

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 *Braḥ 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 Saṅgāyanā 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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List of Abbreviations

DK	Dhammakāyānussati-kathā
DK 1909	Dhammakāyānussati-kathā published in 1909
SMP	Suat Mon Plae
SMP 1909	Suat Mon Plae published in 1909
SBD	Stone inscription Braḥ Dharmmakāya
NSSMCL	Nang Sue Suat Mon Chabap Luang Khong Somdet Phra Sangkarat Pussadeva
BD	Braḥ Dhammakāyādi
BDT	Braḥ Dhammkāyādi-ṭīkā
GBD	Golden Manuscript Braḥ Dhammakāya
DA	Dhammakāyassa atthavaṇṇanā
SJNA	Suttajātakanidānānisamsa
GT	Gāthā Thammakāy
TKKP	Tamra Karn Kosrang Phraphuttarup

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.¹ 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 Vajirañña 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.²

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 *ñāṇa*, “knowledge” and Buddha’s *guṇa*, “qualities” or “virtues.” In addition, they also share the same core Pāli verses:

...*dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ yogāvacarakulaputtana tikkhaññaṇena
subbāññubuddhabhāvaṃ patthentena punappunaṃ anussaritabbaṃ...*

...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...³

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

¹ *The Ritual Chanting Book Published by the Vajirañña Library of Siam* สวดมนต์แปลฉบับหอพระสมุดวชิรญาณ, (Bangkok: Vajirañña Library of Siam, 1909), preface.

² Suchao Ploychum, *The Contribution of King Rāmā 2 to Siamese Buddhism* การส่งเสริมพระพุทธศาสนาในสมัยรัชกาลที่ ๒ (Bangkok: Sahadhammika Press, 1992), 118. Ploychum suggests that SMP may have been written on *samut kloi*. See information of Tai manuscript cultures in The National Library of Thailand, *A Manual for Surveying and Collecting Thai Manuscripts* คู่มือสำรวจ จัดหา รวบรวมทรัพย์สินทางวัฒนธรรม เอกสารโบราณ ประเภทคัมภีร์ใบลานและหนังสือสมุดไทย (Bangkok: The National Library of Thailand, 2009), 22,55.

³ Trent Thomas Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism: Communal Scripts, Localized Translations, and the Work of the Dying in Cambodian Chanted Leporellos" (PhD Thesis University of California, 2018), 350-51. See also George Coedès, "Dhammakāya," *The Adyar Library Bulletin* XX, no. 3-4 (1956): 261. , and Kitchai Urkasame, "A Study of Elements in Yogavacara Tradition from Tham Scripts Palm-Leaf Manuscripts" (University of Sydney, 2013), 251.

(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 “Brah̄ 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 inscriptional 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 5th 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 5th 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 4th and 5th 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*

⁴ Cham Thongkhamwan, "The Transliteration and Translation of Brah̄ Dharmakāya Inscription Dated in 2092 (B.E)," *Silapakorn* 5, no. 4 (1961): 54-58.

⁵ For example, Supreme Patriarch Sā revised the royal chanting curriculum in 1880, and further revisions were made to the Siamese Tipiṭaka during the 10th Saṃgāyanā 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 10th 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 *Braḥ Dhammakāyādi* (henceforth BD) and *Braḥ 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 4th and 5th 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

⁹ See also Justin McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words: Histories of Buddhist Monastic Education in Laos and Thailand* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 234; Wat Ratchapraditsathitmahasimaram, *The Biography of Somdet Phra Ariyawongsakhatayan (Sa Pussadevo) Somdet Phrasangkharat* พระประวัติสมเด็จพระอริยวงศาคตญาณ (สา ปุสฺสเทโว) สมเด็จพระสังฆราช, 3 vols. (Nontaburi: Matichonpakkret, 2015), 95-99.

¹⁰ Robert Chalmers, "The King of Siam's Edition of the Pāli Tipiṭaka," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1898): 2.

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* (Khmer *purāṇ* 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 4th to 5th 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 *Brah̄ 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 atthavaṇṇanā* (henceforth DA), *Braḥ Dhammakāyādi*, *Braḥ Dhammakāyādi-ṭīka*, and *Suttajātakanidānānisamsa* (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 Bhrāmāgunabhorn's system.¹³ When I transliterate Thai terms into Romanised English, I follow the UB system used in Walker's 2018 thesis.¹⁴ When I transcribe Thai terms into English I consult the Royal Thai General System of Transcription (RTGS).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.

¹³ Phra Bhrāmāgunabhorn, *Thai-English Buddhist Dictionary* (Bangkok 2004), 316. It can be downloaded in <<http://www.tipitaka.org/thai-dict>>.

¹⁴ Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism," xii-xvii.

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 atthavaṇṇanā* (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 *Suttajātakanidānānisamsa* (or SJNA), also from the Vajirañāṇa Library and noted that a version of the *Dhammakāyassa atthavaṇṇanā* 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

¹⁶ Coedès, "Dhammakāya," 258.

¹⁷ Ibid. The earliest edition of *Suttajātakanidānānisamsa* is dated 1817 (see chapter II on the indexes of the *Dhammakāya* text genre during the 1st, 2nd and 3rd reigns).

¹⁸ Thongkhamwan, "Sbd," 54-58.

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 *Braḥ 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 Uṇṇālom 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 *Braḥ 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 Phraphut-tarup* (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-

²⁰ Francois 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 สยามบาลีวรรณกรรม (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.

²⁴ Donald K Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha: The Ritual of Image Consecration in Thailand* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 50-73.

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.²⁶

In his 2003 book *Traces of the Dhammakāya*, Venerable Bhāvaṇāmaṅgala 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.²⁷ Bhāvaṇāmaṅgala 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 1820-21.²⁸ Even though Bhāvaṇāmaṅgala 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.²⁹ 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 Yuon 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.³⁰

In the same year, Phrakru Palad Nayokworawat published an article titled “Dhammakāya in Braḥ Dhammakāyādi Scripture.”³¹ 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.

²⁶ Ibid., 190.

²⁷ Phra kru Bhāvaṇāmaṅgala, *Traces of Dhammakāya* ตามรอยธรรมกาย (Bangkok: SPK paper and form, 2003), 208.

²⁸ Ibid., 220-21.

²⁹ Urkasame, "Study of Elements in Yogavacara Tradition," A366-A80.

³⁰ Ibid., 14.

³¹ Phrakru Palad Nayokworawat, "Dhammakāya in Braḥ Dhammakayadi Scripture" ธรรมกายใน คัมภีร์พระธรรมกายทิ, (Bangkok: Dharmachai International Research Institute, 2013).

He pointed out similarities between BD3, Coedès's DA, Thongkhamwan's SBD, Bizot's *Dhammakāya* texts and Urkasame's GT.³²

The most recent work that discusses the *Dhammakāya* text genre is Trent Walker's 2018 PhD thesis on Cambodian Chanted Leporellos.³³ Walker looked at the different versions of these texts in Cambodia, which are often called *Gāthā Pañcuḥ Braḥ Lakkhaṇa* "the verse of the incantations for implanting the sacred marks."³⁴ Walker's thesis contains a diplomatic transcription and translation of a bilingual Pāli-Khmer *Dhammakāya* text in Cambodia.³⁵ 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.³⁶

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.³⁷ 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.³⁸ 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*.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰

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

³² Ibid., 8-10.

³³ Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism," 113, 349-51, 417, 598, 789-91.

³⁴ Ibid., 131.

³⁵ Ibid., 1017-19.

³⁶ I have found Walker's thesis as well as his encouragement and advice invaluable for my diplomatic transcription and translation of DK 1909.

³⁷ Bizot, *Le Chemin De Lanka*, 293-94. See also Kate Crosby, "Tantric Theravāda: A Bibliographic Essay on the Writings of François Bizot and Others on the Yogāvacara Tradition," *Contemporary Buddhism* 1, no. 2 (2000): 156-59.

³⁸ Bizot, *Le Chemin De Lanka*, 294.

³⁹ Ibid. See also Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha*, 71-73.

⁴⁰ Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism," 131.

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.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.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.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."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*.⁴⁵

It should be noted that although Bhāvaṇāmaṅgala and Urkasame worked with texts — SBD and GBD that were found respectively in the *stūpa* of Wat Suea, and the *chedī* 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 *chedī* 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 Coedès⁴⁶, Urkasame⁴⁷ and Nayokworawat⁴⁸, texts belonging to the *Dhammakāya* text genre are concerned with thirty elements of Buddha's Knowledge (*ñāṇa*)

⁴¹ Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha*, 5.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 185.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 55-56.

⁴⁴ Urkasame, "Study of Elements in Yogavacara Tradition," A268.

⁴⁵ Bizot, *Le Chemin De Lanka*, 299.

⁴⁶ Coedès, "Dhammakāya," 255-56.

⁴⁷ Urkasame, "Study of Elements in Yogavacara Tradition," 246-51.

⁴⁸ Nayokworawat, "Dhammakāya in Braḥ Dhammakayadi Scripture," 5-7.

and Buddha's qualities or virtues (*guṇa*). Twenty-six of these are identified with parts of Buddha's *dhammakāya*, and four elements with his vestments. The *Uṇhassavijaya-gāthā* (see Finot, 1917, *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne*) included the *dhammakāya* in DA and BD3.⁴⁹ Coedès⁵⁰, Reynolds⁵¹ and Urkasame⁵² claimed that the identification of the *dhamma* with the Buddha's body⁵³ 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 *yogāvacara* 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 Rāmā 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

⁴⁹ Coedès, "Dhammakāya," 259; Nayokworawat, "Dhammakāya in Braḥ Dhammakayadi Scripture," 5.

⁵⁰ Coedès, "Dhammakāya," 256-57.

