HINDU MYTHS IN THAI LITERATURE
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THE NARAI SIP PANG

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the sources of those Hindu myths which have been adapted and then interpolated into Thai literature so as to become an integral part of it. All categories of Thai literary texts which contain any Hindu myth, dating from the Sukhothai period up to the time of King Rama VI of the Ratanakosin, have been taken into account, but special reference is made to the Narai Sip Fang, a Thai work attempting to deal authoritatively with many divinities shared with the Hindu pantheon.

The thesis commences with an introduction. This is followed by seven chapters and the conclusion. The thesis ends with two appendices.

The Chapters:

Chapter 1 deals with Hindu myths concerning Brahma, the first divinity of the Hindu trimurti. Though he is sometimes misunderstood to be the same as a Buddhist Brahma, he is still regarded by the Thais as the Creator.

Chapter 2 is about Siva who, for the Thais, is the supreme as well as the most benevolent god.

In Chapter 3 accounts of two sons of Siva — Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya — confused by the Thais to be the same, are analysed.

Chapters 4 and 5 consist of myths about Visnu, appearing as the valorous preserver in Thai literature. His eight minor incarnations are discussed here.
In Chapter 6 the Kṛṣṇa incarnation of Visṇu and the love-story of Aniruddha, his grandson are investigated.

Chapter 7 is concerned with the most celebrated Hindu myth in Thai literature — the myth of the Rāmacandra incarnation of Visṇu.

The conclusion is an attempt to suggest the most influential factors to have made Hindu myths appear in their present form in Thai literature.

The appendices:

Appendix 1 is the translation of the Royal Press Version of the Nārāi Sip Pāng.

Appendix 2 is a concise study of present-day Thai Brahmins who still hold the Nārāi Sip Pāng as one of their sacred texts.
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INTRODUCTION

The first evidence in the Thai language of any knowledge of Hindu mythology on the part of the Thais dates from the very beginning of the Sukhothai period. The occurrence of the form 'Rama' as part of King Rām Khamhaeng's name (literally, Rāma the Strong; also found as Rāmarāja in the inscription No. II) in the very first Thai inscription ever set up (1292 A.D.) itself suggests that at least the hero of the Rāmāyana, if not the whole epic, was familiar to the Thais at that time. The name of a cave which is called after Rāma, the hero of the epic mentioned in the king's inscription, also shows that the gist of this Indian epic had been current for sometime in this territory. For the most part, however, the early Sukhothai inscriptions are predominantly Buddhist in content. Similarly, most of the surviving statuary and reliefs are devoted to Buddhist subjects, though a small minority of Hindu devas were produced and have survived to this day.¹

In the Lilit Ōngkān Chaeng Nam (the text recited in the ceremony of Drinking the Water of Allegiance performed from the early Ayuthya period (around 1320)), besides the Hindu trimūrti, some important Hindu gods, such as Agni, Yama and Skanda, are invoked together with Rāma and Laksmana to witness the ceremony. Moreover, it seems that some episodes of Kṛṣṇa's life, i.e. his lifting up of the Govardhana Mountain and his fighting with the serpent Kāliya, are also referred to in the text. Three characters from the Rāmāyana, i.e. Vālī, Sugrīva and Hanumān, are referred to in the Kot Monthiān Bān (the Palatine Law). In this same text there is also description of an interesting performance called chak nāk du'kdamban. It can be said for certain that this performance is the representation of the Hindu myth of the churning of the ocean. In inscription No. 45 (1392 A.D.)

¹ Theodore Bowie (ed.) The Arts of Thailand, Indiana University, 1960, p. 192.
the Pândava princes of the Mahābhārata are first mentioned along with the heroes of the Rāmāyana and the Hindu gods. In the Lilit Yūan Phāi (15th century) there is an indirect reference to the primal creation of the world by Brahmā. It is related in the text that King Bṛṣomatrailōkanāt is an incarnation of eleven Hindu gods; he is created to put an end to calamities happening in the world at that time by turning the earth face-up and by propping up the sky (chū phaen din hai ngāi, thāi phaen rā bō hai khwam)*. It is generally known in Hindu mythology that the first stage in the world's creation by Brahmā is that the god separates the sky from the earth and thus creates order out of chaos. King Bṛṣomatrailōkanāt's deed mentioned in the Lilit Yūan Phāi is reminiscent of this myth. Moreover, in the Lilit Yūan Phāi characters of the Mahābhārata are referred to throughout. This shows that at that time the Thai elite, or Thai courtiers, who were the readers of this text must have known the story well so that they were able to appreciate the work. But unlike the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata has never been popular in Thailand to the extent that the whole story has been rewritten many times by the Thais. The Mahābhārata did not become familiar until after the introduction of the study of Indology to the Thais by King Rama VI. Only a small part from the Mahābhārata, or, what seems more likely, from the Harivamśa, its appendix, which can be classified as a Purāṇa on its own, was taken and used as source-material for composition by a Thai author, viz. in the Anirut Kham Chan (about 15th century) which is the story of Aniruddha, Kṛṣṇa's grandson.

Besides the Rāmāyana and the story of Aniruddha there is no other extant Thai text on any particular Hindu myth composed during the Ayuthya period. But this does not mean that the Thais did not know of other Hindu myths. On the contrary there must have been numerous Hindu myths current in Thailand at that time. Evidence can be found in some episodes from the Thai Rāmāyana which are different from Vālmīki's Rāmāyana (see p.115f) but similar to other versions.

2. Lilit Yūan Phāi, Bangkok, 1922, p. 2
of the Rāmāyana composed in various Indian dialects. Other evidence is found in a text called Nārāi Sip Pāng which contains a number of Hindu myths, especially those concerning Viṣṇu's incarnations. Hardly any of the Hindu myths in the Nārāi Sip Pāng are in accordance with those related in Sanskrit texts. They are more like Thai versions transformed from Indian folk myths. It is because they are so different from the Sanskrit versions that King Rama VI makes a remark that the Thais must have either misunderstood or wrongly interpreted the myths narrated to them by the Indians. Rama VI seems to have been irritated by the local versions of Hindu myths as found in Thai literature, and it was he who introduced the correct Hindu mythology (i.e. one that conforms to Sanskrit texts as studied by the West) to the Thais. From then on Hindu myths appearing in Thai literature tend to conform to the Sanskrit prototype.

The characteristics of the Nārāi Sip Pāng can be said to be somewhat similar to those of a Purāṇa. It contains at least two topics required for a Purāṇa as defined by Amara Siṅha, an ancient Sanskrit lexicographer. These topics are: (1) The creation of the universes; and (2) the genealogy of gods and sages. In the Nārāi Sip Pāng there is the story of the creation of the world by Śiva. Genealogy of gods and kings in the Nārāi Sip Pāng is limited to the gods and kings appearing in the Thai Rāmāyana only. (Genealogy in the strict sense of the word will not be discussed in this thesis.) It is a reasonable hypothesis to say that the myths in the Nārāi Sip Pāng have their prototype in the Purāṇas (both Sanskrit and local Indian ones). Prince Dhani attests this suggestion. In his review in the Journal of the Siam Society (Vol. LV, Pt. 2, 1967) of a book called Nārāi Sip Pāng Lae Phong Nai Rū'ang Rāmakīn he says, "From this presentation one may deduce that the myths of the Sanskrit Purāṇa were not unknown to our ancestors".

The characteristics of the Hindu myths in the Nārāi Sip Pāng are Vaiṣṇava in origin. This is clearly seen from the present title of
the text — Nārāi Sīp Pāng, "The Ten Incarnations of Nārāyanā". It means
that whoever who gave this title to the text regarded the myths about
Viṣṇu incarnations as the essential part of the text. Later on some
Śaiva myths were integrated into the myths about Viṣṇu. Some Śaiva
myths, such as the destruction of Tripura by Śiva, maintained their
original characteristics and were not altered to conform with the
existing Vaiṣṇava myths in the text. But some Śaiva myths lost their
original character and were adapted to be Vaiṣṇava ones. For example,
a Śaiva legend about the installation of a linga by Viṣṇu, who had taken
the form of a fish, and about the obtaining of a conch-shell by Viṣṇu
(as related in connection with Kāñcipuram, a town in the Tamil region),
does not maintain the theme of Viṣṇu's devotion to Śiva any
more when it is related in the Nārāi Sīp Pāng. Only the legend of Viṣṇu's
incarnation in the form of a fish to destroy the demon who steals the
Vedas is chosen to be related by the Thais (see p.111). The last step
must have been the interpolation into the text of a Śaiva myth of the
creation of the world by Śiva extolling his grace and superiority
to Viṣṇu.

There is much uncertainty about the date of the Nārāi Sīp Pāng. Prince
Dhani believes that it existed in the Ayuthya period or before the
reign of King Rama I because, (as he says in his review) the myths
in the Nārāi Sīp Pāng inspired later scholars who compiled the Rāmākītan
of King Rama I in the year 1797. Even though no text of the Nārāi Sīp
Pāng belonging to the Ayuthya period has been found, its existence
during that time is not impossible.

The Nārāi Sīp Pāng exists in prose in three versions; the Royal Press
version, the Watcharin Press version, and the version of Khun Ying
Lūn Rit. The Royal Press version was at first kept in manuscript in
the National Library under the name of Tamrā Saiyasāt, translated in
Prince Dhani's review as "Treatise on Hindu mythology". It was first

3 A more literal translation of the word sai(y) as found in Brahmanical writings'. The Rāṭchabanditayasathā dictionary for
the entry sai(y) 'Doctrines concerned with charms and spells (wēt monkhāthā = Skt: vedamantragāthā) held to be derived from India.'
published in 1874 under the title of Thēwapāṅ, "Incarnations of the Gods", and republished in 1935 under the title of Nārāi Sip Pāṅ with the curious remark at the end that the work had been translated from a text written in Grantha characters. The Watcharin Press version was first published in 1869 and again in 1901, also with a short note appended to the effect that the tenth incarnation of Rāma can be found "in the Rāmakīn and has therefore been omitted". This would indicate that this version was compiled after a text of the Rāmakīn had been composed. The version of King Rama I, which was composed in 1797 A.D., must be the earliest Rāmakīn text for consideration. The version of Khun Ying Lū'an Rīt was published in 1923. In none of these published versions are races of the gods and heroes of the Rāmakīn included. This topic is combined with the foregoing material only in the text published in the year 1968 and called Nārāi Sip Pāṅ Lae Phong Nai Rū'āng Rāmakīn. It contains two versions, that is the Royal Press version and the Watcharin Press version.

All these versions are written in a prose style which cannot be very old. They differ however in the order of the material. Whereas the Royal Press version begins with the Incarnation of the Boar, the Watcharin Press and the Lū'an Rīt versions begin with the Incarnation of the Fish, which latter order corresponds to the order in all Sanskrit Purāṇas. The other incarnations conform as to content though there is some divergence in arrangement and order. The following table shows the order of the incarnations in the three versions.

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<tr>
<th>Royal Press</th>
<th>Watcharin Press</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Warāhawatān</td>
<td>Matchāwatān</td>
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<td>2. Katchapāwatān</td>
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<td>Kritsanāwatān</td>
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<td>Samanāwatān</td>
<td>Apsaraωatān</td>
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<td>9. Apsaraωatān</td>
<td>Apsaraωatān</td>
<td>Mahanlaka-asuraωatān</td>
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<td>10. Rāmāwatān</td>
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The Kṛṣṇa Incarnation is omitted from the version of Khun Ying Lū'an Rit. In its place is the incarnation called Mahanlaka Asura who seems to be the same as Viṣṇu in the form of a man called Rāmāwatān in the tenth story of the Royal Press version. Both Mahanlaka Asura and Rāmāwatān deceive Dasakantha (Rāvana) by persuading him that he should ask the god Siva for Monthok to be his chief queen, and not the goddess Umā.

The incarnations of Paraśurāma, of Buddha Sākyamuni, and of Kalki are absent from the Narai Sip Pāng. The list of the Hindu ten incarnations of Viṣṇu is shown below for the sake of comparison with the preceding Thai list.

1. Matsyāvatāra
2. Kūrma-vatāra
3. Varāhāvatāra
4. Narasimhāvatāra
5. Vāmanāvatāra
6. Paraśurāmāvatāra
7. Rāmacandrāvatāra
8. Kṛṣṇāvatāra
9. Buddhāvatāra
10. Kalkyāvatāra

However, the Samanāwatān (Sanskrit: śramanāvatāra) seems to be a kind of reminiscence of the Buddhāvatāra. This incarnation is discussed in Chapter IV.

The two odd stories in the ten Thai incarnations are Mahingsawatān (Sanskrit: Mahimsāvatāra) and Apsarawatān (Sanskrit: Apsarāvatāra). The Mahingsawatān is discussed in Chapter V. The Apsarawatān is the incarnation of Viṣṇu in the form of a goddess. This seems to refer to Viṣṇu in Mohini form in the Sanskrit Purāṇas. The difference between the Thai version and the Sanskrit Mohini myth is in the mission given to the incarnated goddess. In the Sanskrit Purāṇas Viṣṇu turns his body into the form of a beautiful girl called Mohini. She has to deceive the demons who have taken possession of the Amṛta elixir which has been produced from the churning of the ocean by the gods and the demons.
The gods need to drink this amrta elixir in order to be more powerful than the demons. Mohini's mission is to attract the demons' attention by her beauty and charm whilst the gods drink all the elixir. In the Narai Sip Pang, however, the incarnated goddess has to kill a demon called Nonthuk who has a diamond finger which kills anyone he points at. This incarnation is discussed in Chapter v.

There are 26 manuscripts of the Narai Sip Pang kept at the National Library in Bangkok. They can be divided into 4 groups as follows:

1. Narai Yisip Pang, "Twenty Incarnations of Viṣṇu". There are three sets of this version. They are:
   (a) Nos 1, 2, 3, 4; (b) Nos 5, 6, 7, 8; (c) Nos 15, 16, 17. Though the title indicates that there should be twenty incarnations of Viṣṇu, there are only ten narrated in these manuscripts. It is more likely that the scribe wrote the title down wrongly. The version of the Narai Yisip Pang contains no myths peculiarly its own. The basis of selection seems to be length: whichever version of a myth, be it from the Royal Press, the Watcharin or the Lu'an Rit versions, is the longest, then this version is included in the Narai Yisip Pang.

2. Watcharin Press Version. This group comprises Nos 9, 10; 11, 12; 13; 14; 18. Only the first set comprising Nos 9 and 10 is complete. The others are either damaged or incomplete.

3. Single myths. This group comprises Nos, 19 and 20. No 19 is the story about the destruction of Mūkhanī by Śiva. No.
20 is the myth about the destruction of the demon Phangkhī by Skanda. Both myths are in accordance with those same myths in the Royal Press version.

4. Lineages. This group comprises Nos 24; 25; 26; 27; 28; 29. The content of these manuscripts is more or less the same. They are all about the genealogy of the gods and heroes, including the monkey-heroes of the Ramakian.

The Narai Sip Pāng must have been regarded as one of the most important Thai literary works. In the year 1879-1882 King Rama V had the episodes from the Royal Press version of the Narai Sip Pāng painted on the walls of the Emerald Buddha Temple, Bangkok. Each picture is accompanied by verses describing the story it represents. Moreover, the popularity of the Narai Sip Pāng during the early Ratanakosin period can be attested. A noble called Kromakhun Phūwanai, who lived during the reign of King Rama V, composed a story called Wong Kromakhun Phūwanai which is a mockery of the Narai Sip Pāng. It is the story of Kromakhun Phūwanai, his family, and his friends. It is written in manuscripts Nos 21; 22 and 23, labelled with the same title as the Narai Sip Pāng. It has not been published yet.
CHAPTER I

BRAHMA

The physical description of Brahma in Thai literature is nearly similar to the Hindu account. His best known characteristics are having four faces and riding on the Swan Lord. These two are always mentioned whenever Brahma is referred to in any Thai text. However, differences occur too. In Hindu mythology Brahma, who has four faces, has only four hands. In most Thai literary works Brahma is described as having eight hands. In only one place is Brahma referred to as a deity with four hands. But there is still a slight difference even in this description. In Hindu mythology Brahma has four hands holding a sceptre, a spoon, a string of beads, (or his bow Parivita, or a water-jug), and the Vedas. In the Thai account Brahma's four hands hold a sceptre, an alms-bowl, and the Vedas. The fourth object is missing in the Thai text, while an alms-bowl is wanting in the Hindu list.

The difference in the number of Brahma's hands is considered to be late Thai literary tradition. From the twelfth century onwards until the Ratanakosin period Brahma (though often confused with the Buddhist Brahmas) has been represented in sculpture as having four faces and four hands. It is likely that the poets of the Ratanakosin period must have speculated that the god should have eight hands, a reasonable number, to agree with his four faces. The sculptures of Brahma in Thailand do not give much help in informing what he has in his hands. This is because most of the time it is the Buddhist Brahmas, who possess the same physical characteristics as the Hindu Brahma, i.e. four faces and four hands, who are represented. Most of these Brahmas are represented as one of the chief attendants of Buddha. They are usually coupled.

2. Luang Thammaphimon (Thu'k), "Chan Klom Phra Savēt Wachiraphāha", Channam Chan Dutsadi Sangwoon, Bangkok, 1914, p. 313
with Indra and are represented as holding more or less the same thing as Indra, such as an umbrella for Buddha, a cauri whip -- part of Buddha's regalia, and a lotus.*  But there is one sculpture* in which a Brahma is represented as holding a water-jug which is also held by the Hindu Brahma. This and the following passages show that the confusion between Buddhist Brahmas and the Hindu Brahma in Thai culture in general, not just in literature in particular, is very great.

Four major characteristics of Hindu Brahma are referred to in Thai literature. They are: (1) as the Creator of the world, (2) as the Lord of Knowledge, (3) as being responsible for the destiny of any creature, (4) as being born from a lotus rising from the navel of Visnu.

4. Ibid., p. 27.
5. Ibid., p. 28.
Brahmā the Creator, together with his creation, is mentioned in the Lilit Ongkan Chaeng Nam (14th century) which is one of the few extant early works of the Ayuthya period. It concerns ritual oath-taking. In the invocation to the Hindu triad in the Lilit Ongkan Chaeng Nam nearly all the prominent characteristics of Brahmā are mentioned. It is clear from these characteristics that Brahmā here is the Hindu deity rather than any Buddhist one. The passage which follows reveals this.

The Lord, who has a lotus as his seat, is four-faced. He, who rides on the Swan Lord, created the earth and the sky. He has reigned over the universe (brahmand/a, see below) for a very long time. He is renowned for his justice and is the great Lord of Knowledge.

This passage, however, discusses certain other characteristics which are not so unequivocal. In this text, Brahmā, the Creator in the Hindu Pantheon is partially confused with a being or beings termed Phrom (Brahma) by Thai Buddhists. Thus in addition to the above characteristics, he is also called 'the revealer of the Sixteen Tiers of Brahma-Heavens.'

In the Buddhist literature Brahma is multiple. These multiple Brahmas are not seen as founding figures of the Buddhist cosmology but rather as mere dwellers in it with responsibilities for lordship over certain levels of heaven. Any sage or hermit who attains a certain level of virtue, accompanied by meditation and contemplation, may be born in one of these Sixteen Tiers which all together are called Rūpa Bhūmi or Rūpa Brahma-loka, 'The Brahma World of Form.' Sages who attain higher levels of meditation may be born in Arūpa Bhūmi or Arūpa Brahma-loka, 'The Formless Brahma World', which consists of four heavens. The Sixteen Tiers of the Brahma Heavens are described in the Trai Phūm Phra Ruang (14th

7. Brahmas: Buddhist, an angel, a class of superior angels whose pleasures are simply intellectual or meditative but who are yet mundane, in that they have bodies or forms (Henry Alabaster: The Wheel of the Law, London, 1871, p. 13)
century) of Phrayā Li Thai of Sukhothai as a thousand times more splendid than the heaven of Indra. In each tier of the Brahma Heavens there is a lord who is ruler over it. Among these Brahma Lords, Lord Mahā Brahma and Lord Sahampati Brahma are better known than the others.*

The Hindu Brahmā the Creator rules only one particular heaven. It is called Brahmaloka or Satyaloka, which is the world of Infinite Wisdom and Truth. It is the highest world above the earth, and is the seventh in order counting up from the Pitrloka, Indraloka (or Svarga), Divaloka (or heaven), Gandharvaloka (or Mahāloka which is the world of celestial spirits), Janaloka (or the sphere of saints), and Tapcloka (the region of the seven sages).*  

What is certain is that Brahmā the Creator is not found in the classic Thai work on cosmology the Trai Phūm Phra Ruang. There is, however, mention of Brahmā as Creator in some other Buddhist scriptures. In these it is highly likely that Brahmā the Hindu deity is meant. For example, in the Aganna Suttanta of the Dīghanikāya, which is a part of the Suttapitaka, sages Vasistha and Bharadvāja tell Lord Buddha that Brahmins think that they only are perfect, and no others. This is because they were created by Brahmā (brahmānimītā), and were born from his mouth (brahmuno mukhato jātā).*  It follows that Brahmā the Creator here is Hindu, not Buddhist. The concept of brahmins being born from the mouth of Brahmā is as old as the time of the Ṛgveda, and is sustained in all later Hindu works.

The fact that Brahmā in the Lilit Ōngkān Chaeng Nam is described as 'four-faced' allies the passage still more with the Hindu

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10. Matsya Purāṇa 86.6; 178.76; Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV 31.23; XI 23.30; Vāyu Purāṇa 101.27.
11. Dīghanikāya III.81.
tradition. In the Buddhist scriptures the Brahmās are nowhere
described as having four faces. In the Trai Phūm Phra Ruang,
the Brahmās in the Rūpa Bhūmi are described as having very shining
hands. One single hand of a Brahma can shine over ten thousand
universes. Their hair is beautiful and bound in a chignon. Brahmās
in the Arūpa Bhūmi are mere effulgences or spirits without forms.* 12

The word 'brahmāṇḍa' appearing in the Lilit Ōṅgaṅ Chaeng Nam
puts additional emphasis on Brahmā as the Hindu deity. In the
Manusmṛti, 'brahmāṇḍa' is the egg which was engendered from a
seed placed in the water by Brahmā himself. Then Brahmā entered
into this egg and stayed there inside for a whole year before he
broke it into two parts. Out of these two halves he formed heaven
and earth.* 15 In later works this egg is given still more characteristics in addition to being the abode of Brahmā in the beginning
of the world. The duration of Brahmā's stay inside it is also
lengthened to a thousand years. In the end the egg has the connotation of 'the universe'. The description of this primeval egg in
the Visnu Purāṇa may be quoted as an example.

In that egg, O Brahmin, were the continents and
seas and mountains, the planets and divisions of the
universe, the gods, the demons, and mankind.* 15

The appearance of the word 'brahmāṇḍa' in the Lilit Ōṅgaṅ Chaeng
Nam makes it certain that it is Brahmā the Hindu deity which is
meant, and not any Buddhist Brahma.

Another point which definitely shows that Brahmā in the Lilit
Ōṅgaṅ Chaeng Nam is Brahmā the Creator, not Lord Mahā Brahma
or Lord Sahampati Brahma of the Buddhist tradition, is that Brahmā
is invoked together with Śiva and Viṣṇu*, the other two of the
Hindu triad, and he therefore completes this triad.

12 Phrayā Li Thai, Trai Phūm ..., p. 242.
14 Viṣṇu Purāṇa I.2.54-55.
15 "Lilit Ōṅgaṅ Chaeng Nam", Lilit L. Nirūt, pp. 7-11
The description of the Hindu Brahma, then, associated with the mention of the Sixteen Tiers of the (Buddhist) Brahmaloka, provides evidence of a confused attitude towards the two traditions.

The confusion between the Hindu Brahma the Creator and a Buddhist Brahma persists through time and becomes more pronounced in some Ratanakosin literary works. In the Sanphasit Kham Chan (1829), a renowned poetic Jataka tale, Prince Paramanuchitchinorot, the learned author, invokes Brahma as 'Lord Thādā (Sanskrit: dhātā) or the Creator, who has four faces and lives happily in the Sixteen Tiers of the Brahma Heavens.' In the Chan Sangwoei Klōŋ Winitchai Pherī (A poem in chan meter for the religious ceremony of the installation of a drum - Winitchai Pherī, the Court Judgement Drum) the same author replaces Brahma the Creator with the Buddhist Sahampati Brahma in the invocation to the Hindu triad.* Phrayā Śī Sunthon Wōhān (Nōi), a very famous Thai language preceptor who lived during the reign of King Rama IV and Rama V, in Chan Klōm Phra Sawēt Suwaphāphan (A poem in chan meter sung as a lullaby for a royal elephant called Phra Sawēt Suwaphāphan), invokes Brahma as a deity with four faces who rides on a Swan; he also reveals the Sixteen Tiers of Heaven.*

The confusion of the Hindu god Brahma with Buddhist Brahmas illustrated above provides evidence for the existence of Buddhist myths side by side, or in confusion with, Hindu myths. The myths of creation in Thai literature also show the same confusion. The earliest Thai myth of creation by a Hindu god is narrated in the Lilit Ōngkān Chaeng Nam. The Lilit Ōngkān Chaeng Nam agrees with most Hindu scriptures in making Brahma the performer of creation.

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Creation, as narrated in the *Lilit Öngkan Chaeng Nam*, is pratisarga or 're-creation' which occurs at the beginning of each Kalpa, or Day of Brahmā. What attests this supposition is the description of a partial destruction of the world which takes place at the end of every previous Day of Brahmā. It affects only inferior creatures and lower worlds. Gods, Buddhist Brahmās and sages, are left unharmed. Here is the description of the destruction of the world in the *Lilit Öngkan Chaeng Nam*.

The story of the destruction of the universe by fire will be narrated. At that time seven suns blazed forth and dried up all the waters in the world. Fat from seven fishes which lived beneath the earth set fire to the world. It burned up all the Hells and the worlds of the Asuras, the Pretas and the animals. It burned up to the Tāvatimsa Heaven of Indra and turned it into ashes. A great crowd of gods fled as refugees into the Suddhāvāsa Heavens which were not burned because they were ruled by Lord Brahmā. Then the sky became clear. The fire stopped. Heavy rain then poured down on the earth extinguishing the great fire. The seven fishes floated with the rising water up as far as the sky itself and reached the moon and the stars. Strong winds blew violently. Khun Phān (the Creator) created cities for Indra and for Buddhist Brahmās. He recreated earth and heaven as they used to be. Khun Phān created four continents, Mount Sumeru, Mount Kailāsā, Mount Gandhamadāna and other great mountains as before.

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19. The meaning of the word thadā (Sanskrit: dhātā) used here should not be taken as "Brahmā the Creator" only, but as a Buddhist Brahma too. This is because the author of the O.C.N. text, after mentioning that Brahmā had revealed the Sixteen Tiers of Buddhist Brahmās, goes on to say that Khun Phān (i.e. the Creator) also provided muāng In and muāng Thadā (cities for Indra and for Dhātā). It is not considered likely that the Creator here is referring to a city for himself. It is more likely, in fact, that the muāng Thadā here is another term for the Sixteen Tiers of the Brahma heavens mentioned earlier.

The above description of the dissolution of the world has some similarity to the great destruction described in the *Trai Phūm Phra Ruang.* All the incidents and the agents of the destruction of the world too, are very similar to those in the *Līlit Ūngkān Chaeng Nan.* But in the Buddhist treatise, after the dissolution of heaven and earth has been described, there follows an account of how these re-evolve into their previous shapes and conditions by themselves. Brahmap the Creator is not involved in the matter at all. The following passage bears this out.

After the great fire had stopped and the whole world was swallowed up by the great flood, four kinds of strong winds blew water to and fro. In the end the waters evolved into the Heaven of Lord Mahā Phrom. All gods, sages and Phrom from the unharmed tiers of heavens higher up then moved down to this heaven and to the successively evolved levels below. After this, Mount Sumeru, its seven surrounding mountains including their encircling oceans, the four continents, the world of human beings, Prettas, animals, Asuras and the Hells, appeared in the same forms and shapes as before.*

Whilst the destruction of the world in the *Līlit Ūngkān Chaeng Nan* is reminiscent of passages in some Buddhist texts, such as, the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa and the

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1. *Phrayā li Thai,*  
   *Trai Phūm,* pp. 294 - 298.  
Trai Phūm Phra Ruang of Phrayā Li Thai, the re-creation of the world by Brahmā in the Lilit Ōngkān Chaeng Nan is also slightly similar to the Hindu myth on the same subject, i.e. the creation of the world by Brahmā, which is as old as the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. Hereunder is a passage from the Liṅga Purāṇa quoted to attest the statement.

At the end of the night, Brahmā wakes up and beholds a void instead of the world of mobile and immobile creation. Then he, the most excellent among the knowers of Brahma, decides to create. He assumes the form of a boar and lifts the earth which is submerged under the water. He lifts it up and places it as before, together with all the rivers, rivulets and oceans. With great effect he makes the earth even. He gathers together on the earth all the mountains burned by fire. He establishes the four worlds as before. He, the lord creator then decides to create everything afresh.*75

In later parts of the Liṅga Purāṇa* and in some other Purāṇas* the boar form of Brahmā is taken over by Viṣṇu. It becomes one of his avatāras. In the Lilit Ōngkān Chaeng Nan, and in other Thai literary works, there is no mention of Brahmā's taking the form of a boar in order to lift up the earth, as described in the Hindu scriptures above.

27. Bhāgavata Purāṇa III. 13. 18-45; X. 2. 40;
   Viṣṇu Purāṇa V. 5. 15;
   Matsya Purāṇa 47. 43.
It is likely that the Buddhist account of the creation of the world was widely accepted by the Thais at the time of the composition of the *Lilit Œngkān Chaeng Nam*. This explains its existence in an avowedly Brahmanistic text. However it can be seen that this Buddhist account is slightly altered at the end. The agent of creation, unknown to Buddhist cosmologists, has been inserted. This is none other than Khun Phāēn. There may be an argument whether Khun Phāēn is the same as Brahmā or not. How is it that the word 'Brahmā' is not used here? A plausible answer is that by that time there was already confusion between Hindu Brahmā and Buddhist Brahma. This can be seen from the passages above. If the word Brahmā or Brahma had been used in the place of Khun Phāēn, there might have been a misunderstanding among the readers. They might have thought that it was Maha Brahma or Sahampati Brahma who was the creator. This was certainly not intended by the Brahmins who composed the text.

Moreover, if the word Brahmā had been used here, there might have been confusion with the word dhātā, in the same stanza, which refers to Buddhist Brahma. In the invocation, the description of Brahmā in the text indicates that by that time Brahmā was known by the Thais as the creator of the world. Therefore, the same creator figure (but with a different name) who occurs in the following passage on the creation, cannot be anybody else. Finally, there is no folk-tale about, or legend of, a figure called Khun Phāēn, except for the one in the *Lilit Œngkān Chaeng Nam*, who performs any kind of creation. Therefore, it is certain that Khun Phāēn in the *Lilit Œngkān Chaeng Nam* is meant to be the same as Brahmā the creator.
Confusion of multiple Buddhist Brahmās with the Hindu god Brahmā occurring in the Lilit Ongkan Chaeng Nam, also exists in another Thai work on cosmology called Nārāi Sip Pāng. In the Nārāi Sip Pāng, there is mention of some Brahmās who became jealous of Brahmā the Creator and were therefore born as Asuras.

In the Thai story of the Fish Incarnation of Viṣṇu, in the Nārāi Sip Pāng (Watcharin Press Version), a Brahmā is described as being envious of Brahmā the Creator. He thinks, "I am also a Brahmā who has four faces and eight hands. Therefore I will not let any Brahmā be superior to me." For this sin he is born as Sankha Asura, 'Conch Demon', who robs Brahmā the Creator of the Vedic texts. Sankha Asura is the cause of Viṣṇu's incarnating himself as a fish in order to win the Vedic texts back by force.  

In the same version of the Nārāi Sip Pāng another group of Brahmās thinks that Śiva has done something improper. He has permitted Brahmā the Creator to take the Swan Lord as his vehicle. This Swan Lord should rightly belong to them who became Brahmās before Brahmā the Creator. As a result of their jealousy these Brahmās are born as Asura Maccha, 'Fish Demons'. They want to destroy the Sumeru Mountain. This causes Viṣṇu to take the form of a turtle in order to kill them all.

27. Ibid., p. 10.
It is unlikely that Thai authors got the idea of multiple Brahmās from the Hindu Brahmārsi, which in the *Visnu Purāna*, are nine in number. These Brahmārsi are Marīci, Atri, Angirasa, Pulaha, Kratu, Pulatsyā, Vasiṣṭha, Bhṛgu and Dakṣa. Of this list only Vasiṣṭha appears in Thai literature (as one of the two preceptors of Rāma and Laksmana), but he is never referred to as Brahmā but always as rṣi, tāpasas, or siddha. The last two names of the *Visnu Purāna*’s list, viz. Bhṛgu and Dakṣa appear to be mere additions to the list of seven sages (saptarsī) as found in the *Mahābhārata*. These Brahmārsi are described, in the *Manuśāstra*, as the same as Prajāpatis which are ten in number. Nārada is added. Teachers of Thai classical music regard Nārada as their great preceptor. Nārada is always called rṣi by them. These ten Prajāpatis are created by Manu Svāyambhuva for the production of all other beings including gods and men. At a later period they are described as the mind-born sons of Brahmā. It might be thought possible that these sons of Brahmā, who are also the progenitors of all beings in the world, could easily have been confused by Thai authors with Brahmā the Creator. But this is not the case. Whenever these mind-born sons of Brahmā appear in Thai literature, they are always called rṣi, or siddhas, or tāpasas. In the *Rāmakīrti*, sages Vasiṣṭha, Bhāradvāja, Svāmitra (for Visvāmitra?), and Vajra Aggī (for Jamadagnī) are described as the chief sages belonging to the race of Rāma. Only one among these names, i.e. Vasiṣṭha, is on the list of the mind-born sons of Brahmā. Vasiṣṭha, Visvāmitra, Bhāradvāja, and Jamadagnī, however, belong to the list of the Hindu saptarsī or the seven sages mentioned in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upanīṣad*. It is certain that it is the rṣi, not the mind-born sons of Brahmā, who are referred to in the Thai literature.

29. *Mahābhārata* XII.208.3-4.
32. *Bṛhadāranyaka Upanīṣad* II. 2.3-4.
In Thai literature the Buddhist Brahmas persistently appear in, or side by side with, the myths of Brahmā the Creator. In the Lilit Ængkān Chaeng Nam the Creator is described as creating cities for Indra and the (Buddhist) Brahmas. In the Narai Sin Pāng and the Ramakīan the Buddhist Sahampati Brahma appears in the myth of the construction of the city of Lanka, capital of Rāvaṇa. In the Ramakīan of King Rama I, Sahampati Brahma comes down from heaven to an island called Rāng Kā (meaning 'crows' nest, a Thai punning allusion to Lanka). He sees that it is a very suitable place to build a city. He orders Viṣṇu Brahma (a figure unknown in Hindu mythology) to build the city and names it Lanka. Then the Buddhist Sahampati Brahma sends Brahmadhātā or Brahmā the Creator to come down and rule that city. Brahmadhātā is renamed Chaturaphak (Sanskrit: catura vaktā, an epithet of Brahmā). Chaturaphak is the grand-father of Rāvaṇa. The persistent appearance of the Buddhist Brahmas associated with the myths of Brahmā the Creator makes it clear that the multiple Brahmas in Thai literature are Buddhist, not Hindu, and thought of as enjoying a separate (and sometimes superior) existence of their own.

It is possible, however, that in Thai tradition, the idea of multiple Brahmas may not be exclusively Buddhist. There is another category called Asuraphrom (Demon Brahmas). These are notionally Hindu. In the Narai Sin Pāng (Royal Press Version) an Asuraphrom named Mulākhanī (Sanskrit: Mūlāgni) is very proud of himself and oppresses the three worlds. Śiva has to come down from the Kailāsa Mountain to kill him and bring peace back to the gods.  

In the Buffalo Incarnation of Visnu, an Asuraphrom, out of his jealousy of Brahma the Creator, changes his body to the form of a buffalo. He wants to destroy the Sumeru Mountain. Visnu has to incarnate himself as a buffalo too and kill the Asuraphrom.*37

In the same text an Asuraphrom named Nonthuk is described as having the duty of washing the feet of the gods who come to see Siva at the Kailasa Mountain. Later he becomes very mighty by means of a boon given to him by Siva. He thereupon oppresses all the gods. Siva orders Visnu to destroy him. Visnu incarnates himself as a beautiful goddess and kills him by a trick.*38

These Asuraphrom cannot be the same as Buddhist Brahmas. The Buddhist Brahmas always do good deeds and are nowhere described as demons. Asuraphrom are reminiscent of the Hindu Daityas and Danavas, the progeny of Brahma the Creator. In the epics and the Puranas, the Daityas and the Danavas are the children of Prajapati Kasyapa's union with Diti and Danu, daughters of Daksha. Both Kasyapa and Daksha are mind-born sons of Brahma the Creator. The Daityas and the Danavas are classes of demons. They are implacable enemies of the gods. The Daityas and the Danavas are often identified with each other. Both of them are called Asuras.

However, it is possible that the idea of Asuraphrom in Thai literature might be influenced by the Thai story of Rama as well. According to Thai tradition, the race of

37. Ibid., p. 53.
38. Ibid., p. 64.
Rāvana is called Brahma Vaṃśa or Phong Phrom (vaṃśa- brahma)* in Thai. This is because the first ancestor of Rāvana is Chaturaphak Phrom who is crowned as the first king of Lanka by Sahampati Brahma, the creator of that city.* Rāvana and his relatives are also described as being demons or Asuras. They are then understood to be both Asuras and Brahmans. The devilish and vicious nature of Rāvana and his race might thus originate a new category of wicked Brahmans. These would be called Asurabrahma.

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40. Ibid., p. 20.
Another distinguished characteristic of Brahmā which is recognized by the Thais is his being the Lord of Knowledge. This accords well with what Max Müller says in his introduction to the *Svetāsvāra Upanisad* - "It is a well known fact that the Hindus, even as early as the Brāhmaṇa period, were fond of tracing their various branches of knowledge back to Brahmā or to Brahmā Svayambhū". 41 Brahmā is referred to in Thai literature as being well-versed in the Vedas, in Nītiśāstra and in the Rājadhārma. 42 In *Chan Sangwoei Kling Winitchai Pherī* composed by Prince Paramānūchitchinōrot to celebrate the ceremony of the installation of the Court Judgement Drum - *Winitchai Pherī* -, Brahmā is invoked as the guardian of martial law and the royal family laws. Here, however, Brahmā is confused with Sahampati Brahma. What makes it certain that it is the Hindu Brahmā is that this Sahampati Brahma is described as being the Lord of the Lotus, Kamalā-īśa. This is usually a description for the Hindu Brahmā. Brahmā, who is here described as being well-versed in the Dharmāśāstra, in the Nītiśāstra and in the Rājasāstra, is also invoked to look after the judges and their judgements. 43

There is a Thai myth which shows how much Brahmā is dependent on his knowledge of the Vedas. In the story of the Fish Incarnation of Viṣṇu, in the *Nārāśipāng* (VPV), Brahmā is mentioned as being in charge of the Vedas and his prestige seems to be directly dependent on these sacred texts. The conch demon comes to know of this. The demon, out of his jealousy towards Brahmā, wants to reduce the fame of the god.

42. Phra Ongchao Kalaya Na Prawet, "*Chan Sangwoei Phura Maha Sawōtachat*", Chumnum Chan ..., p. 68.  
43. Somdet Kromaphra Paramānūchitchinōrot, "*Chan Sangwoei Kling Winitchai Pherī*", Chumnum Chan ..., p. 96.
He therefore robs Brahma of the sacred texts. But Brahma is saved by Visnu in the form of a fish. Visnu kills the demon and gives the Vedas back to Brahma.*

In the Narai Sip Pang (Watcharin Press Version), Brahma is described as the great preceptor of Brahmins. He teaches them Trai Phat or the Three Vedas. The Vedas, according to the Narai Sip Pang, contain knowledge of sacrificial ceremonies; Brahmanical ritual and rites; astrology and astronomy; and ancient medicine for "preserving life and wreaking destruction." Here again Buddhist lore is inserted. Brahma teaches Brahmins not only the special characteristics of the Hindu triad, of emperors, and of wealthy merchants, he also teaches them the Buddhist thirty-two auspicious signs on the body and one hundred and eighty marks on the foot of the Maha Purusa, or Lord Buddha, too.* In this story Brahma is also made to acknowledge the superiority of a Buddhist figure, as he has to in the myth of the construction of the city of Lanka for Ravana too. Brahma is

44. Prahan Sukhonthachat, Narai Sip Pang, p. 6.
45. Ibid., pp. 4 - 5.
46. The Maha Purusa quoted in this passage must not be confused with an epithet of Visnu who has already been mentioned in previous sentences. It cannot refer to the Adi Purusa, 'the first man', of the Hindu mythology either because the Adi Purusa is nowhere described in Hindu literature as possessing auspicious signs on his body. In the Mahāpurisaalakkhānāni in the Dīghanikāya (II. 17 F.; III. 142 FF.) and in the Majjhimanikāya (II. 136 f.) of the Sutta Pitaka, 'Mahāpurisa' (an equivalent of the Sanskrit word 'mahāpurusa') is a name given to a great being who is destined to become either an emperor or a Buddha. He carried on his person thirty-two marks. In the text with which we are concerned it is definite that an emperor is not meant here because an emperor too has already been mentioned in preceding sentences. In the Narai Sip Pang, therefore, the possibility arises that, once again the Hindu god Brahma the Creator is being confused with the Suddhavasa Brahmās as mentioned in the Papañca Sūterī, Majjhima Commentary of Buddhaghosa (II.761). When the time comes for the birth of a Buddha, then Brahmās visit the earth in the guise of Brahmins and teach men about these bodily signs as forming part of the Vedic teaching so that thereby auspicious men may recognize the Buddha.
quoted, in the Kārī Sīp Pānī (Chatcharin Press Version) as advising Brahmins to worship the Maha Puruṣa first. When they have done that, then only can they turn to pay homage to him. If Brahmins do not follow his advice their merit will be unfruitful.*

47. Praphan Sukhonthachāt, Kārī Sīp Pānī ..., p. 5.
Brahma is responsible for the destiny of any creature he has created. There is a superstitious idea which prevails very generally throughout India that on the sixth day after birth Brahma writes the child's future destiny on its forehead. The lines of destiny written by Brahma are called Brahmarekha or Brahmaalikhita. Oddly enough there is no special ceremony instituted to mark this particular day, or to propitiate Brahma on so momentous an occasion.* The Thais have also adopted the idea of Brahmaalikhita from the Hindus. The Thais do not have any ceremony relating to the day of Brahma's writing the predestination lines on a child's forehead either. The idea of the Thai Brahmaalikhita is mostly explained indirectly in Thai literary works. The word Brahmaalikhita connotes solely predestination with regard to the moment of death. It is noteworthy that the word is most of the time used with a word thu'ng meaning 'reaching'. The phrase thu'ng Phromlikhit (thu'ng Brahmaalikhita) would then translate as an expression such as 'Reaching the last stage of one's predestined life'. In the Râmâyana, when Vali realizes that the wrong done to his brother Sugrīva is going to be penalized by Rāma, he accepts that his body and his life have reached 'Brahmalikhita' on that day.*

In the Khun Châng Khun Phaên (a romantic epic of the lives of Khun Châng and Khun Phaên), the hero Khun Phaên consoles Phra Wai, his son, for the death of Wan Thong, his wife and Phrai Wai's mother, that all living men and women have to relinquish life when they 'come to the Brahmalikhita'.

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However, there is one example where Brahma is described as being responsible for the misery of a living being, and yet the word Brahmalikhita is not used here. In the Dutsadi Sangwoei Klpm Chōng Kao (a poem sung as a lullaby for a newly captured white elephant) believed to have been composed during the Ayuthya period (date uncertain), the poet consoles the newly captive elephant that it should not be so depressed at being separated from its family and from the forest surroundings. All these sufferings are the result of the power of his own 'karma' which has been deliberately predestined by Brahma. The elephant should not blame either its own family or any man or god.* It is quite clear that the idea of Brahmalikhita is meant in this example even though the word is absent. It is noteworthy that the word Brahmalikhita is not found in any of the literary texts composed during the early period of Ayuthya. The word 'karma' (Thai: kan) appears in its place and is also used with the verb thu'ng. In the Lilit Phra Lô, Phra Lô consoles his mother, who is greatly agitated by his departure for their enemies' kingdom, saying that he cannot keep his hold on life once he 'reaches his karma'.* When the word karma is used without the word thu'ng, it always denotes bad deeds done in the past (which can be from previous births also). This meaning is clearly and widely expressed in Thai literary works of all periods. It is possible that this meaning of the word karma also plays some part when the same word is used with thu'ng. But it may have a slightly different meaning, i.e. the power of bad deeds performed in the past resulting in death.

52. Lilit Phra Lô, Bangkok: Sinlapalorn, 1953, p. 44.
The doctrine of karma, the result of the deeds of one life affecting the next, is first referred to in the Brhadāranyaka Upanisad. The text declares that the souls of those who have lived lives of sacrifice, charity and austerity, after certain obscure peregrinations, pass to the World of the Fathers, the paradise of Yama, while the unrighteous are reincarnated as worms, birds or insects.* This doctrine of karma soon became fundamental to most Indian thought, whether Hindu or Buddhist. It provided a satisfactory explanation to the mystery of suffering. The Thais have adopted this doctrine from Buddhism. There is a very understandable tendency to confuse karma with simpler ideas of fate or destiny. Later on, when the idea of Brahmālīkhita had been adopted, the two words were further confused and used as if they were one and the same. However, by the time of the early Ratanakosin period each of them had come to have their own idiomatic usages and thus attained some degree of independence from each other.

53. Brhadāranyaka Upanisad VI, 2.16.
Thai literature contains some accounts of the creation myth which presents a rather Vaisnava point of view. An account of Brahma's birth from the navel of Visnu is referred to in some works. In the Khlong Thawathotsamat, (Poem on Twelve Months), (15th century), Brahma the Creator is invoked as 'The Lord whose great delight is in staying in the navel which shines brilliantly'. This undoubtedly refers to the Puranic myth of Brahma being born from the umbilicus of Visnu. This myth may be accepted without refutation as a Vaisnava myth. It is narrated in both epics and in nearly all of the Vaisnava Puranas. The Saiva scriptures also have this story, but make Brahma and his progenitor Visnu inferior to Siva.

There are some interpolations in the myth of the Lotus-Born Brahma in some works of the Ratanakosin period. In the Narai Sip Pang (Watcharin Press Version) it is not only Brahma who rises from the navel of Visnu. A character of considerable importance in the Thai story of Rama is also described as a lotus-born child of Visnu. In the Watcharin Press Version of the Narai Sip Pang, after Visnu in the form of a boar has killed the demon Hrdayak, he returns to his own form and goes back to sleep on the Serpent Lord Ananta in the Ocean of Milk. While he is lying there a lotus springs from his navel. That lotus unfolds and from within it Brahma, who has four faces, appears holding a princely child. Visnu takes the child from Brahma and goes to Mount Kailasa to present him to Siva. Siva, by means of meditation,

55. Phraphan Sukhonthachat, Narai Sip Pang ..., p. 11.
realizes that the boy will extend the race of Nārāyaṇa or Visnu. Siva, therefore, orders Indra to build a city on earth for the boy. The city is named Ayuthya, and is described as being as beautiful as heaven. Siva names the boy Lord Anōṅmātan and blesses him with the power to overcome all evil demons. Siva gives Lord Anōṅmātan a discus and a diamond mace and sends him down to earth to rule over Ayuthya. He is the great-grand-father of Rāma. In the other two versions of the Nārāi Sīp Pāng, (i.e. the Royal Press and the Luʾan Hit Versions)*, the original lotus-born child of Viṣṇu, i.e. Brahmā, is absent. Only the interpolated character is retained. It is Lord Anōṅmātan only who rises from the navel of Viṣṇu while he is lying in the Ocean of Milk. To account for these differences, it is not sufficient merely to say that the scribes copied the story wrongly. The Royal Press Version of the Nārāi Sīp Pāng was acknowledged as authentic by the court scholars of King Rama V. Its acceptance as a work of authority can be judged from the following. In the year 1879 King Rama V commanded his court poets to compose poems on the Ten Incarnations of Viṣṇu recorded in the Nārāi Sīp Pāng (Royal Press Version). These poems were to be inscribed on a wall in the Emerald Buddha Temple.*

Brahmā the Creator does not appear at this juncture in the Rāmākītan of King Rama I either. Here, again, it is Lord Anōṅmātan only who appears from the lotus rising from the navel of Viṣṇu. But it does not mean that the author, or the compiler of the text, had no knowledge of the original myth. There is even a passing reference to Brahmā the Creator's lotus-birth in this work. Lord Anōṅmātan is described as,

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56. ibid., p. 49; Khun Ying Luʾan Hit (ed.), Nārāi Sīp Pāng, Bangkok, 1923, p. 22.
'A handsome child who appears in the lotus as if he were mighty Brahmā whose vehicle is the Swan Lord.'

It can be certain that Brahmā is omitted from the text in order that Lord Anōmātan may possess more dignity and power. Thus it appears that the myth of Brahmā’s being born from a lotus must, tacitly at least, have been accepted in the Thai story of Rāma. But something else is put in its stead. The figure of Brahmā is replaced by that of Anōmātan, probably with the aim of praising the race of Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyana. To be more specific: the attempt seems to have been made to associate Rāma’s ancestor directly with Viṣṇu, without Brahmā being an intermediary in any way. Thus the line is Viṣṇu–Anōmātan–(Atcharān–Daśāratha)–Rāma in contrast to the line Brahmā–Pulastya–Rāvana.

As for the prototype of Anōmātan, it is difficult to say whether it is the same as Manu Vaivasvata, who is mentioned in the Rāmāyana as the semi-divine founder and first king of Ayodhyā, or not. In the Bālakanda of the Rāmāyana, Ayodhyā is described as, 'A world-famous city built by Manu himself', (ayodhyā nāma nagarī tatraśīloka-viśrūtā / manunā manavendreṇa ya purī nirmītā svavayam). Manu Vaivasvata and Anōmātan are each considered, by the Sanskrit and the Thai authors respectively, to be the divine ancestor immediately prior to the human founder of the race of Rāma (viz. Ikṣvāku by Vālmīki, and Atcharān by the Thai authors). But Anōmātan is not the founder of Ayuthya. Śiva has Indra build it for him. And there is no story of the birth of Manu Vaivasvata from a lotus rising from the navel of Viṣṇu in Hindu literature. Manu Vaivasvata or the seventh Manu, is described in Hindu mythology as a son of Śūrya, the sun. In the Rāmāyana and

59. Rāmāyana I.5.6.
Purāṇas, Sūrya is said to be the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi, but elsewhere in the Rāmāyana he is otherwise referred to as a son of Brahmā. It is therefore difficult to claim Manu Vaivasvata as the prototype of Anomatan. Nevertheless, there is a possible explanation, though this relies upon hypothesis. The myth of Manu Svāyambhuva might be considered to be nearer to the myth of Anomatan. It is the story of Manu Svāyambhuva's springing from Brahmā. In the Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa, Manu Svāyambhuva, the first Manu, is said to spring from the mouth of Brahmā. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Brahmā is mentioned as dividing himself into Manu Svāyambhuva and Satarūpa, the first man and woman of the world. In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, there is mention of Brahmā creating Manu Svāyambhuva from himself, and the assertion that Manu is to be identified with Brahmā. In earlier times Thai authors may have got the idea of Manu Svāyambhuva being the same as Brahmā from this myth. They could then replace Brahmā with Manu Svāyambhuva. The next stage in incorporating the Hindu myth into Thai literature would be in the confusing of Manu Svāyambhuva with Manu Vaivasvata. The common name 'Manu' of the two progenitors of the world makes it easy for confusion to arise among Thai authors. Later authors might then have failed to recognize the identity of Brahmā with Manu Svāyambhuva on account of the subsequent change into Manu Vaivasvata. This latter, therefore, could then be thought of as playing a role equivalent in importance to that of Brahmā, possessing the same birth-characteristics, but quite independent. The final stage can be represented by a further change of name — Manu Vaivasvata into Anomatan — and by the identification of this divinity with the ancestor-figure appropriate to the race of Rāma.

61. Bhāgavata Purāṇa III.12.54.
The name Anōmātan itself is a problem. It has nothing in common with the name Manu. But it is much more problematic than the names of some characters in Thai version of Rāmāyana, such as, the names Samuṇaḥ and Phiphēk which are equivalent to the Sanskrit names Sūrpanakha and Vibhīṣaṇa respectively. In such names there are certain correspondences retained which make the identification certain in spite of the surprising differences in other portions of the names. There are no correspondences at all, however, between such a Thai form as 'manu' and the attested name Anōmātan.

There is some similarity between the name Anōmātan and the Tamil name Anuman (Sanskrit: Hanumān) which is the name of the monkey hero in the Tamil version of the Rāmāyana. There are examples of Tamil names of characters in the Rāmāyana being borrowed by the Thai. These are:

Kaiyakesi (Bharata’s mother and the second queen of King Daśaratha; Tamil: Kaikesī; Sanskrit: Kaīkeyī.)

Kalaikōṭu (A chief sage officiating at the sacrifice of King Daśaratha. Tamil: Kalaikoṭṭu Muni. This name form in Tamil is in fact a form of loan-translation of the Sanskrit term Ṛṣyasrnga.)

Kukan (The boatman who rows the boat carrying Rāma across the river Ganges. Tamil: Kukan; Sanskrit: Guha.)

But this type of borrowing cannot be applied to the name Anōmatan. The character whose name is Hanumān exists in the Thai version of Rāmāyaṇa. This character is also identical with the Tamil monkey hero Anuman. Therefore it is unlikely that the Tamil name Anuman is the source of Anōmatan.

King Rama VI suggests a plausible source for the name Anōmatan.64 The king says that it may derive from the word 'anumati' meaning 'consent and permit'. But the king does not offer any supporting reasons for his hypothesis. However, King Rama VI's speculation remains interesting. The word 'anumati' might have been chosen by the Thai authors of the Rāmāyaṇa in the first place in order to establish a new category for a legitimate king different from a 'sammati', or 'chosen' king, which finds its source in Buddhist tradition. It is clearly said in the Buddhist scriptures on kingship65 that a khattiya, or a kṣatriya or king, must be a 'sammati', or a man universally chosen by his own people. The Thai authors might have thought that since the primal ancestor of Rama was appointed, not chosen, and by Siva only, not by the people, i.e. his subjects, to be the first king of Ayuthya, he should be termed an 'anumati' king. In both Sanskrit and Thai the word 'anumati' preserves this connotation of approval from on high and serves to emphasize the difference between appointing and choosing. In due time the word 'anumati' might have become the Proper Name of the king. The last stage could have been the adaptation of the Sanskrit and Pali form of the word 'anumati' to the form of 'anōmatan' which shows some influence of a Tamil word form. Proper nouns having this word form, i.e. the form of a male noun usually ends in -an, are abundant.

65 Dhīgānavā JI. 31.
in the Thai version of the Ramayana. For example, Sumantan is equivalent to the Sanskrit Sumantra; Kupean to Kuvera; Mayan to Maya, Khukhan to Guha; and Prathutan to Pradutadanta.

Brahma appears as performing the creation in the Lilit Ongkan Chaeng Nan only. In another Thai work on cosmology, the Narai Sip Pang (all versions), Brahma is not the creator. It is Siva who effects creation, including the creation of Brahman. But whenever there is an invocation to the Hindu triad, in almost all Thai texts, it is Brahma, not Siva, who is invoked as the creator. In the Lilit Yuan Phai, the story of a battle between King Droommatrailokanat and a northern prince, (about 15th century), King Droommatrailokanat is compared to Brahma the Creator. Both of them are invoked as, 'The Lord who maintains the world'. In Chan Sanrasoen Phra Mahā Maniratana Patimākōṇ (Poetical Eulogy on the Emerald Buddha), composed in the reign of King Rama IV, Brahma is invoked as, 'Brahmadhāta who is well versed in the Vedas; he creates the world'. In the Chan Sangwoei Phra Thīnang Bāng Pa In (Poem on the Consecration of Bāng Pa In Palace), composed in the reign of King Rama V, Brahma is invoked as, 'The Lord who created the world, who rides on the Swan Lord; he has eight hands'. Accordingly, although there is some slight evidence for sectarian preferences as to the creator (e.g. Saiva sectarian preference as above in the Narai Sip Pang where Siva is the creator), the impression on the whole is that there are distinct divine agencies, each with its own function to perform. In Thai literature

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Khun Ying Lu'an Rit, Narai Sip Pāng, p. 1.
69. "Chan Sangwoei Phra Thīnang Bāng Pa In", Chumnum Chan..., p. 79.
Brahmā is mostly invoked as the Creator; Viṣṇu as the Protector; and Siva as the Destroyer. In the Thai view, then, although texts are not unanimous in naming Brahmā as the Creator, they nevertheless agree in maintaining his independent existence.
In the Narai Sip Pang it is Siva, not Brahman, who is regarded as the Creator. In deed, Brahman is not considered to be a creator at all in this text. (There is one exception i.e. the four deities — Siva, Visnu, Brahman, and Agni — are each held to be creators of separate races of celestial horses and elephants). In the Lilit Ongkan Chaeng Nen Brahman is again described only as a secondary Creator, or a Re-creator, of parts of the universe which had been destroyed (e.g. certain mountains and lower levels of the heavens). Siva, in the Narai Sip Pang, is given the honour of being the Prime Creator. In the Narai Sip Pang it is Siva who is the first being to appear in the beginning of the world, and who is in charge of the creation of the world. Siva is here given a name, Sayomphuwayan*, implying that he possesses knowledge of self-existence; though it must be noted (see below) that, logically, the Vedas and the Dharmas must have existed before him, though not, presumably, as living beings. This being, Sayomphuwayan, is identical with Isuan (Sanskrit: Isvara, the Lord, an epithet of Siva), and with Paramesuaan (Sanskrit: Paramesvara, the Supreme Lord, another epithet of Siva), in the Royal Press Version and in the Watcharin Press Version of the Narai Sip Pang respectively. This is expressly stated by the author of the Narai Sip Pang. The following passage from the Narai Sip Pang (Royal Press Version) illustrates the scene of the appearance of the world's first being at the beginning of the 'sarga' or creation.

The story of the very beginning is as follows. When the Pralaya Kalpa Fire had devastated the whole world, it became void of anything except for the ether. At that time all the Vedas and the Dharmas amalgamated and became Phra Sayomphūwayān. This was Isvara.

The emergence of the supreme god Śiva from the amalgamation of the Vedas, Dharmas, and the Mantras (in the Lu'an Rit Version), can be traced back to the belief of the Thai brahmans that one of the many forms of the god Śiva is the Mantra form. There are some Thai brahmans' scriptures on Brahministic rites and ritual, composed in Sanskrit and Tamil, and written in Grantha script, in which a hymn called Chā Hong is included. The names of the particular scriptures in which this Chā Hong Hymn appears are Phra-rātchehphithi Khu'n Hong; Phra Avisut; and Ṭāt Būcā Thūwarūpay Tētā Tētā. This Chā Hong Hymn is written in Sanskrit. It consists of four sections which are mainly eulogies of Śiva. The first section is Omkara', or 'the Hymn of the Word Om', which is regarded as a form of Śiva. The other three are: Śivapāṇcakṣara stotram (Eulogy of Śiva by the five sacred syllables viz. namas śivaya); Arddhanārisvara stotram ('Eulogy of Śiva and Uma when They Share the Same Body', i.e. Śiva on the right side and Uma on the left); 'Eulogy of Śiva and Viṣṇu'. This latter can be found in a book called Subhāsitataratnabhāṇḍācara published in Bombay.

The scriptures in which the Chā Hong Hymn appears are also the names of the Brahministic rites forming parts of some ceremonies. Phra-rātchehphithi Khu'n Hong, 'The Royal Rite of Mounting the Swan', is a part of the royal ceremony called Triṭapahārī Triṭapāhī. King Rama V, in Phra-rātchehphithi Simony, Bā'an (Royal Ceremonies for the Twelve

2. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp. 24-25.
Months), says that this ceremony is the New Year ceremony for the Thai brahmins. It is supposed that at this time of the year (in the Ayuthya period it fell in the first lunar month (December - January), and in the Ratanakosin period in the second (January - February)) the gods, Siva with Uma, and Viṣṇu with Lakṣmī and Rāhucīvara, come down from heaven to visit and stay on earth for a few days. At the end of their visit they are to be put on the back of the swan for their return to heaven. This is the source of the royal rite called 'Khun Song', 5

Phra Avisut, which King Rama V calls 'atamasut' (Sanskrit: ātamasūḍhī), identified by Quaritch Wales 6 with one of the purificatory rites, is performed at the beginning and at the end of any Brahministic rite in Thailand.

Net Kuchā Thāwarū, Tāng Tāng, 'The Vedas for paying Homage to Various Gods' is also recited at every Brahministic rite.

Net Khonthān Bān, the Ayuthya Palatine Law, mentions and describes four royal ceremonies in which Brahministic rites are performed. These ceremonies are: Chōng Priang Lot Chut Lōj Khām (Festival of Lamps); Trīyanghawai (The Swinging Festival and the Reception of the Gods); Saphathcharachin (New Year Festival in the Fourth Lunar Month); and Chawān Phra Khō Kin Lāng (The Worship of the Sacred Bull). Only the first three of the Ayuthya ceremonies were still performed in the Ratanakosin period. The last ceremony was performed in the time of the Ayuthya period only.

To the list in the Kot Mont Ian San King Rama V adds six more royal ceremonies, in which Brahministic rites are performed. They are: Thanyado (Burning Rice); Khonna Thin; Kheng (Top Spinning); Katikeya (Another Festival of Lamps); Sivaratri (Siva's Night); Phurunnaat (Ceremony for the Control of Rain); and Sat (Festival of First Fruits). The first was performed in the Ayuthya period only. The second was performed in the Sukhothai period only. The rest remained in practice until his time.

