



CHALLENGES OF THE TOURISM MANAGEMENT IN LAMPANG AND
LAMPHUN: QUEEN CHAMMATHEVI'S PILGRIMAGE ROUTE



A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for Doctor of Philosophy Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism
(International Program)

Graduate School, Silpakorn University
Academic Year 2019

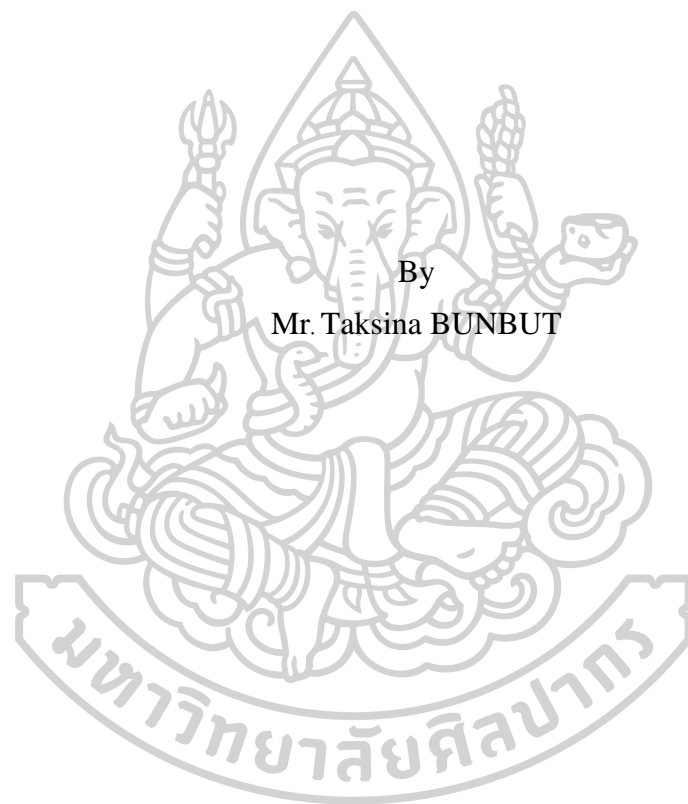
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แสวงบุญของพระนางจามเทวี



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By
Mr. Taksina BUNBUT

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Title Challenges of the Tourism Management in Lampang and Lamphun:
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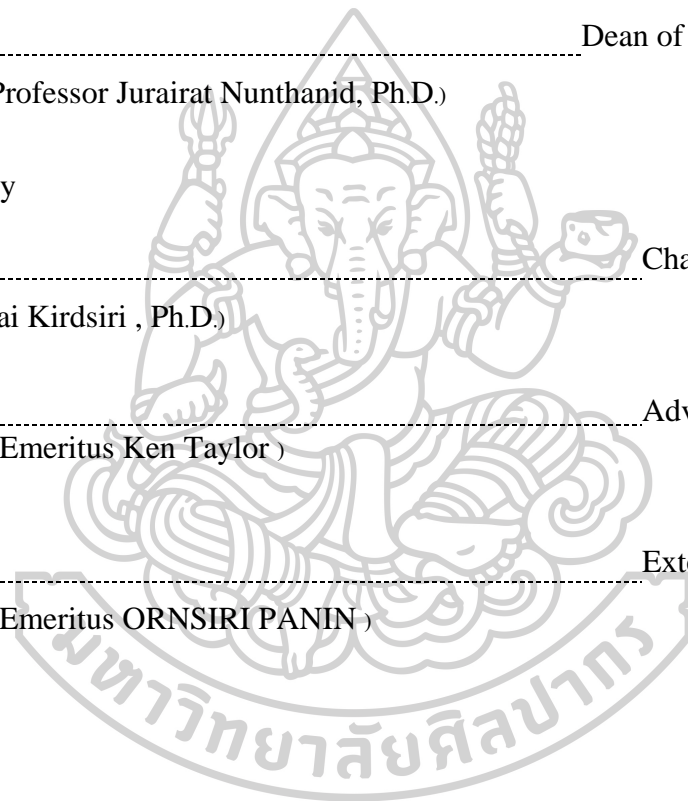
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The research aims to study the thematic cultural routes concept from the European Institute of Cultural Routes, and the cultural routes concept from the ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes 2008 and UNWTO's cultural route which was publicized on UNWTO's Global Report on Cultural Routes and Itineraries in 2015. Conceptual frameworks of cultural routes from these three major sources are tools to establish and manage the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route for the promotion of tourism and heritage conservation in Lamphun and Lampang. The route connected twenty seven attractions in both provinces based on the theme of Queen Chammathevi and her legend. The theme created value and significance for attractions and the route. It also introduced and construe identity of the route to visitors. Furthermore, the theme can attract tourists and trigger their curiosities to explore more story while they travelled along the route.

The study for establishing the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route also followed the Burra Charter process of investigations, decision and actions. Almost eighty five places which were appeared on documentaries and oral histories about Queen Chammathevi were identified and surveyed. Those places are in Lamphun, Lampang, Chiang Mai, and Tak. Information about the places was gathered and studied for having more understanding about them. Then, they were assessed for value and significance based on the Burra Charter concept of understanding heritage. Additional conceptual models of Competitive Destination Model and Cultural Significance Criteria for Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register are tools for assessing suitable attractions to be presented on the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route. The result after the assessment found twenty seven attractions that were suitable and value for putting on the route. The designing and planning of the route followed theories and models of traveling patterns, including Multi-destination Trip Pattern Model, Structure of Node, and Destination Region. These theories and models were integrated and analyzed for the formation of the route.

Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route was presented to participants who joined focus groups in Lamphun and Lampang. The focus groups were organized in order to identify challenges and discover suitable actions to apply to heritage conservation and tourism management on the route. Three main challenges were discovered from focus groups and content analysis, including interpretation, sense of place, and managing the route. Strategies for actions and management plan of the route

were recommended by implementation of cluster and network, tourism segmentation, tourist experience enchantment, creation of master plan, and route extension.



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Taksina BUNBUT



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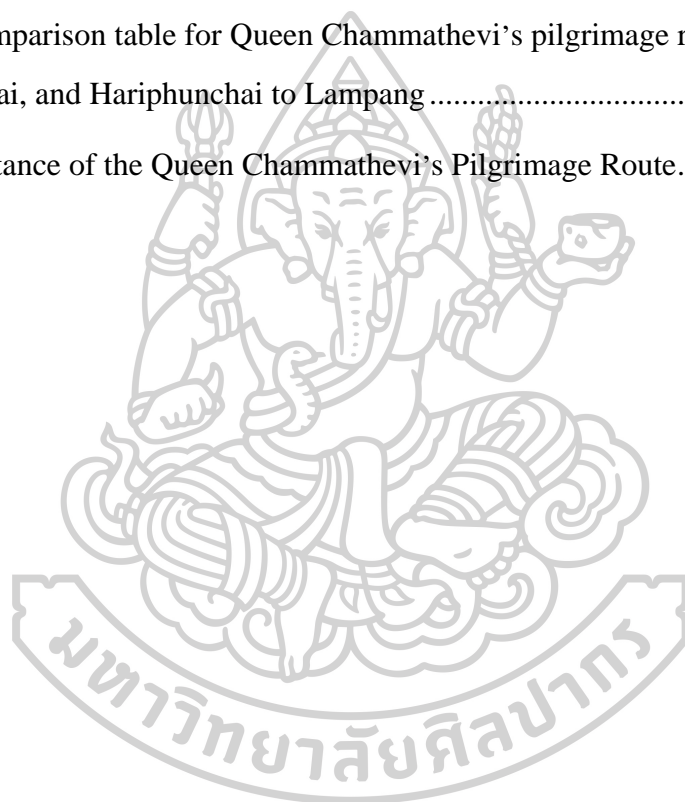
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Chapter 1

Introduction

Statement and Significance of the Problems

Since 1957, when Thailand announced the open-door policy for foreign investment and international tourism, tourism in Thailand keep growing, and this sector became one of a major income to support the development of the country. Thai government realized the power of tourism and fully encourages the development of this industry by establishing Tourist Organization of Thailand (TOT) in 1960. The organization had responsibility for promoting modern tourism activities and facilities for incoming tourists, who mostly are both American soldiers who have base in Thailand and American government officers who travel from USA for supporting the military operation in Southeast Asia. However, the image of Thailand tourism in this period was not good enough because the country was viewed as a sun, sand, sea, and sex destination.

Later, Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) was established in 1979 to be responsible for the expansion of Thai tourism and to do marketing and international media communication for upgrading Thailand to a new image of leisure destination for international tourists. The country was successfully having a better image for being beach resorts, and these resort destinations offered for tourists are Phuket and Pattaya. Bangkok was represented as a shopping paradise and a center of Thai cultural heritage, as well as Chiang Mai was offered to tourists as hill tribes' cultural center and beautiful nature. Bangkok, Chiang Mai, and Phuket became main

tourism hubs and they were very popular and became world-class dream destinations.

Thailand kept accelerating the international tourism sector by promoting a series of global tourism campaign to attract first-time foreign tourists and repeated tourists. Those campaigns were Visit Thailand Year in 1980 and 1987 and Amazing Thailand in 1998. These campaigns provided a positive impact on Thai economy due to the national tourism income increased by 34 percent in 1987 and by 58 percent in 1988¹. The Amazing Thailand campaign in 1998 also had a major part in supporting the downturn of Thai economy during the devaluation of Thai Baht and the Southeast Asia economy crisis. Thailand earned US\$ 6,695.38 million and accounted for 5.4% of the GDP² from this campaign. However, the rapid growth of Thai tourism from these tourism marketing campaigns caused some negative impacts on income distribution, low local communities' involvement, and deterioration of tourism attractions³.

¹ Kaosa-ard, M. S. (1994). *Thailand's Tourism Industry - What Do We Gain and Lose?*. TDRI Quarterly Review Vol. 9. Retrieved from <http://www.thaiscience.info/journals/Article/TQR/10475088.pdf>

² Noypayak, W. (2001). *Thailand: Experiences in Trade Negotiations in the Tourism Sector*. Retrieved from https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/serv_e/thailand.doc

³ UNCTAD Secretariat. (2005). *Information Economy Report 2005*. United Nation Publication: New York.

The next episode of Thailand tourism campaigns changed the direction to focus more on local communities and have more balancing between marketing and sustainability. TAT launched the campaign Unseen Thailand in 2003 to promote new local tourism destinations under the concept 'Unseen Thailand' by offering four unseen products, including world heritage, nature, culture, and Thai cuisine. Domestic tourism was considered to be as important as international tourism because the Unseen Thailand campaign successfully encourage Thai tourists to travel in the country, while foreign tourists were frighten by SARS outbreak in Thailand and Asia and canceled their trips to visit the country. Thai government realized that the country could not rely on a single foreign market.

The Thai government paid more interest in developing domestic tourism by launching four more campaigns that aimed to attract both foreign and Thai tourists. Campaigns like Amazing Thailand: It Begins with People in 2013, Discover Thainess in 2015, Unique Thai Local Experience in 2017, and Open the New Shade of Thailand in 2018. These campaigns involved with the word of 'Thainess' which is a key message for using Thai culture to enhance new tourism destinations in Thailand for the benefit of Thai local communities. The Thainess was mentioned on the Thailand tourism vision towards 2036 as 'Thailand will be a World's leading quality destination, through balanced development while leveraging Thainess to contribute significantly to the country's socio-economic development and wealth distribution inclusively and sustainably'.

Discover Thainess in 2015 is the campaign and also the strategy under the Thailand tourism vision towards 2036 that successfully promote Thailand's second-tier provinces. TAT implemented an area based approach and proposed two marketing campaigns associated with Discover Thainess as;

- 1) the 12 hidden gems that tourists must not miss, in 2015, and
- 2) the 12 hidden gems plus, in 2017.

Lampang is a province in northern Thailand that was included in the batch of twelve provinces in the '12 hidden gems that tourists must not miss' campaign. Lamphun also is a province in northern Thailand and it was included in the later campaign of the '12 hidden gems plus'. Both cities are considered to be second-tier cities because they have less than one million visitors per year⁴. Moreover, second-tier cities are defined as following;

- affordable, better value,
- attract a regional drive market,
- convention facilities with less than 500,000 gross square feet,
- regional airport with less nonstop or direct airlift,
- largest convention venue generally a single hotel or conference center, and

⁴Ministry of Tourism and Sports. (2016). *The Second National Tourism Development*

- productive local industries and business climate⁵.

TAT designed the marketing campaign under the concept the '12 hidden gems plus' by matching Lampang with Lamphun as a destination twin. Both provinces share cities' personality in terms of being the lands where time stands still. They are ancient cities from Hariphunchai period. The old name of Lamphun is Hariphuchai and it was found by the sage Vasudeva for Queen Chammathevi. Lampang has its old name as Khelang Nagara and it was found by the sage Subrahma for Prince Anantayasa, who is a younger son of Queen Chammathevi. The town plans of Hariphunchai and Khelang Nagara have similar shape of a conch shell or Shankha Pattarathan. Then, Hariphunchai could be called as Muang Mae or the mother's city, and Khelang Nagara could be named as Muang Luk or the son's city.

Lamphun and Lampang have adjacent provincial borders and there is 76 kilometers of distance between the two cities. The Highway no. 11 and the northern line train, which both of them run through Khun Tan Mountain, connect these two cities. These modern logistic infrastructures are both opportunity and threat for them because the train used to bring civilization and modernization to Lampang and create the city to be a trading hub in northern Thailand during 1916 - 1969. Lamphun also was a

⁵ Chimasaki, C. (2015). *1st, 2nd, 3rd Tier Cities: What do the Designations Really*

Mean?. Retrieved from [http://www.themeetingmagazines.com/cit/first-](http://www.themeetingmagazines.com/cit/first-second-third-tier-cities/)

[second-third-tier-cities/](http://www.themeetingmagazines.com/cit/first-second-third-tier-cities/)

big transit hub located on Highway no. 106 which linked central Thailand with Chiang Mai.

The 106 is a regional secondary highway links with a main Asian Highway or AH2 in Thailand, which started from Bangkok to Mae Sai of Chiang Rai Province. The 106 used to be a primary route connected central Thailand with Lamphun and Chiang Mai. Since the Highway no. 11 or Lampang - Chiang Mai Highway was completed in 1969, it directed a large number of visitors and major trades straight to Chiang Mai. Lamphun and Lampang were no longer significant trading hubs or destinations, they became only transit towns before people continue their trips to Chiang Mai.

While Chiang Mai is a focal point for developments from Thai government, and it is also a major hub for tourism in northern Thailand, Lamphun and Lampang are labeled to be only satellite towns around Chiang Mai. Both of them shared sense of inferiority from being second-tier provinces. People from both provinces blamed on superstitious curses are causes of provinces' low development in terms of economy and tourism. Lamphun people believe that King Milakkha cursed on Lamphun because Queen Chammathevi deceived him and destroyed his magical power by using her menstrual blood. He cursed "Whenever people from Lamphun marry with Chiang Mai people, they must face the doom and feel upset with their married life. Lamphun must be the city without prosperity forever." The belief in King Milakkha's curse of lamphun people is similar to the belief of Lampang people in the curse of Chao Mae Suchada, who was abused by Lampang villagers. She was blamed that she had a sexual

relationship with a Buddhist monk and the Lampang ruler ordered to behead her. Before she was dead, she cursed “I am innocent but the ruler ordered to kill me. He is absolutely unfair. The ruler and his lineages must face the doom.”

The slogan ‘the lands where time stand still’ was assigned to Lamphun and Lampang during the ‘12 hidden gems plus’ reflects the characteristic of second-tier cities which are small, humble, quite, and have less modernization than Chiang Mai. However, being as lesser-known towns could be opportunities for these two cities because they can preserve their authenticity, cultural landscape, and ancient town environment from urbanization and environmental pollution. They can be unique because of their history and physical environment. They are more peaceful than Chiang Mai where there is high number of population and visitors. They are the provinces without uncontrollable constructions of high building and the expansion of commercial areas next to heritage monuments and sites like it was happened in Chiang Mai.

Lamphun and Lampang share unique selling points as towns that are frozen in time which is suitable for a cultural tourism segment. Cultural tourists can be classified into five groups based on levels of their desire to engage with culture at destinations. The segment that wants to have high level of a deep experience called purposeful cultural tourists. They have their primary motive for visiting a destination and the individual has a deep

cultural experience⁶. They are tourists that have high potential for long length of stay, high volume of expenditure per day, and high responsibility to local cultural heritage conservation. However, there are some challenges on tourism supply side of the two provinces in terms of tourism facilities, service providers, and tourism products.

The study on ‘Challenges of the Tourism Management in Lampang and Lamphun: Queen Chammathevi’s Pilgrimage Route’ provides opportunities for the two provinces to have a thematic cultural route to promote their cultural tourism and community-based tourism. The route is based on the legend of Queen Chammathevi and her traveling route from Tak to Hariphunchai (Lamphun), and from Hariphunchai to Khelang Nagara (Lampang). The route combines several popular attractions like Phrathat Hariphunchai and Phrathat Lampang Luang with several lesser-known attractions in Li District, Pasang District, Mae Ta District, Muang District of Lamphun, and Hang Chat District, Kho Ka District, Muang District of Lampang. The route can establish economy contribution and raise awareness on heritage conservation to several local communities along the route.

Although the study of the legend of Queen Chammathevi for the thematic route revealed high level of significance of the queen that benefits tourism and heritage conservation, there are resistances on creation of the route from some local people. Some of them who do not know about the

⁶Du Cros, H. & McKercher, B. (2015). *Cultural Tourism, 2nd Edition*. London: Routledge.

legend of the queen and who do not recognize her significance argued that she is only a myth and she is not a popular historical figure if compare to King Naresuan King Taksin. The queen's legend seems to be faded away from local people memory, especially from young generation. Her significance is only being a symbol of antiquity when people want to refer to ancient history beyond Lan Na or beyond the official Thai history.

In order to bring the legend of Queen Chammathevi to attention, assessing cultural significance of the queen based on the concept and principles of international standard on heritage conservation like the Burra Charter helped improve understanding of her and Hariphunchai. Her legend, her characteristic and cultural heritage from her period added more value to Lamphun and Lampang. The concept of cultural route from UNESCO, ICOMOS, and the Council of Europe are used as guidance for establishing the thematic route. Several examples of successful cultural routes are assessed and analyzed before implementing to the creation of Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route.

The discovery of Queen Chammathevi and her legend could extend the understanding about her significances and Hariphunchai to the development of Lan Na culture. She has more significance than only being a symbol and a reference of an ancient period. Her pilgrimage route is sacred because it related to religious philosophies of animism, Buddhism, and Brahmanism. These religious philosophies are a foundation of Lan Na culture and influenced on Lan Na people's way of life since the ancient time to the modern day. Moreover, this route is not only for tourism, it is a tool for provoking the importance of cultural heritage conservation in local

communities. Once local people knew about the legend of Queen Chammathevi and realized about her significances, they will engage in their local heritage conservations which can lead to the sustainability of cultural heritage conservation in Lamphun and Lampang.

Research Questions

The legend of Queen Chammathevi is a main idea of a thematic cultural route of the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route. The concept of thematic route that most people understand is only creating a story telling to make the route to be more interesting. However, the thematic route has more meaning and uses more management approach than only a story telling. According to successful cultural route of the Council of Europe has long history in terms of promoting lesser-known destination regions to tourism, the studying from the Council of Europe's cultural route case studies can be an effective way for managing the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route. Before the researcher can propose more ideas for the cultural route development, these research questions are raised in order to be guidelines to gain more idea for creating the route to be a successful tourism products for Lamphun and Lampang. The research questions are as following;

1. What is a thematic cultural route? What are they?
2. How can we create a successful and sustainable cultural route that can promote tourism and heritage conservation for Lamphun and Lampang?

3. What are cultural significances of Queen Chammathevi and her legend that can be used for promoting the attractiveness and competitiveness of the cultural route?

4. What are effective tourism management approaches that are practical, and can be implemented in creating and managing the cultural route?

5. What are challenges and opportunities on the cultural route, and how can we overcome those challenges?

Goals and Objectives

The aim for establishing the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route is not only for tourism development in Lamphun and Lampang, it is also the promoting of cultural heritage conservation in the two provinces. Another aim of creating the cultural route is for socioeconomic contribution for local communities in these two secondary destinations. Moreover, the cultural route has to be a tool to raise the awareness of local history's significance among local people. When local people have awareness of their local history, they will have sense of pride of their communities' identity and they will fully engage in community's heritage conservation. In order to achieve these goals, this research sets objectives for studying as follows;

1. to explore the legend of Queen Chammathevi by studying and comparing different versions of the legend,

2. to assess cultural significances of Queen Chammathevi and the legend of Queen Chammathevi through the framework and standard of the Burra Charter, then create simple and comprehensible interpretations for each significance,

3. to develop a framework of planning, managing, and implementing for the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route through the cultural route concept and practices of UNESCO, ICOMOS, and the Council of Europe,

4. to analyze challenges and opportunities on the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route and propose recommendations for developing the cultural route, and

5. to suggest tourism planning, destination management approaches, and cultural heritage conservation practices to the cultural route.

Expected Outcomes

The expected outcomes after implementing objectives for achieving goals on the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route are as follows;

1. the understanding of cultural route concept and framework from international arena,

2. the ability to apply cultural route concept and framework to the development of the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route,

3. raising awareness on significance of Queen Chammathevi and her legend among local communities in Lamphun and Lampang,

4. successful encouraging local communities to engage in local heritage conservation.

5. contribution of ideas on the management and implementation on the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route to stakeholders and in charge tourism development agents of Lamphun and Lampang, and

6. promoting lesser-known attractions along the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route to higher level of recognition among domestic and international tourists, and

7. identifying opportunities for local communities to develop their cultural heritage base on the legend of Queen Chammathevi.

Scope of Study

The study for the creation of the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route aims to promote tourism and cultural heritage conservation in two provinces of Lamphun and Lampang. The cultural route runs through five districts of Lamphun, including Li, Ban Hong, Pa Sang, Muang, and Mae Tha. There are only four districts on the route that have monuments and sites associated with the legend of Queen Chammathevi, except Ban Hong District. However, the historical site of iron smelting furnace was recently discovered at Ban Hong's area by the Fine Arts Department, Chiang Mai Office. Then, this historical site might be further studied and included it on the cultural route in the future. For Lampang, there are three districts

that the cultural route runs through, including Hang Chat, Kho Kha, and Muang District.

