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 19th 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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I would like to express my gratitude to the National Library of Thailand and its Manuscript and Inscription Group for allowing me to have access to ancient Thai manuscripts. I also thank Damrong Rajanupab Library for allowing me to have access to rare Thai books. More specifically, I owe a debt of gratitude to Ajahn Boonlert Senanon, Ajahn Chung Dipprakhon, Yuwaret Wuttheerapon, Vasharabhorn Ungkunshutchai, and Sirilak Sukphun for all their help. I am also grateful to DIRI’s staff and everyone who helped and supported me when I conducted my field research in Thailand between December 2014 and February 2015. I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Peter Skilling for allotting time for our meeting and giving me useful information and advice, and to Surakarn Thoesomboon who helped me to meet Ajahn Peter Skilling.

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<thead>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1902]</td>
<td>The 1902 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s <em>Paṭhamasambodhi</em> (The source text)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1895]</td>
<td>The 1895 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s <em>Paṭhamasambodhi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1935]</td>
<td>The 1935 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s <em>Paṭhamasambodhi</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1960]</td>
<td>The 1960 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s <em>Paṭhamasambodhi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 1962]</td>
<td>The 1962 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s <em>Paṭhamasambodhi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 2011]</td>
<td>The 2011 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s <em>Paṭhamasambodhi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td>Buddhist Era (equal to CE + 543)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE</td>
<td>Christian Era or Common Era (equal to BE - 543)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td><em>Cūlasakarāja</em>, or the Siamese Lesser Era, or Lesser Śaka Era (equal to CE - 638)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid S.</td>
<td>Hybrid Sanskrit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mT.</td>
<td>Modern Thai spelling (or the spelling used in the 1999 edition of the Royal Institute Dictionary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oT.</td>
<td>Old Thai spelling (or the spelling used in the source text)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>Pāli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTGS.</td>
<td>Royal Thai General System of Transcription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
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<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>Thai</td>
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</table>
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> (20 November 2015).

In addition, I transliterate the Pāli terms written in Thai scripts into Romanised Pāli. For example, “Pathamasambodhi (p.1)” is transliterated from the Thai-script Pāli term “ปัทธมสมโพธิ์.” 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 Wikho Sap Nai Pathomsomphot Katha [Explanation and Analysis of Vocabularies in Pathomsomphot Katha] (p.4)” is the transcription and translation of the book “สมัย บุญมา ผดุงศิลป์ กล่าววิจารณ์ศัพท์ในปฐมสมโพธิกถา” that is written by “สมัย 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 Pathamasambodhi 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. “ṁ, ṁ, and ŋ” are the interchangeable forms of a nīgghīṭa.

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.


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 *Paṭhasambodhi* begins with PLCS (the abbreviation for *Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam*), followed by § + catalogue number (the catalogue number for *Paṭhasambodhi-vitthāra* is 2.106), followed by [Old Thai tr., year, page number] (which refers to the old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s *Paṭhasambodhi*, 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 *Paṭhasambodhi* that was published in 1895.
Chapter 1  Introduction

The Pathamasambodhi is a biography of the Buddha that is well-known in mainland Southeast Asia.¹ Peter Skilling and Prapod Assavavirulhakarn describe it as a “genre or family of texts rather than a single text.”² There are many versions of the Pathamasambodhi 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 Pathmasambodhi was used by commoners but also by the kings for rituals such as buddhābhiseka (the Buddha image’s empowerment or consecration) and for sermons (dhammadesana).³ Although it is extra-canonical⁴, according to Skilling and Pakdeekham the Pathmasambodhi 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 interpreted the term Tipiṭaka.⁵

¹ Cœdès described the Pathamasambodhi as the “biographie indochoinois” pp. lvi; versions have been found in the Tai regions, Cambodia, and Laos but the text was apparently unknown in Burma or Sri Lanka.


³ 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 28th 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 Pathmasambodhi throughout his reign three times, three days each. He listened to a total of 60 chapters of Pathmasambodhi.


The earliest surviving manuscripts of the Pathamasambodhi were composed in the Lanna regions during the 15th century. 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 Pathamasambodhi was composed by Venerable HRH Paramanuchitchinorot. Paramanuchit based his edition on a collection of number of Pāli language manuscripts. Paramanuchit’s edition of the Pathamasambodhi will be discussed in more detail in chapter 2 (see page 17).

There have been a number of studies of the Pathamasambodhi by Thai scholars (Anant, et al., etc.). However, despite the importance of this text for the study of mainland Southeast Asian Buddhism, the Pathamasambodhi 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 Pathamasambodhi in 1871, and George Cœdès worked on the Pathamasambodhi for decades. In 1916 he translated a passage into French, and he was still working on his critical edition of the Pathamasambodhi when he died in 1969. Cœdès’ critical edition of the Pathamasambodhi in Romanised Pāli was edited by Jacqueline Filliozat and published in 2002 with an English language introduction. Donald Swearer used a Lanna Pathamasambodhi in his research on buddhābhiseka; and Charles Hallisey referred to its significance in his important essay “Roads Taken and Not Taken in the Study of Theravāda Buddhism.”

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

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6 There is some evidence that the Pathamasambodhi or a text very similar to the Pathamasambodhi, 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.

7 Henry Alabaster, The Wheel of the Law (London: Trübner & Co, 1871), 75. Alabaster states that the Thai source for his work is “Pathomma Somphothiyas [First (Festival of) Omniscience]” in ten chapters.


*Paṭhamasambodhi* into English, and analysing it. I selected chapter 28 (Mārabandhariparivatta, 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 *Kalpanaṃṇaṇḍitikā*, the *Damamūkanidāna sutra*, the *Mahāsamnipāta ratnaketu dhāranī sūtra*, the *Avadānakalpalatā*, the *Acintyabuddhaviśayānirdeśa*, 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. While the 1902 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s *Pathamasambodhi* 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. 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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10 The 1902 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s *Pathamasambodhi* is available to read online (see Appendix).

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 *Pathamasambodhi* over the past 150 years means that this text is important for understanding Siamese Buddhist devotion during the 19th century as well as contemporary Thai Buddhist devotional practice.  

1.2. Prefatory Comments on Translation

The *Pathamasambodhi* of Paramanuchit is well known in Thailand. It is still used today, and is praised for its beautiful language. In addition, Paramanuchit’s *Pathamasambodhi* is still on the syllabus of the Thai Buddhist Council’s Dhamma curriculum (หลักสูตรนักธรรมและธรรมศึกษา). 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 *Pathamasambodhi*, such as *Attathibai Lae Wikro 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 *Pathamasambodhi* (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 *Pathamasambodhi* very useful for understanding the Mārabandha episode. Although my thesis is written in English, I use many Buddhist

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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. In addition, there are several Thai language books about the life and works of Paramanuchit. 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 Pathamasambodhi by Cœdès and Filliozat. Additional studies include “Tripiṭaka in Practice in the Fourth and Fifth Reigns: Relics and Images

15 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 Vajiramedhi (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) Paṭhamasambodhi 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 Rachaburi 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 Pathamasambodhi by Theer Phumphathim (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 Sombodhi Katha” by Saravudd Chanseeha (Master’s, Mahasarakham University, 1999); (13) The Grammatical Features of Pali and Sanskrit Loan Words in the Phrapathom Sombodhi 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 Pathomasombodhikatha 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).

According to Somdet Phra Saṅghāraja Pussadeva’s *Paṭhamasambodhi* Sermon” by Prapod Assavavirulhakarn and Peter Skilling, and “*Paṭhamasambodhi* in Nine Languages: Their Relation and Evolution” by Anant Lauertvorakul. Donald Swearer also discusses the Lanna *Paṭhamasambodhi* in an article about image consecration in Northern Thailand.17 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’ thesis18, 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 15th century are from the Lanna regions and are composed in Lanna Pāli. Versions of the *Paṭhamasambodhi* in Pāli and in Tai 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.19 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 (*Kittivuddho

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

…เมื่อพระเจ้าสุ普法สิตได้โปรดพระบรมราชโองการให้... พระบาทสมเด็จพระนั่งเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวรัชกาลที่ 3 ก็ทรงมีพระบรมราชโองการให้...(…when Phra Ratsuphawadi had led his troops into Vientiane, what was then sent back to Bangkok—together with a report of the war progress—is the “Laotian edition of Pathamasambodhi 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.)

1.5. Importance of Pathamasambodhi
The Pathamasambodhi is important in three respects. Firstly, the Pathamasambodhi 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 Pathamasambodhi 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. 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 Pathamasambodhi 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.”

Phrathepkittipanyakhun (Kittivuḍḍho Bhikkhu), Thammakai Kaen Traiphop (Chonburi, Thailand: Djittatabhawan College, 2003), 54.


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).²³ Episodes from that *Pathamasambodhi* are used to illustrate *samut khoi* books²⁴ and painted on Phra Bot (cloth banners used for Buddhist ceremonies).²⁵

1.5.1. *Pathamasambodhi* as a Living Text

Both Somwang Inchai and Donald Swearer have studied and written about the importance of the *Pathamasambodhi* for the ritual consecration of Buddha images. The ritual is called “อบรมพระเจ้า (พุทธาภิเษก) (RTGS. Oprom Phrachao (Phutthaphisek/ P. buddhābhiseka)).”²⁶ 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. จ าวัด) 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 *Pathamasambodhi*, which is often a concise version that is 15 palm-leaf pages long, will also be delivered.

The use of the *Pathamasambodhi* 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

²³Inchai, “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.

²⁴ 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 *Samutt hai* (T. สมุดไทย).


²⁶ “การอบรมพระเจ้า (Kan Oprom Phrachao),” Saramukrom Wattanatham Thai Chabap Phak Nuea [The Encyclopedia of Thai Culture: Northern Thai Edition], ed. Udom Rungrueang 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 “ไขตาพระเจ้า (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 *buddhagunās*), which are purity, wisdom, and compassion. Therefore, it becomes sacred, worthy of great respect, and a positive role model for all humankind.²⁷

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.”²⁸ 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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²⁷ 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).

²⁸ 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 Divyāvadāna, Avadānaśataka, Aśokarājāvadāna, Aśokarājasūtra, Samyuktāgama-sutra, Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā (alias Sūtrālāṃkāra), Damamākanidāna sutra, Xuanzang’s memoirs, the avadānas, Chos ḥbyung, the Kubyak-gyi’s inscription, Saddanīti, Kaccāyana, Lokapaññatti, Mahāyāzawin-gyi, Hman-Nan-Yazawindawgyi, Maha-win wutthu, Jinatthapakāsani, Phra Pathamasambodhikathā, etc.²⁹ There are many variations of the Upagutta story. In the episode in the Pathamasambodhi, 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.³⁰

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.³¹ The unabridged version of this episode, as Strong proposes, can be divided up into five events, which are:

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³⁰ 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.

