

Material Evidence for Ritual Chant in Early Modern Siam: Leporello Manuscripts as Affordances for Deathbed Rites

TRENT WALKER

University of Michigan

Abstract: This article examines material evidence for deathbed chanting in nineteenth-century Siam (today's central and southern Thailand), focusing on folded-paper leporello manuscripts used for group chanting by monks on behalf of the terminally ill. As physical objects, these Khom-script leporellos convey much more than the Pali texts they transmit. Their paratextual dimensions, including colophons, ritual sequences, and chanting instructions, confirm that the specific material format and arrangement of leporellos made them a crucial piece of ritual technology in the deathbed context. Taking their materiality seriously reveals that such manuscripts are more than just records or manuals; they are affordances that made certain end-of-life rituals possible in early modern Siam. Drawing on examples from Thai, American, and European collections, this essay demonstrates how abundant paratexts unite the material and ritual dimensions of these manuscripts.

Keywords: Thailand, Buddhism, ritual, materiality, chanting, Pali, paratexts

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.15239/hijbs.07.02.11>

Across the Buddhist world, many rituals rely on robust textual documentation. Complex rites for inaugurating sacred images, memorialising the dead, or confirming initiation into a meditation lineage are often guided by textual manuals that explain exactly what actions each participant should perform, in what sequence, and with what techniques. This is particularly true for traditions that favour more intensive engagement with explicitly ritualised procedures, including in esoteric contexts in East Asia, Mongolia, and Tibet; Tantric Buddhism features some of the most voluminous and meticulously detailed ritual texts ever created. Even for the Theravāda tradition in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, where written ritual manuals have been far less researched, manuscript archives are replete with vernacular-language texts that describe exactly how to perform funerals, initiations, consecrations, and other ceremonies.¹ For other Theravāda rituals, however, including rites for the terminally ill, few manuals appear in manuscript sources. How might we study these rituals and trace how they have developed over time?

For contemporary Theravāda studies, steeped in anthropological expertise, the obvious response is to conduct ethnographic fieldwork. The deep well of knowledge generated through such research continues to shape the field today; we are fortunate that many Buddhist rituals across Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia have been documented and reflected upon by several generations of local and international scholars. Ceremonies of giving, construction, consecration, ordination, initiation, mourning, and transferring merit to the deceased have been described in considerable detail, especially from the 1960s to the present. However, anthropological methods can only go so far in offering insights for time periods prior to when the fieldwork was performed. Peering further back into the past, beyond the horizon of direct observation and communal memory, may be impossible in the absence of written records.

This article considers a family of rites that have been rarely documented in ethnographic work on Theravāda societies, namely

¹ For examples of such manuals, see Davis, *Deathpower*, 53–76; Bernon, *Le manuel*, 417–614; Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha*, 77–172.

deathbed chanting performed by monks for the sake of the gravely ill. Unlike funeral chanting, which is typically public and easily accessible to both ordinary laypeople as well as visiting ethnographers, recitation of Buddhist texts for the sick is often a more private affair, taking place within the enclosed sphere of a family home and a close-knit circle of kin. What are the key stages and structures of such rites, and how do they relate to the better-known realm of mortuary ceremonies? Though research on twentieth and twenty-first-century Theravāda Buddhist deathbed rites in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia has begun to emerge,² there is still little to match the historical depth achieved by recent studies on end-of-life rituals in East Asia and the Himalayas.³ The paucity of ritual manuals for deathbed practices in a Theravāda context makes pre-1900 rites especially challenging to study.

Manuscripts used in deathbed ceremonies provide important clues. The body of evidence I consider in this essay sits at the intersection of ritual and materiality: accordion-folded paper manuscripts (also known as leporellos) from nineteenth-century Siam (specifically in what is now central and southern Thailand) that record Pali-language chants for end-of-life rites. These manuscripts are largely written in Khom script, a variant of Khmer script used in Thailand for religious writings, with brief passages in Thai script.⁴ As physical objects, these leporellos convey much more than the

² Langer, *Buddhist Rituals of Death and Rebirth*, 10–16; Stonington, ‘Facing Death’; *idem*, *The Spirit Ambulance*. A brief example from 1884, discussing recitation of the phrase *braḥ arahaṃ* by the dying and their relatives, appears in Bradley, ‘Siamese Customs for the Dying and Dead’, 247–48. For a study of traditional and modern manuals for deathbed practices in the Cambodian context, see Walker, ‘Unfolding Buddhism’, 228–46.

³ The most in-depth study of premodern rites is Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment*. Other works of note include Birnbaum, ‘The Deathbed Image’; Blum, ‘Never Die Alone’; Desjarlais, *Subject to Death*; Shinohara, ‘The Moment of Death’; Stone, ‘The Secret Art of Dying’.

⁴ On these scripts, see Peera, *Ayutthaya Literature*, 79–82; Kongkaew, ‘Ākṣar khām khām daiy’; Ignuma, ‘Aksoon Khoom’; Antelme, ‘Inventaire provisoire’.

Pali texts they transmit. Their paratextual dimensions,⁵ including colophons, textual sequences, and chanting instructions, confirm that the specific material format and arrangement of leporello manuscripts made them a crucial piece of ritual technology in the deathbed context.⁶ The material dimensions of leporellos support the ritual logic and embodied performance of end-of-life chanting. In other words, these manuscripts are more than just records or manuals; they are affordances that made certain end-of-life rituals possible in early modern Siam.

From the standpoint of Theravāda ritual history, understanding leporellos as material affordances for end-of-life rites has several implications. One, the scribes and sponsors who created these manuscripts made them specifically as material supports for chanting rituals and were aware that the objects they created would be circulated between different users and monasteries. Two, deathbed practices in nineteenth-century Siam were structured to flow seamlessly from chanting for the dying to chanting for the dead, a sequence reflected in the physical layout of the manuscripts themselves. Three, the ritual logic of such practices in early modern Siam depended on the performative possibilities of a large-format, paratext-enriched leporello, which guided the complex, highly musical orchestration of these rites by multiple monks. In what follows, I draw on examples of nineteenth-century Siamese leporellos from Thai, American, and European collections that reveal how abundant paratexts unite the material and ritual dimensions of these manuscripts.

⁵ For the use of paratexts in a Theravāda context, I am inspired by Ciotti and Lin, eds., *Tracing Manuscripts*; Peera, *Ayutthaya Literature*, 22–27; and Silpsupa, *Relationship between Anisong Manuscripts and Rituals*, 30–36. See also Walker, ‘Unfolding Buddhism’, 48–99.

⁶ For the term ‘ritual technology’, I am indebted to Davis, ‘Weaving Life out of Death’, 76. On the idea of manuscripts as ‘tools’, I have benefited from Silpsupa, *Relationship between Anisong Manuscripts and Rituals*, 7.

Siamese Chanted Leporellos: For the Dying and the Dead

Thai Buddhist temples play host to a stunning array of ritual practices, many of which involve various forms of chant. Living memory, audio recordings, and anthropological records allow us to see some of the ways such rituals have transformed over the past hundred years or so. But what about earlier centuries? What material evidence remains for the ritual recitation of Buddhist texts from the late Ayutthaya (1351–1767), Thonburi (1767–1782), and early Rattanakosin (1782–present) periods? Royal chronicles and law codes, as well as reports by foreign missionaries, confirm that Pali- and Thai-language chants, including their most musically expressive formulations, were an essential part of Buddhist rites during these eras.⁷ Yet such sources rarely provide details regarding what texts were chanted, in what sequence they were recited, the instructions given to the performers, and the musical structures of the chants themselves. To uncover these and other specifics regarding Buddhist recitation practices in end-of-life rites, we need to turn to one side of the material record: manuscripts specifically crafted as supports for chanting.

There are two primary forms of premodern Buddhist manuscripts in Thailand, namely folding leporello books made of bark-pulp paper, known as *samut khay*, (*samut khoi*) or *samut daiy* (*samut thai*) in Thai, and palm-leaf manuscripts, known as *gāmbhīr* paī lān* (*khamphi bai lan*).⁸ The latter are best suited for individual study, or for use by a single monastic when reciting sermons or memorising liturgical texts. The former were most often used for recording literature, medicine, astrology, legal tracts, historical records, or even bureaucratic

⁷ See, for example, Damrong, *Tāṃnān brah parit*; Dhanit, *Tāṃnān desan* mahājāti*; Jory, *Thailand's Theory of Monarchy*, 35–40; Prapod, *Mahādibbhamanta*, 379–87.

⁸ Transliteration in this article follows the EFEO-based system outlined in Walker, 'Unfolding Buddhism', xiii–xvii; see also Antelme, 'Inventaire provisoire'. Phonetic transcription of selected modern Thai terms (in parentheses) follows the Royal Thai General System of Transcription. On the material dimensions of these two formats, see Peera, *Ayutthaya Literature*, 75–77.



FIG. 1 Cover of EFEO PALI 39, 51 x 16 x 6.5 cm (Photo by the author)

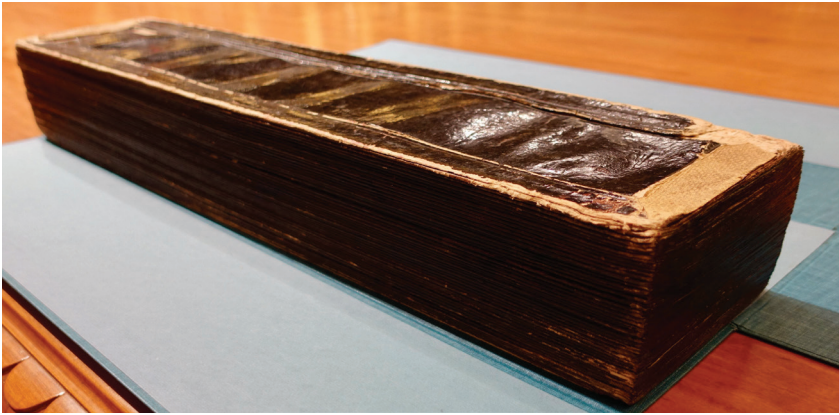


FIG. 2 NYPL Spencer Thai (Siamese) MS 22, 67 x 14 x 12 cm (Photo by the author)

information.⁹ From the eighteenth century onward, however, special large-format leporellos, longer and thicker than their counterparts, were widely used as guides and memory aids for recitation rituals involving multiple monks or laypeople. Their exceptionally large size—generally measuring around 12 to 16 cm wide by as many as 55 to 70 cm long, and up to 12 cm thick—makes it possible for up to four performers to gather around a single leporello in chanting rituals (Figures 1–2).

Hundreds of such manuscripts are found in national and uni-

⁹ On *samut khay*, for recording literature, see Peera, *Ayutthaya Literature*, 85–135. For astrology and other genres, see Ginsburg, *Thai Art and Culture* and Pattaratorn, ed., *Divination au royaume de Siam*.

versity library collections in Thailand, Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States.¹⁰ In America, for instance, most university libraries and major museums that collect Asian art have at least one such manuscript in their holdings; some, including Harvard University, the University of Pennsylvania, and the New York Public Library, have one or two dozen each. The largest known collections include the British Library (over thirty examples) and National Library of Thailand (at least forty-six catalogued examples).¹¹ Hundreds more leporcellos of this type are presumably still in private collections or in uncatalogued monastic libraries throughout Thailand's central and southern provinces. Although these numbers are low compared to the hundreds of thousands of palm-leaf manuscripts that survive in Thailand, they are ample enough to underscore the importance of chanted leporcellos on bark-pulp paper during their period of peak production from the mid-eighteenth to early twentieth centuries.

