

PAṬHAMASAMBODHI IN NINE LANGUAGES: THEIR RELATION AND EVOLUTION¹

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Abstract

Paṭhamasambodhi is widespread in at least 5 countries in Southeast Asia. Hundreds of manuscripts and not less than 10 versions have been discovered. They are composed in 4 languages: Pāli, Mon, Cambodian and Tai, including Tai vernaculars: Siamese Thai, Northern Thai, Northeastern Thai, Lao, Tai Lue, and Tai Khoeun. The styles of composition dramatically vary between detailed enumeration and concision, prose and verse, translation in the style of *nissaya* and non-*nissaya*, single language and dual languages—Pāli and another language. The comparative study of the different versions, with emphasis on their content, reveals their relation and the evolution of Paṭhamasambodhi. The Pāli version found in the Lanna region is the oldest complete version. It is probably the

original version, which not only is rendered to Tai Lue, Tai Khoeun, Lao and Northern Thai, but evolved over centuries to become the three newer Pāli recensions which later were rendered to northeastern Thai, Mon and Siamese Thai. The latter version was finally rendered to Cambodian. The content of Paṭhamasambodhi was gradually enhanced in three phases with different genres: 1) the legend of the *Siddhattha Bodhisatta* in the Pāli of the Lanna region, the Northern Thai, the Lao, the Tai Khoeun and the Tai Lue versions; 2) the legend of the Gotama Buddha in the two late Pāli versions as well as the Mon and the northeastern Thai versions; and 3) the legend of the Gotama Buddha's *sāsana* or teaching in both Pāli and Siamese Thai versions by His Supreme Patriarch Prince Paramanujitjinorot and the Cambodian version. The Northern Thai version is the transition link between the first and the second phase. The result of this study also provides the genesis of Paṭhamasambodhi.

Abbreviation

CS	Cūlasakarāja “the Little Era”(= AD – 638)
AD	Anno Domini
BE	Buddhist Era (= AD + 543)
CBD	Cambodian version of Paṭhamasambodhi
LAO	Lao version of Paṭhamasambodhi
LPL	Lanna Pāli version of Paṭhamasambodhi
LPR	Late Pāli Recensions of Paṭhamasambodhi
LPRA	Late Pāli Recension of Paṭhamasambodhi with 16–19 chapters

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LPRb	Late Pāli Recension of Paṭhamasambodhi with 22 chapters
LPRc	Late Pāli recension of Paṭhamasambodhi with 30 chapters composed by Prince Paramānujītinorot
LVV	Lao verse version of Paṭhamasambodhi
MON	Mon version of Paṭhamasambodhi
NET	Northeastern Thai version of Paṭhamasambodhi
PLN	Pāli-Lao nissaya version of Paṭhamasambodhi
SMT	Siamese Thai version of Paṭhamasambodhi composed by Prince Paramānujītinorot
TKN	Tai Khoeun version of Paṭhamasambodhi
TL	Thai Lue version of Paṭhamasambodhi
TLC	Thai Lue concise subversion of Paṭhamasambodhi
TLE	Thai Lue enumerated subversion of Paṭhamasambodhi
TY	Thai Yuan version of Paṭhamasambodhi
TYC	Thai Yuan concise subversion of Paṭhamasambodhi
TYE	Thai Yuan enumerated sub-version of Paṭhamasambodhi

Introduction

For Buddhists the existence of the Gotama Buddha is much less important than his teachings; this is

suggested in his words to Ānanda a while before his death:

mayā dhammo ca vinayo ca desito paññatto so vo mamaccayena satthā yathā. (D. II. 141)

“The *dhamma* which I have preached and the *vinaya* which I have set forth will be your teacher soon after I am gone.”

This is why there is no complete hagiography of Gotama Buddha found in either a Buddhist canonical text or non-canonical text. Among the biographical literature on Buddha, the Lalitavistara of Sarvavāsativādin, the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa, the Mālā-laṅkāravatthu of Burma, and Paṭhamasambodhikathā of His Patriarch Prince Paramānujītinorot are very well known by scholars. However, the stories of Gotama Buddha as a single piece of literature are fewer in number than the Jataka stories.

The original meaning of Paṭhamasambodhi is nothing else but the life story of Buddha. Its literal meaning is “the recent Perfect Enlightenment (of the Buddha)”. It is puzzling why the whole text of Paṭhamasambodhikathā by Prince Paramānujītinorot does not focus only on the struggle of the Bodhisatta for Enlightenment as its title suggests but on the complete life story of the Buddha. An assumption is that apart from Prince Paramānujītinorot’s Paṭhamasambodhikathā, there exist other versions of Paṭhamasambodhi. The content of the very old version should coincide with its title, Paṭhamasambodhi.

Louis Finot is the first to mention, in AD 1917, the manuscript of Paṭhamasambodhi written in Lao. With the passage of time, more manuscripts in various versions of Paṭhamasambodhi were reported. In AD 1944, Sthirakoses and S. Sālital mentioned two Pāli versions: the Prince Paramānujītinorot's version and the older one. In AD 1968, George Cœdès wrote about the Thai Yuan or the Northern Thai version and the other Pāli version. In AD 1987 Anatole-Roger Peltier mentioned the Tai Khoeun version. In the same year, Nattinee Phromkerd published her study of the Mon version. Her research also inspired Canya Khongcarern to discover and study the Isan or Northeastern Thai version, in AD 1989. Bampen Rawin transliterated and first published the Thai Yuan version in AD 1989, and nine years later he again transliterated its concise version written in dual languages: Pāli and Thai Yuan. In AD 1992, the Center for Promotion of Arts and Culture, CMU discovered the very old Lanna Pāli version. In AD 1999, Prah Mahā Jana Dhammadhajo transliterated the Lao version, which was written in verse. In AD 2001, Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan reported the Tai Lue version. Moreover, École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) discovered the Cambodian version, which no one had ever heard of before. Many manuscripts, such as the Lao, the Tai Lue, and the Tai Khoeun versions have not been studied yet.

Among those who mentioned Paṭhamasambodhi, George Cœdès

(1968) is the pioneer in the comparative study of the different versions of Paṭhamasambodhi. His article, "Une Vie Indochinoise du Buddha: La Pathamasambodhi", published in 1968, contributes significantly to the history of Buddhist literature. By studying some manuscripts, mainly written in Pāli and another written in Thai Yuan, Cœdès claims that Paṭhamasambodhi is the Southeast Asian version of the Buddha's life story. He also assumes its evolution, which caused Prah Mahā Surapol Singkirat (1998) to later do the model of the evolution of the Pāli version. My study owes a lot to the above mentioned people. By studying as many manuscripts as circumstances allowed, a much clearer picture of the relation among the various versions and the evolution of Paṭhamasambodhi is presented, which is the main point of discussion of this article.

The Manuscripts

A considerable number of manuscripts of Paṭhamasambodhi and recensions have been reported by researchers. The regions where Paṭhamasambodhi has been discovered is quite a big area, covering Sibsongpanna in the south part of China, Chiang Tung in Shan State in Burma, Lao, Cambodia and in the northern, northeastern and central part of Thailand. Each manuscript of Paṭhamasambodhi provides a piece of the jigsaw to form the whole picture of Paṭhamasambodhi in different dimensions. To present the whole picture of Paṭhamasambodhi, I would like to briefly give

more details about the manuscript of each version.

1. The Lanna Pāli Version (LPL):

The Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Project (1992) and the Social Research Institute, CMU reported that three fragment manuscripts are kept at วัดโหล่หิน [wátlòjhīn], Lampang Province. The first manuscript, written in CS 936, consists of 3 of 4 bundles; bundle no. 1, no. 2, and no. 3, have been discovered but the last bundle, bundle no. 4, has not been found yet. The second and the third manuscripts were written in the same year, CS 954. The only bundle, no. 1 of the second manuscript, has been found, and bundles no. 2, no. 3 and no. 4 of the third manuscript have been found.

