

**On the Devotion to the Buddha in  
Paramanuchit's Mārabandha Episode of the  
*Paṭhamasambodhi***

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## Abstract

The *Paṭhamasambodhi* is an important biography of the Buddha, a living story well-known all over mainland Southeast Asia, and an essential element for Southeast Asian art history. In addition, the Mārabandha episode of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* is a unique story that receives no mention in the Pāli Canon or in the Pāli biographies of the Buddha. It also contains the few parts of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* corpus that are concerned with events after the Buddha's Parinibbāna (the final release from the round of rebirth), and a source for ritual, belief, and devotion of Buddha in many parts of Southeast Asia. Moreover, it received the royal patronage of King Rama III (1788-1851), as the king invited Paramanuchit (1790-1853) to edit the *Paṭhamasambodhi*. This thesis offers the first English translation of the Mārabandha episode of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* of Paramanuchit, a senior Buddhist monk and key patriarch in the history of Thai Buddhism during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Relying on the *Paṭhamasambodhi* and other Thai sources, it makes three contributions to the study of Thai Buddhism. Firstly, it provides a translation and an analysis of a text that has been largely overlooked by scholars outside of Thailand, especially in English language scholarship. Secondly, it sheds light on the historical figure of Paramanuchit, an influential and respected Buddhist scholar in Siamese Buddhism, who became the Saṅgharāja in 1851. Thirdly, it argues that Paramanuchit's decision to include the Mārabandha episode in his redaction of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* indicates his own concern with a particular dimension of Thai Buddhism—namely, devotion to objects and images of the Buddha.

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1902]</b>	The 1902 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit's <i>Paṭhamasambodhi</i> (The source text)
<b>PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1895]</b>	The 1895 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit's <i>Paṭhamasambodhi</i>
<b>PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1935]</b>	The 1935 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit's <i>Paṭhamasambodhi</i>
<b>PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1960]</b>	The 1960 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit's <i>Paṭhamasambodhi</i>
<b>PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1962]</b>	The 1962 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit's <i>Paṭhamasambodhi</i>
<b>PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 2011]</b>	The 2011 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit's <i>Paṭhamasambodhi</i>
<b>BE</b>	Buddhist Era (equal to CE + 543)
<b>CE</b>	Christian Era or Common Era (equal to BE -543)
<b>CS</b>	<i>Cūlasakarāja</i> , or the Siamese Lesser Era, or Lesser Śaka Era (equal to CE - 638)
<b>Hybrid S.</b>	Hybrid Sanskrit
<b>mT.</b>	Modern Thai spelling (or the spelling used in the 1999 edition of the Royal Institute Dictionary)
<b>oT.</b>	Old Thai spelling (or the spelling used in the source text)
<b>P.</b>	Pāli

**RTGS.**

Royal Thai General System of Transcription

**S.**

Sanskrit

**T.**

Thai

## Explanation on Transliteration

In this MA thesis, I follow the Royal Thai General System of Transcription (RTGS), which is published and recommended by the Royal Institute of Thailand, to transcribe the Thai words into English. For instance, “*khoi* (p.1)” is transcribed from the Thai word “*ข่อย*.” PDF files in English and Thai explaining this transcriptional method in detail can be downloaded at <[http://www.efeo.fr/lanna\\_manuscripts/node/61](http://www.efeo.fr/lanna_manuscripts/node/61)> (20 November 2015).

In addition, I transliterate the Pāli terms written in Thai scripts into Romanised Pāli. For example, “*Paṭhamasambodhi* (p.1)” is transliterated from the Thai-script Pāli term “ปฐมสมโพธิ.” In doing so, I consult the table of Pāli Romanisation that appears on page 316 of Phra Bhramagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto)’s *Dictionary of Buddhism: Part II Thai-English Buddhist Dictionary*. This dictionary can be downloaded at <<http://www.tipitaka.org/thai-dict>> (20 November 2015).

As many of Thai terms are Pāli and Sanskrit loanwords, I transliterate them into Romanised Pāli or Romanised Sanskrit according to their origin in order to reflect the complexity of Thai language. For example, “*dhammadesanā* (sermons)” is the Romanised-Pāli transliteration of the compound noun “ธรรมเทศนา.” However, an exception is proper names and titles such as the names of Thai books that have no English names. I transcribe them into English in compliance with the Royal Thai General System of Transcription (RTGS) before putting the English translation in parentheses after each of them. For example, “Samoe Bunma’s *Attathibai Lae Wikhro Sap Nai Pathomsomphot Katha [Explanation and Analysis of Vocabularies in Pathomsomphot Katha]* (p.4)” is the transcription and translation of the book “อรรถาธิบายและวิเคราะห์ศัพท์ในปฐมสมโพธิกถา” that is written by “เสมอ บุญมา.”

As for the proper names and common noun that are Pāli or Sanskrit loanwords and that are known in academic field by their Romanised-Pāli or Romanised-Sanskrit forms, I retain to use their Romanised-Pāli or Romanised-Sanskrit forms. These are the names of Buddhist texts and manuscripts, the names of chapters of those texts, and technical Pāli and Sanskrit terms. For example, “*Bodhisattva* (p.7)” is the Romanised-Sanskrit form of

the Thai word “โพธิสัตว์.” Nevertheless, some Thai words are hybrid Pāli-Sanskrit, and some have the identical Pāli and Sanskrit forms. In this case, I transliterate them into Romanised Pāli, Romanised Sanskrit, or hybrid Pāli-Sanskrit, or transcribe them into English in order to show the richness of Thai language. For example, “*that nithan* (p.64)” is the English transcription of the Thai word “ธาตุนิธาน.”

Moreover, I adopt the normal convention of italicisation of Sanskrit and Pāli words, book titles, journal names, poem titles, and scripture titles. Although the names of all chapters in the *Paṭhamasambodhi* are not italicised, the first letter of each chapter’s name is capitalised.

Since the source text I used here was printed in 1902, the spellings of many words are different from those used in the 1999 edition of the Royal Institute Dictionary, which is the standard dictionary of Thai language available at hand while I was doing my MA thesis. In order to show chronological changes in spellings of some Thai words, I put the older and newer spellings of some Thai words in the footnote section for the sake of comparison. I name the spellings in the source text “Old Thai spelling” giving them the abbreviation “oT.” I also name the spellings in the 1999 edition of the Royal Institute Dictionary “Modern Thai spelling” giving them the abbreviation “mT.”

## Prefatory Notes Relevant to the Translation

1. “m, m, and ṅ” are the interchangeable forms of a *niggahīta*.
2. PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1902] or the 1902 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* was edited by Phra Phimontham (Dit) (1837-1923) of Wat Maha That Temple, Bangkok.
3. PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1895] or the 1895 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* was edited by Phra Phimontham (Dit) of Wat Maha That Temple, Bangkok.
4. PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1935] or the 1935 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* was edited by Phraya Anumanratchathon (1888-1969), Phra Phinitwannakan, and Phra Phromphichit.
5. PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1960] or the 1960 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* was edited by Siri Phetchai, Plaek Sonthirak, and Sawat Phinitchan.
6. PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 2011] or the 2011 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* was edited by Phra Mahā Niyom Ṭhanissaro, Phra Mahā Wira Bhaddacarī, Phra Mahā Thanyanop Jotipalo, Yaem Praphatthong, Chanin Sukkesi, Prasit Saengthap, Panya Chaibangyang, Kritsana Suriyakan, et al.
7. Reference to several old-Thai-translated editions of Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* in the footnotes of the English Translation of the Binding of Māra Legend (chapter 3), is for comparing spelling variants and identifying printing errors in the source text. I use the methods of reference that appear in Peter Skilling’s and Santi Pakdeekham’s *Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam* (2002) and *Pāli and Vernacular Literature Transmitted in Central and Northern Siam* (2004) in order to link the old-Thai-translated editions of Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* to the cataloguing system that Skilling and Pakdeekham have already made. Thus, the reference to the old Thai translation

of Paramanuchit's *Paṭhamasambodhi* begins with PLCS (the abbreviation for *Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam*), followed by § + catalogue number (the catalogue number for *Paṭhamasambodhi-vitthāra* is 2.106), followed by [Old Thai tr., year, page number] (which refers to the old Thai translation of Paramanuchit's *Paṭhamasambodhi*, the year it was published, and the page number). For example, PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1895, 589] means that the information shown in the footnote is drawn from page 589 of the old Thai translation of Paramanuchit's *Paṭhamasambodhi* that was published in 1895.

## Chapter 1 Introduction

The *Paṭhamasambodhi* is a biography of the Buddha that is well-known in mainland Southeast Asia.<sup>1</sup> Peter Skilling and Prapod Assavavirulhakarn describe it as a “genre or family of texts rather than a single text.”<sup>2</sup> There are many versions of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* in Pāli and/or in the vernacular languages of mainland Southeast Asia, written by hand onto palm leaves and *khoi* paper and printed and bound into modern book form. In addition to providing information about the biography of the Buddha, the *Paṭhamasambodhi* was used by commoners but also by the kings for rituals such as *buddhābhiseka* (the Buddha image’s empowerment or consecration) and for sermons (*dhammadesanā*).<sup>3</sup> Although it is extra-canonical<sup>4</sup>, according to Skilling and Pakdeekham the *Paṭhamasambodhi* along with other important texts such as the *Traiphum* (a treatise on Buddhist cosmology), were considered to be part of the *Tipiṭaka* (threefold Buddhist canon) during Ayutthaya and early Rattanakosin periods, up until the conclusion of the nineteenth century when Buddhist reforms redefined canonicity and reinterpreted the term *Tipiṭaka*.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cœdès described the *Paṭhamasambodhi* as the “*biographie indochinoise*” pp. lvi; versions have been found in the Tai regions, Cambodia, and Laos but the text was apparently unknown in Burma or Sri Lanka.

<sup>2</sup> Prapod Assavavirulhakarn and Peter Skilling, “Tripiṭaka in Practice in the Fourth and Fifth Reigns: Relics and Images According to Somdet Phra Saṅgharāja Pussadeva’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* Sermon,” *MANUSYA: Journal of Humanities* Special Issue, no. 4 (2002): 2.

<sup>3</sup> According to “Banchi waduai phra damrat hai phra song thawai phra thamma thetsana pen pi thi 28 CS 1144 [The Official Register of the Royal Command to Invite Buddhist Monks to Give 28<sup>th</sup> Annual Sermons to King Rama I, from Year CS 1144 (1782 CE) Onwards],” MS 7, in *Chomaihet krung rattanakosin [The Royal Archive of the Rattanakosin Kingdom]*, King Rama I (1736-1809), the founder of Chakri Dynasty of Rattanakosin Kingdom or the present day Thailand, listened to the sermon on *Paṭhamasambodhi* throughout his reign three times, three days each. He listened to a total of 60 chapters of *Paṭhamasambodhi*.

<sup>4</sup> Oskar von Hinüber, ed., *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, vol. 2, *Indian Philology and South Asian Studies*, ed. Albrecht Wezler and Michael Witzel (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 177, 180.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham, *Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam*, vol. 1, Materials for the Study of the Tripiṭaka (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation; Lumbini International Research Institute, 2002), xviii-xix, lvi-lvii; Peter Skilling, “Reflections on the Pali Literature of Siam,” in *From Birch Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research: Papers Presented at the Conference, Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field, Stanford, June 15-19, 2009*, ed. Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014), 361.



The earliest surviving manuscripts of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* were composed in the Lanna regions during the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup> Some of these manuscripts are composed in the Tai languages, and some in Pāli or a mixture of Tai and Pāli. During the reign of King Rama III, a Thai script (Pāli language version) of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* was composed by Venerable HRH Paramanuchitchinorot. Paramanuchit based his edition on a collection of number of Pāli language manuscripts. Paramanuchit's edition of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* will be discussed in more detail in chapter 2 (see page 17).

There have been a number of studies of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* by Thai scholars (Anant, et al., etc.). However, despite the importance of this text for the study of mainland Southeast Asian Buddhism, the *Paṭhamasambodhi* has not yet been translated into English, and remains inaccessible to scholars who do not read Thai. Western scholars are aware of the importance of this text. Henry Alabaster published an English summary of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* in 1871, and George Cœdès worked on the *Paṭhamasambodhi* for decades. In 1916 he translated a passage into French, and he was still working on his critical edition of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* when he died in 1969. Cœdès' critical edition of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* in Romanised Pāli was edited by Jacqueline Filliozat and published in 2002 with an English language introduction.<sup>7</sup> Donald Swearer used a Lanna *Paṭhamasambodhi* in his research on *buddhābhiseka*<sup>8</sup>; and Charles Hallisey referred to its significance in his important essay "Roads Taken and Not Taken in the Study of Theravada Buddhism."<sup>9</sup>

In this MA thesis, I make a contribution towards the study of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* by translating one chapter of Paramanuchit's 1902 old Thai translation of the

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<sup>6</sup> There is some evidence that the *Paṭhamasambodhi* or a text very similar to the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, was known in Cambodia during the 12th century. See Elizabeth Guthrie, "A Study of the History and Cult of the Buddhist Earth Deity in Mainland Southeast Asia" (PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, 2004), 186.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Alabaster, *The Wheel of the Law* (London: Trübner & Co, 1871), 75. Alabaster states that the Thai source for his work is "Pathomma Somphothiyan [First (Festival of) Omniscience]" in ten chapters.

<sup>8</sup> Donald K. Swearer, "Hypostasizing the Buddha: Buddha Image Consecration in Northern Thailand," *History of Religions* vol. 34, no. 3, Image and Ritual in Buddhism (February 1995): 275-7.

<sup>9</sup> Charles Hallisey, "Roads Taken and Not Taken in the Study of Theravāda Buddhism," in *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 31-62.

*Paṭhamasambodhi* into English, and analysing it. I selected chapter 28 (Mārabandhaparivatta, or the Chapter on the Binding of Māra Legend) because the chapter is unique. The Mārabandha episode appears in the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, the *Lokapaññatti*, the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Aśokarājāvadāna*, the *Aśokarājasūtra*, a note to Kumārajīva’s translation of the *Vimalakīrti nirdeśa*, *Tāranātha*’s summary of the story, the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, the *Damamūkanidāna sūtra*, the *Mahāsamnipāta ratnaketu dhāraṇī sūtra*, the *Avadānakalpalatā*, the *Acintyabuddhaviṣayānirdeśa*, and the *Mahāratnakūṭa*. However, it is absent from the Pāli Canon and the Sri Lankan *Lives of the Buddha* such as the *Nidānakathā*. In addition, it is also absent from earlier versions of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* and from the royally sponsored edition of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* by the Supreme Patriarch Sa or Somdet Phra Saṅgharāja Pussadeva (1813-1900) in the 1890s. Another reason is Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* provides information about Siamese beliefs about Buddhist devotion during the third, fourth, and fifth reigns. My source text is the 1902 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi*, which was edited by the Venerable Phra Phimontham (Dit) of Wat Mahathat Temple.<sup>10</sup> While the 1902 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* is the edition that I consult in this thesis, it is important to note that Paramanuchit produced his Pāli version of *Paṭhamasambodhi* in *Khom bali* script in 1845.

### 1.1. Major Arguments and Contributions

This thesis makes three contributions to the study of Thai Buddhism. Firstly, it provides a translation and an analysis of a text that has been largely overlooked by scholars outside of Thailand, especially in English language scholarship. Secondly, it sheds light on the historical figure of Paramanuchit, an influential and respected Buddhist scholar in Siamese Buddhism, who became the Saṅgharāja in 1851.<sup>11</sup> Thirdly, it argues that Paramanuchit’s decision to include the *Mārabandha* episode in his redaction of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* indicates his own concern with a particular dimension of Thai

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<sup>10</sup> The 1902 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* is available to read online (see Appendix).

<sup>11</sup> Craig James Reynolds, “The Buddhist Monkhood in Nineteenth Century Thailand” (PhD thesis, Cornell University, 1973), 115.

Buddhism—namely, devotion to objects and images of the Buddha. As I will show, the Mārabandha episode illustrates practical ways of performing Buddha *pūjā* (worship of Buddha). The popularity of Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* over the past 150 years means that this text is important for understanding Siamese Buddhist devotion during the 19<sup>th</sup> century as well as contemporary Thai Buddhist devotional practice.<sup>12</sup>

## 1.2. Prefatory Comments on Translation

The *Paṭhamasambodhi* of Paramanuchit is well known in Thailand. It is still used today, and is praised for its beautiful language.<sup>13</sup> In addition, Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* is still on the syllabus of the Thai Buddhist Council’s Dhamma curriculum (ท.หลักสูตรนักธรรมและธรรมศึกษา).<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, many Thais find it hard to read. Many books have been written by Thai scholars that explore the difficult terms and ideas used in the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, such as *Attathibai Lae Wikhro Sap Nai Pathomsomphot Katha [Explanation and Analysis of Vocabularies in Pathomsomphot Katha]* by Samoe Bunma, *Upakon Wannakhadi Phutthasatsana: Khumue Phra Pathomsomphot Katha [Buddhist Literature Apparatus: The Handbook of Phra Pathomsomphot Katha]* by Suthiwong Phongphaibun, and *Khumue Kan Sueksa Phra Pathomsomphot Katha [Handbook for the Study of Phra Pathomsomphot Katha]* by Phithun Maliwan. A recent edition of the old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* (published by Thamma Sapha Bunlue Tham Co. Ltd. in 2011) includes a glossary at the end of the book. I have found the glossary in this 2011 edition of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* very useful for understanding the Mārabandha episode. Although my thesis is written in English, I use many Buddhist

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<sup>12</sup> Donald K. Swearer, “Bhikkhu Buddhādāsa’s Interpretation of the Buddha,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* vol. 64, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 315, 320-2.

<sup>13</sup> Saksi Yaemnatda, “Parithat Haeng Pathomsomphot Katha [the Periscope of Pathomsomphot Katha],” in *Song Roi Pi Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot [The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa]*, ed. Samnakngan Khana kammakan Watthanatham Haeng Chat [The Office of the National Culture Commission] (Bangkok: Amarin Printing Group Company Limited, 1990), 100, cited in Somwang Inchai, “A Comparative Study of Pali Pathamasambodhi in the Lanna and the Central Thai Versions” (MA thesis, Chiang Mai University, 2001), 279.

<sup>14</sup> Office of the National Culture Commission and Wat Phrachetuphon Wimonmangkhalaram, *The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa* (Bangkok: Phra Dharma Panya Bodi Abbot of Wat Pak Nam Phasi Chareon, 1990), 50-51.

technical terms and names in Pāli and in Thai. When necessary, I use footnotes to explain essential terms and phrases.

### 1.3. Studies of the *Paṭhamasambodhi*

There are some master's and doctoral theses on *Paṭhamasambodhi* in Thai.<sup>15</sup> In addition, there are several Thai language books about the life and works of Paramanuchit.<sup>16</sup> There have been a few studies of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* in English, such as the introductory chapter “An Indochinese Life of The Buddha: The *Paṭhamasambodhi*” in the 2003 critical edition of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* by Cœdès and Filliozat. Additional studies include “*Tripiṭaka* in Practice in the Fourth and Fifth Reigns: Relics and Images

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<sup>15</sup> List of Thai theses on *Paṭhamasambodhi*: (1) *The Thai Version of Pathomsombodhikatha by the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa: Content Relation to Other Biographies of the Buddha* by Anant Laulertvorakul (PhD, Chulalongkorn University, 2003); (2) *Paṭhamasambodhikathā Chapters 24-30: A Critical Edition and an Analytical Study* by Venerable Phra Mahā Wachirawut Vajiramedhī (Nongsung) (Master's, Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University, 2004); (3) *Paṭhamasambodhikathā Chapters 16-23: A Critical Edition and an Analytical Study* by Venerable Phra Mahā Dusitsak Tikkhapañño (Suwanna-at) (Master's, Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University, 2003); (4) *Paṭhamasambodhikathā Chapters 8-15: A Critical Edition and an Analytical Study* by Venerable Phra Mahā Bunthiam Nāṇindo (Musu) (Master's, Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University, 2004); (5) *Pathamasambodhi Chapters 1-7: A Critical Edition and an Analytical Study* by Venerable Phra Mahā Suraphon Singkhirat (Master's, Chulalongkorn University, 1998); (6) *An Aesthetic Study of Phra Pathomsomphot Katha* by Wongduean Sukbang (Master's, Srinakharinwirot University, 1981); (7) *A Study of a Northeastern Version of the Pathomsomphodhi, from the Manuscript of Wat Mai Thong Swang in Ubon Ratchathani Province* by Janya Kongcharoen (Master's, Silpakorn University, 1989); (8) *A Study of the Pathomasomphothi from the Manuscript of Wat Khongkharam in Ratchaburi Province* by Nattinee Phromkerd (Master's, Silpakorn University, 1987); (9) *A Comparative Study of Pali Pathamasambodhi in the Lanna and the Central Thai Versions* by Somwang Inchai (Master's, Chiang Mai University, 2001); (10) *A Comparative Study of the Lalitavistara and the Paṭhamasambodhi* by Theer Phumthapthim (Master's, Silpakorn University, 2000); (11) *An Imagery Language of Comparison in Phra Pathomsombodhikatha* by Lakkhanakorn Thamtieng (Master's, Srinakharinwirot University, 2004); (12) *The Change of Pali and Sanskrit Loan Words in the Book “Phapathom Sombhodhi Katha”* by Saravudh Chanseeha (Master's, Mahasarakham University, 1999); (13) *The Grammatical Features of Pali and Sanskrit Loan Words in the Phrapathom Sombhodhi Katha* by Ciraphatara Keawku (Master's, Mahasarakham University, 2002); (14) *The Beauty of Prapathomsombodhikatha* by Parnkaew Chomchoei (Master's, Prince of Songkla University, 2010); (15) *A Study of Figures of Speech in Phra Pathommasombodhikatha Literature by Interpretation and Modification* by Sawang Chaisonk (Master's, Mahasarakham University, 1995); (16) *Narration Strategies in Thai Isan Version of Pathamasambodhi (Lord Buddha's Life Story)* by Krittima Janyaphet (Master's, Mahidol University, 2011).

<sup>16</sup> List of Thai books on life and works of Paramanuchit: (1) *Wiwattanakan Wannakadi Bali Sai Phra Suttantapidok Thi Taeng Nai Prathet Thai [Evolution of the Pāli Literature of Suttantapīṭaka Lineage That Was Composed in Thailand]* by Suphaphan Na Bangchang; (2) *Wikhro Phra Nippon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot [Detailed Analysis of the Literary Works of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanuchitchinot]* by Saowanich Wingworn; (3) *The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa* by Office of the National Culture Commission and Wat Phrachatuphon Wimonmangkhalarom; (4) *Phra Prawat Lae Phra Nippon Khong Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot [the Biography and Works of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanuchitchinorot]* by Natthawut Sutthisongkhram.

According to Somdet Phra Saṅgharāja Pussadeva’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* Sermon” by Prapod Assavavirulhakarn and Peter Skilling, and “*Paṭhamasambodhi* in Nine Languages: Their Relation and Evolution” by Anant Laulertvorakul. Donald Swearer also discusses the Lanna *Paṭhamasambodhi* in an article about image consecration in Northern Thailand.<sup>17</sup> A Thai-English bilingual book named *The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa* (by the Office of the National Culture Commission and Wat Phrachetuphon Wimonmangkhalaram Temple, Thailand) and Craig Reynolds’ thesis<sup>18</sup>, are both important English language sources for Paramanuchit’s biography. In chapter 1 of this thesis, I draw on Thai sources to provide a comprehensive history in English of Paramanuchit’s life and his work on the *Paṭhamasambodhi* between the first and fourth reigns.

#### 1.4. Origins of Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi*

As stated above, the earliest palm leaf fragments of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> century are from the Lanna regions and are composed in Lanna Pāli. Versions of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* in Pāli and in Thai can be dated 1477, 1574, 1592, 1780, 1788, and 1845. According to Pong Sengking, during his reign, Rama III commissioned the translation of many Pāli manuscripts into Thai and had them distributed to important temple schools around the kingdom.<sup>19</sup> The reason for this royal patronage was to encourage lay Buddhists, as well as novices and new monks who had not learned Pāli, to read Buddhist texts in the vernacular. According to Sengking, Rama III requested Paramanuchit to edit the Pāli version of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* and translate it into Thai. While several Thai scholars assume that Paramanuchit’s Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi* is based on the earlier 22-chapter edition of the Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi* that is found in the National Library of Thailand, one source states otherwise. According to the book *Thammakai Kaen Traiphop* by the late Venerable Phrathepkittipanyakhun (*Kittivuḍḍho*

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<sup>17</sup> Swearer, “Hypostasizing the Buddha,” 267, 275-8.

<sup>18</sup> Reynolds, “The Buddhist Monkhood in Nineteenth Century Thailand,” 113-37.

<sup>19</sup> Pong Sengking, Wat Thongnopakun Temple, et al., *Painted Sculpture on Life of the Buddha: A Folk Art at Wat Thongnopakun* (Bangkok: Matichon Publishing House, 1983), 14.

*Bhikkhu*) (1936-2005), the source text that Paramanuchit used for his Pāli and Thai editions of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* has a Laotian origin:

...เมื่อพระราชสุภาวดีได้นำทหารบุกเข้าสู่นครเวียงจันทน์ สิ่งที่ถูกส่งเข้ามาพร้อมรายงานการศึกยังกรุงเทพฯ คือ “กัมภีร์ปถมสมโพธิกถา ภาคภาษาลาว” ซึ่งได้มาจากวัดในเมืองเวียงจันทน์ พระบาทสมเด็จพระนั่งเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว รัชกาลที่ ๓ จึงทรงมีพระบรมราชโองการให้ “กรมหมื่นนุชิตชิโนรส” เจ้าอาวาสวัดพระเชตุพนฯ ดำเนินการตรวจชำระ (...when Phra Ratsuphawadi had led his troops to into Vientiane, what was then sent back to Bangkok—together with a report of the war progress—is the “Laotian edition of *Paṭhamasambodhi* manuscript” that was obtained from a temple in Vientiane City. Thus, King Rama III gave the royal command that “Kromma Muen Nuchitchinorot,” who is the abbot of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple, begin the editing process.)”<sup>20</sup>

### 1.5. Importance of *Paṭhamasambodhi*

The *Paṭhamasambodhi* is important in three respects. Firstly, the *Paṭhamasambodhi* is a rich source of biographical information about the Buddha’s life from the birth of the *Bodhisattva* (Enlightenment Being; candidate for Buddhahood) in *Tusita* Heaven, to his birth as Prince *Siddhartha* on earth and his Parinibbāna. Some but not all editions of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* also give information about events after his Parinibbāna up to the disappearance of the *Sāsana* (the Buddhist religion).

Secondly, it is a living text or “practical canon” well known throughout mainland Southeast Asia, and is still used in Buddhist rituals and sermons.<sup>21</sup> It remains central to lay and monastic Buddhist studies in Thailand and is still on the syllabus of the Thai Buddhist Council’s Dhamma curriculum (T.หลักสูตรนักธรรมและธรรมศึกษา).

Thirdly, the *Paṭhamasambodhi* has been a source of inspiration for Buddhist artists in mainland Southeast Asia for centuries. According to Cœdès, the narrative gives rise to “the mural paintings depicting various episodes in the career of the Blessed One found on the interior walls of Siamese, Laotian, and Cambodian pagodas.”<sup>22</sup> Somwang Inchai

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<sup>20</sup> Phrathepkittipanyakhun (Kittivuḍḍho Bhikkhu), *Thammakai Kaen Traiphop* (Chonburi, Thailand: Djittatabhawan College, 2003), 54.

<sup>21</sup> Anne M. Blackburn, “Looking for the *Vinaya*: Monastic Discipline in the Practical Canons of the Theravāda,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* vol. 22, no. 2 (1999): 282-5.

<sup>22</sup> George Cœdès and Jacqueline Filliozat, ed., *The Paṭhamasambodhi* (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2003), lvi.

states that these murals appear on the interior walls of other religious buildings such as *uposatha* halls (consecrated assembly hall) and *vihāras* (shrine-hall), as well as door panels and window panels, including the inside of *sala kan parian* pavilions (preaching hall).<sup>23</sup> Episodes from that *Paṭhamasambodhi* are used to illustrate *samut khoi* books<sup>24</sup> and painted on Phra Bot (cloth banners used for Buddhist ceremonies).<sup>25</sup>

### 1.5.1. *Paṭhamasambodhi* as a Living Text

Both Somwang Inchai and Donald Swearer have studied and written about the importance of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* for the ritual consecration of Buddha images. The ritual is called “อบรมพระเจ้า (พุทธาภิเษก) (RTGS. Oprom Phrachao (Phutthaphisek/ P. *buddhābhiseka*).”<sup>26</sup> During this ritual (which is still practiced in northeastern Thailand today), the Buddha image is ordained, and the image’s eyes are opened just before dawn (echoing the events of the enlightenment). Buddhist monks who had been invited to sleep (T. จำวัด) in the vicinity of the Oprom Phrachao ceremony must then chant the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta, or a sermon on the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta might be given instead. At this time, a sermon on the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, which is often a concise version that is 15 palm-leaf pages long, will also be delivered.

The use of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* during *buddhābhiseka* can be understood both as the re-enactment of the events of the Buddha’s life (from his birth, ordination, quest for salvation, and enlightenment), and as showing the devotee how to ritually substitute a

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<sup>23</sup>Inchai, “A Comparative Study of Pali Pathamasambodhi in the Lanna and the Central Thai Versions,” 280. The *sala kan parian* pavilion is where Buddhist monks give sermons.

<sup>24</sup> According to So Sethaputra’s *New Model Thai-English Dictionary* (ThaiSoftware Dictionary V.7.0), the term *samutkhoi* (T. สมุดข่อย) means a long book that is made by using pulp from the Uricaceae-family trees. If the pulp of the other trees is used instead, the book is then called Samutthai (T. สมุดไทย).

<sup>25</sup> Peter Skilling, “Paṭa (Phra Bot): Buddhist Cloth Painting of Thailand,” in *Buddhist Legacies in Mainland Southeast Asia: Mentalities, Interpretations and Practices*, ed. François Lagarde and Paritta Chalermpong Koanantakool (Paris; Bangkok: École Française d’Extrême-Orient (Études Thématiques 19); Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre (SAC Publication 61), 2006), 223-75.

<sup>26</sup> “การอบรมพระเจ้า (Kan Oprom Phrachao),” *Saranukrom Wattanatham Thai Chabap Phak Nuea [The Encyclopedia of Thai Culture: Northern Thai Edition]*, ed. Udom Rungueang Si (2000), 7781-5, cited in Inchai, “A Comparative Study of Pali Pathamasambodhi in the Lanna and the Central Thai Versions,” 277-8. In some areas, Oprom Phrachao is called “การบวชพระเจ้า (RTGS. Kan Buat Phrachao) or “โขนตาพระเจ้า (RTGS. Khai Ta Phrachao), or “การอบรมสมโภชพระเจ้า (RTGS. Kan Oprom Somphot Phrachao).”

material image for the body of the Lord Buddha, and that it is believed to have great power. When the *Paṭhamasambodhi* is formally recited in front of a Buddha image made from profane materials such as bricks, rocks, earth, sand, and other bronze alloys, the image is imbued with the Buddha's virtues (or *buddhagūṇas*), which are purity, wisdom, and compassion. Therefore, it becomes sacred, worthy of great respect, and a positive role model for all humankind.<sup>27</sup>

### 1.5.2. *Paṭhamasambodhi* as Iconographic Guide

In addition to decorating sacred manuscripts and Buddhist temples, the depictions of episodes from the *Paṭhamasambodhi* also show the importance of the text for Thai Buddhism. There have been many studies, in Thai, on the way that narrative Buddhist art is used to establish faith and devotion, via direct sensory absorption, in the minds of viewers. A case in point is Somwang Inchai's MA thesis on "A Comparative Study of Pali Pathamasambodhi in the Lanna and the Central Thai Versions."<sup>28</sup> According to Inchai, the *uposatha* halls constructed during the Lanna and Ayutthaya periods generally have no windows and are cave-like in appearance. One reason for this is to encourage devotees to detach from the external distractions outside the *uposatha* hall, and to use the Buddhist images such as those inspired by the *Paṭhamasambodhi* to focus instead on Buddhist themes.

### 1.6. Importance of Mārabandha Episode

The Mārabandha episode is important for a variety of reasons. There is no mention of this episode in Pāli Canon and other life stories of the Buddha such as the *Nidānakathā* and the *Mahāvamsa*, making this story unique to its mainland Southeast Asian context. It is also unique within the genre known as *Paṭhamasambodhi*. Most extant versions of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* are not concerned with what happens to the Sāsana after the Buddha's Parinibbāna and do not contain the Mārabandha. However, the story of the

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<sup>27</sup> See Inchai, "A Comparative Study of Pali Pathamasambodhi in the Lanna and the Central Thai Versions," 278, and Swearer, "Hypostasizing the Buddha," 266-9. According to page 422 of Rajabhat Institute Chiang Mai's *The Northern Thai Dictionary*, the term *suat boek* is the act of chanting before and until sunrise that occurs before *boek net phrachao* (opening the Buddha image's eyes) or *buat phrachao* (the ordination of Buddha image).

<sup>28</sup> Inchai, "A Comparative Study of Pali Pathamasambodhi in the Lanna and the Central Thai Versions," 280-1. For more on the iconographic representation of the *Mārabandha* see below, section 1.6.1.



Mārabandha is widely known in the Lanna regions, and in Myanmar where there is a vibrant cult of Upagupta (P: Upagutta), the monastic protagonist from this episode.

### 1.6.1. Upagutta and the Mārabandha

In the Southeast Asian tradition, Upagutta is a Buddhist saint who is said to have lived in Northwest India one hundred years after the death of the Buddha. Information about Upagutta appears in both the Canon and extracanonical literature in Indian, Tibetan and Southeast Asian sources such as the *Divyāvādāna*, *Avadānaśataka*, *Aśokarājāvādāna*, *Aśokarājasūtra*, *Samyuktāgama-sutra*, *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (alias *Sūtrālamkāra*), *Damamūkanidāna sutra*, Xuanzang's memoirs, the *avadānas*, *Chos ḥbyung*, the *Kubyauk-gyi*'s inscription, *Saddanīti*, *Kaccāyana*, *Lokapaññatti*, *Mahāyāzawin-gyi*, *Hman-Nan-Yazawindawgyi*, *Maha-win wutthu*, *Jinatthapakāsani*, *Phra Paṭhamasambodhikathā*, etc.<sup>29</sup> There are many variations of the Upagutta story. In the episode in the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, Māra (a wicked deity) has been defeated by Upagutta, and has been converted to Buddhism. Upagutta asked Māra, the master of illusion, to miraculously show him the physical bodies of the Buddha and the other two of Buddha's chief disciples, namely, Sāriputta and Moggallāna.<sup>30</sup>

According to John Strong, the story of an encounter between Upagutta and Māra is famous in the "Sanskrit Buddhist world," where many sources provide variants of the legend.<sup>31</sup> The unabridged version of this episode, as Strong proposes, can be divided up into five events, which are:

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<sup>29</sup> John S. Strong, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 9-14.

