PAṬHAMASAMBODHI IN NINE LANGUAGES: THEIR RELATION AND EVOLUTION

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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, 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 Paramanujitjina 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

1 I am grateful to Oscar von Hinüber for reading a draft of this paper and giving useful suggestions, to Jacqueline Filliozat for providing useful information, and to Anatole-Roger Peltier and Oliveier de Bernon for making copies of manuscripts written in Tai Khoeun and Cambodian respectively.

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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 Sarvavāsatīvādin, the Buddhacarita of Āśvaghoṣa, the Mālālatikāravatthu of Burma, and Paṭhamasambodhikathā of His Patriarch Prince Paramānūjitinorot 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 Paramānūjitinorot 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 Paramānūjitinorot’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. Sālītul mentioned two Pāli versions: the Prince Paramānudījitinarot’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 Bouddha: La Paṭhamasambodhi”, published in 1968, contributes significantly to the history of Buddhist literature. By studying some manuscripts, mainly written in Pāli and another written in Thai Yaun, 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 วัดโพธินันท์ [wátplà̄nàn], 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 วัดโพธินันท์ [wátplà̄nàn] is really a fragment manuscript. The colophons of all 4 bundles show the same passage with little variation as follows:

ยูจั้นปราสาทสร้อยจั้นหมดใจพระสุราษฎร์

and

[csillasákka ka sattha] 954 จั้นจิ้นตั้น

asāṇāyājñākhāmchuussaatsuṇā prāc āwātāthāw 5 phanwátsālaev]

“The year 954 of Cūḷasakka rāja in the Ruangmaw year, the upāstiṅkā called Mukdā had Paṭhamasambodi written to support Buddhism so that it would last till the year 5000.”

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:

Yojanamāne thâne agantā
padavigatam nidhidassana-
samaththaram gahapatiratanaṃ
pátu 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:

...kucchinhi nibbattevyā
sa(ka)larajjanman (uss)asassana-

parināyakaratanaṃ pátu
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...
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 Rajjamanagalābhisek National Museum, Chiangmai Province. One is the oldest but is a fragment written in CS 839; the other is undated but วัดสิบล้าน
เรือท่าเลีย [watsibunranaghaa-rati] is inscribed on its cover. Their texts show that they are the same version of those kept at วัดไคลิน [watlajhin].

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 forth manuscript written in BE 2331 is kept at Māṇḍiradhama Chapel (ตอนพิธีกรรม) 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 Sudhisongkram (1972: 496), and Prah Mahā Suraphol Singkirat (1998: 27–9).

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 [wātprachêttuphon], Bangkok, and another is kept at วัดสุททาวาส [wātsūthaavāat], Mahasararakham.

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4 According to Prah Mahā Suraphol Singkirat (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 วัดคงคา [wátkhoŋkhaaraam], Ratchaburi 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 วัดฉัตรนาเหนือ [wátsaalaadèpp̥et̥ra], Pathumthani 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 Pathmasambodhi 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 Saravantejo. 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 Sīṅgattaracetiya, was added to the second copy. Moreover, the story of Visākhapajjā and Māghapajjā are added at the beginning of some manuscripts.

5. The Siamese Thai Version (SMT)

There are a number of this version. Prince Paramanujitjarorot 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 วัดบ้านหลวง [wátbáanlûk], 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 วัดคำแก้ว [wátkānkk̥èw], Chiangmai.
Province, but he did not give any details about the latter manuscript.

7. The Northeastern Thai or Isan Version (NET)

Canya Khongcarern (1989) studied the manuscript consisting of 30 bundles kept at วัดแม่ท้อะองสว่าง [watmâjthâôungswâang], Ubonratjathaneey Province. Canya also mentioned two fragment manuscripts kept at วัดบ้านจัด [watbânjâj], in the same province and another kept in วัดบ้านดอน [watbânândon], Yasothorn Province. At present, the manuscript of วัดแม่ท้อะองสว่าง [watmâjthâôungswâang] is now lost. I found a nearly complete manuscript consisting of 31 bundles at วัดบ้านดอน [watbânândon], Ubonratjathaneey Province; only some folios of the last part of bundle no. 8 are lost. Other manuscripts have been found: one at วัดบ้านจัด [watbânjâj], Khonkaen Province, three at the Rajjamangala-bhisek 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 scribbling 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 Pâli–Lao Nissaya (PLN)

