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| 1. Pratu Wat Sak | 2. Pratu Jay | 3. Pratu Klang |
| 4. Pratu Phi | 5. Fishing Gate | 6. Pratu Lom |
| 7. Phraya Dak Sai | 8. Kok Prasad | 9. Bo Khao Sar |

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES ON KHU MU'ANG.

The main part of the following notes was read, in the form of a causerie, before the study Section of History, Archaeology, Philology and Literature as far back as 1924, but up till now nothing on the subject has been published.

At the request of His Excellency Phya Indra Montri (F. H. Giles), President of the Siam Society, who has been good enough to consider this short study of sufficient interest to be published in the J. S. S., I have partly re-written it and also added a few facts brought to my knowledge since I read the original notes before the Society.

Khu Mu'ang, also known under the names of Sena Raja Nakhon or Mu'ang Kit Kin, lies about 600 metres to the east, slightly north, of the Ban Moh Station on the Northern Railway Line, Ban Moh being the next station after that of Thā R'ua.

The district round Khu Mu'ang and Ban Moh forms part of Amphoe Nong Dôn, Changvat Saraburi.

To reach the old so-called fortress one at first follows the embanked road or chaussée constructed more than thirty years ago for the purpose of linking up Ban Moh with Saraburi. That road is now in a sad state of disrepair and not much used any more. After having crossed a shallow watercourse, called Klong Ru'ng Rang, at Wat Ban Moh one leaves this road and proceeding by an ordinary path winding over the paddyfields one soon afterwards arrives at the so-called South gate or entrance to Khu Mu'ang. The fortress is built in the shape of an irregular square, and consists of a single earthen rampart with an outer and an inner moat.

Only traces of the exterior moat are now seen. It had originally a breadth of about 20 metres being, on its face, preceded by a kind

of glacis.

The ramparts, now completely overgrown with trees and bushes, have a height of about 8.5 metres—the northern face being slightly higher—and measure at their base 39 metres, the breadth of their crown coming to 23 metres. The circumference of the ramparts is roughly 1,500 metres.

The interior moat has also a breadth of about 20 metres and is, in its present state, very shallow, its bottom being on a level with that of the exterior moat. It has now been converted into paddy fields or garden land.

According to local tradition there are five gates, namely, Pratu Wat Sak (Gate of the temple lying in the teak grove) or South Gate, situated in the middle of the southern rampart; Pratu Klang (the middle gate) in the middle of the western rampart; Pratu Phraya Dak Sai or the fishing gate in the north-western corner of the ramparts; Pratu Phi (Gate of the dead) situated in the northern rampart; and Pratu Lom (the windy gate) in the eastern rampart. Pratu Wat Sak faces Pratu Phi, and Pratu Klang, the windy one.

According to the map made many years ago by the Royal Survey Department there was also a gap in the north-eastern corner of the ramparts, which may have been another “fishing gate”.

Finally there is a third gap just south of Pratu Klang, but I was told by the local people that this was of quite recent origin.

The central part of the area within the ramparts forms a kind of island being highest towards its center, which is called Kòk Prasat. Here stood, according to local tradition, a royal palace. In spite of a painstaking search I was unable to find traces of a building having ever been erected here. Still if excavations were undertaken some traces of a construction might be found.

The space between Kòk Prasat and the western (inner) moat is called ไผ่, i. e. inside the precincts of the palace, and in the rim of the island to the west are seen some stoneworks where, according to the same local tradition, was the Tha Nam or royal bathing place. Of the embanked roads or bridges which must have connected the palace island with the various gates nothing is to be seen.

On the top of the southern rampart, at a distance of some seventy metres to the west of Pratu Wat Sak, I saw a disorderly heap of stones and bricks showing that some unholy treasure diggers had been at work here. This heap of stones represents what is called

Wat Pratu Sak. The local guide explained that several Phra Pok Nak or images of the Buddha sitting on the serpent had been found here. The only thing I was able to find was a small carved debris of grey sandstone showing a portion of a naga's scaled body.

