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INTRODUCTION

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The papers collected in this volume were presented at a conference held in March 2011 at the Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. The conference aimed to bring together scholars from diverse disciplinary backgrounds and different geographical, linguistic, and temporal specializations and encourage historical criticism on Buddhism in premodern and early modern Southeast Asia. As such it was one of the first and only conferences devoted to this broad, necessarily comparative, and deceptively straightforward topic. In a simplistic sense Buddhism as a general intellectual, institutional, devotional, literary, and social phenomenon was a dominant force throughout much of Southeast Asia during the precontemporary period, attested through its early traces at Dvāravatī, Śrīkṣetra, Śrīvijaya, Hariṣūjaya, and Campā, across the medieval terrains of Đại Việt, Pagan, Angkor, Majapahit, and Sukhothai, and in the later polities of Mrauk U, Ava, Lan Xang, Sipsongpanna, and elsewhere. Regional Buddhists, regardless of how we define the ascription, were responsible for an array of innovations and cultural products that cut across diverse fields of learning and ritual, ranging from medicine, law, alchemy, political economy, and grammar to scriptural hermeneutics, apotropaic technologies, and art and architecture. However, as the papers in this volume suggest, the Buddhist cultures of historical Southeast Asia are best understood as multivocal, marked by a dynamism and difference that varies across geography and time. It is therefore more appropriate to speak of Southeast Asian Buddhism in the plural — of Buddhisms

rather than a Buddhism — and it is to this plurality that one sense of the “dynamics” of the volume’s title seeks to draw our attention.

Today the study of historical Buddhisms in premodern and early modern Southeast Asia stands at an encouraging juncture. In many ways the field — or rather the constellation of multi- and inter-disciplinary scholarly projects seeking to understand different facets of regional Buddhist pasts — is in the process of being re-envisioned. Comparison and macrohistory are becoming increasingly desirable frameworks of analysis although critical of their past prejudices. Scholarship is marked by a turn towards careful examination of local and vernacular expressions of Buddhist culture as well as a return to long-standing questions concerning the transregional diffusion and networked interrelationships among varied texts, aesthetic forms, and religious ideas and practices. Following several decades that produced many important works focused on recuperating the distinctive micronarratives of local Buddhisms, a trend that was a more or less self-conscious corrective to what were perceived as colonialist or orientalist onslaughts against autonomy, regionalism or globalism has once again become a key agendum for research. This possibility has resulted from increased distance from the colonial and nationalist contexts that gave rise to early “Indianization” and subsequent “localization” or indigenist theory, as well as a growing recognition of the historical importance of transculturation and networks of exchange within Southeast Asia and the Buddhist world more generally that had been neglected in studies of local meaning-making.¹ Much current comparative work continues to focus on historical relations between Southeast Asia and Lankā or the Indian subcontinent across the Bay of Bengal,² although intra-Southeast Asian networks and forms of exchange are beginning to receive due attention,³ as are broad Eurasian parallels.⁴

This increased attention to processes of regional exchange and to questions of transculturation has not diminished the central importance of a parallel commitment to microhistorical studies of Buddhist texts, practices, and lives focused determinately on the locale.⁵ Such projects untangle local intricacies and question individual motives, laying the foundation upon which broader historical-comparative projects on the meaning and effects of macroprocesses can be built. The goal of such work is not the construction and defence of some chimerical national, sub-national, or regional identity (“Thai Buddhism”, “Arakanese Buddhism”, “Southeast Asian Buddhism”), but rather an attempt to grasp how the ideas, products, and practices of Buddhists in historical Southeast Asia are inexorably grounded in the “particular times and terrains where they

dwelled and in the material and cultural exchanges available in those times and terrains”.⁶ The “dynamics” of our title is meant to suggest this additional sense of the constant interplay between these local and global forces in history as well as the variable angles of analytical view available to scholarship.

