

Vat Pavaraniveça
Interior of the Bôt.

HISTORY OF WAT PAVARANIVEḤA

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In 1837 King Phra: Nāṅg Klāo made Prince Mongkut Abbot of Wat Pavaraniveḥa, situated close to the encinte wall, in the northern part of the city. This monastery had been founded about ten years previously by Prince Çakti, who had been raised to the rank of Second King on the accession of Phra: Nāṅg Klāo, his nephew (1824-1832). Besides some wooden *kuṭi*, it consisted of a large cruciform edifice only, behind which were a Chedi, which was left unfinished owing to the death of the founder, and two buildings, on either side of it, one being used as a Library and the other as a Preaching Hall.

According to a tradition handed down to the present time, this cruciform edifice had been copied from the *meru* which was erected at this place for the cremation of the mother of Princess Tārāvati, Prince Çakti's first wife and daughter of the Second King of the First Reign. As a matter of fact, it had, as all such structures have, four fronts opening out at the extremities of the arms of the cross. One of these arms had been demolished at the time when the Chedi was completed by Prince Mongkut, as will be seen further on, so that the building is now shaped like a T. Prince Vajirañña has shown¹ that, contrary to this accepted opinion, the present aspect is most probably that of the original plan. The roofs of the two parts of the building which are placed T shaped do not form a single roof with one framework, as the remaining part of a *meru* would do; on the contrary, each has its own framework, one ending in a false gable on the top of the other without the ridge pieces joining each other. Besides, each part has its peculiar style of architecture; that which forms the transverse bar of the T admits only of a gallery composed of thick rectangular pillars, whilst the other part has no exterior pillars except on the front. It thus

1. ตำนานวัดบวรนิเวศวิหาร, Bangkok 2465 (1922). This work, in which the two last chapters have been written by H. R. H. Prince Dāmrong Rājānubhāva, was my principal authority for the present monograph.

consists of two separate buildings, simply and rather unskillfully placed one against the other. The original *sīmā* were found only around that one which forms the vertical bar of the T. Consequently this one originally constituted the Bôt and the transversal one a Vihāra. But the interiors of the two buildings communicate with each other. The walls of the Bôt are prolonged by partitions extending the whole width of the Vihāra so that the latter is reduced to two small chapels occupying the extremities only of the transversal building. The fourth arm of the cross, which has to-day disappeared, must then have been added afterwards, for the purpose of sheltering the great statue of Buddha Jinasīha, and have constituted a third chapel, a little wider than the two others.

The Bôt at that time contained only one statue, that which is now placed behind Buddha Jinasīha. This bronze statue, nearly five metres high, belonged to Wat Sa : tǎphan, at Phētṣābūri, whence it was brought to Bangkok about 1825. Its parts were disconnected to facilitate the removal and when they were placed together again, some were touched up to accomodate the statue with the taste of the time. So the head, which was covered with thick locks of hair after the style of the Sūkhôthāi period, was polished and coiffed with a wig made of baked earth and having short rounded locks like the statues of the Ayuthia and Bangkok periods. At the sides of the Buddha, two statues of disciples in masonry were erected according to custom.

In each of the two side-chapels, placed against the partition which separates them from the nave of the Bôt, is a standing statue of the Buddha, three metres high, in the attitude called "calming the ocean", flanked by the two usual statues of disciples.

The Preaching Hall contains a walking Buddha in the Sūkhôthāi style and two other smaller statues, all three standing on the same socle. Their place of origin is unknown. The walking Buddha, which is a fine specimen, has possibly been brought from the North of Siam by Prince Mongkut.

The image which made, and still is, the principal ornament of the monastery is the celebrated Buddha Jinasīha¹, a bronze statue

1. The Siamese also write Jina Çri.

four metres high which represents the Buddha seated in the attitude called "the victory over Māra". It was originally in Wat Ḷri Ratana Mahādhātu at Phitsānūlōk with another statue no less venerated, the Jinarāja, still in its place, and the Phra: Ḷstā, which will be mentioned later on. According to the Annals of the North, the Jinasīha, like the two other statues above-mentioned, was cast by order of Ḷri Dharmatrapitaka, King of Xieng Sēn, at the time of the foundation of Phitsānūlōk in 956. It is plain from its features that this statue is foreign to the proper school of Xieng Sēn. It has obviously the characteristics of the Sūkhōthāi art of the late period and cannot be older than the second half of the XIVth. century¹. After the annexation of Phitsānūlōk to the kingdom of Ayuthia, the Jinasīha and the Jinarāja were both held in great veneration by the Siamese kings and the Annals have preserved a record of the honours which were rendered to them by the sovereigns of Ayuthia from the last quarter of the XIVth. century down to the end of the old Siamese capital. Phitsānūlōk had to suffer much in consequence of the Burmese invasion and of the civil war which followed the downfall of the Ayuthia dynasty. Phāja Tak found there the point of resistance most difficult to overcome. When he succeeded in entering the town, he did not fail to pay his devotions to the two celebrated statues. His commander-in-chief, the future Phra: Phūtthā Jot Fa, did the same every time he had the opportunity in the course of his campaigns. The Wat Ḷri Ratana Mahādhātu had fallen into ruins. Afterwards, the Vihāra only where the Jinarāja was, was restored. In 1829, Prince Ḷakti decided to remove to Bangkok the statue of Jinasīha which had been left unsheltered. The raft which carried it, towed by hundreds of gilded and gaily-decorated barges, stopped at the landing of the Second King's Palace, where after three days of rejoicing, the statue was carried by land to the Vihāra which had just been provided for it in prolongation of the Bôt of Wat Pavara-

1. H. R. H. Prince Dāmrong identifies King Ḷri Dharmatrapitaka of the Annals of the North with Mahādharmarāja Lidai, grandson of Rāma KkāmḶng, who ascended the throne of Sūkhōthāi in 1347 (ตำนาน พระพุทธเจ้าสำคัญ, p. 72-73).

niveça. The Buddha Jinasīha is flanked by statues in bronze of standing disciples, which are said to have been brought with it from Phītsānūlōk, but which appear to have been cast later.

On the arrival of Prince Mongkut, Wat Pavaraniveça, which had yet no history, and parts of which were still unfinished, was almost uninhabited, its community numbering only five bonzes. The activity of the new Abbot was soon to make of it, and this for nearly a century, the busiest centre of the Siamese Church.

On the 11th. January 1837, Prince Mongkut, seated in a princely barge under a canopy hung with red cloth, escorted by a number of boats in pairs carrying his retinue, was conveyed to his monastery, in the precincts of which the King had just built for him a two-storied building in the so-called European style¹. It is said that the Prince, prior to his installation, had been invited by the King to go to the Palace of the Second King, uninhabited since the death of Prince Çakti, and to select there all the things he might desire to furnish or decorate his new residence. This may explain the presence in the monastery of some jars like those found inside the Palace, as well as the unusual costliness of the decoration of some of the manuscripts preserved in the library. Possibly the King by such means intimated that he looked upon his brother as the

• Second King, and so sought to cover the irregularity of his accession to the throne. In fact, he did not appoint a successor to Prince Çakti during the fourteen years that his reign was still to last. On the other hand, it seems that it was only after the appointment of Prince Mongkut that the monastery, which up to that time was simply called the "New Wat", received the name of Pavaraniveça, an expression very similar to that by which the Palace of the Second Kings was designated². Thus, everything contributed to represent

1. This building, called Phra : pāuja, was removed from the gardens of the Palace. It still exists to-day.

2. It is known that the official name of the Second King's Palace is *pavarasthāna*, "Excellent residence". Correspondingly, the epithet *parama*, synonymous of *pavara*, applies exclusively to things pertaining to the First King.

Prince Mongkut as the Second King of Siam who had voluntarily retired from public life.

The new Abbot certainly did not fail to appreciate all the value of the favours shown to him and to realise their secret purpose. He was then thirty-two years old. Many horizons opened before him. But he was decidedly shut away from the temptations of the world. One idea possessed him entirely since the crisis he had gone through at Wat Mahādhātu: the restoration of a sincere and true community of the Buddha.¹ During the seven years that he had since spent in Wat Sāmorai, he had little by little ascertained and defined the outlines of the reform which he judged necessary, and he had endeavoured with a small number of disciples to live as true sons of the great Muni. He saw in the favourable position to which he was raised solely a means of giving a lasting form to the attempt which he had undertaken. Being head of a monastery, he could with perfect independence lay the foundations of the New Church.