Louis Finot (1917), Pierre-Bernard Lafont (1959), Thao Kène (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 recension 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 Suvannabhûmâram (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 Pâli–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 Mahâ 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. Prajñā Mahā Jana transcribed and published it in AD 1999. This version is quite similar to that published in Vientiane in AD 1974, which was later edited by Prajñā Sīlā Viļavong 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, PRC\(^5\). The title has four variations: Pathomsamphot (ปทมสัมพัทธ), Pathomsamphot Kai-Phu-Ton (ปทมสัมพัทธก่ำพู่ตน), Pathomsamphot Luang (ปทมสัมพัทธหลวง), and Parama-samphot (ประสมสัทธ). 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 (ปทมสัมพัทธหลวง) or Pathomsamphot (ปทมสัมพัทธ) (TL); the latter is called Pathomsamphot Kai-Phu-Ton (ปทมสัมพัทธก่ำพู่ตน) (TLC). These manuscripts are written on palm leaves, พับส้า [p̂op săa], and paper.

The Relation among versions

All versions of Paññasam bodhi are broadly classified by their content into two groups. All versions of Paññasam bodhi 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 Asetics. 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 Paññasambodhi 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 Siddhāttha 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 immediate after the praṇāmavacananakathā, 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:

setātapatram janatābhipathitam pahāya yo sattvasihi maṇḍitiśam hitāya nekkhammam akāsi kappāluno saṭhu nāma 'tīthu tassa ve.

This verse does not exist in any canons except in Paṭhasāmbodhi. It belongs to an unknown author who first composed this literature. The first word setātapatram 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, Abhissambodhivagga. The verse is:

aṇekajātisasāram
sandhāvisām anibbisām
gahakāram gavesanto
dukkhā jāti punappunanā
gahakāra dīṭṭhosi
puna gehaṃ na kāhasi. [35]
sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā
gahakātām visāṭkhātām

visāṭkhāragatam cittam
taṅhānaṃ khayamaṁjīghgā 'tī. [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 Paṭhasāmbodhi 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 Paṭhasāmbodhi. 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 Paṭhasāmbodhi. It shows how identical the LPL, the TYE, and the PLN are.

the PPL [phuuk] 3, page 35–6

avyaṃ pana pañño heṭṭhāto pādesa mukhito tipiṭkasukalāyathera na visajītova mahāpurisa patha(vi)yā gato mahājanassa mahāṃ akāse gacchante viya ahoṣi. dissamānanatā mahājanassa mahāṃ adissamāno viya ahoṣi. avelake mahājanassa manaṃ aḷāṃkatapatiyatto viya upaḷāsi. dasārova gato mahājanassa mahāṃ solasavasadesikakālo viya ahoṣi. pacchā puna baladālakova ahoṣi na tādisoti parisā yassa buddhena viya

6 The manuscript which is kept at วัดไก่หิน [wäßljhin], Lampang, CS 654
หัวต่ำส่อเทเรนา ปานทุก กัทธิโต ทิ ต้าต้ามานะ อหอสี.

ที่ PLN [ภูวก] 3, หน้า 67

ยาม pane ปานทุก สำรวจอันไหน ที่มั่วนะแชะจั่นสิ่งว่ากุญแจ การให้ บั้งเกิดในโลกประจำการได้สิ้นส้วม visajjito ทำกิจที่ก็้วกั้งังนี้ maha-puriso อันว่าพุทธิ pathaviya ภยขัตทุกภยขัตภ์ gato ที่ ไปยังรบกวนได้นิชิตนั้นแล้วเห็น เราย่าด้วยเห็นที่ประกาศบทบั้นที่ด้วยอย่าง กัลยัณณ์แก่หนุษที่พหลภูมิอันนั้นแล้ว ส่วน การจัดไป bàn disseramnagato ที่ไปอย่างนี้ ให้ประกาศทันแล้ว adissamano viya อหอสี ก็หายไปปรุดปรุต์พันปรุงระดับ ชนทั้งหลายที่พักอาศัย หมู่ทวีกันจังหวัด และ ส่วนพัดตนผมพุทธิภพจั่นยนั้น avelako ที่ปุ่มหลวงถ้ำดันสักนิยม ก็หายประกาศทัน แก่ชนทั้งหลาย alapkapattiyatto viya แปลประโยคจั่นบรรยายปรับบั้นนั้น เมื่อ เขาไปนั้น daharova gato เขาก็ไปต่อพุทธ อันหนุนผืนแบ็ยนั้น ก็หายประกาศแก่ชน พหลภูมิ solassavasuddesakkaro viya เป็นประโยคสั้นเล็กน้อยปรับบั้นนั้นได้อย่าง 10 เข้า นั้นแล้ว paccha เมื่อพหลภูมิ เขาก็หายประกาศแก่ ชนทั้งหลายด้วยพยัคฆ์อันผืนนั้นแล้ว เมื่อหนุนผืนล้ำหน้าที่นั้นแลว เขาก็หาย วิสุทธิภพขัตที่เป็นไปเจ้าตามที่พหลภูมิ ดัง parissari สำนักอภิปริศทั้งหลาย attamanà ที่มีใจขันชัยติ pasāstā ที่

