IMAGES OF HEAVEN AND HELL IN THAI LITERATURE AND PAINTING

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Descriptions of heaven and hell have provided some of the most stimulating images for the Thai artist's imagination. The most commonly depicted accounts of heaven and hell in the Thai language are found in (1) the *Nimi Jātaka*; (2) the *Trayphuum*, or "Three Worlds," cosmological treatises; and (3) the various versions of the legend of Phra Maalay, peripatetic *arhat*. This paper will briefly survey these written accounts and some of the ways in which Thai painters have responded to them over the years.

The Nimi Jātaka

The *Nimi Jātaka*[1] is one of the oldest texts containing descriptions of hell represented in Thai painting. Textual and epigraphic sources indicate that a *jātaka* collection was known in Sukhothai by the first half of the fourteenth century A.D. and possibly earlier.[2]

In the *Nimi Jātaka*, the Bodhisattva, as King Nimi (or Neemí Râat, as he is known in Thailand), is taken by Matali, Indra's charioteer, to meet the gods of Tavatimsa heaven. Matali takes the scenic route to this abode, passing by the various hells and heavens before they reach their destination. As Matali stops his chariot at each abyss, Nimi asks about the horrible punishments that he sees. Matali replies by enumerating the sins that led to each punishment.[3]

After having seen the hells, Nimi is taken to the various heavenly mansions, where he learns how the deities in each abode came to be reborn there. Unlike the hells, which are quite distinct from one another, the heavens are described in rather similar terms, as are the deeds performed by those who inhabit them. Thus, in each of the mansions "shining bright"[4] dwells one who has given alms, kept the holy days, and followed the precepts. Nimi finally reaches Tavatimsa

heaven and discourses with the gods before returning to the human realm, where he renounces the worldly life.

This story, as one of the last ten *jātakas*, is often depicted in Thai mural painting. And, as is the case with the other *jātaka*s of this group, the depiction is reduced to a single scene readily identifiable to the Thai Buddhist.[5] In this instance the depiction is of a king seated in a golden chariot with a celestial assembly in the upper part of the background and a group of hell beings in the lower part.

Wat Yay Inthaaraam, Chonburi, dating from around the second quarter of the nineteenth century and restored in the early twentieth century,[6] houses a typical example.[7] The opposing themes of heaven and hell have inspired a composition made dramatic by a zig-zagged band that divides the composition horizontally. The upper half of the composition, depicting Tavatimsa heaven, is serene and elegant. A multitiered palace, walled court, and rows of seated *devatā* give this scene a sense of order and balance. Nimi sits in the center on a glittering throne, flanked by Indra and Brahma, with the other brilliantly clad *devatā* seated respectfully below.

In terms of its content, composition, and static quality, the upper half of this mural typifies depictions of the heavens seen throughout Thai painting. These paintings are among the most beautiful in Thai art and it is obvious that they were done by the most talented and experienced artists. However, the absence of any desire, emotion, or drama makes them, in certain respects, less interesting than the scenes of hell.[8]

By contrast, the lower half of the composition is unstructured and chaotic. A melange of murky, twisted forms wends its way toward Nimi's approaching chariot, while others, lost in their individual suffering, are oblivious to its arrival. The grotesque figures seem to include representatives from each of the hells. Sinners are boiled, broiled, burned, stabbed, and impaled, in some cases nose to nose with another hell being, an accomplice in sin, no doubt.

To the twentieth-century Western observer the hell scene in the *Nimi Jātaka* is hardly frightening, nor perhaps was it intended to be even in its time. Rather, its purpose may have been to present the hideousness of the lower elements of the human mind, in contrast to the heights to which it can potentially rise, as indicated by the upward thrust of the dividing line. Since this is a *jātaka*, the details of each specific are less important than the role played by the Bodhisattva. Nimi passes from this abyss to the realm above, and teaches the

viewers that they have the potential to do the same.

Trayphuum Texts

Trayphuum, or "Three Worlds,"[9] texts are encyclopedic works that describe, in Theravada terms, the various realms of the universe, the creatures that inhabit these realms, and the way to the ultimate realm of nirvana. Also included are recountings of tales and sermons concerning Buddhist ethics and principles.