⁵¹ Frank E Reynolds, "The Several Bodies of Buddha: Reflections on a Neglected Aspect of Theravada Tradition," *History of Religions* 16, no. 4 (1977): 386.

⁵² Urkasame, "Study of Elements in Yogavacara Tradition," 252.

⁵³ Coedès, "Dhammakāya," 256.

⁵⁴ Urkasame, "Study of Elements in Yogavacara Tradition," 256-57.

⁵⁵ Reynolds, "Several Bodies of Buddha," 186.

⁵⁶ Urkasame, "Study of Elements in Yogavacara Tradition," 246-50.

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

Name	Date	Location	Studied by	Translation
<i>Tamra Karn Kosrang Phra-phuttarup</i> (TKKP)	15 th -16 th CE	Northern Thailand	Swearer (2004)	English
<i>Brah Dhammakāya</i> inscription (SBD)	1549 CE	Phitsanulok (Northern Thailand)	Thongkhamwan (1961)	Thai
The Golden Manuscript <i>Brah Dhammakāya</i> (GBD)	18 th CE (1782-1851)	Wat Phra Chetupon (Central Thailand)	Bhāvaṇāmongala (2003) Urkasame (2013)	Thai
<i>Dhammakāyānussati-kathā</i> (DK)	Rāmā II's reign	Central Thailand (Bangkok)	Bhāvaṇāmongala (2003)	None
<i>Brah Dhammakāyādi</i> (royal Thepchumnum edition or BD3)	Rāmā III's reign(1824-1851)	Wat Phra Chetupon (Central Thailand)	Phrakru Palad Nayokworawat (2013)	Thai
<i>Dhammakāyassa at-thavaṇṇanā</i> or <i>Dhammakāya</i> (DA)	-	Vajirañāṇa National Library of Siam (Central Thailand) and Cambodia	Coedès (1956) Bizot (1992)	French
<i>Brah Dhammakāyādi</i> (BD)	-	Vajirañāṇa National Library of Siam	Thongkhamwan (1961)	Thai
<i>Gāthā Thamamakāy</i> (GT)	-	Wat Pāsak Noi (Northern Thailand)	Urkasame (2013)	English
<i>Gāthā pañcuḥ braḥ lakkhaṇa</i>	-	Cambodia	Walker (2018)	English
<i>Suttajātakanidānānisamsa</i> (SJNA)	-	Vajirañāṇa National Library of Siam	Coedès (1956)	None

⁵⁹ Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha*, 189.

1.4.5 Why the *Dhammakāyānussati-kathā*?

To date, only Bhāvaṇāmaṅgala has mentioned DK 1909 in his 2003 book *Traces of the Dhammakāya*. Although Bhāvaṇāmaṅgala 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 Bhāvaṇāmaṅgala 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 Bhāvaṇāmaṅgala 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 Vajirañāṇa 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 Vajirañāṇa 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 *Pakiṇṇaka-gāthā*, "miscellaneous verses." One of the miscellaneous verses in the *Pakiṇṇaka-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 (Puṇṇakathera) 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* สวดมนต์แปล ฉบับหอพระสมุทวชิรญาณ, (in the cremation ceremony of Phra Maha Rachamangkaladilok (Puṇṇakathera) and Phrathep Wisuttiyan (Nandako): Wat Bowonniwet Vihara, 1999), introduction.

³ Damrong, Ploychum and Bhāvaṇāmongala 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*, *Anekajātisaṅsāraṃ*, and *Braḥ Dhammakāya*.⁴ 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 1801.⁵ *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.⁶ However, the consecration of this royally-sponsored *chedī* at Wat Phra Chetupon would have involved important and elaborate rituals.⁷

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.⁸ 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.

⁴ Wat Phrachetupon, *Antiques Found in Chedi from Four Reigns at Wat Phrachetupon* (Bangkok: Amarin Printing and Publishing Press, 1998), 206-07.

⁵ Peter Skilling et al., eds., *How Theravāda Is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities* (Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books, 2012), 315-16; Phrachetupon, *Antiques Found in Chedi*, 366-70.

⁶ Phrachetupon, *Antiques Found in Chedi*, 366-70.

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. *Braḥ Dhammakāyādi* (๓๒๓/๑, 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).⁹ This BD manuscript is preserved in Phra Monthian Tham Hall in the Royal Palace. Its registration number is 723/1 (๓๒๓/๑).
2. *Braḥ Dhammakāyādi-ṭīkā* (๓๒๔/๑, 1 *phuk*) is the *ṭīkā* “commentary” for *Braḥ 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 (๓๒๔/๑).
3. *Braḥ Dhammakāyādi-ṭīkā* (๖๓๒๒/๓/๑, 1 *phuk*) is the *ṭīkā* for *Braḥ 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.”¹⁰ This BDT text is preserved in the National Library of Thailand and its registration number is 6322/ñ/1 (๖๓๒๒/๓/๑).
4. *Braḥ Dhammakāyādi* (๓๒๑๓/๓/๑, 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 (๓๒๑๓/๓/๑).
5. *Braḥ Dhammakāyādi-ṭīkā* (๑๑๓๘๘/๗/๑, 1 *phuk*) is the *ṭīkā* for the *Braḥ Dhammakāyādi*. This undated manuscript was recorded in Pāli written in the Khom script. The manuscript was part of the Siamese Tipiṭaka called *Chabap*

⁹ This Siamese Tipiṭaka was composed in 1788 as the product of the 8th Saṅgāyanā, the revision of Tipiṭaka sponsored by Rāmā I. See Somdetkromphraya Damrongrajanubhap, *Tamnan Ho Phra Samut Ho Phra Montiantam Ho Wachirayan Ho Buddhasanasangkhaha and Ho Phra Samut Samrap Phra Nakorn* ตำนานหอพระสมุด, หอพระมณฑิยธรรม, หอวิชาญาณ, หอพุทธศาสนสังคหะ, และหอพระสมุดสำหรับพระนคร (Bangkok: Sophonphipattanakorn, 1916), 6-7. See also Skilling and Pakdeekham, *Materials for the Study of the Tripitaka 1*, 1: Pali Literature Transmitted in Central Siam สยามบาลีวรรณกรรม, xviii; David K Wyatt, *Thailand: A Short History* (London: Yale University Press, 2003), 146-47; Craig James. Reynolds, "The Buddhist Monkhhood in Nineteenth-Century Thailand" (PhD Thesis, Cornell University, 1972), 50-55.

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/J/1 (๑๑๓๕๘/๙/๑).

2.3 The *Suttajātakanidānānisamsa* (1817 and 1824) (SJNA)

Some *Dhammakāya* texts are contained within compilations or anthologies. An example of such an anthology is the *Suttajātakanidānānisamsa*, a Siamese manuscript consisting of eighteen *phuks*.¹¹ Coedès noted in 1956 that the *Suttajātakanidānānisamsa*

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 (*ānisamsa*).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 *Braḥ Dhammakāyādi-tīkā* (or BDT) is presented in the second half of the 13th *phuk* of both manuscripts. The first half of the *phuk* consists of the *Bimbābhilāpavaṇṇanā*, 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-paccayohoti*.¹⁴

¹¹ Coedès, "Dhammakāya," 257-58.

¹² Ibid., 257.

¹³ I would like to thank Dr. Kitchai Urkasame for a rough transliteration of the 13th *phuk* and confirmation that the *Dhammakāyādi-tīkā* (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 (*buddhābhiṣeka*) (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 *Chunlasakkarat* 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.

¹⁵ *The Personal Archive of Kromluang Narintaratevi and the Royal Commentary of King Rāma V (During 1767 to 1820)* จดหมายเหตุความทรงจำของกรมหลวงนรินทรเทวี พิมพ์พร้อมกับแบบฉบับเพิ่มเติม และพระราชวิจารณ์ในพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว เฉพาะ ตอน พ.ศ. 2310-2363, (Bangkok: *The Teachers Council of Thailand*, 1973), 410.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 410-11; Ploychum, *Contribution of King Rāmā 2* 115-16. Today, the term “*sangayana*” (Pāli *saṃgāyanā*) 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 Chulasakharat 1183* หมายเหตุสั่ง ร.2 จ.ศ. 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 Ploychum, 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 kloi* or *bap sã*]

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 Rāmā II commanded the performance of the *Sangayana Bot Suat Mon*.²⁰ The first reason was used 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 Pāli 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 Rāmā 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 Rāmā II.²² Damrong and Ploychum based this date on his understanding of Rāmā 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 *Bhāṇavāra* (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

¹⁹ Ploychum, *Contribution of King Rāmā 2* 117-18; Srongwit Kaewsri, "The Royal Tipitaka พระไตรปิฎกฉบับหลวง," in *Tipitaka: The History and Significance* พระไตรปิฎก: ประวัติและความสำคัญ (Bangkok: Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalai, 1992), 73.

²⁰ Ploychum, *Contribution of King Rāmā 2* 119-20.

²¹ Somdetkromphraya Damrongrajanubhap, *The Royal Ratanakosin Chronicle of King Rāmā 2* พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ 2 เล่มที่ 2, vol. 2 (Bangkok: The Teacher's Council of Thailand, 1962 (2505 B.E.)), 73,87.

²² Ploychum, *Contribution of King Rāmā 2* 117,55-56; Bhāvaṇāmaṅgala, *Traces of Dhammakāya*, 220-21.

