Indic-Vernacular Bitexts from Thailand: Bilingual Modes of Philology, Exegetics, Homiletics, and Poetry, 1450–1850

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In the late first and early second millennia, mainland Southeast Asians created sophisticated techniques to accurately and efficiently render Pali into local vernaculars, including Burmese, Khmer, Khün, Lanna, Lao, Lü, Mon, and Siamese. These techniques for vernacular reading, parallel to approaches for reading Latin in medieval Europe and Literary Sinitic in Japan, Korea, and Vietnam, led to the development of bitexts that contained a mix of Pali and vernacular material.

Such bitexts, arranged in both interlinear and interphrasal formats, gradually allowed second-millennium Southeast Asian writers to sprout a vernacular literature from the established branches of Pali genres. Bitexts themselves formed the basis for a new literary style that stemmed from the techniques of vernacular reading, a style that set the standard for belles-lettres until the early twentieth century. The spread of Pali-vernacular bitexts in Southeast Asia allowed for the literary elevation of the vernacular without renouncing the cosmopolitan idiom of Pali.

To support these arguments, this article draws on some of the earliest examples of bitexts in Central Thailand (Siam) and Northern Thailand (Lanna). These include a hitherto undeciphered form of manuscript annotation in seventeenth- to nineteenth-century Siam; two of the oldest palm-leaf documents surviving in any Tai language, from sixteenth-century Lanna; and the oldest known Pali-Siamese literary work, thought to be composed in 1482. These bitexts provide detailed evidence for vernacular reading and the emergence of vernacular literature in mainland Southeast Asian in general and Thailand in particular.

INTRODUCTION

The literary culture of second-millennium mainland Southeast Asia, excepting Vietnam, emerges from the encounter between classical Indic languages and local vernacular languages. The leading Indic language of this period in Southeast Asia is Pali, a Middle Indic language closely related to Sanskrit, though Sanskrit itself maintained a secondary role in the region. The Southeast Asian vernaculars that Pali and Sanskrit intertwine with include the Tibeto-Burman tongue of Burmese; the Austroasiatic languages of Mon and Khmer; and the Southwestern Tai dialects of Siamese (or Central Thai), Lanna (or Northern Thai), Lao, Shan, Tai Khün, and Tai Lü (Dai Lue). At the crux of this meeting between Indic and local vernaculars are Indic-vernacular bitexts.

I define bitexts as texts that are presented bilingually, with portions in one language mixed together with portions in another, typically in an interphrasal or interlinear arrangement. Indic-vernacular bitexts may be structured in various ways, and need not contain equal proportions of Indic and Southeast Asian material. In most cases, the vernacular portions of a

bitext provide an analytic reading of the Pali or Sanskrit portions, sometimes accompanied by an interpretive or literary commentary. Such bitexts, known by diverse names in local languages, form a significant portion of all extant written material produced between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries in what is now Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Thailand.[1]

There have been very few sustained studies of Southeast Asian Indic-vernacular bitexts to date. William Pruitt, building on earlier work by Tin Lwin and John Okell, meticulously demonstrates the extraordinary range of grammatical particles and abbreviation systems employed in a single type of Pali-Burmese bitext.[2] Assanee Poolrak explores a number of analogous technical particles found in one Pali-Siamese bitext to show how Indic literary modes were adopted in Central Thailand.[3] Justin McDaniel, based on his readings of Pali-Lao and Pali-Lanna bitexts, claims that such bilingual compositions follow no strict conventions but rather reflect the idiosyncratic approaches of individual teachers.[4]

By contrast, my research on bitexts in Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand demonstrates not only that strict conventions were followed, but that many of these conventions were shared across mainland Southeast Asia from the eleventh century onward. Bitexts, in my reading, do not reflect what McDaniel sees as idiosyncrasies of particular local or personal approaches to reading Pali.[5] Nor are the technical features of Indic-vernacular bitexts, as documented by Pruitt and Assanee, particular to Burmese or Siamese contexts. I argue instead that Indic-vernacular bitexts spread across mainland Southeast Asia in the second millennium for three reasons: 1) they facilitated linguistic exchange not only between Indic and Southeast Asian languages but also among different Southeast Asian vernaculars, 2) they structured the vernacular reading and translation of Pali (and occasionally Sanskrit) texts, and 3) they facilitated the emergence of distinctive styles of bilingual literature that served philological, exegetical, homiletic, and poetic ends. This article unpacks the latter two claims.[6]

In this essay, I first provide a brief overview of how intellectuals in mainland Southeast Asia created sophisticated techniques to accurately and efficiently render Pali and Sanskrit into local vernaculars. Some of these techniques parallel various approaches for reading

1. The most common local names for bitexts include *nissaya* (Burmese), *naṃ/trā-ai* (Mon), *nisrai/nissăy* (Lanna, Lao, Siamese), *nāmašăbd/săpᵒ* (Lanna, Lao, Siamese), *cuṇṇiyapad* (Siamese), *p̓lè yak śăbd* (Siamese), and *prè lot prayog* (Khmer). Transliteration of Khmer, Lanna, Lao, and Siamese sources and terms in this essay follows the system outlined in Trent Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism: Communal Scripts, Localized Translations, and the Work of the Dying in Cambodian Chanted Leporellos" (PhD diss., Univ. of California, Berkeley, 2018), xiii–xvii. A number of minor additions to this system are described in the footnotes.

2. William Pruitt, *Étude linguistique de nissaya birmans* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1994); Tin Lwin, "A Study of Pali-Burmese Nissaya with Special Reference to the Mahāparinibbhāna-sutta" (PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, Univ. of London, 1961); John Okell, "Nissaya Burmese," *Lingua* 15 (1965): 186–227.

3. Assanee Poolrak, "Năndōṕanăndasūt́r gāṃ hlvaṅ: Kār vigroḥḥ* śilṗaḥ kār ṕlè lèḥ kalavidhī dăṅ varrṇaśilṗ*" (MA thesis, Chulalongkorn Univ., 2012).

4. Justin McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words: Histories of Buddhist Monastic Education in Laos and Thailand* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 2008), 119–60.

5. For a detailed critique of McDaniel's arguments in this regard, see Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism," 351–61, 370–73.

6. In reference to the first claim regarding linguistic exchange between Pali and Sanskrit in Southeast Asia, see Trent Walker, "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*, ed. Claudio Cicuzza, Materials for the Study of the Tripiṭaka, vol. 14 (Bangkok and Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute and Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2018), 49–116. With regard to Tai-Khmer linguistic exchange in Southeast Asian Buddhist contexts, see Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism," 403–29.

Latin in medieval Europe and for reading Literary Sinitic in Japan, Korea, and Vietnam.[7] Following the work of John Whitman and Peter Kornicki on East Asia, we might classify Indic-vernacular bitexts in Southeast Asia under the heading of "vernacular reading."[8] However, the techniques developed in Southeast Asia for the production of bitexts differ from their European and East Asia counterparts in that they supported a wide variety of textual genres, including linguistic study, scholastic commentary, public sermons, and versified belles-lettres.

To demonstrate these different techniques of presentation, this article focuses on selected Pali-vernacular texts from Thailand, including Pali-Siamese and Pali-Lanna examples, dating from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. The examples I selected come from a range of contexts within this period; I chose them for the clarity with which they illustrate philological, exegetical, homiletic, and poetic modes of presentation. To make the broader context for these examples clear, I first address the common features and diffusion history of Indic-vernacular bitexts in Sri Lanka and mainland Southeast Asia. Since I deal with these themes elsewhere, the remainder of this section takes the form of a brief summary.[9]

Indic-vernacular bitexts across Sri Lanka and mainland Southeast Asia rely on a common model for their composition. Whether they emerged in Burmese, Khmer, Lanna, Lao, Mon, Siamese, or Sinhalese contexts, bitexts in second-millennium contexts, including fifteenth- to nineteenth-century Siam (Central Thailand) and Lanna (Northern Thailand), are created through three required steps: selection, analysis, and presentation. The first step of selection has two possible options, the second of analysis encompasses five techniques, and the third of presentation has four primary modes, as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The three main steps of bitext composition, along with attendant options, techniques, and modes

1. Selection	Selecting an Indic passage to analyze
1a. Citation	Citing an existing Indic text
1b. Invention	Inventing an Indic text
2. Analysis	Reading and translating the selected passage
2a. Parsing	Dividing the passage into its component parts
2b. Amplification	Supplying contracted and implied Indic phrases
2c. Rearrangement	Changing the word order to vernacular syntax
2d. Annotation	Marking grammatical features with particles
2e. Gloss	Providing Indic and/or vernacular definitions

7. On such practices in medieval Europe, see Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude, eds., *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017) and Alderik H. Blom, *Glossing the Psalms: The Emergence of the Written Vernaculars in Western Europe from the Seventh to the Twelfth Centuries* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

8. John Whitman, "The Ubiquity of the Gloss," *SCRIPTA* 3 (2011): 95–121; Peter Francis Kornicki, "Reading Sinitic Texts in the Vernaculars," in *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2018), 157–86. For a recent reappraisal of the evidence for vernacular reading in Vietnam, see Kosukegawa Teiji and John Whitman, "On the Significance of the Glosses in Vietnamese Classical Chinese Texts," *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 13.3 (2018): 29–50.

9. See Trent Walker, "Bilingualism," in *The Routledge Handbook of Theravada Buddhism*, ed. Ashley Thompson and Stephen Berkwitz (London: Routledge, forthcoming).

3. Presentation	Tailoring the analysis for a specific purpose
3a. Philological	Selective analysis in an abbreviated style
3b. Exegetical	Scholastic expansion of analysis in prose
3c. Homiletic	Narrative expansion of analysis in prose
3d. Poetic	Aesthetic expansion of analysis in verse

All Indic-vernacular bitexts purport to select (1) an Indic text or texts to analyze passage by passage, whether that text is an existing Pali or Sanskrit treatise (1a) or one invented for the purpose of composing a bitext (1b). Each passage may be quoted in full, in abbreviated form, or not at all. The selected passage is then subjected to an analytical reading and translation (2). The number of specific techniques of analysis used depends on the linguistic and cultural context of the author. In Siamese and Lanna contexts it is not uncommon for all five techniques (2a–2e) to be applied to each passage.[10] Each analyzed passage may be subsequently presented in various modes (3). The four most common are philological (3a), exegetical (3b), homiletic (3c), and poetic (3d), but variants and combinations of these appear as well. Each mode roughly corresponds with a particular intended audience: a philological presentation favors linguistic training, an exegetical approach is suitable for scholastic readers, a homiletic mode is honed for public preaching, and a poetic treatment may be intended for recitation to court circles or other highly literate audiences.

These primary steps and their attendant options, techniques, and modes may have arisen gradually in the first millennium, though our evidence for this period is thin. There are first-millennium inscriptions that include portions in two languages, namely a classical Indic language (Sanskrit or Pali) and a local tongue (Cham, Khmer, Mon, Pyu). However, in most cases, the classical and vernacular sections diverge in form and content; the Indic portion often praises a deity in elaborate verse, while the vernacular documents what was donated to the deity or religious foundation in prose.[11] Notable exceptions include an interphrasal Sanskrit-Pyu inscription tentatively dated to the sixth century and a number of Sanskrit-Khmer inscriptions, largely from the early second millennium, that include parallel content, if divergent form, in the two languages.[12]

There are a handful of reliably dated first-millennium Pali-Sinhala bitexts that include the three primary steps. The earliest surviving mainland Southeast Asian example is a Pali-Mon inscription from the late eleventh or early twelfth century.[13] Pali-Burmese examples are extant from the late thirteenth century, and several Sanskrit-Burmese bitexts are listed in an inscription from 1442. By the middle of the second millennium, the techniques of Indic-vernacular bitexts are witnessed among several Southwestern Tai groups, including those in Siam, Lanna, and Laos. The earliest complete Pali-Siamese bitext is thought to date from 1482 in Ayutthaya. The earliest securely dated Pali-Lanna bitext surviving in manuscript

10. Pali-Sinhala bitexts omit the technique of grammatical annotation (2d), since what Burmese, Mon, Khmer, and various Tai languages express through particles may be signaled morphologically in Sinhala.