The essential of the reform initiated by Prince Mongkut is summed up in the happy formula by which he referred to his group: *dharmmayuttikā*, "Those adhering to the Law". This implied the renouncing of all the practices which had no other authority than traditional use, and the accepting of such regulations only as were to be found in the canon. For this discrimination the Prince at first adopted the practices of the Mon Sect, from which he had received his first insight on the road to be followed, and which he considered to be better versed than the Siamese Sect in disciplinary matters. Before he came to Wat Pavaraniveça, the monks who had become his disciples, were obliged to be re-ordained according to the ritual of the Mon Sect. He was not slow to free himself from the imitation into which his first enthusiasm had led him, but his mind always remained beset by questions to which the Mon Sect attached a great importance, particularly the wearing of the ecclesiastical garments and the planting of the *sīmā* or boundaries. It is known that in Burma the manner of adjusting the upper robe gave rise to a

1. For the first part of King Mongkut's religious life, see my former monograph, *History of Wat Mahādhātu*, published in this Journal, Vol. XXIV, pt 1, p. 16-22.

controversy which was prolonged for nearly a century, dividing the Burmese clergy in two hostile camps. To Prince Mongkut also the matter was of moment, and after due consideration he adopted the wrapping of the Mon bonzes who, in contrast to the Siamese bonzes, leave loose the upper garment so as to facilitate the movements of the arms. The manner of holding the alms-bowl was also modified; whereas the other Siamese Bhikkhus hold the bowl with the left hand only, the Dhammayuttikā Bhikkhus hold it with both hands in front of them. These changes, which outwardly evinced the appearance of a new sect, distressed the King greatly, and for a long time were serious impediments to the propagation of the reforming ideas. But the Prince persisted in maintaining them and only gave up his irreconcilable attitude, as will be seen later on, at the request of the dying king. Prince Mongkut perhaps attached still greater importance to the question of the *sīmā* and generally to the rites of Ordination. He held, with the Mon bonzes, that Ordination is not valid unless conferred in properly consecrated *sīmā*. The attention he paid to this matter had already led him, at Wat Sāmorui, to make use of a special Bôt, borne on a raft. It also led him to re-erect twice the *sīmā* of Wat Pavaraniveça. The first time, probably shortly after his arrival, he had new *sīmā* consecrated round the place occupied by the Bôt and the transversal Vihāra, so as to avoid uncertainty as to the defining of the area available for the rites. Consequently, the whole building originally built in the form of a T became a Bôt. The second time, in 1847, after the demolition of the Vihāra containing the Jinasīha, the limits of the consecrated area were extended beyond the surface built upon, so as to correspond with the natural limits of this part of the monastery.

The regard which he paid to the regulations laid down in the Sacred Books, actuated the Prince to alter many of the practices observed by the Siamese communities. The formula and the ritual of the Ordination were corrected¹. The manner of pronouncing

1. For example, the words Nāga and Tissa, which figure in the formulary, were replaced by the religious names of the candidate and of his *upajjhāya*.

the Pāli was amended¹. Even the fixing of the *uposatha* day was revised². Special rules were instituted for the reception of ecclesiastical garments at the *kathina* ceremony.³ These reforms, the details of which cannot be entered into here, are to-day regarded only as trivial discrepancies, left to the discretion of each sect. It is most probable that Prince Mongkut did not think so, and that in his eyes all these amendments were necessary for the validity of the acts of the community. But as a matter of fact, the essential was really the spirit which animated the reform, rather than its external results. This conscientious research into the rules of the Order, this endeavour to reform strictly thereafter, evinced a zeal altogether new among the bonzes, until then maintained by the veneration of the people in a pious content with themselves and the monastic routine. Even then the attempt of Prince Mongkut would not have resulted in the creation of a new sect, it would have aroused however, among the best representatives of the Sangha, an emulation most useful, and even necessary, to the old Siamese Church. All educated Buddhists, and the pious King Phra : Nāng Klāo most of all, were at one in deploring the relaxation of the monastic discipline, an evil to whose gravity scandals still present to memory attested. There were henceforth in the Church a group of Bhikkhus, careful of their duties to the point of scrupulousness, towards whom the sympathies of all the faithful aware of

1. In order to bring out the difference between aspirated and unaspirated voiced stops.

2. In the Dhammayuttikā monasteries, the 𑖀𑖦𑖫𑖞𑖫𑖞𑖫𑖞 (*uposatha* days) are fixed according to the real phasis of the moon, while the unreformed communities follow the calendar data.

3. The Bhikkhus of the old sect will accept robes already made up. The Dhammayuttikā Bhikkhus hold that the *kathina* gift must consist only of pieces of cloth which must be dyed and made up into robes before dawn. In consequence, the robes offered by the King for the *kathina* celebration had to be unsewn and remade the same day, and the prayers were recited a second time. When Prince Mongkut succeeded to the throne, he bestowed upon the Dhammayuttikā communities, in addition to the customary *kathina* gifts, white pieces of clothes to represent the real *kathina* garment. This custom still obtains to-day.

the vices from which the Order was suffering must go out, and who consequently must either join to themselves little by little the best part of the remaining clergy, or provoke a salutary self-examination of the Order itself.

Nevertheless, Prince Mongkut did not exact from his disciples a blind obedience to the teachings of the Buddha. Even more perhaps than evasions, he hated mechanical performances which transform devotion into a nonsensical ritual. He expected the Bhikkhu to understand the prayers and Pāli formulæ that he was to recite, the reason for the rules to which he was subjected, and the meaning of the acts that were demanded of him. Thorough knowledge of the canonical books, which had been the starting point of, and the justification for the reform, should be the first care of him who puts on the Yellow Robe. It has already been recorded that Prince Mongkut, during his second sojourn at Wat Mahādhātu, had been entrusted by the King with the organisation of the ecclesiastical examinations; he kept on with these duties after he was made Abbot, and under his direction the general standard of religious education was raised considerably. The Prince and his first disciples, all Pāli scholars of repute, devoted themselves to the teaching of the sacred language, and formed an increasing number of candidates for the doctorate. The Wat Pavaraniveṣa became a Pāli school which remained for a long time unrivalled. Besides the Bhikkhus belonging to this monastery, for whom the study of Pāli was compulsory, numbers of bonzes from outside were admitted to follow the courses. For the purpose of assuring a better transcription of Pāli words, the Prince substituted for the Cambodian characters, which had been in use up to that time, a script of his own invention called *ariyaka*, composed after the Roman characters. This script, which originally seems to have been a kind of secret script between the Prince and his disciples, became of current use at Wat Pavaraniveṣa, but in fact it only replaced one complication by another, and was given up almost immediately after the departure of the Prince. Another undertaking by the Prince was to be much more beneficial. At that time, printing had not spread much in Siam. The only two presses which used Siamese characters, belonged to the American

missions, and scarcely anything else was issued except propaganda tracts. Pāli works only existed in manuscripts, usually on palm leaves, and good copies were rare and dear. The Prince caused *ariyaka* characters to be cast, and a printing press to be installed in his monastery. This press, the first founded by a Siamese, published the Pātimokkha or Formulary of the Bhikkhus, some selections of prayers, and some teaching books, which rapidly spread in the Dhammayuttikā communities, and greatly facilitated study. After the giving up of the *ariyaka*, Siamese characters were used for the printing of Pāli texts, and the Cambodian characters began to fall into disuse.