We may celebrate that our archive of primary textual, art historical, and archaeological sources, and resources for their study, continue to expand through intensified institutional support and individual initiatives. New research on regional manuscript libraries has recently brought to light hitherto unknown vernacular, Pali, and Sanskrit texts, alongside ever proliferating variant recensions of known texts.⁷ New inscriptions and art historical and archaeological finds continue to be uncovered, documented, and published.⁸ In certain quarters there are redoubled efforts to make these materials available for study and increasing interest in them among young scholars. Doubtless a great deal of work remains to be done in this area, however, and it is hoped that within the coming years scholars, local and global educational institutions, Buddhist organizations, and government and non-governmental bodies will contribute to much-needed efforts of preserving primary manuscript, epigraphic, archaeological, and art historical materials and making them widely available through reasonably priced publications or open access digital repositories.

Methodologies have been made more self-reflexive and enlarged to embrace interdisciplinary perspectives. Some of the most pronounced recent shifts have been those that ask us to reassess previously axiomatic paradigms. Scholars have begun to interrogate the implications of basic vocabularies inherited from earlier generations. Foremost among these efforts has been the intensive criticism of the rubric “Theravāda”, a classification which still provides much to think about, though which can no longer be defended as meaningfully descriptive of historically emic understandings or identities.⁹ Similarly, the range of productive oppositions that enframed earlier developmental, ethnographic, and sociological accounts of Southeast Asian Buddhism — Indic/vernacular, orthodox/heterodox, authentic/syncretic, esoteric/exoteric, canonical/non-canonical, etc. — have been subjected to ongoing scrutiny.¹⁰ Although it is still possible to argue that certain of these oppositions or elements within them may appear or have analytic value in specific instances of historical discourse (whose particular meanings in such contexts require careful explication), they are misleading and limiting when taken as strict ontological or epistemological categories structuring regional Buddhisms in general.

Boundaries between “Buddhism” and other areas of culture have become increasingly permeable. Precontemporary regional Buddhisms are no longer viewed as rarefied theologies of relevance only to religionists, philologists, and archaeologists, but as integrated constellations of effective discourse and practice that require attention in any meaningful attempt to understand cultural or social history before the present. It is now not unreasonable to expect that new scholars — regardless of the period, languages, and Buddhisms of specialization — are aware of, and engaged with, work emanating from anthropology, religious studies, literary studies, history, philology, epigraphy, archaeology, and art history. Also, they must work in one or several vernacular languages as well as one or several cosmopolitan languages such as Pali, Sanskrit, or Chinese.¹¹ This new emphasis placed on both local and transregional languages (and with them their historical, territorial, and literary frames of reference) marks a considerable departure from earlier approaches to scholarly training, in which it was more common for specialization to focus intensively on one or the other side of this shifting divide.

There are still vast unexplored frontiers. There has been disproportionately more interest in certain topics rather than others; for example, in institutional monastic histories and state-saṅgha relations. Certain scholars continue to use the prejudicial language of “Buddhist” and “secular” domains in describing the region’s past. Among other things, such presuppositions have held back the study of Buddhist social and intellectual history beyond the monastery and royal court as well as of the actual variety of Buddhist literature in the region, which has yet to receive full consideration. Although approaches to Buddhist literature have become more pluralistic, and no longer privilege narrowly conceived “canonical” Indic texts over vernacular, bilingual, or local Pali or Chinese compositions, many genres have not received due attention.¹² Among these especially are the Buddhist disciplinary or scientific genres — e.g., medicine, alchemy, poetics, law, astrology, husbandry — for which there are thousands upon thousands of surviving manuscripts, though virtually no scholarship.¹³ Vernacular poetry remains *terra incognita* in Western scholarship, despite the fact that it was one of the most popular forms of Buddhist textual production between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁴ I do not mean to overdraw this picture of neglect, for the fact remains that there has been little work that focuses on even more conventionally “mainstream” literatures such as *vinaya* or *abhidhamma* in premodern and early modern Southeast Asian historical contexts.¹⁵ Finally, although there has been a great deal of careful philological or interpretive work on manuscripts, epigraphy,

and iconography, there have been far fewer studies that have utilized such approaches to inform broader theoretical or comparative arguments in Buddhist social or intellectual history.¹⁶

