An Excursion to Lophburi

(Paper read before the Siam Society on the 14th December 1921)

The theme which I am going to treat of in this paper is not a new one, and has as a matter of fact already been the subject of one paper published in this Journal, namely, by Mr. R. W. Giblin in July 1908. It has also been treated in a most scholarly manner by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanuphab, our gracious and learned Vice-Patron, in the first vol. of his Phra Raja Pongsawadan, to which I am much indebted and parts of which have been translated by Mr. J. Crosby, C. I. E., (to whose instructive notes I also am much indebted) and published in the Journal of the Siam Society (vol. XIII, part 2).

When, I nevertheless, once more venture to write upon the same subject, it is not with the wish to vie with the learning of the above cited authorities, but rather as an attempt to present a resumé of the entire history of Lophburi, which I think has so far not been undertaken.

I.

Lophburi is a very old city and as such has had no less than two golden periods, one in antiquity and one of more recent date. The town is full of old temples and other interesting ruins, and is therefore well worth visiting, more especially as it is quite near to Bangkok — in fact only four hours travel by the Northern Railway. The city lies on a branch of the Mēnum Chao Phraya, called Mēnum Lophburi, 120 kilometres from the sea, and is built upon a sort of tongue of higher land stretching out to the Mēnum from the hills to the East of the town; to S. W. and N. it is surrounded by very low lying land, usually inundated during the rainy season. There is good evidence that some 1500 years ago the sea rolled its waves right up to the shores of Lophburi or at least to a point not far South of it. It is therefore easy to understand that when the Indian emigrants crossed the Bay of Siam coming from the Malay Peninsula one of their first colonies would be planted here. The sources from which we can obtain information relating to the history of Lophburi are fivefold, viz: (1) Phongasawadan Nua (the Northern
chronicles); (2) the old Chinese travellers' accounts; (3) Stone inscriptions; (4) the Ayuthia chronicles; and (5), last but not least, the accounts of the French ambassadors, travellers and priests from the latter half of the 17th century.

The name of the town was in the olden times Lavo. It was later on altered to Lophburi (often pronounced by the peasants as Nokburi) and, according to the legendary accounts of the Northern Chronicles, was founded by King Kalavarnadis called the black Tissa from Taksila A. D. 468.

(Taksila is an old town standing on the banks of the Indus and the present Muang Tak or Raheng probably got its name from that Indian city, as it was the custom of the Indian settlers to name their new founded cities and Kingdoms after those in their fatherland). The date may seem ambiguous, but it must be remembered that there has been found in Lophburi (by H. E. Phya Boranrata-tanindr, the Viceroy of Ayuthia) an engraved stonepillar which, though bearing no date, by the archaic form of the letters points to a date not later than the VIth or VIIth century A. D., thereby confirming the approximate correctness of the date given by the Northern Chronicles, the accuracy of which is else, and with reason, so mistrusted. The language of the inscription is partly untranslatable with exception of some Mohn words, which record some gifts given to a Buddhist temple, and here an interesting question at once crops up. Who were the original dwellers of Lavō? Some authorities have thought that they were Mohn, which the foremost Mohn authority in this country, i.e., Rev. R. Halliday, has emphatically denied (see his paper J. of S. S. vol. X. part 3. p. 18) but at least they were a people speaking a Mohn-like language. Now whom have we left of a Mohn-like speaking people in Siam of today? We have the Lawā of which scattered remains are still to be found in many places, principally in Northern Siam, but also in West Khorāt and Petchabūn, Nakon Svarga and Supan; these people speak a very Mohn-like language (see my paper in J. of S. S. vol. XII., part 3). I therefore believe that the original population in Lophburi as in the whole of the Mēnām valley was Lawā and that the untranslated part of the above mentioned stone-inscription is Lawā too, i.e., a more refined form of the Lawā tongue than the present
The Prang in Wat Mahā Thadu
Prachedi in Wat San Tung Thong