Outside and quite near to the northern rampart are the lime quarries of the Siam Cement Company, which are connected with the Northern Railway Line by a short branch line. To the north of the quarries lies a piece of elevated ground covered with low jungle. Here are seen several heaps of bricks which, according to tradition, are the remains of old temples. One of these heaps, near a grand old Be tree standing on the bank of Klong Phraya Dak Sai, is called Wat Ta Krong (Temple of Grandfather Krong). I was told that in an old cemetery, situated close by, several human skulls of an enormous size had been dug up from time to time. I was not able, however, to obtain a single specimen of these giants' skulls! Two other heaps of bricks lying to the north-west of Wat Ta Krong are called Wat Luang (the great or royal temple) and Wat Chaeng (temple of dawn) respectively. Nothing of interest was found here. To return to the fortress itself, a well is shown in the middle of the interior moat facing west. This well is called Bô Khao San (the rice well) because when it was dug a thick layer of carbonized rice grains was encountered at a depth of about 3 metres. This layer has, according to information given by the local kamnan (sub-district officer), an underground extension of several tens of metres. The peasants set a high value on this carbonized rice, using it for medicinal purposes.

I obtained some of this stuff and Dr. Kerr, Director of the Botanical Section of the Ministry of Commerce, who kindly undertook to have it examined, confirmed that it really was rice grain carbonized by heat.

The accumulation of a layer of earth of 3 metres thickness on the top of the rice shows that the fire, which carbonized the rice, must have taken place very long ago, probably 250-300 years ago.

Perhaps the now carbonized rice originally was the contents of a large rice bin belonging to the garrison of the fortress and burnt down when this was conquered by the invading Môn-Burmese armies during the wars in the middle of the 16th century. Of other finds made in the old fortress should be mentioned a large clay mould used for the making of พระพิมพ์ ๕๐๐ องค์, i. e. votive images of the five

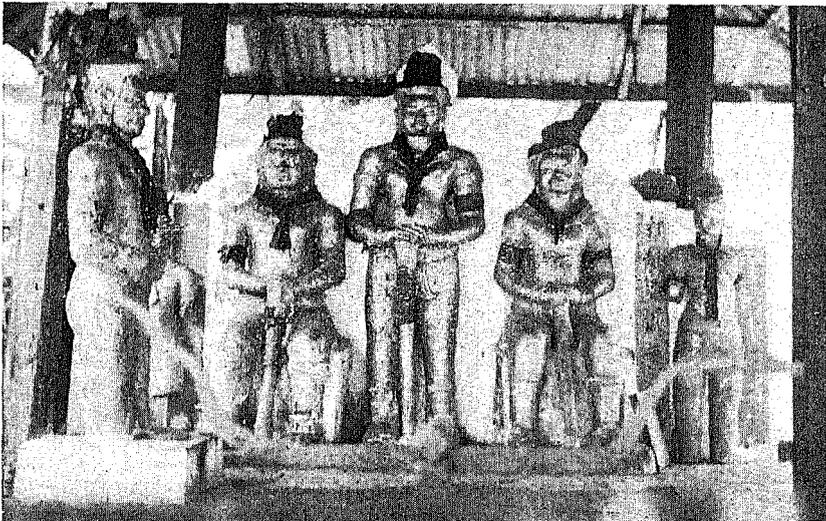
hundred Buddhas, since disappeared; there have also been found gold objects in the shape of bracelets and a diminutive elephant and eight exceedingly small conches inside each of which was an image of the Buddha. The latter, I was told, were still in the possession of an abbot living in Ban Talat Noi—to the north of Ban Moh. As the abbot was absent at the time I visited Ban Moh I did not get the opportunity of examining these very interesting objects. Among the ruins of Wat Chaeng gold ornaments are also said to have been found. However, all this is hearsay. Luckily we have other visible facts which show that Khu Mu'ang though perhaps not constructed by the Khmer, must have been at least occupied by them for some time. In a sala covered with a roof of corrugated iron and adjoining the small museum recently established at Phra Buddha Bat, the famous place of pilgrimage not far away from Khu Mu'ang, one sees a collection of six gilt stone images. Four of these images (in the attached picture they are seen in the background, from left to right one standing—partly seen—one sitting, again one standing and one sitting) represent Lokapalas or Guardians of the four corners of the world, according to the Brahmanic cult. The images all hold clubs in their hands, the attributes of this kind of divine beings. The heights of the Lokapalas are: of the sitting, ones, 1.06 and 1.07 metres respectively, and of the standing ones 1.47 and 1.81 respectively. The group of Lokapalas was recovered from débris found in Khu Mu'ang and the artist responsible for their restoration was the late Phya Chinda Rangsan of the former Department of Royal Fine Arts in Bangkok.