³¹ John S. Strong, The Legend and Cult of Upagutta, 93.
Table 1 The Unabridged Form of the Upagutta-and-Māra Legend

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

The binding of Māra also appears in the Lokapaññatti, an important 11th or 12th century Pāli cosmological text (which also has earlier Sanskrit antecedents). 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. Māra remained bound for seven years, thus allowing King Asoka to successfully stage his merit-making festival.

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32 Ibid.

33 Ibid., 12. John Strong states that the Lokapaññatti might be a reworking of the Sanskrit-original Lokaprajñāpā, which is still existing in the Chinese Tripiṭaka 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.

34 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 Pathamasambodhi of Paramanuchit is มหาบัณฑิต (P. Mārabandhaparivattha). Phongphaibun translates this title into Thai as “ว่าด้วยการผูกมัดพยามาร (On Tying Māra).” 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:

(Stories about Māra 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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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.

Mārabandhaparivatthā consists of three words that are “มาร-บันธ-ภิวัต (māra-bandha-parivatta).” According to The Royal Institute Dictionary BE 2542, the term “มาร (māra)” can be defined as:

น. นางสาวาจกวจกี้ นิยมษาปทานญัตติโคชถั่วไม่ให้ท่านquiries; อิศราวัฐ, รูประดับ, ในพระพุทธศาสนาถ้าถือเป็นบุญคุณ บุญคุณคุณ ณ อย่างเรียกว่าเบญจพิธมาร คือ มักมาการ ยกโทษการทำ จักประหาร ผู้ทำลาย ผู้ฆ่า, ผู้ทำลาย, ผู้ทำลาย, ผู้ทำลาย, ผู้ทำลาย, ผู้ทำลาย. ในพระพุทธศาสนาหมายถึงผู้กีดกันบุญกุศล มี๕อย่าง เรียกว่าเบญจพิธมาร คือ ขันธมาร กิเลสมาร อภิสังขารมาร มัจจุมาร เทวบุตรมาร, โดยปริยายหมายถึงผู้ที่เป็นอุปสรรคจัดขัดขวาง. (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]).


37 Bunna, Attathibai Lae Wikro Sap Nai Pathomsomphot Katha, 236.

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)...”

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…”

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 *Pathamasambodhi*, Māra is both demon and a deity, a sentient being subject to *karma*. 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 *svadharma*, 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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prevent the propagation of the teaching of the Buddha at every turn.”42 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.”43 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.44 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.45

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.46 The Divyāvadāna, a Sanskrit text dating from the 2nd 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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42 Strong, The Legend and Cult of Upagupta, 103.

43 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 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.


45 Strong, The Legend and Cult of Upagupta, 104.

46 Paramanuchitchinorot, Phra Pathomsomphat Katha, 581-3.
without success. 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. As for the Divyāvadāna, those from whom Māra sought help are: Mahendra, Rudra, Upendra, Draviṇeśvara, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, Vasāva, and Lord Brahmā.


48 Paramanuchitchinorot, Phra Pathomsomphon Katha, 579-80.

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.50 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 กัทถ, kathā: “words”; “statement”; “explanation”; “book”; “literary work.”51

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.’”52 The Paṭhamasambodhi emphasises the uniqueness of the final life of Prince Siddhartha who, among the countless kings in the world, is the


51 Phongphaibun, Upakon Wannakhadi Phutthasatsana, 1.

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

An important theme in the Pathamasambodhi is that all humans have the potential to achieve Buddhahood.54 For example, one of the teachings of the Pathamasambodhi (in chapter 20, Metteyyabuddhavyākaraṇa), is that there is “an embryo Buddha (T. ṣānti, P. Buddhāṃkūra)” in every human, and that “the body of the Buddha will exist eternally (องค์แห่งพุทธะนั้นจะมีอยู่ตลอดกาล).”

Unlike many of the other lives of the Buddha, the Pathamasambodhi 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.55

In his article, Anant Laulertvorakul (now a lecturer at the Department of Thai, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand) categorised Pathamasambodhi into ten editions.56 His categorisation is based on several facts. Firstly, several hundred manuscripts of Pathamasambodhi, and at least ten editions, have been located.57 Secondly, they were written in four languages: (1) The Tai dialects (including Tai Khoen, 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

53 Ibid.

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

55 Ibid., x, xiv-xv.


57 Ibid., 11.
vernacular); elaborate enumeration and concision; prose and verse; and the use of nissaya and non-nissaya styles of translation.⁵⁸

**Table 2 Versions of *Pathamasambodhi*⁹⁹**

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


⁹⁹ 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Editions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>The Lao Verse Version (LVV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>The Tai Khoeun Version (TKN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>The Tai Lue Version (TL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>The Tai Lue Concise Subversion (TLC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>The Tai Lue Enumerated Subversion (TLE)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paramanuchit’s Pāli Paṭhamasambodhi belongs to Laulertvorakul’s second category shown in Table 1, the Late Pāli Recensions (LPR). 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).

2.1.2. The Structure of the Paṭhamasambodhi

Paramanuchit’s Paṭhamasambodhi contains 30 bundles (phūk) or episodes. The title of the first two episodes – Vivāhmaṅgalakathā – are identical, but chapter 1 is the first part (or บุพภาค, P. pubbhāga of the Vivāhmaṅgalakathā episode) and chapter 2 is the second or final part (T. ปัจฉิมา, P. pacchimabhāga) of the Vivāhaṃgalakathā. Thus, Cœdès categorised Paramanuchit’s thirty-bundle palm-leaf Paṭhamasambodhi as having 29

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60 Ibid., 15.
61 Ibid., 16.
The contents of each episode of Paramanuchit’s *Pathamasambodhi* have been summarised by Wingworn. 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 *Pathamasambodhi* of Paramanuchitchinorot

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

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64 Cœdès, *The Pathamasambodhi*, lvi. The Siamese Thai Version (SMT) of Paramanuchit’s *Pathamasambodhi* 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.


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

Chapter 1, Vivāhamaṅgalakathā, is about the Śākya and the Koliya dynasties, the construction of Kapilavastu, Prince Suddhodana’s marriage with Princess Māyā and coronation. Chapter 2, Tusita, describes how the Bodhisattva, having perfected all pāramīs (perfection, ten virtuous qualities leading to Buddhahood), was born in the Tusita Heaven. Gods and goddesses requested him to descend to the womb of Queen Māyā. Chapter 3, Gabbhābhinnikhamana, 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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67 Wingworn, Wikbro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot, 78.

68 Ibid., 79.
Chapter 4, Lakkhaṇapariggaha, relates that King Suddhodana invited eight brahmins to physiognomically predict the prince’s future. Six brahmins predicted that if the 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, Kondañña, 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, Mahābhīnikkhamana, relates that the prince, when he was 29 years old, visited a royal park and saw the Four Signs. 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 samāna (monk) Siddhattha went to study at Āḷāra Kāḷāma’s school and Udhaha-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, Sujaṭā, the daughter of the village headman, offered madhupayasa (sweet milk-rice) to Siddhattha. 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.

69 Ibid.
70 Ibid., 80.
71 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. 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 ŋāṇa (miraculous knowledge) during each four-hour watch of the night, and attained enlightenment at dawn. Chapter 11, Bodhisabbaññu, 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. 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). Yasa listened to the Buddha’s sermon, and requested ordination. His father, mother, and

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72 Ibid., 81.
73 Ibid.
74 Ibid.
75 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 pavaṇanā (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. 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, Aggasāvakappabbajā, 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. 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. โบกขรพรรษ)—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. The queen consort, Pajāpatī, 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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76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
78 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, Sākyarājapabbājā, the Buddha ordained many of his royal relatives as Buddhist monks. 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, Buddhapatunībāna, relates that when the Buddha knew that his biological father was gravely ill, he went to give a sermon until his father attained arahantship. 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 bhikṣus (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 Sāvatthi.

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

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid.

81 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 Tavatīṃsa 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 45th 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.  

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. 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 *cetiyas* (*stūpa*’s alternative name) in every city in Jambudvīpa.  

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82 Ibid.

83 Ibid.

84 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: pariyatti antaradhāna (the disappearance of the Scriptures and their study); paṭipatti 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). 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 inscriptive studies in Thailand—the Gandhavamsa describes the Pathamasambodhi as “having been written in Ceylon.” However, Cœdès notes that Pathamasambodhi is generally unknown in Sri Lanka. Anant Laulertvorakul 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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85 Ibid., 85.

86 Cœdès, The Pathamasambodhi, lx. According to page 312 of Robert E. Buswell Jr.’s and Donald S. Lopez Jr.’s The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism, the Gandhavamsa, or “History of Books,” was composed in Burma by a Buddhist monk named Nandapaññā. The Gandhavamsa 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 Gandhavamsa as early as the 17th century while others dated it to the 19th century.

87 To date, the only version of the Pathamasambodhi 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.\textsuperscript{88}

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

The other two manuscripts commissioned by laywoman Mukda in CS 954 (1592 CE) were also stored at Wat Lai Hin.\textsuperscript{92} The first bundle of manuscript one, and bundles number two, three, and four, of the second manuscript have been found. According to Laulertvorakul, 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 \textit{Paṭhamasambodhi} found to date.\textsuperscript{93}

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 \textit{Paṭhamasambodhi} in a different

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{88} Laulertvorakul, “Paṭhamasambodhi in Nine Languages,” 11, 13.
\item \textsuperscript{89} Ibid., 11, 14-15.
\item \textsuperscript{90} Ibid., 15.
\item \textsuperscript{91} Ibid., 14. According to Laulertvorakul, the first three bundles have already been located, but the fourth or last bundle has not been discovered yet.
\item \textsuperscript{92} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{93} Ibid., 14-15.
\end{itemize}
way: the first or Lanna edition (LPL, LPR, LPRa, and LPRb); and the second or Paramanuchit edition (LPRc). As for the Pāli Pathamasambodhi texts that have not been revised by Paramanuchit, she groups them together and calls the first edition (T. สานวนที่ ๑) or the Lanna edition.94 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. ฉบับข้างลายรดน้ำแดง) 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. ฉบับล่องชาดข้างลาย) 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. ฉบับล่องชาด) 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 - 1758 CE).95 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.96 Firstly, the Pathamasambodhi was, and still is, well-known in the Lanna regions, and was known in Burma, as it was mentioned in the Burmese Gandhavamsa.97 Secondly, the contents and literary style of the Pathamasambodhi scripture suggest a relationship with the manuscript of "Sampiṇḍitamaṁāṇīdāna (P. Sampiṇḍitamahāṇidāna)."98

95 Ibid., 158.
96 Ibid., 157-8.
98 Na Bangchang, Wiwattanakan Wannakadi Bali Sai Phra Suttantapidok Thi Taeng Nai Prathet Thai, 158-9. Sampiṇḍitamaṁāṇīdāna 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 Dipankara Buddha (which shows the influence of Theravāda Buddhism).