The Siamese collections of the Tipiṭaka were at that time, not only very defective, but also incomplete. The text established by the famous "Ninth Council" of 1788 was very far from being perfect, for the manuscripts which were at the disposal of the compilers were of very unequal value. For a long time all relations had ceased with the Cingalese Church, and the embassy sent to the mother island in 1815, had confined itself to exchanging tokens of sympathy without drawing any real profit from its long and toilsome pilgrimage. The new school, in its endeavour to search out the pure Pāli tradition, must naturally attach a great value to the establishment of more efficient relations with the Cingalese Saṅgha. The opportunity was not slow in presenting itself. In the course of the year 1840, five Cingalese Bhikkhus arrived in Bangkok to pay homage to the principal Siamese sanctuaries. The King assigned to them as residence the Wat Pavaraniveça, as being the monastery where the best Pāli scholars were to be found. Prince Mongkut could then inquire about the traditions of the Cingalese Church. He certainly found these exchanges of views very profitable, for it is said that he expressed to the King the desire to accompany the pilgrims on their return journey. The King did not accede to this desire, but he consented to send to Ceylon a religious embassy, the entire organisation of which was entrusted to the Prince. This embassy, the second since the fall of Ayuthia, was composed of five Bhikkhus all chosen by the Prince from among his disciples. The mission was to enquire about the conditions of Buddhism in Ceylon, and to bring back all

available materials for the revision and the completion of the Siamese collections. The mission left in 1840 on board a merchant vessel belonging to the King, spent one year in Ceylon, and returned in 1843 with forty volumes of the Tipiṭaka, borrowed from Cingalese libraries. The following year, a new embassy comprising six Bhikkhus and one novice, all of the Dhammayuttikā Sect, went to return the borrowed texts and came back the same year with thirty other volumes. This access to the Cingalese sources, combined with the study of the Mon manuscripts which were already available in Siam, or that were sought for in Burma, encouraged an unprecedented textual work which lasted till the end of the reign of Phra : Nāng Klāo, as is proved by the number of official recensions of the Tipiṭaka which were then undertaken successively¹. On the other hand, the renewed relations with the Mother Church became much closer than in the past. The Embassy of 1844 had brought back with it about forty Cingalese Bhikkhus and laity. A special part of the *kuṭī* of Wat Pavaraniveṇa was allotted to Cingalese guests. By the intermediary of these embassies, or through the pilgrims lodged in his monastery, Prince Mongkut was able to exchange with the highest members of the Cingalese clergy a copious correspondence on all points of the doctrine and discipline which he had taken to heart. The Cingalese tradition succeeded in detaching him from the Mon tradition or rather the one and the other contributed in detaching him from the national tradition, and in helping him to revert to the pure tradition establish-

I. There were no less than seven different editions of the Tipiṭaka during Phra : Nāng Klāo's reign. Some were not finished till the next reign. The finest of these editions, and probably of all that had ever been written since the foundation of Bangkok, is the one which is known under the name of *ฉบับสีและดำ*, "First Gilt and Black Lacquer edition", so called because the little board which serves as a cover for each bundle is decked with gilt designs on a black background. King Phra : Nāng Klāo also wanted a Siamese translation to be made of the whole of the Tipiṭaka, and to that effect he prescribed successively different parts of the Scriptures as subject for sermons to the Bhikkhus each in their turn to preach in the Palace. See G. Cœdès, *The Vajirānāna National Library*, Bangkok 1924, p. 23-24, and for fuller information, H.R.H. Prince Dāmrōng, *ตำนาน ทศ พระไตรปิฎก*, Bangkok 2459 (1916), p. 8-11.

ed by the Buddha.

If the new school so much appraised the knowledge of the sacred texts, it is not only because they saw therein a primary duty for those who enjoyed the benefits of the veneration and privileges attached to the wearing of the Yellow Robe, but also because this knowledge happened to respond to new intellectual wants in Siamese society. Prince Mongkut joined to a culture then unusual in a "professional" Bhikkhu a rationalistic turn of mind still more unusual in a Siamese of his time and which was to rouse in him a veritable passion for exact sciences such as Astronomy. It was inevitable that Buddhism, such as was practised in his country, should disappoint him. Sunk to the level of the intelligences which it was its task to elevate, deprived of its doctrinal contents, dragging with it superstitions most foreign to its spirit, resting only upon supernaturalness and myth, Buddhism had become in the hands of ignorant Bhikkhus a matter of belief or of race rather than of conviction. For the popular idea of Buddhism, the Prince substituted a learned version which preserved of the national religion only practices sanctioned by the texts of the Order, and the authoritativeness of which was entirely based on the intrinsic value of the doctrine taught by the texts. He tended towards a Buddhism hostile to fancy, and rather unattractive for the multitude, but thereby he purified the national religion of the gross beliefs of which an educated Buddhist would be ashamed. Thus the reform answered to a desire for modernisation which was beginning to awaken in a section of Siamese society. The Prince insisted on the learning of the texts, because he found in them the logical explanation demanded by the coming new age. In the progress of this intellectualism, a part must fairly be ascribed to European influence. Prince Mongkut was one of the first Siamese open to Western ideas. During his second sojourn at Wat Sāmorai, he had entered into relations with the great French Bishop, Mgr Pallegoix, whose parish was next to his monastery. He taught him Pāli and received Latin lessons in exchange. At Wat Pavaraniveça he made acquaintance with the American missionaries, recently arrived in Bangkok, and more intimately with the Rev. Jesse Caswell, Rev. D. B. Bradley and Dr. S. Reynolds House. In 1845 he

took up the study of English and succeeded in speaking it fluently. His relations with the representatives of Western civilisation did not alter his faith in Buddhism, but they no doubt helped him to realise how absurd Buddhism, as practised in Siam, appeared to scientific minds, and urged him to emphasize the rationalistic character of the reform which he had undertaken. He did not confine himself to condemn mere superstitions, or to scoff at the buffooneries which sometimes were associated with religious ceremonies. He did not hesitate also to reject from the canon as "apocryphal", legendary stories like the Jātakas, though so popular in Siam, or to see in them but pious fables framed for the edification of children or of the multitude. He explained the supernatural powers attributed to the Buddha by the development of faculties natural to all men. The miraculous events in the life of the Buddha or of the Saints were in the same way accepted as parables, or reduced to human measures. This ephemerism, so characteristic of the tendencies of the new school, has become the official doctrine of modern Siamese Buddhism. If the popular beliefs have scarcely been shaken thereby, the national religion has been strengthened in these circles where the awakening of scientific thought paved the way to a dangerous incredulousness. Prince Mongkut has himself passed as a mere skeptic, so ready was he to sacrifice anything that was not tested by experience. Thus the reform has in the religious field prepared minds for the transformation which the influence, vainly delayed, of European civilisation, was soon to bring about in Siamese society.

The deep conviction of the Prince in the necessity of the reform and his unwearied activity succeeded in giving to this unpromising form of Buddhism a vitality which had long since forsaken the old Siamese communities. He composed in Pāli many hymns for daily worship at morning and evening, and formulae for the devotions of the laity, hymns and formulae which are in general use to-day. He organised a special service for the annual celebration of the Viçākhā pūjā, the anniversary of the Birth, Enlightenment and Death of the Buddha. He caused the Ceremony of Māgha pūjā to be observed for the first time in Siam and laid

down the rules as to how it was to be celebrated in the middle of the Third Month (February). Preaching was then little more than a solemn paraphrase of a Pâli quotation, and was carried out as a rite. He strove with special attention to make it really beneficial. Besides feast days or particular occasions, there were at Wat Pavaraniveça preachings in the morning and afternoon of each *uposatha* day, that is four times a month. The Prince very often went up into the pulpit himself. In contrast with the preachers of his time, he sought rather to convince than to impose. He used a simple language accessible to all his hearers. He did not read his sermons, he improvised them by starting from some Pâli sentences chosen beforehand; he prescribed the same method to his disciples, some of whom became able preachers. The oratorical talent of the Prince attracted to his sermons a congregation so large that the Bôt of the monastery was insufficient to hold it, and that many had to keep outside. Of this eloquence nothing survives except two or three more elaborate sermons specially written beforehand and a few notes taken down by certain of his hearers.