Most of the examples in foreign collections feature painted illuminations (Figure 3). The visual beauty of these objects raised their value on the art market throughout the twentieth century, and both private and institutional collectors outside of Thailand have been purchasing them for decades, swelling the ranks of such leporcellos in Asian, American, and European museums and libraries. Most of the surviving nineteenth- and early twentieth-century examples feature several Pali texts along with one long vernacular text, specifically a Siamese verse version of the popular Māleyyatthera narrative, *Brah mālāy klan svat* (*Phra malai klon suat* [The Story of the Monk Māleyya in Chanted Verse]).¹² For these reason, many such large-format

¹⁰ Ginsburg, *Thai Art and Culture*; McDaniel, 'Illuminating Archives'; *idem*, 'The Chester Beatty Collection'; Kerekes and McDaniel, 'Siamese Manuscript Collections in the United States'; Priyawat, 'Three Phra Malai Manuscripts'; Puññon and Pāṇsiddhi*, *Samut khay*; Skilling and Santi, 'Manuscripts in Central Thailand'.

¹¹ I am grateful to Peera Panarut for sharing his unpublished catalogue of these materials with me (Peera, 'Sarup hnān sṭa khien brah mālāy klan svat').

¹² For a discussion and analysis of this text, see Brereton, *Thai Tellings of*



FIG. 3 British Library Or 13703, cover and first two spreads (Photo by the author).

leporcellos are automatically catalogued as *Brah mālāy* manuscripts or as manuscripts for funerary chanting, even if they might not contain *Brah mālāy kḷan svat* itself.¹³ Manuscripts that do contain the *Brah mālāy* narrative typically include painted illuminations of key episodes in the story, along with other scenes. Eighteenth-century examples, on the other hand, tend to feature a long Pali text known as *Mahābuddhaguṇā* [The Great Virtues of the Buddha].¹⁴ Since both *Brah mālāy* and *Mahābuddhaguṇā* leporcellos are prominent in Thai and international collections of Southeast Asian manuscripts, they remain objects of continuing curiosity and the subject of a wealth of recent publications by scholars in Thailand, Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States.¹⁵

Rather than study those better-known kinds of chanted man-

Phra Malai, 93–148. For editions of the text itself, see Bhāsakar, *Brah dharm cēt gāmbhīr* ya;*; Kram śilpākar, *Samut mālāy lēh supīn kḷan svat*; Tākṛāk Byāgsrī, *Brah mālāy chpāp vāt tən kḷnāk*. A different Thai version is translated in Brereton, *Thai Tellings of Phra Malai*, 187–234. The Pali version is edited in Collins and Denis, ‘Brah Māleyyadevattheravathu’ and translated in Collins, ‘The Story of the Elder Māleyyadeva’.

¹³ Some cataloguers are more careful; Peera’s catalogue (‘Saruṇ hñān sīa khien brah mālāy kḷan svat’) is helpfully restricted only to those manuscripts that contain the *Brah mālāy kḷan svat* text.

¹⁴ Since *Mahābuddhaguṇā* has not been prominent in Thai liturgical practices for almost two hundred years, it is difficult to conclude whether *Mahābuddhaguṇā* is more closely linked to funerals or to other kinds of end-of-life practices, such as extending life, healing illness, averting mortal dangers, or guiding the minds of those on their deathbed to focus on recollecting the qualities (*guṇa*) of the Buddha. For an edition of this text, often considered as consisting of two sections (*Mahābuddhaguṇā* and *Mahābuddhaguṇavannanā* [Commentary on the Great Virtues of the Buddha]), see Tanabe and Shimizu, *Ayutayā-ki kōki sakusei watto fuakurabū jīin*, 65–92.

¹⁵ Appleton et al., *Illuminating the Life of the Buddha*; Brereton, ‘Phra Malai Texts’, Ginsburg, ‘A Monk Travels to Heaven and Hell’; Igumma, ‘A Monk’s Journeys to Heaven and Hell’; *idem*, ‘The Mystery of the “Naughty Monks”’; Unebe, ‘Textual Contents of Pāli Samut Khois’.

uscripts, in this article I focus on a smaller group of large-format Siamese leporellos from the nineteenth century that include neither *Brah mālāy kḷan svat* nor *Mahābuddhagūṇā*. These manuscripts feature a different group of Pali-language chanting texts that are associated with rites for the sick and the dying as opposed to the funerary function of texts such as *Brah mālāy kḷan svat*. By bringing to light a lesser-known corpus of leporellos that are explicitly for chanting to the sick rather than the dead, I aim to enrich our understanding of the Siamese manuscript tradition and its relevance for constructing a ritual history of Theravāda Buddhism.

The Creation and Circulation of End-of-Life Leporellos

Siamese chanted leporellos include a range of paratextual clues that point to how and why these manuscripts were produced and shared among the lay and monastic community. These include formal colophons as well as less formal notes for readers, each of which may serve to elucidate issues of creation and circulation. In this section, I highlight several colophons and other notes that clarify why and how these leporellos were made and shared. With regards to their creation, colophons added by scribes and donors often specify the different roles involved in manuscript production and the motivations of each individual.¹⁶ For instance, a Thai-script colophon at the end of a mid-nineteenth-century manuscript held at the Penn Museum (Penn Museum 83-23-1) emphasises the donors, their intention in sponsoring a leporello ‘for chanting to the sick’, and their commonly held aspiration to meet Maitreya Buddha in the future.¹⁷ The professional scribe, by contrast, does not name himself and petitions only for ‘a share of the benefits’:

¹⁶ Peera, ‘The Structure, Functions, and Tradition of Siamese Royal Scribal Colophons’; Grabowsky, ‘The Grammar and Function of Colophons’, 244–54.

¹⁷ On this aspiration in other colophons, see Grabowsky, ‘The Grammar and Functions of Colophons’, 237–38; Ooi, ‘Aspiring to Be a Buddha’, 116; Walker, ‘Unfolding Buddhism’, 591–92.

‘We, Mr. Cãn and Mrs. Bïer, along with our children Ms. Caï and Mr. Khïev, all four of us, had the faith to forsake our wealth to sponsor this *Brah mālāy* book, which includes the *Svat cèn* [Selections for Chanting, a set of excerpts from the three divisions of the Tipiṭaka], *Brah unḥisavijāy* (*Unḥissavijaya* [Victory of the Cranial Protuberance]), and *Brah bojjhāṅg** (the three *Bojjhaṅga-suttas* [Discourses on the Factors of Awakening]) for chanting to the sick, along with the *Brah paramāṭṭhadharm* [Abbreviated Abhidhamma-piṭaka], to be established in the [Buddha’s] dispensation. In whatever life we should be born in, may we all never encounter poverty and hardship. May the four of us—wife and children included—be born together as parents and children, respectively, in every life until we reach arhatship. Moreover, may all four of us meet Lord Maitreya when he descends to awaken in the future.’ The monk’s assistant Mr. Mvañ also busied himself to see this sponsorship through—may he achieve all of his aspirations. As for me, the scribe, who assisted in the writing as an adornment to [their] faith, may I receive a share of the benefits accrued to them.¹⁸

The main colophon in this manuscript clarifies the names of the sponsors, the textual content of the leporello, and the donor’s motivations, along with the motivations of the scribe and others who assisted in its production. As is typical for such colophons, no specific

¹⁸ Penn Museum 83-23-1, page B50: *khā₂ brah co₂ tā cãn phū phva₂ yāy bïer phū mïe nãn caïy lè nāy khïev phū lūk dãn sī₁ gãn nī₂ mī sādā sïe saḥlah₂ drăp aqk srăn hnăn₂ sî₄ _ brah mālāiy lem nī₂ mī dãn svat cèn₂ lè / brah unḥisavijāiy lè brah bōjaṅg* sāmraḥ svat khai lè brah paramāṭṭhadhārrm vai₂ nai brah sāṣanā nī₂ _ thā₂ khā₂ brah co₂ caḥ kœt mā nai jāti tai₂ 𑄓 _ gvām yāk gvām khen caïy cãn ayā₁ tai₂ mī / kē₁ khā₂ brah co₂ cãn duk 𑄓 jāti _ kh"ā hai₂ khā₂ brah co₂ mē lūk dãn₂ sī₁ nī₂ kôt pen mē lūk kãn duk jāti kvā₁ ca tai₂ sāmrec kē brah a"araḥhātr dôt _ hnī₁ lo₁ k'h"ā hai₂ khā₂ brah co₂ dãn sī₁ / tai₂ bhāb brah met-trai co₂ mïö nãn₂ ca lãn mā trās nai anāgat pœaṅ₂ hnā₂ dôt _ dãn |kha₂| nāy mvañ phū pen vaiyāvaḥ-cakar nãn₂ tai₂ jvay tön hön hai₂ sāmrec nai kāl sãn mālāiy nī₂ _ ká hai₂ sāmrec / gvām prāthanā duk sin₁ duk prābhkār dãn |kha₂| phū k'hïer nī₂ ká jvay₂ khïen bhôm tôm chlœm sādā ká kh"ā rāp dãn svan ānisāñ hèn₁ dār tvay₂ dôt*

person with an illness is named, but they are presumably one of the named sponsors or a close relative. A second, much shorter colophon in the same manuscript adds the following information, this time in Khom script: 'I copied [these texts] to be chanted [for those with] high fevers'.¹⁹ Again, while the colophon does not reveal who is sick, it makes clear that the manuscript was created for the sake for supporting a chanting ritual for someone who is seriously ill.