11. Similar Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 2006), 126–29.

12. Arlo Griffiths, Bob Hudson, Marc Miyake, and Julian Wheatley, "Studies in Pyu Epigraphy, I: State of the Field, Edition and Analysis of the Kan Wet Khaung Mound Inscription, and Inventory of the Corpus," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 103 (2017): 43–205; Chhom Kunthea, "Le rôle du sanskrit dans le développement de la langue khmère: Une étude épigraphique du VIe au XIVe siècle" (PhD thesis, École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2016), 319–40.

13. C. O. Blagden, *Epigraphia Birmanica: Being Lithic and Other Inscriptions of Burma,* vol. 1, pt. 2, ed. Charles Duroiselle (Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Union of Burma, 1960), 93.

form dates from 1552.[14] A Sanskrit-Lanna example survives from 1578.[15] The oldest extant Pali-Lao bitexts hail from a similar period.[16] Pali-Siamese, Pali-Lanna, and Pali-Lao bitexts almost certainly existed prior to the late fifteenth century, though the extreme paucity of manuscripts before that time precludes firm conclusions.

The examples I draw from in this essay comprise several of the oldest representatives in Thailand for the four modes of bitextual presentation. These include 1) two passages from a mid-nineteenth-century philological Pali-Siamese bitext, 2) two exegetical Pali-Lanna bitexts, one from 1585 and another from 1638, 3) two homiletic Pali-Lanna bitexts, one from 1563 and another from 1666, and 4) a poetic Pali-Siamese bitext from 1482. Each example is among the earliest surviving Indic-Tai bitexts of its type. The philological examples include a hitherto undeciphered form of manuscript annotation in seventeenth- to nineteenth-century Siam. The Pali-Lanna exegetical and homiletic examples, never analyzed before, are among the few dozen oldest manuscripts surviving in any Tai language. The poetic example is one of the oldest known literary works in Siamese. Taken as a whole, these examples provide detailed evidence for the emergence of Indic-vernacular bitexts in what is now Thailand.

PHILOLOGICAL BITEXTS: INTERLINEAR PALI-SIAMESE EXAMPLES FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Most Pali manuscripts from the seventeenth through early twentieth centuries in Siam and Cambodia are inscribed on palm leaves. Once the leaves have been prepared for writing, the scribe carves the letters into each leaf. The leaves are then washed with ink and wiped clean, leaving the ink behind only in the inscribed letters.

Many manuscripts were then proofread by a second reader, most likely a male monastic. He would correct mistakes in the manuscript by writing on it directly with an ink pen, rather than re-inscribing the leaves. The proofreader usually wrote "proofreading complete"[17] on the cover leaf of each fascicle once his work was finished. Most Pali manuscripts of this period, therefore, were fashioned by two sets of hands, those of the original scribe and those of the proofreader.

A smaller number of manuscripts, however, were the work of three or more sets of hands. The third person to contribute to the manuscript was the annotator. Interlinear annotations in a special script for this purpose, known in Thai as *khaam hvă̆t* or *t́vă̆ kṣien*, appear on certain Pali palm-leaf manuscripts.[18] These annotations are generally found only on the texts that formed the core of the Siamese monastic curriculum in this period, namely the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa*, the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, the *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*, the *Sāratthasaṅgaha*, the *Samanta-pāsādikā*, the *Visuddhimagga*, and the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*. *Khaam hvă̆t* annotations

14. Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM) 011903027_00 (http://lannamanuscripts.net/en/manuscripts/3700, accessed November 27, 2019).

15. DLNTM 011318001_01 (http://lannamanuscripts.net/en/manuscripts/4475, accessed November 27, 2019).

16. To my knowledge, the oldest surviving Pali-Lao bitext in manuscript form, a bilingual version of the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, dates from 948 of the Lesser Era (*cullasakarāja/cūḷasakarāja*), equivalent to 1586 or 1587 CE (PLMP [Preservation of Lao Manuscripts Programme] Code: 08040102007_04; http://laomanuscripts.net/en/texts/6166, accessed November 27, 2019).

17. Siamese *dān lèv₂*; Khmer *phdieṅ höy*.

18. For more on the paleographic context of *khom hvă̆t* and *t́vă̆ kṣien*, see Kongkaew Veeraprajak, "Ăkṣar khaam khaaṅ daiy," in *Sāy dhār hèṅ₁ gvām git 2: Sāranibandh* jöt jū kierí̄ dān₁ phū₂ hñiṅ varuṇyubā snidvaṅś* ṇa ayudhyā nïöṅ₁ naï varōkās āyu grap 72 p̄ī*, ed. Vuḍhijăy Mūlaśilp̄* (Bangkok: Kaaṅ dun bïö₁ vijākār varuṇyubā snidvaṅś*, 2544 [2001]), 330–32.

are most common in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century manuscripts, but they are known to be found in earlier materials as well.[19]

These interlinear annotations are the most abbreviated form of Indic-vernacular bitext in Southeast Asia. The mode of presentation is almost exclusively philological in that the interlinear notes provide a highly abbreviated analysis of the Pali passage at hand without offering further exegetical, narrative, or poetic elaboration. The focus is solely on parsing, amplifying, syntactically rearranging, grammatically annotating, and sometimes glossing a portion of a Pali text.

Here I propose the first explanation of the meaning and function of these distinctive annotations. I cite two examples—one simple, one more complex—from a *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* manuscript in the Swift Family Collection at the University of California, Berkeley's Bancroft Library.[20] This manuscript was likely fashioned in Siam in the mid-nineteenth century. Its special annotation symbols are shared by many other *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* manuscripts from Cambodia and Siam from the seventeenth century onward.

A diplomatic transcription of the inscribed text, plus the proofreader's corrections in **bold**, of folio *ḍa* recto, lines 1–3, reads as follows:[21]

buddhānaṃhi / padacetiyaṃadhiṭṭhahitvāākkantaṭṭhāneyevapaññā ◯ yatinaaññattha ❘ yesañcatthāyaadhiṭṭhitaṃhoti《↓+↑**te**》yeva◯naṃpassanti❘tesaṃpanaadassanakaraṇatthaṃ-hatthī / ādayovāakkamantumahāmeghovāvassatu ◯ verambhavātāvāpaharantunana《**ṃ**》kocimakkhetu《**ṃ**》sakkoti ❘[22]

For a footprint of the Buddhas, once established, is only visible in the place where they walked, not elsewhere. Moreover, only those for whom it was established can see it. Even if, for the sake of making [a footprint][23] invisible to them, should elephants and other beasts stampede, a great rain pour down, or whirlwinds blow, still no one is able to erase it.

After the scribe inscribed these lines in Pali, the proofreader supplied a missing word (*te*, "those") and two missing *niggahīta* (*ṃ*, on *naṃ* and *makkhetuṃ*), likely on the basis of a reference manuscript. No spaces are added to parse the text; with the exception of string hole breaks, line breaks, and sentence-final *daṇḍa* markers, the whole passage is inscribed in *scriptio continua*, in contrast to modern Pali editions. The proofreader's duty is to make sure that the inscribed text matches the reference manuscript.

19. For an image of an annotated early eighteenth-century manuscript in the National Library of Thailand, see Kongkaew Veeraprajak, *Sāranideś cāk gămbhīr* paï lān samăy ayudhyā* (Bangkok: Kram śilpakar, 2545 [2002]), 47. There are likely examples surviving from the seventeenth century in the National Library of Thailand, though they remain unidentified.

20. Call number: ff 4MS PL4251 no. 14. An image of this particular folio is available at http://cdn.calisphere. org/data/13030/fx/hb7f59p4fx/files/hb7f59p4fx-FID435.jpg. The entire manuscript is accessible at http://www. oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb7f59p4fx/?&brand=oac4 (accessed November 27, 2019).

21. The scribe did not include any spaces in this passage. Physical divisions and punctuation are transliterated as follows: / = line break; ◯ = string hole break; ❘ = *daṇḍa* [end of sentence marker]. The proofreader's marks are transliterated as follows: 《 》 = proofreader's insertion; ↑ = insertion or correction above the line of text; ↓ = insertion or correction below the line of text; + = proofreader's insertion marker.

22. Cf. the Chaṭṭha-saṅgāyanā CD-ROM (CSCD) edition of the same passage: *buddhānañhi padacetiyaṃ adhiṭṭhahitvā akkantaṭṭhāneyeva paññāyati, na aññattha. yesañcatthāya adhiṭṭhitaṃ hoti, teyeva naṃ passanti. tesaṃ pana adassanakaraṇatthaṃ hatthiādayo vā akkamantu, mahāmegho vā pavassatu, verambhavātā vā paharantu, na taṃ koci makkhetuṃ sakkoti* (https://www.tipitaka.org/romn/cscd/s0502a.att2.xml, accessed November 27, 2019).

23. I use square brackets in my translations throughout to indicate words not explicitly specified in the text.

At some point in this manuscript's history, likely shortly after it was inscribed and proof-read, a monk preparing for Pali examinations in Siam began to study it. The proofreader's marks are in a thin black ink; the monk who subsequently studied this manuscript left his annotations in a slightly thicker pen. When the annotator arrived at the last of the three sentences in the passage above, he provided a detailed analysis of the sentence in question.

Here is a diplomatic transcription, with the annotator's insertions in **bold**: [24]

tesaṃ «↓ **4** ↑ **janānaṃ**» panaadassanakaraṇatthaṃ «↓ **3** ↑ **bī̆ö**» «↑ **–»** hatthī «↑ **®»** / ādayo «↓ **1»** vāakkamantu «↓ **2** ↑ **–»** mahāmegho «↑ **®»** vāvassatu ◯ verambhavātā «↑ **® lamᵒ hva₁ tvan₁»** «↑ **®»** vāpaharantu «↑ **–»** na «↓ **$»** na《《ṃ》》 «↓ **kī»** koci «↓ **ka** ↑ **®»** makkhetu《《ṃ》》 «↓ **ki** ↑ **lab»** sakkoti «↓ **kā** » |

The annotator's interlinear analysis transforms this passage into a philological Pali-Siamese bitext. The cited passage is subject to a vernacular reading and translation, comprising the analytic techniques of parsing, amplification, syntactic rearrangement, grammatical annotation, and gloss. The presentation of the bitext is distinctly philological, with symbolic abbreviation and no exegetical, homiletic, or poetic elaboration.

The first layer of analysis is parsing. Though most of the text remains in *scriptio continua*, the annotator uses two special symbols, an inserted space (–) and a word isolation marker ($) to mark word and phrase divisions. For instance, he inserts a space between *-atthaṃ* and *hatthīādayo* to separate an adverbial phrase from the grammatical subject and main verb that follow. He also uses an inserted space to divide the final clause [25] from the rest of the sentence. The negation particle *na* receives a special word isolation marker to separate it from the *naṃ* [26] that follows. This first layer of analysis separates the main parts of the sentence from one another for easier reading and translation.

The second layer is amplification. In this passage, the annotator only amplifies one Pali word, *tesaṃ* ("to them"), by supplying another dative/genitive plural form, *janānaṃ* ("to the people"), with a more specific meaning. *Janānaṃ* is not a gloss of *tesaṃ*, but rather a clarification of what, in the annotator's view, the implied noun behind the pronoun should be.

The third layer is syntactic rearrangement. Here the annotator seeks to reorder the Pali passage so that the word sequence matches how it would be read and translated into Siamese. The annotator records this rearrangement through the use of both ciphers and syllables. In the first phrase of the sentence from *tesaṃ* to *akkamantu*, he uses the numerals 1 through 4 to indicate this order. Thus what the Chaṭṭha-saṅgāyanā CD-ROM (CSCD) reads as *tesaṃ pana adassanakaraṇatthaṃ hatthiādayo vā akkamantu* ("Even if, for the sake of making [a foot-print] invisible to them, should elephants and other beasts stampede") becomes *hatthiādayo akkamantu adassanakaraṇatthaṃ tesaṃ* [amplified to *tesaṃ janānaṃ*] ("Should elephants and other beasts stampede for the sake of making [a footprint] invisible to those people"), the annotator having set aside the particles *vā* and *pana* in the process of rearrangement.