It seems, however, that the artist has not been quite successful with the restoration of the faces of the two sitting Lokapalas which do not bear the imprint of Khmer art.

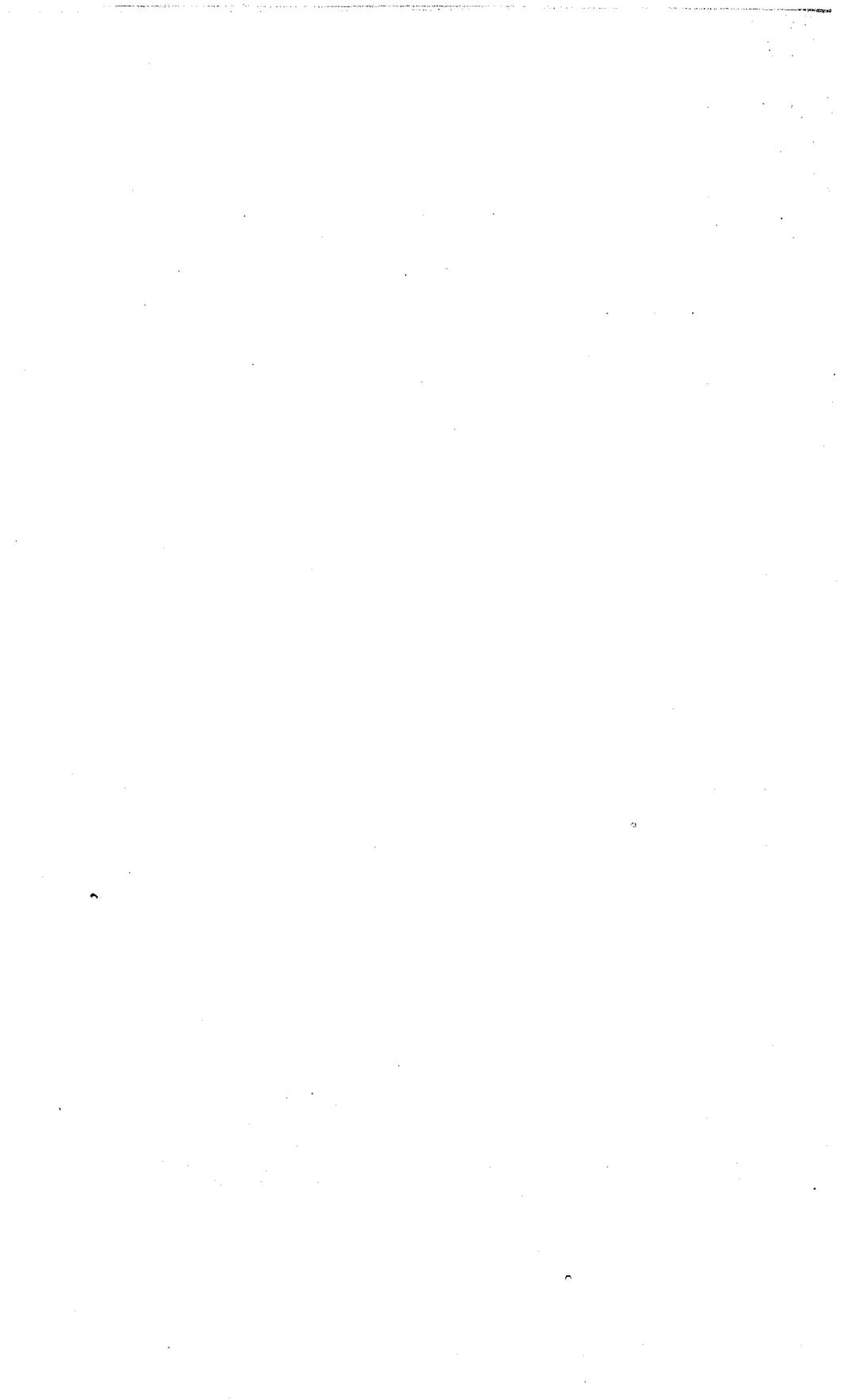
The two images shown in the picture, namely, to the extreme right in the background and to the left in the foreground, represent Bodhisattvas or Pre Buddhas. This is proved by the small figures of the Dhyani Buddha placed in front of the chignons of these images.