Prâng at Wat Nakhon Kosâ
one, which probably represents a more primitive or degenerated form of their speech.* I also think with the late Colonel Gerini that Lavō may stand for Lawāpura, i.e., the city of the Lawā. The Lawā were conquered and civilised in the first century of our Era, or perhaps much earlier, by Indian colonists, who set up an independent Kingdom at first, later on it was perhaps conquered by Funan, Cambodia's predecessor, thereafter subjugated by the Cambodians with whom the Indo-Lawā mixed to a great extent and finally in the end, the Thai came from the North and took possession. The present population should therefore be a mixture of Lawā, Indians, Cambodians and Thai or what is called Thai-Khom; N. W. of the town one finds two tambons peopled by Mohn, these are not aboriginals but immigrants from the time of the wars between Burma and Siam about 350 years ago. We will now continue the account of the outer events in the history of Lophburi. The Nang Chām Dēvi chronicle tells us that in A.D. 654 a king or emperor of Lavō sent his daughter, named Nang Chām Dēvi, to govern Haribhunjājī, the present Lampūn by which we see that the sway of Lophburi at that time stretched up to the Mēkong in the North. I have until quite recently doubted the accuracy of the date given for Nang Chām Dēvi's mission, believing it to be too ambiguous with regard to its antiquity (see my notes to the translation of Phra Phetchabūn's paper J. of S. S. vol. XIV part 1. p. 46), but subsequent reflection after a renewed visit to the ruins of Lophburi has brought me to believe that the date is probably correct. According to the Lampūn chronicle Lavō was attacked in A.D. 924 by a fleet from Ligor, i.e., Nakon Sri Dharmaraj, but in A.D. 957 the kingdom was still a powerful one. After that time the kingdom was ruled, sometimes from Lavō sometimes from Ayuthia, i.e., Devavati, the Hindu colony founded (on the island of the present Ayuthia) perhaps not a very long time after Lophburi. One of the rulers of Lavō, a certain King Chand Joti, altered the name of the city from Lavō to Lophburi and this King was about A.D. 1000 defeated by King

* This theory to which I was led little by little through my studies of the Lawā, I am happy to see, has now been confirmed by H. R. H. Prince Damrong who in his "Tie tam thang rōt fai: Lophburi" says that the whole of the Mēnām valley and the country as far up as Chiang Sen was formerly occupied by the Lawā, who had formed several Kingdoms of which Lavō was one.
Anuruddha, the mighty warrior King of Burma, and had to acknowledge his sovereignty. Soon after the death of King Anuruddha, however, the Siamese parts of his empire regained their independence, but instead of one, there were now three states, viz., Lampoon, Sukhothai and Lopburi. Of these at least the two last were under Cambodian sovereignty, which is proved by another inscription from Lopburi (in Cambodian this time). It dates from the reign of King Suriyavarman I. (A.D. 1002-1049) and mentions gifts given to a temple dedicated to the God Paramavasudeva, i.e., Vishnu; Lopburi is herein called Lavo; the gifts consisted of bayadères, servants and rice from the land of Vdan*, and Dvar Jalavatana (the last named must have been the country lying around the present day Ayuthia; the second parts of its name signifying “dwellings at the sea” shows that Dvaravati lay near the sea). A later inscription, found by the famous French traveller and archaeologist Aymonier in Wat Khoi engraved on the back of a statue of Buddha, dates from about A.D. 1109. This inscription (which also was in Cambodian) as well as the temple itself I have not been able to trace in Lopburi; perhaps it is identical with the Wat Khoi at Klong Kum about 24 kilometres S.W. of Lopburi. Before continuing I may mention a fourth inscription seen also by Aymonier, at Bang-Pa-In; it is in Cambodian too and dates from King Sri Suriyavarman I.’s reign; its contents relate to the rules of life for the Buddhist monks. Aymonier thought the last inscription to originate from Lopburi too, but I understand that this is doubtful. According to a fifth inscription also in Cambodian engraved under a bas-relief representing the chief of Lavō leading his troops (to be seen in the galleries of Angkor Wat), it appears that at this time, probably about A.D. 1150, Lopburi like the rest of Siam was under Cambodian overlordship. We know that Sukhothai, as probably Lopburi also, cast off the Cambodian yoke about A.D. 1256 or 1257 and according to H. R. H. Prince Damrong’s views Lopburi was finally conquered by Phraya Uthong shortly before he made Ayuthia his capital in A.D. 1350. The Chinese chroniclers tell us about two kingdoms in Siam, Sien and Lo-lua; the first one has been indentified with Sukhothai and the second one with Lavō or Lopburi. According to the