It is possible that Thai authors listened to these hymns eulogising the god Siva, which are chanted and repeated in these ceremonies performed, each in turn, all the year round, and thus they might have come to the conclusion that Siva and Om, or Siva and Phra Wet (the Vedas, i.e. here Brahministic mantras) were the same. The argument could be made that brahmins in the time of Ayuthya might just as well have regarded Visnu as superior to Siva, and so might have praised Visnu in the place of Siva. This was not the case. King Rama V says that brahmins in Thailand who performed any Brahministic rite, except for those concerning elephants, are Noradachan (Sanskrit: Gotaracarya). He further states that these Noradachan regard Siva as the supreme god in the same manner as Farang (Westerners) and Khâck (Muslims) regard Jehovah and Allah as their supreme gods respectively. 7

The concept of Thai brahmins that the god Siva has, among many of his forms, the form of 'Om' and of the Vedas is not so different from that of the Saivites. The following eulogy of Siva by the narrator of the Lirapurana attests this.

7. King Rama V, Phra Râtcha Phithi ..., p. 70.
I bow down to the supreme lord whose body is Sabda-Brahman, who is the revealer of the Sabda-Brahman, whose limbs are the letters, whose characteristics are unmanifest, but who manifests himself in diverse ways, who is constituted by the letters a, u, m, who is gross as well as subtle, who is greater than the greatest, who has the form of Om, whose face is the Rigveda, tongue the Samaveda, throat the Yajurveda, and heart the Atharvaveda.*

The amalgamation of the Vedas, Dharmas and the Mantras is reminiscent of the Saiva concept of the Brahman as identical with the god Siva. The Brahman, or the World Spirit, is the first and only thing present in the beginning of the world. This Brahman, which has no form, created Isvara. This Isvara is the manifest form of the formless Brahman. Hereunder is a passage from the Siva Purana describing the creation of Siva.

At the time of the Great Dissolution, when all the mobile and immobile objects of the world are dissolved, every thing is enveloped in darkness. ... Thus when there is pitch darkness which cannot be pierced with a needle, what is mentioned in the Vedas as 'The Existent Brahman' alone is present... It is immeasurable, without the power of sustaining, changeless, formless, attributeless, perceptible to the yogins, all-pervasive and the sole cause of the universe. It is free from alteration. It has no beginning. It is free from illusion and harassment. It has no second. It has neither beginning nor end. It has no development. It is in the form of pure knowledge. People are in doubt about naming it. That Being, then, after, some time, it is said, wished for a second. It wanted to create, in the course of its own sport (līlā), an auspicious
form of its own, endowed with all power, qualities and knowledge, and hence it created the form of Īśvara of pure knowledge. Then the original Being, or the Cit (Knowledge), or the supreme Brahman, vanished. The manifest form of the formless Being is Śaṅkara Siva. The learned of the ancient and the succeeding ages have sung of it as Īśvara.*

Brahman, or the World Spirit, is often referred to as a mysterious entity in the Rājogīna. It is the Upaniṣads which take it as their main purport or subject and discuss it fully. This World Spirit, which is sometimes described only in negative terms, such as incorporeal, unborn and uncreated, is sometimes referred to as a god and described in completely theistic terms. The Īśa Upaniṣad refers to it as Īśa, 'The Lord'. In the Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad, the World Spirit is no longer an impersonal essence, but a creator god. In fact it is the god Śiva.*

Brahman, in many contexts, is the magical power in sacred utterances or Mantras. Mantras can therefore be identified with the Brahman. It is more difficult for Thai authors to understand and accept the abstract qualities of Brahman than to accept the idea of its being identical with Mantras. For the Thai authors, Brahman is no more than the Mantras or the Vedic hymns. They conceive of Śiva as being created from the union of the Vedas, Dharmas and Mantras. This seems to be derived from the idea of the Vedas' and Mantras' being identical with Brahman, which is, in turn, described as the same as Śiva.

9. Śiva Purāṇa I.6.4-10
The Creation that follows the creation of Śiva himself, is that of the goddess Uma. In the Nārāiśīlpāng (all versions) Śiva is described as, "stroking his chest with his hands" and the goddess Uma is described as being created when Śiva stretched his hands outwards from himself. The creation of the goddess Uma from Śiva's own body suggests that the idea of Śiva's having the form of an ardhanārīśvara (an androgyne) may have been known to Thai authors. In many of the Hindu creation myths, Śiva appears in the form of an androgyne as the helper of Brahmā.

Hereunder is the translation from the Saura Purāṇa depicting the scene in which Brahmā's creatures failed to increase and Śiva had to come to help Brahmā by becoming an androgyne.

Brahmā praised Śiva and Śiva said, "I will do what you ask. I will become your son and create the universe." Brahmā then began to create creatures, but they did not increase. Śiva approached and said to Brahmā, "I know the cause of your sorrow and I know what will remove it." Then he became an androgyne, and from his female half he created Devi as a separate being. Brahmā asked her to become the daughter of his son Dakṣa, in order to increase creation, and she created a goddess like herself from between her brows. She reentered Śiva's body, Śiva became the androgyne again, and from that time forth creatures were made by intercourse.11

Śiva in the form of an androgyne is also eulogised by the Thai brahmans. The hymn Cha hong recited in various royal ceremonies (mentioned above) consists of 'ardhā-nārīśvara stotram', and images of Ardhanaṁśvara are not lacking in Thailand. This Ardhanārīśvara legend about Śiva may well have furnished the Thai concept of the creation of the goddess Uma from Śiva's own body, and also have

provided a sense of priority in the ordering of acts of creation. Siva first creates himself, but after that, his first act as a created being is to create Uma, his wife (or Sakti).

The creation of the goddess Uma prior to that of the other two members of the Hindu triad, i.e. Visnu and Brahma, is somewhat similar to the account of Siva's creating his own Sakti, or potency, described in the Saiva scriptures. This Sakti is identified with the goddess Uma. The following translation describing the creation of the goddess is taken from the Siva Purana.

Īsvara, though alone, then created the physical form of Sakti from his body. This Sakti did not affect his body in any way. This Sakti is Ambika, Prakṛti and the goddess of all.¹²

The word 'Sakti' does not appear in the account of Uma's creation in the Mārah Sin Pāng. But there is a hint of her being considered as Siva's potency. In the Watcharin Press Version, after Siva has created Uma, he consults with her on the matter of creation. It is noteworthy that Siva must seek her help. In that text Siva is quoted as saying, "We will create Chandanaphadipn Heavens"¹³ and Sumeru Mountain together."¹⁴ In the Lu'an Rit Version Siva tells Uma, "We too have to create the upper, the middle and the lower worlds to be the dwelling places of the gods, human beings, animals and demons."¹⁵

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13. P. Chakrāvatana: the six heavens of the inferior, or sensual, angels. These heavens are: (1) Caturmahārājika ruled by the four guardians of the world. (2) Tāvatimśa ruled by Indra. (3) Yama which rests entirely on air. (4) Tusiśa is where all Buddhas pass their existence before being born on earth. (5) Nimmānarati inhabited by gods who can create any form in any colour. (6) Paranimitta Vasavatī.
Contrary to the Śiva story of the creation, the Nārāyaṇa Purāṇa narrates that Uma warns Śiva that the two of them alone cannot accomplish the task of creating the world. Śiva then creates Brahmā and Viṣṇu to be their assistants. In the Śiva Purāṇa it is Śiva who thinks of creating another being to take over the task of creation. Thus he and Uma would be free to enjoy life in whatever way they wish. "Another being shall be created by me. Let him create everything, protect it and, in the end, let him dissolve it with my blessing. Having entrusted everything to him, we two, remaining in Kāśi, shall roam as we please. We can stay happily in this blissful forest being free from worries." Subsequent to this thought of Śiva's, Viṣṇu is said to be created from Śiva's left side: "With the consent of his Sakti (i.e. Uma) the Supreme Lord spread the liquor-essence of nectar on his left side, on the tenth limb (saṃpradhāryyetti sa vibhūs tayā saktayā paresvarāḥ / saṣya vyāptāyaḥ caḥre daśameṣāye sadhāsavana 37) Thereupon a person came into being. He was the most handsome in the three world." This person is the god Viṣṇu.

In the Śiva Purāṇa and in other Purāṇas Brahmā is not described as being created by Śiva at the same time as Viṣṇu. Brahmā has to wait until the primeval egg is created, and then he emerges from it. There is discrepancy in the account of the creation of Brahmā by Śiva within the Śiva Purāṇa. Elsewhere, for instance, Śiva is quoted as telling Viṣṇu and Brahmā that they were born from his left and right sides. Śiva says, "O strong ones, you too were born of my own Prakṛti, out of my left and right sides. I am the lord of everything. This Brahmā, the grandfather of the world, was born from my right side. You, Viṣṇu, were born from my left side. I am the Supreme Ātman (ayam

15. Śiva Purāṇa, 1.6.32-33.
The author of the Narai Sip Pang might not have been aware of the discrepancy in the accounts of the creation of Brahma in the Saiva Puranas, or he might have considered that it is better to have Visnu and Brahma being created at the same time. Therefore in the Narai Sip Pang (all versions) Brahma is said to be created by Siva at the same time as Visnu, but after he has created the goddess Uma.

Then Isvara stroked his right hand with his left hand and when he stretched out his left hand away from the right hand Narayana was created. Then he stroked his left hand with his right hand and when he stretched out his right hand away from the left Brahma was created.

The above account of the creation of Visnu and Brahma from the hands of Siva is, without doubt, inspired by the Saiva story of the creation of these two gods from the left and right sides of Siva. The problem is that it is not quite clear whether the Narai Sip Pang has got the directions right or not. The hand movements in the Narai Sip Pang do not make clear exactly from which hand the act of creation comes, but it is assumed that the hand which is rubbed provides the material substance for the creation. The interpretation here, then, is that Visnu is born from Siva's right hand, and Brahma from Siva's left.

In Hindu mythology, although Siva is described and eulogised as the source of the creative seed, he often employs other substances to produce a being. There is a myth of Siva's producing a son from the blood of Visnu in the Pine Forest.*

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17. Praym Salthemtachat (ed.), Narai Sip Pang ..., p. 25;
    Khun Ying Li'an Hit (ed.), Narai Sip Pang, p. 1.
20. Vaisnava Purana 2.40-9; Krama Purana 2.31-34-7.
Sweat, which is related to heat and the creative tapas, in another substance which is used in many creation myths. Siva wanders naked, doing tapas, and when he sheds a drop of sweat from his forehead the Earth nourishes it and raises the child born from it.\(^{21}\) The fever demon is born when Siva sheds a drop of sweat at Dakṣa’s sacrifice.\(^{22}\) Although the sweat mentioned is of anger, not of tapas, it is both as destructive and creative as the sweat of tapas. There are also a few myths of creation by tears, which are counted as being in the same category as blood and sweat i.e. liquid substitutes for a god’s seed produced by ‘heat’, i.e. deep emotional disturbance. Soma, or the moon, is described as being created by tears flowing down from Atśa’s eyes in which Siva dwelled together with Uma.\(^{23}\)

It is not certain which substance Siva, in the Nārāi Sīp Pāṇa, uses in the creation of Viṣṇu and Brahma. It is certain that neither blood nor tears can be described as the essential substance in this creation. The Nārāi Sīp Pāṇa does not mention the liquor-essence of nectar (sudhasava), as does the Siva Purāṇa, either. There is the possibility that Siva uses his sweat in the creation of Viṣṇu and Brahma. But this cannot be certain. The action šām or stroking of each of Siva’s hands, one with the other, does not provide any definite information. The other thing which can possibly be considered as the substance under discussion is khāl or khī khāl, or scurf from the hands of Siva. In the myth of the birth of Ganeśa in the Siva Purāṇa, the goddess Uma is described as creating Ganeśa from the scurf of her body.

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\(^{21}\) Siva Purāṇa III.3.10-14.
\(^{22}\) Mahābhārata XII.274.45.
\(^{23}\) Katsya Parānā 23.1-10; Padma Purāṇa V. 12.1-13.
Once Śiva entered into the inner apartment where Pārvatī was taking a bath. She considered it an untimely arrival. So Pārvatī thought along the line suggested by her friends, Jaya and Vijaya, that she should have an attendant of her own. At that time when the incident occurred, Pārvatī thought, "There must be a servant of my own who will be expert in his duties. He must not deviate from my orders in the very slightest."

When the goddess had thought thus she created a person out of the dirt from her body. He was very handsome, and was all-valorous. Uma took this person as her son and named him Ganeśa.  

In the Rāmāyaṇa, or Thai version of the Rāmāyaṇa, there is a myth of the creation of Chomphuphan, a monkey lord, from the sweat and scurf of Śiva's body. This myth bears some similarities with the myth of Ganeśa's birth from Uma's scurf. The creator is changed from Uma to Śiva, who is regarded as the supreme and the most benevolent god in the Rāmāyaṇa.

When Īśvara had finished educating Hanumān to be well-versed in Mantras, he took him to the court of Valī. Īśvara took Chomphuphan with him too. He entrusted these two monkey chiefs to Valī. When he entrusted Chomphuphan to Valī, he told Valī, "Chomphuphan is very mighty and possesses much valour. I created (the word used here is chaug, 'to vivify' or 'to animate'), him from my sweat and scurf. He is well-versed in all kinds of special medicine. He will help in times of trouble when Nārāyaṇa incarnates himself (to be Rāma) to destroy demons. Take him as your son."

The resemblance between the myth of the creation of Chomphuphan and of Viṣṇu and Brahma is clear. But it is not certain which myth may be presumed to have arisen first.

24. Śiva Purāṇa II.4.13
When Śiva had completed his creation of the other two members of the Hindu triad i.e. Viṣṇu and Brahmā, he engaged in creating the world and its population. The narration in the Nārāi Sīr Pāng (Royal Press Version) goes:

Then Īśvara, by means of his divine power, created the world’s surface, Phra Thōrānī, from a piece of his flesh, which he had vomited out from the region of his chest. Then Īśvara created Phra Phlōeng, Phra Phāi, and Phra Khongkha. They were the four elements of all creatures. Then he created Hāni Thōdhalā to be the guardian of the ocean. Then the demon Parot Nāmaūn was born. Sages, siddhis, vidyādharas and gods were created: Apsaras; all creatures within the three worlds; Sumeru Mountain; Kailasa Mountain; Himavanta Forest; the Serpent Ananta; and Suparna or Garuda. Īśvara then created the Bull Usūbhāra ḍa as his mount.28

Śiva’s creation of Thōrānī — the earth — from a piece of his own flesh has some similarity with the dismemberment and distribution of Purusa, or the Primeval Man, as narrated in the Rāvada. The creation of the goddess Uma, the gods Viṣṇu and Brahmā from some parts of Śiva’s body (see above) can be seen as this kind of creation too. In the Rāvada, Puruṣa, or the Primeval Man, is sacrificed to himself in order to bring forth the creation of the universe. Hereunder is the translation from a part of the Puruṣasūkta, Hymn of the Puruṣa, of the Rāvada.

The Man (Puruṣa) has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet... The Man himself is all of this, whatever has been and whatever is to be. He is the lord of immortality and also lord of that which grows on food. Such is his greatness,

and the Man is yet greater than this... When they divided the Man, into how many parts did they disperse him? What became of his mouth, what of his arms, what were his two thighs and his two feet called? His mouth was the brahmin, his arms were made into the nobles (śātriyas), his two thighs were the populace (Vaiśya's), and from his feet the servants (Śūdras) were born. The moon was born from his mind; the sun was born from his eyes. From his mouth came Indra and Agni, and from his vital breath the wind was born. From his navel the atmosphere was born; from his head the heaven appeared. From his two feet came the earth, and the regions of the sky from his ear. Thus they fashioned the world.

The concept of the Puruṣa is retained in all later creation myths in Hindu mythology. The Puruṣa is later identified with Brahmā, the Creator, who in turn, is identified with the sectarian gods Viṣṇu or Śiva. The dismemberment and distribution of the Primeval Man is also retained in the purāṇas of both Hindu sects. Whether Brahmā's identification is made with Śiva or with Viṣṇu, the same things nevertheless are created from the same parts of his body.

The concept of four elements (i.e. earth, fire, wind and water) being the constituents of all creatures is Buddhist. They are discussed in Buddhist scriptures as topics in their own right.26 Dhatu, rūpa, or mahābhūta are the Pali terms for 'element' of which the following terms make up the Pali list: pathavi, tejo, vāyu, and apa. In the Trai Phūm Phra Ruang, these four element are described as four of the thirty-two constituents of a human being.29 They also belong among the twenty-eight constituents of beings in the hells,30 and among the eight constituents of plants, of the earth, and of rivers and mountains.31 These sets of

27. Javada, III; 21-1-3; 11-14.
28. Ṛtabodhāna 393-396.
30. Ibid., p. 9.
31. Ibid., p. 291.
constituents have no exact counterpart in Hinduism. In Hindu scriptures the basic principles (tattva) from which a being is evolved are twenty-five in number. Among these principles are the five material elements (mahābhūta). They are: ether, air, fire, water and earth. The Buddhist four elements can be identified with the last four of the Hindu list. It is likely that it is the Buddhist concept that is adopted by the Thais, even though the elements earth, fire, wind and water exist in both Hinduism and Buddhism.

There is evidence of the concept of the four elements being created by Śiva in the Khlong Thawā Thotsamāt, a famous love poem from the early Ayutthaya period. In this text the poet asks the god, 'who wears a chignon, who created the four elements,' to inquire after his beloved and transfer news of her to him.* There are two hypotheses for the creation of the four elements by Śiva in Thai texts. One is that in some texts the creator god in Thailand is Śiva. Therefore Śiva is to be in charge of creating the four elements. The other is that it is linked with the five faces of Śiva. In Hindu mythology Śiva is described as having five faces named Isāna, Tatpurusa, Aghora, Vāmadeva and Sadyojāta. These faces represent the five elements: ether, air, fire, water and earth. However, in the case of Thailand, it is likely that the Buddhist concept is prior to the Hindu one.

In the Nārāi Sip Pāng, two of these elements are identified with gods. This is more than a personification, as can be seen from what follows. Phra Phlōeng, 'fire', and Phra Phāi, 'wind', are identified with the gods Agni and Vāyu. In the later part of the story of creation in the Nārāi

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Sip Pāng, Phra Phloeng, the Fire God, is described as one of the gods who created celestial elephants and horses. Moreover Phra Phloeng also created two sons for Śiva. In the Rāmāyana, and in the story of the Rāma-incarnation of Viṣṇu in the Nārāyaṇa, Phra Phloeng, the Wind God, is described as having the same role as the god Viṣṇu in the Rāmāyana of Vālmīki. In the Lō'an Rit Version of the Nārāyaṇa, the earth is personified as a goddess. In the story of the battle between Śiva and Trī Buran, when Śiva found that his mighty bow was useless, he asked the goddess Earth to keep that bow for him, and to hand it to Rāma when he is waging war with the demons. But that is as far as it goes. There is no myth about a Hindu goddess Earth in Thai literature. The goddess Gangā of Hindu mythology does not exist in Thai literature either, and at all times in the Thai language, the term 'khonphā' (Sanskrit: gangā) has the meaning of 'water, river, or an ocean'. 
According to Hindu mythology the Linga is the most important symbol of Siva. It is believed that the whole essence of the god is completely contained in his Linga. The Siva Purana says, "The Linga is the body of Siva and Sivă (Siva's sakti) because it is presided over by them. By worshipping Linga alone, Siva and Sivă are worshipped." The works also glorifies the symbol of Siva as the representative of the whole world. "The world is in the form of Linga. Everything is found in Linga. Hence if the Linga is installed, everything is installed."

There are several myths to explain how the Linga comes to be the representative of Siva. The Saiva Puranas give a myth of antagonism and competition between gods, especially between Brahma and Siva, in which Siva terrorizes the other gods into worshipping him with devotion to the Linga.

Hereunder is the summary of the myth from the Siva Purana.

Once when all the universe had been destroyed and had become a single ocean, Brahma, Visnu, and Rudra arose from the midst of the water. Their arrival was unwatched. Then Brahma and Visnu asked Rudra to perform the creation as he wished. Rudra promised to do so. But he then plunged into the waters and remained immersed for a thousand celestial years. Brahma and Visnu were very restless. Visnu in the end encouraged Brahma to perform the creation of the world. Brahma followed the advice of Visnu. He created everything conducive to happiness. When that creation had been performed, Sambhu emerged from the water, desirous of creating. But when he saw the whole universe being created, he was very angry. He wanted to destroy it. He released from his mouth a flame which burnt everything. When Brahma saw that everything was on fire he bowed to Siva and praised him until he was pleased with Brahma. Brahma then asked Siva to let Brahma's extensive range of progeny be as it was. Siva

33. Siva Purana VII. 2. 34. 12, 14
34. Ibid., VII. 2. 34. 2
promised this, but Brahmā had to help him find a way to destroy the excessive energy gathered by him in order to destroy Brahmā's creation. Brahmā thought carefully for the sake of the world, and then he said to Sūrya, "Cause your own energy to enter the sun, since you are the lord over the sun; for you are the creator, protector and destroyer. Let us live together with all the immortals in the energy of the sun. We will receive with devotion the sacred image of the three times (i.e. past, present, and future; the Linga is their image) that was given by mankind. Then at the end of the moon you will take the form of the sun and burn this universe, moving and still, at that moment." Siva agreed to this and laughed, for he was secretly amused, and he said to Brahmā, "There is no good use for this Linga except for the creation of progeny." And as he said this he broke it off and threw it upon the surface of the earth. The Linga broke down through the earth and went up to the very sky. Visnu sought the end of it below, and Brahmā flew upwards, but they did not find the ends of it, for all their vital effort. Then a voice arose out of the sky as the two of them sat there, and it said, 'If the Linga of the god with braided hair is worshipped, it will certainly grant all desires that are longed for in the heart.' When Brahmā and Visnu heard this, they and all the divinities worshipped the Linga with devotion, with their hearts set upon Rudra. 35

Another Śiva myth makes the importance of the Linga the result of a curse pronounced by a number of sages. The Vīṣṇu Purāṇa says:

When Sati died at Dakṣa's sacrifice, Śiva wandered from place to place like a mad man, mourning her absence. He travelled from hermitage to hermitage, but could find no rest. Then the hermits' wives saw him they fell desperately in love with him and followed him from place to place. Their husbands, incensed at this, cursed the god, and deprived him of manhood. A great commotion followed. Brahmā and Visnu interceded on his behalf with the hermits, who consented to withdraw their curse on condition that the offender should be represented by the Linga, and thus it became an object of worship to gods and men. 36

In Vaisnava versions of the myth, however, Linga-worship is a curse pronounced upon Siva by Bhṛgu, the leader of the Pine Forest sages. The Padma Purāṇa relates:

Once in the past, Manu went to a special and lengthy sacrifice on the highest mountain, Manda, with all the sages pre-eminent for the severity of their ascetic practices. The sages could not then agree to an answer to the question: "Who among Brahmā, Visnu, and Siva, is the best, and should be praised as the one who gives release to men?" The sage Bhṛgu was sent by them to find out the answer. Bhṛgu came to Siva's abode. He was prevented from entering immediately by Nandin, the doorkeeper. Nandin informed Bhṛgu that Siva was making love to the goddess. After waiting for some time, Bhṛgu's patience being exhausted, the sage was filled with anger, and pronounced a curse: "Sankara, the fool, is immersed in darkness and does not recognize me. Since he is so intoxicated by union with a woman that he dishonours me, therefore he will have the form of the Yoni and the Linga."

None of these Hindu myths on the origin of the Linga worship has a counterpart in Thai literature. However, the Hindu myth of Siva's conquering the demon Tripura, in the Lō'an Rit Version of the Hārai Sirè Pông, may be regarded as the myth depicting the origin of the Linga cult in Thailand. It is noteworthy that elsewhere a myth of Siva's vanquishing the demon Tripura gives more importance to the arrow which Siva uses in destroying the demon than to Sivalinga. The myth of the origin of the Linga-worship in the Lō'an Rit Version of the Hārai Sirè Pông is as follows.

Once the demon Trī Buram, the king of So-Lot, performed a very intense religious rite on the shore of the ocean. Siva was very pleased with him. He came down from his abode to the ceremonial ground of Trī Buram in order to grant him a boon. Trī Buram asked, 'May the power of
your Sivalinga be presiding over my head so that I will be entitled to do anything at my own will. May I not be killed by any weapon or by Visnu." Siva granted Tri Buram the boon he had asked for. Finally, the god admonished him not to lead an immoral life. Then the god returned to his abode. Tri Buram, on his part, left the ceremonial ground. While he was walking away he found a Sivalinga. He put it reverentially on his head. From then on Tri Buram became very mighty. He could do whatever he wanted. That made him very proud and he oppressed the whole world. When Siva heard of this he asked Nārāyaṇa to destroy the demon. Nārāyaṇa refused to do so by reminding him of the boon he had given to the demon. Siva then decided to destroy the demon himself. He made a bow out of the energy of Sumeru Mountain, a bow-string out of the energy of the Serpent Ananta, an arrow out of the energy of Nārāyaṇa, and his armour out of the energy of Brahma. Then Siva came to the abode of Tri Buram. He shot at the demon three times. But he found that the arrow did not move at all because Nārāyaṇa had fallen asleep. The god was filled with anger. Nārāyaṇa reminded him of the boon yet again. Nārāyaṇa then volunteered to destroy the demon’s power originating from the Sivalinga on the head of the demon. Nārāyaṇa turned himself into a monk and came to see Tri Buram. The demon was very impressed by the appearance of the monk and wanted to learn his doctrine. The monk promised to teach him provided that the demon would give the Sivalinga to him. The demon agreed to this and did so. Then Nārāyaṇa turned back to his own form and flew to Siva. Siva could then kill the demon with his Fire-eye. When the god had killed the demon Tri Buram, he consulted with Nārāyaṇa about what they should do with the Sivalinga. Siva said, "Sivalinga appeared in this world through my creation. It should be kept on earth to be the companion of the world. But its name should be changed to 'Phra Sayom- phīwāyān'. Let it be put on the head on one half of the body of the demon Tri Buram so that it can be clearly seen by the world." 33

The date of this myth is not certain. What is certain is that the cult of Sivalinga was practised a long time ago in the

33. Wann Ying Lū'an Rit (ed.), Nārāi Sip Pān, pp. 43 - 47.
territory where Thailand now is. The discovery of Sivalinga at various Saiva temples and at some ancient buildings built by the Cambodians in Thailand gives support to this statement.* The cult of Sivalinga was taken over by the Thais and was widely practised during the Ayuthya period and its popularity extended to the reign of King Rama I of Rattanakosin. This can be seen from one of the early decrees enacted by the king. In the year 1782, which is the first year of his reign, King Rama I had decreed that all Sivalingas were to be burned. He said, "Nowadays all beings are very worldly. When they have any trouble they will turn to all kinds of spirits and guardian gods instead of to the Triple Gems. But I cannot order people not to believe in these spirits, for, according to the Buddha's words, a king has, among many of his duties, to support and look after the guardian gods in his kingdom. Therefore, from now on, I want governors of all towns in my country to take care in looking after the house of the guardian gods. Normal rites and rituals can be performed there. But these gods should not be worshipped more than the Triple Gems. And no animal sacrifice should be performed there any more. The most important thing is that all Lingas belonging to those spirit houses must be burned. The worship of the Linga is neither mentioned in the Buddhist canons nor practised in any capital. The appearance of the Lingas could bring condemnation from foreigners in our country. If any governor or district officer does not completely destroy the Lingas in his area, he will be severely punished, even to the penalty of being executed.* It seems from the decree of King Rama I that the myth of the origin and importance of the Sivalinga, either in the Thai texts or in the Hindu texts, had not reached the king.

The king, in his decree, had speculated upon the origin of the worship of the linga himself. He thought that, formerly, base men had made those lingas in order to ridicule some wicked women. Later on this practise was blindly followed by foolish people. 41

However, it seems that the decree of King Rama I was not observed for very long in practice. His grandson, King Rama III, at the time of the restoration of Wat Phra Chetuphon (1331) installed a Sivalinga in the grounds of that famous temple. (King Rama III might have wanted to keep it as one of examples of the Brahministic art in order to educate his subjects.) Prince Davrong, in San Somdet, made a hypothesis that King Rama III had removed that Sivalinga from a mountain called Sivaninitra (Sivaninitra) in Lopburi. 42 Although Prince Davrong's hypothesis might be wrong, what is certain is that the cult of Sivalinga was not completely eliminated by King Rama I. Moreover this idea is also made firm by the statement of Prince Narit, in San Somdet, that he found a number of Sivalingas in various spirit-houses when he was on a tour in the North-East of Thailand. 43

The worship of the linga as the symbol of Siva does not exist in Thailand any more. In its place is the cult of ai khik or ai khit. The ai khik can be a tattooed design or a detachable object, of metal or of wood, or of other materials, such as coral, which has a shape similar to a Sivalinga. 44 Many ai khik objects are worn around a small boy's waist in order to gain protection from animal's teeth and fangs, to avert the evil eye, and to divert the attack of any vicious spirit intent upon striking at a

41. Ibid., p. 758.
43. Ibid., p. 165.
Boy child's genitalia and damaging his future virility. Moreover many men carry a small khik as a good-luck charm. They believe that khik can provide prophylaxis against possible accidents or violent situations.

There is a legend of the origin of khik. It is related that a brahman priest first produced khik by reducing a large Sivalinga to a small size, to make it easily portable. Then the small phalluses were brought into Thailand as a consequence of the spread of Indian civilization, according to the legend, Buddhist spells were put on them instead of brahman ones, and they became the present day Thai khik.\(^{45}\)

Prince Damrong also argues along much the same line as this legend. He links the cult of khun phet, another name for khik, with Sivalinga. In his letter to Prince Narit, Prince Damrong says that a Saiva cult must have existed and must have been practised in Thailand prior to the Vaishnava cult seriously enough to remain on until his own time. When he was a child he had many khun phet tied around his waist. He identifies them with Sivalinga.\(^{46}\)

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45. Ib., p. 176.
DESTRUCTION OF MULAKHAVATI AND TRIBURAH BY ŚIVA

In West Thai literary works composed during the Ayuthya period, Śiva is described as the destroyer. The Lilit Ōngkān Chaeng Nan describes Śiva, in the invocation stanzas, as 'the god who wields the mighty phet, and uses this phet to vanquish all vicious obstacles'. It is not certain what object the phet (Sanskrit: vajra) is. It might be the thunderbolt as usually found in an epithet of Indra:- vajrapāni, 'he who has the thunderbolt in his hand.' In the Ratanakosin time the author of Chan Sansoen Phra Mahā Manī Ratana Patimākōṅ (Poems for eulogizing the Emerald Buddha) interprets phet as the diamond trident of Śiva. On the one hand, if phet means the thunderbolt, it accords well with the myths of Śiva, under the name of Rudra, in the R̄gveda where it is said that Rudra is the wielder of the thunderbolt. On the other hand, if it is the trident, it agrees well with the myths of Śiva in epics and Purāṇas. In any case, it is certain that this phet must have been known during the Ayuthya period as one of Śiva's famous weapons.

In Khlong Thawā Thotsamat, there is mention of the third eye of Śiva. It is described as being both beautiful and destructive at the same time. In Yuan Phāi one of the chief characteristics of King Bhoromtrilōkanāṭ is said to be his destructive power. This quality in him is compared to that of Śiva. But the myth of Śiva's destroying the three worlds at the end of the aeon, which is the basis of this renowned characteristic of his, does not exist in Thai literature.

47. "Lilit Ōngkān Chaeng Nan" found in Lilit Lāc Hirat by Watcharī Kanyarān, Bangkok, 1974, p. 9.
However, two myths about the vanquishing of malevolent and troublesome demoniacal beings by Śiva are recorded in some literary works of the Ratanakosin period. One is the myth of Śiva's taming a demon called Mūlakhani. The other is his celebrated battle against the demon called Trī Buram. The myth of Trī Buram is narrated in two texts: the Rāmāyaṇa of King Rama I and the Nārāy Sin Phāng. The story of the demon Mūlakhani is related in the Nārāy Sin Phāng only.

The Nārāy Sin Phāng (Royal Press Version) tells the myth of the demon Mūlakhani as follows:

Once there was a demon named Mūlakhani (as if Mūlagni), who was born at the same time as the Earth. He obtained a boon from all three of the gods. Both his eyes became blazing flames. He was very proud of himself, deeming himself greater than all gods and human beings. Therefore, he persecuted and oppressed the three worlds. All the sages consulted each other about what was to be done and then went to see Śiva, and told him what had happened. Śiva, therefore, went down from Kailāsa in order to wage war with the demon Mūlakhani. The demon fought against the god. He opened his eyes of fire and caused the fire to encircle the god. The god, by means of his divine power, trod on the back of the demon Mūlakhani. Then the god opened the tubes of water and of fire from both his ear-holes which fell on the head of the demon, and deprived him of his power. His eyes of fire were lost forever. Śiva then cursed the demon to become King Phali. (See p. 441.) He was to roam about in the world eating offering made to spirits at all times when human beings perform any of their auspicious ceremonies. This curse was to last for a period of one Badra Kalpa. Then Śiva went back to Kailāsa.

No counterpart of this myth is found in Hindu mythology. It is not possible to compare the demon Mūlakhani with other vicious demons, such as Andhaka or Jalandhara, whom Śiva also vanquishes. There are no elements in the Mūlakhani story

coinciding with elements in the Saiva stories with regard to other demons. However, Thai paintings of Siva at the moment of treading on the back of the demon Įlākhanī show influence from, and connection with, South Indian images of Siva as Nāṭarāja, the Lord of the Dance. The prototype of the demon Įlākhanī is found in a Tamil legend which provides a motif for the image of Siva Nāṭarāja. It is the legend of the first Ānandaṭāṅgavaṇe of Siva before the gods and sages, after the subjugation of the Sages in the forest of Tāraka. This legend is related in a Tamil purāṇa called Koyil Purāṇa as follows:

In the forest of Tāraka dwelt multitudes of heretical rishis, followers of the Hīmāsas. Whither proceeded Siva to confute them, accompanied by Viṣṇu disguised as a beautiful woman, and Adisesa. The rishis were at first led to violent dispute among themselves, but their anger was soon directed against Siva, and they endeavoured to destroy him by means of incantations. A fierce tiger was created in sacrificial fires, and rushed upon him; but smiling gently, he seized it and, with the nail of his little finger stripped off its skin, and wrapped it about himself like a silken cloth. Undiscouraged by failure, the sages renewed their offerings, and produced a monstrous serpent, which, however, Siva seized and wreathed about his neck like a garland. Then he began to dance; but lastly there rushed upon him a monster in the shape of a malignant dwarf, Muyalaka. Upon him the god pressed the tip of his foot and broke the creature's back so that it writhed upon the ground; and so his last foe prostrated, Siva resumed the dance, witnessed by the gods and rishis.

Then Adisesa worshipped Siva, and prayed above all things for the boon, once more to behold this mystic dance; Siva promised that he should behold the dance again in Sacred Tīllai, the center of the universe.*

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The malignant dwarf, Kuvalaka is represented, in sculpture, as being pressed down upon by the right foot of the god Siva. The god on his part, is represented as having four hands. One right hand holds a drum, the other is uplifted in abhaya mudra; one left hand holds fire, the other points downward to the lifted foot. The right foot is pressed down upon the demon Kuvalaka, a dwarf holding a cobra. The left foot is raised. There is a lotus pedestal, from which springs an encircling arch of glory (tiruvasi), fringed with flames and touched within by the hands holding the drum and fire.

Most of the details of the Thai paintings, in Manuscripts No. 32, 33 and 34, of Siva's treading on the demon Kuvalaka are similar to images of Siva's dancing the Anandatancavam on Kuvalaka's back. The main differences are: the drum carried in Siva's back right hand in the Indian images is replaced, in the painting in Manuscript No. 33, by a bael fruit; and, in Manuscript No. 32 and 34, by a crocodile. It is possible that the bael fruit is used in Thai painting because it is regarded by the Thais as Siva's most important plant. The appearance of a crocodile in the right hand of Siva in Thai paintings is difficult to explain. It is said in the Uttararahanihagama, where a detailed description of the dancing of Siva is given, that on Siva's right earlobe there should be an earring of a crocodile shape (nakhakamala). This crocodile earring might have been misunderstood by the Thais as an object held in Siva's hand. Another possibility is that a crocodile in the Thai paintings is the representative of the goddess Uma, the consort of Siva. In Thai literature the vahana or vehicle of the goddess Uma is a crocodile. The goddess created it when all gods were allowed, by the god Siva, to create their own vehicles at the beginning of the world. It is possible that

53. All sculptures of Śiva Naṭarāja in museums in Thailand are uncataloged. All of them are described as being found in Hindu temples in Thailand. They are exactly similar to their Hindu prototype. See illustrations Nos. 1, 2.
55. Prayatn Sukonchachāt (ed.), Hārām Sīrāmā ... P. 3.
there is a complementary distribution here: a crocodile is present in the painting only when the image of the goddess Gaṅgā is depicted in the painting; also, otherwise the crocodile is replaced by the bael fruit and there is no Gaṅgā figure.

In both manuscripts No. 32 and 34 where Śiva holds a crocodile in his right hand, there is an image of a minute person sitting cross-legged, with his hands held in an anjali pose, depicted within the jāṭamāṇḍala on the left side of Śiva. This person might be identified with the goddess Gaṅgā. It is stated in the Uttarakāśīnīgama that, in the second form of dance of Śiva, there should be the figure of Gaṅgā with hands held in the anjali pose standing on the jāṭā (or braided hair) flowing on the right side of Śiva, and that the height of this figure should be sixteen angulas (an angula being a hundred and twentieth part of the total height of the figure of Śiva). Sometimes in the Indian literature, the goddess Gaṅgā is indirectly described as a consort of Śiva.

56. anjali: the open hands placed side by side and slightly hollowed (as if by a beggar to receive food; hence when raised to the forehead, a mark of supplication.)
57. jāṭamāṇḍala: the halo of braided hair.
59. In the Nandi, or benediction, part of the Sanskrit play composed by Vīśākhadatta, Śiva is described as artfully avoiding telling the jealous goddess that it is the goddess Gaṅgā who is on his head. The verse goes:

(Va) "Who is it that is on your head?"
(Siva) "It is the crescent-moon."
(Va) "What? Is that her name?"
(Siva) "That, indeed, is her name; as it is known to you, how could you have forgotten it?"
(Va) "I am asking of a woman, not of the moon."
(Siva) "Let Vījaya tell you then, if you do not believe it is the moon."

May the (artful) ingenuity of our lord, desiring to conceal from his consort the Divine River (Gaṅgā) in this manner preserve you. (Vīśākhadatta, Madhurākṣaṭa, edited and translated by C.P. Desachar, V.M. Redkar, Scolar, 1949, p. 1)
Therefore it is possible that the Thais might like the idea of depicting the representative of the goddess Uma, i.e., a crocodile, together with the goddess Gaṅgā. Another possibility is that while the source of the image of Gaṅgā in the sculpture of Śiva Kaṭārījā is Hindu, the origin of a crocodile in his right hand might have come from other sources along forgotten by the Thais.

Another difference between the paintings of Śiva treading on the demon Hūśākhaṇḍi and the image of Śiva dancing on the demon Nīralaka is that the demon Hūśākhaṇḍi has no serpent in his hand as Nīralaka has in South Indian images of the dancing god Śiva.

It is difficult to dismiss the relationship between the Nīralaka in Hindu mythology and the demon Hūśākhaṇḍi in Thai literature as coincidence because the similarities are very great. The difference between the names of the two demons might have been caused by the story being related orally long before it was ever written down. The story has been changed also. The theme of Śiva's treading the heretical sages of the Tūraka forest narrated in the Hindu myth is changed to the god's vanquishing the malicious demon Hūśākhaṇḍi, and the fire flowing from the ear-holes of the god Śiva might have been formed and inspired by the fire in the left hand of the god, and by the circle of fire around the image of the god in both Indian images and Thai paintings. In some images of Śiva Kaṭārījā's standing on the back of Nīralaka, the jata kusumāla is depicted as flowing out from both sides of the crown of the god. This too might have been misunderstood by the Thais to be the fire and water flowing from the ear-holes of the god.

In the year 1822, in a Thai book called Tumā Rōn Rarn (Treatise
of Dancing), the images of Indian Śiva Nāgarūja (with Śiva dancing on the back of Nāgarāja) were identified with the images of Śiva's vanquishing the demon Mūlakāna. The complete version of the myth of Śiva's taming the sages of the Tūraka forest, narrated in the Royal Purāṇa, is also given. The story is very similar to the Tamil myth quoted above. But this cannot be treated as an evidence for the early existence of this Hindu myth in Thailand because the book Tangkak Phrom does not mention definitely whether this myth in particular was transcribed from Thai manuscripts or translated from foreign books. In the introduction to the book, Prince Damrong says that the work is compiled from some English books; from Sanskrit manuscripts in the Thai Royal Library; and from Thai treatises of dancing. The myth might possibly have been translated from a book on the postures of Śiva's dance carved on the Gopura of a temple at Cidambaran, which was given to the Thai Royal Library in the year 1014.

In Sampo, Phøp, Hophamät (The Story of Lady Hophamät) there is mention of the popularity of the images of Śiva standing on the demon Mūlakāna. It is said in the text that during the time of the author there were many images of Parameśvara, i.e., Śiva, treading upon the back of Hophamät Phrom and Mūlakāna. These images were cast either of gold, or of nine or seven kinds of metal. Large images were about five or six sān (i.e., about 10 feet) high. Small statues were about the size of a monkey's knuckle (just a few inches). Moreover,

60. Sampo, Phøp, Sampo, Bangkok: 1923, p. (5).
61. ibid., p. (3).
62. ibid., p. (7).
63. Hophamät Phrom is the same as Anghihut Phrom who is vanquished by Śiva. Anghihut Phrom is reborn as the demon-horse Kirthaka who is, in turn, destroyed by Viṣṇu in the form of the Thulākī incarnation. See p. 166.
various sizes between these two limits abounded. (But no description of what Siva holds in his hands is given in this text.) Prince Damrong speculated that the date of *Rū'ang Māng Nophamāt* could be around the reign of King Kama II. Therefore it is likely that the Hindu myth in the *Taurā Pūn* Ram is later than that in the *Nārāi Sīr Pāng*. However, it cannot be said for certain whether the Thai myth of Siva and Kālākhani used formerly to be related to a myth concerning the creation of dancing, as it is described in the *Taurā Pūn* Ram, or not. What is certain is that this was not the case during the early Rattanakosin period because it is not referred to, either in *Rū'ang Māng Nophamāt* or in the *Nārāi Sīr* Pāng, as having that significance.

The second myth, in the Ratanakosin period, of the destruction of vicious demons by Śiva is the story of the god's battle against the demon Tri Buram. In Hindu mythology it is the most celebrated myth of all Śiva's feats of arms. This myth as extant in Thai literature has more or less the same content as the Hindu myth in Śaiva texts. In the Śiva Purāṇa, three sons (namely Tārakākṣa, Vudyameśa, and Kausalākṣa) of the demon Tāraka, who was killed by Shanda, Śiva's son, wanted to be more powerful than the gods. They therefore performed very severe austerities for a thousand years at Mount Meru in order to obtain a boon from Brahmā. When Brahmā came to see them to grant them boons, they asked that they might be 'indestructable at the hands of all living beings.' They wanted to be immortal. Brahmā said, "Except Śiva and Viṣṇu all else is mortal. Immortality is inaccessible and is impossible to be attained by the gods and the Asuras." Brahmā suggested they should choose a boon whereby they could do something equal to their own strength. The demons then chose to have three cities, one each of gold, of silver, and of iron, built for them by Māyā, the architect of the demons. The demons, who had deep faith in Śiva, chose their own destruction by his hand. They told Brahmā, "O Brahmā, when the three cities are joined together, the Lord, who embodies all the gods, sitting in a wonderful chariot, will shoot a single arrow and pierce our cities." Brahmā granted the demons what they had asked for. The demons thereafter ruled happily in their cities. Indra and other gods were very disturbed by the demons' happiness and virtuous way of living. They then sought refuge in Brahmā who refused to help them because the demons' prosperity was caused by the boon given by him. Brahmā sent the gods to Śiva who was not willing to help them because the demons were his pious devotees. Śiva sent the gods to Viṣṇu for help. At first Viṣṇu tried to destroy the demons by means of Bhūtas created by him while he was eulogizing the gods of
sacrifice. But Viṣṇu was not successful. Viṣṇu then realized that he had to make the demons forsake the worship of the Linga of Śiva and forsake the Vedic Dharma they were practising before they could be destroyed. Viṣṇu then created a teacher of delusion called Māyāmoha who created in turn a Māyāsāstra of sixteen thousand verses in Indian dialects (Apabhramśа), which preached Jaina and Buddhist Dharmas for misguiding the demons. Māyāmoha created four kinds of preachers for the propagation of the heresy. They preached non-violence, forbade Vedic rituals, and discarded the caste system. When the demons of the three cities had abandoned the worship of Śiva, the gods went to see Śiva again, and asked him to destroy the demons. Śiva agreed to do so on condition that the gods created a mighty chariot and a mighty bow for him. The creation of the chariot is described in detail. The chariot represents the cosmic powers with seven worlds as its wheels, with five gross elements (mahābhūtā) and the gods as its constituents. The bow and the arrow were forged with the potency of the gods also. Mount Himavanta became the bow, Vāsuki, the Serpent Lord, the bow-string. Viṣṇu became the arrow, and Agni became the head of the arrow. Before the demons of the three cities could be slain in the battle, every deity was asked by Śiva to declare himself to be a mere Pasu or animal, and to proclaim Śiva as Pasupati, or Lord of Animals. The gods accepted the proposal, declared themselves to be animals and fought against the demons savagely, but their status as animals profoundly disturbed them. Śiva then taught them the performance of the Pasupata vow so that the gods could release themselves from their natures as animals. Then at an auspicious moment called Abhilāga, when the three cities were joined together, Śiva discharged his arrow and burned the three cities with that single arrow.

66 Śiva Purāṇa II.5.1-10.
It can be seen that the myth of the destruction of Tripura in the Saiva texts is a mixture of a Vaishnava myth and a Saiva one. Aspects of Buddhism and Jainism have been incorporated into the myth for the sake of condemnation on the one hand (Visnu plays the part of deceiver or false prophet) and for the sake of justification on the other (Siva turns against his devotees only after they appear to have turned against him).

An explanation of the Saiva myth of Siva’s destruction of Tripura, which is suggested by Conda in his *Vishisht and Sivas* is that it is the reinterpretation of ancient religious practice. Here, i.e. in the *Siva Purana*, it is narrated in order to form the basis for the performance of the Pasupata vow which aims at the release of Pasu or the individual soul from the bondage of rebirth. In Thai literature this myth is adopted from the Saiva mythology with more emphasis and importance being put on the bow of Siva, and it is linked with the Thai story of Rama. Hereunder is the story of Tripura in the *Narai Sir Pao* (Royal Press Version).

There was a demon called Tri Duram who was the king of So Lot city. He obtained a boon from Isvara that no one could kill him with any kind of weapon. Later on Tri Duram grew very proud. He obtained a Sivalinga from the Saraphi River and put it on his head. He roamed about waging war and oppressing sages and gods in all regions. When Isvara, Lord of the World, got to know of this, he invited Narayana to come over from his abode for consultation on the matter. Then, Isvara, together with his army of gods came to confront Tri Duram. Isvara used the power of the Serpent King Ananta as a string of the bow; and Narayana as an arrow. Isvara fired at Tri Duram in order to kill him. The power of the Sivalinga and the boon given to him by Siva, caused Narayana to close his eyes and become lost in his own thoughts so that the arrow was unable to destroy Tri Duram. Isvara was very angry and questioned Narayana about what had happened. Narayana answered, "You have given a boon to the demon so that no one can kill him. Besides, the power of the Sivalinga protects him."

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That is why he was not killed. I volunteer to get the Sivalinga from the demon by a trick. Then you may burn him up with your crystal tube. "Nārāyana, by means of his divine power, transformed himself, into the form of a Buddhist monk. The monk addressed Tri Duran and asked for the Sivalinga as a gift of alms from the demon. Śivara then, with his crystal tube, burned the demon Tri Duran into minute pieces. Śivara then threw his Malā Mōli Bow down into Kīthilā city and uttered a divine pronouncement, "He, only who is an incarnation of Nārāyana shall be able to lift up this Malā Mōli Bow. If he is not Nārāyana of the Solar race, he will not be able to lift it up, even if he possesses great power." When Nārāyana had vanquished Tri Duran, he returned to sleep on the back of Nāga on the Ocean of Milk.  

The names of the three demons i.e. Tārakākṣa, Vidumāla, and Kauśāla, in the Śiva myth of the destruction of the three cities do not appear in the Thai text. The word 'Tripura' meaning 'the three cities' is taken by the Thais to be the name of the demon who is destroyed by Śiva. The changing of the names of three demons (together with their three cities) into the name of one single demon (and his single city) in the Thai texts can be explained by the frequency in the Sanskrit text of the word 'tripura' and the relative scarcity of mention of the names of the three demon lords. Moreover, there are variants for the names of the demon lords in different Hindu texts. For example, in the Nāṭya Purāṇa, the name Kauśāla is replaced by Tārakākṣa who, in the Śiva and the Liṅga purāṇas, is the architect of the demons. The Thai demon Tri Duran, like the three demon lords, craved for immortality. This can be seen from a boon he asked from Śiva that no one would be able to kill him with any kind of weapon. In the Śāmkara Tri Duran is described as being afraid of Viṣṇu. He wanted to be more powerful than Viṣṇu so as not to be vanquished even by him. In Hindu mythology the demons did not obtain permanent immortality. They could at best, live for a limited time only.

In the Thai texts, however, Tri Buram is offered permanent immortality by virtue of performing righteous and meritorious acts. Tri Buram, like the demons of the three cities, is a devotee of Siva. He finds a Sivalinga and puts it on his head. This is an allegory of Tri Buram being the worshipper of Siva. Tri Buram is deluded by Visnu in the form of a mendicant monk to forsake Siva. In the other two versions of the Thai text, Tri Buram is described as being pleased with the sacred appearance of the monk and wanting to learn the religion of the new sect. Tri Buram forsakes Siva by giving the Sivalinga to the monk. The cosmic chariot of the Hindu myth of Tripura does not appear in the Thai texts. In its place is a suit of diamond armour mentioned in the other two versions of the Harati Sip Pana and in the Handidian. This armour is made of the power of Brahma and of Siva. At the end of the battle between Siva and Tri Buram, Siva gives this armour, which he wears during the battle, to a sage named Muniya so that the sage could give it to Visnu when he comes to assume the form of Rama. The arrow of Siva, in the Thai texts, contains nearly the same constituents as the arrow described in the Hindu texts. Agni and Soma, who are regarded as being equally significant with Visnu in the Hindu myth of Tripura, do not appear in the Tri Buram myth. Visnu, in the Thai text, is retained as the most important constituent of the arrow. Actually he is the very arrow. The episode of Visnu in the form of the arrow being asleep at the time when Siva shoots the arrow at Tri Buram does not exist in any version of the Sanskrit Tripura myth. However, there is a similar episode in a Tamil myth which is influenced by an ancient Sanskrit myth which described the removal and subsequent restoration of the 'head of the sacrifice'. Hereunder is the translation from a Tamil text called Tiruvārūr.
Once the gods, Mukutan (an epithet of Visnu), Intiran (Indra), and the rest, performed a sacrifice at Kurukkottiram (kuruksetra), having determined that he who would complete the sacrifice without hindrance would be foremost among them. After a thousand years, the gods grew weak. Then Tirumāl (Viṣṇu) completed the sacrifice and grew proud. By the command of Aran (Siva), the sacrificial fire spurted up toward heaven, and a bow appeared in it. Māl (Viṣṇu) proclaimed himself first among the gods and, taking the bow in hand, showered the gods with arrows. The gods fled to Cattipuram, as once before they had fled from the poison produced from the churning of the ocean. Māl followed them there, but on entering that site he lost all his strength and fell asleep, resting his neck on the end of the bow. The son of Viyālan (Pāhaspati) said to the gods, "It is improper for a man to come here full of conceit; therefore Viṣṇu fell asleep through the power of Parācatti." He told the gods to take the form of white ants, and gnaw through the bowstring. The gods did so, and when the bowstring snapped, the bow cut off the head of Māl.

The sleeping Viṣṇu in the Tamil myth does not exist in the Sanskrit prototype of this myth. In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, where the myth of the removal and the restoration of the 'head of the sacrifice' is found there is only the episode of Viṣṇu's resting his head on the end of the bow and having it cut off when the ants had gnawed the bowstring. However, in a Narâyana myth related in the Sanskrit Purāṇas, there is also an account of how Viṣṇu loses his head while he is asleep, resting his head in his own bow. The myth is given in detail in Chapter V (p.148).

In the Thai Tripura myth Śiva does not kill the demon Tri-Puran with his single arrow as is narrated in Hindu mythology. Śiva finds out that his arrow is powerless, owing to his own curse, and it cannot destroy the demon. In the end Śiva burns

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50. Parācatti: Śiva's supreme energy which is all intelligence.
51. Tiruvārur, 8.1-11.
the demon with his crystal tube. The Rājakīvan illustrates clearly how Siva uses the crystal tube to reduce the demon to ashes. It is said in the Rājakīvan that Siva, "lifted up his crystal tube to the level of his eye. He then directed the tube towards the demon. The fiercest fire immediately arose. It burned Tri Dūran and all his soldiers to ashes." 72

Siva is, therefore described as producing the fire of devastation from his eye (which is presumably the third, or the 'fire eye') with a crystal tube in the same way as one ignites a fire with a magnifying glass projecting rays from the sun.

The destruction of the demon Tri Dūran by Siva's eye finds a comparison in the myth of Tripura in the Līla Purāṇa, Siva is much praised by the gods as being so great that he does not need either the chariot, or the mighty bow, or the array of the gods in destroying the demons. He burns the three cities by the fire from his third eye. Then as the compiler of the text wants to follow the traditional narration, he describes Siva subsequently being urged by the gods to discharge his single arrow. Siva then once again devastates with fire the demons who have just been reduced to ashes by him." 73

In the Rājakīvan, the Kābā Sōlī bow, which has its origin in the myth of Tri Dūran, is lifted up by Śiva in order to win the hand of Śrī. In the Aśāyang of Vālsēkī the bow which is bent by Śiva at Kithilā is described as Dhanuratna, 'the jewel of a bow', and is different from the Kābā Sōlī bow.

The Dhanuratna too was once a weapon of Śiva's as well as the Kābā Sōlī bow. But it was used by Śiva to force the gods who were participating in Dakṣa's sacrifice to give him some share of that sacrifice. It was not the same bow which Śiva used in the battle against 'Tripura'. It is possible that the absence

72. King Rams, Rājakīvan, p. 54.
73. Līla Purāṇa 1.72.
of the famous Siva myth of Siva's destroying Daksha's sacrifice in Thai literature causes the absence of the Shana-
ratna cow in the Ramakian. In its place is the Nakua Nok
for from the myth of Tri Purus.
Another characteristic of Siva referred to in literary works of the Ayuthya period is his being the supreme god of the experts in elephant rites. In the Putsadī Sangwooi Kləm Chōng Klông Kao (a poem sung as a lullaby for a newly captured white elephant, composed in the Ayuthya period) there is mention of the brahmins, who perform the rites for captive elephants, and put the image of Siva alone in the centre of the ceremonial hall. They then sprinkle the god with pure and auspicious water, and pass the candles round him keeping their right sides towards him (viz., pradaksina). After that the brahmins present the offerings of food, flowers, and betel nuts to the god. Then they anoint the image of the god with fragrant ointment. Then the brahmins have finished this last act they bow to the god and take leave of him. Then they begin the rites concerning the captive elephant.

In the Samuthakhot Khan Cham there is also reference to Siva's being regarded as the most important god in a ceremony concerning elephants. In that text Prince Samuthakhot is described as going to the forest to catch elephants. Proper rites are to be performed by a Ṇa tho (an expert in rites and rituals regarding elephants), before the prince can catch elephants at his pleasure. Then the Ṇa tho has performed the rite called bōk phrai (opening the forest), he has to find a nāṭām tree (Acacia xanthophloea) in order to turn the area nearby into a sacrificial ground. Then the Ṇa tho has found a nāṭām tree, he then pays homage to it and makes offerings. Then he embraces the nāṭām tree and chants eulogies (mantras) to that tree. He identifies the tree with the goddess Uma, and himself with the god Siva. Then he orders his men to prepare that place to be the sacrificial ground. Later on when the prince comes, at the invitation of the Ṇa tho, to that sacrificial ground, he

first has to put Siva’s ashes (Sivabhasma) on his forehead before proceeding to the worship of other deities.  

No text of the Ayuthya period other than these two mentioned above refers to Siva as the supreme god of the experts in elephant-lore. The extant texts on elephant-lore, of both Ayuthya and Ratnakosin periods, do not contain such information either. Most of them say that Siva is one of the four gods (the other three are Visnu, Brahma, and Agni) who created various families of elephants from the golden lotus which grew from the navel of Visnu. Siva is always invoked, in these texts, along with the other three gods, but does not obtain any special invocation of any kind.

In Hindu mythology Siva does not have any role as a teacher of rites on elephants. All the known Hindu texts agree in attributing the founding of scientific elephantology to a mythical sage Vākalīyana who is the son of the sage Sūmāgāyana and a princess named Gunavati who had been cursed to be a cow elephant.  

Siva is not described in the Hindu works on elephants as being involved in the creation of elephants either. Some gods are mentioned in these works as causing various prominent characteristics of elephants. For example Agni cursed elephants to have an inverted tongue, and internal fire to an excessive degree. Brahma in order to decrease the violence of Agni’s curse, made elephants take delight in dust, water, and mud. Siva is not among these gods. The only Siva myth relating to elephants is his destroying a mighty elephant demon called Gaya who oppresses the world. Siva rips up his body and strips off the elegant hide which he casts over his shoulders as a cloak.

77. Ibid., 1.35-39.
Thai experts in elephant rites and ritual of the Ayuthya period might have recalled Śiva's epithet 'pasūpati', Lord of Animals, and hence might have regarded him as the first god of elephants and all animals. On the other hand, these experts in elephant rites, at the beginning of their careers, might have been educated by Śaiva brahmans who regard Śiva as the supreme god who presides over any rite and ceremony whatsoever. Another possibility is that Thai experts in elephant rites might have been taught some of the other Śaiva rites by Indian brahmans, in which a matūm tree, or matūm leaves, have an important role. In the Brahmakarma, for example, there is mention of daily puja in which leaves of matūm are offered to the deities. Brahmins offered leaves of matūm to the five deities of the domestic sanctuary with the following words: "I offer to Śiva the triple leaves of the Aegle Marmelos endowed with the three qualifications (i.e. good, evil and indifference), with the three eyes and with the three weapons; and which destroy the sins of the three existences. By seeing the Aegle Marmelos or by touching it one is delivered from all sins. A single leaf of Aegle Marmelos offered to Śiva destroys the blackest sin." 79

Aegle Marmelos, or bilva in Sanskrit, is, in Hindu mythology and folklore, mainly associated with Śiva and Śakta cults. Its trifoliate leaf symbolizes the three functions — creation, preservation and destruction — of Śiva as well as his three eyes. Its wood is not burned as fuel for fear of arousing the indignation of the god of destruction, i.e. Śiva. In Hindu mythology Śiva is described as intimately connected with this tree, hence he is called 'Bilvadanda' — one who is endowed with the staff of bael-tree wood. However, Aegle Marmelos, or bilva, is nowhere in Hindu works on elephant-lore described

79. Brahmakarma IV.5, found in Tūlañcatasānagāla by C.F. Gerini, Bangkok, 1907, p.17.
as having any importance in the catching of elephants, or any relation to elephants at all. Neither do Hindu works associate Siva himself with elephant-lore (see above). It therefore seems that the appearance of matum, or bilva, in a Thai myth in the Samutthakhot Khan Chan, concerning Siva and elephants, is simply a reflection of a Saiva point of view (especially that of the guru), the closeness of the link between Siva and the bael tree being taken for granted.

Another reason why Siva is regarded as the supreme god by the Thai experts in elephant rites is that Siva is regarded as the Father of Ganesa, the god with an elephant-face. There might have been a belief, or confusion of beliefs during the time of the composition of the Buissadi Samyaci Elga Chum Khon To, that the god Ganesa was to be identified with elephants. Therefore, elephants could come to be regarded as the offspring of Siva too. This may have led to the idea that when elephants were lured by the incantations of the mōthao -- the experts in elephant rites and lore --, as described in the Samutthakhot Khan Chan, they would regard the mōthao and the matum tree as their parents, and would be attracted and come into their presence. In the Samutthakhot Khan Chan, when the mōthao has finished his sacrificial rite at the matum tree, he sends his men to the nearby region to see how many elephants have come by means of the incantations.\(^{30}\) There is evidence, in Thai literary works, of the god Ganesa's being misunderstood to be an elephant. A chināi is widely and generally described as a kind of elephant in Thai literature and in Thai treatises on elephants. Chināi is the Thai form of the Sanskrit vināya which is, without doubt, the corrupt form of vināyaka. Vināyaka, 'a remover of obstacles', is one of many epithets of Ganesa.

\(^{30}\) Samutthakhot Khan Chan, p. 40.
In the Nàūrī Siràñ, as well as in the Bāmādīran of King Suran I of the Cetanaśin period, Śiva is described throughout as the supreme god. Viṣṇu is inferior to him in rank of divinity. It is narrated in the texts that a boy was born from the lotus rising from the navel of Viṣṇu while he was sleeping, in the Ocean of Milk after he had destroyed the demon Hiranta (Hiranyaka) who wanted to devour the Earth. Since Śiva is superior to Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu has to take the boy to Śiva’s abode and has to present him to Śiva. It seems that Śiva is consistent, as the supreme god should be, because it is he who tells the gods including Viṣṇu that the boy is to become the founder of the phrayānā or the Race of Nārāyaṇa (i.e., the Hindu Solar Race). The god then orders Indra to go down to the Earth and to build a city for the boy, who is named Yugālan. Anuēlan is the first ancestor of Phra Rām (Rāma). Therefore the city of Ayuthya and the race of Phra Rām are founded by the grace of Śiva.

