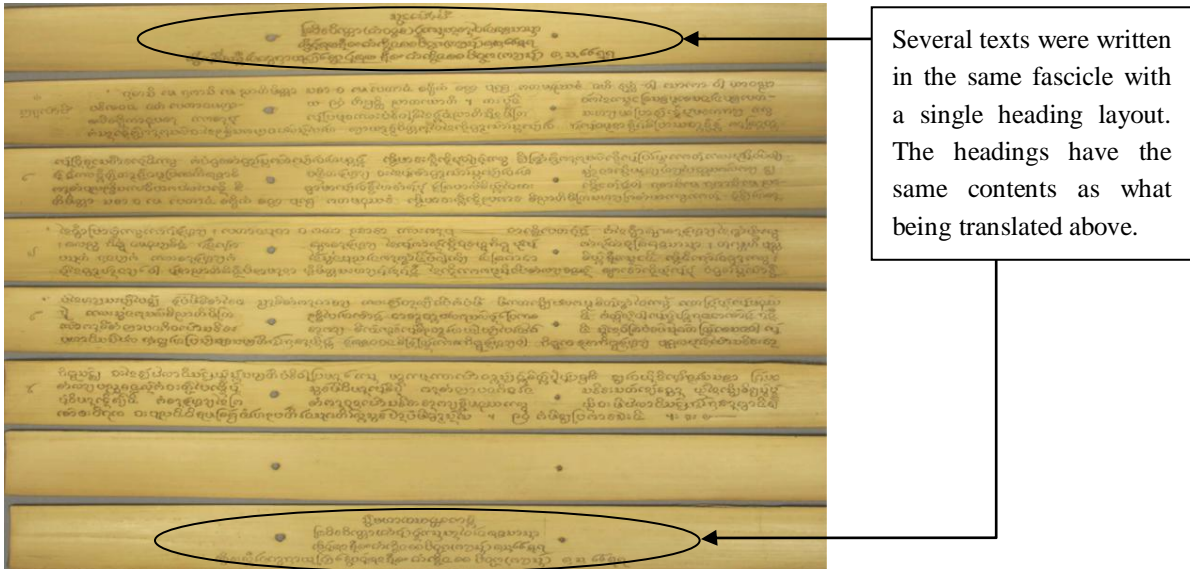


Figure 1.7: The same cover template of a multiple-text manuscript
Multiple-text manuscript containing five texts¹⁰

Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0157, folios 20–27 (recto), Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 1944

However, in the case of *Anisong sapphathan* manuscripts that explain meritorious rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving (P: *sabbadāna*), the manuscripts were clearly produced to be used for preaching on different occasions of *dāna*. Each fascicle thus has a wide range of ‘anisong’ or benefits that people could gain from widely different donations: *Anisong nam bò* (Rewards derived from the construction of wells), *Anisong atthabòrikhan* (Rewards derived from the donation of eight commodities for monks) or *Anisong chedi sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas). Manuscripts entitled *Anisong sapphathan* are therefore MTMs that were made for giving sermons on various gift-giving occasions and for gathering texts of a similar theme in common – donation. In the following picture, the table of contents in the red frame shows the titles of five texts given in the manuscript: *Anisong phuttharup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images), *Anisong wihan aram* (Rewards derived from monastic constructions), *Anisong prasat* (Rewards derived from the construction of monastic halls), *Anisong thammat* (Rewards derived from the donation of pulpits) and *Anisong katiya kudi rong chan khao* (Rewards

⁹ Wednesday, 27 September 1944.

¹⁰ The five texts are *Sòng dòk mai thup thian* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers, incense sticks and candles), *Sòng haksa sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance), *Sòng fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma), *Sòng phao phi* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals) and *Sòng maha wetsandòn chadok* (Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka).

derived from the construction of monastic abodes and canteens). According to the titles, the manuscript mostly contains the similar textual theme of ‘construction for monasteries’.

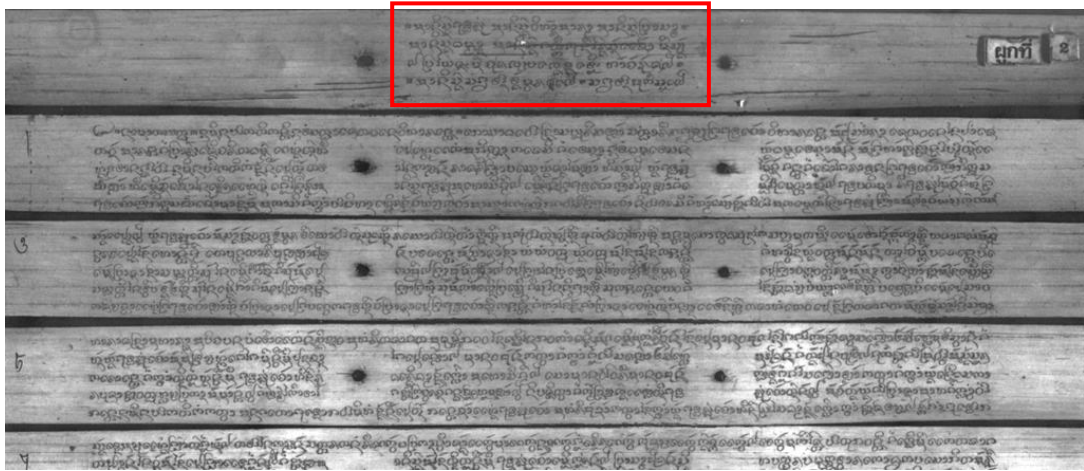


Figure 1.8: Table of content of a multiple-text manuscript

Anisong sappathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)

Source: PNTMP, code: นน 0920005-01, folio 48 (recto), Wat Na Pang, Nan province, CE 1796

In terms of *anisong* composite manuscripts in Northern Thailand and Laos, one bundle (Th: *mat*) contains more than one fascicle (Th: *phuk*). Each fascicle was originally produced by different production units, in different times and by different sponsors, and they were later combined into a bundle to serve particular aims. Some were collected on the basis of similar textual themes; others were combined as they could be employed on a specific occasion. The following example is a composite manuscript containing five independent fascicles united later for the same textual theme, namely, rewards derived from the participation in funerals, each of which was inscribed in different times by different sponsors for different units. The five fascicles are entitled *Sòng sop*, *Thetsana chapanakit wiphak*, *Sòng sop*, *Sòng sop* and *Sòng sop phi tai*. In addition, a text *Sòng pitaka* explaining rewards derived from copying religious books to monasteries is also included. The following excerpts are colophons of the five texts, showing considerably different handwritings, page layouts and contents.



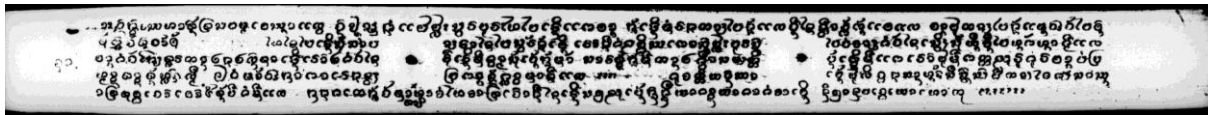


Figure 1.9: Five colophons of five texts from the same codicological unit
Composite manuscript containing five fascicles¹¹

Source: DLLM, code: 01012906002-04, folio 27 (recto) and folios 3, 15, 52 and 67 (verso)
The National Library, Vientiane, CE 1904

Accordingly, as for *anisong* manuscripts from Northern Thailand and Laos, one can identify manuscripts as multiple-text or composite versions by observing the colophons where scribes or sponsors freely wrote their wishes, intentions and any other records. In the case of multiple-text manuscripts, several colophons¹² could be sometimes be inscribed but still refer to a single production unit. However, a production unit containing a single text or multiple texts could be written by different scribes. Paracontents appearing in the manuscripts can basically illustrate that they were made as the same unit but written by different persons. The following manuscript from Wat Phra Bat Ming Müang in Phrae province, Northern Thailand, was written by two different scribes. It contains a total of nine folios; four are missing.

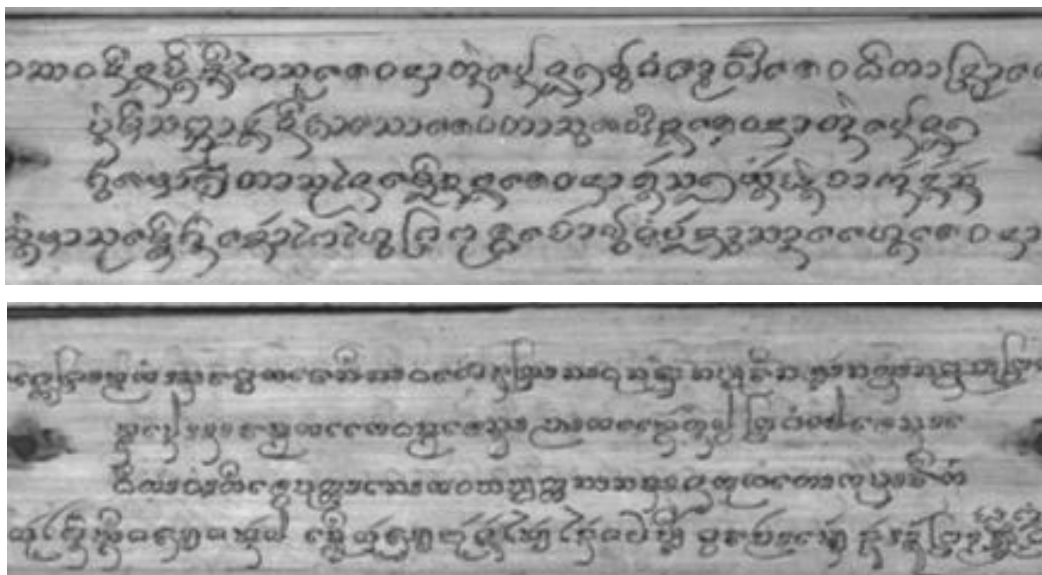


Figure 1.10: Different handwritings in the same manuscript
Anisong phao phi bò hai (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals)

Source: PNTMP, code: พ๓ 0406012-03, folios 4–5 (recto)
Wat Phra Bat Ming Müang, Phrae province, CE 1838

¹¹ The five fascicles are *Sòng sop* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals), *Thesana chapanakit wiphak* (Liturgy at funerals), multiple-text fascicle containing *Sòng sop* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals), *Sòng pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying religious books) and *Sòng kammawaca* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies), *Sòng sop* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals) and multiple-text fascicle containing *Sòng sop phi tai* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals) and *Sòng pha ap nam fon* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season).

¹² In the case of manuscripts baring no colophons, those inscribed by one hand-writing can be considered as one production unit.

The primary purpose of the manuscript was possibly to serve as an academic tool for a scribal-learning group. Trained and educated by monks, a group of novices learnt to inscribe texts on palm-leaf manuscripts. They listened to and inscribed texts according to what the master monks dictated. Compared to studying in classes today, a group of students wrote texts in a manuscript to avoid unnecessary waste of precious palm leaves. McDaniel explains that “[s]ince palm leaf is relatively difficult to prepare for inscribing, it would have been more efficient to train many students on one manuscript, like many automobile repair students train on one engine or many medical students observe a surgery on a single body” (2008: 144). In rarely found cases of multiple-text manuscripts, there is more than one colophon, but they still show similar contents referring to the same donors. Composite manuscripts were, on the contrary, made by mixing individual manuscripts from different productions, each of which has its individual colophon.

Only monks or ex-monks were trained to write, as the training was only available in monasteries. After being hired to write a manuscript, scribes took time for that task, possibly due to being hired by several sponsors, thereby dividing their spare time for writing. Some set certain hours of the day to write; a number of colophons show that the manuscript writings were completed at different times of the day.

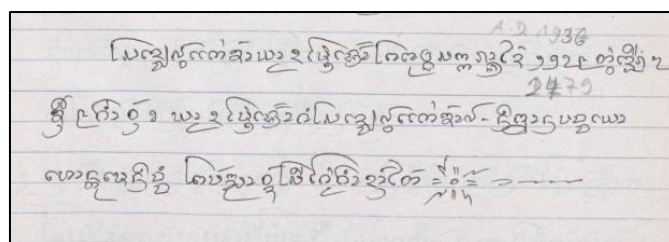


Figure 1.11: Colophon showing that the manuscript was completed at nine o'clock

เสร็จแล้วแก่ข้ายาม ๓ โมงเช้า พระพุทธศักราชได้ ๒๔๗๙ ตัว เดือน ๗ ขึ้น ๙ ค่ำ วัน ๑ ยาม ๓ โมงเช้า
ก็เสร็จแล้วแก่ข้าแล นพพาน ปจจโย โหนตุ เม นิจจํ พระปัญญา วัดศรีคอมคำด้านใต้

[The manuscript writing was] finished **at 9 a.m.**, CE 1936, on the ninth waxing-moon day of the seventh lunar month, on the first day of the week¹³ at 9 a.m. *Nibbāna paccayo hontu me niccam* [May this be a condition to reach Nibbāna]. Phra Panya from Wat Si Khom Kham in the southern side [of Wat Si Khom Kham inscribed the manuscript].

Anisong sang khua lae sala nam bò pen than (Rewards derived from the construction of bridges, pavilions and wells), source: DELMN, code: 126, side 14, private access, Chiang Rai province, CE 1973

¹³ 1297 Phalguna 9 = Sunday, 1 March 1936.

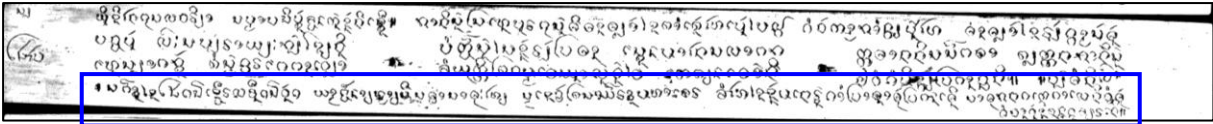


Figure 1.12: Colophon showing that the manuscript was completed in the morning time
Salòng khao salak (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival)

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406002-09, folio 6 (verso), Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1970

ศักราชได้ ๒๕๑๓ เดือน ๙ ขึ้น ๑๓ ค่ำ วัน ๑ ยามกองงาย หมายถึงศรัทธาสาธุใหญ่สมเด็จพะสังฆราช
 มหาเถระ ขอให้ได้ตั้งมโนเรศคำปวารณาทุกประการเทอญ สาธุ อนาคต กาเล นิจจํ ทูริ [...]]

[The manuscript writing was] finished in BE 2513 (CE 1970), on the thirteenth waxing-moon day of the ninth lunar month, on the first day of the week¹⁴ **at the time of the morning drum (*yam kòng ngai* or 7:30–9:00 a.m.)** and sponsored by Sathu Nyai Somdet Phasangkhalat Mahathela (The Supreme Patriarch). May all wishes be fulfilled. *Sathu anāgate kāle niccam duvam* (in the future continuously and forever) (followed by an indistinct name of the scribe).

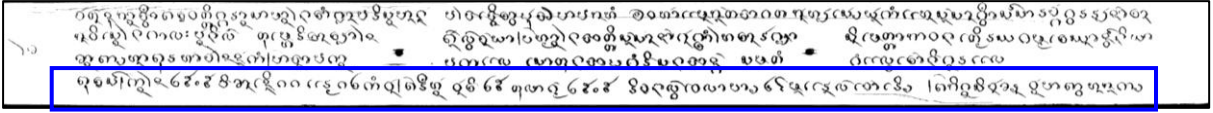


Figure 1.13: Colophon showing that the manuscript was completed at sixteen o'clock
Salòng khua (Rewards derived from the construction of public bridges)

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406002-07, folio 9 (recto), Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1962

พุทธศักราชได้ ๒๕๐๕ ปีชวด เดือน ๑๑ แรม ๑๒ ค่ำ วันพฤหัสบดี วันที่ ๒๕ ตุลาคม ๒๕๐๕ รจนแล้ว
 เวลาบ่าย ๔ โมงแลเจ้าเฮย พระภิกขุสีจันเขียน วัดป่าพร้าว หนองคาย

[The manuscript writing was] finished in BE 2505 (CE 1962), in the Year of the Tiger, on the twelfth waning-moon day of the eleventh lunar month, on Thursday 25 October 1962 **at 4 p.m.** Pha Phikku Si Can (monk named Si Can) from Wat Pa Phrao, Nongkhai province, wrote [the manuscript].

In the case of monk scribes, they frequently wrote *anisong* manuscripts around the late part of the year or during the Buddhist Lent in which they are not allowed to travel. In his 2006 *Spreading the Dhamma: Writing, Orality, and Textual Transmission in Buddhist Northern Thailand*, Daniel M. Veidlinger defines general scribal works as a seasonal activity as follows: “The dates found in manuscript colophons demonstrate that the work was carried out mostly during the rainy season. The vast majority of dated manuscripts were completed in months nine, ten, eleven, and twelve” (2006: 123). Many cases also demonstrate that monks inscribed the manuscripts during their travels for a particular duty. They had perhaps even more free time during the task because they were not expected to do common daily jobs as they did in their home monasteries. The following is a colophon of a palm-leaf manuscript written by a novice named Karintha who temporarily stayed at Wat Suan Dòk in Chiang Mai province for his task of collecting religious manuscripts¹⁵. He did not give information on the

¹⁴ 1332 Śrāvaṇa 13 = Saturday, 15 August 1970.
¹⁵ What were ‘collected’ were not manuscripts as objects but ‘texts’. Accordingly, ‘collecting’ in the sense of religious manuscripts traditionally referred to ‘text copying’ in manuscripts.

task duration but at least the colophon reveals that monks could write manuscripts anywhere and anytime they were free; manuscripts were therefore not restricted to be inscribed at a specific time and place.

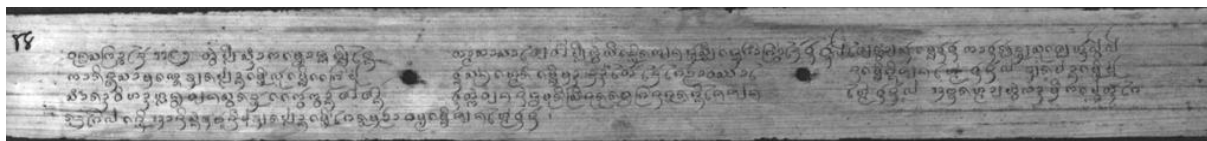


Figure 1.14: Colophon showing that the manuscript was written during a certain task of the scribe *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)
Source: PNTMP, code: พร 0113009-02, folio 63 (verso), Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1830

การินทาสามเณร เขียนปางเมื่อลู่เมืองแพร่อยู่วัดสูงเม่นเมืองม่านตานใต้ ได้ไปเอาวัสสาในเมืองพินด์ เชียงใหม่วันนั้นแล เขียนปางเมื่ออยู่สำราญวิหารหลวงเวียงสวนดอกแก้วกว้างทางวันตก เวียงนพบุรี ศรีนครรัฐพระนครพินด์ไชยเชียงใหม่ วันนั้นแล อักษรระหมายหัวลานมี ก เป็นต้นไปรอด โค แลเนา อานิสสงส์ผู้กนี้เขียนปางเมื่อไปรวมเอาธรรมเมืองเชียงใหม่วันนั้น

[I], Karintha Samanen (novice named Karintha), [after] I left Wat Sung Men [located] in Phrae province, I wrote [the manuscript] during [my] stay in Chiang Mai. I wrote [the manuscript] at the grand monastery of Wat Suan Dòk in the west of Wiang Nopburi Sikhururat Phra Nakhòn Phing Chai Chiang Mai. The folio-ordering alphabets (T: *akkhara mai huan lan*, อักษรระหมายหัวลาน) start from *ka* (ก) to *kho* (โค). This *anisong* manuscript was written during [the duty of] gathering (copying) religious texts (Dhamma) in Chiang Mai.

The following examples are excerpted from a multiple-text manuscript. The first picture is a colophon showing that the scribe spent his free time on writing the manuscript while taking care of an abbot as his monastic task. The manuscript contains nine *Anisong sapphathan* fascicles written by collaborative scribes and combined into a bundle as one production unit. The second picture is another interesting case showing that monks could hire a novice to write a manuscript.

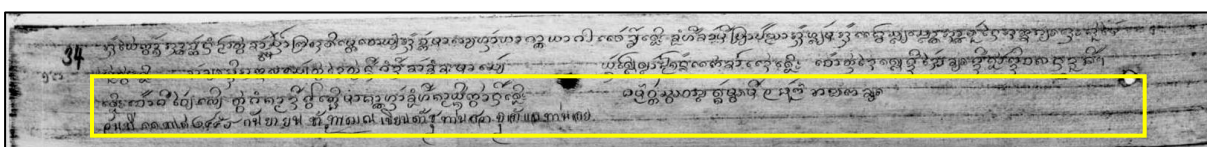


Figure 1.15: Colophon showing that the scribe spent his free time on writing the manuscript while taking care of an abbot as his monastic task
Anisong sapphathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)
Source: DELMN, code: 1043, folio 99 (recto), Wat Suan Tan, Nan province, CE 1913

ตัวก้งามดีแล้ว เกิดมาชาติหน้าขอให้งามยิ่งกว่านี้เทอะ ธรรมวัดสวนตาลทั้งมวลมีเกล้าผูก พระขณะ เขียน วันที่ ๑๑ ๒๔๕๖ ก็นยายน ข้าพระขณะเขียนคำชู้ท่านสาธุเจ้าแลท่านเอย

I have properly a good look in this life and wish to have even better looks in the next lives. This manuscript of Wat Suan Tan contains nine fascicles in total. Phra Khana (Ghana) (monk named Khana) [finished] writing [the manuscript] on 11 September 1913 in veneration of the abbot.



Figure 1.16: Colophon showing the evidence of hiring a scribal labor
Anisong sapphathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)
 Source: DELMN, code: 1043, folio 59 (recto), Wat Suan Tan, Nan province, CE 1913

เนนปัญญาเขียน ศรัทธาพระบุญปันได้จ้างเพิ่นเขียนหื้อข้าราชการ ๒ สลึง

[This manuscript] was inscribed by Nen Panya (novice named Panya) and sponsored by Phra Bunpan (monk named Bunpan) who hired him for two *salüing*¹⁶.

A limited access to writing support was another underlying reason for writing multiple-text manuscripts. In order to produce palm-leaf writing supports, leaves of palm trees need to be prepared for up to ten days until the surface is ready to be inscribed on. Manuscripts made from palm leaves could therefore be less accessible than other kinds of writing supports like mulberry paper and industrial paper. Sponsors had to think carefully about what to have written and hired a scribe for writing it thoroughly in one go, so that the writing support was provided by estimating a proper number of palm leaves to contain the whole text. This was much better than having a scribe write every single manuscript over and over again whenever the sponsors wanted, which likely consumed and overused materials.

1.1.3 Manuscript Functions

Anisong manuscripts are engaged in production, dedication and liturgical usage. Veidlinger (2006: 5–6) divides functions of manuscripts into two groups – cultic usage and discursive usage – that are distinguished by the association of ‘object’ and ‘text’¹⁷. Manuscripts have a cultic use when they are symbolically treated as objects which are believed to be sacred or meaningful. The role in cultic usage can be further categorized into *seen* cultic usage and *unseen* cultic usage that literally define *visible* or *invisible* manuscripts in the practices. Placing flowers or prostrating to venerate religious manuscripts is, for example, a *seen* cultic usage in which the manuscripts are considered as sacred objects containing prayers or Buddha’s Teachings, while a manuscript is *unseen* when it is enshrined in a *stūpa* or wrapped in a clothing bundle and placed on a heightened tray. The manuscript dealing with unseen

¹⁶ One Thai Baht (THB) is composed of four *salüing*.

¹⁷ “The main feature that distinguishes the discursive from the cultic category is that in the discursive, the words of the texts are actually read, whereas in the cultic, the manuscript as a whole is treated iconically, generally as a physical embodiment of the teaching of the Buddha” (Veidlinger 2006: 5).

cultic usage, stated and compared to the Buddha's relics by Veidlinger, is possibly unknown whether the manuscript 'exists' within the container¹⁸.

Seen or visible cultic usage of *anisong* manuscripts can be observed in dedication rituals in which laypeople offer *anisong* manuscripts to monasteries through monks. The manuscripts are sometimes given together with other donated goods in expectation of gaining the merit derived from the whole dedication unit and/or transferring the merit to dead spirits. *Anisong* texts in the manuscripts are not read in the ritual because they were given to monasteries as 'objects' that contain Buddha's Teachings for the purpose of religious support. The manuscripts are considered as 'exchanges' of merit and are 'seen' in dedication rituals, thereby being regarded as seen cultic usage. Another example in this case is that a monk gives an *anisong* sermon by heart, holds a manuscript in his hands but reads nothing from the manuscript. The manuscript can be 'seen' by the lay audience but it is possibly not an *anisong* manuscript; it symbolizes or refers to the words from Buddha's Teachings. The picture below was taken from an *anisong* sermon explaining rewards derived from the dedication of monk robes during the Buddhist Lent period. The preacher held a manuscript in his hands but did not read from it, revealing that he could give the sermon by heart. The manuscript thus symbolically served as Buddha's Teachings and perhaps did not contain an *anisong* text.

¹⁸ However, there are also cases where an unseen manuscript is honoured, most notably in the event of its being installed within a *stūpa*. "As in the case of the Buddha's relics, which are often similarly treated, the manuscript – since it will never be seen – may not actually possess the characteristics that are attributed to it; in fact, it may not even exist" (ibid: 5).



Figure 1.17: *Anisong* sermon explaining rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
Photo by the author on August 8, 2018 at Wat Sung Men, Phrae province

Bounleuth gives an example of manuscript usage in Laos which is clearly concerned with the seen cultic usage as follows:

Furthermore, pieces of palm leaves are also believed to be sacred objects for writing magical characters and drawing magical diagrams. Based on this belief, various palm-leaf manuscripts have been kept and stored in boxes and cabinets standing close to altars and Buddha images in abodes, monastic quarters, and ordination halls. Some laypeople also follow this practice by building altars in their home to place their most precious palm-leaf manuscripts there. They usually worship such manuscripts – placing flowers and saying prayers – on the Buddhist Sabbath (2015: 264).

Unseen or invisible cultic usage of manuscripts is, compared by Veidlinger, similar to enshrined relics believed to be in real existence. A very obvious example can be observed at Wat Sung Men in Phrae province where three manuscript museums are located (see Chapter Two). Most of the manuscripts are kept at two museums where people are occasionally allowed to visit, while the other museum welcomes all visitors every day but houses a lesser number of manuscripts compared to the other two. This museum also provides a large number of well-wrapped bundles, each of which is ‘believed’ to contain a manuscript. The bundles are placed on a table and wrapped with cloth of seven different colours symbolizing the seven days of the week¹⁹. Visitors can hold a bundle wrapped in the colour corresponding

¹⁹ The seven-day colours are astrologically denoted for the body colours of seven deities who are believed to dominate seven celestial planets – the sun, the moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn. Accordingly,

to their birthdays in their hands and walk clockwise around the table of manuscript bundles three times²⁰ to pay homage to the religious manuscripts. As all the bundles are tightly sealed with plastic sheet, visitors cannot see the real manuscripts inside. According to my one-month survey in the monastery during July to August 2018, numerous bundles contained a plastic foam bar cut into the same size but no manuscript was included. On the table nearby, there were industrially printed “manuscripts” of seven *Abhidhamma* treatises (อภิธรรมเจ็ดคัมภีร์)²¹; the seven treatises were marked with seven days of birth for visitors who would like to donate their money to support the manuscript museums. People who were born on Sunday were provided with *Saṅgiṇī* (สังคินี), on Monday with *Vibhaṅga* (วิภังคะ), on Tuesday with *Dhātukathā* (ธาตุกถา), on Wednesday with *Puggalapaññatti* (บุคคละบัญญัติ), on Thursday with *Kathāvatthu* (กถาวัตถุ), on Friday with *Yamaka* (ยะมะกะ) and on Saturday with *Mahāpaṭṭhāna*

Sunday is marked with red; Monday with yellow or yellowish white; Tuesday with pink; Wednesday with green; Thursday with orange or light yellow; Friday with blue or light blue and Saturday with violet.

²⁰ Clockwise walking or circumambulation, known as *Pradakṣiṇa* (प्रदक्षिण), means walking by keeping the right shoulder toward the central object in representation of paying homage. Circumambulation (P: *dakkhiṇāvāṭa*) is walking clockwise three times around a holy place to symbolically pay homage. *Dakṣa* (skt.) is defined as a ‘skill’, thereby also meaning ‘right hand’ because the majority of people are right-handed. The Aryan paid high respect to the right hand and used it for giving and receiving things in veneration. In Sanskrit, dedicated items are called *dakṣiṇā* (P: *dakkhiṇā*), clearly seen by praising monks as *āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo dakkhineyyo*, meaning “persons who deserve being offered”. When waking up in the morning, the Aryan faced to the East or the auspicious direction for paying homage to the sun. By doing so, our right hand points to the South which is therefore called Thaksin (*dakṣiṇā*). As a result, circumambulation or clockwise walk originated as a walk in the opposite direction of an anti-clockwise walk done for inauspicious occasions like funerals. “Through circumambulation,” states Fogelin, “an individual accumulated merit, assuring a better position in their next life and faster attainment of nirvana. Circumambulation is also meditative, as worshippers combined steady physical movement with religious thought” (Fogelin 2003: 133). In addition, Sihlé states that “In South Asian Buddhist contexts, however, remuneration of religious services has not been an unthought category: in particular, one finds the term *dakṣiṇā* (S.) or *dakkhiṇā* (P.), which can be glossed as ‘fee’ or ‘honorarium’” (2015: 371).

²¹ The *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* is part of the Buddhist Canon (*Tipiṭaka*) and consists of seven treatises (1) **Dhammasaṅgaṇī (Classification of Dhamma)**: The major part of the book is devoted to the explanation of the first triplet – Kusalā Dhammā, Akusalā Dhammā and Abyākātā Dhammā, (2) **Vibhaṅga (Division)**: There are eighteen divisions; most of which consist of three parts – Suttanta explanation, *Abhidhamma* explanation and a Catechism (*Pañhapucchaka*), (3) **Dhātukathā (Discussion with reference to Elements)**: It discusses whether Dhammas are included or not included in, associated with or dissociated from Aggregates (*Khandha*), Bases (*Āyatana*) and Elements (*Dhātu*), (4) **Puggalapaññatti (Designation of Individuals)**: This treatise is similar to *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and deals with various types of individuals instead of various Dhammas, (5) **Kathāvatthu (Points of Controversy)**: The authorship of this treatise is ascribed to the Venerable Moggalliputta Tissa Thera, who flourished in the time of King Dhammāsoka. It was he who presided at the third Conference held at Pāṭaliputta (Patna) in the 3rd century BE. This work of his was included in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* at that Conference, (6) **Yamaka (The Book of Pairs)**: It is so called owing to its method of treatment. Throughout the book a question and its converse are found grouped together and (7) **Paṭṭhāna (The Book of Casual Relations)**: This is the most important and the most voluminous book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. One who patiently read this treatise cannot but admire the profound wisdom and penetrative insight of the Buddha. There is no doubt of the fact that to produce such as elaborate and learned treatise one must certainly be an intellectual genius (see Narada 1987: 17–20).

(มหาปฎิฐาน). Manuscript-like bundles are evidently concerned with the *unseen* cultic usage. Further information about the three museums is provided in Chapter Two.



Figure 1.18: The exhibition tables of manuscript bundles, Wat Sung Men, Phrae province
Photo by the author on July 24, 2018

Regarding the discursive usage of manuscripts, there are three modes categorized by Paul Griffiths (1999): composition, display and storage, all of which are associated with textual usage in the case of *anisong* manuscripts. He explains the interrelated three modes as follows: “Works will usually be displayed after (or simultaneously with) their composition; more rarely they may be stored after they have been displayed; and those that have been stored may sometimes be taken from storage for redisplay” (1999: 22). The manuscripts were written as text containers to be served for different purposes. Veidlinger explains the composition mode of discursive usage as follows:

The first mode indicates the way in which written, or more properly, writable surfaces may be used for composing a work. Generally one will write one’s ideas down, and then rewrite them, alter them, and rethink them in the turbulent process of composition. This is generally, although not always, a private or at least narrowcast usage of writing that awaits completion before being displayed. In the use of writing to display a work – to make it accessible to those wishing to gain knowledge of its linguistic contents – two distinct modes can be distinguished: the work may be read silently or read out loud (2006: 6).

In the case of *anisong* manuscripts from Laos, modern printing technology has influenced the manuscript production since the late nineteenth century when some palm-leaf manuscripts were typed with typewriters for the purpose of future uses. Various kinds of writing support were not restricted to palm leaves but included mulberry paper and industrial paper. The composition mode of discursive usage can therefore be defined by the role of manuscripts as textual containers. The display mode seems to be prominent in the discursive usage of *anisong* manuscripts because they were primarily intended to be read for giving sermons to laypeople in different rituals, but, evidenced by the colophons, they were also exploited as educational textbooks in both Northern Thailand and Laos. The following exemplary colophons are taken from two *anisong* manuscripts from Mae Hông Sòn province in Northern Thailand and from Luang Prabang in Laos, which reveal the display mode for the purpose of monastic education.

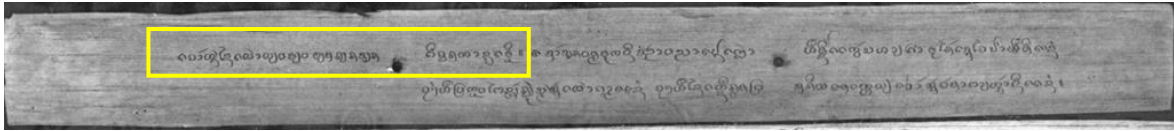


Figure 1.19: Colophon showing the purpose of monastic education

Anisong raksa sin (Rewards derived from precept observance)

Source: PNTMP, code: มส 0306001-04, folio 1 (recto), Wat Kittiwong, Mae Hông Sòn province , CE 1777

เจ้าตนใดเล่าเลียบเปรี๊ยะเทียบเรียนเขียน พิจารณาดูเถอะ

[The monks] who learn, compare, study and write [based on this manuscript] may consider (take) [the text and mistakes] carefully.

The statement above, interestingly, was written on the recto side of the first folio which is supposed to be the cover page, not at the end of the text, reflecting that the scribe gave this notification to the users as his primary production purpose. Hence, besides the common intention of sponsors and scribes to support Buddhism through the making of religious manuscripts, many of them were made in provision of educational textbooks. It was likely the reason why a large number of *anisong* manuscripts became damaged, broken or fragmented, because the manuscripts were often not kept in a cabinet but in monk abodes to facilitate easy access (see Bounleuth 2016)²². In the educational usage, *anisong* texts in the manuscripts were learnt, compared, modelled and written, revealing that learning monks used manuscripts as textbooks or master versions for copying and comparing them with their inscribed copies; such practices indicate the culture of manuscript production and transmission among local monasteries.

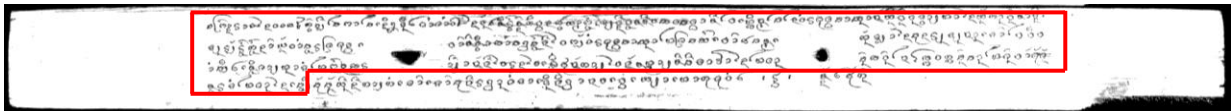


Figure 1.20: Colophon showing the purpose of monastic education

Multiple-text manuscript containing four texts²³

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406019-01, folio 26 (recto), Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1833

ศักราชได้ ๑๑๕๕ ตัว ปกติกาไส้ เดือน ๘ ขึ้น ๒ ค่ำ พร้าว่าได้วัน ๓ มีอรวงมด รจนาล้ำวยามกองงาย ทิดจอมมีปสาทศรัทธา มีใจเลื่อมใสในวรพุทธศาสนาอันยิ่ง จึงขนขวายหาได้ยงลาน จึงมาขีดเขียนรับรอง ต้องเอายงคำสอนพระพุทเจ้ามีชื่อว่าคำสรรพสองนี้ไว้กับวรพุทธศาสนา ให้พระสงฆ์เจ้าแลสามเณรทั้งหลาย ได้สุดเรียนเขียนอ่าน เข้าใจจำสั้ๆ เมื่อภายหลัง

[The manuscript was written] in CS 1195, a *ka sai* year, on the second waxing-moon day of the eighth lunar month, the third day of the week, a *ruang mot* day²⁴, in the time of the

²² “*Anisong* texts are usually used to teach a newly ordained monk or novice to read the Tham-Lao script. Therefore, their users need to keep them in a safe place, usually next to the place where they lay their head to sleep (ที่วบอมนอน)” (Bounleuth 2016: 135).

²³ The four texts are *Sòng hom* (Rewards derived from the donation of umbrellas), *Sòng hot song pha cao* (Rewards derived from the participation in monkhood-ranking promotion ceremonies), *Sòng turiya nontri* (Rewards derived from the donation of musical instrument) and *Sòng pham* (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions).

morning drum or *kòng ngai* (7:30–9:00 o'clock). Thit Còm (ex-monk named Còm) had the most ardent religious faith, managed to have palm leaves and inscribed the Buddha Teaching [in the manuscript] entitled *Lam sappha sòng* to support Buddhism and provide monks and novices [with the manuscript] to recite, study, write, read, understand and memorize in generations.

The palm-leaf manuscript above was produced in Luang Prabang and illustrates the same purpose of commissioning for academic supply as the previous example from Northern Thailand. Monastic education in the two regions was also provided with *anisong* manuscripts, reflecting the display mode of discursive usage because the manuscripts were ‘displayed’; master monks and learning novices could use the manuscript texts in their classes.

Concerning the storage mode of discursive usage, Veidlinger gives the following explanation:

In Lan Na, those responsible for the production of manuscripts were quite conscious of their importance for storing texts. As we will see, many of the manuscripts possess the colophon stating explicitly that they were made in order to preserve the teachings of the Buddha for 5,000 years (2006: 6).

The colophons in *anisong* manuscripts mostly declare the primary purpose of scribes or sponsors to gain merit derived from preserving religious texts or Buddha's Teachings to last until the end of the present Buddhist Era, which was the reason why a large number of *anisong* texts have been transmitted so far, especially by modern printing technology. The following colophon is derived from a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong sin paet prakan* (Rewards derived from the observance of the Eight Precepts) from Chiang Mai province in Northern Thailand, obviously showing the initial aim of the scribe to ‘store’ the religious *anisong* text until the end of five-thousand years.

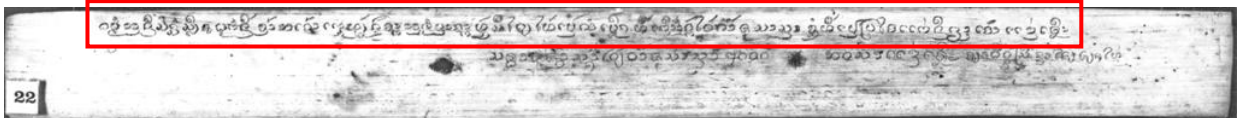


Figure 1.21: Colophon showing the purpose of religious textual storage

Anisong sin paet prakan (Rewards derived from the observance of the Eight Precepts)

Source: PNTMP, code: ชม 0106002-03, folio 18 (verso), Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai province, CE 1907

ธรรมอนิสงส์ศีลแปดผูกนี้ ข้าพเจ้าเนรหยัง คันอนุมานจากหนังสือไทยให้เป็นคำเมือง เพื่อจักไว้ค้ำชู ศาสนา ขอหือเป็นปัจจัยแก่นิพพานเจ้าแต่เถอะ

The manuscript entitled *Anisong sin paet* [was produced by] me, Nen Yò (novice named Yò), who researched and consulted Thai books [in order to write] in the Kham Müang [vernacular] for the purpose of supporting the Buddhist religion. May [the merit of writing the manuscript] support me to reach *Nibbāna*.

There are two more ways of textual storage which are partly relevant to religious purpose – recording the liturgical words in an annual event and collecting *anisong* texts to serve

²⁴ 1195 Aṣāḍha 2 = Wednesday, 19 June 1833. However, the previous day (1195 Aṣāḍha 1), was a *ruang mot* day and a Tuesday (third day of the week) and thus should be the more likely date.

sermonic usage. The *Kathin* festival held in Luang Prabang in 1968 included an *anisong* sermon given by the Supreme Patriarch of the Kingdom of Laos and recorded by hand in a palm-leaf manuscript. The written text is thus not supposed to be read for preaching in any other events because specific names of participants, the date and time of the event and actual information about the event were completely recorded as part of the text, not as paracontents (for further details, please see Chapter Five). In Northern Thailand, numerous manuscripts were produced as MTMs to serve as textual collections of *anisong*. A number of texts were written in a manuscript; small markers simply inserted between the texts are rather indistinctive or not outstanding enough to obviously partition each text. Besides, the texts written in a MTM are sometimes ritually irrelevant, thereby being possibly copied to serve as textual collections (for further explanations, see Chapter Two). However, an *anisong* manuscript can be employed for both cultic and discursive usage.

1.2 The Study of Rituals

1.2.1 Rituals and Ethology

Having trained or learnt for certain duration and then being approved of having completed a college curriculum, one is officially certified an accomplishment or given a confirmation document issued by the institution to verify that the training has been truly finished. The document represents the official validity that one can present as an affirmative proof of graduation for applying for a job or for other purposes. Later, a commencement ceremony is held in which new graduates of the college can participate to be honourably conferred a degree certificate in a commemorative ceremony where all graduates' families, relatives and friends are welcome to congratulate the students to their success. Commencement is, in general, a voluntary ceremony. Graduates are not required to join the event, since the degree certificates can also be requested and officially issued by the college independent of ceremony participation.

If one can be given a graduation document or even a degree certificate despite the fact that they miss the commemorative event, is the commencement ceremony then still needed? Why are such events still held year after year and joined by the new graduates? To what extent are official announcement and commencement ceremonies significantly different? A clear distinction is that one represents the 'fact of graduation' whereas the other represents the 'act of graduation'. The idea of the 'act' is linked to the idea of 'ritual'. The completion of one's studies is publicly ritualized in order to announce, witnessed by the participants, the academic success of the graduates who are honourably conferred with the graduation certificates. The ritual or, in this context, the graduation is regarded as a 'mark' of change or transformation in status from student to graduate, from immaturity to maturity, or from youth to adult.

Apart from the purpose of public announcement of the graduation by means of the commencement of ceremonies, rituals serve myriad ways of religious belief, communal

cooperation, social status, communicative or representative purpose, stabilization, expression, etc. Two major groups of ritual theories are suggested by Axel Michaels (2006) – confessional theories and functional theories. *Confessional theories* say that “rituals are needed in order to encounter or realize supernatural power or a certain world view; for them rituals are sometimes a sort of hierophant or a means to communicate with superhuman beings.” *Functional theories* explain that “rituals are used for this or that individual or social purpose; rituals are, for instance, power games, more or less useful or relevant in helping to overcome a crisis or creating and maintaining power relations within society” (2006: 248). Functionalists demonstrate rituals as *tools* of conveying meanings, enabling intentions, or serving some underneath functions, sociologically and psychologically; underlying aims are achieved through symbolic and meaningful ritual acts. For instance, the ritual of marriage is not only held to celebrate the family initiation of a couple, it also plays a significant symbolic role as a family announcement to the participants. The marriage sociologically functions as a public revelation of a new family status in the society. As for psychological theories explained by Michaels, they demonstrate diverse frequencies of rituals practised in crisis periods and in calm periods; they can also be considered as social or individual therapies functioning as fear reduction. Supported by a relation of fishing risks and rituals in Trobriands written by Bronislaw Malinowsky (1925), Michaels explains that presumably easy and risk-free fishing in the lagoons of the Trobriands did not require rituals, whereas the dangerous deep-sea fishing was full of rituals. It seems to be evident that these rituals had a fear-reducing function. This is due to the fact that in cases of counter-responses or tests of courage, life-threatening dangers are challenging to be confronted.

Ritual studies were initially inspired by ethology, the studies of animal behaviours, for animals gesture certain movements to seemingly express their feelings in response to different situations. Animal movements play a similar role as human body languages but they are genetically fixed and originate instinctively. The first scholars to systematically develop the notion or concept of ritualization were therefore ethologists (see Stephenson 2015: 5). In *The Expression of the Emotion in Man and Animals*, Charles Darwin theorizes that human and animal behaviours were not comparatively different and can express feelings:

[...] the chief expressive actions, exhibited by man and by the lower animals, are now innate or inherited – that is, have not been learnt by the individuals, – is admitted by everyone [...]. The far greater number of the movements of expression, and all the more important one, are, as we have seen, innate or inherited; and such cannot be said to depend on the will of the individual (1872: 350, 352).

Julian Huxley (see Stephenson 2015: 8) divides ritual behaviours into *instrumental* and *communicative* forms of behaviour, based on his case study, published in 1914, on the courtship habits of the Great Crested Grebe, a waterfowl species. He defines instrumental behaviours as environment modifications in building a nest and communicative behaviours as information conveyance for supporting mutual benefits. To the ethological views, Stephenson adds that instrumental behaviours become symbolically communicative behaviours by means of ritualizing processes of stylization and formalization.

Animals respond to certain situations with stereotyped or instinctive behaviours. For instance, fed by their owner with a piece of meat in a bowl, domestic cats sometimes take it from the bowl into a dark private area under the bed or a narrow space between cupboards where they feel safe enough to eat. Some cats drag only big meat, having a desire to tear apart and eat the whole piece, while others take away meat of every size. Despite the fact that they live at home with human owners, the inherited wildlife instinct of hunting drives them to behave like tigers and to more or less experience hunting or preying on animals. Domestic cats unconsciously imitate or act out hunting as a result of being impelled by their natural instinctive drives²⁵. To prevent other beings from invading into demarcated territories, cobras warn animals or humans coming closer by raising their neck and making a hiss. The snakes behave in that way to give an unfriendly warning without having to bite; such acts biologically function as a communicative behaviour which snakes suddenly exhibit against hazardous visitors. The enactment is genetically motivated by natural instincts. Stephenson describes that certain instinctive acts in the way of ethological studies are drawing on certain features of human rituals – in particular, the stylized, repetitive, performative and stereotyped nature of many rites and ceremonies. The notion is supported by Richard Schechner in his 2013 *Performance Studies*: “Human (not animal) rituals mark a society’s calendar. They transport persons from one life phase to another. Animals are not conscious of puberty, Easter, Ramadan, marriage, or death as life passages.” Rituals of human beings culturally have creativity, elaboration and adaptability, whereas those of animals are governed by biological action and reaction patterns. With the limitation of methodological and conceptualized ways of studies, ethologists are, demonstrated by Michael, prevented from extending beyond biological and evolutionary paradigms; ethological theories of ritual generally fail to explain the cultural differences in rituals.

1.2.2 Overview of Rituals

1.2.2.1 Understanding of Rituals

As explained in the previous section, even though human rituals and animal rituals are similarly characterized by sets of symbolic and meaningful actions, those of humans are not unconsciously or intuitively performed; they have been elaborately structured with specific movements in response to particular purposes. Rituals, states Michaels (2006), must be performed consciously, and at the same time the consciousness of what happens should not affect the rituals too much. Ritual actions therefore represent ideas and need to be interpreted. Besides the ethology, the study of rituals is broadly associated with several methodological dimensions – interdisciplinary – for ritual is a production of humans. There are four perspectives, categorized by Schechner (2013: 56), towards understanding rituals: structures

²⁵ “Hunting is a natural behaviour in cats; they are solitary specialized hunters, and their ability to hunt is one of the reasons of why they were domesticated in the first place” (Escobar-Aguirre, Alegría-Morán, Calderón-Amor and Tadich 2019: 7).

(what rituals look and sound like, how they are performed, how they use space and who performs them), functions (what rituals accomplish for individuals, groups and cultures), processes (the underlying dynamic driving rituals; how rituals enact and bring about change) and experiences (what it is like to be “in” a ritual). Ritual needs to be integratively explored in collaboration with other different disciplines concerned with human beings: psychology, religious studies, anthropology, sociology, biology, politics, neurology, archaeology, ecology and economy.

One ritual example is a religious *anisong* sermon given on February 11, 2017 at a temple in Luang Prabang, Laos. The local people collaboratively built a monastic drum and its shelter. The preaching was done after the construction had been finished in order to celebrate the new monastic items. The laypeople gathered and listened to the sermon which explained meritorious rewards they could gain from generosity (P: *dāna*) or offering all kinds of things (P: *sabbadāna*).



Figure 1.22: *Anisong sapphathan* sermon explaining rewards gained from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
Field research trip to Luang Prabang, Laos on February 11, 2017

Not only did the preaching ritual of preaching serve religious purposes of assuring laypeople for the merit they had done, it also served socio-political purposes. The local people, during the preaching, together could acknowledge and be proud of the completed collaborative construction and realize the meritorious rewards. The sermon thus enhanced common solidarity and a pride of local unity to construct a building for a public temple. *Anisong*, in general, by means of sermon delivery, can also serve political purposes to indirectly praise sponsors who donated their money for a public construction or for a monastic dedication. The sponsors, no matter if they are influential or well-known in the locality, are admired and highly valued, since their names are mentioned as generous sponsors in *anisong* sermons. In his doctoral dissertation, Patrice Ladwig (2008: 92–93) gives a notion of gift-giving (*dāna*) as minimalizing differing social status: “The performance of *anisong* sermons and the tradition of *salòng* publicly announce the approval of *dāna*, give it recognition and elevate the donor.” Ritual can therefore be defined and approached in a myriad of disciplinary dimensions.

Stephenson suggests three analytical perspectives to explore rituals: place, power, and politics in our lives and our society.

1.2.2.2 Ritual Meanings, Characteristics and Functions

A certain aim can be achieved by various actions of individuals depending on particular situations; for instance, one can die in fatal circumstances: accidents, crime or severe sickness. On the other hand, particular actions or a set of particular actions which are organized at a specific place and time and are formalized to achieve a certain aim are basically called 'ritual'; accordingly, the actions are meaningful, symbolic, communicative or representative in view of something significant, as the condition for a specific achievement to be done. Concerning the matter of rituals' time and space, Jonathan Z. Smith (1980), who put forward the notion that *ritual is principally a matter of emplacement*, also explains that action becomes ritual by virtue of its location. In such special sacred spaces, special behaviour is required (see Schechner 2015: 29). For instance, in funerals reflecting religious beliefs, spirits of the deceased cannot rest in peace if a religious funeral has not been properly held yet. A transition into the world after death is thus demonstrated by means of funeral rituals; namely, people can die but cannot peacefully cross into another world without religious rituals. The idea of transporting spirits into the next world is encoded in actions at funerals. The actions can be regarded as agencies enabling power, force and efficacy. Performed at a particular time and space, certain acts that serve specific purposes in expectation of specific results are considered as rituals. Roy Rappaport explains obvious aspects of ritual as follows:

For the moment it is sufficient to characterize ritual as a structure, that is, a more or less enduring set of relations among a number of general but variable features. As a form or structure it possesses certain logical properties, but its properties are not only logical. Inasmuch as performance is one of its general features, it possesses the properties of practice as well. In ritual, logic becomes enacted and embodied – is realized – in unique ways (1999: 3).

Most rituals are relevant to cultural domains thanks to socially common experiences and perceptions; they are thus able to enhance social congregation. Emile Durkheim explains that a rite is practised by a group of people with a common faith. To achieve an identical goal, they gather at a certain place and act in particular ways.

Religious beliefs proper are always shared by a definite group that professes them and that practices the corresponding rites. Not only are they individually accepted by all members of that group, but they also belong to the group and unify it. The individuals who comprise the group feel joined to one another by the fact of common faith. A society whose members are united because they imagine the sacred world and its relations with the profane world in the same way, and because they translate this common representation into identical practices, is what is called a Church (1995: 41).

The outcomes of ritual enactment are, as a consequence, solidarity and effervescence in society. Ritual can furthermore reinforce a certain authority and power of a state leader; for instance, in the Lao kingdom of Lan Sang in the CE 1501–1520 reign of King Visun. Martin Stuart-Fox (1998) argues in *The Lao Kingdom of Lan Xāng: Rise and Decline* that “The legitimizing role of Buddhism in reinforcing social structure and monarchical authority at the level of the *meuang* was reinforced in annual New Year festivities held in March/April in Xiang Dong Xiang Thong. From the early sixteenth century on, these ceremonies centred on the *Phra Bāng* were presided over by the king himself. The image thus became not only the palladium of the ruling dynasty, but also the principal symbol of the unity and power of the Kingdom of Lān Xāng.” Similarly, Durkheim explains the relationship of rites and religions in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* as follows:

Religious phenomena fall into two categories: beliefs and rites. The first are states of opinion, and consist of representations; the second are particular modes of action. Between these two categories of phenomena lies all that separates thinking from doing. The rites can be distinguished from other human practices – for example, moral practices – only by the special nature of their object. Like a rite, a moral rule prescribes ways of behaving to us, but those ways of behaving address objects of a different kind. It is the object of the rite that must be characterized, in order to characterize itself. The special nature of that object is expressed in the belief. Therefore, only after having defined the belief can we define the rite (1995: 34).

The terms *rite*, *ritual*, and *ritualization* are partly overlapping, thereby causing confusion sometimes. Ronald Grime who was the first scholar to introduce the three terms gave their different definitions. *Rite* consists of a sequence of actions which are elevated, stylized, localized in special places and performed at special times within a communal tradition; the actions can be developed from ordinary behaviours. *Ritualization* redefines simple acts of everyday life as other meaningful and symbolical representations. Ronald L. Grimes (2014: 194) proposes that actions can become ritualized by:

traditionalizing them, for instance, by claiming that they originated a long time ago or with the ancestors;
elevating them by associating them with sacredly held values, those that make people who they are and that display either how things really are or how they ought to be;
repeating them – over and over, in the same way – thus inscribing them in community and/or self;
singularizing them, that is, offering them as rare or even one-time events;
prescribing their details so they are performed in the very proper way;
stylizing them, so they are carried out with flare;
entering them with a non-ordinary attitude or in a special state of mind, for example, contemplatively or in trance;
invoking powers to whom respect or reverence is due – gods, royalty, and spirits, for example;
attributing to them special power or influence;
situating them in special places and/or times;
being performed by specially qualified persons.

For instance, at traditional weddings in north-eastern Thailand, eating a boiled egg is ritualized as a representation of a long and stable marriage²⁶. The notion of *ritual* is used in more general and abstract ways to study actions in different rites. Grime says that any behaviours can be ritualized; through ritualization mere behaviour is transformed into action. In my point of view, rituals can be compared to flowers, no matter if they grow on a tree, and rites to a tree with flowers: a set of ritual sequences can be combined and form rites; flowers can, however, grow on the ground without a tree. In the same way, ritual itself can be performed without any dominating rites.

Actions of ritual are developed from ordinary actions that are deliberately exaggerated and sometimes repeated as a ‘tool’ to communicate or say something. Such actions are known to be particularly performed at a specific time and place in order to serve certain purposes. Ritual is denoted, Rappaport says, as “the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not entirely encoded by the performers” (1999: 24). It is formal behaviour prescribed for occasions not given over to technological routine that has reference to beliefs in mystical beings or powers. The exaggerated actions performed at a special time and place are intended to create new realities or situations; on the other hand, ordinary actions cannot be encoded or denoted as entailing particular meanings unless they are acted out at a special time and place. Schechner explains that sacred space is a natural place – a sacred tree, cave, or mountain, for example – which one approaches and enters with care; but ordinary secular space can also be made temporarily special by means of ritual actions. The combination of actions (no matter if these are particularly stylized as ritual acts), time, and space creates ritual situations. Schechner also identifies four shared qualities of rituals: (1) ordinary behaviours or movements are free from their original functions; (2) the behaviours are exaggerated, simplified, rhythmic, repetitive, and sometimes frozen into postures; (3) conspicuous body parts are displayed in the case of animals and artificial parts (uniforms, masks, etc.) are provided for humans; and (4) the movements are performed on cue according to specific releasing mechanisms.

Ritual is therefore a prescribed set of symbolic sequences systematically done in public. The anthropologist Edmund Leach (2001) explains ritual as a form of symbolism to communicate aspects relevant to power in society without words. Actions are considered as ritual actions when they are intended to *say* something; on the contrary, actions are irrelevant to rituals when they merely serve the purpose of *doing* (see Stephenson 2015: 86). Action is accordingly subject to intentions of behaviours to be perceived as rituals or mere ordinary actions. In the case of normal actions, as explained by Stephenson (2015: 83–84), the intention is necessary to distinguish them from other actions or to perceive them as such, while ritualized actions are not characterized by the intentions accompanying them. The notion of *framing* suggested by Don Handleman (2005) also demonstrates another

²⁶ In north-eastern Thailand, consolatory ritual is included in marriage ceremonies in which a couple faces southwards, is bound on their wrists with a white sacred thread and feeds each other with a half boiled egg (see Sathiankoset 1958: 160).

perspective of ritual studies. Activities are constituted within a particular frame: a circus ring, a temple, a sports field, and treated by acts, not by participants' intentions. Messages in ritual frames are conceived and understood to be somehow true and real (see Stephenson 2015: 80–81).

In *Ritual: A Very Short Introduction* (2015), Stephenson says that the Cambridge School proposed the theory that theatre emerged from ritual; in addition, the idea that rituals are performances, according to Schechner, was proposed nearly a century ago. Performance (play) and ritual have a number of shared qualities which can be comparatively analysed. In plays, actors and actresses pretend to be others, thereby holding a second role within the frame or stage of the performance. Performers do not transform themselves into other persons but make temporary transitions by means of transporting themselves into another imaginative situation where they behave and perform within a demarcated space and time. Performers in plays *act* to express behaviours in accordance with prepared actions but not really *do* things for real; they *pretend* to do things through realistic acts. For instance, two actors on stage show a strong argument with *acts* of anger but they actually are not mad at each other; they *pretend* to be angry through the act of conflict. Thus, action serves as a 'tool' to make the audience understand what happens in a certain situation or a 'scene' (see Stephenson 2015: 88).

Ritual actions are symbolically and meaningfully done to communicate something; performance and ritual therefore likely overlap in features and have shared characteristics. Actions in plays and rituals both need to be interpreted. Durkheim says that rites and dramatic representations make men forget the real world and transport them into another where their imagination is more at ease – they become distracted. A clear distinction between ritual and performance, says Stephenson, is a separation concern; we have theatre when a high degree of *separation* exists but we have ritual where the spectator becomes a participant. However, performing rituals can develop social collectivity and solidarity. Some say that ritual plays an important role as a social glue to congregate communal individuals into groups, although not all ritual participants may clearly understand the theological, ideological, mythological or religious implications (Michaels 2006). According to Schechner, there are eleven themes relating ritual to performance studies: (1) ritual as action, as performance; (2) human and animal rituals; (3) rituals as liminal performance; (4) *communitas* and anti-structure; (5) ritual as time and space; (6) transportations and transformations; (7) social drama; (8) the efficacy-entertainment dyad; (9) origins of performance; (10) changing or inventing rituals; and (11) using rituals in theatre, dance and music.

In his 1960 *Rites of Passage* (1960), Arnold von Gennep explains that distinctions among age or occupational groups and social progressions of individuals are basically marked by a series of transitional rites and accompanied by special acts. "For every one of these events," says Gennep (1960: 3), "there are ceremonies whose essential purpose is to enable the individual to pass from one defined position to another which is equally well defined." Based on his ritual point of view, the constant function of rituals is therefore to mark changes of

individuals in social status. Birth, maturity and death naturally happen to us, but rites of passage label and announce the new social status of individuals in public. In many cases rituals comfort humans to deal with psychological tensions after having faced difficulties or haphazardness. In Thailand, when people recover from chronic illness or survive accidents, consolatory rituals are often made to soothe those who underwent the fatal experience. In such rituals, attended by family members and relatives, the person suffering is blessed in oral prayers by a ritual practitioner and bound with a white sacred thread on a wrist which is believed to have tutelary power to prevent vicious agents from causing harmful threats. Consolatory rituals play a psychological role, assuring the person of being safeguarded against spiritual agents and thereby encouraging people to cross traumatic difficulties.

Associated with the notion of *framing* initiated by Handleman (2005) as mentioned above, rituals cause an imaginative sphere where acts are symbolically performed to accomplish an expected aim. These are commonly perceived as reality within the demarcated sphere of rituals consisting of sender (performer), receiver (audience) and action (message). Participants – performer and audience – join the events consciously realizing what they are doing and what is being done within the frame, while still recognizing who they are themselves in real life. Ritual as a whole temporarily transports participants into another world and they can by themselves naturally turn back to the real world after the ritual ends. Participation thus serves to make ritual events complete, which certainly enhances social collectivity and congregation as well. In *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, Ronald L. Grimes explains that rituals are performed in a specific *frame* or *setting* in which participants are expected to act in modelled ways as follows: “To study a ritual by setting it in a selected context, then is to craft a *frame*. As in matting and framing a picture, you can use contrasting and complementary colours, select heavy or light stock. The frame can be thin or wiry, or it can be heavy, grabbing more attention than the picture itself” (2014: 260). The space of ritual thus generates a gap between ritual and ordinary life. Rituals, says Michael (2006), can also create an auratic sphere or arena of timelessness and immortality.

1.2.3 Ritual Categories

Julian Huxley distinguishes animal behaviours into instrumental and communicative behaviours, giving fundamental concepts pertaining to human rituals in perspective of specifically patterned acts to meet particular aims. Instrumental behaviour, in his theoretical point of view, is intended to modify an organism’s environment, such as building a nest. Animals behave in communicative ways in order to pass along information among their species. Certain sets of acts can therefore represent particular intentions in public (see Stephenson 2015: 8). Schechner (2015: 61) gives three main categories of human rituals: social ritual, religious ritual and aesthetic ritual. Thanks to his ritual classification, human rituals can be more definitely elaborated than those of animals, since religious and aesthetic rituals are naturally not performed by animals. Human rituals are thus not treated merely as

responding to natural instinctive needs. The following chart depicted by Schechner (2015: 61) shows the three main categories of human and animal rituals.

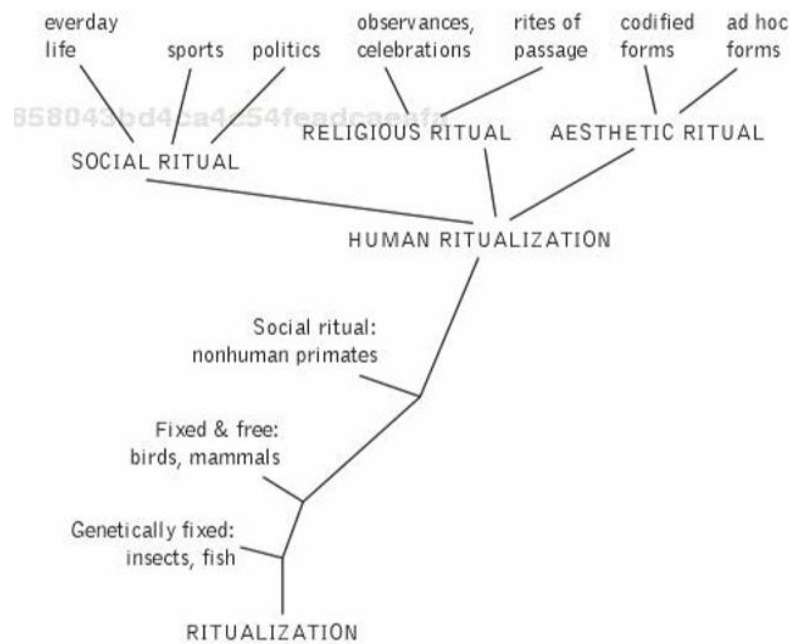


Chart 1.1: Three ritual categories identified by Schechner (2015: 61)

Linked to Huxley’s notions, animal behaviours are not developed beyond social rituals; nor are their social rituals as elaborated as those of humans. Namely, they display communicative behaviours, which can likely be regarded as social rituals, to transmit information among the members of their species. In contrast, humans have social rituals which serve many different purposes, such as in everyday life, sports and politics. In *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, Catherine Bell (2009) provides six categories of ritual actions. The categories are a pragmatic compromise between completeness and simplicity: life-cycle rites, calendrical and commemorative rites, rites of exchange and communion, rites of affliction, rites of feasting, fasting, and festivals and political rituals. In addition, she names common activities which are ritualized to varying degrees and akin to formalized rituals. There are formalism, traditionalism, disciplined invariance, rule-governance and sacral symbolism.

In his outstanding and widely referenced work, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1947), Émile Durkheim underlines the main classification which is the distinctive trait of religious thoughts and divides all things into two classes or opposed groups: the profane and the sacred (*profane, sacré*). Not being merely restricted to gods or spirits, humans can objectify and worship anything as gods in relation to their sacred powers: a rock, a piece of wood, a house, a pebble or others. He explains that we worship sacred power which is well known as local common experience and objectify them as God. The profane-sacred and their respective worlds do not exist in polarity but in reciprocity, since, with its consecrated quality, the sacred is actually considered superior to the profane. At the same time, the sacred still

needs the profane to be worshipped as superior; the profane also needs the sacred for psychological and sociological stability. Durkheim explains that “the first (the sacred) have been put into an ideal and transcendental world, while the material world is left in full possession of the others” (1947: 39). Due to the superior and transcendent sacred world, one needs special acts to pass from the profane to the sacred. In the initiation rites of introducing a young man into religious life, for example, the transformation from one status to another symbolically makes him die or stop existing in his previous status, to be reborn under a new identity. “But”, says Durkheim, “in addition to the fact that this establishment of relations is always a delicate operation in itself, demanding great precautions and a more or less complicated initiation, it is quite impossible, unless the profane is to lose its specific characteristics and become sacred after a fashion and to a certain degree itself (1947: 40).”

In Germany, for instance, 30-year-old men who, whether having a family or not, are still ritually unmarried are supposed to clean the platform in front of the town hall (Ger: *Rathaus*) or a socially important place as ‘punishment’ (Ger: *Strafe*) in the ritual *Das Fegen zum dreißigsten Geburtstag*. Despite being not directly relevant to sacred-profane transition, the *Das Fegen zum dreißigsten Geburtstag* is a good example of rite-of-passage rituals symbolically showing the transition to the new age of thirty. The tradition originated in Bremen where unmarried men swept the stairways of a church and unmarried women polished the doorknobs of a church²⁷. On his birthday, his friends sprinkle bottle caps at the punishment place and the ‘bachelor’ (Ger: *Junggeselle*) has to clean up. During the *Fegen*, his friends pretend to unintentionally mess up the bottle caps in various ways – sliding over or walking around – or obviously break his cleaned-up space. The bachelor is expected not to be mad at it and to keep cleaning until he meets his friends’ satisfaction. The ritual of punishment is publicly done and the bachelor often wears a funny costume. The following are long quotations explaining the ritual in German and a picture of the funny punishment done by my German friends in January 2019.

Der Fegende ist ein Mann, der zum Zeitpunkt seines dreißigsten Geburtstages ledig ist, dazu gehören alle Männer, die nicht verheiratet sind oder waren. Unerheblich ist so, ob der Fegende eine Partnerin hat oder verlobt ist, allein die rechtsgültige Eheschließung verhindert den Brauch des Fegens. Außer dem Fegenden gibt es noch andere Beteiligte, die die Aktivität planen und durchführen. Diese setzen sich üblicherweise aus Familie und Freunden zusammen.

[...]

Der Fegende hat meist keine Kenntnisse vom genauen Ablauf der Veranstaltung, weshalb er von den Beteiligten zu Hause abgeholt und zum eigentlichen Veranstaltungsort gebracht wird. Der Transport erfolgt häufig durch ein besonderes Transportmittel. So wird der Fegenden z.B. die letzte Strecke zum Veranstaltungsort in einem bunt geschmückten Handwagen gezogen.

²⁷ “Ursprünglich kommt dir Tradition aus Bremen, wo früher die Domtreppe von den unverheirateten Männern gefegt werden musste. Frauen mussten die Klinke der Döntüre putzen” (https://www.t-online.de/leben/familie/id_71301688/30-geburtstag-fegen-und-andere-traditionanen.html).

Der Ort des Fegens ist der Platz vor dem Rathaus. Wenn in kleineren Dörfern kein Rathaus zu finden ist, wird das Fegen an einen anderen sozial wichtigen Ort verlegt, wie z.B. das Freibad, die Schule, dem Vereinsheim oder dem Gerätehaus der Freiwilligen Feuerwehr, wichtig ist dabei nur, dass dieser Ort öffentlich ist und die Menschen dort zusammen kommen können.

Zum Fegen wird der Betreffende von den Beteiligten eingekleidet. Die meist lustige Verkleidung bezieht sich auf die persönlichen Interessen des Fegenden, wie z.B. eine alte Feuerwehruniform oder soll nur einen Unterhaltungswert haben, z.B. ein altes spitzenbesetztes Kleid (www.brauchwiki.de/Das_Fegen_zun_drei3igsten_Geburtstag).



Figure 1.23: das Fegen zum dreißigsten Geburtstag
Photo by the author on January 1, 2019
Elmshorn Rathaus, Schleswig Holstein, Germany

Gennep (1960) gives two distinctive theoretical frameworks: dynamism and animism. Dynamism means impersonally monistic, whereas animism means personal, dualistic and comprises Totemism, Spiritism, Polydemonism and Theism, each of which needs intermediate stages. “So great is the incompatibility between the profane and the sacred worlds that a man cannot pass from one to the other without going through an intermediate stage,” explains van Gennep (1960: 1). He separates rites into sympathetic and contagious rites. Sympathetic rites, first considered by Edward Burnett Taylor in his 1871 *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*, are based on the belief in reciprocal actions between one another. Contagious rites are characteristically based on a belief that natural and acquired characteristics are inheritable and transmittable. In Thailand, after being harvested, rice grains are well treated with tender

care and politeness based on the belief in a protective goddess known as Mae Pho Sop²⁸; complicated rituals in storing the rice grain are therefore done to satisfy the spiritual goddess. Magical tattoos engraved and consecrated by venerable makers or monks on parts of human bodies become devoid of protective powers if men are associated with women's clothes: touching or walking under, for they are regarded as media of menstruation, which is, according to traditional beliefs, inauspicious²⁹. The acts of satisfying the goddess of rice are considered as *sympathetic rites*, while the acts of worsening tattoo sacredness are considered as *contagious rites* (or negative rites which will be further explained below).

Gennep gives another rite classification: direct rites and indirect rites which can be distinguished by intervention of agents. Rites which are performed to directly result in intended targets without a bridge or an agent are called direct rites, like curses and spells. Rites in need of personified powers, such as demons and deities, are called indirect rites. Furthermore, in accordance with Durkheim's notions of the sacred and the profane, Gennep gives further ritual categories as positive and negative rites which are volitions translated into actions and definitely support his clear underlying distinction between the sacred and the profane. Positive rites help relate human realms to sacred realms by giving each other a chance to contact or to communicate within a ritual activity. Negative rites are known as taboos or prohibitions of 'not to do.' Significantly, negative rites or taboos rarely develop into ceremonies, according to Gennep's claim (1960: 8) that "taboos also translate a kind of will and are acts rather than negations of acts. But just as life is not made up of perennial inaction, so by itself a taboo does not make up a ceremony, let alone a magic spell" (1960: 8). He accepts the polarity of two realms, thereby affirming the existence of sacredness. Rituals can account for multiple categories.

One example showing the integration of aforementioned ritual features and characteristics pertains to giving things to temples through monks. While a monk is giving a blessing, the

²⁸ "The perception of the villagers regarding *Mae Phosop* is that the Goddess stays with the rice plants to protect them. Some villagers think that *Mae Phosop* is the rice while others think she is merely the *khwan* of the rice (Interview, Prasit 2008); still others think that she is a sacred thing that they cannot see (Interview, Boonchaay Koetmontree, 2nd October, 2008). The important duty and role of *Mae Phosop* with respect to rice-growing is to protect the rice plants, as well as to control and guard the rice field from insects and other afflictions. There is very little evidence to describe the characteristics of *Mae Phosop* clearly. According to Sathienkoset (1998)'s description of *Mae Phosop*, she is a local female Goddess of Thai Society. The Goddess has shoulder-length hair and wears forehead ornaments and earpieces. She squats and wears jewelry on her body. *Mae Phosop* has five sisters who are rice Goddesses: *Mae Phosi*, *Mae Phosop*, *Mae Nopdara*, *Mae Chanthewee* and *Mae Srisuchada*. *Mae Phosop* has been manifested in a statue that people have built to be worshipped. In that statue, *Mae Phosop* has the appearance of a young woman sitting, legs folded back to one side, with a rice paddy in her hand" (Nammon 2011: 55).

²⁹ The body of female at the menstrual period is impure and reduces the divine power or sacredness. Patamajorn R. (2007) notes that "the menstrual blood, which is in the female body and is seen as the cause of impurity, causes women to feel inferior and is alleged to be the origin of erroneous and inefficient rituals. Beyond the negative dimension, the meaning of menstrual blood constructs the taboos of the possession ritual thereby creating the criteria of purity" (2007: 181).

donor pours water into a container; the act is called *kruat nam* (กรวดน้ำ)³⁰. Other donors touch each other in chain together with the water-pouring donor, in response to the belief that merit can be shared. After the monk finishes the blessing, the water will be poured on a tree root, as it is believed that the merit can be further transmitted and dedicated to the dead through the ground or the Goddess of Earth (Th: *mae thòrani*, แม่ธรณี). The act is at the same time animistic, contagious, indirect and representing a positive rite.

1.3. Anisong

1.3.1 The *Anisong* Concept in Northern Thai and Lao Manuscript Cultures

In the canonical Buddhist disciplines, any conducted action, whether it has particular intentions or not, moves or affects something else; different acts cause different results. The acts or deeds are known as ‘karma’ or ‘fruit’³¹ which can be polarized as negative *karma* and positive *karma*³². Included in the concept of ‘bad karma’ are not only the bad acts which imply negative outcomes for other people, but also those inflicted on oneself, which is based on the belief of a self-Buddha³³. Negative karmas can also be evaluated or justified in accordance with the ten unwholesome actions (P: *akusalakamma*), which are divided into three subcategories: three physical actions³⁴ (P: *kāya kamma*), four verbal actions³⁵ (P:

³⁰ Barend Jan Terwiel gives a very elaborative definition of *kruat nam* that is worthy being quoted in length: “In Thailand, the *kruat nam* (‘sprinkling of water’) ritual may be performed by laymen as well as by monks, but there is a difference in the methods used. A layman who has performed an act that carries a good deal of good *karma* uses a vessel that contains some clean water. He or she pours the water over the index finger of the right or the left hand, whilst dedicating a share of the good *karma* to individuals of his or her choice. This dedication can take place in silence, by thinking intensively of those to whom the merit is offered, but there are some who use words in Thai or in Pali. The individuals to whom the merit is offered may be living persons, but usually the ancestors are the recipients. This ritual may occur privately, for example immediately after a layman has placed food in a monk’s begging bowl, or it may occur publicly, for example after performing a ceremony in the *bot*. When monks are presiding at a public ceremony, the *kruat nam* of the laymen takes place whilst the monks chant their concluding blessing” (2012: 115–116).

³¹ The language of ‘fruit’ is central to Indic ethics in that every action is thought to have a karmic consequence, and the world is morally structured in such a way that *dāna* (donation) automatically produces a good reward for the donor (see Heim 2004: 40).

³² Bhikkhu P.A. Payutto explains *kamma* in his 1993 *Good, Evil and Beyond: Kamma in the Buddha’s Teaching* as follows: “Etymologically speaking, *kamma* means ‘work’ or ‘action’. But in the context of Dhamma we define it more specifically as ‘action based on intention (*cetanā*) or ‘deeds wilfully done’. Actions that are free of intention are not considered to be *kamma* in the Buddha’s teaching. There are four different perspectives of *kamma*: *kamma* as intention, *kamma* as conditioning factor, *kamma* as personal responsibility and *kamma* as social activity or career.”

³³ These are ideas which are said to lead someone to enlightenment. They are called the *Dharma*, meaning the way or the truth. Anyone can become a Buddha, it is said, but it is very hard (source: <https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buddha>).

³⁴ Killing, taking what does not belong to oneself and sexual misconduct.

³⁵ False speech, tale-bearing, harsh speech and vain talk or gossip.

vacī kamma) and three mental actions³⁶ (P: *mano kamma*). They are also included in the Buddhist disciplines particularly imposed for the four Buddhist communities: monks³⁷, nuns³⁸, laymen³⁹ and laywomen. Positive *kamma* is, in contrast, to be conducted in contradiction to the negative *kamma*; positive Buddhist deeds are thus also divided into three main and ten sub-categories like the negative ones, but including the respective opposite actions.

All deeds, as explained earlier, are subsequently followed by good or bad outcomes responding to the preceding acts. People who bring about bad *karma* are faced with negative results (P: *pāpa*; Th: *bap*, ហាប) in their lives, while those practising positive *karma* are certainly rewarded with meritorious results (P: *puñña*; Th: *bun* บุญ, *anisong* อานิสงส์). *Anisong* (P: *ānisaṃsa*) literally means rewards, meritorious returns, incentives, or benefits; effective impacts derived from good *karma* compensate the practitioners. Grabowsky gives the following explanation:

Anisong is derived from Pali *ānisaṃsa* which means ‘benefit, advantage, good result’. In the Buddhist context *Anisong* or *Salòng* (Lao, from Khmer: *chlañ* (ឆ្លង), “to dedicate”, “to celebrate!”) – often contracted to *Sòng* – are used for homiletic purposes, such as

³⁶ Covetousness, vindication and wrong views.

³⁷ Monks reserve two hundred and twenty-seven precepts while novices follow ten precepts or *dasa sikkhāpadāni*. “In the canon, as in present-day Thailand, the ten precepts are always reserved for members of the Sangha; it is the maximum number of general rules that govern moral behaviour. Monks as well as novices can be said to be adherents of the ten precepts, but since the monks have many specific prescriptions in the *Pāṭimokkha*, the ten precepts have more relevance for the novices and have become their hallmark” (Barend Jan Terwiel 2012: 203).

³⁸ “The Theravādin Order of Nuns died out long ago, probably in the eleventh century. There have been many women who led nun-like lives living according to the Ten Precepts and would evidently have wished to be real nuns that had been possible. But the tradition of the Sangha, embodied in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, says that to become a nun requires a double ordination, by both validly ordained nuns and validly ordained monks. Since at a certain point no validly ordained nuns remained in the Theravāda traditions, it seemed impossible to revive the Order of Nuns” (Gombrich 2006: 16). Hüsken (2018) explains that nuns, evidenced by early Buddhist texts and Vinaya, due to their ‘nature of women’, were more controlled than monks and some of monastic activities could have been done only under the supervision of monks. “Nuns are also depicted as more quarrelsome than monks, among themselves and in interaction with lay people. This representation of monastic women might be based on both prevalent perceptions of the ‘nature of women’ and their specific living situation, leaving them with little room to be by themselves. [...] This presentation and evaluation of men and women in early Buddhist texts is closely related an underlying view of women as inferior human beings, prevailing in classical Brahmin texts: the man is the prototypal human being, while women are defective versions of him” (Hüsken 2018: 217–218).

³⁹ Laypeople – both males and females – ordinarily follow the five precepts or the eight precepts. The five precepts are considered as the most basic proper habits of Buddhism, causing those who regularly keep them not be destined to be reborn in hell and at least as a human being. The five precepts are preliminary conditions for any higher development after conforming to the teaching of the Buddha (see also Terwiel 2012: 178). The eight precepts are followed particularly in *wan phra* (or *wan ubosot* or *wan thamma sawana*) – there are four *wan phra* per month: the eight waxing-moon day, the fourteenth/fifteenth waxing-moon day, the eight waning-moon day and the fourteenth/fifteenth waning-moon day of the month. They are similar to the five precepts but three more precepts are added. The five or eight precepts can be observed by both laymen and laywomen.

performing sermons and preaching. Those texts, generally rather short (rarely containing more than twenty folios), describe the rewards in terms of merit, or literally the “advantage” which a believer may expect from a particular religious deed (2019: 9).

Anisong is a genre of religious texts declaring benefits derived from meritorious acts: following the Buddhist precepts, attending funerals, listening to the story of Vessantara Jātaka, copying and dedicating religious books to monasteries and others. The textual majority of the research corpus pertains to gift-giving or donations (*dāna*), because *dāna* is the dominant thought underlying Thai and Lao cultural contexts and enhances renunciation practices that potentially lead one to spiritual purification and enlightenment. In *Theories of the Gift in South Asia: Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain Reflections on Dāna*, Maria Heim explains the following:

The narrative literature also allows that *dāna* can lead to liberation, as evidenced by the well-known story of Vessantara. The Bodhisattva was born as Vessantara in the life just prior to his final birth as Siddhartha, and it was Vessantara’s extreme generosity of giving away his wife and children that allowed him to be reborn as Siddhartha who would go on to become the Buddha. Here there is a definite casual relationship between *dāna* and liberation, and the very fact that it was the perfection of *dāna* that the Bodhisattva needed to cultivate in his penultimate birth before he could become the Buddha is significant. It suggests that the most difficult virtue to master is *dāna*, and that the Bodhisattva perfected it by making the most difficult kind of gift, that is, to give away his loved ones (2004: 39).

A multiple-text manuscript containing five texts⁴⁰ from Luang Prabang was partly written with a blue pen in the modern Lao script giving an introduction of the *Anisong raksa sin* sermon. In the additional expression newly written by a later user, the term *salòng* is defined in two ways as ‘gratuity’ for one’s religious faith (ฉลองศรัทธา) and as ‘benefits’ (ประโยชน์) one could gain from merit-making or listening to the Dhamma in this context⁴¹. For the second case, instead of *Anisong raksa sin* or *Salòng/Sòng raksa sin*, the sermon title is *Prayot haeng kan raksa sin*; i.e., *anisong* or *salòng* or *sòng* is completely replaced by *prayot haeng kan* which literally means ‘benefits derived from’. Accordingly, the two mentions of *salòng* in the newly written introduction define the conception of ‘anisong’ as ‘gratuity’ and ‘benefits’, both of which are generated from meritorious deeds as is partly quoted in the following. The words in focus related to *anisong/salòng/song* are underlined:

⁴⁰ The five texts are *Sòng dòk mai thup thian* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers, incense sticks and candles), *Sòng haksa sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance), *Sòng fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma), *Sòng phao phi* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals) and *Sòng maha wetsandòn chadok* (Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka).

⁴¹ McDaniel gives slightly different definitions of the terms *anisong* and *salòng* as follows: “*Ānisong* (*ānisamsa*) are “blessings” that honor gifts made to the *sangha* and are often preludes to honor other Buddhist texts. *Xalòng* (*Chalong*) are “celebratory” texts used to describe and instruct, often, nonmonastic rituals” (2009: 130).

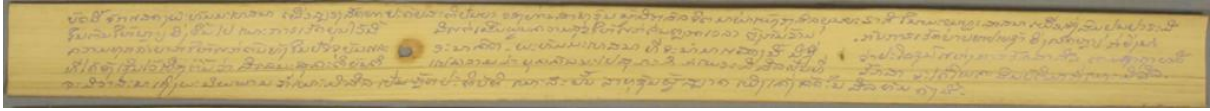


Figure 1.24: Colophon newly written with a blue pen

บัดนี้ จักแสดงพระธรรมเทศนา เพื่อสลอ่งศรัทธา ประดับสติปัญญาของท่านสาธุชน ผู้มีกุศลจิตมา บำเพ็ญกุศลบุญราศีในพระพุทธศาสนา เพื่อสั่งสมบุญบารมีในตนให้หลายยิ่งขึ้นไป เพราะการเห็ดบุญไว้ นี้ มีแต่เพิ่มพูนความสุขให้แก่ตนตลอดเวลา ตรงกันข้ามกับการเห็ดบาปหยาบช้า ยิ่งเห็ดหลาย ก็ยิ่งนำ ความทุกข์ลำบากให้แก่ตนทั้งในปัจจุบันและอนาคต พระธรรมเทศนาที่จะนำมาแสดงนี้มีชื่อว่า ประโยชน์แห่งการรักษาศีล ตามคาถาบาลีที่ได้อัญเชิญไว้เบื้องต้นว่า สีเลนะ สุคะติง ยันติ แปลความว่า บุคคลจะไปสู่สุคติ ก็เพราะมีศีลเป็นที่รักษา จะได้โลกสมบัติมาก็เพราะมีศีล จะมีวาสนาถึงพระนิพพาน ก็เพราะมีศีลเป็นหลักปฏิบัติ

Now the Dhamma sermon will be delivered to remunerate your religious faith (gratuity) in order to promote the wisdom of devotees (you) who virtuously make merit for Buddhism for the purpose of higher meritorious accumulation; because merit-making always increases happiness. [Merit-making] is contrary to sinful deeds; [namely,] the more you do the more increasing grief you gain in both present and future times. The following Dhamma sermon is entitled Benefits of Precept Observance, which is in accordance with the introductory Pali expression as *sīlena sugatim yanti*, [literally] meaning “With precept observance, one is destined to be Rest in Peace”. Property and Enlightenment are also derived from the following precepts.

Multiple-text manuscript containing five *anisonḡ* texts

Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0157, folio 8 (recto), Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 1944

Arthid gives the following definition of *dāna* in his *Narrative and Gift-giving in Thai Ānisaḡsa*: “Dāna means gift-giving to generate merit and purify one’s mind. Dānapāramī, or the perfection of generosity, is the gift-giving of a Bodhisatta who pursues Buddhahood. Dāna and Dānapāramī, despite the distinction, are related. In Thai Buddhist Literature the two terms convey the concept of giving at both worldly and otherworldly levels” (2012: 37). *Anisonḡ* texts were primarily inscribed on palm-leaf manuscripts; the earliest found *anisonḡ* manuscript is *Salòḡ paeng pham* (สลอ่งแปงพาม) (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions). It was made in CE 1652 by an anonymous scribe, sponsored by Hua Cao Suwanrawong (หัวเจ้าสุวันระวง) in Attapū, Laos, and is nowadays kept at Vat Fang Daeng. In the present time, *anisonḡ* texts are still published in printed books or online, that is, those that were further copied from myriad versions.

The Kimatthiyasutta in Ānisaḡsavakka 1, Paṭhamapaññāsaka, Suttanta Pitaka in the Buddhist canon mentions ‘Anisonḡ’ as ‘results’ of precept observance that could lead anybody to Enlightenment. As for divisions of textual themes, *anisonḡ* can be categorized into three types: *anisonḡ* with embedded narratives, *anisonḡ* with descriptive rewards and *anisonḡ* from Buddhized creations. *Anisonḡ* texts with embedded narratives are equivalent in numbers compared to those with descriptive rewards. Every single *anisonḡ* text contains one or, in rarely found cases, more than one narrative. The texts illustrate rewards of making merit on a particular occasion and, by means of including a narrative mentioning a person (or persons) who did the same and got reborn in the heavens, congratulate people on the benefits they

could gain through the merit. The purpose of *anisong* texts is accordingly to praise the merit-making by giving examples of those who gained benefits from doing this or that action. They play a role of convincing people to have faith or appreciate the merit they have done on different occasions. Etymologically, *anisong*, as has been explained, means ‘results of positive deeds’ corresponding to *puñña* in Pali. The good deeds are done or can be done and transferred by others.

The *anisong* sermon or *thet anisong* (เทศน์อานิสงส์) is known in Lan Na or Northern Thailand while the *Salòng* sermon or *thet salòng* (ເທດສະຫຼອງ) is known in Laos. Titles of *anisong* genre texts in Lao manuscripts are mostly preceded with *salòng* or the variant word *sòng*: *Salòng cedi sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas), *Sòng fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma), *Salòng khamphi* (Rewards derived from copying religious books). *Sòng* or *salòng* (*chlòng* ឆ្លង, សອງ/ສະຫຼອງ), corresponding to *chalòng* (‘to celebrate’ ฉลอง) in Thai, is a derivative of the Khmer verb *chlòng* referring to various meanings: ‘to cross’, ‘to inaugurate’, ‘to dedicate’, ‘to celebrate’ and ‘to spread.’ The contexts of *thet salòng* or *salòng* sermons are apparently associated with ‘to dedicate’ and ‘to celebrate’ because the sermons are subsequently performed after a completion of merit-making to serve the functions of acknowledging, celebrating and valuing the meritorious deeds accomplished by the donors. Patrice Ladwig explains that “The public act of lauding itself is in Laos called *saloong* (‘to celebrate the outcome of the meritorious deed’) and the donors have variously been described as having prestige or being worthy of veneration” (2008: 91). The sermon is done in public where people, whether they are part of the merit or not, are allowed to join, therefore it is ‘witnessed’ by all participants, especially by the preaching monk who approves the successful merit and delivers the sermons to explain or ‘affirm’ the upcoming great rewards generated by their positive deeds. Such rewards are paid off to the practitioners for their precious generosity; the rewards acquirement is thus congratulated by means of celebrations or *Salòng*. In exchange of their meritorious acts, *anisong* sermons are accordingly given to announce the completion of benevolent virtue and to promise generous donors rewarding gifts. Terminologically speaking, the term “*anisong*” (Th: *thet anisong* เทศน์อานิสงส์) in Northern Thailand signifies ‘the announcement of rewards’, while the term “*salòng*” or “*song*” (L: *thet salòng*) in Laos signifies ‘the announcement of completion.’

There are basically two elements in an *anisong* text: introductory text and embedded narrative. Introductory texts mention a narrator, often Lord Buddha, and a certain incident that brings him into telling a story – embedded narrative – in order to give a proper example similar to the occurred situation. The narratives introduce a person who practised particular merit and consequently had an exalted life, thereby teaching the listeners. “To be sure, there is much in South Asian *dāna* theories that expound the rewards that attend properly bestowed gifts; a standard preoccupation of much narrative literature from the three traditions is to celebrate the merit of gift-giving” (Heim 2007: 34). *Anisong* texts can more or less make people blissful, thanks to the merit that is similar to what they have done, and can assure

readers that none of the merit is unfruitful; people can look forward to the expected beneficial returns.

Narratives in *anisong* are defined as another embedded story, perhaps conveyed by the Buddha, disciples or others, showing people who made meritorious deeds and gained rewards from them. Rewards or *anisong* cannot be precisely estimated, enumerated or calculated; the narrative is thus a device of making rewards more tangible and concrete to the readers or listeners by giving an example of those who performed similarly and gained pleasant returns afterwards. On the basis of the Buddhist beliefs, they can clearly see how much exactly they could expect and get back from the outcomes of certain merit; thus, more or less as a measurement of comparison, narratives in *anisong* texts serve this purpose. Embedded narratives were either acquired from various sources (canonical Jātakas, non-canonical Jātakas and prevailing folk tales) or newly created. Arthid explains that narratives in *anisong* texts are from *sutra* and other texts such as the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, the *Commentary on the Apadāna*, the *Paññasa-Jātaka*, along with many new and non-classical compositions (2012: 40–41) and he enumerates them also in detail.

There is, however, a large amount of *anisong* texts, equivalent to the first category, excluding relevant stories or narratives; they merely show detailed explanations of benefits gained from making merit. Practitioners of merit are endowed with splendid and glorious rewards after they have a heavenly reincarnation in the afterlife: magnificent castles decorated with various kinds of gems, great supernatural powers, servants and musicians who serve entertaining and pleasing things, a long life in youth and even living as God *Indra* ruling the paradise. Underlying reasons for merely giving explanations of rewards without an included exemplary narrative are still unclear. This category is similar to the following last category: *anisong* from Buddhisized creations, in which references to relevant narratives are rarely involved. Those from Buddhisized creations originated from new means of merit-making or dedications influenced by modern technologies or contemporary social perspectives; they were written with the newly-structured textual style that specifically indicates the certain merit followed by explanations of rewards and, unlike traditional ways of writing, frequently omits embedded narratives derived from Jātaka or canonical sources. The new textual structure of *anisong* manuscripts is also found in the abode of Sathu Nyai Khamchan as explained by Bounleuth (2016: 133):

As notes, *Anisong* texts kept in Sathu Nyai Khamchan's abode can be categorized into two sub-groups according to their expressions and structure: traditional and new-fashioned. An examination of these texts reveals striking differences between these sub-groups which can readily be observed in the introductory texts and concluding remarks. The introductory text of an old version serves as an introduction when telling certain stories, whereas that of the new-fashioned version indicates that the title of the text being chanted will be explained. The difference between the two versions is related to language expression both in Pali and Lao.

An impressive example is an *anisong* text inscribed in CE 1962 in a palm-leaf manuscript from Luang Prabang, declaring rewards derived from the construction of public hospitals.

Medical care was in earlier times funded by the government and sometimes constructed with the participation of financial supports funded by local people in a community. In spite of insufficient information in the paracontents included in the colophons, the manuscript can be assumed to have been made for the purpose of giving a sermon after the hospital construction had been finished.

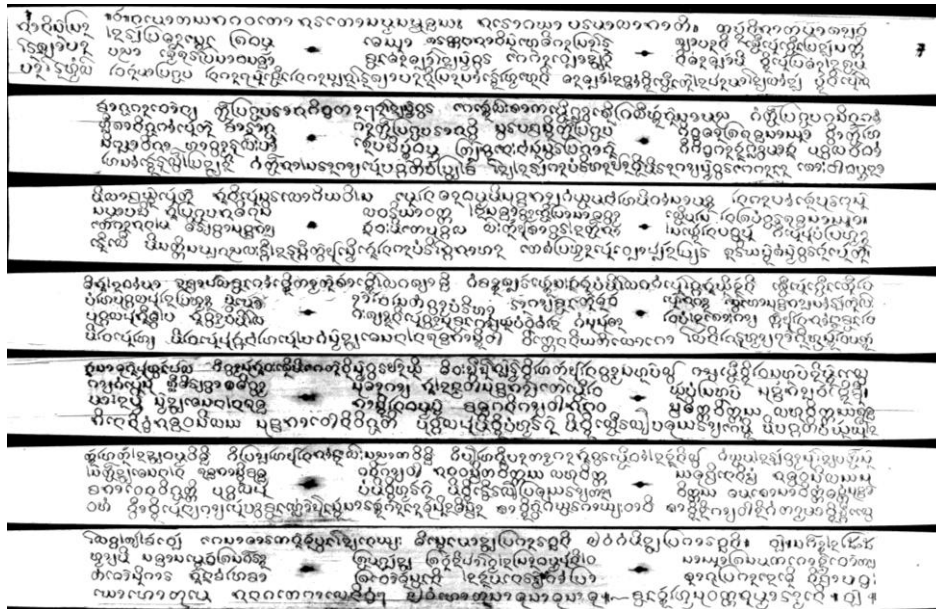


Figure 1.25: *Anisong sang hong phayaban hong mò* (Rewards derived from the construction of hospitals)

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406004-07, folios 1–7 (recto)
 Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1962

In addition to texts, *anisong* also means a sermon given by a monk in order to praise the merit-making and to ensure the listeners of the upcoming rewards, similar to its textual functions. Unlike reading alone, preaching or giving *anisong* sermons can be regarded as a public announcement to highlight the generosity of the sponsors who make different kinds of merit. *Anisong* texts therefore resulted from the specific intention of *anisong* preaching. Another example is a palm-leaf manuscript (code: 06011406005-15) entitled *Anisong tham bun wan koet* kept at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang. Compared to other Buddhist religious texts or even to other *anisong* texts in extant manuscripts, texts pertaining to benefits derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries or *Anisong (salòng) tham bun wan koet* are hardly found⁴². Presumably, the birthday can be regarded as part of the

⁴² There are three extant manuscripts pertaining to rewards derived from merit-making on one's own birthday anniversary: 1) **Anisong tham bun wan koet** (code: 06011406005-15) was sponsored in 1973 by Sathu Nyai Somdet Pha Sangkhalat Mahathela Thammayan, inscribed by Acan Wandit Itthi from Vat Khom Salao and archived at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, 2) **Anisong bun wan koet** (code: BAD-19-1-0137) was sponsored in CE 1984 by Pha Phui Thilacitto, typewritten by Cinna Thammo Phikkhu and archived at Vat Siang Muan, Luang Prabang and 3) **Anisong het bun wan koet** (code: BAD-13-1-0206) was sponsored in CE 1988 by Pha Khamchan Virachitto, typewritten by Cinna Thammo Phikkhu and archived at Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang. The second and third typewritten manuscripts were intended to preserve the texts and make them more broadly accessible to users, which was partly started by the project of manuscript copying led by the

Cycle of Rebirth or an endless reincarnation existing against the Nirvana which is the ultimate goal of Buddhism. Birthday is accordingly counted as a secular way, not as a renouncement to gain future enlightenment. Even if there are only few manuscripts, a number of clues evidently show their frequent and common uses as shared objects among several birthday anniversary sermons, reflecting the popularity of merit-making on birthday ceremonies.

A palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong salòng taeng ngan lü kin dòng*, actually combined with another text *Anisong thawai pha pa* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes) as an MTM manuscript⁴³, is also from Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram. The text pertains to two types of marriage: *Awaha*⁴⁴ marriage which is done at the husband's house and the couple lives in the husband's house and *Wiwaha*⁴⁵ marriage which is done at the wife's house and the couple lives in the wife's house, explaining what Thananchai Setthi, the father of Nang Wisakha⁴⁶, taught her to keep the ten proper habits of a good wife before her marriage and also instructed them the ways to cherish marriage life. The manuscript was definitely used for teaching couples in wedding ceremonies to keep family peace and happiness. Although marriage life is not regarded as a focal way leading to enlightenment, the manuscript was made for monks to teach couples before they start making a family as a secular life. Rebirth and marriage are not prohibited but not considered as the ultimate way to reach Nibbāna. However, in expectation of the bright future, luck and propitiousness on occasions of life transitions or rites of passage, the ceremonies can be Buddhisized by making merit, offering

Venerable Sathu Nyai Khamchan Virachitto in the 1980s–1990s in Laos for the purpose of disseminating Buddhist religious textbooks (see also in Khamvone 2015). The underlined blanks appearing on the manuscripts for filling in the age of a birthday host evidently prove their multiple uses.

⁴³ The manuscript code is 06011406004-17 and was written in CE 1962, on the first waning-moon day of the third lunar month, at 2 p.m. by the Supreme Patriarch and Pha Wandī from Wat Pha Khom.

⁴⁴ [อวาทะ] น. “การพาหญิงมาอยู่บ้านของตน” หมายถึง การแต่งงานแบบหนึ่งที่ฝ่ายชายจะนำหญิงที่ตนแต่งงานด้วยมาอยู่ที่บ้านของตน เรียกว่า อวาทะมงคล, เป็นประเพณีแต่งงานที่นิยมปฏิบัติกันในประเทศอินเดียฝ่ายเหนือ ป., ส., [Awaha-] n. “Taking a woman to live [in one's house]” means a kind of marriage in which a groom takes the bride to live in his house. The marriage is called Awahamongkhon and commonly found in northern India (Pali, Sanskrit) (Royal Institute 2013: 1410).

⁴⁵ [วิวาทะ] น. “การพาออกไป” หมายถึง การแต่งงานแบบหนึ่งที่ฝ่ายชายจะต้องถูกนำไปอยู่ที่บ้านฝ่ายหญิง เรียกว่า วิวาทะมงคล, เป็นประเพณีแต่งงานที่นิยมปฏิบัติกันในประเทศอินเดียฝ่ายใต้, การแต่งงานตามประเพณีไทย ไม่ว่าฝ่ายหญิงจะไปอยู่ที่บ้านฝ่ายชาย หรือฝ่ายชายจะไปอยู่ที่บ้านฝ่ายหญิง หรือจะแยกไปอยู่ตามลำพัง ก็เรียกว่า วิวาทะ หรือ วิวาทะมงคล ทั้งสิ้น ป., ส., [Awaha-] n. “Taking [someone] out” means a kind of marriage where the groom is taken to live in the bride's house. The marriage is called Wiwahamongkhon and commonly found in southern India. A Thai traditional marriage, whether a bride lives in the groom's house or a groom lives in the bride's house or a married couple lives in another separate house, is called Wiwaha or Wiwahamongkhon (Pali, Sanskrit) (Royal Institute 2013: 1124–1125).

⁴⁶ “Visakha was the devout and generous daughter of a millionaire. When she was only seven years old, the Buddha visited her birthplace. Her grandfather, hearing of the Buddha's visit, advised Visakha to go out and welcome him. Though she was so young, she was religious and virtuous. As such, immediately after hearing the Dhamma from the Buddha, she attained the first stage of sainthood” (source: https://www.buddhanet.net/e-learning/buddhism/lifebuddha/2_4lbud.htm).

alms to monks as well as inviting monks to pray and give blessing; an *anisonḡ* sermon explaining rewards derived from the merit-making consequently accompanied this as well. Unless a ceremony goes against or breaks the laws of Buddhism, *anisonḡ* texts can still be made up for preaching on the occasions; secular rites can be promoted to be holier, more meaningful and become partly religious.

However, the titles of *anisonḡ* manuscripts are sometimes not preceded with *anisonḡ* or *sòḡḡ* or *salòḡḡ* which traditionally defines the *anisonḡ* textual genre, while the manuscript is still categorized as *anisonḡ* due to additional insertions explaining meritorious outcomes. This also happens with *Unhatsawichai*, *Panyabarami* and *Thipphamon* texts. Bounleuth Sengsoulin (2016: 131) explains this as follows:

At first, these texts might have been compiled and recognized as texts in Pali, and additional texts in Lao were then inserted later on. Most insertions are explanations detailing how people could gain merit by listening to the sermons of these texts, donating to the temple, and worshipping the Triple Gem. Therefore, these texts were not defined as *Anisonḡ* text unless they are marked by additional insertions. It appears that these texts contain these insertions because Buddhists wanted to make the texts easier to understand.

In the corpus of this research, however, *Unhatsawichai* is not included because the text is officially categorized in inventory sheets as belonging to the genre of *sūtra*. Another manuscript containing the word *anisonḡ* in the title, *Anisonḡ ha matika paet* (อานิสงส์ห้ำมาติก้าแปด), is not defined as an *anisonḡ* manuscript because it records conversations between Maha Sariputta Thera and other monks in Buddha’s lifetime⁴⁷.

Even though the notion of *karma* represents a return equivalent to how people acted, rewards or incentives in the *anisonḡ* texts are not identical with what they really have done or donated, but, thanks to being endowed with incentives in the heavens, just similar rewards with high levels of divine and supernatural quality. For example, *Anisonḡ than thung* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags), kept at Wat Phra Bat Ming Müang in Phrae province, tells the story of a layman who made a religious flag from a big tree log for the purpose of dedicating it to the previous Buddha Wipatsi. He unfortunately died before the completion of the flag, but was immediately reborn in heaven. Then, another man saw the unfinished log and continued making the religious flag with friends, got reborn in the Tavatimsa⁴⁸ heaven together with the co-working friends and was full of divine properties and servants.

⁴⁷ “A bundle of two fascicles of eight *Anisonḡ* kept in Sathu Nyai Khamchan’s abode (BAD-13-1-0070) were found as loose manuscripts. [...] The Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts has listed eleven fascicles as five *Anisonḡ* and eight *Matika*, and two of them – numbers 06 01 14 09 011 01 and 06 01 14 01 031 02 – belong to Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram of Luang Prabang. The content of the first deals with tradition and ceremony, whereas the second relates to the monastic order” (Bounleuth 2016: 131).

⁴⁸ “Tāvatiḡḡsa Heaven: The thirty-three Gods with Sakka (Indra) as their king, a devotee of the Buddha, preside over this realm. Many *devas* dwelling here live in mansions in the air” (Suvanno 2001: 36).



Figure 1.26: Explanation of meritorious deeds leading a man to be reborn in the heaven
Anisong than thung (Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags)

Source: PNTMP, code: พร 0406013-00, folio 3 (recto and verso)
 Wat Phra Bat Ming Müang, Phrae province, CE 1876

ยังมีชายผู้หนึ่งมีชื่อปรากฏ มาเห็นไม้เสารงที่ค้างอยู่นั้น ชายผู้นั้นก็มีศรัทธาปีติความยินดีบังเกิดที่จักได้สร้างไว้บูชาพระพุทธเจ้า บุรุษผู้นั้นก็มาร้องไห้วานเพื่อนฝูงมาช่วยบก (ขุด) ช่วยถาก ชายผู้นั้นก็ถากกระทำเสากบขัดเกลี้ยงกลมดี กระทำได้แต่เพียงนั้น ชายผู้นั้นก็สิ้นอายุกำหนดตายจากมนุษย์โลกแล้วก็ได้ไปบังเกิดในดาวดึงส์สวรรค์เทวโลกนั้น ก็ได้เสวยทิพยสมบัติอยู่ในทิพยวิมานทองสูงได้ ๑๒ โยชน์ มีนางสวรรค์กัญญาได้พันหนึ่งห้อมล้อมเป็นยศบริวารก็มีแล ส่วนว่าคนทั้งหลายที่ได้ช่วยบกช่วยถากนั้น ครั้นตายจากมนุษย์โลกก็ได้ไปบังเกิดในสวรรค์พร้อมกันก็มีแล

An anonymous man saw the unfinished tree log and became delightful to continue working on it to dedicate it to the Buddha. That person asked his friends to dig and bark and he himself polished the log. Unfortunately he died (left the human world) despite of his incomplete mission and got a new rebirth in the Tavatimsa heaven. His castle was made of gold and twelve *yojana* high. He had one-thousand female servant deities. All his friends who assisted him by digging and barking were also reborn together in the heaven after they had left the human world.

By means of making merit, people in general expect better things for themselves or for passed-away family members, friends and ones in negative relations in previous lives⁴⁹. Rewards described in *anisong* texts are thus likely a promise of getting back remuneration resulting from the meritorious practices. However, all the returns of merit are always exposed to the practitioners in heaven and then bring them to have even better rebirths as rich people, noblemen, well-educated and high-ranking persons and so on; because the dominant belief in afterlife heaven, as well as hell and reincarnations are persistently inherited in Theravāda Buddhist cultures⁵⁰. No *anisong* texts display meritorious incentives rewarded immediately in

⁴⁹ Those are known as *cao kam nai wen* (เจ้ากรรมนายเวร) or *phò kao mae lang phò kam mae wen* (พ่อเก่าแม่หลังพ่อกรรมแม่เวร).

⁵⁰ Theravāda Buddhism is known as *sthaviravāda* in Sanskrit and renowned for the most purely preserved Teachings of Lord Buddha and fully approved by venerable monks in the first Buddhist Canon Revision held in the third month after the *parinibbāna* of Buddha Gotama. “Theravada,” explained by Holt (2009), “refers to the “way of the elders” and the manner in which this lineage of Buddhist monastic tradition chose to distinguish itself as a conservative and preserving force in maintaining the teachings of Gotama the Buddha, regarded as the latest in a series of twenty-four enlightened beings who, over many eons of time, have made known the truth of dharma to assuage the suffering condition of humanity, a suffering caused by ignorance and desire that can be overcome through the pursuit of wisdom, the practice of morality, and the cultivation of concentrated meditation” (2009: 13). During the third Buddhist century, King Asoka propagated Buddhism beyond India including Southeast Asian regions, the Venerable Sona and the Venerable Uttara arrived the *Suwannaphum* (P:

the present life after the merit has been done; people who are not much satisfied with their present lives can hope for a better life in future time. *Anisong* is therefore a kind of encouragement to motivate people to make merit. “*Dāna* is to be given not for earthly recompense from the recipient, but for spiritual merit, where one is repaid in the next life for religious gifts given in this life” (Heim 2004: 34).

1.3.2 *Anisong* Manuscripts: Dedication and Materials

1.3.2.1 Dedication

The dominant belief in the upcoming Buddha Maitreya after the end of five-thousand years of the Buddha Gotama era – almost two-thousand and five-hundred years henceforth – is the underlying religious notion influencing all merit-making activities among the Theravāda Buddhists. The Teachings will completely disappear when the five-thousand-year period is finished⁵¹. The Teachings must be preserved to support Buddhism, so that the religion still remains despite the coming end of that period. Copying and dedicating religious manuscripts to monasteries is therefore done especially to serve this purpose. The merit can be dedicated to both living and dead persons. Bounleuth discusses that the dedicated merit in Laos can prolong and shorten the life of the deceased as follows:

Like other Theravada Buddhists in Southeast Asia, Lao Buddhists believe that acquired merit can be transformed to the deceased. This merit can help to prolong the life of the deceased who have been reborn in a pleasant place, and to shorten the life of the deceased living in an unpleasant place (2016: 215).

Ladwig (2012) defines it as a communication between two realms: of the dead and of the living; a merit dedication towards their gone relatives is considered as another way of inter-realm communications as well⁵². According to colophons in *anisong* manuscripts, in addition

suvannabhūmi) area (from southern present-day Burma to the Cao Phraya river of central Thailand, in the vicinity of Nakhòn Pathom province) (see Sathian 2001: 327–328).

⁵¹ “Buddhists in South East Asia believe that the complete degeneration and final disappearance of Buddha’s Teachings will be reached after a total period of 5,000 years or even earlier. Thus Buddhist believers try their utmost through religious donations to prolong this period as long as possible. Colophons in Buddhist manuscripts as well as donor inscriptions on the pedestals of Buddha images stress the desire to help the Teachings of Buddha Gotama survive until the completion of 5,000 years, counted from the Buddha’s attainment of the parinibbāna, but sometimes also the donor’s desire to be reborn in the time of the coming Buddha Ariya Metteya” (Grabowsky 2016: 223).

⁵² Patrice Ladwig (2012) studies two rituals of transferring objects to the deceased among the ethnic Lao: *Bun Khao Salak* and *Bun Hüan Pha* by applying two concepts: ontology and materiality. He studied the belief of Lao people in transferring things to their dead family members at the two festivals. There are slightly different beliefs among the ethnic Lao. Some believe that the offered items to monks could really reach the dead in the other sphere, the dead or the afterlife world; others, especially the more orthodox Lao people, hold a more rationalized point of view that the dedicational merit can only cross the borderline between the living and the

to dedicating the merit of copying manuscripts to dead persons, they hardly lack the wish of being reborn in the Buddha Maitreya period or the mentioning of the end of five thousand years, clearly reflecting the primary concern with the upcoming era in Theravāda Buddhist cultures or the ideal society that will be created after the disappearance of the present Buddhist era and the deterioration of Buddhism.

After seven days, they⁵³ would emerge and create a new society based on mutual goodwill and a commitment to morality. Gradually the human life span would begin to increase again. Following a period of intense rainfall, the earth would flourish with vegetation, and villages would be thickly populated. The surface of the earth would be as smooth as a drumhead, rice would husk itself, people would be handsome and free from physical disabilities, spouses would be faithful to one another, and all beings would live in harmony. At that time, Metteyya would be born in the human realm and attain enlightenment (Brereton 1995: 11).

The following colophons are excerpted from *anisonḡ* manuscripts; they mention the end of five-thousand years implying the forthcoming Buddha Maitreya era and merit dedications to the deceased ones.

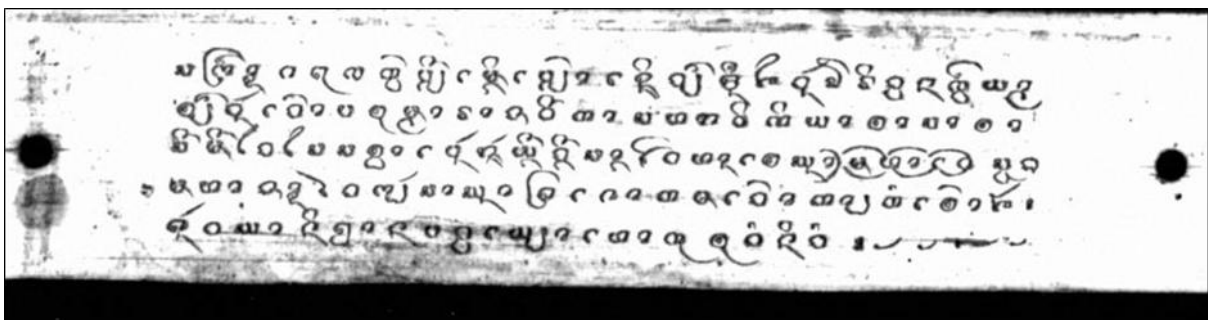


Figure 1.27: Explanation of the end of five-thousand years of the current Buddhist era
Salòṅ wetsantara (Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka)

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406014-08, folio 10 (recto), Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1817

ศักราช ๑๗๙ ตัว ปีเม็งเป้า เดือนเจียง ขึ้น ๕ วัน ๗ รจนาแล้วยามเที่ยงวัน เจ้าปทุมมาราชธิดา สหภวิญญิตาสาทาสิ มีใจใสศรัทธาเป็นอันยิ่ง จึงสร้างโวิหารเทศนาสองมหาชาติไว้กับศาสนาพระโคตมเจ้า ตราบต่อเท่า ๕๐๐๐ วัสสา นิพพาน ปจจโย โหตุ หุ่ นิจจํ

[The manuscript was completed in] [C]S [1]179, in a *moeng pao* year, on the fifth waxing-moon day of the first lunar month, on the seventh day of the week⁵⁴, at noon. The royal princess Cao Pathumma Rasathida, [along with her] male and female followers who had the most ardent religious faith [in Buddhism] and sponsored the commission of the liturgical manuscript entitled *Sòṅ mahasat* to support the Buddhist religion of Buddha Gotama to last until the end of five-thousand years. *Nibbāna paccayo hotu duvaṃ niccaṃ*.

dead worlds (see the article *Can Things Reach the Dead? The Ontological Status of Objects and the Study of Lao Buddhist Rituals for the Spirits of the Deceased*).

⁵³ Wise people who had retreated to the forest and hidden themselves in caves.

⁵⁴ 1179 Mārgaśīrṣa 5 = Saturday, 13 December 1817.

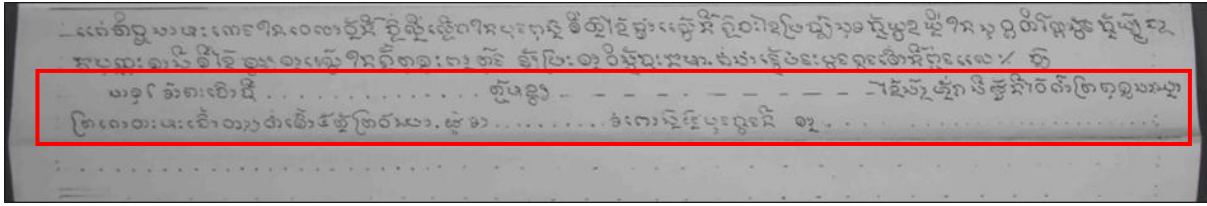


Figure 1.28: Explanation of merit dedication to the deceased with blank space to be filled in Multiple-text manuscript containing four texts⁵⁵

Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-038, side 69, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, year unknown, CE 2004

สาธุ สาธุ ข้าพเจ้าชื่อ.....พร้อมด้วย.....ได้สร้างหนังสือผูกนี้ไว้คำพระพุทธศาสนาพระโคตมเจ้า
 ทรายต่อเท่า ๕ พันพระวัสสา ผู้ข้า.....ขอกุศลผลบุญดวงนี้ ทาน.....

Sādhu Sādhu (religious salutation). I...together with...copied the manuscript to support the
 religion of Buddha Gotama to last for five-thousand years. I...wish the merit of copying
 this manuscript to reach ...

Merit dedications to other people, who are either still alive or have already passed away, can be accomplished through myriad ways of merit-making: offering rice to monks, sponsoring the construction of monastic halls, making Buddha images or building public constructions such as bridges or roads. A distinct example is the merit done by King Visun of Laos, who devoted himself to be responsible for Phra Bang, a holy high-respected Buddha image, with the intention to dedicate the merit to his family members. “The king (Visun) had become an ardent devotee of the *Phra Bāng* statue of the Buddha while governor of Viang Chan, and of long last ordered it to be transported overland to the capital. There he built a magnificent new richly endowed temple to house it, after his wish for a son and heir had been granted” (Stuart-Fox 1998: 72). Different ways of donation are dependent on different conditions, sources and materials. Wealthy families offer a large amount of money to afford building a monastic pavilion; local people together join a financial cooperation to make a precious Buddha image for the pride of their community, or a devout laywoman offers monk robes to support monastic ordinations, while copying and dedicating manuscripts to a monastery is also another popular alternative of merit-making due to it being, as Veidlinger explained, a medium or object containing Buddha’s Teaching words that are to be furthered in studying, copying and remembering and are valued as a kind of meditation:

It might be expected that making a manuscript leads to so much merit because the manuscript can be used to study and learn the words of the Buddha. However, if knowledge can be gained in this life or the next through the working of karma, this seems to obviate the need to actually use a manuscript as a source of informational content. It becomes a token of the power of the Buddha’s works. It is thus possible to imagine a cycle in which the merit from a manuscript would never actually be read. It is also possible that copying a manuscript was considered a form of meditation (Veidlinger 2006: 169).

⁵⁵ The four texts are *Salòng maha wetsandòn sadok* (Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka), *Salòng sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Salòng dòk mai thup thian* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers, incense sticks and candles) and *Salòng khao ci* (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice).

Interestingly, the construction of monastic buildings or the dedication of monastic goods or manuscripts for monasteries is necessarily accompanied by the announcement of donors; thus the people can appreciate the donor's generosity and the donors themselves can also be praised for their noble donations. Such merit announcement was also done in religious inscriptions of sacred places for different purposes besides publishing one's own merit, explained by Nidhi Eosewong (1982: 42) as follows:

จารึกประกาศบุญที่ได้สร้างปูชนียสถาน หรือให้ทานแก่องค์การศาสนา จารึกประเภทนี้มีจำนวนมากที่สุดในบรรดาจารึกทั้งหมด จุดประสงค์สำคัญของการสร้างจารึกประเภทนี้มีอยู่หลายประเด็น นอกจากเพื่อประกาศการทำบุญของบุคคลแล้ว ยังเป็นการบันทึกสิทธิของวัดหรือศาสนสถานเหนือวัตถุหรือผู้คนที่ได้ยกถวายไว้ด้วย นอกจากนี้การเล่าถึงการสร้างอย่างละเอียดในบางครั้งยังเป็นการประกาศสถานะของวัดหรือศาสนสถานนั้นด้วย เช่นถ้าพระเจ้าแผ่นดินหรือเจ้านายชั้นสูงเป็นผู้สร้าง ก็เท่ากับประกันสถานะอันสูงกว่าธรรมดาของศาสนสถานนั้นๆ ข้อความในจารึกประเภทนี้ มักจะมีเรื่องราวเกี่ยวกับตัวผู้สร้างและเหตุการณ์สำคัญๆ ของบ้านเมืองรวมอยู่ด้วย

Inscriptions announcing meritorious acts of constructing sacred places or making donation for religious institutions are found in the highest number compared to all other kinds of inscriptions. The inscriptions were made to serve several purposes. Apart from announcement of one's merit, they were also written to record the higher elevated right of the donated monasteries or religious places than other donated objects or donors. Detailed explanations of construction process [written in the inscriptions] could sometimes declare the status of the monasteries or religious places. For example, if kings or high-ranking elites patronized the constructions, the higher status of the places than ordinary [places] could thus be confirmed. Texts in such the inscriptions usually include donors and important memorial events of the country.

In other ways, the announcement itself also plays a social role especially for rich people who probably desire being accepted, praised or appreciated for their generosity apart from financial prosperity. A number of influential people in a community, such as politicians, district leaders, well-known scholars, wealthy people, high-ranking people and others, often donate a large amount of money – or among their families or together with other local people – to build monastic constructions or some parts of monastic halls: windows, doors, drums, stairs or even a whole temple. Temples are popular platforms for various local activities; the donor names are therefore shown on the construction, so that the community can explicitly see who donated it, appreciate the wealth and the kindness and feel more respectful towards them⁵⁶.

⁵⁶ The declaration of merit by means of showing the names of the donors can be associated with a notion of judgement in the afterlife. The lord of the death world destines spirits according to his book recording all deeds that the dead persons have done. Good deeds or *bun* destine the dead to be reborn in heaven, whereas bad deeds or *bap* push them to be punished in hell. Meritorious deeds are sometimes forgotten but can then be reminded to him by the explicit name shown on the temple constructions. Spirits are exposed to the lord of death world after the death. He examines the deeds of the dead with the assistance of four deities who record all positive and negative deeds. Meritorious deeds are noted on a gold plate while sinful deeds are noted on a dog skin, presented by the deities and determining the destination of the dead, namely heavens or hells (see Sathiankoset 1970: 21).

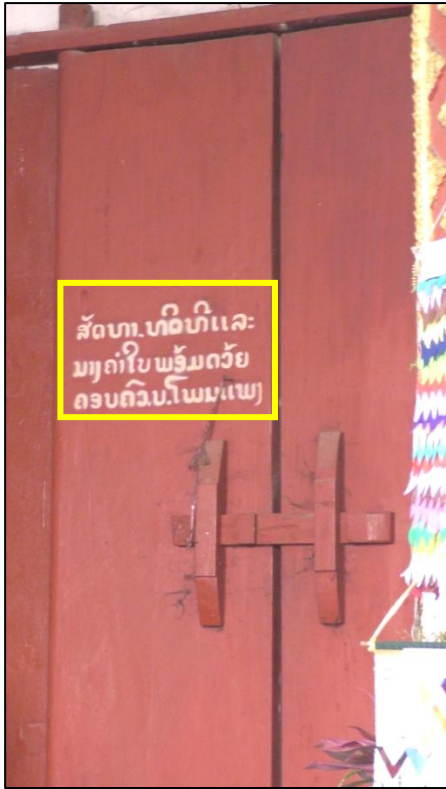


Figure 1.29: Door of an ordination hall
Wat Manorom, Luang Prabang
(February 19, 2017)

Yellow frame in the picture above:

“ศรัทธา ทิดที้ และนางคำใบ้ พร้อมด้วย
ครอบครัว บ.โพนแพง”

“[The window of the monastic hall was
sponsored by] the principal initiator Thit
Thi, along with Nang Kham Bai and his
family, from Phon Phaeng village.”

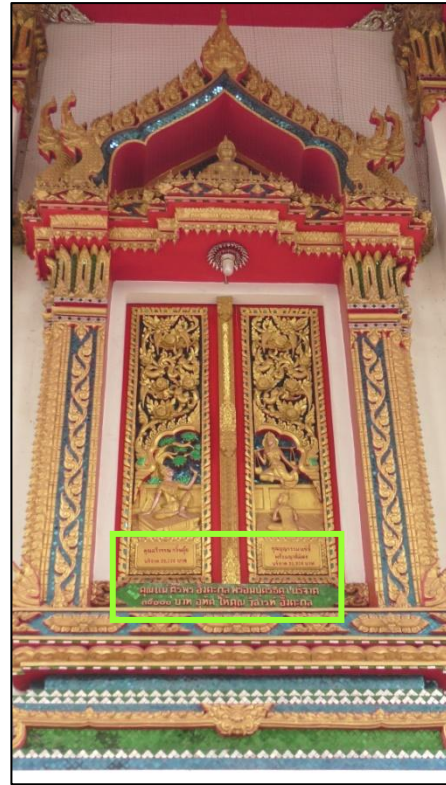


Figure 1.30: Window of an ordination hall
Wat Lamduan, Nong Khai province
(March 8, 2017)

Green frame in the picture above:

“คุณฉวีวรรณ กลิ่นจ้อย บริจาค ๒๕,๐๐๐ บาท”

“คุณบุญธรรม แซ่ลี พร้อมญาติมิตร บริจาค ๑๕,๐๐๐ บาท”

“คุณแม่ศิริพร อึ้งตระกูล พร้อมบุตรธิดา บริจาค ๓๕,๐๐๐ บาท
อุทิศให้คุณวิสาร์ท อึ้งตระกูล”

“Ms. Chawiwan Klincui donated 25,000 THB [for the
window].”

“Mr. Buntham Saeli, along with his relatives and friends,
donated 25,000 THB [for the window].”

“Mother Siriphòn Ūngtrakun, along with her children,
donated 35,000 THB [for the window frame] to dedicate
[the merit] to Mr. Wisan Ūngtrakun.”



Figure 1.31: Monastic stairways with sponsors' names shown in the pink frames
 Wat Lamduan, Nongkhai province, photo by the author on March 8, 2017

1.3.2.2 Writing support

a) Palm-leaf

Palm-leaf is the earliest material used for making *anisong* manuscripts. They are in general made of leaves from three kinds of trees: Talipat Palm (*Corypha Umbraculifera*), Palmyra Palm (*Borassus Flabellifer*), and Lontar Palm (*Corypha Utan*). The latter one is often used in Southeast Asia as Gaul (1979) states:

It is difficult to say when exactly palm leaves were used for the first time. As a material they are precariously fragile and easily destroyed by damp and insects. This is perhaps one of the reasons why some of the oldest surviving examples have been found outside India, in climatically more favorable places like Central Asia (second century AD), and even Japan. In south Asia and Sri Lanka only a few surviving examples have pre-sixteenth century dates. It was indeed only the continuous copying of the ancient texts – a meritorious act for scribe and sponsor – which ensured their survival (Gaul 1979: 14).

Bounleuth (2016) gives general information on palm leaves used for writing manuscripts in Laos in his doctoral dissertation as follows:

Traditionally, most monasteries in Laos have enough space in their vicinity for forestry and horticulture. In particular, fruit trees and various plants used for medicinal purposes are often planted nearby (R-LBFO07-08: 14). In addition, numerous monasteries place a great

emphasis on the cultivation of palm trees (talipot palm, *Corypha umbraculifrela*), because they provide the Lao monks with material for scribing/copying manuscripts (Bounleuth 2016: 42).

In order to produce palm-leaf manuscripts, leaves of the palm trees are first cut into pieces of circa 5 x 60 cm, then boiled and dried in the sun. The total production is done in 7–10 days. *Anisong* texts are contained in short length palm-leaf manuscripts (average ten to fifteen folios), each of which has four to five lines. Mostly, those from Northern Thailand have five lines and those from Laos four (see figures 1.32 and 1.33). The manuscripts were inscribed with the variant Tham scripts: Tham Lan Na and Tham Lao, in vernacular and Pali languages. Two holes penetrating the pile of folios, dividing the folio sides into three sections, are provided for binding a fascicle with threads. The perforations were done before the writing; the binding is helpful to keep the manuscripts well-organized (see figure 1.34). The title is written on a cover folio which is sometimes accompanied by a table of contents or other background information about the donors, scribes or the production and often on the left side at the beginning of the text. The manuscripts were inscribed with a stylus – a special kind of writing tool. The scribes used a stylus to write the text on palm-leaf manuscripts. The text-incised traces were left empty until a dark semi-fluid substance was applied on the surface, thereby concealing the incision traces, functioning similarly to modern ink. Then, the surface was wiped out and the text incision appeared. Foliation is often on the left of the verso sides, identified by numbers or combinations of consonants and vowels (see figure 1.35), marking each folio including both sides of recto and verso, not on one side of recto or verso. Khamvone and Grabowsky explain the production process as follows:

Most palm-leaf manuscripts were inscribed with a stylus and these incisions were made visible by darkening them with a charcoal or soot based black paint. Traditionally, the black paint used for making incisions visible on palm leaves is the wood oil of dipterocarpus, which is known to Lao people as *nam man nyang* (ນ້ຳມັນຍາງ) (Khamvone and Grabowsky 2017: 20).

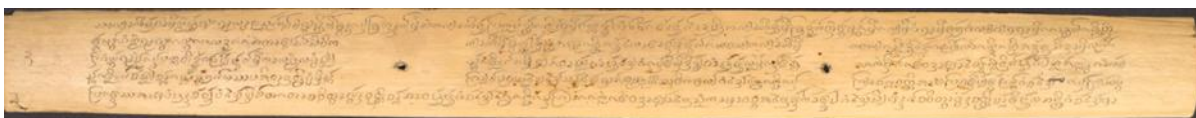


Figure 1.32: Northern Thai palm-leaf manuscript with five lines
Anisong sang tham (Rewards derived from copying religious books)

Source: DLNTM, code: ໗໓ 0706001-04, folio 3 (verso), Wat Phra Sing, Chiang Mai province, CE 1926

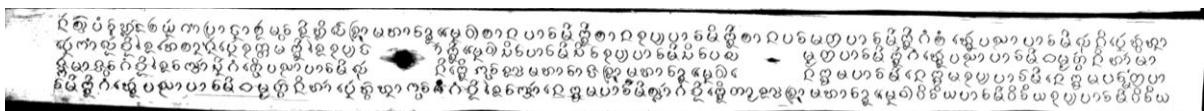


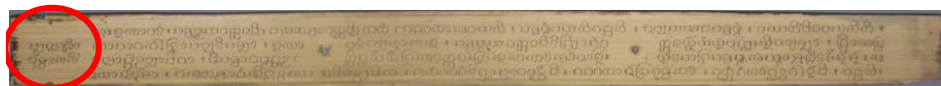
Figure 1.33: Lao palm-leaf manuscript with four lines

Panya balami (Wisdom Perfection), source: DLLM, code: 06011406009-03, folio 10 (recto)
Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1857



Figure 1.34: Palm-leaf manuscript with two holes dividing two sides into three columns
Thipphamon noi (Rewards derived from praying for good things), source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0189
 Folios 1–7 (recto), Luang Prabang, CE 1916

Title on the left of
 the first recto side



Foliation on the
 left of verso sides



Figure 1.35: Title and foliation in a palm-leaf manuscript

Foliation is in general marked on the left margin on verso sides in the case of palm-leaf manuscripts, reflecting the by-folio numeration rather than by-page numeration like modern printed books. Being found in palm-leaf, mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts from both regions, *Nai Tham* numerals are more frequently found as page numbers than *Hora* numerals because of the religious purpose of *anisong* manuscripts. *Nai Tham* numerals were popularly written in religious manuscripts, while *Hora* numerals were used for calculation in astrological manuscripts (see Bunkhit 2005: 38). Another popular way of pagination is the

consonant-vowel combination; one consonant is mixed with ordered vowels in a pair to compose one syllable as a foliation marker. The consonant-vowel combination, e.g. कः का की कि, is, however, mainly found in palm-leaf manuscripts, especially in multiple-text manuscripts in which several *anisonṅ* texts were recorded, as individual texts are represented with a consonant and orders of folios are marked with vowels. Hence, such a combination can be viewed as an ‘aid’ to find the original codicological types of certain manuscripts – single-text manuscripts, multiple-text manuscripts or composite manuscripts; from a retrospective point of view, the ‘aid’ became helpful for manuscript users to deal with organizing individual texts in their bundles. Manuscript fascicles could be picked out of the bundles for different uses and kept in correct bundles; the foliation in the manuscripts expressed by consonant-vowel combinations therefore tells users the right positions they belong to and sheds light on manuscript circulations among local monasteries. The following quotation is derived from a comprehensive explanation on palm-leaf manuscript foliation given by Khamvone and Grabowsky:

Unlike paper manuscripts, palm-leaf manuscripts are mostly numbered by a combination of consonant and vowel graphemes, according to the order used for the arrangement of words written in Devanagari and other Indic scripts (for the sake of simplicity, it shall be called “Sanskrit orthography”). This system of foliation, which is especially used for manuscripts that contain religious texts, uses a combination of consonant and vowel graphemes. The first twelve folios would start with *k* (a voiceless and unaspirated velar), the first consonant of the alphabet, which is then combined with twelve vowels – *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ai, o, au, aṃ, aḥ* – which are used in Sanskrit. Apart from the last one, these vowels are pronounced similar to the pronunciation of the equivalent vowels in Lao. Thus the first twelve folios would be paginated: *ka, kā, ki, kī, ku, kū*, and so forth, which correspond to one, two, three, four, five and six, until twelve. In the case of a longer text which is a fascicle of a palm-leaf manuscript comprising more than twelve leaves, the remaining consonants, such as *kh, g, gh, ṅ, c, ch, j, jh, ñ*, and so forth, will likewise be combined with the same set of twelve vowels (2017: 20–21).

The following *anisonṅ* palm-leaf manuscript from Luang Prabang shows a rare case of foliation style, implying the manuscript’s shared usage among the locality. Unlike other palm-leaf manuscripts, folio-marker symbols are on both recto and verso sides. The foliation on rectos is noted by *Nai Tham* numerals ordering the folios throughout each individual text, whereas the foliation on versos is marked by a combination of consonants and vowels, ordered by orthographic steps of the consonant set, running throughout all five texts of the manuscript. The co-existence of the two foliation styles plays a role as an aid to order manuscript folios. The recto sides order folios of ‘the individual texts’ (foliation of individual texts), while the verso sides order folios of ‘the whole manuscript’ (foliation of the whole manuscript). Each fascicle can consequently be used and then returned to its right position of the manuscript. In addition, at the end of the first text or *Sòṅg dòk mai thup thian* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers, incense sticks and candles), a temple name, ‘Vat Saen’, located in Luang Prabang, was written with a blue pen as an ownership statement. It can be

presumed that the manuscript had been circulating among local temples as a shared object⁵⁷ and, judging from the co-existence of two different foliations⁵⁸, each of the individual texts was borrowed by different users, either by a preaching monk or one of the users marked a possessive label to show the manuscript origin. Foliation could uniquely be done in accordance with the use of manuscripts in a community as explained by Bounleuth:

The different ways of counting the leaves of various manuscripts indicate that the Buddhist scholars of Luang Prabang have established their own rather idiosyncratic pagination system for palm-leaf manuscripts. Both traditional numerals and the orthographic system of Sanskrit and Pali have been applied in order to list the leaves of manuscripts (2016: 61).

Foliation on the recto sides – *Nai Tham* numerals



Foliation on the verso sides – Combination of consonants and vowels

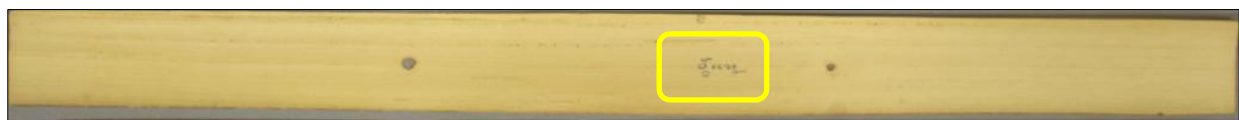


Figure 1.36: Co-existence of two different foliations and ownership mark
Sòng dònk mai thup thian (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers, incense sticks, and candles)
 Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0157, folios 1–5 (recto and verso), Luang Prabang, CE 1944

⁵⁷ Manuscripts were circulated among local temples as a shared object. They were sometimes kept in a certain monastery and borrowed by monks from other temples.

⁵⁸ Numerous palm-leaf manuscripts found in the abode of the venerable monk Sathu Nyai Khamchan Virachitto are also foliated both by numerals and words. “The numeral,” explained by Khamvone and Grabowsky (2017), “was mostly written in the left-hand margin of the first page of each leaf, whereas the numerated word was placed in the traditional manner. Some palm-leaf manuscripts have been foliated twice, first with the combination of consonant and vowel graphemes as described above and a second time (mostly not by the original scribe but by a later user) by using numerals” (2017: 21).

A number of *anison* manuscripts have a pair of wooden covers (Th: *mai prakap* ไม้ประกบ), functioning as a protective tool against being bent and to protect the manuscripts from abrasion and moisture. Many of them are wrapped with a cloth or bag, helping the manuscripts to stay dry; such a wrap, depending on individual cases, can contain single-text manuscripts or composite manuscripts.

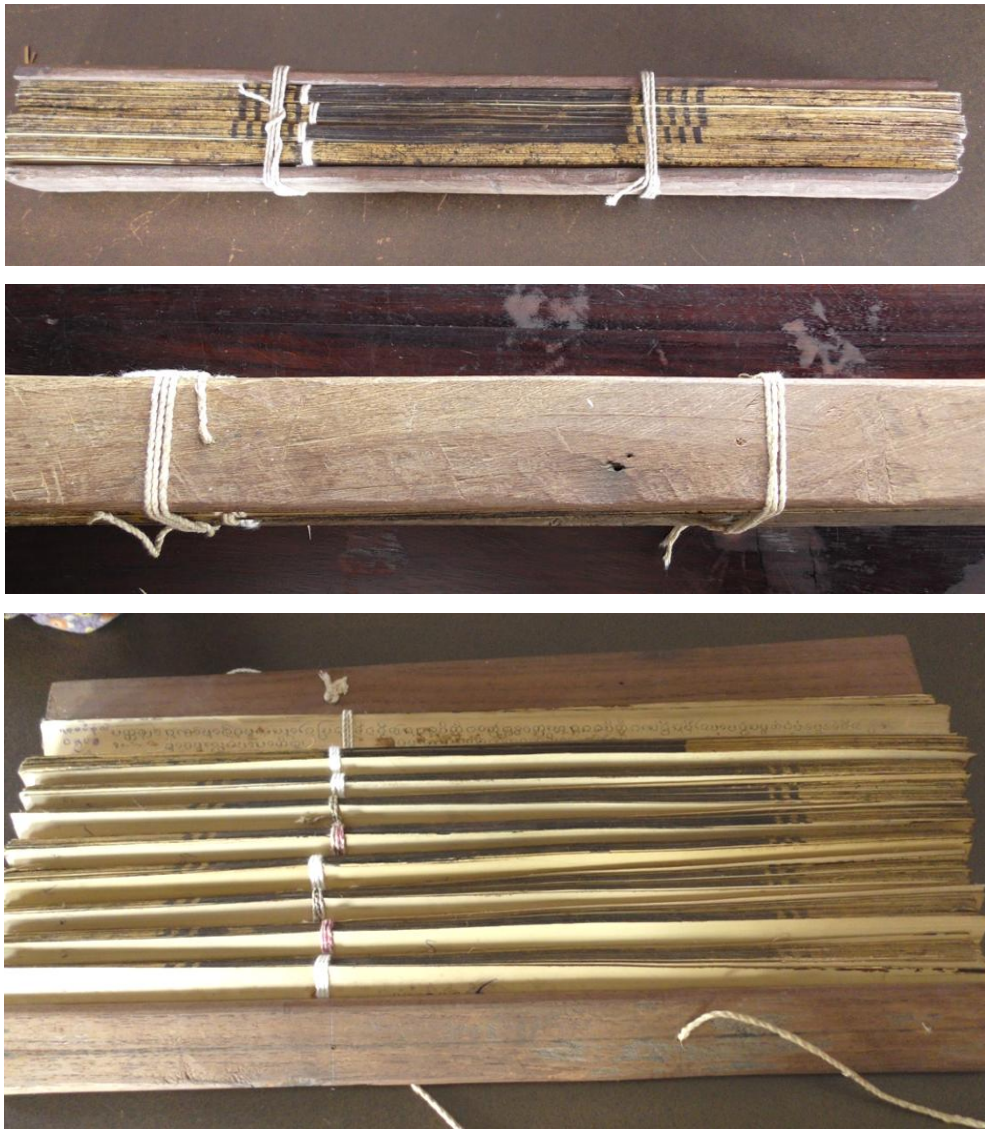


Figure 1.37: Wooden covers, top and side views



Figure 1.38: Cloth wrap

Palm-leaf manuscripts can also be written with a typewriter. For example, a manuscript from Luang Prabang explains the rewards or *anisong* derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries. The manuscript was copied in CE 1988 from an original palm-leaf manuscript dated CE 1973. The two manuscripts contain identical texts with slightly different word choices. Orthographic mistakes which occur in the original were corrected and retyped in the 1988 manuscript. The text as a whole reminds people to realize their ages, the speed of time flying by and to consider the meritorious deeds which can have a positive impact on their future lives. The manuscripts were made to be used by monks for preaching on birthday celebrations in which liturgical sermons are invited or for any religious preaching that intentionally emphasizes the attention laypeople should pay to the performing of meritorious acts. It has to be emphasized that birthday anniversaries were not widely celebrated in Laos and Thailand during pre-modern times, nor are birthday celebrations as such linked to Buddhist Teachings. The invention of *anisong* texts reflecting on the benefits derived from organizing a birthday party by inviting Buddhist monks, however, is a good example which demonstrates how a formerly non-religious ceremony is Buddhisized through the presence of *anisong* manuscripts, both as carriers of text and physical object.

The original manuscript entitled *Anisong tham bun wan koet* (Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries, code: 06011406005-15, CE 1973) is kept at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram which is situated next to the former Royal Palace and was the seat of the Lao Supreme Patriarch until December 1975 when the 600-year old monarchy was abolished and the Lao People’s Democratic Republic proclaimed⁵⁹. The manuscript was sponsored by the Supreme Patriarch, Sathu Nyai Somdet Pha Sangkhalat Mahathela Thammayan, in CE 1973 and was inscribed by a layman, Acan Wandit Itthi from Vat Khom Salao. The bilingual text was written in the Lao vernacular and in Pali in the Lao version of the Tham script (Th: *tua aksòn tham* ตัวอักษรธรรม). The colophon records the date and the time when the writing of the manuscript was completed, the sponsors, the donors and the expectation of merit gained from the manuscript production:

พระพุทธศักราชได้ ๒๕๑๕ ตัว ปีก่าเป้า เดือน ๙ ขึ้น ๘ ค่ำ ยามกองแลง หมายถึงศรัทธาสาทใหญ่สมเด็จ
พระสังฆราชมหาเถรธรรมญาณ เป็นเค้ามูลศรัทธาได้สร้างธรรมผูกนี้ไว้กับพระศาสนา ขอให้ได้ตั้ง
มโนรถคำปรารภนาของเพิ่นสู่ประการแด่เทอญ นิพพาน ปัจจโย โหตุ อนาคเต กาลे [อา]จารย์วันตีอิทธิ
วัดโคมเสลา เป็นผู้เขียนน้อ

In BE 2515 (CE 1973), a *ka pao* year, on the eighth waxing-moon day of the ninth lunar month⁶⁰ at the time of the sunset drum (*kòng laeng*), [the making of the manuscript was sponsored by] Sathu Nyai Somdet Pha Sangkhalat Mahathela Thammayan, the Supreme Patriarch, to be dedicated to the Teachings of the Buddha. May all his wishes be fulfilled. *Nibbāna paccayo hotu anāgate kāle*. (May this be a condition [for me] to reach Nibbāna in the future). [A]can (teacher) Wandit Itthi from Vat Khom Salao wrote [the manuscript].

⁵⁹ “Until the end of the Lao monarchy in 1975, the Supreme Patriarch (*saṅgharāja*) of Laos resided at Vat Mai, or Vat Si Suvanna Phumaram, a monastery bordering the compound of the Royal Palace” (Grabowsky 2019: 79).

⁶⁰ 1335 Śrāvaṇa 8 = Tuesday, 7 August 1973.

From the given background information it is clear that, for the purpose of gaining meritorious benefits, the manuscript was written by a layman who was respected as a teacher under the venerable monk's sponsorship.

The CE 1988 copied manuscript titled *Anisong het bun wan koet* (code: BAD-13-1-0206) and kept at Vat Saen Sukharam in Luang Prabang was copied from the original manuscript (CE 1973). It was sponsored by another high-ranking monk named Sathu Nyai Khamchan Virachitto (1920–2007), the late abbot of Vat Saen Sukharam. This occurred fifteen years after the original manuscript had been completed; it was typewritten by a monk named Cinna Thammo Phikkhu, who also typed another *anisong* manuscript containing a similar text entitled *Anisong bun wan koet* (Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries, code: BAD-19-1-0137). The typewritten manuscript has no colophon but a long blessing with a dotted-lined blank for filling in the age of a host:

โดยนัยเทศนาบรรพการที่ได้แสดงมา เห็นว่าสมควรแก่เวลา ในโอกาสอันเป็นศุภมงคลนี้ ขอให้ท่าน
เจ้าภาพที่มีอายุครบ [...] ปีนี้ พร้อมด้วยทุกๆ คนที่มาร่วมในบุญนี้ จงเป็นผู้มีปราศจากทุกข์ทั้งปวง
ให้เป็นผู้มีความสุขกายสบายจิต ขนขวายหิตประโยชน์แก่ตนและคนอื่นตลอดสรรพสัตว์ทั้งปวง ได้รื่น
เริงบันเทิงใจ ประกอบคุณงามความดี มีเอื้อเฟื้อเผื่อแผ่เมตตาอารีต่อกัน เฉลิมฉลองวันเกิดของท่าน
ตลอดไปจนชั่วกาลนาน บรรลุถึงพระนิพพานเป็นที่สุดทั่วทุกๆ คนเทอญ เอวัง ก็มีด้วยประการฉะนี้แล

The sermon has now properly ended. On the auspicious occasion may the host who turns the age of [...] in this year and all participants be deprived of all kinds of grief and be delighted with physical and mental happiness. May you all be helpful to yourselves and others to gain happiness, do meritorious deeds, be generous to one another, and forever celebrate your birthdays. May you all attain Nibbāna. So (*evam*) the birthday sermon comes to the end.

The blank space with the dotted line evidently shows that the manuscript was not intended to be used for a certain birthday preaching, but was rather made to be circulated for anybody's birthday as a common use. In the original version the name of the monastery where the manuscript was kept, Vat Mai [Suvanna Phumaram], implies that the manuscript was borrowed and circulated among preachers. The monastery's name is recorded in the ownership statement, emphasizing that borrowers need to return the manuscript after using. Traditionally, liturgical manuscripts were locally circulated since temples possessed limited numbers of manuscripts. The frequent use and wide circulation are reasons why the typewritten manuscript was reproduced as is shown in the following front cover folio:



“For birthday sermons accompanied with merit-making and gift-giving”

Figure 1.39: Statement showing the occasion of manuscript use
Anisong het bun wan koet (Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries)
Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0206, folio 1 (recto), Luang Prabang, CE 1988

During the 1980s and 1990s, for the purpose of supporting monastic and laity educations, Sathu Nyai Khamchan Virachitto, the venerable monk and abbot of Vat Saen Sukharam, published books on Lao Buddhism, including 3,000 copies of *The First Section of Monk Rules*, which used to be hardly accessible and understandable, due to the Tham Lao and Thai scripts in those extant manuscripts. Because of the widespread unfamiliarity of monks and novices with the traditional Tham script, he transliterated the books into the modern Lao script, making these texts on Buddhist monastic discipline more accessible. Even though the text is almost identical to the original one, the script was modernized into the modern Lao script for the purpose of publishing religious books by transcribing and simplifying texts into modern Lao script versions. Thanks to the copying by means of the modern Lao script by a typewriter⁶¹, the text has become more broadly accessible by those who are not able to read the Tham script. Word spellings in the copied version were correctly retyped because the original version is full of orthographic mistakes. Unlike other palm-leaf manuscripts in which texts are read horizontally in scriptio continua, the text in the typewritten manuscript is vertically aligned in three columns but still read horizontally.

⁶¹ “The palm leaves used as writing support for making these manuscripts do not appear to have been prepared according to the tradition. Instead, they were manufactured in a factory. In short, handmade palm leaves are less pliable, thus making it difficult to insert these into a typewriter. This rigidity, moreover, meant that it was easy for these leaves to become broken or damaged during the typing process. The leaves produced by modern machines, conversely, are more flexible and thus more suitable for use with a typewriter” (Bounleuth 2016: 246).



Figure 1.40: Three frames showing the column arrangement
Anisong het bun wan koet (Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries)
 Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0206, folios 1-5 (recto), Luang Prabang, CE 1988

b) Mulberry paper

Mulberry paper manuscripts are frequently found in Laos and southern China. The material is derived from *Broussonetia papyrifera* of the family of *Moraceae* in native Asian areas. The paper sheet was cut into different sizes with various writing template styles. The template could be both vertically and horizontally aligned. The binding is mostly done on the top edge with thick cords combined with a wooden stick to strengthen the whole manuscript. In addition to Tham Lan Na and Tham Lao scripts, the Tham Lü script is often used for writing the texts. Like *anisong* palm-leaf manuscripts, those of mulberry paper manuscripts were also inscribed in both languages: vernacular and Pali. Mulberry-paper manuscripts were made in more recent time since the writing support was easily accessible and needed shorter time to be prepared than in the case of palm-leaf manuscripts.