In the final clause, the annotator uses the syllables *ka*, *kā*, *ki*, and *kī* instead of ciphers. These four syllables are traditionally used to paginate the verso sides of the first four leaves of the first fascicle of a palm-leaf manuscript in mainland Southeast Asia. Thus *ka*, *kā*, *ki*, and *kī* correspond to 1, 2, 3, 4 or a, b, c, d. The annotator uses these syllables instead of ciphers to avoid confusion with the first part of the sentence. What the CSCD reads as *na taṃ*

25. CSCD: *na taṃ koci makkhetuṃ sakkoti.*
26. CSCD: *taṃ.*

koci makkhetuṃ sakkoti hence becomes *na koci sakkoti makkhetuṃ naṃ* ("no one is able to erase it"). The meaning is the same in Pali, but the new order allows for a literal reading and translation that matches vernacular syntax. In modern Thai, the syntax would be the same (Thai glosses in **bold**): *na koci **mai₁ mī graï** sakkoti **sāmārth** makkhetuṃ **lap** naṃ **măn tai₂**.*[27]

The fourth layer of analysis is grammatical annotation. In this passage, such annotations are limited to marking the nominative case with a special abbreviation for *ăn vā₁*, a Siamese technical particle that is used in bitexts to mark the nominative case or grammatical subject of a sentence.[28] The annotator uses this abbreviation to mark the Pali terms *hatthiādayo*, *mahāmegho*, *verambhavātā*, and *koci* as grammatical subjects in this passage. Other annotators may have marked additional grammatical features, such as case, number, tense, or mood with similar technical particles, but presumably the annotator of this passage did not find these necessary for his analysis.

The fifth and final layer of analysis is gloss. In this passage, the annotator just provides vernacular glosses; other annotators provide Pali glosses as well. Our annotator restricts himself to glossing only ambiguous or difficult lexical items. One such word is *-atthaṃ*, which he glosses with *bï̈ö* ("for the sake of") so as to clarify that *-atthaṃ* is not interpreted as "meaning," "benefit," "wealth," etc. The relatively rare words *verambhavātā* and *makkhetuṃ* are glossed with *lamᵒ hva₁ tvan₁* (modern Thai *lam hvă tvăn₂*, "whirlwind") and *lab* (modern Thai *lap*, "to erase"), respectively.

The precision of this highly abbreviated form of interlinear analysis, comprising the techniques of parsing, amplification, syntactic rearrangement, grammatical annotation, and gloss, makes it one of the most sophisticated forms of vernacular grammatical analysis to emerge prior to the development of modern linguistics. The annotator's insertions provide an accurate account of how to read and translate this Pali passage into Siamese.

The process of creating a philologically oriented, interlinearly arranged Indic-vernacular bitext can be even more complex. In folio *ḍo* verso, line 1 of the same *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* manuscript, the following Pali stanza appears (_ = scribal space):

    ahaṃnāgovasaṅgāme _ cāpātopatitasaraṃ _
    ativākyaṃtitikkhissa _ dussilohibahujano |[29]

The proofreader and the annotator both offer corrections to the inscribed letters. Combined with the annotator's parsing marks, a diplomatic transcription of the stanza, with the proofreader's and annotator's marks for correction and parsing in **bold**, reads as follows:[30]

    ahaṃ «↑ –» nāgo «↑ –» va «↑ –» saṅgāme _ cāpātopatita**«ṃ»**saraṃ _
    ativākyaṃtitikkhissa**«ṃ»** _ dussilo «↑ –» hi «↑ –» ba**{{hu}}⟪⟪hū⟫⟫**jano |

Revised transcription with proofreading and parsing notes applied:

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27. Many such Pali-Siamese bitexts traveled to Cambodia in the eighteenth through twentieth centuries. Since Khmer and Thai have a very similar syntactic structure, the rearrangement of this passage works equally well for Khmer: *na koci gmān anak e ṇā sakkoti āc makkhetuṃ lap' naṃ vā pān*. For more on the syntactic parallels between Khmer and Thai, see Franklin E. Huffman, "Thai and Cambodian: A Case of Syntactic Borrowing?," *JAOS* 93.4 (1973): 488–509.

28. On the various forms this symbol has taken over the centuries, see Kongkaew Veeraprajak, *Sāranideś cāk gămbhīr paï lān samăy ayudhyā*, 156. I discuss its likely Khmer origins in Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism," 335.

29. Cf. Dhammapada 320 in CSCD (https://www.tipitaka.org/romn/cscd/s0502a.att2.xml, accessed November 27, 2019):

ahaṃ nāgova saṅgāme, cāpato patitaṃ saraṃ;
ativākyaṃ titikkhissaṃ, dussīlo hi bahujjano.

30. {{ }} = proofreader's deletion.

ahaṃ nāgo va saṅgāme cāpātopatitaṃsaraṃ
ativākyaṃtitikkhissaṃ dussilo hi bahūjano |

I, just like an elephant in battle [would endure] an arrow shot from a bow,
shall harsh words endure; immoral indeed [are] most men.

With corrections and parsing complete, the annotator continues with the remaining techniques of analysis, taking a remarkably thorough approach to this stanza. In his annotations above and below the inscribed Pali stanza, he includes no fewer than five Pali amplifications, fourteen numerals for syntactic rearrangement, two different vernacular grammatical particles, and three Pali glosses (see fig. 1).

Diplomatic transcription of inscribed passage and inked annotations (vernacular insertions in **bold**; Pali insertions in *italics*):
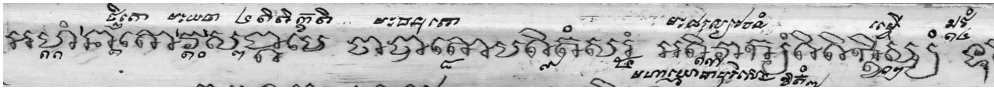

Fig. 1. Detail of annotations in a *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* manuscript, folio ḍō verso, line 1. Phra Dhammapada-atthakatha kambujjakaksara-nibat (?), phuk 8 [*sic*, should read: braḥ dhamma-padaṭṭhakathā kamvujjaksaranvāt phūk 7], Swift Family Collection of Palm Leaf Manuscripts, ff 4MS PL4251 no. 14, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Image available from http://cdn.calisphere.org/data/13030/fx/hb7f59p4fx/files/hb7f59p4fx-FID452.jpg (accessed November 27, 2019)

ahaṃ «↓ 11» «↑ –» nāgo «↓ 1» «↑ 2 *thito*» «↑ –» va «↓ 10» «↑ **maḥ** *yathā*» «↑ –» saṅgāme «↓ 3» «↑ 4 *titikkhati*» _ cāpāto «↑ **maḥ** *dhanuto*» «↓ 8» patita«**ṃ**» «↓ 9» saraṃ «↓ 5» _ ativākyaṃ «↑ **maḥ** *pharussavacanaṃ*» «↓ 13» «↓ 6 *mahāyodhāpurisena*» «↓ 7 *khitaṃ*» titikkhissa«**ṃ**» «↑ **mè~ḭ̄ö**» «↓ 12» «↑ 14 *evaṃ*» _ dussilo «↑ –» hi «↑ –» ba{{hu}}⟪hū⟫ jano |

The Pali insertions include both amplifications of implied words such as *thito*, *titikkhati*, and *evaṃ*, as well as Pali glosses of ambiguous or rare Pali words, such as *yathā* for *va* (i.e., *iva*) and *dhanuto* for *cāpāto* (i.e., *cāpato*). The vernacular insertions include the grammatical marker *mè~ḭ̄ö* (modern Thai *mè₂ mḭ̄ö₁*), meaning "even though" or "should it be that," to mark the conditional mood, as well as a special Pali-Pali gloss marker *maḥ*, a short form of *maḥ vā₁* or *moḥ₁*. This term, equivalent to *moḥ* in Middle Khmer, *muh* in Old Khmer, and *mǎk vā₁* in Lanna, roughly means "that is to say" and is used to separate a Pali item to be glossed from its gloss in Pali.

The syntactic reordering in this passage is particularly complex. Without the Pali amplifications and glosses, the order of the vernacular reading is notated as 11, 1, 10, 3, 8, 9, 5, 13, 12. With the added words it becomes 11, 1, **2**, 10, 3, **4**, 8, 9, 5, 13, **6**, **7**, 12, **14**. When read in the indicated order, the expanded sentence reads as follows: [31]

nāgo *thito* saṅgāme *titikkhati* saraṃ *mahāyodhāpurisena khit[t]aṃ* cāp[a]to **maḥ** *dhanuto* patitaṃ [i]va **maḥ** *yathā* ahaṃ titikkhissaṃ **mè~ḭ̄ö** ativākyaṃ **maḥ** *pharussavacanaṃ evaṃ*.

31. Word-division spaces added for clarity; [ ] = my editorial emendations, also for clarity; GLS = Pali-Pali gloss marker; CND = conditional mood marker.

An elephant, *standing* in battle, *endures* arrows *fired by a great warrior* from a bow GLS *from a bow*, shot, just like GLS *just how* CND I would endure harsh words GLS rough speech, in the same way.

The annotations fill in all of the implied Pali words and transform this new, expanded Pali sentence into a readily comprehensible vernacular reading.

These examples, however intricate they may seem, only give a partial glimpse of the philological practices witnessed in manuscript annotations from Siam. Other passages would show a broader range of glosses, including more extensive Pali-vernacular glosses. Some manuscripts would reveal more complete grammatical marking, including technical particles for all eight noun cases as well as markers for at least five different verbal tenses and moods. In short, these interlinear annotations, if written out in full, would provide all of the lexical, grammatical, and syntactic information necessary to read Pali texts in Siamese.

With rare exceptions, such annotations are not written out in full in an interlinear format. They are usually extremely fragmentary since they are written in ink by a student studying the text and usually comment only on particularly difficult words or passages. The phrases left unannotated, it seems, are either already understood by the annotator or pose no special interest. The aim is to produce a bitext that is philologically useful for a careful student of Pali rather than to compose a treatise for public consumption.

There are a few Pali curricular manuscripts in which interlinear annotations are written out in full, providing a complete vernacular reading in Siamese. In these cases, the annotations are typically carved directly into the leaves instead of inked on the surface. Such inscribed interlinear annotations are most commonly found in palm-leaf copies of the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa*, the primary treatise used to teach Pali grammar in Siam, Laos, and Cambodia prior to the twentieth century.

EXEGETICAL BITEXTS: INTERPHRASAL PALI-LANNA EXAMPLES FROM THE LATE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

The philological bitexts examined above are the products of Siamese students sharpening their Pali reading skills. The Pali-Lanna examples I highlight below are concerned more with how to interpret Pali scriptures and commentaries. The primary characteristic of the exegetical mode of presentation is the scholastic expansion of a bitext. Early Lanna authors of such bitexts were deeply steeped in the Pali grammatical and commentarial tradition, and their scholastic expansions read much like the monolingual Pali commentaries they engage, including frequent citation of other treatises, stylized application of rhetorical questions, refutation of incorrect views, and admission of multiple interpretations. Since these exegetical bitexts were not intended to be read aloud in a public setting, their contents are highly abbreviated, and may seem cryptic or even deliberately confounding at first glance. Upon closer examination, however, these bitexts reveal the power of the exegetical mode to carefully unpack multiple layers of meaning within a Pali text.