The exploration of some sites that related to the Queen Chammathevi's legend in Chiang Mai Province and Tak Province also conducted due to those sites provided more information and give clearer pictures of the journey of Queen Chammathevi from Lavapura to Hariphunchai. For example, Wat Doi Kerng in Hot District of Chiang Mai, Doi Suthep Mountain and Wat Phrabath Si-roy in Chiang Mai, and Phrathat Kaeng Soi and Pa Kai in Tak. Some sites like Phrathat Kaeng Soi in Tak and Wat Phrathat Doi Noi in Chiang Mai are included in the cultural route, even though they are not located in the territory of Lamphun and Lampang. Kaeng Soi in Tak and Wat Phrathat Doi Noi in Chiang Mai are significant because they have high relation to the legend of Queen Chammathevi, and they are located in the vicinity of the cultural route.

The estimated distance of the cultural route is 350 kilometers. Highway no. 106 from Li District to Muang District of Lamphun, and Highway no. 11 from Lamphun to Lampang are major routes for land transport, while the journey between Li District to Phrathat Kaeng Soi in Tak has to use boat for transportation. Period of the study is from November 2017 to April 2019.

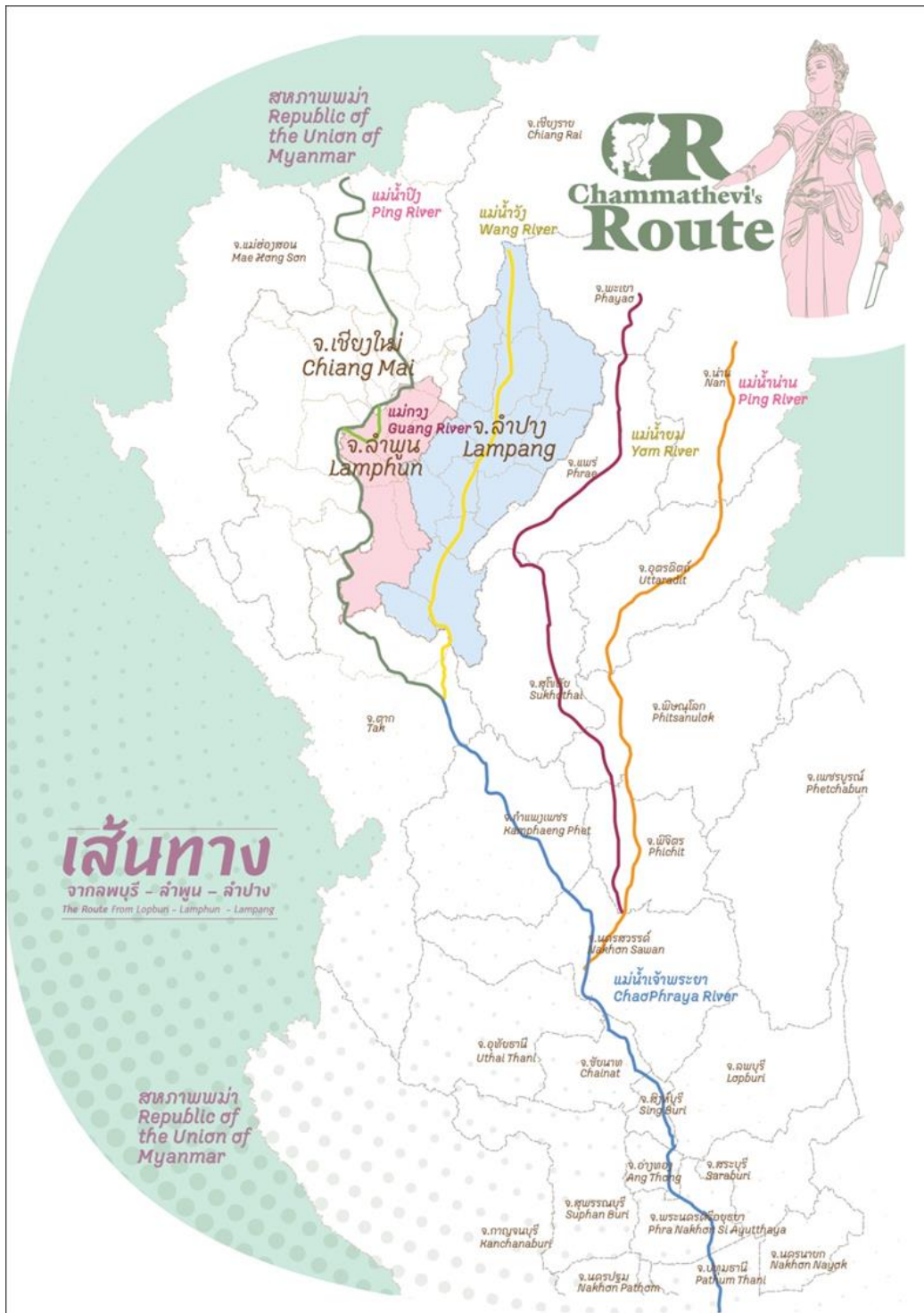


Figure 1 Locations of Lampang and Lamphun

Source: The researcher, 2019

Research Methodology

- Documentary Research

The legend of Queen Chammathevi is a core or a theme for building the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route. Then, data collections from several versions of the legend were conducted by first studying from the first group of mainstream chronicles or temple chronicles or religious chronicles, and another group of tamnans or town chronicles or local history. The first group of mainstream chronicles that were studied consists of 1. Chammathevivamsa, 2. Jinakamalini, and 3. Mulasasana. The second group of tamnans and local history that were studied are 1. Tamnan Phrathat in Lampang 2. Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Mr. Suthawaree Suwarnapach, 3. Kap Jia Chammathevi and Wilangka, 4. Long Kang Mae Ping, and other contemporary versions of the legend of Queen Chammathevi that were composed by various authors.

The concept of cultural route from UNESCO, ICOMOS, and the Council of Europe, as well as case studies is another part that was explored. These are main ideas for constructing comprehension of the cultural route principles and framework. Later, the knowledge and models for tourism planning, destination management, and cultural conservation management was gathered. The establishment of the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route is required interdisciplinary approach from history study, archaeology, arts and architecture, tourism management, and cultural heritage conservation and management.

- Field Survey

This is another challenging part of data collection about Queen Chammathevi because there is only small group of local scholars that is interested in studying about the queen. Besides, the legend of the queen seems to be faded away from the memory of most of local people. Then, the survey of sites and monuments that related to the queen is highly required the supporting of data and location identifying from local scholars before the researcher be able to connect the data from field survey with the legend.

The first part of field survey was conducted at well-known sites that related to Queen Chammathevi in provinces like Lamphun, Lampang, Chiang Mai, and Tak. Next, lesser-known sites that expected to be associated with the queen were explored at these mentioned provinces. Data from field survey was recorded by photographs, video clip, audio record on the interviews of some Buddhist monks and representatives of local people at the survey sites. The survey was expanded to several archaeological sites and museums at provinces in central, western, and eastern of Thailand that exhibit Dvaravati arts, architecture, and culture. The knowledge of Dvaravati from the surveys helps construct comprehension about the development of Hariphunchai.

- Focus Group

Two focus groups were organized at Lamphun and Lampang in order to gather data from stakeholders and local people's ideas from different perspectives. The participants from both focus groups were

invited to share ideas base on these following open ended and interview questions.

1. What are monuments, sites, artifacts found at your area that related to Queen Chammathevi?

2. What are events and rituals associated with Queen Chammathevi organized at your area?

3. Please tell about opportunities and challenges arose from organizing those events and rituals related to Queen Chammathevi?

4. What is your recommendation on the development of the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route to promote tourism and cultural heritage conservation at your area?

Participants of focus groups were selected from key persons who took part in tourism industry and cultural heritage conservation of Lamphun and Lampang. They were officially invited by official invitation letters and also were followed up by phone calls for confirmation.

The focus group at Lamphun was organized on 13th February 2018, at San Khaw Hor Meeting Room of Hariphunchai National Museum, from 09.00 - 15.00. The focus group at Lampang was organized on 13th June 2018, at Wiang Kham Meeting Room of Lampang Wiang Thong Hotel, from 09.00 - 15.00. Data from the focus groups were recorded in the form of audio clips and photographs. Then, the data was analyzed by using content analysis approach and was written in the form of descriptive report.

- Participant Observation

The researcher participated in both local events and academic seminars related to Queen Chammathevi, tourism management, and cultural heritage conservation management in Lamphun, Lampang, Chiang Mai, and Bangkok for gathering data. These events also allow the researcher to observe other participants' behaviors and attitude. Data from participant observation approach and the interviews of other participants was recorded by note taking, audio recording, and photographing. The data was included in the content analysis before transforming them into a descriptive report. Several events and seminars that the researcher joined were held during November 2017 to April 2019. The list of events and seminars was shown as follows;

- Story Telling of Lan Na: Travel on Lan Na Historical Route, organized on 8 - 9 November 2017, by Center of Tourism Research and Development of Chiang Mai University,

- A seminar on 'Ni Wang Kok: Hariphunchai in Ancient Chinese Manuscripts' and 'Wat Phra Yuen and Wat Don Kaew in Queen Chammathevi's period', organized on 28 December 2017, by Wiang Yong Municipal of Lamphun,

- Dinner Reception for Thai-Raman Association at Nong Doo Temple, organized on 3 February 2018, by Nong Doo Village, Pasang District of Lamphun,

- The Commemoration of Queen Chammathevi at Nong Dok Public Park, organized on 4 February 2018, by Thai-Raman Association of Lamphun,

- Meeting for an agreement to return a Phra Kong votive tablet and an ancient ring to the Hariphunchai National Museum, organized on 12 February 2018, by Lamphun Provincial Administrative Organization,

- The Commemoration of Queen Chammathevi at Wat Kho Klang, organized on 14 February 2018, by Bor Kaw Village,

- Sartra Khu Pandon Tin Khelang (Lan Na Ancient Weapons), organized on 13 March 2018, by Lampang Lampang Provincial Culture Office and Wat Pong Sanuk community,

- A seminar on 'Tourism Development Plan for Lan Na: Chiang Mai, Lamphun, Lampang', organized on 9 July 2018, by the Center of Tourism Research of Chaing Mai University,

- A historical survey trip for constructing the Lamphun Study curriculum, organized on 30 October - 1 November, 2018, organized by Lamphun Provincial Administrative Organization,

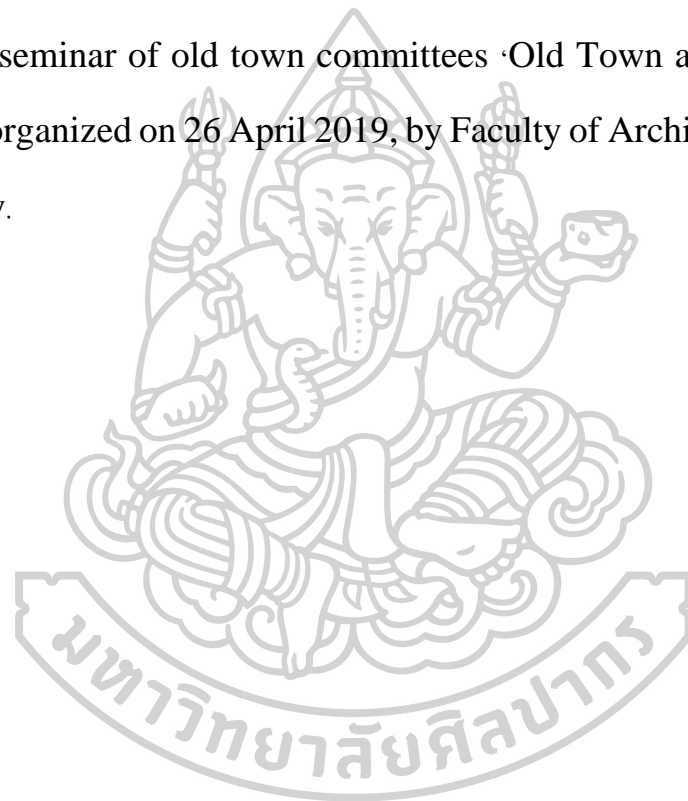
- A historical survey trip for the conservation of Doi Suthep, organized on 2 September 2018, by the Doi Suthep Forest Reclamation Network,

- Heritage Protection: The Asian Experience, organized on 25 - 26 January 2019, by the Siam Society,

- A seminar 'Theravada Buddhism in Southeast Asia: Arts, Architecture, and Culture', organized on 31 January 2019, by Faculty of Sociology and Anthropology of Thammasat University and partners,

- A seminar 'Review on Tourism Routes and Event Calendar of Five Communities in Lamphun Municipal', organized on 13 February 2019, by Wat Mahawan and a Lamphun research team, and

- A seminar of old town committees 'Old Town and Contemporary Society', organized on 26 April 2019, by Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University.



Chapter 2 Literature Review

Cultural Route's Concept Development

Culture appears to be significant in tourism because it provides authentic experience to tourists and various benefits to the industry in terms of cultural tourism. This kind of tourism is an integrated concept between two important aspects which are culture and tourism. This combination became an effective tool for safeguarding cultural heritage and delivering socio economic development to countries and communities. According to 1976 ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Tourism, this form of tourism has positive effect insofar as contributes to satisfy its own ends, to their as a tool maintenance and protection⁷. Siem Reap Declaration mentioned cultural tourism can make a significant contribution to the socio-economic development and empowerment of local communities. It also has a potential to contribute to the cultural development, growth and rejuvenation of urban and historical cities.

Cultural route is a product from cultural tourism and it has processes of development for four decades by three main international institutions like UNESCO, ICOMOS, and the Council of Europe (COE). In 1987, the Council of Europe started the cultural route program with the Santiago de Compostela Declaration which has the objective to promote the roads to

⁷ ICOMOS. (1976). *Charter of Cultural Tourism*. Retrieved from

Compostela throughout the continent of Europe. Successful implementation of cultural tourism activities and cultural heritage conservation management on this route's series brought it to be listed as a World Heritage in 1993. The success of the Santiago de Compostela motivated experts to discuss the subject of cultural route in the meeting of World Heritage Committee in Madrid 1994 in order to propose the concept of cultural route to UNESCO.

The International Committee on Cultural Routes of ICOMOS (CIIC-ICOMOS) is a result from the first experts's meeting in Madrid. This institution organized several meetings for the objectives to discuss the theoretical scope of cultural route and to find appropriate conservation and management. In 1998, the European Institute of Cultural Routes (EICR) institution was established for further development of cultural routes. It was found by a political agreement between Council of Europe and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg (Ministry of Culture, Higher Education and Research) with the aims to assist the Enlarge Partial Agreement on Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe, to give advice to candidate networks to the Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe, to certified the cultural routes, to house the documentary resources on the cultural route of the Council of Europe, to promote links between cultural heritage, tourism, regional development and the environment, and to coordinate with a university network⁸.

⁸ Council of Europe. (2018). *About the European Institute of Cultural Routes*.

In 2003, the International Committee on Cultural Routes of ICOMOS held the last event in Madrid as a meeting of experts to define and formulate a concept of cultural route. After experts had an agreement on the concept of cultural route, they proposed it to UNESCO and advised UNESCO to include the cultural route in the process of revision of the Operational Guideline for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. In 2008, ICOMOS established the ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes and stated that the new concept of Cultural Routes shows the evaluation of the sciences of conservation of cultural heritage⁹.

From the starting point of cultural routes with the Santiago de Compostela Declaration to the ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes, the complexity of cultural routes were transformed into manifestations ways of understanding cultural heritage from a wider dimension that combines tangible and intangible elements and essentially emphasizes the key human factor¹⁰. Number of cultural route of the Council of Europe has been recently increased to have more than thirty cultural routes and UNESCO inscribed more than three cultural routes on the World Heritage List. Moreover, UNWTO publicized Global Report on Cultural Routes and Itineraries in 2015 showed interesting information and development of

⁹ ICOMOS. (2008). *The ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes*. Retrieved from

<https://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/>

¹⁰ Martorell Carreno, A. (2002). *Cultural Routes: Tangible and Intangible*

Dimensions of Cultural Heritage. Retrieved from

http://openarchive.icomos.org/473/1/A1-5_-_Martorell.pdf

cultural routes around the world, such as Australia's Great Southern Touring Route, a cultural-environmental themed route in the Alfred Nzo District of the Eastern Cape in South Africa, the slave route in Africa, and the Coffee Triangle in Colombia.

Definition of Cultural Route

The first official concept of cultural route was appeared on the report on the Expert Meeting on Routes as a Part our Cultural Heritage, in Madrid, in 1994. Concept of cultural route from the report can be concluded as following;

'The dynamics of movement and the idea of exchanges, with continuity in space and time. Elements of cultural route are its cultural significance, exchange and dialogue between countries or between regions, its multi-dimensional which may be religious commercial, administrative or otherwise. The identification of a heritage route is based on a collection of strengths and tangible elements. The authenticity test is to be applied on the grounds of its significance and other elements making up the heritage route.'¹¹

The ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Route (2008) mentioned concept of cultural routes on the preamble as follows;

¹¹ UNESCO. (1994). *Report on the Expert Meeting on Routes as a Part our Cultural*

Heritage. Retrieved from <https://whc.unesco.org/archive/routes94.htm>

‘The Cultural Route is innovative, complex and multidimensional. It introduces and represents a qualitatively new approach to the theory and practice of conservation of the cultural heritage. Cultural Routes represent interactive, dynamic, and evolving processes of human intercultural links that reflect the rich diversity of the contributions of different peoples to cultural heritage. It is built upon connecting various cultural resources along a physical route for travel between two points which has been in use over a long historic period.’¹²

The charter also exhibited the criterion for identifying cultural routes as they are any route of communication, be it land, water, or some other type, which is physically delimited and is also characterized by having its own specific dynamic and historic functionality to serve a specific and well-determined purpose, which must fulfill the following conditions:

a) It must arise from and reflect interactive movements of people as well as multi-dimensional, continuous, and reciprocal exchanges of goods, ideas, knowledge and values between peoples, countries, religions or continents over significant periods of time;

b) It must have thereby promoted a cross-fertilization of the affected cultures in space and time, as reflected both in their tangible and intangible heritage;

¹² ICOMOS. (2008). *The ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes*. Retrieved from

<https://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/>

c) It must have integrated into a dynamic system the historic relations and cultural properties associated with its existence.

The charter also defined five elements of cultural route as context, content, cross-cultural significance as a whole, dynamic character, and setting. Where context refer to natural setting, content refer to tangible elements that bear witness to its cultural heritage, cross-cultural significance as a whole refer to shared characteristics and value systems in wider scale, dynamic character refer to the vital fluid of culture both in tangible and intangible aspects, and setting refer to geographical setting, territorial setting, the relationship with nature and a well-defined boundaries and regulated buffer zones.

UNESCO developed definition of cultural route from ICOMOS' cultural route concept and demonstrated it in the Operational Guideline for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention as;

‘A heritage route is composed of tangible elements of which the cultural significance comes from exchanges and a multi-dimensional dialogue across countries or regions, and that illustrate the interaction of movement, along the route, in space and time.’¹³

It also mentioned criterions for consideration when determining whether a heritage route is suitable for inscription on the World Heritage List:

¹³ UNESCO. (2012). *The Operational Guideline for the Implementation of the World*

Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Center.

(i) The requirement to hold outstanding universal value should be recalled.

(ii) The concept of heritage routes:

- is based on the dynamics of movement and the idea of exchanges, with continuity in space and time;

- refers to a whole, where the route has a worth over and above the sum of the elements making it up and through which it gains its cultural significance;

- highlights exchange and dialogue between countries or between regions;

- is multi-dimensional, with different aspects developing and adding to its prime purpose which may be religious, commercial, administrative or otherwise.

(iii) A heritage route may be considered as a specific, dynamic type of cultural landscape, just as recent debates have led to their acceptance within the Operational Guidelines.

(iv) The identification of a heritage route is based on a collection of strengths and tangible elements, testimony to the significance of the route itself.

(v) The conditions of authenticity are to be applied on the grounds of its significance and other elements making up the heritage route. It will take into account the duration of the route, and perhaps how often it is used

nowadays, as well as the legitimate wishes for development of peoples affected.¹⁴

Other documents that relate to theory and practice of cultural heritage management and cultural tourism demonstrated definitions and mentioned cultural route that enable deeper understanding of the term as follows;

- Siem Reap Declaration on Tourism and Culture mentioned cultural route as;

‘Cultural routes linking such places offer important opportunities for tourism development, regional integration and economic development, while promoting the revitalization and promotion of cultural and economic links between people and communities.’¹⁵

- The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, 2013 mentioned the cultural route in the definition and explanatory note of setting as;

‘Setting means the immediate and extended environment of a place that is part of or contributes to its cultural significance and distinctive

¹⁴ UNESCO. (2012). *The Operational Guideline for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Center.

¹⁵ ICOMOS. (2015). *Siem Reap Declaration on Tourism and Culture: Building a New Partnership Model*. Retrieved from https://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/18_April2017

character. Setting may include: structures, spaces, land, water and sky; the visual setting including views to and from the place, and along a cultural route; and other sensory aspects of the setting such as smells and sounds. Setting may also include historical and contemporary relationships, such as use and activities, social and spiritual practices, and relationships with other places, both tangible and intangible.¹⁶

- The European Institute of Cultural Routes formulated the definition of cultural route as;

‘The term European Cultural Route is taken to mean a route crossing one or two more countries or regions, organized around themes whose historical, artistic or social interest is patently European, either by virtue of the geographical route followed or because of the nature and/or scope of its range and significance.’¹⁷

- Ministry of Tourism of the Republic of Croatia mentioned the definition of cultural route in the document, *Managing Visitors on Thematic Cultural Routes* as;

‘A cultural route is a physical, tangible section in space defined by an inventory of tangible and intangible cultural and historical elements connected by a theme, concept or definition as well as by the identification of sites of existing cultural heritage linked in a dispersed, linear or regional

¹⁶ Australia ICOMOS. (2013). *The Burra charter*. Retrieved from portal.iphan.gov.br

¹⁷ Capp, S. (n.d.). *The Cultural Routes Program of the Council of Europe*. Retrieved

from https://seecorridors.eu/filebank/file_74.pdf

structure creating a marked and interpreted continuous whole within the unified context of the route.¹⁸

Cultural Route Classification

Both of the Council of Europe and UNWTO classified cultural routes for streamlining and grouping various structures of routes into categories. Each group of cultural route is considered in accordance with its shape, theme, and relationship with heritage sites and culture along the route. This is the method that helps to communicate in writing a proposal or report on cultural routes as a cultural tourism products. The classification of cultural routes systems from the Council of Europe and UNWTO are slightly different. While the Council of Europe uses geographical structure as a fundamental system, UNWTO formulated cultural routes into five classifications by design and structure base, theme base, territory base, historic origin base, and visitor infrastructure.