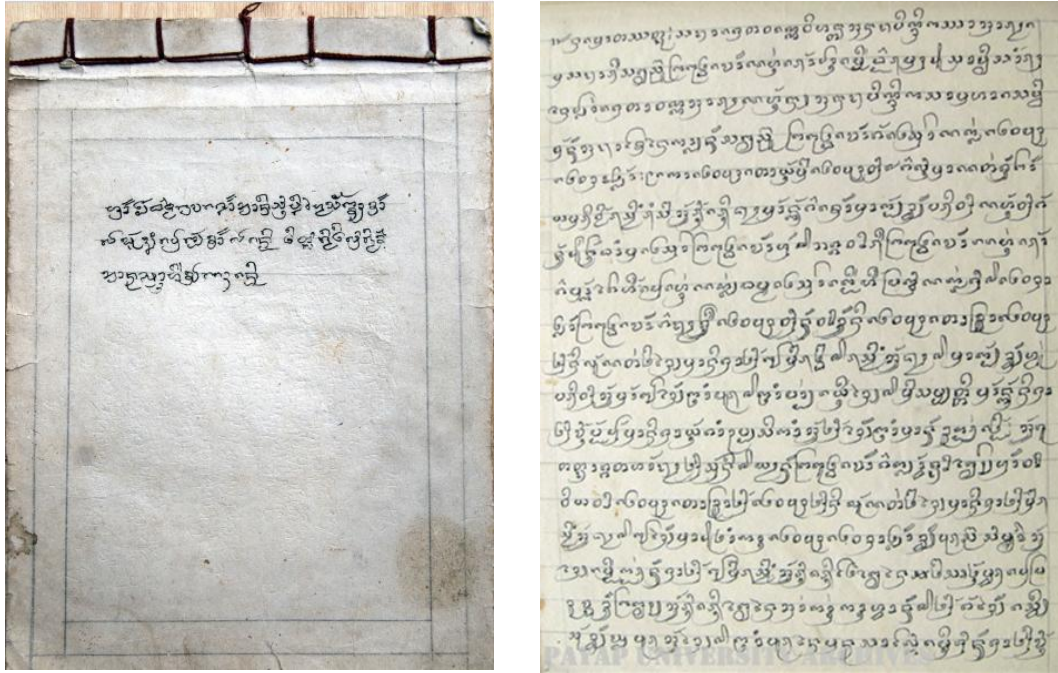


Figure 1.41: Cover page and content of two mulberry paper manuscripts

Left: *Anisong pi mai* (Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year celebration), code: 15.1, side 1
 Right: *Anisong that sai* (Rewards derived from making sand stupas), code: 12.4, side 1

Apiradee (2016) differentiates two book-binding ways of mulberry-paper manuscripts from Sipsòng Panna as follows:

In general, religious texts are mostly incised on palm leaves, whereas secular texts are almost exclusively written on mulberry paper, which is less durable in the humid climate of Southeast Asia. Tai Lü mulberry-paper manuscripts are mostly bound at the top margin of each folio. However, they can also be bound either according to the Chinese book-binding tradition called whirlwind binding (where folded sheets are stacked on top of each other) or as folding books in a concertina format (2016: 37).

Unlike palm-leaf manuscripts, most of which were not made in the same sizes, wooden covers and clothing bags are not applied here for protection due to the inconsistent sizes of paper sheet which could be made in a variety of sizes and shapes. For example, as can be seen in the following pictures, a manuscript currently kept at the National Library of Laos has a half-human size of 130 cm in height. The manuscript contains medical treatises describing how to cure various kinds of illness. At the top edge there is a cord for hanging the manuscript on the wall and users can read it by vertical page turning. Hence, the manuscript certainly served as a family’s first-aid medical treatise. The pagination is always noted in the central top margins. Mulberry paper manuscripts can be written with modern-ink pens.

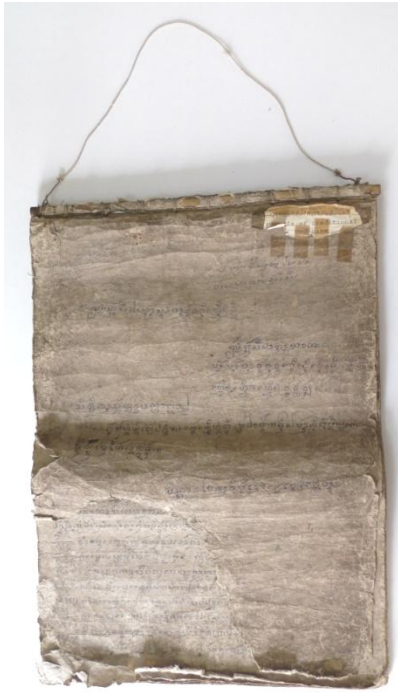


Figure 1.42: Human-sized mulberry paper manuscript kept at the National Library of Laos, Vientiane
 The carrying person is me, the author. I am 156 cm in height.
 Photo by the author, March 9, 2017

(Right) The pink frame shows the titles of individual medical recipes.

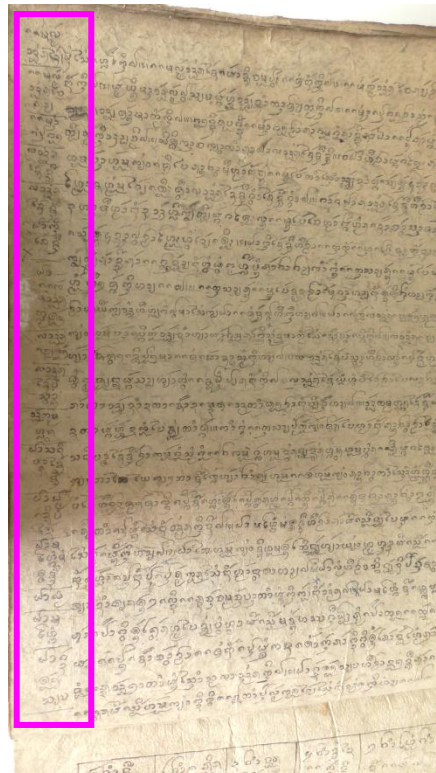


Figure 1.43: Mulberry paper manuscript entitled *Tamra ya* (Medical Treatise)

c) Industrial paper

Modern or industrial paper manuscripts have been made since the late nineteenth century. Texts, corrections and insertions were written with pens and pencils. Thanks to the modern technology of paper mass production, industrial paper was more accessible, thereby being able to respond to increasing paper demands on the market. The texts were written in the Tham Lan Na script, the Tham Lü script and modern Thai and Lao scripts. The paper was sometimes cut into pieces and bound into books with staples, while some were made from industrialized notebooks widely used in communities. Texts in the latter case were written in orientation of notebook templates and, unlike traditional ways of writing manuscripts, above the lines. Manuscripts and inscriptions were traditionally inscribed below the lines until the mid-19th century, corresponding to the period of King Rama III of Siam (1824–1851) when the country was more open to Western influence.

สมัยแรกการวางตัวอักษรจะอยู่ใต้เส้นบรรทัด เช่น จารึกเจดีย์วัดมหาธาตุ จังหวัดสุโขทัย จะปรากฏเส้นบรรทัดเป็นรอยขีดลึกลงไปใ้เนื้อศิลาเป็นแนวทุกบรรทัด ความนิยมเขียนอักษรใต้เส้นบรรทัดมีหลักฐานปรากฏอยู่ตลอดมาจนถึงปลายรัชกาลที่ ๓ แห่งกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ เมื่อรูปแบบการเขียนอักษรโรมันของชาวยุโรปเข้ามาแพร่หลายในประเทศ การเขียนอักษรบนเส้นบรรทัดตามแบบอักษรโรมันจึงเริ่มมีขึ้น และเป็นที่นิยมเรื่อยมาจนถึงปลายรัชกาลที่ ๖ แห่งกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ การเขียนอักษรใต้เส้นบรรทัดก็หมดไป

In earlier periods texts were aligned below the lines; for example, the inscription at the pagoda of Wat Maha That in Sukhothai province shows every line deeply engraved in the stone. The popularity of below-the-line writing evidently occurred until the late period of the reign of King Rama III in the Rattanakosin era in which the Roman alphabetical writing of the European became widespread [in Thailand], resulting in the so far popular Roman style of above-the-line writing. In the late period of the reign of King Rama VI the below-the-line writing died out (Thai Junior Encyclopedia Project 1969: 8).

The page numbers are written centred on the top of the pages. The texts were sometimes written with blue pen showing handwriting traces embossed on the other side; only one side of paper sheet was thus used. Symbols indicating the beginning of the text like palm-leaf and mulberry paper manuscripts were also used. Evidently, the writing technique was adapted in accordance with modern notebook templates (see figures 1.44 and 1.45). There are three types of paper used for making manuscripts: mulberry paper (เจ็ยสา), *khòì* paper (เจ็ยຂ່ອຍ) and modern industrially-produced paper (เจ็ยสะໄໝໃໝ່).

The folded books made of mulberry paper are known in Lao as *phap sa* (ພັບສາ); those made of *khòì* paper are denoted by the term *samut khòì* (ສະໝຸດຂ່ອຍ); and those made of modern paper are called *phap lan* (ພັບຊັ້ນ). The first two types are made from handmade products, whereas the latter is made of industrial material (Bounleuth 2016: 45).

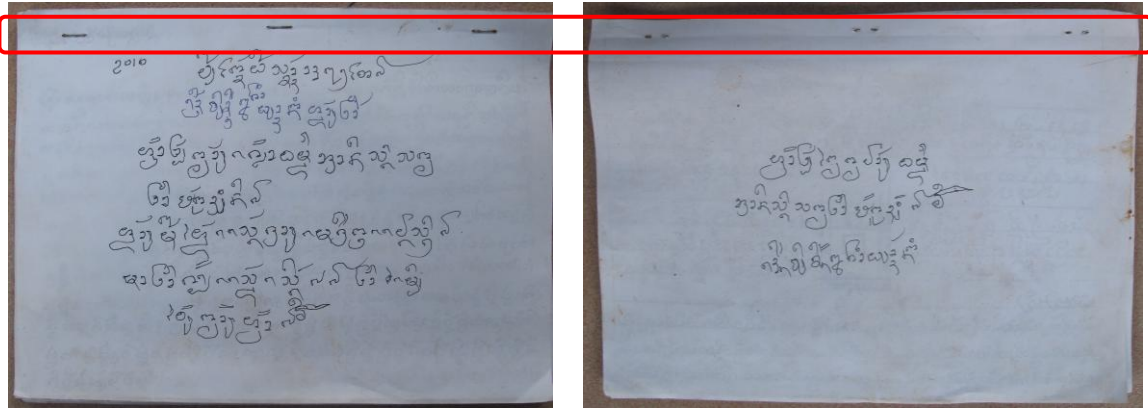


Figure 1.44: Industrial paper manuscript bound with staples
Anisong sapphathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)
 Source: CVG, code: ML.6, sides 1 and 10, Moeng Lòng, year unknown

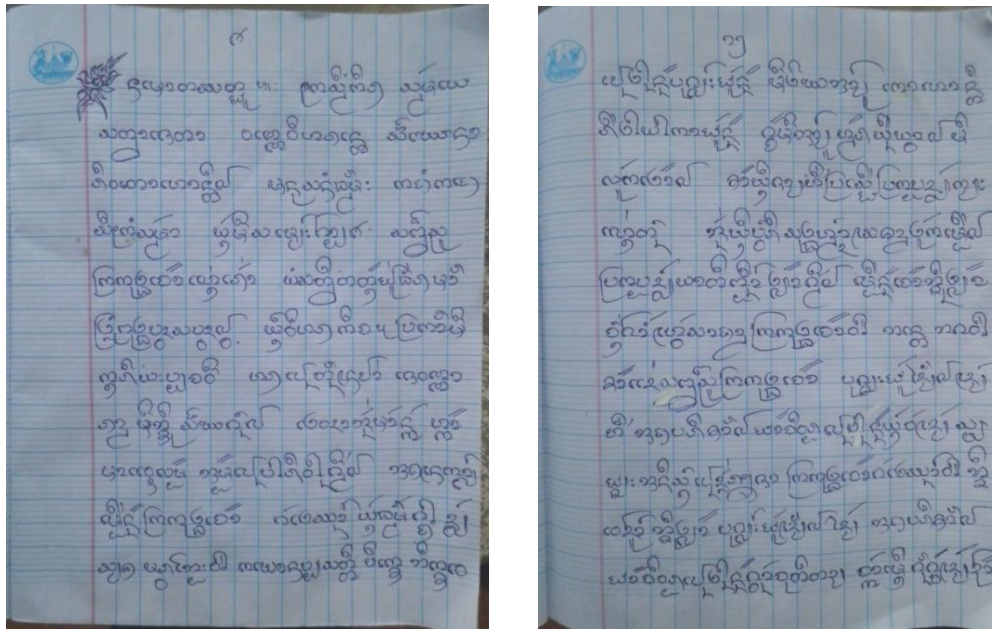


Figure 1.45: Industrial paper manuscript written in a notebook
Anisong sapphathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)
 Source: CVG, code: MS.2013, sides 3 and 14, Luang Namtha, CE 2013

The industrial paper manuscript in Figure 1.45 was written in 2013 on a notebook produced by Sawang Kanphim (Sawang printing), in Vientiane. The company was established in 1987 in Laos. Notebooks for schools are the company’s core products which are still available on the market and purchased by schools for their students. The main monastic school in the monastery of Vat Ong Tü, located in Vientiane, which the author visited, is facilitated with a library supplying textbooks, manuscripts, notebooks and other educational appliances. In the pictures below are the packs of the notebooks in the yellow oval piling up between the shelves; the notebooks are from the same production as the manuscript on the left picture. The widespread usage implies the high accessibility of the notebooks which scribes can employ

for writing manuscripts. In Sipsòng Panna industrial paper manuscripts have been widespread since CE 1980 and certainly have had an influence on the paracontents.

With regard to the layout of Tai Lü manuscripts, we (Grabowsky and Apiradee) observe that Tai Lü manuscripts produced before the Cultural Revolution are usually written in *scriptio continua*, that is, in a continuous flow of letters without the separation of words, sentences and paragraphs. In contrast, manuscripts from the post-1980 period exhibit the influence of modern printed books: many of these later manuscripts contain tables of contents, prefaces, headings and sub-headings followed by new paragraphs (Apiradee 2016: 54).

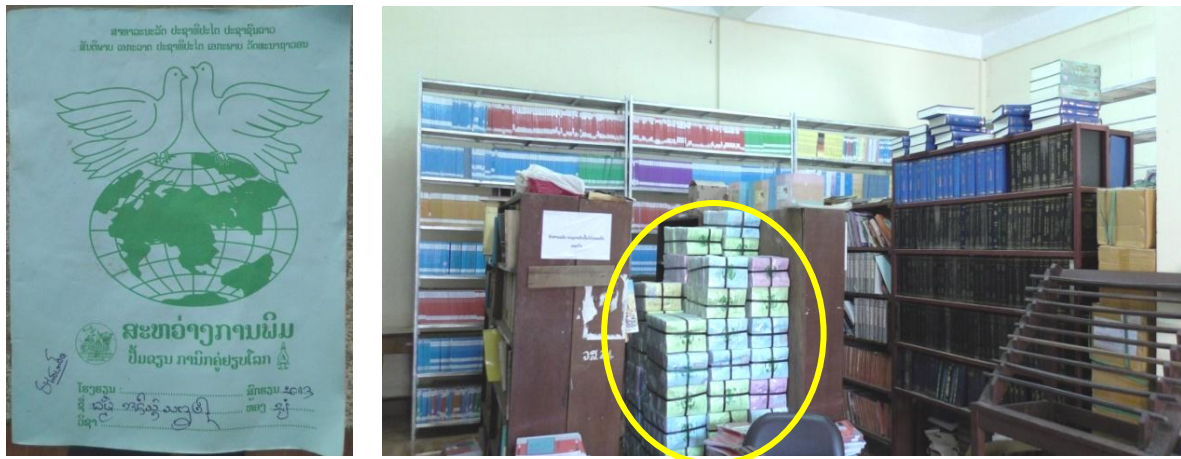


Figure 1.46: The monastic school library of Vat Ong Tü, Vientiane, Laos
Photo by the author during a field research trip to Laos on March 13, 2017

A number of industrial paper manuscripts were produced in concertina-like folded books in the *pothi* format similar to palm-leaf manuscripts. Paper sheets were connected with glue and horizontally folded to imitate the traditional oblong palm-leaf manuscripts. Not only handmade manuscripts but those made by modern printing technologies were also shaped in the *pothi* style, as is shown in the excerpts below.

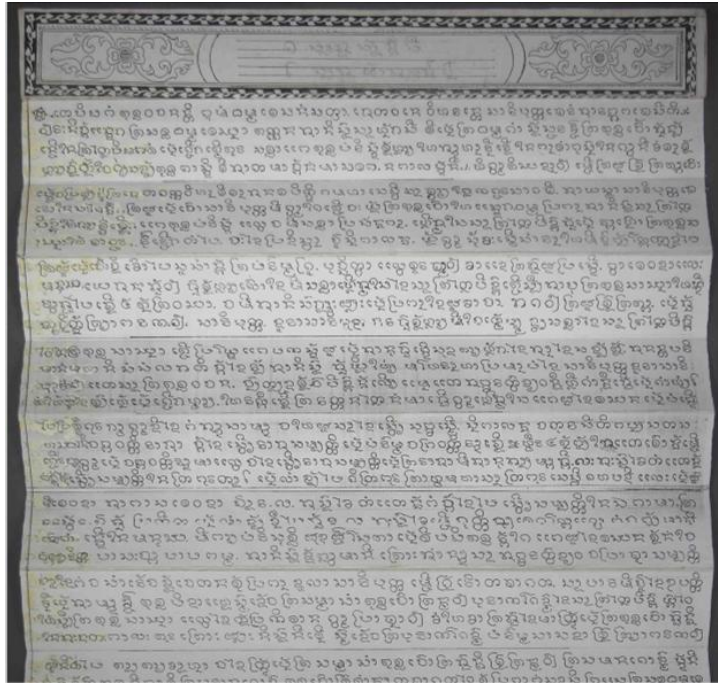
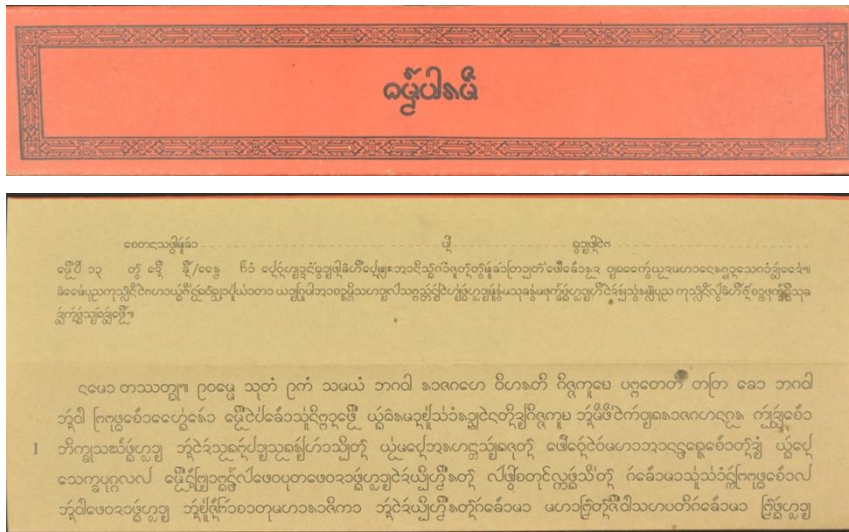


Figure 1.47: Mulberry paper manuscript shaped into the *pothi* format
Multiple-text manuscript containing two *anisong* texts⁶²

Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-031, sides 1–8, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 2004



⁶² The two texts are *Salòng sang nangsü* (Rewards derived from copying religious books) and *Salòng pha ap nam fon* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season).

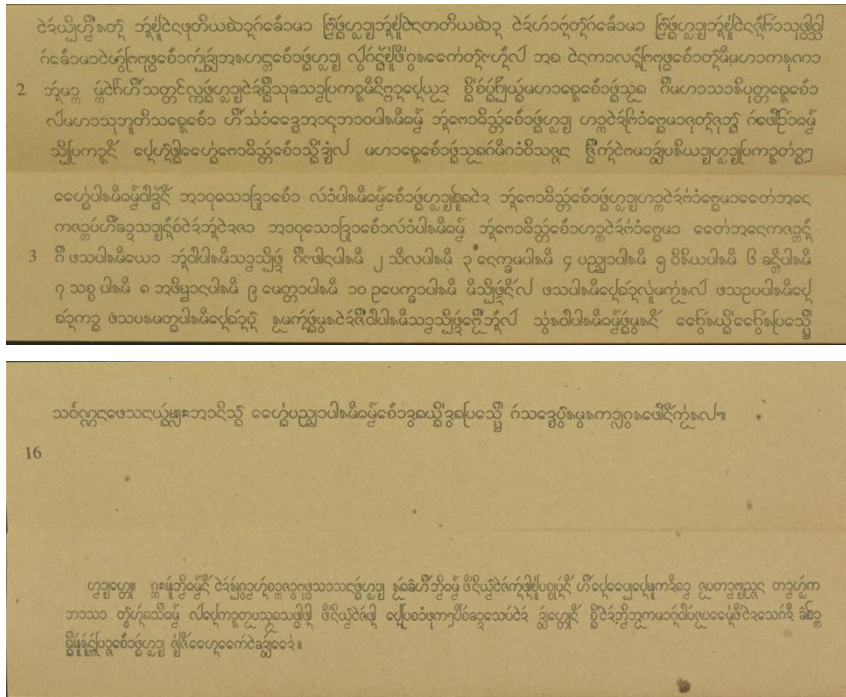


Figure 1.48: Printed mulberry paper manuscript shaped into the *pothi* format *Palami* (Perfections), source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-083, sides 1–5 and 19–20
 Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, year unknown

Anisong manuscripts have been made of different kinds of writing supports and with different tools, from palm-leaf to industrial paper manuscripts, along different periods throughout almost three centuries – from the eighteenth century to the present day. Concerning the studies of manuscript cultures, this phenomenon is regarded as manuscript transformation. The manuscripts were initially made of the most accessible materials: palm leaf and mulberry paper, then of industrial paper in later time. On palm-leaf manuscripts texts were inscribed with a stylus and with inked pens on mulberry paper manuscripts. After industrial paper had been introduced, as a result of modern printing technology, pencils, inked pens as well as typewriters and printers became more widespread. In addition to typing texts on modern paper manuscripts, typewriters, provided merely for modern scripts, can also type texts on palm-leaf manuscripts that require special experts. Manuscript transformation has been caused by the following six reasons:

- 1) The writing support (palm leaves, mulberry paper) became rare.
- 2) Compared to mulberry paper and modern paper manuscripts, the size of the handwriting in palm-leaf manuscripts seems to be rather small. Reading from bigger-sized handwriting is more convenient for giving a sermon.
- 3) Due to the central government’s policy to impose the national scripts, Tham scripts became old-fashioned and thus less people could read and write them. From time to time, the scripts, as a consequence, became less handed down and used; the number of experts who could use the scripts decreased.

4) Along with new writing technologies, industrial paper, pencils and pens became more accessible. The surface of modern paper is smoother, easier and can be written on faster with pens compared to a stylus.

5) For the purpose of preservation, modern paper deteriorates less and is more resistant to insect bites.

6) In order to spread religious texts, handwriting was sometimes replaced with typewriters in places like Luang Prabang where various monks made use of the new technology.

Besides, *anisong* manuscript production has been transformed to respond to current marketing demands. The intentions of manuscript donors are not transformed; they offer the industrial manuscripts to monasteries for the purpose of gaining merit. The intentions of manuscript scribes, or the printing business in this case, however, have completely changed (further details are discussed in Chapter Two, 2.3 Writing Support and Languages).

Compared to palm-leaf manuscripts commonly patterned with similar layouts due to the leaves, mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts have a larger variety of page layouts. Before the emergence of printing technologies, *anisong* manuscripts had been made by the available writing support and tools which influenced the page layouts. Palm leaves, sheets of mulberry paper and sheets of industrial paper were written with a stylus, a pencil or ink, then they were bound into manuscripts with robes or staples. The transformation of *anisong* manuscript page layouts, moreover, sheds light on a gradually less intimate relationship between *Sangha* community and laypeople. But even though modern printing technology has become increasingly responsible for *anisong* manuscript production, the page layouts still remain overall similar to handwritten manuscripts, reflecting the transformation of the materials but not necessarily of stylistic aspects. Yet, *anisong* manuscripts are sometimes written in lined notebooks, thereby causing slightly changed page layouts.

1.3.3 Four Key Factors of *Anisong* Manuscripts

Defined by the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Hamburg University, in the Occasional Paper No. 3 (March 2015), a particular manuscript in a given manuscript culture displays four key factors that shape the characteristics of its content and physical elements. The manuscript content is information conveyed by texts, images and sign systems for a specific purpose in a group or society, while physical characteristics are object media in which the manuscript content is exhibited to the users. Handwritten manuscripts, featured by the inextricably interrelated content and physical elements, are therefore unique, as explained by Wimmer et al: “Such interplay between content and physical characteristics is by no means limited to hand-written books (or alternative formats). In contrast to printed books, however, each manuscript is *unicum* which reflects the choices, preferences, requirements, skills and errors of individual producers, users and owners” (2015: 2). Both content and

physical characteristics of a manuscript are determined by the four key factors: production, use, setting and patterns.

1.3.3.1 Production

Manuscript production can be divided into *production agency* and *production practice*. Sponsors and scribes are agencies of *anisong* manuscript production. Beside typically financial support, sponsors, in order to accumulate merit, could provide a scribe with manuscript writing materials; the social status of the sponsors was not thus limited to a specific group. Trained and experienced in the Tham script, which was used to write religious texts and provided in particular for monastic education, scribes of *anisong* manuscripts were, however, basically monks, novices or disrobed ex-monks. The two different kinds of production agency – sponsor and scribe – illustrate the reciprocal or ‘exchange’ interrelation between the *Sangha* members and laity. To accumulate merit by means of copying religious manuscripts, laity relied on monks or novices who earned alms-food and other supports from them in exchange; or laymen became ordained as monks to be educated in the Tham script in a monastery, reflecting the dependent relationship between Buddhism and laity in which one was not able to survive without the other, as explained by Gombrich (2006: 116) in the following:

The relations between the Sangha and their lay supporters were conceived as reciprocal generosity: the Sangha gave the Dhamma, the laity gave material support, rather disparagingly termed ‘raw flesh’. Naturally the laity were conceived as having much the better of the bargain. In fact, since giving to the Sangha brought them merit, they were favoured by both halves of the transaction. The Sangha could refuse to receive alms from someone by passing a formal act of ‘overturning the alms bowl’ and this was evidently a feared sanction, no doubt because of the public opprobrium. This expectation proves the rule that normally donations had to be accepted.

In many cases especially evidenced in Northern Thailand, *anisong* manuscripts were inscribed or commissioned by monks, novices and laypeople together as a collaborative production. Sometimes *Anisong* manuscripts were also inscribed in veneration of beloved persons; namely, sponsors or scribes expressed their high respect through commissioning religious manuscripts on behalf of the venerated persons, regardless if they were alive or deceased. Having rarely been found in other areas outside the Dhamma script cultural domain, this venerated person is not included in the definition of production agency according to the CSMC Occasional Paper No.3.

In terms of production practice, palm leaves, mulberry paper and industrial paper have been widely employed as writing support. The production practice was basically considered to fit specific decisions in accordance with specific purposes, mostly for meritorious purposes in the case of *anisong* manuscripts. The manuscripts record liturgical texts copied from different sources to aid preaching rituals, to collect various texts and to record sermonic words given

by venerable monks at a big religious event; many of them also resulted from scribal class practices in a monastic school. Viewed from the production perspective, *anisong* manuscripts were not regarded as religiously sacred to an extreme degree which would restrict all commissioners merely to the *Sangha* community; on the contrary, they played a secular role in maintaining a close relation to the laity as well. Industrialized innovation also influenced the production of *anisong* manuscripts especially in the course of the late 19th century in which modern printing technology was introduced to Northern Thai and Lao regions. Unlike printed books, *anisong* manuscripts were partly typed or printed by typewriters and computers with some blank space to be filled in with sponsors' names and meritorious recipients' names that show the manuscripts' uniqueness. The transformation of manuscript production certainly occurred in terms of both content and physical characteristics. Wimmer et al. state that "One obvious factor is the difference in writing supports and writing materials that are available; but practices regarding the same materials can also vary considerably" (2015: 4). As a result of meritorious purposes, a large number of *anisong* manuscripts were produced together with other religious manuscripts or other alms-offerings in dedication to a monastery; *anisong* manuscripts in such a case were part of donation rituals.

1.3.3.2 Use

Manuscript use can be divided into *agency of use* and *practice of use* to investigate two main perspectives of usage – dedication usage and sermonic usage. Regarding dedication uses, in provision of liturgical texts, *anisong* manuscripts were donated to a monastery for religious benefits, thereby being used as meritorious exchange for future rewards. Donors and recipients are considered as agencies of use in this case. While donors give a manuscript as object and text to a monastery, there are two types of recipients – object recipients and merit recipients – for the donation; namely, object recipients are the monasteries and merit recipients are the donors themselves or dead persons indicated by the donors. Interestingly, even though *anisong* manuscripts, evidenced by the paracontents, were in some cases intended for a specific monastery, they were eventually circulated among local temples to serve the need for texts in preaching rituals. The agency of use could therefore be extended to a group, institution and a community. The manuscript, explained by Wimmer et al., "is considered the property of an individual or a group, in others they are the property of an institution or community such as a monastery, temple, or court" (2015: 4).

In sermonic uses, monks are the first agencies of use who orally convey texts in the manuscripts to the second agencies of use, namely the audience. The sermonic use of *anisong* manuscripts is definitely accomplished by the dualistic dependent agencies – preacher and audience – who are themselves in a reciprocal relationship. The manuscripts play a role as textual containers or, with the oblong-shaped *phothi* format, objects referring to the authority of Lord Buddha's Teachings, since the preaching monk holds a manuscript in their hand not necessarily to give a sermon by his own words but to provide a reference to Buddha's

Teachings. In some rare cases of use, however, *anisong* manuscripts were used as records, textual collections and master copies in which the agency of use became more diverse.

1.3.3.3 Setting

The manuscript setting includes all factors that make up the social, economic, cultural, spatial and temporal framework in which a manuscript is produced and used (see Wimmer et al. 2015: 5). Temporal and spatial aspects are the *time* and *space* of a manuscript's production and use; Chapter Two and Chapter Three will thoroughly discuss time and space, along with the social, economic and cultural aspects of manuscript productions. According to this factor of use, *anisong* manuscripts have been used at dedication rituals and preaching rituals to record sermonic words given at special occasions, to collect liturgical texts and to serve as master copies. Temporal aspects of manuscript use are not specifically fixed but instead correspond to institutional or personal intentions. *Anisong* manuscripts were offered by donors to monasteries in dedication rituals to gain merit based on the belief in the upcoming new Buddhist Era and received by monks who blessed the donors in return, reflecting the prevailing Buddhist socio-cultural aspects in Northern Thailand and Laos. In dedication rituals the manuscripts were either given individually or together with other donated alms-offerings; they were valued comparably to the other alms because the commission of an *anisong* manuscript required financial and/or labour supports. A provision of writing materials was considered as a compensation for a lack of financial patronage. In sermonic rituals, the manuscripts could 'convince' the audience of Buddha's Teaching authority, as most *anisong* texts in the manuscripts mention Lord Buddha as the source of the textual stories. The assembled audience listened to the sermons after their meritorious deeds, especially when public or monastic constructions had been done, revealing the social congregation in which local people jointly made merit and got blessed together. Besides, the collaborative construction also illustrated the economic status of Northern Thai and Lao commoners, i.e., that they could not build a public work unless they raised money together to fund the joint construction. Compared to smaller donations or alms-offerings, the people could individually, or with their family members, afford to donate to monasteries.

1.3.3.4 Pattern

Manuscript patterns are divided into *patterns regarding content* (verbal patterns) and *patterns regarding physical characteristics* (visual patterns) which guide producers and readers to use the manuscript appropriately. The patterns are generally fixed in a certain manuscript culture. "Patterns in manuscript," as explain Wimmer et al., "act as keyings or framings in that they structure and guide the production as well as the use of manuscript, enabling, facilitating, encouraging or impeding specific kinds of production and use" (2015: 7). *Anisong* texts are mostly structured with an introductory text and an embedded narrative, aligned in by-line

horizontal reading in scriptio continua, read from left to right and organized in response to the shape of writing supports. The scriptio continua writing is interrupted by spaces of some threading holes in between, while the texts are not interrupted in mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts, since the binding is on either the top or left margin. Page-turning also influenced the characteristics of textual alignment. To serve the reading flow, texts in palm-leaf manuscripts were written in upside-down direction between recto and verso, so that the users could turn the page by flipping each folio in vertical direction. In the case of mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts, the texts were written only on one side of paper because the inked pens used in the manuscripts left inscribed traces on the surface of the paper, being visible on the other side; *anisonḡ* texts were therefore not written in the upside-down direction. The paper sheets were usually bound on the top margin with locally available tools: wood sticks or thread, except for the industrial paper manuscripts made of modern notebooks with the book-binding on the left margin. The book-binding sometimes facilitates appropriate storage of the manuscript in different spatial aspects: to be hanged on the walls, to be folded in a clothing bag, or to be kept with other manuscripts in wooden covers. Hence, the production and use of *anisonḡ* manuscripts determined both the content and physical patterns.

1.3.4 *Anisonḡ* Preaching

Anisonḡ preaching has not yet been investigated in terms of when and how it originated. However, as is evidenced in a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Phutthanipphan* (Buddhanibbāna), written in CE 1820 and kept at Wat Lai Hin in Lampang province, Buddha Gotama delivered an *anisonḡ* sermon to King Litchawi after the food-offering, revealing the tradition of the sermon existing in the Buddha’s lifetime. The following quotation is excerpted from the *Phutthanipphan* manuscript:

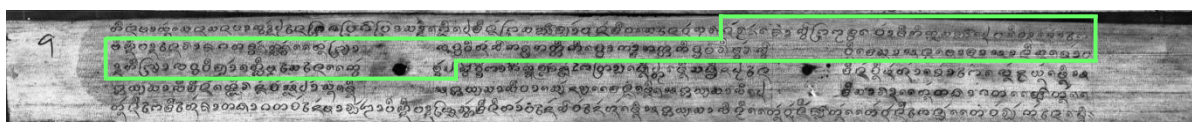


Figure 1.49: Evidence of an *anisonḡ* sermon in the Buddha’s lifetime

ครั้นรุ่งเช้าแล้ว พระพุทธเจ้า มีภิกษุสงฆ์เป็นบริวาร เข้าไปบิณฑบาตในราชคห [...] กลางแห่งพระยาลิฉฉวีทันแล กพภตติ ติจโจ กพภตติ กิจจ บรมวารแล้ว จึงเทศนาอนโมทนาอันสงส์ข้าวบาตรหื้อพระยาลิฉฉวีทั้งหลายเลื่อมใสในแก้วทั้ง ๓

When the sun rose in the morning, Lord Buddha, together with his disciples, was offered food in the centre of [...] of King Litchawi. *Kaḡabhatti ticco Kāḡabhattati kicca*. [After the meal] was finished, [Lord Buddha] praised the kindness [of the food-offering] by giving the king and his relatives an *anisonḡ* sermon [explaining rewards gained from offering alms-food] to grow the religious faith in the Triple Gems.

Phutthanipphan (Buddhanibbāna)

Source: PNTMP, code: ลป 0113011-03, folio 6 (recto), Wat Lai Hin, Lampang, CE 1820

Evidenced by the large number of *anisonḡ* manuscripts that include manifold clues demonstrating sermon activities, which have been produced since the seventeenth century, *anisonḡ* preaching seems to have been rather popular for celebrating accomplished merit on different kinds of occasions, despite the fact that meritorious rewards should be ignored or excluded from merit-making intentions in Theravāda Buddhism. Hence, pure intention is not necessarily accompanied by the desired results, as explained by Heim:

Dāna, according to all formal discussion on it, is not obligated in any way. It does not evoke return from the recipient, and is not premised on a notion of reciprocity and interdependence. [...] Certainly one is to be disinterested in a return from the recipient, but there are other returns possible (2004: 34, 37).

According to the empirical study done by Patrice Ladwig in his doctoral dissertation (2008), in the spring of 2004 in a village in Vientiane he observed a ceremony of inaugurating a new garden located at a temple. There were major donors who were businessmen and who donated a large amount of their money, circa 2000\$ each. Ladwig interviewed one of the businessmen who said that, on the one hand, he made merit for himself and for dedication to his family, while, on the other hand, he considered it as a way to strengthen his power (อำนาจ) and influence (อิทธิพล) which could be profitable for his business [...]. Dāna is in that sense not only a religious activity but also a means of achieving political, economic and social aims (see Ladwig 2008: 92–93).

Anisonḡ sermons are delivered during or after merit-making. All kinds of merit are in need of monks who assist practitioners to accomplish meritorious activities; monks thus function as media involving the secular sphere in the religious or spiritual sphere. Monks *witness* the merit accomplished by laypeople, *transmit* it to be ‘acknowledged’ by the otherworld, where people can be remunerated after they die and even *deliver* it to the spirits targeted by the merit makers. Apart from the afterlife, people are also rewarded with incentives in the present world. Since the merit is witnessed by monks, it ought to be praised as well by monks who are part of meritorious activities and responsible for the realization and transmission of the merit. When reward descriptions, in the act of *anisonḡ* preaching, are given by monks who are considered as representatives of the Buddha and as media between the two worlds, the sermons are perceived as ‘blessings’ given directly by Lord Buddha, accentuating the holiness and existing rewards. *Anisonḡ* texts therefore begin generally with Lord Buddha or one of his disciples who learnt about certain situations in which somebody made specific actions; he was then asked further by disciples for more details about the subsequent meritorious rewards.

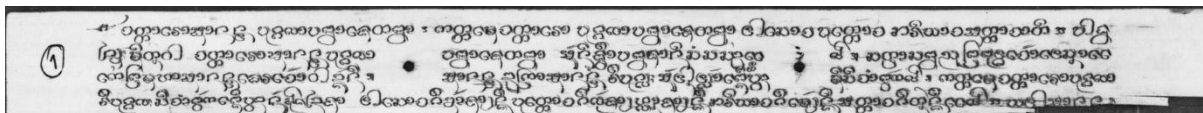


Figure 1.50: Introductory text written in bilingual Pali and vernacular languages

Anisonḡ buāt (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies)

Source: PNTMP, code: ชม 0106002-04, folio 2 (recto), Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai province, CE 1791

จตุตถาโร อานนท ปุคคลาปพพาเขตตพพา กตตเมจจตุตถาโร ปุคคลาปพพาเขตตพพา ทาวสา จ ปุตโต จ ภริยา อตตจาจาติ ปาฬโณย มีตันว่า จตุตถาโรอานนทปุคคลาปพพาเขตตพพา อันนี้ถือว่าปัพพะชานิสังสะ สุตระแล สตถา สัพพญญู พระพุทธเจ้าเทศนาแก่พระมหากานันทเถระเจ้าว่าดังนี้ อานนท ดูราพระ อานนท อันว่าบุคคลอันท่านทั้งหลายพึงบวชมีสี่จำพวกแล

Cattāro ānanda puggalāpabbājetabbā kattame cattāro puggalāpabbājetabbā dāvasā ca putto ca bhariyā attācāti pāḷaneyya (Look! Anantha, there are four kinds of people who deserve being ordained. Who is qualified to be ordained? For example, a man, a son, a wife [and other] persons [in general]). *Cattāro ānanda puggalāpabbājetabbā*. This is called Pabbajānisamsa sutta. *Satthā sabbāññū*. Lord Buddha gives a sermon to monk Anantha as follows. *Ānanda*. Look! Anantha, there are four kinds of people who deserve being ordained.

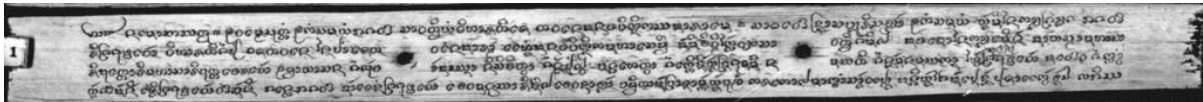


Figure 1.51: Introductory text written in bilingual Pali and vernacular languages
Multiple-text Manuscript containing five *anisonḅ* texts⁶³

Source: PNTMP, code: นน 0906003-00, folio 2 (recto), Wat Na Pang, Nan province, CE 1808

นโมตสสตุถุ เอวเมสุตตํ เอกสมยํ ภควา สวตถึยํ วิหารติ เขตวเน อนาถบิณทิกัสส อารามे สาทโว ดูรา สัพปุริสะทั้งหลาย เอกสมยํ ยังมีในกาลคาบหนึ่ง ภควา อันว่าพระพุทธเจ้า วิหารติ ก็อยู่ เขตวเน ในป่าเขตวันอารามแห่งอนาถบิณทิกมหาเศรษฐี อันมีที่จิมใกล้เวียงสาวตถิกิมิแล อถไซ ในกาลเมื่อนั้น อายสุมา มหาสาริปุตโต มหาสาริปุตระเถระเจ้า อญญาสาสนา ก็ลุกจากอาสนะ นิสิติตวา ก็นั่งอยู่แล้ว ปุคคเหตุวา ก็เลิกขึ้นยังกระพุ่มมือ นมสสติ ก็น้อมนมัสการ ไหว้สัพพัญญูพระพุทธเจ้า อโวจ ก็กล่าวยัง คำอันนี้ ซึ่งพระพุทธเจ้าว่าฉันนี้ ภนเต ภควา ข้าแต่พระพุทธเจ้า เทวมนุสสา อันว่าคนแลเทวดา ทั้งหลาย ปฏฐิตา อันปรารธนามักยังบุญ กรโก และมากระทำให้สร้างแปลง อคคิ ยังไฟอันเป็นดอกภูเขา แก้วทั้ง ๓ ลภิสสติ จักได้ผลอันสงส์เท่าใด

Namotassatthu evam me suttaṃ ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ vihāreti jetavane anāthabiṇḍikassa ārāme sādavo (Paying homage to Lord Buddha, once upon a time, Lord Buddha stayed at the Jetavana forest belonging to a wealthy man [named] Anāthabiṇḍika). Attention, all living-beings. *Ekaṃ samayaṃ*. Once upon a time. *Bhagavā*. Lord Buddha. *Vihāreti*. Stayed. *Jetavane*. At the Jetavana forest belonging to a wealthy man [named] Anāthabiṇḍika in the vicinity of Sāvattthī city. *Athakho*. At that time. *Āyasmā mahāsāriputto*. The Venerable Sariputta. *Uṭṭhāyāsnā*. Left the seat. *Nisiditvā*. [where] he sat. *Puggahetvā*. [and] raised up his hands [in the shape of worship]. *Namassati*. To pay homage to Lord Buddha. *Avoca*. [and] said. *Bhante bhagavā*. Lord Buddha. *Devamanussā*. People and deities. *Paṭṭhitā*. [who] desire to gain merit. *Karako*. And make. *Aggi*. Fireworks to pay home to the Triple Gems. *Labhissati*. How much merit could they gain?

Preceded with introductory narratives given by Lord Buddha, the rewards explained by him can, on the one hand, exhibit the Buddha’s acknowledgement of specific merit. The listeners, on the other hand, are also convinced of the upcoming results because the merit they have

⁶³ The five texts are *Anisonḅ bōk fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of fireworks), *Anisonḅ sang wihan* (Rewards derived from the construction of ordination halls), *Anisonḅ sang prasat hit kuti kudi wihan* (Rewards derived from the construction of monasteries, abodes and monastic halls and the donation of book chests), *Anisonḅ sang hit sai tham* (Rewards derived from the donation of book chests) and *Anisonḅ tam prathip bucha* (Rewards derived from flying lantern balloons or floating banana-leaf vessels).

done is surely acknowledged, confirmed and blessed by him through the mouth of Buddha's representatives, namely, the preaching monks. Laypeople can feel blissful and be proud of their merit, thereby being encouraged to continue doing meritorious practices. In other ways, *anisonḡ* preaching psychologically functions as a promise or guarantee of the desired future outcomes, because, as long as not attaining enlightenment yet, all human beings are more or less bound to their belongings and, basically, disinterest in renunciation hardly transcends one's possessive consciousness. The ritual of *anisonḡ* preaching in which positive outcomes are confirmed to be obtained can somewhat compensate the properties given away and to fulfil the probable feelings of 'loss' when something has been donated. Instead, the loss can be deviated to be a donation, and donation is seen as generosity. Heim explains that the giving ritual is a procedure or etiquette of the gift in which the donor's intentions meet the recipient's status. The giving ritual is a religious aesthetics in which particular manners deployed in giving a gift mark off ideological boundaries.

Yet the ritual of the gift does more than express symbolically religious and more ideals. It also is designed to constitute them, to generate moral agency (that is, the capacity for moral dispositions and action), and also moral subjectivity (that is, awareness of oneself as a moral agent). I argue that ritual was seen to stimulate moral disposition. Formalized gift behaviour was deemed to inspire generosity on the part of the donor and worthiness on the part of the recipient (Heim 2004: 83).

Nowadays, *anisonḡ* preaching is still in practice both in Northern Thailand and Laos. Monks deliver *anisonḡ* sermons – or give blessings by reading *anisonḡ* texts – during or after a merit-making activity. They read the texts from manuscripts or from printed books in the case that manuscripts are not available or that monks have problems with poor eyesight, in accordance with the merit that donors have done. However, a number of new donations or gift-giving have been developed in contemporary periods, some of which have never been done before and thus lack *anisonḡ* manuscripts bearing an explanation of the rewards gained from such donations; but *Anisonḡ sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) can be a solution for such lack. *Anisonḡ sapphathan* (P: *ānisamsa sabbadāna*) manuscripts have usually two textual types: one fascicle containing multiple texts, each of which tells rewards for a certain merit, the other contains one text which does not specifically explain rewards of a particular merit but instead roughly states the goodness and advantages of the merit in comprehensive ways. Thus, the preaching of *Anisonḡ sapphathan* is generally appropriate for preaching on all gift-giving occasions. In the case of new kinds of gift-giving, *anisonḡ* preaching can still be done by means of reading an *Anisonḡ sapphathan* text. The preaching can therefore be adapted to a variety of new donations in response to modernity. Even after looking into a lot of copies of *sapphathan* manuscripts, I could not determine when and for what the *Anisonḡ sapphathan*, which contains the latter *sapphathan* type, is preached, until I accidentally participated in a real *Anisonḡ sapphathan* preaching – my unplanned precious experience – during the research trip to Luang Prabang from February to March 2017, as being shown in the following pictures.



Figure 1.52: Participants are gathering on the ground and preparing the alms-offering at the front row in front of the monks. (February 11, 2017)



Figure 1.53: A sacred thread is being extended from the monks to all participants. They need to hold it during the sermon and blessing, so that the thread can serve as a merit conductor. (February 11, 2017)



Figure 1.54: The preaching monk is reading an *anisong* text for giving an *anisong* sermon. (February 11, 2017)



Figure 1.55: Pha Kham Phai Phasuko, the abbot of Vat Pha Bat Tai, said that the new drum was newly made as the old drum had been broken. In addition, the shelter for the new drum was constructed. Every morning a monk hits the drum to signal the times of waking-up and alms-walking. In collaboration with the local people in the community, the whole construction took one month. He read *Anisong sapphathan* because it explained rewards derived from several kinds of donations (February 11, 2017).



Figure 1.56: Thao (Mr.) Khamhak Wolkhun, a participant in the *anisong* sermon, said that the abbot of the temple had proposed building a new drum and the local people agreed with him, and then they were responsible for it together. After the construction had been finished, they joined to celebrate the completion that day. The purpose of the new drum and the preaching are normally monk tasks.

1.4 Conclusion

Anisong manuscripts have been made of palm leaves, mulberry paper and industrial paper available in different places and times and shaped into several layouts or book formats for the main purpose of ritual usage. From the four key factors characterizing the functions of a manuscript in a particular manuscript culture, *anisong* manuscripts were most significantly influenced by *cultural setting* and *practice of use*, as they originated from the belief in the forthcoming Buddha Maitreya and rewards derived from merit-making in Northern Thai and Lao Theravāda Buddhism. *Anisong* sermons have therefore been delivered at different religious occasions in the two regions for the purpose of giving explanations on meritorious rewards in response to the expectations of merit-makers. As *anisong* manuscripts are associated with production, usage, storage and transmission aspects, each of which is to be viewed through manuscript studies and ritual studies, especially production and usage aspects are in close relation to ritual studies. The manuscripts were written with *anisong* texts to serve preaching rituals at merit-making occasions. Sponsors commissioned *anisong* manuscripts to support religious sermons given by monks. Thus, the Northern Thai and Lao manuscript cultures are deeply imbedded in Buddhist cultural practices.

From the perspective of manuscript studies, *anisong* manuscripts are not only related to written texts, but are also concerned with the sponsors, scribes and owners as well as their intentions and purposes of commissioning or writing the manuscripts. Paratexts and paracontents are thus applied as analytical tools to discern the relationship and role of *anisong* manuscripts that determined the production, usage, storage and transmission and to further interpret and find out different historical, cultural, social and economic aspects. Besides, the manuscripts directly deal with codicology, due to a variety of codicological units – single-text manuscripts (STMs), multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) and composite manuscripts (COMs) – as the corpora of *anisong* manuscripts under study pertain to different

writing materials, book-bindings, scripts and languages. In many cases, several fascicles (*phuk*) of *anison* multiple-text manuscripts have been compiled into a composite manuscript bundle (*mat*), resulting in a bigger codicological unit containing numerous sub-texts. The diverse codicological units of *anison* manuscripts are inextricably involved in ritual usage; this issue will be further explained in the following chapters.

Cultic and discursive functions of *anison* manuscripts shed light on the dualistic significance of the manuscripts as ‘texts’ and ‘objects’. The two elements are treated differently in terms of production, transmission and ritual usage. Namely, *anison* texts are in general more focused on the production process and transmission, whereas, evidenced by various events in which preaching monks delivered an *anison* sermon by heart but held a palm-leaf manuscript in their hands, *anison* is not merely seen as a sermonic text written in a manuscript but can also represent a sermonic activity in religious rituals. In terms of ritual usage, *anison* manuscripts are used in different kinds of rituals which can be similarly categorized by Bell’s tools (2009): life-cycle rites, calendrical and commemorative rites, and rites of exchange and communion. Even though the production process of *anison* manuscripts excluded rituals of writing, intentions to write the manuscripts were especially concerned with dedication rituals.

Regarding preaching rituals, *anison* manuscripts are part of the events as both text containers and as a tool to authorize the Buddha’s Teachings, to convince the audience of the great upcoming rewards, ‘confirmed’ by Lord Buddha. An *anison* sermon is held in a certain ‘framing’ (Handleman: 2005) composed of time, space and position alignment of preacher and audience. During the sermonic event, holding a manuscript in the preacher’s hands thus symbolizes the words or teachings given directly by Lord Buddha; thus, an ordinary act (holding a manuscript) done at a specific time and in a specific space (preaching rituals) carries a special meaning (Rappaport: 1999). Actions of ritual are developed from ordinary actions that are deliberately exaggerated and sometimes repeated as a ‘tool’ to communicate or say something. In addition, the manuscript holders are monks or novices who as descendants of Buddha Gotama are regulated to observe more precepts than laypeople; when they give *anison* sermons this can comparatively be perceived or ‘believed’ as being directly blessed by the Buddha. The ritual of *anison* sermons is thus defined by Schechner (2015) as a religious ritual, out of his other two ritual genres – human ritual and social ritual.

To sum up, *anison* preaching is regarded as a ‘mark of completion’ at merit-making occasions in which the fact and the act of merit-making are clearly distinguished, according to Leach (2001) who explains rituals as a form of symbolism to communicate aspects relevant to power in society without words. Unlike ordinary actions achieved to *do* something, the actions become rituals if they *say* something. The merit has been completely accomplished (fact), then an *anison* sermon is given to ‘mark’ or show the merit-making completion (act); i.e., the merit-making can be achieved without *anison* sermons. The preaching is thus considered as a public announcement of what has been done, which rewards

are to be expected and who would receive them, which is in accordance with Michaels' explanation (2006) of functional theories of rituals.

According to Schechner (2015), the following four perspectives provide us with a better understanding of rituals: structure, function, process and experience. An *anisong* preaching ritual is *structured* by a specific time, space, preacher and audience, which is related to the consideration of Rappaport (1999) who defines rituals as a set of relations among a number of general but variable features included with logical properties. The sermon *functions* as a marker of the completion of merit-making, a confirmation of meritorious rewards and a public announcement. The sermon is held in a similar *process* within 15–20 minutes after a meritorious deed. The sermonic audience has the common *experience* of being blessed by Lord Buddha and appreciated by others who are irrelevant to the merit but join the sermon. Especially in the case of donor groups, as explained by Durkheim (1999), a rite is practised by a group of people who share a common faith. To achieve an identical goal, they gather at a certain place and act in proper ways, resulting in a social congregation.

Chapter 2

Anisong Manuscripts in Northern Thailand (Lan Na)

2.1. Historical Background and Manuscript Culture

Within a period of two and a half centuries, the kingdom of Lan Na developed a prospering Buddhist civilization in upper mainland Southeast Asia. It emerged with the founding of Chiang Mai (lit: “new royal city”) in 1296, four years after King Mangrai¹ had conquered the Mon kingdom of Hariphunchai (present-day Lamphun) in 1292 and united his northern core area in the Kok river valley (around present-day Chiang Rai and Chiang Saen) with the Ping-Kuang river basin further to the south. Lan Na remained an independent polity until the ambitious rulers of the Burmese Toungoo dynasty² conquered Chiang Mai, weakened by decades of internal strife, in 1558.

The term *lan na* (ล้านนา) literally means ‘a million rice fields’ which can be interpreted as a metaphor for a wide and fertile country. In present-day usage – among scholars as well as ordinary people – the term refers to the eight provinces of Thailand’s upper northern region, namely, the provinces of Chiang Mai, Lamphun, Lampang, Chiang Rai, Phayao, Phrae, Nan and Mae Hong Son. However, the historical kingdom of Lan Na comprised at certain times a much larger territory. After the incorporation of the former independent Tai principalities of Phayao (in 1338), Phrae (in 1443) and Nan (in 1449), the political and military influence of Lan Na expanded further to the north and in the second half of the sixteenth century the kingdom’s territory comprised also the Tai Khün state of Chiang Tung (Kengtung) and other “Shan” areas east of the Salween river, as well as the Tai Lü principality of Sipsòng Panna in southwestern Yunnan and areas in present-day northwestern Laos. Further to the south were the provinces of Uttaradit and Tak whose inhabitants belonged partly to Lan Na with half of their inhabitants still speaking the Northern Thai language called Kam Müang or Tai Yuan.

¹ King Mangrai was born in 1239 in Ngoen Yang city and was a son of his father Phaya Lao Meng and his mother Nang Thep Kham Khai who was a daughter of Thao Rung Kaen Chai from Chiang Rung city. King Mangrai was the twenty-fifth king of the Lao Cong dynasty ruling Ngoen Yang city in 1261 and successfully founded the Kingdom of Lan Na (see Sarasawadee 2010: 116).

² The first Toungoo dynasty was founded in central Burma, located in the middle of Paungluang or the Sittang River between the Irrawaddy and Salween rivers. “It was considered as a border city between upper Burma, lower Burma and the Kayah and the Shan plateau. Its geographical setting did not allow Toungoo to be a strategic center for expanding her power over those in the well-irrigated areas of upper Burma, ports in lower Burma or for control of the riverine communication and transportation along the Irrawaddy River. However, while not being a strategic area, during the region of Mingyinyo (r. 1485–1531), the founder of the Toungoo dynasty, Toungoo became a refugee center sheltering Burmese rulers and people fleeing from the Shan Mohnyin invasion of Ava and upper Burma. The continuing fights of refugees made for a rapid growth of Toungoo city during the Mingyinyo reign” (Surakiat 2006: 17).

Marked by natural borders and surrounded by powerful neighbouring polities, Lan Na occupied a vast land stretching to present-day Laos, Myanmar and southern China, which constitutes the Dhamma (Tham) cultural domain (which will be discussed in this chapter) and a unique Buddhist monastic culture. Smaller *müang* or polities in the region were in close relationship, generated from kinship (and family relations). Far from being a unified or even centralized state, Lan Na rather resembled a federation of autonomous or even semi-independent *müang*; its administrative structure may be characterized by three different zones: a core region around Chiang Mai, Lamphun, at times extending up to Chiang Rai and Chiang Saen, an outer zone, and – at the periphery – the autonomous vassal *müang*, ranging from the most direct to the least direct control by the king. The vassal *müang* was thus ruled by local families who were still connected to Chiang Mai by kinship, as was the case for Chiang Tung whose ruling house, a branch of the Mangrai dynasty, stayed in power without interruption until 1962³. On the other hand, the first two types were under direct control of the king himself or members of the royal family, as is explained by Grabowsky as follows:

The territory marked by the Salween (in the west), the Mekong (in the east), by Tak (in the south) and Chiang Rung (in the north) corresponds *cum grano salis* to the main regions of settlement of the tribal relatives of the Tai Yuan, Tai Khün and Tai Lü, and also to the main regions of distribution of the Dharma script as well as Buddhist monastic culture, which certainly relies on that script. Hence Lan Na was above all, and in particular, a cultural concept rather than a firmly connected political unit. Lan Na consisted of a few large and many smaller *müang* (polities), which were connected via intricately knitted relationships with one another and with the capital. The tightness and stability of relationships depended on several factors: size of population, economic potential, geographical location, historical characteristics, and kinship relation of each individual *müang* (Grabowsky 2005: 4).

Geographically speaking, Lan Na can be divided into a western and an eastern region. Western Lan Na, comprising Chiang Mai, Lamphun, Lampang, Chiang Rai and Phayao belonged politically to Lan Na since the early Mangrai dynasty, while Phrae and Nan in the east had emerged as independent polities closer to the Sukhothai kingdom than to Chiang Mai, but they were incorporated later during the reign of King Tilokarat in 1443 (Phrae) and 1449 (Nan), respectively (see Sarasawadee 2006: 29).

During the Mangrai dynasty (1296–1558), Theravada Buddhism became widespread due to the effort of King Küna (1355–1385) in 1369 who invited Phra Sumana Thera, a venerable

³ Chiang Tung was considered as an important ally of Myanmar throughout monarchical history and as a political and commercial centre because it is located within the conterminous border connecting Laos, China and Northern Thailand. “As an autonomous ruler,” as explains Aung (2015), “Kyaing Tong (Chiang Tung) *sawbwa* had to deal with the judicial, financial and security matters. With the exception of contributing levies in the Myanmar’s king warfare against Ayutthaya, Kyaing Tong did not need to contribute levies for any war even in the outbreak of Anglo-Myanmar Wars. The special privilege of Kyaing Tong *sawbwa* was not need to pay taxes except annual tribute. During colonial period, the political and economic importance of Kyaing Tong was more prevalent. The British government recognized Kyaing Tong as the subordinate alliance and autonomous status was granted to successive *sawbwas*. With the exception of the rule of a British political agent in 1937, the rule of *swabwas* was not interrupted to the end of their hereditary right in 1962” (Aung 2015: 11).

monk from Sukhothai, to stay at Wat Suan Dòk (Wat Buppharam)⁴ in Chiang Mai in 1371 and strengthen the Buddhist religion in Lan Na. The Golden Age of Lan Na in the second half of the fifteenth and first two decades of the sixteenth centuries is characterized not only by territorial expansion and political consolidation but also by a thriving Buddhist culture, notably during the long reign of King Tilokarat (1441–1487). The World’s Eighth Buddhist Dhamma Council (Th: *sangkhayana*; P: *saṃgāyana*) – though nowadays not officially recognized as such – was hosted in 1477 at Wat Maha Photharam or Wat Cet Yòt. Buddhists from all over the Theravada world convened here to discuss revisions of the Buddhist canon. Indeed, during this period often called the “golden age” (*yuk thòng*) of Lan Na, Chiang Mai was considered the most advanced centre of Buddhist monastic scholarship and the most expansive and solidified political power. “The Golden Age,” as states Veidlinger, “presided over by Sam Fang Kæn, Tilaka (1441–1487), Yot Chiang Rai (1487–1495) and Muang Kæo (1495–1526), witnessed the composition of dozens of original Pali works, including pseudocanonical, cosmological, and commentarial works [...]” (2006: 3). Buddhism became substantially promoted again during the reign of King Phaya Kæo (1495–1525) when a large number of monolingual Pali Buddhist literary works were composed by learned monks: *Cāmadevivamaṃsa* (จามเทวีวงศ์)⁵, *Jinakālamālīpakaraṇaṃ* (ชินกาลมาลีปกรณ์)⁶, *Samkhyāpakāsakapakaraṇaṃ* (สังขยาปกาสกปกรณ์)⁷, etc. The oldest dated manuscript in Lan Na was written during this reign.

The manuscripts from the north of Thailand constitute the oldest extant cache of Pali manuscripts from Southeast Asia. The earliest available Pali manuscript in the Lan Na Dhamma script is a fragmentary Jātaka dealing with previous lives of the Buddha (SRIcat-1; 17; 18; 19); it comes from Wat Lai Hin and bears the date CS 833 (1471 CE) (Veidlinger 2006: 104).

During the two centuries of Burmese rule (1558–1774), the kingdom of Lan Na disintegrated. The Mangrai dynasty in Chiang Mai came to an end in 1578 and the various *müang* were ruled by Tai governors who were installed and supervised by Burmese military commanders

⁴ “In the late 1360s the Lan Na king Kü Na invited the monk Sumana from the central Thai capital of Sukhodaya to bring a Singhalese forest-dwelling monastic lineage to Lan Na. Sumana did arrive shortly thereafter, and this event laid the seeds for the flourishing of the Mahāvihāra interpretation of Theravāda Buddhism in the kingdom. This order soon became known as the flower-garden order (*pupphārāmvāsī*), because their chief monastery was the Flower Garden Monastery (Wat Suan Døk) just outside of Chiang Mai” (Veidlinger 2006: 3).

⁵ “The CDV was composed at Haripuñjaya in the first part of the fifteenth century, probably around 1410 CE (CDVe, xxvi), by Bodhiramsi Mahāthera, who was also the author of a Pali chronicle about one of the most important Buddha images in Thailand, the Sīha Buddha (otherwise known as Phra Buddha Singh)” (ibid. 2006: 11).

⁶ “The JKM, on the other hand, is the work of the *araññavāsī* Ratanapañña Mahāthera, who composed it at Wat Pa Dæng in Chiang Mai between 1516 and 1528 CE. The JKM is based on various sources, some from Sri Lanka and others from Thailand, most likely including the MV, CDV, and the Tamnan Mūlasāsanā from Wat Suan Døk (MS)” (ibid. 2006: 11).

⁷ *Samkhyāpakāsakapakaraṇaṃ* is a calculation treatise and was composed by Yanawilat Thera before CE 1520 (see Bunna 1980: 10–11)

(*sitké*). The administrative centre of Burmese dominated Lan Na gradually shifted to the north and since the beginning of the eighteenth century Chiang Saen, situated on the right bank of the Mekong, became the main administrative and military centre from where the Burmese controlled the whole Mekong-Salween river basin. Tai minorities in the north were targeted by Burma and, closely bound by kinship relations and conterminous borders, they were politically supported by Lan Na. Following a number of uprisings in Lan Na, the Burmese intensified their repression since the 1750s, also seeking to impose the Burmese culture and ways of life on the Tai peoples in former Lan Na, and this policy of suppression even reached to Lan Sang (Laos). Until the end of the Burmese rule, religious palm-leaf manuscripts written in the Tham Lan Na script were scarcely made due to the fact that the local Tham Lan Na script was gradually replaced by the Burmese script; this will be further discussed in this chapter (2.4 Time and Space of *Anisong* Manuscript Productions). Only twenty-one extant *anisong* manuscript-fascicles in Lan Na were produced until the end of the eighteenth century (see Chart 2.2 on page 141); the earliest *anisong* manuscript in the research corpus was inscribed in 1666⁸.

Since the 1770s, the Tai Yuan elite of southwestern Lan Na – in the region of Lampang, Lamphun and Chiang Mai – eventually aligned itself with a resurgent Siam under King Taksin of Thonburi to liberate their country from Burmese rule. This struggle started in 1775 with the liberation of Chiang Mai and ended three decades later with the conquest of Chiang Saen by a joined military effort by armies from Bangkok, Chiang Mai, Nan and Vientiane (Sarasawadee 2010). Lan Na under Siamese domination was no longer an independent kingdom as under the Mangrai dynasty but a cluster of five principalities, each of which entertained its own tributary relations with Bangkok. Whereas Phrae and Nan were ruled by their own dynasties, the principalities of Chiang Mai, Lamphun and Lampang were ruled by Kawila, the former ruler of Lampang, and his six brothers, later by their descendants. Therefore, the Kawila dynasty has sometimes also been called *trakun cao cet ton* (ตระกูลเจ้าเจ็ดตน) or “dynasty of the seven princes”. In order to rebuild the shattered administration and economy of a largely depopulated country, Kawila and the other Lan Na princes carried out a policy of *kep phak sai sa kep kha sai müang*, a metaphor literally meaning “collecting plants to [be kept] in a basket, gathering people to [be kept] in the polity”, a strategy explained by Grabowsky as follows:

At the beginning of Kawila’s reign, the weak population base was the biggest obstacle to the final expulsion of the Burmese from Lan Na and the reconstruction of Chiang Mai as the country’s political and cultural centre. However, little by little people were returning from their jungle hideouts to their former villages in the deserted basins of the Ping, Kuang and Wang rivers. Kawila also persuaded a group of former Chiang Mai residents who had fled to Müang Yuam (Mae Sariang) in the early 1760s to come back. Furthermore, the chronicle reports that in early 1785 natives of Rahaeng (Tak) and Thoen, who had sought

⁸ The earliest *anisong* manuscript in Lan Na is *Anisong buat* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies, code: สป 0306004-05, Lampang province) which is kept at Wat Hang Chat and is combined with other non-*anisong* manuscript fascicles as a composite manuscript.

shelter in Siam some twenty years before, were given permission by the King to return to their places of origin. King Rama I (of Siam) made Tak and Thoen dependencies (*müang khün*, เมืองขึ้น) of Chiang Mai. However, the severe losses of population caused by war, famine and epidemics could hardly be compensated for by voluntary immigration and natural increases (Grabowsky 1999: 53).

The five principalities of Lan Na governed by their local rulers finally became incorporated into Siam after the second Chiang Mai treaty of 1883 and King Chulalongkorn's administrative reforms of 1892. Since then the region was known as the “northwestern administrative circle” (Th: *monthon phayap*) which existed until the early 1930s; since then Chiang Mai and the other *müang* in Lan Na became Thai provinces ruled by the Ministry of Interior in Bangkok (Sarasawadee 2010).

Palm leaf was the most widespread writing support used to copy religious as well as secular literature. Palm-leaf manuscripts are much older than mulberry paper manuscripts; the earliest dated mulberry paper manuscript found in Lan Na is an astrology treatise (Th: *horasat* ตำราโหราศาสตร์) from Mae Hòng Sòn province and was written in CE 1818 (CS 1180) (<http://lannamanuscripts.net/en>) (PNTMP, code: มส 0718001-00, Wat Kam Kò). As a result of the Eighth Buddhist Canon Revision in the reign of King Tilokarat (1441–1487), Buddhist education in the reign of King Müang Kaeo (1496–1526) flourished, the monks became well-trained in Pali canonical texts (*Tipiṭaka*) and the kingdom of Lan Na was praised as the period of the most skilful Buddhist monks. The Tham Lan Na script was widely used to inscribe religious texts and was therefore taught in its entirety. The script spread to Lan Chang kingdom and developed further into the Tham Lao or Tham Isan script in the northeastern Thai areas, to Chiang Tung including its colonial cities, to Sipsòng Panna and to Tai Yai. The Tham Lü script used by people in Sipsòng Panna was consequently developed from the Tham Lan Na script (see Grabowsky 2011).

The earliest evidence of the Tham script is a Pali inscription written in 1376 from Sukhothai province, and the earliest evidence of the Tham script used for writing a vernacular Northern Thai text was written in 1465 on the pedestals of a Buddha image at Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai province. Since the late sixteenth century, the Tham script eventually replaced the other two scripts – Fak Kham script and Thai Nithet script – used for writing secular texts and the script was widespread in the Upper Mekong region (see Grabowsky 2008: 16–17).

Founded in 1683, Wat Lai Hin⁹ is located in Lampang province and renowned for a famous manuscript collection. The venerable monk Mahathera Kesarapanyo played a significant role in copying and collecting palm-leaf manuscripts which survived the late-fifteenth to the early-seventeenth centuries; he was motivated by the political instability which caused a great loss of literate culture in the Northern Thai regions, as is explained by Veidlinger in the following:

⁹ The monastery was built by a prince of Kengtung who acknowledged the exceptional ability of the venerable monk Mahathera Kesarapanyo who made him realize that the ability of transmitting the Dhamma was the true value of a monastery (see McDaniel 2009: 133).

He collected Pali manuscripts from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries, perhaps motivated by the loss of literate culture that he perceived occurring all around him. Besides collecting older manuscripts, Kesārapañña himself copied or personally sponsored no less than eleven manuscripts, all of which were mixed Pali/vernacular explanatory texts known as *vohāra*. There are also a number of Pali manuscripts in the Lai Hin collection from the scarce years, such as a *Paritta* from 1677 CE, a *Thūpavaṃsa* from 1722 CE, a *Vessantara Jātaka* from 1714 CE, one *Pārājika* from 1693 CE and one from 1711 CE, a *Pācittiya* from 1716 CE, a *Vinaya Mahāvagga* from 1754 CE, and a *Cullavagga* from 1755 CE (2006: 138).

Thanks to his outstanding contributions, a number of palm-leaf manuscripts have been kept until today at the monastery museum, including the oldest dated manuscript found in Northern Thailand, i.e., as already mentioned, the fragmentary *Jātaka* manuscript written in CE 1471. In the case of *anisong* manuscripts, however, they have not been found at Wat Lai Hin where 383 manuscripts are archived; all 199 dated manuscripts are from the period 1471–1961 (<http://lannamanuscripts.net/en>).

From the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, the production of palm-leaf manuscripts considerably increased in Phrae province thanks to the fact that the venerable monk Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi (Kañcana Araññavāsi) worked on several religious projects, especially manuscripts (collection, copying and revision) during the years 1826–1878 when religious manuscripts were copied on a large scale (see more in Chart 2.2, Number of *anisong* manuscript-fascicles in Lan Na (the 17th–20th centuries), on page 141). In 1833 he joined the Buddhist Canon revision in Nan province. In addition to gathering and copying manuscripts, he also copied a Buddhist canon manuscript and dedicated it at Vat Visun in Luang Prabang, Laos, in 1836, revealing the close religious relationship between Northern Thailand and neighbouring Laos; his life and contribution will be further discussed in this chapter.

Regarding the Lao manuscript culture in the earlier period (17th–18th centuries), investigated by McDaniel (2009: 130), vernacular commentaries, glosses and translations were popular. The orthography, rhetorical style, commentarial services and physical features are closely related to those in Northern Thailand in a later period, which can be seen as ‘products’ of a cohesive textual and educational community; the manuscript culture restoration in Northern Thailand by the effort of the Venerable Khruba Kancana was thus influenced by the earlier manuscript culture in Luang Prabang¹⁰, as evidenced by the following quotations derived from two inscriptions found in Nan province (Northern Thailand) and Luang Prabang (Laos); the first is a stone inscription kept at the provincial museum in Nan and says:

จุลศักราชได้ ๑๑๙๕ ตัว ปีก่าไส้ ยังมีพระมหาเถรเจ้าตน ๑ ชื่อกัณฐจนะอรัญญวาสี (อยู่) เมืองแพร่ เป็นเค้า
และศิษย์เจ้าทั้งมวล จรเดินเทศมาเมืองแพร่ หนบัจฉิมทิศเข้าถึงเมืองน่านที่นี่ แล้วจึงได้นำเอานาบุญขึ้นเทิง
ศรัทธาทายใน ภายนอกทั้งมวล

¹⁰ “This indicates that the ‘revival’ of northern Thailand’s literary tradition in the early to mid-nineteenth century, which is largely attributed to Kañcana, is directly connected to the Buddhist literary tradition that had been nurtured in Luang Prabang in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries” (McDaniel 2009: 131).

ศรัทธาภายในมีพระสังฆเจ้าเมืองน่านที่นี้ ศรัทธาภายนอกมีเจ้าเมืองน่านที่นี้เป็นค้ำ และอุปราชา ราชวงศ์
เจ้านายทั้งมวล พร้อมกันสร้างยังอักขระธรรมคัมภีร์ไตรปิฎกทั้งมวล ไว้โชดกพุทธศาสนา ๕๐๐๐ พระวรวงษา
แล สรรวมธรรมทั้งมวลอันได้สร้างนี้ เป็นธรรมร้อยปลาย ๔ สิบ ๒ มัด จัดเป็นผูกได้พันปลาย ๖ ร้อยปลาย ๓
ผูกแล (...)

In CS 1195, a *ka sai* year (AD 1833/34), there was a venerable Abbot named Kañcana Araññāvāsī at Müang Phrae along with all his disciples coming from Müang Phrae, which lies in western direction, and arriving here in Nan. He created a field of merit. The principal monastic and lay supporters [were as follows]:

The principal monastic supporter (*sattha phai nai*) was the Supreme Patriarch of Müang Nan. The principal lay supporters (*sattha phai nõk*) were the king of Müang Nan, along with the viceroy (*upalasa*), the *latsawong* and all noblemen (*cao nai*). They joined in copying a complete set of the Tipitaka (the Buddhist canon) illuminating the Teachings of the Buddha to last [until the end of] 5000 years. The total set of the Dhamma Scriptures copied (literally: made) comprised 142 manuscript bundles (*mat*) or 1,603 palm-leaf fascicles (*phuk*).¹¹

The second is also a stone inscription and was discovered in Vat Visun in Luang Prabang in CE 1887. The inscription is kept at the ordination hall of the monastery and says:

จุลศักราชได้ ๑๑๘๘ ตัว ปีรวายสัน ยังมีพระมหาเถรเจ้าตนหนึ่งชื่อว่า กัญจนะอรัญญวาสี (อยู่ที่) เมืองแพร่
เป็นค้ำ และศิษย์เจ้าทั้งมวลจรเดินทางแต่เมืองแพร่ (ของไทย) ยวน หนบัจฉิมทิศ เข้ามาถึงเมืองหลวงพระ
บางล้านช้างที่นี้ แล้วก็ได้นำเอานาบุญขึ้นถึงเจ้าเมืองหลวงพระบางตนชื่อว่ามังธาเป็นค้ำ และ (เจ้า)ราชวงศ์
เมืองหลวงพระบางเป็นประธาน พร้อมกันสร้างยังอักขระธรรมคัมภีร์ไตรปิฎกทั้งมวล ไว้โชดกพุทธศาสนา
๕๐๐๐ พระวรวงษา แลได้ฉลอง (พระไตรปิฎกใหม่ในวันดังกล่าวคือ) ในเดือนเพ็ญ ๔ เม็ง (ว่า) วันอังคาร ไทย
(ว่าวัน) ก่าไถ่ จึงแล้วบวรมวลวันนั้นแล

สังรวมธรรมทั้งมวลอันได้สร้างนี้ เป็นธรรมจำนวน ๒๔๒ มัดจัดเป็นผูกได้ ๒๘๕๒ ผูก จัดเป็นเงินค่าจ้างแต่
เขียน สมเด็จพระเป็นเจ้าเมืองหลวงพระบางมีเงิน ๘๕ ตั้งเงินเจ้าราชวงศ์ มีเงินกลาง หนัก ๑๘,๒๐๒ บาทปลาย
๗ ก่าปลาย ๒ แดงเงินฝ้าย (เจ้า) ศรัทธาเมืองแพร่มีเงิน ๑ ชั่ง ๑๐ ตำลึงปลาย ๑๐ สลึง แต่ค่าฝีมือธรรม
เสีย ๑๒,๘๐๐ แผ่นแล (พระ) ธรรม (ที่) เจ้ามือสร้างเป็น ธรรม ๓๔ มัด (พระ) ธรรม (ที่เจ้า)ราชวงศ์สร้างเป็น
ธรรม ๑๗๗ มัด (พระ) ธรรมที่เจ้าศรัทธาเมืองแพร่สร้าง เป็นธรรม ๓๑ มัดแล (...)

In CS 1198, a *rawai san* year (AD 1836/37), there was a venerable Abbot named Kañcana Araññāvāsī at Müang Phrae along with all his disciples coming from Müang Phrae [of the Tai] Yuan, which lies in western direction, and arriving in Luang Prabang-Lan Xang. He was taking a field of merit to the ruler of Müang Luang Prabang whose name is Mangtha. [The King], along with the *cao latsawong* of Luang Prabang, were the principal lay supporters to make (i.e., sponsor the copying of) a complete set of the Tipitaka illuminating the Teachings of the Buddha to last [until the end of] 5000 years. [The finishing of the copying of this new set of the Tipitaka] happened on the full-moon day of the fourth lunar month, a Tuesday, as the Mon say, or a *ka kai* day, as the Tai say¹². Thus on that very day everything was accomplished.

The total number of Buddhist scripture copies is 2,852 [palm-leaf] fascicles (*phuk*) [organized] in 242 bundles (*mat*). The King of Luang Prabang paid a total of 85 *tang* as remuneration for the scribes, the *latsawong* paid [as remuneration] 18,202 *bat*, 7 *ka* and 2 *daeng*. Religious faith from Müang Phrae paid 1 *chang*, 10 *tamliung* and 10 *saliung*. For sealing the palm-leaf fascicles a total of 12,800 gold leaves were spent. The Buddhist Scriptures which the King made comprised 34

¹¹ Inscription Müang Nan AD 1837, in: Phanphen Khriathai and Silao Ketphrom 2001, pp. 43–49.

¹² 1198 Phalguna 15 = Tuesday, 21 March 1837. This day was indeed a *ka kai* day and thus should be the correct corresponding date of the Gregorian calendar.

bundles, those which the *latsawong* made 177 bundles, and those which the lay supporters made 31 bundles.¹³

The copied manuscripts from his religious projects were brought to Wat Sung Men, his affiliated monastery, and have been kept there due to being a famous monastic school among the Northern Thai people at that time. The manuscripts were stored as a huge collection for the benefits of Buddhist education and the circulation of manuscripts (or textbooks). With regard to *anisong* manuscripts, those entitled *Anisong pitaka thang sam* make up a very substantial number of dated *anisong* manuscripts produced during that period. *Anisong pitaka thang sam* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon) are often part of a multiple-text manuscript comprising four texts – *Vinaya*, *Suttanta*, *Abhidhamma* and *Anisong*; the first three texts are known as Tipiṭaka (lit: “Three Baskets”) or the Buddhist canon, while the accompanying *anisong* explains meritorious rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon. The large number of *Anisong pitaka thang sam* mirrors the popularity of copying the Buddhist canon during this period and the restoration of the Northern Thai manuscript culture in the nineteenth century. A variety of manuscript projects held by the venerable monk Khruba Kancana thus contributed to the fact that the largest number of palm-leaf manuscripts in Northern Thailand is kept at Wat Sung Men, which has become the landmark of Phrae province for manuscript scholars and tourists.

The production of palm-leaf manuscripts inscribed by hand has declined, resulting from the lack of literacy in the Tham Lan Na script, which has thus been gradually replaced by printed oblong-shaped books or artificial palm-leaf manuscripts (Th: *lan thiam* ลานเทียม) resembling traditional palm-leaf manuscripts and being written in the modern Thai script. In the artificial manuscripts, some spaces as part of the colophons are left blank to be filled in later with the names of sponsors and deceased persons for whom the merit derived from the manuscript donation is intended, revealing the surviving tradition of offering religious books to monasteries and the common belief in meritorious dedication to the dead in spite of the rise of modern printing technology.

2.2 Sources and Repositories

The corpus of *anisong* manuscripts from Northern Thailand (Lan Na) is derived from five collections mostly available on the website of the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM), including 107 manuscripts from the Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Project (PNTMP), sixteen manuscript-bundles from the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM), sixty-eight manuscript-bundles from *Dokumentarische Erfassung literarischer Materialien in den Nordprovinzen Thailands* (“Documentary collection of literary materials in the Northern provinces of Thailand” – DELMN), six manuscript-bundles from the Phayap University Archives and ten manuscript-bundles from non-microfilmed manuscripts in Nan province. There are in total 207 bundles

¹³ Inscription Vat Visun AD 1837, in: Phanphen Khriathai and Silao Ketphrom 2001, pp. 279–285.

of *anison* manuscripts, including single-text manuscripts (STM), multiple-text manuscripts (MTM) and composite manuscripts (COM). In case of composite manuscripts, one is defined as a bundle (Th: *mat* มัด, TL: *kap*) which contains several fascicles (Th: *phuk* ผูก) within a unit. The manuscripts from the collection of the PNTMP and the DLNTM are systemically coded with eleven digits; each digit refers to repositories, types of texts¹⁴ and orders. The following example is an inventory sheet commonly used as an overview of a surveyed manuscript. The upper row in the red oval shows the manuscript eleven-digit code.

บัตรข้อมูลคัมภีร์โบราณล้านนา

รหัส	จังหวัด	วัด	หมวด	เลขหน้า	เลขหลัง	เรื่อง/ชุด
ท ๓	๐ ๕	๐ ๖	๐ ๗	๐ ๘	๙	

1. จังหวัด
 - () เชียงใหม่ () ลำพูน () ลำปาง () เชียงราย
 - () พะเยา () น่าน () แพร่ () แม่ฮ่องสอน
2. วัด พระอารามหลวงหรือวัดราษฎร์ ชื่าวัด _____
3. ชื่อเรื่อง หรือชื่อคัมภีร์ _____
4. หมวด

() 01 พระวินัย	() 08 โอวาทคำสอน	() 15 กฎหมาย
() 02 พระสุตตันตปิฎก	() 09 ประเพณีพิธีกรรม	() 16 ตำราอักษรศาสตร์
() 03 พระอภิธรรม	() 10 ธรรมทั่วไป	() 17 กวีนิพนธ์ร้อยกรอง
() 04 คัมภีร์ภาษาบาลี	() 11 นิยายธรรม	() 18 ตำราโหราศาสตร์
() 05 บทสวดมนต์	() 12 นิยายพื้นบ้าน	() 19 ตำราชา
() 06 อานสังคีต	() 13 ตำนานพุทธศาสนา	() 20 รวมหลายหมวด
() 07 ราชค	() 14 ตำนานเมือง/ราชวงศ์	() 21 อื่นๆ
5. อักษร () ไทยวน () อื่นๆ
6. ภาษา () ไทยวน () บาลี () อื่นๆ
7. ลักษณะเอกสาร () โบราณ () ปับสา () อื่นๆ
8. จาร/บันทึก เล่ม จ.ศ. ๒๕๐๐ () ต่าง จ.ศ. () ไม่ปรากฏ
9. จำนวนเล่ม/เล่ม ที่พบ _____
10. ลักษณะชุด () ครบชุด () ไม่ครบชุด () ไม่ปรากฏ () ค้างชุด
11. สภาพเอกสาร () ดีมาก () ดี () ชำรุดบ้าง () ชำรุดมาก
12. การซ่อมแซม () ซ่อมหลายช่อง () ซ่อมตัวโบราณหรือปับสา () ไม่ได้ซ่อม
- () ใสไม่ประกบ () ท่อผ้าใหม่ () ทำความสะอาด
- () อื่นๆ
13. ถ่ายไมโครฟิล์ม () ไม่ถ่าย () ถ่าย เมื่อวันที่ ๒๕ เดือน ๐๗ พ.ศ. ๕๒
14. หมายเหตุ _____
15. วันที่ ช. เดือน ปี พ.ศ. ที่สำรวจ _____
16. ชื่อผู้สำรวจ (1) _____ (2) _____
17. หมายเหตุเพิ่มเติม _____

โครงการอนุรักษ์คัมภีร์โบราณล้านนา
โดยความอุปถัมภ์ของ รัฐบาลไทย-สหพันธ์สาธารณรัฐเยอรมัน
โครงการศูนย์ส่งเสริมศิลปวัฒนธรรม มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่

Figure 2.1: Inventory sheet of the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM)

A close-up picture of the eleven-digit code is shown below. The first two digits show the name of the province with central Thai alphabets identifying an abbreviation of the provinces¹⁵ where the manuscripts are located. The third and fourth digits show the temple code; the fifth and sixth digits show the textual type¹⁶. “Narrative Buddhist literature,” stated

¹⁴ Codes of *anison* corpus texts principally include a ‘06’ on the fifth and sixth digits. However, possibly caused by careless surveys or textual ignorance, a number of *anison* manuscripts are coded with other numerals – especially with a ‘20’ that identifies ‘miscellaneous texts’ – in the two digits.

¹⁵ ‘ชม’ refers to Chiang Mai, ‘ลพ’ to Lamphun, ‘ลป’ to Lampang, ‘ชร’ to Chiang Rai, ‘พย’ to Phayao, ‘นน’ to Nan, ‘พร’ to Phrae and ‘มส’ to Mae Hong Sòn. However, numeral codes of provinces are applied in the collection of the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM); ‘01’ refers to Chiang Mai, ‘02’ to Lamphun, ‘03’ to Lampang, ‘04’ to Chiang Rai, ‘05’ to Phayao, ‘06’ to Nan, ‘07’ to Phrae and ‘08’ to Mae Hong Sòn.

¹⁶ The category of twenty-one types was initiated by Professor Dr. Harald Hundius. They are 01 Vinaya Pitaka (พระวินัย), 02 Suttanta Pitaka (พระสุตตันตปิฎก), 03 Abhidhamma Pitaka (พระอภิธรรม), 04 Pali canon (คัมภีร์ภาษา

by Largirarde (2017: 276), “is undoubtedly the main pillar of all Northern Thai literature.” The seventh to ninth digits identify the bundle order (Th: *mat* มัด) of the manuscript. The last two digits show the fascicle orders (Th: *phuk* ผูก) in the bundle. In the case of *anisong*, there are single-text manuscripts (STM), multiple-text manuscripts (MTM) and composite manuscripts (COM), which are given in Chapter One. If the last two digits are ‘00’, it means that there is only ‘one fascicle’ in the manuscript bundle. If the last two digits are not ‘00’, it is defined as composite manuscripts containing several fascicles marked with 01, 02, 03, and in these two digits. The last two digits ‘00’ can also represent multiple-text manuscripts (MTM) if those were made by a single production unit, despite containing several texts or fascicles. There are eighty-five single-text manuscripts, fifty-five multiple-text manuscripts and sixty-seven composite manuscripts. *Anisong* and non-*anisong* manuscripts can also be included in a composite manuscript.

Province		Temple		Type		Bundle			Fascicle	
จังหวัด		วัด		หมวด		เลขมัด			เลข/ผูก	
ท	๗	๐	๒	๐	๘	๐	๑	๒	๐	๕

Figure 2.2: Manuscript code pattern of the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM)

However, the manuscripts on the DLNTM website are shown in ‘fascicles’ (*phuk*). Indicated by the last two digits of the manuscript codes, a large number of the fascicles are united in ‘bundles’ (*mat*). Except for the analysis of the production years that requires individual indications of manuscript units, this study investigates *anisong* manuscripts as bundles due to their close relevance to ritual usage regarding the main focal point of research. Since the fascicles have been counted and combined into bundles in this study, the number of manuscripts seemingly becomes less compared to what is shown on the website, as the manuscripts were initially digitized and published by fascicles, not by bundles. The following pictures show a manuscript-bundle containing several fascicles. Here we can clearly differentiate bundles (*mat*) from fascicles (*phuk*). The first picture shows a manuscript bundle. Such a bundle is mostly wrapped with a clothing sheet and robe, and is coded with a tag. The second picture shows fascicles united in a manuscript-bundle. Each fascicle can be either a single-text manuscript or a multiple-text manuscript.

บาลี), 05 Prayer (บทสวดมนต์), 06 Anisong (อานิสงส์), 07 Jataka (ชาดก), 08 Teaching (โอวาทคำสอน), 09 Ritual (ประเพณีพิธีกรรม), 10 Dhamma (ธรรมทั่วไป), 11 Buddhist story (นิยายธรรม), 12 Folktale (นิยายนิทานพื้นบ้าน), 13 Buddhist legend (ตำนานพุทธศาสนา), 14 Local and dynasty legend (ตำนานเมือง/ราชวงศ์), 15 Laws (กฎหมาย), 16 Arts textbook (ตำราอักษรศาสตร์), 17 Poetry (กวีนิพนธ์ร้อยกรอง), 18 Astrology (โหราศาสตร์), 19 Medical treatise (ตำรายา), 20 Miscellaneous (รวมหลายหมวด) and 21 others (อื่นๆ).



Figure 2.3: *Anisong* palm-leaf manuscript bundle from Northern Thailand

Regarding the quantity of *anisong* manuscripts, the following bar chart categorizes *anisong* manuscripts from Northern Thailand in accordance with writing supports and provinces or provenance; those in the category ‘unknown’ include the manuscripts derived from unspecified provinces and from the Phayap University Archives in Chiang Mai where the manuscript origins are still unknown. The dominant writing supports are palm-leaf manuscripts of 198 bundles, whereas mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts are quite rare: six and three, respectively.

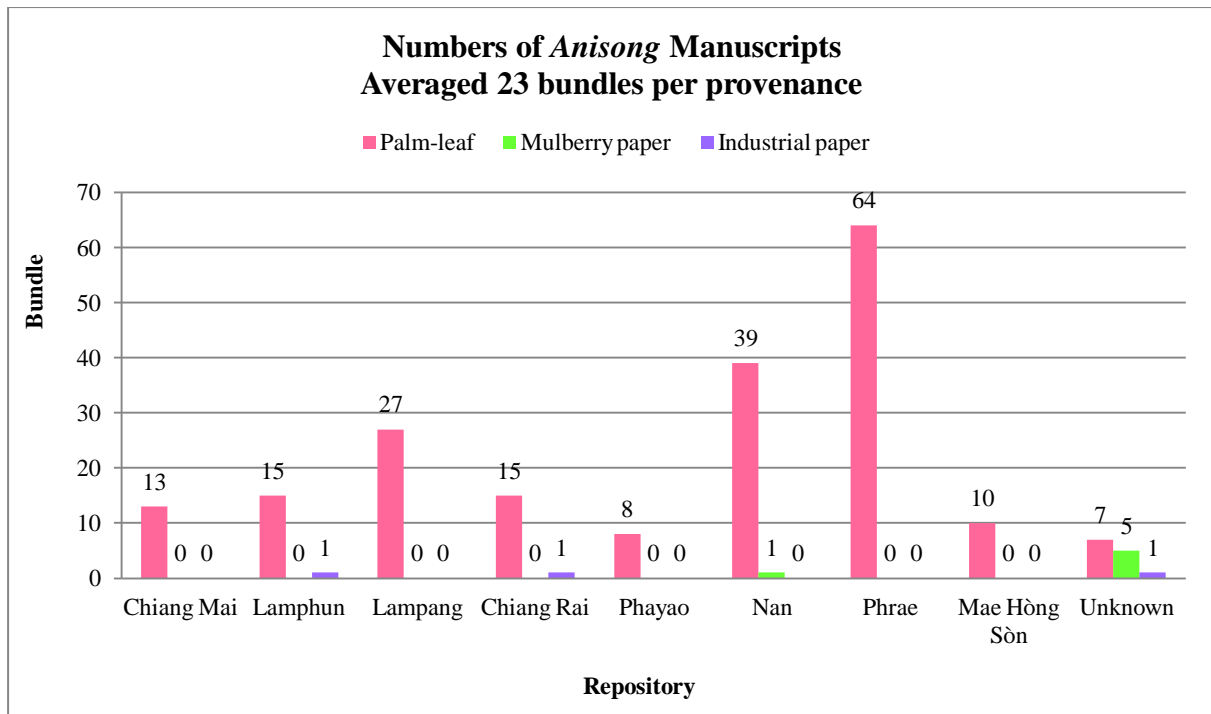


Chart 2.1: Number of *anisong* manuscripts from Northern Thai provinces

With an average of approximately twenty-three manuscript-bundles per provenance, Phrae, Nan and Lampang provinces prominently keep *anisong* manuscripts, compared to other provinces in Northern Thailand. Among the monastic libraries, led by the Venerable Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi Mahathera¹⁷, Wat Sung Men or Sung Men temple in Phrae province keeps the most manuscripts in the Northern Thai region. He was responsible for various religious projects including the Buddhist canon revisions and manuscript collections during 1826–1878 in Thailand and Laos. According to an information board shown in a manuscript museum at Wat Sung Men, the monk brought manuscripts to the temple from different places: Chiang Mai (846 fascicles in eighty-six bundles), Nan (1197 fascicles in ninety-seven bundles), Rahaeng town in Tak province (375 fascicles in forty-eight bundles), Lampang (299 fascicles in twenty-seven bundles), Chiang Saen (113 fascicles in fourteen bundles), Phrae (2861 fascicles in 325 bundles) Luang Prabang (2825 fascicles in 242 bundles) and others (1177 fascicles in 245 bundles) (Wat Sung Men 2018). Phrae is thus renowned as the township (*müang*) of manuscripts. The temple is located twenty kilometres away from the city centre and houses a large number of manuscripts in three libraries; only one opens daily

¹⁷ The Venerable Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi was born in Sung Men district, Phrae province, in 1789, the Year of the Cock, or eight years after the foundation of Bangkok by King Rama I. His former name was Pòi. He was interested in Lan Na literacy since he was young and was ordained in 1809. He learnt meditation in Chiang Mai and advanced in intuitive contemplation in Burma. He brought relics from Burma, revised the Buddhist canon in Chiang Mai (CE 1826) and Nan (CE 1833), copied the Buddhist canon in Luang Prabang (CE 1836) and attended several other monastic projects. His collaborative projects, dated from CE 1826 to CE 1878, furthered the development of Buddhism and increased religious manuscript productions throughout Northern Thailand and neighbouring areas.

for all visitors as a museum named *Hò Manut*, while the other two libraries occasionally welcome visitors only at special times.



Figure 2.4: The statue of Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi Mahathera



Figure 2.5: The first Manuscript Museum (*Hò Manut*)



Figure 2.6: The second Manuscript Museum (*Hò Fa*)



Figure 2.7: The third Manuscript Museum (*Hò Nipphan*)
Photo by the author on July 24, 2018

Regarding manuscripts in ritual usage, those related to gift-giving or *dāna* are prominently found among *anisonḡ* manuscripts in Phrae province. The earliest *anisonḡ* manuscript in Phrae province is *Anisonḡ pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), which was made in CE 1710 and is kept in a manuscript-bundle coded พระ 0220001-02 at Wat Phra Luang, included with other non-*anisonḡ* manuscripts. The *Anisonḡ pitaka* text was read for gift-giving sermons on occasions of donating a copied Buddhist canon, religious books or other manuscripts to a monastery.

The manuscripts that have been microfilmed and are published online are marked with orange coloured tags, whereas non-microfilmed or offline manuscripts¹⁸ are marked with white coloured tags. In some temples there are manuscripts attached both with orange and white tags as is shown in the following picture.

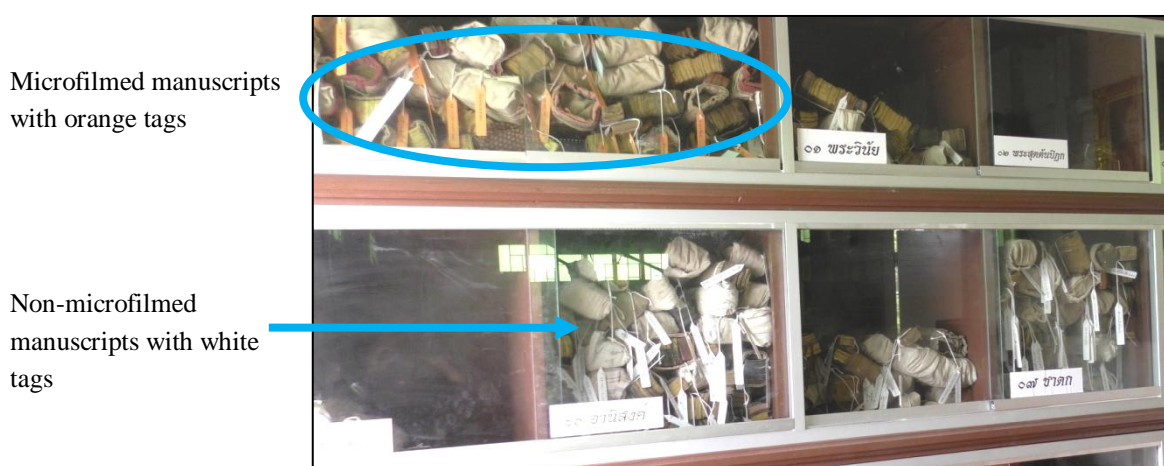


Figure 2.8: Manuscript cabinet at Wat Monthian

Photo by the author on August 10, 2018 at Wat Monthian, Nan province

There are a number of non-microfilmed *anisonḡ* manuscripts, but there are less compared to other textual types of manuscripts, which need a budget and further efforts to do a survey and microfilming. I discovered ten non-microfilmed *anisonḡ* manuscripts, which are included in the research database, at two temples in the city centre of Nan province – Wat Phra Koet and Wat Monthian, located approximately five kilometres away from each other. There are definitely still non-microfilmed manuscripts to be microfilmed and registered in different temples.

¹⁸ Manuscripts which have not been microfilmed nor published on any websites.



Figure 2.9: Bundle of non-microfilmed *anisong* manuscript marked with a white tag from Wat Monthian

From the total of ten *anisong* manuscripts, five¹⁹ are single-text manuscripts, the other five are composite manuscripts. Every bundle (*mat*) contains several fascicles (*phuk*); each fascicle is either individually coded or uncoded. Bundle one has five fascicles²⁰; two has thirteen²¹; three has thirteen²²; four has fourteen²³ and the last one has two²⁴ fascicles.

¹⁹ 1) นน 11-06-001-00 *Anisong pitaka cariya* (อานิสงส์ปิฎกอะจริยา), 2) นน 11-06-002-00 *Anisong pitaka thang sam* (อานิสงส์ปิฎกอะทั้งสาม), 3) นน 11-06-005-00 *Anisong sapphathan* (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน), 4) นน 11-06-006-00 *Anisong pha thòt* (อานิสงส์ผ้าทอด) and 5) นน 11-07-049-00 *Anisong wetsantra* (อานิสงส์เวสสันตรา).

²⁰ 1) นน 11-06-003-01 *Anisong chapanakit* (อานิสงส์ฌาปนกิจ), 2) นน 11-06-003-02 *Anisong salak* (อานิสงส์สลาก), 3) นน 11-06-003-03 *Anisong song sakan* (อานิสงส์สงส์กาน), 4) นน 11-06-003-04 *Anisong buat* (อานิสงส์บวช) and 5) นน 11-06-003-05 *Anisong than cedi khao plüak khao san* (อานิสงส์ทานเจดีย์ข้าวเปลือกข้าวสาร).

²¹ 1) นน 11-06-004-01 *Anisong sapphathan* (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน), 2) นน 11-06-004-02 *Anisong pi mai* (อานิสงส์ปีใหม่), 3) นน 11-06-004-03 *Anisong thalithaka* (อานิสงส์ทลิตทกะ), 4) นน 11-06-004-05 *Anisong pha sima* (อานิสงส์ผ้าสีมา), 5) นน 11-06-004-06 *Anisong pit thòng phra phuttharup* (อานิสงส์ปิดทองพระพุทธรูป), 6) นน 11-06-004-07 *Anisong sang phra phuttharup* (อานิสงส์สร้างพระพุทธรูป), 7) นน 11-06-004-08 *Anisong pha thòt* (อานิสงส์ผ้าทอด), 8) นน 11-06-004-09 *Anisong pitaka thang sam* (อานิสงส์ปิฎกอะทั้งสาม), 9) นน 11-06-004-10 *Anisong raksa sin* (อานิสงส์รักษาศีล), 10) นน 11-06-004-11 *Anisong than thung* (อานิสงส์ทานทุ่ง), 11) นน 11-06-004-12 *Anisong sang hit tham* (อานิสงส์สร้างหิตธรรม), 12) นน 11-06-004-13 *Anisong sang hò tham* (อานิสงส์สร้างหอธรรม) and 13) นน 11-06-004-14 *Anisong sang thammat* (อานิสงส์สร้างธรรมาสน).

²² The whole bundle is coded นน 03-06-208-273 but the individual fascicles inside are uncoded. The thirteen fascicles are *Anisong simma* (อานิสงส์สิมมา), *Anisong pha bangsukun* (อานิสงส์ผ้าบังสุกุล), *Anisong wihan* (อานิสงส์วิหาร), *Anisong sang thammat* (อานิสงส์สร้างธรรมาสน), *Anisong sang tham* (อานิสงส์สร้างธรรม), *Anisong prathip sapphathan* (อานิสงส์ประทับสรรพทาน), *Anisong prathip* (อานิสงส์ประทับ), *Anisong buat* (อานิสงส์บวช), *Anisong sang wihan pen than* (อานิสงส์สร้างวิหารเป็นทาน), *Anisong buat* (อานิสงส์บวช), *Anisong bangsukun pha thòt* (อานิสงส์บังสุกุลผ้าทอด), *Anisong prathip* (อานิสงส์ประทับ) and *Anisong sapphathan* (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน).

²³ The whole bundle is coded นน 03-06-320-428 but the individual fascicles inside are uncoded. The fourteen fascicles are *Anisong liang phò liang mae* (อานิสงส์เลี้ยงพ่อเลี้ยงแม่), *Anisong khao phan kòn* (อานิสงส์ข้าวพันก้อน), *Anisong sapphathan* (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน), *Anisong sia phi* (อานิสงส์เสี้ยผี), *Anisong buat mai* (อานิสงส์บวชใหม่), *Anisong sang tham* (อานิสงส์สร้างธรรม), *Anisong kwat wat* (อานิสงส์กวาดวัด), *Anisong kathinathan* (อานิสงส์กฐินทาน), *Anisong pi mai* (อานิสงส์ปีใหม่), *Anisong pha bangsukun* (อานิสงส์ผ้าบังสุกุล), *Anisong pidok* (อานิสงส์ปิฎก), *Anisong chapanakit* (อานิสงส์ฌาปนกิจ), *Anisong pi mai* (อานิสงส์ปีใหม่) and *Anisong bòk fai* (อานิสงส์บอกไฟ).

²⁴ The whole bundle is coded นน 03-06-124-150 but the individual fascicles inside are uncoded. The two fascicles are *Anisong buat* (อานิสงส์บวช) and *Anisong sut aphitham* (อานิสงส์สูตรอภิธรรม).

In Lampang province, however, *anisong* manuscripts are not found in the famous manuscript collection at Wat Lai Hin²⁵ but are mostly kept at Wat Ban Luk, a circumstance perhaps caused by manuscript circulation. *Anisong* manuscripts were originally produced and kept at different temples, but were later brought to other places for various purposes: book copying, giving sermons or learning. In the past, manuscripts were dedicated to certain monasteries, kept and circulated in a locality. Monasteries were perhaps in deficiency of provided manuscripts; manuscript circulations therefore occurred within a local vicinity. This will be further discussed in 2.4.2. A variety of manuscript repositories nowadays constitute manuscript museums or collections to be further studied by local experts, young monks and new scholars as explained by Lagirarde in the following:

Often the manuscripts are kept with a kind of mix of respect and total indifference. Still, in many cases it is very encouraging to see that young monks and local experts are becoming increasingly concerned about the preservation of local knowledge and artifacts in cooperation with neighboring communities. Nowadays, it is often possible to find a space in the monastery that has been dedicated as “museum.” Some of them are remarkably well kept and highly organized. These local museums could be considered laboratories for the future, and this trend should be encouraged as should young new experts, who will be able to undertake up-to-date cataloguing and reading to record more local history (2017: 279–280).

In the research corpus, the fifty-one repositories in Northern Thailand provided with *anisong* manuscripts are shown in the following table, listed in order from the most to the least number of manuscripts found; thirteen manuscripts are excluded from the table due to their unknown monasteries or sources of production.

Province (Number of bundles)	Repositories (Monastery code)	<i>Anisong</i> manuscripts (bundles, <i>mat</i>)
01 Chiang Mai (13)	Wat Chiang Man (01) (วัดเชียงใหม่)	3
	Wat Pasak Nõi (06) (วัดป่าสักน้อย)	3
	Wat Phra Sing (07) (วัดพระสิงห์)	2
	Wat Chae Chang (22) (วัดแช่ช้าง)	2

²⁵ The oldest dated manuscript found so far in Lan Na (CS 833 or CE 1471) is kept at Wat Lai Hin; the manuscript is ms 108, contains *Jātaka* fragments and was studied in-depth by a German expert Oskar von Hinüber who explained that the ms 108 is the oldest dated Pali manuscript ever found (see Lagirarde 2017: 273–274). Moreover, the second oldest manuscript in the world was also found at Wat Lai Hin in 2016. The manuscript is titled *Tingsanibat* (P: *tiṃsanipāta*) and was inscribed by Phra Yanarangi with the Tham Lan Na script in CE 1471 in a palm-leaf manuscript (48 cm. length) containing five horizontal lines. The manuscript is in a good condition and now preserved at the Wat Lai Hin museum. (source: https://www.matichon.co.th/education/news_120906).

	Wat Buak Khang (-) (วัดบวค้ำง)	1
	Wat Cedi Luang (02) (วัดเจดีย์หลวง)	1
	Wat Thao Bun Rüang (26) (วัดท้าวบุญเรือง)	1
02 Lamphun (16)	Wat Pa Phlu (-) (วัดป่าพลู)	4
	Wat San Rim Ping (-) (วัดสันริมปิง)	3
	Wat Si Sai Mün Bun Rüang (-) (วัดศรีทรายมูลบุญเรือง)	2
	Wat Mahawan (04) (วัดมหาวัน)	2
	Wat Ban Pang (10) (วัดบ้านปาง)	2
	Wat Phra That Hariphunchai (01) (วัดพระธาตุหริภุญไชย)	1
	Wat Pa Sao (07) (วัดป่าเส้า)	1
	Wat Huai Nam Dip (-) (วัดห้วยน้ำดิบ)	1
03 Lampang (27)	Wat Ban Luk (06) (วัดบ้านหลุก)	14
	Wat Lao Nòi (-) (วัดเหล่าน้อย)	5
	Wat Phra That Lampang Luang (02) (วัดพระธาตุลำปางหลวง)	3
	Wat Ban Üam (04) (วัดบ้านเอี่ยม)	3
	Wat Nakhot Luang (05) (วัดนาคตหลวง)	1
	Wat Hang Chat (03) (วัดห้างฉัตร)	1
04 Chiang Rai (16)	Wat Si Khom Kham (-) (วัดศรีโคมคำ)	7
	Wat Dong Mada (-) (วัดดงมะตะ)	3
	Wat Phothanaram (04) (วัดโพธาราม)	2

	Wat Huai Khrai Luang (06) (วัดห้วยไคร้หลวง)	1
	Wat Kasa (-) (วัดกาสา)	1
	Wat Klang (-) (วัดกลาง)	1
	Private access	1
05 Phayao (8)	Wat Si Khom Kham (01) (วัดศรีโคมคำ)	3
	Wat Mae Na Rüa (05) Wat Li (05) (วัดแม่ณาเรือ, วัดลี) ²⁶	2
	Wat Tun Klang (02) (วัดตุนกลาง)	1
	Wat Tun Tai (03) (วัดตุนใต้)	1
	Wat Si Suphan (07) (วัดศรีสุพรรณ)	1
06 Nan (40)	Wat Na Pang (09) (วัดนาปัง)	7
	Wat Phra Koet (11) (วัดพระเกิด)	7
	Wat Bun Yün (07) (วัดบุญยืน)	5
	Wat Phumin (-) (วัดภูมินทร์)	5
	Wat Monthian (03) (วัดมณฑิเยร์)	3
	Wat Pa Müat (06) (วัดป่าเหมือด)	3
	Wat Phra That Chang Kham (01) (วัดพระธาตุช้างค้ำ)	2
	Wat Phaya Phu (-) (วัดพญาภู)	2
	Wat Aranyawat (-) (วัดอรัญญาวาส)	2
	Wat Ton Laeng (-) (วัดต้นแหลง)	2
	Wat Suan Tan (-) (วัดสวนตาล)	1

²⁶ The two monasteries are marked with the same code '05'.

	Wat Muang Tüt (-) (วัดม่วงตึ๊ด)	1
07 Phrae (64)	Wat Sung Men (01) (วัดสูงเม่น)	57
	Wat Phra Bat Ming Müang (04) (วัดพระบาทมิ่งเมือง)	4
	Wat Müang Mò (05) (วัดเหมืองหม้อ)	2
	Wat Phra Luang (02) (วัดพระหลวง)	1
08 Mae Hông Sòn (10)	Wat Kittiwong (03) (วัดกิตติวงศ์)	7
	Wat Luang (07) (วัดหลวง)	3

Table 2.1: Number of *anisong* manuscript-bundles categorized by repositories

2.3 Writing Support and Languages

There are only six mulberry paper manuscripts and three industrial paper manuscripts in the total of 207 *anisong* manuscripts; the other 198 manuscripts are made of palm leaves. Six mulberry paper manuscripts are found in Nan province – partly inhabited by the Tai Lü ethnic group who used mulberry paper as a common writing support – and in the manuscript archive of Phayap University. The industrial paper manuscripts are found in Lamphun, Chiang Rai and the manuscript archive of Phayap University: most of them were written in modern notebooks. Not only were the dominant palm-leaf materials influenced by popular uses and local accessibility, they were also more widely preferred for inscribing religious-focused manuscripts like *anisong*; other kinds of writing support were therefore found much less. Scribes of palm-leaf manuscripts were monks, novices and ex-monks who were trained in inscribing texts on palm-leaf writing support, as the skill was taught merely in temples. Monks and novices learnt the Buddhist religion through the Tham script²⁷, thereby being accustomed to the script and a wide range of Buddhist religious texts. In case of ex-monks, despite not being monks anymore, they were considered to have particular duties or abilities especially in religious rituals and, as masters of ceremony on several occasions, often led laypeople to pray or properly act together. Monks, novices and ex-monks were accordingly

²⁷ Grabowsky (2011) gives the fundamental information on the Tham script as follows: “Through close contact with the older cultures of the Mon and Khmer, the Tai developed their own writing system, as did the Thai (Siamese) and the Lao, Tai Yuan (Northern Thai) and Shan. Like of most of its Southeast Asian neighbours, it is based on a South Indian form of the Brāhmī script called Pallava. Although its authenticity is disputed, the oldest evidence of the Tai script is on a stone inscription from Sukhothai dating to 1292. While the so far earliest evidence of Tai epigraphy dates to the 14th century, the oldest surviving Thai palm-leaf manuscript dates to the second half of the 15th century” (Grabowsky 2011: 145).

believed to have an intimate knowledge of Buddhism, thereby being able to inscribe religious texts on manuscripts.

Interestingly, even though palm-leaf manuscripts were not widely inscribed by commoners but rather by script-experienced scribes, *anisong* palm-leaf manuscripts outnumber the other two writing supports: mulberry and industrial papers. This is reflected in the high popularity of religious texts inscribed on palm-leaf manuscripts and undoubtedly involves the underlying belief in the Buddha Maitreya's future reincarnation explained in Chapter One. The bar chart in 2.1 above shows palm leaves as the dominant writing support found in all provinces, whereas only a few mulberry and industrial papers were found. Mulberry paper manuscripts were used for writing secular texts rather than religious texts; thus, only six *anisong* manuscripts made of mulberry have been found. There are five volumes (Th: *kap* กั๊ບ) kept at the manuscript archive of Phayap University in Chiang Mai: *Anisong that sai*²⁸, *Anisong thung lek thung thong*²⁹, *Anisong süa sat*³⁰, *Anisong pi mai sakkat*³¹ and *Anisong sapphathan chadok*³² and one from Nan entitled *Anisong song sakan*³³. The original provenance of the manuscripts kept at Phayap University is still unknown. Only *Anisong sapphathan chadok* and *Anisong pi mai sakkat* show the year of production, CE 2007 and CE 1997, respectively.

Evidenced by the colophons, none of the six mulberry paper manuscripts shows a scribe name. The manuscripts were popular among Tai Lü communities due to the easy accessibility of the writing support; that is why one of the six mulberry paper manuscripts, despite being written in the Tham Lan Na script instead of the Tham Lü script, was made and found in Nan province, where a large number of Tai Lü people in Thailand reside³⁴. Grabowsky explains the linguistic and cultural relation between the Tai and people in several regions: Yunnan province, Thailand and Laos as follows:

The Tai who live in the southwestern sections of Yunnan province are linguistically and culturally related both to the Thai in the Kingdom of Thailand and to the Lao in the Lao's

²⁸ Source: PUA, code: 12.4 (Rewards derived from building sand stupas).

²⁹ Source: PUA, code: 14.34 (Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags).

³⁰ Source: PUA, code: 14.39 (Rewards derived from the donation of mats).

³¹ Source: PUA, code: 15.1 (Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year ceremonies).

³² Source: PUA, code: 13.9 (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

³³ Code: ๗๗ 0620021-00 (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals).

³⁴ The Tai Lü ethnic group is native of southern China, originating from the area of Sipsòng Panna (Xishuangbanna in Chinese) in Yunnan province. Historical and archaeological evidence supports the ethnological theory that they inhabited this area as a group of people for at least 2000 years. The immigration of the ethnic group into Northern Thailand began on a large scale in the early nineteenth century. The last influx of Tai Lü people from Laos into Thailand was after 1975, fleeing the Laos communist regime. Most Tai Lü in Thailand have settled in Nan province and have had a strong influence on the cultural heritage of the province. The Lü population of Sipsòng Panna was 770,000 in 1990. The census of 1995 for Laos shows a total of 120,000 Lue. In Thailand, the Tai Lü population was estimated at 70,000 in 1995. The provinces of Thailand with Tai Lü inhabitants are Chiang Rai, Phayao, Nan, Lamphun and Lampang (see Schliesinger 2001: 72).

People Democratic Republic. The Tai do not constitute a homogenous group, neither in regard to language, nor to culture, geography and history. In fact, the Tai are divided into several subgroups that correspond with self-appellations such as the Tai Lue (Chinese: Dau Le), Tai Noe, Tai Ya, and Tai Dam. The languages or dialects spoken by members of these subgroups vary considerably in phonology and lexicology, so it was not always possible for the groups to communicate easily (2019: 292).

Apiradee Techasiriwan explains that there has been a tendency over the last century to favour mulberry paper, perhaps due to its easier accessibility. Moreover, a large number of manuscripts have been written on industrially manufactured paper since 1980. (2016: 37) *Anisong* manuscripts made of mulberry paper and written in the Tham Lü script are also found in Sipsòng Panna in Southern China, dominantly inhabited by the Tai Lü ethnicity³⁵. There are seven *anisong* mulberry paper manuscripts found in the region³⁶: *Anisong sapphathan*³⁷, *Anisong sapphathan chadok*³⁸, *Anisong phawana*³⁹, *Anisong cedi*⁴⁰, *Anisong sapphathan*⁴¹, *Anisong thong lek thong thòng*⁴² and one composite manuscript⁴³. Casas explains that the Tham script and Theravāda Buddhist texts were brought from Kengtung (Chiang Tung) into Sipsòng Panna as follows:

The *Tham* script was presumably brought into Sipsong Panna from Kengtung together with Theravada Buddhist texts by members of the Suondok and Padaeng sects, coming in turn

³⁵ “Sipsong Panna region has about nineteen square kilometres of land. More than 95% is mountainous; the rest is low land which the Dai Lue inhabits. There are thirty-four bigger basins, each of which is formed as a Muang. Politically, on the top of the hierarchical pyramid was the Zhao Pienling, who was the highest lord of Sipsong Panna. Under him there were twelve Pannas, thirty-four Muangs, and the lowest components of social organization were the many Bans which consisted of numerous Hens. Sipsong Panna means “twelve districts” in the Dai Lue language. Since the highest manorial lord of Sipsong Panna was (the) Zhao Pienling, all the land, forest and water belonged to him. The Zhao Pienling subdivided his domain into twelve Pannas hereditarily ruled by his clan members and trusted followers” (Guan Jian 1993: 7).

³⁶ The term ‘Tham’ precedes most of the titles of *anisong* manuscripts from this region, such as *Tham anisong sapphathan* or *Tham anisong cedi*. *Tham* refers to Buddha's Teachings (P: *dhamma*) and the script used for writing Buddhist religious texts, namely, the Tham script. Apiradee explains that “The Tai Lü and Tai Khün alphabets are both variants of the Dhamma script that developed from the Old Mon script of Hariphunchai (an ancient Mon kingdom with its centre in present-day Lamphun province) in the fourteenth century in the Lan Na kingdom (the centre of which is situated in present-day Chiang Mai province, northern Thailand). It later spread to the eastern Shan region, Sipsòng Panna and Laos. It is called Dhamma script because it was originally only used to write Pali texts, although later it was also employed for religious texts written in vernacular languages” (2016: 36). Tham accordingly means a literary genre of religious books.

³⁷ Source: CVG, code: CR 2016-4 (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

³⁸ Source: CVG, code: CR 2016-3 (Jātaka story of rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

³⁹ Source: CVG, code: ML.1 (Rewards derived from meditation).

⁴⁰ Source: CVG, code: ML.2 (Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas).

⁴¹ Source: CVG, code: ML.6 (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

⁴² Source: CVG, code: ML.8 (Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags).

⁴³ Source: CVG, code: CR 2016-5. Two texts are contained herein: *Anisong setthi than chòm phò mae* (Rewards of a wealthy man derived from taking care of his parents) and *Wibak phra cao khotama* (Results of Buddha Gotama's deeds).

from Chiang Mai, then the capital of the confederation of states known as Lan Na, in Northern Thailand, between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries AD (Casas 2011: 9).

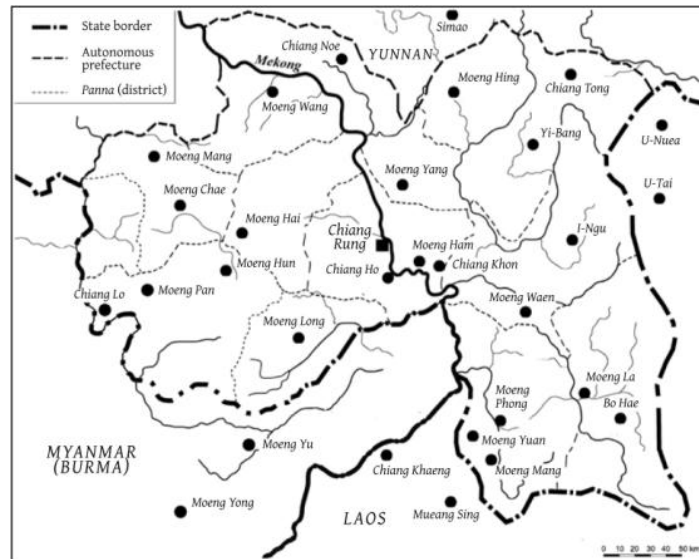


Figure 2.10: Map of Sipsong Panna (Grabowsky 2008: 52)

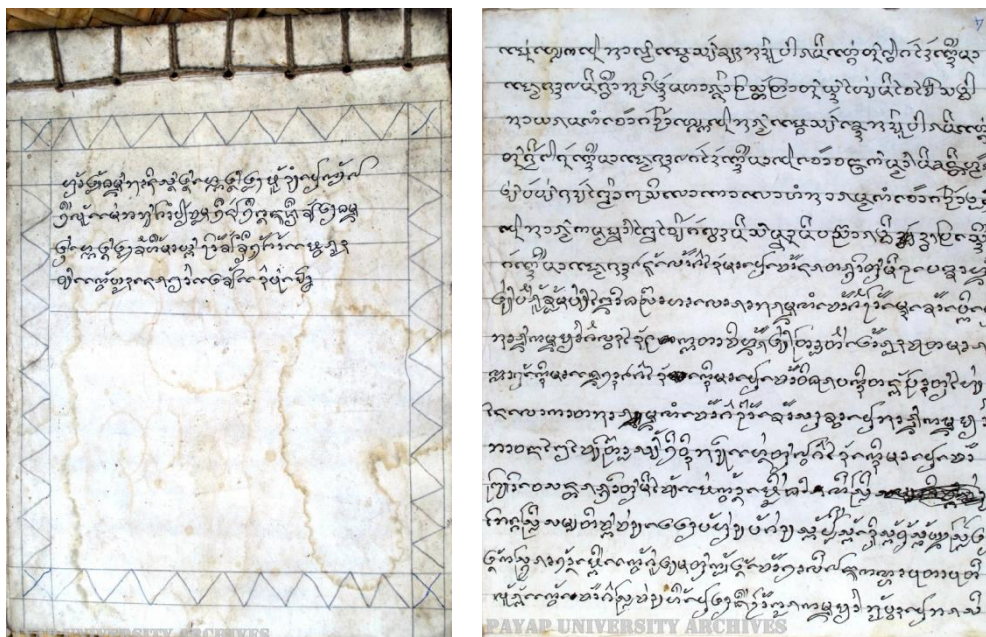


Figure 2.11: Mulberry paper manuscript written with the Tham Lü script
Anisong thong lek thong thong (Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags)
 Source: PUA, code: 14.34, sides 1 and 5, Phayap University Archives, year unknown

The seven mulberry paper manuscripts found in Sipsong Panna above are similar to those also made of mulberry paper found in other areas “During the last thirty years,” noted by Grabowsky, “many manuscripts written on the traditional mulberry (*sa*) paper have been either copied by monks or donated to monasteries” (2019: 306). Paper sheets were bound into

volumes with a robe and a wooden stick on the top margin in a vertical stand⁴⁴. In order to avoid the ink being seen through on the other side due to the thin surface of mulberry paper, most of them were written only on one side. Corrections were done by crossing out or sticking a small paper sheet on the erroneous spots. Unlike palm-leaf manuscripts in which the texts were written below the lines, texts in mulberry paper manuscripts were sometimes written above the lines.

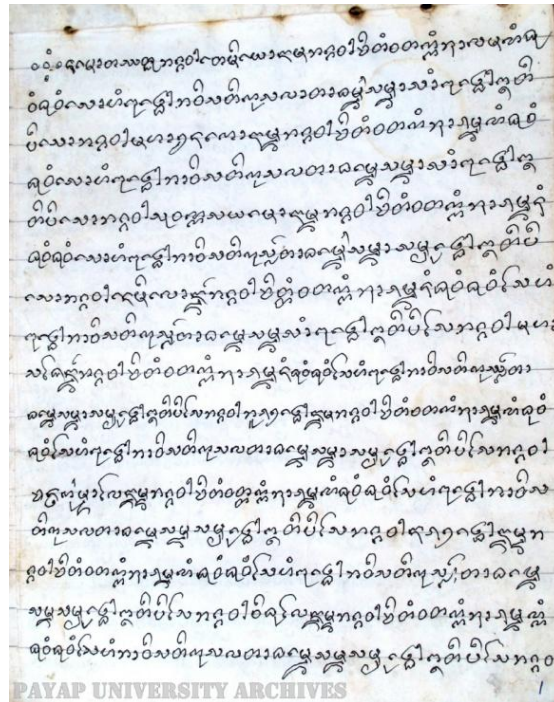


Figure 2.12: Mulberry paper manuscript written with the Tham Lü script
Anisong thong lek thong thong (Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags)
 Source: PUA, code: 14.34, side 2, Phayap University Archives, year unknown

The size ranges from small to human sizes, depending on the usage purpose. As was explained in Chapter One, I found a human-sized mulberry paper manuscript of a medical treatise kept at the National Library of Laos in Vientiane. The variety of size selections is totally different from the case of palm-leaf manuscripts; the leaves of palm trees dictate how long and wide the manuscripts are. There is an exception, however, in the case of Nangsü Kòm (หนังสือก้อม), mostly containing medical treatises, in which palm leaves were cut into small size, so that they could be compact and portable for users.

⁴⁴ Grabowsky (2018: 14) explains that Tai Lü mulberry paper manuscripts, however, generally have a “whirlwind” binding with the folios sown along one of the narrow sides and the sowing line is regarded as the upper part of the manuscript. See more in the article *Anisong through Religious Donations: The Case of the Phaya Sekòng manuscript from Müang Sing (Laos)* (2018).



Figure 2.13: Nangsü Kòm and scattered fragmentary pieces
 The National Library of Laos, Vientiane
 Photo by the author, March 15, 2017

The Tai Lü script was more often written on mulberry paper than on palm-leaf manuscripts. Tham Lan Na and Tham Lü scripts are variants of the Tham script; Tham Lü letters have longer ending tails than those of Tham Lan Na. Regarding orthographic inconsistencies commonly found in the manuscripts, in his *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words: Histories of Buddhist monastic education in Laos and Thailand* (2008), McDaniel gives four reasons for the inconsistencies in the corpus manuscripts written in the Tham script: (1) the lack of authorities to standardize a certain orthographic system, (2) the poorly-trained scribes, (3) the dependence of word-spelling on oral and aural rather than on visual activities, and (4) the widely mobile monastic population involving a variety of speakers of Shan, Tai Khün, Tai Lü, Lao, Tai Yuan, Thai, Khamtu, Mon, Burmese and others (McDaniel 2008: 144–145). Sarasawadee explains that Chiang Mai was the centre of Lan Na and the Buddhist religion was spread by monks travelling from Chiang Mai to other neighbouring regions. At the time of the establishment of Lan Na kingdom founded by King Mangrai in 1296, Buddhism had spread into Haripunchai and Lan Na. The kingdom of Lan Na was in commercial affairs with the Sukhothai kingdom; Buddhism in Lan Na was thus assimilated with Theravāda Buddhism from the kingdom. During 1367–1388, King Küna invited a monk of the Raman sect named Sumana from Sukhothai to reside at Wat Suan Dòk (Buppharam) in Chiang Mai, the capital city of Lan Na kingdom. Then, some monks in Chiang Mai were trained in Sri Lanka and returned to spread the religion at Wat Pa Daeng during the reign of King Sam Fang Kaen (1402–1415). Later, King Tilokarat (1441–1487) was ordained as a monk, greatly promoted the religion and patronized the eighth revision of the Buddhist canon at Wat Photharam (Wat Cet Yòt), resulting in the widespread Buddhist education in the reign of King Müang Kaeo (1496–1526). A large number of religious manuscripts were composed and copied by monks who were greatly skilled in Pali canonical texts (*Tipiṭaka*). The kingdom of Lan Na is thus

widely praised as the period of the most masterful Buddhist monks (see Prakong 1974: 204–208). The Tham Lan Na script was used to record the Dhamma, thereby being taught in its entirety. The script was spread to Lan Chang kingdom and developed further into the Tham Lao or Tham Isan script in the northeastern Thai areas, to Chiang Tung including its colonial cities, to Sipsòng Panna and to Thai Yai as well (see Sarasawadee 2010: 22). The Tham Lü script used by people in Sipsòng Panna was thus developed from the Tham Lan Na script.

Grabowsky (2008: 16–17) states that the Dhamma script (Tham script) domain comprises an area of more than 400,000 square kilometres, with a population of roughly 30 million inhabitants, of which more than 80 per cent are native speakers of Tai language. The earliest evidence of the Dhamma script is a Pali inscription written in CE 1376 and discovered in CE 1980 in Sukhothai province; the script was perhaps a derivative of the ancient Mon alphabet of Hariphunchai. The earliest evidence of the Dhamma script used for writing a vernacular Northern Thai text was written in CE 1465 on the pedestals of a Buddha image at Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai province. Since the late sixteenth century, the Dhamma script eventually replaced the other two scripts – Fak Kham script and Thai Nithet script – used for writing secular texts and the script was widespread in the Upper Mekong region.

However, based on our present state of knowledge, we may assume that the script spread from Lan Na to Chiang Tung and Chiang Rung (Sipsòng Panna) no later than the mid-fifteenth century. It ultimately reached Lan Sang, where it made its first documented appearance in 1520/21 (CS 882) in a monolingual Pāli palm-leaf manuscript kept at the Provincial Museum in Luang Prabang (formerly the Royal Palace). The oldest epigraphical evidence of the Dhamma script in Lan Sang is from an inscription in Luang Prabang, dated 1527. This occurred during the reign of King Phothisarāt (1520–1547), when cultural and dynastic relations between Lan Sang became very close. Unlike Sipsòng Panna and Chiang Tung, Lan Sang developed a secular script nowadays called ‘Old Lao script’ (*tua aksòn lau buhan*). According to Lorrillard, ‘the first true example’ of an inscription in secular Lao script is from a stele found in the central Lao town of Thakhek. Though influenced by the Fak Kham script of Lan Na, the secular Lao script also shows traces of independent development (Grabowsky 2008: 17).

Anisong manuscripts were written in either two languages – Pali and the vernacular – or in pure vernacular since they were read by preaching monks in front of laypeople. The texts thus need to be more or less understood due to the principal didactic purpose of *anisong*. Bilingual manuscripts are more frequently found because Pali expresses phrases or sentences quoted from Lord Buddha or canonical resources, while the vernacular translates the Pali itself. Both were therefore written verbatim.

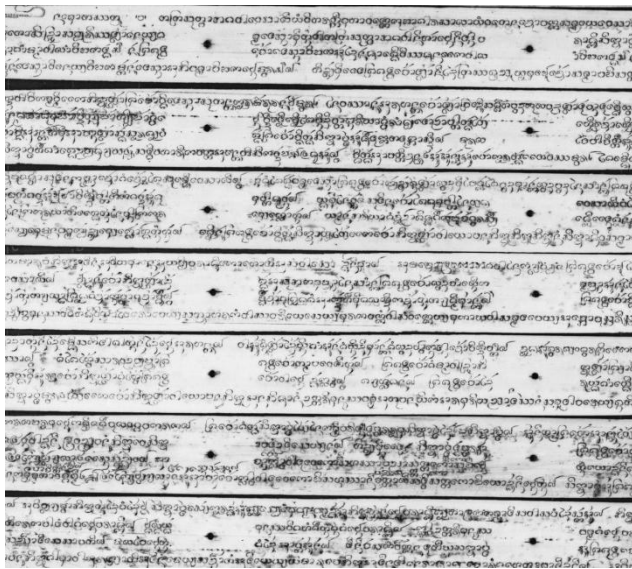


Figure 2.14: Tham Lan Na script

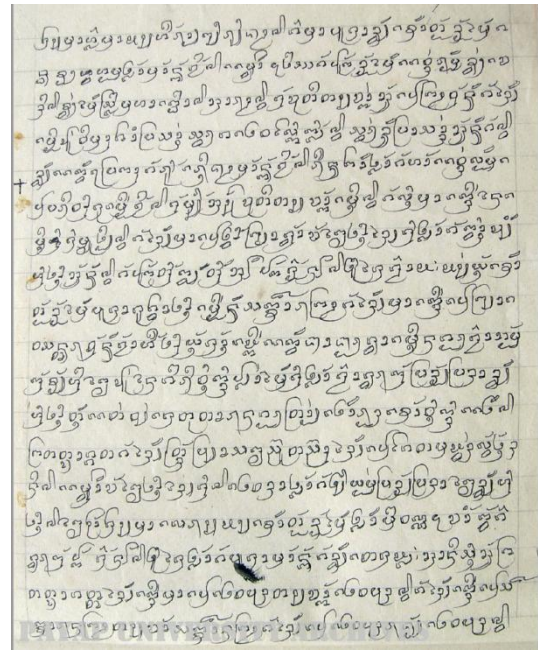


Figure 2.15: Tham Lü script

(Left) *Pitaka thang sam* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), source: PNTMP, code: พธ 0120102-06, folios 2–8 (recto), Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1873

(Right) *Anisong that sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas), source: PUA, code: 12.4, side 5, Phayap University Archives, year unknown

Besides Northern Thailand and Sipsong Panna, two composite manuscripts made of mulberry paper are found in Gengma, China. The first has three chapters⁴⁵: *Anisong sapphathan*⁴⁶, *Parami*⁴⁷ and *Sapphathan*⁴⁸; each of which was produced in CE 1979, CE 1982 and CE 1997 by different sponsors and on different occasions without the mention of scribe names. The second has two fascicles containing two *anisong* texts on *Sapphathan*; only the second shows the production year CE 1983 and a rarely found scribe’s name. The script of the two Gengma manuscripts is Tham Lü; the language is not Chinese but vernacular Tai Lü and Pali

⁴⁵ To define ‘fascicle’ and ‘chapter’ in the case of mulberry paper manuscript, Grabowsky (2018: 14) gives the following explanation: “Sometimes a single-text palm-leaf manuscript comprising several fascicles was copied on mulberry paper by starting a new volume with each new fascicle. This procedure would end up in a multi-volume mulberry paper manuscript in leporello style with each (small) volume representing one *phuk*. Tai Lü mulberry paper manuscripts, however, have generally a ‘whirlwind’ binding with the folios sown along one of the narrow sides and the sowing line is regarded as the upper part of the manuscript. Such a mulberry paper manuscript would not be divided by the scribe into several smaller codicological units, each corresponding to one palm-leaf fascicle of the source manuscript. The scribe would rather copy the whole text on one larger single mulberry paper manuscript by transforming the meaning of *phuk* from ‘fascicle’ (codicological unit) to ‘chapter’ (textual unit).”

⁴⁶ (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving.

⁴⁷ (ปารมี) Perfections.

⁴⁸ (สรรพทาน) All kinds of gift-giving.

languages. This clearly evidences the wide popularity of the Tai Lü mother tongue in Chinese regions inhabited by Tai ethnicities⁴⁹.



Figure 2.16: Map of areas of Dai (Tai) settlements in Yunnan (Grabowsky 2008: 51)

There are three *anisong* manuscripts made of industrial paper; one is written in the Tham Lü script and kept at the manuscript archive of Phayap University in Chiang Mai; the other two are in the Tham Lan Na script. The Tham Lü one is entitled *Anisong sang phuttharup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images) and coded 15.19, but the production year is unknown. It evidences the usage of red-coloured pencil for a paratextual insertion of missing parts as is shown below. The unknown scribe crossed out the incorrect name of a sponsor with the red pencil.

⁴⁹ “In Chinese historical sources, the Tai appear under different designations. Until the end of the fourteenth century, the term *baiyi* (‘hundred/numerous barbarians’) was used as a generic term for a large number of Tai peoples in Yunnan and adjacent regions. But already during the Yuan period (1271–1368), Chinese sources began to terminologically differentiate the Tai polities” (Liew 2003: 145 and Daniels 2000: 54–58, quoted by Grabowsky 2008).

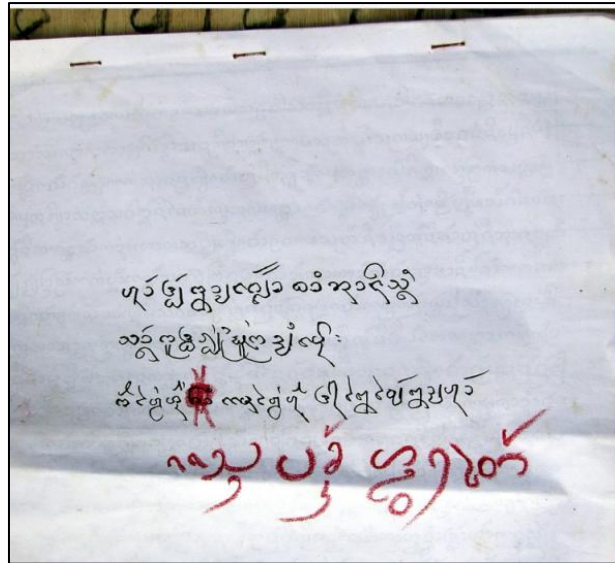
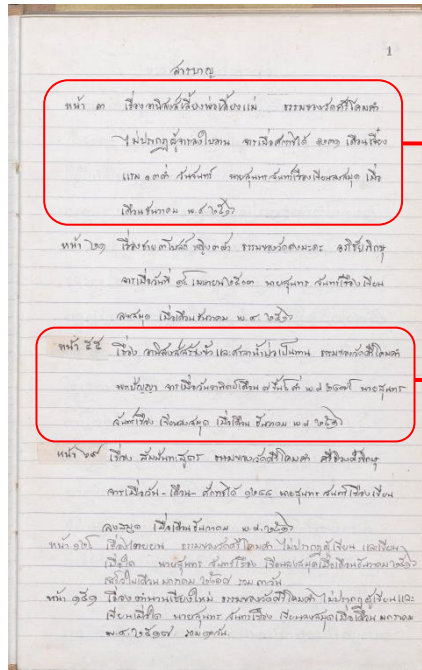
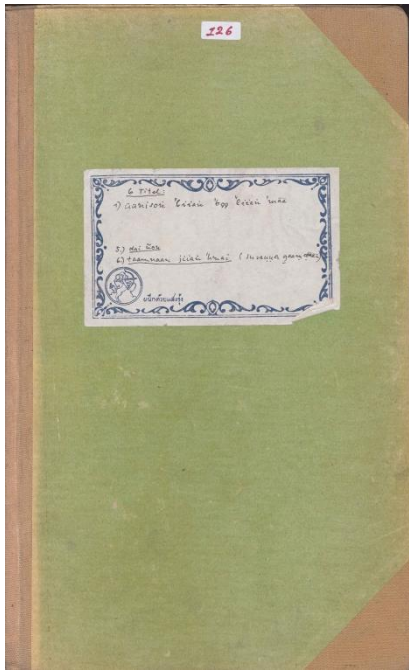


Figure 2.17: Industrial paper manuscript with red-pencil correction

The following Tham Lan Na manuscript is a MTM and coded 126 from the collection of *Dokumentarische Erfassung literarischer Materialien in den Nordprovinzen Thailands* (DELMN), containing two *anisong* texts: *Anisong liang phò liang mae* (Rewards derived from taking care of one's own parents) and *Anisong sang khua lae sala nam bò pen than* (Rewards derived from the construction of public bridges, pavilions and wells), and four non-*Anisong* texts⁵⁰. The texts were written above the lines, reflecting a proper adaptation of manuscript writing towards particular writing supports because it was written in a modern notebook, whereas texts in palm-leaf and mulberry paper manuscripts were basically written below the lines. Konrad Kingshill reports what he experienced in 1953 in *Ku Daeng: Thirty Years Later* as follows: “Villagers buy these palm-leaf sermons for specific, merit-making occasions to present to the temple, where they are kept for future use. Today, copies written into school notebooks with pen and ink are sometimes substituted for the palm-leaf variety that are increasingly difficult to secure [...]” (Kingshill 1991: 119, quoted by Veidlinger 2006: 163). There is also a table of contents showing titles, sources, scribes and dates of both original and current versions. All was derived from different years and production units but was rewritten in December 1973 by Mr. Sunthòn Canrüang, except for the last text that was rewritten in January 1974. No evident traces left on the manuscript show any reasons behind the text selections and why they were rewritten at a moment of transition towards the upcoming next year. The six texts in the manuscript below were rewritten from their original versions, originally kept at temples in Chiang Rai: Wat Si Khom Kham and Wat Dong Mada. They are not chronologically ordered. The first four texts were originally inscribed on palm-leaf manuscripts in CE 1869, CE 1960, CE 1936 and CE 1882, respectively, and no evidence of the production years can be found for the last two texts.

⁵⁰ *Chai sam bot ying sam phua* (ชายสามโบสถ์หญิงสามผัว, Men who were ordained three times and women who got married three times), *Sampantha sut* (สัมปันทสูตร), *Taiyon* (ไต่ยอน) and *Tamnan Chiang Mai* (ตำนานเชียงใหม่, The Chronicle of Chiang Mai).



Box 1: *Anisong liang phò liang mae*

Box 2: *Anisong sang khua lae sala nam bò pen than*

Figure 2.18: Cover and table of content of an industrial paper manuscript

Box 1

หน้า ๓ เรื่อง อานิสงส์เลี้ยงพ่อเลี้ยงแม่ ธรรมของวัดศรีโคมคำ ไม่ปรากฏผู้จารลงใบลาน จารเมื่อศักราช ได้ ๑๒๓๑ เดือนเจียง แรม ๑๓ ค่ำ วันจันทร์ นายสุนทร จันทรเรือง เขียนลงสมุด เมื่อเดือนธันวาคม พ.ศ. ๒๕๑๖

Page 3. Title: *Anisong liang phò liang mae* (Rewards derived from taking care of one's own parents). Manuscript from Wat Si Khom Kham. Unknown scribe. [The manuscript] was inscribed on the thirteenth waning-moon day of the first lunar month in CS 1231⁵¹, on a Monday. Mr. Sunthòn Canrüang wrote the text down in this notebook in December, BE 2516 (CE 1973).

Box 2

หน้า ๕๕ เรื่อง อานิสงส์สร้างขัวและศาลาน้ำบ่อเป็นทาน ธรรมของวัดศรีโคมคำ พระปัญญาจารเมื่อวันที่ อาทิตย์เดือน ๗ ขึ้น ๙ ค่ำ พ.ศ. ๒๔๗๖ นายสุนทร จันทรเรือง เขียนลงสมุด เมื่อเดือนธันวาคม พ.ศ. ๒๕๑๖

Page 55. Title: *Anisong sang khua lae sala nam bò pen than* (Rewards derived from the construction of public bridges, pavilions and wells). Manuscript from Wat Si Khom Kham. Phra Panya inscribed [the manuscript] on the ninth waxing-moon day of the seventh lunar month in BE 2476⁵², on a Sunday. Mr. Sunthòn Canrüang wrote the text down in this notebook in December, BE 2516 (CE 1973).

⁵¹ 1231 Aśvina 13 = Monday, 18 October 1869.

⁵² 1295 Caitra 29 = Saturday, 24 March 1934.

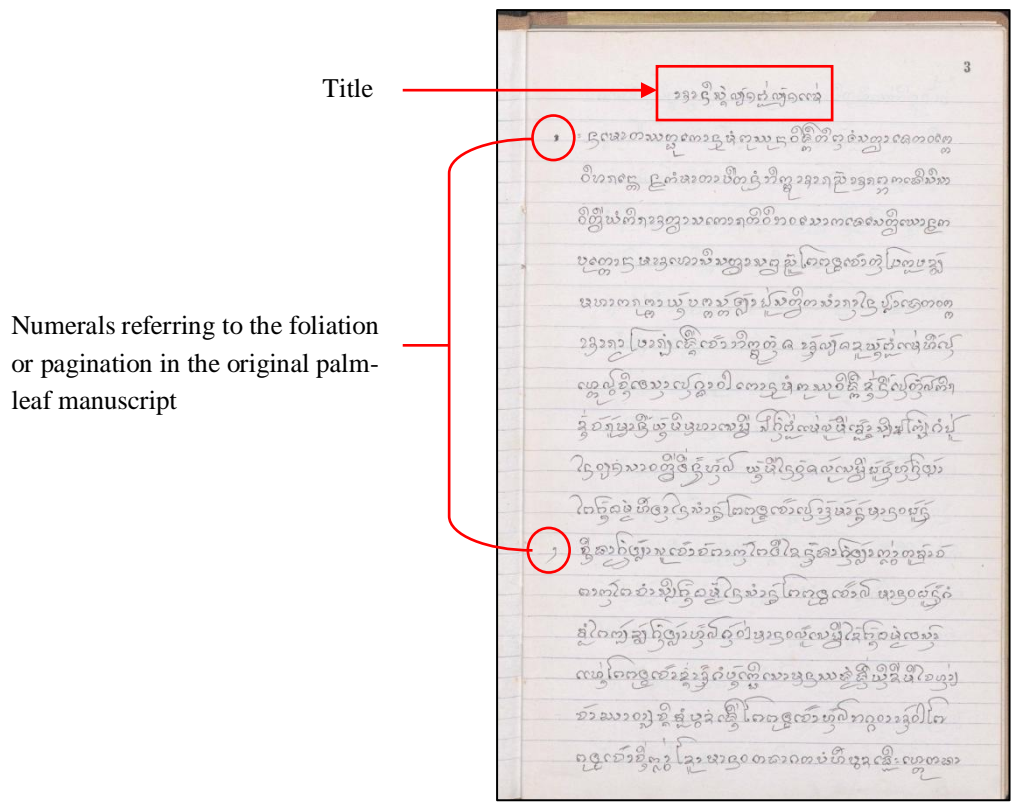


Figure 2.19: Foliation reference in an industrial paper manuscript

The industrial paper manuscript represents a manuscript transformation for the purpose of preserving ancient texts in a present copy. Concerning paratextual elements, the scribe kept the original texts and the Tham Lan Na script but adjusted the style to the notebook layout by writing the texts above the lines and giving a table of contents. Interestingly, pagination or foliation in the original version is also marked in the copied version with *Hora* numerals⁵³ but it is still unclear whether it orders palm-leaf ‘sides’ or ‘folios’⁵⁴. This can be seen as a tradition of transforming manuscripts into another material by means of preserving the original texts and paracontents; in other words, the years, scribes and sources shown in the original manuscripts were rewritten in the table of contents of the industrial manuscript. Accordingly, manuscript transformation can be fundamentally defined as preservation of the original text but with different materials in terms of writing support and tools. Mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts are more recent choices than palm-leaf manuscripts; inscribing skills and materials became rare from time to time and the duration of the writing decreased. A similar situation occurred in the case of religious manuscripts of other textual genres that are nowadays manufactured with industrial printing technology and sold in mass

⁵³ *Hora* numerals and *Nai Tham* numerals are found in palm-leaf manuscripts. The two kinds of numerals are basically different; the *Hora* numeral is derived from Burma and used in manuscripts of secular texts while the *Nai Tham* numeral is for those of religious texts.

⁵⁴ Palm-leaf manuscripts have two sides – recto and verso – in one folio or leaf. Foliation is mostly marked on the verso sides. The pagination of the notebook manuscript can be in both variants, namely, side order (pagination) or folio order (foliation).

production. The intention of making the manuscript has therefore been transformed to respond to current market demands. During my field research trip to Northern Thailand in July 2018, I found industrial manuscripts made of modern paper in the oblong palm-leaf shape at a big supermarket in Sung Men district⁵⁵, Phrae province. The supermarket is located in the vicinity of Wat Sung Men in which the manuscript museums are well-known. The manuscript productions have therefore been transformed into industrialized books, so that devotees can buy and dedicate it to the monastery. In this case, intentions of manuscript donors are not transformed; they offered the industrial manuscripts to monasteries for the purpose of gaining merit. The intention of the manuscript scribes, or the printing business in this case, however, has completely changed, because, instead of expecting merit, they now produce manuscripts as ‘marketing products’ for the purpose of commercial profits. The intentions of sponsors and scribes can also be transformed into demand-supply relationships. Not only are the newly-transformed manuscripts found in a wider range, Buddhist banners or flags in Laos that are also handmade products have also been influenced by the modernization, as explained by Hall:

This is what is happening in the case of the Lao Buddhist banners, in which merit and the personalized beautification of the *vat* is still desired, but women do not either possess the skills, the interest, or the time to personally weave a banner for donation and thus turn to other options. Turning to other options to create or obtain banners does not affect their meaning; the modern versions are believed to acquire an equal amount of merit for the donor as the handwoven ones (Hall 2010: 145).

2.4 Time and Space of *Anisong* Manuscript Productions

2.4.1 Time: Periods and Occasions of Manuscript Productions

2.4.1.1 Time Frame of Manuscript Productions

In this section, the manuscripts are studied by fascicles because the sixty-seven composite manuscripts are grouped by fascicles, each of which was made in different years from different units. The total of 207 bundles (*mat*) of *anisong* manuscripts includes 339 fascicles⁵⁶ (*phuk*) in total. Among the given 339 fascicles, 207 fascicles are dated in year in the

⁵⁵ Unfortunately, I could not take a photo of the industrial manuscripts sold at the supermarket because I went there for a very short time and had left my camera and smartphone at the hotel. The manuscripts were placed on a shelf, the second one from below, together with monastic alms-offering products (เครื่องสังฆทาน).