As the supreme lord, Śiva is always regarded by the gods and sages as the first protector of the three worlds. Therefore he is the first to whom they turn when they are in distress. The story in the Bāmādīran goes that when the gods see that the demon Hiranta is going to swallow the Earth and kill all the creatures, they go to Śiva’s abode in a great hurry, and beg him for help. They call him 'The Crown of the Gods', and ask him 'to save and prolong the lives of the creatures of the world'. Śiva then invites Viṣṇu to come from the Ocean of Milk, and orders him to vanquish the demon Hiranta. Viṣṇu, therefore, has to incarnate himself as a boar in order to kill the demon and to save the Earth.

It is narrated later on in the Bāmādīran that Kuleikōt, the chief sage of King Dvarakā, comes to see Śiva to ask him for a boon. The sage wants Viṣṇu to be born to the king so that

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32. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
33. Ibid., pp. 283-283.
Vishnu can vanquish Dakshamūtha who is oppressing the world. Siva grants the sage the desired boon. The god teaches the sage Kāla-nilot an incantation called Sanci (sajīva). This incantation is to be recited when the sage performs the ceremony of obtaining a son for King Dāsaratha. An Ājura will be created from the ceremonial fire by the power of the incantation. He will hold a tray of divine rice on his head. The rice is to be given to the queens of King Dāsaratha. Then sons will be born of him.

Out of his pity for the world which is oppressed by the demons, Siva lets Vishnu, with his weapons, and his consort, be born into the world so that he can restore peace. By the grace of Siva, Vishnu is born as Rāma, the eldest son of Dāsaratha. Vishnu's discus, his couch, and the serpent throne, and the god's club are born as Lācharata, Lākṣmaṇa, and Sātrughna respectively. Lakṣmaṇi, Vishnu's consort, is born as Śītā or Sītā, the daughter of Daśā.

It is noteworthy that even if the sages want Vishnu's help, they go to see Siva first and ask him to communicate with Vishnu on their behalf.

It is clearly seen from the Nārāyaṇa Purāṇa and the Rāmaāṣṭamī that Siva's superiority is marked by his benevolence. Throughout the Rasahātra, Siva is the most benevolent god to Rāma and his race. It is Siva who supplies assistance to Vishnu (in the form of Rāma) so that the hero can fulfill his aim of destroying the oppressing demons. The god Siva knows that Vishnu is going to incarnate himself when the world is in some future trouble so he arranges for some gods to be born as monkeys in the cities of Chomphū and Kītākshū. These monkeys will become soldiers of Rāma and help him to win the battle against Kāvana. The god also supplies an immortal army for Rāma. He grants a boon to gods who volunteer to be born as the monkey soldiers of Rāma. If they are killed by the demons, they will come back to life when the Wind God passes over them (i.e., when the wind blows).
When Rāma and his brothers have learned all the arts of fighting, especially archery, and the knowledge of Trai Phēt or the Vedas from the sages Vasit and Sawāmit (Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra), the sages perform the ceremony of making celestial arrows for them. The power of the sages' ceremonial fire makes Śiva uneasy. The god meditates to find out the cause of his uneasiness. When he has found out, he sets up a ceremony in a secluded place to create the arrows for Rāma and his brothers. Twelve arrows are created by the god. The god throws the arrows down from heaven into the sages' ceremonial fire. The sages divide the arrows among the princes equally according to the inscription of the names of the princes inscribed by the god on the arrows.**

Besides these arrows created by the god Śiva for Rāma and his brothers, the god also bestows upon Rāma the armour he used in the battle against the demon Trī Burām. When the god won this battle, he entrusted the armour to the sage Akkhata. The sage is now to present the armour to Rāma when the time comes for him to wage war against Rāvana.*

The god Śiva also creates Hanumān, the most celebrated monkey chief in the army of Rāma. The god orders Vāyu to throw his power into the mouth of Sawāha so that a son will be born to her. Sawāha has been cursed by her mother to stand on only one foot and to open her mouth to eat the wind incessantly until she gives birth to a son. Śiva's power, thus thrown into her mouth by Vāyu, is born as Hanumān.* It can be seen from the Ramākītan that Hanumān should be called the son of Śiva, not of Vāyu, because his body is composed of the power from Śiva's body and from his various celestial weapons. The text says: Hanumān's spine is made from the diamond mace of the god, and this enables him to fly through the air. The monkey's body is made from the power of Śiva's crystal discus. When Hanumān

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is presented by Vâyu, his supposed father, to Siva, the god teaches him incantations so that he can change his body into any form he wants. It is said in the text that Siva has done all these things to help Râma.\textsuperscript{90}

The other important personage who is born, by Siva's grace, to assist Râma in waging war against Râvana is Phîphôk (Vibhiśana). In his former life Phîphôk was a god named Vâsrayân. Siva commands him to be born as the younger brother of Râvana. He is to be a good demon who is well-versed in knowledge of the Vedas. He will become an ally of Râma and act as his spy.

Since he knows all the secrets and trickery of Râvana, he can help Râma very much in foiling Râvana's tricks and in successfully retaliating.\textsuperscript{91}

Another monkey chief whom Siva creates in order to assist Râma is Chomphûphân. The god created him from his sweat and scurf. Chomphûphân is the best physician in Râma's army. When Lâkyanga is shot by the Phrommat Arrow of Indrajita, Râvana's son, no one, including Vibhiśana, knows how to cure him from the poison of the arrow. It is Chomphûphân who knows the secret. He tells Râma that the secret was told to him by the god Siva when he was serving the god at his abode. Siva told him that when Lâkyanga is shot by the Phrommat Arrow, Râma is to order Hanuman to fetch the medicinal herbs growing on the Avût Mountain in the Euphorithâ Continent. Râma does as he is told by Chomphûphân and his brother is brought back to life.\textsuperscript{92}

The god Siva even goes into some minor details in supplying additional forms of assistance to Râma. For instance, he gives a boon to an unimportant god to be born as a monkey named Chaiyampâhân, who is to volunteer to hold the victorious flag of Râma's army. Since the name 'Chaiyampâhân' has an element

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., p. 92.
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., P. 76-77.
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid., p. 84; II, p. 1381.
denoting 'victory', i.e. chāyā- (Sanskrit: jaya), it will act as a charm to bring victory to Rāma and to bring Rāvana's army to destruction.²³

In the Bārāthī of Vālmiki Siva is a great god, but not a supreme divinity. No incident expressing the grace and benevolence of the god Siva in the Bārāthī finds any counterpart in the Ramayana at all. In the Ramayana Siva holds a less exalted position than does Viṣṇu.

It can be seen, then, that in the Bārāthī Siva is also thoroughly illustrated throughout as the most benevolent god of all. He has great pity for the three worlds and always commands Viṣṇu to exert his power to bring peace and happiness back to them, then they are oppressed by any demon.

In the time of King Rama V of the Ratnakosin, Siva is still regarded as the most benevolent god. King Rama V writes in Chronicle of Siam: "Śiva is the pāṇa khun, (as it şum) or the most powerful god, because he is the refuge for all gods, human beings, and demons alike. He has never punished anybody without necessity. If he does so, it is merely the result of his forgetfulness. (The king gives an instance of this:- Śiva's failure to realize why Viṣṇu, as the arrow in the Tri Buram episode, falls asleep and fails to kill the demon. Śiva's anger is misplaced, but it is also shortlived.) Śiva's mercy is so great that he always gives a boon to a person he has formerly cursed. The god always limits the period of the curse, and the person being cursed will always be told he is needed to accomplish a useful task later on. (The instance here is Śiva's maidservant who forgot to light the lamps and must earn her release from Śiva's curse by waiting to tell Neamūn the way to Lāṣā). Śiva is always

²³. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 1920
kind to both good and bad men. He grants boons to every person who performs a ceremony for him. That is why he is famous for his benevolence.\footnote{33}

It seems that Sīva, in the Ratanakosin period, received the rank of the supreme divinity through his kindness and benevolence. This can be seen clearly from the Rādhākṛṣṇa, the Hārī Sīv Rāja, and various poems composed by the court poets. Sīva's supremacy in Thai literature might have been inspired by the brahmans who perform all Brahminical ceremonies, except elephant rites, in Thailand. These brahmans are the Phra Hāradāchan (Pateračārya brāhmaṇa). According to King Rama V, they worship Sīva as their first and supreme god. Therefore it is inevitable that these brahmans should eulogize and glorify Sīva's supremacy when they narrate Hindu myths and legends to the Thais. The Thais, therefore, accept without question that Sīva is the supreme Hindu god.

\footnote{33} King, Rama V, Phra Mācha Phithī ...., pp. 63-64.
Hindu myths of Siva's sons, i.e. Ganēśa and Skanda, appear in Thai literature in a jumbled confusion. The two sons are misunderstood to be the same deity. In the Lilit Ongkān Chaeng Nam, nearly all important Hindu gods, such as Siva, Viṣṇu, Brahma, Agni, Indra and Yama, are invoked to come to witness the ceremony of Drinking the Water of Allegiance. Skanda is also included, though only his main characteristic, i.e. riding on a peacock, not his name, is referred to. Oddly enough, Ganēśa, the god whom a brahmin has to invoke at the beginning of any rite, is not mentioned in this text. In the Anirut Kham Chan, in the battle between Kṛṣṇa and Bāṇa, both Skanda and Vighneśvara are mentioned as joining the army of Śiva, the ally of Bāṇa. But it is uncertain whether they are different deities or not. It is said in the Anirut Kham Chan, that "On the Western side of the army were the Rākṣasas. On the northern side was the victorious Khantha Kumāra (Pali form for Sankṣrit Skanda), Vighneśvara, the destroyer of obstacles, holding mighty weapons, being equal to the power of a hundred thousand elephants."¹ The Thai, no less than the English translation here, can be interpreted two ways: either Khantha Kumāra and Vighneśvara are two separate beings; or Khantha Kumāra is the being referred to, and Vighneśvara is an epithet in apposition. In the description of the actual fighting between Śiva's army and Kṛṣṇa's, only Skanda is mentioned. There is no reference to Ganēśa at all. In the Ratanakosin period, it is quite clear that Ganēśa and Skanda are regarded by the Thai authors as the same person. In the Chan Klöm Somdet Phračhao Lūk Thöe, (Lullaby for Princesses), the poet, Khun

¹) Si Prät, Anirut Kham Chan, Bangkok: Silapakorn, 1960, p.83.
Saraprasoet (Nut) describes Ganesa as, "An awesome one, He is the same as Khanta Kumāra whose peacock mount is excellent." In the Chan Sangwoei Phra Mahā Sawetachat, (Poem for the royal white umbrella), composed in the reign of King Rama IV, Ganesa is invoked and described as the god who is the master of archery, while in Chan Klom Phra Sawet Udom Wāranī, (Poems for Consoling a Newly Captured Elephant called Udom Wāranī), composed in the same reign, it is Skanda who is described as Siva's son, and as the master of archery. In Hindu mythology it is Skanda who is the master of archery. However the literary works of the Ratanakosin period might have been influenced by the Nārāi Sip Pāng, which existed already in a written form in the reign of King Rama V. In the Nārāi Sip Pāng Skanda is supposed to have an elephant-head as well as Ganesa, while Ganesa, as well as Skanda, has his origin from Agni.

The Thai myth of Ganesa's birth has some similarity to the Liṅga, Matsya and the Skanda Purāṇas in that Ganesa is born with an elephant-head. He is referred to as Śivaputra, Siva's son. But it is Agni who created him by command of Siva. In this myth, the younger son of Siva, who may be identified with Skanda, is described as being created by Agni also, and at the same time as Ganesa. The Thais consider that these two sons of Siva have a special relationship with certain elephants of both Hindu and Buddhist mythology. Moreover they are regarded as the gods worshipped by all Thai teachers on elephant-lore. Hereunder is the myth of Ganesa's and Skanda's birth from the Nārāi Sip Pāng.

In one of the Treta Yuga, when the gods of the three worlds came to meet each other, Śiva issued a command and gave a boon to Phra Phlōeng (The Fire God) to create, by means of his divine power, two sons for Śiva. Phra Phlōeng obeyed the command, and he, by means of his divine power, caused flames to issue from his ear-holes. The rays of the flame were very bright. Amidst the flames, on the right, a divine boy was born. He had the face of an elephant and two arms. His right hand held a trident and his left hand held a lotus. He had a serpent as his cross-belt. He was in a cross-legged position and was floating in the air at the right side of the three gods. His name was proclaimed as Śivaputra Vīghnēśvara. On the left side, amidst the flames, another divine boy was born. He had three elephant faces and six arms. From one arm a white male-elephant was born. It had thirty-three heads and four feet; and was called Erāvan (Pali: ērāvana; Sanskrit: ārāvana, ārāvata). From another hand another white elephant was born. It had three heads and four feet; and was called Khirī Mekhala Traidā Yūk (as if giri mekhala tretā yuga). These two elephants had been created by the gods by means of divine power. The three gods blessed them with the privilege of being the mounts of the great king of the gods, i.e. Indra. From two other hands, three kinds of white elephant were born. They were to be born in the world as the mounts of powerful kings. They were first grade white elephants; second grade; and third. The same three families of white elephants were born from both left and right hands. But the white elephants from the left hand were female, and those from the right hand were male. From two other hands the Dakkhināvatā Conch was born from the right side and the Uttarāvatā Conch was born from the left side. They took an upright position above the temples of all the seven heads of the elephants. The three gods then named him (i.e. the second boy) Konchanānēśūn. The three families of white elephants were born from that time on. Because the Fire God created them by means of his divine power, the three families of white elephants were elephants of the families of Agni. This is the reason why they are considered to be one of the races called Suptalaksana, 'having good characteristics', which is made up of 51 races all told. Elephant experts therefore, worship Vīghnēśvara and Konchanānēśūn. Both sons of Śiva remained in this world until the end of one Sādara Kalpa.5

Končhanāṇeśuṇān (?) Sanskrit: krauṇca-ānana-īśvara) is none other than Skanda in Hindu mythology. The epithet 'krauṇca-ānana-īśvara' (Lord over the face of Krauṇca) does not appear in Hindu texts. This epithet appearing in the Thai text is probably derived from the name of Krauṇca Mountain. In the Mahābhārata when the gods wage war against the demons, the latter took shelter in Krauṇca Mountain. Skanda, the leader of the gods' army, out of his desire to destroy the demons, pierced the mountain with his dart, and thus reduced it to the level of flat land.*

In the Vāmanā Purāṇa, Indra and Skanda have a dispute about their respective powers, and agree to decide it by running a race round Krauṇca Mountain, who decided unfairly in favour of Indra. Skanda hurls his lance at the mountain and pierces it at once both it and the demon Mahiṣa.*

The elephant Airāvata is, according to Hindu and Buddhist mythology, the mount of Indra. The elephant Girimekhala does not appear in Hindu mythology. It is in Buddhist mythology the mount of Mara, not of Indra as it is in the Thai myth here. Conches are widely used in Brahmanical rites performed in Thailand. The reason why they are regarded as auspicious things, according to the myth quoted above, is that they are originally born from the centre of the palms of two of Končhanāṇeśuṇān's hands. However, their importance is also to be attributed to the myth of Viṣṇu's incarnation as a golden fish which will be discussed below. (See p. 113).

The myth of the origin of celestial elephants and auspicious conches from the hands of Končhanāṇeśuṇān in Thai texts is influenced by the myth of the exhibition of Skanda's power in Hindu mythology. In the Mahābhārata when Skanda was born he shone like the sun rising in the midst of a mass of red clouds. Seizing the awesome bow which was used by Śiva in the battle against the Tripura demons, Skanda uttered such

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a terrible roar that the three worlds were stricken with fear. Hearing that noise, which sounded like the rumbling of masses of big clouds, the great elephants Citra and Airāvata were shaken with fear. Seeing them unsteady, Skanda held them with both his hands. Holding a peacock and a dart in two other hands, Skanda began to sport and make a terrible noise. And holding an excellent conch shell with two of his hands, Skanda began to blow it to the great terror of even the most powerful creatures. If this episode can be taken as iconographical for Skanda, it is not difficult to imagine that the Thais may have seen the two elephants and conches being carried in Skanda's hands as having originated in or from Skanda's hands. (See illustration No. 4.)

The creation of celestial elephants from Kōnchānāesūn's hands can also be influenced by a Hindu myth on the creation of elephants by Brahmā. The Māṭaṅgalīlā relates that the Creator took solemnly in his two hands the two gleaming half shells of the cosmic egg, exhibited to him by the sages, and chanted seven Sāmans at once. Thereupon from one shell the elephant Airāvata was born, and seven other noble elephants (i.e. the eight elephants of the quarters or regions) were severally born, through the chanting. Thus eight elephants were born from the cosmic eggshell held in his right hand. And from that in his left in turn eight cows were born, their consorts.

It is quite clear that in Hindu mythology Agni has no part in the birth of Gaṇeśa at all. It is either Śiva or Pārvatī who is responsible for the creation of Gaṇeśa. On the other hand Agni is described by Hindu texts as having produced Skanda in one way or another. There are various myths about Skanda's birth in Hindu mythology. But in all of them Agni acts the main part in the creation of this god. There are two versions of the account of Skanda's birth in the Hindu texts. One is that Skanda is the son born from the seed of Agni only.

The other is that Agni acts as the medium for the transference of Śiva's seed from which Skanda is created. A myth in the Mahābhārata relates how Agni desires the wives of the seven sages, and how his son Skanda is born on the white mountain.

Once when Agni saw the beautiful wives of the great sages sleeping in their hermitage, he was overcome by desire for them. But he reflected, "It is not proper for me to be full of lust for the chaste wives of the brahmans, who are not in love with me." Then he entered the household fire so that he could touch them, as it were, with his flames, but after a long time his desire became greater still, and he went into the forest, resolved to abandon his corporeal form. Then Svāha the daughter of Dakṣa, fell in love with him and watched him for a long time, seeking some weak point, but in vain. When she knew that the god Agni had gone into the forest full of desire, the amorous goddess decided to take the forms of the wives of the seven sages and to seduce Agni; thus both of them would obtain their desire. Assuming the form of each of the wives in turn, she made love with Agni, but she could not take the form of Arundhatī, Vasistha's wife, because she had such great power of chastity. Taking Agni's seed in her hand each time, Svāha thought that it was not right for her to assume the forms of the six sages' wives because anyone who saw her would falsely accuse the sages' wives of committing adultery with Agni. So Svāha, wanting to avoid this, took the form of the Garudī bird and left the forest. She threw the seed into a golden lake on the peak of the white mountain guarded by Rudra's hosts. The seed generated a son, Skanda, and some time later the six sages' wives came to Skanda and told him that their husbands, thinking that Skanda had been born of them, had abandoned them. They begged Skanda to let them dwell forever in heaven, and by his grace they became the constellation of the Kṛttikās, considered the mothers of Skanda.*

In the Śiva Purāṇa Skanda is also described as the son born from Agni's seed, which was discharged when Agni had great desire for the sages' wives. But there is here a link between Skanda and Pārvatī, Śiva's wife, in the sentence — 'Kṛttikeya became the son of Pārvatī.'** In the Skanda Purāṇa and in

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11. Śiva Purāṇa Dharmasamhita 28-35.
the other part in the Śiva Purāṇa, Skanda becomes Śiva's son, and is born from his seed. Agni is only the medium for the transference of the seed to the Kṛttikās, the sages' wives.

Agni ate the seed of Śiva and returned to the gods. They all became pregnant by the seed that was in Agni's mouth, just as they all receive the oblation that is placed in Agni. Tortured by the seed, they sought help from Śiva, who told them to vomit forth the seed. They did so, and the seed formed a great mountain of burnished gold, but in Agni alone the seed remained burning like a comet. Śiva told Agni to release the seed into the womb of those who are heated every month. That dawn, the Kṛttikās came to bathe, and when they were pained by the cold they warmed themselves before the blazing fire, though Arundhati tried to prevent them. The tiny particles of the seed entered through the pores of their skin. Agni, bereft of the seed was exhausted, and the sages' wives went home and were cursed by their husbands to become constellations. In their misery, they released the seed upon a slope of Himalaya, where the parts came together and fell into the Ganges, encased in bamboo. There it became a six-headed boy, Skanda, and at that moment Pārvatī's breast began to flow with milk, and she went where Nārada told her the boy was, and she found him and nursed him.  

In the Matsya Purāṇa, Skanda is described as being the real son of Śiva and Pārvatī. Pārvatī actually brought forth the child herself. But even here Agni is forced to drink Śiva's seed and transfer it into a lake. Pārvatī drinks the water of that lake and gives birth to Skanda.  

In the Nārāy Si Pāng, the Kṛttikās and Pārvatī are not mentioned as having any role in the creation of Skanda, neither under the name of Rōochanaṇāśūn, nor of Skanda proper. (See below.) It is quite clear from the Thai text that the second version of this myth (Skanda is born from

Siva's seed being carried by Agni) is adopted in Thai literature. In the Nārāiñī Sīpa Pāng it is Agni who created Skanda by the command of Siva. The other important element in the Hindu account of Skanda's birth is the seed of either Siva or Agni. It is replaced in the Thai text, by the blazing flames which flow out from the earholes of Agni.

There are then in the Thai text, two different ways in which Ganeśa and Skanda-Kōnčhanānēsūan are brought together in close similarity and, eventually, in one of them, into complete identity. The first way is by the two gods' being born from Agni simultaneously, by virtue of flames issuing from his earholes. They both possess elephant heads, Ganeśa one and Kōnčhanānēsūan three. This common ground is lacking in all Hindu texts. The element common to all, Thai and Hindu alike, is merely that Ganeśa and Kōnčhanānēsūan are to be viewed as Siva's sons (as witnessed by the common element sivaputra in the Thai names for both). This version of the myth leaves the possibility open, however, that Ganeśa and Kōnčhanānēsūan remain separate beings, though similar in appearance and identical in parentage.

The second way in which Ganeśa and Skanda are brought together is by a sequence in which Skanda, with six heads, is turned into Ganeśa with one head, viz. that of an elephant. In this latter case, difference in form is offset by the fact of complete identity, for the text (see below) expressly states that Skanda is Vighnēsvara.

It can be said that the story of the birth of Ganeśa from Agni, in the Nārāiñī Sīpa Pāng, is intended to be the birth of Ganeśa in particular rather than of Skanda. Firstly, the two sons Vighnēsvara and Kōnčhanānēsūan are regarded as the gods worshipped by all teachers of elephant-lore. This agrees with
the Hindu concept of Ganesa only. In the *Liṅga Purāṇa*,
Ganesa is invoked as being 'bound to the pillar of the
lotus-like hearts of men by Brahmā and those who act as
divine mahouts.' Since the story in the *Nārāi Sīp Pāṅg*
focuses on elephants, a myth of Skanda's creating elephants
from his hands is included. Secondly, the popular Hindu names
of the younger son of Śiva, i.e. Skanda or Kārttikeya, are
not used in this myth. Moreover Kōnchānāsū́n's physical
characteristics are different from the Hindu Skanda's. Kōn-
chānāsū́n has three elephant faces and six arms. Skanda has
six faces and twelve arms. However, yet another myth of Skanda-
Ganesa's birth appears in the *Nārāi Sīp Pāṅg*. The boy who is
created in this myth is definitely Skanda in the beginning
of the story. He has six faces and twelve arms as Skanda
does. But it is odd that in this myth Śiva only is retained
as the main agent of his birth. Agni, who is an indispensable
factor for his creation in all Hindu myths, is not mentioned
at all. So this Thai version comes nearer to the Hindu account
of Ganesa's birth rather than Skanda's. The following story
of the two gods Ganesa and Skanda illustrates how much they
are confused as being one and the same.

After the war against an Asura named Mūlākhaṭṭha,* Siva
went to observe strict religious precept at
Ratchadākūṭ Mountain. He had a number of serpents
cure him by drinking blood from his toes. Then the
god by means of his divine power, created a boy from
the region of his chest. The boy had six faces and
twelve arms. His name was proclaimed by the god as
Khantha Kumāra, son of the god. Then the god returned
to Kailāśa. He created a peacock as the mount of
Khantha Kumāra.

At that time there was a goddess who was the
maid of the goddess Sarasvatī. She lacked any sense
of morality appropriate to the conduct of gods and
celestial nymphs, so that, when she came to die, she
was born in the world as a male sea-elephant demon
called Phangkhi. The demon Phangkhi became supreme
among all the beasts. He persecuted and oppressed
all the three worlds. When Śiva learned of what had
happened he thought of commissioning Khantha Kumāra
to vanquish the demon. But Khantha Kumāra had to
have his tonsure first. Śiva had all gods, sages

14. *Liṅga Purāṇa* I.82.35.
15. See full story p. 11.
siddhas and vidyādhara assemble at Kailāsa at the auspicious moment on the day of the tonsure. Then he had the two gods, i.e. Brahmā and Viṣṇu, invited to come to cut, at the same time as the gods of all the three worlds, the hair of Khantha Kumāra as suited the auspicious sign.

When the auspicious time came, Brahmā and all gods had assembled at the abode of Śiva. But accidentally Viṣṇu was in deep sleep. His wives, Laksāmi and Kaheśvarī, were unable to awaken him. Śiva and all the gods had been waiting for a long time until the auspicious moment drew near. Śiva then commanded Indra to awaken Viṣṇu who was in deep sleep in the Ocean of Milk by blowing the Vijaya Yuddha Conch. Viṣṇu, who was sleeping, dimly heard the sound of the conch. He then opened his eyes and saw Indra. He asked, "What is the matter with the world?" Indra answered, "Śiva commanded me to awaken you by blowing the Vijaya Yuddha Conch. He would like to invite you to cut the hair of Khantha Kumāra now." Viṣṇu, who was still sleepy, said unintentionally, "What a headless (ghost) child! I can't get any sleep in comfort." At that moment when he uttered this exclamation, the six heads of Khantha Kumāra disappeared in accordance with the sacred power of these words. Just at that time the three gods had assembled. The auspicious moment arrived, but they could not see the heads of Khantha Kumāra, so they consulted with each other on the matter and found that the day was inauspicious so that an auspicious ceremony should not be performed. All the world, therefore, called that day Wan Lōkā Vināt (wan lokavināsā, 'The Day of the Destruction of the World). Śiva then commanded Witsanukam (Viśvakarma) to go to the earth in order to cut off the heads of dead men to replace the heads of Khantha Kumāra. Witsanukam travelled about looking for heads of men who died on that day. But now no one had died on that day. Witsanukam told Śiva what had happened. Śiva therefore said that if any man or animals, whoever or whatever they may be, turned their heads to the West when they lay down, they were doomed to die on that day. Their heads were to be cut off and used to replace the heads of Khantha Kumāra. Witsanukam went down to the earth again and found a male elephant lying down with its head turned to the West. He cut it head off and gave it to Śiva. After the three gods
had replaced the heads of Khandha Kumāra with the elephant head, they changed his name to Maha
Vighnēśvara. That is why from then on it has been prohibited to turn one’s head to the West when
one lies down. Siva then commanded Mahā-Vighnēśvara to go to vanquish the demon Phangkhi.*

In Hindu mythology there is a version of Skanda’s creation by Siva alone. The Varāha Purāṇa says that, “Siva released the female creative power from his own body and agitated it for the sake of a son. As he did this, a youth, Skanda, broke out of it, blazing like a fire or the sun!”* But the text later on says clearly that this myth is not either the absolute or the first version of the account. It says, “His birth takes various versions in various eras. He is also known as the son of the Kṛttikās and as the son of Agni, because in his second incarnation the Kṛttikās and Pārvatī and Agni were the cause of his birth.”* The Varāha Purāṇa also has a story of Ganeśa’s being created by Siva alone. It is nearly similar to the account of Skanda’s birth. This might have been the source of Skanda’s birth in the Nārāi Sip Pāng. The text narrates as follows.

The gods and the sages, observing that no difficulty occurred in accomplishing either good or evil deeds which they and others had embarked upon, consulted together respecting the means by which obstacles might be opposed to the commission of bad actions. They went to see Siva for counsel and favour. They asked Siva to create a being capable of opposing obstacles to the commission of improper acts. Hearing their words, Siva looked at Pārvatī, and whilst thinking how he could effect the wishes of the gods, from the splendour of his countenance sprang into existence a youth shedding radiance around, endowed with the qualities of Siva, and captivating by his beauty the female inhabitants of heaven. Uma seeing his beauty was excited with jealousy, and in her anger pronounced this curse, “You shall not offend my sight with the

17. Varāha Purāṇa 25.31-34.
form of a beautiful youth. Therefore assume an
elephant's head and a large belly, and thus
your beauty shall vanish." Siva then addressed
his son saying, "Your name shall be Ganesa, and
the son of Siva; success and disappointment shall
spring from you. You shall be worshipped and in­
voked the first on all occasions, otherwise the
object and prayers of him who omits to do so shall
fail."  

The similar motif in these two myths of the birth of Ganesa
and Skanda is that the creation is performed by the creative
power within the body of the god, especially in the case of
Ganesa by Siva's mind. Sometimes in Hindu mythology Siva's
six faces are described as being equal to the six minds of
the god. Ganesa who was born from his face is looked upon
by some esoteric sects as a material manifestation of the
manas (the mind when considered as a reasoning factor) of
Siva. Therefore Ganesa in the Varaha Purana can be regarded
as the mind-born son of Siva. This motif is also found in the
Narai Sip Pang. Siva created Khantha Kumara from the region
of his chest. It is true that no word meaning 'creative power'
is used in the Thai text. But it is possible to find a link
between 'the chest' and 'creative power'. The chest may be
used to symbolize or refer to the god's heart (or mind also
in Thai) which has power to create anything. This is analogous
to 'the splendour of Siva's countenance' in the Varaha Purana
text above. In one case, the heart is the source of the will
to produce a son (via the chest); in the other the mind,
or brain, is the source of this will, which manifests it­
self via the face.

Since Ganesa and Skanda are believed by the Thais to be the
same god with two names, a device has to be made to explain
this. In the Narai Sip Pang, the top-knot cutting rite for
the god Ganesa-Skanda is inserted into the myth. The Thai

A tonsure ceremony is similar to the Hindu Gūlākānta Maṅgala in that it is the most important rite of initiation for youths. The tonsure ceremony marks the end of childhood and the beginning of manhood for the candidate in this rite. The candidate is from then on fit to accept any responsible commission. That is why, in the Nārāi Sīp Pāṅg, Khantha Kumāra has to wait until he has his top-knot cut before Śiva can commission him to vanquish the demon Phangkhi. The name of the candidate in this rite is also changed after the ceremony. That is why Khantha Kumāra’s name is changed to Maha Vīghṇēśvara. Moreover the myth of the tonsure ceremony of Gaṇeśa-Skanda provides a good explanation of how Khantha Kumāra, who has six human faces, can be the same as Vīghṇēśvara who has one elephant face.

The myth of the tonsure of Gaṇeśa in the Thai text, in which Gaṇeśa loses his human heads, may be influenced by a Hindu myth of Ganapati’s head being cut off by the evil look of the god Śani. The Brahma vaivarta Purāṇa narrates that when a son was born to Śiva and Pārvatī, the couple had the auspicious rites for the welfare of Ganapati performed. In compliment to this occasion, all the gods came to congratulate Śiva and Pārvatī, and were severally admitted to see the infant. Among them was Śani, the planet Saturn, who, although anxious to pay homage to the child, kept his eyes steadfastly fixed on the ground. Pārvatī asked him the reason for this. He told her that once he was so immersed in meditation upon Visnu that he had disregarded his wife. She, in resentment of his neglect, had pronounced upon him the curse that whomsoever he gazed upon he should destroy. To obviate the evil consequence of this imprecation, he avoided looking at anyone in the face. Pārvatī, having heard this story, paid no regard to it. but, considering that what must be, must be, gave him permission to look on her son. Śani, calling Dharma
to witness his having been given leave, took a peep at Ganesa, on which the child's head was severed from his body, and flew away to the heaven of Krsna, where it was reunited with the substance of the god. Pārvatī, taking the headless trunk in her arms, cast herself weeping on the ground, and the gods joined her, all except Viṣṇu, who mounted Garuḍa, and flew off to the river Puspabhadrā, where finding an elephant asleep, he took off its head, and flying back with it, fixed it on to the body of Ganeśa; hence the body of that god is crowned with the present head.*

The disastrous look of Śani in the Hindu myth is changed to the disastrous words of Viṣṇu in the Narai Sip Pāng. But these words are not malignant. A favourite habit of playing on words is relevant here. Viṣṇu uttered these words unintentionally and therefore he did not mean to hurt Śiva and his son at all. However, the literal meaning of his exclamation cannot be disregarded, especially since Viṣṇu is a great god whose every word must come true. This is very like the situation Śani finds himself in, because he too had no wish to harm Ganeśa either. In this case, though, it was the inevitability of a curse which caused the damage, whereas in the case of the Thai version, the whole incident occurs from what is little more than a verbal joke.

Gerini gives yet another legend, in Thai literature, of the tonsure of Śiva's first-born son. In this version the name of the child is Narē or Narēsūn (Sanskri: Narēsvara). This is the epithet by which, according to Gerini, Ganeśa is known to the Saivites of the Mahā Anantavamśa sect, according to whom Śiva, the self-existing and self-created Lord of the Universe, is regarded as father to Narēsūn or Ganeśa, and to Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu. In this version, it is Kāla or Yama who is responsible for the disappearance of Ganeśa's head, as an act of revenge for not having been invited to the ceremony.

But Siva through his transcendental knowledge, discovers the author of the mischief as well as the motive that has prompted its perpetration. Siva despatches a messenger in quest of another head, which is obtained from an elephant sleeping with its head to the West.*

This version of the tonsure of Ganesa is interesting in that it is very close to the story of a kind of performance called rabeng, which, in the Ratanakosin period, is designed to be performed only at the tonsure ceremony of a royal child. The story of rabeng is that the gods are invited to join a certain ceremony at Mount Kailasa. They all march off joyfully. But they are stopped on their way by Kāla, who is mounted on a peacock. The gods perform tapas in order to gain strength to shoot at Kāla, but they are shot by him instead. They faint but recover immediately after. Then they return to their palaces.

It is noted that they never reach Kailasa Mountain.* Prince Nārītārānumattivong, in Sān Somet, his correspondence with Prince Damrongrāchānuhip, argues that it is not Kāla at all who stops the gods from going to join the festival at Kailasa Mountain. It should be Skanda, or Kānṭha Kumāra, because that deity is described, in the story, as having a peacock as his mount. While Skanda's mount is a peacock, the mount of Kāla, according to the Thai tradition, is nok sōk.** According to the Thai tradition the ceremony referred to in the rabeng performance is believed to be the tonsure of Ganesa. Neither Prince Damrong nor Prince Nārīt agree with this belief. Prince Nārīt says that the myth of Ganesa's tonsure, which is supposed to have a close link with the rabeng performance, had been invented no earlier than the Ratanakosin period because in the Ayuthya period, according to the Kot Mēnthiān Ban, this kind of performance was performed not only for the tonsure ceremony but for other royal ceremonies as well.*

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Prince Damrong adds further that this myth may be an exploit of Skanda's which is taken by the Thais from South Indian mythology. It may not be a myth of Ganesa's at all.*25

Prince Narit is right in saying it should be Skanda who rides a peacock, and who stops the gods going to Kailāsa, It has been known to the Thais from the time of the compilation of the Lilit Čhāng Nam that the mount of Skanda is a peacock.*26 The part of a peacock in the rabeng performance is sufficiently important to be recorded in a literary work of the late Ayuthya period. Phra Maha Nāk of Thā Sai Monastery describes, in the Bunnowāt Kham Chan, composed in the reign of King Boromakôt (1732-1758), that one of the performances given at the Buddha's footprint at Saraburi Province during the visit of the King was the rabeng. The performers were dressed like those who performed mōng khrum. They, with bows in their hands, all concentrated on shooting at a peacock.*27 It is true that the other parts of the story of the rabeng which are not recorded in the Bunnowāt Kham Chan may not be the same as the rabeng story performed in the Ratanakosin period. However, lack of evidence does not imply that the stories of the two periods are different.

If it is agreed that it is Skanda who stops the gods from going to Kailāsa, the story of the rabeng performance may originally be, as claimed by Prince Damrong, a myth of Skanda. In the Vana Parvan of the Mahābhārata, there is a myth of Skanda's being born from the seed of Agni. Skanda, when newly born, was very mighty and exhibited his power so greatly that the gods were frightened. They wanted to destroy him. The gods marched to confront Skanda only to find that he was more powerful than they. Finally they submitted to him and accompanied him to Śiva who bestowed much honour upon him. From then on Skanda was known as Śiva's son.*28

25. Ibid., p. 185.
The Thais might have joined the two main incidents of this myth together. The first, viz. the tonsure, refers to the birth of Skanda, and the second is the antagonism between Skanda and the gods. This is why in the *rabeng* the gods are invited to the abode of Śiva only to be confronted by Skanda. It is possible that the *rabeng* performance is one of a number of performances in which stories have been taken from Hindu mythology. In the *Kot Monthian Bān*, a performance called *chak nak dukdamban* is described as being performed in a royal ceremony called *Phrarātchaphithi Inthraphisēk*. It represents the myth of the Churning of the Ocean. Moreover, the *mōng khrum* performance, performed in many royal ceremonies such as *Phrarātchaphithi Sanān Yai*, *Kānphithī Āsāyut* and *Phithī Lot Chāēt*, shows signs of some connection with Hindu myth. The *mōng khrum* is like a dance with a series of poses. The names of the poses, such as *Mēkhala Lō Kāēo* (The goddess Maṇi Mekhala uses a jewel as an enticement); *Rāmasūn Khwāng Khwān* (Rāmasūn throws his axe); *Phra In Pao Sang* (Indra blows his conch shell) and *Thēwātā Rāng Phra Sumēn* (The attempt of the gods to pull Mount Sumeru upright), are certainly taken from some episodes of Hindu mythology which appear in Thailand. These performances have been widely given in royal ceremonies, and there is evidence in *Chotmāihēt Khwāmsongčham Krommalūang Narinthōn Thēwī*, recorded in the reign of King Rama III, that *rabeng* was performed together with *mōng khrum* and others in the celebration of King Tak Sin's receiving the image of the Emerald Buddha in the year 1779.

30. Ibid., p. 66.
31. Ibid., p. 67.
32. Ibid., p. 72.
It is the chronicles of the early Ratanakosin period which state that rabeng had never been performed for any reason other than in the tonsure ceremony.* It is possible that, by the time of the establishment of the Ratanakosin (Chakri) dynasty, the myth of Ganeshā's tonsure and the loss of his head caused by Kāla, as referred to by Gerini, had taken shape, and was supposed to be the essential story of rabeng.

In the Thai texts, it is not only the myths of Ganesa's and Skanda's birth which are confused. The myth of Skanda's vanquishing the demon Tāraka is also mixed up with the myth of Ganesa's losing his left tusk. The loss of one of Ganesa's tusks is the cause of his name 'Ekadanta' or 'He of the One Tusk'. In the Narai Sip Pāng, when Khantha Kumāra has been initiated to manhood after his tonsure ceremony, Śiva commissions him under the name of Vighnesvāra to destroy a demon called Phangkhī. It is narrated in the text as follows:

Vighnesvāra manifested himself as having four hands. One hand held a noose, the others held a hook, an iron hammer and a red hot lump of iron respectively. He had a rat as his mount. He went, by means of his divine power, to the Yamunā River. When the demon Phangkhī saw the son of the lord, he was very infuriated. He took ten million million monsters up to fight mightily against Vighnesvāra. But the demons were no match for the god, so they ran away and dived in the Yamunā River. They hid themselves in the middle of the ocean. Vighnesvāra swallowed up all the water of the Yamunā River until the river was dry and the demons became visible. The god then removed his left tusk and threw it at the demon Phangkhī with all the other demons and killed them. Then Vighnesvāra vomitted out the water he had swallowed up back into the river where it formerly was. Then he returned to see Śiva and told him all that had happened. At the same time the three gods who had assembled there blessed him saying, "This head brings victory and is auspicious. Don't change it. And if any elephant has one tusk only, it should be supposed to be similar to

Vighnesvara. If any elephant expert manages to catch this kind of elephant he ought to count it as equal to a hundred head of elephants. Let him be considered to be a well-versed expert and let him enjoy a highly auspicious life.\textsuperscript{36}

This myth in the \textit{Narai Sip Pang} does not accord with the myth of the loss of Ganesa's tusk in Hindu mythology. In the \textit{Brahmavaivarta Purana} Ganesa used his left tusk to receive the axe of Parasurama, and thus the tusk was cut off by it.

Parasurama, who was a favourite disciple of Siva, went to Kailasa to visit his master. On arriving at the inner apartment, he was opposed by Ganesa, as Siva was asleep. Parasurama nevertheless demanded entry, and, after a long dialogue, the two came to fight. Ganesa had at first the advantage seizing Parasurama in his trunk, and giving him a twirl that left him sick and senseless. On recovering, Parasurama threw his axe at Ganesa, who recognizing it as his father's weapon, which had been given to Parasurama, received it with all humility upon his left tusk. The tusk was immediately severed, and hence Ganesa had but one tusk.\textsuperscript{37}

There is yet another myth, in Hindu mythology, of the loss of Ganesa's tusk. The \textit{Siva Purana} narrates that Pārvatī created Ganesa as her son and her first personal bodyguard. Ganesa followed his duty of guarding the apartment of Pārvatī strictly. Since Ganesa was created by Pārvatī alone without the knowledge of Siva, Siva did not know who Ganesa was at all. Siva, desiring to enter the chamber of Pārvatī, and Ganesa, wanting to guard the goddess's apartment, engaged themselves in a very long talk and fight with each other. In the end Siva gained the advantage and cut off the left tusk of Ganesa. But this was a blessing in disguise. Ganesa was subsequently blessed by the god to be celebrated under the name of Ekadanta which is one of his epithets.\textsuperscript{38} (But see below.)

In the \textit{Narai Sip Pang}, Ganesa removed his left tusk, of his own

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{36} Praphan Sukhonthachāt (ed.), \textit{Narai Sip Pang...}, pp. 41-42.
\item \textsuperscript{37} \textit{Brahmavaivarta Purana}. Ganesakhanda. 41.19-35; 42; 43.
\end{itemize}
free will, in order to use it as a weapon for the destruction of the demon Phangkhī. However this myth bears some similarity with the myth in the Ramakian and in the Narai Sip Pāng, of Śiva's using one of the tusks of his elephant-mount as a weapon. The story is as follows:

Once Daśakantha (Rāvana) had a great desire for the puspaka or the floating chariot, belonging to his brother Kuvera. Daśakantha therefore waged war with his brother. Kuvera, unable to withstand the attack of Daśakantha, ran to Śiva for help. At that time Śiva was riding on his elephant-mount. He was very infuriated with Daśakantha, so much so that he pulled out one of the tusks of his elephant-mount and threw it at Daśakantha. Śiva also cursed him, saying that the tusk was to stick in his chest until he died.*

There is one more South Indian legend which gives another version of the absence of one of the tusks of Ganeśa. This legend is interesting in that it has some points, i.e. Ganeśa uses his own tusk as weapon, comparable to the Thai myth of the same story.

There was once a giant-demon with the face of an elephant who was unconquerable either by god or by man. Ganeśa, being only a demi-god, was thus able to fight with him with some possibility of success. At the first encounter the giant-demon, Gajamukha by name, broke off Ganeśa's right tusk; but Ganeśa caught his broken tusk and hurled it at the giant-demon, who instantly turned into a rat, whereupon Ganeśa took him into his service as his vahana or mount.*

According to the Thai tradition, the demon Phangkhī is no more than the demon Tāraka. Therefore the vanquishing of the demon Phangkhī in the Narai Sip Pāng must be regarded as the most famous exploit of Skanda. But the name Phangkhī (as if Sanskrit: Dhaṅgī)

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has no counterpart in Hindu mythology. It is possible that the name Phangkhī, meaning, 'a wave', or 'a torrent', is derived from the story itself. Skanda swallowed up the river first before he could kill the demon. This act might have been an allegory of Skanda's taming the river, which can be said to have taken the side of the demon. But this hypothesis seems rather far-fetched.
Ekadanta, which is an epithet of Ganeśa in Hindu texts, is regarded by the Thais as another kind of elephant and is different from Ganeśa. There are various accounts of this kind of elephant in Thai texts. In the Tamrā Nārāi Prathomsin Wā Duai Laksana Chāng, a Thai treatise on elephants, Ekadanta is described as one of Indra's mounts. It seems, from the text, that this kind of elephant has only one tusk from the time of its birth. The single tusk is in its forehead. This tusk can move to either side, but always to the opposite side to that which the elephant lifts its tusk. Ekadanta is a very mighty elephant. A thousand elephants cannot defeat him in fighting. If the shadow of any man is struck by his tusk, that man will die.* The Nārāi Sip Pāng (Royal Press Version) narrates a myth of the taming of the elephant Ekadanta by Viṣṇu in detail. Ekadanta's story is combined with the account of Viṣṇu's revelation of the mantra-prayers for taming elephants to the first four preceptors in elephant lore.

In one of the Treta Yuga Śiva took up his abode on Kailāsa. On the day when the three gods i.e. Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahma assembled there, a Brahma who saw Brahma the Creator on his golden Swan-Mount, grew very jealous of the god. As a result of this jealousy that Brahma was reborn on earth as an elephant called Ekadanta. It had only one tusk which grew from the middle of its mouth. The elephant was very powerful. When it pierced the shadow or foot-print of any man or any animal with its tusk, these would all die. The elephant was very wicked. It oppressed all the three worlds. Then all the sages sought Śiva's refuge. Śiva ordered Viṣṇu to vanquish the elephant Ekadanta. Viṣṇu, by means of his divine power, manifested himself as possessing six hands. They held six divine weapons. One of them was created from the energy of the sun and the moon and was called Sēmā. another was created from the energy of the god Vāyu and the goddess Ganges, and was called Sōphā. Another was created from the energy of Suparna, and was called Chalak. Another was created from the energy of Sumeru Mountain, and was called Trī (trident).

42. See foot-note No. 7 p. 11.
Another was created from the energy of the Eagle Lord named Si Phīḷālai and was called Phra Khōē. Another was a noose made of the great Serpent Lord Ananta. Then Visnu came to Earth and roamed about the four directions searching for the elephant Ekadanta. Then the god came to meet four country people. The eldest was called Phōkhawandī. The second eldest, the first sister, was called Sirawang. The two younger ones were called Khōtchāsāt and Sāstrakām. They earned a living by working in the field there. Visnu asked the four, "Have you seen the elephant Ekadanta coming this way?" The four were very frightened by the sight of the god with six hands holding various kinds of divine weapons. They paid homage to him and told him. "The elephant Ekadanta is on yonder bank of the river. The elephant is very wicked and has oppressed all people. Why do you ask about it?" Visnu answered them. "When Tretā Yuga comes, I, who am Nārāyaṇa, will vanquish all evil animals and bring happiness to the world." When the four heard that they were very glad and asked him to take them as his disciples so that they could perform the rites for elephants with the gods. Visnu allowed the four to go with him. They then took him to the great river and told the god that the river was too wide for them to cross. Visnu, by means of his divine power, created a boat out of a leaf of the Thalāṅg Sān or Samaē Sān tree. Visnu and the four crossed the river to the far bank. Then they went into the forest and came to the foot of a mountain where there was a big reservoir of water and a lot of khūn and vō trees. The elephant Ekadanta lived there. The four were very frightened of the elephant and asked the god to protect them from it. Visnu then, by means of his divine power, chanted Visnu prayers three times. He walked three times in a circle in a clockwise direction. Then he struck Phra Khōē into the surface of the earth and set the rays of the Fire God on both the left and right sides of Phra Khōē. The god commanded Phra Mahā Wīlkhanēt to come and take his place in the fire on the right side. Then he took off his sacrificial thread, and, by virtue of prayer, turned it into Phra Thēwakam sitting in his place in the left hand fire. Visnu then had the four chant the Phrīthī Bāt prayers there. Then the god, by means of his divine power, broke off seven kinds of tree and waved them to and fro in order to summon a god called Mahā Mēsawā and commanded him to drive all the elephants in the forest to that place. All the elephants except for Ekadanta were driven there. Ekadanta had been a Brahma in his previous birth so he was able to resist the power of Naha Mēsawā. Visnu grew very infuriated. He recited the Visnu prayers three times over the seven kinds of trees and struck them
upon the footstep of Ekadanta three times. The power of the Viṣṇu prayers caused the elephant Ekadanta to suffer from a very bad headache as if its head was breaking into seven pieces. It could not resist the summons of the god. It ran up angrily and started fighting with the god. Viṣṇu with five divine weapons in his hands fought mightily against the elephant Ekadanta. The elephant later on was drained of his energy and, seeing that it was no match for the god, was ready to flee. Thereupon the god Viṣṇu threw his Great Serpent noose at the right foot of the elephant Ekadanta and stopped it from fleeing away. Then the god stuck his trident into the surface of the earth, and by virtue of prayer changed it into the form of a matūm tree. Then the god bound the tail of the Great Serpent to the matūm tree, and with his right hand he plucked off a maliwan plant and changed it into the form of a cord and as a phap chōe. With it he bound the head of the elephant Ekadanta to a khūn tree. Then the god came and stopped under a vē tree. He then summoned the four who were under the shade of that tree, and bestowed the Prīṭhī Dāt Treatises upon them and made them the prakam, who were tamers of all elephants. They were to teach the science to boys of good family in future. Then Viṣṇu ordered the god Khotchanāk to take the elephant Ekadanta away to be the mount of Indra. But it must be kept in a forest far from reach of all men. Then the god returned to sleep in the Ocean of Milk.*43

It can be seen from the myth narrated above that there is a link between Ekadanta and Śiva, though it is not that Ekadanta is a son of the god. Ekadanta, is described as being able to resist Viṣṇu's magical elephant-drive because he was born in the family of Iśvara or Śiva. It is reasonable to say that the section of the Hindu myth of Gaṇeṣa which concerns the name Ekadanta is the only part of the myth where the god exhibits his strength instead of his usual benevolence. The Thais kept the general association, i.e., that between the name Ekadanta and the idea of courage and heroism. The specific application of the name, however, was

not to Gaṇeśa at all. The epithet Ekadanta, instead of belonging to Gaṇeśa, seems to have been used by the Thais as a Proper Name for another noble, courageous elephant only, one of the mounts of Indra.
There are many and various Thai iconographical images of Ganesa. Those of Skanda on the contrary are very few in number and lacking in variety. Most of these images of Skanda are similar to the Hindu prototype. Thai illustrations of Ganesa are not exactly similar to those described in Hindu texts. At the same time, however, the differences are not great. The variety found among Thai images of Ganesa is less than that found among the Hindu ones. In the illustrated manuscripts Nos. 32, 33 and 34 kept in the National Library Bangkok, Ganesa is depicted as having either two, or four, or eight hands only. No image of Ganesa with ten or sixteen hands is illustrated in the Manuscripts. The things carried in these hands are the same as those described in the Hindu texts. For example an image of Ganesa with four hands carrying the ankusa, the pusa or noose, the broken tusk and the modaka can be compared to the Unmatta Ucchista Ganapati. Ganesa represented by a form with eight hands carrying axes, tusks, the trident, the ankusa and the conch-shell can be compared to the Vira Vighesa. No image of Ganesa with five faces is found in the manuscripts. There are instead only forms with three faces. One form is called Konchananesuan and is regarded as a different god. The other is Vighnesvara with eight hands, and is in a standing posture. There is also an image of Ganesa with two hands, carrying the trident and the lotus. This is called simply Sivaputra. (See illustrations 5, 6, 7)

It seems that in Thai literature the iconographical images of some gods with an elephant head, such as of Thewakam (devakarn), have been derived from Ganesa's image. Thewakam is, for the Thais, a god with an elephant head and two hands. Among the things which may be carried in his hands are: the tusk and a stick in one painting (No. 32); the tusk and the modaka in the manuscripts No. 32 and 34; the conch-shell and the modaka in the manuscript No. 33. As Thewakam is one of many gods to do with elephants, he is

45. Ibid., p. 52.
illustrated in one painting (No. 33) as carrying a conch-shell in his right hand, and his left hand is holding a post having the same shape as that found on a kōei châng (a platform for mounting and alighting from elephants). (See illustration 8, 9, 10)

There are many reasons supporting the idea that Thēwakam is derived from Gâñeṣa. Firstly his iconographical image is not very much different from Gâñeṣa's. He too has an elephant head as well as Gâñeṣa, and sometimes (in manuscripts Nos. 32 and 34) is depicted as having only one tusk, i.e. the left one. This may be seen as different from the description of Gâñeṣa in Hindu mythology. According to the purânas, such as the Brahmanda Purâṇa, Gâñeṣa has no left tusk. But Gopinatha Rao says that there is a large number of the sculptures of Gâñeṣa having the left tusk only, which is quite contrary to the descriptions given in the Brahmanda Purâṇa. Secondy Thēwakam is also regarded as the god of elephants, as is Gâñeṣa. There is no other Hindu god with an elephant-head who is the god of elephants. Therefore it is likely that Thēwakam is the same as Gâñeṣa in origin. Later on he is described as being a different god from Gâñeṣa.

In the Nârâi Sîp Pâng there is a myth of Thēwakam being created by Viśṇu. The summary of the story is given here.

Once Viśṇu was ordered by Śiva to kill the demon elephant Ekadanta. Viśṇu came down from heaven to the earth to search for the demon elephant. When the god came to the forest where the elephant lived he performed a sacrifice in order to summon the elephant to come to him. In preparing the sacrificial ground, the god struck Phra Khoe into the surface of the earth and arranged the rays of the Fire God on both sides of it. The god commanded Vighnesa to come to take his place at the fire on the right side. Then the god took

46. Ibid., p. 61.
47. ? a staff; ? an aṣṭuṇā.
48. Vighnesa: no conclusive evidence has been found explaining who, or what kind of god, Vighnesa is. It is possible that he is: (A) a god causing success in the performance of any ceremonies because his name "Vighnesa" - Vighna-Īśa, meaning "Lord over Obstacles", indicates this; or (B) a god of elephants having characteristics similar to Gâñeṣa because the name "Vighnesa" is also very near to the name "Vighnesvara" applied to Gâñeṣa. He is here invoked to witness a ceremony concerning elephants.
off his sacrificial thread and, by virtue of prayer, turned it by chanting into Thewakam sitting in his place at the left hand fire.*49

One possibility is as follows: the myth mentioned above might have come into being before any painting of the god Thewakam. Since a description of the god is not given in the myth, painters just took it automatically that his image could not be much different from Ganesa's. But this does not necessarily have to be the case. There is the possibility of a link through an intermediary figure, viz. the god Phra Kan (Karma, see below). If Thewakam can be definitely identified with Phra Kan, and if Phra Kan is the same as Ganesa, the myth mentioned above might have been invented to go with the paintings or images of Ganesa understood by the Thais to be different gods.

Phra Kan is, in most of the Ayuthya literary works, described as the god of elephants. In the Samutthakhôt Khan Chan it is said that a large number of elephants came to the sacrificial ground presided over by Phra Kan because Phra Kan was highly eulogized.*50

In the Dutsadi Sangwoei Klom Châng Khrang Krung Kao (Poetical lullaby for newly captured elephants) composed before the reign of King Nârâi of Ayuthya (1656-1688), it is described that offerings such as bananas, sugarcanes, coconuts and palm fruits, are offered to Phra Kan by the party of mahouts when they are leaving the forest with newly captured elephants. They ask the god to console the elephants for their enforced parting from the forest.*51

In the Lilit Öngkân Chaeng Nam a god called Phra Kambodî (as if karmapati) is invited to come to the ceremonial ground of the oath-taking ceremony.*52 One of his emblems i.e. the elephant noose (chînkbat) is to be placed among the offerings at the ceremonial ground too. The mention of his emblem justifies the belief that Phra Kambodî is the god of elephants, and might be the same as

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49. PraPhan Sukhonthachât (ed.), Nârâi Sip Pâng..., p. 44.
Phra Kan. What is interesting is that Ganesa, who has to be invoked by Hindus to preside over any ceremony, is not mentioned at all in the Lilit Ongkan Chaeng Naa. It seems that Ganesa is replaced by Phra Kambodi in this text. It is possible that Phra Kambodi was believed to be the same as Ganesa during that time. But in the Lilit Yuan Phai composed not much later than the Lilit Ongkan Chaeng Naa, Phra Kambodi is not referred to at all. In this text King Boromtrailokanat is eulogized as an expert in elephant-lore, and his skill is compared to that of Phikkhanot.53 But it is not certain whether Phikkhanot, or Vighnesh, as used here, is the same as the Hindu Ganesa or whether he is the Thai Vighnesvara-Khanthakumara (i.e. Ganesa and Skanda, believed to be one and the same god). What might be speculated from the Lilit Yuan Phai text is that Ganesa in his role of god of elephants was known to the Thais, and that Phra Kambodi was not accepted as having the same importance as Ganesa by the author who consistently shows his thorough knowledge of Hindu mythology in this work. In the Dutsadi Sangwoei Klom Chong Khong Kao, ostensibly composed by Khun Thep Krawi of Sukhothai (the date of the work, however, is not as old as the Sukhothai period, and is certainly later in composition than the Lilit Yuan Phai), Phra Kan is eulogized together with the Hindu trimurti, with the goddess Uma, and with the god Vighnesvara-Khanthakumara.54 No characteristic of Phra Kan is given in this text. Vighnesvara-Khanthakumara is however, on the contrary, described as a sage who is well versed in Uthenthra (Udena) mantras55 i.e. incantations for the capture of elephant-lore as the Lord of elephants. Sometimes in Thai texts on elephants he is known as Udenta and Uchen. Although a Brahman king, the story of his life is found given in great detail, in the Phra Dhammapadathakattha, a Buddhist work. The same story found in the Sanskrit Kathasaritsagaram is very popular among the Hindus. The story of his love for the princess Vasuladatta (Skt. Vasyadatta), the daughter of his chief enemy -King Candapajjota - has been dramatised in the Sanskrit play called Ratnavali. In Thai literature the story of Udaya is narrated in the text called Uthen (Udena) Khan Chan. According to all these texts Udaya the king of Kosambi, was the most celebrated elephant-tamer in the world.

53. Lilit Yuan Phai, Bangkok, 1912, p. 92.
55. Udena: Udena or Udaya is regarded by preceptors of elephant-lore as the Lord of elephants. Sometimes in Thai texts on elephants he is known as Udenta and Uchen. Although a Brahman king, the story of his life is found given in great detail, in the Phra Dhammapadathakattha, a Buddhist work. The same story found in the Sanskrit Kathasaritsagaram is very popular among the Hindus. The story of his love for the princess Vasuladatta (Skt. Vasyadatta), the daughter of his chief enemy -King Candapajjota - has been dramatised in the Sanskrit play called Ratnavali. In Thai literature the story of Udaya is narrated in the text called Uthen (Udena) Khan Chan. According to all these texts Udaya the king of Kosambi, was the most celebrated elephant-tamer in the world.
elephants.* It seems that by the time of this text, Phra Kan is regarded as a different god from Ganesa, but he is still a god of elephants as Ganesa is. Phra Kan is rarely mentioned in literary works composed during the Ratanakosin period. He is mentioned in only one of several poetical lullabies for newly captured elephants. In Chan Klomp Chāng Phlāi (Lullaby Composed in chanda metre for the Newly Captured Male-Elephant) composed by Krommaanən Sī Suren during the time of King Rama IV, Phra Kan is eulogized as one of the forest protector gods. He is asked to console the newly captured elephant.* This invocation is very similar to the passage in the Ayuthya period Dutsadī Sangwdee Klomp Chāng mentioned above. It is possible that the author was influenced by that work. However, Thēwakan is also mentioned in this Ratanakosin text. In other Ratanakosin texts of the same type Phra Kan disappears completely, and only Thēwakan remains. It seems that he is invoked as one of the gods of elephants which, during this time, are eight in number. These gods are: the Hindu trimūrti and Agni (all four of whom are believed by the Thais to be the creators of elephants); Thēwakan; Vighnesvara- Kanthakumāra; Śivaputra-Śiva-Īśvara and Kōnchananēsūn. The last two are sometimes omitted. It is noteworthy that all these gods appear in the Narai Sip Pāng. Therefore it might be concluded that the later Ratanakosin texts are influenced by the Narai Sip Pāng. It seems, from the above passages, that Ganesa as the god of elephants, was first replaced by Phra Kan, and this latter is, in turn, replaced by Thēwakan later on.

It is noteworthy that during the Ayuthya period and the early Rattanakosin period, Ganesha has never been regarded by the Thais as the god who removes obstacles. Neither has he been invoked by any Thai poet of these times to help him in his composition. This might have been caused by the Thai confusion of his identity with Skanda. Ganesha is firstly recognized as the god who provides success (especially in artistic achievements), during the time of King Rama VI of the later Rattanakosin period when the study of Indology by the West was introduced into Thailand by the king himself. The king set up a literary club called Wannakhadi Samosorn in the year 1914. The king had a royal seal made for this club. The design cut on this seal is the picture of Ganesha. This was the first time when Ganesha was linked with a branch of arts, and not just with elephants. The Fine Arts Department of Thailand followed the practice of King Rama VI. In the year 1947, the Fine Arts Department also took the seal of Ganesha as its official seal. More specific importance is given to the god. He is depicted in the seal with seven jewels which represent the seven branches of the arts. These are sculpture, painting, music, dancing, oratory, architecture and literature. Thus the god is regarded as the deity who provides success in these branches of the arts. From this time Ganesha has been regarded by the Thais as the god of arts rather than as the god of elephants. It was in the time of King Rama VI too that Skanda was recognized as a Hindu war god, and as different from Ganesha. But Skanda has not attained the same kind of latter-day prestige from the Thais as has Ganesha.

59. Ibid., pp. 48-49.
Chapter IV

Vishnu and his Incarnation

Vishnu is generally called by the name Narayana in Thai literature. In Hindu mythology Vishnu is called Narayana -- 'moving in the water' because he is regarded by his votaries as the all-pervading spirit and is associated with the watery element which pervades everywhere before the creation of the world. Vishnu as Narayana is thus represented pictorially in human form resting on the serpent Seha and floating on the waters. Vishnu in Thai literature is always connected with the serpent couch. There is reference to this in the earliest Thai Brahmanistic text -- the Lilit Òngkàn Chaeng Han. For the Thais the abode of Vishnu is his serpent couch in the Ocean of Milk, not the Vaikuntha Heaven. It is true that the Vaikuntha Heaven is also recognized as Vishnu's celestial abode, but there is rarely any reference to it in Thai literary works. In Thai literature Vishnu is always described as going back to sleep on his serpent couch in the Ocean of Milk after he has destroyed any demon who causes trouble to the world. The Nirâi Sip Phâng is the text which most clearly attests this. In Hindu mythology Vishnu returns to his Vaikuntha Heaven after his destruction of the demons; he assumes the position of resting on the serpent Seha only during the period of temporary annihilation of the universe.

