The Dhammakāyānussati-kathā: A Trace of “Siam's Borān Buddhism” from the Reign of Rāmā I (1782-1809 CE.)

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Abstract

The Dhammakāya text genre appears in manuscripts, inscriptions, and printed texts found in Central Thailand, Northern Thailand, and Cambodia. Texts belonging to this genre share the same core Pāli verses, and date back to the Ayutthaya period. In this thesis, I transliterate, translate, contextualise and analyse the Dhammakāyānussati-kathā, “Words on the Recollection of the Body of Dhammas,” which was part of the Suat Mon Plae, a collection of Buddhist chanting rituals compiled during the 1st reign (1782-1809), using a historical-critical approach to the text. The Dhammakāyānussati-kathā consists of verses composed in Pāli followed by the Thai translation, using a traditional method called yok sab. The first three parts of the Dhammakāyānussati-kathā share the core Pāli verses of the Dhammakāya text genre, but the final section, which praises the Buddha’s physical body, is different. The Pāli verses describe the Buddha’s auspicious marks including radiance, hair, height, etc., verses that are also found in the Golden Manuscript Brah Dhammakāya, a text that can be dated to the 1st reign. Today, the Dhammakāyānussati-kathā is not well-known in Central Thailand, but its similar texts are still used in Northern Thailand and Cambodia during buddhābhiṣeka and the ritual of installing the Buddha’s heart into a Buddha statute and chedī.

The Dhammakāyānussati-kathā along with other texts belonging to the Dhammakāya text genre disappeared during the 5th reign (1868-1910), when the royal chanting curriculum was reformed under Supreme Patriarch Sā in 1880, and Siam’s Tipiṭaka was revised during the 10th Sangāyanā in 1893. I conclude that the disappearance of the Dhammakāyānussati-kathā is evidence for the suppression of Siam’s “Borān” Buddhism during the 5th reign in response to modernist concerns about canonicity and textual authenticity.

Keywords: Dhammakāyānussati-kathā, Buddhābhiṣeka, Borān Kammaṭṭhāna, Rāmā I
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<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>Dhammakāyānussati-kathā</td>
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<tr>
<td>DK 1909</td>
<td>Dhammakāyānussati-kathā published in 1909</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMP</td>
<td>Suat Mon Plae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMP 1909</td>
<td>Suat Mon Plae published in 1909</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBD</td>
<td>Stone inscription Braḥ Dhammakāya</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSSMCL</td>
<td>Nang Sue Suat Mon Chabap Luang Khong Somdet Phra Sangkarat Pussadeva</td>
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<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td>Braḥ Dhammakāyādi</td>
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<tr>
<td>BDT</td>
<td>Braḥ Dhammkāyādi-ṭīkā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBD</td>
<td>Golden Manuscript Braḥ Dhammakāya</td>
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<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>Dhammakāyassa atthavaṇṇanā</td>
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<tr>
<td>SJNA</td>
<td>Suttajātakanidāṇānīsaṃsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GT</td>
<td>Gāthā Thammakāy</td>
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<tr>
<td>TKKP</td>
<td>Tamra Karn Kosrang Phrathuttarup</td>
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Chapter I: Introduction and Literature Review

In this thesis, I will translate, analyse, and contextualise the Dhammakāyānussati-kathā, “Words on the Recollection of the Body of Dhammas.” This text was included in the 7th chapter of a ritual chanting book, Suat Mon Plae (henceforth SMP) that can be dated to the 1st reign of Rattanakosin era. The version of the Dhammakāyānussati-kathā (henceforth abbreviated DK 1909) that I analyse in this thesis is taken from an edition of Suat Mon Plae Chabap Ho Phra Samut Wachirayan, published in 1909 by the then Vajirañāṇa Library in Bangkok (today, the National Library of Thailand). This printed text was composed in Pāli language written by using modern Thai script and followed by Thai translation. Before the Suat Mon Plae Chabap Ho Phra Samut Wachirayan was printed in 1909, it would have been transmitted in manuscript form using Khom script or by oral tradition.  

DK 1909 shares the same basic textual structure as a genre of Buddhist texts which George Coedès (1956) called “Dhammakāya texts” (and I call the “Dhammakāya text genre” in this thesis). Texts belonging to the Dhammakāya text genre equate the Buddha’s dhammakāya with the Buddha’s ēkaṇa, “knowledge” and Buddha’s guṇa, “qualities” or “virtues.” In addition, they also share the same core Pāli verses:

...dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ yogāvaccarakulaputtaṇa tikkhaṇaṇena subbaṇṇubuddhabhāvaṃ patthentena punannaṃ anussaratībaṇaṃ...

...the mark[s] of the Buddha [that constitute] the Dhammakāya should be contemplated again and again by one in the lineage of the yogāvacara, who is of sharp wisdom and who aspires to the state of an omniscient buddha...

The Dhammakāya text genre has been studied by many scholars including Damrongrajubhap (1909), Coedès (1956), Thongkhamwan (1961), Bhāvanāmaigala (2003), Reynolds (1977), Bizot (1992), Ploychum (1992), Swearer (2004), Urkasame (2013), Nayokworawat

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1 The Ritual Chanting Book Published by the Vajirañāṇa Library of Siam สมุดคัมภีร์สวดมนต์พระสมุดวชิรญาณ, (Bangkok: Vajirañāṇa Library of Siam, 1909), preface.
2 Suchao Ploychum, The Contribution of King Rāmā 2 to Siamese Buddhism การส่งเสริมพระพุทธศาสนาในสมัยรัชกาลที่ ๒ (Bangkok: Sahadhammikā Press, 1992), 118. Ploychum suggests that SMP may have been written on samut khoi. See information of Tai manuscript cultures in The National Library of Thailand, A Manual for Surveying and Collecting Thai Manuscripts ผู้ให้สัมมาสัมพันธ์ พิมพ์จารึกและเอกสารภูมิภาค ประเทศไทย ประเทศในวารสารการศึกษา 325, 22.55.
(2013), Crosby (2016) and Walker (2018), using a variety of approaches including textual analysis, historical analysis, ethnography and translation. These texts have been found in Central Thailand, Northern Thailand, and Cambodia. The earliest extant version of the Dhammakāya text genre discovered to date is the “Braṭ Dharmakāya inscription” (henceforth SBD), an engraved stone slab from the stūpa of Wat Suea, Phitsanulok dated 1549 CE.\(^4\)

The existence of multiple Dhammakāya texts in inscriptive and manuscript forms dating back to the time of Ayutthaya reflects the important role they once had for Buddhist rituals and practices, such as buddhābhiṣeka. However, during the Buddhist reforms of the 5\(^{th}\) reign (1868-1910) the Dhammakāya text genre and its associated rituals disappeared from Central Thailand. The reasons for this disappearance are still unclear, but probably are connected to the Buddhist reforms that took place during the reigns of Rāmā V and Rāmā IV.\(^5\) While the Dhammakāya text genre is still used during buddhābhiṣeka in Northern Thailand and Cambodia, it is no longer used in Central Thailand. Today both the Dhammayuttika-nikāya and Mahā-nikāya in Central Thailand use Patriarch Sā’s revised chanting curriculum, the Nang Sue Suat Mon Chabap Luang Khong Somdet Phra Sangkarat Pussadeva (henceforth NSSMCL), which is still in print.\(^6\)

It is my argument in this thesis that the Buddhist reforms that took place during the 5\(^{th}\) reign (1868-1910) resulted in the disappearance of DK from Siam’s chanting curriculum. During this time a number of Buddhist texts were classified as “non-canonical” and removed from “Siam’s Formal Canon.”\(^7\) As a result, Buddhist texts and its associated practices that were once popular began to disappear from Central Thai Buddhism. My findings are consistent with theories of James Taylor, Kate Crosby and others about the suppression of traditional Theravāda Buddhism during the 4\(^{th}\) and 5\(^{th}\) reigns.\(^8\) My arguments are based on my analysis of the lists of Buddhist chants in the 1911 edition of Nang Sue Suat Mon Chabap Luang


\(^{5}\) For example, Supreme Patriarch Sā revised the royal chanting curriculum in 1880, and further revisions were made to the Siamese Tipiṭaka during the 10\(^{th}\) Sanggāyanā in 1893.

\(^{6}\) This text was in print in 1880 and today has been reprinted many times.

\(^{7}\) "Formal Canon" is the canon as a concept and as the ultimate locus of interpretative authority. See Anne M Blackburn, "Looking for the Vinaya: Monastic Discipline in the Practical Canons of the Theravāda," Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies 22, no. 2 (1999): 284.

\(^{8}\) Kate Crosby, Traditional Theravāda Meditation and Its Modern-Era Suppression (Hong Kong: Buddhist Dharma Centre of Hong Kong, 2013), 103-42; James L Taylor, Forest Monks and the Nation-State: An Anthropological and Historical Study in Northeastern Thailand (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1993), 32, 40-45. See also Walker, op cit, 26, cf. 104, for a list of scholars who have worked on this topic.
Khong Somdet Phra Sangkarat Pussadeva,\(^9\) and the published records of 10\(^{th}\) Saṃgāyanā, the revision of the Siam’s Tipiṭaka in 1893.\(^{10}\) Here, I have found that the Pakiṇṇaka-gāthā “miscellaneous verses” section containing DK verses was removed from Sā’s chanting curriculum. In addition, its associated texts: the Brah Dhammakāyādi (henceforth BD) and Brah Dhammakāyādi-ṭīkā (henceforth BDT), which once were included in the Siam’s Tipiṭaka, were omitted from the 1893 Siam’s Formal Canon.

Although the Dhammakāya text genre has been studied by many scholars, no-one has yet made a detailed study of DK 1909. The thesis contributes to the study of the Dhammakāya text genre and Thai Buddhism in general by using the historical analysis, textual analysis, transliteration and translation of DK 1909. In addition, it provides an overview of the changes that took place in Central Thailand during the Buddhist reformations between the 4\(^{th}\) and 5\(^{th}\) reigns, which led to the marginalisation and disappearance of borān\(^{11}\) “old” traditions (including its textual genres and ritual practices). It also investigates the way that the Dhammakāya text genre was used by Siamese Buddhists during the pre-reform period and its disappearance during the reform period. My thesis consists of five chapters, which I summarise here.

**Chapter I**, “Introduction and Literature Review” analyses and critiques an existing scholarship related to the Dhammakāya text genre. I show that DK 1909 belongs to the Dhammakāya text genre.

**Chapter II**, “A History of the Dhammakāyānussati-kathā” examines the historical background of the DK. As well as looking at archival records, I analyse several versions of the

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\(^{11}\) Crosby, *Traditional Theravāda Meditation*, 3-4. See also John Marston, "Reconstructing ‘Ancient’ Cambodian Buddhism," *Contemporary Buddhism* 9, no. 1 (2008). See also Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism," 26. The Thai borān (Kmer purān and Pāli/Skt purāṇa) means “tradition/ancient/old.” This term is used to identify practices (Crosby focuses on meditation practice) that was widespread before the Buddhist reformation that took place during the 4\(^{th}\) to 5\(^{th}\) reigns. Moreover, in contemporary Northern Thailand, Buddhists still call this ritual and related elements “borān.” (See also chapter IV).
Dhammakāya text genre produced during the 1st, 2nd and 3rd reigns, and argue that it is likely that the DK 1909 was composed during the 1st reign (and not during the 2nd reign).12

Chapter III, “Transliteration and Translation” offers a diplomatic translation into English of DK 1909. I compare DK 1909 with other texts from the Dhammakāya text genre that can be dated to the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd reigns. I conclude that the Golden Manuscript Braḥ Dhammakāya (henceforth GBD) which can be dated to the 1st reign is closely related to DK 1909 in terms of contents and structure. I hypothesise that the author of DK 1909 may have used the GBD as the source text.

In Chapter IV, “Textual and Contextual Analysis of DK 1909” I consider the ritual practices (namely the consecration of a Buddha image and chedī or stūpa) that are associated with the Dhammakāya text genre in Northern Thailand and Khmer today. I hypothesise that DK 1909 was used in a similar way during the 1st reign. In my analysis, I subdivide the text into three categories: “Performative Texts,” “Meditation Texts,” and “Commentarial Texts,” and consider the political context of the Buddhist reformation that took place during the 4th and 5th reign. I compare Supreme Patriarch Sā’s NSSMCL 1911 with SMP 1909, and conclude that the absence of DK 1909 from NSSMCL 1911 was the result of the Buddhist reformation during the 5th reign.

Chapter V, “Conclusion” offers a short summary and reflects on the ways my thesis contributes to the study of Thai Buddhism. I conclude that DK 1909 is a key text for understanding the changes that took place in Siamese Buddhism during the 5th reign of Rattanakosin era.

1.2 Research Questions

- How might the DK have been used during the 1st, 2nd and 3rd reigns?
- Is there a relationship between the way texts are used and Buddhist doctrine?
- Did its usage change over time?
- When and why did the DK disappear from central Thai Buddhism?

12 Ploychum, Contribution of King Rāmā 2 115-21. He argues that SMP 1909, where DK 1909 was located, was composed during the 2nd reign.
1.3 Methodology

In this thesis I apply a historical-critical approach to the text which combines historical analysis, textual analysis, transliteration and translation with the comparative study of other texts within the Dhammakāya text genre. The procedures I use in this thesis are listed below.

Firstly, I review scholarship and identify the DK as belonging to the Dhammakāya text genre.

Secondly, to analyse the historical background of the DK, I look at the historical background of SMP 1909 which appears on the book itself, as well as chronicles, royal document, and archives during the reigns of Rāmā I and Rāmā II. If the date of the SMP can be identified, it becomes possible to determine a terminus ad quem for DK 1909 as the text is part of chapter 7 of the SMP. In addition to identifying the date of DK 1909, I also look at other manuscripts and printed texts, which are related to DK for example Dhammakāya, Dhammakāyussa atṭhavaṇṇanā (henceforth DA), Braḥ Dhammakāyādi, Braḥ Dhammakāyādi-ṭīka, and Suttajātakanidāṇanīsamāsa (henceforth SJNA).

Thirdly, throughout my thesis and especially in chapter III, when I transliterate Pāli terms written in modern Thai scripts into Romanised Pāli, I employ Phra Bhrāmāgūnabhorn’s system.\(^\text{13}\) When I transliterate Thai terms into Romanised English, I follow the UB system used in Walker’s 2018 thesis.\(^\text{14}\) When I transcribe Thai terms into English I consult the Royal Thai General System of Transcription (RTGS).\(^\text{15}\)

Finally, in order to understand how DK was used in the 1st reign, I analyse DK 1909 from three perspectives: as a “Performative Text,” “Meditation Text,” and “Commentarial Text.” My analysis suggests that during the 1st reign, Buddhists used DK 1909 in the same way that borān Buddhists in Cambodia and Northern Thailand use the Dhammakāya text genre today. I conclude that the disappearance of this text during the Buddhist reformations of the 5th reign provides perspective into some aspects of contemporary Thai Buddhism.

\(^\text{13}\) Phra Bhrāmāgūnabhorn, Thai-English Buddhist Dictionary (Bangkok2004), 316. It can be downloaded in <http://www.tipitaka.org/thai-dict>.


\(^\text{15}\) The explanation of this system can be downloaded in http://www.efeo.fr/lanna_manuscripts/node/61
1.4 The Dhammakāya Text Genre and Its Analysis

There are many Dhammakāya texts discovered today. Some of these texts can be dated and can be located geographically in certain times and places. Undated Dhammakāya texts are also useful: in chapter II, I analyse the contents of a number of undated manuscripts in order to understand the historical background of DK 1909. The contents can be categorised into two main types. The first category contains the core Pāli verses (SBD, GBD, and DK belong to this category). The second category contains the core Pāli verses and commentary in Pāli and vernacular languages (DA, SJNA, GT, and BD belong to the second category).