Originally the Bodhisattvas had each two pairs of arms of which now only stumps are left while their legs have been broken at knee height. Even so the height of the images is still 1.37 and 1.26 respectively. The image shown in the left foreground is the tallest of the two.

The Bodhisattvas are clothed in sampots or loin cloths and bear



Lokapalas or Guardians
from Khu Mu'ang.



the unmistakable stamp of Khmer handiwork to which must also be ascribed the four Lokapalas. The material used for the images is a grey sandstone.

So much for the exterior features of Khu Mu'ang. We now come to the problem: When was this ancient fortress built and by whom? What does history tell us? According to Phongsawadan (*Vañçāvatāra*) Nu'a or Northern Chronicle, that most unreliable concoction of myths and fairy tales, interspersed with a few grains of truth, the great Thai conqueror Phra Sri Dharma Traipidok (The divine and beautiful Lord of the sacred Tripitaka, i. e. The Buddhist religion) after having made himself master of the Menam plain, appointed one of his sons, Prince Kraisorñ Raj, ruler of Lavo or Lophburi. This prince is said to have built for himself a walled city at a distance of 500 sen or 25 kilometres from Lophburi, which is at the exact distance of our Khu Mu'ang from the former town. The chronicle goes on saying that when the city walls, the gates, the watch towers and royal palace had been constructed the prince, accompanied by his consort, went to the new city, and was crowned a ruler over it.

The name of Sena Raja Nakon was bestowed on the city, and according to the Phongsawadan Nu'a all this happened in the year B.E. 1500 or 957 A. D.

According to popular belief the tale is different. It says that when King Rama had finally gained victory over the wicked Ravana he recompensed his faithful allies, Hanuman and Sugrib, with grants of land. Hanuman received the site of the later Lavo while Sugrib got that of Sena Raja Nakon. Hanuman finished his task of building Lavo first, and Sugrib, seeing that, became disgusted and gave up his work. Tradition has it, therefore, that Sena Raja Nakon was never finished.

To readers of the Ramayana the name of Kit Kin will be known as associated with Sugrib. This explains the second name of the old fortress now known under its present name of Khu Mu'ang, simply "the city moats".

To students of Siam's past the facts present themselves somewhat different from the above tales. From excavations in Lophburi it now seems established that that ancient place was already in the 5th century A. D. occupied by a Môn people, civilized by Indian immigrants, who professed the Buddhist religion, probably under the Mahayanistic form as they used Sanscrit characters for their in-

scriptions.

Furthermore from an inscription, this time in the Môn language, found at the temple ruin of San Sung, also in Lophburi, we know that during the 6-7th century A. D. this people had become the overlords of the Menam plain, Lophburi forming part of the Dvaravati kingdom.

About the year 1000 A. D., the Khmer conquered the Menam valley which they held till *circa* 1250, when the Thai, coming down from their northern mountain fastnesses, ousted the Khmer for ever and made Sukhotai-Sawankaloke their twin capitals. The region round Lophburi was finally annexed by King Ramathibodi or U-Thong, the founder of Ayudhya, some years before he built his new capital at Nong Sano.

In view of these facts there does not seem to be much ground for believing that a Thai King by the name of Sri Dharma Traipidok was reigning in 957 A. D., as at that time the Thai had certainly not yet penetrated into the Menam Valley.

What is certain is that Khu Mu'ang must have been occupied by the Khmer during their rule over Lower and Central Siam and they probably also were the builders of our old so-called fortress.

Khu Mu'ang by reason of the manner in which it was laid out, with an interior moat leaving very little space for habitation, could never have been a town. Its plan rather suggests one of these elaborate temples which the Khmer delighted in building: a temple on an artificial island surrounded by a wall and double moats. Temples of such a construction might of course be used as fortress or *points d'appui* in case of war or similar troubles.