* Prince Damrong thinks that Vdan was the present Chaibdadān at Nām Sak.
Vishnū's and Lakshmi's statues in San Phra Kāl

Devāsathan or Phra Prāng Khēk
Phra Prang Sam Yot seen from West
accounts about Malayan, a Malay kingdom in Sumatra, and parts of the Malay Peninsula, this Kingdom sent ambassadors and gifts contemporaneously with Lavō to China in A. D. 1299, which shows that Lavō though under Sukhotai's overlordship had still kept a sort of semi-independence at that time. When Phraya Utong in 1350 founded Ayuthia he appointed his son Phra Ramesvara to be ruler of Lopburi. As will be known, this title is still existing to-day, but its high beaver is at present viceroy of the Southern provinces in Malacca. The next time we hear something about Lopburi is during the first war between Burma and Siam, when it was conquered by the Burmese army in 1563. Five years later it was again taken by the Burmese, but the sojourn in this Siamese Capua proved too much for the Burmese soldiers, who were surprised and badly beaten by the King of Wieng Chandr, the latter having hurried to the assistance of the King of Siam, besieged in his capital by the Burmese. Notwithstanding this victory the Lao king was soon after defeated by the Burmese and had to retire to his own country; as a result of which Ayuthia was forced to surrender to the King of Burma. In 1581 we hear of one Yana Prajien strong in occult science — a "Pu Viset" in Siamese — who gathered a body of followers and occupied Lopburi only shortly after to meet his fate through a shot from a mutineer's musket. In 1602 Siam's famous warrior King Phra Naresvara, an ardent worshipper of Vishnu and Siva at the same time as of Buddha, went to stay at Lopburi for his pleasure, an example to be followed by one of his successors, the well known King Phra Narai Maharaj. I do not intend here to relate in detail the events concerning Phra Narai's Reign — how the Greek adventurer, the talented Constantine Phaulcon, won the confidence and favour of the King to such an extent that he was raised to the rank of Chao Phraya Wichayen, how he constructed palaces and forts for the King and specially in Lopburi, which place King Narai had chosen for his summer residence since 1657, and further how Phaulcon induced the King to open diplomatic intercourse with France sending Siamese Ambassadors to Louis XIV.'s court and receiving French Ambassadors in Ayuthia and Lopburi; and finally how Phaulcon with his excessive zeal for converting the King to Christianity was together with his master overthrown by the envious noblemen, the leader of whom was Phra Phetraja, losing his life in
1688. All that has been described by various French writers (who call Lopburi Luvo), and has been set forth by Mr. Giblin, a former Director of the Survey Department, in his paper “Lopburi past and present”, published in the Journal of the Siam Society in 1908, much better than I can do it. After the revolution in 1688 Lopburi fell into oblivion and its architectural splendours became mere ruins overgrown with jungle, in which state they remained for more than 150 years, until King Mongkut, the grandfather of His present Majesty, chose this as an occasional summer residence, and repaired the walls of the citadel and one of the palaces (the wat-like Chandra-Prasad). Since then the town has revived and is now quite prosperous in a small way, situated as it is in one of Siam's most fertile regions.

II.