<sup>30</sup> Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot, *Phra Pathomsomphot Katha*, ed. Phra Phimontham (Dit) of Wat Maha That Temple (Bangkok: Siri Charoen Press 1902), 584.

<sup>31</sup> John S. Strong, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta*, 93.

**Table 1 The Unabridged Form of the Upagutta-and-Māra Legend<sup>32</sup>**

No.	Events	Details
1.	A prologue	Upagutta's motives for dealing with Māra are presented.
2.	A dramatic encounter	Upagutta ties Māra to a garland of corpses after tricking him.
3.	An agreement	If Māra shows Upagutta the Buddha's physical body or Rūpakāya at that very time and place, Upagutta will unbind him.
4.	A caveat	This may result in certain dangers.
5.	A climax	Māra shapes his form into the Buddha's form, to which Upagutta pays obeisance due to his devotion.

The binding of Māra also appears in the *Lokapaññatti*, an important 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> century Pāli cosmological text (which also has earlier Sanskrit antecedents).<sup>33</sup> This text explains that, after briefly tying Māra with a dead dog, Upagutta then bound him with his *kāyabandhana*, or monastic belt, by fastening it round the waist of Māra, supernaturally extending its length, and tying it round the top of a mountain.<sup>34</sup> Māra remained bound for seven years, thus allowing King Asoka to successfully stage his merit-making festival.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 12. John Strong states that the *Lokapaññatti* might be a reworking of the Sanskrit-original *Lokaprajñapti*, which is still existing in the Chinese *Tripitaka* and closely associated with the *Lokapaññatti*, except that it does not include Upagutta's story. In addition, Strong presumes that Saddhammaghosa added the story of Upagutta to the *Lokapaññatti* due to other strengths of the Sanskrit traditions. In addition, it can be seen on page 350 of Frank and Mani Reynolds's book, *Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology* (1982), that the *Lokapaññatti* is one of several sacred texts incorporated into *The Sermon on the Three Worlds*.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 99.

As a case in point, there is a huge image at Wat Uppakhut Temple in Chiang Mai province in Northern Thailand, which depicts the elder Upagutta gripping the edge of his *kāyabandhana* or monastic waistband in preparation for binding Māra. Also, a mural painting at Wat Bunyavat Temple in Lampang province in Northern Thailand portrays Māra with a dog's corpse around his neck and being fastened to a stone by a Buddhist monastic belt.

### 1.7. Lexicon of the Mārabandha

The Mārabandha episode has been defined in the following ways by Thai lexical sources. Looking briefly at these sources gives one a sense of the specific ways in which Māra is understood in the Thai Buddhist tradition. This will, in turn, help readers make sense of the translation of the episode in the following chapters.

According to Suthiwong Phongphaibun, the name of chapter 28 in the Siamese Thai *Paṭhamasambodhi* of Paramanuchit is มารพันชปริวัตต์ (P. Mārabandhaparivatta). Phongphaibun translates this title into Thai as “ว่าด้วยการผูกมัดพยามาร (On Tying Māra).”<sup>35</sup> In addition, Bunma translated this term as “เรื่องราวบ่วงผูกของมาร (The Māra's Bonds Chronicle).” Moreover, he states that stories about Māra are always related to the Buddha and his disciples:

เรื่องราวของมาร<sup>๓๕</sup> นี้มีความเกี่ยวข้องกับพระพุทธเจ้าและสาวกอยู่เสมอ สำหรับพระพุทธเจ้านั้นมารเฝ้าติดตามรังควานและขัดขวางการบำเพ็ญเพียรมาตลอด ตั้งแต่ยังเป็นเจ้าชายสิทธัตถะเริ่มออกบวชเป็นต้นมา ถึงแม้จะตรัสรู้เป็นพระสัมมาสัมพุทธเจ้าแล้วก็ยังตามรบกวนอยู่มิได้ขาด ทั้งนี้เพื่อจะทำให้พระพุทธเจ้าไม่ประสบผลสำเร็จในสิ่งที่ต้องประสงค์ พญามารที่ตามขัดขวางพระพุทธเจ้านี้มีชื่อว่าวัสสวดีมารจัดอยู่ในจำพวกเทพเจ้าเหมือนกัน มีนิवासสถานอยู่ในสวรรค์ชั้นปรนิมมิตสวัตติ ซึ่งเป็นสวรรค์ชั้นที่ ๖ ในโลกามาวจร ถึงแม้จะเป็นเทพ ก็มีได้อยู่ร่วมกับเทพเจ้าในสวรรค์ชั้นนั้น หากแต่มีพลบริวารของตนอยู่ต่างหากเป็นสัดส่วน

ส่วนเหตุที่ทำให้พญามารได้ไปเกิดในสวรรค์ชั้นที่ ๖ นั้น เนื่องมาจากในอดีตชาติเคยเกิดในมนุษย์โลกเป็นกุลบุตรคนหนึ่ง ต่อมาได้มีโอกาสพบพระพุทธเจ้าพระองค์หนึ่ง และได้บำเพ็ญกุศลกรรม ในสำนักของพระพุทธเจ้าพระองค์นั้น โดยตั้งความปรารถนาให้เกิดเป็นพญามาร ด้วยกุศลผลบุญที่ได้ทำไว้ เมื่อถึงแก่ชีวิตจึงได้เกิดเป็นพญามารสมความปรารถนา

(Stories about Māra<sup>129</sup> are always related to the Buddha and his disciples. As for the Buddha, Māra kept pursuing him in order to persecute him and obstruct his

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<sup>35</sup> Suthiwong Phongphaibun, *Upakon Wannakhadi Phutthasatsana: Khumue Phra Pathomsomphot Katha [Buddhist Literature Apparatus: The Handbook of Phra Pathomsomphot Katha]* (Nakhon Luang: Thai Watana Panich Co., Ltd., 1972), 127.

efforts to attain Buddhahood, for at the time he was still Prince Siddhattha and only at the beginning of his ordination. Although having become Buddha, Māra continued in following and pestering him constantly in order to hinder the Buddha's success in his goals. This Māra, who kept obstructing the Buddha, is called Vassavatī Māra—he is reckoned as a god, and his dwelling place is in Paranimmisavatti Heaven, which is the sixth level of the heavens in *cha kama wachon* (the six heavens). Although being a god, he does not dwell in the same place with other gods in that Heaven, but has his own servants in a separate domain.

As for the cause of Māra's rebirth in the sixth level of the heavens; in one of his previous lives, he was reborn in the human world as a son of a wealthy family. In this life he had the opportunity to meet a Buddha, and performed meritorious deeds in the religion of that Buddha, making a wish to be reborn as Māra. Due to the merits and fruits he had accumulated during his life, when he passed away he was reborn as Māra, fully satisfying the wish).<sup>36</sup>

Mārabandhaparivatta consists of three words that are “มาร-พันธ-ปริวัตต (*māra-bandha-parivatta*).”<sup>37</sup> According to *The Royal Institute Dictionary BE 2542*, the term “มาร (*māra*)” can be defined as:

น. เทวดาจำพวกหนึ่ง มีใจบาปหยาบช้าคอยกีดกันไม่ให้ทำบุญ; ยักษ์; ผู้ฆ่า, ผู้ทำลาย, ในพระพุทธศาสนาหมายถึงผู้กีดกันบุญกุศล มี ๕ อย่าง เรียกว่า เบญจพิชมาร คือ ชนธมาร กิเลสมาร อภิสังขารมาร มัจจุมาร เทวานุตรมาร, โดยปริยายหมายถึงผู้ที่เป็นอุปสรรคขัดขวาง. (ป., ส.). (Noun. A type of deity that has a wicked mind and obstructs the accumulation of merits; Yakkha; killer, destroyer. In Buddhism, *māra* means the obstructors of either a boon or merits. *Māra* consists of five types (which can be called *bencha phitha man*, or the five kinds of *māra*), namely: *khandha-māra*, *kilesa-māra*, *abhisāṅkhāra-māra*, *maccu-māra*, and *devaputta-māra*. By implication this term means an obstructor. [Origin: Pāli, Sanskrit]).<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Phraya Thammapracha (Kaeo), *Traibhum Lokavinichayakathā* (Phra Nakhon: The Fine Arts Department, 1977), 3:242-3, cited in Samoe Bunma, *Attathibai Lae Wikhro Sap Nai Pathomsomphot Katha [Explanation and Analysis of Vocabularies in Pathomsomphot Katha]* (Bangkok: Prakaiphruet Publishing Limited Partnership, 1993), 236.

<sup>37</sup> Bunma, *Attathibai Lae Wikhro Sap Nai Pathomsomphot Katha*, 236.

<sup>38</sup> “มาร,” *The Royal Institute Dictionary BE 2542*, 1999, <<http://rirs3.royin.go.th/dictionary.asp>> (27 March 2014).

In addition, the *Thai-English Dictionary* defines this term as “P.S. n. Mara, the evil one; the tempter; the destroyer of goodness; an obstacle; hindrance; destruction; a slayer (S.E.D. p. 811); a demon; a wicked angel (ala. p. 149)...”<sup>39</sup>

Furthermore, the *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition* defines the term *māra* as “...death; usually personified as Np. Death, the Evil one, the Tempter (the Buddhist Devil or Principle of Destruction). Sometimes the term *māra* is applied to the whole of the worldly existence, or the realm of rebirth, as opposed to Nibbāna...”<sup>40</sup>

Thus, one can see that *Māra* has a very specific character in the Thai tradition. On the one hand, *Māra* is the force of darkness that is opposed to the force of goodness by its very nature. On the other hand, the deities who are *Māra*, like *Vasavattī Māra* in the *Mārabandha*, are sentient beings who were under the influence of *karma* (wholesome and unwholesome volition).

In *Paramanuchit’s Paṭhamasambodhi*, *Māra* is both demon and a deity, a sentient being subject to *karma*.<sup>41</sup> This ambiguous *Māra* appears when *Upagutta* asks him to show him the Buddha’s *Rūpakāya*. He explains to *Māra* that because the historical Buddha who came to the earth had already entered *Parinibbāna*, he could only see the *Dhammakāya*, but had not yet seen the Buddha’s *Rūpakāya*. *Māra* agrees to transform himself into the historical Buddha’s *Rūpakāya*, and also shows him *Sāriputta’s* and *Moggallāna’s* physical bodies.

According to *Strong*, *Māra’s svadharmā*, or duty to his status, is not evident in the earliest Buddhist texts where he always acts wickedly, represents Death and Lust, and tries to

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<sup>39</sup> George Bradley McFarland, “มร,” *Thai-English Dictionary* (Bangkok: The Bangkok Times Press, Ltd., 1941), 649. According to the “VII. ABBREVIATIONS” section on page “xix” of this dictionary, “P.” stands for “Pali,” and “S.” stands for “Sanskrit”; according to the “VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY” section on page “xxi” of this dictionary, the symbol “S.E.D.” refers to “Sir Monier Monier-Williams, M.A., K.C.I.E.: *Sanskrit-English dictionary*. Oxford, 1899.

<sup>40</sup> Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Foundation and Pali Text Society, “Māra,” *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition*, vol. 6, ed. Thomas William Rhys Davids and William Stede (Bangkok: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Foundation Press, 1991), 2748. Np. Stands for “name of person.”

<sup>41</sup> Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty, *The Origin of Evil in Hindu Mythology* (Berkeley, 1976), 213, cited in *Strong, The Legend and Cult of Upagutta*, 103.

prevent the propagation of the teaching of the Buddha at every turn.”<sup>42</sup> Here, the Buddha does not attempt to convert Māra, but only chases him away. From this, Strong concludes that Māra is “at least in early Buddhist texts, a demon by definition, and there is no hint that his nature might be changed by an act of conversion.”<sup>43</sup> However, Māra’s character changes when Upagutta’s story emerges in the *Divyāvadāna*, where Māra was converted by Upagutta and promised him that he would not hound Buddhist monks anymore.<sup>44</sup> In this narrative, Māra’s realisation of the Buddha’s glory, power, and venerability awakens him and leads him to conversion. Māra’s conversion, according to Strong, reflects the growth of Mahāyāna teachings about “the potential Buddhahood of all beings, including the Evil One” and the rise of *bhakti*.<sup>45</sup>

### 1.8. Comparison of the Mārabandha Episodes

There are many versions of the story of Upagutta and his encounters with Māra. For example, the *Lokapaññatti* relates that upon being bound with Upagutta’s monastic belt to the top of a mountain for seven years, Māra vowed to attain perfect enlightenment and become a Buddha in the future. In Paramanuchit’s Mārabandha, it also mentions this vow, stating that Upagutta bound Māra to the mountain for seven years, seven months, and seven days, until King Asoka’s meritorious ceremony was finally completed.<sup>46</sup> The *Divyāvadāna*, a Sanskrit text dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, explains that Māra first asks the gods to help him undo the bindings that hold the dog’s carcass around his neck, but

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<sup>42</sup> Strong, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta*, 103.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. According to Hellmuth Hecker, “Maha-Moggallana,” *Access to Insight (Legacy Edition)*, <<http://www.accesstoinsight.org/lib/authors/hecker/wheel263.html>> (16 July 2014), the possibility that *devaputta māras* could turn to good and attain Buddhahood seems to be stated in Pāli Canon. The case in point is the Chief Disciple Mahā Moggallāna who, according to Majjhima Nikāya No. 50, revealed to the Māra who attacked him on his last days that he was born as Māra (named Māra Dusi) during the time of the first Buddha in this *bhadda-kappa* (a fortunate aeon with five Buddhas), the Kakusanda Buddha. His sister named Kali had a son who became Māra in the Gautama Buddha’s time, thus the Māra in front of him was indeed his nephew.

<sup>44</sup> *Divyāvadāna*, ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil (Cambridge: 1886), 360, cited in Strong, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta*, 104. For the English translation, see: John S. Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka: A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna* trans. John S. Strong (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 192.

<sup>45</sup> Strong, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta*, 104.

<sup>46</sup> Paramanuchitchinorot, *Phra Pathomsomphot Katha*, 581-3.

without success.<sup>47</sup> While the other narratives mention the deities that Māra sought help from, the names of the deities are different. As for Paramanuchit's Mārabandha, the names of the deities from whom Māra sought help are: the Four Heavenly Kings, Indra, Suyāma, Santusita, and Sahapati Mahābrahmā.<sup>48</sup> As for the *Divyāvadāna*, those from whom Māra sought help are: Mahendra, Rudra, Upendra, Draviṇeśvara, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, Vasāva, and Lord Brahmā.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Divyāvadāna*, 358, cited in Strong, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta*, 101.

<sup>48</sup> Paramanuchitchinorot, *Phra Pathomsomphot Katha*, 579-80.

<sup>49</sup> *Divyāvadāna*, 358, cited in Strong, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta*, 101.

## Chapter 2 The *Paṭhamasambodhi* of Paramanuchit

In this chapter, I will consider existing scholarship on the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, discuss the biography of Paramanuchitchinorot as well as the history of his temple (Wat Phra Chetuphon), and elucidate the relation between the *Paṭhamasambodhi* of Paramanuchit and other versions of the *Paṭhamasambodhi*.

### 2.1. General Introduction to the *Paṭhamasambodhi*

#### 2.1.1. *Paṭhamasambodhi* Typology

In the figurative sense of the word, *Paṭhamasambodhi* or “ปฐมสมโพธิ (RTGS. Pathommasomphot, Pathomsomphot) refers to a biography of the Buddha.<sup>50</sup> When written in Thai, *Paṭhamasambodhi* is preceded by the honorific พระ (RTGS. “Phra”; Sanskrit/Pāli *vara*: “noble”; “holiness”; “perfection”; “venerable”) and is followed by the Sanskrit/Pāli term कथा, *kathā*: “words”; “statement”; “explanation”; “book”; “literary work.”<sup>51</sup>

According to Bamphen Rawin (former head of the Department of Thai, Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University, Thailand), the *Paṭhamasambodhi* originated in the Buddhist Canon and Commentaries. The narrative describes “a human who was born in luxury, instead of being bound to the world, giving up everything for the sake of ‘supreme happiness’ and ‘all humankind.’”<sup>52</sup> The *Paṭhamasambodhi* emphasises the uniqueness of the final life of Prince Siddhartha who, among the countless kings in the world, is the

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<sup>50</sup> “ปฐมสมโพธิ,” *The Royal Institute Dictionary BE 2542*, 1999, <<http://rirs3.royin.go.th/dictionary.asp>> (19 March 2014); Phongphaibun, *Upakon Wannakhadi Phutthasatsana*, 1; Bunma, *Attathibai Lae Wikhro Sap Nai Pathomsomphot Katha*, ๓; “Pathamasambodhi,” *Buddhist Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* <[http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali\\_names/dic\\_idx.html](http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali_names/dic_idx.html)> (27 March 2014).

<sup>51</sup> Phongphaibun, *Upakon Wannakhadi Phutthasatsana*, 1.

<sup>52</sup> Bamphen Rawin, *Pathomsomphot Samnuan Lanna [Lān-Nā Paṭhamasambodhi]* (Bangkok: Odeon Store, 1992), preface.



only one who focused his mind on “enlightenment.” These ideas, Rawin asserted, are held in common by both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Buddhists.<sup>53</sup>

An important theme in the *Paṭhamasambodhi* is that all humans have the potential to achieve Buddhahood.<sup>54</sup> For example, one of the teachings of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* (in chapter 20, *Metteyyabuddhavyākaraṇa*), is that there is “an embryo Buddha (T. พุทธขัณฑูร, P. *Buddhaṃkūra*)” in every human, and that “the body of the Buddha will exist eternally (องค์แห่งพุทธะนั้นจะมิอยู่ตลอดกาล).”

Unlike many of the other lives of the Buddha, the *Paṭhamasambodhi* provides information about the history of Buddhism after the Parinibbāna. For example, chapters 27 (*Dhātuvibhajjana*), 28 (*Mārabandhana*), and 29 (*Pañca- (or Dhātu-) antaradhāna*) take place before or during the Asokan period.<sup>55</sup>

In his article, Anant Laulertvorakul (now a lecturer at the Department of Thai, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand) categorised *Paṭhamasambodhi* into ten editions.<sup>56</sup> His categorisation is based on several facts. Firstly, several hundred manuscripts of *Paṭhamasambodhi*, and at least ten editions, have been located.<sup>57</sup> Secondly, they were written in four languages: (1) The Tai dialects (including Tai Khoeun, Tai Lue, Lao, Northeastern Thai, Northern Thai, and Siamese Thai); (2) Pāli; (3) Mon; and (4) Cambodian. Thirdly, various compositional styles are employed to compose the manuscripts, such as: single language and binary languages (Pāli and a

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Bamphen Rawin, *Pathomsomphot Chabap Lanna [Lān-Nā Padhamasambodhi]* (Chiang Mai: Sun songsoem tamra lae ekkasan wichakan mahawittayalai Chiang Mai, 1988), ix-x.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., x, xiv-xv.

<sup>56</sup> Anant Laulertvorakul, “Paṭhamasambodhi in Nine Languages: Their Relationship and Evolution,” *MANUSYA: Journal of Humanities* vol. 6, no. 1 (2003): 14-18. For more information about his works and publications, see <<http://www.thai.arts.chula.ac.th/thai/staffs/anant2.html>> (20 November 2015), <<http://intranet.arts.chula.ac.th/artschula/icommand/icmdprof-thai.asp?mode=popup&ifmid=0010000101001001%2F490417-00005>> (20 November 2015), and <[www.car.chula.ac.th/cop/profile/Anant.L/?ref=education](http://www.car.chula.ac.th/cop/profile/Anant.L/?ref=education)> (20 November 2015).

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 11.

vernacular); elaborate enumeration and concision; prose and verse; and the use of *nissaya* and non-*nissaya* styles of translation.<sup>58</sup>

**Table 2 Versions of *Paṭhamasambodhi*<sup>59</sup>**

No.	Editions
1.	The Lanna Pāli Version (LPL)
2.	The Late Pāli Recensions (LPR)
2.1	The 16-19 Chapter Recension (LPRa)
2.2	The 22 Chapter Recension (LPRb)
2.3	The 30 Chapter Recension (LPRc)
3.	The Mon Version (MON)
4.	The Cambodian Version (CBD)
5.	The Siamese Thai Version (SMT)
6.	The Thai Yuan or Lanna Thai or Northern Thai Version (TY)
6.1	The Thai Yuan Concise Subversion (TYC)
6.2	The Thai-Yuan Enumerated Sub-Version (TYE)
7.	The Northeastern Thai or Isan Version (NET)
8.	The Lao Version (L)
8.1	The Pāli-Lao Nissaya (PLN)

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. For more information about *nissaya* and non-*nissaya* styles of translation, see Justin McDaniels' book: *Gathering Leaves & Lifting Words*. [Justin Thomas McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves & Lifting Words: Histories of Buddhist Monastic Education in Laos and Thailand* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).]

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 12-18. Laulertvorakul separates them into two groups with regard to their related content. The first group comprises the TLE, the TKN, the PLN, the PYS, the PYE, and the LPL, and gives an account of the life of Buddha until the Buddha's first preaching to the Five Ascetics. The second group consisting of the SMT, the NET, the LVV, the CBD, the MON, and the LPR, also recounts the life of Buddha after the first sermon.

No.	Editions
8.2	The Lao Verse Version (LVV)
9.	The Tai Khoeun Version (TKN)
10.	The Tai Lue Version (TL)
10.1	The Tai Lue Concise Subversion (TLC)
10.2	The Tai Lue Enumerated Subversion (TLE)

Paramanuchit’s Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi* belongs to Laulertvorakul’s second category shown in Table 1, the Late Pāli Recensions (LPR).<sup>60</sup> More specifically, it belongs to the sub-category 2.3, the 30 Chapter Recension (LPRc). Paramanuchit’s old Thai translation of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* belongs to Laulertvorakul’s fifth category, Siamese Thai Version (SMT).<sup>61</sup>

#### 2.1.2. The Structure of the *Paṭhamasambodhi*

Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* contains 30 bundles (*phūk*) or episodes.<sup>62</sup> The title of the first two episodes – Vivāhamaṅgalakathā – are identical, but chapter 1 is the first part (or มุพภาค, P. *pubbabhāga* of the Vivāhamaṅgalakathā episode) and chapter 2 is the second or final part (T. ปัจฉิมภาค, P. *pacchimbhāga*) of the Vivāhamaṅgalakathā.<sup>63</sup> Thus, Cœdès categorised Paramanuchit’s thirty-bundle palm-leaf *Paṭhamasambodhi* as having 29

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>62</sup> Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot, *Paṭhamasambodhi (Pāli Language): Transliterated into the Thai Alphabet from a Palm Leaf Manuscript Written in Khmer Characters*, ed. Phra Thammarajanuwat, Phra Maha Suraphon Jitañāno, et al. (Bangkok: Sahathammik Co. Ltd., 1994), iv.

<sup>63</sup> Suphaphan Na Bangchang, *Wiwattanakan Wannakadi Bali Sai Phra Suttantapidok Thi Taeng Nai Prathet Thai [Evolution of the Pāli Literature of Suttantapiṭaka Lineage That Was Composed in Thailand]* (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Printing House, 1990), 164.

episodes.<sup>64</sup> The contents of each episode of Paramanuchit's *Paṭhamasambodhi* have been summarised by Wingworn.<sup>65</sup> I translate these summaries into English here, to give the reader a better sense of the broader narrative in which the Mārabandha episode occurs.

**Table 3 Name of the Episodes in the *Paṭhamasambodhi* of Paramanuchitchinorot<sup>66</sup>**

No.	Episode names in Pāli	Episode names in English
1.	Vivāhamaṅgalakathā (2 bundles)	The story of the marriage of the Buddha's parents
2.	Tusita	[The Buddha's life in the] Tusita [heaven]
3.	Gabbhābhinikkhamana	The Buddha's birth
4.	Lakkhaṇapariggaha	The examination of the characteristic marks [by Asita]
5.	Rājābhiseka	The consecration
6.	Mahābhinikkhamana	The great departure
7.	Dukkarakiriya	The ascetic practices
8.	Buddhapūjā	Adoration of the Buddha [by Sujātā]
9.	Māravijaya	The defeat of Māra
10.	Abhisambodhi	The awakening
11.	Bodhisabbaññu	The omniscience [of the Buddha]
12.	Brahmajjhesanā	Brahmā's invitation
13.	Dhammacakka	[Setting into motion] the wheel of the Law
14.	Yasapabbajjā	Yasa's entry into the religious life
15.	Uruvelagamana	The visit to Uruvela

<sup>64</sup> Cœdès, *The Paṭhamasambodhi*, lvi. The Siamese Thai Version (SMT) of Paramanuchit's *Paṭhamasambodhi* which had been translated from the Pāli version of the same author also merges the first two chapters on Vivāhamaṅgalakathā into one chapter, thus consisting of 29 episodes.

<sup>65</sup> Saowanich Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Nippon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot [Detailed Analysis of the Literary Works of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanuchitchinot]* (Bangkok: Sahadhammik Press, 1998), 78-85. Associate Professor Saowanich Wingworn teaches a paper on the Literary Works of Prince Paramanuchit in the Department of Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Kasetsart University, Thailand; a list of her publications can be seen at <[http://lit.human.ku.ac.th/\\_2012/sn-12/page12.html](http://lit.human.ku.ac.th/_2012/sn-12/page12.html)> (20 November 2015) and <<http://research.rdi.ku.ac.th/forest/Person.aspx?id=240600>> (20 November 2015).

<sup>66</sup> Cœdès, *The Paṭhamasambodhi*, lvi-lvii.

No.	Episode names in Pāli	Episode names in English
16.	Aggasāvakaḥabbajā	The chief disciples' entry into the religious life
17.	Kapilavatthugamaṇa	The visit to Kapilavatthu
18.	Bimbāvilāpa	The lamentation of Bimbā
19.	Sākyaṛājabhajā	The King of the Sākya's entry into the religious life
20.	Metteyyabuddhavyākaraṇa	The prediction concerning Buddha Metteyya
21.	Buddhapitunibbāna	The <i>nirvāṇa</i> of the Buddha's father
22.	Yamakapāṭihāriya	The twin marvel
23.	Desanā	The teaching [of the Buddha to his mother]
24.	Devorohana	The descent from heaven
25.	Aggasāvakanibbāna	The <i>nirvāṇa</i> of the chief disciples
26.	Mahāparinibbāna	<i>Parinirvāṇa</i>
27.	Dhātuvibhajjana	Distribution of the relics
28.	Mārabandhana	The subjugation of Māra [by Upagupta]
29.	Pañca- (or Dhātu-) antaradhāna	The disappearance [of the religion] in five periods or the disappearance of the relics

Chapter 1, Vivāhamaṅgalakathā, is about the Śākya and the Koliya dynasties, the construction of Kapilavastu, Prince Suddhodana's marriage with Princess Māyā and coronation.<sup>67</sup> Chapter 2, Tusita, describes how the Bodhisattva, having perfected all *pāramīs* (perfection, ten virtuous qualities leading to Buddhahood), was born in the Tusita Heaven.<sup>68</sup> Gods and goddesses requested him to descend to the womb of Queen Māyā. Chapter 3, Gabbhābhinnikkhamaṇa, explains how the Bodhisattva descended from Tusita transmigrated into Queen Maya's womb, and was born at Lumbinī on the full moon day of the sixth lunar month.

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<sup>67</sup> Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Niphoṇ Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 78.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

Chapter 4, Lakkhaṇapariggaha, relates that King Suddhodana invited eight brahmins to physiognomically predict the prince's future.<sup>69</sup> Seven brahmins predicted that the if prince remained a layman, he would become a Universal Monarch. However, if the prince took up religious life he would become a Buddha. The youngest brahmin, Kondaṇṇa, predicted that the prince would abandon lay life, and become a Buddha. In Chapter 5, Rājābhiseka, King Suddhodana forbade his son from having any contact with the Four Signs (an aged person, a sick person, the deceased, and a monk) fearing that such contact would be the cause of the prince's taking up religious life. When Prince Siddhattha was sixteen years old, the king ordered the construction of three royal palaces to be the residence of the prince during each of the three seasons. The king then asked his royal relatives to send their daughters to marry the prince. The prince chose Princess Bimbā to be his chief wife.

Chapter 6, Mahābhikkhamana, relates that the prince, when he was 29 years old, visited a royal park and saw the Four Signs.<sup>70</sup> On that night he ordered Channa to prepare the horse Kanthaka, rode away from the palace, and cut off his topknot and entered the priesthood on the bank of the River Anomā. Chapter 7, Dukkarakiriya, describes how the *samaṇa* (monk) Siddhattha went to study at Ālāra Kālāma's school and Uddhaka-Rāmaputta's school respectively, but realised that these schools were not the path to enlightenment. Thereupon, he went to Uruvelā where he practiced self-mortification and was served by five ascetics for six years. After realising that the Middle Way is the path to enlightenment, he abandoned self-mortification, and began once again to eat and receive food offerings.

In chapter 8, Buddhapūjā, on the full moon day of the sixth lunar month, Sujātā, the daughter of the village headman, offered *madhupayasa* (sweet milk-rice) to Siddhattha.<sup>71</sup> Having eaten his meal, he floated a golden tray on the River Nerañjarā, then went and sat beneath the Bodhi Tree. The brahmin Sotthiya offered grass to him for sitting on.

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 80.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 80-81.

Siddhattha vowed that he would not get up from that position if he did not attain enlightenment. Chapter 9, *Māravijaya*, describes how Vasavattī Māra and his army attacked Siddhattha in order to seize the throne of enlightenment.<sup>72</sup> All the deities and Brahma gods surrounding him fled and Siddhattha was left to face Māra's army on his own. First, Māra's weapons were turned into flowers. Next, Māra announced his claim to the seat of enlightenment. At this point Siddhattha declared that he had a right to the throne, and called the Earth Mother as witness. The Earth Mother squeezed water out of her hair and Māra and his army were swept away in a flood.

Chapter 10, *Abhisambodhi*, relates how on the full moon night of the sixth lunar month, Siddhattha attained each *ñāṇa* (miraculous knowledge) during each four-hour watch of the night, and attained enlightenment at dawn.<sup>73</sup> Chapter 11, *Bodhisabbañṇu*, explains that after attaining enlightenment, the Buddha enjoyed the bliss of emancipation in seven places, spending one week in each location. In the seventh week, two merchant brothers named Tapussa and Bhallika brought rice cakes to offer to the Buddha and became the first disciples of the Buddha. In chapter 12, *Brahmajjhesanā*, the Buddha became discouraged about teaching sentient beings because his Dhamma is deep and profound, being difficult for people who are overwhelmed by defilements to comprehend. The Mahābrahmā god Sahampati came down from heaven and invited the Buddha to save humankind from sin, and the Buddha agreed.

In chapter 13, *Dhammacakka*, the Buddha reflected upon a worthy audience to hear his Dhamma.<sup>74</sup> He went to the Isipatana Forest, and arrived on the full moon day of the eighth lunar month. On that day, he preached the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* to the five ascetics (P. *pañcavaggiya*). In chapter 14, *Yasapabbajjā*, the Buddha ordained the *pañcavaggiyas* as Buddhist monks; after this, they became Arhats (the Holy Ones).<sup>75</sup> Yasa listened to the Buddha's sermon, and requested ordination. His father, mother, and

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 82.

wife also declared themselves *upāsaka* (Buddhist laymen) and *upāsikā* (Buddhist laywomen). Fifty-four friends also asked for *pabbajjā* (ordination) and subsequently became Arhats.

In chapter 15, Uruvelagamana, the Buddha performed *pavāraṇā* (the act of asking others to advise one of one's fault or inappropriate behaviour) on the last day of Buddhist Lent, after which he travelled towards Uruvelā.<sup>76</sup> There he preached to the three *jaṭila-brother* ascetics and their 1,000 followers; all of them asked for *pabbajjā* and subsequently became Arhats. The Buddha went further to Rājagaha, and preached to King Bimbisāra until the king attained the *sotāpanna* (one who has attained the first stage of holiness). Chapter 16, Aggasāvaka-pabbajā, describes how Upatissa met the monk Assaji. When Assaji gave a sermon, Upatissa attained *sotāpanna*. After attaining *sotāpanna*, Upatissa went to ask Kolita to accompany him and seek an audience with the Buddha. After listening to Upatissa expound the Dhamma, Kolita also attained *sotāpanna*. Thereupon, Upatissa, Kolita and their 250 attendants requested *pabbajjā* and subsequently became Arhats.

Chapter 17, Kapilavatthugamana, relates that the royal counsellor Kāludāyī urged King Suddhodana to invite the Buddha to Kapilavastu. Kāludāyī was ordained a Buddhist monk, and seven days later, he invited the Buddha to go to visit the Buddha's royal relatives.<sup>77</sup> The Buddha performed a miracle—there was a miraculous *pokkharavassa* rain (miraculous ruby-coloured rain that is like drops of water falling on lotus leaves, T. ໂປກທຣພຣຽຍ)—and the Buddha gave a sermon on the Vessantara Jātaka. Chapter 18, Bimbāvilāpa, tells how King Suddhodana invited the Buddha to receive alms in the royal palace.<sup>78</sup> The queen consort, Pajāpati, had an audience with the Buddha, and listened to the Buddha's sermon until she realised the splendid Dhamma. Princess Bimbā, having

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 83.



heard the news of the Buddha's arrival at Kapilavastu, suffered heartache. The Buddha gave a sermon on the Candakinnara Jātaka, and she attained *sotāpanna*.

In chapter 19, Sākyarājapabbajā, the Buddha ordained many of his royal relatives as Buddhist monks.<sup>79</sup> Prince Rāhula was also ordained as a novice. The monk Devadatta schemed to get rid of the Buddha, devising a ploy for Prince Ajātasattu to kill his father and take over the throne, and worked to stir up a schism within the monastic community. Afterwards, he became gravely ill, and was swallowed by the earth. Chapter 20, Metteyyabuddhavyākaraṇa, tells that Prince Ajita entered the priesthood and that Queen Pajapati offered two pieces of *sāṭaka* cloth to the Buddha. The Buddha refused to accept them, and neither did the other Buddhist Saints. Instead the monk Ajita accepted the cloth to offer to the Buddha, and made a wish to be a future Buddha. The Buddha prophesied that he would become a Buddha named Metteyya in this *bhadda-kappa*.