⁵⁶ Calculated by fascicle units, the dominant number, instead of in Phrae province, is found in Nan province. Phrae keeps eighty fascicles; Nan eighty-nine fascicles; Lampang thirty-one fascicles; Chiang Rai twenty-five fascicles; Lamphun sixteen fascicles; Chiang Mai forty-nine fascicles; Mae Hong Son thirteen fascicles; Phayao twenty-three fascicles; Phayap University Archives six fascicles and Unknown province seven fascicles.

colophons or paratexts, and 132 are undated⁵⁷. The following bar chart shows a cluster of 207 dated manuscripts in eight provinces of Northern Thailand, excluding the six manuscripts from the collection of Phayap University Archives (PUA) because they are unspecified in terms of provenance⁵⁸. Categorized by eight provinces, the chart gives the numbers of *anison* manuscripts in twenty-year periods each. The fluctuating numbers of manuscripts are undoubtedly related to political and historical incidents in Lan Na kingdom. Chiang Mai, the capital city of Lan Na kingdom, was established in CE 1296 by King Mangrai. The Mangrai dynasty had ruled over Lan Na for over 250 years until it was seized by the Burmese army in CE 1558. Lan Na kingdom was forced under the Burmese rule for over 200 years, widely influencing the kingdom in terms of literacy; the Lan Na script and Fak Kham script⁵⁹ were replaced by the Burmese script. Somjate (1996) explains the two main reasons causing the decrease in the use of the Tham Lan Na script – the Burmese rule and the Siamese rule.

The political instability of the Lan Na kingdom was influenced by the Burmese colonization during 1558–1777 that caused the literary interruption. Educational textbooks and religious manuscripts became scattered and deteriorated scholars' interest, which was considerably affected by endless battles and depression of being ruled by the Burmese. The Burmese script was likely in enforcement of use. The Lan Na kingdom was later colonized by the Siamese in which the central Thai script was widespread at the moment. Since 1887 the Tham Lan Na script education has been, politically, less systematic and not enhanced by Siam (see Somjate 1996: 6)⁶⁰.

Later, led by Kawila, the city ruler of Lampang, Chiang Mai was seized back in CE 1774. He then expanded the city by gathering the neighbouring villages and restored the abandoned city for the purpose of conciliation. King Rama I of Siam praised his victory and great

⁵⁷ Lagirarde states that undated manuscripts can be widely found in Northern Thailand: “For here, in Lanna as elsewhere in the region, the scribes did not seek to systematically immortalize what we may call authors, editors, or compilers (even if they did) or to provide a date to every piece of work” (2017: 272).

⁵⁸ Among the six manuscripts, two are dated from 1997 and 2007; both are mulberry paper manuscripts. They are *Anison pi mai sakkat* (Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year ceremonies) (code: 15.1, CE 1997) and *Anison sapphathan chadok* (Jātaka story of rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) (code: 13.9, CE 2007).

⁵⁹ In the reign of King Küna, the sixth ruler of Lan Na kingdom, Phra Sumana Thera adopted the Thai script called Fak Kham from Sukhuthai city in the kingdom. The inscriptions with Fak Kham scripts are exhibited at Wat Phra Yün in Lamphun and at Wat Chiang Man in Chiang Mai (see Prakong Nimmanheminda 1974: 17).

⁶⁰ เกิดความไม่สงบสุขในอาณาจักรล้านนา เนื่องจากอาณาจักรล้านนาต้องตกเป็นเมืองขึ้นของพม่าเกือบ ๒๐๐ ปี (ประมาณ พ.ศ. ๒๑๐๑–๒๓๒๐) จึงทำให้การศึกษาด้านอักษรศาสตร์และวรรณกรรมต่างๆ ต้องหยุดชะงักขาดช่วงไป ตำราและคัมภีร์ทั้งหลายก็กระจัดกระจายหายไปขาดผู้รวบรวมเอาใจใส่ศึกษา อันเป็นผลสืบเนื่องมาจากสงครามและความท้อใจที่ต้องตกเป็นเมืองขึ้นของพม่า และเชื่อว่าสมัยที่ต้องตกอยู่ในอำนาจของพมานั้น อาณาจักรล้านนาทั้งหมดพม่าคงเอาตัวอักษรมาบังคับใช้ด้วย เมื่อพ้นจากอำนาจของพม่าแล้วอาณาจักรล้านนาไทยก็ต้องตกเป็นเมืองขึ้นหรือเป็นเมืองประเทศราชของกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ บทบาทของอักษรไทยกลางจึงเพิ่มมากยิ่งขึ้น จนกระทั่งประมาณปี พ.ศ. ๒๔๓๐ เป็นต้นมา การศึกษาภาษา ล้านนาหรืออักษรธรรมล้านนาก็เป็นไปตามยถากรรม ไม่ได้เป็นระบบเท่าที่ควร ถึงแม้ว่าอาณาจักรล้านนาจะรวมกับภาคกลางและภาคอื่นๆ เป็นรัฐหนึ่งรัฐเดียวกันคือประเทศไทยแล้วก็ตาม รัฐบาลสมัยนั้นก็ไม่สนับสนุนให้มีการเรียนการสอนภาษา ล้านนาด้วยเหตุผลทางการเมือง ดังนั้นบทบาทของภาษาล้านนาของอาณาจักรล้านนาคือในเขตแปดจังหวัดภาคเหนือตอนบนในปัจจุบันนี้จึงลดความสำคัญลงเป็นลำดับ

leadership, thereby promoting him as the first King of the Kawila dynasty⁶¹, entitled Phra cao Borom Racha Thibodi, who ruled over the city of Chiang Mai from CE 1781.

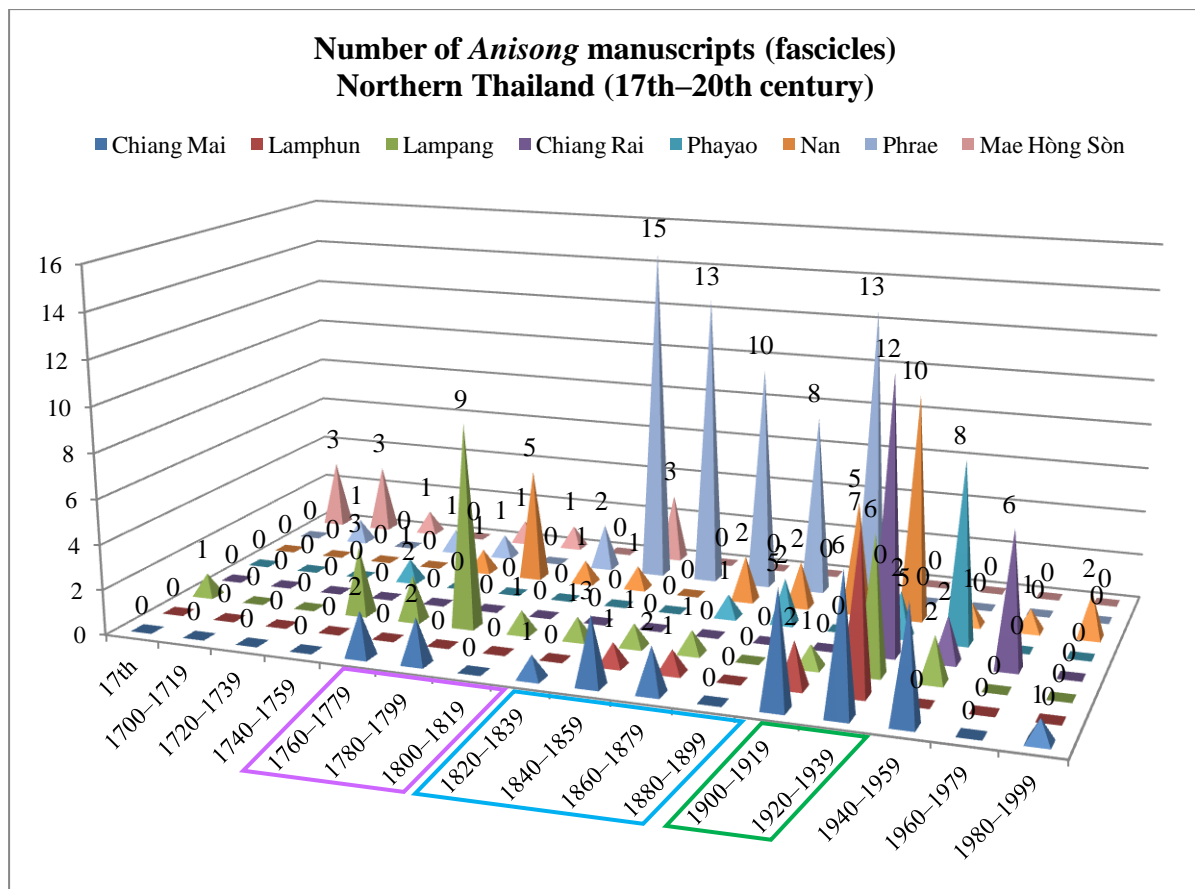


Chart 2.2: Number of *anisong* manuscript-fascicles in Lan Na (the 17th–20th centuries)

According to the bar chart, only four *anisong* manuscripts have survived from the 17th century. The earliest dates back to CE 1666, entitled *Anisong buat* or “Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies” (ฉ๑ 0306004-05) from Lampang, which is kept at Wat Hang Chat and combined with other non-*Anisong* manuscript-fascicles as a unit of a composite manuscript. The latest *anisong* manuscript from Northern Thailand was written in CE 2007, is made of mulberry paper, entitled *Anisong sapphathan chadok* (Jātaka story on rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving, source: PUA, code: 13.19) and kept at Phayap University in Chiang Mai province. One definite reason why only a few manuscripts survived from the 17th century is the subsequent domination by Burma; the Lan Na script was replaced by Burmese scripts. Veidlinger explains that “the Thai rulers began to lose power to the Burmese in the middle of the sixteenth century, and a few decades later

⁶¹ There were nine rulers of Chiang Mai: 1. Phra cao Bòrom Racha Thibòdi (1781–1815), 2. Cao Luang Chang Phüak Thammalangka (1815–1821), 3. Cao Luang Setthi (1821–1825), 4. Cao Luang Phaen Din Yen Phutthawong (1825–1846), 5. Phra cao Mahotaraprathet (1846–1854), 6. Cao Upparat Inthawichayanon (until 1873), 7. Phra cao Intha Wichayanon (1873–1897), 8. Cao Intha Warorot (1897–1909) and 9. Cao Kaeo Nawarat (1909–1949).

manuscript production waned. Many present-day repositories that contain dozens of examples from the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries have only one or two from the period 1620 to 1750 CE, during the Burmese occupation” (2006: 105). Besides, the rarity of manuscripts surviving from that period may have also been caused by various other reasons: low qualities of storage, losses or damages. Veidlinger states that the tradition of writing Pali manuscripts occurred since the fifteenth century and explains the lack of manuscript production in Lan Na during the Burmese rule as follows:

[...] the number and condition of manuscripts from the fifteenth century suggest that the tradition of writing Pali manuscripts in the Lan Na script did not commence until that century. Further evidence of this is that the very earliest manuscripts have short colophons, giving only the most vital information, but as the manuscript culture expanded after the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the writing of colophons flowered into a more developed and involved art (Veidlinger 2006: 104).

Another reason is the lesser interest and popularity of *anisong* compared to other texts; according to the website of the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM), a total of 647 manuscripts are dated from the mid-16th to the 18th century, during which time the Lan Na kingdom was ruled by Burma. Considered by textual categories, *anisong* manuscripts are found less than other religious texts, especially Jātaka, the Buddhist canon and other secular texts. Even in the 20th century in which one could say that the most *anisong* manuscripts were produced, there are over two-thousand manuscripts of other textual types. In the late 18th century manuscript production was restored for King Kawila (Chiang Mai ruler) intended to glorify his dynasty for the purpose of settlement of the stable city. He had the dynasty chronicles written; a large number of local folk tales and legends were thus copied (see Sarasawadee 2010: 3).

Concerning *anisong* manuscripts, there are sixteen copies surviving written in the period of the city restoration by King Kawila (CE 1782–1815); most of them are ten copies of *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon) from Nan⁶² and Lampang⁶³. Besides, there are two copies of *Anisong sang phra phuttharup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images) from Phrae⁶⁴ and Lampang⁶⁵ and the other four fascicles of *Anisong salak*⁶⁶, *Anisong mahawetsandòn*⁶⁷, *Anisong an dai ao nam ao sai ma sai khwang*

⁶² นน 0910015-00 in CE 1790 from Wat Na Pang, นน 0910028-00 in CE 1798 from Wat Na Pang, นน 0910029-00 in CE 1790 from Wat Na Pang, นน 0910059-00 in CE 1784 from Wat Na Pang and นน 0920007-04 in CE 1791 from Wat Na Pang.

⁶³ ลป 0610018-00 in CE 1790 from Wat Ban Luk, ลป 0610035-00 in CE 1792 from Wat Ban Luk, ลป 0610050-00 in CE 1791 from Wat Ban Luk, ลป 0620018-01 in CE 1783 from Wat Ban Luk and ลป 0620035-01 in CE 1784 from Wat Ban Luk.

⁶⁴ พร 0106004-04 in CE 1813, Wat Sung Men.

⁶⁵ ลป 0220041-04 in CE 1800, Wat Phra That Lampang Luang.

⁶⁶ ลป 0206007-00, Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival, CE 1785, Wat Phra That Lampang Luang.

⁶⁷ ลป 0620051-01, Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka, CE 1782, Wat Ban Luk.

*cedi mai si lae wat wa aram*⁶⁸ and a multiple-text manuscript containing various *anison* texts⁶⁹. The dominant manuscripts of *Anison pitaka* comparatively resulted from King Kawila's city resettlement. Namely, not only were the dynasty chronicles written, but also was the Buddhist canon copied, thereby being followed by the *anison*, which was basically attached with the Buddhist canon. The canon standardizes the whole Buddhist principals and stabilizes the society on the ground of religious consolidation. Restorations of city chronicles and religious books were consequently done in unison as part of the city resettlement from the 216 years of Burmese sovereignty⁷⁰ during 1558–1774. According to the chart, *anison* manuscripts had been dominantly written in Nan and Lampang during 1774–1804, as shown in the purple frame, until the Burmese were completely banished from the region in CE 1804⁷¹. To liberate themselves from the severe tyranny of the Burmese, the Lan Na decided to become a vassal state of Siam during 1774–1899.

The restoration of the city was done by King Kawila (1796–1815) – one of the seven kings⁷² who ruled Chiang Mai, Lamphun and Lampang during 1796–1827 – by moving people from several ‘whole towns’ to different abandoned cities. Only few *anison* manuscripts were therefore written in this period, except in Nan and Lampang provinces which had big and

⁶⁸ ชม 0220028-99, Rewards derived from bringing water and sand to pagodas, *Bodhi* trees and monasteries, CE 1792, Wat Cedi Luang Wōrawihan.

⁶⁹ The manuscript is coded นน 0906003-00 (CE 1808) from Wat Na Pang in Nan province and contains five texts: *Anison bok fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of fireworks), *Anison sang wihan* (Rewards derived from the construction of monasteries), *Anison sang prasat hit kuti kudi wihan* (Rewards derived from the construction of monasteries, abodes and monastic halls and the donation of book chests), *Anison sang hit sai tham* (Rewards derived from the donation of book chest) and *Anison tam prathip bucha* (Rewards derived from flying lantern balloons or floating banana-leaf vessels).

⁷⁰ During the first century of the Burmese regime, Lan Na was partly controlled by labour and military laypeople because the Burmese followed the customary laws standardized by the Mangrai dynasty (1296–1558). Minor cities were still governed by Lan Na indigenous rulers and partly intervened by the Burmese. Religion and arts were not radically influenced either. During the second century of the Burmese regime in the reign of King Chin Bu Chin of Khòng Bòng dynasty (1763–1776), the Burmese *Po* (commander) was promoted to rule the cities in Lan Na. They harassed and forced the people for tributes, extravagantly wasted properties and kept excavating in search of treasures, which resulted in a higher demand of tax payments from the Lan Na people. The Burmese King was not able to sufficiently punish the commanders for tyranny, as the country, at that time, was overrun by Chinese troops invading upper Burma (see Sarasawadee 2010: 253–309).

⁷¹ “ความบีบคั้นจากการปกครองของโปหัวขาวทำให้ผู้นำชาวล้านนาหันมาสมาชิภักดีต่อสยาม และร่วมกันขับไล่กองทัพพม่าออกจากเชียงใหม่สำเร็จใน พ.ศ. ๒๓๑๗ แต่ต้องใช้เวลาต่อมาถึง ๓๐ ปีจึงจะสามารถขับไล่พม่าออกจากเชียงใหม่ได้ใน พ.ศ. ๒๓๔๗ อิทธิพลของพม่าในล้านนาจึงสิ้นสุดลง”, The pressure resulted from the administration of Po Hua Khao (commander) causing Lan Na leaders to tribute to Siam. They joined Siam to successfully expel the Burmese out of the region in 1774. But it took thirty years to completely drive the Burmese and their power out of Chiang Saen in 1804 (Sarasawadee 2010: 309).

⁷² Cao Cet Ton (seven kings) are King Kawila (ruled Lampang in 1774–1782 and Chiang Mai in 1782–1815), King Kham Som (ruled Lampang in 1782–1794), King Thammalangka (ruled Chiang Mai in 1816–1821), King Duang Thip (ruled Lampang in 1794–1825), Phraya Uparat Mu La (died before coronation), King Kham Fan (ruled Chiang Mai in 1823–1825 and Lampang in 1805–1815) and King Bunma (ruled Lamphun in 1815–1827) (Sarasawadee 2010: 332).

important cities. Although Buddhist religious texts in damaged palm-leaf manuscripts were also restored and transmitted, *anisong* manuscripts were still commissioned in a small number during the period of restoring the city.

However, during the period of 1820–1899 (framed in blue), *anisong* manuscripts were especially flourished in Phrae province. As was introduced in Chapter One, the monk Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi worked on various religious projects, especially manuscripts (collection, copying and revision) during 1826–1878. *Anisong* and non-*Anisong* manuscripts were thus made and copied on a large scale in the province. His manuscript projects began in CE 1826 when he revised the Buddhist canon with co-workers in Chiang Mai. In CE 1828 he was invited by Cao Inthawichai Racha, the Phrae ruler, to bring the manuscripts copied in Chiang Mai back to Phrae province. Wat Sung Men currently houses most manuscripts in Northern Thailand thanks to his activity in that period (see Aphilak 2018: 17–18)⁷³. In CE 1833 he joined the event of the Buddhist canon revision in Nan province. In addition to gathering and copying manuscripts, he also inscribed the Buddhist canon manuscript and dedicated it at Vat Visun in Luang Prabang, Laos, in CE 1836. He still worked on several religious and monastic projects until his death in CE 1878. The various projects thus resulted in the large numbers of palm-leaf manuscripts in Phrae province where *anisong* manuscripts remained in continuous production in massive numbers until the beginning of the 20th century.

The venerable monk Khruba [Kancana Aranyawasi] Mahather[a] was a genius. He dexterously attained the high-leveled Dhamma, mastered a wide range of knowledge, and pilgrimaged through different *müang*. He was a Lan Na pilgrim who travelled to monasteries in several Northern Thai provinces including Phrae inviting scholarly monks and laymen to inscribe their knowledge in palm-leaf manuscripts and to revise the Buddhist canon for the education of posterity. [The revision] was held in different monasteries in Phrae province, for example, Wat Sung Men, Wat Si Chum, Wat Mahapho, Wat Müang Mò, Wat Chang Kham in Nan province, Wat Suan Dòk and Wat Phra Sing in Chiang Mai province, Wat Si Cum Kaeo Kuang Hua Wiang in Lampang province, Wat Pa Amphawan at Rahaeng district in Tak province. Besides, he went to a neighboring country [for the canonical revision] such as Wat Witchulawanaram (Wat Wisun) at Luang Prabang province in Laos. Palm-leaf manuscripts containing the revision of the Buddhist canon (Tipitaka) held at different places have been partly brought back to Wat Sung Men (Phra Rangsiman 2015: 45)⁷⁴.

⁷³ “โดยท่านได้เดินทางผ่านหริภุญไชย ลำปาง ซึ่งตลอดการเดินทางได้รับการต้อนรับนับถือจากเจ้าเมืองและประชาชนเป็นอย่างดี และท่านได้สร้างมณฑปและหอไตรวัดสูงเม่น เพื่อประดิษฐานคัมภีร์ธรรมที่ท่านนำมาจากเชียงใหม่ และได้ฉลองธรรมอย่างยิ่งใหญ่ว่า จนทำให้วัดสูงเม่นกลายเป็นวัดที่เก็บรวบรวมคัมภีร์ธรรมภาษาล้านนาไว้มากที่สุดในประเทศไทย”, He passed Hariphunchai and Lampang and was warmly welcomed by city rulers and commoners throughout the trip. He constructed the square hall with a pyramid roof (มณฑป) and the monastic library at Wat Sung Men to house the manuscripts copied from Chiang Mai, followed by a great festive celebration. As a result, Wat Sung Men has the largest collection of Lan Na religious manuscripts in Thailand (see Aphilak 2018: 17–18).

⁷⁴ ครูบามหาเถรเป็นผู้ที่มีปัญญาเฉียบแหลม ได้ศึกษาพระธรรมจนแตกฉานถึงขั้นสมบัติขั้นสูงและมีความรอบรู้เรื่องราวต่างๆ มากมาย ได้จาริกแสวงบุญไปยังเมืองต่างๆ เป็นนักบุญแห่งล้านนาองค์หนึ่ง ได้เดินทางไปยังวัดต่างๆ ทั้งในจังหวัดแพร่และจังหวัดอื่นๆ ในภาคเหนือ เพื่อชักชวนพระสงฆ์และฆราวาสผู้มีความรู้ให้มาจาร (จาริก) ความรู้แขนงต่างๆ ลงในใบลาน ทำการ

At the beginning of the 20th century, *anison* manuscripts were widely produced throughout Northern Thailand. Lan Na became more peaceful after being part of Siam since the reign of King Rama I. Thanks to the eased political situation the people could pay more attention to religious activities. *Anison* explains rewards derived from making different kinds of merit; the most frequent production of *anison* manuscripts in the 20th century can therefore be seen as an indicator of increased activities of merit-making. This is a further continuation of manuscript production after the successful liberation of Lan Na from the Burmese. The number of *anison* manuscripts in the twentieth century was slightly different from the nineteenth century, but comparatively similar in other provinces, and not just concentrated merely in Phrae. There has only been one *anison* produced in the 21th century and it is made of mulberry paper⁷⁵. Because modern printing technology was introduced in the region, *anison* texts in the contemporary period are rarely written by hand but increasingly printed with modern technology as manufactured books. The Thai Encyclopaedia for Youth (1969: 108–109) timelines the arrival of printing technology in Thailand, showing that the first Thai who observed the technology abroad was an envoy called Phra Wisutsunthòn (Pan). In charge of embassy affairs to promote the international relationship, he was sent by King Narai in 1686 during the Ayutthaya period to visit Louis XIV of France and he experienced typing in the royal press. During the reign of King Rama I a French Christian priest used a printer of Roman scripts to type a book in Thonburi district in 1796, which was the earliest book printed in Thailand. In 1816, Mrs. Judson, the wife of an American missionary, produced a set of Thai fonts in Burma. The Thai fonts and its printing press were then brought to India and used to print a book entitled *A Grammar of the Thai or Siamese Language* at Serampore city in Kolkata, containing Thai fonts on many pages. This is the earliest surviving book typed with Thai fonts. The printing press was then imported to Singapore in 1823 to help the missionaries in printing religious books about Christianity. In 1835, Dan Beach Bradley brought the press from Singapore to Thailand and introduced the first printing press in Bangkok on June 3, 1836. The 3rd of June was thus established as the Day of Thai Printing⁷⁶.

สังคายนาศิลปะสงวนไว้ให้อุชุนรุ่นหลังได้ศึกษา ได้ดำเนินการหลายวัดในจังหวัดแพร่ เช่น วัดสูงเม่น วัดศรีชุม วัดมหาโพธิ์ วัดเหมืองหม้อ วัดช้างค้ำ จังหวัดน่าน วัดสวนดอก วัดพระสิงห์ จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ วัดศรีชุมแก้วกว้างหัวเวียง จังหวัดลำปาง วัดป่าอัมพวัน เมืองระแหง จังหวัดตาก นอกจากนั้นได้เดินทางไปดำเนินการ ณ ประเทศใกล้เคียง เช่น วัดวิสุทธาวาราม เมืองหลวงพระบาง ประเทศลาว เป็นต้น ทุกแห่งที่ครูบามหาเถรได้ดำเนินการสังคายนาศิลปะไตรปิฎก และจารลงในใบลาน ครูบามหาเถรจะนำคัมภีร์ใบลานส่วนหนึ่งมาไว้ที่วัดสูงเม่น

⁷⁵ The manuscript is entitled *Anison sapphathan chadok* (Jātaka story of rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), source: PUA, code: 13.9. The chart above excludes the manuscript because its provenance is unknown.

⁷⁶ In CE 1835 (BE 2378) Bradley brought a printing press and Thai printing fonts from Singapore to Bangkok for the purpose of printing business. The first Thai printed book with Thai fonts in Bangkok was successfully accomplished on June 3, 1836 (BE 2379) by Priest Robinson. The third of June has been designated as the Day of Thai Printing. (พ.ศ. ๒๓๗๘ หมอบรัดเลย์ได้นำแท่นพิมพ์ และตัวพิมพ์อักษรไทย จากสิงคโปร์เข้ามาในกรุงเทพฯ เพื่อดำเนินการด้านการพิมพ์ และจัดพิมพ์ได้สำเร็จในวันที่ ๓ มิถุนายน พ.ศ. ๒๓๗๙ โดยมีบาทหลวงโรบินสัน เป็นช่างพิมพ์ นับได้ว่าเป็นการพิมพ์หนังสือไทย ด้วยตัวพิมพ์อักษรไทยเป็นครั้งแรกในเมืองไทย วงการพิมพ์ของประเทศไทยจึงได้ถือเอาวันที่ ๓ มิถุนายน ของทุกปี เป็นวันการพิมพ์ไทย)

(<https://www.trueplookpanya.com/knowledge/content/60298/-lantha-lan->).

2.4.1.2 Occasions of Manuscript Productions

According to the colophons, most *anisong* manuscripts were completed between the tenth and the first month of the year, corresponding to July to October or the Buddhist Lent period. The annual months in the Northern Thai regions were counted differently from the present day; October was the first month of the year of the lunar calendar. Tai Khün⁷⁷ and Tai Lü manuscripts in Chiang Tung mark November as the first month while it is December in Lao manuscripts in Laos. During the Buddhist Lent in which most *anisong* manuscripts were inscribed, monks were restricted to reside within a certain temple and were not allowed to travel⁷⁸ thereby being able to spend time on writing manuscripts. As Kislenko states: “In practice this is the primary occasion for the ordainment of monks and for them to begin a retreat for study and prayer, representing the period Buddha spent in heaven preaching to his mother, who died when he was just seven days old. Sermons, chants, and prayers again mark the occasion” (2009: 149). Laypeople could invite them to do religious activities outside the temples but not for overnight stays, the monks could thus spend more of their free time at night on inscribing manuscripts. Veidlinger defines it as seasonal activities: “The dates found in manuscript colophons demonstrate that the work was carried out mostly during the rainy season. The vast majority of dated manuscripts were completed in months nine, ten, eleven, and twelve” (2006: 123). During the Buddhist Lent monk scribes could write a lot of short *anisong* manuscripts or some long *anisong* manuscripts, especially *Tipiṭaka* and *Anisong pitaka (thang sam)* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon). There are a large number of *Anisong pitaka* manuscripts, most of them accompanied by the concise version of the Pali Buddhist canon or *Tipiṭaka*.

Theravāda Buddhists believe in the merit or benefits rewarded by means of copying *Tipiṭaka* or other religious books. *Anisong pitaka* was thus often written and attached at the end of Buddhist canon manuscripts, as affirmative words explaining the benefits that could be expected from the manuscript dedications. There are also various versions of *Anisong sang tham* and *Anisong khian tham*, which both mean ‘Rewards derived from copying religious books’ and in my corpus represent the same concept of merit rewarded by copying religious books. Consequently, the manuscripts basically contain four texts: *Vinaya*, *Suttanta*, *Abhidhamma* and *Anisong*, all of which were frequently inscribed by a single scribe. In the period of the Buddhist Lent monks could write the whole four texts as a unit of *Tipiṭaka* and spend in general four months on this work. For instance, the manuscript *Anisong pitaka*

⁷⁷ “Tai Khün is the self-appellation of an ethnic Tai group living in the eastern Shan state of Chiang Tung in Myanmar and in some areas in northern Thailand, where they were forcibly resettled in the early nineteenth century. The Tai Khün language is closely related to Tai Lü and Kam Müang, the language of Lan Na” (Apiradee 2016: 36).

⁷⁸ In Buddha's lifetime, Buddhist monks were condemned by villagers for their travels in the rainy season because agricultural fields had been destroyed. Thus, Lord Buddha regulated a new law preventing monks from travelling for three months during the rainy season, later known as the Buddhist Lent or Lenten season. Arne Kislenko (2009: 146) explains that “during this period they stop and reside at particular *wat* so, according to tradition, they do not trample the crops.”

coded นน 0910028-00 and found at Wat Na Pang in Nan province was inscribed in CE 1798 by a monk (Th: *phikkhu* ภิกขุ) named Anantha and an ex-monk (Th: *khanan* ขนาน) named Thuna; both of them were also the sponsors. The scribes mentioned themselves in the colophons that they finished writing the manuscripts during the end of year – the eleventh and twelfth month of the year and the first month of the following year.

As a consequence of the Buddhist Lent, evidenced by colophons in the manuscripts, monks and novices could take this period for studying the Dhamma or even assisting senior monks as attendants at their own or different temples for a long stay. Terwiel (2012) explains that when an inexperienced monk lives one *phansa* (พรรษา) or one Lenten season in a monastery, he is usually obliged to partake in an intensive learning process (2012: 99–100). One example is from a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong sang hon thang pen than* (Rewards derived from the construction of public roads)⁷⁹. The scribe was a novice (*samanen*) named Khantha and declared his duty in the colophon that during the time of his study he assisted an abbot called Khruba Phrabaidika Cao Sing Kham Kiangwang at Wat Chai Mongkhon (ปางเมื่อเข้าได้ อยู่ปฏิบัติครูบาพระใบฎีกาเจ้าสิ่งคำเกียวงวัดไชยมงคลวันนั้นแล). Monks also learnt to write palm-leaf manuscripts by copying Dhamma texts dictated by master monks or rewriting original ones. One is the following example quoted from a palm-leaf manuscript produced in CE 1700 entitled *Anisong buat* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies)⁸⁰. The scribe mentioned his study *Pārājikā*⁸¹ in the tenth month and his manuscript-inscribing practices at a temple called Wat Thalāi. He asked the readers not to mock his unorganized handwriting.

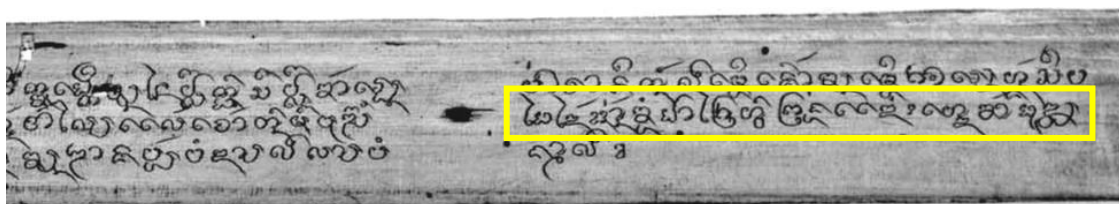


Figure 2.20: Colophon showing self-criticism of the scribe

ไม่ได้อ่านขอย่าใครหัวพร้อมแฉ เหตุข้าผู้เดียว

Anyone who reads this, please do not mock me. [The handwriting was made] only by me.

Anisong buat (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies)

Source: DELMN, code: 826, folio 8 (verso), Wat Kittiwong, Mae Hông Sòn province, CE 1700

Anisong basically contain short texts and could possibly have been suitable master versions for student monks who practised inscribing in a scribal class. A number of *anisong* manuscripts that were made during the period of the Buddhist Lent during monks’ duties at different temples may have been written as learning materials. That is the reason why a

⁷⁹ Source: DELMN, code: 388, Wat Mahawan, Lamphun province (year unknown).

⁸⁰ Source: DELMN, code: 826, Wat Kittiwong, Mae Hông Sòn province.

⁸¹ “The cardinal rules that monks cannot break without automatically losing membership in the order” (Terwiel 2012: 109). The study *Pārājika* explains the rules. There are four kinds of prohibitive rules: sexual affairs, robbery, human murder and exaggeration of fake magical power.

scribe's humbleness or apology for unorganized handwriting was noted down in the manuscripts; some, according to the colophons, were caused by insufficient practice, lack of concentration, darkness at night or other reasons. Such humbleness can be regarded as an 'excuse' since the manuscripts were proofread by teaching monks after they had been finished. Veidlinger also gives a remark on proofreading activities traced in colophons as explained here:

The colophons are not necessarily written in the same hand as the text itself. Von Hinüber points out that in the sixteenth century Javanapañña wrote the colophons for some manuscripts that he himself did not copy (1990, 64). Perhaps he had supervised their production. The situation is no different for many of the manuscripts that I saw from later centuries. This gives further support to the possibility that the copyists in these cases were just that – copyists. They may have been trained only to copy and did not have the ability to produce novel text of their own, thus necessitating a more learned hand to produce the colophons (2006: 125).

Such excuses were intended to communicate or tell the master monks reasons why the handwriting probably did not reach satisfaction or completeness as standardized by the teachers. The case is similar to copious corrections in palm-leaf manuscripts made by the venerable monk in Laos as explained by Bounleuth here:

Therefore, numerous corrections were made by a senior monk, probably Sathu Nyai Khamchan, who had much experience in reading various Buddhist texts. As a senior monk, he seemed regularly to collect and check all types of manuscripts containing Buddhist texts (2016: 220).

In other cases, one can consider such excuses as merely pure humbleness or apologies because the scribes perhaps intended the manuscripts to be read by users for giving a sermon. Thus, they accepted all mistakes or messy writing which appeared in the manuscripts as their own fault. The following quotations are excerpted from palm-leaf manuscripts showing the scribes' humbleness.

ตัวบ่งงามสักคาบพอเป็นตัวจิมเพิ่นทั้งนั้นแล เหตุว่าบ่เคยช้านาน

"[My] handwriting is absolutely not fine but was inscribed to be merely seen because [I] have not written [palm-leaf manuscripts] for a long while.⁸²"

ใจบ่ตั้งไหนแล เหตุว่าบ่สราญด้วยทั้งเขียนไหนแล

"[My] mind was not stable because [I] felt uncomfortable to write.⁸³"

ตัวบ่งงามไหนสักหน่อย พอเป็นถ้อยติดใบลานทั้งนั้นทั้งนั้นแลเถอะนายเหย ตัวใหญ่ก็ใหญ่ตัวเท่าควาย
ตัวน้อยก็น้อยเท่าตาไก่ ตัวยาวก็ยาวเท่าตาปลา

⁸² *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), source: PNTMP, code: พร 0110016-00, Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1864.

⁸³ *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), source: PNTMP, code: พร 0113009-02, Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1830.

“The handwriting is not fine. [The text] is merely to be inscribed on the palm-leaf manuscript. The large size [of handwriting] is as large as a buffalo. The small size [of handwriting] is as small as cock’s eyes. The slim writing is as thin as fish’s eyes.⁸⁴”

ตัวหนังสือข้างงามเพราะว่าเขียนเมื่อคืนแลเจ้าเหย

“[My] handwriting is not fine because [I] wrote [it] last night.⁸⁵”

According to the second quotation derived from the manuscript coded พร 0113009-02 above, besides learning the Dhamma monks could carry out a particular duty at a different place during the Buddhist Lent. The manuscript is made of palm leaves, currently kept at Wat Sung Men in Phrae province and was written by two novices (Th: *samanen* สามเณร) named Karintha and Akha. In the colophons they mentioned Wat Sung Men as the affiliating monastery, their stay, and their jobs of gathering (or copying) religious manuscripts at Wat Suan Dòk in Chiang Mai in CE 1833: “I wrote [the manuscript] during my pleasant stay at Wat Suan Dòk [in] Chiang Mai (เขียนปางเมื่อสุขสำราญวัดบุปผารามสวนดอกเชียงใหม่แล).” The two scribes spent two months for writing the manuscript and took it back to Wat Sung Men. This evidence is directly related to the history of the venerable monk Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi Mahathera about his great duty of gathering manuscripts from different places including Chiang Mai. At that time he revised the Buddhist canon and restored the manuscript repository, initially built during King Tilokarat’s reign (CE 1441–1487), at Wat Phra Sing in Chiang Mai⁸⁶. The two novices participated in the venerable monk’s project and recorded their travels in the paratext of the manuscripts. Not only were *anison* manuscripts written during the Buddhist Lent in scribal classes or by their own practices, they could also be produced during a special task carried out in a different place. In the case of the two scribal novices, the expression of unstable feelings in the manuscript evidently expresses their loneliness during the three months of Buddhist Lent in Chiang Mai, which is located 200 kilometres away from their monastery, Wat Sung Men. However, as has been historically and textually concerning the title *Anison sapphathan* or ‘Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving’, the manuscript was perhaps copied from an original one in Chiang Mai. The manuscript gathering projects done by the venerable monk Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi were probably not ‘literally’ committed by means of bringing bundles of manuscripts from different places, but rather by copying texts to be brought back later. The two novice-scribes perhaps accompanied the venerable monk to be in charge of inscribing manuscripts; their names were therefore mentioned as the scribes.

⁸⁴ *Anison pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), source: PNTMP, code: พร 0110064-00, Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1761.

⁸⁵ Multiple-text manuscript containing two *anison* texts: *Anison bucha turiya nontri songsep* (Rewards derived from the donation of musical instrument) and *Anison thawai khao bucha phra cedi* (Rewards derived from paying homage to pagodas with rice), source: DELMN, code: 1021, CE 1921.

⁸⁶ From CE 1827 to 1834 the venerable monk Kancana Aranyawasi and Phra Maha Ratchakhru from Wat Suan Dòk revised the Buddhist canon, celebrating the complete revision at Wat Phra Sing, a renovated manuscript library, which was initially built in the reign of King Tilokarat. Then in 1869, during the reign of Kawilorot, he renovated the library again (see Aphilak 2018: 18).

In addition, paratextual evidence reveals that sometimes *anisong* manuscripts appeared to be inscribed for a wage paid to the scribes by sponsors. One example is a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong than pha kathin* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes) and coded 1209 (CE 1925). It was found at Wat Lao Nòi, Lampang province, and was sponsored by Cao Phopsathanthapuriya and family by hiring an ex-monk (Th: *khanan* ขนาน) scribe named Yawirat, to inscribe the manuscript: “[We] are faithfully devout [to Buddhism] thereby hiring [Kha]nan Yawirat to inscribe this manuscript [entitled] *Anisong than maha kathin* (ก็มีศรัทธาได้จ้างหนานยาวีราชเขียนธรรมอันสงฆ์ทานมหากฐินผูกรี้ไว้).” Sometimes wages for inscription work were mentioned in the manuscript as follows: “The religious faithful Phra (monk) Bunpan hired him to write [the manuscript] for two *saliing* (ศรัทธาพระบุญปันได้จ้างเขียนหื้อชำระราคา ๒ สลึง).”⁸⁷

2.4.2 Space: Place of Production and Manuscript Circulation

As explained in the previous sub-chapter, monastic scribes could make *anisong* manuscripts at their home monasteries or at different places; later, some were brought back to the scribes’ residential temples and others were not. *Anisong* manuscripts written by monks or novices were undoubtedly made at temples but those by laymen or ex-monks were not always made at a temple, but, as long as they had their own writing tools, possibly at their homes. This section focuses on places of manuscript productions which, related to the times and occasions of inscribing manuscripts previously explained, also deal with the aspect of manuscript circulations. Traced from the colophons, almost all *anisong* manuscripts were made at temples thanks to the scribes of monastic officers, i.e., monks and novices, and circulated dominantly among different temples within a certain provincial area. Other manuscripts, however, travelled to a different province. No evidence has been found yet in a manuscript recording more than one place in which the manuscripts have been kept, but one can see at least that the temple of manuscript production and the one of repository are sometimes not the same. However, this cannot lead to the conclusion that the manuscripts travelled to several places. The manuscript travels can be divided into two categories: domestic circulations and external circulations. McDaniel gives an explanation on the issue as follows:

One often finds manuscripts that have been composed or copied at one monastery and then moved to another hundreds kilometers away. Furthermore, at Wat Sung Men many of the colophons show that the text was produced by a student who was in residence in one monastery, like Wat Nam Wan or Wat Sri Chum, but was training at Wat Sung Men. [...]. In general, the mixed Pali and vernacular colophon and others at the end of the other fascicles on this manuscript show that the text was produced at one monastery and then given to Wat Sung Men for protection and storage for the service of a school with more students. Manuscripts moved as frequently as did students and teachers, and therefore rural schools must be seen as similar to schools in Chiang Mai, Vientiane, and Luang Phrabang.

⁸⁷ *Anisong sappathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), source: DELMN, code: 1043, CE 1913.

They existed in a loose network of open campuses that shared teachers, texts, and students across the larger Tai-speaking world of eastern Burma, Laos, parts of southwest China, and Northern Thailand. These networks, while certainly affected by the economy and by warfare, were generally independent of the machinations of leaders and borders (McDaniel 2008: 87 and 89).

a) Domestically circulated manuscripts still travelled within a certain province where the manuscripts were initially made. Some have been kept at their original temples, while others ended up being kept at a different temple. There are no evident clues giving information about the numbers of temples among which the manuscripts were circulated. Even the furthest travels of the manuscripts were still of short distance, i.e., just crossing districts. The longest distance between temples of manuscript production and temples of repository is up to 20 kilometres or still between bordering districts within a one-day trip. This reflects *anisong* manuscript circulations among local temples. In addition to being borrowed by another temple, preaching monks could also bring *anisong* manuscripts for giving a sermon at another temple and forget to take it back. In short, domestic travels of the manuscripts could be caused by a variety of factors.

b) External circulation was less common than domestic circulations. The manuscripts were travelling across different provinces thanks to distant duties of the scribes. They left their homeland temples to do their jobs at another place, wrote *anisong* manuscripts and brought them back after the task was accomplished. The most well-known duty has already been explained, concerning the great project of the venerable monk from Phrae province. Besides, colophons in various other *anisong* manuscripts appear to give a few hints as to another important duty: the Buddhist canon revision in Nan province in CE 1833. The following is excerpted from a palm-leaf manuscript written in CE 1834 at Wat Phra That Chang Kham, where the Buddhist canon revision event was held.

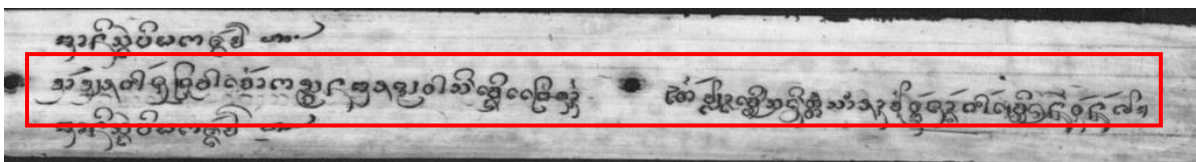


Figure 2.21: Colophon showing a certain duty of the scribe

ข้าเขียนคำชุกรูบาเจ้ากัญจนะอรัญวาสีเมืองแพร่ด้านใต้ ปางเมื่อสถิตสำราญอยู่วัดช้างค้ำ เมืองน่าน วัน
นั้นแล

I wrote the [manuscript] to worship Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi at the southern border of Phrae during the pleasant stay at Wat Chang Kham in Nan.

Anisong pitaka thang sam (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon)

Source: PNTMP, code: พ5 0110073-02, folio 1 (recto), Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1834

The scribe was a novice named Phutthima. The text in the manuscript is *Anisong pitaka thang sam* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon). The three chapters *Vinaya*, *Suttanta* and *Abhidhamma* are, interestingly, not included in the manuscript as in other

versions of *Anisong pitaka (thang sam)*. One is tempted to speculate that the scribe wrote the manuscript for the main purpose of high worship to the venerable monk, rather than for copying the Buddhist canon, as the text explains meritorious outcomes bestowed to the donors and gives the scribe's intention to praise the monk Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi: The statement "I wrote the [manuscript] to worship Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi" was written in the manuscript as shown in the excerpt above. According to the text, the great merit explained in the manuscript is rewarded from copying the Buddhist canon, which is precisely related to the great monk and his Buddhist canon revision duty at the same time. An inscription coded 465/2533 presently kept at the National Museum of Nan records the event of the Buddhist canon revision at Wat Chang Kham in CE 1833. Hans Penth and Silao Ketphrom surveyed and translated it into Thai; I translated it into English:

In CS 1195, a *ka sai* year (CE 1833), a venerable monk named Kancana Aranyawasi living in Phrae took the initiative taking his followers westwards from Phrae to Nan by foot and spread the merit field to both internal and external sponsors. Internal sponsors were monks living in Nan; external sponsors included the ruler of Nan, the viceroy, the family members and all elites. All sponsors donated the Buddhist canon to support the religion to last for five-thousand years⁸⁸.

The inscription also gives more details, such as that he brought the manuscript back to Phrae province, corresponding to his age of forty-nine years at the time. The scribe was probably from the same temple as the venerable monk in Phrae province and accompanied him as an assistant to Nan; or he possibly lived at a temple in Nan and heard of the big event of the Buddhist canon revision, then wrote the manuscript for praising the venerable monk. One can conclude that *anisong* manuscripts could also be made for showing appreciation to someone who made certain merit.

Likewise, the manuscripts were often made in dedication to deceased relatives so that the spirits could depend on the merit of copying manuscripts to escape from hell and be reincarnated in heaven. The dead to whom the merit of copying *anisong* manuscripts was dedicated were not merely supposed to be laypeople, but also monks and novices. The following two examples show a palm-leaf manuscript written in CE 1900 which was intended to transfer the merit to a novice grandson named Can Thip, and another in CE 1927 to the mother of the manuscript sponsor.

⁸⁸ “จุลศักราชได้ ๑๑๙๕ ตัว ปีก่าไส้ ยังมีพระมหาเถรเจ้าตนหนึ่ง จื่อกัญจนอรัญวาสี (อยู่) เมืองแปะ (แพร่) เป็นแก้ว (เป็นหัวหน้า) และศิษย์เจ้าตั้งมวล จรเดินเทศมาแต่เมืองแพร่ หนปัจฉิมทิศเข้ามาถึง เมื่อน่านตีนี้ แล้วจึงได้นำเอานาบุญขึ้นถึง ศรัทธาภายใน ภายนอกตั้งมวล ศรัทธาภายในมีพระสงฆ์เจ้าอันอยู่เมื่อน่านตีนี้ ศรัทธาภายนอกมีเจ้าเมื่อน่านตีนี้ เป็นแก้วและอุปราชา ราชวงศ์ เจ้านายตั้งมวล พร้อมกันสร้างยังอักขระธรรมคัมภีร์ไตรปิฎกตั้งมวลไว้โชตกพุทธศาสนาห้าพัน (๕๐๐๐) พระวัสสา แล” (Aphilak 2018: 22)

หนานพมเสนจารเขียนธรรมที่หลานทูลจันทิพ

Nan Phommasen wrote [the manuscript for dedicating the merit] for a grandson named Can Thip.⁸⁹

ขออุทิศส่วนบุญไปหาแม่แห่งตน

[I] dedicate the merit to my mother.⁹⁰

Besides the period of the Buddhist Lent in which monks and novices learnt the Dhamma and practised manuscript writing, some evidence shows that *anison* manuscripts could also be made during assistance to a monk. A palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anison pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon) was written by an ex-monk named Anochai. He recorded that he and an older monk named Thantha arrived at Wat Lòm Raet in Nan province to assist a monk named Cao Can. He wrote the manuscript during the monks' breakfast time. This clearly shows that he was not a monk because he did not join that breakfast. According to the colophon, he was already in Nan; the manuscript was inscribed in Nan province during his stay and brought later to Phrae province. It is possible that he and the monk colleague Thantha learnt the Dhamma with the senior monk Cao Can. However, a clear reason why the manuscript was taken to Wat Sung Men in Phrae is still unknown.

ชื่อข้าว่าโน้ไซแลเจ้าเหย ข้าเขียนปางเมื่อลงมาสถิตสำราญอยู่กับพี่หลวงทันทา วันนั้นแลเจ้าเหย

My name is Anochai. I wrote [the manuscript] during my pleasant stay with an elder monk (Thu Phi) Luang Thantha.⁹¹

2.5 Sponsors and Scribes

In order to make a manuscript, especially in the most frequent cases that sponsors lacked inscribing proficiency, sponsor(s) and scribe(s) coordinated each other concerning financial support and/or material provision. Sponsors could either be laypeople: commoners, elites, family members of city rulers, or monks and novices. One manuscript could be donated by unlimited sponsors. A number of evidence shows that sponsors either provided the necessary tools for writing: palm leaves, dark substance and the like, or sometimes paid an amount of money as labour wage for writing manuscripts; these are the main factors of manuscript production and the driving force behind the culture of copying *anison* manuscripts in a local community.

⁸⁹ Multiple-text manuscript containing two *anison* texts: *Anison phothisat cao hū pha pen than* (Rewards of Bodhisatta who donated a monk robe) and *Anison binthabat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food), source: PNTMP, code: พร 0106004-05, CE 1900.

⁹⁰ Composite manuscript containing two fascicles; both of them are *Anison prathip* (Rewards derived from flying lantern balloons or floating banana-leaf vessels), source: PNTMP, code: ชม 0106003-03, CE 1927.

⁹¹ *Anison pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), source: PNTMP, code: พร 0110016-00, CE 1864.

ตนน้อยขัตติยะ ก็ขงขวยหาได้ไปภูกะบานลานแล้วตฤมาหาท่านอาจารย์มหาวงศ์ รจนาที่ผู้ข่าใคร่
สร้างธรรมปิฎกอันนี้ไว้ค้ำศาสนาพระโคตมะเจ้า ๕๐๐ พระวัสสาแด

I, Nòi (novice) Khattiya, managed to take palm leaves and tools to Achan (teacher) Mahawong [so that he could] write [the manuscript] for me [because] I would like to make the *Pitaka* manuscript to support the religion of Buddha Gotama to last until the end of 5000 years⁹².

Scribes or manuscript writers were senior monks, young monks, novices or even ex-monks; i.e., those with experienced skills in Tham script literacy were socially renowned for inscribing manuscripts. As the Tham script education was merely transmitted by monks⁹³, scribes were therefore males who ordained and learnt in the temples. Even though girls were not strictly prevented from Tham script literacy, negative rumours could easily originate and spread in the village when a girl leant in a class otherwise attended only by monks⁹⁴. Interestingly, a large number of manuscripts were inscribed by novices; this reveals that in ancient times the ability of novices was to some extent comparable to monks. They were educated enough in the Tham script to write Buddhist texts, thereby being able to write manuscripts. Evidently, novices were as much accepted as monks by local laypeople. Paratexts in *anisong* manuscripts show that novices could inscribe long Pali manuscripts such as *Anisong pitaka* themselves and without any help: novice Siri⁹⁵ and novice Panya⁹⁶. Interesting, however, is the fact that the skilful novices were from Phrae province, which is renowned for having produced the region's largest number of palm-leaf manuscripts and in which the famous Venerable Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi resided as an abbot at Wat Sung Men (CE 1823–1866). Accordingly, the temple housed a large number of manuscripts or

⁹² *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), source: PNTMP, code: พร 0110012-00, CE 1910.

⁹³ However, there are exceptions in the case of some scribes in Chiang Rung, Sipsong Panna, who never experienced being ordained as monks but had a chance to learn the Tham script as explained by Grabowsky in the following: “Though a monastic education as novice or monk is the rule for a scribe to start his career, there are exceptions. Such a person is Ai Choi Cha Han, who was born in 1933 and never ordained, but started to learn the Dhamma script as a young school boy in evening school during the years before the communist victory. Another representative case for a Tai scribe not trained in a monastery is Chao Maha Suriyawong (1925–2017), who lived in Ban Thin, a Tai Lue neighbourhood in the centre of Chiang Rung. He started learning the Dhamma script with a local teacher and, at the age of seven or eight, continued his studies with his father, who was a close assistant of the president of the Council of Nobles” (Grabowsky 2019: 312–313).

⁹⁴ McDaniel notes that “novices, monks, and lay male students (there seem to have been a number of lay scribes at monasteries in the region; there is no solid evidence that women were ever involved in manuscript production, although they certainly would have been in attendance at sermons and were patrons of manuscript production) all worked together on manuscripts that were requested by their abbots/senior teachers or lay patrons” (2009: 136).

⁹⁵ “สิริสามเณรเขียนยามเมื่ออยู่ปฏิบัติวัดหลวง” (Siri Samanen (novice named Siri) wrote [the manuscript] during [my] tasking stay at Wat Luang), *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), source: DLNTM, code: พร 0220001-02, Wat Phra Luang, Phrae province, CE 1710.

⁹⁶ “ตัวข้าชื่อว่าตนน้อยปัญญาสามเณร เขียนธรรมปิฎก” (My name is Panya Samanen (novice named Panya) who wrote the manuscript), *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), source: PNTMP, code: พร 0110064-00, Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1761.

learning textbooks; monks and novices could be even more educated in the Buddhist religion than those in other provinces. They were well-trained monks with higher Buddhist academic standards.

A manuscript containing a long text or multiple texts was sometimes inscribed by a group of scribes including both monks and ex-monks, such as a multiple-text palm-leaf manuscript from Phrae province produced in CE 1845 (พศ 0106003-00). It was made for the purpose of paying homage to the Venerable Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi and does not have a specific title. In the bundle there are a total of forty-five texts written in twelve fascicles by six scribes. The manuscript was made as one unit by a group of sponsors and scribes; thus, it is regarded as a multiple-text manuscript (MTM). The group of scribes consists of five monks and one ex-monk: Ta Pha Khao, Cantha Phikkhu, Yawichai Ton Nòi, Thephin Samanen, Kittina Phikkhu and Itsara Phikkhu, also implying a close relationship between monks and laypeople and that *anisong* manuscripts could be inscribed in collaboration by both. Veidlinger gives an example representing the joint commission of manuscripts as follows:

Manuscripts were often the fruit of joint endeavors between monastic and lay sponsors, known as “internal” (*bai nai*) and “external” (*bai nòk*) sponsors respectively. For example, a sixteenth-century copy of the learned grammatical text *Saddanīti* (HH-12) was sponsored by at least three different people. The first group of fascicles was supported by the child of the laywoman Nang Khao Sri and the second group by the abbot Candamūli, Fascicle 33 was sponsored by the monk Mahā Vajirapaññu. This was a well-coordinated project and the various sponsors must have been kept informed of the progress of the writing, yet it is unclear how they actually decided who would sponsor which fascicle (2006: 127).

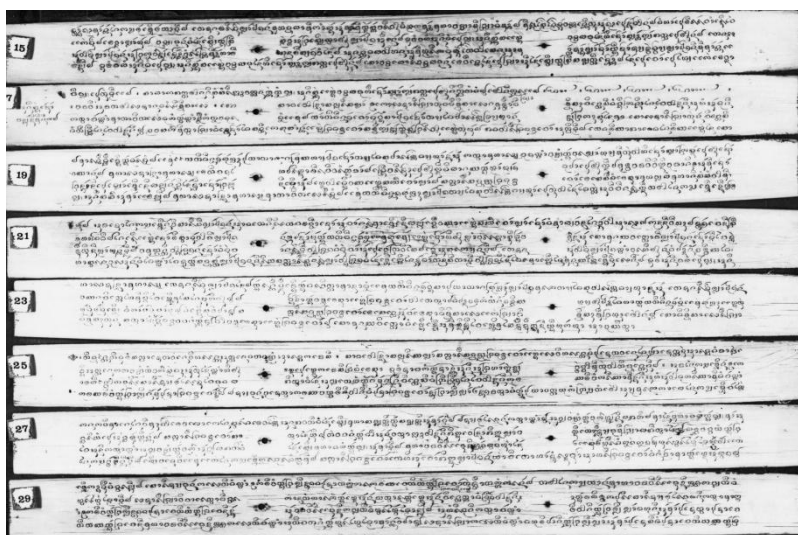


Figure 2.22: Multiple-text manuscript containing forty-five texts written in twelve fascicles by six scribes
Source: PNTMP, code: พศ 0106003-00, folios 9–16 (recto), Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1845

Anisong manuscripts were made for three dominant reasons: personal activity, production by orders (with or without wages) and reverential purpose. Sponsors and scribes are basically mentioned in the manuscripts; others, however, contain only either sponsor names or scribe names. In case of manuscripts with only names of sponsors, the scribes were possibly willing

to hide their names or the sponsors themselves proposed not to mention the scribe's name in the manuscript for uncertain reasons. Manuscript sponsors ordered a scribe to copy a manuscript, thereby preferring to display their names as personal identification or as the merit witness on the manuscript. In those cases where only the names of the scribes figure, the scribes were most likely also the sponsors; especially when the scribes were monks or novices. In this case, the scribes mentioned their name once in the manuscript to implicitly show their double status: scribe and sponsor. Thus, indirect phrases like “[I], Kawintha Phikkhu, wrote [the manuscript] by myself alone” (กาวิณฑภิกขุลิขิตเขียนด้วยตนเองเดียว) (*Anisong wetsantara* (Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka), source: DELMN, code: 299, CE 1848) often appear in the colophons to tell their twofold roles in the manuscript production. In addition, in spite of being hired, scribes were sometimes allowed to have written down their names and an expression of humbleness in the colophon of the manuscripts, showing the sponsors' recognition of the scribes. This practice can be considered as a generosity of the sponsors who realized the inscription abilities of the scribes who copied the manuscripts to then dedicate them to a monastery. The merit of copying manuscripts was therefore achieved by both parties; namely, one was not able to produce a manuscript without the other. They joined forces in the manuscript production; then the merit could certainly be shared by both of them.

In addition, paratextual elements reveal that some scribes frequently wrote more than one copy of *anisong* manuscripts during their lifetime such as a monk named Siwichai. His name is mentioned as scribe in the colophons of five manuscripts kept at Wat Sung Men in Phrae province: a multiple-text manuscript⁹⁷ made in CE 1842, three copies of *Anisong pitaka*⁹⁸ (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon) made in CE 1873 and CE 1909, and *Anisong raksa sin*⁹⁹ (Rewards derived from precept observance) made in CE 1910. His first copy in the extant *anisong* manuscripts was written in CE 1842 with his name noted in the colophon as Nan Si Wichai (หนานศรีวิชัย) as a member of a group of scribes. The honorific prefix “Nan” (หนาน) represents his ex-monkhood status with long-term ordination experience; he had left monkhood before he wrote the manuscript. His next *anisong* manuscript was then written in CE 1873 and also marked with Nan Si Wichai, revealing that he maintained his status as a layman. Later, the rest of his four *anisong* manuscripts since CE 1909 were completely marked with Phra (monk) Siwichai or Ratsa Phikkhu (monk) Si Wichai, indicating that he returned to monkhood. The time that passed between his first and last manuscripts (CE 1842–1910) was sixty-eight years. His lifespan cannot be determined, as no evidence shows his exact age at the time of each written manuscript, but at least it can be

⁹⁷ Source: PNTMP, code: พร 0120036-01. The manuscript contains five texts: *Anisong tam prathip* (Rewards derived from flying lantern balloons or floating banana-leaf vessels), *Anisong ròm* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) and *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

⁹⁸ Source: PNTMP, codes พร 0120013-02, พร 0110007-00 and พร 0110019-00.

⁹⁹ Source: PNTMP, code: พร 0120109-01.

seen that he was known by the local villagers for more than half a century with his literacy and manuscript writing ability.

Another example is derived from two *anisong* manuscripts: *Anisong sang phra phuttharup*¹⁰⁰ or “Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images” (CE 1813) and *Anisong pitaka*¹⁰¹ or “Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon” (CE 1876); both were inscribed by a single scribe. The earliest one made in CE 1813 shows the scribe name as Yawichai, representing his layman status without ordination experience. The second manuscript made in CE 1876, evidenced by the monk Ratsa Phikkhu (monk) Ya Wichai, obviously shows that he became ordained in monkhood. The evidence reveals that he had written manuscripts before he was ordained as a monk; then he still kept writing manuscripts during his monkhood. Perhaps the scribe wrote many more books than these survived manuscripts, but they would be categorized as other non-*Anisong* texts. The following quotations are from the colophons of the manuscripts:

ยาวิไชยแต่มีอานิสงส์พระเจ้า

Yawichai wrote the manuscript *Anisong phra cao*.¹⁰²

รัสสะภิกขุยาวิไชยหัดเขียนใหม่ ตัวบ่งงามสักหน่อยแลนนายเหย

Ratsa Phikkhu Yawichai has newly been trained to inscribe [manuscripts]. The handwriting is absolutely not fine.¹⁰³

The two exemplary scribes above were probably well-known in the regions, thus frequently being responsible for writing manuscripts ordered by various sponsors or out of their own motivation. Scribes who were renowned for Tham script literacy were definitely hired to inscribe a variety of manuscripts. Wage rates of *anisong* manuscript orders thus appear in many of them. The following examples are quoted from two manuscripts.

ศรัทธาพระบุญปันได้จ้างเขียนหื้อข้าราชการ ๒ สลิ่ง

[The principal initiator] Phra (monk) Bunpan had the faithful devotion [so he] hired him to write [the manuscript] for two *saliing*.¹⁰⁴

ปฐมมูลศรัทธาหมามีพ่อเฒ่าเสาร์ พร้อมด้วยปิยะภรรยา แม่เฒ่าแลบคำ บังเกิดมหากุศลอันยิ่ง จึงได้จ้างลิขิตเขียนยังธรรมอานิสงส์ปลูกไม้ศรีมหาโพธิ์แลอานิสงส์ผ้าพิदान

Phò Thao (grandfather) Sao and his beloved wife named Mae Thao (grandmother) Laep Kham, the initiators, had ardent religious faith [in Buddhism] then hired [the scribe] to

¹⁰⁰ Source: PNTMP, code: พร 0106004-04.

¹⁰¹ Source: PNTMP, code: พร 0110128-02.

¹⁰² *Anisong sang phuttharup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images), source: PNTMP, code: พร 0106004-04, Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1813. The term “Phra Cao” also means Buddha images.

¹⁰³ *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), source: PNTMP, code: พร 0110128-02, Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1876.

¹⁰⁴ *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), source: DELMN, code: 1043, CE 1913.

inscribe the manuscripts [entitled] *Anisong pluk mai si mahapho* and *Anisong pha phidan*.¹⁰⁵

Evidenced by colophons in the manuscripts made by ordering sponsors, *Anisong pitaka (thang sam)* or “Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon” was more popular than other *anisong* texts, which was due to the devout belief in the greater merit bestowed to the sponsor by means of spreading the Teachings of Lord Buddha. Veidlinger explains that “the clearest indication of a strongly reverential attitude towards writing is an *Anisong* (P: *Ānisamsa*) text called *Anisong Sang Tham* (MF 84.135.011.039) that tells of the benefits of writing the Dhamma” (2006: 189). *Anisong* manuscripts ordered by sponsors were mainly inscribed by monks thanks to their monkhood status to which laypeople paid more respect than to laymen. They observed a number of monk disciplines and were regarded to be highly qualified. Monks and novices were also respected as successors of Lord Buddha, religious leaders and media who linked secular spheres to spiritual spheres no matter how old they were, for their monkhood sustained the Buddhist religion. Manuscripts inscribed by monks or novices were thus believed to be more sacred because they were directly touched and made by the Buddhist religious agency¹⁰⁶.

In many cases of *anisong* manuscripts sponsored by elites or family members of city rulers or aristocrats, the manuscripts were well decorated with gold or other precious materials, symbolically representing the highest respect to Lord Buddha’s Teachings. The following palm-leaf manuscript was written in well-organized handwriting. It is entitled *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon) (๗๕ 0110023-00), was sponsored by Cao Phra Wong Khua and family in CE 1834 and is now kept in Phrae province. The initial ‘Cao’ represents a high-ranking status of rulers or royal families. The sponsor financially supported the manuscript production, so the scribe had enough budgets to afford decorative elements and tools.

¹⁰⁵*Anisong pluk mai si maha pho* (Rewards derived from planting *Bodhi* trees), source: DELMN, code: 786, year unknown.

¹⁰⁶ “It is true that the monk increased his own store of merit, as well as the good *karma* of his benefactors and ancestors, and that a monk offers a continual opportunity for laymen to perform meritorious deeds. The ritual of *kruat nam* (pouring water onto the ground and wishing the merit to be transferred to the dead) points to the importance of the aspect of merit. While the idea of the acquisition of beneficial *karma* is of assistance in explaining the religious behaviour of the monks, in rural areas the role of the Buddhist monks can be further interpreted by taking the magico-animistic worldview into account. The fundamental ideas surrounding the origin and the value of beneficial power have bearing upon the behaviour of the monks and the attitudes of the laymen towards the Sangha. It has been established that monks who chant Pali texts, who mediate or who preach are believed to emanate a protective power, and that objects and persons in their proximity can become charged with this beneficial power” (Terwiel 2012: 129-130).



Figure 2.23: Organized handwriting
Anisong pitaka (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon)

Source: PNTMP, Code: W5 0110023-00, folios 73–77 (verso), Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1834

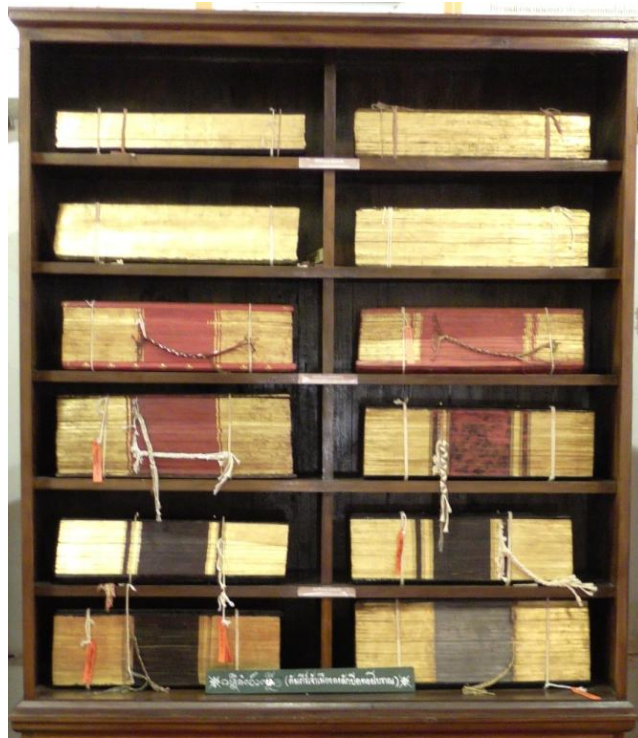


Figure 2.24: The shelf exhibits palm-leaf manuscripts sponsored by elites or family members of city rulers. All of them were gilded with gold, red substance and dark substance.

Photo by the author on July 24, 2018 at Wat Sung Men in Phrae province

2.6 Colophons

Colophons could be located before or after the texts as part of manuscript paracontents. Multiple-text manuscripts and composite manuscripts can therefore contain more than one colophon because it is supposed to be at the end or the beginning of each text. Sponsors and scribes used vacant space for their free writing in order to record information, express their

wishes or even communicate something to posterity or users. Colophons can be comprehensively viewed as fixed structures comprising the participants of the manuscript production (sponsors, scribes), the time and place of the manuscript production, as well as the purposes of the production included with wishes for meritorious outcomes, reincarnation in the period of the upcoming Buddha Maitreya and Enlightenment or Nirvāna.

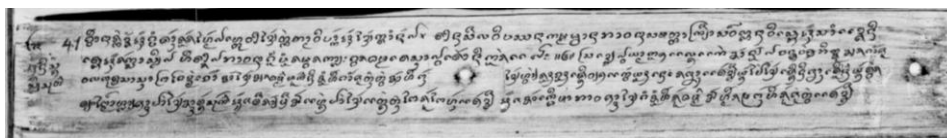


Figure 2.25: Colophon showing the sponsor’s wish

Anisong sin ha sin paet (Rewards derived from the observance of the Five Precepts and the Eight Precepts)

Source: DELMN, code: 985, folio 22 (recto), Wat Pa Müat, Nan province, year unknown

เสด็จแล้วยามกองแลงแก่ข้าน้อยแล จันทวงศักริกขุ เขียนค้ำชูวรพุทธศาสนาพระโคตมเจ้า ข้าได้เขียน
 ธรรมผูกนี้ ขอหื้อค้ำชูตนตัวข้าหื้อพ้นได้หายรอด จอดถึงเวียงแก้วยอดนิรพานแท้ดีหลี ยังไปได้ถึง
 นิพพานเพื่ออันยังทวนเที่ยวไปมาหลายชาติ อย่าได้ขาดทั้งสุขอัน ๑ ที่ร้ายมี ๘ แห่ง อย่าได้แต่งตนไปรู้
 ไปหันแท้ดีหลี อัน ๑ ข้าเกิดมาภาวะชาติใด ก็ขอหื้อรู้ธรรม ๘ หมื่น ๔ พัน หื้อรู้ชูตัวแท้ดีหลี

[The manuscript] was finished at the time of the sunset drum (*kòng laeng*, 13:30–15:00). Canthawong Phikkhu (monk named Canthawong) wrote [the manuscript] to support the great Buddhist religion of Buddha Gotama. May the merit [of copying the manuscript] cherish me, protect me [against sufferings] and bring me to eventually reach Nibbāna. If I cannot attain the Enlightenment yet and still be reincarnated in the rebirth cycle, may [the merit] support me with happiness, prevent me from the eight [hells] and make me understand all the 84,000 groups in the Buddhist canon in every future birth.

The prominent wish frequently found in the colophons pertains to intelligence and pleasant looks; both are certainly associated with the merit rewarded from making manuscripts. Manuscripts basically consist of two major elements: texts and materials. The texts reflect the Buddha's Teachings whereas the materials are writing supports, writing tools, ink, decorating substance and inscribing skills. In the Buddhist belief, copying Buddhist texts brings about intellectual merit to the participants of manuscript productions; for they educate readers with the precious knowledge. Inscripting manuscripts with well-organized handwritings or elaborately-decorated works result in the merit of good appearance, for they neatly wrote the texts and/or elaborated the manuscripts with embellishment. To sum up, people gain merit according to the way they act, i.e., they 'get what they did'. Accordingly, wishes of *anisong* manuscript of sponsors and scribes are undoubtedly related to intelligence and good appearance. Besides, sponsors and scribes also look forward to various outcomes: good health, wealth, victory, heavens and Nirvāna.

ข้าเขียนธรรมผูกนี้ เกิดมาภาวะชาติใด ขอหื้อข้ามีประยาปัญญาเฉลียวฉลาด อาจรู้ธรรมพระพุทธเจ้า ๘
 หมื่น ๔ พันชั้นธัดเตอะ

I wrote this manuscript. May [the merit of copying the manuscript] reward me with sharp intelligence to understand the 84,000 groups of the Buddhist canon in every future birth.¹⁰⁷

ข้าสามเณรปัญญา ได้เขียนธรรมอันสงฆ์ข้าสลากนี้ ไว้ค้ำชูพระพุทธศาสนาแห่งองค์ศรีสัมพัญญ
พระพุทธเจ้า ขอหื้อข้ามีปัญญาอันเฉลียวฉลาด เกิดมาในภาวะชาติอันใด ขอหื้อมีรูปโฉมอันงาม เป็นที่
รักแก่คนและเทวดา ท้าวพระยามหากษัตริย์ทุกคน

I, Samanen (novice) Panya, wrote [the manuscript] [entitled] *Anisong khao salak* to support the great Buddhist religion of Lord Buddha. May [the merit of copying the manuscript] reward me with intelligence and charming appearance thereby being loved by humans, deities and royal families.¹⁰⁸

Evidenced by the colophons, *anisong* manuscripts were intended for two meritorious purposes in relation to ritual usage – merit transferring and manuscript using. Concerning the first purpose, the recipients of merit are varied: family members, the deceased, deities and others. However, the merit of copying *anisong* manuscripts was not restricted merely to the dead but also to living persons. An exemplary palm-leaf manuscript from Phrae province was intended to transfer merit to the deceased father of the sponsor: “May [the merit of copying the manuscript] reach my father who has otherworldly passed away (ข้าขอนานบุญอันนี้ไปรอดต่อ พ่อข้าที่จืดตายไปสู่ปรโลกภายหน้านี้แล)¹⁰⁹.” Another palm-leaf manuscript was also made to dedicate the merit to the sponsor’s parents: “May [the merit of copying the manuscript] reach my parents who have [otherworldly] passed away; so that they can reside in a heavenly castle (ขอกุศลบุญอันบังเกิดแก่ธรรมเจ้านี้จงเป็นสมบัติทิพย์แก่พระบิดาพระมารดาแห่งข้าพเจ้า ที่ล่วงลับไปหื้อได้ เสวยสุขสวรรคปราสาททิพย์เที่ยงแท้ดีหลีเถอะ)¹¹⁰”. Merit dedication for living people also appears in the colophons, for example, in a manuscript entitled *Anisong ap that* (Rewards derived from bathing stupas) found in Nan province.

ส่วนกุศลผลบุญอันข้าได้แต่้มธรรมผูกนี้ ขอหื้อเป็นกุศลส่วนบุญค้ำชูตนตัวข้าเป็นเกล้าแลพ่อแม่พี่น้อง
สัมพันธ์วงศ์สาธุคนแลพ่อออกแม่ออกซุคน

May [the merit of copying the manuscript] reward me who is the initiator, my family and all Phò Òk and Mae Òk [with meritorious returns].¹¹¹

The scribe mentioned *phò òk* (L: ฆ่อออก, laymen) and *mae òk* (L: แม่ออก, laywomen). *Phò òk* and *mae òk* are villager volunteers (Th: *sasanikachon* ศาสนิกชน) living in a temple neighbourhood and are mostly over 50 years old. *Phò òk* means male volunteers and *mae òk*

¹⁰⁷ *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), source: DLNTM, code: พร 0220001-02, Wat Phra Luang, Phrae province, CE 1820.

¹⁰⁸ *Anisong salak* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival) included as one of the four fascicles in a composite manuscript (source: PNTMP) coded: ชม 0106002-01, Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai province, CE 1900.

¹⁰⁹ *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), source: PNTMP, code: พร 0110096-00, Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1870.

¹¹⁰ *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), source: DELMN, code: 1007, Wat Phaya Phu, Nan province, CE 1938.

¹¹¹ *Anisong ap that* (Rewards derived from bathing pagodas), source: DELMN, code: 1031, Wat Ton Laeng, Nan province, year unknown.

means female volunteers. They spend almost all day working at a certain temple without salary instead of staying all day at home with boredom, because their children and grandchildren are adults and work elsewhere. As they have nothing to take care of, they can be responsible for a variety of activities in a temple, so that they may gain the merit of assisting monks at the temple. This reflects the close relationship among villagers, given that the manuscript sponsors wished good results or merit for the volunteers as well.



Figure 2.26: Villager volunteers at Wat Sung Men
Photo by Phra Khru Wibun Saraphan, the vice abbot of Wat Sung Men

Likewise, the merit dedication could be transferred to various deities existing in the Theravāda Buddhist belief. The following example is excerpted from a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong pitaka* that was produced in CE 1909, reflecting the belief in the close relationship between humans, deities and holy animals.

ข้าขอส่วนบุญอันนี้ไปรอดอินทร์ พรหม ยมราช ท้าวจตุโลกทั้ง ๔ [...] ข้าขอผายนานบุญอันนี้ไปรอดเทวบุตรและเทวดาเจ้าทั้งหลาย ทั้งพระยายอินทร์ พรหม พญายมราช ไปตำได้นางนาคไถ้แม่ธรณีและครุฑนาคหน้า

May [the merit of copying the manuscript] reward God Indra, God Brahma¹¹², God of Death and the four guardian lords of the earth [...]. May [the merit of copying the manuscript] reward all deities, God Indra, God Brahma, God of Death, Goddess Naga, Goddess of Earth, Garuda and Naga¹¹³.

In terms of usage purpose, most of them were made to support the Buddhist religion as long as the manuscripts last. The intention often appears in a large number of *anisong* manuscripts, serving the fundamental belief of religious book dedications that could reward the sponsors and scribes with glorious merit: “May the merit of copying the manuscript *Anisong liang phò liang mae* support the Buddhist religion until the ending age of the manuscript (ด้วยเดชะอันผู้ข้าได้สร้างเขียนธรรมอันสงส์เลี้ยงพ่อเลี้ยงแม่นี้ไว้ค้ำศาสนาพระเจ้าตราบต่อเข้าเลี้ยงเช่นไปลาน)¹¹⁴.”

¹¹² See Khamvone and Grabowsky (2018: 10).

¹¹³ *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), source: PNTMP, code: พร 0110019-00, Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1909.

¹¹⁴ Composite manuscript containing three fascicles: *Anisong cam sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance), *Anisong liang phò liang mae* (Rewards derived from taking care of one’s parents) and a fascicle containing two texts: *Anisong ahan* (Rewards from the donation of alms-food) and *Anisong kòng lua* (Rewards

Anisong texts were thus written in *anisong* manuscripts in explanation of rewards gained from different kinds of merit, even though, in some cases, manuscript commissioners did not dedicate the certain goods explained in the *anisong* texts. The sponsors intended their manuscripts to be read by preaching monks on occasions of giving *anisong* sermons to bless donors who make certain merit. On the one hand, *anisong* manuscripts were written ‘to congratulate’ future donors for their generosity; such congratulations are known as ‘Anumodanā’ (อนุโมทนา). It is believed that whenever one congratulates somebody for merit they have done, the congratulators are able to subsequently gain the merit as well¹¹⁵. On the other hand, *anisong* manuscripts were written to serve preaching monks as liturgical texts for giving *anisong* sermons; religious book dedication is also regarded as merit-making because Theravāda Buddhists believe that religious books support the religion to last until the end of five-thousand years. *Anisong* manuscripts were produced resulting from the belief in the ‘dualistic merit’ gained from ‘merit congratulation’ and ‘religious book production’.

Among the large number of *anisong* manuscripts, some record information in the contexts of manuscript production; others communicate particular facts to readers, proof-readers and users. Regarding information records, activities of manuscript productions were diversely clarified. They show the production processes including the roles of sponsors and scribes, such as the colophon of a palm-leaf manuscript made in CE 1842 by a group of sponsors. It records certain duties in detail done by participants who were in charge of making the manuscript and production materials, revealing a collaboration of monks and laymen.

หนานศรีวิไชยเขียนทานตามอายุลาน ศรีทธาแสนเสมอใจกับทั้งนายพิมก็มีเอกฉันท สمانฉันทพร้อม
กับด้วยกันสร้างธรรมทวารักทางติดค่าแดงแสงเรือเรื่องทานสร้างในเมืองแพร่วันนั้นแล

Nan (ex-monk) Siwichai wrote the manuscript [so that it can be used] until its ending age. The sponsors Saen Samoe Cai and Nai (Mr.) Phim agreed with each other to make the manuscript decorated with Rak (dark substance) and brilliant Kham Daeng (copper) and dedicate [the manuscript] in Phrae¹¹⁶.

For the donation to monasteries, some were accompanied with other donation items or manuscripts which were recorded in the colophons. The first example is derived from a

derived from the donation of firewoods). Source: PNTMP, code: นน 0106001-02, Wat Phra that Chang Kham, Nan province, CE 1906, CE 1925, CE 1985.

¹¹⁵ The canonical *Vimānavatthu* story explains the rewards of a heavenly deity who congratulated the meritorious construction of a monastery for Lord Buddha and his disciples done by her master named Nang Wisakha during the Buddha Gotama period. The Venerable Anuruttha met her in heaven and asked her about the merit she made in her human lifetime (see the commentary text of Vihāravimāna, Mañjitaṭhavakka the fourth in Khuddaka Nikāya, the Buddhist canon).

¹¹⁶ Multiple-text manuscript containing five texts: *Anisong tam prathip* (Rewards derived from flying lantern balloons or floating banana-leaf vessels), *Anisong ròm* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) and *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving). Source: PNTMP, code: พร 0120036-01, Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1842.

colophon in an *anison* manuscript coded 905 and entitled *Anison* *kòng yak yüa* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes). The colophon says, “I copied the manuscript together with my family and dedicated [it] with monk robe(s) (ข้าเขียนธรรมผูกนี้พร้อมกับด้วยภรรยาลูกเต้าหลานเหลนพ่อแม่พี่น้องผู้ชู้คน ทานกับผ้า)¹¹⁷,” showing that the manuscript was donated together with a monk robe. Although there is not any paratextual evidence in the manuscript indicating the production time or even the year, it can be speculated that the manuscript was offered to a temple on the occasion of the Buddhist Lent, judging from the donated monk robe and the *anison* text. The donation of the manuscript and the attached items were closely related. In this case, *anison* manuscripts played a role as a confirmatory statement of the merit done by donating the items; therefore, *anison* texts in the manuscripts ‘assured’ the donors of great rewards. The colophon, in addition, also says that the manuscript will be granted to the monk who receives the alms, which evidently shows that the sponsors could select a specific recipient or owner of their donated manuscripts¹¹⁸. A palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anison* *pluk mai si maha pho* (Rewards derived from planting *Bodhi* trees) and coded 786 from the DELMN collection was also donated with another *anison* manuscript entitled *Anison* *pha phidan* (Rewards derived from the donation of ceiling cloth); the wage of the two manuscript productions cost one Baht in Thai currency¹¹⁹.

In a large number of *anison* manuscripts scribes gave personal information about their duty, length of monkhood status or age. Sometimes scribes complained about uncomfortable feelings they were dealing with. However, there are only few complaints because the manuscripts were religious books and thus supposed to be written with positive or auspicious attributes.

ใจบ่ตั้ง ใครสักเต็มที เพราะสาวมาภายหน้าวัดแล

My mind is not in concentration and [I] seem to disrobe soon because young women are in front of the temple¹²⁰.

Additionally, historical events were often recorded in the colophons of *anison* manuscripts. Scribes wrote what happened at the time of the manuscript production or the place where

¹¹⁷ *Anison* *kòng yak yüa* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes), source: DELMN, code: 905, Wat Klang, Chiang Rai province, year unknown.

¹¹⁸ “อานิสงส์กองหยากเยื่อแล ข้าเขียนทานกับผ้า ครั้นทู่เจ้าตนใดได้รับทานก็เป็นธรรมทู่เจ้าตนนั้นเถอะ” (The manuscript [entitled] *Anison* *kòng yak yüa* was written by me to be donated with monk robes. The monk who receives the donation is to own the manuscript), source: DELMN, code: 905, Wat Klang, Chiang Rai province, year unknown.

¹¹⁹ “ปฐมมูลศรัทธาหมายมีพ่อเต้าเสาร์ พร้อมด้วยปิยะภรรยาแม่เต้าแลบคำ บังเกิดมหากุศลอันยิ่ง จึงได้จ้างลิขิตเขียนยังธรรมอานิสงส์ปลุกไม้ตรีมหาโพธิ์แลอานิสงส์ผ้าพิदान [...] ได้จ้างลิขิตเป็นคำซึ่งอยู่บาทหนึ่ง” (The principal initiator Phò Thao (grandfather) Sao, along with his beloved wife named Mae Thao (grandmother) Laep Kham, had the most ardent religious faith to hire [a scribe] to inscribe the manuscript [entitled] *Anison* *pluk mai si mahapho* and *Anison* *pha phidan*. [...] hired [for the inscribing] for one Baht.), source: DELMN, code: 786, Wat Ton Laeng, Nan province, year unknown.

¹²⁰ *Anison* *pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), source: PNTMP, code: พร 0110096-00, Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1870.

they stayed. The first example is a manuscript produced in CE 1927 when the Wang River raised up to four *Sòk*¹²¹. The scribe explained the situation in the colophon as follows:

ปฐมมูลศรัทธาวิชาวิราชได้เขียนอนิสงส์ข้าวประดับดินผู้กนี้ [...] เขียนเมื่อจุลศักราชได้ ๑๒๘๙ ตัว เมีง
เหม้า เดือนยี่ ออก ๓ คำ เมีงวัน ๕ ใต้ กาบสะง่า บริบูรณ์แล้ววันนั้นแล ปีนี้แม่น้ำแม่วังท่วมเข้าลึก ๔ ศอก
นักเหลือทุกปีแล

Nan (ex-monk) Yawirat was an initiator who wrote the manuscript [entitled] *Anisong khao pradap din*. [...]. [The manuscript] was finished in CS 1289, a *moeng mao* year, on the third waxing-moon day of the second lunar month, a *kap sang* day, on the fifth day of the week¹²². This year the Mae Wang River floods into land up to four *Sòk* depth which is deeper than in former years¹²³.

Concerning the communication to readers, scribes commonly accepted their misspelling and unorganized handwriting by confessing mistakes in the manuscripts, most of which shows humbleness that the handwriting looks messy or unstable due to several reasons. The following examples are derived from colophons in two palm-leaf manuscripts; one excuses that the writing was done in a hurry; the other asks readers for not deriding their writing.

ข้า่น้อยเขียนด้วยรีบแด ขออย่าตีข้า่นแด

I wrote [the manuscript] in a hurry. Please do not condemn me¹²⁴.

ใจใคร่สร้างอนิสงส์แท้แลเจ้าข้า่นใดได้อ่านได้เขียนก็ดี ก็พิจารณาดูทีเถอะ ขออย่าใคร่หัวข้า่นผู้เขียน

I desired to commission the *anisong* manuscript. Anyone who reads or writes the manuscript, please consider [the manuscript carefully] and do not deride me who was the scribe¹²⁵.

There are many excuses noted in the manuscripts that refer to mistakes or unpleasant handwriting. The following example gives a reason for inscribing mistakes. The scribe said that he seldom wrote palm-leaf manuscripts but he desired the merit of copying books, thereby writing this one eventually.

ตัวบ่งามสักคาบพอเป็นตัวจิมเพิ่นทั้งนั้นแล เหตุว่าบเคยช้านาน ทุพีพระน้องทั้งหลายได้เล่าคอย
พิจารณาที่ถือพรองเถอะเน้อ ข้า่นช่างแต่มีเหตุว่าใคร่ได้บุญแลเจ้าเหย

The handwriting is absolutely not fine [because it was written] just to be recorded; since I have not written [manuscripts] for a long while. All monks who read [the manuscript],

¹²¹ *Sòk* is a Thai measurement equalling half a metre. Four *Sòk* in the quotation is two metres.

¹²² 1289 Kārttika 3 = Friday, 28 October 1927. This day was, however, a *dap met* day. But the preceding day, Thursday, 27 October 1927, was a *kap sang* day.

¹²³ *Anisong khao pradap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival), source: DELMN, code: 1212, Wat Lao Nòi, Lampang province, CE 1927.

¹²⁴ *Anisong salak* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival), source: PNTMP, code: มส 0306007-00, Wat Kittiwong, Mae Hông Sòn province, CE 1697.

¹²⁵ *Anisong buat* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies), source: DELMN, code: 770, Wat Kittiwong, Mae Hông Sòn province, CE 1722.

please take a look at it by yourselves. I do not frequently write [manuscripts; but this time I wrote it] because I desired the merit¹²⁶.

As there are many mistakes, some scribes allowed the readers to kindly correct them: “All monks and novices who read [the manuscript], please take a look [at it] because some words are wrong and some are missing. However, I expect your kindness [to correct the mistakes] (ถ้าสงฆ์แลเณรองค์ใดอ่านก็ดี ขอพิจารณาไปพรองเพราะว่าบางตัวก็ผิดบางตัวก็ตกไป แต่อย่างไรก็ดี ผมคงนึกว่าท่านทั้งหลายคงกรุณาด้วย)¹²⁷.”

2.7 Conclusion

Manuscript explorers are likely surprised by the archives of *anisong* manuscripts even at unfamiliar temples in outskirt areas in Northern Thailand. In contrast to the general expectations that *anisong* manuscripts might be found in famous or influential monasteries, the manuscripts are most widely spread in small temples. This finding reveals the widespread popularity of *anisong* sermons in different communities and manuscript circulations among local monasteries. Especially at some temples provided with a variety of liturgical texts, the manuscripts were borrowed and eventually ended up being kept at a different monastic archive. As is evidenced by the colophons, *anisong* manuscripts dominantly circulated in the domestic vicinity, i.e., not exceeding the distance of a one-day trip. To simply serve a utilitary purpose, *anisong* manuscripts in later periods were frequently combined with ritually or textually relevant manuscripts. Therefore they ought to be investigated in both bundle divisions (*mat*) and fascicle divisions (*phuk*). Regarding the sermonic popularity, the tradition of *anisong* preaching has been widespread throughout the Dhamma script cultural domain; besides the Tham Lan Na script, the Tham Lü script is also found in Northern Thailand which is partly populated by the Tai Lü ethnic group. The dominant and typically used writing support was palm leaves, due to its local availability until modern printing technology was introduced and influenced the writing culture since the late nineteenth century.

A large number of multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) in earlier periods contain a variety of ritually relevant and irrelevant *anisong* texts written by a group of scribes. Besides the common intention of supporting Buddhism through religious books, *anisong* manuscripts were frequently made for serving diverse *anisong* texts for ritual usage, textual availability, academic application in scribal classes and master versions for further copies. The manuscripts, from the perspective of textual combination, were probably intended to serve rather as a textual collection than as a liturgical book. The scribal groups could be made up of *Sangha* and laity who were literate in the Tham script, such collaboration sheds light on close relationship between monks and laypeople. Thanks to the double role of *anisong* manuscripts

¹²⁶ *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), source: PNTMP, code: พธ 0110016-00, Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1864.

¹²⁷ *Anisong sang hon thang pen than* (Rewards derived from the construction of public roads), source: DELMN, code: 388, Wat Mahawan, Lamphun province, year unknown.

serving in both dedication rituals (Th: *kan thawai* การถวาย) and preaching rituals (Th: *kan thet* การเทศน์), the manuscripts functioned both as donated objects and textual containers.

Although *anisong* texts are mostly composed of an introductory text, giving preliminary information on narrators including their motivation to tell the story, and an embedded narrative, explaining specific meritorious deeds and positive outcomes, as the typical structure, paratextual elements reveal a certain flexibility concerning the manuscript layout and the personal statement. Spatial and temporal information about a manuscript's context was written in unspecific positions or sometimes simply omitted. Titles, headings and tables of contents could be inscribed on the recto side of the first folio, the last folio or at the left margin at the position of the text beginning. Foliation numbers were written on the left or right margin of verso sides with variant non-textual numerals used for either secular texts or religious texts. The visual organization and structuring paracontents of *anisong* manuscripts were simply characterized by a 'loose pattern' which was not particularly determined by a particular format because the manuscript structure was not formally fixed or influenced by official or royal rules; namely, they were organized by scribes or sponsors on their own in accordance with the available materials and personal preference.

In addition to the structuring non-textual paracontents, colophons – the paracontents containing most documentary contents – give social, historical and monastically educational information on the manuscript contexts. Space following the end of *anisong* texts was provided for free writing in which scribes or sponsors were allowed to show their religious and secular wishes, intentions of commissioning the manuscripts and personal records. Monk scribes wrote the manuscripts according to their available times, namely their leisure times and monastic school times. During the Buddhist Lent monks and novices are allowed to stay at a certain monastery for Buddhist religion learning or particular tasks, as is evidenced by the paracontent colophons dating the manuscript completions at the end of a year, after the months corresponding to the Buddhist Lent, from the tenth to first lunar months of the Northern Thai traditional calendar (July–October).

Besides the commonly held religious classes by master monks, *anisong* manuscripts were also written during the well-known historical event of religious manuscript transmission led by the influential Venerable Khruha Kancana Aranyawasi (1826–1878) from Phrae province. The monk participants in the project were in charge of copying or 'bringing' religious texts from manuscripts kept at different places. Apart from textual transmission, the scribes recorded general information of social and cultural contexts of the manuscripts in the free writing space, namely colophons, which have so far been investigated as documenting paracontents with plenty of historical information; the transmitted manuscripts done by the project were provided with space for their free writing despite the fact that most of the contribution pertains to the canonical text – *Anisong pitaka thang sam* or explanation of rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon; this obviously reveals the outstanding feature of *anisong* manuscripts that the scribes were not restricted merely to canonical writing but allowed to arbitrarily write on their own, on the one hand. On the other hand, the

occurrence of personal statements in such the free-writing space or colophons indicates the status of scribes to whom the merit of copying the manuscripts could be transferred. As *anison* manuscripts were to some extent open to include personal information of sponsors and scribes, these parts are not considered as particularly fixed but rather loose patterns.

Chapter 3

Anisong Manuscripts in Laos

3.1 Historical Background and Manuscript Culture

Marked by natural borders and neighbouring cities, Laos is bordered in the north by Yunnan, a Chinese province (424 kilometres), in the south by Cambodia (540 kilometres), in the northwest by Burma (238 kilometres), in the northeast and east by Vietnam (1,650 kilometres) and in the west by Thailand (1,754 kilometres) (see Stuart-Fox 1986: 1). The recorded history of Laos dates back to the year CE 757 when Khun Lò founded the town of Müang Sua at the confluence of the Mekong and Khan rivers (present-day Luang Prabang) and promoted it to the capital city known as Siang Thòng after the conquest over the Khmer monarch Khun Cüang Fa Thammarat who ruled Prakan city (present-day Chiang Khuang)¹. From the day of Khun Lò, there were twenty-two kings ruling the city for more than 500 years until the reign of King Fa Ngum².

Prince Fa Ngum was a son of the twenty-second king named Cao Fa Ngiao (Khun Phi Fa). He was in exile due to his abnormal teeth³ and was raised by a Khmer king who ruled Nakhòn Thom city. When he was 33, his uncle Cao Fa Kham Hiao ascended the throne of the previous King Fa Ngiao. According to the Nithan Khun Bulom, the oldest Lao chronicle, the prince Fa Ngum left Cambodia in 1349 and successfully seized Siang Thòng, including other smaller cities, eventually uniting the Lao lands as the Kingdom of Lan Sang⁴. The Pha Bang statue as

¹ In the sixth and seventh centuries, the Khmer power was extended within Suvarnaphum and further to Chiang Saen. During this period, a Khmer monarch called Khun Cüang Fa Thammarat (Khun Hung) who ruled Ngün Yang city (present-day Chiang Saen) defeated the Vietnamese and seized Prakan city (present-day Chiang Khuang). Having killed the former king of Prakan city named Aeng Ka, Khun Cüang Fa Thammarat assigned Khun Khuang to run Prakan city and went back to Chiang Saen. Later, a Vietnamese general called Hun Bang attacked Prakan city but was then eventually driven away by Khun Cüang Fa Thammarat who returned to Prakan city to assist Khun Khuang's armies. Hun Bang asked Thao Fa Huan from Tum Wang city for help but was followed and assaulted by Khun Cüang Fa Thammarat. As a result, Thao Fa Huan asked Khun Lo from Kalong city for help and could successfully kill Khun Cüang Fa Thammarat (see Viravong 1964: 25).

² Holt explains that the chronicle of King Fa Ngum represents the relationship of Lan Sang to Angkor and to the Buddhist religion as follows: "The latter (the chronicle of King Fa Ngum) attempts to forge a link between Lan Xang's kingship and the lineage of the Buddha; that is, it ties Lan Xang to the wider, universal religious history and cosmology of Theravada tradition" (2009: 34).

³ Another reason given by other different sources was that he was in exile due to a sexual sin: "One account contends that Fa Ngum was sent away "because of the sexual peccadillos of his father," Phi Fa, who allegedly had seduced one of the women of Khamphong's harem" (Holt 2009: 41).

⁴ "Under his rule, the borders of the country were extended to include large parts of southwest Yunnan, eastern Siam (Thailand), the Korat Plateau, and most of present-day Laos. Fa Ngum named the kingdom Lane Xang, the Land of a Million Elephants" (Mansfield and Koh 2009: 19).

state palladium and the Buddhist canon⁵ were then brought from Cambodia to be installed in Lan Sang. After his death, the oldest son was enthroned in CE 1374 by the name of King Sam Saen Thai and promoted the kingdom as the commercial centre and the main pillar of Buddhism.

The World Heritage Site of Luang Prabang has the highest density of monasteries in Laos, and perhaps in the whole of Southeast Asia. Since the mid-14th century, Luang Prabang has been the main pillar of Lao Buddhism (Grabowsky 2019: 79).

Buddhism flourished during the reign of King Visun who was crowned in 1500. Many prominent Buddhist thinkers played a role in the development of the country. The Buddhist canon (*Tipiṭaka*) was propagated in Lao, the new poetry rule called Wisumala was invented and the authentic legend book of Khun Bulom was completely written by the chief monk named Pha Maha Thep Luang⁶. The new erection of Vat Visun occurred under the royal patronage in the following year; the temple building with a height of circa 40 metres was constructed. Then, his son or Prince Phothisan was born in the twentieth year of his reign.

King Phothisalat (or Prince Phothisan) was enthroned in CE 1520 at the age of nineteen and, in order to secure the sixty Tipiṭaka bibles, Pha Thep Mongkhon Thela and a suite of monks, sent an ambassadorial mission to Chiang Mai, corresponding to the reign of King Müang Kaeo (1495–1525) of Lan Na kingdom during which Buddhism widely flourished⁷. King Phothisalat was the first Lao king who recorded his pious actions in support of the *sangha* with inscriptions and, according to the Lan Na *Jinakālamali*, received a full set of the Pali texts composing the Buddhist canon (*Tipiṭaka*) from the king of Chiang Mai in CE 1523 (see Holt 2009: 61). Having replaced spiritual shrines and altars with Buddhist temples and being ordained at Vat Visun in CE 1525, King Phothisalat was gloriously praised by neighbouring kingdoms for his great veneration of Buddhism.

⁵ The arrival of Buddhism to Lan Sang was indebted to the effort of King Fa Ngum's wife, Queen Nang Kaeo Keng Ya. Stuart-Fox explains that “[w]ith the advent of King Fah-Ngum, his wife, Queen Nang Keo-Keng-Ya noticed to her dislike that her people, mandarins as well as common citizens, practiced the cult of spirits, killing, now and then, elephants and buffaloes for sacrifice to the spirits. Since the Queen was a fervent Buddhist from the time she had lived in her native Khmer kingdom, she could not, as Queen of the Lao kingdom, allow this practice of sacrifice by her subjects go on. With this in mind, she gracefully requested her husband to introduce Buddhism into the Lao kingdom, otherwise, she would ask to return to her father's land of the Khmer kingdom” (Viravong 1964: 36a).

⁶ There are fifteen versions of Khun Bulom legend books dated CE 1512–1926 which were written in palm-leaf manuscripts and printed books, in the Tham Lao script or the Lao Buhan script and both in Lao and Thai languages. The first version was sponsored by King Visun and composed by Pha Maha Thep Luang and Maha Mungkhun Sitthi in CE 1512 (see Sumet 1996: 51).

⁷ In terms of the Buddhist religion, monastic constructions and wisdom flourished, as is evidenced by the fact that the king and queen were enthusiastic patrons of Buddhism. Inscriptions found in Northern Thailand also show that King Phaya Kaeo sponsored the construction and repairing of monasteries and donated land and labourers for the benefit of the religion. ในด้านพระพุทธศาสนา สมัยนี้เจริญรุ่งเรืองยิ่งทั้งการก่อสร้างถาวรวัตถุและภูมิปัญญา ดังพบหลักฐานว่ากษัตริย์ร่วมกับพระมหาเทวีทำนุบำรุงพุทธศาสนาอย่างมาก และศิลาจารึกในภาคเหนือก็ระบุว่าเป็นผู้สร้างและซ่อมแซมวัดตลอดจนกัลปนาที่ดินและข้าพระทั่วอาณาจักร (see Sarasawadee 2010: 170).

We also know that in his zeal to suppress the veneration of *phi*, *Phothisarath* specifically ordered that the old shrine of the ancestral guardian deities of Luang Phrabang, the former *axis mundi* of the pre-Buddhist *muang*, should be destroyed. On the very same site of the old guardian *phi* shrine, next to the *vat* his father had constructed for the enshrinement of the Phra Bang, Phothisarath constructed Vat Aham, another temple of continuing historical importance (Holt 2009: 61).

Based on the Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (DLLM) collection, the earliest found palm-leaf manuscript from Laos is a Pali canon entitled *Paliwan* and was written in CE 1520 during the reign of King Phothisalat (code: 06018504078-00, The National Museum, Luang Prabang). In CE 1548, King Ket Kaeo (1526–1538 and 1543–1545) of Lan Na passed away without a son who could have succeeded him on the throne; the oldest son of King Phothisalat – Prince Sethawangso, whose mother was a daughter of the passed-away king named Yòt Kham Thip – was thus invited to rule Chiang Mai for a short term in 1546–1547. However, the prince went back to Lan Sang and became King Saisethathilat ruling Siang Thòng in 1547 after the immediate death⁸ of his father, King Phothisalat; he also brought the Emerald Buddha image from Chiang Mai to Lan Sang (then to be installed in Vientiane). Because the city was considered too small and an invasion route of the Burmese armies, which obviously turned into enemies of Laos, the king accordingly moved the capital city to Vientiane in 1563 where cultivation was abundant and natural supplies were fully productive and constructed a monastery called Vat Pha Kaeo to house the Emerald Buddha statue⁹. The Pha Bang statue, however, remained in Siang Thòng and the city was thus renamed Luang Phabang (officially spelled as *Luang Prabang*).

In the year of 1698, the Kingdom of Laos was split into three kingdoms: Luang Prabang, Vientiane and Champasak. Each of these three kingdoms claimed to be the successor state of Lan Sang and all were forced to recognize Siamese suzerainty in 1778. Following the failed uprising of King Anuvong of Vientiane in 1826–28, in which Champasak but not Luang Prabang participated, Vientiane and Champasak became fully incorporated into the Siamese kingdom whereas Luang Prabang preserved its status as a vassal state. That was the reason why after 1893, when Siam ceded all territories situated on the left bank of the Mekong river to France, only Luang Prabang became a French protectorate while the rest of Laos received the status of colony. It also explains why religious manuscripts in Luang Prabang were not strongly influenced by the French.

In 1990, the French chose Vientiane as their administrative capital, and began the restoration of the monumental left in ruins after the Siamese sack of 1827. A skeleton administration was established consisting of representatives or ‘residents’ in each of nine

⁸ He was trampled to death by an elephant while roping wild elephants (Manich 1967: 81).

⁹ “During the sixteenth century the kingdom of Lan Xang was invaded first by the Siamese then by the Burmese. In 1563, King Setthathirat transferred his capital from Luang Prabang to Vientiane, a site both more centrally situated with respect to the Lao territories and more easily defensible against Burmese attack. The new capital was embellished with a series of fine Buddhist monuments, among which were Wat Phra Keo, erected to house the Emerald Buddha, and the stupa of That Luang” (Stuart-Fox 1986: 8).

provinces in south, central and northwestern Laos, excluding Luang Prabang. As of 1916, the northeastern region (later Phongsaly province) was constituted as the ‘Vé territoire militaire’, an extension of four similar territories covering equally mountainous and sensitive areas along the Chinese border in northern Vietnam. The territory of the Kingdom of Luang Prabang including Sayaboury, Oudomsay and much of Houaphan province became a French protectorate (Stuart-Fox 1986: 12).

During the approximately fifty-year period of colonial rule, the French restored and preserved cultural resources and renewed the Buddhist education. They focused less on local common education in temples but more on elite institutional levels. Primary schools in French towns and French schools were founded. Since CE 1975, the Lao People’s Revolutionary Party has ruled Laos.

Like in Northern Thailand, in Laos religious and secular texts were inscribed in palm-leaf manuscripts in earlier periods, whereas mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts were relatively rare. Mulberry paper was dominantly popular among Tai Lü speakers or the Northern Lao regions. The manuscripts were developed from moderately sized pieces of paper bound on the top margin with thread and woodsticks (whirlwind binding) towards horizontal oblong-shaped concertina-like books resembling the *photoi* format¹⁰ of traditional palm-leaf manuscripts; the book-format transformation into concertina style in the case of *anison* manuscripts have not been found in Northern Thailand where traditional styles of manuscript production are preserved; the traditional preservation is also reflected in the style of script writing:

There is a marked note of conservatism in the Pali palm-leaf manuscripts that suggests that the northern Thai literary community wished to preserve their traditions from any outside influence. Indeed, except for very minor transformations, the script has remained the same for over five hundred years. A person trained to read the script from a twentieth-century manuscript would be able to read the earliest examples available (Veidlinger 2006: 116).

Having been colonized by the French for approximately fifty years, it was not unusual that Laos was exposed to western influences including modern printing technology that was later applied to the manuscript production since the late 19th century. The turning point is evidently represented by the emergence of typewritten palm-leaf manuscripts that have been uniquely found in Luang Prabang, a city which was not completely colonized by the French but controlled as a protectorate. A number of palm-leaf manuscripts were copied with a typewriter implying the effort to preserve religious texts in particular accordance with the

¹⁰ The *photoi* format originated in India where palm leaves were used as a convenient writing material. The long, thin shape of the leaves dictated the format and size of the material which was often bound together through holes in the centre of the folios. These size restrictions were overcome when the format was reproduced in China and Tibet where paper replaced the traditional palm leaves. Despite no longer being restricted by the limitations of the material, the *photoi* format was retained and we see many examples of large paper *photoi* in the collections worldwide (see <http://idp.bl.uk/4DCGI/education/comenius/manuscripts.a4d>).

manuscript-copying projects led by Sathu Nyai Khamchan Virachitto (1920–2007)¹¹. While religious texts in the manuscripts were being preserved by the new method, Tham script literacy, on the other hand, gradually declined as the typewriter fonts were available in the modern Lao script¹². In that period, manuscripts written in the Tham script could therefore be produced only by hand and were also made by mulberry and industrial paper¹³.

Though the printing technology widely influenced manuscript productions in Laos, one cannot simply conclude that it totally replaced the handwriting, because a large number of printed manuscripts were partly written by hand to fill in the names of sponsors and passed-away relatives in the colophons, to correct mistakes and to mark a pause when practising a sermon. Generally speaking, modern printing technology took over the production of manuscripts for the sake of transmitting ‘texts’, while the tradition of donating manuscripts or books remained unchanged.

3.2 Sources and Repositories

Anisong manuscripts are kept in different provinces in Laos but mostly in Luang Prabang which is a UNESCO World Heritage city¹⁴. In cooperation with the National Library of Laos and various German institutions, namely, the University of Passau and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, manuscripts are published online on the website Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (DLLM). The project of collecting and digitalizing manuscripts is funded by Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) and the German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). Further manuscript surveys and digitalization have been done by the Buddhist Archive of Photography (BAP) which mainly digitizes manuscripts kept in monastic repositories of Luang Prabang and has been supported

¹¹ “Sathu Nyai Khamchan served as an abbot for a long time (60 years) in one of the most prominent monasteries of Luang Prabang. He developed very close relations to the highest ranking individuals of the Lao Sangha hierarchy and rose up to high positions within the Sangha himself. When he passed away, he left behind a huge corpus of documents and artefacts, which have enabled us to reconstruct his life history and learn more about his roles in the Sangha” (Khamvone 2015: vi–vii).

¹² Bounleuth provides more information on typewritten manuscripts in Luang Prabang and notes that the modern Lao font available for typewriters was an advantageous feature for monks and novices who were illiterate in the Tham Lao script: “One difference between the typed and written versions, however, is that the former was typed with three columns and five lines on each page, whereas the latter was written with continuum in each line from the left margin until the right margin, with four lines on each page. The handwritten text was more commonly inscribed in Tham-Lao, whereas the script employed in the typed version is modern Lao. This demonstrates that the Lao script can also be utilized for writing religious texts. The Buddhist scholars in Luang Prabang may have realized that each variant of the Dhamma script is difficult to read for some monks and novices. Consequently, they provided such monks and novices with the texts written in Lao, thereby providing monks and novices with the opportunity to study the texts without having to learn a new script” (Bounleuth 2016: 246–247).

¹³ For example, BAD-13-2-093 *Anisong thawai kathin* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Kathin* festival) and BAD-21-2-004 *Salòng than dòk mai* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers).

¹⁴ Luang Prabang was registered by the UNESCO as World Heritage City in December 1995.

by the British Library’s Endangered Archives Programme (EAP) and the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) in Hamburg. *Anisong* manuscripts from Laos in the research corpus comprise 143 bundles, including palm-leaf, mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts, and are found in seven cities, as shown in the bar chart below. The Buddhist Archive of Photography keeps ninety-five *anisong* manuscripts; the Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts keeps forty-two, plus six from the collection surveyed by Professor Dr. Volker Grabowsky (CVG). Except for the last collection (CVG), the other two sources are indicated with the codes of all *anisong* manuscripts in the corpus. The first two digits of DLLM manuscripts represent provinces: 01 (Vientiane), 03 (Luang Namtha), 05 (Bò Kaeo), 06 (Luang Prabang), 08 (Saiyabuli), 12 (Kham Muan) and 17 (Attapü). In the case of BAP manuscripts, all of their codes are preceded with “BAD” which is the abbreviation of “Buddhist Archive of Documents”.

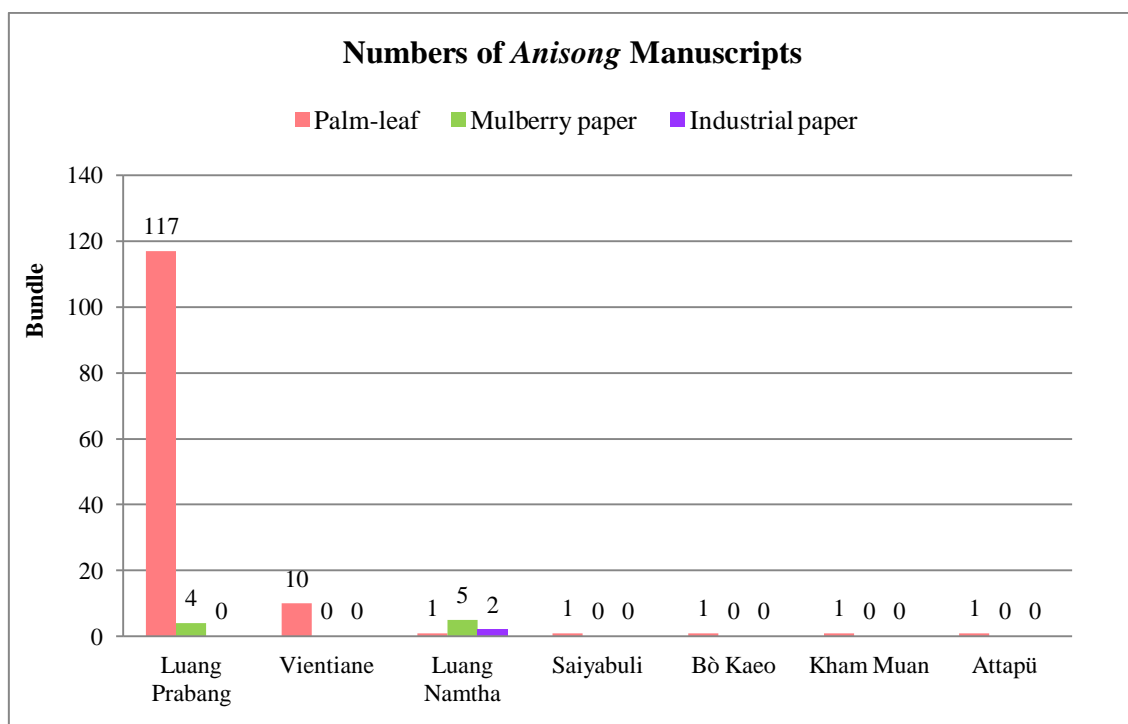


Chart 3.1: Number of *anisong* manuscripts in Laos

According to the bar chart of clustered *anisong* manuscripts in Laos, Luang Prabang has the highest density because of the Buddhist education centre supported by royal patronage in earlier periods and not being fully colonized by the French, which will be further explained. Like *anisong* manuscripts from Northern Thailand, those made of palm leaves are more numerous than the others made of mulberry and industrial paper. Each city has at least one palm-leaf manuscript. Interestingly, Luang Namtha, in spite of small numbers for each material, has the most variety of writing supports: palm-leaf, mulberry paper and industrial paper. Luang Namtha town, the provincial capital of Luang Namtha province in the Lao PDR (Lao Peoples’ Democratic Republic) bordering China and Burma, is widely populated by the ethnic Tai Lü. The town is ethnolinguistically diverse and has been increasingly populated by ethnically different citizens since the early twentieth century. Of the total population of

145,000 (2005), 45,000 people live in the district of Luang Namtha and less than 10,000 in the provincial capital which consists of a cluster of several multi-ethnic town quarters. At the provincial level, the population breaks down into roughly 30 percent each for Tibeto-Burman, Mon-Khmer and Tai-Kadai. Hmong-Mien and other small groups constitute the last ten percentage, while ethnic Lao account for only three percentage of the population (see Badenoch and Tomita 2013: 35). As mentioned in Chapter Two, mulberry paper was widely popular among the ethnic Tai Lü in Luang Namtha and therefore has larger numbers of mulberry paper manuscripts.



Figure 3.1: Bundle of *anisong* composite palm-leaf manuscript containing several fascicles

With regard to codicological units, all 143 manuscript bundles (Th: *mat*, ມັດ) contain 366 fascicles¹⁵ (Th: *phuk*, ພຸກ) in total. Like *anisong* manuscripts from Northern Thailand, those from Laos can be grouped into forty-two single-text manuscripts (STM), two multiple-text manuscripts (MTM) and ninety-nine composite manuscripts (COM). Among the 366 fascicles, many contain multiple texts, but they are not regarded as multiple-text manuscripts because the fascicles were later combined with other fascicles originally produced as different individual units. Manuscripts are categorized as MTMs provided that a fascicle contains several texts, was produced as one unit and not combined with other fascicles made from different production units. As a result, there are only two *anisong* multiple-text manuscripts in Laos because other original MTMs have been assembled with other fascicles, independent from their individual productions (see 4.2 for further details), whereas numerous manuscripts from Northern Thailand can be regarded as multiple-text manuscripts as they are kept in their own separate bundles. The first multiple-text manuscript is made of mulberry paper, was written by an ex-monk named Thit Niao Maniwong in CE 2004, coded as 2-06 for the whole

¹⁵ Luang Prabang keeps 270 fascicles, Vientiane eight-three fascicles; Luang Namtha eight fascicles; Kham Muan two fascicles; Chaiyaburi one fascicle; Buakao one fascicle and Attapü one fascicle.

MTM unit and is kept at Vat Saen Sukharam in Luang Prabang; each of which is individually coded as BAD-13-2-034¹⁶, BAD-13-2-035¹⁷, BAD-13-2-036¹⁸, BAD-13-2-037¹⁹ and BAD-13-2-038²⁰. The second multiple-text manuscript is made of mulberry paper, was written by an anonymous scribe (year unknown), coded as 2-10 for the whole MTM unit and is kept at Vat Saen Sukharam in Luang Prabang; each of which is individually coded as BAD-13-2-087²¹, BAD-13-2-092²², BAD-13-2-093²³, BAD-13-2-095²⁴, BAD-13-2-096²⁵, BAD-13-2-097²⁶, BAD-13-2-098²⁷ and BAD-13-2-099²⁸. Codicological units of *anisong* manuscripts

¹⁶ The manuscript coded BAD-13-2-034 contains four texts: *Salòng ciwòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes), *Salòng haksà sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance), *Salòng pha phutthahup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images) and *Salòng pong sop lü phao phi* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals).

¹⁷ The manuscript coded BAD-13-2-035 contains four texts: *Salòng kò thaen si maha pho* (Rewards derived from the donation of tree poles), *Salòng wetkudi* (Rewards derived from the construction of toilets), *Salòng sangkhathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) and *Salòng sang saphan khua* (Rewards derived from the construction of bridges).

¹⁸ The manuscript coded BAD-13-2-036 contains four texts: *Salòng kathinathan* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Kathin* festival), *Salòng fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma), *Salòng buat* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies) and *Salòng sala* (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions).

¹⁹ The manuscript coded BAD-13-2-037 contains two texts: *Salòng pong sop lü phao phi* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals) and *Salòng ciwòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes).

²⁰ The manuscript coded BAD-13-2-038 contains four texts: *Salòng maha wetsandòn chadok* (Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka), *Salòng sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Salòng dòk mai thup thian* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers, incense sticks and candles) and *Salòng khao ci* (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice).

²¹ The manuscript coded BAD-13-2-087 contains two texts: *Anisong fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma) and *Anisong phao phi* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals).

²² The manuscript coded BAD-13-2-092 contains three texts: *Anisong khao padap din sai bat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food on occasion of the *Khao pradap din* festival), *Anisong khao salak sai bat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food on occasion of *Khao salak* festival) and *Anisong sangkhathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

²³ The manuscript coded BAD-13-2-093 contains one text (STM) entitled *Anisong thawai kathin* (Rewards derived from merit-making on the *Kathin* festival).

²⁴ The manuscript coded BAD-13-2-095 contains two texts: *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) and *Anisong haksà sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance).

²⁵ The manuscript coded BAD-13-2-096 contains two texts: *Anisong wisakha bucha* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Wisakha bucha* festival) and *Anisong thawai khao ci* (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice).

²⁶ The manuscript coded BAD-13-2-097 contains three texts: *Anisong salòng dòk mai* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers), *Salòng khao phan kòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls) and *Anisong sang wetkudi* (Rewards derived from the construction of toilets).

²⁷ The manuscript coded BAD-13-2-098 contains two texts: *Salòng pha nam fon* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes) and *Anisong pha camnam phansa* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season).

from the two regions are significantly different in respect to their ritual usage. This issue will be further studied and analysed in Chapter Four.



Figure 3.2: The National Library of Laos
Photo by the author on March 15, 2017

Vat Ong Tü²⁹ is another monastery keeping five non-microfilmed *anisong* manuscripts: two manuscript fascicles of *Salòng attha bolikhan*³⁰, one fascicle of *Salòng fang tham*³¹, one fascicle of *Salong hò khao padap din*³² and one fascicle of *Anisong sang pha tham*³³; each of which has not been coded yet. Vat Ong Tü has a monastic school which houses a library storing textbooks and manuscripts. The monastic school grew during the reign of King Surinyawong (CE 1638–1695) who considerably boosted the Buddhist education with royal patronage funding. McDaniel gives information on *anisong* manuscripts kept at the temple as follows:

Vat Ong Teu in particular possesses a large collection of *chalong* (ceremony or celebration; sometimes transcribed as *xalōng*) manuscripts. These texts, like the *Chalong dok mai* (Flower [Offering] Ceremony), *Chalong Buddharup* (Buddha Image [Offering] Ceremony), *Chalong khathin* (Monastic Robes [Offering] Ceremony), attest to the major role Vat Ong Teu has played in ritual, as well as the educational, life of the city. One in particular, the *Chalong Pidok* (Buddhist Tipitaka Text [Offering] Ceremony) is particular important since Vat Ong Teu has been one of the major centers of textual study and religious instruction since its inception (McDaniel 2008: 37–38).

²⁸ The manuscript coded BAD-13-2-099 contains two texts: *Anisong makha bucha* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Makha bucha* festival) and *Anisong thawai pha phedan* (Rewards derived from the donation of ceiling clothes).

²⁹ Ong Tü means “Very Heavy (Buddha) Statue”. The monastery was named after a large Buddha image that King Sethathirat ordered cast in CE 1569. Originally, the statue was to be housed in Vat Inpeng (see McDaniel 2008: 32–33).

³⁰ (สลองอัฐบริหาร) Rewards derived from the donation of eight commodities for monks.

³¹ (สลองฟังธรรม) Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma.

³² (สลองห่อข้าวประดับดิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival.

³³ (อานิสงส์สร้างพระธรรม) Rewards derived from copying religious books. This manuscript was printed on industrial paper and horizontally folded in imitation of traditional palm-leaf manuscripts or the *phothi* format, and was produced in CE 1961 in Bangkok, Thailand. The text is in the modern Thai script and language, has five lines and three vertical columns.

When interviewed, the librarian Mr. Viengsamai Phombamloung, also an English teacher at the monastic school, informed me that Vat Ong Tü had owned even more manuscripts before they were partly brought to the National Library of Laos. The extant manuscripts are thus intended to be preserved at the library since the temple aims to keep the most various kinds of books: textbooks, canons and manuscripts. According to the interviewee, manuscripts were taken and gathered from various temples in order to be officially registered and stored in the National Library collection in the capital city Vientiane. A large number of *anisong* manuscript fascicles (*phuk*) were, as a result, grouped into bundles (*mat*) as composite manuscripts.



Figure 3.3: The monastic library and the manuscript corner at Vat Ong Tü, Vientiane



Figure 3.4: Librarian of the monastic school Figure 3.5: Library cards of the monastic school

(Left) Mr. Viengsamai Phombamloung, librarian of the monastic library of Vat Ong Tü and English teacher
 (Right) Library cards for novice students

Photo by the author on March 13–14, 2017

Concerning the registration of surveyed manuscripts, *anison* manuscripts archived at the Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (DLLM) are recorded with a layout of inventory sheets similar to those from the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM); the texts are also divided into twenty-one categories marked with an identical set of codes. Unlike the inventory sheets of Northern Thai manuscripts, however, a sub-headline for the names of scribes and sponsors is additionally provided in those of Lao manuscripts shown in the green frame below. The language and alphabets of the two inventory sheets are different; one is in Lao and the other is in Thai. *Anison* manuscripts from the two sources are therefore categorized and coded in similar records. The following examples show inventory sheets from Laos and Northern Thailand. However, the layouts of the identification code and provenance in the pink frames are slightly different; the inventory sheet from Laos gives more details about a manuscript's provenance – a village name is additionally given.

Names of sponsors and scribes

ໃບສຳລັບລາຍລະອຽດໜັງສືໃນລາວ

ແຂວງ	ເມືອງ	ຊົນ	ໝູ່	ເລກສີ່ຫຼ່ຽມ	ເລກສີ່ຫຼ່ຽມ
06	04	4	06	04	36

1. ແຂວງ: ຫວຽດນາມ ເມືອງ: ຫວຽດນາມ
 2. ຊົນ: ສາມາດສຳລັບສິນຄ້າ ຊື່: ສິນຄ້າ
 3. ຜູ້ຂຽນ: ສິນຄ້າ (ສິນຄ້າ)

4. ໝູ່

() 01 ສິນຄ້າ	() 08 ໂອກສາດສາມ	() 15 ກິດສາມ
() 02 ສິນຄ້າ	() 09 ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ	() 16 ສິນຄ້າສາມ
() 03 ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ	() 10 ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ	() 17 ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ
() 04 ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ	() 11 ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ	() 18 ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ
() 05 ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ	() 12 ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ	() 19 ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ
() 06 ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ	() 13 ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ	() 20 ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ
() 07 ສິນຄ້າ	() 14 ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ	() 21 ສິນຄ້າ

5. ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ ()

6. ສາມາດ () ສາມາດ () ສາມາດ () ສາມາດ () ສາມາດ () ສາມາດ ()

7. ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ ()

8. ຈຳນວນສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ () ຈຳນວນສິນຄ້າ () ຈຳນວນສິນຄ້າ () ຈຳນວນສິນຄ້າ () ຈຳນວນສິນຄ້າ () ຈຳນວນສິນຄ້າ ()

9. ສິນຄ້າ ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ ()

10. ຈຳນວນສິນຄ້າ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) (12) (13) (14) (15) (16) (17) (18) (19) (20) (21) (22) (23) (24)

11. ສາມາດສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ ()

12. ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ ()

13. ສາມາດສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ ()

14. ສາມາດສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ ()

15. ສາມາດສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ ()

16. ສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ ()

17. ສາມາດ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ ()

18. ສາມາດ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ () ສິນຄ້າ ()

ໂຮງຮຽນປັບປຸງສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າໃນລາວ
 ການສອນປັບປຸງສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ
 ກະຊວງສິນຄ້າສິນຄ້າ ສປປ ລາວ

Figure 3.6: Inventory sheet of Lao manuscripts

บัตรข้อมูลคัมภีร์ใบลานล้านนา

จังหวัด	วัด	หมวด	เลขที่วัด	เลขที่ชุด
ท	ว	ม	ว	ค

1. จังหวัด () เชียงใหม่ () ลำพูน () ลำปาง () เชียงราย () พะเยา () น่าน () แพร่ () แม่ฮ่องสอน

2. วัด: _____

3. ชื่อเรื่อง: _____

4. หมวด

() 01 พระไตรปิฎก	() 08 ไวยากรณ์	() 15 กฎหมาย
() 02 พระพุทธคำสอน	() 09 ประวัติศาสตร์	() 16 คำขวัญเทศาภิบาล
() 03 พระธรรมเทศนา	() 10 ธรรมทั่วไป	() 17 คำขวัญวัด
() 04 คัมภีร์ภาษาบาลี	() 11 นิยายธรรม	() 18 คำขวัญวัด
() 05 บทสวดมนต์	() 12 นิยายพื้นบ้าน	() 19 คำขวัญ
() 06 อานนต	() 13 คำแนะนำเทศาภิบาล	() 20 รวมหลายหมวด
() 07 อื่นๆ	() 14 คำแนะนำ/ราชวาท	() 21 อื่นๆ

5. อักษร () ไทยวน () อื่นๆ () อื่นๆ () อื่นๆ

6. ภาษา () ไทยวน () อื่นๆ () อื่นๆ () อื่นๆ

7. ลักษณะเอกสาร () ใบลาน () อื่นๆ () อื่นๆ () อื่นๆ

8. จำนวน/วันที่: _____

9. จำนวนชุด/เล่ม ทั้งหมด _____ ชุด/เล่ม

10. ลักษณะชุด () ครบชุด () ไม่ครบชุด () ไม่ปรากฏ () ว่างชุด

11. สภาพเอกสาร () ดี () พอใช้ () ชำรุด () ว่างชุด

12. การซ่อมแซม () ซ่อมแซมแล้ว () ซ่อมแซมอยู่ () ซ่อมแซมไม่ได้ () ว่างชุด

13. ถ่ายไมโครฟิล์ม () ถ่าย () ไม่ถ่าย () ถ่ายเมื่อวันที่ _____ พ.ศ. _____

14. หมายเหตุ _____

15. วันที่ _____ เดือน _____ ปี _____ ที่สำรวจ _____

16. ชื่อผู้สำรวจ (1) _____ (2) _____

17. หมายเหตุเพิ่มเติม _____

โครงการอนุรักษ์คัมภีร์ใบลานล้านนา
 โครงการอนุรักษ์คัมภีร์ใบลานล้านนา
 โครงการศูนย์วิจัยและอนุรักษ์คัมภีร์ใบลานล้านนา มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่

Figure 3.7: Inventory sheet of Lan Na manuscripts

The last nine digits of the manuscript codes from both regions are identical, indicating monastery, textual category, bundle code and fascicle order in the bundle. Unlike the first two digits identifying provinces in Northern Thailand, there are four digits marked with numerals at the beginning in the Lao manuscript codes, identifying province (Th/L: *khuang*) and district (Th/L: *miang*), while two abbreviation letters are used for the provinces of origin (Th/L: *cangwat*) in the Northern Thai manuscript codes. Besides, inventory sheets of Lao manuscripts give more information on the village in words below the code box. The inventory

sheet of Lao manuscripts thus provides a few more details than the other, showing the newly updated version of the manuscript surveys³⁴.

ເລກຮຽກ	ແຂວງ	ເມືອງ	ວັດ	ໝວດ	ເລກທີມັດ	ເລື່ອງ/ຊຸດ
	060	114	060	131	6	

1. ແຂວງ ທະວີບາດສະຫຼາດ ເມືອງ ທະວີບາດສະຫຼາດ
 2. ວັດ ທະວີບາດສະຫຼາດສະຫວາດ ບ້ານ ທະວີບາດສະຫຼາດ
 3. ຊື່ເລື່ອງ ສັງຄະມະນີ (໒.໒໑໑)

Lao manuscript code

Thirteen digits marked with numerals

ຈັດກຳລັງ	ວັດ	ໝວດ	ເລກທີມັດ	ເລື່ອງ/ຊຸດ
0 1 0 2 0 6 0 1 2 0 3				

1. ຈັດກຳລັງ
 () ເຂື່ອນໃໝ່ () ດຳພູນ () ດຳປາງ () ເຂື່ອນຮາຍ
 () ພະເຂົາ () ນ້ຳນ () ແພ່ () ແມ່ເຂື່ອນສອນ
 2. ວັດ ທະວີບາດສະຫຼາດສະຫວາດ ບ້ານ ທະວີບາດສະຫຼາດ
 3. ຊື່ເລື່ອງ ສັງຄະມະນີ (໒.໒໑໑)

Northern Thai manuscript code

Eleven digits partly marked with abbreviation letters

Figure 3.8: Manuscript codes of Lao and Northern Thai manuscripts

The Buddhist Archive of Photography (BAP) uses a different layout of inventory sheets. They give the same information as the DLLM inventory sheets but with a different coding system. Manuscript codes recorded by the Buddhist Archive of Photography provide the repository, the kinds of writing support and the fascicle orders. The order of bundles is shown on the top right corner of the inventory sheet. Provinces, districts, genres and monasteries are not referred to in the manuscript codes but instead are written down in the blanks provided below. The manuscript texts are divided into nineteen categories similar to the DLLM record. The codes are initiated with BAD standing for the Buddhist Archives of Documents, then followed by seven numeral digits. The first two digits show repository temples. The third digit gives the type of writing supports: ‘1’ identifies palm-leaf and ‘2’ mulberry paper. The last four digits give the order of the manuscript fascicles, currently ranging up to several hundreds. Even though the number of digits is smaller in the case of the Buddhist Archive of Photography collection, the inventory sheet gives information identical to that of DLNTM and DLLM.

³⁴ Temple codes are officially used for Lao manuscript surveys. *Anisong* manuscripts in the research corpus are from seven provinces marked with different temple codes. In Luang Prabang the code 11 is for Vat Suvannakhili, 13 for Vat Saen Sukharam, 14 for Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, 15 for Vat Pak Khan, 19 for Vat Siang Muan, 21 for Vat Si Bun Hüang and 85 for The National Museum. In Vientiane there is only the code 29 representing The National Library. In Luang Namtha the code 05 is for Vat Sili Dòn Cai and 07 is for Vat Ban Sili Hüang. In Saiya Buli the code 02 is for Vat Malike. In Bò Kaeo the code 10 is for Vat Hongawadi. In Kham Muan the code 07 is for Vat Phonsawan. In Attapü the code 01 is for Vat Fang Daeng.

Manuscript code

Manuscript code: BAD-13-1-0 006

Order of manuscript bundles: ມັດທີ 077

Textual categories (genres):

- ໝວດ:
 - ພະວິໄນ
 - ພະສູດ
 - ພະອະພິທຳ
 - ຄຳພີພາສາປາລີ
 - ຕິດສູດມົນ
 - ອຳນິສັງຂະຫຼວງ
 - ຊາຕິກ
 - ໂອດາດທຳສອນ
 - ບະເໝນິພິຕິທຳ
 - ຄຳພະທົ່ວໄປ
 - ນິທານພື້ນ
 - ດຳນານພຸດທະສາສະນາ
 - ດຳນານເມືອງ
 - ກິດພາຍ
 - ສັກສອນສາດ
 - ໂຫລາສາດ
 - ດຳລາຢາ/ໂຫຍະສາດ
 - ລວມໝວດ
 - ບໍ່ໄດ້ຈັດໝວດໃຫ້

Figure 3.9: Inventory sheet of the Buddhist Archive of Photography (BAP)

The cluster of *anisong* manuscripts is shown in the following table. Categorized by provinces (*khuaeng*), it reveals that Luang Prabang, the tourist-attracting UNESCO Heritage Site, is where the most manuscripts are found. Thanks to the relocation of the capital city of Vientiane in CE 1563, Luang Prabang became regarded as the royal city serving a variety of religious and commercial functions as is explained by Stuart-Fox as follows:

For all its remoteness, Luang Prabang remained the capital of the Lao state for the next two centuries. It was there that the institutions, ceremonies and beliefs which were to shape the tradition Lao-Buddhist state for the next six hundred years were established (Stuart-Fox 1986: 4).

Luang Prabang, where the Phra Bang image, the palladium of the kingdom, was housed after being moved southwards from Wiang Kham, a town sixty kilometres away from Vientiane, was the capital of Lan Sang kingdom before the capital was transferred to Vientiane in CE

1560³⁵. Prior to CE 1893 French colonial rule, Vat Visun, built under the supervision of King Visun in CE 1503 in Luang Prabang, mainly contributed to the Lao monastic education. McDaniel (2008: 29) explains that Luang Prabang was promoted as the Buddhist capital with Vat Visun as its centre basically for two reasons. Firstly, the king, his scribes and senior monks believed in Lord Buddha's prediction about a great king³⁶ who would stay on a stone throne on the very grounds where Vat Visun was established. Secondly, Vat Visun is located near the base of the Phu Si hill in the centre of Luang Prabang; the Lao consider the hill as the axis (Mount Sumeru) of the Buddhist/Hindu world which is also opposite the Grand Palace of Luang Prabang. The city was thus further advanced as a Theravāda Buddhist centre. The following explanation given by McDaniel is worth being wholly quoted as it clarifies the subsequent monastic education established by King Visun's great efforts.

This strategic placing and the legitimizing chronicle that attends the monastery and its main image were part of King Vixun's efforts to make Luang Phrabang an attractive center of Theravada Buddhist ritual, scholarship, and art, and they remind one of similar efforts that were being made in Chiang Mai and Ayutthaya at this time. Famous monks attracted wealthy patrons and brought increased trade, manpower, artists, devotees, and pilgrims. The king certainly saw it as advantageous and prestigious to keep the best-educated, most regionally connected, most influential (and, therefore, most dangerous) teachers and

³⁵ The capital had originally been Luang Prabang or Chiang Thong before it was moved to Vientiane in CE 1560 due to the small size and invasion route of Luang Prabang city. Besides, Vientiane had plenty of cultivation and food. As a result, the Phrabang Buddha image has been left in Luang Prabang but the Emerald Buddha image and Phra Saek statue were brought to Vientiane. "In the year 1560 A.D. (1564 A.D. in the Phra Keo history book) King Saya-Setthathirath realized that Nakorn Xieng-Thong was rather too small a city and moreover located on the invasion route of the Burmese, who were now an open enemy of Nakorn-Xieng-Thong. Due to the fact that Vientiane was a bigger city with a large area of cultivable land and an abundant supply of foodstuffs, King Saya-Setthathirath thought it was an ideal place to set up his capital city. With this in mind, he consulted his advisers who fully agreed with him. So, he handed over the administration of Nakorn Xieng-Thong to his spiritual leaders and left the Phrabang statue there for their worship. Then he moved his men and properties including the statue of the Emerald Buddha and Phra Saek down to Vientiane and gave it a new capital name of 'Phra Nakorn Chanthaburi-Sisatanakhanahud-Uttama-Rajadhani' in 1560 A.D. Nakorn Xieng-Thong's name was also changed to Nakorn Luang-Phrabang after the statue of Phrabang. A new palace was built in the new capital and a new and sumptuous temple was also built to house the statue of the Emerald Buddha and Phra Saek-Kham" (Maha Sila Viravong 1964: 58).

³⁶ Holt states that such the construction followed the Hinduist notion of *cakkavattin* as follows: "Most of these great monumental constructions, at first Buddhist but then predominantly Hindu after the fifth century CE, were constructed by ambitious kings who had mustered the capital city to marshal the labour and material resources necessary for such elaborate constructions. Many of these kings, in turn, fashioned themselves as either *cakkavattins* (dharma-wielding kings descending from a lineage of the Buddha and destined eventually to become buddhas in their own right) or in the Hindu context as *devarajas* (this-worldly royal incarnations of the deities they worshipped). The temples that these Indian rulers constructed, often the palaces that they inhabited, and/or the royal cities that they built, were regarded as the pivots of a political mandalas, the very center of the known, inhabited world, where their realms, ritually orchestrated by a cadre of priests at their service. The Hindu king, then, was a this-worldly version of absolute cosmic power and the Buddhist king an embodiment of the dharma that the Buddha had perceived and then made known. Both represented themselves, through their regalia, temple projects, and ritual articulations, as consecrated vectors of supernatural force" (Holt 2009: 3–4).

students close. The monastic schools profited from this arrangement as well since they received royal gifts, protection, patronage, and good food. There probably were dozens of smaller, more rural monastic schools, but because they left no record only the ones the royal family supported are known about (2008: 29).

Besides, based on the belief of previous accumulated merit done by kings, the Buddhist religion was supported for a long time by kings of Lan Chang, especially by King Visun during whose reign religious and secular manuscripts were composed in large numbers. The numbers of *anisong* manuscripts found in different temples in each province are now enumerated in the following table. The largest number of the manuscripts is kept at Vat Saen Sukharam, a total of forty-six bundles. The monastery, which housed the head of the Luang Prabang *Sangha* during the years 1990–2007, was founded during the reign of King Kitsalat (CE 1707–1713), the first king of Luang Prabang kingdom. It is located between the Mekong and Khan rivers. Regarding the year of establishment, Khamvone (2016) gives two disputable sources dating the temple construction, CE 1714 and CS 1080 or CE 1718, and speculates as follows:

The resources I examined indicate two different dates for the founding of this temple. The first date is CE 1714, which is cited in two works, “Treasures of Luang Prabang” (Houmphanh et al. 2000: 38) and “Ancient Luang Prabang” (Heywood 2006: 80). The second date is CS 1080 or CE 1718, found in the “Chronicle of the Monasteries in the City of Luang Prabang” (Khamman 1964: 33), in Sathu Nyai Khamchan’s biography (Khamvone et al. 2004: 5) and in other collected documents of his. All of these resources, however, name Ta Chao Hang as the initial founder during King Kingkitsalat’s region. In order to resolve the discrepancy between the two sets of resources, I argue that the first resource must have listed the beginning date for the construction work, while the second date is the date on which the construction work was completed (2015: 132).

The word *saen* included in the temple name is defined as ‘one-hundred thousands’, thereby giving two different explanations on the origins. “One is the name of a stone, *kòn saen* (Th: ก้อนแสน), which is located at a spot on the Khan River where the initial founder, Ta Chao Hang, discovered gold which he spent on materials used in the construction of the monastery. The second explanation is that the name comes from the amount of money (one-hundred thousand Lao Kip) given by each donor as their contribution to the construction” (Khamvone 2015: 133). In 1953, *sukharam* was then appended by Sathu Nyai Khamchan Vitachitta Mahathela (CE 1920–2007) for the purpose of defining the temple where the Dhamma and Vinaya were practised, for the people to maintain their physical and mental peace. Moreover, Luang Prabang, unlike Vientiane, was not fully colonized by the French; they were thus not influentially prevented from Buddhist activities.

Province	Name of temple	<i>Anisong</i> manuscripts (bundles)
01 Vientiane (10)	The National Library (29) (หอสมุดแห่งชาติ)	10
03 Luang Namtha (8)	Vat Siang Cai (-) (วัดเชียงใจ)	3
	Unknown repository in Müang Sing (-) (วัดแห่งหนึ่งในเมืองสิงห์)	2
	Nan Chai Saeng collection (-) (บ้านหนานไชยแสง)	1
	Vat Sili Dòn Cai (05) (วัดสิริดอนใจ)	1
	Vat Ban Sili Hüang (07) (วัดบ้านสิริเฮือง)	1
05 Bò Kaeo (1)	Vat Hongswadi (10) (วัดหงสาวดี)	1
06 Luang Prabang (121)	Vat Saen Sukharam (13) (วัดแสนสุขาราม)	46
	Vat Si Bun Hüang (21) (วัดศรีบุญเฮือง)	34
	The National Museum (85) (หอพิพิธภัณฑ์)	14
	Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram (14) (วัดใหม่สุวรรณภูมาราม)	12
	Vat Suvannakhili (11) (วัดสุวรรณคีรี)	9
	Vat Pak Khan (15) (วัดปากคาน)	3
	Vat Siang Muan (19) (วัดเชียงม่วน)	3
08 Saiyabuli (1)	Vat Malike (02) (วัดมารีเก)	1
12 Kham Muan (1)	Vat Phonsawan (07) (วัดโพนสะหวัน)	1
17 Attapü (1)	Vat Fang Daeng (01) (วัดฝ้างแดง)	1

Table 3.1: Number of *anisong* manuscript-bundles categorized by repositories

The 121 bundles (*mat*) of *anisong* manuscripts found in Luang Prabang are composed of 270 fascicles (*phuk* in the case of palm-leaf manuscripts) or chapters (*rüang* in the case of mulberry paper manuscripts); eighty-eight manuscripts are undated and 182 are dated. Among

the 182 fascicles, only four were produced in the late 18th century (CE 1764–1798). Most of the *anisong* manuscripts were made throughout the 20th century (CE 1900–1998). However, McDaniel explains that manuscripts contouring the monastic education in Luang Prabang were frequently found at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram and mostly produced in the 18th and 19th centuries:

Vat Mai holds one of the largest collections of manuscripts in all of Laos. Of the more than eleven hundred total manuscripts, more than 80 percent are in Lao. Although most of these manuscripts were composed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one can still be fairly sure that the king's, as well as most other students', education was one centered on the vernacular exposition of both Pali and Lao religious and secular texts (2008: 31).

Anisong manuscripts in Luang Prabang were mainly written in the 20th century; it can therefore be assumed that the *anisong* genre was more recently produced than other religious manuscript genres or was required less than other monastic educational textbooks. The subsequent line chart provides the numbers of the 182 dated manuscript fascicles found in Luang Prabang; the data is shown in divisions of 10-year periods. The earliest four manuscripts were produced in the 18th century, namely, in CE 1764³⁷, CE 1790³⁸, CE 1793³⁹, and CE 1798⁴⁰, corresponding to the period of three independent kingdoms⁴¹: the Kingdom of Vientiane (1707–1828), the Kingdom of Luang Prabang (1707–1946) and the Kingdom of Champasak (1713–1904), plus one principality of Chiang Khuang (1707–1899).

³⁷ BAD-21-1-0071 *Sòng hot* (Rewards derived from the participation in monkhood-ranking promotion ceremonies), Vat Si Bun Hüang.

³⁸ 06018506022-01 *Sòng nam* (Rewards derived from the construction of wells), The National Museum of Luang Prabang or the former Royal Palace.

³⁹ 06011406014-05 A multiple-text manuscript containing four *anisong* texts, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram.

⁴⁰ 06011406004-03 A multiple-text manuscript containing four *anisong* texts, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram.

⁴¹ “After Suriyavongsa’s death, disputes over succession broke out, seriously weakening the kingdom. Between 1707 and 1713 Lan Sang split into three independent kingdoms, each of which claimed to be the legitimate heir to Lan Sang. The kingdoms of Luang Prabang in the north, Vientiane in the centre and Champasak in the south were ultimately unable to preserve their independence. In 1778–19 the weakened Lao kingdoms came under Siamese suzerainty and were reduced to the status of tributary vassal states of Bangkok” (Europa Publications 2016: 550).

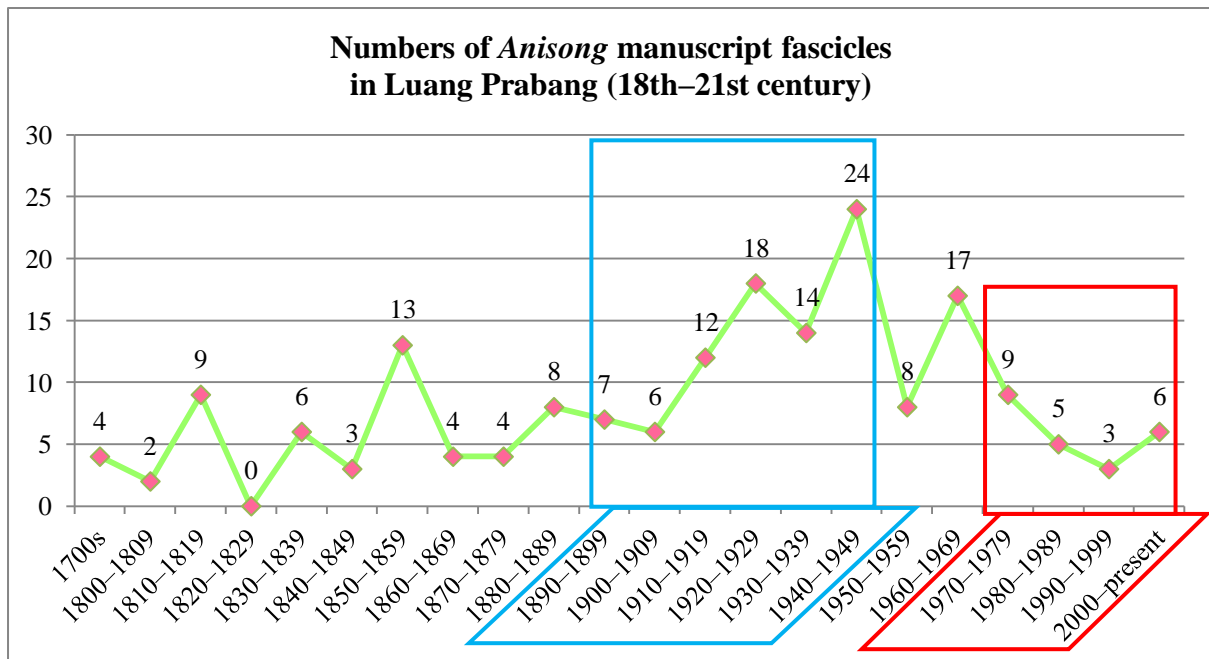


Chart 3.2: Number of *anisong* manuscript (fascicles) in Luang Prabang

During the period of the Luang Prabang kingdom (CE 1707–1946), the French colonial administration controlled Vientiane from CE 1893 to CE 1945, as can be seen in the blue frame. Vientiane was fully colonized by the French while Luang Prabang was a protectorate; the number of *anisong* manuscripts in Luang Prabang, according to the line chart, was thus not negatively influenced by the colonialism. The Lao People’s Revolutionary Party has then ruled Laos since CE 1975 as shown in the red frame. The tendencies in the two frames go in opposite directions; one ascends and the other descends. During the approximately fifty years of the French colonial period, the monastic education in Laos was not substantially influenced by the French; rather, the French restored and preserved cultural resources and renewed the Buddhist education. They focused less on local common education in temples but more on elite institutional levels, thereby founding primary schools in French towns and French schools in the districts. The first French school in Luang Prabang was founded in CE 1896 to serve merely elite students and was thus irrelevant to monastic education.

The French did not base their secular and Catholic educational institutions on local monastic models, nor did they invest in the maintenance of monastic schooling. [...]. The French based their primary administrative offices for Indochine in Vietnam. Ideally in each French-designed town there was one public *école cantonale* (primary school) and in the major French administrative regions there were *écoles d’arrondissement* (district schools), which were supposed to be directed by a French-born teacher and over time assisted by native teachers (McDaniel 2008: 38).

Lao monastic education still remained popular and was hardly influenced by French intervention. Even though the French encouraged monks and novices to study in French schools without any supporting funds, they invested budgets in various studies of Buddhism, Lao history, linguistics, art history, epigraphy and archaeology; thus, the French colonial

influence did not cause any complete changes in the Lao monastic education. One underlying reason of the French administration not to undermine or intervene in the national Buddhist education in Laos was that the colonial policy aimed to incorporate Laos into Indochina, thus encouraging the monks to travel within the area rather than to cross the Mekong River to learn Buddhism in Siam⁴².

According to the line chart above, the writing of *anisong* manuscripts remained stable from the earliest extant Luang Prabang manuscript made in CE 1764⁴³. The most widespread *anisong* manuscripts produced during the French colonial period (CE 1893–1945) were *Panyabalami* and *anisong* pertaining to the donation of religious flags. The first text explains meritorious benefits gained from listening to the sermon of *Panyabalami*, while the second explains the merit one could be rewarded from offering different kinds of religious flags on different occasions. The statistic information reveals the popularity of gaining merit in that period by listening to the sacred preaching and by offering religious flags, but hardly allows for inferring any political interventions by the French colonial power because other *anisong* manuscripts besides the two texts were also frequently written.