The two examples I have selected are bitextual expositions of the same passage from the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī-ṭīkā*, a twelfth-century commentary on Anuruddha's *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha,* a handbook that elucidates the core concepts of the Pali Abhidhamma.[32] The passage in question comes from the beginning of the *Ālambanasaṅgaha* (or *Ārammaṇasaṅgaha* in some Lanna manuscripts) in the third chapter of the text. Like

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32. On these two texts and their relationship, see R. P. Wijeratne and Rupert Gethin, trs., *Summary of the Topics of Abhidhamma (Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha) by Anuruddha: Exposition of the Topics of Abhidhamma*

similar portions in other scholastic treatises, this passage shows how key terms are explained through their supposed etymological connection (*nirukti*) to other words:

> *Ārammaṇānaṃ sarūpato, vibhāgato, taṃvisayacittato ca saṅgaho* **ālambaṇasaṅgaho**. *Vaṇṇavikāraṃ āpajjamānaṃ rūpayati hadayaṅgatabhāvaṃ pakāsetīti rūpaṃ, tadeva dubbalapurisena daṇḍādi viya cittacetasikehi ālambīyati, tāni vā āgantvā ettha ramantīti ārammaṇanti* **rūpārammaṇaṃ**. [33]

> The compendium of objects (*ārammaṇa*) by means of resemblance, division, and conscious-ness having those objects as its object is called the "compendium of objects (*ālambana*)." "Undergoing change in appearance, it manifests (*rūpayati*) and makes known the state of having gone to the heart"; hence it is "form (*rūpaṃ*)." "That very same form is pulled down on (*ālambīyati*) by consciousnesses and mental factors, just as a [walking] stick [is pulled down on] by a feeble man," or, "those [consciousnesses and mental factors] come and rejoice (*ramanti*) in [form]," hence it is called "object (*ārammaṇaṃ*)."—thus [the first of the six objects] is called "form object (*rūpārammaṇaṃ*)." [34]

The first manuscript example I discuss in this section includes an exposition of the two Pali sentences above. This manuscript, titled *Nissayᵒ ṭīkā abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, [35] dates from 1585 CE (*cūḷaśakarāja* 947) [36] and is now held at Văt Hlai₂ Hin Hlvaṅ (Wat Lai Hin Luang) in Lampang province, Thailand, though it was first inscribed for a certain Văt Bvă Tèmᵒ₂. [37]

The passage in question appears on folio *chyō* verso, line 3 through folio *chyo* (i.e., *chyau*) recto, line 5. [38] The following transcription has been modified slightly from a strict diplo-matic transcription for clarity. [39] Pali words cited from the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī-ṭīkā* are kept in roman type; Pali words added by the author of the bitext are in *italics*; vernacular Lanna portions appear in **bold**. For the translation, technical particles for grammatical anno-tation are signaled as follows: NOM = nominative case particle (®/*ănᵒ vā₁*); ACC = accusative case particle (*yănᵒ*); GEN = genitive case particle (*hё̈ṅᵒ* [40]/*hèṅᵒ*); LOC = locative case particle (*nai/naï*); PL = plural number particle; IND = indicative mood particle. The exposition begins with a bitextual analysis of the opening sentence:

> ārammaṇa | saṅgaho **anvā** ā naṃ | **yăṅᵒ** | sa to *ca* **ḍvayᵒ sarᵒūp kḍī** | vi | to *ca* **ḍvayᵒ ănᵒ pènᵒ kḍī ḍvay₂ tāṅ₁ kḍī ḍvaaý kvā** | ta | to *ca* **ḍvayᵒ citt dălᵒ mī dī pěnᵒ gī̄ ārammaṇ ănᵒ nănᵒ kḍī** | ā ho **jī̄** |

> ārammaṇasa[ṅ]gaho NOM ā...naṃ ACC sa...to *ca* **whether by resemblance** vi...to *ca* **whether by division, alternatively, whether by differentiation** ta...to *ca* **whether by**

(*Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī*) by Sumaṅgala, *Being a Commentary to Anuruddha's Summary of the Topics of Abhi-dhamma* (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2002).

33. CSCD Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī 3.48 (https://www.tipitaka.org/romn/cscd/abh07t.nrf2.xml, accessed November 27, 2019).

34. For a different interpretation of this passage, see Wijeratne and Gethin, *Summary of the Topics*, 103.

35. ṅ = diacritical ṅ in Tham Lanna script.

36. This dating is confirmed by both the *cūḷaśakarāja* year and the Tai year (*ḍăpᵒ roᵒ*) in the colophon.

37. DLNTM 030103002_00, first unlabeled folio, image 1 (http://lannamanuscripts.net/en/manuscripts/4418, accessed November 27, 2019). I was unable to ascertain the present-day location and identity of this temple.

38. DLNTM 030103002_00, images 83–84 (http://lannamanuscripts.net/en/manuscripts/4418, accessed November 27, 2019).

39. I have ignored all of the original spacing and punctuation, save for the *daṇḍa*s, and have added new spaces and paragraph breaks. Words broken by line and string-hole breaks have been reunited, and corrections indicated by the scribe silently applied.

40. ё̈ = diactrical è in Tham Lanna script.

consciousnesses PL which have that sphere of existence, i.e., that object ā...ho **is named.**

The analysis includes minor amplification (adding the conjunction *ca*) and rearrangement (putting *ārammaṇasaṅgaho* at the beginning in addition to the end). Some Pali phrases are grammatically annotated, and others are glossed, but the translation into Lanna is far from complete. In addition, many of the Pali phrases are highly abbreviated; *ārammaṇānaṃ* becomes *ā naṃ, taṃvisayacittato ca* becomes *ta to ca*, etc. These omissions do not make for an incoherent text, however. The author was probably a monk or former monk, and was writing for readers who had the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī-ṭīkā* available to them and already had a good grasp of Pali. He saw no need to translate common Pali words; his readers could grasp their import through a simple grammatical particle alone (e.g., *ārammaṇasa*[*ṅ*]*gaho* NOM). Likewise, he deemed it unnecessary to write out *taṃvisayacittato ca* when *ta to ca* would be enough for his readers to understand what phrase in the source text is being analyzed.

One aspect of the bitext is initially puzzling, however. The dative/genitive plural noun *ārammaṇānaṃ* (abbreviated *ā...naṃ*) is grammatically marked as the object with a technical particle (*yăṅ*) typically reserved for the accusative case (ACC). The author, as if anticipating an inquiry on his interpretation, immediately follows with a series of rhetorical questions and responses:

ārammaṇānaṃ saṅgaho ārammaṇasaṅgaho **măk° kdāṃ chăn° nī sân° grō ḍvay° ăn° ḍai jam°ā thām° nī ciṅ° sai kārak 3 ăn° mī tân° vā** sarupato **mā Í**[41]

vā yăṅ lè gå hị plè hăn° | ḍī vā dutiyātappurisasamās ḍāy° | het°u ḍai vā chaṭṭhītappurisamās jam°ā khŏ tăṅ° dōḍ° ḍăṅ° nī Í | dèl° *vibhattipadhāno tappuriso* **tappuris mī vibhatti pĕn° padhān° Í het°u klāv° ḍăṅ° nī lĕṅ° ḍaṅ° vibhatti Íe gåv°ā chaṭṭhitappurisasamās Í || băn atth på pĕn° pradhān° kè₁ săn° nī Í mĕn° het°u** saṅgaho **vedanā | kicca dvāra** ārammaṇasaṅgaho **kḍī gå yaa°m kdāṃ chaṭṭhi chaṭṭhi lân° nai dutiyatth |**

ārammaṇānaṃ... sa[ṅ]gaho ārammaṇasa[ṅ]gaho **"Put this way, by what means is it a compendium?" In response to this question there is the insertion of three factors, beginning with** sar[ū]pato.

"What about the marker 'ACC'; translated this way, shouldn't the compound be an accusative tappurisa? Why is it instead a genitive tappurisa?"—so goes the accusation. In truth, *vibhattipadhāno tappuriso* **a tappurisa has case as its predominant element. According to this reasoning, when the case is examined, it is called a genitive tappurisa compound. Regarding the meaning, however, it is not the predominant element in this sense. For just like those** sa[ṅ]gaho **named "*vedanā-*," "*kicca-*," and "*dvāra-*,"**[42] **the** ārammaṇasa[ṅ]gaho **is likewise rendered with a genitive construction, a genitive placed in an accusative meaning.**

In this portion of his exposition, the author explains why he chose the particle *yăṅ°* (ACC) instead of *hëṅ°* (GEN) to annotate the compound *ārammaṇasaṅgaho*. He makes his case with

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41. Í = the Tham Lanna abbreviated form of the sentence final particle *lè*. The same abbreviation appears in the particle of completion *Ív°* = *lèv°₂*.

42. *Vedanāsaṅgaho, kiccasaṅgaho,* and *dvārasaṅgaho* are the names of the immediately prior sections of the the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī-ṭīkā*.

reference to a Pali grammatical principle, *vibhattipadhāno tappuriso,*[43] "a dependent deter-minative compound (Skt. *tatpuruṣa*) has case as its predominant element (Skt. *pradhāna*)," and arguing that in this particular instance, this compound, although containing a genitive relationship within it between *ārammaṇa* and *saṅgaha*, should be understood in an accusa-tive sense (*dutiyatth*).

The author follows this discussion of case with a different sort of exposition:

> **bănᵒ că prajum au karaṇa dăṅᵒ 3 băn** sarūpato **nănᵒ au ārammaṇa 6 mī tânᵒ vā rūpārammaṇa Í bănᵒ** vibhāgato **nănᵒ au yăṅᵒ cha ārammaṇ** pana | vasena **Í** | **bănᵒ** taṃvisayacittato **nănᵒ au siṅᵒ jī̱ tanᵒ vā** cakkhu **Í** |

> **Regarding** c[a]**, it jointly applies to all three factors. Regarding** sarūpato*,* **it applies to the six objects, starting with form object. Regarding** vibhāgato **it applies ACC to the six objects from** pana… vasena**. Regarding** taṃvisayacittato**, it applies to the named items beginning with** cakkhu.

Here the emphasis is not on providing an abbreviated reading or translation, but rather on explaining how the *ṭīkā* relates to the root text of the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*. He links words in the *ṭīkā*, such as *vibhāgato*, with whole passages in the root text, such as that abbreviated by *pana vasena* (CSCD: *pana pasādasukhumarūpacittacetasikanibbānapaññattivasena*). This is quite helpful to the reader of the bitext, though likely not to a potential listener.

The bitext then takes up the second sentence from the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī* passage cited above, beginning with *vaṇṇavikāraṃ*:

> *yaṃ dhammajātaṃ* ® | ā | naṃ **thœṅᵒ** vi raṃ **j́œṅᵒ kār prè vaṇṇ** | rupaya hada seti **gå hī̱ sāṃḍèṅᵒ yăṅᵒ ănᵒ pěnᵒ ănᵒ thœṅᵒ hvâ cai j́œṅᵒ hvâ cai gâvᵒā** | | iti **hetᵒu** | *taṃ* | rūpaṃ **jī̱** |

> *vā* | **yăṅᵒ** *dhammajātaṃ* ® | rūpayati pakāseti **sāṃ** attānaṃ | ā | naṃ **thœṅᵒ** vikāraṃ **j́œṅᵒ** ha | vaṃ **j́ī̱ṅ svabhāv ănᵒ thöṅᵒ nai cai** | iti | *taṃ* rūpaṃ **jī̱ ḍvaaý kvā₁**

> tadeva *taṃ eva rūpaṃ* **yăṅᵒ** | pi[44] | hi **ănᵒ citt lè cetasi dlăyᵒ** | ā | ti **bœṅ hnaaṅᵒ au** | da ya **ḍuccḍăṅᵒ siṅ mī tânᵒ vā jāyᵒ mai do** | du | na | **ăn phū jāyᵒ ănᵒ hrā ɡ́èṅ på ḍai₂** | ā | ti **hākᵒ bœṅᵒ do bœṅᵒ hnaaṅᵒ kvā₁** iti | tadeva rūpaṃ ® | ā | ṇaṃ **jī̱** |

> vā | tāni cittāni cetasikāni ® | ā | ganvā | ramanti **gå srahnuk yinᵒ ḍī sinᵒ Í** ettha rūpe **nai** iti | taṃ rūpaṃ | ā | ṇaṃ **jī̱** | iti **hetᵒu** | tadeva rūpaṃ ® rūpārammaṇa **ɡī̱** |

> *yaṃ dhammajātaṃ* NOM ā...naṃ **arriving at** vi..raṃ **ACC the change of appearance** rupa-ya… hada… seti **makes manifest ACC that which affects what arrives at the heart, or, alternatively, [which affects] ACC the heart;** iti **hence** *taṃ* rūpaṃ **is called.**

> *vā yăṅ dhammajātaṃ* NOM rūpayati pakāseti **mani[fests]**[45] *attānaṃ* ā… naṃ **arriving at** vikāraṃ **ACC** ha… vaṃ **which is the condition that arrives inside the heart,** iti *taṃ* rūpaṃ **is called—this is another interpretation.**

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43. I have not been able to trace a source for this formulation, though a similar phrase, *vibhattippadhānavasena*, appears in Saddhammajotipāla's *Suttaniddesa*. See Aleix Ruiz-Falqués, "A Firefly in the Bamboo Reed: The *Suttaniddesa* of Saddhammajotipāla and the Grammatical Foundations of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma" (PhD diss., Univ. of Cambridge, 2015), 268.