The earliest known *Trayphuum* text written in Thailand is attributed to Phrayaa Lithay of Sukhothai around the year 1345 A.D.[10] This work, the *Trayphuum Kàthăa,* or *Sermon on the Three Worlds,*[11] is a synthesis of more than thirty canonical texts and commentaries.[12] It includes, among other things, vivid descriptions of conditions in the eleven realms of the sensual world. These are the realms of the hell beings, animals, suffering ghosts, *asura,* and humans, as well as the six realms of the *devatā.*

Only three *Trayphuum* manuscripts, consisting primarily of illustrations with very little written material, are believed to have survived the Burmese attack of 1767.[13] The oldest extant copies thought to contain the full text date from 1778 and 1787 and are not illustrated.[14]

Following the fall of Ayutthaya, Phya Taksin, in an effort to restore the religious and cultural foundations of the Thai realm to the new kingdom, ordered the rewriting of a *Trayphuum,* and in 1776 A.D. at least two illustrated manuscripts on the subject were completed.[15] His successor, Rama I, later sponsored the compiling of two editions of the treatise, the second of which was completed in 1802. This text, the *Trayphuumlôok Wínítchăy Kàthăa,* is much more comprehensive than any of the earlier works and includes innumerable legends and descriptive accounts not found in them.[16] Its published form comprises 1,532 pages, compared to the 373 of Lithay's work.

The oldest extant illustrated *Trayphuum* manuscripts appear to be more closely related to the 1802 compilation. The format of illustrated "Three Worlds" manuscripts is that of accordian-folded pages of continuous illustrations, with brief explanatory passages and labels.[17] One such manuscript is believed to date from the early eighteenth century. It is housed in the National Library, Bangkok, but

in 1964 a copy made by Naay Fua Haribhitak was given to the New York Public Library.[18] On the basis of comparing descriptions of hell in the Lithay and Rama I texts with these visual depictions, several observations can be made. The first concerns the rather large number of illustrations--more than a dozen--devoted to scenes of hell beings and suffering ghosts (Thai, *prèet*; Sanskrit, *preta*). In the *Trayphuum* manuscripts, the space devoted to these spheres occupies only a minor part of the total text. However, in the New York manuscript, an unexpected profusion of hell scenes is found, gradually deteriorating in artistic quality from the first to the last. The same is true of the 1776 *Trayphuum* in Berlin, where more than a quarter of the illustrations are devoted to this subject.

The second observation involves the composition of the hell scene and the degree to which it corresponds to the written description. The works of Lithay and Rama I are somewhat ambiguous in describing the specific characteristics of some of the hells. On the one hand, both texts mention eight major hells, boxlike in form, the walls, ceilings, and floors of which are fiery hot iron. These hells are said to be located one beneath the other, surrounded by a number of auxiliary hells on all sides. However, the texts do not specify whether these are separated in the same manner as the major hells, or whether they merge with one another. Moreover, although each hell is characterized by one to four specific punishments, some of them, such as flaming coals, boiling cauldrons, and vicious elephant-sized dogs, may be found in other hells as well.

An example of the artists' responses to descriptions of this nature can be seen in a depiction of Roruva hell in the New York *Trayphuum*. This hell is mentioned briefly in the Lithay text, but not discussed.[19] In the Rama I version it is described as being full of sharp, metal, lotus plants that cut the hell beings to pieces. In addition, the text specifies that flames dart through the bodies of the hell beings, entering by way of one of the nine bodily openings and exiting through another. In the New York manuscript, the first of these punishments can be seen in a square in the center of the composition, where two spiky lotus plants and parts of six hell beings are visible. The second punishment is depicted in the upper left corner, where a hell being with flames issuing from his mouth is being forced to lie facedown on a bed of flames.

This composition is noteworthy for its complex organization. As mentioned above, the center of the composition is marked by a

square in which one type of punishment, the spiky lotus plants, is represented. This square is surrounded by smaller squares, each of which is labelled with the name of a hell[20] and filled with representations of sinners and flames. Around this central grid have been placed several larger, more detailed scenes, only one of which is mentioned in available textual accounts of Roruva hell. In addition, the composition is divided horizontally into four registers, the top three containing boxes from the central grid, flanked by larger, more naturalistically rendered vignettes of torture. Other leaves from this manuscript employ this same kind of format.

The composition of the Berlin manuscript, though generally similar, has a derivative quality to it. It is perhaps based on the original copy of the manuscript in the New York Public Library, or something close to it, in style. However, in the Berlin manuscript the registers are absent, and the squares have been further reduced in size, abstracted, and arranged in longer, intersecting rows. Moreover, the interiors of the squares have been painted in a series of alternating colors, giving the grid the appearance of a decorative border.