²³ See more details of *paritta* in Lily de Silva, *Paritta: A Historical and Religious Study of the Buddhist Ceremony for Peace and Prosperity in Sri Lanka* (Colombo: National Museums of Sri Lanka, 1981); Justin McDaniel, "Paritta and Raksa Texts," in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, ed. Robert Buswell (New York: Macmillan, 2004).

chants, a translator consulted the Pāli scholar Phra Ācāriya Śrī, who was appointed as *Saṅgarāja* 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 *Saṅgarāja* “Supreme Patriarch” whose former name was **Phra Ācāriya 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 Rattanamunī.” When King Rāmā I (r.1782-1809) ascended the throne, Phra Rattanamunī 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 *Traibhūmilokavinicchaya-kathā*, a cosmological text in the *Trai-*

²⁴ Nattawut Suttisongkram, *The Biography and Writings of Sodet Phramaha Samanachao Krom Phraparamanuchitchinorot* (Bangkok: Aksorn Printing Press, 1972), 209.

²⁵ *Smp 1909*, 280.

“...กริยาที่นับเรียงความนี้ยังหาพบพระบาทที่ไม่ แต่ได้เห็นอย่างทีพระบาทจำลองท่านกระทำเป็นห้องๆ ที่นับเรียงก็มีนับความก็มี จึงเข้าใจตามที่ได้เห็น
เยี่ยงอย่างท่านกระทำมาแต่ก่อนนั้น ครั้นจะไม่นับเรียงความตามอย่างทีพระบาทจำลอง ก็จะเหลือร้อยแปดประการไป ความที่นับเรียงนับความนี้ก็ดี ศัพท์ที่
แปลนี้ก็ดี ได้สอบลายลักษณ์ทีพระบาทจำลอง ได้ปลูกษาพระสังฆราชผู้เฒ่า ทีพระนามเดิมชื่อพระอาจารย์ศรีนั้น ท่านเห็นด้วย”

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 331.

“ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าพระยาธรรมปริชา แปลพระธรรมทั้งเจ็ดพระคัมภีร์ ตามพระบาลีชื่อถวาย สนองพระเดชพระคุณพระคัมภีร์พระคัมภีร์พระคัมภีร์พระคัมภีร์
ธรรมอันประเสริฐ ก็ยุติการลงโดยสังเขปแต่เท่านี้ ขอเดชะ”

²⁷ See more details on Phraya Dhammaprījā’s contributions in Seksun Polwattana, "A Study of Political and Social Influences on the Composing of *Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā* 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.²⁹ 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 *śāsannā* "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.³⁰

Based on this archival evidence, and the fact that he died at the end of the 1st reign (and not during the 2nd reign)³¹ 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 reformations (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.

²⁹ Reynolds, "Buddhist Monkhood," 57.

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 atthavaṇṇanā* (or DA)², the *Thepchumnum Braḥ Dhammakāyādi* (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 Omniscient 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

¹ Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism," 31.

² The version that I use to compare was transliterated by Coedès, "Dhammakāya," 260-86.

³ Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism," xii-xvii.

⁴ Bhrāmāgunabhorn, *Thai-English Buddhist Dictionary*, 316. It can be downloaded in <<http://www.tipitaka.org/thai-dict>>.

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 *uṇhisa*, six *soks* in size. The *uṇhisa* 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 *uṇhisa*, 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.⁵ 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 *braḥ sab-bañṇutañāṇ* (*a*) for the Pāli *sabbañṇutañāṇa*, and the Thai *braḥ ñāṇ* (*a*) for the Pāli *ñāṇa*. Sometimes the Siamese translator preferred hybridised Sanskrit translations, e.g. *keśā* instead of the Pāli *kesā*. Further examples are the preference for the *braḥ dharmakāy* (*a*) instead of the Pāli *dhammakāya*, and *braḥ 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 *dibacakṣu* instead of the Pāli *dibbacakkhu*. There are some minor orthographic differences between DK 1909, DA, BD3 and GBD, such as n and ṇ (see note 16), and t and ṭ (see note 41)⁶. 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.⁷

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 *sabbañṇutañāṇa pavarasīsaṃ*, the beginning Pāli verse of DK 1909 is different and starts with *dhammakāyabuddhalakhaṇam*. The

⁵ McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 131.

⁶ The replacements of n (𑖦) with ṇ (𑖧) and t (𑖄) with ṭ (𑖅, and 𑖆) 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.”⁸

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 *kammadhāraya* compound, comparing the *braḥ buddhañāṇa* 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 *sabbaññutañāṇa pavarasīsam...catusatipaṭṭhāna 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.⁹ 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, *caturiddhipādañāṇa*. Here, *pāda* could be rendered as “path” or “basis.”

The second section of DK 1909 starts with the phrase *buddho ativirocati devamanussānaṃ 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*.

⁸ Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism," 349.

⁹ Coedès, "Dhammakāya," 254; Reynolds, "Several Bodies of Buddha," 385; Urkasame, "Study of Elements in Yogavacara Tradition," 245-46.

The third section of DK 1909 begins with *yassa pana...* and ends with *punappunam*. 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:

yassa pana moḥ yaṃ pana uttamaṅgādiññaṃ sabbaññutādikaṃ dhammakāyamataṃ buddhānaṃ atthi, etaṃ uttamaṅgādiññaṃ dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ lokanāyakaṃ, yogāvacarakulaputtana tikkhaññaena patthentena sabbaññū buddhabhāvaṃ anussaritabbaṃ punappunam.

This complex sentence can be broken down into three main parts. The first part is a relative clause beginning with *yassa...* to *dhammakāyamataṃ buddhānaṃ atthi*. Here, the Siamese translator sought to gloss the relative pronoun *yassa pana* as *yaṃ pana*. The term “*moḥ*” (𑄓𑄣𑄢) (or “𑄓𑄣𑄢” in Lao and Lānnā¹⁰) used in this section is commonly used in bilingual Pāli-Khmer and Pāli-Tai texts. Khmer and Siamese translators also used *moḥ* in Pāli-Pāli glosses.¹¹ In the second part of the sentence, the correlative clause starts with *etaṃ uttamaṅgādiññaṃ...lokanāyakaṃ*, and the final portion, *yogāvacarakulaputtana...punappunam*. 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.”

¹⁰ Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism," 337.

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 uṇahiso niccaṃ so buddho aṭṭhārasako 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 *chedī* 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 kammaṭṭhāna* 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, *chedīs*, 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 *Buddhābhiṣeka*: 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 *Buddhābhiṣeka*.

1909, during *Buddhābhiṣeka*, meditation practice and individual recitation in contemporary Cambodia and Northern Thailand.⁴

4.1.1 Buddhābhiṣeka

Buddhābhiṣeka 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 meaning 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 *buddhābhiṣeka*, 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, *buddhābhiṣeka* in Cambodia can be divided into three stages. The first stage is the implantation of the marks (*pañcuḥ braḥ lakkhaṇa*),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 *lakkhaṇa*-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-

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.

⁷ See also Paul M Harrison, "Is the Dharma-Kāya the Real" Phantom Body" of the Buddha?," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 15, no. 1 (1992): 50.

⁸ Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha*, 188-89.

⁹ See also Steven Collins, "Reflections on the Dichotomy Rūpakāya/Dhammakāya," *Contemporary Buddhism* 15, no. 2 (2014): 259.

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:¹³

“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 *Sabbaññutañāna pavarasisaṃ*... and ends with ...*dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ lokanāyakaṃ yogāvacarakulaputtena tikkhañāneṇa pathhenta sabbaññūbuddhabhāvaṃ 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 practitioner 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 *chedī*. Despite these differences, Cambodian and Northern Thai Buddhists use similar Buddhist technologies to “make the Buddha present.”¹⁴

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.¹⁵ 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 *Paṭhama Sambodhi* (a biography of the Buddha) are recited to instruct the image about its former lives. Third, the meditative power of monks is

¹³ Personal communication, Phrakru Videśasudhammayāna (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

¹⁴ See the concept of presence in Donald K Swearer, “Hypostasizing the Buddha: Buddha Image Consecration in Northern Thailand,” *History of Religions* 34, no. 3 (1995): 270-71.

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 *chedī*. 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 *Chedī*) 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 *chedī* 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 *chedī* 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.

¹⁷ Richard Gombrich, "The Consecration of a Buddhist Image," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 1 (1966): 26. See also Bizot, *Le Chemin De Lanka*, 293.

¹⁸ Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha*, 262. See also Gregory Henderson and Leon Hurvitz, "The Buddha of Seiryōji: New Finds and New Theory," *Artibus Asiae* (1956): 23-25.

¹⁹ Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha*, 262.

²⁰ Surasavas Suksavas, *The Lanna Buddha Image and the Influence of Vajirañāna Nikāya* พระพุทธรูปล้านนา กับคติ พระพุทธศาสนนามหายานแบบตันตระนิกายวัชรยาน (Chiang Mai: Chiang Mai University Press, 2016), 41-42.

²¹ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WjCiauLiNLk> for the ceremony of installing a Buddha’s hart into a Buddha statue in contemporary Northern Thailand.

cause the *Dhammakāya gāthā* originated from the *Tamra Karn Kosrang Phraphuttharup*²² and *Phra Chedī Borān* (the old manual for making Buddha images and *Chedī-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 *Brah̄ Dhammakāya* (GBD) was installed into the *chedī* at Wat Phrachetuphon during the 1st reign. Although Thongkhamwan, Bhāvaṇāmaṅgala 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 *buddhābhiṣeka* 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 15th 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 Lānnā* scripts dated back to the Golden Age of Lānnā (ca.1400-ca. 1525). See Thai translation Phisit Kotsupho, "The Manual for Constructing a Buddha Image from the Old Manuscript ตำราสร้างพระพุทธรูปจากคัมภีร์โบราณ." See also 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 *chedī* 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/>

²⁴ Bizot, *Le Chemin De Lanka*, 299.

In Northern Thailand, Urkasame found that the *Gāthā Thammakāy* he studied were recited and memorised by lay people to gain prosperity.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...²⁶

He also found that the *Gāthā Thammakāy* were associated with meditation practice. The *Mūlakammaṭṭhāna*,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 *dhutaṅgavatra*, 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.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 1st, 2nd and 3rd 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-

²⁵ Urkasame, "Study of Elements in Yogavacara Tradition," A268.