44. *Pi* is presumably a scribal error for *ci*[*ttacetasikehi*]; *pa* and *ca* are easily confused, particularly when an *i* vowel obscures the top portion of either consonant.

45. The Lanna word *sāṃḍèṅᵒ* ("manifests") is abbreviated as *sāṃ* in the bitext.

tadeva *taṃ eva rūpaṃ* ACC [ci]...hi **which consciousness and mental factors** PL ā… ti **pull down on** da… ya **just like things such as walking sticks** du...na **which a feeble man** ā… ti IND **props himself up on, or, alternatively, pulls down on** iti tadeva rūpaṃ NOM ā… naṃ **is called.**

vā tāni *cittāni cetasikāni* NOM āganvā… ramanti IND **thoroughly enjoys** ettha *rūpe* LOC iti *taṃ rūpaṃ* ā… ṇaṃ **is called** iti **hence** tadeva *rūpaṃ* NOM rūpārammaṇa **is.**

This passage showcases the five principal analytical techniques, namely parsing (*tadeva* becomes *taṃ eva*); amplification (*taṃ eva* becomes *taṃ eva rūpaṃ*); rearrangement (*tadeva dubbalapurisena daṇḍādi viya cittacetasikehi ālambīyati* becomes *taṃ eva rūpaṃ cit[tacetasike]hi ā[lambīya]ti da[ṇḍādi vi]ya du[bbalapurisen]a ā[lambīya]ti*); grammatical annotation (*taṃ eva rūpaṃ* is marked with ACC to show its accusative function); and gloss (in this case featuring relatively complete Lanna translations). But of more specific exegetical interest is the author's admission of alternative readings of the passage. The author provides two different analyses of the section from *vaṇṇavikāraṃ* to *rūpaṃ*, separated from one another by the Pali conjunction *vā*.[46] This emphasis on offering multiple interpretations is shared by the monolingual Pali scholastic tradition, and links exegetical Indic-vernacular bitexts to this broader heritage.

A different Pali-Lanna bitext, dating to 1638, shows an even wider range of exegetical techniques. Unlike most exegetical bitexts in Lanna, which were frequently recopied such that multiple manuscript witnesses exist, this manuscript appears to be unique. The colophon even suggests that the author and the scribe are one and the same person:

Investigation of the "Compendium of Objects"—the former monk Nandapañño studied ceaselessly and wrote this down while staying in the monastery of Ṕā Sâpᵒ near the center of the city of Chiang Saen, in a pœkᵒ yī year, cūḷasakarāja 1000 (1638 CE).[47]

Unlike the previous example from 1585, which covered the entire *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī*, Nandapañño's exposition only addresses the *Ālambanasaṅgaha* section. His bitext begins with an explication of which phrases in the *ṭīkā* correspond to which parts of the root text:

sarūpato **ḍai₂ ḍènᵒ tè₁** ārammasaṅgahe tāva **bai thœṅᵒ** chabbidhāni bhavanti | vibhāvato **ḍai₂ ḍènᵒ tè₁** tattha rupameva **bai thœṅᵒ** chadhā saṅgayhati | taṃvisayacittato **ḍai₂ ḍenᵒ tè₁** tattha cakkhudvārikacittānaṃ **bai thœṅᵒ** sattadhā tattha saṅgaho | |[48]

"Sarūpato" **covers from** "ārammasaṅgahe" *tāva* **until** "chabbiddhāni bhavanti." "Vibhāvato" **covers from** "tattha rupameva" **until** "chadhā saṅgayhati." "Taṃvisayacittato" **covers from** "tattha cakkhudvārikacittānaṃ" **until** "sattadhā tattha saṅgaho."

Nandapañño then begins a long exposition, roughly five hundred words in my English translation, of the phrase *taṃvisayacittato*, only the very beginning of which I will cite here:

taṃvisayaciḍᵒ **vā₁** tānivisayo etesaṃ atthīti taṃvisayāni | tāni ārammaṇāni ® **āramᵒ dǎlᵒ ṕhuṅ nǎnᵒ** visayo **penᵒ āramᵒ** etesaṃ cittānaṃ **hënᵒ ciḍ dǎlᵒ ṕhuṅ nǎnᵒ** atthi **mī** iti **heḍᵒ ḍǎṅᵒ ǎnᵒ₂** tāni cittāni ® **ciḍᵒ dǎlᵒ ṕhuṅ nǎnᵒ** taṃvisayāni **jī taṃvisayāni** |

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46. Not to be confused with the Lanna marker of direct speech, *vā₁*, which is often spelled *vā* in manuscripts.

47. DLNTM 010720003_01, first unpaginated folio (http://lannamanuscripts.net/en/manuscripts/60, image 1, accessed November 27, 2019): *biccaranā ārammaṇasaṅgaha co₂ khahnānᵒ nandapañño ḍai₂ ryanᵒ lvaḍ raaᵒm₁ khyanᵒ vai₂ mœa ýu₁ ārāmᵒ ṕā₁ sâpᵒ kyaṅᵒ hvâ vyaṅ jyaṅ sènᵒ ṕī pœkᵒ yī cuḷasakrājᵒ ḍai₂ 1000 tvâ vǎnᵒ nǎnᵒ.*

48. DLNTM 010720003_01, folio *ka* recto, lines 1–2. I use the same transcription conventions as in the 1585 example.

taṃvisayāni ℞ ciḍᵒ dălᵒ ănᵒ mī ārâmm ṕhuṅ nănᵒ pen ārâmm | penᵒ chaṭṭhībahubbihi smāḍ | ḍvayᵒ bahubbihi smāḍᵒ dăṅᵒ mvar penᵒ 2 gī̱ tagguŕṇ Í atagguŕṇ |[49]

"taṃvisayaciḍᵒ" **is expressed as** "*tāṇivisayo etesaṃ atthīti taṃvisayāni.*" *tāni ārammaṇāni* **NOM those objects PL** *visayo* **as the object** *etesaṃ cittānaṃ* **GEN belonging to those consciousnesses PL** *atthi* **there is**, *iti* **for that reason** *tāni cittāni* **those consciousnesses PL** *taṃvisayānī* **are named** "**taṃvisayāni.**"

taṃvisayāni "**NOM consciousnesses PL which have those objects as their object**" **is a genitive bahubbīhi compound. For all bahubbīhi compounds, there are two types, namely tagguṇa and atagguṇa.**

Nandapañño's analysis focuses on how to interpret the *bahubbīhi* (Skt. *bahuvrīhi*) compound *taṃvisayāni*. He begins with an analysis of how the different parts of the compound fit together. The portion cited above engages the standard bitextual analytic techniques of parsing, amplification, rearrangement, grammatical marking, and gloss. He then follows this with an extended reflection on what type of *bahubbīhi* compound *taṃvisayāni* is and how it should be construed.

In the long portion that follows, not shown here, he quotes from a variety of Pali grammatical treatises, including the *Saddatthabhedacintā*,[50] the *Balāvatāra*,[51] and the *Saddasāratthajālinī*,[52] to first make a case that *taṃvisayāni* can be read as a *tappayoga*, a particular form of *tagguṇa-bahubbīhi* (cf. Skt. *tadguṇa-saṃvijñāna-bahuvrīhi*) compound in which the external referent is understood through its actual application (*payoga*) outside the compound rather than being inherent to the compound. In this case, *cittāni* ("consciousnesses") is the stated external referent for *taṃvisayāni* (here understood as "those having as their object the five sense objects beginning with form"). He cites an earlier passage from the *Abhidhammavibhāvinī* to support this position, namely that consciousness cannot arise in the absence of an object.[53]

Nandapañño then makes the case for the opposing claim that *taṃvisayāni* can instead be an *aññapatthaka-tagguṇa-bahubbīhi* if consciousnesses and mental factors are considered a subset of mental objects (*dhammārammaṇa*). In this case, the qualities of the external referent are unstated, being inherent to the compound itself. To make this point, he quotes the *Abhidhammāvatāra* (a fifth-century systemization of the Abhidhamma by Buddhadatta) as stating that there are six kinds of objects, the five sense objects plus mental objects.[54] Although his approach may seem caught up in arcane grammatical arguments, Nandapañño makes clear that the phrase-by-phrase analysis of scholastic texts can have significant doctrinal implications. His efforts neatly capture the purpose of the exegetical mode of presentation: to provide skilled readers of Buddhist texts with the tools to unpack difficult passages. He is clearly not providing linguistic tools as aids for those learning Pali, since he quotes

49. DLNTM 010720003_01, folio *ka* recto, lines 2–4.

50. DLNTM 010720003_01, folio *kā* recto, lines 1–2; cf. *Saddatthabhedacintā* 235–236 (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/2_pali/9_phil/gramm/saddatbu.htm, accessed November 27, 2019).

51. DLNTM 010720003_01, folio *kā* verso, lines 1–2; cf. *Balāvatāra*, p. 81 (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/2_pali/9_phil/gramm/balava_u.htm, accessed November 27, 2019).

52. DLNTM 010720003_01, folio *ka* verso, lines 2–3; cf. the *Samāsakaṇḍa* of the *Payogasiddhipāṭha* (https://www.tipitaka.org/romn/cscd/e0807n.nrf3.xml, accessed November 27, 2019).

53. DLNTM 010720003_01, folio *kā* recto, lines 3–4; cf. *Saddasāratthajālinī*, verses 411–413. I am indebted to Aleix Ruiz-Falqués for finding this parallel.

54. DLNTM 010720003_01, folio *kā* verso, line 4; cf. *Abhidhammāvatāra* 292 (https://www.tipitaka.org/romn/cscd/abh06t.nrf6.xml, accessed November 27, 2019).

extensively from Pali sources without translating them. The extensive abbreviation of the root text and the serial delivery of contrasting interpretations make his bitext equally unsuitable for public sermons. Just as in the anonymous 1585 example, Nandapañño's "Investigation" (*biccaraṇā*, cf. Pali *vicāraṇā*) demonstrates how the analytical tools of bitexts may be effectively marshaled for sophisticated exegetical purposes.

HOMILETIC BITEXTS: INTERPHRASAL PALI-LANNA EXAMPLES FROM THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Indic-vernacular bitexts may also be presented in a vernacular-focused style with clear, unredacted prose that makes them well suited for preaching to lay audiences. There are a significant number of such homiletic bitexts, including Pali-Lanna examples from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lanna. One hallmark of homiletic Indic-vernacular bitexts is their explicit invocation of an audience of listeners. A homiletic bitext rarely uses abbreviation of any kind. Vernacular translations appear in full prose sentences, often accompanied by expansive explanations that make the doctrinal or narrative context easier to understand. In cases where the selected Pali portions are invented rather than cited, the composition may appear to be mostly in the vernacular, with just a few Pali phrases here and there. For bitexts based on citations of extant Indic texts, a homiletic presentation may include all of the source or only short excerpts. No matter the relative proportions of Indic and vernacular phrases, homiletic bitexts are presented in such a way as to be easily read aloud as scripts for public sermons.