This decorative treatment is commonly found in mural painting as well. A notable example can be seen at Wat Dusitaaraam, Thonburi, where similar intersecting rows of squares appear amid naturalistic hell scenes. Here, as in other mural depictions of the Three Worlds, motifs from the different hells are integrated into a unified scene. The reason for this composite treatment lies in the relatively restricted area within which the mural painter had to work.

Finally, the third observation on the relationship between word and image concerns the way in which hell scenes often are filled with extraneous motifs. In the leaf depicting Roruva hell, discussed above, a number of elements are included which are not found in the Rama I text: the figure of the *arhat* Moggallana,[21] vignettes of hell beings being devoured by vultures, and rows of sinners with miniature animal heads tied around their necks. The problem here, of course, is that we do not know what text the artist used as the basis of his painting. Perhaps this scene is a very literal depiction of a text no longer in existence. On the other hand, it is also possible that the artist is incorporating elements from separate texts, or from different sections of one text, into a single composition. Another possibility is that motifs such as the dogs and vultures that recur in a number of hell scenes might have been added simply to heighten the dramatic impact of the scene.

Scenes to which outside elements have been added occur on other pages of the New York manuscript, as well as in the Berlin *Trayphuum*, mentioned above, where at least twelve different punishments have been integrated into a single, unified hellscape. Moreover, here, as in the mural paintings of hell scenes at Wat Dusitaaraam,[22] where certain of the punishments are depicted according to both *Trayphuum* texts, torments are suffered not by hell beings but by those born in the realm of the suffering ghosts. Karmic misfortunes in this realm include rebirth with a gross physical deformity such as a gigantic scrotum, the head of an animal, or with no head at all and one's face in the abdominal area. The Rama I *Trayphuum* discusses the reasons for each of these and other deformities in a section known as the *Pèettà Kàthăa*,[23] wherein it is revealed that rebirth as a hell being frequently precedes rebirth as a suffering ghost. Thus, it may be that at least some of the seemingly extraneous tortures depicted in these scenes represent part of a continuum of punishment, rather than an isolated and unique stage in the process by which karmic debts are repaid.

The presence of the *arhat* Moggallana in the Roruva hell calls to mind the frequent appearance of Phra Maalay in paintings of both hell and heaven. Phra Maalay is a legendary figure in Thai religious folklore, who, like Moggallana before him, was said to be able to transcend the boundaries of the human realm and visit the heavens and hells. The Lithay *Trayphuum* makes no mention of Phra Maalay, since the legend was not written in the Thai language until several hundred years later in the eighteenth century. Subsequently the figure of this monk began to appear, not only in illustrated manuscripts of the legend, but also in *Trayphuum* paintings. For example, the depiction of hell in the *Trayphuum* mural at Wat Dusitaaraam portrays Phra Maalay hovering above the suffering sinners who appeal to him for help.[24] In the Berlin manuscript, the monk appears in an illustration of Tavatimsa heaven.[25]

In the latter scene, Indra is in the center, seated in his palace. Surrounding him, all clearly labelled with names and measurements, are the structures, regalia, and beings associated with this site. These include the assembly hall of the deities, the Chulamani Chedi, the god Erawan, and Phra Maalay, conversing with Indra, who is depicted once again in the upper right corner. The painting conforms in these specific details to descriptions in *Trayphuum* texts, which are filled with statistics and measurements of the cosmos. The illustrator of this scene has demonstrated considerable artistic talent in organizing

a composition that captures the eye of the beholder and at the same time conveys an understanding of Buddhist cosmology. Depictions of the heavens in *Trayphuum* murals and manuscripts are, in general, similar to those seen in other contexts such as *jātaka*s and scenes from the life of the Buddha. Structural features are modelled after Thai religious and royal architectural styles, and deities are dressed in the garb traditionally reserved for royalty and seen today only in Thai classical dance.

Phra Maalay Texts

The Phra Maalay legend, existing in a number of forms, concerns the *arhat* Maalay, whose extraordinary power, derived through the merit accumulated in past lives, enables him to visit the realms of woe and bliss. According to the legend, Phra Maalay, spurred by a feeling of compassion, descends into the depths of hell to render aid to those who are suffering there. While in hell he performs a number of miracles that destroy the instruments of punishment, thus alleviating the suffering of the hell beings. Temporarily relieved of their anguish, these beings beg Phra Maalay to have their relatives in the human sphere perform acts of merit on their behalf. The *arhat* returns to the earth without delay and conveys the message as requested.