Chapter 21, Buddhapitunibbāna, relates that when the Buddha knew that his biological father was gravely ill, he went to give a sermon until his father attained arahantship.<sup>80</sup> Thereupon, the king passed away, entering Nirvāṇa (the Unconditioned). Queen Pajapati asked permission for female ordination. Princess Bimbā, another 250 women in the Śākya Family, and the royal maids also asked permission for female ordination. Afterwards, they all attained arhantship. In chapter 22, Yamakapāṭihāriya, the monk Pindola Bhāradvāja performed a miracle. After this, the Buddha prohibited the *bhikkhus* (Buddhist monks) from performing miracles. The priests of other religions announced that they would perform miracles in order to compete with the Buddha. The Buddha performed the *yamaka-pāṭihāriya* miracle (twin miracle); then gave a sermon at a place near Sāvatti.

Chapter 23, Desanā, describes how the Buddha ascended to Tavatimsa heaven in order to preach to his biological mother, who dwelled in Tusita heaven, and whom the monarchical god Indra invited to Tavatimsa.<sup>81</sup> The Buddha gave a sermon on the seven

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 84.

books of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* (the third division of the *Tipiṭaka* consisting of seven books), and his mother, Siri Mahā Māyā, attained *sotāpanna*. Chapter 24, Devorohana, describes that after spending three months in Tavatimsa heaven during *vassa* (Buddhist Lent), the Buddha descended from that heaven and performed a miracle that enabled all sentient beings in the 10,000 *lokadhātu* (universe) to see each other. He descended to the earth at a place near Sankassa where a large number of people had come to receive him.

Chapter 25, Aggasāvakanibbāna, describes that in the 45<sup>th</sup> year of the Buddha's ordination after the last day of Buddhist Lent, the monk Sāriputta visited his mother and preached a sermon until she attained *sotāpanna*, and then passed away going to Nirvāṇa.<sup>82</sup> The monk Moggallāna let bandits catch and beat him until his bones broke. Then Moggallāna miraculously joined his crushed bones back together, and then went to see the Buddha, later passing away into Nirvāṇa. Chapter 26, Mahāparinibbāna, relates that the Buddha became seriously ill when he was 80 years of age. Māra came to demand that he pass away into Nirvāṇa. The Buddha agreed to enter Parinibbāna in three months' time. Then, he visited several cities until he arrived at Kusinārā. There, the Buddha gave his last sermon, and then attained Parinibbāna on the full moon day of the sixth lunar month.

Chapter 27, Dhātuvibhajjana, relates that after having cremated the physical body of the Buddha, several kings disputed the possession of the holy relics. The brahmin Dona divided the Buddha's relics fairly between the kings.<sup>83</sup> Dona also requested permission to own and worship the golden container that was used for collecting and dividing the holy relics. In chapter 28, Mārabandhana, the elder Mahā Kassapa, having consulted with King Ajātasattu, gathered the Buddha's relics together from six places and built a *stūpa* (a bell-shaped or conical building where relics are enshrined) over them. Two hundred and eighteen years later, King Asoka brought the holy relics out from the *stūpa* and, installed them into *cetiya*s (*stūpa*'s alternative name) in every city in Jambudvīpa.<sup>84</sup> Then

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 84-85.

he planned to perform the ceremony of worshipping the Buddha’s relics. The Sangha (the community of Buddhist monks) invited the monk Upagutta to come and prevent the threat from Māra. Māra attempted to ruin the ceremony, but the monk Upagutta was able to protect the ceremony until it finished.

Last but not least, chapter 29, Pañca- (or Dhātu-) antaradhāna, is about the five disappearances of Buddhism which are: *pariyattī antaradhāna* (the disappearance of the Scriptures and their study); *paṭipattī antaradhāna* (the disappearance of Buddhist practice); *paṭivedha antaradhāna* (the disappearance of Attainment); *liṅga antaradhāna* (the disappearance of the characteristics of the Buddhist monk); and *dhātu antaradhāna* (the disappearance of the Buddha’s relics).<sup>85</sup> *Dhātu antaradhāna* implies that when no one worships the Buddha’s relics that are installed in various places anymore, all the Buddha’s relics will miraculously gather at the place that the Buddha attained enlightenment; there, a fire will occur that will burn the holy relics until they cease to exist.

### 2.1.3. Date of the Text

According to George Cœdès (1886-1969)—a French scholar of Southeast Asia who laid the foundation for archaeological, historical, and inscriptional studies in Thailand—the *Gandhavaṃsa* describes the *Paṭhamasambodhi* as “having been written in Ceylon.”<sup>86</sup> However, Cœdès notes that *Paṭhamasambodhi* is generally unknown in Sri Lanka.<sup>87</sup> Anant Lualertvorakul mentions in his recent study that it is widespread at least amongst five regions in mainland Southeast Asia—namely, Lao, Cambodia, Sipsongpanna in

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 85.

<sup>86</sup> Cœdès, *The Paṭhamasambodhi*, lxi. According to page 312 of Robert E. Buswell Jr.’s and Donald S. Lopez Jr.’s *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, the *Gandhavaṃsa*, or “History of Books,” was composed in Burma by a Buddhist monk named Nandapaññā. The *Gandhavaṃsa* is a text that discusses various subjects such as the authorship of works on doctrine, grammar, the *Tipiṭaka*, sub-commentaries, commentaries, and many extra-canonical works. Some scholars date the *Gandhavaṃsa* as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century while others dated it to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>87</sup> To date, the only version of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* that has been found in Sri Lanka is an Ayutthayan period illustrated manuscript, identified by Ginsburg (2000:65) simply as a “Life of the Buddha.” This manuscript was taken from Siam to Ceylon in unknown circumstances. It was purchased in Kandy by a British collector in 1819 and is presently in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

southern China, Chiang Tung in Burma’s Shan State, and the central, northern and northeastern part of Thailand.<sup>88</sup>

The oldest complete edition of *Paṭhamasambodhi*, according to Lualertvorakul, is a Pāli language version discovered in Lanna that can be dated CS 954 (1592 CE).<sup>89</sup> In addition, very old fragments of the manuscript have also been found in that region. Firstly, two manuscripts of *Paṭhamasambodhi* have been found at *Ratchamangkhalaphisek* National Museum, Chiang Mai Province; one was composed in CS 839 (1477 CE), while the other one is undated.<sup>90</sup> Secondly, a fragmentary *Paṭhamasambodhi* manuscript consisting of three or four bundles (*phūk*), was preserved at Wat Lai Hin Temple in Lampang Province, Thailand and can be dated to CS 936 (1574 CE).<sup>91</sup>

The other two manuscripts commissioned by laywoman Mukda in CS 954 (1592 CE) were also stored at Wat Lai Hin.<sup>92</sup> The first bundle of manuscript one, and bundles number two, three, and four, of the second manuscript have been found. According to Lualertvorakul, the first words of bundle two seem to be a continuation of the last words in bundle one, and the colophons of each bundle contain the same passage, although with some small variation. Therefore, he concludes that these bundles comprise “one single manuscript of the same set” and are thus the oldest and most complete surviving version of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* found to date.<sup>93</sup>

Associate Professor Dr Suphaphan Na Bangchang (Mae Chee Vimuttiya)—a Buddhist and President of the International Tipitaka Hall, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand—classifies the Pāli manuscripts of *Paṭhamasambodhi* in a different

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<sup>88</sup> Lualertvorakul, “Paṭhamasambodhi in Nine Languages,” 11, 13.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 11, 14-15.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 14. According to Lualertvorakul, the first three bundles have already been located, but the fourth or last bundle has not been discovered yet.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 14-15.

way: the first or Lanna edition (LPL, LPR, LPRa, and LPRb); and the second or Paramanuchit edition (LPRc). As for the Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi* texts that have not been revised by Paramanuchit, she groups them together and calls the first edition (T. ส่วนที่ ๑) or the Lanna edition.<sup>94</sup> The manuscripts in the first category include, besides the Wat Lai Hin versions: four manuscripts from the Ayutthayan period (1351 CE - 1767 CE) kept in the National Library of Thailand, which are a gilded red lacquer version (T. ฉบับขี้ผึ้งลายรดน้ำแดง) consisting of thirteen *phūk* produced in CS 1024 (1662 CE) during the reign of King Narai the Great (1656 CE - 1688 CE); a vermilion-painted version (T. ฉบับสีรองขาด ข้างลาย) consisting of eight *phūk* built in BE 2232 (CS 1051, 1689 CE) during the reign of King Phetracha (1688 CE - 1703 CE); a plain vermilion-painted undated version (T. ฉบับสีรองขาด) of Ayutthaya period consisting of nine *phūk*; and a hybrid Pāli-Thai version consisting of ten *phūk* created in BE 2292 (CS 1111, 1749 CE) during the reign of King Boromakot (1732 CE - 1758CE).<sup>95</sup> All of these manuscripts have no details about authors or histories of their composition.

In addition, Suphaphan hypothesises that the texts in the first group might have been composed in Lanna for three reasons.<sup>96</sup> Firstly, the *Paṭhamasambodhi* was, and still is, well-known in the Lanna regions, and was known in Burma, as it was mentioned in the Burmese *Gandhavaṃsa*.<sup>97</sup> Secondly, the contents and literary style of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* scripture suggest a relationship with the manuscript of “สัมปิณฑิตมหานิทาน (P. *Sampiṇḍitamahānidāna*).”<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Na Bangchang, *Wiwattanakan Wannakadi Bali Sai Phra Suttantapidok Thi Taeng Nai Prathet Thai*, 157-8.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

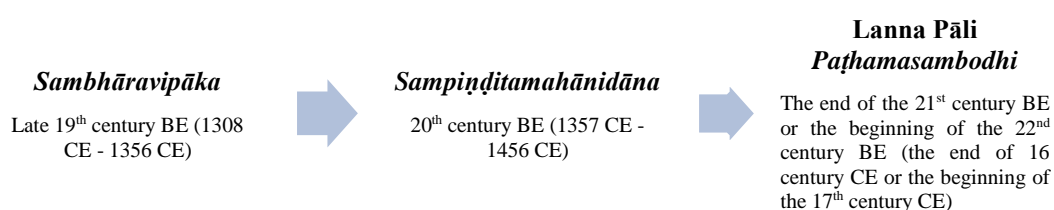
<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 157-8.

<sup>97</sup> J. P. Minayeeff (ed.), “Gandhavaṃsa,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* (1886): 75, cited in Na Bangchang, *Wiwattanakan Wannakadi Bali Sai Phra Suttantapidok Thi Taeng Nai Prathet Thai*, 158.

<sup>98</sup> Na Bangchang, *Wiwattanakan Wannakadi Bali Sai Phra Suttantapidok Thi Taeng Nai Prathet Thai*, 158-9. *Sampiṇḍitamahānidāna* is a manuscript of the Buddha’s biography. It is found in Thailand only, and included in the list of scriptures that King Boromakot of Ayutthaya sent to Ceylon in BE 2298 (1755 CE). Suphahan Na Bangchang finds that it was further developed from the Buddha biographical manuscript

A third and crucial difference between the Lanna *Paṭhamasambodhi* and the *Sambhāravipāka* and *Sampiṇḍitamahānidāna* is that *Paṭhamasambodhi*, instead of narrating the previous-life stories of the Bodhisattva prior to the 24-Buddha period (which Na Bangchang sees influenced by Mahāyāna Buddhism), instead narrates the previous lives of the Buddha from the story of the brahmin Sumedha in the era of Dīpankara Buddha (which shows the influence of Theravāda Buddhism).<sup>99</sup>

**Figure 1 Na Bangchang’s Theory of the Development of Lanna Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi*<sup>100</sup>**



In addition, Na Bangchang states that the contents of the first section of the manuscript of the *Sambhāravipāka* seem to be drawn from the Sri Lankan manuscript titled the *Sotattakīmahānidāna*, which was composed approximately in the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century BE (1157 CE - 1356 CE).<sup>101</sup> Na Bangchang concludes that the *Buddhavaṃsa* (the fourteenth book in the Khuddhaka Nikāya section of Pāli *Tipiṭaka*) and the manuscript of *Aṭṭhakathā*

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of “สัมภารวิบาท (P. *Sambhāravipāka*),” and probably written in Lanna in approximately 20<sup>th</sup> century BE (1357 CE - 1456 CE).

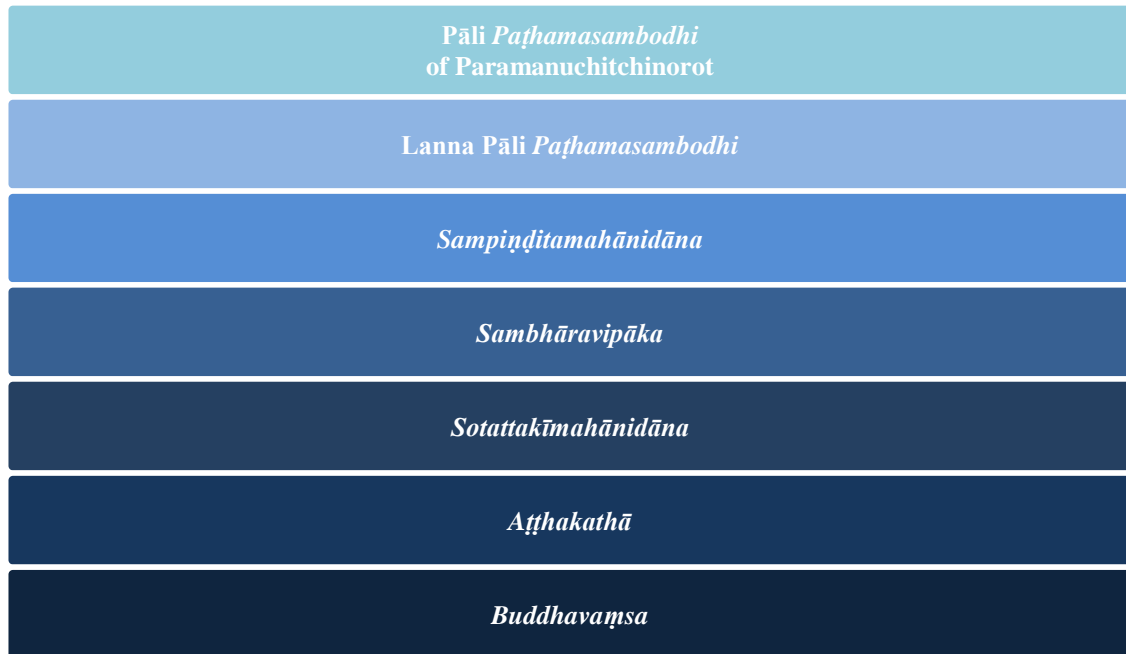
<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 159.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 136, 51, 59.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 132, 36. *Sotattakīmahānidāna* was composed by the monk named Cūḷa Buddhaghosa. Although the book “ปิฎกัศเตวากมอัน (*Piṭakattevakama-an*)” states that he wrote this scripture at the great monastery in Anurādhapura, thus enabling it to be dated back to 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century BE (357 CE - 556 CE), Na Bangchang argues that the evidence in that book might be wrong because the contents of *Sotattakīmahānidāna* show the influence of Mahāyāna ideas that spread into Sri Lanka in approximately the 18<sup>th</sup> century BE (1157 CE - 1256 CE). There is no evidence of this scripture in Sri Lanka, however it is well-known in Buddhist countries of mainland Southeast Asia. In addition, Na Bangchang states that *Sotattakīmahānidāna* greatly influenced Siamese Buddha-biographical Pāli literature.

(a commentary) are the sources for the Buddha’s biographies written in Pāli in the later periods such as the *Paṭhamasambodhi*.<sup>102</sup>

**Figure 2 Na Bangchang’s Theory of the Evolution of the Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi***<sup>103</sup>



Suphaphan Na Bangchang proposes that the Lanna Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi* originated in Lanna and then spread to Burma due to the mention of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* in *Gandhavaṃsa*, despite the fact that according to the *Gandhavaṃsa* the *Paṭhamasambodhi* was composed in Ceylon.<sup>104</sup> To further complicate matters, the *Cūḷagandhavaṃsa*, which narrates the history of the Pāli *Aṭṭhakathā*, *Ṭīkā* (a subcommentary), and *Anuṭīkā* (a sub-subcommentary), describes various scriptures known in Bago (T. หงสาวดี), Myanmar, including the manuscript of *Paṭhamasambodhi*.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 131-2.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 131-2, 36, 51, 57.

<sup>104</sup> Cœdès, *The Paṭhamasambodhi*, lxi.

<sup>105</sup> Nandapaññā, *Phra Khamphi Chulakhanthawong [The Manuscript of Cūḷagandhavaṃsa]*, trans. by Siri Phetchai (Bangkok: Rongphim Kan Satsana [Religion Printing Press], 1984), 1, 45, cited in Nattinee Phromkerd, “A Study of the Pathomasomphothi from the Manuscript of Wat Khongkharam in Ratchaburi Province” (MA thesis, Silpakorn University, 1987), 54. *Cūḷagandhavaṃsa* consists of 5 chapters.

From this Nattinee Phromkerd argues that Sinhalese Pāli biographies of the Buddha strongly influenced the development of the biographies of the Buddha in the Mon regions and later in Burma. The large number of *Paṭhamasambodhi* in the Tai vernaculars in the Lanna regions reflect this historical fact.<sup>106</sup> Thus, the predecessor of the Lanna Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi* might be now-lost Mon biographies based on Sinhalese material.<sup>107</sup>

As for the Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi* of Paramanuchitchinorot, or the so-called second or Paramanuchit edition, Suphaphan Na Bangchang states that it is the revised edition of the Lanna Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi*.<sup>108</sup> This fits with Paramanuchit's statement in the colophon of his manuscript that he was asked to compile the *Paṭhamasambodhi* by King Rama III of Siam in late 1844, began the task in the early 1845, and finished editing the scripture several months later:

เมื่อวันอาทิตย์แรม ๑ ค่ำ เดือน ๑๑ พ.ศ. ๒๓๘๗ พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว (รัชกาลที่ ๓) ทรงมีรับสั่งให้กรมหมื่นไกรสรวิชิตไปกราบบาราชนากรมหมื่นนุชิตชิโนรสให้ตกแต่งคัมภีร์นี้ ท่านได้เริ่มจัดทำแต่เดือนยี่ สำเร็จบริบูรณ์ตามพระราชประสงค์ในวันแรม ๑๔ ค่ำ เดือน ๗ ปีมะเส็ง (พ.ศ. ๒๓๘๘) (On Sunday of the first day of the waning moon of the eleventh lunar month, 2387 BE (1844 CE), Nangklao King of Siam (King Rama III) ordered Kromma Muen Kraisonwichit to ask Kromma Muen Nuchitchinorot to edit the scripture. Kromma Muen Nuchitchinorot began to work on this from the second lunar month, and completed the work on the fourteenth day of the waning moon of the seventh lunar month in the Year of the Snake (2388 BE/ 1845 CE).<sup>109</sup>

Saowanich Wingworn points out that Paramanuchit based his Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi* on the old 22-chapter edition of the Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi*.<sup>110</sup> Her reasons are that: firstly,

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<sup>106</sup> Phromkerd, "A Study of the Pathomasomphothi from the Manuscript of Wat Khongkharam in Ratchaburi Province," 54.

<sup>107</sup> Nithi Iaosriwong, *Pakkai Lae Bairuea* (Bangkok: Amarin Kan Phim, 1984), 393, cited in Phromkerd, "A Study of the Pathomasomphothi from the Manuscript of Wat Khongkharam in Ratchaburi Province," 54.

<sup>108</sup> Na Bangchang, *Wiwattanakan Wannakadi Bali Sai Phra Suttantapidok Thi Taeng Nai Prathet Thai*, 157.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 159. BE stands for Buddhist Era.

<sup>110</sup> Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 78. Wingworn states that there are six editions of *Paṭhamasambodhikathā* kept in Ho Phra Samut (The National Library of Thailand): (1) The old edition that consists of 22 chapters, but has no details about the author, the date and place of composition, and the translator; (2) The Paramanuchit's revised and translated edition consisting of 29 chapters; (3) The 10-chapter sermonic



Paramanuchit, in his old Thai translation of the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, refers to his Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi* by beginning the passage after the Triple-Gem-worship verse with “จะ  
ได้รับพระราชทานอรรถาธิบาย โดยพระบาลีในพระคัมภีร์ปฐมสมโพธิ... (Your Majesty, I am going to explain the  
Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi*...), which shows that there already is a scripture by the name  
of *Paṭhamasambodhi*.<sup>111</sup>

Secondly, the end of the first verse of an explanatory note of the Buddha’s victory in  
eight verses (ฉันทพาทุง ๘ บท, *Ṭīkā bahum paet bot*)—which was inscribed at the southern  
*vihāra* building of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple in the restoration that took place in 1832,  
and which is about the Buddha’s enlightenment and his victory over Māra—appears as  
“เรื่องความพิศดารอยู่ในปฐมโพธิปริเลทมารวิชัยนั้น (The detailed account is in the Māravijaya chapter of  
the *Paṭhamabodhi*).”<sup>112</sup> This *Paṭhamasambodhi* is the old 22-chapter edition of Pāli  
*Paṭhamasambodhi* that has Māravijaya as its ninth chapter, and was possibly well-known  
because it receives a mention in the inscription.<sup>113</sup>

The date when the Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi* of Paramanuchit was translated into Thai  
remains unclear. Laulertvorakul states that it could not predate the year BE 2388 (1845  
CE).<sup>114</sup> Paramanuchit may have translated and presented it to King Rama III.<sup>115</sup> Moreover,

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edition of the Supreme Patriarch Sa of Wat Ratcha Pradit Temple; (4) The 3-chapter sermonic edition of  
the Supreme Patriarch Sa; (5) The *Mahāpadhānadukkarakiriyā* edition, which Somdet  
Phraphutthakhosachan (Rit) of Wat Arun Ratcha Wararam Temple composed when he was  
Phrathammatrailokachan of Wat Bopit Pimuk Temple, the content of which is only about the Great Man  
doing acts of self-mortification; (6) The 30-chapter edition, which 30 elder monks composed in order to  
preach to King Rama V, and which is based on Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhikathā*.

<sup>111</sup> Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot, *Pathomsomphot Katha* (Phra  
Nakhon: Department of Religious Affairs, 1962), 1, cited in Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Nippon Somdet Phra  
Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 77.

<sup>112</sup> *Prachum Charuek Wat Phra Chetuphon [A Collection of Wat Phra Chetuphon’s Inscription]*,  
(Bangkok: Siwaphon Limited Partnership, 1974), 97, cited in Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Nippon Somdet  
Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 77.

<sup>113</sup> Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Nippon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra  
Paramanuchitchinorot*, 77-78.

<sup>114</sup> Laulertvorakul, “Paṭhamasambodhi in Nine Languages,” 16.

<sup>115</sup> Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Nippon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra  
Paramanuchitchinorot*, 78.

Donald K. Swearer, in his article “Bhikkhu Buddhādāsa’s Interpretation of the Buddha,” dates Paramanuchit’s old Thai translation of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* to 1853.<sup>116</sup>

#### 2.1.4. Reason for Paramanuchit’s Composition of the *Paṭhamasambodhi*

Somwang Inchai states in his MA thesis that Paramanuchit’s Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi* was composed for the benefit of students who study Pāli language so they could have a Pāli biography of the Buddha from which to learn. However, Cœdès states that the making of this edition is due to: firstly, the rarity of an unabridged version of *Paṭhamasambodhi* manuscripts after Ayutthaya’s destruction in 1767 CE by the Burmese; and, secondly, the impossibility, as King Rama III had discovered, of tracing the full versions of the *Paṭhamasambodhi*.<sup>117</sup>

#### 2.2. Paramanuchit’s Biography

Paramanuchit was born on Saturday of the fifth day of the waxing moon of the first lunar month in the Year of the Dog, CS 1152 (December 11<sup>th</sup>, 2333 BE, or 1790 CE). He was the 28<sup>th</sup> son of King Rama I and the only son of a Royal Concubine of the Chaochommanda rank named Chui (T. ฉุย) who later became Thaosongkandan (T. เจ้าทรงกัณดาร) or head of the Royal Treasury during the reigns of King Rama II and King Rama III. Before his ordination as *bhikkhu*, Paramanuchit’s name was known as “HH Prince Wasukri.”<sup>118</sup>

During the reign of King Rama I, Prince Wasukri was ordained a novice when he was twelve years old on the eighth day of the waxing moon of the eighth lunar month, BE 2345 (1802 CE), together with Prince Chatr (Kromma Muen Surintarak) who was also ordained a novice, and HRH The Prince of Thewes who was ordained a monk.<sup>119</sup> Their preceptor (P. *upajjhāya*) was the Supreme Patriarch Suk (T. สุก), and their act-announcing

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<sup>116</sup> Swearer, “Bhikkhu Buddhādāsa’s Interpretation of the Buddha,” 315.

<sup>117</sup> Cœdès, *The Paṭhamasambodhi*, lvii, lx-lxi.

<sup>118</sup> Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Nippon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 1.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid. HRH The Prince of Thewes was King Rama I’s nephew.

teacher (P. *kammavācācariya*) was Somdet Phraphanarattana (Kaeo).<sup>120</sup> As a *sāmaṇera*, Prince Wasukri lived in the royal monastery of Wat Phra Chetuphon Vimolmangklaram Rajwaramahaviharn, and studied under Somdet Phraphanarattana (Kaeo), who was the abbot of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple during the reign of King Rama I. His *kammavācācariya* Kaeo was an eminent scholar from Ayutthaya era, who was born during the reign of King Borommakot of Ayutthaya.<sup>121</sup> Wingworn notes that Kaeo had been the abbot of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple since the Thonburi period, when he held the rank of Phra Phimontham (T. พระพิมพ์มณฑลธรรม), and when the temple was called Wat Phodharam Temple (T. วัดโพธาราม).<sup>122</sup> During the reign of King Rama I, Kaeo was put in charge of “the great recomplings on the Buddhist Scriptures (*Abhidhamma Piṭaka*).”<sup>123</sup> Also, he composed a number of learned books in Pāli language and was famous for his sermons on the *Thet Maha Chat*: Nakhon Kan or “City Episode”, part of the Jātaka stories. With Kaeo as his teacher, Sāmaṇera HH Prince Wasukri received an excellent education in Pāli, Thai, and Khmer languages as well as the Buddhist scriptures, history, astrology and the other traditional sciences and arts of Ayutthaya.

Sāmaṇera HH Prince Wasukri was ordained a Buddhist monk (*S. bhikṣu*) during the reign of King Rama II in the Year of the Goat, 2354 BE (1811 CE); his religious name was

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid. Variant forms of Thai spelling of “Somdet Phraphanarattana” found in secondary sources are สมเด็จพระพนรัตน์ and สมเด็จพระพนรัตน์. In addition, it is stated in the footnote of page 12 of *The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa* that according to an inscription attached to the wall of Phra Phutthalokkanat *Vihāra* building in Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple, his name is spelt as “พระพนรัตน์ (RTGS. Phra Wanarattana).” See also Kate Crosby, *Traditional Theravada Meditation and Its Modern-Era Suppression* (Hong Kong China: Buddha Dharma Centre of Hong Kong, 2013), 120. According to Crosby, the Supreme Patriarch Suk Kaitheun held the post from 1794 CE to 1816 CE, and took the *borān kammaṭṭhāna* method of practicing meditation from Ayutthaya before basing himself at Wat Ratchasittharam Temple (another Thonburi Buddhist temple that still holds the manuscripts of *borān kammaṭṭhāna* and is still be the place where *borān kammaṭṭhāna*’s living tradition can be found).

<sup>121</sup> Office of the National Culture Commission and Wat Phrachetuphon Wimonmangkhalararam, *The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa*, 12.

<sup>122</sup> Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Nippon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 1.

<sup>123</sup> Office of the National Culture Commission and Wat Phrachetuphon Wimonmangkhalararam, *The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa*, 12.

Suwannarangsi (T. สุวณฺณรังษิ์), or “Golden Ray.”<sup>124</sup> According to *The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa*, Prince Wasukri’s preceptor was the Supreme Patriarch Suk (T. สุก), and Somdet Kaeo was his *kammavācācariya*.<sup>125</sup> He resided at Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple throughout his life.<sup>126</sup>

In BE 2357 BE (1814 CE), Kaeo passed away during the Buddhist Lent.<sup>127</sup> When King Rama II (1767-1824) visited Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple in order to offer the Kathina robes, he appointed Paramanuchit to be the abbot of that temple, and presented the Kathina robes to him.<sup>128</sup> Wingworn surmises that Paramanuchit was appointed as the abbot and as Phra Rachakhana at the same time.

According to Prince Damrong, Paramanuchit was presented with the title of Kromma Muen Nuchitchinorot Srisukhatakhattiyawong (T. กรมหมื่นนุชิตชิโนรส ศรีสุคตขัตติยวงศ์) in 2359 BE (1816 CE).<sup>129</sup> As Kromma Muen Nuchitchinorot, he taught many members of the royal family, e.g. King Rama IV (1804-1868), Second King Pinklao (1808-1866), HRH Prince Kromma Phraya Bamrapporapak (1819-1886), Kromma Luang Wongsathiratchasanit (1808-1871), Kromma Muen Kraisonwichit (1798-1848), Kromma Muen Phubanborirak (1814-1872), etc.

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<sup>124</sup> Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 1. According to Wingworn, when Sāmaṇera HH Prince Wasukri was ordained *bhikkhu*, his teacher Kaeo was his preceptor.

<sup>125</sup> Office of the National Culture Commission and Wat Phrachetuphon Wimonmangkharam, *The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa*, 14.

<sup>126</sup> Na Bangchang, *Wiwattanakan Wannakadi Bali Sai Phra Suttantapidok Thi Taeng Nai Prathet Thai*, 160.

<sup>127</sup> Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 1-2.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>129</sup> HRH Prince Damrongrachanuphap, *Prawat Bukkhon Samkhan [Biographies of Famous People]* (Phra Nakhon: Bannakhan, 1966), 294, cited in, Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 2.

King Rama III had great respect for Paramanuchit.<sup>130</sup> For example, when he decreed the restoration of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple in BE 2374 – BE 2378 (1831 CE – 1835 CE), he also ordered the construction of a royal monastic residence as a gift to Paramanuchit. Kromma phraya Damrongrachanuphap related this monastic house and Paramanuchit’s working routine:

หอนี้ที่ตำหนักกรมสมเด็จพระปรมานุชิตนั่นหม่อมฉันจำได้กลับคล้ายคลึงคลาวามี ๒ หอต่อกัน คือหอพระ หอ ๑ กับหอทรงพระอักษร หอ ๑ เขาเล่าว่า เวลาค่ำพอเสร็จพระธุระอื่นแล้ว สมเด็จพระปรมฯ ท่านเสด็จเข้าหอทรงพระอักษรทุกคืนมหาดเล็กเอาหมากเสวยและน้ำร้อนน้ำเย็นไปตั้งถวายแล้วไปนอนได้ ด้วยท่านไม่ใคร่สเรียกหาอะไรต่อไป ส่วนพระองค์ท่านทรงพระนิพนธ์หนังสือเขียนลงในกระดานชนวนอย่างโบราณ มีกำหนดแน่วเป็นนิจว่าต้องทรงเขียนเต็ม ๒ หน้ากระดานชนวนแล้วจึงเสด็จเข้าบรรทม เพราะฉะนั้นวันไหนแต่งคลองก็บรรทมหัวค่ำ วันไหนแต่งติดขัดก็บรรทมดึก

(As for the royal monastic residence, I vaguely remember that it consisted of two connected buildings containing a Buddha-shrine room and a writing room. It was said that His Excellency Paramanuchit went into the writing room every night after he finished doing his other duties. An attendant brought and served a pellet of betel as well as hot and cold water to him, then was able to go to sleep because he did not request his presence anymore. As for His Excellency, he composed his writings on ancient slates. He was determined to regularly write two full pages on the slates before going to bed. Thus, on a day he was productive he slept early; on a day he was unproductive he went to sleep late.)<sup>131</sup>

After the restoration of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple was finished in 2378 BE (1835 CE), King Rama III appointed Paramanuchit as “เจ้าคณะกลางเสมอพระราชคณะ (Chaokhana Klang, equivalent to Phra Rachakhana)” ruling over 61 temples in Bangkok and Thonburi districts, and ordered the making of Paramanuchit’s personal emblem that is a lamp in a dome (T. ประทีปอยู่ในนุชบก).<sup>132</sup> This meant that Paramanuchit had authority over all 61 royal

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<sup>130</sup> Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 2.

<sup>131</sup> HRH Prince Naritsaranuwattiwong, *San Somdet [Their Royal Highnesses’ Letters]* (Phra Nakhon: Ongkan Kha Khong Khuru Sapha, 1962), 19:33-34, cited in Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 3. I consider that details about Paramanuchit’s routine quoted here are of historical importance. Thus, I provide a full quotation.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 15:248, cited in Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 3. According to pages 16 and 47 of *The Bicentennial of The Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa*, the term “Phra Rachakhana” means Chief Monk, and the term “Chaokhana Klang” means chairman of the central clerical committee.

temples in the Bangkok area.<sup>133</sup> These royal temples included Wat Boworn Nives, Wat Arun, Wat Suthat, Wat Sraket, Wat Rakang, Wat Maha That, etc.

It is reported that Paramanuchit was deeply involved with the restoration of Wat Phra Chetuphon during the reign of King Rama III, especially in the arrangements for the new role of the temple as public educational and religious centre.<sup>134</sup> His long poem by the name of *Khlong Dan Rueang Kan Patisangkhan Wat Phra Chetuphon*, gives a detailed description of several different important buildings, diverse aspects of the restoration work, as well as praising King Rama III's graciousness for ordering the restoration.

Senior monks such as Paramanuchit who held the rank of Chaokhana Klang were responsible for responding to all the King's queries concerning Buddhism.<sup>135</sup> These senior monks conferred together to consider and discuss the King's questions before they presented their responses to the king. Their responses to the King's questions were written down and functioned as guidelines for Buddhists and other monks. This tradition had existed during the Ayutthayan period, and was reinstated by King Rama I as part of his program to recompile and purify traditional religious teachings and practices after the fall of Ayutthaya.