In Thai literature Vishnu has only one aspect, that of being an unconquerable saviour. In the Lilit Òngkàn Chaeng Han he is described as the god who is 'beyond Death' (phaco marutâyû); he is the bravest in the world (kwaen klû'n fâ klû'n din); he destroys the demons.* It is certain that, for the Thais, Vishnu's aspect of the saviour is inextricably linked with his valour and might in destroying the demons. This characteristic

1. "Lilit Òngkàn Chaeng Han", found in Lilit Lae Nirât, by Watchari Soyanam, Bangkok, 1974, p. 7.
2. Ibid.
of the god is consistently referred to in Thai literary works. In the Lilit Yuen Phai (15th century), King Borommatrõkhamêt is eulogized as being well-versed in fighting, and he destroys all his enemies as if he were the god Visnu. In the Kamphaêk Râmâkian of the Ayuthya period Visnu is invoked as Narâyana who has four hands; Garûda as his vehicle and great valour in destroying his enemies. In Khlong Yô Phra Kiat Phrabat Sondet Phra Phuttha Lêt lã Naphâlai (Eulogy of King Rama II), composed by King Rama III, the poet asks Visnu, who has his couch on the waters, to make King Rama II be as mighty as the god himself.

In the Chan Sansôn Phra Mâhâ Mâni Ratana Patimâkôn, composed in the reign of King Rama IV, the poet praises King Rama IV as a mighty warrior who is very well-versed in the art of fighting; his power is the same as that of Viṣṇu who vanquishes all his enemies. In Hindu mythology Viṣṇu's preserving power is manifested to the world in a variety of forms called avatâras or incarnations, in which a portion of his divine essence is embodied in a natural (animal or human) or supernatural form each of which is possessed of supernatural power. All these incarnations become manifested whenever any great calamity has occurred in the world, or the wickedness of any of its inhabitants proves an unbearable nuisance to the gods. The Thai account of Viṣṇu's incarnations retains the same purport as the Hindu, that is, Viṣṇu incarnates himself in order to save the world from calamity. Reference to Viṣṇu's incarnations in Thai literature is as old as the early 15th century. (It is true that the name Râma, the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu, appears in earlier documents, such as the inscriptions of Sukhothai, but the name appears in its own right. No connection with Viṣṇu is mentioned.) The Lilit Òngkâm Chaeng Hâm, however,

7. Lilit Yuen Phai, Bangkok, 1922, p. 29.
in the first Thai text which specifically refers to Viṣṇu's incarnations. The text, in one place, makes a passing reference to Viṣṇu's incarnation as a venum (Ugra-avatāra).³ This for certain refers to the embodiment of Viṣṇu in the form of Kubera, the god of wealth, in Hindu mythology, lures the demons away from the ocean, or elixir, obtained from the churning ocean, and thus provides the opportunity for the gods to drink that substance of immortality and power.⁴ Moreover it seems that the other incarnations of Viṣṇu are alluded to in the Līlit Durakā Chao Na. The first is his Varaha or Bear incarnation which the god assumes when he saves the maiden Earth. The second is Viṣṇu's Viśnu, or Great Incarnation, which he assumes in order to save the gods from the demon Mahiśāsaka. Indirect references to these two incarnations occur in the Līlit Durakā Chao Na, in that Viṣṇu is described as having the Earth in one of his four hands,¹⁰ and also as having sixteen feet of fire which destroy the demons (citra Atri 15:23; Viṣṇu Purāṇa 3.30; Viṣṇu Purāṇa 1.9; Mahābhārata VII, 612).¹¹ Later on in the Ayutthya period the story of Viṣṇu's incarnation as Kṛṣṇa was written in a text called Kṛṣṇa Mahāvamsa, but it illustrates only one episode of Kṛṣṇa's life. That is, his battle against the demon king Pāṇḍava. This is the Līlit Durakā Chao Na, which was first edited in the reign of King Rama V of the Rattanakosin period, that contains most of the myths dealing with Viṣṇu's incarnations. The incarnations of the god to the Līlit Durakā Chao Na are also ten in number, but they are not the same as the ten Hindu stories. The Purana and the Viśnu legends are missing in the Thai text. They are replaced by the story of an embodiment of Viṣṇu in the form of the goddess Parvati for the destruction of an asurastra, and by the myth of Viṣṇu's destruction of the buffalo demon who in Hindu mythology is destroyed by Devi. Hence the two are the myths of the Viśnu, Viṣṇu, Varaha, Narasimha, Viśnu and Buddha incarnations.

They are grouped together here because they occur in both Hindu and Thai mythology. The missing Hindu Parashurama and Kalki interactions are discussed together with the Thai Mahapa and Yama interactions in the following chapter. The Ksapa and Mara interactions are discussed separately in their own chapters.
In all the Hindu texts the first incarnation of Vishnu is numbered as the first of the ten important incarnations of the god. In most of the Thai texts it is described as the first also. Thus, the first incarnation of Vishnu do not center around the great world flood as most of the Hindu myths do. In the Thai texts Vishnu's first incarnation myths are built around the story of Brahma being robbed of the Vedas by two demons. The story in the 'Narada Purana' goes:

"Once a Brahma was jealous of Brahma the Creator. He thought, "I am a Brahma also. I also have four faces and eight hands. I will not let anybody be greater than me." Siva found out the thought of the Brahma by means of his meditation. The god knew that that Brahma would be born as a demon. The jealous Brahma, in course of time, was born as the demon Sugha-sena (Conch-Demon). He lived at the bottom of the ocean near the foot of Mount Kailasa. The demon was waiting for the chance to attack Brahma, the Creator. Later on Brahma brought the Vedas and the Bhagavata to the shade of Siva. Siva wanted to present them to the god so that the god could teach the world. Brahma was desirous of taking a bath before he reached Vaikuntha. He then placed the sacred texts on the shore of the ocean and went down into the water. Then the Conch-Demon saw that he thought, "I will rob Brahma of the sacred texts, and will throw them into the sea so that Brahma will not be able to teach the world. No man will worship his God." After the demon thought thus he ordered Phi Sh'a Nam to steal the Vedas of Brahma. Phi Sh'a Nam did as he was commanded to do. He gave the Vedas to the Conch-Demon who swallowed them into his stomach. When Brahma came out of the water he could not find the Vedas where he had left them. He was very angry, and his anger made it impossible for him to find out the reason for their having vanished. He then he had meditated very hard. Brahma therefore went to see Siva and told him what had happened. Siva, in means of his meditation, found out that the Vedas had been stolen by the Conch-Demon. He therefore, sent out to invite Vishnu to come from the Ocean of Milk. When Vishnu arrived at Vaikuntha Siva related to him the story and ordered him to destroy the demon and to bring the Vedas back. Vishnu then incarnated himself in the form of a bull.

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12. Devas: Devas, an angel, a class of superior angels whose pleasures are of a, intellectual or meditative but who are yet mundane, in that they have bodies or forms. (C. T. Albracht, The Wheel of the Law, London, 1971, p. 13).

13. Shields: Here; shield spirits, genii or fierce-looking giants who carry iron clubs; they reside in the water and are often blamed in cases of drowning.
of a huge golden fish named Hotehîwatâh (Fish Avatar). First he killed the Fish Avatar, then he went over to the world of the Conch Demon. Then the demon saw the great fish, he did not realize that it was identical with Visnû. He thought that it was just a certain fish, so he came out of his hiding place and fought with the fish. The demon fought mightily against the god, but at last he was defeated. Then the great fish turned back into the form of the god. The god said to the demon, "You are wicked. You are jealous of Brahmâ and have robbed his of his Vedas. I will kill you now." After the god had said this he pushed his hand into the mouth of the Conch-Demon and pulled out the Vedas and the Dharmaśastras. Then he killed the demon. That is why there are the fingerprints of Visnû on the mouth of a conch until today. Then Visnû made a divine announcement. "My fingerprints marked on the mouth of the conch where I pulled out the Vedas and the Dharmaśastras are auspicious. The stomach of the conch which once contained the sacred texts is also auspicious. Another auspicious element is Brahmâ who was born as a mighty conch. These three things make conches auspicious, and the regions where their sound can be heard are also very auspicious." Then Visnû took the sacred texts to Kailâsâ and presented them to Śiva. This caused great joy in heaven.¹⁵

The story of Brahmâ's being robbed of his Vedas occurs in the Mahâbhârata. There is also mention of the two demons who are responsible for the robbery. They are Madhu and Kaitabha. But in the Great Epic Visnû does not assume the form of a fish in order to kill the demons and recover the Vedas. He changes himself into a form possessing a horse's head to fulfil his task. Hereunder is the story of the demons Madhu and Kaitabha from the Mahâbhârata.

When the world dissolves into the Supreme Soul or Brahmâ, then darkness spreads over the universe. From that primal darkness arises Visnû. Visnû lays himself down on the waters. He then thinks of the creation of the universe. While engaged in thinking of creation, he recollects his own high attributes. From this activity springs the four-faced Brahmâ. He comes to birth within the lotus that springs from the navel of Visnû. Seated on that lotus, Brahmâ sees the waters on all sides and then commences to create the universe. In that primal

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14. Pâ Krâi: Notopterus chitala, a species of feather-backs with 7 or 9 black spots along the sides of the body.
lotus, two drops of water have been shed by Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu casts his eyes on those two drops of water, and one of them, which looks like a drop of honey, becomes a demon named Madhu. The other drop of water within the lotus is very hard. From it springs the demon Kaitabha. The two demons, possessed of might and armed with maces, begin to rove immediately after their birth within that vast primal lotus. They see Brahmā engaged in creating the four Vedas. The demons suddenly seize them in the very sight of their creator, and quickly dive into the ocean and proceed to its bottom. Seeing the Vedas forcibly taken away from him, Brahmā becomes filled with great grief. He asks Viṣṇu to help him. Viṣṇu then shakes off his slumber and resolves to recover the Vedas for Brahmā. He assumes a form possessing a horse's head and then proceeds to the nether regions. When he has reached there, he applies himself to advanced Yoga and begins to utter Vedic mantras loudly. The sound of his voice fills the nether regions from end to end. This makes the two demons throw the Vedas down in the nether regions, and run towards the spot whence those sounds appear to come. Meanwhile Viṣṇu takes up all the Vedas and returns to where Brahmā is waiting. He gives the Vedas back to Brahmā and resumes his own nature.

When the two demons are not able to find the person from whom those sounds proceed, they quickly come back to where they left the Vedas. But they can find nothing. They therefore rise from the nether regions, and return to where the Primeval Lotus is. They see only Viṣṇu lying on the hood of a snake. They laugh at him and wake him up. Viṣṇu is thus awakened and then prepares to fight against the demons as they wish. In order to gratify Brahmā Viṣṇu slays them both. He then comes to be called by the name Madhusūdana or the slayer of Madhu. Having destroyed the two demons and restored the Vedas to Brahmā, the god disappears there and then and goes to the place he has come from.\(^1\)

In the Purāṇas there are many versions of the myth of the robbery of the Vedas. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa there is a myth of Viṣṇu's incarnating himself in the form of a fish in order to vanquish a demon who steals the Vedas, and to save Manu Vaivasvata from the great flood at the dissolution of the universe. In this myth there is but one demon who robs Brahmā of the Vedas. This is Hayagrīva, or

\(^1\) Mahābhārata XII. 343.  
\(^2\) Bhāgavata Purāṇa VIII. 24.7-57
the demon with a horse's head. It is noteworthy that this
form is the one taken by Viṣṇu in the Mahābhārata when the god
vanquishes the demons who rob Brahmā of his Vedas. (See above.)
In the Padma Purāṇa Viṣṇu is described as assuming the form of
a fish to kill a demon makara* who steals the Vedas. The text
narrates that a makara came to the world of Brahmā. He took
away the Vedas of Brahmā and entered the great ocean. Brahmā and
all the gods went to see Viṣṇu and asked him to recover the Vedas.
Viṣṇu assumed the form of a fish similar to a makara and entered
the ocean. The god tore the demon into pieces and brought the
Vedas back to Brahmā. 18

In none of the myths of the robbery of the Vedas mentioned above
does there exist a conch demon as in the Thai texts. However myths
relating to Viṣṇu and a conch are not wanting in Hindu mythology.
In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa there is a myth of how Viṣṇu obtains a conch
shell as one of his emblems. The text narrates that Kṛṣṇa and his
brother Pārīkṣaṇa are requested by Pārīkṣaṇa, their preceptor, to
give him his dead son, who had been drowned by the sea Prabhāsa,
so the preceptor's see. Kṛṣṇa and Pārīkṣaṇa agree to do so. They
then take up their arms and march against Prabhāsa. But Prabhāsa
denies the charge. He tells them of the real criminal. It is the
demon Pāñcajanya who lives in the form of a conch shell. The demon
is still under that Prabhāsa sea. On hearing this Kṛṣṇa plunges in,
and having slain the demon Pāñcejanya, takes the conch shell, which
he turned the ocean's heroes, and carries it as his horn. The sound
of the conch shell fills the demon hosts with dismay, animates the
vigour of the gods, and annihilates unrighteousness. Kṛṣṇa and
Pārīkṣaṇa thus recover the boy from the pains of death and restore
him to his father. Then Kṛṣṇa and Pārīkṣaṇa return to their city
Prabhāsa. 19

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18. *makara: a kind of sea-monster sometimes confounded with the crocodile,
shark, dolphin.
19. Padma Purāṇa VI. 733.
It cannot be said that the robbery of the Vedas by the demons in the Vishnu Purana and the Mahabharata, and the acquisition of the conch shell by Viśṇu in the Maṇḍala Purana, are the prototype of the Thai myth of the fish incarnation. It is true that the element of robbery existing in the Vishnu Purana, that is, the story of the demons' son by the demon Pāncajana, might have caused the joining of these two myths in Thai literature. But this is unlikely to be the case because there is evidence that the shapes of these two myths had already occurred in Hindu literature.

In a Tamil purāṇa called Viśnu Purana, the myth of Viśṇu's fish incarnation is a combination of the myth of Viśṇu's rescuing the Vedas and of Viśṇu's acquisition of the conch Pāncajana. It is subsequently made clear to the Thai myth, the Tamil myths of the fish incarnation are also all built around the story of Viśṇu's protecting the Vedas in Brahmat, and not around the final flood story. The Viśnu Purana narrates:

The evil demon stole the Vedas. Sacrifices ceased, and the gods came to Viśṇu for help. Viśṇu took the form of a fish and went to Pāncajana, where he installed a linga by the side of the fish tank. Having obtained the grace of Viśṇu, he entered the ocean, killed the demon Pāncajana and his companion Pāncajana, and returned the Vedas to the Brahmat. From the body of Pāncajana, he took the volultimate conch. 21

The similarity between the Thai myth and the Tamil myth in the Viśnu Purana is very close. Both versions contain two themes, i.e., the stealing and recovery of the Vedas and the defeat of, and appropriation of, a conch by Viśṇu. However, there is still a slight difference between the two versions. In the Tamil myth, the demon demon Pāncajana does not instigate the demon Conch to participate in the Vedas, as does the demon demon in the Thai myth.

21 "Viśnu Purana", Tamil in Los Legados Civiles de Viśnu Purana, by R. Oshana, P. P. Pathubrina, and Jean Filibert, Institut Français d'Etudes Indiennes, Delhi, 1964, p. 70.
It seems that the couch design in the Thai version has more importance than its Tamil counterpart. It can be seen that the new role of the Thai couch design is to fuse the two original Hindu themes more closely together.

The way in which the couch shell has come to be so auspicious is readily explained by its having been, if only for a short time, a receptacle of the sacred. This is an appropriate reason too, for the couch shell figures in many Brahminical rituals in Thailand (e.g., Fruinidhe, lith Chat Hanghon, and Phithi Sanpachakachin) where a connection with Viņa is hard to imagine.


Phra Phithi That Mounkhon (Skt. chatra maingala, literally the "blessing of the royal umbrella") is the royal ceremony performed to celebrate the Anniversary of the Coronation of a King.

Phithi Sanpachakachin (Skt. saṃhacchāra-chinda) is a Brahminical rite of changing from the Old to the New Year.
In Hindu Mythology, the turtle incarnation of Vishnu always forms part of the myth of the churning of the ocean. In this myth Vishnu as a turtle supports Mount Mandara, which the gods and the demons are using as a churning-stick to churn the ocean of milk. This occurrence is necessitated by the fact that the gods are in danger of losing their superiority over the demons. They are then told to churn the ocean of milk so that they might procure the amrita or nectar by which they would be made strong and mighty again.

In Hindu literature, the two myths, i.e., the turtle incarnation myth, and the myth of the churning of the ocean, exist separately. There is no connection between these two myths at all. In the Royal Press Version of the Narāl Śī ṣi Pāṇga, Vishnu incarnates himself as a turtle in order to bring back the Vedas, which have been stolen by the demon Phi Sita Nau. It is narrated briefly there that when the demon Phi Sita Nau knows that Brahma has gone to see Siva, he takes two of the Vedas and gives them to the fish demons. When Siva finds out that has happened, he orders Vishnu to ascend from the Ocean of Milk. Vishnu then changes himself, by means of his divine powers, into the form of a golden turtle named Vatadvayāna (Kacchaphāsana). He follows the demon Phi Sita Nau and the fish demons to their abode and kills them. But before he dies, the demon Phi Sita Nau gives the Vedas to the couch demon because he knows that he will be defeated. It is noteworthy that Vishnu does not get the Vedas back in this incarnation. It takes him another incarnation after this one to fulfill his mission. It seems that in the Royal Press Version of the Narāl Śī ṣi Pāṇga, the main theme of the Hindu Vishnu's turtle incarnation is lost and its importance is much lessened.

In the Kathāmarī Press and the Zaman Sīt Versions of the Narāl Śī ṣi Pāṇga, the turtle incarnation of Vishnu has nothing to do with the recovering of the Vedas as is narrated in the Royal Press Version.

In these two versions Visnu incarnates himself as a turtle in order to kill the fish demons who want to break Sumeru Mountain down. The story goes as follows:

The Brahmas* who live on one of the levels of heaven are jealous of Brahma the Creator. They think, "We too have been Brahmas before. It is not right that Siva lets this Brahma ride on the Swan Lord." As soon as they conceive such a thought, they die and fall from heaven and are born as fish demons endowed with monstrous and very ugly bodies. They are so wretched that they want to destroy Sumeru Mountain. They swim to the mountain and press hard against its foot. The gods and sages tell Siva what has happened. By means of his meditation, the lord finds out the action of the fish demons. He therefore orders Visnu to come to see him. The lord relates the happening to Visnu and orders him to kill the demons. Visnu incarnates himself as a huge golden turtle and kills most of the fish demons except their leader. Before the god kills him, the god turns back into his form with four hands holding divine weapons. He tells the demon, "You are a Brahman who is jealous of Brahma the Creator. You have been born as a very base demon. Moreover you have caused great danger to the world by trying to pull down Sumeru." Then the god kills the fish demon, who is twenty yojanas long, with his discus. Then the god goes to see Siva and tells him what he has done, and returns to the Ocean of Milk.*

No counterpart of Visnu's vanquishing the fish demons like this is found in Hindu mythology. In the Mahabhârata there is mention of the serpent Ananta trying to uproot Mount Mandara so that the gods and demons can use it as a churning-stick. This is a beneficent act, however. It cannot, therefore, be compared to the vicious action of the fish demons in the Thai texts.

It might be said that the main theme of the turtle incarnation of Visnu in Hindu mythology is weak. This can be seen from some texts, such as the Mahabhârata and the Matsya Purâna where a turtle which serves as a base for a churning-stick is mentioned, but it is described as being different from Visnu. So it is not considered

24. See note No. 17.
The churning themes of this incarnation might have been lost by the time the myth reached Thailand.

There are, however, two forms of the myth of the churning of the ocean in Thai literature. The one that occurs in an early Ayuthya text is very close to the Hindu myth; the other one, in a Ratana-bolin text, is only a reminiscence of the myth. In the Kut Bonthian (1398), the Ayuthya Religions Law Code, there is mention of a performance called chakranthaphisala, the Pulling of the Serpent (as handed down by) Ancient Times. This performance is put on stage during the Indra ( Velocity) ceremony (Indra-pisala:Ancient with the rites of India). The Kut Bonthian law describes the scene:

For the royal ceremony of Indra-Phisala, a naga of a height of one and five yards is built in the middle of an encircled space. There Indra sits on the Head, Brahma sits on the right hand and a graceful one, on the top of Heru is a figure of Indra. Figures of demons are in the middle of the Pool. Vishnu sleeps on the water at the feet of the Naga, and a seven-headed naga encircles the Heru. Victors are dressed as 100 demons, and pages represent 100 gods. There are also Vai, Sugriva, Kumbhambu, and a troop of 100 monkeys. They pull the naga. The demons pull the head, the gods pull the tail, and the monkeys are at the end of the tail. On the fifth day of the ceremony, they pull the naga (according to the tradition of) ancient times. On the sixth day they make three big jars of water.

It is quite clear that this performance cannot be other than the representation of the Hindu myth of the churning of the ocean. That is noteworthy in that no turtle incarnation of Vishnu is mentioned. The god is depicted as lying on the Ocean of Milk instead. It is clear from the Kut Bonthian that, in the early Ayuthya period, Vishnu's turtle incarnation is already separated from the myth of the churning of the ocean. Another interesting point in this performance is the presence of some other characters from the Ramakian, such as Vai and Sugriva. This might denote that the myth of the

churning of the ocean is already included in the Mahabharata, it is possible that the scene of the pulling of the mount Sumeru by the demons to test the question of the height of the mountain, which is described in the Mahabharata, might have been borrowed from the time of the early Vedic period and recorded in the Mahabharata.

The story of the pulling of the mount Sumeru in the Mahabharata goes as follows:

'God once Arjuna has come across a demon named Rahu, who is engaged in chasing after the goddess Gayatri. Arjuna is angry that Rahu has passed him without paying any homage or respect to him, so that he challenges the demon to fight. But the god is no match for the demon. In the end, the demon takes hold of the feet of the god. He strikes the god against Sumeru mountain and kills him. The blow is so great that it shakes the mountain off its balance. Then Shiva sees this be frightened. He asks gods, Gandharvas, garudas, nagas, kinnaras, demons, and Sugriva to come and pull the mountain back to its former position. The gods and demons work the serpent round Sumeru and try in vain to pull it upright. In the end, Sugriva volunteers to set it right. He tells the gods and demons to pull the mountain at the same time as he is tickling the navel of the serpent. This plan is carried out and Sumeru is pulled back to its original position as before."

Thence be said that the scene of the gods and demons pulling Sumeru Mountain as described above, is the reminiscence of only one part in the myth of the churning of the ocean, that is, the pulling of the mountain. Neither the story nor Vigna's turtle innovation is mentioned. It is certain that this scene has been influenced by the churning myth, which is described in the Mahabharata, rather than by the proper Hindu myth about the same incident.

Visnu's story is an important myth in Thai literature, composed of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the Bhagavad Gītā, and the Mahabharata. It combines the myth of Visnu's saving the sunken earth at the beginning of the Varāha Purāṇa with the myth of Brahma's creation by Visnu at the beginning of the Pāṇḍava Purāṇa. In Hindu mythology, the Varāha episode appears after the myth of the origins of the world from the primal lotus. In Thai literature, Visnu assumes the form of a bear to save the earth first and then to create the lotus and Brahma. Hereunder is the story from the Teloknami Press Version of the Narāhi Sīn Pāṇi:

A demon named Kōpārata performs a religious ceremony at the foot of Vīrūntaka Mountain. The demon's ceremony is so sacred that it3 heats up the throne of Sīva and makes the god angry. Sīva therefore comes down from heaven to Grant a boon to the demon. From then on the demon becomes very wicked. He oppresses all the sages and gods. Then the demons think of eating up all the creatures on the earth. The demon, therefore, by means of his great power, rolls up the surfaces of the four continents and brings them down to the nether regions. The gods and demons are very frightened. They tell Sīva what has happened. Sīva then orders Visnu to incarnate himself to subdue the wicked demon. Visnu then assumes the form of a white tusked bull which has diamond tusks. He is called Sveṭa-ṛro—White Bear. He follows the demon Arjuna to the nether regions and kills him. Then the god lifts up the surfaces of the four continents from the nether regions and orders them to resume their normal shape as before. Thereupon the god returns to his Amānta couch on the ocean of milk.

At that time a lotus springs up from the navel of Visnu. The lotus opens immediately after it has sprung from the navel of the god. In that open lotus the four-faced Brahma is seen holding a royal bow in his hand. Visnu then carries the bow to Sīva and tells the god of his vanquishing the demon Aṛjuna. Visnu also presents the bow to the god Sīva.*

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In Hindu mythology there are two myths relating to the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. One is the myth of the boar's lifting up the earth from the water. The other is the legend of the vanquishing of the demon Hiranyakṣa by Viṣṇu in the form of a boar. These two myths appear separately in most of the Hindu texts. However, some texts, such as the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Devībhāgavata Purāṇa, join these two myths together. In most of the combined myths of the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, the lifting up of the earth constitutes the main theme and to it is subjoined the slaying of the demon Hiranyakṣa. The following passage taken from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa is given as an example of the combined myth relating to Viṣṇu's boar incarnation.

When Brahmā was engaged in creation the earth had been flooded over with water and had gone down into the abyssal depths. Brahmā did not know what to do. He then decided to leave the matter to Viṣṇu the Lord. While Brahmā was thus musing, a tiny boar of the size of a thumb came out of his nostrils. As Brahmā was looking at the boar it instantly reached the height of the sky and increased in dimensions to the size of an elephant. Brahmā and his sons eulogized the boar. The very next moment after he was praised the boar dived into the deep water. With his keen sense of smell he went in search of the earth, and at last discovered it sunken in the subterranean regions. The boar lifted up the submerged earth on his tusks from the nether regions in only a short time, and came up from the deep water with ease. Thereafter, in the water, he killed the Lord of the Daityas named Hiranyakṣa. That Hiranyakṣa had dashed towards him with upraised mace in hand. But the prowess of the god was unbearable. The Lord with his fierce wrath flamed up and, with the ease of one in sport, slew the Daitya king.*30

It seems from the myth mentioned above that the boar is seen in the nether regions by Hiranyakṣa, in the act of carrying the earth off. The demon then claims the earth and challenges Viṣṇu to fight, and in the end is slain by the god. However no relationship between the sunken earth and the demon Hiranyakṣa is clearly described in this text. The reason for the demon's desire for the earth is not

mentioned either. It seems that the common element in the two myths, the myth of the lifting up of the earth from the subterranean regions, and that of the slaying of the demon Hiranyakṣa, is that Viṣṇu in the form of a boar is the actor of these two deeds. This common element may have made the Hindu authors combine the two myths together. However, a Saiva text blends one myth with the other on more than one level and thus makes them into one. The Liṅga Purāṇa narrates:

Hiranyakṣa is the brother of the demon Hiranyakaśipu, and the father of the demon Andhaka. The demon Hiranyakṣa binds the earth, which has the lustre of a blue lotus, and takes it to the nether regions. He makes the earth his prisoner. Viṣṇu in the form of a boar, with the tip of his curved tusks, kills the demon Hiranyakṣa. The god enters the nether regions and brings the earth out of the ocean and seats her on his lap. * 31

There is a very close similarity between the Saiva myth just mentioned and the Thai myth of Viṣṇu's boar incarnation in that, in both myths, the danger to the earth caused by the demon Hiranyakṣa forces Viṣṇu to incarnate himself as a boar to save the earth from the calamity that might happen to it.

It has been already mentioned in the beginning of this chapter that the Liṅga Purāṇa Chauṇḍa has seem to refer to this boar incarnation of Viṣṇu in that it describes one of the objects held by the god as the Earth. The word used in the text is 'Cheraṇi', which cannot be translated otherwise. In fact some later poets, such as Thai Sañcāraṇī (Hut) and Thai Sañcāraṇī, have initiated this description. * What makes it certain that this passage on Viṣṇu in the Liṅga Purāṇa Chauṇḍa refers to Viṣṇu's boar incarnation in that in Hindu mythology the Earth is connected with Viṣṇu in this myth only. There are two plausible sources for the mention of the Earth in one of the four hands of Viṣṇu described in the Liṅga Purāṇa Chauṇḍa. One is the Indian sculpture of

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The forms of Viṣṇu. Most examples of this iconographical 
form of Viṣṇu are depicted as carrying the goddess Earth (bhūdevī) 
in one of his arms. Another plausible source might have been 
the Cambodian tradition. The Cambodian inscription from the temple 
of Ta Keo in Cambodia, dating from the reign of Jayavarman I 
(1005-1028 A.D.), describes Viṣṇu as the holder of the earth, 
the club, the conch, and the discus (bhūgadānakelāḥākṣaraṇa). 34 
An inscription in Old Khmer, dating from the middle of the 7th 
century, lists the earth as one of Viṣṇu's attributes. 35 The 
symbol of the earth takes on a variety of forms in Cambodian art; 
a sphere, a disc, or a segment of a sphere, or a discus that has 
been belted out. In the great majority of cases throughout the 
Pre-Angkorian period to the end of the Angkorian, the attributes 
of Viṣṇu are arranged according to the following scheme: the club 
in the upper left-hand, the wheel or the discus in the upper 
right-hand, the earth in the lower right, and the club in the 
lower left-hand. A form of Viṣṇu similar to the Cambodian one just 
described has not yet been found in Thailand. But it is still 
possible to say that the Thais have been influenced by the Cambodian 
literary tradition. It is noteworthy that some Thai poets such as 
Pridi Premchitchitchot seem to forget or be in doubt about 
the connection between the Earth and Viṣṇu so that they replace 
"bhūgadānakelāḥākṣaraṇa" (a club, a spear, or a sword). 36

For the creation of Brahā ṇ from the novel of Viṣṇu, the myth is 
modified somewhat. (See p.181.) But it should be noted here that 
the myth of the creation of Brahā ṇ from Viṣṇu's novel is described, 
in all Thai texts, after the story of Viṣṇu's vanquishing the demon 
Pārvatī. In order to give the maximum importance to the birth of 
the prince Sīyā Śāhanī, who is the ancestor of Rama in the Thai 
version of Ramakīrtī.

34. Pridi Premchitchitchot, "Sūkhothai Pratitsadhisong," Sūkhothai 
35. Pridi Premchitchitchot, "Sūkhothai Pratitsadhisong," Sūkhothai 
The Third Myth of the Sun-Lion incarnation retains all the main points similar to those in the Hindu texts, especially in the "Spraaka Purana." The full story of this myth is narrated vividly in the Katha Vaishnava Version of the "Hari Siva Purana." The story is here quoted in full in order to show how close it is to the Hindu version.

An avara named Hiranta has a thousand heads and a thousand hands on his left and right sides. The wicked Hiranta wants to be the most mighty lord in the three worlds. He therefore performs a religious ceremony at the foot of Sumeru Mountain for a hundred years. He does not obtain a boon from the gods though. The demon then light a fire and rests himself on it until the fat issues out of his body. He then uses the fat to light up lamps for the three gods (Brhaspati, Vishnu and Siva). The gods get pleased and come down from heaven to where the demon is. Hiranta then asks them for a boon: "May I be greater than all the kings in the whole world. May I not be killed by either arrows or spears, nor swords, nor bullets, nor race nor by any kind of weapon. May I not die during either the day or the night time. May I not be killed by either gods; or human beings; or garudas; or kinnaras; or gandharvas; or rishis; or by birds; or fishes; or deer; or by snakes which have fangs, or by birds, fishes or deer. May I not be killed by animals which have fangs, birds and snakes such as crocodiles. May I not die either in the form of an out of the town; in the water; or on the dry land. "To Your favours grant this boon to me." Siva grants to on the boon he has asked for. Vishnu gives Hiranta his power. Then the three gods preach to Hiranta, "I have righteously when you become the greatest lord in the world. Don't oppress gods and human beings." After that the three gods go back to their abodes.

Hiranta returns to his dwellings place after he has obtained the boon and the name from the gods. From then on he is very proud of himself. He desires to make himself the greatest lord of the three worlds. Hiranta then measures, by means of his power, the depth of the ocean. When he finds that the water can reach his knees only, he realizes that the boon granted by the god has great sacred power. Hiranta then exhibits various kinds of mighty power which
When Viṣṇu received Śiva's order, he causes his conch-shell Thakkhīnāvant (Bakṣiṇāvarta) to be born as the son of Hiranta. Then, the boy is grown up his name is proclaimed as Kralathām. Hiranta appoints a whole host of demon sages to teach all branches of knowledge to Kralathām. After the sages have taught the boy all knowledge of the Vedas, they teach him to recite "nāmo nārāya nama" as the invocation prayer. But the boy just says "nāmo nārāya nama". The sages forbid the boy to say this. Kralathām will not listen to them. All the sages then take Kralathām to Hiranta and tell the demon of his son's devotion to Viṣṇu. Hiranta speaks to Kralathām, "Show me how you recite your Veda invocation." Kralathām does so. When the boy says the words "On nāmo nārāya nama", all the sages close their ears with their hands because they are frightened of Hiranta. They tell Hiranta that it is impossible to teach Kralathām as Hiranta wants them to. Hiranta is very angry. He threatens his son, "You pay homage to the god who is my enemy instead of to me, your father. From now on you must not do this. If you do not follow my words, I will kill you." Kralathām, however, does not listen to his father. This makes Hiranta very angry. The demon lord orders an executioner to throw the boy into the fire. But the boy is not killed. Neither will an elephant kill him. The executioner then tries to kill the boy with all kinds of weapons. But they too fail to hurt Kralathām. The executioner then binds Kralathām and throws him into the midst of the ocean. Kralathām does not drown either. He comes up to stand on the surface of the water instead. When Hiranta knows of the failure of the executioner he decides to kill Kralathām with his own hands. At that moment Kralathām cries out, "It is not right for you to kill me. You did not give me my life. I received my life from Narāyaṅa." Hiranta speaks, "If you know of any Narāyaṅa who has given you your life, ask him
to help you. I cannot see any Nārāyaṇa." Kralātham answers his father, "Nārāyaṇa is in every being." This makes Hiranta ask, "Does Nārāyaṇa exist inside this crystal pillar?" When Kralātham affirms to Hiranta the omnipresence of Viṣṇu, the demon is very infuriated. He kicks the pillar of the palace with his left foot and shouts, "If Nārāyaṇa is in this pillar, let him come out and fight with me." Suddenly the roaring laughter of Viṣṇu is heard all over the world. Kralātham tells his father, "It is the voice of Nārāyaṇa. Pay homage to him so that you will be saved from death." Hiranta does not listen to his son and insists on fighting with the god. Viṣṇu, in the form of a man-lion called Narasiha, comes out, by means of his power, from the pillar of the palace. He has the face of a lion and the body of a human being. His feet are like claws. He has a thousand left and right hands of which the nails are very sharp. He does not carry any weapon. When Hiranta sees the man-lion coming out of the pillar, he orders his soldiers to fight against the god. The god kills them all and waits for sunset so that he can kill Hiranta at twilight.

Kralātham, on his part, asks his father not to fight with the god. Hiranta does not follow the advice of his son. He fights against the god instead and in the end is caught in the claws of Narasiha. Narasiha reproaches him, "Formerly you asked Śiva for a boon which made you very powerful in the three worlds. It is a pity you do not follow the righteous ways. So I will kill you now." Hiranta argues with the god, "What wrong have I done? It is you who do not behave Righteously. You are interfering in a quarrel between father and son. Why will you kill me?" Viṣṇu answers, "You are free to teach your son whatever you want. But why do you have to challenge me to fight? And, furthermore, you are seriously oppressing all gods and human beings. You regard yourself as greater than me. I am Nārāyaṇa the lord. I incarnate myself now in order to kill you." Then the god, at sunset, holds Hiranta tightly and flies with him to the gate of the city. The god, by means of his power, makes the ocean flood over the city gate. Then the god asks Hiranta, "Is this water or dry land? Is it day or night? Who am I? With what kind of a weapon am I going to kill you?" Hiranta cannot answer any of the questions asked by the god. The god then, at sunset, tears the demon into pieces at the city gate, which is flooded over, and kills him.
Then the god resumes the form of Vishnu with four hands holding a discus, a mace, a conch-shell and a lotus. The god appears to Kralathan in this form. Kralathan pays homage to him and worships him with fragrant flowers. Vishnu is very pleased and creates a city for him. The god names the city Krung Thon Chana Rattanakon, and names Kralathan Thra Chakrapanit. Then Vishnu goes to Kailasa and tells Siva of his vanquishing of Hiranta. Then Vishnu returns to the Ocean of Milk as before. 38

Then if there are some interpolations in the Thai myth of the reincarnation inscription, the main points, all similar to those in the Hindu text, are retained. The Thai demon Hiranta asks for the boon from Siva as Varayakasipu in the Bhagavata Purana for the boon, The demon wants to be invincible to all kinds of beings in the world. That is, the demon wants to be immortal as the god is. The conflict between Vishnu and Varayakasipu in both versions is caused by the demon’s son’s devotion to Vishnu, etc. The demon takes as his foremost enemy. The most important characteristic of the reincarnated son, his sharp tooth, is mentioned in both Thai and Hindu texts. The destined place there, and the time then, the demon is to be killed are also explained in both texts. The Thai version does not only contain the main points similar to the Hindu prototype, but its detailed descriptions are also surprisingly close to the Hindu version. These are the details of the boon Hiranta asks from Siva, the attack made by the executioner to kill Kralathan, whose words of praise for the god, which are almost identical with Prabhā's. Prabhā's words spoken to his father Hiranta assuring him: "Vishnu's omnipresence — "I received my life from Vishnu who is my very being," — seem to echo Prabhā's praise of Vishnu — "Vishnu is the source of my power and is so for all beings, including you." 39 The dramatic moments when Varayakasipu challenges the god’s omnipresence, (and his challenge is at once accepted by Vishnu who comes out of the pillar) are also very

39. "Dharmavait 8.8.7."
The points of difference appearing in the Thai myth of the man-lion demon alike are not all mere interpolations. Some incidents can be said to have been influenced by the Indian tradition. For example the story of the origin of Hiranta's son — Kralîtreas — in the conch-shell of Viṣṇu (unknown to the Hindu prototype) might have been influenced by the origin of Śiva's brother in Viṣṇu's slayer's weapons, as is narrated in some Indian versions of the Mahābhārata. 40 The very severe, even appalling, austerities performed by Hiranta are reminiscent of the austerities performed by Śiva. The Mahābhārata Purāṇa relates that the demon, in his effort to uplift his eyes turned towards the sky. He received standing on the tip of his toes. Then a great heat struck off the demon has performed his colossal austerities for a hundred years. The heat blistered the gods so much that they are forced to tell Prakāśa of the demon's action. 41 The heat continued in the Hindu text; they have been changed to the fire on which Hiranta roasts himself.

Another point of difference in the Thai story is that Hiranta is compared to Viṣṇu once the demon attains full power in the three worlds. In Hindu mythology it is Indra, not Viṣṇu, who is always regarded as the mighty leader of the host of the gods in heaven. If anyone can usurp Indra's throne and can seize his throne, he will be regarded as the most mighty warrior-deity. And Hiranta regards himself to. When Hiranta successful in seizing the kingdom of Indra, all the gods and kings have to attend his court, and to do whatever he orders them to do. Indra, in Thai literature, is quite different from the Hindu Indra. The Thai Indra has rather the characteristics of Suvarṇa/Suvala) of the Buddhist tradition. He is regarded

41. Th. 12.17.1-5.
as a beneficent god rather than as a powerful warrior. It seems
that in Thai literature the Hindu Indra tends to be replaced by
Vigpu who is regarded by the Thais as the stronger and more
militant deity. Vigpu's exploits in each incarnation come to
be regarded by the Thais more as the adventures of a warrior than
as deeds of a world-saviour (except in the Varaha incarnation).
This is the Citrada, who takes himself as being equal to Vigpu,
in the Kambhoja Pan, can force all gods and sages to do what-
ever he wants as if he is, in Hindu terms, Indra, the Lord of
the gods.
PLURAL INCARNATION

At the beginning of this chapter (p.116) it was said that the Lilitönpronoun may refer to the Visnu incarnation in Ch. 11 describes Visnu as having 'thathèkkhamicharade' (as in 'thatèkkamicharade'), which might be rendered as 'kicking feet of fire'. There is difficulty, however, in applying this description as a reference to any special episode in Visnu's life. The aum, or fire element, in the compound links the description more with the Visnu myth. This is because in all Hindu texts or the Visnu myth, Visnu is said to be born as Aditya, the son of Purusa and Aditi, and thus he is connected with fire, especially fire in the sky, i.e. the sun. It is possible that at the time of the composition of the Lilitönpronoun, Visnu in the Visnu was held by the Thais, or by the author of the text, to be connected with the sun god. But since nowhere in Thailand the cult of the sun god, or Visnu as the sun god, is referred to, therefore this speculation remains very uncertain. Moreover, another problem is still extant. Nowhere in Hindu mythology is Visnu in the Visnu form described as kicking, or as killing any demon with his feet. He only strides two, or three, steps, to cover the earth in order to regain it from the demon Bali. The argument can also be advanced that the description in the Lilitönpronoun, 'kicking', is for Visnu who defeats the serpent demon Kaliya by beating his hood with his feet. But this can be rejected because

42. 'Kicking' is a reduplication of a Cambodian word សហ or សហ (viz. weak or thin) meaning 'knock, brush or kick with the foot'.
43. In the early Vedic times the Adityas were six in number and Visnu was not one of them. In later times the number was increased to twelve. Visnu was included. It is likely that this was caused by certain Vedic characteristics of Visnu resembling those of a sun god, whose three 'steps' are his rising, noon, and setting.
44. Harivamsa 47-48; Bhāgavata X.16.
In Hindu mythology, Kṛṣṇa is described as possessing feet of fire.

The Thai myth of the Vāmana incarnation contains the same theme as the Hindu myth, i.e. vast distances are traversed by the three strides of Viṣṇu. Hindu texts go so far as to say that the whole universe is traversed by these three strides (or in some texts, by two only), but in Thai literature this theme is not stated explicitly as it is in the Hindu texts. The Thai myth of Viṣṇu's Vāmana incarnation tends to show the god as a saviour rather than illustrate his encompassing the whole universe. In Hindu mythology Viṣṇu saves the gods only. He helps them from being robbed of their lands by the demons, and helps to make the gods superior to the demons, whereas, in the Thai texts, Viṣṇu's three strides save the whole of mankind. Hereunder is the story of Viṣṇu's Vāmana incarnation in the Royal Press Version of the Nārāyana Sītpātra.

A demon named Tawan obtains a three-yojana-wide forest as a boon from Śiva. The demon Tawan lays it out as a pleasure garden. If any being loses its way into this garden, he eats it. When Śiva gets to know this he orders Viṣṇu to get rid of the demon. Viṣṇu therefore incarnates himself as a very handsome brahmin. He makes himself look attractive to all creatures, men, garudas and demons. Then Viṣṇu comes to the land of the demon Tawan. When the demon sees the handsome brahmin, the demon is very attracted to him. The demon asks the brahmin why he has come there. The brahmin tells the demon that he has been deprived of his abode and so asks the demon to give him some land. The brahmin says, "I do not want much land. I only want a piece of land of three strides in length." The demon Tawan does not realize the truth. He believes that that brahmin really wants to stay there, so he agrees to give him as much land as he was asked for.
Then that brahmin incarnation, by means of his divine power, magnifies his body to be as big as Lord Brahmā. He makes his strides one yojana at a time. By the time that he has made three strides he has covered all the land, three yojanas in width, belonging to the demon Tawān. Then he changes himself to the form of Viṣṇu and drives the demon out of that land. Viṣṇu then goes to sleep on the Ocean of Milk.

The demon Tawān cannot find a place to live. He wanders along until he comes to a city named Nāyar. The demon knows that formerly Indra built this city for his son called Phanta. Now Phanta is dead and that city is deserted. The demon Tawān then goes to Indra and asks the god for permission to stay there. Indra grants the demon what he is asked. Later on the demon grows very proud of his power so that he commits adultery with the goddess Sambhā, who is Indra’s concubine. When Indra finds out about this he is very infuriated and kills the demon Tawān.

There is a difference in the width of the demon’s land described in the different versions of the Nāraṇ Śīr Pāñc. But, textually, the difference is not great. In the Royal Press Version the land is only three yojanas wide, while in the Watcherin Press and the Indian Kit Version it is three hundred yojanas. It is noteworthy that the number three is retained in all versions. This is certainly influenced by the number of Viṣṇu’s steps in Hindu mythology.

In the Thai texts Viṣṇu’s Dwarf incarnation is related not with the main purpose of showing that the whole universe is traversed by the three strides of Viṣṇu, or, in other words, that it is encompassed in his body. In the Nāraṇ Śīr Pāñc Viṣṇu’s three strides cover one part of the world only, i.e. a piece of land belonging to the demon Tawān. This makes it quite clear that the Thai authors used to put more emphasis on Viṣṇu’s saving all beings from the demon, rather than on the greatness of the god’s

These stories, King Rama VII, in Lilit Hāṃi Sir Pāng, gives another reason for the Thai deviation from the Hindu myth of the dwarf incarnation. The king seems to dislike the Thai version very much. He says, “The version is very inferior. We have got only the main story from the Shāstra, and have made up a story of our own around it, but still very inferior thought.” King Rama VII’s reason for his bias is that he has noticed in the stories in the Thai epic, that the demon was only. King Rama VII seems to have believed that this is not an appropriate characteristic for a demon. An animal to be a king. King Rama VII probably preferred the noble qualities of the demon Bali, in the Puranas, who desires to rule over the whole world, not even over the regions of the gods. But it seems that King Rama VII has failed to notice one important point in the literature, i.e., a demon, whether to be conqueror or king, is always described as being fond of eating animals.

Another reason given by King Rama VII in the Lilit Hāṃi Sir Pāng, as he says, “The disagreement of the Thai version of the Vēmaṇa incarnation is that the nobility abolished in the story by the Thai authors is lost. This is because the authors allow the demon Tāvan to be brought and associated to the handsome brahmana and thus, inevitably, to be defeated by him. The Thai authors’ standards of nobility being so low, in the opinion of King Rama VII, can best be explained in two ways. Firstly, the Thai authors might have missed, or misunderstood, the significance of Hindu hospitality towards a guest, especially a brahmana guest. A passage from the story of the Vēmaṇa incarnation described in the Mahābhārata Purāṇa in here quoted in order to illustrate the concept of a good host as practiced by the deity Bali.

As the Tāvan are performing a sacrifice for Bali in the banks of the Sarasvati river, a demon visits Bali in Y辐射 heaven. Bali, who is acquainted with his duty,

47. W. C. C. K., The Coil of the Demon is an exception. He was intentionally created by Līt, to be a good demon. See King Rama VII, Sanskrit, p. 71.
A shoot from his one hand the auspicious water with which
the Buddha's feet have been washed. The Devaraj says,
"Blessed be you, O Brahma! What can we do for you?
Tell me, cultivator, whatever you desire. One of a
Brahma, I conclude you are a suppliant; ask a cow, a
puja, a house, an established house, food and drink, a
wife, her daughter, flourishing villages, horses,
obstacles, and carriages." The Devaraj answers with
some assistance of meditation, as follows, "I ask from you
a square portion of ground, three paces measured step
by step. I desire no more from you. A wise man incurs
no sin, when he asks only as much as he needs." The
Devaraj, though astonished at the smallness of the request,
takes a vessel of water in his hand, and is about to
confer the gift, when Sêtra, his preceptor, seeing
through Visnu's device, tries to dissuade his pupil. In
a long speech Sêtra seeks to show that, rather than be
left destitute, it would be better for Sêtra to break his
vow, but the Devaraj persists in fulfilling his promise,
even though cursed by his preceptor for doing so. With
the stage Visnu strides over the universe; there is
no longer for him to take a third. The devaraj Sêtra
offers his hand as a place for Visnu's feet. Later on the
devaraj goes to stay in the Pâlîka world. 49

It must have been difficult for the Thai authors, who were not
accustomed to the Hindu principle of hospitality towards a brahmin,
both in regard to the brahmin's behaviour. Therefore they appear to have
changed this to a merely superficial attraction as described in the
Thai books.

Secondly, there is a strange concept in Thai literature that a young
lady is always described as both an attractive yet also a pitiful
figure. This may seem to contradict the above passage, but it is
not an instance. In Thai literature, it is the handsome appearance
of a brahmin that attracts people. A brahmin, even one who has
just arrived from a distant place, is not regarded by the Thais to be
just a simple man: the brahmin for any kind of alas. In most Thai
books, which have existed from the Ayuthya period, whenever a
hero or heroine wants to escape for a while from some menacing

49. See note 1143, 19.70-32; 19.69-75; 20.2-15; 20.30-34; 22.1-5.
First, he or she will disguise himself or herself as a young brahmin boy, and so doing, he or she will obtain pity and protection from people who see him or her. This concept continued until the Phra Sri period. For example, from the Ayutthaya period: In a temple called Phra Athi Phra Sri, Phra Athi transformed his daughter, Vīparikā, into the form of a brahmin boy. After he has rescued her from being killed by her mother-in-law, Phra Athi thinks that this is the best thing for her to do that she will be safe. Later on, Vīparikā's mother-in-law is bitten by a poisonous snake and loses consciousness.

Vīparikā, as a brahmin, volunteers to cure her mother-in-law. She is called to the palace. Then Phra Manī Phichai, her husband, comes back, he is attracted by her appearance as a brahmin, and the princess thinks that the disguised brahmin may be none other than his wife Vīparikā. And from the Rattanakosin period: Mithān Raklin, called Phra Athi Phichai, a famous poetical tale, composed by Sunthron Suwan (1726-1828), the most renowned poet of this genre, relates that Phra Suwan, the brother of Phra Athi Phichai, disguises himself as a brahmin and is driven out of his kingdom with Phra Athi Phichai. It happens as follows.

Phra Suwan wanders along with Phra Athi Phichai, and they come to meet three young brahmans together. Later on, Phra Athi Phichai is kidnapped by the Phī Sū'ā Suwan, and Phra Suwan is left alone with the three young brahmans. While searching for Phra Athi Phichai, Phra Suwan and the three brahmans come to a city called Somakhāli. Before they enter the city, the three brahmans advise Phra Suwan to disguise himself as a brahmin too. Phra Suwan does so, and as a young brahmin, he attracts all the people of the Somakhāli city and gains a lot of pity and attention. In the end, the princess of that city hears of him and arranges to see him at her palace. They become lovers and in the end are married to each other.

This strange concept in Thai literature might, unconsciously, have been interwoven into the Thai version of Viṣṇu's Vāmana incarnation.

\[\text{Footnotes:}\]

This explanation is, at the very least, as good as that of King Rama VI, who attributed the deviation from the Hindu myth of the Vāman incarnation simply to low moral standards among Thai authors.

One similarity between the Hindu and the Thai Vāman incarnation myth is that the demon is not killed by Viṣṇu. The demon is driven out from his place and goes to stay elsewhere. In the case of the Hindu version, he goes to a subterranean realm. In the Narāi Sip Pāng the demon goes to stay at a city called Māyan which was formerly created by Indra for the god's own son. Later on in the Thai text the demon is killed by Indra for committing adultery with the god’s concubine. It can be said that this part of the story in the Narāi Sip Pāng is influenced by an episode from the Rāmāyaṇa. It is related in the fourth chapter or the Kīṣkiṇḍha Kanda of the Rāmāyaṇa that, while Rāma and Angada are searching for Sītā along the Vindhyā Mountains, they come to a place called Vṛksavīla. This is the garden of a Dānava. It is a very beautiful garden which was formerly created by a demon named Maya. Later on the Demon Maya dares to commit adultery with the goddess Hemā. Indra is very angry and therefore kills the demon. In the Narāi Sip Pāng the name of the demon Maya is changed to the name of the city Māyan. The adultery between the demon and the goddess which is the cause of the slaughter of the demon by Indra is retained in the Narāi Sip Pāng. What is different is that the demon Maya in the Rāmāyaṇa is confused by the Thais to be the same as Bali and thus he is identified with the demon Tāwan in the Narāi Sip Pāng.

As for the name of the demon Tāwan instead of Bali in the Thai texts this is still a puzzle. In Thai the word tāwan can be used to give the meaning of 'the sun' (literally 'the eye of the day', cf also Malay-Indonesian 'mata-hari' with the same meaning). It might be said that the demon is the representative of a sun god, and so this

51. Rāmāyaṇa IV 50-51.
myth might be the story of the rivalry between Viṣṇu and a sun god. But this hypothesis seems to be too far-fetched. In fact, in certain interpretations, Viṣṇu himself, also takes the role of a sun god, whose three steps represent his rising, noon, and setting. However, the name Bali is not completely absent in Thailand. It exists in Thai astrology as a guardian spirit of the land. King Rama VI identifies this Krang Phaļ, or King Bali, with the demon Bali of Hindu mythology. The king explains that an astrologer invokes Bali as one of the guardian spirits of the land because Bali had ruled the world before, and had been granted a boon by Viṣṇu to come back and rule the world again in future. So Bali is the real owner of the land. In a book on astrology called Phrommacht Chabap Luang, the name Bali is also connected with the land. But here it is the name of a city which is ruled by King Thotsarat (as if Desarāja), whose nine sons are the guardian spirits of the world. It is possible that the demon Bali as ruler of the whole world, as he is in Viṣṇu's Viṣṇu incarnation myth, was once known to the Thais through the Cambodians. The Cambodians too regard Bali (Krön Pāli) as the creator, or the proprietor, of the world. There are abundant Cambodian myths on this subject. Like Bali in Hindu mythology, the Cambodian Krön Pāli does not later on own the world he created. In Hindu texts Bali had to give the whole world to Viṣṇu, in the form of Viṣṇu, who came 14 with his three strides. In Cambodian myth

55. There are two myths about Bali in the Phrommachat Chabap Luang: the one that has been mentioned above, and another one which has a great deal of similarity to a Bali myth related in the Lilit Marai Sip Chine of King Ram VI. Of these two, the composition of the Lilit Marai Sip Chine preates the compilation of the Phrommachat Chabap Luang. It is clear that King Ram VI has relied upon Hindu sources for this Lilit Marai Sip Chine version.
It is said, who is described as being, by the name known as Vishnu, the supreme of all the gods. Though Vishnu appears in the Cambodian myth, in the place of Vishnu, the Hindu influence in the Cambodian story is not clearly seen. But the Cambodians insert an interpretation into this myth. It is related in the Cambodian myth that Bura-Who-Talks-agrees to give the whole world to Buddha, he asks the latter to let him have offerings given at the beginning of any ceremony. Lord Buddha is granted what he requests. That is why Brahmi is invoked by the Cambodians, not just at the beginning of the consecration of any building because he is the guardian spirit of the land (as in case by the Thais), but also at the beginning of every ceremony about to be performed, such as the making of an image of Buddha, the binding of a baby's hair, and weddings. It seems that the Dan-Phal of the Cambodians may be confused with the Amon Phakphattana with some similarity. In the Royal Press Version of the Ramakien, Brahmi is described as being born at the same time as the Earth. This accords well with one of the Cambodian myths that a child is born to the world offering made after the world was created. After that, the god gives him to become a king. Brahmi also has a zone about in the world eating offerings made after another performs any auspicious ceremony. (See full story p. 42). In the Ramakien, the gods in the world become related more to astrology and celestial rites to do with land. The final stage is that Buri is added exclusively with astrology. This might have caused the need for a new one for the demon who is driven out from his land by Vishnu.
Vippa’s Bodhisatta incarnation myth in Thai literature is a Sāvaka one. This is in fact well-known, because it is combined with the myth of Siva’s destruction of Tripura, this myth in the Thēt Sīm Bophi, though it is not explicitly given in the Sāvaka purāṇas, has already been referred to the Bodhisatta Vippa. (See, 64f.). A puruṣa is called for here, however, and the absence of Sākya in this incarnation. In the Thēt Sīm Bophi the subject of Sākya, and of his doctrine’s being a heretical one, is not mentioned, whilst it is replaced by just a Buddhist monk (Samudrī, Sākya; Sambhī, Sākya). And his preaching, which turns Tripura into a Buddhist convert, does not appear in the Thōk text either. In the Thēt Sīm Bophi, (Watkhain From, Watkhain Foun) Tripura is described as being impressed by the solemnity of the act and therefore gives the Sāvakaas as aims to the monk. This act is interpreted by the Thai authors as Tripura’s act of renouncing his Buddhist faith, and so his destruction by the god is justified. The reason, by the main point of this myth, in Thai literary works, is shifted from Vippa’s Bodhisatta incarnation to Siva’s destruction of Tripura one. This is explained by the strong hold that Buddhism had over the people of this country long before the importing of this myth. On the other hand, it is still possible, of course, that the myth in the present text, i.e., Siva’s destruction of Tripura mixed with Vippa’s incarnation as Bodhisatta, has been the only form known to the Thais all long.

This is not to say that all the myths of Vippa’s Bodhisatta or Sāvaka incarnation in the Sīm Bophi, the Maraj, or in very Vīppa Ves, besides this myth, hold that this Thēt Sīm Bophi remains similar to the “Thai prototype” with all the other myths are either altered or rewritten. But in the Thēt Sīm Bophi, the Bodhisatta incarnation of Vippa, this myth plays still an important part to play in Thai literature. Yet his complete form is still retained, while those of the fish and the god’s story are totally forgotten. Yet there is, interestingly enough.

an attempt to link this myth with the origin of the present capital of Thailand. This appears at the end of the myth when Vigna creates a city called ‘Thom’ in the ‘City of Vigna’ and crowns the son of the ‘Vigna Dynasty’ as the First King of that city. 58: It is possible that the part of the Vigna’s myth has been influenced by the story of the founding of Ayutthaya and the race of Rama related in Vigna’s Varāha incarnation. 59: In the Varāha myth the first ancestor of Rama, i.e. the Rama, is described as having close connection with Vigna, in that he is born in the lotus arising from the navel of Vigna. 59: Moreover, his capital Ayutthaya is also founded through Siva’s grace 60: so that Vigna’s myth has a divine origin too. The author of the Watcharin Press Version of the Mānasī Sangītā might have been impressed by this myth and might have taken Vigna’s capital Ayutthaya to be the same as Thailand’s capital of the same name. Thom should have wanted to claim a divine origin, especially, in Vigna and his grace, for Thom, too. The connection between Vigna and the donor Vigna’s son, Vignātha (i.e. the little one created from Vigna’s conch shell), which is already present in the Nārada myth, might have made the author of the Watcharin Press Version of the Mānasī Sangītā interpolate the account of the founding of Ayutthaya by the god Vigna into this myth. But this interpolation in the Nārada myth is nowhere referred to or discussed in Thailand. Therefore it must be said that it is the idea of the author of the Watcharin Press Version of the Mānasī Sangītā alone.

58. \textit{\textcolor{red}{\textbf{補}}.}
59. \textit{\textcolor{red}{\textbf{補}}.}
60. \textit{\textcolor{red}{\textbf{補}}}.
Parasurama is nowhere in Thai literature described as an incarnation of Visnu. It is possible that the main purport of this incarnation as described in Hindu mythology, cannot be accepted by the Thais. In the Hindu texts the Parasurama incarnation is for the purpose of exterminating the Kshatriya caste. He is said to have cleared the earth of the Ksatryas twenty times, and to have given the earth to Brahmins. The Indian story of the struggle for supremacy between the Ksatryas and the Brahmins, which ends with the great defeat of the Ksatryas, would scarcely have been conceivable in Thai terms. The Brahmins in Thailand, such as they are (see p. 319), have never been powerful at all. It has always been the Ksatryas, i.e. the king and the nobility, who were more powerful and superior to the Thai Brahmins. However, the story of Parasurama is not wanting in Thai literature. There are two episodes of the Hindu Parasurama myth related in the Thai Ranakian: the story of his fighting with Rama; and the story of his conflict with Arjuna Kartavirya.

The account of Parasurama's fighting with Rama in the Thai Ranakian is quite similar to the narration in Valmiki's Ramayana. In the Ranakian the story is shorter, and there is no mention of the rivalry between Siva's followers and Visnu's worshippers as in the Ramayana. The Ranakian relates:

When Rama is travelling with his bride Sita on his way from Kithila to Ayuthya he encounters Ramasun (as if Ramastra) who is roaming for pleasure in the forest. Ramasun, who is normally described as an aggressive demon, challenges Rama to fight with him. Rama accepts his challenge, and a fight follows. In the end Ramasun surrenders.
because he cannot defeat Rāma, and he also sees
the true form of Rāma, i.e. his god figure with
four arms. Rāmaśūna then presents to Rāma his bow,
which was given by Śiva to his grandfather a long
time ago.

In Vālāki's Rāmāyaṇa Parāśurāma, who has heard of Rāma's
process in breaking Śiva's bow at King Janaka's court,
comes to meet Bṛṣaratha and Rāma on their way back to
Ayutthya. Parāśurāma does not accept Rāma's power whole-
heartedly because Rāma can subdue only Śiva's bow, which
is generally regarded by the gods to be inferior to Viṣṇu's
bow. Parāśurāma then narrates to Rāma a long story of the
rivalry between Śiva and Viṣṇu in the old days. Rāma now
has to bend Viṣṇu's bow which Parāśurāma has brought with
him. This bow of Viṣṇu's was given to his grandfather by
the god himself. Rāma bends the bow, and fits an arrow to
the string. Rāma then asks for a target for his arrow. He
lets Parāśurāma choose between Parāśurāma's aerial abodes
which are very splendid and Parāśurāma's superhuman capacity
of movement, which he has accumulated after practising long
penance. By then Parāśurāma has recognized Rāma as an in-
carnation of Viṣṇu and offers his abodes to Rāma to shoot.
He then presents to Rāma Viṣṇu's bow, which Rāma makes over
into the hand of the god Varuṇa.

The Ramakīan does not mention Viṣṇu's bow as possessed by
Parāśurāma at all. On the contrary, the bow belonging to
Rāmaśūna in the Thai text is described as having been handed
down in his family by Śiva. This accords well with the whole
narration of the Ramakīan where divine weapons are described
as being created by Śiva. The account of rivalry between Śiva's
followers and Viṣṇu's never occurs in the Ramakīan where Śiva
is described as the supreme god throughout.