Figure 1 Na Bangchang’s Theory of the Development of Lanna Pāli Paṭhamasambodhi

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 18th-19th century BE (1157 CE - 1356 CE). Na Bangchang concludes that the Buddhavāṃsā (the fourteenth book in the Khuddhaka Nikāya section of Pāli Tipīṭaka) and the manuscript of Aṭṭhakathā of “สัมภารวิบาก (P. Sambhāravipāka),” and probably written in Lanna in approximately 20th century BE (1357 CE - 1456 CE).

99 Ibid., 159.

100 Ibid., 136, 51, 59.

101 Ibid., 132, 36. Sotattakīmahānidāna was composed by the monk named Cūḷa Buddhaghosa. Although the book “ピṭkattevakama-an’” states that he wrote this scripture at the great monastery in Anurādhapura, thus enabling it to be dated back to 10th-11th 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 18th 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 *Paṭhasambodhi*.102

**Figure 2 Na Bangchang’s Theory of the Evolution of the Pāli *Paṭhasambodhi*¹⁰³**

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

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102 Ibid., 131-2.

103 Ibid., 131-2, 36, 51, 57.


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 Pathamasambodi in the Tai vernaculars in the Lanna regions reflect this historical fact.106 Thus, the predecessor of the Lanna Pāli Pathamasambodi might be now-lost Mon biographies based on Sinhalese material.107

As for the Pāli Pathamasambodi of Paramanuchitchinorot, or the so-called second or Paramanuchit edition, Suphaphan Na Bangchang states that it is the revised edition of the Lanna Pāli Pathamasambodi.108 This fits with Paramanuchit’s statement in the colophon of his manuscript that he was asked to compile the Pathamasambodi 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 ก้าเดือน ๑๑ พ.ศ. ๒๓๘๗ พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว (รัชกาลที่ ๓) ทรงมีรับสั่งให้กรมหมื่นไกรสรวิชิตไปกราบอาราธนากรมหมื่นนุชิชินอรวิหิต ท่านได้เริ่มจัดทำคัมภีร์นี้ สำเร็จบริบูรณ์ตามพระราชประสงค์ในวันแรม ๑๔ ก้าเดือน 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).109

Saowanich Wingworn points out that Paramanuchit based his Pāli Pathamasambodi on the old 22-chapter edition of the Pāli Pathamasambodi.110 Her reasons are that: firstly,

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106 Phromkerd, “A Study of the Pathomasomphothi from the Manuscript of Wat Khongkharam in Ratchaburi Province,” 54.


109 Ibid., 159. BE stands for Buddhist Era.

110 Wingworn, Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot, 78. Wingworn states that there are six editions of Pathamasambodhikathā 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 “จะได้รับพระราชทานอรรถาธิบายโดยพระบาลีในพระคัมภีร์ปฐมสมโพธิ...” (Your Majesty, I am going to explain the Pāli *Paṭhamasambodhi*...), which shows that there already is a scripture by the name of *Paṭhamasambodhi.*

Secondly, the end of the first verse of an explanatory note of the Buddha’s victory in eight verses (ฎีกาพาหุง๘บท, Ṭīkā bahuṃ 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 “เรื่องความพิศดารอยู่ในปฐมโพธิปริเฉทมารวิชัยโน้น (The detailed account is in the Māravijaya chapter of the *Paṭhamabodhi*).” 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.

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). Paramanuchit may have translated and presented it to King Rama III. Moreover,
Donald K. Swearer, in his article “Bhikkhu Buddhadāsa’s Interpretation of the Buddha,” dates Paramanuchit’s old Thai translation of the Pathamasambodhi to 1853.\textsuperscript{116}

2.1.4. **Reason for Paramanuchit’s Composition of the Pathamasambodhi**

Somwang Inchai states in his MA thesis that Paramanuchit’s Pāli Pathamasambodhi 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 Pathamasambodhi 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 Pathamasambodhi.\textsuperscript{117}

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\textsuperscript{th}, 2333 BE, or 1790 CE). He was the 28\textsuperscript{th} son of King Rama I and the only son of a Royal Concubine of the Chaochommanda rank named Chui (T. จุ้ย) who later became Thaosongkandan (T. ท้าวทรงกันดาร) 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.”\textsuperscript{118}

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.\textsuperscript{119} Their preceptor (P. upajjhāya) was the Supreme Patriarch Suk (T. สุก), and their act-announcing

\textsuperscript{116} Swearer, “Bhikkhu Buddhadāsa’s Interpretation of the Buddha,” 315.

\textsuperscript{117} Cœdès, *The Pathamasambodhi*, lvii, lx-lxi.

\textsuperscript{118} Wingworn, *Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot*, 1.

\textsuperscript{119} Ibid. HRH The Prince of Thewes was King Rama I’s nephew.
teacher (P. kammavācācariya) was Somdet Phraphanarattana (Kao). As a sāmaṇera, Prince Wasukri lived in the royal monastery of Wat Phra Chetuphon Vimolmangklaram Rajwaramahaviharn, and studied under Somdet Phraphanarattana (Kao), who was the abbot of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple during the reign of King Rama I. His kammavācācariya Kao was an eminent scholar from Ayutthaya era, who was born during the reign of King Borommakot of Ayutthaya. Wingworn notes that Kao had been the abbot of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple since the Thonburi period, when he held the rank of Phra Phimontham (T.พระพิมลธรรม), and when the temple was called Wat Phodharam Temple (T.วัดโพธาราม). During the reign of King Rama I, Kao was put in charge of “the great recompliations on the Buddhist Scriptures (Abhidhamma Piṭaka).” 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 Kao 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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120 Ibid. Variant forms of Thai spelling of “Somdet Phraphanarattana” found in secondary sources are สมเด็จพระพนรัตน 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 “พระวนรัตน (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 Kaiteun 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 Rachasitharam Temple (another Thonburi Buddhist temple that still holds the manuscripts of borān kammaṭṭhāna and is still the place where borān kammaṭṭhāna’s living tradition can be found).


122 Wingworn, Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot, 1.

Suwannarangsi (T. สุวัณณรังษี), or “Golden Ray.” 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. He resided at Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple throughout his life.

In BE 2357 BE (1814 CE), Kaeo passed away during the Buddhist Lent. 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. Wingworn surmises that Paramanuchit was appointed as the abbot and as Phra Rachakhan at the same time.

According to Prince Damrong, Paramanuchit was presented with the title of Kromma Muen Nuchitchinorot Srisukhatakhattiyawong (T. กรมหมื่นนุชิตชิโนรสศรีสุคตขัติยาภรณ์) in 2359 BE (1816 CE). 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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124 Wingworn, Wikthro 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.


126 Na Bangchang, Wiwattanakan Wannakadi Bali Sai Phra Suttantapidok Thi Taeng Nai Prathet Thai, 160.


128 Ibid., 2.

King Rama III had great respect for Paramanuchit. 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:

(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.)

After the restoration of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple was finished in 2378 BE (1835 CE), King Rama III appointed Paramanuchit as “เจ้าคณะกลางเสมอพระราชาคณะ (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.ประทีปอยู่ในบุษบก).

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temples in the Bangkok area. 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. His long poem by the name of Khlong Dan Rueang Kan Patisangkhon 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. 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 reinstituted 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. These 37 Buddha images

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

134 Ibid., 32-33, 35.

135 Ibid., 46.

were cast in bronze, and are now placed inside the Koramanusorn Hall at the Grand Palace.\textsuperscript{137}

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.\textsuperscript{138} The Phra Kring that Paramanuchit designed, which is called “Phra Kring Chaiyawat” or “Phra Kring Parama,” is in the Dvāravatī 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).\textsuperscript{139} 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\textsuperscript{th} 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.\textsuperscript{140}

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. อัครวิธี), the Lord Buddha’s Words (T.

\textsuperscript{137} Office of the National Culture Commission and Wat Phrachetuphon Wimonmangkhālaram, \textit{The Bicentennial of the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanujitajinorasa}, 56.

\textsuperscript{138} Ibid., 58.

\textsuperscript{139} Wingworn, \textit{Wikho Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot}, 5.

\textsuperscript{140} Ibid., 20.
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.\footnote{141}

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.\footnote{143}

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. When he had a letter written and given to his brother, HRH Prince Kromma Phraya Dechadison (1793-1859):\footnote{142}

...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

\footnote{141} Ibid., 2.\footnote{142} Damrongrachanuphap, \textit{Prawat Bukkhon Samkhan}, 14-15, cited in Wingworn, \textit{Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanutchichinorot}, 2.\footnote{143} 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 kāśāvavastra 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.\textsuperscript{144}

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.\textsuperscript{145}

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.\textsuperscript{146} 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.\textsuperscript{147}

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 9th, 2396 BE (1853 CE)

\textsuperscript{144} 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.

\textsuperscript{145} Damrongrachanuphap, Prawat Bukkhon Samkhan, 54, cited in Wingworn, Wikhro Phra Niphon Somdet Phra Maha Samana Chao Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot, 4-5.

\textsuperscript{146} 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.

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., 115-6.
at the age of 63. King Rama IV donated a huge, spired, gold coffin (พระโกศทองใหญ่) to contain Paramanuchit’s body. The royal funeral rite was held on Saturday 8th 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. 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).

On April 12th 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). On October 25th 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- ). 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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149 Ibid.