Other colophons provide additional context for how and why such manuscripts were produced. This is the case for EFEO PALI 39, a leporello from 1815 held at the Bibliothèque EFEO Paris - Maison de l'Asie. The extensive Khom-script colophon again emphasises the donor: Princess Sumālī (*Brah aṅg* co, bñiñ sumālī*, b. 1790), the twenty-seventh child of King Rāma I (r. 1782–1809). The princess, who died in 1815 or shortly thereafter, was likely very sick at the time the leporello was commissioned. Indeed, her illness would have been the principal reason for sponsoring the manuscript for monks to use when chanting to her. The colophon also details the texts involved, the purpose for reciting them, and the donor's relatively lofty aspiration to memorise the Tipiṭaka in future lives prior to reaching buddhahood, a common vow among elite Buddhists during this period:²⁰

This book of the Dharma was sponsored by Princess Sumā[lī] out of her faith and devotion, containing the *Brah vināy* [Abbreviated Vinaya-piṭaka], the *Brah sūtr* [Abbreviated Suttanta-piṭaka], and the *Brah abhidhamm* [Abbreviated Abhidhamma-piṭaka], to be established in the dispensation of the Buddha for the use of monks to chant for the [re-]enactment of recitals (*saṅgāyanā*) [of the Tipiṭaka], as well to chant for the extension of the lifespan of all living beings who are virtuous. As a result of her intention to cultivate merit, may she uphold the Tipiṭaka in every life—may this be a condition for the attainment of the garland [that is] the omniscience of a buddha in

¹⁹ Penn Museum 83-23-1, page B49: *khā₂ bra cau₂ khien vai₂ sāṃrāp° svat khai nāk° lè*

²⁰ Skilling, 'King, Sangha and Brahmins', 188–92; Ooi, 'Aspiring to Be a Buddha'; Walker, 'Unfolding Buddhism', 592–96.

the future. May she be born in time for the dispensation of Śrī Ārya Maitreya, the Lord who will awaken in times to come. May she attain her aspiration. May she, the sponsor, increase her lifespan, her complexion, health, and strength. As for this book of the Dharma, I, Mr. Deś, was bestowed the opportunity to inscribe it as a royal gift. In year 2357 of the Buddha's dispensation, year of the dog, sixth of the decade, in the winter season, the eleventh waning day of the second lunar month, a Friday (i.e. January 6, 1815 CE), it was entirely complete as the cause for an appropriate reward.²¹ Please don't criticise [me, as I copied it] in accordance with the [old] manuscript.²²

²¹ My gratitude to Peera Panarut for pointing out the likely meaning of this unusual phrase (modern Thai: *pén mūl pāmhnéc tām sam gvar* [*pen mun bamnet tam som khuan*]). The term *pāmhnéc* ('reward', 'bonus', derived from Khmer *pāṃnāc*) appears in several eighteenth-century inscriptions in this same sense of a payment from the royal family in recompense to someone carrying out pious works on their behalf. See, for instance, the mother-of-pearl door inscription of Vāt Paramabuddhārām (Wat Borommaphuttharam) in Ayutthaya, dated to 1751: *gā₁ līē₂ mi tai₂ git kho₂ nai braḥ rājadān tvay₂ _ git tē₁ pāmhnec prāh₁tū hñ₁n₁ pēn nāēn trā _ 30 _ jāñ₁* ('the cost of feeding [the workers twice-daily meals] was not factored into the royal donation; considering only the rewards [bestowed on the workers], the money amounted to thirty *chang* per door'; Santi and Nawarat, *Pravāṭisāstr* ayudhayā cāk cārik*, 560).

²² EFEO PALI 39, pages 126–27: *braḥ dhamm saḥmud nī₂ _ braḥ co₂ lūk dbē₂ āṅg braḥ co₂ sumā _ kop^o pai tvay^o₂ braḥ rājjasāddā : / ussāha dhrān sān^o₂ _ braḥ vinay braḥ sūt braḥ abhidham^o hvai _ nai braḥ buddhasāssahnā _ sām^orāp^o braḥ bhikkhusān^ogh / ca dai₂ svat kadām saṃghāyanāy^o _ lē caḥ dai₂ svat cām^orōñ āyu sāt^ov dān^o hlāy phū₂ pēn^o sād^ohujān^o tvay^o₂ dej : / braḥ rājakusallacettanā khoñ braḥ āṅg kā₂ caḥ dhrān _ braḥ traiy piṭamkk duk jāt^o _ khā₂ cān pēn^o paccay hai₂ sām^orecc kē₁ / sroy sārrbejj _ braḥ bodhiñāñ nai anāgāttakāl _ kh^o"a hai₂ dān^o sāssahnā āṅg _ : / braḥ si āriy met^o-traiy co₂ ān^o caḥ mā trāt _ nai bhabbaḥ pō^oañ₂ nā kh^o"a hai₂ sām^orecc gvām prāthanā nān^o dōt^o kh^o"a hai₂ / khā₂ phū sāñ₁₂ cān^o cām^orōñ _ āyuh vaṇṇo sukham balaṃ _ braḥ dhamm saḥmut nī lem^o₁ nī₂ khā₂ braḥ co nāy^o des : / daiy₂ rāp^o braḥ rājjadān^o cām^olōn^o lēv^o pen kām^onāt^o _ braḥ buddh sākkah^orāj lvañ dai₂ _ 2357 / braḥ vassā _ paccun pī c^o"a chasāk^o heman-*

The scribe names himself and records a precise date for the manuscript's creation but does not publicly ask for a share of the merit, instead suggesting that his act was done out of duty or devotion to the princess, trusting he will receive his just rewards. As in many colophons of this type, the scribe asks for any errors to be attributed to the reference manuscript.²³ Scribes worked from existing manuscripts when creating new ones, adding only a few original passages such as colophons or shorter notes to future users of the leporello. Both the Penn Museum and EFEO manuscripts imply that the donors hired the scribes to produce these leporellos when they or a loved one had fallen sick, and that the object was to be used in a chanting ceremony for the patient. The creation of the manuscript and its subsequent use were acts intended to generate merit for the donor and, to a lesser extent, the professional scribe and any assistants involved.²⁴ The care taken in the colophons, as well as with other aspects of manuscript production, reflects the elite economies of merit in which they were produced as well as the relatively high cost of producing leporellos of this type, including the frequent application of gold leaf and copious amounts of finely applied pigments.²⁵

In addition to these formal colophons, Siamese chanted leporellos also contain a variety of short notes addressed to their users. These

*taradū dōan yī₁ _ rēm^o sip^o pet gām₁, vān^o suk pen^o vārah kāmnamt lēv^o₂ sām /
recc paripūr^o pen^o mūl pāmnet^o _ tām^o sām gvan brah yā daiy₂ tī tien lēy^o tām^o
jahpāp^o*

²³ Silpsupa, *Relationship between Anisong Manuscripts and Rituals*, 164–65; Walker, 'Unfolding Buddhism', 87–92.

²⁴ Other leporellos, however, seem to have been created by a monastic scribe, whose professional status is uncertain. See, for example, Or 13703, folio 40v, which contains the following Khom-script colophon: 'This book was sponsored by Mr. Rāk to be established in the dispensation. Brah Mahā Mīñ was the artist and scribe. If there are any mistakes, please correct them accordingly' (*hnāñ^o sīa dān^o guñ rāk srāñ^o vai₂ nāi brah sāsan^oā _ brah mahā mōañ phū raccanā tēm^o₂ khien thā₂ phit^o phien jvay₂ som^o₂ plēñ^o).*

²⁵ On the scribal economy in nineteenth-century Siam, see Peera, *Ayutthaya Literature*, 247–49.

more informal notes may be written in Khom script or ordinary Thai script. The users they address are typically monks rather than laypeople. Some notes include exhortations reminding users to take care of the manuscript. These reveal that the scribes were keenly aware that they had fashioned objects fit for circulation. Once the ceremony on behalf of the original benefactors was complete, the scribes' creations would not necessarily remain at the monastery to which they were initially donated. Valuable and highly portable commodities, manuscripts of this type were frequently borrowed for ceremonies at different temples and private homes. Most chanted leporellos bear marks from repeated ritual use: wax droppings, incense burn scars, and corrections in pencil and ink from different generations of performers.²⁶ Or 14526 from the British Library provides an example of a short note in Thai script that confirms that scribes knew their manuscripts would be borrowed and circulated:

Should any of you respected ones take this manuscript away, please take good care of it; don't let a flaming torch fall on it.²⁷

Here the scribe is especially concerned about fire damage, likely from the candles and lanterns required for reading at night. The scribe also recognises that his creation will eventually circulate among different users and perhaps even different monasteries over the course of its life.

As objects that were created, used, and circulated with specific aims in mind, Siamese leporellos for chanting to the dying represent a distinct form of material technology. Unlike most other manuscript formats in Southeast Asia, they can be easily read by multiple chanters at once. Despite the ravages of mould, humidity, and hungry critters, the sturdy construction of these manuscripts meant that they were durable enough to be borrowed from monastery to monastery,

²⁶ For parallels in the Cambodian context, see Walker, 'Unfolding Buddhism', 70, 83–87.

²⁷ Or 14526, folio 1r: *dā dān phū taiy o pai lèw cān raḥmāt haiy tī yā hai tai bai tāk saiṃ*

generation after generation, without undergoing significant damage. Their ample dimensions, line spacing, and margins also allow plenty of space for paratextual additions, including colophons, annotations, and instructions regarding when and how to chant specific texts. Before examining these other paratexts, we must first attend to the texts themselves. What chanting texts did these leporellos transmit, and what is significant about the sequences in which they appear?

Chanted Texts in Siamese Leporellos: Themes and Sequences

In contrast to most palm-leaf manuscripts, Siamese leporellos typically contain more than one text. The order in which texts are presented tends to follow conventions connected to chanted performance. Thus, chanted leporellos for end-of-life rites do not merely contain groups of related texts; they present ordered sequences for ritual recitation. While the same exact sequence of these texts is not always followed in ritual practice, a dominant or ideal order nonetheless exists and is reflected in the manuscript tradition.²⁸

The texts included in leporellos for end-of-life ceremonies are all in Pali except for *Brah mālāy kḷaṇ svat*. The Pali chants contain a mix of material drawn from the Pali canon along with Pali texts composed locally in Southeast Asia. Nineteenth-century leporellos designed for post-mortem rites always include *Brah mālāy kḷaṇ svat*. In these manuscripts for chanting at funerals and other memorials for the deceased, *Brah mālāy kḷaṇ svat* is generally preceded by several short prose excerpts from the Pali Tipiṭaka known in Thai as *Svat cèṇ*,²⁹

²⁸ For contemporary Theravāda approaches to text selection and sequencing, see Langer, ‘Chanting as “Bricolage Technique”’.

²⁹ Skilling, ‘Chanting and Inscribing’; Walker, ‘Unfolding Buddhism’, 116–17. The excerpts include the opening narrative of the *Suttavibhaṅga* section of the Vinaya-piṭaka that precedes discussion of the first *pārājika* rule; the initial parts of the *Brahmajāla-sutta*, the first discourse of the Dīgha-nikāya and thus the opening of the Suttanta-piṭaka; and excerpts of the *mātikā* that precede each of the seven books of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka. These portions are selected not

Abhidhammamātikā [Matrices of the Abhidhamma, i.e. Abbreviated Abhidhamma-piṭaka],³⁰ and *Sahassanaya* [One Thousand Methods].³¹ This order is relatively fixed in the manuscript tradition,³² and conforms to twentieth-century books and contemporary performance practices as well.³³

A different constellation of texts appears in nineteenth-century leprellos crafted as tools for deathbed rituals. These Pali chants fall into four categories, which I have designated as Groups A, B, C, and D. Group A refers to canonical Pali excerpts from the Tipiṭaka—*Svat cēṇ*, *Abhidhammamātikā*, and *Sahassanaya*—as found in funerary manuscripts but with the absence of *Brah mālāy kḷaṇ svat*. Group B is a set of canonical suttas, namely the three [*Satta*] *bojjhaṅga* suttas,³⁴ the *Girimānanda-sutta* [Discourse to Girimānanda],³⁵ and the *Isigi-*

for their specific doctrinal content but rather for their ability to ritually stand in for the whole Tipiṭaka by virtue of being the first passages of each of the three main divisions of the canon. In addition, the *mātikā* ('list' or 'matrix') of the Abhidhamma have a special ritual function in Siamese, Lao, and Cambodian funerals in conjunction with esoteric ideas concerning the regeneration of the body (Davis, *Deathpower*, 147–48).