เล็กเล็กอน้อยด้วยคำว่า bho ตุอาระเรากา
ปานทุก อันว่าปานทุกพระกระยาจุลบุญ เพราะจั่นเห็นนี้ kathito อันเร้าจากกล้าเกิน ให้ภาษาสงครามใดดังนี้ sahu vata hoti ที่เป็น ติอันมานะนั้น buddho na viya huvā แปล ปุทุจังทรงพุทธเจ้าที่รูปบั้นนี้แพดมิลแล้ว วาดั้งนั้น ahesanā ภูมิเด่น8

TYE [ภูวก] 2, หน้า 15–69

ยามผ่านอันออมดังนี้ คงได้ใจเลยประสก
แล้ว ที่มีติปุทุจังทรงเจ้าอันจักรซิมญา
คำว่า ค๊ก๊าวาแตงนี้ พระกระยาจุลบุญ เมื่อ
ไฟตื่นกลางคืนนี้ที่ประกาศเกินพายหลุด
เป็นดังใจตัวแล้วดินนั้นแล้ว อันประกาศให้
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แปลประโยคเกินพายหลุดแล้ว ผันผวนรังไข่

ร้อยขันพุทธเจ้าที่รูปบั้นนี้ ดังนี้ ผันผวน
ร้อยถึงกับพายหลุดแล้ว รุ่นที่บังตามผัน

ขันพุทธเจ้าที่รูปบั้นนี้ ได้ 10 ฟั้นแล้ ค้าที่นั้นแล้ว เมื่อ

พายหลุดแล้ว พอเป็นตัง


8 Due to the richness of vowels, especially diphthongs, it is difficult to transliterate the Khocun, Lao, Mon, Cambodian script, etc. into a Romanization system. The passages written in Khocun, 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 วัดกั้นภูม [วัดกั้นภูม], Chiangmai Province, CS 1196-7
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 Pali passages in the TKN show its relation to the LPL, whereas, except for the Pali verse, there is no long Pali 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 Sudhodana, to visit her parents’ city, the Lankārapura, and the story about Indra and his one-string-lute. It is very surprising that the MON is also called Lankārapura or the Devalatīkārapura instead of Devadaha. The story about Indra and his one-string-lute is not common in Pathamasambodhi. 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 Pathama-
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 Pathamasambodhi. 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 [phūuk] 6¹⁰

From an undated manuscript copied from Anatole-Roger Peltier
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

The manuscript written in Saa paper (ผ้ายืด) which is preserved at the คุณภ transpose (ผู่) Meng La (.Debugf) Sibsongpanna, an undated manuscript.

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

(keys to the symbols)

A → B = A was translated into B
A → → B = A had an influence on B
A → → 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 Saddhatana 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 EFEIO in Hanoi. It was written in AD 1786, two years before the manuscript kept at Manḍāradhamma Chapel (曼那末底耶異), which, according to the colophon, was written in AD 1788. But it is also stated in the colophon that the Manḍāradhamma Chapel (曼那末底耶異) 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 EFEIO manuscript has not been discovered yet.

Unlike the first group, we can not find a unity in various versions of Paṭhāmasambodhi 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 attahakeṣadhātu 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 Kapilavatthu 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 Paṭhāmasambodhi 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 วัดพระพุทธศาสนา [พระพุทธศาสนา] is entitled เสกปรามสมบัติ or “Paṭhama-sambodhi, 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 Pali 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 5e–g.\(^{12}\)

tasmîn khañe pāṇīśa-yojana-pamānâm rāmsiṣadasaḥsas- pasobhitam suriyamanḍalām cakkavālagabhbe khira sāgāre nimujihāpitaṁ ratanacakkāṁ viya hathappamānaṁ thitaṁ nemiyaṁ gahetvā pacchimacakkāvāṁ ogacchhamānaṁ ektūna pāṇīśayojana-pamānâm pabhāṣāsaṃujjalantâṁ vissajjentâṁ nemiya gahetvā anilapathe ulallāpitaṁ rajatacakkāṁ viya canda- maṇḍalāṁ pi pācânañakadhātuto uggacchhamānaṁ thitaṁ cakkavāla-majjhe attano pabhāya suvaṁśa-varṇāya upasobhiyamānaṁ taṁ padesaṁ suvaṁsārasiṣ niṃujiyāpayamāno viya rajatakhandha-sadisam bhodhirukkhams pîṭṭhito katvā aparājitâṁ varapalaṁkâṁ āryya mahâsatto nisinnâ ahosi.