150 Ibid., 6-7.


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

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

**Table 4 Paramanuchit’s Works**

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

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

154 Ibid., 30-31.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Samuttha Khot Kham Chan (This is an important Thai literary masterpiece consisting of four parts, and its story is based on the Panññāsa-Jātaka. Its first part and most of its second part were composed by Phra Mahā Ratchakhrī 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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei Klom Changphang Lae Kap Khapmai Klom Changphang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Tamra Chan Wannaphruet Lae Mattraphruet [Wannaphruet and Mattraphruet Treatise on Chan Verse Form]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Chan Sungwoei Klom Winitchai Pheri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Lilit Taleng Phai [The Fall of the Mons in Lilit Verse]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Lilit Krabuan Hae Phra Kathin Phayuhayattrra Thang Thang Sathonlamak Lae Chonlamak [The Royal Kathin Procession by Waterway and by Land in Lilit Verse]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Khlong Chan Charuek Wat Phra Chetuphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Khlong Dan Rueang Kan Patisangkhon Wat Phra Chetuphon [The Restoration of Wat Phra Chetuphon in Khong Dan Verse]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Krung Si Ayutthaya Chabap Khwam Somdet Kromma Phra Paramanuchitchinorot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Phlengyao Chao Phra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Phra Thamma Thetsana Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Sangkhep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Khlong Konlabot [Patterned or Concrete Poetry]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Khlong Phap Ruesi Datton [The Khlong Verse and Illustrations for the Hermit’s Art of Contorting]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Tamra Sang Phra Phuttha Rup [Textbook on the Making of Buddha Images]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Nangsue Chakkra Thipani Tamra Horasat [Chakkra Thipani Textbook of Astrology]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Kham Ruetsadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Kham Prakat Boromma Rachaphisek Ratchakan Thi Si [The Ceremonial Announcement of the Coronation of King Rama IV]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Sangkhep [The Essentials of Royal Account]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Phra Ratcha Phongsawadan Yo [The Condensed Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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). 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. Today this area is part of the city of Bangkok.

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After King Rama I went to live in Rattanakosin, he ordered the first restoration of Wat Phodharam in 1788 CE. 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 Vimomangklavas.” During King Rama IV’s reign, the temple was renamed “Wat Phra Chetuphon Vimonmangklaram.” 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.” 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.”

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

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2.4. **Relation between the Pāṭhamasambodhi of Paramanuchitchinorot and Other Pāṭhamasambodhi Versions**

In his article, Laulertvorakul states that all Pāṭhamasambodhi 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.\(^{162}\) The first group narrates the Buddha’s life stories as far as the First Sermon, and the second group recounts the Buddha’s life stories beyond that point.

All of Pāṭhamasambodhi 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.\(^{163}\)

Laulertvorakul states that the Pāṭhamasambodhi in the second group follow the example of the LPR with its 16-19 chapters.\(^{164}\) Originally, the text probably contained fifteen chapters beginning with the birth of Prince Siddharta 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 atthakesadhātu “eight Buddha-hair relics” legend.\(^{165}\) 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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\(^{162}\) Laulertvorakul, “Pāṭhamasambodhi in Nine Languages,” 18.

\(^{163}\) Ibid., 18-19. The TYE provides a few more details of what happened after that, and the TYC is a concise version.

\(^{164}\) Ibid., 23.

\(^{165}\) 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.\footnote{Ibid., 24.}

The \textit{Paṭhamasambodhi} of the second group contain the Māradhīta and Vasudharāvanitā’s episodes.\footnote{Ibid., 23.} 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 \textit{Nidānakhāthā}. This change altered the classical structure established by the LPL in Paramanuchit’s text and in subsequent editions of his text.\footnote{Ibid., 25–26.}

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.”\footnote{Ibid., 21, 23.}

The MON version of the \textit{Paṭhamasambodhi} is the only text that contains an episode where the Bodhisattva committed a bad deed and was reborn as a woman named Aṅgirasa.\footnote{Ibid., 24.}

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.\footnote{Ibid., 25.} The CBD, while preserving some Thai words, also uses Cambodian vocabulary.

In addition to Paramanuchit’s old Thai translation of the \textit{Paṭhamasambodhi}, there is another 30-chapter version composed by 30 mahātheras (the great senior monks) that
was used for preaching to King Rama V (1853-1910). The structure of both versions is as follows:

Table 5 The Siamese Thai Paṭhamasambodhi Versions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paramanuchitchinorot</th>
<th>30 Elder Monks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vivāhmaṅgalaparivattta</td>
<td>Pubbahāgaparivattta/ Buraphabhāga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tusitaparivattta</td>
<td>Vivāhmaṅgalakathā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabbhānikkhamanaparivattta</td>
<td>Gabbhābhnikkhamanaparivattta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakkhanapariggāhanaparivattta</td>
<td>Lakkhanapariggāhanaparivattta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājābhisekaparivattta</td>
<td>Rājābhisekaparivattta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahābhikhamanaparivattta</td>
<td>Mahābhikhamanaparivattta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dukkarakiriyāparivattta</td>
<td>Dukkarakiriyāparivattta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhāpūjāparivattta</td>
<td>Buddhāpūjāparivattta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māravijaiparivattta</td>
<td>Māravijaiparivattta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhisambodhiparivattta</td>
<td>Māravijayaparivattya/ Māravijaiparivattya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodhisabbaṅnūparivattta</td>
<td>Abhisambodhikathāparivattya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmmajhesanaparivattta</td>
<td>Bodhisabbaṅnūparivattya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhammacakkparivattta</td>
<td>Brahmmajhesanaparivattta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yasaban[pha]chaparivattta</td>
<td>Dhammacakkappavattanaparivattta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Siamese Thai <em>Paṭhamasambodhi</em> Versions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paramanuchitchinorot</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruvelagamanaparivatta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggasāvakabanphachaparivatva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapilavatthugamanaparivatva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bimbāphilāpparivatva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakkayabanphachaparivatva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mettayaphayakonparivatva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhapitunibbānaparivatva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamakapāṭihāriyaparivatva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desanāparivatva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devorohanaparivatva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggasāvakanibbānaparivatva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahānibbānasutraparivatva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhātuvibhajjanaparivatva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārabandhaparivatva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antaradhānaparivatva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pañca-antaradhānakathā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While the Supreme Patriarch HRH Prince Paramanuchitchinorot is the sole author of his Pāli and Thai editions of the Pathamasambodhi 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 Pathamasambodhi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Pubbabhāgaparivatta/ Buraphabhāga</td>
<td>Phraphimontham (Aon) of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Vivāhamaṅgalakathā</td>
<td>HSH Prince Phra Somdet Phutthachan (That) of Wat Phra Chetuphon Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Tusitaparivatta</td>
<td>Phrayanasomphot (Kham) of Wat Mahathat Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Gabbhābhinikkhamanaparivatta</td>
<td>Phrarahchamuni (Saeng?) of Wat Suthat Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Lakkhaṇapariggāhanaparivatta</td>
<td>Somdet Phraphutthakhosachan of Wat Ratchaburana Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Rājābhisekaparivatta</td>
<td>Phrathepkawi (Nim) of Wat Khruawanan Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Mahābhinikkhamanaparivatta</td>
<td>Phrathamwarodom (Rit) of Wat Bophitphimuk Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Dukkarakiriyāparivatta</td>
<td>Phraphrommuni (Muean) of Wat Borommaniwat Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Buddhāpūjāparivatta</td>
<td>Phrasumethachan (Si) of Wat Chanasongkram Temple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

174 Ibid., n, v, 1-462.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Māravijayaparivatta/ Māravijaiparivatta</td>
<td>Phrathammakitti (Chaeng) of Wat Rangsi Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Abhisambodhikathāparivatta</td>
<td>Somdet Phrawannarat (Thap) of Sommanatwihan Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Bodhisabbaññūparivatta</td>
<td>The Supreme Patriarch (Sa) of Wat Ratchapradit Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Brahmajjhesanaparivatta</td>
<td>Phrakhunawong (Son) of Wat Poramaiyikawat Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Dhammacakkappavattanaparivatta</td>
<td>Somdet Kromma Phraya Wachirayanwarorot of Wat Bawonniwet Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Anattalakkhaṇaparivatta/</td>
<td>The Supreme Patriarch of Wat Ratchabophit Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anattalakkhaṇapariyāya-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yasabanphachaparivatta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Uruvelāgamanaparivatta/ Uruvelagamanaparivatta</td>
<td>HSH Prince Phra Praphakon of Wat Bawonniwet Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Aggasāvakapabbajāparivatta/</td>
<td>HSH Prince Phrathanmunnahit of Wat Bawonniwet Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aggasāvakabanphachaparivatta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Kapilavatthugamanaparivatta</td>
<td>Phrathammapamok (Paeng) of Wat Makutkasat Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Sākkayarājapabbajāparivatta/</td>
<td>Phra-amaraphirakkhit (On) of Wat Niwethhammaprawat Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sakkayarājabanphachaparivatta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Metteyyabayākaraṇaparivatta/ \nMetteyyaphayakonparivatta</td>
<td>Phraphimontham (Dit or Tit?) of Wat Mahathat Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Buddhapatunibbānaparivatta</td>
<td>Phrasorahanakawi (Im) of Wat Mahathat Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Yamakapāṭihāriyaparivatta</td>
<td>Phrayanatrailok (Klom) of Wat Suwandararam Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Desanāparivatta</td>
<td>Phrapariyattiwongsachan (Winyu) of Wat Borommawong-itwararam Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Devorohanaparivatta</td>
<td>Phrathammaracha (Tai) of Wat Senasanaram Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Sāvakaniibbānaparivatta</td>
<td>Phra-ariyakawi (Lap) of Wat Phichaiyatikaram Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Mahāparinibbānaparivatta/ \nMahāparinibbānasutraparivatta</td>
<td>Somdet Phrawannarat (Daeng) of Wat Suthatsanathepphawararam Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Dhātuvibhajjanaparivatta</td>
<td>Phrasriwisuthiwong (Khiaw) of Wat Rachathiwat Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Mārabandhanaparivatta/ \nMārabandhaparivatta</td>
<td>Phrathammachedi of Wat Molilok Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Pañca-antaradhānakathā</td>
<td>Phra-ariyamuni (Em) of Wat Thepsirinthrawat Temple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The exact date for the 30-chapter Mahā Thera edition of Pathamasambodhi is unclear, but took place sometime during the reign of Rama V (October 1st, 1868 - October 23rd, 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 Patthamasambodhi, it is somewhat different from that in Paramanuchit’s Patthamasambodhi. According to the Mārabandha episode of Paramanuchit’s Patthamasambodhi, 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. 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).

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. 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 Patthamasambodhi 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. วิชชาผูกภาพยนต์); they constructed the automatons and used them to do farming and business. 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

175 Paramanuchitchinorot, Phra Pathomsomphot Katha, 561.
176 Ibid., 561-2.
177 Ibid., 565.
178 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.\textsuperscript{179} 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.\textsuperscript{180} 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.\textsuperscript{181}

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.