²⁶ Ibid., A375.

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

²⁸ Ibid., 195-96. คาถาธรรมกาย อันนี้ครั้นโยคาวจรจะคฤหบดีนักบวชหญิงชายทั้งหลายเหล่าอันได้ถือกรรมฐานและถือชุกตวัตร แล้วและมีใจบดิ่งมันและมีใจเหน้อยเมื่อขจรานและใครหลับใครนอน และมีใจอันกระด้างแข็งอยู่นั้นก็ดี มีใจเป็นตั้ง เป็นบ้าเป็นวิน และชิน ตกใจกลัวอยู่ใ้วานั้น ชื่อว่า บาปกรรมมานทิฏฐิ มาครอบงำแลครั้นสงเคราะห์ให้หายนันให้ให้สัมมาแก้ว เจ้า 5 จำพวกเสียก่อนแล้วให้ไปตักเอาน้ำ 7 บ่อมา แล้วให้ฝนขมื่นสัมปโยช จันทน์ขาวจันทน์แดงตกล้าน้ำนั้น แล้วให้เอาไปสระสงฆมหาธาตุและพุทธรูปเจ้าเสียก่อน แล้วให้โอกาสอาราธนาพระแก้วเจ้า 5 จำพวกเป็น ที่ตั้ง ที่พึ่ง แล้วมีข้าวดอกดอกไม้เทียน 5 คู่จะ ตามบูชาคิดไว้ปากบาตร 5 แห่ง แล้วให้เอาคาถาธรรมกาย บทนี้เสกน้ำในบาตรนั้น แล้วซ้ำสัมมาแก้วทั้ง 5 แล ขอน้ำในบาตรอันเสกนั้นมา กินมาอาบเถิด หากจักหายยังเพศอันเป็นบ้าทั้งมวลอันผีใส่คนใส่ นั้น หากจักหายเสียด้วยเดชคุณแห่งพระพุทธเจ้าทั้งมวล

fers to texts that relates to pedagogy (sermons, translation, and glossaries)²⁹ 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 *buddhābhiṣeka* as the *Dhammakāya* text genre is used in Cambodia and Northern Thailand.

The alphabetic and inscriptional elements of the DK may have used in the same way as the Golden Manuscript *Brah̄ 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 inscriptional 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 (*yogāvacarakulaputtana*) who possesses a keen intelligence (*tikkhañāṇena*)

²⁹ McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 163.

and who aspires (*patthantena*) to the state of an omniscient buddha (*sabbaññūbud-dhabhāvaṃ*)....³⁰

The passage instructed the *yogāvacara* or “practitioner of spiritual discipline” to use the *dhammakāya* (here, embodied in the Buddha image)³¹ as a meditation object. The process of recollecting the *dhammakāya* will lead the *yogāvacara* directly to Buddhahood.³² 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.”³³

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 (*guṇa*). 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 (*bhaggarāko*) a person who destroys *rāga*, who destroys *dosa* (*bhaggavadoso*), who destroys *moha* (*bhaggamoho*); he who lacks *āsava*, all *pāpadhama*-s. Because he destroys all of these elements, all wise men call him as “*braḥ bhagavā*.” The Buddha consists of his perfect physical body (*rūpa-kāya*), which consists of *braḥ puññalakkhaṇa* (sings that occur because of his spiritual merit); it is composed of a hundred sings, so this represents that the Buddha is being *braḥ bhāgaya*. The perfection that the Buddha consists of ***braḥ 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*].³⁴

³⁰ See my translation of DK 1909

³¹ Swearer, 185-91, analyses the concept of the *Dhammakāya* in its ritual context during *buddhābhiṣeka* but not during meditation.

³² Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism," 598.

³³ Reynolds, "Several Bodies of Buddha," 385-86.

³⁴ Mahamakut Buddhist University, *Visuddhimagga Nāma Pakaraṇavisesasa Pathamo Bhāgo (Buddhānussati)* วิสุทธิมคฺคสฺส นาม ปกรณวิเสสสฺส ปฐโม ภาค (พุทธธานุสฺสติกถา) (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.

bhaggarāgo bhaggadoso bhaggamoho anāsavo
bhaggassa pāpakā dhammā bhagavā tena vuccatī ti

This meditation, the recollection of the *rūpa-kāya* and *dhamma-kāya*, instruction can also be found in the *Mūlakammaṭṭhāna* 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, vimuttiñānadassanaguṇa*, and *anuttariyadhamma*, which is composed of four aspects: *dassanānuttariya, sevānānuttariya, pāricariyānuttariya* and *anusatānuttariya*. [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...*bhāḥavā* [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 *dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ* 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

Bhāgyavatāya cassa satapuññalakkhaṇadharassa rūpakāyasampatti dipitā hoti. Bhaggadosatāya dhammakāyapatti. Tathālokiyasarikkhānāṃ bahumatabhāvo, gahaṭṭhapabbajitehi abhigamanīyatā, abhigatānañca nesam kāyacittadukkhā panayane paṭibalahāvo, āmissadānadhammadānehi upakāritā, lokiyalokuttarasukhehi ca sañyojanasamatthatā dipitā hoti.

พระผู้มีพระภาคเจ้าเป็น (ภคฺคราโลก) ผู้ทรงหักราคะ (ภคฺคโลก) ผู้ทรงหักโทสะ (ภคฺคโมโห) ผู้ทรงหัก โมหะ เป็นผู้หาอาสวะมิได้ บาปกรรม ทั้งหลาย พระองค์ทรงหักเสียสิ้นแล้ว เพราะเหตุนั้น บัณฑิตจึงถวาย พระนาม ว่า พระภคฺควา

ก็แลความถึงพร้อมแห่งพระรูปกายของพระองค์ ผู้ทรงไว้ซึ่งพระบุญลักษณะ (ลักษณะอันเกิดเพราะบุญ) นับด้วย ๑๐๐ เป็นอันท่านแสดงแล้วด้วยความที่ ทรงเป็นผู้มีพระภาคย์ (คือบุญบารมี) ความถึงพร้อมแห่งพระธรรมกาย เป็นอันแสดงด้วยความที่ทรงเป็น (ภคฺคโลก) ผู้หักโทสะ ความเป็นผู้ที่ชาวโลกและคนโกศลเลียด ทั้งหลายรู้จักมากที่สุด ความเป็นผู้ที่หลุดพ้นและบรรพชิตทั้งหลาย พึงไปหามาสู่ที่ดี ความเป็นผู้สามารถในอันช่วย จัดทุกขภัยทุกขใจให้แก่เขาทั้งหลายผู้ไปหาที่ดี ความเป็น ผู้ทำอุปการะเขาด้วยอามิสทานและธรรมทานที่ดี ความเป็นผู้สามารถในอันยังเขาให้ประกอบพร้อมไปด้วยโลกิยสุข และโลกุตตรสุขที่ดี ก็เป็นอันท่านแสดงแล้ว ด้วยพระ คุณสมบัติ ๒ อย่างนั้น

³⁵ This passage is also found in the 4th section of DK when the text describes the height of the Buddha.

³⁶ Urkasame, "Meditation in Tham Scripts Manuscripts," 149-50. อนุตฺตโร ผู้ประเสริฐกว่าโลกทั้ง 3 ด้วย สิล สมภาธิ ปัญญา วิมุติ ญาณทัตสนคุณ และ อนุตฺตรชฺธรรม 4 ประการ คือ ทัตสนานุตฺตรชฺระ สวานุตฺตรชฺระ ปาริจฺจยานุตฺตรชฺระ อนุสฺสทานุตฺตรชฺระ และประกอบด้วยมหาปฺริสฺถลักษณะ 32 อนุ พยัญชนะ 80 ทัต มีพระองคฺตนสูง 18 สอก ฉัพพณรงฺสีไหลออก 6 สอก หาผู้จักยังจักเหลือ บัได...ภคฺวา ผู้ได้หักเสียยังราคะ โทสะ โมหะ ตัณหา มานะ ทิฏฺฐิ อวิชา แล มีศรีโรสภคฺย อันงามบารมี มีธรรมกาย บุญคุณตั้งอยู่ในตน หาที่เลียด ที่สุดบัได

composed DK understood the Pāli term *dhammakāya* as a *kammadhāraya* compound referring to “braḥ buddhañāṇa.” The lists of *braḥ buddhañāṇa*, as Urkasame explained, are a practical teaching about the elements (*bodhipakhiyadhamma*, *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 *dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ* 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

³⁷ Urkasame, "Study of Elements in Yogavacara Tradition," 247. See the interpretation of the term “*dhammakāya*” in Harrison, "Is the Dharma-Kāya the Real" Phantom Body" of the Buddha?," 50.

³⁸ McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 150-54.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 120-27.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 131-34.

⁴¹ Justin Thomas McDaniel, *The Lovelorn Ghost and the Magical Monk: Practicing Buddhism in Modern Thailand* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 142-44.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 132-33. For translation theories see also Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism," 33-35.

⁴³ Chanida Jantrasrisalai, "Early Buddhist *Dhammakāya*: Its Philosophical and Soteriological Significance" (PhD Thesis, University of Sydney, 2009), abstract.

⁴⁴ See also Reynolds, "Several Bodies of Buddha," 385-87. Collins, "Reflections on the Dichotomy *Rūpakāya/Dhammakāya*," 259. Collins analysed the theoretical concept of the “*dhammakāya*” 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 Saṅgāyanā in 1893 and identify what texts were omitted at that time. Moreover, I will consider the way that Supreme Patriarch Sā (1803-1899)⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ 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 Canon⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ 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-

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.

⁴⁷ See Blackburn, "Looking for the Vinaya," 284; Steven Collins, *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 78-79.