³⁰ Same as the last section of *Svat cēṇ*; occasionally other Abhidhamma abridgements are used here, as in Or 15245.

³¹ Unebe, 'Textual Contents of Pāli Samut Khois', 438–40; Tanabe and Shimizu, *Ayutayā-ki kōki sakusei watto fuakurabū jiin*, 106–08; Walker, 'Unfolding Buddhism', 948–57.

³² For details on various exceptions, see Walker, 'Unfolding Buddhism', 175–78.

³³ Poramin, *Mālāy śrāddhā*, 79–85.

³⁴ Also known as the *Paṭhamagilāna-sutta* (Saṃyutta-nikāya 46.14), *Dutiyagilāna-sutta* (46.15), and *Tatiyagilāna-sutta* (46.16), respectively. Parallels for some of these exist in Chinese and Tibetan as well. For a translation and analysis of how one text from this trio might be used in contemporary Buddhist contexts for healing the sick, see Anālayo, *Mindfully Facing Disease and Death*, 43–50.

³⁵ For a translation and analysis of this text (Aṅguttara-nikāya 10.60) as a healing practice, see Anālayo, *Mindfully Facing Disease and Death*, 99–109. The *Girimānanda-sutta* is the most widespread and most important Pali text for

li-sutta [Discourse at Isigili]. The first four are all linked to healing the sick in that they narrate how the monks Kassapa, Cunda, Moggallāna, and Girimānanda overcome grave illness by listening to Buddhist teachings and undertaking contemplative practices.³⁶ Group C is a set of non-canonical Pali texts for blessing and protection, known under the general heading of *Mahādibbamanta* ('Great Divine Mantra').³⁷ These almost always appear in a fixed sequence in the leporellos, namely *Unhissavijaya*, *Mahāsānti* [Great Pacification], *Cullajayamaṅgala* [Lesser Victory Blessing], *Mahājaya* [Great Victory], *Dibbamanta* [Divine Mantra], *Mahāmaṅgalacakkavāḷa* [Great Sphere of Blessings], and *Mahāsāvaṃ* [Great Libation]. The final set, Group D, is referred to variously as *Svat kāmḷāṇ devatā* or *Svat stoḥ groḥh** ('Chanting [according to] the power of [planetary] deities' or 'Chanting to remove planetary obstacles'). It consists of a fixed list of nine Pali protective chants (*paritta*), mostly canonical, that are used to ward off the ill effects caused by nine heavenly bodies (*nabagroḥh**, from Sanskrit *navagraha*).³⁸ Each of the nine texts is usually listed not by a title but by a mnemonic prompt consisting of

reciting to the sick in Cambodia, and leporello examples are abundant for both the canonical version and various vernacular translations (Walker, 'Unfolding Buddhism', 113, 135, 148, 342–46, 362–63, 461, 902–03, 1006–17, 1262–63, 1452). Bilingual Pali-Thai sermon versions were popular in Siam as far back as the late Ayutthaya period; for a published example, see Dharmasabhā, *Girimānandasūtrī sāṃvvan ko, pōrāṇ*.

³⁶ The fifth, the *Isigili-sutta* (Majjhima-nikāya 116), is not thematically linked to recovery from illness. But its inclusion is not necessarily a surprise; it typically paired with the *Girimānanda-sutta* in manuscript collections of chanted texts across the region (Walker, 'Echoes of a Sanskrit Past', 61, 66, 72). All five texts comprise the *Dutiyabhāṇavāra* of the *Catubbhāṇavāra*, a classical selection of protective texts that have long been used in Pali Buddhist contexts, both in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia.

³⁷ Damrong, *Mahādibbamant**; Prapod, 'Mahādibbamanta'; Walker, 'Echoes of a Sanskrit Past', 93–102.

³⁸ For more on the planetary deities and their role in Thai astrology, see Cook, 'Astrology in Thailand', 140–54.

the first (and sometimes the last) words of each chant, along with the number of times to recite each chant.³⁹

³⁹ Or 16009, f. 38v–f. 39r lists these texts as follows:

1 [the Sun]	<i>uddhetayañcakkhumā</i>	6 <i>cap</i> ^o	
2 [the Moon]	<i>yandunimittamavamaṅgalam</i>	15 <i>cap</i> ^o	
3 [Mercury]	<i>yassānubhāvato</i>	8 <i>cap</i> ^o	
4 [Venus]	<i>sabbāsīsisajjādīnam</i>	17 <i>cap</i> ^o	108
7 [Saturn]	<i>yatoṃ</i>	10 <i>cap</i> ^o	
5 [Mars]	<i>purentambo</i>	19 <i>cap</i> ^o	117 <i>dī</i>
8 [Rāhu]	<i>kinnusantaramāno</i>	12 <i>cap</i> ^o	
6 [Jupiter]	<i>yassānuserane</i>	21 <i>cap</i> ^o	
9 [Ketu]	<i>appasannehinā</i>	<i>cap</i> ^o 9	

The ordinal numbers on the left refer to one of the nine planetary deities connected with a particular *paritta* text. The cardinal numbers on the right refer to the number of recitations (*cap*) to be completed for each text according to the ‘power’ (*kāmlāṇ*) or ‘day’ (*vāṇ*) of the deity in question. The titles of the *paritta* are given in a mnemonic *pratika* format, with *uddhetayañcakkhumā* referring to the *Mora-paritta* [Peacock Protection], *yandunimittamavamaṅgalam* referring to the *Pubbañha-sutta* [Morning Discourse], *yassānubhāvato* referring to the *Karaṇīya-metta-paritta* [Goodwill Protection (Beginning with) ‘What Should Be Done’], *sabbāsīsisajjādīnam* referring to the *Khandha-paritta* [Protection on the Aggregates], *yatoṃ* referring to the *Aṅgulimāla-paritta* [Aṅgulimāla Protection], *purentambo* referring to the *Vaṭṭaka-paritta* [Quail Protection], *kinnusantaramāno* referring to the *Canda-/Suriya-paritta* [Sun/Moon Protection], *yassānuserane* referring to the *Dhajagga-paritta* [Protection on the Standard’s Tip], and *appasannehinā* referring to the *Āṭānāṭiya-paritta* [Āṭānāṭiya Protection]. A well-trained monk, prompted with just *uddhetayañcakkhumā* (*udeta-yañ cakkhumā*), could easily recite the rest of the *Mora-paritta* from memory. He would simply need to keep track of how many times to recite the full text, in this case six. Hence it is not surprising that these chants—which range from one to five pages each, if written out in full—are referenced only in abbreviated form. The stray ‘108’ on the right reflects the total number of recitations for the first eight deities; the ‘117’ reflects the total when the ninth is included. These texts are all canonical *paritta* texts coupled with their standard non-canonical introductory verses (though in the case of the *Pubbañha-sutta*, the introductory verses

This fourfold analysis into Groups A–D reveals much about how texts for recitation to the dying were selected in nineteenth-century Siam. First, it should be noted that these chants are largely well-known texts that appear abundantly in palm-leaf manuscripts. With the exception of the *Mahādibbamanta* collection (Group C), the texts selected were part of an existing curriculum for chants for regular recitation (*bhāṇavāra*), expected to be memorised by all monks in early modern Siam. In other words, deathbed rituals did not necessarily involve rare or unusual texts. Group C does contain relatively more rare texts that fell out of favour in Siam by the end of the nineteenth century. During the late Ayutthaya and early Rattanakosin periods, however, the *Mahādibbamanta* collection represented some of the most prestigious chants for magical protection in Siam, even if not all monks were expected to memorise them.⁴⁰

The fixed order of the chants, both within each group and in the overall sequence of the four groups, points to a common understanding of deathbed rituals in the period. These leprellos did not simply collect chants at the whims of individual scribes; they are precise scripts for ritual performance that follow a logical order. Groups B, C, and D represent successive stages of chanting for someone who is very ill. Group B, consisting of canonical accounts of recovery from illness, are the first line of defence, as it were. Group C, comprised of Pali texts of Southeast Asian origin that invoke Brahmanical deities, texts, and powers, offers a different approach to seeking long life and protection in times of crisis. Group D is tied to Brahmanical astrological ideas, widely held in contemporary Thailand just as in premodern Siam, about averting disasters due to planetary influences, and possibly represents an option of last resort. Finally, Group A—typically placed first in the manuscripts according to scribal convention—contains various excerpts from the Tipiṭaka to be chanted only after the patient's death. In a deathbed chanting manuscript from Harvard Art Museums, the scribe notes that *Sahassanaya*, part of the

are far longer than the short canonical portion at the end). For more examples of abbreviated titles of this type, see Walker, 'Echoes of a Sanskrit Past', 59–66.

⁴⁰ Prapod, 'Māhadibbamanta', 386–89; Walker, 'Unfolding Buddhism', 304–09.

funerary sequence, should only be recited after the person has died.⁴¹

The textual sequences in the manuscripts draw a clear line between texts for the sick and those for the dead. Among those for the sick, however, it is less clear which texts are for healing and which are for guiding the terminally ill to a more fortunate rebirth. How have the curative and palliative aspects of chanted become so intertwined? One reason is that many families might be reluctant to sponsor a ceremony for a dying relative if there was no hope they might get well. Manuscript colophons explicitly state that these *leporellos* are for chanting to the sick. Their creation as objects, and the ritual performances they make possible, offer hope in the face of disease. But given that postmortem chants were always included in the same manuscript, scribes, sponsors, and performers must have realised that chanting for curative purposes cannot always be successful. Life is fragile. The medical fortunes of the ill could shift dramatically in a matter of hours, especially in nineteenth-century Siam, and monks needed to be prepared for a variety of outcomes. The carefully devised sequences presented in the *leporellos* allow performers to enact seamless transitions between chanting for healing, for accompanying the dying, and for memorialising the dead.

Chanting Instructions and Musical Notation

The thematic and sequential dimensions of Siamese *leporellos* for deathbed chanting are reinforced by several paratextual additions that clarify exactly when and how to recite particular Pali texts. In this section, I consider short scribal notes that inform users—archetypically a group of four monks gathered around a single manuscript—about the precise sequence of the chants and the proper times to rest. I then turn to the unique system of cantillation marks in these manuscripts, a method of musical notation that remind users exactly how to recite the ornate melodies required by particular texts. These paratexts are essential to the chanted *leporello* as a piece

⁴¹ HAM 1984.442, page 37A.

of ritual technology by coordinating the efforts of the monks tasked with performing a series of long, melodic chants.

The simplest kinds of notes to the user are those that orient monks to where they are in the manuscript. For instance, Or 14838 includes a short note, ‘This is the verso side, O respected ones!’⁴² Suppose one is just beginning a ritual performance: since the outer covers are typically decorated identically rather than being labeled ‘recto’ or ‘verso’, it is easy to get confused about which side should be opened first. If one opens the manuscript and sees this note, one is immediately reminded to flip the leporello over to find the actual beginning on the recto side. These instructions may also clarify the sequence of texts involved, such as this note that concludes the verso side of Or 14115: ‘Here ends the *Brah sūtr* [Abbreviated Suttanta-piṭaka]. The *Paramatth** [Abbreviated Abhidhamma-piṭaka] is on the recto side. You are invited to flip back to that side’.⁴³ These instructions help chanters find the next appropriate chant, even when that text appears on the opposite side of the manuscript.