Anisong manuscripts, which represent a significant portion of the total number of manuscripts found in Luang Prabang, were made in correspondence to calendrical rituals and gift-giving ceremonies. Calendrical rituals were often included with *anisong* sermons given during or at the end of the events. For the purpose of explanations, monks read texts from the manuscripts clarifying pleasant and miraculous rewards that laypeople could gain from taking part in religious events. In comparison to the Northern Thai culture, during my ritual survey from July to August 2018, *anisong* sermons could also be given before a certain ritual actually began. In the morning of July 28, on a Saturday, local people in the vicinity of Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, made merit on occasion of the Buddhist Lent period by offering alms-food and gathering in the ordination hall (P: *vihāra*) for being blessed by monks. The monks chanted in Pali and gave blessings to the laypeople for their grateful generosity. As soon as the Pali chanting was finished, the vice abbot, without reading any texts, started to talk in vernacular language about an upcoming religious event in the next few weeks. He informed about the timetable, activities and meritorious benefits for the detailed explanation of which he used most of his talking time. The monk convinced the laypeople to become interested in it

⁴² Prayun explains the relationship between Siamese (Thai) and Lao monks, stating that “the Thammayut sect, led by Phra Ubali Khurupamacan (Can Siricando) from Ubonratchathani province, was propagated in Champasak. Then a monk named Klam from Sithandòn town studied Buddhism at Wat Bòwònniwet Wihan in Bangkok for ten years and afterwards went back to propagate the sect in the town. The present-day Lao Sangha still follows the Sangha Administration of Thailand,” “ส่วนทางภาคกลาง นิกายธรรมยุต นำโดยพระอุบาลีคฺรูปมาจารย์ (จันทร์ สิริจันโท) ชาวจังหวัดอุบลราชธานีได้นำนิกายธรรมยุตไปเผยแผ่ในเมืองจำปาศักดิ์ ต่อมาพระอาจารย์กล้าชาวเมืองศรีทันดร ได้มาพักศึกษาอยู่ที่วัดบวรนิเวศวิหารถึง ๑๐ ปีและกลับสู่ประเทศลาวพร้อมกับนำนิกายธรรมยุตไปเผยแผ่ที่ศรีทันดรด้วย นอกจากนี้ คณะสงฆ์ลาวปัจจุบันยังได้ใช้รูปแบบการบริหารคณะสงฆ์ตามอย่างคณะสงฆ์ไทยด้วย” (see Prayun 2011: 92).

⁴³ Source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0071 *Sòng hot* (Rewards derived from the participation in monkhood-ranking promotion ceremonies), Vat Si Bun Hüang.

and, if possible, to pass on the news to other people. The talk lasted about fifteen minutes which can be more or less regarded as an *anison*g sermon thanks to the underlying intention of explaining glorious returns of the merit. In this way, *anison*g can be assimilated as a public talk and thus be simply preached without reading from texts or manuscripts. The laypeople, as a result, perhaps realized that they were being informed but possibly not all were convinced. The calendrical rituals for which the manuscripts in the line chart above were made are, for example, New Year occasions,⁴⁴ merit-making dedications to the dead⁴⁵ and the Buddhist Lenten period⁴⁶.

Regarding another largest number of manuscripts pertaining to gift-giving ceremonies, those are mainly *anison*g of offering portable goods and provisions intended for monastic uses: candles, musical instruments for religious occasions, umbrellas, manuscript chests, wrapping clothes and other items. There are also *anison*g manuscripts explaining rewards derived from offering monastic or public buildings, but less compared to portable goods, reflecting the dominant popularity of donations that comparatively cost less and required no or smaller collaborations of donors organized in larger groups. *Anison*g manuscripts were made in accordance with religious donations actually done by people in a particular community; the merit was made on the basis of Theravāda Buddhist beliefs and ideas of individual merit which consequently inspired the commissioning of *anison*g manuscripts. A large amount of evidence therefore demonstrates a dedication unit included with *anison*g manuscripts and other donated goods. One can clearly see that laypeople preferred donating portable items rather than monastic or public buildings which would imply a much greater responsibility concerning the expenses and a large collaboration within the community. Still, other *anison*g manuscripts were written and dedicated to monasteries without co-donated alms. Sponsors made the manuscripts to aid monks in giving *anison*g sermons in response to actual merit-making done by people; they thus served as textual containers to be utilized by preaching monks. On the other hand, sponsors showed compliments on certain merit by means of writing *anison*g, so that the manuscripts could be read by monks for giving blessings; the manuscript production could therefore be regarded as merit participation. McDaniel (2008: 36) gives an explanation summarized from notions derived from an Italian Catholic missionary Father Giovanni-Maria Leria⁴⁷ on the Lao monastic education, stating that it was

⁴⁴ For example: *Salòng cedi sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas), source: DLLM, code: 06011406003-03, CE 1968.

⁴⁵ For example: *Sòng sop phi tai* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals), source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0385, CE 1911.

⁴⁶ For example: *Sòng pha nam fon lae pha camnam phansa* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes), source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0438, CE 1940.

⁴⁷ He stayed in Laos during 1642–1648. McDaniel notes that Father Leria was viscerally opposed to the lives and work of Lao monks. Although he clearly did not approve of the manner of their education, like van Wuysthoff, he did admit that monks from Siam went to Laos in great numbers to study. However, he attributed these foreign monks' desire to study in Laos to his observations that Lao monks have no morality and do not strictly study what he understood as normative Buddhism. In his words, the education in Lao monasteries possessed "a greater reputation" since it does not "entirely conform to the old tradition" (see McDaniel 2008: 34).

highly associated with preaching and ritual practices. The Buddhist texts for teaching were selected from Jātaka stories about previous lives of Lord Buddha Gotama, each of which manifests meritorious deeds and results experienced by Bodhisatva during his series of reincarnations.

From the content of manuscript libraries one can speculate that other stories were probably drawn from the *Dhammapada-atthakathā* and apocryphal *jātaka* and from vernacular narratives in which charity (*dāna*) and other acts of merit are the main themes but heavens and hells are also described. In addition to these, vernacular texts like the *Nithan Khun Borom*, *Xin Sai*, *Siang Miang*, and other Lao folktales and legends about “the origins of the world” and “legendary monsters” could have been included in their sermons and studies. This is confirmed by the content of texts from the period. Ritual texts like the *kammavācā*, *paritta*, and *ānisamsa* that guided ordinations, house blessings, new robe offerings, and healing and protective rites must have also been included since “magic” and “holy water,” in Leria’s words, were the chief “superstitions” of the Lao “talapoins” (monks) (McDaniel 2008: 36).

According to this quote, *anisong* manuscripts, similar to the Northern Thai monastic learning culture, could also be written for the purpose of serving as learning materials. There was perhaps the case that monastic students, monks and novices, copied the manuscripts as part of scribal classes because of their shortness of approximately fifteen palm-leaf folios. In religious rituals or ceremonies monks were invited to lead the chanting or give blessings; novices could also accompany senior monks to practice rituals or even to fulfil a group, especially those who were not well mastered in chanting the texts⁴⁸. Therefore, they experienced how often rituals on a certain occasion were done, then they learnt by copying and reading *anisong* manuscripts to support future upcoming rituals in which *anisong* sermons were supposed to be included, as is explained by Bounleuth as follows:

In the past, the way of learning to read the Dhamma script was not the same as the current techniques used. Anyone who wanted to learn the script had to learn word by word written on palm leaves which were threaded together into a fascicle. Furthermore, learning to read the Dhamma script can be considered the fundament of learning to preach or give sermons. This means that a student or apprentice (L: *phu hian / luk sit*) must be proficient in both reading and preaching (2015: 263).

⁴⁸ Terwiel explains some exemplary situations in which inexperienced monks were invited to chant in rituals organized at laypeople houses as follows: “On *wanphra* all inexperienced monks participate in the ritual, but especially in rural areas newly ordained monk may also be invited to chant at private homes, notably when the ritual takes place in the house of close relatives. At such occasions, the laymen can observe whether a newly ordained man can already join in the chanting of texts or whether he has to sit silently while his fellow monks recite. After a man has been a *phiksu* for several months, it is expected of him that he takes part in most chants. Inexperienced monks may feel quite embarrassed when a leader of a chapter of monks chooses a text that they have not yet mastered. Some monks may try to hide their lack of knowledge by extending a breathing pause, or by simulating a cough during difficult parts of the text, and then resume the recitation during the easy, repetitive parts” (Terwiel 2012: 107).

Thanks to the shortness of *anisong* manuscripts, they were also used to train young monk students in reading classes by experienced monks who in turn were assigned by a senior monk to help him teach their classmates (see Bounleuth 2015: 264). Making manuscripts certainly brings merit for the production participants (sponsors and scribes), but the making was also done to serve various other purposes, especially academic aims.

3.3 Writing Support and Languages

Language and script can be explained shortly because of the similarity to the Northern Thai manuscript culture. Vernacular and Pali were also written in Lao *anisong* manuscripts with the Tham Lao script – another variant of the Tham script that is basically shaped with slightly different writing styles⁴⁹. Namely, one who is able to read texts written in the Tham Lan Na script can certainly read those written in Tham Lao script. *Anisong* texts were partly verbatim written in vernacular and Pali – one translates the other, so that the audience could understand what the preaching monks were reading from the manuscripts. The sermon is intended for lay audience who expect to delightfully hear their glorious outcomes gained from certain activities. Laos and Northern Thailand historically share conterminous borders, the spreading of traditional traits therefore led to influencing in both directions. As stated in Chapter Two, *anisong* manuscripts in Northern Thailand were made of palm leaves, mulberry paper and industrial paper and this was also the case in Laos. Monastic officers in the two regions were similarly educated, thereby making or copying religious manuscripts, including the *anisong* genre. Kislenko provides excellent information on the cultural relationships between Thailand and Laos in his *Culture and Customs of Laos*:

As in Thailand, the arts in Laos are infused with what some refer to as *khati khong xaoban lao*: a mix of customs, proverbs, songs, rhymes, riddles, and games that might best be described as “folklore.” The similarity stems from their common lineage, the near-identical dominant religions, and their interconnected histories. However, there are variations that distinguish Lao arts from those of its neighbor. This is particularly true in the literature of Lan Xang, which, even though based on the same stories as other Tai kingdoms, contained noticeably different interpretations (2009: 66).

The writing support of *anisong* manuscripts found in Laos is therefore similar to those in Northern Thailand, with slightly different bindings of mulberry paper. Some were made by means of gluing pieces of paper into a longer vertical sheet which was then horizontally folded in proper width to serve the space of four to five handwritten lines; the style was influentially shaped in the manner of oblong palm-leaf manuscript fascicles (Pothi). Such concertina-like books are categorized as multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) because of the single units of production. They have never been found in Northern Thailand; instead, Lan Na mulberry paper manuscripts were written on folded books made of a single sheet of paper.

⁴⁹ The Tham Lao or Tham Isan script was influenced by the Tham Lan Na script via the kingdom of Lan Sang.

There are seventeen volumes of the oblong mulberry paper manuscripts, kept in three bundles (Th: *mat*), coded 2-05, 2-06 and 2-10 at Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang.

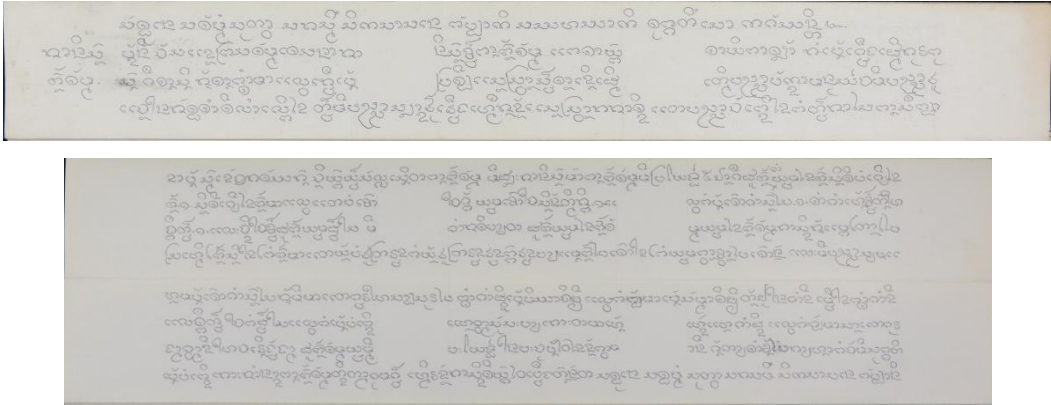


Figure 3.10: Oblong-shaped mulberry paper manuscript
Anisong fang tham (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma)
 Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-0087, sides 1 and 4, Vat Saen Sukharam, year unknown

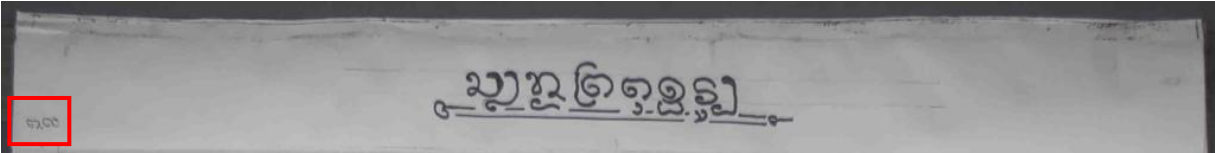
Among the seventeen volumes in the three bundles, seven in bundles 2-05 and 2-06 were written by a scribe named Thit Niao Maniwong. Evidenced by the extant manuscripts kept in Luang Prabang, a number of *anisong* manuscripts made from mulberry paper were written by him. The initial title ‘Thit’ refers to the scribe’s ex-monk status; he undoubtedly experienced learning the Tham script during his monkhood. Mulberry paper manuscripts made by his hands were formed in the same layout composed of similarly-styled covers, paper connected into a single long sheet and oblong folding. The following excerpts are cover pages of all seven *anisong* manuscripts made by him in CE 2004. The first five covers are framed with a printed layout; it is unclear whether it was designed by him. The last two covers were imitated after the first five by hand. Having carefully analysed all seven fascicles, the colophons mostly include blank spaces with dotted underlines that are provided for filling in the names of sponsors and merit recipients. The fascicles contain several texts, each of which mostly has “ก.ล.” in the title pages, an abbreviation of “already checked” (กาดแล้ว). It can be claimed that Thit Niao Maniwong intended the manuscripts to serve as a master copy for any future copies and that the last two covers were drawn with a similar style of frames in order to be a particular collection of the prototyped version.





Figure 3.11: Seven *anison* manuscripts made of mulberry paper by Thit Niao Maniwong in CE 2004

When I first found the abbreviation ກ.ລ. (*kò lò*) at the beginning of the texts, I seemed to find myself in a closed dark room in search of a door, because the abbreviation implied nothing relevant to scribes, sponsors or even the *anison* genre. I guessed its meaning in many different ways until I disappointedly gave up, having no evidence to support my excursive assumptions. In 2017, Professor Dr. Volker Grabowsky, my supervisor, discovered more *anison* manuscripts kept in repositories at different temples in Luang Prabang and kindly gave me the digitalized copies that also include other non-*anison* manuscripts. One of the newly found manuscripts greatly surprised me with the key answer to what had kept me irritated for a long while as an unsolved mystery. The full word of the abbreviation is shown in a non-*anison* manuscript entitled *Maha munlanipphan sut* (มหามูลนิพพานสูตร) or a *sutra* of Lord Buddha's death coded BAD-13-2-081 from Vat Saen Sukharam. The manuscript was written in CE 2006 by the same scribe, Thit Niao Maniwong. The word *กวตแล้ว* (*kuat laeo*, 'already checked', see the five pictures below) in Lao at the beginning of the text would never have entered my mind as an answer to the riddle, had not the same ກ.ລ. and the scribe name Thit Niao Maniwong been written on the manuscript as well. It certainly triggered my curiosity and pushed me to a further investigation of the handwriting. The manuscript is made of mulberry paper and also kept at Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang; that is the reason why their manuscript codes include the number 13, referring to the same repository temple, Vat Saen Sukharam.



(Top) The close-up view of the abbreviation

(Right) The position of the abbreviation at the beginning of the text.

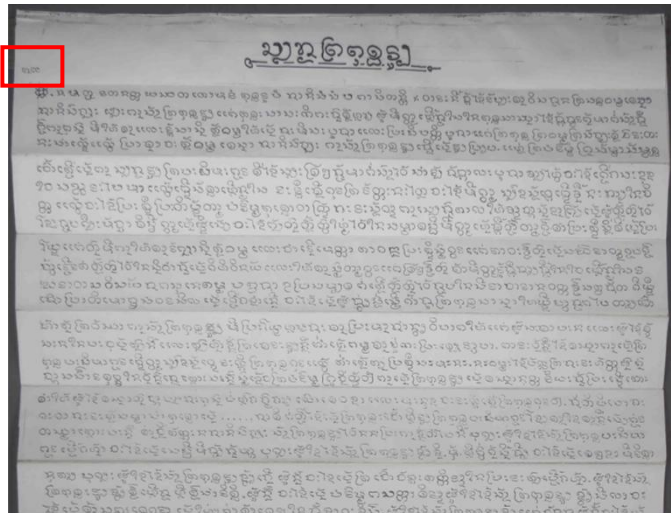
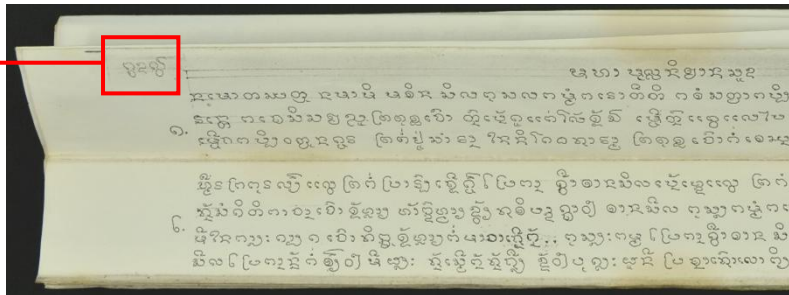
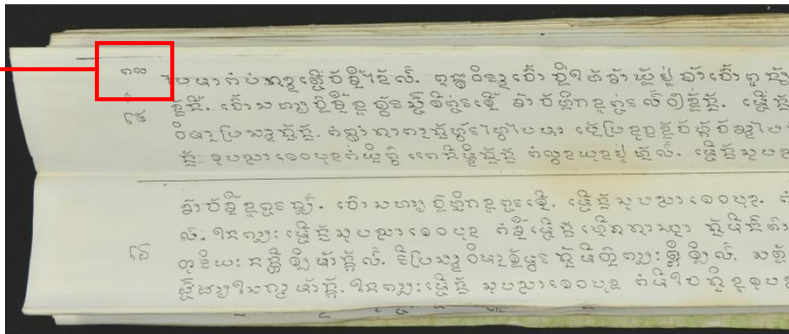


Figure 3.12: Mulberry paper manuscript showing the abbreviation ဂ.လ.
Anisong manuscript containing four texts⁵⁰, source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-034, sides 1–7
 Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 2004

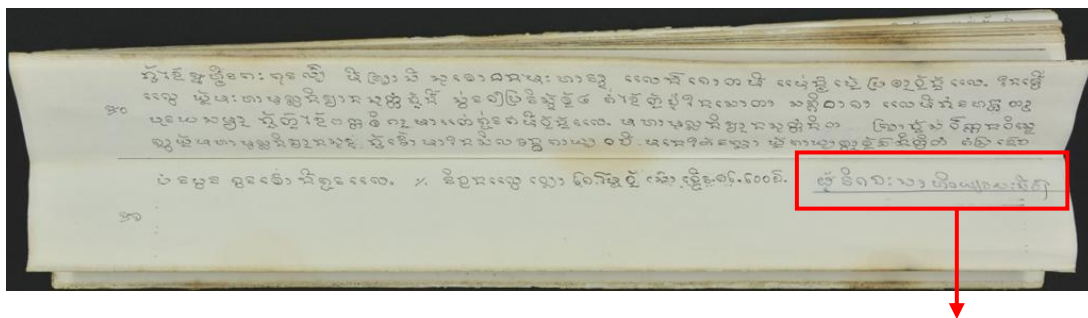
(Full) ကာသလော (kuat laeo)
 “already checked”



(Short) ဂ.လ. (kò lò)



⁵⁰ The four texts are *Salòng ciwòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes), *Salòng haksa sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance), *Salòng pha phutthahup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images) and *Salòng pong sop lü phao phi* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals).



“The scribe was Thit Niao Maniwong.” (ผู้รจนา ทิตเหนียว มะนีวง)

Figure 3.13: Non-*anisong* mulberry paper manuscript by Thit Niao Maniwong
Maha Munlanipphan Sut (*Sutra of the Lord Buddha’s death*), source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-0081, sides 12–13,
 26–27 and sides 93–94, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 2006

Not only did Thit Niao Maniwong write *anisong* manuscripts, he also made other non-*anisong* manuscripts of which I profoundly believe that he was the scribe. His ability and several manuscript contributions were perhaps so well-known among the *Sangha* or local community that he was requested to make a collection of manuscript prototypes of copies. No further information about him except for the study of Bounleuth who mentions his social status pertaining to a specific dating system as follows:

Thit Niao Manivong (Thit Niao) was a Buddhist scholar in Luang Prabang who followed the newly introduced orthographic system of the Tham-Lao script and the new way of writing manuscripts – both the system and the way might have been put into place by Sathu Nyai Khamchan. However, Thit Niao did not use two dating systems in the same manuscript, whereas some manuscripts initiated by Sathu Nyai Khamchan regularly contain two dating systems, the Buddhist and Minor Eras. Therefore, Thit Niao had his own way of dating manuscripts (2016: 240–241).

In this way, he could also share the merit of copying books with the future sponsors; the more frequently copies were done, the more merit he could accumulate from the master copies. Evidenced by other non-*Anisong* manuscripts, the expression ‘กวดแล้ว’ (*kuat laeo*, “already checked”) seemed to be commonly used in the manuscript culture in Luang Prabang. A palm-leaf manuscript kept at Vat Siang Thòng entitled *Sutmon nòi* or precise prayers (source: BAP, code: BAD-17-1-0026, CE 1939) also shows this expression with the same meaning, explained in a manuscript catalogue *Buddhist Archives Luang Prabang Vat Xiang Thòng Project 2017–2018* as follows: “The last folio on the verso side has a text written with a blue pen in modern Lao script which reads กวดแล้ว 31.3.1989 (already examined, 13.3.1989)” (Khamvone and Grabowsky 2018: 30).

The bundle 2-05 includes three fascicles with each of their codes; BAD-13-2-031 comprises two texts⁵¹; BAD-13-2-032 comprises two texts⁵² and BAD-13-2-033 contains only one text,

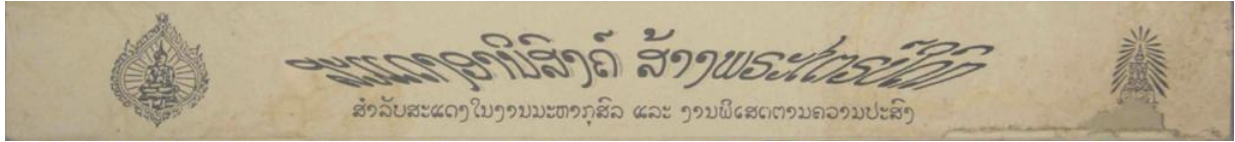
⁵¹ *Salòng sang nangsü* (Rewards derived from copying religious books) and *Salòng pha ap nam fon* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season).

⁵² *Salòng khao salak* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival) and *Salòng khao padap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival).

i.e., *Anisong sang pha traipidok* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), which is a printed book shaped after the *phothi* format traditionally used for palm-leaf manuscripts. There are twenty pages containing three columns and five lines. The cover is centred with a title that was, as explained by Bounleuth, “obviously designed and created using a computer programme which enabled the producer to achieve his ideal form” (2015: 261) and usage purpose, and sided with Buddha and Lao kingdom emblems. Next to the cover, a colophon fills the whole first page with long dot-lined space at the beginning, provided for filling in the sponsors’ names and a short dot-lined space in the middle for filling in the names of merit recipients. Together with his family, the sponsor donated the manuscript as a merit dedication to his deceased mother named Sao Khamphan; he also declared that his whole family lived in Union City, California State, in the USA. Such innovative books imitating palm-leaf manuscripts are widespread in Northern Thai and Lao cultures, reflecting modern printing technologies and the lack of Tham script literary scribes and readers, since the manuscripts were industrialized for mass production and written in the modern Lao script. This modern production, in response to the gradual decline of the use of the Tham script, makes us realize the transformation of *anisong* manuscripts in the present time in terms of both materials and scripts. This development is similar to the one of Buddhist banners or flags that were adapted in accordance with socio-cultural incidents which inspired or affected the production result.

Contemporary Laos has seen pronounced change in recent years in terms of modernization, nationalization, and tourism. The transition from civil war to communist state to tourist destination has unsurprisingly had a noticeable effect on Lao culture, including the textile arts. [...] Lao Buddhist banners have also undergone numerous transformations as a result of modernization (Hall 2010: 139).

Despite the fact that monastic officers were supposed to be able to use the Tham script, “[n]ovices were expected to learn how to read and write in Lao vernacular, and monks were expected to know Lao and the old Buddhist script – Tham” (McDaniel 2008: 46). In addition, the modern printed manuscripts clearly reveal the belief in the acquisition of merit through book-copying and the tradition of *anisong* preaching which is still commonly believed and existent in the present time.



(First line): (Title) Sermonic text of rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon

(Second line): (Aim) For the purpose of preaching on auspicious and special occasions

Handwriting	Handwriting	
<p>ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า... (Text in orange frame)</p>	<p>ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า... (Text in pink frame)</p>	<p>Computer printing</p>
<p>...</p>	<p>...</p>	<p>Computer printing</p>
<p>...</p>	<p>...</p>	<p>Computer printing</p>
<p>...</p>	<p>...</p>	<p>Computer printing</p>
<p>...</p>	<p>...</p>	<p>Computer printing</p>

Figure 3.14: Printed *anisong* mulberry paper manuscript, folios 1–6 (recto)

(The written part in the orange frame)

ทองวัน สุตะพรม พร้อมครอบครัว และลูกทุกคน อยู่สหรัฐอเมริกา รัฐแคลิฟอร์เนีย ที่เมืองยูเนียน I, named Thongwan Sutaphrom, together with my family and children live in the USA, California state, Union city.

(The written part in the pink frame)

[ขออุทิศส่วนกุศลนี้ให้แก่] แม่ชื่อสาวคำพัน

[May the merit of book dedication be transferred to] my mother named Sao Khamphan.

Anisong sang pha trai pidok (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon)

Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-033, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, year unknown

The manuscript above contains three separated columns and was printed by computer with two lined spaces provided for filling in the names of sponsors and of dead recipients of the merit of the manuscript. The visual organization of threefold columns had been developed from handwritten palm-leaf manuscripts aligned into three unclear columns with the interruption of space for the binding holes at the first and the last lines until the three columns were separately divided without lineage interruption; texts in the two ways of column division are, however, supposed to be read horizontally across the lines. In more recent times, textual

layouts have been oriented to fit modern printing technology or new kinds of writing support and tools; the ‘books’ are still regarded as manuscripts as long as they were individually donated to monasteries and marked with sponsors’ names written by hand. For instance, in the following palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Wisutthimak* (P: *visuddhimagga*) or the explanation of rules (P: *sīla*), meditation (P: *samādhi*) and wisdom (P: *paññā*) from Vat Saen Sukharam in Luang Prabang, the scribe cut industrial paper into pieces, wrote the text and glued the written paper on a prepared palm leaf with the adhesive traces shown in the purple frames. Unlike inscribed palm-leaf manuscripts in general, the text contains eight to ten lines and is read by columns (or paper sheet). The text was written in modern Thai script and orthography in Lao language with a blue ball pen; this can be speculated that the scribe was trained in Lao and the manuscript was intended to serve monks with Thai alphabet literacy. For the purpose of ritual usage in giving sermons, the manuscripts was produced to resemble the Pothi format of traditional palm-leaf manuscripts since the oblong shape comparatively suits the sitting posture of monks during a sermon delivery. In addition, the oblong shape resembling palm-leaf manuscripts could to some extent bring about a sacred aura in preaching rituals.



Figure 3.15: Palm-leaf manuscript newly glued with pieces of paper

Wisutthimak (Visuddhimagga)

Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0068, folios 4–5 (recto), Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, year unknown

The advanced printing technology proved to be highly advantageous for palm-leaf manuscript production. Before the manuscripts came to be industrially printed, they were written with typewriters by experienced monks; the practice is regarded as the transition in the mid-19th century before the arrival of modern printing technology; some could be traced back to the original inscribed version revealing the trend of manuscript rewriting in a certain period. The following is excerpted from the first extant *anisong* manuscript written by a typewriter in 1984. It contains an *anisong* text explaining rewards derived from merit-making on birthday

anniversaries; it was sponsored by a monk named Phra Phui Thiracitto from Vat Maha That⁵³ (พระฝูย ถึระจិតโต) and typed by another monk Cinna Thammo Phikkhu⁵⁴ (จึนนะทมมโ ภึกขุ).



Figure 3.16: Typewritten palm-leaf manuscript

Anisong bun wan koet (Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries)

Source: BAP, BAD-19-1-0137, folios 1–5 (recto), Vat Siang Muan, Luang Prabang, CE 1984

The typewritten palm-leaf manuscript shown in Chapter One was also made by the same typewriting hand, Cinna Thammo Phikkhu. By means of the modern Lao script, monks can conveniently read the homiletic text despite lacking knowledge of the Tham script. Manuscript texts were formed in accordance with traditional palm-leaf manuscript layouts inscribed by hand; for instance, texts were organized in three columns given with a space of string holes in between; two sides of each folio were written in upside-down direction which aids the readers to vertically turn every page easily. Typing palm-leaf manuscripts with a typewriter consumes proficiency and typist collaboration as explained by Bounleuth in the following:

Based on some of the discoveries within the manuscripts of Sathu Nyai Khamchan’s collection, it is evident that Buddhist scholars in Luang Prabang, probably monks and novices, used a typewriter to produce manuscripts on both paper and palm leaves between 1960 and 1990. This work is challenging, and the typist must be very patient. The typist

⁵³ According to a Grabowsky’s article, I found out that the monk Phra Phui Thiracitto was then promoted as an abbot of Vat Maha That: “Moreover, most manuscripts do not have any inventory numbers, indicating that they had not been inventoried by the Preservation of Lao Manuscripts Programme run by the National Library and supported by the German Foreign Ministry in the 1990s, probably because these manuscripts were kept in the abbot’s abode (*kuti*) and used exclusively by **Sathu Nyai Phui Thirachitta Maha Thela** (1925–2005), a great intellectual monk and abbot of Wat Maha That, during his lifetime” (2019b: 136).

⁵⁴ Bounleuth explains as follows: “Interestingly, the one who copied the former manuscript and composed the latter is the same person, Chinnathammo Phikkhu (Bhikkhu), whose common name is Pha Chanthalin. He is one of the senior monks who were close disciples of Pha Khamchan. Apart from the names of the scribes and compilers, no message has been left in these manuscripts to demonstrate the reason for writing/copying and compiling these manuscripts for Pha Khamchan. However, one might assume that Pha Chanthalin was acting in the tradition of making manuscripts for someone whom he held in highest esteem” (2015: 254).

needs an assistant to help him while he is working by fixing the palm leaf in place. This is especially the case when typing the bottom line on each page, otherwise the line will not be straight. Applying such technology in an unorthodox manner such as this requires significant know-how. Here, the user must know how to insert a palm leaf into a typewriter and situate it just right so that the characters will appear correctly (2016: 247).

The following two pictures below were taken from the monastic library at Vat Ong Tü in Vientiane. They are palm-leaf manuscripts produced already with advanced printing technology (in later time), i.e., they were not made by manual typewriters but industrial printers. The manuscripts, accordingly, could be produced in large numbers without corrections by hand.



Figure 3.17: Printed palm-leaf manuscripts kept at Vat Ong Tü in Vientiane

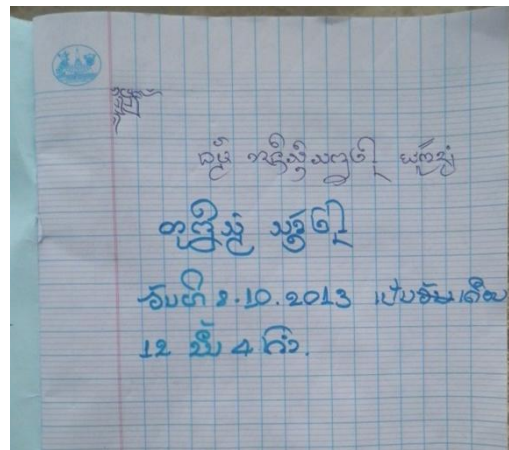
Concerning *anisong* manuscripts made of industrial paper, there are only two extant manuscripts entitled *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) that were found in the plain of Müang Sing, Luang Namtha, which is largely populated by the Tai Lü ethnic group. The Tham Lü script, another variant of the Tham script, was commonly used in Tai Lü communities and more frequently written on mulberry or industrial paper whose surface suits the script writing well. Grabowsky explains the use of mulberry paper as the dominant writing support for manuscripts among the Tai Lü and Shan as follows:

The major writing support material in the area using the Dhamma script is also the palm-leaf. This is especially true for Lao and Northern Thai manuscripts. In contrast, traditionally the manuscripts (*phapsa*) of the Tai Lue and Shan were usually made of the bark of the *Sa* tree (a type of paper mulberry or *Brousonetia papyrifera*), and are usually not in the form of leporellos, but sewn at the upper edge and held together with a cord (2011: 146).

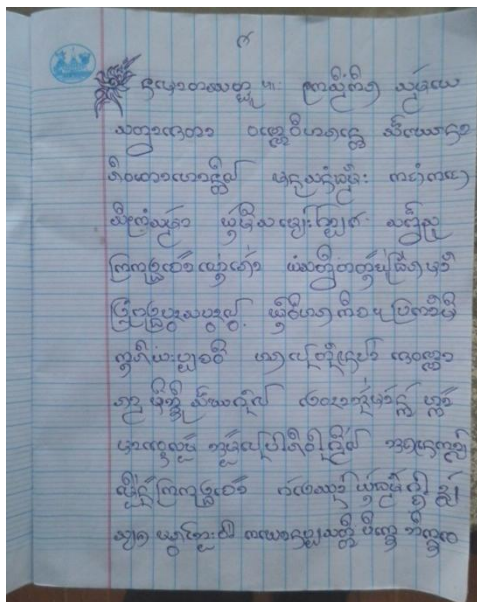
The two extant manuscripts were thus written in the Tham Lü script; one was written in CE 2013 on a widely-used notebook with green covers, as I already showed in Chapter One; the other is undated and was written on normal white paper bound with staples on the top edge. The first was dedicated to Vat Siang Lae and is a normally-sized notebook produced by the printing company Sawang Kanphim (Sawang Printing) which was established in CE 1987. The notebook is still distributed nowadays all over Laos. The text *Anisong sapphathan* was written on the notebook for the purpose of textual preservation due to several possible reasons. For instance, the text was copied from a damaged palm-leaf manuscript in order to prevent it from loss; or the scribe supported the preaching monks for convenient uses with a

new and clearly written copy. The manuscript is comparatively similar to the industrial paper manuscript from Northern Thailand in the previous chapter, but, unlike the Northern Thai manuscript, the one from Laos gives no information about whether it was newly written or copied from the original version, because the manuscript merely shows the title, the sponsor and the time and place of production in the paracontents. However, we cannot conclude that the industrial paper manuscript was not copied from another version, due to the lack of hints or information on the original one.

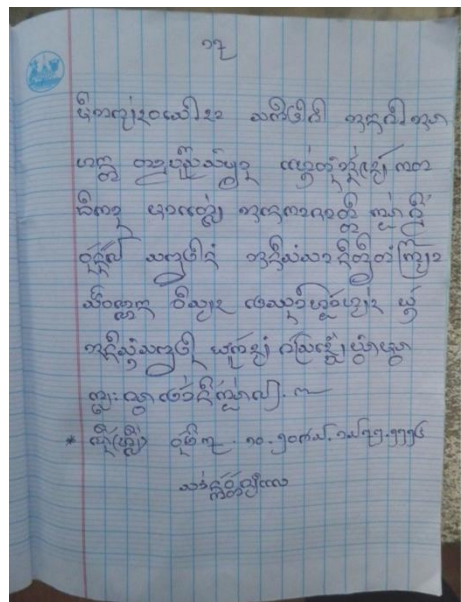
Cover page showing title, year of production, number of book and scribe's signature



Anisong sapphathan (one book)
Tuphisom donated [the manuscript] on October 8, 2013, corresponding to the fourth waxing-moon day of the 12th lunar month.



(Left)
Text



(Right)
Ending part

Figure 3.18: Industrial paper manuscript written in a notebook
Anisong sapphathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)
Source: CVG, code: MS.2013, sides 1, 2, 3 and 19, Vat Siang Lae, Luang Namtha, CE 2013

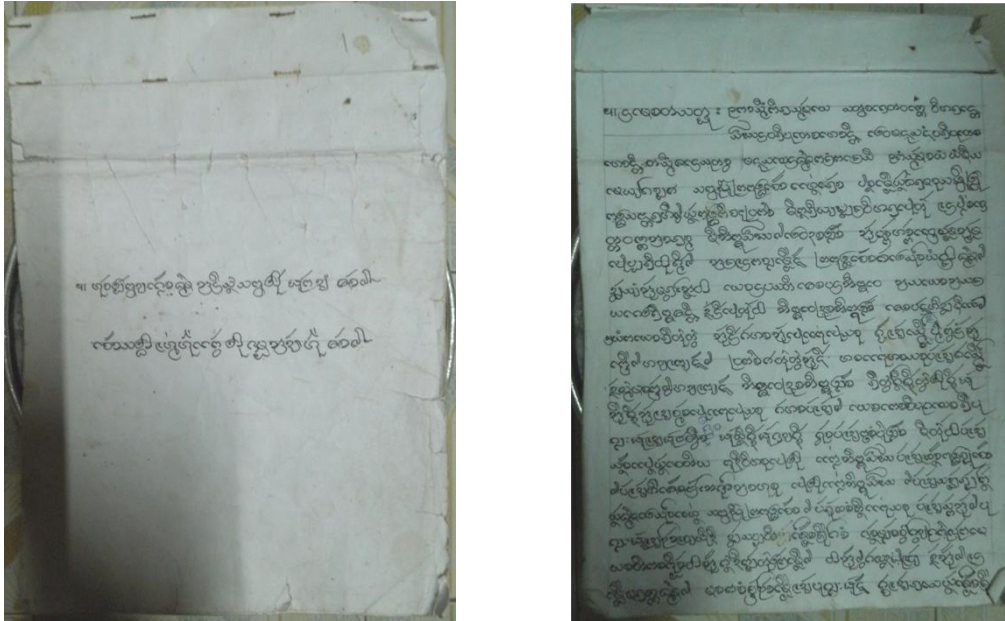


Figure 3.19: Industrial paper manuscript written in the Tham Lü script
Anisong sapphathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)

Source: CVG, code: MS.2016-1, sides 1–2, Vat Ban Nong Kham, Luang Namtha, year unknown

The manuscript was made of industrial paper cut into pieces and bound with staples. As a result of the thin writing support and the ball-pen ink, the text was written only on one side of the paper and supposed to be read by turning pages vertically on the horizontal edge on top. Page margins on top, bottom, left and right borders and textual lines had been prepared with pencil before the text was aligned below the lines. The manuscript was not intentionally shaped into the *phothi* format to resemble traditional palm-leaf manuscripts but instead followed the normal shape of paper; a number of manuscripts made of mulberry paper and industrial paper are commonly found in the Tai Lü ethnic group both in Northern Thailand and Laos where the textual organizations were patterned in accordance to the paper layout rather than in resemblance to the oblong format of palm-leaf manuscripts.

3.4 Time and Space of *Anisong* Manuscript Productions

3.4.1 Time: Periods and Occasions of Manuscript Productions

3.4.1.1 Time Frame of Manuscript Productions

In this section, the manuscripts are studied by fascicles because the ninety-nine composite manuscripts are grouped by fascicles, each of which was made in different years from different units. The total of 143 bundles (*mat*) of *anisong* manuscripts includes 366 fascicles (*phuk*) in total. Among the given 366 fascicles, 208 fascicles are dated in year in the colophons or paratexts, and 158 are undated. The following bar chart shows a cluster of 208 dated manuscripts in seven provinces in Laos. The chart gives the numbers of *anisong* manuscripts in twenty-year periods each. The earliest *anisong* manuscript found in present-

day Laos is *Salòng paeng pham* or rewards derived from the construction of pavilions (source: DLLM, code: 17010106001-11) from Attapü province, which was written in CE 1652, the only *anisong* manuscript surviving from the 17th century. The latest one is *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving, source: CVG, code: MS.2013) from Luang Namtha province, made of industrial paper and dates back to CE 2013.

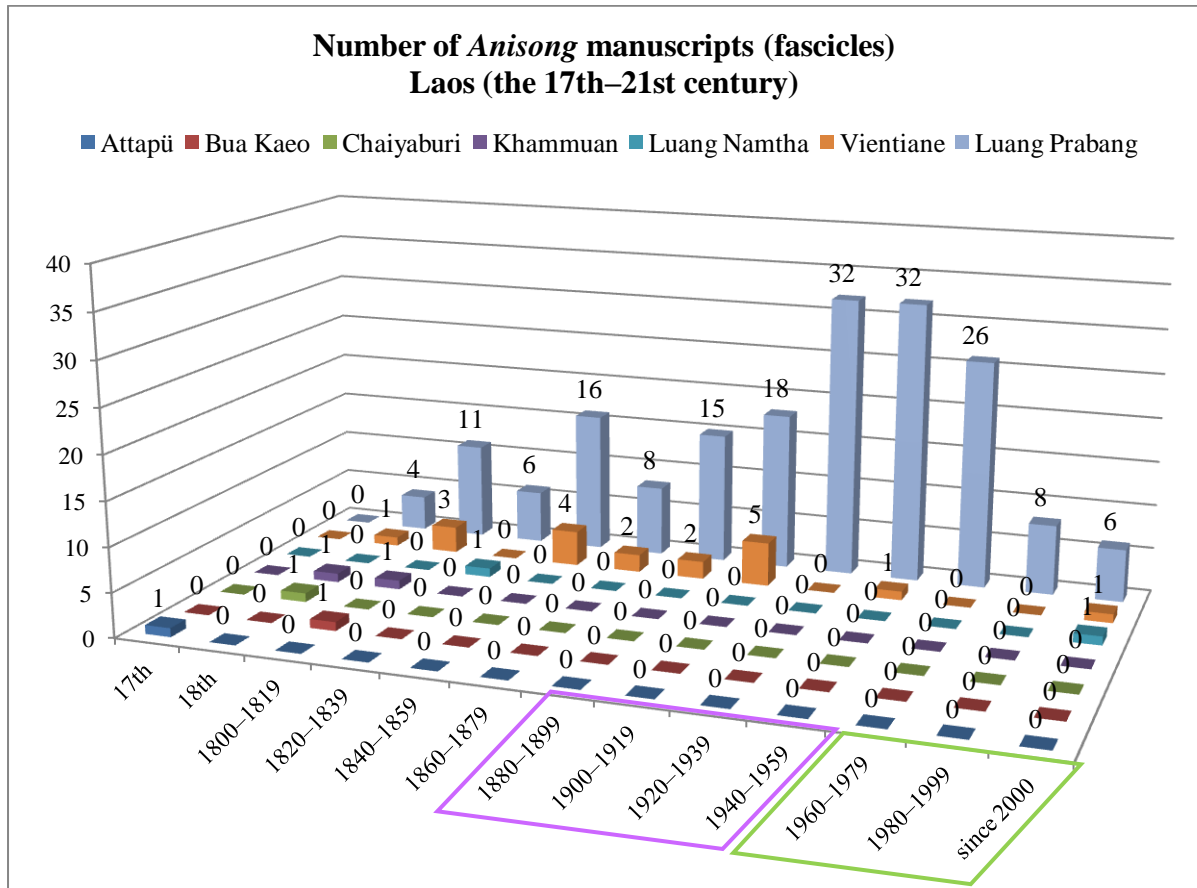


Chart 3.3: Number of *anisong* manuscript (fascicles) in Laos (the 17th – 21st centuries)

The French colonial administration controlled Vientiane from CE 1893 to CE 1945, as can be seen in the purple frame. Like Luang Prabang, the number of *anisong* manuscripts, according to the line chart, was not negatively influenced by the colonialism. The Lao People’s Revolutionary Party has then ruled Laos since CE 1975 as shown in the green frame. The tendencies in the two frames go in the opposite directions; one ascends and the other descends. During the approximately fifty years of the French colonial period, the monastic education in Laos was not substantially influenced by the French; rather, the French restored and preserved cultural resources and renewed the Buddhist education. They focused less on local common education in temples but more on elite institutional levels, thereby founding primary schools in French towns and French schools in the districts. The first French school in Luang Prabang was founded in CE 1896 to serve merely elite students and was thus irrelevant to monastic education.

Lao monastic education still remained popular and was hardly influenced by French intervention; thus, the French colonial influence did not cause any complete changes in the Lao monastic education. As previously explained, an underlying reason of the French administration not to undermine or intervene in the national Buddhist education in Laos was that the colonial policy aimed to incorporate Laos into Indochina, thus encouraging the monks to travel within the area rather than to cross the Mekong River to learn Buddhism in Siam. Besides, in order to discourage Thai-Lao relationships, the French used the incident of great devastation by Siam in CE 1826–28 during the King Anuvong rebellion⁵⁵ to their advantage to establish French stability in Laos by supporting and reconstructing the city. The Buddhist renewal of the French thus contributed as the primary intention to successfully colonize Laos against Siam, thereby exploiting the historical conflict between the two regions, so that the Lao would consider the French as ‘developers’ and Siam as ‘destroyers’. The French investment in the Buddhist religion in Laos was therefore considered worthy for the purpose of solidifying a long-term relationship and contemporary colonization. Various outcomes of the new development include the building of a manuscript library at Vat Sisaket in Vientiane, which had been burned by Siamese armies in CE 1827⁵⁶, and the founding of the first Pali school in CE 1931 in Pakse under the École Française d’Extrême-Orient (EFEO) on the grounds of Pali instruction priority to bind the regions populated by Sri Lankan-and-Mon-influenced Theravāda Buddhism. The following quotation mentions the opening ceremony of the manuscript library:

At this ceremony⁵⁷ it was also announced that a new Pali school (École élémentaire de Pâli à Bassac) was being opened in Bassac (known today as Champasak, Paksé province, in the

⁵⁵ “Chou Anou seemed to have had the intention of reunifying the Lao principalities and of freeing them from Siamese hegemony. He could make no move against the semi-independent principalities of Luang Prabang and Xieng Khouang, however, without laying central and southern Laos open to Siamese attack. On hearing the rumour to the effect that an English fleet was about to attack Bangkok, Chou Anou sent his armies against the Siamese. The venture, however, was ill-prepared, lacked co-ordination and made little use of possible allies, such as the Vietnamese. The king of Luang Prabang refused all overtures from Chou Anou to join him against the Siamese, and even sent a contingent of 3,000 troops to fight on the Siamese side” (see more in Stuart-Fox 1986: 9–10).

⁵⁶ The armies emerged in reaction to the conflicts involved in Cao Anuvong. Maha Sila Viravong explains the incident as follows: “Five days after the flight of King Anuvong, the Siamese armies reached Muong Phan-Phao and from here the Siamese generals Krom Mun Naret-Yothi and Krom Mun Seni-Borirak led their troops into Vientiane. They ransacked the city, cut down all the trees that bore edible fruits, set fire to the city and forced the people there to wreck all the city walls and monuments. The capital city of Vientiane which was once renowned for its beauty was turned into a city of death with only burning ashes after the Siamese left” (1964: 122).

⁵⁷ In an introduction to an article entitled “The *Institut bouddhique* in Laos: ambivalent dynamics of a colonial project”, authored by Gregory Kourilsky in *Theravada Buddhism in Colonial Contexts* (2018), Thomas Borchert writes the following: “Kourilsky examines a school that the French opened to foster the development of Buddhism in both Cambodia and Laos, the *Institut bouddhique*. The French were not simply interested in development however; they also wanted to decrease the influence of Siam on Lao and Khmer Buddhism, in part by preventing Lao and Khmer monks from travelling to Bangkok for an education. Their efforts to build the *Institut* were aided by Lao royalty and monks who shared some of the French goal of producing an independent Lao Buddhism. However, there were limits to their shared work; Laotian who were involved with the *Institut*

deep south of Laos, about fifty miles from the Cambodian border). Bassac was to draw Lao students closer to their fellow monks in Cambodia. Karpelès stated that Bassac was an area ‘très fertile, très peuplée, se développe rapidement au point de vue économique.’ The Pali school was one small part of the hopes of the French of linking Cambodia and Laos culturally, as well as economically and politically (McDaniel 2008: 43).

In the beginning of the 20th century, after the French colonial administration had started in CE 1893, the EFEO sent French scholars to research manuscript archives in Laos for the purpose of Buddhist education. Since then, the *anisong* manuscript production in Vientiane increasingly grew up to a peak of twenty-four fascicles in CE 1941–50. The drastic rise of manuscript numbers in the purple-lined frame represents the growth of the *anisong* manuscript production; the higher popularity emerged under the French, significantly revealing the development of Buddhist religious manuscripts supported by the French colonial power of a different religion, Christianity. This shows that the French control in Laos was not primarily religiously motivated. The Lao *Sangha* became officially authorized by the French on September 5, 1927. On the ground of intellectual and moral recovery, the French legitimized the *Sangha* to maintain religious rituals, preserve their monasteries and provide children with fundamental education (see McDaniel 2008: 46). In spite of their different religion, the French systematized and developed the *Sangha* so they could spiritually serve the Lao as their national religion.

In contrast to the time prior to the French colonial period, the *anisong* manuscript production increasingly grew in numbers, possibly resulting from two main reasons. Firstly, the French rarely intervened in Buddhist life and religion and actually supported the Lao *Sangha* as well as Buddhist education, which consequently led to the flourishing of religious manuscript writing. Secondly, thanks to the religious protection against colonial French Christianity, the Lao strengthened the identity of their Buddhist national religion by means of commissioning a large number of manuscripts in response to their strong belief in Buddhism, while accepting Buddhist religious support by the French. Bouakhay Phengphachanh explains the great effort to promote Lao as the national language which caused a considerable conflict during the 1940s between Lao elites, led by Cao Maha Uparat Petcharat, and French officials, led by Charles Rocher, the French Director of Public Education in Vientiane. The Lao elites declined the French proposal of Roman alphabet usage for book printing; the writing tradition, inherited manuscripts and indigenous customs could thus be wholly protected. The success of the Lao elites against the French proposal achieved ‘intellectual liberation’ out of ‘intellectual colonization’ (see Bouakhay 2008: 74–75). In the aforementioned ceremony of the opening of the newly rebuilt manuscript library in Vientiane, reported by McDaniel in 2008, an unnamed head of the Lao *Sangha* gave a speech mentioning the Lao manuscripts as “Tham” manuscripts which were written by the Lao, in order to state that the French were responsible

were critical of the French, in that they had swapped out domination by the Siamese for domination by the French and even the Khmer. Kourilsky suggests that ultimately the *Institut* had some impact on Lao Buddhism, though perhaps not as much as its Cambodian counterpart, particularly by establishing a pattern that would be taken up by post-colonial Lao governments” (Borchert 2018: 13; see Kourilsky 2018).

merely for the building where the manuscripts were made, not for the production of manuscripts itself; i.e., the Lao accepted religious support from the French but under limited conditions.

By using the word “Tham” instead of “Pali” or “Buddhist” or “Hinayana” or “Theravada,” he was indicating that the newly restored manuscript library at Vat Sisaket and the new Institut bouddhique were important because they protected Lao texts written in the Tham script, a script that is unique to Laos (341). Lao monastic education was for the Lao and by the Lao. The French merely supplied a building (McDaniel 2008: 45).

Before the green-framed period in the line chart which illustrates the decline of *anisong* manuscript production following the founding of the Lao People’s Democratic Republic in December 1975, the political situation involving foreign countries and the domestic Lao people was still complicated and not completely solved yet. Printing technology was also introduced and widespread in Laos during CE 1954–1975; consequently, the production of *anisong* manuscripts declined. In the socialist period, Lao people including monks escaped from communist policies and immigrated to Thailand. Lao Buddhist education was controlled and prohibited. The number of Lao monks drastically decreased; monastic buildings became secular schools, barn storage and barracks and Buddha images and religious objects were brought to museums. The relationship between the *Sangha* and laypeople was ruined. The Buddhist religion and education in Laos were not completely destroyed or suppressed like in Cambodia, but the communist government fought against and intervened in activities of religious sermons, printing and learning.

The new government headed by Kaysone Phomvihane issued three main restrictions for the Lao *Sangha*. Firstly, people were prohibited from the primary way of making merit by giving alms to monks and novices in the morning; secondly, the teaching of Buddhism was banned in all schools; and thirdly, members of the *Sangha* had to be self-sufficient by working the soil which basically removed their rituals, ethical and social significance and broke the precepts of monkhood (see McDaniel 2008: 57–58). Monks renounce material possessions and, according to the Patimokkha, are not allowed to raise livestock or grow food: a set of vows or rules that each must follow (see Kislenko 2009: 59). The *Sangha* was forced to join monthly seminars held by the Communist Party for the purpose of instilling the government policies and convincing monks to take part in political activities. Religious sermons were also restricted in their relevance or exploited to praise communist policies; Lao Buddhist education was therefore monitored by the government under the Lao Union of Buddhists. The centre of Buddhist education at Vat Ong Tü was in particular reformed by submitting books to the government for censorship; however, manuscripts were ignored because the monks and most party officials could not read the ancient Tham script in the manuscripts. The decline of Tham script literacy is also reflected in the more widespread usage of the modern Lao script which partially resulted from the arrival of printing technology. Article 14 issued by the government officially stated that “the printing of books, documents for dissemination, signs and various plates related to religion shall be authorized by the Ministry of Information and Culture with

the approval of the Central Committee” of the Lao Front for National Construction (LFNC) (see McDaniel 2008: 61). Ladwig (2008: 60–61) argues:

The idea of an economy of merit linked to the display of status differences, spirit worship, fortune telling and some specific blessings were considered survivals of a superstitious past now to be overcome under the new regime. While in relation to spirit cults and soothsaying the LPRP (the Lao People’s Revolutionary Party) could count on the cooperation of more orthodox-minded monks that saw this new politics as a chance to purify Buddhism, the critique of other fields of Buddhist belief and practice was rather problematic. The majority Buddhist scriptures contained references to these practices and most of these were supposed to be purged and even rewritten.

The *Sangha* control, as Ladwig elaborates, was a crucial means to survive in the revolutionary period. In order to restrict and obstruct the spreading of Buddhism via institutional means, the school subject ‘Buddhism and Lao culture’ was abolished, resulting in Buddhism’s new status as a non-state religion; laypeople associations and Buddhist Sunday schools were closed down and curricula of Buddhist schools were secularized and politicized. The government, due to the lack of qualified workers in the society, competed with the *Sangha* by offering special vocational training and education to ex-novices and labeled high ranking monks who did not physically work as ‘parasites on society’ (see Ladwig 2008: 54–55).

Even though Buddhist activities and learning were intervened by means of forcing demands, propaganda and regulations through monks, the government was not totally against Buddhism; hence, severe liberation movements, religious civil wars or revolutionary battles never occurred in the country. The official government policy was strictly announced but weak in its actual implementation; personal notebooks of monks for monastic school teaching were not approved by the government. Thus, *anisong* manuscripts were still produced during this period, according to the line chart, but decreased in numbers. The decline of *anisong* manuscript production during the rule of the Communist Party thus reflects the government policy to prevent monks from freely spreading the Dhamma and to put Marxist notions into their teachings. The new printing technology introduced in the region also affected the popularity of manuscript commissions; a number of palm-leaf manuscripts were written with typewriters⁵⁸. Besides, Laos faced economic depression in these years and people could not afford to spend wages for manuscript commissions, resulting in a gradual decline of *anisong* manuscripts.

⁵⁸ For example, *Anisong bun wan koet* (source: BAP, BAD-19-1-0137), CE 1984, Vat Siang Muan, *Anisong het bun wan koet* (source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0206), CE 1988, Vat Saen Sukharam and *Salòng khao phan kòn* (source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0685), CE 1985, Vat Saen Sukharam.

3.4.1.2 Occasions of Manuscript Productions

In Laos the month of December is traditionally counted as the first lunar month (Th: *ciang*, ເຈື້ຍໄຊ), like in central Thailand beginning in early December. Kislenko (2009: 145) explains that the periods of meritorious festivals (*bun*) in Laos are in general similar to Thailand: “Most *bun* are similar to those held in Thailand. They coincide with the agricultural season, the Buddhist calendar, or the lunar calendar, in which December is the first month of the year.” The Lao calculation of annual months is therefore different from the Northern Thai culture in which each year traditionally begins two months earlier, i.e., in October. When comparing the time periods evidenced in the manuscripts of the two regions, it is important to take into account these different calendrical traditions of Northern Thailand and Laos. Regarding the production time of *anisong* manuscripts, the colophons evidently show that, unlike those in Northern Thailand, they were made in similar numbers each month all year, whereas the manuscript production in Northern Thailand did prominently take place during the latter part of the traditional calendar, namely, the ninth to the twelfth lunar months, or mid-July to mid-October, which is also the Buddhist Lent period. In Laos, *anisong* manuscripts were made mostly in October which corresponds to the end of the Buddhist Lent, furthermore in February, September and November. It will be further discussed why the manuscript productions were concentrated in these four months. One significant reason for this is probably the fact that ex-monk scribes or ‘Thit’ were not restricted to reside in a certain monastery during the Buddhist Lent, thereby being freer to manage their time and dedicate it to scribal work. Like in Northern Thailand, the most numerous productions of *anisong* manuscripts occurred in October, evidenced by the colophons.

Scribal monks in both Laos and Northern Thailand spent their free time during that period on commissioning manuscripts. The manuscripts were thus finished in October or at the end of the Buddhist Lent, because the times mentioned in the colophons basically refer to completion dates. The large number of manuscripts completed in October indicates that monk scribes probably outnumbered lay scribes. In February, the *Makha bucha* festival⁵⁹ (P: *māgha pūjā*) is held all over the country, in which laypeople prepare baked sticky rice or *khao ci* (L: ເຂົ້າຈີ່) in the early morning and offer it to the monks; Makhabucha is therefore known as the *Bun khao ci* festival. A few weeks later, frequently until March, the biggest and most popular *Bun phawet* festival takes place at central temples in every community. Lao people regard the event as an important occasion that is widely organized in collaboration with the *Sangha* and laypeople. The thirteen episodes of Lord Buddha Gotama’s previous birth are narrated in sermons; Theravāda Buddhists believe in the great merit gained from listening to the whole thirteen episodes within one day; especially this merit is believed to assure the audience to get reborn in the next Buddha Maitreya era.

⁵⁹ The commemoration day of the four incidents: (1) all 1,250 *arahat* monks gathered for Lord Buddha without being scheduled in advance; (2) all the monks were ordained by Lord Buddha; (3) Lord Buddha gave the *Ovādapāṭimokkha* – his summarized teachings; and (4) it was the full-moon day of the Māgha month. Sommai Premchit and Amphay Doré explain that the māgha-pūjā was resuscitated in CE 1957 by the Supreme Patriarch Kittisobhana Mahathera of the Marble Temple in Bangkok (Premchit and Doré 1992: 128).

The festival is held on a weekend – Friday to Sunday; the relevant rituals are performed and the villagers can participate in numerous joint activities as part of the big event, such as the procession of one-thousand rice balls, the procession of the Upakhut statue and ordination. Family members can spend their time before the festival on preparations or during the festival and on gaining merit by listening to the sermon of thirteen episodes. Not only is *Bun Phawet* considered as an auspicious chance for laypeople to be blessed with the sermon participation, but it can also enhance and strengthen household families. Kislenko explains that “Lao use the occasion to visit family or friends in other towns and villages, which is why the celebration is staggered throughout the country” (Kislenko 2009: 146). Since the two religious festivals – *Makhabucha* and *Bun Phawet* – are annually held only a few weeks after each other during February and March, Lao consider this period as an auspicious time to make merit, including manuscript commissions.

Although the *anisong* texts in the donated manuscripts are diverse and not directly related to the two festivals, laypeople could dedicate the manuscripts for the purpose of paying homage to Phawet or the previous life of Lord Buddha Gotama, which is praised as his greatest birth to make all perfections (P: *pārami*). Besides, Kislenko (2009: 146) further explains that “[g]iven its importance, many young men choose this time to be ordained as monks.” Hence, an ordination ceremony often comes before the chant of the thirteen episodes. I joined the whole *Mahachat* festival at the temple Vat Manolom Saththalam in Luang Prabang during my fieldwork in February 2017 and experienced the ordination ceremony. The *Bun phawet* festival was held for three days; on the first day people decorated the temple and made preparations for the upcoming event. Religious rituals were done on the last two days, including the ordination in the morning on the second day which was followed by an *anisong* (*salòng*) sermon explaining rewards gained from sponsoring ordination ceremonies (*Salòng buat*).

In September and November *anisong* manuscripts were also frequently made. From the second half of August to late September two popular festivals of merit dedication to the dead are widely arranged – *Bun Khao Pradap Din* and *Bun Khao Salak*. Based on the belief in transferring food to the dead⁶⁰, people place food wrapped with banana leaves on the ground in order to let their passed-away relatives or family members eat at the *Bun khao pradap din* festival. In the *Bun khao salak* festival laypeople can also dedicate goods to the dead via the monks as a medium by grouping their donation goods in a basket. Each basket is marked with a code to be called by a monk, so that the baskets could be raised by the donors and offered to the monks. Spirits are expected to receive the dedicated items despite the fact that they are later used by monks or donated further to other remote temples. Hence, during these two months people look forward to making merit for the dead; the merit of copying religious

⁶⁰ Patrice Ladwig surveyed festivals of merit-transfer in Vientiane in which laypeople offered objects to a monk in the merit dedication to the deceased relatives. He explains that the human sphere and the spiritual sphere are connected via the object-transfer done by humans to non-human beings. “Instead,” explains Ladwig, “they argue, it is only the merit (*boun*, P: *puñña*) from this karmically skillful act of generosity that is transferred to the deceased. In this interpretation, the gifts remain in this world and are actually intended for the monks” (2012: 19).

manuscripts which can also be dedicated to spirits is included as well. Thus, the notable concentration of *anisonḡ* manuscript production during this time was probably caused by the intention to give merit to the dead.

Another month with a large production of *anisonḡ* manuscripts is November, in which the *Bun kathin* festival is held in particular relation to the Buddhist Lent period. As monastic monks are restricted to stay at a certain temple during the whole three-month Buddhist Lent, they could perhaps find or witness mistakes (un)intentionally done by monks residing at the same temple. At the end of the Buddhist Lent or *Òk Phansa* (ອອກພຣະຮູ້ໆ), monks could, strictly based on the disciplinary codes, freely criticize misbehaved monks. The *Òk phansa* is therefore regarded as the return of the monks, as they are not any longer in a monastic confinement. *Bun Kathin* is thus held as a big annual event for the purpose of offering goods – robes, food, utensils, etc. – to monks after their long stay. In addition, the *Pha that luang* festival or the celebration of the Grand Stupa in Vientiane is also held in November. The big religious festivals in November likely inspired people to make merit in different ways, including manuscript commissions. *Anisonḡ* manuscripts in Laos were made in a variety of months, which is different from the Northern Thai manuscript culture where, during the Buddhist Lenten period, the manuscript production was larger than in other times of the year.

3.4.2 Space: Places of Production and Manuscript Circulation

Unlike *anisonḡ* manuscripts in Northern Thailand, those from Laos are kept within the provinces they were originally produced. The topic 3.1 (Sources and Repositories) shows the Lao manuscript fascicles outnumbering those from Northern Thailand; the fact thus reveals sufficient *anisonḡ* manuscripts not being necessarily borrowed by other temples from different provinces as external circulations. Especially in Luang Prabang, *anisonḡ* manuscripts were mostly donated by a large number of sponsors; nevertheless, domestic circulation among local monasteries normally occurred. Scribes stated ownership sometimes in the manuscript to clarify the original repository, so that users were obliged to return it after use. In many cases, ownership statements came with admonitions of future punishments or curses if the users ignored to return the manuscripts. Keeping objects without permission of their owners violates the Buddhist precept and is thus regarded as a sinful act; by this means of giving curses, people were supposed to avoid the breaking of a precept, as this possibly leads to hell, and immediately return the manuscript to its origin. Monks often made liturgical manuscripts themselves for their ritual uses. Curses written by monks are even more believed to surely happen because someone who took objects from monks or temples without returning them, i.e., stealing, would certainly be destined to a reincarnation in the hells, or at least to face other vicious outcomes. McDaniel explains, in relation to the affairs of the Lao communist government, the involvement of monks in manuscript productions as follows:

For example, recently monks in Vientiane, as well as Savannakhet and Paksé, have published printed copies of their sermons (Pali: *desanā*) alongside the more common ritual

liturgical handbooks. Monks at these monasteries tell me that there has been no government interference or crackdown. As I discuss in the introduction, personal notebooks are used in teaching monastic students. There are not subject to review, restriction, or approval by the government. Many monks and lay scholars have been involved in the collecting, cataloging, cleaning, copying, preserving, and storing of palm-leaf manuscripts, funded by German, French, and Japanese research organizations and corporations (2008: 62).

Like in the Northern Thai manuscript culture, Lao *anisong* or *salòng* manuscripts circulated among local temples on the basis of preaching, copying and learning purposes. The manuscripts can thus be found at another temple besides the original monastic repository; i.e., the manuscripts end up being kept at the temples that are not intended or mentioned for depositing in the colophons. There are only rare cases where manuscripts were made and moved to different provinces. Besides, *anisong* manuscripts were perhaps moved to another monastery as a result of the seven manuscript surveys in Luang Prabang, Vientiane, Champasak and Kham Muan organized by the French during 1900–1953. They collected palm-leaf manuscripts from different monastic libraries to be gathered at a certain place such as the royal office, libraries or central monasteries located in several districts, in order to serve the survey convenience but did not return them to the original monasteries (see more in Bouakhay 2008: 62–63).

Unlike *anisong* manuscripts from Northern Thailand, village (*ban*) names of sponsors are frequently mentioned in the colophons; one can thus become familiar with names of villages repeatedly mentioned in a large number of manuscripts. In Lao communities, at least one temple is traditionally located in a village as a central assembly place where commoners are able to participate in a variety of joint activities. Monks have significant authority to lead or convince people to develop their communities and villages. One example was briefly explained in Chapter One, it was about the monastic drum and the shelter collaboratively sponsored by a group of local people in Luang Prabang. I interviewed Pha Khamphai Phasuko, the abbot of Vat Pha Bat Tai, on February 11, 2017 during my research field trip to Laos. He said that the monastic drum for alarming the monks and the whole village had been worn out through long-term use; he therefore initiated the idea of having a new one made through community donation. People could contribute their money to the budget for building a drum including its protection shelter. As suggested by the abbot, people thus increased their religious faith and willingness to donate some of their money for the new monastic goods, in expectation of future meritorious outcomes.

The venerable abbot Pha Khamphai Phasuko, according to the doctoral dissertation of Khamvone (2016), attended the great procession at Sathu Nyai Kaenchan's funeral held in July 2007: “Sathu Nyai Chanpheng Phalittathama Maha Thela from Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram and Sathu Nyai Khamphai Phasuka Maha Thela from Vat Phra Bat Tai, [was] reciting the *yamuk* (P: *yamaka*, “The Book of Pairs,” name of the sixth book of the Abhidhammapitaka) by reading the text aloud from a mulberry paper manuscript, sitting under a yellow umbrella on a jeep with two megaphones decorated by yellow and white clothes” (2016: 89). However, the spelling of Khamphai Phasuka in the quotation is incorrect,

it is actually Khamphai Phasuko. I met the abbot in person during my fieldwork in Luang Prabang in 2017 and he kindly wrote his name on my notebook as is shown below. The letter ‘k’ in the bracket was written by me to distinguish the alphabetical similarity of the Lao letter ກ from the modern Thai script ก.

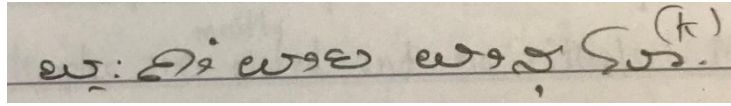


Figure 3.20: Handwriting of the abbot of Vat Pha Bat Tai
(Name of the abbot of Vat Pha Bat Tai) Pha Khamphai Phasuko

Hence, people and monasteries are dependent on each other under reciprocal conditions⁶¹ and temples are regarded as centres of local development and solidarity. As Kislenko explains, “[t]emples are also the focal point of most Lao communities. In addition to providing religious and spiritual services, they usually serve as centres for education, local events, and even some social services” (2009: 61–62). One obvious case is that of six temples lining up on Sakkarin Road in peninsular Luang Prabang: Vat Si Mungkhun, Vat Si Bun Hüang, Vat Nak, Vat Sop Sikkharam, Vat That Nòi and Vat Saen Sukharam. “All of these monasteries,” stressed Grabowsky, “are supported by the local communities on both sides of Sakkarin Road and demonstrate the belief of Lao Buddhists that a community – a village as well as a town quarter (both called *ban* in Lao) – should possess one monastery as its spiritual centre.” Names of villages were therefore written in the colophons in order to show their local identity; namely, the more manuscripts were offered to monasteries, the higher religious faith they demonstrated on the ground of ‘community pride’. Bounleuth explains this as follows:

An ordinary monastery is comprised of at least four components, according to the traditional understanding of Lao Buddhists, these being monks and novices, monastic buildings, Buddha images and religious manuscripts. This means all Buddhists, including monks, novices and laypeople should attempt to acquire manuscripts and give them as gifts to their village monastery (Bounleuth 2015: 252).

As being central temples in the vicinity of villages, the names of *ban* in the colophons can infer where the manuscripts were donated. Giving village names in the manuscripts can thus show respect to the temples. The following example is quoted from a palm-leaf manuscript kept at Vat Saen Sukharam. Khamvone and Grabowsky explain a similar situation of manuscript production concentrated in certain areas:

Not surprisingly, most of the laypersons who acted as sponsors came from town quarters such as Ban Khili, Ban Vat Saen and Ban Kang, all situated in the neighborhood of the “twin monasteries” Vat Si Mungkhun and Vat Si Bunhüang. With roughly two-thirds of all

⁶¹ Richard F. Gombrich explains the relationship between the *Sangha* and lay communities during Buddha's lifetime as follows: “The relation between the *Sangha* and their lay supporters were conceived as reciprocal generosity: the *Sangha* gave the Dhamma, the laity gave material support, rather disparagingly termed ‘raw flesh’. Naturally the laity were conceived as much better of the bargain. In fact, since giving to the *Sangha* brought them merit, they were favoured by both halves of the transaction” (2006: 116).

dated manuscripts falling into Sathu Phò Hung’s tenure as abbot of Vat Si Mungkhun (1904–1945), it seems likely that it was due to this venerable abbot’s initiative that the bulk of the manuscript collection in the monastery library (*hò tai*) of Vat Si Mungkhun was established (2017: 32–33).

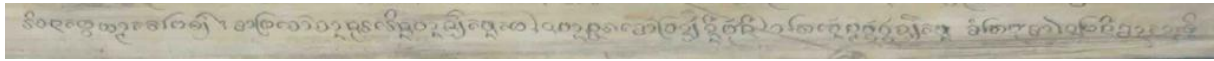


Figure 3.21: Colophon showing a specific monastic repository

รจนาล้ำยามแก่ใกล้เที่ยง ข้าพเจ้า (อา) จารย์อุ้นเฮือน บ้านเชียงแมนแล ได้สร้างสองข้าวประดับดิน
 ผูกรี้ไว้ให้เป็นสมบัติวัดเชียงแมน ขอให้ผู้ซ้ำได้พระนิพพานแดเทอญ

[The writing of this manuscript] was finished at the time of forenoon horn (*yam thae klai thiang*). I, teacher Un Hüan, [from] Ban Siang Maen [village] sponsored [the making of the manuscript entitled] *Sòng khao padap din* in dedication to Vat Siang Maen. May [the merit gained from copying the manuscript] bring me to attain the Enlightenment.

Sòng khao padap din (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival)

Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0075, folio 5 (verso), Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 1900

According to the excerpt above, the manuscript was originally intended by the sponsor to be stored at Vat Siang Maen, but is now kept at Vat Saen Sukharam, located on the opposite side of the Mekong River. The temples are situated two kilometres away from each other and it takes about half an hour to walk from one to the other. The manuscript, perhaps for similar reasons as in Northern Thailand, gives an example of short-distance circulation. Although the sponsor called himself a teacher (L: *acan*) named Un Hüan, not identifying his particular status of monk or layman, the title *Achan* represents his high-educated social status, it can therefore be speculated that he was also the scribe who wrote this manuscript himself. No paratexts and paracontents show whether he lived in Ban Siang Maen or visited Vat Siang Maen for a special occasion. Another exemplary short-distance circulation is derived from a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Sòng sop* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals) which is kept at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang. According to the colophon, the sponsor, and perhaps also the scribe, is Mòm Sing or a monk named Sing, who lived at Vat Sop Caek or Sop Caek temple, one kilometre away from Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, the present repository.

สองศพเจ้า หม่อมสิงบ้านสบแจกเน้อ จุลศักราชได้ ๑๒ ร้อย ๘๔ ตัว ปีสี่เต่าเส็ด เดือน ๑๐ ออกค่ำ ๑
 มือเต่าเส็ด ๓ รจนาล้ำยามค่ำ ผู้ซ้ำหม่อมสิงวัดสบแจก ได้สร้างสองศพไว้ในพุทธศาสนาพระโคตมะเจ้า
 ขอให้ผู้ซ้ำได้ถึงอรหันตมรรคญาณนิพพานเป็นที่แล้วแต่ก็ซ้ำเทอญ สาธุ สาธุ อนุโมทามิ

[The manuscript entitled] *Sòng sop* [and written by] Mòm (monk) Sing [at] Ban Sop Caek [village was commissioned] in CS 1284 (CE 1922), in a *tao set* year, on the first waxing-moon day of the tenth [lunar] month, the third day of the week, on a *tao set* day⁶², in the evening. I, Mòm (monk) Sing [from] Vat Sop Caek, commissioned [the manuscript entitled] *Sòng sop* in dedication to the Teachings of Lord Buddha Gotama. May [the commission of this manuscript] lead me to attain the ultimate enlightenment. *Sādhu sādhu anumodāmi*.

⁶² 1284 Bhadrapada 1 = Wednesday, 23 August 1922. This was, however, a *ka kai* day. But the preceding day, Tuesday, 22 October 1922, was a *tao set* day.

Sòng sop (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals)

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406004-11, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1922

Another example of manuscript circulations is derived from a palm-leaf manuscript containing two texts of *Sòng fang tham* which was collectively produced in CE 1930 by a whole family, with the other fourteen fascicles in one single manuscript-bundle, all of which comprises both *anisong* and non-*anisong* manuscripts and was dedicated to Vat Pa Fang (Vat Siang Ngam) in Luang Prabang in expectation of merit dedication to the dead mother. In this case, the whole bundle, in spite of different texts, is regarded as a multiple-text manuscript (MTM) because the texts in each fascicle were commissioned as one production unit. The manuscripts were then separated from its bundle, combined with other manuscript fascicles based on unclear purposes and kept at another temple, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, also in Luang Prabang. No supportive evidence provides reliable information on whether the new combination was done at the original repository, Vat Pa Fang, or at the current repository, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram; the fourteen original accompanying fascicles are, however, still undiscovered. According to the colophon below, the merit of copying the manuscript was intended to be transferred to the deceased mother. This can explain why the whole bundle of manuscripts was finished in August or the ninth lunar month of the traditional calendar, in which the communities prepare themselves for religious events of merit dedication to the dead that are generally held in the following month of September.

... จึงได้พร้อมกันสร้างยังพระธรรมคัมภีร์ สุตมนต์น้อยหนึ่งผูก มนต์กลางหนึ่งผูก มนต์เด็ก ๓ อากาวัต สุตหนึ่งผูก สุนันทสูตรหนึ่งผูก นิพพานสูตรหนึ่งผูก มุลินิพพานหนึ่ง สัปไชยหนึ่งผูก มงคลหนึ่งผูก สอง สรรพทานหนึ่งผูก สองสรรพทุงหนึ่งผูก สองฟังธรรมหนึ่งผูก สมาสสงสารหนึ่งผูก สุวรรณเต่าคำหนึ่งผูก อุณหสวัชยหนึ่งผูก รวม ๑๕ ผูก บูชาทานไว้กับศาสนาหอไตรปฏิภาณวัดป่าฝาง หลวงพระบาง ขอให้ อานิสงส์บุญส่วนนี้นำไปรอดไปถึงยังสาวทองดีผู้เป็นแม่อันจติไปแล้วนั้น ...

... Together [we] commissioned the manuscripts comprising one manuscript of *Sut mon nòi*, one manuscript titled [*Sut*] *mon klang*, three manuscripts titled [*Sut*] *mon doek*, one manuscript titled *Akarawattasut*, one manuscript titled *Sunanthasut*, one manuscript titled *Nipphanasut*, one manuscript titled *Munlanipphan*, one manuscript titled *Sapchai*, one manuscript titled *Mongkhon*, one manuscript titled *Sòng sapphathan*, one manuscript titled *Sòng sapphathung*, one manuscript titled *Sòng fang tham*, one manuscript titled *Samat songsan*, one manuscript titled *Suwan tao kham* and one manuscript titled *Unhatsawichai*, fifteen manuscripts in total⁶³. [The manuscripts] are intended to be religiously dedicated to the monastic repository at Vat Pa Fang in Luang Prabang. May the merit [derived from the commission of this manuscript] be delivered to Sao Thòng Di, our mother, who has already passed away.

Multiple-text manuscript of two texts entitled *Sòng fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma)

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406013-14, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1930

⁶³ In this case, the scribe defined each individual *phuk* as ‘text’ or ‘chapter’, not ‘fascicle’ or ‘bundle’. Because the scribe counted the total number of all texts as fifteen, despite the fact that the *Sut mon doek* contained three ‘phuk’, which should bring the total number of the whole bundle to seventeen.

A number of *anison* manuscripts, however, have been kept at the originally intended temples, in spite of possibly having circulated. The example below is excerpted from a palm-leaf manuscript sponsored by the Lao Supreme Patriarch Somdet Phra Phutta Sinorot Sakon Maha Sangkhamok on the occasion of the annual *Kathin* festival⁶⁴ held at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram and Vat Visun on October 27, 1968. The manuscript was written after a sermon preached by the Supreme Patriarch at the nationally well-known event; it merely shows the event date but not any production date of the manuscript. Thanks to the manuscript text imitated from the preaching words especially given to a particular ceremony, it contains the names of participants and any other details which specifically occurred at the event; the manuscript could therefore not be read on other occasions. The following is quoted from the beginning of the manuscript, in order to show the particular personal names, common greetings and other specific details contained in four sides of two folios that prevent the manuscript from being borrowed by other monasteries, thereby still being kept at the originally intended monastery. Because of no colophons telling wishes or expectations of glorious outcomes like *anison* manuscripts in general, the manuscript was perhaps not aimed at gaining merit from sponsoring the copying of a religious text, but rather resulted from a more profane intention, namely, to just record the preaching words of the Supreme Patriarch monk given at an important event⁶⁵ headed by the high-ranking General Sawai Sawaisaenyakòn (1904–1980) from Thailand. It shows the transformation or change of the *anison* manuscript purpose, i.e., the manuscripts not only serve as books pertaining to future meritorious outcomes, but that they can also be normal text containers with a documentary function without involving religious intentions.

พระธรรมเทศนาของสมเด็จพระพุทธลีโนรส สกลมหาสังฆปาโมกข์ สมเด็จพระสังฆราช แห่ง
 ราชอาณาจักรลาว อันแสดงในงานกุศลกุฐินสามัคคี ซึ่ง ฯพณฯ ท่าน พลเอกไสว ไสวแสนยากร เป็น
 ประธานทอดผ้าไตรใหม่สุวรรณภูมิรามและวัดวิซุน เมื่อวันที่ ๒๗ ตุลาคม พ.ศ. ๒๕๑๑ นโมตสส ภควโต
 อรหโต สมมา สมพุทธสส สพเพสฺส สงฆพุตานํ สามคคี วุทธิสาทิกา นิमितตํ สาทุรูปานัง กตถนุกตเวทิตา
 ติ บัดนี้ จะได้แสดงพระธรรมเทศนา อนุโมทนาบุญกุศล จริยสัมมาปฏิบัติพอเป็นเครื่องฉลองศรัทธา
 สาทะความเชื่อความเลื่อมใส และบำรุงสติปัญญาของพุทธบริษัทในมหาสมาคมโดยอานุภาพแก่บุญราสี
 กุฐินสามัคคีในครั้งนี้ตามสมควรแก่กาลเวลา ด้วยพุทธศาสนิกชนชาวไทย อันมี ฯพณฯ ท่าน พลเอกไสว
 ไสวแสนยากร พร้อมด้วยครอบครัวเป็นประธาน และพุทธศาสนิกชนชาวลาวแห่งสถานเอกอัครราชทูต
 ลาว อันมีเสด็จเจ้าคำหิง เอกอัครราชทูตเป็นประธาน พร้อมกันมีกุศลฉันทะอัญเชิญผ้ากุฐินและบริวาร
 กับทั้งเครื่องไทยทานต่างๆ จากกรุงเทพฯ ประเทศไทย มาน้อมถวายสงฆ์ในวัดใหม่สุวรรณภูมิรามที่นี่
 และน้อมถวายสงฆ์ในวัดวิซุนราชแล ในโอกาสนี้ พุทธศาสนิกชนชาวนครเวียงจันทน์และชาวนครหลวง
 พระบาง อันมีท่านพระยาหิรัญศักดิ์ (หอมสุนดารา) เจ้าแขวงเป็นประธาน ได้พร้อมเพรียงกันต้อนรับ
 และอนุโมทนาด้วยความโสมนัสศรัทธาเป็นอย่างยิ่ง สมกับเป็นผู้มีความเชื่อความเลื่อมใส และเคารพ
 นับถือในพระพุทธศาสนาอย่างแท้จริง ทั้งนี้ นับเป็นกุศลจริยาที่ควรแก่การอนุโมทนา อนึ่ง ในกรณมา
 ถวายผ้ากุฐินที่นครหลวงพระบางเทื่อนี้ ฯพณฯ ท่านพลเอกไสว ไสวแสนยากร ยังได้อัญเชิญพระบรม
 สารีริกธาตุอันเป็นธาตุเจดีย์มาประดิษฐานไว้ในพระเจดีย์วัดเชียงเหล็ก และท่อนพระศรีมหาโพธิ์กับ

⁶⁴ *Kathin* is a religious ceremony in which laypeople offer monk robes after the end of the Buddhist Lenten period. The word *kathin* means a wooden frame, used, in this case, to stretch the cloth when sewing (Premchit and Doré 1992: 53).

⁶⁵ The festival was held in collaboration with the two countries for the purpose of promoting the Thai-Lao relationship by means of the annual merit-making event.

หน่อต้นสาละ อันนับเนื่องเข้าไปในปริกคเจตีย์ มาปลูกไว้ในพระอารามวัดธาตุหลวง ที่นครหลวงพระบาง อีกประการหนึ่งด้วย ทั้งนี้ นับเป็นเจตียานุสรณ์อันควรแก่การระลึกถึง เพราะสามารถจะให้เกิดบุญกุศล จริยสัมมาปฏิบัติ เป็นอนุเคราะห์การแล เป็นเครื่องเพิ่มพูนเจตียวัตถุในพระพุทธศาสนาประจำนครหลวง พระบางให้มีมากหลาย เพื่อเป็นการส่งเสริมพระพุทธศาสนาในบ้านเมืองที่นี่ ให้การกุศลรุ่งเรืองงามยิ่งขึ้นไป

[This manuscript is] the sermonic words [given by] the Supreme Patriarch Somdet Pha Phutthasinolot Sakonmahasangkhapamok of the Kingdom of Laos on the occasion of the *Kathin* festival hosted by His Excellency Sawai Sawaisaenyakòn at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram and Vat Visun on October 27, 1968. *Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammā sambuddhassa sabbesaṃ saṅghabūtānaṃ sāmaggī vuddhisādikā nimittaṃ sādthurūpānaṃ kataññīkataveditāti* (May I bow down to the blessed one, the Arahant, the perfectly awakened one. The concord of all members of the order is pertaining to prosperity and so on, a sign (of) the state of being grateful and mindful of the benefits of the good ones – monks). The Buddhist sermon begins now to congratulate the well-behaved merit for the purpose of remunerating your religious faith (gratuity) and sustaining wisdom of the Buddhist community on the proper and auspicious occasion of the *Kathin* festival. His Thai Excellency Sawai Sawaisaenyakòn, along with family, and Ambassador Cao Kham Hing, with generous intention host the *Kathin* festival and bring the Kathin alms (monk robes and goods) from Bangkok, Thailand to be presented to the monks at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram and Vat Visun. The Buddhists from Vientiane and Luang Prabang, led by Phaya Hilanyasak (Hòmsundala), gladly welcomed and congratulated [the Kathin merit] as the truly faithful devotees of Buddhism. The meritorious act is worth being gladly congratulated. By the way, during this *Kathin* festival in Luang Prabang the Excellency Sawai Sawaisaenyakòn respectfully brought the great Buddha relics to be enshired in the stupa of Vat Siang Lek in Luang Prabang, along with small Bodhi and Sala trees to be nurtured at Vat That Luang in Luang Prabang. The pagoda is regarded as commemorative agency since it inspires people to think further about the well-done merit and accumulates the number of pagodas at Luang Prabang, thereby contributing to the prospering of Buddhism in the country (*ban müang*).

Salòng kathin (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Kathin* festival)

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406001-03, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1968

In the following examples, evidenced by the colophons, two *anisong* manuscripts originated from a neighbouring country, namely Thailand. One was inscribed by a monk, the other by a Lao student from Mahasarakham University, a northeastern university of Thailand. However, there are no clear traces in the colophon of the latter manuscript which could provide a hint at whether the scribe wrote the manuscript in Thailand and brought it back to Laos; this issue will be further discussed. The first manuscript originating from the neighbouring country was made on October 25, 1962, by a monk who resided at Wat Pa Phrao in Nòngkhai, a province in northeastern Thailand, the neighbouring province bordering with Vientiane, the capital city of Laos.

พุทธศักราชได้ ๒๕๐๕ ปีชกาล เดือน ๑๑ แรม ๑๒ ค่ำ วันพฤหัสบดี วันที่ ๒๕ ตุลาคม ๒๕๐๕ รจนมาแล้ว เวลาบ่าย ๔ โมงแลงแลเจ้าเฮย พระภิกขุสีจันเขียน วัดป่าพร้าว หนองคาย

[The manuscript] was written in BE 2505 (CE 1962), a Year of the Tiger, on the twelfth waning-moon day of the eleventh lunar month, on Thursday 25 October BE 2505 (CE 1962), at 4 p.m. by Pha Phikkhu Sican from Wat Pa Phrao, Nongkhai province.

Sòng khua (Rewards derived from the construction of public bridges)

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406002-07, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1962

According to the colophon above, Phikkhu (monk) Sican wrote the manuscript during his stay in Thailand. Thanks to the literary style, assumptions on the scribe's nationality cannot be made, unless he spelled his name in the Lao orthographic style; the name Sican (สีจัน) was written in direct pronunciation spelling, unlike “ศรีจันทร์” in Thai that keeps the Sanskrit etymology in the more complicated spelling. The orthographic style suggests that the monk scribe temporarily stayed in Thailand for a certain purpose, wrote the manuscript and brought it back to his homeland, Laos, it is consequently still kept at Luang Prabang nowadays. The affiliated monastery of the scribe in Laos, however, is still uncertain, because, even though the manuscript was found at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, due to having possibly circulated among the local temples, it is not necessary that the scribe lived at the temple.

Another *anisong* manuscript, entitled *Salòng khao phan kòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls), was written in CE 2006 by a Lao student from a northeastern university in Thailand, as I shortly mentioned above. The scribe called himself ‘Thao Thirayutcan’, explicitly identifying himself as a Lao man because the initial ‘Thao’ commonly precedes Lao male names: “[The manuscript is titled] *Sòng khao phan kòn* [and was written] in BE 2549 or CE 2006, in the twelfth lunar month, on the fourth day of the week, in the evening [by] Thao Thirayutcan, a student of the Department of Thai Language, Mahasarakham university⁶⁶.” He wrote the date in the traditional lunar calendrical format despite adding the Christian era; hence, the twelfth month in the colophon corresponds to November, according to the Lao lunar calendar, in which the second semester began after a short break of approximately one month⁶⁷. Having speculated on the manuscript's current repository, the National Library of Laos in Vientiane, it is likely that the scribe wrote the manuscript during the semester break for the purpose of practising, because in the colophon there are no meritorious wishes derived from copying the manuscript and the handwriting reflects a moderately-experienced skill of inscribing. For unknown reasons, the manuscript was then brought to the National Library; no para-textual traces reveal any circulations or indicate for which monastery the manuscript was originally intended. Alternatively, it can be speculated that the scribe wrote it during his stay in Thailand and later brought it back to his hometown, which would be a case of international circulation from the neighbouring country Thailand. However, the manuscript was later combined with another palm-leaf manuscript as a composite manuscript, due to the same title *Salòng khao phan kòn*.

⁶⁶ สองเข้าพันก้อนแลเจ้าเฮย รจนาล้วนยามแลงใกล้ค่ำวัน ๔ เดือน ๑๒ พ.ศ. ๒๕๔๙ ค.ศ. ๒๐๐๖ ท้าวทีระยุดจันท์เป็นผู้เขียน นิสิตนักศึกษามหาวิทยาลัยมหาสารคาม สาขาภาษาไทยแล

⁶⁷ Being regulated from 2006 to 2013, the semesters of Thai universities were divided into two periods – June to October and November to April.



Figure 3.22: Palm-leaf manuscript written by a Lao scribe who studied in Thailand
Salòng khao phan kòn (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls)

Source: DLLM, code: 01012906001-07, folios 1–4 (recto), The National Library, Vientiane, CE 2006

One palm-leaf manuscript titled *Hò suam ap* (หอสามอาบ, Rewards derived from the construction of public toilets, code: 06018506021-01, CE 2006) gives an interesting exposition of a special circulation in the colophon. The manuscript comprises three folios, written by a monk called Senta who lived at Vat Phon Saisana Songkham in Vientiane and was intended to be brought by a venerable monk to another monk at Ban Na Rai: “Senta, a monk from Vat Phon Sai, wrote [this manuscript]. I offered [the manuscript] to monk(s) [at the monastery] of Ban Na Rai via senior monk(s) (เสนาทะ สาทุวัดโพนชัยเขียนแล ครูบาเฮย ช้อยขอเพิ่นครูบา ฝากหนังสือไปหาสาทุบ้านนาไร่แต่ช้อย).” The manuscript, however, ended up being preserved at the National Museum in Luang Prabang, not in Vientiane where it had been made. The village named Na Rai⁶⁸ to which the manuscript was to be brought is rather commonly denominated and does not specify the exact location. Ban Na Rai was located in Luang Prabang, in my point of view, because of two speculative reasons. Firstly, the manuscript is currently kept at Luang Prabang; secondly, monk Senta would not have asked the venerable monk, mentioned in the colophon as “เพิ่นครูบา”, provided that the destination at Ban Na Rai was located in the vicinity of his temple, Vat Phon Saisana Songkham. His particular intention to transfer the manuscript was therefore to be inscribed in the colophon, so that the venerable monk who was responsible for the circulation would not forget it. On the other hand, if it was the case that Ban Na Rai was in the neighbourhood of the scribe’s temple, the recipient could have been indicated orally. This is seemingly the only example revealing a manuscript’s commission that was originally intended to be used by another temple; i.e., instead of writing manuscripts for their monastic uses, *anisong* manuscripts were made on the basis of generosity or gift-giving to provide the prompt availability of manuscripts, possibly resulting from the lack of liturgical manuscripts at the destination temple.

⁶⁸ Literally, *na* means ‘wet-rice field’ and *rai* means ‘dry-rice field’.

3.5 Sponsors and Scribes

In general, lay sponsors and *Sangha* sponsors of *anisong* manuscripts are similar in number; this situation is the case with the manuscripts kept at Vat Si Bun Hüang. Khamvone and Grabowsky explain in the catalogue of manuscripts discovered at the temple that “laypeople formed the large majority of sponsors and donors of manuscripts. Here the ratio is reverse: four-fifths were laypersons and only one-fifth members of the *Sangha*” (2017: 32). Unlike in Northern Thailand, the names of scribes are rarely mentioned in the Lao *anisong* manuscripts; rather, only sponsors’ names are always shown in the colophons. It is possible that scribes were not as highly praised as the scribes in Northern Thailand where their names are more frequently exposed in the manuscripts. Sponsors had the manuscripts inscribed for the purpose of gaining merit for themselves or their families from copying and dedicating them to monasteries; the names of scribes were rather unnecessary to be noted down in the colophons. The situation can be to some extent compared to other kinds of monastic dedication: window installing, roof lining, grass flooring, etc. Laypeople hire workers or craftsmen to build something for a temple; the workers’ names are thus normally not mentioned on the donated objects since they were paid off with wages, explained by Bounleuth as follows:

In traditional Lao manuscript culture, the people whose names appeared in the colophons were clearly mentioned as sponsors or donators not as scribes. In other words, most scribes did not sign their work, which suggests that they were hired to do the copying instead for the sake of their own merit-making (2016: 252).

Another relevant assumption is that there was perhaps a large number of scribes in Laos at that time, because monks and novices sometimes spent only a short monkhood and decided to disrobe afterwards due to their household financial situations⁶⁹. As a result, laymen qualified with Tham script literacy became common and widespread; they were thus not regarded as exclusively skilled or rare persons who knew the difficult scripts, but as ‘common’ persons. On the other hand, those merely mentioned with the names of monks as sponsors sometimes indicate the dual status of sponsor and scribe. Namely, *anisong* manuscripts, which, according to their colophons, were sponsored by monks, were possibly written by the monk himself, because the scribes often wrote the word ‘sang’ (ສ້າງ), which literally means ‘to make’, in order to include two roles in manuscript production – writing (scribe) and donating (sponsor/donor). The following colophon is from a multiple-text manuscript containing two texts, *Anisong sangkhathan* and *Anisong thawai sapphathan thua pai* (both mean “Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving”).

⁶⁹ “Before the introduction of state schools in rural areas, if a young boy who had not yet reached the age of twenty (the age when he could become a monk) wished to obtain formal education at an advanced level, he could only do so by becoming a novice. At present, a boy looking for secondary education will find that the state schools offer a program suited to the demands of modern society, while becoming a novice no longer prepares a young man for secular life. Only a shimmer of the aura of the elite surrounds the institution of novitiate in central Thailand. Often it is the parents who can ill afford the expense of sending a son to a secondary school who may encourage their child to become a novice” (Terwiel 2012: 63–64).

มหาพุทธศักราชได้ ๒๕๐๕ เดือน ๓ ขึ้น ๑ ค่ำ หมายมีสมเด็จพระสังฆราชวัดใหม่ พร้อมด้วยพระวัน
ตีผาโคม สร้างยังธรรมภูมินี้ไว้ในศาสนาพระสมณโคตมเจ้า トラบเท่าสิ้นกาลอันนาน ขอให้ข้าพเจ้าทั้ง
สองนี้ ได้ตั้งมโนเรศคำปรารภนาชูประการแต่ก็ข้าเทอญ นิพพาน ปจฺจโย โหตุ เม อนาคต กาลे निज्ज
ทฺวเวิ โหตุ โหตุ

In BE 2505 (CE 1962), on the first waxing-moon day of the third [lunar] month⁷⁰, the
Supreme Patriarch from Vat Mai and Pha Wandī Phakhom commissioned the manuscript to
sustain the Teachings of Lord Buddha Gotama forever. May [the merit gained from
commissioning the manuscript] fulfill wishes of both of us. *Nibbāna paccayo hotu me
anāgate kāle niccam duvaṃ evaṃ hotu hotu* (May this be a condition for me to reach
nibbāna, continuously and forever.).

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406004-06, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1962

Although the colophon states that the manuscript was ‘made’ (สร้าง) by two collaborating
monks – the Supreme Patriarch and an ordinary monk – it is quite clear that they, or at least
one of them, were/was responsible for inscribing as well, because the monk teamwork
included a highly-reverential Supreme Patriarch called Sathu Nyai Somdet Pha Sangkhalat
Thammayan Mahathela⁷¹ thereby being socially expected to produce the manuscripts
themselves rather than having it inscribed by a third person. A large number of *anisong*
manuscripts were ‘made’ by such high-ranking *Sangha* officials, basically including scribal
roles as well. In addition to the multiple-text manuscript above, the colleague monks produced
a lot more *anisong* manuscripts currently kept at the same monastic library, for the official
place of the Lao Supreme Patriarch was situated at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram in Luang
Prabang⁷². The following information below shows their collaboratively-produced *anisong*
manuscripts in the extant corpus.

No.	Fascicle code and Year	Title	Commissioners
1	06011406002-16 CE 1962 (MTM)	1. <i>Anisong khao phansa</i> ⁷³ 2. <i>Anisong òk phansa</i> ⁷⁴	1. Supreme Patriarch 2. Pha Wandī
2	06011406004-06 CE 1962 (MTM)	1. <i>Anisong sangkhathan</i> ⁷⁵ 2. <i>Anisong thawai sapphathan thua pai</i> ⁷⁶	1. Supreme Patriarch 2. Pha Wandī Phakhom
3	06011406004-07	<i>Anisong sang hong phayaban hong</i>	1. Supreme Patriarch

⁷⁰ The date corresponds to February 5, 1962, on a Monday, in the Year of the Ox.

⁷¹ The full name was Pha Yòt Kaeo Phuttha Sinolot Sakon Maha Sangkhapamok Thammayan Mahathela (1892–1984). He was the first and the last Supreme Patriarch of the Lao Kingdom ruling the nationwide *Sangha* community.

⁷² The temple was formerly the residency of the Supreme Patriarch of the Lao kingdom.

⁷³ อานิสงส์เข้าพรรษา, Rewards derived from merit-making during the Buddhist Lenten period.

⁷⁴ อานิสงส์ออกพรรษา, Rewards derived from merit-making at the end of the Buddhist Lenten period.

⁷⁵ อานิสงส์สังฆทาน, Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving.

⁷⁶ อานิสงส์ถวายสรรพทานทั่วไป, Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving.

No.	Fascicle code and Year	Title	Commissioners
	CE 1962 (STM)	<i>mò</i> ⁷⁷	2. Pha Wandī Phakhom
4	06011406004-17 CE 1962 (MTM)	1. <i>Anisong salòng taengngan lūi kin dōng</i> ⁷⁸ 2. <i>Anisong thawai pha pa bangsukun</i> ⁷⁹	1. Supreme Patriarch 2. Pha Wandī Phakhom
5	06011406006-05 CE 1962 (MTM)	1. <i>Anisong sòng buat pha nen</i> ⁸⁰ 2. <i>Anisong haeng sòng thela phisek</i> ⁸¹	1. Supreme Patriarch 2. Pha Phutthawakkhayano Wandī
6	06011406006-06 CE 1962 (MTM)	1. <i>Anisong sòng buat</i> ⁸² 2. <i>Anisong an thawai khüang thela phisek</i> ⁸³ 3. <i>Anisong than phasat phüing</i> ⁸⁴	1. Supreme Patriarch 2. Pha Wandī
7	06011406001-15 CE 1973 (STM)	<i>Anisong thambun wan koet</i> ⁸⁵	1. Supreme Patriarch 2. Acan Wandī
8	06011406002-09 CE 1970 (STM)	<i>Anisong khao salak</i> ⁸⁶	1. Supreme Patriarch 2. Acan Wandī Phanthawat

Table 3.2: Jointly-produced *anisong* manuscripts by a monk and a layman

Chronologically arranged, the data table shows eight manuscript-fascicles commissioned by the two co-working monks. Evidenced by the manuscript codes, the eight fascicles are kept in four bundles coded 06011406001, 06011406002, 06011406004 and 06011406006, each of which is preceded with ‘06’ and includes ‘14’, shown on the underlines representing the manuscript provenance and the temple, i.e., Luang Prabang and Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram. Most of their contributions are multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs), frequently containing similar *anisong* texts, each destined for preaching at certain occasions. The data reveals their long-term collaboration for at least ten years, even after the monk Wandī disrobed and

⁷⁷ อานิสงส์สร้างโรงพยาบาลโรงหมอ, Rewards derived from the construction of hospitals.

⁷⁸ อานิสงส์ฉลองแต่งงานหรือกินดอง, Rewards derived from merit-making on wedding ceremonies.

⁷⁹ อานิสงส์ถวายผ้าป่าบังสกุล, Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes.

⁸⁰ อานิสงส์สองบวชพระเณร, Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies.

⁸¹ อานิสงส์แห่งสองเถราภิเษก, Rewards derived from the participation in monkhood-ranking promotion ceremonies.

⁸² อานิสงส์สองบวช, Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies.

⁸³ อานิสงส์อันถวายเครื่องเถราภิเษก, Rewards derived from the donation of alms at monkhood-ranking promotion ceremonies.

⁸⁴ อานิสงส์ทานปราสาทผึ้ง, Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles.

⁸⁵ อานิสงส์ทำบุญวันเกิด, Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries.

⁸⁶ อานิสงส์เข้าสลาก, Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival.

became a layman, according to the last two manuscripts in the table that show the initial of Wandī as ‘Acan’ representing his lay scholar status and ‘Phanthawat’ as his surname⁸⁷. The first six fascicles mention the name of monk Wandī in three ways: Pha Wandī, Pha Wandī Phakhom, and Pha Phutthawakkhayano Wandī. The word ‘Phakhom’ attached to his name can be a temple or a village while ‘Phutthawakkhayano’ was his official monkhood title. This evidently reflects that the colleague relationship of the monks was not necessarily broken up although they disrobed and became laypeople. Instead, the disrobed laymen were more respected by the villagers than normal men, since they had experienced monkhood and were educated. Undoubtedly, no matter how long one remained in ordained monkhood, monks and laymen could continue collaborative relationships. Bounleuth explains that not only do monks and novices learn the Dhamma in monasteries, but they also acquire artistic and other secular skills. Disrobed laymen were thus experienced in various fields of expertise and highly respected by the villagers.

Moreover, they learn the artistic skills needed to preserve and maintain their monasteries and its ritual objects. They are respected by people of all occupations for being knowledgeable in the Buddhist teachings and having expertise in fine arts as well. Numerous former monks and novices who trained themselves well while in the Buddhist order, have become artists, architects, local scholars, etc., after disrobing. They are considered the master builders and craftsmen of Luang Prabang town. This is because the Buddhist community of Luang Prabang profoundly values and respects the knowledge of former monks and novices (Bounleuth 2014: 7).

Compared to those in Northern Thailand, a number of *anisonḡ* manuscripts from Laos, predominantly in Luang Prabang, were donated by high-ranking sponsors including members of royal or ruler families. For example, the following two quotations are derived from two *anisonḡ* manuscripts entitled *Panya balami*, made in CE 1817 and sponsored by a ruler named Phraya Luang Müang Khua⁸⁸. At that time, before Laos became the French colonial country in CE 1893, it was divided into three kingdoms: Vientiane, Luang Prabang, Champasak and the principality of Chiang Khwang (Siang Khuang), each of which was dependent on its neighbouring countries, while they regarded themselves as opponents, and attempted to defeat each other from time to time⁸⁹. The manuscripts are kept at Vat Si Bun Hüang, Luang Prabang;

⁸⁷ In this case, the word Acan could be speculated both as a skilful layman or a master monk because his secular surname ‘Phanthawat’ was added as part of his name. In Laos and northeastern Thailand, laymen who were ordained, religiously well-educated and disrobed are also reverentially called Acan. Bounleuth states that Acan typically is known as master monks or well-learned persons: “One area which is commonly recognized as an appropriate task for monks and novices is the teaching of both religious and non-religious subjects. Certainly, monks and novices are required to have sufficient knowledge of the subjects that they teach. They impart knowledge to people and are, therefore, called *khu* (ຄູ – “teacher”) or *achan* (ອາຈານ – “teacher, lecturer, professor, tutor, instructor; in brief, a title of respect for learned persons”)” (2016: 12).

⁸⁸ Müang Khua is located in Phongsali province in the north of the country. The town was originally part of Sipsòḡ Panna and called “Panna U”. Müang Khua is mountainous, mainly populated by the Tai Lü, and has a high ethnic diversity: Hmong, Akha, Yao, Tai and others.

⁸⁹ King Setthathirat founded the kingdom *Phranakhòn Canthaburi Sisattanakhanahut Utamaratchathani* which was ruled for generations by subsequent kings until the reign of King Suriyavongsa Thammathirat (CE 1633–

we can thus claim two possibilities. Firstly, the manuscripts were made in Müang Khua and, for some reasons, brought later to Luang Prabang; secondly, the sponsor visited Luang Prabang and had the manuscripts written in dedication to Buddhism.

ศักราชได้ร้อย ๗๙ ตัว ปีสี่เม็งเป้า เดือน ๘ แรม ๘ ค่ำ มื้อรวายี่ วัน ๒ รจนาแล้วยามกองงาย พระยาหลวงเมืองขวา สหกริยาบุตรนัดดา พันธวงศา พร้อมกันสร้างล้าปัญญาบารมีหลวงไว้กับศาสนาพระเจ้าตราบต่อเท่าหมดเช่นใบลาน ขอให้ได้ตั้งค้ำค้ำปรารถนา นิพพาน ปจจโย โหตุโน ทูว์ ก็ข้าเทอญ

In [C]S 1179, a *moeng pao* year, on the eighth waning-moon day of the eighth [lunar] month, a *hwai yi* day, the second day of the week, a *rwai yi day*⁹⁰, the writing [of this manuscript] was finished at the time of the morning drum. Phanya Luang Müang Khua, together with his wife, children, grandchildren and all members of his family, sponsored the making [of the manuscript entitled] *Lam pannya palami luang* to support the Teachings of the Buddha to last until its very end like the palm leaves [do]. May all our wishes and desires be fulfilled. *Nibbāna paccayo hotu no duvaṃ* (May this be a condition for us to reach *Nibbāna*, forever.) (Khamvone and Grabowsky 2017: 155). Source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0147, Vat Si Bun Hüang, Luang Prabang CE 1817

ศักราชได้ร้อย ๗๙ ตัว ปีสี่เม็งเป้า เดือน ๘ แรม ๘ ค่ำ มื้อรวายี่ วัน ๒ รจนาแล้วยามกองงาย พระยาหลวงเมืองขวา สหกริยาบุตรนัดดา พันธวงศา พร้อมกันสร้างล้าปัญญาบารมีหลวงไว้กับศาสนาพระเจ้าตราบต่อเท่าหมดเช่นใบลาน ขอให้ได้ตั้งค้ำค้ำปรารถนา นิพพาน ปจจโย โหตุโน ทูว์ ทูว์ ก็ข้าเทอญ

In [C]S 1179, a *moeng pao* year, on the eighth waning-moon day of the eighth [lunar] month, a *hwai yi* day, the second day of the week, a *rwai yi day*⁹¹, the writing [of this manuscript] was finished at the time of the morning drum. Phanya Luang Müang Khua, together with his wife, children, grandchildren and all members of his family, sponsored the making [of the manuscript entitled] *Lam pannya palami luang* to support the Teachings of the Buddha to last until its very end like the palm leaves [do]. May all our wishes and desires be fulfilled. *Nibbāna paccayo hotu no duvaṃ* (May this be a condition for us to reach *Nibbāna*, forever.) (Khamvone and Grabowsky 2017: 155). Source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0147, Vat Si Bun Hüang, Luang Prabang CE 1817.

Unlike in Northern Thailand, according to the colophons, females were mainly sponsors or initiators (เค้า, เก้า) of *anison*g manuscript productions in Laos. Laymen, often following the wish of their parents, entered monkhood when they were still young, to become educated in the Dhamma and live in monasteries. They were responsible for both religious and secular

1690), because he had no son to continue the kingdom. The three regions were independent since the middle of the 23th Buddhist century, thereby being autonomous states, each of which was ruled by their royalty and culturally and artistically influenced by neighbouring regions. Stuart-Fox explains that “politically, however, the Lao *meuang* remained separate and divided. No attempt seems to have been made to create new political alliances, through marriage or other means. Each ruling family sought only preserve its own little fiefdom. Only in Champāsak was some attempt made to reconstruct a larger *meuang* through establishing new dependent villages. When Siamese ‘commissioners’ (*khāluang*) began to assert more direct Siamese administration, the Lao *meuang* were in no state to resist” (Stuart-Fox 1997: 16).

⁹⁰ 1179 Pratomashadha 23 = Sunday, 6 July 1817. This day was, however, a *hap pao* day. The nearest *rwai yi* day was the following day, Monday, 6 July 1817, the ninth waning-moon day of the eighth lunar month.

⁹¹ 1179 Pratomashadha 23 = Sunday, 6 July 1817. This day was, however, a *hap pao* day. The nearest *rwai yi* day was the following day, Monday, 6 July 1817, the ninth waning-moon day of the eighth lunar month.

duties. In addition to the Dhamma education, monks were invited to give blessings at secular activities: birthdays, funerals, new houses, etc., and propagated the Buddhist religion; hence, they were highly revered as a ‘field of merit’ (นื่อนาบุญ) thanks to their holy status. The restriction to males allowed in the ordination disciplines prevents females to be in monkhood; in compensation for this lack of opportunity, they commissioned and dedicated religious manuscripts to monasteries instead of ordinations. Females could become nuns (L: *mae khao*, แม่ขาว) or white-robed postulants, but they probably had no opportunity to be ordained due to their daily routines or household chores. Bounleuth, in relation to the monastic society, states that, “[h]owever, when talking of the *sangha* institution, it seems that Lao people acknowledge monks and novices (L: *phasong samanen* or *khuba ai cua*) stronger than female *sangha* members” (2014: 5).

3.6 Colophons

Similarly to *anisong* manuscripts from Northern Thailand, evidenced by the colophons, sponsors commissioned and dedicated the manuscripts for the dominant purpose of supporting Buddhism and expecting meritorious returns or fulfilled wishes. Such colophons are commonly found in both the Northern Thai and the Lao traditions. For example, a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Sòng sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), written in CE 1923, declares common features of the commissioner’s wish.

จุลศักราช ๑๒๘๕ ตัว ปลีรวงไล่ เดือน ๑๐ ขึ้น ๑๒ ค่ำ วัน ๓ รจนาแล้วยามกองเที่ยงวัน หมายถึงสาว
หอก้าวและลูกเต่าสู่คน มีใจใสศรัทธา สร้างยังหนังสือสองสรรพทาน ให้ทานไว้กับพระศาสนา トラบ
เท่า ๕ พันวัสสา ขอให้ผู้เข้าได้ถึงสุข ๓ ประการ มีนิพพานเป็นที่แล้ว อย่าคลาดแคล้วดังคำมักคำ
ปรารถนา สุขเชิงสุประการแต่ ก็เข้าเทอญ นิพพาน ปรหม์ สุข อนาคต กาเล

In CS 1285 (CE 1923), a *ruang sai* year, on the twelfth waxing-moon day of the tenth lunar month, on the third day of the week⁹², at noon, [the lay initiator,] Sao Hò Kaeo, along with her children, had the ardent [religious] faith and commissioned the manuscript [entitled] *Sòng sapphathan* to support the Buddhist religion to last until the end of five-thousand years. May [the merit of making the manuscript] take us to reach the three kinds of happiness with the ultimate enlightenment and fulfill all my wishes. *Nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukkaṃ anāgate kale* (*Nibbāna* is the ultimate happiness in the future)⁹³.

In addition to common wishes, sponsors also expected to have marvelous abilities in terms of audibility and visibility (หุทธิพย์ตาพิพย์), to be able to defeat opponents and be reincarnated as a Buddha in the future; for example, “May I have as clear audibility and visibility as divine senses (ขอให้ผู้ข้าหุลนตาแจ้งปองส่องใสดีเหมือนดังหุแก้วตาพิพย์นั้นเทอญ)⁹⁴,” or “May the results of the donation reward me the success in attaining the enlightenment and becoming a future Buddha (ขออานิสงส์ธรรมทานส่วนนี้ จงเป็นพลวะปัจจย ดลบันดาลให้ข้าพเจ้าได้สำเร็จซึ่งพระสัมมาสัมโพธิ

⁹² 1285 Bhadrapada 3 = Thursday, 13 September 1923. Remark: CS 1285 was a *ka khai* year.

⁹³ Source: DLLM, code: 06011406003-14, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1923.

⁹⁴ *Sòng hip* (Rewards derived from the donation of book chests), source: DLLM, code: 06018506015-05, The National Museum, Luang Prabang, CE 1873.

ญาณการตรัสเป็นพระโปรตบรรณสัตว์ในอนาคตกาลเบื้องหน้านั้นเทอญ) ⁹⁵ .” On the other hand, colophons from Northern Thailand show a larger diversity of beneficial desires: good appearance, wealth, wisdom, etc.

Having the purpose of meritorious dedication to passed-away relatives or family members, *anisonḅ* manuscripts were made before religious events of transferring merit to the dead which are traditionally held after the Buddhist Lent. Based on the belief among Thai and Lao Theravāda Buddhists, spirits are released once a year to the human world where their relatives are supposed to give food or goods to monasteries and have the offerings delivered to the dead. All kinds of merit are believed to be transferred to the spirits that cause some of them to survive the hells and move to the heavens; or cause others to be newly reborn as human beings. On the other hand, the spirits are disappointed and suffer if their relatives ignore merit dedication for them; they are inevitably destined to return to hell with nothing in their hands. An *anisonḅ* manuscript entitled *Anisonḅ khao pradap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival) from Lampang province in Northern Thailand clearly narrates the period in which spirits are released from the hells during the eleventh lunar month in search of dedicated food transferred by their human relatives. By this way, hungry spirits are directed to different destinations upon merit dedication from their human relatives. An arahant called Moggallāna who is praised for his great supernatural power travelled to the hells in the eleventh lunar month and witnessed all kinds of incidents of hungry spirits coming from there. The text states:

อันว่ามหาโมคคัลลานะเถระเจ้า ฐิตอกัม ยืนอยู่ดังนั้น ทิสวา ก็เล็งเห็นแล้วยังสัตว์นรกทั้งหลาย นิกขนเต อันออกไปโคจร ทวาสุสกะ เพื่อจักแสวงหาของกินแล เอกจุเณ อันว่าสัตว์นรกทั้งหลายนั้น บางพระองค์ก็แสวงหา สภิตวา ก็ไต่ยังของกินคือว่าข้าวและอาหาร ภูณณมติ ก็กิน สุมุกขา มีหน้าอันขึ้นบานแล้วแล กลับคืนมา [...] อันว่าสัตว์นรกทั้งหลายบางพระองค์ อรพณตา อันบ่ได้กินของกินสักหน่อย มีท้องอันเปล่ามีหน้าหมอมอยู่แล กรุญยกั ควรเอ็นดูกรุณามากนักแลกลับคืนมา ชิปปนตา อันจากนรกทั้งหลายฝูงนั้น นานากาเลน ด้วยประการต่างๆ สัมเวชชาโตหุตวา ก็ลวดมีใจสังเวชามากนักหนาแล กรุญตุตา เหตุว่าเอ็นดูกรุณายังสัตว์นรกทั้งหลายฝูงนั้นแล

The Venerable Maha Moggallāna. *Ṭhitokaṃ*. Is standing so. *Disvā*. [He] observes the hell vicious livings. *Nikkhante*. [Who] travel. *Dvāssakaṃ*. In search of food. *Ekacche*. Some of the hell livings look for [food]. *Labhitvā*. Get rice and [other] food. *Bhuñjhanti*. Eat. *Sumukkhā*. [And] return back [to the hell] with happy faces. [...] Some of the hell livings. *Arabbhantā*. Who fail to get any food and have empty stomach and sad face. *Karuṇekaṃ*. [The venerable monk Moggallāna] feels so sympathetic [for the livings] and leaves. *Khippantā*. From the hell. *Nānākālena*. For many reasons. *Samveghajātohutvā*. [He] feels dramatically sympathetic. *Karuṇattā*. Because of the pitiful livings.

Anisonḅ khao pradap din (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival)
Source: DELMN, code: 1212, Wat Lao Nòì, Lampang province, CE 1927

Hence, *anisonḅ* manuscripts written for the purpose of merit delivery to the dead are often commissioned in the late year or during the period of merit dedication events. The following

⁹⁵ *Anisonḅ thawai than thua pai* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), source: DLLM, code: 06011406005-23, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1971.

colophon is excerpted from a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Sòng pha sangkat lòng* (Rewards derived from merit-making on traditional New Year). The manuscript was written in CE 1847 in the eleventh lunar month (October) in dedication to passed-away family members: “May the merit [of copying the manuscript] support my parents, children and wife who have passed away to the otherworldly state (ขอให้ท่านสงฆ์ส่วนบุญอันนี้ ไปค้าชูพ่อแม่ลูกเมียแห่งข้าพเจ้าผู้ที่จติไปสู่ปรโลกภายหน้านั้นแต่ก็ข้าเทอญ) (*Sòng pha sangkat lòng* (Rewards from merit-making on traditional New Year), source: DLLM, code: 06011406004-09, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1847).”

The afterlife conditions of the dead recipients can also be improved by means of transfer of merit from living human relatives. Wishes or expectations of elevating otherworldly lives of spirits were thus frequently written in the colophons; no matter the current state of their lives, the donors wish them even better conditions. The manuscripts which include such colophons were therefore produced in that period. The following colophon is excerpted from an *anisong* manuscript made in CE 1935 and entitled *Sòng thung lek* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags). The belief in religious flags is widespread in Northern Thailand and also in Laos. The manuscript *Sòng thung lek* symbolizes elevated afterlife conditions thanks to the belief in iron flags. One can survive the hells by means of offering iron flags to monasteries at any festival during one’s lifetime, as the flags can prevent the person from falling down into the hells after death. Thus, funeral attendants sometimes place flags made of iron or brass of approximately 2 x 4 inches in size⁹⁶ on the head of a corpse lying down in the coffin, so that the spirit of the dead may flee from the hells. Accordingly, the manuscript stands in particular relation to the meritorious purpose of supporting the deceased relatives with peaceful conditions.

จุลศักราชได้ ๑๒๙๗ ตัว ปีรับได้ เดือน ๑๐ วัน ๒ รจนาแล้วยามกองงาย หมายถึงสาธุพ่อจันสุก มีใจใสศรัทธาสร้างหนังสือสองทงเหล็ก ๒ ผูก ทานไปหาลูกผู้ชื่อว่าสาวปาน อันจติตายไปสู่ปรโลกนั้น แม่นว่าตกที่ร้ายก็ดี แม่นว่าได้ไปเป็นเปรตผีอยู่ในนรก เป็นสัตว์เดรัจฉานก็ดี ขอให้กุศลนี้ไปค้าชู ขอให้พ้นจากทุกข์ แม่นว่าได้ถึงสุขแล้ว ขอให้เต็มแถมสมภารยิ่งกว่าเก่า หมิ่นเท่าแสนที่ จึงมีเที่ยงแท้ดีหลี ก็ข้าเทอญ นิจจํ นิพพานํ ปรมํ สุขํ

In CS 1297, a *hap khai* year, on the second day of the tenth [lunar] month⁹⁷, the writing was finished at the time of the morning drum. Sathu Phò Chansuk had the religious faith to sponsor the making of the two manuscript-fascicles [entitled] *Sòng thung lek* in dedication to his daughter Sao Pan who has already passed away to the otherworld. Regardless whether she has been caught into a state of suffering or whether she has gone to hell as a hungry ghost (*preta*) or [has been reborn] as an animal, I ask for this merit to support her. May she really escape from suffering. *Niccaṃ nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ*. (Continuously, Nibbāna as the highest stage of happiness). (*Sòng thung lek* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags) (Khamvone and Grabowsky 2017: 227). Source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0227, Vat Si Bun Hüang, Luang Prabang, CE 1935

⁹⁶ Various kinds of religious flags are used on several occasions. The flags are in different sizes and colours and can be made from several materials: paper, cloth, wood or metal. They are decorated with painting and sometimes coated with sand, soil or other materials.

⁹⁷ 1297 Bhadrpada 2 = Friday, 30 August 1935.

The following two *anisong* manuscripts bear the same title, *Anisong haksa sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance). They were, according to the colophons, written in the ninth and eleventh lunar months, August and October, for the purpose of dedicating the merit of copying books to the dead. The sponsors aimed at delivering the merit to spirits who perhaps acted sinfully in their lifetimes known as *cao kam nai wen* (เจ้ากรรมนายเวร); Apiradee and Grabowsky define the spirits as follows:

They can also be transferred to deceased people to whom the donor caused harm in the past and who may come back and torment the wrongdoer in the form of a ghost or curses (*chao kam nai wen* or *pho kam mae wen*, as in inscription UX 52). Transferring merit to such deceased persons is the only way left to the wrongdoer to try and calm their wrath (2014: 74).

The fear of the hells is reflected in the colophons mentioning the possibility of negative destinations. One can avoid reincarnation in the hells if making good *karma* during one's lifetime, at least by means of following the Five Precepts, as these are regarded as fundamental rules of being humans. Meritorious returns gained from commissioning *Anisong haksa sin* or rewards derived from observing the precepts were thus expected to enable spirits to avoid the hells. The first colophon excerpted from a palm-leaf manuscript was commissioned by a monk who dedicated the merit of copying the manuscript to his deceased sister.

พุทธศักราช ๒๔๙๔ ตัว ปิวรงเหมา เดือน ๙ ขึ้น ๕ ค่ำ วัน ๓ รจนาแล้วบ่าย ๓ โมง หมายมีสาทุพอสุก ได้สร้างหนังสืออานิสงส์รักษาศีลผู้นี้ไปหาสาวแก่น บ้านกาง ผู้เป็นน้องอันได้ตายไปสู่ปรโลกภายหน้า นั้น หลอนว่าได้ไปเกิดเป็นเปรตเป็นผี ตกอเวจีก็ดี ขอให้เทพเจ้าทั้งหลายนำเอาส่วนกุศลอันนี้ ไปรอดไปถึงมัน ให้มันได้พ้นทุกข์พ้นยาก ให้มันได้เมื่อเกิดสววรรค์นั้นก็ข้าเทอญ นิพพาน ปจจโย โหตุ

In BE 2494, a *huang mao* year, on the fifth waxing-moon day of the ninth [lunar] month, the third day of the week⁹⁸, the writing was finished at 3 o'clock [in the afternoon]. Sathu Phò Suk sponsored the making of this manuscript [entitled] *Anisong haksa sin* to support his younger sister, Sao Kaen of Ban Kang, who has already passed away and entered into the other world. Even if she were already born as a ghost or stuck into a hell, may Devas bring the result of this merit to reach her. May she escape from suffering and difficulty and be born in the heaven. *Nibbāna paccayo hotu.* (May this be a condition [for me] to reach Nibbāna. (*Anisong haksa sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance) (Khamvone and Grabowsky 2017: 389). Source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0428, Vat Si Bun Hüang, Luang Prabang, CE 1950.)

The second colophon is derived from a palm-leaf manuscript also sponsored by a monk who delivered the merit of copying the manuscript to the deceased family members and relatives.

พุทธศักราช ๒๔๘๙ ตัว ปิวรายเส็ด เดือน ๑๑ ขึ้น ๑๕ ค่ำ วันพฤหัสบดี รจนาแล้วยาม ๑ โมง หมายมีสุข ปัญญา มีใจเลื่อมใสยินดีได้สร้างหนังสืออานิสงส์รักษาศีลอุโบสถผู้นี้ ทานไปหาพ่อแม่ แม่เฒ่า พ่อเฒ่า ญาติพี่น้องวงศ์ญาติคน อันได้จุติจากมนุษย์โลกเมืองคนที่นี่แล้ว หลอนว่าได้ไปเกิดเป็นเปรตเป็นผีอยู่ในที่ใดที่หนึ่งก็ดี ขอให้เทพดาเจ้าทั้งหลาย จงนำเอากุศลส่วนบุญทั้งหลายผู้นี้ ไปรอดไปถึงเขาทั้งหลายผู้งั้น แล้วขอให้เมื่อเสวยทิพสมบัติในสววรรค์ชั้นฟ้านั้นก็ข้าเทอญ นิพพาน ปจจโย โหตุโน

⁹⁸ BE 2494 Sravana 5 = Tuesday, 7 August 1951.

In BE 2489, a *hwai set* year, on the fifteenth waxing-moon day of the eleventh [lunar] month, a Thursday⁹⁹, the writing was finished at one o'clock. [Bhikkhu] Sukhapannya had the religious faith to sponsor the making of this manuscript [entitled] *Anisong haksa sin uposot* (the profit of observing the *uposatha* precepts) in dedication to his parents, grandmother, grandfather, whole relatives, who have already passed away from this human world. Even if they were born as spirits and ghosts and stayed in any places, may I ask the deities to bring this merit to them all. May they obtain the celestial property in the heaven. *Nibbāna paccayo hotu no* (May this be a condition for us to reach Nibbāna). (*Anisong haksa sin ubosot* (Rewards derived from the Uposatha precept observance) (Khamvone and Grabowsky 2017: 395). Source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0435, Vat Si Bun Büang, Luang Prabang, CE 1946.)

Sometimes sponsors definitely indicated specific monasteries in which the dedicated manuscripts were intended to be kept. *Anisong* manuscripts indicated with the repository to which they were donated in the colophons are, for obligatory or accidental reasons, normally kept at the original temples. In Theravāda Buddhism, gift-giving is normally not restricted to certain recipients; alms-goods can basically be consumed by monastic members or even at other temples. Manuscripts made for being donated to certain monasteries were certainly commissioned by high-ranking monks residing at the monasteries; they were thus considered as textbooks used among *Sangha* members at a certain temple, like a university professor who authors curricular books for his or her institute, as is explained by Bounleuth as follows:

Since ancient times Lao Buddhists believe that any monastery which stores a large number of manuscripts in its repository (*hò trai* or *hò tham*) is recognized as a centre for education. Such a monastery attracts monks and novices from other monasteries to come to study here (2015: 253).

As a result, *anisong* manuscripts clearly written for the purpose of being donated to specific temples are kept at the original repository nowadays. The following examples are excerpted from two palm-leaf manuscripts: *Salòng khao phan kòn*¹⁰⁰ (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls) and *Anisong sang hong phayaban hong mò*¹⁰¹ (Rewards derived from the construction of hospitals). The colophons clearly explain that the manuscripts were commissioned by a high-ranking venerable monk, each thus being supposed to be stored at the actual temple. Concerning the commissioning intentions, especially the first example, the manuscript entitled *Salòng khao phan kòn* below was reproduced from the original version inscribed in CE 1981 by the Venerable Sathu Nyai Khamchan Virachitta Mahathela. The scribe copied the *anisong* text and kept the manuscript at Vat Saen Sukharam where the venerable monk lived.

⁹⁹ BE 2489 Asvina 15 = Thursday, 10 October 1946.

¹⁰⁰ The manuscript is coded BAD-13-1-0685 and was sponsored by Sathu Nyai Khamchan Virachitta Mahathela in CE 1982. It is nowadays kept at Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang.

¹⁰¹ The manuscript is coded 06011406004-07 and was commissioned by the Supreme Patriarch and Pha Wandī in CE 1962. It is nowadays kept at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang.

เทศน์สวดข้าวพันก้อนนี้ แม่นสาทุใหญ่คำจั้น วิระจิตตะมหาเถระ วัดแสนสุขาราม เป็นผู้เขียนไว้ ในมื่อวันจันทร์ แรม ๕ ค่ำ เดือน ๓ พ.ศ. ๒๕๒๔ กงกับวันที่ ๑๕ กุมภาพันธ์ ๑๙๘๒ สำหรับเป็นสมบัติของวัดแสนสุขาราม หลวงพระบาง

The liturgical manuscript *Salòng khao phan kòn* was written by Sathu Nyai Khamchan Virachitta Mahathela in BE 2524, on the fifth waning-moon day of the third [lunar] month, on a Monday, corresponding to 15 February 1982, with the purpose that it becomes the property (*sombat*) of Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang.

ศักราชได้ ๒๕๐๕ หมายมีศรีรัตนสมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมหมื่นเจ้าฟ้าทิพย์เบญจา กรมหมื่นนครสวรรค์ศักดิพินิต ใ้ศาสนาพระสมณโคดมเจ้า ครอบครองเสนาสนสถานอันนาน ขอให้ข้าพเจ้าทั้งสองนี้ ได้ตั้งมโนรถคำปรารภนาชูประการแด่เทอญ นิพพาน ปจฺจโย โหตุ เม อนาคต กาลे นิจจํ นิจจํ เอวํ โหตุ สาทุ สาทุ สาทุ ของวัดใหม่สุวรรณภูมารามเนือ

In BE 2505 (CE 1962) the initiator, the Supreme Patriarch, along with Pha Wandī Phakhom, commissioned the manuscript in eternal dedication to the religion of Lord Buddha Gotama. May the wishes of both of us be fulfilled. *Nibbāna paccayo hotu me anāgate kāle niccaṃ niccaṃ evaṃ hotu sādhu sādhu sādhu* (May this be a condition for me to reach *nibbāna*, continuously and forever in the future). [The manuscript] belongs to Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram.

In relation with monastic education materials, one extant *anisonṅ* manuscript coded 06011406019-01 contains four different texts: *Sòng hom*¹⁰², *Sòng hotsong phacao*¹⁰³, *Sòng tuliya nonti*¹⁰⁴ and *Sòng pham*¹⁰⁵. The sponsor, Thit Chòm or ex-monk Chòm, obviously intended to serve monk learners with his manuscript. He accordingly copied four texts from Buddha's Teachings, so that they could serve as prototype inscribing exercises in Tham script classes for monk students. The manuscript was made in CE 1833 and is now kept at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram. The colophon does not show any intended temple, thus being dedicated to 'the Buddhist religion' rather than 'a certain temple', which was the most widespread intention. The following is excerpted from the colophon in the manuscript. The manuscript commission of the manuscript was finished in the eighth lunar month, corresponding to July, very soon before the Buddhist Lent period. It can be argued that the manuscript was produced for the academic purpose of monastic supplementary provision since monks and novices spent the three-month period at a certain temple on learning or assisting senior monks. Nevertheless, the primary intention of writing religious manuscripts still remains in the colophon; the sponsor expected the meritorious outcomes rewarded from his manuscript commission.

ศักราชได้ ๑๑๙๕ ตัว ปกติกาไส้ เดือน ๘ ขึ้น ๒ ค่ำ พร้าว่าไ้วัน ๓ มื่อรวงมต รจนาล้ำวยามกองงาย ทิดจอมมีปสาทะศรีธา มีใจเลื่อมใสในวรพุทธศาสนาอันยิ่ง จึงชวนหาหาไ้ยังลาน จึงมาชิตเขียนรับรอง ต้องเอายังคำสอนพระพุทธเจ้ามีชื่อว่าล้าสรรพสองนี้ ไ้กับวรพุทธศาสนา ให้พระสงฆ์เจ้าแลสามเณรทั้งหลายได้สวดเรียนเขียนอ่านเข้าใจจดจำสืบๆ เมื่อภายหลัง

In CS 1195 (CE 1833), a *ka sai* year, on the second waxing-moon day of the eighth lunar month, on the third day of the week, a *ruang mot* day, [the initiator,] Thit Còm, had the

¹⁰² Rewards derived from the donation of umbrellas.

¹⁰³ Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies.

¹⁰⁴ Rewards derived from the donation of musical instrument.

¹⁰⁵ Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions.

most ardent religious faith, thereby gathering palm leaves to be inscribed with the Teachings of the Buddha entitled *Lam sappa sòng* and dedicating the manuscript to Buddhism for the purpose of providing religious textbooks for monks and novices to learn and remember.

In many cases, *anisong* manuscripts were accompanied with other (non-)*anisong* manuscripts in the context of one dedication. Despite being included with non-*anisong* manuscripts, the whole bundle is regarded as a multiple-text manuscript because they were produced and combined as one dedication unit; it seems that this case can merely be found in Lao manuscript culture. A palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Sòng bangsukun* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes), coded 06018506010-06 and kept at the National Museum in Luang Prabang, was written in CE 1854 and dedicated to an unknown temple together with four other *anisong* manuscripts: *Sòng sangkhan* (Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year), *Sòng cedi sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas), *Sòng thung sai* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags coated with sand) and *Sòng dòkmai* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers). The four accompanying manuscripts are now lost; the following colophon excerpted from the manuscript shows the evidence:

ลิขิตแล้วยามตุดซ้ายแล มี(หนังสือสอง ๒ สังขาน ๑ สองพระเจดีย์ทราย ๑ สองทุ่งชาย ๑ สองดอกไม้ ๑ แล

[The manuscript] was finished during afternoon (*tut sai*, 12:00–13:30 o'clock) [and] comprises *Sòng* manuscripts: one manuscript of *Sòng sangkhan*, one manuscript of *Sòng pha cedi sai*, one manuscript of *Sòng thung sai* and one manuscript of *Sòng dòk mai*. (*Sòng Bangsukun* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes), source: DLLM, code: 06018506010-06, the National Museum, Luang Prabang, CE 1854.)

Anisong manuscripts were sometimes dedicated by commissioning sponsors in expectation of having bad *karma* forgiven. The merit was intended to be transferred to all living creatures negatively treated by the sponsors or *Cao Kam Nai Wen* (เจ้ากรรมนายเวร), as recently explained. The colophons also show redemptive wishes and are always followed by the expected protective merit against dangers and vicious agents. In some cases, the colophons declare particular sinful deeds which, as can be to some extent conjectured, had actually been done by the sponsors (*Sòng khamphi* or ‘Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon’ code: 06018506013-03, sponsored by a couple named Phò Nangkaeo and Mae Nangkaeo and their family in CE 1908). The family offered the manuscript that explains the merit rewarded by copying the Buddhist canon because they looked forward to receiving the merit themselves. No para-textual or extant evidence shows whether the family dedicated another copied manuscript of the Buddhist canon. In this case, the manuscript was dedicated to ‘congratulate’ (อนุโมทนา) others who commissioned the copying of the Buddhist canon; preaching monks can then read the given manuscript on occasions of blessing donors of upcoming Buddhist canon dedications. The canon or Dhamma is considered the core of Buddhism or the ultimate Teachings given by Lord Buddha which all Buddhists are supposed to follow; copying the Buddhist canon is thus believed to be greatly paid off with considerable meritorious rewards. Such merit-transferring dedications of *anisong* manuscripts to badly-

treated persons were sometimes accompanied by additional alms-giving in expectation of a successful delivery to every recipient. A palm-leaf manuscript titled *Sòng that pha sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas) was once offered in CE 1937 to a monastery with a ritual-related manuscript *Sòng sappha thung* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags) and other alms; the two manuscripts could be read on occasions of traditional New Year festivals. The donor transferred the merit of alms-giving to all recipients and looked forward to being safe, happy, healthy and living a long life. The following is excerpted from its colophon. The accompanying manuscript, *Sòng sappha thung*, however, is now lost.

จุลศักราช ๑๒๙๙ ตัว ปีเต่าสะง่า เดือนยี่ ขึ้น ๑๕ ค่ำ วัน ๕ ยามเที่ยงวัน หมายมีบาหนุจัน ลูกนางหนู
สร้างหนังสือสองธาตุดินทรายกับสองสรรพทงสองผูกนี้ ทานไปให้รอดให้ถึงยังพ่อกรรมแม่เวรพ่อเก่าแม่
หลังทั้ง ๒ คนนี้ ให้ได้รับเอาการกุศลอันผู้ข้าชื่อว่าบาหนุจันลูกนางหนูนี้ ได้ปะได้พึงใจ บัดนี้ผู้ข้าก็ขอมมา
แก้มาไขมาบูชาทานไว้กับพระศาสนา แผลเผื่อไปรอดไปถึงเจ้าชื่อว่าพ่อกรรมแม่เวรนั้น จักมารับเอาแด
เทอญ มีหนังสือ ๒ ผูก พระรูปพระเจ้า คู่หนึ่งมีทงเหล็ก คู่หนึ่งมีทงทราย คู่หนึ่งมีพานข้าวทิพย์ ๒ พาน
ทานไปให้พ่อกรรมแม่เวรคือว่าพ่อเก่าแม่หลังนั้นแล้ว ขอให้พ่อกรรมแม่เวรเจ้าทุกทั้ง ๒ จงมารับเอาของ
อันผู้ข้าได้ปะได้เพื่อไว้นี้แก้ข้าเทอญ

In CS 1299 (CE 1937), a *tao sang* year, on the fifteenth waxing-moon day of the second lunar month, the fifth day of the week¹⁰⁶, at noon, Ba Nuchan, a son of Nang (Mrs.) Nu, commissioned the making of the manuscripts [entitled] *Sòng that din sai* and *Sòng sappha thung* in merit dedication to *phò kam mae wen*¹⁰⁷ and previous parents (*phò kao mae lang*). May the recipients gain the merit gladly done by me, Ba Nuchan, a son of Nang Nu. Here I correct [the bad karma], dedicate the gift [of the manuscript] to Buddhism and transfer [the merit] to all relevant spirits. May all the recipients receive [the merit]. The dedication comprises two manuscripts, one Buddha image, a pair of religious iron flags, a pair of paper flags and a pair of rice trays in the merit dedication to the recipients. Please all recipients receive the donated alms. (*Sòng that pha sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas), source: DLLM, code: 06011406005-16, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1937.)

Like those from Northern Thailand, a number of *anisong* manuscripts from Laos, which resulted from linguistic difficulties or literary limitations according to the colophons, were evidently rewritten from the original versions. The manuscripts were often translated and reproduced from an original written in Thai language and script for liturgical purposes. The popular custom that Lao monks studied Buddhism in different countries, which commonly occurred in this period, resulted in religious book translations. McDaniel explains that “[d]uring this period, many members of the Lao Sangha travelled abroad to study or to meet with high-ranking government and religious figures in India, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Cambodia. [...] A few Lao translations of Thai Buddhist texts emerged in this period as well, like Leuam Thamxot’s translation of Phra Sutthithamrangsi Khamphiramethachan’s *Dhammababyai bang suan*” (2008: 55–56). The particular intention is, for example, shown in

¹⁰⁶ 1299 Pausa 15 = Saturday, 16 January 1938. However, CS 1299 was a *moeng pao* year.

¹⁰⁷ Khamvone and Grabowsky (2017: 229) define *phò kam mae wen* as “deceased persons to whom the donor caused harm in the past and who can come back and torment the wrongdoer in the form of ghosts or maledictions”.

a manuscript titled *Sòng anisong bun thi dai than pai ha phu tai* (Rewards derived from merit dedication to the dead). It was commissioned in CE 1980 by the abbot of Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram named Sathu Nyai Somdi and written by a monk-scribe named Phan Phon Pi Bun Thepphaaksòn, because the original version was inscribed in Thai language and scripts. Sponsor and scribe reproduced the manuscript for liturgical and meritorious purposes as is shown in the excerpted colophon below. Perhaps this *anisong* text was often read for giving sermons both at funerals and for merit-transferring to the dead, thus, in response to the frequent use, being rewritten in Lao language and scripts so it could be more easily read by native Lao preachers.

พระพุทธศักราช ๒๕๒๓ ปีสัณวอก เดือน ๔ ขึ้น ๗ ค่ำ วันพฤหัสบดี ยามเที่ยง หมายถึงข้าพเจ้าทั้ง ๒ คือ ๑ สาธุใหญ่สมมติ เจ้าอธิการวัดใหม่ มีศรัทธาออกไปลาน ๒ ได้มอบให้เจ้าภิกขุพันธ์ผลพิบูลย์เทพอักษร เป็นศรัทธาตทนเขียนแปลออกเป็นตัวอักษรธรรม เพื่อเทศนาให้ประชาชนผู้ได้เข้าใจดีเป็นความลาวเรานั้น ให้แจ้งรู้บาปบุญคุณโทษหนักเบา นั้น มูลเดิมตั้งเป็นตัวอักษรไทย เค้าความไทย ย่านผู้ฟังนั้นบ่เข้าใจดี ฉะนั้นจึงได้เขียนแปลออกเป็นอักษรธรรมเทศนาให้ประชาชนผู้ได้เข้าใจดีนั้น ขอบุญกุศลจงค้าชูแก่ตัวข้าพเจ้าทั้ง ๒ ได้ตั้งคำมั่งและความปรารถนานั้นทุกประการเทอญ นิพพาน ปัจจโย โหนตุ อนาคตกาล สาธุๆ

In BE 2523 (CE 1980), a *san wòk* year, on the seventh waxing-moon day of the fourth lunar month, on Thursday, at noon, we are (1) Sathu Nyai Somdi, an abbot of Vat Mai who provided and offered palm leaves to have (2) Phikkhu (monk) Phan Phon Phi Bun Theppaaksòn translate [the original text] and inscribe [the new text] in the Tham script with effort, for the purpose of homiletic uses in Lao language for laypeople; so that Lao audience could realize good and bad karma. The original version was written in Thai script and in Thai language. [We, the commissioners,] were worried about [the original version] preventing Lao people from understanding; as a result, [we] reproduced it in the Tham script for liturgical benefits. May [the merit of the manuscript commission] support both of us and fulfill all our wishes. *Nibbāna paccayo hontu anāgate kāle sādhu sādhu* (May this be a condition to reach *nibbāna* in the future). (*Sòng anisong bun thi dai than pai ha phu tai* (Rewards derived from merit-dedication to the dead), source: DLLM, code: 06011406006-04, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1980.)

The monk scribe Phan Phon Pi Bun Thepphaaksòn appears to be mentioned again in another *anisong* manuscript titled *Anisong mongkhonlasut* (Rewards derived from following the thirty-eight morality rules, source: DLLM, code: 06011406013-16) and written in CE 1974, six years before the aforementioned manuscript. The manuscript has three relevant texts pertaining to the thirty-eight rules of morality included with meritorious rewards gained from the proper laity rules.

3.7 Conclusion

Compared to those from Northern Thailand, *anisong* manuscripts (as objects) from Laos are commonly composed with the popular Tham script and the available materials of writing supports and writing tools, reflecting the common consideration of the *anisong* manuscript ‘value’ as religious texts that were likely to be written with the specific Tham script, and the

merit of copying *anison* manuscripts could also be dedicated to the dead. In this regard, manuscripts were frequently completed at the end of lunar years, corresponding to various religious rituals of meritorious dedication to the dead; manuscript sponsors and scribes could therefore transfer the merit of *anison* manuscript production to their deceased family members, relatives and others. In addition, the late year was the end of the Buddhist Lent in which monks and novices held their specific tasks or mostly learnt the Buddhist canon (Tipitaka) at a certain monastery; a large number of *anison* manuscripts served the learning monks as educational supplementary material which is frequently found in Northern Thailand. *Anison* manuscripts were thus produced for two purposes – as a dedication object and as an educational supplement.

When comparing *anison* manuscripts from Laos with those from Northern Thailand, the diversity of writing supports and codicological layouts can be seen as the most distinct feature in Laos. Mulberry paper was provided with a larger variety of surfaces. Industrial paper and mulberry paper were shaped into concertina-like or oblong-shaped manuscripts, resembling the Pothi format of traditional palm-leaf manuscripts, while the paper was cut into moderately-sized sheets and simply bound on the top margin called whirlwind binding in the case of *anison* manuscripts from Northern Thailand. In contrast, the traditional format or shape of palm-leaf was preferred in Laos.

The names of scribes are often omitted compared to sponsors' names, which are, as a compensation for being prevented from monkhood status, outnumbered by female sponsors who were principal initiators along with their family members and relatives, revealing open manuscript donations enabled for both genders. In the case of Northern Thailand, male sponsors, especially monks, are usually mentioned in *anison* manuscripts; most of them inscribed the manuscripts themselves. Even the manuscripts sponsored by laypeople and written by monks or novices were identified with the scribes' names as a result of high veneration towards the monkhood status; in contrast, ex-monk scribes in Laos were commonly dispersed in the society due to the tradition of being ordained for benefits of education. As a result, wishes described in the colophons of *anison* manuscripts from various places in Northern Thailand are more diverse than those from Laos (mostly from Luang Prabang) because sometimes the sponsors were also the scribes; they could therefore explain their wishes by themselves. On the other hand, the dominant sponsors of *anison* manuscripts from Laos were females and, of course, illiterate in the Tham script; they could not freely write their wishes on their own, thereby depending on their scribes.

Anison manuscripts did sometimes not have purely religious intentions but secularized purposes. Sponsors or scribes copied various *anison* texts in the manuscripts as 'monastic collections' of *anison* texts for further sermons or 'historical records' of special events. The manuscripts were thus contributed for different uses, not necessarily for liturgical texts in rituals. The transformation of manuscript production and usage was also primarily caused by the political revolution and printing technology. With the idealism of social equality, the communist party influenced on Buddhism including manuscript productions thereby resulted

in the decrease in commissioning *anisong* manuscripts. Later, the manuscript production became more frequent from the benefits of the advent of modern printing technology.

The French colonization considerably influenced the manuscript repositories at different monasteries in big cities like Luang Prabang and Vientiane. In addition to *anisong* manuscript circulations among local communities, a large number of palm-leaf manuscripts were moved from their affiliated temples to another temple during a French survey of palm-leaf manuscripts during 1900–1953. The circulation of manuscripts was not considerably changed by the French intervention, as the manuscript movement occurred within the same cities, but the movement caused ‘new collections’ of *anisong* manuscript-bundles in which different fascicles made from different production units were newly combined. Thus, new combinations of *anisong* manuscripts are found more frequently in Laos than in Northern Thailand. Besides, villages’ names are frequently mentioned in the manuscripts from Luang Prabang – the ancient religious city – to show the community pride and to pay homage to their local monasteries. As is illustrated in the colophons, *anisong* manuscripts expose a closer association with laypeople in their respective locality.

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Chapter 4

Relationship between *Anisong* Manuscripts and Rituals:

(1) Textual and Ritual Categories and Codicological Units

As has been mentioned in the previous chapters, *anisong* manuscripts are kept in three different types of units: single-text manuscripts, multiple-text manuscripts and composite manuscripts, each of which is kept in bundles (Th: *mat* มัด) containing one or several fascicles (Th: *phuk* ผูก). Single-text manuscripts contain one text in a unit and multiple-text manuscripts several texts, while composite manuscripts contain several fascicles which were originally commissioned at different times by different scribes but later combined for different purposes in a bundle. Still, fascicles combined in a composite manuscript can contain either a single text or multiple texts. Manuscript bundles can be composed of one fascicle or of several fascicles; *anisong* manuscripts can therefore be dealt with in terms of two codicological units: bundle and fascicle. In Northern Thailand, *anisong* manuscripts are kept in 207 bundles comprising a total of 339 fascicles; in Laos, *anisong* manuscripts are kept in 143 bundles comprising a total of 366 fascicles. In this chapter the manuscripts will be comprehensively dealt with as codicological units in order to see the original intentions of each manuscript-fascicle in relation to its usage in rituals. Firstly, however, *anisong* will be studied in terms of textual categorization.

4.1 Textual and Ritual Categories

As previously explained in Chapters Two and Three, the extant *anisong* manuscripts in the research corpora are counted and divided by bundle (*mat*) and fascicle (*phuk*). Because the research applies the methodology of Manuscript Culture Studies, *anisong* texts are worth being studied and explained because their textual contents provide a key to understanding several kinds of rituals for which *anisong* texts were required to be written for serving preaching purposes. Material and codicological analyses pay less attention to ‘texts’, thus causing the omission of some liturgical texts that particularly served as sermons, since a number of manuscripts contain multiple-text manuscripts (MTM) which were inscribed in relation to certain preaching rituals. Sometimes the textual selection was definitely associated with ritual usage when scribes or sponsors devised specific texts to be written as a manuscript, on the ground of certain sermon occasions; this issue will be further explained later in this chapter. The textual analysis is thus not to be overlooked. As the evidence of textual titles in the extant single-text manuscripts, multiple-text manuscripts and composite manuscripts shows, *anisong* can be divided into eighty-two liturgical texts, with several copies each, in accordance with eighty-two different sermons on particular occasions. *Anisong* sermons were provided by *anisong* texts containing different titles but referring to the same or similar liturgical ritual themes; namely, the texts were designated with different titles but contain

similar texts to be given as a sermon on the same occasion. A number of *anisong* sermons originated in one specific region, reflecting the presence/absence of certain meritorious deeds or of the popularity of *anisong* sermons that praise specific meritorious deeds.