⁴⁸ See also McDaniel, *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 *Paṭhamasambhodhi* 1890. In his demystified *Paṭhamasambhodhi*, 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 *Paṭhamasambhodhi*. 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 18th chapter of the *Paṭhamasambhodhi* 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 *Paṭhamasambhodhi*, as a demythologised version of Paramānuchit’s *Paṭhamasambhodhi*.⁵⁶

The reformation and reinterpretation continued during the so-called 10th Saṅgāyanā in 1893, during the 5th reign when the Tipiṭaka was revised. Before this revision, Thai Buddhists

⁵⁰ Phaladisai Sitthitunyakit, *His Majesty King Mongkut Rama 4 of Thailand* พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว พระเจ้ากรุงสยาม รัชกาลที่ ๔ (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.

⁵³ Somdetphrasangharat Pussadeva, *Braḥ Paṭhama Sambodhi Composed by Supreme Patriarch Sa* พระปฐมสมโพธิของ สมเด็จพระสังฆราชปยุตตแพว ตอนที่ ๑, vol. 1 (Bangkok: Pimthai, 1922), 7.

⁵⁴ See the translation of this text in Donald S Lopez Jr, ed. *Buddhism in Practice: Abridged Edition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 419-30.

⁵⁵ Somdet Phra Paramānuchitchinorot, *Paṭhama Sambodhi* ปฐมสมโพธิ, vol. 1 (Bangkok: Karnsasana, 1962), 325-43. See also Lopez Jr, *Buddhism in Practice*, 420. Swearer assumed that Paramānuchitchinorot might have used Northern Thai *Paṭhamasambhodhi* composed in 16th CE as the sources to compile his *Paṭhamasambhodhi*, 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 (*aṭṭhakathā*), sub-commentaries (*īṭkā*), sub-sub commentaries (*anuīṭkā*) as well as texts composed during a later period (*pakaravisesa*).⁵⁷

The goal of the 1893 Saṅgāyanā 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 *Tipitaka*, namely the *Vimānavatthu*, *Petavatthu*, *Theragāthā* and *Therīgāthā*, *Jātaka*, *Apādāna*, *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyapiṭaka*, *Anulomapacca-nīyapaṭṭhāna*, and the *Paccanīyānulomapaṭṭhāna*—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.

⁵⁷ Skilling and Pakdeekham, *Materials for the Study of the Tripitaka I*, 1: Pali Literature Transmitted in Central Siam สยามบาลีวรรณกรรม, xviii.

⁵⁸ Kaewsri, "The Royal Tipitaka," 75; Ratchapraditsathitmahasimaram, *The Biography of Somdet Phra Ariyawongsakhatayan (Sa Pussadevo) Somdet Phrasangkarat* พระประวัติสมเด็จพระอริยวงศาคตญาณ (สา ปุสฺสเทโว) 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 Pāli Tipiṭak," 6.

⁶⁰ Ratchapraditsathitmahasimaram, *The Biography of Somdet Phra Ariyawongsakhatayan (Sa Pussadevo) Somdet Phrasangkarat* พระประวัติสมเด็จพระอริยวงศาคตญาณ (สา ปุสฺสเทโว) สมเด็จพระสังฆราช, 95-99; McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 234.

⁶¹ Ploychum, *Contribution of King Rāmā 2* 156.

SMP	NSSMCL
<i>Davādasa paritta</i>	<i>Jularāja paritta</i>
<i>Satta paritta</i>	<i>Mahārāja paritta</i>
<i>Paṭhama bhāṇavāra</i>	<i>Paṭhama bhāṇavāra</i>
<i>Dutiya bhāṇavāra</i>	<i>Paṭhama bhāṇavāra</i>
<i>Tatiya bhāṇavāra</i>	<i>Tatiya bhāṇavāra</i>
<i>Catuttha bhāṇavāra</i>	<i>Catuttha bhāṇavāra</i>
<i>Pakiṇṇaka-gāthā</i>	-
<i>Braḥ Abhidhamma (7 braḥ gamphīra)</i>	<i>Braḥ Abhidhamma</i>
-	<i>Mahāsatiṭṭhānasuttapāṭho</i>
-	<i>Vattra</i>
-	<i>Suat Jang</i>
-	<i>Gāthā</i> for the royal ceremonies
-	Chanting in the Dhammayutika-nikāya tradition

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 *chedī*.”

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 been 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 *Pakiṇṇaka-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 *chedī*.

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 *chedī* 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 Chedī Borān* explains, when a newly constructed *stūpa* or a new Buddha image *chedī*, 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 *chedī* 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 *chedīs*.

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 *chedī* 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

***The Dhammakāyānussati-kathā* “Words on the Recollection of the Body of Dhammas”**

(1) ธรรมกายพุทธลักษณะ dhammakāya-buddhalakkhaṇaṃ ¹	อันว่าพระพุทธานุภาพต่างๆ อันพระพุทธรองค์เปรียบเทียบกับด้วยพุทธลักษณะแล้ว แลตรัสเทศนาโดยนามบัญญัติชื่อว่าพระธรรมกาย Various <i>braḥ</i> ³ <i>buddhañāṇ(a)</i> s that the Buddha compared with <i>buddhalakkhaṇa</i> and proclaimed by the designation as <i>braḥ dharmakāy(a)</i> ; ⁴	[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) สัพพัญญุตญาณปวาราสี sabbaññūtañña-pavarasīsaṃ ⁵	มีพระเศียรอันประเสริฐ ⁶ คือพระสัพพัญญุตญาณ ⁷ has <i>braḥ sabbaññūtañña(a)</i> as its sublime <i>braḥ śier</i> ; ⁸	has the Omniscient Knowledge as its sublime head;
(3) นิพพานารัมมณปวาริลิตกเส nibbānārammaṇa-pavaravilasitakesaṃ ⁹	มีพระเกษางามประเสริฐ คือพระนิพพาน อันเป็นอารมณแห่งสมาบัติ has <i>braḥ nibbān(a)</i> , which is <i>āramaṇ(a)</i> of <i>samāpatti(patti)</i> ¹⁰ as its sublime <i>braḥ keśā</i> ; ¹¹	has the realm of <i>Nibbāna</i> , which is the objective of meditation consciousness, as its sublime hair;

¹ Note that a Siamese translator understood “dhammakāya-buddhalakkhaṇaṃ” as a kammadhāraya compound (working as a noun) in reference to “braḥ 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 “พระญาณ” and “พระปัญญา” to mean “Knowledge” in English.

³ Instead of transliterating a Thai term “พระ” as “Bra” I transliterate it as “Braḥ” in order to show its connection with the Mon-Khmer etymology. The spelling of “braḥ” (though “bra” is common in older Thai manuscripts) connects to the Mon-Khmer etymology of the term (as either “braḥ/vraḥ” meaning “deity” or the prefix “v/b” + “raḥ,” “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 ธรรมกาย, *dhammakāya* in Pāli = พระธรรมกาย, *braḥ dharmakāy(a)* in Thai.

⁵ DA °sīsaṃ; BD3°sisam; GBD °silam

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

⁷ A Pāli “sabbaññūtañña-pavarasīsaṃ” is a bahubbhīhi compound which means “มี พระสัพพัญญุตญาณ เป็น พระเศียรอันประเสริฐ” or “มี พระเศียรอันประเสริฐ คือ พระสัพพัญญุตญาณ.”

The meanings of these two Thai translations are literally the same. However, “sabbaññūtañña-pavarasīsaṃ” in English can only be translated as “has the Omniscient Knowledge as its sublime head” and not as “has the sublime head as the Omniscient Knowledge” (Personal Communication Chanida Jantrasrisalai (April 12, 2019)

⁸ *braḥ śier* is a hybridised Sanskrit-Tai translation for a Pāli *sīsa* (*śīrṣa*, ศีรษะ in Sanskrit).

⁹ DA °vilasitakesame; BD3°vilasitakesame; GBD °vilasilasitakesam

	<i>balaññā(a)</i> , (3) <i>sabbaññūtaññā(a)</i> , (4) the clear <i>braḥ paññā</i> in the traditions of <i>Buddha</i> , (5) the absolute <i>braḥ paññā</i> in <i>braḥ saddharm(a)</i> completely; [all of which] are the five wisdom eyes, ²¹ and that <i>braḥ dharma-kāy(a)</i> ...	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...
(8)ทิพฺพโสทรญาณปวโรตฺตวํ dibbasotañña-pavarasotadvayaṃ ²²	มีหูแห่งพระโสตรอันประเสริฐ คือทิพฺพโสทรญาณ ...has <i>dibbasotaññā(a)</i> as the two sublime <i>braḥ sot(a)s</i> ;	...has the Divine Ears as the two sublime ears;
(9)โคตรญาณปวโรตฺตวํ gotrabhūñña-pavarautuṅgaghāṇaṃ ²³	มีพระนาสิกประเสริฐสูง คือโคตรญาณ has <i>gotrabhūññā(a)</i> as its prominent sublime <i>braḥ nāsik(a)</i> ;	has Knowledge of <i>gotrabhū</i> as its prominent sublime nose;
(10)มัลลวิมุติผลญาณปวโรตฺตวํ maggaphala-vimuttiphalañña-pavaragaṇḍadvayaṃ ²⁴	มีหูแห่งพระปรางอันประเสริฐ คือพระญาณอันประเสริฐเป็นไปในผลแห่งอริยมรรค และผลแห่งวิมุติธรรม has <i>braḥ ññā(a)</i> which practices in order to [gain] the <i>phal(a)</i> of <i>ariyamarg(a)</i> and the <i>phal(a)</i> of <i>vimutti-dharm(a)</i> , as a pair of sublime <i>braḥ prāñ</i> ; ²⁵	has Knowledge of the Fruit of Noble Path and the Fruit of Liberating Truth, as a pair of sublime cheeks;
(11)สัตตศีลปวาริปักกียญาณปวโรตฺตวํ sattatiṃsapavarapipakkhiyañña-pavarasubhadantā ²⁶	มีพระทนต์อันงามประเสริฐ คือพระโพธิปักกียธรรม อันประเสริฐ ๓๗ ประการ has <i>braḥ bodhipakkhiyadharm(a)</i> consisting of the thirty-seven sublime aspects, as its sublime <i>braḥ dant(a)</i> ;	has Knowledge of the Thirty-seven Virtues Contributing to Awakening, as its sublime teeth;
(12)โลกียโลกุตฺตรญาณปวโรตฺตวํ	มีสองริมพระโอษฐ์เบื้องบน และเบื้องต่ำ งามประเสริฐ คือพระปัญญา อันเป็นโลกีย์	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 *dibbasotañña*°; BD3 *dibbasotañña*°; GBD *dibbasotañña*°

²³ DA °*uttuṅgapavaraghāṇaṃ*; BD3 °*utuṅgapavaraghāṇaṃ*; GBD °*pavarautuṅgamāghāṇaṃ*

²⁴ It is found in DA; BD3 °*pavaragaṇḍadvayaṃ* GBD °*pavaragaṇḍadvayaṃ*

²⁵ Siamese Thai translators preferred hybridised Sanskrit translations for the Pāli terms, such the Pāli *maggā*→*marga* (มรรค) and the Pāli *dhammā*→*dharma*.