Closely related are instructions that inform performers what texts to chant next. These typically appear at the end of a text before the next one appears. For example, in Or 16009, between *Mahāsāvaṃ* and *Svat kāmḷāṇ devatā*, the following note appears: ‘Here ends the *Brah catuved* [The Four Vedas, another name for *Mahāsāvaṃ*]. Continue with the recitation of the [chants for planetary] deities [according to their] powers’.⁴⁴ Near the beginning of the same manuscript, between the final *Abbreviated Abhidhamma-piṭaka* portion of *Svat cèn* and the three *Bojjhaṅga* suttas, the scribe instructs: ‘Here ends the *Brah paramatth**. Having performed the *Brah abbidhamm* [portion of *Svat cèn*], then present the performance of the *Brah bojjhaṅg**’.⁴⁵ Other manuscripts contain more poetically phrased

⁴² Or 14838, folio 25r: *nī hnā₂ plāy° na dān₂ dān° blāy° ey°*

⁴³ Or 14115, folio 49r: *c’ap° bra sūtr || bra p’ārahmatth ay’ū gān° t’an° nim’an° blik klāp pai.*

⁴⁴ Or 16009, folio 38v: *cāp° braḥ catuvely. ca tān° kāmḷāṇ° devatā t’ā pai*

⁴⁵ Or 16009, folio 6v: *cap° bra paramatth tè₁ do nī₂ lèv°₂ sāmṭèn bra abbidhamm lèv°₂ lāmḍāp nān°₂ ca dèn bra sāmḍèn braḥ bojjhaṅga tā° paīy°*

instructions. Or 13703, for instance, contains this Khom-script note between the *Abbreviated Vinaya-piṭaka* and *Abbreviated Sutta-piṭaka* portions of *Svat cèn*:

Here ends the *Brah vināy* [section of *Svat cèn*], O respected ones! Flip and open [the leporello] to find the *Brah sūtr* [section of *Svat cèn*] quickly; don't tarry too long!

*c'ap° bra vinay tè₁ do nī lè dān° ey° _ blik pök phey° _ hā bra sūt _ reñ°
rīp° rūt yā rā₁ rāñ*

This passage is divided into three-syllable phrases that lend it rhythmic and euphonic qualities. In addition, some of these phrases are linked by rhymes, such as *ey°* and *phey°* as well as *sūt* and *rūt*. These poetic devices soften the stern command to quickly proceed to the next chant in the sequence.

Other leporellos for deathbed chanting provide specific guidelines on what texts to recite for the sick and when. For instance, following the *Girimānanda-sutta* in Or 15246, the scribe added the following note in Khom script: 'Chant [these texts] for the extension of the [invalid's] lifespan, starting from the [three] *Sattabojjhaṅg* [suttas]'.⁴⁶ Or 15207 contains a similar instruction in Thai script: 'For those who have a high fever and who are elderly, chant the three *Bojjhaṅg* [suttas]'.⁴⁷ Additional instructions often appear in the context of *Svat kāmḷāñ devatā* (Group D). In Or 13703, the scribe introduces *Svat kāmḷāñ devatā* with the following note: 'If chanting for release from malevolent planetary deities, then read on. Chant according to the power of the deities'.⁴⁸ At the chant's conclusion, the scribe adds: 'Here ends the chanting for the release of malevolent planetary deities, for propitiating the deities that reign over a person's lifespan

⁴⁶ Or 15246, folio 19r: *hai sūt cāmṛōñ āyū dōt hai₂ sūt sattabhūjaṅg pen tan₂*

⁴⁷ Or 15207, folio 88r: *svan pen khai₂ nāk g°an phū nāi kè haty svaṣ sām buj°añ*

⁴⁸ Or 13703, folio 40v: *thā₂ ca svat stoḥ groḥ devatā ka₁ tū au thōt° / svāt tām° kāmḷāñ° devatā*

and cause harm'.⁴⁹ A much more detailed guide appears in Or 15245 as part of a long Thai-script colophon that describes why the ritual should be performed, what texts to chant, what order to chant them in, and how many times each one should be recited.⁵⁰ Such extensive explanations are relatively rare in Siamese chanted leporellos; we can assume that most users had memorised the key texts already and were comfortable reciting them by heart. Ritual instructions remind monks how to chant the right texts at the right time.

Other instructions found in Siamese chanted leporellos focus not

⁴⁹ Or 13703, folio 41r: *svat stoḥ groḥ cāmṛōñ devatā svey° āyu hai dos _ ca₁p° do₁ ni lè.*

⁵⁰ Or 15245, folio 22v: This book belongs to Braḥ Ācāry* Tī, its sponsor. *May it be a condition for Nibbāna.* If you are going to release malevolent planetary deities, whether for a sick person or for a healthy person without pain, chant Pali protective texts (*manta*) every day in accordance with the power of the deities who are looking after our bodies, such that the deities cannot find any fault with this person. Chant from *ye santā* until the short version of *yānī...*, and then begin to recite according to the deities as follows. Chant *uśde* six times [the Sun] and *yāndun* fifteen times [the Moon]. Deity 3 [Mercury]: *Yātsānusaḥ...* eight times. Deity 4 [Venus]: *Sābāsī* seventeen times. Deity 7 [Saturn]: *Yaḥtōhām* ten times. Deity 5 [Mars]: *Purentām bō* nineteen times. Deity 8 [Rāhu]: *yātsānubāvaḥtō* twelve times. Deity 6 [Jupiter]: *āppasēnne* twenty-one times. Deity [9 Rāhu]: *sākkātvā* nine times, then recite *kinnusāntaḥbrahmānō vaḥrābulūraniyāñ...* *surīyāntī*, then chant *karanī...* *itīpisō...* *sābaḥrō...* *bōjāṅgō...* *maḥbhākā...* *siriditī...* *nākkagātaḥyāk...* *hiri-ō...* Complete. Original text: *hnāñ sṭa lem₁ nī₂ _ khañ braḥ ācāry* tī _ phū₂ srāñ₂ vai₂ ni _ nibbānapācayotu / dā₁ caḥ stoḥ groḥ gan pēn _ gai₁ ayū₁ ká tī mi cep° ká tī dā₁ mī groḥ ayū₁ _ lè₂ svac man du vāñ tām kāmāñ _ devaḥtā rākṣā tvā ro tvā dāñ₁ hā dōḥ kaḥ gan phū₂ nāñ mi tai₂ ley _ tāñ₂ yesantā can yāñī na₂ _ lè₂ cāp o devaḥtā tṭa pāi thœt / svaj uśde _ 6 _ han yāndun 15 han _ | braḥ 3 _ | yātsānusaḥ _ || ne _ 8 _ han 0 braḥ 4 _ | _ sābāsī _ 17 _ han _ | _ braḥ 7 _ yaḥtōhām _ 10 _ han _ | braḥ 5 _ purentāmbo 19 han _ | _ braḥ 8 _ yātsānubāvaḥtō _ 12 _ han _ | _ braḥ 6 _ āppasēnne _ 21 _ | _ braḥ sākkātvā _ 9 _ han _ lè₂ vā₁ kinnusāntaḥbrahmānō _ vaḥrābulūraniyāñ _ | la _ | surīyāntī lè₂ svac karaḥñī _ | itīpisō _ | _ sābaḥrō _ | _ bōjāṅgō _ | _ maḥbhākā _ | _ siriditī _ | _ nākkagātaḥyāk _ | _ hiri-ō _ | _ cāp _ |*

on when to chant but when to stop. These scribal notes invite monks to pause their chanting and take a rest, either for tea or to return to their monastery. In their simplest form, such instructions invite monks to rest their voices before continuing with the next text in the sequence. For example, Penn Museum 83-23-1 takes a contrasting approach to that of Or 13703. Instead of requesting monks to move swiftly between the Abbreviated Vinaya-piṭaka and Abbreviated Suttanta-piṭaka portions of *Svat cèñ*, Penn Museum 83-23-1 invites them to take a break at this juncture: ‘Here ends the *Brah vināy*. The four venerable masters are invited to pause here’.⁵¹ Other leporellos, such as EFEO PALI 39, specify that the chanters should stop and have tea, presumably to recuperate and soothe their throats: ‘Please, most venerable masters, drink tea and [other] beverages; take a break’ (Figure 4).⁵² Similar notes appear in Or 15207 between a sequence of chants for the sick. One note simply reads, ‘Pause here, drink hot tea, and rest until well. Then begin the next chant’; another adds the scribe’s aspirations as well: ‘Here ends the second chant. Pause here to drink hot water, rest, and wait for a while. May I receive a share of the merits. May I be born in time for Śrī Ārya[-Maitreya] in the future’.⁵³ Other leporellos combine instructions regarding tea breaks with instructions for the monks to return to their home temple. In Or 14838, at the conclusion of *Svat cèñ*, the scribe added the following note: ‘The *Brah abhidhamm* is complete in seven books. The venerable monks are invited to return to the temple’.⁵⁴ Later on, at the conclusion of *Brah mālāy klān svat* (this being a manuscript that includes funerary texts),

⁵¹ Penn Museum 83-23-1, spread A04: *cap° braḥ vināy tē₁ dau nī₂ . 0. nīmant* bra phū₂ pen° cau₂ dāñ° sī braḥ aṅg / yut kon°₁*

⁵² EFEO PALI 39, page 125: *nīmañ° co braḥ guṇ chāñ° nām jā pāñ° sāmrāñ° dōt°*

⁵³ Or 15207, folio 89r: *yūt _ | _ jāñ nām ran _ || _ ban caiy haiy sāpāy _ || % || 0 || khñ pās 2 _ ||*; Or 15207, folio 90r: *c°ap 2 pāk lèv° _ || yūt chāñ nām ran ban caiy khay pai khay mā _ || khā || kh°a svan pūn tvay₂ dæť kha hai₂ darrñ braḥ svi āriyay co cā mā gāñ han nāñ₂ dōť _ || %*

⁵⁴ Or 14838, folio 4r: *cap° bra abhidhamm dāñ° cet° gāmbhī nimant lvañ bī pai vāt°*

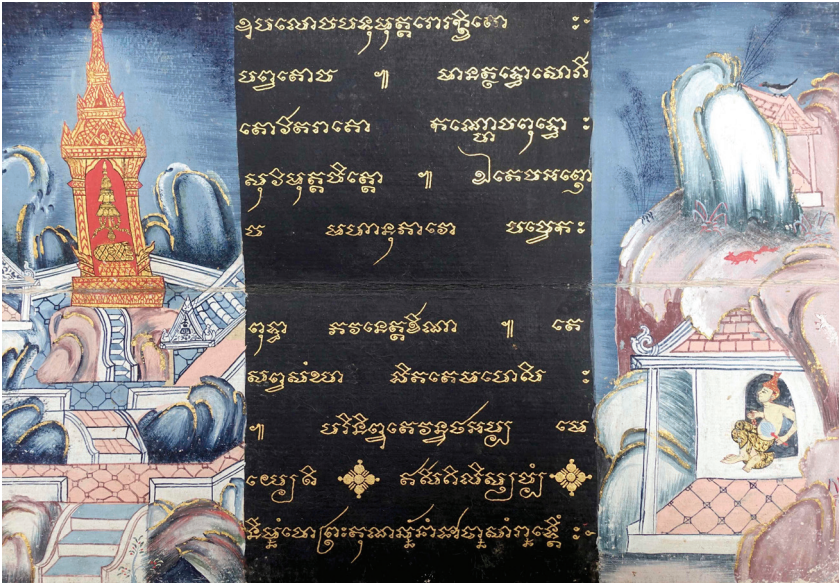


FIG. 4 EFO PALI 39, detail of page 125, end of the *Isigili-sutta* (Photo by the author)

the scribe composed a longer note in Khom script:

Thus ends [*Brah*] *mālāy*, just so.
 Please, O monks, have some tea.
 After drinking, return to the temple.
 Don't indulge in song; karma will bite.

c'āp mālai tè do nī
nim'ān° hlvañ₂ bī chān° nām jā
chān° lèv°₂ p'ai vāt° vā
yā len° lām kām c'a dān°⁵⁵

As in the case of Or 13703 above, this instruction is composed in a mix of polite and stern language, softened through the use of

⁵⁵ Or 14838, folio 45r.