The papers included in this volume represent some of these current opportunities and challenges in the study of Southeast Asian Buddhism. Peter Skilling's opening contribution presents a fascinating study of the life of a little known Buddhist verse in Sanskrit that represents what appears to be a distinctively (pen)insular Southeast Asian textual tradition, equal in authority to that of the much better known and more widely disseminated *ye dharmā* stanza. Transmitted in only this region, the verse is attested by fourteen inscriptions dated between the sixth and seventh centuries CE ranging from the west coast of the central Malay Peninsula to as far east as Northeastern Borneo (modern Brunei). Skilling shows that certain contexts of the verse suggest connections farther afield to Kārnasuvarṇa (Bengal), indicating that it may have travelled along ancient maritime trade routes. After examining in detail each instance of the verse, he discusses its plausible school-affiliation, function, and scriptural status, while raising additional questions concerning patronage and production. Like a number of the papers included in the volume, his study constitutes an important contribution to ongoing scholarly efforts to describe with greater precision the Buddhist geography of early Southeast Asia while remaining critically sensitive to the genuine historical diversity of textual and ritual practices in the region.

The next essay by Stephen Murphy also takes a particular Southeast Asian terrain as its focus, advancing a provocative hypothesis concerning monastic demographics in the Khorat Plateau between the sixth through eleventh centuries CE. Combining an impressive archaeological survey of surviving Dvāravatī *sīmā* stones (monastic ritual boundary markers) and modern monastic population statistics with the methodology of demographic archaeology, Murphy proposes that we can provisionally calculate estimates for monastic numbers in the region during this period. In the course of this quantitative argument he presents a close reading of the distribution and narrative aesthetics of *sīmā* stones, allowing him to draw important insights concerning the riverine transmission of regional monasticism and its relationship to settled communities and lay patronage.

Titi Surti Nastiti's paper examines the palaeography of Sanskrit formulae inscribed on miniature stūpas and a Buddhist sealing found at the important archaeological site of Candi Gentong in Trowulan, Mojokerto, East Java. These epigraphical materials are distinctive in that they are earlier than the Candi Gentong temples themselves (which date to

c.1470 CE), and also because they employ the Kawi script. With the exception of some Kawi examples from Borobudur, a form of Early Nāgarī was commonly used on miniature stūpas and sealings in the region. Through a close comparison with the Kawi script used in the Borobudur miniature stūpas and also in regional Kawi epigraphy (most importantly the tenth century Āsantan copper-plate inscription, also from Trowulan), Nastiti concludes that these materials seem to have a local origin (i.e. were not “imports” from Borobudur or elsewhere) and in fact constitute evidence for the earliest phase of Buddhism in East Java.

E. Edwards McKinnon presents an important unpublished collection of bronze material, including Buddha figures and ritual implements, reportedly found near Muara Kaman, Kutei in East Kalimantan, a site which is noteworthy as the location of the famed Sanskrit epigraphs of Mūlavarman, dated by certain scholars as the earliest inscriptions from the archipelago.¹⁷ Although their find-site and current whereabouts are uncertain, McKinnon examined these bronzes in 1994, and his photographs of twenty-three items may constitute the only surviving record of their existence. Following a useful introduction that discusses the importance of Kutei in the context of other early maritime Buddhist sites bordering the Makassar Strait, McKinnon offers an inventory of and commentary on each item of the collection.

The contribution by Nicolas Revire comprises a detailed consideration of “ritual deposits” dating to the eighth–ninth centuries CE excavated at the site of Chedi Chula Prathon in Nakhon Pathom, Thailand. Focusing in particular on the intriguing presence of a *khakkhara* (“staff”), the only material example of which that has been found in mainland Southeast Asia, Revire argues that these deposits functioned in rituals associated with the consecration or reconsecration of the site. Through a broad survey of textual and iconographic sources from across the Buddhist world, as well as especially suggestive proximate Burmese and Javanese parallels, he shows how the presence of the *khakkhara* connects Chedi Chula Prathon to a regional Buddhist ritual geography during the late first millennium CE.