We will now start our sight-seeing, — beginning with the big temple lying close to the railway station and a little S. W. of the same. It is called Nā Phra Dhatu. Inside the brick walls built in a spacious square, stands in the centre a tall “Prang” built of reddish sandstone; it is approached from the East by a steep staircase which leads up to a now empty room where in pre-Buddhist days an image of a Brahmin god was placed. The building is unmistakably Cambodian work. The foundations of two other towers are seen to the right and left of the “Prang,” which is itself quite a fine example of the architectural skill of the creators of that stupendous and wonderful Angkor Wat. The other buildings inside the walls are of a later date, and distinctly Thai; so is the big Vihara adjoining the Prang to the East, also a Bót South of the Vihara and another building serving as a sort of entrance lying to the North of the Prang, and so finally are the rows of prachedis and prangs inside the wall, all now in deplorable ruins. Inside the Bót are a great many stone statues of the Buddha sitting on the Nāga, most of them of good workmanship. It is a pity that all this is allowed to fall into ruin, — one sighs for the Siamese Maecenas who will repair this grand temple. But will that ever happen? From this temple we follow the railway going North and, a few minutes after, we stop at a temple lying to the East of the line called Nakhon Khosa. It consists of a brick “Prang” in Cambodian style, but was perhaps built by the Thai. Its
View of interior of Phra Prang Sam Yot North to South
Buddha on the Nāga Central Tower of Phra Prang Sām Yot
chamber opens to the East and on the three other sides are niches, two of which are empty, the third one containing a standing Buddha. Just behind this "Prang", which itself is built on the top of a small eminence, the ground rises rather abruptly in the shape of a tall conical hill, at the foot of which are the ruins of a small temple. The top of the hill is crowned with another building, of what nature it is difficult to say, as everything is covered with an impenetrable thorny jungle. Probably it is another Prang.* Just opposite, i.e., to the west of the railway line, are the ruins of a temple: a Vihara or Böt, it is not certain which. Some well-made Buddha statues are seen here. This temple is called by some Wat Phra Indra, while others maintain that this is the name of the temple described as Wat Nakon Khosa, which name they give to the temple called Phra Prang Sam Yot later on to be visited by us. We continue our walk and shortly after arrive at what is called San Song (or San Phra Kal), i.e. the high sanctuary; it consists of a big pile of sandstone blocks and blocks made of this peculiar natural cement called "Silaleng" (laterite) and is built in form of a pyramid with two terraces. On the lower one, which is approached by a staircase from the West, an ugly, modern, iron-roofed shed has been erected, and in this, placed on an altar, are to be seen a standing image of a four armed Vishnu or Narai, having on his right hand a smaller image of the goddess Lakshmi; a fine female statue without a head is leaning to the wall behind the statue of Lakshmi. It is a curious fact that the Chinese especially adore and worship these statues, probably from a business instinct thinking it best to keep on good terms with the local genii! Behind this "San Chao" we mount some more steps and arrive on the top of the pyramid, where we find another brick building also of recent origin, inside which is seen a stone "somasutra", i.e., the stone on and in which the image of the god was placed. In the stone is cut a channel running round the sides of it and ending in an outlet behind the image. This was made to get rid of the soma or sacrificial drink which the Brahmins poured out in front of the god during the act of worship. A sculpture representing Vishnu lying on the snake Ananta is also kept in this building. A mighty

* Prince Damrong says that it was a stone temple on the crumbled remains of which a Vihara was built.
A banyan tree grows close to the pyramid and in its leafy crown dwells a joyous company of monkeys, which are quite tame and will come down to accept fruit out of your hands. One is reminded of the sacred monkeys living in Vishnu's temples in India. Who knows! They may be descendants of such animals from the time when Vishnu was Paramadeva in this venerable city. Not far from San Song on the other side of the railway line lies the finest of all the temples: Phra Prang Sam Yot. This temple consists of three towers all built of sandstone and distinctly in Cambodian style but they are all connected with each other by galleries; the towers have doors to all four sides and are on the outside adorned with the sculptures typical of such buildings. As for instance, over the western door of the central tower the god Indra sitting on the three headed elephant and on the corners of the terraced superstructures, the sculptures of many Rishis (hermits). The snake motive so commonly seen over all Cambodian temple doors does not lack here too, but it is more or less destroyed, the sculptured stones having fallen down for the most part. Outside the western door of the central tower are seen a Buddha sitting on a snake, three torsos of other sitting Buddhas (one of which is sitting on a snake), also 4 standing statues without heads. Judging from the ornamented belt of one of these, I believe it to represent a Bhramin god. The interior of the temple is a real treasury of sitting or standing images mostly of Buddha; in all 76. Of these 45 are sitting upon the 7 headed Naga, 4 may by reason of the diadems and the absence of customary monk's habit be supposed to represent the god Vishnu; there are other 18 sitting Buddhas (on the Lotus flower) and finally 13 standing ones. It is possible that some of the standing ones are representations of disciples. Some are placed in the windows of the galleries and throughout the longitudinal axis of the temple you see them sitting or standing everywhere, some hidden in niches and some placed in the centre of the towers. All the statues are of sandstone, many covered with a layer of lacquer upon which formerly the gold-leaf was stuck. It is a curious fact that nowhere in Siam do you meet with so many Buddhas sitting on the Naga (Phraya Nâk) as here in Lopburi, a fact which may be explained by the existence of a special snake cult here in the olden days. On
Interior wall with gate leading up to Phra Narai's Audience Hall
Constantin Phaulcon's house