1. Phra Dīt Somdet Phra Phuttha Yāg Pa Chulā Lōk (King Rama I),
2. Rāmāyaṇa II.75.
Parasūrāma's conflict with Arjuna Kartavīrya in the Rāmāyana is very different from the Hindu story. In the Rāmāyana, it is confused with the myth of the conflict between the rain god Parjanya and Rāmasūn (or the demon with the axe). It is related in the Rāmāyana that once, when all the gods and the goddesses were dancing in the festival of the rainy season, the demon Rāmasūn behaved as a trouble-maker. He pursued the goddesses and caused tumultuous disorder. Then he turned to pursue a goddess called Manimekhalā alone. While he was so doing, a god named Qrachun (Arjuna) came along that way. Rāmasūn, who was quarrelsome, challenged Qrachun to single combat. Qrachun, who boasted that he had once bound Rāvana himself, accepted Rāmasūn's challenge. But he was no match for Rāmasūn. The demon succeeded in the end in taking hold of Qrachun's feet and smashing him into the Meru Mountain. The mountain was tipped off its balance and Qrachun was killed.*

In Hindu mythology Arjuna Kartavīrya is not a god, but a king of the Haihaya tribe. He oppresses both men and gods so that the gods appeal to Visnu for refuge. Visnu then incarnates himself as Parasūrāma in order to kill him. The account of Parasūrāma's killing Arjuna Kartavīrya related in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa is as follows:

Kartavīrya visits the hermitage of Jamadagni, Parasūrāma's father, when Parasūrāma is absent. The sage's wife receives the king well with all respect. But Kartavīrya makes an ill return for her hospitality. He carries off with him the calf of the milch cow of the sacred oblation, and casts down the tall trees of the hermitage. When Parasūrāma returns to his abode his father tells him what has happened. He is very angry. He takes up his bow and goes to fight with Kartavīrya. Parasūrāma cuts off the thousand arms of Kartavīrya and kills him with sharp arrows.*

The link between Arjuna Kartavirya in the Hindu myth and Qrachun in the Thai Ramakian is Qrachun’s reference to his fight with Rāvana. In the Ramakian when Qrachun first meets Rāmūn he boasts that he once captured and bound Rāvana. The episode of this fight in the Ramakian is as follows:

While Rāvana is staying with the sage Goputra as the latter’s pupil, Qrachun, whose abode is the peak of the Khiri Chakrawān Mountain, has quarrelled with him. Qrachun is angry with Rāvana who has entered his beautiful garden without asking permission to do so. They fight and Qrachun fires the arrows of snakes at Rāvana and thus binds him. He then carries the defeated off as prisoner and flies around exhibiting his victim before the world. But Qrachun releases him later on at the request of Goputra.*

This myth in the Ramakian accords well with the story of the same subject in the Vālmīki Ramayana. In the Uttara Kanda of the Ramayana Rāvana has his quarrel with Arjuna Kartavirya at the Ganges River. Rāvana is bound by Arjuna and carried to Mahiśā, Arjuna’s capital. Pulastya, Rāvana’s father, seeks from the gods the misfortune of Rāvana. He goes to Mahiśā and requests Arjuna to release Rāvana. Arjuna does so and they become friends.*

The episode in the Ramakian, in which Qrachun flies with the captured Rāvana and exhibits him before the world, seems to have been influenced by the story of the fight between Rāvana and Vālī in the Uttara Kanda of the Ramayana. It is related there that Rāvana disturbs Vālī who is performing his Sandhyā rite at the Dakṣiṇa ocean. Vālī carries away Rāvana under his arm by force and flies around the world exhibiting him.*

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6. Ramayana VII. 37.
7. Ibid., VII. 39.
In Thai literature Arjuna Kartavirya is confused with a god called Parjanya. As a Vedic deity, Parjanya is the rain-god or rain personified. In later times he is regarded as the guardian deity of clouds and rain, and the name is applied to Indra. The Thais call this god Prachun (spelling pra-juna which is derived from Pali Pajjuna). The second element — jurya — of the word causes confusion to the Thais and thus Prajuna is confused with Arjuna. The reason why this Arjuna is thought to be the same as Parjanya, and not the hero from the Mahabharata, is that Parasurama is in turn confused, in Thai literature, with a demon called Ramsun who is connected with the rainy season.

The word Parasurama hardly appears in Thai literature. It is mostly replaced by the word Ramsun, the name of the thunder god. In Thai literature Ramsun is always mentioned together with the goddess Maninekhalā, the goddess of lightning. Ramsun always holds an axe which he throws at the jewel of the goddess. The goddess always plays with her jewel in the sky in the rainy season, and the flashing of her jewel is thought by the Thais to be the same as lightning. In the same way, the crashing of Ramsun’s axe striking the clouds is thought to be thunder. Phraya Anuman Rājadhon and M. Sylvain Levi have the idea that the cult of Ramsun as the demon of thunder, and Maninekhalā as the goddess of lightning, is Thai, and that it was believed in Thailand long before the arrival of the Hindu Parasurama myth. The names of the couple may well, primarily, not have been Ramsun and Maninekhalā. These names were given to them only after the Indian characters of Parasurama and Maninekhalā came to be known in Thailand.*

There is evidence that, by the year 1392, Parasurama as a figure in Hindu mythology was known in Thailand. In the invocation to the gods and the heroes of old time, in the Sukhothai inscription No. 45, Rama-parasu (sic.) is invoked along with Bhima, Arjuna, Yudhiṣṭhīra, Rama and Lakṣmaṇa.*

In this inscription the goddess Maṇimekhalā is not mentioned at all, even though some other female figures, such as Uma and the Kinnarīs, are referred to. But it is the name only, Parasurama, which appears in the inscription, nothing of the myths relating to him being mentioned there. However, it is likely that at that time Parasurama had not yet been identified with Ramaśun, the demon of thunder.

Whether the myth of Parasurama existed during the Ayutthya period or not is uncertain because he is not mentioned in any text of that period. Similarly, Ramaśun does not appear in any literary works composed during that time either. But it is possible that stories of either Parasurama or Ramaśun may have been related in some parts of the Ramaśan of the Ayutthya period which are now missing.

It is noteworthy that while the Ayutthya texts are silent on the subject of Ramaśun, some of them contain the story of Maṇimekhalā, his rival. But it seems that Maṇimekhalā of the Ayutthya texts, is yet again different from the goddess of lightning of the Ramaśan of the Ratanakosin period. In a non-canonical Jātaka tale, the Puraṇāṅkabilaraja Jātaka compiled in the Puraṇāṅsa Jātaka, composed during the Ayutthya period (1457-1657), Maṇimekhalā is described as a goddess who rows her 84,000 golden boats on the ocean in the kingdom of the Bodhisattva, who at that time had been born as the ruler of a city called Puraṇāṅkabila. The description of this kingdom reminds one very much of the abode of Indra.

The characteristic of Mañīmekha in this Jātaka, i.e. being a retinue of an Indra-like king, has an element similar to the Mañīmekha of the Trai Phum Phra Ruang. In that text Mañīmekha is also described as one of the multitude of Indra's goddesses. But here she does not row any boat, but blows a big conch shell called Phichai (Vijaya). It is possible that Mañīmekha in these two texts comes from the same source.

In two other Jātaka tales of the Pannāsa Jātaka, i.e. Samudraghosa and Candraśāja Jātaka, Mañīmekha is the guardian of the ocean. She is appointed by the Cakula-kapāla, or the four guardians of the world, to protect and save the lives of various beings who are in distress in the ocean. This account of Mañīmekha in the Thai non-canonical Jātakas is very similar to that in the Mipata Jātaka. In the Mahājanakā Jātaka (No. 539) and Sankha Jātaka (No. 442) the Bodhisattva is described as being saved from the sea by Mañīmekha, the guardian of the ocean.

In both Mipata Jātakas mentioned above the Bodhisattva meets with misfortune when he is travelling to Saravabhūmi, or the land of Gold, which is said to be the area of Burma and Thailand. This seems to imply that Mañīmekha is the guardian of the sea between India and the Malay Peninsula. This accords well with the extant evidence. There is no mention of Mañīmekha, the goddess of the ocean, in any Sanskrit text, not even in the Mahāvastu where the story of the Bodhisattva's being saved from the sea by a samudrādevatā — the ocean god —

is mentioned. In addition to the Pali text, reference to this goddess appears in Tamil and Sinhalese texts only. In the famous Tamil literary work called Manimekhalai, the goddess Manimekhala is referred to under the Tamil name Manimekhalai. She is the guardian of the ocean as well as the guardian angel of the heroine. She helps the heroine, also named Manimekhalai (Manimekalai), by carrying her to a sacred island called Manipalavam, and thus saves her from abduction by Prince Udaya, who has fallen in love with her. In a Sinhalese text called Rājāvaliya, a historical work of the 17th century, there is the narration of how Vihamadevi, the mother of the Singhalese national hero Dutthagamini, is offered by her father as a sacrifice to appease the wrath of the sea-gods, and of how she is safely brought by the goddess Manimekhalai across the sea to Rāgama, where she finds a husband.

However, neither the Thai texts nor the Indian texts mentioned above refer to Manimekhalai as the goddess of lightning. There are two possible hypotheses to account for this form of the goddess. One, suggested by Phraya Anuman Rajadhon and H. Sylvain Levi, is that in Thailand the cult of the goddess of lightning had existed already for a very long time, and later on the Indian name was transferred to the Thai goddess. The other hypothesis is that, at the time of the Ayuthya texts mentioned above (1657) Manimekhalai was still the guardian of the ocean and had not yet been linked with Rāmabhadra.

Manimekhala as the guardian of the sea is also retained in the literary works of the Ratanakosin period where the name Manimekhala is already applied to the goddess of lightning. The story of Manimekhala, lightning personified, has already been mentioned above in the reference to Ramaśun in the Rāmakītan (p.157). The account of the sea-guardian Manimekhala also appears in the Rāmakītan (of King Rama I). It is narrated there that Manimekhala, together with other deities, came to protect the baby Sītā when she had been put in a crystal box and thrown into the sea on the orders of Rāvana, her father.*17

The reason behind the Thai identification of the Indian Parasūrāma and Manimekhala with the Thai Ramaśun and Manimekhala can be explained as follows. In the case of Manimekhala it is the word ‘mani’ which attracts the imagination of the Thais. The Thais must have assumed that, because of the presence of the word for ‘jewel’ in her name, the Indian goddess of the sea also possesses a jewel, as does the Thai goddess. The resemblance between Parasūrāma and Ramaśun is that both of them carry an axe as their weapon. As for the reason why Parasūrāma, who is a Brahmin was misunderstood by the Thais to be a demon, this is explained by King Rama VI in the Rāmakītan. The king’s explanation is that the Thais call Parasūrāma an ‘asura’ by confusing the word ‘nyaksa’ (meaning ‘demon’, an epithet given to Parasūrāma because, although a Brahmin, he was irate and fierce) with the word ‘yaksha’.*18 This misunderstanding might have been another reason for the Thais identifying Parasūrāma with a Thai axe-bearing demon of thunder.

In the *Hari Sin Pnom* (Royal Press Version) a being called Prarotramasun is described as being created by Siva at the beginning of the world. His name is listed immediately after the name of the sea-guardian Manimekhala. This shows that the first step in identifying Parasurama with Ramasun is that the pronunciation of the word Parasurama is changed according to the Thai system to Prarotramasun. Firstly, the word 'asura' (the two final syllables — asun) is added to indicate the nature of this being. Secondly, by dropping the pronunciation of the final short 'u' vowel in the name, the Thai form parot will be derived, with the syllable 'rot' being short. For some reason which is not yet clear, this 'rot' syllable was lengthened into 'rot'. Thirdly, a very common prefix in both Thai and Khaer, 'pra' is substituted for the simple 'pa' initial. The final form which emerges is thus 'pra-rot-'. The next step must have been the splitting of the word Prarotramasun into Prarot and Ramasun. Ramasun was then identified with the Thai demon of thunder. A myth had to be invented for Prarot. However, it can be seen from the Ramakian that Prarot is none other than Ramasun. The Ramakian describes Prarot as a demonish god (asura-devaputra). His main characteristic is somewhat similar to that of Ramasun. Both of them chase after the goddess Manimekhala whenever they see her playing with her bright jewel in the sky in the rainy season. Sometimes both Prarot and Ramasun appear in the same episode doing the same thing. It is narrated in the Ramakian that it was the rainy season when Bharata was travelling back to Ayuthya, after he had finished his battle with the king of Maliwan. Then the goddess Manimekhala came out from her celestial palace to sing and dance with her bright jewel.

19. a, i, u is often dropped: ratha — rot; dasa — thot; vuthi — vut; sachi — sut; hoto — hot; hotu — het.

20. Perhaps in Khaer, where the inherent vowel is long, e.g. possible analogy with Narada — नरोत in Thai rather than नरोत, and parada — Thai parot.

21. e.g. pairs such as phasom — prasom; phasa — prase etc.
jewel in the sky. The god Parōt, who could see her from his palace, had great desire for her jewel. He took up his bow, came out from his palace, and pursued the goddess. In the meantime Rāmasūn, who was roaming in the clouds, saw Manīmēkhālā being chased by Parōt. He too wanted that jewel so he joined Parōt in pursuing Manīmēkhālā. But neither of them was able to win that jewel from the goddess.*22 It must be concluded that this story was inserted in the Rāmakīn after the splitting of the word Prarōtrāmasūn had occurred.

The absence of the Kalki incarnation in Thai literature is highly likely to be due to the Buddhist concept of Maitreya Buddha who is the Buddha yet to come. The earliest Thai literary work where Maitreya Buddha is referred to is the *Trai Phum Phra Ruang* (1343 A.D.). In the preface of that text Phra Srī Ariya Maitrī (he is mostly known as Phra Si Ān in Thailand) is mentioned in order to attribute religious value to the text. The preface says: if any one has a desire for heaven and nirvana he should listen carefully to the *Trai Phum Phra Ruang*. He must not be careless in his life. Then he will meet Phra Si Ān when he comes to his enlightenment in this world.*23* Mention of Maitreya Buddha as propaganda for this text shows that the concept of this Buddha had been widely spread in Thailand, long before the time of the text itself. However, the text does not describe what the world will be like after the ministry of Phra Si Ān. Four hundred years later, the Buddhist Utopia of Phra Si Ān is described fully in a Thai Buddhist literary text called *Phra Malai Kham Luang* composed by Prince Thammathibet, a son of King Prathomkot. The condition of Phra Si Ān's world as described in this text is similar to the world in the Kṛta Age of the Hindu texts. That is the time when religion which has deteriorated is made pure again. The ethics of the righteous are restored. Men do not lack any need and they live happily because of their own good merits. In this same text the arrival of Phra Si Ān at the end of the dark age is also described.

The time will come when the religion of Gautama Buddha is 5000 years old. There will be the cessation

of all religious rites. Men will have no morality in their sexual life. They will cohabit with members of the same family as if they were animals. They will fight with each other until the earth is flooded by blood. But some wise men will hide themselves in the forest and follow the meritorious path. They will survive. The rest will be killed. Then there will be a partial dissolution of the world. Phra Si An will then come to the world which is to be full of happiness and righteousness.*24

The change from evil to good with the coming of Maitreya Buddha finds its counterpart in the Hindu texts. An example from the Visnu Purana can be quoted.

Unable to support their avaricious kings, the people of the Kali Age will take refuge in the chasms between mountains, and they will eat honey, vegetables, roots, fruits, leaves, and flowers.*25

But unlike the Buddhist texts, the Hindu texts do not mention the partial dissolution of the world before the time of Kalki. Actually Kalki will come when the Kali Age is not completely over. He will come then to mark the beginning of the Krita Age or the Golden Age. The Visnu Purana relates:

When Vedic religion and the dharma of the瓦-books have undergone total confusion and reversal and the Kali Age is almost exhausted, then a part of the Creator of the entire universe will become incarnate here in the universe in the form of Kalki, endowed with the eight supernatural powers, in the house of Vishnu, the chief brahmin of the village Sambala. Kalki will punish the wicked, reward the good, and restore the ethics of the Golden Age.*26

It is certain that the Buddhist picture of the world at the junction of the Dark Age and the Golden Age, as described in

26. Ibid.
the Phra mbai Khon Luang, has long been established in Thai literature, and has been so popular that it gave no opportunity for the emergence of the Hindu story on the same subject.

It cannot be said for certain, however, that the Thais totally omitted the Kalki incarnation myth. In the Narai Si Phaen (Royal Press Version) an incarnation of Visnu has characteristics somewhat similar to Kalki. This incarnation is called Thulaki (as if BulakI). It is related in the text that in this incarnation Visnu takes the form of a human being with two hands. He also rides on a horse when he comes to vanquish the demon who is troubling the world. But in the Thai text Visnu takes upon himself this man incarnation, only in order to kill a demon horse, not to save the world from its total annihilation. The story in the Narai Si Phaen goes.

In one of the Treta Yuga a Brahman called Angkhut is described as being jealous of Brahma the Creator. He thus oppresses all the other Brahmas in their world. Siva, who is very angry at Angkhut's deed, fights with him and with his earring cuts off Angkhut's head and kills him. Angkhut is reborn as a horse called Kanthaka which is very powerful and wicked-minded. It oppresses all the three worlds until they are sorely distressed. Siva then asks Visnu to get rid of the demon horse. Visnu incarnates himself in the form of a man with two hands named ThulakI Avatah. He holds an umbrella in his left hand and a whip in his right hand. He rides on the back of Thewa Kanthat, a horse which possesses wings. ThulakI, on horseback, flies down to the foot of Kailasa where he can find the demon horse Kanthaka. He fights with the horse, which after a mighty battle with the god, flees and hides itself on the bank of the Sindhu. There it accidentally meets a sage named Satchanalai who is wandering about looking for fruits as food. The demon Kanthaka, through its vicious character, bites the sage's

27. See Note No. 1 on p. 11.
head off and eats it as its food. At that moment Thulakí Avatārah arrives there on his horse. He strikes the demon horse with his whip and cuts its head off. Thulakí then restores the sage to life by fixing to his body the head of the horse demon in the place of his own eaten head. That is why the sage has the face of a horse. Then the god gives to the sage the magic umbrella and the whip and also the Vedic prayers for taming all ill-natured and unyielding horses. Thereupon the sage is named Iṣi Kauñāyaka and becomes a horse expert from then on.

It is true that the difference between the Thai Thulakí and the Hindu Kalki are greater than the similarities between them. But it can still be said that the Thulakí myth has some common basis in the myths relating to Visnu in Hindu mythology. The demon horse Kanthaka might have been a reminiscence of the horse demon Kesi who is destroyed by Krsna. It is related in the Narivamśa that Kesi is an ally of Kansa, Krsna's chief foe. Krsna breaks Kesi's mouth by his enlarged arms. The sage who obtains a horse-head might be influenced by an iconographical form of Kalki described in the Hindu texts. The image of Kalki should, according to the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa, have the face of a horse and the body of a man with four hands. The Āgni Purāṇa agrees with this text and adds that Kalki should ride on a horse. The Thais might have taken this image to be a different figure in Hindu mythology and might have borrowed the theme of the changed head from the Ganesa myth and integrated it with the destruction of the horse demon by Krsna.

On the other hand the Thulakí myth in the Nārāi Sip Pāng might have been reminiscent of a Hayagrīva myth in Hindu

31. Ibid.
mythology. The demon horse Kanthaka might have had its prototype in a demon with a horse neck — Hayagrīva. The change of the sage Satchanālai's head for a horse's head might have been influenced by the account of Viṣṇu's head being replaced by a horse's head in the same myth. The story in the Deviḥbhagavata Purāṇa goes:

A demon named Hayagrīva practised tapas on the bank of river Sarasvatī for a thousand years. Then Devī appeared to him and granted him a boon, which he had asked for, that he would not be killed by anyone but a Hayagrīva — he who has a horse neck. The demon Hayagrīva, on receiving such a boon, became very haughty and over-confident, and went about oppressing the three worlds. At first Viṣṇu and the gods failed to defeat him. Viṣṇu then decided to rest for some time to regain his strength. During his rest his head was hit by the end of his own bow and the head was severed from the trunk. Viṣṇu replaced the head thus lost with that of a horse and killed the demon Hayagrīva.\(^{32}\)

The Thail might have taken the Hayagrīva form of Viṣṇu to be a character different from Viṣṇu and might have linked it with a horse export. However, it is submitted that the element of the saviour on horse-back in the Thulakī myth has been influenced by the Kalki cult.

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32. Deviḥbhagavata Purāṇa, 1.5. 5-30; 74-100.
In Hindu mythology no account of any incarnation of Viṣṇu as a buffalo is extant. Nor is there a story of the same god's slaying of a demon buffalo thereby. The only renowned myth relating to a demon buffalo in Hindu texts is the story of the destruction of a demon called Mahiṣa (Buffalo) by the goddess Durgā. The myth of the goddess's fighting against Mahiṣa is fully described in the Devibhāgavata Purāṇa.

The text says:

A demon named Mahiṣa is the son of the demon Rambah who obtained a boon from the Fire god that Rambah will have a son, who is more powerful than his father. This son will be born from any female of whichever species Rambah cohabits with. Rambah cohabits with a she-buffalo and a son emerges from her womb from the midst of the funeral pyre of Rambah, which the she-buffalo has entered as an act of sati. This son of Rambah is an expert in Maya. He can change his body to any form he likes. The demon Mahiṣa always appears in a human form. He will assume the form of a buffalo whenever he wants to show his prowess.

Then the demon desires to be immortal. He goes to perform a very severe and excellent penance at Sumeru Mountain. Brahmā is pleased with him. The god comes down from heaven to where the demon is. But the god cannot grant him immortality. So the demon Mahiṣa asks Brahmā to grant him a boon that only women can cause his death. When the demon has obtained the boon from Brahmā he becomes very proud of himself. He wants to rule heaven, and so he wages war against the gods. The gods fight fiercely against the demon, but they are driven away from heaven by Mahiṣa in the form of a lion.

Mahiṣa then takes possession of Indra's abode. The gods therefore seek Viṣṇu's refuge. Viṣṇu recommends them to create a goddess out of the collective energy of all the gods. This goddess will be able to destroy the demon Mahiṣa. So a goddess is created out of the energy of all the gods. She too, like the demon Mahiṣa, can assume
different forms at will. The goddess has eighteen hands and rides on a lion. From their own weapons all the gods create weapons for her. When the demon Mahīṣa hears of her he wants her to be his queen. The goddess refuses his proposal. She tells him that her husband is the great god Śiva. The goddess challenges the demon Mahīṣa to fight instead. The demon assumes many forms to fight against the goddess. He is killed, in the end, by the goddess when he assumes the form of a human being.*33

The Thai myth of the demon buffalo has only one element in common with the Hindu one, viz. the presence of a demon buffalo who has enough power to oppress even the gods. He is referred to by the Thai word for 'mahīṣa' (mahīna). What is really odd is that in the Thai texts Viṣṇu too assumes the form of a buffalo when he kills the demon. Hereunder is the story of the demon buffalo in the Watcharin Press Version of the Narai Sir Pāng.

A demon Brahma is jealous of Brahma the Creator. He finishes his life as a brahma and is reborn in the human world as a fierce buffalo. He comes every day to try his strength against the foot of Sumeru Mountain until the mountain's foot tumbles down. When Śiva knows of the happening he orders Viṣṇu to kill the demon buffalo. Viṣṇu incarnates himself as a wild buffalo named Mahīṣa-vatāra (Mahīna-vatara). He kills the demon buffalo and after that goes back to the Ocean of Milk.*35

Admittedly, there is mention of Viṣṇu's fighting against the demon buffalo in the Hindu myth of the goddess's vanquishing Mahīṣa. But there Viṣṇu fights in his own form. He does not assume the form of a buffalo to fight against the demon. There is also mention of the demon being defeated by the god, but it is momentary only. The story in the Devībhāgavata Purāṇa

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33. Devībhāgavata V., 2–10; 16; 16.
34. See Note No. 41 on p. 41.
35. Praphan Sukhonthachat (ed.) Narai Sir Pāng ... pp. 15–16.
When the demon Mahiṣa sees two gods, i.e. Siva and Viṣṇu, being called to the battle field he is very infuriated. The demon assumes a buffalo form and attacks the two gods. He hurls, with his horns, the huge mountain peaks at the gods. Seeing that the demon begins to hurl mountains at them, Viṣṇu cuts up those mountains into a hundred pieces with his arrows and immediately strikes at the demon with his discus. The demon Mahiṣa faints, but he instantly rises up with a human body and resumes his fighting.\textsuperscript{36}

In addition to the fight between the demon Mahiṣa and Viṣṇu in the Devībhāgavata Purāṇa quoted above, there is another plausible source for the Thai Viṣṇu's buffalo incarnation. That is the myth of Kṛṣṇa's destruction of the demon bull Arṣṭa who attacks his herd of cattle at his village. This myth is narrated in the Harivamsa.

Once while Kṛṣṇa was engaged in sport, the demon Arṣṭa in the form of a bull arrived in Braja, Kṛṣṇa's hometown. The sight of this bull terrified the cattle. It was of ash colour, its horns were pointed, its eye balls as bright as the Sun, its front hoofs sharp as a razor, and its shoulder high and solid. The demon bull attacked every cow and bull he met, and killed many of them. The remaining cows and bulls then sought Kṛṣṇa's protection. Kṛṣṇa came forward to chastise this demon bull. The demon Arṣṭa, aiming at Kṛṣṇa's abdomen, rushed to him. But Kṛṣṇa held it by the horns, then he twisted its neck, snatched out its horns, and struck it severely on the face. The demon bull fell down, vomited blood and died.\textsuperscript{37}

As Kṛṣṇa is regarded by the Thais, as well as by the Hindus, to be none other than the god Viṣṇu himself, the Thai authors

\textsuperscript{36} Devībhāgavata V. G. 50-55.
\textsuperscript{37} Harivamsa II.77.
might have assumed that it was the god Viṣṇu who had vanquished the demon bull. The appearance of the god, in the Thai texts, in the form of a buffalo may be analogous to the god’s taking the form of aquatic animals in order to be an equal match with his enemies, e.g. a fish against the conch demon, and a turtle against the fish demon. The vicious act of the demon buffalo Mahiṣa in the Thai texts, i.e. he crushes himself against Sumeru Mountain until the mountain’s foot tumbles down, might have been reminiscent of the demon buffalo Dundubhī’s act from the Rājāyan. In the Rājāyan Dundubhī is described as a very mighty buffalo. He is so proud of his own power that he challenges Himavanta Mountain to fight with his. But the Mountain does not accept the buffalo’s challenge. Dundubhī is advised by the Mountain to fight with Valī instead.38

There is yet another plausible influence for this Thai Mahiṣa incarnation of Viṣṇu. That is, in some Tamil purāṇas, Viṣṇu is identified with Uma or Devī, Siva’s consort. One of these purāṇas is the Kanniyakumari which identifies the goddess Bhagavati at Kanniyakumari as a form of Viṣṇu, who has many female forms, such as the Maiden, Durga and Matangi, the slayer of Mahiṣa.39 The identification between Viṣṇu and Devī in the Polani Purāṇa is more articulated than that in the Kanniyakumari.

Siva related to Devi the story of the Lārvanava: the sages there had left the path of the Vedas; each of them believed himself to be Brahmā. Siva went there in the form of a kāpi (the form of a mendicant carrying human skulls both as ornaments and as an alms-bowl) followed by Viṣṇu as Mohini. Seeing the beautiful woman following him, Siva felt desire for her, but Mohini said, "You will embrace me after destroying the chastity of the wives of the sages and the sages' concept." Siva went from street to street begging alms with his skull-bowl, and the women seeing him, lost all shame. They offered him sexual delight as alms. Meanwhile Mohini went deeper into the forest. The sages devourled her with their eyes and thus lost their tapas. Perceiving what had happened, they cursed Siva; when their curses had no effect, they made a sacrifice against him, but Siva took the weapons sent against him by the sages and made those weapons ornaments instead. Afterwards, Mohini said to Siva, "Be my husband, and I shall be your Devī." Since this was already true, Siva granted the request, promising soon to marry Mohini. "And so it happens," said Siva to Devi, "that Viṣṇu is you, Devī, residing in half of my body. The part of you is Viṣṇu, who gives birth to Brahmā and supports the world." Siva sent Devī to the konku forest to perform tapas before their wedding there.

There is abundant evidence of the existence of many myths from the Tamil puruṣas in Thai literature. Most of them are interpolated or integrated into the myth that came from Sanskrit texts. For example the myth of the demon Gajasura who robs Grahana of the Vedas (p.125), and the myth of Kalyaka who is known as Viḍiṭam in Thai literature (p. 63), and the myth of the demon Shashārama who is bewitched and defeated by Viṣṇu in the form of Mohini (p.175). Therefore it is possible that the myth which identifies Viṣṇu with Devī, Siva's consort, might have been yet one more among those Tamil myths imported to Thailand. Its subject-matter might have caused confusion to the Thais. They might then have assumed automatically that it was Viṣṇu, their heroic god, who performed the valorous act of the goddess Devī. That is why it is Viṣṇu, not Devī, who, in the Thai texts, is the destroyer of the demon Mahiṣa.

The Apsara-avatāra (Apsaravatāra) or the goddess incarnation of Viṣṇu in Thai literature has its prototype in the Hindu myth of the Mohini, or the enchantress, form of Viṣṇu. Mohini appears in most Sanskrit Purāṇas in connection with the myth of the churning of the ocean. She uses her charm and beauty to enchant the demons and to rob them of the amṛta or ambrosia obtained from the churned sea. In Thai literature the episode of the demons being enchanted by Mohini at the time of the churning of the ocean does not exist. In fact, a full and formal myth of the churning of the ocean is absent from Thai literature until modern times. However, the Mohini story cannot be said to be absent in the true sense of that word, for it is replaced by a quite separate story of the vanquishing of a single demon by Viṣṇu in the form of a goddess. The name of the demon is either Nonthuk (spelling: nan-du-ka) or Nonthok (spelling: nan-da-ka) which is probably derived from the Sanskrit Kandi. Nandi is best known as the name of the bull of Śiva. But what attests this hypothesis is that the demon Nonthuk is described as a kind of doorkeeper of Śiva. This accords well with another of the main characteristics of Nandi who is the chamberlain of Śiva. The story of Nonthuk, in the Nārāyana and in the Nārāj Śīh Pān, goes as follows:

A demon called Nonthuk is a foot-washer for the gods at the foot of the stairs of Kailāsa Mountain. Every time the gods come to see Śiva, each one of them gives him a knock on the head until Nonthuk loses all his hair and becomes bald. This makes Nonthuk very angry so that he goes to see Śiva and asks him for a diamond finger.*41

*41 In the Khān Rit Version of the Nārāj Śīh Pān, Nonthuk asks Śiva for a diamond discus (chak-phet, Skt. cakra-vajra).
This diamond finder is to be used as a weapon by Nonthuk. From then on Nonthuk points his diamond finder at any god who teases him and who knocks his head as before, and kills that god. When Siva comes to know of this incident he orders Visnu to get rid of the demon. Visnu then incarnates himself as a very beautiful goddess. The demon Nonthuk falls in love with her at first sight. The goddess then tells him to imitate her dancing or else she will not accept his love. Nonthuk, enchanted by the goddess's beauty, agrees to do so. In the course of her dancing, points at her own lap. Nonthuk, unconscious of what he is doing, points at his own lap too. Crippled, he falls to the ground and is killed by Visnu who has replaced his goddess form by that of his divine majesty.*

The motifs (i.e. the use of a finger as a weapon by the demon; and the use of dancing as a device to vanquish the demon by the god in goddess form) from the myth mentioned above find their counterpart in the Hindu myth of a demon named Bhasmasura. There is no mention of this myth in any of the Sanskrit purāṇas at all.* His story is narrated in the Tamil Keralatecavaralaru Purāṇa. The story of Bhasmasura is here quoted in order to attest the hypothesis made above.

Bhasmasura is born of the ashes on the body of Siva. He is so devoted to the god that the god grants him a boon of having the power to turn to ashes anybody on whose head he places his hand. Bhasmasura becomes arrogant because of the boon and he becomes a threat to the whole world. Visnu changes himself to the form of Mohini and bewitches the demon into imitating the hand-movement of her dance. Mohini puts her hand on her head, and the demon follows her and turns himself to ashes.*

44. "Keralatecavaralaru Purāṇa", found in "The Mythology of the Tamil Talapuranas", by David Dean Shulman, p. 314.
The story of Dhasmasta in the Tamil puraṇa goes on. It is narrated in the text: "Śiva makes love to Mohini and their son Aiyanār is born." It seems that the Thais have taken over this part of the myth and have mixed it with a Śaiva myth of Śiva's incarnating himself in the form of Hanumān.

The Śiva Purāṇa narrates:

Śiva sees Viṣṇu in the Mohini form. He falls in love with her at first sight so he lets fall his semen. The seven celestial sages keep that semen in a leaf. Later on they pour that semen through the ears of Anjānī, the daughter of Gautama. In due course Śiva is born of it in the form of a monkey named Hanumān who has great strength and is very adventurous.

The creation of Hanumān in the Śiva Purāṇa seems to have influenced the myth of the birth of Hanumān in Thai literature. It is related in the Narai Sip Pāng (Watcharin Press Version):

After Viṣṇu has destroyed Mauthak he goes up to see Śiva in his abode. When Śiva sees Viṣṇu in the form of a beautiful goddess he tries to make love to her. The goddess incarnation tries in vain to tell Śiva that she is one and the same as Viṣṇu, not a beautiful goddess as Śiva thinks. Śiva does not listen to her. Śiva makes love to the goddess until his semen is shed. Śiva, who knows that it will be useful later on, keeps it in a jar and puts the jar near him. Later on Śiva orders Phra Phēi or Vāyu to throw that semen together with Śiva's divine weapons into the mouth of Sawāha (Anjānī in the Rāmāyana). In due time Hanumān is created from those substances.

45. Ibid.
46. Śiva Purāṇa. Satarudrasamhitā. 20. 1-7.
In Thai literature Nonthuk is linked with Rāvana. He is, in fact, reborn as Rāvana. A possible reason for this, according to the Thai point of view, is that it is not fair for Nonthuk, who does not recognize the real form of Viṣṇu, to be killed by the god. Nonthuk should have another birth in which he will have an advantage over the god. On the other hand, the Thais also need an explanation of why Rāvana possesses twenty hands. In the Rāmakīt and the Royal Press Version of the Narāi Sip Pāng, a conversation between Viṣṇu and Nonthuk foretelling his following birth is inserted. Nonthuk asks Viṣṇu, "You have four hands so you can kill me easily. Why do you have to change yourself into a woman's form? Are you afraid of my finger?" Viṣṇu answers him, "Not at all. I have to disguise myself as a woman in order to kill you, because you are destined to be destroyed by your own lust. However, if you are complaining of having only two hands in this birth, I will grant a boon to you so that you will have ten heads and twenty hands in your next birth. And I will be reborn as a human being with only two hands and still kill you." 48

In the Narāi Sip Pāng (all versions) another explanation of how Nonthuk comes to be reborn as Rāvana with twenty hands is given in the form of another myth. The text narrates:

After his death Nonthuk in the form of an uncremated ghost wanders along the foot of Sumeru Mountain. He performs a penance by making his skull into a fiddle, his back bone into a bow, and his sinews into strings of the fiddle. He plays the fiddle for Śiva. Śiva gives him the boon he wants, "You will be born of the race of Brahma. You will have ten heads and twenty hands. You will be able to separate your heart from your body. You will live for one thousand years." Nonthuk therefore is born into the race of Brahma. He is born as a son of Lord Pulastya and of Ratchadā. He is named Thotsakan (Dāsakantā). 49

48. Kung, Ram Kham, p. 68; Prophan Sukhonthachat (ed.), Narai Sip Pāng ..., p. 27.
49. Prophan Sukhonthachat (ed.), Narai Sip Pāng ..., pp. 28, 65; Khum Ying Lu'an Rit (ed.), Narai Sip Pāng, Bangkok, 1923, pp. 76-77
It appears that the prototype of Nonthuk's severe penance in this myth can be traced in a myth relating to Rāvana from South India. It is related in a Tamil purāṇa called Tiruvannanam as follows:

Rāvana tries to uproot Kailāsa. Siva presses him into Pātalā with his toe-nail. Rāvana then tears off one of his heads and makes a vīna with it. He uses the tendons of his forearms for strings and plays music for Siva. Siva is very pleased and gives him a līṅga, as asked for by Rāvana.∗

Another possible reason behind the link between Nonthuk and Rāvana, in the Thai texts, can also be found in the Vaisnava purāṇas. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa there is a story of the successive births of Jaya and Vijaya who are the door-keepers of Viṣṇu. It is narrated in the text that once the two door-keepers had barred Śaṅkara and other sages, who were very powerful through their tapas, from seeing Viṣṇu. The sages were very infuriated and they cursed the door-keepers to be born three times in the human world so that they too were barred from seeing and worshipping the god. Accordingly Viṣṇu’s door-keepers were born in the earth in their first birth as Śiśupāla and Hiranyakasipu. In their second birth they were born as Rāvana and Kumbhakarna. In their last birth they were born as Śiśunala and Dantavaktra. The Thais might have taken the element of Rāvana’s having been born before as a door-keeper from this Vaisnava myth, and might have integrated it into the story of the Bhasāsura taken from the Tamil purāṇa. And that is why Nonthuk who is the door-keeper of Siva is reborn as Rāvana.

It is possible that the myth of Bhasāsura’s imitating the hand movements of Mohini was adopted into Thai literature at the time when Indian dancing was introduced to the Thais.


51. Bhāgavata Purāṇa VII.1.
in ancient times. First of all it is the only Hindu myth, in Thai literature, which is relating to dancing. Its existence in Thailand must have preceded the myth of the performance of the Anandavâlangavan dance before the assembly hall of Cidambaram or Tillai by Siva as narrated in the Kpiil Purânam. This is because the latter myth, in the Thai texts, loses its main motif, i.e. the god's supremacy being exhibited through his cosmic dance,\(^{52}\) and is preserved in Thai literature as no more than the myth of the destruction of the demon Muyalaka (Mûlakâna in Thai) by Siva only. The extant Thai myth of Siva-Muyalaka does not contain any episodes of dancing at all. The myth of Siva and Muyalaka, which is exactly similar to the Hindu prototype is narrated only in the Tamrâ Fûn Ram, which is a comparatively later text of the Ratanakosin period.\(^{53}\) Moreover the Rû'ang Nûngh Nophamât, compiled during the early Ratanakosin period, refers to the images of Siva-Nâtârâja, who is dancing on the demon Muyalaka, as no more than images of the god's vanquishing the demon Mûlakâna.\(^{54}\)

Moreover the presentation of the story of Viṣṇu in the form of the goddess vanquishing Nonthuk had been used as the Bot Bûek Rûng — preliminary dance at the opening of the theatre — from the Ayuthya period. This tradition has been referred to by King Rama IV in his poetical script for this dance, called Bot Bûek Rûng Nârai Prâp Nonthuk. The king explains further on that this story began to be performed as the preliminary dance because in dancing this episode, the teachers of the lakhôn nai (dance drama of the Inner Court) were able to show their pupils how to dance various movements, as the goddess Viṣṇu did in the ancient times.\(^{55}\)

\(^{52}\) See Thai myth p.
\(^{53}\) Tamrâ Fûn Ram, Bangkok, 1923, p. (4-5).
\(^{55}\) Phra Bût Soendot Chom Klao Chao Yu Nûa (King Rama IV), "Bot Bûek Rûng Rû'ang Nârai Prâp Nonthuk", Bot Bûek Rûng Lakhôn Luang, Bangkok, 1920, p. 13.
In addition to the explanation of King Rama IV, the reason why this story was presented as a preliminary dance in the first place can be found in Indian tradition of dramatic art as prescribed in the Nātyasastra. In the elaborate series of preliminaries (purvarānga) performed before the actual drama begins, there is the appearance of the dancers practicing their steps. The Indian teachers of dancing must have brought this tradition with them and must have taught it to the Thais too. Then the main content of the Bhasmāsura myth, i.e. the demon imitates the dance of the god, would have been chosen as the most appropriate piece for this practice. There is, however, no certain date for the introduction of Indian dancing to Thailand. But there is reference to the goddess incarnation of Viṣṇu in an early Ayutthya text. In the invocation to Viṣṇu in the Līlīt Uṇgkān Chaeng Nām, Viṣṇu is described as the god who assumes the woman incarnation in order to destroy the demons (phīru swātā na asura lan lām thak'). But it is only a passing reference. None of the demons' names is given. Neither is the story of the dancing episode mentioned in this text. However, what is certain is that this phīru swātā (Sanskrit: bhīrā-avatāra), or the woman incarnation of Viṣṇu referred to in the Uṇgkān Chaeng Nām, cannot be said to be a reference to the myth of the churning of the ocean. In that myth Viṣṇu, in the Neilū form, does not destroy any demon directly. He only deceives them in order to gain amṛta for the benefit of the gods.

Nowhere in Thai literature, except in the "Liilit Khrai Sin Fang" composed by King Sama VI in the year 1923, does the whole story of Krsna's incarnation exist. Only fragments of the Krsna myth from Hindu mythology are elsewhere referred to by the Thais. These are: some episodes in the early life of Krsna; reference to Krsna as an ally of the Pândava princes (a characteristic stressed by the Mahabharata); and the account of the battle between Krsna and the demon king Pâśupata. In Thailand, the last of these three is by far the best known. It is related and enlarged upon in three works, i.e., the Anusorn Khrom of the Ayutthaya period, the Narai Sirap Nâng, and the Hot Lekhâm Phêang Unrat of the Ratankosin period. There is a discussion on this subject below.

The "Liilit Khrai Sin Fang" refers to some episodes in Krsna's early life. In this text a god, who is described as holding up a mountain, and as wrestling with a serpent, is invoked to come to be a witness at the Oath-taking ceremony. This god can well be thought to be Krsna. It is related in the Mahabharata Purâṇa that Krsna persuades Nanda, his step-father, and the cowherds to give up the worship of Indra, and to worship the mountain Govardhana, which shelters them and their cattle. Incensed at the loss of his offerings, Indra pours down a heavy rain which would have deluged them, but Krsna lifts up the mountain Govardhana, and holds it upon his finger as a shelter for seven days and nights, till Indra feels that he has been fooled. It is also related in the Mahabharata Purâṇa that Krsna has a terrible conflict with the great serpent Kâliya, who lives in the Yasunâ river. The serpent Kâliya makes the water of the Yasunâ poisonous and thus useless for the cowherds. Krsna fights with the serpent and finally

convinces him and his family to go away.\(^3\) Regarding this myth of Krishna's fight against the demon serpent Kaliya, in the Narai Si, Phayam is called by the name Narai Krasae Phayam, and this might be a reference to a certain iconographical form of Krishna fighting with Kaliya. The Narai Si, Phayam (Royal Press Version) mentions that after Visnu has been ordered by Siva to be born as Daana, by means of his divine power, Visnu dances in the centre of the ocean.\(^4\) This form of the dancing Visnu is called Narai Krasae Phayam. In Hindu mythology, the only incarnation of Visnu which performs any dance is Krishna. The god performs this when he is suppressing the serpent Kaliya.\(^5\) Though examples of dancing Visnu images exist, such as the one at the Varadaraja temple in Kancipuram,\(^6\) the form of dancing Krishna has been more popular both in India and in Cambodia. It is likely that the form of Visnu called Narai Krasae Phayam may be reminiscent of such an Indian iconographical form. However, no actual name of Krishna is mentioned in the Lilit Ongkan Chaeng Nam, and the name Narai Krasae Phayam (? (a) the restraint (viyama) of the current (krasae) by Narayana; ? (b) Narayana with a plumb-line (krasae) measuring the fathoms (vyama) of the ocean) does not give any evidence either. Therefore a definite conclusion cannot be made here. But if these references in the Lilit Ongkan Chaeng Nam are taken as being stories about Krishna, it is possible to say they are the only myths of Krishna's boyhood in Thai literature. Unlike Hindu literature, Thai literature is totally silent on the subject of Balakrshna or the child Krishna. The boyish pranks of Krishna, (such as, the incidents in which Krishna unties the calves when it is not the proper time, and laughs at everyone's angry shouts; or in which, when the wives of the cowherds are busy with house-

\(^3\) Ibid., X.16.
\(^5\) Bhagavata Purana X.16.
hold duty, Kṛṣṇa will steal things in a dark room), regarded by Indian women as charming and endearing are nowhere referred to in any Thai literary work. It seems that the Thai poets cannot accept the idea of a god who performs such naughty deeds with ease or without repentance. Moreover the absence of the myths about the child Kṛṣṇa can also be explained in this way. For the Thais the gods do not have a childhood. This is because the Thais, who accept the Buddhist concept, believe that the gods are born without parents (upapātika) and they have the form of a grown-up as soon as they are born. That is why the Thais cannot conform to the idea of the child Kṛṣṇa.

Kṛṣṇa as a warrior in the Mahābhārata is mentioned in the Līlit Yūn Phāi, the historical poem composed during the early Ayutthaya period (between 1439 and 1592). The poet of the Līlit Yūn Phāi shows his familiarity with, and his predilection for, the Mahābhārata by referring, in many places in the text, to certain heroes of that epic. He compares King Ḇ̩romatrailokanāț to Arjuna, Bhīma, Bhīṣma, and Kṛṣṇa. These heroes are very prominent characters in the Mahābhārata. King Ḇ̩romatrailokanāț is praised as being very efficient in fighting as though he were better than Arjuna.*7 When King Ḇ̩romatrailokanāț holds a club, he is regarded as being the same as the famous club-fighter Bhīma.*8 The king’s excellence is compared to that of Bhīṣma,*9 who is the guardian of Pāṇḍu and Dhrṛtarāṣṭra and their children, the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas.

In the Līlit Yūn Phāi, the poet, in one of his verses glorifying King Ḇ̩romatrailokanāț, compares the king to Kṛṣṇa by saying: "King Ḇ̩romatrailokanāț is very well-versed in the Yogasūtras of Patanjali. He knows all the tricks of retaliation against his enemies. His trickery is so well-devised that no-one can understand it. He knows all the methods of forming an army, of setting up war-camps, and of fighting."*10 It is certain that when the poet makes this reference, he has Kṛṣṇa the warrior, as he is described in the Mahābhārata, in mind and not Kṛṣṇa

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8. Ibid., p. 16.
9. Ibid., p. 17.
the god, as he is described in the Upanishads and the Purāṇas. It is true that in many parts of the Vīmaṇa, the same Kṛṣṇa, the friend and counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas, is praised and called Viṣṇu as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, but no other text other than the Vīmaṇa depicts Kṛṣṇa as a deceitful warrior. The Purāṇas always describe Kṛṣṇa as an incarnation of the god Viṣṇu. It is always depicted as a youthful hero and demon-slayer, but the god incarnate rarely uses any trick in destroying those harmful demons. Hereunder are three passages from the Vīmaṇa: they are here quoted in order to show the well-known trickery and deception of Kṛṣṇa, which may have impressed the poet of the Līlā Viṣṇu Pādi so much that he refers to it in his work.

The first passage is from the seventh book of the Drona-parva:

On the fifteenth day of the battle, an astonishing hand-to-hand fight between Drona and Arjuna, teacher and pupil, which even the gods watch with admiration, leads to no result, as the pupil is not inferior to his teacher in any of his feats of arms. It is now again Kṛṣṇa who conceives a devilish trick. At his instigation, Bhīma kills an elephant which happens to answer to the name of Āsватhāman, and then calls out loudly, approaching Drona, that Asvatthāman, which is also the name of Kṛṣṇa's son, has been killed. Drona is frightened, but does not yet believe the report. It is only when Vāhīghīra, who is famous for his love of truth, repeats the lie, at the persuasion of Kṛṣṇa, that Drona is compelled to believe it. Overcome with sorrow, he casts his weapons aside and stands, lost in deep meditation. This is the scene utilized by Drupada's son भ्रगुधेर to cut off the head of the eighty-five years old Drona.

The second passage is from the eighth book of the Karna-parva:

Arjuna and Karna fight a terrible duel in which even the gods take sides with them: Indra
for Arjuna, and Surya for Karna. Like two wild elephants going each other with their tusks, the two heroes shower each other with arrows. In vain does Arjuna endeavour to bring Karna to earth. Then one wheel of Karna's chariot begins to sink into the ground. Karna now tries to pull the chariot out, and asks Arjuna to break off the combat, in accordance with the rules of warfare. Krishna, however, persuades Arjuna to have no regard to this; and Arjuna, generally a model of chivalry, kills Karna treacherously, while the latter is still busy with his chariot. 12

The third passage is from the ninth book or the Salyapurvan:

After Salya is killed by Yudhisthira, the Kauravas flee and they are later on entirely annihilated. Duryodhana flees alone to a pond. He hides himself there. The Pandavas find him and challenge him to single combat. The duel is to be fought between Duryodhana and Bhima. The fight with clubs is prefaced by the usual duel of horns. Baladeva, Krishna's brother, who has not taken part in the battle, comes from a long distance, in order to be a spectator of the club fight. As two bulls butt each other with their horns, so the two heroes rain blows on each other with their clubs. They both accomplish marvels of valour, and the issue remains indecisive. Then Krishna tells Arjuna that Bhima will never be able to defeat Duryodhana in fair fight, for though Bhima is the stronger fighter, Duryodhana is more skillful. But he reminds him of the words of Bhima, when on the occasion of the insult to Draupadi, during the game of dice between Yudhisthira and Duryodhana, Bhima had sworn to smash Duryodhana's thigh. Then Arjuna slaps his own left thigh before Bhima's eyes. Bhima understands this hint, and whilst his opponent is taking a leap preparatory to striking, Bhima smashes his thigh, so that he falls down like a tree uprooted by a storm. But Baladeva, who has been watching the fight, hurled angry words at Bhima, accusing him of fighting dishonestly, for in an honest club fight it is forbidden to strike one's opponent below the navel. His brother Krishna has some difficulty in restraining him from chastising Bhima; but in vain does Krishna seek to

12. Ibid., VIII. 90; 91. 1-50.
persuade his brother by his sophistry that Bhima has acted rightly. Honest Baladeva mounts his chariot in anger and drives away, promising that Bhima shall always be known in the world as a dishonest fighter and Duryodhana as an honest one.*

While Krsna as a treacherous warrior is fully described in the Mahabharata, Krsna as an incarnation of Visnu is described in detail as a mighty demon-slayer in the Harivamsa and the Puranas. The emphasis is upon his being an incarnation of Visnu, and, as such, he is a valiant and righteous figure. Krsna's account, in the Puranas, of his slaying of all kinds of demons, such as the demon Arsta in the form of a bullock,* and the demon king Dana who has ten heads and twenty hands,* has nothing to do with trickery at all. In his fights with all these demons Krsna uses only his own might and valour, which may, however, also include the use of the power of his godhead, as in the battle between him and the demon king Dana. It is this fight of Krsna with Dana only that is fully related in Thai literature.

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15. *Vg., 110.
There are three versions of the story of the fight between Krupa and Utp in Thai literature. The story related in the Anirut Kham Chai retains more or less the same story as the Hindu legend. The other two versions, i.e. the Krupi Sin Phra, and the Phet Lakhaen Phraya Umarut, are quite different from the original Hindu myth and show some influence from the Ramayana and the Jataka tales.

Anirut Kham Chai, according to Thai tradition, has its prototype in the Vishnu Purana. Dhanit Yodb, the former director of the Fine Arts Department of Thailand, who has done extensive research on Thai literature, wholeheartedly accepts this hypothesis in his introduction to the play Phet Lakhaen Phraya Umarut. He says: "The story of Anirut has been widely known from the Ayuthya period. The most important version is the Anirut Kham Chai composed by Si Phra who lived in the reign of King Narai the Great. The story, names of the characters and places in the Anirut Kham Chai correspond to those in the Vishnu Purana." But the internal evidence does not agree with this suggestion. The story of the Anirut Kham Chai agrees more closely with the myth of Krsna's battle with Uch in the Karivansh than it does with the Vishnu Purana. The relationship between Aniruddha and Uini, before her confinement brings him back to her palace, is the same in both the Anirut Kham Chai and the Karivansh. They have a sexual relationship on the night that they first meet each other. In the Vishnu Purana Uini sees Aniruddha only in her dream, as the goddess that has foretold it to her. The closest similarities between the Karivansh and the Anirut

Khān Chen can clearly be seen in the fighting episode which forms the second main part of the story (see below).

The first part of the story of Aniruddha in the Harivamsa is as follows:

"Usā, the daughter of the Demon King Dana, is one of the attendants of the goddess Uma. One day, seeing Uma enjoying the act of love together with her consort Siva, Usā wants very much to have the same experience. Uma discovers Usā's wish. She foretells that Usā is to enjoy sexual intercourse with a man in her dream on the twelfth night in the month of Vaiśākha. That man is to be her husband. On the predicted night a young man does violate Usā's virginity in her dream (sa svapne dharṣita tena stīrāhavam cāpi labhītaḥ / senītār gurudati caḥasāyotttani-tā niḥ)v. Then Usā wakes up she finds that her dress is soaked with blood. She is very upset over what has happened. Citralokha her close friend, helps her to find out who the man is. She paints the portraits of all the gods and heroes, including Aniruddha, for Usā. And she also uses her magic power to bring him from his own city to reunite with Usā."*18

It is clearly seen from the above passage that the couple, in the Harivamsa, do meet each other in reality, not just in a dream. This is the same as in the Anirut Kham Chen. But the meeting of the couple in the Harivamsa is not treated as the most important part of the story. The battle episodes are more emphasized and depicted at great length. This is because the episode is meant to be a glorification of the valour and divine power of Kṛṣṇa. In the Anirut Kham Chen, however, the meeting of the couple is so emphasized, expanded and enlarged that it has become the main part of the work. This is because, on the Thai side, the story is also meant to be the love story of Aniruddha, Kṛṣṇa's grandson, rather than

19. Ibid., 107-108.
to demonstrate the prowess of Krsna alone. Moreover, an important character has been interpolated into the story. He plays a very remarkable role in the story, the role of a match-maker, and thus exists as an important element in the love story.

The meeting of Aniruddha and Usā in the Anirut Kham Chan goes:

"Anirut, while on his tour in the forest, sleeps in his chariot under a great banyan tree. Before he goes to sleep he prays to the spirit of the sacred tree. Phra Sai, or the Banyan Tree Spirit, is very pleased and wants to give Anirut something in return for his reverent behaviour. The spirit also feels pity for Anirut who is sleeping out in the lonely forest. He concludes that it is fit and proper to take him to sleep with Usā. He carries Anirut to Usā's palace. (The meeting of the couple is depicted in erotic verse at great length.) At dawn Anirut is carried by the Tree Spirit back to his royal chariot."*20 (After this episode the story is similar to that in the Harivamsa.)

It is not certain where the prototype of this beneficial tree spirit can be found. In Jātaka No. 493 (Mahā Vanija Jātaka), a beneficial tree is mentioned. The spirit of a Serpent King in a banyan tree gives all kinds of desirable possessions including wealth and voluptuous girls to some merchants.*21 But there is no episode of a hero being carried away to meet any one of the girls. The Siddhisāra Jātaka (no. 36), in the Thai non-canonical Pannāsa Jātaka, composed by a Thai monk of Chiangmai, mentions the spirits of four banyan trees. The first and the fourth tell Bodhisattva a secret of magical food. The second tells him the way to the cities he wants to go. The third saves the life of Bodhisattva's

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It can be seen that none of them plays the role of a match-maker. In the Thai version of the Ramayana, the Tala, the spirit of a banyan tree is referred to in two places. In one place that he does is to create, by means of his divine power, a boat for Sita, Sita, and Laksmi so that they can cross the river Anarik. In the other passage the spirit of a banyan tree is asked to watch over Sita who is buried enclosed within a casket enfolded in a magic lotus, beneath that banyan tree. Neither of these two banyan tree spirits are described as playing the role of a match-maker.

There is a strikingly similar story in the Ramakian, a Sanskrit epic, set in the famous poet Dandin (6th or 7th century A.D.). In chapter 11 a man comes to sleep under a very tall tree on the side of a mountain in the Vinaya. He too prays to the spirit of the tree for protection before he goes to sleep. A moment later, he finds that he is sleeping by the side of a beautiful girl on the terrace of her palace. He falls in love with her at first sight. He just touches her gently and wakes her up. She also falls in love with him. But the couple do not make love to each other. They just lie together and sleep. When the man wakes up again he finds himself back on his bed of leaves under the sacred tree. Then the spirit appears to him and explains what has happened. It is his mother who has been cursed to forget all her past life and to stay in that sacred tree. At first, without recognizing her son, she had carried him to sleep in the palace of a princess in order to protect him from wild beasts when she had to leave the tree for a while. Here the spirit has a reasonable motive to carry the man to the girl's palace. Later, the spirit and her son are able to recognize each other. She, however, is unable to help him further. Then the man knows

23. Pulitan Chulal, Pulitan Phutth (King, Room I), 1951, p. 137.
the truth, he take leave of his mother, the spirit, and wanders about searching for the girl. He comes to her city and is discovered by her maid. The girl has painted his portrait and let her maid see it and then go in search of him.\(^{26}\)

The recognition of a man by means of a painting is similar to the story of Aniruddha in the Purāṇas. But the role of a tree spirit is new. Whether the spirit in the Dīnchārāgīya has any influence on that in the Anirut Khan Chan or not cannot be proved, but the similarity is still striking.

This carrying of a man to the bedroom of a girl whose lover he is to become is widely referred to in Thai as Us Som, literally 'to carry in the arms and to match'. It can hardly be said, however, that it is a Thai local convention. There are about a dozen Thai works extant which are traditional non-classical plays called lakhôn nok, most of which have some or lots the same plot and even identical episodes or incidents. Yet none of these plays has any beneficial tree spirit at all. In only one play called Yo Pipa Klin is a beneficial bamboo tree mentioned. Indra leaves his daughter inside she bamboo tree. She remains there until the hero finds her.\(^{27}\) But no spirit of this bamboo tree is ever mentioned.

In the Anirut Khan Chan the name of the tree spirit is not given. Yet in a Buddhist work called Sānatthakhōt Khan Chan (a poetic version of yet another of the non-canonical Purāṇa sūta) it is referred to as Sī Phromarak (Sanskrit: Śrī Brahmarakṣa). It is at one point mentioned in the Sāvatthakhōt Khan Chan that, desiring to match Sāvatthakhōt with Vāthumadi, the 'Tree Spirit carries him to her "in the same manner as Sī Phromarak carried Anirut to Us."\(^{28}\)

\(^{26}\) *Ibid.*, pp. 140-152.
\(^{27}\) "Khitthā Nang Manī Phichai", Bot Lakhōn Nok, by Phra Bāt Somdet Phra Phuttha Lōêt Lā Kapheīlai (King Rama II), Bangkok, 1922, p. 336.
The word Si Phromarak appears in two literary works which are supposed to be earlier than the Anirut Khan Chan, i.e. Lilit Ongkan Chaeng Nam, and Lilit Phra Lô. In these works Si Phromarak seems to be a kind of a tree spirit because it is preceded by a word phanatbodi (Sanskrit: vanaspati), meaning Lord of the Woods. In neither work does Si Phromarak act as a match-maker. But in Lilit Phra Lô, this kind of spirit is in the entourage of a rishi-like sorcerer who, by means of his sorcery, brings the hero away from his family and his kingdom to the twin princesses who crave madly for him. The tree-spirit, who does the same thing for Anirut, might get his name from Si Phromarak in Lilit Phra Lô. But it is more likely that Si Phromarak in both works comes from a common source which has not been discovered yet.

The word Si Phromarak also appears in the Inscription No. 45 of Sukhothai. There the word which precedes it is missing. Therefore it is not certain whether by the year 1392, which is the date of this inscription, Si Phromarak was regarded as a vanaspati or not.

With its meaning 'Lord of the Woods', the word vanaspati mostly refers to a forest tree itself, especially a large tree bearing fruit apparently without blossom, such as several species of the fig. But the use of this word for the meaning of the spirit of a large tree is not wanting in Sanskrit literature. In the fourth act of the play Abhijñānaśākuntalā of Kālidāsa, many vanaspati are described as giving some precious ornaments to Śākuntalā while her two friends are decking her before she is sent to the court of Dushyanta, her husband. It is related that one tree gives an auspicious moon-like silken garment. Lac-dye, which is to be used on her feet, is exuded by another tree. Some sylvan deities even provide

ornaments for her with their own hands. Their hands are described as emerging as far as the wrist and thus the hands are vying with the shoots sprouting from those trees. The Thais might have adopted the cult of beneficial vanaspati from Indian sources. This certainly seems to have been the case in the non-canonical Thai Jātakas and the Rāmakītan mentioned above.

It is certain that by the time of both the Līlit Onkān Chaeng Nam and the Līlit Phra Lō, Si Phromarāk is thought of as a kind of a tree spirit, but he is not regarded as a beneficial spirit yet. On the contrary it seems that this kind of a tree spirit is responsible for malignant actions because, in the Līlit Onkān Chaeng Nam, Si Phromarāk is asked to punish any oath-breaker, and in the Līlit Phra Lō, Si Phromarāk is in the entourage of a sorcerer. The malignant characteristic of this being is specifically referred to in the Thai texts.

In all three texts, i.e. the Sukhothai inscription, the Līlit Onkān Chaeng Nam, and the Līlit Phra Lō, where the word appears, it is always followed by the word yakkhu, (Sanskrit: yakkhu) a Skandic term. The appearance of the word yakkhu in connection with yakkhu refers to its possible relation with the word Brahmarāja, a name for a malignant spirit. It is either a kind of evil spirit, or the ghost of a Brahmin who led an unholy life in the past, or a wicked Brahmin who commits suicide or meets with a violent death. Concerning this there is a religious practice of the Cambodians which would be thought by Hindus to be very old, namely, the worship of Puraśarājara. In an inscription of a Cambodian king named Yasovarman (684 A.D. - 700 A.D.), there is mention of shrines being consecrated not only to various gods, such as Ganesā, Kārttikeya, Nārāyaṇa, but also to Yārāvarīśvara from the Cambodians. In the beginning the true meaning of the inscription must have been retained by

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the Thais as this can be attested by the word yakeśākṣāra which follows Śī Ṛṣabha. Later on, trees may in any text have been thought to be its dwelling place, and this must have been the cause of its acquiring the characteristic of a tree spirit. For the Thais, a tree spirit is usually beneficial. This might have caused the slight change in the spelling of the word from Brahmākṣāra (a demon) to Brahma- rākṣa (a protector). On the other hand, it is possible that there was a change of spelling first, then the concept relating to it was accordingly changed in order to build up an appropriate meaning for the word. However, it is noteworthy that, by the time of the Aṇirut Kham Chan (about 15th century) the cult of the tree spirit Brahmākṣāra was not popular or else it could have been inserted in the story. It only became linked to the story later on, by the time of the SanaiKhum Kham Chan (? 16th or 17th century).