The above notes do not claim to have solved the problem of the origin of Khu Mu'ang or to have said all that may be said about this old site. I only hope that some future students, equipped with the necessary means, may continue my modest pioneer work.

Finally I beg to tender my best thanks to Mr. W. H. Pittman, of the Asiatic Petroleum Co., who kindly took the photographs illustrating this paper and to Captain His Serene Highness Prince Nityakorn Varavarn for various assistance kindly rendered. The map was made by the Royal Survey Department in 1924.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, November 1933.

A PROPOS DU "SIAM DIRECTORY" DE S. J. SMITH.

Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca Indosinica*, col. 784, a donné sur le *Siam Directory* de S. J. Smith une notice lacunaire puisqu'on n'y trouve décrits que les volumes VII (1884), XI (1888),⁽¹⁾ XII (1889), XIII (1890) et XV (1892) de cette publication. Comme le *Siam Directory* de S. J. Smith est souvent utile à consulter, il vaut la peine, je crois, de compléter la notice de Cordier. Voici donc les renseignements bibliographiques relatifs aux volumes non décrits par Cordier :—

1.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1878. First Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Bangkok. Printed at S. J. Smith's Office. Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, (env. 25 x 18cm.), 1f.n.c. + pp. 72 + 2ff.n.c.

2.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1879. Second Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Bangkok. Printed at S. J. Smith's Office. Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, 2ff.n.c. + pp. 96 + 1 tableau.

3.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1880. Third Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Bangkok. Printed at S. J. Smith's Office, Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, pp. 92 + 16.

4.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1881. Fourth Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Price, with map 4½ Ticals. Without map 4 Ticals. Bangkok. Printed at S. J. Smith's Office, Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, pp. 111 + 1 tableau.

5.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1882. Fifth Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Price 4 Ticals. Bangkok. Printed at S. J. Smith's Office. Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, pp. 112.

6.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1883. Sixth Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Price, 4 Ticals. Bangkok. Printed at S. J. Smith's Office. Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, pp. 113 + 1 f.n.c.

7.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1885. Eighth Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Price, 4 Ticals. Bangkok. Printed at S. J. Smith's Office, Bangk'olém., gr. in-8 1 f. n. c. + pp. 117 + 12 marquées A-M.

8.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1886. Ninth Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Price, 4 Ticals. Bangkok

(1) Ce volume XI est aujourd'hui difficile à trouver. Un vieux résident de Bangkok m'assure qu'il est recherché depuis de longues années pour compte siamois.

Printed at S. J. Smith's Office, Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, 1 f.n.c. + pp. 122 + 12 marquées A-M.

9.—The Siam Directory, For The Year 1887. Tenth Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Price, 4 Ticals. Bangkok. Printed at S.J. Smith's Office, Bangk'olém., gr. in-8, 1 f.n.c. + pp. 146 + 12 marquées A-M.

10.—The Siam Directory. For The Year 1891, With a Map of Siam by J. MaCarthy. Fourteenth Annual Publication. Compiled by Samuel J. Smith. Price, 5 Ticals. Bangkok: Printed at the Bangk'olém Office., gr. in-8, pp. I-IV + 192 + 20 + 12 (marquées A-M) + 14.

La notice de Cordier s'arrête au 15^e volume, qui est en effet le dernier de cette publication.

Immédiatement après sa notice sur *The Siam Directory* (de S. J. Smith), Cordier en donne une autre : *The Directory for Bangkok and Siam for 1892*, qu'il fait suivre de deux remarques en petits caractères : "Publié par S. J. Smith, Bangkok, depuis 1878.—Continue."

A la seconde remarque il n'y a rien à reprendre. Elle s'applique encore correctement au *Directory for Bangkok and Siam* qui, en 1932, en est à sa quarante-troisième année.

La première remarque au contraire ne saurait s'appliquer qu'au *Siam Directory* de S. J. Smith, l'autre annuaire, *The Directory for Bangkok and Siam*, ayant été fondé par le *Bangkok Times* en 1890.

On peut se demander si Cordier ne croyait pas que le *Directory* du *Bangkok Times* avait pris la suite de celui de S. J. Smith.