1.4.1 Editions, Transliterations, and Translations of the Dhammakāya Text Genre

The first scholarly study of the Dhammakāya text genre was published by Coedès in 1956. Coedès transliterated a palm-leaf manuscript titled Dhammakāya/Dhammakāyassa athavānṇanā (or DA) from the Vajirañāṇa National Library of Siam into romanised Pāli, and then translated it into French. He compared this manuscript with another manuscript that he found in Vat Uṇṇālom, Phnom Penh (Cambodia) and identified only minor orthographic differences between the two manuscripts. In his article, Coedès also mentioned another related Siamese manuscript, the Suttajātakanidānānisaṃsa (or SJNA), also from the Vajirañāṇa Library and noted that a version of the Dhammakāyassa athavānṇanā was contained in the second half of the 13th phuk “bundle.”16 In this article, Coedès did not pay much attention to the historical background of DA, but did mention that the two copies of SJNA were of Siamese origin.17

In 1961, Cham Thongkhamwan studied the Braḥ Dharmakāya inscription found in the stūpa of Wat Suea from Phitsanulok and dated ca. 2092 B.E.18 The inscription composed in Pāli and written using Khom-Sukhothai script19 was damaged, and today only nine lines of texts are legible. Thongkhamwan transliterated the inscription into modern Thai script and translated it into modern Thai. In his article, Thongkhamwan did not cite Coedès, but referred to a

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16 Coedès, "Dhammakāya," 258.
17 Ibid. The earliest edition of Suttajātakanidānānisaṃsa is dated 1817 (see chapter II on the indexes of the Dhammakāya text genre during the 1st, 2nd and 3rd reigns).
19 This script was adapted from Khmer alphabetic system in order to record a more accurate Thai pronunciation. Khom-Sukhothai script was widely used throughout central and southern Thailand during the Ayutthaya kingdom to the beginning of the 20th century.(See Urkasame, "Study of Elements in Yogavacara Tradition," 245.)
manuscript from the Vajirañāṇa National Library called *Braṭ Dhammakāyādi* (or BD) which he used as a comparative source for his translation. Thongkhamwan did not discuss the historical background of the inscription or its ritual usage, but to date, this inscription is the earliest datable extant version of the *Dhammakāya* text genre.

In his 1992 work *Le chemin de Lanka*, Bizot discussed three *Dhammakāya* texts from Cambodia (TK 217: Vat Uṇṇālo in Phnom Penh; TK27: Vat Chong Thnol in Phnom Penh; and TK 305: Achar DIN, Phnom Penh. 20) He transliterated and translated one of the three *Dhammakāya* texts into French. Bizot argued that his manuscripts were similar to the central Thai *Dhammakāya* text published by Coedès in 1956 and belonged to what he called the *yogāvacara* tradition. 21

In their *Materials for the Study of the Tripitaka, Vol. 1: Pāli and Vernacular Literature Transmitted in Central and Northern Siam* (2002), Peter Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham republished the 1920 index of the Vajirañāṇa National Library of Siam. This 1920 index included a manuscript called *Braṭ Dhammakāyādi*. 22 This undated manuscript described the characteristics of the Buddha’s body, which is made from *dhammas*, “Truths” and is adorned by *dhammas*. Skilling and Pakdeekham claim that BD is similar to DA which was studied by Coedès. 23

In his 2004 book, *Becoming the Buddha*, Swearer refers to another version of the *Dhammakāya* text genre in Northern Thailand located in *Tamra Karn Kosrang Phraphuttarup* (henceforth TKKP) or “Manual for Making a Buddha Image.” 24 Swearer compares this text with versions of the *Dhammakāya* text genre studied by Coedès and Bizot and identifies some differences between the three versions. 25 In Swearer’s Northern Thai text, the Buddha’s *dhammakāya* has twenty-six characteristics. However, Coedès’s text lists thirty charac-

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20 François Bizot, *Le Chemin De Lanka* (Paris: EFEO, 1992), 294-95. I would like to thank Dr. Elizabeth Guthrie for her assistance with translating this chapter from French to English.
21 Ibid., 293.
22 Peter Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham, *Materials for the Study of the Tripitaka, vol. 1: Pali Literature Transmitted in Central Siam* (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation and Lumbini International Research Institute, 2002), 89. On page 183, Skilling and Pakdeekham list the SJNA manuscript, but do not cite Coedès’s article or connect this manuscript to the *Dhammakāya* text genre.
23 Ibid., 89-90.
25 Ibid., 286.
teristics and Bizot’s text lists twenty-seven characteristics. Despite these and other differences, Swearer concluded that all three manuscripts were based on one root text.  

In his 2003 book *Traces of the Dhammakāya*, Venerable Bhāvanāmaṅgala collected many Buddhist materials (doctrinal records and archaeological evidence) in which the term “dhammakāya” appears. He mainly looked at Thai sources, including the Thongkhamwan’s SBD (pp.200-2), GBD (pp.204-8) and DK (pp.220-23). He suggested that DK shares the same basic textual structures with SBD and GBD, although the texts were found in different places and originated from different times. Bhāvanāmaṅgala follows Damrong in identifying DK 1909 to the reign of King Rāmā II and argues that the text was a product of the revision of Buddhist chanting that took place in 1820-21. Even though Bhāvanāmaṅgala noted similarities between these three texts, he does not make a detailed study of DK.

In his 2013 PhD dissertation, Urkasame transliterated and translated a vernacular version of the *Dhammakāya* text genre into Thai and English. This undated palm-leaf manuscript titled Gāthā Thammakāy (“Thammakāy” is a vernacular spelling of the Pāli Dhammakāya) was found in Northern Thailand at Wat Pāsak Noi, San Kampaeng District, Chiang Mai Province. The manuscript was written using Tham Lān Nā script. The manuscript consists of two parts: a Pāli section and its corresponding commentary in Yuoon script. Urkasame suggests that there are similarities between the Pāli verses of this text, the 15th century SBD from Phitsanulok and the 18th century GBD dated to the reign of King Rāmā I.

In the same year, Phrakru Palad Nayokworawat published an article titled “Dhammakāya in Braḥ Dhammakāyādi Scripture.” He looked at a royal edition of the *Dhammakāya* text genre called Braḥ Dhammakāyādi (henceforth BD3). The Braḥ Dhammakāyādi was part of *Thepchumnum Tipiṭaka* produced during the reign of Rāmā III (1824-1851). In the article, Nayokworawat transliterated and translated BD3 from Pāli-Khom script into modern Thai.

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26 Ibid., 190.
28 Ibid., 220-21.
30 Ibid., 14.
31 Phrakru Palad Nayokworawat, ”Dhammakāya in Braḥ Dhammakayadi Scripture ธรรมกายใน 泰文律藏 (Bangkok: Dhammachai International Research Institute, 2013).
He pointed out similarities between BD3, Coedès’s DA, Thongkhamwan’s SBD, Bizot’s Dhammakāya texts and Urkasame’s GT.  

The most recent work that discusses the Dhammakāya text genre is Trent Walker’s 2018 PhD thesis on Cambodian Chanted Leporellos. Walker looked at the different versions of these texts in Cambodia, which are often called Gāthā Pañcuḥ Brah Lakkhaṇa “the verse of the incantations for implanting the sacred marks.” Walker’s thesis contains a diplomatic transcription and translation of a bilingual Pāli-Khmer Dhammakāya text in Cambodia. Even though he did not look at DK 1909, the Khmer text he describes is similar to DK 1909 in terms of its form and textual structures.

1.4.2 The Dhammakāya Text Genre in the Ritual Context

In Chapter Eleven of his 1992 book Le chemin de Lanka, Bizot described how the Dhammakāya text genre was used during the consecration of Buddha images in the Cambodian tradition. The consecration ceremony described by Bizot consisted of three rituals: first, the implantation of lakkhana (marks); second, the opening of the eyes; and third, the recitation of consecration stanzas. The monks gather in front of the new Buddha statue and recite the Dhammakāya formula in order to introduce the twenty-seven marks of the dhammakāya (as listed in Dhammakāya texts) into those parts of the Buddha image. While reciting the text, the monks invited the pāramī (perfections, or here, powers) to enter the Buddha statue being consecrated in order to infuse the statue with the dhammakāya.

Although Walker’s 2018 thesis did not focus on consecration rituals, his findings were consistent with Bizot’s work on the implantation of the buddhalākkhaṇa during buddhābhiseka, in which the Dhammakāya text genre is recited.

In his 1994 book on Buddhābhiseka, Swearer investigated the image consecration ceremonies performed in Northern Thailand. Swearer argued that the image consecration ceremonies

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32 Ibid., 8-10.
34 Ibid., 131.
36 I have found Walker’s thesis as well as his encouragement and advice invaluable for my diplomatic transcription and translation of DK 1909.
38 Bizot, Le Chemin De Lanka, 294.
39 Ibid. See also Swearer, Becoming the Buddha, 71-73.
reenact the story of the Buddha’s life, so that the representation of the Buddha is fused with the biography of the Buddha and the image becomes the Buddha himself.\textsuperscript{41} After reviewing the scholarship on the Dhammakāya text genre presented by Coedès, Reynolds and Crosby, Swearer concluded that the Dhammakāya passage is recited during the consecration of a Buddha image in order to make the Buddha’s dhammakāya manifest in his image.\textsuperscript{42}

Taken together these characteristics of the Buddha are called the Dhammakāya. If one constructs a Buddha image and chants as written this text, it will be the same as though the Buddha himself was present.\textsuperscript{43}

Although his focus is not on Buddhist ritual, Urkasame’s dissertation briefly mentions the Northern Thai Buddhist recitation of GT to bring prosperity: “This stanza is called Gāthā Thammakāy. It would be of prosperity if one could remember [the gāthā] by heart.”\textsuperscript{44} Likewise, the Khmer text that Bizot translated recommends that

Anyone who venerates and praises or studies the Dhammakāya text everyday will obtain whatever that person wishes. For example, a person who recites this Dhammakāya only one complete day is reborn as a god who lives in the precious palaces. For another example, a person who recites the qualities (of the Dhammakāya) spits on a female ant, and that causes her death. This ant at the time of her death was reborn in heaven because of great merit which that person had accumulated from the recitation of the Dhammakāya.\textsuperscript{45}

It should be noted that although Bhāvanāmaṅgala and Urkasame worked with texts — SBD and GBD that were found respectively in the stūpa of Wat Suea, and the chedi of Wat Phra Chetupon, they were not concerned about the relationship between find location and ritual usage. However, I argue that the placing of Dhammakāya texts in chedi or stūpa was intentional, and linked to rituals still practiced today in Northern Thailand; I will discuss this further in chapter III.

1.4.3 Textual Analysis of the Dhammakāya Text Genre

According to Coedès,\textsuperscript{46} Urkasame\textsuperscript{47} and Nayokworawat\textsuperscript{48}, texts belonging to the Dhammakāya text genre are concerned with thirty elements of Buddha’s Knowledge (ñāṇa)

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{41} Swearer, Becoming the Buddha, 5.
\item \textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 185.
\item \textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 55-56.
\item \textsuperscript{44} Urkasame, “Study of Elements in Yogavacara Tradition,” A268.
\item \textsuperscript{45} Bizot, Le Chemin De Lanka, 299.
\item \textsuperscript{46} Coedès, "Dhammakāya," 255-56.
\item \textsuperscript{47} Urkasame, “Study of Elements in Yogavacara Tradition,” 246-51.
\item \textsuperscript{48} Nayokworawat, "Dhammakāya in Brahmā Dhammakayadi Scripture," 5-7.
\end{itemize}
and Buddha’s qualities or virtues (guna). Twenty-six of these are identified with parts of Buddha’s dhammakāya, and four elements with his vestments. The Unhassavijaya-gāthā (see Finot, 1917, Recherches sur la literature laotienne) included the dhammakāya in DA and BD3.\(^49\) Coedès\(^50\), Reynolds\(^51\) and Urkasame\(^52\) claimed that the identification of the dhamma with the Buddha’s body\(^53\) and the aspiration of Buddhahood may reflect the influence of Mahayāna ideas.\(^54\) However, Reynolds argued that

It is also true that the [Dhammakāya] text strongly expresses the traditional Theravāda perspective, which emphasises that Buddhahood is the product of a series of attainments and makes no reference to the kind of ontological concerns and the conceptions which are characteristic of Mahāyāna perspective.\(^55\)

Likewise, Urkasame compared the GT with the orthodox texts such as the Visuddhimagga and Pāli Canon and concluded that the essential character of the manuscript Gāthā Thammakāy was “orthodox.”\(^56\)

In using textual analysis, Coedès, Bizot, Urkasame, Crosby, and Walker have all linked the Dhammakāya text genre to the yogavacara tradition or borān kammaṭṭhāna. “Yogāvacara” tradition is the term that Crosby used to describe the presence of an esoteric tradition of texts and practices within the Theravāda tradition of mainland Southeast Asia, before the Dhammayutika-nikāya reformation by King Rāma IV of Thailand (r. 1851-1868). This tradition is far removed from the rationalistic monolithic Theravāda presented in many secondary sources.\(^57\) In terms of kammaṭṭhāna practice Walker commented that

The closing lines of this text [the Dhammakāya] make clear that the desired soteriological aim is to become the Buddha oneself...In this case, the implication is that certain kammaṭṭhāna meditation practice can lead directly to Buddhahood.\(^58\)

Swearer also proposed that the Dhammakāya section of TKKP refers to the various aspects of meditation practice (kammaṭṭhāna) that the Buddha achieved when he attained enlightenment.\(^59\)

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\(^49\) Coedès, "Dhammakāya," 259; Nayokworawat, "Dhammakāya in Brahma Dhammakayadi Scripture," 5.

\(^50\) Coedès, "Dhammakāya," 256-57.


\(^53\) Coedès, "Dhammakāya," 256.


\(^55\) Reynolds, "Several Bodies of Buddha," 186.


\(^57\) Crosby, "Tantric Theravāda," 141.

\(^58\) Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism," 598.
### 1.4.4 Table A: The Index of the Dhammakāya Text Genre in Different Times and Locations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Studied by</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tamra Karn Kosrang Phra-phuttarup (TKKP)</td>
<td>15(^{th})-16(^{th}) CE</td>
<td>Northern Thailand</td>
<td>Swearer (2004)</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Brahm Dhammakāya</em> inscription (SBD)</td>
<td>1549 CE</td>
<td>Phitsanulok (Northern Thailand)</td>
<td>Thongkhamwan (1961)</td>
<td>Thai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhammakāyānussati-kathā (DK)</td>
<td>Rāmā II’s reign</td>
<td>Central Thailand (Bangkok)</td>
<td>Bhāvaṇāmongala (2003)</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhammakāyassa at-thavaṇṇanā or Dhammakāya (DA)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Vajiraṇāṇa National Library of Siam (Central Thailand ) and Cambodia</td>
<td>Coedès (1956) Bizot (1992)</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Brahm Dhammakāyādi</em> (BD)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Vajiraṇāṇa National Library of Siam</td>
<td>Thongkhamwan (1961)</td>
<td>Thai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gāthā Thammakāy (GT)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Wat Pāsak Noi (Northern Thailand)</td>
<td>Urkasame (2013)</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gāthā pañcuḥ brah lakkhaṇa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>Walker (2018)</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suttajātakanidānānisaṃsa (SJNA)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Vajiraṇāṇa National Library of Siam</td>
<td>Coedès (1956)</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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59 Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha*, 189.
1.4.5 Why the Dhammakāyānussati-kathā?