Then, one day, as he is walking along a village road to receive alms, the *arhat* meets a poor man who respectfully presents him with eight lotus blossoms. Phra Maalay receives the flowers and takes them to Tavatimsa heaven to pay homage at the Chulamani Chedi wherein the Buddha's hair relic is enshrined. There he meets the god Indra. As they converse, a procession of deities, each accompanied by an extensive retinue, arrives to pay respect at the site. With each arrival, Indra explains the ways in which that deity made merit in his former life and earned the reward of rebirth in heaven. Finally, the future Buddha, Sri Ariya Mettreya (*Phrá Sǐi ʔan*), appears and preaches a sermon on the means to salvation, which he exhorts Phra Maalay to take back to the human sphere. This message foretells a time of chaos, moral decadence, and the disappearance of Buddhist teachings, followed by a period of regeneration and the eventual coming of the future Buddha.

The text known as the *Phrá Maalay Kham Lŭang*[26] (PMKL) is attributed to Prince Thammathibeet (Chaofaa Kung), son of King Boromokot of Ayutthaya.[27] It dates from around 1739 A.D. Based on a Pali version written in northern Thailand around the late fifteenth century, it is composed in *râay sùphâap* verse and employs elegant and often archaic language.

In addition to the literary *Kham Lŭang* version of the legend, a number of more simply written accounts exist. One of these is the *Phrá Maalay Sùut*[28] (PMS), written in straightforward prose; another is the *Phrá Maalay Kham Sùat*[29] (PMKS), written in verse but employing a more colloquial style of language. Both virtually parallel the PMKL sequentially and even use some of the same images and metaphors.[30]

Illustrated manuscripts of these texts, and probably other variants as well, exist in great numbers since they were frequently commissioned and presented to monasteries as a way of making merit for deceased relatives. However, a study has yet to be made of the relative popularity of the different versions of the legend. Regarding references to hells in these texts, the PMKL contains only two, both brief lists rather than detailed descriptions.[31] The punishments are not emphasized and the sins that lead to them are not mentioned. The treatment of the subject in the PMS, though differing slightly in some details, is generally the same.

However, the PMKS dwells in great detail on the different hells, emphasizing the intense suffering experienced in each abyss and recounting the sins that led to rebirth in these conditions. While the tone of the PMKL is eloquent and literary, and that of the PMS direct and didactic, the PMKS reads more like a series of old wives' tales. Incidents of wrongdoing are related with emphasis on their horrible consequences and admonitions not to do the same. Its folksy style, so similar to spoken Thai, probably made the PMKS a popular sermon at Thai temples, while its vivid imagery may even have been an effective deterrent to sin.

Many of the descriptions of sins and punishments in this section of the PMKS are virtually the same as those appearing in the Rama I *Trayphuum*.[32] However, while the cosmological treatise makes some attempt to differentiate hell beings (Thai, *sàt nárók*; Sanskrit, *sattva naraka*) from suffering ghosts (Thai, *prèet*; Sanskrit, *preta*), the PMKS uses these terms interchangeably and discusses the beings concurrently. The combined imagery of these two different realms

must have provided inspiration for the illustration of endless pages of ghastly tortures.

On the other hand, descriptions of Phra Maalay in the three texts tend to be quite similar. For example, when the *arhat* comes to aid the hell beings, he is likened to Moggallana, who did the same. Indeed, in the New York *Trayphuum* illustration of Roruva hell the figure of Moggallana could easily be mistaken for Phra Maalay were it not for the accompanying text that identifies him by name. Likewise, when Phra Maalay goes out in the morning to collect alms, he is described similarly in all three texts: clothed in monks' robes, carrying an alms bowl, and in control of his thoughts and actions.[33] Not surprisingly, representations depicting either this scene or his visit to hell portray the ideal Buddhist monk, calm in countenance and unobtrusive in demeanor.

In a similar way, descriptions of Mettreya and his retinue in the various Phra Maalay texts, though differing in lexicon and style, all convey a single image of the glory and radiance of the future Buddha. In each case, however, it is not the face or form of Mettreya that is described, but rather his radiant splendor, expressed in terms comparing him to the sun and the moon or to many thousands of suns or moons.[34] The women of his retinue, in keeping with the image, are likened to a constellation of stars surrounding the moon, their glittering beauty a reflection of Mettreya's glory.