This regeneration of the national religion was impressed with a feeling of toleration altogether remarkable. A reform founded upon reason was naturally bound to condemn fanaticism. But this does not adequately describe it. For the traditional toleration of the Siamese people, which on final analysis was due to ignorance in regard to religious problems, the new School substituted a deliberate ideal of toleration founded on the consciousness that they had raised Siamese Buddhism to the level of the great universal religions. Prince Mongkut always professed the greatest regard for Mgr Pallegoix who had put him in contact with the ideas of the West. He established friendly relations with the American missionaries who came to see him at Wat Pavaraniveça. He did not conceal from them his objections to Christianity, but, confident in the future of Buddhism, he did not hesitate to afford them at the same time all facilities desirable for their evangelisation work. He often invited them to cremations, allowing them to avail of such occasions to distribute their pamphlets. He even granted to Rev. Jesse

Caswell, in exchange for English tuition, the use of one of the halls of the monastery for preaching in, and he permitted the Bhikkhus to attend the sermons of the Pastor. Rev. Jesse Caswell enjoyed this extraordinary favour until his death, which occurred in 1848. When one remembers that at that time the Siamese government was still stubbornly adhering to a policy of isolation, dominated by suspicion, if not hatred, of the foreigner, that the American and English envoys who had come to give some efficacy to the treaties signed at the beginning of the reign, had met hardly courteous refusals, that the year 1849 was to see the expulsion of eight Catholic missionaries, guilty of having declined to participate in meritorious acts prescribed by the King after a cholera epidemic, that the following year the American missionaries, discouraged by the increasing vexations which they encountered, were preparing to leave a country decidedly hostile to their work, one will realise the tranquil courage of which Prince Mongkut gave proof, as well as the radical change that was involved in the spirit in which the reformation was fostered.

On being appointed head of Wat Pavaraniveça, Prince Mongkut had definitely broken all connection with Wat Mahādhātu, and called around him the disciples he had made in this monastery; among these was Prince Pāvāret who was destined to be his immediate successor at the head of the new school. He left a group of disciples at Wat Sāmorai. Besides, he had constructed in a pretty field, situated on the bank of the Mahānāga canal, at a little distance from Wat Pavaraniveça, a monastery, later called Wat Paramanivāsa, which he used as a place of retreat, and where some of his disciples resided¹. These two monasteries formed the first branches of the

1. This monastery was not completed until after the coronation of Prince Mongkut. Built at first for a small community, many additions were made, especially during the last twenty years, and at the present time the number of bonzes living in it varies between one and two hundred. The Bôt contains a bronze statue called *Dasabalañña*, about two metres high, which represents the Buddha in the attitude called "the victory over Māra". It is of Sūkhôthāi art and comes from Phitsānūlök.

new religious centre. Subsequently some laymen, won over to the reforming ideas, asked the Abbot of Wat Pavaraniveça to appoint from his disciples the staff of the monasteries which they were founding or restoring. In this way three new succursals were established on the right bank of the Menam: the Wats Vijayañāti, Pupphārāma and Khrtiavān, all three founded by important officials¹. For, in spite of the official apprehensions of a schism in the Siamese Church, the reform movement was spreading with a marked success. The pretension of Wat Pavaraniveça to genuineness of practice, and the neophyte zeal which enlivened this school of exegesis won many sympathies among pious people and at each *vassa* more and more ordinations were conferred. The monastery, empty at the time of the Prince's arrival, numbered, during the last years of his rule, from 130 to 150 inmates. Among the few princes who sojourned in it at this period, were the two sons whom the Prince had before his ordination.

During his long career as abbot, Prince Mongkut undertook important improvements in the monastery which then became his own work. At the beginning of 1838, he had the statue of Buddha Jinasīha, for which he had a deep veneration, moved into the interior of the Bôt, in front of the big statue that was already there. The opportunity was taken to regild it, to set new eyes of mother-of-pearl and to add the *unnāloma* sign between the eyebrows. The two statues are placed in a sort of alcove formed by a wooden frame, sculptured and gilded, which is appended against the two last

1. Wat Vijayañāti was founded in 1841 by Phāja Cōi Vivaḍhana, later Sōmdēt Chāo Phāja Paramamahāvijayañāti who was to be made Prime Minister by King Mongkut.—Wat Pupphārāma was founded by Chāmīn Vayavaranārtha (ชำนิ เวชยันต) and Chāmīn Rājāmatya (ชำนิ ราชมาตยา), sons of the future Sōmdēt Chāo Phāja Paramamahāprayūraṇça, the Sōmdēt Phra: Ong Jāi of the Fourth Reign; the former was to become Regent at the beginning of King Chulalongkorn's reign after having succeeded his father as Prime Minister of King Mongkut. The latter was made Chāo Phāja Divākaravaṇça during the Fourth Reign.—Wat Khrtiavān was founded by Chāo Phāja Abhayabhūdhara (น้อย บุญบริดถพันธ์).

pillars, and in the upper part of which is figured a crown, an emblem intended to recall the royal birth of the Abbot. They are separated by a brocade curtain whose ends are usually raised, only allowing a little light to shine upon the gold of the second. In the Vihāra chapel at the back of the Bôt, the Jinasīha was replaced by the Phra: Seyyā a reclining Buddha in stone, three and a half metres long, which comes from Wat Phra: Phai Luang at Sūkhôthāi, where the Prince had probably discovered it in the course of his travels in 1833. The statue did not remain in this place for long. The Vihāra which sheltered it was demolished some years later to permit the construction of the lower platform of the Chedi. The Bôt, with its two remaining Vihāras, then received its final form. The mural paintings, which decorate the interior, are highly significant of the tendencies of the new school. Instead of the usual pictures of the legendary lives of the Buddha or of the Buddhist cosmology, one sees in the upper part scenes copied from English contemporary engravings: a Protestant Church, a race-course, a paddle-steamer, etc. Short inscriptions present these pictures as edifying allegories. Between the windows are depicted scenes of Siamese life relative to the various yearly religious festivals. A double row of square pillars forms the limits of a central nave; the pictures which cover these pillars illustrate the six *abhiñjati*, or different stages of Mankind on its progress towards Salvation; each pillar in both rows is painted with a different colour: black at the entrance of the Bôt, white near the altar; and at the bottom are represented human beings of a corresponding stage: savages on the black pillars and enlightened Buddhas on the white pillars.

Behind the Bôt, the Prince constructed a Chedi as was intended by the founder of the monastery; but instead of the polygonal type, then the only one to be found in Bangkok, he reverted to the ancient type, that is, to the round Stūpa of the Cingalese style such as was built at the Sūkhôthāi period, and which he was always to adopt in the future, with one exception only¹. The Chedi of Wat Pavaraniveça is said to be the reproduction of that which crowns the hill of

1. The fourth Stūpa of Wat Phô, which is of the polygonal type.

Phānōm Phlōng at Sisāxānalāi. It rests on a square basement in two tiers intended for circumambulation. The base of the Chedi itself is 50 metres in circuit; its total height, including the ringed arrow which terminates it, is about 44 metres from the higher platform. The first platform is a little less than two metres from the ground; the approaches to it are by four sets of steps, two on the East side, and two on the West; at each angle of this platform is a Sala in the shape of an L surmounted by a square turret in Chinese style; on the South is a small chapel housing a linga; and on the East, in a niche, made into the staircase which leads to the upper platform, is a little stone statue of a Brahmanical divinity. The upper platform, nearly three metres above the first, is decorated at its four corners by a statue of a standing Buddha lodged in a kind of watch-tower surmounted by a Prang; on the North side is a small chapel in Chinese style, the interior of which is decorated with bas-reliefs representing the Cremation of the Buddha and the Distribution of the Relics; it contains a stone statue of the Dvāravatī style about 50 centimetres high, called Vairīvināça, which represents the Buddha seated in the attitude known as *vajrasāna*, holding out his right hand with the palm open. At the base of the Chedi are four doors with pediments. The interior consists of a circular passage surrounding an inner room pierced with four apertures; in the centre rises a gilded Chedi borne upon a marble socle, and bearing Pāli sentences in Cingalese characters; at the sides are two smaller Chedis of which one in marble contains a tablet on which Buddhist precepts are enchased. Small niches made in the wall contain statuettes, and small trees of gold and silver brought as offerings.