To date, only Bhāvanāmaṅgala has mentioned DK 1909 in his 2003 book Traces of the Dhammakāya. Although Bhāvanāmaṅgala did not make a detailed study of DK 1909, his theory—that the text can be dated to the reign of King Rāmā II and was a product of the Buddhist chanting’s revision during 1820-21—has been useful for my historical analysis. Although Bhāvanāmaṅgala mentioned similarities between Pāli verses and textual structure between DK 1909, SBD and GBD, he did not classify these three texts as belonging to any particular genre of Buddhist texts. However, based upon the similarities identified by Bhāvanāmaṅgala I argue that the DK belongs to the Dhammakāya text genre (further discussion in chapter III).

Moreover, as I have shown (see Table A), to date no-one, either Thai or Western, has yet made a detailed study of the DK 1909. Therefore, in this thesis I present a translation of DK 1909, its textual analysis, historical background and the ritual practices associated with the text. The works of Coedès, Reynolds, Bizot etc. have contributed to my conclusion that the Dhammakāya text genre is essential for understanding the history of Thai Buddhism. These texts can be found in Central and Northern Thailand and in Cambodia in the form of manuscripts, commentaries, inscriptions and printed texts as early as the 15th CE. The Dhammakāya text genre is not only important for Thailand’s textual history, but also provides information about traditional Buddhist ritual practices during image consecration ceremony, and meditation practice.
Chapter II: A History of the Dhammakāyānussati-kathā

In 1908 Prince Damrong Rajanubhap, one of the most influential Thai intellectuals of the 5th reign of Rattanakosin era, located three chanting manuscripts, Suat Mon Plae (henceforth SMP) in Petchaburi Province, Wat Molilok in Bangkok and in the Vajiraṇāṇa National Library of Siam. The three manuscripts, which consisted of compilations of ritual chants used during Buddhist ceremonies, were undated, but Damrong believed that they were the product of the Sangayana Bot Suat Mon sponsored by Rāmā II.¹ The significance of Rāmā II’s Sangayana will be discussed below in section 2.4. In 1909, an edition of Damrong’s three manuscripts were published by the Vajiraṇāṇa National Library under the title Suat Mon Plae Chabap Ho Phra Samut Wachirayan (henceforth SMP 1909). In the compilations of SMP discovered by Damrong, the 7th chapter is titled the Pakinnaka-gāthā, “miscellaneous verses.” One of the miscellaneous verses in the Pakinnaka-gāthā chapter is the Dhammakāyānussati-kathā (henceforth DK). Because of its location in the 7th chapter of the SMP, Damrong (along with many other scholars) date DK 1909 to the reign of Rāmā II.²

However, my analysis of SMP 1909 suggests that the text can be dated to the 1st reign instead of the 2nd reign. In this chapter, I begin an overview of texts that belong to the Dhammakāya text genre, which dates to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd reigns and have a relationship with DK. I will look at the Sangayana Bot Suat Mon and conclude that the SMP was not the product of the Sangayana Bot Suat Mon. It is more likely that the text originates from the 1st reign or earlier. By identifying the date of SMP 1909, it is possible to corroborate the date of DK 1909, because DK 1909 was originally belonged to the 7th chapter of SMP 1909. In this chapter, I will argue that it is more likely that DK 1909 originates from Rāmā I’s reign, rather than Rāmā II’s reign.³

¹ SMP 1909, preface; Ploychum, Contribution of King Rāmā 2 155.
² The Suat Mon Plae Chabap Ho Phra Samut Wachirayan for the cremation ceremonies of Phra Maha Rachamangkaladilok (Punpakaterno) and Phrathep Wisuttiyan (Nandako) was reprinted in 1999. In the preface to these cremation volumes, the publisher writes: This book, Suat Mon Plae Chabap Ho Phra Samut Wachirayan being printed at this time is copied from the 1909 original text published by Prince Damrong Rajanubhap. The reason to republish this book is to preserve and propagate this rare, valuable text that originated from the reign of Rāmā II. See Suat Mon Plae Chabap Ho Phra Samut Wachirayan พระสมุดวชิรญาณ ประพันธ์พระปร That the source text was dated 1st reign. (in the cremation ceremony of Phra Maha Rachamangkaladilok (Punpakaterno) and Phrathep Wisuttiyan (Nandako): Wat Bowonniwet Vihara, 1999), introduction.
³ Damrong, Ploychum and Bhāvaṃmongala concluded that SMP 1909 as well as DK 1909 was a product of Sangayana Bot Suat Mon.
2.1 The Golden Manuscript *Braḥ Dhammakāya* (1794-1801) (GBD)

On 18 October 1988, during the restoration of Phra Maha Chedi Srisanpetdayan at Wat Phra Chetupon, a golden manuscript was discovered inside the *chedī*. The golden manuscript was composed in Pāli written by using Khom script and consisted of nine golden plates. The two cover plates were blank, and each of the seven plates was inscribed with five lines, recto and verso. The text was transliterated and translated into Thai in 1998 by Thai scholars Term Mitem and Kasean Mapamo. The manuscript contains three Buddhist chants: *Paccayākara*, *Anekajātisaṁsāraṁ*, and *Braḥ Dhammakāya*.

The date that the GBD was inscribed is unknown, but its installation in the *chedī* gives a terminus ad quem.

According to *The Royal Rattanakosin Chronicle of King Rāmā I Written by Phraya Tipakornwong*, the construction of Phra Maha Chedi Srisanpetdayan began in 1794, and was completed in 1801. The *Chronicles* report that Rāmā I himself donated valuables such as golden Buddha images, relics and jewels to be installed in the *chedī*. The precise date of the *chedī*’s installation ceremony is not given, and no details about the installation ceremony have survived. However, the consecration of this royally-sponsored *chedī* at Wat Phra Chetupon would have involved important and elaborate rituals.

2.2 *Braḥ Dhammakāyādi* (1st and 3rd reigns) (BD)

When I went to the National Library of Thailand in 2017, the chanting manuscripts identified by Damrong in 1908 were not listed in the indexes of palm leaf manuscripts. However, the *Braḥ Dhammakāyādi* manuscripts described by Thongkhamwan, Pakdeekam and Skilling, and Nayokworawat are listed in the index. The royal edition of BD studied by Nayokworawat is produced during the 3rd reign and today is preserved in Wat Phra Chetupon, Bangkok. In the National Library of Thailand, there are five BD manuscripts that can be categorised into two main types: the first consists of Pāli verses with no commentary, and the second consists of Pāli verses and Pāli commentary.

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7 The Buddhist ritual practices associated with the construction and consecration of a *chedī* will be discussed further in chapter IV.

8 See chapter I
1. *Brah Dhammakāyādi* ( fifo, 1 phuk “bundle”) is composed in Pāli written using Khom script. The text belongs to the Siamese Tipiṭaka known as *Chabap Tongyai* “gold-gilded large palm-leaf edition” which was produced during the reign of King Rāmā I (1782-1809). This BD manuscript is preserved in Phra Monthian Tham Hall in the Royal Palace. Its registration number is 723/1 ( fifo).

2. *Brah Dhammakāyādi-jīkā* ( fifo, 1 phuk) is the jīkā “commentary” for *Brah Dhammakāyādi*. The text was composed in the reign of King Rāmā I as part of the Siamese Tipiṭaka known as the *Chabap Tongyai* “gold-gilded large palm-leaf edition.” This BDT text is preserved in Phra Monthian Tham Hall in the Royal Palace, and its registration number is 724/1 ( fifo).

3. *Brah Dhammakāyādi-jīkā* ( fifo, 1 phuk) is the jīkā for *Brah Dhammakāyādi*. The text is recorded in Pāli written using Khom script. This Siamese manuscript was composed in reign of the King Rāmā I as part of the Siamese Tipiṭaka called the *Chabap Rongsrong* "red-edged & glided palm-leaf edition." This BDT text is preserved in the National Library of Thailand and its registration number is 6322/1/1 ( fifo).

4. *Brah Dhammakāyādi* ( fifo, 1 phuk) is recorded in Pāli written in the Khom script called *Chabap Landip* (the public edition of Siamese Tipiṭaka). This undated Siamese manuscript is preserved in the National Library of Thailand and its registration number is 7213/k/1 ( fifo).

5. *Brah Dhammakāyādi-jīkā* ( fifo, 1 phuk) is the jīkā for the *Brah Dhammakāyādi*. This undated manuscript was recorded in Pāli written in the Khom script. The manuscript was part of the Siamese Tipiṭaka called *Chabap*

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10 This Tipiṭaka was produced after the *Chabap Tongyai* was completed in 1788.
Longchat, or the rouge-edged palm-leaf edition. This manuscript is preserved in the National Library of Thailand and its registration number is 11398/I/1 (๑๑๓๙๘/๑).

2.3 The Suttajātakanidānānisaṃsa (1817 and 1824) (SJNA)

Some Dhammakāya texts are contained within compilations or anthologies. An example of such an anthology is the Suttajātakanidānānisaṃsa, a Siamese manuscript consisting of eighteen phuks.¹¹ Coedès noted in 1956 that the Suttajātakanidānānisaṃsa justifies its title by the fact that it contains a miscellany of sutta-s (some of which are included in the paritta collections), jātaka-s, stories of a historic character (nidāna) relating to famous relics or images, and short texts making known the fruits of meritorious work (ānisaṃsa).¹²

The National Library of Thailand holds a number of SJNA manuscripts in its archives; ten of these are undated. In this thesis, I will focus on the two dated SJNAs.

1. The earliest SJNA was produced by the sponsorship of Phra Intachot in 1817. SJNA 1817 now consists of seventeen phuk and not eighteen (the second phuk is missing) and was composed in Khom-Pāli. Its registration number is 3822/1.3-18 (๓๘๒๒/๑.๓-๑๘).

2. The later SJNA was produced by the sponsorship of Thepangorn in 1824. The text was written in Khom-Pāli, and consists of eighteen phuk. SJNA 1824 is preserved in the National Library of Thailand and has been digitised. Its registration number is 6796/1-18 (๖๗๙๖/๑-๑๘).

The Brah Dhammakāyahdiṭikā (or BDT) is presented in the second half of the 13th phuk of both manuscripts. The first half of the phuk consists of the Bimbābhilāpavannanā, the story of the Buddha’s wife.¹³ It is unclear how SJNA was used by Siamese Buddhists during the 2nd reign. However, the colophon of SJNA 1824 states that copying this text is a meritorious act that will help the sponsor reach nibbāna in the future: nibbāna-paccayohi.¹⁴

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¹² Ibid., 257.
¹³ I would like to thank Dr. Kitchai Urkasame for a rough transliteration of the 13th phuk and confirmation that the Dhammakāyahdiṭikā (or BDT) was included in the 2nd half of the 13th phuk.
¹⁴ Swearer has documented the ritual use of the Bimbābhilāp during the consecration ceremony of a Buddha image (buddhābhiseka) (Swearer, Becoming the Buddha, 123-29.).
2.4 Rāmā II’s Sangayana Bot Suat Mon (1821 CE)

One of the most distinctive Buddhist practices performed during the reign of King Rāmā II (1809-1824), which had never been performed in previous reigns, was the revision of Buddhist chanting, called Sangayana Bot Suat Mon. Krommaluang Narintaratevi (?-1827) wrote in her personal journal, The Personal Journal of Krommaluang Narintaratevi that:

The royal decree of Rāmā II insisted that the Buddhist chants be revised that Thai people called Sangayana Bot Suat Mon had not been done by previous Siamese kings. The honorable Rāmā II was the first king who did so.15

Rāmā IV explained that the Sangayana Bot Suat Mon was performed by the sponsorship of Rāmā II, in order to dedicate merit to people who died from cholera. This Sangayana ordered by Rāmā II was the ritual recitation of buddhavacana “the words of Buddha” by monks and courtiers at the royal palace.16

The exact date of Rāmā II’s Sangayana is unclear. The Chulasakkarat 1183 or “1821 Royal Decree of King Rāmā II, gave the date 1821 for the King’s Sangayana.17 The Royal Chronicle of Rāmā II Written by Phraya Tipakornwong gave a date range of 1819-1821 for the Sangayana, while The Personal Archive of Krommaluang Narintaratevi stated that the Sangayana took place sometime between 1819 and 1822. According to The Royal Chronicle of Rāmā II written by Damrong18, the Sangayana was organised thus:

First, Ālakṣa-s (Royal Scribes) collected the important Pāli chants [from the reigns of Rāmā I & II] written in the Khom script and then transliterated them into Thai script.

Second, the Buddhist materials were corrected by the Department of Royal Experts [known in Thai as Krom-ratchabundit] in order to ensure grammatical precision and accurate meaning.

Third, the experts transliterated Pāli language into Thai, possibly word by word.

16 Ibid., 410-11; Ploysam, Contribution of King Rāmā 2 115-16. Today, the term “sangayana” (Pāli sanggāyana) is used to refer to a council of monk-scholars who gather together to recite, correct, edit and redact the Buddha’s teachings in order to ensure their authenticity.
17 “The Royal Decree of the King Rāmā 2 Chulasakkarat 1183 พระราชกฤษฎีกา 1183,” (The National Library of Thailand, 1821). King Rāmā II assigned the department of the royal expert (Krom-ratchabundit) to collect the Pāli chants written in the Khmer script, and then transliterated and translated them into Thai (See also Ploysam, 116).
18 The Royal Chronicle of King Rāmā II Written by Damrong references The Personal Archive of Krommaluang Narintaratevi and The Royal Chronicle of Rāmā II Written by Phraya Tipakornwong.
Fourth, these chants were written in notebooks [perhaps made of mulberry paper or samut khoi or bap sà]

Fifth, those Buddhist chants were recited by royal courts and nobles in the royal palace and during important ceremonies.¹⁹

There were three reasons why Râmâ II commanded the performance of the Sangayana Bot Suat Mon.²⁰ The first reason was to generate merit to be transferred to 30,000 deceased victims of a cholera epidemic that swept through Bangkok during 1821.²¹ The second reason was the King’s desire to sponsor an innovative campaign that had not been performed by other kings in the previous reigns. The third reason was to spread the Dhamma by translating Pâli chants written in Khom script into Thai so that ordinary people can read and understand them.

2.5 Was DK 1909 composed during the 1st or 2nd reign?

In section 2.4, I discussed the Sangayana Bot Suat Mon sponsored by Râmâ II. Damrong, and subsequent generations of Thai scholars argued that SMP and its 7th chapter, DK was a product of the Sangayana Bot Suat Mon and dated them to the reign of Râmâ II.²² Damrong and Ploychum based this date on his understanding of Râmâ II’s Sangayana and on the Royal Decree of 1821, which prescribed an extensive list of chanting texts including Chet Tamnan (the Seven Protective Chants), Sip Song Tamnan (the Twelve Protective Chants), and Bhânavâra (Occasion of Recitation).²³ However, no chant associated with DK 1909 is listed in the 1821 Royal Decree. More to the point, there are a number of links between the 1st reign, SMP and its 7th chapter, DK.