Another difference between the first part of the Aṇirut Kham Chan and the Aṇirut Kham is that the goddess Uma, and her foretelling of Śiva's future husband, does not appear in the Aṇirut Kham Chan at all. In the Aṇirut Kham Chan it is the call of the forest that arouses the interest of Aṇirudha. He leaves the forest, wants to go there, and finally gets permission to go there from Naga, his grandfather. 37

It can be said that the parts of the story in the Aṇirut Kham Chan, which are different from the Aṇirut Kham, are due to the influence of Thai tradition. In most Thai khon ¿(non-classical plays), a hero must have, in one way or another, certain kinds of adventures in the forest, and in nearly every case he gains a bride from his adventures there. The episode of a chief character’s wandering in the forest will also provide a poet with an opportunity to show his skill in de-

36. This hypothesis cannot be attested yet, but it might have been influenced by Bengali folk tales in which a Brahmadāitya (the same as Brahmadāitya), who usually dwells in a big tree, plays an important role. This information is given by a Bengali informant, but no books on this subject have yet been found.

37. Aṇirut Kham, p. 10.
scribilia, the forest scene. This is a very popular Thai convention. However, this difference does not rule out the hypothesis that the Harivamsa is the prototype of the Anirut Kham Chan. Hereunder is a table of the close comparisons of incidents in the fighting episodes from the Harivamsa and the Anirut Kham Chan. The incidents from the Visnu Purana are here illustrated too in order to nullify the traditional Thai suggestion that the Visnu Purana was the prototype of the Anirut Kham Chan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VISHNU PURANA</th>
<th>HARIYAMSA</th>
<th>ANIRUT KHAN CHAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. When Aniruddha is discovered in Ban's palace, Ban sends his soldiers to arrest him finding that Aniruddha is not easily seized, Ban arrests him by using his snake arrow.</td>
<td>This episode is similar to VP1. It is even longer than the fight between Kṛṣṇa and Bāna.</td>
<td>This episode is similar to VP1. But here, and as in the Harivamsa, the fighting between Anirut and Bāna's soldiers is described at great length. In the A.K.C. it is even longer than the fight between Kṛṣṇa and Bāna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sage Nārada tells the episode is similar to VP2.</td>
<td>The episode is the same as VP2 and H2.</td>
<td>The episode is the same as VP2.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Kṛṣṇa, Baladeva, and Pradyumna fight with Jvara or Fever, created by Śiva. Fever seizes Baladeva with burning heat but the latter is relieved by clinging to Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa expels Fever from his own body by a fever which he himself has created. Brahmā asks him to spare Fever's life.

The episode is almost identical with H3 and follows H's order of episodes. Angira is mentioned by name here too.

4. Kṛṣṇa fights with the five fire gods and kills them. No names of the gods are mentioned.

The episode is similar to VP3. But here Fever is spared due to an injunction from heaven.

5. Kṛṣṇa fights with Śiva and Kārttikeya. Śiva succumbs to a magic arrow which causes incessant yawning. He is unable to fight. Kārttikeya runs away.

Kṛṣṇa fights with Śiva, Kārttikeya and Nandi. Isūan asks Kṛtsana to accompany by Khanthakumān. He reminds Śiva that Śiva and Kṛṣṇa are the same. Śiva then retires from the battle. Kṛtsana fights with Isūan accompanied by Khanthakumān.

Kṛtsana fights with Isūan accompanied by Khanthakumān. Sages beg Isūan not to open his third eye. Sages beg Isūan not to open his third eye.

Whether Isūan retires from the battle or not is not mentioned.

Kṛtsana fights with Isūan accompanied by Khanthakumān.
6. Kṛṣṇa fights with Bāṇa riding on Nandi and cuts off all his arms even though the mythological goddess Kōtvāi appears naked and asks him not to do so. Siva asks him to spare Bāṇa’s life.

Kṛṣṇa fights with Kṛṣṇa fights with
Phāṇ (Bāṇa). Siva sends Phāṇ (Bāṇa). He cuts
Nandi to help Bāṇa. off all Phāṇ’s arms
that appears naked except two. Phāṇ becomes
to kill Bāṇa. Kṛṣṇa therefore cuts off
all his arms except two.

7. The snakes that The snakes flee (The snakes flee away
blind Aniruddha are away at the sight of Garuda. Kṛṣṇa
destroyed by Garu-da. Kṛṣṇa install Garuda, Kṛṣṇa
install Kṛṣṇa install Śāla-deva, Pradyumna, install Śāla-deva, Pradyumna, install Aniruddha and Shek-
Aniruddha and Shek-
ge back to Prady-
ge back to Prady-
un.
un.

(The snakes flee away
at the first moment they
see Garuda) Kṛṣṇa brings
Phalabhē (Śāla deva),
Phalabhē (Śāla deva),
Pratypa (Pradyumna) Anirut
and Līṅga back to Thānaravati.

Kṛṣṇa carries Aniruddha to
Kṛṣṇa carries Aniruddha to
Bāṇ in Sonaṁvara.
The story of Prana and his grandson Anirudha in the *Sri Rāmāyaṇa* is based on the *Anirut Khaṇ Cham*. Three episodes in the text attest this statement. The first concerning the demon Vṛsha is the chief cause of Vṛṣṇi’s incarnation as Śrīprapa. The text narrates that Śrīprapa — the demon lord with ten heads and twenty hands — obtains certain boons from his patron god Śiva. These boons make him proud of himself. Śiva greatly oppress the three worlds. Śiva has to do something when he hears of the wicked deeds of the demon. As in the other Thai stories of Vṛṣṇi’s incarnation, in the *Anirut Khaṇ Cham*, Śiva entrusts the mission of getting rid of the demon to Vṛṣṇi who has to incarnate himself to fulfill his task. In this text Vṛṣṇi is described as taking a divine form, with his five arms leaping and riding the garuda to the three worlds. He creates a city called Lāregada, and he becomes the ‘first king of Bad city’, ‘he calls himself Śrīprapa’. It is true that the *Anirut Khaṇ Cham* does not directly mention the cause of the Śrīprapa incarnation of Vṛṣṇi, but since Śrīprapa’s only foe in the text is Śrīprapa, it is therefore likely that the story that Śrīprapa is going to conquer and who is referred to in the first stanza of the *Anirut Khaṇ Cham*, in one and the same as Śrīprapa. In Hindu mythology it is the *Śrīprapa* — the analogue of Havana in the Śrīprapa incarnation — the cause of this incarnation of Vṛṣṇi. Śrīprapa, a tyrannical king of Gathara, son of Ugrasena, is the cousin of Śrīprapa. Śrīprapa, alienated from his father he then forbids his subjects to worship Śiva, and commands them to reverence Śiva. Śrīprapa’s tyranny becomes so unbearable that the Earth takes complaints to Śiva. Śrīprapa comes to know of what has happened. He predicts the gods that he will help them by incarnating himself as Śiva.

However, the *Nārājī Sirī Pān* does differ in many places from the *Aniruṭ Khum Chon*. In the first main part of the story, it is not only Pāṇa’s ill treatment of Aniruddha that causes the conflict between Kṛṣṇa and Pāṇa. Another element, i.e. Pāṇa’s committing adultery with Indra’s consort without her knowledge,
which is to cause his destruction, is inserted into the Narāi Sīh. Dāna. It is related in the Royal Press Version of the Narāi Sīh. Dāna that Dāna, whose lust after women has increased tremendously, changes himself into the form of a god, and goes up to the Tāvatīma Heaven. There he commits adultery with many goddesses. Even that does not satisfy him. He also transforms himself into the form of Indra and commits adultery with the goddess Sukitrā, the chief queen of Indra, without her knowing his true identity. When the goddess Sukitrā realizes the truth, her grief is so great that she takes leave of Indra to be born in the human world. She wants to be the cause which brings about Viṣṇu's destruction of the demon Dāna. Sukitrā is born without parents in a lotus growing in a pond near the hermitage of a sage. The sage finds her when he takes his bath there. He adopts her as his daughter and calls her Uśā. When the demon Dāna, who has no child, hears of her, he too wants to adopt her as his child. He asks for her from the sage. It is then that Indra sets in motion all that remains to cause the fall of Dāna. Indra makes Aniruddha feel like going to the forest. When Aniruddha stays overnight under the banyan tree in the forest, Indra orders a tree spirit called Sī Paromrak to carry Aniruddha to Uśā's palace. (The remainder of the story is the same as in the Aniruddha Chañ. There is only one slight difference, that is, Uśā's confidante has to fly up to the sixteen tiers of heaven and down to the whole world below in order to paint the portraits of the gods and the heavens for Uśā. In the Aniruddha Chañ she paints those portraits from her memory.) When Aniruddha is found and brought to Uśā, Indra orders Paromrak to deliver the news to Viṣṇu. That news brings Viṣṇu to Dāna's heaven and later to the battle between them.  

46. For Dāna's birth without parents see a note on p. 221, ibidem, p. 116, 107.  
47. For the other sections (ct.), Narāi Sīh. Dāna, pp. 61-62.
This interpolated episode in the Kālī Sin Phsa is influenced by a myth or myths, from a Rāvana cycle widely related in Thaïland and Cambodia. In the Phnak-Earn there is a story of the arrogant Rāvana, who forces goddesses to appease his passion. He also commits adultery with Indra's concubine. But the name of Sucițhā is not mentioned.  

There is a Cambodian tale of the oppression of the gods by Rāvana. The gods are very disturbed by Rāvana's power. Indra, in order to protect his heaven, hides there in a cavern, and comes to visit them on every seventh day. The door to this cavern can be opened only by use of a magic spell. Rāvana plans to change himself into a bird; he crouches above the door and listens to the secrets of his unsuspecting family. The next day, under the eye of Indra, it is easy for him to get inside the heaven and take his rôle with the chief wife, Sucițhā. It is clearly seen that the mischievous deed of Rāvana narrated in the preceding myth is transferred to Rāja in the Kālī Sin Phsa. The confusion between Rāvana and Rāja is not difficult to explain. In Thaï literature Rāvana and Rāja, as well as Nāma and Bāna, are often confused as the same person. For example in the Kīrti Nāma Cham Bāna is sometimes called Rāvana.

It cannot be said for certain that the Phnak-Earn and the Kālī Sin Phsa have been influenced by the Cambodian myth. This is because there is no valid evidence for an early date for the Phnak-Earn. It is true that there is a scene somewhat similar to this myth engraved on a bas-relief of the Interior Gallery of the Iowa at Angkor Thom and at Angkor Wat. It is the picture of a woman standing inside a door. Above the door there is a Jainsitic linxia. A prince is standing on one side of the door. On the other side is an ascetic.  

George Cuvier notes that the real source of this scene has not yet been found. For give instead a modern Cambodian tale.

(quote above) which is, according to him, very near to
the scene. Yet he also asserts that the ascetic in this
himself does not fit in with the tale he has given. 51
It is possible that both the Thais and the Cambodians had
adapted the myth of mischievous Râvana from the same source
as the Thai version of their own versions. The Thais on their side
had added the myth of Sâta's transgressing with a woman
named Vedavati who is reborn as Sâta in order to take
revenge on him, together with the myth of Indra and Râvana.
The myth of Vedavati and Râvana is narrated in the Ramayana.
Once Râvana tried to force a woman named Vedavati to be his
wife. Vedavati, the daughter of the sage Kusâlava, did not
accept his proposal. She told him that gods and gandharvas
were sought to see her, but her father would give her to no
one but Vişnu. Kambu, king of the demons, who was angry at
this resolution, slew her father; but she remained firm to
her father's wish, and practised austerities to gain Vişnu
for her husband. Nothing daunted, Râvana urgently pressed his
suit, and boasted that he was superior to Vişnu. He then
touched her hair with the tip of his finger. This greatly
annoyed her, and Vedavati forthwith cut off her hair, and
said she would enter into the fire before his eyes. She said,
"Since I have been insulted in the forest by you who are
wicked-hearted, I shall be born again for your destruction."
Then Vedavati entered the blazing fire. It was she who was
born again as Sâta, and was the cause of Râvana's death. 52
The Thai version of the Ramayana, the Ramakhian omits this
myth of Râvana's mischievous deed. The myth is preserved
in Thai literature in the cycle of Indra and is combined in
the Sâta story related in the Nârâi Sip Pâng instead. The
Cambodians also have the myth of the previous birth of Sâta
which, similar to the Thai story, can be said to have its
source in the Vedavati myth. But the Cambodians only combine
this myth with another tale of Râvana's changing himself.

51. 100.
52. 10â€a,a VII . 17
into the form of a lizard. On this occasion he once again assumes the form of the lady's husband, a hermit, in order to commit adultery with her. However, the Cambodians do not mix the myth of the reincarnation of Sītā with a myth of Indra and Rāvana as the Thais do. Nevertheless the Cambodian myth of Rāvana as a lizard, and the rebirth of Sītā, may have had some influence on the story of Uṣā in the Bot Lakhōn Rā'ang Unarut. This will be discussed in due course. (see p. 106). Another influence in the interpolated part of Uṣā's previous birth in the Nārāi Sīp Fāng is from the Thai version of the Rāmāvana, the Rānakīan. It is clear that the story of the sage's finding Uṣā, who was the goddess Sucitra in her previous birth, in a lotus at the bathing pond is reminiscent of the sage-king Janaka's finding Sītā in a box in the river where he is taking a bath.*53

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Differences in the second main part, or the fighting episodes, between the Anirut Khan Chan and the Narāi Sīp Pānq are that the Narāi Sīp Pānq deviates in many points from the Indian traditional story, while the Anirut Khan Chan follows the Indian prototype. In the Narāi Sīp Pānq Nārada, who in the Harivamśa and the Anirut Khan Chan, informs Kṛṣṇa of the killing of Aniruttama by Pāṇa, is omitted. He is replaced by a lower spirit named Śī Prasūrāk, who does the same thing as Nārada, according to Indra's order. The god Kārttikeya, Śiva's son and his chief assistant in the army, does not appear either. Indra is no longer known in the Narāi Sīp Pānq as Vīśnū's brother. He is there described as being a god only. As a god the fire god, which plays an important role in the Indian and the Anirut Khan Chan, do not take any part in it. Moreover, there is a new interpolated god in the episode, i.e. Pāṇa's men, which have been cut off. Kṛṣṇa, once restored by Śiva before they are cut off again. This might have been influenced by the Narāi Sīp Pānq. It is also narrated there that Kṛṣṇa's new locks and locks grow after the old ones have been cut off. On the other hand it can also be said that this interpolation is caused by the increasing importance of Śiva which is illustrated throughout in the Narāi Sīp Pānq. However, the Narāi Sīp Pānq still retains some parts similar to the Anirut Khan Chan. These are: that Pāṇa is not killed by Kṛṣṇa; that Śiva has his arms cut off by Kṛṣṇa; and that he becomes the doorkeeper of Śiva.

This is why the Narāi Sīp Pānq does not deviate as much from the Anirut Khan Chan as does the Cāl Lādānā in its Harivamśa. The Cāl Lādānā seems to be the transition from the Anirut Khan Chan to the Cāl Lādānā in its Harivamśa.
But llo. 11 to 14, Hurart, differs the most from the Hindu
prose. If it were not for two main incidents which are
similar to the Hindu story, it would be thought to be a
different one. These two incidents are: (a) the union of
the god with the queen brought about by a transaction, i.e. Upas
connection; and (b) the destruction of the demon king by
the hero (not even by Upas). These two incidents act like
relaying posts on which a new growth of deviations
and interpolations may cling, and indeed they seem to be
almost overgrown by these deviations. Most of the different
editions of the 11th to 14th c. Hurart can be said to have
been influenced by the Upas, or more probably by the Thai
version.

The first main growth, deviation is the change of the name
of the hero's parent from Wep to Hurart. This is without
doubt influenced by oral literary tradition. It seems that
the word Hurart is officially used for the first time in the
version compiled by King Nara. Haseshi's court poets in the
period 1372, as explanation for the change of the hero's name
in the poem. It is said in the first verse that the king is
following the ancient story, composing the story of Hurart. thus
it is possible that the change of the word had happened already,
and the new word had been used for some time before the reign
of King Nara. This time that he did not see any point in giving
justification.

Further, it can be said that the first main part of the 11th
class of the Hurart is based on the 11th to 14th c. This is
because the important incidents in the 11th to 14th c. which
do not appear in the Aituar Nara Chan, are found in the 11th
class of the Hurart. The first is that Upas commits adultery
with the goddess Suvitrù without her knowledge, and this

C. Ling, poems 2, 11th-14th c. Hurart, p. (2).
In the forest lived an ascetic and his wife whose beauty was heard of by Áloviyoks (Lord of the Yaksas, i.e. Śrīvāna) in Lāhā. He came to spy on the woman and was inflamed with desire for her. But the hermit, who regularly left his home to practise meditation for seven days at a time, had a habit of closing the door then with a magic spell, and of opening it with another spell. Áloviyoks transformed himself into a lizard and stationed himself on the portico to learn of these spells. Under the guise of being the hermit, one night when he was absent, Áloviyoks went in to the
woman's room to have intercourse with her, leaving her then alone once.

The wife, however, astonished by her husband's unusual return, pressed him with questions when he came back again to her. They both understood that had happened, the husband knowing that only Alavipata could be the author of such deception. The woman died of grief, but not without asking a vow to get revenge. She was reincarnated in the role of Venâvâlī (Vandoderi), the wife of Alavipata. Thus was the vow born, through which the ruin of Vandâlī would be accomplished."

It can be seen that this Cambodian myth is the combination of the Indra myth, i.e., the Wheel of Indra with Alavipata, Sage Canku (see p. 302), and the myth of Sêvana's transgression with Vedâvâlī (see p. 302). However, this Cambodian myth, as well as the Indra and Sêvana myth quoted above (see p. 301), both can be traced upon the scene on the low-relief at the Luxor and Abydos, or rather representing a likeness of the King and the Queen, which stands in the very corner of the throne in the Punja, viz., India. It is likely that the Khmer is an exclusively Cambodian motive.

It is a fact that the Thais had taken the hiding episode from this Cambodian myth and mixed it in the first Khmer

Dharma myth, with the Indra and Sêvana or Sêy myth, which had already been combined with the Vedâvâlī myth in the Hindu

Dharma.

There is also a Buddhist tale in Thai literature which contains the hiding episode. In a literary poem called Khema, PRIT, composed by Chao Wirun Phra Khlem (Ten) during the reign of King Borom I, the protagonist named Khamso (Sanskrit: "nakshatra") of a king, called Sornadatta transforms himself

into a chicken-house, and hides himself at the door of the Garaüa's inner apartment in the Simphili (Pali: Sihamli; Sanskrit: Sivali) house. After the Gareüa has left his apartment, WU-CHEN changes himself back to his normal form and enters the room. He then commits adultery with the Gareüa's mistress. She is called KAI and is King Brahmadatta's wife. She has been abducted by the Gareüa. The story of the KAI girl, its source in a Hipata Jataka named Kāmātiya Khāk or "Khāk Jataka (No. 307). In this Jataka there is no mention of Jataukte changing himself into the form of a chicken-house. Only his hiding at the Gareüa's door is narrated in the Jataka. It appears that the date of the KAI girl and that of the later Anuradha slender are con-
trary. Because this applies not only to the extent terms, which are technically contemporaneous — they are both from the reign of King Rama I — but also to the content: the details in both these stories cannot be traced further than the end of the Ayutthaya period. Earlier versions of the story all lack the episode of a hidden character watching and listening. A parallel to the Thai is to be by Prince Thammābhīrut, (1719-1769) son, in the form of a lyrical song called in Thai, "Khāk Tih." But the episode of Kāmātiya's KAI girl in the palace of Gareüa does not appear in the Ayutthaya text. Similarly, the episode of KAI's hiding himself in India's palace is not mentioned in a literary text called Sumod̄a Kham Chan, composed by Mahā Nara of Thalai Dynasty in the reign of King Agronymot, where reference to Anuradha appears. In the Sumod̄a Kham Chan, Mahā Nara refers to a dance-lay performance of the story of Anuradha and Kīmāri. The mention of the Kīmāri together
with it is that the existence of the Unarut legend (though, of course, not necessarily having contents identical with the Bot Lakhon Rūang Unarut) at that time. A whole scene is devoted to this in the Bot Lakhon Rūang Unarut. No Kinnarīs appear in either the Anirut Khan Chan or the Nārāi Sīp Pāng. However, it is not certain whether the hiding episode must definitely be excluded from the story-line as known in the Ayuthya period, because the telling of the story is incomplete in these texts; the nunnovat Khan Chan merely makes a passing reference, and the Bot Rū Rūang Kākī concerns itself with only one episode. Whether the Bot Lakhon Rūang Unarut is influenced by the story of Kākī of the Ayuthya period, or the other way round, cannot therefore be shown from any foregoing evidence. But it is definite that in the case of Rū Rūang Kākī, the hiding episode was influenced by the Jātaka, while it is more likely that this episode in the Bot Lakhon Rūang Unarut was influenced by the Cambodian myth of Āloviyoks and Sītā. That makes it certain that the Cambodian myth is the source of the hiding episode in the Bot Lakhon Rū Rūang Unarut is that the main character, i.e. Rāvana, in the Cambodian myth is nearer to Bāna in the Bot Lakhon Rū Rūang Unarut than is the Nākuwēn of the Jātaka. In addition to this there is also the Cambodian myth of Rāvana's transgression with Indra's wife which finds its counterpart in the Bāna and Indra myth in the Nārāi Sīp Pāng and the Bot Lakhon Rū Rūang Unarut.

The interpolation of a golden deer in the Bot Lakhon Rū Rūang Unarut is for certain an influence from the Rāmaśāhan. It is related in the text that when Indra knows, by means of his divine power, that Unarut is touring with his wife, the god orders Nātalī, who is usually known as Indra's charioteer, to change himself into the form of a golden deer.62 The

deer is to lure Unarut away from his wife and his retinue. It is to bring Unarut to a banyan tree. After that the spirit of the banyan tree will carry Unarut to Usa's palace to have sexual intercourse with her. It is said in the text that, when his wife asks Unarut to catch the golden deer for her, Unarut does not do so at once. He warns his wife to think well before she urges him to do so. He says, "This deer is so strange and does not fit in with its forest surroundings. It might be the same trick that trapped Rama, Lakshmana and Sita. As that time, Sire ordered Durica to transform into a deer too. The deer shone at Rama, and she too asked Rama to catch it for her. Rama did so. That is why his wife was able to be abducted by Sire.\textsuperscript{127} As for the reason why a golden deer has been interpolated in the story at all, one possibility is that it was interpreted after the interpolation of a characer, i.e. Unarut's son. The golden deer is a device to separate Unarut from his wife so that it is be alone who comes to the banyan tree.

This is the second part of the Nat. In two parts, Unarut himself is not mentioned from the other texts on Yama and his grandson. In the first part the fighting between Yama and Sita is no longer only with his son. In fact it forms only one half of it. Moreover, there is an important alteration in the story: It is Harat himself, who as soon as he has been released by Yama from Sita's enclosure, fights with Sita fiercely and kills her in the end.\textsuperscript{128} There is no doubt that this alteration is intended to justify Unarut, and therefore to justify the next and only hero of the story. This can also be concluded by the later episodes in this same second part of the text, i.e. the Nat. In the Nat. Harat, the 'ill at his Father, which is the defeat of Yama by Yama, the Nat. Harat, passes onwards to his own Father, the episodes which follow.

\textsuperscript{127} See, \textsuperscript{128} See, \textsuperscript{129} See.
to capture more wild elephants. Then Charu his third wife
left Lānumā. (The first is called Mūleśā and the second is Māla, Charu's daughter.) Later on Charu continues his hunt
for the elephants. The story ends with his return to Nāravājī, his city, for his last adventure.

It can be seen that the alteration and the interpolation in
the second part of the Lānumā Pāñcika. Charu are intended
to highlight the importance of Lānumā. They make clear that
the act is supposed to be the story of the renowned Lānumā,
and not that of Nāravājī, his grandfather, any more. Likewise,
the Thai interpolation of the tree spirit who carries Aniruddha
to be killed with lānumā in the Aniruddha Pāñcika can be said to
prove the same thing, i.e. Aniruddha is the most important
character in this Pāñcika. It is most unlikely that the reason
for the interpolation is that the tree spirit can hāma Lānumā
to reach his grandpa Aniruddha with lānumā. After all the
jungle hunt he continues. The tree spirit is not just to help
Aniruddha to kill his grandfather. It is only out of his.
only out of...

The tree spirit further carries Aniruddha to King’s
palace. The tree spirit knows that Aniruddha will be
right in front of the palace and he enjoys it. He would not
want his father to entertain him. This interpolation in the Aniruddha Pāñcika coincides well with a later episode when
Charu, his father, tells the soldiers of Lānumā to be punished
with his sword. His valiant fighting is described
in great length, and with even more colour than the battle
tales of Yāga and Rāma. It is true that the Aniruddha Pāñcika
contains the battle of Rāma against the gods, but this episode is
not inferior in great length, nor is it compared with the
battle can be considered as the episode on Aniruddha. Some passages
are relevant to fill up the story. It is here like a note to
say that the Thai story of Aniruddha has its origin in one of
the well-known stories of Yāga related in the Sanskrit Pāñcikas.
It can be seen that by the time this myth (in the Aniruddha
Pāñcikas. It can be seen that by the time this myth (in the Aniruddha
Pāñcikas. It can be seen that by the time this myth (in the Aniruddha
The trend of these Thai literary texts on Kṛṣṇa's myths reflects the Thai preference in literature dealing with a romance. It can be seen that the story of Aniruddha in Kṛṣṇa's myth is chosen in the first place because it contains a romantic element, not because it is the only Kṛṣṇa myth known by the Thais. There is evidence showing that various episodes in Kṛṣṇa's life had indeed been related in Thailand. The reference to Kṛṣṇa found in the text of early Ayutthaya period, discussed in the beginning of this chapter, confirms this statement. If these preferences for romance are admitted, however, consent is called for by the absence of any love-stories of Kṛṣṇa from Thai literature. In the Purāṇas, especially in the Viṣṇavatī Purāṇa, Kṛṣṇa is depicted as an amorous lover. He constantly sports with the wives and daughters of the cowherds of Vṛndāvana.  

The reason why these episodes do not appear in Thai literature can be that they are the stories of Kṛṣṇa in the form of a cowherd, a commoner. Since most of Thai poets during the early Ayutthaya period were court poets, it is therefore unlikely that the love-stories of commoners would have interested them or their patrons. The convention of the 'pastoral' (nymphs and shepherds, gods and shepherdesses etc.) is absent from Thai classical literature. Country life -- except for the austerities of rishis and sages -- was not admired. It was definitely not thought to be a sort of paradise of desirable simplicity. On the other hand it is possible that Kṛṣṇa's love-stories might have been considered by the Thais to be examples of too mundane an activity to be carried out by the incarnation of a god, or by a god himself. For by

66. Māhāvata Purāṇa X. 22; 29-33; 53.
the Thais, as well as the Hindus, Kṛṣṇa is thought of as the same as Viṣṇu. This can clearly be seen in Thai literature. In the three texts on Kṛṣṇa and his grandson Aniruddha, i.e. the Anirut Khan Chan, the Nārāy Si Pāng and the Dot Lakhon Rū'ang Unarut, Kṛṣṇa is frequently called Cakri — a discus holder — which is certainly an epithet of Viṣṇu. Likewise Viṣṇu is also often confused with Kṛṣṇa, and it is clear from the texts in which this phenomenon happens that Thai poets do not see any difference between Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa. In Chan Sangwoei Phra Mahā Suvetachat composed by Prince Dechādīpūn in the reign of King Rama IV, Kṛṣṇa is invoked as the same as Vāsudeva; he rides on the Garuda. In Chan Sangwoei Phra Thinang Pāng Pa In composed in the reign of King Rama V, Viṣṇu is replaced by Kṛṣṇa in the invocation to the Hindu trinity. Here too Kṛṣṇa is confused with Viṣṇu. Kṛṣṇa is described as wearing blue garments (the typical colour for Kṛṣṇa in Hindu mythology); he is shown as the Serpent Lord and rides the Garuda. In Chan Ilar Phra Sāthi Suvaphisarn by Phrayā Sāthi Sontiṣa Vōhān (Nōi), Kṛṣṇa is described as having four heads holding a conch, club, discus and the Earth, as invoked togethcer with Śiva and Viṣṇu. It is therefore possible that Kṛṣṇa’s identification with Garuda is in the version of the innumerable deeds of Viṣṇu. They were not chosen in the first place by Thai poets or even Indians, if these deeds are referred to at all, they are in fact related to analogous deeds of the god. This happens just as in the beginning of this chapter, p. 211, only the role of the god is, in this instance,
The position of the pole is considered by Thai poets to be a suitable subject to write about. Moreover, the cause of the conflict between Upag and Vipa, i.e., the love-affair between Vipa's grandson and that of Upa, Vipa's daughter, at the same time provides a good and attractive theme for Thai poets to display their literary skill and imagination alike. The preference for romantic, even erotic, stories may not be justified in without any disrespect to Upag or Krama Ill and, for it is the grandson who is the hero and chief protagonist. Another preference, viz., a love of real-life scenes and fantastic feats of heroine, can also be satisfied. This lies in the person of the grandfather once the grandson is no longer able to carry the story-line with him. This is true, but for exceptions, only the episode of Upag's fight against Vipa is chosen, expanded and made into a literature.
CHAPTER VII

THAI RAMA INCARNATION AND THAI VERSION OF THE RAMAYANA

RAHAVATAN

There are two so-called Rama incarnations in the Narai Sip Pangs (R.P.V.) One has been constructed by the Thais from myths relating to Ravana widely narrated in local South Indian Puranas; the other is the traditional account of Ramacandra, the great hero of the Ramayana.

The first Thai story of the Rama incarnation is the myth of Visnu’s rescue of Uma from the hands of Ravana. Visnu deceives Ravana into believing that his chosen bride, Uma, is unsuitable for him. Ravana is recommended by Visnu to choose Monthuk (Mandodari) instead. The Narai Sip Pangs (R.P.V.) relates:

The demon Wirunhok mistakes the cry of a lizard to be the voice of Siva so he bows down to pay homage to it. When Wirunhok finds out the truth he is so angry that he throws his serpent-noose cross-belt at it. The lizard is killed but Kailasa is tipped to one side. The gods cannot push the mountain back up again. Dasakantha volunteers to do so. Siva promises him any goddess, even his own concubine, as a reward. Dasakantha is successful in pushing the mountain back up to its previous position. He then asks for the goddess Uma from Siva as a reward. Siva has to give her to him. All the gods become very disturbed and ask Visnu for help. Visnu, therefore, changes his body into the form of a man called Ramawatan. He then comes to plant trees at the roadside where Dasakantha is passing by. Ramawatan catches his attention by putting the trees down into the ground topmost first. When Dasakantha comes by he is very surprised and does not realize that it is a trick. He censures the man saying, "You are a fool. How can these trees yield fruit when you plant them by putting the top part down first?" Ramawatán answers:"It is you who are a fool. Why did you ask for Uma? Why did you not ask for Monthok who is Siva’s concubine? She is suitable to be a queen. You have asked for Uma who is the Mother Goddess in the
abode of gods. If you make her your queen your head will be broken into seven pieces." When Dasakantha hears that he realises the truth, he returns Uma to Siva and asks him for Monthok. Siva gives her to him. Dasakantha returns to his city. Visnu then goes back to sleep in the Ocean of Milk.**

In Hindu mythology from South India, there are many versions of Visnu's playing a trick on Ravana in order to make him renounce Uma. All versions say that Ravana wins Uma from Siva by his great tapas and devotion to the god. The differences among these versions are the means by which Visnu succeeds in rescuing the goddess. The version in which Visnu uses the inverted tree for his trick as in the Thai story is a myth in the Tiruvaraṇcaram.

As Ravana was taking Uma south to Lankā, Visnu went and stood in their path. As soon as he caught sight of Uma's wedding chain he created a site for the performance of tapas on the north bank of Mayuranadī, and there he stood in the form of a sage by the side of a grove of mullī-shrubs which were growing upside down, their roots in the air, bearing ripe fruit. Ravana observed this strange phenomenon and brought his flying chariot down to ask the sage what it meant. "Who are you, and who is this lady?" asked the sage. "The fact is that she is the wife of Siva, and I have won her by tapas," said Ravana. The sage replied "To those who die after a life of following dharma, Antaka appears as a just king; but to the wicked, he has a hideous appearance. Similarly, Siva gave you Mayā and told you she was his wife. This mullī grove is the first sign you have had of how you are deceived."

Ravana was disheartened by these words. He asked Visnu to watch Uma and went to perform tapas at the river. Visnu took the form of a two-footed horse and took Uma to Varāṇcāi. When Ravana came back he could not find either of them. He followed them until he came to Varāṇcāi too. Then he performed tapas and asked for all his boons from Siva. Siva gave him the sword, the spear and the Māyāsakti.*


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In the Narai Sip Pāng and the Rāmakītan Viṣṇu does not take the form of a sage as in the Tamil text, but either of a man (in the Narai Sip Pāng) or of an old demon (in the Rāmakītan). But in both texts Viṣṇu uses the same trick in deceiving Rāvaṇa as in the Tamil myth mentioned above, i.e. by planting trees upside down. The theme of the Tamil myth, i.e. the sacredness of the pilgrimage site Varannci which can bring forth all the supreme boons for a devotee, is lacking in the Narai Sip Pāng. Only the intriguing trick of Viṣṇu is retained. In the Tamil myth cited above Rāvaṇa’s acquisition of his wife Mandodari which is described in the Narai Sip Pāng, is not mentioned. The mention of Mandodari as a suitable wife for Rāvaṇa is nevertheless found in another version of this myth. In the Śivalīlāmṛta Viṣṇu is described as creating a charming girl after he has been successful in making Rāvaṇa believe that Uma is very ugly, and in making Rāvaṇa return the goddess to Śiva. Viṣṇu assures Rāvaṇa that the charming girl will be born as Mandodari, the daughter of Mayasura. She will marry him and be a faithful wife.3

The counterpart of Rāvaṇa’s pushing Kailāsa Mountain back up again is not found in Hindu mythology except for an episode of Rāvaṇa’s trying to uproot Kailāsa. The story in the Uttarakanda of the Rāmāyaṇa goes:

Rāvaṇa is returning to Lanka after he has defeated Kuvera. On his way back he comes to the region near Kailāsa. Nandi, Śiva’s chief attendant, stops him telling him that Śiva is sporting on the mountain, and he is not to be approached by anyone. Rāvaṇa is very angry to hear that. Then he sees the monkey face of Nandi and laughs at it. Nandi curses him to be destroyed by monkeys. Rāvaṇa is very infuriated at that curse and at his failure to proceed with his journey. So he tries to uproot Kailāsa. He lifts the mountain up at once; and then the mountain trembles greatly. The gods and Pārvatī are very frightened. Śiva, who knows the real cause of this event, presses the mountain with his great toe, as in sport. Rāvaṇa is very

amazed. His arms are being crushed. From anger and pain
in his arms he shouts a very loud shout. The gods and his
councillors advise him to propitiate Siva so that the god
will release Rāvana's arms. Rāvana does so. He chants
various Soma hymns for a thousand years. In the end Siva
is pleased and sets free the hands of Rāvana. Siva tells
him that since he has uttered a terrific yell, which strikes
horror into the three worlds, his name will be Rāvana. Siva
also gives him an exceedingly effulgent sword, and grants
him peace for the rest of his life.*

This episode is also depicted in an iconographical form.* There are,
however, no sculptured images of this episode in Thailand. It is
not impossible that the Thais had misinterpreted this episode
(particularly if it was familiar to them in paintings only) to be a
representation of the beneficial action of Rāvana described in
the Thai texts. (See illustration No. 11)

However, it can be said that a connection with the Sanskrit Rāmāyana
is also found in the Thai Rāmāvatān myth. In the Uttarakaṇḍa of
the Valmiki Rāmāyana, Rāvana is cursed by Nālakuvara, son of
Kuvera, that his head will be broken into seven pieces whenever
he forces any woman to appease his passion. This curse is
reflected in the threat Viṣṇu utters to Rāvana in the Nārāi Siṅ
Pāng mentioned above. But in the Rāmakīrti there is a reference
to the element of Uma's being made out to be a disastrous choice
for a bride, which is described in most of the Tamil myths on
this subject. In the Rāmakīrti Viṣṇu, in the form of an old demon,
tells Rāvana that Uma is the god Kāla, or Death. She will be the
cause of the destruction of the whole race of Lanka.*

The reason why Viṣṇu, referred to in the South Indian myths cited
above, has been taken by the Thais to be the Rāma incarnation in

4. Rāmāyana VII, 16.
Madras, 1916, pp. 218-220.
6. Phra Bāt Somdet Phra Phuttha Yōṭ Fā Chulā Lōk (King Rama I),
the Narai Sip Pang is that the god changes his form in order to act against Ravana. Ravana is the main opponent of Rama, therefore Visnu even in a form other than Rama, is nevertheless believed to be one and the same person. However, the Ramakian does not call this form of Visnu Ramawatan. Here he is described as an old demon, not just a man as in the Narai Sip Pang. This accords well with the story as found in the Khlong Narai Sip Pang (Narai Sip Pang related in a poetical form), (1879), composed jointly by many court poets of King Rama V. In the Khlong Narai Sip Pang, the name Ramawatan of Visnu is also changed to Mahallaka Asurawatan (mahallaka-asura-avatara: old-demon-incarnation). In theory this should not be so because the content of Khlong Narai Sip Pang was supposed to be, according to the command of King Rama V, in strict accordance with the Royal Press Version of the Narai Sip Pang. It is clearly seen that the authors of the Khlong Narai Sip Pang were following the Ramakian of King Rama I. It is possible that by the year 1879 the disguised form of Visnu who beguiles Ravana into renouncing Una was already considered to be different from Rama. It is noteworthy that while there are a large number of references to the Rama incarnation in Thai literature, there is nowhere in Thai literary works, except for the Ramakian and the Narai Sip Pang, any reference to this Ramawatan or the Mahallaka Asura incarnation at all. It is possible that it is the authors of the Narai Sip Pang alone who regard this form of Visnu as being a separate incarnation of Visnu.
RA MACANDRA INCARNATION

The Thai account of the Rāmacandra incarnation has the main theme similar to that of the Indian story, that is: Rāma is a son of King Daśaratha of Ayodhya; he is banished to the forest by his father; his wife Sītā is carried off by Rāvana, the demon king of Lānka; Rāma recovers Sītā after he has defeated Rāvana in the battle. But the Thai story of the Rāmacandra incarnation is not a translation or an adaptation of the Vālmiki Rāmāyana. While it does contain some parts identical with Vālmiki's version these are mixed with episodes and stories from various Indian stories of Rāma besides that of Vālmiki's, such as the Bengali Rāmāyana, the Tamil Kamban Rāmāyana, and those from the Purāṇas. The proportions of the contributions from these sources vary so much that no one particular work can claim influence over the Thai Rāmakian as a whole.

The following passages, comparing the contents of the Rāma story in both the Nārai Sip Pāng and King Rama I's Rāmakian with plausible Indian sources, will attest the hypothesis cited above. Corresponding stories from the Vālmiki version are also given in order to strengthen the argument.

1. Birth of Rāma and his brother.

Thai Rāma Story: Phra Nārai (Nārāyaṇa) promises to incarnate himself as Rāma provided that his regalia shall also be born as the other sons of King Daśaratha: his serpent and conch as Laksmana; his discus as Bharata; and his mace as Satrughna.*

Padma Purāṇa: It has a nearly similar story. It says that Rāma is treated as the incarnation of Viṣṇu; and Laksmana, Bharata, and Satrughna of Śeṣanāga, Sudarsana discus, and the conch respectively. 8

Vālmiki Rāmāyana: There is reference only to Rāma being the incarnation of Viṣṇu. There is no mention of the regalia of Viṣṇu also being born as the other sons of Daśaratha.*

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7. Ibid., p. 291.
2. Hanumān as a son of Śiva

Thai Rāma story: In the Rāmākiṭa Īśvara is described as giving part of his power to Vāyu to put into the mouth of Sawāha in order to create Hanumān. In the Nārāi Sip Pāng (all versions) Īśvara asks Vāyu to pour his semen, shed when he has made love with the goddess form (Apsarawatan) of Nārāyaṇa, into the mouth of Sawāha. In due course Sawāha gives birth to Hanumān.*

Siva Purāṇa: Śiva falls in love with Viṣṇu in the Mohini form.
He sheds his semen. The seven celestial sages keep that semen and later pour that substance into the ear of Añjana, Gautama's daughter. In due time Śiva is born of it in the form of Hanumān.*

Valmīki Rāmāyaṇa: When Brahmā knows that Viṣṇu is going to incarnate himself as Rāma he orders other gods to create monkeys out of their own bodies to be Rāma's soldiers. Vāyu creates Hanumān in consequence of this.*

3. Pre-Matrimonial love of Rāma and Sītā.

Thai Rāma story: Rāma's eyes meet with Sītā's while he passes by under the window of the royal palace of Mithilā. They fall in love with each other at first sight.*

Kamban Rāmāyaṇa: The episode is the same as in the Thai story.*

Valmīki Rāmāyaṇa: There is no mention of Rāma and Sītā seeing each other before the archery contest.*

4. The Exile of Rāma.

Thai Rāma story: When Kućī (Mantharā), the hunch-backed maid of queen Kaikeyī (Kaikeyī) hears that King Dāśaratha is going to install Rāma as king, she recalls Rāma's maltreatment of her when

12. Rāmāyaṇa I, 17.16.
14. Kamban Rāmāyaṇa 1.10.35.
he was young. He was practising archery at that time. Rāma shot his arrow at her hunched back. The arrow pushed Kučči’s hump forward, and the hump moved backward when Rāma’s arrow returned to him. Kučči hurries to provoke Kaikesī to ask for her own son’s succession to the throne and for the exile of Rāma for 14 years. Kamban Rāmāyaṇa: Daśaratha desires to abdicate in favour of Rāma. When the hunch-backed Mantharā recalls Rāma as a boy shooting mud balls at her hunched back, she wants to take revenge on him. Mantharā goes to Kaikeyī and corrupts her mind. Thus Rāma is to be exiled from his kingdom for 14 years.

Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa: There is no narration of Rāma’s childhood prank in maltreating Mantharā, the hunch-backed maid of Kaikeyī. And Rāma is to be appointed by Daśaratha merely as an heir-apparent to the throne.

5. Rāma’s departure to the forest.

Thai Rāma Story: Rāma, Laksmana and Sītā do not meet king Daśaratha before they go off to the forest in a chariot driven by Sunantra.

Kamban Rāmāyaṇa: When Rāma, Laksmana and Sītā get ready to go to the forest, they go to Daśaratha’s palace, and ask the queens to take care of the king. The three do not meet Daśaratha at all. They leave Ayodhya by a chariot driven by Sumantra.

Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa: Rāma and Daśaratha engage in an elaborate discussion in which Daśaratha tries his best to persuade Rāma to stay. Rāma rejects his father’s persuasion, and he, with Laksmana and Sītā, is driven to the forest in a chariot by Sumantra.

16. Kamban Rāmāyaṇa 2.2.41.
17. Rāmāyaṇa II : 3; 7-9.
20. Rāmāyaṇa II : 34.20–37.

Thai Rama story: At the cremation of Dasaratha, Kaikesi and her son Bharata are forbidden, according to the dead king's wishes, to join in the ceremony.*21

Kamban Rāmāyaṇa: Sage Vasistha tells Bharata the wish of Dasaratha that the son of Kaikesi should not perform the ceremonies. Therefore Satrughna performs the ceremonies.*22

Vālki Rāmāyaṇa: On the advice of Vasistha, Bharata performs the cremation of Dasaratha.*23

7. Lakṣmana's unknowing murder of Kumphaṭāt.

Thai Rama story: Kumphaṭāt (kumbha-kāśa) is a son of Samanakha (Śurpanakha) and Sahasachiha (Vidyujjihva). He performs a sacrifice in a bamboo tree in order to obtain a divine weapon from the gods. Finally Brahmā throws a divine weapon down from heaven and it falls in front of Kumphaṭāt. The demon is indignant. He wants the god to hand the weapon to him by hand so he does not take the fallen weapon. On the same day Lakṣmana goes there in order to collect fruits. He sees the divine weapon and takes it. He cuts the bamboo tree inside which Kumphaṭāt is sitting and thus unknowingly kills him.*24

Paumacaria, a Jaina Rāmāyaṇa by Vimalasuri.

Sambhuṭa is the son of Candranakha, wife of Khara and sister of Havana. Lakṣmana, in his wanderings through the forest, sees a grove of bamboos and a sword near by worshipped with flowers. To test its sharpness he grips the sword and cuts down the grove at one stroke. In the midst of the falling bamboos, Lakṣmana, to his surprise, beholds the severed head of a lad. This lad is Sambhuṭa. Lakṣmana is full of remorse for his act, though committed unknowingly.*25

22. Kamban Rāmāyaṇa 2.9.132.
23. Rāmāyaṇa II.76.
24. Khun Ying Lu'an Rit (ed.), Nārai Sīx Pāng, pp. 144-145. See also p.141.
Valmiki Ramayana: There is no such episode in Valmiki's text.

8. Quarrel between Vali and Sugriva

Thai Rama story: Before Vali goes to fight with a bull called Thqraphi (Darabi) in a cave where the bull has been brought up by some deities, Vali tells Sugriva that if Sugriva sees thin blood i.e. Vali's blood, coming out of the cave he should close the cave with stones. At the end of the fight Sugriva sees thin blood, which is in fact Thqraphi's thickblood diluted by rainwater, flowing from the cave. Sugriva mistakes it for Vali's and closes the cave. This makes Vali take Sugriva to be a traitor and he banishes him from the realm.*

Adhyatma Ramayana in Malayalam (16th century A.D.): Vali asks Sugriva to close the entrance of the cave through which he must pass to kill the demon Mayavi should any blood come out of it, and not to close it if it should be milk. Sugriva closes it, seeing blood coming out of it. This change in colour is due to the magic of Mayavi, not known either to Vali or Sugriva. Vali regards Sugriva as a traitor.*

Valmiki Ramayana: Vali follows the demon Mayavi to fight with him in a cave. Sugriva waits for Vali to come out for a year. In the end he sees blood coming out of the cave and can hear only the demon's voice. Sugriva thinks that Vali is dead so he closes the cave. Sugriva is thought to be a traitor by Vali.*

9. Rama's secret is revealed to Hanuman.

Thai Rama story: Before Hanumān leaves for Lāṅkanā, Rāma gives him his ring to give to Sītā, and reveals to Hanumān a secret known only to himself and Sītā, that is, his eyes and her's met while he was on his way to the palace of the king of Mithila and they fell in love at first sight.*

Kamban Ramayana: Before Hanumān leaves for Lāṅkanā, Rāma asks him to tell Sītā of their first pre-matrimonial sight of each other. Then Rāma gives his diamond ring to Hanumān to give to Sītā.*

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26. King Rama 1, p.430-446.
29. King Rama 1, p.806-807.
10. **Sitā's attempted suicide.**

Thai Rama story: When Dāśakaṭha leaves after he has cruelly threatened Sītā, she is so distressed that she decides to hang herself. Sītā ties her sābā (a sash worn across the body) round her neck and ties the other end to a branch of an Aśoka tree. At that moment Hanumān comes to her and saves her life.*

Kamban Ramāyana: Sītā is so distressed at Rāvaṇa's threats that she resolves to commit suicide. She goes towards a jasmine creeper, and ties it round her neck. At that moment Hanumān comes down from the tree where he is hiding himself, and gives Rāma's ring to her, and thus saves her from death.*

Valmiki Ramāyana: Sītā thinks of committing suicide by tying her hair round her neck and hanging from a tree. But she does not do so, and there is no mention of her being rescued by Hanumān at all.*

11. **Quarrel between Hanumān and Nala.**

Thai Rama story: While Hanumān and Nilaphat (Nala) are constructing a bridge over the ocean to Lāṇkā, Hanumān, in order to take revenge on Nilaphat, who has thrown a whole lot of stones to him to catch, also does the same thing to Nilaphat. Nilaphat who cannot catch all the stones in his hands, uses his feet too. Hanumān takes it as an insult, so he fights fiercely with Nilaphat.*

Bengali Ramāyana: Hanumān is angry with Nala because Nala catches the wood Hanumān gives him in his left hand. Hanumān takes it as an insult. Therefore they fight with each other.*

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31. Ramāyana IV.44.
33. Kamban Ramāyana 4.5.71-27.
34. Ramāyana IV.26.
Valmiki Ramayana: Only Nala is responsible for constructing a bridge to Lanka. He takes up the work and a bridge is built in five days with mountains and trees brought by the monkeys.

12. Rāvana's special sacrifice for victory.
Thai Rama story: When Daśakaṇṭha realises that he cannot easily defeat Rāma, he thinks of performing phithumong (a sacrifice in a cave) to make his body invincible. He performs this sacrifice in a cave in a mountain called Niṣkapākhiri. He orders his men to close the entrance of the cave by a magic prayer and no one is able to come and disturb him for seven whole days. Hanumān, Sugrīva, and Niṣkapāṭha succeed in opening the cave. They nullify Daśakaṇṭha's sacrifice by making him angry. They bring Mandodari there and illtreat her in front of Daśakaṇṭha. Furious, Daśakaṇṭha is not able to concentrate on the sacrifice, and leaves it in the end.

Adhyātma Ramayana (in the Brahmānda Purāṇa): When Rāvana returns to Lanka after being wounded in the chest by an arrow from Rāma, Sukra, the preceptor of the demon, advises Rāvana to perform a sacrifice for victory. Rāvana does it in a lonely cave underground. Vibhīṣana gets a sign through the smoke coming up and informs Rāma. Rāma sends Hanumān, Aṅgada and other great warriors to destroy the sacrifice. Aṅgada drags Mandodari by her hair to the sacrificial place. Rāvana gets extremely infuriated. He comes up with his sword from the cave, and meanwhile the monkeys destroy the sacrifice and return to Rāma.

Valmiki Ramayana: There is no mention of Rāvana's special sacrifice at all.

13. Bharata's and Satruṣṭha's desire to enter the fire.
Thai Rama story: After fourteen years have passed by without

37. Rāmāyaṇa VI.22.41-58.
39. Adhyātma Ramayana 6.10.4-43.
the return to Ayuthya of Rama, Bharata and Satrughna resolve to enter fire in order to prove their loyalty to Rama. Hanuman and Kukhan (Guha), who bring the news of Rama's arrival, reach there in time to stop Bharata and Satrughna who are on the point of entering the fire.*40

Kamban Ramayana: Bharata is determined to fall into the fire and die because Rama has not returned to Ayodhya at the end of fourteen years as he has promised. Bharata also wants to prove his innocence. At the moment when Bharata gets ready to burn himself Hanuman arrives there and delivers Rama's news.*41

Valmiki Ramayana: There is no such episode.

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Unlike the episodes of the Thai Rama story discussed in the early pages, prototypes of which can be found in certain versions of the Indian Rāmāyana, some episodes in the Thai story cannot easily be identified with any one Indian origin. Most of these episodes appear in a form which seems to have been fused together by the Thais from various versions of the Indian Rāma story. Three such episodes are here quoted. They are: the birth of Mandodari; the birth of Sītā; and the birth of Vālī and Sugrīva.

1. Birth of Mandodari. The story in the Rāmakīan goes as follows:

Four sages, i.e. Atanta, Wachira, Wisut, and Maha Rommasing, have practised austerities for thirty thousand years. Their lives are sustained by milk given to them by five hundred cows. The cows daily drop their milk in a crystal basin for them. When they have drunk their fill of milk, they give the rest to a female frog. One day a female Nāga, full of lust, comes up from the Patala world, and cohabits with a common snake. When the sages see this, they disapprove of the Nāga's behaviour, and strike her with their sticks in order to remind her of her superior birth. The indignant Nāga is very infuriated so that she takes revenge on the sages by vomiting her venom into the milk which is the sages' food. The frog sees what the Nāga has done. The frog, grateful to the sages for supplying her with food, jumps into the basin of milk, and is killed by the Nāga's venom. When the sages see the dead frog in the milk basin, they are very puzzled, and assume that she died through her greediness. However, they resuscitate the frog for the sake of obtaining merit for a good deed, and they question her on her action. When the sages find out the truth, they are so grateful to the frog that they change it into the form of a beautiful damsel and name her Montho (based on manduka, a frog'). The sages then present her to Śiva, who in turn, gives her to Uma.*

The counterpart of the episode cited above is not found in any of the Indian Rāma stories. Yet the Uttara Rāmāyana has a story of Mandodari's being a frog before the gaining of her human form.

The text says that Mandodari was in her previous birth a goddess named Madhura. Once Uma found out that Madhura had had a sexual union with Siva while Uma was absent. Uma then cursed Madhura to live in a well for twelve years as a frog. Siva, having compassion for Madhura, gave her a boon. Madhura was to become, at the end of twelve years, a beautiful maiden and to be married to a man of great fame and valour. At the end of twelve years, Madhura became a girl, and was adopted as a daughter by the demon Maya and his wife Nela. They named her Mandodari. Later on she is married to Ravana.*

The element of poisonous milk in the Thai Mandodari myth might have been influenced by an episode concerning Sita's birth in a Kashmir version of Ramayana called Adbhuta Ramayana. In that text a sage named Samadha is described as being engaged in penance in order to get a daughter who would be equal to Lakshmi. The sage takes milk with the head of darbha-grass, and stores it daily in a pot. Sana takes that pot and puts into it blood of the sages, whom he has shot. Sana gives the pot of milk and blood to Mandodari. Mandodari, who has become very depressed by Sana's notorious conduct, takes the mixture as a poison and drinks it in order to commit suicide. But Mandodari becomes pregnant instead. Mandodari buries the foetus in Kuruksetra. After a while a girl is born from it.*


2. Birth of Sītā. In the Thai Rāma story Sītā is regarded as the incarnation of Lākṣmī. She is described as being created from the same substance as Rāma. The Rāmakīran relates:

Monthō smells the aroma of the sacred meal, i.e. cooked rice-balls, prepared by the gods for King Daśaratha. She has a very strong desire for this and asks Daśakantha to get it for her. Daśakantha orders Kākanāsūn, one of his relatives to get it for him. Kākanāsūn disguises herself as a crow and flies to Ayuthya. Kākanāsūn steals half of a rice-ball and gives it to Daśakantha. Daśakantha gives it to Monthō. She eats it and becomes pregnant. In due course Monthō gives birth to Sītā.45

2.1 The robbing of Daśaratha's sacrificial meal, in the Thai story, may be based on the Ananda Rāmāyaṇa. The story goes:

Daśaratha is dividing among his wives the divine pāyasa46 obtained from the sacrifice for gaining children which he performed so that he might be blessed with children. Somehow or other a kite snatches some pāyasa and flies off with it. On its way the Pāyasa falls down from the beak of the kite on to the fingers of Anjana doing tapas in the forest. She eats that pāyasa and Hanumān is born as the son of Anjana due to the power of the pāyasa.47

In the Malay Rāma story, there is a story of Gagak Swāra, relative of Rāvana's, who attends the sacrifice of Daśaratha in a form of a crow. Gagak Swāra steals one of the rice-balls and flies away to give it to Rāvana. Unlike the Thai story, in the Malay version it is Rāvana who eats the rice-ball.48 There is no mention of Sītā's being created from this rice-ball at all. However, this Gagak Swāra

46. pāyasa: food prepared with milk, rice boiled in milk.
47. Ananda Rāmāyaṇa 1.1.181-190.
seems to be the same character as the Thai Kākanāsūn. It is possible that both Thai Kākanāsūn and Malay Gāgak Swāra have their prototypes in the Indian Tāraka who, in the Vālmīki Rāmāyana, is cursed to become a crow by the sage Agastya because she is very fond of eating human flesh.

Some Indian Rāma stories, such as, the Version in the Devībhāgavata Purāṇa, and the Adbhuta Rāmāvata, describe Sītā as the daughter of Rāvana and Mandodari, but none of them mentions the creation of Sītā from Dasaratha’s sacred meal.

2.2 In the Nārāy Sip Pāng*49 and the Rāmakī*50 Sītā when first born is described as crying three times phīn rāp, meaning "destroy Rāvana" and her cries are also taken as a bad omen. Both Thai versions say that according to Phiphēk (Vibhīṣana, Rāvana’s brother and court astrologer) Sītā is a ‘woman who will cause destruction’, and is to be disposed of."51

In the Uttara Parāna by a Digambar Jain called Guṇabhadra, Rāvana is said to have outraged one Manimati, the daughter of Amitrega. Manimati vows to be born again and kill Rāvana for his improper action. She is born as Sītā, the daughter of Rāvana and Mandodari.*52 This story might have been the source of the Thai version. However, the Vālmīki Rāmāyana, Brahmaivarta Purāṇa, and the Tamil Kamban Rāmāyana also have a story of Rāvana’s outraging of a woman, here called Vedavatī, who is also reborn in order to take revenge on him. But in these texts Vedavatī is not born as the daughter of Rāvana and Mandodari.

2.3 The Thai story continues:

Rāvana, who is frightened by Phiphek's prediction concerning Sītā, has her put in a golden box and has the box thrown into the sea. The box floats along until it reaches the river bank where King Chanok (Janaka), living as a sage at that time, is bathing. King Chanok takes the box from the river and adopts Sītā as his daughter.*

This episode might have been influenced by the Tamil Kamban Rāmāyana. The text narrates:

When Vedavatī burns herself in order to protest at Rāvana's ill-treatment of her, Rāvana is very disturbed. He then collects her ashes in a box, and takes the box with him to Lanka. Later on, Rāvana is advised by the sage Mārada to get rid of that box for the safety of Lanka and has it dropped into the sea. The box comes with the waves to India. Later on it comes to be deposited in the basin of a river in Mithila and is found by Janaka.*

2.4 The Rāmākīran continues:

When King Chanok first finds the baby Sītā in a golden box, he feeds her by means of milk flowing from his finger.*

This is for certain influenced by a Buddhist myth. In the Trai Phum Phra Ruang, in the chapter on the human world, people of the Uttarakuru continent are described as having no responsibility for bringing up their own children. The general practice is that they put a first-born baby by the side of the road. Any one passing by will put his finger in the baby's mouth. The baby will be fed with milk flowing from the tip of his finger.*

2.5 The Thai story goes on. King Chanok does not take Sītā back to his kingdom at once. In the Rāmākīran he buries her under a banyan tree.

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In the Narai Sip Pang he buries her under a tree called lamut sīda (Mimusops Kauki (Sapotaceae)). That is why she is called sīda.*  

The name sīta, under various pronunciations: 'sāda, sādā', is also found attached to the word 'lāmut' in Khmer. The glosses also agree on Mimusops Kauki. But there is no myth of the burying of Sīta under such kind of a tree in the Cambodian Rāmāyaṇa or in Cambodian folklore. No reason for the derivation of that tree's name has been found either. In Tamil land a custard apple is called 'citā' (i.e. as from Sīta, which in Tamil is 'citai' or its variant 'cīta'). Here too no myth of the connection between Sīta and the custard apple is found. Thai myth of lamut sīda does not indicate any similar characteristic between Sīda and the Mimusops Kauki either.

There are two possibilities for the naming of this kind of a fruit tree. One is that the fruit tree with its present name was imported to Thailand first, then, the myth was created in order to explain the similarity between the name of Sīda and that of the tree. The other possibility is that the fruit tree was imported first, or that it was native to Southeast Asia, then the name was attached to it afterwards, and the last stage being the creation of a myth to go with the name of the tree. Moreover, it can be said that this practice, i.e. inventing a myth explaining how the name of anything is made up, is popular in Thailand. Two more examples can be quoted from the Narai Sip Pang. A special kind of bamboo tree comes to be called ru'si suk because, according to the Narai Sip Pang, it first grew in front of a ru'si (rāsi, 'a sage') called Sukhawatana.* In this case the Common Noun ru'si for 'a sage' is compounded with suk which is the first syllable of the Proper Name of the sage. Another example is the name of Havana's capital. It is called Langka because of the existence of a rang ka, 'a crow's nest', there. It can be seen that the author of the text tries to make sense out of the word Langka by taking the meaning of the second syllable of the word, i.e. ka, as a crow. Then he identifies the first syllable lang with rang, 'a nest'.

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58. Prabhān Sukhonthachat (ed.), Narai Sip Pang..., pp. 9; 52.
2.6 After sixteen years, King Chanok comes back to that tree and ploughs the land in order to get Sītā back. He finds her and takes her to his kingdom.*59 The story of Janaka's discovering Sītā while he is ploughing the land is described in the Valmiki Rāmāyana*60, and is followed by many Indian versions. It cannot be said for certain which version is the prototype of the Thai version, but it might have been influenced directly by the Valmiki Rāmāyana.