In this section I offer two brief examples of such bitextual Pali-Lanna sermons, one of the *Mahosatha-jātaka* and another on the Buddha's epithets from the *Sāratthadīpanī*. The earliest copy of the first example, *Nisrai mahosathapaṇḍit*, dates to 1563 CE and is currently housed at Văt Pān₂ Hluk (Wat Ban Luk), Lampang province.[55] It was almost certainly first composed by a monk or ex-monk before that time, perhaps earlier in the sixteenth century, and continued to be copied in later centuries.[56] While most of the bitext is a bilingual rendering of the *Mahosatha-jātaka* as told in the *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*, the author added two Pali stanzas of his own composition at the beginning. Each of these stanzas is inscribed first in Pali in the proper word order, followed by a parsed, amplified, rearranged, grammatically annotated, and interphrasally glossed version. These verses function as both an opening invocation and as an explanation of the purpose of the bitext.

The first stanza, not cited here, offers praise to the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha. In the second stanza, the author clearly specifies the function of the remainder of the bitext to come:

> gambhirapaññassa mahosathassa
> paññāpakāso atiñātagantho
> yo tassa atthaṃ abhivaṇṇayissaṃ
> sotunamatthaṃ sukhabodhanāya.[57]

> Belonging to him of deep intelligence, belonging to Mahosatha,
> the well-known scripture, which makes intelligence manifest,
> I shall illuminate the meanings of that [scripture]
> in order to easily make known the meanings to the listeners.

55. PNTMP 030607170_00 (http://lannamanuscripts.net/en/manuscripts/5375, accessed January 23, 2019).

56. One such later copy is PNTMP 070107121_00, housed at Văt Sūṅ Men₁ (Wat Sung Men), Phrae province, dating to 1768 CE (http://lannamanuscripts.net/en/manuscripts/1799, accessed January 23, 2019).

57. PNTMP 030607170_00, folio *ka* verso, lines 2–3. Spaces and verse formatting added for clarity.

In the bitext version that follows, the author makes clear that by "listeners" (*sotūnaṃ*) he means those engaged in "studying and listening to the Mahosatha-jātaka scripture" (*ănᵒ ryan ănᵒ b̆aṅ yǎṅᵒ kambī mahōsathajātak nǎnᵒ lè*):

> yo *gantho* **ănᵒ vā kambī ănᵒ ḍai gī̆ mahōsathajātak** atiñātagantho **ănᵒ penᵒ kambī ănᵒ prākâṭᵒ ñiṅ nǎk kvā₁ jātak dǎnᵒ hlāyᵒ** paññāpakāso **penᵒ dī sāmḍèṅ hī̆ prākâṭᵒ yǎṅᵒ prahñā ănᵒ ânᵒ āḍᵒ chlāḍᵒ nai pañhāvād ănᵒ lōkᵒ lèpᵒ₁ sukhumālᵒ** gambhīrapaññassa mahosathassa **hèn mahosath bōdhisatt tânᵒ mī prahñā ănᵒ lōkᵒ heḍᵒ āḍᵒ rū₂ ḍai yǎṅᵒ pañhā byākaraṇ ănᵒ lōkᵒ lèpᵒ kǎṅᵒpǎṅᵒ nǎkᵒ** *ahaṃ* ® **gū** abhivaṇṇayissaṃ **kdāṃ saddatth adhippāyatth hī̆ prākaṭᵒ phraaṅᵒ thaaᵒṅ ju ănᵒ gå c̆akᵒ kè₂ khai** tassa atthaṃ **yǎ atth hènᵒ kambī mahōsathajātak nǎn** atthaṃ sukhabodhanāya **böaᵒ hī̆ rū₂ atth ṅāyᵒ₁** sotūnaṃ **kè parisa dǎnᵒ hlāyᵒ p̆huṅ mī prayojan ănᵒ ryan ănᵒ b̆aṅ yǎṅᵒ kambī mahōsathajātak nǎnᵒ lè** ||[58]

> any *scripture* NOM **any scripture, that is, the Mahosatha-jātaka** the well-known scripture **which is a more greatly known scripture than [the other] jātakas PL** which makes intelligence manifest **[and] is that which expresses to make manifest ACC the sharp and clever intelligence with regards to riddles that are deep and subtle** belonging to him of deep intelligence, belonging to Mahosatha **of the bodhisatta Mahosatha, he who possessed deep intelligence since he could know ACC the answers to riddles that were extremely deep, subtle, and secret** *I* NOM I shall illuminate **making the meanings of the words and the meanings of the explanations clearly manifest in all respects, shall expound** the meanings of that [scripture] ACC **the meanings of that Mahosatha-jātaka scripture** in order to easily make known the meanings **in order to easily make known the meanings** to the listeners **to all the assemblies, for all to benefit from studying and listening ACC to the Mahosatha-jātaka scripture.**

This passage once again demonstrates the capacity of bitexts to deliver a fluent vernacular text that remains grounded in a parsed, amplified, and rearranged Pali source. Technical particles for grammatical annotation are placed consistently, and the Lanna glosses are complete. The vernacular portion, even if perfectly comprehensible on its own, remains in close proximity to its Pali counterpart, providing a secure basis for its commentarial elaborations. For instance, what in the Pali appears as simply *paññāpakāso* ("which makes intelligence manifest") is expanded to *penᵒ dī sāmḍèṅᵒ hī̆ prākâṭᵒ yǎṅᵒ prahñā ănᵒ ânᵒ āḍᵒ chlāḍᵒ nai pañhāvād ănᵒ lōkᵒ lèpᵒ₁ sukhumālᵒ* ("which expresses to make manifest ACC the sharp and clever intelligence with regards to riddles that are deep and subtle"). This expansion fills out the narrative signification of the passage, for the long *jātaka* that follows exhibits the Bodhisatta's skill in solving riddles. At the same time, the process of amplification and syntactic rearrangement encourages the Pali text to grow, in this case by inserting words (*gantho* and *ahaṃ*) that are only implied in the Pali but are necessary for the vernacular gloss.

Moreover, this passage articulates its own method and purpose in impressive detail. In glossing *abhivaṇṇayissaṃ* ("I shall illuminate"), a verb suggesting the composition of a commentary, the author writes *kdāṃ saddatth adhippāyatth hī̆ prākaṭᵒ phraaṅᵒ thaaᵒṅ ju ănᵒ gå c̆akᵒ kè₂ khai* ("making the meanings of the words and the meanings of the explanations clearly manifest in all respects, [I] shall expound"). As the lines that follow state, the aim of such exegesis is to make the meanings of the text easily known to those to the audience of the

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58. PNTMP 030607170_00, folio *ka* verso, line 3 to folio *kā* recto, line 2. My transcription conventions are the same as in the previous two examples.

sermon. The purpose of the analyzed text and extended prose glosses is to bring a vernacular sermon to life with depth and clarity.

The second homiletic example I present here comes from a manuscript dating to 1666 CE. This bitext is perhaps the second-oldest known Pali-Lanna manuscript to feature the term *vohānᵒ* (Pali *vohāra*) in one of its colophons.[59] This term is extremely common in the titles of Pali-Lanna sermon texts from the late seventeenth through early twentieth centuries. Almost all manuscripts bearing this term in their title are bitexts presented in a homiletic style. This particular manuscript is called *vohānᵒ yo so* or *ṭīkā yo so*, and is currently kept at Văt Hlvaṅ Rājasăṇṭhān (Wat Luang Ratchasanthan) in Phayao province.[60] The ten-fascicle text is rooted in the *Sāratthadīpanī*'s[61] exposition of the ten major epithets or qualities of the Buddha, beginning with *arahaṃ*.

The manuscript begins with a citation of two excerpts from the *Sāratthadīpanī*:

> yo so bhagavā samatīsapāramīyo puretvā sabbakilese so bhañjitvā anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhi abhisambuddho devānam atidevo sakkānam atisakko brahmānam atibrahmāno lokānātho bhāgyavantatādihi karaṇīhi bhagavāsi ladhanāmo so bhagavā.

> itipi ‖ arahaṃ so bhagavā itipi sammasambuddho so bhagavā itipi ‖ vijjācaraṇasappanno so bhagavā itipi suggato bhaga itipi lokavidu so bhagavā itipi ‖ anuttalo so bhagavā itipi ‖ purissadammasārathi so bhagavā itipi satthā devamanussānaṃ so bhagavā itipi buddho so bhagavā iti pi.[62]

This is followed by a mostly vernacular section that includes a brief introduction as well as a partial analysis and expanded translation of the Pali citations above. The introduction is one of the earliest examples of a stock formula witnessed in countless homiletic bitexts across Tai and Khmer cultures from the seventeenth century to the present. The formula is simple: begin with the Pali word *sādhavo* ("O good people") and follow it by an expanded vernacular translation that implores the audience to listen and introduces them to the content of the sermon:

> *sādhavō* **b́ăṅᵒ rā sappuriss dlă cuṅ că tăṅᵒ sōtā prāsăḍᵒ ḍā b́ăṅᵒ yăṅᵒ rassadhammadesanā buddh gúṛṇ bra buddh cŏ₂ ḍvay₂ naiyᵒ ḍăṅᵒ rŏ că vissajanā ‖ bai₂ hnā₂ nī dœaḥ**[63]

> *sādhavō* **Listen, O good people PL, IMP focus your aural faculties and listen well ACC to this Dhamma-taste sermon on the buddha-qualities of Lord Buddha in accordance with the interpretations that I will unravel in what follows hence.**

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59. The oldest is a manuscript that supposedly dates to 1620 CE, cataloged under the title *Vammikasutta-vohāra* (SRI 92.178.01H.035-035; http://www.sri.cmu.ac.th/~elanna/Microfilm/index/index2d.html, accessed November 27, 2019), though I have not verified the date and it is not clear whether this manuscript or its microfilm still exists.

60. DLNTM 070710018_00 (http://lannamanuscripts.net/en/manuscripts/5982, accessed April 27, 2020).

61. A *ṭīkā* or sub-commentary, attributed to the Lankan monk Sāriputta, on Buddhaghosa's commentary to the Pali Vinaya.

62. DLNTM 070710018_00, folio *a* recto, lines 1–4; cf. CSCD *Sāratthadīpanī-ṭīkā*, *Verañjakaṇḍavaṇṇanā* (https://www.tipitaka.org/romn/cscd/vin01t1.tik1.xml, accessed November 27, 2019): *so bhagavāti yo so samatiṃsa pāramiyo pūretvā sabbakilese bhañjitvā anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambuddho devānaṃ atidevo sakkānaṃ atisakko brahmānaṃ atibrahmā lokanātho bhāgyavantatādīhi kāraṇehi bhagavāti laddhanāmo, so bhagavā. . . itipi arahaṃ itipi sammāsambuddho. . .pe. . . itipi bhagavā.*

63. DLNTM 070710018_00, folio *a* recto, line 4 to folio *a* verso, line 1. Transcription conventions are the same as in the previous Pali-Lanna examples, with the following additions: IMP = imperative mood particle; INS = instrumental case particle; GLS = Pali-Pali gloss marker.