the MON, [phûuk] 6, page 5e\(^{13}\)

tasmîn khañe pāṇīśayojananappamānâ rāmsidasaḥsasahassa ca sobhitam suriyam manḍalām tasmîn khañe prājñâco licchhimandlo (के) समिलित पुरुषार्थवाण वेना 60 योजनमुखी अद्ध्यायपुरुषकुशलेशु के पुरुषस्तोला अविश्वसुधुतिप्राप्ति पुरुषार्थसमाह मुई}

\(^{12}\) The manuscript kept at หอมเหนื่องธรรม [hōm manthiñhantham], BE 2331

\(^{13}\) The undated manuscript kept at วัด วัดจามจุรี [wàt sàšàlaadēcôrê], Pathumthanee Province

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 Anigirasa.

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 Paramānūjitjīnīnrot informs us at the end of the text that he was asked by กรม ศิลปวัฒนธรรม [krommïn kraja-sorâ-wichît] in the name of King Rama III to edit and correct mistakes in the Pâli version in BE 2387. In the beginning of the SMT, he also said:

จะได้รับพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้า ฯ ให้พระบางลำพูนทรงปฏิบัติตาม ฯ ที่มีคำา พระกรุณาทรงปฏิบัติอยู่เนื่องดั่นแล้ว แสดง เรื่องความแต่ไปว่า...

'I will now explain Paṭhamasambodhi, based on the Pâli version. Its three-gem obeisance is in the
beginning. Let’s continue with the story..."

The SMT is exactly like the LPRc. For example:

the LPRc, Dukkarakiriya-parivatta (Paramanujitjinorot 1994a: 80)

atha sakkā viññāma gahetvā viññājīyāṁ vihanātāti. thaddhajīyāṁ chinadithāna
maduṣīyāṁ asādhukaṁ saddām sundaraṁ. so viññāsaddām sutvā nimittau gacchati. tato sāyām
jambūcāyāya nismino bhāvesi esa dukkarakiriya bodhiyā maggo na hoti tiñviā...

the SMT, Dukkarakiriya-parivatta (Paramanujitjinorot 1994b: 134–5)

খননে সমেতঋষিতে নারায়ণরাবণের বিশ্বাস চোদনের প্রতিক্ষা করতে বিশ্বাসের শীঘ্র সম্পত্তির সাথে সামঞ্জস্যপূর্ণ হয়। পুরাণে প্রধান প্রভাবশালী সমস্যাতে স্থানের প্রধান প্রতিষ্ঠা। বিপন্ন কিন্তু বিভিন্ন বাঞ্ছার প্রতিষ্ঠাকালের জন্য সাদৃশ্যপূর্ণ হলি খামন্তব নিমিত্ত নিষেধ করে এবং প্রতিষ্ঠাকালের প্রতিষ্ঠায় মহান মহান পরিবারের নিমিত্ত নিষেধকালের অন্যতম সবুজ প্রতিষ্ঠাকালের নিষেধকালের অন্যতম সবুজ প্রতিষ্ঠাকালের নিষেধকালের অন্যতম সবুজ প্রতিষ্ঠাকালের নিষেধকালের অন্যতম সবুজ প্রতিষ্ঠাকালের নিষেধকালের অন্যতম সবুজ প্রতিষ্ঠাকালের 

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 Paramanujitjinorot. 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 5–614

Prince Paramanujitjinorot 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 Sāravantejo, Cambodia, BE 2473
Pañhamasambodhi, 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 Mara’s daughters before the struggle with Mara, but details are added to the stories of Yasa, three jātīlas, Śāriputta 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)

อั่ว
พัฒนาแล้ว
สายสังหาริ่งวัว
สบายกว่ามัน
ไม่กลัวก็กลัวตาย

ดิ่ว
พูดสั่งซ่อน
สมทุ่มไบบาง
เลี้ยง

โจโฉงผูก
เป่าหัวพรหม

ประมาณได้
สลักบ้ายิ่งเหงา

บางกีทอง
พระเจ้าโยธิน ขณะลั่นถ้านะ
ก็ยัง
เห็นผ่านเชือ
สมทุ่มภูมิภัย

เฮนของมา
เยวามาภัยอ้อ
อสุขสูตของหน้า โต้ก็ทรงไกด์

the NET, [phuuk] 7, page 10 to [phuuk] 8, page 1 \(^{15}\)