Paramanuchit was also responsible for the standardisation of Buddhist iconography during the reign of Rama III. The King considered that depiction of the Buddha as an animal (based on the Jātakas stories) by Ayutthayan King Trailokkanat was "not admirable." He ordered Paramanuchit to design images of the Buddha in 37 gestures to be prototypes for the Buddha images of Rattanakosin period.<sup>136</sup> These 37 Buddha images

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<sup>133</sup> Office of the National Culture Commission and Wat Phrachetuphon Wimonmangkhalaram, *The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa*, 47.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 32-33, 35.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>136</sup> King of Siam Chulalongkorn, *Phra Ratcha Phithi Sipsong Duean [The Royal Twelve-Month Ceremonies]* (Phra Nakhon: Phan Fa Phitthaya Press, 1966), 213, cited in Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 3; Office of the National Culture Commission and Wat Phrachetuphon Wimonmangkhalaram, *The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa*, 56-7.

were cast in bronze, and are now placed inside the Koramanusorn Hall at the Grand Palace.<sup>137</sup>

It is reported that Paramanuchit learned the science and art of casting a Buddha image (called “Phra Kring”) from ancient Ayutthayan texts that had been passed down from Somdet Phra Phanarattana of Wat Pa Kaeo Temple in Ayutthaya to Paramanuchit’s teacher, Somdet Phra Phanarattana (Kaeo) of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple.<sup>138</sup> The Phra Kring that Paramanuchit designed, which is called “Phra Kring Chaiyawat” or “Phra Kring Parama,” is in the Dvāravati style, and is in the *varada mudrā* (the gesture of blessing) with the right hand raised for anointing with sacred water, and the left hand holding a bowl. This Buddha image is held in great reverence due to its power of blessing, which is believed to bring protection and good fortune to worshippers.

During the reign of King Rama IV, Paramanuchit was presented with the title of Krom Somdet Phra Paramanuchitchinorot, and appointed as the Supreme Patriarch on Friday of the fourteenth day of the waxing moon of the ninth lunar month in the Year of the Pig, 1213 CS (BE 2394 / 1851 CE).<sup>139</sup> This occurred three months after King Rama IV’s coronation, which took place on the fifteenth day of the waxing moon of the sixth lunar month (Thursday 15<sup>th</sup> May, 2394 BE / 1851 CE), and after which a draft of the declaration of the king’s coronation was written by Paramanuchit himself before the king asking him to make revisions and some clausal rearrangements.<sup>140</sup>

It seems that the reason why the king chose Paramanuchit to be the Supreme Patriarch was due to their teacher-apprentice relationship during the king’s childhood, when HRH Prince Mongkut studied writing and reading (T. อักษรวิจิตร), the Lord Buddha’s Words (T.

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<sup>137</sup> Office of the National Culture Commission and Wat Phrachetuphon Wimonmangkhalarom, *The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa*, 56.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>139</sup> Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 5.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

พุทธาจนะ), and other worldly knowledge (T. วิชาการคดียโลก) under Paramanuchit.<sup>141</sup> Thus, he trusted Paramanuchit implicitly. For example, during his tenure in the Buddhist monkhood, Bhikṣu HRH Prince Mongkut used to ask Paramanuchit whether he should agree to rule the kingdom when King Rama II passed away. Paramanuchit advised him that it was not the right time to desire kingship; Bhikṣu HRH Prince Mongkut agreed, and remained a Buddhist monk.<sup>142</sup>

In addition, it seems that their shared experiences during difficult times allowed Paramanuchit and Bhikṣu HRH Prince Mongkut to forge a close relationship and help each other after Mongkut ascended to the throne in 1851.<sup>143</sup>

Because of his close relationship with the royal family, Paramanuchit was asked to mediate in several disputes including a major dispute over the proper way to wear monastic robes. When King Rama III was terminally ill, he expressed concern over Thai monks who wore monastic robes in the Mon style. He had a letter written and given to his brother, HRH Prince Kromma Phraya Dechadison (1793-1859):

...เดี๋ยวนี้พระไทยก็ห่มผ้าเป็นมอญ โดยอัตโนมติปัญญาของทีเห็นว่าถ้านเกล้านกระหม่อมยังเสด็จอยู่ก็จะให้ประชุมพระราชอาณัติ ได้ว่ากล่าวกันให้เห็นว่าควรไม่ควรอยู่นานแล้ว นี้ทีกล่าวจะเป็นบาปเป็นบุญเป็นคุณเป็นโทษ พระสงฆ์จะแตกร้างกันไปจึงมิได้ว่ากล่าว แต่ใจนั้นรักแต่อย่างโบราณอย่างเดิวนั้นและสืบไปเบื้องหน้าพระภิกษุไทยซึ่งห่มผ้าเป็นมอญนั้นสูญไป ทีเห็นว่าจะควรกับศรีอยุธยา ก็ถ้ามั่นกลับมาขึ้นอีกด้วยเหตุอันใดอันหนึ่ง ชื่อของผู้ที่ได้เป็นเจ้าของแผ่นดินก็มีแต่จะเสียไป เขาจะว่าเป็นเมืองมอญเมืองพม่าไปเสียมาแต่ครั้งแผ่นดินนั้น นี้และเป็นความวิตกของทีมากนักหนา ให้พ้อเห็นแก่ทีช่วยเอาขึ้นแจ้งกับกรมหมื่นนุชิตชิโนรส เธอเป็นบรมญาติอันใหญ่ ทรงไว้ซึ่งศักราชสาวพรตทั้งรู้พระสัทธรรมของพระเจ้าเป็นอันมาก แล้วก็เป็นพระภิกษุศรีอยุธยา ทีมีจิ๋วอยู่ที่หนึ่งให้พ้อช่วยถวายกรมหมื่นนุชิต ถ้าเธอรับเอาไว้ครองได้ก็ให้ถวายเธอเถิด ถ้าเธอมิได้รับครองแล้วก็ให้เอาคืนมาเสีย (...Now it appears that Thai monks are robed in Mon robes. My private view, younger brother, is that if His Majesty the former king still lived, he would have convened a meeting of Buddhist monks of Phra Rachakhana rank and made a complaint a long time ago. But I am afraid to commit the sin of causing a schism in the Sangha, therefore I have not complained. However, I love the ancient customs, and think that it is appropriate

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>142</sup> Damrongrachanuphap, *Prawat Bukkhon Samkhan*, 14-15, cited in Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Nippon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 2.

<sup>143</sup> Both Paramanuchit and Mongkut anticipated political problems after Rama III's death, and prepared to retire to temples (Wat Chinorasaram Temple in Khlong Mon and Wat Boromma Niwat Temple) outside of Bangkok. However Mongkut ascended the throne as Rama IV and Paramanuchit remained in Bangkok to support his former student.



for Thai monks to robe in the style of Si Ayutthaya and not wear robes in the style of Mon monks. If [the Mon style of monastic robes] is revived again for any reason, my reputation as a king will be ruined, for people will say that since the fall of the old kingdom, this has become the Mon or Burmese country. This, younger brother, is my grave concern. As a favour to me, please inform Kromma Muen Nuchitchinorot of my worry, for he is an elderly royal cousin who possesses the *kāsāvavastra* robe (the yellow robe), also knows a great deal of the teaching of the Lord (T. พระเจ้า, RTGS. Phra Chao), and is a Si Ayutthayan monk too. I have cloth for a monastic robe; please help me by presenting it to Kromma Muen Nuchit. If he receives my robe-donation and wears it, then give it to him; if he does not accept it, then bring it back.)<sup>144</sup>

After Bhikṣu HRH Prince Mongkut learned about King Rama III's concerns, he wrote a letter promising not to disobey the king, presented it to Paramanuchit, and ordered the Dhammayuttikanikāyan monks to be robed in the Mahānikāyan style as before.<sup>145</sup>

According to Reynolds, King Rama IV's decision to appoint Paramanuchit as the Supreme Patriarch was aimed at keeping a balance between the necessity of peaceful relationships among all Siamese Buddhist monks and his loyalties to the Dhammayuttikanikāya.<sup>146</sup> Paramanuchit, the king's uncle, whose reputation as poet, teacher, and scholar was excellent, and who used to give advice to the king at crucial moments when the king was a Buddhist monk, was considered a promising candidate for the post, not only because he was able to focus the loyalty of the Sangha, but also because it was the king's intention to give reassurances that there would be tolerance towards variants of Mahānikāya's and Dhammayuttikanikāya's monastic practice.<sup>147</sup>

Paramanuchit passed away one year and four months later on Friday of the ninth waxing moon of the first lunar month in the Year of the Ox (December 9<sup>th</sup>, 2396 BE (1853 CE)

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<sup>144</sup> *Prachum Phongsawadan [A Collection of Dynastic History]* (Phra Nakhon: Ongkan Kha Khong Khuru Sapha, 1968), 30:101, cited in Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 4. I consider that details about King Rama III's position on the appropriate way to wear monastic robes quoted here are of historical importance. Thus, I provide a full quotation.

<sup>145</sup> Damrongrathanuphap, *Prawat Bukkhon Samkhan*, 54, cited in Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 4-5.

<sup>146</sup> Reynolds, "The Buddhist Monkhood in Nineteenth Century Thailand," 115. Dhammayuttikanikāya and Mahānikāya are a smaller and a bigger sub-order of the Thai Buddhist monkhood respectively.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 115-6.

at the age of 63.<sup>148</sup> King Rama IV donated a huge, spired, gold coffin (T.พระโกศทองใหญ่) to contain Paramanuchit's body. The royal funeral rite was held on Saturday 8<sup>th</sup> April, 2397 BE (1854 CE) on the Sanam Luang (the royal cremations grounds in front of the palace called Meru Pha Khao "the white cloth crematorium"). Paramanuchit's relics were enshrined at the royal monastic residence Wasukri, and a Buddhist monk (Phra Khru Thananukrom) was designated to guard his relics.<sup>149</sup> Every year, when King Rama IV went to offer flowers at Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple during *vassa*, he also offered flowers to Paramanuchit's relic shrine. Likewise, when he went to present *kathina* robes at the annual Kathin ceremony at Wat Phra Chetuphon, he had Paramanuchit's relics brought to the *uposatha* hall, offered the triple robes to them, and requested that a chapter of Buddhist monks perform the Sattappakaraṇa rite (funeral chanting of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*). These practices have been observed from the reign of King Rama IV to the present reign (King Rama IX).<sup>150</sup>

On April 12<sup>th</sup> 2464 BE (1921 CE), the posthumous title of Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot was conferred upon Paramanuchit by King Rama VI (1881-1925).<sup>151</sup> On October 25<sup>th</sup> 2502 BE (1959 CE), a five-tiered royal umbrella was erected over Paramanuchit's relic shrine; a set of two smaller royal umbrellas were also bestowed in Paramanuchit's honour by King Rama IX or His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej (1927- ).<sup>152</sup> In 2506 BE (1963 CE), a life-sized statue of Paramanuchit, now enshrined in Wasukri Hall of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple, was commissioned by ML Kukrit Pramoj, Professor MR Sumonchart Swasdikul, the Thai

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<sup>148</sup> Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 6.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

<sup>151</sup> The Office of the National Culture Commission (ONCC), *Song Roi Pi Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot [The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa]* (Bangkok: Amarin Printing Group Company Limited, 1990), 25, cited in Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 7.

<sup>152</sup> Office of the National Culture Commission and Wat Phrachetuphon Wimonmangkhalaram, *The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa*, 28.

Language Association of Chulalongkorn University, and Wat Phra Chetuphon.<sup>153</sup> In 2532 BE (1989 CE), Paramanuchit was declared “Personality of World Culture Year 2533 BE (1990 CE) during the 25<sup>th</sup> session of the General Conference at the Headquarter of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Paris.<sup>154</sup>

During his lifetime, Paramanuchit composed many literary works which are listed in the following table:

**Table 4 Paramanuchit’s Works<sup>155</sup>**

No.	Details
1.	<i>Paṭhamasambodhi</i> (It is written in Pāli language. Paramanuchit edited and made additions)
2.	<i>Phra Pathomsomphot Katha</i> (It is the old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s <i>Paṭhamasambodhi</i> )
3.	<i>Thet Maha Chat Sip-et Kan</i> [ <i>A Sermon on the Māhājāti (Vessantara Jātaka) in 11 chapters</i> ]
4.	<i>Rai Tham Khwan Nak</i> [ <i>Rai Verse for the Royal Ordination Ceremony</i> ]
5.	<i>Raiyao Mahachat (or Raiyao Maha Wetsandon Chadok)</i> [ <i>The Great Birth of Buddha in Raiyao Verse/ the Vessantara Jātaka in Raiyao Verse</i> ]
6.	<i>Kritsana Son Nong Kham Chan</i> [ <i>On Kritsana Advising Her Younger Sister in Chan Verse</i> ] (It was written at the request of King Rama III, and was used for educating women)
7.	<i>Sappha Sitthi Kham Chan</i>

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 26-27. ML stands for Mom Luang (as a title); MR stands for Mom Rajawongse (as a title).

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 30-31.

<sup>155</sup> Na Bangchang, *Wiwattanakan Wannakadi Bali Sai Phra Suttantapidok Thi Taeng Nai Prathet Thai*, 160-1; Office of the National Culture Commission and Wat Phrachetuphon Wimonmangkhalaram, *The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa*, 60-95.

No.	Details
8.	<i>Samuttha Khot Kham Chan</i> (This is an important Thai literary masterpiece consisting of four parts, and its story is based on the Panñāsa-Jātaka. Its first part and most of its second part were composed by Phra Mahā Ratchakhrū during the reign of King Narai of Ayutthaya (2199 BE - 2231 BE / 1656 CE - 1688 CE). King Narai of Ayutthaya finished the second part. Paramanuchit composed and finished the third and fourth parts)
9.	<i>Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei Klom Changphang Lae Kap Khapmai Klom Changphang</i>
10.	<i>Tamra Chan Wannaphruet Lae Mattraphruet</i> [ <i>Wannaphruet and Mattraphruet Treatise on Chan Verse Form</i> ]
11.	<i>Chan Sungwoei Klong Winitchai Pheri</i>
12.	<i>Lilit Taleng Phai</i> [ <i>The Fall of the Mons in Lilit Verse</i> ]
13.	<i>Lilit Krabuan Hae Phra Kathin Phayuhayattra Thang Thang Sathonlamak Lae Chonlamak</i> [ <i>The Royal Kathin Procession by Waterway and by Land in Lilit Verse</i> ]
14.	<i>Khlong Chan Charuek Wat Phra Chetuphon</i>
15.	<i>Khlong Dan Rueang Kan Patisangkhon Wat Phra Chetuphon</i> [ <i>The Restoration of Wat Phra Chetuphon in Khong Dan Verse</i> ]
16.	<i>Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Krung Si Ayutthaya Chabap Khwam Somdet Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot</i>
17.	<i>Phlengyao Chao Phra</i>
18.	<i>Phra Thamma Thetsana Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Sangkhep</i>
19.	<i>Khlong Phap Tang Khon Tang Phasa</i> [ <i>The Khlong Verse and Illustrations for the Description of Foreigners</i> ]
20.	<i>Khlong Konlabot</i> [ <i>Patterned or Concrete Poetry</i> ]

No.	Details
21.	<i>Khlong Phap Ruesi Datton [The Khlong Verse and Illustrations for the Hermit's Art of Contorting]</i>
22.	<i>Tamra Sang Phra Phuttha Rup [Textbook on the Making of Buddha Images]</i>
23.	<i>Nangsue Chakkra Thipani Tamra Horasat [Chakkra Thipani Textbook of Astrology]</i>
24.	<i>Kham Ruetsadi</i>
25.	<i>Kham Prakat Boromma Rachaphisek Ratchakan Thi Si [The Ceremonial Announcement of the Coronation of King Rama IV]</i>
26.	<i>Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Sangkhep [The Essentials of Royal Account]</i>
27.	<i>Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Yo [The Condensed Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya]</i>

### 2.3. History of Wat Phra Chetuphon

The temple associated with Paramanuchit and his career as advisor to the royal family and Buddhist scholar is Wat Phra Chetuphon, also known as Wat Pho. Wat Phra Chetuphon is a royal monastery of the first class that has been of great importance since the reign of Rama I. Formerly named Wat Phodharam, the temple was probably built by locals during or after the reign of Ayutthayan King Phetracha (2231 - 2246 BE / 1688 - 1703 CE).<sup>156</sup> After the collapse of Ayutthaya in 2310 BE (1667 CE), the area near Wat Phodharam began to be of commercial and strategic importance and the population in the area increased.<sup>157</sup> Today this area is part of the city of Bangkok.

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<sup>156</sup> "History of Wat Pho," *Watpho.com*, <[http://www.watpho.com/history\\_of\\_watpho.php?lang=en](http://www.watpho.com/history_of_watpho.php?lang=en)> (21 July 2014).

<sup>157</sup> *The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch Hrh Prince Paramanujitajinorasa*, 32, 34.

After King Rama I went to live in Rattanakosin, he ordered the first restoration of Wat Phodharam in 1788 CE.<sup>158</sup> The work was supervised by “the department of the Ten Crafts,” and continued for “seven years, five months, and twenty-eight days.” A celebration took place in 1801 CE, and the king bestowed a new name on the temple, “Wat Phra Chetuphon Vimonmangklavas.” During King Rama IV’s reign, the temple was renamed “Wat Phra Chetuphon Vimonmangklararm.” Wat Pho has two major quarters: firstly, the Buddhavas (the Buddha’s residence or the sanctuary), where the main Buddha image is located; and secondly, the Sangghavas (the monks’ living quarters), where the Buddhist monks reside. It is said that a portion of King Rama I’s relics are kept in the principal chapel beneath the base of the main Buddha image which is named “Phra Buddha Theva Patimakorn.”

A second great restoration took place during King Rama III’s reign, and continued for “sixteen years and seven months.”<sup>159</sup> At this time, various important buildings such as the teaching-learning hall, the library, the west and south *vihāras* where an enormous reclining Buddha is located, as well as the park, were extended to their present extent. The renovated temple functioned as the capital’s religious centre, as well as an educational centre where people could learn literature and language, traditional sciences and arts, medicine, and Buddhism; the “first public university in Thailand”.<sup>160</sup>

In 1982, before the bicentennial celebration of Bangkok, there was another restoration at Wat Phra Chetuphon; however, only some minor repairs were done.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> “History of Wat Pho,” *Watpho.com*, <[http://www.watpho.com/history\\_of\\_watpho.php?lang=en](http://www.watpho.com/history_of_watpho.php?lang=en)> (21 July 2014).

<sup>159</sup> “History of Wat Pho,” *Watpho.com*, <[http://www.watpho.com/history\\_of\\_watpho.php?lang=en](http://www.watpho.com/history_of_watpho.php?lang=en)> (13 September 2014).

<sup>160</sup> Office of the National Culture Commission and Wat Phrachetuphon Wimonmangkhalararm, *The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa*, 32, 35.

<sup>161</sup> “History of Wat Pho,” *Watpho.com*, <[http://www.watpho.com/history\\_of\\_watpho.php?lang=en](http://www.watpho.com/history_of_watpho.php?lang=en)> (13 September 2014).

#### 2.4. Relation between the *Paṭhamasambodhi* of Paramanuchitchinorot and Other *Paṭhamasambodhi* Versions

In his article, Laulertvorakul states that all *Paṭhamasambodhi* versions can be divided into two groups. The first group consists of seven related versions: the TLC, the TLE, the TKN, the PLN, the TYC, the TYE, and the LPL. The second group consists of six related versions: the SMT, the NET, the LVV, the CBD, the MON, and the LPR.<sup>162</sup> The first group narrates the Buddha's life stories as far as the First Sermon, and the second group recounts the Buddha's life beyond that point.

All of *Paṭhamasambodhi* in the first group tell the life story of Prince Siddhartha Bodhisattva from the time he descended from the Tusita Paradise to the moment he attained enlightenment becoming a Buddha.<sup>163</sup>

Laulertvorakul states that the *Paṭhamasambodhi* in the second group follow the example of the LPR with its 16-19 chapters.<sup>164</sup> Originally, the text probably contained fifteen chapters beginning with the birth of Prince Siddhartha and ending with the Parinibbāna of the Buddha. The chapters on King Suddhodana's marriage to Queen Maya at the beginning, and chapters about the division of the relics, the story of Upagutta and Māra, and the story about the disappearance of all Buddha's relics at the end, are later additions to the text.

The LPRb provides more details than the LPRa about events such as the Princess Yasodharā's lamentation and the *aṭṭhakesadhātu* "eight Buddha-hair relics" legend.<sup>165</sup> In addition, the LPRc is nine episodes longer because it elaborates on the events between the Buddha's first teaching and his visit to the city of Kapilavatthu, and also between the

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<sup>162</sup> Laulertvorakul, "Paṭhamasambodhi in Nine Languages," 18.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 18-19. The TYE provides a few more details of what happened after that, and the TYC is a concise version.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

incident in the chapter on Kapilavatthu and his Parinibbāna. However, these differences are elaborations, and the basic story in LPRa, LPRb, and LPRc, is the same.<sup>166</sup>

The *Paṭhamasambodhi* of the second group contain the Māradhīta and Vasudharāvanitā's episodes.<sup>167</sup> However, in the SMT and the LPRc, the Māradhīta episode is located after the enlightenment. The reason for this is that Paramanuchit based his edition of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* on the *Nidānakathā*. This change altered the classical structure established by the LPL in Paramanuchit's text and in subsequent editions of his text.<sup>168</sup>

In the episode that describes the Bodhisattva's near death before his enlightenment, Indra plays a "one-string lute" in the TKN of the first group; however, in all the manuscripts of the second group, Indra uses a "three-string-lute."<sup>169</sup>

The MON version of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* is the only text that contains an episode where the Bodhisattva committed a bad deed and was reborn as a woman named Aṅgīrasa.<sup>170</sup>

The CBD seems to be a word-by-word translation of the SMT and almost all of the equivalent episodes of both editions start and finish with identical phrases.<sup>171</sup> The CBD, while preserving some Thai words, also uses Cambodian vocabulary.

In addition to Paramanuchit's old Thai translation of the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, there is another 30-chapter version composed by 30 *mahātheras* (the great senior monks) that

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 25-26.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 21, 23.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 25.



was used for preaching to King Rama V (1853-1910).<sup>172</sup> The structure of both versions is as follows:

**Table 5 The Siamese Thai *Paṭhamasambodhi* Versions<sup>173</sup>**

<b>The Siamese Thai <i>Paṭhamasambodhi</i> Versions</b>	
<b>Paramanuchitchinorot</b>	<b>30 Elder Monks</b>
Vivāhamaṅgalaparivatta	Pubbabhāgaparivatta/ Buraphabhāga
Tusitaparivatta	Vivāhamaṅgalakathā
Gabbhānikkhamanaparivatta	Tusitaparivatta
Lakkhaṇapariggāhakaparivatta	Gabbhābhinnikkhamanaparivatta
Rājābhisekaparivatta	Lakkhaṇapariggāhanaparivatta
Mahābhinnikkhamanaparivatta	Rājābhisekaparivatta
Dukkarakiriyaṅaparivatta	Mahābhinnikkhamanaparivatta
Buddhapūjāparivatta	Dukkarakiriyaṅaparivatta
Māravijaiparivatta	Buddhapūjāparivatta
Abhisambodhiparivatta	Māravijayaparivatta/ Māravijaiparivatta
Bodhisabbaññūparivatta	Abhisambodhikathāparivatta
Brahmajjhesanaparivatta	Bodhisabbaññūparivatta
Dhammacakkaparivatta	Brahmajjhesanaparivatta
Yasaban[pha]chaparivatta	Dhammacakkappavattanaparivatta

<sup>172</sup> Nippon Suksawat, *Wannakhadi Kiao Kap Phuttha Satsana [Literature on Buddhism]* (Bangkok: Rongphim Phikhanet, 1978), 303-4, cited in Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Nippon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 77.

<sup>173</sup> Elder Monks, *Phra Pathomsomphot Samsip Borichet Khong Phra Thera Taeng Thawai Thet Nai Ratchakan Thi Ha [Phra Pathomsomphot 30 Episodes of Elder Monks Composing for the Purpose of Preaching to King Rama V]* (Phra Nakhon: Rongphim Thai, 1928), n, u.

<b>The Siamese Thai <i>Paṭhamasambodhi</i> Versions</b>	
<b>Paramanuchitchinorot</b>	<b>30 Elder Monks</b>
Uruvelagamanaparivatta	Anattalakkhaṇaparivatta P./ Anattalakkhaṇapariyāya-Yasabanphachaparivatta
Aggasāvakanaphachaparivatta	Uruvelāgamanaparivatta/ Uruvelagamanaparivatta
Kapilavatthugamanaparivatta	Aggasāvakaṇḍāparivatta/ Aggasāvakanaphachaparivatta
Bimbāphilāpparivatta	Kapilavatthugamanaparivatta
Sakkayabanphachaparivatta	Bimbāphilāpparivatta/ Bimbāphilāp
Mettayaphayakonparivatta	Sākkayarāḍḍāparivatta/ Sākkayarāḍḍanaphachaparivatta
Buddhapitunibbānaparivatta	Metteyyabayākaraṇaparivatta/ Metteyyaphayakonparivatta
Yamakapāṭihāriyaparivatta	Buddhapitunibbānaparivatta
Desanāparivatta	Yamakapāṭihāriyaparivatta
Devorohanaparivatta	Desanāparivatta
Aggasāvakanibbānaparivatta	Devorohanaparivatta
Mahānibbānasutraparivatta	Sāvakanibbānaparivatta
Dhātuvibhajjanaparivatta	Mahāparinibbānaparivatta/ Mahāparinibbānasutraparivatta
Mārabandhaparivatta	Dhātuvibhajjanaparivatta
Antaradhānaparivatta	Mārabandhanaparivatta/ Mārabandhaparivatta
	Pañca-antaradhānakathā

While the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanuchitchinorot is the sole author of his Pāli and Thai editions of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* manuscripts, each chapter in the 30-elder-monk edition has its own author.

**Table 6 Authors of the 30-Elder-Monk Edition of Siamese Thai *Paṭhamasambodhi*<sup>174</sup>**

No.	Chapter	Author
1.	Pubbabhāgaparivatta/ Buraphabhāga	Phraphimontham (Aon) of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple
2.	Vivāhamaṅgalakathā	HSH Prince Phra Somdet Phutthachan (That) of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple
3.	Tusitaparivatta	Phrayanasomphot (Kham) of Wat Mahathat Temple
4.	Gabbhābhiniikkhamanaparivatta	Phraratchamuni (Saeng?) of Wat Suthat Temple
5.	Lakkhaṇapariggāhanaparivatta	Somdet Phraphutthakhosachan of Wat Ratchaburana Temple
6.	Rājābhisekaparivatta	Phrathepkawi (Nim) of Wat Khruewan Temple
7.	Mahābhiniikkhamanaparivatta	Phrathamwarodom (Rit) of Wat Bophitphimuk Temple
8.	Dukkarakiriyāparivatta	Phraphrommuni (Muean) of Wat Borommaniwat Temple
9.	Buddhapūjāparivatta	Phrasumethachan (Si) of Wat Chanasongkram Temple

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., n, v, 1-462.

No.	Chapter	Author
10.	Māravijayaparivatta/ Māravijaiparivatta	Phrathammakitti (Chaeng) of Wat Rangsi Temple
11.	Abhisambodhikathāparivatta	Somdet Phrawannarat (Thap) of Sommanatwihan Temple
12.	Bodhisabbaññūparivatta	The Supreme Patriarch (Sa) of Wat Ratchapradit Temple
13.	Brahmajjhesanaparivatta	Phrakhunnawong (Son) of Wat Poramaiyikawat Temple
14.	Dhammacakkappavattanaparivatta	Somdet Kromma Phraya Wachirayanwarorot of Wat Bawonniwet Temple
15.	Anattalakkhaṇaparivatta/ Anattalakkhaṇapariyāya- Yasabanphachaparivatta	The Supreme Patriarch of Wat Ratchabophit Temple
16.	Uruvelāgamanaparivatta/ Uruvelagamanaparivatta	HSH Prince Phra Praphakon of Wat Bawonniwet Temple
17.	Aggasāvakaḥabbajāparivatta/ Aggasāvakabanphachaparivatta	HSH Prince Phrathanmunnahit of Wat Bawonniwet Temple
18.	Kapilavatthugamanaparivatta	Phrathammapamok (Paeng) of Wat Makutkasat Temple
19.	Bimbāphilāpparivatta/ Bimbāphilāp	Phrathammaphanaphilat (Phong) of Wat Payurawong Temple
20.	Sākkayarājapabbajāparivatta/ Sakkayarājabanphachaparivatta	Phra-amaraphirakkhit (On) of Wat Niwetthammaprawat Temple

No.	Chapter	Author
21.	Metteyyabayākaraṇaparivatta/ Metteyyaphayakonparivatta	Phraphimontham (Dit or Tit?) of Wat Mahathat Temple
22.	Buddhapitunibbānaparivatta	Phrasoraphanakawi (Im) of Wat Mahathat Temple
23.	Yamakapāṭihāriyaparivatta	Phrayanatrailok (Klom) of Wat Suwandararam Temple
24.	Desanāparivatta	Phrapariyattiwongsachan (Winyu) of Wat Borommawong-itwararam Temple
25.	Devorohanaparivatta	Phrathammaracha (Tai) of Wat Senasanaram Temple
26.	Sāvakanibbānaparivatta	Phra-ariyakawi (Lap) of Wat Phichaiyatikaram Temple
27.	Mahāparinibbānaparivatta/ Mahāparinibbānasutraparivatta	Somdet Phrawannarat (Daeng) of Wat Suthatsanathepphawararam Temple
28.	Dhātuvibhajjanaparivatta	Phrasriwisutthiwong (Khiaw) of Wat Rachathiwat Temple
29.	Mārabandhanaparivatta/ Mārabandhaparivatta	Phrathamchedi of Wat Molilok Temple
30.	Pañca-antaradhānakathā	Phra-ariyamuni (Em) of Wat Thepsirinthewat Temple

The exact date for the 30-chapter Mahā Thera edition of *Paṭhamasambodhi* is unclear, but took place sometime during the reign of Rama V (October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1868 - October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1910).

Another feature that distinguishes Paramanuchit's work is the details of the narrative of "automaton". Although, the narrative of automaton is also found in the 30-chapter Mahā Thera edition of *Paṭhamasambodhi*, it is somewhat different from that in Paramanuchit's *Paṭhamasambodhi*. According to the Mārabandha episode of Paramanuchit's *Paṭhamasambodhi*, the supreme god Indra, after knowing that the elder monk Mahā Kassapa and King Ajātasattu buried the Buddha's relics, commanded the god Wessukam to come to the world and help protecting the Buddha-relic room.<sup>175</sup> In order to do so, Wessukam divinely conjured "รูปผ้าพยนต์ (RTGS. Rup Pha Phayon)," a cloth robot holding an extremely sharp dagger and whirling around the *stūpa*, before laying a large and long piece of stone above the *that nithan* place (the place where relics are buried underground).<sup>176</sup>

Moreover, when King Asoka found and tried to enter the underground *stūpa*, Indra also ordered Wessukam to go to that place and help prevent dangers and destroy the cloth automaton entirely.<sup>177</sup> Thus, Wessukam took on the shape of a young boy with an arrow and bow in his hand, who approached the king, and volunteered to shoot the cloth automaton causing it to break into pieces.

However, the Mārabandha episode of the 30-elder-monk's *Paṭhamasambodhi* explains that after the Buddha had entered Nirvāṇa, in the city of "โรมวิสัย (RTGS. Rom Wisai)" all people knew a great deal about automaton construction (T. วิชาผูกภาพยนต์); they constructed the automatons and used them to do farming and business.<sup>178</sup> The teachers made note of their students' names who studied this subject and verified it every month; if they saw only a name on the list but did not meet that student, they would know that the student

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<sup>175</sup> Paramanuchitchinorot, *Phra Pathomsomphot Katha*, 561.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 561-2.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 565.

<sup>178</sup> Elder Monks, *Phra Pathomsomphot Samsip Borichet Khong Phra Thera Taeng Thawai Thet Nai Ratchakan Thi Ha*, 440.

had fled, thus constructing the automaton and using it to track and kill that student. For this reason, the knowledge of automaton construction was not widespread in other cities.

Then, there was a man who lived in Pāṭaliputta; he was determined to bring the automaton-making knowledge to his hometown even if it cost him his life.<sup>179</sup> Thus, he travelled to Rom Wisai and learned robotic science until he knew a lot about that subject. He continued to live in that city until his single son was born. When his son grew up, the father gave orders to his son before he fled to Pāṭaliputta, that should the father be killed, the son must go to the father's place of death. Then, the son must learn the knowledge of how to build an automaton, which the father would write down for his son. He instructed his son to then go to Pāṭaliputta, seek the cousins, live with them, and earn a living with the robotic craft.<sup>180</sup> The son of this man was, indeed, the young man who shot the automaton in the Buddha-relic chamber at the time when King Asoka dismantled the Buddha-relic room.<sup>181</sup>

In the next chapter I present the translation of the Mārabandha episode. This is the first English translation of the Mārabandha episode in the repertoire of English scholarship.

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 440-1.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 441.

Chapter 3 English Translation of the Binding of Māra Legend,  
Chapter 28 (*Mārabandhaparivattapariccheda Thi* ๒๘) from  
Paramanuchitchinorot's 1902 Old Thai Translation of the  
*Paṭhamasambodhi*<sup>182</sup>

**Title page**

## **Phra Pathomsomphot Katha**

The Work of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanuchitchinorot

Edited by Phra Phimontham (Dit) of Wat Maha That Temple

Published by Mr. Si

For 1,000 copies

For selling to the faithful

At the price of six baht per book

Printed at

Siri Charoen Press, Saphanhan District, Bangkok

Rattanakosin Era 121<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> The 1902 old Thai translation of Paramanuchitchinorot's *Paṭhamasambodhi*, or *Phra Pathomsomphot Katha*, was edited by Phra Phimontham (Dit) of Wat Maha That Temple and published in Bangkok: Siri Charoen Press, 1902.

<sup>183</sup> Rattanakosin Era 121 (RE 121) is equal to Buddhist Era 2445 (BE 2445), or Christian Era 1902 (1902 CE).



*Chapter 28 The Binding of Māra Legend*<sup>184</sup>

After the relic-enshrined *stūpas* had been installed in various countries, the Elder Mahā Kassapa saw visions of the future<sup>185</sup>: “there will be a danger to the Buddha’s relics.” Therefore, he entered King Ajātasattu’s palace and said: “Your Majesty should do an act of *that nithan*<sup>186</sup> that is to bury the relics in the ground. Hence, they will escape from all dangers.”

“Sādhu!” the great king agreed, and said “Burying the Buddha’s relics underground is my responsibility. But how can I obtain other Buddha relics that are not in my possession?”

“Your Majesty, taking the Buddha’s relics is none of your concern. Indeed, it is my responsibility to bring them here.”

“If Your Holiness is able to go get them and bring them here, then I shall perform and accomplish *that nithan*,” said the king.