\textsuperscript{179} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{180} Ibid., 440-1.

\textsuperscript{181} 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

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

182 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.

183 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

After the relic-enshrined stūpas had been installed in various countries, the Elder Mahā Kassapa saw visions of the future: “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 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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184 P. Mārabandhaparivattaparicchedha Thibed

185 icrobialพิจารณาเห็นว่า

186 icrobial, 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 nidahat] laying down, depositing, keeping; receptacle; accumulation, (hidden) treasure.”
except for the one that was kept in Rāmagāma. The Most Venerable Māha Kassapa foresaw that a Nāgarājā would later take this relic and install it in the *realm of the Nāgas*, well out of harm’s way, and in the future this relic would dwell in the *island of Lanka* in the great *cetiya* at Mahāvihāra.

Furthermore, Phra Mahā Kassapa 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. If someone asked what the

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187 These six cities are Kusinārā, Vesāli, Kapilavatthu, Allakappa, Vethadīpa (or Vethadīpaka), and Pāvā.

188 โภ. พระนารายณ์, โภ. พระยา + 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 Garuḷas).” 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.”

189 โอ. นาคพิภพ, โอ. พระยานาคราช, โอ. พระยา + P. nāgarāja = phraya nāgarāja. According to page 1828 of the fourth volume of *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition*, the term nāgārājā means “king of the Nāgas, i.e. serpents.”

190 โอ. กระดาษ, S. laṅkā + P. dīpa = Laṅkādīpa

191 โอ. พระมหาเจดีย์, โอ. พระยา + P. mahā + P. cetiya = phra mahācetiya

192 โอ. มหาวิหาร, P. Mahāvihāra

193 โอ. พระมหากัสสปเถระเจ้า, โอ. พระยา + P. mahā + P. kassapa + P. therā + โอ. ช้าง = Phramahākassapatherachao

king was doing, they would answer that he built a stūpa dedicated to the great Buddha disciples. 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, fully paved the bottom ground with copper plates, then built a house from copper almost as big as a Buddhist cetiya. 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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195 พระมหาสาวก

196 ศอก

197 พระเจดียถาน, พระ + P. cetiya + P. thāna = phra cetiya thāna
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\(^{198}\) 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-*manī\(^{199}\)-gem boxes. They put the *kaeo-*manī-gem boxes in *kaeo-*manī-gem *stūpas*, then in red-gem\(^{200}\) boxes, then in red-gem *stūpas*, then in striped-gem\(^{201}\) boxes, and in striped-gem *stūpas*,

**Page 560**

then in *crystal*\(^{202}\) boxes, then in crystal *stūpas*.

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\(^{198}\) อค. แก้วต่างๆ

\(^{199}\) อค. แก้วมณี,

\(^{200}\) อค. แก้ว

\(^{201}\) อค. แก้วลาย

\(^{202}\) อค. แก้วผลึก

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\(^{203}\).

Then they built *a house*\(^{204}\) that was composed of\(^{205}\) 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*\(^{206}\) 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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\(^{203}\) อี. ถูปาราม P. *thūpa* + P. *ārāma* = Thūpārāma. According to *Buddhist Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* [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 Thūpārāma 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).”


\(^{205}\) อี. แล้วไปด้วย

\(^{206}\) อี. แก้ว ๗ ประการ
Then they made images of the great Bodhisattva in his 550 lifetimes, eight Asītimahātheras, King Suddhodana the Great and Queen Siri Mahāmāyā, and the seven sahaajātis 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 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.

Then His Holiness gave the order to carve

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207 oT. พระบรมโพธิสัตว์, oT. phra + P. parama + S. bodhisattva = Phra Paramabodhisattva


209 oT. พระสิริมหามายาเทวี, oT. phra + P. siri + P. mahā + P. māyā + P. devi = Phra Sirimahāmāyādevi

210 oT. ห้าชาติ, P. saha-jāti. According to page 3607 of the eighth volume of Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition, the term saha-jaṭa 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 Gabbhābhinnakhamana of the 2011 old Thai translation of Paramanuchit’s Pathamasambodhi (PLCS § 2.106 [Old Thai tr., 2011, 50]) that the seven saha-jātis, 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.

211 oT. ปัก

212 oT. ผ้าทุกุลพัตร, 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. ardhacāʿdi; ifc. f(lā).) 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\(^{213}\), he will distribute all the Buddha’s relics to all around Jambudvīpa\(^{214}\).

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\(^{215}\) 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-mani gem on the copper house’s door and inscribed letters on the door panels:

\(^{213}\) oT. ธรรมสักราช, P. Dhammāsokarāja

\(^{214}\) oT. จมบุทวีป, mT. ชุมภูทวีป, 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 dipa, see below: as in Skt. Usually m. but sometimes n., 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/jambudipaj.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).”

\(^{215}\) 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, who will come to dismantle the Buddha-relic room. Take this chunk of kaeo-mañī gem to worship the Buddha’s relics!

On that occasion, Indra knew that “King Ajātasattu and Phra Mahā Kassapa were building the place for burying the relics,” so he commanded Wessukam, “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 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. As for

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216 oT. พระยาเข็ญใจ

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

218 oT. เวศสุกรรม, mT. เวสสุกรรม. Wessukam is a devata, the deity or god of sacred architecture.

219 oT. พระธาตุ

220 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 + nibbāṇa] “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 Arahat). 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\textsuperscript{221}.

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.\textsuperscript{222} 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\textsuperscript{223} to have faith in Buddhism. Therefore, he commissioned the construction of 84,000 monasteries and stūpas all around Jambudvīpa and asked Buddhist monks:

\textbf{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.”}

\textsuperscript{221} The Pāli term kamma is equal to the Sanskrit term karma (οΤ., Κamma, 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.”

\textsuperscript{222} οΤ. γραμματίκευμανάν, Π. Pāṭaliputta. According to page 213 of Damien Keown’s A Dictionary of Buddhism, Pāṭaliputta is “modern-day Patna, originally built by Ajātaśatru 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 Pālibothra, 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.”

\textsuperscript{223} οΤ. νιγρούδα, Π. Nigrodha. According to Buddhist Dictionary of Pali Proper Names <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 Rājagrha to search for the Buddha’s relics, but did not find them. Thereupon he had the stūpa at Rājagrha reconstructed to its original form.

Then, he brought the four divisions of the Buddhists: bhikṣu, bhikṣunī, upāsaka, and upāsikā, and also four divisions of his army to the city of Vesāli. 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, 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 visit of 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.”

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224 Bhikṣu means Buddhist monk (oT. ภิกษุ, P., bhikkhu, S. bhikṣu).
225 Bhikṣunī means Buddhist nun (oT. ภิกษุ, P, bhikkhunī, S. bhikṣunī).
226 Upāsaka means Buddhist layman (P. upāsaka).
227 Upāsikā means Buddhist laywoman (P. upāsikā).
228 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> (3 August 2015), Vesāli was “a city, capital of the Licchavīs. 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).”
229 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> (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*\(^{230}\), *Pāvā*\(^{231}\), and *Kusinārā*\(^{232}\). He ordered the destruction of the *cetiyas* at these four cities, but could not find the Buddha’s relics. He then reconstructed the *cetiyas* 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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\(^{230}\) *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> (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 a thūpa over them (D.ii.165; 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).”

\(^{231}\) *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> (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).”

\(^{232}\) *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> (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 Kusāvatī, the royal city of Mahā-Sudassana (D.i.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 Hiraññavatī 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 nihan* 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. There, 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.”

Having heard this, the great king said, “The *that nihan* 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* 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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233 อ. สมเณร, P. sāmanera

234 อ. แม่มด, RTGS. maemot. According to page 658 of George Bradley McFarland’s *Thai-English Dictionary*, the term “*maemot (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 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-mani 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-mani 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 nīthan. 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\(^\text{235}\) and his coronation was solemnised, he would dismantle the place of the that nīthan, 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.

\(^{235}\) oT. ธรรมวิ IActionResult, 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 nihan as in former times. After this, he ordered his army to parade the Buddha’s relics and bring them to Pātaliputta the capital city, where he worshipped the holy relics using 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 in height and decorated with various kinds of jewels, to be built on the bank of the Ganges near Pātaliputta. 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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236 oT. ฉัลย, P. Pātaliputta

237 oT. โยชน์, 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 to identify any dangers that could ruin the great king’s meritorious deeds and saw visions that showed that Māra would come to ruin the meritorious deeds. They said to the Mahā Thera,

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238 Doctrine of Buddhist Law

239 Doctrine of Buddhist Law

240 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 (samsāra) 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 (mṛtyu-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>) (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.”

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“Venerable Sir! Please perform *patisedhana kam* 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 *Garuda*,

departing from the *cakkavāla’s mountain*, 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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241 ปฏิเสธนกรรม, 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.”

242 According to page 99 of Damien Keown’s *A Dictionary of Buddhism*, the term *garuda* 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.”

243 จักรวาลบรรพต, P. *cakkavāla* + P. *pabbata* = *cakkavālapabbata*. According to page 1367 of the third volume of *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition*, the term *cakkavāla* 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 *cakkavālapabbata* 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 *cakkavāla* 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 UTTRARAKURU 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 cakravāda 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\textsuperscript{244} 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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\textsuperscript{244} Samāpatti means meditative attainments (oT. นิติ, P. samāpatti). According to page 246 of of Damien Keown’s \textit{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 (nirōdha-samāpatti). It is also used as an equivalent to \textit{samādhi}.”
cotton wool that was hit by yukhantawat\textsuperscript{245} 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 \textit{jhānasamāpatti}\textsuperscript{246}, 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 \textit{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.”

\textsuperscript{245} oT. ยุคันตวาต, mT. ยุกันตวาต, P. \textit{yuganta-vāta}. According to page 2880 of the sixth volume of \textit{Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition}, the term \textit{yuganta-vāta} means “(storm at) the end of an age (of men or the world), whirlwind.”