In the introduction, the NET tells the story of King Ajātassattus’s invitation to Ananda to recite the Buddha’s biography. This is identical with the LPRAs. The incidents which exist in the

\(^{15}\) The undated manuscript kept at วัดบ้านดอน [วัดบ้านดอน], Ubonratjathanee Province
The following chart shows the relation among versions of Paṭhamasambodhi in the second group.

![Version Relation Chart]

**Keys to the Symbols**

- **A → B** = A was translated into B
- **A ...... B** = A had an influence on B
- **A ←→ B** = A had an influence on B, and vice versa
- **A ↔ 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 *Jātakatthakathā*, the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya*, and some suttas such as the *Mahappadānasutta* 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 *Lokapāṇṇatti*, whereas the story about the *Vasundhārā-vanīti* or *naṅthōoranī* 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 *Vasundhārā-vanīti*, one difference between the LPL and the *Nidāna-

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*.
katha is the order of the incident of the struggle with Mara's daughters. In Nidana-katha this incident does not belong to the Avidurenidana, but to the Santikenidana or the incidents in the near past. The Nidana-katha is followed by the Mradhitasutta in the Mrasatyutta of the Samyuttanikaya, and the Magandiyasutta and the Magandiya-suttanidesa of the Kuddakanikaya, which mention the victory of the Buddha over Mara's daughters while he sat under the Ajapanigrodha tree soon after he attained Enlightenment. Inspite of the fact that Pathamasambodi ends immediately after the Buddha uttered the ecstatic 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 Mara; and moreover, the struggle with Mara's daughters is given in detail. Mara's three daughters, Arati, Raga and Taritha, 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 Pathamasambodi. The story of Vasundhara-vanita, Mara'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 Pathamasambodi, which all later versions keep as their prototype. Both the LPRc and SMT of Prince Paramanujitjnorot place the incident of Mara's daughters after the Enlightenment of the Buddha to correspond with the Nidana-katha and the Tipiṭaka. He unintentionally eliminated the characteristics of the earlier versions of Pathamasambodi.

The Evolution

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

The original version of Pathamasambodi has 6 chapters:

chapter 1 Gabbabhiniikkhamana
2 Lakkhanapajigāhaka
3 Mahābhiniikkhamanana
4 Dukkaracariya
5 Mara vijaya
6 (Pathamasambodi)

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 Paramābhisambodi, the same title as the work itself. Inspite of the fact that Côdès (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 Dammmapada.

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 Brahmajīhesanā and the Dhammacakkavattana, as in the TYE. Moreover, the chapter Mahābhīnikkhamana is split into two chapters: the Rājābhiseka and the Mahābhīnikkhamana; thus the TYE consists of 9 chapters. The TYE changes the origal 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 Dhammacakkka, 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 Ayutthaya 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 (1990: 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 Dhammacakkappavattana. The split chapters consist of the Gabbānikkamma from the first part of the Lakkhaṇapaṭīgahaka, the Buddhāpūjā from the last part of the Dukkarakiriyā, and the Bodhisabbahā from the first part of the Brahmajjhesana. And then three more chapters—the Vivāhamañgalā, the Dhatuvihajjana, and the Mārabandha—were composed and attached to the beginning and the end of Paṭhamasambodhi. After that, one more chapter, the Dhatunibbāna, was composed, and three more chapters—the Aṭṭhakesadhātu, the Bimbāvīlāpa, and the Devorohana—were split from the Brahmajjhesana, 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 Metteyyabuddhavākarāṇa, the Buddhāpitunibbāna, the Yamakapāṭihāriya, and the Aggasāvakaniibbāna. 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 Khoen 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 สิทธาตท [sīthāat?wokbūat]). 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 Paṭhasambodhi is the Pāli version of Prince Paramānujitjinorot, which was again transformed into the legend of Buddhism. This lastest 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 Mara’s daughters placed before the Enlightenment. The original title, Paṭhasambodhi, and the titles of the original chapters remain unchanged. On the other hand, the original meaning of Paṭhasambodhi 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, Paṭhasambodhi. It is inferred from the discovered manuscripts and their relation that Paṭhasambodhi 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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