Hiram Woodward’s rich and probing paper discusses a number of important aspects of Buddhism in tenth-century Cambodia, a period when “patterns of life in Angkor were becoming established” 200 years before the expansion of Buddhism under Jayavarman VII, on which there has been comparatively little detailed scholarship despite the available epigraphic and iconographic testimony. Woodward’s methodology, too rarely employed in the study of Southeast Asian Buddhism, brings epigraphy, literature, and art into conversation to reveal much about the otherwise inaccessible

scriptural and ritual culture of Buddhism in the Angkorean realm during this period. Though a close study of a the maṇḍala-like iconographic structure of an important four-sided stele now in the National Museum, Bangkok, he discusses the implications of a unique integration of textual themes from the *Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra* and *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, hinting, moreover, at the connections these two texts may suggest with Campā, Java, or lands still farther afield. Other images are read similarly in the broad context of textual and doctrinal history, such as the four *caitya* established around 989 CE at Kbal Sre Yeai Yin, which contain telling variations in iconographic structure, pointing towards knowledge of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*.

Although Woodward's paper touches on the important issue of the relationship between Śaivism and Buddhism in early Angkor, Andrea Aciri delivers a thorough-going critique of the long-standing problem of "Śiva-Buddha" in Java and Bali between the fifth through fifteenth centuries CE. Aciri sets his remarks in the context of an adroit discussion of previous scholarly attempts by Kern, Gonda, Hunter, Seyfort Rugg, Sanderson, and others to theorize the complex relationships between Śaivism and Buddhism in both Indonesia and on the Indian subcontinent. This broad vantage constitutes an important intervention — one which is particularly germane to the comparative study of Indonesian Śaiva and Buddhist literature — as most scholars of Southeast Asia do not frequently enough place their analyses in the context of both the proximate locale and parallel situations elsewhere in the wider Southern Asian world. Building on this discussion, as well as his own research in an impressive archive of Javanese and Sanskrit *tutur* texts and *kakawins*, Aciri argues that earlier ahistorical accounts of the unity, coalition, or syncretism of the two systems must be recalibrated, that what is needed is an approach that is sensitive to the context-specific ways in which different genres express historically variable relationships. While what Aciri terms the Balinese "*status quo*" may indeed have entailed the more or less explicit separation of the two systems, other sources suggest motivations, perhaps especially among Buddhist authors during the Singhasari-Majapahit period, to assert commonality or appropriate certain features of Śaiva discourse in the service of certain arguments.

John Whitmore's far-ranging and valuable essay describes the efforts of the monarch Lý Nhân-tông and his three royal predecessors who established Đại Việt to officially propagate Buddhism in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries CE. His contribution is especially welcome since there is comparatively little in the way of scholarship on the history

of precontemporary Vietnamese Buddhism. Usefully supplementing Woodward's and Aciri's focus on the interaction of Buddhism with Brāhmaṇical forms, Whitmore's paper begins with an account of the remarkable complexity and diversity of Vietnamese Buddhism in relation to the power of local cults up to the eleventh century. Drawing on a careful reading of Chinese histories, inscriptions, chronicle testimonies, biographies, and spirit tales, he shows how king Lý Nhân-tông moved closer to the more explicit adoption of Thiền (Chan) Buddhism as espoused by his close monastic advisors. Although monks like Thông Biện acknowledged the existence in the realm of earlier and alternative forms of Buddhism transmitted from India (Tianzhu), such as that of the so-called Vinītaruci lineage, and inscriptions from Nhân-tông's reign consistently link Đại Việt with the subcontinent as the potent source of Buddhism, the new Thiền orientation arriving from Song China brought with it the circulation of Chinese Chan transmission texts. Importantly, the royal promotion of this transmission history "brought a conceptual unity to Vietnamese Buddhism focused on the court and establishing the Thiền school over the multiplicity of monks and temples" throughout the realm. Nhân-tông's extensive patronage of Buddhism was, Whitmore argues, in part an attempt to encompass the local powers and diverse practices of the realm. He concludes with a useful reflection on the comparative significance of these events in the context of policies towards Buddhism among the later kings of the Trần dynasty and the interaction of Buddhism and kingship elsewhere at Śrīvijaya, Campā, Bagan, and Angkor.