Afterwards the Most Venerable

took the Buddha’s relics from the six cities by his supernatural power without any arguments with the royal families there; he then brought all holy relics to Rājagaha,

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<sup>184</sup> P. Mārabandhaparivattapariccheda Thi ๒๘

<sup>185</sup> oT. พิจารณาเห็นว่า

<sup>186</sup> oT. ธาตุนิธาน, RTGS. *that nithan*, P. *dhātunidhāna*. According to page 1784 of the fourth volume of *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition*, the term *dhātu* can be defined as “...4. the remains of the body after cremation PvA 76; a relic VvA 165 (*sarīra*°, bodily relic); Dāvs v.3 (*dasana*° the tooth relic).” In addition, the page 1879 of the same volume defines the term *nidhāna* as “(nt.) [Vedic *nidhāna*, see *nidahati*] laying down, depositing, keeping; receptacle; accumulation, (hidden) treasure.”

except for the one that was kept in Rāmagāma.<sup>187</sup> The Most Venerable Māha Kassapa foresaw that a *Nāgarājā*<sup>188</sup> would later take this relic and install it in the *realm of the Nāgas*<sup>189</sup>-well out of harm's way, and in the future this relic would dwell in *the island of Lanka*<sup>190</sup> in *the great cetiya*<sup>191</sup> at *Mahāvihāra*<sup>192</sup>.

Furthermore, *Phra Mahā Kassapa*<sup>193</sup> installed seven portions of the Buddha's relics in the southeastern part of Rājagaha, and then made a wish:

In this place there are stones. May they disappear, making the ground entirely pure. May the stream of water also never gush out in this area.

The king then ordered a group of men to excavate the area and use the earth to make bricks to build a *stūpa* dedicated to all *80 great disciples*<sup>194</sup>. If someone asked what the

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<sup>187</sup> These six cities are Kusinārā, Vesālī, Kapilavatthu, Allakappa, Vethadīpa (or Vethadīpaka), and Pāvā.

<sup>188</sup> oT. พระยานาคราช, oT. *phraya* + P. *nāgarāja* = *phraya nāgarāja*. According to page 1828 of the fourth volume of *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition*, the term *nāga* can be defined as “1. a serpent or *Nāga* demon, playing a prominent part in Buddh. fairy-tales, gifted with miraculous powers & great strength. They often act as fairies & are classed with other divinities (see *devatā*), with whom they are sometimes friendly, sometimes at enmity (as with the *Garuḥas*).” In addition, it can be seen on page 1829 of the same volume that the term *nāga-rājā* means “king of the *Nāgas*, i.e. serpents.”

<sup>189</sup> oT. นาคพิภพ, RTGS. *nakkha phiphop*, P. *nāga* + oT. *phiphop* = *nāgaphiphop*. According to page 1829 of the fourth volume of *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition*, the term “นาคพิภพ (*nakkha phiphop*)” or “the world of snakes” is the definition of the Pāli term “*nāga-bhavana*.”

<sup>190</sup> oT. ลังกาทวีป, S. *lankā* + P. *dīpa* = *Laṅkādīpa*

<sup>191</sup> oT. พระมหาเจดีย์, oT. *phra* + P. *mahā* + P. *ceṭiya* = *phra mahāceṭiya*

<sup>192</sup> oT. มหาวีหาร, P. *Mahāvihāra*

<sup>193</sup> oT. พระมหากัสสปเถระเจ้า, oT. *phra* + P. *mahā* + P. *kassapa* + P. *thera* + oT. *chao* = *Phramahākassapatherachao*

<sup>194</sup> oT. พระอสีติมหาสาวก, RTGS. *phra asitimahasawok*, oT. *phra* + P. *asīti* + P. *mahā* + P. *sāvaka* = *Phra-asītimahāsāvaka*. According to buddhaleela.com <[http://www.buddhaleela.com/buddhist\\_monks.htm](http://www.buddhaleela.com/buddhist_monks.htm)> (2 August 2015), *Asītimahāsāvaka* or the 80 great disciples is “the great Bhikkhu who propagated Buddhism while the Lord Buddha was still alive until he died (Parinibbāna).” In buddhanet-de.net <<http://www.buddhanet-de.net/ancient-buddhist-texts/Reference/Disciples.htm>> (2 August 2015), the names of the 80 great disciples are listed in relation to seniority: (1) Aññā Koṇḍañña, (2) Vappa, (3) Bhaddiya, (4) Mahānāma, (5) Assaji, (6) Nālaka, (7) Yasa, (8) Vimala, (9) Subāhu, (10) Puṇṇaji, (11) Gavampati, (12) Uruvelakassapa, (13) Nadīkassapa, (14) Gayākassapa, (15) Sāriputta, (16) Mahāmoggallāna, (17) Mahākassapa, (18) Mahākaccāna, (19) Mahākoṭṭhika, (20) Mahākappina, (21) Mahācunda, (22) Anuruddha, (23) Kaṅkhārevata, (24) Ānanda, (25) Nandaka, (26) Bhagu, (27) Nanda, (28) Kimila, (29) Bhaddiya, (30) Rāhula, (31) Sīvali, (32) Upāli, (33) Dabba, (34) Upasena, (35) Khadiravaniyarevata, (36) Puṇṇo Mantāniputta, (37) Puṇṇo Sunāparantaka, (38) Soṇo kuṭikaṇṇa, (39)

king was doing, they would answer that he built a *stūpa* dedicated to *the great Buddha disciples*<sup>195</sup>. And unconditionally, no one was allowed to know that the king was burying the Buddha's relics!

Moreover, the king's men excavated that area to a depth of 80 *cubits*<sup>196</sup>, fully paved the bottom ground with copper plates, then built a house from copper almost as big as a *Buddhist cetiya*.<sup>197</sup> They also made sets of caskets and *stūpas* from all sorts of materials such as the heartwood of the yellow sandalwood tree,

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and made a set of eight caskets of increasing size and a set of eight *stūpas* of increasing size from each kind of material.

Then they put all the Buddha's relics into a small yellow-sandalwood casket and put that box into a larger yellow-sandalwood casket, and so on, until there were a total of eight yellow-sandalwood caskets of increasing size. Then they placed these caskets, one inside the other, inside a set of eight yellow-sandalwood *stūpas* of increasing size.

Then they placed the set of eight yellow-sandalwood *stūpas* of increasing size inside a set of eight red-sandalwood caskets of increasing size. Then they placed the set of eight red-sandalwood caskets of increasing size inside a set of eight red-sandalwood *stūpas* of increasing size.

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Soṇo koḷivisa, (40) Rādha, (41) Subhūti, (42) Aṅgulimāla, (43) Vakkali, (44) Kāḷudāyī, (45) Mahā-Udāyī, (46) Pilindavaccha, (47) Sobhita, (48) Kumārakassapa, (49) Raṭṭhapāla, (50) Vaṅḡisa, (51) Sabhiya, (52) Sela, (53) Upavāṇa, (54) Meghiya, (55) Sāgata, (56) Nāgita, (57) Lakunḡaka Bhaddiya, (58) Piṅḡolo Bhāradvāja, (59) Mahā Panthaka, (60) Culla Panthaka, (61) Bākula, (62) Kuṅḡadhāna, (63) Dārucīriya, (64) Yasoja, (65) Ajita, (66) Tissametteyya, (67) Puṅḡaka, (68) Mettagū, (69) Dhotaka, (70) Upasīva, (71) Nanda, (72) Hemaka, (73) Todeyya, (74) Kappa, (75) Jatukaṅḡī, (76) Bhadrāvudha, (77) Udaya, (78) Posala, (79) Mogharājā, (80) Piṅḡiya.

<sup>195</sup> oT. พระมหาสาวก

<sup>196</sup> oT. ศอก

<sup>197</sup> oT. พระเจดีย์สถาน , oT. พระ + P. *ceṭiya* + P. *thāna* = *phra ceṭiyathāna*

Then they put the set of eight red-sandalwood *stūpas* of increasing size inside a set of eight ivory boxes of increasing size. Then they put the set of eight ivory boxes of increasing size inside a set of eight ivory *stūpas* of increasing size.

Then they put the set of eight ivory *stūpas* of increasing size inside a set of eight *variegated-gem*<sup>198</sup> boxes of increasing size. Then they put the set of eight variegated-gem boxes of increasing size inside a set of eight variegated-gem *stūpas* of increasing size.

Then they put the set of eight variegated-gem *stūpas* of increasing size inside a set of eight golden caskets of increasing size. Then they put the set of eight golden caskets of increasing size inside a set of eight golden *stūpas* of increasing size.

Then they put the set of eight golden *stūpas* of increasing size inside a set of eight silver caskets of increasing size. Then they put the set of eight silver caskets of increasing size in a set of eight silver *stūpas* of increasing size.

They put the silver *stūpas* in *kaeo-maṇi*<sup>199</sup>-gem boxes. They put the *kaeo-maṇi*-gem boxes in *kaeo-maṇi*-gem *stūpas*, then in *red-gem*<sup>200</sup> boxes, then in red-gem *stūpas*, then in *striped-gem*<sup>201</sup> boxes, and in striped-gem *stūpas*,

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then in *crystal*<sup>202</sup> boxes, then in crystal *stūpas*.

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<sup>198</sup> oT. แก้วต่างๆ. “For a discussion of the importance of jewels in Buddhist texts see Phyllis Granoff, “Maitreya’s Jewelled World: Some Remarks on Gems and Visions,” *Buddhist Journal of Indian Philosophy* vol. 26, no. 4 (1998): 347-71.

<sup>199</sup> oT. แก้วมณี, oT. *kaeo* + P. *maṇi* = *kaeo maṇi*

<sup>200</sup> oT. แก้วแดง

<sup>201</sup> oT. แก้วลาย

<sup>202</sup> oT. แก้วพลีถ

In short, each set of unique containers consisted of eight items of increasing size placed inside the other respectively. In addition, the furthest outer crystal *stūpa* was about as big as the *cetiya* in Thūpārāma<sup>203</sup>.

Then they built a house<sup>204</sup> that was composed of<sup>205</sup> seven kinds of gems, and placed it over the outer crystal *stūpa*. Then they built a golden house and placed it over the *seven-precious-stone*<sup>206</sup> house.

Then they built a silver house and placed it over the golden house. Then they placed a large house made of copper that has been built earlier over the silver house.

Then they scattered sand that consisted of seven types of precious gems over the ground. Then they also scattered various kinds of flowers that grew on the water or in the earth all around the outer crystal *stūpa*.

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<sup>203</sup> OT. อุปาราม, P. *thūpa* + P. *ārāma* = Thūpārāma. According to *Buddhist Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* <[http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali\\_names/t/thuupaaraama.htm](http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali_names/t/thuupaaraama.htm)> (2 August 2015), “Thūpārāma” is “a monastery near the southern wall of Anurādhapura, erected by Devānampiyatissa. The spot was consecrated by the Buddha having sat there in meditation (Mhv.i.82) and also by former Buddhas doing likewise (Mhv.xv.86). The *thūpa* there was the first of its kind in Ceylon and enshrined the Buddha’s collar-bone. Miracles, said to have been ordained by the Buddha himself, attended its enshrinement (Mhv.xvii.30, 50). The monastery was built later than the *thūpa*, hence its name (Mhv.xvii.62). One of the eight saplings of the Bodhi-tree at Anurādhapura was planted in the grounds and exists to this day (Mhv.xix.61). The Cittasālā was to the east of the Thūpārāma, and on that site Sanghamittā was cremated (Mhv.xx.52). It was the monks of Thūpārāma who helped Thūlatthana to become king (Mhv.xxxiii.17).” In addition, the same dictionary explains that Thupārāma is also “the name of a building in Pulatthipura. The date of erection and name of the founder are unknown, but it probably existed before the time of Parakkamabāhu I (Cv.lx.56; Cv. Trs.i.220, n.1; ii.105, n.5).”

<sup>204</sup> PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1902, 560] ๓๓๓๓; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1895, 561] ๓๓๓๓; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1935, 502] ๓๓๓๓; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1960, 452] ๓๓๓๓; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1962, 524] ๓๓๓๓; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 2011, 424] ๓๓๓๓

<sup>205</sup> OT. แล้วไปด้วย

<sup>206</sup> OT. แก้ว ๗ ประการ

Then they made images of *the great Bodhisattva*<sup>207</sup> in his 550 lifetimes, *eight*<sup>208</sup> Asītimahātheras, King Suddhodana the Great and *Queen Siri Mahāmāyā*<sup>209</sup>, and *the seven sahajātis*<sup>210</sup> that were born at the same time as the Bodhisattva. Everything was made from gold.

Then the king’s men installed silver and golden water pots, 500 of each, and *installed*<sup>211</sup> 500 golden flags. Likewise, they installed golden and silver lamps, 500 of each, which were full of fragrant oils, with wicks made from *fine cloth*<sup>212</sup>. Then they lit the lamps for venerating the Buddha’s relics.

After that, Phra Mahā Kassapa made a wish:

All the offerings that are flowers shall not wilt and their fragrance shall not recede;  
and the lamplight shall not extinguish, but it shall exist at all times.

Then His Holiness gave the order to carve

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<sup>207</sup> oT. พระบรมโพธิสัตว์, oT. *phra* + P. *parama* + S. *bodhisattva* = Phra Paramabodhisattva

<sup>208</sup> PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1902, 560] **eight**; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1895, 561] **eight**; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1935, 502] **80**; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1960, 452] **80**; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1962, 524] **seven**; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 2011, 424] **seven**

<sup>209</sup> oT. พระสิริมหามายาเทวี, oT. *phra* + P. *siri* + P. *mahā* +P. *māyā* +P. *devi* =Phra Sirimahāmāyādevi

<sup>210</sup> oT. สหชาติ, P. *sahajāti*. According to page 3607 of the eighth volume of *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition*, the term *saha-jāta* means “1. Born at the same time, of equal age...2. arisen at the same time, coinciding with (instr.)...3. (in °paccaya) the relation of co-nascence, coincidence...” In addition, it is stated on page 50 of chapter 3 Gabbhābhikkhamana of the 2011 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* (PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 2011, 50]) that the seven *sahajātis*, which are humans, animals, and things, that were born or arisen on the same day as the Bodhisattva (Prince Siddhattha), were: (1) Princess Bimbā, (2) Venerable Ānanda, (3) Kāludāyī the Royal Adviser, (4) Channa (Prince Siddhattha’s charioteer and companion), (6) Kanthaka the Royal Horse, (6) Bodhi Tree, and (7) the four goldmines.

<sup>211</sup> oT. ปัก

<sup>212</sup> oT. ผ้ากุลพัตร, P. *dukūla* + S. *vastra* = *dukūla-vastra*. According to page 1701 of the fourth volume of *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition*, the term *dukūla* is defined as “[Sk. *dukūla*] a certain (jute?) plant; (nt.) [cp. Sk. *dukūlam*] woven silk] very fine cloth, made of the fibre of the d. plant.” In addition, *Monier Williams Dictionary (2014 revision)* <<http://www.sanskrit-lexicon.uni-koeln.de/scans/MWScan/2014/web/webtc/indexcaller.php>> defines the term *vastra* as “n. (or m. g. ardharcā\*di; ifc. f(ā).) cloth, clothes, garment, raiment, dress, cover RV. &c.” and “n. a leaf of the cinnamon tree L.”

this prophetic inscription on a gold leaf and deposited it in the Buddha-relic house:

In the future when Prince Asoka ascends the throne as King *Dhammāsokarāja*<sup>213</sup>, he will distribute all the Buddha’s relics to all around *Jambudvīpa*<sup>214</sup>.

As for King Ajātasattu, he worshipped the relics with royal, jewelled ornaments and exited the building. After that, by the King’s order, his attendants *opened*<sup>215</sup> the doors of the sacred Buddha-relic houses, installed hasps and rings, and padlocked, and sealed every entrance to the Buddha-relic houses, all the way to the exterior door of the copper house.

Then, he had them place a huge chunk of *kaeo-maṇi* gem on the copper house’s door and inscribed letters on the door panels:

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<sup>213</sup> oT. ธรรมาสโศกราช, P. *Dhammāsokarāja*

<sup>214</sup> oT. จมภูทวีป, mT. จมพูทวีป, P. *Jambudīpa*, S. *Jambudvīpa*. According to page 274 of Franklin Edgerton’s *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary (Volume II: Dictionary)*, the term *dvīpa* can be defined as “(Pali *dīpa*, see below: as in Skt. Usually m. but sometimes nt., e.g. Divy 214.25; Mv iii.378.2; the gender of the names follows that of the word *dvīpa* in the context; normally they are m.), one of the four continents, which to Buddhists are *Jambudvīpa*.” According to Buddhist Dictionary of Pali Proper Names <[http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali\\_names/j/jambudīpa.htm](http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali_names/j/jambudīpa.htm)> (3 August 2015), *Jambudīpa* is “one of the four *Mahādīpas*, or great continents, which are included in the *Cakkavāla* and are ruled by a *Cakkavatti*. They are grouped round Mount *Sineru*. In *Jambudīpa* is *Himavā* with its eighty-four thousand peaks, its lakes, mountain ranges, etc. This continent derives its name from the *Jambu-tree* (also called *Naga*) which grows there, its trunk fifteen *yojanas* in girth, its outspreading branches fifty *yojanas* in length, its shade one hundred *yojanas* in extent and its height one hundred *yojanas* (Vin.i.30; SNA.ii.443; Vsm.i.205f; Sp.i.119, etc.). On account of this tree, *Jambudīpa* is also known as *Jambusanda* (SN.vs.552; SNA.i.121). The continent is ten thousand *yojanas* in extent; of these ten thousand, four thousand are covered by the ocean, three thousand by the *Himālaya* mountains, while three thousand are inhabited by men (SNA.ii.437; UdA.300).”

<sup>215</sup> The term “เปิด (verb)” means *to open*; the term “ปิด (verb)” means *to close*. Considering the context-the king exited the building and every door was then padlocked, fastened and sealed, the term “เปิด (*to open*)” used here causes this phrase to do not make sense at all; on the contrary it is sensible to use the term “ปิด (*to close*).” Thus, I consider the term “เปิด (*to open*)” appearing here as possibly due to printing error. PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1902, 561] เปิด; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1895, 562] ปิด; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1935, 503] ปิด; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1960, 453] ปิด; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1962, 525] ปิด; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 2011, 425] ปิด

In the future, there will be a *poor king*<sup>216</sup>, who will come to dismantle the Buddha-relic room. Take this chunk of *kaeo-maṇi* gem to worship the Buddha’s relics!

On that occasion, Indra knew that “King Ajātasattu and *Phra*<sup>217</sup> Mahā Kassapa were building the place for burying the relics,” so he commanded *Wessukam*<sup>218</sup>, “You will descend and help to protect and maintain the holy-relic chamber.”

Wessukam obeyed the divine command, and came down to the Buddha-relic house. With his divine power he created a cloth automaton, which held a razor-sharp dagger

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in its hand, had an astonishing, terrifying, crystal-like, radiant complexion, and whirled around *the stūpa*<sup>219</sup> as if the wind blew. Then the deity laid a long and large chunk of stone on top of the Buddha-relic house; then divinely conjured up bricks and mortar, laying them on the stone; then smoothed, buried, and laid a mound of earth on top of the stone, until it was level with the original ground. Then the deity divinely conjured up one another stone *stūpa*, enshrined and laid that *stūpa* over the place where the *that nithan* was located. After Wessukam completely covered the location of *that nithan*, he returned to heaven.

After the performance of *that nithan* was accomplished, Phra Mahā Kassapa lived to the end of his life span before passing away and entering into *Phra Parinibbāna*<sup>220</sup>. As for

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<sup>216</sup> oT. พระยาเจ้าใจ

<sup>217</sup> *Phra* is a Mon Khmer Tai honorific title meaning “venerable,” “royal”, and “sacred.” It is usually used to indicate a Buddhist monk.

<sup>218</sup> oT. เวศสุกรรม, mT. เวศสุกรรม. Wessukam is a devata, the deity or god of sacred architecture.

<sup>219</sup> oT. พระธาตุ

<sup>220</sup> The Pāli term *nibbāna* is equal to the Sanskrit term *nirvāṇa* (oT. พระปรินิพพาน, oT. *phra* + P. *parinibbāna* = Phra Parinibbāna). According to page 2230 of the fifth volume of *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition*, the term “Parinibbāna” can be defined as “(nt.) [pari + nibbāna] “complete Nibbāna” in two meanings: 1. complete extinction of khandha-life; i.e. all possibility of such life & its rebirth, final release from (the misery of) rebirth and transmigration, death (after the last life-span of an Arahant). This is the so-called “an-upādi-sesa Parinibbāna,” or “extinction with no rebirth-substratum left.”—2. release from cravings & attachment to life, emancipation (in this life) with the assurance of final



King Ajātasattu, he passed away and journeyed to the next life according to his own *kamma*<sup>221</sup>.

Two hundred and eighteen years after the Mahāparinibbāna elapsed, Prince Asoka ascended the throne, and put up the white umbrella of kingship in *Pāṭaliputta the great capital city*.<sup>222</sup> Upon becoming the Dhammā-asoka-rāja, he dismantled the Buddha-relics house and distributed all the Buddha’s relics to all the people around Jambudvīpa. The question arose as to why King Dhammāsokarāja dismantled the Buddha-relic house.

The answer to this question was that the great king was inspired by a young novice named *Nigrodha*<sup>223</sup> to have faith in Buddhism. Therefore, he commissioned the construction of 84,000 monasteries and *stūpas* all around Jambudvīpa and asked Buddhist monks:

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death; freedom of spirit, calm, perfect well-being or peace of soul. This is the so-called “sa-upādisesa-P.,” or “extinction (of passion) with some substratum left.”

<sup>221</sup> The Pāli term *kamma* is equal to the Sanskrit term *karma* (oT. กรรม, P, *kamma*). According to Oxforddictionaries.com, the term “karma” can be defined as “(In Hinduism and Buddhism) the sum of a person’s actions in this and previous states of existence, viewed as deciding their fate in future existences.”

<sup>222</sup> oT. กรุงปาตลิมุทมหานคร , P. Pāṭaliputta. According to page 213 of Damien Keown’s *A Dictionary of Buddhism*, Pāṭaliputta is “modern-day Patna, originally built by Ajātasattu and later the capital of the ancient Indian state of Magadha. Its key central location in north central India led rulers of successive dynasties to base their administrative capital here, from the Mauryans and the Guptas down to the Pālas. In the Buddha’s day it was a village known as Pāṭaligāma. He visited it shortly before his death and prophesied it would be great but would face destruction either by fire, water, or civil war. Two important councils were held here, the first at the death of the Buddha and the second in the reign of Aśoka (see COUNCIL OF PĀṬALIPUTRA I, II). The city prospered under the Mauryas and a Greek ambassador Megasthenes resided there and left a detailed account of its splendour. The city also became a flourishing Buddhist centre boasting a number of important monasteries. Known to the Greeks as Pālībothra, it remained the capital throughout most of the Gupta dynasty (4–6th centuries BCE). The city was largely in ruins when visited by Hsüan Tsang, and suffered further damage at the hands of Muslim raiders in the 12th century. Though parts of the city have been excavated, much of it still lies buried beneath modern Patna.”

<sup>223</sup> oT. นิกโรธ, P. Nigrodha. According to *Buddhist Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* <[http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali\\_names/n/nigrodha.htm](http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali_names/n/nigrodha.htm)> (3 August 2015), Nigrodha or Nigrodha *sāmaṇera* was “the son of Sumana, the eldest of Bimbisāra’s children, and his mother was Sumanā. When Asoka slew Sumana, his wife, who was with child, fled to a *candāla* village, where the guardian deity of a *nigrodha* tree built her a hut. Here she gave birth to her son, whom she named after her benefactor. The chief *candāla* looked after them. When Nigrodha was seven years old, the Thera Mahāvaruna ordained him, and he became an arahant in the tonsure hall. One day, while walking near the palace, Asoka saw him and, because of their connection in a past life, was attracted by him. Nigrodha had been one of the three brothers who gave honey to a Pacceka Buddha in a past life (for the story see Asoka and Mhv.v.49ff). Nigrodha had called the Pacceka Buddha a *candāla*, hence he was born in a *candāla* village. Asoka invited

“Where may I obtain the Buddha’s relics to place in all the 84,000 *stūpas*?”

“We have heard from the ancestors that there is a *that nithan*, but we do not know where it is located,” replied the Buddhist monks.

The great king first dismantled the *stūpa* in Rājagṛha to search for the Buddha’s relics, but did not find them. Thereupon he had the *stūpa* at Rājagṛha reconstructed to its original form.

Then, he brought the four divisions of the Buddhists: *bhikṣu*<sup>224</sup>, *bhikṣunī*<sup>225</sup>, *upāsaka*<sup>226</sup>, and *upāsikā*<sup>227</sup>, and also four divisions of his army to the city of *Vesāli*.<sup>228</sup> He had the *cetiya* at that city dismantled in search of the Buddha’s relics, but did not find any. Thereupon, he had this *stūpa* at Vesāli reconstructed to its original form.

Then the king went to *Rāmagāma*<sup>229</sup>, had his troops dismantle the *cetiya* at that city, but could not destroy it because an army of *nāgas* protected it from breaking apart until the

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Nigrodha to the palace and entertained him, and Nigrodha preached to him the Appamāda Vagga. The king was greatly pleased, and offered to give food daily at the palace to thirty two monks in Nigrodha’s name. It was this visit of Nigrodha to Asoka which ultimately resulted in the conversion of the latter to the faith of the Buddha (for details see *ibid.*, 37-72; Dpv.vi.34ff.; vii.12, 31; Sp.i.45ff). It is said (MA.ii.931) that Asoka paid great honour to Nigrodha throughout his life. Three times a day he sent to Nigrodha gifts of robes carried on the backs of elephants, with five hundred measures of perfume and five hundred caskets of garlands. All these Nigrodha would distribute among his colleagues, and most of the monks of Jambudīpa at that time wore robes, which were the gift of Nigrodha.”

<sup>224</sup> Bhikṣu means Buddhist monk (oT. भिक्खु, P., *bhikkhu*, S. *bhikṣu*).

<sup>225</sup> Bhikṣunī means Buddhist nun (oT. भिक्खुणी, P., *bhikkhunī*, S. *bhikṣunī*).

<sup>226</sup> Upāsaka means Buddhist layman (P. *upāsaka*).

<sup>227</sup> Upāsikā means Buddhist laywoman (P. *upāsikā*).

<sup>228</sup> Vesāli is a city and Buddhist pilgrimage site in Northern India. According to *Buddhist Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* <[http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali\\_names/vy/vesaali.htm](http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali_names/vy/vesaali.htm)> (3 August 2015), Vesāli was “a city, capital of the Licchavis. The Buddha first visited it in the fifth year after the enlightenment, and spent the *vassa* (rain season) there (BuA., p. 3)...The Telovāda Jātaka (No. 246) and the Sigāla Jātaka (No. 152) were preached at Vesāli. After the Buddha’s death a portion of his relics was enshrined in the City. (D.ii.167; Bu.xxviii.2).”

<sup>229</sup> Rāmagāma is a city and Buddhist pilgrimage site in Northern India. According to *Buddhist Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* <[http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali\\_names/r/ramagama.htm](http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali_names/r/ramagama.htm)> (3 August

hoes, spades, and chisels that the troops were using broke into pieces, and he could not satisfy his wish.

Then the king marched to Allakappa, *Vethadīpa*<sup>230</sup>, *Pāvā*<sup>231</sup>, and *Kusinārā*<sup>232</sup>. He ordered the destruction of the *cetiya*s at these four cities, but could not find the Buddha's relics. He then reconstructed the *cetiya*s back to their original form. Then he went back to Rājagṛha again, and convened the four divisions of the Buddhists. He then asked if anyone had heard before about the whereabouts of the *that nithan*.

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2015), Rāmagāma was “a Koliyan village on the banks of the Ganges. Its inhabitants claimed and obtained a share of the Buddha's relics, over which they erected a thūpa (D.ii.167; Bu.xxviii.3; Dvy.380). This thūpa was later destroyed by floods, and the urn, with the relics, was washed into the sea. There the Nāgas, led by their king, Mahākāla, received it and took it to their abode in Mañjerika where a thūpa was built over them, with a temple attached, and great honour was paid to them. When Dutthagāmani built the Mahā Thūpa and asked for relics to be enshrined therein, Mahinda sent Sonuttara to the Nāga world to obtain these relics, the Buddha having ordained that they should ultimately be enshrined in the Mahā Thūpa. But Mahākāla was not willing to part with them, and Sonuttara had to use his iddhi power to obtain them. A few of the relics were later returned to the Nāgas for their worship. For details see Mhv.xxxi.18ff.”

<sup>230</sup> Vethadīpa is a city and Buddhist pilgrimage site in Northern India. According to *Buddhist Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* <[http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali\\_names/vy/vethadiipa.htm](http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali_names/vy/vethadiipa.htm)> (3 August 2015), Vethadīpa or Vethadīpaka was “a brahmin settlement, the chieftain of which claimed a part of the Buddha's relics; having obtained the relics, he built at thūpa over them (D.ii.165, 167; Bu.xxviii.3). According to the Dhammapada Commentary, the kings of Vethadīpaka and Allakappa once lived intimate friendship. (DhA.i.161; see J.R.A.S. 1907, p. 1049).”

<sup>231</sup> Pāvā is a city and Buddhist pilgrimage site in Northern India. According to *Buddhist Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* <[http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali\\_names/pa/pava.htm](http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali_names/pa/pava.htm)> (3 August 2015), Pāvā was “a city of the Mallas which the Buddha visited during his last journey, going there from Bhogagāma and stopping at Cunda's mango grove. Cunda lived in Pāvā and invited the Buddha to a meal, which proved to be his last. It was on this occasion that the Cunda Sutta (1) was preached (SNA.i. 159)...After the Buddha's death, the Mallas of Pāvā claimed a share in his relics. Dona satisfied their claim, and a Thūpa was erected in Pāvā over their share of the relics (D.ii.167; Bu.xxviii.3).”

<sup>232</sup> Kusinārā is a city and Buddhist pilgrimage site in Northern India. According to *Buddhist Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* <[http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali\\_names/ku/kusinaaraa.htm](http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali_names/ku/kusinaaraa.htm)> (3 August 2015), Kusinārā was “the capital of the Mallas and the scene of the Buddha's death. At that time it was a small city, “a branch-township with wattle-and-daub houses in the midst of the jungle,” and Ananda was, at first, disappointed that the Buddha should have chosen it for his Parinibbāna. But the Buddha, by preaching the Mahā-Sudassana Sutta, pointed out to him that in ancient times it had been Kusāvati, the royal city of Mahā-Sudassana (D.ii.146). Between Kusinārā and Pāvā, three gāvutas away (DA.ii.573) - from where the Buddha came to Kusinārā on his last journey from Rājagaha, stopping at various places - lay the stream of Kakuttha on the banks of which was the Ambavana; beyond that was the Hirañnavatī river, and near the city, in a south-westerly direction, lay the Upavattana, the Sāla-grove of the Mallas, which the Buddha made his last resting-place (UdA.238; DA.ii.572f)...As the scene of his death, Kusinārā became one of the four holy places declared by the Buddha to be fit places of pilgrimage for the pious, the other three being Kapilavatthu, Buddhagayā and Isipatana (D.ii.140)...According to a late tradition, one-eighth of the Buddha's relics were deposited in a cairn in Kusinārā and honoured by the Mallas (D.ii.167; Bu.xxviii.3).”

A *mahāthera* monk who was 120 years old said “the *that nithan* is located

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in a place that I do not actually know. But a *mahāthera* monk, who was my father, carrying garlands of flowers, took me to a certain place when I was seven years old and was ordaining as a novice. There, he said to me, ‘Come, *Samanen!*<sup>233</sup>’ and pointed, ‘In between those thickets, there is a stone *stūpa*. We shall go together and pay our respects.’ After reaching that place and making a reverential salutation, he said ‘*Samanen!* You should consider this locality as an important place.’ And this is all I know.”

Having heard this, the great king said, “The *that nithan* is probably enshrined in that place.” The king asked the *mahāthera* monk to escort him to that district.

When the thickets were removed, the stone *stūpa* appeared. Then the king had it hauled away and taken elsewhere. When the mound of earth was excavated, the mortar floor appeared and the king had the mortar, bricks, and stone supports dug up and dismantled. Then he ordered the people to go down to the area, where they saw the jewelled sands of the seven gems, eight cubits in depth, scattered over the whole area as well as the copper house and the cloth automaton holding the dagger in its hand and whirling around the building.

Not knowing what he should do, the great king ordered that a *witch*<sup>234</sup> be found who could conjure up deities. Then the king had all sorts of offerings prepared, and had music played. But unfortunately the king was unable to stop the cloth automaton, and he was frantic with worry. So he placed the palms of his hands together and saluted

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<sup>233</sup> อท. สามเณร, P. *sāmaṇera*

<sup>234</sup> อท. แม่มด, RTGS. *maemot*. According to page 658 of George Bradley McFarland’s *Thai-English Dictionary*, the term “แม่มด (*maemot*)” means “a witch; a sorceress.”

the deities, and announced, “All deities who possess mighty power! I wish to take the Buddha’s relics and enshrine them in *cetiyas* at all 84,000 monasteries so that humans and deities in all countries can worship them. Therefore, Buddhism will flourish and spread to every city and kingdom. May all the deities come and help to ward off dangers and fulfil my wish to obtain the Buddha’s relics at this very moment!”

At that time, Indra, understanding the wish, commanded the angel Wessukam, “Now King Dhammāsokarāja is going to take the Buddha relics away from this place. You shall descend, to help prevent dangers, and completely destroy the cloth automaton.”

The angel Wessukam received the divine command and therefore descended to the Buddha-relic house. He assumed the form of a local boy, about five years old, holding a bow and arrow in his hand. He approached and stood in front of the king, and told him, “I shall volunteer to shoot this cloth automaton and sever it into pieces!”

“So be it,” said the king.

Therefore, the boy strung, nocked, and shot the arrow, cutting off a knot in the automaton’s strings. The cloth automaton was torn and fell in pieces to the ground. King Dhammāsokarāja was very happy, praised the boy for his performance, and approached the copper house’s door. He ordered the destruction of

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the seals, both the padlock and the hasp, which were affixed to the threshold at the base of the door pane. Then, he saw the huge chunk of *kaeo-maṇi* gem as well as the scripts engraved on the door that read, “In the future, there will be a poor lord, who will come to dismantle the Buddha-relic room. Take this chunk of *kaeo-maṇi* gem to worship the Buddha’s relics!”

When he read and knew the meaning of the scripts, he felt offended and said, “A king like me possesses power that spreads throughout Jambudvīpa. Is it fair to criticise me as a poor king? To what extent did a king in the olden times possess power and honour, wealth, prosperity, property, and enjoyment?”