The Council of Europe's Cultural Routes Classification

According to the Council of Europe, the geographical structure of cultural routes is described by using three group subcategories as territorial routes, linear routes, and reticular pattern (archipelagos) routes. They can be defined and illustrated by examples as follows;

¹⁸ Androic, M., Horjan, G., Klaric, V., & Nevidal, N. (2013). *Managing Visitors on*

Thematic Cultural Routes. Zagreb: Ministry of Tourism of the Republic of

Croatia.

1. Territorial routes are cultural routes that base on themes involving territories with a common theme, being generally geographically “concentrated”, close to each other.¹⁹ Contiguity of territories’ characters and cultures are keys that link different regions in Europe on territorial routes. The Iter Vitis Route and the Routes of the Olive Tree represent territorial routes that connect different European countries by using the theme of agricultural landscapes and agricultural product as wine and olive oil. The Routes of El Legado of Andalusi is another territorial route that joined European countries in Iberian Peninsula with some of countries that are non-council of Europe member state in Arabian Peninsula by regional tradition theme that is represented through culture and fiesta of Al-Andalus.

2. Linear pattern routes are defined by historical infrastructure, as in land and maritime trade routes. These routes, trails, ways, and paths were existed over the centuries. They were used for travel and they are now used to create relationships between distant territories. The routes in fact structured villages, towns, castles and buildings, which were connected through the presence of the route.²⁰ Santiago de Compostela and Via Francigena are both linear pattern routes of the pilgrim way in Europe that have influence on developing and transforming landscapes and

¹⁹ Interreg Central Europe. (2017). *ECRR Type of Route and Management Structure*.

Retrieved from www.interreg-central.eu

²⁰ The Council of Europe. (2015). *Cultural Route Management: from Theory to*

Practice. Strasbourg Cedex: Council of Europe Publishing.

architectures along the routes. Huguenot and Waldensian Trail is the linear pattern route that represented different theme from the pilgrimage. It is the exile path for Huguenots and Waldesians travelled to Geneva and then Germany from France.

3. Reticular pattern (archipelagos) routes are cultural routes linked by a common theme, without having territorial continuity, forming a network of points of interest bond together by a shared topic and common narrative/story.²¹ These routes are composed of individual items or aggregated goods, presenting different scales, connected by a theme and permitted the linking a posteriori of sites or monuments.²² The European Mozart Ways connected over 200 sites that have scattered locations in 10 European countries by basing on the journey of Mozart from 1762 to 1791. Although the sites and buildings were not originally built for Mozart, they became significant because they were parts of Mozart's passage. The European Route of Jewish Heritage and the European Cemeteries Route also represented the Reticular pattern routes that connected different locations without focusing on tangible trails that linked each of them, but the theme that significantly networked them as a cultural route.

²¹ Interreg Central Europe. (2017). *Concept for a Reformation-Themed European*

Cultural Route. Retrieved from www.interreg-central.eu/Content.Node/ECRR

²² The Council of Europe. (2015). *Cultural Route Management: from Theory to*

Practice. Stras bourg Cedex: Council of Europe Publishing.

UNWTO's Cultural Routes Classification

UNWTO proposed five categories of cultural route as cultural routes based on their design and structure, cultural routes based on their theme, cultural routes based on their territory, cultural routes based on their historic origin or their current reconfiguration, and cultural routes based on their visitor infrastructure. They can be defined and illustrated by examples as follows;

1. Cultural routes based on their design and structure

They can be classified into two cultural routes models as the linear model and network routes. The linear models are based on one or several start points and one end point and those that have arisen based on an archipelago of points. In another word, they have a sequenced discourse, from one or more start points to the final stage.²³ Santiago de Compostela is a good example for illustrating this model because traveler can start their pilgrim ways from various starting points in France, Portugal, and Spain and to the end point at the tomb of St. James in Santiago de Compostela in north-west Spain.

Network routes have various elements form an archipelago of points but are not necessarily connected sequentially or physically. Their cohesion is mainly determined by themes rather than territorial continuity. They different from linear model routes because they do not have either start or

²³ UNWTO. (2015). *Global Report on Cultural Routes and Itineraries*. Spain: World

end points, and, therefore, visits can be started or ended at any of the places they include.²⁴ The Phoenicians' Route is an example of network routes. It is a Phoenician's maritime trade route and communication line in the Mediterranean Sea since the twelfth century B.C. The theme of Phoenicians' journey along the whole Mediterranean Sea connected over 80 towns of Phoenician origin as a network of cultural exchange.

2. Cultural routes based on their themes

They can be classified into two cultural routes models as cultural routes with a single theme and cultural routes with several topics that formed essential theme of the route itself. Examples of cultural routes with a single theme are as the route of Cluniac locations with the single theme on architecture, or the cave art route with the single theme on prehistoric art.

Cultural routes with several topics articulated around the main theme like the Camino de Santiago and the Via Regia which included a wide array of elements, for example landscape, art, religion, cultural traditions, and gastronomy. Tangible and intangible elements on the the Camino de Santiago formed the theme of a pilgrimage way, while the Via Regis formed the theme of medieval roads.

²⁴ UNWTO. (2015). *Global Report on Cultural Routes and Itineraries*. Spain: World

3. Cultural routes based on their territory

This classification has for types, including local, regional, national, and transnational. They involve using different organizational structures and strategies to promote them and make them more visible.²⁵ Local type of cultural routes has an example as the Dry Stone Route in Mallorca, Spain. Regional type of cultural routes has an example as the Mudejar Route in Aragon, Spain. National type of cultural routes has an example as the Via de Plata Route, Spain. Transnational type of cultural routes has an example are the Santiago de Compostela Pilgrim Route, the Qhapaq Ñan, and Transromanica - The Romanesque Routes of European Heritage.

4. Cultural routes based on their historic origins or their current configurations

Cultural routes based on their origin can be illustrated through examples of the Camino de Santiago, the route of Saint Olaf, the European routes of emperor Charles V because they are originally created by factual historic, historic evidences, artistic or identity basis. On the contrary, cultural routes based on their current configuration are not strictly involved with actual historic situations, they are created from the redesigned historic situation based on a theme or a common narrative. Examples of cultural

²⁵ UNWTO. (2015). *Global Report on Cultural Routes and Itineraries*. Spain: World

routes based on their current configuration are the Routes of the Olive Tree, the Iter Vitis Route, and the European Route of Historical Thermal Towns.

5. Cultural routes based on their visitor infrastructure

This category classifies routes based on the number and type of tourists' overnight stays. Consequently, the routes can be classified as: routes for which overnight stays are not necessary, routes that can be visited with only one overnight stay, and finally, routes involving an overnight stay in several places, which inherently requires the visitor to plan and be constantly on the move.²⁶

Cultural Route and Heritage Trail

Cultural routes and heritage trails share similarities and differences of elements according to their characteristics, network, purpose, authenticity, and importance. Sayamol Chairatudomkul presented the conceptual differences between cultural route and heritage trail²⁷ by adapting Alberto Martorell Carreno's framework of intangible dimension –

²⁶ UNWTO. (2015). *Global Report on Cultural Routes and Itineraries*. Spain: World Tourism Organization (UNWTO).

²⁷ Chairatudomkul, S. (2008). *Cultural Routes as Heritage in Thailand: Case Studies of King Narai's Royal Procession Route and Buddha's Footprint Pilgrimage Route*. A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy, Program of Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism (International Program), Graduate School, Silpakorn University.

concepts, identification and assessment. The comparisons between cultural routes and tourist trails are shown as following;

- Characteristic

Cultural routes are actual routes through a period of history with main purpose for being the interchange of religious ideas and practices, trade, and migration, while heritage trails are created for tourism, and there was no necessary link between tourist attractions.

- Network

University network or knowledge network for conducting scientific researches for cultural route development is necessary, while scientific researchers are not the foundation of heritage trails. The trails aim to cooperate with tourism authorities for tourism promotion.

- Purpose

The establishment of cultural routes is for socioeconomic development and beneficiary distributions among local communities along the route, while heritage trails have purpose for economic benefits that related to tourism impacts.

- Authenticity

Cultural routes link both tangible and intangible cultural heritages based on their cultural exchanges through time and space, while heritage trails are not required to involve with cultural exchange over a long period.

- Importance

The key term of cultural routes is heritage exchanges between two or more cultural groups linked by an established cultural route, while heritage trails offer enjoyment and experience through historic attractions and festivals without emphasizing heritage exchange between groups.

Thematic Cultural Route

Theme is an important parts that different cultural route from ordinary tour with itineraries as community tour, hiking tour, cycling tour, culinary tour, and cultural events. Tangible heritages and intangible heritages are connected by the concept of cultural routes that required the theme to interpret and unify context. According to cultural routes of the Council of Europe, each of them is based on different themes which work like powerful tools to introduce and construe identities of the routes to visitors. Furthermore, themes can attract tourists and trigger their curiosities to explore more stories from the routes. Themes as the Huguenot and Waldensian trail and the Phoenicien Route raise the awareness of the tourists to study more about the unfamiliar names of ancient tribes, while Destination Napoleon, European Mozart Ways, and In the Footsteps of Robert Louis Stevenson are themes that create interests about remarkable persons in European history and their inspirations.

The Council of Europe considered quality of themes for cultural routes by the taste and the reinforcement and development of understanding of the European cultural context. Successful themes are tools to make the route memorable and recognizable. However, it is necessary to

mark and emphasize the basis for theme interpretation because well-defined theme can make cultural routes becomes long-lasting in the recipient's mind.²⁸ Theme interpretation of the Council of Europe's cultural routes need to achieve these goals, which including new information on Europe, constructive education, skills and competences enhancing, new-found interest in new cultural values, and increase communication and exchange of culture.

The Council of Europe seemed to realize the benefits of theme on cultural routes than UNWTO. They established criterions on Appendix to Resolution CM/Res(2013)67 for European cultural routes and themes evaluation in order to grant the certification "Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe". The theme evaluation criterions demonstrated qualified cultural routes projects with a theme that must comply with the eligibility criteria as follows;

1. it must represent European values common to more than one European country;
2. it must be a result of research conducted by a multidisciplinary team of experts from various parts of Europe in order to ensure a consensus on activities and projects that illustrate it;

²⁸ Androic, M., Horjan, G., Klaric, V, & Nevidal, N. (2013). *Managing Visitors on*

Thematic Cultural Routes. Zagreb: Ministry of Tourism of the Republic of Croatia.

3. it must depict EU memory, history, heritage and identity and contribute to the interpretation of diversity of modern Europe

4. it must enable an educational and cultural exchange among youth in accordance with the idea and actions of the Council of Europe in that area;

5. it must enable the development of innovative projects of sustainable cultural tourism, foster the development of cultural and sustainable cultural development;

6. it must be a basis for the development of a tourist product in cooperation with tourist agencies and tour operators, directed at a wide spectrum of users, including school groups;

7. it must be a foundation for long-term, multidisciplinary, cooperative interregional, interconnected projects.²⁹

There are several themes on cultural routes of the Council of Europe that are classified, defined, and displayed on the following thematic routes grouping.

²⁹ Council of Europe. (2014). *Resolution CM/Res(2013)67 Revising the Rules for the*

Award of the "Cultural Route of the Council of Europe" Certification.

Retrieved from <http://www.via-regia.org/kulturstrasse/resolutionen>

Table 1 Thematic Cultural Route

Thematic grouping	Nature of the aspiration
History	Experiencing and understanding the past through buildings, artefacts, reconstitutions, or other material or immaterial traces and memories.
Pilgrimage	Experiencing or sharing a sense of spirituality or sublimation through travel.
Roots	Discovering and experiencing the heritage of one's ancestors or one's people.
Landscape	Seeing and communing with remarkable and beautiful sites, including coastal, mountain, rural, and even man-made landscapes.
Natural systems – ecological, geological	Discovering the life and appreciating the natural forces that form exceptional places.
Cultural icons	Visiting sites and monuments, including art galleries and museums that are recognised and admired on a national or international basis.
Food and drink	Discovering and learning about or experiencing the food and drink of different regions and countries, in restaurants, farms,

Thematic grouping	Nature of the aspiration
Physical challenge	<p>plantations, vineyards, breweries, or at markets and local festivals.</p> <p>Pursuing physical activities where the setting provides a critical backdrop for the experience, including outdoor adventure sports or endurance, journeys to extreme locations, or long-distance running, hiking, cycling or riding.</p>
Industrial tourism – modern and traditional	Engaging in activities that demonstrate past, present and state-of-the-art work practices in industry, such as factory, mine or power station tours.
Well-being	Traveling to experience a healthy lifestyle and stimulation of well-being through activities such as spa treatments or meditation.

Source: Ward-Perkins, D. & Tudes, G. (2016). *Transnational Tourism Routes: the Pan-European Picture*. Publishing House of the Research and Innovation in Education Institute. Retrieved from CMTECR_2016.pdf

In conclusion, themes of cultural routes have carefully selection based on principles by cultural routes management team and team of experts. Themes are pillars that sustain and develop cultural routes, as well

as acquire and extend the visitors. Themes must have integration between quality of information from researches, emotional and intellectual experience, collective memory of the past, and imagination ignition. Cultural routes become meaningful and vigorous by tales of magic, heroes of legends that blend into real historic elements. Themes can transform cultural routes to an imaginary time machine. It explains the heritage and the history, thus enlightening the present and reviving the past through tourism.³⁰

Cultural Route Program of the Council of Europe

The birth of the cultural route project started from a Council of Europe's group of experts entitled 'L' Europe continue' when the group announced the three objectives for creating European Cultural Routes program during the meeting on 13 and 14 October 1964, those objectives were:

1. to raise awareness of European culture through travel;
2. to consider the possibilities of setting up networks for tourism connected with the cultural geography of Europe;

³⁰ Androic, M., Horjan, G., Klaric, V, & Nevidal, N. (2013). *Managing Visitors on Thematic Cultural Routes*. Zagreb: Ministry of Tourism of the Republic of Croatia

3. to promote the major sites and crossroads of European civilization as places of interest to tourists.³¹

The group also presented a report on “raising collective awareness about the top cultural places of Europe and their incorporation in the civilization of leisure”. The conclusion of this report was directed from the very start towards the idea of rediscovering the common European heritage through travels.³²

In 1984, the cultural route program was set up following a resolution of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. The program has an objective to demonstrate, by means of a journey through space and time, how the heritage of the different countries and cultures of Europe contributes to a shared cultural heritage.³³ It also aims to encourage European cultural route creation, European cross-border routes, and European cultural community. The Council of Europe was responsible for evaluating nominated cultural routes by a set of rules that come from the Committee of Ministers’ resolution before approving and certifying the route. By continuously developing and implementing the cultural route

³¹ Capp, S. (n.d.). *The European Institute of Cultural Routes*. Retrieved from

http://www.arcchip.cz/w02/w02_capp.pdf

³² Ibid.

³³ Council of Europe. (2014). *Council of Europe*. Retrieved from

<http://culture-routes.net/council-of-europe>

program from the Council of Europe, the first European cultural route, The Pathway to Santiago de Compostella, was launched in 1987. It is a network of route that successfully connected many European countries by thousands of pilgrims from all parts of Europe who walk to Santiago de Compostela each year.

In 1997, there was a political agreement between the Council of Europe and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg (Ministry for Culture, Higher Education and Research) to establish The European Institute of Cultural Routes (EICR) for ensuring the continuity and implementation of the Cultural Routes program in the fifty signatory countries of European Cultural Convention. It has missions to provide advice to cultural routes, to promote a greater awareness of the links between culture, tourism, and the environment, to collaborate in the setting up and operation of the routes, to evaluate existing routes and new proposals, and to participate in events and exhibitions. It also has tasks to create criteria and rules for the implementation of the Cultural Routes program and provides database and training about cultural tourism and cultural routes to project managers, researchers, students and members of the general public.

The Cultural Routes program of the Council of Europe entered to another significant phase in December 2010 when the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe adopted Resolution CM/Res(2010)53 establishing an Enlarged Partial Agreement (EPA) to enable closer cooperation between states particularly interested in the

development of Cultural Routes.³⁴ The EPA helps to encourage wider networks among European cultural communities to have co-operation in exchanging and sharing cultural space through the development of Cultural Routes. It follows the Council of Europe's policy guidelines, decides the program strategy and awards "Council of Europe Cultural Route" certification. It is open to member and non-member states of the Council of Europe aiming at providing political support for national, regional and local initiatives to promote culture and tourism. As of January 2017, the EPA had 27 Member States.³⁵

The European Institute of Cultural Routes (EICR) and its effective tool as the EPA can strengthen the Cultural Routes program in Europe by providing political, knowledge, and technical support to networks and associations that involve in European cultural routes creation. Their works create clear direction for successful cultural routes that were established through theme-based and closer cooperation between regions, countries, and local communities. By 2017, the EPA awarded "Council of Europe Cultural Route" certification to 32 Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe.


³⁴ Council of Europe. (2014). *Council of Europe*. Retrieved from

<http://culture-routes.net/council-of-europe>

³⁵ Ibid.

These cultural routes have different themes that illustrate the sense of European through heritage, history, culture, and value. The 32 Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe have been presented on the official website <http://culture-routes.net/council-of-europe> attached with interpretations and interactive maps. Their names are as follows:

1. The Santiago de Compostela Pilgrim Route
2. The Hansa
3. The Viking Route
4. The via Francigena
5. The Routes of El Legado of Andalusí
6. European Mozart Ways
7. The Phoenicien Route
8. The Pyrenean Iron Route
9. The Saint Martin of Tours Route
10. The dunlac sites of Europe
11. The Routes of the Olive Tree
12. The Via Regia
13. Transromanica - The Romanesque Routes of European Heritage
14. The Iter Vitis Route
15. The European Route of Cistercian abbeys
16. The European Cemeteries Route
17. Prehistoric Rock Art Trails

18. European Route of Historical Thermal Towns
 19. The Route of Saint Olav Ways
 20. The European Route of Jewish Heritage
 21. The Casadean Sites
 22. The European Route of Ceramics
 23. The European Route of Megalithic Culture
 24. The Huguenot and Waldensian trail
 25. ATRIUM - Architecture of Totalitarian Regimes of the 20th Century in Europe's Urban Memory
 26. The Réseau Art Nouveau Network
 27. Via Habsburg
 28. The Roman Emperors and Danube Wine Route
 29. In the Footsteps of Robert Louis Stevenson
 30. Destination Napoleon
 31. The European routes of Emperor Charles V
 32. Route of the fortified towns of the Greater Region
- 

Cultural Route as the World Heritage

Santiago de Compostela

A pilgrimage route of Santiago de Compostela is the first cultural route that is inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1993. Official website www.santiago-compostela.net displays thirteen ways or starting points from France, England, Portugal, and cities in Spain to the destination at Santiago de Compostela or the shrine of Saint James the Great. Traditionally, James is one of the Twelve Apostles and is the first Christian missionary to Iberia and returned to Jerusalem. He was martyred in AD44 and his body was supposedly taken back to Spain for burial where it lay undiscovered until the end of the eight century.³⁶ Pilgrims started traveling on the route to Santiago de Compostela since the medieval period under the religious motivation.

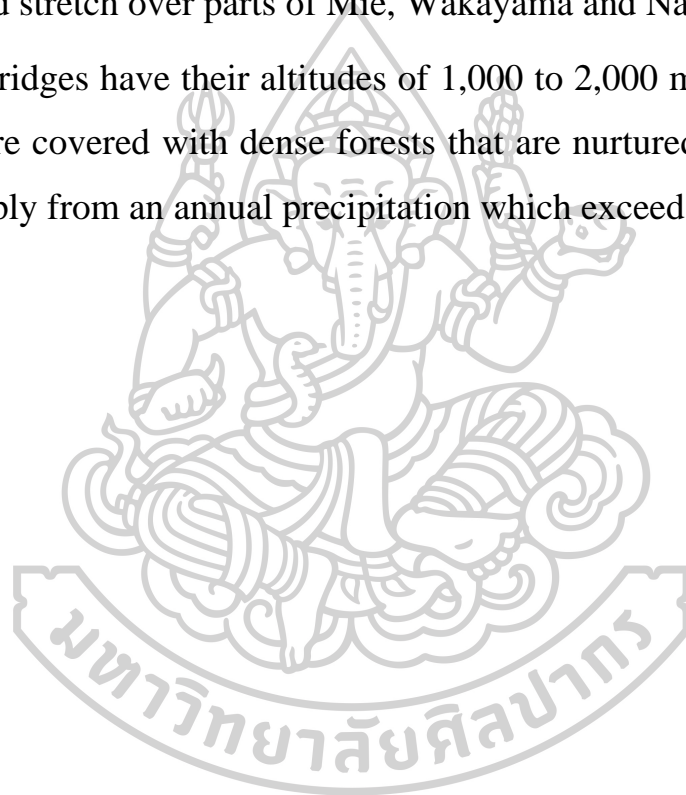
Various tangible heritages along the route of Santiago de Compostela as market towns, churches, hospitals, bridges and marked trails were created to serve the medieval pilgrim³⁷. Until today, different type of accommodations were built for both pilgrims and tourists, including albergues or refuges, guesthouses, hostels, and hotels. Fee for room is started from 5 to 10 Euros per night at municipal albergues to 100

³⁶ Murray, M. (2014). *The Cultural Heritage of Pilgrim Itineraries: The Camino de Santiago*. Retrieved from <https://www.qub.ac.uk/research-centres/TheInstituteofSpatialand>

³⁷ Ibid.

The Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range

Another cultural route is the Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range in Japan which is inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2004. It is because of its outstanding cultural landscapes associated with a powerful sacredness.³⁸ Kii mountain range lies in Kii peninsula projecting into the Pacific Ocean. The area is in the southern part of Honshu, the Main Island, and stretch over parts of Mie, Wakayama and Nara prefectures. Kii mountain ridges have their altitudes of 1,000 to 2,000 meters which most of them are covered with dense forests that are nurtured by the abundant water supply from an annual precipitation which exceeds 3,000 mm.³⁹



³⁸ UNESCO. (2005). *Conserving Cultural and Biological Diversity: The Role of Sacred Natural Sites and Cultural Landscapes. Proceedings of the Tokyo Symposium*. Retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001478/147863e.pdf>

³⁹ UNESCO. (2004). *Sacred sites and pilgrimage routes in the Kii mountain range*. Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1142>



Figure 3 Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range

Source: <http://www.gov-online.go.jp/eng/publicity/book/hlj/html/>

Rich natural environment and landscape at Kii Mountain is also perfectly decorated with lush green forests of old-growth trees, clear streams and rivers, unspoiled hot springs, giant waterfalls, and formidable rocks. The beautiful nature of Kii Mountain has strong influence on Japanese traditions of worship nature and religious belief. The mountain is considered to be sacred objects or places where deities dwell and rivers and seas are viewed as holy entrances which lead to paradise.⁴⁰ Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples were built for priests from both religions to have

⁴⁰ UNESCO. (2004). *Sacred sites and pilgrimage routes in the Kii mountain range*.

ascetic practice. They become cultural assets of the route and they are situated harmoniously and represent spirit of the site.

There are three main pilgrim routes from a series of the route, which are Omine Okugakemichi, Kumano Sankeimichi, and Koyasan Choishmichi. All of them link the three outstanding sacred sites of 'Yoshino and Omine' which is the sacred site for ascetic practices in the northern part of Kii mountain range, 'Kumano Sanzan' which is the site of three Shinto shrines in the southeastern part of the mountain range, and 'Koyasan' which is the site associated with the Kongôbu-ji Buddhist temple in the west of the Yoshino and Omine. Most of the routes are no more than a meter wide and of earth; in a few places stone steps or stone pavements were constructed as a part of the religious experiences⁴¹. Architectures and landscape also have high inspiration on pilgrims to practice rituals and religious activities to worship their gods and ancestors and purify their spirits in this holy land.

Religious architecture of temple building and shrine building both from wooden structures and stone structures at Kii Mountain range demonstrate the historic, artistic, and spiritual value of ancient Japanese. They also represent Asian culture that is different from western nations' principal of heritage conservation. Traditionally dismantlement and rebuilding of Ise Grand Shrine or Ise Jingu on Iseji pilgrim route in every

⁴¹ UNESCO. (2004). *World Heritage Scanned Nomination*. Retrieved from

<http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1142.pdf>

twenty years provide more understanding on the 'Shikinen Zotai' or a periodic building rite of Shinto which reflect the belief of cycle of life and reincarnation. Therefore, Nara Documents on Authenticity (1994) mentioned conservation of heritage is differ from culture to culture and the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong.⁴²

The Silk Roads

The latest cultural route that is inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2014 is the Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor. It is only a section of large areas of the Silk Roads that connects east to west and links international ancient societies. The area of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor stretches around 7,500 km across and a distance of over 35,000 km of the routes combined. Geographically, the corridor extends across different regions of China, Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan, falling to 154 m below sea level and rising to 7,400 m above sea level, crossing many mighty rivers, and encompassing a wide variety of geographical areas ranging from desert to snow-covered highlands.⁴³

⁴² ICOMOS. (1994). *The Nara Document of Authenticity*. Retrieved from

<https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>

⁴³ Yamauchi, K. (2014). *Japan's Contribution to the Inscription of the Silk Roads on*

the World Heritage List. Retrieved from [http://www.jcic-heritage.jp/wp-](http://www.jcic-heritage.jp/wp-content/)

[content/](http://www.jcic-heritage.jp/wp-content/)

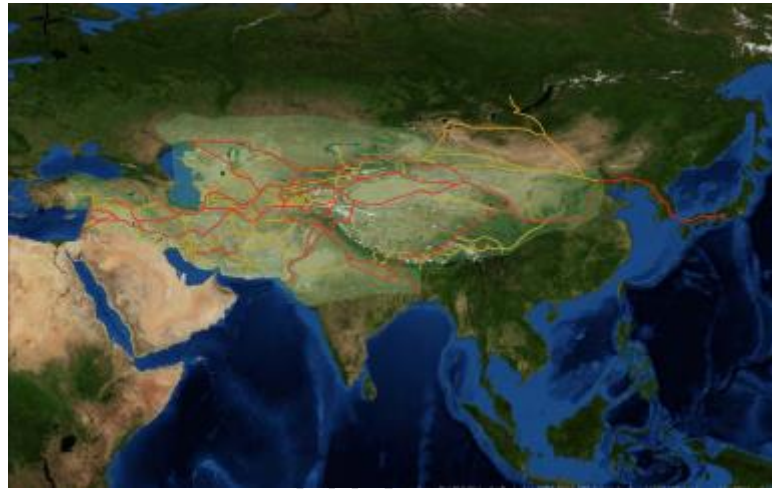


Figure 4 The vast extent of the ICOMOS Thematic Study of the Silk Roads

Source: <https://www.icomos.org/images/mediatheque/>



Figure 5 Two routes of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor

Source: <http://www.jcic-heritage.jp/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/>

There are thirty-three heritage sites along Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor which can be grouped into five categories of central towns, trading cities or settlements, transportation and defense facilities, religious

sites, and others.⁴⁴ As the UNESCO described on the website of the World Heritage List;

“Thirty-three sites along the corridor include capital cities palace complexes of various empires and Khan Kingdoms, trading settlements, Buddhist cave temples, ancient paths, post houses, passes, beacon towers, sections of the Great Wall, fortifications, tombs and religious buildings.”

All of them are evidences of trading activities in the ancient time between China and East, South, Central and Western Asia, the Mediterranean, the Empire of Rome and beyond. The main products that are exported from China is silk and other high value goods such as ceramics, glass, precious metals, gems, and livestock. People from other regions in the steppes or dessert land along the Silk Roads also offer their products for exchanging. As Franck and Brownstone point out:

“at a very early time, nomads were bringing to the cities copper, tin, and turquoise from Iran, gold from the Altai Mountains of Mongolia, lapis lazuli and rubies from Afghanistan, furs from Siberia, incense from Arabia, cottons from India, and their own products like wool, hides, and live-stock.

⁴⁴ Yamauchi, K. (2014). *Japan's Contribution to the Inscription of the Silk Roads on the World Heritage List*. Retrieved from <http://www.jcic-heritage.jp/wp-content/uploads>

*In the process, they carved out the main routes across Asia, among them the Silk Road.*⁴⁵

Movement of ideas and beliefs along the Silk Roads demonstrate the richness of the cultural exchange of mankind. According to the work of David Christian, he mentioned;

*“Afro-Eurasian societies shared, as a result of exchanges along the steppe roads, many elements of the secondary products revolution and the technologies associated with it, including the use of livestock power in agriculture, for transportation, and in war, and the use of hides and wool. In later periods new technologies, including the use of compound bows and crossbows, the use of armor in cavalry warfare, the stirrup, and techniques of siege warfare, as well as gunpowder, printing, and paper making, all diffused throughout Afro-Eurasia.”*⁴⁶

Furthermore, the direct exchanges of religions, including Zoroastrianism, Nestorianism, Manicheism, Islam, Christianity, and Buddhism can be detected from records, legends, and folklores. The famous epic ‘Journey to the West’ recorded the Chinese Buddhism monk Xuanzang who travelled from China to find the source of Buddhist wisdom

⁴⁵ Christian, D. (2000). *Silk Roads or Steppe Roads? The Silk Roads in World History*.

Journal of World History 11, no. 1 (2000): 1-26. Retrieved from

https://www.learner.org/courses/worldhistory/support/reading_9_3.pdf

⁴⁶ Christian, D. (2000). *Silk Roads or Steppe Roads? The Silk Roads in World History*.

Journal of World History 11, no. 1 (2000): 1-26. Retrieved from

https://www.learner.org/courses/worldhistory/support/reading_9_3.pdf

in India, at Nalanda, and bring the Buddhist teaching to answer questions that troubled Chinese Buddhists. His quest took about seventeen years⁴⁷ with many adventures and dangers from pirates, high and harsh Tian Shan Mountain, and large and dry Taklamakan Desert. Another main character in the history of The Silk Roads is Marco Polo who reported his discovery of Asia through the Silk Roads during 1271 - 1295. He is a Venetian who accompanied his father and uncle to China and the court of Yuan Emperor Kublai Khan. His account is the best known and arguably most influential of the early European narratives about Asia.⁴⁸

The Silk Roads turn to their declinations and become disappeared since the European Age of Discovery and the opening of maritime routes to the East in the late 15th century.⁴⁹ They are rediscovered and the name 'The Silk Roads' regained its public interest among explorers, scholars, archeologists, and historians in the late 1880s. A German geographer, Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen seems to be the first who started using a German word 'Seidenstraßen' or 'The Silk Roads' in English when he

⁴⁷ Asia Society. (2017). *Xuanzang: The Monk who Brought Buddhism East*. Retrieved from <http://asiasociety.org/xuanzang-monk-who-brought-buddhism-east>

⁴⁸ Wauhg, C. D, (2010). *The Silk Roads in History. Expedition Magazine 52-3. Penn Museum*. Retrieved from <https://www.penn.museum/documents/publications/expedition/>

⁴⁹ Ibid.

published the books 'The Silk Roads' in 1938, the term became widely used and stimulated curiosity among people all over the world.

Since the destruction of the giant Buddha statues of Bamiyan in March 2001, monuments and intangible assets along the Silk Roads are considered as being endangered and threatened by war and political conflicts. They are required urgent conservation and protection. UNESCO, academia, museum groups, and other organizations created the international efforts for the safeguarding of cultural heritage of the Silk Roads. UNESCO and ICOMOS proposed the strategy to nominate the Silk Roads to be the World Heritage property by dividing a massive area of the Silk Roads to be a specific corridor or group corridor. This approach has been productive, with China, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan successfully nominating the 'Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor' in 2014, and others also advancing well.⁵⁰

Qhapaq Ñan, Andean Road System

The Qhapaq Ñan or the Inca Road is the cultural route that was on UNESCO World Heritage List since 2014. It is the ancient road network covered the area of the mountain range Andes in South America and passed through 6 modern-day countries, such as Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina. The 6,000 kilometers is a length of the road that was

⁵⁰ Williams, T. (2014). *The Silk Roads: an ICOMOS Thematic Study*. Retrieved from

https://www.icomos.org/images/mediatheque/ICOMOS_WHThematicStudy

mainly constructed by stone and most part were situated on the steep mountain between 800 and 5,000 meters in altitude. The road is still used in everyday life by villagers for traveling, trading, and communication. Tourists also travelled on the road to explore Incan civilizations at the famous historical site of Machu Picchu, the ancient Inca capital of Cusco and other associated archaeological sites.



Figure 6 Map of Inca Empire Road System

Source: <http://mapsontheweb.zoom-maps.com/post/>

Several groups of Native American along the Andes started building the road within their own territories since 2,000 years ago. In the 15th century and during the peak extend of Inca, the powerful Incan Empire connected each communities to the center at Cusco by using the Qhapaq Ñan road system as mechanisms to create political and economic control

over other Andean tribes. At its height, the Inca people, who numbered only about 100,000, ruled from 10 to 12 million people from at least 86 ethnic groups with their own languages, traditions and religious beliefs.⁵¹

Massive Inca Empire in high mountain range of Andes is the challenge for Inca ruler to control the whole empire in terms of the official information exchange. Furthermore, they had no written language and they only rely on passing their information by Inca's speaking language Quechua. Inca ruler solved this problem by establishing Inca's communication systems along the Qhapaq Ñan network in order to exchange the information about population, crop production, labors, irrigation, and military among other Inca leaders. Runners or the Inca road messengers, called chasquis, worked as teams to relay the messages, news, or goods from all parts of the empire to the ruler. Symbol language, called quipu, was created as the record of messages by using a long string with many colors of short strings tied to it and each string has different types of knots to represent the numbers 0 to 9. It is the Inca's way to prevent miscommunication.

According to the description of Qhapaq Ñan, Andean Road System on UNESCO World Heritage List, there are 137 component areas and 308 associated archaeological sites along this cultural route. Machu Picchu is

⁵¹ Merriman, C., P. (2003). *Social Studies Curriculum, Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas*. Department of Public Education Peabody Museum of Natural History Yale University. Connecticut: New Haven.

one archaeological site that reflect the Inca's civilization through the belief of god of nature, agricultural skill, architectural skill, political skill, and socioeconomic skill. The sites and monuments were built on the top of the mountain for being temples, palaces, and fortress for the emperor to stay close to the god and heaven. The basement of Machu Picchu was built by advanced stone masonry skill and stone staircase building skill. There are irrigation systems that supply water to communities at Machu Picchu and also for farming of crop terraces that were located around the site. There are eight roads connected Machu Picchu to others cities on the Qhapaq Ñan network.

Modern-day Incan who lives along the Qhapaq Ñan still directly involved in the road, especially when it is the time for rebuilding Q'eswachaka Rope Bridge over the Apurimac River in Peru. It is the last Inca rope bridge that is still used today. The skills of grass-bridge building by hand were passed from ancestors to young Inca generation. The festival of making the suspension bridge will be held in every two years because the bridge is needed to be rebuilt after its two-year lifespan, when the only material which is the local grass become weak and look exhausted. The festival takes three days with the dedication of five hundred member of communities on both sides of the river worked together to produce over 50,000 feet of grass cord.

Barter system at the local market along the Qhapaq Ñan is another living culture that Inca performed as their ways of life. It is another tradition from the ancient Inca who didn't use money and use only foods and corps

to exchange with different products that came from other areas. Incan barter system using socially agreed measurements and sometimes also involves generosity and expressions of solidarity. Yapa is an example of generosity which is when an extra amount of a given product offered on top of the agreement. Bartering of Inca is more than the way of exchange goods. It is the spirit of giving that help to sustain Inca culture on the Qhapaq Ñan.

Practices of Cultural Route in Thailand

Cultural routes currently attract attention among Thai experts to study and to develop them to be new tourism products. Several studies about creating cultural routes in Thailand can be found from some databases, such as the elibrary of Thailand Research Fund, Thailand Tourism Research Database, and others. Examples of the studies can be presented as follows;

- Living Heritage through Literature: The Development of Pachit-Oraphim Cultural Routes by Rungsima Kullapat,
- Cultural Routes as Heritage in Thailand: Case Studies of King Narai's Royal Procession Route and Buddha's Footprint Pilgrimage Route by Sayamol Chairatudomkul,
- Cultural Tourism Management and Development in Lan Na Civilization Route Link with Lao PDR., Myanmar, and Southern China by Suree Boonyanuphong and team,

- The Study Potential and Value Added in Social and Cultural Tourism Route of the Province Cluster: Sakonakorn, Nakornpanom and Mukdahan toward Asean Economic and Community by Surasak Srikrajang

- Linking the Routes of Khmer Civilization Tourism in the Areas of Lower Northeastern Part of Thailand and Cambodia: Passing the Route of Sangam Mountain Pass to Siam Riap Province by Chitsak Chaitawil and team.

Some studies of cultural routes are developed to practices by the government in order to promote tourism. According to the Second National Tourism Development Plan (2017-2021) of Thailand, one important part of recommended actions is the development of tourist attractions, products and services, and also the development of cultural routes. There are two cultural routes that will be promoted by the government during this five years plan. They are as follows;

1. Five Chiang Routes in the north that connect with Myanmar and Laos PDR. The theme of this route comes from names of each heritage town in Lanna Kingdom, including Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Chiang Thong, Chiang Rung, and Chiang Tung or Kengtung.

2. Southern Isan Routes that connect with Cambodia. The route represents the theme of Khmer ancient ruins and indigenous groups in six provinces, which comprises of Nakhon ratchasima, Buriram, Sisaket, Surin, Ubon Ratchathani, and Sa Kaew.

The Second National Tourism Development Plan (2017-2021) also mentioned benefits of cultural routes as the way to add value and increase attractions of places, the creation of authentic experience to tourists, and the tool to boost awareness among stakeholders and local communities. Moreover, cultural routes projects are supported under Thailand plus One Tourism Policy which aims to link tourist attractions in Thailand with neighboring countries such as Cambodia, Laos PDR, Myanmar, and Vietnam. This form of tourism connectivity will allow the growth of cross-boarder tourism in ASEAN and strengthen socioeconomic development through the region.

However, the creation of cultural routes in Thailand need to be considered about management and sustainability of the routes by learning from examples and work of regulators. Best practices from the Council of Europe and UNWTO's cultural routes are excellent sources to find ideas, lessons and knowledges to create long-lasting cultural routes. Furthermore, regulators to control the quality of cultural routes like the Council of Europe and UNWTO are extremely necessary for the success of the routes. They have important roles to develop the routes by encouraging and generating more educations, researches, and collaborations among stakeholders. Therefore, the research Challenges of the Tourism Management in Lampang and Lamphun: Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route is a review of theory and practice of effective cultural route management. It also an initiation to promote and to develop lesser-known destinations by heritage conservation process of The Burra Charter.

The Demand of Cultural Route for Lamphun and Lampang

Lesser known cities in northern Thailand as Lamphun and Lampang have yearning for becoming tourist's destination like a neighboring city as Chiang Mai. Tourism can be considered as a key for Chiang Mai's successful development on several areas such as the growth of employment for tourism and hospitality sectors, increase of modern infrastructures like airport and mass transportation system, and investment on high technology and education from the government. These developments are opportunities that improve people's standard of living in Chiang Mai and also the pride of their identity and history of their birth place.

Chiang Mai tourism resources from nature, culture, and heritage acquire high level of satisfaction from both international and domestic tourists. It was named to be one of a major destination in Thailand, especially in the north. The well-known city also have a significant progress when it was nominated to be inscribed on the World Heritage List since 2015 for its outstanding universal value from monuments, sites, cultural landscapes, and history of being Lan Na capital.

Tremendous success of Chiang Mai as a primary tourist destination trigger the demand of local people, local government and the Thai government through its representative as Tourism Authority of Thailand to develop Lamphun and Lampang to meet the tourist's need. These two cities have high potential to become major tourist attractions because they have several monuments, sites, and heritage that are similar to Chiang Mai. Their history is event older than Chiang Mai because Lamphun and Lampang were established during the period of Queen Chammathewi or around 661

A.D., while Chiang Mai was found by King Mangrai in 753. Although Lamphun and Lampang surrendered to King Mangrai and turned to be a humble part of his Lan Na kingdom, the two cities have important roles to gain freedom for Lan Na from the Burmese Rule in 1558 and also support the restoration of deserted Chiang Mai after the war with Burmese kingdom. However, the two cities still are considered to have less important role if compare to Chiang Mai since Lan Na was became a state of the Siamese kingdom in 1231 until the present.

Chiang Mai was assigned from Siamese kingdom to be a capital city of the northern Thailand. Until the era of the Kingdom of Thailand, it received more attention from Thai government to gain investment and development than other northern cities. Train and highway no. 11 are strategies that the central government used for linking Chiang Mai with Bangkok in order to control the province and other northern cities. This transportation system completely turned Lampang and Lamphun to be small transit towns for travelers to have a short break before heading to have overnight stays in Chiang Mai. To become transit towns seem to be a main reason that negatively build the sense of inferiority to local people of Lamphun and Lampang for decades.

According to literature reviews and studies on Lamphun and Lampang's tourism development, there are some movements from local people in both cities that can be signified as the demand for change to gain more attention from tourists and Thai government, and to bring back the pride to their places. Since a Discover Thainess campaign in 2015 from Tourism Authority of Thailand that aims to boost tourism of secondary

destinations around Thailand, the demand from international and domestic tourists to visit Lamphun and Lampang is increased significantly. Then this following part of the research is a study on the demand and data collection on tourism development in Lamphun and Lampang from various researches.

Policy of Tourism for Lamphun and Lampang

Thai government and Tourism Authority of Thailand introduced the campaign “Discover Thainess” in 2015 with purposes to boost tourism in Thailand with the concept of Thainess or Thai way of life through tourism development strategies, to increase the income from tourism and distribute it to other regions in Thailand, and to develop quality of life of all Thai people.

Discover Thainess is one of a strategy to promote secondary or lesser-known destinations in Thailand, apart from the popular Pattaya, Phuket, and Chiang Mai. A strategy which is named “12 hidden gems that tourists must not miss” aimed to encourage both Thai and foreign tourists to visits twelve less popular cities which have high potential for being tourist destinations. Those twelve cities are Lampang, Nan, Phetchbun, Loei, Burirum, Ratchaburi, Samut Songkram, Chanthaburi, Trat, Chumphon, Trang, and Nakhon Si Thammarat.

Lampang is one of the twelve cities that have outstanding performance during campaign “Discover Thainess” in 2015. Thai Government Public Relations Department, Office of the Prime Minister reported that during the campaign the highest growth rate in tourism

income and the highest occupancy growth was Lampang.⁵² New unseen tourist attractions in Lampang were introduced to tourist because of the awareness from the campaign, such as the natural emerald pool of Lom Phu Kiew, Wat Charlemphrakiat or the temple on the top of mountain, and Wat Doi Phra Chan and its cultural landscape. Moreover, revitalized cultural events such as Lanna Sword and Antique Weapon of Lampang, Long Sapao Jao Wiang Lakorn or Lampang Loy Karthong Festival, and Red Cross and Winter Fair were promoted to be Lampang's uniqueness.

According to the success of the campaign "12 hidden gems that tourists must not miss" under the main concept of "Discover Thainess" in 2015, Lampang and other second-tiered provinces gained more attention from tourists. Tourism Authority of Thailand extend the concept by launching the new campaign as "12 hidden gems plus". Another groups of secondary tourist destinations were introduced and they were matched and promoted together as the twin destinations with the the first group of provinces from "12 hidden gems that tourists must not miss", for example Lampang being promoted together with Lamphun, Nan with Phrae, Phetchabun with Phitsanulok, Loei with Chaiyaphum, Buriram with Surin, Ratchaburi with Suphan Buri, Samut Songkram with Nakhon Pathom, Chanthaburi with Sa Kaeo, Trat with Rayong, Chumphon with Ranong, Trang with Satun, and Nakhon Si Thammarat with Phatthalung. The 12

⁵² Foreign Office, the Government Public Relations Department, Office of the Prime Minister. (2015). *Thailand's Tourism Situation*. Retrieved from http://thailand.prd.go.th/ewt_news.php?nid=1867&filename=index

hidden gems plus is a bonding strategy between two less-known destinations in order to increase attractiveness and value-added of them. The twin destinations are related to each other by their locations, histories, culture, and people.