Buddhist monks who assisted and provided translations into Thai of Buddhist chants were associated with the 1st reign (and earlier). For example, while translating one of Buddhist

²⁰ Ploychum, Contribution of King Râmâ 2 119-20.
²² Ploychum, Contribution of King Râmâ 2 117-55-56; Bhâvanâmaṅgala, Traces of Dhammakāya, 220-21.
chants, a translator consulted the Pāli scholar Phra Ācārya Śrī, who was appointed as Saukārāja by King Rāmā I in 1782 and passed away in 1794, during the 1st reign.\(^{24}\)

... Pāli terms that were translated, [I] have consulted the older Saukārāja “Supreme Patriarch” whose former name was Phra Ācārya Śrī, and the Supreme Patriarch agreed with the translation.\(^{25}\)

Damrong also cites Phraya Dhammaprījā’s testimony existed on page 331 of SMP 1909:

...I, Phraya Dhammaprījā, translate the brief Abhidhamma-s composed of seven manuscripts, which correspond with the Pāli canon. The aims of this translation are to educate and decorate the knowledge of an honorable one. It is also the sublime sevanānuttariya “the Great Dhamma Conversation”, so [if there are no questions], the conversation would be sincerely finished.\(^{26}\)

Damrong interpreted Phraya Dhammaprījā’s testimony as evidence for Rāmā II’s translation projects. But this testimony and Phraya Dhammaprījā’s biography are evidence for linking the history of SMP to Rāmā I’s reign.\(^{27}\)

Phraya Dhammaprījā (lay name Kaew) began his career as a Royal Scribe for King Taksin (r.1767-1782). Kaew wrote letters and documents for the King in Krom Phra Ālakṣaṇa (the Department of Royal Scribes). Eventually he ordained and took the monastic name “Phra Ālakṣaṇa Kaew.” Because of his expertise in interpreting the Buddha’s teaching, King Taksin gave him the title “Phra Rattanamuni.” When King Rāmā I (r.1782-1809) ascended the throne, Phra Rattanamuni disrobed. He was granted the title “Phraya Dhammaprījā” by Rāmā I himself around 1784.\(^{28}\) Because of his expertise in the Pāli and Thai languages, he was often consulted by Rāmā I, and his contributions to Buddhism were recorded in archival documents from the 1st reign. For example, in 1802 Rāmā I asked Phraya Dhammaprījā to complete the edition of the Traibhāmilokavinicchaya-kathā, a cosmological text in the Trai-

\(^{24}\) Nattawut Suttisongkram, The Biography and Writings of Sodet Phramaha Samanachao Krom Phraparanananuchinchinorot (Bangkok: Aksorn Printing Press, 1972), 209.

\(^{25}\) SMP 1909, 280.

\(^{26}\) Ibid., 331.

\(^{27}\) See more details on Phraya Dhammaprījā’s contributions in Seksun Polwattana, "A Study of Political and Social Influences on the Composing of Traibhāmilokavinicchayahakathā in the Reign of King Buddha Yod-Fa the Great (King Rāmā I)," (MA Thesis, Thammasat University, 2005), 19-25.

\(^{28}\) Ibid., 22.
bhūmi-kathā genre.  According to The Royal Chronicle of Rāmā I, Phraya Dhammaprījā was the head of royal experts responsible for the revision of the Tipiṭaka:

...Rāmā I said that the Tipiṭaka that recorded the Buddha’s words was misinterpreted and misunderstood [by Siamese Buddhists], so it is difficult to maintain sāsannā “dispensation of the Buddha” [for 5,000 years]. To revise the Tipiṭaka the king invited Supreme Patriarch, Phra Dhamaudom, and Phra Buddhakosajarn. Rāmā I also invited royal experts including Phraya Dhammaprījā etc.

Based on this archival evidence, and the fact that he died at the end of the 1st reign (and not during the 2nd reign) it seems likely that Phraya Dhammaprījā translated the chanting rituals for Rāmā I (and not for Rāmā II) during 1784 to 1809. Therefore, SMP 1909 and DK 1909 may have composed during the 1st reign, and the author of DK 1909 may have used the Dhammakāya text genre written using Khom script existed during this reign as the source text.

2.6 Conclusion

My survey has shown that texts which are similar in contents and structure to DK 1909 can be found during the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd reigns, but can no longer be found in 4th and 5th reigns, perhaps due to the Buddhist reformatons (further discussion in chapter IV). Based on this evidence, it seems that DK 1909 was known and continued to be part of the official chanting curriculum in Central Thailand, during early Rattanakosin era. I have looked at Sangayana Bot Suat Mon the “Buddhist chanting revision” that took place in 1821, during the reign of Rāmā II. At this time, many Buddhist chants were collected, transliterated, translated, and examined by Buddhist scholars at the request of the King. I have concluded that although DK may be known during the 2nd reign, there is no clear evidence linking SMP 1909 and DK 1909 to Rāmā II’s Sangayana, and they may date back to the 1st reign or even earlier.

In chapter III, I will transliterate, translate and analyse the structure of DK 1909 and compare this text with three other texts belonging to the Dhammakāya text genre.

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30 The Royal Chronicle of King Rāmā I, 7 ed. (Bangkok: Karn Sasana Press, 2002), 76.
31 The Literature of the Rattanakosin Era (Tribhūlokavinicchaya-Kathā), (Bangkok: Division of literature and history, Krom Silapakorn 1992), 27.
Chapter III: Transliteration and Translation

In Buddhist tradition, the translation and transmission of Buddhist texts are conceived as meritorious action for maintaining the śāsanā. In the domain of Buddhist studies, translation makes the study of Buddhism feasible.\(^1\) Scholars are expected to translate old texts and vernacular texts for a variety of readers. As well as considering what selected texts say, looking at how they were translated also helps scholars to identify how the texts may have used, interpreted, understood and localised by Buddhists in certain times and places.

In this chapter, I transliterate and translate the Dhammakāyānussati-kathā (DK 1909) into English. I compare DK 1909 with three texts that also belong to the Dhammakāya text genre: the Dhammakāyassa atthavanṇanā (or DA)\(^2\), the Thepchnunnum Braḥ Dhammakāyādī (or BD3) and the Golden Manuscript Braḥ Dhammakāya (or GBD). These three texts used for the comparison were composed in Pāli language and written using Khom script. My goal in this chapter is to explore possible relationships between DK 1909 and other Dhammakāya texts dating to the early Rattanakosin era.

In my transliteration and translation, I transliterate Thai terms using the UB system used in Walker’s thesis.\(^3\) I transliterate the Pāli terms written in Thai script using Phra Bhrāmāgunabhorn’s system.\(^4\) I also use Phra BhRāmāgunabhorn’s system to transliterate the hybridised Pāli or Sanskrit-Tai terms. The reason as to why I chose to transliterate (instead of transcribing) these terms is to identify the choices made by the Siamese translator when they translated the original Pāli terms into Thai.

3.1 Diplomatic Translation of DK 1909

The Dhammakāyānussati-kathā
(Words on the Recollection of the Body of Dhammas)

The set of various Knowledges of the Buddha that the Buddha compared with the characteristics of the buddhas and proclaimed by the designation as the “Body of Dhammas.” It has the Omniscent Knowledge as the sublime head. It has the realm of Nibbāna, the objective of meditative consciousness, as the sublime hair. It has the Four Absorptions as the sublime forehead. It has Knowledge of Obtaining Great Thunderbolt, as the sublime long hair

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2 The version that I use to compare was transliterated by Coedès, "Dhammakāya," 260-86.
which appears in the middle of the forehead and between the eyebrows, and that hair consists of radiance. It has Knowledge in the practice of the Meditative Recognition of Blue Objects, as a pair of sublime eyebrows which is beyond worldly. It has the five eyes of Knowledge as the two sublime eyes. The five eyes include (1) the divine eye, (2) ten Knowledges of the Buddha, (3) Omniscient Knowledge, (4) the clear Knowledge in [knowing] the traditions of the buddhas i.e. what buddhas do (not what Buddhists do), (5) the absolute Knowledge in [knowing] the Truth completely. The Body of Dhammas has the Divine Ears as the two sublime ears. It has Knowledge of Gotrabhū as the prominent sublime nose. It has Knowledge of the Fruit of Noble Path and the Fruit of Liberating Truth, as a pair of sublime cheeks. It has Knowledge of the Thirty-seven Virtues Contributing to Awakening, as the sublime teeth. It has Knowledge of the Mundane Truths and the Supramundane Truths, as the sublime upper and lower lips. It has Knowledge of the Four Noble Paths, as the four sublime eye teeth. It has Knowledge that clearly sees the Four Truths, as the sublime tongue. It has [the irresistible] Knowledge of the Buddha that is eternal and nothing can interfere with it, as the sublime chin. It has Knowledge of the liberation, which is the Supramundane Truths, as the sublime tubal neck. It has Knowledge of the Three Characteristics of Existence, as the sublime neck. It has Knowledge of the Four Folds of Intrepidity, as the two sublime upper arms. It has Knowledge of the Ten Recollections, as the gracefully rounded fingers. It has Knowledge of the Seven Awakening Elements, as the sublime fully chest. It has Knowledge of the Instinctive Disposition in all beings, as a pair of sublime breasts. It has Knowledge of Ten Buddha’s Powers as the sublime middle trunk of the body. It has Knowledge of the Truth of Dependent Origination, as the sublime navel. It has Knowledge of the Five Controlling Faculties and the Five Powers, as the sublime waist. It has Knowledge of the Four Great Efforts, as a pair of sublime thighs. It has Knowledge of the paths of the Ten Wholesome Actions, as a pair of sublime legs. It has Knowledge of the Four Paths of Accomplishment, as a pair of sublime feet, and the Body of Dhammas also wears morality, concentration and knowledge, as its outer robe. It wears Knowledge of the Moral Shame and Moral Fear, as the great upper robe of discarded cloth. It wears Knowledge of the Noble Eightfold Path, as the sublime under robe, and it wears Knowledge of the Four Foundations of Mindfulness, as the sublime girdle.

The Buddha is more brilliant than divine beings and men by means of the Body of Dhammas.

Whatever knowledge, beginning with that of the sublime head etc. which is omniscience, and so on and so forth, which is, for all the buddhas, that which is called the "Body of the Dhammas," that knowledge beginning with the head etc. is the set of marks of the buddhas called the "Body of the Dhammas" which is the leader away from the world. It is to be recollected repeatedly by one in the lineage of the yogāvacara-s who possesses a keen intelligence and who aspires to the state of an omniscient buddha.

The Gotama Buddha, twelve soks tall, has uñhisā, six soks in size. The uñhisā is comparable to a great crown and composed of a flame-like radiance. So Gotama Buddha is eighteen soks tall in total, including the sublime uñhisā, which the buddhas intrinsically possess. All radiances of the buddhas consist of six elements: green radiance, yellow radiance, white radiance, red-and-yellow-combined radiance, brilliant radiance and dark red radiance, gushing from their bodies. Each body hair of the buddhas circulates in a sphere. Some hairs are long, short and round, glowing from the front and side. The greatest leader of the world, the
Buddha, is seeking the sublime morality, more sublime than other divine beings and human beings. He reaches the realm of *Nibbāna* by his own efforts and brings other beings to the realm of *Nibbāna*. He has conquered the five evil ones. No-one is comparable to him, and there are no words to analogise [the virtues of the Buddha]. The radiance of the honorable one is like an ornament adorning his body. The cause of charismatic intelligence of all divine beings and human beings is not the same as that of the Buddha himself, [and therefore the charismatic intelligence of all divine beings and human beings] is not comparable to that of Buddha.

### 3.2 Analysis of DK 1909

My analysis of the DK shows that the translator used the traditional technique of lifting of the Pāli terms (*yok sab*) as part of their translation process. The way these scholars translated Pāli shows us how Buddhist ideas were localised, understood, interpreted, and translated during the 1st reign. In many cases, the Siamese translator left words untranslated or used what scholars call “hybridised Pāli -Tai”. An example of this usage is the Thai *brah sab-baṅṅutaṅṅa* (a) for the Pāli *sabbaṅṅutaṅṅa*, and the Thai *brah ṇāṇ (a)* for the Pāli ṇāṇa. Sometimes the Siamese translator preferred hybridised Sanskrit translations, e.g. *kēsā* instead of the Pāli *kesā*. Further examples are the preference for the *brah dhammakāy (a)* instead of the Pāli *dhammakāya*, and *brah saddharm (a)* instead of the Pāli *saddhamma*.

Degeminisation — tt→t, kk→k, bb→b etc. — is a regular feature of Thai orthography. My analysis shows that the scribes preferred to write *dibacaksu* instead of the Pāli *dibbacakkhu*. There are some minor orthographic differences between DK 1909, DA, BD3 and GBD, such as ṇ and η (see note 16), and t and ṭ (see note 41). One reason for this might be human error due to manual copying. Although my analysis shows some differences between DK 1909 and three texts DA, BD3 and GBD analysed in this chapter, the similarities between these four texts suggest that they share a root text in common.

The structure of DK 1909 can be separated into four separate sections: the list of *dhammakāya*’s marks, praise in verse, prose exhortation and the praise in the Buddha’s physical body. While the DA, BD3, and GBD begin with *sabbaṅṅutaṅṅa pavarasīsaṃ*, the beginning Pāli verse of DK 1909 is different and starts with *dhammakāyabuddhalakhaṇṇam*. The

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6 The replacements of n (u) with ṇ (u) and t (s) with ṭ (g, and q) are probably due to their similar pronunciations in Thai.

7 See also Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha*, 190.
initial Pāli verse in DK 1909 is the same as the bilingual Pāli-Khmer Dhammakāya texts discussed by Walker who notes that the Khmer author tried to weave all three sections of the Khmer Dhammakāya texts together: “This text begins by pulling the key compound noun from the third section, dhammakāyabuddhalakhanam..., understanding it in the accusative case.”

The Siamese translator of DK also attempted to weave the list of the dhammakāya marks, the praise in verse, and the prose exhortation together, translating dhammakāyabuddhalakhanam as a kammadhārāya compound, comparing the brah buddhanā or “Buddha’s knowledge(s)” with the “set of marks of the buddhas.” After referring to the dhammakāyabuddhalakhanam, DK describes the features of the Buddha’s dhammakāya as sabbaññutaṇāna pavarasīsam... catusatipatthāna pavarakāyapandhanam, equating them with the Buddha’s knowledge(s) and virtues/qualities (guṇa).

The dhammakāya described in the first section of DK 1909 is constituted of thirty attaining elements which are identified with the Buddha’s knowledge and virtues. Twenty-four of these are identified with the parts of the Buddha’s physical body and the other four elements are identified with his robe. Most identification contains doctrinal significance. In other words, the features of the dhammakāya correspond to the physiological (e.g. the equations between the eyes and the different kinds of the supernatural eyes, and between the ear and the divine ear), and numerical characteristics of the Buddha (e.g. the equations between the teeth and thirty-seven fold of partaking of enlightenment, between the eye teeth and the Knowledge of Four Noble Paths, and between the fingers and the Knowledge of Recognising the Ten Recollections). In some cases the identifications are made based upon the combination of physiological appropriateness and metonymy or verbal congruence, for instance, the equations between the feet (pāda) and Four Paths of Accomplishment, caturiddhipādaṇṇa. Here, pāda could be rendered as “path” or “basis.”

The second section of DK 1909 starts with the phrase buddho ativirocati devamanussānāṃ dhammakāyena, which Walker calls “a praise in verse”. The phrase states that the Buddha is more sublime than other beings (human and divines) by means of the dhammakāya.

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The third section of DK 1909 begins with *yassa pana*... and ends with *punappunan*.*. The overall meaning of this section is to remind meditation practitioners (yogāvacara-s) to recollect the *dhammakāya* in order to attain Buddhahood. The 3rd section consists of one complex sentence:

\[ \text{yassa pana moh} \ yam \ pana \ uttamaṅgādiñānaṃ \ sabbāṅnutādikām \ dhammakāyamataṃ \ buddhānām \ atthi, \ etam \ uttamaṅgādiñānaṃ \ dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ \ lokanāyakaṃ, \ yogāvacarakulaputtena \ tikkhaṅṇānaṃ \ pathentena \ sabbāṅṇu \ buddhabhāvam \ anussaritabban \ punappunan. \]

This complex sentence can be broken down into three main parts. The first part is a relative clause beginning with *yassa...* to *dhammakāyamataṃ buddhānām atthi.* Here, the Siamese translator sought to gloss the relative pronoun *yassa pana* as *yam pana.* The term "*moh*" (or "*mā*" in Lao and Lǎn⁰⁰) used in this section is commonly used in bilingual Pāli-Khmer and Pāli-Tai texts. Khmer and Siamese translators also used *moh* in Pāli-Khmer glosses.¹¹ In the second part of the sentence, the correlative clause starts with *etam uttamaṅgādiñānaṃ...lokanāyakaṃ,* and the final portion, *yogāvacarakulaputta...punappunan.* The final part of the sentence adds additional details about the subject of the relative-correlative structure, namely the *dhammakāya-buddhalakkhaṇaṃ,* or "the set of marks of the buddhas is [called] the Body of the Dhammas." The fourth and final section of the DK 1909 begins with *buddho dvādasahattho...* and ends with *buddassa eva na hoti.* It praises in verses of the composition of the Buddha’s physical body including radiance, hair, height etc.