3. Birth of Vālī and Sugrīva. The Rāmukīn narrates

After the sage Gotama practised penances for two thousand years he is reminded by a rice-bird that it is a sin to remain childless. So the sage creates a wife for himself from a sacrificial fire. He calls her Kān Atchana. She gives birth to a daughter called Sauhā. Later on Indra commits adultery with Kān Atchana in his own form. His motive is that he wants to hand on his own power to Rama who is going to fight with Rāvana. Kān Atchana in due time gives birth to Indra's child, Vālī. Later on Kān Atchana falls in love with the sun god Sūrya, who thinks along the same lines as Indra, and commits adultery with her and creates a son, Sugrīva. At first both Vālī and Sugrīva are human beings. Later on they are cursed by Gotama to be monkeys. Gotama throws them together with his daughter into a river saying that if any one of them is his child, may he swim back to him, or else let him become a monkey. Only Sauhā swims back to him.*

3.1 In Hindu mythology Indra does not produce any child with Ahalyā, Gautama's wife with whom he commits adultery. On the contrary he is severely punished. His linga drops off, but through the help of the Prajāpatis, it is replaced with that of a male goat.** However, in Hindu mythology there is also the story of Vālī's and Sugrīva's being the sons of Indra and Sūrya respectively. In the Mahābhārata Vālī and Sugrīva are described as being the sons of Aruni, or the female form of Aruna, begotten by Indra and Sūrya. On the advice of Indra and Sūrya who are ashamed of themselves, Aruni gives Vālī and Sugrīva to Ahalyā to bring them up.*

3.2 The importance in the Thai version of water as a medium for magical transformation might be due to the influence of a Hindu myth of Śaṅkarāja. In the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa Śaṅkarāja saw his own image reflected in a lake. He thought it was some enemy and jumped into the lake to attack it. But he soon realized his mistake and returned to the shore. As soon as he came out of the water, he found that he had become a woman.*

63. Vettuvan Tamil, Duruṇī Cezalornedia, p. 105.
64. Rāmāyaṇa VII. 41.
However, the curse of Gotama upon Vālī and Sugrīva in the Thai version must also have been influenced by the Kāhābhūrata. The text says that when Vālī and Sugrīva are entrusted by Aruṇī to Ahalyā, the latter brings them up with tender love. But her husband Gautama does not like this, and curses Vālī and Sugrīva and turns them into monkeys.*

In none of the Indian Rāmāstories does Ahalyā have a daughter.

3.3 In the Rāmāyaṇa Gotama, infuriated by what he has just found out, curses Kān Atēhanā to become stone. She will be released from the curse only by her meeting with Rāma. Kān Atēhanā, angry at her daughter Sawaha who has disclosed her secret to Gotama, curses her daughter. Sawaha is to stand on one foot and to have only wind as her foot until she gives birth to a monkey-child like Vālī and Sugrīva.*

In the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa Ahalyā is cursed by Gautama to have only wind as her foot. But some other Indian versions, such as the Adhukta Rāmāyaṇa, Bādhuvamanā, the Janaki Harana, Rāmalinga, and the Karnā Rāmāyaṇa, do have Ahalya's being turned to a stone because of her husband's curse.

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65. Vettam Mani, Rāmāyaṇa (new edn.), p. 105.
66. King Rama I, Ramakian, Vol. I, pp. 82-83
There are several Thai versions of the Rāma story. These are:

(1) Botphāk or Khamphāk Rāmakīan of the Ayuthya period.
(2) Botlakhōn Rāmakīan of the Ayuthya period.
(3) Rāmakīan of King Tāksin of Thōnbūri.
(4) King Rama I's Rāmakīan.
(5) King Rama II's Rāmakīan.
(6) King Rama IV's Rāmakīan.
(7) King Rama VI's Rāmakīan.
(8) Rāmāwatān in the Nārāi Sip Pāng.

The complete version is that of King Rama I's. The story in the Khamphāk Rāmakīan begins at the abduction of Sītā by Rāvana. It continues until the death of Kumbhakarna, Rāvana's brother. The text Khamphāk Rāmakīan also contains some detached episodes, some of which are incomplete. Botlakhōn Rāmakīan of Ayuthya period is very short. It contains only the episodes of the preparation of Rāma's army and Rāma's dispatch of An̄gada as an envoy to Lāṅkā. King Tāksin of Thōnbūri composed five episodes. These are: Hanumān meets Wānarin, who tells him where the demon Wirunchambang, Rāvana's ally is hiding himself; Lord Mālīwarat, Rāvana's grandfather acts as a judge in the quarrel between Rāvana and Rāma; Rāvana's performance of a ceremony of burning the idols of the gods; Laksmana's being pierced by the Spear Kabinlaphat of Rāvana; and Rāma's performance of a horse sacrifice in which the sacrificial horse leads him to meet his son. The story of Rāma in the Rāmakīan of King Rama II is divided into two parts. Part One starts from Hanumān's presenting Rāma's ring to Sītā in Lāṅkā, and ends at the coronation of Rāma. Part Two begins at the banishment of Sītā and ends at the reconciliation between Rāma and Sītā. King Rama IV composed only one episode of the Rāma story.
that is, the journey and adventures of Rāma in the forest during his exile. The story in King Tāksin's version, which is presumably based on the Ayuthya version (or versions), is more or less the same as that of King Rama I's version. The versions of King Rama II and of King Rama IV are not different in content from that of King Rama I either. King Rama II and King Rama IV change only the composition of the verses. The versions which are different from King Rama I's Rāmakītan are: the Rāma story in the Nārāi Sip Pāng; the Khamphāk Rāmakītan of the Ayuthya period; and King Rama VI's version. King Rama VI composed discontinuous episodes of the Rāmakītan. These episodes are: The Ordeal of Sage Gotama's children; Laksmana's being pierced by the Phrommāt Arrow of Intharachit; the disguise of Benyakāi, Rāvana's niece, as the dead Sītā, and her floating against the stream to the pavilion of Rāma; the fight between Arjuna and Rāvana; the construction of the bridge by Rāma's army to Laṅkā; the first battle between Rāma's and Rāvana's armies; the abduction of Sītā; Hanumān's burning Laṅkā; the banishment of Vibhīṣaṇa; and the Nāgapaśa of Intharachit. Most of the episodes, (except the episodes of the Phrommāt Arrow, and of the floating Benyakāi, which are similar to the version of King Rama I), are based on Vālmīki's Rāmāvana, and thus differ most from all the other Thai versions of the Rāma story. The differences between King Rama I's Rāmakītan and the Nārāi Sip Pāng, and between the Khamphāk Rāmakītan of the Ayuthya period and King Rama I's version are discussed below.
None of the versions of the Nārāi Sip Pāng has the full story of the Rāmacandra incarnation of Viṣṇu. Most of them refer to the Rāmakīrī as being a complete version. However some episodes of the Rāma story in the Nārāi Sip Pāng are not the same as those in the Rāmakīrī of King Rama I. These differences are discussed in the following passages.

1. Śiva’s destruction of the demon Trī Buram. This episode is inserted into the Rāma story in both the Nārāi Sip Pāng and the Rāmakīrī in order to act as the creation myth for Śiva’s bow, bestowed upon the king of Mithilā. This bow is the one Rāma lifts up (or breaks in the Indian version) in the archery contest in that city in order to obtain the hand of Śītā in marriage. In the Nārāi Sip Pāng the story of Trī Buram also serves as a basis for the myth of the Indian Buddhāvatāra, or the Thai Samanāwatān. The Rāmakīrī of King Rama I completely omits this latter part of the story. It is not impossible that the absence of this Samanāwatān myth in the Rāmakīrī is because the Thai king (who is supposed to be the first patron of Buddhism) could not accept a myth in which a Buddhist monk commits a deceitful action.

2. The penance of Nonthuk’s ghost. The Nārāi Sip Pāng narrates that after his death the demon Nonthuk, in the form of the ghost of an uncremated corpse (phī dip), desirous of a boon from Śiva, performs a penance by making his skull into a fiddle, his backbone into a bow, and his sinews into strings of the

fiddle. He is finally given a boon by Śiva to be born as Daśakantha. The Rāmakīṭān omits this episode. The compilers of the Rāmakīṭān might have considered this episode as somewhat redundant. In both the Narāi Sip Pāng and the Rāmakīṭān it has already been stated by Viśṇu in the form of the goddess Apsarāwatān, while he is killing Nonthuk, that Nonthuk will be granted by him a future birth as the mighty Daśakantha.

3. Hanumān's mistaking the sun for a fruit. This episode appears in the Narāi Sip Pāng (Royal Press version) only. The text narrates that after Sawāha, his mother, has left him, Hanumān wanders along in the forest. Then he sees the red rising sun, and mistakes it for a fruit. Hanumān flies up to the sun and pulls the rear part of the sun's chariot in order to eat the sun. The sun is frightened at first and then is very angry at Hanumān. He curses Hanumān that his strength will be reduced by half. There is a nearly similar episode in the Vālmīki Rāmayana. The Sanskrit text relates that Hanumān asks Aṇjana, his mother, how he is to earn his living. His mother answers him that fruits as ripe as the rising sun will be his food. Hanumān then thinks that the glittering sun is his food. He jumps up at it. But in the

Valmiki Ramayana, Hanumān is not cursed by the sun because Hanumān changes his mind. He does not want to eat the sun when he sees Rāhū and Airāvata (Indra’s vehicle). Hanumān is punished by Indra instead. He is struck on his chin by Indra’s thunderbolt.  

4. Early relationship between Rama and Kukhan (Guha). The Narai Sip Pāng (Lūan Rit Version) says that Kukhan’s wife used to be Rāma’s wetnurse. This makes Kukhan more loyal to Rāma. There is no mention of Kukhan’s wife in the Rāmakīān at all. In the Valmīki Rāmāvana Guha is described as a minor king, which corresponds to both the Thai texts. The Valmīki Rāmāvana also says that Guha is an old friend of Rama’s. This might have been the starting point for the Narai Sip Pāng version.

5. Laksmana’s unknowing murder of Kumphakāt. In both the Narai Sip Pāng (Lūan Rit Version) and the Rāmakīān, Kumphakāt, Samanakhā’s (Surpanakhā’s) son is described as performing a penance in a bamboo tree in order to obtain divine weapons. Later on in the Narai Sip Pāng Kumphakāt, who is still in the bamboo tree, is killed unknowingly by Laksmana with the divine weapon rejected just before by Kumphakāt himself. In the Rāmakīān Kumphakāt comes out of the bamboo tree when he sees Laksmana trying the divine weapon that he

73. Khun Ying Lū’an Rit, Narai Sip Pāng, p. 139
74. Ramāyana II, 50.33.
75. Khun Ying Lū’an Rit, Narai Sip Pāng, pp. 144-145.
has previously rejected. Kumphaṅkaṭ then fights with Laksmana and is killed by him.

6. Daśakantha’s abduction of Sītā. In the Rāmākīan Daśakantha, in the form of a hermit, comes to beg alms from Sītā. Then he asks her about her family. When Sītā tells Daśakantha of Rāma, Daśakantha begins to praise himself to make Sītā believe that he is a better suitor for her than Rāma is.*77 This is very near to the Valmiki Rāmāyana and the Tamil Kamban Rāmāyana. The Nārai Sip Pāṅg does not mention Daśakantha’s boast at all. But the Nārai Sip Pāṅg mentions that Sītā does not follow Laksmana’s advice that she should be in the hermitage all the time until he comes back. The text narrates that when Daśakantha in the form of a sage calls her to come out from the hermitage, she does so. She then loses protection for herself, and is abducted by Daśakantha.*78 The story in the Nārai Sip Pāṅg might have been influenced by the Mahāvīracarita and the Hanumāṇātaka in which Laksmana is described as drawing a protective circle for Sītā. But Sītā is not careful enough so she comes out of the circle and is abducted by Rāvana.*79

7. Sadāyu (Jatāyu) and Sītā’s ring. In the Rāmākīan when Sadāyu comes to rescue Sītā, he tells Daśakantha that he cannot be destroyed by any weapon except those

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77. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 692
78. Khun Ying Lū’an Rit, Nārai Sip Pāṅg, pp. 150-151.
of Śiva, of Visnu, and by Sītā's ring given to her by Śiva. Sadāyu's own statement causes his death because Daśakantha then uses Sītā's ring in attacking him.*80 In the Nārāi Sip Pāng (Lū'an Rit Version) Sadāyu does not disclose to Daśakantha the secrets about the exception to his invulnerability. Sadāyu accidentally sees Sītā's ring and is frightened of being hit by it. Daśakantha, who has magical ears which enable him to hear anybody's words or thoughts within a distance of an elephant's cry, comes to know of Sadāyu's fright. Daśakantha then uses Sītā's ring in attacking him in their fight.*81 Sadāyu's being vulnerable to Sītā's ring is not found in any Indian version of the Rāma story.

8. Sugrīva's grief. In the Rāmakīt when Hanumāṇ goes to persuade Sugrīva to join Rāma in fighting against Daśakantha, Hanumāṇ does not have any difficulty in finding Sugrīva at all. He just goes straight to the Amatang Mountain where Sugrīva is hiding himself from Valī. *82 In the Nārāi Sip Pāng (Lū'an Rit Version) at first Hanumāṇ cannot find Sugrīva. After searching for him, he feels thirsty, and goes to drink at a brook. Hanumāṇ, with great surprise, finds that the water is salty and has a fishy odour. Hanumāṇ traces the brook's source. He finds it in an anthill which has grown up over the weeping Sugrīva. It is Sugrīva's tears which are the brook's water.*83

83. Khun Ying Lū'an Rit, Nārāi Sip Pāng, pp. 158-159.
This episode is not found in any Indian version either.
A speculation about the original prototype of either the Rāmakīn of King Rama I or the Nārāi Sip Pāng Rama story cannot be made with any certainty from the comparison of different episodes in both texts. The differences only confirm the fact that there must have been many versions of the Rāma story in Thailand extant at the same time. The stories in the Khamphāk Rāmakīn of the Ayuthya period, different in turn from those in the Rāmakīn of King Rama I and the relevant episodes in the Nārāi Sip Pāng, also attest this hypothesis. The episodes in the Khamphāk Rāmakīn which are different from King Rama I's version and the Nārāi Sip Pāng are:

1. Daśakantha's passion for Sītā. In the Khamphāk Rāmakīn, there is the description of the great passion of Daśakantha for Sītā when he hears of her from Samanakhā. Daśakantha has flowers strewn over his bed to make it cool and thus release him from the heat of his passion. But this is useless. Then Daśakantha orders three gods to help him. Vāyu is ordered to blow; Sūrya, or the sun, is ordered to hide in the clouds to reduce the heat of the world; and Candra, or the moon, is ordered to shine her cool rays during the day. But all these, too, are unable to help Daśakantha. The Rāmakīn does not have this description at all. The prototype of the description of the boundless passion of Daśakantha in the Khamphāk Rāmakīn is found in the Tamil Kamban Rāmāyana in which Rāvana, who has been smitten with passion for Sītā, finds no comfort in a bed of newly-plucked flowers. Rāvana comes to hate all seasons. His body is not soothed by either the sun or the moon. In the end Rāvana asks for complete darkness in

2. Marica and Rama. In the Khamphak Ramaikan when Marica, in the form of a golden deer, finds that he is closely followed by Rama, he flies up to hide himself in the clouds. But Rama, by means of the power of his prayers, blows those clouds apart, and thus Marica is seen by Rama again. Marica's attempt to flee also makes Rama realise that he is a demon in the disguise of a deer. In the Ramaikan Marica does not hide himself in the clouds, and Rama finds that he is a demon only when Marica's face, because of his fright, turns into a demon face. Neither of the stories in the Khamphak Ramaikan and the Ramaikan appears in any Indian version.

3. Ravana's abduction of Sita. In the Ramaikan Ravana carries Sita in his arms and flies in his chariot to Lanka, while in the Khamphak Ramaikan, Ravana does not touch Sita's body. He carries the part of the earth's surface on which Sita is standing and puts it on his chariot, and then flies back to Lanka. The episode in the Khamphak Ramaikan seems to be similar to the Jaina version. King Rama I's is similar to the Valmiki Ramaiana.

85. Kamban Ramaiana 3.7.88-149
4. In the Khamphāk Rāmakīan, after Rāma and Laksmanā have lamented pathetically at Sītā's disappearance from the hermitage, they do not faint. They go straight away to search for her in the forest.\textsuperscript{90} This seems to accord with the Vālmīki version. In the Rāmakīan the brothers faint after they have made their lament. Then they are revived by Indra who is greatly disturbed by their misery. Indra then tells them what has happened to Sītā and directs the way for them to find her.\textsuperscript{91} It can be seen that the Rāmakīan of King Rama I is influenced by Buddhist tradition in which Indra is sometimes used as a kind of deus ex machina.

5. The reconstruction of Lānka after it is burnt down by Hanumān. In the Khamphāk Rāmakīan Rāvana asks Varuna to extinguish the fire with rain. Then Rāvana asks Vāyu with his wind to make even the ground where Lānka used to stand. Finally Rāvana asks Wetsukam (Viśvakarma) to reconstruct Lānka.\textsuperscript{92} In the Rāmakīan of King Rama I these gods are also mentioned, but they are ordered by Indra to help Rāvana. The text says that after the fire is extinguished, Rāvana asks Indra, his old enemy, to reconstruct Lānka.\textsuperscript{93} It can be seen that this episode in King Rama I's version is also influenced by Buddhist tradition in which Indra is always a beneficient god.

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{91} King Rama I, Rāmakīan, p. 708.
\textsuperscript{93} King Rama I, Rāmakīan, Vol. II, pp. 899-901.
6. **Hanumān's tying Rāvana's hair to Mandodari's** when he goes to see Sītā in Lanka. This appears in the Khampak Rāmakīan only. In the Rāmakīan Hanumān does not do so. But in the Rāmakīan on a different occasion Hanumān does tie Rāvana's hair to Mandodari's when he goes into Rāvana's chamber in order to find a special grinding stone for medicine.

It is noteworthy that the sixth episode in the Khampak Rāmakīan is also mentioned in a book on astrology called Phromachat (Brahmajāti). Episodes from the Rāma story are much cited in this kind of book in order to describe the nature of the moments of the day. For example, "Day 7, Yaṁ (Sanskrit yāma, 'a watch') 7 is the time when valorous Hanumān volunteers to help Rāma, the God of the Three Worlds. Yaṁ 4 is the time when Hanumān flies to the neighbourhood of Lanka. The demon lord is deceived by Hanumān's trick. Yaṁ 1 is the time when Hanumān, reciting his mantras, ties Mandodari's hair to Rāvana's. Yaṁ 5 is the time when Hanumān enters the city, gives the ring to Sītā and informs Sītā of Rāma's news in the garden. Yaṁ 2 is the time when brave Hanumān playfully destroys Rāvana's garden.*

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Rāma and Sītā in the Thai Rāma story are consistently regarded as the incarnations of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī respectively. Internal evidence is abundant, and here incidents from the Rāmakīran of King Rama I are given to attest the statement.

Rāma's own recognition of his being the incarnation of Viṣṇu. When Kaikesī (Kaikeyī) tells Rāma of his exile, Rāma discloses to her his true feeling. He says: "My exile as a hermit in the forest for 14 years agrees with the purpose of my incarnation. I prefer it to reigning over the kingdom. I will have an opportunity to destroy the demons and save the world." 97

When Rāma finds that he is deceived by Mārīca, and Sītā has disappeared from the hermitage, he laments: "It is a pity that I, who have incarnated myself in order to destroy the vicious demons, am trapped by the demons' trickery. I will be ridiculed by the three worlds." 98

Rāma tells the demon Kumphon (Kabandha), whom he meets on his way while searching for Sītā, that his name is Rāma; he is the same as Nārāyaṇa; he has been invited to incarnate himself as Rāma by the sages and gods. 99

Sītā's recognition of Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. When Sītā hears Mārīca's imitating Rāma's voice calling for help, she laments: "It is a pity that Rāma, an incarnation of a god, is defeated by the demons." 100

99. Ibid., p. 713.
100. Ibid., p. 687.
Lakṣmana's recognition of Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

When Lakṣmana sees Rāma lose consciousness after his pathetic lament for Sītā's disappearance, he too laments: "How can you leave me without any compassion by going back to sleep on the Ocean of Milk."*101

The device used in the Rāmakīrītī of King Rāma I in order to show that Rāma is Viṣṇu incarnate is Rāma's exhibition of his Viṣṇu form. It is an absolute proof of his divine nature. Rāma exhibits this god-form, having four hands holding a conch, a discus, a mace, and a trident, and having a shiny complexion, either green or black in colour, to his foes when he has vanquished them, and to his devotees. Rāma shows this Viṣṇu form to Rāmasūn (Parasūrāma), *102 Vāli, *103 and Kumbhakarna*104 when he has defeated them in the battle. This makes them wholeheartedly accept his superiority over them. Rāma also reveals his god-form to Sugrīva*105 and Mahāchomphū*106 in order to impress them with his divine nature, so that they will become his allies. Rāma's exhibition of his god-form is not found in any of the Indian versions, not even in the versions in which the divine nature of Rāma is strongly emphasised, such as the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, the Hindi Tulsidas Ramacaritamānasā and the Tamil Kamban Rāmāyaṇasa.

101. Ibid., p. 707.
104. Ibid., p. 1243.
105. Ibid., p. 731.
106. Ibid., p. 783.
Sītā as an incarnation of the goddess Lakṣmī is referred to in the Rāmakītan of King Rāma I when Sītā is about to be abducted by Rāvana. It is narrated in the text that when the gods, to whom Lakṣmana has entrusted the care of Sītā while he is absent, see the approaching Rāvana, they do nothing to protect her because they think: "Nothing will happen to Lakṣmī even if she is abducted by Rāvana. Nārāyaṇa will search for her, and kill the demon Rāvana." 107

Jatāyu, seeing Rāvana carrying Sītā off by force to Lāṅkā, reminds Rāvana that Rāma is an incarnation of Viṣṇu from the Ocean of Milk, and Sītā is the goddess Lakṣmī, his consort. Then Jatāyu advises Rāvana to return Sītā to Rāma. 108

Once when Rāma is greatly depressed by Sītā’s abduction, he is reminded by Lakṣmana of Sītā’s true nature. Lakṣmana tells him: "Sister Sītā is the goddess Lakṣmī. She is the mother of the gods. Even if she has been abducted by the demon, she will be returned spotless." 109

Moreover the names used in the Thai texts of the Rāma story to represent Rāma and Sītā also indicate that they are taken by the Thais to be incarnations of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. The word Lakṣmī is alternatively used to refer to Sītā while Nārāyaṇa and groups of words describing Viṣṇu are given to Rāma. For example:

107. Ibid., p. 690.
108. Ibid., p. 698.
109. Ibid., p. 758.
Phra Awatan, 'the incarnate';
Phra Chakri, 'the discus holder';
Phra Si Kon, 'the four-handed';
Phra Song Nak, 'riding on the Naga';
Phra Song Khrut, 'riding on the Garuda'.

However Rāma in the Thai story is not treated as the Supreme God as in some Indian versions of the Rāma story. There is no mention, as there is in the Tulsidas' Ramacaritamānasā, of Rāma's superiority to Śiva and Brahmā. In the Ramacaritamānasā Rāma is eulogized as the Supreme One throughout. For example, Anāgada, acting as an envoy of Rāma to Lanka, speaks to Rāvana:

"Have I disgraced my family by being the envoy of one whose feet Śiva and Brahmā and all the gods and sages long to serve?" 110 In some passages Rāma is even described as praising himself. He at one time tells Sugrīva: "I will slay Valī with a single shaft. Though he flees for refuge to Brahmā and Rudra, he shall not escape alive." 111 Moreover there is no episode in the Thai Rāma story of the hero's being asked to take any character in the story as his religious devotee. In the Thai version of Rāmāyana it is Śiva who is the Supreme One and Rāma all the time acknowledges his supremacy of him. Rāma always refers to the 'Omēkāra' or command of Śiva which causes him to be born as Rāma to demolish all the troubles in the world.

Rāma, for the Thais, is the image of heroism and a very mighty sovereign. There are successive references

111. Ibid., p. 327.
to this characteristic of him in Thai literature.
In the inscription of King Rāma Khamhāeng of Sukhothai, the king describes his valorous fight against Khun Sam Chon, his father's enemy, and his victory over him. The king says that due to his valour his father has given him a new name of Rāma the Valorous, Rām Khamhāeng. In inscription No. 41 of the Ayuthya period a noble called Khun Sī Ratanakōn makes a vow to be, in his next existence, as valorous as Rāma (khō hai hān thīam Rāma). In the Lilit Yuan Phāi of the Ayutha period (15th century), King Boromatrailōkanāt's valour is compared to that of Rāma who vanquishes Rāvaṇa. In Chan Klom Phra Sawēt Woralek (Lullaby for a new captive white elephant called Sawēt Woralak), the poet Phrayā Sī Sunthōn Wōhān (Nōi), eulogizes King Rama V as follows: "The power of the king is equal to that of Rāma who vanquishes all enemies and thus he gets rid of wars". In the reign of King Rama VI, Prince Ratchani Čhaem Charat, in the Chan Sangwoei Phra Mahā Sawētachat (Eulogy of the white umbrella), eulogizes the king as "Having the same power as Rāma who vanquishes Rāvana and the countries around his

114. Lilit Yuan Phāi, p. 80.
The praise for Rāma as the most celebrated king for the Thais can be clearly seen in the appearance of the name 'Rāma' in many names of the Thai kings. In the Sukhothai period there is King Rām Khamhāeng, or Rāma the Valorous. In the Ayuthya period there are Rāmesūan (Rāma-Īśvara), or Rāma the Supreme; Rāmrāt (Rāma-Rāja), or Rāma the King; and Rāmāthībodi (Rāma-adhipati), or Rāma the Leader. Last but not least, the first six kings of the Chakra dynasty, the present dynasty of the Ratanakosin, are also called Rāma.

CONCLUSION

1.1 Of all the myths about Viṣṇu's incarnations, the Rāma incarnation myth is the most popular in Thai literature. This can be clearly seen from the number of different versions of this myth composed during the Ayuthya and the Ratana-kosin period. (See chapter VII) In various parts of Thailand places are named after the characters and the incidents in the Rāma myth and this also attests its popularity. A lake in Lop Burī, a province in the Centre of Thailand, is called Thale Chup Sôn, "The sea for dipping the arrows in", because it is supposed to be the lake where Rāma dipped his arrows before he shot them. In Chaināt, another province in the Centre of Thailand, there is a mountain called Saphaya, "all kinds of medicine". This mountain is believed to be the place where Hanumān came to collect a medicinal herb called Sang Kōranī Trī Chawā. In Sara Buri, another province in the Centre, a mountain is called Khao Khāt, "Torn Mountain", because, according to the legend, it was broken by the wheel-hub of Rāvaṇa's chariot when he was abducting Sītā to Lankā in such a great haste. In Chon Burī, a province in the South East of Thailand, there is a brook called Huai Sukrip, "Sugrīva's Brook". In Phathalung, a province in the South, there is a cave called Tham Phālī, "Vālī's Cave".

1.2 The Rāma has had, and still has, a great influence upon the life of the Thai people. Some Thai sayings and phrases have been coined after the incidents of the Rāma story. For example, yung yang ka Rāmakītan, "complicated like the story of Rāma"; yang ka yak Paklan, "(big) as the demon Paklan"; luk Thōraphī, "an ungrateful son like Thōraphī" (who kills his own father).

1.3 The story of Rāma is continually quoted and is greatly
used in simile in Thai literature. In the Khlong Thawathosamat (17th century), the poet tells his beloved that he will return to her like Dasaratha's son, who, though he has departed from Sita, returns to her. In a poetical work composed by Phra Si Mahosot, a court poet of King Narai (17th century), the poet tells his beloved that he loves her as Vali loves the damsel who is destined to be his younger brother's wife. In a poem of Phra Mahā Nāk of Thā Sāi Monastery — he was a poet in the reign of King Boromakot (18th century) — the poet says that his beloved's attractiveness is similar in power to Rāma's three arrows used in killing the demons. She is also said to kill men with her arrow-like charm.

1.4 The popularity of the Rāma myth in Thailand is so great that parts of it are interpolated, or integrated, into some Hindu myths, as related in Thailand, which are not originally connected with this epic at all. Three of Viṣṇu's incarnation myths have been reshaped under this process. They are the Boar incarnation; the Dwarf incarnation; and the Buddha incarnation myths. In the Rāmakītan and the Nārāi Sīp Pāng, the Boar incarnation myth is linked with Brahmā's Padmayoni myth, or the myth of Brahmā's birth from the lotus rising from the navel of Viṣṇu. Then the combined myth is cited by the Thais as a myth of the creation of the first ancestor of Rāma, i.e. Lord Anūmātan. (See p.132). In Hindu mythology the Boar incarnation myth is clearly separated from Brahmā's Padmayoni myth. In Vaisnava texts the Boar returns to the form of Viṣṇu after he has brought the Earth back to its normal position. In Saiva texts the Boar becomes more arrogant and troublesome after he has fulfilled his mission, and he has to be subdued by Śiva in the form of Sarapha. But in neither of the Hindu

sectarian texts, does a lotus spring from Viṣṇu's navel after the god has brought the Earth back to its previous position. Moreover, in none of the Hindu texts is Rāma's first ancestor created from the lotus rising from Viṣṇu's navel. It is clear that the Thais give such great importance to the Race of Rāma that they try to link the date of its founding with the date of the world's creation.

In the Thai texts the Dwarf incarnation myth is mixed up with a myth from the Ramāyana. It is related in the Thai texts that the demon Tāwan (Bali in the Sanskrit texts), who has been driven out from his region by Viṣṇu in the form of a dwarf, comes to live in a city called Mayan. There he transgresses against Indra by living with one of the god's concubines whom he has abducted from heaven. Indra finds out what has happened and kills him. The god also curses the go-between, who is involved in Tāwan's adultery with the goddess, to stay on in that city in order to help Rāma's soldiers in searching for Sītā. The Dwarf incarnation myth is also related in the Ramāyana. But it does not play any part in the main story. There is also, in the Ramāyana, the myth of a demon called Maya (not Tāwan, or Bali) who commits adultery with Indra's concubine, and is punished by the god with death. The go-between, named Syamprabhā (Butsamālī in the Thai texts), is also cursed to stay on in Maya's city, and she also helps Āṅgada and his soldiers searching for Sītā just as Butsamālī shows the way to Lankā to Hanumān. But in the Ramāyana these two myths are not connected. Bali retires to the Pātalaloka world, and he is not killed by Indra. Maya is in no way identified with Bali. The Thais seem to think that the Dwarf incarnation myth will fit into the Rāma story better if it is combined with the myth of Maya, who commits adultery with Indra's concubine.

The third of Viṣṇu's incarnation myths which becomes a part of Rāma story in the Thai texts is the Buddha incarnation myth. In this myth Viṣṇu incarnates himself in the form of a Buddhist monk in order to make the demon Trī Burāma renounce his faith in Śiva. Then only it is right and proper that the god Śiva shall
kill him. The myth of the origin of the bow of Mithila which Rāma bends in order to win the hand of Sītā. It is related in the texts that a special bow has to be made for Śiva to kill the demon Trā Burām. In the Hindu scriptures there is no link at all between the Tripūra myth and the Ratnachānu myth of the Rāmāyaṇa.

1.5 In addition to some of Viṣṇu's incarnation myths, two more Hindu myths can be described as being influenced by the Rāma myth. These are: the demon Nonthuk myth; and the myth of Sugrīva's lifting up Sumeru Mountain.

Nonthuk is the foot-washer for the gods at Kailāsa. He has a magic finger that can kill anybody by pointing it at him. This myth does not appear in the Rāmāyaṇa. The Thais adapted it from a Tamil myth of the demon Bhāsmāṣura, (see p. 175). It is certain that this Tamil myth was taken over by the Thais in order to provide a plausible motive for Viṣṇu's Rāma incarnation. In the Rāmakīya Viṣṇu, in his Mohinī form as the incarnation prior to the Rāma incarnation, has overcome Nonthuk. Nonthuk makes a complaint that the battle between him and Viṣṇu in disguise has been ill-matched. So Viṣṇu promises to give Nonthuk advantages in his next birth as Daśakantha, or Rāvana. Even then, he prophesies, Viṣṇu will vanquish the demon notwithstanding. In Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa Viṣṇu is invited by the gods to incarnate himself in the form of Rāma in order to destroy Rāvana who has asked Brahmā to give him the boon of being invincible to all kinds of beings. But Rāvana excludes human beings from his list because he looks down upon them. That is why Viṣṇu has to incarnate himself as a man.

The myth of Sugrīva's lifting Sumeru Mountain back up again after it has been tipped to one side is reminiscent of the myth of the churning of the ocean which in Hindu mythology has nothing to do with the Rāma story. One aspect only
of the churning, i.e. the effort made by the gods in pulling (churning) Mandara Mountain, is retained in the Ramakītā in order to supply material for a Thai interpolation into the Rāma legend. The interpolation is inserted into the story with the purpose of giving justification for Rāma's killing Valī. It will be recalled that, after the Arjuna-Paraśurāma fight, and after the failure of the gods to pull the mountain back up again, Sugrīva is successful in lifting back the Sumeru Mountain to its former position. He then goes back to Kīśkindha straightway so Śiva has no chance to reward him for his deed. The god then asks Valī to carry a lady called Tārū, whom the god has put in a box, to give to Sugrīva. Śiva is warned that it is not a sensible thing to entrust a man's wife-to-be to another man. So the god makes Valī promise that he will accept death by Viṣṇu's arrow if he does not accomplish his mission honestly and righteously. Valī, however, breaks his promise and that is why Rāma has to kill him. It is possible that the Thais may have thought that a mere quarrel between brothers, as described in the Rāmāyana, is not a weighty enough reason for Rāma to kill one of the brothers. So the interpolation finds its way into the Thai story.
2. The other element, besides influence from the Rāma story, which is introduced into Hindu myth as related in Thai literature is the folklore element. The interpolation of folklore into a Hindu myth sometimes adds humour to the story, or sometimes provides an alternative version of the Hindu original myth long forgotten by the Thais. The Hindu myths which contain interpolations from Thai folklore are: Nāk Sadung myth; the demons and their armour; Baladeva, the god of grains and vegetables; buffaloes and chū'ak taphāi and mai tā thot; matūm tree myth, and the sī suk bamboo myth.

2.1 The Nāk Sadung myth is related in the Lū'an Rit version of the Narai Sip Pāng. It is reminiscent of the myth of the churning of the ocean related in Hindu mythology. The story goes as follows:

Rāmāsura, in a fight against a god named Arjuna, strikes him against Sumeru Mountain and kills him. The mountain is pushed off its balance. Siva commands all the gods, and gandharvas to tie the Serpent Ananta round the mountain. Then the gods try to pull the mountain up to its previous position. The gods are not successful in doing so because they are poisoned by the poisonous vapour emitted by the Serpent Ananta. The gods find difficulty in breathing and they feel weak in their hands and feet. Sugrīva finds out the cause of the gods’ trouble. He suggests that the tail of the serpent should be tied in the Patala world. Then he orders the demons, who live in that mountain too, to carry a large number of stones there. The demons are commanded to fill in the gap left after the mountain is pulled back to its normal position. When everything is ready, Sugrīva tickles the navel of the serpent. The serpent gives a start and bends its body up. By that action of the serpent, the mountain is pulled back to its right position, as it was before. When Sugrīva sees that his mission is accomplished, he returns to Kīśkindha. Phra Witsanukam (Viśva-Karma) records the event and calls it Nāk Sadung (i.e. nāga gives a start) from then on.*

Nāk Sadung is the name of a Thai architectural design. It is a part of the roof work. It has the shape of the body of nāga slightly curling. It is decorated with pieces of glass. No other meaning of nāk sadung is found in either old or modern Thai texts, therefore it is likely that the author of the Lu'an Rit version of the Nārāi Sip Pāng refers to this architectural design. The curly part of the nāga design might have made the author of the text identify it with the Serpent Ananta which curls up when it is tickled by Sugrīva.

2.2 The myth of the demons and the armour is related in the Royal Press version of the Nārāi Sip Pāng. It is the myth of the quarrel between Rāvana and his brother Kūvera narrated in the Rāmāyana. The story goes:

Dasakantha is crowned the king of Lanka after the death of his father. He does not follow the righteous way of a king. Dasakantha is very greedy and jealous. He craves for the celestial puspaka (the flying chariot) bestowed upon his brother Kuperanta by their father. Dasakantha tries to possess his brother's puspaka by force. He wages war with his brother. Kuperanta, who is Siva's devotee, seeks refuge with the god. He withdraws to the summit of the Rat-chadākût Mountain where Siva is practising his religious austerities. When he arrives there Kuperanta cries loudly to Siva for help. Siva opens his eyes and sees what is happening. The god is very angry. He pulls out the left tusk of his elephant mount and throws it at Dasakantha. The tusk hits Dasakantha's chest and sticks in it. Siva then curses Dasakantha that the tusk will remain in Dasakantha's chest until he is shot by Nārāyana's arrow, i.e. when he is destined to die. Dasakantha has great pain, so he flies back in the puspaka he has just robbed from his brother to Lankā. He then orders Witsanukam to saw off the part of the tusk that showed. From then on Dasakantha wears armour all the time to conceal the tusk from the eyes of his people. And all demons, likewise wear armour to conceal their chests.*

2.3 There is reference to Baladeva, the god of grains and vegetables, in the Royal Press version of the Narai Sip Pāng. Baladeva, who is sometimes in Hindu mythology regarded as the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu, is never recognized as such by the Thais. He was known to be Kṛṣṇa's brother by the author of the Anirut Kham Chan of the early Ayuthya period. By the time of the Narai Sip Pāng of the Ratanakosin period Baladeva is merely described as a god, and there is no mention of his kinship with Kṛṣṇa at all. In the Royal Press version of the Narai Sip Pāng, Baladeva is described as joining the army of Kṛṣṇa who fights against the demon Bāṇa in order to rescue his grandson — Aniruddha. Baladeva fights a duel with Phichaikālā, one of Bāṇa's ministers, and kills him with his weapon — a plough. The demon Bāṇa is very infuriated at the death of his minister so he fights fiercely with Baladeva. Kṛṣṇa seeing that Baladeva is no match for Bāṇa, comes to help him. Thereupon Baladeva is freed from the necessity to carry on fighting. Baladeva is mentioned no more until the end of the story. It is said in the text that after the war between Kṛṣṇa and Bāṇa, Kṛṣṇa and Siva give a boon to Baladeva. He is to become the god of grains and vegetables by virtue of the royal ceremony of the First Ploughing of the Land from then on.*

The cause that makes the Thais link Baladeva with grains and vegetables, or agriculture, must be his plough which is meant to be his special weapon in Hindu mythology. In Hindu scriptures, especially in the Purāṇas, there is no story of Baladeva's tilling the land with his plough. On the contrary, he is described as using it in order to exhibit his heroic prowess. For example, it is related in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa that Baladeva, who is intoxicated, orders the waters of the Yamunā river to come to him so that he can bathe. But the river does not heed his command. So with his ploughshare he

4. Ibid., pp. 62-63.
The myth of why buffaloes are frightened of *chu'ak taphai* (or *sai taphai*, a rope passed through the septum of the nose of a bullock or buffalo) and *mai tathot* (or *mai taphot*, a bamboo spiked stick about a meter long, having a cord attached to the end, used as a goad by farmers) is related in the *Lu'an Rit* version of the *Narai Sip Panyi*. It is interpolated into the myth of the buffalo incarnation of Viṣṇu. The story in the *Lu'an Rit Version* is different from the other two versions, i.e. the Royal Press and the Watcharin Versions, in that in this version Viṣṇu incarnates himself in the form of a she-buffalo.

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in order to attract the demon buffalo first and then she can
defeat him. In the other two versions Visṇu incarnates himself
in the form of a he-buffalo, and uses his strength straight-
way in vanquishing the demon buffalo. The story in the Lū'an
Rit Version of the Nārāi Sip Pāng goes:

A brahma is jealous of Brahmā the Creator. He then dies and is reborn on earth as a demon
buffalo. He wants to pull down and destroy Sumeru Mountain. The frightened gods seek refuge with
Siva who then orders Nārāyana to vanquish the
demon. Nārāyana incarnates himself in the form
of a she-buffalo. She gambols around within the
sight of the demon buffalo. The demon buffalo
is excited by her smell and falls in love with
her. The she-buffalo then plays a trick on him.
She runs here and there so that he cannot reach
her. In the end he is very fatigued and has to
lie down on his knees. The she-buffalo then turns
back to the form of Nārāyana. He pierces the nose
of the animal and passes a creeper through its
nose. The god then ties the end of the creeper
above the ears of the demon buffalo. This piece
of creeper is called taphāi. The god tortures
the buffalo in this way until he is tamed. Then
the god ties the end of a bamboo rod of ten joints' length with a rope of the same length. He calls it
mai tāthot (a rod of ten joints). The god punishes
the demon buffalo until he realizes his guilt and
beseeches the god for forgiveness. Nārāyana then
curses the buffalo to be a draft-animal and a
labour-animal of men forever. Then the god sets
free the demon buffalo. That is why buffaloes
have been frightened of chū'ak taphāi and mai tāthot
until now.*7

2.5 The myth of the matūm tree is related in the Royal Press
Version of the Nārāi Sip Pāng. Though in Hindu mythology and
folklore, matūm, or Aegle Marmelos is mainly associated with
Siva, in Thai literature it is linked with Visṇu. The myth in
the Nārāi Sip Pāng is about how the matūm tree has become an
auspicious thing. "Visṇu, when on an expedition to conquer a
monstrous elephant demon named Ekadanta who was ravaging the
three worlds, struck his trident on the ground and transformed
it into a matūm tree to which he tied the tail of the monster.
Hence it is forbidden for mahout to break branches of the matūm

trees, or to strip them of their bark and leaves." This myth of the origin of the matūm tree, in fact, has no similar counterpart in Hindu mythology. Oddly enough, however, even in Hindu mythology where the bael tree's origin is connected with Śiva, it is Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu's wife, who is described as the creator of this kind of tree. "Lakṣmī used to worship Śiva everyday with a thousand lotus flowers. Accidentally, one day two flowers were missing. Pondering over an alternative, she remembered that her husband had casually remarked that her breasts were as beautiful as blooming lotus flowers. Then she decided to offer these parts of her body. When she was cutting them off with a sharp weapon the god appeared, declaring himself satisfied and restraining her from completing what she had begun. One breast however was already cut off; it was, the god said, to be planted and would become one of the most sacred fruits in the world." Thus one reason why matūm, or Aegle Marmelos, may be regarded as an auspicious tree is because its triple leaves resemble the shape of a trident. Though this is one of the chief characteristic weapons of Śiva, in Thai texts, however, it is sometimes a weapon of Viṣṇu too. This may explain the importance of the matūm tree's employment in almost all Brahminical rites in Thailand, and why it figures in the episode concerning its origin in the Narai Sip Pāng mentioned above.

2.6 The si suk bamboo (Bambusa arundinacea) is a species of tough bamboo. It is fit for splitting up into strips and weaving, or for making into baskets and therefore it is much employed by the Thais. It grows to a height of 100 feet. A possible reason why the myth about this kind of bamboo appears in Thai literature is that it was once used as the material for making small stools used in the coronation ceremony. They were set around the throne at the eight points of the compass. Chao Phrayā Thiphākōrawong in Phra Rātcha Phongsawādān Krung Ratanākōsin (Chronicle of Ratanakosin), enumerates eight small stools made of mai rū'si suk in the list of objects used in the coronation of King Rama I and King Rama II. There is

no evidence of the use of this kind of bamboo for the same purpose in the reign of King Rama III. But it is certain that in the reign of King Rama IV other kinds of wood — mai ma du'a (Ficus glomerata (Urticaceae)) and mai chaivaphru'k (Cassia renigera) — were used in its place. Mai ṭū'si suk or mai phai sī suk was in use again from the reign of King Rama VI onwards.

The myth of the sī suk bamboo is related in all versions of the Narai Sip Pāng. The content in these texts is more or less the same. The following story is taken from the Royal Press Version of the Narai Sip Pāng.

A sage named Sukkhawatthana was living on Sumeru Mountain. A bamboo clump had grown over the roof of his hermitage. The sage brought that bamboo to Śiva. Śiva broke it into two pieces and flung them on the ground. From the bottom part of it sprang a monkey named Chān-phāwarāt (Jambuvāraṭa). From the top part of it sprang a demon called Wēram who was a relative of Rāvana. This kind of bamboo is henceforward known as mai phai rū'si suk, (or mai phai sī suk).

The Watcharin Press and the Lu'an Rit Versions of the Narai Sip Pāng contain a different point concerning the broken bamboo. In these two versions, it is the monkey who was born from the top part of the broken bamboo, and it is the demon who sprang from the bottom part of it. That is why, the texts continue, the demons are defeated by the monkeys in the battle between Rama and Rāvana.

It cannot be said for certain where a prototype for this myth can be found. It might have come from the Rāma cycle as narrated in one of the Indian dialects, because it contains a creation myth of two characters of the Rāma story. But such a myth has not been found yet. On the other hand, it might have been adapted by the Thais from a myth of a celebrated sage of the Hindus called

Suka. (The Lu'an Pui Version gives the name 'Suka' to the same sage.) In Hindu mythology Suka was born from the seed of Vyāsa fallen upon an arani¹⁰ stick at the sight of the heavenly nymph Ghrāṭāchī while roaming over the earth in the form of a female parrot. Hence his name of Suka, meaning a parrot. On account of a fire stick being connected with his birth, he was also named Arānisuta. He became afterwards proverbial as the most rigid observer of continence."¹¹ It is possible that the name Suka of the Hindu sage, and the story of his birth with the concourse of an arani have played some influential role on the Thai myth of the si suk bamboo. But the actual story of the bamboo tree growing in front of him as related in the Thai texts does not appear in any Hindu scriptures.

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¹⁰ arani: the wood of the ficus Religiosa used for kindling fire by attrition.
¹¹ G.E. Cerini, Thulākāntamālaka, Bangkok, 1893, p. 170
3. Another influence upon Hindu myths as related in Thailand is Buddhist mythology. The confusion between Brahma, who is regarded in Hindu mythology as the World Creator, and the Buddhist Brahmas has already been discussed in Chapter I. The other Buddhist element mixed in with the Hindu myths related in Thai literature is Buddhist cosmology. In the Lom Prachacharn Version of the Narai Sip Pang Siva is described as the Lord of the Chakamavacara which is the collective name of the Six Tiers of Heaven described in Buddhist scriptures only. Of these six heavens the second one called Tavatimsa is the most celebrated. It is ruled by Indra. According to Buddhist tradition, however, none of these Six Tiers of Heaven is ruled by Siva. Neither is Siva described as the overlord of them. Another kind of Buddhist heaven, or rather, again, the collective name, which is frequently mixed in with the Hindu myths in Thai texts is the Suñña Heaven. In Buddhist texts these Sixteen Tiers of Heaven are higher than the Chakamavacara Heaven. It is more difficult to be born in these heavens. But since the being born in these heavens are named Brahma, the Thai authors of the Narai Sip Pang described in their texts how Siva has appointed Brahma the Creator to be the Lord of these Sixteen Tiers of Heaven.\(^\text{12}\) The confusion between the Hindu Brahmā and the Buddhist Brahma leads, unintentionally, to the conclusion that, if the Sixteen Tiers of Heaven are superior, as they certainly are in Buddhist texts, then Brahmā is superior to Siva; but if the Six Tiers are superior, as seems to be the case in as much as Siva is the authority who appoints Brahmā, then the opposite is true. Though the Narai Sip Pang texts do not make this point clear, it is safe to assume the authors held Siva to be supreme to Brahmā at all times.

The Buddhist figure who appears most frequently in Thai Hindu myths is Indra. In the Ramakian of King Rama I he acts as deus ex machina throughout. Four remarkable incidents in the Ramakian, in which Indra plays a vital role, are worth mentioning here. The first is the episode in which Rama and Laksmi faint after their

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\(^{12}\) Praphan Sukhonthachāt (ed.), Narai Sip Pang..., p. 5.
pitiful lament for the abducted Sītā; Indra makes the two heroes recover by spraying down his divine rain on them; the god also tells them the direction which they should follow in order to discover Sītā. The second incident is the rescue of Rāma's army by Indra. The whole army of Rāma is devoured by Thapphanāsū, Rāvana's ally. Phiphēk (Vibhīṣaṇa) advises Rāma to seek refuge in Indra. Rāma informs Indra of his misfortune by shooting his arrow at Indra's abode. Indra then orders the god Witsanukam (Visvakarma) to vivify Rāma's army by means of divine water. The third episode is the rescue of Mongkut (Kuśa), Rāma's son. Indra orders a goddess named Rampha to rescue Mongkut who is a captive in Rāma's capital. By doing so, the goddess helps Mongkut and Rāma recognize each other as father and son. The fourth incident is the reconciliation between Rāma and Sītā. Sītā does not want to be reconciled with Rāma. This disturbs Indra very much. Indra therefore asks Śiva to force Sītā to be reconciled with Rāma. Śiva does so, and thus comes the happy ending of the story. However, Indra is not regarded as the Supreme God in these Hindu myths. He is subordinated to Śiva. This is clearly expressed in the Narai Sip Fang and the Rāmakīan of King Rāma I.
The importance of Śiva as the Supreme God in the Narai Sip Pāng, and most especially in the Ramakian, shows that Śaiva influence in Thailand at the time of the composition (or compilation) of the texts was very high. It cannot be concluded for certain, however, that Śivaism has had, or still has, more influence in Thai literature than Viṣṇuism. In fact there is internal evidence in the Narai Sip Pāng showing that the stories were originally Vaiṣṇava in character. Unlike the stories of Viṣṇu incarnations in the Saiva scriptures, none of the Viṣṇu incarnations in the Narai Sip Pāng has to be subdued by Śiva later on. It is related all the time in the text that Viṣṇu returns to his own abode after he has fulfilled his task. He does not report his deed to Śiva even. In the Śaiva Purāṇas Śiva not only orders Viṣṇu to incarnate himself in order to destroy some demons, but he has also to tame Viṣṇu’s incarnate forms which become too proud of themselves after they have accomplished their missions. None of these myths appear in the Narai Sip Pāng. It seems that the Thais first received the myths about Viṣṇu from Vaiṣṇava sources, and later on a Śaiva element was added to them.

For the time being it is impossible to say whether Viṣṇuism used to have a greater influence in Thai literature. It is true that two ancient Thai texts, i.e. Lilit Ongkan Chaeng Nam and Lilit Yuan Phai, show more preference for Viṣṇuism. In the Lilit Ongkan Chaeng Nam, Viṣṇu is invoked before Śiva. Moreover his characteristics, such as his power over death (phaeo maru'tayū), chosen by the author to describe him, are more impressive than Śiva’s qualifications. In the Lilit Yuan Phai it is Kṛṣṇa, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, who is eulogized throughout. But all this evidence from the Lilit Ongkan Chaeng Nam and the Lilit Yuan Phai cannot seriously be taken in favour of a preference for Viṣṇuism as against Śivaism in Thai literature at that time. This is because the characteristics of these two Thai texts are militant and warlike. The only Hindu
god who fits in with this characteristic, in Thai opinion, is Viṣṇu. Therefore it is inevitable that Viṣṇu plays a greater part in these texts. However, it is certain that by the time of the early Ratanakosin period Śivaism became more important in Thailand. This can clearly be seen from the Rāmakīvan of King Rama I. In that text Śiva is referred to as the Supreme Hindu God throughout.
The story of the very beginning is as follows. When the Banlai Kan Fire had devastated the whole world, it became void of everything except for the ether. At that time all the Phra Wot and Phra Than amalgamated and became Phra Sayomphukwayan. This was Phra Isuan, the god. Phra Isuan then stroked his chest with his hands and Phra Uma Phakhawadi was created when he stretched his hands outwards from him. Then Phra Isuan stroked his right hand with his left hand and when he stretched out his left hand away from the right Phra Narai was created. Then he stroked his left hand with his right hand and when he stretched out his right hand away from the left Phra Phrom was created. Then Phra Isuan, by means of his divine power, created the (world's) surface, Phra Thorani, from a piece of his flesh he had vomited out from the region of his chest. Then Phra Isuan (also) created Phra Phloeng, Phra Phai, and Phra Khongkhao (from that piece of flesh). They (i.e. Phra Thorani, Phra Phloeng, Phra Phai, and Phra Khongkhao) were the four elements of all creatures. Then he created Bang Nan Khokhal to be the protector of the ocean. Then the demon Phra Nvet Rammasun was born. Sages, siddhis, vidaksharas and gods were born. When all the following things: Asuras; all creatures within the three worlds; Phra Susen Mountain; Krailot Mountain; Phra Himthorn Forest; The Serpent Ananta; and Suban, had all been created, Phra Isuan then created the Bull Usupkarat as his mount. This is why the 'Treatise of Bulls' has been called 'Thai Tru'ngsak Senhirat' from then on till now. Because he (Phra Isuan) had a bull as his mount he was called 'Phra Phru'lophagun Tha Suli'. Then Phra Narai
created a garuda as his mount. Because he had a garuda as his mount he was named Phra Khruut Phahanna Kritosunmak. Then Phra Phrom created a swan as his mount. Because he had a swan as his mount he was called "Phra Kanalai Khanlai Kong". Then Phra Phlegong created Khankha At, that is a rhinoceros, as his mount. Phra Phai created the Horse Phalakhok as his mount. And all gods created (various kinds of) animals as their mounts.

The queens of Phra Isan were Queen Una Phakhawad and Queen Surabawi. The queens of Phra Narai were Phira Isan and Queen Mahsawan. When the Lord Phra Isan had finished creating the Sangkharn Heaven, each god, in turn, took up his abode there in his appropriate place. Phra Ph Tags then went back to sleep in the Ocean ofilk.

In the Sangkharn, Phra Narai, by means of his divine powers, caused a lotus to rise up from his navel. It had eight petals, one hundred and seventy-three stamens. Phra Narai then went to the abode of the Lord Phra Isan, and presented the lotus to him at Krainak Mountain. At that time the gods of the three worlds were assembling there, Phra Itang divided that lotus into four parts. One part with eight petals belonged to Phra Isan, the Lord. One part with eight petals and twenty-four stamens was given to Lord Phrom. One part with eight stamens was given to Phrai Narai. And one part with one hundred and thirty-five stamens was given to Phra Phlegong. The gods then created four families of elephants. They were the families of Isan; of Phrom; of Mitram; and of Amai respectively. They had different characteristics. Then the four gods created the four Phrai Sib in order to help men in taming the four families of elephants in the world.
Phra Phrom then said a curse on Lady Rakā Uppakāśī: she was to go down (from heaven) to live in a cave named Thai Śatī-Phrapārūp. She ate khot creeper. Phra Phrom then created the sons of lady Rakā Uppakāśī to be ten kinds of elephants in the Rājavān Forest. They were the ten kinds (called) Chat Thai; Māsot; Hāna; Matthi; Ponākha; Matti; Kanta; Matti; Tāma; Matti; Sākha; Matti; Sākha; Matti; and Rājavān Matti. They were all together the ten kinds of elephants in the world. Then Phra Phrom, from the eight petals of the lotus created the Attha Thit elephants (of the eight directions). Thirteen Phra Phrom with his students from the lotus created a further eight kinds of Attha Thit elephants. Then Phra Phrom created a further kind of Attha Thit Thai elephants. Then Phra Phrom created forty-nine kinds of elephants having all and the characteristics in the world.
In one of the Traida Yuk, when the gods of the three worlds came to meet each other, Phra Issan the Lord issued a command and gave a boon to Phra Phīng to create, by means of his divine power, two sons for Siva. Phra Phīng obeyed the command, and by means of his divine power, caused these to issue from his carboles. The rays (of the flames) were very bright. Amidst the flames, on the right, a divine boy was born. He had a face of an elephant and four feet. His right arm held a trident and his left hand held a灵活. He had serpents as his cross-belts. He was in cross-legged position and was floating in the air at the right side of the three gods. His name was proclaimed of Siva, the Mahābhūtā. On the left side (amidst the flames) another divine boy was born. He had three faces of elephants respectively. From one eye a white male-elephant was born. If had thirty-three heads and four feet; and was called Pratara. From another head another white elephant was born. It had three heads and four feet; and was called Khiri Nīchala Traida Yuk. These two elephants were created by gods by means of divine power. The three gods blessed them with the privilege of being the mounts of the great king of the gods (Indra). From two other hands, three kinds of white elephant were born. They were to be born in the world as mounts of powerful kings. They were first grade white elephants; second grade; and third. The same three families of (white) elephants were born from both left and right hands. But the white elephant from the left hand were female, and those from the right hand were male. From two other hands the Mahābhūtā Siva was born from the right side, and the Mahābhūtā Siva was born from the left side. They took an upright position above the temples of all the seven heads (of the elephants). The three gods then named him Kōncharā- nāmae Siva Siva. The three families of white elephants
From that time on. Because Phra Phloeng created them by means of his divine power, the three families of white elephants were elephants of the families of Haa (i.e. the race of Fire). This is the reason why they are considered to be one of the Suphalakana races which is edition of the races all told. (Elephant) experts therefore worship Phra Akri, Phra Phloeng and Phra Nārangnā-thata. Both sons of Phra Siva remained in this world until the end of the Blaktha Era (Chandra Salpa). The three families of white elephants and the two families of coaches are regarded as auspicious things because they were originally born from the center of the palace of Phra Akri. Phloeng, Phloeng, and Phrena, at the time when the three gods were living together. This is why their descendants have continued the succession (until now).

At that time Lady Janvhi, who was in charge of serving the divine food (for the gods), and used regularly to serve the three gods whenever they met in assembly, on this occasion, through thoughtlessness, neglected her duty. She forgot to serve them the divine food. Phra Isian the Lord was very angry. With his sword he cut off her hair which he wore in a chignon and laid a curse on her: she was to float in the air so that she might spit out a noxious bolus (of fire) seven times a day. She was to stay on Earth for a period of one Phathara Era. Then Phra Isian divided the hair of Lady Isian Janvhi into four parts. One part belonged to Phra Isian, the others belonged to Phra Phren, Phra Nārangnā-thata, and Phra Phloeng respectively. From their one part (each) the three gods created the three families of horses. These were the families of Kan, of Phren, and of Phaet respectively. They were able to fly in the air. They ran at night on the Earth. Then Phra Phloeng created
another family of horses. The last kind lived in the ocean. They were named Sinthor. And so there were four families altogether. Then Phra Harati went back to sleep in the Ocean of Milk.

Once there was an Asura named Hulakhani Yak. He was born at the same time as the Earth. He obtained a boon from all three of the gods. Both his eyes became blazing flames. He was very proud of himself that he was greater than all gods and human beings. He persecuted and oppressed the three worlds. All the sages consulted each other (what to do) and then went to see (Phra Isuan the Lord). They told him all that had happened. Phra Isuan the Lord therefore, went down from Krailat in order to wage war with the demon Hulakhani. Hulakhani fought against the god. The demon opened his eyes of fire and caused the fire to encircle the god. Phra Isuan, the god, therefore, by means of his divine power, tred on the back of the demon Hulakhani. Then the god opened tubes of water and of fire in both his earholes. Water and fire came out and fell on the head of the demon Hulakhani and deprived him of his power. His eyes of fire were lost forever. Phra Isuan the Lord then cursed the demon Hulakhani that he was to become King Phalli. He was to roam about eating offerings made to spirits in the world at the time when all (beings in) the human world perform any of their auspicious ceremonies. And this curse was to last for a period of one Phatthara Kan. Then Phra Isuan the Lord went back to Krailat.

Later on he went to observe strict religious precept at the summit of Ratchadakut Mountain. He had a number of serpents cure him by drinking the blood from his toe. Then, the god, by means of his divine power, created a boy from
the region of his chest. The boy had six faces and twelve hands. His name was proclaimed by the god as Phra Khantha Kumān, Son of the God. Then the god returned to Krailāt. He created a peacock as the mount of Phra Khantha Kumān.

At that time there was a goddess who was the maid of Lady Suratsawadi. She lacked any of the sense of morality appropriate to the conduct of gods and celestial nymphs so that, when she came to die, she was born (in the world) as a hippopotamus demon called Asura Phangkhi. Asura Phangkhi became supreme among all the beasts. The demon Phangkhi was wicked-minded. He persecuted and oppressed all the three world. When Phra Isūan learned of what had happened he thought of commissioning Phra Khantha Kumān to vanquish the demon. But he (i.e. Phra Khantha Kumān) had to have his tonsure first. Then he (Phra Isūan) had all gods, sages, siddhis and vidyādharas assemble at Krailāt Mountain at the auspicious moment on the day of the tonsure (of Phra Khantha Kumān). Then he (Phra Isūan) had the two gods i.e. Phra Phrom and Phra Nārāi, invited to come to cut, at the same time as the gods of all the three worlds, the hair of Phra Khantha Kumān as an auspicious sign.