According to the Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Project, there is no complete Pāli version found in Lanna. It should be considered whether the manuscript CS 954, kept at วัดโหล่หิน [wátlòjhīn] is really a fragment manuscript. The colophons of all 4 bundles show the same passage with little variation as follows:

จุฬสกราชได้ ๙๕๔ ตัว ไนป๊วง
หม้าตัว ปถมสมโพธิ อุบลิกา
มุกดา มีปฐาตสัทธาสร้างไว้คำชู
สาสนาพรเจ้าต่อเท่า ๕ พันวัสสา
แล

[cunlasàkkaṛāatdāj 954 taunajpii
ruaṇmāwtau Paṭhamasambodhi ?ub
aasikaamúkdaamiipràsāathásattha

asāaṇwájkhámchuusàatsanāa prác
āwtòothāw 5 phanwátsāalεε]

“The year 954 of Cūlasakkarāja in the Ruangmaw year, the *upāsikā* called Mukdā had Paṭhamasambodhi written to support Buddhism so that it would last till the year 5000.”³

It is most important that the first word of bundle no. 2 is the continuation of the last words of bundle no. 1. The last line of bundle no. 1 is as follows:

Yojanappamāne ṭhāne agantā
pathavigataṃ nidhidassana-
samatthaṃ gahapatiratanam
pātu bhavati. Aggamahesiya...

“The householder-gem, who is capable of seeing the treasure which flows beneath the earth even if it is a *yojana* deep, was born. Of the chief queen...”

And the first line of bundle no. 2 is as follows:

...kucchimhi nibbattetvā
sa(ka)larajjaman(uss)asāsana-
samatthajetṭhaputta-
saṅkhatam
parināyakaratanam pātu
bhavati.

“...The adviser-gem, who is the eldest son that came out from the womb (of the chief queen) and is capable of teaching all men and kings, was born.” Having read all the 4 bundles of the manuscript written in CS 954, I have come to the conclusion that they are

³ It had been predicted that the year 5000 (BE 5000) would be the end of the Gotama Buddha’s religion.

one single manuscript of the same set. It is the oldest and the most complete manuscript of Paṭhamasambodhi known to date.

There are two other fragment manuscripts preserved at Rajjamaṅgalābhisek National Museum, Chiangmai Province. One is the oldest but is a fragment written in CS 839; the other is undated but วัดสร้อย [watsīibunriāṇthāa-sōi] is inscribed on its cover. Their texts show that they are the same version of those kept at วัดโหลหิน [wátlājhin].

2. The Late Pāli Recensions (LPR)

Apart from the Lanna Pāli version, three later Pāli recensions have been found.

2.a The 16–19 Chapter Recension (LPRa)

This recension consists of 15 to 19 *paricchedas* or chapters. The variation of the total number of the chapters is due to the fact that one or more new chapters were added at the beginning or the end of each recension. (Cœdès 1968: 220) At least five complete manuscripts are reported. Three manuscripts are mentioned by George Cœdès (1968), and two others are reported by Prah Mahā Suraphol Singirat (1998). The first manuscript, which is undated, is kept at École Française d' Extrême-Orient (EFEO) in Hanoi. The second manuscript, which used to be kept at Wat Rokā, is kept at the National

Museum in Phnom Penh. The third one, belonging to Princess Somavadei, is now lost. (Cœdès in press: xxii). The fourth manuscript written in BE 2331 is kept at Maṇḍiradhamma Chapel (ทอมณเฑียรธรรม) in the Royal Palace, Bangkok. The last one, of which the call no. is 2195, is kept at the National Museum, Bangkok.

2.b The 22 Chapter Recension (LPRb)

Only one manuscript of this recension has been found. It is mentioned by several Thai scholars: Sthirakoses and S. Salitul (1994: (14)), Kasem Bunsri (1957: 183–4), Natthawut Suddhisongkram (1972: 496), and Prah Mahā Suraphol Singkitrat (1998: 27–9)⁴.

2.c The 30 Chapter Recension (LPRc)

This Pāli recension is clearly edited and composed by Prince Paramānujitjinorot. Not less than seven complete manuscripts have been found. Except one in Mon script, all are in Khom script. Five manuscripts are preserved at the National Museum in Bangkok. Another one is kept at วัดพระเชตุพน [wátpráchêttùphon], Bangkok, and another is kept at วัดสุทธาวาส [wátsùthaawâat], Mahasarakham

⁴ According to Prah Mahā Suraphol Singkitrat (1998), this manuscript is kept in the National Library in Bangkok. Its call no. is 2233 and is kept in cabinet no. 10, compartment 2/2, but it has not been found.

Province. It was first published in AD 1994.

Plenty of fragment manuscripts are mentioned by Cœdès (1968) and Filliozat (n.d.) and are recorded in title cards of the National Library, Bangkok. It is too hard to classify to which recension each manuscript belongs.

3. The Mon Version (MON)

Two fragment manuscripts are kept at วัดคงคาราม [wátkhongkhaaraam], Ratjaburi Province. One comprises 7 bundles, bundle no. 2–8, and the other consists of bundles no. 1–9, but they are compiled from different sets. These two manuscripts are not those which Nattinee Phromkerd (1987) studied for her MA thesis. Filliozat (n.d.) also mentioned three fragment manuscripts kept in EFEO. A more complete manuscript, consisting of 12 bundles, is kept at วัดศาลาแดงเหนือ [wátśālaadeṅnēa], Pathumthanee Province. All manuscripts are translated from the Pāli version.

4. The Cambodian Version (CBD)

EFEO-FEMC (2001: 1) lists seven complete and three fragment manuscripts of Paṭhamasambodhi written in Cambodian. They are kept in the library of EFEO, the National Library, and the National Museum in Phnom Penh, and several monasteries in Cambodia. One more manuscript, written in BE 2489, which is not on the list of EFEO-FEMC, is kept at Wat Sarāvantejo. Its call no. is F.E.M.C. 1/2 iii 1. One copy of CBD

consists of 30 bundles, and another of 31 bundles. The variation in number is due to the fact that the last bundle, with the title *Siṅgattaracetiya*, was added to the second copy. Moreover, the story of *Visākhapūjā* and *Māghapūjā* are added at the beginning of some manuscripts.

5. The Siamese Thai Version (SMT)

There are a number of this version. Prince Paramanujitjinorot translated it from his own LPRc. The date of the translation is unclear but should not be before BE 2388, the year in which he finished the LPRc.

6. The Thai Yuan or Lanna Thai or Northern Thai Version (TY)

This version has two sub-versions: the detail enumeration version comprising seven chapters (TYE) and the short summarized version in only one bundle (TYC). A large number of manuscripts of TYE were found by the Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Project (1992) at monasteries in every province, except Uttaradit Province, in the northern part of Thailand. The Lao Preservation of Manuscripts Programme (1995–6) found one manuscript in Lao. The oldest manuscript of the TYE is one which is now preserved at วัดบ้านหลุก [wátbāanlùk], Lampang Province. It was written in CS 1142. Bampen Rawin transliterated a manuscript of both the TYE and TYC. The manuscript of the former is kept at วัดชั้นแก้ว [wátkāṅkêw], Chiangmai

Province, but he did not give any details about the latter manuscript.