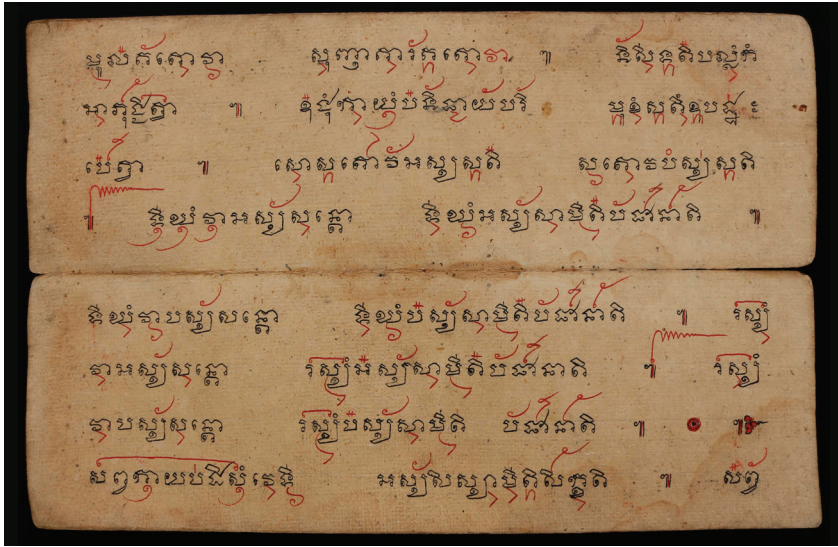


FIG. 5 WCT 004, image 047, Wat Chantharawat, Phetchaburi province, passage of *Girimānanda-sutta* showing cantillation marks (image courtesy of Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation–Henry Ginsburg Project)

rhyme and other poetic devices.⁵⁶ Didactic notes to the chanting monks—some in plain language, some more flowery—serve a related set of aims: to orient users to the leporello, to guide them to chant in the proper sequence, to chant specific texts for the sick and the dying, and to inform them when they should rest, have tea, or return to the monastery. Such paratexts are crucial affordances that make the ritual performance of end-of-life rites possible. By making the leporellos easy to use, the scribes created objects that allowed groups of monks to focus on the key task of chanting to the dying and dead.

In addition to notes and instructions, scribes also added another kind of paratext: cantillation marks that indicate the rhythmic, melodic, and vocalic qualities of each chant (Figures 3 and 5). In many Siamese leporellos crafted for deathbed rites, the Pali chants

⁵⁶ Though formatted as prose in the manuscript, here I have presented it as an (imperfect) stanza of verse in the *kāby* yānī* 11 meter.

in Groups A and B, along with some in Group C, are adorned with a distinct set of marks that are only found in nineteenth-century Siam. Indeed, this is one of the only forms of musical notation used prior to the twentieth century in Thailand and its neighbours.⁵⁷ A related form of notation appears in some manuscripts of a bilingual Pali-Siamese chanted version of the *Vessantara-jātaka* known as the *Mahājāti gāṃ hlvaṇ* (*Mahachat kham luang* [Royal Version of the Mahāvessantara-jātaka]).⁵⁸ The complex symbols found in these *Mahājāti gāṃ hlvaṇ* manuscripts have been brilliantly deciphered and converted into Western notation by Decha Srikongmuang.⁵⁹ While I have been unable to match the notation system in the chanted leporellos for the dying to any present-day or historical audio recordings in Thailand, the logic of the system is still fundamentally the same as that deciphered by Decha. These marks, usually made in red ink to contrast with the black ink used for the Pali text, speak volumes about how the leporellos were used in ritual performance.

Given Decha's findings for the *Mahājāti gāṃ hlvaṇ* notation, these marks must have served as a kind of memory aid for reciting long, complex, and exceptionally ornate melodies. In this sense, the system found in end-of-life leporellos parallels similar systems found in Buddhist chanting manuscripts in Central and East Asia, including Japan.⁶⁰ The marks indicate when the melody should rise or fall in pitch, what syllables should be emphasized or attenuated, what rhythm should be followed, and what vocal ornamentations should be applied. In other words, they make a direct link between the materiality of the manuscript and the musical expression of ritual performance.

A detailed study of these marks remains to be undertaken. How-

⁵⁷ The written form of the marks themselves is of considerable interest; Fredrik Almstedt has provided an inventory of these marks in a handful of manuscripts and linked the shape of several of them to Siamese astrological numerals; see Almstedt, 'On the Origin of the Thai Tone Markers', 48–67.

⁵⁸ Peera, *Ayutthaya Literature*, 185–89.

⁵⁹ Decha, *Kār śikṣā kār svat mahājāti*.

⁶⁰ Mross, *Memory, Music, Manuscripts*, 130–48.

ever, my preliminary conclusions about this notation system point to its crucial role: cantillation marks allowed leporellos to facilitate a consistent, widely shared, and highly sophisticated form of musical performance in nineteenth-century Siam. One, in contrast to the *Mahājāti gāṃ hlvaṇi* marks, the Pali notation system makes strict divisions between short and long syllables, thus conforming to long-standing performance practices for Pali recitation. Two, only a small number of marks are restricted according to tone rules, suggesting that the Thai lexical tones applied to Pali-language chanting were less important in nineteenth-century chanting than they are today. Three, the marks are remarkably consistent across the manuscripts, but with certain variation in both graphic form and the realisation of small details in the chants, suggesting that an agreed-upon system was in place. Four, when variations appear, they never violate the basic principle of keeping marks for short and long syllables separate. In other words, the scribes themselves were aware of the rules behind the notation system; it was not applied from a place of ignorance or as an aesthetic affectation. Finally, ink and pencil corrections to the notations are common in manuscripts, again suggesting that the marks were in vigorous use during the nineteenth century and could be proofread or corrected as needed by knowledgeable performers.

The cantillation marks were thus an essential ingredient in what made leporellos such a valuable aid for end-of-life chanting ceremonies in early modern Siam. Since the monks involved would have memorised the texts already, the manuscript served as a shared set of prompts or cue cards to keep performers on track. A chanted leporello is like a written score to an accomplished musician who knows her piece well; she has rehearsed the words and melodies many times, but may still glance at the notes from time to time for confidence and clarity. Since four monks are typically chanting at once from a single manuscript, the leporello, with its large, clear script and red cantillation marks reminding the chanters of what they already know, ensures that a group's performance is as tightly coordinated as possible. In sum, the chanting instructions and melodic markings are crucial dimensions of what made large-format leporellos so appealing as pieces of ritual technology in nineteenth century Siam. While today these objects are more often appreciated for their aesthetic beauty than their

functional value, the practical dimensions of such manuscripts as affordances for ritual performance should not be overlooked.

Conclusions

The three kinds of paratextual materials explored in this article—colophons, textual sequences, and chanting instructions—demonstrate how large-format leporellos functioned as material affordances for end-of-life ceremonies. As the scribes and sponsors who created these objects make clear in their colophons, chanted leporellos were valuable objects for the monks who used them as supports for ritual performance. Their elegance, portability, and relative durability made them favoured by elite donors as well as by the monks who circulated them within and beyond a given temple for use in deathbed rites at private homes. The Pali texts these manuscripts transmit are carefully ordered and laid out on the pages of leporellos, allowing chanters to select which sequence of texts would be most appropriate to the situation at hand. Crucially, the presence of both deathbed and postmortem sequences within the same physical manuscript makes it possible for monks to seamlessly transition between chants for curative, palliative, and funerary purposes. The generous margins of large-format leporellos allowed for other kinds of paratexts, including instructions on when and how to chant, that were essential to the way these manuscripts functioned as ritual tools. In making use of these guides, a group of monks could be reminded how to orient themselves to the manuscript, how to properly recite texts in sequence for certain rites, and how to vocally produce complex melodies in unison.

In closing, I would like to draw attention to a fourth kind of paratext that this essay did not address, namely painted depictions of end-of-life rituals. As mentioned previously, painted illuminations are surely the best-known aspect of Siamese leporellos. Among those manuscripts used for end-of-life chanting, such paintings often appear on side panels that flank certain pages, with the written text confined to the middle panel (Figures 3, 4, and 6). Generally, no more than five or ten percent of the pages in a given leporello are illustrated in this way; most pages contain written text alone

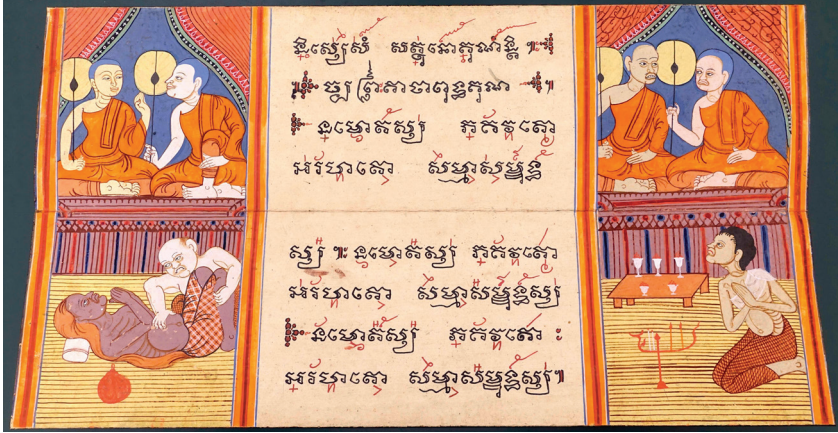


FIG. 6 Or 13703, British Library, folio 28r, text showing beginning of *Unhissavi-jaya* (photo by the author)

(Figure 5). In manuscripts created for funerary chanting, the most common illuminations are *jātaka* narratives, episodes from the life of the Buddha, the *Braḥmāḥ* story, scenes of flowers and nature, and deities in postures of worship.⁶¹ A few manuscripts for deathbed rites present scenes from other Buddhist texts as well, including the *Unhissavi-jaya* from Group C.⁶² Other paintings in these manuscripts include portrayals of various Buddhist practices and rituals, including melodic chanting for funerals and wakes.⁶³ Some leporellos contain depictions of these very manuscripts being used as supports for rituals.⁶⁴ A number of other leporellos include illuminations of monks meditating on decaying corpses (*asubhakammaṭṭhāna*) and

⁶¹ Abundant examples appear in Appleton et al., *Illuminating the Life of the Buddha*, 10–97; Ginsburg, *Thai Art and Culture*, 54–111; Puññiṇ and Praḥsid-dhi*, *Samut khay*, 116–259.