Arranged by ritual categorizations, the following tables show *anisong* sermons provided by *anisong* texts in the extant manuscripts. Titles with square brackets [...] represent variant titles. The highest number of *anisong* texts was written to serve gift-giving (donation) rituals, forty-five texts in total. The second largest group of *anisong* texts was made for calendrical rituals, comprising twenty-three texts. The smallest numbers of *anisong* texts were required for miscellaneous and rite of passage rituals, nine and five, respectively. The explanation below will consider each ritual type and all rituals are continuously ordered; thus, we can see all eighty-two rituals of *anisong* sermons in the following four tables. Concerning the titles, the genre terms *anisong*, *salòng* and *sòng* were employed in both regions to mark the textual genre; only a few texts do not include the typical initials in the titles. Those from Northern Thailand, however, bare mostly the genre title *anisong*, while those from Laos were often initiated with *sòng* or *salòng*. In addition, those from the Tai Lü inhabited areas of Müang Sing and Luang Namtha in Laos have titles preceded with *tham anisong*; *tham* (Dhamma) basically classifies them as religious books.

4.1.1 Calendrical Rituals

Northern Thailand and Laos have monthly religious and secular ceremonies throughout the year which are known as *hit sipsòng* (ฮีตสิบสอง, 12-month customs), indicated by the traditional lunar month calendar, representing several ceremonies held in each month of the agricultural year. A large number of the extant *anisong* manuscripts were commissioned in response to the traditional religious events in which *anisong* sermons were given by preaching monks as part of ceremonies. However, the extant manuscripts serve the 12-month yearly events differently in the two regions; namely, some occasions in Laos, for example, are not provided with *anisong* manuscripts while they are provided in Northern Thailand. The following table (Table 4.1) in 4.1.1.1 shows calendrical events for which *anisong* manuscripts were written; in order to avoid confusion caused by different ways of Northern Thai and Lao traditional calendars, the events are chronologically ordered by the modern international calendar in which every year normally starts in January.

4.1.1.1 *Anisong* texts

Concerning calendrical rituals, the sermons are chronologically organized by mostly Buddhist ceremonies. In the following table, titles aligned on the right side marked with an asterisk in the title boxes are not typically preceded by *anisong*, *sòng* or *salòng*, but are titled according to the festival titles, Jātaka stories or others. According to the table below, twenty-three *anisong* sermons are accompanied by *anisong* manuscripts. All the sermons are given within

seventeen calendrical ceremonies¹; some ceremonies thus include more than one *anison* sermon. According to all twenty-three *anison* sermons, they can be divided into seventeen common rituals and six regional rituals, as being marked by (CR) (=common ritual) and (RR) (=regional ritual) next to the titles of each *anison* sermon in the table. Four of the common rituals were provided with *anison* manuscripts only in one region but not in the other, thus being marked in the table as ‘undiscovered’². Three regional Northern Thai ceremonies are *Tan lua hing fai* (Firewood gathering to warm Buddha images in winter), *Ap that/Wai phra that* (Bathing/Worshipping pagodas) and *Lòi prathip/ Lòi krathong* (Flying lantern balloons/Floating banana-leaf vessels); three regional Lao ceremonies are *Lai riia fai* (Floating light castles), *Bun that luang* (Merit-making in celebration of the pagoda) and *Hae prasat phüing* (Parades of beeswax castles). The origin of the three *anison* sermons pertaining to rewards derived from the donation of firewood, rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival and rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls is still unclear, i.e., whether it emerged in Laos (or northeastern regions in present-day Thailand) or Northern Thailand; but extant *anison* manuscripts containing the liturgical texts for the three rituals are also found in both regions.

<i>Anison</i> sermons ³		Calendrical Ritual	
		<i>Anison</i> titles	
		Northern Thailand	Laos
January		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anison than kòng fai</i> • <i>Anison lua lae fai pen than</i> • <i>Anison fai lae lua</i> <li style="padding-left: 2em;">*<i>Kòng lua anison</i> <li style="padding-left: 2em;">*<i>Than lua</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sòng fai fùn than</i> • <i>Sòng hai than fai</i>
1	Rewards derived from the donation of firewoods (RR)		

¹ *Tan lua hing fai* (दानหลวงหิงไฟ, Firewood gathering to warm Buddha images in winter), *Makha bucha* (มาฆบูชา, Merit-making in the Makha month), *Pòi khao sang* (ปล่อยข้าวสังข์, Merit-making in meritorious dedication to the dead), New Year (ปีใหม่, Traditional New Year in mid-April), *Ap that/Wai phra that* (อาบธาตุ/ไหว้พระธาตุ, Bathing/Worshipping pagodas), *Wisakha bucha* (วิสาขบูชา, Merit-making in the Wisakha month), *Asanha bucha* (อาสาฬหบูชา, Merit-making in the Asanha month), *Khao phansa* (เข้าพรรษา, Buddhist Lent period), *Khao pradap din* (ข้าวประดับดิน, Placing food in a container outdoor on the ground in meritorious dedication to the dead), *Khao salak* (ข้าวสาลก, Donating items to monasteries in meritorious dedication to the dead), *Kathin* (กฐิน, Merit-making after the Buddhist Lent period), *Lai riia fai* (ไหลเรือไฟ, Parading light floating castles on the river), *Lòi krathong* or *Lòi prathip* (ลอยกระทง, ลอยประทีป, Flying lantern balloons up to the sky or floating small banana-leaf vessels on the river), *Bun that luang* (บุญธาตุหลวง, Merit-making in veneration to the great pagoda in Vientiane), *Hae prasat phüing* (แห่ปราสาทผึ้ง, Floating beeswax castles), *Bun mahachat* (บุญมหาชาติ, Listening to Vessantara Jātaka) and *Bun khao kam* (บุญเข้ากรรม, Monastic confinement for misbehaved monks).

² (1) Rewards derived from the participation in the *Makha bucha* festival, (2) Rewards derived from the donation of tree poles, (3) Rewards derived from the participation in the *Asanha bucha* festival and (4) Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food or construction of pavilions for the Buddhist Infringement Penalty.

³ The ceremonies are chronologically ordered by the modern calendar in accordance with Northern Thai traditional events.

Calendrical Ritual			
<i>Anisong sermons</i> ³		<i>Anisong titles</i>	
		Northern Thailand	Laos
2	Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice ⁴ (CR)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong than khao ci</i> • <i>Anisong khao ci khao lam</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong thawai khao ci</i> • <i>Sòng khao ci</i>
<i>February</i>			
3	Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Makha bucha</i> festival (CR)	(undiscovered)	<i>Anisong makha bucha</i>
<i>March</i>			
4	Rewards derived from the donation of food to the dead ⁵ (CR)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sòng khao pacha</i> • <i>*Than khao sang</i> 	<i>Tham anisong setthi song khao</i>
<i>April</i>			
5	Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year ceremonies (CR)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong pi mai</i> • <i>Anisong pi mai [sakkat]</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sòng sangkhan</i> • <i>Sòng pha sangkat lòng</i>
6	Rewards derived from building sand stupas (CR)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong [kò] cedi sai</i> • <i>Anisong that sai</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong kò pha cedi sai</i> • <i>Sòng/salòng [pha] cedi sai</i> • <i>Sòng [that] pha sai</i>
7	Rewards derived from the donation of tree poles (CR)	(undiscovered)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Salòng kò thaen pha si maha pho</i>
<i>May-June</i>			
8	Rewards derived from bathing/worshipping pagodas (RR)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong ap that [lae phra cao]</i> • <i>Anisong ao ruang khao ma paeng sat than</i> • <i>Anisong chai thuk rai bucha prathip cedi</i> • <i>Anisong an dai ao nam ao sai ma sai khuang cedi mai si lae wat wa aram</i> 	<i>Sòng song that</i>
9	Rewards derived from the participation in the	<i>Anisong nang suchada than khao mathupayat</i>	<i>Anisong wisakha bucha</i>

⁴ In Northern Thailand the donation of *khao ci* rice and the *Makha bucha* festival are held separately in different months, while in Laos the two events are combined as one within the *Makha bucha* festival. The ceremony is held during December and January in Northern Thailand, but held in February before the *Makha bucha* festival in Laos.

⁵ In Laos the event is known as *Bun caek khao* (บุญแจกข้าว) and popularly held in March.

Calendrical Ritual			
<i>Anisong sermons</i> ³		<i>Anisong titles</i>	
		Northern Thailand	Laos
	<i>Wisakha bucha</i> festival (CR)		
<i>July</i>			
10	Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Asanha bucha</i> festival (CR)	<i>Anisong thammacak kappawattana sut</i>	(undiscovered)
11	Rewards derived from merit-making on the Buddhist Lent (CR)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong khao watsa</i> • <i>Anisong [nimon] phra cao khao phansa</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong khao phansa</i> • <i>Anisong salòng òk phansa</i> • <i>Sòng khao watsa</i>
12	Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season (CR)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong nang hù pha ap nam pen than</i> • <i>Anisong pha watsa</i> • <i>Anisong pha ap nam fon</i> • <i>Anisong than pha ap nam</i> • <i>Anisong thawai pha cam watsa</i> • <i>Sòng/Salòng pha [ap] nam fon</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong pha camnam phansa</i> • <i>Sòng pha [ap] nam fon</i> • <i>Sòng pha nam fon lae pha camnam phansa</i>
<i>August</i>			
13	Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival (CR)	<i>Anisong khao pradap din [kaeo thang sam]</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong khao padap din sai bat</i> • <i>Sòng khao [pa]dap din</i>
<i>September</i>			
14	Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao salak</i> festival (CR)	<i>Anisong [khao] salak [phat]</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong khao salak</i> • <i>Sòng khao sak/salak [phat]</i> • <i>Salòng khao salak sai bat</i>
<i>October-November</i>			
15	Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Kathin</i> festival (CR)	<i>Anisong [than pha/thòt] kathin</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong thawai kathin</i> • <i>Sòng/Salòng [maha] kathin</i> • <i>Sòng kathinathan</i>
16	Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes during the <i>Kathin</i> period (CR)	<i>Anisong pha kathin</i>	<i>Anisong pha kathin</i>

Calendrical Ritual			
<i>Anisong sermons</i> ³		<i>Anisong titles</i>	
		Northern Thailand	Laos
17	Rewards derived from floating light castles (RR)	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong hũa fai</i> • <i>Sòng pathip [hũa fai]</i>
18	Rewards derived from flying lantern balloons or floating banana-leaf vessels (RR)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong [tam] prathip [bucha]</i> • <i>Anisong co tam prathip nam man</i> <p><i>*Duang prathip kaeo</i></p>	-
19	Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Bun that luang</i> festival (RR)	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sòng cedi</i> • <i>Sòng pha that</i> • <i>Sòng sang hòm that</i>
20	Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles (RR)	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong than phasat phüing</i> • <i>Sòng phasat phüing</i>
21	Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka ⁶ (CR)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong mahachat</i> • <i>Anisong [maha] wetsantara</i> • <i>Anisong [maha] wetsandòn</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sòng maha wetsandòn chadok</i> • <i>Sòng phawet</i> • <i>Sòng mahawet</i> • <i>Tham anisong maha wetsantara chadok</i>
22	Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls (CR)	<i>Anisong [than] khao phan kòn</i>	<i>Sòng/Salòng khao phan kòn</i>
<i>December</i>			
23	Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food or construction of pavilions for the Buddhist Infringement Penalty (CR)	(undiscovered)	<i>Sòng [khao/tup] kam</i>

Table 4.1: *Anisong sermons* and *anisong* texts in calendrical rituals

⁶ The ceremony is held in November in Northern Thailand together with the event of floating banana-leaf vessels, but is held in February to March in Laos.

Despite their origin in Laos and northeastern Thailand, the texts of *Anisong khao pradap din* were also circulating in Northern Thailand but in even smaller numbers than in Laos. The festival is popularly held in Laos and northeastern Thailand on the fourteenth waning-moon day of the ninth lunar month, corresponding to August. There is no evidence showing where the festival was first held. The earliest *Anisong khao pradap din* manuscripts found in the two regions, however, date back to different years. The earliest one from Laos was written one-hundred years before the earliest one from Northern Thailand: *Sòng khao padap din* (source: DLLM, code: 06011406014-05, CE 1793) from Luang Prabang in Laos and *Anisong khao pradap din* (source: DELMN, code: 813, CE 1895,) from Phrae province in Northern Thailand. In the *Khao pradap din* festival, laypeople place food contained in small bowls made of banana leaves outdoors on the ground at night awaiting the spirits of dead family members or relatives who are especially released from the hells in search of food during the event. Spirits who are satisfied with the dedicated food are freed from the confinement in hell and get a new rebirth. Therefore, the *Anisong khao pradap din* text probably originated in Laos and later found its way into Northern Thai manuscripts.

In March, the traditional procession of one-thousand rice balls (Th/L: *khao phan kòn*) in the *Bun phawet* festival is widely held in Laos and followed by the whole thirteen-episode sermon of Mahachat or Vessantara Jātaka, whereas in Northern Thailand the sermon is known as *Tang tham luang* and arranged in November together with the tradition of floating banana-leaf vessels. Instead of the 1000 rice balls processions, the people of Northern Thailand prepare holy oil made of sesame seeds, beans and coconuts, activating the protective power of the Vessantara Jātaka for the participants. A pot of holy oil is attached to the preaching seat (P: *āsana*) with white cotton and believed to ward off all kinds of dangers. The extant *Anisong khao phan kòn* manuscripts in Northern Thailand therefore reveal the cultural influence from Laos on the ritual of reading the Vessantara Jātaka story.

Despite extant *anisong* manuscripts found to be provided for preaching rituals in both regions, three regional calendrical rituals are only organized in Northern Thailand: firewood donation (*Tan lua hing fai phra cao*) in January, pagoda worship (*Prapheni wai phra that*) during May and June and *Lòì prathip/ Lòì krathong* (Flying lantern balloons/Floating banana-leaf vessels) in November; only the last ceremony which extant *anisong* manuscripts are found only in Northern Thailand. The *Tan lua hing fai* festival is held at the beginning of each year in Northern Thailand. The ceremony is held on the full-moon day of the fourth lunar month in the Northern Thai traditional calendar, corresponding to January or February, for the purpose of warming Lord Buddha as represented by an image. Every household was enthusiastic to participate in the ceremony because they were strongly influenced by the story *Anisong tan lua* that highlights meritorious rewards gained from joining the event. In the evening the firewood-offering activity was done by monks and laypeople at the main monastic hall and was followed by an *anisong* sermon called *Anisong tan lua* given by a monk. The sermon explains that the ceremony originated from the narrative of a man who suggested other villagers to collect firewood together with him and burn it to warm Lord Buddha in the second lunar month; then the story explains the great rewards he gained in heaven after his

death (see Premchit and Doré 1992: 123). The ceremony is traditionally linked to the *Bun khao ci* festival in Laos and northeastern Thailand in which people collect firewood sticks in preparation of baking rice called *khao ci* to be offered to monks. Even though there are only few extant *anisong* texts written in Laos for this festival, one can clearly see the influence of this ritual being widespread in Lao culture.

Prapheni wai phra that is a very important religious ceremony in Northern Thailand resulting from the belief in relics of Lord Buddha Gotama enshrined in the greatest seven pagodas: Phra That Dòi Suthep (the hair and the head relics of Lord Buddha) and Phra That Si Còm Thòng (the right-sided head relics of Lord Buddha) in Chiang Mai, Phra That Dòi Tung (the left clavicle relics of Lord Buddha) in Chiang Rai, Phra That Hariphunchai (the head relics of Lord Buddha) in Lamphun, Phra That Lampang Luang (the hair, the forehead and the neck relics of Lord Buddha) in Lampang, Phra That Chò Hae (the hair and the left-sided elbow relics of Lord Buddha) in Phrae and Phra That Chae Haeng (the left wrist relics of Lord Buddha) in Nan. Besides, Phra That Còmkit (the hair of Lord Buddha) in Chiang Rai, Phra Cao Ton Luang (Phra Cao Ton Luang is the biggest Buddha image in Northern Thailand which was made in CE 1491) in Phayao and Phra That Dòi Kòng Mu in Mae Hòng Sòn are also worshipped by the Northern Thai. People traditionally pay homage to certain pagodas which correspond to the year of birth; for example, those who were born in the Year of the Rat would pay homage to Phra That Si Còm Thòng in Chiang Mai. *Prapheni wai phra that* is annually held as a kind of pilgrimage on the fifteenth waxing-moon day of the eighth lunar month of the Northern Thai traditional calendar which corresponds to mid-May to mid-June. Pilgrimage monks start their journey a few days before the actual ceremony by walking from the base of the mountain to finish their long walk on the top where the pagoda is located. To jointly gain merit from the pilgrimage, lay villagers offer alms-food to the monks at the mountain. *Anisong* manuscripts explaining rewards derived from paying homage to pagodas are thus more frequently found in Northern Thailand where the strong belief in the great sacred pagodas in their provinces is still influential. Viewed by Surapol Damrikul, pagodas on hills are located specifically in upper Northern Thai regions and in a larger number than those located in lowlands. Buddha's relics are believed to be enshrined in different pagodas. However, hill pagodas were developed from lowland pagodas influenced by ancient southern cities: Ayutthaya, Lopburi, Suphanburi, Phetchaburi and Phitanulok, where the people regarded it as the center of universe, in comparison to Mount Sumeru which is believed in Hinduism and Buddhism (see Surapol 1996: 177–181). Another widespread belief is related to one's certain or guardian pagoda known as *Chu That* (ชุธาตุ); before a spirit gets a new rebirth, according to the traditional Northern Thai belief, they, led by the animal of the year (Th: *tua poeng* ตัวปี๋ง), stay at a certain pagoda (Th: *chu that* ชุธาตุ). Then they move to stay in the head of the newborn's father for seven days and in the mother's pregnancy afterwards. The twelve animal years are associated with the twelve holy guardian pagodas in the northern and northeastern regions of Thailand and other countries.

(Source: http://sys.dra.go.th/images/article/freetemp/article_20131227041917.pdf)⁷.

On the fifteenth waxing-moon day of the second lunar month of the Northern Thai traditional calendar, corresponding to the month of November/December, there is another regional ceremony called Paveni Yi Peng. In the festival people fly lantern balloons (Th: *Lòi Prathip* ลอยประทีป) into the sky or float small open bowls made of banana leaves on rivers (Th: *Lòi krathong* ลอยกระทง). On the fifteenth waxing-moon day or the full-moon day an *anisong* sermon explaining rewards of the practice is given by a preaching monk. In terms of the festival purposes, Premchit and Doré (1992: 76) give the explanation that the event is yearly held in order to stop the rain and to worship apotropaic spirits, *ngüak* and *nāga*, who protect the rivers.

The three festivals *Lai rüa fai*, *Hae prasat phüing* and *Bun that luang* are traditionally held in Laos, each of which was therefore not provided with any *anisong* manuscripts from Northern Thailand. The regional festivals *Lai rüa fai* and *Hae prasat phüing* are sometimes held on the same occasion after the end of the Buddhist Lent period. Premchit explains the *Lai rüa fai* festival in Nakhòn Phanom province, northeastern Thailand, during his survey, stating that “[i]n 1990 the festival (Th: *lai rüa fai* ไทลเรือไฟ) was held on the full-moon day of the eleventh month, which corresponds to the 4th of October. In the morning there was a procession of *prasat phueng* or ‘beeswax castle’, in which about 50 *prasat phueng* were paraded along the main city streets and stopped at the terminal. They were then offered to several monasteries in the city. The Agricultural College produced an even larger boat than in previous years. It was in the shape of a ‘royal barge’ and strung with 12,000 oil lamps made from little bottles” (1992: 62–63). Monks deliver an *anisong* sermon explaining rewards from exhibiting beeswax castles at the end of the ceremony. Besides, *Khaeng suang hüa* (Boat Racing)⁸ also takes place after the end of the Buddhist Lent period in Laos and northeastern Thailand. The procession of beeswax castles (Th: *prasat phüing* ปราสาทผึ้ง) is organized as part of the *Bun that luang* festival in which Lao people pay homage to the grand pagoda in Vientiane. The three festivals *Lai rüa fai*, *Hae prasat phüing* and *Bun that luang* are commonly known in Laos as regional traditions, reflecting the Lao identity and uniqueness, and thus no *anisong* manuscripts in the corpus pertaining to the three festivals has survived in Northern Thailand.

⁷ The Year of the Rat is Phra That Còm Thòng in Chiang Mai, the Year of the Ox is Phra That Lampang Luang in Lampang, the Year of the Tiger is Phra That Chò Hae in Phrae, the Year of the Rabbit is Phra That Chae Haeng in Nan, the Year of the Giant Snake is the Phra Phuttha Sihing image at Wat Phra Sing in Chiang Mai, the Year of the Snake is Phra Cedi Cet Yòt in Chiang Mai or the Great Bodhi Tree in India, the Year of the Horse is the Shwedagon pagoda in Burma, the Year of the Goat is Phra That Dòi Suthep in Chiang Mai, the Year of the Monkey is Phra That Phanom in Nakhòn Phanom, the Year of the Cock is Phra That Hariphunchai in Lamphun, the Year of the Dog is the pagoda at Wat Ketakaram in Chiang Mai or the Culamani pagoda and the Year of the Pig is Phra That Dòi Tung in Chiang Rai.

⁸ In Laos, Luang Prabang and Vientiane hold the festival in different periods, the ninth lunar month and the first waning-moon day of the twelfth lunar month, respectively; while the eleventh lunar month is scheduled in Lao-bordering Northern Thailand (see Parinyan 1987: 146). In Northern Thailand, monasteries located on the Nan River hold numerous boat races after the Buddhist Lent.

4.1.1.2 Anisong titles

Anisong titles are given to express sermons on particular occasions. Names of ceremonies are frequently mentioned in *anisong* titles from both Northern Thailand and Laos, representing rewards derived from participating in specific ceremonies; the participations are praised as meritorious deeds that deserve to be rewarded in the future with great outcomes. Such titles are, for example, *Anisong makha bucha* (for the Makha Bucha ceremony), *Sòng pha sangkat lòn* (for the traditional New Year ceremony), *Anisong khao phansa* (for the Buddhist Lent), *Anisong khao pradap din* (for the *Khao pradap din* ceremony), *Sòng khao sak* (for the *Khao salak* ceremony) and *Salòn* *khao phan kòn* (for the *Mahachat* ceremony). Even though at some events, like the procession of one-thousand rice balls, people make the rice balls and hold them in a procession, other elements involved in the ritual are supposed to be done by laypeople to support the completion of the ceremony. Titles included with ceremony names thus require the overall collaboration or assistance as the ways to gain merit. There are some cases in which the titles of *anisong* texts are not preceded by *anisong*, *sòng* or *salòn* but are merely presented with the name of ceremonies; for example, an *anisong* manuscript entitled *Than lua* from Lampang (source: PNTMP, code: ลป 0620002-02, Wat Ban Luk, year unknown) and an *anisong* manuscript entitled *Than khao sang* from Chiang Mai (source: DLNTM, code: ชม 0706001-08, Wat Phra Sing, year unknown).

a) Specific actions

A large number of *anisong* titles include words indicating specific actions that, for the purpose of meritorious acquisition, are supposed to be done in certain rituals or ceremonies, unlike just participating in calendrical rituals, as was previously explained, which could contribute to beneficial outcomes. The most frequently-included word in *anisong* titles are *than* (ทาน), *hai than* (ให้ทาน), and *thawai* (ถวาย), all of which literally mean ‘to give’ or ‘to dedicate’, reflecting the ‘donation’ as the most basically notable deed to gain merit. During the Buddhist Lenten period, people make several kinds of merit at temples, including donations of rainy season robes to monks who are restricted to stay at a temple for three months. *Anisong* texts entitled *Anisong than pha ap nam* (source: PNTMP, code: พย 0706003-01, Wat Si Suphan, year unknown) and *Anisong thawai pha cam watsa* (source: DELMN, code: 1154, Phayap University, year unknown), both representing rewards derived from the donation of rainy season robes, specifically explain rewards gained from offering robes to monks and not from other kinds of merit-making. Accordingly, even though one can accumulate merit by participating in religious ceremonies, sometimes special kinds of gift-giving are required in particular to result in meritorious rewards. There are also other *anisong* titles included with words of ‘giving’: *Anisong thawai khao ci* (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice, source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-096, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, year unknown), *Sòng hai than fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of firewoods, source: DLLM, code: 06018506016-01, the National Museum, Luang Prabang, CE 1853), *Anisong than kòn* *fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of firewoods, source: PNTMP,

code: พ๑ 0406012-02, Wat Phra Bat Ming Müang, Phrae, CE 1845). Another word included in *anisong* titles that also means ‘to give’ is *thòt* (ທອດ); for example, *Anisong thòt kathin* (source: DELMN, code: 489, Wat Si Khom Kham, Chiang Rai, CE 1926), but it is only used for the donations of monk robes in the *Thòt pha pa* ceremony which is traditionally held whenever a group of sponsors has ardent religious faith to spend their money on buying goods for monks or on jointly constructing monastic buildings; dedicated robes are mostly included with the offerings.

The term *kò* (ກໍ) literally means ‘to build’ and is frequently found in the titles of *anisong* manuscripts explaining rewards derived from building sand stupas which is part of the traditional New Year festival held in the middle of April. The activity of building sand stupas is widespread both in Northern Thailand and Laos, based on the belief in meritorious results. In their book *The Lan-Na Twelve-Month Traditions* (1992), Sommai Premchit and Amphay Doré explain the belief in making sand stupas as part of the traditional New Year – “sand stupas or *top phrasai* on the beaches or river banks. The resulting merit is believed to bring prosperity and happiness in the New Year” (1992: 179). In Laos a Buddhist tale about King Pasenthikoson and his followers who built 84,000 sand stupas is well-known. The king asked Lord Buddha Gotama about the merit one could be compensated from making sand stupas; the Buddha then explained that the persons would not be destined to be reborn in the hells, but in a rich family and in the heavens (see Khamvone 2013: 44). In expectation of great merit, *anisong* texts explaining rewards derived from making sand stupas were commonly written in manuscripts, for example, *Anisong kò pha cedi sai* (source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0302, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, year unknown), *Anisong cedi sai* (source: PNTMP, code: นน 0120063-00, Wat Phra That Chang Kham, Nan, CE 1925). Accordingly, although the three days (or more) of the New Year festival comprise several kinds of religious activities, making sand stupas is considered as another special deed required to gain particular merit.

Two other words included in *anisong* titles are *tam* (ตาม) and *ap* (อาบ) or *song* (สร้าง), which respectively mean ‘to light’ and ‘to bathe’. Liturgical texts entitled *Anisong [tam] prathip [bucha]* explain rewards derived from lighting lanterns (to pay homage) in the *Yi peng* festival in which people fly light vessels up into the sky. *Anisong* texts entitled *Anisong ap that* explain meritorious results of pouring water onto pagodas; the term *ap* and *song* are thus included to specify the act of pouring water that provides the practitioners with particular merit. In the case of merit-making in calendrical ceremonies, even though one can accumulate merit by participating in religious ceremonies, sometimes special acts are required in particular to result in meritorious rewards. Such special acts are marked with different words signifying different ways of merit-gaining: giving, building, lighting and bathing.

b) Specific items

Regarding the most frequently found ‘giving’ or ‘dedicating’ included in the titles of *anisong* manuscripts, specific items which are to be donated during the calendrical ceremonies are

sometimes identified. *Anisong pha cam nam phansa* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season, source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-098, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, year unknown), for example, explains rewards one could gain by offering robes to monks in the rainy season or the Buddhist Lent period. During the three-month season, people have good opportunities to make merit or donate goods for monks at monasteries thanks to their long stay. Several kinds of alms-offering are dedicated to monasteries that reward great merit back to the donors. Candles and robes are the most frequent donations since monks in the past used up a large amount of candles and robes during the three-month stay. *Anisong* texts pertaining to meritorious results of donating robes in the rainy season were thus written in response to the popular donation because robes are especially required by monks during the period.

Another kind of items given to gain merit is rice (Th: *khao* ข้าว), which can be ritually dedicated to monks or monasteries – *khao ci* (baked rice), *khao mathupayat* (rice cooked with milk), *khao salak* (rice and other food) and *khao phan kòn* (one-thousand rice balls) – and to the dead – *khao pa cha* (rice and other food) and *khao pradap din* (rice and other food). Reflected by a variety of rice dedications on different occasions, rice was considered as a main dish to be eaten with meat, vegetables and other food and could be cooked in various ways following different recipes. Rice food was dedicated directly to monks or monasteries and the dead who are believed to receive the food-offering. The dedication of *khao ci*, *khao mathupayat* and *khao phan kòn* is part of the three respective religious occasions annually held in association with Lord Buddha, namely the *Makha bucha* festival, the *Wisakha bucha* festival and the *Mahachat* festival; the three kinds of ‘rice’ are therefore especially cooked or exhibited in a respectful way of ritual processions. In comparison, the other three kinds of rice – *khao salak*, *khao pa cha* and *khao pradap din* are not elaborately treated or decoratively exposed but directly offered to monasteries or simply placed on the ground outdoors, intended to be transferred to the dead or hungry ghosts.

c) Specific texts

Sometimes *anisong* titles represent specific texts that are believed to reward lay participants who listen or recite on certain occasions with great merit. *Anisong mahachat* (source: DELMN, code: 662, Wat Si Khom Kham, Chiang Rai, CE 1879) or *Anisong maha wetsantara chadok* (source: CVG, code: VXC.3, Vat Siang Cai, Luang Namtha, year unknown) introduces the Vessantara Jātaka story in the titles that results in meritorious gifts to the ones who listen to it within one day during the yearly *Bun phawet* festival. *Anisong thammacak kapawattana sut* (source: PNTMP, code: ๗๕ 0120131-01, Wat Sung Men, Phrae, CE 1834) is another *anisong* text representing the great merit gained from reciting the *Thammacak kapawattana sut* prayer on the fifteenth waxing-moon day of the eighth lunar

month, known as the *Asanha bucha* ceremony which corresponds to July or August⁹. I joined the *Asanha bucha* ceremony at Sung men temple in Phrae province on July 27, 2018. Laypeople gathered in the ordination hall of the temple in the evening and, by reading the text in a book provided by the temple, recited the prayer together with all preaching monks. The recitation was then followed by a circular walk around the hall three times with flowers and three incense sticks in their hands. On that day, however, an *Anisong thammacak kapawattana sut* sermon was not given.



Figure 4.1: Group chanting of the *Thammacak kapawattana sut* prayer



Figure 4.2: Circular walk

Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, Photo by the author on July 27, 2018

Another kind of title involved in Jātaka or canonical texts, instead of advising about donations or meritorious acts to show generosity, mentions a key person who did particular deeds in the textual stories to show exemplary acts of meritorious acquisition, and is frequently preceded by the typical term *anisong*, *sòng* or *salòng*, such as *Anisong nang suchada than khao mathupayat* or “Rewards of Nang Suchada who offered *mathupayat* rice to Lord Buddha” (source: DELMN, code: 730, CE 1872). The manuscript explains the story of a laywoman

⁹ *Asanha bucha* is normally held in July or in August in the case of a year with an intercalary month. The intercalary month year is called Athikamat Year and has the eighth month twice; namely, there are thirteen months in the year, because *athika* (อธิก-) means ‘exceeding’, and *mat* (มาส) means ‘month’. This means that in the Athikamat Year, when the eighth month ends, instead of continuing further into the ninth month, another eighth month begins. The first eighth month in this year is called ‘the former eighth month’ and the second is ‘the latter eighth month’ (see Khloi 1971: ๓).

named Suchada who cooked *mathupayat* rice (rice cooked with milk) and offered it to Lord Buddha during the *Wisakha* month¹⁰; the *anisong* text could therefore be read in the *Wisakha bucha* festival. Such religious legends or narratives were frequently included in the *anisong* genre, since the narratives show exemplary persons who did certain merit resulting in special rewards. Religious narratives could serve as a tool to convince laypeople for the sake of merit-making. Besides, Jātaka tales and stories from other sources were also drawn to be rewritten and shaped to fit the *anisong* genre, which is aimed at preaching laypeople to realize the merit and results of merit. Arthid explains in his article *Narratives and Gift-giving in Thai Ānisaṃsa Texts* (2012) that narratives in *anisong* were derived from different sources: Suttas, Dhammapada-Atthakathā, the commentary of the Apadāna, the Paññāsa Jātaka and newly created stories (see Arthid 2012).

However, the titles are sometimes not preceded by the three typical words *anisong*, *sòng* or *salòng*, but entitled with names of ceremonies, for example, *Kòng lua anisong* (source: PNTMP, code: ๙๙ 0106001-02, Wat Phra That Chang Kham, Nan, CE 1925), *Duang prathip kaeo* (source: PNTMP, code: ๙๙ 0106001-04, Wat Phra That Chang Kham, Nan, CE 1947) and *Than khao sang* (source: DLNTM, code: ๙๙ 0706001-08, Wat Phra Sing, Chiang Mai, year unknown). The first two titles *Kòng lua anisong* and *Duang prathip kaeo* definitely represent rewards from the donation of firewoods and from flying lantern balloons which are annually held during certain periods, while the title *Than khao sang*, despite being literally interpreted as a dedication of cooked rice to monks, is associated with a merit-transfer to the spirits of dead persons by dedicating to them alms-food at the *Pòì khao sang* festival, which is held in the sixth lunar month of the traditional calendar of Northern Thailand, corresponding to March/April.

4.1.2 Rite of Passage Rituals

Rite of passage ceremonies are organized to mark life transitions of someone who reaches a new social status. The ritual can be done after the transition actually happens in order to publicly announce their new status or even new lives. As explained in Chapter One, life transitions are not merely restricted to birth and death, but also include maturity, marriage, graduation and career promotion. During the rite of passage rituals, ceremonies of ‘leaving the old status’ and ‘entering into the new status’ are performed, and an *anisong* sermon is traditionally given as the religious part for the purpose of teaching hosts and participants of the event, in order to be prepared for the upcoming new status, and for blessing them for the merit-making they have done in the ceremony. *Anisong* sermons, however, are not necessarily included in rite of passage rituals because they are mainly associated with secular activities;

¹⁰ The Wisakha month falls on the fifteenth waxing-moon day of the sixth lunar month, corresponding to May. The Day of Visakha or Visakha Pūjā is a commemoration of Buddha Gotama’s birth, Enlightenment and Nirvāna (complete disappearance) which occurred on the fifteenth waxing-moon day of the sixth lunar month but in different years.

the sermon would be given in accordance with individual preferences. In many cases, people celebrate their life transitions with families, friends and colleagues on the first day as the secular part and make merit at a temple on the second day as the religious part; an *anisong* sermon is thus given at the temple by monks in response to the merit-making as a strategy of Buddhization.

In truth, *Anisong* could be seen as a paradigm of the principle of what we might call “Buddhization by means of text”, that is, the legitimization of a given practice by its written record with a sacred script (the Dhamma script) on a sacred object (the manuscript). In this way, any local custom may become unquestionably “Buddhist” if it is included as a subject in a *Anisong* (Grabowsky 2019: 92).

4.1.2.1 *Anisong* texts

The life transitions provided by the extant *anisong* texts are birth, ordination, monkhood-ranking promotion, marriage and death. Three *anisong* texts explaining rewards gained from making merit on birthday anniversaries, wedding days and the participation in monkhood-ranking promotion ceremonies are found only in Laos. The first two texts were newly composed in the late 20th century. In the case of *anisong* explaining rewards gained from merit-making on birthday anniversaries, there are three extant *Anisong [het/tham] bun wan koet* manuscripts written in CE 1973, CE 1984 and CE 1988; the texts in the last two manuscripts, as was explained in the previous chapters, were written on palm-leaf with typewriters by a monk. Bounleuth explains the possible reason, inspired by the Venerable Pha Khamchan Virachitto, for copying *anisong* manuscripts pertaining to birthday anniversaries:

His act of making merit by producing manuscripts to mark the anniversary of his birthday was welcomed by the laypeople of Luang Prabang as well. Having seen that the respected senior monk had made manuscripts to commemorate the anniversary of his birthday, laypeople likely considered this a good way to make merit and follow his example. We arrive at this conclusion based on our findings of passages in some of the manuscripts stating that they were made to commemorate a layperson’s birthday (See BAD-1-13-0027, BAD-1-13-0139) (Bounleuth 2015b: 255–256).

The following table shows five different kinds of life transition rituals provided with extant *anisong* manuscripts in comparison of Northern Thailand and Laos. In the case of *anisong* explaining rewards gained from merit-making on wedding days, there is only one text entitled *Anisong salòng taeng ngan lü kin dòng* that was made in CE 1962 (source: DLLM, code: 06011406004-17). The two textual themes – birthday anniversary and wedding ceremony – are merely found in Laos where a variety of *anisong* texts were adapted to fit modern ways of donation items in the contemporary period, whereas *anisong* in Northern Thailand maintain a more traditional textual content.

Rite of Passage Ritual			
<i>Anisong sermons</i>		<i>Anisong titles</i>	
		Northern Thailand	Laos
24	Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries	-	<i>Anisong [het/tham] bun wan koet</i>
25	Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong buat</i> • <i>Anisong phra buat mai</i> • <i>Tham anisong buat</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong sòng buat [pha nen]</i> • <i>Sòng buat [pha buat nen]</i> • <i>Sòng kammawaca</i>
26	Rewards derived from the participation in the monkhood-ranking promotion ceremonies	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong haeng sòng thela phisek</i> • <i>Anisong an thawai khüang thelaphisek</i> • <i>Sòng hot [song pha cao]</i>
27	Rewards derived from merit-making on wedding days	-	<i>Anisong salòng taeng ngan lü kin dòng</i>
28	Rewards derived from the participation in funerals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong than [pai] ha khon tai</i> • <i>Anisong song sakan [phi tai]</i> • <i>Anisong phao phi</i> • <i>Anisong sarira</i> • <i>Anisong sut</i> • <i>Anisong phi tai bò hai</i> • <i>Anisong chapanakit</i> * <i>Sami tham ngan sop uthit hai kae phanraya thi dap khan pai</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sòng anisong bun thi dai than pai ha phu tai</i> • <i>Sòng phao phi</i> • <i>Sòng [sak] sop khon tai</i> • <i>Sòng sop [phi tai]</i> • <i>Salòng pong sop lü phao phi</i>

Table 4.2: *Anisong sermons* and *anisong* texts in rite of passage rituals

Another kind of *anisong* texts that are only found in Laos in the case of rite of passage rituals explains rewards gained from participating in monkhood-ranking promotion ceremonies. The ceremony celebrates new transitions of promoted monks towards a higher rank of *Sangha* monkhood status. In northeastern Thailand the ceremony is traditionally held in collaboration with laypeople during the fourth lunar month or May for the purpose of praising well-behaved monks. People pour water onto the monks or ecclesiastically promoted monks (see Metta Kittiwimol 2012: 13–14). The earliest text is *Sòng hot* (Rewards derived from the participation in monkhood-ranking promotion ceremonies, source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0071) found at Vat Si Bun Hüang in Luang Prabang and was written in CE 1764 in a palm-

leaf manuscript. The Lao word *hot* (ຮົດ) corresponds to the Thai cognate *rot* (รด), literally meaning ‘to pour’, because all lay participants in the ceremonies are required to pour perfumed water onto a special tool leading the water further onto the promoted monks. Other *anisong* texts related to the ceremonial participation are entitled, for example, *Anisong haeng sòng thela phisek* (source: DLLM, code: 06011406006-05, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1962), and *Anisong an thawai khüang thelaphisek* (source: DLLM, code: 06011406006-06, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1962), as the term *thelaphisek* (P: *therābhiseka*) means ‘ecclesiastic promotion’.

An *anisong* sermon explaining rewards derived from the participation is usually included in the event; in the morning of the following day people offer rice to monks and an *anisong* sermon is given. Even though the ceremony is categorized as a life transition ritual owing to being a monkhood promotion to a higher rank of monkhood status, the participants, unlike on birthday anniversaries, ordination ceremonies and weddings, which mark their change of social status from one to another, are just to congratulate the specific persons or the promoted monks in the ceremony; the lay participants are not promoted themselves to a new monkhood status. Accordingly, similar to funerals is the ceremony during which an *anisong* sermon is given to praise the participants who join the event, not to the person in focus who is dead (at a funeral) or who is promoted (in a monkhood-ranking promotion ceremony).

Still, from the absence of Northern Thai *anisong* manuscripts pertaining to the participation in monkhood promotion ceremonies it is not possible to conclude the complete absence of such ceremonies in this region; the ceremony had also been organized in Northern Thailand until the Bangkok government of Thailand centralized the *Sangha* authority in the late nineteenth century. For the purpose of national solidarity, in CE 1902 the Sangha Authority Act was promulgated by the central government in Bangkok to reform the *Sangha* community into the whole national authority because monks and laypeople had a close relationship. Terwiel characterizes the *Sangha* organization in the reign of King Rama V as follows:

It was in this reign that the great reform of the Sangha was launched to unify the Sangha organization and to systemize the Sangha administration. This reform, as part of the attempted ‘modernization’ of the country, significantly aimed at nationwide integration, of which educational and provincial administrative reforms were a part¹¹ (Terwiel 1984: 40).

The *Sangha* conflict between Lan Na and Bangkok resulted from two venerable monks being differently promoted into the rank of monk leaders by different authorities; one was promoted by Bangkok (Phra Naphisi Phisankhun), the other by the ruler of Chiang Mai (Khruba Wat Fai Hin); the conflict was then solved by negotiation when Bangkok promoted the regional

¹¹ Not only was the *Sangha* reformed, King Rama V built new Buddhist monasteries, restored the old ones, had a replica from Sukhothai period made of Buddha Jinnasi to be housed at the royal monastery, Wat Benchamabòphit, and revised the Buddhist canon Tipiṭaka. The canon consists of ten volumes, was later translated from Pali into Thai and printed in a book. The printing was also patroned by his private financial support for 1,000 copies of publication to distribute to monasteries in Thailand and overseas libraries. The king was temporarily ordained as a monk in CE 1874 as well (see Terwiel 1984: 40).

venerable monk to the rank of monk dean of Chiang Mai province in CE 1906. The *Sangha* centralization policy influencing the Northern Thai tradition was thus enforced around the beginning of the twentieth century.

จะพบว่าในช่วงเวลาเดียวกันนี้เอง ใน พ.ศ. ๒๔๓๘ เจ้าอินทวิชยานนท์ เจ้าผู้ครองนครเชียงใหม่ได้แต่งตั้งครูบาวัดฝายหิน (โสภากสิคุ) เป็นปฐมสังฆนายกองค์ที่ ๑ ดังนั้นในเวลาต่อมาจึงปรากฏว่าเกิดความขัดแย้งขึ้น ระหว่างพระนพิตพิศาลคุณกับครูบาฝายหินขึ้น โดยพระนพิตพิศาลคุณได้ทำหนังสือกราบทูลพระมหาสมณเจ้ากรมหลวงวชิรญาณวรโรรส กล่าวหาว่าครูบาฝายหินยุยงให้สงฆ์ท้องถิ่นกระด้างกระเดื่อง ไม่ให้ความร่วมมือในการจัดการศึกษาแบบใหม่ และการวางระเบียบพระสงฆ์ จนเกิดกรณีว่า “จะไหว้ตู้บ้านหรือตู้ป่า” อันเป็นความขัดแย้งครั้งแรกของการจัดการคณะสงฆ์ของล้านนาโดย “ตู้บ้าน” ในที่นี้หมายถึงพระมหาปิงซึ่งได้รับการอุปถัมภ์จากข้าราชการของกรุงเทพฯ กับ “ตู้ป่า” หมายถึงครูบาวัดฝายหินที่ชาวบ้านให้ความนับถือ ตลอดจนเจ้านายฝายเหนือ

In BE 2438 (CE 1895) Cao Intha Wichayanon, the ruler of Chiang Mai, promoted Khruba Wat Fai Hin (Sopha Phikkhu) into the first *Sangha* dean, causing the conflict between Phra Naphisi Phisankhun and Khruba Wat Fai Hin. Phra Naphisi Phisankhun reported Phra Maha Samanacao Krommaluang Wachirayan Warorot and accused Khruba Wat Fai Hin of persuading regional monks to be against the modern education system and *Sangha* regulation. The first conflict of the Lan Na *Sangha* organization thus occurred and caused the statement ‘respecting *Tu ban*¹² or *Tu pa*’; *Tu ban* represented Phra Mahaping who was supported by Bangkok; *Tu pa* represented Khruba Wat Fai Hin who was venerated by regional rulers and local people (Sopha 1990: 73–74).

Anisong texts explaining rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies and from the participation in funerals are commonly found in both regions. In Laos, *anisong* texts pertaining to monkhood ordinations were more frequently written in the extant manuscripts that reflect the community life in certain relation to religious traditions. The earliest text on ordination rewards from Laos is *Salòng buat* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies, source: DLLM, code: 06018506018-05) which is kept at the National Museum in Luang Prabang and was written in CE 1802), whereas the earliest one from Northern Thailand is *Anisong buat* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies, source: PNTMP, code: สป 0306004-05), found at Wat Hang Chat in Lampang province, and was written in CE 1666, a century earlier than the one from Laos.

In the case of *anisong* or rewards derived from the participation in funerals, the texts provide explanations of merit gained by both participants and spirits of dead persons. *Anisong* sermons at funerals basically comfort all attendants whose family members, relatives and friends are dead to be released from considerable grief; the funeral liturgy is thus intended to remind the audience to realize the uncertainty of life including the loss of the beloved ones. *Anisong* sermons sooth the sadness and assure the audience of the dedicated merit that would support the spirit in the otherworldly existence, on the one hand. On the other hand, funeral participants are also rewarded for making merit to the deceased via the so-called *Song sakan*

¹² The term *tu ban* is a vernacular compound noun comprising two words – *tu* (monk) and *ban* (village, house) – and represents monks who are promoted and venerated by the whole country; while the term *tu pa* is a vernacular compound noun comprising two words – *tu* (monk) and *pa* (forest) – and thus represents local monks who are promoted and venerated in a village.

ritual activity (สังสาร). *Anisong* texts entitled *Anisong than [pai] ha khon tai* (source: PNTMP, code: ชม 0106001-05, Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai, year unknown), *Anisong song sakan* (source: PNTMP, code: นน 0620021-00, Wat Pa Müat, Nan, year unknown) and *Sòng anisong bun thi dai than pai ha phu tai* (source: DLLM, code: 06011406006-04, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1980) serve as a merit clarification to the dead and to the practitioners in return. For the purpose of teaching laypeople to be conscious and compassionate of life changes, some *anisong* texts describe the physical erosion naturally occurring after death. One example is a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong sarira* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals, source: PNTMP, Code: พร 0406012-01, CE 1911) from Phrae province, Northern Thailand; the text explains a story of ten cattleboys who burned a bird corpse and gained heavenly merit from it. The following excerpt corresponds to the liturgical aim to emphasize physical erosion.

ในโลกนี้ไม่มีสิ่งเที่ยง บ่เป็นแก่นเป็นสาร บ่ใช้ตนใช้ตัวของตัว มาตรฐานว่าผม ขน ทั้งเนื้อหนัง ตับ ปอด ไล่ ฟองทั้งมวลก็ไซ้ของตัว ก็ยอมเป็นสาธารณะแก่แร้งกา แก่มด แก่ปลวก ก็อนิจจาทุกตัวสัตว์ทั้งหญิงชาย ก็เหมือนกัน เมื่อเป็นตัว มาตรฐานว่าผม ขน ทั้งเนื้อหนัง ตับ ปอด ไล่ ฟองทั้งมวล บ่ไซ้ของตัว ก็ยอมเป็นสาธารณะแก่แร้งสารพัด [...] ข้าวของทั้งมวลก็หวงแหน อันนั้นของกู อันนี้ของเอ็ง ครั้นว่าตายกระทำกริยาอันตายนั้น มาตรฐานมากคำ ๑ ก็บ่ได้แล ตัวเราตัวท่านทั้งหลายก็เหมือนนกันแล แต่เมื่อยังเป็นตัว คือว่าบ่ทันตายนั้น ขนก็รัก ปีกก็รัก (กระ)ดุกก็รัก

Things in the world are impermanent, not of a certain substance, and not everlastingly occupied; even hair, skin, flesh, liver, lung and intestines [in one's body] do not belong [to the dead] but [will] be left in general for vultures, crows, ants and termites. No matter male or female they are equally [destined to die]. As long as they are alive, even hair, skin, flesh, liver, lungs and intestine [in one's body] do not belong but [will] be left in general for vultures. [...] All belongings are highly cherished; [for example], this is mine and that is yours. When death comes, even a piece of betel cannot be taken along. We all are not different from the bird; as long as we are alive, we love our hair, wings and bones (Folio 2, verso).

4.1.2.2 *Anisong* titles

In the case of *anisong* texts from Laos used for preaching in rite of passage rituals, the titles are basically preceded by ‘*Anisong*’, ‘*Salòng*’ or ‘*Sòng*’, whereas those from Northern Thailand are only preceded by ‘*Anisong*’. The title *Tham anisong buat* of an *anisong* text written in a palm-leaf manuscript from Chiang Mai (source: PNTMP, code: ชม 0106002-04, Wat Chiang Man, CE 1938), however, is also preceded by the term *tham* which literally means ‘Dhamma’ and represents any religious text. Yet, in the case of calendrical rituals *anisong* texts in Northern Thailand are entitled with the typical initial words ‘*Anisong*’, ‘*Salòng*’ or ‘*Sòng*’. Besides, some dialects are included in the titles of *anisong* texts from Laos, for example, *Anisong het bun wan koet* (source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0206, Vat Saen Sukharam, CE 1988) from Luang Prabang. The dialect *het* means ‘to do’ in Lao language; *het bun* thus corresponds to *tham bun* (‘to make merit’) in Thai. In some cases dialects and official words are combined within one title in order to define their meaning. For instance, the

text entitled *Anisong salòng taeng ngan lü kin dòng* was written in a palm-leaf manuscript coded 06011406004-17 in CE 1962 from Luang Prabang, Laos (source: DLLM). The terms *taeng ngan* (แต่งงาน) and *kin dòng* (กินตอง) mean ‘to get married’ and are placed with *lü*, translated as ‘or’, in between. The usage of dialects and official words to entitle a text reveals that *anisong* sermons on the occasion of wedding ceremonies were common among villagers and reflect the special Teachings of the Dhamma which are to be followed by new couples for the purpose of an extensive marriage life, because the text refers to two marriage types. The story shows the marriage of Nang Wisakha and the instruction given by her father or a rich man (Th: *setthi* เศรษฐี) named Thananchai. Interestingly, the manuscript was written by a monk who was not supposed to be in secular affairs; this, like other cases of *anisong* texts and manuscript materials in general, reflects wider tasks of the *Sangha*. Lao monks and novices were not rigidly limited to secular-unrelated tasks; secular events could be consecrated by inviting a chapter of monks to lead some rituals as part of it. Commissioning manuscripts textually pertaining to a wedding ceremony or marriage life causes no negative results in the *Sangha* morality. The text in the manuscript, moreover, refers to the story of someone in relation to Lord Buddha. Such a sermonic text on the occasion of wedding ceremonies could therefore be read to guide a new couple on the proper way to sustain their marriage until the end of their lives.

According to the text, two kinds of marriage are composed of *awaha* and *wiwaha*. *Awaha* means the marriage life in the husband family’s household, while *wiwaha* means the marriage life in the wife family’s household. *Wiwaha* marriage can be divided further into eight types, each of which identifies different ways of intercourse. The text also refers to the story of Nang Wisakha, the daughter of the wealthy man Thananchai who was supposed to get married to a beloved man, derived from the Dhammapada, Khuddaka Nikāya section, in the Buddhist canon *Tipiṭaka*. Lord Buddha explains the fate of love (Th: *bupphesanniwat* บุพเพสันนิวาส) that is brought about someone either from previous lives or in the present rebirth. After her marriage ceremony, Thananchai instructed her ten rules for being a good wife and other rules to be followed by couples for treating each other well. Although marriage is definitely associated with a secular life, Buddhist instructions can be followed to keep their family in peace and happiness. The following quotation is derived from the red frame in the manuscript below, evidently showing the reference to the Buddhist canon.

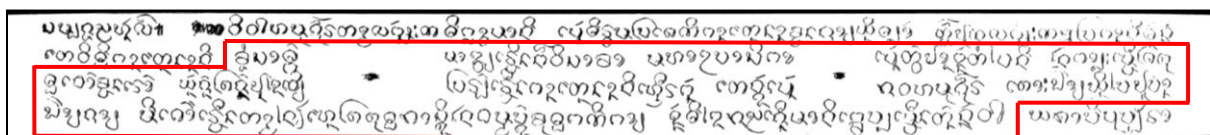


Figure 4.3: Reference to Nang Wisakha in the Buddha’s lifetime

ขอสาธกมาด้วยเรื่องนางวิสาขามหาอุบาสิกา เป็นตัวอย่างดังต่อไปนี้ ในกาลเมื่อพระพุทธเจ้าของเรายังทรงพระองค์อยู่ ได้เคยปรารภเรื่องการแต่งงานนี้เหมือนกัน แต่จัดเป็นอวาทมงคล เพราะฝ่ายหญิงไปอยู่บ้านฝ่ายชาย มีเค้าเรื่องตามนัยแห่งพระพุทธภาษิตในธรรมบท ขุททกนิกาย ดังที่ได้อัญเชิญมานิกงเขปเบื้องต้นนั้นว่า

The exemplary story of the great laywoman Nang Wisakha will be explained. Our Lord Buddha once taught [us] about (the) marriage during his lifetime. The explanation pertains to Awaha Mongkhon, because wives lived at their husbands' houses, and is taken from his Teachings mentioned in Dhammapada, Khuddaka Nikāya, as is explained in the following (Folio 3, recto).

The sermon gives evidence of the everyday life of the Lao people that is influenced by Buddhist religious principles and is in close relationship with a part of marriage ceremonies in which a successful and long-term couple is invited to instruct the new couple before their first overnight stay. Terwiel explains the tradition as follows:

A person who is reputed to have been happily married for many years has been invited to instruct the couple. This marriage instruction usually covers a wide range of subjects. Thus, the proper behaviors of the marriage partners towards each other is often broached. The husband is admonished to be just and considerate, whilst the wife ought to be gentle and understanding. Under no circumstances should they be forgetful with regard to the spirits of the ancestors (2012: 148).

Interestingly, a marriage ceremony is regarded as a secular ritual because having a partner is one of the burdens preventing someone from the ultimate *Nibbāna* attainment. Such an *anisong* text is only found in Laos where, as was recently explained, newly created *anisong* texts were commonly written in accordance with contemporary ways of merit-making. Common secular activities can therefore be consecrated by means of adding religious rituals led by monks in the process. Couples in a wedding ceremony sometimes prefer being blessed by monks and given an instructive sermon as a symbolic act in affirmation of a stable marriage life. This *anisong* text clearly shows the evidence of ritual transformations from a secular into a religious one, reflecting the Buddhist religion that influences most of their ways of life.

A number of *anisong* texts on funerals refer to cemetery rituals in their titles that reflect the tradition of destroying corpses by means of fire-burning. The titles are, for example, *Anisong phao phi* (source: PNTMP, code: พส 0106004-01, Wat Sung Men, Phrae, year unknown), *Sòng phao phi* (source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0157, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 1944), *Anisong chapanakit* (scode: นน 11-06-003-01, Wat Phra Koet, Nan, year unknown), *Salòng pong sop lü phao phi* (source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-034, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 2004), all of which literally mean “rewards derived from the cremation of corpses”.

4.1.3 Gift-Giving Rituals

Anisong manuscripts containing liturgical texts for occasions of gift-giving are dominantly found in the manuscript corpus. Gift-giving or *dāna* is considered as the fundamental act of self-improvement in preparation towards higher levels of meritorious practices, because *dāna* is the act of property renouncement that basically disciplines one to become detached from

their own belongings; the notion of possessiveness is regarded as a prevention against enlightenment. Hence, the Ten Bases of Meritorious Action (Th: *bunkiriyawatthu sip* บุญกิริยาวัตถุ ๑๐) begins with *dāna* or gift-giving which is known as the simplest act to be accomplished before stepping forwards to further acts of more complexity¹³. Arthid explains that *dāna* is included in a variety of Buddhist doctrines since it brings about happiness and peace in personal and social conditions as follows: “*Dāna* appears in various groups of Dhamma: Ten Bases of Meritorious Act, Four Bases of Sympathy, Three Things of Righteous People, Ten Royal Virtues, Four Kinds of Strength, Five Dhamma, Thirty-Eight Steps Towards a Blessed Life and Ten Perfections; all of which plays a significant role in the Buddhist self-improvement and leads to happiness for both personal and social levels” (see Arthid 2009: 30)¹⁴. Gift-giving is therefore considered as the most fundamental act of mastering meritorious practices in Buddhism. Not only gift-giving occasions, also religious events in general are closely associated with *anisong* sermons, since they are mainly held in expectation of being rewarded with magnificent merit; the sermons thus play a role as a confirming statement of future beneficial returns coming in the next life¹⁵. McDaniel gives a comprehensive explanation of merit-making notions in Thailand in the following:

All these rituals, whether calendrical or life-cycle oriented, are governed by the idea that giving (*than*) is a way of making merit (*bun*) to ensure a good next life or good fortune in this life. While ordaining as a monk is the best offering a person can make, offering a scoop of rice to a novice in the morning is also considered as very meritorious. Some wealthy donors offer the funding to build entire monasteries or libraries throughout Thailand and the world to bear witness to the relics of the Buddha, *bodhisatta*, and famous *arhats* and teachers. Taking on Five or Eight Precepts once a week is also considered meritorious, because one is giving her or his time and giving up desires. Monks are considered the most meritorious of receivers of alms (2011: 138).

4.1.3.1 *Anisong* texts

The gift-giving ritual is provided in the majority of *anisong* texts written in the extant manuscripts. The texts were written to support forty-five sermonic occasions for a wide range of donations for the purpose of praising and blessing sponsors who donated objects or devoted themselves in helpful assistance. Compared to calendrical rituals in which *anisong* sermons are considered as a part of the ceremonies, *anisong* sermons in gift-giving rituals play a more

¹³ The Ten Bases of Meritorious Act comprises gift-giving, moral behavior, mental development, humility, rendering services, merit-sharing, rejoicing in others' merit, listening to the Dhamma, teaching doctrines and forming correct views (http://www.84000.org/tipitaka/dic/d_item.php?i=89).

¹⁴ ทานปรากฏในธรรมะหลายหมวด ไม่ว่าจะเป็น บุญกิริยาวัตถุ ๑๐ สังคหะวัตถุ ๔ สัปบุริสบัญญัติ ๓ ทศพิธราชธรรม ๑๐ พละ ๔ เบญจธรรม ๕ มงคล ๓๘ และทศบารมี ๑๐ ซึ่งทานในหมวดธรรมต่างๆ ดังกล่าวล้วนมีนัยความหมาย หรือความสำคัญต่อการประพฤติปฏิบัติฝึกฝนตนเองของพุทธศาสนิกชน ก่อให้เกิดประโยชน์สุขทั้งต่อตนเอง รวมทั้งประโยชน์สุขและความสมัครสมานสามัคคีของส่วนรวมทั้งสิ้น

¹⁵ Most Thai Buddhists believe that these benefits will come only in the next life, but some see these benefits as affecting the quality of a person's present life (see McDaniel 2011: 138).

significant role because they declare a certain gift-giving or *dāna* mainly practiced on the specific occasion. *Anisong* sermons in this case are not officially scheduled or fixed in any traditional or modern calendars but rather given at any time, accompanied by individual dedications in order to manifest the generosity of the donors. As explained in Chapter One, as an example, an *anisong* sermon at a gift-giving occasion was given to bless a group of villagers who donated parts of their money to jointly build a new drum and a drum shelter located at Vat Pha Bat Tai in Luang Prabang. The new constructions had been done before the *anisong* sermon was given. The time of the sermon was thus not restricted to the day when the constructions were finished, but the space of the sermon is normally at the temple. Sermons and religious rituals are basically done in a monastic hall, but the sermon, as observed by the author, was given outdoor on the ground in front of the new constructions – the drum shelter and the new drum – facing the lay audience. By this way, the lay participants could see the complete construction achieved by their collaborative work and listen to the *anisong* or the meritorious outcomes in expectation of being further rewarded.

All the gift-giving sermons can be categorized into five kinds of generosity or donation: construction of monastery buildings (thirteen sermons), offerings to monasteries (twenty-two sermons), alms for monks (four sermons), public construction works (four sermons) and common gift-giving (two sermons). The following table shows the whole forty-five sets of sermons provided with *anisong* texts; all are grouped into five divided by double lines each.

Gift-Giving Ritual			
<i>Anisong</i> sermons		<i>Anisong</i> titles	
		Northern Thailand	Laos
29	Rewards derived from the construction of monasteries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong sima</i> • <i>Anisong khut sim</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sòng khòt sim</i> • <i>Sòng alam</i>
30	Rewards derived from the construction of ordination halls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong sang prasat hit kuti wihan</i> • <i>Anisong [sang] wihan [pen than]</i> 	<i>Sòng meng ubosot</i>
31	Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong an dai ao nam ao sai ma sai khuang cedi mai si lae wat wa aram</i> • <i>Anisong sai</i> • <i>Anisong cedi that cao</i> 	<i>Sòng cedi</i>
32	Rewards derived from the construction of monastic libraries	<i>Anisong sang hò tham [pen than]</i>	-
33	Rewards derived from the construction of abodes	<i>Anisong awatsathan</i>	<i>Sòng katiyakudi</i>

Gift-Giving Ritual			
Anisong sermons		Anisong titles	
		Northern Thailand	Laos
34	Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong nam bò sala khua</i> • <i>Anisong sang sala</i> • <i>Anisong sang khua lae sala [lae] nam bò pen than</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sòng sala</i> • <i>Sòng [paeng] pham</i> • <i>Sòng comkom</i>
35	Rewards derived from the construction of drum shelters	-	<i>Sòng hò klòng luang</i>
36	Rewards derived from the construction of chapels	-	<i>Sòng umong</i>
37	Rewards derived from the construction of monastic walls	-	<i>Sòng kamphaeng</i>
38	Rewards derived from the construction of latrines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong canthakhan</i> • <i>Anisong [sang] wit</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong sang wetcakuti than</i> • <i>Sòng suam ap</i> • <i>Sòng wit</i> • <i>Salòng wetcakuti lü wit than</i> <p style="text-align: right;">*Hò suam ap</p>
39	Rewards derived from planting <i>Bodhi</i> trees	<i>Anisong pluk mai si maha pho</i>	<i>Sòng ton kala[pa]phük</i>
40	Rewards derived from planting grass	<i>Anisong sia ya wat</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sòng yot ya [wat wa]</i> • <i>Sòng sia ya</i>
41	Rewards derived from sweeping monastic ground	<i>Anisong kwat wat</i>	-
42	Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong [sang/than] [phra] phuttharup</i> • <i>Anisong phuttharup cao</i> • <i>Anisong sang phra cao</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong sang pha phutthahup</i> • <i>Sòng [sang] [pha] phutthahup</i> • <i>Sòng pha</i>
43	Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha image robes	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sòng pha bang pha cao</i> • <i>Sòng pha pit</i>
44	Rewards derived from coating Buddha images with golden	<i>Anisong pit thòng phra phuttharup</i>	<i>Anisong phòk kham</i>

Gift-Giving Ritual			
Anisong sermons		Anisong titles	
		Northern Thailand	Laos
	enamel		
45	Rewards derived from the donation of religious books or the Buddhist canon / Rewards derived from learning the Dhamma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong haeng sang tham salòng sang nangsü</i> • <i>Anisong sang tham [pen than]</i> • <i>Anisong khian tham</i> • <i>Anisong [dai] rian tham</i> • <i>Anisong pidok</i> • <i>Anisong paet mün si phan khan</i> • <i>Anisong pitaka [thang sam/cariya]</i> • <i>Anisong tham kham sòn</i> • <i>Salòng sang nangsü</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong sang nangsü</i> • <i>Anisong [sang] [pha] taipidok</i> • <i>Anisong pitaka [thang sam]</i> • <i>Sòng sang nangsü</i> • <i>Sòng sang nangsü lü pidok/pitaka</i> • <i>Sòng paet mün</i> • <i>Sòng pitaka</i> • <i>Sòng kam</i> • <i>Sòng khamphi</i> • <i>Sòng dika aphitham</i> • <i>Tham anisong pidok</i>
46	Rewards derived from the donation of book-wrapping cloths	-	<i>Sòng pha phan nangsü</i>
47	Rewards derived from the donation of religious book chests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong sang rit tham</i> • <i>Anisong [sang] hit [sai] [tham]</i> 	<i>Sòng hip</i>
48	Rewards derived from the donation of pulpits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong thawai asana</i> • <i>Anisong sang thammat</i> 	<i>Sòng thammat</i>
49	Rewards derived from the donation of monastic hall carpets	<i>Anisong pha sima</i>	<i>Sòng pha ubosot</i>
50	Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of religious flags (banners)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong sao thong pha thong</i> • <i>Anisong than thung</i> • <i>Anisong thung sao hong</i> • <i>Anisong sang hong sang thung</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sòng sapphathung [lek]</i> • <i>Sòng thung [thang lai]</i>
51	Rewards derived from the donation of religious sand-coated flags (banners)	-	<i>Sòng thung sai</i>
52	Rewards derived from the donation of	-	<i>Sòng thung fai</i>

Gift-Giving Ritual			
<i>Anisong sermons</i>		<i>Anisong titles</i>	
		Northern Thailand	Laos
	religious cotton flags (banners)		
53	Rewards derived from the donation of religious tailed flags (banners)	-	<i>Sòng thung hang</i>
54	Rewards derived from the donation of religious self-imitated flags (banners)	-	<i>Sòng tua phoeng</i>
55	Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags (banners)	<i>Tham anisong thong lek thong thòng</i>	<i>Sòng thung lek</i>
56	Rewards derived from the donation of flowers, scented sticks and candles	<i>Anisong [hai than] dònk mai</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong salòng dònk mai</i> • <i>Sòng [than] dònk mai [thup thian]</i>
57	Rewards derived from the donation of umbrellas	-	<i>Sòng hom</i>
58	Rewards derived from the donation of mats	<i>Anisong sũa sat</i>	-
59	Rewards derived from the donation of musical instrument	<i>Anisong bucha turiyanontri songsep</i>	<i>Sòng tuliyanonti</i>
60	Rewards derived from the donation of candlesticks	<i>Anisong rao thian</i>	<i>Sòng lao thian</i>
61	Rewards derived from the donation of waterspouts	-	<i>Sòng hang lin</i>
62	Rewards derived from the donation of ceiling curtains	<i>Anisong pha phidan</i>	<i>Anisong thawai pha phidan</i>
63	Rewards derived from the donation of fireworks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong bònk fai</i> • <i>Anisong bònk fai [dònk]</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sòng fai dònk</i> • <i>Sòng bang fai</i>

Gift-Giving Ritual			
Anisong sermons		Anisong titles	
		Northern Thailand	Laos
64	Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong [than] pha</i> • <i>Anisong song pha thòt bangsukun</i> • <i>Anisong pha thòt [lae] bangsukun]</i> • <i>Anisong [pha] bangsukun</i> • <i>Anisong thòt pha bangsukun pen than</i> • <i>Anisong kòng yakyüa</i> • <i>Tham anisong pha bangsukun</i> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>*Hü pha pen than</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong thawai pha pa</i> • <i>Anisong thawai pha pa [bangsukun]</i> • <i>Sòng pha pa</i> • <i>Sòng bangsukun</i> • <i>Sòng [thawai] ciwòn</i> • <i>Sòng hai than pha</i>
65	Rewards derived from the donation of eight commodities for monks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong attha bòrikhan</i> • <i>Anisong sang bòrikhan</i> • <i>Anisong phothisat [pai] chuai sahai than</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sòng wattha paet pakan</i> • <i>Sòng anisong thawai at</i> • <i>Sòng attha bòlikhan</i>
66	Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong nang pathumma hü khao binthabat pen than</i> • <i>Anisong khao binthabat</i> • <i>Anisong khao bat</i> • <i>Anisong [than] khao sao met</i> • <i>Sòng khao tom</i> • <i>Sòng khao tit kon mò</i> • <i>Sòng khao sang phra phat</i> • <i>Anisong rachaphisek</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong sai bat pha wela chao</i> • <i>Sòng khao binthabat</i> • <i>Sòng khao sangkhaphat</i> • <i>Salòng sai bat</i> • <i>Salòng khao suk</i> • <i>Salòng khao mao khao hang</i>
67	Rewards derived from the donation of victuals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong mak kham</i> • <i>Anisong than luk som khòng wan</i> • <i>Anisong ahan</i> • <i>Anisong ao ruang phüing ma bucha than</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sòng sep</i> • <i>Sòng khüang sep thang muan</i>
68	Rewards derived from the construction of public bridges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong nam bò sala khua</i> • <i>Anisong sang khua lae sala [lae] nam bò pen than</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sòng khua</i> • <i>Salòng sang saphan khua</i>
69	Rewards derived from the construction of public wells	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong nam bò sala khua</i> • <i>Anisong sang khua lae sala [lae] nam bò pen than</i> 	<i>Sòng nam [sang]</i>

Gift-Giving Ritual			
Anisong sermons		Anisong titles	
		Northern Thailand	Laos
70	Rewards derived from the construction of public roads	<i>Anisong sang hon thang pen than</i>	<i>Sòng paeng thang</i>
71	Rewards derived from the construction of public hospitals	-	<i>Anisong sang hong phayaban hong mò</i>
72	Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong than</i> • <i>Anisong sapphathan [chadok]</i> <p style="text-align: right;">*<i>Sapphathan</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong [sòng] sangkhathan</i> • <i>Anisong thawai [sappa] than thua pai</i> • <i>Anisong huam</i> • <i>Sòng [sappa]than</i> • <i>Sòng luk chai hai than</i> • <i>Tham anisong sapphathan</i> <p style="text-align: right;">*<i>Huam sòng</i></p>
73	Rewards derived from 7-day merit-making	-	<i>Anisong tham bun cet wan</i>

Table 4.3: *Anisong* sermons and *anisong* texts in gift-giving rituals

4.1.3.2 Generosity categorization

According to the table above, *anisong* texts written for benedictory sermons on the occasion of donating offerings to monasteries are found to be the most varied in sermonic rituals: there are twenty-two ways of donations, reflecting the most popular merit-making by means of offering different kinds of goods to monasteries. The second popular *anisong* sermon that appears in the manuscripts was written to be served on occasions of building monastic constructions, revealing laypeople collaborations on a large scale. *Anisong* sermons pertaining to rewards gained from the commissioning of public constructions are also found in the extant manuscripts, manifesting some secular benefits that, by means of giving *anisong* sermons, were particularly ‘Buddhisized’ to promote the public contributions and to praise the generosity of the devotees.

a) Construction of monastery buildings

Due to the large amount of money necessary to support any constructions in a monastery, donors were likely to join in groups for financial collaboration to raise the money for the

required budget. *Anisong* texts provide evidence that the monastic constructions focused mainly on fundamental buildings that monks and laypeople needed for living and for religious activities; the constructions were temple, main praying hall, monastic library, monk abode, pavilion, drum shelter, chapel, wall and latrine. Besides, planting grass, planting *Bodhi* trees and cleaning monasteries are also included in this category. *Anisong* texts explaining rewards gained from the construction of monastic libraries and pagodas are not found in Laos. In the case of library construction, it cannot simply be concluded that a monastic library was never built in collaboration with laypeople, but such construction was perhaps not so popular or frequent in Laos that *anisong* texts pertaining to its rewards were required for preaching. Teacher-monks usually inscribed palm-leaf manuscripts for using in their Buddhist classes; thus, the manuscripts were rather kept in their abodes than in a central library at a monastery. A clear example is Pha Khamchan Virachitto (1920–2007) who wrote a large number of manuscripts for his personal interest and private use; all of them were kept at his abode reflecting the core knowledge in his temple, Vat Saen Sukharam. Bounleuth explains three purposes of copying and donating manuscripts, including the purpose of personal use. The following quotation gives the first purpose:

Secondly, senior monks are usually recognized as ritual specialists. Their disciples and other Buddhists can pay respect to them by giving them things they need or desire. Some people may give them food, robes, and medicines, whereas others may donate other items such as books and manuscripts. Pha Khamchan was one of these intellectual monks who received numerous manuscripts which were made for his personal use. It might be possible that his followers copied manuscripts for him to commemorate important events in his life, or to deepen their relationship with him (BAD-1-13-0280). Moreover, it is possible that numerous laypeople were also responsible for the sponsoring of manuscripts. They sponsored the manuscripts by their own private means and donated them to Pha Khamchan in order to contribute to the dissemination of the Dhamma. Through this, Pha Khamchan was not only an outstanding monk but also a famous collector of manuscripts in Luang Prabang (Bounleuth 2015: 253).

The other two purposes are to fulfill the four components of monasteries according to the traditional understanding of Lao Buddhists: monks and novices, monastic buildings, Buddha images and religious manuscripts and to commemorate the celebration of the Pha Khamchan's two-cycle anniversary (see more in Bounleuth 2015: 252–254). As a result, collaborative efforts for the constructions of monastic libraries were not as popular as in Northern Thai traditions. A large number of manuscripts discovered in Laos were therefore found in monk abodes, revealing their private uses on different occasions. The following inventory sheet from Luang Prabang shows the storage place of a manuscript in a cabinet of a monk abode.

The manuscript was found in a cabinet of the praying room (the second storey).

The manuscript is combined with other fascicles (*phuk*) in a bundle (*mat*), four fascicles in one bundle.

Inventory sheet of the manuscript-fascicle coded BAD-13-1-0191. The form contains 21 numbered items with checkboxes and handwritten entries. A red box highlights item 17, which contains handwritten text in Thai script. A red arrow points from the text on the left to this box.

Figure 4.4: Inventory sheet of the manuscript-fascicle coded BAD-13-1-0191, source: BAP, year unknown *Anisong phòk kham* (Rewards derived from coating Buddha images with golden enamel), Vat Saen Sukharam

On the other hand, the building of a new monastic library regularly dealt with the process of moving, packing and reorganizing a large number of manuscripts to be orderly archived at a new library; the loss of some manuscripts could possibly happen during the removal and reinstallation. Perhaps, the removal was often done by monks themselves, irrelevant to laypeople; *anisong* texts pertaining to benefits gained from building monastic libraries are thus not found in Laos. In the case of Northern Thailand, manuscripts have been mainly kept at monastic libraries known as *hò tham* or *hò trai* that served as the central archive for a monastery. In addition, a number of manuscripts were inscribed by venerable monks, such as Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi, with the intention to collect a variety of religious texts, the Buddhist canon, for example, or to supplement their local Buddhist educations; the manuscripts were thus in common use by monks in a temple or even within the lay community. The monastic library played a more significant role in Northern Thailand; *anisong* texts explaining rewards derived from library constructions were therefore written in a wider range than those found in Laos.

Historical evidence showing constructions of monastic libraries (Th: *hò trai* หอไตร) was written in inscriptions and palm-leaf manuscripts¹⁶. The earliest inscription recording

¹⁶ Veidlinger (2006) also explains that there are many references to monastic libraries in Phayao inscriptions because governors or important monks in Phayao at that time were interested in the written words. Sirisak, Sathaporn, and Thaninarn (2015) give additional information on evidence of library constructions in Northern Thailand. For example, an inscription from the reign of Phra Müang Kaeo (CE 1495–1525) explains three

historical details of a monastic library construction is from the reign of Phaya Yòt Chiang Rai (CE 1488–1495).

Unlike other aspects of manuscript culture, monastic libraries feature quite prominently in early inscriptions from Lan Na. One inscription from an unknown location in Chiang Rai (PSC, 4: item 87) includes the earliest reference to a library, one that was built in CS 850 (1488 CE). It says that fifteen families and 600,000 cowries worth of rice paddy fields were donated to a monastery in Chiang Sæn in honor of the king's mother and children, as well as teak wood with which to build a *vihāra* and library (*hø pidok*). An inscription from Wat Chiang Man in Chiang Mai that deals with the history of the monastery and the region in general up to CS 943 (1581 CE) also makes reference to a library (EHS, 716). It says that in CS 933 (1571 CE) the *wat* was rebuilt, including a *cetiya*, *vihāra*, *uposatha* hall, and a library. The term used for library is *pittakaghara*, which in Pali means “a house for the scriptures,” certainly a reasonable appellation for such an edifice (see more in Veidlinger 2006: 109–111).

The existence of monastic libraries in Northern Thailand can also be explained by the great involvement of archived manuscripts in regional circulation among a large group of people. Namely, manuscripts in Northern Thailand were used and widely circulated among a larger group of people than in Laos. Systematically organized libraries located in local temples were thus more required to protect and prevent the manuscripts from getting lost, being stolen or being naturally damaged, whereas Lao monks often kept manuscripts in their abodes, thereby having less standardized manuscript libraries. The two situations can be compared to the CSMC library and the Staats-und-Universitäts-Bibliothek (State and University Library of) Hamburg. The Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), the institute to which the author is affiliated, at the University of Hamburg, Germany, provides a central library for the affiliated researchers who are allowed to borrow books from the library without electronic circulation records thanks to the circulation taking place within our limited group of researchers. Books are allowed to be used for a long while by researchers because they have no limited borrowing time, which sometimes causes books being missed; the circulation within a small group and the long-term use of books can be compared to manuscript circulations in the Lao community in which the users sometimes marked their name on the manuscripts to identify an ownership statement. The Staats-und-Universitäts-Bibliothek Hamburg, Germany, deals with a large group of users, and certainly requires online and electronic systems for material organization and book circulation; the state library can thus be

monastic libraries built in CE 1497 at Pa Mai temple in Phayao province, in CE 1503 at Ban Dòn temple in Phayao province and in CE 1509 at Phra That Hariphunchai temple in Lamphun province. Phra Maha Thammika Rachathirat, the ruler of Chiang Mai, built a monastic library at Chiang Man temple in CE 1571. King Kawila (CE 1782–1816) built two monastic libraries at Phra Sing temple in CE 1812 and another at Saen Fang temple in CE 1870; both are in Chiang Mai province. In terms of historical manuscript documents, the *Munlasasana* chronicle mentions a monastic library at Suan Dòk temple built in CE 1468 during the reign of King Tilokarat. *Jinakālamālipakaraṇaṃ* explains the constructions of three monastic libraries at Buppharam temple (CE 1501), Pa Daeng Luang temple (CE 1516) and Cet Yòt temple (CE 1514) in Chiang Mai during the reign of Phra Müang Kaeo (CE 1495–1525). A quantity of historical evidence reveals that monastic libraries were constructed since the seventeenth Buddhist century.

compared to central monastic libraries in the Northern Thai tradition. McDaniel (2009) defines the circulation of manuscripts in Northern Thailand as a loose network of open campuses.

The mixed Pāli and vernacular colophons on manuscripts throughout the region show that the texts were produced at one monastery and then given to others, like Wat Sung Men and Wat Lai Hin, for protection, storage, and for the service of a school with more students (this is common today when scholars at small school donate their personal libraries to large schools who have the students and the library facilities to make their private collections more useful to a wider audience). Manuscripts moved as frequently as students and teachers and therefore rural schools must be seen as similar to schools in Chiang Mai, Vientiane, and Luang Prabang. They existed in a loose network of open campuses that shared teachers, texts, and students across the larger Tai speaking world of Eastern Burma, Laos, parts of Southwest China, and Northern Thailand (McDaniel 2009: 137).

Anisong texts explaining rewards gained from the construction of monastic drum shelters, chapels and walls are not found in Northern Thailand but in Laos: *Sòng hò klòng luang* (source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0448, Vat Si Bun Hüang, Luang Prabang, CE 1937), *Sòng umong* (source: BAP, code: 06011406014-15, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1836) and *Sòng kamphaeng* (source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0296, Vat Si Bun Hüang, Luang Prabang, year unknown). The absent *anisong* texts pertaining to the three sermonic occasions in Northern Thailand were perhaps caused by the lesser popularity of such constructions or sermons because *anisong* texts in Northern Thailand were typically taken from canonical texts or Jātaka stories, while those in Laos were often adapted to fit the actual donated items. In Northern Thailand, *anisong* texts explaining rewards derived from building monasteries, such as *Anisong sima* (source; DELMN, code: 1029, Wat Pa Müat, Nan, year unknown) and *Anisong khut sim* (source: PNTMP, code: พส 0406012-05, Wat Phra Bat Ming Müang, Phrae, year unknown), could be read instead when a construction of drum shelters, monastic chapels or monastic walls was finished and an *anisong* sermon was required. In addition to monastic buildings, other kinds of donations for monastic grounds are also included: *Anisong pluk mai si maha pho* or rewards derived from planting *Bodhi* trees (source; DELMN, code: 786, Wat Ton Laeng, Nan, year unknown), *Sòng yot ya* or rewards derived from planting grass (source: DLLM, code: 06011406014-01, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1968) and *Anisong kwat wat* or rewards derived from sweeping the monastic ground (code: นน 03-06-320-428, Wat Monthian, Nan, CE 1901). The *Anisong kwat wat* was written in a manuscript-fascicle combined with other thirteen fascicles in a bundle as a composite manuscript. This manuscript-bundle has not been digitized yet and is kept at Wat Monthian, Nan province. *Anisong kwat wat* describes great rewards gained from cleaning different spots and buildings in temples by means of giving various stories of people who cleaned it. The beneficial activities are not calendrically fixed but flexibly scheduled by different local temples. A sermon explaining rewards gained from cleaning temples is done before or after the activity; the event was generally done in the past but has decreased in numbers in the present time.

Despite a variety of monastic buildings jointly constructed by laypeople in dedication to the Teachings of the Buddha, the donation of land and labours for benefits of monasteries has not been found in *anison* manuscripts in both two regions. No matter such the donation existed or never, *anison* sermons praising the land or labour donation was not so widespread or often that *anison* manuscripts should have been written to serve future liturgical uses. This can be speculated that the donation of land and labour was supposed to be more frequently done by kings as rulers of the land (พระเจ้าแผ่นดิน) who possessed the right of the donation, not by commoners, because it linked to the expansion of territory as explained by Grabowsky as follows:

Dhida Saraya sees a close connection between religious donations and the expansion of settlements in the region of today's Thailand. The rulers of Dvaravati and Lopburi, later also the rulers of Sukhothai, had attempted to expand their territories into previously mostly unpopulated new land by means of donating land and labourers to Buddhist monasteries. The new religious centres and the supporting villages received from the rulers often generous material advantages, which have them a quasi-model character. They could attract more settlers so as to reclaim additional land for cultivation in the region and establish more new villages. In this way the newly developed regions prospered. Since the king as "ruler of the land" (*phraçao phaendin* พระเจ้าแผ่นดิน) possessed the privileges of such a donation, the founding of monasteries, the expansion of settlements and the consolidation of the royal sphere of influence developed parallel to one another (Grabowsky 2005: 33).

In terms of *anison* preaching, the sermonic rituals were usually done after a monastic construction was finished. The core intention was to sponsor different buildings in dedication to temples; *anison* preaching then served as a grateful feedback from monks towards laypeople by means of blessing them with promising rewards in the form of sermonic rituals known as *anison*. The blessing was structured in Pali for the purpose of consecration and in vernacular for the purpose of getting across to the audience what the monks were preaching. No exact rules of an *anison* preaching date are specified after a monastic construction is done. A timetable could be scheduled for monks and laypeople by matching their available time to organize *anison* sermons.

One can find, for example, *Sòng kamphaeng* (Rewards derived from the construction of monastic walls, source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0296, year unknown), *Sòng hom* (Rewards derived from the donation of umbrellas, source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0297, year unknown) or *Sòng hò kòng luang* (Rewards derived from the construction of main monastic drum shelters, source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0448, CE 1937), revealing traditional meritorious habits of the Lao who are delighted with their merit-making deeds, thereby writing the particular merit and results in *anison* manuscripts. Time passes and donation goods are modernized; *anison* texts were consequently written in response to new kinds of donated

items. Bounleuth explains the ground concept of merit-making and liturgical *anisong* texts of the Lao in his doctoral dissertation¹⁷ as follows:

Like other people in the world, Lao people are very proud of obtaining their desires. As Lao Buddhists, they often lend their ears to a sermonic speech as a positive act of merit making. Based on the demand for such sermons, Lao Buddhist thinkers – in effect, outstandingly-educated Lao monks – have tried their best to compile various types of sermonic texts to honor Buddhist merit-making. These texts are called *Anisong*. These texts have been classified and named by the Preservation of Lao Manuscripts Programme under the category of *Anisong/Salòng* (Bounleuth 2016: 130–131).

b) Offerings to monasteries

The texts evidently show different dedicated items offered by laypeople to monasteries. Such items can be divided into general goods and religious flags (Buddhist banners). Monastic goods were offered by laypeople on different occasions. A number of *anisong* manuscripts were dedicated along with other monastic goods or even with other manuscripts. Even though the scribes have never experienced any *anisong* sermons given in gratitude for the dedication of monastic goods, *anisong* manuscripts were primarily produced to be served as liturgical texts for monks. Hence, there could possibly be a number of *anisong* manuscripts that have never been used in any rituals; sponsors gave the manuscripts to a monastery in order to support future sermons. Although there was the case that some gift-giving occasions were never accompanied by any *anisong* sermons, different kinds of dedicated items appearing in the titles of *anisong* texts may count as evidence of certain gifts that were actually offered to temples in the past, because, as was explained in Chapter One, commissioners produced and dedicated *anisong* manuscripts for gaining merit from copying religious books and for praising certain merit mentioned in the texts. *Anisong* texts in the manuscripts therefore reveal the gift-giving tradition in both Northern Thailand and Laos.

Items donated to monasteries include a wide range of goods: Buddha images, religious books, pulpits, candlesticks and others, each of which was served as an object of worship, for supplying the monastery or as ritual equipment. In Laos extant *anisong* texts were written to support a larger variety of sermonic occasions than those in Northern Thailand. Arthid Sheravanichkul (2009: 172–173) categorizes this type of gifts as ‘offering alms’ as follows: (1) foods, fruits, water and medicines, (2) robes, (3) personal goods, (4) monastic equipment, (5) worship goods, (6) religious books, (7) seats and (8) general offerings. The production of worship objects explained in his contribution is divided into Buddha images and stupas, which is different from the categorization in this research because there are a larger variety of worship objects found in *anisong* manuscripts in the corpus.

¹⁷ The dissertation is entitled “Buddhist Monks and their Search for Knowledge: an examination of the personal collection of manuscripts of Phra Khamchan Virachitto (1920–2007), Abbot of Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang”.

As for dedications of religious books, a copy of the concise Buddhist canon – comprising *Vinaya*, *Suttanta* and *Abhidhamma* – found in Northern Thailand is often followed by an additional text called *Anisong pitaka [thang sam]* in the same unit, explaining rewards gained from copying all three texts, terminologically also known as ‘baskets’ (P: *pitaka*), of the Buddhist canon. The text serves as a confirmation of meritorious outcomes that certainly reward the sponsors who commissioned a copy of the Buddhist canon; it is considered as a multiple-text manuscript because it is part of a dedication unit together with *Vinaya*, *Suttanta* and *Abhidhamma* in the Buddhist canon. In some cases, *Anisong pitaka [thang sam]* texts were written individually in a fascicle without being combined with the Buddhist canon. The combination of all the four texts is not found in the Lao corpus. There are fifty-one *Anisong pitaka [thang sam]* manuscripts combined with the Buddhist canon in the form of multiple-text or composite manuscripts found in Northern Thailand, all of which are chronologically presented in the following bar chart – four are not included due to the undated manuscripts.

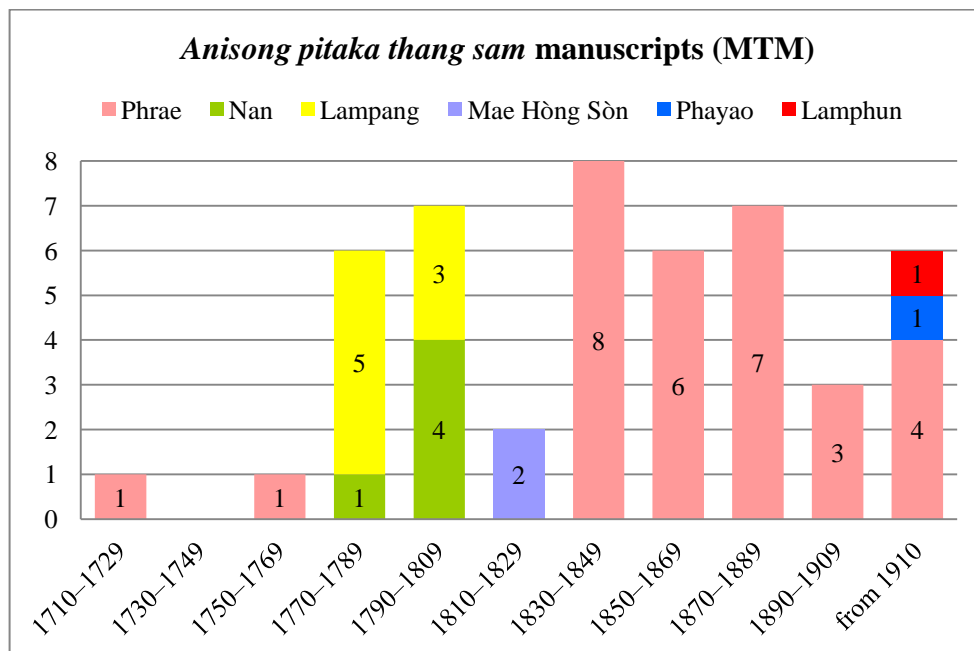


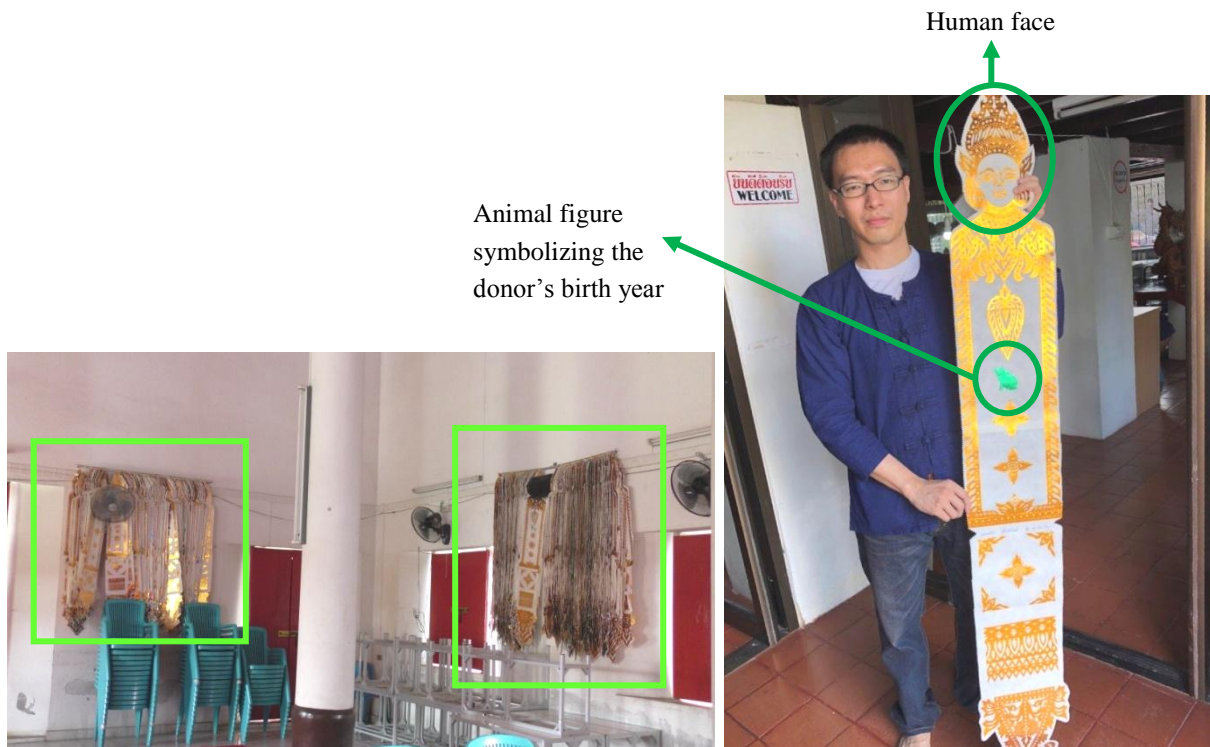
Chart 4.1: Number of *Anisong pitaka thang sam* (MTM) in Northern Thailand

The earliest *Anisong pitaka thang sam* manuscript was written in CE 1710 by a novice named Siri and is found at Wat Sung Men in Phrae province (source: PNTMP, code: พฐ 0220001-02); the most recent one was written in CE 1949 by a monk named Phommathep and is found at Wat Li in Phayao province (source: DLNTM, code: พญ 0510098-00). As for the earliest one, the scribe wrote the manuscript during his stay at Wat Phra Luang and completed it in the eleventh lunar month of the traditional Northern Thai calendar, corresponding to August; the manuscript commission can be assumed to have taken place during the Buddhist Lenten period. The earliest *Anisong pitaka thang sam* manuscripts from Nan and Lampang were written in CE 1784 (source: PNTMP, code: นน 0910059-00) and CE 1771 (source: PNTMP, code: ลป 0610001-00), respectively. Interestingly, *Anisong pitaka thang sam* manuscripts written during CE 1730–1749 are not found; they could possibly have been written in that

period but was later separated from the original bundle. From the beginning of the 19th century, *Anisong pitaka thang sam* manuscripts became concentrated in Phrae province with increasing numbers, which were certainly related to the activities of the Venerable Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi who devoted great efforts to numerous religious duties during the fifty years of CE 1826–1878. Because supportive religious duties, as is explained in Chapter Two, included the Buddhist canon revision, the trends in manuscript culture influenced to some extent the tradition of transmitting or copying the Buddhist canon. The *Anisong pitaka thang sam* manuscript will be further explained in detail in **4.2.2.1 Supplement of merit confirmation** under the topic of Codicological Units of *Anisong* Manuscripts.

There are seven kinds of religious flag dedications accompanied by *anisong* texts in the extant manuscripts, most of which were written in Laos. Buddhist banners or religious flags are made in a variety of material, sizes, colours and shapes to decorate or symbolize different aspects on a variety of occasions. *Anisong* texts found in the two regions were written as liturgical texts to serve in dedication rituals of six specific flags and one general or unspecific flag: sand-coated flags, cotton-made flags, tailed flags, self-imitated flags, iron flags, golden flags and unspecific or all kinds of flags, all of which were written in *anisong* manuscripts from Laos, while those manuscripts from Northern Thailand are only provided for the dedication of iron flags, golden flags and all kinds of flags. *Anisong* texts explaining rewards gained from offering iron flags, golden flags and all kinds of flags are thus available in the manuscripts from the two regions. Iron flags and golden flags are nowadays made of zinc and brass and traditionally used at funerals, because people believe that dead spirits can be rescued by the flags to escape from the hells.

Tung (Thai: *thong* ทอง, L: *thung* ທຸ່ງ) *sai*, *tung fai*, *tung hang* and *tung kha khing* are four kinds of Buddhist banners found in *anisong* manuscripts only from Lao. *Tung sai* is a flag coated with sand and popularly dedicated to worship the second Bodhisatta rebirth (Mahā Janaka) of the great ten previous lives of Lord Buddha Gotama. *Tung fai* is a flag made of clothes or cotton and used in a variety of religious occasions. *Tung hang* is a paper flag with triple tails; they are divided into red flags and white flags, each of which is employed in relation to dead spirits. A triple-tailed red flag is placed at the position of the sudden death after seven days, so that the spirits can be released from the death spot and have a new rebirth. Besides, people can use the red flags on New Year celebrations to dedicate merit to the dead. Triple-tailed white flags are human-like shaped and used in a cortege towards the cemetery ground. *Tung kha khing* is a paper flag with a shape of 4–6 inches in width and the same height as the donors, with a drawing of a human face on top and a piece of paper with an animal symbolizing the year of birth of the donor below the human-like face. The term *kha khing* or *tua phüing/phoeng/poeng* means ‘oneself’; the flags are thus used in life extension rituals. Even though the four kinds of flags are found in *anisong* manuscripts from Laos, the tradition of offering religious flags is widespread in Northern Thailand as well and usually plays a role in representing particular meanings in different religious events.



(Left) Figure 4.5: Human-like banners (in the green frames) are hung in the ordination hall of Wat Phra Koet, Nan province. The author experienced the ritual of *tung kha khing* dedication during the research trip in 2018. A group of female volunteers¹⁸ made the flags or banners, so that laypeople could donate their money to have the volunteers make their own flags. The flag cost 200 THB (≈EUR 6) and it took hours to make one; I ordered one at the temple around 10 o'clock and they told me to get the flag in the afternoon. I got the flag in the late afternoon and the abbot of the temple blessed me in a ritual of life extension and protection on the same day. The flag was then hung in the main monastic hall; so were numerous flags in front of the great Buddha image.

(Right) Figure 4.6: A human-like banner donated by Mr. Pongsakorn Choosakdawiwat, a layman from Phrae province. The banner was designed with the specific length similar to the donor's height, decorated with the human face and the animal figure symbolizing the donor's birth year, the Year of the Pig, corresponding to CE 1983.

Photo by the author on August 11, 2018 at Wat Phra Koet, Nan province

c) Alms for monks

There are four kinds of alms for monks: robes, eight necessities for monks¹⁹ (อัฐบริขาร), alms-food and victuals, all of which is provided with *anisong* texts in both regions, reflecting necessary goods of monkhood. In terms of *anisong* sermons explaining rewards gained from the donation of monk robes, the robes are offered by laypeople on different occasions and are

¹⁸ Hall (2010: 129) gives an explanation of female religious roles on Buddhist banners as follows: "These banners, called *thung* in Lao, are traditionally handwoven and embody the dual roles of Lao women as both weavers and major donors to *vats* (Buddhist monasteries)". Accordingly, compared to *anisong* manuscript productions, the female handweavers play similar dual roles as both 'sponsor' and 'scribe'.

¹⁹ Monk robes (three pieces), waistband, razor, alms-bowl, needle and strainer.

known as *pha pa* (ผ้าป่า), *pha bangsukun* (ผ้าบังสุกุล), or *ciwòn* (จีวร) (P: *cīvara*), all of which represents monk robes but different times of donation. Titles of *anisong* texts explaining rewards gained from offering monk robes therefore mention monk robes with different identifications. In Northern Thailand the term *pha bangsukun* is the one most frequently included in the titles, revealing the significance of funeral organization in the region, because *pha bangsukun* is involved as a part of funerals that laypeople offer to monks on behalf of the dead. The robe, connected by a white sacred thread, is placed between the monks and the coffin, representing the direct monk robe dedication from the dead. Phra Athikan Phiphatphong interviewed Mr. Son Siwichai, Deputy Chief Executive of the Naprang Subdistrict Administrative Organization, a former village chief and former abbot of Dòn Kaeo temple who explained the tradition of Pha Bangsukun at funerals in a Northern Thai province and that it has been practised since CE 1993.

สมัยที่เป็นพระภิกษุเวลาไปสวดพระอภิธรรมไม่มีการทอดผ้าบังสุกุล จะใช้สายโยงซึ่งเป็นด้ายธรรมดา ซึ่งโยงจากโลงศพมาให้พระจับแล้วพิจารณาแค่นั้น และการใช้พัดรองในการสวดศพก็ไม่มี เพิ่งเข้ามาที่หลังประมาณปี พ.ศ. ๒๕๔๔ พิธีการทอดผ้าบังสุกุลมาเพิ่มเข้ามาประมาณปี พ.ศ. ๒๕๓๙ นอกจากจะมีการทอดผ้าบังสุกุลในพิธีสวดพระอภิธรรมศพแล้วยังนิยมทอดผ้าบังสุกุลเท่าจำนวนอายุของผู้ตายอีกด้วย

In the period of his monkhood, robes were not dedicated at the funerals he gave praying for. There was only a normal thread hanging and linking the coffin to the monk's hands. Talipot fans for hiding preachers' faces during funeral praying were not used either until BE 2544 (CE 2001). The ritual of offering robes at funerals was initiated in ca. BE 2539 (CE 1996). Besides, the number of dedicated robes corresponds to the age of the dead (Phiphatphong 2011: 66–67).

Even though the robe is basically used at funerals, the ritual *pha bangsukun* as a direct dedication to monks is done outside funerals. Laypeople offer the robe in expectation of transferring merit to the dead and the dedication ritual, followed by giving an *anisong* sermon, can be done at any time; *anisong* texts pertaining to monk robe dedications are thus not categorized as sermonic texts for life transition rituals like a funeral. The term *kòng yak yüa* included in the title *Anisong kòng yakyüa* (source: DELMN, code: 905, Wat Klang, Chiang Rai, year unknown) also refers to a monk robe dedication because *kòng yakyüa* means a pile of garbage from which monks in the Buddha Gotama period took old clothes for making their new robes; according to canonical rules in the *Vinaya*, monks are not allowed to ask laypeople for new or elaborate robes. Compared to *anisong* texts pertaining to monk robe offerings in Laos, the term *pha* (clothes, robes) is also included in the titles of *anisong* texts found in Northern Thailand: *Anisong [than] pha* (source: DELMN, code: 816, Wat Kasa, Chiang Rai, CE 1936). In Laos, the words *pha bangsukun*, *pha pa* or *ciwòn* only infrequently appear in the titles referring to monk robes in particular; this reveals a lesser popularity of robe-offering of *pha bangsukun* in meritorious dedications to the dead compared to the Northern Thai tradition. Instead, the titles include the terms *pha pa* and *ciwòn* that literally mean ‘clothes grabbed from forests’ and ‘monk robes’, respectively; both can represent ‘monk robes’.

The eight necessities for monkhood are known as *attha bòrikhan*; they are considered as basic items for a monk's everyday life. Laypeople offer the goods on different kinds of occasions to non-specific monks. *Anisong* titles include the term *attha bòrikhan* or *at* in a short form. An *anisong* text entitled *Anisong phothisat pai chuai sahai than* (Rewards of Bodhisatta who helped his friends for gift-giving) written in a palm-leaf manuscript (source: PNTMP, code: ๙๗ 0206008-01, Wat Phra That Lampang Luang, Lampang, CE 1923) tells a Jātaka story, i.e., a tale about a previous life of Buddha Gotama who offered goods including eight things in need for monks and suggested other people to do the same on the occasion of the end of the Buddhist Lent; the story reflects the popular practice of offering the necessary goods for monks during the Buddhist retreat since they are restricted to stay at a certain temple.

Anisong sermons explaining alms-food donation can be done at several occasions in which the gift-giving is included. The favourite alms-food was cooked rice in a variety of rice recipes, evidenced by the titles that mention specific words of cooked rice: *khao sao met* (twenty rice grains) or *khao ya khu* (sweet rice desert), *khao tom* (boiled rice), *khao suk* (cooked rice) and *khao mao* (pounded unripe rice); the terms reveal the rice culture of both regions where people grow rice themselves and cook their meals mainly with rice. Sukanya Sujachaya explains the rice culture among the Tai ethnic groups: “The Tai ethnicity is distinctively characterized by rice farming and could be distinguished from other regional ethnic groups. Different phrases have been inherited by different ethnic groups: such as *kha het hai tai het na* for Tai Long and Tai Yai, *hai kha na tai* for Tai Lü, *tai het na kha het hai* for Tai Lü and Tai Dam, *lua yia hai tai sai na* for Tai Yuan”, evidenced by numerous folk tales widely narrated in the Tai-speaking regions (source: <http://www.openbase.in.th/node/10318>).

Therefore, the people pay homage to monks and monasteries by means of offering rice to gain merit, as rice is considered their essential daily food. In the extant *anisong* manuscripts, four kinds of rice are frequently mentioned and explained as items to be dedicated to monks. These are *khao sao met*, *khao tom*, *khao suk* and *khao mao*, all of which represent cooked rice seasoned with different ingredients in different shapes and offered on different occasions. The rice-offering is related to the traditional Tak Bat event (giving food for monks in alms-bowls) of Lao Buddhists. Kislenko explains the event which takes place every morning in Laos as follows: “Each morning, shortly after sunrise, monks walk in a procession near their temples through most towns and villages in Laos. People line the streets and give the passing monks food, earning merit in return”. The *anisong* titles therefore include the terms *binthabat* and *sai bat*, representing the Tak Bat event; particularly, an *anisong* text entitled *Anisong sai bat pha wela chao*, which literally means rewards gained from morning alms-offering, written in a palm-leaf manuscript coded BAD-21-1-0432 from Vat Si Bun Hüang (CE 1948), implies the traditional habit of Lao people of the *tak bat* routine in the morning. The text *Anisong sai bat pha wela chao* can be read by a preaching monk on any religious occasions in which an alms-offering activity is included in the morning. Evidenced by an exemplary *anisong* text entitled *Sòng khao sangkaphat* (Rewards derived from the donation of cooked rice) (source: DLLM, code: 01012906010-01, The National Library, Vientiane, CE 1854), alms-food offerings are not restricted to be done in the morning. Besides, narratives given by Lord Buddha or his

disciples can also be included in *anisong* texts, represented in some of the titles; for example, *Anisong nang pathumma hii khao binthabat pen than* or ‘Rewards of Nang (Ms.) Pathumma who donated cooked rice as alms-food’ from Wat Phra Bat Ming Müang (source: PNTMP, code: พ๓ 0406012-04, Phrae, year unknown).

By the way, the title *Anisong rachaphisek* in a manuscript-fascicle coded พ๓ 0106004-10 (source: PNTMP, Wat Sung Men, Phrae, year unknown) literally means ‘rewards derived from the participation of king coronations’, but the textual content itself narrates the story of King Pasenthikoson who dedicated numerous goods and necessities to monks. Regarding *anisong* sermons on occasions of victual donations, *anisong* texts written in the manuscripts found in Northern Thailand show more specific kinds of victuals than those in Laos. The texts show rewards gained from offering chewing betel nuts, fruits and beehives, whereas *anisong* texts in Laos merely explain rewards from offering food in general.

d) Public construction works

The extant manuscripts contain few *anisong* texts pertaining to public constructions. In Northern Thailand, those explaining rewards gained from building wells, pavilions and bridges were written in the same textual unit as a jointly-commissioned merit, while *anisong* texts found in Laos explain meritorious rewards gained from a certain construction. Evidenced by the extant texts, both regions have *anisong* texts pertaining to the public constructions of wells, pavilions, bridges and common roads. The combination of public constructions in the texts may indicate multiple constructions done at the same time for public affairs. In the *anisong* text, Lord Buddha explains to deities from heaven about rewards gained from building the constructions. Still, an *anisong* text of rewards gained from building public hospitals is only found in Laos, reflecting that the written text was oriented to fit contemporary ways of modernized merit-making. Public constructions that appeared in the *anisong* texts were for local basic infrastructure and certainly required a large amount of budget. This explains why few relevant *anisong* texts have remained.

e) Common gift-giving

Anisong texts relevant to rewards derived from all kinds of gift-giving are mostly entitled *Anisong (Salòng/Sòng) sapphathan*, literally meaning ‘Rewards derived from (or celebrations of) the donation of all kinds of gift-giving’. Such texts can be read as sermons on any kind of gift-giving occasions, especially when *anisong* manuscripts provided at a monastery are not relevant to the specific donated items; a clear example was explained about an *anisong* sermon given to show gratitude and bless lay sponsors who donated their money for building a new drum and a drum shelter at Vat Pha Bat Tai in Luang Prabang, Laos. The preaching monk told me that he selected the text *Anisong sapphathan* because no text explaining rewards gained from building monastic drums and shelters was available. The provided

Anisong sapphathan showed meritorious outcomes from all kinds of gift-giving; it could thus compensate the lack of *anisong* texts that exactly explain rewards from donating monastic drums (Interview on February 11, 2017). Only one *anisong* manuscript explaining rewards gained from 7-day merit-making is found; the manuscript was written with the Tham Lao script and is kept at Vat Si Bun Hüang in Luang Prabang (source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0431, CE 1948). The 7-day merit-making described in the manuscript is supposed to be transferred to dead spirits but the text mentions no specific donated items or acts; the text is thus categorized as common gift-giving for it could be freely done in accordance with the death of individuals. The merit-making is related to the belief in the existence of spirits, despite the loss or decay of the physical body. Terwiel explains the belief in the 7-day cycle of afterdeath as follows: “According to one informant, it is on the seventh day that the dead person suddenly realizes that he cannot remain in the decaying body. This is the moment when he has to go to the world of the dead and wait till he is reborn” (Terwiel 2012 : 251).

4.1.4 Miscellaneous rituals

A number of *anisong* texts were written to serve as liturgy for nine miscellaneous rituals that are not specifically organized on a certain occasion; some of them can also be done on several kinds of occasions; others are unclear as to when the sermons are actually given. The *anisong* sermons are mainly characterized by meritorious results gained from self-improvement by means of following the Buddhist precepts and rules, listening to the Dhamma, doing meditation, being solitary, wishing for good things and reciting holy prayers. The acts of merit are basically done in accordance with different times for different purposes. For instance, *anisong* sermons explaining rewards gained from taking care of one’s own parents can be given at funerals or at the traditional New Year when all family members meet.

Miscellaneous Ritual			
<i>Anisong</i> sermons		<i>Anisong</i> titles	
		Northern Thailand	Laos
74	Rewards derived from taking care of one’s own parents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong liang phò liang mae</i> • <i>Anisong liang du phò lae mae</i> 	-
75	Rewards derived from praying for good things	-	<i>Thipphamon</i>
76	Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections (<i>Parami</i>)	<i>Anisong barami samsip that</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Panya balami [luang]</i> • <i>Palami yòt kaeo</i> • <i>Sappa palami</i>
77	Rewards derived from precept observance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong [raksa] sin</i> • <i>[Anisong] nu phüak</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anisong haksa sin ubosot</i> • <i>Sòng haksa sin</i>

Miscellaneous Ritual			
<i>Anisong sermons</i>		<i>Anisong titles</i>	
		Northern Thailand	Laos
		• <i>Anisong sin ha sin paet</i>	• <i>Haksa sin ha nithan sithattha latsatham</i> * <i>Lem luang</i>
78	Rewards derived from the consideration of Buddha's virtue	<i>Anisong phutthakhun</i>	-
79	Rewards derived from being in isolation	-	<i>Anisong catulalakkha</i>
80	Rewards derived from the recitation of <i>Salakariwichasut</i>	-	<i>Anisong salakaliwicha sut</i>
81	Rewards derived from following the thirty-eight rules of well-behaving	-	• <i>Anisong mangkhala sut</i> • <i>Salòng mangkhala sut</i>
82	Rewards derived from meditation	-	<i>Sòng phawana</i>

Table 4.4: *Anisong* sermons and *anisong* texts in miscellaneous rituals

There are two special *anisong* sermons that are accompanied by *anisong* texts in both regions: about precept observance and about following the *Parami Samsip That* (Thirty Perfections). As for rewards gained from taking care of one's own parents, the *anisong* text mentions a son of a wealthy couple who had the most ardent religious faith after listening to a sermon delivered by Lord Buddha. He asked his parents for permission of ordination but was rejected. However, his request was eventually accepted after his long grief. Thieves knew about the ordination and then stole all the property from the house because the son was not at home any longer. His parents became poor and begged for food on the street, the ordained son then took care of his parents with his alms-food. The text is only found in Northern Thailand.

Reflected by some titles mentioning the *ubosot* precepts, the *anisong* sermon of rewards gained from precept observance can be given in the period of *Uposatha* which is held twice a month, in which *Pāṭimokkha* (the monastic code) is fully chanted by monks. McDaniel explains the Uposatha ceremony in *The Lovelorn Ghost and the Magic Monk: Practicing Buddhism in Modern Thailand* (2011) as follows:

South and Southeast Asian Buddhists added the quarter days in the lunar cycle to the list of monthly days of observance, establishing four Sabbath-like days each month (known as *wan phra* in Thailand). *Uposatha* days are times in which devout (or even casually observant) lay Buddhists often voluntarily vow to keep the Eight Precepts (i.e. refraining from consuming intoxicants, speaking untruths, slander, rumors, sexual activity, killing

living beings, stealing or hoarding property, eating after noon, excessively decorating oneself, sleeping on luxurious beds). In practice, this means that many lay Buddhists, especially elderly women, dress in white, do not wear cosmetics or jewelry, and sleep in open-air pavilions on monastic grounds. They spend their time meditating, talking casually, listening to chanting, reading, making decorations, cleaning and polishing ritual implements, and cooking. Novices, nuns, and monks often use these days to chant for the public, offer sermons, and counsel visitors who may be having personal problems (McDaniel 2011: 134–135).

Since the *anisong* liturgical texts were written to serve unspecific occasions, the manuscripts were possibly made for the purpose of praising different meritorious acts in which no *anisong* sermons were required.

4.2 Codicological Units of *Anisong* Manuscripts

Anisong manuscripts from Northern Thailand and Laos are basically grouped into Single-Text Manuscript (STM), Multiple-Text Manuscript (MTM) and Composite Manuscript (COM) codicological units. The following bar chart shows codicological units of extant *anisong* manuscripts in bundles; in total, there are 207 bundles in Northern Thailand and 143 bundles in Laos. Bundles of *anisong* manuscripts from Northern Thailand always outnumber those from Laos, except for composite manuscripts, of which sixty-seven bundles are found in Northern Thailand, whereas ninety-nine bundles are found in Laos. Multiple-text manuscripts, however, are rarely found in Laos, since they have already been mixed with other fascicles into a bundle and eventually became composite manuscripts (COM). The numbers of single-text manuscripts and composite manuscripts have contrary quantities in the two regions; single-text manuscripts from Northern Thailand amount to about the double of those from Laos, while composite manuscripts from Laos are one-third more than those from Northern Thailand. Extant *anisong* manuscripts in Northern Thailand are mostly found as single-text manuscripts, revealing that the manuscripts remain in their original codicological units because, compared to those from Laos, they were less mixed with other manuscripts as a new bundle (*mat*). The majority of codicological units of *anisong* manuscripts from Laos are, conversely, (1) composite manuscripts, especially those containing several textual themes in a bundle that are mostly found in Vientiane where the National Library of Laos is located, and (2) as a result of the French policy of manuscript survey as explained in Chapter Three, those containing different fascicles produced at different times but which were gathered and kept at main monasteries. Manuscripts of several textual themes were collected as composite manuscripts for the purpose of systematically organizing and archiving scattered manuscripts acquired from different temples. Different codicological units are often associated with *anisong* sermonic rituals.

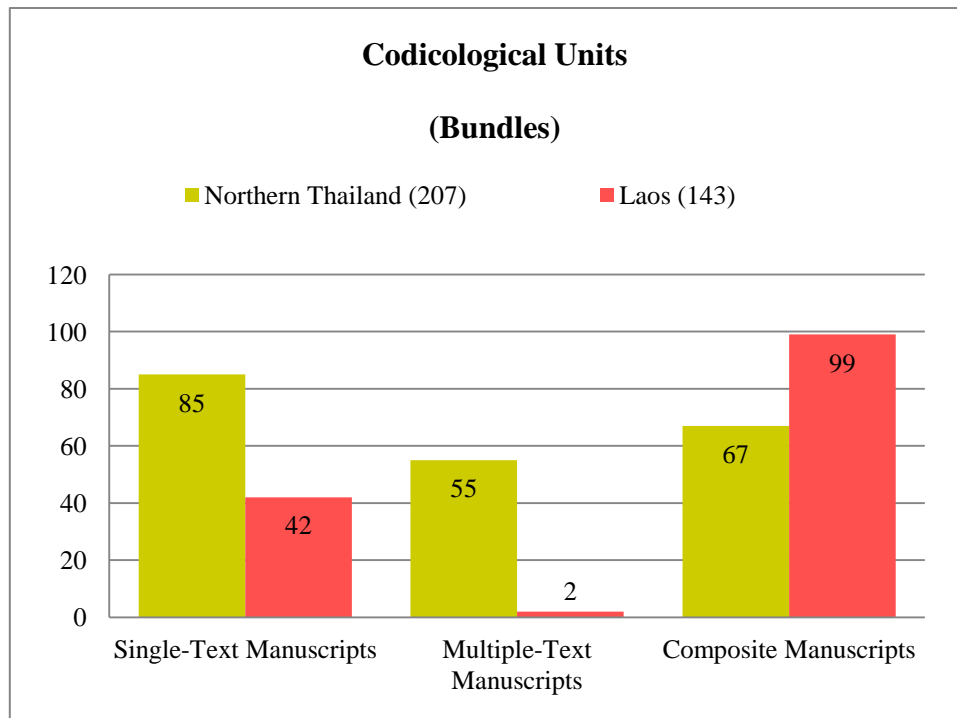


Chart 4.2: Codicological units (bundles) of *anisong* manuscripts

4.2.1 Single-Text Manuscripts (STMs)

Anisong single-text manuscripts from Northern Thailand are approximately double of those from Laos. The highest numbers of single-text manuscripts used at certain rituals in Northern Thailand are up to eleven manuscripts, while those from Laos reach up to fourteen manuscripts. The following table shows the most frequent single-text manuscripts for individual sermonic rituals found in the two regions, followed by the number of extant manuscripts, each of which is marked with abbreviations C, R, G and M at the initials, identifying ritual categories: calendrical rituals (C), rite of passage rituals (R), gift-giving rituals (G) and miscellaneous rituals (M).

Northern Thailand		Laos	
Sermons (Number of manuscripts)		Sermons (Number of manuscripts)	
(G) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving	11 ²⁰	(M) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections (<i>Palami</i>)	14 ²¹
(G) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes	9 ²²	(C) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival	4 ²³
(G) Rewards derived from the donation of goods related to religious books	6 ²⁴	(C) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao phan kòn</i> festival	3 ²⁵

Table 4.5: *Anisong* single-text manuscripts categorized by ritual types

According to the table above, *anisong* sermons in gift-giving rituals (G) are obviously dominant. Concerning the liturgical usage, single-text manuscripts are characterized by their convenient portability; preaching monks did not need to look for a certain manuscript of the required text that was kept in a bundle of mixed-up fascicles; i.e., they could take the single-fascicle or single-text manuscript and directly gave a sermon. The majority of single-text manuscripts found in Northern Thailand were mainly produced to serve gift-giving sermonic rituals (*Saphathan*); the texts could be employed for preaching in a variety of donations especially of those that were contemporarily new or not canonically mentioned in any religious books; the texts thus remain single-text codicological units for being easily brought along by any preachers to give individual *anisong* sermons on different occasions. Single-text manuscripts from Laos were made mainly for miscellaneous rituals in which sermons were involved. In Northern Thailand single-text manuscripts containing *anisong* sermons that explain rewards gained from all kinds of gift-giving, from the donation of monk robes and

²⁰ PNTMP: พร 0106001-00 (CE 1836), พร 0106002-00 (CE 1834), สจ 0601008-00 (CE 1750) and พย 0206002-00 (CE 1758); DLNTM: ชม 0706999-00 (year unknown); DELMN: 297 (CE 1927), 479 (1936), 1007 (1913) and 1043 (1938); PUA: 13.9 (year unknown); and a non-microfilmed manuscript นน 11-06-005-00 (year unknown).

²¹ BAP: BAD-13-1-0370 (CE 1939), BAD-13-1-0371 (year unknown), BAD-13-1-0372 (CE 1893), BAD-13-1-0374 (CE 1939), BAD-13-1-0377 (CE 1939), BAD-13-1-0378 (CE 1886), BAD-13-1-0379 (CE 1869), BAD-13-1-0380 (CE 1928), BAD-13-1-0381 (CE 1939), BAD-13-1-0382 (year unknown), BAD-13-1-0390 (year unknown), BAD-13-1-0405 (year unknown), BAD-21-1-0039 (CE 1956) and BAD-21-1-0568 (CE 1819).

²² DELMN: 436 (CE 1926), 664 (CE 1944), 816 (CE 1936), 905 (year unknown), 1154 (year unknown), 1209 (CE 1925), 1211 (CE 1924), 1213 (year unknown); and a non-microfilmed manuscript นน 11-06-006-00 (CE 1934).

²³ BAP: BAD-13-1-0075 (year unknown), BAD-13-1-0384 (year unknown), BAD-13-1-0388 (year unknown) and BAD-13-1-0403 (CE 1942).

²⁴ DELMN: 43 (year unknown), 45 (CE 1938), 48 (CE 1910), 512 (year unknown), 792 (year unknown) and 793 (year unknown).

²⁵ BAP: BAD-13-1-0093 (year unknown), BAD-13-1-0112 (CE 1992) and BAD-13-1-0391 (CE 1925).

from the donation of goods related to religious books are the most numerous in Northern Thailand but less widespread in Laos. That is because, in Laos, single-text manuscripts containing *anisonḡ* sermons which explain rewards derived from reciting sacred prayers are the most dominant. The highest numbers of extant single-text manuscripts show the frequent liturgy of *anisonḡ* sermons on a certain generosity done by the donors, because the manuscripts could be taken by individual preachers for sermons. In order to avoid a deficiency of the required manuscripts to support different sermons, the manuscripts, according to the statistic facts, were made to be provided for specific liturgical occasions. The largest numbers of single-text manuscripts from Northern Thailand show that people often donated items and religious books to monasteries, and preferred to dedicate monk robes on different occasions. The statistics of single-text manuscripts from Laos underline that people regarded *Panya Barami* as considerably important. The text is a Pali prayer explaining the Thirty Perfections (*Barami Samsip That*)²⁶ followed by every Buddha and which are believed to reward those who recite, copy, listen or even practice them with future glorious benefits.

The picture below shows a composite manuscript wrapped up in a big bundle that contains several fascicles. Users or preachers would thus take time for unpacking the bundle and picking out a certain manuscript-fascicle for giving sermons; single-text manuscripts are sometimes more convenient in terms of portability.



Figure 4.7: Composite manuscript wrapped in a big bundle
Photo by the author on August 15, 2018 in Phrae province

The most frequent single-text manuscripts in Northern Thailand are associated with gift-giving occasions. Those containing the explanation of rewards gained from the donation of monk robes are found with the second highest frequency, as there are several religious occasions involved: *Kathin*, *Thòt phapa*, general alms-offering and Buddhist Lent, in which monk robes can be donated and an *anisonḡ* sermon is required. The *anisonḡ* texts for such occasions have been kept in single-text manuscripts for being conveniently portable when carrying the manuscripts to different places of rituals. Moreover, the manuscripts could also be used for circulation among local monasteries because users could borrow individual units of the manuscripts without having to spend time looking for the expected one kept in a big bundle.

²⁶ *That* (P: *daśa*) means ‘ten’ or ‘completion’. *That* in this sense means ‘completion’, i.e., each of the ten perfections is classified into three levels: basic level (*pāramī* บารมี), intermediate level (*upapāramī* อุปบารมี) and advance level (*paramatthapāramī* ประมัตถบารมี), thereby filling a total of thirty completions.

Anisong single-text manuscripts explaining rewards gained from donating religious books or the Buddhist canon are more commonly found in Northern Thailand than in Laos, which was considerably influenced by the well-known religious projects led by the Venerable Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi. As was explained previously in this chapter, *Anisong pitaka thang sam* manuscripts accompanying the Buddhist canon are only found in Northern Thailand as a confirmation of merit derived from copying and dedicating the Buddhist canon to a monastery. Some *Anisong pitaka thang sam* manuscripts are attached to the Buddhist canon; this case is considered as multiple-text manuscripts, which will be explained further in the next section. There are also, however, other cases where the manuscripts were taken out of the original donated unit included with the Buddhist canon and later became an individual unit as a single-text manuscript, which was possibly caused by manuscript collectors with the intention to sort *anisong* texts out of Buddhist canonical texts. The manuscripts could thus be read to bless sponsors who dedicated any religious texts, not merely restricted to the Buddhist canon.

In Laos, the second largest group of single-text manuscripts pertains to rewards gained from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival. They have been kept in single-text manuscripts to be conveniently portable and to serve the widespread religious event. The event is popularly held in Laos and the northeastern region of Thailand on the fourteenth waning-moon day of the ninth lunar month, corresponding to August/September. The frequent *anisong* single-text manuscripts from Laos used for preaching at this event thus reveal a greater prominence and popularity of the event in the region than in Northern Thailand, and the earliest *Anisong khao pradap din* single-text manuscripts found in the two origins are dated back to different years; namely, the earliest manuscript from Laos was made one century before the earliest one from Northern Thailand: *Sòng khao padap din* (CE 1834, source: DLLM, code: 06011406001-10) from Luang Prabang in Laos and *Anisong khao pradap din* (CE 1927, source: DELMN, code: 1212) from Lampang province in Northern Thailand. In the *Khao pradap din* festival, laypeople place food contained in a small bowl made of banana leaves outdoors on the ground at night awaiting the spirits of dead family members and relatives who are especially released from the hells so that they can search for food during the event. Spirits who are satisfied with the dedicated food are enabled to be free from the confinement in hell and get a new rebirth. *Anisong* manuscripts for the festive sermons are often found as single-text manuscripts due to the frequent and popular activity, thereby being kept individually for convenient uses or circulation.

In Laos, single-text manuscripts of *Anisong khao phan kòn* are found as the third most frequent. The *Khao phan kòn* is part of the annual festival *Bun phawet* or *Bun mahachat*. During the festival, the main relevant activities are listening to the Vessantara Jātaka and the donation of one-thousand rice balls (*khao phan kòn*). The *Mahachat* event is traditionally held for three days on one weekend, including a procession of one-thousand rice balls on the second night, which is immediately followed by a continuous preaching of the Jātaka story. Vessantara Jātaka contains one-thousand Pali verses; the one-thousand rice balls thus symbolize the homage paid to the whole story. Different regions have a variety of preaching

styles: the tones and rhythms vary, composed to be appropriate for each episode that illustrates different situations and narrative feelings. The preaching monks are accordingly trained to be qualified for reciting certain episodes; hence, the whole story can be preached by different monks in general. The recitation is in some regions accompanied by a role play acted out by laypeople: “In some regions the events of each chapter are reenacted in dramatic form, with actors playing out the parts of Vessantara and Matsi, Kanha and Chali, and the other characters in the story” (Jory 2016: 40). Due to the nationwide popularity, *anisong* manuscripts explaining the rewards gained from joining the two rituals were therefore found in a large number.

Possibly, there are some cases where manuscripts were written in several fascicles to be dedicated together to a monastery but then were separated to be recombined with other manuscripts or even to exist just individually. Single-text manuscripts mostly resulted from temples or users who reorganized the archived manuscripts to be used on different sermonic occasions. In Northern Thailand one can find a larger number of single-text manuscripts which might reflect more frequent individual preaching activities than in Laos; this, as explained in **a) Construction of monastery buildings** in 4.1.3.2, is associated with systematic or well-organized monastic libraries established in the Northern Thai community where manuscript circulations occurred on a large scale.

4.2.2 Multiple-Text Manuscripts (MTMs)

Multiple-text manuscripts can be traced back to the origin of monastic manuscript dedication; a number of *anisong* manuscripts, as was explained before, were offered to a monastery together with other manuscripts but later separated for several reasons. Because of this, multiple-text manuscripts are scarcely found in Laos because they have already been combined with other manuscripts and eventually became composite manuscripts (see further in 4.2.3). In this context, however, multiple-text manuscripts are defined as manuscripts that contain more than one text; the texts were written in one or several fascicles depending on the textual length and could be written by several scribes. Some of the manuscripts were drawn from their original bundles; others were initially written as multiple-text manuscripts and have never been combined with other manuscripts in another codicological unit. Based on their ritual use for liturgical purposes, multiple-text manuscripts can be categorized into three groups: supplement of merit confirmation, mixed-up sermonic texts and provision for all kinds of gift-giving.

4.2.2.1 Supplement of merit confirmation

In this group manuscript sponsors dedicated *anisong* manuscripts together with the main liturgical text, supposedly to be used or preached on certain occasions. There are two textual themes of *anisong* manuscripts in this group: *Anisong pitaka thang sam* (Rewards derived

from copying the Buddhist canon) and *Anisong vessantara* (Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka). *Anisong pitaka thang sam* was written together with the Buddhist canon that comprises *Vinaya*, *Suttanta* and *Abhidhamma*. Veidlinger (2006) explains that a complete copy of the Buddhist canon can hardly be found at any monastery:

We can see evidence for this contention in a text called *Pitok Tang Sam*, which purports to be a summary of the three sections of the canon (*tang sam* means “all three”) but actually focuses only on a few portions (Coedés 1966, quoted by Veidlinger 2006: 20).

The Buddhist canon is followed by an *anisong* text, each of which was in general written as individual fascicles. Manuscript commissioners initially aimed at dedicating a copy of the Buddhist canon for the benefit of Buddhist monastic education or for future canonical reference; and, in expectation of meritorious rewards from the dedication, they often wrote an *anisong* text explaining the great outcomes that resulted from the deed, as it consumed time, energy or even expenses to make a copy of the Buddhist canon. Such *anisong* texts, as in this case, can be considered as a ‘confirmation’ of meritorious outcomes they could look forward to. Perhaps, the commissioners would not necessarily expect the dedicated Buddhist canon to be learnt, read or used any further, but they could at least expect the rewards gained from ‘manuscript dedication’ based on the deeply rooted belief in the forthcoming Buddha Maitreya period in which one could be reborn by means of supporting the Buddhist religion in different ways, including monastic dedications of religious books.

While other *anisong* manuscripts were intended to be read in public sermons and the sponsors could gain rewards from it, the *Anisong pitaka thang sam*, no matter if it would later be used on any occasions, was primarily aimed to be a ‘confirmative statement’ of the merit derived from Buddhist canon dedications. Accordingly, *Anisong pitaka thang sam* reflects a dualistic-merit polarity that sponsors could initially gain the merit from the act of the manuscript dedication. Of *Anisong pitaka thang sam* manuscripts in the form of multiple-text manuscripts that include *Vinaya*, *Suttanta*, *Abhidhamma*, along with *Anisong*, have been found thirty-six bundles in five provinces: Nan, Phrae, Lampang, Mae Hông Sòn and Phayao in Northern Thailand, but none in Laos. The earliest *Anisong pitaka thang sam* in the form of multiple-text manuscripts were written in CE 1761 in Phrae, in CE 1771 in Lampang, in CE 1784 in Nan, in CE 1827 in Mae Hông Sòn and in CE 1949 in Phayao. However, the earliest *Anisong pitaka thang sam* was written in CE 1710 (source: PNTMP, code: ๗๕ 0220001-02) but is mixed with other manuscripts in a composite manuscript-bundle coded ๗๕ 0220001 found at Wat Phra Luang in Phrae province.

The following example is derived from a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong sang pha tai pidok* which was, according to the colophon, dedicated as part of the other nine fascicles²⁷ of the Buddhist canon. The expression quoted below is excerpted from the red frame in the picture, showing the date of production, the scribe’s name, the sponsor’s name, the sponsor’s

²⁷ There are actually three groups etymologically meaning ‘baskets’ (P: *piṭaka*) in the Buddhist canon, but the text was perhaps written in a total of nine fascicles; the term *kan* (P: *kaṇḍa*) in this case therefore represents ‘fascicle’ rather than ‘episode.’

commission of the manuscript, the whole manuscript commission and the sponsor’s intention. The nine fascicles mentioned in the colophon are not left in the bundle but have been perhaps mixed or re-grouped in another codicological unit. *Anisong pitaka thang sam* manuscripts were written to confirm the meritorious rewards derived from copying, listening to or reading the Buddhist canon – the rewards are expected to compensate both the manuscript commissioners and users – and have sometimes been separated from the Buddhist canon manuscripts as a result of different usage or storage.

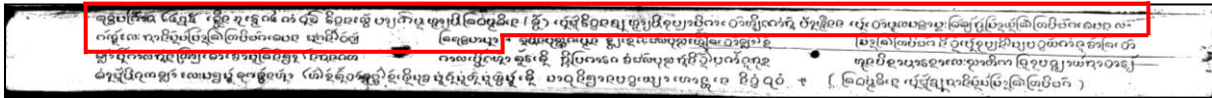


Figure 4.8: Colophon showing production characteristics

Salòng sang pha tai pidok (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon)

Source: DLLM, code: 06018506004-04, folio 16 (recto), The National Museum, Luang Prabang, CE 1942

พระพุทธศักราช ๒๔๘๕ เดือน ๗ แรม ๑๔ ค่ำ วัน ๓ รจนาแล้วบาย ๑ โมง หมายถึงพระธรรมทินโน (ทอง) เป็นผู้รจนาเขียน หมายถึงอุบาสิกาเจ้าหญิงคำอิน บ้านหมื่นนา เป็นเจ้ามูลศรัทธาสละทรัพย์ออกสร้างยังพระไตรปิฎกเทศนา ๙ กัณฑ์ และอานิสสงส์สร้างพระไตรปิฎกเทศนาผูกนไว้กับพระพุทธศาสนา

In BE 2485 (CE 1942) on the fourteenth waning-moon day of the seventh lunar month, on the third day of the week²⁸, at one o'clock in the afternoon, Pha Thammathinno (Thong) wrote [the manuscript] [supported by] Cao Ying Kham In, the initiator, [from] Ban (village) Mün Na who donated her money to commission nine liturgical manuscripts of the Buddhist canon and this manuscript entitled *Anisong sang pha tai pidok* in dedication to Buddhism.

Other textual themes of multiple-text manuscripts serving as merit confirmation supplements are *Anisong vessantara* or *Anisong mahachat* manuscripts that accompany the complete set of thirteen-episode manuscript fascicles of Vessantara Jātaka. There are, however, individual *anisong* manuscripts explaining rewards gained from listening to Vessantara Jātaka, but they are not attached to all episodes of the story, thereby being not defined in this case. The sponsors, like in the case of *Anisong pitaka thang sam*, aimed to dedicate the Vessantara Jātaka story written in several manuscript-fascicles followed by an additional *anisong* text explaining the rewards from listening to the story. The main purposes of the two *anisong* texts – *Anisong pitaka thang sam* and *Anisong vessantara* – are not absolutely identical; they were intended to be confirmative statements of meritorious returns but through different methods. *Anisong pitaka thang sam* was made to assure the merit resulting from copying the Buddhist canon, whereas *Anisong vessantara* was made to assure the merit resulting from listening to the story. In other words, the first serves as a source of rewards for the manuscript commissioners while the second serves as rewards for the manuscript users (or listeners). The *Anisong vessantara* manuscripts are found in both Northern Thailand and Laos. The *Mahachat* festival or *Tang Tham Luang* is a great annual ceremony including several religious activities that have had an influence on Theravāda Buddhist beliefs. During the festival, participants listen to the thirteen episodes of Vessantara Jātaka in expectation of great merit

²⁸ 1304 Jyestha 29 = Friday, 12 June 1942.

and a future rebirth in the time of forthcoming Buddha Ariya Maitreya as a primary purpose, especially when one listens to the whole story within one day. *Anisong* pertaining to rewards gained from the event are highly found in multiple-text manuscripts because the sermonic text is basically given after the 13-episode (P: *kaṇḍa*) preaching of the whole Jātaka story. Accordingly, the *anisong* manuscripts need to be combined with the thirteen episodes in an individual unit.

Another manuscript was also written as a supplement of meritorious confirmation, followed by the thirty-eight rules of well-behaving. Evidenced by the explanatory colophon wholly quoted below, the manuscript was intended to be attached to the text of the thirty-eight rules and the text still survives and is included in the bundle. The manuscript was sponsored by the Supreme Patriarch and copied from the original version, revealing the primary intention to archive the whole text of thirty-eight rules plus an *anisong* text. The rules are thus provided by the manuscript; the accompanying *anisong* text was additionally written to confirm the meritorious rewards gained from following the thirty-eight rules and could also be read for giving sermons.

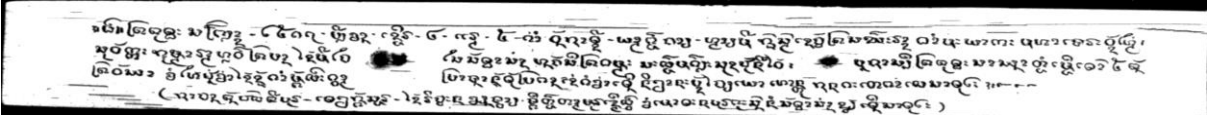


Figure 4.9: Colophon showing the attachment of another main text

Salòng mongkonlasut (Rewards derived from following the thirty-eight rules of well-behaving)

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406013-16, folio 10 (recto), Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1974

พระพุทธศักราช ๒๕๑๗ ปีชวด เดือน ๔ แรม ๕ ค่ำ วันอาทิตย์ ยามกองงาย หมายเมืองค์สมเด็จ
 พระสังฆราชธรรมญาณมหาเถระวัดใหม่สุวรรณภูมิรามหลวงพระบาง ได้มีใจใส่ศรัทธาสร้างหนังสือ
 พระธรรมสลองมงคลสูตรผูกนี้ไว้บูชาสี่พระพุทธรูปตามต่อเมื่อเท่า ๕ พันพระวัสสา ขอให้ผู้เข้าได้ตั้งคำ
 มักและความปรารถนานั้นทุกประการแต่ ก็ข้าเทอญ นิพพาน ปัจจโย โหนตุ อนาคต กาเล สาทุก
 (อาจารย์พันผลพิบูลย์เทพอักษร ได้รจนาเขียนถวายถูกต้องตามมูลเดิมแล้ว ขอโมทนาบุญกุศลนำศรัทธา
 สร้าง (ผู้สร้าง) ด้วยเทอญ สาทุก)

In BE 2517, the Year of the Tiger, on the fifth waning-moon day of the fourth lunar month, on Sunday²⁹, at the time of the morning drum (7:00–9:00), the Supreme Patriarch Thammayan Mahathela from Vat Mai [Suvanna Phumaram] in Luang Prabang sponsored the commission of copying the religious manuscript entitled *Salòng mongkhonlasut* for the purpose of paying homage and supporting Buddhism until the end of five-thousand years (of the Buddhist Era). May [the merit derived from copying the manuscript reward] me to fulfill all wishes. *Nibbāna paccayo hontu anāgate kāle sādhu sādhu* (May this be a condition to reach *nibbāna* in the future). (I, Acan Phanphonphibun Thepphaaksòn, copied [the manuscript] correctly based on the original version. May I also gain the merit with the sponsor.)

²⁹ 1336 Phalgunā 20 = Sunday, 2 March 1975.

4.2.2.2 Mixed-up sermonic texts

Multiple-text manuscripts of mixed sermonic texts contain several *anisong* texts, not all of which are ritually relevant because the text selections perhaps did not result from ritual purposes but from personal preference or extant texts available as original sources or collections provided at a monastic library of a local temple. Such manuscripts can contain up to forty-five individual texts; for example, a palm-leaf manuscript (coded ๗๕ 0106003-00) contains forty-five texts written in CE 1845 (source: PNTMP) by five scribes in twelve fascicles which include a total of 298 folios³⁰. An *anisong* manuscript coded 126 (source: DELMN) evidently shows that the written texts were derived from another source and copied in a new manuscript; the manuscript was written in CE 1973 in an industrial notebook. As documented in the table of contents, the two *anisong* texts were copied from original palm-leaf manuscripts kept at Wat Si Khom Kham, another monastery located in the same province as the one where the extant notebook manuscript is kept. The paracontents and neat

³⁰The forty-five texts are *Anisong khao sangkhaphat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food), *Anisong khao salak phat* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival), *Anisong khao pradap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival), *Anisong prathip* (Rewards derived from floating banana-leaf vessels or flying lantern balloons), *Anisong sia ya wat* (Rewards derived from planting grass), *Anisong pluk mai maha pho* (Rewards derived from planting *Bodhi* trees), *Anisong sang tai kamphaeng wat* (Rewards derived from the construction of monastic walls), *Anisong sang pha phidan* (Rewards derived from the donation of ceiling cloth), *Anisong sia ya* (Rewards derived from planting grass), *Anisong fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma), *Anisong sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance), *Anisong that* (Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas), *Anisong khao binthabat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food), *Anisong kathin* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Kathin* festival), *Anisong khao sangkhaphat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food), *Anisong khao pradap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival), *Anisong khao salak* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival), *Anisong khao ci* (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice), *Anisong khao phan kòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls), *Anisong aram* (Rewards derived from monastic constructions), *Anisong yot ya* (Rewards derived from planting grass), *Anisong sat pu kuti* (Rewards derived from the donation of mats for monk abodes), *Anisong wit* (Rewards derived from the construction of toilets), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong rao thian* (Rewards derived from the donation of sponges), *Panha phraya pasen* (Questions posted by King Pasenthikosan), *Anisong hii than yam müa song khao pariwatsakam* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food or construction of pavilions for the Buddhist Infringement Penalty), *Anisong hii fai pen than* (Rewards derived from the donation of light), *Anisong sang hit thammathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of book chests), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong kathin* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Kathin* festival), *Anisong attha bòrikhan* (Rewards derived from the donation of eight commodities for monks), *Anisong pha bangsukun* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong sang sala* (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions), *Anisong khut sim* (Rewards derived from the construction of ordination halls), *Sakkasamýuttasutta* (non-*anisong sutta*), *Setukāradēvaputtasavathu* (non-*anisong sutta*), *Anisong sang phuttharup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images), *Anisong sang tham pidok* (Rewards derived from copying religious books), *Anisong thung* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags), *Anisong sang cedi sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas), *Anisong nam* (Rewards derived from the construction of wells), *Anisong dòk mai* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers) and *Anisong bòk fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of fireworks).

handwriting reflect the manuscript transmission by recording rare texts as a textual collection for further uses. The following picture shows excerpts of this manuscript; the table of contents declares the text origin.

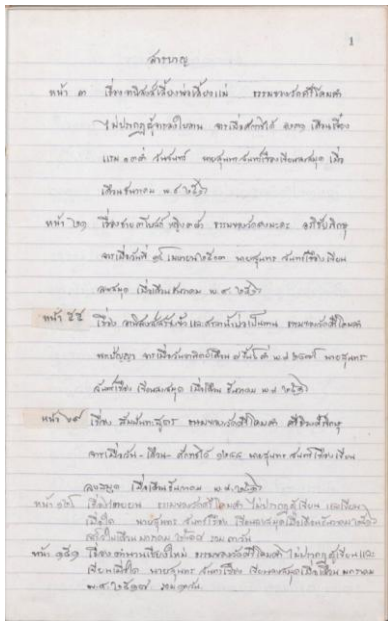


Figure 4.10: Table of content (written in the modern Thai script)

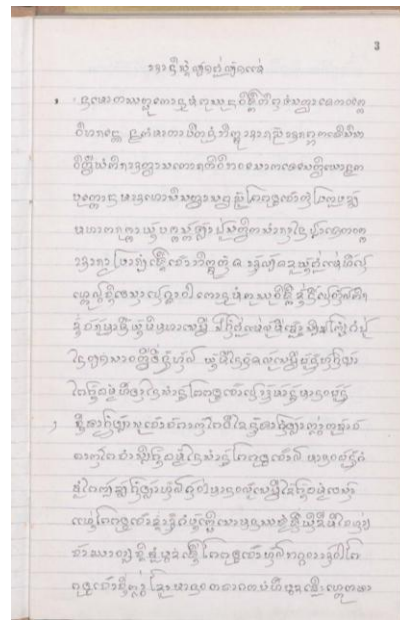


Figure 4.11: Text handwriting (written in the Tham script)

Anisong liang phò liang mae (Rewards derived from taking care of one’s own parents)

Source: DELMN, code: 126, sides 3–4, Wat Si Khom Kham, Chiang Rai province, CE 1973

Written texts in multiple-text manuscripts were sometimes selected based on textual similarity. A palm-leaf manuscript coded 1210 (source: DELMN) from Lampang province in Northern Thailand, for example, contains two *anisong* texts, *Anisong pha ap nam fon* and *Anisong pha thòt*, which were written in CE 1923. The texts similarly explain rewards gained from offering monk robes but on different occasions; the first is associated with the Buddhist Lent period while the second is not restricted to any specific time. There is an exception, however, concerning the textual selection written in multiple-text manuscripts: a mulberry paper manuscript, coded นน 0620021-00, from Nan province. The manuscript is undated and mixed with non-*anisong* texts, all of which are sacred prayers and magic spells, supposed to be recited in response to various situations. The *anisong* text written in the manuscript is entitled *Anisong song sakan* or ‘rewards derived from the participation in funerals’ and was not written directly next to the previous text, not following the general handwriting layout of the manuscript. Perhaps the scribe included the *Anisong song sakan* in the manuscript collection of sacred prayers and magic spells because the *anisong* text is supposed to be read for giving sermons at funerals that are considered as an inauspicious event (Th: *ngan awa mongkhon* งานอวมงคล). Multiple-text manuscripts included with non-*anisong* texts, however, have been discovered less compared to those with only ‘pure’ *anisong* texts, although most of them are not in accordance with one single kind of ritual but with a mix of rituals. For instance, a palm-leaf manuscript coded 813 (source: DELMN) from Phrae province and

written in CE 1895 contains seven *anisong* texts explaining rewards gained from different rituals and even different kinds of rituals. They are *Anisong khao pradap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival), *Anisong salak phat* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival), *Anisong khao pradap din kaeo thang sam* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival and Triple Gems veneration), *Anisong chai thuk rai bucha prathip cedi* (Rewards of a poor man who paid homage to pagodas), *Anisong sia ya wat* (Rewards derived from planting grass in monasteries), *Anisong than khao ci* (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice) and *Anisong than khao phan kòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls); only the *Anisong sia ya wat* sermon is used in the gift-giving ritual type, the other six were read in calendrical rituals.

Another example of a multiple-text manuscript is made of mulberry paper and was found in Luang Prabang. The manuscript was made in the same writing layout, evidently showing the scribe name Thit Niao Maniwong who was an ex-monk, as the honorific title *Thit* indicates. There are seven chapters (corresponding to ‘fascicles’ in terms of palm-leaf manuscripts) containing several texts each; all the volumes were mostly written in CE 2004. At the end of each text in the manuscripts there is a blank space underlined with dots which was left empty to be filled in with the sponsors’ names and wishes. The name of the scribe Thit Niao Maniwong is also found in other non-*anisong* mulberry paper manuscripts in Luang Prabang³¹ as was explained in Chapter Three. The multiple-text manuscript can thus be considered as a collection of *anisong* texts which are intended to serve as the master version for future copies or for the ritual usage of a master of ceremony, perhaps Thit Niao Maniwong himself, who led laypeople to pray and behave properly in religious rituals.

Such a case of manuscripts intended to be the original version for further commissions has never been found in Northern Thailand. The following table gives information about the seven chapters of the multiple-text manuscript.

Fascicle codes	Texts
BAD-13-2-031 (2 texts)	1. <i>Salòng sang nangsi</i> (Rewards derived from the donation of religious books) 2. <i>Salòng pha ap nam fon</i> (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season)
BAD-13-2-032 (2 texts)	1. <i>Salòng khao salak</i> (Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao salak</i> festival) 2. <i>Salòng khao padap din</i> (Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival)
BAD-13-2-034 (4 texts)	1. <i>Salòng ciwòn</i> (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes) 2. <i>Salòng haksà sin</i> (Rewards derived from precept observance)

³¹ For example, *Maha munlanipphan sut* (source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-0081), CE 2006, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang.