\textsuperscript{246} \textit{jhānasamāpatti} means meditative absorption and attainments (oT. จัhana, P. \textit{jhānasamāpatti}). According to page 76 of Damien Keown’s \textit{A Dictionary of Buddhism}, the term \textit{dhyāna} (Sanskrit) or \textit{jhāna} (Pāli) means “a state of deep meditative absorption characterized by lucid awareness and achieved by focusing the mind on a single object (see \textit{CITTA-EKĀGRATĀ}). A prerequisite for its attainment is the elimination of the five hindrances (nīvaraṇa). A scheme of eight stages of \textit{dhyāna} was gradually evolved, with four lower assigned to the \textit{rūpa-dhātu} and four higher ones assigned to the \textit{ārūpya-dhātu}. In \textit{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 \textit{dhyāna}, conceptualization (\textit{vitarka}) and reflection (\textit{vicāra}) occur, but in the second they do not. In the fifth \textit{dhyāna} various supernormal powers can be attained (see \textit{ṛddhi}). The names of the Ch’\text{\text{"a}}n and Zen schools are both derived from the word \textit{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 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. If he comes to this monastic community, he can defeat the wicked Māra through his mighty power.

“I know that when the Great Master 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.”

247 อ. พระกิสนาคูปตี้, P. Phra Kisanāga-upagutta Thera

248 In Paramanuchit’s old Thai translation of the Pathamasambodhi, 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/พระพุทธองค์ (the Buddha/ the Lord Buddha), (3) พระชินสีห์ (the Victorious Lord/ the Lord Jinasīha the Victor), (4) พระพิชิตมาร (One who Conquered Māra), (5) พระผู้ทรงพระภาค/พระผู้มีพระภาค (the Blessed One), (6) พระสัพพัญญู (the Omniscient One), (7) พระศาสดาจาริย์ (the Father and Master). In this MA thesis, I substitute the epithet “Lord Jinasīha 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* 249: “Go and bring Phra Upagutta Thera to the monastic 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* 250 *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 251 on Phra Kisanāga-upagutta, said: “Younger brother Upagutta, you have not been present in any meetings of the

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249 .ot* ศรีเศรษฐศึกษา, P. *abhiññā* + P. *ñāna* + P. *samāpatti* = *abhiññāna-samāpatti*. *Abhiññā* 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’ (*āśravas*).” In addition, the term *ñāna* is defined by *Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Edition* on page1515 of its fourth volume as “(nt.)...knowledge, intelligence, insight, conviction, recognition…”

250 .ot* ออกจาก

251 .ot* ทัณฑกรรม, P. *danṭakamma*
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 stūpa in a total of 84,000 cities as well 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, The Great Master miraculously foresaw the event,

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252 oT. สนิทกิจ, P. sāmaggi-uposatha. According to page 810 of the second volume of Pali-Thai-English Dictionary: Bhūmihalo 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. 1st, 8th, 15th, 23rd 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 15th 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 sāmaggī-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.”

253 oT. นิยม

254 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 sīla255, samādhi256, paññā257, 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 pīṇḍapāta258, 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,

255 {oT. ฉัน, P. sīla}

256 {oT. สุ่ม, P. samādhi}

257 {oT. สุภพ, P. paññā}

258 {oT. บิณฑบาต, P. pīṇḍapāta}
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. 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

259 oT. นิวาสนฐาน
encircling grounds\textsuperscript{260}, 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\textsuperscript{261}, 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\textsuperscript{262} Māra the wicked, knowing that the great king was worshipping with offerings, descended from Paranimmitavasavatti\textsuperscript{263} 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.

\textsuperscript{260} อ. ลานพระเจดีย์

\textsuperscript{261} อ. เครื่องปูชนียาภัณฑ์

\textsuperscript{262} อ. วัสวัตถี (วัสวดี?), อ. วสวัตถี, อ. วสวัตตี, P. Vasavattī

\textsuperscript{263} อ. ปรนิมมิตวัสสวดี, อ. ปรนิมมิตวสวัต, P. Paranimmitavasavatti
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\textsuperscript{264}.

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 \textit{in the same way}\textsuperscript{265}.

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\textsuperscript{266}, 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.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{264} โอท. เข้าจักรวาล
\item \textsuperscript{265} โอท. เหมือนดังนั้น
\item \textsuperscript{266} โอท. จักรวาล, P. cakkavāla
\end{itemize}
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, holding a copper bludgeon as big as the trunk of a palm tree, brandishing it and striking 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. 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.”

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, will be able to untie it. O, wicked Māra, you must leave this place!”

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267 oT. ยักษ, S. yakṣa

268 oT. กวาดวงจรประหัตประหาร

269 oT. มหาพรหม, Hybrid S. Mārayakṣa

270 oT. อุบายที่จะปลดเปลื้องได

271 oT. มหาพรหม, P. Mahābrahmā
Vasavatī 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*. He soared to the abode of the *Four Heavenly Kings* and pleaded: “*Oh, Lords of No-Suffering,* 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 fettered me.”

“*Oh, Māra.* That monk who has fettered you possesses mighty power. *We* cannot remove the fetters.”

Next, Māra miraculously ascended to the abodes of the *Lord of the Thousand Eyes*, Lord Suyāma, Lord Santusita, and Sahapati Mahābrahmā; 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***
powers of the disciples of the Lord Buddha\textsuperscript{280}, 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, \textit{no one at all}\textsuperscript{281} 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

the dog carcass from the neck of Māra. He then took off his own kāyabandha\textsuperscript{282} 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 Asokadharmarāja 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

\textsuperscript{280} โอท. ทรงศรีภิญญาสมมาสมพุทธสาวก. (โอท. ภิญญา = P. \textit{chaḷ} + P. \textit{abhiññā} = \textit{chaḷabhiññā})

\textsuperscript{281} โอท. ใครเลย

\textsuperscript{282} Kāyabandha means either prakhot _PK (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; โอท. \textit{กายพันธ}, P. \textit{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\textsuperscript{283}, 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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\textit{the great Māra King}\textsuperscript{284} was defeated.”

Then, Māra recalled the grace of Buddha, and spoke a in a nomo tep里斯jaŋña verse:

\textit{O Lord Buddha the Victor}\textsuperscript{285},

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;

\textsuperscript{283} P. Samatiṃsapāramiṅgāna
\hfill
\textsuperscript{284} P. Mārādhirāja
\hfill
\textsuperscript{285} P. Phrajinasīha
in return, Thou caused me no harm.

But Thy disciple is without mercy now,

for he inflicts grievous pain on me.

Then, Vasavatī 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\(^{286}\) bent and rocked; and small waves in the free oceans\(^{287}\) 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\(^{288}\) 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\(^{289}\), 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\(^{290}\), 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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\(^{286}\) ต. ขุนเขาพระสิเนรุราช

\(^{287}\) ต. พระมหาสาครสมุทไทย

\(^{288}\) ต. พระสัพพัญญู, 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.”

\(^{289}\) ต. ทั้งสกลโลกธาตุ

\(^{290}\) ต. เทพบุตร
future, you have become a venerable person who is a Bodhisattva that all beings 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?”

“O Māra, I am your tamer. Therefore, I have no mercy, and inflict harm on you in order to make you desire insight and Perfections for the attainment of Buddhahood. 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, abandon your sinful heart and mind, and do not perform bad deeds from now on.

“Also, please help me. As the Master who came to the world has already entered Parinibbāna, I have seen only the Dhammakāya, but I was too late to see the Sarirakāya. Please help create and show

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291 oT. 与时俱进
292 oT. 你
293 oT. 你
294 oT. 你
295 P. saddhā
296 oT. 心
297 P. 使
298 oT. 使
299 oT. 使, P. Dhammakāya
300 oT. & mT. 使, P. Sarirakāya (Physical Body)
me the body of the Master\textsuperscript{301}, with all its characteristics, as well as the bodies of both chief disciples\textsuperscript{302} 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\textsuperscript{303}.”

At that time, Māra miraculously transformed his body into the Omniscient One, endowed with the thirty-two marks of the Great Man\textsuperscript{304} and the eighty minor characteristics\textsuperscript{305}, brightly adorned with the two-metre-radiant aura of six different colours\textsuperscript{306}, having his two chief disciples on his left and right sides\textsuperscript{307}, and surrounded by a retinue of the eighty great disciples\textsuperscript{308}. 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.

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.”

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309 อ.เกจิอาจารย์

310 อ.ก็บังเกิดโลมชาติชูชัน ด้วยอจลประสาทน์ศรัทธา. 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.”

311 อ.ถ้าทางปฏิญาณแห่งพระยามาร์ นั้นแล้วก็จะไป

312 อ.เกจิอาจารย์

313 อ.กระทำมีมิตรภาพกับพระ

314 อ.ท่านจงไปได้โดยสงบสุขตลอด
Māra then paid obeisance in farewell, and went back to his abode in the heavens\textsuperscript{315}.

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\textsuperscript{316} above his head\textsuperscript{317}, and recalled the Buddha’s qualities and virtues\textsuperscript{318}. Then, he had a fire lit throughout his body, without being afraid, in order to worship like a lamp\textsuperscript{319}. The bright flames shot high in to the air, about the height of seven men\textsuperscript{320}.

Then, he praised the Buddha’s qualities: “\textit{Namo tassa bhagavato arahato samma sambuddhassa. Itipi so bhagavā...buddho bhagavāti. Svākhāto...Supaṭippanno…until the end\textsuperscript{321}.}” Without being shaken by the flames, the king praised the qualities of the Three Jewels\textsuperscript{322}. His entire body remained as cool as if it had been smeared\textsuperscript{323} with sandalwood perfume.
After using his body as a lamp for worshipping the great stūpa\textsuperscript{324} for a total of seven days, the king performed his ablutions and put on clothes and adornments\textsuperscript{325}. Surrounded by many people\textsuperscript{326}, he bowed\textsuperscript{327} 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\textsuperscript{328} for seven days and seven nights. After the king had offered food and gifts to the monks\textsuperscript{329}, 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\textsuperscript{330} the Most Venerable Mogaliputta Tissa\textsuperscript{331}.

“O Your Lordship, I have donated

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\textsuperscript{324} ผงกระดาษในประเทศไทย

\textsuperscript{325} ผงกระดาษในประเทศไทย

\textsuperscript{326} ผงกระดาษในประเทศไทย

\textsuperscript{327} ผงกระดาษในประเทศไทย

\textsuperscript{328} ผงกระดาษในประเทศไทย

\textsuperscript{329} ผงกระดาษในประเทศไทย

\textsuperscript{330} ผงกระดาษในประเทศไทย

\textsuperscript{331} พระโมคคลีบุตรดิสมหาเถร
67 kotis\(^{332}\), and built 84,000 monasteries and stūpas\(^{333}\), but have yet to\(^{334}\) 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\(^{335}\), but you have not become a relative of Buddhism yet. Whoever has one’s daughter\(^{336}\) ordained according to the Dhamma-Vinaya\(^{337}\), that person is counted as a relative of Buddhism.”