En 1912, Cordier ne connaissait pas encore le *Siam* de W. A. Graham (première et deuxième éditions, 1912), dont la notice n'apparaît qu'aux colonnes 2874-75 de la *Bibliotheca Indosinica*, dans le volume IV, daté de 1915. Mais il se peut qu'il ait puisé ses renseignements à une source qui a été aussi celle de Graham dans le passage suivant, *Siam*¹⁻², p. 590 : "In 1869, S. J. Smith printed the first number of his *Siam Repository*, which appeared annually until 1874. There then occurred a gap of four years, at the end of which time the *Repository* reappeared under the title *The Bangkok Directory* and this was conducted by S. J. Smith until well on in the eighties, when it was taken over by The Bangkok Times Press, since when it has appeared, with constantly increasing bulk and value, until at present day it consists not only of a very complete directory of the country, but also of a mass of historical, fiscal and general information and statistics which make it a most useful and instructive

volume. The *Siam Directory*, which made its first appearance a few years, two or three years ago, is modelled on the lines of the Bangkok Directory and is also a useful volume."

Ce petit morceau est fort inexact. Essayons de rétablir les faits.

Il est exact que S. J. Smith a fondé son *Siam Repository* (v. Cordier, col. 782) en 1869. Mais le *Siam Repository* n'était pas une publication annuelle; c'était une publication trimestrielle. Il est encore exact que le *Siam Repository* a cessé de paraître en 1874 et que S. J. Smith a entrepris en 1878 la publication d'un *Directory*. Seulement ce *Directory* ne s'appelait pas le *Bangkok Directory*, il s'appelait et s'est toujours appelé, tant qu'il a duré: *The Siam Directory*.

Le *Siam Directory* a paru pendant quinze ans, ainsi qu'on l'a vu plus haut, de 1878 à 1892. Il a donc survécu aux années 80, contrairement à ce qu'affirme Graham.

Graham prétend enfin que le *Bangkok Times* a pris de S. J. Smith la suite de la publication qu'il appelle *The Bangkok Directory*. Mais S. J. Smith on l'a vu ne publiait aucun *Bangkok Directory*, dont il pût passer la suite; c'était un *Siam Directory* qu'il publiait. D'autre part, le *Bangkok Times* n'a jamais publié de *Bangkok Directory*. Sans doute, jusqu'en 1907 inclus, a-t-il inscrit le titre *The Bangkok Directory* sur le dos de son annuaire. Mais depuis 1908, il a inscrit même sur le dos le titre qui a toujours figuré à l'intérieur: *The Directory for Bangkok and Siam*⁽¹⁾. Et l'annuaire du *Bangkok Times* a si peu pris la suite de celui de Smith que les deux annuaires ont paru concurremment pendant trois années: 1890, 1891, 1892. J'ignore il est vrai si le *Bangkok Times* n'a pas finalement passé traité pour absorber l'annuaire rival. Au point de vue bibliographique cela importe peu. Ce qui importe, c'est que, bibliographiquement, les deux publications, celle de Smith et celle du *Bangkok Times*, n'ont entre elles aucun lien.

On pourra donc améliorer la notice de Cordier, 1) en la complétant comme nous l'avons fait; 2) en reportant la remarque: "Publié par S. J. Smith, Bangkok, depuis 1878", sous cette notice au lieu de la laisser sous la notice du *Directory for Bangkok and Siam*; 3) en

(1) Graham s'est aperçu lui-même de son erreur touchant le titre du *Directory for Bangkok and Siam*. Dans la troisième édition, en deux volumes, de son *Siam*, Londres, 1924, I, p. 303, il a refait de la manière suivante l'une des phrases incriminées: ".....since when it has appeared as *The Directory for Bangkok and Siam*, a publication that consists not only....."

spécifiant que le vol. 15 est le dernier de la publication.

Le titre *Siam Directory* a été repris. C'est celui d'un annuaire publié par l'imprimerie du Siam Observer (première année: 1909, R. S. 128).

Le second *Siam Directory* est celui dont parle Graham à la fin du passage cité plus haut. Le dernier volume publié est celui de 1931. L'imprimerie du *Siam Observer* et le journal ont disparu en 1932.

J. B.