Fascicle codes	Texts
	3. <i>Salòng pha phutthahup</i> (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images) 4. <i>Salòng pong sop lü phao phi</i> (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals)
BAD-13-2-035 (4 texts)	1. <i>Salòng kò thaen pha si maha pho</i> (Rewards derived from the donation of tree poles) 2. <i>Salòng wetcaduki lü wit than</i> (Rewards derived from the donation of latrines) 3. <i>Salòng sangkhathan</i> (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) 4. <i>Salòng sang saphan khua</i> (Rewards derived from the donation of public bridges)
BAD-13-2-036 (4 texts)	1. <i>Salòng kathin than</i> (Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Kathin</i> festival) 2. <i>Salòng fang tham</i> (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma) 3. <i>Salòng buat</i> (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies) 4. <i>Salòng sala</i> (Rewards derived from the construction of monastic pavilions)
BAD-13-2-037 (2 texts)	1. <i>Salòng pong sop lü phao phi</i> (Rewards from the participation in funerals) 2. <i>Salòng ciwòn</i> (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes)
BAD-13-2-038 (4 texts)	1. <i>Salòng maha wetsadòn chadok</i> (Rewards from listening to Vessantara Jātaka) 2. <i>Salòng sapphathan</i> (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) 3. <i>Salòng dòk mai thup thian</i> (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers, scented sticks and candles) 4. <i>Salòng khao ci</i> (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice)

Table 4.6: A mulberry paper multiple-text manuscript (MTM) written by Thit Niao Maniwong

4.2.2.3 Provision for all kinds of gift-giving

This kind of multiple-text manuscript includes only *Anisong sapphathan* manuscripts, each of which contains several texts in a single theme of ‘the donation of all kinds of gift-giving’ or *Sapphathan* (สรรพทาน) and was written by different scribes in individual fascicles. A group of scribes planned and decided to be responsible for writing *Sapphathan* manuscripts; the manuscripts were then combined into a bundle as a form of multiple-text manuscript because they were produced in one commission unit. There are two *Sapphathan* MTM manuscript-bundles in the corpus; both were made of palm-leaf and are coded พ๑ 0106003-00 (source:

PNTMP, CE 1845) and coded 1007 (source: DELMN, CE 1938), from Phrae and Nan provinces, respectively. For example, the palm-leaf manuscript coded 1007 from Wat Phaya Phu in Nan province, evidenced by the structuring paracontents, originally contained nine fascicles, each of which was planned to be written by duo scribes. The manuscript, however, has only six fascicles because three fascicles are missing, as is shown in the following colophon.

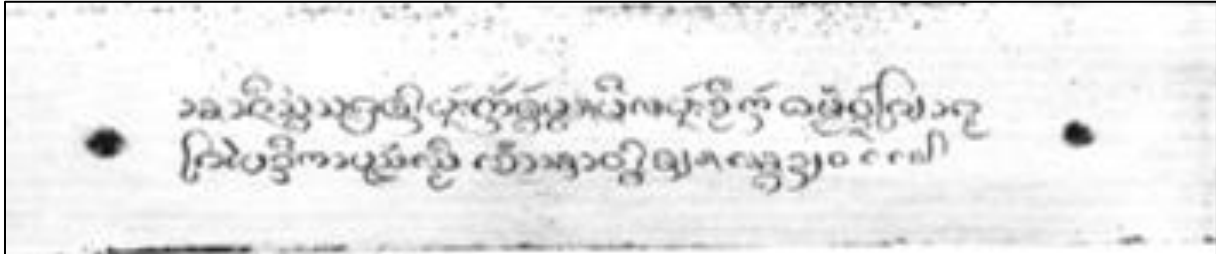


Figure 4.12: Paratext showing the total number of *anisong* texts

อนิสงส์สรรพทานผูกต้นทั้งหมดมี ๙ ผูกจิมกัน ธรรมวัดพญาภู พระใบฎีกาบุญเสริมเจ้าอาวาสเขียนเอง
เดียวแล

[This is] the initial fascicle of *Anisong sapphathan* within a total of nine fascicles. [The Dhamma] manuscript belongs to Wat Phaya Phu. [I,] Phra Baidika Bunsoem, the abbot [of Wat Phaya Phu], wrote it by myself.

The survived six fascicles in the manuscript-bundle are clearly dated; each of which was written during August 1 to September 16 or the late Buddhist Lent in CE 1938 by two scribes – one was an abbot who wrote the fascicles 1–3 and the other an assistant monk who wrote the fascicles 4–6. The exact number of fascicles (nine fascicles) mentioned in the colophon above clearly shows that the manuscript production was planned in advance. The original nine fascicles correspond to the auspicious number nine (9) which is believed to be a lucky number because nine is pronounced as ‘*kao*’ (เก้า, ก้าว) in Thai which phonetically also corresponds to the Thai word for ‘to progress’.

4.2.3 Composite Manuscripts (COM)

There are sixty-seven composite manuscripts found in Northern Thailand and ninety-nine in Laos. As was explained above, composite manuscripts are found in large quantities in Laos because they contain various textual themes, each of which was written in several fascicles and derived from different production units. For instance, a palm-leaf manuscript, coded 01012906001 (source: DLLM), from Vientiane is composed of five relevant textual themes: Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving³², Rewards derived from the

³² The composite manuscript is coded 01012906001-04 (source: DLLM) and contains two *anisong* fascicles written by different scribes at different times: *Hai khao sao met pen than* and *Sòng luk chai hai than*.

donation of baked rice³³, Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival³⁴, Rewards derived from of the donation of one-thousand rice balls³⁵ and Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival³⁶, each of which includes several fascicles derived from different production units. The five textual themes all pertain to ‘food dedication’; the combination is obviously based on textual similarity. Both in Northern Thailand and Laos composite manuscripts can include single-text manuscripts and multiple-text manuscripts in the whole bundle. Composite manuscripts are more frequently included with non-*anisong* manuscripts than pure *anisong* manuscripts, because *anisong* manuscripts, compared to other textual genres, were produced less frequently and have therefore been mixed with other texts as a probable result of lacking packing or wrapping materials: cloth, thread and wooden covers (Th: *mai prakap* ไม้ประกบ). Composite manuscripts are characterized by a combination of manuscripts initially made from different individual production units. Multiple fascicles of *anisong* manuscripts can be gathered into a composite manuscript; the largest number of combined fascicles gathered in a composite manuscript contains up to twenty-three fascicles (source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0428 to 0451, CE 1868–1957, Vat Si Bun Hüang, Luang Prabang).

In Laos, a set of several fascicles of palm-leaf manuscripts bound together is called *sum*; numerous *sum* could then be combined into a bundle or *mat*, as is explained by Bounleuth as follows:

Generally speaking, numerous fascicles of palm-leaf manuscripts – containing the same version of a literary text – are fastened together and called a *sum* (ຊຸມ), a bundle of many fascicles of palm-leaf manuscripts to which two wooden boards are frequently added for protection. The bundle was then usually enclosed within a piece of cloth and tied with a string. A wrapped bundle of manuscripts is called a *mat* (ມັດ) (bunch; bundle). However, not only does a *mat* comprise a single bundle and one text, but it sometimes consists of many bundles with many fascicles and many texts as well (Bounleuth 2016: 43).

In the case of a big collection of combined fascicles in a composite manuscript, a woodstick and a pair of wooden covers were sometimes required; the woodstick was inserted through pierced holes in all the fascicles to firmly fix them in a bundle; the wooden covers hold the manuscript collection in an organized shape. Such insertion of woodsticks is also found in single-text or multiple-text manuscripts where the texts were kept in a large number of folios.

³³ The composite manuscript is coded 01012906001-05 (source: DLLM) and contains two *anisong* fascicles written by different scribes at different times with the same title as *Salòng khao ci*.

³⁴ The composite manuscript is coded 01012906001-06 (source: DLLM) and contains two *anisong* fascicles written by different scribes at different times with the same title as *Salòng khao padap din*.

³⁵ The composite manuscript is coded 01012906001-07 (source: DLLM) and contains two *anisong* fascicles written by different scribes at different times with the same title as *Salòng khao phan kòn*.

³⁶ The composite manuscript is coded 01012906001-08 (source: DLLM) and contains three *anisong* fascicles written by different scribes at different times with the same title as *Salòng khao salak*.

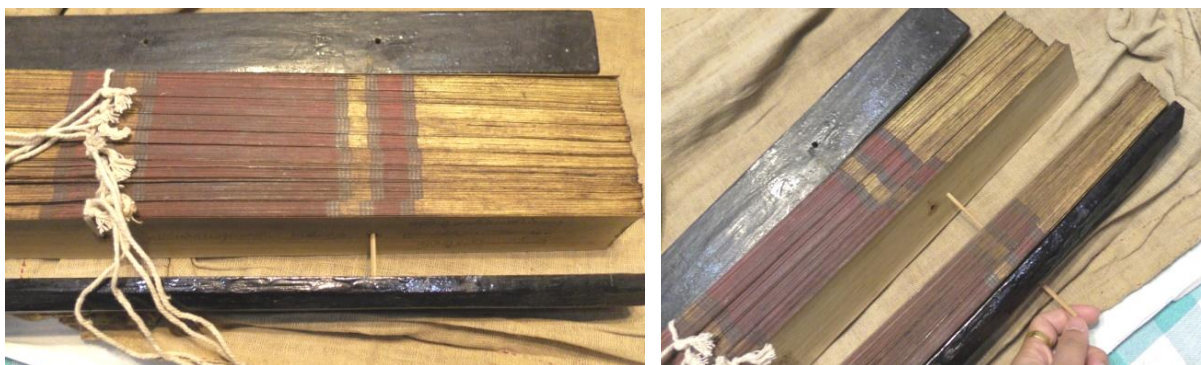


Figure 4.13 A woodstick inserted through all fascicles in a composite manuscript
 Photo by the author on August 4, 2018 in Phrae province

The combination of fascicles written – in general – by different scribes at different times in a composite manuscript was done without any certain criteria of text selection. Each monastery gathered and wrapped the extant manuscripts in bundles with their available materials: wrapping clothes, wooden covers and thread; a large number of composite manuscripts were therefore made from a combination of textually different manuscripts because the monasteries were provided with limited materials. One composite manuscript can thus include different manuscripts intended to be used in different kinds of rituals. For example, a manuscript-bundle coded 96 found at Vat Si Bun Hüang in Luang Prabang contains eleven *anisong* manuscript-fascicles, each of which is mainly irrelevant for sermonic rituals³⁷. In some cases, composite manuscripts are found in a very big bundle due to the deficiency of wooden covers. However, manuscripts with similar texts or ritually similar texts were assembled in the same bundle of composite manuscripts more frequently in Laos than in Northern Thailand. A bundle of palm-leaf manuscripts coded 06018506008 (source: DLLM) from the National Museum in Luang Prabang, for instance, contains mixed-up manuscripts of both *anisong* and non-*anisong* texts. In the bundle three *anisong* manuscripts are included which are coded 06018506008-04, 06018506008-09 and 06018506008-10. The first is entitled *Sòng thung lek* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags), the second is *Sòng thung fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious cotton flags) and the third contains two texts entitled *Sòng thung hang* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious tailed flags) and *Sòng khao suk* (Rewards derived from the donation of cooked rice). Even though the third fascicle contains two different texts, the three *anisong* manuscripts were combined in the same bundle in accordance with their similar textual themes.

³⁷ Each of the eleven fascicles is coded: BAD-21-1-0187 *Panya balami luang*, BAD-21-1-0188 *Salòng kathin*, BAD-21-1-0189 *Panya balami*, BAD-21-1-0190 *Sòng pitaka*, BAD-21-1-0191 *Sòng sang nangsü lü pitaka*, BAD-21-1-0192 *Panya balami*, BAD-21-1-0193 *Sòng sapphathan*, BAD-21-1-0194 *Sòng yot ya wat wa*, BAD-21-1-0195 *Sòng thung fai*, BAD-21-1-0196 *Sòng mahawet* and BAD-21-1-0197 *Sòng suam ap*.

4.3 Conclusion

Having been categorized by textual observation, *anison* texts pertaining to or provided for sermons in gift-giving rituals dominate the other three sermonic rituals – calendrical rituals, rite of passage rituals and miscellaneous rituals – in both Northern Thailand and Laos. *Anison* sermons concerning the dedication of monastic offerings outnumber the other types of gifts because the donations could be more simply accomplished by one or a small group of donors than building monastic or public construction works and could then be further attached with additional alms-food, commodities or even other religious manuscripts. The largest number of *anison* manuscripts explaining rewards derived from gift-giving were likely written and dedicated as part of a donation unit with other alms-goods. The manuscripts may sufficiently reveal several kinds of gift-giving even though reliable evidence has not been found yet and one can doubt whether such donations really existed. The sponsors or scribes could sometimes produce *anison* manuscripts in provision of a future use, no matter if the specific donation related to the *anison* texts had even been done before. Concerning the monastic education, *anison* manuscripts were, thanks to their short texts, also written as a result of scribal class supplements for monks and novices, as is explained by Bounleuth as follows:

Compared with other types of religious texts, *anison* texts are rather short and suitable for being read and copied frequently. Therefore, they are frequently used for teaching the Dhamma script to newly-ordained monks and novices (2015: 255).

Extant *anison* manuscripts explicitly document different socio-cultural information on the two regions. *Anison* manuscripts in the corpus explaining rewards derived from the construction of monastic libraries are not found produced in Laos but widely in Northern Thailand, revealing the traditional way of religious book storage in Lao monks' abodes rather than in a monastic library centred in a local community where the manuscripts could be circulated among neighbouring monasteries. Lao monks sometimes wrote *anison* manuscripts for their own use. In Northern Thailand, conversely, a large number of *anison* manuscripts illustrate meritorious rewards derived from monastic library constructions, reflecting the common circulation of manuscripts in a community and the widespread belief in the merit resulting from the construction, thereby being followed by the *anison* sermon specifically explaining or mentioning great rewards from the deed.

Generally speaking, when comparing *anison* manuscripts from the two regions, Lao *anison* manuscripts are more textually diverse, oriented to fit new kinds of donations and more compatible to originally secular rituals – birthday anniversaries, wedding ceremonies, constructions of public hospitals. By this way, secular rituals or modern gift-giving in Laos could be Buddhized through *anison* sermons; *anison* texts were therefore adapted or transformed in response to the dynamics of the gift-giving tradition. In contrast, *anison* manuscripts from Northern Thailand have hardly been influenced by modernized forms of gift-giving and still follow the old tradition. Manuscripts explaining rewards derived from the construction of monastic drum shelters, chapels and walls are not or scarcely found in

Northern Thailand. Even the popular tradition of dedicating various kinds of religious flags (banners in different shapes and sizes) is found with different *anisonḡ* texts between the two regions. While *anisonḡ* manuscripts from Laos have more comprehensive explanations of more diverse kinds of religious flags, those from Northern Thailand provide only the explanations of merit derived from dedicating religious flags made of iron, gold and other unspecific materials.

In the case of *anisonḡ* manuscripts provided for sermons in calendrical rituals, outnumbered or dominant manuscripts found in a region used in a certain ritual can provide hints which indicate the special popularity or even the place of a ceremony, compared to the other region. Most of the religious occasions were commonly held in both Northern Thailand and Laos, possibly influenced by each other in the course of time or originating from Buddhist religious beliefs. Despite a variety of activities included in calendrical ceremonies, giving or *dāna* is found as the frequent act to be done in particular for gaining meritorious rewards.

Anisonḡ manuscripts from Laos are more oriented towards secular activities; namely, secular rituals could be Buddhisized or consecrated by including an *anisonḡ* sermon as part of the ritual on the ground belief of merit-making on various occasions. The core concept of merit-making is obviously evidenced by the term *anisonḡ* applied in the titles of *anisonḡ* manuscripts used for preaching in rites of passage. To clarify, the titles of Lao *anisonḡ* manuscripts are in general preceded with *salòḡ* or *sòḡ* which literally mean ‘to celebrate’ or ‘to transit’, but the word *anisonḡ* (lit. ‘rewards’, ‘advantage’) was also used in the titles of rite-of-passage *anisonḡ* manuscripts, revealing the belief in ‘meritorious rewards’ gained from making merit in rite of passage rituals. Namely, not only does one transit or cross to another social or generational status (secularity) as intended in rites of passage, but he/she can also make merit for the auspicious purpose of their lives (religion).

Most single-text manuscripts (STMs) from Northern Thailand serve gift-giving occasions, whereas those from Laos are mostly for miscellaneous rituals, reflecting the convenient portability of individual manuscripts for different kinds of rituals. Dominant single-text manuscripts in Lan Na represent the most frequent sermons on occasions of gift-giving. As single-text manuscripts could be more easily or flexibly circulated, they were likely shared among local monasteries. STM codicological units in Northern Thailand can therefore shed light on the common behaviour of gift-giving or *dāna*. In Laos, however, single-text *anisonḡ* manuscripts used for miscellaneous rituals reveal the common behaviour of unspecific kinds of merit-making.

Multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) in Northern Thailand are distinctly characterized by being textual collections gathering both relevant and irrelevant *anisonḡ* texts in a codicological unit and thus could serve as master versions for future copies, reflecting the concentration of copying religious texts as a way of merit-making, while *anisonḡ* texts included in a multiple-text manuscript in Laos are found more relevant to specific purposes of ritual usage, revealing the consideration of *anisonḡ* manuscripts as ritual objects. *Anisonḡ* manuscripts attached to a multiple-text unit were sometimes written to confirm the upcoming rewards derived from

copying the series of religious texts; evident examples of this case are *Anisong pitaka thang sam* manuscripts which are frequently accompanied by a copy of the Buddhist canon and are found only in Northern Thailand where the tradition of spreading Buddhism and accumulating religious manuscripts was once widely commissioned, thanks to a very active local monk Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi. Such confirmative texts therefore explain dualistic rewards as compensations for manuscript commissioners and text users.

A large number of composite manuscripts (COMs) found in Laos resulted from political situations in the French colonial period when palm-leaf manuscripts were surveyed only in larger cities, they consequently ended up being stored at different monasteries. Unlike *anisong* manuscripts from Northern Thailand via which only monks and laypeople in a community were interrelated, Lao *anisong* manuscripts were to some extent affected by external factors too. No matter how sacred *anisong* manuscripts were considered by the Lao people, they could not be kept away from the difficulties presented by political incidents during the French rule. That is a considerable reason why composite manuscripts in Laos outnumber those of Northern Thailand where single-text manuscripts have been more frequently found, which reflects individual dedications in Lan Na.

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Chapter 5

Relationship between *Anisong* Manuscripts and Rituals

(2) Ritual Usage and Paracontent Analysis

5.1 Ritual Usage

Anisong manuscripts are associated with two kinds of rituals: preaching rituals and dedication rituals, both of which deal with ‘text’ and ‘object’ that are the main use of *anisong* manuscripts. In the case of preaching rituals, monks congratulate laypeople on their future rewards by means of reading *anisong* texts to express ‘blessings’; laypeople are thus assured of their rewards explained in the text. In the case of dedication rituals, laypeople provide monasteries with liturgical texts by means of offering *anisong* manuscripts to express the ‘veneration’; monasteries thus benefit from the manuscript as an object. In other words, preaching rituals are centred around ‘blessing texts’, whereas dedication rituals are centred around the act of ‘venerating objects’. Both object and text are represented by *anisong* manuscripts; the venerating and blessing constitute the whole cycle of ritual usage of *anisong* manuscripts. Maria Heim explains the ritualistic gift-giving in *Theories of the Gifts in South Asia: Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain Reflections on Dāna* (2004), stating that the process or etiquette¹ of a gift is associated with ritualistic terms. Giving rituals are generally characterized by face-to-face reactions between donor and recipient; the intention of the donors and the status of the recipients are the main focus.

Yet the ritual of gift does more than express symbolically religious and moral ideas. It also is designed to constitute them, to generate moral agency (that is, the capacity for moral dispositions and action), and also moral subjectivity (that is, awareness of oneself as a moral agent). I argue that ritual was seen to stimulate moral disposition. Formalized gift behaviour was deemed to inspire generosity on the part of the donor and worthiness on the part of the recipient (Heim 2004: 83).

Anisong manuscripts are involved in dedication rituals and preaching rituals, each of which is commonly coded with an etiquette and moral dispositions. In order to see the roles of *anisong* manuscripts in rituals, elements of ritual events should be carefully observed in response to the questions of what? (status and function), when? (time), where? (space), why? (purpose), who? (practitioner), whom? (audience and participant) and how? (method), all of which includes *anisong* manuscripts as part of rituals. The purpose or *why?*, however, has already been explained in Chapters Two and Three in the context of colophons.

¹ Etiquette is usually conservative and operative at the level of culture, and may here suggest widespread South Asian aesthetics of reverence toward religious and social superiors. Etiquette is also relative, however, describing the conventions of moral communities that are specific to them (see Heim 2004: 84).

5.1.1 Dedication rituals

Manuscript gift-giving rituals can be defined as ‘Rites of Exchange and Communion’, following Catherine Bell (2009), in which laypeople give offerings in expectation of rewards in return. Unlike the rites of exchange and communion which are closely associated with gods or divine powers, manuscript gift-giving acts are done to gain merit from the generous deeds, not directly from Lord Buddha or deities. Edward Taylor defines the act of giving for future outcomes as ‘the gift theory’.

Among the best-known examples of religious rituals are those in which people make offerings to a god or gods with the practical and straightforward expectation of receiving something in return – whether it be as concrete as a good harvest and a long life or as abstract as grace and redemption. Edward Taylor described the logic of these human-divine transactions as “the gift theory”; one gives in order to receive in return (*do ut des*) (Bell 2009: 108).

Heim (2004) gives two relevant definitions of giving and receiving as *dāna-vidhi* and *pratigraha-vidhi* as follows: “*Dāna-vidhi* describes the formal ritual injunctions that prescribe the etiquette or correct mode of gift giving. *Dāna-vidhi* and the attention given to the formal properties of the gift articulate the expressions of reverence and respect of the recipient already enjoined in discussions of the donor and the recipient” (Heim 2004: 83–84). The gift-giving tradition of *anisong* manuscripts reveals the generous intentions of sponsors in expectation of reciprocal rewards in return; the rewards are generated from offering religious books to monasteries and, through preaching monks, from congratulating future donors who make the specific merit mentioned in the manuscripts. Heim also explains that gift-giving rituals are ‘religious aesthetics’ which are dealt with in particular manners. Evidenced by the colophons, *anisong* manuscripts were dedicated to monasteries with or without other dedicated items for the primary purpose of reward acquisition from gift-giving or generosity (*dāna*).

The colophons rarely record the date when a manuscript was dedicated by its donors or sponsors, but much more frequently the date is stated when the scribe finished the writing of the text. I witnessed a manuscript dedication ritual during my survey at Wat Sung Men in July 2018. A group of laypeople offered a basket of alms containing three bottles of water, a candle, instant food, a printed paper manuscript and others, as is shown in the following two pictures (figure 5.1), in which the manuscript is framed in the pink oval in the right-hand picture. Together with the alms-basket, a bucket of alms-offering was also placed on a table in front of the monks in the ordination hall. The manuscript was thus part of the alms dedication. The left-hand picture shows the dedication ritual in which the monk was announcing the names of the alms-offering donors written on a sheet of paper he was holding in his hand. The manuscript, in figure 5.2, is entitled *Maeo Khon Kham* (A golden-haired cat) and was typed in modern Thai script but in the Northern Thai or Kam Müang dialect. Unlike traditional handwritten palm-leaf manuscripts, names and wishes of sponsors were instead written on a separate sheet of paper being held in the monk’s hand (figure 5.1), to be announced during the

dedication ritual, despite the space provided on the cover page of the manuscript to be filled in with the names of sponsors and merit recipients as is shown in the blue frame in figure 5.2, since the provided space was too small to contain the names of the whole group of donors.

In figure 5.3 the printed manuscript, framed here in the green oval, is read for giving a sermon by the same monk who was the recipient of the alms-offering included with the manuscript. The dedication ritual and the preaching ritual took place on the same day during the Buddhist Lent period.



Figure 5.1: Manuscript dedication
 Photo by the author on July 27, 2018, at Wat Sung Men, Phrae province

“Folk liturgical text
Maeo Khon Kham, fascicle 1
 Edited from the original version by Ñāṇasampanno
 Seventeen-fascicle set costs 425 THB (approx. 12 EUR)”

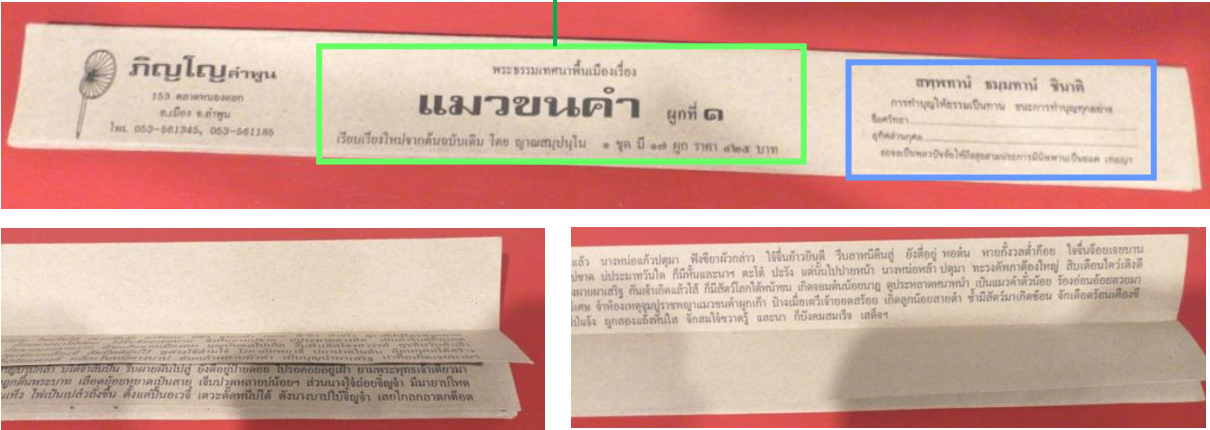


Figure 5.2: Manuscript content

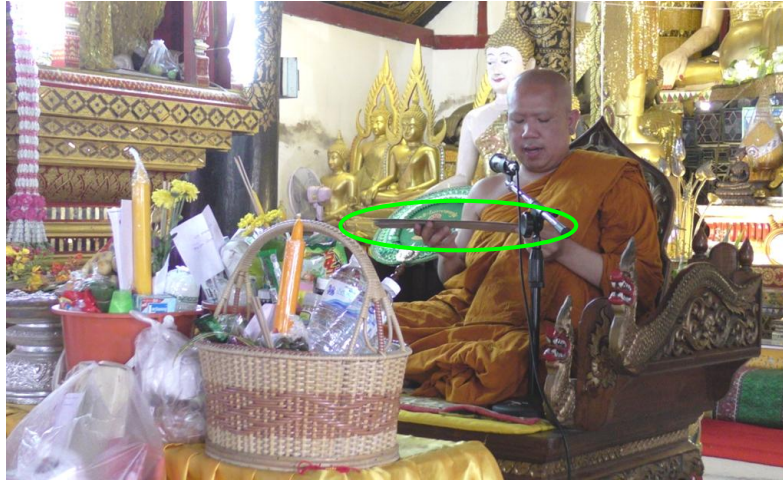


Figure 5.3: *Maeo Khon Kham* sermon

Photo by the author on July 27, 2018, at Wat Sung Men, Phrae province

In addition to the manuscript dedication ritual, I also witnessed a ritual of giving relevant items – wrapping clothes in this case. The ceremony was held at Wat Sung Men in Northern Thailand on August 8, 2018, in commemoration of the birthday anniversary of Her Majesty, Queen Sirikit of Thailand. Laypeople brought their sheets of cloth to the temple in advance, most of which had written on them the names of donors on one side of the sheets. In the morning of the event day, the cloths were exhibited on a table and trays in a decorative way. I organized and decorated the table myself, as I was given this assignment by monks during my one-month ritual and manuscript survey at Wat Sung Men; the cloth exhibition is shown in the picture below.



Figure 5.4: Exhibition table of dedicated wrapping cloth

Laypeople would pay money for the wrapping cloth if they could not find any proper materials. I also joined another donation of manuscript wrapping cloth at another temple, Wat Phongsunan, located in the same province as Wat Sung Men. I arrived at the temple on July 26, 2018, and a corner for wrapping cloth dedication was provided in the ordination hall. A sheet of wrapping cloth cost 300 THB (circa EUR 9) and a female monastic volunteer was in charge of writing the names and birth dates of the donors. At first I volunteered myself for the

writing but she did not allow me, because the handwriting for sponsors' names on the cloth is required to be well-organized by a single hand, reflecting a ritual-like activity defined by Bell as “a variety of common activities that are ‘ritualized’ to greater or lesser degrees. Instead of ritual as a separate category or an essentially different type of activity, the examples described here illustrate general processes of ritualization as flexible and strategic ways of acting” (2009: 138).



Figure 5.5: Donation corner of manuscript wrapping cloth



Figure 5.6: Manuscript wrapping cloth donated by the author
 Photo by the author on July 26, 2018, at Wat Phongsunan, Phrae province

(Top) Front side

(Bottom) Back side of donor identification: names and dates of birth (of my supervisor and mine)

The ceremony started in the afternoon. The lay participants were distributed with the cloth to be held in their hands during an upcoming outdoor procession. Led by a respected monk who had been invited from a neighbouring monastery, they then walked clockwise (circumambulation, see 1.1.3 Chapter One) in a procession three times around the monastic

hall, went back to the hall and listened to an *anison* sermon given by the same monk. In the sermon, he explained the story of a woman in Buddha Gotama's lifetime who donated monk robes and got a great new rebirth in the heaven. The sermon was given by heart. Even though the monk held a manuscript in his hands, he did not even open and read the text of any folio. Nobody knew whether the manuscript really contained the *anison* text and I could not approach him because he left the temple immediately after the sermon had ended to return to his residential temple. In this case, the manuscript was held to symbolize or authorize the Teachings of Buddha and to imply that the *anison* story was not created by the preaching monk himself, but given by Lord Buddha. The ceremony of wrapping-cloth dedication was closely relevant to manuscript dedications because the cloths would eventually be used to protect palm-leaf manuscripts kept at the monastic library.



Figure 5.7: Procession of manuscript wrapping cloth



Figure 5.8: *Anison* sermon explaining rewards derived from the donation of monk robes



Figure 5.9: Cabinet of wrapping cloth

Photo by the author on August 8, 2018 at Wat Sung Men, Phrae province

The ritual was organized in commemoration of the birthday anniversary of the Queen of Thailand to symbolize the representative religious ceremony chiefly hosted by females who are able to more or less compensate the lack of ordination with other ways of merit-making, especially the donation of wrapping cloth used for palm-leaf manuscripts². Namely, males are

² Laywomen were not allowed to be ordained into monkhood, thus they were illiterate and did not have access to religious palm-leaf manuscripts and monastic libraries. Lay females could therefore, in compensation for the

ordained to learn the Dhamma, whereas females support the Dhamma learning by means of offering manuscript containers – wrapping-cloth in this case. The relationship of women and clothes can also be observed in the production of Buddhist banners or flags in Laos which were traditionally handwoven by laywomen in expectation of great merit as much as monkhood ordination, explained by Hall as follows:

These cloth Buddhist banners, as with the majority of textiles in Laos, are made by women. This is an important point within the religious context because, as previous researchers have discussed, in the past the weaving and donation of handwoven banners were represented by a handful of ways in which women may gain merit in traditional Theravada Buddhism. The other ways are donation of other textiles, most typically monks' robes that are purchased and donated, food for monks to eat, and the offering of sons to be ordained as novices and monks. These banners are also a way for women to assist with decorating or beautifying their local *vat* and showing off their creativity and weaving skills (Hall 2010: 133).

5.1.1.1 Function of manuscripts

Anisong manuscripts were dedicated to monasteries via monks who received donated manuscripts and gave blessings to the donors; an *anisong* sermon explaining rewards derived from the donation of religious books or copying texts from the Buddhist canon could also be delivered in such dedication rituals. Water pouring (Th: *kruat nam* กรวดน้ำ) is included to transfer the merit obtained from offering religious manuscripts to the dead; the whole dedication ritual can be considered as belonging to the confessional group of rituals as explained by Michaels in *Ritual and Meaning* (2006). He explains the concepts of the functionalists and the confessionalists of ritual theories: confessional theorists define rituals as special tools to communicate with supernatural powers, while functional theorists define rituals as tools of social or individual purposes for overcoming a crisis.

The functionalists say: Rituals are used for this or that individual or social purpose; rituals are, for instance, power games, more-or-less useful or relevant in helping to overcome a crisis or creating and maintaining power relations within society. The confessionalists, on the other hand, say: Rituals are needed in order to encounter or realize supernatural power or a certain world view, for them rituals are sometimes a sort of hierophany or a means to communicate with supernatural beings (Michaels 2006: 248).

Anisong manuscripts functioned as 'gift-giving' for the benefits of future sermonic texts and as 'exchange' for meritorious rewards to donors and dead recipients. As evidenced from the colophons, *anisong* manuscripts were sometimes offered together with other donated items: food, monastic offerings, eight commodities for monks, Buddha images and other religious manuscripts. Even though *anisong* manuscripts were included as part of a dedication, the merit transferred to all recipients was expected to result from all the gifts in the whole

monkhood prohibition, accumulate merit by means of weaving wrapping-cloth used for palm-leaf manuscripts (see more in Tipitaka (DTP) 2017: 43).

dedication unit, because, as found in many cases, all gifts grouped in one dedication were in definite association with the recipients or gift-giving purposes. The colophon in a palm-leaf multiple-text manuscript from Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram in Luang Prabang clearly provides evidence of dedication items to be included with religious manuscripts, delicious alms-food and a Buddha image.

พุทธศักราช ๒๔๘๕ ตัว ปกติเต่าสะง่า เดือน ๙ ขึ้น ๑๐ ค่ำ วันอาทิตย์ รัตนาล้วนยามเที่ยงวัน หมายถึง
สาธุหญิงคำอิน บ้านหมื่นนา เป็นเจ้ามูลศรัทธา พร้อมด้วยบุตร บุตรา ญาติกาพันธุวงศ์ พี่น้อง
ทั้งหลาย ได้พร้อมใจกันสนทนากล้าใจใสศรัทธา ได้สร้างพระไตรปิฎกเทศนา ๙ กัณฑ์ กับทั้งอันสงฆ์
สร้างไตรปิฎกผูกนี้ ไว้กับพระพุทธรูปศาสดาเรา ๕๐๐๐ พระวัสสา สาธุ อิมินา ปุณฺณ ผลน ด้วยผล
บุญราศีอันนี้ จงเป็นอุปนิสัยปัจจัยค้าชู้ตุนนันทนตัวข้าพเจ้าทั้งหลาย สิ้นกาลอันนาน トラบเท่าถึง
พระนิพพานเป็นที่แล้ว ขออย่าให้คลายแคล้วตั้งมโนระทดความปรารถนาแห่งข้าพเจ้าผู้ตุนสนคนแด่ ก็ข้า
เทอญ อีกประการ ๑ ขอผลบุญอันนี้ จงไปค้าชู้ตุนนมารดาและบิดา ครูอุปัชฌาย์อาจารย์
พระมหากษัตริย์ และญาติกาพี่น้องผู้ ผู้คน ผู้พระองค์ ผู้ตัวสัตว์ใหญ่่น้อยทั้งหลาย ให้ได้ถึงสุขเทอญ
นิพพาน ปรมี สุข ก็ปิยะและจันทน์ของฉันทอันประณีตบรรจงแก่พระภิกษุสงฆ์ มีองค์พระปฏิมากรเป็น
ต้นเป็นประการในกาลครั้งนี้ ก็มีผลอันสงฆ์ขึ้นยิ่งขึ้นไปกว่าเก่า เรียกว่าสลอนนี้ ได้ชื่อว่าเฉลิมเพิ่มเข้า
ให้ผลมากกว่าเก่า ตั้งอาตมาสำแดงมา เอว ก็มีด้วยประการฉะนี้แล

In BE 2485 (CE 1942), a *tao sagna* year, on the tenth waxing-moon day of the ninth lunar month, on Sunday³, at noon, Sathu Ying (Ms.) Kham In, the principal initiator, from Mūn Na village, along with her children and relatives, had together the most ardent religious faith to sponsor the commission of the nine liturgical manuscripts of the Buddhist canon and an *anisonḡ* pertaining to the rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon for the purpose of supporting the Buddhist religion to last until the end of five-thousand years. *Sādhū iminā puñña phalena* (May this be the result of the merit). May the merit [of copying the manuscripts] support us long until we attain the *Nibbāna* and fulfil our wishes. On the other hand, may the merit also support our parents, teachers, royal families, relatives and animals to gain happiness. *Nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ* (Nibbāna is the ultimate happiness). May our *kappiya canghan* (monk's food) or delicate foods, along with the Buddha image as the principal offering, reward us with greater benefits known as *salòṅ* that could bring us even greater merit. That is all.

Multiple-text manuscript containing three similar texts, each of which pertains to rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406003-24, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1942

The manuscript contains three texts of similar titles pertaining to rewards gained from copying the Buddhist canon. It was dedicated to a monastery along with alms-food and a Buddha image; all the three kinds of donated items are significantly engaged in the fundamental homage of the Triple Gems – Buddha, Dhamma and *Sangha*. To clarify, Buddha worship was represented by the dedication of the Buddha image, Dhamma worship by the dedication of manuscripts – as the texts explain rewards derived from the donation of the Buddhist canon – and *Sangha* worship by alms food dedication. The religious *anisonḡ* manuscripts therefore play a role as beneficial objects for future uses and for merit exchange, and monasteries benefit from such deeds.

³ This corresponds to the Year of the Horse, August 21, 1942, on the sixth day of the week or a Friday in the lunar year calendar. However, the manuscript mentions a Sunday.

Veidlinger (2006) explains that religious faith can be presented by writing teaching words given by the venerable instructor, namely, Lord Buddha. His statement can be found in the canon as “whoever sees the Dhamma sees me.” The closest way to see the Dhamma is thus by looking upon the copy of a canonical text. One who copies a religious manuscript would thus be rewarded as creating Buddha images.

The *Saddhammasaṅghaha* (Law 1963), a chronicle that was likely written in the late fourteenth century by a central Thai monk who had lived and been ordained in Sri Lanka, relates in chapter ten that the Buddha said each *akkhara* (letter) in the Tipiṭaka should be considered as one Buddha image and therefore should be written down. Whoever writes down canonical texts fulfil their obligations for right conduct (Veidlinger 2006: 177).

5.1.1.2 Time of dedication

Like other kinds of gift-giving deeds, *anisonḡ* manuscripts were given directly to monks at monasteries with or without other donated goods; the gift-giving was traditionally followed by a blessing and the act of pouring water onto the ground in support of the dead recipients existing in the spiritual sphere. The whole activity frequently takes place at monastic halls or monk abodes during daytime and lasts approximately five minutes. No extant colophon reveals the exact time of manuscript dedications but only the time of the completion of the inscribing. Most of the dated *anisonḡ* manuscripts show the dates, especially the months when the writing of the manuscript was completed in the colophons, which can be further analysed when looking at the dedication period, as donating manuscripts in certain months reflects specific purposes in relation to different ceremonies. As stated in the colophons dated with the month and year of the manuscript commission, numerous *anisonḡ* manuscripts were written in accordance with the personal choice of the sponsors; different *anisonḡ* texts were not restricted merely to be dedicated in any specific months. The sponsors of manuscripts could donate *anisonḡ* manuscripts in different months for different reasons; namely, an *anisonḡ* manuscript supposed to be read at a certain ceremony was not necessarily written and dedicated in the specific month of the ceremony.

However, a number of *anisonḡ* manuscripts were produced in the same months as certain rituals in which the texts were read as sermons; they were definitely intended to be offered on occasions of specific ceremonies. Although some of the sponsors could hardly be confident that their donated manuscripts would actually be used at ceremonies, they offered the manuscripts for the sake of merit-making at religious occasions. In Northern Thailand, there are five ceremonies in which *anisonḡ* manuscripts were frequently made in accordance with the same months as the events; the New Year festival (mid-April), the Buddhist Lent (mid-July to mid-October), the *Kathin* festival, the *Mahachat* festival or *Tang tham luang*⁴

⁴ “In Lan Na dialect, *Tang Tham Luang* means ‘setting the great text’, which refers to the festival of reading the *Vessantara Jataka*, concerning the previous life of the Buddha. It is known among the Lao as *Bun Phavet*

(November to December) and the *Lòì prathip* festival or Flying Lantern Balloons/Floating Banana-leaf Vessels (mid-November). In Laos, there are six ceremonies in which *anisong* manuscripts were frequently made in accordance with the same months as the events: the *Mahachat* festival or *Bun phavet* (February to March), the Buddhist Lent (mid-July to mid-October), the *Khao pradap din* festival (late August), the *Khao salak* festival (late September), the *Kathin* festival (mid-October to mid-November) and the *Prasat phüing* festival or Beeswax Castle Procession (late October). Accordingly, there are three common festivals in both regions in which *anisong* manuscript commissions meet the particular dedications in response to the month of the events: the Buddhist Lent⁵, the *Kathin* festival and the *Mahachat* festival (*Tang tham luang*).

The Buddhist Lent lasts three months during the rainy season, corresponding to mid-July to mid-October. Monks are regulated to stay in a certain monastery and can spend their time to learn the Dhamma and master manuscript inscribing. The Buddhist Lent period is a good opportunity for laypeople to make merit especially hosted by familiar monks, visit the monks for being blessed or consult with monks about their private affairs. The monks themselves spend the three-month period on learning and practising what their teacher monks have instructed them. Among the *anisong* manuscripts which intentionally served as liturgy during the Buddhist Lent and were made in the same month as the event, not only *anisong* manuscripts about offering monk robes in the rainy season⁶ were typically commissioned, but those from Northern Thailand also include *anisong* manuscripts explaining rewards derived from learning and copying Buddhist scriptures⁷; while those from Laos mostly pertain merely to rewards derived from offering monk robes⁸. This reveals that Northern Thai also paid

(Vessantara merit-making festival), and among the Siamese as Mahajat (great birth)” (Premchit and Doré 1992: 77).

⁵ Dedicating manuscripts in response to the Buddhist Lent period is a culturally shared feature also found in Müang Sing, Laos, where mulberry paper and the Tai Nüa (Lik) script are used for manuscript production: “The most auspicious time for offering is the final day of the annual rainy season retreat period or ?ok² faa¹ saa⁴, the full moon on the fifteenth day of the lunar cycle usually falling in the month of October. However, any of the other fifteenth days of the lunar cycle during the three-month period is also considered auspicious, and other times of the year are acceptable if necessary, such as when relatives visiting from overseas have a limited travel schedule. Due to the difficulty of writing on mulberry paper when there is high humidity, texts are usually copied before the rainy season and then kept until the time of offering (Wharton 2017: 46).

⁶ For example, *Anisong pha watsa* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season), source: PNTMP, code: ๗๕ 0120038-03, Wat Sung Men, Phrae, CE 1864.

⁷ For example, *Anisong khian tham* (Rewards derived from copying religious books), source: DLNTM, code: ๗๗ 0706001-05, Wat Phra Sing, Chiang Mai, CE 1829, and *Anisong dai rian tham* (Rewards derived from learning the Dhamma), source: DELMN, code: 792, Wat Bun Yün, Nan, year unknown.

⁸ For example, 1) *Salòng sang nangsü* (Rewards derived from copying religious books), source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-031, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 2004, 2) *Sòng pha nam fon* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season), source: DLLM, code: 06018506010-03, The National Museum, Luang Prabang, CE 1834 and 3) *Sòng pha nam fon lae pha cam phansa* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes during the Buddhist Lent), source: BAP, code: BAD-21-1-0438, Vat Si Bun Hüang, Luang Prabang, CE 1940.

attention to the monastic learning of monks and novices, therefore writing *anisonḡ* manuscripts to praise the actual activities of learning and copying the Dhamma in response to the Buddhist Lent, while those in Laos concentrate in particular on the general donated items for the Buddhist Lent period, namely, monk robes. In a number of colophons appearing in *anisonḡ* manuscripts from Northern Thailand, monk scribes frequently stated to be in charge of specific duties during the retreat: learning the Dhamma, assisting a senior monk at another temple or being an obligatory member in a religious duty.

อัคคินาทอริยะวังโสภิกขุ ฝีกเขียนในปีกดสี ปีเข้าเรียนปาราชชิกันแล

[I], Aggināda Ariyawamso Bhikkhu, [am being trained to] write [manuscripts] in this year *kot si*, which is the year I learn Pārājika.

Anisonḡ buat (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies)

Source: DELMN, code: 826, Wat Kittiwong, Mae Hông Sòn province, CE 1700

เขียนปางเมื่อปฏิบัติครุบาแม่โจ้ที่ป่าพร้าวงามวันนั้นแล

I wrote [the manuscript] during [my] assistance duty for Khruba Maeco at Pa Phrao Ngam.

Than khao sang (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food)

Source: DLNTM, code: ชม 0706001-08, Wat Phra Sing, Chiang Mai province, year unknown

พระรัสสะภิกขุเขียนปางเมื่อจากเมืองเหนือขึ้นมาจำพรรษาอยู่วัดอโภย วัสสาถ้วน ๕ นั้นแล

Phra Ratsa Phikkhu wrote [the manuscript] after leaving the Northern city to have resided at Wat Aphai for a total of five years.

Multiple-text manuscript containing three *anisonḡ* texts⁹

Source: PNTMP, code: นน 0120063-00, Wat Phra That Chang Kham, Nan province, CE 1925

Traditionally held during October-November, the *Kathin* festival is the next event for which *anisonḡ* manuscripts were often made within these two months. In both regions the festival is believed to compensate the participants with considerably great rewards because the merit-making on occasion of the *Kathin* festival is traditionally accomplished by a group of people who donate some of their money and accumulate it, forming thus a large budget as a provision for monastic buildings or general necessities for monks. Since the *Kathin* festival is a big annual religious event as comparably important as the *Mahachat* festival¹⁰ in which monasteries are actively exposed to different devout donors, laypersons need to be officially accepted by a certain temple in which the merit-making could be performed, in order to avoid exceeding dedications. The event can thus reflect lay collaborations among local people. Such

⁹ The three texts are *Anisonḡ cedi sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas), *Anisonḡ sang tham* (Rewards derived from copying religious books) and *Anisonḡ than luk som khòng wan* (Rewards derived from the donation of victuals).

¹⁰ “Only Kathin, the October/November full-moon observance marking the end of *vassa*, the rain retreat season, when new robes are given to monks, comes close to rivaling it” (Holt 2009: 211).

manuscripts particularly written during the months of the *Kathin* festival were likely to be included as part of a donation; the *anisong* manuscripts thus explain their expected rewards gained from merit-making in the big annual event. Distinctively, an *anisong* manuscript from Laos written particularly for the *Kathin* festival, as was already explained in Chapter Three, served as a record of the actual event (source: DLLM, code: 06011406001-03). The festival was held on October 27, 1968, at Vat Visun and the sermon was memorized in the manuscript that plays a role as a ritual witness.

Another festival in which *anisong* manuscripts were frequently made within the same month is the *Mahachat* festival, traditionally known as the *Tang tham luang* festival in Northern Thailand and *Bun phavet* in Laos. The annual festival includes *anisong* sermons explaining rewards gained from listening to Vessantara Jātaka, which tells the story of the greatest life of the Bodhisatta before his reincarnation as Lord Buddha Gotama, as well as rewards from joining the procession of one-thousand rice balls. In both regions the *Mahachat* festival is regarded as a precious time in which laypeople of a wide age range could gain merit from a variety of joint activities included in the event. *Anisong* manuscripts pertaining to rewards derived from listening to the Vessantara story were thus often inscribed in the month of the festival, reflecting more or less the true intention of the sponsors who paid respect to the life of the Bodhisatta or perhaps expected their *anisong* manuscripts to be read for preaching. The *Mahachat* festival is undoubtedly popular both in Northern Thailand and Laos due to the deep-rooted belief in the future Buddhist Era coming in the next approximately 2,500 years. Theravāda Buddhists believe that all the thirteen episodes should be listened to within one day, so that they could get a new rebirth in the next Buddhist Era of Buddha Maitreya (Metteyya). Namely, *anisong* manuscript commissions were initially influenced by the belief in that new era.

In Laos, the other festivals in which *anisong* manuscripts were produced in corresponsion to the months of the events are the *Khao pradap din* festival, the *Khao salak* festival and the *Prasat phüing* festival, each of which is closely associated with meritorious offerings to dead spirits. In the *Khao pradap din* festival, laypeople offer rice contained in a bowl made of banana leaves and place it outdoors on the ground at night in dedication to dead spirits temporarily released from the hell. At the *Khao salak* festival, laypeople offer goods to monks in a donation container, each of which is marked by numerals indicating individual donors. At the *Prasat phüing* festival, a tree called *ton phüing* (ต้นผึ้ง) made of banana trees and decorated with beeswax figures is created in expectation of transferring the merit to the dead. In some places, *ton phüing* trees are also used during the ritual of collecting bones of the dead after funerals. *Anisong* manuscripts commissioned in the months of the three festivals were possibly associated with the dedication of the manuscripts as part of donated items in order to pass on the merit to the dead spirits.

5.1.1.3 Place of dedication

Like other kinds of donated items, *anisong* manuscripts are provided for monastic usage in dedication rituals. The act of giving can take place at the main monastic hall, a monk's abode or a pavilion in which the necessary tools of the receiving monks are provided. A monk recipient sits on a heightened place and lay donors on the floor, holding up their donated items towards the monk; the two counterparts maintain a moderate distance of 2–3 feet. In the case of dedicating donated items or manuscripts at a monk's abode, female donors are prohibited or at least they must be accompanied by males; the dedication ritual should be in a corridor or an open space of the abode. The dedication of items is followed by the act of water pouring (Th: *kruat nam* กรวดน้ำ) in which all the lay donors pour water over an index finger or touch parts of their bodies in a chain during the pouring act in order to share the merit. The monk chants a Pali recitation during the act of *kruat nam*, mentioning all livings to whom the merit is aimed to be delivered. By this way, people believe that the merit is given to themselves and to other spirits as well. The poured water remains in a container and one of the donors pours it onto a tree root outdoors on the ground in expectation of transferring the merit to all the dead through the water which is considered as a medium via the Goddess of Earth¹¹. Maria Heim explains the water pouring ritual as follows:

Where it does occur, however, the use of water in *dāna* rituals offers some very rich possibilities for interpretation in considering how ritual activity may be seen to be productive of moral agency. Water can be seen as a medium of change in a number of ways. Its use in Indic rituals is multivalent and highly variable according to which tradition is being considered. What I offer below is one possible suggestion about how the use of the gift water may have been understood by some of the Theravāda theorists under study. I argue that the ritual use of water in making a gift involves a kind of ethical transformation of agents involved. However, here the ritual process does not transform the *donor*, but instead the *recipient* (Heim 2004: 98).

¹¹ “This deity is a minor character in the story of the Enlightenment. The story of how she witnesses for the Bodhisattva against Māra the Evil One by wringing a deluge of water from her long hair can be found in a life of the Buddha called the Paṭhamasambodhi known throughout mainland Southeast Asia (Cambodia, Thailand, Laos, Burma and Sipsong Panna)” (Guthrie 2007: 168).



Figure 5.10: Pouring water (*kruat nam*)

5.1.1.4 Dedication donors and recipients

Donors and recipients of *anisong* manuscripts can be considered from two different perspectives, according to the intentions of the dedication, namely, object dedication and merit dedication. Laity offers the manuscripts as an ‘object’ to a monastery for the benefit of religious liturgy; the recipient in this case is thus the monastery. Laity offers the manuscripts for the purpose of transferring the ‘merit’; the recipients in this case are thus dead spirits or deities. Manuscript dedications for the two types of recipients are, however, accomplished by monks as media who conduct rituals of offering by means of linking the lay donors to the monastery and to the spiritual sphere because they are considered as ideal recipients who, due to renouncing their secular lives to follow the path of Lord Buddha, are characterized by a field of merit (เนือนาบุญ), worthy of esteem or as a worthy vessel (*pātra*, *supātra*) in the definition given by Heim as follows:

Since esteem is of central importance to *dāna*, the objective qualities by which a recipient should be respected are carefully delineated. The qualities of a worthy recipient are articulated at great length in the medieval treatises [...] In general, however, the worthiest recipient is one who represents the highest ideals of religion. This ideology highlights the tremendous pan-Indic cultural value placed on those who are represented as having dedicated their lives to religious pursuits: brahmins, monks, nuns, and wandering ascetics of various sorts (Heim 2004: 57).

a) Dedication of objects

As for the dedication of objects to the religion (*sāsana*), laypeople donate *anisong* manuscripts to monasteries as text containers for benefits of liturgical usage. Monks accept and keep the

manuscripts at the temple which plays a role as a recipient of the manuscript dedication. Having been donated in exchange of meritorious rewards, a number of *anisong* manuscripts with textual similarity are collected in monastic repositories to be used by monks for giving sermons. Numerous *anisong* manuscripts have never been used or even unwrapped from the bundles because they were offered to temples as donated items and have only been kept in cabinets. However, *anisong* manuscripts dedicated to a monastery were increasingly accumulated, crowded with other manuscripts and full of dust and termites because a large number of donated manuscripts have been intact, namely, outnumbering ‘supply’ over ‘demand’. In the case of dedicating manuscripts as objects for the sake of monastic use, those inscribed by monks or novices from their scribal classes or as the religious duty of copying manuscripts from other original versions are also included. The manuscripts written by monks or novices were possibly dedicated directly to monasteries without any process of giving rituals as in the case of lay donors, because dedications require a monk as a medium who conducts the gift-giving ritual but the scribes themselves were monks.

b) Transfer of merit

As for the dedication of merit to dead spirits, donors do not expect the offered manuscripts to be delivered to the dead, but the ‘merit’ resulting from commissions and dedications. The merit, by means of reading the texts by preaching monks, is also brought about from blessing in appraisals (อนุโมทนา) of future donors who make the specific merit explained in the *anisong* manuscripts; the merit gained from commissions, dedications and usage could thus be transferred altogether to the dead. Sihlé (2015) defines the special kinds of offering intended to be gained by monks and spirits as a ‘duality of recipients’. *Anisong* manuscript dedication to monasteries is comparable to Sihlé’s concept with slightly different users of the items. Namely, money, food or other goods are intendedly consumed by the dead spirits and monk recipients, whereas dedicated *anisong* manuscripts are not aimed at being used by the dead but by monks; the manuscripts, evidenced by the colophons, were therefore accompanied by other kinds of goods to be altogether donated to monasteries.

Another quite distinct form of transfer is the offering of money, food or other goods by laypeople to the dead, hungry ghosts or denizens of the hells, offerings that in many cases are taken and/or consumed by the monks who officiate for the ritual procedure or simply who look after the temple where the offerings were brought. With this duality of recipients, we have here clearly something more complex than a simple gift (Sihlé 2015: 359).

A large number of *anisong* manuscripts accordingly mention the names of dead recipients to whom the merit is expected to be delivered by manuscript commissioners. Dead recipients are more frequently mentioned in *anisong* manuscripts from Laos than in those from Northern Thailand. According to the explanations given in Chapter Three, lay scribes and monk scribes were similar in numbers in Laos. Manuscripts written for a paid wage could be more easily acquired and people were exposed in various ways to make merit for dead recipients. Interestingly, the *anisong* manuscripts dedicated to specific dead recipients are not merely

restricted to sermonic texts in relation to funerals or merit-transferring rites to the dead, which evidently reveals that merit transferable to dead spirits could be gained from copying any religious manuscripts, not only from liturgical manuscripts particularly used at death-related rituals.

Specific dead recipients mentioned in the colophons are mostly family members. A palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Sòng khao phan kòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls) from Luang Prabang (source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0721) was intended for the purpose of delivering meritorious outcomes to the sponsor's deceased father and younger brother¹². The manuscript was completed on the fifteenth waning-moon day of the twelfth lunar month, corresponding to 4 December 1945¹³, only a few months before the annual *Bun phawet* festival is held; an *anisong* sermon explaining rewards derived from offering one-thousand rice balls is included as part of the event. The sponsor thus aimed to worship the great festival with a manuscript dedication; and the merit could be sent to the deceased persons as well.

Two palm-leaf manuscripts from Luang Prabang entitled *Sòng thung lek* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags) were intended to transfer merit to dead family members – a younger sister and a daughter. The *Sòng thung lek* explains rewards from offering religious flags made of iron to monasteries or at funerals; the iron flags are religiously believed to rescue dead spirits from the hells. The two dedicated manuscripts were thus commissioned to gain merit from donating the manuscripts and from congratulating any future donors who offered iron flags. Thus the merit was also transferred to the specific dead recipients mentioned in the colophons. The following quotations are drawn from the two *Sòng thung lek* palm-leaf manuscripts.

ศักราชได้ พัน ๒๐๐๖๑ (๑๒๖๑) ตัว ปีกัดได้ วัน ๒ รจนาแล้วยามกองงาย หมายถึงมีเป็นเกล้า พี่น้องสู่น จึงได้พร้อมกันสร้างสองทุ่งเหล็กผูก ๑ มงคลผูก ๑ ทานไปหาน้องสาวผู้ชื่อว่ากะปาก ขอให้บุญไปค้าไปชูสาวกะปาก ขอให้ได้เมื่อเกิดที่ดีถึงสุขแดนก็ข้าเทอญ

In CS 1261 (CE 1899), a *kat khai* year, the second day of the week, at the time of the morning drum (7:30–9:00), Ai Mi, the principal initiator, along with his siblings, jointly sponsored the commission of the manuscript entitled *Sòng thung lek* and the manuscript entitled *Mangkhala* to transfer [the merit of copying the manuscripts] to his sister named Sao Kapak. May the merit support her to be reborn well and gain happiness.

Sòng thung lek (Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags)
Source: BAP, Code: BAD-11-1-0049, Vat Suvannakhili, Luang Prabang, CE 1899

¹² The colophon reads: “In BE 2488 (CE 1945), a *rap rao* year (the Year of the Cock), in the fifteenth waning-moon day of the twelfth lunar month, on a Friday, Pha Wirapanyo (*Pan*) from Vat Saen sponsored the commissioning of the manuscript entitled *Maha Wetsantara Chadok* to support the Buddhist religion for the purpose of transferring the merit [of copying the manuscript] to my father named Siang Peng, my younger brother named Pa Man from Ban Dòn village and all animals. May all of them congratulate and gain the merit until we all attain the Nibbāna. *Nibbāna paccayo hotu me*” (BAD-13-1-0721, Vat Saen Sukharam, CE 1945).

¹³ 1307 Kārttika 30. The date in the manuscript is incomplete; i.e. the month is missing.

จุลศักราชได้ ๑๒๙๗ ตัว ปีรับได้ เดือน ๑๐ วัน ๒ รจนาแล้วยามกองงาย หมายถึงสาธุพ่อจันสุก มีใจใสศรัทธาสรางหนังสือสองทงเหล็ก ๒ ผูก ทานไปหาลูกผู้ชื่อว่าสาวปานอันจืดตายไปสู่ปรโลกนั้น แม้นว่าตกที่ร้ายก็ดี แม้นว่าได้ไปเป็นเปรตผิอยู่ในนรก เป็นสัตว์เดรัจฉานก็ดี ขอให้กุศลนี้ไปค้าชู ขอให้พ้นจากทุกข์ แม้นว่าได้ถึงสุขแล้ว ขอให้เต็มแถมสมภารยิ่งกว่าเก่า หมิ่นเท่าแสนที่ จึงมีเที่ยงแท้ดีหลีก็ข้าเทอญ นิจจำ นิพพาน ปรมิ สุขิ

In CS 1297, a *hap khai* year, on the second day of the tenth [lunar] month¹⁴, the writing was finished at the time of the morning drum. Sathu Phò Cansuk had the religious faith to sponsor the making of the two manuscript-fascicles [entitled] *Sòng thung lek* in dedication to his daughter named Sao Pan who has already passed away to the otherworld. Regardless whether she has been caught in a state of suffering or whether she has gone to hell as a hungry ghost (*preta*) or [has been reborn] as an animal, I ask for this merit to support her. May she really escape from suffering. *Niccaṃ nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukkaṃ* (Continuously, Nibbāna as the highest stage of happiness).

Sòng thung lek (Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags)

Source: BAP, Code: BAD-21-1-0227, Vat Si Bun Hüang, Luang Prabang, CE 1935

In many cases, dead recipients mentioned in the *anisong* manuscripts were not clearly identified to have a specific relationship with the manuscript sponsors; they could possibly be friends and colleagues. One example is a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong khao phan kòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls) from Chiang Mai; the sermon is included as part of the *Mahachat* festival. The manuscript was made in the sixth lunar month in the traditional Northern Thai calendar, corresponding to March. Accordingly, the dedication of the manuscript was perhaps not primarily intended to serve the *Mahachat* festival because the event is commonly held in November in the Northern Thai tradition, but to transfer the merit of copying the manuscript and of worshipping the great previous life of Lord Buddha Gotama (*Mahachat*) to the dead recipient. In this case, the *anisong* manuscript could be donated on behalf of the dead recipient so as to gain the specific merit explained in the manuscript and to gain the merit from participating in the *Khao Phan Kòn* procession as well. Another aspect of the manuscript production here was the traditional influence from Laos which possibly played a role in this case; unlike in the Northern Thai tradition, the Bun Phawet or *Mahachat* festival is commonly held during February-March in Laos, and this manuscript was finished in March.

ศักราชได้ ๑๒๘๑ ตัว ปีกัตเมต เดือนยี่เป็ง เมงวัน ๖ ปฐมมูลศรัทธาหมายมีหนานแปงเป็นเกล้า พร้อม กับด้วยภรรยาผู้ชื่อว่านางซันแก้ว และบุตรชายหญิงชุน ได้สร้างยังธรรมอันสงฆ์ชาวพันก่อนนี้ แล้ว หื้อทาน และฟังธรรม เพื่ออุทิศบุญทานอันนี้ ไปหาสามเณรศรีจันทร์อันมรณาไปนั้น ขอหื้อส่วนบุญทาน อันนี้ไปตลอดจิม

CS 1281, a *kat met* year, on the full-moon day of the second lunar month, on the sixth day of the week¹⁵, Nan Paeng, the principal initiator, along with his wife named Nang (Mrs.) Khan Kaeo and all his children, supported the commission of this manuscript entitled *Anisong khao phan kòn*, donated alms-offerings and listened to the Dhamma for the

¹⁴ 1297 Bhādrapada 2 = Friday, 30 August 1935.

¹⁵ 1281 Kārttika 15 = Friday, 7 November 1919.

purpose of transferring the merit to a novice named Si Can who has passed away. May this merit (gained from all the meritorious acts) reach him.

Anisong khao phan kòn (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls)
Source: PNTMP, Code: ชม 0106001-06, Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai province, CE 1915

A multiple-text manuscript containing four *anisong* texts – *Sòng yot ya* (Rewards derived from planting grass), *Sòng khao pradap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival), *Sòng khao sangkhaphat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food) and *Sòng sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) – was inscribed by Sathu Nyai Khamcham in meritorious dedication for Sathu Nyai Kaenchan, his highly respectful Buddhist master¹⁶. The first folio clearly shows his purpose of writing the manuscript to transfer the merit to Sathu Nyai Kaenchan in commemoration of his death anniversary:

พระวีระจิตโต (คำจันทร์) วัดแสน สร้างอุทิศกุศลแก่สาธุใหญ่แก่นจันทร์ เนื่องในการทำบุญชววัน
มรณภาพรอบปีที่ ๓ วันศุกร์ ขึ้น ๒ ค่ำ เดือน ๑๑ ปีจอ พ.ศ. ๒๔๘๙

Pha Virachitto (Khamchan) from Vat Saen sponsored [the commission of copying the manuscript] to transfer the merit to Sathu Nyai Kaenchan in commemoration of the third anniversary of his death on the second waxing-moon day of the eleventh lunar month, on Friday, in the Year of the Dog, BE 2489 (CE 1946)¹⁷.

A multiple-text manuscript containing four *anisong* texts
Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0786, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 1946

Sathu Nyai Kaenchan was his master who trained him to preach Vessantara Jātaka since he was ordained as a novice during the 1930s. The special commission of the manuscript reveals the close relationship between the two venerable monks as has been explained by Khamvone (2015: 45–46) as follows:

The two Buddhist masters mentioned above, both Sathu Nyai Kaenchan and the Somdet Phra Sangkhalat, were held in high respect by Sathu Nyai Khamchan, who had their portraits hung on the posts in front of the main altar in the *sim*¹⁸ of Vat Saen Sukharam where monks and novices pay their daily respects and chant the Buddhist Suttas. To honor the obligations his

¹⁶ Khamvone explains his background as follows: “Sathu Nyai Kaenchan Katchayana (Kaccāñāna) Maha Thela (1893–1943) was a younger brother of Achan Thòngdi (Sathu Nyai Khamchan’s grandfather), and was one of the eminent monks who specialized in the construction of monastic buildings in Luang Prabang during the first part of twentieth century. Sathu Nyai Kaenchan sent a letter he wrote in Phongsali province in the north of Laos to King Sisavang Vong providing him with an update about the progress of temple construction projects and the general situation of the areas. The letter recounts that he was asked by the king to travel to the north and check the monastic construction work. This letter is a verification of the fact that Sathu Nyai Kaenchan was indeed an authority on the subject of monastic temple construction. In 1936, as a senior and eminent monk, he was a candidate for the position of the Supreme Patriarch of the kingdom of Luang Prabang. However, he did not receive the position, despite the fact that he had been encouraged by abbots and high-ranking officials in the city as well as King Sisavang Vong to pursue the status of Supreme Patriarch” (2015: 41).

¹⁷ 1308 Aśvina 2 = Friday, 27 September 1946.

¹⁸ *Sim* is defined by the central Thai *Ubosot* (อุโบสถ) or the main monastic hall.

teachers had upheld to the Sangha, Sathu Nyai Khamchan regularly performed a Buddhist ceremony on his birthday each year to make merit. During the ceremony, he would reverently place their portraits on the altar set in the middle of the *sim* while a number of monks gathered around.

In many cases found in both Northern Thai and Lao regions, however, dead recipients were not particularly identified but randomly mentioned in the form of all related livings or *cao kam nai wen* (เจ้ากรรมนายเวร), who were negatively treated, intentionally or unintentionally, by donors in the present and in previous lives. Other kinds of spirits mentioned in the manuscripts include different deities, reflecting the well-known gods and goddesses of Theravāda Buddhism. The following example is quoted from the colophon of a mulberry paper manuscript in Müang Sing, Luang Namtha province, in Northern Laos. The sponsors asked for several deities to recognize their mother's name – the spirit recipient – so that the merit of copying the manuscript could reach her in the spiritual world.

[.] ก็ชวนกันมาสร้างเสี้ยยังธรรมทานสงฆ์สงฆ์ส่งข้าวผูกนี้ จักอุทิศผลนาบุญเยิงนี้ ฝากไปหาขังมารดา ผู้อันเป็นแม่ ชื่อว่าแม่เผ่าเหยเสา อันได้อนิจกรรมไปสู่ปรโลกภายหน้านั้น ขอหื้อหม่อม [.] ริกขุ เทวบุตร เทวดา พระอินทร์ พระพรหม พญายมราช แลท้าวจตุโลกทั้ง ๔ [.] แก้วยอดธรณี ขอหื้อมา [.] จำชื่อไว้ ตกน้ำก็อย่าเสียไหล ไฟลามก็อย่าไหม้ ขอหื้อนำเอาไปรอดแท้ๆ ข้าแด่ ขอหื้อแม่เผ่าเหยเสาหื้อได้พ้นจากทุกข์ถึงสุขเข้าสู่เวียงแก้วยอดนิรพานข้าแด่

[...] [we all] sponsored the commission of the manuscript entitled *Anisong setthi song khao* in meritorious dedication to our mother named Mae Thao [old woman] Hoei Sao who has passed away to the other world. I wish monk [*indistinct handwriting*], deities, God Indra, God Brahma, God of the death world and the four guarding saints [*indistinct handwriting*] the Great of the earth to [*indistinct handwriting*] recognize her name. May [her name be safely prevented] from water sinking and fire burning. May [the merit] reach her. May [the merit] support Mae Thao Hoei Sao to be able to escape from all sufferings and attain the ultimate happiness, namely, *Nibbāna*.

Anisong setthi song khao (Rewards of a wealthy man who offered alms-food)

Source: CVG, code: MS.NCS-NKL, private collection of Nan Sai Saeng, Luang Namtha, year unknown

5.1.1.5 Dedication method

Anisong manuscripts were offered to monasteries through monks as recipients in exchange for meritorious future outcomes. Edward Taylor, mentioned by Bell (2009: 108), describes the logic of human-divine transactions as “the gift theory”: one gives in order to receive in return (*do ut des*). Male donors can give the manuscripts directly to a monk by hand, while female donors must put the donated items on a sheet of cloth placed in front of the receiving monk in order to avoid physical connections unintentionally caused by giving donated items by hand and they are either not allowed to touch the manuscripts as explained by Bounleuth:

Furthermore, laywomen are not allowed to touch religious manuscripts directly, even if they are the donors of these. In the manuscript-donating ceremony, the manuscript has to be

wrapped in a cloth and place on a bowl or plate. A female donor can then carry the manuscript by lifting the bowl with her arms in order to respect the manuscript (2016: 219).

The monk accepts the dedicated manuscript, chants a Pali blessing and leads the donors to transfer the merit to the dead recipients by means of the Kruat Nam ritual. As soon as the manuscript dedication is accomplished through a receiving monk, the manuscripts become sacred and need to be treated with care, because they have been successfully accepted by the temple and are regarded as text containers of Buddha's Teachings; they therefore require a heightened place to be kept¹⁹. According to the two categories of manuscript usage – cultic usage and discursive usage – explained in Chapter One, the dedication of *anisong* manuscripts certainly plays a role as *seen* cultic usage. They are offered as objects in exchange for meritorious outcomes, being treated with good care and respect due to their main function of containing religious texts or the Teachings of Lord Buddha. They would then be kept at the monastic library (*hò trai*) in collections of religious manuscripts provided for future liturgical rituals.

In many cases *anisong* manuscripts were included with other donated items, along with other religious manuscripts or various kinds of monastic goods in one donation unit; the merit derived from the whole donation was supposed to be transferred to the aimed recipients. For instance, a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Sòng fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma) from Luang Prabang (source: DLLM, code: 06011406013-14) was donated together with fourteen other religious manuscripts for the purpose of delivering meritorious outcomes to the sponsors' deceased mother.

... จึงได้พร้อมกันสร้างยังพระธรรมคัมภีร์ สุตมนต์น้อยหนึ่งผูก มนต์กลางหนึ่งผูก มนต์เด็ก ๓ อากาวัตต์ สุตรหนึ่งผูก สุนันทสูตรหนึ่งผูก นิพพานสูตรหนึ่งผูก มูลนิพพานหนึ่ง สัปไชยหนึ่งผูก มงคลหนึ่งผูก สอง สรรพทานหนึ่งผูก สองสรรพทงหนึ่งผูก สองฟังธรรมหนึ่งผูก สมาสสงสารหนึ่งผูก สุวรรณเต่าคำหนึ่งผูก อุณหสวัชยหนึ่งผูก รวม ๑๕ ผูก บูชาทานไว้กับศาสนาหอไตรปิฎกวัดป่าฝาง หลวงพระบาง ขอให้ อานิสงส์นาบุญส่วนนี้นำไปรอดไปถึงยังสาวทองดีผู้เป็นแม่อันจติไปแล้วนั้น ...

... Together [we] commissioned the manuscripts comprising one manuscript of *Sut mon nòi*, one manuscript titled [*Sut*] *mon klang*, three manuscripts titled [*Sut*] *mon doek*, one manuscript titled *Akarawattasut*, one manuscript titled *Sunanthasut*, one manuscript titled *Nipphanasut*, one manuscript titled *Munlanipphan*, one manuscript titled *Sapchai*, one manuscript titled *Mongkhon*, one manuscript titled *Sòng sapphathan*, one manuscript titled *Sòng sapphathung*, one manuscript titled *Sòng fang tham*, one manuscript titled *Samat songsan*, one manuscript titled *Suwan tao kham* and one manuscript titled *Unhatsawichai*, fifteen manuscripts in total²⁰. [The manuscripts] are intended to be religiously dedicated to the monastic repository at Vat Pa Fang in Luang Prabang. May the merit [derived from the commission of this manuscript] be delivered to Sao Thòng Di, our mother, who has already passed away.

¹⁹ Bounleuth states that “According to ancient beliefs, manuscripts are never to be treated disrespectfully or kept in a low-level place, regardless of whether they were carefully written and copied” (2016: 219).

²⁰ In this case, the scribe defined each individual *phuk* as ‘text’ or ‘chapter’, not ‘fascicle’ or ‘bundle’. Because the scribe counted the total number of all texts as fifteen, despite the fact that the *Sut mon doek* contained three ‘phuk’, which should bring the total number of the whole bundle to seventeen.

Sòng fang tham (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma)

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406013-14, Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1930

Another example is a palm-leaf manuscript from Phayao province in Northern Thailand which was evidently donated together with a robe for the great Buddha image at Wat Si Khom Kham. The Buddha image was created in CE 1491, called Phraçao Ton Luang (*luang* means ‘be grand’ or ‘be main’), and is widely known as the biggest Buddha image in Northern Thailand²¹. The robe for the Buddha image is known as *pha phan ta*, which literally means ‘a cloth with one thousand holes’ (*phan* means ‘one thousand’, *ta* means ‘eyes’), because the robe is traditionally made from various sheets of cloth connectedly sewn to expand the size to fit the body of the Buddha image; the connected cloth sheets have one-thousand holes. The dedicated manuscript is entitled *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) and was made in CE 1936. The colophon clearly shows that the manuscript dedication was accompanied by the cloth *pha phan ta*. The *pha phan ta* mentioned in the colophon, however, could either be a sheet of cloth to be further sewn together with other cloths or a whole large robe for the Buddha image.

จุลศักราชได้ ๑๒๙๘ ตัว ปรีรวายไ้ เดือน ๖ ออก ๗ ค่ำ วัน ๔ ไ้ ดับไ้ ปฐมมูลศรัทธาหมายมีขนาน
มีเป็นเกล้า พร้อมด้วยภรรยาลูกเต้าพี่น้องชุนคน ได้มาทานธรรมอนิสงส์สรรพทานกับผ้าพันตาที่พระเจ้า
ตนหลวงเมืองพะเยา

[The manuscript] was dedicated in CS 1298 (CE 1936), a *rwai cai* year, on the seventh waxing-moon day of the sixth lunar month, the fourth day of the week, a *dap sai* day²², by the principal initiator Khanan Mi, together with his wife and all children, who donated the religious manuscript entitled *Anisong sapphathan* and *Pha Phan Ta* cloth for the Phraçao Ton Luang Buddha image in Phayao.

Anisong sapphathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)

Source: DELMN, code: 479, Wat Si Khom Kham, Phayao province, CE 1936

Evidenced by colophons in the extant *anisong* manuscripts, the materials provided for producing *anisong* manuscripts were in many cases supported by several sponsors. They prepared palm leaves and other writing tools as part of a joint production deserving meritorious rewards, both for the sponsors and the scribes. Numerous manuscripts mention the act of finding or collecting palm leaves and other materials in the colophons to praise the meritorious deeds of all persons participating in the production process who also gained the same amount of merit. Even though the manuscripts were not accompanied by other donated goods or other manuscripts, every production process in collaboration with other commissioners was appreciated as a meritorious effort for the manuscript accomplishment. The following quotation is taken from a colophon of a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong*

²¹ The great Phraçao Ton Luang image was believed to have been created and sustained by partly divine or supernatural power. The Buddha image took thirty-three years for its construction and represents the distinct identity of the Phayao (Phukamyao) people (see Premvit 2017: 876).

²² According to the Northern Thai calendar, the date corresponds to 1298 Phalguna 7 = Wednesday, 17 February 1937 and *dap kai* day, not *dap sai* day as mentioned in the colophon. The miscalculation was likely caused by the scribe.

thung sao hong (Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags with a pole topped with a figure of swan²³) from Phrae, revealing a group of family members who jointly commissioned an *anisong* manuscript.

จุลศักราชได้ ๑๒๖๙ ตัว ปีสี่เม็งเม็ดแล ก็บริบูรณ์แล้ว เดือนยี่ ออก ๖ ค่ำ พร่ำว่าได้วัน ๑ แล ปฐมมูลศรัทธาเจ้าน้อยพุทธวงศ์เป็นเคล้า พร้อมกับด้วยภรรยาชื่อนายกาบแก้วแล แลลูกเต้าผู้ชุกคน ก็ขงขวยหาได้ยั้งใบลาน มาสร้างเขียนยังธรรมเจ้าดวงชื่อว่าอนิสงสนี้ ไว้ค้าศาสนาพระพุทเจ้า トラบต่อเท่า ๕๐๐๐ พระวัสสา

[The manuscript was finished] in CS 1269, a *moeng met* year, on the sixth waxing-moon day of the second lunar month, the first day of the week²⁴. The principal initiator is Cao Nòi Phutthawong, together with his wife named Nai (Ms. or Nang) Kap Kaeo and all children, who managed to collect palm leaves to be inscribed as this *anisong* manuscript [for the purpose of] supporting the Buddhist religion to last until the end of 5000 years.

Anisong thung sao hong (Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags with a pole topped with a figure of swan), source: DELMN, code: 811, Wat Phra Bat Ming Müang, Phrae province, CE 1907

5.1.2 Preaching rituals

Merit-making is mostly intended to positively dedicate something to the religion, the public or oneself, which is highly praised and thus gratefully treated in return or widely announced in public for generosity. *Dharmasāstra* texts, described by Heim (2004: 84), discuss *pratigraha-vidhi* or the rules for the acceptance of a gift, which articulate the blessings that should be uttered upon receiving a gift and the behaviour patterns the recipient must follow depending on the nature of the gift received. Preaching rituals in which *anisong* manuscripts are used as text containers are done in response to the behaviour of appreciating meritorious deeds of dedication or other kinds of merit-making. *Anisong* manuscripts were dedicated to monasteries for the primary purpose of being used as liturgical texts in preaching rituals; many of them have thus never been used, especially those archived in the monasteries as monastic properties in which laypeople had great religious faith and donated *anisong* manuscripts in large numbers. Having been convinced by great meritorious outcomes, the donors offered the manuscripts to a monastery, although they would not know for sure if and how their dedicated manuscripts would be used.

In preaching rituals, *anisong* manuscripts are primarily concerned with ‘texts’ because they are considered as ‘media’ bearing ‘the content’ of meritorious rewards to be preached for congratulating the audience for their positive deeds after a merit-making occasion. The preaching ritual is thus focused on the text of the *anisong* (text of preaching). The manuscripts keep the Dhamma or Buddha’s Teachings, thus are treated with care and respect. *Anisong* sermons are traditionally given after the specific meritorious deeds are completely done

²³ *Thung* means ‘flags’ or ‘banners’, *sao* means ‘poles’ and *hong* means ‘swans’. The pole is often made of tall bamboos and the carvings are usually made of wood in the figure of fish or birds.

²⁴ 1269 Kārttika 6 = Monday, 11 November 1907.

during a merit-making ritual; therefore, the texts were mainly written in the vernacular, verbatim inserted with Pali, to get the liturgical content understandably across to the lay audience. Having finished a specific merit-making, the laity frequently gathers in the monastic hall, being delivered an *anisong* sermon by a preaching monk that explains forthcoming rewards from the merit; the sermons accordingly serve as blessings to gratefully compensate the laypeople for their generosity.

5.1.2.1 Function of the manuscripts

Preaching monks hold an *anisong* manuscript in their hands and read the texts aloud in front of a lay audience. At the beginning of *anisong* texts, Buddha or his disciples are frequently mentioned as narrators who witnessed the given stories on their own; the sermons are thus considered as direct speech conveyed by Lord Buddha or his disciples. *Anisong* sermons aim at blessing laypeople for their merit-making; the sermon is thus believed as the blessing actually given by Buddha. Numerous *anisong* texts in the manuscripts from Northern Thailand and Laos begin with the introduction to the era of Buddha Gotama and an inquiry or a cause that leads to the explanation given by Lord Buddha about great rewards gained from certain positive deeds; an introduction is contained in up to one and a half folio and is written in bilingual Pali-vernacular which is distinctively different from *Nissaya*²⁵, in which Pali and the vernacular are written verbatim for the purpose of monastic education, explained by the Committee of Tipiṭaka Nissaya Project (คณะกรรมการโครงการจัดสร้างพระไตรปิฎก นิสสยะ) as follows:

ในการแปลภาษาบาลีมาเป็นภาษาไทยนั้น ก็สามารถแปลได้ ๒ นัย เหมือนกับภาษาอื่นๆ เช่นกัน คือ (๑) แปลแบบตรงตัวอักษร (๒) แปลแบบเรียบเรียงใหม่ ซึ่งการแปลแบบแรก เป็นการแปลแบบยกคำศัพท์ขึ้นมาแปลเป็นคำต่อคำ และมีการคงไว้ซึ่งโครงสร้างภาษาบาลี สามารถพบเห็นได้ในคัมภีร์นิสสยะฉบับของพม่า และลังกา เป็นวิธีการแปลที่มุ่งให้ผู้ศึกษาได้เรียนรู้พุทธพจน์ทุกกระบวนถ้อยคำ ไม่มีการตัดคำหรือข้ามคำใดๆ ทั้งสิ้น

Like other languages, Pali can be translated into Thai by two ways – literal translation and editorial (i.e. liberal) translation. With the first way, every word is individually translated and the Pali grammatical structure is preserved. The translation is commonly found in *Nissaya* from Burma and Sri Lanka and aims at emphasizing every single word (P: *buddhavajana*) given by Lord Buddha without shortening and omission (2005: [16]).

In order to consecrate the sermon, the Pali-vernacular introduction in *anisong* manuscripts is required to claim the authority of Lord Buddha who is believed to narrate ‘the following’ *anisong* story. The following excerpt is derived from a palm-leaf manuscript kept in Nan province, showing the introduction of an *anisong* text entitled *Anisong bòk fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of fireworks) written with the other four *anisong* texts in the

²⁵ Explained by McDaniel, “*Nissayas* are bi-lingual Pali-Thai manuscripts used for the instruction and oral translation of Buddhist texts. They almost never provide a complete translation of the original text and in parts of the text are often found in numerous different monastic libraries” (2005: 307).

manuscript. The introduction was written on both recto and verso sides of one palm-leaf folio and is shown in the pictures below.

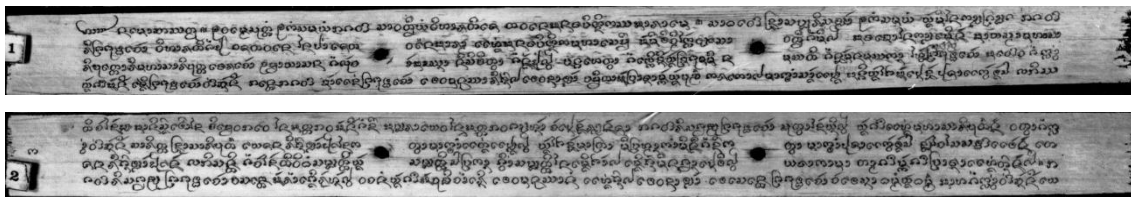


Figure 5.11: Recto and verso sides of a multiple-text manuscript containing five *anisong* texts²⁶
 Source: PNTMP, code: นน 0906003-00, folio 2 (recto and verso), Wat Na Pang, Nan province, CE 1808

นโมตสสตถุ เอวมเมสุตต์ เอกัสสมยํ ภควา สาวตถิยํ วิหารติ เขตวเน อนาถบิณฑิกสส อารามे สาทโ
 ดุราสํปปุริสเสทังหลาย เอกัสสมยํ ยังมีในกาลคาบ ๑ ภควา อันว่าพระพุทเจ้า วิหารติ ก็อยู่ เขตวเน ใน
 ปาเขตวันอารามแห่งอนาถบิณฑิกมหาเศรษฐี อันมีที่จิมไถลเวียงสาวตถิก็มีแล เอกโฆ ในกาลเมื่อนั้น
 อายสุมมา มหาสารีบุตรดา อันว่ามหาสารีบุตรเถรเจ้า อุฎฐายาสนา ก็ลุกจากอาสนะ นิสิติตวา ก็นั่งอยู่แล้ว
 ปุคคเหตุวา ก็เลิกขึ้นยังกระพุ่มมือ นมสสตี ก็น้อมนมัสการไหว้พระพุทเจ้า อาโวจ ก็กล่าวยังคำอันนี้
 เลิงพระพุทเจ้าว่าฉันนี้ ภนเด ภควา ข้าแต่พระพุทเจ้า เทวมนุสสา อันว่าคนแลเทวดาทั้งหลาย ปฏฐี
 ตา อันปรารถนามักยังบุญ กรโณ แลมากระทำสร้างแปลง อคคิ ยังไฟอันเป็นดอกกุชชาแก้วทั้ง ๓ ลภิส
 สตี จักได้ผลอนิสงส์เท่าใด ทิฏฐเววเว ในอัทภาวะอันนี้ก็ตี อปปราเยวะ ในอัทภาวะภายหน้า จักเป็นดัง
 แลนั้นชา ภควา อันว่าสัพพัญญูพระพุทเจ้า สุตวา ได้ยินแล้วยังคำแห่งมหาสารีบุตรนั้น วตวา ก็กล่าว
 ว่าฉันนี้ ...

*Namotassatthu evam me suttaṃ ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ vihāraṭi jetavane
 anāthabhiṇḍikassa ārāme sādavo.* Attention, sentient beings. *Ekaṃ samayaṃ.* Once upon a
 time. *Bhagavā.* Lord Buddha. *Vihāraṭi.* Stayed. *Jetavane.* In Jetavan temple belonging to
 the rich man (Th: *setthi* เศรษฐี) [named] Anathabindika in the vicinity of Sawatthi town.
Athakho. At that time. *Āyasmā mahāsāriputtā.* Venerable Monk Saribut. *Uṭṭhāyāsana.* Left
 his seat. *Nisidivā.* [From where he] sat. *Puggahetvā.* [And] showed [his] respecting hands.
Namassatī. To venerate Lord Buddha. *Āvoca.* [And he] said to Lord Buddha. *Bhante
 bhagavā.* Lord Buddha. *Deva manussā.* Humans and deities. *Paṭṭhitā.* Who desire merit.
Karaṇo. Construct. *Aggi.* Fire [in the form of] flowers to pay homage to the Triple Gems.
Labhissatī. How much would [they] benefit? *Diṭṭhevabhava.* In the present stage.
Apparāyeva. In the future stage to be [benefited] so. *Bhagavā.* Lord Buddha. *Sutvā.* Heard
 the question of Venerable Monk Saribut. *Vatvā.* [And] replied that ...

Preaching monks, however, sometimes do not read texts from the manuscripts but give an *anisong* sermon by heart. In this case the manuscript symbolizes Buddha’s Teachings conveyed by monks and the manuscripts in their hands possibly contain different religious texts, not *anisong* texts. Victor Turner, as explained by Grant Potts (2012), sees symbols in rituals as the smallest unit of ritual retaining specific properties of ritualistic behaviours: “Symbols, particularly the sacred symbols at the center of ritual, are able to mediate social crisis because they operate in a cultural field of reference defined by multivocality,

²⁶ *Anisong bòk fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of fireworks), *Anisong sang wihan* (Rewards derived from the construction of ordination halls), *Anisong sang prasat hit khatikudi wihan* (Rewards derived from the construction of ordination halls, pavilions, abodes and the donation of religious book chests), *Anisong sang hit sai tham* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious book chests) and *Anisong prathit* (Rewards derived from the donation of light).

association, and integration as much as by clear reference and distinction” (2012: 280). According to the two categories of manuscript usage – cultic usage and discursive usage – explained in Chapter One, *anisong* sermon delivery in this case plays a significant role as *seen* cultic usage. The manuscripts are iconically or symbolically treated as direct Teachings conveyed by Lord Buddha; accordingly, such *seen* cultic usage in this exemplary case is clearly identical to the usage in dedication rituals. In dedication rituals, *anisong* manuscripts are respected as sacred objects that resulted from meritorious deeds; the manuscript serves as an exchange for future rewards. In preaching rituals, *anisong* manuscripts are respected as Buddha’s Teachings delivered by preaching monks; the sermon serves as rewards or blessings towards lay donors. Again, dedication rituals pertain to manuscripts as objects, whereas preaching rituals pertain to the function of manuscripts as containers of texts. *Anisong* manuscripts in preaching rituals function as text containers which are sacred and need to be handled respectfully. Nowadays, preaching monks read *anisong* texts written in modern Lao or central Thai scripts on paper, oblong books resembling the *phothi* format²⁷ or printed books due to the declining popularity and knowledge of the Tham script, reflecting the dynamics of *anisong* sermons in accordance with literacy transformation which was inevitably caused by the limited education of the Tham script for monks and novices along with the widespread replacement by the modern scripts.

Anisong manuscripts made of mulberry or industrial paper are still treated with respect and considered as sacred objects thanks to the contents of Buddha’s Teachings. Thus, prayer books are often sorted or kept together with other religious manuscripts. The Teachings of the Buddha are highly respected and thus treated with special care no matter on what kind of writing supports the texts were written. The shelf in the blue oval in the following picture stores palm-leaf manuscripts.

²⁷ The Pothi format originated in India where palm leaves were used as a convenient writing material. The long, thin shape of the leaves dictated the format and size of the material which was often bound together through holes in the centre of the folios. These size restrictions were overcome when the format was reproduced in China and Tibet where paper replaced the traditional palm leaves. Despite no longer being restricted by the limitations of the material, the Pothi format was retained and we see many examples of large paper *pothi* in the collections worldwide (see <http://idp.bl.uk/4DCGI/education/comenius/manuscripts.a4d>).



Figure 5.12: Monastic library at Vat Ong Tü, Vientiane
Photo by the author on March 13, 2017

5.1.2.2 Time of preaching

The sermons are regularly delivered immediately after the meritorious deed is done and take approximately 20 minutes. As for popular big festivals that include several *anisong* sermons, the sermons are individually given immediately or a short time after the completion of certain merit-making or special acts, thus not being given together at the end of the whole event. The following picture is an event agenda of the annual *Bun phawet* festival hosted at Vat Manolom, Luang Prabang, in February 2017. A number of religious activities were included in the festival: Upakhut²⁸ parade, monkhood ordination, one-thousand rice balls procession and Vessantara Jātaka preaching, some of which were accompanied with an *anisong* sermon as is noted in the three frames of different colours.

²⁸ He is believed to have marvellous protective powers against demons (*māra*) and for staying underneath rivers. Traditionally, a parade of monks and laypeople walks to a nearby river and invites Phra Upakhut to stay at the temple during the *Mahachat* festival, so that he could guard the monastery, ward off any kind of malice and protect the Mahachat ceremony. At the time of the new pagoda celebration hosted by King Aśoka around BE 218 (326 BC), he invited Phra Upakhut to protect the festive celebration against the opponent demon of Lord Buddha because the pagoda enshrined his relics. Phra Upakhut fought against the harassing demon by hanging a piece of rotten dog skin on his neck which could not be removed by anybody else. The demon eventually surrendered and the festive event was successfully carried out (see Paramanuchitchinorot 1970).

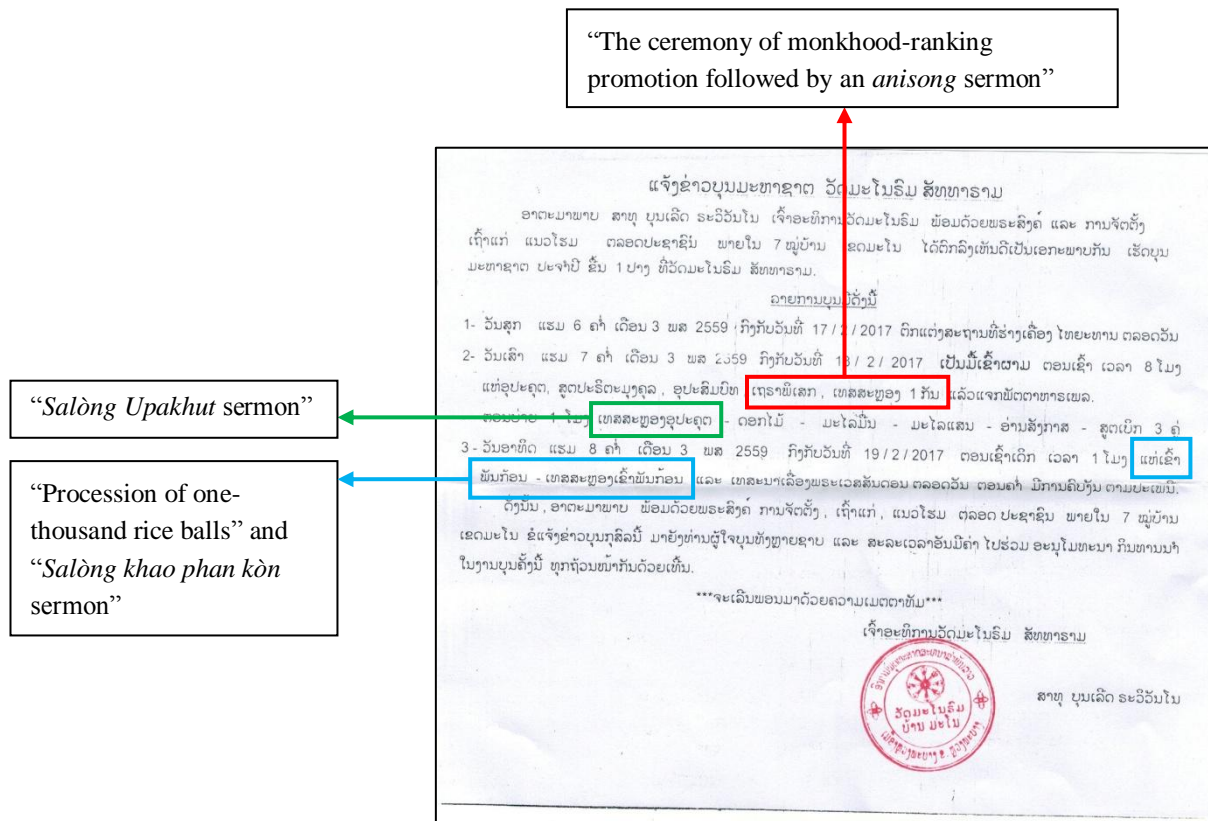


Figure 5.13: Invitation pamphlet for the *Bun phawet* festival

I attended the whole festival as part of my research trip and found out that an *anisong* sermon was given immediately after a certain activity and took not longer than thirty minutes. In the case of the *Salòng upakhut* sermon shown in the green frame above, it was not done immediately after the Upakhut parade, but still on the same day, because the parade had to be followed by the Paritta recitation – the prayer of another protective power.

In the rare case of an *anisong* sermon delivery prior to the actual event, however, as during my ritual survey in July and August 2018, *anisong* sermons could also be given before a certain ritual actually began. In the morning of July 28, a Saturday, local people in the vicinity of Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, made merit on the occasion of the Buddhist Lent by offering alms-food and gathering in the ordination hall (P: *vihāra*) for being blessed by monks. The monks chanted in Pali and gave blessings to the laypeople for their generosity. As soon as the Pali chanting had finished, the vice abbot, without reading any texts, started to talk in vernacular about the upcoming religious event in the next few weeks. He informed about the timetable, activities and meritorious benefits, for the latter of which he spent most of his talk to explain it in detail. The monk convinced the laypeople to become interested in it and, if possible, to spread the news to other people. The talk lasted about fifteen minutes which could be regarded more or less as an *anisong* sermon thanks to the underlying intention of explaining glorious returns of the merit. In this way, *anisong* can be assimilated into a public talk and thus be simply preached without reading the texts or manuscripts because the talk was not preceded by a Pali chanting like *anisong* sermons in general. As a result, the

laypeople realized they were informed but perhaps not that they were being convinced. This in-advance sermon was not supplemented with any Pali phrases or certain preaching rhythms like normal *anisonḡ* sermons; i.e., the sermon was not regarded as ritualistic but just as an informal talk. Accordingly, no *anisonḡ* manuscript was held in the monk’s hands during the semi-liturgical talk in this case.

5.1.2.3 Place of preaching

Like other religious events in general, ordination halls housing the main Buddha image are the places most frequently provided for giving *anisonḡ* sermons. The lay audience sits on the floor in a silent posture facing the grand Buddha image, while the preaching monk sits on a heightened chair or pulpit known as *āsana* (အာສနဗ) in Pali, facing the audience group. By this way, the laity listens to *anisonḡ* sermons in front of the main Buddha image at the hall; it seems like the Buddha image ‘witnesses’ all meritorious deeds they did and ‘blesses’ them through the preaching monk as a specific medium who reads certain *anisonḡ* words that explain future rewards. Monastic halls in which *anisonḡ* sermons are delivered play a significant role as a psychological aura for merit affirmation.

As was explained in Chapter Four, gift-giving or *dāna* is featured most prominently in the texts of *anisonḡ* manuscripts. Gift-giving is also known as *Sangkhathan* (P: *saṅghadāna*), defining general donations intended for unspecified monks and is usually done in the main monastic hall. The dominant merit-making of *Sangkhathan* is associated with the common place of dedicating manuscripts and giving *anisonḡ* sermons. Monks are, in some cases, invited to hold religious rituals – mostly rites of passage²⁹ – at certain places for some special reasons on auspicious days – starting a new business, having a new house, getting a new job, birthday celebrations or wedding ceremonies; *anisonḡ* sermons are consequently given at the place of the events. Such domestic religious rituals organized at specific places deal with the sacredness of monkhood in charge of protection and blessing.

The *anisonḡ* sermon, aforementioned in Chapter Four, which was delivered to a group of laypeople who donated some of their money to build a new monastic drum and the shelter for a temple in Luang Prabang, represents an exemplary case of sermon delivery in close sight of the donated items. The preaching was done outdoors in front of the new joint constructions facing towards the lay audience. By this way, the lay participants could see the complete construction work as a result of their collaborated efforts and listen to an *anisonḡ* explaining the great expected outcomes. Instead of holding the sermon in the monastic hall as usual, it was organized at the location of their donated items. The lay donors could thus listen to the forthcoming rewards declared by the preaching monk while seeing their collaborative

²⁹ “In addition, there are often ceremonies outside the monastery at which a chapter of monks is invited to chant for a group of laymen. There ceremonies can be connected the stages of the life cycle such as birth, first haircutting, marriage, and death, or with the fertility of the fields, rainmaking, entering a new house and the increase of the prosperity of a certain family” (Terwiel 2012: 106).

donation sponsored in part from their money; the sermon could thus more or less create an exultant aura.



Figure 5.14: *Anisong saphathan* sermon at Vat Pha Bat Tai, Luang Prabang
Photo by the author on February 11, 2017

5.1.2.4 Purpose of preaching

Anisong sermons are assimilated in both secular and religious rituals; the latter is basically done in accordance with the belief in *bun* (merit, P: *puñña*), while the former reflects intentions of enhancing or ‘Buddhisizing’ normal secular activities into religious ones with preaching acts. It can be assumed that people made merit without any expectations of positive future returns unless a large number of *anisong* manuscripts have been written; all of which explains meritorious rewards in response to a variety of secular and religious occasions and why the tradition of *anisong* preaching has been kept alive. The definite purpose of *anisong* sermons thus fundamentally originated from the rewards expected in return as a compensation for every process of serving meritorious deeds.

In order to make merit, financial contributions and labour, or at least the investment of time – sometimes collaboratively – are required, all of which could be regarded as an ‘investment’ one expects to be agreeably compensated. Such great compensation is not paid off to donors in objects but in the supportive and invisible power improving their future or next lives with great rewards. *Anisong* sermons play a role as profit assurance confirmed by Lord Buddha or his disciples in the *anisong* texts and accordingly are promised by preaching monks. The sermons are thus ordinarily delivered after certain meritorious deeds are finished as marks of completion in response to the underlying expectation of donors who make particular merit and desire promising rewards at the end.

In the case of group donations, *anisong* sermons are given at once to all members who take part in the merit-making. The ritual thus confirms the shared merit they could get from the

joint meritorious activity. *Anisong* sermons can also be interpreted with regards to social domains as a social congregation or social solidarity. A lay audience listens to their shared merit gained by group collaborations; each of the members therefore considers himself or herself as part of the merit success and definitely as a part of the group in society. Robertson Smith, as mentioned by Grant Potts (2012: 279), argues that practice and belief are composed to be religion. The primary form of religion is called natural religion; the practical life of a group is organized as religion. Religion is therefore a type of polity, providing the basis for a society through sacred tradition, thus giving structure to the institutions of social life. In *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1947), Émile Durkheim also explains the two categories that form the phenomenon of religions – belief and rites; belief is defined as ‘opinion’ and is displayed in representations, while rite is a mode of actions instructing believers to properly act in certain sacred rituals. A social congregation can thus be solidified when a certain mission is done by a group of local people because they see themselves as part of their own success, enabling more social awareness to achieve the goal subsequently.

Featured by open rituals, *anisong* sermons welcome all kinds of audience which is not merely restricted to the donors; those who are absolutely irrelevant to the meritorious occasions can be part of the liturgical audience, including myself who always attended *anisong* sermons in spite of sometimes joining none of their meritorious acts. By this means, the virtue of donors could be realized and appreciated by other irrelevant audience who take part in *anisong* sermons as well, since the sermons, especially those at gift-giving occasions, are basically preceded by an announcement of the donated items and the sponsors’ names in public by the preaching monk. *Dāna*, especially monastic buildings or large public construction works, on the one hand becomes a method of ‘investment’ done by affluent men as a fruitful ‘exchange’ of power and influence, because the large donation would be commonly utilized by monks and laypeople, generating gratitude towards the wealthy sponsors. An obligation for the recipients is simply generated and can indirectly persuade local people to be supportive towards the sponsors for any future activities³⁰. Ladwig (2008: 90–94) views *anisong* sermons as a prestige announcement to describe virtue and as an approval of accumulated merit of donors who deserve being venerated by villagers:

According to this view, the ability to exercise power increases with the accumulation of *boun*, *khuson* and *khun* – a correlation of virtue, status and wealth. High-ranking members of my village were usually attributed a high degree of virtue, which was more or less regularly acquired through the performance of *dana*. This virtue is said to expand the individual’s scope for personal agency, which entails the ability to ‘have power’ (*mi amnaad*) (2008: 91–92).

Such particular cases are closely appropriated as political rites which comprise ceremonial practices specifically constructing, displaying and promoting the power of political

³⁰ The explanation of obligation generated by merit-making is expanded by Sihlé as follows: “It has also often been pointed out that donations and sponsorship of rituals are publicly and visibly acknowledged in many Buddhist contexts and serve to heighten the donor’s social status, prestige or even power; however, this of course does not amount either to reciprocity *per se*” (Sihlé 2015: 363).

institutions. *Anisong* liturgical ritual organized for a group of donors including locally famous persons is an effective tool for the announcement of generosity. No matter if the rituals are intentionally held to widely announce the positive deeds of influential persons, the precious generosity is widely known and results in virtuous appreciation. Nameplates shown at monastic buildings are also a prestige announcement. *Anisong* preaching rituals can actually be conceptualized by definition as political rites which represent power in a two-dimensional way as follows:

First, they use symbols and symbolic action to depict a group of people as a coherent and ordered community based on shared values and goals; second, they demonstrate the legitimacy of these values and goals by establishing their iconicity with the perceived values and order of the cosmos (Bell 2009: 129).

Even though *anisong* sermons most likely did not originate from the secular intention to announce one's moral deeds, the open rituals welcoming all kinds of audience are closely associated with the promotion of local-political power.



Figure 5.15: The light box showing the name of the pagoda ‘Cedi Saraphat Nük’ was donated by two businesses – Darasin Shop and Mu Yò Chün Cit Shop. The names of the two shops are thus shown in their donated box for the benefits of business advertisement.

Wat Lamduan in Nongkhai province, photo by the author on March 8, 2017

5.1.2.5 Preacher and audience

The four kinds of rituals evidenced by the extant *anisong* manuscripts are commonly featured by merit-making in dedication to the Buddhist religion; the merit-making is mainly centralized at local monasteries, thereby benefiting monks and temples. A variety of meritorious deeds are in general included as part of religious occasions: offering alms-food and *Sangha* necessities, donating money for monastic constructions or giving ritualistic goods. Despite not being intended for monastic dedications as major deeds, the four kinds of

rituals are more or less supplemented with gift-giving as minor deeds, at least to the monks who spiritually host the whole event; i.e., the Buddhist religion is a major recipient and a monk or temple is a minor recipient. Although the ‘pure’ gift-giving should not leave recipients with gratitude, an obligation of mutual exchange is by no means generated. The give-and-take relationship commonly occurs in human society and basically causes social interconnectedness, as is explained by Heim: “Giving and gratitude create the bonds of fellowship cementing harmonious human relations and security thorough mutual aid and acknowledgement” (2004: 34), creating the conceptualized notion of preaching *anisonḡ* sermons as ‘gifts’ to exhibit gratitude on behalf of the religion towards the merit-maker in return. Preaching *anisonḡ* can therefore be regarded as assuring the laity of their future rewards, to be received mostly in the next life; such rewards can also be delivered to deceased spirits of their families or relatives.

Dāna is to be given not for earthly recompense from the recipient, but for spiritual merit, wherein one is repaid in the next life for religious gifts given in this life. One gives with an eye fixed not on the recipient’s gratitude and counter-gift, but on one’s next life where one reaps the rewards of merit (Heim 2004: 34).

Accordingly, *anisonḡ* sermons are given after the completion of certain meritorious deeds and thus reflect the reciprocal status of *Saṅgha* and laity. Unlike dedication rituals in which *anisonḡ* manuscripts are given in two dimensions – object dedication (to monasteries) and merit dedication (to alive/deceased persons), preaching rituals are intended only to give blessings in a one-by-one relationship between blessing giver (monk) and blessing receiver (audience). Thus, an *anisonḡ* sermon is always ‘given’ by monks and an *anisonḡ* blessing is always ‘received’ by an audience.

Merit recipients or the audience of *anisonḡ* sermons, especially in calendrical rituals which laypeople in a local community attend together, are mostly present in groups because they prefer making merit with their family members. By doing so, they can join religious events for the purpose of shared experience or gaining shared merit, since, owing to their joint meritorious deeds, a new rebirth of the whole family, especially in the period of the forthcoming Buddha Maitreya, is basically anticipated. The ideal society will be created in this period after the disappearance of the present Buddhist era and the deterioration of Buddhism, namely, at the end of five-thousand years.

After seven days, they³¹ would emerge and create a new society based on mutual goodwill and a commitment to morality. Gradually the human life span would begin to increase again. Following a period of intense rainfall, the earth would flourish with vegetation, and villages would be thickly populated. The surface of the earth would be as smooth as a drumhead, rice would husk itself, people would be handsome and free from physical disabilities, spouses would be faithful to one another, and all beings would live in harmony. At that time, Metteyya would be born in the human realm and attain enlightenment (Brereton 1995: 11).

³¹ Wise people who had retreated to the forest and hidden themselves in caves.

5.1.2.6 Method of preaching

Widely spread both in Laos and Northern Thailand, *anison* sermons are often delivered with certain rhythms which are taught by monk masters in monasteries. The rhythm is orally made by preaching monks without any kind of musical instrument, so that the audience becomes attracted by explanations of great rewards given by means of mixing them with melodies influenced by normal Pali prayers composed in consistence with harmonious rhythmic assonance. At the beginning of *anison* preachings, the monk may improvise a short informal speech to the audience with an introduction about the background of the event or mentioning lay sponsors who support the meritorious act that leads to the preaching event; the virtue and generosity of the sponsors can therefore be announced in this moment. The improvisation is popularly done at funerals for the purpose of reducing sadness. In addition to praising the deceased's virtue, the preaching monk can remind laypeople of the uncertainty of life, so that they may be conscious and realize death as one future destination of all human beings. Through the whole preaching, the audience is supposed to hold their hands in a worshipping posture and raise to their chests in representation of paying respect to Buddha's Teachings.

As was explained above in subchapter 5.1.1.5 ("Dedication method"), *anison* manuscripts function in the 'cultic usage' in preaching rituals which is distinctively characterized by the omission of text reading in the manuscripts. An *anison* manuscript is sometimes held in the preacher's hands without any of the sentences being read because many preachers can give a sermon by heart. The manuscripts thus symbolize the Teachings of the Buddha, generate a sacred aura in the sermons and also function in the display mode of the 'discursive usage' if the written texts in the manuscripts are really read. The discursive display has two aspects – they are read in a bound liturgical context, or they are studied, discussed and commented on by the scholastic environment.

In the use of writing to display a work – to make it accessible to those wishing to gain knowledge of its linguistic contents – two distinct modes can be distinguished: the work may be read silently or read out loud. Note that when a text is read aloud, those present will, strictly speaking, be accessing the text through the oral medium. This is a secondary orality, and must not be confounded, as has often been done, especially by modern graphocentric scholars, with a more general literacy. Even if most of the texts are *stored* in writing, if only a few literate people read these to the vast majority who are illiterate, then one should not assume that the texts, although actually written, enter into society and are engaged as written texts (Veidlinger 2006: 6).

No matter whether *anison* manuscripts are actually read in sermonic rituals, they are held in the preachers' hands intentionally to symbolize or represent canonical references. In the case of sermonic delivery by heart, the manuscripts in preaching rituals can sometimes hardly be seen; likewise, it cannot always be proved whether they contain *anison* texts.

5.2 Paracontent Analysis

Paratextual features, as explained by Gérard Genette and Marie Maclean (1991: 263), describe different characteristics of printed media: (1) spatial (positions – *where?*), (2) temporal (date of appearance/disappearance – *when?*), (3) substantial (mode of existence, verbal or other – *how?*), (4) pragmatic (communicating instance, addresser and addressee – *from whom to whom?*) and (5) functional dimensions (functions which give purpose to its message – *what is it good for?*). As researched by the “Project Area A: Paratexts” of the Sonderforschungsbereich 950 (SFB 950) at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at the University of Hamburg, Germany, my affiliated research centre, there are three functions of paratexts/paracontents: (1) structuring, (2) commenting and (3) documenting. In the case of the *anison* manuscripts in the research corpus, all five paracontent characteristics exist and account for the three functions; the paracontents in individual *anison* manuscripts can bear more than one function, however. Because they were already explained in Chapters Two and Chapter Three, colophons, despite forming a part of paracontents, will not be revisited in this section. The three functions are mostly represented by words or verbal expressions, as described by Genette and Maclean in explanation of the *substantial* status of paratexts which are basically not represented by words or linguistic status but with iconic, material or factual types of expression, “as it frequently is in practice, by the fact that practically all the paratexts considered will be themselves of a *textual*, or at least verbal, order: titles, prefaces, interviews, so many utterances, of very differing extent, but which all share the linguistic status of the text” (1991: 265). The substantial status of paratexts is also found in *anison* manuscripts and will be further explained.

5.2.1 Structuring paracontents

This kind of paracontent gives readers navigation aids: graphic symbols indicating text insertions, tables of contents, foliation, pagination, etc. Readers can easily find certain positions of required phrases. The paracontent guides readers to comprehend the structure of manuscripts. Structural paracontents in *anison* manuscripts are mostly found in verbal expressions and are composed of title, pagination/foliation, textual position, page layout and indication of codicological units. The manuscripts were similarly structured due to the available materials at the locality, as well as the inscribing and book binding, resulting in customary styles of book formats of religious manuscripts.

5.2.1.1 Titles

Unlike manuscripts from Laos, titles of *anison* manuscripts from Northern Thailand are often repeated in the first folios. As the traditional way to show manuscript headings, the repeated titles therefore become virtually outstanding. Compared to mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts, palm-leaf manuscripts are frequently kept in wooden covers or

wrapped with cloth for preservative purposes; the enlargement of titles for the sake of a true ‘cover decoration’ is thus rather unnecessary. Mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts were arbitrarily made in different sizes, preferably a bit smaller than A4 paper, and with different paper, aligned into sheets and bound into manuscript volumes. The papers also have more compatible surfaces for title enlargement or even any kinds of drawings as decoration; the cover page can be made from the papers themselves, a well-wrapped unit of mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts is thus unnecessary. In some cases of both Northern Thai and Lao manuscript cultures, *anisong* texts were copied and thus aligned in conformity with notebooks commonly found in the locality; notebook covers basically serve as manuscript covers or headings. The following example is from the first folio of a palm-leaf manuscript, showing multiple titles as a table of contents, and the cover of an industrialized paper manuscript, both represent their headings.

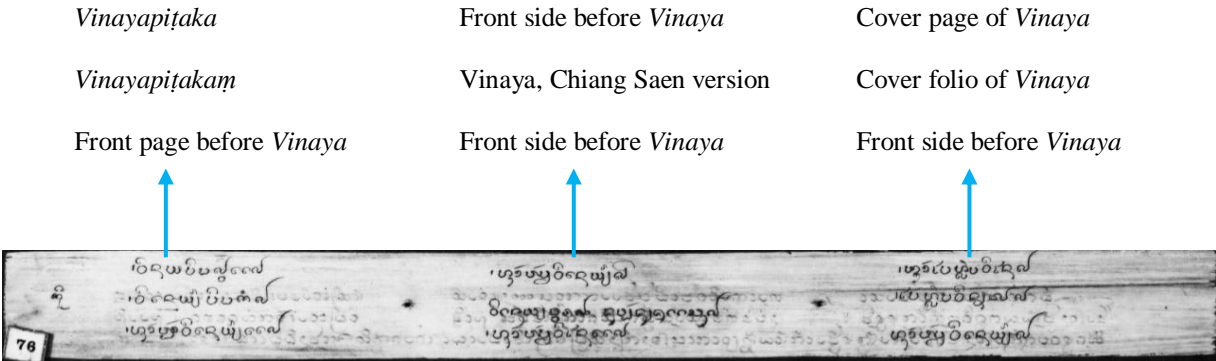


Figure 5.16: Cover folio showing the title *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon)
 Source: PNTMP, code: พ๓ 0110023-00, folio 39 (verso), Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1834

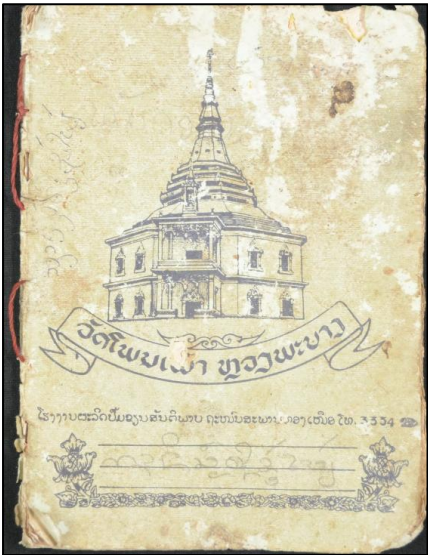
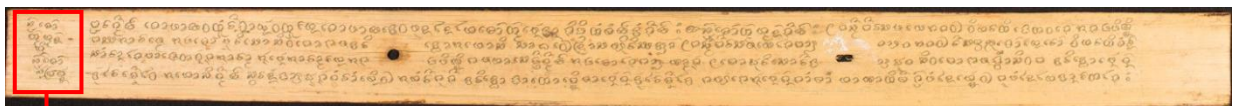


Figure 5.17: Front cover page showing the title *Anisong than dòkmai* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers)
 Source: BAP, code: BAD-21-2-004, side 1, Vat Si Bun Hüang, Luang Prabang, CE 1995

Anisong manuscripts made of mulberry paper and industrial paper usually contain a single *anisong* text individually in a single volume because modern types of paper are more easily accessible than palm leaves. Scribes and sponsors were therefore provided with various kinds of writing support; different *anisong* texts written in different manuscripts and marginal titles marking text beginnings are thus unnecessary. In the special case of multiple-text manuscripts made of palm leaves that bear several texts in a single fascicle, titles were usually written on the left margin to mark the page on which a new text begins, because they are mostly in *scriptio continua* in accordance with precious and rare writing supports. A table of contents, which comparatively represents codicological units, is sometimes added to the manuscripts. The excerpt below shows the marginal titles in a multiple-text manuscript (source: DLNTM, code: ชม 0706001-01, year unknown) containing five *anisong* texts³² from Chiang Mai province. The end of the previous text and the beginning of the new text were written on the same page; certain words indicating the beginning and the end were attached to the titles as well.



“สองข้าวต้มหมอนี้ สองข้าวสังข์พระภักต์” (*Sòng khao tom* ends here. *Sòng khao sang phra phat* [begins here].)

Figure 5.18: *Anisong* titles on the left margin

In Northern Thailand, *anisong* titles were in many cases newly written with industrial coloured pens by present-day users or librarians in either Tham script or modern Thai script. The following picture shows the first two folios of a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong khian tham* (Rewards derived from copying religious books) from Chiang Mai. In the picture, the title was written on the second folio in Tham script with a blue ball-pen on the left margin as being shown in the pink square – the common position of title indication – and not to replace any pale or unclear title of the *anisong* text. The title was certainly written at a later time in spite of being written in the Tham script as a possible result of manuscript rearrangement; namely, individual texts were separated from the original manuscript and recombined with other texts to serve a certain usage. The white sticker marked with numerals on the first folio as being shown in the orange circle clearly evidences that the manuscript was handled by a present-day collector.

³² The five texts are: *Sòng khao tom* (Rewards derived from the donation of rice congee), *Sòng khao sang phra phat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food), *Sòng khao tit kon mò* (Rewards derived from the donation of cooked rice), *Sòng khao pacha* (Rewards derived from the donation of rice to the dead) and *Sòng pha nam fon* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season).

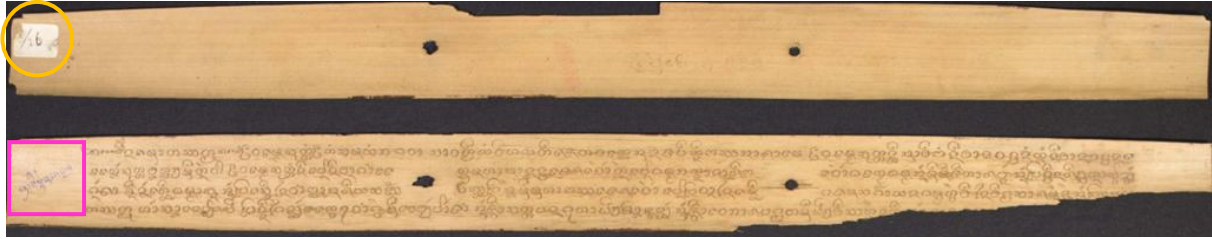


Figure 5.19: Palm-leaf manuscript with a white sticker and ball-pen writing
Anisong khian tham (Rewards derived from copying religious books)

Source: DLNTM, code: ໙ 0706001-05, folios 1–2 (recto), Wat Phra Sing, Chiang Mai, CE 1829

In the case of Lao *anisong* manuscripts, according to my previous explanation on accommodating *anisong* manuscripts to suit actual contemporary donations or manuscript productions, a number of *anisong* manuscripts are marked with Romanized spelling to represent titles. The following example shows a newly added code and title written with a ball-pen in the left margin. The manuscript was combined or mixed with other *anisong* and non-*anisong* texts in the same bundle and is kept at the National Library of Laos in Vientiane; the new additions were perhaps done by a librarian.

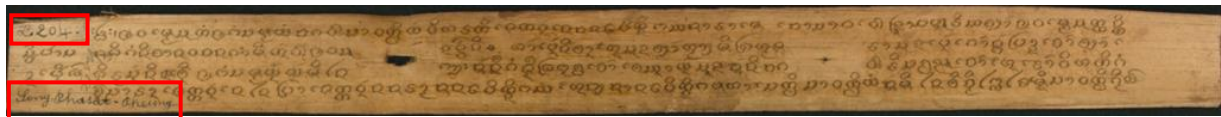


Figure 5.20: Palm-leaf manuscript with a Romanized number and title
Sòng phasat phüing (Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles)

Source: DLLM, code: 01012906004-05, folio 1 (recto), The National Library, Vientiane, year unknown

5.2.1.2 Pagination / Foliation

a) Positions

In the case of palm-leaf manuscripts from both Northern Thailand and Laos, page markers or foliations are most frequently found on the left margin of the verso sides, reflecting the by-*folio* or by-*leaf* way of counting, different from printed books in the present time in which by-*side* paginations are used. The foliation fits traditional ways of book binding because scribes wrote palm-leaf manuscripts folio by folio to be bound with a thread running through the holes of individual leaves, not being printed page by page like modern printed books; those were thus traditionally counted by leaf. The recto side is considered as the first page while the verso side is counted as the second. Foliation is dominantly shown on versos, indicating the completed writing of each leaf. On the recto sides and the right margins, however, the foliations also appear but not so often.

Mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts were often shaped into vertical orientation; page markers are accordingly centred on the top or bottom margins. Due to the ink or ball-pen commonly leaving engraved traces on the other side, only one side of mulberry paper and

industrial paper manuscripts was written with texts and marked with pagination. Totally unlike palm-leaf manuscripts, page markers thus serve for side-by-side pagination.

b) Characters

Being found in palm-leaf, mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts from both regions, Nai Tham numerals are more frequently found as pagination/foliation than Hora numerals because of the religious purpose of *anisonṅ* manuscripts. Nai Tham numerals were popularly written in religious manuscripts while Hora numerals were used for calculation in astrological manuscripts (see Bunkhit 2005: 38). Another popular way of foliation is the consonant-vowel combination; as was explained in Chapter One, one consonant is combined with ordered vowels in a pair to compose one syllable as a foliation marker. The consonant-vowel combination, e.g. ကဗ ကါ ဂီ ဂီ, is, however, mainly found in palm-leaf manuscripts, especially in multiple-text manuscripts in which several *anisonṅ* texts were recorded, as individual texts are represented with consonants and orders of folios are marked with vowels. Hence, such a combination can more or less be viewed as a ‘navigation aid’ to find the original codicological types of certain manuscripts – single-text manuscripts, multiple-text manuscripts or composite manuscripts; from a retrospective point of view, the ‘aid’ became helpful for manuscript users when organizing individual texts in their bundles. Manuscript fascicles could be picked out of the bundles for different uses and kept in the correct bundles; the foliation in the manuscripts articulated by consonant-vowel combinations therefore informed users of their right positions and sheds light on manuscript circulations among local monasteries.

Pagination on the recto sides -
Nai Tham numerals



Pagination on the verso sides -
Combination of consonants and
vowels



Figure 5.21: Co-existence of two different foliations

Sòng dòk mai thup thian (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers, incense sticks and candles)
 Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0157, folios 1–5 (recto and verso), Vat Saen Sukharam, CE 1944

The palm-leaf manuscript above is from Luang Prabang and the foliation symbols are both on the recto and the verso sides. The foliation on rectos is noted by *Nai Tham* numerals ordering the folios throughout each individual text, whereas the foliation on versos is marked by a combination of consonants and vowels, ordered by orthographic steps of the consonant set, running throughout all five texts of the manuscript. The co-existence of the two foliation styles plays a role as an aid to order manuscript folios. The recto sides order folios of ‘the individual texts’ (foliation of individual texts), while the verso sides order folios of ‘the whole manuscript’ (foliation of the whole manuscript).

Traditional Thai numerals are found in Northern Thai *anisong* manuscripts, such as a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong wetsantara* (Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka) from Chiang Rai province (source: DELMN, code: 414, year unknown). In some cases, various kinds of numerals – *Nai Tham*, *Hora* and traditional Thai numerals – are co-existent; an *anisong* palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Prathip dung kao* ([Rewards derived from] flying lantern balloons or floating banana-leaf vessels) from Nan province (source: PNTMP, code: นน 0106001-04, CE 1947), for instance, was written with the three kinds of numerals on some pages, as is framed by the following red rectangle.



Figure 5.22: Co-existence of numeral types

Different kinds of foliation numerals in Lao *anisong* manuscripts are less mixed-up than those in Northern Thailand. Page markers are sometimes combined with the abbreviated title. The two following pictures are excerpted from Northern Thai and Lao *anisong* manuscripts, each of which shows a foliation represented by markers and titles. The first one is entitled *Anisong simma* (Rewards derived from the construction of ordination halls) and is kept in Nan province; the foliation is marked on the verso sides with an order of consonant-vowel syllable and the title สิม (‘sim’) which is abbreviated from ‘simma’ or ordination hall (Th: *ubosot* อุโบสถ). The symbol (ˉ) above the vowel represents a long sound.

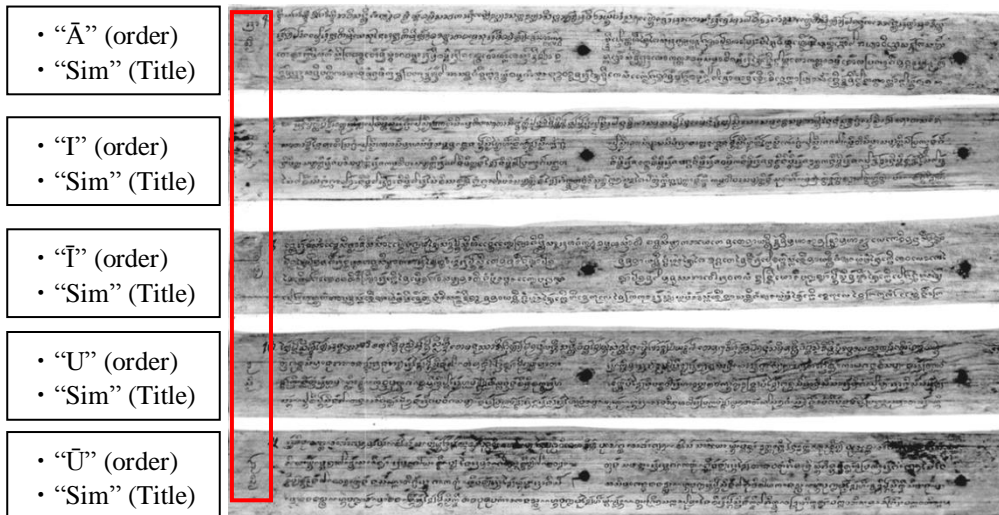


Figure 5.23: Co-existence of vowels and title

Anisong simma (Rewards derived from the construction of ordination halls)

Source: DELMN, code: 1029, folios 3–7 (recto), Wat Pa Müat, Nan province, year unknown

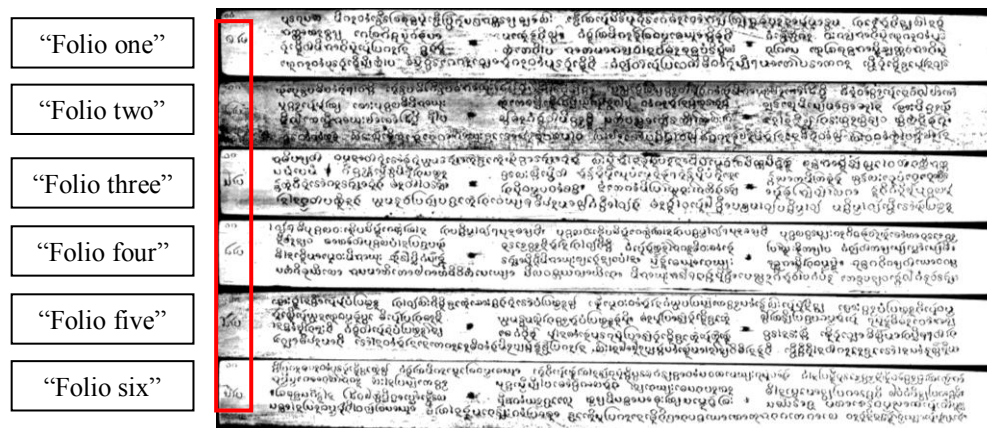


Figure 5.24: Co-existence of numerals and words

Anisong tham bun wan koet (Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries)

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406005-15, folios 1–6 (verso)

Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1973

The second excerpt above is a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong tham bun wan koet* (Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries) kept at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram in Luang Prabang. The folio marker is combined with ၇၈ or ‘WK’, the abbreviated title from วันเกิด or ‘wan koet’ (birthday). The folio numbers in this case are followed by ใบ or ‘bai’ (folio), leaving evidence of the by-folio traditional book-binding for palm-leaf manuscript production. The numeral-and-title foliation was helpful especially in the production process, so that they would not become mixed-up during the book binding.

Having been found merely in Northern Thailand, the foliation of *anisong* manuscripts is marked by words. The first example below is a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong khao salakphat* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival); the Thai words หนึ่ง สอง สาม... , representing *one, two, three...*, were written on the left margin of the verso

sides as a folio indication. The second example shows the foliation by Pali terms indicating the second (*dutiyaṃ*) to the sixth (*chathamāṃ*) folios on the verso sides; the first folio is not marked because it bears no text. This manuscript is entitled *Anisong pluk mai si mahapho* (Rewards derived from planting *Bodhi* trees) and is kept at Wat Ton Laeng in Nan province.



Figure 5.25: Foliation by vernacular words

Anisong khao salakphat (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival)

Source: DELMN, Code: 472, folios 2–6 (verso), Wat Si Khom Kham, Chiang Rai province, year unknown

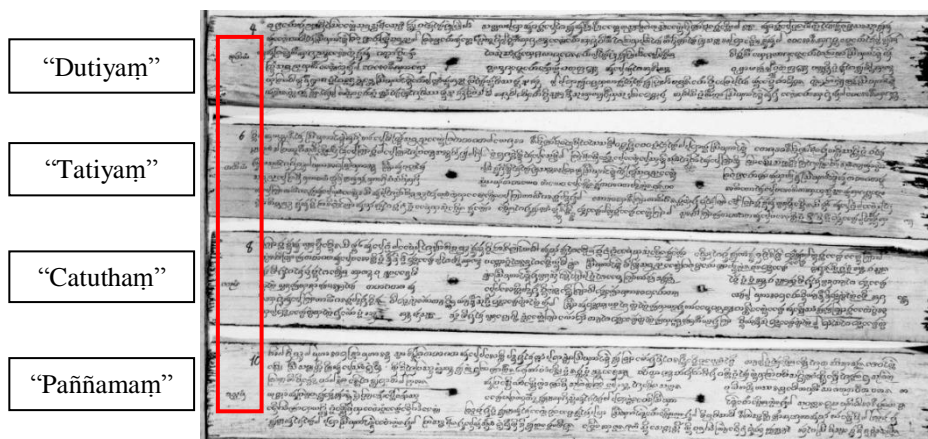


Figure 5.26: Foliation by Pali words

Anisong pluk mai si mahapho (Rewards derived from planting *Bodhi* trees)

Source: DELMN, Code: 786, folios 2–5 (verso), Wat Ton Laeng, Nan province, year unknown

The following example shows another rare folio indication presented on the verso sides by days of the week – Sunday to Wednesday. This manuscript is entitled *Anisong than pha* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes) from Wat Kasa in Chiang Rai province. One could presume that the weekday foliation indicates each folio completion exactly done on those days unless the colophon gives the irrelevant date of the manuscript completion, as was done here: “In CS 1298 (CE 1936), a *rwai cai* year, on the first waxing-moon day of the second lunar month, at the sunset time, Suriya Phikkhu inscribed [the manuscript] during his stay at Wat San Khong in Chiang Saen. *Likkhitta dhamma dhānaṃ. Nibbāna paccayo hontu no niccaṃ* (Written as a gift of Dhamma. May this be a condition for us [to reach] Nibbāna forever) (จุลศักราชได้ ๑๒๙๘ ตัว ปรีรวายไ้ เดือนยี่ ออกค่ำ ๑ ยามตะวันแลงจักดาใกล้ตกแล้วแล สุริยะภิกขุลิขิต ปางเมื่ออยู่วัดสันไค้ง เชียงแสน วันนั้นแล ลิกขิตต ธรรม ทาน นินพพาน ปจจโย โหนตุ โน นิจจ).” The

date mentioned in the colophon corresponds to November 15, 1936, Year of the Rat, a Sunday. The first textual folio is marked with ‘Sunday’ but the colophon mentions Sunday as ‘the end of the writing (completion)’; the weekday foliation is thus not associated with the days of the writing. In addition, the seven days of the week traditionally began with Sunday or ‘the first day’, as is commonly found in manuscripts; the weekday foliation in the following exemplary manuscript was thus intended to order the leaves in accordance with the seven days of the week.

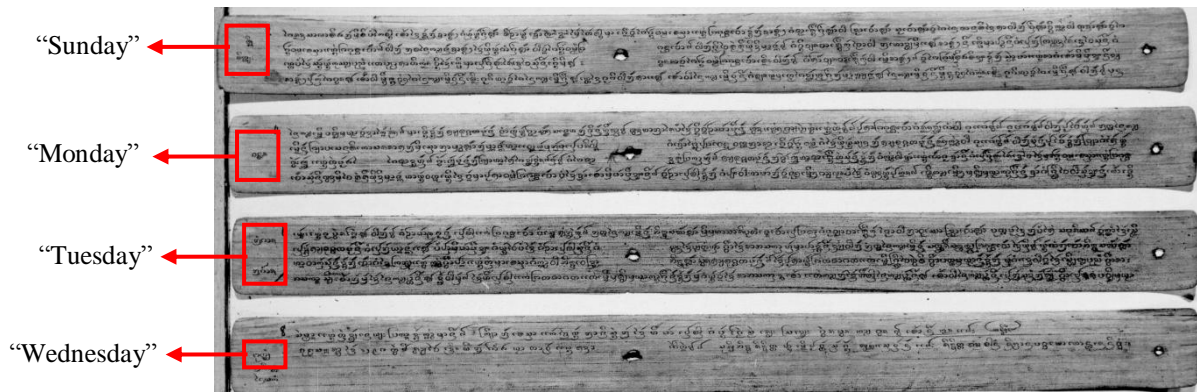


Figure 5.27: Foliation by weekdays

Anisong than pha (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes)

Source: DELMN, code: 816, folios 2–5 (verso), Wat Kasa, Chiang Rai province, CE 1936

c) Segmental pagination / foliation

Instead of beginning the first textual folio with “1”, “the first page”, “๑” (the first Thai consonant letter) or any symbol indicating ‘first order’, numerous *anisong* manuscripts appear to be mid-way ordered or not to start from the first order but midway. Accordingly, segmental foliation, more frequently found in Laos, was not caused by manuscript commissioners but by later users or collectors, to some extent in relation to ritual usage. The following example shows the recto side of a folio next to the end of a text written on a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Sòng bangsukun* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes). The recto side contains colophon, position of folio and table of contents showing the four given texts in the red frame; these are *Sòng prathip* (Rewards derived from flying lantern balloons and floating banana-leaf vessels), *Sòng bangsukun* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes), *Sòng pha nam fon* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season) and *Sòng thung lek* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags).

The next excerpt shows the foliation marked by a consonant ๑ – the third Thai alphabetical order – and a vowel. According to the paracontent, the manuscript initially included four texts: *Sòng prathip*, *Sòng bangsukun*, *Sòng pha nam fom* and *Sòng thung lek*, but the only surviving text is *Sòng bangsukun* which was as the second text in the production unit of this multiple-text manuscript, because the vowel ๑ (o) is not the first vowel of both Pali and Thai languages. The previous vowels were probably used to mark the preceding folios of the first text or *Sòng*

prathip. The other three texts were separated by later users to serve different purposes, possibly including ritual usage.

“สองประทีป ๑ สองบังสุกุล ๑ สองผ้าป่าฝน ๑ สองทุ่งเหล็ก ๑” (One *Sòng pathip*, one *Sòng bangsukun*, one *Sòng pha nam fon* and one *Sòng thung lek*)

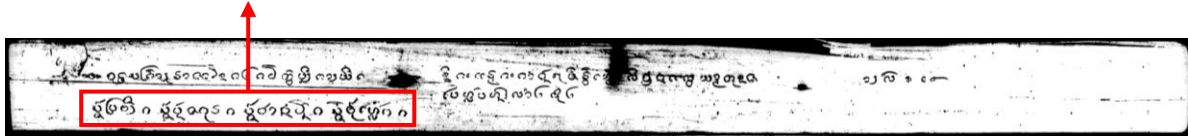


Figure 5.28: Table of contents

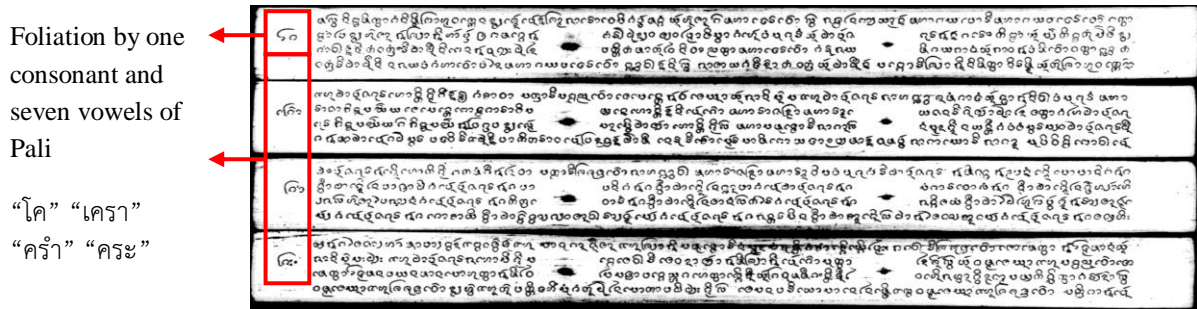


Figure 5.29: Foliation by syllables

Sòng bangsukun (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes)

Source: DLLM, code: 06018506010-06, folios 1–4 (verso), The National Museum, Luang Prabang, CE 1854

The next example is excerpted from *Anisong sang hong phayaban hong mò* (Rewards derived from the construction of public hospitals); the foliation on the verso sides in the red frame is ordered from ‘7’ to ‘13’ representing its original combination with other previous texts as a multiple-text manuscript.

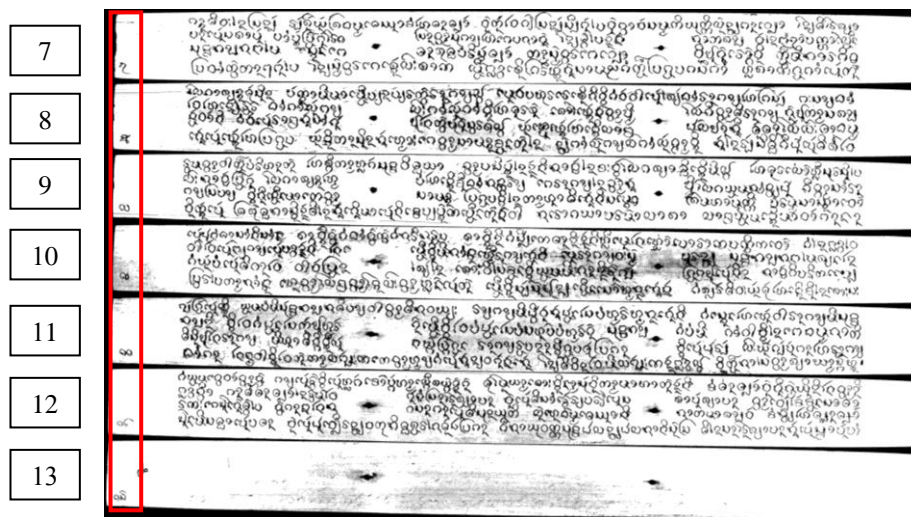


Figure 5.30: Segmental foliation by numerals

Anisong sang hong phayaban hong mò (Rewards derived from the construction of public hospitals)

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406004-07, folios 1–7 (verso)

Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1962

5.2.1.3 Textual position

As a result of continuous handwriting or *scriptio continua* in palm-leaf manuscripts from both regions, a small drawing is often employed to mark or symbolize the position of a text beginning or new texts especially in the case of multiple-text manuscripts, so that the user could see the textual positions and distinguish different written texts in the manuscripts. The separating symbols are, however, not outstandingly distinctive; textual positions at the beginning or end could therefore hardly be found unless a space, an empty page or a new paragraph is supplemented. Those cases containing a single symbol to mark each new text could possibly be viewed as ‘textual collections’ made for gathering *anisong* texts to serve for different purposes. The example below is a multiple-text palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) kept at Wat Na Pang, Nan province. The manuscript was written by two scribes for the purpose of religious support in CE 1796. Defined by the title *sapphathan* or “all kinds of gift-giving”, the scribes collected and wrote as many *anisong* texts as they could that explain merit gained from different kinds of offerings, each of which is separated by a dividing symbol shown in the red frames in the following excerpt. Despite the fact that the usage in sermons was the primary aim of manuscript production, the indistinct dividing symbols seem to be assimilated within the text, therefore causing difficulties to navigate certain positions; the main purpose could have been to serve as a textual collection.

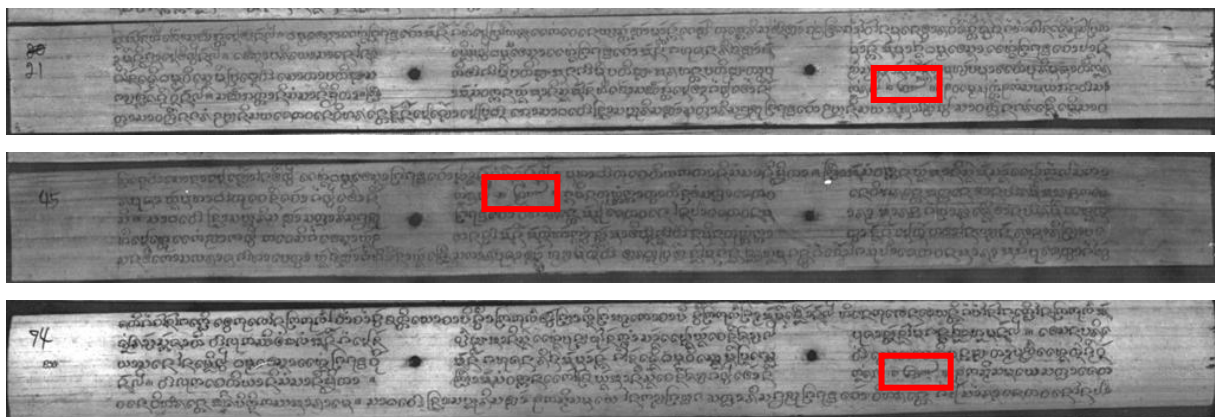


Figure 5.31: Palm-leaf manuscript with dividing marks

Anisong sapphathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)

Source: PNTMP, code: นน 0920005-01, folios 12, 24 and 39 (recto), Wat Na Pang, Nan province, CE 1796

In some cases drawings are indicative of a text beginning and ending. The following example shows the beginning and ending parts of the *Vinaya pitaka* text inscribed in a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Pitaka thang sam* (All Three Baskets, i.e. the Buddhist canon) in which *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon) is also included. The drawing framed in the red square indicates the text beginning; the drawing in the green rectangle indicates the text ending that precedes the colophon. The manuscript includes the total of four texts: *Vinaya*, *Suttanta*, *Abhidhamma* and *Anisong*. The first drawing thus indicates the very first text of the manuscript because the other three texts are not preceded by

any drawing. The drawing in the red frame appears to resemble different kinds of animals: a cock, a fish, a dragon or *nāga* (a legendary giant snake similar to dragons). No reliable evidence in the manuscript, however, is given to imply any key interpretation as to what the drawing signifies or symbolizes. The year of writing (CE 1850) corresponds to the Year of the Dog, which the drawing probably did not intend to express. It was perhaps aimed to decoratively indicate the beginning of the text. As for the green frame, the flower-lined drawing divides the text and the colophon. At the end of the colophon there is another drawing of flowers as shown in the yellow frame.

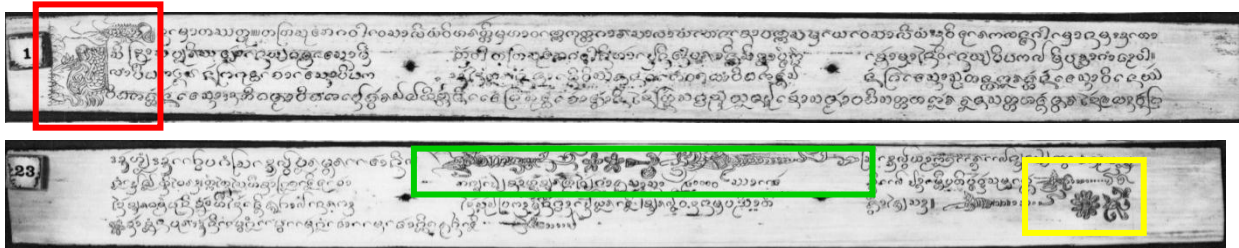


Figure 5.32: Drawings marking the beginning and the end and dividing text and colophon
Pitaka thang sam (The Buddhist canon or ‘All Three Baskets’ named *Tipiṭaka*)

Source: PNTMP, code: พ๓ 0110031-00, folios 2 and 13 (recto), Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1850

All the drawings in the examples above were thus made to point out textual locations. In mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts, text-positioning symbols are found less than in palm-leaf manuscripts because they are mostly single-text manuscripts in which the symbols are not as much required for dividing individual texts as in palm-leaf manuscripts. The writing support of mulberry and industrial paper was more easily accessible, therefore it can be made into single-text manuscripts. According to Gérard Genette, such drawings are viewed as ‘substantial characteristics’ as he states in the following:

Most frequently then the paratext is itself a text: if it is not yet *the* text it is already textual. But one must bear in mind the paratextual value which can belong to other types of expression: iconic (the illustrations), material (everything which proceeds, for example, from the sometimes very significant typographical choices made in the composition of a book), or purely factual (Genette 1991: 265).

5.2.1.4 Codicological indicators

General information about codicological units appears to be indicated by structuring paracontents as well. Unlike those characterized by providing the structure of *anison* texts, codicological remarks have the function to structure manuscripts or collections of manuscripts (fascicles, bundles). Codicological remarks are more closely related to dedicating rituals than preaching rituals because they aided scribes to organize folios and fascicles and also aided sponsors to arrange or group their completely written manuscripts in preparation of monastic dedication. Viewed as functional perspectives, the remarks give general information about content, number, order and position.

a) Contents

Tables of contents clarify all given texts and are specifically found in multiple-text manuscripts as they were made, in spite of containing several texts, in a single production unit. They could be written before and/or after the texts and are found in both Northern Thailand and Laos. Tables of contents show the included texts written in the manuscripts and thus give information about which texts the manuscripts contain. The following examples are excerpted from a multiple-text manuscript from Nan province. The manuscript is entitled *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) because it contains several *anisong* texts in a single textual theme of gift-giving (*dāna*), each of which is individually entitled. The whole manuscript-bundle comprises three fascicles written by two collaborating scribes – a monk named Anantharatsa Phikkhu and a layman named Saenthip Manorat; as is evidenced by their different handwriting styles, one wrote two fascicles, the other wrote one fascicle. Each of the three fascicles is marked with a table of contents before or after the texts; two fascicles written by one of the scribes bear tables of contents before the text and the other fascicle written by another scribe after the text. The tables of contents are framed in the following red rectangle in the following example showing eleven *anisong* texts³³ in the first fascicle, six³⁴ in the second and seven³⁵ in the third.

³³ *Anisong attha bòrikhan* (Rewards derived from the donation of eight commodities for monks), *Anisong khao sangkhaphat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-rice), *Anisong pluk mai si maha pho* (Rewards derived from planting *Bodhi* trees), *Anisong sang cedi maha that* (Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas), *Anisong khao phan kòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls), *Anisong cedi sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas), *Anisong nam bò* (Rewards derived from the construction of wells), *Anisong pha kanthin* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the *Kathin* festival), *Anisong sapphathan thang muan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong than fai nam man* (Rewards derived from the donation of light oil) and *Anisong yò phikkhu khiin pen sami chi then* (Rewards derived from the participation in monkhood-ranking promotion ceremonies).

³⁴ *Anisong phuttharup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images), *Anisong wihan aram* (Rewards derived from the construction of monasteries), *Anisong prasat* (Rewards derived from the construction of monasteries), *Anisong thammat* (Rewards derived from the donation of pulpits), *Anisong khati kudi rong chan khao* (Rewards derived from the construction of monastic canteens) and *Anisong sapphathan thang muan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

³⁵ *Anisong than rao thian* (Rewards derived from the donation of sponges), *Anisong than hit* (Rewards derived from the donation of book chests), *Anisong than pha phidan* (Rewards derived from the donation of ceiling cloth), *Anisong raksa sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance), *Anisong than lua lae fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of firewoods), *Anisong than wan pi mai* (Rewards derived from the donation on New Years) and *Anisong tòp khun phò mae* (Rewards derived from taking care of one's own parents).