⁶² Walker, 'Unfolding Buddhism', 185–88.

⁶³ On the controversies over depictions of funeral chanting in such leporellos, see Brereton, 'Phra Malai Texts' and Igunma, 'The Mystery of the "Naughty Monks"'.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Walker, 'Unfolding Buddhism', 191–202.

conducting funerary rites, including the ritual retrieval of a shroud (*paṃsukūla*).⁶⁵ These scenes, as M. L. Pattaratorn Chirapravati argues, are directly tied to how rites for the dead were conducted in nineteenth-century Siam.

What about rites for the sick and dying? What does their depiction in leporellos tell us about the relationship between materiality and ritual? One page from Or 13703 is particularly instructive in this regard (Figure 6). The central panel provides the end of a minor Pali chant called *Braḥ gāthā buddhaguṇ* [Verses on the Virtues of the Buddha] and the beginning of *Uṇhissavijaya*. Both texts are connected to deathbed rites, with *Uṇhissavijaya* focused on the prolongation of life for those at the end of their natural lifespan.⁶⁶ On the left and right panels, a total of four monks sit on a raised platform in the upper register, holding special fans (*tālapāṭṭr*) used in Siamese chanting rituals. On the lower register, three laypeople sit on the floor with candles and other offerings. In the left panel, a layman, his head and torso wrapped in an orange cloth, is reclining and visibly ill. The invalid's palms are joined together as he listens to the monks' chanting while another man massages his stomach and legs. In short, the manuscript is depicting the very ritual in which it was meant to be used. Braḥ Mahā Mīṭṭh, the scribe and painter who produced Or 13703, had clearly mastered the art of linking text and image. Moreover, by painstakingly creating miniature versions of these ceremonies on the page, he and other artisans cemented the central role of the leporello in the deathbed rituals it affords.

The manuscript's depiction of care and chant at death's door, as facilitated by the technology of the leporello, connects early modern Siam to the wider world of Buddhist rituals for accompanying the dying. Robert Desjarlais, quoting Emmanuel Levinas, notes that 'one of the ethical obligations of human beings is to not "leave the other alone in the face of death"'.⁶⁷ Among the Hyolmo, Desjarlais

⁶⁵ Igumma, 'Meditations on the Foul'; Pattaratorn, 'Corpses and Cloth'.

⁶⁶ Kourilsky, 'The Uṇhissa-vijaya-sutta'; Walker, 'Echoes of a Sanskrit Past', 106–21.

⁶⁷ Desjarlais, *Subject to Death*, 55.

argues, dying is mediated by an ethic of ‘tender accompaniment’.⁶⁸ Anne Hansen shows how attending to the dying was essential to early twentieth-century Cambodian Buddhist efforts to ‘create and unify a web of reciprocal care’.⁶⁹ Jacqueline Stone demonstrates the central role of the deathbed attendant (*zenchishiki* 善知識 or *kalyāṇamitra*) in Japanese Buddhist rituals for the end of life.⁷⁰ Mark Blum shows how Hōnen’s teachings advocated for treating dying as an ‘intersubjective experience’ during the Kamakura period.⁷¹ Contemporary Buddhist guides for caring for the dying, including those in Southeast Asia and the United States, likewise emphasise the role of caretakers and friends in guiding those on their deathbed.⁷² In Buddhist societies, dying is ideally a social process, marked by the ethical imperative to accompany those at the end of their lives. The large-format chanted leporello was a key element in fulfilling these obligations in nineteenth-century Thailand.

Bibliography

Leporello Manuscripts

Bibliothèque EFEO Paris – Maison de l’Asie
EFEO PALI 39

Harvard Art Museums, Harvard University
HAM 1984.442

⁶⁸ Ibid., 57.

⁶⁹ Hansen, ‘Buddhist Communities of Belonging’, 71.

⁷⁰ Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment*, 266–310.

⁷¹ Blum, ‘Never Die Alone’.

⁷² Anālayo, *Mindfully Facing Disease and Death*, 151–58; Aulino, *Rituals of Care*, 53–62; Goldring, ‘Actualizing Understanding’; Supapon, ‘Death Without Pure Land?’; Ellison and Weingast, *Awake at the Bedside*; Phaisan, ‘The Seven Factors of a Peaceful Death’, 136–39.

Penn Museum, University of Pennsylvania
83-23-1

British Library

Or 13703

Or 14115

Or 14526

Or 14838

Or 15207

Or 15245

Or 15246

Or 16009

Wat Chantharawat, Phetchaburi province, Thailand
WCT 004

Secondary Sources

Almstedt, Fredrik J. 'On the Origin of the Thai Tone Markers: A Vedic Influence on the System of Marking Tone in Thai'. M.A. thesis, University of Copenhagen, 2011.

Anālayo. *Mindfully Facing Disease and Death: Compassionate Advice from Early Buddhist Texts*. Cambridge: Windhorse Publications, 2016.

Antelme, Michel. 'Inventaire provisoire des caractères et divers signes des écritures khmères pré-modernes et modernes employés pour la notation du khmer, du siamois, des dialectes thaïs méridionaux, du sanskrit et du pâli' [Provisional Inventory of Characters and Various Signs in the Premodern and Modern Khmer Scripts Used for the Notation of Khmer, Siamese, Southern Thai, Sanskrit, and Pāli]. *Bulletin en ligne de l'AEFEK* [Online Bulletin of the AEFEK] 12 (June 2012): 1–81.

Appleton, Naomi, Sarah Shaw, and Toshiya Unebe. *Illuminating the Life of the Buddha: An Illustrated Chanting Book from Eighteenth-Century Siam*. Oxford: Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 2013.

Aulino, Felicity. *Rituals of Care: Karmic Politics in an Aging*

- Thailand*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019.
- Bernon, Olivier de. 'Le manuel des maîtres de kammaṭṭhān: Étude et présentation de rituels de méditation dans la tradition du bouddhisme khmer' [The Manual of kammaṭṭhān Masters: A Study and Presentation of Meditation Rituals in the Khmer Buddhist Tradition]. Ph.D. dissertation, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, 2000.
- Bhāsakar (Phatsakon). *Braḥ dharm cēt gāmbhīr* ya₁ lēḥ samut mālāy* [The Abbreviated Seven Books of the Abhidhamma and the Book of Malai]. Bangkok: Rōn bimb* pāṃruṇ nukūl kic, 1912 (2455).
- Birnbaum, Raoul. 'The Deathbed Image of Master Hongyi'. In *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations*, edited by Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline I. Stone, 175–207. Honolulu: Kuroda Institute, University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.
- Blum, Mark L. 'Never Die Alone: Shonen as Intersubjective Experience'. In *Never Die Alone: Death as Birth in Pure Land Buddhism*, edited by Jonathan Watts and Yoshiharu Tomatsu, 1–16. Tokyo: Jodo Shu Press, 2008.
- Bradley, D. 'Siamese Customs for the Dying and Dead'. In *Siam and Laos, as Seen by Our American Missionaries*, edited by Mary Backus, 247–68. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1884.
- Brereton, Bonnie Pacala. 'Phra Malai Texts—Telling Them Apart: Preface or Performance'. *Journal of Mekong Societies* 13.3 (2017): 1–18.
- . *Thai Tellings of Phra Malai: Texts and Rituals Concerning a Popular Buddhist Saint*. Tempe: Arizona State University, Program for Southeast Asian Studies, 1995.
- Ciotti, Giovanni, and Hang Lin, eds. *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016.
- Collins, Steven. 'The Story of the Elder Māleyyadeva'. *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 18 (1993): 65–96.
- Collins, Steven, and Eugène Denis. 'Braḥ Māleyyadevattheravatthu [The Story of the Elder Māleyyadeva]'. *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 18 (1993): 1–17.
- Cook, Nerida M. 'Astrology in Thailand: The Future and the

- Recollection of the Past'. Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University, 1989.
- Damrong Rajanubhab. *Mahādibamant** [Great Divine Mantra]. Bangkok: Bimb* nāi nān braḥ rājadān blōn śab āmmāty dō brahyā arrganidhi*niyam (samuy ābharaṇasīri) ca ma, ca ja, ra ja ba, 1938 (2471).
- . *Tāṃnān braḥ parit* [Histories of Protective Chant]. Bangkok: Rājapāṇḍityasabhā, 1939 (2472).
- Davis, Erik W. *Deathpower: Buddhism's Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.
- . 'Weaving Life out of Death: The Craft of the Rag Robe in Cambodian Ritual Technology'. In *Buddhist Funeral Cultures of Southeast Asia and China*, edited by Paul Williams and Patrice Ladwig, 59–78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Decha Srikongmuang. *Kār śikṣā kār svat mahājāti gāṃ hlvaṇ: nēv gīt kēv, kṣp dāṃnān gītaśilp* lēḥ kār pāndik nōt₂* [A Study of Mahachat (Mahajataka) Khamluang Chanting: Its Melodic Concepts, Musical Articulation, and Musical Notation Manuscript]. Phitsanulok: Naresuan University, 2007 (2550).
- Desjarlais, Robert. *Subject to Death: Life and Loss in a Buddhist World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016.
- Dhanit Yupho. *Tāṃnān deśan* mahājāti lēḥ hlē₁ grōn₁ len₁ mahājāti pān hlē₁* [Histories of Preaching the Mahachat and Selections of Playful Mahachat Chants]. Bangkok: Bimb* pēn anusaraṇ* nāi nān jhāpanakic śab nān sādhakadhanasār (saṇā hvānnaidharm) ṇa meru vāt makut kṣātriyārām, 1971 (2514).
- Dhaṃmasabhā (Thammasapha). *Girimānandasūtr sāmnavan ko₁ pōrāṇ* [An Old Version of the Discourse to Girimānanda]. Bangkok: Dhaṃmasabhā, 1993 (2536).
- Ellison, Koshin Paley, and Matt Weingast. *Awake at the Bedside: Contemplative Teachings on Palliative and End-of-Life Care*. Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 2016.
- Ginsburg, Henry. 'A Monk Travels to Heaven and Hell'. In *Pearls of the Orient: Asian Treasures of the Wellcome Library*, edited by Nigel Allan, 144–59. London and Chicago: The Wellcome Trust and Serindia Publications, 2003.
- . *Thai Art and Culture: Historic Manuscripts from Western*