When the auspicious moment came, Phra Phrom and all gods had assembled at the abode of Phra Isūan the Lord who was to have the tonsure of his son performed. But accidentally Phra Nārāi the Lord was in deep sleep. Lady Laksami and Lady Kahesawari were unable to awaken the god. Phra Isūan the Lord, Phra Phrom and all gods had been waiting for a long time until the auspicious moment drew near. Phra Isūan, then commanded the Great King of Gods (Indra) to awaken Phra Nārāi who was in (deep) sleep in the Ocean of Milk by blowing the Great Phichai Yut Conch. Phra
Narai the Lord who was sleeping, dimly heard the sound of the Great Phichai Yut Conch. He then opened his eyes and saw the Great King of Gods (Indra). He asked, "What is the matter with the world?" The Great King of the Gods answered, "Phra Inthan the Lord commanded me to awaken you by blowing the Great Phichai Yut Conch. He would like to invite you to cut the hair of Phra Khantha Kurān now." Phra Narai, the Lord, who was still sleepy, said unintentionally, "What a hairless (ghost) child! I can't get any sleep in comfort." At that moment when the god uttered (this exclamation), the six heads of Phra Khantha Kurān disappeared in accordance with the sacred power of these words. And that time the three gods had assembled. The auspicious report had arrived, but they could not see the heads of Phra Khantha Kurān, so they consulted with each other on the matter (and found that) that day was insuspicious so that an auspicious ceremony should not be performed. All the world, therefore, called that day Wan Lōn Phānāt (the Day of the Destruction of the world). That was why Phra Inthan the Lord commanded Phra Wisanukhum to go (down from heaven) to Earth in order to cut off the heads of dead men. Those heads were to replace the (vanished) heads of Phra Khantha Kurān. Phra Wisanukhum obeyed the command. He travelled about looking for heads of men who had died on that day. But no one had died (on that day). Phra Wisanukhum then told Phra Inthan the Lord what had happened. Phra Inthan Worcester commanded that if any men or animals, whatever they may be, turned their heads to the West (i.e., They lay face), they were doomed to die (on that day). Their heads were to be cut off and used to replace the heads of Phra Khantha Kurān. Phra Wisanukhum obeyed the god and (of Phra Inthan) and went down to the Lord and travelled about looking for any one who turned
His head to the West when he lay down. He found a male elephant, lying down with its head turned to the West. To cut its head off, and gave it to Phra Inthan the Lord. Then the three gods had replaced the elephant head for the heads of Phra Khensin Kunen they changed his name to Phra Yot Thikhanet. That is why from then on it has been prohibited to turn one's head to the West when one lies down. Phra Inthan the Lord therefore commanded Phra Yot Thikhanet to go to vanquish the demon Phangki. Phra Yot Thikhanet obeyed the command and, by means of his divine power, manifested himself as having four hands. One hand held a hoe, the others held a hook; an iron hammer; and a red hot jump of iron respectively. He had a net in his mouth. He went, by means of his divine power, to the Yamana River. Then the demon Phangki saw the net of the God coming down (from heaven) by means of his divine power, he was very infuriated. He took one hundred-one thousand crores monsters and fought nightly against Phra Yot Thikhanet. The demon Phangki and the monsters were no match for the divine power (of the god) so that they ran away and dived in the Yamana River. They hid themselves in the middle of the ocean. Phra Yot Thikhanet therefore opened his mouth wide and swallowed up all the water of the Yamana River until the river was dry and the demon Phangki and the one-hundred-thousand crores monsters became visible. The god then removed his left task and threw it at the demon Phangki and all the one-hundred-thousand crores monsters and killed them all. Then Phra Yot Thikhanet vomited out the water (he had swallowed up) back into the river where it formerly was. Then he returned to see Phra Inthan the Lord. He told the god all that had happened during his adventure of the demon Phangki and the one-hundred-one thousand crores monsters. At that time the three gods the Lord Inthan there, blessed him, saying, "This head
When you perform the ceremony, let them take an image of Phra Mae Dútčítāt and put it (in the ceremonial hall) so that that ceremony will be efficacious. And if any elephant has a right hind leg, it is supposed to be similar to Phra Mae Dútčítāt. If any (elephant) expert manages to catch this kind of elephant he ought to count it as equivalent to a hundred head of elephants. Let him be considered to be a well-versed expert and let him enjoy a highly auspicious life." Then Phra Náthát returned to sleep in the Forest of Hill.
In one of the Tadā Yukt Phra Lasān the Lord took up his abode on Pratul Mount. On the day when the three gods assembled there, a kind of phrom, seeing Phra Phrom-Thām riding his golden Swan-Mount, grew very jealous of Phra Phrom-Thām. As a result of this jealousy his life (in heaven) came to an end and he was reborn (on earth) as an elephant, called Khathan. It had only one tusk which grew from the middle of its mouth. The elephant was very powerful. When it pierced the shadow or footprint of any man or any animal (with its tusk), those would all die. The elephant was very wicked. It persecuted and oppressed all the three worlds. Then all sages and siddhins, such as the sage Dīnā Dīm Phrom and so forth, consulted one another with each other. They went to see Phra Lasān the Lord and told him all that had happened. The god then commanded the two gods named Chattabat and Chuttabat to go and invite Phra Pārī the Lord (to come) from the Ocean of Sea to Pratul Mount. Then Phra Lasān the Lord commanded Phra Pārī to vanquish the demon Khathan. Phra Pārī the Lord obeyed the command. He, by means of his divine power, manifested himself as possessing six hands. The six were divine weapons. One of the divine weapons was created from the energy of the sun and the moon and was called Sonā. Another of the divine weapons was created from the energy of Phra Thāmūng and Phra Khongkhā, and was called Khénd. Another was created from the energy of the auspicious Lord Sunhun, and was called Chīnāh. Another was created from the energy of Phra Euan Mount, and was called Trī. Another was created from the energy of the Eagle Lord named Lord Si Phīlīn, and was called Phra Nīkō. Another was a house and body of the great Sorcerer Lord Anata. Then Phra Pārī the Lord came down (from heaven) to earth and roamed about the four directions. He wanted to find the Khathan
elephant which was oppressing the three worlds. Then he came to a field where he met four country people (who lived) in that district. The eldest was called Bhokkawand. The second eldest, the first sister, was called Sirawang. The two younger ones were called Khetcharud and Satrakai. They earned a living by working in the field there. Phra Narai then asked the four, "Have you seen the Ekkathan elephant coming this way?" The four, seeing the god with his six hands holding various kinds of divine weapons, were very frightened. They paid homage to him by means of a bhangi, Sirwayad and told him, "The Ekkathan elephant is on the other bank of the river. The elephant is very wicked and has oppressed all people. Why do you ask about it?" The god then answered the four. "When Traida Yuk comes, I, who am Phra Narai, will vanquish all evil animals and bring happiness to the world." When the four heard that, they were very glad. They bowed down to the god and said, "We four would like to come with you. We would like to be your disciples and perform the rites for elephants with you." The god allowed the four (to go with him). The four then took the god to the great river and told the god, "This river is very wide. We cannot find anything which we can use to cross it." Phra Narai the Lord, by means of his divine power, stretched his left hand out in order to pick the leaf of a Thalang San tree. This leaf is what people call a Samae San leaf. He threw it into the great river. Suddenly it became a big boat. The god and the four went aboard and crossed over the great river to the far bank. Then the god alighted from the boat and went into the forest. The four also went with the god. When they came to the foot of the mountain where there was a big reservoir of water and a lot of khun and yao trees. The Ekkathan elephant lived there. The four then said, "The wicked Ekkathan elephant has been living here. We are very frightened. May you, the
Lord, protect us from the danger (caused by it)". Phra
Nārāi the Lord, by means of his divine power, chanted Vit-
sanu prayers three times. He walked three times in a circle
in a clockwise direction. Then he stuck Phra Khōe into the
surface of Phra Khōe (the Earth) and set the rays of
Phra Phūng on both the left and right sides (of Phra Khōe).
The god commanded Phra Kākānā to come to take his
place in the fire on the right side. Then he (Phra Nārāi)
took off his sacrificial thread and, by virtue of prayer,
turned it into Phra Thēn Kan sitting in his place in the
left hand (fire). Then he (Phra Nārāi) had the four (country
folk) chanted the Priththi Sāt prayers there. Then the god,
by means of his divine power, broke off seven kinds of tree
and moved them to and fro in order to summon a god called
"aha". Then commanded him to drive all the elephants
(In Thai forest) to that place. When Nārāi had received
the command of "aha", he drove all the wild elephants to
that place. But the Ekanathan elephant had been a phrom in
his previous birth. It had been born in the race of Isān.
That was why it did not come as "aha" commanded. The god
was very angry. He recited the Vitranu prayers three times
over the seven kinds of trees and struck them upon the
necks of the Ekanathan elephant three times. The power
of the Vitranu prayers caused the Ekanathan Elephant to
suffer from a very bad headache as if its head was breaking
into seven pieces. It could not resist (the summons of the
god). It ran up angrily and started fighting with the god.
Phra "Thēn" the Lord with five divine weapons in his hand,
ran it to fight against the Ekanathan Elephant. The Ekanathan
Elephant (later on) was drained of his energy and, seeing

*In other manuscripts (Nos. 5 and 15) on this same subject,
The term 'śīvra' (śīva, Śīva) appears in place of 'iśara'
(introduced) of this version. The meaning of 'śīvra' fits
in with the context here better than the meaning of 'iśara'.
Therefore, the former meaning, i.e. Śīvra or Śīva is chosen.
that it was no match for the god, was ready to flee. Thereupon the god threw his Great Serpent noose at the right foot of the demon Mahishasura (and stopped it from fleeing away). Then the god stuck his trident into the surface of the Earth, and in virtue of prayer changed it into the form of a "mang" tree. Then he bound the tail of the Great Serpent to the same tree. Then, with his right hand, he plucked a "holi" (plant) and changed it into the form of a "jama" (coal) as a stick close. With it he bound the head of the Mahishasuramahishur, to a mango tree. Then the god came and stepped under a "jama" tree. He then summoned the four who were under the shade of that tree. The god bestowed the phalakiya amulet upon the four and made them the protectors of all elephants. They were to teach the science to sons of good family in future. Then Phra Nandi the Lord gave his divine command to the god Mahishasuramahishur to take the Mahishasuramahishur, may it be the mount of the supreme lord of the gods (i.e., Indra). But it must be kept in a forest far from the reach of all men. Then the god returned to sleep in the Ocean of Milk.

The four guardians, for their part, returned to their abode and taught sons of good family who were to be immolates how to perform the rites for elephants from then on. The first was Phra Phakhamanik; she taught her disciples to use the "lampa" (an iron for use in the training process). The second was Lady Sim disadvantages who taught her disciples to use the maha. The third was Phra Phakhamanik; who taught his "lamba" to use the board. And the fourth was Phra Sim disadvantages who taught his disciples to use the hali, chank (goat-skin bag for the elephant) and lam (collar). All the aged venerated them as the four mahamuni preceptors. They forbade
All plants, to break a branch, or cut away the stalk, or
inquire a leaf of any apple, apricot, or lime tree because the
red originally created the green preceptors in a place
where there were those kinds of trees.
In one of the Tatthai Yats there was a Phra named Angkhut Phrom. On seeing Phra Phrom Thip riding his golden Swan canoe, he grew very jealous. So (the Phra) therefore went up to the Tatthai Yat Phrom (heaven) and oppressed all the Phras there so greatly that they could not practice their meditation contentedly. The Phra therefore all went to tell Lord Tatthai Phrom everything that had happened. Lord Tatthai Phrom commanded four Phras named Tatthai Sit, Tatthai Sai, Tatthai Thi, and Tatthai They respectively to vanquish Angkhut Phrom. Angkhut Phrom was not a bit frightened of their power. So fought with the four Phras. They were no match for the power of Angkhut Phrom. They fled to Lord Tatthai Phrom and told him what had happened. Lord Tatthai Phrom told Phra Isuan what had happened. Phra Isuan the Lord therefore went to the Tatthai Yat Phrom level (of heaven) in order to war war with Angkhut Phrom. Angkhut Phrom started fighting with the god. Phra Isuan the Lord, by means of his divine power, took upon the shoulder of Angkhut Phrom. Then he (the god) took off his barging and threw it at Angkhut Phrom and broke his head and killed him. Phra Isuan the Lord dismissed the soul of Angkhut Phrom, for his part, made his existence (in heaven) and went down to the lower world. It was re-born as a demon-horse called Kanhaka. The horse was very powerful and wicked-minded. It oppressed all the Phra together until they were sorely distressed. Its body was filled with revenge upon Phra Isuan the Lord (for the head he had done against him). Thereupon, it flew up to the head of the Tatthai Mountain. At that time the sage Gojin, who took care of preparing the water for the bath of Phra Isuan the Lord, came down to draw water from the Tatthai Lake. The seven Kanhaka pursued him and hit the sage. The sage fled to Phra Isuan the Lord. He told the god all that had happened. Phra Isuan the Lord therefore commanded
Phra Narai was ordered by the Lord (to come forth from his abode) in the Ocean of Milk to Krailat Fountain. Phra Narai the Lord commanded Phra Narai (to vanquish to demon horse). Phra Narai the Lord obeyed the command and, in terms of his divine power, changed himself into the form of a man with two heads named Thulaki Avatān. He held a sword in his left hand and a whip in his right hand. He rode on the back of Thep Kanthat, a horse which possessed wings. This horse flew down to the foot of Krailat Fountain. The god saw the Demon Kanthaka exhibiting his power there. The god drove his Thep Kanthat Horse towards it, and fought mightily against it. The Demon Kanthaka, being no match for the god, fled and hid itself on the bank of the Sinthu River. Phra Narai the Lord had been following, searching for the demon Kanthaka until he (the god) came to the Sinthu River. At that time there was a hermit named Phra Vitsana who observed strict religious precepts in a cave at the Phra Phrapān Fountain on the bank of that great river. In his custom of sages, after he had finished [his] meditation on the) Apanā, he wandered about looking for fruits as food for the forest sustenance. He accidentally fell on the Demon Kanthaka. Fleeing from the god, it had come to stay on the bank of the great ocean (i.e. the Sinthu River). Then the demon Kanthaka saw the sage it was very angry. Through its vicious character, it hit the sage. The sage tried to run away but failed. He fell down and the demon Kanthaka bit his head off and ate it as his food. The sage was killed there and then. At that time Thulaki Avatān riding on his Thep Kanthat Horse, arrived there too. He struck the Demon Kanthaka with his whip and it fell down. The god cut the head of the demon Kanthaka off. He chanted the Vitsana prayers and, by means of his divine power, he restored the sage to life (by fixing to his body
the head of the horse demon in the place of his own eaten head). That was why the sage had the face of a horse. Then the god gave to the sage the magic umbrella and the whip and also the Phra Wēt for taming all ill-natured and unyielding horses. If this sage wanted to do anything, he was to open up the magic umbrella. Then he would accomplish it. He was to teach boys of good family how to perform the rites for horses in future. Thereupon the sage was named Isikanlaiyaka and became a horse-expert from then on. Then the god threw the body of the demon Kanthaka away and cursed it to become a herd of she-asses there. Whenever Phalāhok horses mate with such she-asses and they beget offspring in the form of a horse, their offspring will destroy the womb of the she-asses at the time when they are born. The she-asses will be killed. Then Phra Nārāi returned to his sleep in the Ocean of Milk. The sage Isikanlaiyaka, for his part, observed strict religious precepts there after the god had returned (to his abode). Once, when he had stopped meditating, he came to sit on a slab of stone near the Sinthu River. He saw all three families of Phalāhok horses flying along and eating grass there. (He also saw) Sinthop horses flying (in the air) and eating the (green) scum on the water's surface there. After the sage, sitting there, had duly considered the four families of horses, he wanted to obtain them and keep them in the human world. He opened his magic umbrella and chanted his Phra Wēt prayers in order to call hither some cows and she-asses to assemble there. Then the sage cast a spell with the itthlining mantra upon the cows and she-asses. Then he let them loose. When the Phalāhok and the Sinthop horses saw the cows and the she-asses they were overcome the sexual desire. Each of them mated with the cows and she-asses enchanted by the spell of the sage until the cows and she-asses were pregnant. The offspring
begotten by the Phalāhok horses destroyed the wombs of their mothers at the time when they were born and the mothers were killed. But the offspring begotten by the Sinthop horses had normal births and their mothers were not killed because (for this kind of mating) they had not been cursed by the god. When the sage saw this he wanted a succession of these colts to be bred in future. He therefore opened up his magic umbrella and chanted a prayer in order to summon a demon called Kālayak. The sage commissioned Kālayak to cut off the sinews used by the colts for flying so that they could not fly away. Then the sage made bits and bridles and put them on the colts, and put the bark of the kradōn tree on their backs as saddles and rode them at will (whenever he wanted to). He taught boys of good family to perform the rites for horses from them on.
praṇava kalpa
varū: proceeding Proper Names; meaning Lord;
Gaja; King etc.; implying respect.
Veda
Bhava
śaṃśaya bhūva jñāna (P.: śaṃśaya bhū-va jñāna)
Jāvana

bhājī śeṣavatī

Nārapā

Bhāva

dharanī; the earth personified

Thai: 'fire' (Khmer: phlōng)

Vāyu

Śeṣagāra

Nāpi Nekhala

Parāśurāma Asura

Sūra

Kaliśa

Himavān

śabha rāja (P.: Skt. vṛṣabha rāja)

Śeṣa-vṛṣa-majja Śaktsirāt Tatrangaṇa dakti rāja

Vṛṣabha yēna

Tri sūlī

Guruḍa Viśvāma

Kṛṣṇa anurakṣa

Kavala Rāma

Thai: 'to go, travel (upon)'

 będą

Khadoğ Rāma

bālāhaka, but also Vālāhaka (P.: Proper name
for a family of horses)

Sarasvatī
I.aksrai

Tīrōjī Sūthōt Deuhī sindhara parvata

Chuk gaja (Skt: in plant-name gajrastvakalya; elephant vine?)

Chuk Thurs chad-danta – Proper Name Chaddanta (P.: Skt. gad-danta)

Dīkṣet upavasatha (P.: uposatha)

Kośalena saṅgala

Kauṭyāla samāha

Pandahala tiṅgala

Tempha tamba (P.: Skt tāmā)

Ranōḍīgī padaara

Kangkhaīnāga vāgīgīna

Kāla kāla ? Kāla viśra (Power of time, death)

Attī Thīt asaśa dīśa

Khuchēṣhānī gaja dhāra

Sēpphā Lāhārā saha lāhāna

Sīva

Sīva Puth Thīlīhāntī Sīva putra vicēvarā

Thētva Māvānga (P.: Skt. Māvānā)

Shīrī giśi

Thālōṭōrāvalī jakairavat (able, competent, strong)

Utterāvat (victorious, overpowering)

Koṇānaśērāva (P + Skt; Skt Kraunca . . .

Matthāhra Ṛan Bhadra Kaśyapa (Buddhist; 'the good or beautiful Kaśyapa'; name of the present age).

Ākāṭ Shīrī ākāśa cārī

Kauṭi kṣatriya
Thewakam
Phritthihāt
Phrak Mūsavam
Pathawa lan
Satōm
Kalīwan
Thōm
Phap chēē
Prakarn
Khōchhemenāk
Talung
Chanak

Fīk
Anghut
Sutthāwāt
Satthā Sīt
Satthā Thīp
Satthā Thōp
Anōkēt
Thōwabīt
Thēwakanthāt
Satchanālai
Satana Praphān
Aphiyān
Sinthu
Isikanlaiyaka

deva kurna
vrddhi pāsa
? Paramesvāra
prthivī lāñchana
(Thai) Aegle marmelos (Rutaceae)
mallī valaya; ? Jasminum Sambac (Oleaceae)
dāman
Thai: 'to fold' + Khmer: 'tree/wood' =
hitching-ropes?
prakarnā
gejā nāga
Thai: 'hitching post for elephants' (as
in sao - )
Thai: 'foot rope for the mahout' (It is
attached to the elephant's collar. Also
Khmer: chnak iden.)
Thai: 'a ring, a loop'
ānguṣṭha
suddha āvāsa
śrāddha siddhi
śrāddha diva
śrāddha deva
Anotatta (P.)
deva ? pīṭha
deva ? kaṇṭha
sajjana (P.: Skt sad-jana) ālaya
ratna pavāḷa (P.: Skt pravāda)
abhi ṇāna (P.: Skt. abhijñāna)
Sindhu
Isi + ? Kalai, 'a stag' (P. + Tamil) The
formation of this word might be derived
from Kalaikkotṭu, 'with the horns of deer',
(Tamil) which is a loan-translation of
the Sanskrit term Rṣyasrīga.
Ithīling
Kalayak
Krādōn

itthī liṅga (P.: Skt. strī ...)
kāla yakṣa
(Thai) Careya arborea (Lecythidaceae),
Patana oak
1. Warāhawatān

The first incarnation is as follows. There was a phrom who was jealous of Phromthādā. The result of his karma (i.e. his jealousy) caused him to be reborn as a demon called Hirantayak. This was the first cause which led to Phra Narāi incarnating himself ten times from this time forth. The demon Hirantayak received a boon given by Phra Isuan which made him very proud of his power. He, desiring to eat the animals (on Earth), by means of his power enlarged his body so that he was able to roll up the Earth's surface (and eat the animals). When Phra Isuan knew what had happened he invited Phra Narāi (to come from his abode) for consultation on the matter. Phra Narāi therefore incarnated himself as a white boar called Warāhawatān. The God slew Hirantayak with his divine power and lifted the Earth up upon his tusks and put it back in its place. Then he returned to sleep in the Ocean of Milk.

There through his divine power Phra Narāi created a lotus rising out of his navel. Then he created Phra Anōmātan from that lotus. He then presented Phra Anōmātan to Phra Isuan. Phra Isuan ordered Phra In and four sages named Yut, Akkara, Thahara and Yākha to come down (from heaven) and build a city in the Prachum Sī Thong Thawān Forest where there are chumhet trees as a land mark. That city was named Phra Nakhōn Sī Ayutthaya. When they had finished creating all its population Phra Isuan let Phra Anōmātan come down and rule there as the first king of Phra Nakhōn Sī Ayutthaya.

<table>
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<th>varāha avatāra</th>
<th>Yakha</th>
<th>yāga</th>
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<tr>
<td>phrom</td>
<td>Brahma</td>
<td>Chumhet</td>
<td>Cassia spp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phromthādā</td>
<td>Brahmadhātā</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Leguminosae)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hirantayak</td>
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<td>Yut</td>
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<td>Akkara</td>
<td>aksara</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thahara</td>
<td>dahara</td>
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The second incarnation is as follows. When a demon Phī Sū'a Nam realized that Phra Phrom had gone to see Phra Isuan, he went up to the abode (of the former) and stole the three Vedic texts and gave them to a thousand million fish demons. When Phra Isuan found out about this happening he had Phra Nārāi incarnate himself and leave the Ocean of Milk in order to vanquish those thousand million fish demons and get the three Vedic texts back. Phra Nārāi, in accordance with the god's (Siva's) command, by means of his divine power, changed his body into the form of a golden turtle named Katchapāwatān. He pursued and slew the demon Phī Sū'a Nam and then pursued the fish demons to destroy them. When those fish demons realized that they would be no match (for Phra Nārāi) they entrusted the three Vedic texts to the demon Sangkha. Katchapāwatān then destroyed all the thousand million fish demons.
3. Matchāwatān

The third incarnation is as follows. When Phra Narai realized what had happened (i.e. the fish demons had entrusted the three Vedic texts to the demon Sangkha), he changed his body into the form of a golden plā krāi named Matchāwatān and chased after the demon Sangkha. The demon fought mightily with the god. When the demon realized that he had no real defence against the god, he swallowed the three Vedic texts into his stomach. Matchāwatān then slew the demon Sangkha. The god, by means of his divine power, forced open the mouth of the demon with his hands and fished out the Vedic texts from the stomach of the demon. Then Phra Nārāi prophesied about the plā krāi as follows. "In future even though men will eat you, they will have difficulty in doing so." And he prophesied about the conch thus, "In future whenever men will perform any auspicious ceremony, they will use a conch in that ceremony. If any man uses the water filling the inside of a conch (in the ceremonial act of water-pouring), it will be an auspicious influence to protect himself from evil and wickedness. Because a conch had swallowed the three Vedic texts into its stomach, it has been an auspicious (thing) up to the present day. Then Phra Nārāi went back to sleep in the Ocean of Milk.

Matchāwatān     matsya avatāra
plā krāi         Notopterus chitala; Thai: 'the krāi fish'.
The fourth incarnation is as follows. A demon phrom was jealous of Phromthādī. He therefore changed his body into the form of a buffalo and butted Phra Sumēn Mountain in order to destroy it. Phra Isuan thereupon had Phra Nārāi incarnate himself. Phra Nārāi, by means of his divine power, transformed his body into the form of (a buffalo called) Kāsōn Avatān and killed the buffalo demon. Then Phra Nārāi went back to sleep in the Ocean of Milk.

There was a sage named Sukha Wat practising ascetic austerities on Phra Sumēn Mountain. A very tall bamboo tree grew up and covered the roof of his hermitage. The sage took the bamboo (up to Krailāt) to give it to Phra Isuan. Phra Isuan broke it into two pieces and threw them down. The bottom part (of that bamboo tree) became a monkey called Chāmphūwarāt. The top part became a Yakṣa called Asura Weram who was an ancestor of Thotsakan, but of a different mother (from Thotsakan's direct antecedent). The sage waited upon Phra Isuan until the evening.

Wānarin, a goddess who took care of lighting the lamps (of Phra Isuan, forgot her duty because she was engrossed (in pleasure-seeking) with her friends. Phra Isuan was very angry. He cursed her with exile (from heaven) to live in a cave on Angkāp Mountain. She had to serve and wait upon the soldiers of Nārāi. That is why a kind of bamboo called Rū'sī Suk has existed from then on till now.
The fifth incarnation is as follows. There was a demon called Tri Buram who was the king of Solot city. He obtained a boon from Phra Isuan that no one could kill him with any kind of weapons. Later on Tri Buram grew very proud. He obtained a Śivalinga from the Saraphū River and put it on his head. He roamed about waging war and oppressing sages and gods in all regions. When Phra Isuan, Lord of the world, got to know of this, he invited Phra Nārāi (to come from his abode) for consultation on the matter. Then, Phra Isuan, together with his army of gods, came to confront Tri Buram. Phra Isuan used the power of the Serpent King Anantanākkharāt as the string of the bow; and Phra Nārāi as the arrow. Phra Isuan fired at Tri Buram in order to kill him. The power of the Śivalinga and the boon of Lord Sulī (Śiva) given to him caused Phra Nārāi to close his eyes and become rapt in his own thoughts so that the arrow was unable to destroy Tri Buram. Phra Isuan was very angry and questioned Phra Nārāi (about what had happened). Phra Nārāi answered, "You have given a boon to the demon so that no one can kill him. Besides, the power of the Śivalinga protected him so that he was not killed. I volunteer to get the Śivalinga from the demon by a trick. Then you may burn him up with your crystal tube." Phra Nārāi, by means of his divine power, transformed himself into the form of a (Buddhist) monk. The monk addressed (Tri Buram) and asked for the Śivalinga as a gift of alms from the demon. Phra Isuan then, with his crystal tube, burned the demon Tri Buram into very minute pieces. Phra Isuan then threw his Mahā Mōlī Bow down into Mithilā city and uttered a divine pronouncement, "He only who is an incarnation of Phra Nārāi shall be able to lift up this Mahā Mōlī Bow. If he is not Nārāi of the Solar race, he will not be able to lift it up, even if he possesses great power." When Phra Nārāi had vanquished Tri Buram, he returned to sleep on the back of Nāga on the Ocean of Milk.
The story of the sixth incarnation is as follows. There was an Asura called Hirantapakāsūn who was the king of Mahā Kāla Čak city. One day he, together with his troops, came to the foot of Phra Sumēn Mountain. Hirantapakāsūn, desirous of a boon from Phra Isuan, set about performing ritual practices (of extreme endurance). He roasted himself and used oil (dripping from his own body) for lighting lamps for Phra Isuan. Phra Isuan gave him a boon that he would not be killed by any weapon, nor by any human being, nor by any animal, nor in the water, nor on earth, nor during the night, nor in the day time. When the demon had obtained the boon from Phra Isuan he returned to his city. Thereafter he persecuted and oppressed all manner of sages and gods. When Phra Isuan was informed of what had happened, he invited Phra Nārāi to come (from his abode) for consultation on the matter. Phra Nārāi then threw down his (conch called) Maha Sangkha Thakkhināwatt (from heaven to earth). This conch was to become the son of Hirantapakāsūn and would become the prime cause of the slaughter of the demon. Later on Hirantapakāsūn did indeed have a son by one of his queens. He had the form of a human being and was very charming. The demon called him Kāla Than Kūmān. Hirantapakāsūn grew more and more proud of his prowess, and wanted to be supreme, unequalled by any other. When he saw that his son was grown up he wanted to have him educated in good conduct. He then had all the hermits assemble at his throne hall. Hirantapakāsūn asked the hermits, "Formerly what did people who were going to study sinlapa and wētha say as a salutation before they chanted the mon (verses)?" All the sitthā-khān answered, "Formerly, people who wanted to chant mon would say, 'Om Paramēsawara Nārāi' first." Hirantapakāsūn then asked, "Does it not mean that Phra Isuan and Phra Nārāi were worshipped by all people more than I was?" None of the sages dared to answer him. Hirantapakāsūn therefore said, "From now on, if any man wants to recite any mon, he has to say 'Om Hirantapakāsūn' first. He must pay homage to me. This is only fit and proper, since I am
greater than Phra Isuan and Phra Narai." All the sages had to agree with him even if they did not want to. Hirantapakasun then let Kalā Tham Kumān study sinlapa sāt with the sages. Then the sages and Kalā Tham Kumān left and arrived at the abode of the sages. They taught him to say 'Om Hirantapakasun'. But Kalā Tham Kumān did not say as they taught. Instead he said 'Om Paramēśawara Nārāi'. The sages advised him and pleaded with him many times to do as they taught him, but Kalā Tham Kumān was not convinced. All the sages therefore took him back to Hirantapakasun and told him what had happened. When Hirantapakasun heard this, he was very angry. He said, "If you still think that Phra Isuan and Phra Nārāi are better than I, I shall kill you. You should summon Phra Isuan and Phra Nārāi to come to your aid if you want to save your life." Then he made as if to kill Kalā Tham Kumān.

At that moment Phra Nārāi became aware of the matter through his thipwinyān (omniscience). From the Ocean of Milk he then incarnated himself as a lion which had the body of a man and had very sharp claws. He situated himself inside a pillar of the palace of Hirantapakasun. When Kalā Tham Kumān saw that he was going to be killed he folded his hands in salutation and prayed to Phra Isuan and Phra Nārāi and smacked his hand three times on the (pillar of the palace. Thereupon Singha-Watan came out from the (pillar of the) palace and fought, by means of his divine power, with Hirantapakasun. They fought together until twilight came and it began to rain. At that moment Hirantapakasun fell down on the threshold of his palace. Half of his body was outside the city (sic = palace?) and the other half was inside. His feet were in the rain water, but his head was on the dry ground. Singhawatān trod upon the chest of Hirantapakasun and asked him, "Do you know me or not? What kind of a being am I? With what weapons am I going to kill you? Are you now inside or outside the city, in the water or on dry ground? Is it the night or the day time?"

Hirantapakasun could not answer since he did not know what kind
of a being Singhawatān was, and he could not see that he had any weapons. Hirantapakāsūn, therefore, was silent. Singhawatān then slew Hirantapakāsūn by tearing at his chest with his claws.

Phra Narāi then returned to his sleep in the Ocean of Milk.

The boy (Kāla Tham) disappeared and became (the conch) Mahā Sangkha Thakkhināvat as before.

Singhawatān
Hirantapakāsūn
Kāla Čak
Thakkhināvat
Kāla Tham, Kalā Tham
sinlāpa
wōtha
sittha-āchān
mon
sāt
shipwinyūn
(Nara)sinha avatāra
Hiranyakaśipu
Kāla’cakra
Daksina varta
as if kāla dharma = Prahlāda
śilpa
veda
siddha ācarya
mantra
śāstra
divya viññāṇa (P. Skt : viññāna)
The seventh incarnation is as follows. A demon named Tawan obtained a boon from Phra Isuan. He had obtained a forest three yot wide. He laid it out as a pleasure garden to give him delight. But if any animal lost its way and entered this park of Tawan's, he would eat it. When Phra Isuan got to know of this he invited Phra Nārāi, (to come from his abode) for consultation on the matter. From the Ocean of Milk Phra Nārāi therefore incarnated himself as a very handsome brahmin. He made himself look attractive to all creatures, men, garudās, and demons. Then he came to the land of the demon Tawan. When the demon Tawan saw the brahmin whose appearance had been so (wonderfully) created, he was attracted to him. He asked, "Where have you been? Why do you come here?". The incarnated brahmin answered, "I have come from a great brahmin family. But I can not find a place to live. I do not want much (land). I only want a piece of land of three strides length. The demon Tawan did not realize the truth. He believed that that brahmin really wanted to stay there, so he gave him a piece of land (as he was asked). Then that incarnated brahmin, by means of his divine power, magnified his body as big as Lord Brahma. He made his strides one yot at a time. By the time that he had made three strides, he had covered the land of three yot width belonging to the demon Tawan. Then he changed himself back into the form of Phra Nārāi and drove the demon Tawan out of that land. Phra Nārāi then went back to sleep on the Ocean of Milk.

The demon Tawan could not find a place to live. He wandered along until he came to a city named Māyan. He knew that formerly Indra had built this city for his son called Phantā. Now Lord Phantā was dead. That city was deserted. Inhabitants, who once were gods in heaven, disappeared when their Lord passed away. "Now the city has no inhabitants, therefore I shall live here for the time being." The demon Tawan asked Indra for permission to live
there. When Tawan went to see him, Indra gave the city to him then. Later on the demon Tawan grew very proud of his power so that he committed adultery with Thеп Ramphā who was a concubine of Indra's. Tawan had the goddess Butsamālī as his matchmaker. When Indra found out about this he was very angry and slew the demon Tawan. Indra then cursed Thеп Ramphā. She was to go down from heaven to earth and wait for a descendant of Phra Nārāi. She would be free from that curse only when she had helped him. Indra cursed Butsamālī who shared the guilt. She was to go down from heaven and stay in Māyan city. When Phra Nārāi, the descendant of Vāyu (sic!), fought with Thotsakan, he would command one of his soldiers named Hanuman to go to Langkā. That white Monkey Lord had jewel fangs, earrings and diamond hair. She (Butsamālī) was to tell the monkey the way (to Langkā). Hanumān would make love to her. Then only would she be freed from her curse and have no more guilt.

Khutchāwatān: P. Khujja 'avatāra'.
yōt: yojana
Tawan: Thai: 'eye of the day' = the sun!
Māyan: Thai, N. of an Asura (the artificer or architect of the Daityas, also versed in magic, astronomy and military science)
Phantā: Thai: 'thousand eyes'; usually used as an epithet of Indra.
Thеп Ramphā: Deva rambhā
Butsamālī: Puṣpamālī
Vāyukūla: Although the actual word used here means the descendant of Vāyu, it is more likely that this word 'vāyukūla' (pronounced 'vaiyukūnā') is the wrong spelling of 'vaikūnṭha' which in Thai can mean either (1) Viṣṇu's heaven; (2) an incarnation of Viṣṇu. 'Vaikūntha' is frequently spelled by the Thais as 'vaiyukūnṭha', and is frequently pronounced as 'vaiyukūn'. It can be seen that the pronunciation of the word 'vāyukūla' as 'vaiyukūn' is not much different from 'vaiyukūn'. Therefore it is likely that the real meaning of the phrase 'phra nārāi vaiyukūn' is simply 'an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa.'
The eighth incarnation is as follows. There was a demon, who had ten heads and twenty hands. He obtained a boon from the god Phra Isuan. He was called King Phānāsūn. King Phānāsūn was king of Rattanā city. King Phānāsūn was very ferocious and very wicked. He went about oppressing all three worlds until they were sorely distressed. When Phra Isuan found out what had been happening, he had Phra Nārāi incarnate himself from the Ocean of Milk and go down in order to vanquish King Phānāsūn. Phra Nārāi, in accordance to the god’s command, by means of his divine power, put on his divine ring, and rode upon Khrut, his mount, and went down to the human world. He then created a city and named it as Narangkā city. When he had finished creating its inhabitants, he ruled as the first king of that city. He was called Kritsanāwatān who was (in reality) Borommachaṅk Krit (i.e. Kṛṣṇa with the Mighty Discus). Borommachaṅk Krit had a son named Krai Sut. Thereupon, Borommachaṅk Krit entrusted his kingdom to his son and went to keep strict observance of religious precepts at Yōt Fā Mountain. Lord Krai Sut had a son named Phra Si Anirut.

Later on King Phānāsūn became outrageous in (his demand for) sensual pleasures. He transformed his body into the form of a god and went up to the Dāwaduṅg World and deceitfully made love with all the celestial nymphs. Worse than that, he transformed his body into the form of Indra and went to deceive Queen Sučhitra, committing the sexual act with her too. Sučhitra was the chief queen of the Supreme Lord, Indra. When Sučhitra knew that she had been deceived (by Phānāsūn’s trick) she was tormented by grief. She then bade farewell to Lord Kōsi and went down to be reborn in the human world. That was the first cause which led to Phra Nārāi’s vanquishing Phānāsūn in the end. Indra permitted Sučhitra to go down and be reborn as...
an Uppātika in a lotus in the pond near the hermitage of a sage. The sage went to bathe there, (found her) and adopted her as his own daughter and named her Usā. The good news reached King Phānāsūṇ who had neither a son nor a daughter. He then begged the sage for the girl. The sage gave the girl to him. King Phānāsūṇ then brought Usā (to his city) and adopted her as his own daughter.

At that time the Supreme Lord, Indra, (by means of his magic power), inspired Phra Sī Anirut to take leave of his father and to go on a tour of the forest with his troops. On this tour he slept during the night in his royal chariot under the shade of a great banyan tree. Indra commanded a tree god named Sī Phrommarak to carry Phra Sī Anirut to where Usā was so that they could be the (perfect) match for each other. The god, by means of his divine power, made them both able to talk to each other. The royal couple made love to each other. When the dawn was near Sī Phrommarak carried Sī Anirut back to his assembled troops under the banyan tree. When Phra Sī Anirut woke up and did not see the girl (i.e. Usā) he ordered his army to return home to the city. When Usā, on her part, woke up and did not see Phra Sī Anirut, she cried and lamented for him. She therefore ordered her nurse named Phīchit Lēkhā to fly, by means of her magic power, (to various places) in order to paint the pictures of the gods in the sixteen levels of heaven, and of all the beings in all continents. Phīchit Lēkhā reached Narango city and painted the picture of Anirut for Usā. Usā then ordered her nurse, (by means of her magic power), to carry Phra Sī Anirut to her in the palace in order to be her lover. The royal couple enjoyed their love-making and were together for several days and nights. However, a maid found out what had happened and reported it to King Phānāsūṇ. When Phānāsūṇ heard the news he grew very angry. He prepared his demon soldiers (to fight) and marched his army to his daughter's palace and besieged it. When Phra Sī Anirut saw that the palace was besieged he was not
even the least bit frightened. With his diamond sword in his hand, he attacked the demon soldiers and drove them away in confusion. When King Phănăsūn saw that, he grew even more angry and drove his demon soldiers back into battle. Then King Phănăsūn fired his serpent-noose at Phra Sī Anirut. When it struck him, Phra Sī Anirut fell. The demon minister, Phichai Kālā, seized him and bound the prince and brought him to King Phănăsūn. King Phănăsūn ordered Lord Wăsukrī to bind him and take him to the Phrom Phāk Palace for his public vilification. At that moment Indra felt greatly restless. He, by means of his magic eyes, surveyed (what had happened in) the human world. When he discovered that Phănăsūn was ill treating Nārāi in such a manner he gave his divine command to the god named Sī Phrommarak to relate the happening to Borommāchak Krit. When Borommāchak Krit heard the news he was very angry. He rode off upon his mount Garuḍā through the air. On this occasion one of the gods who was named Phra Pholathēp accompanied him. When the god arrived at Rattanā city and saw his grandson bound by Wăsukrī at the Phrom Phāk Palace he was very angry. He flew down on Garuḍā, trying to wrest his grandson (to safety). Lord Wăsukrī, hearing the sound of Garuḍā's wings, was so frightened that he escaped by means of cleaving his way down into the Earth. Phra Borommāchak Krit therefore took his grandson away. When Phănăsūn saw that, he drove his army up (into the air) to fight with Borommāchak Krit. Borommāchak Krit ordered Phra Pholathēp to fight (first). Phra Pholathēp, wielding a plough in his hand, vanquished and slew a great number of the demon army. When the demon minister Phichai Kālā saw that, he grew very angry. Wielding a diamond mace in his hand, he flew, by means of his magic power, up into the air and fought with Phra Pholathēp. Phra Pholathēp hit Phichai Kālā with his plough and killed him. When Phănăsūn saw that happening he grew very angry. Wielding weapons in his twenty hands, he flew up and pursued Phra Pholathēp. Borommāchak Krit then rode his Mount Garuḍā (into the battle and fought with
Phanaśūn. With his sword he cut off all the twenty arms of Phanaśūn, scattering them in different directions. The body of Phanaśūn fell down to Earth. Phanaśūn thought of Phra Sayom Phūwayān and chanted Siwa prayers and blew upon his own body. His severed arms were then rejoined (to his body) as before. When Phanaśūn realized that he could never be a match (for the god) he chanted prayers in order to summon the god Phra Isuan to come (to the battle field) and help him (in fighting). The power of the Siwa prayers, which the god Phra Isuan (himself) had bestowed (upon Phanaśūn), made him feel restless so that he came down to Rattanā city. Phanaśūn told Phra Isuan every thing that had happened from the beginning until his fight with Lord Bhorommačak Krit. He invited Phra Isuan to help him in fighting. The god Phra Isuan then entered upon the contest for (supreme) power with Bhorommačak Krit. Bhorommačak Krit thereupon forbade Phra Isuan to open his fire-eye. Phra Isuan therefore forbade Bhorommačak Krit to throw his discus weapon. The two gods then fought, with their rival divine powers, against each other. However, both of them stopped and blew their Thakkhināwat conches. When Phanaśūn saw that his anger grew all the greater. Feeling very proud of his own royal dignity, he flew up to fight with Bhorommačak Krit. Bhorommačak Krit threw his divine ring at Phanaśūn which cut eighteen of his arms off. Phanaśūn had only two arms left. Bhorommačak Krit drew out his sword in order to kill (Phanaśūn). He was stopped however by the god, Phra Isuan, who begged for Phanaśūn's life. Phra Isuan wanted him to be a nontī guarding the gate of Krailāt. Bhorommačak Krit gave Phra Isuan what he had asked for. Then the two gods blessed Phra Pholathēp to be lord over all cereal food-bearing plants by virtue of the royal ceremony charot phra nangkhan from then onwards. Then Phra Isuan took Phanaśūn to Krailāt and made him nontī guarding the gate there. Bhorommačak Krit, on his part, took Phra Sā Anirut and Usā to Narangkā city. Then Bhorommačak Krit changed his body back into the form of Phra Nārāi and
went back to sleep in the Ocean of Milk.
The ninth incarnation is as follows. There was a demon called Nonthuk Phrom. He was foot-washer for the gods at the foot of the stairs at Krailat Mountain. (Every time) the gods came to see Phra Isuan, each one of them gave him a knock on the head until Nonthuk Phrom lost all his hair and became bald. Nonthuk Phrom was very angry. He went to see Phra Isuan and asked him for a diamond finger. Phra Isuan gave him one. Then Nonthuk Phrom returned to his duty of washing the feet of gods. The gods, who were used to teasing him, knocked his head as before. Nonthuk Phrom then pointed his diamond finger at them and killed them all. Later on Phra Isuan discovered that Nonthuk had killed a lot of the gods with his diamond finger, so he then invited Phra Nārāi (to come from his abode) for consultation on the matter. Phra Nārāi then incarnated himself as a goddess Apaṅga Kanyā who possessed the five characteristics of beauty and was irresistibly attractive to everybody. When the demon Nonthuk Phrom saw the incarnated goddess, he fell in love with her (at first sight). He came near her. The incarnated goddess said, "If you really love me you have to imitate my dancing. Then I can believe that you are sincere and love me." Nonthuk, who was very much in love, being quite unaware (of any danger), consented to whatever she said. The incarnated goddess then began dancing. Nonthuk imitated many of the movements in her dancing. (In the end) the incarnated goddess, in the course of her dancing, pointed at her own lap. Nonthuk, unconscious of what he was doing, pointed at his own lap too. He fell to the ground. The goddess disappeared. In her place was Phra Nārāi who trod on the chest of Nonthuk. When Nonthuk saw that, he was very angry. He shouted, "You are able to tyrannize me thus because you are Phra Nārāi with your four arms." Phra Nārāi thereupon laid a curse upon him. "Even, you shall be very powerful and shall be born of the race of Brahma; and shall possess ten heads and
twenty hands; and can separate your heart from your body, nevertheless you will be killed by me. I shall destroy you in any rebirth you may be born in. When he finished saying this, Phra Nārāi slew the demon Nonthuk Phrom. Phra Nārāi then returned to sleep in the Ocean of Milk.

After his death Nonthuk in the form of an uncremated ghost wandered along the foot of Phra Sumūn Mountain. He performed a penance by making his skull into a fiddle, his back bone into a bow, and his sinews into the strings of the fiddle. He played the fiddle for Phra Isuan because he was desirous of a boon from him. Phra Isuan gave him a boon, "You will be born of the race of Brahma. You will have ten heads and twenty hands. You will be able to separate your heart from your body. According to destiny, the limit of your age is one thousand years." Nonthuk was therefore born into the race of Brahma. He was born as the son of Lord Latsatīn. His mother whose name was Ratchadā, was the fourth queen (of Latsatīn). He was named Thotsakan.
The tenth incarnation is as follows. The demon Wirunhok became the king of Bādān city and was equipped with a cross-belt, made of a serpent noose, as his weapon. One day he went to see Phra Isuan at the Krailāt Mountain. When he came to the bottom of the stairs he heard the cry of Sūraphū. He mistook it as the voice of Phra Isuan and bowed down to pay homage to it. Sūraphū cried three times which cause Wirunhok to bow down three times too. When Wirunhok looked up and saw Sūraphū in the place of Phra Isuan, he was very angry. He took off his cross-belt and threw it at Sūraphū. Sūraphū was killed and the Krailāt Mountain was tipped to one side. Wirunhok was frightened and fled back to Bādān. Phra Sayom Phūwayān (Siva) was frightened too but then he realized that Wirunhok had thrown the great serpent noose cross-belt. He made the gods assemble to push the Mountain back up again. But the Mountain did not move at all. Phra Isuan then ordered Chattubāt to call Thotsakan up to see him. Thotsakan volunteered to push the Mountain back up again. Phra Isuan said, "If you can push the Krailāt Mountain back up to its previous position, whichever goddess in the Krailāt Mountain you desire, even though she is my own concubine, you shall have according to your wish." Thotsakan succeeded in pushing the Krailāt Mountain back to its previous position. He returned to Phra Isuan and asked him for Phra Uṃā. Phra Isuan, unable to think of a way to go back on his word, had to give Phra Uṃā to Thotsakan. When Thotsakan obtained Phra Uṃā he was at a loss what to do because she used supernatural means to make herself burning hot to the touch. He, therefore, put Phra Uṃā on his head and left. At that time the gods in all regions became very distressed. They went together to invite Phra Nārāi (to come from his abode). Phra Nārāi, therefore, changed his body into the form of a man named Rāmāvatān, who had come to plant a tree. This was on the way where Thotsakan was passing by. The man played a trick by putting the top part of the tree down (into the ground). When Thotsakan
came by (and saw that) he was very surprised and did not realize that it was a trick. He censured the man saying, "You are a fool. How can this tree yield fruit when you plant it by putting the top part down?" The Rāmāwatān answered, "It is you who are a fool. Why did you ask for Phra Umā (from Phra Isuan)? Why did you not ask for Monthok who is a concubine of Phra Isuan and sits by his throne? She is very beautiful and possesses the five characteristics of beauty. She is suitable to be a queen. Why didn't you ask for her? You have asked for Phra Umā who is the Mother Goddess in the abode of gods. If you make her your queen your head will be broken into seven pieces." When Thotsakan heard that he realized the truth. He returned Phra Umā to Phra Isuan and asked him for Monthok. Phra Isuan gave her to him. Phra Nārāī then went back to sleep in his Ocean of Milk. Thotsakan returned to his city.

At that time Phra Isuan mounted on his elephant named Mātaungkha Karī Thēp and went to keep strict observance of the religious precepts at the summit of Ratchadākūt. At that time Latsatīn Phrom, who was the king of Langkā, was seriously ill. He divided his inheritance between his ten sons. He allocated his kingdoms to them to rule each according to his rank and he passed away. Thotsakan, who was the fifth son, was crowned as the king of Langkā. But he did not observe the ten religious principles for a king. He was very greedy and from his older brother named Kupērantayak, took by force the magic (aerial car) Butsabok to be his own. Kupērantayak was one of Phra Isuan's attendants. He was no match for Thotsakan, so he fled away to the summit of Ratchadākūt where the god (Śiva) was observing his religious precepts. Thotsakan pursued him there. When Kupērantayak saw that he could not escape him, he cried for help from Phra Isuan. Phra Isuan opened his eyes and saw Thotsakan pursuing Kupērantayak; he was very angry. He took out the left tusk of his elephant mount and threw it at the chest of Thotsakan. Then he cursed him, "This tusk will drop out from your chest only when you are shot by Phra Nārāī's arrow and are destined to die." Thotsakan suffered
great pain. He then mounted Butsabok and went back to Langkā. He ordered Lord Witsanukram to saw the tusk off level with his chest. Then he covered it with armour. From then on all demons wore armour upon their chest all the time.

In one of the Traídā Yuk ages, after Phra Isuan had kept strict observance of the religious precepts, he, together with Phra Umā, mounted a golden piā krāi fish and made a tour around the universe. Then Phra Isuan ordered the Wind god to put the Trī Phet (his diamond trident), the Čakkrāwut (his discus), and the Mahā Sattalōha (his spear) into the womb of Lady Sawāha. Those weapons became her son which was a white monkey called Sī Hanumān. He was to become the chief of Phra Nārāi's warriors during his tenth incarnation when he was to put an end to the calamities (of the world). Then Phra Isuan went back to Krailāt.

At that time Thotsakan grew even more arrogant and brutal. He went about persecuting and oppressing all the three worlds. None of the sages could practice his meditation in peace. Led by the sage Kanlaikōt, they went to see Phra Isuan and asked (him to invite) Phra Nārāi to incarnate himself in order to stop the calamities. Phra Isuan, therefore, bestowed upon the sages (the knowledge of) a mantra to be chanted during the ceremony of preparing celestial rice, and ordered them to perform the rite in Ayutthayā. Only then would he invite Phra Nārāi to incarnate himself. The sages acquiesced to Phra Isuan's command. So they came and informed Lord Thotsarot, who was the king of Ayutthayā city, (of what they were to do). Lord Thotsarot was the grandson of Phra Anōmātan, who was born of the race of Phra Nārāi. Lord Thotsarot granted the sages leave to perform the ceremony.

At that time Phra Isuan ordered the mighty and powerful among the gods to be born as monkeys in Chumphū city and in Khītkhin city. They would be warriors for the Rānāwatān. Then Phra Nārāi, by means of his divine power, danced in the midst of the Ocean. This is the reason why that dance is called Nārāi Krasē Pahām. Phra Nārāi
ordered Phra Laksami to divide herself and be born in the womb of the queen of Thotsakan. She was named Sīdā and was the first cause (leading to the killing of Thotsakan). Then Phra Narai caused his discus, trident and diamond mace to be born as the second prince. He caused Lord Anantanākkharāt to be born as the third prince and his conch Thakkhināwat as the fourth prince. As for his own self, he divided himself to be born as the first prince. All of them were born at the same time in the wombs of three queens of Lord Thotsarot. When those queens ate that celestial rice, they became pregnant. At the end of the ninth month (or with the arrival of the tenth month) they gave birth to four princes. They were named Phra Rāmāwatān, Phra Phlaorot, Phra Saphalakkhana and Phra Sattarut respectively.

At the time when those sages performed the royal ceremony of preparing celestial rice, the fragrant smell of the rice spread afar and reached Langkā Island. Monthok, who was the chief queen of Thotsakan, wanted very much (to eat some). She then begged Thotsakan (for some). Thotsakan ordered Kākanasūn who was his aunt to change her body into the form of a crow and fly over the Continent of Chomphū until she came to Ayutthaya city where the sages were performing the rite. Kākanasūn swooped down into the midst of the ceremony hall, and stole half a lump of rice. She gave it to Thotsakan who gave it to Monthok. Monthok, in accordance with her desire, ate that half lump of rice and became pregnant at the same time that Phra Nārūi incarnated himself. With the arrival of the tenth month she gave birth to a princess, and it was at the very same time that Phra Rāmāwatān was born. Just at the time when that princess was born, she cried out, "Destruction to Rāp!" three times. It seemed most miraculous. Thotsakan thought that it was a very strange omen. He ordered Phiphēk, who was his younger brother, to interpret it. Phiphēk foretold, "This girl is a misfortune for you and your race". Thotsakan, therefore, ordered his soldiers to put his daughter in a casket and throw it into the midst of the ocean. Phra Laksami, through her own divine power,
was not destined to be killed by the tides of the ocean. It so happened that a lotus then, at her bidding, came up from the tide (and supported the casket). It floated against the tide until it came to a place where there was a landing (built by the sea-shore). The king of Mithilā had come there to practise asceticism in the forest nearby. His name was Chanok Čhakkawat. The ascetic went to bathe at the landing (on that day). He (thus) obtained the casket and adopted the girl as his own daughter. He called her Sīdā. Then King Chanok Čhakkawat gave up his asceticism and returned to Mithilā city. Then he had an idea of getting Sīdā married off. He had the kings of all continents assemble (at his city). If there was any king able to lift up Mōlī, the Great Bow of Phra Isuan, he would have his daughter married to him according to the custom of the great warrior race. Phra Rāmāwatān was able to lift up Mōlī, the Great Bow. The king of Mithilā then married Sīdā to Phra Rāmāwatān. She was his chief queen. He then took her back to Ayutthayā city. After a long time had passed, Phra Rāmāwatān together with his queen and his third brother named Phra Sapphalakkhana, went out to practise asceticism on the bank of the Khōthā river. Thotsakan, who did not realize that Sīdā was his own daughter, kidnapped her and took her back to Langkā city. He wooed her, but found he could not come near her because (she had used supernatural means to make herself) burning hot to the touch whenever he did so. He did not know what to do. Phra Rāmāwatān, together with Phra Sapphalakkhana, marched his monkey soldiers from the two cities (i.e. Chumphū and Khītkhin) in an advancing army. They made a road across the ocean by filling the ocean with rocks and thus crossed over to Langkā Island. They waged war with Thotsakan. After Phra Rāmāwatān had killed Thotsakan with the Phrommāt Arrow and destroyed all wicked demons, he returned to Ayutthayā and was crowned as the king there. When he died he became Phra Nārāi and returned back to sleep in the Ocean of Milk.
Rāmāwatan, the 10th incarnation, which is neither more nor less than what histories of kings call 'Rāma's Renown', has been translated from Grantha Script in accordance with the (authoritative) Treatise on Magic. It ends here.
Rāmāwatān
Bādān
Wirunhok

Sūraphū
Monthok
Matangkha kari thēp
Ratchadākūt
Kupērantayak
but sabok
plā krāi
Sattalōha
Sawahā
Kanlaikōt
Thotsakan
Thotsarot
Chumphū
Khītkkīn
Krasāē
pheaṃ
Phlaerot
Sapphaḷakkhana
Sattarut
Kākanāsūn
Phiphēk
Chanok Chakkawat
Khōthā

Rāma avatāra
Pātāla
? Virūlaha (P. Lord of the Kumbhanḍas, Regent of the South)
sarabhū (P.;Skt. saratā) 'a lizard, gekko'
maṇḍūka ; ? Mandodarī
mātanga kari deva
Rajatakūta
Kubera yakṣa
puṣpaka
Notopterus chitala, Thai : 'the krāi fish'
sapta loha
Svāha
? Kalayakoṭī
daśakaṇṭha
Daśaratha
Jambū
Kīṣkindha
Thai : 'current'
vyāma
Bharata (but the spelling appears as if Thai : 'axle of chariot')
Lakṣmana
Śatrughna
Tārakā
Viṣhūṣana
Janaka cakravarti
Godā
There must be a great number of descendants of the so-called "Brahmin" in Thailand, but of them all, about fifteen families can claim to be of Brahmin origin. However, these origins in fact mean no more than the families' ability to trace their lineage back to Brahmins of the Ayuthya period. It certainly does not mean that there is any evidence of descent from Brahmans in India, though some Thai Brahmans claimed that their ancestors came either from Ramavaran (the sacred island between Ceylon and India) or from Benares.

These fifteen families are: Thong In; Narinkun; Singhaseni; Shankrathayong; Chatchakun; Phaisirat; Bannasiri; Sucharith-kun; Sucharit-kun; Chonaveethin; Ramaphum; Nakhonveethin; and Savathipveethin. These descendants are not called 'prāmā' (prāmā) until they have been initiated into the Brahmin priesthood. At present there are only twenty one Brahmans in Thailand. Seventeen of them are in Bangkok and the rest, i.e. four, are in Suchārīt Phrachathān. Initiation into the Brahmin priesthood is called 'haut phrot' and it is still performed. The community of Brahmans of the Thowacathān (Devasthāna), or Hindu Shrine, in Bangkok will perform this ceremony only for one who can prove that he is the descendant of a Brahmin family. Since no Brahmin female ever immigrated into Thailand, and since inter-marriage observances for Thai Brahmin families

1. The English term 'Brahmin' is used here, both as noun and as adjective, to refer to the Sanskrit brahman and to its Pali equivalent, phrām. The spelling 'Brahman', though a possible action in English, has been avoided for fear of confusion with Sanskrit brahman (neuter noun).

The ceremony of ḫaṭ-phrat, or initiation into the Brahmin priesthood, is performed on the sixth day of the waxing moon of the second lunar month, which is one day before the beginning of the ceremony of Trīyampawai-Trīpawai.

The candidate has to prepare certain offerings and presents for the Brahmin who is going to initiate him into the Brahmin priesthood. These offerings are: a phā-nung (a sarong-type lower garment); a cushion; a wash-bowl; a handkerchief; a nut; a betel nut; a coconut; flowers; incense; candles; alms-money to the value of six Baht; and three sets of food-offerings. The candidate gives these offerings, grouped in sub-sets, to the officiant who, upon receiving each sub-set, recites some mantras which are to be imitated immediately by the candidate. The candidate is then initiated and becomes a Brahmin. Then the community of Brahmins take a vow, or ṛāṭh phrat. ⁷ For fifteen days they declare themselves vegetarians and observe vow of celibacy i.e. from the sixth day of the waxing moon of the second month to the sixth day of the waning moon of the same month.

Then the incense stuck in the food-offering is wholly burned the ceremony is over.

Most of the initiated Brahmins become government officials. They are under the Department of the Royal Palace. Their duties are to perform certain royal ceremonies, such as the coronation and the first ploughing of the land. When they are not on duty they are free to perform any other Brahministic rites and ceremonies, such as setting up a shrine for the guardian spirit of a house or compound, or a wedding ceremony, should one request them. It is noteworthy

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⁷ The ṛāṭh phrat corresponds to Sanskrit noun vrata. The two words collected here are ē critiques — ultimately from Sanskrit ēkrita — 'to become ordained, to take vows' and ṛāṭh 'to
that it is not necessary that it must be a real Brahmin only who can perform these Brahministic rites for the common people. Any man who educates himself in the knowledge of Brahminism and Brahministic rites and ceremonies is also called the real Brahmin, even though he is not one by blood, and by this very fact he has never been initiated in the Hindu Shrine as a Brahmin. This kind of person is called the Brahmin too.

After their initiation the Brahmins must wear their hair long and arrange it in the form of a chignon. They always wear white clothes. They put on the Brahminical card on ceremonial occasions only. On these occasions too they put on a white jacket with a white phul ong which is worn by the Brahmin in the same style as Indian Brahmins. Any Thai initiated Brahmin can take any kind of profession at the same time as attending to the Shrine and ceremonial occasions. This is different from Indian Brahmins. An Indian Brahmin who is a performer of ceremonies, or who is a teacher in Hinduism, does not take any other profession.

Thai Brahmins are partly Buddhist. They follow most of the Buddhist Dharma, precepts and teachings, (except for the belief in universal God, and well as their Hindu Vedas, it one and the same time they believe in Hindu gods side by side with the Lord Buddha. It is claimed on behalf of the Thai Brahmins that their daily or deva-yajna or the daily worship of the gods in the domestic shrine, though their ritual acts may be different in detail from those of Indian Brahmins. At present the daily deva-yajna is performed at the "Ghavacathan.

For the other five daily religious duties (i.e., 1. Meditation; 2. Prayer of the Supreme Being by meditation and reciting mantras at the three Sandhyas, viz. at the morning, midday, and evening services; 3. Brahma-yajna, or worship of the Supreme Being by a formal repetition of the first verse of every sacred book; 4. Pārṇā, or the
threefold daily oblation of water to the secondary gods, to the seven, and to the Pitras; 1. Hom, or sacrifice to five (fuel, rice, clarified butter), none of them can be said to be performed daily by Thai Brahmins. It is likely that these religious acts are performed by them on special occasions, i.e. when they are performing any ceremony.

Thai Brahmin is not have to take a predetermined course of study in order to become a Brahmin or to be able to perform any ceremony. The general practice is to hand down the knowledge of Brahmanism from father to son, or from teacher to pupil. The pupil is so strictly obedient to his preceptor that he hardly deviates the slightest bit from his teaching. That is why knowledge of Hindu gods and goddesses still accords with, and is still limited to, Hindu mythology as recorded in the text called Navai Ramayana. Thai Brahmins worship seven gods and goddesses. These are: Śiva or Śiva; Sārāvaka or Viṣṇu; Brahmā; Pārvatī; 1. Śiva; Śukra; and Śukravari. The last goddess — Śukravari — is regarded as one of the two consorts of Śiva (the other is Śukra). This concept does not exist in Hindu mythology, but it is recorded in the Navai Ramayana. Śiva is represented in the form of Śatarājja is not venerated by the Thai Brahmins as the Lord of the Dance, but as the Lord who is Vanquishing the Demon Mārkandeya. The myth of the destruction of the demon Mārkandeya by Śiva does not occur in Hindu mythology either, yet it is narrated in the Navai Ramayana. However, none modern Brahmins and Thai Brahmin also study genuine Hindu mythology, i.e. uninterated and pure, from the Sanskrit Puranas, as found in the Lilit Navai Ramayana composed by King Rama VI. They study side by side with the Navai Ramayana. But

4. In Hindu mythology Śukravari is one of the Saptarājakas, or the Seven Mothers. The goddesses are: Brahmā, Sārāvaka, Viṣṇu, Śukra, Śiva, Śukravari, and Chitumā. Śukravari is the consort of Śukravari or Śiva and thus he the same vehicle and same weapons with him.
they are still so attached to the knowledge handed down
to them by their predecessors that they do not reject it.

Thai Brahmins in Bangkok claim that they still read Grantha
script which was formerly used in recording their mantras.
A Brahmin and a ख्रिप khrī phithī phraṃ in Nakhon Si Thammarat
admit, however, that they note down in Thai their mantras
and instructions for ceremonies and rites. A Brahmin in that
city says that all his texts and manuscripts in both Thai
and Grantha scripts were taken from him to be kept in the
National Library in Bangkok a long time ago.
ILLUSTRATIONS
3. Phra Yahi Vaihinët Pai Kruëan Samut
(Vichneëvara go to the Ocean of Milk)
VI. Tapa Vikheśvara Tīra
(Nīkheśvara - standing)
VII. Phra Śivabhut
(Sivaputra)
III. Phra Phoavan Rong
(Devakara - Seated)
II. Phra Thewakan
(Devakarma)
Y. Libra Thovakan
(Devakarasu)
xi. Evana tries to uproot Veilasa.

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V.


Shalotta, 1937, 1933.

Articles


**Additional Material**


**Manuscripts**

Manuscripts include all in prose. All manuscripts have 6 lines in each fold.

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Tamā Phāp Thēwarūn or Book of Illustrations of Hindu Gods and Goddesses.

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