The Prince caused also many Salas to be erected in the vicinity of the Bôt and along the wall that he had built around the monastery; some of them have since been pulled down. He began building a house with one story to serve as his personal residence; but the building was still unfinished when he left the Wat, and in fact he lived on the first story of a brick house constructed at the same time, the ground floor of which was used as a printing room.¹

1. The site is now occupied by the "Diamond" building.

In September 1850, the health of King Phra: Nāng Klāo altered. He was still able to go out for the annual distribution of robes to the Bhikkhus of the royal monasteries. But from February 1851 his condition grew worse, and he soon realised that he would not recover. He multiplied almsgivings and acts of merit. The alms he had sent to Wat Pavaraniveça were spent to construct, in front of, and behind the Library and the Preaching Hall, that is to say, at the angles of the base of the Chedi, four Salas whose walls have niches containing statuettes of Rishis or tablets engraved with medical prescriptions. The King expressed anxiety regarding the matter of the reform undertaken by his brother; a pious man to the point of devoutness, he was grieved in his capacity of protector of Buddhism to see his reign marked by a schism; above all he was indignant that Siamese Bhikkhus should consent to robe themselves in the Mon fashion, to be confounded with a foreign community. Prince Mongkut, being apprized of the sentiments of the King, hastened to order his disciples to return to the Siamese fashion of wearing the Yellow Robe. This conciliatory step may be satisfactorily explained by the desire to soothe the mental anguish of a dying man. But it is also possible that, in relaxing from his hitherto unyielding attitude for the sake of national prejudice, he may have intended as well to give a timely proof of his breadth of mind, and to facilitate the task of those who, in the councils of government, were already preparing his accession to the throne. Around the silent Palace, diverging ambitions were already beginning to contend. Towards the middle of February, the King had asked his Council, composed of princes and the three great ministers, to elect his successor, in the hope that their choice would fall upon one of his sons, for whom he had shown his preference some months before. But two other of his sons were also aspiring to the Nine-tiered Umbrella. The Council, divided by this rivalry of princes, refused to make a decision, alleging that the condition of the King did not justify so alarming a step. The sovereign, thus aware of his powerlessness, thenceforth ceased from being concerned in the future of the throne, and, preparing himself

for death, remained shut up in his Palace. The three rivals, left to themselves, began to agitate and to count their partisans. It is then that the most influential of the leading ministers, the Phra: khläng, intervened and proposed the candidature of Prince Mongkut. He had already secured the support of the army. By his firm course of action, he easily succeeded in triumphing over the princes' party, and from the middle of March, a guard of honour watched over the residence of the Abbot of Wat Pavaraniveça, thus ostensibly recognised as the heir to the Crown. On the 2nd April 1851, King Phra: Näng Kläo passed away, aged sixty-three, after a reign of twenty-six and a half years. Prince Mongkut had as many years passed under the monastic rule. The rest of his life was to show that this strange preparation of a future ruler had not cramped his mind nor destroyed his will. His long monastic probation, on the contrary, had enabled him to acquire a much greater experience of the needs of the country, and to set free an individuality much more original than if he had remained in the Royal Palace. Thanks to him, Siam was quick to come out of her deadly isolation and to enter steadily into a way that was to make her a modern state.

In the morning of April 3rd., the Prince left the monastery that he had ruled over for more than fourteen years, and betook himself to the Palace where he bathed the Royal Corpse with scented water and attended to its bestowal in the urn. He then proceeded to the Chapel of the Emerald Buddha where the princes and high officials came, according to custom, to swear the oath of allegiance. After a night spent in the Chapel, he quitted the Yellow Robe and took up his residence in the Palace. He was forty-seven years old and his reign was to last seventeen years.

The new King chose, as his successor as head of Wat Pavaraniveça, Prince Rikṣa, better known under the title of Sömdët Kröm Phäja Pävāret (Pavareçvariyañkaraṇa) which was conferred upon him by King Chulalongkorn. He was born on September 14th. 1809, son of Prince Mahāsenāmorakṣa who was Second King of

Siam from 1809 to 1817. He wore the Yellow Robe from the age of fourteen, save for two short interruptions during his novitiate. He passed all the first part of his monastic life in Wat Mahādhātu, where he acquired a thorough knowledge of the Sacred Books. He was quickly won over to the reformatory ideas of Prince Mongkut and was his confidant during the crisis which marked the last years of the Prince's second sojourn at Wat Mahādhātu¹. After his nomination at Wat Pavaraniveça, Prince Mongkut had him transferred to this monastery and made him one of his principal advisers for the organisation of the reform. Prince Pāvāret was then the natural continuator of the work undertaken by Prince Mongkut. His career as abbot extended through the whole of the reign of the new King and through more than half of the long reign of King Chulalongkorn, that is, from 1851 to 1892.

Once on the throne, Prince Mongkut took great heed not to favour his own disciples to the detriment of the deserving members of the non-reformed clergy, and refrained from interfering with the internal affairs of the communities. It will be seen that it was not he, but his successor, who officially conferred autonomy upon the Dhammayuttikā Sect. When Prince Pāvāret asked his permission to return to the Mon fashion of dressing, he replied that such questions were outside the authority of the ruler, and should be left to the discretion of the communities concerned. However it was more than natural that his accession should not fail to strengthen the new school and to raise up a number of sudden sympathisers. The new Abbot was compelled even to take measures to hinder the invasion of the monastery by recruits of questionable sincerity. Most of the young princes, who had reached the age of being ordained novices or Bhikkhus, chose the Wat Pavaraniveça for their traditional stay, so

1. Prince Pāvāret has written two biographies of King Mongkut, one in prose of which the Vajirañāṇa Library possesses a manuscript, the other in verse which was published in B. E. 2468 (1925) under the title โคลง ถ้อย พระราชประวัติ พระบาท สมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว. Both contain interesting and somewhat naive details on the monastic career of the future King.



H. R. H. Prince Pāvāret (1809–1892)



that this monastery soon became and remained down to the present time the favourite centre of religious education for the princely youth of Siam. All the sons of King Mongkut took the Yellow Robe at Wat Pavaraniveça, beginning with the future King Chulalongkorn who, in the lifetime of his father, remained there for six months as a novice in 1866. Mention may be made also during the reign of King Mongkut of the ordination in this monastery of two Cambodian princes, the future Kings Norodom and Sisowat.

Besides, Wat Pavaraniveça became, during the same reign and the beginning of the following reign, the place adopted for the cremation of princes when the deceased was not of a sufficiently high rank for the ceremony to take place on the Royal Piazza. A site was prepared for this purpose outside the precincts on the West.

The new Abbot saw the number of the monasteries placed under his authority rapidly increasing. The four new monasteries founded by King Mongkut, the Wats Somanassa (1853), Padunavana (1857), Rājapraṭiṣṭha (1864) and Makutaḥṣatriya, all belonged to the new Sect. Their abbots and directing personnel were chosen from amongst the best of the Bhikkhus of Wat Pavaraniveça. These successive swarms ended by the weakening of the hive. Notably, the departure of the famous preacher Pussadeva for Wat Rājapraṭiṣṭha in 1865 caused an irreparable vacancy in the community of Wat Pavaraniveça. From lack of Bhikkhus trained in the practice of preaching, they were forced to return to the custom of sermons composed beforehand and read out before the faithful. At the beginning of the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the foundation and organisation of the Wat Rājapavitra (1870) and specially of the Wat Devaḥirindra (1878) succeeded in depriving the Wat Pavaraniveça of its most active elements. Prince Pāvāret, old, infirm and lacking collaborators, could do nothing but witness the decline of a monastery which he had known so full of life. In 1880 he counted no more than thirty Bhikkhus around him. The actual management of the reform passed over to the Abbots of the Wats Devaḥirindra and Somanassa.

In nominating Prince Pāvāret Abbot of Wat Pavaraniveça,

King Mongkut had raised him to one of the highest dignities of the clergy, with a rank equal to that of the heads of the three great groups who then shared the administration of all the monasteries of the Realm. Besides, he had united in a special group the Wat Pavaraniveça and the monasteries depending on it; but this group, which was not yet officially called Dhammayuttikanikāya, continued to form part of the great central group which comprised all the monasteries of the Capital, and whose chief was the Patriarch of the Kingdom, Prince Paramānujita, Abbot of Wat Phô. King Chulalongkorn promoted the Abbot of Wat Pavaraniveça to the rank of Sômdēt Krôm Phāja, which is the highest rank for a prince; at the same time he raised him to an ecclesiastical dignity equal to that of the Sangharāja. Finally, in 1891, the office of Sangharāja being vacant by the death of Prince Paramānujita, he made Prince Pāvāret Supreme Chief of the Siamese Church. Prince Pāvāret was then an old man of eighty-two, blind and feeble, who had long since lost all effective power. He died less than two years afterwards, on September 29th. 1892, having spent sixty-four years of his life in the Yellow Robe. The grave disputes which then arose between France and Siam necessitated the postponement of the funeral for more than eight years. The corpse was at last cremated after imposing ceremonies on January 16th. 1901 on the Royal Piazza.