In the manuscript illustrations, these words are transformed into images that are glowing, elegant, and visionary. The celestials, painted primarily in white and gold against a solid dark-blue background or an expanse of blue and white clouds, appear to be suspended in the heavens. Generally, they appear in a group of three or four with Mettreya in their midst. The future Buddha is set off from his retinue in one of two ways: either he is surrounded by a floral border or enclosed in a three-lobed frame with his figure accented by a red background. His facial features are delicate and serene, his attire that of royalty. The best examples of this scene are embued with a mood of eternal tranquility and enlivened by a sense of movement in the fluttering robes of the airborne figures.

Summary

Accounts of hell and the realm of the suffering ghosts presented the Thai artist with a much greater range of concrete images than did descriptions of the heavens. Consequently, depictions of these realms are considerably more varied.

The way in which the artist organized these images depended both on the context in which they occurred and on the format he was employing. Thus, in representations of the *Nimi Jātaka*, the details of the individual hells are less important than a general view of hell, which is included in the composition primarily as a means of helping the viewer identify the story. For this reason, a visual shorthand is employed by which the hells are integrated into a composite scene. A similar process occurs in murals of the Three Worlds, but in this case it is due to the limited space within which the mural painter had to work.

By contrast, the manuscript illustrator needed only to add an additional folio to his work in order to extend the limits of his imagination. Consequently, hell scenes illustrated in *Trayphuum* manuscripts sometimes seem disproportionately large in number. Composite hell scenes in manuscript painting appear to have resulted from the artist's efforts to integrate different texts or different sections of the same text into a coherent visual representation of the subject. Hell scenes in the New York *Trayphuum*, for example, are elaborately constructed and profusely labelled in a way that suggests careful planning on the part of the artist. A thorough study of the entire manuscript in sequential order would undoubtedly reveal a sophisticated understanding of the prevailing beliefs concerning karmic retribution.

Regarding *Trayphuum* texts, it is important to point out that a number of different cosmological treatises were compiled over the centuries in Thailand. In the two versions readily available today, the descriptions of hell are quite different; some of the illustrated manuscripts contain further variations.

Finally, the three versions of the Phra Maalay legend discussed here appear to be basically similar in terms of their imagery and the general sequence of events. The one important difference is that the PMKS puts great emphasis on the law of karmic retribution and rebirth in a miserable state of suffering.

This paper has provided only a brief glimpse at some aspects of heaven and hell in Thai art and literature. Further research on the points discussed here, as well as related topics, is necessary before final conclusions can be reached.

Notes

1. *Jātaka* no. 541, in E. B. Cowell, ed., *The Jātaka*, vol. 6 (London, 1973), 53–68.
2. Lithay includes the *Dhammajātaka* (Thai, *Thammáchaadòk*) among the books upon which he based his *Three Worlds* text. See Frank E. Reynolds and Mani B. Reynolds, eds., *Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology* (Berkeley, 1982), 46. Stone engravings of *jātaka*s are mentioned in King Lithay's inscription (no. 2), ca. 1345 A.D. See A. B. Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara, "Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 10: King Lödaiya of Sukhodaya and His Contemporaries," *Journal of the Siam Society* 60, no. 1 (January 1972):125.
3. The description of hells in the Cowell edition of the *Nimi Jātaka* corresponds with that in Lithay's *Three Worlds*. See Cowell, ed., *The Jātaka*, vol. 6, 58–61; and Reynolds and Reynolds, eds., *Three Worlds*, 66–80.
4. Cowell, ed., *The Jātaka*, vol. 6, 62–64.
5. However, the last story, the *Vessantara Jātaka* (Thai, *Phrá Wêetsǎndɔɔn*), is of special significance and usually is depicted over a series of panels, incorporating many scenes.
6. See Jean Boisselier, *Thai Painting* (Tokyo, 1976), 258; and Klaus Wenk, *Mural Paintings in Thailand*, vol. 1 (Zurich, 1975), 295.
7. This panel has been published in a number of books, including Wenk, *Mural Paintings*, vol. 2, pl. cxcviii; and Boisselier, *Thai Painting*, pl. 111. Similar compositions are at Wat Naay Rooŋ and Wat Phaawanaaphirataaraam, Thonburi. See Preecha Kanchanakom, *Cìttràkam Fáa Phànǎŋ Thonbùrii* [Thonburi ceiling and wall paintings] (Bangkok, 1980), pls. 10, 48.
8. A unique exception to this general rule can be seen in the *Nimi Jātaka* mural at Wat Suwannaraam, Thonburi, where playful

courting between the celestials takes place on the periphery of the heaven scene. See Wenk, *Mural Paintings*, vol. 2, pls. lxii, lxxiii, lxxiv.