Lampang and Lamphun have connecting provincial boundary and only have 76 kilometers away from each other. There is the highway no. 11 and rail route that cut through the Doi Khun Tan National Park and link between these two provinces. There are some twin heritage-landmarks of both cities that surprisingly look alike and were promoted to be must-sees attractions, such as Wat Phra That Hariphunchai and Wat Phra That Lampang Luang, and Tha Chomphu Bridge in Lamphun and Ratchadapisek Bridge in Lampang. Tourism Authority of Thailand offers a 2 days and 1 night standard package-tour of Lamphun and Lampang to showcase attractions and encourage tourists to revisit and explore more unseen places and cultures.

Ministry of Tourism and Sports Thailand presented the second National Tourism Development Plan (2017-2021) and mentioned leveraging Thainess as one of five tourism strategies towards 2036. Leveraging Thainess is a strategy to enhance Thailand's tourism competitiveness by Thai uniqueness and cultural heritage. This strategy comprises of action plan to develop tourist attractions and products and service. There is also recommended action to continue the cluster strategy likes "12 hidden gems that tourists must not miss" and "12 hidden gems plus". The plan aims broaden significance of the cluster by identify more

under-explored provinces, such as Phrae, Mae Hong Son, Prachinburi, and Lopburi. Moreover, cultural routes are introduced to be one of recommended actions to increase value of less-known tourist attractions and wealth distribution to more rural communities.

Tourism Demand in Lamphun and Lampang

Lamphun and Lampang can be called as twin historic cities in the northern Thailand, not only the name of provinces that sound similar with each other, but also some identities that they both shared. The examples of those identities are histories about the establishment of both towns by Queen Chammathevi, the conch shell cities' shape or 'Shakh' that are influenced by Hinduism belief and the concept of 'Traiphum' or three worlds, natural resources and heritage sites at Doi Khun Tan National Park, and Lan Na's way of life. However, there is no cooperation and partnerships between Lamphun and Lampang's communities of local people, local communities, and also the local governments in terms of tourism development. They have their own plans for attracting tourists which is not powerful enough to draw tourists' attention. Their tourisms still need more creative idea, new effective management, and professionally plan from experts.

According to data collections on Lamphun and Lampang's endeavor for tourism developing, they can be illustrated through the works from groups of local scholars and experts, and strategies from the local government.

Tourism Demand in Lamphun

Firstly, Lamphun is the smallest city in the north of Thailand that used to have high ambition to become the World Heritage. The idea was initiated in 2004 by the Haripunchai National Museum and the Fine Arts Department of the Ministry of Culture of Thailand to propose Lamphun as a World Heritage site. Since 2004, there were several seminars and expert's meetings that were organized in order to raise awareness among Lamphun people. For example, Seminars with Local People about the World Heritage Site, the Seminar and Panel Discussion in 2013 for Planning and for Proposing Lamphun as a World Heritage Site, A Tale of Two Cities: the Continuous Plan for Proposing Lamphun to be a World Heritage Sites, in 2013.

The determination to propose Lamphun as a World Heritage site was become a province's vision in 2008, as it mentioned "Lamphun to World Heritage, Clean Agriculture, Green Industry".⁵³ The vision is developed to be a strategy on the draft of Lamphun Strategic Development Plan in 2014 - 2017, under the strategy no. 2 which mentioned "to develop Lamphun to be a cultural city and have tourism sustainability". There are two projects for preparing Lamphun to achieve this strategic plan, which are a project to prepare and to propose Lamphun as a World Heritage and a project for

⁵³ Lamphun Office. (2012). แผนยุทธศาสตร์การพัฒนาจังหวัดลำพูน (พ.ศ.2557-2560). Retrieved from <http://www.osmnorth-n1.moi.go.th/new/adminsk/filedetailweb/>

organizing knowledge management on Lamphun's heritage sites.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, Lamphun Strategic Development Plan in 2014 - 2017 was revised, strategy and projects to push Lamphun to World Heritage were terminated and changed to a new humble strategy as "City of Happiness with Sufficiency Economy". The new vision was stated without any words that were referred to the world heritage.

Dr. Pensupa Sukkata was the leader and initiator of a project to propose Lamphun to World Heritage. She started the project while she worked as a director of Haripunchai National Museum since 2004. She actively ran and promoted the project till it became an agenda of Lamphun and received attention and supported from Lamphun government. However, the long way for Lamphun to World Heritage was disrupted by the lack of government budget and the support for Lamphun government was faded. The idea of being the world heritage seem to be totally disappeared from new Lamphun Strategic Development Plan in 2018 - 2021, the province stop being ambitious and just position itself as a "Cultural Experience Destination". Dr. Pensupa was disappointed with a loss of interest from the government in the project to propose Lamphun to the World Heritage. She wrote an article in Thai, "The World Heritage, a

⁵⁴ Lamphun Office. (2012). แผนยุทธศาสตร์การพัฒนารัฐบาลจังหวัดลำพูน (พ.ศ.2557-2560). Retrieved from <http://www.osmnorth-n1.moi.go.th/new/adminsk/filedetailweb/>

Cursed Inheritance, Legacy of People, and an Illusion”⁵⁵ and mentioned many difficulties that she experienced during she worked on this project. There are difficulties from the lack of understanding about benefits of the World Heritage among local communities and governments, the lack of determination from governments to support the project, and the lack of fund from the government.

According to her interview in Thai on the topic “Lamphun has high significance, not only a small town” that is found on the internet source⁵⁶, she explained that Lamphun holds three significances that make it value for being a World Heritage.

First value comes from its history when it was Hariphunchai, which is the first kingdom of Lanna. Hariphunchai adopted the great civilization from the Mon kingdom of Dvaravati in the Chaophraya watershed, during the 13th century. There are seven columns of stone inscriptions from Hariphunchai period and sixteen columns of stone inscriptions from Lan Na period were found and have been displayed at Hariphunchai National

⁵⁵ Sukkata, P. (2011). *มรดกโลก มรดกเลือด มรดกเรา มรดกหลวง*. Matchon Sudsubda Online. 18

February 2011, vol 1592, page 75. Retrieved from

http://botkwamdee.blogspot.com/2011/02/blog-post_20.html

⁵⁶ Sukkata, P. (2011). *มรดกโลก มรดกเลือด มรดกเรา มรดกหลวง*. Matchon Sudsubda Online. 18

February 2011, vol 1592, page 75. Retrieved from

http://botkwamdee.blogspot.com/2011/02/blog-post_20.html

Museums. These stone inscriptions also represent scientific value as they are sources of information for knowing more about Hariphunchai and Lan Na.

Second value of Lamphun is from its social value because Hariphunchai was a center of Lan Na civilized culture that has religious and philosophical belief influences on a neighbor kingdom of Lan Xang and a neighbor state of Xishuangbanna. Hariphunchai was also a home for various ethnic groups, such as Mon, Lawa, Karen, Burmese, India, Siam, Chinese, Tai Yai, Tai Lue, and Tai Khoen.

Third value of Lamphun is its geographical and cultural landscape because it is the a watershed with five rivers that give fertility to the land, including Ping River, Guang River, Ta River, San River, and Li River. Moreover, there are some archeological sites and evidences of the ancient communities were found along the five rivers, for example there is a 2,500 -4,000 year-old of Ban Wang Hai archeological site by Guang River.

Although Lamphun are not successful to be inscribed as a World Heritage, the province still receives good level of demand for visiting from tourists. Base on the tourism statistic 2017 from Ministry of Tourism and Sports of Thailand, Lamphun attracts approximately 70,000 - 90,000 Thai tourists per month while it attracts approximately 4,000 - 6,000 foreign tourists per month. The study of Chatkaew Simaraks, Chaimongkon Tragoondee, Sunthara Sukantha on the research topic “Directions for

Tourism Development in Lamphun Province”⁵⁷ demonstrated the demand of Thai tourists on Lamphun visiting as follows;

- 71.25 percent is a majority of Thai tourists travel to Lamphun for visiting temples and sacred sites.

- 52.14 percent of Thai tourists travel to Lamphun for more than four times.

- 50.40 percent of Thai tourists travel to Lamphun for half-day trip and one-day trip.

- 58.48 percent of Thai tourists travel to Lamphun doesn't have overnight stay in this province.

- 56.31 percent of Thai tourists travel to Lamphun by private cars.

- 64 percent of Thai tourists know about Lamphun tourists' attractions from their friends and relatives.

Data from the National Statistic Office of the Ministry of Information and Communication Technology also reflected the demand of

⁵⁷ Simaraks, C., Tragoondee, C. & Sukantha, S. (2006). *Directions for Tourism*

Development in Lamphun Province (แนวทางการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวจังหวัดลำพูน). Retrieved from www.elibrary.trf.or.th

Thai tourists in 2016⁵⁸ that 52.70 percent is a majority of Thai tourists travelled to Lamphun for visiting temples and religious sites. The data is perfectly matching with the study from Chatkaew Simaraks and her team members because they both confirmed that Lamphun is one of a popular religious destination for Thai's pilgrimage.

Another study from the research topic "Directions for Tourism Development in Lumphun Province" also revealed the demand for visiting Lamphun from foreign tourists as follows;

- 39 percent of foreign tourists travel to Lamphun for gaining new experience at new destination.

- 29.30 percent of foreign tourists travel to Lamphun for visiting temples and joining cultural events.

- 68.29 percent of foreign tourists travel to Lamphun for the first time.

- 62.50 percent of foreign tourists travel to Lamphun for half-day trip and one-day trip.

- 30.77 percent of foreign tourists travel to Lamphun and have overnight stay at hotels in Lamphun.

⁵⁸ National Statistic Office of the Ministry of Information and Communication

Technology of Thailand. (2016). *Data of tourist in Lamphun*. Retrieved from www.service.nso.go.th/nso/web/statseries

- 58.54 percent of foreign tourists gain information about Lamphun from guide books.

Tourism Demand in Lampang

Lampang is a son's city due to it was built for a younger son, Prince Mahantayasa, of Queen Chammathevi in 13th century. It shared some history and belief with Lamphun, such as the conch shell cities' shape or 'Shakh', legend of Queen Chammathevi, history of Lan Na, cultural events and festivals that associated with Buddhism, and Lan Na way of life. They both received negative impact from train transport and Highway no.11 that changed them from destinations in the north of Thailand to transit towns for people who travel to Chiang Mai. Furthermore, they also have high awareness on benefits from tourism that can increase the quality of life of local people, create a better future for economy's sustainability for the cities.

Tourism development of Lampang is extremely interesting, especially on heritage conservations and cultural events' creations that are initiated, participated, and maintained by local people. First example is the popular cultural event as the Salung Luang or the Grand Alms Bowl procession during Songkran Festival in April. It is an event that is introduced and organized by a group of local scholars and local artists. In 1987, this group works together by the name of Khelang Cultural Conservation Club or Chomrom Terd Moradok Khelang to recreate the

ritual of parading Lampang's sacred emerald Buddha image and other Buddha images along the street on Songkran eve and Songkran day.

Khelang Cultural Conservation Club raised donations from Lampang people and gained about 430,000 Baht. The money was for making a silver grand alms bowl that has weight 38 kilograms with 48 centimeters height and 89 centimeters width. The grand alms bowl is used for containing holy water for blessing and distributing to people who participated during this tradition. This is a good example of the cultural event that has sustainability because it has received high involvement from local people and government. It reflects Lan Na's way of life and belief in Buddhism and Animism. Today, Salung Luang procession has officially become an annual event on Thailand Festivals and Events Calendar of Tourism Authority of Thailand.

Wat Pongsanuk is also a remarkable reflection of the demand and awareness from Lampang people's to develop their hometown by heritage conservation and cultural tourism. Wat Pongsanuk received UNESCO Asia-Pacific Awards for Cultural Heritage Conservation in 2008 because of the best practice example on restoration of its Viharn Phra Chao Pun Ong. The restoration project is a successful cooperation from local monks, local community, academics from Chiang Mai University, and volunteers from The Little People in Conservation Group. These groups of people started working together in 2005, since the Viharn Phra Chao Pun Ong was in deteriorated condition until it was completely restored and regained its value as a unique mixed Thai and Burmese architecture. Associated

Professor Dr. Woralun Boonyasurat is the leader of Viharn Phra Chao Pun Ong restoration project mentioned her achievement can increase the visitors to 3,000 - 4,000 per month after the temple earned a UNESCO Merit Award.⁵⁹

Successful Salung Luang procession and Wat Pongsanuk that come from communities' participation are inspirations on Lampang Strategic Development Plan in 2014 - 2017, and also the one in 2018 - 2021. Lampang government has a strategy to develop community-based tourism and also develop old and new tourist attractions. Base on the tourism statistic 2017 from Ministry of Tourism and Sports of Thailand, Lampang attracts approximately 60,000 - 80,000 Thai tourists per month while it attracts approximately 7,000 - 9,000 foreign tourists per month.⁶⁰ The study of Dr. Srisuk Nilakun and her team on the topic "Sustainable Co-operation Network Development for the Co-creation Management in Lampang

⁵⁹ Boonyasurat, W., & Srisomwongwathana, A. (2010). *Wat Pongsanuk Community-*

Based Museum. Community-Based Approach to Museum Development in Asia

and the Pacific for Culture and Sustainable Development. Retrieved from

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001899/189902e.pdf>

⁶⁰ Ministry of Tourism and Sports. (2017). *Domestic Tourism Situation.* Retrieved

from http://www.mots.go.th/more_news.php?cid=422&filename=index

Traveling Identity”⁶¹ demonstrated the demand of Thai tourists on Lampang visiting as follows;

- 60 percent of Thai tourist chooses Lampang as the first destination on their trips to the north of Thailand.
- 78 percent of Thai tourists travel to Lampang by private cars.
- 53.30 percent of Thai tourists travel to Lampang for half-day trip and one-day trip.
- 25.90 percent of Thai tourists travel to Lampang and have an overnight stay in this province.
- 44 percent of Thai tourists travel to Lampang to visit Wat Prathat Lampang Luang.
- 58 percent of Thai tourists know about Lampang tourists' attractions from their friends and relatives.
- 29 percent of Thai tourists know about Lampang tourists' attractions from the internet sources.

Data from the National Statistic Office of the Ministry of Information and Communication Technology reflected the demand of Thai

⁶¹ Nilakun, S et. al. (2013). *Sustainable Co-operation Network Development for the Co-creation Management in Lampang Traveling Identity*. Retrieved from https://elibrary.trf.or.th/project_content.asp?PJID=RDG5550046

tourists in 2016⁶² that 75.10 percent is a majority of Thai tourists travelled to Lampang for visiting natural sites and 29.50 percent of Thai tourists travelled to Lampang for visiting religious sites.

The study from the research topic “Sustainable Co-operation Network Development for the Co-creation Management in Lampang Traveling Identity” also revealed the demand for visiting Lampang from foreign tourists as follows;

- 51.10 percent of foreign tourists like Lampang’s culture, 42.10 percent of them like historical sites, 40 percent of them like natural sites, and 35.10 percent of them like cultural events.

- 90.30 percent of foreign tourists travel to Lampang as the first destination in the north of Thailand and will continue their trips to other cities, such as Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lamphun, Payao, and Mae Hongson.

- 85.50 percent of foreign tourists gain information about Lampang from the internet sources and 30.6 percent of them gain information about Lampang from guide books.

⁶² National Statistic Office of the Ministry of Information and Communication

Chapter 3 Legend of Queen Chammathevi

The creation of Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route based on thematic route concept which aim to present heritage sites associate with the queen and her journeys in Lamphun and Lampang. Information gathering about the route come from the study through various versions of Queen Chammathevi's legends, both mainstream chronicles and local histories. Mainstream chronicles or religious chronicle about the queen's legend are well-known among scholars, including Chamadevivamsa, Jinakamalini, and Mulasasana. Local histories which were studied for the queen's journeys are a collection of Tamnan Phrathat in Lampang, Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Mr. Suthawaree Suwarnapach, Kap Jia Chammathevi and Wilangka, and Long Kang Mae Ping.

Table 2 Details of Mainstream chronicles and Legend of Queen Chammathevi

Mainstream chronicles or religious chronicle			
No.	Title	Period	Author
1	Chamadevivamsa	early 15 th century	Mahathera Bodhiramsi
2	Jinakamalini	1516 - 1528	Ratanapanya Thera
3	Mulasasana	1417 - 1499	Phra Buddhanana and Phra Buddhapukama

Legend and Tamnan			
No.	Title	Period	Author
1	Tamnan Phrathat in Lampang	not presented	not presented
2	Tamnan Nang Chammathevi	Published in 1972	Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano
3	Legend of Queen Chammathevi	1965	Suthawaree Suwarnapach
4	Long Kang Maenam Ping	1967	Yuth Dechkamron
5	Kap Jia Chammathevi and Wilangka	1987	Kraisri Nimanhemin

Mainstream Chronicles or Religious Chronicle

Mainstream chronicles about Queen Chammathevi's legend were written during 15th -16th centuries or in the period between the reigns of King Tilokarat and Phra Muang Kaew. This period was the golden age of Lan Na because the two kings are great warriors and great devotees for Buddhism. The kings supported monks to study in Pali and Tipitaka until they were knowledgeable and could produce several northern Thai chronicles. These chronicles followed the style and structure of Dipavamsa and Mahavamsa of Ceylon which highlighted the story of Buddha and his predictions on the development of religion and culture in Lan Na.

The chronicles became significance not only being historical records of pre-Lan Na and Lan Na period, they also were used as political tools when some contents of chronicle connected Lan Na kings with Buddhism, popular Buddha images, holy relics, and sacred sites around Lan Na region. This is the way to create sacredness image to the kings who controlled the sacred land because of Buddha's visit and prophecy. Chronicles helped to elevate Chiang Mai as a center of power in Lan Na and all kings possessed political legitimacy and spiritual authority to rule the holy place.

Chamadevivamsa, Jinakamalini, and Mulasasana are chronicles for northern Thai region which have different sense of chronicle or phongsawadan from Ayutthaya and Rattanakosin period. Phongsawadan focused on history of dynasty, history of the kingdom and list of successive kings, while northern Thai chronicles tended to be religious mythic-legendary. For example, chronicle about Queen Chammathevi began with the Lord Buddha visited the village of Mon people located by Ping River and he taught them dharma. He also made a prediction that the place will become a great kingdom where his relics were enshrined. Then, it is a story about the establishment of Hariphunchai by the sage Vasudeva and Sukkadanta, and their invitation to Queen Chammathevi to be the city's ruler. After the queen passed away, there are stories about her lineages who ruled Hariphunchai and some chronicles included the history of the beginning of Lan Na by King Mangrai. General structure and plot of chronicles of Queen Chammathevi can be portrayed in the below table.

Table 3 Plot of the Legend of Queen Chammathevi

Mainstream chronicle or religious chronicle	
Plot	Event
1. Lord Buddha's visit	<p>1.1 Lord Buddha visited Jarohakam Village.</p> <p>1.2 Lord Buddha preach dharma to the villager, Mengkabutra or the Mon people.</p> <p>1.3 Lord Buddha gave prediction about the future of Jarohakam Village.</p> <p>1.4 A white crow looked after the Buddha's relics</p>
2. The sage Vasudeva created cities for his children	<p>2.1 The sage Vasudeva found children in animal footprints.</p> <p>2.2 The sage build Migasanghanagara, Rammanagara and other cities for his children and assigned some of them to be city rulers.</p> <p>2.3 The rulers had unfair behavior and lack of leadership and devatas destroyed those city with foold.</p>
3. The sage Vasudeva and Sukkadanta created Hariphunchai	<p>3.1 The sages ask Sajjanaleyya for a conch shell and they put the conch shell on the ground and draw a city plan around it.</p> <p>3.2 They invited Princess Chammathevi of Lavo to be the city ruler.</p>

Mainstream chronicle or religious chronicle	
Plot	Event
4. Princess Chammathevi's journey	<p>4.1 Princess Chammathevi traveled from Lavo to Hariphunchai.</p> <p>4.2 The princess arrived and had coronation to be Queen Chammathevi of Hariphunchai.</p>
5. Queen Chammathevi consecrated as Queen Chammathevi of Hariphunchai	<p>5.1 Queen Chammathevi gave birth to twin sons, Prince Mahantayasa and Prince Anantayasa.</p> <p>5.2 Devatas brought an auspicious white male elephant to be her.</p> <p>5.3 The battle with King Milakkha.</p> <p>5.4 The founding of Khelang Nagara for the Prince Anantayasa.</p> <p>5.5 The sage Subrahma built Alampang Nagara at the southwest of Khelang Nagara for the queen.</p> <p>5.6 Queen Chammathevi returned to Hariphunchai and passed away.</p>
6. History after Queen Chammathevi passed away	6.1 Royal succession, cholera epidemic, and flight to Sadhammavati and Pegu.

	<p>6.2 King Adittaraja's reign and the battle with Lavo.</p>
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	<p>6.3 King Adittaraja and the appearance of the Buddha relic.</p>
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In order to have more understanding about northern Thai chronicles, especially chronicles about Queen Chammathevi, details and characteristics of Chamadevivamsa, Jinakamalini, and Mulasasana are presented as following.

Chamadevivamsa

Chamadevivamsa was composed by the monk Mahathera Bodhiramsi of Chiang Mai in the early 15th century in order to promote prestigious of Phrathat Hariphunchai and the Buddha's relics at the phrathat, as well as to instruct readers about Buddhist virtues. It was written in Pali which was considered to be superior language that was suitable for Buddha's history. There are fifteen chapters depicted and integrated two main themes between Queen Chammathevi's theme and King Adittaraja's theme into one single story. The chronicle began with the Buddha's prophecy and the establishment of Hariphunchai by the sage Vasudeva and his friends. Then, the story was developed to Queen Chammathevi's ruled Hariphunchai, the battle between her twin sons and King Milakkha, the founding of Khelang Nagara and Alampang Nagara, her return to

Hariphunchai, her death, the royal succession, cholera epidemic, and King Adittaraja's reign and the appearance of the Buddha's relics.

Chamadevivamsa was translated from Pali into Thai by Phraya Pariyatti Dhammathada and Phra Yannawichitra. Problems were found during the translation process because original copy of some parts on chapter 4 and the whole chapter 5 and chapter 6 were disappeared. The translators solved the problems by using synopsis from Jinakamalini to replace the missing parts.