²⁶ DA & BD3 *sattatiṃsabodhipakkhiya*°; GBD *sattatiṃsabodhipakkhiyadhamma*°

²⁷ It is found in DA, BD3; GBD omitted.

lokialokuttarañña-pavaraoṭṭhadvayam ²⁸	แลโลกุตตร has <i>braḥ paññā</i> which is <i>lokīy(a)</i> and <i>lokuttara</i> as two sublime upper and lower lips of <i>braḥ oṣṭh(a)</i> ;	Supramundane Truths, as its sublime upper and lower lips;
(13)จตุมคฺคญาณปวารจตุทาฐา catumaggañña-pavaracatudāthā ²⁹	มีพระเขี้ยวแก้วทั้ง ๔ อันประเสริฐ คือพระจตุมรรคญาณ has <i>braḥ catumargañṇ(a)</i> as the four sublime <i>braḥ khie₂v gèv</i> ;	has Knowledge of the Four Noble Paths, as the four sublime eye teeth;
(14)จตุสัจญาณปวารจิวหา catusaccañña ³⁰ -pavarajivhā ³¹	มีพระชีวหาอันงามประเสริฐ คือพระปัญญาอันเห็นแจ้งในพระจตุราริยสัจจะ has <i>braḥ paññā</i> that clearly sees in <i>braḥ caturāriyasacca</i> , as <i>braḥ jivhā</i> ;	has Knowledge that clearly sees the Four Truths, as the sublime tongue;
(15)อัปปฎิหตญาณปวารหนุก appaṭihatañña-pavarahanukam ³²	มีพระหนุประเทศอันงามประเสริฐ คือพระญาณอันตรัสรู้ ³³ ตลอดไป ไม่มีที่จะขัดจะ ข้อง has <i>braḥ ñāṇ(a)</i> that irreversibly awakens, and nothing can interfere with it, as its sublime <i>braḥ hanu pradeś(a)</i> ;	has [the irresistible] Knowledge of the Buddha that is eternal and nothing can interfere with it, as its sublime chin;
(16)อนุตฺตรวิโมกฺขาทิคมญาณปวารกัณฐํ anuttaravimokkhādhigamañña ³⁴ - pavaraṅgaṅgam ³⁵	มีปล้องพระคออันประเสริฐ คือพระญาณ อันตรัสรู้วิโมกขธรรมอันเป็นพระโลกุตตร has <i>braḥ ñāṇ(a)</i> that awakens to the <i>vimokkhadharm(a)</i> , which is <i>braḥ lokuttar(a)</i> , as the sublime nape of <i>braḥ śō</i> ;	has Knowledge of the liberation, which is the Supramundane Truths, as its sublime tubal neck;
(17)ติลักขณญาณปวารวิลิตตีววิราชิต tilakkhaṇañña ³⁶ -pavaravilasitagīva	มีลำพระคออันรุ่งเรืองงามประเสริฐ คือพระไตรลักษณ์ญาณ has <i>braḥ trailakṣaṇañṇ(a)</i> as the sublime <i>braḥ śō</i> ; ³⁸	has Knowledge of the Three Characteristics of Existence, as its sublime neck;

²⁸ It is found in DA, BD3, and GBD.

²⁹ It is found in DA; BD3 & GBD °dādhā

³⁰ It is found in DA & BD3; GBD °ñña

³¹ It is found in DA & BD3; GBD °(jivhā omitted)

³² It is found in DA; BD3 apaṭi°; 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 °gamana°; BD3 °gamanu°; GBD omitted

³⁵ BD3 pavaraṅgaṅgam; GBD (pavara-omitted)°

virājitaṃ ³⁷		
(18)จตุเวสารัชชญาณปวรพาหุท่ายัง catuvesārajjāñña-pavarabāhudvayaṃ ³⁹	มีพระพาหุทั้งสองอันประเสริฐ คือพระจตุเวสารัชชญาณ has <i>braḥ catuvesārajjāñña(a)</i> as the two sublime <i>braḥ bāhā</i> ;	has Knowledge of the Four Folds of Intrepidity, as the two sublime upper arms;
(19)ทศานุสัสติญาณปวรวัตตังคฺคิโสภา dasānussatiñña ⁴⁰ - pavaravattaṅgulisobhā ⁴¹	มีนิ้วพระหัตถ์อันกลมงามประเสริฐ คือพระปัญญา อันตรัสรู้พระอนุสสติกรรมฐาน ๑๐ ประการ has <i>braḥ paññā</i> that awakens to the ten <i>braḥ anus-satikarmaṭhān(a)</i> , as the gracefully rounded fingers of <i>braḥ hatth(a)</i> ;	has Knowledge of the Ten Recollections, as the gracefully rounded fingers;
(20)สัตตสัมโพชฌังคปวรปิตุรตล sattasambojjhaṅga ⁴² - pavarapīṇauratalaṃ ⁴³	มีพื้นที่พระอุระอันเต็มงามประเสริฐ คือพระญาณอันตรัสรู้พระสัตตโคชฌงค์ has <i>braḥ ñāṇ(a)</i> that awakens to <i>braḥ sattabojjhōṅga(a)</i> , as the space of the sublime fully <i>braḥ ura</i> ;	has Knowledge of the Seven Awakening Elements, as its sublime fully chest;
(21)อาสยานุสญาณปวรณยุคค āsāyānusañña-pavarathanayugalaṃ ⁴⁴	มีคู่แห่งพระถันอันประเสริฐ คือปัญญา อันรู้อชฌาศัยแห่งสัตว์ทั้งปวง has <i>paññā</i> that knows <i>ajjhāsay(a)</i> of all beings, as a pair of the sublime <i>braḥ than(a)</i> ;	has Knowledge of the instinctive disposition in all beings, as a pair of sublime breasts;
(22)ทศพลญาณปวรมัชฌิมังค dasabalañña-pavaramajjhimaṅgaṃ ⁴⁵	มีท่ามกลางพระองค์อันประเสริฐ คือพระทศพลญาณ has <i>dasabalañña</i> as the sublime middle of <i>braḥ aṅ(g)</i> ;	has Knowledge of Ten Buddha's Powers as the sublime middle trunk of the body;
(23)ปฏิจจสมุปปาตญาณปวรนาภี	มีพระนาภีอันประเสริฐ คือพระปัญญาอันตรัสรู้พระปฏิจจสมุปปาตธรรม	has Knowledge of the Truth of Dependent Origination, as its sublime navel;

³⁶ It is found in DA &BD3; GBD °ñña.

³⁸ A Thai term “ลำพระคอ” means neck in English.

³⁷ BD3 °(gīva omitted)°

³⁹ It is found in DA, BD3, and GBD.

⁴⁰ It is found in DA & BD3; GBD dassā°.

⁴¹ DA°vattaṅgu°; BD3°vattaṅga°; GBD °atthamgu°

⁴² It is found in GBD; DA &BD3 °(sam omitted)°

⁴³ BD3.pavarapīṇauratalaṃ ; GBD-pavarapīṇauragatalaṃ

⁴⁴ It is found in DA; BD3& GBD °yuggalaṃ

⁴⁵ It is found in DA, BD3, and GBD.