Narratives of transregional contact between local and Lankan monastics in Pali and vernacular Southeast Asian monastic histories (*vaṃsa*) have been quarried by generations of scholars to erect putatively empirical accounts of the dissemination of "orthodox" Sihaḷa, "Theravāda", or Mahāvihārin monastic lineages in the region. Anne M. Blackburn argues in her contribution that such narratives may not, however, be well suited to such a purpose; at least not until they are properly assessed in light of additional textual and especially epigraphic sources. Through an innovative reading of the c. sixteenth century *Jinakālamālī* and versions of the *Tamnān (Mūlasāsanā) Wat Pa Dāng*, Blackburn suggests that references to "Laṅkā" (or sites and teachers thus affiliated) are less documentary than performative or workly. Her analysis shows that narratives of exchange with the Lankan saṅgha (including reordination), and representations of Laṅkā as a locus of power and authority, are not concerned with the establishment or defense of a "Theravāda" or Mahāvihāravāsin monastic pedigree or identity, or with religious exchange as the work of kings,

points frequently stressed in earlier scholarship. Rather, invocations of Sīhaḷa must be read as symptomatic of more local concerns — e.g., with grammar, disciplinary acumen, and ritual efficacy — that have less to do with the Island as an actually existing geographical realm than with Laṅkā as a rhetorical image and ideal that is mobilized at crucial moments in *vaṃsa* argument.

The papers by Alexey Kirichenko, Jacques P. Leider and Santi Pakdeekham also focus on intra-Southeast Asian interactions, although in the context of the later early modern mainland. Drawing on an impressive array of unpublished manuscript sources from a number of genres — monastic biographies, chronicles, royal orders — Kirichenko’s paper provides a detailed account of the rise and significance of regional Buddhist monastic centres in eighteenth–nineteenth Century Burma. Importantly, he shows how and why during this period “non-central” monastic networks began to emerge and compete with the earlier court-based networks of the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries. Following a fascinating depiction of the “semi-closed” structure of the court saṅgha in the seventeenth century, Kirichenko argues that subsequently Buddhist education and textual production begins to take place for the first time beyond the walls of royal cities such as Prome, Ava, or Chiang Mai. From the eighteenth century, then, villages and secondary cities like Pakhan, Hsalingyi, Amyint, and Talot emerge as alternative locations that provided desirable monastic career opportunities and were to an important degree autonomous from the royal court saṅgha of the capital city.

Scholars do not often conceptualize early modern Buddhist exchange in terms of royal diplomatics. Part of the reason for this is that we lack a certain record of the actual practice of diplomacy or royal communication for many areas of the precontemporary Buddhist world. Drawing on a rich archive of epistles sent between the Burmese king Alaungmintaya and the Mon king Banna Dala during their military campaigns against each other in the 1750s, Jacques Leider’s paper examines the distinctive motivations and local meanings that inform their use of Buddhist diplomatic rhetoric. To a degree paralleling Blackburn’s attention to the productive capacity of invocations of “Laṅkā”, Leider argues that the use of value-laden Buddhist rhetorics — ideals of the *dharmarāja* and *cakkavatti*, displays of merit and petitions for omniscience, references to *Jātaka* or other prestige or protective texts — was a strategy employed by these rulers to conjure status and authority in the context of diplomatic communication.

Buddhist diplomacy is also the theme of Santi’s concluding paper, which explores aspects of Buddhist textual, ritual, and institutional

monastic exchange between the Cambodian and Siamese courts in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Particularly interesting about his account is the emphasis it places on the translation of Thai vernacular Buddhist literature (specifically versions of the *Paṭhamasambodhikathā* and *Traibhūmikathā*-related cosmological treatises) into Khmer, in certain cases for the purposes of serving the sermon-making or curricular needs of the newly emergent Dhammayutika Nikāya in Cambodia. Santi also considers the important role monks played as couriers of diplomatic messages, couched in allegorical references to scriptural texts, and as agents of the Siamese and Cambodian courts.