The completed Thai version of Chamadevivamsa was published in 1920 by Princess Dara Rasmi, the consort of King Chulalongkorn, for being souvenirs on the cremation ceremony of her father, King Inthawichayanon of Chiang Mai. Later, the chronicle was published in bilingual edition of Pali and Thai and it was popular among Thai and international scholars. George Coedes, the French scholar of Southeast Asia archaeology and history, translated from Pali version of Chamadevivamsa into Roman and French in 1925, and Donald K. Swearer and Sommai Premchit translated from Thai to English in 1988.

Jinakamalini

Jinakamalini was composed by the monk Ratanapanya Thera of Sinhala Nikaya of Wat Pa Daeng in Chainag Mai, in the early 16th century, or around 1516 - 1528. It was another chronicle which was written in Pali on palm leaves. The structure of Jinakamalini followed Theravada chronicle writing style which mostly focused on religious history. Jinakamalini was begun with the story of Buddhas from the past to Gotama

Buddha in the present. After that, the chronicle depicted story of the expansion of Buddhism from India to Sri Lanka, followed by the story of Queen Chammathevi and Hariphunchai, the lineage of Hariphunchai dynasty, story of significant Buddha images like the Emerald Buddha and the Phrabutthasihing, history of Mangrai dynasty, and history in the reign of Phra Muang Kaew of Lan Na.

Although the expert in Southeast Asia study like George Coedes mentioned Jinakamalini is greater reliability as a historical document⁶³ which offered knowledge about Buddhism development in northern Thailand and the history of Lan Na, the story of Queen Chammathevi was presented only a small section in Jinakamalini. There are only four sequences about her legend, which are the establishment of Hariphunchai, the Queen rule Hariphunchai, Buddha's holy relics in Hariphunchai, and lineage of Hariphunchai dynasty after King Adittaraja. However, Jinakamalini became the sufficient evidence to determine Buddhism influence in northern Thailand before and after Hariphunchai period. It also provided some information of sequence in Queen Chammathevi's legend to complete some missing sequences in chapter 4 to chapter 6 of Chamadevivamsa.

King Rama I of Rattanakosin realized the significant of Jinakamalini as one of historical evidence for the country, and then he assigned five scholars of the royal court to translate it from Pali into Thai and kept it at Phra Monthian Tham Hall at the Grand Palace in Bangkok. In 1908 or

⁶³ Swearer, D. K. & Premchit, S. (1998). *The Legend of Queen Cama*. New York: State University of New York Press.

during the reign of King Rama V, Prince Panuphan Wongwaradej published *Jinakamalini* for the public. It gained widely interest among Thai and international scholars similar to *Chamadevivamsa* after it was translated into Roman, English, and French. In 1962, the Pali Text Society or Samakom Pali Pakaranam published *Jinakamalini* in Pali edition and its name appeared in another version as *Jinakamalini Pakaranam*.

Mulasasana

Mulasasana was written before 15th century by two theras of Lanka Wongsas of Wat Suan Dok in Chiang Mai. Phra Buddhana who is the 4th abbot of Wat Suan Dok began writing this chronicle around 1417 - 1429, and it was completed around 1489 - 1499 by Phra Buddhapukama who is the 12th abbot of the same temple. It was written in Tham Lan Na script which is similar to the Mon script used in inscriptions in the ancient Mon kingdom of Hariphunchai⁶⁴. The original edition of *Mulasasana* was written in descriptive style on palm-leaf manuscripts. The structure of *Mulasasana* consisted of four themes, including history of Buddhas and history of Buddhism development in northern Thailand, Queen Chammathevi and Hariphunchai, history of Mangrai dynasty, and Lanka Wongsas Nikaya in Chiang Mai and predictions.

Mulasasana was considered as the oldest northern chronicle because it was composed before *Chamadevivamsa* and it appeared to be an example for writing other religious chronicle like *Chamadevivamsa* and

⁶⁴ Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts. (2018). *Resources: Language*. Retrieved from <http://lannamanuscripts.net/en/resources>

Jinakamalini in later period. Donald K. Swearer mentioned Chamadevivamsa used Mulasasana as a model but it added more additional valuable information⁶⁵. Although, Mulasasana is the most important chronicle in terms of being the first northern chronicle, it is the less well-known legend about Queen Chammathevi among international scholars because it was published only in Thai edition.

Sood Srisomwong and Phrom Kamala were assigned by the Fine Art Department of Thailand to translate Mulasasana from Tham Lan Na script into Thai in 1939. It became well-known among Thai people when it was published under the royal patronage of King Bhumibol Adulyadej in order to be souvenirs on the cremation ceremony of ML Dech Sanitwong in 1975.

Brief narration of mainstream chronicle or religious chronicle

The Mulasasana, the Chamadevivamsa, and the Jinakamalini Chronicle have similar structures which are started either the history of Lord Buddha, a relic of Lord Buddha, or prophecies of Lord Buddha about the Hariphunchai or the modern Lamphun, then followed with the story of Queen Chammathevi and her family line. The Chamadevivamsa is selected among the three important chronicles to represent the story of Queen Chammathevi in this dissertation because there is more content about establishment of Khelang Nagara and Alampang Nagara or modern Lampang than other chronicles. Here is the fascinating story.

⁶⁵ Swearer, D. K. (1974). *Myth, Legend, and History in the Northern Thai Chronicle*. Journal of Siam Society, Vol. 62.

Once upon a time, the Lord Buddha stayed at Isipatana forest in Varanasi and performed his meditation. He also used his divine eyes to survey through the world and search for the place and people that he will visit for teaching them the dharma. He found the Mon village which was called Jarohakam located in the forest. He made the decision to go there by flying in the air. Once he arrived at the forest, he hung his alms on the tree's branch and wore his yellow robe. Then he walked to the Mon village to receive alms. When the Mon saw the Lord Buddha's handsome appearance with the radiant complexion, they were joyful and respectful. They gave alms to the Lord Buddha and asked him to preach them dharma. The Lord Buddha presented them the five precepts and told them his purpose for visiting the village. He told that this place will become a prosperous and happy city in the future which has the name as 'Hariphunchai'. It will be the place for his relic to dwell. There will be a king named Adittaraja found the Lord Buddha's relic and will rule the city with virtue. The Lord Buddha asked the Mon to protect this area before he flew back to Isipatana forest.

Once upon a time, there are four young men who practiced themselves in the Buddha's religion as monks but they considered living in monk-hood is too difficult for them. They made decision to leave the monk-hood and turn themselves to be sages. However, they continued following the Lord Buddha's teaching and practicing the five and eight precepts because they believed that this is the path to heaven. They stayed at Himavanta forest for peace, meditation, and high spiritual discipline until all of them have higher knowledge and supernatural power. Then they

returned to the world and hold their asceticism in four different places. One of them lived on the top of Sugar Cane Mountain, it was assumed to be Doi Suthep in the present. He was called Vasudeva. The second sage named Brahma lived on the Twin Peak Mountain, it was assumed to be the mountain in Lampang. The third sage named Sajjanaleyya and lived on Creeper Vine Mountain. The fourth sage named Sukkadanta and lived on Righteous Mountain and look after for the city of Lavo, it is the modern Lopburi.

One day, the sage Vasudeva walked to the foot of the Sugar Cane Mountain, he saw a lot of animals such as elephants, rhinoceroses, wild oxen, and cows walked by the river. Then he saw a boy and a girl were spontaneously born from an elephant's footprint. He also saw another couple of boy and girl was spontaneously born from a rhinoceros' footprint, another couple of boy and girl was spontaneously born from a wild oxen's footprint, and another couple of boy and girl was spontaneously born from a cow's footprint. All of them were born in the animal's footprints because of the karma. The sage Vasudeva took them to his hermitage and raised them as his own children. When these eight children grew up, the sage Vasudeva matched a boy and a girl that were born from an elephant's footprint as husband and wife. He also did the same thing with a couple from a rhinoceros' footprint, a couple from a wild oxen's footprint, and a couple from a cow's footprint. Next, there was a doe drank the sperm-infused urine of the sage Vasudeva and became pregnant. Later, it gave birth to the twins, a boy and a girl. When Vasudeva saw the twins, he also

took them to his hermitage and raised them until they grew up. He gave the name to the boy as Augusiri, and the girl has her name as Migupati. He matched them to be a husband and wife and they became his lineage.

The sage Vasudeva built a city named Migasanghanagara and declared Augusiri as a king and Migupati as a queen. The king and queen lived together and had four children, there were three boys and one girl. The eldest child had the name as Prince Kunarikanasa, the second child had the name as Prince Kunarikadhamsa, the third child had the name as Prince Kunarikarosa, and the fourth had the name as Princess Padumadevi. The King Augusiri ruled the city for thirty years and passed away. The sage Vasudeva then declared Prince Kunarikanasa to be a king after his father and declared Princess Padumadevi to be his queen. He built another city in the northeast of Migasanghanagara for Prince Kunarikarosa and declared him as the king. This city was named Aviduranagara. He also built the city in the south of Migasanghanagara for Prince Kunarikanasa and declared him as the king. This city was named Rammanagara.

The people in Rammanagara lived with prosperity and some of them forgot about the morality. There was an aggressive man who frequently beat his mother. The poor mother went to the King Kunarikanasa's palace and asked the king to help her. The king said to her that it was the justification that the son could beat his mother. She was so disappointed with the king judgement and expressed her deep sorrow to deities or devatas. Devatas who were the guardians of the city were angry with the unfair behavior of the city ruler. They were going to destroy this sin city on

the next day. In the night before they destroyed the city, devatas informed the poor mother to leave the city with her love ones. Then they started to destroy Rammanagara with flood until the whole city was sunk under water and killed all vicious people. The sage Vasudeva knew about the destruction of Rammanagara by his divine eyes. He flew from his residence to the city and preached dharma to survivors in order to tell them to stay with righteous persons and stay away from evil.

The sage Vasudeva still wanted to build another city which was ruled by the righteous king. He considered the place that once the Lord Buddha visited and made the prophecy for the place that will be called as Hariphunchai. He asked his friend, the sage Sukkadanta, who lived in the city of Lavo to help him to build a new city because Sukkadanta had supernatural power, energy, and wisdom. He also asked a city angle to deliver his message to Sukkadanta. The angle travelled to the city of Lavo by a bamboo raft along the Ping River. He met Sukkadanta and informed him about Vasudeva's plan for building a new city and asked for his support. He accepted Vasudeva's request and flew to see his friend at Uchchupabbata Mountain. Both of them met and travelled to the place that the Lord Buddha predicted to become a city of Hariphunchai in the future. They agreed to build a city that will be happy and prosperous with flourishing Buddhism.

Both Vasudeva and Sukkadanta planned to build a city in a shape of conch shell. They used a conch shell from the ocean that they received from his friend, the sage Sajjanaleyya, to be a model. They put the conch shell

on the ground and draw a city plan around it. Suddenly, the city wall, gates, and deep mote were appeared from the earth. Then they used their supernatural power to build a palace for the king and decorated the whole city with beautiful trees and flowers. After the construction of a new city was completed, Vasudeva asked Sukkadanta about the suitable person to rule the city. Sukkadanta advised his friend to invite Princess Chammathevi of Lavo to be the city ruler because she was a virtuous lady with five feminine charms. Vasudeva agreed and asked his attendant, Gavaya, to travel to Lavo and inform the king of Lavo about his request. The king of Lavo was pleased to hear the message from Gavaya and accepted Vasudeva's request. He gave the permission to Princess Chammathevi to leave Lavo to Hariphunchai with five hundred men and five hundred Buddhist monks. Princess Chammathevi travelled along Ping River to Hariphunchai and her trip took seven months. By the time that she reached Hariphunchai, she had ten months of pregnancy.

When Princess Chammathevi and her followers came to Hariphunchai, they were welcomed by Vasudeva, Sukkkdanta, and the citizens. They asked the princess to rule the city as Queen Chammathevi. Later, the queen gave birth to twin sons after her arriving Hariphunchai for seven days. Her elder son was called Mahantayasa and her younger son was called Indavara or Anantayasa. Queen Cammathevi ordered to build temples around the city, made merits, and supported the Buddha's religion. The city angels were pleased with her Buddhist practices and wanted to protect her from dangers. They brought an auspicious white male elephant

to be her and her young sons' guardian. It helped them to conquer the battle with King Milakkha, the chief of indigenous along Ping River valley. The elephant carried two young princes when they were five year olds to the battle field and drove out King Milakkha's troop by its auspicious power and the red ray that came out from tips of its tusks. Queen Chammathevi, her sons, and the auspicious elephant saved Hariphunchai from the war and danger. They protected the city and their people lived with peace and joy.

When twin sons of Queen Chammathevi reached seven year olds, the queen declared Prince Mahantayasa to be the king of Hariphunchai. Prince Anantayasa, the second son, told his mother that he also wanted to be a king and ruled his own kingdom. Queen Chammathevi directed him to ask for advices from the sage Vasudeva. The hermit advised him to meet the hunter named Khelang who lived at Mount Luddasabbata, which located on the east of Hariphunchai. Prince Anantayasa met the hunter and told him about his wish for being a king of his own city. The hunter took the prince to ask for help from the sage, Subrahma, who lived at Mount Subhapabbata which located by the Wang River. Subrahma agreed to Prince Anantayasa's request and build a new city by the Wang River for the prince. The prince named the city as Khelang Nagara in order to be reminiscence of the hunter, Khelang's assistance for constructing the city. Then, Subrahma declared Prince Anantayasa to be the king of Khelang Nagara.

King Anantayasa returned to Hariphunchai to ask King Mahantayasa for his support. He requested King Mahantayasa for giving

him some Buddhist monks and wealthy residents to stay with him in Khelang Nagara. He also asked Queen Chammathevi to stay with him in his city for three years. King Mahantayasa was happy to support his brother and follow his request. Queen Chammathevi also accepted the invitation from his second son and travelled to Khelang Nagara with the auspicious white elephant and some followers. She stayed with King Anantayasa in Khelang Nagara and helped him to develop the city. They built temples, built residences for monks, made merit, and made donations. They regularly listened to preaching and practiced ten royal virtues. King Anantayasa showed his gratitude to his mother by giving Khelang Nagara to her. He decided to build another city that was close to Khelang Nagara in order to look after his mother. He asked the sage Subrahma to help him to build another city. The sage built the city on the southwest of Khelang Nagara. It was called Alampang Nagara. The city had different group of people that lived together happily. They performed Buddhism practices and always support monks. Both Khelang Nagara and Alampang Nagara became rich, peaceful, and were full of the sound of music.

After Queen Chammathevi stayed in Khelang Nagara for three year, she decided to return to Hariphunchai. King Anantayasa didn't want his mother to leave and he asked her to stay in Alampang Nagara for three more years. She accepted his request and helped him to rule and develop both cities. After three years of staying in Alampang Nagara, she returned to Hariphunchai. One month later, she became ill and passed away. She was reborn as a noble angel in Tusita heaven.

Legend and Tamnan

Tamnan is a narrative style of northern Thai chronicle and it has similar characteristics as legend. Both of them deal with historical persons, local history, belief systems, and culture of particular local society. Several versions of tamnan about Queen Chammathevi used mainstream chronicles like Chamadevivamsa, Jinakamalini, and Mulasasana as their archetype in order to develop their own editions. They offer different perspectives from mainstream chronicles in terms of telling the queen's story from local point of view. Although some scholars considered tamnan and legend as false history, seldom accurate, and seldom believed to be true, they are products of local culture that hardly overlook. They provide social expression from local people who are important mechanism for studying local history which cannot be found in centralist framework of Thai history.

Queen Chammathevi in tamnan has round character who reflects expression of feelings like flesh-and-blood person. While mainstream chronicles portray the queen as an extraordinary person who is a symbol of Buddhism devotees and has high degree of political skills to rule and develop new kingdom in the remote area, tamnan and legend describes her as a normal charming princess who experiences sufferings and conflicts in human life. She has to leave behind her family and husband to deal with a journey to unfamiliar world while she has pregnancy. She also has to go through a journey in her mind from despair to hope and weakness to strength until she achieves her fully wisdom. Other historical personages, locality, traditions, or even some mythical forms like fantastic and impossible events also were added in tamnan about the queen to make the

story sound attractive and dramatic in order to entertain audiences. General structure of tamnan of Queen Chammathevi can be portrayed in the below table.

Table 4 Plot of Tamnan or Town Chronicles

Legend and tamnan	
Plot	Event
1. The birth of baby Wee	<p>1.1 Baby Wee was born as a daughter of a rich man named Inta from Nong Doo Village.</p> <p>1.2 The baby was kidnapped by a giant bird.</p> <p>1.3 The sage Vasudeva saved her from a giant bird brought her up as his adopted daughter.</p>
2. The young Wee traveled to Lavapura and became Princess Chammathevi	<p>2.1 The sage Vasudeva sent her to be an adopted daughter of the king of Lavo.</p> <p>2.2 The battle with Prince of Kosamphi.</p> <p>2.3 Princess Chammathevi married with Prince Ramraja after the Kosamphi War.</p>
3. The sage Vasudeva and Sukkadanta created Hariphunchai	<p>3.1 The sages ask Sajjanaleyya for a conch shell.</p> <p>3.2 They put the conch shell on the ground and draw a city plan around it.</p>

Legend and tamnan	
Plot	Event
	3.3 They invited Princess Chammathevi of Lavo to be the city ruler.
4. Princess Chammathevi's journey	4.1 Princess Chammathevi traveled from Lavo to Hariphunchai. 4.2 The princess arrived and had coronation to be Queen Chammathevi of Hariphunchai.
5. Queen Chammathevi consecrated as Queen Chammathevi of Hariphunchai	5.1 Queen Chammathevi gave birth to twin sons, Prince Mahantayasa and Prince Anantayasa. 5.2 Devatas brought an auspicious white male elephant to be her. 5.3 The battle with King Milakkha. 5.4 The founding of Khelang Nagara for the Prince Anantayasa. 5.5 The sage Subrahma built Alampang Nagara at the southwest of Khelang Nagara for the queen. 5.6 Queen Chammathevi returned to Hariphunchai and passed away.

In order to have more understanding about northern Thai tamnan of Queen Chammathevi and their backgrounds, details and characteristics of Tamnan Phrathat in Lampang, Tamnan Nang Chammathevi by Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano, Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree Suwarnapach, Long Kang Maenam Ping by Yuth Dechkamron, and Kap Jia Chammathevi and Wilangka are presented as following.

Tamnan Phrathat in Lampang

Tamnan Phrathat in Lampang is a collection of local histories related to Buddhism, Buddha's holy relics or footprints, and place names. The beginning of tamnan phrathat is similar to mainstream chronicles which tell the story of the Lord Buddha's visit and his propagation of Buddhism in particular areas. Then, he meets indigenous people who are uncivilized and sometimes challenged him. He makes them respect him by displaying of his miracles. Before he leaves that place, he gives his holy hair relics or imprint his footprints and make prophecy that the place will become prosperous city and peaceful with people who believe in Buddhism. The later part of tamnan phrathat talks about good results from practicing dharma and merit-making that can bring happiness and wisdom to next life of Buddhists. Then, there are stories about place name in the community where Buddha's holy relics or footprints are enshrined.

Tamnan Phrathat in Lampang was written in narrative style on palm-leaf without the name of persons who composed them. There are only names of the monk who copied tamnam, date of copying, and place where

they do this job. There are four tamnan phrathat in Lampang that mentioned the name of Queen Chammathevi and her journey which can be described as follows;

1. Tamnan Phrathat Lampang Luang

The tamnan contained one chapter that told the story about Queen Chammathevi when she and her troop returned from Mae Salit in Tak Province to Hariphunchai. She had a stopover at Sob Yao at Ko Kha District in Lampang. Later, she saw a bright glowing crystal ball flied over the sky in the night time and she realized it was a miracle of Phrathat Lampang Luang. She visited the phrathat with fully respect on the next day, after that she relocated from Sob Yao to stay at Muang Tan in Hang Chat District. While she stayed at Muang Tan, she traveled to make merit at Phrathat Lampang Luang for seven times. She also helped villagers at Phrathat Lampang Luang because they suffered from drought. She prayed for the god to help her finding a water source for the villagers. Finally, there was a water spring appeared from the ground in the middle of the village.

2. Tamnan Phrathat Sadet

The tamnan depicted story of Queen Chammathevi when she traveled with her son, Prince Anantayasa, from Hariphunchai to Doi Khoa Ngam by Wang River in order to establish Khelang Nagara. There are ancient places related to the founding event of Khelang Nagara mentioned in this story, such as Doi Khoa Ngam, Kuang Meng, and Pa Bong. The queen also traveled to pay homage to Phrathat Sadet after she finished her visit at Phrathat Lampang Luang.

3. Tamnan Phrathat Chumpit (Phrathat Chom Ping)

The tamnan talked about the establishment of Phrathat Chumpit Temple or Wat Chom Pee Liang by Nanta Praya who was a guardian or pee-liang of King Tilokarat of Lan Na. He restored ancient stupa of Phrathat Chumpit which was the one that originally built by Queen Chammathevi. King Tilokarat visited the temple while he returned from the battle against Ayutthaya's troops. The king conquered Ayutthaya on the battle, and then he changed the name of this temple to be a commemoration of his victory as Phrathat Chom Ping or the victory of people from Ping River basin.

4. Tamnan Phrathat Ku Kam told a story about the visit of the Lord Buddha to the area of Ku Kam Temple. He gave his holy relics that came from his blood to the governor. Then, the governor built a stupa to enshrine the relics at the temple. Lord Buddha gave the prediction that the Ku Kam temple will be changed to be Ku Dang and Ku Khaw in the future. Queen Chammathevi was an important upasika or a lay devotee who provided royal patronage to the temple during her stay at Khelnag Nagara. She restored many facilities there such as chetiya, ubosot, vihara, and Buddha image.

Tamnan Nang Chammathevi by Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano

This tamnan was composed by Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano of Hor Tham Temple in Chiang Mai. It was written in Lan Na script on ancient palm-leaf manuscript. It was translated into Thai edition by Mr. Sanguan Chotisukrat and was first published in 1972.