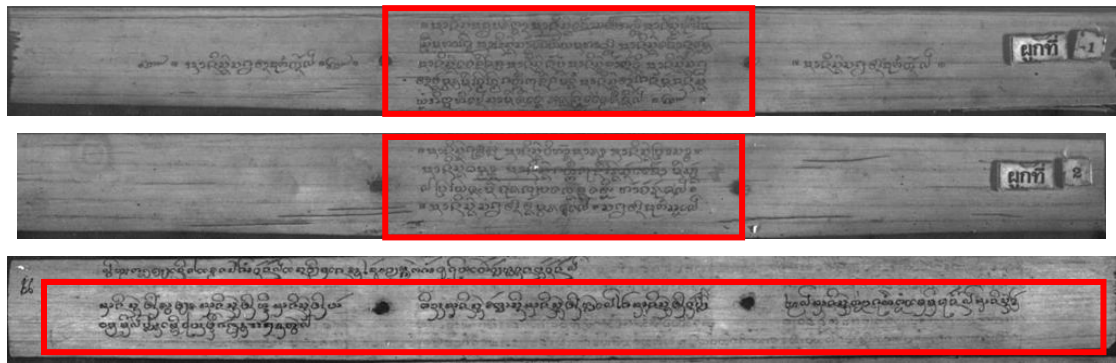


Figure 5.33: Tables of contents of three fascicles
 (Top to bottom) the first fascicle, the second fascicle, the third fascicle
Anisong sapphathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)
 Source: PNTMP, code: นน 0920005-01, folios 1, 48 (recto) and 111 (verso)
 Wat Na Pang, Nan province, CE 1796

Evidenced by their tables of contents, *anisong* manuscripts from Laos do not contain as many texts in a single production unit as those from Northern Thailand, in which more than ten *anisong* texts could be written altogether in a bundle as is shown in the example above. The following example is a palm-leaf manuscript from Luang Prabang. The green frame shows the number of written *anisong* texts and the red one gives the list of *anisong* texts; there are *Sòng fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of light), *Sòng cedi* (Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas), *Sòng sia ya* (Rewards derived from planting grass), *Sòng prathip* (Rewards derived from flying lantern balloons and floating banana-leaf vessels) and *Sòng comkom* (Rewards derived from the construction of monastic pavilions). Such tables of contents function as a ‘threshold’ so that users could know at least of which texts the manuscript is composed. Concerning textual themes, the written texts contained in the same fascicle can either be relevant or irrelevant in terms of ritual usage.

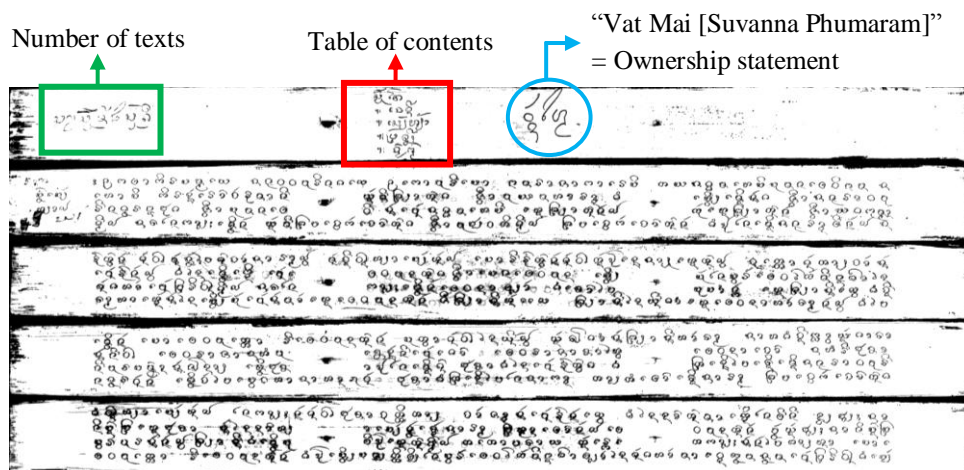


Figure 5.34: Title and table of contents
 Multiple-text manuscript containing five *anisong* texts
 Source: DLLM, code: 06011406003-26, folios 1–5 (recto)
 Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1852

b) Numbers

The numbers of folios, texts and fascicles were generally recorded together with foliation, title, colophon or other positions and are commonly found in both regions. The numbers are associated with the production process and religious rituals. Each folio has two sides – recto and verso – and was denoted as *bai* (‘leaf’, ใบ), *na* (‘side, page’, หน้า) or *tua* (‘body’, ตัว), reflecting the traditional way of by-leaf (palm-leaf) manuscript inscribing, although *na* differently means ‘sides’ or ‘pages’ in the present-day perception. Not only were the numbers of folios marked to serve the binding in the production process but also for preaching in sermonic rituals. In the case of numbers of texts indicated in *anisong* manuscripts, a monk recipient who accepts donated manuscripts during a dedication ritual is supposed to mention or ‘announce’ the names of the donors and all donated items before giving a blessing. Hence, the total number of *anisong* texts or fascicles was sometimes written in the manuscripts to serve the recipient monks in the rituals. The following example is excerpted from a multiple-text manuscript containing four *anisong* texts, as is declared in the following example.

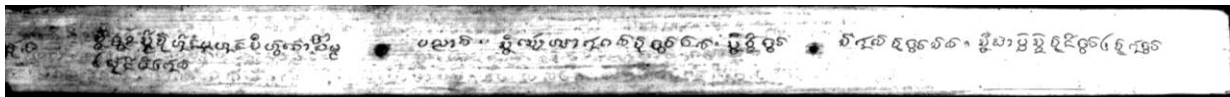


Figure 5.35: Multiple-text manuscript containing three *anisong* texts³⁶

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406012-23, folio 23 (verso), Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1807

The paracontent above can be translated as follows: “[The text entitled] *Sòng khòt sim* (Rewards derived from the construction of monasteries) written here [in the manuscript] was commissioned by Huacaosa Thammapanya. [The manuscript] comprises a text of *Sòng sia ya* as the second text, *Sòng wit* as the third text, *Sòng pha [u] buasot* as the fourth text. This manuscript contains four texts (สองขอด (ชุด) สี่มอยู่นี้ แม่่นหนังสือหัวเจ้าชาธรรมปัญญาแล สองเสี่ยหญ้า กัณฑ์ ๑ แลผูกถ้วน ๒ แล สองวิตถ้วน ๓ กัณฑ์แลผูกถ้วน ๓ แลสองผ้าบัวสด (อุโบสถ) ผูกนี้ถ้วน ๔ ผูก กัณฑ์ ถ้วน ๔ ผูกนี้มี ๔ กัณฑ์แล).” The name of the sponsor, Huacaosa Thammapanya, precedes the list of titles, dealing with the traditional way of monastic donation in which a recipient monk announced the names of the donors and their offerings and gave a blessing as a meritorious reward in return. Besides, the scribe used the terms *kan* (กัณฑ์) and *phuk* (ผูก) to define textual units which possibly confuse present-day scholars in manuscript studies, because *phuk* comparatively means ‘fascicle’ or ‘bundle’ and *kan* is widely known as ‘text’ or ‘episode’. Another term, *sòng* or *salòng*, was sometimes also used for presenting a unit of texts. Numbers of texts are thus commonly found in multiple-text manuscripts. In some cases of dedicating several manuscripts on a certain occasion, the term *mat* (มัด) is also as frequently found to define manuscript-fascicles as *phuk* (ผูก), namely, the textual unit (“chapter”) and codicological unit (“fascicle”). The two terms were used interchangeably and thus often caused confusion concerning the enumeration.

³⁶ The manuscript contains three texts: *Sòng pha ubosot* (Rewards derived from the donation of carpets for a monastic hall), *Sòng sia ya* (Rewards derived from planting grass) and *Sòng phutthahup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images).

c) Orders

In both Northern Thailand and Laos, structuring paracontents indicating fascicle orders are more commonly found than foliation, reflecting the higher popularity of producing and dedicating several fascicles of *anisonḡ* manuscripts. Fascicle orders were especially required for those commissioned by joint sponsors or scribes who planned to write a whole unit of manuscript production together; the individual responsibility for their own fascicles was thus basically marked by the fascicle orders. The following four excerpts show the fascicle-ordering paracontents in the red frames from a manuscript-bundle that is composed of twelve fascicles, each of which contains several *anisonḡ* texts and, evidenced by the colophons, was written by five different scribes and noted with fascicle orders.

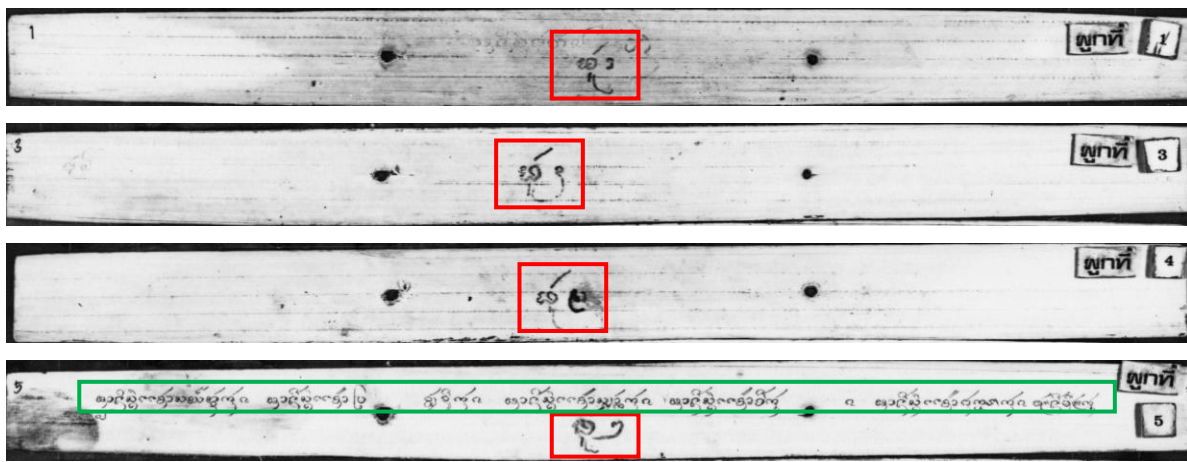


Figure 5.36: Fascicle markers of a multiple-text manuscript

Anisonḡ sapphathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)

Source: PNTMP, code: พร 0106003-00, folios 1, 48, 68 and 84 (recto), Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1845

The red frames in the examples above say *phuk nūḡ* (“fascicle one”) *phuk sam* (“fascicle three”), *phuk si* (“fascicle four”) and *phuk ha* (“fascicle five”), respectively. The fascicle orders were sometimes written in the tables of contents as is shown in the green frame in the fourth example and, traced by the different handwritings, were written later after all twelve fascicles had been finished. One of the scribes would be perhaps responsible for collecting all the complete fascicles and marking the orders. The multiple-text manuscript was potentially intended to collect as many *anisonḡ* texts as the scribes could, since a table of contents representing the written *anisonḡ* texts was noted in each fascicle. The order of fascicles also reflects the tradition of circulating manuscripts for religious or academic usage among local temples; namely, every individual manuscript-fascicle could be borrowed and returned to the right bundle. Expressions of fascicle orders were simply written such as *phuk ton* (“first fascicle”, ຜູກຕົ້ນ), *phuk plai* (“last fascicle” ຜູກປາຍ), *phuk si* (“fourth fascicle”, ຜູກສີ່) or *phuk paet* (“eighth fascicle”, ຜູກແປດ) at different positions.

d) Positions

Bai ('folio', ใบ) and *na* ('side', หน้า) are two main terms preceding and indicating positions of folios and leaf sides. The following traditional words were used to represent folio and side positions; those representing functions are *lop* ('cover', หลบ), *rap* ('before text', รับ) and *thap* ('after text', ทับ); those representing positions are *khlao* ('front', เคล้า), *ton* ('front', ตัน), *na* ('front', หน้า), *plai* ('back', ปลาย) and *lang* ('back', หลัง); and those representing sides are *bon* ('recto', บน), *lang* ('verso', ล่าง), *kae* ('dark' or 'recto', แก่, นอก) and *òn* ('light' or 'verso', อ่อน, ใน). 'Dark sides' and 'light sides' are dealt with oily and sticky side of a palm leaf as explained by Somchai Srinok: "To inscribe palm-leaf manuscripts, scribes began writing on the side of the oily and sticky surface known as the 'dark side' then continued on the other side known as the 'light side'" (see Somchai 2013).

These words were then matched to represent a variety of positions of folios and sides as follows: *bai ton*: ('first folio', ใบตัน), *bai plai* ('last folio', ใบปลาย), *bai lop na* ('front cover', ใบหลบหน้า), *bai lop lang* ('back cover', ใบหลบหลัง), *bai lop na kae* ('recto front cover', ใบหลบหน้าแก่), *bai lop na òn* ('verso front cover', ใบหลบหน้าอ่อน), *na lop bon* ('outer side or recto of cover folio', หน้าหลบบน), *na lop lang* ('inner side or verso of cover folio', หน้าหลบล่าง), *na rap khao / na rap plai* ('recto side before text'/'verso side before text', หน้ารับเคล้า / หน้ารับปลาย) and *na thap khao / na thap plai* ('recto side after text'/'verso side after text', หน้าทับเคล้า / หน้าทับปลาย). The following excerpted examples show positioning paracontents from palm-leaf manuscripts. The first example shows two positioning statements attached to the title – *bai lop na òn salòng kanthin* ('verso front cover of *salòng kathin*', ใบหลบหน้าอ่อนสล่องกฐิน) and *bai lop na kae salòng mahakanthin* ('recto front cover of *salòng mahakathin*', ใบหลบหน้าแก่สล่องมหากฐิน). In the second example the positioning statements in the red frames were written at the end of text on the same side – *na thap khao* ('recto side after text', หน้าทับเค้า) and *na thap plai* ('verso side after text', หน้าทับปลาย).



Figure 5.37: Folios showing page positions
Salòng maha kathin (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Kathin* festival)
Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0026, folios 1 (recto) and 5 (verso)
Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 1978

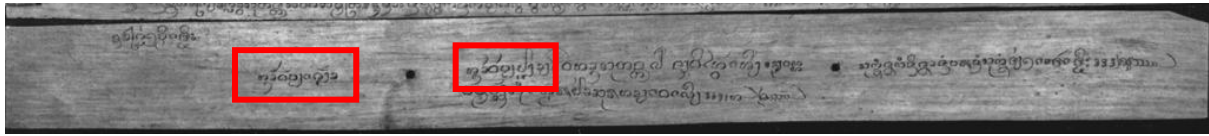


Figure 5.38: Paratext showing page positions

Anisong pitaka (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon)

Source: PNTMP, code: พร 0110019-00, folio 29 (verso), Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1909

In a number of multiple-text manuscripts, a blank folio was included to partition or divide individual texts for the purpose of circulation usage; some of them were also written with titles. The users could thus remove a certain text from the bundle without affecting the adjacent texts. As for mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts, the traditional expression to indicate different positions of pages and sides is found less because the paper sheets were simply bound and, mostly, only one side of the sheets was written on. *Na thap [tham] phai khao* (หน้าทับ [ธรรม] ภายเค้า) and *na thap [tham] plai* (หน้าทับ [ธรรม] ปลาย) are commonly found to represent ‘front covers’ and ‘back covers’, respectively.

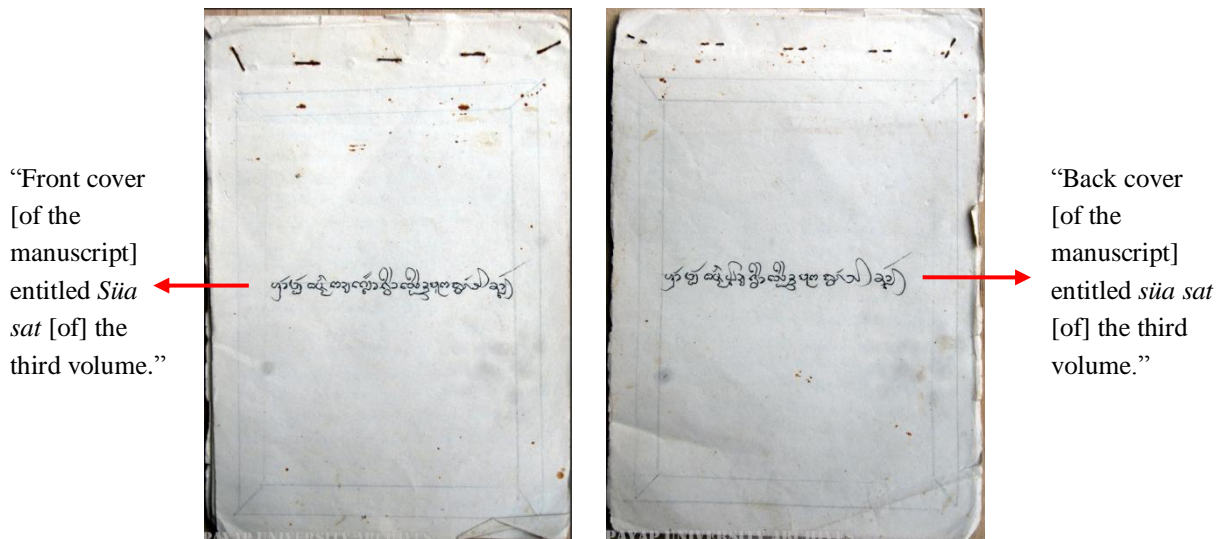


Figure 5.39: Paper side showing page positions

Anisong siia sat (Rewards derived from the donation of carpets)

Source: PUA, code: 14.39, sides 1 and 18, Phayap University Archives, Chiang Mai, year unknown

5.2.2 Commenting paracontents

Commenting paracontents aid readers to interpret or to comprehensively understand texts by adding explanations, glosses or annotations. In the *anisong* corpus commenting paracontents were made for insertions, corrections, emphasis and interlinear glosses, frequently done by later users; many of them were evidently made for the purpose of ritual usage – preaching rituals. Erosion throughout time and the present-day usage of the manuscripts primarily created the commenting paracontents which were directly done by scribes and current users. Insertion dominates this kind of paracontents. A large number of commenting paracontents

are clearly seen to have been added in later periods with modern scripts and industrial ink. An *anison* manuscript can bear more than one commenting paracontent, especially those done by later users in the contemporary period, reflecting the present-day usage as follows:

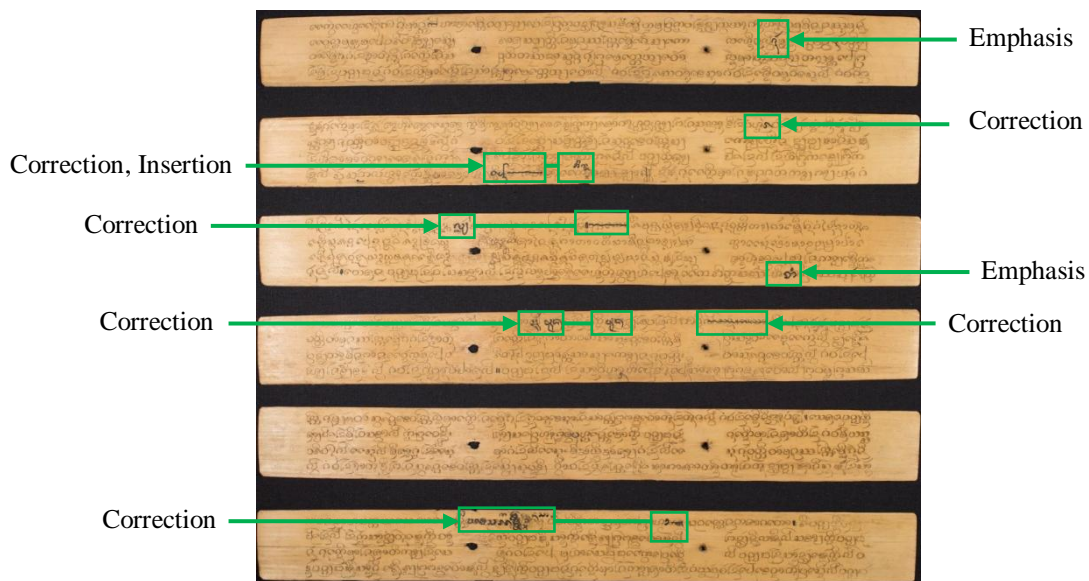


Figure 5.40: Commenting paracontents in a palm-leaf manuscript
Saphathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)
 Source: DLNTM, code: ขม 0706999-00, folios 7–12 (recto)
 Wat Phra Sing, Chiang Mai province, year unknown

5.2.2.1 Addition / Insertion

Besides commonly found additions and insertions originally done by scribes, those written in later periods were intended to assist manuscript users or especially ‘preachers’ with additional words to guide correct pronunciations, revealing the present-day usage and existent *anison* sermons in local communities of the two regions. The first example is excerpted from a multiple-text manuscript containing two *anison* texts – *Anison ubosot sin* (Rewards derived from the *ubosot* precept observance) and *Anison sin paet prakan* (Rewards derived from the observance of the Eight Precepts); the group of eight precepts is known as *ubosot sin* and is practiced on the eighth waxing-moon and waning-moon days and on the fourteenth/fifteenth waxing-moon and waning-moon days of every month. Based on similar textual themes, the two *anison* texts were therefore written in the same fascicle. Although the insertions were written above certain words with modern Thai scripts and the central Thai orthography to show their pronunciations, they could hardly be viewed simply as an indication of illiteracy in the Tham script because the text was partly marked with the guiding aids; the rest of the text could certainly be read by the users. The user marked particular words with their correct pronunciations, possibly to practice the preaching before giving actual sermons. The self-training in preparation for delivering *anison* sermons is practised, which is explained by Bounleuth (2016: 135) as follows:

Traditionally, reading variants of the Dhamma script is considered a foundational skill when learning to preach. This means that a student or disciple (ລູກສິດ) must be highly proficient in terms of both literacy and rhythm. Therefore, monks and novices – even if they are literate – have to continue to read the variants of the Dhamma script written on palm leaves, from one fascicle to another. In fact, learning to read the variants of the Dhamma script enables the monk or novice to discover new manuscripts and determine the handwriting of other scribes appearing in various forms. In brief, the more manuscripts a monk or novice can read, the more he can claim experience in preaching, because each particular manuscript is required to be read in the same voice in which it is preached. Therefore, the number of fascicles and manuscripts that a monk or novice is required to read in order to become a true master of the craft is unlimited.

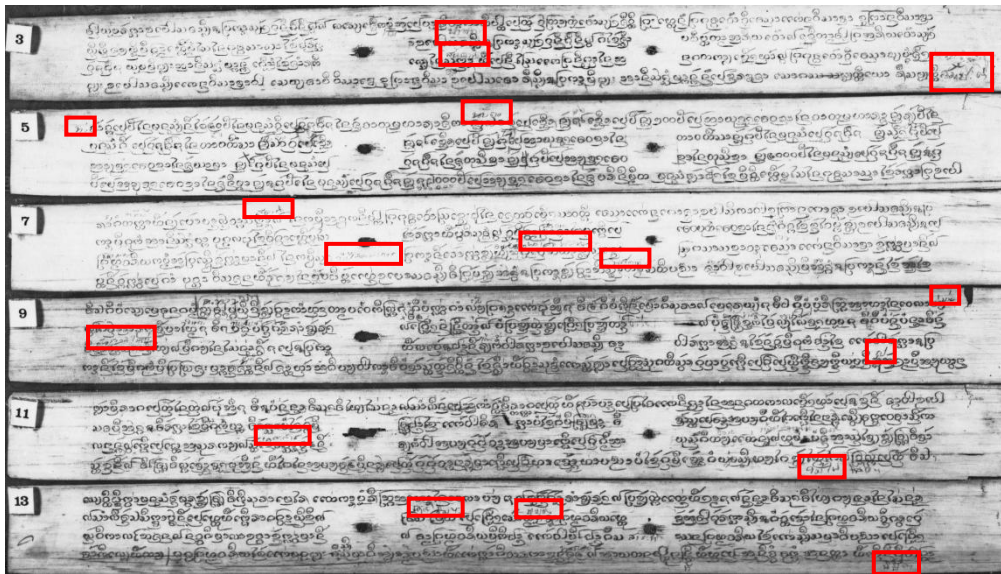


Figure 5.41: Textual insertions

Multiple-text manuscript containing two *anisong* texts

Source: PNTMP, code: ຈຸມ 0106002-03, folios 9–14 (recto), Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai province, CE 1907

The following example is excerpted from a manuscript text entitled *Sòng raksa sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance) written in a multiple-text manuscript containing five *anisong* texts – *Sòng dòk mai thup thian* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers, incense sticks and candles), *Sòng raksa sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance), *Sòng fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma), *Sòng phao phi* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals) and *Sòng maha wetsantara chadok* (Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka). The first two pictures show the introduction of a *Sòng raksa sin* sermon newly written with a modern blue ball-pen in the modern Lao script. The content reveals no evidence of a particular occasion for which the new introduction was added. Interestingly, there are no additional words written with the modern Lao script showing correct pronunciations in the texts of the manuscript, which reveals the full Tham script literacy of the users. The manuscript was inscribed by Sathu Nyai Khamchan Virachitto. The venerable abbot, explained by Khamvone (2015: 217), was an expert in the Tham script and modern Lao script and always read texts written in palm-leaf manuscripts for giving sermons:

Sathu Nyai Khamchan was renowned as an expert in the Tham-Lao and Old-Lao or *lao buhan* scripts. He often read from palm-leaf manuscripts when giving sermons to lay Buddhists. He was able to read Thai text fluently, albeit with a Lao accent. From the 1950s onwards, he compiled and published many religious books, including the Pātimokkha, Vessantara Jātaka, and Vinaya for distribution to Buddhists.

In the third picture it states that the scribe (and also the sponsor) Pha Khamchan Virachitto from Vat Saen Sukharam wrote the manuscript in CE 1944 (BE 2487), Year of the Monkey, on the tenth waxing-moon day of the eleventh lunar month, a Wednesday³⁷, to celebrate his second twelve-year cycle. Accordingly, the new addition written in the first two pictures was evidently made to serve ritual usage because the content is a sermonic introduction supposed to be read by a preaching monk, so as to welcome the lay audience before an *anisong* sermon begins.

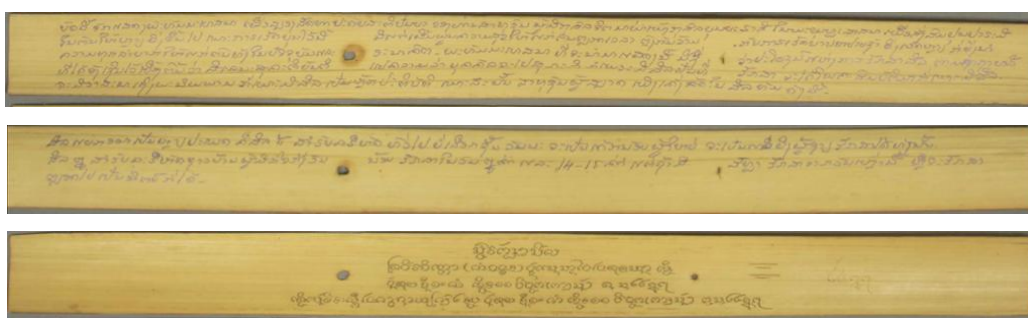


Figure 5.42: Additional textual introduction newly written with a blue ball-pen
Sòng raksa sin (Rewards derived from precept observance)
 Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0157, folios 7–8 (recto) and 8 (verso)
 Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 1944

In addition, a vertical line | indicating a pause in the course of preaching was frequently inserted in a number of manuscripts, showing the oral tradition of sermonic delivery. Dividing symbols aid preaching monks to read properly and know when to make a pause, illustrating the ritual usage and sermonic practices, as the vertical lines would not have been added unless any recitation had been practised by a preaching monk in advance. Such dividing vertical lines are also found in *anisong* manuscripts from Laos and were clearly added in a later time.

³⁷ 1306 Aśvina 10 = Wednesday, 27 September 1944.

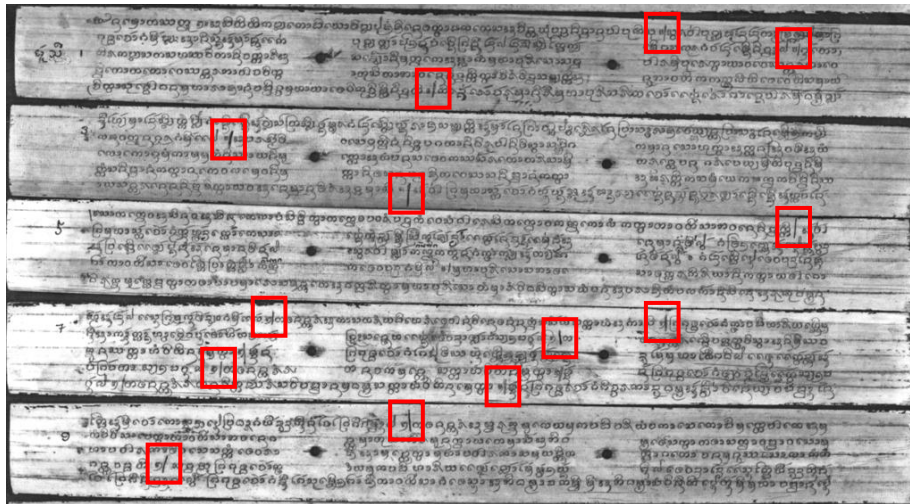


Figure 5.43: Vertical lines to indicate a pause

Anisong sapphathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)

Source: PNTMP, code: W5 0113009-02, folios 64–68 (recto), Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1830

5.2.2.2 Corrections and Emphasis

Textual corrections were done either by the initial scribes or later users for textual improvement by deleting and replacing mistakes with the correct words and are commonly found in all kinds of writing support, while emphasis was done by later users to darken or clarify blurred or unclear words caused by time erosion. Corrections made by initial scribes were done with the same writing tools while those made by users in later periods were simply done with industrial pens. Investigated by Veidlinger, orthographic mistakes more frequently occur in colophons than in the main texts because many of the scribes copied manuscripts faithfully from a master copy thereby simply making mistakes when writing in the free parts like colophons in which they were supposed to compose by themselves. Such the mistakes can also be found in the case of *anisong* manuscripts.

The colophons themselves are not without mistakes. The colophon of an *Aṭṭhakathā Mātikā* from CS 933 (1571 CE) says that the writer hopes to reach *nibbāna* in the presence of Metteyya, spelled Mekteyya. In fact, the frequency of mistakes in many of the vernacular colophons, and in the short Pali phrases found in them, is often greater than in the main text. This is not surprising because the manuscripts were often being copied from exemplars located before the copyist’s eyes, whereas the colophons were probably written directly by the copyist from his head. Thus this personal – and often flawed – knowledge of Thai or Pali spelling would have been engaged (2006: 124).

The following example shows corrections and emphasis, framed in the red squares, originally made by the scribe. To write texts in palm-leaf manuscripts, a stylus or a metal stick with a pinned-top was used by scribes to make traces or ‘inscribe’ on the surface; that dark lacquered resin was then applied to coat the inscribed leaves and wiped out carefully. By doing so, the resin gets stuck in the inscribed tracks and the written text becomes exposed. Inscribing palm-

leaf manuscripts, due to the lack of special chemical substance for deletions, therefore requires specially trained skills in order to avoid wasting palm leaves by unintentionally causing permanent wrong traces on the surface. As a result, deletions by crossing out mistakes were done initially by the scribes and are widely found in palm-leaf manuscripts.

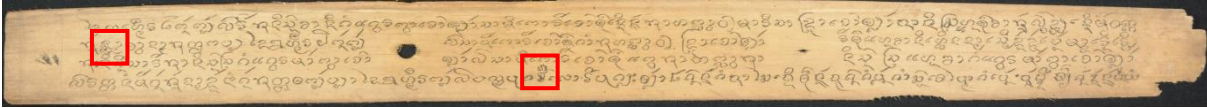


Figure 5.44: Deletions in a palm-leaf manuscript done by the scribe *Sòng thung lek* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags)
 Source: BAP, code: BAD-11-1-0052, folio 2 (recto), Vat Suvannakhili, Luang Prabang, CE 1841

The following mulberry paper manuscript was written and corrected with a black pen. In many cases, a small piece of paper was glued in replacement on the position of the mistake and written with the correct words. Textual corrections could thus be more numerously done in mulberry and industrial paper manuscripts than in palm-leaf manuscripts. The corrections of mistakes by crossing-out and using a replacement patch were normally employed rather than rewriting the whole page, which consumed even more time, or discarding the paper with the mistakes which excessively wasted writing materials. A large number of *anisong* manuscripts are consequently full of mistakes and corrections, but this hardly influences the preaching rituals, because the texts are read by monks and not exposed to the audience.

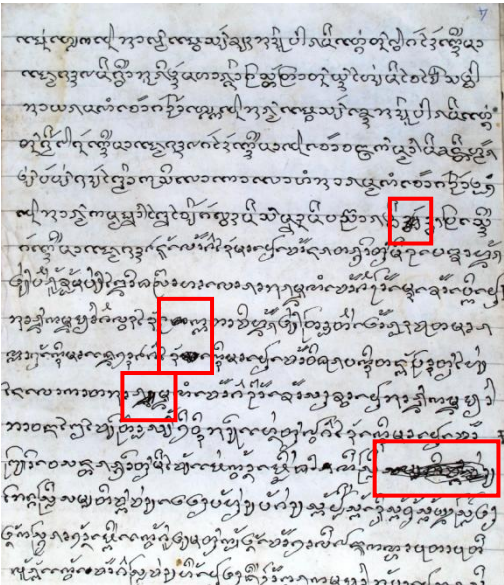


Figure 5.45: Deletions in a mulberry paper manuscript done by the scribe *Anisong thong lek thong thong* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron and golden flags)
 Source: PUA, code: 14.34, side 5, Phayap University Archives, Chiang Mai, year unknown

Textual corrections were done with modern writing tools by the scribe. The following example is excerpted from a palm-leaf manuscript from Luang Prabang and shows a lot of emphasis and cross-out corrections done by a blue pen (in the red frames) and a white chemical substance (in the green frames). The correction in this manuscript was probably

done in later time, as those corrections in the two green frames evidently show traces of inscribing in the place of the deletions, which are also shown in the next close-up view. A white chemical substance was applied on certain spots on the surface to delete traces of mistakes, then the new text was inscribed on top. It can be clearly seen that the scribe wrote the palm-leaf manuscript with a normal stylus, made mistakes unintentionally, applied the white chemical on the incorrect spots, waited for it to dry up and continued writing to replace the mistaken positions; that is the reason why the inscription traces on the white corrections are the same and connected to the other parts of the text. The white chemical substance was used to ‘conceal’ the inscribed traces of mistakes, so that the dark resin would not be filled during the process of coating the surface. This manuscript was written in CE 1910; interestingly, the white chemical substance had been popularly known since the mid-nineteenth century onwards and the most early found evidence of its use was in CE 1908 in Luang Prabang as explained by Bounleuth:

There are no details about the time this tool (white chemical substance) was first used in writing manuscripts, but the application of correction liquid in the production of paper manuscripts dates back to AD 1908 (BAD-13-2-042). This indicates that Lao scholars in Luang Prabang at that time found a successful way to develop their literary work (2016: 248).

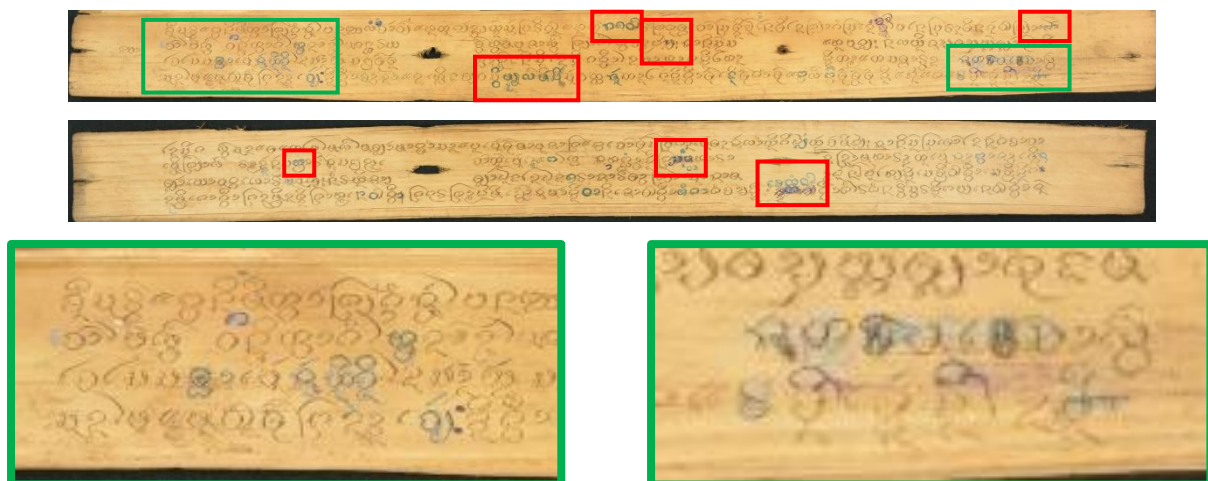


Figure 5.46: Deletions in a palm-leaf manuscript with white chemical liquid
Sòng sapphathung (Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags)
 Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0387, folios 2 (verso) and 3 (recto)
 Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 1910

5.2.2.3 Linear space

There are a number of *anisong* manuscripts that are provided with a particular space for filling in the sponsors’ names, the age of the sponsors and the names of dead persons to whom the sponsors aimed to transfer the merit of copying the manuscripts. A clear example is a mulberry paper manuscript, as explained in Chapter Three, industrially shaped in the oblong format resembling the *phothi* manuscript layout. The printed manuscript left some parts empty

for filling in the sponsors' names and the names of dead recipients to whom the merit of copying the manuscript was intended to be transferred.

<p>๑. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๒. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๓. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๔. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>	<p>พิมพ์ขึ้นที่ วัดพุทธนิเวศนาราม กรุงเทพมหานคร ๕. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๖. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๗. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๘. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>	<p>๙. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๑๐. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๑๑. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๑๒. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>
<p>๑๓. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๑๔. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๑๕. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๑๖. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>	<p>๑๗. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๑๘. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๑๙. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๒๐. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>	<p>๒๑. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๒๒. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๒๓. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๒๔. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>
<p>๒๕. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๒๖. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๒๗. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๒๘. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>	<p>๒๙. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๓๐. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๓๑. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๓๒. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>	<p>๓๓. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๓๔. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๓๕. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๓๖. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>
<p>๓๗. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๓๘. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๓๙. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๔๐. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>	<p>๔๑. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๔๒. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๔๓. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๔๔. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>	<p>๔๕. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๔๖. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๔๗. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๔๘. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>
<p>๔๙. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๕๐. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๕๑. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๕๒. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>	<p>๕๓. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๕๔. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๕๕. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๕๖. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>	<p>๕๗. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๕๘. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๕๙. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๖๐. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>
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<p>๗๓. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๗๔. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๗๕. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๗๖. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>	<p>๗๗. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๗๘. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๗๙. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๘๐. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>	<p>๘๑. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๘๒. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๘๓. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๘๔. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>
<p>๘๕. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๘๖. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๘๗. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๘๘. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>	<p>๘๙. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๙๐. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๙๑. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๙๒. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>	<p>๙๓. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๙๔. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๙๕. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร ๙๖. ชื่อผู้พิมพ์พระธรรมสาร</p>

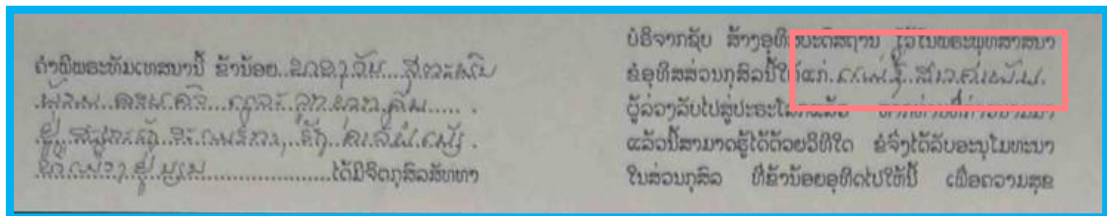


Figure 5.47: Colophon in a printed manuscript and partly written by the sponsor

The handwritten part was newly written by the sponsors as follows:

“ทองวัน สุตะพรม พร้อมครอบครัว และลูกทุกคน อยู่สหรัฐอเมริกา รัฐคาลิฟอร์เนีย ที่เมืองยูเนียน”

“I, named Thongwan Sutaphrom, together with my family and children live in the USA, California State, Union city.”

(The written part in the orange frame)

“[ขออุทิศส่วนกุศลนี้ให้แก่] แม่ชื่อสาวคำพัน”

“[May the merit of book dedication be transferred to my] mother named Sao Khamphan.”

Salòng sang phataipidok (Rewards derived from copying religious books)

Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-033, sides 1–7, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, year unknown

Some of the manuscripts were typed with a typewriter for the purpose of publishing religious texts among laypeople; those were thus intended as sermonic texts – *Anisong bun wan koet* (Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries)³⁸, *Salòng khao phan kòn*

³⁸ The manuscript is made of palm leaves, BAD-19-1-0137 (source: BAP, CE 1984) and kept at Vat Siang Muan, Luang Prabang. It was typed by Cinna Thammo Phikku and sponsored by Pha Phui Thilacitto.

(Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls)³⁹ and *Anisong het bun wan koet* (Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries)⁴⁰. Typewritten manuscripts are not found in Northern Thailand. The other manuscripts are those written in mulberry paper manuscripts by Thit Niao Maniwong from Luang Prabang in CE 2004. As was explained in Chapter Four, they were possibly produced as the original resource for future copies sponsored by any other donors; the particular spaces underlined with dots are provided for future scribes to write the sponsors' names and the deceased's names freely in their own copies. The กล or abbreviation of กวดเกล้า (“already checked”) was thus evidently specific to the purpose of a prototype production.

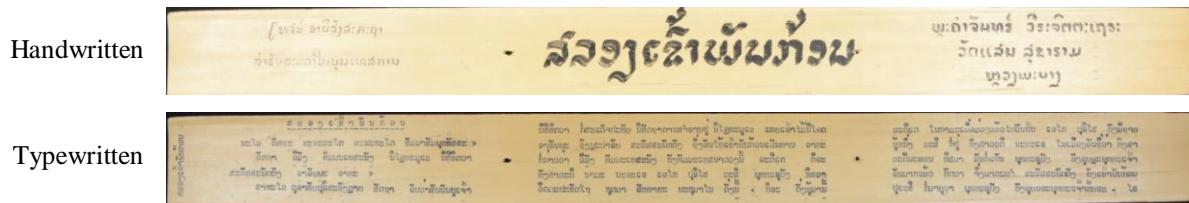


Figure 5.48: Typewritten palm-leaf manuscript with handwritten cover folio

Salòng khao phan kòn (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls)

Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-1-0685, folios 1–2 (recto), Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 1982.

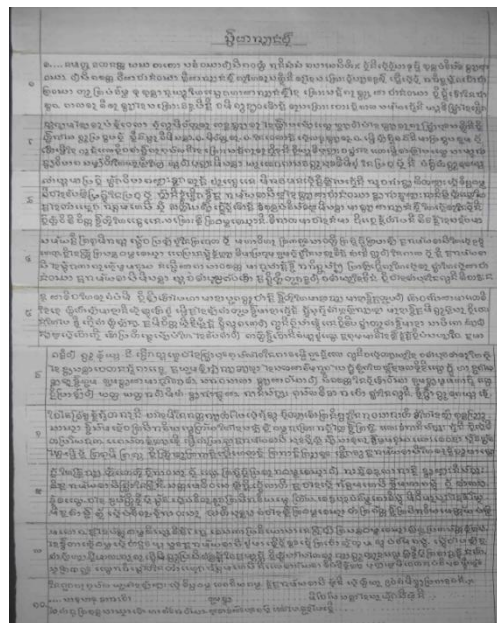


Figure 5.49: Mulberry paper manuscript used for a master copy

Sòng pha ap nam fon (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season)

Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-031, sides 15–25, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 2004

³⁹ The manuscript is made of palm leaves, coded BAD-13-1-0685 (source: BAP, CE 1982) and kept at Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang. It was typed by Cinna Thammo Phikkhu for the purpose of dedication to the abbot of the temple.

⁴⁰ The manuscript is made of palm leaves, coded BAD-13-1-0206 (source: BAP, CE 1988) and kept at Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang. It was typed by Cinna Thammo Phikkhu and sponsored by Pha Khamchan Virachitto.

5.2.3 Documenting paracontents

This kind of paracontents gives information related to manuscripts' contexts: production, function, transmission and provenance, thus revealing details of the particular manuscript culture. They are mostly found in colophons or headings and refer to information about the cultural background in which the manuscripts were used and existed. Production contexts and ritual association can mostly be traced in the documenting paracontents of *anisong* manuscripts from the two regions. Besides, the re-donation and storage of manuscripts are also represented. Having been thoroughly analysed, documenting paracontents reveal the whole existence of an *anisong* manuscript from the beginning stage of originating to the current stage of storage and usage – re-donation, re-use, re-grouping, production context and ritual association.

5.2.3.1 Re-donation

Monastically archived *anisong* manuscripts could sometimes be re-donated by laypeople whose religious faith wanted them to join the merit of copying manuscripts but could not produce a manuscript themselves. They were allowed to write their names on a monastic manuscript and present it to monk recipients to symbolize manuscript dedication resulting from the belief in gaining meritorious rewards by ‘congratulating’ or ‘praising’ certain merit (อนุโมทนา) done by other people. Even though monastic manuscripts could not be accumulated as objects in this way, laypeople could donate their money by supporting manuscript commissions – hiring ex-monk scribes, buying palm leaves or providing other tools – or funding religious activities or monastic construction with budgets.

The *anisong* multiple-text manuscript coded 06011406003-24 from Luang Prabang evidently shows the re-donation background, it was written by two scribes and contains three similar texts pertaining to rewards gained from copying the Buddhist canon. One of the two scribes was a monk who wrote the first and the third texts in this manuscript at Vat Visun in CE 1942, but the name of another temple, Vat Si Phutthabat, is placed in large size in the centre of the first folio before the text, seemingly to be displayed as a heading; presumably, the manuscript was inscribed at Vat Visun but then dedicated to Vat Si Phutthabat according to the initial sponsor's intention, Sathu Ying Kham In, from Mün Na village. At the end of the last text a dedication statement in the red frame in the following excerpt was written with a totally different handwriting in the modern Lao script, saying “I, Siang Phaeng, commissioned the manuscript to dedicate [the merit of copying the manuscript] to my mother named Sao Phan who has passed away. May [the dedicated manuscript] last until the end of 5000 years (ข้าพเจ้า เชียงแพง ได้สร้างหนังสืออันนี้ ทานไปหาแม่ชื่อว่าสาวพัน ผู้ละโลกไปแล้วนั้น トラบเท่า ๕๐๐๐ พระวัสสาแด่ก็ ข้าเทอญ).” The manuscript is, however, kept at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, which is located in the vicinity area of the other two temples – Vat Visun and Vat Si Phutthabat – in the same city of Luang Prabang. The documenting paracontents appearing in the manuscript illustrate different temples where the production, dedication and storage of the manuscript have been

involved. The dedication statement in the red frame was newly written at a later time, revealing the re-donation in Lao manuscript culture.

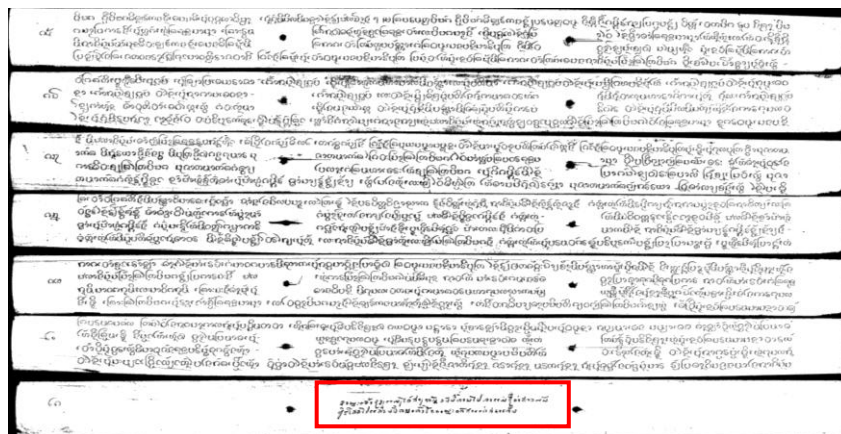


Figure 5.50: Palm-leaf manuscript with a newly written colophon
Multiple-text manuscript containing three similar texts⁴¹

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406003-24, folios 30–36 (verso)

Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1942

Re-donations or secondary donations of *anisong* manuscripts can also be found in the Northern Thai manuscript culture. The following example is excerpted from a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong khao phan kòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls), showing two colophons recorded by two donations in different years, respectively on the recto and verso sides of the last folio. In the green frame on the recto side (top) the first colophon states: “In CS 1277 (CE 1915), a *dap mao* year crossing into the new season, on the seventh waxing-moon day, on the sixth day of the week, a *kap si* day, I, Ratsa Phikkhu Thammathi, wrote [this manuscript] (ศักราชได้ ๑๒๗๗ ตัว ปีสัตตบหม้า เข้าในฤดูฤดู ออก ๗ เมงวัน ๖ ไร่ กาบสี วันนั้นแล ขำรัสสะภิกขุธรรมธิเขียนวันนั้นแล).” In the red frames on both recto and verso sides (top and bottom) the second colophon says: “CS 1281 (CE 1919), a *kat met* year, on the full-moon day of the second lunar month, on the sixth day of the week⁴², Nan Paeng, the principal initiator, along with his wife named Nang Khan Kaeo and all his children, supported the commission of this manuscript entitled *Anisong khao phan kòn*, donated alms-giving and listened to the Dhamma for the purpose of transferring the merit to a novice named Si Can who has passed away. May this merit [from all the meritorious acts] reach him (ศักราชได้ ๑๒๘๑ ตัว ปีกัตเม็ด เตือนยี่เป็ง เมงวัน ๖ ปฐมมูลศรัทธาหมายมีหนานแปงเป็นเกล้า พร้อมกับด้วยภรรยาผู้ชื่อว่านางซันแก้วและบุตรชายหญิงชุนคน ได้สร้างยังธรรมอันสงส์ข้าวพันก้อนนี้แล้ว หื้อทาน และฟังธรรม เพื่อบุญกุศลงานอันนี้ไปหาสามเณรศรีจันทร์อันมรณาไปนั้น ขอหื้อส่วนบุญงานอันนี้ไปตลอดจิม).” The second colophon was written four years later than the first one with a different handwriting but the same Tham script. According to the new colophon, the manuscript was

⁴¹ The three texts are: *Anisong sang pha tai pidok* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), *Anisong tai pidok* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon) and *Anisong sang pha tai pidok* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon).

⁴² 1281 Pausa 15 = Monday, 5 January 1920.

‘made’ by the family of a layman called Nan Paeng; the word “made” (Th: *sang* สร้าง) used in a re-donation context might sound strange as the manuscript was already “made” (i.e., finished being written) several years ago. However, the use of the term “made” in relation to the manuscript’s second donation reflects the belief that a re-donation might contribute to a prolongation of a manuscript’s life, thus transferring the merit derived from the production process to its second sponsors or donors, too.

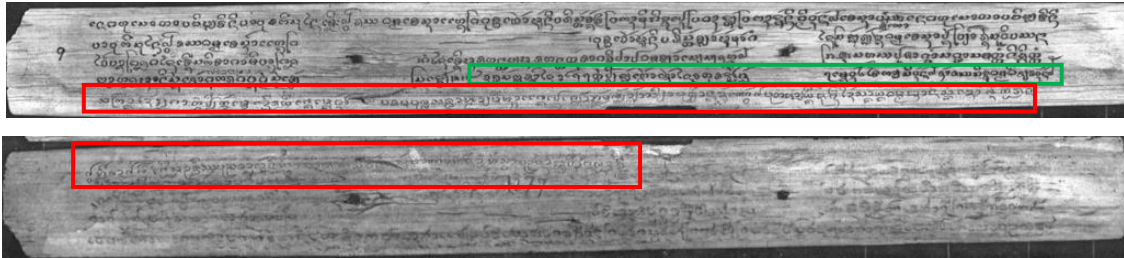


Figure 5.51: Re-donated palm-leaf manuscript with two colophons

Anisong khao phan kòn (Rewards derived from donation of one-thousand rice balls)

Source: PNTMP, code: ขม 0106001-06, folio 5 (recto, verso), Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai province, CE 1915

Re-donations of *anisong* manuscripts were thus realized to deal with the lack of original manuscript commissions, especially in the period when printing technology was still unknown; *anisong* manuscripts were therefore viewed as a *seen* modality of cultic usage. Veidlinger (2006) explains *seen* and *unseen* modalities of cultic usage as follows:

An example of seen cultic usage is the offering of flowers to a manuscript in the context of puja or the procession of a manuscript through the kingdom on the back of an elephant. In both of these situations, an actual manuscript, preferably one that has aesthetic value, is required. However, there are also cases where an unseen manuscript is honoured, most notably in the event of its being installed within a stupa. As in the case of the Buddha’s relics, which are often similarly treated, the manuscript – since it will never be seen – may not actually possess the characteristics that are attributed to it; in fact, it may not even exist (2006: 5).

To gain merit from copying *anisong* manuscripts by re-donation, a manuscript is written with the names of merit makers and presented to the monk recipient in dedication rituals. By doing so, the manuscript is shown in the ritual as an object to symbolize meritorious derivation generated by ‘sharing’ the merit of copying the manuscript done by the real sponsors. The manuscript is thus *seen* in dedication rituals and shows the joint merit gained by praising the original manuscript dedication. Accordingly, the new names were written on manuscripts to declare the re-donation and confirm the upcoming merit, perhaps as much as the initial sponsor. No clear paracontents in mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts evidence a re-donation, which possibly resulted from the better availability of the two kinds of modern writing support.

5.2.3.2 Re-use

Due to different features of the surface, written palm-leaf folios were more commonly reused for writing different manuscripts other than mulberry paper and industrial paper. Compared to the ready accessibility of the last two kinds of modern paper, palm leaves were used with much care and reused more often. The manuscript reuse is, however, more frequently found in Laos and reveals the belief in the sacredness of palm-leaf manuscripts inscribed with religious texts; namely, every part of religious manuscripts was considered as sacred and should not be disposed of. A number of *anison* manuscripts were made of reused palm-leaf manuscripts. Veidlinger shows some examples of recycled manuscripts during his survey and states that aesthetic reasons are not the primary concern in manuscript commissions contributing to non-decorative palm-leaf manuscripts:

A further surprising finding was that far from being lavishly appointed, leaves that had previously been used for one text have sometimes been recycled. The recto of the first leaf of a *Dhammapada Gāthā* (SRI 19-04-039-00) contains some lines from another text: “*bbs*o *asattaṃ sugataṃ buddhaṃ tamahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ yassa gati na jānanti devā gandhabbā mānusa khīṇāsavaṃ,*” and the last page of a vernacular northern Thai text has some lines in Pali: “*ekam samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati.*” The apparent willingness to use discarded leaves from one text for another even though these leaves were fairly plentiful (they literally grow on trees) suggests that aesthetic considerations and notions of purity were of secondary importance in the making of these manuscripts. The use of discarded leaves from a Pali canonical text for a vernacular text also suggests that texts were not subject to a strict triage by which resources would be directed towards Pali texts before vernacular ones. Both of these examples are from the nineteenth century, but there is little reason to believe that such recycling would not have occurred during the Golden Age as well (2006: 117–118).

The following example is a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Sòng thung fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious cotton flags) from the National Library of Laos in Vientiane. The last folio was derived from the beginning of another text entitled *Ya khwan khao* (Goddess of rice fields) which was partly written in three lines only on recto. The leaf was reused as the last or back cover folio due to the long crack affecting textual legibility. The next example is a multiple-text manuscript containing five *anison* texts explaining different kinds of gift-giving (Th: *sapphathan* สรรพทาน). The excerpt is derived from the first folio – recto and verso sides – that contains the beginning of the fourth text; it was written on a reused leaf of another text entitled *Anāgatavaṃśa* (Th: *anakhatawong* อนาคตวงศ์), shown in the two red frames. The title *Anāgatavaṃśa* in the first red frame was clearly crossed out with small markers.

Reused palm leaves →



Figure 5.52: Re-used palm-leaf manuscript with the rest of another text
Sòng thung fai (Rewards derived from the donation of cotton flags)

Source: DLLM, code: 01012906006-05, folios 2–5 (recto), The National Library, Vientiane, year unknown

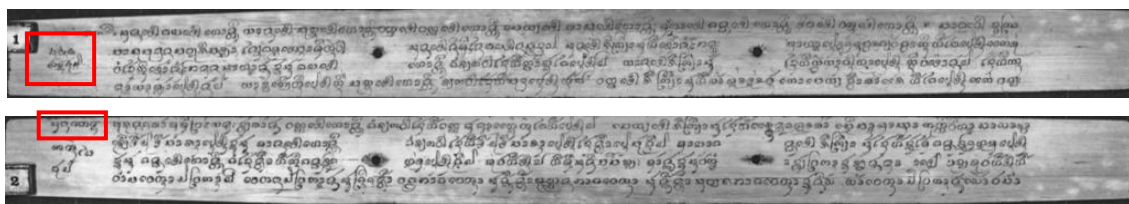


Figure 5.53: Re-used palm-leaf manuscript with the title of another text

Multiple-text manuscript containing five texts⁴³ pertaining to all kinds of gift-giving (*sapphathan*)

Source: PNTMP, code: พ๓ 0120036-01, folio 52 (recto, verso), Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1842

The re-used palm leaves are different from the case of palimpsest which means a reused manuscript written with a new text on top but the layers below can still be seen and investigated by means of special techniques. Glaser and Deckers explains as follows: “In the Middle Age, the scribal practice of re-using parchment produced numeral palimpsests⁴⁴, manuscripts that contained a newly written text on top of an erased old one” (2014: 104). Due to the inscribed traces done by a stylus, no new texts were written on the re-used surface

⁴³ The five texts are *Anisong tam prathip* (Rewards derived from flying lantern balloons and floating banana-leaf vessels), *Anisong ròm* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) and *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

⁴⁴ “In the 19th century, chemicals were used to enhance the readability of the erased script on many of the remaining manuscripts, yielding some stupendous results in the short term, yet often resulting in damage to both parchment and texts (old and new alike) in the long term. Some less invasive, non-destructive approaches that also provide good results in recovering the old script are the use of UV light (since the early 20th century, both for examination and photography), multispectral imaging and other optical imaging methods. In cases where the use of UV light or multispectral imaging will not provide adequate results or is rendered futile by solid layers of paint on top of the older text, for example, another approach that can be considered non-destructive is the use of X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy employing a monochromatic hard X-ray light source of very high intensity (only available in storage rings today), which has proved to be the perfect tool in digitising and visualising hidden texts written in iron-gall ink. Since the first successful experiments on the Archimedes Palimpsest, erased text in several palimpsest has been deciphered as a result of using the synchrotron radiation XRF method, which always requires the documents to be transported to a storage ring facility” (Glaser and Deckers 2014: 104).

because the dark resin substance could be trapped during the process of surface-coating and likely caused illegibility.

5.2.3.3 Re-grouping

In the course of time *anisonḡ* manuscripts have been used and circulated for multiple purposes; many of them therefore ended up being kept or regrouped along with other manuscripts in another bundle owing to their textual similarity, ritual usage or other reasons. Traced by the paracontents, a number of *anisonḡ* manuscripts have been separated from their original bundles and regrouped in a new bundle, revealing that, in the manuscript cultures of the two regions, parts or texts of *anisonḡ* manuscripts could commonly be individually picked out for use and combined with other different texts. Grabowsky also highlights such a case found in the collection of Vat Si Bun Hüang as follows:

However, many of the multi-fascicle manuscripts are not complete and have one or even more missing fascicles. A number of manuscripts comprising one single fascicle may have originally been from a larger multi-fascicle manuscript with the remaining fascicles lost (2019: 89).

The following example is derived from a multiple-text manuscript containing three *anisonḡ* texts and the end of another previous *anisonḡ* text; the manuscript was thus originally comprised of more than three *anisonḡ* texts. The three texts are *Sòṅ ton karaphrük* (Rewards derived from planting *Kalapaphrük* trees), *Sòṅ nam sang* (Rewards derived from the construction of wells) and *Sòṅ yot ya* (Rewards derived from planting grass). Before the *Sòṅ ton karaphrük* begins on the green underline marked with the title in the green square, however, there is the ending part of an *anisonḡ* text on the red underline pertaining to the donation of beeswax castles (Th: *prasat phiṅḡ* ปราสาทผึ้ง), which reads “the story of rewards gained from dedicating beeswax castles and venerating the Triple Gems with flowers comes to an end here (กริยาอันจายยังอันสงส์อันได้ให้ปราสาทผึ้งและประนมดอกไม้บูชาแก้วทั้ง ๓ นิตถิต ก็เสด็จบรมวรที่นี้ก่อนแล)”. Furthermore, the first folio of the manuscript shows the colophon and the statement of orders in the blue frames which were written with the same handwriting as the remaining three texts; the colophon says: “In CS 1198 (CE 1836), a *rwai san* year, on the sixth waxing-moon day of the seventh lunar month, the seventh day of the week⁴⁵, the principal initiator Phò Kham Tan, along with his wife and all children, had the most ardent religious faith to sponsor the making of the *Sapphasòṅ* (all kinds of gift-giving) manuscript to support the Buddhist religion to last until the end of five-thousand years. May [the merit of copying the manuscript] fulfil all my wishes. *Nibbāna paccayo hotu* (ศักราชได้ ๑๑๙๘ ตัว ปลีรวายสัน เดือน ๗ ขึ้น ๖ ค่ำวัน ๗ เจ้ามูลศรัทธามีพ่อคำตันผิวเมีย กับทั้งบุตรนัดดา มีใจใสศรัทธาเป็นอันยิ่ง จึงพร้อมกันสร้างสรรพสองไว้กับศาสนาเท่า ๕ พันวัสสา ขอให้ได้ตั้งคำมั่งคำปรารณาชูประการก็เข้าเทอญ นิพพาน ปจจโย โหตุ).” Hence, the scribe wrote several *anisonḡ* texts including the missing text

⁴⁵ 1198 Jyestha 6 = Saturday, 21 May 1836.

Anisong phasat phüing which was undoubtedly separated from the three remaining texts in the manuscript.

“All kinds of gift-giving” the second bundle,
the seventh fascicle. colophon

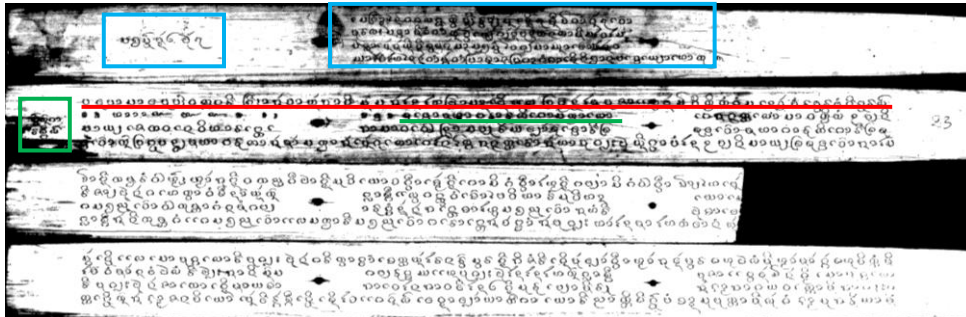


Figure 5.54: Re-grouped palm-leaf manuscript mentioning other texts
Multiple-text manuscript containing three *anisong* texts⁴⁶
Source: DLLM, code: 06011406004-15, folios 1–4 (recto)
Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1836

Another example is derived from a multiple-text manuscript containing three *anisong* texts from Luang Prabang and, evidenced by the colophons, originally included other non-*anisong* texts. Three remaining texts in the manuscript are *Sòng song that* (Rewards derived from bathing pagodas), *Sòng hai than fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of light) and *Sòng wit* (Rewards derived from the construction of public toilets). At the end of the manuscript there is a colophon, shown as “Bottom” in the excerpt below, saying the following:

จุลศักราช ๑๒๑๕ ตัว ปีสีกาเหมา เดือน ๑๐ ออกใหม่ ๗ คำ มื้อกัถเหมา วัน ๓ รัตนาลัยยามตุคซาย
หมายมีหม่อมพันเป็นเคล้าเป็นเหง้ามูลศรัทธา กับทั้งสามิกาพระราชาเป็นเจ้า กับทั้งลูกเต้าและบิดา
มารดาพันฐวงศาซุคนพร้อมกันเป็นอันยิ่ง จึงได้สร้างถ้ำสงฆมัตน์ไว้กับศาสนาพระเจ้า ๓๐๐๐ วัสสา
นิพพาน ปจจโย โหนตุ ทูว์ ทูว์

In CS 1215, a *ka mao* year, on the seventh waxing-moon day of the tenth lunar month, a *kat mao* day, the third day of the week⁴⁷, during the afternoon (*yam tut sai*, 12:00–13:30), [the writing was finished]. Mò̃m Phan, the principal initiator, along with monks headed by the Supreme Patriarch, all family members and relatives, sponsored the making of the *Lam sòng (anisong) manuscript* together to support the Buddhist religion to last until the end of five-thousand years. *Nibbāna paccayo hontu duvaṃ duvaṃ* (May this be a condition to reach *nibbāna*).

Another folio, as is shown in the “Top” in the same excerpt below, however, is inserted between the end of the last text and the colophon; the additional folio contains another colophon identical to the previous one in the “Bottom” with a crossed-out correction of the textual title in the red frame – from the mistaken title *Lam sòng* (all kinds of gift-giving), or

⁴⁶ The manuscript contains three texts: *Sòng ton kalaphiuk* (Rewards derived from planting *Kanlapaphriuk* tress), *Sòng nam sang* (Rewards derived from the construction of wells) and *Sòng yot ya* (Rewards derived from planting grass).

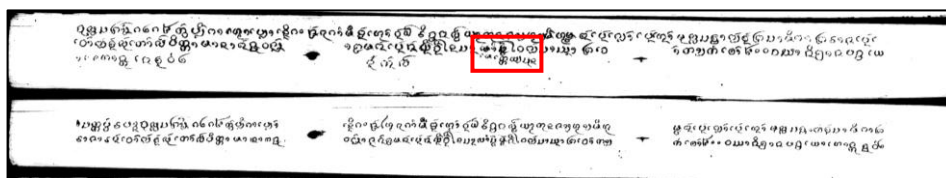
⁴⁷ 1215 Bhadrapada 7 = Friday, 9 September 1853.

the underlined part in the quotation above, into the correct one *Metteyasut* (*Maitreya sutra*). Two possibilities of this additional folio containing another colophon are either that it was separated from another religious text *Metteyasut* or that only the text *Metteyasut* was taken out and its colophon thus still remains; the new inserted colophon is shown below with the corrected title underlined:

จุลศักราช ๑๒๑๕ ทั่ว ปีกาเหมา [...] เดือน ๑๐ ออก ๗ ค่ำ มีกัถเหมา วัน ๓ รจนาแล้วยามตุตซาย
 หมายมีหม่อมพินเป็นเกล้าเป็นแห่งมูลศรัทธา กับทั้งพระสามีกาพระราชเป็นเจ้า กับทั้งลูกเต้าและบิดา
 มารดาพันธุวงศ์ พร้อมกันเป็นอันยิ่ง จึงได้สร้างเมตไตรยสูตร ไว้กับศาสนาพระเจ้า ๕๐๐๐
 วัสสา นิพพาน ปจจโย โหนตุ ทูโว ทูโว

In CS 1215, a *ka mao* year [...], on the seventh waxing-moon day of the tenth lunar month, a *kat mao* day, the third day of the week⁴⁸, during the afternoon (*yam tut sai*, 12:00–13:30 o'clock), [the writing was finished]. Mòm Phan, the principal initiator, along with monks headed by the Supreme Patriarch, all family members and relatives, sponsored the making of the *Metteyasut manuscript* together to support the Buddhist religion to last until the end of five-thousand years. *Nibbāna paccayo hontu duvaṃ duvaṃ* (May this be a condition to reach *nibbāna*).

(Top) Additional colophon from another text in the same production unit



(Bottom) Colophon of the three remaining texts

Figure 5.55: Re-grouped palm-leaf manuscript mentioning another text
 Multiple-text manuscript containing three *anisong* texts⁴⁹

Source: DLLM, code: 06018506016-01, folios 9–10 (recto), The National Museum, Luang Prabang, CE 1853

5.2.3.4 Production context

The production context and background are the most specified features of documenting paracontents. As explained in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, general information of time, space, sponsors and scribes is commonly found in *anisong* manuscripts. In this regard, the contexts of manuscript production will be further elaborated below with details on the perspective of paracontents that can shed light on the production process, originality reference and general situations.

⁴⁸ 1215 Bhadrapada 7 = Friday, 9 September 1853.

⁴⁹ The manuscript contains three texts: *Sòng song that* (Rewards derived from bathing pagodas), *Sòng hai than fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of light) and *Sòng wit* (Rewards derived from the construction of public toilets).

a) Production process

To generalize the main purpose of manuscript productions, *anisong* manuscripts were primarily intended to ensure that the Teachings of the Buddha will be sustained until the end of 5000 years, to transfer the merit to deceased persons, to record *anisong* texts, to practice scribal skills or other intentions. Besides those texts revealing different production purposes, documenting paracontents evidencing the production process are often seen in *anisong* manuscripts. A large number of *anisong* manuscripts, single-text as well as multiple-text manuscripts, were written by different scribes with different handwritings. The following excerpt shows two different handwritings in one *anisong* manuscript that explains rewards gained from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving (*sapphathan*). The manuscript, evidenced by its colophon, was written by a monk named Anantharatsa Phikkhu and a layman named Saenthip Manorat from Nan province in Northern Thailand. In the exemplary picture the first four folios were written by the layman Saenthip Manorat and the last two folios were written by the monk Anantharatsa Phikkhu; those written by the monk distinctly look better and well-organized. There are three fascicles in this manuscript-bundle; the colophons of the first two fascicles mention Anantharatsa Phikkhu as the scribe whose handwriting is identical to the last two folios in the picture below. The picture is derived from the third fascicle in which the name Saenthip Manorat is mentioned as the scribe; the different handwriting shown in the picture was definitely written by his colleague scribe, Anantharatsa Phikkhu. The documenting paracontent therefore illustrates the production process of *anisong* manuscripts in collaboration of *Sangha* and laity; monks and laypeople were not prevented from joining religious manuscript commissions. There are, indeed, a number of *anisong* manuscripts that were written by co-working monks and laymen, revealing more or less their close relationship in the Northern Thai community. Such co-existence of handwritings has never been found in *anisong* manuscripts from Laos because the collaborating scribes individually wrote their manuscripts and assembled them into bundles later.

The first handwriting by a layman named Saenthip Manorat

The second handwriting by a monk named Anantharatsa Phikkhu

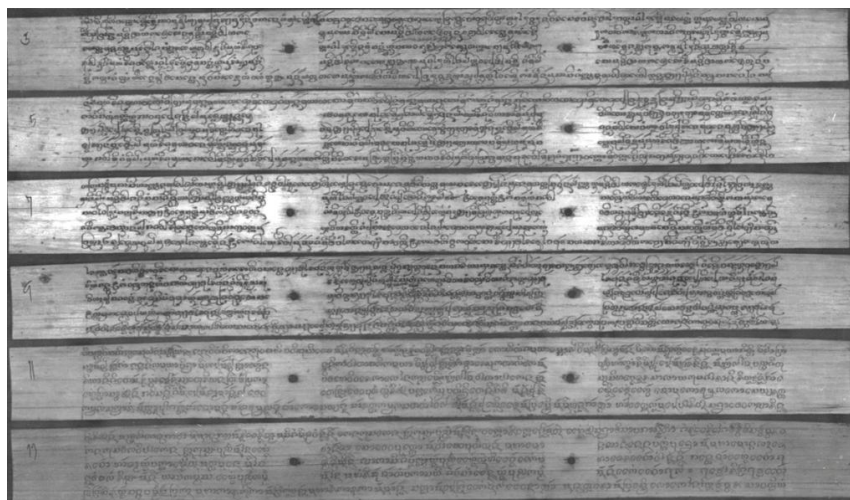


Figure 5.56: Palm-leaf manuscript written by two scribes

Anisong Sapphathan (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving)

Source: PNTMP, code: นน 0920005-01, folios 80–85 (recto), Wat Na Pang, Nan province, CE 1796

Anisong manuscripts were sometimes made for the purpose of textual storage by means of transmitting texts from original versions that were written in a different language and script. The following two examples are excerpted from two palm-leaf manuscripts inscribed by a layman named Achan (teacher, scholar) Phanphonphibun Thepaaksòn; one was written two years later than the other, in CE 1971 and CE 1973. The scribe gave a statement after the colophons of the two manuscripts, stating that he copied the manuscripts from the original version. Although the scribe did not give a precise reference concerning the two copies, he declared the copying practice as his production process. The statements are framed with the red rectangles in the excerpts below; the first one says, “Achan Phanphonphibun Thepaaksòn, [I], wrote the manuscript *Kham thawai pha pa* in dedication to the Supreme Patriarch who was the principal initiator. [The manuscript has been] correctly copied from the original version (อาจารย์พันผลพิบูลย์เทพอักษร ได้รจนาเขียนหนังสือคำถวายผ้าป่า ถวายสมเด็จพระสังฆราชเป็นเจ้าศรัทธาสร้างถูกต้องตามมูลแล).” The second says, “Achan Phanphonphibun Thepaaksòn, [I], wrote and dedicated the manuscript which has been correctly copied from the original version. I praise the merit [of copying the manuscript], *sādhu sādhu* (อาจารย์พันผลพิบูลย์เทพอักษร ได้รจนาเขียนถวายถูกต้องตามมูลเดิมแล ขอโมทนา สาทุก).” The documenting paracontents provide the historical background of manuscript commission contexts in the late twentieth century when a large number of religious texts, led by Pha Khamchan Virachitto, were copied and typed in the modern Lao script, so that many religious texts became widely accessible and understandable.

Sathu Nyai Khamchan is regarded as one of the great donors of manuscripts in Laos who published religious books in large quantities and distributed them for free as Dhamma-gifts. The publishing of Dhamma and Vinaya books in Laos is popular these days, as modern printing techniques can also be used for Buddhist purposes of text creations, differing, of course, from manuscripts in that multiple copies can be produced very rapidly. Sathu Nyai Khamchan’s publications were a turning point for the study of Buddhist teaching studies in Luang Prabang, as formerly the Buddhist teachings contained in manuscripts were only available to master monks with access to manuscripts in the monastery (Khamvone 2015: 129–130).

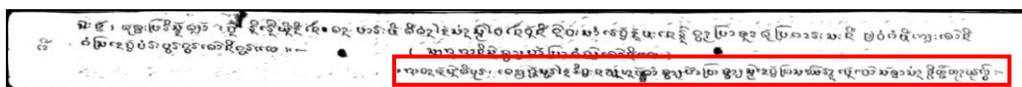


Figure 5.57: Colophon showing the intention of manuscript dedication

Anisong thawai pha pa (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes)

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406005-24, folio 4 (verso), Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1971

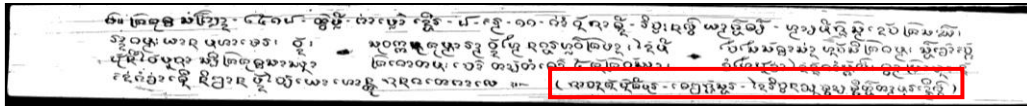


Figure 5.58: Colophon showing the practice of copying the manuscript
Multiple-text manuscript containing five *anisong* texts⁵⁰

Source: DLLM, code: 06011406012-19, folio 27 (recto), Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1973

b) Reference to the original

As discussed in Chapter One, a multiple-text manuscript written in a modern notebook contains two *anisong* texts⁵¹ and four non-*anisong* texts⁵², a table of contents, sources, scribes and dates of both the original and current versions. All the recorded texts came from different years and the original manuscripts were kept at Wat Si Khom Kham and Wat Dong Mada in Chiang Rai province, but were rewritten in December 1973 by Mr. Sunthòn Canrüang, except for the last text that was rewritten in January 1974. No evident traces left on the manuscript betray any reasons behind the textual selection and why they were rewritten during the transition to the upcoming next year. The copying was not chronologically ordered. The first four texts are derived from the original palm-leaf manuscripts written in CE 1869, CE 1960, CE 1936 and CE 1882 respectively, and there is no evidence of the production years of the last two texts. The manuscript represents a transformation for the purpose of ‘preserving’ ancient texts in modernity. The scribe stuck to the original texts and the use of the Tham Lan Na script, but the style depended on the notebook layout by writing the texts above the lines and giving a table of contents. The foliation of the original version was also marked in the notebook manuscript. This can be seen as the tradition of copying manuscripts to another writing material while still partly following the original texts and paracontents. Manuscript transformation can be fundamentally defined as original preservation but with different materials, namely, writing support and tools.

The tradition of transmitting manuscripts can therefore be observed through documenting paracontents. The following is excerpted from the first folio of an *anisong* text entitled *Anisong tam prathip* (Rewards derived from flying lantern balloons and floating banana-leaf vessels) written in a multiple-text manuscript; there is a statement declaring that the manuscript was copied from its original version. The second example is derived from a palm-

⁵⁰ The five texts are *Sòng phasat phüing* (Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles), *Sòng anisong thawai at* (Rewards derived from the donation of eight commodities for monks), *Sòng anisong sangkhathan* (Rewards derived from donation of alms-giving), *Sòng ton kanlapaphüik* (Rewards derived from planting *Kanlapaphüik* trees) and *Sòng khao caek* (Rewards derived from the donation of cooked rice).

⁵¹ *Anisong liang phò liang mae* (Rewards derived from taking care of one own’s parents) and *Anisong sang khua lae sala nam bò pen than* (Rewards derived from the construction of public bridges, pavilions and wells).

⁵² *Chai Sam Bot Ying Sam Phua* (ชายสามโบสถ์หญิงสามผ้า, Men who were ordained three times and women who got married three times), *Sampantha Sut* (สัมปันทสูตร), *Taiyon* (ไต่ยอน), and *Tamnan Chiang Mai* (ตำนานเชียงใหม่, The Chronicle of Chiang Mai).

leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon) that includes four religious texts – *Vinaya*, *Suttanta*, *Abhidhamma* and *Ānisaṃsa*. At the end of *Vinaya* the scribe noted the originality statement that the manuscript was copied from the Chiang Saen version. Having been commissioned by social high-ranking sponsors as is evidenced by the colophon which states that “the principal initiator, Cao Phra Wongkhua, along with his wife and children, sponsored the making of the Buddhist canon manuscript in order to support the religion of Buddha Gotama to last until the end of five-thousand years (ปฐมมूलศรัทธา เจ้าพระวงขวา แลอัครชยา บุตราบุตรี ลูกเต้าผู้ชุกคน ได้ริ้งสร้างยังธรรมปิฎกกับนี้ ไว้ไขฎกัษวรพุทธศาสนาพระโคตมเจ้า トラบต่อเท่า ๕๐๐๐ พระวัสสา)”, the manuscript was thus neatly copied by a scribal monk who was responsible for scribal works of numerous *anisong* manuscripts with well-organized handwriting. The imitation of the Chiang Saen version was perhaps intended by either the sponsors or the scribe himself. The documenting paracontent therefore provides clear evidence of manuscript transmissions in the Thai-Lao manuscript culture.

“อานิสงส์ตามประทีป ผูก ๙ ถ้วนแล” (*Anisong tam prathip*, the ninth fascicle.)

“[อานิสงส์] ตามประทีปผูก ๙ แล ท่องทานตามฉบับเก่า” ([*Anisong*] *tam prathip*, the ninth fascicle, was copied from the old version.)

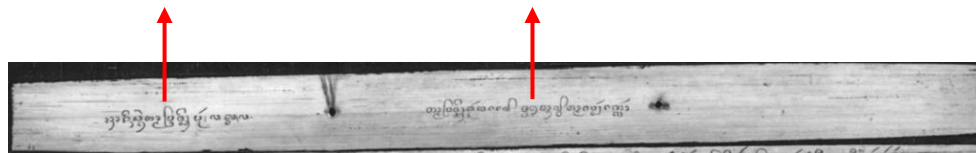
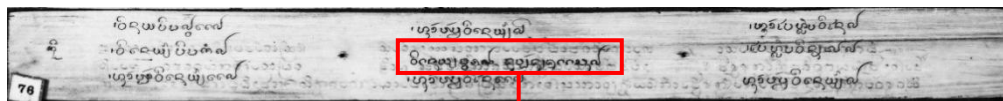


Figure 5.59: Paracontent showing reference to the original Multiple-text manuscript containing five *anisong* texts⁵³

Source: PNTMP, code: พร 0120036-01, folio 1 (recto), Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1842



“Complete *Vinaya* [from] Chiang Saen version”

Figure 5.60: Paracontent showing reference to the original *Anisong pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon)

Source: PNTMP, code: พร 0110023-00, folio 39 (verso), Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1834

⁵³ The five texts are *Anisong tam prathip* (Rewards derived from flying lantern balloons and floating banana-leaf vessels), *Anisong ròm* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) and *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

c) General situation

Being considered as a free writing space, colophons were not formally restricted to a certain pattern; scribes could thus variously record general situations or personal experiences as part of colophons. Colophons in some *anisong* manuscripts were recorded with incidents that actually happened at the time, which can be considered as historical evidence. The *anisong* manuscript entitled *Anisong khao pradap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival) from Lampang province, as was explained in Chapter Two, includes information about a flood in the area of the Mae Wang River during CE 1927 in the colophon as follows: “[The manuscript] was finished in CS 1289, a *moeng mao* year, on the third waxing-moon day of the second lunar month, on the fifth day of the week, a *kap sanga* day⁵⁴. This year the Mae Wang River floods into land up to four *Sòk* depth which is deeper than in former years⁵⁵ (เขียนเมื่อจุลศักราชได้ ๑๒๘๙ ตัว เม็งหม้า เดือนยี่ ออก ๓ ค่ำ เมงวัน ๕ ใต้ กาบสะง่า บริบูรณ์แล้ววันนั้นแล ปีนี้น้ำแม่วังท่วมเข้าลึก ๔ ศอก นึกเหลือทุกปีแล).”

5.2.3.5 Ritual association

The process of writing *anisong* manuscripts was normally done like other secular activities without any rituals involved⁵⁶, but, as reflected by paracontents, the manuscripts were closely associated with two major rituals – dedication rituals and preaching rituals – in which they were ‘ritually’ given to monasteries and ‘ritually’ read at various occasions to deliver *anisong* sermons. The documenting paracontents, in particular the colophons, were intentionally written either by sponsors or users to indicate donation and usage details.

a) Dedication rituals

Documenting paracontents in association with dedication rituals are most widely found in *anisong* manuscripts because they were written directly by sponsors or scribes themselves, many of which could thus give specific information about the date of their donation, the place

⁵⁴ 1289 Kārttika 3 = Friday, 28 October 1927. This day was, however, a *dap met* day. But the preceding day, Thursday, 27 October 1927, was a *kap sanga* day.

⁵⁵ *Anisong khao pradap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival), source: DELMN, code: 1212, Wat Lao Nõi, Lampang province, CE 1927.

⁵⁶ Unlike in Northern Thai and Lao manuscript cultures, in the Tai Nüa Lik manuscript culture ritual practices are included to ‘personify’ writing support and writing tools – paper, pen, ink, as explained by Wharton (2017) in his doctoral dissertation: “A number of ritual practices and offerings accompany the copying process, during which the scribe, paper, pen and ink are seen as ‘four’ people who contribute to its success. Before starting to write, the scribe prepares a tray with offerings of candles, incense and flowers or leaves and invokes his teachers (*hek⁴ xu⁴*) and the *su⁵ la² saa⁵ ti²* spirits to assist in the copying so that it will be correct. This is repeated each time before re-commencing work. When the copying of the text is completed, the scribe then writes the main colophon or *lik⁴ vaa²* which is newly composed for each manuscript.”

and particular recipient monks. In both regions, the donation time and place of *anisong* manuscripts were similarly written as a part of documenting paracontents. The following example is from the back cover page of a mulberry paper manuscript written with the variant Tham Lü script. The last sentence in the red frame says, “[the manuscript] was donated in a *kat mao* year on the twelfth waxing-moon day. [This year] is the year of [our] donation (ทานปี กัดหม้าขึ้น ๑๒ ปีเวียนทานวันขึ้นช้อยแล).” This colophon reveals the initial intention of the sponsor to dedicate the manuscript on a certain day.

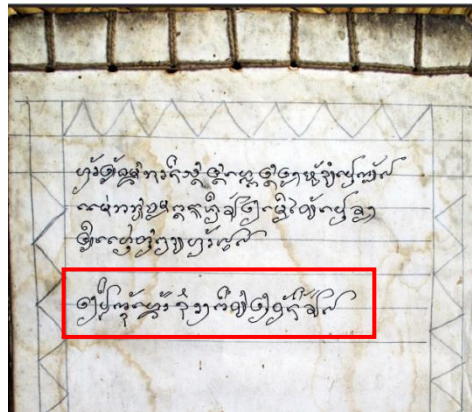


Figure 5.61: Paracontent showing the year of dedication

Anisong thong lek thong thong (Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags and gold flags)

Source: PUA, code: 14.34, side 13, Phayap University Archives, Chiang Mai, year unknown

Names of specific monasteries to which *anisong* manuscripts were intended to be dedicated are more frequently seen. As explained in Chapter Three, religious manuscripts collected over the years in a monastery could be more or less representative also of the lay community’s pride of religious devotion as they were produced and collected by local laypeople for the purpose of supporting the Buddhist religion and to provide the monasteries with manuscripts recording the Buddha’s Teachings. Thus, the manuscripts could further the Buddhist education and provide the *Sangha* with liturgical *anisong* texts that enabled manuscript circulations in the local lay community. Bounleuth explains that “palm-leaf manuscripts not only function as containers of texts detailing the Buddha’s teachings, but they are also representations of well-known monasteries” (2016: 136).

Names of temples written by the scribes are thus considered as an ownership statement demonstrating the particular intention of the sponsors. The following example is excerpted from a palm-leaf manuscript containing the concise Buddhist canon and an *anisong* text entitled *Anisong pitaka* from Northern Thailand. The statement within the red frame says: “The manuscript belongs to Wat Sung Men. Please do not lose it (ธรรมวัดสูงเม่นอย่าสูญหายเลย).” It was obviously written by the scribe, showing the clear intention of the sponsor to dedicate the manuscript to Wat Sung Men. The admonition “Please do not lose it” was written to address potential users; it implies the permission for manuscript circulation in that period.

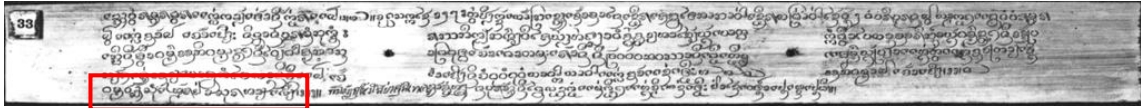


Figure 5.62: Paracontent showing an admonition

Anisong pitaka (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon)

Source: PNTMP, code: พร 0110019-00, folio 47 (recto), Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, CE 1909

Ownership statements were sometimes marked together with titles at the beginning of texts. The following example is excerpted from a multiple-text manuscript containing two *anisong* texts from Luang Prabang. The text titles and the name of the monastery to where the manuscript belonged were written at the beginning of the second text; both are framed within the red square – *Anisong tham bun cet wan* (Rewards derived from merit-making for seven days) – as “*Anisong tham bun cet wan khong vat mai*” ([The manuscript entitled] *Anisong tham bun cet wan* belongs to Vat Mai). The text was not written in *scriptio continua* next to the previous text but is partitioned by a folio that contains a colophon of the previous text on the recto side and a blank page on the verso side; the two *anisong* texts could therefore be separated to be used or circulated without interrupting the adjacent texts. Title and ownership statement were certainly written to serve the user’s purpose.

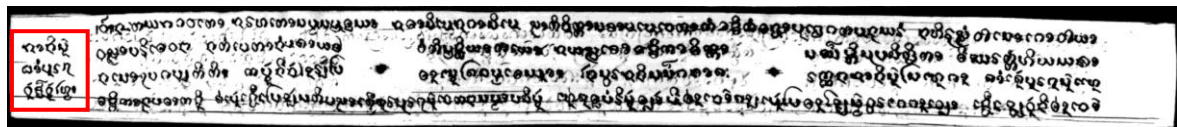


Figure 5.63: Paracontent showing the monastery repository

Multiple-text manuscript containing two *anisong* texts⁵⁷

Source: DLLM, code: 06011402132-08, folio 9 (recto), Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1972

The excerpt in the following example shows a very rare case of the specific intention to dedicate an *anisong* manuscript to a certain monk. According to the colophon, the manuscript was donated together with a monk’s robe by a family for the purpose of supporting the Buddhist religion through the liturgical manuscript. On the last folio, however, a statement of dedication was written: “I wrote the manuscript and donated it together with a monk robe. May the monk who receives my donation obtain the manuscript (ข้าเขียนทานกับผ้า ครั้นทูลเจ้าตนได้ได้รับทาน ก็เป็นธรรมทูลเจ้าตนนั้นเถอะ),” indicating the specific ownership of any monk who gained the offerings. The donated *anisong* manuscript and the monk’s robe were therefore intended to be received and owned by a certain monk, which was rather different because monastic dedication was done in general for the sake of religious benefits and scarcely for specific recipient monks. Yanyong (2002: 96) explains that Sangkhathan (P: *saṅghadāna*) is offered to unspecified monks and is considered as the rewards of highly meritorious benefits.

⁵⁷ The two texts are *Anisong salakariwicha sut* (Rewards derived from *Salakariwichasut* recitation) and *Anisong tham bun cet wan* (Rewards derived from merit-making for seven days).

Offerings to specific monks are called *pāṭipugalikadāna* which means ‘donation to specific recipients’⁵⁸.

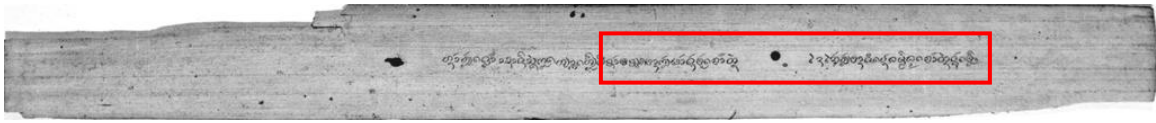


Figure 5.64: Paracontent showing a certain manuscript recipient
Anisong kòng yakyüa (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes)

Source: DELMN, code: 905, folio 5 (verso), Wat Klang, Chiang Rai province, year unknown

The following rare case is only found in Luang Prabang; a mulberry paper manuscript additionally contains some prayers that are partly relevant to the *anisong* texts in the volume. The manuscript was written by Thit Niao Maniwong, an ex-monk who wrote a number of mulberry paper manuscripts for serving as prototype versions, as previously explained, and contains four *anisong* texts – *Salòng maha wetsandòn chadok* (Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka), *Salòng sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Salòng dòk mai thup thian* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers, incense sticks and candles) and *Salòng khao ci* (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice). At the end of *Salòng maha wetsandòn chadok* there are six Pali prayers to be read in six different religious rituals: Buddha image donation, baked rice donation, general alms-giving donation, water donation for bathing Buddha images, water donation for bathing monks in the ecclesiastic promotion ceremony and floating vessel donation; each is followed by a vernacular translation and marked with the drawing of flower symbols at the beginning, as is framed in the red squares below. Only two out of the six prayers are consistent with the *anisong* texts in the manuscript – *Salòng sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) and *Salòng khao ci* (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice). Among the other four Pali prayers, only the one used for Buddha image donations is found to be in accordance with its corpus in another volume; the *anisong* text entitled *Salòng pha phutthahup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images) was written in a mulberry paper manuscript entitled BAD-13-2-034 which is included in its prototype versions. The Pali prayers were recited by a master of ceremony or spokesman who led the sponsors during dedication rituals; namely, the spokesman recited the prayers sentence by sentence or phrase by phrase and the sponsors or audience followed him. Thit Niao Maniwong, as being detailed in Chapter Three, was a local master of ceremony who traditionally led laypeople in various religious ceremonies; that is the reason why he wrote a master copy to serve his own use.

⁵⁸ สังฆทาน คือ ทานที่ถวายแด่พระสงฆ์ มิได้เจาะจงภิกษุรูปใดรูปหนึ่งโดยเฉพาะ ถือว่าเป็นการถวายแด่สงฆ์ ได้บุญมาก ถ้าถวายเฉพาะเจาะจง คือตั้งใจถวายเฉพาะพระภิกษุสามเณรรูปนั้น รูปอื่นไม่ถวาย เรียกว่า ปาฏิบุคลิกทาน แปลว่า ทานที่ถวายเฉพาะบุคคล

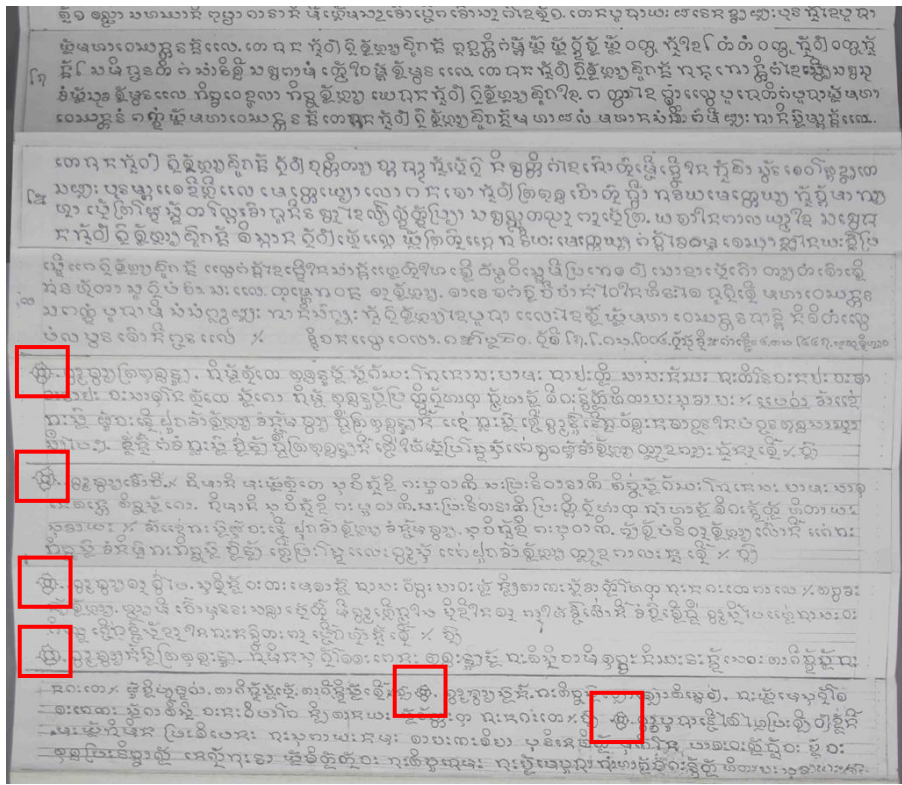


Figure 5.65: Drawings to mark different prayers
Multiple-text manuscript containing four *anisong* texts

Source: BAP, code: BAD-13-2-038, sides 29–35, Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang, CE 2004

b) Preaching rituals

Traces of evidence of sermonic contexts are found to be represented by documenting paracontents; most of them were written by the scribes and imply the clear purpose of commissioning *anisong* manuscripts for liturgical usage. The first example is from a palm-leaf manuscript which is kept in the same bundle as the other two fascicles with a thematic similarity of rewards gained from sponsoring ordination ceremonies; all three fascicles were made in different periods and combined later to serve ritual usage. At the end of the colophon there is a statement, as is shown in the red frame, saying “[The writing of the manuscript] has been finished in CS 1300, BE 2481, on the fourth waxing-moon day of the seventh lunar month, on the third day of the week⁵⁹ and will serve for newly ordained novices (กั๊บริบุญรณั๊นแกั๊นผู้เข้าเขียนแล้วเมื่อเดือน ๗ ออก ๔ ค่ำ พริว่าไว้ได้วัน ๓ จุลศักราช ๑๓๐๐ พุทธศักราช ๒๔๘๑ วันนั้นแล สำหรับเด็กบวชใหม่).” Compared to the other two fascicles in the manuscript bundle, the length of this manuscript is notably shorter; it was written on only four folios, whereas the texts of the other two fascicles were written on nine and six folios. Newly ordained novices are young boys who are mostly under the age of twenty; giving them a long sermon was perhaps not a good idea due to their possible lack of concentration. The short length was thus oriented to fit

⁵⁹ 1300 Phalgunā 4 = Wednesday, 22 February 1939.

novice ordination ceremonies with the clear statement given by the scribe showing the distinct purpose of this manuscript.

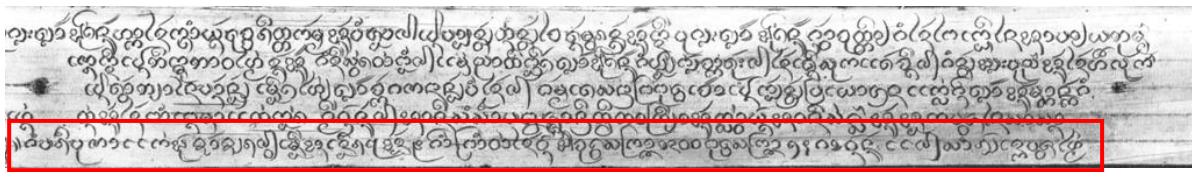


Figure 5.66: Paracontent showing a specific occasion of use

Anisong buat (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies)

Source: PNTMP, code: ขม 0106002-04, folio 23 (recto), Wat Chiang Man, Chiang Mai province, CE 1938/39

The next example is excerpted from a mulberry paper manuscript kept at Phayap University in Northern Thailand. The manuscript was written in the Tai Lü variant of the Tham script. The picture below is the front cover showing the page position *na thap phai khiao* ('front cover', หน้าพับพายเคล้า), the title *Anisong that sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas, อานิสงส์ธาตุนทราย), the number of the volume indicated as *phuk diao* (one single volume, ผูกเดียว), sponsor Phò Khanan Suk (ex-monk named Suk, พ่อขนานสุข) in the red frame and the intended preaching monk Phra Kaeo Ngoen (a monk named Kaeo Ngoen, พระแก้วเงิน) in the green frame. The intended preaching monk was written by the scribe as "Phra Kaeo Ngoen gives the sermon," showing the specific preacher who was particularly chosen to read the liturgical text in preaching rituals. In addition, certain monks could also be indicated in the manuscripts as especially gifted preachers who were well known as being responsible for particular sermonic texts thanks to their unique chanting skills or for other reasons. Such specific mention of a particular preacher clearly demonstrates that there were a variety of preferable preaching styles of individual monks.

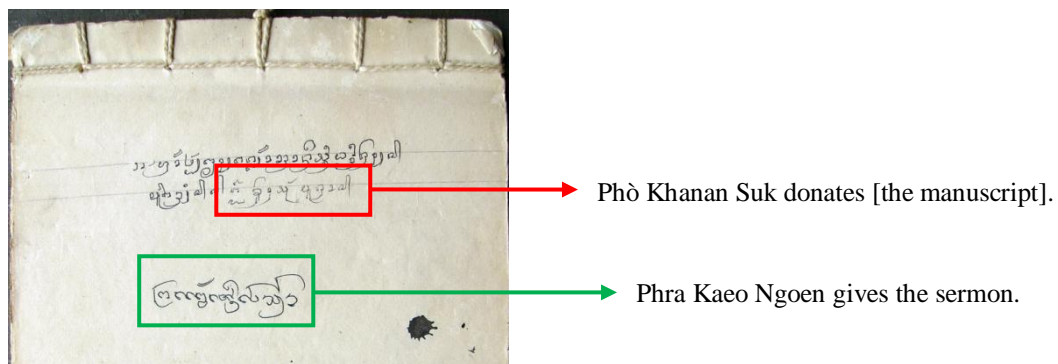


Figure 5.67: Paracontent showing a donor and a preacher

Anisong that sai (Rewards derived from building sand stupas)

Source: PUA, code: 12.4, side 1, Phayap University Archives, Chiang Mai province, year unknown

During my research trips for this PhD project, I experienced several *anisong* sermons given by monks in both regions; each of them delivered *anisong* sermons in different ways of preaching with various rhythms, tones, speed and pronunciation. The documenting paracontent recorded in this mulberry paper manuscript evidently proves the existent variety of individual preaching styles. The name of the sponsor framed in the red rectangle above was

written in the same handwriting as the text but with a different writing tool. It had probably been forgotten and was thus written at a later stage before coming into monastic dedication.

The following example is from a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Sòng sop khon tai* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals) kept at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang. The statement in the first folio, as is shown in the red frame, explains the proper manner of preaching monks who give the *anisong* sermon: “After being properly dressed up, remain on the preaching seat (ห่มผ้าแล้วเข้าไปอยู่ธรรมาสน์อาสนะ).” Hence, not only do the documenting paracontents reveal specific preachers and usage purposes as mentioned above, they also give clear evidence of a preaching tradition in which monks were expected to wear their robes properly and sit on a pulpit (P: *āsana*) with well-behaved manners.

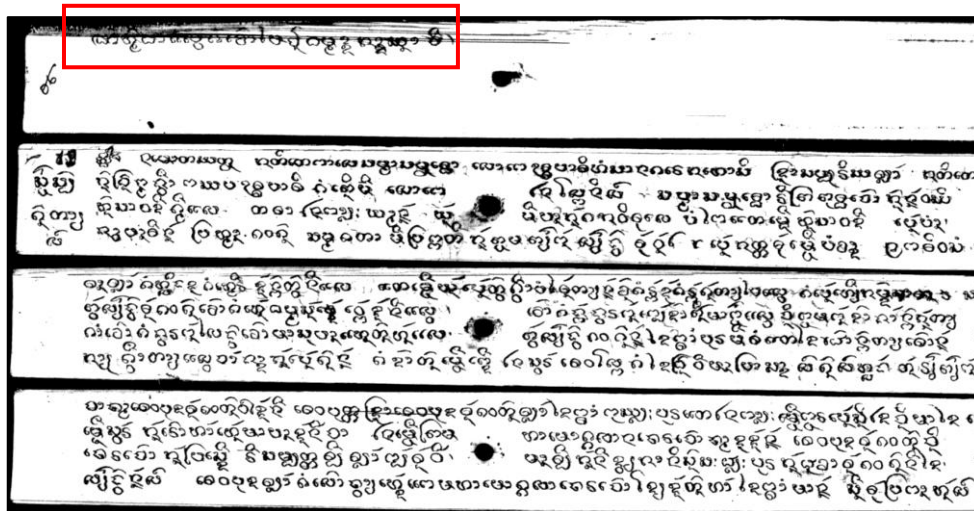


Figure 5.68: Paracontent showing a proper manner of preachers
Sòng sop khon tai (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals)
 Source: DLLM, code: 06011406004-05, folios 1–4 (recto)
 Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, Luang Prabang, CE 1948

5.3 Conclusion

In both Northern Thailand and Laos, the three big religious events – Mahachat, Buddhist Lent and Kathin – are the events most provided with *anisong* manuscripts that were particularly produced in the same months when the ceremonies were held; the neighbouring located areas in which traditions, beliefs, ways of life and cultural features have influenced each other. Some slight differences occur in the dedication of *anisong* manuscripts served during the Buddhist Lent period; namely, during the three months of that period, while *Anisong sang tham* manuscripts explaining rewards derived from ‘copying religious books’ were commonly donated in response to the Buddhist Lent in Northern Thailand, *Anisong thawai ciwòn* manuscripts explaining rewards derived from the donation of ‘monk robes’ were additionally donated in Laos. The *Sangha* members in Northern Thailand were therefore viewed or expected to play a significant role in studying the Dhamma, which is evidenced by a large

number of *anisonḡ* manuscripts, especially those containing *Anisonḡ pitaka thang sam* in which the colophons mention specific religious tasks accomplished by the monk scribes at the same time as writing the manuscripts, whereas the *Saḡha* members in Laos were not as highly expected to concentrate on studying the Dhamma as was the case in Northern Thailand. Besides the big three religious events, *Khao pradap din* (Placing food in a container outdoor on the ground in meritorious dedication to the dead), *Khao salak* (Donating items to monasteries in meritorious dedication to the dead) and *Prasat phüḡḡ* (Floating beeswax castles) in Laos are the second most supported events with *anisonḡ* manuscripts that were intentionally commissioned to be dedicated in the same months as the events, revealing the deep-rooted belief in the existence of dead spirits who wait for the merit kindly transferred by their living relatives.

Traced by the paratexts, *anisonḡ* manuscripts from Northern Thailand more strongly served the textual collection than those in Laos; codicological remarks of fascicle orders appear more frequently and each fascicle contains a larger number of *anisonḡ* texts. The more diverse ways of foliation markers in Northern Thai manuscripts were likely to benefit a variety of manuscript collections in different monastic libraries.

Given as a completion mark of merit-making, *anisonḡ* sermons are preached at the end of gift-giving occasions, each of which is definitely accompanied with a public announcement of the donors' names and their generosity. *Anisonḡ* sermons can therefore be considered as 'social tools' for advertising or empowering influential persons in a locality as a result of the power of gift and gratitude that can develop into a higher reciprocal relationship, on the one hand. On the other hand, social solidarity is likely to be enhanced through the sermons in which a group of donors listens to the explanation of rewards derived from their collaborative deeds; they are blessed in group by monks in compensation of joint generosity, generating a sense of group working, promoting social solidarity and strengthening the reciprocity between *Saḡha* and laity. Furthermore, the close relationship between *Saḡha* and laity is reflected in the production of *anisonḡ* manuscripts. Monks/novices and laymen sometimes jointly wrote the manuscripts to be combined in multiple-text manuscripts as the same codicological unit. This cooperation was, however, clearly stronger in Laos, reflected by the collaboration of *Saḡha* members and laity writing manuscripts in the same production unit together, showing this specific form of co-working that required close and continuous interactions during the manuscript productions.

Compared to Northern Thailand where *anisonḡ* manuscripts were produced rather to serve as textual collections, more so than in Laos, *anisonḡ* manuscripts in Laos play a more practical role than in the Northern Thai culture. Structuring paracontents evidently illustrate manuscript circulations and re-storage for the main purpose of ritual usage, especially those explaining rewards derived from alms-offering or gift-giving rituals, reflecting the popularity and variety of *dāna*. Moreover, there are a number of multiple-text manuscripts in Luang Prabang where *anisonḡ* texts were written together with several Pali prayers, followed by a vernacular translations, used for different gift-giving rituals. These manuscripts can also provide

evidence of ceremony leaders or masters of ceremony (MC) in any religious events because they were made by an ex-monk who was perhaps one of the local MCs, thereby writing numerous manuscripts as master versions for future copies or for his private use. Appropriate manners and expected preaching monks which are suggested in the documenting paracontents of some manuscripts reveal sermonic individualism or ‘liturgical styles’ with specific rhythms diversely trained from different monasteries, locations, cultures and their masters; certain liturgical styles were preferred and proposed in the manuscripts, consequently. *Anisong* manuscripts in Laos were more prominently regarded as meritorious conveyors than in Northern Thailand, demonstrated by the larger variety of dead recipients mentioned in the colophons, showing the psychologically influential role of *anisong* manuscripts. Accordingly, a larger number of palm leaves were reused in Laos than in Northern Thailand due to the belief in their sacredness; namely, the merit of copying religious palm-leaf manuscripts can be transferred to the dead, whereas one who wasted palm-leaf could be destined to be reborn in the hells.

Anisong manuscripts in Laos have been more frequently inserted with words written according to modern orthography used to indicate precise pronunciation or corrected in the case of wrongly inscribed words; the insertions and corrections were made with industrial ball pens. This shows the constant use of *anisong* manuscripts during the course of time which also changed how people interrelated. The cultural dynamics in Laos can also be witnessed by the advent of the new printing technologies – typewriter and computer – used for writing *anisong* manuscripts, by considering the aim of the texts to fit new kinds of gift-giving and consecrating secular rituals, as well as by the dynamics of the dedication intentions developing from meritorious purposes to textual records. Compared to the Northern Thai manuscript culture, the transformation of *anisong* manuscripts occurred more prominently in Laos, because the manuscripts required less formality than other Buddhist textual genres – *Vinaya*, *Suttanta*, *Abhidhamma*, the chronicle of Buddhism. The manuscripts, both as texts and objects, could be more flexibly adapted to fit individual needs and purposes.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Research Conclusion

The intention of gift-giving is reflected in a large amount of Buddhist literature which mentions or deals with the meritorious outcomes or benefits resulting from meritorious deeds; the benefits are perceived as ‘rewards’ or *bun* (P: *puñña*) in contrast to *bap* (P: *pāpa*) or ‘bad results’ or ‘punishment’ caused by sinful deeds. *Bun* and *bap* are thus considered the ‘fruits’ (P: *phala*) generated from individual deeds (P: *kamma*, Skt: *karma*). Although the recipients are not necessarily expected to give something back to the donors, merit-makers can look forward at least to rewards in future lives or an improved life quality in their present existence due to the good *karma*. Benefits or rewards gained from meritorious actions are known as *Anisong* (P: *ānisamsa*) which is textually categorized as a Theravāda Buddhist literary genre especially found in the Tai-Lao cultural domain, but is also known in other Buddhist countries in Southeast Asia like Burma (Myanmar) and Cambodia. *Anisong* constitutes a large corpus of Buddhist literature that is directly associated with the belief in meritorious rewards resulting from generosity.

In Northern Thailand, the sermons are known as *anisong*, representing ‘rewards’. In Laos, however, the sermon is popularly known by the terms *salòng* or *sòng* – from Khmer: *chlañ* ផ្កា, (“to dedicate”, “to celebrate”) – which literally mean ‘to transit’ or ‘to celebrate’. *Anisong* sermons in Laos are held as the Lao terminological interpretation of the term insinuates – for the Lao audience attending *anisong* sermons to virtually celebrate their accomplished meritorious acts in expectation of rewards. *Anisong* manuscripts from Laos diversely conceptualize the notions of *anisong* or *salòng* in a broader sense. Commonly found in the two regions, dialects are sometimes included both in the texts and titles itself, e.g., *Anisong khao saò met* (L: *saò* = “twenty”) (Rewards derived from the donation of twenty rice grains) from Nan province (๙๙ 0106001-01, CE 1880) and *Anisong het bun wan koet* (L: *het* = “to do”) (Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries) from Luang Prabang (BAD-13-1-0206, CE 1988). The text titles are distinctively preceded, respectively, by the terms *anisong* and *salòng* or *sòng*, clearly representing the genre of religious texts that is to be read during liturgies and is followed by the name of a particular occasion, indicating the time and space in which one could make merit and gain rewards. The three preceding terms shown in the titles literally mean ‘rewards’ and ‘celebration’, respectively, linked to the names of the particular occasions; the title itself thus plays a role as an indicator of ritual usage.

The textual content is generally composed of introductory texts and embedded narratives derived from Jātaka stories or referring to canonical or religious texts and mainly aims at explaining past situations – narrated by Lord Buddha himself or by one of his disciples during their lifetimes – in which somebody was greatly rewarded for his or her particular meritorious

actions. Lay merit-makers become convinced of their forthcoming rewards in future rebirths, heaven or future life conditions; the sermons are thus called *anisonḡ* due to the core intention to explain fruitful benefits of certain meritorious deeds.

Palm-leaf was the most popularly used writing support for inscribing *anisonḡ* manuscripts, while those made of mulberry and industrial paper make up the second largest group. Widely used by the Tai Lü ethnic group as their dominant writing support, mulberry paper manuscripts have frequently been discovered in several provinces of Northern Thailand and northern Laos in which the Tai Lü are partly settled. Industrial paper manuscripts are connected to the advent of modern printing technology since the late nineteenth century. In Northern Thailand, within the total of 207 manuscript-bundles, there are 198 palm-leaf manuscripts, six mulberry paper manuscripts and three industrial paper manuscripts. In Laos, within the total of 143 manuscript-bundles, there are 132 palm-leaf manuscripts, nine mulberry paper manuscripts and two industrial paper manuscripts. Compared to the numbers of manuscripts from other textual genres, *anisonḡ* manuscripts constitute only 4% of the total number of Northern Thai and Lao manuscripts; regarding the Buddhist religious genres, *anisonḡ* manuscripts constitute only 5% of the total number of Northern Thai and Lao manuscripts.

The variants of the Tham script – Tham Lan Na, Tham Lao and Tham Lü – were mainly used for writing *anisonḡ* manuscripts, given the need for specific literate skills for handling these scripts, the education of which was limited to monks, novices and ex-monks. The Tham scripts were regarded as sacred, thus being applied to record religious texts including the *anisonḡ* genre. For the purpose of successfully transmitting liturgical texts to the audience, vernacular Northern Thai and Lao languages constitute the majority of the writing, partly including Pali expressions. Some manuscripts are comparatively similar to *nissaya*; every single vernacular word or sentence is, however, not translated verbatim into Pali. A number of *anisonḡ* manuscripts include Pali expressions only at the beginning and the end of the texts.

To investigate the time frames, manuscript-fascicles (Th: *phuk*) as sub-units which are contained in the manuscript-bundles (Th: *mat*) or head-units were individually consulted, because a large number of fascicles were separated from their original bundles to be recombined with other fascicles in another bundle. The Burmese occupation was experienced by both Northern Thailand and Laos during the same period; commissions of religious manuscripts therefore decreased in number and gradually increased only in later time. In the research corpus, *anisonḡ* manuscripts from the two regions comprise 350 bundles (*mat*) in total, in which 705 fascicles (*phuk*) are included. Namely, the 207 bundles from Northern Thailand consist of 339 fascicles, while the 143 bundles from Laos are made up of 366 fascicles. Concerning the 339 fascicles from Northern Thailand, 207 fascicles are dated and 132 are undated. From the 366 fascicles from Laos, 208 fascicles are dated and 158 are undated. *Anisonḡ* manuscripts in Northern Thailand and Laos were produced in the similar time frames, from the seventeenth to the twenty-first century. The earliest *anisonḡ* manuscript from Northern Thailand dates back to CE 1666 and is entitled *Anisonḡ buaṡ* (Rewards derived

from sponsoring ordination ceremonies, source: PNTMP, code: ลป 0306004-05) from Lampang province, while the earliest one from Laos dates back to CE 1652 and is entitled *Salòng paeng pham* (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions, source: DLLM, code: 17010106001-11) from Attapü province. Both are palm-leaf manuscripts. The latest *anison* manuscript from Northern Thailand was written in CE 2007, is made of mulberry paper, entitled *Anison* *sapphathan chadok* (Jātaka story on rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving, source: PUA, code: 13.9) and is kept at Phayap University in Chiang Mai province, while the latest one from Laos is *Anison* *sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving, source: CVG, code: MS.2013) from Luang Namtha province, made of industrial paper and dates back to CE 2013. Both contain similar texts that are supposed to be read for preaching on occasions of unspecified kinds of donations, no matter if it is traditional or modern gift-giving (“All kinds of gift-giving”, P: *sabbadāna*), revealing how the manuscript production clearly responds also to present-day actual uses.

The largest number of *anison* manuscripts in Northern Thailand is kept in Phrae province where sixty-four manuscript-bundles are archived at four different monastic libraries, especially at Wat Sung Men where the majority is kept, a total of fifty-seven bundles. In Laos, *anison* manuscripts are mostly found in Luang Prabang with 121 manuscript-bundles; forty-six bundles and thirty-four bundles are kept at Vat Saen Sukharam and Vat Si Bun Hüang, respectively. Related to the venerable monks from the two regions – Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi (1789–1878) and Sathu Nyai Khamchan Virachitto (1920–2007) – who led many influential religious projects including manuscript commissions, the largest numbers of *anison* manuscripts are kept at their affiliated monasteries (Wat Sung Men and Vat Saen Sukharam), showing the trend of manuscript productions inspired by local venerable monks. However, *anison* manuscripts dedicated to monasteries were increasingly accumulated there, stored together with many other manuscripts in small storage spaces, often full of dust and termites, because a large number of donated manuscripts had remained and partially still remains intact and thus the ‘supply’ outnumbered the ‘demand’.

There are three kinds of codicological units which are related to ritual usage: single-text manuscripts (STMs), multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) and composite manuscripts (COMs). There are eighty-five single-text manuscripts from Northern Thailand and forty-two single-text manuscripts from Laos. The largest number of STMs is provided for gift-giving rituals, compared to calendrical rituals, rites of passage and miscellaneous rituals, revealing frequent *dāna* occasions because the manuscripts could be easily brought along by preaching monks, rather than having to extract them from other composite manuscripts. In Northern Thailand, *anison* manuscripts that are liturgically used in gift-giving rituals are the most frequently found; namely, *anison* manuscripts explaining rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving, from the donation of monk robes and from the donation of book-related goods (e.g. wrapping cloth, chests). In Laos, *anison* manuscripts liturgically used in calendrical rituals and miscellaneous rituals are the most frequently found; namely, *anison*

manuscripts explaining rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections (*Pāramī*), as well as from participating in the *Khao pradap din* festival and the *Khao phan kòn* festival.

The manuscripts were, in many cases, produced and donated together with other items or food in accordance with the fundamental belief in merit-transfer to dead spirits. *Anisong* manuscripts pertaining to the dedication of portable goods remain the highest in number among the other kinds of dedications, revealing the fact that people preferred donating portable goods to monasteries because the merit could be simply done and sometimes was accompanied by other dedication items. Gift-giving or *dāna* is thus the major emphasis in *anisong* manuscripts, even in those manuscripts pertaining to calendrical rituals; i.e., specific gifts that are supposed to be dedicated particularly to monasteries are generally included as part of annual ceremonies. However, *anisong* manuscripts explaining rewards derived from the construction of monastic libraries have not been found in the manuscript corpus from Laos, because monks usually kept liturgical and other manuscripts in their abodes; thus, the construction of monastic libraries did not happen so often, as a result, *anisong* manuscripts explaining rewards derived from this kind of construction were rarely written.

Multiple-text manuscripts reflect the tradition of writing *anisong* textual collection by monks, novices and ex-monks. The corpus of my study comprises a total of fifty-five multiple-text manuscripts from Northern Thailand while only two multiple-text manuscripts are from Laos, notably Luang Prabang, because they have been re-grouped with other manuscripts into new codicological units as composite manuscripts. Based on their ritual uses for liturgical purposes, multiple-text manuscripts can be categorized into three groups: supplements of merit confirmation, mixed sermonic texts and provisions for all kinds of gift-giving. Multiple-text manuscripts in Laos dominantly contain ritually-relevant *anisong* texts, manifesting their purpose as practical objects. Those found in Northern Thailand, conversely, reveal their main purpose as being textually-preservative objects. *Anisong pitaka thang sam* manuscripts that were attached to the main text – the concise Buddhist canon – were thus found only in Northern Thailand, reflecting the popularity of textual preservation by means of writing palm-leaf manuscripts which is thought to result in meritorious outcomes.

Besides single-text manuscripts and multiple-text manuscripts, composite manuscripts also represent the ritual usage of *anisong* manuscripts. Sixty-seven composite manuscripts were found in Northern Thailand and ninety-nine in Laos. The manuscripts were commonly separated from their original codicological units to be reunited with other manuscripts containing similar textual themes regularly used at relevant ceremonies, in order to serve preaching monks. Composite manuscripts reveal textual provision to be used by several monks, especially in the case of commonly held ceremonies in a locality in which preaching monks were invited to different places to give a sermon at the same time. The higher the number of *anisong* manuscripts was written, the more popular were the ceremonies held.

The textual layouts were aligned in accordance with the posture taken for giving sermons; for instance, palm-leaf manuscripts were frequently written in four (Laos) to five (Northern Thailand) lines per page in the upside-down direction between the two sides in order to help

the preaching monks read the text in the sitting posture; mulberry paper and industrial paper manuscripts were cut into small pieces, so that the preachers can hold the manuscripts in their hands during the sermons. In many cases, *anisong* manuscripts were written in notebooks made of industrial paper to serve as master versions for masters of religious ceremonies or for future copies.

The use of foliation systems clearly provides hints at the circulation of manuscripts among local monasteries. In some manuscripts, folio numbers do not begin with the first alphabet, number one, or the first order of any numeral units; this shows the multiple-text manuscripts being separated from the original bundles to serve local circulations. In other manuscripts, foliation is written with a dual-system: one marks folio numbers on recto sides within each text, the other marks the folio numbers on verso sides of the whole fascicle. The dual foliation system is more frequently found in Laos and aids the manuscript users in picking out and returning a text given in the fascicle. A number of *anisong* manuscripts, as a result, are kept at a different monastery which is not mentioned in the colophon as the target temple. For the purpose of liturgical use, *anisong* manuscripts containing similar texts read for preaching on the same occasions have been separated from their original units to be re-grouped in a single bundle, as well. In addition, to some manuscripts a greeting expression preceding the *anisong* texts was added, which suits the actual sermons that were newly written by later users, facilitating preaching activities as well as corrections and insertions done by inked pens that obviously reveal present-day *anisong* sermons.

From the perspective of ritual usage, *anisong* manuscripts were involved in dedication rituals and preaching rituals. In dedication rituals, the manuscripts played a role as an offered item in exchange for merit for the donors themselves or their dead recipients; a large number of the manuscripts were thus dedicated right before religious annual ceremonies. There is also the case that an *anisong* manuscript from Luang Prabang (source: DLLM, code: 06011406003-24, CE 1942) was representative for the Dhamma or Buddha's Teachings because it was dedicated together with a Buddha image as a symbol of Lord Buddha and food as alms-offerings given to the *Sangha*, to pay homage to The Triple Gems (Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha). The dedication of *anisong* manuscripts in present times has been developed into a symbolized donation in which laypeople can join the merit of copying the manuscripts by writing their names on the front or back cover folio of the manuscript and donating an amount of money to the monastery; by this means, *anisong* manuscripts can be re-donated and symbolize manuscript commissions. Unlike the position of colophons in handwritten *anisong* manuscripts that were traditionally written after texts, those in printed manuscripts are aligned before the text or at the beginning of the manuscripts in order to serve dedication rituals included with the Kruat Nam ritual in which the sponsors' names can be easily noticed and announced by monks.

In the case of preaching rituals, eighty-two *anisong* sermons are categorized into four types of rituals: calendrical rituals, rites of passage, gift-giving rituals and miscellaneous rituals, all of which were provided with *anisong* manuscripts. Based on the fundamental belief in glorious

rewards one could gain from meritorious deeds, *anisong* sermons, in response to the expectation of benefits in return, have been given so far as part of religious rituals on different kinds of occasions, in which the merit makers could be assured of their donation or use of labour in a merit participation, as *anisong* is defined by results of positive deeds generated by merit-making and is thereby used as a religious literary genre explaining the benefits derived from meritorious acts.

In the case of calendrical rituals, seventeen annual ceremonies include twenty-three *anisong* sermons in total, because some ceremonies include more than one *anisong* sermon, emphasizing specific meritorious deeds as part of the ceremonies for which participants can expect future rewards. The twenty-three sermons are divided into seventeen common rituals and six regional rituals: *Tan lua hing fai* (Firewood gathering to warm Buddha images in winter), *Ap that/Wai Phra That* (Bathing/Worshipping pagodas), *Lòi prathip/ Lòi krathong* (Flying light lantern balloons/Floating banana-leaf vessels), *Bun that luang* (Merit-making in celebration of the pagoda) and *Hae prasat phüing* (Parades of beeswax castles), that basically served the local popularity of existing merit-making occasions. A large number of *anisong* titles include words indicating specific actions that, for the purpose of acquiring merit, are supposed to be performed in certain rituals or ceremonies, unlike just participating in calendrical rituals which could contribute to beneficial outcomes. The most frequently-included words in *anisong* titles are *than*, *hai than*, and *thawai*, all of which literally mean ‘to give’ or ‘to dedicate’, reflecting the ‘donation’ as the most basic deed to gain merit. Additional frequently-included words refer to ‘building’, ‘lighting’ and ‘bathing’.

Sometimes *anisong* titles represent specific texts that are believed to reward lay participants who listen or recite on certain occasions with great merit. For instance, *Anisong mahachat* (source: DELMN, code: 662, Wat Si Khom Kham, Chiang Rai, CE 1879) and *Anisong maha wetsantara chadok* (source: CVG, code: VXC.3, Vat Siang Cai, Luang Namtha, year unknown) introduce the Vessantara Jātaka story in the titles, which results in meritorious gifts for the ones who listen to it within one day during the yearly *Bun phawet* festival.

Another kind of title mentions a key person who did particular deeds in the textual stories to show exemplary acts of merit acquisition, and it is frequently preceded by the typical term *anisong*, *salòng* and *sòng*, such as *Anisong nang suchada than khao mathupayat* (Rewards of Nang Suchada who offered Mathupayat rice to Lord Buddha, source: DELMN, code: 730, Phayap University, CE 1872). The manuscript explains the story of a laywoman named Suchada who cooked *mathupayat* [kind of] rice (rice cooked with cow milk) and offered it to Lord Buddha during the Wisakha month; the *anisong* text could therefore be read in the *Wisakha bucha* festival. However, the titles are sometimes not preceded by the three typical words *anisong*, *salòng* or *sòng*, but entitled with names of ceremonies, for example, *Kòng lua anisong* (source: PNTMP, code: ๙๙ 0106001-02, Wat Phra That Chang Kham, Nan, CE 1925), *Duang prathip kaeo* (source: PNTMP, code: ๙๙ 0106001-04, Wat Phra That Chang Kham, Nan, CE 1947) and *Than khao sang* (source: DLNTM, code: ๙๙ 0706001-08, Wat Phra Sing, Chiang Mai, year unknown).

The same religious occasions were sometimes diversely characterized by different emphases or points of focus in the two regions; a clear example is the case of *anison* manuscripts donated during the Buddhist Lent in which monks and novices have a three-month stay at a specific monastery for several activities, including being trained by master monks, learning the Dhamma, being in charge of a special religious task or assisting senior monks. In Northern Thailand, the majority of *anison* manuscripts dedicated during the Buddhist Lent explain rewards derived from learning or copying religious books, while those from Laos concentrate on the donation of monk robes. The different foci in the *anison* texts reveal different expectations of merit. The Northern Thai paid more attention to copying religious texts in accordance with the primary purpose of preserving Buddhism while the Lao put more emphasis on the monk robe which is part of eight basic commodities for monks.

In the case of rites of passage, five occasions are documented by *anison* manuscripts: birthday anniversaries, ordinations, monkhood-ranking promotions, weddings and funerals. *Anison* manuscripts provided for sermons on birthday anniversaries, monkhood-ranking promotions and wedding ceremonies are, however, not found in Northern Thailand. Regarding the monkhood-ranking promotions, the absence of *anison* manuscripts was perhaps caused by the new centralized *Sangha* authority issued by Bangkok in the late nineteenth century; the ceremony had actually been organized before in Northern Thai regions. For the purpose of national solidarity, in CE 1902 the *Sangha* Authority Act was issued by the capital city of Bangkok to reform the *Sangha* community into the whole national institution, because monks and laypeople had a close relationship. Regarding the regional *anison* sermons on occasions of birthday anniversaries and weddings in Laos, the presence of *anison* manuscripts reveal the involvement of Buddhist monks in laypeople's lives; the two secular events were therefore Buddhized by means of including *anison* sermons. No *anison* manuscripts for these life events are found in Northern Thailand because the region has preferred to keep their conventional characteristics rather than exposing themselves to updated forms of actual usage in the present time like Laos.

As for gift-giving rituals, I identified forty-five *anison* sermons in which *anison* manuscripts were read, all of which can be categorized into five kinds of generosity: construction of monastery buildings (13 sermons), offerings to monasteries (22 sermons), alms for monks (4 sermons), public construction works (4 sermons) and common gift-giving (2 sermons). *Anison* texts written for benedictory sermons on the occasion of donating goods to monasteries are found to be the most varied, reflecting the most popular merit-making by means of offering different kinds of goods to monasteries. The second most popular *anison* sermon that appeared in the manuscripts was written for occasions of monastic constructions, revealing the collaboration of laypeople on a large scale. *Anison* sermons pertaining to rewards gained from commissioning public constructions are also found in the extant manuscripts, manifesting some secular benefits that, by means of giving *anison* sermons, were particularly 'Buddhized' to promote the public contributions and to praise the generosity of the devotees. In Laos, *anison* manuscripts were written to serve more diverse and new kinds of gift-giving in orientation of present-day donations. In Northern Thailand,

Anisong sapphathan manuscripts, intended to be used for all kinds of gift-giving occasions, were more frequently written than in Laos. The textual diversity in *anisong* manuscripts is similar but slightly different between the two regions. In Laos, *anisong* texts were written to orient new kinds of donations, while in Northern Thailand they were written to still serve traditional ways of gift-giving although with a larger textual variety.

Regarding *anisong* manuscripts serving miscellaneous rituals, nine occasions were identified in which the sermons are mainly characterized by meritorious results gained from self-improvement by following the Buddhist precepts and rules, listening to the Dhamma, doing meditation, being solitary, wishing for good things and reciting holy prayers. The acts of merit are basically done in accordance with different times for different purposes. For instance, *anisong* sermons explaining rewards gained from taking care of one's own parents can be given at funerals or at the traditional New Year celebration when all family members meet. There are three special *anisong* sermons that are accompanied by *anisong* texts in both regions: about precept observance, about following the *Parami Samsip That* (Thirty Perfections) and about considering the Triple Gems.

As has been analysed in this dissertation, merit-making in Thai and Lao Theravāda Buddhism is characterized by the common expectation of meritorious rewards derived from positive deeds especially of gift-giving or generosity (*dāna*); as a result, *anisong* manuscripts written to be used on the occasion of gift-giving have been dominantly found. The manuscript texts were thus developed from canonical references to newly-written texts in relation to new kinds of donated items, reflecting that every donation is expected to be compensated with rewards. *Anisong* sermons also originated from the notion of merit expectation, thereby being included as part of religious ceremonies – not only the aforementioned gift-giving rituals but also calendrical rituals and rites of passage, in which practitioners are assured of the rewards for their meritorious acts. Even though the manuscript corpus is derived from Northern Thailand and Laos, the concept of meritorious reward expectation can to some extent reflect the belief in merit among Buddhist people in Southeast Asia where Theravāda Buddhism is widespread.

Functions of *anisong* manuscripts can be viewed from two perspectives – production and usage – in order to find similarities and differences between the two regions. Generally speaking, *anisong* manuscripts with the major purpose of bearing liturgical texts functioned as dedicated objects in exchange of merit. Compared to ritual usage, *anisong* manuscripts more frequently functioned for production aspects considerably influenced by religious practices: meritorious derivation, educational supplements for monastic schools, collections of *anisong* sermonic texts and master copies. Regarding manuscript production and transmission, *anisong* manuscripts from Laos are characterized more by textual diversity, compared to Northern Thailand, especially *anisong* texts influenced by new kinds of donated goods or secular events. Writing tools and other materials for manuscript production were also modernized in Laos with typewriters and modern printing technologies, showing that their production means were more exposed to modern influences. A hypothesis is that the long-

term colonization by the French caused the people to be more open to modernity, including new printing technologies.

Besides, the manuscripts played a role as textual transmissions copied from original palm-leaf manuscripts for the purpose of textual archives or protection. The copied versions were normally written on mulberry and industrial paper, revealing that the transmission was done in the contemporary period. The creation of textual archives occurred in a wide range in the mid-nineteenth century in Northern Thailand during the religious project run by the venerable monk Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi (CE 1789–1878) from Phrae province. Evidenced by the colophons mostly shown in *Pitaka thang sam* manuscripts, monk scribes copied the Buddhist canon as a particular task in association with the venerable monk's project; it refers to the historical gathering or copying of religious texts derived from different repositories. Likewise, compared to Laos, educational supplements in Northern Thailand were more frequently served by *anisong* manuscript commissions in which monk students learned how to inscribe texts on palm leaves in a scribal class due to their short length. More frequent transmissions of *anisong* manuscripts occurred in the advent of modern printing technology in Laos where typewriters were introduced and numerous religious palm-leaf manuscripts were copied, mostly led by the venerable monk Sathu Nyai Khamchan Virachitto (CE 1920–2007) from Luang Prabang. Religious books written in Thai scripts were included as part of textual transmissions, as well. To sum up, textual transmissions in the case of *anisong* manuscripts were largely influenced by venerable monks in a particular locality, who significantly led the projects of textual transmissions to strengthen the core belief in Buddhism. In Northern Thailand, monks hosted textual transmission projects done by handwriting, while in Laos the monks applied the modern printing technology in textual transmission. However, one *anisong* manuscript from Luang Prabang was written for the purpose of recording a liturgical text given in a big annual ceremony; the manuscript can also be viewed as a textual record, but, due to the recorded words including personal names and the time and place of the event, it witnesses the religious event rather than containing *anisong* texts for future copies or sermons.

Anisong manuscripts had been predominantly made of palm leaves until the advent of modern printing technology led to alternative and diverse writing supports. Some texts were selected to be copied on new kinds of paper – mulberry paper and industrial paper – while others were left untouched. The textual selection for new copies thus indicates the popularity of ritual practices. When specifically comparing them, in Northern Thailand *anisong* texts used for preaching in gift-giving rituals were predominantly copied on modern kinds of writing support, such as *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) and *Anisong sang phuttharup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images), while in Laos *anisong* texts read in gift-giving rituals were comparatively copied with similar frequency and numbers as those in calendrical rituals. This finding significantly highlights the Lao cultural identity in which annual ceremonies commonly organized in collaboration with local people are still popular, because the newly-copied manuscripts with the modern kinds of paper were often produced to serve masters of ceremonies who lead laypeople at religious

events. Accordingly, a number of the copied manuscripts include specific prayers recited at other relevant rituals. Still, some regional ceremonies are found to be provided with *anison* manuscripts in the other region, revealing the cultural transmissions between the two regions, except for some special events particularly hosted within one region, causing no *anison* manuscripts surviving in the other region. To clarify, the origin of three *anison* sermons pertaining to rewards derived from the donation of firewood, from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival and from the donation of one-thousand rice balls, is still unclear, i.e., whether it is from Northern Thailand or Laos (or the northeastern region in present-day Thailand), but extant *anison* manuscripts containing the liturgical texts for the two rituals are also found in both regions.

As for manuscript usage, after being written and dedicated to a monastery as objects in exchange for meritorious outcomes, the manuscripts were either kept at monasteries or used at religious occasions in which they functioned as textual containers for preaching monks. *Anison* manuscripts in Laos have been produced in response to actual usage, while those in Northern Thailand were more often made in exchange for meritorious outcomes. Thus, Northern Thai *anison* sermons maintain more traditional features than those from Laos. *Anison* manuscripts from Laos respond more often to ritual dynamics and modernized gift-giving for the purpose of actual usage, whereas those from Northern Thailand concentrate on textual collection in response to the belief of meritorious derivation and dedication for the purpose of providing monasteries with liturgical texts. In many cases, as was also experienced by the author, preaching monks carry a non-*anison* palm-leaf manuscript in their hands while improvising sermonic words by heart, in order to authorize the Teachings of Lord Buddha. By this way, the audience can, to some extent, be assured of their upcoming merit as it is confirmed by Lord Buddha whose words are recorded in the manuscripts; i.e., this kind of ‘authorization’ was devised to convince the audience. To differentiate some minor features, preaching monks in Laos appear to more frequently carry manuscripts made of mulberry paper or industrial paper in different shapes and read the texts from it, while those in Lan Na prefer to carry artificial manuscripts shaped in the oblong or *Pothi* format but sometimes deliver a sermon by heart.

With regard to the social relationship between *Sangha* and laity in relation to *anison* manuscript production, the primary concern when considering the impacts on the manuscripts is defined by the author as ‘fulfilment of mutual reciprocity’; namely, the two parties provide what the respective other side requires which generates the interaction between sponsors and scribes. Monks or novices are media linking the secular to the spiritual sphere, can create items in exchange for merit (inscribing religious manuscripts) and transfer the merit to dead and living recipients, while the laity provides food and commodities and can offer the *Sangha* facilities and financial support in expectation of meritorious returns. The social relationship of the two sides is one of symbiotic reciprocity in which one fulfils the requirements of the other; thus, *Sangha* and laity in both regions are maintaining a close relationship. In comparison, according to the colophons, the relationship of *Sangha* and laity in Laos was closer than that in Northern Thailand, because they were ordained to be educated at a local

monastery until they reached the proper age and disrobed. *Thit* or ex-monks are found to be scribes of *anisong* manuscripts in a larger number than in Northern Thailand, reflecting the closer familiarity of the two parties in Laos.

Concerning this close relationship, numerous *anisong* manuscripts give evidence as to the collaborative works jointly inscribed by *Sangha* and laity. Multiple-text manuscripts were frequently written by monks and laypeople since they required time, energy and materials. The manuscripts comprise multiple texts already planned in advance with individual responsibilities which are then later combined into a single unit. The material provision was also included as a collaborative task in which laypeople, for example, provided writing supports and writing tools for monk scribes. In a special case of Luang Prabang, *anisong* manuscripts used for preaching on birthdays were inspired by the venerable monk Sathu Nyai Khamchan Virachitto who inscribed religious manuscripts in commemoration of his birth anniversaries, revealing the close relationship between *Sangha* and laity. Another obvious case of the reciprocal relationship is represented by decorated wooden covers commissioned by high-ranking sponsors who provide substantial financial support.

Anisong manuscripts played a role in Buddhisizing formerly non-Buddhist rituals and ceremonies. In many cases, *anisong* manuscripts contributed to Buddhisizing secular rituals, reflecting the negotiation between the tradition of *anisong* sermons, which is still alive, and modernity; *anisong* texts and manuscripts have consequently been transformed, adopting contemporary features. In order to serve contemporary dedications, *anisong* texts pertaining to new kinds of donations were created by means of explaining great rewards or claiming the authority of Lord Buddha by referring to one of his Teachings in relation to the meritorious deeds. *Anisong* manuscripts especially from Laos more frequently show social dynamics influencing on textual and physical transformations. *Anisong* manuscripts were originally written in accordance with religious calendrical ceremonies, life transitions, the Buddhist disciplines and gift-giving occasions with canonical references or Jātaka stories (previous rebirths of Buddha Gotama). Later, in the course of three centuries influenced by actual innovations, the texts have been developed or ‘transformed’ into their contemporary forms and contents; in this case, *anisong* manuscripts were made in response to new or modern donations. One example is a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Anisong sang hong phayaban hong mò* (Rewards derived from the construction of hospitals, code: 06011406004-07), which was written in CE 1962 and is archived at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram. Due to modern printing technology and the decreasing number of Tham script users, artificial manuscripts made of mulberry paper or modern paper resembling the *Pothi* format of traditional palm-leaf manuscripts, written with the modern script, have been increasingly produced and have replaced the authentic palm-leaf manuscripts. The manuscripts made of industrial paper have been found in both regions as a result of the dialogue between modernity and conventional liturgy.

During the three years of my research, I discovered dynamics of *anisong* manuscripts in terms of transformations that emerged for the first time in the nineteenth century, the age of printing,

and which had a larger influence in Laos than in Northern Thailand, when palm-leaf manuscripts started to become reproduced by typewriters. Due to the increasing lack of Tham script literacy and the advent of modern printing technology since the late nineteenth century, *anisong* manuscripts were likely to be produced more and more by typewriters and computers. Typewritten palm-leaf manuscripts, notably found in Luang Prabang, reflect a turning point of the printing involvement in manuscript production. Mulberry paper and industrial paper shaped in different layouts – leporellos, concertina-like books, whirlwind binding books and notebooks – were also written by hand, typed by typewriters and printed by computers. Interestingly, in those manuscripts written by hand, the Tham scripts were, however, still used to write the texts while those produced by typewriters and printers were written in the modern national Lao script, implying the preservation of the conventional writing of Tham scripts by hand which, due to the lack of Tham script printing-blocks, had not been replaced yet by other printing technologies.

The manuscript in question is titled *Anisong het bun wan koet* (Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries) and was reproduced by a typewriter in CE 1988 after the original palm-leaf manuscript inscribed in 1973 and entitled *Salòng tham bun wan koet* (Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries). The typewriting hand was a monk named Cinna Thammo Phikkhu who, evidenced by a number of typewritten manuscripts, typed palm-leaf manuscripts with a typewriter. The manuscript was made in response to manuscript collection projects led by Sathu Nyai Khamchan Virachitto, a venerable monk in Luang Prabang who widely exposed religious texts from manuscripts to monks and laypeople by means of transforming the difficult and hardly accessible Tham script into the modern Lao script. His great religious project initially inspired monasteries and institutes to reproduce manuscripts into the modern Lao script which is more widely accessible and understandable for most people; to some extent, the example basically represents ‘manuscript transformations’ of scripts. The modern scripts may also reveal a lesser popularity of the Tham script and that *anisong* sermons are not restricted any longer to senior monks who are experienced and familiar with the Tham script; i.e., newly ordained monks can also deliver the sermon.

On the ground of such findings, I looked further into other kinds of transformations in order to formulate and grasp more specific definitions of ‘manuscript transformations’. The most obvious transformation of *anisong* manuscripts is *material* transformations. In Luang Prabang, unlike in Müang Sing of Luang Namtha province where mulberry paper manuscripts were widespread due to their popularity among the main ethnic population of the Tai Lü, mulberry paper was applied to write *anisong* manuscripts and was similarly shaped into oblong palm-leaf manuscripts by connecting them with glue and vertically folding them up into leporellos. The writing supports of *anisong* manuscripts were consequently transformed from palm leaves into mulberry paper in imitation of the familiar style of traditional palm-leaf manuscripts. In the advent of the age of printing, which had a great influence on writing supports and writing tools and emerged in Luang Prabang manuscript cultures in the twentieth century, scribes were provided with industrial paper. In accordance with markets and

consumption demands, different types of paper and notebooks were mass produced. Thus, *anisong* manuscripts were increasingly written on industrial paper: some were folded into the shapes of traditional palm-leaf manuscripts, others followed the layouts of different notebooks. Such changes can be defined further as material transformations as well as layout transformations; namely, *anisong* manuscripts were transformed from oblong-shaped into leporello and notebook manuscripts.

Having been further investigated, the intentions of commissioning *anisong* manuscripts have been transformed as well. In earlier periods, the commissioners – sponsors and scribes – initially made manuscripts in dedication to monasteries with expected meritorious outcomes. The colophon in a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Hò suam ap* (หอสามอาบ, Rewards derived from the construction of public toilets, source: DLLM, code: 06018506021-01, CE 2006) clearly exposes the transformation of the manuscript's commissioning intention. The manuscript comprises three folios, was written by a monk called Senta who lived at Vat Phon Saisana Songkham in Vientiane and was meant to be brought by a venerable monk to other monks at Ban Na Rai. Instead of writing manuscripts for monastic uses, he made the manuscript on the basis of generosity or gift-giving to provide other monks with an available manuscript, possibly resulting from the lack of liturgical manuscripts at the target temple. The intention of future meritorious outcomes can therefore be replaced by the intention of monastic manuscript supply; i.e., the commissioning intention is transformed.

The manuscript entitled *Salòng kathin* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Kathin* festival), kept at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram, as recently mentioned, represents another example of the transformation of a manuscript's commissioning intention. The manuscript was sponsored by the Lao Supreme Patriarch Somdet Phra Phutta Sinorot Sakon Maha Sangkhapamok on the occasion of the annual *Kathin* festival held at Vat Mai Suvanna Phumaram and Vat Visun on October 27, 1968. Because the manuscript was particularly written after the preaching words given by the supreme patriarch at the ceremony, the names of the participants and other details which occurred at the event appear in the manuscript, which thus cannot be read at other occasions. Since there is no colophon telling the wishes or expectations of glorious outcomes like in *anisong* manuscripts in general, the manuscript was not intended to gain merit from copying, but, as a secular intention, just to record or 'witness' the preaching words of the Supreme Patriarch. On the one hand, it can show the transformation or change of *anisong* manuscript intentions, i.e., that they can also serve as normal text containers or 'recorders'. Transformations of religious aims into secular intentions occurred also in the extant *anisong* manuscripts.

Besides, the intention to create *anisong* manuscripts has been transformed, responding now to current marketing demands and methods. During my field research trip in July 2018, I found industrial manuscripts made of modern paper in the oblong palm-leaf shape at a big supermarket in Sung Men district, Phrae province. The supermarket is located in the vicinity of Wat Sung Men in which the manuscript museums are well-known. The manuscript production has therefore been transformed in favour of industrialized books, provided with

some space for filling in sponsors' names, so that devotees can buy and dedicate it to a monastery. In this case, the intention of manuscript donors is not transformed; they offer the printed manuscripts to monasteries for the purpose of gaining merit. But the intention of the manuscript scribe, or printing business in this case, has completely changed, because, instead of expecting merit, they now produce manuscripts as products for commercial profit. The intentions of sponsors and scribes can also be transformed into demand-supply relationships. In conclusion, the transformation of *anisong* manuscripts has been caused by the Buddhisization of rituals and emerged in a wide range of perspectives: materials, scripts, texts, layouts, intentions and commissioners (sponsors, scribes).

To sum up, *anisong* manuscripts are outstandingly characterized by dynamics, movement, adjustability, flexibility, transformation and a close relationship between *Sangha* and laity in accordance with their present actual usage in terms of both objects and contents and play a crucial role in dedication and preaching rituals. In addition to religious purposes, the manuscripts more diversely and openly serve as academic supplements, historical records and master versions for further copies. *Anisong* manuscripts from Northern Thailand were mainly aimed at textual preservation, while those from Laos are rather intended for the benefit of actual uses. *Anisong* texts (contents) and manuscripts (objects) produced in Northern Thailand therefore conventionally focus on textual collections, unlike in Laos where *anisong* texts (contents) and manuscripts (objects) are considerably involved in sermons and show contemporary influences. Such differences significantly illustrate that Lao *anisong* manuscripts have been more exposed to modernity, thereby having been developed to deal with fashionable donated items or secular events, while Northern Thai *anisong* manuscripts have rather conserved their conventional or traditional features. *Anisong* manuscripts from Laos are thus found to be more transformed and notably influenced by modernity in terms of their texts and objects. However, the common feature of *anisong* manuscripts in both regions is that they represent dedication items in exchange for meritorious rewards, following the fundamental belief in generosity or *dāna* which is regarded as the main characteristic of *anisong* sermons; as a consequence, the supply of manuscripts outnumbers the manuscripts' demand.

6.2 Implications for further research

When regarded as objects, *anisong* manuscripts have been subject to dynamic social influences, especially since the advent of modern printing technology; the manuscripts are not absolutely standardized by conventional features but oriented towards modernity. *Anisong* manuscripts written with new kinds of writing support and tools have increased in numbers and are worth being studied from the perspective of manuscript transformations. The study can also be furthered concerning *anisong* texts in the manuscripts that were influenced by new kinds of merit-making, donations or by secular events, all of which resulted from the social effects of modernity. According to the four key factors that characterise manuscripts in a certain manuscript culture – production, use, setting and patterns – which I applied to my

research, transformations of *anisong* manuscripts were influenced by the new age of printing (setting) and occurred along with changes in all the four key factors. The manuscripts could be produced increasingly also by laypeople or printing presses with several kinds of new technology and be used by lay scholars for academic research. The factor of the social context or setting was the major influence on manuscript transformation, considering how modern printing methods were applied and how they provided manuscript commissioners with new and well-organized layouts.

Theories of ritual studies and the methodology of manuscript culture studies can also be applied to other textual genres of manuscripts, especially those written for the purpose of ritual uses. According to the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM), 378 manuscript-fascicles are categorized as ‘Chanting’ and ‘Custom/Ritual’ and 612 manuscript-fascicles are from the Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (DLLM). Like *anisong* manuscripts, they were intended to serve Buddhist religious rituals on different kinds of occasions. The theoretical frameworks of ritual studies can be applied to the extant manuscripts, so that the perspective of manuscripts in rituals or vice versa can be more widely expanded beyond *anisong* manuscripts written to serve blessing sermons. The two groups of manuscript functions – cultic usage and discursive usage – are definitely apparent, because manuscripts, e.g., in a number of religious rituals, sometimes just appear or are held in someone’s hands without the text inside being read; the texts in manuscripts were sometimes orally memorized by users to prepare themselves for religious rituals, which reveals to what extent manuscripts in a certain manuscript culture play a significant role.

In some periods there was a tendency to write certain texts in palm-leaf manuscripts as a result of specific tasks, social trends, political processes or just local popularity; for instance, *Anisong pitaka thang sam* manuscripts which were written to be attached with the concise version of the Buddhist canon. Manuscript copies of the concise canon and the accompanying *Anisong pitaka thang sam* were widely written only in Northern Thailand, especially in Phrae province, and increased in number since the mid-nineteenth century onwards, substantially fuelled by the great efforts of the venerable monk Khruba Kancana Aranyawasi who headed a large number of religious projects. The methodology of manuscript culture studies can therefore be applied also to other manuscripts of a specific textual genre or particular layout, in order to see the influences and impacts caused by different factors on the specific manuscript production practices. In sum, a wide variety of historical and cultural aspects can be discovered by in-depth studies of manuscripts and manuscript cultures. Further study can be devoted to the theoretical and methodological application to different kinds of textual genres written in manuscripts that were or were not used in rituals.