Therefore, he opened the metal door, entering into every layer of the Buddha-relic houses until reaching the house of seven gems. Opening the door, he entered into the Buddha-relic room, and saw the brightness of the shining lamps. All the flower offerings gave off a pleasant smell floating in the air as if they had just been picked at that very moment. The fragrance had lasted for 218 years and still perfumed the room of the *that nithan*. None of the offerings had deteriorated or vanished due to the miraculous power of the elder Mahā Kassapa’s strong wish.

Having seen this, the king was amazed, and happiness spread throughout his whole body. Then he saw the golden plate

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that had characters engraved on it. He picked it up and read that in the future whenever Prince Asoka was crowned King *Dhammāsokarāja*<sup>235</sup> and his coronation was solemnised, he would dismantle the place of the *that nithan*, and distribute and enshrine the Buddha’s relics all over Jambudvīpa.

Therefore, he was very happy and said to courtiers, “Everyone! His Holiness the Mahā Kassapa had a vision of the future in which I will take the Buddha’s relics away from this place.”

He clapped his hands and said that his wish had been fulfilled. Then he ordered his men to open all the *stūpas* and caskets of increasing size, retain small amounts of the relics in their original containers, and then fit all the *stūpas* and caskets of increasing size back together again in their original condition.

Next, he had all the remainder of the Buddha’s relics put into a golden container and brought outside. He then had the doors of the house of seven gems, the golden house, the silver house, and the copper house shut.

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<sup>235</sup> ๐T. ธรรมาสักราช , P. Dhammāsokarāja

Then he ordered his men to fill the area with the jewelled sand, lay the stone supports on top of the area, and to fill the void with the mound of earth until it was level with the original ground, and haul, move, and enshrine the stone *stūpa* above the place of the *that nithan* as in former times. After this, he ordered his army to parade the Buddha's relics and bring them to *Pāṭaliputta*<sup>236</sup> the capital city, where he worshipped the holy relics using

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several appropriate methods.

Then, he distributed the relics for enshrinement in the *cetiyas* that were located in the monasteries in all 84,000 cities around Jambudvīpa, accomplishing the task with the help of both the king's and the Arhat's mighty powers. A portion of the Buddha's relics remained. And when the relics were completely enshrined in the *stūpas* at all cities, he commanded the construction of a new large, grand *stūpa*, half a *yojana*<sup>237</sup> in height and decorated with various kinds of jewels, to be built on the bank of the Ganges near Pāṭaliputta. There he enshrined the remaining portion of the Buddha's relics after the construction was completed.

At that time the great king, desiring to stage celebrations at the 84,000 *stūpas* in all cities around Jambudvīpa as well as at this grand *stūpa*, reflected: "I am going to celebrate all the *stūpas*, and perform an act of great worship with offerings for a total of seven years, seven months, and seven days to show my faithfulness. How can I prevent dangers from interfering with these meritorious deeds? By what means will I prevent danger? I will go to ask the Buddhist saints about this matter."

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<sup>236</sup> อท. ปาตลีนุต, P. Pāṭaliputta

<sup>237</sup> อท. โยจณ, P. *yojana*. According to page 1036 of Robert E. Buswell's and Donald S. Lopez Jr.'s *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, the term *yojana* is defined as "in Sanskrit, a 'league'; a standard measure of distance in ancient India, and often used in Buddhist texts; it is said to be the distance a yoked team of oxen could travel in one day. Modern estimates of this distance vary widely, with the figure of eight miles often provided as an approximation, although estimates of from four to ten miles (six to sixteen kilometers) are also found."

Then, he led the courtiers to the great monastery, paid homage to the Buddhist monks, and then stayed in an appropriate place. He asked the senior monk:

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“Venerable Sir! Please help order a monk who possesses miraculous power to prevent danger from harming my meritorious deeds. I am going to worship, with offerings, the great *stūpa* for seven years, seven months, and seven days.”

Having heard the King’s expounding, the senior monk said, “The concern of Your Majesty is good and very appropriate. I will first look for a monk who possesses miraculous power.” The King was glad, paid homage to the Buddhist monks, and returned to the royal palace.

On that occasion, the Buddhist monks *looked into the future*<sup>238</sup> to identify any dangers that could ruin the great king’s meritorious deeds and *saw visions that showed*<sup>239</sup> that *Māra*<sup>240</sup> would come to ruin the meritorious deeds. They said to the Mahā Thera,

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<sup>238</sup> OT. เส็งแฉล

<sup>239</sup> OT. พิจารณาเห็นว่า

<sup>240</sup> According to page 173 of Damien Keown’s *A Dictionary of Buddhism*, Māra is defined as “the Buddhist ‘devil’. Technically a god (deva), Māra is the enemy of the Buddha and constantly tries to disrupt his teaching in order to prevent beings reaching nirvāṇa where they would be beyond his grasp. He makes two main appearances in the Buddha’s life, one just before he gains enlightenment (bodhi) and the other shortly before his death. On the first occasion, accompanied by his daughters (see Māra’s daughters) he tries alternately to tempt and frighten the Buddha, but to no avail. On the second occasion he tries to persuade the Buddha to pass away into parinirvāṇa, but the Buddha delays his passing for a time. More abstractly, Māra, whose name literally means ‘death’, symbolizes all that is connected with the realm of rebirth (saṃsāra) and opposed to nirvāṇa. There are said to be four forms of Māra: (1) Māra of the aggregates (skandha-māra), or Māra as a symbol of human mortality; (2) Māra as the Lord of Death (mrtyu-māra); (3) Māra as the vices and moral defilements (kleśa-māra); and (4) the gods in the retinue of Māra (devaputra-māra).” However, it is stated in *Buddhist Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* <[http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali\\_names/ma/maara.htm](http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali_names/ma/maara.htm)> (4 August 2015) that “in the latest account, mention is made of five Māras: 1. Khandha Māra, 2. Kilesa Māra, 3. Abhisankhāra Māra, 4. Maccu Māra, and 5. Devaputta Māra.”



“Venerable Sir! Please perform *paṭisedhana kam*<sup>241</sup> to defend against Māra coming to ruin the great king’s meritorious deeds.”

“Brothers! I have many duties, and am aged and weak as well, and thus can not prevent the danger of Māra.”

The Buddhist monks invited other monks with less seniority down to newly ordained monks; however, no one was able to take on the burden of defence against the threat of Māra.

On the next day, which was the second day, the monks assembled and discussed the matter again. At that time, a Nāga ascended from the Nāga realm in order to pay homage to the Buddhist monks. While the Nāga was saluting the monks, a *Garuḍa*<sup>242</sup>,

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departing from the *cakkavāḷa’s mountain*<sup>243</sup>, flew overhead. Having glimpsed the Nāga making an obeisance to the monks, it desired to catch the Nāga, and it swooped down

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<sup>241</sup> OT. ปฏิเสธขณกรรม, P. *paṭisedhana* + P. *kamma* = *paṭisedhanakamma*. According to page 2097 of the fifth volume of *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition*, the term *paṭisedhana* is defined as “(nt.) [cp. *paṭisedha*] wading off, refusal, prohibition, stopping.”

<sup>242</sup> According to page 99 of Damien Keown’s *A Dictionary of Buddhism*, the term *garuḍa* is defined as “in Indian mythology, a class of large bird-like beings, ever in a state of enmity with the nāga serpents whom they eat.”

<sup>243</sup> OT. จักรวาลบรรพต, P. *cakkavāḷa* + P. *pabbata* = *cakkavāḷapabbata*. According to page 1367 of the third volume of *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition*, the term *cakkavāḷa* is defined as “(m. & nt.) a circle, a sphere, esp. a mythical range of mountains supposed to encircle the world; pl. worlds or spheres,” and the term *cakkavāḷapabbata* can be defined as “(nt.) the C. mountains, “world’s end.” In addition, it can be seen on page 163 of Robert E. Buswell’s and Donald S. Lopez Jr.’s *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* that *cakkavāḷa* is “in Sanskrit, “ring of mountains”; the proper name of the eight ranges of metallic mountains that are presumed in Buddhist cosmology to surround the world system of the sensuous realm (KĀMALOKA) and thus sometimes used by metonymy to designate the entire universe or “world system.” Eight concentric mountain ranges are said to surround the central axis of the world system, Mount SUMERU or Mount Meru. The seven innermost ranges are made of gold, and seven seas fill the valleys between these concentric ranges. In some representations, the mountain ranges are in the form a circle; in others, they are in the form of a square, consistent with the shape of Mount Sumeru. Located in a vast ocean that exists beyond these seven innermost concentric rings are laid out the four continents, including JAMBUDVĪPA (the Rose-Apple Continent) to the south, where human beings dwell; VIDEHA to the east; GODĀNĪYA to the west; and UTTARAKURU to the north. At the outer perimeter of the world system is a final range of iron mountains, which surrounds and contains the outermost sea. The universe was presumed to be occupied by an essentially infinite number of these cakravāḍa world

with a resounding flap of its wings. The Nāga, knowing the flapping sound of the Garuḍa's wings, was frightened and convulsed with fear. Unable to escape into the earth in time, it turned and crouched between the senior monk's feet crying imploringly "Venerable Sir! Please save my life!"

The senior monk refused: "I am not able to save your life."

The Nāga implored every monk from senior to new-comer to help, but they said that they could not enter *samāpatti*<sup>244</sup> to perform the miracle of preventing the imminent danger of the Garuḍa attack.

At that time, there was a visiting novice seven years of age sitting in front of the monastic seats. The senior monk said to the little novice: "Are you able or not to do Nāga a favour and protect him from the danger of the Garuḍa?"

"If all of Your Lordships, who are adults, still could not defend the danger of the Garuḍa, how could a young novice like me prevent the threat?" said the Sāmaṇera.

Therefore, the monks adjured the Sāmaṇera several times to aid the Nāga. Then the powerful Sāmaṇera smiled slightly and said, "I will accept the task of preventing the Nāga's threat. When the Garuḍa swoops down towards Nāga's body, at about one man's length, I will repel it causing it to be blown over like

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systems, each similarly structured, and each world system was the domain of a specific Buddha, where he achieved enlightenment and worked toward the liberation of all sentient beings."

<sup>244</sup> *Samāpatti* means meditative attainments (อT. สมาบัติ, P. *samāpatti*). According to page 246 of of Damien Keown's *A Dictionary of Buddhism*, the term *samāpatti* is defined as "(Skt.; Pāli). Attainment or equipoise; a state where the body and mind abide in a state of tranquil composure. Often, *samāpatti* refers to the four trances (*dhyānas*), the four levels of the Formless Realm (*ārūpya-dhātu*), and the state of cessation (*nirodha-samāpatti*). It is also used as an equivalent to *samādhi*."

cotton wool that was hit by *yukhantawat*<sup>245</sup> wind and blew in the air.”

At that time, just when the Garuḍa was swooping down but was still about one man’s length away from the Nāga’s body, the monks again reminded the Sāmaṇera: “You have to repel the Garuḍa now.”

Thereupon, the Sāmaṇera immediately entered *jhānasamāpatti*<sup>246</sup>, and prayed for the *yukhantawat* wind, and the strong wind blew the Garuḍa away like cotton wool.

The Nāga was filled with inspiration and, breathing deeply, praised the Sāmaṇera for his blessing, saying “Your Lordship *Samanen!* My life has been saved this time due to Your Lordship’s miraculous power.” Then, it saluted the Buddhist monks, and penetrated the earth, returned to the realm of the Nāgas.

Then, the monks questioned the Sāmaṇera: “Why did not you obey our request from the beginning? Instead, you first beamed happily and only later followed our request. Your actions are inappropriate, and deserve punishment.”

“How will you punish me, sirs?” asked the Sāmaṇera.

“*Samanen*, now King Dhammāsokarāja is going to worship and make offerings at the great *stūpa* for the next seven years, seven months, and seven days. However, Māra will definitely ruin the meritorious deeds. You must help protect the meritorious deeds from this danger. This task is your punishment.”

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<sup>245</sup> oT. ยุกานตวาท, mT. ยุกันตวาท, P. *yuganta-vāta*. According to page 2880 of the sixth volume of *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition*, the term *yuganta-vāta* means “(storm at) the end of an age (of men or the world), whirlwind.”

<sup>246</sup> *Jhānasamāpatti* means meditative absorption and attainments (oT. จ्ञานสมาบัติ, P. *jhānasamāpatti*). According to page 76 of Damien Keown’s *A Dictionary of Buddhism*, the term *dhyāna* (Sanskrit) or *jhāna* (Pāli) means “a state of deep meditative absorption characterized by lucid awareness and achieved by focusing the mind on a single object (see CITTA-EKĀGRATĀ). A prerequisite for its attainment is the elimination of the five hindrances (nīvaraṇa). A scheme of eight stages of *dhyāna* was gradually evolved, with four lower assigned to the rūpa-dhātu and four higher ones assigned to the ārūpya-dhātu. In *dhyāna* all sense-activity is suspended, and as the meditator passes from the lower to the higher levels, mental activity becomes progressively more attenuated. Thus, in the first *dhyāna*, conceptualization (*vitarka*) and reflection (*vicāra*) occur, but in the second they do not. In the fifth *dhyāna* various supernormal powers can be attained (see *iddhi*). The names of the Ch’an and Zen schools are both derived from the word *dhyāna*.”

“Venerable Sirs! I am just a novice. My age and power are too little. How can I defend the threat of Māra? If I were another monk with mighty power, would you be

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satisfied or not, sirs? And this monk has great power, and is surely capable of subduing Māra.”

“Well, *Samanen*, who is the *bhikṣu* with greater power than you? Where is he? Does he live among us now at this place? We feel ashamed because we could not find a *bhikṣu* with miraculous power for the great king.”

“Venerable Sirs! That monk, sundering the mighty ocean, submerged himself under the surface of the waters, and miraculously conjured up a palace decorated with seven kinds of gems on the bottom of the ocean. Then, he sat in *jhānasamāpatti* meditation on a jewelled throne that was in a cave in the middle of the palace, for many days and nights, abstaining from food. His Lordship bears the name Phra Kisanāga-upagutta Thera<sup>247</sup>. If he comes to this monastic community, he can defeat the wicked Māra through his mighty power.

“I know that when *the Great Master*<sup>248</sup> was still alive, he prophesied that in the future there would be a *bhikṣu* named Upagutta Thera, who would tame Māra until he lost his evil and stubborn nature, and made a vow to become a Buddha. Do not you know about this, sirs? If you have forgotten, please recall it.”

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<sup>247</sup> oT. พระกิตติสมาคอุปกคตเถร, P. Phra Kisanāga-upagutta Thera

<sup>248</sup> In Paramanuchit’s old Thai translation of the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, he uses many epithets, which are the standard set of words normally used and frequently seen in Thai Buddhist texts. The epithets of the Buddha used in Marandha episode are: (1) พระบรมครู/ สมเด็จพระบรมครู (the Great Master/ the Great Teacher), (2) พระพุทธองค์/ พระพุทธเจ้า (the Buddha/ the Lord Buddha), (3) สมเด็จพระชินสีห์ (the Victorious Lord/ the Lord Jinasiha the Victor/ the Victorious Lion), (4) พระพิฆิตมาร (One who Conquered Māra), (5) พระผู้มีพระภาค/ พระผู้ทรงพระภาค (the Blessed One), (6) พระสัพพัญญู/ พระสัพพัญญูเจ้า (the Omniscient One), (7) สมเด็จพระศาสดา (the Father/ the Founding Father), (8) พระศาสดาจารย์ (the Father and Master). In this MA thesis, I substitute the epithet “Lord Jinasiha the Victor” with the term “Lord Buddha the Victor.”

Having heard that, the Buddhist monks were delighted and glad, and ordered two monks who attained *abhiññāna-samāpatti* <sup>249</sup>: “Go and bring Phra Upagutta Thera to the monastic

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assembly.”

So both monks miraculously penetrated the earth and emerged in the palace in the ocean. They told Phra Upagutta that the monks had ordered them to find and bring him to the monastic assembly.

Then, Phra Upagutta *emerging from*<sup>250</sup> *samāpatti*, answered the monks respectfully: “My younger brothers, please go first, I will follow afterwards.”

After sending both monks back, Phra Upagutta used his supernatural power to travel quickly and arrived at the monastic assembly before them. He saluted the assembly, and sat on the seat that was proper for him. When the monks arrived at a later time, they saw that Phra Upagutta had arrived and was seated already, and they were filled with astonishment; they said: “Your Lordship told us to come here first, saying ‘I will follow afterwards,’ but Your Lordship has come and has taken your seat before us. Truly, Your Lordship has mighty power!”

The monastic assembly, thinking to impose *punishment*<sup>251</sup> on Phra Kisanāga-upagutta, said: “Younger brother Upagutta, you have not been present in any *meetings of the*

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<sup>249</sup> oT. อภิญญาสมานัตติ, P. *abhiñña* + P. *ñāna* + P. *samāpatti* = *abhiññāna-samāpatti*. *Abhiñña* is the adjective form of the noun *abhiññā*. According to page 3 of Damien Keown’s *A Dictionary of Buddhism*, the term *abhiññā* means “supernormal knowledge or supernatural cognition, normally acquired through the development of the power of *samādhi* or meditative trance. Up to six forms are recognized: clairvoyance, clairaudience, knowledge of the minds of others, miraculous abilities, knowledge of past lives, and knowledge of the cessation of the ‘outflows’ (*āsravas*).” In addition, the term *ñāna* is defined by *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition* on page 1515 of its fourth volume as “(nt.)...knowledge, intelligence, insight, conviction, recognition...”

<sup>250</sup> oT. ออกจาก

<sup>251</sup> oT. ทัณฑกรรม, P. *daṇḍakamma*

*monastic community*<sup>252</sup>; instead you live in solitude for your own comfort and fail to recognise the importance of monastic assembly. Phra Mahā *Kapila*<sup>253</sup> Thera showed a similar lack of respect for the monastic community and was reprimanded by the Omniscient One. Thus, it is appropriate for Sangha to impose punishment on you.”

Having heard that, Phra Upagutta, having respect for the monastic community, said: “Whatever punishment Your Lordships inflict upon me, I will bow my head and accept that penalty.”

“Younger brother Upagutta. King Dhammāsokarāja, who is the supporter of the Sangha piously plans to stage a huge celebration of the *stūpas* in a total of 84,000 cities as well

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as the great *stūpa* in this city, and will perform an act of worship with offerings for seven years, seven months, and seven days. Your punishment will be to take responsibility for preventing Māra from ruining the great king’s meritorious deeds.”

Having heard that, Phra Upagutta bowed his head in order to accept that penalty, and then paid obeisance to the feet of the elder monks. Then he said, “If I obtain proper food and eat it, I will be able to subdue Māra and Māra will not be able to harm the meritorious deeds of the great king. *In addition*<sup>254</sup>, The Great Master miraculously foresaw the event,

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<sup>252</sup> oT. สามัคคีอุโบสถ, P. *sāmaggī-uposatha*. According to page 810 of the second volume of *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition*, the term *uposatha* is defined as “at the time of the rise of Buddhism the word had come to mean the day preceding four stages of the moon’s waxing and waning, viz. 1<sup>st</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup> nights of the lunar month that is to say, a weekly sacred day, a Sabbath. These days were utilised by the pre-Buddhistic reforming communities for the expounding of their views, Vin 1.101. The Buddhists adopted this practice and on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the half-month held a chapter of the Order to expound their dhamma, *ib.* 102. They also utilised one or other of these Up. Days for the recitation of the Pāṭimokkha (pāṭimokkhuddesa), *ibid.* On Up. days laymen take upon themselves the Up. Vows, that is to say, the eight Sīlas, during the day... There is an occasional Up. called *sāmaggi-uposatho*, “reconciliation-Up.” which is held when a quarrel among the fraternity has been made up, the gen. confession forming as it were a seal to the reconciliation.”

<sup>253</sup> oT. กะบิล

<sup>254</sup> oT. ประการหนึ่ง

and thus predicted that, in the future, a monk named Upagutta would tame Māra until he lost his evil and stubborn nature.

Next morning King Dhammāsokarāja went to the monastery, paid obeisance to the monks, and asked, “I requested a monk who possesses miraculous power, and who is able to prevent the dangers to the meritorious deed. Have you found him or not?”

“Your Majesty, we have found him already. Also, this monk is a sage who has profound knowledge of the Lord Buddha’s teachings, and possesses perfect quality of *sīla*<sup>255</sup>, *samādhi*<sup>256</sup>, *paññā*<sup>257</sup>, as well as mighty miraculous power. He is able to prevent the forces of evil that will ruin the royal meritorious deeds.”

“Who is that monk?” asked the king.

“Your Majesty, he is a monk by the name of Phra Kisanāga-upagutta Thera.”

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The great king approached, saluted, and saw that Phra Upagutta had an emaciated body. He thought: “Does His Lordship really have mighty power or not?” Afterwards, he stood up and left to return to the palace.

On the second day of the following morning, he thought: “I should test His Lordship and see if he really has miraculous power or not.”

At that time, Phra Upagutta went to receive food from the royal family in order to please the great king. After the great king had offered *piṇḍapāta*<sup>258</sup>, Phra Upagutta came out of the palace. Then the king commanded the release of an elephant in musth. It trumpeted loudly, and then ran after Phra Upagutta Mahā Thera. As the elephant was coming near,

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<sup>255</sup> oT. สีล, P. *sīla*

<sup>256</sup> oT. สมาธิ, P. *samādhi*

<sup>257</sup> oT. ปัญญา, P. *paññā*

<sup>258</sup> oT. บิณฑบาต, P. *piṇḍapāta*

its shadow appeared in front of His Lordship Upagutta. He looked back and saw that the elephant in musth was chasing him, and thought, “The king has deliberately allowed this elephant to chase after me in order to test my power.”

Therefore, he prayed: “Let the elephant stop and stand in one place as if it were a stone elephant.” And by the power of the great elder monk, the elephant stood still and could not run any further. The Mahā Thera then walked away from that place.

When the great king came to where the elephant was standing still as if it were stone, he thought, “How has this auspicious elephant, which

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possesses all the characteristics of an auspicious elephant, remain still without swaying like a stone elephant? It is amazing!”

Therefore, he was happy and thought, “As far as I am concerned, this monk possesses miraculous power and will surely be able to prevent the dangers of Māra.”

Then, he hurriedly came near Phra Upagutta Mahā Thera, saluted him repeatedly, and begged his forgiveness: “Your Lordship, please forgive me. I did not intend to harm or attack you. I just wanted to try out your miraculous power.”

Then, Phra Upagutta said: “Your Majesty, may you be happy and prosperous. And may that elephant go back to its stable.”

As soon as the Mahā Thera spoke, the auspicious elephant was able to walk back to its *stable*<sup>259</sup>. At that time, everyone was amazed by the miraculous power of Phra Upagutta Mahā Thera.

Next, King Dhammāsokarāja wished to perform worship with offerings to celebrate the great *stūpa* that was located on the bank of the Ganges. He went to *the great stūpa*’s

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<sup>259</sup> OT. นิเวศนสถาน



*encircling grounds*<sup>260</sup>, escorted by the members of his court, including the royal family, Brahmins, the first ministers, rich men, courtiers, and citizens, and a large number of people from urban and rural areas. Everyone was adorned with many kinds of beautiful ornaments and carried *objects for worship*<sup>261</sup>, such as incense sticks, lights, and fragrant flowers. It was as if Indra, the king of gods, escorted by a company of deities, had come to

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the great *stūpa*'s encircling grounds with an array of musical instruments, such as trumpets, and conches, played in resounding harmony.

The great king also ordered that the area around the great *stūpa*, approximately half a *yojana* along the bank of the Ganges, be illuminated and lit by innumerable lights.

A large number of monks also came to assemble in that place for paying homage to the great *cetiya*.

At that time, *Vasavattī*<sup>262</sup> Māra the wicked, knowing that the great king was worshipping with offerings, descended from *Paranimmitavasavattī*<sup>263</sup> Heaven. He miraculously created a violent storm blowing in from a long distance away to extinguish all the lights and sabotage the great *stūpa* worship.

On that occasion, the Most Venerable Phra Upagutta performed the miracle that caused Māra's fierce storm to vanish from that place.

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<sup>260</sup> oT. ลานพระเจดีย์

<sup>261</sup> oT. เครื่องบูชาทักษ์

<sup>262</sup> oT. วัสวัตติ (วัสวัตติ?), mT. วัสวัตติ, วัสวัตติ, P. Vasavattī

<sup>263</sup> oT. ปรมนิมิตวัสวัตติ, mT. ปรมนิมิตวัสวัตติ, P. Paranimmitavasavattī

Māra thus created luminous corrosive flaming sand and caused it to rain down on the *stūpa* site. The Mahā Thera then performed a miracle and picked up the luminous corrosive flaming sand, and threw it outside the edge of *the galactic mountain*<sup>264</sup>.

Then, Māra created rains of corrosive coarse sand, a rain of stones, and a rain of blazing charcoal and caused them to fall down on the *stūpa* site. The Mahā Thera again performed a miracle and picked up the three kinds of rain, and threw them outside the galaxy *in the same way*<sup>265</sup>.

Then, Māra

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miraculously caused a rain of corrosive winds, a rain of corrosive water, a rain of weapons, a rain of red-hot coals, and a rain of mud to fall down on the *stūpa* site. The Mahā Thera again miraculously picked up the five kinds of rains and disposed of them outside the edge of the *galaxy*<sup>266</sup>, causing them all to vanish.

Then, Māra miraculously created pitch darkness that consisted of four attributes. The Mahā Thera thereupon caused the darkness to vanish with miraculous power.

Māra was very angry, and miraculously transformed his body into a large cow running toward the devotional lights in order to strike and extinguish them all. The Mahā Thera miraculously transformed his body into a large tiger running towards the cow in order to catch it, The cow was frightened and cried out with mysterious sounds.

As well as the monks, the great king and an assembly of general public all saw the incident.

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<sup>264</sup> OT. เขากักราวพ

<sup>265</sup> OT. เหมือนดั่งนั้น

<sup>266</sup> OT. จักรวาล, P. *cakkavāḷa*

As both animals fought with each other and the cow fell down and faced defeat, it became a Nāgarāja with seven heads snapping at the tiger’s large body. The tiger, then, became a Garuḍa snapping at the Nāga’s heads and dragging them to and fro, causing the Nāga to face defeat.

Then, Māra abandoned the Nāga form, transformed his body into a very mysterious, terrifying *Yakṣa*<sup>267</sup>, holding a copper bludgeon as big as the trunk of a palm tree, *brandishing it and striking*<sup>268</sup> the Garuḍa. The Mahā Thera therefore abandoned the Garuḍa form and assumed the form of a Yakṣa, twice the size of the former one, holding two bludgeons that glittered with flames, waving both his hands and striking

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the head of the *Mārayakṣa*.<sup>269</sup> Shaking with fear, Māra, thought: “Whatever form I assume, this monk will assume a form that is twice as large. What should I do? It seems that I will lose to this monk for sure.” Therefore, Māra showed himself in the form of Māra standing in front of The Mahā Thera.

The Mahā Thera seeing Māra thought: “Now I will make this Yakṣa lose his powers, his ability and *the means of untying the bonds*<sup>270</sup>.”

The Mahā Thera then transformed his body from the form of a Yakṣa back into the form of the Mahā Thera Upagutta. He then created an ugly, foul-smelling dog’s carcass that was infested all over with maggots, and tied it to Māra’s neck, announcing: “No one, even a deity and a Mahābrahmā<sup>271</sup>, will be able to untie it. O, wicked Māra, you must leave this place!”

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<sup>267</sup> oT. ชักข, S. *yakṣa*

<sup>268</sup> oT. กวีลแกว่งเข้าประหัดประหาร

<sup>269</sup> oT. มารชักข, Hybrid S. *Mārayakṣa*

<sup>270</sup> oT. อุบายที่จะปลดปล่อยได้

<sup>271</sup> oT. มหาพรหม, P. *Mahābrahmā*

Vasavattī Māra, having the carcass of a dead dog tied to his neck, and being unable to untie it by himself, *lost all power of thinking of a solution*<sup>272</sup>. He soared to the abode of the *Four Heavenly Kings*<sup>273</sup> and pleaded: “*Oh, Lords of No-Suffering*,<sup>274</sup> please help remove the dog carcass from my neck immediately!”

“Why has the carcass of a dog been bound to your neck?” asked the Four Great Kings.

“Oh, Four Guardians of the World, the monk named Upagutta has

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fettered me.”

“*Oh, Māra*<sup>275</sup>. That monk who has fettered you possesses mighty power. *We*<sup>276</sup> cannot remove the fetters.”

Next, Māra miraculously ascended to the abodes of *the Lord of the Thousand Eyes*<sup>277</sup>, Lord *Suyāma*<sup>278</sup>, Lord *Santusita*, and *Sahapati Mahābrahmā*<sup>279</sup>; and likewise pleaded with them to untie the fetters. However, the Kings of Gods and the Mahābrahmā said: “It is impossible to untie the fetters. Phra Upagutta is an Arhat who *possesses the six psychic*

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<sup>272</sup> oT. จะแก้ไขก็สิ้นความคิด

<sup>273</sup> oT. ท้าวจตุรหาราษทั้ง 4, P. Cātummahārājikā. According to page 50 of Damien Keown’s *A Dictionary of Buddhism*, the term “Cātummahārājikā” means “the ‘four great kings’, being four powerful gods (devas) who rule over the lowest of the heavens and thus are close to the human world, which they are said to visit frequently with their retinues. Each king is regent of one of the four cardinal points and they protect the Buddha and his followers in those regions. *See also* LOKAPĀLA.”

<sup>274</sup> oT. ข้าแต่ท่านผู้หนักทุกข์

<sup>275</sup> oT. ข้าแต่พระยามาราราช

<sup>276</sup> oT. ข้าพเจ้า

<sup>277</sup> Indra

<sup>278</sup> สุขาม, P.Suyāma

<sup>279</sup> oT. สหบดีมหาพรหม, P. Sahapati Mahābrahmā

*powers of the disciples of the Lord Buddha*<sup>280</sup>, and he has great and mighty power. None of us can untie your bonds. Please go back to that monk's residence, and beg him with eloquent and sweet words. He will untie the unclean bonds with his own hands. As everyone else is afraid of his power, *no one at all*<sup>281</sup> can untie the bonds.”

After hearing this, Māra was both sad and desperate. He had no refuge, and no idea from whom to seek help. Therefore, he came back to the residence of the Mahā Thera and with the dog carcass still clinging to him, he bowed at the feet of Phra Upagutta, and entreated him with various eloquent and sweet words: “Venerable Sir, please have mercy on me and help untie this unclean bond. You were victorious. I am defeated, and I will not fight anymore.”

“Wicked Māra, go to that mountain,” said the Mahā Thera.

Māra, following the Mahā Thera's order, went immediately to the mountain.

Then, the Mahā Thera untied

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the dog carcass from the neck of Māra. He then took off his own *kāyabandha*<sup>282</sup> and tied it around Māra's neck. He miraculously lengthened the *kāyabandha*, and firmly fastening it to the mountain while telling Māra: “Stay here for seven years, seven months, and seven days after which King Asokadhammārāja the Great will have successfully completed his great worshipping ceremony.”

From that time, Māra was bound to the mountain. The Mahā Thera Phra Upagutta went away and lived a life of ease. After the worship of the great *stūpa* for seven years, seven

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<sup>280</sup> OT. ทรงฉฬภิญญาสัมมาสัมพุทธสาวก. (OT. ฉฬภิญญา = P. *chaḷ* + P. *abhiññā* = *chaḷābhiññā*)

<sup>281</sup> OT. ใครเลย

<sup>282</sup> *Kāyabandha* means either *prakhot ok* (ประคดอก), which is a sash used for girding at the chest level in order to secure monastic robes, or *prakhot ew* (ประคดเอว), which is a waistband; OT. กายพันธ, P. *kāyabandha*.

months, and seven days was completed, the Mahā Thera approached Māra, but made himself invisible in order to hear Māra’s words.

As for Māra, he had lost his stubborn nature and now recalled the grace of Buddha. He said, “When the Lord Buddha occupied the gem throne under the Bodhi Tree, I could not suppress feelings of anger. I hurled the razor-sharp discus, which could sever a diamond mountain as if cutting bamboo shoots, at the Lord Buddha. But the Lord Buddha had a revelatory insight into all *the thirty Perfections*<sup>283</sup>, and the discus changed into a floral canopy suspended from above. All of my troops hurled different types of weapons at the Lord Buddha, such as a rocky mountain peak, which changed into bunches of flowers, falling onto the earth. In this way,

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*the great Māra King*<sup>284</sup> was defeated.”

Then, Māra recalled the grace of Buddha, and spoke a in a *namo teparisā jañña* verse:

*O Lord Buddha the Victor*<sup>285</sup>,  
all beings are saved by Thy favour.  
Thou are their eternal Saviour,  
without whom they have no refuge.  
O Lord Buddha the Victor,  
no one surpasses Thy exalted nature,  
please come to be my refuge now.  
I, Vasavattī, attacked Thee many times;

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<sup>283</sup> P. Samatiṃsapāramīñña

<sup>284</sup> P. Mārādhirāja

<sup>285</sup> P. Phrajinasiha

in return, Thou caused me no harm.

But Thy disciple is without mercy now,

for he inflicts grievous pain on me.

Then, Vasavattī Māra felt even more sorrowful, and he kicked the mountain with both feet, causing it to shake and tremble from the top to the base as if it was going to break and collapse. It caused the ground to quake and rumble loudly. Also, the top of *Mount Sineru*<sup>286</sup> bent and rocked; and small waves in *the free oceans*<sup>287</sup> intensified, emitting resounding sounds.

However, Māra thought of Buddha’s forbearance and grace once more, and proclaimed: “I have previously accumulated boons and merits. If in the future *an Omniscient One*<sup>288</sup> is able to attain enlightenment, may I also come to this world as an Omniscient One, so I can also be a saviour of gods and human beings

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*throughout the universe*<sup>289</sup>, and give them wisdom and grace!”

While Māra was expressing his will to become a Buddha, the Mahā Thera made himself visible, and urgently came to release Māra from his bonds. He asked Māra’s forgiveness saying: “Oh, *Māra Deva*<sup>290</sup>, please forgive me. Regarding your wish to become a Buddha, I have helped make that happen. I have also prevented you from ruining the meritorious ceremony of the great king. Now that you have made a vow to attain Buddhahood in the

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<sup>286</sup> OT. ขุนเขาพระสิเนรุราช

<sup>287</sup> OT. พระมหาสมุทรไทย

<sup>288</sup> OT. พระสัมพันธุญ, T. *phra* + P. *sabbaññū* = Phra Sabbaññū. According to page 3509 of the eighth volume of *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition*, the term “Sabbaññū” can be defined as “omniscience.”