Scholars commented that this tamnan resembled Chamadevivamsa in terms of its content and pattern of narrative style. However, Tamnan Nang Chammathevi was different from Chamadevivamsa at least five plots, for example this tamnan told that Queen Chammathevi has spontaneous birth (opapatika) from a water lily, the sage Vasudeva raised her up and sent her to be a princess in Lavapura because he was worried about people saw him stay with a young girl, the journey of the queen from Lavapura to Hariphunchai and places along the journey that related to her, the contest in magic between Teko Yaksa, the queen's guardian, and King Milakkha, and the destruction of magical power of King Milakkha with the queen menstrual blood. Moreover, tamnan Nang Chammathevi also has similar part to Mulasasana while it illustrated the queen's journey and places that related to her legend.

Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree Suwarnapach

The full name of this legend is 'Phrarachacheewaphrawat Phra Mae Chao Chammathevi Boromrachanee Srisuriyawongsa Ongbordin Pinthanee Hariphunchai'. It was composed by Mr. Suthawaree Suwarnapach in 1965 and had first publishing in 1966. This version of legend was very well-known among Thai readers in 1982 when the publishing was supported by Mr. Jarinya Puengsang who was a provincial governor of Lamphun in that period. Mr. Jarinya distributed this version to persons who gave donations for building the statue of Queen Chammathevi at Nong Dok Public Park in Lamphun. Although this edition of Queen

Chammathevi is popular, it was highly criticized by scholars as it was fictional and exaggerated.

The writer may know about the weak point of his work which contained high level of his own inventions, he added references of time and place, and chronicle data which some of them were derived from mainstream chronicles to increase its authenticity. For example, details of time and date of event in the legend, details of places along the journey of the queen from Lavapura to Hariphunchai, and information about Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions. He also created long ceremonial full name of Queen Chamthevi for his edition to increase its sacredness and importance.

He added mysterious story about the origin of the legend that he gained it from the sage Rishi Kaew in 1964. He met the sage because Queen Chammathevi told him in his dream that he had to travel to Lamphun if he wanted to research about her history. Then, he met Nan Tha who brought him from Lamphun to see the sage Rishi Kaew who lived at a cave in the jungle of Khun Tan Mountain. The sage was 105 years old and he waited for the writer who was the right person for the ancient copies of legend. He said there were five copies of this legend which were secretly kept in different places in Thailand. The first copy was written in Khmer script by Princess Phatumwadi, the Queen Chammathevi's guardian, and other was written in Lan Na script. The writer spent four days to translate the legend from Lan Na script version into Thai by the help from Nan Tha.

With high writing skill of Mr. Suthawaree, the legend from his edition was interesting and easy to read. It contained plot and pattern of hero's journey with dream figures and fantastic adventure which is universal and popular in every culture⁶⁶. Queen Chammathevi has round character and was portrayed to have emotionally realistic. In this version, she was born in Lamphun at Nong Doo Village, which was a Mon community. She was kidnapped by a giant bird and was saved by the sage Vasudeva. The sage raised the baby Chammathevi and sent her to be a princess of Lavapura. The princess grew up with charming and leadership. Later, she was asked by the sage Vasudeva to return to Hariphunchai and became the queen. It is because this version presented the queen with strong connection with Lamphun since she was born in this town, it was well-accepted by local people as an important local history.

Long Kang Maenam Ping by Yuth Dechkamron

Long Kang Maenam Ping is a collection of storied recorded by Mr. Yuth Dechkamron during his boat trip along Ping River from Chaing Mai to Bhumibol Dam in Tak Province in 1967. He also compiled stories from his interviews with local people and some trips members with this collection and published it in the same year. There were two short stories in the collection depicted Queen Chammathevi's journey along Ping River to Hariphunchai, including the story of Chammathevi and a Folktale about

⁶⁶ Volger, C. (1992). *The Writer's Journey: Mythic Structure for Storytellers and Screenwriters*. USA: Bruan-Brumfield, Inc.

Queen Chammathevi. Although the story of Queen Chammathevi presented as one small part in this collection, several places along Ping River which related to the queen were found from the edition, which could not be found from others. Some places which were mentioned also could not be seen in the present time due to they were under the water after the completion of the dam. Moreover, traveling by using Ping River to Bangkok could not be done anymore, it is not because of the dam only, but also other forms of more convenient transportation such as road trip and railway.

The collection of Long Kang Maenam Ping has significance in terms of being the record of Ping River when it was a major transportation route connected Lan Na with regions in Chao Phraya River basin. Pictures of dangers along the Ping river route were told by the stories of scorpion tail boats and bamboo rafts when they experienced rough water, whirlpools, and wild animals like venomous snakes during the trip. Details of challenging on this river route linked readers to the imagination of Queen Chammathevi's journey when she needed to have high courage to be the leader of followers to overcome the fear and difficulties until they reached Hariphunchai. It was hardly to imagine how much pressure and depression that the queen had to deal with during her seven months journey to the unknown place.

Kap Jia Chammathevi and Wilangka

Kap Jia is Lan Na style's storytelling by using narrative poem to tell stories which mostly are folktales, or sometimes history. Main objective of

Kap Jia is for entertaining audiences especially in the funeral. The narrator wants to create lively atmosphere, fills the room with laughter, and gets rid of sadness. He needed to have literacy and style that can make the story fun and interesting. Then, he doesn't have to worry much about the truth or any historical data. Audiences can ask questions during time of storytelling in order to create participation and social interaction.

Kap Jia Chammathevi and Wilangka was composed by Mr. Kraisri Nimanhemin in 1987 and he also received an outstanding award from Thailand National Book Fair 1987 because of this work. Although Kap Jia has less authenticity if compare to those mainstream chronicles about Queen Chammathevi, this invention has high significant because it was the record involved to folk people in Lan Na. Mr. Kraisri created the Kap Jia from his collective memory of oral tradition about Queen Chammathevi since he heard about it when he was a young boy in Chiang Mai. He inserted the information of Lan Na customs, philosophy, and way of life to Kap Jia to make it more valuable for studying Lan Na culture. For example, he added the history of the Chiang Mai visit of King Rama VII, King Prajadhipok, and Queen Rambhai in 1926, the life of scorpion tail boat's sailors along Ping River trade route, and Lua people and Lua culture in Chiang Mai.

According to the Kap Jia came from oral tradition, it contained points of view from local people that create different plots of the queen story from religious chronicles. The interesting distinctiveness of Kap Jia Chammathevi and Wilangka are as follows;

- Princess Chammathevi was punished by the king of Lavo (Lavapura) because she had relationship with a man from non-noble family until she got pregnant. She was nearly expelled from Lavo,

- the sage Vasudeva saved the princess and asked her from the king of Lavo because he wanted the princess to be a queen and rule Hariphunchai,

- spear throwing contest by King Milakkha to win Queen Chammathevi. The queen destroyed the king magical power by using her menstrual blood, and

- death of the sage Vasudeva and his relics were kept at San Ku, which was a stupa at the top of Doi Suthep Mountain.

Datas about the journey of Queen Chammathevi from Lavapura to Hariphunchai were found from the Kap Jia because the writer conducted trip surveys on the queen's journey route and collected the data from local people who involved in oral tradition about the queen. His Kap Jia became more valuable to support Lan Na study than an ordinary myth. Information about Lan Na on his work helped to preserve local identity and linked past to present.

Brief Narration of Legend and Tamnan

Once upon a time, there was a rich man named Inta, he lived at Nong Doo Village in Lamphun with his wife and their three-month-old baby named Wee. One day, he and his wife left the baby Wee alone at the house

for a short while. The baby was kidnapped by a giant bird and it took her up into the sky. The giant bird had a baby in its claws and flew to the direction of the Sugar Cane Mountain where the sage Vasudeva lived. When the sage saw the baby in the giant bird's claws, he asked the giant bird to release the baby. It followed the sage's request and let the baby go while it was flying in the air. The baby fell from the sky and safely dropped in the giant water lily which blossomed at the pond. The sage Vasudeva used his fan with long perpendicular hand to pick the baby up from the pond and brought her to his residence. He assigned thirty-five apes who were his attendants to bring her up. Then, he adopted the baby and educated her until she reached thirteen years old.

The sage Vasudeva wanted his beloved adopted daughter who appeared inevitably dashing and smart to grow up in a better place. He foresaw that she will become a queen in the future. He planned to send her to live with the king and queen of the city of Lavo. Then, he told the young Wee to travel along the Ping River by his magical bamboo raft with a group of apes to the city of Lavo. Later, the raft was arrived the city of Lavo safely and the people of Lavo were amazed to see an adorable girl travelled on the raft and was surrounded by apes. They informed the king and queen of the city of Lavo and invited them to see the girl who was still on the raft. Once the king and queen saw the girl, they suddenly loved her and brought her to the palace. They adopted her as their daughter and announced that she was a princess of Lavo named as Princess Chammathevi. They also

provided princess Pathumvadee and princess Ketsawadee to be Princess Chammathevi's guardians and trainers.

Princess Chammathevi grew up to be the most beautiful princess with high administrative and military competences. Her reputation as the perfect and incomparable princess caused the young princes from several cities to want to win her over. However, Princess Chammathevi fell in love with Prince Ramraja of Ramnagara City and both of them accepted to be engaged to be married. One of the princes named Sittiraja of Kosamphi City was too angry to accept his disappointment from Princess Chammathevi and he wanted to destroy her and her lovers. He commanded his powerful military of two hundred thousand soldiers to attack the city of Lavo and Ramnagara City. Princess Chammathevi wanted to take the responsibility on the war that was caused by her. She led the small group of fifty thousand soldiers to battle with Prince of Kosamphi's army for seven consecutive days. She was so brave because she challenged the Prince Kosamphi to have a duel. She fought with the prince and was able to cut his hand by her sword. Kosamphi's soldiers turned to be terrified and panic of Princess Chammathevi's armed forces when they saw the defeat of their leader. They surrendered and fled from the battle field. Prince Kosamphi was overwhelmed by sorrow and humiliation and committed suicide by cutting his throat.

Princess Chammathevi married with Prince Ramraja after the Kosamphi War. They helped the king and queen of the city of Lavo to rule the city till it became more powerful and prosperous. Later, the sage

Vasudeva sent the invitation to Princess Chammathevi to return to Lamphun because he constructed the new city over there. He built the city with his friends, the sage Sukkadanta and the sage Subrahma, for the people who survived from the destruction of the Rammanagara. The sage Vasudeva wants Princess Chammathevi to rule the new city as a queen. Princess Chammathevi accepted the sage's invitation and asked the permission to leave the city of Lavo from the king and queen, and also her husband. She was allowed to go to develop the new city. The king of the city of Lavo also assigned five hundred Buddhist monks and five hundred of wealthy men, scholars, and artisans to travel with Princess Chammathevi and assist her. The groups of the princess commenced the journey by boats along the Ping River to the new city. By the time that the groups left the city of Lavo, the princess hold three months of pregnancy.

It took seven months for Princess Chammathevi and her people to travel close to the new city. By that time, the princess held ten months of pregnancy. She asked one of her archers to shoot an arrow to random a suitable place to establish a camp for her and her followers before entering the city. The arrow dropped at the place by Guang River and Princess Chammathevi ordered her assistants to organize a camp and build a temple for five hundred monks that came with her from the city of Lavo. This temple can be called as the first temple that Princess Chammathevi built in this area. The name of the temple is Wat Ku La Mak or Rommaniyarama Temple.

After the new city was completely constructed, the sage Vasudeva and city dwellers sent the invitation to Princess Chammathevi and asked her to enter the city. They prepared the golden carriage as the vehicle to carry the princess. The sage Vasudeva organized the coronation for Princess Chammathevi and crowned her as the Queen Chammathevi of Hariphunchai. Hariphunchai is the name of a new city which means the golden carriage which is the one that took the queen to the city. The queen delivered twin sons after the coronation for seven days. Her elder son was called Mahantayasa and her younger son was called Indavara or Anantayasa. She ruled Hariphunchai as a righteousness queen who followed the teaching of Lord Buddha. The people of Hariphunchai was happy and lived peacefully in the place that had prosperity and abundant in food and natural resources.

Queen Chammathevi established political systems for Hariphunchai in order to create peace and order for her kingdom. She defined territories of the kingdom by founding several satellite states around its borders and used them as buffers between enemies. These satellite states that were appeared on the legend were Wiang Tha Kan, Thantanagara, Wiang Na Dan, Wiang Lavo, Wiang Nork, and Wiang Sam Sieaw. Beside this, she built four main Buddhist temples at the four corners of Hariphunchai as the Buddhaprakarn or Buddhist fortification to promote Buddhist teaching and practices throughout the kingdom. These four main temple were Arunyikramanaram temple which was located in the east Apaththaram was located in the north, Mahawanaram was located in the west, and Maharadaram was located in the south. Hariphunchi's people strongly

believed in Buddhism and supported the religion by building two thousand temples for Buddhist monks. There were about four thousand households that lived in the kingdoms and helped to develop the economy and agriculture for the prosperity of their land.

Although Queen Chammathevi had several great warriors and skillful troops, she still was worried about invasions from powerful army of Lua people who were indigenous tribes, and also from other groups of barbarian. Then she prayed to deities or devatas to protect her, her young sons and Hariphunchai from dangers and wars. Devatas followed the queen's request and used their magical forces to bring her an auspicious and supernatural male elephant. She named it as "Phu Kam Nga Kieaw" or the white powerful elephant with dark color of tusks. The auspicious elephant became a guardian of the queen and her sons. She regularly traveled on its back to enter the wars and to visit her people in satellite states.

The reputation of the beautiful and smart young queen who ruled and brought civilization to Hariphunchai attracted the attention of Khun Luang Wilanga of Lua, or King Milakkha. He sent his emissary to inform Queen Chammathevi to accept to be his wife. The queen rejected the King Milakka's proposition and drove the Lua emissary away. The King Milakkha still wanted to win her over by showing his great supernatural power and also to frighten her. He challenged the queen that she must accept to be his wife if he was able to throw three spears from the top of the Sugar Cane Mountain in Chiang Mai to her palace in Hariphunchai.

Then, he successfully dropped two spears at the queen's palace. Queen Chammathevi wanted to stop King Milakkha from having the successful throwing the third spear to her palace by destroying his supernatural power. She made the hat from her sarong that has stains from her menstruation and gave to the king as his reward before he threw the third spear. She knew that woman's menstruation can disempower him. The King Milakkha were happy to wear a hat from the woman that he loved and didn't aware of her trick. He failed to throw the third spear to the queen's palace and finally realized that she deceived him. He was extremely angry and wanted to defeat her by declaring war with Hariphunchai.

King Milakkha led a big troop of eighty thousand Lua soldiers to battle against Hariphunchai which had smaller troop of three thousand soldiers. The five-year old twin princes volunteered the queen to lead Hariphunchai's troop to fight with King Milakkha. Prince Mahantayasa sat on the neck and Prince Anatayasa sat on the back of Phu Kam Nga Kieaw, the supernatural elephant, to enter the battle field. The guardian angels of the city announced that they will protect the princes and the Hariphunchai soldiers. Then, they created intense heat to burn King Milakkha and his soldiers. Phu Kam Nga Kieaw also used his tusks to reflect the sunlight that created extreme bright light and caused the Lua soldiers were temporary blind. Lua soldiers were panic and were harmed by heat and light, they all fled and also the King Milakkha. Hariphunchai had the victory over invaders and the people overwhelm with joy and happiness. Later, Queen Chammathevi wanted to build good relationship with the indigenous

people of Lua, she asked King Milakkha to allow his twin daughters to marry with her sons. King Milakkha accepted this proposal because the two kingdoms could become alliance and their people will live happily and peacefully.

Queen Chammathewi organized the royal coronation for Prince Mahatayasa to be the king of Hariphunchai when he turned to seven years old. She appointed Prince Anantayasa to be the viceroy but he wanted to rule his own kingdom. Queen Chammathewi advised him to ask for help and permission from the sage Vasudeva because they were in Hariphunchai by his intention. He saw the sage and inform about his wish to have his own kingdom. The sage agreed with his idea because this will benefit to Hariphunchai in terms of the expansion kingdom. He directed the prince to see the hunter named Khelang who lived at Khelang Mountain and asked the hunter to lead the prince to see the hermit, Mahabrahma, who lived at the top of twin Peak Mountain which was located in east of Hariphunchai. Mahabrahma was delight to use his magical power to build the city which had the location near the Wang River. Then, he crowned Prince Anantayasa as the king of Khelang Nagara. The name of the new city came from the name of the hunter Khelang who also help the sage Mahabrahma and Prince Anantayasa to build the city.

King Anantayasa of Khelang Nagara returned to Hariphunchai to visit his mother and brother. They were overwhelmed with joy after they heard about the success of King Anantayasa and his rich city. King Mahantayasa and King Anantayasa agreed to announce the two kingdoms

of Hariphunchai and Khelang Nagara are as one country. King Anantayasa wanted to show his mother his city and he asked her to visit Khelang Nagara with him. Queen Chammathevi accepted her son request and travelled with Phu Kam Nga Kieaw and some followers from Hariphunchai to Khelang. When Queen Chammathevi arrived Khelang Nagara, King Anantayasa offered his mother to rule the city as the queen for six years. Queen Chammathevi helped her son to rule and develop the city until it became stable and prosperous. King Anantayasa wanted to expand the boundary of his kingdom and he asked the sage Mahabrahma to build another city on the southwest of Khelang for him. The sage agreed and used his magical power to build the new city named Alampang Nagara. King Anantayasa used Alampang Nagara to be his residence and always visit and pay respect to his mother in Khelang.

Queen Chammathevi was happy to live in Khelang Nagara for six years as she promised King Anantayasa. She informed the king that she will return the kingship to him and travel to Hariphunchai. The king still wanted his mother to stay with him and asked her to stay in Alampang Nagara for three more years. He gave the reason that she could help him to develop the new city. Queen Chammathevi accepted her son request and stayed happily in Alampang Nagara. After three years staying in the new city, the queen returned to Hariphunchai with the feeling of serious illness. She passed away after she returned to Hariphunchai for eight days. King Mahatayasa and King Anantayasa provided the royal cremation ceremony for their

mother and kept her relics inside the Suvarnajungkote Chedi which was located at Chammathevi Temple.

Mapping Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route

The review of historic contexts from both mainstream chronicles and some tamnans of Queen Chammathevi lead to the development of the map for the queen's pilgrimage route from Lavapura to Hariphunchai, and to Khelang Nagara. Place names which were mentioned on documents are important clues to help the researcher to connect them into a single route. They also provided understanding in the picture of original route which based on the strategy of the queen to establish relationship with communities along the river route from Chao Phraya River basin to Ping River basin. She visited them, stayed with them, and sometimes built temples for them in order to turn them into her alliances. She wanted them to inform her when there were troops of her enemy travelled from central region to northern region of Hariphunchai.

Data of places along the queen's pilgrimage route that were appeared on chronicles and tamnans were listed for comparing and linking with places in modern day. The documents that were used for connecting the whole route from Lavapura to Hariphunchai, and to Khelang Nagara consisted of Mulasasana, Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree, Tamnan Nang Chammathevi by Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano, Long Kang Maenam Ping, and Tamnan Phrathat in Lampang. Apart from using these documents to be references for mapping the route, data gathering from field surveys of Dr. Pensupa Sukata and her team during 2016 - 2019 under the

project Queen Chammathevi Route from Lavapura to Hariphunchai, and filed surveys in Chiang Mai, Lamphun, and Lampang during 2017 - 2019 with the researcher.

There were some challenges to identify the accurate points of historic places along the route because of different layers of time and geographical changes. Some places still used the names like they were mentioned on documents, but many of them were appeared in different spelling, different order, and sometimes they did not match with ancient records. This problem could be understood that those ancient documents were copied and rewrote as the palm-leaf manuscripts for several versions according to northern Thai tradition, the rewriters probably could easily make mistakes in spelling and ordering. Moreover, most of places along Ping River in Tak Province were under Bhumibol Dam after its completion in modern day. However, some other remains of historical sites and archaeological objects in Dvaravati period, and collective memory from local people are tools for assessment the possibility of Queen Chammathevi's traveling route in the ancient day.

Table 5 Comparison table for Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route from Lavo to Hariphunchai, and Hariphunchai to Lampang

Place	Mulasasana	Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree	Tamnan Nang Chammathevi by Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano	Long Kang Maenam Ping
1. Muang Phra Bang	Queen Chammathevi found the city of Muang Phra Bang.	Queen Chammathevi found the city of Muang Phra Bang.	Queen Chammathevi found the city of Muang Phra Bang.	
2. Suvarnabanphot		Transit point between Queen Chammathevi's journeys.		
3. Muang Fha Ngam		Queen Chammathevi paid homage to Buddha image and monks.		
4. Muang Chum Rum		Queen Chammathevi had dialog with villagers.		

Place	Mulasasana	Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree	Tamnan Nang Chammathevi by Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano	Long Kang Maenam Ping
5. Wang Chao		Queen Chammathevi paid homage to the shrines of dead princes in the Kosamphi War.		
6. Muang Khanthika	Queen Chammathevi found the city of Muang Khanthika.		Muang Khanthika was mentioned.	
7. Muang Buratha	Queen Chammathevi found the city of Muang Buratha.		Muang Buratha was mentioned.	
8. Muang Burang	Queen Chammathevi found the city of Muang Burang.			

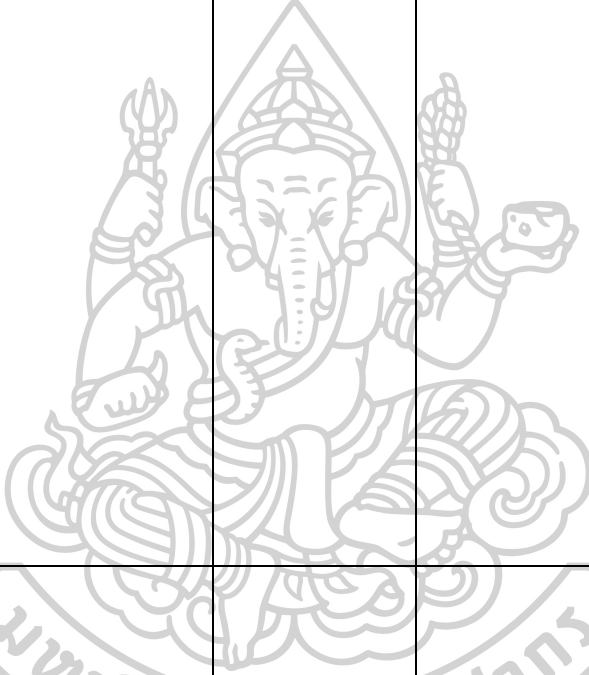
Place	Mulasasana	Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree	Tamnan Nang Chammathevi by Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano	Long Kang Maenam Ping
9. Muang Thepburi	Queen Chammathevi found the city of Muang Thepburi.			
10. Muang Pol	Queen Chammathevi found the city of Muang Pol.		Muang Bang Pol was mentioned.	
11. Muang Rag Siad	Muang Ra Siad was mentioned.		Muang Ra Siad was mentioned.	
12. Had Siew	Had Siew was mentioned.		Had Chiew was mentioned.	
13. Kho Tha Pao				Some boats of Queen Chammathevi's followers were sunk here.