paṭiccasamuppādañāṇa-pavaranābhī ⁴⁶	has <i>braḥ paññā</i> that awakens to the <i>braḥ paṭiccasamuppādadharmā</i> , as the sublime <i>braḥ nābhī</i> ;	
(24)ปญฺจอินทริยปญฺจพลปวารจฆณํ pañcīndriyapañcapala-pavarajaghanam ⁴⁷	มีปิ่นพระองค์ คือพระขมนะประเทศสะเอวอันประเสริฐ คือพระบัญญัติอันตรัสรู้พระ สัทธาทีอินทริย ๕ และพระสัทธาทีพละ ๕ has <i>braḥ paññā</i> that awakens to five <i>braḥ saddhādi- indrīy(a)</i> and five <i>braḥ saddhādi-bala</i> , as the bottom of <i>braḥ aṅg(a)</i> which is <i>braḥ jaghana pradeś(a)</i> ;	has Knowledge of the Five Controlling Faculties and the Five Powers, as its sublime waist;
(25)จตุสัณมัตถิปธานปวารอูรุทวํ catusammappadhāna ⁴⁸ - pavaraūrudvayam ⁴⁹	มีคู่แห่งพระเพลาอันประเสริฐ คือพระญาณอันประพฤติเป็นไปในสัมมัตถิปธานวิริยะ ๔ ประการ has <i>braḥ ñāṇ(a)</i> in the practice <i>sammappadhānaviriya</i> [consisting of] four aspects, as a pair of sublime <i>braḥ plau</i> ;	has Knowledge of the Four Great Efforts, as a pair of sublime thighs;
(26)ทศกุสลกัมมปถปวารจฆณทวํ dasakusalakammapha- pavarajaṅghadvayam ⁵⁰	มีคู่แห่งพระขงฆ์อันประเสริฐ คือพระบัญญัติ อันตรัสรู้ในคลองแห่งทศกุตกรรมบถ has <i>braḥ paññā</i> which awakens to the paths of <i>kusala- karmapha(a)</i> , as a pair of the sublime <i>braḥ jaṅgh(a)</i> ;	has Knowledge of the paths of the Ten Whole- some Actions , as a pair of sublime legs;
(27)จตุริทธิปาถปวารปาถทวํ caturiddhipāda-pavarapādadvayam ⁵¹	มีคู่แห่งพระบาทอันประเสริฐ คือพระญาณอันประพฤติเป็นไปในพระอิทธิบาททั้ง ๔ และพระธรรมกายนั้น has <i>braḥ ñāṇ(a)</i> which is the practice in the four <i>braḥ iddhipāda</i> , as a pair <i>braḥ pād(a)</i> , ⁵² and <i>braḥ dhar- makāy(a)</i> also...	has Knowledge of the Four Paths of Accomplish- ment, as a pair of sublime feet, and the Body of Dhammas also...

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 pavaraūrudvayam

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 “ปถ.”

(28)ศีลสมาธิปัญญาปวารสมาธิ sīlasamādhipaññā ⁵³ -pavarasamghāṭi	ทรงซึ่งผ้าสังฆาฏิ คือ ศีล สมาธิ แลปัญญา ...wears <i>sīla</i> , <i>samādhi</i> and <i>paññā</i> as <i>saṅghāṭi</i> ;	...wears morality, concentration and knowledge, as the outer robe;
(29)หิโรตตปปีปญญาปวารปีสุกคจิวรี hirottappañña ⁵⁴ - pavarapaṃsukulacīvaraṃ ⁵⁵	ทรงซึ่งมหาปิงสุกคจิวรี คือพระปัญญา อันประพฤติเป็นไปพร้อมด้วยหิริ แล โอตตปปะ wears <i>brah paññā</i> , which is full of <i>hiri</i> and <i>ottappa</i> , as <i>mahāpaṃsukula</i> ;	wears Knowledge of the Moral Shame and Moral Fear, as the great upper robe of discarded cloth;
(30)อัญญังคิกมคคญาณปวารอันตราวาสก atthaṅgikamaggañña- pavaraantaravāsakaṃ ⁵⁶	ทรงซึ่งสงอันประเสริฐ คือพระญาณ อันประพฤติเป็นไปในอัญญังคิกมรรค wears <i>brah ñāṇ(a)</i> which is the practice in <i>atthaṅgika-</i> <i>marga</i> , as the sublime <i>sabong</i> ;	wears Knowledge of the Noble Eightfold Path, as its sublime under robe;
(31)จตุสตีปฏฐานปวารกายพันธน catusatipaṭṭhāna-pavarakāyapandhanam ⁵⁷	ทรงซึ่งรัดประคดอันประเสริฐ คือพระญาณ อันประพฤติพร้อมในพระสติปฏฐานทั้ง ๔ ประการ wears <i>brah ñāṇ(a)</i> , which is the complete practice of the four <i>brah satipaṭṭhān(a)</i> , as the sublime girdle.	wears Knowledge of the Four Foundations of Mindfulness, as the sublime girdle;

⁵³ DA &BD3°(paññā omitted)°; GBD sīlasamādhipañña°

⁵⁴ DA (ñāṇa-omitted); BD3& GBD hirotappa (ñāṇa-omitted)

⁵⁵ DA °sukūlapaṭicchāda°; BD3 & GBD °sukulapaṭicchāda°

⁵⁶ It is found in DA, BD3, and GBD.

⁵⁷ It is found in DA & BD3; GBD °danam°

<p>(32)พุทธโธ buddho</p> <p>อติวิโรจติ ativirocati</p> <p>เทวมนุสฺसानํ devamanussānaṃ</p> <p>ธัมมกาเยนะ dhammakāyena⁵⁸</p>	<p>อันว่าพระพุทธเจ้า The Buddha...</p> <p>รุ่งเรืองยิ่งนัก ... is more brilliant...</p> <p>กว่าเทพยดา แลมนุชย์ทั้งหลาย ...than divine beings and men...</p> <p>ด้วยพระธรรมกาย ...by means of <i>braḥ dhammakāy(a)</i>.</p>	<p>The Buddha is more brilliant than divine beings and men by means of the Body of Dhammas.</p>
<p>(33)ยัสฺส ปน อุตฺตมํ กาทิณฺณํ yassapaṇa moḥ⁵⁹ yaṃ paṇa ut- tamaṅgādiṅgiṇaṃ</p> <p>สัพพัญญุตาทิกํ sabbaññutādikaṃ</p> <p>ธัมมกายมตํ dhammakāyamataṃ</p> <p>พุทธธานัง buddhānaṃ</p>	<p>แม้อันว่าพระญาณที่จัดเป็นพระเสียร เป็นต้นอันใด <i>Braḥ ñāṇ(a)</i>, constituting that of <i>braḥ síer</i> , and so on...</p> <p>คือมีพระสัพพัญญุตญาณ เป็นอาทิ ..is <i>braḥ sabbaññutañāṇ(a)</i> etc.,</p> <p>อันพระพุทธองค์ตรัสเรียกว่า พระธรรมกาย [and] that the Buddha called <i>braḥ dharmakay(a)</i>...</p> <p>แห่งพระสัมมาสัมพุทธเจ้าทั้งหลาย ...of all buddhas</p>	<p>(the 1st part)</p> <p>Whatever knowledge (<i>yaṃ paṇa ñāṇaṃ</i>), beginning with that of the sublime head etc. (<i>ut-tamaṅgādi</i>) which is omniscience, and so on and so forth (<i>sabbaññutādikaṃ</i>), which is, for all the buddhas (<i>buddhānaṃ atthi</i>), that which is called the "Body of the Dhammas" (<i>dhammakāyama-taṃ</i>),</p>

⁵⁸ DA,BD3 & GBD aññesaṃ devamanussānaṃ buddho ativirocati (dhammakāyena omiited)

⁵⁹ The Thai (and Khmer) word *moḥ* 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.

<p>อัถฺถิ atthi⁶⁰</p>	<p>มี have;</p>	
<p>(34)เอตํ อุตฺตมํคากาถิญาณํ etaṃ uttamaṅgādiññāṇaṃ</p> <p>ธัมมํกายพุทฺธลคฺคหฺณํ dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ</p> <p>โลกนายกํ lokanāyakaṃ⁶¹</p>	<p>อันว่าพระญาณที่จัดเป็นพระเสีรเป็นต้นนี้ <i>Brah ñāṇ(a)</i> that constitutes <i>brah sier</i> etc.,</p> <p>เป็นพุทธญาณอันพระพุทธรองค์เปรียบเทียบกับด้วยพุทธลักษณะแล้ว แต่ตรัสเทศนาโดย นามบัญญัติชื่อว่า ธรรมกาย⁶² ...is <i>buddhañāṇ(a)</i> which the Buddha compared with his characteristics and praised by name as <i>dhar-</i> <i>makāy(a)</i>,</p> <p>เป็นที่นำสัตว์ออกจากโลก ...that which liberates beings from the world:...</p>	<p>(The 2nd part)</p> <p>that (<i>etaṃ</i>) knowledge beginning with the head, etc. (<i>uttamaṅgādiññāṇaṃ</i>) is[called] the set of marks of the buddhas called the "Body of the Dhammas" (<i>dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ</i>) which is the leader away from the world (<i>lokanāyakaṃ</i>);</p>
<p>(35)โยคาวจรกุลปุตฺเตนะ yogāvacarakulaputtēna</p> <p>ติคฺคหฺญาณนะ tikkaññāṇēna</p> <p>ปัตถนํเตนนะ patthentēna</p>	<p>อัน โยคาวจรกุลบุตร ผู้มีญาณอันแก่กล้า ...by which the <i>yogāvacarakulaputra</i> who has a sharp <i>ñāṇ(a)</i>,</p> <p>มีปัญญากล้า who has the sharp <i>pañña</i>, ...</p> <p>เมื่อปรารถนา (ซึ่งภาวะแห่งตนเป็นสัพพัญญูพุทธเจ้า) ...when [they] aim to attain...</p>	<p>(The 3rd part)</p> <p>it is to be recollected (<i>anussaritabbaṃ</i>) repeatedly (<i>punappunāṃ</i>) by one in the lineage of the <i>yogāvacara</i>-s (<i>yogāvacarakulaputtēna</i>) who possesses a keen intelligence (<i>tikkaññāṇēna</i>) and who aspires (<i>patthantēna</i>) to the state of an omniscient buddha (<i>sabbaññūbuddhabhāvaṃ</i>).⁶⁴</p>

⁶⁰ DA,BD3 & GBD yassa taṃ uttamaṅgādi ñāṇaṃ subbaññitādikaṃ dhammakāyamattaṃ buddhāṃ name

⁶¹ DA & BD3 taṃ lokanāyakaṃ imaṃ dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ; GBD taṃ lokanāyakaṃ dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ

⁶² “dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ” can be translated as this Buddha’s characters is called “*brah dharmakāy(a)*”

⁶⁴ I consulted Walker for these re-translations.