7. The Northeastern Thai or Isan Version (NET)

Canya Khongcarem (1989) studied the manuscript consisting of 30 bundles kept at วัดใหม่ทองสว่าง [wátmajthawwəsawàaŋ], Ubonratjathanee Province. Canya also mentioned two fragment manuscripts kept at วัดบังวัด [wátbaŋwát], in the same province and another kept in วัดบกน้อย [wátbòknóŋ], Yasothorn Province. At present, the manuscript of วัดใหม่ทองสว่าง [wátmajthawwəsawàaŋ] is now lost. I found a nearly complete manuscript consisting of 31 bundles at วัดบ้านดอน [wátbâan-doon], Ubonratjathanee Province; only some folios of the last part of bundle no. 8 are lost. Other manuscripts have been found: one at วัดบ้านจัว [wátbâanġiŋw], Khonkaen Province, three at the Rajjamonggalābhisek National Library, Chiangmai Province, and ten at the National Museum in Nakhon Phanom Province. All are fragments. The NET is a quite new version. The colophon of many manuscripts suggests that none was written before AD 1920. The date of scribing is given in BE instead of CS. It is possible that they were copied from the original manuscript of the Lao Kingdom. The manuscripts, with 30–31 bundles written in the Lao language, which were found in the Lao Kingdom, may be the same version.

8. The Lao Version (L)

8.a The Pāli–Lao Nissaya (PLN)

Louis Finot (1917), Pierre-Bernard Lafont (1959), Thao Kéne (1958), The National Culture Research Institute or NCRI (1988), the Royal Institute of Lao (cited in NCRI 1988), and the Lao Preservation of Manuscripts Programme (1995–6, 1996, 1998) mentioned a large number of manuscripts found in the Lao Kingdom, but no details are given. The number of bundles varies from 1 to 31, but a lot of manuscripts consist of ten bundles. It is possible that there is more than one version or reversion of the Lao version. Both the TY and the TL versions have an enumerated subversion and a concise subversion. Thus, it can not be concluded that all single bundle manuscripts are fragmentary; some could be concise subversions. A conclusion can be made from the study of the manuscript kept at Vat Mai Suvannabhūmārām (of which I made a copy from the microfilm of The Lao Preservation of Manuscripts Programme) and those mentioned by Jacqueline Filliozat (n.d.) that the manuscripts consisting of 10 bundles are Pāli–Lao Nissaya. The oldest manuscript is the one written in CS 1188 and is kept in the Museum at Luang Prabang. Although the manuscripts with 30 bundles and 31 bundles have not been investigated yet, there is a possibility that they are the same as the NET.

8.b The Lao Verse Version (LVV)

Prah Mahā Jana Dhammadhajo (1999) found a manuscript written in BE

2411 in Lao but in the form of poetry at a Laotian monastery in Brisbane, Queensland, Australia. Prah Mahā Jana transliterated and published it in AD 1999. This version is quite similar to that published in Vientiane in AD 1974, which was later edited by Prah Mahā Sīlā Vīlavong with his own supplementary.

9. The Tai Khoeun Version (TKN)

We know very little about the TKN. There is only one copy belonging to Anatole-Roger Peltier, who kindly told me that he had made his copy from the manuscript at a monastery in Chiang Tung, Shan State, Burma. The synopsis in the Khoeun Literature (Peltier 1987) is not exactly the same as the copy made by Peltier. It can be deduced that there are a lot of manuscripts in the Khoeun monasteries in Chiang Tung.

10. The Tai Lue Version (TL)

Three manuscripts of the TL are found at Wat Mai Suvannabhūmārām (LPMP 1998). According to Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanatan (2001), 13 manuscripts of the TL have been found in Sipsongpanna, Yunan, PRC⁵. The title has four variations: Pathomsamphot (ปถมสัมโพธิ), Pathomsamphot Kai-Phu-Ton (ปถมสัมโพธิไ้ผู้ตอน), Pathomsamphot Luang (ปถมสัมโพธิหลวง), and Parama-samphot (ปรมสัมโพธิ). Like the TY, an enumeration version and a

single concise version have been found. The TL version has two subversions: the enumerated version and the single version. The former is usually called Pathomsamphot Luang (ปถมสัมโพธิหลวง) or Pathomsamphot (ปถมสัมโพธิ) (TLE); the latter is called Pathomsamphot Kai-Phu-Ton (ปถมสัมโพธิไ้ผู้ตอน) (TLC). These manuscripts are written on palm leaves, พับสา [pópśāa], and paper.

The Relation among versions

All versions of Paṭhamasambodhi are broadly classified by their content into two groups. All versions of Paṭhamasambodhi in each group are closely related. The first group consists of the LPL, the PYE, the PYS, the PLN, the TKN, the TLE, and the TLC which recount the story of Buddha's life no further than the first preaching of the Buddha to the *pañcavaggiya* or the Five Ascetics. The second, which includes the LPR, the MON, the CBD, the LVV, the NET, and the SMT, adds the story of Buddha's life after the first preaching.

The first group:

The LPL, the TYC, the PLN, the TKN, the TLE, and the TYC share the same story. This group of Paṭhamasambodhi does not cover the whole life story of the Gotama Buddha; instead, they tell the story of the Siddhattha Bodhisatta who is referred to as "the present life of the one who struggles to attain the Perfection to become Buddha". Only the TYE tells a bit more of the story

⁵ People's Republic of China

after the Buddha attained Enlightenment. Except for the TYC, which is under the constraint on giving details, all depict the whole life of Siddhatta Bodhisatta from his descent from the *Tusita* heaven to the moment of his Enlightenment in which he transforms his status from Bodhisatta to Buddha. All versions except the TYC start immediately after the *praṇāṃavacanakathā*, an obeisance, in the Pāli verse praising the great virtue of the Bodhisatta who abandoned his happiness to renounce the world in order to search for the way to Enlightenment. The verse is as follows:

*setātapattam janatābhipatthitam
pahāya yo sattvasūhi maṇḍitam
hitāya nekkhammam akāsi
kappāluno satthu nāma tithu tassa ve.*

This verse does not exist in any canons except in Paṭhamasambodhi. It belongs to an unknown author who first composed this literature. The first word *setātapattam* varies in each version. According to the translation in the PYE and the PLN, it may be *setacchattam* or the white royal canopy. And again the author put a verse at the end of the story. This verse is not new but quoted from the *Dhammapada*, *Abhisambodhivagga*. The verse is:

*anekajātisaṃsāram
sandhāvisam anibbisam
gahakāram gavesanto
dukkhā jāti punappunam
gahakāra diṭṭhosi
puna geham na kāhasi. [35]
sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā
gahakūṭam visaṅkhatam*

*visaṅkhāragatam cittam
taṇhānam khayamajjhā 'ti. [36]*

It is the verse which the Buddha uttered immediately after he attained Enlightenment; thus it is called the *udānakathā* or the ecstatic utterance. Except for the TYE, all versions of Paṭhamasambodhi in the first group employ the *udānakathā* as the ending of the story.