The Water-reservoir in the Citadel. Note pipe-lines
the Eastern side of the temple is a brick building which quite spoils
the "ensemble" of the temple. This building dates from Phra Narai's
time, inside are seen a big sitting Buddha—well preserved—in the
middle, and 7 smaller ones, of which four are sitting on the Nagas,
some 6 or 7 well made heads, as also débris of a very big Buddha—
the head alone is three feet long—are lying around. From these débris
it can be seen how the statues were constructed, i.e., how they were
built up of carved blocks and thereafter covered with a thick layer
of lime. Leaving this temple we strike westwards and are soon in the
centre of the old town, where is standing another monument: three
brick built towers called Děvasatan or Phra Prang Khêk. The
construction of the monument seems to have been begun by the
Cambodians and finished by the Thai; the towers are quite well
preserved. Of 2 smaller, square-formed buildings lying in front, i.e.,
East and S. E. of the towers, the last one is in the best condition
having only lost its roof. It is a pity that the Chinese are permitt-
ed to use these buildings as latrines, as also that here, as at Nû Phra
Dhatu, they are allowed to take bricks away from the ruins. Con-
tinuing towards the west we reach Phaulcon's house or palace consist-
ing of 5 buildings constructed in a curious style, all rather narrow and
with windows the form of which reminds one of the Saracenin
style. Here resided the mighty minister with his Japanese wife
and here he no doubt entertained the French noblemen, officers and
also priests. One of the buildings farthest west was in fact a chapel.
From Phaulcon's palace we turn to the left to reach the citadel
and King Narai's palace, but before entering the citadel let us turn
to the right and stop just for a moment to visit Wat Sao Tong
Thong where a peculiar octogonal Prachedi attracts one's attention.
In its whitewashed niches are seen golden figures of standing, walk-
ing or sitting Buddhas, which though undoubtedly of recent origin
are still worth looking at.

The Vihara dates, in its original form, from the time of the
foundation of Ayuthia (A. D. 1350). At the outskirts of the temple
grounds lie two buildings, one called Tuk Pichu the other Tuk Kho-
chasams. According to the views of Prince Danrong the first name
stands for the French word petit, i.e., small, while the other is derived
from Khorassan a Persian province, these buildings being occupied
respectively by some French residents and the Persian ambassador to the court of Phra Narai. The citadel is surrounded by brick walls built in an oblong square and divided into 3 courtyards; there are eight gates, two on each face. Each of the four corners of the citadel is built like a bastion and there are still traces of openings for the guns placed behind the walls. We enter the citadel by the N. E. gate, inside which is the house of the Governor; we are now in the first and lowest courtyard. Just opposite the Governor's house, i.e., South, are the ruins of several two-storied houses, which served as magazines for the King. They are appropriately called "Phra Klang", one of the buildings being of more than ordinary interest by reason of the immense thickness of its walls and the remains of pipes debouching from the brickwork. This is the famous water reservoir, where the water led through under-ground pipes from Talā Chubson about 4 kilometres N. East of the town, was stored, and from here directed to the fountains and the bathing basins reserved for King Narai. A road between the Governor's house and the "Klang" leads through a tall gate up and into the inner courtyard on both sides of which were built stables for elephants. We do not, however, enter by this gate but turn to the left, still keeping inside the outer courtyard where we examine the ruins of the houses destined for the King's guests, also dungeons and fountains, whereafter we enter the second courtyard through a gate in the Southern part of the outer courtyard and see here the few remains left of King Narai's personal apartment called Phra Thi Nang Sutthisawan. Of the four basins described by Gervaise in his book about Lavo, nothing is to be seen now. From this courtyard we walk up the curious sloping approach to a gate leading into the 3rd and upper courtyard. We have at once on our left hand the ruins of the audience hall called Phra Thi Nang Thanya Mahā Prasat, a tall ugly building now without a roof; the interior is not big. At the end of the hall is seen the window behind which the royal throne was placed and in which the King appeared when he received ambassadors in audience. According to Gervaise the walls of the hall were covered with large fine mirrors brought out from France and the building itself was covered with a pyramidal roof probably something like that of Dusit Mahā Prasat in the Chakkri palace. To the left of the audience hall are still two buildings more; namely,
The Audience Hall called Phra ti-nang
Dhanya Maha Prasat