<p>สัพพัญญูพุทธเจ้า sabbāññibuddhabhāvaṃ</p> <p>อนุสัทธิตัพพะ anussaritabbaṃ</p> <p>บ่อยบ่อย punappunāṃ⁶³</p>	<p>ซึ่งภาวะแห่งตนเป็นสัพพัญญูพุทธเจ้า ...<i>bhāva</i> of themselves to become an omniscient bud- dha...</p> <p>พึงระลึก(พึงระลึก) ...[they] should recall [<i>braḥ dharmakāy(a)</i>]...</p> <p>บ่อยๆ ...frequently.</p>	
<p>(36)พุทธโธ buddho⁶⁵</p> <p>ท้าวทศหัตถ์โธ dvādasahattho⁶⁶</p> <p>อุณหิส uṇhisso</p> <p>ฉหัตถ์โธ chahattho</p> <p>อัคคิลิขุปโม Aggisikhūpamo</p>	<p>อันว่าพระ โคดมสัมมาสัมพุทธเจ้า The Buddha Gotama,</p> <p>สูง ๑๒ ศอก [who is] twelve <i>saak-s</i>⁶⁷ tall;</p> <p>อันว่าพระอุณหิสอันสูงขึ้นไป เปรียบประคองหมามงกุฎ the high <i>braḥ uṇhiṣa</i> is comparable to a great crown,</p> <p>๖ ศอก six <i>saaks</i>,</p> <p>ประกอบด้วยพระรัศมีประคองเปลวเพลิง <i>Braḥ uṇhiṣa</i> is composed of <i>braḥ raśamī</i> like a flame</p>	<p>The Buddha Gotama, who is twelve <i>saak-s</i> tall; [his] swelling sublime <i>uṇhiṣa</i> is comparable to a great crown, which is six <i>saak-s</i> in size, and [<i>braḥ uṇhiṣa</i>] is always composed of flame-like radiance.</p>

⁶³ DA & BD3 yogāvacarakulaputtēna tikkhaññēna sabbāññibuddhabhāvaṃ patthentēna punappunāṃ anussaritabbaṃ; GBD yogāvacarakulaputtēna tikkhaññēna sabbāññibuddhabhāvaṃ punappunāṃ anussaritabbaṃ

⁶⁵ It is only found in GBD.

⁶⁶ It is only found in GBD.

⁶⁷ *Saak*, ศอก is the Thai measure word for height, 1 *saak* = 0.5 m.

นิจฺจ nicca	เป็นนิจ ...always.	
(37)โส พุทโธ so buddho ⁶⁸ อฏฺฐารสโก aṭṭhārasako ⁶⁹ สห saha ⁷⁰ อุณฺหิเสน uṇhisena ⁷¹ ภว bhave ⁷²	อันว่าพระโคตมสัมมาสัมพุทธเจ้า The Buddha Gotama himself ... สูง ๑๘ ศอก ...has eighteen <i>saak-s</i> tall in total, กับ including... พระอุณฺหิย ...braḥ uṇhiṣa... ฟิงมี intrinsically have	The Buddha Gotama himself has eighteen <i>saak-s</i> tall in total, including the sublime <i>uṇhisa</i> , that buddhas intrinsically possesses.
(38)พุทธรังสิโย buddharaṅsiyo ฉัพพิธา chabbidhā นิกฺขันฺดา nikkhantā	อันว่าพระพุทธรังสีทั้งหลาย All the radiance of the Buddhas มีประการ ๖ ..have six elements... พุ่งออก ...gushing from,	All radiances of the buddhas consist of six elements gushing from [their bodies].

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 dvādasahattho chahattho aggisikhūpamo pavaggo uṇhiso niccaṃ so aṭṭhārasako bhavo ๑ พระธรรมกาย ๑

<p>(39)เอกเมกายะ โลมาชะ ekamekāya lomāya</p> <p>อาวฏา āvaṭā</p> <p>มณฑลาลา maṇḍalā</p> <p>ทีฆา รัสสา มณฑลกาลปิ จะ dīghā rassā maṇḍalakāpi ca</p> <p>อาธวานันติ จะ ādhāvanti ca</p> <p>วิธวานันติ จะ vidhāvanti ca</p>	<p>แต่พระโลมาแต่ละเส้นๆ each body hair...</p> <p>เวียนไป ...circulates...</p> <p>เป็นปริมณฑล in a sphere;</p> <p>มีช่ออันยาวบ้าง สั้นบ้าง กลมบ้าง some hairs are long, and some are short or round;</p> <p>พุ่งไปเบื้องพระ(กัศตร) พกตร์บ้าง some emanate from their face,</p> <p>พุ่งไปข้างพระองค์บ้าง some emanate from their lateral part of <i>braḥ aṅg(a)</i>.</p>	<p>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.</p>
<p>(40)พุทธรัสิโย buddharaṃ siyo</p> <p>ฉัพพิชา chabbidhā</p> <p>นีลา nīlā</p> <p>ปีตา pitā</p>	<p>อันว่าพระพุทธเจ้าทั้งหลาย All buddhas have six rays glowing from their bodies:</p> <p>มีประการ ๖ have six rays:</p> <p>คือ พระรัศมีสีเขียว being a green <i>braḥ raśamī</i>;</p> <p>คือ พระรัศมีสีเหลือง being a yellow <i>braḥ raśamī</i>;</p>	<p>All buddhas have six rays glowing from [their bodies]: [First], being the sublime green radiance; [Second], being the sublime yellow radiance; [Third], being the sublime white radiance; [Fourth], being the sublime red-and-yellow-combined radiance; [Fifth], being the sublime brilliant radiance; [Sixth], being the sublime dark red radiance.</p>

<p>โอทาดา odātā</p> <p>มัญเฑฐา mañjettḥā</p> <p>ปกัสสร่า pabhassarā</p> <p>โลหิตาปี จะ วัณณาภา lohitāpi ca vaṇṇābhā</p> <p>ปมูญจันติ pamuñcanti</p>	<p>คือ พระรัศมีขาว being a white <i>braḥ raśamī</i>;</p> <p>คือ พระรัศมีแดงสำลาน (เหลืองปนแดง) being a red-and-yellow-combined <i>braḥ raśamī</i>;</p> <p>คือ พระรัศมีเดือน พรายๆ being a brilliant <i>braḥ raśamī</i>;</p> <p>คือ พระรัศมีมีพรรณอันแดง being a dark red <i>braḥ raśamī</i>;</p> <p>เปล่งออก glowing from.</p>	
<p>(41)วินายโก vināyako</p> <p>มเหสี mahesī</p> <p>สัพพะโลกกัโ sabbalokaggo</p> <p>เทพเทโว devadevo</p> <p>นรุตตโม naruttamo</p>	<p>อันว่าพระบรมนายกโลกนารถ(นาถ) This is the greatest leader of the world,</p> <p>แสวงหาศีลาทีคุณอันประเสริฐ [who] seeks for the sublime <i>śīlādiguṇ(a)</i>;</p> <p>ล้ำเลิศกว่าสรรพสัตว์ [he] is more supreme than animals;</p> <p>ประเสริฐกว่าเทพยดาอินทร์พรหม [he] is more sublime than other divine being;</p> <p>ประเสริฐกว่ามนุษย์ [he] is more sublime than human beings;</p>	<p>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 Brahmā; he is more sublime than human beings; he crosses the bank of [the cycle of birth and death], which is the realm of <i>Nibbāna</i>, 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 <i>Nibbāna</i>; 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>

<p>อุตฺติณฺโณ uttinno</p> <p>โลกสันตารโ lokasantāro</p> <p>จิโน jino</p> <p>อัปปปฏิปกฺคโล appatipuggalo</p> <p>นิริปปโม niruppamo</p>	<p>ข้ามฝั่งคือพระนิพพานด้วยพระองค์ [he] crosses the bank, which is <i>braḥ nibbān(a)</i>, by his own efforts;</p> <p>ยังสัตว์โลกให้ข้ามถึงฝั่ง คือ พระนิพพาน [he also] brings other beings to cross the bank, which is <i>braḥ nibbāna</i>;</p> <p>ชนะแก่ปัญจพิธมาร [he] conquers <i>pañcabidhamār(a)</i>;</p> <p>หาบุคคลจะเปรียบเทียบกับมิได้ no-one is comparable to him;</p> <p>หาที่จะอุปมามิได้ there are no words to analogise.</p>	
<p>(42)รสี raṃsī</p> <p>ตัสสะ ภควโต tassa bhagavato</p> <p>สัพฺพาภรณภูสิตา sabbābharanabhūsitā</p>	<p>อันว่าพระรสีมี The radiance...</p> <p>แห่งพระผู้มีพระภาคย์นั้น ...of the honorable one...</p> <p>ประดุจเครื่องสรรพอาภรณ์ ประดับพระองค์ ...is like an ornament adorning <i>braḥ aṅg(a)</i>.</p>	<p>The radiance of the honorable one is like an ornament adorning his body.</p>

<p>(43)การณํ kāraṇaṃ</p> <p>อัญญุสํ เทวมนุสฺसानํ aññesaṃ devamanussānaṃ</p> <p>มัญญุ การณํ maññe kāraṇaṃ</p> <p>พุทฺธสฺส เอวะ buddassa eva</p> <p>นะ โหติ na hoti</p>	<p>อันว่าอัจฉริยะเหตุ The cause of charismatic intelligence...</p> <p>แห่งเทพดา แลมนุษย์ทั้งหลายอื่น ...of divine beings and all <i>manuṣaya</i>...</p> <p>จะเหมือนด้วยอัจฉริยะเหตุ ...is not the same as...</p> <p>แห่งสมเด็จพระสัมมาสัมพุทธเจ้าพระองค์เดียว ...that of the Buddha himself;</p> <p>หา บ มิได้ nothing is comparable to him</p>	<p>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.</p>
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