Immediately after the introduction, the author returns to the Pali passage cited at the beginning of the bitext. In contrast to previous bitexts discussed so far, this author only quotes a few Pali phrases in his bitextual analysis and expansion of the passage from the *Sāratthadīpanī*:

yo so bhagavā ® **bra buddh cŏ$_2$ tân° ḍai gå dyar yaa°p**[64] **ḍai$_2$ baṃbeṅ° pāramī dhaŕmm dăl°ā 30 dăḍ° mī dānapāramī ṕen° glo$_2$ upekkhā pāramī ṕen° dī su Ív° Í**

bra buddh hèṅ$_2$ rŏ mœa yăṅ dhååramān° sāṅ bōdh°isâmbān° ḍai$_2$ ṕen° devapuḍ gå yiṅ° kvā devapuḍ dăl°ā mœa ṕen° bray°ā 'īn° gå yiṅ° kvā bray°ā 'īn° mœa ṕen° brahm gå yiṅ° kvā brahm dăl°ā mœa bai$_2$ pvaḍ bhāvanā gå ḍai$_2$ trăḍ° pray°ā sabbañū hrăk° sie yăṅ° kīleḍ dăṅ° mvar Ív° gå ḍai$_2$ ñāṇapray°ā ăn° yiṅ° ḍvay$_2$ tân° ḍvay$_2$ dī klāv° gī̄v°ā sabbañutaññāṇ Í ṕen° dī bœn° kè lōk$_1$ dăṅ° 3 gī̄v°ā kāmalōk°$_1$ rūpalōk°$_1$ arūpalōk° ḍai$_2$ jī̄v°ā bhagavā ḍvay° ākān° dăl°ā mī *bhāgyavantatā* **ṕen° glo$_2$**

so bhagavā ® **bra buddh co$_2$ tân° năn°** arahaṃ iti pi **măv°ā** *evaṃ vuttapakārena* **ḍvay°$_2$ prakān° dăṅ° klāv° Ív° bāy° hlăṅ năn° Í** *api ca* **prakān° 1 ® bra buddh co$_2$ tân° tăḍ° sie yăṅ° kileḍ° dăṅ° mvar gå ḍai$_2$ jī̄v°ā**[65]

yo so bhagavā NOM **whichever Lord Buddha IND fulfilled the perfection-dhammas PL, thirty in all, beginning with the perfection of generosity and ending with the perfection of equanimity—**

our Lord Buddha, when he was still abiding in the world, building up the accumulations necessary for awakening, and was born a god, he was greater than the gods PL; when he was an Indra, he was greater than the Indras; when he was a Brahmā, he was greater than the Brahmās PL; when he went forth to ordain and cultivate the mind, having awakened to all-knowing intelligence and breaking apart ACC all the defilements, he obtained insight and wisdom on his own and in the right way, that is to say, the insight of omniscience; he is the refuge for the three worlds, namely the world of desire, the world of form, and the world of formlessness; he earned the name "Bhagavā" INS on account of the characteristics PL beginning with *bhāgyavantatā*—

so bhagavā NOM **that Lord Buddha** "arahaṃ" iti pi GLS *evaṃ vuttapakārena,* INS **on account of the previously uttered characteristics,** *api ca* **including one characteristic that NOM Lord Buddha cut off and destroyed ACC all the defilements, thus received the name "Arahaṃ."**

Even though only a small percentage of the passage remains in Pali in the author's presentation, it still follows the analytic conventions of bitexts. The Pali is amplified in a few places, and the technical particles are used to gloss key grammatical features. Most striking, however, is the way the author transforms the bulk of the long Pali sentence into a complex, multilayered, yet completely fluent vernacular translation. Certain portions are rendered quite literally in Lanna, such as *sabbakilese. . . bhañjitvā* ("having broken apart all the defilements") being translated as *hrăk° sie yăṅ° kīleḍ dăṅ° mvar Ív°* ("breaking apart ACC all the defilements"). Other Lanna passages expand the narrative scope ("when he went forth to ordain and cultivate the mind") or the doctrinal precision ("he is the refuge for the three worlds, namely the world of desire, the world of form, and the world of formlessness") of the Pali. Like the 1563 example cited above, this Pali-Lanna bitext from 1666 is explicitly

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64. I.e., *yaa°m$_1$*, the consonants *ma* and *pa* being easily confused in Tham Lanna script.
65. DLNTM 070710018_00, folio *a* recto, line 4 to folio *a* verso, line 1.

structured as a sermon that is perfectly comprehensible to a lay audience while still remaining grounded in a particular Pali text.

POETIC BITEXTS: THE *MAHĀJĀT́I GĀṂ HLVAṄ* OF 1482

In contrast to the straightforward prose of homiletic bitexts, a relatively small number of Indic-vernacular compositions are crafted with aesthetic principles in mind, with the vernacular portions shaped into elaborate verse. These bitexts, many of which were once recited as chanted sermons in court or other elite circles, repurpose the analytic tools discussed throughout this article for aesthetic ends. These bitexts, in other words, aim to create literature for its own sake, or what we might call belles-lettres.

The oldest and most influential such composition in what is now Thailand was penned in the late fifteenth century. Believed to have been composed in 1482 under the aegis of King Borommatrailokkanat of Ayutthaya (Paramat́railokanāth, r. 1431–1488), the *Mahājāt́i gāṃ hlvaṅ* (*Mahachat kham luang*) is the earliest extant Tai-language version of the *Mahāvessantara-jātaka* and one of the earliest known pieces of Siamese literature. Only seven of the original thirteen chapters survive, excerpts from two of which I examine here.[66] Though the text is intended to be recited as a sung or chanted sermon, its style is radically different from the other bitexts discussed in this article in that the vernacular portions are entirely composed in various meters of Siamese poetry. The Siamese portions, while true to the Pali and deeply indebted to the technical achievements of ordinary Pali-Tai bitexts, thus reach a subtle and expressive beauty. The *Mahājāt́i gāṃ hlvaṅ* remained a touchstone for Siamese writers long after its composition in the fifteenth century. It was also first in a line of famous "royal compositions" or *gāṃ hlvaṅ*, all of which are either Pali-Siamese or Sanskrit-Siamese bitexts in a similar literary style.

The literary craft of the *Mahājāt́i gāṃ hlvaṅ* is visible from its opening lines in the first chapter, *Daśabar* ("Ten Boons"). After a complex invocation in Pali composed expressly for this work, the *Mahājāt́i gāṃ hlvaṅ* begins with the initial line of Pali prose from the *Vessantara-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*. In my transliteration, spaces in the printed Thai-script text are shown with underscores:

phussatīvaravaṇṇābheti _ idaṃ _ satthā _ kapilavatthuṃ _ upanissāya nigrodhārāme _ viharanto _ pokkharavassaṃ _ ārabbha _ kathesi _ ‖[67]

"Phussatī, she who possessed the light of an excellent complexion"—this the Teacher, in dependence upon Kapilavatthu, dwelling in Nigrodha Monastery, having taken up [the story] of the lotus shower, spoke.

The author of the bitext then provides a parsed, amplified, syntactically rearranged, grammatically annotated, and glossed Pali-Siamese version:

66. The remaining six chapters were reconstituted in the early Rattanakosin period (late eighteenth or early nineteenth century). On the history of the text and why the relatively late surviving manuscripts are thought to be copies of an original 1482 composition, see Niyaḥtā Hlo₁sundar, "Mahājāt́i gāṃ hlvaṅ: kār śikṣā jöṅ ṕrahvǎt́i," in Rājapǎṇḍit́yasthān, *Bacanānukram śǎbd* varrṇagatī daiy samǎy ayudhyā mahājāt́i gāṃ hlvaṅ chpǎp rājapǎṇḍit́yasthān* (Bangkok: Rājapǎṇḍit́yasthān, 2549 [2006]), 721–24.

67. Transliterated from the Thai-script printed edition of the Royal Institute (Rājapǎṇḍit́yasthān, *Bacanānukram śǎbd* varrṇagatī daiy samǎy ayudhyā mahājāt́i gāṃ hlvaṅ chpǎp rājapǎṇḍit́yasthān* [Bangkok: Rājapǎṇḍit́yasthān, 2549 (2006)], 1). Throughout this section I cite exclusively from this edition rather than from manuscript versions, which I have been unable to access. Besides the treatment of spaces, other features are transcribed diplomatically using the same conventions as the rest of this article. The *kārǎnt́** diacritic is marked with an asterisk; the *b́aṅ mǎn* symbol with an at sign (@).

@ _ satthā _ **ăn vā₁ braḥ sarrbéjñ* buddh ayū₁ klo₂** _ upanissāya _ **co₂ kū dha stéc āśrăy** _ kapilavatthuṃ _ **kè₁ bijăy kapilabăśtu* _ purī rătanabiśāl** _ viharanto _ **dha stéc siṅ sāṃrāñ sāṃriddhi*** _ nigrodhārāme **nai bicitr nigrōdhārām** _ ārabbha _ **braḥ phū₂ phcañ peñcakām biśăy _ tăṅ₂ haṛdăy stéc chboḥ** _ pokkharavassaṃ _ **anugroḥh* kè₁ pōṣkharabarrṣadhārā** _ idaṃ *dhammadesanaṃ* _ **yaṅṅ braḥ dhammadeśanā mādhūr** _ *gāthāsahassapaṭimaṇḍitaṃ* _ **paripūraṇ* ṕrahṭăp ni tvay₂ gāthā thịṅ sahăs _ ăkṣar arrth pa e _** |

@ _ phussativaravaṇṇābheti*ādikaṃ* _ **gị̄ phussatị̄varavăṇṇābhe ṕen ādi nī₂** _ kathesi _ **braḥ ká jī₂ jắti tè hlăṅ _ kāṃpằṅ ṕai păndūr** _ *catuvidhaparisānaṃ* _ **kè catūrabidh parrsăṣy daṅṅ phaaṅ _ ăn mā raaṅ răp raśadhaŕm dān₁ năn₂**[68]

@ _ The Teacher _ NOM **The Omniscient One, the Buddha above my head,** _ in dependence upon _ **my Lord, having gone to rely on** _ Kapilavatthu _ ACC **the victorious Kapilabastu, _ vast city of jewels,** _ dwelling _ **he went to live and reside** _ in Nigrodha Monastery _ **in the exquisite Nigrodha Monastery**; _ having taken up [the story of] _ **The Lord, he who had vanquished the sphere of the five sensual desires, _ focused his mind directly on** _ the lotus shower _ **the grace of the waters of the rains of lotuses,** _ *this sermon on the Teaching* _ ACC **the sweet preaching of the holy Teaching** _ *adorned with one thousand verses* _ **completely ornamented by the verses numbering to one thousand** _ **of literary meaning, not one more,**

@ _ *beginning with* "Phussatī, she who possessed the light of an excellent complexion" _ **that is to say, beginning with this "Phussatī, she who possessed the light of an excellent complexion."** _ spoke _ **The Lord** IND **pointed to a life from the past** _ **that was concealed, and uttered it** _ *to the fourfold assemblies* _ **to the fourfold assemblies** PL _ **those who had come to receive the taste of the Teachings.**

As in previous examples, the bitextual analysis rearranges the syntax, adds technical particles to mark grammatical features such as case, number, and mood, and amplifies the Pali. For instance, the word *idaṃ* ("this") in the *aṭṭhakathā* version is supplemented here with *dhammadesanaṃ* ("sermon on the Teaching") and *gāthāsahassapaṭimaṇḍitaṃ* ("adorned with one thousand verses"). These added terms appear in a very similar way at the very end of the *aṭṭhakathā* text[69] as well as in the *Vessantaradīpanī*, composed by Sirimaṅgala of Chiang Mai in 1517.[70] Other amplifications, however, including *catuvidhaparisānaṃ* ("to the fourfold assemblies"), have no known source. The author of the bitext is at once engaged with the broader commentarial tradition as well as adding his own interpretations.

The most remarkable aspect of this passage, however, is the poetic style of the glosses in Siamese. All of the glosses are linked together into a rhyme scheme called *rāy₁ yāv*, in which the last syllable of each line rhymes with any syllable of the following line. Lines are defined either by a space or by the presence of an intervening Pali word. Thus the word *klo₂* at the end of the first line in the Siamese *rāy₁ yāv* meter, marked by the intervening Pali word

68. Rājapăṇḍítyasthān, *Bacanānukram śăbd**, 1. The punctuation in the printed edition, represented here, is confusing in that there is no logical break in the sentence between *ăkṣar arrth pa e* and *phussativaravaṇṇābhetiādikaṃ*; the *daṇḍa,* paragraph break, and *ɓaaṅ măn* should be removed.

69. *The Jātaka Together with Its Commentary*, ed. V. Fausbøll (London: Kegan Paul Trench Trübner & Co., 1896), vol. 6: 593: *imaṃ gāthāsahassapatimaṇḍitaṃ Vessantaradhammadesanaṃ.*

70. Yukio Yamanaka, "Die Vessantaradīpanī: Ein Pāli-Kommentar aus Nordthailand" (PhD diss., Univ. of Freiburg, 2009), 82: *idan ti imaṃ Mahāvessantaradhammadesanaṃ vakkhati hi: gāthāsahassapatimaṇḍitaṃ Mahāvessantaradhammadesanan ti.*

upanissāya, rhymes with *co₂*, the first word of the next line. The last word of that line, *āśrăy*, rhymes with the second word of the next line, *bijăy*, and so on. Even in one place where the editors of the Thai printed text have inexplicably placed a paragraph break, namely between *ăkṣar arrth pa e* and *gī́ phussaŕī́varavăṇṇābhe ṕen ādi nī₂*, the rhyme pattern continues, with *e* rhyming with *phussaŕī́varavăṇṇābhe*. The *Mahājāti gāṃ hlvaṅ* provides one the earliest examples of the use of the *rāy₁ yāv* meter in Siamese literature.