During the still brilliant period corresponding to the reign of King Mongkut, the Wat Pavaraniveça was the object of works which finally gave to it its present appearance. At the beginning of the reign, a small pavilion was constructed against the wall, to the West of the principal gate, to be used by the King as a dismounting station when coming in state for the *kathina* celebration,—a sign which evinced the importance in which the monastery was then to be held. The roof of the Bôt was decorated with Chinese ornaments; on the pediments were figured King Mongkut's arms: a crown and a sword placed on a cup. The statue of Buddha Jinasiha was surmounted by a nine-tiered umbrella which had been used at the cremation of King Phra: Nāng Klāo; in 1855 a socle was cast in *sāmrit* and the statue

was entirely regilded¹. The decoration of the Chedi was completed; notably four statues in *sāmrīt* representing a lion, an elephant, a horse and an eagle, were placed above the pediments. Behind the Chedi, a row of *kuṭī*, which used to be assigned to Cingalese guests, was demolished, and a small Vihāra with a surrounding gallery was built. The interior of this building is divided into two rooms, each containing a statue of the Buddha. The one placed in the Western room is the reclining Buddha Phra: Seyyā of which mention has been made above; it had remained unsheltered since the demolition of the South wing of the Bôt; it was later covered with gold so that it does not look like a stone statue; the walls are decorated with pictures depicting the surrounding scene of the Nirvāna, so forming an ensemble with the statue. The other statue is the Phra: Çāstā, a sitting Buddha in bronze, 3 metres 25 high, which comes from Phītsānlōk like the Jinasiha with which legend makes it contemporary, but seems to be much later. Transported during the Second or Third Reign to a monastery near Bangkok, this statue was transferred by order of King Mongkut, first to Wat Sudaçana, then, after the completion of the Vihāra in 1863, to Wat Pavaraniveça so that it might be, as at Phītsānlōk, in the same monastery as the Jinasiha. Its neck was broken during transportation.

Between the Vihāra of the Phra: Çāstā and the Chedi, a second Vihāra was built, parallel to the first and of smaller dimensions; it is terminated on either side by a kind of small kiosk in Chinese style from which the name of Vihāra *keng* was given to this building. The interior is decorated with Chinese pictures representing episodes from the popular romance "Sam kōk" or "History of the Three Kingdoms". In 1885 King Chulalongkorn had two statues placed in this Vihāra in memory of the two first abbots of Wat Pavaraniveça. One, called Buddhavajirañāṇa, after the reli-

1. King Mongkut evidenced by many offerings his veneration for the celebrated statue. At the beginning of his reign, he caused a costly *raçmī* to be made in enamelled gold, to cover that of the statue on ceremonial occasions (It is known that the *raçmī* is a flame which crowns the head of the Siamese Buddhas). He offered it also a jade ring, gold and silver trees, etc.

gious name of King Mongkut, is a standing Buddha dressed with royal ornaments, symbolical of the double career of the first Abbot. The other, which received the name of Buddhapaññaagga and personifies the Prince Pāvāret, represents a standing Buddha clothed in a *civara* which covers both shoulders; in its socle are enshrined ashes of the Second Abbot ¹.

Behind these two new Vihāras, a site was cleared at the end of King Mongkut's reign to plant a cutting of the Bodhi tree brought from Buddha Gaya, which locality European archeologists had just ascertained to be the very place where the Buddha reached Enlightenment. It is surrounded by a wall enclosure with an outside gallery sheltering statues of the Buddha. The tree was planted at the beginning of the following reign.

Besides, the part of the monastery allotted for the habitation of the Bhikkhus was much improved. The old wooden *kuṭī* were demolished and replaced by brick buildings. Prince Pāvāret had constructed, in front of his personal residence, a Sala the walls of which are decorated with Chinese plates, and another Bodhi tree, which also was brought from Buddha Gaya, was planted in the vicinity.

At the beginning of his reign, King Chulalongkorn had only built two new groups of *kuṭī* and completed the works in progress. But in 1890, in view of Prince Pāvāret's consecration as supreme chief of the Siamese Church, the monastery was entirely renewed. The religious edifices were simply restored, but the Bhikkhus' quarters were improved with new buildings. In order that the octogenarian patriarch might easily perform his religious duties, the King decided, in 1892, to have *sīmā* planted around the residence of the Abbot, so making this area available for ritual acts; but the consecrating ceremony was not completed until a month after the death of Prince Pāvāret.

1. In 1930 a third statue, called Buddhamanussanāga and similar to the Buddhapaññaagga, was placed in the Vihāra *keng*, in memory of the Third Abbot, Prince Vajirañāṇa (whose personal name was Manussanāga). Its inauguration took place on January 30th. 1931.

The third Abbot of Wat Pavaraniveṇa was a son of King Mongkut, Prince Vajirañānavarorasa, born on April 1st. 1860. Entering this monastery as a novice in 1873, ordained a Bhikkhu in 1879, and a brilliant candidate at the ecclesiastical examinations, he had been appointed, as early as 1881, second head of the Dhammayuttika group. He had spent a portion of his time at Wat Makutaṅṅsatriya and at Wat Somanassa which had become, by result of the decline of Wat Pavaraniveṇa, the actual centres of the reformed sect. He was too young to have been able to play up until then any prominent role, but he had acquired a great experience of the internal affairs of the sect, and realised all that remained to be fulfilled to achieve the work of his father. Having become in 1892, at the death of Prince Pāvāret, Abbot of Wat Pavaraniveṇa, he also succeeded him in the duties of head of the Dhammayuttika sect, which eventually King Chulalongkorn, two years later, was to separate from the central great group, and to constitute as a fourth great group uniting all the communities that had embraced the reform.

Prince Vajirañāṇa was the real continuator of King Mongkut, who had transmitted to him his temper, his intellectual inquisitiveness, his exasperation at the nonchalance of others, and his untiring activity. His religious convictions, as with his father, coexisted, or rather combined, with a solid rationalism, adverse to teleological controversies, aiming above all at self-control and moral betterment. Early familiarized with Western ideas, having learned English from the age of twelve, he loved, like his father, the company of Europeans, and evinced for some of them a faithful affection. But he was endowed with a quality which had been badly lacking in King Mongkut: orderliness. He will be remembered for having organised and definitely established the reform in the Siamese Church. However, he did not feel any animosity against the unreformed sect. On the contrary, he strove all his life to find a common ground of agreement which would put an end to the division of the Sangha. He openly published the fact that he attached no importance to the external differences which distinguished the two sects; and if he succeeded but partially in his attempt at union, he was at least suc-

cessful in making predominant in every community the ideas which were at the very basis of the reform: knowledge of the Law and adherence to discipline.

The administrative qualities of the young Abbot immediately appeared in the manner in which he brought back order to his monastery as well as into the group of which he was the head. Resuming an idea of King Mongkut, which had been subsequently given up, he divided between several dignitaries responsible to him the different charges relative to the management of the monastery: henceforth regular accounts were kept, revenues and expenses were checked, and at the same time an effective supervision was instituted over the inmates and the lay personnel attached to the service of the monastery. This organisation was subsequently taken as a model by all the important communities of the country. As regards the administration of the Dhammayuttika group, the task of Prince Vajirañāṇa was much more delicate. For twenty years Prince Pāvāret had left the direction of the movement slip from his enfeebled hands. Already rare during King Mongkut's reign, meetings of the Abbots and dignitaries of the Dhammayuttikā communities had completely discontinued since the accession of King Chulalongkorn. So there was no more cohesion between the heads of the Reform. The Wats Somanassa and Makuṭakṣatriya had enacted regulations of their own, and had even started to open up branches. The unity of the Group was threatened. Prince Vajirañāṇa succeeded in again making the Wat Pavaraniveṇa the unquestioned centre of the new Sect. Owing to his knowledge of the practices instituted by the dissenting Wats and the personal acquaintances that he had made there, he rapidly came to an understanding. Relations once re-established, he did not let them relax again. All the Dhammayuttikā monasteries then obeyed one uniform rule and remained under the guidance of the Abbot of Wat Pavaraniveṇa.