Notes

1. Pollock, *The Language of the Gods*, pp. 525–65.
2. Compare Manguin, Mani, and Wade, *Early Interactions*.
3. See, for example, Khin, *Le Cambodge*; Hansen, *How to Behave*; Munier, “17th to 19th Century Burmese Murals”.
4. Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, Vols. 1 and 2. We however lack a historical survey that closely examines the development of Southeast Asian Buddhism in the context of parallel transformations elsewhere in the Buddhist world.
5. As Anne Blackburn has recently argued, an emphasis on the local is required to do justice to the range of issues at stake in Buddhist history, even when scholars are concerned with understanding global processes such as colonialism. See Blackburn, *Locations of Buddhism*.
6. Taylor, “Surface Orientations”, p. 949.
7. There are a number of major manuscript-related initiatives either underway or recently completed, including (by area):

Laos and Thailand: The Preservation of Lao Manuscripts Program and the Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts <<http://www.laomanuscripts.net>>; Hundius, “Preservation”; Kongdeuane et al., *Literary Heritage of Laos*; Skilling and Santi, *Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam*; Skilling and Santi, *Pāli and Vernacular Literature Transmitted in Central and Northern Siam*; Santi, *Piṭakamālā*; Unebe, *Wat Ratchasittharam*; Lagirarde, “Les manuscrits”. For a good overview of major recent projects in Tai manuscript preservation and research, see Grabowsky, “Thai Manuscripts”, parts 1 and 3; and Hundius, “Thai Manuscripts”, part 2. It is worth mentioning that François Lagirarde has been working on a substantial project on Northern Thai *tammān* related manuscripts, which will include a digital archive to appear in the near future. **Vietnam:** The Digital Library of Hán Nôm <<http://www.nomfoundation.org>>. **Burma:** Anne Peters’ continued work with Burmese Manuscripts in German collections, now past its seventh volume (see most

- recently Peters, *Birmanische Handschriften, Teil 7*); Pruitt and Bischoff, *Catalogue*; Maung Maung Nyunt, *Mran mā nuin nam pāli*; Thu Nandar, *The Catalogue of Materials*; Thaw Kaung, Nyunt Maung, et al., *Palm-leaf Manuscript Catalogue*; Htun Yee, Ito, et al., *Documents*; Win Tint, *Database*; Peter Nyunt et al., *The Database of the Fragile Palm Leaves Collection* <pl.tusita.org>. **Yunnan**: 中国贝叶经全集 [Zhongguo bei ye jing quan ji] / *The Complete Chinese Pattra Buddhist Scriptures*; Yin, Daniels, Kuai and Yue, eds., *A Synopsis of Tay (Chinese Shan) Old Manuscripts*; Yin and Daniels, eds., *A Synopsis of Old Manuscripts in Gengma County*. **Cambodia**: de Bernon, Kun, and Leng, *Inventaire provisoire*; de Bernon, “Preservation”.
8. For some recent major projects related to regional epigraphy see the following (by area): **Vietnam**: Papin, “Aperçu”; Trjnh and Vũ, *Thư mục thác bản văn khắc Hán Nôm Việt Nam*; Trjnh, Nguyễn, and Papin, *Tổng tập thác bản văn khắc Hán Nôm*. **Indonesia**: Perret, Suhadi, and Kartakusuma, “Le programme franco-indonésien”; Griffiths, “Inscriptions of Sumatra”. **Laos**: Michel Lorillard, “Les recherches épigraphiques”. **Cambodia**: Gerschheimer, “Le Corpus des inscriptions khmères”; Estève and Vincent, “L’about inscrit”. **Campā**: Griffiths, Lepoutre, Southworth, and Thành, “Études du corpus des inscriptions du Campā III”; Griffiths and Southworth, “La stèle d’installation de Śrī Satyadeveśvara”; Griffiths and Southworth, “La stèle d’installation de Śrī Ādideveśvara”. **Arakan**: Jacques Leider has been working on an inventory of Arakan inscriptions. From 2005 until 2009 Kyaw Minn Htin collaborated on this project which among other things resulted in his paper “Early Buddhism in Myanmar: *Ye Dhammā* Inscriptions from Arakan” in Manguin, Mani, and Wade, *Early Interactions*, pp. 385–406. **Burma**: Munier, *Burmese Buddhist Murals*; Than Tun, ed., *Nhoñh tve. kyok cā myāḥ*; Sein Win et al., *Thūpāruṃ kyok cā*. **Lan Na**: Penth, Phanphen, Silao, et al., *Corpus of Lan Nā Inscriptions*; Buchmann, *Northern Thai Stone Inscriptions*. **Thailand (Siam and Lan Na)**: *Thankhomun charuk nai prathet Thai / Database of Thai Inscriptions* <<http://www.sac.or.th/databases/inscriptions/th/main.php>>.
 9. Skilling, “Theravāda in History”; Skilling, Carbine, Cicuzza, and Santi, *How Theravāda*.
 10. Compare McDaniel, *The Lovelorn Ghost*, pp. 100–20, 222–30.
 11. It is crucial not to overstress such distinctions, and neglect the ways in which vernacular languages might take on cosmopolitan characteristics and functions, and vice versa. Of course, there are not a few contexts in which languages such as Burmese (e.g., among the Khamti Shan in Northeast India) fulfil cosmopolitan roles, or are still further layered in complex linguistic hierarchies involving third or even fourth languages.
 12. Very recently there have been important philological contributions towards our understanding of regional Buddhist composition in Pali, including: Cicuzza, *A Mirror Reflecting the Entire World*; Kieffer-Pülz, *Sīmāvicāraṇa*;