Within the constraints imposed by the meter, this passage also manages to add a number of expressive details. Simple words or phrases in Pali receive elaborate vernacular expansions. *Satthā* ("The Teacher") becomes *ăn vā₁ braḥ sarrbéjñ* buddh ayū₁ klo₂* ("NOM The Omniscient One, the Buddha above my head"). *Ārabbha* ("having taken up" or "with regards to") becomes *braḥ phū₂ phcañ peñcakām biśăy _ t̆ăṅ₂ haṛdăy stéc chboḥ* ("The Lord, he who vanquished the sphere of the five sensual desires, _ focused his mind directly on"). *Kathesi* ("spoke") is artfully expanded into *braḥ ká jī₂ jāt̆i t̆è hlăṅ _ kāṃpăn̆ ṕai păndūr* ("the Lord IND pointed to a life from the past _ that was concealed, and uttered it"). Each of these expanded glosses links to the next by rhyme and logical structure, forming a seamless paragraph in Siamese:

> The Omniscient One, the Buddha above my head, my Lord, having gone to rely on the victorious Kapilabastu, vast city of jewels, went to live and reside in the exquisite Nigrodha Monastery. The Lord, he who had vanquished the sphere of the five sensual desires, focused his mind directly on the grace of the waters of the rains of lotuses, the sweet preaching of the holy Teaching completely ornamented by the verses numbering to one thousand of literary meaning, not one more, that is to say, [the verses] beginning with this [verse]: "Phussatī, she who possessed the light of an excellent complexion." The Lord pointed to a life from the past that was concealed, and uttered it to the fourfold assemblies, those who had come to receive the taste of the Teachings.

The use of the *rāy₁ yāv* meter confirms that the vernacular elaborations are not simply scholastic in nature, but rather an attempt to compose an aesthetically pleasing new form of bitextual poetry.

The interphrasal treatment continues through the entirety of the bitext; at no stage is the Pali abandoned in favor of a purely vernacular presentation. Other passages from the *Mahājāti gāṃ hlvaṅ*, however, reveal an even bolder sense of poetic experimentation within the bitextual, interphrasal format. In the seventh chapter, *Mahāban* ("The Great Forest"), the author of the bitext experiments with combining Pali and Siamese verse forms. This chapter relates the narrative of the old brahmin Jūjaka as he wanders through the woods in search of Prince Vessantara, son of King Sañjaya of the Sivi kingdom. Early in the chapter, Jūjaka visits the seer Accuta, who welcomes the brahmin with food and drink. Jūjaka thanks him and takes the opportunity to ask where Vessantara resides.[71]

In the Pali version, this passage is relatively straightforward, consisting of one brief prose portion and three half-stanzas in verse:

jūjako āha	Jūjaka said:
paṭiggahītaṃ yaṃ dinnaṃ	"Received is what's given;
sabbassa agghiyaṃ kataṃ	the host's task fully done.
sañjassa sakaṃ puttaṃ	Sañjaya's own child,
sivīhi vippavāsitaṃ	exiled by the Sivis—

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71. For the full context of the Pali text in English translation, see Margaret Cone and Richard F. Gombrich, *The Perfect Generosity of Prince Vessantara* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 50–51.

tam ahaṃ dassanam āgato　　　　him I have come to see.
yadi jānāsi saṃsa me ti.[72]　　　If you know, tell me."

In the Pali-Siamese bitext of the *Mahājāti gāṃ hlvaṅ*, this passage in Pali is interwoven with one line of Siamese *rāy₁ yāv* and three stanzas in the *glōṅ* meter:

jūjako āha _ ăn vā₁ brāhmaṇavuḍhi* _ khān arrcutáṛṣī gī̱n taṅṅ nī₂

paṭiggahitaṃ yaṃ dinnaṃ	*bhonto* khā₂ khaay₂ t̂è₁	ṛṣī
	yaṃ dinnaṃ tai tī	klè₁ klèṅ₂
sabbassa agghiyaṃ kataṃ	āhār grīöṅ₁ kin mī	em ōj
	ani bhōjan hvān cèṅ₂ khā₂	khaap hvai₂ hnīö hvva
sañjassa sakaṃ puttaṃ	dai₂ dāv₂ naṛdōṣ khā₂	khăp hnī
	lūk rājasībi klvă	brai₁ b́ā₂
sivīhi vippavāsitaṃ	bal mïöṅ pa tū tī	tāl gyat
	kralyat lăp lī₂ hnā₂	ayū₁ srāṅ₂ svèṅ puñ
tamahaṃ dassanam āgato	khā₂ tho₂ pa ayat thaay₂	mā thịṅ
	broḥ dăn dịṅ hén khun	khī₁ klo₂
yadi jānāsi saṃsa me	dha hén dī₁ dha sịṅ	săṅvāś
	praḥkāś kè₁ khā₂ tho₂	dān₁ rā₂ braḥ öy[73]

Jūjaka said _ NOM **The aged brahmin _ replied to the seer Accuta thus:**

"Received is what's given;	*Sir*, **I am 'neath you,**	**seer.**
	What's given **is good;**	**such care!**
the host's task fully done.	**There's much to eat, all**	**tasty,**
	such sweet food. Humbly	**I give my thanks.**
Sañjaya's own child,	**The sinless Lord was**	**chased out;**
	the Sivi king's child feared	**the folk.**
exiled by the Sivis—	**Displeased, the people**	**burned with**
	rage and banished him;	**he sought the good.**
him I have come to see.	**I, your servant, have**	**come here,**
	in hopes I might see	**the Prince.**
If you know, tell me.	**If you've seen where he**	**resides,**
	inform your servant,	**seer, please do!**"

The particular *glōṅ* meter in use here has much stricter constraints regarding syllable counts, rhyme, and the placement of tone marks than *rāy₁ yāv*. I have captured only the syllable counts in my English translation of this passage. The Siamese portions respond to and transform the Pali verses into a distinctly Siamese metrical style. Whereas Pali meters are structured on distinctions between light and heavy syllables, Tai verse forms usually depend on syllabic and tonal rhyme. This bitextual passage puts these two metrical systems in explicit contrast.

   The Siamese portions are not assimilated into an Indic system. In fact, a few Pali words, marked in italics in my presentation of the passage, are brought into the Siamese meter. In the first line in the Siamese *glōṅ*, "*bhonto* khā₂ khaay₂ t̂è₁ / ṛṣī," the author adds the Pali word *bhonto,* a respectful vocative plural form, meaning "Sir!" in this context. The addition of *bhonto* serves to emphasize that Jūjaka is addressing Accuta respectfully. The remaining

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72. Reformatted slightly from Fausbøll, *Jātaka*, vol. 6, 532–33.
73. Rājapăṇḍiťyasthān, *Bacanānukram śăbd**, 94. The verse formatting here reproduces that of the Thai-script printed text; to keep the text uncluttered, I have not transliterated the spaces in the *glōṅ* portion.

five syllables in the first line are in Siamese and essentially offer an interpretative gloss of *bhonto*: "I am 'neath you, / seer," or, more simply, "O Seer!" In the next line of the Siamese, "*yaṃ dinnaṃ* tai tī / klè₁ klèṅ₂," the author inserts a Pali phrase, *yaṃ dinnaṃ*, which is repeated from the root verses. The Siamese line does not translate this phrase, however. The reader must understand its meaning in Pali ("that which is given") in order to grasp the import of the whole line ("*What's given* is good; / such care!"). Though the lines that follow are entirely in Siamese, the author finds novel ways to integrate declined and conjugated Pali words into a local metrical system. This passage marks the earliest recorded instance of such experimentation.

The remainder of the passage exemplifies how the Siamese portions expand in meaning upon the Pali. A simple Pali phrase such as *sañjassa sakaṃ puttaṃ / sivīhi vippavāsitaṃ* ("Sañjaya's own child [i.e., Prince Vesstantara], / exiled by the Sivis") is expanded through the insertion of the appropriate narrative context: "The sinless Lord was / chased out; / the Sivi king's child feared / the folk. / Displeased, the people burned / with rage / and banished him; he sought / the good." The Siamese poet takes the opportunity here to recount the entire first act of Prince Vessantara: After the people of his father's kingdom of Sivi spurn him for giving away a rain-making elephant, he retreats to the forest to seek the fulfillment of his spiritual path. The Siamese portions rely on the Pali passages for structure, but they enact their own expressive and narrative force in the vernacular. Moreover, the poet's skillful application of various Siamese meters lifts the glosses from a scholastic to an aesthetic function. The *Mahājāti gāṃ hlvaṅ* is the first in a tradition of poetic *gāṃ hlvaṅ* bitexts that bring Pali and Sanskrit poetic conventions into conversation with Siamese verse. These celebrated compositions, long prized for their aesthetic power, are emblematic of the impact of Indic-vernacular bitexts on local literary production in mainland Southeast Asia.

CONCLUSION

From the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, the analytic techniques and presentation styles of Indic-vernacular bitexts occupied a critical place in the intellectual culture of mainland Southeast Asia, including Siam and Lanna. Authors and poets from what is now modern Central and Northern Thailand used bitexts as tools for learning, teaching, preaching, and writing. In this sense, understanding bitexts and how they work is crucial to appreciating mainland Southeast Asian approaches to language and thought in the early modern period.

This article provides examples from four of the possible modes of presentation that Indic-vernacular bitexts take. Some applications of bitextual techniques are philological in that they focus on the close reading and translation of Indic texts. The interlinear Pali-Siamese annotations found in Pali curricular texts, including the nineteenth-century *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* examples, demonstrate the philological mode in the context of monks learning to read and translate Indic texts.

Other applications of the core techniques of citation/invention, parsing, amplification, rearrangement, annotation, and gloss are best understood as exegetical, for they extend the scholastic project of Pali commentaries into a bitextual context. The two contrasting Pali-Lanna interpretations of the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī-ṭīkā* unpacked in this article, one from 1585 and the other from 1638, showcase the range and depth of the exegetical mode in crafting efficient hermeneutical guides for skilled readers of Pali treatises.

On the opposite end of the spectrum, bitexts in the homiletic mode of presentation are explicitly composed for the purpose of reading aloud to lay audiences. The two Pali-Lanna examples selected for this article, one of the *Mahosatha-jātaka* from 1563 and another from

1666 that draws on the *Sāratthadīpanī*, demonstrate some possible forms such bitextual sermons may take. As in the case of the 1563 example, they may retain an interphrasal presentation throughout, each Pali phrase followed by its vernacular translation and expansion. Or, as in the 1666 manuscript, long passages may appear only in the vernacular, with Pali phrases inserted sparingly.

In contrast to the prose format of homiletic bitexts, poetic bitexts use vernacular and integrated Indic-vernacular verse forms to create sophisticated compositions for literary effect. The two example passages from the *Mahājāti gāṃ hlvaṅ* of 1482 exemplify the literary possibilities present in the analytical tools of Indic-vernacular bitexts. The *Mahājāti gāṃ hlvaṅ* and other Pali-Siamese and Sanskrit-Siamese texts inspired by it reveal the skill of Siamese authors who harness techniques normally applied to philological, exegetical, or homiletic ends to create new forms of poetry.

Much remains to be done in the study of Indic-vernacular bitexts across mainland Southeast Asia as well as in Sri Lanka. The sheer volume of compositions inscribed in a bitextual format on palm-leaf and folded-paper manuscripts across the region is staggering; very few have been subject to contemporary methods of critical reading, editing, and translation. As these bitexts become more accessible through the digitization of manuscript collections, the place of Indic-vernacular bitexts in the global history of reading and translation will come into sharper focus.