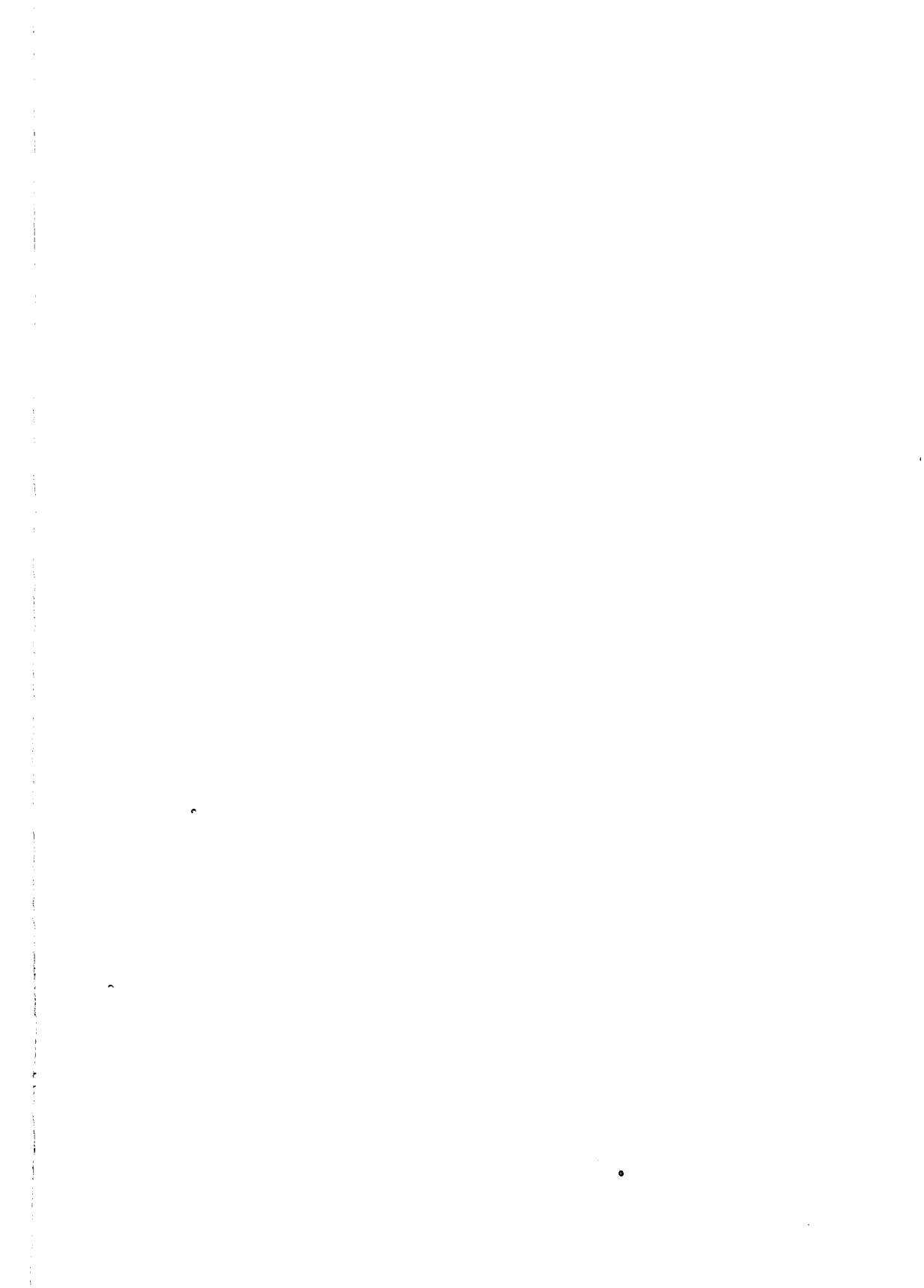
But it is principally in the domain of religious teaching that Prince Vajirañāṇa proved to be the true follower and real executor of the ideas of King Mongkut. The founder of the Dhammayuttika sect had insisted on the obligation for the Bhikkhus to know the



H. R. H. Prince Vajiranaṅga (1860-1921)

From a photograph taken in 1920

(C. 11. 11.)



regulations and doctrine of the Order, but as he had failed to settle upon a programme of studies, this injunction could not have its full effect. In every Siamese monastery, there are two categories of bonzes: those who get ordained by vocation, and intend to devote their life to the Buddha, and those who get ordained in compliance with custom, and are only contemplating a few months retreat. For these latter, it was of no avail to take up the study of Pāli, so they confined themselves to learning some prayers, and to gleaning occasional notions of the doctrine from the mouth of their teachers; that is to say that they drew no profit from their monastic stay. The fruitful idea of Prince Vajirañāṇa was to divide the teaching given in his monastery into two classes, corresponding to these two categories of bonzes. The newly-ordained Bhikkhus were then to receive from their preceptors lessons in Siamese, teaching them the Buddhist rules of morality, the main points of the doctrine and the principal events in the life of the Buddha; written exercises and periodical examinations kept up a proper emulation between the pupils. Those who desired to keep on wearing the Yellow Robe after their probation was satisfactorily finished, were admitted to the study of Pāli and to the preparation for ecclesiastical degrees. This system, which was gradually improved, gave excellent results, and was soon to be adopted even by monasteries not belonging to the Dhammayuttika sect. From this time dates the organisation of a really effective, religious teaching.

As early as 1893, the teaching services at Wat Pavaraniveça were united into a kind of University called Mahāmakuta-rājavidyālaya, in memory of King Mongkut. This foundation, promptly endowed with considerable gifts, was definitely consecrated by King Chulalongkorn three years later. It soon had branches in most of the Dhammayuttikā monasteries. This University received from Prince Vajirañāṇa its programme of studies, modern methods of teaching, epitomes for the use of the different classes of pupils, and a pedagogical library until then non-existent. Wat Pavaraniveça had for a time its own printing press as in the time of King Mongkut, and if it was given up, it was only