Although textual structures remain the same in these four texts, there are differences in the way that the Pāli terms are translated into Thai. For instance, the Pāli *lokanāyakaṃ* can be translated “leader away from the world.” However, the Siamese translator of the DK glossed this term as “that which liberates beings from the world.” The Pāli *dhammakāya-buddhalakkhaṇaṃ* can be translated as “the set of the Buddha’s marks is [called] the *dhammakāya.*” However, the Siamese translator glossed this as “the Knowledge(s) of the buddhas that the Buddha compared to his marks and proclaimed by the designation as the *dhammakāya.*” The Pāli term “buddho” can be translated as “buddha (s)” or “the awakened one” but is glossed by the Siamese translator as “Gotama Buddha.”

¹¹ Ibid., 369-70.
3.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, in this chapter I have analysed four texts belonging to the Dhammakāya text genre dating from the 1st, 2nd and 3rd reigns, DA, BD3 and GBD. My analysis shows that there are many similarities between DK 1909 and these three other texts. However, the text that is closest in structure to DK 1909 is GBD. Both DK 1909 and GBD share “the praise in the Buddha’s physical body”: buddho dvādasahattho chahattho aggisikhūpamo pavaggo unāhiso niccaṃ so buddho atṭhārasako bhavo (see note 72). But these Pāli verses are not present in the DA and BD3. Based on the similarities between DK 1909 and GBD, it seems likely the Siamese author used GBD as the source text for DK 1909, during the 1st reign. Furthermore, it is possible that the GBD—an important text inscribed on gold plates and installed in a chedi at Wat Chetuphon during the 1st reign—served as a ritual model for DK 1909. The relationship between DK 1909 and the other two texts—DA and BD3 — is less clear, as they might be composed by different authors in different times.
Chapter IV: A Textual and Contextual Analysis of DK 1909

In the previous two chapters, I have shown that DK 1909 can be dated to the 1st reign, and continued to be part of the official chanting curriculum during the 2nd and 3rd reigns. However, by the 4th and 5th reigns, DK 1909 and its associated texts had disappeared from the official chanting curriculum and Siam’s Tipiṭaka respectively. In this chapter, I will consider these questions: (1) how was DK 1909 used during the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd reigns? And (2) why did this text disappear from the official chanting curriculum? To answer these questions, I first look at the way similar texts belonging to the Dhammakāya text genre have been and are still being used by Buddhists in Northern Thailand and in Cambodia. I analyse the function and contents of DK 1909 by dividing the text into three categories: a “Performative Text,” “Meditation Text,” and “Commentarial Text.” The way texts belonging to the Dhammakāya text genre are used links them to a form of Buddhism that Bizot, Crosby, Urkasame and others associate with yogāvacara traditions, or borān kammatṭhāna practices.¹ I conclude that when borān practices fell out of favour during the Buddhist reforms that took place during the 4th and 5th reigns, the Dhammakāya text genre, along with the DK, disappeared from the official curriculum.²

4.1 The Dhammakāya Text Genre and Its Ritual Usage in Khmer and Northern Thailand

New kings, chediṣ, and Buddha images must all be consecrated in order to fulfil their religious functions. Tambiah (1984), Bizot (1992), Swearer (2004) and others have written about Buddhābhiseka: the consecration ritual that takes place to “enliven” a Buddha statue and “make the Buddha present.”³ In this section, I will explore the use of the Dhammakāya-gāthā, a member of the Dhammakāya text genre that is very similar in structure and contents to DK

¹ Crosby, Traditional Theravāda Meditation, 3-5, 20-29. See also Crosby, "Tantric Theravāda," 142.
² Note that although the DK was reprinted by Damrong in 1909 and has been reprinted many times today, its textual and practical significance was marginalised and had died out before then.
³ Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets: A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism, and Millennial Buddhism (London: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 254; Swearer, Becoming the Buddha, 5-6, 108-15. For the concept of “making the Buddha Present” Tambiah did not mention the Dhammakāya text genre in his book, but this is a central focus of the works of Bizot and Swearer on Buddhābhiseka.
1909, during Buddhābhiseka, meditation practice and individual recitation in contemporary Cambodia and Northern Thailand.⁴

### 4.1.1 Buddhābhiseka

Buddhābhiseka with “its transformation of the body through samādhi and the transformation of the dhammakāya into a material representation provide a striking insight to the operative significance of the consecration ritual of the Buddha image.”⁵

Swearer looked at the relationship between theoretical considerations discussed in Buddhist texts, and practical considerations articulated during ceremonies.⁶ He claimed that buddhābhiseka, during which an inanimate image is transformed into the Buddha’s dhammakāya, is a re-enactment of the scriptural claims that the Buddha has the dhamma as his body (D III.89)⁷, and that whoever sees the Buddha sees the dhamma (S III. 120).⁸ Swearer interprets the dhammakāya as the embodied dhamma, and as “spiritual phenomenon.”⁹

According to Bizot, buddhābhiseka in Cambodia can be divided into three stages. The first stage is the implantation of the marks (pañcuḥ braḥ lakhaṇa),¹⁰ the second is the recitation of the Dhammakāya text during the opening of the eyes, and the third is the recitation of consecration’s stanzas. By reciting the Dhammakāya-gāthā during this ritual, the lakhaṇa-s of the dhammakāya were introduced into the new Buddha image.¹¹ In other words, the Dhammakāya-gāthā is not a “static text” but “performative text” or "a practical/living text.”¹² A witness to this ritual usage in the Cambodian tradition, Mr. Kun Sopheap, stated in an in-

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⁴ Although there are national boundaries between Thailand and Cambodia, like Walker (2018, 7-8) I find the notion of “Khmer-Tai Buddhism” a useful way to work with the manuscript cultures of mainland Southeast Asia.

⁵ Swearer, Becoming the Buddha, 72. See also Crosby, Traditional Theravāda Meditation, 51-52.

⁶ Swearer, Becoming the Buddha, 184-91.


⁸ Swearer, Becoming the Buddha, 188-89.


¹⁰ See also Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism,” 113, 349-51, 417, 598, 789-91.

¹¹ Bizot, Le Chemin De Lanka, 293.

¹² See the concept of the “practical canon” in Blackburn, "Looking for the Vinaya," 254.
terview that he had participated in five consecration ceremonies where the Dhammakāya-gāthā was recited:

“My name is Sopheap. My nickname is Mong. I used to be a monk in Wat Kweanklang. At that time, there was a forest monk (dhutaṅga) who had a palm-leaf manuscript called the “Dhammakāya,” and this text was recited during the Buddha image consecration ritual. The text was also installed in Buddha images and put under the stones (pañcuḥ sīmā) in order to make the Saṅgha boundary. Therefore, as I have remembered, I will attempt to recite the Dhammakāya gāthā.” Sopheap then starts chanting with Sabbaṅṅitaṅṅaṇa pavarisasaṃ... and ends with …dhammakāyaabuddhalakkhaṇam lokanāyakaṃ yogāvacarakukulaputtaṃ tikkhaṅṅana patthentena sabbaṅṅābuddhabhāvaṃ punappunaṃ anussaritabbaṃ.”

The video shows that in Cambodia, recitation of the Dhammakāya-gāthā was part of buddhābhiseka rituals that included the installation of Dhammakāya texts inside a Buddha image. The video also shows the memorisation techniques and gestures used by the practicioner to internalise the teachings of the text.

The Dhammakāya-gāthā is also used during buddhābhiseka in Northern Thailand. Although the Dhammakāya formula was recited during consecration rituals in both Cambodia and Northern Thailand, there are differences between them. For instance, in Cambodia, the Dhammakāya-kāthā is recited during the eye-opening part of the ceremony but in Northern Thailand, the gāthā is recited during the construction ceremony of a Buddha image and the ritual of installing the Buddha’s heart into a Buddha image and chedi. Despite these differences, Cambodian and Northern Thai Buddhists use similar Buddhist technologies to “make the Buddha present.”

Tambiah and Swearer write that the ritual of consecration—the Buddhist technology for giving “life” to the material representation of the Buddha—has four dimensions. First, a portion of the pāramīs and virtues that reside in an old Buddha image are transfused into a new Buddha image. This newly consecrated statue is considered to be a “reincarnation” of the older image. Second, paritta “the protective chant,” from the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta (the first sermon of the Buddha), and the Paṭhamo Sambodhi (a biography of the Buddha) are recited to instruct the image about its former lives. Third, the meditative power of monks is

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13 Personal communication, Phrakru Videsasudhammayana (January 18, 2018) and Elizabeth Guthrie (July 4, 2018). See also https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yt_0aMOOp3k for the interview which I have translated from Thai into English


15 Tambiah, Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets, 245-56.
transferred to an image by means of a sacred length of string, in order to transform the image into what Swearer calls “the holy Buddha spirit” or dhammakāya.\(^{16}\) Fourth, the eye-opening ceremony is performed in order to recreate the moment when the Buddha attained enlightenment.\(^{17}\)

A fifth method to bring an image of the Buddha to life used in Northern Thailand (but not mentioned by Tambiah, Bizot or Swearer) is the ritual of installing the heart of the Buddha into a Buddha image or stūpa. During this ritual, the Dhammakāya-gāthā is recited and written on a metal plate and placed inside the image and chedi. The ritual of installing a Buddha’s heart into a Buddha image can be found in Northern Thailand, Cambodia, China and Tibet.\(^{18}\) In Thailand, this ceremony can be traced back to at least the Sukhothai period (1283-1317 CE) when Buddha images were often constructed from stucco. These images often had a cavity in the chest area where relics, manuscripts, and valuables were placed.\(^{19}\) Some installations involved the placement of models of the heart, two lungs, two small intestines, two large intestines, and two livers inside an image of the Buddha.\(^{20}\) During my own research on buddhābhiseka, I identified a Northern Thai consecration ceremony in which a Dhammakāya text is recited and a “heart” is placed inside a cavity in a Buddha image or in a stūpa.\(^{21}\) An important source for this practice is Tamra Karn Banchu Huachai Phraphuttharup and Phra Chedī Borān (the Old Manual for Installing a Buddha’s Heart Into a Buddha Image and Chedi) composed by Northern Thai monk Kruba Kong (1902-1989) who wrote:

> Whoever recites or worships the Dhammakāya gāthā, and whoever worships the Buddha statue or the chedi which had been consecrated by the Dhammakāya gāthā will gain great merit, living prosperity, and even attain the state of an omniscient Buddha, if they wish. The Dhammakāya gāthā which great teachers recommended for recitation should be written on golden plates and put inside both a Buddha image and chedi as the “heart.” It will be as if the Buddha himself is present. Moreover, if a temple has this gāthā, it will bring prosperity be-

\(^{16}\) Swearer, Becoming the Buddha, 189-90. 
\(^{19}\) Swearer, Becoming the Buddha, 262. 
\(^{21}\) See [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WjCiauLiNLk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WjCiauLiNLk) for the ceremony of installing a Buddha’s heart into a Buddha statue in contemporary Northern Thailand.
cause the *Dhammakāya gāthā* originated from the Tamra Karn Kosrang Phrathittharup\(^{22}\) and Phra Chedi Borân (the old manual for making Buddha images and Chedi-s)\(^{23}\)

As the above quotation shows, in the past, and today in Northern Thailand and Cambodia, the *Dhammakāya gāthā*, its symbolic, alphabetic and inscriptional elements were part of the individual practice of Buddhists, and also essential for official ceremonies. Buddhists used the *Dhammakāya gāthā* not only for worldly (lokiya) purposes of gaining merit and living prosperity, but also for a supramundane (lokuttara) purpose: attaining Buddhahood. It is likely that a similar ritual was performed when the Golden Manuscript *Brah Dhammakāya* (GBD) was installed into the *chedi* at Wat Phrachetuphon during the 1\(^{st}\) reign. Although Thongkhamwan, Bhāvanāmaṅgala and Urkasame were not concerned with the ritual usage of the *Dhammakāya* text genre, in this thesis, I argue that the link between the *Dhammakāya* text genre and buddhābhiṣekā is due to their performative nature. Further investigation may help us understand the significance of earlier examples of this text genre, such as the Phitsanulok inscription which was also found the *stūpa* and dates back to the 15\(^{th}\) century CE.

### 4.1.2 Individual Recitation for Living Prosperity and Meditation Progresses

It seems that *Dhammakāya-gāthā* was not only considered essential for public rituals but was also part of individual religious practice in Khmer and Northern Thailand. Bizot found that Cambodian Buddhists use the *Dhammakāya gāthā* as part of their individual recitation. One section (2.3) of the *Dhammakāya* manuscript (registered number: TK217) found in Wat Uṇālom, Phnom Penh states;

> Anyone who venerates and praises or studies the *Dhammakāya* text everyday will obtain whatever that person wishes. For example, a person who recites this *Dhammakāya* only one complete day is reborn as a god who lives in the precious palaces. For another example, a person who recites the qualities (of the *Dhammakāya*) spits on a female ant, and that causes her death. This ant at the time of her death was reborn in heaven because of great merit which that person had accumulated from the recitation of the *Dhammakāya*.\(^{24}\)

\(^{22}\) This manuscript was studied by Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha*, 259-60. This text is found in Northern Thailand and written in *Tham Lannā* scripts dated back to the Golden Age of Lannā (ca.1400-ca. 1525). See Thai translation Phisit Kotsupho, "The Manual for Constructing a Buddha Image from the Old Manuscript ติารางพระศิลปะ, พระพุทธศิลปะการสร้างพระบรมศิลปะ". See also [http://phil-re4you.blogspot.com/2017/09/blog-post_30.html?m=1](http://phil-re4you.blogspot.com/2017/09/blog-post_30.html?m=1)

\(^{23}\) I took this quotation from the manual for installing a Buddha’s heart into a Buddha image and a *chedi* composed by Kruba Kong. I have translated this quotation from Thai to English. See also Suksavas, *Lanna Buddha Image* 244. Watch online clip on [https://www.facebook.com/diri.ac.nz/videos/927925597388034/](https://www.facebook.com/diri.ac.nz/videos/927925597388034/)

In Northern Thailand, Urkasame found that the Gāthā Thammakāy he studied were recited and memorised by lay people to gain prosperity.\textsuperscript{25}

…This is to say that the [Thammakāy] stanza should be remembered by heart and recited in order to pay homage to the Buddha everyday with no exception. This is perhaps essential to protect [practitioner] in the present and future life time…\textsuperscript{26}

He also found that the Gāthā Thammakāy were associated with meditation practice. The Mūlakammaṭṭhāna,\textsuperscript{27} a Northern Thai mediation manual and another text belonging to the Dhammakāya text genre, instructs meditation practitioners (including monks and laypeople) who fail to achieve their meditation goals to recite the Gāthā Thammakāy to ensure that their meditation progresses:

When the yogāvacara-s including laypeople, monks or nuns practice meditation, or observe dhutaṅgavattra, and they cannot manage their mind in the path of meditation, or their mind lacks power and wants to sleep all times…they should use the gāthā to make sacred water.

Before drinking or using this water, they should ask for forgiveness from the five gems.\textsuperscript{28}

This passage suggests that by reciting the Dhammakāya gāthā the teaching of the text is transferred into water and then internalised to the bodies of local meditation practitioners by drinking the consecrated water.