9. The term "*Trayphuum*" is derived from the Sanskrit *tri* (three) *bhūmi* (world), and refers to the *kāmabhūmi* (world of sensual desire), the *rūpabhūmi* (world with only a remnant of material factors), and the *arūpabhūmi* (world without material factors). For the translation of these terms I have relied upon Reynolds and Reynolds, eds., *Three Worlds*, 16, 49–50.

10. For a discussion of the questions of authorship and date, see Reynolds and Reynolds, eds., *Three Worlds*, 353–55.

11. This work is frequently referred to as the *Trayphuum Phrá Rûang*, a title given it when it was published by Prince Damrong at the beginning of the present century. However, Prince Subhadradis Diskul, in a recent conversation (May 21, 1982, Ann Arbor, Michigan), said that his father, Prince Damrong, later regretted this appellation on the grounds that the title Phrá Rûang referred specifically to Raamkhamhĕɛŋ.

12. For a complete list, see Reynolds and Reynolds, eds., *Three Worlds*, 46.

13. See Klaus Wenk, *Thailändische Miniaturmalerein* [Thai miniature painting] (Wiesbaden, 1965), 20–22.

14. These are the two manuscripts that Reynolds and Reynolds used as the basis of their translation of the *Three Worlds* (see pp. 38–39).

15. One copy is in the National Library, Bangkok; the other is in the Berlin Museum and numerous illustrations from it were published in Wenk, *Thailändische*.

16. This treatise, published in Bangkok in 1977, includes incidents from the life of the Buddha, *jātaka*s, and stories of the coming of Mettreya (Thai, *Phrá Sĭi ʔan*).

17. Manuscripts of other subjects, by contrast, have relatively few illustrations scattered throughout the text.

18. The Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library houses about fifty illustrated Thai manuscripts purchased in the late 1950s. When the late curator of the collection, Karl Kupp, expressed an interest in purchasing a *Trayphuum* manuscript

from the National Library, Bangkok, the Thai Fine Arts Department presented him with the copy made by Naay Fua.

19. The Lithay text describes only the sixteen auxiliary hells surrounding one of the eight major hells. See Reynolds and Reynolds, eds., *Three Worlds*, 71–80.

20. These apparently are auxiliary hells, but their correspondence to those described in available textual sources is, at best, only approximate. For example, one of the boxes in the New York *Trayphuum* is labelled "hell of urine," while in the 1802 text a "hell of feces" is described.

21. Moggallana was a disciple of the Buddha, reputed to possess extraordinary powers enabling him to travel beyond the human realm.

22. See Wenk, *Mural Paintings*, vol. 2, pls. li–lv.

23. The stories in this section appear to be loosely based on the Pali *Peta Vatthu*. See Henry Snyder Gehman, trans., *Stories of the Departed* (London, 1942).

24. See note 22.

25. Wenk, *Thailändische*, pl. iii.

26. Published in Bangkok, 1948.

27. For a discussion of this attribution, see Prince Dhani Nivat, "Phra Malai, Royal Version, by Chaofa Kung, Prince Royal of Ayudhya," *Journal of the Siam Society* 37, no. 1 (October 1948):69–73.

28. A copy of this text exists in the William J. Gedney Library at The University of Michigan. The place and date of publication are not listed.

29. This text was published by Rooŋphim Aksɔncarənthat, Bangkok, in 1971, in the form of a modern facsimile of the traditional *sàmùt khɔ̀ɔy* manuscript.

30. The relationship between these three texts has yet to be determined. A starting point, of course, would be the Pali version of the legend, written in northern Thailand around the late fifteenth century A.D. See Eugène Denis, S.J., "L'Origine Cingalaise du P'rāḥ Malăy," in *Felicitation Volumes of Southeast Asian Studies Presented to H. H. Prince*

Dhaninivat, vol. 2 (Bangkok, 1965), 329–38.

31. See PMKL, vol. 5, 35–36.
32. For example, see the story of the suffering ghost who is reborn headless, with his face in his abdomen, in the *Trayphuumlôok Wínítchăy Kàthăa*, vol. 2, 196; and in the PMKS, 69–70. Another example is the story of the suffering ghost with gigantic testicles; see *Trayphuumlôok*, vol. 2, 193; and PMKS, 53–54.
33. For the comparison of Phra Maalay to Moggallana, see PMKL, 4; PMS, 4; and PMKS, 25. For the description of Phra Maalay going out for alms, see PMKL, 6, 7; PMS, 10; and PMKS, 42–43.
34. See PMKL, 19; PMS, 56; and PMKS, 143.

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