Northern enciente of the Citadel with Pratu Wichayen i.e. the gate
were Phaulcon was arrested by Phra Phet Raja's Soldiers
the offices of the changvad and a wat-like one called Chandravisal built by King Mongkut. Behind these buildings were and are still today two long rows of buildings where in King Narai's time, his harem stayed. Standing in front of the government offices one sees a gate in the Northern wall. This is Pratu Wichayan, and here was Phaulcon arrested by Phra Phetraja's soldiers, later on to be led out into the forest at Talé Chubsorn and killed there. A lot of small niches will be observed in the gate buildings and in other places too; these were, according to Gervaise, ornamented with China vases on big days and — I believe — also used for placing lamps, when illuminating the palace. The fortifications were no doubt constructed by M. de la Marre, a French military engineer, who probably also built the palaces and other buildings, which all look rather uncomfortably narrow and dark, besides being very ugly. The town is surrounded on three sides by high earthen walls and broad moats. Besides this there is an interior moat, which probably represents the old Cambodian town boundary. But let us mount a horse and make a tour out to the famous Talé Chubsorn. We clatter down through the streets, cross the railway line at Sán Song and are nearly at once in jungle. We cross the interior moat, which was formerly spanned by a fine brickbuilt bridge, and soon afterwards we see the tall red Pratu Phaniert, outside which and just opposite is the "Phaniert"; i. e., the elephant kraal, an enclosure surrounded by high steep earthen walls. At its Eastern extremity is a small gap through which the elephants were driven into the kraal. We continue along a primitive cartroad through jungle and gardens, and now we stop again and there at our right hand is Sra Kéo which served as a sort of filter and from which the water was led through pipes into the city. Just opposite we see the tall red pile of an old Phrachedi called Wat Sai, quite overgrown with green bushes; and from here we soon reach Phuk Chan, the sluice through which the water was led out through a canal of the same name from Talé Chubsorn to Sra Kéo. From this place we follow the N. W. bank of Talé Chubsorn, from the top of which we look over this vast natural depression to the hills not far away, the sloping ground from the hills serving as one side of the embankments of the reservoir; on the other side were high earthen embankments. At present the reservoir is absolutely dry.
in the dry season; but in King Narai's time there was probably (according to Mr. Irwin, the late Adviser to the Survey Department) about 9 feet of water, so much that the King could have two small frigates navigating there. This reservoir has been named Chumsorn after the lake in which Rama dipped his arrows to harden them.

We finally reach Phra Thi Nang Yen, the King's forest palace consisting of two not very pretentious looking buildings of the same style as those in the Citadel; it was here that the Jesuit astronomers observed an eclipse of the moon in the presence of King Narai. Just before reaching the royal forest villa one observes four small wooden "San Chaos" erected on the embankment of the Talö, these are called "San Chaophraya Wichayen." According to popular belief here was the place where Phaulcon met his death and the spirit-houses are erected to appease his spirit by the customary offerings. I think that this is the only instance of a "Farang spirit" so far to be worshipped in this country. We return by the same route but instead of entering the Pratu Phaniert we continue following the moat Southwards finally crossing this at Pratu Khorät (ภูริราช).

Though it sounds improbable, I believe that this name must have some connection with the town of Khorät; perhaps in olden times pack-bullock caravans left for and arrived from Khorät through this gate, of which only two pillars are left. From this gate we ride through dense jungle intersected with some few gardens to a place called San Paulo, where some few remains are left of the tower belonging to the church built by Phra Narai for the Jesuit fathers and from here we regain our quarters. There are still some few other places worth seeing, as for instance the tall phrâcherdî lying on an island Goh Kéo just above the town, at the famous Tung Thong Promathat, or some of the brick-built gates and bastions of which Pratu Chai on the Southern face of the city is a fine example. I finally take the opportunity here to tender my heartiest thanks to my friend Mr. J. J. McBeth, who took all the photographs illustrating this paper.
"Phra ti-nang Yen" King Phra Narai's Summer Villa at Thalé Chubsorn

Pratu Chai or Southern City-gate of Mu'ang Lopbhuri