As the oldest complete version, it is induced that the LPL is the original version of Paṭhamasambodhi. It is rendered to the TYE and the PLN. Although the TYE tells a bit more of the story, both the TYE and the PLN strictly follow the LPL. Everything told in the TYE and the PLN can be found in the LPL. The following example is the passage which exists in no other literature but only in Paṭhamasambodhi. It shows how identical the LPL, the TYE, and the PLN are.

the PPL [phùuk] 3, page 35–6⁶

*ayam pana pañho heṭṭhāto pādesa
mukhito tipītakaculāyathera na
visajjitova mahāpuriso patha(vi)yā
gato mahājanassa maham ākāse
gacchante viya ahoṣi. dissamānagatā
mahājanassa maham adissamāno viya
ahoṣi. avelake mahājanassa manam
alamkatapatiyatto viya upalāsi.
dasārova gato mahājanassa maham
solasavasudesikakālo viya ahoṣi.
pacchā puna baladālakova ahoṣi na
tādisoti. parisā yassa buddhena viya*

⁶ The manuscript which is kept at วัดไผ่ล้อม [wátlājhīn], Lampang, CS 654

hutātvā sotherena pañho kathito ti attamano ahosi.

the PLN [phùuk] 3, page 6⁷

ayaṃ pana pañho ส่วนอันป็นหาอันนี้ อันมหาเถรเจ้าตนชื่อว่าจุลเถร หากให้บังเกิดในโลหปราสาทกำพายได้แล้ว *visajjitova* เจ้าก่หากแก้วาตั้งนี้ *mahā-puriso* อันว่ามหาปฐิส *pathaviyā gato* ก่ไปด้วยบาดอย่างดินเหนื่อแผ่นดินแท้แล เท้าว่าด้วยมีเท้าหากปรกตเหนเป็นตั้งไปด้วยอากาศนั้นแก้วุคนทั้งหลายมนนั้นแล ส่วนตั้งเจ้าไปนั้น *dissamānagato* ก่ไปด้วยอันให้ปรกตเหนแล *adissamāno viya ahosi* ก่หากเป็นปรดุตั้งบ่ปรกตแจ้งแก่คนทั้งหลายทำคืบคาย บ่เหนแก่คนทั้งหลายแล ส่วนตั้งตนแห่งมหาปฐิสเจ้านั้น *avelako* ก่บ่รุ่งทรงยังผ้าผอนสักอัน ก่หาปรกตเหนแก่คนทั้งหลาย *alamkatapatiyatto viya* เป็นปรดุจตั้งตรงเครื่องประดับนั้นแล เมื่อเจ้าไปนั้น *daharova gato* เจ้าก่ไปด้วยเพดานหม่นอันน้อยนั้น ก่หาปรกตแก่คนทั้งหลาย *soḷassavasuddesikakāro viya* เป็นปรดุตั้งกาลเมื่อเป็นกุ่มมานได้ ๑๖ เข้านั้นแล *pacchā* เมื่อพายลุน เจ้าก่ปรกตแก่คนทั้งหลายด้วยเพดานเป็นผู้น้อยนั้นแล เมื่อมหาเถรเจ้าตัดป็นหาอันนี้แล้ว เจ้าก่หากวิสัยชนแก้ไขเพื่อให้แจ้งแก่คนทั้งหลายตั้งนี้แล *parisāpi* ส่วนอันบริสัดทั้งหลาย *attamanā* ก็มีใจหมั่นยินดี *pasāsītā* ก่

เลิกเลินย่องยด้วยคำว่า *bho* ตูราชาวเรา *pañho* อันว่าป็นหาแห่งพระมหาจุลาเถรเถรเจ้าแห่งเรานี้ *kathito* อันเจ้าหากกล่าวแก่ให้หายสงกาใจตั้งนี้ *sādhū vata hoti* ก่เป็นต้ออันความงามนัก *buddho na viya hutvā* เป็น ปรดุจตั้งพระพุทเจ้าเทศสนานนั้นแท้ดีหลีแล ว่าตั้งนั้น *ahesunṇu* ก็มีแล⁸

TYE [phùuk] 2, page 15–6⁹

ยังป็นหาอันถามตั้งนี้ ค่มีพายได้โลหประสาธแล มหาตบิตกจุพากยเถรเจ้าอันจักวิสชนาแก้คำนั้น คักกล่าววาตั้งนี้ พรหมาสัดเจ้านั้นเมื่อไฟด้วยอากาศนั้นค่อปรกตแก่คนทั้งหลายเป็นตั้งไฟด้วยแผ่นดินนั้นแล อันปรกตแลไฟพ้อยเป็นตั้งบ่ปรกตแก่คนทั้งหลายแล มหาสัดป่วยไฟค่อปรกตแก่คนทั้งหลายเป็นตั้งประดับตนแล้วแลไฟนั้นแล เป็นผู้น้อยไฟปรกตแก่คนทั้งหลายอันมาก เป็นอันมหาสัดเจ้าอันได้ ๑๖ ปลีนั้นแล้ว ค่ไฟนั้นแล เมื่อพายลุนนั้น พ้อยเป็นทารกเดกน้อยห้อยบ่เป็นผู้แก้ ค่ไฟแล ปฐิสทั้งหลายอันมาปรสมชุมนุมในที่นั้น เขาค่มีใจหมั่นยินดีมากนัก กล่าวคำสักเลินยกยอมหาปฏิปฏกจุพากยเถรเจ้าว่า ตูราชาวเราทั้งหลายเหย ส่วนว่าป็นหา

⁸ Due to the richness of vowels, especially diphthongs, it is difficult to transliterate the Khoeun, Lao, Mon, Cambodian script, etc. into a Romanization system. The passages written in Khoeun, Lao, Mon, Cambodian, etc. are transliterated into Siamese Thai script, but the Pāli words are easily noticed for transliterating by a Romanization system.

⁹ The manuscript which is kept at วัดชั้นแก้ว [wátkhānkḥēw], Chiangmai Province, CS 1196-7

⁷ The manuscript which is kept at Wat Mai Suvannabhūmārām (วัดใหม่สุวรรณปุพมาราม), Luang Prabang, CS 1195

อันนี้ มหาเถรเจ้าแก้คำเป็นอันชอบดินัก
 เปนตั้งพรสัพพัญญูเจ้าแก้แก่เราทั้งหลายแล
 ว่าอันแก้กัน คัมภีร์นั้นแล แท้แล

The author's skill in the translation of the TYE is higher than that of the PLN. Some mistakes in the PLN indicate that its author translated it from the LPL without consulting the TYE, even though the manuscript of the TYE (CS 1142), which has recently been discovered, is older than that of the PLN (CS 1195).

It is not clear whether the TKN and the TYE are also directly translated from the LPL. Some passages in the TKN are so identical to the TYE that we can not dismiss the link between these two versions; however, some long Pāli passages in the TKN show its relation to the LPL, whereas, except for the Pāli verse, there is no long Pāli passage in the TYE. Some stories in the TKN do not exist in the LPL, the TYE or the PLN. They are the stories about the lamentation of Queen Māyā when she had to depart from her husband, King Suddhodana, to visit her parents' city, the *Laṅkārapura*, and the story about Indra and his one-string-lute. It is very surprising that the MON is also called *Laṅkārapura* or the *Devalaṅkārapura* instead of *Devadaha*. The story about Indra and his one-string-lute is not common in Paṭhamasambodhi. Although it is an undated manuscript, the story of Indra and his one-string-lute might have prevailed among the Tais in the past. It was transferred from one generation to another orally, and was eventually first recorded in the TKN and had an influence on Paṭhama-

sambodhis of the second group. The Indra's lute of the LPR, the MON, the SMT, the CMD, the NET, and the LVV has three strings instead of one. Indra played his lute in order to guide the Bodhisatta to turn away from self-mortification. In the TKN version, Indra played his lute three times in different degrees of string tension: too stiff, too tight, and neither too stiff nor too tight. Unlike the TKN, each of Indra's three lute strings, in the LPR, the MON, the SMT, the CBD, the NET, and the LVV, was tighten to a different degree: too tight, too stiff, and the suitable tightness.

At present, it can not be determined yet which version had influence on the TLE, and which version was further influenced by it. It is probable that the TKN and TLE were composed from the oral version of Paṭhamasambodhi. The following are the extracts from the TKN and the TLE which are the same episode as in the LPL, the TYE, and the PLN which have already been presented.