4.2 Contextual Analysis of DK 1909

In this section, I analyse the contents of DK 1909 to find out how the text was actually used by Buddhists living during the 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} reigns. To do this, I subdivide DK1909 into three categories: “Performative Texts,” “Meditation Texts,” and “Commentarial Texts.” I will begin by defining the terms being used throughout this section. “Performative Text” indicates texts that are used in rituals. “Meditation Text” refers to texts with information about meditation practice and used to instruct Buddhists practicing meditation. “Commentarial Text” re-


\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., A375.

\textsuperscript{27} See the translation of the Mulakammaṭṭhāna in Kitchai Urkasame, "Meditation in Tham Scripts Manuscripts,” (Bangkok: Dhammachai International Research Institute, 2013), 132-204.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 195-96. ความธรรมชาติ อันเรียกว่ากิจการะดับที่ภพพุทธเจ้า พอทุกสภาพยังได้ข้ามครบและข้ามสุดสิ้น แล้ว ผมมิได้แก่นนี้และมิได้ แก่นนี้เมืองนี้และนิภาลำนำจำสิ่งเหล่านี้ และมิได้แก่นะระดับดังอยู่กิจเกิด มิได้แก่นนี้ เป็นจะเป็นวิน เลยสิ่งนั้นๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆๆณ จั้งหายเสียด้วยเดชคุณแห่งพระพุทธเจ้าทั้งมวลแล้วให้เอาคาถาธรรมกายและพุทธรูปเจ้าเสียก่อนแล้วให้โอกาสอาราธนาพระแก้วเจ้าแล้วให้เอาคาถาธรรมกายทั้งมวลอันนี้ครั้นโยคาวจระคฤหัสถ์นักบวชหญิงชายและมีใจบ่ตั้งมั่นและมีใจกระด้างแข็งอยู่นั้นก็ดี

\textsuperscript{14} ข้ามOrdered by Aggarawala, Gāthā-ṭṭṭaṅga, 107. แล้วซ ้าสัมมาแก้วทั้ง 5 จ าพวกเสียก่อนแล้วให้ไปตักเอาน ้าในบาตรนั้นที่จักหายเสียด้วยเดชคุณแห่งพระพุทธเจ้าทั้งมวลอันนี้ครั้นโยคาวจระคฤหัสถ์นักบวชหญิงชายและมีใจบ่ตั้งมั่นและมีใจกระด้างแข็งอยู่นั้นก็ดี
fers to texts that relates to pedagogy (sermons, translation, and glossaries) and elaborate the theories and concepts about the dhammakāya.

4.2.1 DK 1909 as a Performative Text

No evidence has survived to show how DK 1909 was used during the 1st reign. However, the fact that DK 1909 was included in Suat Mon Plae, a chanting manual, indicates that it was meant to be recited — “performed” — during individual recitations and public religious rituals such as buddhābhīṣeka as the Dhammakāya text genre is used in Cambodia and Northern Thailand.

The alphabetic and inscriptive elements of the DK may have used in the same way as the Golden Manuscript Braḥ Dhammakāya (or GBD)—the closest version of DK 1909—was used during the 1st reign, and as the Dhammakāya gāthā is being used in contemporary Northern Thailand during the ritual of installing the Buddha’s heart into Buddha images and chedīs.

4.2.2 DK 1909 as a Meditation Text

No evidence has remained to show if DK was recited during meditation practice in Central Thailand during early Rattanakosin era, but it is likely that the text may have used in the same way as the Dhammakāya gāthā is in Northern Thailand, during the meditation practice of Northern Thai Buddhists. The text’s title “Dhammakāyānussati-kathā”—that constitutes of Dhammakāya, Anussati, and Kathā, literally means “Words on Recollection of the Body of Dhammas”—justifies itself by the fact that the text is associated with the recollection of the dhammakāya. In the 3rd section of DK 1909, the Pāli verses contained symbolic, alphabetic and inscriptive concepts that had a supramundane (lokuttara) purpose: attaining Buddhahood. The path to Buddhahood requires the practitioner to recollect the dhammakāya;

…the set of marks of the buddhas called the "Body of Dhammas" (dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ) which is the leader away from the world (lokanāyakaṃ); it is to be contemplated (anussaritabbaṃ) repeatedly (punappunaṃ) by one in the lineage of the yogāvacara-s (yogāvacarakulaputtena) who possesses a keen intelligence (tikkhaṇāṇena)

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29 McDaniel, Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words, 163.
The passage instructed the yogāvacara or “practitioner of spiritual discipline” to use the dhammakāya (here, embodied in the Buddha image) as a meditation object. The process of recollecting the dhammakāya will lead the yogāvacara directly to Buddhahood. Reynolds, who also related the Dhammakāya text genre to meditation, suggested that “the key point in the Dhammakāya text is that a single dhammakāya is constituted of the jhānic attainments and the supraworldly path attainments.”

The first part of DK 1909 describes the features of the dhammakāya and equates the Buddha’s dhammakāya with the Buddha’s Knowledge (ñāṇa) and qualities/virtues (guna). The final part of the text describes some of the auspicious physical marks of the Buddha (rūpa-kāya) including his height, hair, and radiance. The instructions provided in the text are similar to Buddhaghosa’s “Buddhānussati.”

The Buddha is (bhaggārāko) a person who destroys rāga, who destroys dosa (bhagga-vadoso), who destroys moha (bhaggamoho); he who lacks āsava, all pāpadhama-s. Because he destroys all of these elements, all wise men call him as “brah bhagavā.” The Buddha consists of his perfect physical body (rūpa-kāya), which consists of brah puṇñalakkhāṇa (sings that occur because of his spiritual merit); it is composed of a hundred sings, so this represents that the Buddha is being brah bhāgaya. The perfection that the Buddha consists of brah dhammakāya is represented by being (bhaggadosa) a person who destroys dosa; being a person whom people in the world and nearby know well; being a person whom laypeople and all monks can visit; being a person who can resolve human suffering both physical and spiritual when men come to ask; being a proper person who receives āmisadāna and dhamma-dāna; being a person who teaches men to attain lokiyasukkha and lokuttarasukkha. This is the Buddha who is composed of the two properties [the rūpakāya and dhammakāya].

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30 See my translation of DK 1909
31 Swearer, 185-91, analyses the concept of the Dhammakāya in its ritual context during buddhābhiseka but not during meditation.
33 Reynolds, "Several Bodies of Buddha," 385-86.
34 Mahamakut Buddhist University, Visuddhimaggassa Nāma Pakaraṇavisesasa Pathama Bhāgo (Buddhānussati) (วิสุทธิมคฺคสสฺนาม ปภารณวิSESASA พธิมาภโย (พุทธมาสุสสิสสิ)) (Bangkok: Mahamakut Buddhist University Press, 1997), 270. I transliterate the Pāli terms written in the Thai script into Roman and translate the Thai translation into English.

bhaggārāko bhaggadoso  bhaggamoho anāsavo
bhaggassa pāpakā dhammā  bhagavā tena vuccati ti
This meditation, the recollection of the rūpa-kāya and dhamma-kāya, instruction can also be found in the Mūlakammāññāna where the Dhammakāya gāthā, a similar text to DK 1909, is located. This text instructs the meditator to recollect the Buddha’s qualities/virtues including the physical body (rūpa-kāya), the thirty-two major marks, the eighty minor marks, and the dhamma-kāya:

...anuttaro [the Buddha] is more sublime than other beings who live in the three worlds because of his sīla, samādhi, paññā, vimuttiṇāṇadassanagaṇu, and anuttariyadhamma, which is composed of four aspects: dassanānuttariya, sevanānuttariya, pāricariyānuttariya and anussatānuttariya. [The Buddha] is constituted of thirty-two major marks and eighty minor marks.

The high of the Buddha is eighteen soks tall, [and] his radiance is glowing from their bodies six soks. 35 No-one is comparable to him…bhakavā [the Buddha] can get rid of the raga, dosa, moha, taṇhā, māna, diṭṭhi, avijjā, and has the sublime śrīsobhāgaya that consists of pāramī-s. [The Buddha] has the dhammakāya-puñña-guṇa established in the Buddha himself, and it is infinite and there is nothing to compare with [the dhammakāya]. 36

4.2.3 DK 1909 as a Commentarial Text

In this section I argue that DK 1909 has a third function as a “Commentarial Text”. The text lists the thirty attainment elements, or dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṁ that constitute the dhammakāya (twenty-six elements identified with the parts of body and four components are equated to his clothing) and explains how the dhammakāya is equated to the Buddha’s Knowledge and his virtues (see chapter III). During the 1st reign, the Siamese scholar who

35 This passage is also found in the 4th section of DK when the text describes the height of the Buddha.
composed DK understood the Pāli term dhammakāya as a kammadhārāya compound referencing to “brah buddhaṇṇa.” The lists of brah buddhaṇṇa, as Urkasame explained, are a practical teaching about the elements (bodhipakhīyadhamma, bojjhaṅga etc.) that constitute the virtues of the Buddha’s enlightenment.37

There are similarities between DK 1909 and the genre of Buddhist texts that Justin McDaniel called “Nissaya, Vohāra, and Nāmasadda pedagogical genres.”38 According to McDaniel, such texts “reflect modes of thought, pedagogical techniques, and commentarial practices specific to a place and given time.”39 For example, its structure, DK 1909 resembles the Suat Mon Nissaya: both texts contain a set of Pāli terms framed with glosses and creative asides.40 Like the Suat Mon Nissaya, four or ten Pāli terms are followed by glosses and creative asides.41 This structure shows that the text was originally intended to be used for sermons, chanting rituals, and to expound on the dhammakāyabuddhalakkanat that constitute a Buddha’s dhammakāya.42

Jantrasrisalai has analysed the term dhammakāya in the Pāli textual tradition (Pāli Canon, commentaries, sub-commentaries, and sub-sub commentaries). She argues that the dhammakāya should not be rendered as the “collection of teaching” or “teachings collected together”, but rather the “Body of Enlightening Qualities”, from which the teachings originate.43 Unlike Jantrasrisalai, in DK the dhammakāya can be rendered as the “Body of Knowledge” However, both interpretations share the same concept that dhammakāya is linked to the “body of practical knowledges” or the virtues/qualities that lead the practitioner to enlightenment.44

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38 McDaniel, Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words, 150-54.
39 Ibid., 120-27.
40 Ibid., 131-34.
42 Ibid., 132-33. For translation theories see also Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism,” 33-35.
44 See also Reynolds, "Several Bodies of Buddha," 385-87. Collins, "Reflections on the Dichotomy Rāpakāya/Dhammadāyā," 259. Collins analysed the theoretical concept of the “dhammadāyā” that are found in Pāli texts. He suggests that this term can be seen as being as much a material concept, the Buddha’s Teaching embodied in things, as it is an immaterial, ‘spiritual’ phenomenon.”
4.3. The Disappearance of the Dhammakāyānussati-kathā

In this section, I will consider the political context during the 4th and 5th reigns which caused the marginalisation and disappearance of many Buddhist texts and borān Buddhist practices related to the Dhammakāya text genre. To demonstrate this change, I will look at the published records of the 10th Sangāyanā in 1893 and identify what texts were omitted at that time. Moreover, I will consider the way that Supreme Patriarch Sā (1803-1899) composed the royal chanting curriculum in 1880 (latter printed in NSSMCL 1911) and compare this book with SMP 1909. I will argue that the textual tradition and borān practices related to the Dhammakāya text genre seems to be marginalised and have disappeared during the 5th reign, due to the Buddhist reformations. In this time, reformists were concerned about canonicity and textual authenticity and the need that practices have to be authorised by the Pāli Canon. As the result of this, many Buddhist texts including BD, BDT, DK and associated recitations were classified as “non-canonical”, and then they were excluded from the 1893 Siam’s Formal Canon and central Thai rituals.

The Buddhist reformation which took place during the 4th and 5th reigns caused the disappearance of many Buddhist texts and borān practices. Encouraged by Rāmā IV, Rāmā V, Sangharāja Sā and Wachirayan made many reforms to the Sangha’s educational system, centralised the Sangha’s hierarchy, and modernised religious practices in accordance with the Pāli Canon. Crosby’s research has demonstrated the marginalisation of Siam’s traditional meditation practices, which she called the yogāvacara tradition or borān kammaṭṭhāna, during the 4th and 5th reigns. According to Crosby, when Rāmā IV was a monk in 1820, he complained that the teachings of his meditation masters at Wat Ratchasitharam were not au-

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45 See also Prapod Assavavirulhakarn, “Tripitaka in Practice in the Fourth and Fifth Reigns: Relics and Images According to Somdet Phra Sangharaja Pussadeva’s Pathamasambodhi Sermon,” in Material for the Study of the Tripitaka Volume 5: Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia Selected Papers, ed. Claudio Cicuzza (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation and Lumbini International Research Institute 2009), 120-27.

46 Taylor, Forest Monks and the Nation-State, 40-45; Crosby, Traditional Theravāda Meditation, 114-15.


48 See also McDaniels, Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words, 98-108.

49 Crosby, Traditional Theravāda Meditation, 120-23.
Thorised by the Pāli Canon and redirected his attention to the study of texts, pariyatti over the practice, paṭipatti.\(^50\)

The emphasis on the study of the Pāli Canon continued during the reign of Rāmā V. \(^51\) As Taylor noted, “by late in the Fifth Reign a meditation seems to have become less important and a Grade Five Pāli scholar then appointed as abbot…In the eyes of leading Thammayut reformers, meditation and austere practices had a useful function only in terms of orthopraxy and orthodoxy. Thus, with emphasis on canonical studies, the Fifth Reign reforms effectively redefined sanctity at many monasteries and the functions of religiosity.” \(^52\)

Some concerns of canonical authenticity can also be identified in the ways that Sā composed the Paṭhamasambodhi 1890. In his demystified Paṭhamasambodhi, Sā paid close attention to the Pāli Canon;

> The stories or Pāli verses that are not found or authorised by the Pāli Canon, I will skip or talk about them briefly, based upon traditional teachers have said.\(^53\)

Moreover, the omission of some texts can be found in the process of composing the Paṭhamasambodhi. The Bimbā-bhilāpa\(^54\) was considered as having textual authenticity by Buddhists during the reign of Rāmā II, presented in the SJNA (see chapter II) and Somdet Krom Phra Paramānuchitchinorot. Paramānuchitchinorot included the text in the 18\(^{th}\) chapter of the Paṭhamasambodhi in 1845.\(^55\) This text, however, seemed to have less textual authenticity in the view of Sā, and then it was omitted from his 1890 Paṭhamasambodhi, as a demythologised version of Paramānuchit’s Paṭhamasambodhi.\(^56\)

The reformation and reinterpretation continued during the so-called 10\(^{th}\) Sangāyanā in 1893, during the 5\(^{th}\) reign when the Tipiṭaka was revised. Before this revision, Thai Buddhists

\(^{50}\) Phaladisai Sitthitunyakit, *His Majesty King Mongkut Rama 4 of Thailand* พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว พระมหากษัตริย์MONTH ๕๔ (Bangkok: One World, 2004), 49; Crosby, *Traditional Theravāda Meditation*, 114. and Taylor, *Forest Monks and the Nation-State*, 42.

\(^{51}\) Crosby, *Traditional Theravāda Meditation*, 121.

\(^{52}\) Taylor, *Forest Monks and the Nation-State*, 32.


\(^{55}\) Somdet Phra Paramānuchitchinorot, *Pathama Sambodhi* ปุสสเทวส笈絛, 1 (Bangkok: Karnsasana, 1962), 325-43. See also Lopez Jr, *Buddhism in Practice*, 420. Swearer assumed that Paramānuchitchinorot might have used Northern Thai Pathamasambodhi composed in 16\(^{th}\) CE as the sources to compile his Paṭhamasambodhi, because the incorporating texts such as the Bimbā-bhilāpa can be found in both versions.