Then, the Most Venerable Mogaliputta Tissa preached a sermon on benefits of ordination\(^{338}\) in a catukappā nidālassa\(^{339}\) verse. This sermon explains\(^{340}\) that: “One who

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\(^{332}\) Kotis is equal to ten millions (oT. โกฏิ, P. koṭis)

\(^{333}\) oT.พระวิหารแลพระสถูปถึง ๘ หมื่น ๔ พัน

\(^{334}\) oT. ยังบไม่ได้

\(^{335}\) oT. ปัจจัยทายก


\(^{337}\) oT. พระธรรมวินัย

\(^{338}\) oT. ธรรมราชวินัย


\(^{340}\) oT. ธรรมราชวินัย
has one’s slave\textsuperscript{341} ordained as a \textit{novice}\textsuperscript{342} gains the fruits of merits for four \textit{kappas}\textsuperscript{343}. One who has one’s slave ordained as a \textit{Buddhist monk}\textsuperscript{344} gains the fruits of merits for eight \textit{kappas}. One who has one’s son ordained as a Buddhist monk gains the fruits of merits for sixteen \textit{kappas}. One who has one’s wife ordained as a \textit{female novice}\textsuperscript{345} gains the fruits of merits for sixteen \textit{kappas}. One who has one’s wife ordained as a \textit{Buddhist nun}\textsuperscript{346} gains the fruits of merits for 32 \textit{kappas}. If one ordains as a novice oneself, he gains the fruits of merits for 32 \textit{kappas}\textsuperscript{347}. If he ordains as a \textit{bhikṣu}, he gains the fruits of merits for 46 \textit{kappas}\textsuperscript{348}.

What is an approximation of one \textit{kappa}? It can be answered in a \textit{pabbatam yojanuba} \textit{bedhaṃ} verse which can be translated as: “There is a mountain that is one \textit{yojana} in height and one \textit{yojana} in length. Every 100 years, a god brings a \textit{celestial cloth}\textsuperscript{349} 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 \textit{kappa}.”

\textsuperscript{341} oT. ห่วง

\textsuperscript{342} oT. สามเณร

\textsuperscript{343} oT. กัลป

\textsuperscript{344} oT. สามเณรี

\textsuperscript{345} oT. สามเณร

\textsuperscript{346} oT. ภิกษุนี, P. \textit{bhikkhunī}


\textsuperscript{349} oT. ผ้าทิพย์
Having heard that, King Dhammāsokarāja was delighted, and said to Prince Mahinda the King’s son, and Princess Saṃghamittā the King’s daughter,

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in a *mahinda-ammapiyadhīṇa* verse: “Oh, Mahinda and Saṃghamittā, my dear son and daughter! Ordination is the object of my affections. 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 is fruitful. It gives you a good name as a descendant and heir of the priesthood lineage 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 of the Most Venerable Mogaliputta Tissa.

*A monk who composed scriptures* described these events in a *sābikkhunīcandalekhā* verse from the *Mahāvaṃsa*. “The glory of Saṃghamittā Bhikṣunī shines like the full moon. Mahinda Bhikṣu’s grace is like the glorious sun in the Buddhist world. Both Mahinda Bhikṣu and Saṃghamittā Bhikṣunī possess the six psychic powers, and are

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350 oT. สัมภุมิต, P. Saṃghamittā

351 oT. หิรัญจิตร

352 oT. สายเกศ

353 oT. ปราภทุปสัตว, P. pabbajjā-upasampadā

354 oT. สามัญญวงศ

355 oT. สานักนิ์

356 oT. พระคัณฐรจนาจาริย์

357 oT. คัมภีร์มหาวงษ, มหาวงษ = P. Mahāvaṃsa

358 oT. อาสิกกฏฐู
accomplished\textsuperscript{359} in the four analytic insight\textsuperscript{360}. Their Royal Highnesses are revered Khīṇāsavas\textsuperscript{361}, who have no sin\textsuperscript{362}, and who attain Parinibbāna\textsuperscript{363}.

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

\textbf{Page 589}

a relative of Buddhism.”

From that time on, King Dhammāsokarāja performed more and more meritorious deeds. He revered the Triple Gem, and skillfully arranged all worshipping ceremonies\textsuperscript{364} of the stūpas in every district.

When the king passed away, he was reborn in Sakka-Heaven\textsuperscript{365}. And after all the laypeople such as the ministers\textsuperscript{366} and cavalrymen\textsuperscript{367} who had helped the king build the monasteries and stūpas had passed away, they were also reborn in Heaven.

\textbf{End of Chapter 28 The Binding of Māra Legend}

\textsuperscript{359} นิยาม "แตกฉาน"

\textsuperscript{360} นิยาม "พระปฏิสัมภิทาญาณทั้ง 4"

\textsuperscript{361} According to Nyanatiloka’s Buddhist Dictionary: Manual of Buddhist Terms and Doctrines <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.”

\textsuperscript{362} นิยาม "มีสันดานอันร างับจากบาปธรรม"

\textsuperscript{363} นิยาม "พระปรินิพพาน"

\textsuperscript{364} นิยาม "ตกแต่งสรรพบูชาวิธาน"

\textsuperscript{365} Sakka means Indra, and Devaloka means Heaven (นิยาม "สักเทวโลกย์, P. Sakkadevaloka")

\textsuperscript{366} นิยาม "เสนาบดี"

\textsuperscript{367} นิยาม "พลพาหล"
Chapter 4  Analysis of Mārabandha Episode of Paramanuchit’s

Paṭhmasambodhi

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 Līlit Taleng Phai (“The Fall of the Mons in Līlit 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:

วั (Rai-styled poem)

๒๑๕. สองขัตติยาสุรยา ยั่งกษัตริย์ทางทัพ ชุมควชิ่งข้าพเจ้า พบเห็นพระหรีดภู ลูนทิมาพยาส บรรดาศรีเมืองโดย ขบวน องค์ถิ่นส福音วารีย์ ขอพระศรีวัจซีนั้น วัตถุสำราญศรีธรรม ไขโภกิสาระตั้ง ชั่งช้างเพิ่งห่าง ออกฝั่งถึงกัลยาณิฟ้า พระศรีรักษาทรงให้ นั่งส่วนสำราญค่าวัน สองกษัตริย์อยู่ บุIDEOนี้แล้วว่าทัพ แบ่งมหิการดาดาเดุ้น ทวีขวัญเหล่าข้าพเจ้า ทุกข์ไปถูกกว้างข้าง พาวน์พิธีกรทัพ ทำกับศรีมหาพฤทธิ์ศิริ อยู่การา (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.)

โค (Khlong-styled quatrain)

๒๑๖. พระมีปีติตื้น เต็มมาน พระมีปีติตื้น เต็มมาน (216. The kings were perfectly happy,
พระมีปีติตื้น เต็มมาน) Raised their hands over the heads in worship.
พระมีปีติตื้น พระมีปีติตื้น พระมีปีติตื้น พระมีปีติตื้น พระมีปีติตื้น (216. The kings were perfectly happy,
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พระมีปีติตื้น พระมีปีติตื้น พระมีปีติตื้น พระมีปีติตื้น พระมีปีติตื้น (216. The kings were perfectly happy,
พระมีปีติตื้น พระมีปีติตื้น พระมีปีติตื้น พระมีปีติตื้น พระมีปีติตื้น) Raised their hands over the heads in worship.

๒๑๗. เป็นศรีสวัสดิ์แด่ข้อย ขอชัย (217. “Please give me your blessing and victory;
ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย (217. “Please give me your blessing and victory;
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ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย (217. “Please give me your blessing and victory;
ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย (217. “Please give me your blessing and victory;
ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย ขอชัย (217. “Please give me your blessing and victory;
๑๒๘. พระเปรมปราโมทย์น้อมวันทนา 218. Elder king was exultant and made an obeisance,
พลางพระทรงไอยราฤทธิแกล้ว While he was mounting his mighty elephant,
พระคเชนทร์ชื่อนุภาพ พ้นแฮ Whose name is Chaiyanuphap the Super Elephant,
อาจเข่นคชศึกแผ้วแผกแพ้ทุกพาย And could beat all war elephants.368

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-mani 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-mani gem to worship the Buddha’s relics!369


369 Paramanuchitchinorot, Phra Pathomsomphot Katha, 560-1. Thai: มีท้ายว่าพระอภิปรินมณิกาภิปรายยุทธเศรษฐีถึงของนำเข้าไปในที่ประทีปที่อยู่ในบก..แล้วตั้งไว้ในห้องพระบรมรูปสิ่งที่มี ๑๐๐ ยก แล้วไว้ไว้ในงานที่ ๕๐๐ ยก แล้วให้พระอภิปรินมณิกาภิปรายยุทธเศรษฐีถึงของนำเข้าไปในที่ประทีปที่อยู่ในบก..แล้วตั้งไว้ในห้องพระบรมรูปสิ่งที่มี ๑๐๐ ยก แล้วให้พระอภิปรินมณิกาภิปรายยุทธเศรษฐีถึงของนำเข้าไปในที่ประทีปที่อยู่ในบก..แล้วตั้งไว้ในห้องพระบรมรูปสิ่งที่มี ๑๐๐ ยก แล้วให้พระอภิปรินมณิกาภิปรายยุทธเศรษฐีถึงของนำเข้าไปในที่ประทีปที่อยู่ในบก..แล้วตั้งไว้ในห้องพระบรมรูปสิ่งที่มี ๑๐๐ ยก แล้วให้พระอภิปรินมณิกาภิปรายยุทธเศรษฐีถึงของนำเข้าไปในที่ประทีปที่อยู่ในบก..แล้วตั้งไว้ในห้องพระบรมรูปสิ่งที่มี ๑๐๐ ยก แล้
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 nīthan 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.”

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.

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, Brahmmins, 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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370 Ibid., 563-4. Thai: ในขณะนั้นมีพระมหาเถรองค์หนึ่งเป็นผู้เฒ่า ได้การได้รับวัสสุสิบสิบวัสสุ จึงบอกว่า ที่ธาตุนิธานจะประดิษฐานอยู่ในที่ใดนั้นอาตมภาพบรมกัสสปจักรที่อยู่ในบ้านทองแดง จึงเนื่องด้วยการเดินทางเข้ามาพบผู้เฒ่าผู้นี้ ได้มาถึงขั้นตอนที่ผู้เฒ่าผู้นี้ จึงบอกว่า ที่นั้นเป็นที่อยู่ที่สำคัญอยู่ เอาท่อนแก้วมณีที่ใหญ่ที่สุดวางทับไว้ที่บานทวารแห่งเรือนทองแดงแล้วให้จาฤกอักษรไว้กับใบบานทวารว่า สืบไปในอนาคตจะมีพระยาเข็ญใจองค์หนึ่งจะมารื้อห้องพระบรมธาตุ จงเอาท่อนแก้วมณีนี้กระท าสักการบูชาพระบรมธาตุเถิด.