TKN [phùuk] 6¹⁰

ปรกาน ๑ *paṭhā* อันว่าถามปัญหาฟังมีด้วย
 คำว่าดังสันนี้คัมภีร์แล อันว่ามหาเถรเจ้าตน ๑
 ชื่อว่าวิติกฤทฏิกายเถรนั้น คัมภีร์นั้นแก้
 ยังแปลนาอันนั้นด้วยคำว่าสันนี้ อันว่ามหาปุริ
 สาวานั้นว่า แม่รู้ว่าไฟด้วยแผ่นดินสันนั้น ก่
 เสมอตั้งไฟในอากาศ ค่ปรกดแก้ตาแห่งคน
 หั้นแล มหาปุริสเจ้าค่อปรกดแก้คนทั้งหลาย
 ได้หั้นคไฟหั้นแล

¹⁰ An undated manuscript copied from Anatole-Roger Peltier

TLE [phùuk] 2, page 16–7¹¹

มหาสัถอันนิ เจ้าภิกษุทั้งหลายมาจากใน
โลหปราสาทสันนิ เมื่อมหันตปิฏกจุฬายาตร
เจ้าตณทรรณปิฏกทั้ง ๓ อันภิกษุทั้งหลายหาก
ราตธนาแก้คำอันนิมหาจุฬายาตรเถียนแก้คำ
อันนิว่าแท้แล ตูราเจ้าทั้งหลายมหาปฐิสต์เจ้า
แห่งเรตณปรเสียดักหากเทียบไฟแผ่นดิน
แท้แล เมื่อตั้งอัน คนทั้งหลายเป็นดังจักไฟ
พด้วยอากาศเมื่อมหาปฐิสต์เจ้าจักออกมา
อยู่ไปทันนึ่งเสื้อผ้าเจือเจ้าค้ายปุดออกมา
เจ้าคัสรเตเจียนอยู่ คนทั้งหลายหันค้เป็น
ดังทรรณเครื่องอาพอนนั้นแล มหาปฐิสต์เจ้า
เป็นเจ้าราชกุมมานออกมาแท้แล คน
ทั้งหลายหันเป็นดังเจ้ามีดินอันไทย มีอายุได้
สิบ ๖ ปลินัน ตูงามหลัตีแล มิเตช มหาสัถ
เจ้าหากเป็นกุมมานน้อยบ่เป็นดังชนทั้งหลาย
หันแล มหาตวิปิฏกุก กุฬายาตรเถียนเจ้า
ปัญหาสันนิแก้ภิกษุแล บันดาสัถทั้งหลายใน
กาลยานัน ภิกษุแลบันดาสัถทั้งหลาย ได้ยิน
คำมหาเถียนเจ้าแก้ปัญหาอันชอบ คัมความ
ชมชื่นยินดีมากนิก ด้วยคำปัญหาอันเป็น
อันชอบ เหมือนดังพระพุทเจ้า หากเทศนา
แก่ชนแลเทวดาทั้งหลายนั้น ชาวเจ้าภิกษุแล
คนทั้งหลายควัณณายกยยังชนนวิเสียด
มหาเถียนเจ้าควัณณันแล

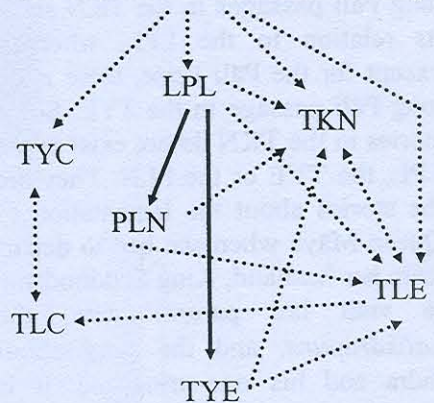
The TYE alone has evolved a little.
The story of Siddhattha Bodhisatta's
life in the TYE version was
translated from the LPL version, but

¹¹ The manuscript written in Saa paper
(ພັບສາ) which is preserved at the ມົນນົຍ (民
委), Meng La (勐腊), Sibsongpanna, an
undated manuscript.

the story after the Enlightenment of
the Buddha was composed and added
to the TYE. No manuscripts written in
Pāli with a story as long as the TYE
have been discovered. On the other
hand, other versions, including the
TYC, show that the TYE is a newer
version than those which preserve the
old theme of Paṭhamasambodhi
focusing on the incident of the Perfect
Enlightenment of the Buddha. More
manuscripts should be investigated to
find out whether any versions written
in Thai Yuan are restricted to the old
theme of Paṭhamasambodhi.

The following chart shows the relation
of all versions of Paṭhamasambodhi in
the first group.

(an oral version of Paṭhamasambodhi)



keys to the symbols

- A \longrightarrow B = A was translated
into B
A $\cdots\cdots\rightarrow$ B = A had an influence
on B
A $\leftarrow\cdots\leftarrow$ B = A had an influence
on B, and vice
versa

The second group:

Like the first group, the Pāli version is the main version, especially the LPRa with 16–19 chapters. Coëdès (1968: 222) assumed that it originally had only 15 chapters covering the whole story of the Buddha from his birth to the *parinibbāna*. The added chapters include the one or two chapters about the auspicious marriage between King Suddhodana and Queen Māyā in the beginning, and one to three chapters at the end, which contain three stories: the distribution of Buddha's relics, the fighting between Māra and an elder called Uppagutta, and the story of the vanishing of all relics. The oldest manuscript of the LPRa is the one which Coëdès reported was kept at the EFEO in Hanoi. It was written in AD 1786, two years before the manuscript kept at Maṇḍiradhamma Chapel (หอมนเทียรธรรม), which, according to the colophon, was written in AD 1788. But it is also stated in the colophon that the Maṇḍiradhamma Chapel (หอมนเทียรธรรม) version was edited from an older manuscript, which suggests that the LPRa should have come into existence in the late Ayutthya period (AD 1351–1767). However, a manuscript older than the EFEO manuscript has not been discovered yet.

Unlike the first group, we can not find a unity in various versions of Paṭhamasambodhi in the second group. The variation does not depend on the new stories, but on the details. Compared with the LPRa, the LPRb gives more details to some incidents,

such as the lamentation of Princess *Yasodharā* and the legend of the *aṭṭhakesadhātu* or the eight hair relics, which became new chapters. Again the LPRc has more details and elaborates the incidents between the first preaching and the visit to *Kapilavatthu* city, and the incidents between the event in the Kapilavattu episode and the Parinibbāna, which makes it nine chapters longer.

The story of the Vasudharā-vanitā in the Māra episode and the struggle of Māra's daughters with the Bodhisatta just before the struggle of Māra with the Bodhisatta also are the distinct characteristics of almost every version of Paṭhamasambodhi in the second group. The story of Indra and his lute in the TKN is changed in its detail. The three-string-lute is used instead of the one-string-lute. The close relation between the LPRa and the MON, the LPRc and the SMT, and the SMT and CBD are noticeable.