- Collections*. London: The British Library, 2000.
- Grabowsky, Volker. 'The Grammar and Function of Colophons in Lao Manuscripts: The Case of the Vat Maha That Collection, Luang Prabang'. In *The Syntax of Colophons: A Comparative Study Across Pothi Manuscripts*, edited by Nalini Balbir and Giovanni Ciotti, 229–59. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022.
- Goldring, Beth Kanji. 'Actualizing Understanding: Compassion, AIDS, Death, and Dying among the Poor'. In *Buddhist Care for the Dying and Bereaved: Globalized Perspectives*, edited by Jonathan Watts and Yoshiharu Tomatsu, 149–68. Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 2012.
- Hansen, Anne Ruth. 'Buddhist Communities of Belonging in Early-Twentieth-Century Cambodia'. In *Theravada Buddhist Encounters with Modernity*, edited by Juliane Schober and Steven Collins, 62–77. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Igunma, Jana. 'A Monk's Journeys to Heaven and Hell'. *Southeast Asia Library Group Newsletter* 43 (December 2011): 39–52.
- . 'Aksoon Khoom: Khmer Heritage in Thai and Lao Manuscript Cultures'. *Tai Culture* 23 (2013): 25–32.
- . 'Meditations on the Foul in Thai Manuscript Art'. *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Universities* 8.1 (2015): 65–81.
- . 'The Mystery of the "Naughty Monks" in Thai Manuscript Illustrations of Phra Malai'. *Southeast Asia Library Group Newsletter* 48 (December 2016): 29–54.
- Jory, Patrick. *Thailand's Theory of Monarchy: The Vessantara Jātaka and the Idea of the Perfect Man*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2016.
- Kerekes, Susanne Ryuyin, and Justin McDaniel. 'Siamese Manuscript Collections in the United States'. *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 2.1 (Spring 2017): 202–37.
- Kongkaew Veeraprajak. 'Ākṣar khām khān daiy' [Khom Thai Script]. In *Sāy dhār hēn₁ gvām git 2: sāranibandh* jōt jū kierti dān₁ phū₂ hñiñ varuṇyubā snidvañs* ṇa ayudhyā nōñ₁ nai varōkās āyu grap 72 pī* [Currents of Thought II: Studies in Honour of than phu ying Warunyupha Sanitwong na Ayutthaya on the Occasion of Her Seventy-Second Birthday], edited by Vuḍḍhijāy Mūlaśīlṇ*,

- 317–49. Bangkok: Kaṇḍun bīḍi vijākār varuṇyubā sanidvaṇṣ*, 2001 (2544).
- Kourilsky, Gregory. ‘The *Uṇhissa-vijaya-sutta* in Laos and Thailand: A Philological Approach’. In *Katā me rakkhā, katā me parittā: Protecting the Protective Texts and Manuscripts*, edited by Claudio Cicuzza, 1–54. Lumbini and Bangkok: Lumbini International Research Institute and Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2018.
- Kram śilpākār. *Samut mālāy lēḥ supin klān svat* [The Book of Malai and the Chanted Poem of Subin]. Bangkok: Kram śilpākār, 2012 (2555).
- Langer, Rita. *Buddhist Rituals of Death and Rebirth: Contemporary Sri Lankan Practice and Its Origins*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- . ‘Chanting as “Bricolage Technique”: A Comparison of South and Southeast Asian Funeral Recitation’. In *Buddhist Funeral Cultures of Southeast Asia and China*, edited by Paul Williams and Patrice Ladwig, 21–58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- McDaniel, Justin Thomas. ‘Illuminating Archives: Collectors and Collections in the History of Thai Manuscripts’. *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 2.1 (Spring 2017): 3–21.
- . ‘The Chester Beatty Collection of Siamese Manuscripts in Ireland’. *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 2.1 (Spring 2017): 174–201.
- Mross, Michaela. *Memory, Music, Manuscripts: The Ritual Dynamics of Kōshiki in Japanese Sōtō Zen*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2022.
- Ooi, Eng Jin. ‘Aspiring to Be a Buddha and Life Before Liberation: The Colophons of the Siamese Questions of King Milinda’. *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 7.1 (Spring 2022): 104–29.
- Pattaratorn Chirapavati, M. L. ‘Corpses and Cloth: Illustrations of the *Pamsukūla* Ceremony in Thai Manuscripts’. In *Buddhist Funeral Cultures of Southeast Asia and China*, edited by Paul Williams and Patrice Ladwig, 79–98. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

- , ed. *Divination au royaume de Siam: le corps, la guerre, le destin* [Divination in the Kingdom of Siam: Body, War, Destiny]. Translated by Nicolas Revire. Collection Sources. Paris and Geneva: Presses Universitaires de France and Fondation Martin Bodmer, 2011.
- Peera Panarut. ‘The Structure, Functions, and Tradition of Siamese Royal Scribal Colophons’. In *The Syntax of Colophons: A Comparative Study Across Pothi Manuscripts*, edited by Nalini Balbir and Giovanni Ciotti, 261–80. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022.
- . *Ayutthaya Literature in the Hands of Bangkok Scribes and Scholars. Volume I: Paratexts and Transmission History of Ayutthaya Literature in the Bangkok Period*. Segnitz: Zenos Verlag, 2022.
- . ‘Sarup hn̄n s̄i khien brah mālāy kl̄n svat’ [Summary of *Phra malai klon suat* Manuscripts]. Unpublished catalogue.
- Poramin Jaruworn. *Mālāy śrāddhā: balavāt khañ kār svat brah mālāy cāk t̄n₁ sanām vicāy* [Malai Faith: The Dynamics of Phra Malai Chanting from Different Fields of Study]. Bangkok: Grōñ kār phey br̄₁ phal n̄n vijākār gaṇaḥ ākṣaraśāstr cuḷālaṅkaraṇ* mahāvīdyālay, 2013 (2556).
- Phaisan Visalo. ‘The Seven Factors of a Peaceful Death: A Theravada Buddhist Approach to Dying’. In *Buddhist Care for the Dying and Bereaved: Globalized Perspectives*, edited by Jonathan S. Watts and Yoshiharu Tomatsu, 131–48. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2012.
- Prapod Assavavirulhakarn. ‘Mahādibbamanta: A Reflection on Thai Chanting Tradition’. In *Jainism and Early Buddhism: Essays in Honor of Padmanabh S. Jaini*, edited by Olle Qvarnström, part 2, 379–406. Fremont: Asian Humanities Press, 2003.
- Priyawat Kuanpoonpol. ‘Three *Phra Malai* Manuscripts at Harvard University’s Sackler Museum: Should They Be Considered Classical or Regional?’ In *Thai Literary Traditions*, edited by Manas Chitakasem, 186–97. Bangkok: Institute of Thai Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1995.
- Puññiñ Śrīvarabacan* (Buntuean Siworaphot) and Prah̄siddhi* Sēndāp (Prasit Saengthap). *Samut khay₁* [Leporello Manuscripts]. Bangkok: Maratak daiy, 1999 (2542).

- Santi Pakdeekham and Nawarat Pakdeekham. *Āravāṭiśāstr**
ayudhaya cāk cārik: cārik samāy ayudhya [The History of
 Ayutthaya from Epigraphy: Ayutthaya-Era Inscriptions].
 Bangkok: Samāgam prahvāṭiśāstr* nāi brah rājūpathāmbh*, 2018.
- Shinohara, Koichi. 'The Moment of Death in Daoxuan's Vinaya
 Commentary'. In *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses,
 Representations*, edited by Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline I.
 Stone, 105–33. Honolulu: Kuroda Institute, University of
 Hawai'i Press, 2007.
- Silpsupa Jaengsawang. *Relationship between Anisong Manuscripts
 and Rituals: A Comparative Study of the Lan Na and Lao
 Traditions*. Segnitz: Zenos Verlag, 2022.
- Skilling, Peter. 'Chanting and Inscribing: The "Condensed
 Tripiṭaka" in Thai Ritual'. In *'Guiding Lights' for the 'Perfect
 Nature': Studies on the Nature and the Development of
 Abhidharma Buddhism. A Commemorative Volume in Honor of
 Prof. Dr. Kenyo Mitomo for His 70th Birthday*, 928–62. Tokyo:
 Sankibo Busshorin, 2016.
- . 'King, Sangha and Brahmins: Ideology, Ritual and Power
 in Pre-Modern Siam'. In *Buddhism, Power and Political Order*,
 edited by Ian Harris, 182–215. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Skilling, Peter, and Santi Pakdeekham. 'Manuscripts in Central
 Thailand: Samut Khoi from Phetchaburi Province'. *Manuscript
 Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript
 Studies* 2.1 (Spring 2017): 125–50.
- Stone, Jacqueline I. *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment: Buddhism
 and Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan*. Honolulu:
 University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.
- . 'The Secret Art of Dying: Esoteric Deathbed Practices
 in Heian Japan'. In *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses,
 Representations*, edited by Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline I.
 Stone, 134–74. Honolulu: Kuroda Institute, University of
 Hawai'i Press, 2007.
- Stonington, Scott. 'Facing Death, Gazing Inward: End-of-Life
 and the Transformation of Clinical Subjectivity in Thailand'.
Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry 35.2 (2011): 113–33.
- . *The Spirit Ambulance: Choreographing the End of Life in*

- Thailand*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2020.
- Swearer, Donald K. *Becoming the Buddha: The Ritual of Image Consecration in Thailand*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Tākṛāk Byāgsrī (Dokrak Phayaksi). *Brah mālāy chpāp vāt tən khnāk ta. tən yāy hām a. mīōn nagar paṭṭham ca. nagar paṭṭham* [Phra Malai, Version of Wat Ton Khanak, Ton Yay Hom Sub-District, Nakhon Pathom Provincial Capital District, Nakhon Pathom Province]. Bangkok: Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, 2013 (2556).
- Tanabe Kazuko 田辺和子, and Shimizu Yōhei 清水洋平. *Ayutayā-ki kōki sakusei watto fuakurabū jīn shozō no etsuke ori honshi shahon* アユタヤー期後期作製ワット・フアクラバー寺院所蔵の絵付折本紙写本 [An Illustrated Folding Book from the Late Ayutthaya Period Preserved at Wat Hua Krabue]. Tokyo: Sekai seiten kankō kyōkai 世界聖典刊行協会, 2016.
- The Spiritual Friends of Supapon Pongpruk. ‘Death Without Pure Land? Preparing for a Peaceful Death in the Thai Theravada Tradition’. In *Never Die Alone: Death as Birth in Pure Land Buddhism*, edited by Jonathan Watts and Yoshiharu Tomatsu, 127–51. Tokyo: Jodo Shu Press, 2008.
- Unebe, Toshiya. ‘Textual Contents of Pāli *Samut Khois*: In Connection with the Buddha’s Abhidhamma Teaching in Tāvatiṃsa Heaven’. *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 2.2 (Fall 2017): 427–44.
- Walker, Trent. ‘Unfolding Buddhism: Communal Scripts, Localized Translations, and the Work of the Dying in Cambodian Chanted Leporellos’. Ph.D. dissertation, Group in Buddhist Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2018.
- . ‘Echoes of a Sanskrit Past: Liturgical Curricula and the Pali *Uṇhissavijaya* in Cambodia’. In *Katā me rakkhā, katā me parittā: Protecting the protective texts and manuscripts*, edited by Claudio Cicuzza, 55–134. Lumbini and Bangkok: Lumbini International Research Institute and Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2018.