<sup>289</sup> OT. ทั่วสากลโลกธาตุ

<sup>290</sup> OT. เทพบุตร

future, you have become a venerable person who is a Bodhisattva that *all beings*<sup>291</sup> should worship.”

Māra replied: “Your Lordship is a disciple of the Lord Buddha. Why on earth have you not had any mercy towards me, *a wicked god*<sup>292</sup>?”

“O Māra, I am your *tamer*<sup>293</sup>. Therefore, I have no mercy, and inflict harm on you in order to make you *desire insight and Perfections for the attainment of Buddhahood*<sup>294</sup>. Indeed, it is certain that you will become a Buddha. The Great Master also prophesied that I would tame Māra until he lost his stubborn nature; then Māra would make a vow of attaining Buddhahood. Please have *faith*<sup>295</sup>, abandon your *sinful heart and mind*<sup>296</sup>, and do not perform bad deeds from now on.

“Also, please help me. As *the Master*<sup>297</sup>

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who came to the world has already entered *Parinibbāna*<sup>298</sup>, I have seen only the *Dhammakāya*<sup>299</sup>, but I was too late to see the *Sarirakāya*<sup>300</sup>. Please help create and show

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<sup>291</sup> oT. โลกทั้งหลาย

<sup>292</sup> oT. มาร

<sup>293</sup> oT. คู่ทรमान

<sup>294</sup> oT. มีจิตยินดีปรารถนาพุทธภูมิปรารมีญาณ

<sup>295</sup> P. *saddhā*

<sup>296</sup> oT. จิตรบไป

<sup>297</sup> oT. พระศาสดา

<sup>298</sup> oT. พระปรินิพพาน

<sup>299</sup> oT. พระธรรมกาย, P. *Dhammakāya*

<sup>300</sup> oT. & mT. พระสรีรกาย, P. *Sarīrakāya* (Physical Body)



me the body of *the Master*<sup>301</sup>, with all its characteristics, as well as the bodies of both *chief disciples*<sup>302</sup> using your miraculous power.”

“Venerable Sir, if I assume the form of Lord Buddha the Victor, please do not pay homage to me!”

Phra Upagutta gave Māra his word, and then Māra entered the edge of a forest. Phra Upagutta then assembled a large number of Buddhist monks, who by Phra Upagutta’s miraculous power, arrived simultaneously. The monks, who liked to see the Lord Buddha, held incense sticks and candles, and gathered around Phra Upagutta Thera, and said: “We will see and worship *the body of Buddha*<sup>303</sup>.”

At that time, Māra miraculously transformed his body into the Omniscient One, endowed with *the thirty-two marks of the Great Man*<sup>304</sup> and *the eighty minor characteristics*<sup>305</sup>, brightly adorned with *the two-metre-radiant aura of six different colours*<sup>306</sup>, having *his two chief disciples on his left and right sides*<sup>307</sup>, and surrounded by a retinue of *the eighty great disciples*<sup>308</sup>. This was visible to the assembly of people.

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<sup>301</sup> oT. พระศาสดาจารย์

<sup>302</sup> oT. พระอัครสาวก

<sup>303</sup> oT. สรรูป, P. Saṅgārūpa

<sup>304</sup> oT. พระทวติงยมหาบุรุษลักษณะ, P. dvatiṃsamahāpurisalakkhaṇa

<sup>305</sup> oT. พระอสีตขานุพชัญชนะ, P. asītyānubyañjana

<sup>306</sup> oT. พระยามประภาฉัพพิรพรรณรังษี

<sup>307</sup> oT. มีทั้งคู่พระอัครสาวกสถิตย์ในทิศเบื้องซ้ายขวา

<sup>308</sup> oT. พระอสีตมหาสาวก

In addition, some *instructors*<sup>309</sup> stated that King Dhammāsokarāja and his ministers and courtiers also came to that place to watch. When Phra Upagutta Thera saw the body of Buddha

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as well as all the chief disciples and the great disciples, *his hair stood upright in response to his unshakable faith*<sup>310</sup>, and he *forgot his promise to Māra*<sup>311</sup>, and paid homage to the body of Buddha with *five-point prostration*<sup>312</sup>. Likewise, the king and all the people *performed acts of worship*<sup>313</sup> together.

Seeing this, Māra made the body of Buddha and his disciples vanish, and transformed his body into Māra again. He turned to the assembly of the king and general public, and asked the Mahā Thera: “Why did Your Lordship salute me? You promised me that you would not?”

“O Māra, I did not salute you. I paid homage to the body of the Great Teacher and all of his disciples.”

From that time on, Māra was respectful toward Buddhism, and not as wicked as he had been. Therefore, the Mahā Thera said to him: “*You can go wherever you like*<sup>314</sup>.”

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<sup>309</sup> oT. เภจอาจารย์

<sup>310</sup> oT. ก็บังเกิด โลมชาติชูชันด้วยจลประสาทน์ศรัทธา. According to *Oxforddictionaries.com* <<https://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/horripilation>> (5 August 2015), the term “horripilation” can be defined as “the erection of hairs on the skin due to cold, fear, or excitement.”

<sup>311</sup> oT. ลืมวาจาปฏิญาณแห่งพระยามารอันว่าไว้

<sup>312</sup> oT. เบญจางคประดิษฐ์

<sup>313</sup> oT. กระทำนมัสการสักการบูชา

<sup>314</sup> oT. ท่านจงไปโดยควรแก่สุขเถิด

Māra then paid obeisance in farewell, and went back to *his abode in the heavens*<sup>315</sup>.

As for King Dhammāsokarāja, he wished to worship the *stūpa* with his own body for seven days. Therefore, he had his men dip cotton wool in five-hundred pots of aromatic oil, and wrapped it around his body from neck to feet. Then, he went to stand

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in front of the *cetiya*, raised *his joined palms*<sup>316</sup> *above his head*<sup>317</sup>, and recalled *the Buddha's qualities and virtues*<sup>318</sup>. Then, he had a fire lit throughout his body, without being afraid, in order *to worship like a lamp*<sup>319</sup>. The bright flames shot high in to the air, about the height of *seven men*<sup>320</sup>.

Then, he praised the Buddha's qualities: "*Namo tassa bhagavato arahato samma sambuddhassa. Itipi so bhagavā...buddho bhagavāti. Svākhāto...Supaṭipanno...until the end*<sup>321</sup>." Without being shaken by the flames, the king praised the qualities of *the Three Jewels*<sup>322</sup>. His entire body remained as cool as if it had been *smeared*<sup>323</sup> with sandalwood perfume.

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<sup>315</sup> oT. สกลสถานเทวพิภพแห่งตน

<sup>316</sup> oT. พระอัญชลี

<sup>317</sup> oT. อุดมวงศศีโรดม

<sup>318</sup> oT. พระพุทธคุณ

<sup>319</sup> oT. ตามนุชาคฺจฺประทีป

<sup>320</sup> oT. ๗ ชั่วบุรุษ

<sup>321</sup> oT. จนจบ

<sup>322</sup> oT. พระรัตนไตรย

<sup>323</sup> oT. สูดไส้

*After using his body as a lamp for worshipping the great stūpa<sup>324</sup> for a total of seven days, the king performed his ablutions and put on clothes and adornments<sup>325</sup>. Surrounded by many people<sup>326</sup>, he bowed<sup>327</sup> to the great stūpa. After that, he walked in a clockwise direction around the stūpa three times, and listened to a sermon on the true Dhamma preached by an Arahant<sup>328</sup> for seven days and seven nights. After the king had offered food and gifts to the monks<sup>329</sup>, he saluted in farewell and went back with his retinues to the royal residence.*

After the great king had succeeded in holding the great celebration, he asked the senior monks: “Your Lordships, am I a relative of Buddhism now?”

“Your Majesty, you are still not a relative of Buddhism,” said<sup>330</sup> the Most Venerable Mogaliputta Tissa<sup>331</sup>.

“O Your Lordship, I have donated

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<sup>324</sup> oT. แต่กระทำกายเป็นประทีปตามบูชาพระมหาสถูป

<sup>325</sup> oT. ทรงซึ่งเครื่องวิภูสนาภรณ์

<sup>326</sup> oT. อเนกนิกรคณาภมาก

<sup>327</sup> oT. อภิวาท

<sup>328</sup> oT. ชีฆาสพสงฆ์, P. Khīṇāsavaṅgha

<sup>329</sup> oT. พระสงฆ์

<sup>330</sup> oT. ถวายพระพร

<sup>331</sup> oT. พระโมคคลีบุตรดิสมหาเถร

67 *kotis*<sup>332</sup>, and built 84,000 *monasteries and stūpas*<sup>333</sup>, but *have yet to*<sup>334</sup> merit the name of a relative of Buddhism. So, what kind of merits should I make in order to be a relative of Buddhism?”

“Your Majesty, because of the merit you have performed, you deserve the name of *giver*<sup>335</sup>, but you have not become a relative of Buddhism yet. Whoever has one’s *daughter*<sup>336</sup> ordained according to the *Dhamma-Vinaya*<sup>337</sup>, that person is counted as a relative of Buddhism.”

Then, the Most Venerable Mogaliputta Tissa preached a sermon on *benefits of ordination*<sup>338</sup> in a *catukappā nidālassa*<sup>339</sup> verse. This sermon *explains*<sup>340</sup> that: “One who

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<sup>332</sup> *Kotis* is equal to ten millions (oT. โทฎฐิ, P. *koṭis*)

<sup>333</sup> oT. พระวิหารแลพระสถูปถึง ๘ หมื่น ๔ พัน

<sup>334</sup> oT. ชังบมิได้

<sup>335</sup> oT. บัจจทายก

<sup>336</sup> PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1902, 587] ธิดา (**daughter**); PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1895, 589] บุตรธิดา (**son and daughter**); PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1935, 527] บุตรธิดา (**son and daughter**); PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1960, 474] บุตรธิดา (**son and daughter**); PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1962, 549] บุตรธิดา (**son and daughter**); PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 2011, 437] บุตรธิดา (**son and daughter**).

<sup>337</sup> oT. พระธรรมวินัย

<sup>338</sup> oT. บรรพชาภิสงฆ์

<sup>339</sup> PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1902, 587] จตุกัปปานิทาลัสส (P. *catukappānidālassa*); PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1895, 589] จตุกัปปานิทาลัสส (P. *catuka[pp]ānidālassa*); PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1935, 527] จตุกัปปานิ ทาสสุส (P. *catukappāni dāsassa*); PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1960, 474] จตุกัปปานิ ทาสสุส (P. *catukappāni dāsassa*); PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1962, 549] จตุกัปปานิ ทาสสุส (P. *catukappāni dāsassa*); PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 2011, 438] จตุกัปปานิ ทาสสุส (P. *catukappāni dāsassa*)

<sup>340</sup> oT. อรรถาธิบายความ

has one's *slave*<sup>341</sup> ordained as a *novice*<sup>342</sup> gains the fruits of merits for four *kappas*<sup>343</sup>. One who has one's slave ordained as a *Buddhist monk*<sup>344</sup> gains the fruits of merits for eight *kappas*. One who has one's son ordained as a Buddhist monk gains the fruits of merits for sixteen *kappas*. One who has one's wife ordained as a *female novice*<sup>345</sup> gains the fruits of merits for sixteen *kappas*. One who has one's wife ordained as a *Buddhist nun*<sup>346</sup> gains the fruits of merits for 32 *kappas*. If one ordains as a novice oneself, he gains the fruits of merits for 32 *kappas*<sup>347</sup>. If he ordains as a *bhikṣu*, he gains the fruits of merits for 46 *kappas*<sup>348</sup>."

What is an approximation of one *kappa*? It can be answered in a *pabbataṃ yojanuba bedham* verse which can be translated as: "There is a mountain that is one *yojana* in height and one *yojana* in length. Every 100 years, a god brings a *celestial cloth*<sup>349</sup> and sweeps the mountain's surface one time. The deity keeps sweeping the mountain once every one-hundred years until it decreases in height, and is level with the ground. This whole period of time is counted as one *kappa*."

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<sup>341</sup> OT. ทาส

<sup>342</sup> OT. สามเณร

<sup>343</sup> OT. กัณ

<sup>344</sup> OT. ภิกษุ

<sup>345</sup> OT. สามเณรี

<sup>346</sup> OT. ภิกษุณี, P. *bhikkhunī*

<sup>347</sup> PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1902, 587] **32 kappas**; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1895, 589] **32 kappas**; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1935, 527] **32 kappas**; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1960, 474] **42 kappas**; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1962, 550] **32 kappas**; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 2011, 438] **32 kappas**.

<sup>348</sup> The amount "46 *kappas*" here is a printing error, for one who ordains as a *bhikṣu* gains the fruits of merits for 64 *kappas*. PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1902, 587] **46 kappas**; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1895, 589] **64 kappas**; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1935, 527] **64 kappas**; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1960, 474] **64 kappas**; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1962, 550] **64 kappas**; PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 2011, 438] **64 kappas**.

<sup>349</sup> OT. ผ้าทิพย์

Having heard that, King Dhammāsokarāja was delighted, and said to Prince Mahinda the King’s son, and Princess *Samghamittā*<sup>350</sup> the King’s daughter,

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in a *mahinda-ammapiyadhītā*<sup>351</sup> verse: “Oh, Mahinda and Samghamittā, my dear son and daughter! Ordination is the object of my *affections*<sup>352</sup>. I wish that both of you would agree to be ordained this time. Are you happy to do it or not? The observance of Dhamma-Vinaya in Buddhism which is called *ordination*<sup>353</sup> is fruitful. It gives you a good name as a descendant and heir of *the priesthood lineage*<sup>354</sup> in Buddhism.”

When the prince and princess heard the king’s demand, they informed him: “We are delighted and would like to be ordained. Having heard that, the great king rejoiced, and permitted both royal children to be ordained as a *bhikṣu* and a *bhikṣunī* in *the residence*<sup>355</sup> of the Most Venerable Mogaliputta Tissa.

*A monk who composed scriptures*<sup>356</sup> described these events in a *sābikkhunīcandalekhā* verse from the *Mahāvamsa*<sup>357</sup>: “The glory of Samghamittā Bhikṣunī shines like the full moon. Mahinda Bhikṣu’s grace is like the glorious sun in the Buddhist world. Both Mahinda Bhikṣu and Samghamittā Bhikṣunī possess *the six psychic powers*<sup>358</sup>, and are

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<sup>350</sup> oT. สัมมิตตา, P. Samghamittā

<sup>351</sup> oT. มหินทอัมมปิยธิตา

<sup>352</sup> oT. ลินนภาพ

<sup>353</sup> oT. ปรรพชาอุปสมบท, P. pabbajjā-upasampadā

<sup>354</sup> oT. สามัญญวงศ

<sup>355</sup> oT. สำนักนี้

<sup>356</sup> oT. พระคัมภรจนาจาริย์

<sup>357</sup> oT. คัมภีร์มหาวงษ, มหาวงษ = P. Mahāvamsa

<sup>358</sup> oT. จพากัญญา

*accomplished*<sup>359</sup> in the four analytic insight<sup>360</sup>. Their Royal Highnesses are revered *Khīṇāsavas*<sup>361</sup>, who have no sin<sup>362</sup>, and who attain *Parinibbāna*<sup>363</sup>.”

Then, the Most Venerable Mogaliputta Tissa said to the great king: “Your Majesty, now you have become

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a relative of Buddhism.”

From that time on, King Dhammāsokarāja performed more and more meritorious deeds. He revered the Triple Gem, and *skilfully arranged all worshipping ceremonies*<sup>364</sup> of the *stūpas* in every district.

When the king passed away, he was reborn in *Sakka-Heaven*<sup>365</sup>. And after all the laypeople such as the *ministers*<sup>366</sup> and *cavalrymen*<sup>367</sup> who had helped the king build the monasteries and *stūpas* had passed away, they were also reborn in Heaven.

## End of Chapter 28 The Binding of Māra Legend

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<sup>359</sup> oT. แดกถาน

<sup>360</sup> oT. พระปฏิบัติสัมภิกษญาณทั้ง ๔

<sup>361</sup> According to Nyanatiloka’s *Buddhist Dictionary: Manual of Buddhist Terms and Doctrines* <[http://www.palikanon.com/english/wtb/dic3\\_k.htm](http://www.palikanon.com/english/wtb/dic3_k.htm)> (5 August 2015), the term “Khīṇāsava” is defined as “‘the one in whom all cankers are destroyed’ is a name for the Arhat, or Holy One.”

<sup>362</sup> oT. มีสันดานอันร่าจันจากบาปกรรม

<sup>363</sup> oT. พระปรินิพพาน, P. Parinibbāna

<sup>364</sup> oT. ตกแต่งสรรพบูชาวิหาร

<sup>365</sup> Sakka means Indra, and Devaloka means Heaven (oT. สักทวโลกย์, P. Sakkadevaloka)

<sup>366</sup> oT. เสนาบดี

<sup>367</sup> oT. พลพาห



## Chapter 4 Analysis of Mārabandha Episode of Paramanuchit’s

### *Paṭhamasambodhi*

Paramanuchit’s life and works shows a particular attitude towards Buddhist devotion, namely a focus on the worship of the Buddha’s Rūpakāya (his image and his relics) as well as objects related to the Buddha. For Paramanuchit, material religious culture is something that generates belief, devotion, merit and the means of propagating Buddhism. Evidence for this can be seen in a number of texts such as Paramanuchit’s *Lilit Taleng Phai* (“The Fall of the Mons in Lilit Verse”). In this poem, King Naresuan (1555-1605) is moving his army from Ayutthaya. He sees the Buddha’s relic in the sky; the relic comes from the south, and circumambulates his army three times. The verses describe how the King and his men venerated the Buddha’s relic and prayed for the relic’s blessing on his army:

#### ร่าย (Rai-styled poem)

๒๑๕. สองขัตติยาสุรยาคร ยังเกยราชหอทัพ ขุนคชขับช้างเทียบ ทวยหาญเพียงแผ่นดิน ดุมหิมาดาตาย สระพราศพร้อมโดย  
ขบวน องค์อภิศวรสองกษัตริย์ คอยนฤขัตร์พิชัย บัดเดียวไทยทฤษฏี พระศรีสารีริกบรมธาตุ ไชโสภาสโศกิต ช่วงชวลิตฟ้าง  
ผล สัมเกลี้ยงกลก่อง ฟ่องฟ้าฝ้ายทักษิณ ผินแวงดวงตรงทัพ นั้บคำรบสามครา เป็นทักษิณาวรรตเวียน ้วยฉวัดเฉวียนอัมพร  
ผ่านไปอุครโดยค้ำว พลงบพิตรโทท้าว ท่านตั้งสดุดี อยู่มา (215. The two kings walked to the  
platforms at the royal camp; there the mahouts rode the elephants; bands of brave  
soldiers were like the ground, for they looked immense and abundant; they were  
scattered in line and ready to advance; the two monarchs waited for a propitious  
moment; shortly the Thais saw the Holy Buddha’s Relic, which shone brightly  
and splendidly; It was bright and light like a species of a bright smooth-skinned  
orange; It was floating in the southern sky; then It turned towards and encircled  
the army, for three times totally, in a clockwise direction; It whirled in the air and  
passed to the North while Their Majesties were praising the Holy Buddha’s  
Relic.)

#### โคลง ๔ (Khlong-styled quatrain)

๒๑๖. พระมีปีติตื่น	เต็มมาน	(216. The kings were perfectly happy,
ประณตน์ขสโมธาน	เทิดเกล้า	Raised their hands over the heads in worship.
พระทรงอธิษฐาน	ขอเดช พระเอย	Then the kings prayed: “May the Lord’s majesty,
คุ้มแต่ข้าพเจ้า	จักสู้ศึกเข็ญ	Protect me only, for I am fighting a difficult war.”
๒๑๗. เป็นศรีสวัสดิ์แต่ข้อย	ขอชัย	217. “Please give me your blessing and victory;
ขอชนะไปรี	ทั่วทั้ง	May I defeat all the enemy;
ขอเป็นธวัชไป	ปักทัพ เกลิมมา	May Lord be the glorious Colours of the army;

ขอพระเป็นจัตรังี้                      เกลื้อนร้อนผ่อนเกษม    O Lord, be the canopy saving me by Lord’s grace.”

๒๑๘. พระเปรมปราโมทย์น้อม    วันทนา    218. Elder king was exultant and made an obeisance,  
 พลังพระทรงไอยรา    ฤทธิ์แกลัว    While he was mounting his mighty elephant,  
 พระคเชนทร์ชื่อไชยยา    นุภาพ พันแฮ    Whose name is Chaiyanuphap the Super Elephant,  
 อาจเช่นคชศึกแก้ว    แผลกแพ้ทุกพาย    And could beat all war elephants.<sup>368</sup>

Paramanuchit’s Mārabandha chapter describes a similar physical model of Buddhist piety that manifests on two levels: the level of the devotee and the level of the object of devotion. The chapter shows the devotee many examples of people who are worshipping the Buddha in ways which are marked by feelings, emotions, physical signs, and offerings. In addition, the chapter shows a number of devotees, namely, Ajātasattu, Asoka, the 120-year-old monk and his father, Upagutta, Māra, and the monks and people who assembled in order to see the Buddha’s Rūpakāya.

Moreover, there are a total of seven instances of Buddha worship appearing in this episode. The first instance of Buddha worship can be seen in the *that nithan* section, in which many kinds of valuable objects and flowers were given in order to worship the Buddha’s relics:

Then they scattered sand that consisted of seven types of precious gems over the ground. Then they also scattered various kinds of flowers that grew on the water or in the earth all around the outer crystal *stūpa*... Then the king’s men installed silver and golden water pots, 500 of each, and installed 500 golden flags. Likewise, they installed golden and silver lamps, 500 of each, which were full of fragrant oils, with wicks made from fine cloth. Then they lit the lamps for venerating the Buddha’s relics. After that, Phra Mahā Kassapa made a wish: “All the offerings that are flowers shall not wilt and their fragrance shall not recede; and the lamplight shall not extinguish, but it shall exist at all times”... As for King Ajātasattu, he worshipped the relics with royal, jewelled ornaments, and exited the building... Then, he had them placed a huge chunk of *kaeo-maṇi* gem on the copper house’s door and inscribed letters on the door panels: In the future, there will be a poor king, who will come to dismantle the Buddha-relic room. Take this chunk of *kaeo-maṇi* gem to worship the Buddha’s relics!<sup>369</sup>

<sup>368</sup> Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot, *Lilit Taleng Phai [The Fall of the Mons in Lilit Verse]* (Bangkok: Ongkan Kha Khong Khuru Sapha, 2002), 68-69.

<sup>369</sup> Paramanuchitchinorot, *Phra Pathomsomphot Katha*, 560-1. Thai: แล้วเรียขาลงซึ่งทรายแล้วไปด้วยแก้ว ๗ ประการ แล้วไปขยขาลงซึ่งพรหมแห่งบุษชาติทั้งหลายต่างๆ อันเกล็ดในบกลินน้ำทั้งสิ้นในที่ทั้งปวงโดยรอบ...แล้วตั้งไว้ซึ่งหม้อเงินหม้อทองอันเต็มไปด้วยน้ำสิ่งละ ๕๐๐ หม้อ แลปักไว้ซึ่งธงทอง ๕๐๐ คัน แลประทีปทองแลประทีปเงินสิ่งละ ๕๐๐ ประทีป เต็มไปด้วยน้ำมันหอมเอาผ้าทุกุลพัตรพันเข้าเป็นไส้ ตามเพลิงบูชาพระบรม

The second instance of Buddha worship can be seen in the section on the search for the Buddha's relics, in which an elder monk tells King Asoka about a place his father used to bring him to perform *pūjā* (worship) when he was a young novice:

A *mahāthera* monk who was 120 years old said “the *that nithan* is located in a place that I do not actually know. But a *mahāthera* monk, who was my father, carrying garlands of flowers, took me to a certain place when I was seven years old and was ordaining as a novice. Then he said to me, ‘Come, Samanen!’ and pointed, ‘In between those thickets, there is a stone *stūpa*. We shall go together and pay our respects.’ After reaching that place and making a reverential salutation, he said ‘Samanen! You should consider this locality as an important place.’ And this is all I know.”<sup>370</sup>

The third instance of Buddha worship takes place after King Asoka brings the Buddha's relics back to the capital city:

After this, he ordered his army to parade the Buddha's relics and bring them to Pāṭaliputta the capital city, where he worshipped the holy relics using several appropriate methods.<sup>371</sup>

The fourth instance of Buddha worship appears in the episode in which King Asoka, his royal courtiers, citizens, and Buddhist monks perform *stūpa* worship for seven years, seven months, and seven days:

Next, King Dhammāsokarāja wished to perform worship with offerings to celebrate the great *stūpa* that was located on the bank of the Ganges. He went to the great *stūpa*'s encircling grounds, escorted by the members of his court, including the royal family, Brahmins, the first ministers, rich men, courtiers, and citizens, and a large number of people from urban and rural areas. Everyone was adorned with many kinds of beautiful ornaments and carried objects for worship,

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ธาตุ แล้วพระมหากษัตริย์จึงอธิษฐานว่า บันดาลสิ่งสรรพพูนชัยกับทั้งทั้งหลาย คือบุบผชาติก็อย่ารู้ที่ขวแห่งเหือดหายกลิ่นอันหอม แลเพลิงซึ่งตามประทีปก็จงอย่าได้ดับ ให้ปรากฏอยู่เป็นนิกาล...สวนสมเด็จบรมกระษัตริย์ก็กระทำสักการบูชาด้วยเครื่องราชูปโภคอันสูงการาภรณ์ แล้วก็เสด็จออกภายนอก...แล้วเอาท่อนแก้วมณีท่อนใหญ่ท่อนหนึ่งวางทับไว้ที่บานทวารแห่งเรือนทองแดง แล้วให้จากอุกฤษไว้กับไบบานทวารว่า สืบไปในอนาคตจะมีพระยาเข็ญใจองค์หนึ่ง จะมารื้อห้องพระบรมธาตุ จงเอาท่อนแก้วมณีนี้กระทำการบูชาพระบรมธาตุเถิด.

<sup>370</sup> Ibid., 563-4. Thai: ในขณะที่มีพระมหาเถรองค์หนึ่งเป็นผู้เฒ่า มีวิชาได้ร้อยยี่สิบวิชา จึงบอกว่า ที่ธาตุนิธานจะประดิษฐานอยู่ในที่ใดนั้นอาคมภาพมิได้รู้แท้ แต่ทว่าพระมหาเถรผู้เป็นบิดาได้ถือมาซึ่งพวงดอกไม้ พาอาคมไปแต่ยังมีอายุได้ ๗ ขวบบวชเป็นสามเณร ไปสู่ที่แห่งหนึ่ง แล้วกล่าวแก่อาคมว่า สามเณรจงมาที่นี่ แล้วชี้ไปว่าในระหว่างแห่งกอไม้ซึ่งนั้น มีพระสถูปสถิตอยู่องค์หนึ่ง เราจะพากันไปนมัสการ ครั้นไปถึงฐานที่นั้น กระทำอภิวันทนาบูชาแล้ว จึงบอกว่า ดูกร สามเณรควรจะพิจารณาธาตุที่เป็นที่สำคัญอยู่ แลอาคมได้รู้เหตุแต่เท่านั้น.

<sup>371</sup> Ibid., 567-8. Thai: ก็เสด็จยกพยุหยาตราแสนขากนครแห่งพระบรมสารีริกธาตุ อัญเชิญผู้ปัดลีบุตราชาณี แล้วกระทำสักการะสัมมานวิธีโดยอนกนานุประการ

such as incense sticks, lights, and fragrant flowers. It was as if Indra, the king of gods, escorted by a company of deities, had come to the great *stūpa*'s encircling grounds with an array of musical instruments, such as trumpets, and conches, played in resounding harmony. The great king also ordered that the area around the great *stūpa*, approximately half a *yojana* along the bank of the Ganges, be illuminated and lit by innumerable lights. A large number of monks also came to assemble in that place for paying homage to the great *cetiya*.<sup>372</sup>

The fifth instance of the Buddha worship takes place when Māra proclaims his love for the Buddha, and makes a vow to become a future Buddha, praying to the Buddha for help:

As for Māra, he had lost his stubborn nature and now recalled the grace of Buddha. He said, “When the Lord Buddha occupied the gem throne under the Bodhi Tree, I could not suppress feelings of anger. I hurled the razor-sharp discus, which could sever a diamond mountain as if cutting bamboo shoots, at the Lord Buddha. But the Lord Buddha had a revelatory insight into all the thirty Perfections, and the discus changed into a floral canopy suspended from above. All of my troops hurled different types of weapons at the Lord Buddha, such as a rocky mountain peak, which changed into bunches of flowers, falling onto the earth. In this way, the great Māra King was defeated.” Then, Māra recalled the grace of Buddha, and spoke in a *namo teparisā jañña* verse: “O Lord Buddha the Victor, all beings are saved by Thy favour. Thou are their eternal Saviour, without whom they have no refuge. O Lord Buddha the Victor, no one surpasses Thy exalted nature, please come to be my refuge now. I, Vasavattī, attacked Thee many times; in return, Thou caused me no harm. But Thy disciple is without mercy now, for he inflicts grievous pain on me.”...However, Māra thought of Buddha's forbearance and grace once more, and proclaimed: “I have previously accumulated boons and merits. If in the future an Omniscient One is able to attain enlightenment, may I also come to this world as an Omniscient One, so I can also be a saviour of gods and human beings throughout the universe, and give them wisdom and grace!”<sup>373</sup>

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<sup>372</sup> Ibid., 576-7. Thai: ลำดับนั้นสมเด็จพระบรมโสมมานุชาธิราช มีพระหฤทัยปรารถนาจะกระทำสักการบูชาหม่อมพระมหาสุทนต์สถิตย์เทพสิ่งแม่ น้ำมหาลงคานที ก็เสด็จแวดล้อมด้วยเอนกนิกรราชบรรพต คือพระขัตติยพันรพชแลพรหมณ์มหาเสนาบดีเสวยฐิติคณาตราชฎูร ประชาราชาความนิคมชนบททั้งหลาย ส่วนประดับกายด้วยสรรพภรณ์พิจิตรต่างๆ ถือซึ่งเครื่องบุษนิยภัณฑ์สรรพูประทีปเสวคนธนูมาตุลานพระมหาเจดีย์ มีกรวนาคจวมเด็จพระเจ้าอินทราธิราช อันแวดล้อมด้วยเทพยบรรพตเสด็จมาสู่ลานพระมหาเจดีย์ พร้อมด้วยเอนกนानาสรรพครุฑยงคณตรีเศวตสังข์ ประนั่งศัพทสำเนียงนฤนาทนี้สนั่นแลสมเด็จบรมกระษัตริย์ให้กระทำให้บริเวณรอบพระมหาสุทนต์ประมาณถึงโยชน์ ตามริมฝั่งแม่น้ำคงคาให้โชคนาการสว่างไปด้วยประทีปอนกอนันตจะนับมิได้แลพระภิกษุสงฆ์ทั้งหลายเป็นอันมาก ก็มาสโมสรรสนินบาตรพร้อมกันในที่นั้น เพื่อจะถวายวันทาพระมหาเจดีย์ถาน

<sup>373</sup> Ibid., 581-3. Thai: ฝ่ายพระยามารอิทธิราชก็เสวยยศอันร้าย จึงอนุสรณ์ถึงพระคุณสมเด็จพระสัมมาสัมพุทธเจ้าแล้วออกวาจาว่ากาลเมื่อพระพุทธองค์ทรงสถิตย์เหนือพระรัตนบัลลังก์ ภายใต้ภูมินทรพฤษภมหาโศภิตี ข้าพระบาทมีอจจกสันเสียดซึ่งความโกรธาได้ แลกว้างไปซึ่งจักรวาลอันคมกล้า อันสามารถจะตัดเสียดซึ่งวัชรบรรพตให้ขาดกรวนาคจตุคตซึ่งหน่อไม้ไผ่ พระพุทธองค์ทรงพิจารณา ซึ่งพระสมเด็จยงปารมีญาณ แลจักรนั้นก็กลายกลับเป็นกุฎมพพานทางกันใญ่ปริมทิสภาภาท พวกพลบริษัททั้งหลายอันเศษก็กว้างไปซึ่งนานาวิธาวุธมียอดอุทมาเปนอาทิ ก็กลับกลายเปนพวงบุษบาชาติคดลงยังพื้นพุทธธา แลข้าผู้ชื่อว่ามารอิทธิราชก็ปราศัยพ่ายแพ้ แลเสด็จพระพุทธรูปแล้วกล่าวพระคาถาว่า นะโม เบริสา ชัญญู เปนอาทิดังนี้ สมเด็จพระชินสีห์พระองค์ใดทรงพระมหากรณกระทำซึ่งสิ่งอันประโชชน์แก่สัตว์ทั้งปวง แลเปนที่พึ่งที่พำนักแก่สรรพสัตว์อันหาที่พึ่งมิได้สิ้นกาลทุกเมื่อเป็นนิจนิรันดร์ แลสมเด็จพระชินสีห์พระองค์นั้น อันประเสริฐด้วย

The sixth instance of Buddha worship can be seen when Upagutta asks Māra, the master of illusion, to show him the Buddha's Rūpakāya. When Māra creates the image of the Buddha's Rūpakāya, monks come to make offerings, and even Upagutta, despite having promised Māra not to be deceived by this illusion, also worships the Buddha image created by Māra:

“Venerable Sir, if I assume the form of Lord Buddha the Victor, please do not pay homage to me!” Phra Upagutta gave Māra his word, and then Māra entered the edge of a forest. Phra Upagutta then assembled a large number of Buddhist monks, who by Phra Upagutta's miraculous power, arrived simultaneously. The monks, who liked to see the Lord Buddha, held incense sticks and candles, and gathered around Phra Upagutta Thera, and said: “We will see and worship the body of Buddha.” At that time, Māra miraculously transformed his body into the Omniscient One, endowed with the thirty-two marks of the Great Man and the eighty minor characteristics, brightly adorned with the two-metre-radiant aura of six different colours, having a pair of two chief disciples on his left and right sides, and surrounded by a retinue of the eighty great disciples. This was visible to the assembly of people. In addition, some instructors stated that King Dhammāsokarāja and his ministers and courtiers also came to that place to watch. When Phra Upagutta Thera saw the body of Buddha as well as all the chief disciples and the great disciples, his hair stood upright in response to his unshakable faith, and he forgot his promise to Māra, and paid homage to the body of Buddha with five-point prostration. Likewise, the king and all the people performed acts of worship together.<sup>374</sup>

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คุณหาผู้จะเสมอมิได้ จึงมาเป็นที่พึ่งที่พึ่งที่พำนักแห่งอาตมาในกาลบัดนี้ ประการหนึ่ง แต่ปางก่อนข้าผู้ชื่อว่าวิสวดี กระทำพินิตรายแก่พระพิชิตมารมีประการต่างๆ เป็นอันมาก พระผู้มีพระภาคก็มีได้กระทำโทษตอบแก่ข้า มาตราว่าสิ่งใดน้อยหนึ่งบิพมิงมี กาลบัดนี้พระสาวกแห่งพระพุทธองค์จะไร ช่างไม่มีความกรุณากระทำโทษแก่อาตมาให้เสียทุกข์สาหัสเห็นปานดังนี้ ...แลพระขามรกลับเข้าดำริหึ่งถึงพระขันตีคุณแห่งพระมหากรุณา จึงออกอุทานกล่าว ว่าอาตมามีกุศลสมภารได้สั่งสมไว้ เบื้องว่าพระสัพพัญญูได้ตรัสในอนาคตกาลอันใด ของอาตมาได้เป็นพระสัพพัญญู บังเกิดในโลภย์เหมือนดั่งนั้น จะได้กรุณาเป็นที่พึ่งสรรพสัตว์ แสงหาซึ่งประโยชน์โปรดไว้ในยประชาทั้งปวง ทั้งสกลโลกธาตุ

<sup>374</sup> Ibid., 584-5. Thai: ข้าแต่พระผู้เป็นเจ้า เบื้องว่าข้าพเจ้าจะนฤมิตรกายเป็นองค์พระชินสีห์ให้เห็นประจักษ์แล้ว พระผู้เป็นเจ้าจงอย่าได้ถวายนมัสการข้าพเจ้า พระมหาเถรก็รับคำพระขามรฯ จึงเข้าไปในพนสมจศีลบทหนึ่ง พระมหาเถรจึงให้สันนิบาตพระภิกษุทั้งหลายเป็นอันมาก มาถึงพร้อมกันโดยเร็วด้วยอำนาจฤทธิ์แห่งผู้เป็นเจ้า แลพระสงฆ์องค์ใดจะใคร่เห็นพระผู้ทรงพระภาคองค์นั้นก็ถือรูปเทียน สุกคนวิเลปนบพหามาสดิย์แวดล้อมพระอุปลุคเณเจ้า แล้วก็กล่าวว่า เราจะดูซึ่งพระพุทธสิริรูป จะกระทำสักการบูชา ในกาลนั้นพระขามรก็นฤมิตรกายเป็นองค์พระสัพพัญญูเจ้า ประดับด้วยพระทวงดงยมหาวิริสลักขณ แลพระอสิตขณพญ์ชุนพิจิตร โสภิตโกภายด้วยพระขามรประกฎพิพรณรังษี มีทั้งอุพระอัครสาวกสถิตยในทิศเบื้องซ้ายขวา แวดล้อมด้วยพระอสิต มหาสาวกเป็นบริวาร สำแดงให้ปรากฏแก่มหาชนสันนิบาตทั้งปวง แลคำเถรจอาจริยบางองค์ก็กล่าวว่า พระเจ้าธรรมมาโสกราชกับหมู่มาคย์แลราชบรรพสัท ก็มาทัศนการอยู่ณที่นั่น คอยแลดู พระอุปลุคเณเมื่อได้ทัศนพระพุทธรูปสรระรูปกาย กับทั้งพระมหาสาวกบริวารทั้งหลายปรากฏดั่งนั้น ก็บังเกิดโสมชาติชูชันด้วยจลประสาสน์ศรัทธา สิวาจาปฏิบัติญาณแห่งพระขามรอันว่าไว้ ก็ถวายนมัสการพระพุทธรูปด้วยเบญจางคประดิษฐ์ แลมหาชนนิกรทั้งหลาย มีสมเด็จพระบรมกระษัตริย์เป็นประธาน ก็กระทำนมัสการสักการบูชาทั้งสิ้นด้วยกัน.