The manuscript of the MON kept at วัดศาลาแดงเหนือ [wátsāalaadeṅnēu] is entitled เสกข์ปถมสมโพธิ or “Paṭhamasambodhi, the translated summary version”. Although its colophon does not tell from which version it was translated, it is quite clear that the MON was translated from the LPRa. The Pāli passages in the MON version are the same as those in the LPRa. As it is a summarized translation, the MON does not elaborate as much as the LPRa; thus, although their stories are identical, the LPRa is longer than the MON, such as can be seen in the following example:

the LPRa, [phûuk] 9, page ๙๖¹²

*tasmim khaṇe paññāsa-yojana-
ppamāṇam ramsisahassa-
pasobhitam suriyamaṇḍalam
cakkavālagabbhe khira sāgare
nimujjhāpitam ratanacakkam viya
hatthappamāṇam thitam nemiyaṁ
gahetvā pacchimacakkavālam
ogacchamānam ekūṇa
paññāsayojanappamāṇam
pabhāsaṁujjalantam vissajjentam
nemiya gahetvā anilapathe
ulālāpitam rajaṭacakkam viya
canda-maṇḍalam'pi
pācinalokadhātuto uggacchamānam
thitam cakkavāla-majjhe attano
pabhāya suvaṇṇa-vaṇṇāya
upasobhiyamāṇam tam padesaṁ
suvaṇṇaramsī nimujjāpayamāno
viya rajaṭakhandha-sadisam
bhodhirukkham piṭṭhito katvā
aparājitam varapalaṅkam āruhya
mahāsatto nisinno ahosi.*

the MON, [phûuk] 6, page ๖๖¹³

*tasmim khaṇe
paññāsayojanappamāṇā
ramsidasasahassa ca sobhitam
suriyam maṇḍalam tasmim khaṇe*
ปัจจุบันกาลคหุปริมนทล(ร)สมัยคิตปนุวักวอ
เวา ๕๐ โยชนามมกัลยัสสาสรนชกตินิกุล
ปัจจุบันกาลโลกธาตุปวัปาจิณทิสสุคหุมิคคะ

ปัจจุบันกาลโกธิสตตรุตลปารมิกนต ปวัปนค
โพธิสัจเจรสสุ ชวัโพธิคญิตญาดพัมโลน มจิ
เจาบวนนุกทัวลาตวปตนลวพัลลกนต

The MON is influenced by neither the LPRc nor the SMT. It might have been composed before the LPRc developed. The story which is found in the MON but is not found in other versions is the previous life of the Bodhisatta when he committed an immoral act that caused him to be born as a woman and obtain the name *Āṅgiraśa*.

In general, the content of the three recensions of the LPR—the LPRa, the LPRb—and the LPRc are identical because the newer recension uses the old one as the basis. The big difference between the LPRa and the LPRb is the latter gives more details to some important stories, which become new chapters.

As for the PLRc, Prince Paramānujitjinorot informs us at the end of the text that he was asked by กรมหมื่นไกรสรวิชิต [krommḥṇkrajśōra-wíchít] in the name of King Rama III to edit and correct mistakes in the Pāli version in BE 2387. In the beginning of the SMT, he also said:

จะได้รับพระราชทานอรรถาธิบาย โดยพระ
บาลีในพระคัมภีร์ปฐมสมโพธิ มีคาถา
ประณามพระรัตนตรีย่อยเบื้องต้นแล้ว แสดง
เรื่องความตามลำดับไปว่า...

"I will now explain Paṭhamasam-
bodhi, based on the Pāli version. Its
three-gem obeisance is in the

¹² The manuscript kept at หอมณเทียร
ธรรม [hōmonthiantham], BE 2331

¹³ The undated manuscript kept at วัด
ศาลาแดงเหนือ [wátśālaadeṇṇā],
Pathumthanee Province

beginning. Let's continue with the story..."

The SMT is exactly like the LPRc. For example:

the LPRc, *Dukkarakiriyāparivatta* (Paramānujitjinorot 1994a: 80)

atha sakko vīṇaṃ gahetvā vīṇājiyaṃ vihaññati. thaddhajiyaṃ chinadittha mudujiyaṃ asādhukaṃ saddaṃ sundaraṃ. so vīṇāsaddaṃ sutvā nimittaṃ gaṇhāti. tato sayama jambuchāyāya nisinno bhāvesi esā dukkarakiriyā bodhiyā maggo na hotīti ñatvā...

the SMT, *Dukkarakiriyāparivatta* (Paramānujitjinorot 1994b: 134–5)

ขณะนั้น สมเด็จพระมรินทราธิราชทราบในข้อ
ปริวิตกดังนั้น จึงทรงซึ่งพิณพิณสามสายลง
มาติดถวายพระมหาสัตว์ สายหนึ่งเครื่องนัก
พอดิดก็ขาดออกไป สายหนึ่งห้อยนัก ดิด
เข้าก็ไม่บันลือเสียง และสายหนึ่งนั้นไม่เครื่อง
ไม่ห้อย ปานกลาง ดิดเข้าก็บันลือศัพท์
ไพเราะเจริญจิต พระมหาสัตว์ได้สดับเสียง
พิณ ก็ถือเอาเป็นนิมิตอันนั้น ทรงพิจารณา
เห็นแจ้งว่า มัชฌิมปฏิบัตินั้น เป็นหนทาง
พระโพธิญาณ จึงเสด็จนิสังขการ ณ ภายใต้
ฉายาชมพูพฤกษ์ ทรงพระอาโรคทราบเหตุ
ตระหนักว่า กิจแห่งทุกกริยานี้ ใช้วิธีพระ
โพธิญาณเป็นแน่แท้

The SMT was later translated into the CBD. The translator translated it strickly word by word. The sentence structure and choice of word and style of the CBD are those of Prince Paramānujitjinorot. The Pāli words

and the Thai and Cambodian co-existing words are unchanged. Some Thai words are used in the CBD version but some are replaced by Cambodian words. Almost every corresponding chapter of the two versions begins and ends with the same line. The following examples from the CBD depicting the story of Indra and his three-string-lute begin with the same line of the SMT, which has already been presented. Due to the bad quality of the microfilm, some words are unreadable.

the CMP, [phûuk] 7, page ฉ-ฉ¹⁴

ขณะนั้นสมเด็จพระมรินทราธิราชทราบกุนพลุ
ปริวิตก พระโพธิญาณภูเจนาทิพย ทรงยก
เนาพิณพิณสามสาย ๓ จะมกฏีญถวายพระ
มหาปรัสรุฏฐุ แชส ๑ ตังฉาสฏีญเท...แชส
๑ ธวานาสฏีญเท ก็มีนสิญสเนียง...แชส ๑
นะ มินตังมินธวานกฏฐุ ฏีญเทก็ภาสเนียง
พรัสรุเจินจิตต พระบรมโพธิสตุตมาน ทรงพ
ระสนดาบสเนียงพิณทกนฏฐุ ๑ ก็ทรงยก
ตามนิมิตนะ ทรงพิจารณาเมญจุลสชา มชฌิ
มปรันิบัตติเนชา ผลาพระโพธิญาณพิศย เท็บ
เสตจนิตตนาการาย ยาดรารเทากรมมุลม
ชูปุพริก ทรงทราบเหตุชา กิจจในทุกรกริยา
นิะ มินแมนชาวิธีผลาพระโพธิญาณเพีย

Prince Paramānujitjinorot consulted the *Nidānakathā* and the *Tipiṭaka*. He himself placed the struggle of the Buddha with Māra's daughters, which comes before the Enlightenment of the Buddha in every version of

¹⁴ The manuscript preserved at Vat Sārā-vantejo, Cambodia, BE 2473

Paṭhamasambodhi, after the Enlightenment. Without intention, he changed the ancient structure and broke the important identity of the LPL and all later versions.