\(^{56}\) See also Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha*, 124.
(learned monks, lay experts and regular people) believed that the Tipiṭaka was a generous collection of baskets that contained the Buddhavacana, its commentaries (atṭhakathā), sub-commentaries (ṭīkā), sub-sub commentaries (anuṭīkā) as well as texts composed during a later period (pakaravisesa).\(^57\)

The goal of the 1893 Saṅgāyanaṃ was to produce a modern printed Siamese Tipiṭaka that contained only authentic texts. To achieve this goal, a number of palm-leaf manuscripts composed in Pāli and written by using Khmer script were collected, edited, transliterated and translated into modern Thai. During this process the contents of Siam’s Tipiṭaka shrank in size. The 1893 Tipiṭaka consisted of three baskets: the Vinaya-Piṭaka, Sutta-Piṭaka and Abhidhamma-Piṭaka. Commentaries, sub-commentaries, sub-sub commentaries and later composed texts were excluded as non-Canonical. A number of books that were once considered part of Siam’s Tipiṭaka, namely the Vimānavaṭṭhū, Petavatthu, Theragāthā and Therīgāthā, Jātaka, Apādāna, Apādāna, Buddhavaṃṣa, Cariyapiṭaka, Anulomapacca-nīyapaṭṭhāna, and the Paccaniyāmulomapaṭṭhāna—were also omitted from the 1893 Tipiṭaka.\(^58\)

Texts belonging to the Dhammakāya text genre started to disappear during this period. The BD and BDT were classified as non-canonical and excluded from the Siam’s Buddhist Canon in 1893.\(^59\) DK 1909 disappeared even earlier in 1880 when Sangharāja Sā replaced SMP dating back to the reign of Rāmā I with NSSMCL.\(^60\) Ploychum believed that Sā used SMP as the source for NSSMCL, but he did not make a detailed comparison between the two chanting texts. He based his argument on the historical information and identified similarities between Buddhist chants as they appear in NSSMCL 1911 and SMP 1909.\(^61\) In the table below, I compare SMP with NSSMCL.

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\(^{57}\) Skilling and Pakdeekham, Materials for the Study of the Tripitaka 1, 1: Pali Literature Transmitted in Central Siam สามารถนำไปศึกษา, xviii.

\(^{58}\) Kaewski, "The Royal Tipitaka," 75; Ratchapraditsathitmahasimaram, The Biography of Somdet Phra Ariyawongsakhatayan (Sa Pussadevo) Somdet Phrasangkhurat พระบาท พระอริยวงศาคตญาณ (ฮงสุดา) สมเด็จพระสังฆราช, 99-102. See also Patrick Jory, "Thai and Western Buddhist Scholarship in the Age of Colonialism: King Chulalongkorn Redefines the Jatakas," The Journal of Asian Studies 61, no. 3 (2002): 19.

\(^{59}\) See the lists of manuscripts comprised of the printed Tipiṭaka in Chalmers, "Siam’s Edition of the Pali Tipiṭak," 6.

\(^{60}\) Ratchapraditsathitmahasimaram, The Biography of Somdet Phra Ariyawongsakhatayan (Sa Pussadevo) Somdet Phrasangkhurat พระบาท พระอริยวงศาคตญาณ (ฮงสุดา) สมเด็จพระสังฆราช, 95-99; McDaniel, Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words, 234.

\(^{61}\) Ploychum, Contribution of King Rāmā 2 156.
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<th>SMP</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braḥ Abhidhamma (7 braḥ gamphīra)</td>
<td>Braḥ Abhidhamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mahāsatipatṭhānasuttaṃpaṭṭho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Vattra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Suat Jang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Gāṭhā for the royal ceremonies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Chanting in the Dhammayutika-nikāya tradition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows that only one chapter was omitted from Sā’s revised chanting manual: the Pakiṇṇaka-gāthā, the 7th chapter of SMP, which contains DK. When this omission is considered with the disappearance of other texts belonging to the Dhammakāya text genre at the time of the 10th Saṅgāyanā in 1893, I conclude that the reason is due to its association with borān practices that were considered non-canonical and fell out of favour during the 4th and 5th reigns.

### 4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that although the Dhammakāya text genre has disappeared from Buddhist practice in Central Thailand, it has remained important in Northern Thailand and Cambodia. Although there are differences in the rituals performed in Northern Thailand and
in Cambodia, they share the same ideological and philosophical concepts. The Dhammakāya text genre is connected with two dimensions: the first is official ceremonies associated with “the concept of making the Buddha present” and the second is individual orientations related to “the concept of gaining merit, prosperity and meditation progresses” of local Buddhists in Khmer and Northern Thailand. Whether the Dhammakāya text is recited, or written down on a metal plate, or installed inside as a “heart” of a representation of the Buddha (images or chedīs), these methods are all regarded as “ways of enlivening a Buddha image and chedi.”

Based on my analysis of the function and contents of DK 1909 and the ritual usage of the Dhammakāya text genre in contemporary Northern Thailand and Cambodia, I have argued that DK 1909 may have used in a similar way during the 1st, 2nd and 3rd reigns: as a “Performative Text,” a “Meditation Text” and as a “Commentarial Text.” Although the exact reason why DK 1909 disappeared from Siam’s ritual chanting curriculum is unclear, I have shown that in 1880, Sangharājā Sā composed a new chanting curriculum, NSSMCL and omitted the 7th chapter titled the Pakinnaka-gāthā that contained DK 1909. Further revisions saw other texts belonging to the Dhammakāyā text genre from Siam’s revised Tipiṭaka in 1893, during the 10th Saṅgāyanā. I conclude that the disappearance of DK 1909 was part of the marginalisation of “borān Buddhism” during the 5th reign.
Chapter V: Conclusion

In this thesis, I have analysed existing scholarship and identified the DK as belonging to the Dhammakāya text genre. I have considered the rich history of the texts belonging to this genre and known throughout the Tai-Khmer cultural sphere. I have traced the history of these texts from the time of Ayutthaya through to the contemporary period, and have demonstrated their importance for meditation practice, individual recitation for gaining merit and prosperity, the consecration ceremony of a Buddha image (buddhābhiṣeka), and the ritual of installing the Buddha’s heart into a Buddha image and chedi.

When approaching the historical background of the DK, I first looked at SMP 1909. Although most scholars have dated SMP 1909 to the 2nd reign, my historical analysis in chapter II suggests that it is likely that the SMP originated during the 1st reign. If the SMP can be identified as dating to the 1st reign, the terminus ad quem for the DK must also be the 1st reign as the DK is included in the 7th chapter of SMP 1909. In chapter II, I identified several versions of the Dhammakāya text genre that date to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd reigns: the GBD, BD, BDT, and the SJNA. My comparison of the DK with the DA, BD3 and GBD in chapter III shows that the Pāli verses of the GBD closely resemble the Pāli verses of the DK. The similarity suggests that the GBD was the source text for the Pāli-Tai DK, during the 1st reign.

The close relationship in contents and structure between the GBD and the DK supports a date for the DK and also provides an explanation for how the DK was used during the 1st reign. By this time, the GBD was installed in the chedi at Wat Chetuphon when it was completed. Although this ritual is no longer part of contemporary Central Thai Buddhism, it is still practiced in Northern Thailand and in Cambodia. As the Lānnā Tamra Karn Banchu Huachai Phraphuttharup and Phra Chedi Borān explains, when a newly constructed stūpa or a new Buddha image chedi, is consecrated, the dhammakāya-gāthā must be recited while the heart of the Buddha is ritually installed. This explains the presence of DK in chapter 7 of the ritual chanting manuscript, the SMP 1909.

Based on this evidence I argue that like the GBD, during the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd reigns, the DK functioned as a “Performative Text” and was recited during the image and chedi consecration ceremony, and public sermon. In addition to recitation, its alphabetic elements may also have been written on metal plates and installed like the Buddha’s heart into Buddha images and chediṣ. 
I also argue that the DK also functioned as a “Meditation Text” and was used by individual practitioners to support the practice of anussati “recollection.” The 3rd part of the DK instructs meditation practitioners to contemplate or recall the dhammakāya, in order to attain the state of the omniscient buddhas. The form of Buddhānussati in the DK can also be found in the Visuddhimagga and in the Mulakammaṭṭhāna a Northern Thai meditation manual that instructs the practitioner to recite the Gāthā Thammakāy during meditation.

And I argue that the DK functioned as a “Commentarial Text” that uses the traditional pedagogical technique of yok sab to expound the meaning and concept of the dhammakāya. As most scholars translate the term “dhammakāya” as “the Body of Dhammas”, the DK provides an alternative translation of the term dhammakāya as “Body of Knowledge” that constitutes the enlightening qualities and teaches that the dhammakāya is a meditation object.

Like Crosby and Taylor, in this thesis I distinguished between borān Buddhism and reform Buddhism based on the changes on Thai Buddhism during the 5th reign. I argue that the Dhammakāya text genre and associated ritual performances were considered authentic during the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd reigns and multiple versions of the Dhammakāya text genre were produced and used by Buddhists during this period. However, during the 4th and 5th reigns, “borān Buddhism” fell out of favour and between 1880 and 1893 many borān texts including the DK, BD and BDT and their associated rituals, disappeared from Central Thai Buddhism (although they survive in Northern Thailand and Cambodia). One of its ritual performances illustrated in this thesis is the ritual of installing a Buddha’s heart into a Buddha image and chedi that is still practiced in Northern Thailand today.

Although the focus of this thesis is on a small group of texts, it makes a contribution to the wider field of Tai-Khmer Buddhist Studies by demonstrating that Buddhist texts are not static or abstract doctrines, but “living orientations.” Texts circulate between communities, individuals, rituals, meditation practice and the study of texts and in the process, reflect Buddhist beliefs and practices from particular times and places. Today, a number of manuscripts in Tai-Khmer and Theravāda textual tradition remain unstudied, so I hope that this project would provide foundational methodologies for approaching and analysing similar texts in other regions.
Appendix
1 Note that a Siamese translator understood “dhammakāya-buddhalakkhaṇṇam” as a kammadhāraya compound (working as a noun) in reference to “brah buddhañāṇa”, which is not explicit to the Pāli. It can be translated as “the set of the buddha’s marks that is [called] the dhammakāya.”

2 Throughout my translation I translate Thai terms “พระบุณฑริก” and “พระญาณ” to mean “Knowledge” in English.

3 Instead of transliterating a Thai term “พระ” as “Bra” I transliterate it as “Brah” in order to show its connection with the Mon-Khmer etymology. The spelling of “brah” (though “bra” is common in older Thai manuscripts) connects to the Mon-Khmer etymology of the term (as either "brah/vrah" meaning “deity” or the prefix "v/b” + "rah,” “to shine,” meaning one who shines, i.e. a deity. (Personal Communication Trent Walker (November 25, 2018))

4 This translation also indicates that the Thai preferred Sanskrit translation for Indic words for example ขมภู, dhammakāya in Pāli = พระธรรมกาย, brah dhammakāya(a) in Thai.

5 DA ṣīsam; BD3 viṣam; GBD ṣīlam

6 Throughout my translation I translate a Thai term “พระ” to mean “sublime” in English.

7 A Pāli “sabbaññutatāṇṇa-pavarasīsa” is a bahubbhi compound which means “has the Omniscient Knowledge as its sublime head” and not as “has the sublime head as the Omniscient Knowledge” (Personal Communication Chanida Jantrasirisalai (April 12, 2019)

8 brah sier is a hybridised Sanskrit-Tai translation for a Pāli sīra (sīra, sīsma in Sanskrit).

9 DA ṣilaśīsama; BD3 viṣatitasama; GBD ṣilaśīsama

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### Table: The Dhammakāyaṇussati-kathā “Words on the Recollection of the Body of Dhammas”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Thai Term</th>
<th>Pāli Term</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>dhammakāya-buddhalakkhanaṃ</td>
<td>dhammakāya-buddhalakkhanaṃ</td>
<td>Note 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>sabbaññutatāṇṇa-pavarasīsa</td>
<td>sabbaññutatāṇṇa-pavarasīsa</td>
<td>Note 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>nibbānāramma-pavarasīsa</td>
<td>nibbānāramma-pavarasīsa</td>
<td>Note 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. [The set of] various Knowledges of the Buddha that the Buddha compared with the Buddha’s characteristics and proclaimed by the designation as “the Body of Dhammas;”

2. has the Omniscient Knowledge as its sublime head;

3. has the realm of Nibbāna, which is the objective of meditation consciousness, as its sublime hair;
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thai</th>
<th>Pāli</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ทิพจักษุ ไหม้ที่หลังศีรษะ</td>
<td>paṅñācakkhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>นีลกสิน</td>
<td>nīlakasina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>บัติ</td>
<td>vajjarasamāpattiñā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>จตุตถจัจฉรีย</td>
<td>catutthajjhāna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>วุฒิสมณ</td>
<td>dibbacakkhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>บุคคลาต</td>
<td>pavarālaṃ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 ป, ฑ, ฏ can be seen as a variant forms of “p”
11 brah kesā is a hybridised Sanskrit-Tai translation for a Pāli kesā.
12 It is found in DA & BD3; GBD ṭṇa°
13 BD3.vajjarasamāpattiñāṃ°, GBD vajjarasamāpattiñāŋpaḷa°
14 This indicates that Thai translator understood the term นิ้ว to mean paṅnā or “Knowledge” as I translate.
15 Thai uses pātti (ปัต) instead of the Pāli patti (ปัต). The ปัต of pātti (ปัต) implies a lost geminate consonant, so ปัต is some sense “patti.”
16 DA ṭṇa; BD3°ṭṇa; GBD ṭni°
17 It is found in DA; BD3°ṭṇa; GBD sobhātakkanta
18 It is found in DA; BD3°ṭṇa; GBD gaga°
19 DA &BD3 paṁnaṇacakkhu samantacakkhu Buddhacakkhu dhammadakkhu°; GBD paṁnaṇacakkhu Buddhacakkhu dhammadakkhu° It is noticeable that the Pāli verse in the DK lists four cakkhus, but its Thai translation lists five cakkhus. Comparing with DA, BD3, and GBD, the dhamma-cakkhu is omitted from the DK.
20 Note that a hybridised Pāl-Tai dibacaksu is a degemination of the Pāli dibba-cakkhu. The degemination (bb → b, tt →t, kk →k etc.) is a regular feature of Thai orthography.
| (8) | The clear knowledge in the traditions of Buddha, completely; all of which are the five wisdom eyes,\(^{21}\) and that brah dharmamakāya(a)… | dhists do, (5) the absolute Knowledge in [knowing] the truth completely; all of which are the five eyes of Knowledge, and the Body of Dhammas... |
| (9) | …has the Divine Ears as the two sublime ears; | has Knowledge of gotrabhū as its prominent sublime nose; |
| (10) | has Knowledge of the Fruit of Noble Path and the Fruit of Liberating Truth, as a pair of sublime cheeks; | has Knowledge of the Thirty-seven Virtues Contributing to Awakening, as its sublime teeth; |
| (11) | has Knowledge of the Mundane Truths and the | |

\(^{21}\) The Thai translation does not explicitly match the Pāli verse. While the Pāli lists four cakkhus, the Thai lists five cakkhus. The four eyes in the Pāli verse should literally be translated as the divine eye (dibba-cakkhu), the eye of wisdom (paññā-cakkhu), the eye to recognise all dhamma (samanta-cakkhu) and the eye of Buddha (buddha-cakkhu).