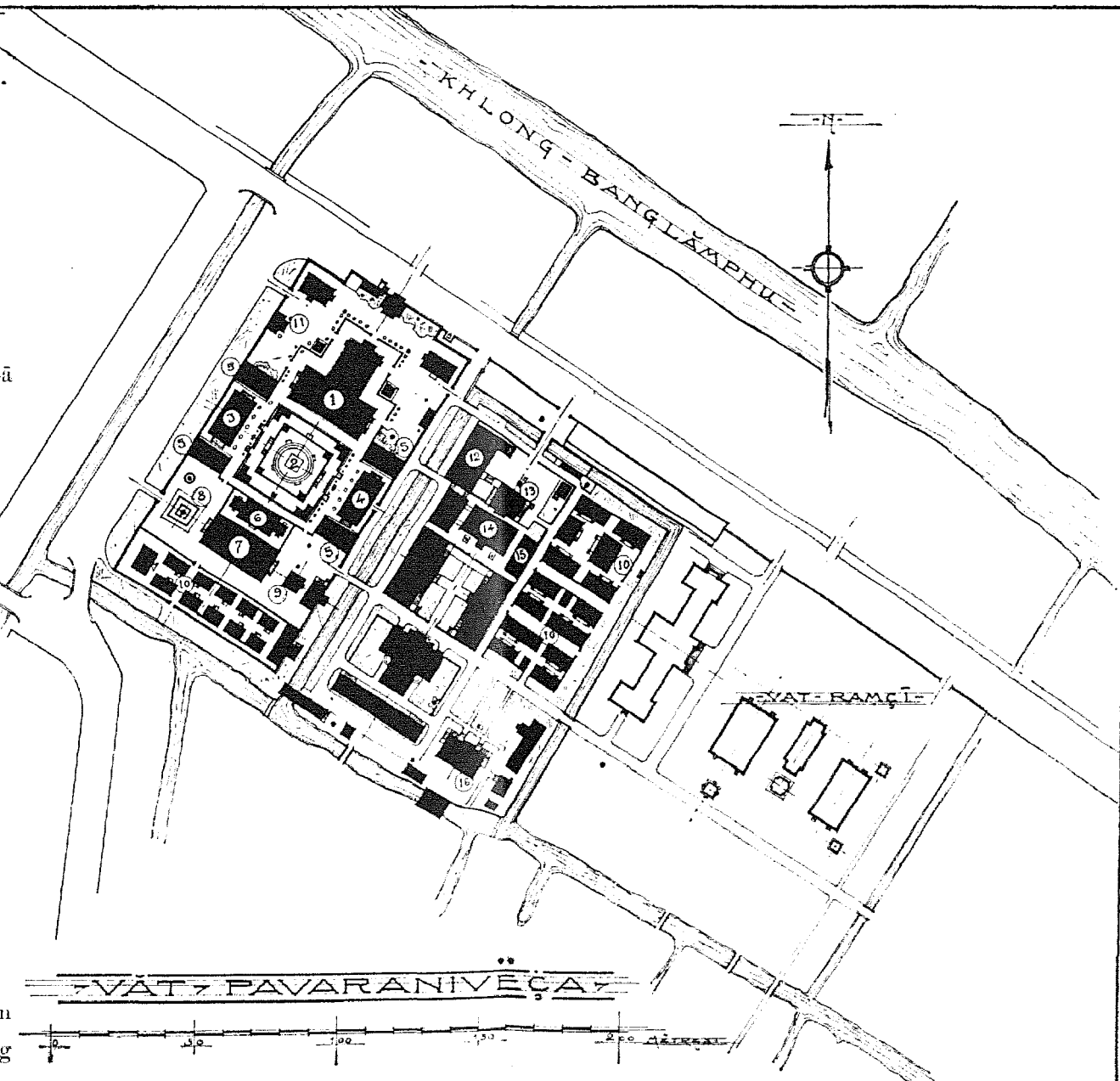
because it was found more advantageous to resort to professional printers. The Mahāmakūṭa University has remained till now a very prosperous publishing house, whose publications,—among which the works of Prince Vajirañāṇa still held a prominent place,—supply the libraries and schools of the Kingdom and even of Cambodia. It had from 1894 a periodical organ in which appeared sermons specially intended to serve as models for the Bhikkhus living far from the Capital.

The successor of Prince Pāvāret as Sangharāja was the famous preacher Pussadeva, Abbot of Wat Rājapratīṣṭha, then in his eighties. This appointment was merely honorary. In fact, Prince Vajirañāṇa, despite his youth, was the actual head of the Church. He presided over, and very actively participated in, the work of the committee entrusted with the preparation and publication of the first printed edition of the Siamese Tipiṭaka, completed in 1893. He was the inspirer of the Law of 1902 on the administration of the Sangha, which is now the Constitutional Law of the Siamese clergy. King Chulalongkorn had found in him an invaluable auxiliary to support and carry on, in the religious domain, the policy of modernisation which he had imposed to the country. His successor, Rāma VI, made an official recognition of the authority which the Prince had already enjoyed, by investing him, on November 5th, 1910, soon after his accession, with the functions of supreme head of the Church under the title of Mahāsamaṇa, raising him at the same time to the same princely rank as that to which Prince Pāvāret had been conferred.

With Prince Vajirañāṇa, the Wat Pavaraniveṇa rapidly recovered the prestige it had lost. Since the foundation of the Mahāmakūṭa University, all the princes without exception chose this monastery for their traditional stay. King Rāma VI, then Prince Vajirāvudha, in 1904, and his successor the present King, then Prince of Sākhōthāi, in 1917, were ordained Bhikkhus there. The revival of favour which the monastery enjoyed is exemplified by the successive important works which were made in the Bhikkhus quarters, and which greatly modified this part of the monastery. Two new residences were built

Reference to Numbers.

1. Bôt
 2. Chedi
 3. Kan barien
 4. Library
 5. Sala of the rishis
 6. Vihāra keng
 7. Vihāra of the
Phra : Çastā
 8. Bodhi-tree
 9. Bell-tower
-
10. Kuṭi
 11. Buddhapāda
 12. Diamond building
 13. Candra building
 14. Building erected in
the IVth reign
 15. Phra : pānja building
 16. Present residence
of the Abbot





for the Abbot, one, the Candra building¹ by King Chulalongkorn in 1905, the other, the Diamond building by King Rāma VI in 1914. New groups of *kuṭṭi* were erected, especially on pieces of land belonging to an adjoining monastery, the Wat Raṃṣisuddhāvāṇa, for a long time nearly abandoned, and united to Wat Pavaraniveṣa in 1905. A big building in Gothic style was also constructed in 1914 to be used as a lay school. On the other hand, the part of the monastery which contains the religious edifices has remained almost as it was at the death of Prince Pāvāret. In 1909, a Holy Footprint was installed behind the Bôt in a kind of altar built in the middle of the gallery; it had been brought from Xāinat by Prince Çakti during Phra : Nāng Klāo's reign and placed until then in the Chapel of the Second Kings' Palace.² Mention must also be made of four stone statues placed in 1912 in two small structures, formerly used as bell-towers, which flank the Bôt at the entrance of the monastery. The standing Buddha comes from Wat Phāja Ok at Lopburi, and is a fine specimen of Dvāravatī art. The original place of the three other statues is unknown. The two which are on the Western side of the Bôt are said to have been brought from Java by King Chulalongkorn.

Prince Vajirañāṇa died on August 2nd. 1921, a short time after he had celebrated his sixtieth birthday in the midst of great festivities where most of his religious and lay disciples had gathered around him. The cremation took place in April of the following year on the Royal Piazza. A statue of this great Patriarch, cast by order of King Rāma VI, has been placed in the Bôt, at the foot of

1. After the name of Princess Candrāsaradvāra, daughter of King Chulalongkorn, from the estate of whom funds were taken for the construction of this building.

2. This *buddhapāda* must not be mistaken with that which has been described by Fournereau (*Le Siam ancien*, I, p. 242-248) and more recently by Prof. G. Codès (*Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*, p. 151-156). This latter comes from Sūkhôthāi, and bears an inscription dated A. D. 1426; it is to be found in a Sala situated against the inclosure of the monastery to the West. In the same Sala is a walking Buddha in *alto-rilievo* of unknown origin.

the Jinasīha, opposite to that of his predecessor, Prince Pāvāret, which had been ordered by King Chulalongkorn, but was not completed until 1916.¹

N. B.—While this article was in the press, I have received, through the courtesy of Miss S. Karpelès, Chief Librarian of the Royal Library, Phnom Penh, some information concerning the introduction of the Dhammayuttika sect in Cambodia. A short notice on this subject may not be out of place here. The Dhammayuttika sect was established in Cambodia by the Sōmdēt Phra : Sugandhādhipati, whose personal name was Pān. He was born in 1824 in the province of Battambang. When a novice, at the age of thirteen, he went to Bangkok, and received religious education at Vat Sāket. At the age of 21, he was ordained a bhikkhu in the Siamese sect. After some years, he felt dissatisfied with the ideals of his fellow-bhikkhus. He met with Prince Mongkut at Vat Pavaraniveṣa, and was allowed to stay at Vat Paramanivāsa to be initiated to the rules of the new sect. In July 1849, he definitely joined the Dhammayuttika group, being re-ordained in the reformed community with Prince Mongkut as his *apajjhāya*. Soon after, he obtained the degree of *bañien*, with the title of Mahā. In 1854, the King of Cambodia, Ang-Duong, asked King Mongkut to send a religious mission to Udong, then the capital of Cambodia, in order to establish a branch of the Dhammayuttika sect in his kingdom. King Mongkut appointed the Mahā Pān as head of the mission, comprising six bonzes, who went to Cambodia on the same year. King Ang-Duong gave to the Mahā Pān the direction of Vat Salaku, at Udong. In 1867, when the capital was transferred to Phnom Penh, King Norodom called him to the new capital, at Vat Botum Vodei, which has remained till the present time the centre of the Dhammayuttika movement in Cambodia. Mahā Pān was successively raised to the titles of Ariyaṃṇa, Phra : Vimaladhamma and Sōmdēt Phra : Sugandhādhipati. He died on February, 1894.

1. May I be permitted to offer my thanks here to Mr. R. C. Laming for his much valued revision of the manuscript of this translation from the French of my article.