- Kieffer-Pülz, “Die *Paṭhamasambodhi*”; Toshiya Unebe, *Southeast Asian Buddhist Literature*; Santi, *Jambūpati-sūtra*; Yamanaka, *Die Vessantaradīpanī*; Ñāṇindena, *Uppātasanti*. A major advance in our understanding of Buddhist composition in Vietnam is Nguyen, *Zen in Medieval Vietnam*. A provisional list of recent publications of premodern vernacular or *nissaya* Buddhist texts would run to many pages. Representative of some important contributions include Nyunt Maung, *Rhve ti gum*; Than Htaik, *Sāsanavaṃsa*; Dhammanandathera, *Tathāgatuppatti*; Bampen, Udom, Hundius, et al., *Panyasachadok*; Ratchabandittayasathan, *Thammasat Pakon*.
13. See Reynolds, “Thai Manual Knowledge”; Pattaratorn, *Divination*. On medicine in Vietnam, see Thompson, “Scripts and Medical Scripture” and “Signification as Limitation”. On Burmese medical manuscripts, see Mya Nyunt, *Mran mā. cheḥ kyamḥ*; on manuscripts concerning poetics and grammar, see Maung Maung Nyunt, *Rheḥ khet mran mā cā pe chuiṅ rā kyamḥ myāḥ le. lā mhu*. In Burma important grammatical works have been edited for publication or republished recently; for example, several important nineteenth century works, including Visuddhācāra’s Pali recension and *nissaya* of Gaṅgādāsa’s *Chandomañjarī* and Sayadaw U Budh’s *nissaya* on the *Vuttodaya*, have been republished together in Visuddhācāra et al., *Chanḥ kyamḥ 6 coṅ tvai* [Six treatises on prosody].
 14. This is more the case on the mainland. There are long-standing traditions of scholarship on Buddhist verse texts in Old Javanese, on which see the paper by Andrea Acri below. For areas of the mainland there have been notable exceptions, especially for certain Khmer and Tai/Lao language materials, although such work has been typically less explicitly focussed on Buddhism. See, for example, Saveros, *Guirlande*; Koret, “*Leup Phasun*”; Hudak, *Indigenization*; Compton, *Courting Poetry*. There is also comparatively more work on Buddhist poetry by scholars writing in mainland vernaculars.
 15. Although on *vinaya*, see Kieffer-Pülz and Peters, “*Die Pātimokkhapadatthanuvāṇṇanā*”; Keiffer-Pülz and Peters, “The *Vinayaśāṅkhepaṭṭhakathā*”.
 16. Some important exceptions include Veidlinger, *Spreading the Dhamma* and Mikaelian, *La royauté*. Steven Collins’ momentous *Nirvana and other Buddhist Felicities*, although not centrally concerned with locally-produced Southeast Asian texts, is also a recent example.
 17. de Casparis, “Some Notes on the Oldest Inscriptions of Indonesia”.

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