371 Ibid., 567-8. Thai: ก็เสด็จยกพยุหยาตราแสนยากรแห่พระบรมสาริริกธาตุอัญเชิญสู่ปาตลีบุตราชธานีแล้วกระท าสักการสัมมานวิธีโดยอเนกนานุประการ
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.\(^{372}\)

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 *nāmo teparīsā jāiṅa* 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, Vasavatti, 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!”\(^{373}\)

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\(^{372}\) Ibid., 576-7. Thai: สั่งตั้งถิ่นเสด็จธวัฏกรณาภารกิจ มีพระรูปที่ประทับอยู่ที่ประทับมหาราชภักดีภักดีอภิเษกภักดีภักดีเท่าที่มีน้าแม่น้าฝ่ายที่มีความวิสัยในมหาราชภักดีภักดี ที่ประทับมหาราชภักดีภักดีอภิเษกภักดีภักดีเท่าที่มีน้าแม่น้าฝ่ายที่มีความวิสัยในมหาราชภักดีภักดี ที่ประทับมหาราชภักดีภักดีอภิเษกภักดีภักดีเท่าที่มีน้าแม่น้าฝ่ายที่มีความวิสัยในมหาราชภักดีภักดี

\(^{373}\) Ibid., 581-3. Thai: สมเด็จพระยามาราธิราชก็เสียพยศอันร้ายจึ่งอนุสรคานึงถึงพระคุณสมเด็จพระสัพพัญญูแล้วออกวาจาว่ากาลเมื่อพระพุทธองค์ทรงสถิตย์เห็นพระรัตนบัลลังก์ภายใต้ทุมินทรพฤกษมหาโพธิข้าพระบาทบมิอาจอดกลั้นเสียซึ่งความโกรธได้แลคว่างไปซึ่งจักราวุธอันคมกล้าอันสามารถจะตัดเสียซึ่งวชิรบรรพตให้ขาดครุวนาดุจตัดซึ่งหน่อไม้ไผ่พระพุทธองค์ทรงพิจารณาซึ่งพระสมตึงษปารมีญาณแลจักรนั้นก็กลายกลับเปนกุสุมเพดานกางกั้นในอุปริมทิศาภาคพวกพลปริสัททั้งหลายอันเศษก็คว่างไปซึ่งนานาวิธาวุธมียอดภูผาเปนอาทิก็กลับกลายเปนพวงบุบผาชาติตกลงยังพื้นพสุธาแลข้าผู้ชื่อว่ามาราธิราชก็ปราชัยพ่ายแพ้แลรลึกถึงพระพุทธคุณแล้วกล่าวพระคาถาว่านะโมเตปาริสชาญญเปนอาทิดังนี้สมเด็จพระชินสีห์พระองค์ใดทรงพระมหากรุณากระทาซึ่งสิ่งอันประโยชน์แก่สัตว์ทั้งปวงแลเปนที่พึ่งที่พานักนิ์แก่สรรพสัตว์อันหาที่พึ่งบมิได้สิ้นกาลทุกเมื่อเปนนิจนิรันต์แลสมเด็จพระชินสีห์พระองค์นั้นอันประเสริฐด้วย
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 colors, 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 Dharmāsiṣokarāja 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.
The seventh and last instance of Buddha worship in Māra bandha 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 cetiya, 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...Suṇataipannā...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.

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 worshiping 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

375 Ibid., 585-6. Thai:  StatusCode therein refers to the reception of the Buddha’s relics during the Buddha’s lifelong period. Because the relics are considered to be the remains of the Buddha himself, they are revered by the faithful as objects of devotion. The worship of the stūpa in the context of the Māra bandha episode illustrates the fusion of the material and the spiritual in Buddhist practice, wherein the physical world is imbued with the transcendent realm of the Buddha’s presence.

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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. 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.

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

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377 Ibid., 248-9.
impermanence is realised.” 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.” Upagutta’s attainment of arhatship and seeing Dhammakāya means that he has already put “an end to the possibility of further death and rebirth.” By seeing Rūpakāya or the physical body of the Buddha, he thus “leapfrogs ahead karmically and speeds up his own rupalogical development.”

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:

พระอุปคุตเถรเมื่อได้ทัศนาพระพุทธสริรรูปกายกับทั้งพระมหาสาวกบริวารทั้งหลายปรากฏดังนั้น ก็ทรงแตกโลหิตชูขึ้น ด้วยอจลประสาทน์ศรัทธา ลืมวาจาปฏิญาณแห่งพระยามารอันว่าไว้ ก็ถวายนมัศการพระพุทธสริรรูปด้วยเบ็ญจางคประดิษฐ์

(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.)

and

ไฉนพระผู้เป็นเจ้าจึงถวายวันทนาข้าพเจ้า ก็ได้สัญญาไว้แล้ว ดูกร พระยามาร อาตมบมิได้นมัสการซึ่งท่าน กระท าอภิวันทนา

การสริรรูปพระบรมครูกับทั้งหมู่พระมหาสาวกทั้งปวง

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

378 Strong, The Legend and Cult of Upagupta, 114.
379 Ibid., 114-6.
380 Ibid., 107.
381 Ibid.
382 Paramanuchit Chinarot, Phra Pathomsomphot Katha, 584-5.
“O Māra, I did not salute you. I paid homage to the body [Sarīrarūpa] of the Great Teacher and all of his disciples.”\textsuperscript{383}

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 direction—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.\textsuperscript{384} 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

\textsuperscript{383} Ibid., 585.

\textsuperscript{384} Ibid., 558-60.

The relationship between the worshipped and the worshipper prescribed in Paramanuchit’s Māra bandha 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.\(^{385}\)

The affective nature of Buddha-relic worship is explored in Paramanuchit’s Māra bandha 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 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 fulfill my wish to obtain the Buddha’s relics at this very moment!\(^{386}\)

According to Peter Skilling, all Buddhist societies and traditions venerate the Buddha relics; this devotion transcends the boundaries between “‘Śrāvakayāna’/‘Mahāyāna’” and emphasizes the importance of material culture for understanding Buddhist spiritual culture.\(^{387}\) 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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\(^{385}\) 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\(^{th}\)-24\(^{th}\) Centuries BE,” *Journal of Liberal Arts* 13, no. 1 (January - June 2013): 91-93.

\(^{386}\) Paramanuchitchinorot, *Phra Pathomsomphot Katha*, 565. Thai: ข้าพเจ้าจะได้ตั้งพระพุทธเจ้าทั้งนี้จะอัญเชิญไปบันจุในพระเจดียถานทั่วทุกวิหารทั้ง ๘ หมื่น ๔ พัน ควรจะได้เป็นที่สักการบูชาแห่งเทพามนุษย์ทั่วทุกประเทศ พระพุทธศาสนาจะได้พึงสืบวัฒนธรรมไปยังที่อื่นของโลกในทั่วทุกประเทศ

Paramanuchit’s Pathamasambodhi 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-parinibbāṇa is that, in the future, the Buddha’s relics will become extinct. Kathāṃ: therefore, there is a question, “how will dhātu-parinibbāṇa 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, sakkāram alabhāmāno—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 the Bodhi-pallāṅka. All the holy relics, whether in the realm of the Nāgas or in the Heaven, will go to the Great Enlightened Throne. Evam sabbā dhātuyo: the holy relics, after having congregated in this way. Buddhārūpa 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 sāsanaṃ o sakkati: Buddhism declined today. Idaṃ pacchima dassanam: 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. Evam mahanta ānubhāvam dassetvā: after the holy relics manifest the powerful majesty of the fire in this manner, they then demonstrate Nirvāṇa. Tadā sannipatitätadovaṁsaṅghā: as for all groups of deities who come to assemble around the Buddha’s relics, sakkāraṁkaritvā-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,
tikkhatau̇n padakkhinam katvā- they perform three clockwise circumambulations; sakkāṭṭhānema va gacchanti-and return to their heavenly abodes.388

In short, the physicality of Buddhist devotion in the Mārabandha episode of Paramanuchit’s Pathamasambodhi 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 Mārabandha episode is indeed the interrelationship between the physicality (the worshipper and the worshipped) and the spirituality (Buddhānussatti) that takes place in a sacred space in the material world (stūpa sites, Buddhist monasteries, etc.).

388 Paramanuchit Chinorot, Phra Pathomsomphot Katha, 597-600. Thai: ในทางจริยานิพพานับกับ ๓ นั้น ได้ถ้า พระเนร หลวงอินทราภูมิในเมือง ก็ มีถิ่นที่อยู่ที่ พระมหาภูมิจะมีในเอกกลุ่มนั้นปล้องดู? วิสัยค่อน พระมหาบวรานุชิตผู้ศักดิ์ศรีพระบรมธาตุ อันประดิษฐานอยู่ที่ฝ่าย นั้น พุทธิอินทราภูมิในเมืองได้เตรียมพุทธบุญกุศลแล้ว พระมหาบวรานุชิตผู้ศักดิ์ศรีผู้มีในพระบรมธาตุ ด้วยบุญบุญมาถึงในพระบรมธาตุ ก็จึงจักไปประทักษิณนั้นนี้ ด้วยถิ่นที่อยู่ผู้ศักดิ์ศรีแห่งเอกกลุ่มที่จะประทักษิณพระบรมธาตุ ดังนั้น ผู้ศักดิ์ศรีควรกลับไปและ พระบรมธาตุซึ่งสามารถสืบคุ้มในนั้นแล้ว แต่ตั้งแต่ไพร่ไปประทักษิณผู้ที่อยู่ในโลกข้อนี้ พระบรมธาตุในฝ่ายพุทธิอินทราภูมิ แต่จะพากันกระท าประทักษิณสิ้นตติยวารเวียน ตั้งแต่นี้ไปโลกก็จะมัวมนธ์ภูตการกอบด้วยกองมืด นั้น

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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 Paramanuchitchinchinorot 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 19th 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 Pathamasambodhi 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/cl53_0197/> (20 November 2015).