\(^{22}\) DA dibbasotañāna°; BD3 dibbasotañāna°; GBD dibbasotañāna°

\(^{23}\) DA "uttungapavaraghamāna; BD3 "uttungapavaraghamāna; GBD "pavarutungamāghānaṃ

\(^{24}\) It is found in DA; BD3 "pavaragandadvayaṃ GBD "pavaragandadvayaṃ

\(^{25}\) Siamese Thai translators preferred hybridised Sanskrit translations for the Pāli terms, such the Pāli magga→ marga (มรรค) and the Pāli dhamma→ dharma.

\(^{26}\) DA & BD3 sattatīṃsabodhipakkhiya°; GBD sattatīṃsabodhipakkhiyadhamma°

\(^{27}\) It is found in DA, BD3; GBD omitted.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Thai Text</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>โลกี้ยลอกุตตร-ovaḥधिवयम्</td>
<td>has brah paṇṇā which is lokīy(a) and lokuttara as two sublime upper and lower lips of brah oṣṭh(a);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>จตุมัคํคญาณ-वराचतुदाः</td>
<td>has Knowledge of the Four Noble Paths, as the four sublime eye teeth;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>าปञ्ज्ञान-वराहनुक्त</td>
<td>has Knowledge that clearly sees the Four Truths, as the sublime tongue;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>อัป्पञ्ज्ञान-वराकण्ठम्</td>
<td>has [the irresistible] Knowledge of the Buddha that is eternal and nothing can interfere with it, as its sublime chin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>ติलक्कणान-वराविलसितग्वा</td>
<td>has Knowledge of the liberation, which is the Supramundane Truths, as its sublime tubal neck;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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28 It is found in DA, BD3, and GBD.
29 It is found in DA; BD3 & GBD anmarā
dāhā
30 It is found in DA & BD3; GBD ञ्ज्ञान
31 It is found in DA & BD3; GBD (jivhā omitted)
32 It is found in DA; BD3 apaṭṭi°; GBD omitted
33 “ตรัสรู้” consists of “ตรัส” (V. = to say, Adj =clear, bright) and “รู้” (V. = to know), and therefore the Thai term “ตรัสรู้” means รู้แจ้ง in this text. I translate a Thai term “ตรัสรู้” to mean “awakening” in English.
34 DA ्गमाना; BD3 ्गमानु; GBD omitted
35 BD3 pavarakaṇḍāṃ; GBD (pavara-omitted)°
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Textual Content</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>It is found in DA &amp;BD3; GBD งนา.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>A Thai term “ลำพระศอ” means neck in English.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>BD3 ง(กิ่ง omit)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>It is found in DA, BD3, and GBD.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>It is found in DA &amp; BD3; GBD dassก</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>DAกถังก; BD3กถังก; GBD กถังก</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>It is found in GBD; DA &amp; BD3 ก(สม omit)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>BD3. pavarapilauratalam : GBD-pavarapinuragatalam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>It is found in DA; BD3 &amp; GBD กยุกกล</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>It is found in DA, BD3, and GBD.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paṭiccasamuppādañṇa-pavaranābhī²⁴⁶</td>
<td>has brahpaññā that awakens to the brah paṭiccasamuppādadharma, as the sublime brah nābhī;</td>
<td>has Knowledge of the Five Controlling Faculties and the Five Powers, as its sublime waist;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(24)ปาฏิ-certainty regarding the formation of&lt;br&gt;pañcindriyapañcapala-pavarajaghaṇaṃ⁴⁷</td>
<td>มีเหตุผลก็คือพระชนม์ประทับแสดงอยู่ประเสริฐ คือพระญัญญุที่กัณเมตร์พระ&lt;br&gt;สังคีติปุทัย ๔ และพระค่ำคามอทุก&lt;br&gt;has brahpaññā that awakens to five brah saddhādi-indriya(a) and five brah saddhādi-bala, as the bottom of brahāng(a) which is brah jaghana pradeš(a);</td>
<td>has Knowledge of the Five Controlling Faculties and the Five Powers, as its sublime waist;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(25)ตามที่มีปัญญ์ใน&lt;br&gt;catusammappadhāna⁴⁸ -&lt;br&gt;pavaraūrudvayaṃ⁴⁹</td>
<td>มีเหตุผลก็คือพระช้างผู้ประเสริฐ คือพระญัญญุที่กัณเมตร์ใน&lt;br&gt;has brahñāṇ(a) in the practice sammappadhānaviriya [consisting of] four aspects, as a pair of sublime brah plau;</td>
<td>has Knowledge of the Four Great Efforts, as a pair of sublime thighs;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(26)ถ้าทุกสรรพกิจ&lt;br&gt;dasakusalakammapatha-&lt;br&gt;pavarajāṅgadvayaṃ⁵⁰</td>
<td>มีเหตุผลก็คือพระช้างผู้ประเสริฐ คือพระญัญญุที่กัณเมตร์ใน&lt;br&gt;has brahpaññā which awakens to the paths of kusala-karmapath(a), as a pair of the sublime brah jaṅgh(a);</td>
<td>has Knowledge of the paths of the Ten Whole-some Actions, as a pair of sublime legs;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(27)ถ้าทุกสรรพกิจ&lt;br&gt;caturiddhipāda-pavarapādadvayaṃ⁵¹</td>
<td>มีเหตุผลก็คือพระช้างผู้ประเสริฐ คือพระญัญญุที่กัณเมตร์ใน&lt;br&gt;has brahñāṇ(a) which is the practice in the four brah iddhipāda, as a pair brah pād(a),⁵² and brah dhar-makāy(a) also…</td>
<td>has Knowledge of the Four Paths of Accomplishment, as a pair of sublime feet, and the Body of Dhammas also…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴⁶ It is found in GBD; DA & BD3°bhi
⁴⁷ It is found in DA & GBD; BD3“jaṅga”
⁴⁸ DA “sammā”; BD3 “samuppā”; GBD “sama”
⁴⁹ It is found in DA; BD3&GBD pavaraūrudvayaṃ
⁵⁰ It is found in DA, BD3, and GBD.
⁵¹ It is found in DA, BD3, and GBD.
⁵² The Thai used “บาท” instead of “ปท.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Thai Text</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>สีลสมาธิปัญญาปวรส ฆาฏิ</td>
<td>...wears sīla, samādhi and paññā as saṅghāti;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>พิโรดดิปัญญาปวรสสุกุลจีว้</td>
<td>wears morality, concentration and knowledge, as the outer robe;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>อัฏฐังคิกมัคขญาณปวรันตราวสก</td>
<td>wears Knowledge of the Noble Eightfold Path, as the great upper robe of discarded cloth;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>จตุสติปัฏฐานปวกรักสุน</td>
<td>wears Knowledge of the Four Foundations of Mindfulness, as the sublime girdle;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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53 DA & BD3°(paññā omitted); GBD sīlasamādhiñāna°
54 DA (ñāna-omitted); BD3 & GBD hirotappa (ñāna-omitted)
55 DA “sukulapatićchāda”; BD3 & GBD “sukulapatićchāda”
56 It is found in DA, BD3, and GBD.
57 It is found in DA & BD3; GBD “dana”°
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thai (32)</th>
<th>Thai (33)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>พุทธโธ</td>
<td>ณิสสรปณ</td>
<td>The Buddha is more brilliant than divine beings and men by means of the Body of Dhammas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buddho</td>
<td>ณิสสรปณ</td>
<td>The Buddha...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อติวิโรคติ</td>
<td>ณิสสรปณ</td>
<td>...is more brilliant...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ativirocati</td>
<td>ณิสสรปณ</td>
<td>...than divine beings and men...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เทวมนุสānaṃ</td>
<td>ณิสสรปณ</td>
<td>...by means of braḥ dhammadīya(a).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhammakāya</td>
<td>ณิสสรปณ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yassapana moh⁵⁹</td>
<td>ณิสสรปณ</td>
<td>Whatever knowledge (yaṃ pana ŭaṇaṃ), beginning with that of the sublime head etc. (ut-tamaṇgādi) which is omniscience, and so on and so forth (sabbaṇṇutādikaṃ), which is, for all the buddhas (buddhānam atthi), that which is called the &quot;Body of the Dhammas&quot; (dhammadīya(a).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṭṭhaṇa dharmakāya</td>
<td>ณิสสรปณ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buddhānaṃ</td>
<td>ณิสสรปณ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁵⁸ DA,BD3 & GBD aññesaṃ devamanussānaṃ buddho ativirocati (dhammakāya omitted)
⁵⁹ The Thai (and Khmer) word ณิสสรปณ is a special technical particle used in the composition of bilingual Pali-vernacular texts. It is used for Pali-Pali glosses, or in other words when translating a Pali word or phrase with another Pāli word or phrase. See Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism," 369-70.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Thai</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>อัตถิ</td>
<td>have;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>(34)</td>
<td>that (етам) knowledge beginning with the head,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>ถิทัณฑังคีดีLIKELY</td>
<td>constitutes (brahīṣier etc.,)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>นิยมภาษาพุทธลักษณ์</td>
<td>(The 2nd part)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>dhammakīyabuddhalakkhaṇam</td>
<td>that (етам) knowledge beginning with the head,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>ไกนท์โลกนัยยาคม</td>
<td>etc. (uttamaṅgādiṇāṇam) is[called] the set of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>lokanāyakaṃ</td>
<td>marks of the buddhas called the &quot;Body of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>(35)</td>
<td>Dhammas&quot; (dhammakīyabuddhalakkhaṇam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>yogāvacarakulaputtaṇa</td>
<td>which is the leader away from the world (lo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>ติ่กขัญะแณะ</td>
<td>kanāyakaṃ);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>tikkhañāṇena</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>ฟีคค์แณะแณะ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>patthentena</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes

60 DA,BD3 & GBD yassa tam uttamaṅgādi ภูชนี tam subbaṅṇatūdikam dhammakāyamattaṃ buddhām name

61 DA & BD3 tam lokanāyakaṃ imaṃ dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇam; GBD tam lokanāyakaṃ dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇam

62 “dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇam” can be translated as this Buddha’s characters is called “brahīṣer dhammakīy(a)”

64 I consulted Walker for these re-translations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pali</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sabbaṅñubuddhabhāva</td>
<td>...bhāva of themselves to become an omniscient buddha...</td>
<td>The Buddha Gotama, who is twelve saak-s tall; [his] swelling sublime unhiṣa is comparable to a great crown, which is six saak-s in size, and [brah uṇhiṣa] is always composed of flame-like radiance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anussaritabbaṃ</td>
<td>...[they] should recall [brah dharmakāy(a)]...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punappunaṃ</td>
<td>...frequently.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is only found in GBD.

Saak, ศอก is the Thai measure word for height, 1 saak = 0.5 m.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>นิจจ์</th>
<th>anicca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>เป็นนิจ</td>
<td>...always.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ฉันว่าพระโคตมสัมมาสัมพุทธเจ้านั้น | The Buddha Gotama himself … |
| อันว่าพระโคตมสัมมาสัมพุทธเจ้านั้น | The Buddha Gotama himself … |
| ฉันว่าพระโคตมสัมมาสัมพุทธเจ้านั้น | The Buddha Gotama himself … |
| ฉันว่าพระโคตมสัมมาสัมพุทธเจ้านั้น | The Buddha Gotama himself … |

| สูง ๑๘ ศอก | …has eighteen saak-s tall in total, |
| ตั้ง | including… |
| พระอุณหิษ | ...brah unhiṣa… |
| ปั่น | intrinsically have |

| อันว่าพระพุทธรัศมีทั้งหลาย | All the radiance of the buddhas |
| อันว่าพระพุทธรัศมีทั้งหลาย | All the radiance of the buddhas |
| อันว่าพระพุทธรัศมีทั้งหลาย | All the radiance of the buddhas |
| อันว่าพระพุทธรัศมีทั้งหลาย | All the radiance of the buddhas |

| All the radiances of the buddhas consist of six elements gushing from, |

---

68 It is only found in GBD.
69 It is only found in GBD.
70 It is not found in DA, BD3 and GBD.
71 It is not found in DA, BD3 and GBD.
72 It is only found in GBD; buddho dvādasahatttho chahatttho aggisikhūpamo pavaggo unahiṣo niccaṃ so atṭhārasako bhavo ฯ พระพุทธเจ้าฯ ฯ
Each body hair [of buddhas] circulates in a sphere; some hairs are long, and some are short or round; some emanate from their face, and some gush from their lateral part.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(39)กนภ โลมาะ</th>
<th>มัณฑลา</th>
<th>แต่พระโลมาแต่ละเส้นๆ</th>
<th>Each body hair…</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ekamekāya</td>
<td>maṇḍalā</td>
<td>แต่พระโลมาแต่ละเส้นๆ</td>
<td>…circulates…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lomāya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>อารวดี</td>
<td>in a sphere;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>อาวฏา</td>
<td>some hairs are long, and some are short or round;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>มัณฑลา</td>
<td>some emanate from their face,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>สั้นบ้าง</td>
<td>some emanate from their lateral part of brah ṛaṅ(a).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>กลมบ้าง</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>เวียนไป</td>
<td></td>
<td>เวียนไป</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(40)พุทธร สิโย</td>
<td>พุทธร สิโย</td>
<td>อันว่าพระพุทธเจ้าทั้งหลาย</td>
<td>All buddhas have six rays glowing from their bodies:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buddharaṃ</td>
<td>Buddharaṃ</td>
<td>อันว่าพระพุทธเจ้าทั้งหลาย</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siyo</td>
<td>siyo</td>
<td></td>
<td>All buddhas have six rays glowing from their bodies:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chabbidhā</td>
<td></td>
<td>มีประการ ๖</td>
<td>[Frist], being the sublime green radiance;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>have six rays:</td>
<td>[Second], being the sublime yellow radiance;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>กับพระรัศมีสีเขียว</td>
<td>[Third], being the sublime white radiance;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>คือ พระรัศมีสีเขียว</td>
<td>[Fourth], being the sublime red-and-yellow-combined radiance;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>being a green brah ṛaṃ</td>
<td>[Fifth], being the sublime brilliant radiance;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ṛaṃ</td>
<td>[Sixth], being the sublime dark red radiance.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This is the greatest leader of the world [known as the Buddha], who seeks the sublime morality etc.; he is more supreme than animals; he is more sublime than other divine being including Indra and Brahma; he is more sublime than human beings; he crosses the bank of [the cycle of birth and death], which is the realm of Nibbana, by his own efforts; he also brings other beings to cross [the bank of the cycle of birth and death], which is the realm of Nibbana; he conquers the five evil ones; no-one is comparable to him, and there are no words to analogise [the virtues of the Buddha].
<p>| อุตติณ์โณ | [he] crosses the bank, which is brah nibbān(a), by his own efforts; |
| โลกสันตถะ | [he also] brings other beings to cross the bank, which is brah nibbāna; |
| ชินน | [he] conquers pañcabidhamār(a); |
| ชินโน | no-one is comparable to him; |
| จินน | there are no words to analogue. |
| (42) รังสี | The radiance… |
| ตัสสะ ภควโต | …of the honorable one… |
| ตัสสะ ภควโต | …is like an ornament adorning brah ang(a). |
| ทิพิปุคตโต | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thai</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>การณ์ (kāraṇaṃ)</td>
<td>The cause of charismatic intelligence…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อัญเญส (aññesaṃ) devamanussānaṃ</td>
<td>…of divine beings and all manusya…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มัญเญ การณ์ (maññe kāraṇaṃ)</td>
<td>…is not the same as…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>พุทธัสสะเอา (buddassa eva)</td>
<td>…that of the Buddha himself;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>หา ไห้ (na hoti)</td>
<td>nothing is comparable to him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cause of charismatic intelligence of all divine beings and human beings is not the same as that of the Buddha himself, [and therefore the charismatic intelligence of all divine beings and human beings] is not comparable to that of the Buddha.
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