The seventh and last instance of Buddha worship in Mārabandha episode appears in a sequel to the display of Buddha's Rūpakāya by Māra, in which King Asoka used his own body to worship the relic-enshrined *stūpa*:

As for King Dhammāsokarāja, he wished to worship the *stūpa* with his own body for seven days. Therefore, he had his men dip cotton wool in five-hundred pots of aromatic oil, and wrapped it around his body from neck to feet. Then, he went to stand in front of the *ceṭiya*, raised his joined palms above his head, and recalled the Buddha's qualities and virtues. Then, he had a fire lit throughout his body, without being afraid, in order to worship like a lamp. The bright flames shot high in to the air, about the height of seven men. Then, he praised the Buddha's qualities: "*Namo tassa bhagavato arahato samma sambuddhassa. Itipi so bhagavā...buddho bhagavāti. Svākhāto...Supaṭipanno...until the end.*" Without being shaken by the flames, the king praised the qualities of the Three Jewels. His entire body remained as cool as if it had been smeared with sandalwood perfume. After using his body as a lamp for worshipping the great *stūpa* for a total of seven days, the king performed his ablutions and wore clothes and adornments. Surrounded by many people, he bowed to the great *stūpa*. After that, he walked in a clockwise direction around the *stūpa* three times, and listened to a sermon on the true Dhamma preached by an Arahant for seven days and seven nights. After the king had offered food and gifts to the monks, he saluted in farewell and went back with his retinues to the royal residence.<sup>375</sup>

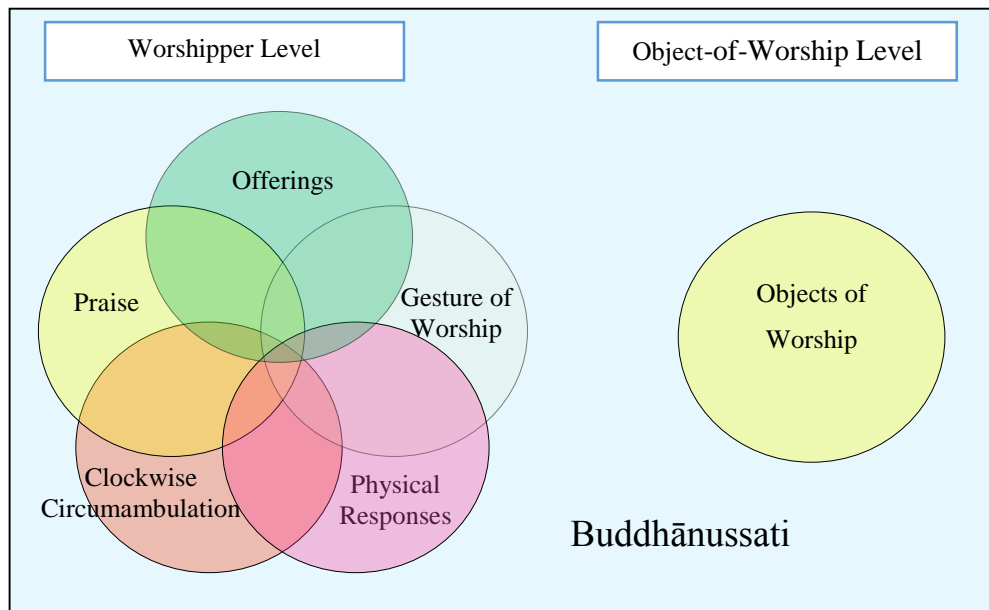
The physical nature of the devotion described by Paramanuchit can be seen from his detailed descriptions of the offerings, the gestures of worship, the epithets and elaborate words of praise, the clockwise circumambulation, and physical responses such as horripilation. When Paramanuchit's devotees worship physical objects, they clearly believe they are worshipping the Buddha himself. There is no boundary between the material and the transcendental in Paramanuchit's text. For Paramanuchit, Buddhānussati (recollection of the Buddha) after the Buddha's Parinibbāna is an act of devotion that must be performed in the presence of a material object imbued with the Buddha's

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<sup>375</sup> Ibid., 585-6. Thai: ส่วนสมเด็จพระบรมราชาธิราชมีพระทัยปราถนาจะกระทำสักการบูชาพระสถูปด้วยพระสิริรูปกายแห่งพระองค์ให้ได้ศัวารโดยกำหนด จึงให้อาสาลีขบด้วยน้ำมันหอมถึง ๕ ร้อยหม้อ มาพันพระกายตั้งแต่พระสอตลอดลงไปครามเท่าถึงพระบาท แล้วเสด็จไปยืนประดิษฐานอยู่ที่หน้าพระเจดีย์ ยกพระอัญชลีเหนืออุคคมางคลีโลคม ทรงพระระลึกถึงพระพุทธรูปแล้วให้จุดเพลิงทั่วพระสิริกายฯ บมิได้หวั่นไหว ตามบูชาคงประทีป แลเปลวเพลิงนั้นก็พุ่งโพล่งขึ้นไปบนอากาศสูงประมาณถึง ๑ ชั่วโมง แล้วออกพระวาจาตรัสสรรเสริญพระพุทธรูปว่า นโม ตัสส ภควโต อรหโต สัมมา สัมพุทฺธสฺส อิติปิ โส ภควา ฯลฯ พุทฺโธ ภควาติ. สวากขาโต ฯลฯ สุปฏิมันโน จนจบ ครั้นสรรเสริญคุณพระรัตนไตรจบมิได้วิการหวั่นไหวด้วยเปลวเพลิงอันร้อน แลพระสกลกายนั้นก็กลับเย็นจืดลูบไล้ด้วยน้ำจันทน์สุคันธรส แต่กระทำพระกายเป็นประทีปตามบูชาพระมหาสถูป ๑ วารถ้วน ๑ วัน แล้วจึงโปรดส่งอุทกธาราชำระพระสิริกาย ทรงซึ่งเครื่องพระวิภูษนาภรณ์ แวดล้อมด้วยเนกนิกรคณาภมาก กระทำอภิวัตพระมหาสถูปเสร็จแล้ว ก็เสด็จบทธระพักณณสันตติวาร ๓ รอบ แลทรงสดับพระสัทธรรมเทศนา อันพระขีณาสพสงฆ์สำแดงถ้วนถึง ๑ วัน ๑ คืน แล้วถวายภัตตาหารแก่พระสงฆ์ ทรงถวายไทยทานต่างๆ เสร็จแล้ว ก็นมัสการลาเสด็จนิวัตคณาการกับทั้งบริวารพระราชนิเวศน์

essence. In particular, Paramanuchit’s Mārabandha episode clearly explains what Buddhists should do after the Buddha is no longer around and can be understood as a model for devotion to the Buddha during the third, fourth and fifth reigns.

**Figure 3 Model of Buddha Worship**



According to Crosby, devotion to the Buddha is a key form of Buddhist meditation because the recollection of the Buddha, and meritorious activity are doctrinally unproblematic due to their independence from the problem of the presence or accessibility of the Buddha in objects of worship.<sup>376</sup> However, in this relationship between salvation, the object being worshipped and the worshipper raises two doctrinal issues: firstly, it could contravene the doctrine of *karma*; and, secondly, it indicates the presence of the Tathāgata in his images.<sup>377</sup>

Strong argues that the story of Upagutta can be understood as “a pilgrimage into the past (to a time when the Buddha’s Rūpakāya exists) and back to the present (when its

<sup>376</sup> Kate Crosby, “Devotion to Buddha in Theravada and Its Roles in Meditation,” in *The Intimate Other: Love Divine in Indic Religions*, ed. Anna S. King and John Brockington (Hyderabad, India: Orient Longman, 2005), 247-8.

<sup>377</sup> *Ibid.*, 248-9.

impermanence is realised).”<sup>378</sup> In the Mārabandha episode, this pilgrimage manifests itself as Buddha *bhakti*, devotional behaviour in the form of the creation and worship of a Mahāpuruṣa body adorned with the 32 marks of the Great Man. Māra’s illusion of the Rūpakāya heightens “awareness not only the glory of the Buddha, but *also* of his impermanence” and hastens the “process of final liberation.”<sup>379</sup> Upagutta’s attainment of arhatship and seeing Dhammakāya means that he has already put “an end to the possibility of further death and rebirth.”<sup>380</sup> By seeing Rūpakāya or the physical body of the Buddha, he thus “leapfrogs ahead karmically and speeds up his own rupalogical development.”<sup>381</sup>

Here, Strong interprets the Mārabandha episode as a denial of the Buddha’s actual “presence” because by the time of Asoka, the Buddha is no more. However, Paramanuchit’s Mārabandha does not prescribe the worship of impermanence, but the worship of the Buddha himself:

พระอุปกุตเถรเมื่อได้ทักขนาพระพุทธศรีรูปกายกับทั้งพระมหาสาวกบริวารทั้งหลายปรากฏคั้งนั้น ก็บังเกิดโลมชาดิฐุชัณ ด้วยอจลประสาทน์ศรัทธา สีมวาจาปฏิญาณแห่งพระยามารอันว่าไว้ ก็ถวายนมัสการพระพุทธศรีรูปด้วยเบญจางคประดิษฐ์ (When Phra Upagutta Thera saw the body of Buddha as well as all the chief disciples and the great disciples, his hair stood upright in response to his unshakable faith, and he forgot his promise to Māra, and paid homage to the body of Buddha with five-point prostration.)<sup>382</sup>

and

ไฉนพระผู้เป็นเจ้าจึงถวายวันทนาข้าพเจ้า ก็ได้สัญญาไว้แล้ว ดูกร พระยามาร อาคมมมิไฉนมีสการซึ่งท่าน กระทำอภิวันทนา การศรีรูปพระบรมครูกับทั้งหมู่พระมหาสาวกทั้งปวง

(“Why did Your Lordship salute me? You promised me that you would not?”)

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<sup>378</sup> Strong, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta*, 114.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.*, 114-6.

<sup>380</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>382</sup> Paramanuchitchinorot, *Phra Pathomsomphot Katha*, 584-5.



“O Māra, I did not salute you. I paid homage to the body [Sārīrarūpa] of the Great Teacher and all of his disciples.”<sup>383</sup>

The devotion to the Buddha described in Paramanuchit’s Mārabandha is based on the recollection of the Buddha or Buddhānussati: the *citta* or consciousness of the Buddha’s presence. This form of devotion—presenting offerings to the objects of worship, praising the Buddha’s virtues and qualities, making a gesture of worship, circumambulating around objects of worship three times in a clockwise directions—is always based in the physical, material world.

Another example of the material nature of devotion for Paramanuchit is his exhaustive description of the relic caskets that enshrine the Buddha’s relics: a set of eight caskets made from yellow sandalwood, red sandalwood, ivory, various gems...a total of 160 caskets and *stūpas*...<sup>384</sup> This careful description of the caskets emphasises the need to make merit and the need for material objects to function as gifts (*dānā*) to the Buddha, a fertile field of merit.

Even the consciousness of the Buddha’s presence or Buddhānussati itself is presented in the Mārabandha as an object of worship. The case in point is Māra, who praises the virtues of the Buddha and prays for his protection while being tied to the mountain. Although he lacks images, relics, and *stūpas*, Māra recalls the Buddha and focuses on this recollection as if it were a material object of devotion. Likewise, the physical responses such as horripilation are a direct result of the unshakable faith produced by Buddhānussati and can be understood as a physical performance of Buddha worship.

Although Buddhānussati can act as the object of worship by itself, the Mārabandha episode mainly focuses on the Buddha’s relics and their *stūpas*. Five of the seven examples of Buddha worship discussed above portray the Buddha’s relics and the relic-enshrined *stūpas* as the objects of worship that require material offerings, or *āmisapūjā*. Much of the Mārabandha is a description of the material offerings considered essential for the worship of the Buddha: (1) precious-gem sand, (2) fragrant flowers, (3) silver

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<sup>383</sup> Ibid., 585.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid., 558-60.

water pots, (4) golden water pots, (5) golden flags, (6) golden lamps, (7) silver lamps, (8) fragrant oils, (9) *kaeo-maṇi* gem, (10) garlands of flowers, (11) incense sticks, (12) lights, (13) candles, and (14) one's own body.

The relationship between the worshipped and the worshipper prescribed in Paramanuchit's *Mārabandha* can best be described as "affective." In other words, when the worshippers have consciousness of the Buddha's presence, they feel that the Buddha is accessible and able to help them. This experience is related to the Buddhist belief that although the Buddha already passed to *Nirvāṇa*, his power still exists and remains available to protect Buddhists and their sacred spaces.<sup>385</sup>

The affective nature of Buddha-relic worship is explored in Paramanuchit's *Mārabandha* episode in Asoka's speech, which connects the presence of relics with the well-being of Buddhism:

All deities who possess mighty power! I wish to take the Buddha's relics and enshrine them in *cetiya*s at all 84,000 monasteries so that humans and deities in all countries can worship them. Therefore, Buddhism will flourish and spread to every city and kingdom. May all the deities come and help to ward off dangers and fulfil my wish to obtain the Buddha's relics at this very moment!<sup>386</sup>

According to Peter Skilling, all Buddhist societies and traditions venerate the Buddha relics; this devotion transcends the boundaries between "*Śrāvakayāna*"/"*Mahāyāna*" and emphasises the importance of material culture for understanding Buddhist spiritual culture.<sup>387</sup> Of particular importance is the association between the material worship of Buddhist relics (*āmisapūjā*) for the prosperity and survival of Buddhism. Chapter 29 of

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<sup>385</sup> In Thailand, many sacred places exist that have been visited by Gautama Buddha (and/ past Buddhas /future Buddha) during his lifetime; Buddhists believe that these places are still under the protection of these Buddhas, see Chollada Kopatta, "Beliefs in Past Buddhas in Thai Society During the 20<sup>th</sup>-24<sup>th</sup> Centuries BE," *Journal of Liberal Arts* 13, no. 1 (January - June 2013): 91-93.

<sup>386</sup> Paramanuchitchinorot, *Phra Pathomsomphot Katha*, 565. Thai: ข้าแต่ท้าวเทวราชทั้งหลายผู้ทรงมหิทธิฤทธิ์ ข้าพเจ้าผู้มีจิตรปราถนาจะถือเอาพระบรมธาตุ ฟังนี้ จะอัญเชิญไปบังนจุในพระเจดีย์สถาน ท้าวทุกวิหารทั้ง ๘ หมื่น ๔ พัน ควรจะได้เป็นที่สักการบูชา แห่งเทพามนุษย์ทั่วทุกประเทศ พระพุทธศาสนาจะได้แผ่ไพศาลวัฒนาการ ไปทุกขอบเขตนครชั้นธสีมา ของงเทพยดาทั้งหลายมาช่วยป้องกันอันตรายให้ปาราคน ให้ได้พระบรมธาตุสมปราถนา ในกาลบัดนี้

<sup>387</sup> Peter Skilling, "Cutting across Categories: The Ideology of Relics in Buddhism," *ARIRIAB* 8 (March 2005): 269-71.

Paramanuchit's *Paṭhamasambodhi* teaches that the Buddha's relics stay in places where they receive worship with offerings; when they do not receive worship and offerings, the relics (and with them, the Dhamma and the Sangha) will become extinct:

Thirdly, *dhātu-parinibbāna* is that, in the future, the Buddha's relics will become extinct. *Katham*: therefore, there is a question, "how will *dhātu-parinibbāna* occur in the future?" The answer to this question is that the holy relics of the Saviour of the World that are installed in various places, *sakkāraṃ alabhamāno*-when they do not receive any kinds of offerings, will all go to the places that have offerings. If there are people worshipping them in any countries, they will go there. This is due to the power of the Lord Buddha's wish. *Gacchante kāle*: as time passes by, when all the places of worship are without the offerings, the holy relics will come to congregate, then will go to the great cetiya in Lankādvīpa. After leaving the Lankādvīpa's great cetiya, they will go to Rājāyatana Cetiya at Nāgadvīpa. After leaving the Nāgadvīpa, they will go to the Bodhi-pallaṅka. All the holy relics, whether in the realm of the Nāgas or in the Heaven, will go to the Great Enlightened Throne. *Evaṃ sabbā dhātuyo*: the holy relics, after having congregated in this way. *Buddharūpa katvā*: they form a Buddha image that looks as if there was a Lord Buddha sitting on the gem throne beneath the Bodhi Tree, consisting of all the major and minor characteristic of the great man, and being radiant with rays of bright colors that radiate for two metres from each side. The image will perform a miracle identical to that of the *yamaka-pāṭihāriya*, which the Lord Buddha performed when taming non-Buddhist and naked ascetics beneath a mango tree, thus emitting a bunch of rays that consists of six colours. *Manussabhūtasatto*: when the holy relics congregate at that time, no humans will see the event. *Dasasahassacakkavāladevatā*: as for large groups of deities in ten-thousand galaxies, they will assemble; *paridevanna*-cry, moan, and express their sorrow, like the time when the Lord Buddha passed away entering into Nirvāṇa, with the words, "*Ajja dasabalo parinibbāyati*: the Lord Buddha passed away entering into Nirvāṇa today. *Ajja sāsaṇaṃ o sakkati*: Buddhism declined today. *Idaṃ pacchima dassanaṃ*: this is the last time; there is no more such seeing in the future. From now on the world will be under the forces of darkness." The rest of the deities, except ones who are arhats whose minds have been purified of *āsavas*, cannot stand due to their sorrow. *Athadhātu sarirato*: then, the element of fire starts from the corporeal relics, burning them completely until reaching the non-existent state. *Dhātu sarirato samuṭṭhitā*: the flames that start from the holy relics grow higher and higher until reaching the Brahma World. *Evaṃ mahantaṃ ānubhāvaṃ dassetvā*: after the holy relics manifest the powerful majesty of the fire in this manner, they then demonstrate Nirvāṇa. *Tadā sannipatitadevasaṅghā*: as for all groups of deities who come to assemble around the Buddha's relics, *sakkāraṃkaritvā*-together they do the act of worship with divine offerings, all kinds of vaporous and fragrant substances as well as musical instruments, in the same manner as when the Lord Buddha passed away entering Nirvāṇa. Then,

*tikkhatuṅ padakkhinam katvā*-they perform three clockwise circumambulations; *sakkaṭṭhānameva gacchanti*-and return to their heavenly abodes.<sup>388</sup>

In short, the physicality of Buddhist devotion in the Mārābandha episode of Paramanuchit's *Paṭhamasambodhi* is portrayed as consisting of two levels: the worshipper and the object-of-worship levels. At the worshipper level, it can be seen that the nature of Buddha *pūjā* is affective. At the object-of-worship level, it is believed that the object of worship is infused with Buddha qualities and virtues. In addition, *Buddhānussati* is the meritorious consciousness that can be instigated by the *citta* of the worshipper via recollection of the Buddha's virtues or visual experience of the worshipped object. Thus, the model of Buddha worship in Mārābandha episode is indeed the interrelationship between physicality (the worshipper and the worshipped) and spirituality (*Buddhānussati*) that takes place in a sacred space in the material world (*stūpa* sites, Buddhist monasteries, etc.).

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<sup>388</sup> Paramanuchitchinorot, *Phra Pathomsomphot Katha*, 597-600. Thai: ในชาดกปรินิพพานเป็นคำรบ ๓ นั้น ได้แก่ พระบรมชาดกัณนิพพานในอนาคต กถ์ จึงมีคำปฐกา ชาดกปรินิพพานจะมีในอนาคตกาลนั้นเป็นดังฤ? วิชันนาว่า พระบรมสารีริกธาตุแห่งองค์สมเด็จพระโลกนารถ อันประดิษฐานอยู่ในที่ต่างๆ นั้น สักการ์ อภกมาโน เมื่อมิได้เครื่องสรรพบุษนิยักัญข์แล้ว พระบรมธาตุทั้งปวงก็เสด็จไปสู่ที่อันประกอบด้วยเครื่องสักการบุษฯ ถ้ามีบุคคณชาวอยู่ในประเทศใดแล้ว ก็เสด็จไปสู่ประเทศที่นั้น ด้วยกำลังอิฐฐานแห่งองค์สมเด็จพระผู้ทรงพระภาค ถัดดินแดนกาล ครั้นกาลล่วงไป ที่ทั้งหลายทั้งปวงปราศจากเครื่องสักการบุษฯแล้ว พระบรมธาตุก็จะมาโสโรสนันนิบคกันเข้า แล้วก็จะเสด็จไปสู่พระมหาเจดีย์อันใหญ่ในลังกาทวีป ครั้นออกจากลังกาทวีปมาเจดีย์แล้ว ก็เสด็จไปสู่สุราชยคนเจดีย์นาคทวิป ครั้นออกจากนาคทวิปแล้ว ก็เสด็จไปสู่โพธิบัลลังก์ พระบรมธาตุทั้งหลาย นาคพิภพก็ดี ในเทวโลกก็ดี ก็เสด็จไปสู่พระมหาโพธิบัลลังก์สิ้น เอว สัพพา ธาตุโย พระบรมธาตุ ครั้นประชุมพร้อมกันด้วยประการดังนี้แล้ว พุทธรูป กัถวา กระทำอาการเป็นพระพุทธรูปปรากฏเหมือนยังองค์สมเด็จพระศรีสุคต อันเสด็จประดิษฐานเหนือรัตนบัลลังก์ได้ดวงไม้พระมหาโพธิ ประกอบด้วยทิวตังสมหาบุริสสลักขณแลอสิคยานุพยัญชน ทรงพระรัสมีสีสรรพรณโอกาส ผ่องพันออกไปไกลได้ข้างละวาเป็นกำหนด จะกระทำพระปาฏิหาร มีอาการดุจดังพระยมกปาฏิหาร ครั้งเมื่อทรมานเดียริถินิครณฐ์ในภายใต้ต้นไม้คันธามพทฤช เปล่งออกซึ่งขอลัพพิชพรณรัสมิ มีพรณ ๖ ประการ มนุสส์ตฤคส์คิโด เมื่อพระบรมธาตุประชุมครั้งนั้น มนุษย์ทั้งหลายจะให้เห็นหามิได้ ทสสหัสส์กัถวาเทวดา ฝ่ายผู้อมรเทพยดาทั้งหลายในหมั้นจักกัถวา จะพากันโสโรสนันนิบคประชุมพร้อมกัน บริเทวนันกันแสงโสโกโสกาตุรพุลทเวศเหมือนครั้งองค์สมเด็จพระโลกเชฎฐ์เสด็จดับขันธเข้าสู่พระปรินิพพาน ด้วยถ้อยคำว่า อัสซ ทสโโล ปรินิพพายติ องค์พระทสพลสัมมาสัมพุทธเสด็จดับขันธ เข้าสู่พระอมตมทานิพพานเสียในวันนีแล้ว อัสซ สาสนั โอ สักกสิ พระพุทธศาสนาเสื่อมชุลกลงในวันนีแล้ว อิหิ บัจฉิม ทัสสนั ครั้นนี้เป็นบัจฉิมที่สุด การที่จะได้เห็นไปในเบื้องหน้าไม่มีแล้ว ตั้งแต่นี้ไปโลกก็จะมัวมนธอนธการกอบด้วยกองมืด เทพยดาทั้งหลายอันเศษ เว้นไว้แต่เทพยดาอันเป็นขีณาสมาวิอาสพกระไสยไกลจากสันดาน เทพยดาอันเศษนั้น ไม่อาจดำรงประดิษฐานอยู่ได้ด้วยวิสกโย ออธธาตุ สิริโรโต ในลำดับนั้น เตโชธาตุก็ตั้งขึ้นแต่พระสริธธาตุ เสาผลาญซึ่งหารให้ย่อยยับถึงซึ่งกัถวาหาบิญญูมิได้ ธาตุ สิริโรโต สมฤจฐิตา เปลวไฟซึ่งตั้งขึ้นแต่พระบรมธาตุนั้น พุ่งพันขึ้นไปถึงเพียงพรหมโลก เอว มหันต์ อานุภาว ทัสเสศว่า พระบรมธาตุแสดงซึ่งเตโชทลอาณภาพด้วยประการดังนี้แล้ว ก็แสดงนิพพาน ตทา สันนิปคิตเทวสังฆา ฝ่ายผู้อมรเทพยดาทั้งหลาย บรรดาที่มาสันนิบคพร้อมที่พระบรมธาตุ สักการ์กริธวา พากันกระทำสักการบุษด้วยเทวบุษนิยักัญข์สรรพสุคณษ์เครื่องสำอางอบ กับทั้งเครื่องดุริยเครื่องดนตรีพิณพาทย์ กระทำครั้งนั้น ก็มีอาการเหมือนเมื่อครั้งองค์สมเด็จพระผู้ทรงพระภาค อันเสด็จดับขันธเข้าสู่พระอมตมทานิพพาน ครั้นแล้ว ดิภักขณ ปทักักขิม กัถวา กระทำประทัถักขิมสิ้นคตยวารเวียรชวาสิ้นสามรอบโดยคำรบแล้ว สักกัฐฐานเมว ถัดดินแดน ก็พากันกลับยังนิเวศวาสณฐฐานที่อยู่วิมานคน

## Conclusion

In this thesis I have demonstrated the importance of Paramanuchit's *Paṭhamasambodhi* as a continuous story of the life of Buddha, a living story well known all over mainland Southeast Asia, and an essential element in Southeast Asian art history. In addition, I have shown the importance of the Mārabandha episode as a unique story that receives no mention in Pāli Canon and other life stories of the Buddha, one of the few parts of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* corpus that is concerned with what happens after the Buddha's Parinibbāna, and a source for ritual and belief in many parts of Southeast Asia. Moreover, I have considered existing scholarship on the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, discussed the biography of Paramanuchit as well as the history of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple, and I have elucidated the relation between *Paṭhamasambodhi* of Paramanuchitchinorot and other *Paṭhamasambodhi* versions. Since most of the existing scholarship and biography are written in Thai language, I translated parts that are related to my MA thesis into English.

Likewise, I have made the first English translation of Mārabandha chapter of Paramanuchit's Siamese Thai *Paṭhamasambodhi*. I also retain the page pattern of the source text, which its Mārabandha chapter consists of 33 pages (pp. 557–589), and provided explanation of some technical terms, spelling mistakes, as well as other useful information in footnotes. Furthermore, I have analysed Mārabandha episode and made the elucidation of Paramanuchit's vision of worshipping the Buddha's Rūpakāya as the source of merit, the blessing, and means of propagating Buddhism, the model of Buddha's worship as portrayed in the episode, and the reason for the inclusion of Mārabandha in Paramanuchit's *Paṭhamasambodhi*.

This work contributes to studies of Thai Buddhism by doing three things. Firstly, it provides a translation and an analysis of a text that has been largely overlooked by scholars outside of Thailand, especially in English language scholarship. Secondly, it throws light on the historical figure of Paramanuchit, who is a senior Buddhist monk and key patriarch in the history of Thai Buddhism during the 19<sup>th</sup> century period. Thirdly, it argues that Paramanuchit's decision to include the Mārabandha in his redaction of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* indicates his own concern with a particular dimension of Thai Buddhism, which is devotion to objects and images of the Buddha.

An examination of Paramanuchit's *Paṭhamasambodhi* changes the way we think about Thai Buddhism in terms of the nature of the making of Thai Buddhist manuscripts and Thai sermonic texts. Historically, the Thai tradition of writing religious texts in Thailand is to strictly rely on the Pāli sources, both canonical and non-canonical ones. The notion of the authenticity of Buddhist Pāli texts during the time of Paramanuchit is very different from modern ideas about authenticity. For Paramanuchit and his Buddhist contemporaries (as well as earlier generations of Buddhists), all Pāli texts in the repertoire of Buddhism were counted as parts of *Tipiṭaka* and thus "sacred" and "authentic." Thus, references to other Pāli sources that appear throughout Paramanuchit's *Paṭhamasambodhi* attest that Paramanuchit followed ancient traditions of textual transmission and composed and edited this text without including his own private opinions.

Further detailed study of the Mārabandha episode needs to be conducted in order to provide scholars of Buddhism with a better understanding of the role of the Buddha-relic-enshrined *stūpa* in the propagation of Buddhism in mainland Southeast Asia as well as the role of Buddha image in Thai Buddhist devotion. It can be seen in the Mārabandha episode that the relic-enshrined *stūpa* and the ground that encircles it as well as the worshipping ceremony taking place there, are elegantly designed for mass worship and function as a meritorious hub. Further investigation into the way that this landmark attracts people and deities to come and participate in the religious activities in this sacred space will elucidate the ways that religious ceremonies embed in the lives of Buddhists and strengthen their faith.

Moreover, a careful examination of Paramanuchit's life and of the relationship between Paramanuchit, as an author, and the text of his *Paṭhamasambodhi*, which is both something that he 'wrote' and something that he 'inherited,' enables the scholars of Buddhism to gain important insights into the strong bond between the Thai royal family and Buddhism. As for the institution of the Thai Sangha, it has traditionally played a fundamental role in educating Thai princes in both worldly and religious affairs as well as advising the kings to rule the kingdom in accordance with the Dhamma. The role of its counterpart, the institution of the monarchy, is to support the Sangha with the four necessities and the material things that are needed for studying the Dhamma and

propagating Buddhism. Paramanuchit's inclusion of the story about the ordination of King Asoka's son and daughter in the closing part of Mārabandha episode seems to be his intention to justify the Thai tradition of royal ordination and secure the bond between the two institutions. In addition, his style of editing *Paṭhamasambodhi* by solely relying on the Pāli sources in the repertoire of Siamese *Tipiṭaka* during that time reflects his position that both canonical and non-canonical Pāli sources are authentic and thus deserve to be preserved and passed on to his audience by inclusion in his work, *Paṭhamasambodhi*.

Last but not least, my approach—paying attention to devotion—is an original contribution to the literature on the *Paṭhamasambodhi*. My research sheds light not only on the philosophical theories about the worship of the Buddha, but also on the physical and material nature of Buddha devotion. One of the questions raised by my thesis is the adequacy and reliability of using only a theoretical approach to understand Buddhist practices and doctrines. The Buddha himself encouraged an empirical approach in order to gain a profound understanding of the transcendent Dhamma that he attained. The questions I raise in this thesis are based on my personal experience of Buddha *pūjā* and meditation. These questions broaden the agenda for further studies of Buddhism in mainland Southeast Asia where the *Paṭhamasambodhi* is known.

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## Appendix

I emailed Chulalongkorn University Library's staff asking for obtaining digital files of the Mārabandha episode of Paramanuchitchinorot's 1902 old Thai translation of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* in order to include it as an appendix in this MA thesis. Unfortunately, I could not obtain those files. However, the original Thai text is available to read online at <[http://www.car.chula.ac.th/rarebook/book/c153\\_0197/](http://www.car.chula.ac.th/rarebook/book/c153_0197/)> (20 November 2015).