The NET and the LVV, which differ considerably from other versions, are very alike. Their structures are based on the LPRc but have been influenced by the SMT. Like the LPRc, the NET and the LVV, they place the incident of the struggle of the Bodhisatta with Māra's daughters before the struggle with Māra, but details are added to the stories of Yasa, three jaṭilas, Sārīputta and Moggallāna, and Yasodharā as they are in the SMT. Nevertheless, the NET and the LVV have their own way of development. Both the NET and the LVV not only give details to the lamentation of Yasodharā when she first met the Buddha but also soon after she heard the news that the Bodhisatta went forth on the great renunciation, as in the following example:

the LVV (Dhammadhajo 1999: 85–6)

อันว่า	
พิมพาแก้ว	สายสมรรู้ข่าว
สลับท้าวลัม	มโนกลั่นเกลื่อนตาย
แท้แล้ว	
อันว่า	
ฝูงล่าเชื้อ	สนมหนุ่มในปาง
เลยเล่า	
โถมนางลูก	เป่าหัวพรมน้ำ
ครันเมื่อ	
พอคราได้	สัจญายังเที่ยง
มาแล้ว	

นางก็ทอด	
พระเนตรเอี่ยม	ชมสิ่งล้ำแยง
ก็จึง	
เห็นเผ่าเชื้อ	สนมหนุ่มกุมมารี
นางก็	
เชชวนทบ	ย้ายมณาย้อย
อัสสขลของหน้า	โคกที่ทรงโคก

the NET, [phûuk] 7, page 10 to [phûuk] 8, page 1¹⁵

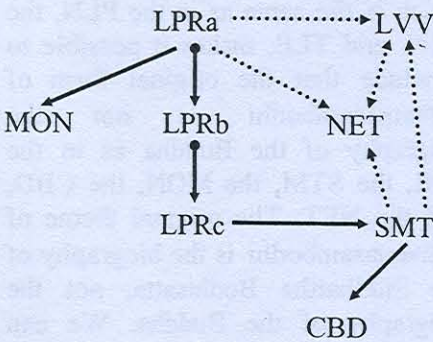
เห่นชอดแท้ พอรูข่าวสาน อันว่าพิมพาแก้ว
 สมงามผู้ประเลศ รู้ข่าวว่าพรบดเจ้าลักหนี่แท้
 บัสน์ลาพิมพาแก้วคาทวงแค้นคั่งพรลีทาดูท่าน
 ลำบดชวนเหมือนแท้ดังตาย นางกิดคั่ง
 แค้นในใจเคียดสั่น แสงใจว่า ชิบให้อดไว้ กบ
 ฟัง นางยกมือขึ้นตีทวงกึ่งเกินสลับท้าวลัม ได้
 เอนน้ำเป่าคินมีนตาขึ้น เห่นคนพัดสลับท้าว
 พิมพานี้สั่งมีกำมากลั่นเปนร้างอยู่บ่เซา คั่น
 หากตายแท้พุดเลา บัคิรอดหนี หากมี
 ความบ่ถูกต้องหนีแท้ บ่ว่าสัง เจ้าเร็ดอันนี้
 หลีหากแม่นคำกินแทงแท้ หนีไปบ่มีเหต
 หลีหากว่าพิมพานี้รู้บ่ช้ำรายายบานรักหนี สั่ง
 มาทำหลายคั่ง ทารก เลี้ยงลูกอ่อน หลีหากว่า
 พรทอนท้าวโอเยะโกตณปู ว่าพิมพานี้บ่ให้รู้ จำ
 ให้ลักหนี่

In the introduction, the NET tells the story of King *Ajātasattu*'s invitation to *Ananda* to recite the Buddha's biography. This is identical with the LPRa. The incidents which exist in the

¹⁵ The undated manuscript kept at วัดบ้านดอน [wátbâandoon], Ubon-ratjathaneer Province

NET but do not exist in other versions are: the incident of Yasodharā's refusal to marry the Bodhisatta because the Bodhisatta did not treat her well in the life of *Vessantara*, the patricide by Prince *Ajātasattu*, and the legend of *petta*.

The following chart shows the relation among versions of Paṭhamasambodhi in the second group.

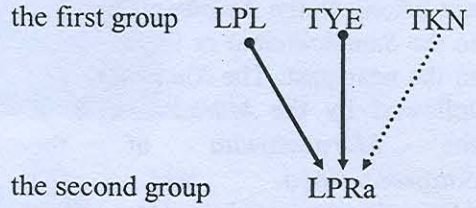


keys to the symbols

- A \longrightarrow B = A was translated into B
- A $\cdots\cdots\longrightarrow$ B = A had an influence on B
- A $\longleftarrow\cdots\cdots$ B = A had an influence on B, and vice versa
- A $\bullet\longrightarrow$ B = A developed into B

The TYE plays an important role as the transitional link between the LPL as the major version of Paṭhamasambodhi of the first group and the LPRa as the major version of the second group. As the LPL was retold with the addition of life stories after the Enlightenment, the content of the LPRa became twice as long. The story of Indra and his lute in the TKN still exists in the LPRa and other

versions in the second group. Here is the chart of relation.



keys to the symbols

- A $\cdots\cdots\longrightarrow$ B = A had an influence on B
- A $\bullet\longrightarrow$ B = A developed into B

The Characteristics of Paṭhamasambodhi

Paṭhamasambodhi is the biography of the Buddha in a traditional way. Almost all of the stories already existed in the *Nidānakathā*—the biography of the Buddha which serves as the introduction of the *Jātakatṭhakathā*, the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya*, and some suttas such as the *Mahāpadānasutta* and the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*. Cœdès (1968: 223–7) indicates that the incident of the fighting between Māra and the elder Upagutta, which exists in the LPRa and in other versions of the second group, was influenced by the *Lokapaññatti*, whereas the story about the *Vasundharā-vanitā* or [naañthooranii] who made Māra and his army flee from the Bodhisatta is a new one. I found that the author of the LPL, the first version of Paṭhamasambodhi, is the retold version of the *Avidūrenidāna* (the event in not distant epoch) of the *Nidānakathā*. Apart from the story of *Vasundarā-vanitā*, one difference between the LPL and the *Nidāna-*

kathā is the order of the incident of the struggle with Māra's daughters. In *Nidāna-kathā* this incident does not belong to the Avidūrenidāna, but to the *Santikenidāna* or the incidents in the near past. The *Nidānakathā* is followed by the *Māradhītasutta* in the *Mārasaṇyutta* of the *Samyuttanikāya*, and the *Māgandiyasutta* and the *Māgandiyasuttanidesa* of the *Kuddakanikāya*, which mention the victory of the Buddha over Māra's daughters while he sat under the *Ajapālanigrodha* tree soon after he attained Enlightenment. In spite of the fact that Paṭhamasambodhi ends immediately after the Buddha uttered the ascetic utterance, the author likely wanted to emphasize the virtue and the great deed of the Bodhisatta, that he completely renounced all *kilesas* or sinful desires. Thus, he reordered that incident by placing it before the struggle with Māra; and moreover, the struggle with Māra's daughters is given in detail. Māra's three daughters, *Arati*, *Rāga* and *Taṇhā*, are presented in front of the Bodhisatta one by one. They tried to lure him with their skills. The argument between the Bodhisatta and them was composed in the form of verse and cannot be found in any Buddhist literature except Paṭhamasambodhi. The story of Vasundharā-vanītā, Māra's daughters of the LPL, and the story about Indra and his lute of the TKN are the most distinct characteristics of the earlier versions of Paṭhamasambodhi, which all later versions keep as their prototype. Both the LPRc and SMT of Prince Paramānujitjinorot place the incident of Māra's daughters after the Enlightenment of the Buddha to

correspond with the *Nidānakathā* and the *Tipiṭaka*. He unintentionally eliminated the characteristics of the earlier versions of Paṭhamasambodhi.

The Evolution

A very old complete manuscript of the LPL written in CS 954, which was discovered at วัดโหล่หิน [wátlājhīn], Lampang Province, shows the original themes of Paṭhamasambodhi. Its story which is the same as in the PLN, the TKN, and TLE, makes it possible to conclude that the original form of Paṭhamasambodhi is not the biography of the Buddha as in the LPR, the STM, the MON, the CBD, and the NET. The original theme of Paṭhamasambodhi is the biography of the Siddhattha Bodhisatta, not the biography of the Buddha. We can notice the gradual evolution from the original theme of Paṭhamasambodhi to the modern one.