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Appendix

Anisong manuscripts in the research corpus

1. Anisong manuscripts from Northern Thailand

1.1 The Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts (PNTMP)

1.1.1 Palm-leaf manuscripts

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
1	ชม 0106001	Wat Chiang Man (วัดเชียงใหม่)	ชม 0106001-02	-	<i>Anisong nimon phra cao khao watsa</i> (อนิสงส์นิมนต์พระเจ้าเข้าวัสสา) Rewards derived from merit-making on the Buddhist Lent
			ชม 0106001-03	-	<i>Anisong tham kham sòn</i> (อนิสงส์ธรรมคำสอน) Rewards derived from copying religious books
			ชม 0106001-04	-	<i>Anisong pi mai</i> (อนิสงส์ปีใหม่) Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year ceremonies
			ชม 0106001-05	-	<i>Anisong than pai ha khon tai</i> (อนิสงส์ทานไปหาคนตาย) Rewards derived from merit dedication to the dead
			ชม 0106001-06	1915	<i>Anisong khao phan kòn</i> (อนิสงส์ข้าวพันก้อน) Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			ชม 0106001-07	1865–7	<i>Anisong sang rit tham</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างหริตธรรม) Rewards derived from the donation of book chests
			ชม 0106001-08	1853	<i>Anisong attha bòrikhan</i> (อานิสงส์อัฐบริหาร) Rewards derived from the donation of eight commodities for monks
2	ชม 0106002		ชม 0106002-01	1900	Composite manuscript ¹
			ชม 0106002-02	-	<i>Anisong pha thòt</i> (อานิสงส์ผ้าทอด) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
			ชม 0106002-03	1907	Multiple-text manuscript ²
			ชม 0106002-04	1791 1938	Composite manuscript ³
			ชม 0106002-09	1907	<i>Anisong sin</i> (อานิสงส์ศีล) Rewards derived from precept observance
3	ชม 0106003	Wat Chiang Man	ชม 0106003-01	1765	Composite manuscript ⁴

¹ The manuscript contains four fascicles with the same textual theme: *Anisong khao salak* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival), *Anisong salak* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival), multiple-text manuscript containing two texts of *Anisong salak* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival) and *Anisong salak chabap phraya wòk* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival, Phraya Wòk version).

² The manuscript contains two texts: *Anisong ubosot sin* (Rewards derived from the observance of the *ubosot* precept) and *Anisong sin paet prakan* (Rewards derived from the observance of the Eight Precepts).

³ The manuscript contains three fascicles: *Anisong buat* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies), *Anisong buat* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies) and *Anisong buat* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
		(วัดเชียงใหม่)		1855 1920	
			ชม 0106003-02	-	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
			ชม 0106003-03	1927	Composite manuscript ⁵
4	ชม 2220004	Wat Chae Chang (วัดแช่ช้าง)	ชม 2220004-02	-	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
5	ชม 2213003	Wat Chae Chang (วัดแช่ช้าง)	ชม 2213003-00	1844	<i>Anisong sang ròm that</i> (อานิสงส์สังฆรวมธาตุ) Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas
6	นน 0106001	Wat Phra That Chang Kham (วัดพระธาตุช้างค้ำ)	นน 0106001-01	1880	<i>Anisong khao sao met</i> (อานิสงส์ข้าวสามเม็ด) Rewards derived from the donation of twenty rice grains
			นน 0106001-02	1906 1925 1985	Composite manuscript ⁶
			นน 0106001-03	1925	Multiple-text manuscript ⁷

⁴ The manuscript contains three fascicles: *Anisong sang tham* (Rewards derived from copying religious books), *Anisong sang tham pen than* (Rewards derived from copying religious books) and *Anisong pidok* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon).

⁵ The manuscript contains two fascicles: *Anisong prathip* (Rewards derived from flying lanterns) and *Anisong prathip* (Rewards derived from flying lanterns).

⁶ The manuscript contains three fascicles: *Anisong cam sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance), *Anisong liang phò liang mae* (Rewards derived from taking care of one's own parents) and a fascicle containing two texts: *Anisong ahan* (Rewards from donation of alms-food) and *Kòng lua anisong* (Rewards derived from the donation of firewoods).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			นน 0106001-04	1947	Multiple-text manuscript ⁸
			นน 0106001-05	-	<i>Anisong prathip</i> (อานิสงส์ประทิป) Rewards derived from flying lanterns
			นน 0106001-06	-	<i>Anisong ap that lae phra cao</i> (อานิสงส์อาบธาตุและพระเจ้า) Rewards derived from bathing pagodas and Buddha images
7	นน 0120063	Wat Phra That Chang Kham (วัดพระธาตุช้างค้ำ)	นน 0120063-00	1925	Multiple-text manuscript ⁹
8	นน 0906003	Wat Na Pang (วัดนาป่า)	นน 0906003-00	1808	Multiple-text Manuscript ¹⁰
9	นน 0910015	Wat Na Pang (วัดนาป่า)	นน 0910015-00	1790	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎก) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
10	นน 0910028	Wat Na Pang (วัดนาป่า)	นน 0910028-00	1798	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎก) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon

⁷ The manuscript contains two texts: *Anisong rao thian* (Rewards derived from the donation of sconces) and *Anisong prathip bucha* (Rewards derived from flying lanterns).

⁸ The manuscript contains three texts: *Duang prathip kaeo* ([Rewards derived from] flying lanterns), *Prathip duang kaeo* ([Rewards derived from] flying lanterns) and *Prathip kaeo* ([Rewards derived from] flying lanterns).

⁹ The manuscript contains three texts: *Anisong cedi sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas), *Anisong sang tham* (Rewards derived from copying religious books) and *Anisong than luk som khòng wan* (Rewards derived from the donation of victuals).

¹⁰ The manuscript contains five texts: *Anisong bòk fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of fireworks), *Anisong sang wihan* (Rewards derived from the construction of monasteries), *Anisong sang prasat hit kuti kudi wihan* (Rewards derived from the construction of monasteries, abodes and monastic halls and the donation of book chests), *Anisong sang hit sai tham* (Rewards derived from the donation of book chests) and *Anisong tam prathip bucha* (Rewards derived from flying lanterns).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
11	นน 0910029	Wat Na Pang (วัดนาปัง)	นน 0910029-00	1790	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
12	นน 0910059	Wat Na Pang (วัดนาปัง)	นน 0910059-00	1784	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
13	นน 0920005	Wat Na Pang (วัดนาปัง)	นน 0920005-01	1796	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
14	นน 0920007	Wat Na Pang (วัดนาปัง)	นน 0920007-04	1791	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
15	พร 0106001	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0106001-00	1836	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
16	พร 0106002	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0106002-00	1834	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
17	พร 0106003	Wat Sung Men	พร 0106003-00	1845	Multiple-text manuscript ¹¹

¹¹ This manuscript contains forty-five texts: *Anisong khao sangkhaphat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food), *Anisong khao salak phat* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival), *Anisong khao pradap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival), *Anisong prathip* (Rewards derived

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
		(วัดสูงเม่น)			
18	พร 0106004	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0106004-01	-	<i>Anisong phao phi</i> (อานิสงส์เผาผี) Rewards derived from the participation in funerals
			พร 0106004-02	-	<i>Anisong nu phiiak</i> (อานิสงส์หนูเผือก) Rewards derived from precept observance

from flying lantern balloons or floating banana-leaf vessels), *Anisong sia ya wat* (Rewards derived from planting grass), *Anisong pluk mai maha pho* (Rewards derived from planting *Bodhi* trees), *Anisong sang tai kamphaeng wat* (Rewards derived from the construction of monastic walls), *Anisong sang pha phidan* (Rewards derived from the donation of ceiling cloth), *Anisong sia ya* (Rewards derived from planting grass), *Anisong fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma), *Anisong sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance), *Anisong that* (Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas), *Anisong khao binthabat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food), *Anisong kathin* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Kathin* festival), *Anisong khao sangkhaphat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food), *Anisong khao pradap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival), *Anisong khao salak* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival), *Anisong khao ci* (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice), *Anisong khao phan kòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls), *Anisong aram* (Rewards derived from the construction of monasteries), *Anisong yot ya* (Rewards derived from planting grass), *Anisong sat pu kudi* (Rewards derived from the donation of mats for monk abodes), *Anisong wit* (Rewards derived from the construction of toilets), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong rao thian* (Rewards derived from the donation of sconces), *Panha phraya pasen* (Questions posted by King Pasenthikoson), *Anisong hü than yam müa song khao pariwatsakam* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food or the construction of pavilions for the Buddhist Infringement Penalty), *Anisong hü fai pen than* (Rewards derived from the donation of light), *Anisong sang hit thammathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of book chests), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong kathin* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Kathin* festival), *Anisong attha bòrikhan* (Rewards derived from the donation of eight commodities for monks), *Anisong pha bangsukun* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong sang sala* (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions), *Anisong khut sim* (Rewards derived from the construction of ordination halls), *Sakkasamyuttasutta* (non-*anisong sutta*), *Setukāradevaputtasavathu* (non-*anisong sutta*), *Anisong sang phuttharup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images), *Anisong sang tham pidok* (Rewards derived from copying religious books), *Anisong thung* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags), *Anisong sang cedi sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas), *Anisong nam* (Rewards derived from the construction of wells), *Anisong dòk mai* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers) and *Anisong bòk fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of fireworks).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			พร 0106004-03	1880	<i>Anisong sin</i> (อานิสงส์ศีล) Rewards derived from precept observance
			พร 0106004-04	1813	<i>Anisong sang phuttharup</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างพุทธรูป) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images
			พร 0106004-05	1900	Multiple-text manuscript ¹²
			พร 0106004-06	-	<i>Anisong sut</i> (อานิสงส์สูตร) Rewards derived from copying religious books
			พร 0106004-07	-	<i>Anisong phra buat mai</i> (อานิสงส์พระบวชใหม่) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies for newly ordained monks
			พร 0106004-08	-	<i>Anisong pha kathin</i> (อานิสงส์ผ้ากฐิน) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
			พร 0106004-09	-	<i>Anisong sappathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
			พร 0106004-10	-	<i>Anisong racha phisek</i>

¹² The manuscript contains two texts: *Anisong phothisat cao hii pha pen than* (Rewards of Bodhisatta who donated a monk robe) and *Anisong binthabat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					(อานิสงส์ราชาภิเษก) Rewards derived from the donation of commodities for monks
19	พร 0107017	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0107017-00	1817	<i>Anisong maha wetsantara</i> (อานิสงส์มหาเวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
20	พร 0107022	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0107022-00	1759	<i>Anisong maha wetsantara</i> (อานิสงส์มหาเวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
21	พร 0107040	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0107040-00	1836	<i>Anisong maha wetsantara</i> (อานิสงส์มหาเวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
22	พร 0107064	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0107064-02	1911	<i>Anisong wetsantara</i> (อานิสงส์เวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
23	พร 0107078	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0107078-00	1856	<i>Anisong maha wetsantara</i> (อานิสงส์มหาเวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
24	พร 0107090	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0107090-00	1880	<i>Anisong maha wetsantara</i> (อานิสงส์มหาเวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
25	พร 0107159	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0107159-00	1881	<i>Anisong maha wetsantara</i> (อานิสงส์มหาเวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
26	พร 0110001	Wat Sung Men	พร 0110001-00	1912	<i>Anisong pitaka</i>

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
		(วัดสูงเม่น)			(อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
27	พร 0110007	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110007-00	1909	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
28	พร 0110009	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110009-00	1858	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
29	พร 0110010	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110010-00	1911	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
30	พร 0110012	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110012-00	1910	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
31	พร 0110015	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110015-00	-	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
32	พร 0110016	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110016-00	1864	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
33	พร 0110017	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110017-00	1850	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
34	พร 0110018	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110018-00	1914	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ)

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
35	พร 0110019	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110019-00	1909	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
36	พร 0110020	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110020-00	1850	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
37	พร 0110022	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110022-00	1875-6	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
38	พร 0110023	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110023-00	1834	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
39	พร 0110028	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110028-00	1834	<i>Anisong pitaka thang sam</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
40	พร 0110031	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110031-00	1850	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
41	พร 0110032	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110032-00	-	<i>Anisong pitaka thang sam</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
42	พร 0110033	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110033-00	1838	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
43	พร 0110038	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110038-01	1881	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
44	พร 0110064	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110064-00	1761	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
45	พร 0110073	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110073-02	1834	<i>Anisong pitaka thang sam</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
46	พร 0110076	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110076-00	1836	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
47	พร 0110094	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110094-02	1864	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
48	พร 0110096	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110096-00	1870	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
49	พร 0110121	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110121-00	1891	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
50	พร 0110128	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0110128-02	1876	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
51	พร 0113009	Wat Sung Men	พร 0113009-02	1830	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i>

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
		(วัดสูงเม่น)			(อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
52	พร 0120013	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120013-02	1873	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
53	พร 0120036	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120036-01	1842	Multiple-text manuscript ¹³
54	พร 0120037	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120037-04	1875	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
			พร 0120037-07		<i>Anisong prathip</i> (อานิสงส์ประทีป) Rewards derived from flying lanterns
55	พร 0120038	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120038-03	1864	<i>Anisong pha watsa</i> (อานิสงส์ผ้าวัสสา) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season
			พร 0120038-05		<i>Anisong sang tham</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างธรรม) Rewards derived from copying religious books

¹³ The manuscript contains five texts: *Anisong tam prathip* (Rewards derived from flying lanterns), *Anisong ròm* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) and *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
56	พร 0120047	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120047-02	1841	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
57	พร 0120051	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120051-03	1840	<i>Anisong phuttakhun</i> (อานิสงส์พุทธคุณ) Rewards derived from the consideration of the Triple Gems
58	พร 0120061	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120061-03	1847	<i>Anisong sang hit tham</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างหิตธรรม) Rewards derived from the donation of book chests
59	พร 0120069	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120069-04	-	<i>Anisong raksa sin</i> (อานิสงส์รักษาศีล) Rewards derived from precept observance
60	พร 0120085	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120085-02	1849	<i>Wohan anisong sangròm that</i> (โวหารอานิสงส์สังสรอมธาตุ) Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas
61	พร 0120102	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120102-06	1873	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
62	พร 0120109	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120109-01	1910	<i>Anisong raksa sin</i> (อานิสงส์รักษาศีล) Rewards derived from precept observance
63	พร 0120111	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120111-02	1834	<i>Salòng sang nangsü lae salòng pha ap nam fon</i> (สลองสร้างหนังสือและสลองผ้าอาบน้าฝน) Rewards derived from the donation of religious books and monk robes in the rainy season

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
64	พร 0120125	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120125-05	-	<i>Anisong sappathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
65	พร 0120129	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120129-02	1916	<i>Anisong kò cedi sai</i> (อานิสงส์ก่อเจดีย์ทราย) Rewards derived from building sand stupas
66	พร 0120131	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120131-01	1834	<i>Anisong thammacak kappawatanasut</i> (อานิสงส์ธรรมจักกัปปวัตนสูตร) Rewards derived from <i>Thammacak Kappawatana Sut</i> recitation
67	พร 0120137	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120137-02	1880	<i>Anisong nu phiiak</i> (อานิสงส์หนูเฟือก) Rewards derived from precept observance
68	พร 0120148	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120148-05	1842	<i>Anisong pha thòt lae bangsukun</i> (อานิสงส์ผ้าทอดและบังสกุล) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
69	พร 0120170	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120170-02	1837	<i>Anisong pidok</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎก) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
			พร 0120170-03		<i>Anisong buat</i> (อานิสงส์บวช) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies
			พร 0120170-04		<i>Anisong nam bò sala khua</i> (อานิสงส์น้ำบ่อศาลาข้าว)

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from the construction of wells, pavilions and bridges
70	พร 0120174	Wat Sung Men (วัดสูงเม่น)	พร 0120174-03	1836	<i>Anisong paet mün si phan khan</i> (อานิสงส์แปดหมื่นสี่พันซันท์) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
71	พร 0220001	Wat Phra Luang (วัดพระหลวง)	พร 0220001-02	1710	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
72	พร 0406012	Wat Phra Bat Ming Müang (วัดพระบาทมิ่งเมือง)	พร 0406012-01	1911 1838 1845	<i>Anisong sarira</i> (อานิสงส์สรีระ) Rewards derived from the participation in funerals
			พร 0406012-02		Multiple-text manuscript ¹⁴
			พร 0406012-03		<i>Anisong phao phi bò hai</i> (อานิสงส์เผาผีปู้ไห้) Rewards derived from the participation in funerals
			พร 0406012-04		<i>Anisong nang pathumma hui khao binthabat pen than</i> (อานิสงส์นางปทุมมาหื้อข้าวบิณฑบาตเป็นทาน) Rewards of Nang Pathumma who dedicated alms-food
			พร 0406012-05		<i>Anisong khut sim</i> (อานิสงส์ขุดสิม) Rewards derived from the construction of monasteries
73	พร 0406013	Wat Phra Bat Ming Müang	พร 0406013-00	1876	<i>Anisong than thung</i>

¹⁴ The manuscript contains three texts: *Anisong hai than dòk mai* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers), *Anisong co tam prathip nam man* (Rewards derived from the donation of light) and *Anisong than kòng fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of fire).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
		(วัดพระบาทมิ่งเมือง)			(อานิสงส์ทานทุง) Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags
74	พร 0507051	Wat Müang Mò (วัดเหมืองหม้อ)	พร 0507051-00	1905	<i>Anisong wetsantara chabap luang kham</i> (อานิสงส์เวสสันตรชนบัลวงคำ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka, Luang Kham version
75	พร 0520055	Wat Müang Mò (วัดเหมืองหม้อ)	พร 0520055-01	1884	<i>Anisong hit</i> (อานิสงส์หีด) Rewards derived from the donation of book chests
76	มส 0306001	Wat Kittiwong (วัดกิตติวงศ์)	มส 0306001-01	1667	<i>Anisong wetsandòn</i> (อานิสงส์เวสสันตร) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
			มส 0306001-02	1704	<i>Anisong than khao sao met</i> (อานิสงส์ทานข้าวชาวมืด) Rewards derived from the donation of twenty rice grains
			มส 0306001-03	1717	<i>Anisong kathin</i> (อานิสงส์กฐิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Kathin</i> festival
			มส 0306001-04	1777	<i>Anisong raksa sin</i> (อานิสงส์รักษาศีล) Rewards derived from precept observance
77	มส 0306002	Wat Kittiwong (วัดกิตติวงศ์)	มส 0306002-00	-	<i>Anisong buat</i> (อานิสงส์บวช) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
78	มส 0306007	Wat Kittiwong (วัดกิตติวงศ์)	มส 0306007-00	1697	<i>Anisong salak</i> (อานิสงส์สลาท) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao salak</i> festival
79	ลป 0206007	Wat Phra That Lampang Luang (วัดพระธาตุลำปางหลวง)	ลป 0206007-00	1785	<i>Anisong salak</i> (อานิสงส์สลาท) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao salak</i> festival
80	ลป 0206008	Wat Phra That Lampang Luang (วัดพระธาตุลำปางหลวง)	ลป 0206008-01	1923	<i>Anisong phothisat pai chuai sahai than</i> (อานิสงส์โพธิสัตว์ไปช่วยสหายนาน) Rewards of Bodhisatta who jointly dedicated alms-offerings to monks with his friends
81	ลป 0220041	Wat Phra That Lampang Luang (วัดพระธาตุลำปางหลวง)	ลป 0220041-04	1800	<i>Anisong sang phra phuttharup</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างพระพุทธรูป) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images
82	ลป 0306004	Wat Hang Chat (วัดห้างฉัตร)	ลป 0306004-05	1666	<i>Anisong buat</i> (อานิสงส์บวช) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies
83	ลป 0407028	Wat Ban Üam (วัดบ้านเอื้อม)	ลป 0407028-00	1848	<i>Anisong maha wetsantra</i> (อานิสงส์มหาเวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
84	ลป 0407058	Wat Ban Üam (วัดบ้านเอื้อม)	ลป 0407058-00	1830	<i>Anisong maha wetsantra</i> (อานิสงส์มหาเวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
85	ลป 0420097	Wat Ban Üam	ลป 0420097-02	1945	<i>Sami tham ngan sop uthit hai kae phanraya thi dap khan</i>

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
		(วัดบ้านเอื้อม)			<i>pai</i> (สามีทำงานศพอุทิศให้แก่ภรรยาที่ดับขันธไป) Rewards of a husband who held a funeral in dedication to his dead wife
86	ลป 0507044	Wat Nakhot Luang (วัดนาคคทหลวง)	ลป 0507044-00	1946	<i>Anisong maha wetsantra</i> (อานิสงสัมมหาเวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
87	ลป 0601008	Wat Ban Luk (วัดบ้านหลุก)	ลป 0601008-00	1750	<i>Niyai ruam anisong</i> (นียายรวมอานิสงส์) A collection of <i>anisong</i> texts
88	ลป 0606005	Wat Ban Luk (วัดบ้านหลุก)	ลป 0606005-01	1751	<i>Anisong buat</i> (อานิสงส์บวช) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies
			ลป 0606005-02	1750	<i>Anisong sang tham</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างธรรม) Rewards derived from copying religious books
			ลป 0606005-03	1775	<i>Anisong salak</i> (อานิสงส์สลาก) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao salak</i> festival
89	ลป 0610001	Wat Ban Luk (วัดบ้านหลุก)	ลป 0610001-00	1771	<i>Pitaka thang sam</i> (ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
90	ลป 0610018	Wat Ban Luk (วัดบ้านหลุก)	ลป 0610018-00	1790	<i>Pitaka thang sam</i> (ปิฎกะทั้งสาม)

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
91	ลป 0610035	Wat Ban Luk (วัดบ้านหลุก)	ลป 0610035-00	1792	<i>Pitaka thang sam</i> (ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
92	ลป 0610043	Wat Ban Luk (วัดบ้านหลุก)	ลป 0610043-00	1780	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
93	ลป 0610044	Wat Ban Luk (วัดบ้านหลุก)	ลป 0610044-00	1780	<i>Pitaka thang sam</i> (ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
94	ลป 0610050	Wat Ban Luk (วัดบ้านหลุก)	ลป 0610050-00	1791	<i>Pitaka thang sam</i> (ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
95	ลป 0620002	Wat Ban Luk (วัดบ้านหลุก)	ลป 0620002-01	-	<i>Pitaka thang sam</i> (ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
			ลป 0620002-02		Multiple-text manuscript ¹⁵
96	ลป 0620018	Wat Ban Luk (วัดบ้านหลุก)	ลป 0620018-01	1783	<i>Pitaka thang sam</i> (ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
97	ลป 0620035	Wat Ban Luk (วัดบ้านหลุก)	ลป 0620035-01	1784 -	<i>Pitaka thang sam</i> (ปิฎกะทั้งสาม)

¹⁵ The manuscript contains three texts: *Anisong khao ci khao lam* (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice and *khao lam* rice), *Hü pha pen than* ([Rewards derived from] the donation of monk robes) and *Than lua* ([Rewards derived from] the donation of firewoods).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			ลป 0620035-02		Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon <i>Anisong khao salak</i> (อานิสงส์เข้าสลาก) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao salak</i> festival
98	ลป 0620051	Wat Ban Luk (วัดบ้านหลุก)	ลป 0620051-01	1782	<i>Anisong maha wetsandòn</i> (อานิสงส์มหาเวสสันดร) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
99	ลป 0626008	Wat Ban Luk (วัดบ้านหลุก)	ลป 0626008-01	1923	<i>Anisong phothisat chuai sahai than</i> (อานิสงส์โพธิสัตว์ช่วยสหยทาน) Rewards of Bodhisatta who jointly dedicated alms-offerings to monks with his friends
100	Unclear code	Wat Ban Luk (วัดบ้านหลุก)	Unclear code	1872	<i>Anisong maha wetsandòn</i> (อานิสงส์มหาเวสสันดร) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
101	พย 0106001	Wat Si Khom Kham (วัดศรีโคมคำ)	พย 0106001-00	1879	<i>Anisong liang phò liang mae</i> (อานิสงส์เลี้ยงพ่อเลี้ยงแม่) Rewards derived from taking care of one's own parents
102	พย 0120004	Wat Si Khom Kham (วัดศรีโคมคำ)	พย 0120004-04	-	<i>Anisong kathin</i> (อานิสงส์กฐิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Kathin</i> festival
			พย 0120004-05		<i>Anisong pha thòt</i> (อานิสงส์ผ้าทอด) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			พย 0120004-06		<i>Anisong sang wit</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างวิจ) Rewards derived from the construction of toilets
103	พย 0206002	Wat Tun Klang (วัดตุนกลาง)	พย 0206002-00	1758	<i>Anisong ruam</i> (อานิสงส์รวม) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
104	พย 0706003	Wat Si Suphan (วัดศรีสุพรรณ)	พย 0706003-01	-	<i>Anisong than pha ap nam</i> (อานิสงส์ทานผ้าอาบน้ำ) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season
			พย 0706003-02	1950	<i>Anisong khao binthabat</i> (อานิสงส์ข้าวบิณฑบาต) Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food
			พย 0706003-03	1950	<i>Anisong prathit</i> (อานิสงส์ประทีด) Rewards derived from flying lanterns
			พย 0706003-04	1882	<i>Anisong bòk fai</i> (อานิสงส์บอกไฟ) Rewards derived from the donation of fireworks
			พย 0706003-05	-	<i>Anisong kathin</i> (อานิสงส์กฐิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Kathin</i> festival
			พย 0706003-06	1950	<i>Anisong sang hong sang thung</i>

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					(อานิสงส์สร้างหงส์สร้างทุง) Rewards derived from the donation of religious flag poles
			พย 0706003-08	1950	<i>Anisong salak</i> (อานิสงส์สลาก) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao salak</i> festival
			พย 0706003-09	1950	<i>Anisong sang sala</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างศาลา) Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions
			พย 0706003-10	1950	<i>Anisong sang phra cao</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างพระเจ้า) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images
			พย 0706003-11	1950	<i>Anisong sang bòrikhan</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างบริขาร) Rewards derived from the donation of eight commodities for monks
105	ชร 0406003	Wat Phothanaram (วัดโพธาราม)	ชร 0406003-02	1972	<i>Anisong pi mai</i> (อานิสงส์ปีใหม่) Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year ceremonies
106	ชร 0607034	Wat Phothanaram (วัดโพธาราม)	ชร 0607034-00	1926	<i>Anisong maha wetsandòn</i> (อานิสงส์มหาเวสสันดร) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka

1.1.2 Mulberry paper manuscripts

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
1	นน 0620021	Wat Pa Müat (วัดป่าเหมือด)	นน 0620021-00	-	<i>Anisong song sakan</i> (อานิสงส์ส่งสการ) Rewards derived from the participation in funerals

1.2 Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM) (all palm-leaf manuscripts)

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
1	ชม 0220028	Wat Cedi Luang Wòrawihan (วัดเจดีย์หลวงวรวิหาร)	ชม 0220028-05	-	<i>Anisong wit</i> (อานิสงส์วิต) Rewards derived from the construction of toilets
			ชม 0220028-99	1792	<i>Anisong an dai ao nam ao sai ma sai khuang cedi mai si lae wat wa aram</i> (อานิสงส์อันได้อาน้ำเอาทรายมาใส่ขวางเจดีย์ ไม้ศรี และวัดวาอาราม) Rewards derived from bringing water and sand to pagodas, Bodhi trees and monasteries
2	ชม 0606001	Wat Pasak Nòi (วัดป่าสักน้อย)	ชม 0606001-01	1949	<i>Anisong buat</i> (อานิสงส์บวช) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies
			ชม 0606001-04	1878	<i>Anisong song sakan phi tai</i> (อานิสงส์ส่งสการผีตาย) Rewards derived from the participation in funerals
			ชม 0606001-05	1945	<i>Anisong pha</i>

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					(อานิสงส์ผ้า) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
			ชม 0606001-06	-	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
			ชม 0606001-09	1954	<i>Anisong dòk mai</i> (อานิสงส์ดอกไม้) Rewards derived from the donation of flowers
			ชม 0606001-10	1769	<i>Anisong pi mai</i> (อานิสงส์ปีใหม่) Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year ceremonies
3	ชม 0606003	Wat Pasak Nòi (วัดป่าสักน้อย)	ชม 0606003-01	1959	<i>Anisong dòk mai</i> (อานิสงส์ดอกไม้) Rewards derived from the donation of flowers
			ชม 0606003-04	1935	<i>Anisong song sakan phi tai</i> (อานิสงส์ส่งสการผีตาย) Rewards derived from the participation in funerals
			ชม 0606003-07	1914	<i>Anisong song pha thòt bangsukun</i> (อานิสงส์ส่งผ้าทอดบังสกุล) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
4	ชม 0620053	Wat Pasak Nòi (วัดป่าสักน้อย)	ชม 0620053-04	1948	<i>Anisong than phuttharup</i> (อานิสงส์ทานพุทธรูป) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
5	ชม 0706001	Wat Phra Sing (วัดพระสิงห์)	ชม 0706001-01	-	Multiple-text manuscript ¹⁶
			ชม 0706001-02	-	<i>Anisong prathip</i> (อานิสงส์ประทิป) Rewards derived from flying lanterns
			ชม 0706001-03	-	<i>Anisong pha bangsukun</i> (อานิสงส์ผ้าบังสุกุล) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
			ชม 0706001-04	1926	<i>Anisong sang tham</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างธรรม) Rewards derived from copying religious books
			ชม 0706001-05	1829	<i>Anisong khian tham</i> (อานิสงส์เขียนธรรม) Rewards derived from copying religious books
			ชม 0706001-06	-	Composite manuscript ¹⁷
			ชม 0706001-07	-	<i>Anisong sang tham</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างธรรม) Rewards derived from copying religious books
			ชม 0706001-08	-	<i>Than khao sang</i> (ทานข้าวสังข์) Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food

¹⁶ The manuscript contains five texts: *Sòng khao tom* (Rewards derived from the donation of congee), *Sòng khao sang phraphat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food), *Sòng khao tit kon mò* (Rewards derived from the donation of cooked rice), *Sòng khao pacha* (Rewards derived from the donation of rice to the dead) and *Sòng pha nam fon* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season).

¹⁷ The manuscript contains two fascicles: *Anisong khian tham* (Rewards derived from copying religious books) and *Anisong than* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
6	ชม 0706999	Wat Phra Sing (วัดพระสิงห์)	ชม 0706999-00	-	<i>Anisong sappathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
7	พร 0220001	Wat Phra Luang (วัดพระหลวง)	พร 0220001-02	1820	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
8	มส 0710029	Wat Luang (วัดหลวง)	มส 0710029-00	1827	<i>Anisong pitaka thang sam</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
9	มส 0710075	Wat Luang (วัดหลวง)	มส 0710075-00	1828	<i>Anisong pitaka thang sam</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
10	มส 0720006	Wat Luang (วัดหลวง)	มส 0720006-01	1837	<i>Anisong khao salak</i> (อานิสงส์เข้าสลาก) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao salak</i> festival
11	พย 0306003	Wat Tun Tai (วัดตุนใต้)	พย 0306003-03	1927	<i>Anisong khao watsa</i> (อานิสงส์เข้าวัสสา) Rewards derived from merit-making on the Buddhist Lent
			พย 0306003-04	-	<i>Anisong nang hui pha ap nam pen than</i> (อานิสงส์นางหื้อผ้าอาบน้ำเป็นทาน) Rewards of a woman who dedicated a monk robe for bathing
			พย 0306003-05	-	<i>Anisong phuttharup cao</i> (อานิสงส์พุทธรูปเจ้า) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			พย 0306003-07	-	<i>Anisong pha thòt bangsukun</i> (อานิสงส์ผ้าทอดบังสุกุล) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
			พย 0306003-09	-	<i>Anisong prathit</i> (อานิสงส์ประทัด) Rewards derived from flying lanterns
12	พย 0510098	Wat Li (วัดลี)	พย 0510098-00	1949	<i>Pitaka thang sam</i> (ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
13	พย 1306010	Wat Mae Na Rúa (วัดแม่ณาเรือ)	พย 1306010-00	1882	<i>Anisong bòk fai</i> (อานิสงส์บอกไฟ) Rewards derived from the donation of fireworks
14	ลพ 0106001	Wat Phra That Hariphunchai (วัดพระธาตุหริภุญไชย)	ลพ 0106001-06	-	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
15	ลพ 1010035	Wat Ban Pang (วัดบ้านปาง)	ลพ 1010035-06	1919	<i>Pitaka thang sam</i> (ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
16	ชร 0406002	Wat Phothanaram (วัดโพธาราม)	ชร 0406002-01	1964	<i>Anisong buat</i> (อานิสงส์บวช) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies
			ชร 0406002-02	1938	<i>Anisong khao salak chabap phraya wòk</i> (อานิสงส์เข้าสลาก ฉบับพระยาวอก) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao salak</i> festival, Phraya Wòk version

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			ชร 0406002-03	1937	<i>Anisong pha bangsukun</i> (อานิสงส์ผ้าบังสุกุล) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
			ชร 0406002-04	1931	<i>Anisong mak kham</i> (อานิสงส์หมากคำ) Rewards derived from the donation of betels
			ชร 0406002-05	1976	<i>Anisong pi mai</i> (อานิสงส์ปีใหม่) Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year ceremonies
			ชร 0406002-06	-	<i>Anisong phra cao khao phansa</i> (อานิสงส์พระเจ้าเข้าพรรษา) Rewards derived from merit-making on the Buddhist Lent
			ชร 0406002-07	1942	<i>Anisong than ha khon tai</i> (อานิสงส์ทานหาคนตาย) Rewards derived from merit dedication to the dead
			ชร 0406002-08	-	<i>Anisong lua lae fai pen than</i> (อานิสงส์หัวและไฟเป็นทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of firewoods and light
			ชร 0406002-09	1937	<i>Anisong thòt pha bangsukun pen than</i> (อานิสงส์ทอดผ้าบังสุกุลเป็นทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
			ชร 0406002-11	1930	<i>Anisong sai</i> (อานิสงส์ทราย) Rewards derived from the donation of sand

1.3 Dokumentarische Erfassung literarischer Materialien in den Nordprovinzen Thailands (DELMN)

1.3.1 Palm-leaf manuscripts

No.	Bundle no.	Province	Repository	CE	Title
1	43	Lamphun	Wat San Rim Ping (วัดสันริมปิง)	-	<i>Anisong sang tham</i> (อาณิสงส์สร้างธรรม) Rewards derived from copying religious books
2	45	Lamphun	Wat San Rim Ping (วัดสันริมปิง)	1938	<i>Anisong rit tham</i> (อาณิสงส์หรีดธรรม) Rewards derived from the donation of book chests
3	48	Lamphun	Wat San Rim Ping (วัดสันริมปิง)	1910	<i>Anisong khian tham</i> (อาณิสงส์เขียนธรรม) Rewards derived from copying religious books
4	262	Lamphun	Wat Mahawan (วัดมหาวัน)	-	<i>Anisong sang phuttharup</i> (อาณิสงส์สร้างพุทธรูป) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images
5	263	Lamphun	Wat Pa Sao (วัดป่าเส้า)	1879	<i>Anisong bòk fai dòk</i> (อาณิสงส์บอกไฟดอก) Rewards derived from the donation of fireworks
6	297	Lamphun	Wat Pa Phlu (วัดป่าพลู)	1927	<i>Thanakatha</i> (ทานกถา) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
7	299	Lamphun	Wat Pa Phlu (วัดป่าพลู)	1848	<i>Anisong wetsantara</i> (อาณิสงส์เวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
8	321	Lamphun	Wat Huai Nam Dip	1933	<i>Anisong phao phi</i>

No.	Bundle no.	Province	Repository	CE	Title
			(วัดห้วยน้ำดิบ)		(อานิสงส์เผาผี) Rewards derived from the participation in funerals
9	383	Lamphun	Wat Si Sai Mün Bunrüang (วัดศรีทรายมูลบุญเรือง)	-	<i>Anisong nu phiiak</i> (อานิสงส์หนูเผือก) Rewards derived from precept observance
10	388	Lamphun	Wat Mahawan (วัดมหาวัน)	-	<i>Anisong sang hon thang pen than</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างหนทางเป็นทาน) Rewards derived from the construction of public roads
11	398	Lamphun	Wat Pa Phlu (วัดป่าพลู)	1927	<i>Anisong khao watsa</i> (อานิสงส์เข้าวัสสา) Rewards derived from merit-making on the Buddhist Lent
12	401	Lamphun	Wat Pa Phlu (วัดป่าพลู)	1932	<i>Anisong cedi sai</i> (อานิสงส์เจดีย์ทราย) Rewards derived from building sand stupas
13	413	Chiang Rai	Wat Dong Mada (วัดดงมะตะ)	1932	<i>Anisong fai lae lua</i> (อานิสงส์ไฟและหลัว) Rewards derived from the donation of light and firewoods
14	414	Chiang Rai	Wat Dong Mada (วัดดงมะตะ)	-	<i>Anisong wetsantara</i> (อานิสงส์เวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
15	436	Lamphun	Wat Ban Pang (วัดบ้านปาง)	1926	<i>Anisong bangsukun</i> (อานิสงส์บังสุกุล) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
16	452	Chiang Rai	Wat Si Khom Kham (วัดศรีโคมคำ)	1934	<i>Anisong liang du phò lae mae</i> (อานิสงส์เลี้ยงดูพ่อและแม่)

No.	Bundle no.	Province	Repository	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from taking care of one's own parents
17	472	Chiang Rai	Wat Si Khom Kham (วัดศรีโคมคำ)	-	<i>Anisong khao salakphat</i> (อานิสงส์ข้าวสลาภักดิ์) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao salak</i> festival
18	479	Chiang Rai	Wat Si Khom Kham (วัดศรีโคมคำ)	1936	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
19	489	Chiang Rai	Wat Si Khom Kham (วัดศรีโคมคำ)	1926	<i>Anisong thòt kathin</i> (อานิสงส์ทอดกฐิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Kathin</i> festival
20	502	Chiang Rai	Wat Dong Mada (วัดดงมะดะ)	1961	<i>Anisong pi mai</i> (อานิสงส์ปีใหม่) Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year ceremonies
21	512	Chiang Mai	Wat Thao Bun Rüang (วัดท่าบุญเรือง)	-	<i>Anisong sang tham</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างธรรม) Rewards derived from copying religious books
22	530	unknown	unknown	-	<i>Anisong khao ci</i> (อานิสงส์ข้าวจี) Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice
23	650	Chiang Rai	Wat Si Khom Kham (วัดศรีโคมคำ)	1936	<i>Anisong sang khua lae sala lae nam bò pen than</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างซุ้มและศาลาและน้ำบ่อเป็นทาน) Rewards derived from the construction of public bridges, pavilions and wells
24	652	unknown	Unknown	1879	<i>Anisong liang du phò lae mae</i> (อานิสงส์เลี้ยงดูพ่อและแม่)

No.	Bundle no.	Province	Repository	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from taking care of one's own parents
25	662	Chiang Rai	Wat Si Khom Kham (วัดศรีโคมคำ)	1879	<i>Anisong mahachat</i> (อานิสงส์มหาชาติ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
26	663	Phayao	Wat Si Khom Kham (วัดศรีโคมคำ)	1933	<i>Anisong Prathit</i> (อานิสงส์ประทีด) Rewards derived from flying lanterns
27	664	Chiang Rai	Wat Si Khom Kham (วัดศรีโคมคำ)	1944	<i>Anisong pha thòt</i> (อานิสงส์ผ้าทอด) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
28	730	unknown	unknown	1872	<i>Anisong nang suchada than khao mathupayat</i> (อานิสงส์นางสุชาดาทานข้าวมธุปายาส) Rewards of Nang Suchada who offered <i>Mathupayat</i> rice to Lord Buddha
29	763	Mae Hông Sòn	Wat Kittiwong (วัดกิตติวงศ์)	1667	<i>Niyai Kathinathan</i> (นียายกฐินทาน) Story of rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Kathin</i> festival
30	770	Mae Hông Sòn	Wat Kittiwong (วัดกิตติวงศ์)	1722	<i>Anisong buat</i> (อานิสงส์บวช) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies
31	775	Nan	Wat Bun Yün (วัดบุญยืน)	1921	<i>Anisong ao ruang phüing ma bucha than</i> (อานิสงส์เอารวงผึ้งมาบูชาทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of honeycombs
32	786	Nan	Wat Ton Laeng	-	<i>Anisong pluk mai si mahapho</i>

No.	Bundle no.	Province	Repository	CE	Title
			(วัดต้นแหลง)		(อานิสงส์ปลูกไม้ศรีมหาโพธิ์) Rewards derived from planting <i>Bodhi</i> trees
33	791	Nan	Wat Bun Yün (วัดบุญยืน)	-	<i>Anisong canthakhan</i> (อานิสงส์จันทาฆาร) Rewards derived from the construction of toilets
34	792	Nan	Wat Bun Yün (วัดบุญยืน)	-	<i>Anisong dai rian tham</i> (อานิสงส์ได้เรียนธรรม) Rewards derived from learning the Dhamma
35	793	Nan	Wat Bun Yün (วัดบุญยืน)	-	<i>Anisong sang hò tham pen than</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างหอธรรมเป็นทาน) Rewards derived from the construction of monastic libraries
36	795	Nan	Wat Bun Yün (วัดบุญยืน)	-	<i>Anisong ao ruang khao ma paeng sat than</i> (อานิสงส์เอารวงข้าวมาแบ่งสัตว์ทาน) Rewards derived from paying homage to pagodas with rice
37	796	Nan	Wat Phaya Phu (วัดพญาภู)	1916	<i>Anisong kathin</i> (อานิสงส์กฐิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Kathin</i> festival
38	797	Nan	Wat Aranyawat (วัดอรัญญาวาส)	-	<i>Anisong thammatt</i> (อานิสงส์ธรรมาสน์) Rewards derived from the donation of pulpits
39	811	Phrae	Wat Phra Bat Ming Müang (วัดพระบาทมิ่งเมือง)	1907	<i>Anisong thung sao hong</i> (อานิสงส์ทุ่งเสาหงส์) Rewards derived from the donation of religious flag poles topped with a figure of swan

No.	Bundle no.	Province	Repository	CE	Title
40	813	Phrae	Wat Phra Bat Ming Müang (วัดพระบาทมิ่งเมือง)	1895	Multiple-text manuscript ¹⁸
41	816	Chiang Rai	Wat Kasa (วัดกาสา)	1936	<i>Anisong than pha</i> (อานิสงส์ทานผ้า) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
42	823	Mae Hông Sòn	Wat Kittiwong (วัดกิตติวงศ์)	1781	<i>Panya barami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
43	826	Mae Hông Sòn	Wat Kittiwong (วัดกิตติวงศ์)	1700	<i>Anisong buat</i> (อานิสงส์บวช) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies
44	905	Chiang Rai	Wat Klang (วัดกลาง)	-	<i>Anisong kông yak yia</i> (อานิสงส์กองหยากเยื่อ) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
45	985	Nan	Wat Pa Müat (วัดป่าเหมือด)	-	<i>Anisong sin ha sin paet</i> (อานิสงส์ศีลห้าศีลแปด) Rewards derived from the observance of the Five Precepts and the Eight Precepts
46	991	Nan	Wat Muang Tüt (วัดม่วงตีด)	1925	<i>Anisong khon nam khon sai</i> (อานิสงส์ขนน้ำขนทราย)

¹⁸ The manuscript contains seven texts: *Anisong khao pradap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival), *Anisong salak phat* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival), *Anisong khao pradap din kaeo thang sam* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival [and respecting] the Triple Gems), *Anisong chai thuk rai bucha prathip cedi* (Rewards derived by a poor man who paid homage to a pagoda), *Anisong sia ya wat* (Rewards derived from planting grass), *Anisong than khao ci* (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice) and *Anisong than khao phan kòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls).

No.	Bundle no.	Province	Repository	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from the donation of sand
47	1007	Nan	Wat Phaya Phu (วัดพญาภู)	1938	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
48	1008	Nan	Wat Phumin (วัดภูมินทร์)	1924	<i>Anisong sang wetkudi</i> (อานิสงส์เวจกุดี) Rewards derived from the construction of toilets
49	1010	Nan	Wat Phumin (วัดภูมินทร์)	1924	<i>Anisong thawai asana</i> (อานิสงส์ถวายอาสนา) Rewards derived from the donation of pulpits
50	1013	Nan	Wat Phumin (วัดภูมินทร์)	-	<i>Anisong sao thong pha thong</i> (อานิสงส์เสาธงฟ้าธง) Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags
51	1014	Nan	Wat Phumin (วัดภูมินทร์)	-	<i>Anisong awasathan</i> (อานิสงส์อาวาสทาน) Rewards derived from the construction of abodes
52	1016	Nan	Wat Phumin (วัดภูมินทร์)	-	<i>Anisong cedi sai</i> (อานิสงส์เจดีย์ทราย) Rewards derived from building sand stupas
53	1017	Nan	Wat Aranyawat (วัดอรัญญาวาส)	-	<i>Anisong barami samsip that</i> (อานิสงส์บารมีสามสิบทัศน์) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections

No.	Bundle no.	Province	Repository	CE	Title
54	1021	unknown	unknown	1921	Multiple-text manuscript ¹⁹
55	1029	Nan	Wat Pa Müat (วัดป่าเหมือด)	-	<i>Anisong simma</i> (อานิสงส์สิมมา) Rewards derived from the construction of monasteries
56	1031	Nan	Wat Ton Laeng (วัดต้นแหลง)	-	<i>Anisong ap that</i> (อานิสงส์อาบธาตุ) Rewards derived from bathing pagodas
57	1043	Nan	Wat Suan Tan (วัดสวนตาล)	1913	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
58	1154	unknown	Unknown	-	<i>Anisong thawai pha cam watsa</i> (อานิสงส์ถวายเป็นผ้าจำวัสสา) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season
59	1161	unknown	Unknown	-	<i>Anisong khao sao met</i> (อานิสงส์ข้าวสามเม็ด) Rewards derived from the donation of twenty rice grains
60	1209	Lampang	Wat Lao Nòi (วัดเหล่าน้อย)	1925	<i>Anisong than pha kathin</i> (อานิสงส์ทานผ้ากฐิน) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
61	1210	Lampang	Wat Lao Nòi	1923	Multiple-text manuscript ²⁰

¹⁹ The manuscript contains two texts: *Anisong bucha turiya nontri songsep* (Rewards derived from the donation of musical instrument) and *Anisong thawai khao bucha phra cedi* (Rewards derived from paying homage to pagodas with rice).

²⁰ The manuscript contain two texts: *Anisong pha ap nam fon* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season) and *Anisong pha thòt* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes).

No.	Bundle no.	Province	Repository	CE	Title
			(วัดเหล่าน้อย)		
62	1211	Lampang	Wat Lao Nòi (วัดเหล่าน้อย)	1924	<i>Anisong pha bangsukun</i> (อานิสงส์ผ้าบังสุกุล) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
63	1212	Lampang	Wat Lao Nòi (วัดเหล่าน้อย)	1927	<i>Anisong khao pradap din</i> (อานิสงส์ข้าวประดับดิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival
64	1213	unknown	Unknown	-	<i>Anisong pha ap nam fon</i> (อานิสงส์ผ้าอาบน้าฝน) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season
65	1236	Lampang	Wat Lao Nòi (วัดเหล่าน้อย)	1915	<i>Anisong khao bat</i> (อานิสงส์ข้าวบาตร) Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food
66	1317	Chiang Mai	Wat Buak Khang (วัดบวักค่าง)	1920	<i>Anisong cedi that cao</i> (อานิสงส์เจดีย์ธาตุเจ้า) Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas

1.3.2 Industrial paper manuscripts

No.	Bundle no.	Province	Repository	CE	Title
1	126	Chiang Rai	Private access	1973–4	Multiple-text manuscript ²¹
2	171	Lamphun	Wat Si Sai MÜN Bunrüang (วัดศรีทรายมูลบุญเรือง)	1926	Nü phüak (หนูเผือก) Rewards derived from precept observance

1.4 Phayap University Archives (PUA)

1.4.1 Mulberry paper manuscripts

No.	Volume no.	Repository	CE	Title
1	12.4	Unknown	-	<i>Anisong that sai</i> (อานิสงส์ธาตุทราย) Rewards derived from building sand stupas
2	13.9	Unknown	2007	<i>Anisong sapphathan chadok</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทานชาดก) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
3	14.34	Unknown	-	<i>Anisong thong lek thong thong</i> (อานิสงส์ธงเหล็กธงทอง) Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron and golden flags

²¹ The manuscript contains six texts: *Anisong liang phò liang mae* (Rewards derived from taking care of one's own parents), *Chai sam bot ying sam phua* (Men who were ordained three times and women who got married three times), *Anisong sang khua lae sala nam bò pen than* (Rewards derived from the construction of public bridges, public pavilions and public wells), *Sampantha sut*, *Tai yon* and *Tamnan Chiang Mai* (The Chiang Mai chronicle).

4	14.39	Unknown	-	<i>Sua sat</i> (เสื่อสาด) Rewards derived from the donation of mats
5	15.1	Unknown	1997	<i>Anisong pi mai sakkat</i> (อานิสงส์ปีใหม่สักกาด) Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year ceremonies

1.4.2 Industrial paper manuscript

No.	Book no.	Repository	CE	Title
1	15.19	Unknown	-	<i>Anisong sang phuttharup</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างพุทธรูป) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images

1.5 Non-microfilmed manuscripts (all palm-leaf manuscripts)

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
1	นน 11-06-001-00	Wat Phra Koet (วัดพระเกิด)	นน 11-06-001-00	1892	<i>Anisong pitaka cariya</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะจரியาน) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
2	นน 11-06-002-00	Wat Phra Koet (วัดพระเกิด)	นน 11-06-002-00	1907	<i>Anisong pitaka thang sam</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
3	นน 11-06-005-00	Wat Phra Koet (วัดพระเกิด)	นน 11-06-005-00	-	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน)

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
4	นน 11-06-006-00	Wat Phra Koet (วัดพระเกิด)	นน 11-06-006-00	1934	<i>Anisong pha thòt</i> (อานิสงส์ฟ้าทอด) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
5	นน 11-07-049-00	Wat Phra Koet (วัดพระเกิด)	นน 11-07-049-00	1872	<i>Anisong wetsantra</i> (อานิสงส์เวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
6	นน 11-06-003	Wat Phra Koet (วัดพระเกิด)	นน 11-06-003-01	-	<i>Anisong chapanakit</i> (อานิสงส์ฌาปนกิจ) Rewards derived from the participation in funerals
			นน 11-06-003-02	-	<i>Anisong salak</i> (อานิสงส์สลาก) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao salak</i> festival
			นน 11-06-003-03	-	<i>Anisong song sakan</i> (อานิสงส์ส่งสการ) Rewards derived from the participation in funerals
			นน 11-06-003-04	-	<i>Anisong buat</i> (อานิสงส์บวช) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies
			นน 11-06-003-05	-	<i>Anisong than cedi khao plüak khao san</i> (อานิสงส์ทานเจดีย์ข้าวเปลือกข้าวสาร) Rewards derived from paying homage to pagodas with rice
7	นน 11-06-004	Wat Phra Koet (วัดพระเกิด)	นน 11-06-004-01	1831	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			นน 11-06-004-02	1935	<i>Anisong pi mai</i> (อานิสงส์ปีใหม่) Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year ceremonies
			นน 11-06-004-03	-	<i>Anisong thalithaka</i> (อานิสงส์ทลิตทกะ) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
			นน 11-06-004-05	-	<i>Anisong pha sima</i> (อานิสงส์ผ้าสีมา) Rewards derived from the donation of cloth for ordination halls
			นน 11-06-004-06	-	<i>Anisong pit thòng phra phuttharup</i> (อานิสงส์ปิดทองพระพุทธรูป) Rewards derived from coating Buddha images with golden enamel
			นน 11-06-004-07	1962	<i>Anisong sang phra phuttharup</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างพระพุทธรูป) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images
			นน 11-06-004-08	-	<i>Anisong pha thòt</i> (อานิสงส์ผ้าทอด) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
			นน 11-06-004-09	1868	<i>Anisong pitaka thang sam</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
			นน 11-06-004-10	-	<i>Anisong raksa sin</i> (อานิสงส์รักษาศีล) Rewards derived from precept observance
			นน 11-06-004-11	-	<i>Anisong than thung</i>

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					(อานิสงส์ทานทุ่ง) Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags
			นน 11-06-004-12	1995	<i>Anisong sang hit tham</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างหีตธรรม) Rewards derived from the donation of book chests
			นน 11-06-004-13	-	<i>Anisong sang hò tham</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างหอธรรม) Rewards derived from the construction of monastic libraries
			นน 11-06-004-14	-	<i>Anisong sang thammat</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างธรรมาสน์) Rewards derived from the donation of pulpits
8	นน 03-06-208-273	Wat Monthian (วัดมณเฑียร)	-	-	<i>Anisong simma</i> (อานิสงส์สิมมา) Rewards derived from the construction of monasteries
				-	<i>Anisong pha bangsukun</i> (อานิสงส์ผ้าบังสุกุล) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
				-	<i>Anisong wihan</i> (อานิสงส์วิหาร) Rewards derived from the construction of ordination halls
				-	<i>Anisong sang thammat</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างธรรมาสน์) Rewards derived from the donation of pulpits
				-	<i>Anisong sang tham</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างธรรม)

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from copying religious books
				-	<i>Anisong prathip sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์ประทีปสรรพทาน) Rewards derived from flying lanterns
				-	<i>Anisong prathip</i> (อานิสงส์ประทีป) Rewards derived from flying lanterns
				-	<i>Anisong buat</i> (อานิสงส์บวช) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies
				-	<i>Anisong sang wihan pen than</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างวิหารเป็นทาน) Rewards derived from the construction of ordination halls
				-	<i>Anisong buat</i> (อานิสงส์บวช) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies
				-	<i>Anisong bangsukun pha thòt</i> (อานิสงส์บังสุกุลผ้าทอด) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
				-	<i>Anisong prathip</i> (อานิสงส์ประทีป) Rewards derived from flying lanterns
				-	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
9	นน 03-06-320-428	Wat Monthian (วัดมณฑิเยร)	-	-	<i>Anisong liang phò liang mae</i> (อานิสงส์เลี้ยงพ่อเลี้ยงแม่) Rewards derived from taking care of one's own parents
				-	<i>Anisong khao phan kòn</i> (อานิสงส์ข้าวพันก้อน) Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls
				-	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
				-	<i>Anisong sia phi</i> (อานิสงส์เสียผี) Rewards derived from merit-making in dedication to the dead to apologize for misbehaving
				-	<i>Anisong buat mai</i> (อานิสงส์บวชใหม่) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies for newly ordained monks
				-	<i>Anisong sang tham</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างธรรม) Rewards derived from copying religious books
				1901	<i>Anisong kuat wat</i> (อานิสงส์กวาดวัด) Rewards derived from sweeping monastic ground
				-	<i>Anisong kathin than</i> (อานิสงส์กฐินทาน)

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Kathin</i> festival
				-	<i>Anisong pi mai</i> (อานิสงส์ปีใหม่) Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year ceremonies
				-	<i>Anisong pha bangsukun</i> (อานิสงส์ผ้าบังสุกุล) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
				-	<i>Anisong pidok</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎก) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
				-	<i>Anisong chapanakit</i> (อานิสงส์ฌาปนกิจ) Rewards derived from the participation in funerals
				-	<i>Anisong pi mai</i> (อานิสงส์ปีใหม่) Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year ceremonies
				-	<i>Anisong bòk fai</i> (อานิสงส์บอไฟ) Rewards derived from the donation of fireworks
10	นน 03-06-124-150	Wat Monthian (วัดมณฑิเยร)	-	-	<i>Anisong buat</i> (อานิสงส์บวช) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies
				-	<i>Anisong sut aphitham</i> (อานิสงส์สูตรอภิธรรม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon

2. Anisong manuscripts from Laos

2.1 The Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (DLLM)

2.1.1 Palm-leaf manuscripts

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
1	01012906001	The National Library of Laos	01012906001-04	1859	Composite manuscript ²²
			01012906001-05	-	Composite manuscript ²³
			01012906001-06	-	Composite manuscript ²⁴
			01012906001-07	2006	Composite manuscript ²⁵
			01012906001-08	-	Composite manuscript ²⁶
2	01012906002	The National Library of Laos	01012906002-04	1846 1904	Composite manuscript ²⁷
			01012906002-05	-	Composite manuscript ²⁸
			01012906002-09	1810	Multiple-text manuscript ²⁹

²² The manuscript contains two fascicles: *Hai khao sao met pen than* (Rewards derived from the donation of twenty rice grains) and *Sòng luk chai hai than* (Rewards of a son who donated gift-giving).

²³ The manuscript contains two fascicles with the same titles: *Salòng khao ci* (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice).

²⁴ The manuscript contains two fascicles with the same titles: *Salòng khao padap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival).

²⁵ The manuscript contains two fascicles with the same titles: *Salòng khao phan kòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls).

²⁶ The manuscript contains three fascicles with the same titles: *Salòng khao salak* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival).

²⁷ The manuscript contains five fascicles: *Sòng sop* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals), *Thesana chapanakit wiphak* (Liturgy at funerals), multiple-text fascicle containing *Sòng sop* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals), *Sòng pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying religious books) and *Sòng kammawaca* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies), *Sòng sop* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals) and multiple-text fascicle containing *Sòng sop phi tai* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals) and *Sòng pha ap nam fon* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season).

²⁸ The manuscript contains three fascicles: multiple-text fascicle containing *Sòng buat* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies), *Sòng sala* (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions) and *Sòng pha cao* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images), multiple-text fascicle containing *Sòng buat* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies) and *Sòng rom* (Rewards derived from the donation of umbrellas) and *Sòng buat* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			01012906002-12	-	Composite manuscript ³⁰
			01012906002-13	-	Composite manuscript ³¹
3	01012906003	The National Library of Laos	01012906003-02	1804 1809	Composite manuscript ³²
			01012906003-03	-	<i>Sòng tua phoeng</i> (สองตัวเพ็ง) Rewards derived from the donation of religious self-imitated flags (banners)
4	01012906004	The National Library of Laos	01012906004-02	-	<i>Sòng pha bang pha cao</i> (สองผ้าบังพระเจ้า) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha image robes
			01012906004-05	-	Composite manuscript ³³
			01012906004-07	-	<i>Salòng cedi sai</i> (สล่องเจดีย์ทราย) Rewards derived from building sand stupas
			01012906004-08	1909	Multiple-text manuscript ³⁴

²⁹ The manuscript contains two texts with the same titles: *Sòng khamphi* (Rewards derived from copying religious books).

³⁰ The manuscript contains four fascicles with the same titles *Salòng sai bat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food).

³¹ The manuscript contains five fascicles with the same textual themes *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

³² The manuscript contains five fascicles with the same titles *Salòng dòk mai* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers).

³³ The manuscript contains four fascicles: *Salòng pha cedi sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas), *Salòng phasat phoeng* (Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles), *Salòng phasat phoeng* (Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles) and *Salòng phasat phoeng* (Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles).

³⁴ The manuscript contains two texts with the same titles *Salòng fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			01012906004-09	-	Composite manuscript ³⁵
5	01012906005	The National Library of Laos	01012906005-01	1901	Composite manuscript ³⁶
			01012606005-02	1952	<i>Salòng sang nangsi</i> (สองสร้างหนังสือ) Rewards derived from copying religious books
			01012906005-03	1882	<i>Sòng hai than pha</i> (สองให้ทานผ้า) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
			01012906005-06	1860	Multiple-text manuscript ³⁷
6	01012906006	The National Library of Laos	01012906006-04	1870	Composite manuscript ³⁸
			01012906006-05	1794 1908	Composite manuscript ³⁹
			01012906006-07	-	Multiple-text manuscript ⁴⁰
7	01012906007	The National Library of Laos	01012906007-02	-	Composite manuscript ⁴¹
			01012906007-03	1859 1889	Composite manuscript ⁴²

³⁵ The manuscript contains four fascicles: *Salòng fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma), *Sòng phutthahup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images), *Sòng phutthahup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images) and *Sòng phutthahup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images).

³⁶ The manuscript contains three fascicles with the same titles *Sòng umong* (Rewards derived from the construction of chapels).

³⁷ The manuscript contains two texts with the same titles *Anisong huam* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

³⁸ The manuscript contains six fascicles with the same titles *Sòng thung lek* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags).

³⁹ The manuscript contains nine fascicles with the same titles *Sòng thung fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious cotton flags).

⁴⁰ The manuscript contains two texts: *Sòng wit* (Rewards derived from the construction of public toilets) and *Sòng thammatt* (Rewards derived from the donation of pulpits).

⁴¹ The manuscript contains four fascicles with the same titles *Salòng bangsukun* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes).

⁴² The manuscript contains eight fascicles with the same titles *Salòng pitaka* (Rewards derived from copying religious books).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
8	01012906010	The National Library of Laos	01012906010-01	1854	Multiple-text manuscript ⁴³
9	01012907100	The National Library of Laos	01012907100-06	-	<i>Sòng maha wetsantala</i> (สองมหาเวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
10	01012913002	The National Library of Laos	01012913002-03	1903	Multiple-text manuscript ⁴⁴
11	03050507004	Vat Sili Dòn Cai	03050507004-04	1826	<i>Anisong wetsantala</i> (อานิสงส์เวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
12	05050110003	Vat Hongawadi	05050110003-10	1808	<i>Anisong pitaka thang sam</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะทั้งสาม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
13	06011402132	Vai Mai Suvanna Phumaram	06011402132-08	1972	Multiple-text manuscript ⁴⁵
14	06011406001	Vai Mai Suvanna Phumaram	06011406001-03	1968	<i>Salòng kathin</i> (สลองกฐิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Kathin</i>

⁴³ The manuscript contains fifteen texts: *Sòng hot* (Rewards derived from the participation in the monkhood-ranking promotion), *Sòng pha cedi sai* (Rewards derived from building sand stupas), *Sòng thung sai* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious sand-coated flags), *Sòng khao sangkhaphat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food), *Sòng khao salakaphat* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival), *Sòng khao kam* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food or the construction of pavilions for the Buddhist Infringement Penalty), *Sòng pathip* (Rewards derived from flying lanterns), *Sòng pha nam fon* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season), *Sòng thung lek* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags), *Sòng hao thian* (Rewards derived from the donation of sconces), *Sòng khua* (Rewards derived from the construction of public bridges), *Sòng sala* (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions), *Sòng nam sang* (Rewards derived from the construction of wells), *Sòng katiyakudi* (Rewards derived from the construction of abodes) and *Sòng alam* (Rewards derived from monastic constructions).

⁴⁴ The manuscript contains three texts with the same titles: *Salòng sang hòm that* (Rewards derived from paying homage to pagodas).

⁴⁵ The manuscript contains two texts: *Anisong salakaliwicha sut* (Rewards derived from *Salakariwicha sut* recitation) and *Anisong tham bun cet wan* (Rewards derived from merit-making for seven days).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					festival
			06011406001-10	1834	<i>Sòng khao padap din</i> (สองข้าวประดับดิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival
			06011406001-15	1971	<i>Sòng khao padap din</i> (สองข้าวประดับดิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival
15	06011406002	Vai Mai Suvanna Phumaram	06011406002-06	1853	Multiple-text manuscript ⁴⁶
			06011406002-07	1962	<i>Sòng khua</i> (สองข้าว) Rewards derived from the construction of public bridges
			06011406002-08	1881	Multiple-text manuscript ⁴⁷
			06011406002-09	1970	<i>Anisong khao salak</i> (อานิสงส์ข้าวสลากร) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao salak</i> festival
			06011406002-14	1962	<i>Sòng khao ci</i> (สองข้าวจี) Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice

⁴⁶ The manuscript contains three texts: *Sòng khua* (Rewards derived from the construction of public bridges), *Sòng sep* (Rewards derived from the donation of victuals) and *Sòng hip* (Rewards derived from the donation of book chests).

⁴⁷ The manuscript contains two texts: *Sòng khao salak* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival) and *Sòng khao padap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			06011406002-16	1962	Multiple-text manuscript ⁴⁸
			06011406002-18	1964	Multiple-text manuscript ⁴⁹
			06011406002-19	1926	<i>Sòng dòk mai</i> (สองดอกไม้) Rewards derived from the donation of flowers
16	06011406003	Vai Mai Suvanna Phumaram	06011406003-03	1968	<i>Salòng cedi sai</i> (สล่องเจดีย์ทราย) Rewards derived from building sand stupas
			06011406003-04	1961	<i>Salòng cedi sai</i> (สล่องเจดีย์ทราย) Rewards derived from building sand stupas
			06011406003-14	1923	<i>Sòng Sapphathan</i> (สองสรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
			06011406003-24	1942	Multiple-text manuscript ⁵⁰
			06011406003-26	1852	Multiple-text manuscript ⁵¹

⁴⁸ The manuscript contains two texts: *Anisong khao phansa lae sòng khao watsa* (Rewards derived from merit-making during the Buddhist Lent) and *Anisong salòng òk phansa* (Rewards derived from merit-making at the end of Buddhist Lent).

⁴⁹ The manuscript contains two texts: *Sòng khao kam* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food or the construction of pavilions for the Buddhist Infringement Penalty) and *Sòng tup kam* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food or the construction of pavilions for the Buddhist Infringement Penalty).

⁵⁰ The manuscript contains three texts: *Anisong sang pha tai pidok* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon), *Anisong tai pidok* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon) and *Anisong sang pha tai pidok* (Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon).

⁵¹ The manuscript contains five texts: *Sòng sia ya* (Rewards derived from planting grass), *Sòng pathip* (Rewards derived from the donation of light), *Sòng comkom* (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions), *Sòng pha* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images) and *Sòng cedi* (rewards derived from the construction of pagodas).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
17	06011406004	Vai Mai Suvanna Phumaram	06011406004-01	1919	<i>Sòng sala</i> (สองศาลา) Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions
			06011406004-03	1798	Multiple-text manuscript ⁵²
			06011406004-04	1938	<i>Sòng sop khon tai</i> (สองศพคนตาย) Rewards derived from the participation in funerals
			06011406004-05	1948	<i>Sòng sop khon tai</i> (สองศพคนตาย) Rewards derived from the participation in funerals
			06011406004-06	1962	Multiple-text manuscript ⁵³
			06011406004-07	1962	<i>Anisong sang hong phayaban hong mò</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างโรงพยาบาลโรงหมอ) Rewards derived from the construction of hospitals
			06011406004-09	1847	<i>Sòng pha sangkat lòng</i> (สองพระสังกาดล่อง) Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year ceremonies
			06011406004-11	1922	<i>Sòng sop</i> (สองศพ) Rewards derived from the participation in funerals

⁵² The manuscript contains four texts: *Sòng pha nam fon* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season), *Sòng thung* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags), *Sòng sala* (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions) and unknown title.

⁵³ The manuscript contains two texts: *Anisong sangkhathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) and *Anisong thawai sapphathan thua pai* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			06011406004-15	1836	Multiple-text manuscript ⁵⁴
			06011406004-17	1962	Multiple-text manuscript ⁵⁵
18	06011406005	Vai Mai Suvanna Phumaram	06011406005-04	1882	<i>Sòng thung lek</i> (สองทุงเหล็ก) Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags
			06011406005-12	1928	<i>Sòng thung thang lai</i> (สองทุงทั้งหลาย) Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags
			06011406005-15	1973	<i>Anisong tham bun wat koet</i> (อานิสงส์ทำบุญวันเกิด) Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries
			06011406005-16	1937	<i>Sòng that pha sai</i> (สองธาตูประทราย) Rewards derived from building sand stupas
			06011406005-23	1971	<i>Anisong thawai than thua pai</i> (อานิสงส์ถวายทานทั่วไป) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
			06011406005-24	1971	<i>Anisong thawai pha pa</i> (อานิสงส์ถวายผ้าป่า)

⁵⁴ The manuscript contains three texts: *Sòng ton kalaphük* (Rewards derived from planting *Kanlapaphrük* tress), *Sòng nam sang* (Rewards derived from the construction of wells) and *Sòng yot ya* (Rewards derived from planting grass).

⁵⁵ The manuscript contains two texts: *Anisong salòng taeng ngan lü kin dòng* (Rewards derived from merit-making on wedding ceremonies) and *Anisong thawai pha pa* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
19	06011406006	Vai Mai Suvanna Phumaram	06011406006-04	1980	<i>Sòng anisong bun thi dai than pai ha phu tai</i> (สองอานิสงส์บุญที่ได้ทานไปหาผู้ตาย) Rewards derived from merit dedication to the dead
			06011406006-05	1962	Multiple-text manuscript ⁵⁶
			06011406006-06	1962	Multiple-text manuscript ⁵⁷
20	06011406009	Vai Mai Suvanna Phumaram	06011406009-03	1857	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
21	06011406012	Vai Mai Suvanna Phumaram	06011406012-16	1850	<i>Sòng pha pit sòng kamphi sòng pha phan nangsü</i> (สองผ้าปิด สองคัมภีร์ สองผ้าพันหนังสือ) Rewards derived from the donation of wrapping cloth for religious books and religious books
			06011406012-19	1973	Multiple-text manuscript ⁵⁸
			06011406012-21	1962	<i>Sòng phasat phoeng</i> (สองปราสาทผึ้ง) Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles
			06011406012-22	1851	<i>Sòng pha ubosot</i>

⁵⁶ The manuscript contains two texts: *Anisong sòng buat pha nen* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies) and *Anisong haeng sòng thela phisek* (Rewards derived from the participation in the monkhood-ranking promotion).

⁵⁷ The manuscript contains three texts: *Anisong sòng buat* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies), *Anisong an thawai khüang thela phisek* (Rewards derived from the donation of commodities for monkhood-ranking promotions) and *Anisong than phasat phoeng* (Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles).

⁵⁸ The manuscript contains five texts: *Sòng phasat phoeng* (Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles), *Sòng anisong thawai at* (Rewards derived from the donation of eight commodities for monks), *Sòng anisong sangkhathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Sòng ton kanlapaphük* (Rewards derived from planting *Kanlapaphruk* trees) and *Sòng khao caek* (Rewards derived from the donation of cooked rice).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					(สองผ้าอุโบสถ) Rewards derived from the donation of cloth for ordination halls
			06011406012-23	1807	Multiple-text manuscript ⁵⁹
			06011406013-07	1883	Multiple-text manuscript ⁶⁰
			06011406013-14	1930	Multiple-text manuscript ⁶¹
			06011406013-16	1974	Multiple-text manuscript ⁶²
22	06011406013	Vai Mai Suvanna Phumaram	06011406013-18	1816	<i>Salòng mangkhala sut</i> (สลองมงคลสูตร) Rewards derived from following the thirty-eight rules of well-behaving
23	06011406014	Vai Mai Suvanna Phumaram	06011406014-01	1968	<i>Sòng yot ya</i> (สองยอดหญ้า) Rewards derived from planting grass
			06011406014-05	1793	Multiple-text manuscript ⁶³

⁵⁹ The manuscript contains three texts: *Sòng pha ubosot* (Rewards derived from the donation of carpets for a monastic hall), *Sòng sia ya* (Rewards derived from planting grass) and *Sòng phutthahup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images).

⁶⁰ The manuscript contains five texts: *Sòng sang phutthahup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images), *Sòng sala* (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions), *Sòng paeng thang* (Rewards derived from the construction of roads), *Sòng khua* (Rewards derived from the construction of public bridges) and *Sòng fai fìn than* (Rewards derived from the donation of light and firewoods).

⁶¹ The manuscript contains two texts: *Sòng fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma) and *Sòng fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma).

⁶² The manuscript contains three texts: *Mangkhala sut* (Thirty-eight steps towards enlightened life), *Mangkhala sut* (Thirty-eight steps towards enlightened life) and *Anisong mangkhala sut* (Rewards derived from following the thirty-eight steps towards enlightened life).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			06011406014-08	1817	<i>Sòng wetsantala</i> (สองเวสสันตระ) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
			06011406014-15	1836	Multiple-text manuscript ⁶⁴
24	06011406019	Vai Mai Suvanna Phumaram	06011406019-01	1833	Multiple-text manuscript ⁶⁵
			06011406019-06	1851	Multiple-text manuscript ⁶⁶
25	06018506003	The National Museum	06018506003-02	1893	<i>Sòng paet mün</i> (สองแปดหมื่น) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
26	06018506004	The National Museum	06018506004-04	1942	<i>Salòng sang pha tai pidok</i> (สล่องสร้างพระไตรปิฎก) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
27	06018506007	The National Museum	06018506007-05	1811	<i>Sòng khao sak</i> (สองข้าวสาก) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao salak</i> festival
			06018506007-06	1913	<i>Sòng khao phan kòn</i>

⁶³ The manuscript contains four texts: *Sòng khao sak* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival), *Sòng khao dap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival), *Sòng khao binthabat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food) and *Sòng wit* (Rewards derived from the construction of public toilets).

⁶⁴ The manuscript contains two texts: *Sòng umong* (Rewards derived from the construction of chapels) and *Sòng khamphi* (Rewards derived from copying religious books).

⁶⁵ The manuscript contains four texts: *Sòng hom* (Rewards derived from the donation of umbrellas), *Sòng hot song pha cao* (Rewards derived from the participation in the monkhood-ranking promotion), *Sòng tuliya nonti* (Rewards derived from the donation of musical instrument) and *Sòng pham* (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions).

⁶⁶ The manuscript contains two texts: *Sòng hao thian* (Rewards derived from the donation of sconces) and *Sòng phawana* (Rewards derived from meditation).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					(สองข้าวพันก้อน) Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls
			06018506007-07	1874	<i>Salòng khao mao khao hang</i> (สองข้าวเมาข้าวราง) Rewards derived from the donation of <i>khao mao</i> and <i>khao hang</i> rice
			06018506007-11	-	<i>Salòng khao suk</i> (สองข้าวสุก) Rewards derived from the donation of cooked rice
			06018506007-12	-	<i>Sòng khiang sep thang muan</i> (สองเครื่องเสพทั้งมวล) Rewards derived from the donation of victuals
28	06018506008	The National Museum	06018506008-04	1907	<i>Sòng thung lek</i> (สองทุงเหล็ก) Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags
			06018506008-09	1871	<i>Sòng thung fai</i> (สองทุงฝ้าย) Rewards derived from the donation of religious cotton flags
			06018506008-10	1838	Multiple-text manuscript ⁶⁷
29	06018506010	The National Museum	06018506010-03	1834	<i>Sòng pha nam fon</i>

⁶⁷ The manuscript contains two texts: *Sòng thung hang* (Rewards derived from the donation of religious tailed flags) and *Sòng khao suk* (Rewards derived from the donation of cooked rice).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					(สองผ้าหน้าฝน) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season
			06018506010-06	1854	<i>Sòng bangsukun</i> (สองบังสุกุล) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
30	06018506013	The National Museum	06018506013-01	-	Multiple-text manuscript ⁶⁸
			06018506013-03	1908	<i>Sòng khamphi</i> (สองคัมภีร์) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
31	06018506014	The National Museum	06018506014-04	1902	<i>Anisong húa fai</i> (อานิสงส์เรือไฟ) Rewards derived from the donation of light floating vessels
32	06018506015	The National Museum	06018506015-05	1873	<i>Sòng hip</i> (สองหีบ) Rewards derived from the donation of book chests
			06018506015-07	1943	<i>Sòng patip</i> (สองประทีป) Rewards derived from the donation of light floating vessels
			06018506015-09	1857	<i>Sòng meng ubosot</i> (สองเมฆอุโบสถ)

⁶⁸ The manuscript manuscript contains two texts: *Anisong sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance) and *Anisong sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from the construction of ordination halls
33	06018506016	The National Museum	06018506016-01	1853	Multiple-text manuscript ⁶⁹
34	06018506017	The National Museum	06018506017-06	1896	<i>Sòng sang hòm that</i> (สองสังฆรวมธาตุ) Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas
			06018506017-07	1887	<i>Sòng tika aphitham</i> (สองฎีกากาอภิธรรม) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
35	06018506018	The National Museum	06018506018-05	1802	<i>Salòng buat</i> (สลองบวช) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies
36	06018506020	The National Museum	06018506020-04	1853	Multiple-text manuscript ⁷⁰
37	06018506021	The National Museum	06018506021-01	2006	<i>Hò suam ap</i> (หอสามอาบ) Rewards derived from the construction of toilets
			06018506021-03	1861	Multiple-text manuscript ⁷¹
38	06018506022	The National Museum	06018506022-01	1790	<i>Sòng nam</i> (สองน้ำ)

⁶⁹ The manuscript contains three texts: *Sòng song that* (Rewards derived from bathing pagodas), *Sòng hai than fai* (Rewards derived from the donation of light) and *Sòng wit* (Rewards derived from the construction of public toilets).

⁷⁰ The manuscript contains two texts: *Sòng sangkhan* (Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year ceremonies) and *Sòng pha bang pha cao* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha image robes).

⁷¹ The manuscript contains two texts: *Sòng khòt sim* (Rewards derived from the construction of monasteries) and *Sòng hang lin* (Rewards derived from the donation of watersprouts).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from the construction of wells
			06018506022-07	1942	<i>Anisong sang pha tai pidok</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างพระไตรปิฎก) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
39	08100206001	Vat Malike	08100206001-03	1794	<i>Sapphathan</i> (สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
40	12030706001	Vat Phonsawan	12030706001-02	1793	Multiple-text manuscript ⁷²
			12030706001-03	1807	<i>Sòng phutthahup</i> (สองพุทธรูป) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images
41	17010106001	Vat Fang Daeng	17010106001-11	1652	<i>Salòng paeng pham</i> (สล่องแปงผาม) Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions

2.1.2 Mulberry paper manuscript

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
1	03020706001	Vat Ban Sili Hüang	03020706001-02	-	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving

⁷² The manuscript contains three texts: *Sòng kathin* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Kathin* festival), *Sòng bangsukun* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes) and *Sòng attha bòrikhan* (Rewards derived from the donation of eight commodities for monks).

2.2 The Buddhist Archive of Photography (BAP)

2.2.1 Palm-leaf manuscripts

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
1	1	Vat Suvannakhili	BAD-11-1-0001	1913	<i>Sòng sapphathung</i> (สองสรรพทุง) Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags
			BAD-11-1-0002	1919	<i>Sòng khao padap din</i> (สองข้าวประดับดิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival
			BAD-11-1-0003	1958	<i>Sòng caek</i> (สองแจก) Rewards derived from the donation of food to the dead
			BAD-11-1-0004	-	<i>Sòng thung lek</i> (สองทุงเหล็ก) Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags
2	3	Vat Suvannakhili	BAD-11-1-0013	-	<i>Sòng buat</i> (สองบวช) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies
3	8	Vat Suvannakhili	BAD-11-1-0031	-	<i>Sòng khao padap din</i> (สองข้าวประดับดิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival
			BAD-11-1-0032	-	<i>Sòng thung lek</i> (สองทุงเหล็ก) Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags
			BAD-11-1-0033	-	<i>Sòng bangsukun</i>

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					(สองบังสุกุล) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
4	9	Vat Suvannakhili	BAD-11-1-0038	-	<i>Sòng thung lek</i> (สองทุงเหล็ก) Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags
			BAD-11-1-0039	-	<i>Sòng thung lek</i> (สองทุงเหล็ก) Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags
			BAD-11-1-0040	-	<i>Sòng phasat phoeng</i> (สองปราสาทผึ้ง) Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles
5	12	Vat Suvannakhili	BAD-11-1-0047	1813	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
6	13	Vat Suvannakhili	BAD-11-1-0049	1899	<i>Sòng thung lek</i> (สองทุงเหล็ก) Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags
			BAD-11-1-0051	-	<i>Sòng thung lek</i> (สองทุงเหล็ก) Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags
			BAD-11-1-0052	1841	<i>Sòng thung lek</i> (สองทุงเหล็ก) Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags
7	17	Vat Suvannakhili	BAD-11-1-0060	1926	<i>Sòng sapphathan</i> (สองสรรพทาน)

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
8	18	Vat Suvannakhili	BAD-11-1-0062	-	<i>Sòng buat</i> (สองบาท) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies
			BAD-11-1-0064	-	<i>Sòng sapphathan</i> (สองสรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
9	48	Vat Suvannakhili	BAD-11-1-0101	1945	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
			BAD-11-1-0107	-	<i>Sòng sapphathan</i> (สองสรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
			BAD-11-1-0112	-	<i>Thipphamon</i> (ทิพมนต์) Rewards derived from praying for good things
			BAD-11-1-0119	-	<i>Thipphamon</i> (ทิพมนต์) Rewards derived from praying for good things
10	4	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0021	-	<i>Sòng khao padap din</i> (สองข้าวประดับดิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival
11	6	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0026	1978	<i>Salòng maha kathin</i> (สล่องมหากฐิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Kathin</i> festival

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
12	26	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0070	-	<i>Anisong paet</i> (อานิสงส์แปด) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
13	27	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0075	1900	<i>Sòng khao padap din</i> (สองข้าวประดับดิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival
14	34	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0093	-	<i>Salòng khao phan kòn</i> (สล่องข้าวพันก้อน) Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls
15	36	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0112	1990	<i>Sòng khao phan kòn</i> (สองข้าวพันก้อน) Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls
16	47	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0128	1944	Multiple-text manuscript ⁷³
17	58	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0155	-	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
			BAD-13-1-0156	1987	<i>Anisong sang pha phutthahup</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างพระพุทธรูป) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images
			BAD-13-1-0157	1944	Multiple-text manuscript ⁷⁴

⁷³ The manuscript contains six texts: *Sòng sang nangsü lü pidok* (Rewards derived from copying religious books), *Sòng phutthahup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images), *Sòng sala* (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions), *Sòng saphan* (Rewards derived from the construction of bridges), *Sòng wetkudi* (Rewards derived from the construction of toilets) and *Sòng kò thaen si maha pho* (Rewards derived from the donation of tree poles).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
18	63	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0163	1944	Multiple-text manuscript ⁷⁵
19	73	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0189	1916	<i>Thippamon nòi</i> (ทิพมนต์น้อย) Rewards derived from praying for good things
			BAD-13-1-0191	-	<i>Anisong phòk kham</i> (อานิสงส์พอกคำ) Rewards derived from coating Buddha images with golden enamel
20	77	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0206	1988	<i>Anisong het bun wan koet</i> (อานิสงส์เฮ็ดบุญวันเกิด) Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries
21	83	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0220	1846	<i>Sòng pha sai</i> (สองพระทราย) Rewards derived from building sand stupas
22	87	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0230	1944	Multiple-text manuscript ⁷⁶
23	108	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0256	-	<i>Sòng pha sai</i> (สองพระทราย)

⁷⁴ The manuscript contains five texts: *Sòng dòk mai thup thian* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers, incense sticks and candles), *Sòng haksá sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance), *Sòng fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to Dhamma), *Sòng phao phi* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals) and *Sòng maha wetsandòn chadok* (Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka).

⁷⁵ The manuscript contains five texts: *Sòng buát* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies), *Sòng káthinathan* (Rewards derived from merit-making on the *Káthin* festival), *Sòng pha ap nam fon* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season), *Sòng bangsukun lü pha pa* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes) and *Sòng thawai ciwòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes).

⁷⁶ The manuscript contains four texts: *Sòng khao sak* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival), *Sòng khao padap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival), *Sòng sangkhathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) and *Sòng khao ci* (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from building sand stupas
24	130	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0295	-	<i>Salòng paet miin</i> (สลองแปดหมื่น) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
25	133	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0302	-	<i>Anisong kò pha cedi sai</i> (อานิสงส์ก่อพระเจดีย์ทราย) Rewards derived from building sand stupas
26	210	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0685	1982	<i>Salòng khao phan kòn</i> (สลองข้าวพันก้อน) Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls
27	212	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0697	1924	<i>Sòng phutthahup</i> (สองพุทธรูป) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images
			BAD-13-1-0698	1880	<i>Sòng pha that</i> (สองพระธาตุ) Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas
			BAD-13-1-0705	-	<i>Sòng sapphathan</i> (สองสรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
			BAD-13-1-0714	-	<i>Sòng pathip hūan fai</i> (สองประทีปเรือไฟ) Rewards derived from the donation of light floating vessels
			BAD-13-1-0715	1941	<i>Sòng khao padap din</i> (สองข้าวประดับดิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			BAD-13-1-0717	-	<i>Sòng phutthahup</i> (สองพุทธรูป) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images
			BAD-13-1-0720	1939	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
			BAD-13-1-0721	1945	<i>Sòng khao phan kòn</i> (สองข้าวพันก้อน) Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls
			BAD-13-1-0725	-	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
			BAD-13-1-0729	-	<i>Sòng thung sai</i> (สองทุ่งทราย) Rewards derived from the donation of religious sand-coated flags
			BAD-13-1-0750	1940	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
28	213	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0760	1963	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
			BAD-13-1-0763	1950	<i>Sòng sapphathan</i> (สองสรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
			BAD-13-1-0768	-	<i>Sòng phasat phoeng</i>

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					(สองปราสาทผึ้ง) Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles
			BAD-13-1-0771	1951	<i>Sòng sak sop khon tai</i> (สองซากศพคนตาย) Rewards derived from the participation in funerals
			BAD-13-1-0773	1939	<i>Sòng sapphathung</i> (สองสรรพทุง) Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags
			BAD-13-1-0779	-	<i>Sòng sang hòm that</i> (สองสังร่มธาตุ) Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas
			BAD-13-1-0782	1911	<i>Sòng khao padap din</i> (สองข้าวประดับดิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival
			BAD-13-1-0783	-	<i>Sòng sapphathung lek pen ton</i> (สองสรรพทุงเหล็กเป็นต้น) Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags
			BAD-13-1-0785	-	<i>Sòng sangkhan</i> (สองสังขาน) Rewards derived from merit-making on New Year ceremonies
			BAD-13-1-0786	1946	<i>Sòng yot ya</i> (สองยอดหญ้า) Rewards derived from planting grass
29	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0358	1928	<i>Sòng phawet</i> (สองพระเวส)

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
30	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0370	1939	<i>Panya balami</i> (ປັນຍາບາລາມີ) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
31	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0371	-	<i>Panya balami</i> (ປັນຍາບາລາມີ) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
32	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0372	1893	<i>Panya balami</i> (ປັນຍາບາລາມີ) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
33	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0374	1939	<i>Panya balami</i> (ປັນຍາບາລາມີ) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
34	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0377	1939	<i>Panya balami</i> (ປັນຍາບາລາມີ) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
35	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0378	1886	<i>Panya balami</i> (ປັນຍາບາລາມີ) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
36	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0379	1869	<i>Panya balami</i> (ປັນຍາບາລາມີ) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
37	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0380	1928	<i>Panya balami</i> (ປັນຍາບາລາມີ) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
38	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0381	1939	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
39	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0382	-	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
40	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0384	-	<i>Sòng khao padap din</i> (สองข้าวประดับดิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival
41	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0385	1911	<i>Sòng sop phi tai</i> (สองศพผีตาย) Rewards derived from the participation in funerals
42	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0387	1910	<i>Sòng sapphathung</i> (สองสรรพทุง) Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags
43	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0388	-	<i>Sòng khao padap din</i> (สองข้าวประดับดิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival
44	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0389	-	<i>Sòng pha cedi sai</i> (สองพระเจดีย์ทราย) Rewards derived from building sand stupas
45	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0390	-	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
46	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0391	1925	<i>Sòng khao phan kòn</i>

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					(สองข้าวพันก้อน) Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls
47	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0393	-	<i>Sòng paet mün</i> (สองแปดหมื่น) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
48	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0396	-	<i>Sòng thung lek</i> (สองทุงเหล็ก) Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags
49	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0403	1942	<i>Sòng khao padap din</i> (สองข้าวประดับดิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival
50	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0405	-	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
51	00	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-1-0456	-	<i>Sòng kam</i> (สองกำ) Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food or the construction of pavilions for the Buddhist Infringement Penalty
52	6	Vat Pak Khan	BAD-15-1-0030	-	<i>Sòng pitaka</i> (สองปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
53	7	Vat Pak Khan	BAD-15-1-0031	-	<i>Huam sòng</i> (รวมสอง) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
			BAD-15-1-0033	-	<i>Sòng sapphathan</i>

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					(สองสรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
54	11	Vat Pak Khan	BAD-15-1-0055	1850	<i>Sòng phasat phoeng</i> (สองปราสาทผึ้ง) Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles
55	56	Vat Siang Muan	BAD-19-1-0129	1963	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
56	60	Vat Siang Muan	BAD-19-1-0135	1998	<i>Thippamon</i> (ทิพมนต์) Rewards derived from praying for good things
57	-	Vat Siang Muan	BAD-19-1-0137	1984	<i>Anisong bun wan koet</i> (อานิสงส์บุญวันเกิด) Rewards derived from merit-making on birthday anniversaries
58	26	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0033	1917	<i>Sòng paet mün</i> (สองแปดหมื่น) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
59	27	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0034	-	<i>Sòng paet mün</i> (สองแปดหมื่น) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
60	32	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0039	1956	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
61	46	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0057	-	<i>Sòng phutthahup</i> (สองพระพุทธรูป)

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images
62	56	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0068	1944	<i>Anisong catulalakkha</i> (อานิสงส์จตุรลักขา) Rewards derived from being in isolation
63	57	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0069	-	<i>Haksa sin ha nithan sitthattha latsatham</i> (รักษาศีล ๕ นิทานสิทธัตถะราชธรรม) Story of Prince Sitthattha about rewards derived from the observance of the Five Precepts
64	59	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0071	1764	<i>Sòng hot</i> (สองหด) Rewards derived from the participation in the monkhood-ranking promotion
65	60	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0073	1928	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
66	61	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0076	1917	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
67	62	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0080	-	<i>Sòng sapphathan</i> (สองสรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
68	64	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0102	1853	Multiple-text manuscript ⁷⁷
69	85	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0147	1817	<i>Panya balami luang</i>

⁷⁷ The manuscript contains two texts: *Sòng pha pa* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes) and *Sòng khamphi* (Rewards derived from copying religious books).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					(ปัญญาบารมีหลวง) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
			BAD-21-1-0148	-	<i>Sòng attha paet pakan</i> (สองอัฐฐะ ๘ ประการ) Rewards derived from the donation of eight commodities for monks
			BAD-21-1-0149	1871	<i>Salòng kathin</i> (สลองกฐิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Kathin</i> festival
70	96	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0187	1817	<i>Panya balami luang</i> (ปัญญาบารมีหลวง) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
			BAD-21-1-0188	-	<i>Salòng kathin</i> (สลองกฐิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Kathin</i> festival
			BAD-21-1-0189	1940	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
			BAD-21-1-0190	1944	<i>Sòng pitaka</i> (สองปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
			BAD-21-1-0191	1956	<i>Sòng sang nangsü lü pitaka</i> (สองสร้างหนังสือหรือปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying religious books or the Buddhist canon
			BAD-21-1-0192	1960	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี)

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
			BAD-21-1-0193	-	<i>Sòng sapphathan</i> (สองสรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
			BAD-21-1-0194	1945	<i>Sòng yot ya wat wa</i> (สองยดหญ้าวัตวา) Rewards derived from planting grass
			BAD-21-1-0195	-	<i>Sòng thung fai</i> (สองทุ่งฝ้าย) Rewards derived from the donation of religious cotton flags
			BAD-21-1-0196	1868	<i>Sòng mahawet</i> (สองมหาเวส) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
			BAD-21-1-0197	1880	<i>Sòng suam ap</i> (สองส้วมอาบ) Rewards derived from the construction of toilets
71	99	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0225	1924	<i>Sòng pitaka</i> (สองปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
			BAD-21-1-0226	1914	<i>Sòng phasat phoeng</i> (สองปราสาทผึ้ง) Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles
			BAD-21-1-0227	1935	<i>Sòng thung lek</i> (สองทุ่งเหล็ก) Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
72	100	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0228	1891	<i>Sòng thung sai</i> (สองทุ่งทราย) Rewards derived from the donation of religious sand-coated flags
			BAD-21-1-0242	1819	<i>Panya balami luang</i> (ปัญญาบารมีหลวง) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
73	104	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0259	-	<i>Sòng than</i> (สองทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
74	105	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0263	-	<i>Anisong pitaka</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
75	106	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0273	-	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
			BAD-21-1-0276	1924	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
76	107	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0278	-	<i>Sòng khao ci</i> (สองข้าวจี) Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice
			BAD-21-1-0279	1929	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
77	108	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0285	-	<i>Anisong pha kathin</i>

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					(อานิสงส์ผ้ากฐิน) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
78	110	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0293	1904	<i>Anisong paet</i> (อานิสงส์แปด) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
			BAD-21-1-0296	-	<i>Sòng kamphaeng</i> (สองกำแพง) Rewards derived from the construction of monastic walls
			BAD-21-1-0297	-	<i>Sòng hom</i> (สองร่ม) Rewards derived from the donation of umbrellas
			BAD-21-1-0298	1850 1817	Multiple-text manuscript ⁷⁸
			BAD-21-1-0299	-	<i>Sòng nam sang</i> (สองน้ำสร้าง) Rewards derived from the construction of wells
			BAD-21-1-0301	1892	<i>Sòng paet</i> (สองแปด) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
79	114	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0329	-	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections

⁷⁸ The manuscript contains two texts: *Sòng khao salak* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival) and *Sòng khao phan kòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			BAD-21-1-0331	1896	<i>Sòng hot</i> (สองหด) Rewards derived from the participation in monkhood-ranking promotion ceremonies
			BAD-21-1-0332	-	<i>Sòng pitaka</i> (สองปีฎกะ) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
			BAD-21-1-0335	1900	<i>Sòng paet</i> (สองแปด) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
			BAD-21-1-0336	1883	Multiple-text manuscript ⁷⁹
80	116	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0343	-	<i>Sòng khao padap din</i> (สองข้าวประดับดิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Khao pradap din</i> festival
			BAD-21-1-0344	1921	<i>Thippamon</i> (ทิพมนต์) Rewards derived from praying for good things
81	118	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0357	-	<i>Sòng phutthahup</i> (สองพระพุทธรูป) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images
82	119	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0364	-	<i>Sòng khao phan kòn</i> (สองข้าวพันก้อน)

⁷⁹ The manuscript contains three texts: *Sòng that* (Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas), *Sòng hip* (Rewards derived from the donation of book chests) and *Sòng phutthahup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls
			BAD-21-1-0366	-	<i>Sòng thung lek</i> (สองตุงเหล็ก) Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags
83	130	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0403	1927	<i>Sòng khao phan kòn</i> (สองข้าวพันก้อน) Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls
84	131	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0414	1920	<i>Sòng pha sai</i> (สองพระทราย) Rewards derived from building sand stupas
			BAD-21-1-0428	1950	<i>Sòng haksá sin</i> (สองรักษาศีล) Rewards derived from precept observance
			BAD-21-1-0430	1951	<i>Sòng buat pha buat nen</i> (สองบวชพระบวชเณร) Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies
85	136	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0431	1948	<i>Anisong tham bun cet wan</i> (อานิสงส์ทำบุญเจ็ดวัน) Rewards derived from 7-day merit-making
			BAD-21-1-0432	1948	<i>Anisong sai bat pha wela chao</i> (อานิสงส์ใส่บาตรพระเวลาเช้า) Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food in the morning
			BAD-21-1-0433	1951	<i>Anisong sang pha phutthahup</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างพระพุทธรูป) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			BAD-21-1-0434	-	<i>Anisong sang nangsü</i> (อานิสงส์สร้างหนังสือ) Rewards derived from the donation of religious books
			BAD-21-1-00435	1946	<i>Anisong haksa sin ubosot</i> (อานิสงส์รักษาศีลอุโบสถ) Rewards derived from the observance of the Eight Precepts
			BAD-21-1-0437	-	<i>Sòng pha phutthahup</i> (สองพระพุทธรูป) Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images
			BAD-21-1-0438	1940	<i>Sòng pha nam fon lae pha camnam phansa</i> (สองผ้าน้ำฝนและผ้าจํานำพรรษา) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season
			BAD-21-1-0440	1939	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
			BAD-21-1-0441	1925	<i>Sòng sapphathan</i> (สองสรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
			BAD-21-1-0442	-	<i>Sòng paeng thang</i> (สองแปงทาง) Rewards derived from the construction of public roads
			BAD-21-1-0443	1940	<i>Sòng pha sai</i> (สองพระทราย) Rewards derived from building sand stupas
			BAD-21-1-0444	1937	<i>Sòng pathip</i>

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					(สองประทีป) Rewards derived from the donation of light floating vessels
			BAD-21-1-0445	-	<i>Sòng sapphathan</i> (สองสรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
			BAD-21-1-0447	-	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
			BAD-21-1-0448	1937	<i>Sòng hò klòng luang</i> (สองหอกลองหลวง) Rewards derived from the construction of drum shelters
			BAD-21-1-0449	-	<i>Sòng bangsukun</i> (สองบังสุกุล) Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes
			BAD-21-1-0450	1868	<i>Lem luang</i> (เล่มหลวง) Rewards derived from precept observance
			BAD-21-1-0451	-	<i>Sòng fai dòk</i> (สองไฟดอก) Rewards derived from the donation of fireworks
86	137	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0467	1929	<i>Sappa balami</i> (สรรพบารมี) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
87	138	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0469	-	<i>Panya balami</i> (ปัญญาบารมี)

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
88	142	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0495	-	<i>Panya balami yòt kaeo</i> (ปัญญาบารมียอดแก้ว) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
89	210	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0568	1819	<i>Panya balami luang</i> (ปัญญาบารมืหลวง) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
90	234	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0617	1930	<i>Sappa balami</i> (สรรพบารมื) Rewards derived from following The Thirty Perfections
91	247	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-1-0640	1917	<i>Sòng sanghuam that</i> (สองสังรวมธาตุ) Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas

2.2.2 Mulberry paper manuscripts

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
1	2-05	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-2-031	2004	Multiple-text manuscript ⁸⁰
			BAD-13-2-032	-	Multiple-text manuscript ⁸¹
			BAD-13-2-033	-	<i>Anisong sang pha trai pidok</i>

⁸⁰ The manuscript contains two texts: *Salòng sang nangsi* (Rewards derived from copying religious books) and *Salòng pha ap nam fon* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season).

⁸¹ The manuscript contains two texts: *Salòng khao salak* (rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival) and *Salòng khao padap din* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
					(อานิสงส์สร้างพระไตรปิฎก) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon
2	2-06	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-2-034	2004	Multiple-text manuscript ⁸²
			BAD-13-2-035	-	Multiple-text manuscript ⁸³
			BAD-13-2-036	2004	Multiple-text manuscript ⁸⁴
			BAD-13-2-037	2004	Multiple-text manuscript ⁸⁵
			BAD-13-2-038	2004	Multiple-text manuscript ⁸⁶
3	2-10	Vat Saen Sukharam	BAD-13-2-087	-	Multiple-text manuscript ⁸⁷
			BAD-13-2-092	-	Multiple-text manuscript ⁸⁸

⁸² The manuscript contains four texts: *Salòng ciwòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes), *Salòng haksa sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance), *Salòng pha phutthahup* (Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images) and *Salòng pong sop lü phao phi* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals).

⁸³ The manuscript contains four texts: *Salòng kò thaen si maha pho* (Rewards derived from the donation of tree poles), *Salòng wetkudi* (Rewards derived from the construction of toilets), *Salòng sangkhathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) and *Salòng sang saphan khua* (Rewards derived from the construction of bridges).

⁸⁴ The manuscript contains four texts: *Salòng kathinathan* (Rewards derived from merit-making on occasion of the *Kathin* ceremony), *Salòng fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma), *Salòng buat* (Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies) and *Salòng sala* (Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions).

⁸⁵ The manuscript contains two texts: *Salòng pong sop lü phao phi* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals) and *Salòng ciwòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes).

⁸⁶ The manuscript contains four texts: *Salòng maha wetsandòn chadok* (Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka), *Salòng sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Salòng dòk mai thup thian* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers, incense sticks and candles) and *Salòng khao ci* (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice).

⁸⁷ The manuscript contains two texts: *Anisong fang tham* (Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma) and *Anisong phao phi* (Rewards derived from the participation in funerals).

⁸⁸ The manuscript contains three texts: *Anisong khao padap din sai bat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food on occasion of the *Khao pradap din* festival), *Anisong khao salak sai bat* (Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food on occasion of the *Khao salak* festival) and *Anisong sangkhathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

No.	Bundle no.	Repository	Fascicle no.	CE	Title
			BAD-13-2-093	-	<i>Anisong thawai kathin</i> (อานิสงส์ถวายกฐิน) Rewards derived from the participation in the <i>Kathin</i> festival
			BAD-13-2-095	-	Multiple-text manuscript ⁸⁹
			BAD-13-2-096	-	Multiple-text manuscript ⁹⁰
			BAD-13-2-097	-	Multiple-text manuscript ⁹¹
			BAD-13-2-098	-	Multiple-text manuscript ⁹²
			BAD-13-2-099	-	Multiple-text manuscript ⁹³
4	X	Vat Si Bun Hüang	BAD-21-2-004	1995	<i>Salòng than dòk mai</i> (สล่องทานดอกไม้) Rewards derived from the donation of flowers

⁸⁹ The manuscript contains two texts: *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) and *Anisong haksa sin* (Rewards derived from precept observance).

⁹⁰ The manuscript contains two texts: *Anisong wisakha bucha* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Wisakha bucha* festival) and *Anisong thawai khao ci* (Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice).

⁹¹ The manuscript contains three texts: *Anisong salòng dòk mai* (Rewards derived from the donation of flowers), *Salòng khao phan kòn* (Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls) and *Anisong sang wetkudi* (Rewards derived from the construction of toilets).

⁹² The manuscript contains two texts: *Salòng pha nam fon* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes) and *Anisong pha camnam phansa* (Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season).

⁹³ The manuscript contains two texts: *Anisong makha bucha* (Rewards derived from the participation in the *Makha bucha* festival) and *Anisong thawai pha phedan* (Rewards derived from the donation of ceiling cloth).

2.3 Collection of Volker Grabowsky from Luang Namtha (CVG)

2.3.1 Mulberry paper manuscripts

No.	Volume no.	Repository	CE	Title
1	MS.NCS-NKL	Nan Chai Saeng house	-	<i>Aniisong setthi song khao</i> (อานิสงส์เศรษฐีส่งข้าว) Rewards of a wealthy man who donated food to the dead
2	VXC.2	Vat Siang Cai	-	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
3	VXC.3	Vat Siang Cai	-	<i>Anisong maha wetsantara chadok</i> (อานิสงส์มหาเวสสันดรชาดก) Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka
4	VXC.4	Vat Siang Cai	-	<i>Anisong pidok</i> (อานิสงส์ปิฎก) Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon

2.3.2 Industrial paper manuscripts

No.	Volume no.	CE	Title
1	MS.2013	2013	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
2	MS.2016-1	-	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving

3. *Anisong* manuscripts from Sipsòng Panna (only the collection of Volker Grabowsky)

3.1 Mulberry paper manuscripts

No.	Volume no.	CE	Title
1	CR 2016-3	-	<i>Anisong sapphathan chadok</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทานชาดก) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
2	ML.1	-	<i>Anisong phawana</i> (อานิสงส์ภาวนา) Rewards derived from meditation
3	ML.2	-	<i>Anisong cedi</i> (อานิสงส์เจตีย์) Rewards derived from the construction of pagodas
4	MS.2013	2013	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
5	MS.2016-1	-	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving

3.2 Industrial paper manuscripts

No.	Volume no.	CE	Title
1	CR 2016-4	-	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving

No.	Volume no.	CE	Title
2	CR 2016-5	-	<i>Anisong setthi than chòm phò mae</i> (อานิสงส์เศรษฐีทานขอมพ่อแม่) Rewards of a wealthy man who took care of his parents
3	ML.6	-	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving
4	ML.8	-	<i>Anisong than thung lek thung thòng</i> (อานิสงส์ทานทุงเหล็กทุงทอง) Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron and golden flags
5	MS.2016-1	-	<i>Anisong sapphathan</i> (อานิสงส์สรรพทาน) Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving

4. *Anisong* manuscripts from southern China (only the collection of Volker Grabowsky and only mulberry paper manuscripts)

No.	Volume no.	CE	Title
1	MN.2	-	Composite manuscript ⁹⁴
2	MN.6	-	Composite manuscript ⁹⁵

⁹⁴ The manuscript contains three chapters: *Anisong sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving), *Palami* (Perfections) and *Sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

⁹⁵ The manuscript contains two chapters: *Anisong haeng sapphathan thang muan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving) and *Sapphathan* (Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving).

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- ลป 0206008-01. อานิสงส์โพธิสัตว์ไปช่วยสหายทาน [*Anisong phothisat pai chuai sahai than*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 10 folios; CS 1285 (CE 1923).
- ลป 0220041-04. อานิสงส์สร้างพระพุทธรูป [*Anisong sang phra phuttharup*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 16 folios; CS 1242 (CE 1880).
- ลป 0306004-05. อานิสงส์บวช [*Anisong buat*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 13 folios; CS 1028 (CE 1666).
- ลป 0601008-00. นิยายรวมอานิสงส์ [*Niyai ruam anisong*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 162 folios; CS 1112 (CE 1750).
- ลป 0610001-00. ปิฎกะทั้งสาม [*Pitaka thang sam*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 103 folios; CS 1133 (CE 1771).
- ลป 0610018-00. อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ [*Anisong pitaka*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 140 folios; CS 1152 (CE 1790).
- ลป 0610035-00. อานิสงส์ปิฎกะ [*Anisong pitaka*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 101 folios; CS 1154 (CE 1792).

ลป 0610050-00. อานิสงส์ปิฎก [Anisong pitaka], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 130 folios; CS 1153 (CE 1791).

ลป 0620002-02. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์ข้าวจีข้าวหลาม; หื้อผ้าเป็นทาน; ทานหลัว [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice and *khao lam* rice; [Rewards derived from] the donation of monk robes; [Rewards derived from] the donation of firewoods], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 13 folios; undated.

ลป 0620018-01. อานิสงส์ปิฎก [Anisong pitaka], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 134 folios; CS 1145 (CE 1783).

ลป 0620035-01. อานิสงส์ปิฎก [Anisong pitaka], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 139 folios; CS 1146 (CE 1784).

1.1.2 Collection of the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM)

ชม 0220028-99. อานิสงส์อันได้อาน้ำเอาทรายมาใส่ขวางเจดีย์ไม้ศรี และวัดวาอาราม [Anisong an dai ao nam ao sai ma sai khuang cedi mai si lae watwa aram], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 10 folios; CS 1154 (CE 1792).

ชม 0706001-01. รวมอานิสงส์: สองข้าวต้ม; สองข้าวสังข์พระภัด; สองข้าวติดกันหม้อ; สองข้าวป่าช้า; สองฝ้าน้ำฝน [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of rice congee; Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food; Rewards derived from the donation of cooked rice; Rewards derived from the donation of rice to the dead; Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 24 folios; undated.

ชม 0706001-04. อานิสงส์สร้างธรรม [Anisong sang tham], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 10 folios; CS 1288 (CE 1926).

ชม 0706001-05. อานิสงส์เขียนธรรม [Anisong khian tham], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 18 folios; CS 1191 (CE 1829).

ชม 0706001-08. ทานข้าวสังข์ [Than khao sang], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 8 folios; undated.

ชม 0706999-00. สรรพทาน [Sapphathan], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 17 folios; undated.

พย 0510098-00. ปิฎกทั้งสาม [Pitaka thang sam], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 35 folios; CS 1311 (CE 1949).

พร 0220001-02. อานิสงส์ปิฎก [Anisong pitaka], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 68 folios; CS 1182 (CE 1820).

1.1.3 Collection of Dokumentarische Erfassung literarischer Materialien in den Nordprovinzen Thailands (DELMN)

43. อานิสงส์สรรพทาน [*Anisong sapphathan*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 10 folios; CS 1275 (CE 1913).
45. อานิสงส์หรีดธรรม [*Anisong rit tham*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 13 folios; CS 1300 (CE 1938).
48. อานิสงส์เขียนธรรม [*Anisong khian tham*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 13 folios; CS 1272 (CE 1910).
126. รวมหลายเรื่อง: อานิสงส์เลี้ยงพ่อเลี้ยงแม่; ชายสามโบสถ์หญิงสามผัว; อานิสงส์สร้างข้าวและศาลาน้ำบ่อเป็นทาน; สัมปันทสูตร; ไตยณ; ตำนานเชียงใหม่ [A series of texts: Rewards derived from taking care of one's own parents; Men who were ordained three times and women who got married three times; Rewards derived from the construction of public bridges, pavilions and wells; Sampanthasut; Taiyon; The Chronicle of Chiang Mai], industrial paper manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; over 151 sides; CS 1335–6 (CE 1973–74).
297. ทานกถา [*Thanakatha*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 35 folios; CS 1289 (CE 1927).
299. อานิสงส์เวสสันตระ [*Anisong wetsantara*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 19 folios; CS 1210 (CE 1848).
388. อานิสงส์สร้างหนทางเป็นทาน [*Anisong sang hon thang pen than*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 9 folios; undated.
414. อานิสงส์เวสสันตระ [*Anisong wetsantara*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 4 folios; undated.
436. อานิสงส์บังสุกุล [*Anisong bangsukun*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 7 folios; CS 1288 (CE 1926).
472. อานิสงส์ข้าวสลากภัต [*Anisong khao salakaphat*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 6 folios; undated.
479. อานิสงส์สรรพทาน [*Anisong sapphathan*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 22 folios; CS 1298 (CE 1936).
489. อานิสงส์ทอดกฐิน [*Anisong thòt kathin*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 11 folios; CS 1288 (CE 1926).
512. อานิสงส์สร้างธรรม [*Anisong sang tham*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 16 folios; undated.

662. อานิสงส์มหาชาติ [*Anisong mahachat*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 15 folios; CS 1241 (CE 1879).
664. อานิสงส์ผ้าทอด [*Anisong pha thòt*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 9 folios; CS 1306 (CE 1944).
730. อานิสงส์นางสุชาดาทานข้าวมธุปายาส [*Anisong nang suchada than khao mathupayat*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 13 folios; CS 1234 (CE 1872).
770. อานิสงส์บัว [*Anisong buat*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 8 folios; CS 1084 (CE 1722).
786. อานิสงส์ปลุกไม้ศรีมหาโพธิ์ [*Anisong pluk mai si mahapho*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 7 folios; undated.
792. อานิสงส์ได้เรียนธรรม [*Anisong dai rian tham*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 5 folios; undated.
793. อานิสงส์สร้างหอธรรมเป็นทาน [*Anisong sang hò tham pen than*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 8 folios; undated.
811. อานิสงส์ทุ่งเสาหงส์ [*Anisong thung sao hong*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 10 folios; CS 1269 (CE 1907).
813. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์ข้าวประดับดิน; อานิสงส์สลากภัต; อานิสงส์ข้าวประดับดินแก้วทั้งสาม; อานิสงส์ชายทุกข์ไร่บูชาพระที่ปเจตีย์; อานิสงส์เสียหญ้าวัด; อานิสงส์ทานข้าวจี; อานิสงส์ทานข้าวพันก้อน [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival; Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival; Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival [and respecting] the Triple Gems; Rewards of a poor man who paid homage to a pagoda; Rewards derived from planting grass; Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice; Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 23 folios; CS 1257 (CE 1895).
816. อานิสงส์ทานผ้า [*Anisong than pha*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 6 folios; CS 1298 (CE 1936).
826. อานิสงส์บัว [*Anisong buat*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 8 folios; CS 1062 (CE 1700).
905. อานิสงส์กองหยากเยื่อ [*Anisong kòng yak yüa*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 5 folios; undated.
985. อานิสงส์ศีลห้าศีลแปด [*Anisong sin ha sin paet*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 22 folios; undated.

1007. อานิสงส์สรรพทาน [*Anisong sapphathan*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 110 folios; CS 1300 (CE 1938).
1021. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์บูชาตุริยนนตรีสงเสพ; อานิสงส์ถวายข้าวบูชาพระเจดีย์ [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of musical instrument; Rewards derived from the donation of rice to pagodas], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 6 folios; CS 1283 (CE 1921).
1029. อานิสงส์สิมมา [*Anisong simma*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 11 folios; undated.
1031. อานิสงส์อาบธาตุ [*Anisong ap that*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 11 folios; undated.
1043. อานิสงส์สรรพทาน [*Anisong sapphathan*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 199 folios; CS 1275 (CE 1913).
1154. อานิสงส์ถวายผ้าจำวัสสา [*Anisong thawai pha cam watsa*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 6 folios; undated.
1209. อานิสงส์ทานผ้ากฐิน [*Anisong than pha kathin*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 8 folios; CS 1287 (CE 1925).
1210. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์ผ้าอาบน้าฝน; อานิสงส์ผ้าทอด [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season; Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 7 folios; CS 1285 (CE 1923).
1211. อานิสงส์ผ้าบังสุกุล [*Anisong pha bangsukun*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 5 folios; CS 1286 (CE 1924).
1212. อานิสงส์ข้าวประดับดิน [*Anisong khao pradap din*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 8 folios; CS 1289 (CE 1927).
1213. อานิสงส์ผ้าอาบน้าฝน [*Anisong pha ap nam fon*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; 3 folios; undated.

1.1.4 Collection of Phayap University Archives (PUA)

- 12.4. อานิสงส์ธาตุทราย [*Anisong that sai*], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 11 sides; undated.
- 13.9. อานิสงส์สรรพทานชาดก [*Anisong sapphathan chadok*], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 7 sides; CS 1369 (CE 2007).

- 14.34. อานิสงส์ธงเหล็กทอง [*Anisong thong lek thong thong*], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 13 sides; undated.
- 14.39. อานิสงส์เสื่อสาด [*Anisong süa sat*], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 18 sides; undated.
- 15.1. อานิสงส์ปีใหม่ [*Anisong pi mai*], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 20 sides; CS 1359 (CE 1997).
- 15.19. อานิสงส์สร้างพุทธรูป [*Anisong sang phuttharup*], industrial paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 9 sides; undated.

1.1.5 Non-microfilmed manuscripts

- นน 03-06-320-428. อานิสงส์กวาดวัด [*Anisong kuat wat*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; unrecorded folios; CS 1263 (CE 1901).
- นน 11-06-003-01. อานิสงส์ฌาปนกิจ [*Anisong chapanakit*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; unrecorded folios; undated.
- นน 11-06-005-00. อานิสงส์สรรพทาน [*Anisong sapphathan*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; unrecorded folios; undated.
- นน 11-06-006-00. อานิสงส์สรรพทาน [*Anisong sapphathan*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali and Thai; script: Tham Lan Na; unrecorded folios; CS 1296 (CE 1934).

1.2 Manuscripts from Laos

1.2.1 Collection of the Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (DLLM)

- 01012906001-04. รวมอานิสงส์: ให้ข้าวชาวมืดเป็นทาน; สองลูกชายให้ทาน [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of twenty rice grains; Rewards of a son who donated gift-giving], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 22 folios; CS 1221 (CE 1859).
- 01012906001-05. รวมอานิสงส์: สองข้าวจี; สองข้าวจี [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice; Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 7 folios; undated.
- 01012906001-06. รวมอานิสงส์: สองข้าวประดับดิน; สองข้าวประดับดิน [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival; Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 15 folios; undated.

- 01012906001-07. รวมอานิสงส์: สล่องข้าวพันก้อน; สล่องข้าวพันก้อน [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls; Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 7 folios; CS 1368 (CE 2006).
- 01012906001-08. รวมอานิสงส์: สล่องเข้าสลาก; สล่องเข้าสลาก; สล่องเข้าสลาก [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival; Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival; Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 27 folios; undated.
- 01012906002-04. รวมอานิสงส์: สONGศพ; เทศนาฅาปนกิจวิภาค; สONGศพ; สONGศพ; สONGศพผีตาย [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the participation in funerals; Liturgy at funerals; Rewards derived from the participation in funerals; Rewards derived from the participation in funerals; Rewards derived from the participation in funerals], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 66 folios; CS 1266 (CE 1904).
- 01012906004-05. รวมอานิสงส์: สล่องพระเจดีย์ทราย; สล่องปราสาทผึ้ง; สล่องปราสาทผึ้ง; สล่องปราสาทผึ้ง [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from building sand stupas; Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles; Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles; Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 24 folios; undated.
- 01012906006-05. รวมอานิสงส์: สONGทุงฝ้าย; สONGทุงฝ้าย; สONGทุงฝ้าย; สONGทุงฝ้าย; สONGทุงฝ้าย; สONGทุงฝ้าย; สONGทุงฝ้าย; สONGทุงฝ้าย; สONGทุงฝ้าย [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of religious cotton flags; Rewards derived from the donation of religious cotton flags; Rewards derived from the donation of religious cotton flags; Rewards derived from the donation of religious cotton flags; Rewards derived from the donation of religious cotton flags; Rewards derived from the donation of religious cotton flags; Rewards derived from the donation of religious cotton flags; Rewards derived from the donation of religious cotton flags; Rewards derived from the donation of religious cotton flags], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 54 folios; CS 1156, CS 1270 (CE 1794, CE 1908).
- 01012906010-01. รวมอานิสงส์: สONGหต; สONGพระเจดีย์ทราย; สONGทุงทราย; สONGข้าวสังฆภัต; สONGเข้าสลากภัต; สONGเข้ากรรม; สONGประทีป; สONGผ้าน้ำฝน; สONGทุงเหล็ก; สONGราวเทียน; สONGข้าว; สONGศาลา; สONGน้ำสร้าง; สONGกะตียกุฎี; สONGอาราม [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the participation in monkhood-ranking promotion ceremonies; Rewards derived from building sand stupas; Rewards derived from the donation of religious sand-coated flags; Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food; Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival; Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food or the construction of pavilions for the Buddhist Infringement Penalty; Rewards derived from flying lantern balloons or floating banana-leaf vessels; Rewards derived

- from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season; Rewards derived from the donation of religious iron flags; Rewards derived from the donation of sconces; Rewards derived from the construction of public bridges; Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions; Rewards derived from the construction of wells; Rewards derived from the construction of abodes; Rewards derived from the construction of monasteries], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 95 folios; CS 1216 (CE 1854).
- 03021620008-00. สรรพประโยชน์ [*Sapphaphrayot*], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 90 sides; undated.
- 03021606002-02. ย่าขวัญข้าว [*Ya khwan khao*], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 16 sides; undated.
- 06011402132-08. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์สลากริวิชาสูตร; อานิสงส์ทำบุญเจ็ดวัน [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from *Salakariwicha sut* recitation; Rewards derived from merit-making for seven days], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 14 folios; CS 1334 (CE 1972).
- 06011406001-03. สลองกฐิน [*Salòng kathin*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 8 folios; CS 1330 (CE 1968).
- 06011406001-10. สองข้าวประดับดิน [*Sòng khao padap din*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 8 folios; CS 1196 (CE 1834).
- 06011406002-07. สองข้าว [*Sòng khua*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 10 folios; CS 1324 (CE 1962).
- 06011406002-09. อานิสงส์เข้าสลากริ [*Anisong khao salak*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 7 folios; CS 1332 (CE 1970).
- 06011406002-16. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์เข้าพรรษาและสองเข้าวัสสา; อานิสงส์สลองออกพรรษา [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from merit-making during the Buddhist Lent; Rewards derived from merit-making at the end of Buddhist Lent], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 14 folios; CS 1324 (CE 1962).
- 06011406003-03. สลองเจดีย์ทราย [*Salòng cedi sai*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 7 folios; CS 1330 (CE 1968).
- 06011406003-14. สองสรรพทาน [*Sòng sapphathan*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 10 folios; CS 1285 (CE 1923).
- 06011406003-24. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์สร้างพระไตรปิฎก; อานิสงส์ไตรปิฎก; อานิสงส์สร้างพระไตรปิฎก [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon; Rewards derived from copying the Buddhist canon; Rewards derived from copying the

- Buddhist canon], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 37 folios; CS 1304 (CE 1942).
- 06011406003-26. รวมอานิสงส์: สองเสี้ยหญ้า; สองประทับ; สองจम्म; สองพระ; สองเจดีย์ [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from growing grass; Rewards derived from the donation of light; Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions; Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images; Rewards derived from building pagodas], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 43 folios; CS 1214 (CE 1852).
- 06011406004-03. รวมอานิสงส์: สองผ้าฝั้ฝน; สองทุง; สองศาลา [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season; Rewards derived from the donation of religious flags; Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 18 folios; CS 1160 (CE 1798).
- 06011406004-05. สองศพคนตาย [*Sòng sop khon tai*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 19 folios; CS 1310 (CE 1948).
- 06011406004-06. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์สังฆทาน; อานิสงส์ถวายสรรพทานทั่วไป [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving; Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 15 folios; CS 1324 (CE 1962).
- 06011406004-07. อานิสงส์สร้างโรงพยาบาลโรงหมอ [*Anisong sang hong phayaban hong mò*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 7 folios; CS 1324 (CE 1962).
- 06011406004-09. สองพระสังกาดล่อง [*Sòng pha sangkat lòng*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 13 folios; CS 1209 (CE 1847).
- 06011406004-11. สองศพ [*Sòng sop*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 8 folios; CS 1284 (CE 1922).
- 06011406004-15. รวมอานิสงส์: สองต้นกาลพฤกษ์; สองน้ำสร้าง; สองยดหญ้า [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from growing *Kanlapaphruk* tress; Rewards derived from the construction of wells; Rewards derived from growing grass], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 24 folios; CS 1198 (CE 1836).
- 06011406004-17. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์ฉลองแต่งงาน; อานิสงส์ถวายผ้าป่าบังสุกุล [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from merit-making on wedding ceremonies; Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 15 folios; CS 1324 (CE 1962).
- 06011406005-15. อานิสงส์ทำบุญวันเกิด [*Anisong bun wan koet*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 7 folios; CS 1335 (CE 1973).

- 06011406005-16. สองธาตุพระทราย [*Sòng that pha sai*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 9 folios; CS 1299 (CE 1937).
- 06011406005-23. อานิสงส์ถวายทานทั่วไป [*Anisong thawai than thua pai*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 8 folios; CS 1333 (CE 1971).
- 06011406005-24. อานิสงส์ถวายผ้าป่า [*Anisong thawai pha pa*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 6 folios; CS 1333 (CE 1971).
- 06011406006-04. สองอานิสงส์บุญที่ได้ทานไปหาผู้ตาย [*Sòng anisong bun thi dai than pai ha phu tai*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 10 folios; CS 1342 (CE 1980).
- 06011406006-05. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์สองบวชพระเณร; อานิสงส์แห่งสองเถรภิเษก [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies; Rewards derived from the participation in monkhood-ranking promotion ceremonies], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 13 folios; CS 1324 (CE 1962).
- 06011406006-06. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์สองบวช; อานิสงส์อันถวายเครื่องเถรภิเษก; อานิสงส์ทานปราสาทผึ้ง [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies; Rewards derived from the donation of commodities for ecclesiastic promotion ceremonies; Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 17 folios; CS 1324 (CE 1962).
- 06011406009-03. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 16 folios; CS 1219 (CE 1857).
- 06011406012-19. รวมอานิสงส์: สองปราสาทผึ้ง; สองอานิสงส์ถวายอัฐิ; สองอานิสงส์สังฆทาน; สองต้นกัลปพฤกษ์; สองข้าวแจก [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of beeswax castles; Rewards derived from the donation of eight commodities for monks; Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving; Rewards derived from growing *Kanlapaphrik* trees in monasteries; Rewards derived from the donation of cooked rice], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 27 folios; CS 1335 (CE 1973).
- 06011406012-23. รวมอานิสงส์: สองผ้าอุโบสถ; สองเสียดหญ้า; สองพุทธรูป [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of carpets for monastic halls; Rewards derived from growing grass; Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 25 folios; CS 1169 (CE 1807).
- 06011406013-14. รวมอานิสงส์: สองฟังธรรม; สองฟังธรรม [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma; Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 12 folios; CS 1292 (CE 1930).

- 06011406013-16. รวมอานิสงส์: มงคลสูตร; มงคลสูตร; อานิสงส์มงคลสูตร [A series of *anisong* texts: Thirty-eight steps towards enlightened life; Thirty-eight steps towards enlightened life; Rewards derived from following the thirty-eight steps towards enlightened life], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 31 folios; CS 1336 (CE 1974).
- 06011406014-01. สองยดหญ้า [*Sòng yot ya*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 9 folios; CS 1330 (CE 1968).
- 06011406014-05. รวมอานิสงส์: สองข้าวสลาภ; สองข้าวดับดิน; สองข้าวบิณฑบาต; สองวัด [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival; Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival; Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food; Rewards derived from the construction of public toilets], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 23 folios; CS 1155 (CE 1793).
- 06011406014-08. สล่องเวสสันตระ [*Salòng wetsantala*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 10 folios; CS 1179 (CE 1817).
- 06011406014-15. รวมอานิสงส์: สองอุโมงค์; สองคัมภีร์ [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the construction of chapels; Rewards derived from copying religious books], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 27 folios; CS 1198 (CE 1836).
- 06011406019-01. รวมอานิสงส์: สองร่ม; สองหตุสรงพระเจ้า; สองตุรียนนตรี; สองพาม [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of umbrellas; Rewards derived from bathing Buddha images; Rewards derived from the donation of musical instrument; Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 26 folios; CS 1195 (CE 1833).
- 06018504078-00. ปารีวาร [*Pariwan*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Pali; script: Tham Lao; 22 folios; CS 882 (CE 1520).
- 06018506004-04. สล่องสร้างพระไตรปิฎก [*Salòng sang pha tai pidok*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 6 folios; CS 1304 (CE 1942).
- 06018506008-04. สองทุงเหล็ก [*Sòng thung lek*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 6 folios; CS 1269 (CE 1907).
- 06018506008-09. สองทุงฝ้าย [*Sòng thung fai*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 8 folios; CS 1233 (CE 1871).
- 06018506008-10. รวมอานิสงส์: สองทุงหาง; สองข้าวสุก [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of religious tailed flags; Rewards derived from the donation of cooked rice], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 17 folios; CS 1200 (CE 1838).

- 06018506010-03. สองผ้าน้ำฝน [*Sòng pha nam fon*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 6 folios; CS 1196 (CE 1834).
- 06018506010-06. สองบังสุกุล [*Sòng bangsukun*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 7 folios; CS 1216 (CE 1854).
- 06018506013-03. สองคัมภีร์ [*Sòng khamphi*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 10 folios; CS 1270 (CE 1908).
- 06018506015-05. สองหีบ [*Sòng hip*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 7 folios; CS 1235 (CE 1873).
- 06018506016-01. รวมอานิสงส์: สองสรงธาตุ; สองให้ทานไฟ; สองวิต [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from bathing pagodas; Rewards derived from the donation of light; Rewards derived from the construction of public toilets], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 25 folios; CS 1215 (CE 1853).
- 06018506018-05. สองบวช [*Salòng buat*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 7 folios; CS 1164 (CE 1802).
- 06018506021-01. หอสามอาน [*Hò suam ap*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 3 folios; CS 1368 (CE 2006).
- 06018506022-01. สองน้ำ [*Sòng nam*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 4 folios; CS 1152 (CE 1790).
- 06018506022-07. อานิสงส์สร้างพระไตรปิฎก [*Anisong sang pha tai pidok*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 14 folios; CS 1304 (CE 1942).
- 08090407021-00. เวสสันดรชาดก [*Wetsantala chadok*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 209 folios; CS 1257 (CE 1895).
- 17010106001-11. สองแปงพาม [*Salòng paeng pham*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 11 folios; CS 1014 (CE 1652).

1.2.2 Collection of the Buddhist Archive of Photography (BAP)

- BAD-11-1-0049. สองทุงเหล็ก [*Sòng thung lek*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 6 folios; CS 1261 (CE 1899).
- BAD-11-1-0052. สองทุงเหล็ก [*Sòng thung lek*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 6 folios; CS 1203 (CE 1841).
- BAD-13-1-0026. สองมหากฐิน [*Salòng maha kathin*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 5 folios; CS 1340 (CE 1978).

- BAD-13-1-0068. วิสุทธีมรรค [*Wisutthimak*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 5 folios; undated.
- BAD-13-1-0075. สองข้าวประดับดิน [*Sòng khao padap din*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 5 folios; CS 1262 (CE 1900).
- BAD-13-1-0093. สองข้าวพันก้อน [*Salòng khao phan kòn*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 5 folios; undated.
- BAD-13-1-0112. สองข้าวพันก้อน [*Sòng khao phan kòn*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 5 folios; CS 1352 (CE 1990).
- BAD-13-1-0157. รวมอานิสงส์: สองดอกไม้ธูปเทียน; สองเผาผี; สองมหาเวสสันดรชาดก [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of flowers, incense sticks and candles; Rewards derived from the participation in funerals; Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 40 folios; CS 1306 (CE 1944).
- BAD-13-1-0189. ทิพพมนต์น้อย [*Thippamon nòi*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 8 folios; CS 1278 (CE 1916).
- BAD-13-1-0191. อานิสงส์พอกคำ [*Anisong phòk kham*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 6 folios; undated.
- BAD-13-1-0206. อานิสงส์เฮ็ดบุญวันเกิด [*Anisong het bun wan koet*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 6 folios; CS 1350 (CE 1988).
- BAD-13-1-0302. อานิสงส์ก่อพระเจดีย์ทราย [*Anisong kò pha cedi sai*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 6 folios; undated.
- BAD-13-1-0370. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 9 folios; CS 1301 (CE 1939).
- BAD-13-1-0371. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 14 folios; undated.
- BAD-13-1-0372. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 9 folios; CS 1255 (CE 1893).
- BAD-13-1-0374. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 9 folios; CS 1301 (CE 1939).
- BAD-13-1-0377. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 11 folios; CS 1301 (CE 1939).
- BAD-13-1-0378. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 6 folios; CS 1248 (CE 1886).

- BAD-13-1-0379. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 27 folios; CS 1231 (CE 1869).
- BAD-13-1-0380. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 10 folios; CS 1290 (CE 1928).
- BAD-13-1-0381. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 10 folios; CS 1301 (CE 1939).
- BAD-13-1-0382. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 9 folios; undated.
- BAD-13-1-0384. สองข้าวประดับดิน [*Sòng khao padap din*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 5 folios; undated.
- BAD-13-1-0385. สองศพผีตาย [*Sòng sop phi tai*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 19 folios; CS 1273 (CE 1911).
- BAD-13-1-0387. สองสรรพทุง [*Sòng sapphathung*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 6 folios; CS 1272 (CE 1910).
- BAD-13-1-0388. สองข้าวประดับดิน [*Sòng khao padap din*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 4 folios; undated.
- BAD-13-1-0390. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 9 folios; undated.
- BAD-13-1-0391. สองข้าวพันก้อน [*Sòng khao phan kòn*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 29 folios; CS 1287 (CE 1925).
- BAD-13-1-0403. สองข้าวประดับดิน [*Sòng khao padap din*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 10 folios; CS 1304 (CE 1942).
- BAD-13-1-0405. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 7 folios; undated.
- BAD-13-1-0685. สองข้าวพันก้อน [*Salòng khao phan kòn*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 6 folios; CS 1344 (CE 1982).
- BAD-13-1-0721. สองข้าวพันก้อน [*Salòng khao phan kòn*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 22 folios; CS 1307 (CE 1945).
- BAD-13-1-0786. สองยดหญ้า [*Sòng yot ya*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 30 folios; CS 1308 (CE 1946).
- BAD-13-2-031. รวมอานิสงส์: สองสร้างหนังสือ; สองผ้าอาบน้ำฝน [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from copying religious books; Rewards derived from the donation of

- monk robes in the rainy season], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 8 sides; CS 1366 (CE 2004).
- BAD-13-2-032. รวมอานิสงส์: สองสลาก; สองข้าวประดับดิน [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao salak* festival; Rewards derived from the participation in the *Khao pradap din* festival], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 8 sides; undated.
- BAD-13-2-033. อานิสงส์สร้างพระไตรปิฎก [*Anisong sang pha tai pidok*], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 6 sides; undated.
- BAD-13-2-034. รวมอานิสงส์: สองจีวร; สองรักษาศีล; สองพระพุทธรูป; สองปลงศพหรือเผาผี [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes; Rewards derived from precept observance; Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images; Rewards derived from the participation in funerals], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 12 sides; CS 1366 (CE 2004).
- BAD-13-2-035. รวมอานิสงส์: สองก่อแท่นศรีมหาโพธิ์; สองเวจกุดี; สองสังฆทาน; สองสร้างสะพานข้าว [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of tree poles; Rewards derived from the construction of toilets; Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving; Rewards derived from the construction of bridges], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 11 sides; undated.
- BAD-13-2-036. รวมอานิสงส์: สองกฐินทาน; สองฟังธรรม; สองบวช; สองศาลา [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the participation in the *Kathin* festival; Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma; Rewards derived from sponsoring ordination ceremonies; Rewards derived from the construction of pavilions], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 13 sides; CS 1366 (CE 2004).
- BAD-13-2-037. รวมอานิสงส์: สองปลงศพหรือเผาผี; สองจีวร; สองพระพุทธรูป; สองปลงศพหรือเผาผี [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the participation in funerals; Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes; Rewards derived from the donation of Buddha images; Rewards derived from the participation in funerals], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 7 sides; CS 1366 (CE 2004).
- BAD-13-2-038. รวมอานิสงส์: สองมหาเวสสันดรชาดก; สองสรรพทาน; สองดอกไม้ธูปเทียน; สองข้าวจี [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from listening to Vessantara Jātaka; Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving; Rewards derived from the donation of flowers, incense sticks and candles; Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 19 sides; CS 1366 (CE 2004).
- BAD-13-2-081. มหามูลนิพพานสูตร [*Maha Munlanipphan Sut*], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 42 sides; CS 1368 (CE 2006).

- BAD-13-2-083. ปารมี [Palami], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 9 sides; undated.
- BAD-13-2-087. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์ฟังธรรม; อานิสงส์เผาผี [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from listening to the Dhamma; Rewards derived from the participation in funerals], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 20 sides; undated.
- BAD-13-2-092. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์ข้าวประดับดินใส่บาตร; อานิสงส์เข้าสลากใส่บาตร; อานิสงส์สังฆทาน [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food on occasion of the *Khao pradap din* festival; Rewards derived from the donation of alms-food on occasion of the *Khao salak* festival; Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 21 sides; undated.
- BAD-13-2-093. อานิสงส์ถวายกฐิน [*Anisong thawai kathin*], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 21 sides; undated.
- BAD-13-2-095. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์สรรพทาน; อานิสงส์รักษาศีล [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of all kinds of gift-giving; Rewards derived from precept observance], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 21 sides; undated.
- BAD-13-2-096. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์วิสาขบูชา; อานิสงส์ถวายข้าวจี๋ [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the participation in the *Wisakha bucha* festival; Rewards derived from the donation of baked rice], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 20 sides; undated.
- BAD-13-2-097. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์สลอดอกไม้; สลอบข้าวพันก้อน; อานิสงส์สร้างเวจกุดี [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of flowers; Rewards derived from the donation of one-thousand rice balls; Rewards derived from the construction of toilets], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 25 sides; undated.
- BAD-13-2-098. รวมอานิสงส์: สลอบผ้าหน้าฝน; อานิสงส์ผ้าจำนำพรรษา [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season; Rewards derived from the donation of monk robes in the rainy season], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 20 sides; undated.
- BAD-13-2-099. รวมอานิสงส์: อานิสงส์มาฆบูชา; อานิสงส์ถวายผ้าเพดาน [A series of *anisong* texts: Rewards derived from the participation in the *Makha bucha* festival; Rewards derived from the donation of ceiling cloth], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 21 sides; undated.

- BAD-17-1-0026. สุตมนต์น้อย [*Sutmon nòi*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 47 folios; CS 1301 (CE 1939).
- BAD-19-1-0137. อานิสงส์บุญวันเกิด [*Anisong bun wan koet*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 9 folios; CS 1346 (CE 1984).
- BAD-21-1-0039. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 7 folios; CS 1318 (CE 1956).
- BAD-21-1-0071. สองหด [*Sòng hot*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 21 folios; CS 1126 (CE 1764).
- BAD-21-1-0147. ปัญญาบารมีหลวง [*Panya balami luang*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 27 folios; CS 1179 (CE 1817).
- BAD-21-1-0187. ปัญญาบารมีหลวง [*Panya balami luang*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 22 folios; CS 1179 (CE 1817).
- BAD-21-1-0188. สองกฐิน [*Salòng kathin*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 30 folios; undated.
- BAD-21-1-0189. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 12 folios; CS 1302 (CE 1940).
- BAD-21-1-0190. สองปิฎก [*Sòng pitaka*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 18 folios; CS 1306 (CE 1944).
- BAD-21-1-0191. สองสร้างหนังสือหรือสองปิฎก [*Sòng sang nangsi lü sòng pitaka*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 5 folios; CS 1318 (CE 1956).
- BAD-21-1-0192. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 14 folios; CS 1322 (CE 1960).
- BAD-21-1-0193. สองสรรพทาน [*Sòng sapphantan*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 10 folios; undated.
- BAD-21-1-0194. สองยดยวัตวา [*Sòng yot ya wat wa*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 11 folios; CS 1307 (CE 1945).
- BAD-21-1-0195. สองทุ่งฝ้าย [*Sòng thung fai*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 6 folios; undated.
- BAD-21-1-0196. สองมหาเวส [*Sòng mahawet*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 20 folios; CS 1230 (CE 1868).
- BAD-21-1-0197. สองสัวมอาบ [*Sòng suam ap*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 26 folios; CS 1242 (CE 1880).

- BAD-21-1-0227. สองทุงเหล็ก [*Sòng thung lek*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 20 folios; CS 1297 (CE 1935).
- BAD-21-1-0296. สองกำแพง [*Sòng kamphaeng*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 10 folios; undated.
- BAD-21-1-0297. สองรุ่ม [*Sòng hom*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 13 folios; undated.
- BAD-21-1-0428. สองรักษาศีล [*Sòng haksa sin*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 7 folios; CS 1312 (CE 1950).
- BAD-21-1-0431. อานิสงส์ทำบุญเจ็ดวัน [*Anisong tham bun cet wan*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 8 folios; CS 1310 (CE 1948).
- BAD-21-1-0432. อานิสงส์ใส่บาตรพระเวลาเช้า [*Anisong sai bat pha wela chao*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 5 folios; CS 1310 (CE 1948).
- BAD-21-1-0433. อานิสงส์สร้างพระพุทธรูป [*Anisong sang pha phutthahup*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 5 folios; CS 1313 (CE 1951).
- BAD-21-1-0434. อานิสงส์สร้างหนังสือ [*Anisong sang nangsi*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 5 folios; undated.
- BAD-21-1-0435. อานิสงส์รักษาศีลอุโบสถ [*Anisong haksa sin ubosot*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 12 folios; CS 1308 (CE 1946).
- BAD-21-1-0437. สองพระพุทธรูป [*Sòng pha phutthahup*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 4 folios; undated.
- BAD-21-1-0438. สองผ้าป่าฝนและผ้าจํานำพรรษา [*Sòng pha nam fon lae pha camnam phansa*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 7 folios; CS 1302 (CE 1940).
- BAD-21-1-0440. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 9 folios; CS 1301 (CE 1939).
- BAD-21-1-0441. สองสรรพทาน [*Sòng sapphathan*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 9 folios; CS 1287 (CE 1925).
- BAD-21-1-0442. สองแปงทาง [*Sòng paeng thang*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 4 folios; undated.
- BAD-21-1-0443. สองพระทราย [*Sòng pha sai*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 7 folios; CS 1302 (CE 1940).
- BAD-21-1-0444. สองประทีป [*Sòng pa thip*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 33 folios; CS 1299 (CE 1937).

- BAD-21-1-0445. สองสรรพทาน [*Sòng sapphathan*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 10 folios; undated.
- BAD-21-1-0447. ปัญญาบารมี [*Panya balami*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 9 folios; undated.
- BAD-21-1-0448. สองทอกลงหลวง [*Sòng hò klòng luang*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 21 folios; CS 1299 (CE 1937).
- BAD-21-1-0568. ปัญญาบารมีหลวง [*Panya balami luang*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 116 folios; CS 1181 (CE 1819).
- BAD-21-2-004. สลontanดอกไม้ [*Salòng than dòk mai*], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 10 folios; CS 1357 (CE 1995).
- BAD-19-1-0137. อานิสงส์บุญวันเกิด [*Anisong bun wan koet*], palm-leaf manuscript; language: Lao and Pali; script: Tham Lao; 9 folios; undated.

1.2.3 Collection of Volker Grabowsky (CVG)

- MS.NCS-NKL. อานิสงส์เศรษฐีสังข์ขาว [*Anisong setthi song khao*], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 9 sides; undated.
- MS.2013. อานิสงส์สรรพทาน [*Anisong sapphathan*], industrial paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 19 sides; CS 1375 (CE 2013).
- MS.2016-1. อานิสงส์สรรพทาน [*Anisong sapphathan*], industrial paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 9 sides; undated.
- VXC.3. อานิสงส์มหาเวสสันดรชาดก [*Anisong maha wetsantala chadok*], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 5 sides; undated.

1.3 Manuscripts from southern China

Collection of Volker Grabowsky (CVG)

- CR 2016-3. อานิสงส์สรรพทานชาดก [*Anisong sapphathan chadok*], industrial paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 15 sides; CS 1373 (CE 2011).
- CR 2016-4. อานิสงส์สรรพทาน [*Anisong sapphathan*], industrial paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 21 sides; undated.
- CR 2016-5. อานิสงส์เศรษฐีทานหอมพ่อแม่ [*Anisong setthi than chòm phò mae*], industrial paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 31 sides; undated.

- ML.1. อานิสงส์ภาวานา [*Anisong phawana*], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 34 sides; CS 1360 (CE 1998).
- ML.2. อานิสงส์เจดีย์ [*Anisong cedi*], mulberry paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 10 sides; CS 1362 (CE 2000).
- ML.6. อานิสงส์สรรพทาน [*Anisong sapphathan*], industrial paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 10 sides; undated.
- ML.8. อานิสงส์ทานจงเหล็กงทอง [*Anisong than thong lek thong thong*], industrial paper manuscript; language: Pali and Tai Lü; script: Tham Lü; 10 sides; undated.

2. Literature

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4. Interviews

Khamhak Wòlakhun, a participant in an *Anisong sapphathan* preaching, Luang Prabang, Laos on 11 February 2017.

Mr. Viengsamai Phombamloung, the librarian of the monastic library and an English teacher of the monastic school at Vat Ong Tü, Vientiane, Laos on 13–14 March 2017.

Pha Kham Phai Phasuko, the abbot of Vat Phabat Tai, Luang Prabang, Laos on 11 February 2017.

Pongsakorn Choosakdawiwat, a layman, Nan province, Thailand on 11 August 2018.

Lebenslauf entfällt aus datenschutzrechtlichen Gründen

Zusammenfassung

Diese vergleichende Studie untersucht zwei Korpora von Manuskripten, die *anisong* genannte homiletische Texte enthalten, welche vor allem in Laos und Nordthailand sehr verbreitet sind und eine große Popularität genießen. Gewöhnlich werden Manuskripte mit *Anisong*-Texten auf Palmblatt und – in deutlich geringerem Umfang – auf Maulbeerbaumpapier geschrieben. Diese werden von Mönchen und Novizen in verschiedenen Zeremonien verwendet. Sie werden häufig an buddhistische Klöster und die Gemeinschaft von Mönchen und Novizen (Sangha) gestiftet und erfüllen somit eine wichtige Funktion in der sozialen und ökonomischen Interaktion zwischen Laientum und Sangha. Das Korpus von *Anisong*-Manuskripten aus Nordthailand besteht aus 207 Palmblattbündeln, (Thai: *mat*) mit insgesamt 339 Faszikeln (*phuk*), während das Korpus laotischer *Anisong*-Manuskripte – vor allem aus der alten Königsstadt Luang Prabang, dem Zentrum des laotischen Buddhismus – 143 Bündel mit 366 Faszikeln umfasst. Viele der *Anisong*-Manuskripte sind echte Multiple-Text-Manuskripte oder Sammelhandschriften (Composite Manuscripts).

Anisong (Pali: *ānisaṃsa*) bedeutet wörtlich ‘Vorteil’ oder ‘Belohnung’, die aus einer verdienstvollen Tat (P: *puñña*, Th/L: *bun*) resultiert. In Laos sind *Anisong* bekannt unter der Bezeichnung *salòng* oder *sòng* in Laos, einem Khmer-Lehnwort, das ‘Überquerung’ oder – in einem übertragenen Sinn ‘Feierlichkeit’ bedeutet. *Anisong* erklären unter Bezug auf den Buddha als höchste Autorität die Art der Belohnungen, die aus bestimmten religiös verdienstvollen Taten erwachsen. *Anisong*-Predigten sollen vor allem die als Spender auftretenden buddhistischen Laien von zu erwartenden Resultaten ihrer karmisch vorteilhaften Spenden an den Sangha überzeugen.

Um die Beziehung zwischen *Anisong*-Manuskripten und Ritualen zu untersuchen, werden theoretische und methodologische Konzepte sowohl aus den Ritualstudien als auch der Manuskriptologie herangezogen. Konkret werden die folgenden vier Forschungsfragen untersucht: (1) Welche Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten, begründet durch verschiedene Faktoren, gibt es in den beiden Regionen Nordthailand und Laos im Hinblick auf Gebrauch und Funktionen von *Anisong*-Manuskripten in diversen Arten von Ritualen? (2) Welche Eigenschaften von *Anisong*-Manuskripten werden in den Texten wie Paratexten offenbart? (3) Wie werden *Anisong*-Manuskripte in den beiden Regionen tradiert, und auf welche Weise spiegeln sie die sozialen Beziehungen zwischen Sangha und Laien wider? Und (4) welche Rolle spielen *Anisong*-Manuskripte bei der Transformation von ursprünglich nicht-buddhistischen in buddhistische Rituale und Zeremonien?

Anisong-Manuskripte sind besonders geprägt von Dynamik, Mobilität, Regulierbarkeit, Flexibilität, Wandlung und einer engen Verbindung zwischen *Sangha* und Laien in Übereinstimmung mit ihrem derzeitigen unmittelbaren Gebrauch sowohl als Träger von Texten (Inhalt) als auch als rituell aufgeladene Objekte. *Anisong*-Manuskripte aus dem Norden Thailands bezwecken hauptsächlich zur inhaltlichen Aufrechterhaltung, während jene

aus Laos eher beabsichtigt wurden für den Nutzen des unmittelbaren Gebrauches. *Anisong* Texte (Inhalte) und Handschriften (Objekte), angefertigt im nördlichen Thailand, fokussieren daher auf herkömmlichen Texten und Textsammlungen, während in Laos *Anisong* als Texte (Inhalte) wie auch als Manuskripte (Objekte) in erster Linie in Predigten aktuell verwendet werden und „moderne“ Einflüsse aufweisen. Derartige Unterschiede veranschaulichen eindringlich, dass in Laos *Anisong*-Manuskripte stark modernistische Züge aufweisen, während die entsprechenden nordthailändischen Manuskripte eher ihre herkömmlichen oder traditionellen Merkmale bewahrt haben. Ein gemeinsames Merkmal der *Anisong*-Manuskripte in beiden Regionen ist, dass sie die Zueignung von Gegenständen als Austausch für verdienstvolle Belohnungen widerspiegeln, dem fundamentalen buddhistischen Glauben an Freigebigkeit oder *dāna* folgend, welche als Haupteigenschaft von *Anisong*-Predigten betrachtet wird.

Eidesstattliche Erklärung

Ich versichere an Eides Statt durch meine eigene Unterschrift, dass ich die eingereichte Arbeit selbstständig und ohne fremde Hilfe angefertigt und alle Stellen, die wörtlich oder annähernd wörtlich aus Veröffentlichungen entnommen sind, als solche kenntlich gemacht habe und mich auch keiner anderen als der angegebenen Literatur bedient habe. Diese Versicherung bezieht sich auch auf die in der Arbeit verwendeten Zeichnungen, Skizzen, bildlichen Darstellungen und dergleichen.



Unterschrift

(Silpsupa Jaengsawang)