The original version of Paṭhamasambodhi has 6 chapters:

- | | | |
|---------|---|---------------------|
| chapter | 1 | Gabbābhinnikkhamana |
| | 2 | Lakkhaṇapaṭigāhaka |
| | 3 | Mahābhinnikkhamana |
| | 4 | Dukkaracariyā |
| | 5 | Māravijaya |
| | 6 | (Paṭhamasambodhi) |

Both the LPL and the PLN use the same title for each chapter, except for the last chapter. It can be inferred from the content and by comparing it to that of the TYE that the last chapter's title is Paramābhisambodhi, the same title as the work itself. In spite of the fact that Cœdès (1968: 222) knew neither the LPL nor the

LPN, he could correctly make an assumption from the meaning of the title, Paṭhamasambodhi “the recent Enlightenment of the Buddha” that the original version of Paṭhamasambodhi should end with the Buddha attaining Enlightenment. The LPL, the PLN, the TYC, the TKN, and the TLE end right after the Buddha uttered *udānakathā* or the ascetic utterance. The two verses of the *udānakathā*, which are also quoted at the end of the *Dūrenidāna*, originally occur in the *Abhisambodhivagga* of the *Dhammapada*.

Paṭhamasambodhi in the genre of the biography of the Siddhattha Bodhisatta forms the first phase of Paṭhamasambodhi. From this phase, it evolves a little with the addition of two new chapters: the *Brahmajjheseṇā* and the *Dhammacakkavattana*, as in the TYE. Moreover, the chapter *Mahābhinnikkhamana* is split into two chapters: the *Rājābhiseka* and the *Mahābhinnikkhamana*; thus the TYE consists of 9 chapters. The TYE changes the original genre of Paṭhamasambodhi to become Buddha’s biography with focus on the emergence of the Buddha and the Dhamma which was preached for the first time to the *Pañcavaggiya*. Due to the *Lalitavistara*, ends with the incident of the preaching of the *Dhammacakka*, like the TYE. It is possible that the *Lalitavistara* had inspired the author of the TYE to enlarge the older genre of Paṭhamasambodhi. Although the story is longer, the theme of Paṭhamasambodhi is kept and the whole story is still relevant to the title, Paṭhamasambodhi.

On one hand, the TYE is the first version of Paṭhamasambodhi which has the potentiality for evolving; on the other hand, it is the prototype for later versions in which details are added to Paṭhamasambodhi to become the complete biography of Buddha.

Around the 17th century, the enthusiasm for Buddha’s life story may have been the result of the impact of the teaching of Jesus’s biography and his religion by European missionaries in the Ayuttha Kingdom. Paṭhamasambodhi, as the most popular version of Buddha’s biography, is dramatically composed into a complete biography of the Buddha. The incidents after the preaching of *Dhammacakka* were composed and attached to the old version of Paṭhamasambodhi. The LPL was used as the basis of the LPR. Both are written in Pāli. It is clear that the Pāli version, especially the LPR, was composed for monks as a text for preaching. We do not know the role of Paṭhamasambodhi in the Ayutthaya period (AD 1350–1767), but in the Rattanakosin period (from AD 1782) King Rama V (1900: 91–2) recorded that Paṭhamasambodhi was preached by monks as an activity to celebrate *Visākhapūjā* day in the reign of King Rama II and King Rama III. The preaching of Paṭhamasambodhi is an important activity on Buddhist days, like the narration of Jesus’s life story by Christian priests on Christmas day. At this point Paṭhamasambodhi evolved to the second phase, the complete biography of Buddha. The number of chapters increased from 9 to 15. There are 6 more chapters; three

were newly composed and three were split from former chapters. The three new chapters—the Pañca-sākiyapabbajjā, the Desanā, and the Nibbānasutta—are attached consecutively to the Dhammacakkavattana. The split chapters consist of the Gabbānikkamama from the first part of the Lakkhaṇapaṭiṅgāhaka, the Buddhapūjā from the last part of the Dukkarakiriya, and the Bodhisabbaññū from the first part of the Brahmajjesana. And then three more chapters—the Vivāhamaṅgala, the Dhātuvibhajjana, and the Māra-bandha—were composed and attached to the beginning and the end of Paṭhamasambodhi. After that, one more chapter, the Dhātunibbāna, was composed, and three more chapters—the Aṭṭhakesadhātu, the Bimbāvilāpa, and the Devorohana—were split from the Brahmajjesana, the Pañca-satasākiyapabbajjā, and the Desanā, respectively. The versions which are the second phase of Paṭhamasambodhi are the LPRa, the LPRb, and the MON.

Paṭhamasambodhi finally evolves into the last phase with eight more chapters: the Yasapabbajjā, the Uruvelagamana, the Aggasāvaka-pabbajjā, the Kapilavatthugamana, the Metteyyabuddhavyākaraṇa, the Buddhapitunibbāna, the Yamakapāṭi-hāriya, and the Aggasāvakanibbāna. The last phase of Paṭhamasambodhi is not only the story of the birth of the Bodhisatta, the emergence of the Buddha, the discovering of Dhamma, the occurrence of the first Buddhist monk, and the end of the life of the Buddha, but also the settlement of the Buddhist religion in the Magadha

state, Buddha's responsibility to his family, the competition with other doctrines, and the prophecy about the future Buddha. As a result, this phase of Paṭhamasambodhi transforms from the Buddha's biography into the whole story of Buddhism, which will last until the Dhamma as the heart of the religion disappears by the year 5000. As the symbol of Buddha's teaching, the relic disappearance is the main story told in the last chapter of Paṭhamasambodhi. The LPRc, the SMT, the CBD, and the LVV are the representatives of this phase of Paṭhamasambodhi.

Conclusion

The original Paṭhamasambodhi is the Pāli version comprised of six chapters telling the life story of the Siddhattha Bodhisatta. It was composed in the Lanna Kingdom. The oldest fragment manuscript is more than 500 years old. The complete one was written more than one hundred years later. The Pāli version was translated into Thai Yuan, Lao, Tai Lue and Tai Khoeun and simultaneously spread throughout the Lanna Kingdom, the Lanxang Kingdom, Chiang Tung, and Sibsongpanna. Except the Thai Yuan version, all versions of the Tai people are the story of the Siddhattha Bodhisatta (known among the Tais as สี่ธาตุออกบวช [sīthâat?òòkbùat]). The Pāli version of the Lanna kingdom also evolved into the later Pāli version consisting of 16–18 chapters. This version is not Siddhattha's life story but Buddha's biography. On one hand, the later Pāli version, which was composed in the

Ayutthaya Kingdom, was rendered into the Mon version; on the other hand, some new chapters were composed and fused into the former Pāli version. The final phase of *Paṭhamasambodhi* is the Pāli version of Prince Paramānujitjinorot, which was again transformed into the legend of Buddhism. This latest Pāli version was rendered into Siamese Thai, which was later translated into Cambodian. Prince Paramānujitjinorot's versions had influence on the composition of the Northeastern Thai version by either a Northeastern Thai author or a Lao author. However, no matter how it changed and how many new chapters were added the Northeastern Thai version maintained the original sequence of incidents, with the episode of Māra's daughters placed before the Enlightenment. The original title, *Paṭhamasambodhi*, and the titles of the original chapters remain unchanged. On the other hand, the original meaning of *Paṭhamasambodhi* gradually changed from "the recent Perfect Enlightenment of the Buddha" to the story of the Enlightenment of the Buddha and the Dhamma, and finally to the traditional legend of the Buddha's life and religion. Even today, new recensions of the legend of the Buddha are composed. All use the old title, *Paṭhamasambodhi*. It is inferred from the discovered manuscripts and their relation that *Paṭhamasambodhi* is an immortal heritage of the Lanna people which was disseminated widely not only among the Tais, but also to their neighbours the Tais.

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