Place	Mulasasana	Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree	Tamnan Nang Chammathevi by Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano	Long Kang Maenam Ping
14. Muang Tak	Place for drying followers' wet clothes in sun.	Place for drying followers' wet clothes in sun, but it was mention as Wiang Kati.	Place for drying followers' wet clothes in sun.	Place for drying followers' wet clothes in sun.
15. Ban Ra-haeng		Kosamphi villagers offered jades and precious wood ·Chan Daeng· to the queen.		Maintenance of boats by using woods from this place.
16. Sam Ngao	Place for stopover because the queen's followers were exhausted.	Place was mentioned as Wiang Thep Buri where villagers look exhausted.	Place for stopover because the queen's followers were exhausted.	Place for stopover because the queen's followers were exhausted. Three Buddha images appeared on the cliff.

Place	Mulasasana	Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree	Tamnan Nang Chammathevi by Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano	Long Kang Maenam Ping
17. Wat Phrathat Loy				An archer shot an arrow to random a suitable place to establish a temple.
18. Phrabath Tha Hao				An arrow dropped at this place and destroyed a rock mountain.
19. Had Kleu				Some boats which carried buckets of salt were sunk here.
20. Kang Suae Ten				Rocks resembled dancing tigers.

Place	Mulasasana	Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree	Tamnan Nang Chammathevi by Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano	Long Kang Maenam Ping
21. Doi Nang Lieaw				Queen Chammathevi turned to look at a mountain here.
22. Kang Som Poi			One of the queen follower was dead here. The Queen made a merit to her.	
23. Pa Arb Nang	One of the queen follower was dead here. The Queen made a merit to her. Then she took a shower here.			One of the queen follower was dead here. The Queen made a merit to her. Then she took a shower here.

Place	Mulasasana	Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree	Tamnan Nang Chammathevi by Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano	Long Kang Maenam Ping
24. Hin Ngao				Several followers's boats crashed into rocks.
25. Kang Um-lu				Several followers's boats crashed into rocks.
26. Muang Soi				The place for stopover.
27. Pa Tam	Queen Chammathevi asked an artist to draw a signpost on a cliff.		Queen Chammathevi asked an artist to draw a signpost in elephant figure on a cliff.	Queen Chammathevi asked an artist to draw a signpost in elephant figure on a cliff.

Place	Mulasasana	Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree	Tamnan Nang Chammathevi by Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano	Long Kang Maenam Ping
28. Pa Phra Kaew				Queen Chammathevi placed a Buddha image in a cave of the mountain which has its figure resembled an elephant.
29. Kang Chang Rong and Had Um-kong				

Place	Mulasasana	Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree	Tamnan Nang Chammathevi by Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano	Long Kang Maenam Ping
30. Had Um-pad				Lau and Karen welcomed the queen by playing musical instruments.
31. Pa Phrachao Norn				Queen Chammathevi paid homage to a red rock which its shape resembled a reclining Buddha. She asked an archer shot an arrow to random a suitable place to establish a temple.

Place	Mulasasana	Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree	Tamnan Nang Chammathevi by Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano	Long Kang Maenam Ping
32. Doi Kerng				The arrow was shot to this place and Queen Chammathevi build a temple here.
33. Doi Tao	Lots of fish and turtles bit the queen's followers.		Lots of fish and turtles bit local villagers.	
34. Ban Tha	Place by Tha River and place for building Pavisitha Chetiya.		Place by Thala River and place for building Pavisitha Chetiya.	
35. Ban Ann				Local villagers welcomed the queen by dancing.

Place	Mulasasana	Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree	Tamnan Nang Chammathevi by Phra Maha Muen Wutthiyano	Long Kang Maenam Ping
36. Wang Sa-kaeng			Followers' boats sank here because of rough water.	
37. Nam Khaow			A place which water in the river had white color.	
38. Tha Chiang Thong and Muang Hod	Queen Chammathevi asked villagers for the direction to Hariphunchai. She also asked an archer to shoot an arrow to random a suitable place to establish a temple.	It was mentioned as Pitsadarn Nagara. Queen Chammathevi separated with her husband, Prince Ramraja, at this place.	It was mention as Doi Thong. Queen Chammathevi asked an archer to shoot an arrow to random a suitable place to establish a temple.	Queen Chammathevi asked an archer to shoot an arrow to random a suitable place to establish a temple.

Table 6 Comparison of places on the Queen's pilgrimage route from Lavapura, Hariphunchai, and Khelang Nagara with places in modern day

Place in legend	Prospected place in the present
1. Muang Phra Bang	Pak Bang Muen Han, Phromburi District, Singburi Province
2. Suvarnnabanphot	-
3. Muang Fha Ngam	-
4. Muang Chum Rum	-
5. Wang Chao	Wang Jaow District, Tak Province
6. Muang Khanthika	Chainat Province
7. Muang Buratha	Ban Kok Mai Dain, Tambon Tha Nam-oi, Payuhakiri District, Nakhon Sawan Province
8. Muang Burang	Ban Prot Pisai District, Nakhon Sawan Province
9. Muang Thepburi	Tambon Trai-trueng, Muang District, Kamphaeng Phet Province
10. Muang Pol	Kamphaeng Phet Historical Park, Muang District, Kamphaeng Phet Province
11. Muang Rag Siad	Tambon Petchompoo, Kosmphi Nakorn District, Kamphaeng Phet Province

Place in legend	Prospected place in the present
12. Had Siew	Tambon Chiang-ngern, Muang District, Tak Province
13. Kho Tha-pao	Tambon Kho Tha-pao, Ban Tak District, Tak Province
14. Muang Tak	Tambon Kho Tha-pao, Ban Tak District, Tak Province
15. Ban Ra-haeng	Tambon Kho Tha-pao, Ban Tak District, Tak Province
16. Sam-ngao	Wat Pa Phra Sam-ngao, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province
17. Wat Phrathat Loy	Bhumibol Dam, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province
18. Phrabath Tha Hao	Bhumibol Dam, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province
19. Had Kleu	Bhumibol Dam, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province
20. Kang Suae Ten	Bhumibol Dam, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province
21. Doi Nang Lieaw	Bhumibol Dam, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province
22. Kang Som Poi	Bhumibol Dam, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province
23. Pa Arb Nang	Bhumibol Dam, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province

Place in legend	Prospected place in the present
24. Hin Ngao	Bhumibol Dam, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province
25. Kang Um-lu	Bhumibol Dam, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province
26. Muang Soi	Wat Phrathat Kang Soi, Bhumibol Dam, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province
27. Pa Tam	Bhumibol Dam, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province
28. Pa Phra Kaew	Bhumibol Dam, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province
29. Kang Chang Rong and Had Um-kong	Bhumibol Dam, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province
30. Had Um-pad	Bhumibol Dam, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province
31. Pa Phrachao Norn	Bhumibol Dam, Sam-ngao District, Tak Province
32. Doi Kerng	Wat Phrathat Doi Kerng, Doi Tao District, Chiang Mai Province
33. Doi Tao	Doi Tao District, Chiang Mai Province
34. Ban Tha	Ban Sob-tha, Pa Sang District, Lamphun Province
35. Ban Ann	-
36. Wang Sa-kaeng	Wiang Nong Long, Lamphun Province
37. Nam Khaow	-

Place in legend	Prospected place in the present
38. Tha Chiang Thong and Muang Hod	Hot District and Chom Thong District, Chiang Mai Province
39. Wat Ku La Mak	Wat Ku La Mak, Muang District, Lamphun Province
40. Ban Rommaniyarama	Wat Ku La Mak, Muang District, Lamphun Province
41. Khelang Nagara	Tambon Wiang Nuea, Muang District, Lampang Province
42. Doi Khoa Ngam	Wat Mon Phraya Chae, Muang District, Lampang Province
43. Kuang Meng	Surasak Montri Military Camp, Muang District, Lampang Province
44. Pa Bong	Tambon Wiang Nuea, Muang District, Lampang Province
45. Alampang Nagara	Tambon Lampang Luang, Ko Kha District, Lampang Province
46. Sob Yao	Tambon Lampang Luang, Ko Kha District, Lampang Province
47. Phrathat Lampang Luang	Tambon Lampang Luang, Ko Kha District, Lampang Province
48. Phrathat Chom Ping	Tambon Na-kaew, Ko Kha District, Lampang Province
49. Munag Tan	Tambon Wiang Tan, Hangchat District, Lampang Province
50. Phrathat Sadet	Tambon Sadet, Muang District, Lampang Province
51. Phrathat Ku Kam	Tambon Ton Thongchai, Muang District, Lampang Province

Although there are some differences in data about places along the route, all documents agreed that the queen had her journey by boat from a river in Lavapura that connected to Chao Phraya River, and then she travelled up stream to Nakhon Sawan where she can change her direction to Hariphunchai by using Ping River. In order to simplify the route and places along the route and make it easy to understand, the route was divided into three parts. The first part is from Lavapura to Dvaravati border line where high level of Dvaravati's influence, Dvaravati archaeological sites and artifacts were found, including some sites at Bhumibol Dam. The second part is started from Dvaravati border line at Bhumibol Dam to Hariphunchai, and the third part is from Hariphunchai to Khelang Nagara.

Part I is the route from Lavapura to Dvaravati border line over the Bhumibol Dam. It consisted of 26 places. It started from Lavo to Kang Umlu at Bhumibol Dam in Tak Province.

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Muang Phra Bang | 14. Muang Tak |
| 2. Suvarnnabanphot | 15. Ban Ra-haeng |
| 3. Muang Fha Ngam | 16. Sam-ngao |
| 4. Muang Chum Rum | 17. Wat Phrathat Loy |
| 5. Wang Chao | 18. Phrabath Tha Hao |
| 6. Muang Khanthika | 19. Had Kleu |
| 7. Muang Buratha | 20. Kang Suae Ten |
| 8. Muang Burang | 21. Doi Nang Lieaw |

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------|
| 9. Muang Thepburi | 22. Kang Som Poi |
| 10. Muang Pol | 23. Pa Arb Nang |
| 11. Muang Rag Siad | 24. Hin Ngao |
| 12. Had Siew | 25. Kang Um-lu |
| 13. Kho Tha-pao | |

Part II is the route from Dvaravati border line over the Bhumibol Dam to Hariphunchai. It consisted of 15 places. It started from Muang Soi to Hariphunchai.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Muang Soi | 9. Ban Tha |
| 2. Pa Tam | 10. Ban Ann |
| 3. Pa Phra Kaew | 11. Wang Sa-kaeng |
| 4. Kang Chang Rong and Had Um-kong | 12. Nam Khaow |
| 5. Had Um-pad | 13. Tha Chiang Thong
and Muang Hot |
| 6. Pa Phrachao Norn | 14. Wat Ku La Mak |
| 7. Doi Kerng | 15. Ban Rommani-
-yarama |
| 8. Doi Tao | |

Part III is the route from Hariphunchai to Khelang Nagara. It consisted of 11 places and it started from Hariphunchai to sacred places in Khelang Nagara.

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Khelang Nagara | 7. Phrathat Lampang
Luang |
| 2. Doi Khoa Ngam | 8. Phrathat Chom Ping |
| 3. Kuang Meng | 9. Munag Tan |
| 4. Pa Bong | 10. Phrathat Sadet |
| 5. Alampang Nagara | 11. Phrathat Ku Kam |
| 6. Sob Yao | |

Limitation for Mapping Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route

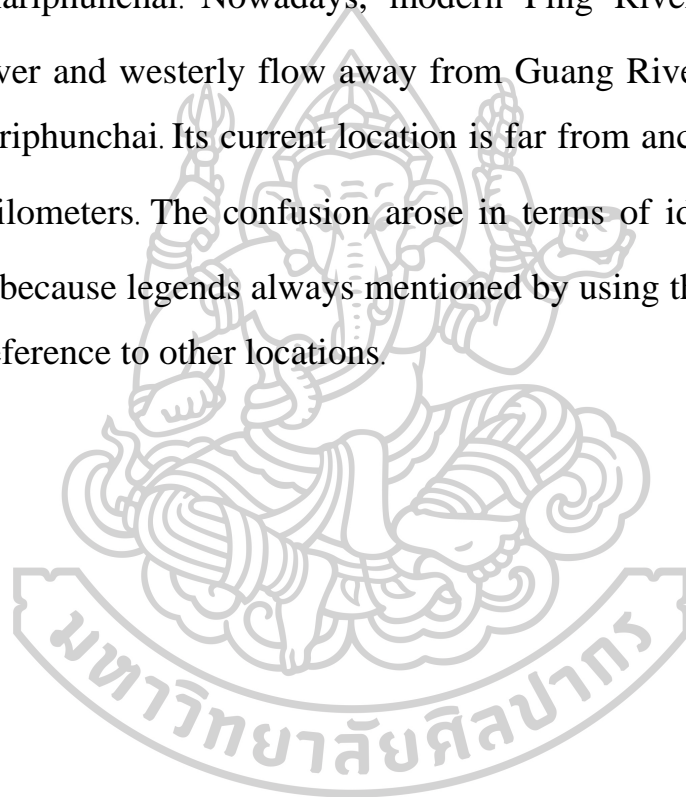
1. Most of field surveys for mapping Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route from Lavapura (Lopburi) to Hariphunchai (Lamphun) were conducted by road trips which were different from the queen's traveling route that was done by boats along Chao Phraya River and Ping River. Then, places and surroundings along the rivers cannot be observed. However, the researcher traveled by boat from Kang Kor Community at Mae Ping National Park at Li District in Lamphun to Maung Soi and Phra Borommathat Kang Soi which was located above Bhumibol Dam in Tak Province. This boat trip provided experience and opportunity to see some parts of the route along Ping River which was very challenging for traveling, especially when people travel by boat in the ancient day.

Other field surveys by road trips also were planned to experience locations along both sides of Ping River by using the roads which parallel with Chao Phraya River and Ping River. Besides, places from document review were plotted on the GIS database in order to create survey map which can identify all places which were mentioned on chronicles and tamnans. Moreover, trips to survey two sites on top of mountains at Doi Kerng and Doi Noi in Chiang Mai can provide panoramic view of Ping Rive and landscapes which was useful to understand the route in the ancient time.

2. Documents review for legend of Queen Chammathevi and her pilgrimage route were done through three mainstream chronicles and five versions of local tamnan, while there are totally 87 versions of the queen's legend⁶⁷. However, the selected documents that were studied were well-known and widely accepted. Some of them were the oldest religious chronicles that had been recorded in Pali language and Lan Na scripts. They were used as models for developing others versions of the legend. Moreover, using eight versions of the legend help to compare the information and to gain more references that can create authenticity to the route.

⁶⁷ Anantato, W. (2016). *Camadevi Worship: Legend Production and Ritual Construction in Contemporary Thai Society*. A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Program in Thai, Department of Thai, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University.

3. Geographical changes caused confusion with locations and directions of heritage site when compared them with the sites mentioned in the legend because the Ping River had altered its course in late thirteenth century, or after the establishment of Wiang Kum Kam. Before the late thirteenth century, Ping river used to flow from Chiang Mai to connect with Guang River in Lamphun and they easterly flow through location of ancient Hariphunchai. Nowadays, modern Ping River separated from Guang River and westerly flow away from Guang River and the ancient city of Hariphunchai. Its current location is far from ancient Guang River for five kilometers. The confusion arose in terms of identifying sites in Lamphun because legends always mentioned by using the Ping River as a point of reference to other locations.



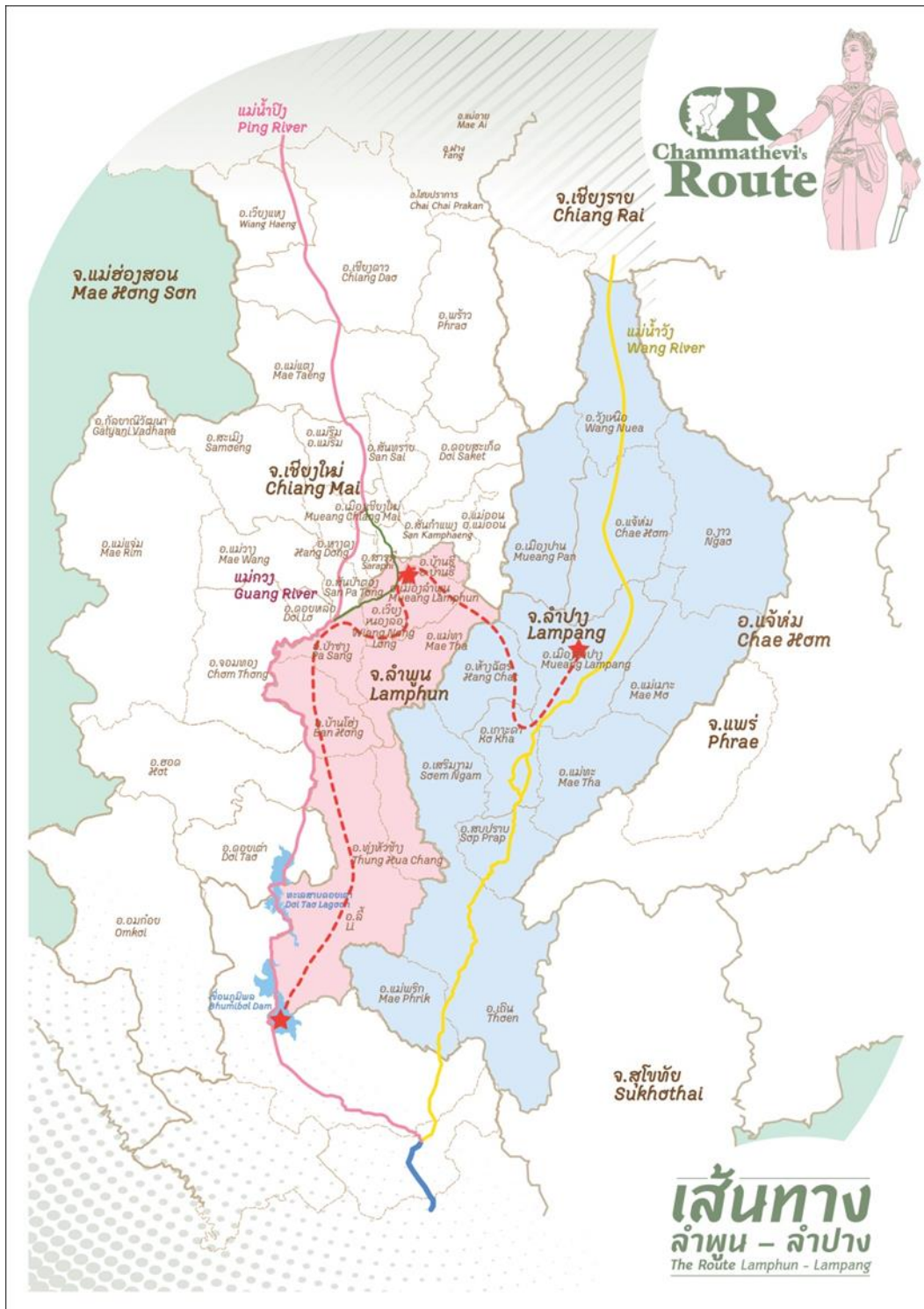


Figure 7 Map of Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route from Hariphunchai (Lamphun) to Khelang Nagara (Lampang)

Source: The researcher, 2019

Chapter 4

Assessing Cultural Significance of Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route

Cultural Significance in Heritage Management

During two focus groups in Lamphun and Lampang, which were organized by the researcher, on Challenges of the Tourism Development in Lamphun and Lampang: Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route, a challenging question arose from some participants about why the theme of the legend of Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route was chosen because Queen Chammathevi is less interesting if compare to other popular figures in Thai history?. The answer that I gave to those participants is because this legend contains every element of cultural significances following frameworks of the Burra Charter, and cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social, and spiritual value. The concept of cultural significance helps in estimating and establishing the value of places along the queen pilgrimage route between Lamphun and Lampang. However, I felt embarrassed when I could not give better explanation to those participants about the importance of cultural significance because of limitation of time during the focus group. I still remembered the expression of curiosity on those participants' face.

In order to be able to give clear explanation about what is importance of cultural significance, knowledge about the journey of cultural significance concept in heritage conservation is needed. Background of heritage conservation can be dated to the beginning of nineteenth century when debates were occurred between the principal of John Ruskin's

preservation of virtue and values of ancient buildings and the restoration movement of Viollet-le-Duc. John Ruskin proposed his widely concept of anti-restoration and emphasized on the important of material authenticity and minimal intervention in the historic fabric. His idea has strong influence on a manifesto of restoration which was written by William Morris, a British artist and the founder of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Building (SPAB). The manifesto declared respect ancient building in terms of authentic of materials and integrity of historic fabric. Therefor, Ruskin's perspective and the SPAB manifesto is the earliest important notion in establishing principles for preservation and restoration in later charters like the Athen Charter and the Venice Charter⁶⁸.

The Athen Charter was established in 1931 after many international movements for heritage protection by international organizations. The charter aimed for creating principle for guiding the preservation and restoration of ancient buildings which were destroyed during World War I. Later, the Venice Charter was established in 1964 in according to the need of framework for restoration of monuments after their destructions during World War II.

⁶⁸ Kwanda, T. (2009). *Western Conservation Theory and Asian Context: The Different Roots of Conservation. International Conference on Heritage in Asia.* \

Retrieved from

http://repository.petra.ac.id/14993/1/Western_Conservation_2009

Both charters were influenced by western philosophical attitudes and their main concern is also the heritage conservation in Europe. They were sets of standard that have objectives to preserve monuments and their fabrics by emphasizing on two main tangible values, which are aesthetic and historical value. Moreover, they have strict rules and limitations for reconstruction of monuments. With some limitations and contexts from these two Eurocentrism charters, they are inappropriate to use in other parts of the world. For example, they could not get along well with conservation practices in Asia and Australia because heritages in these two areas are not only tangible objects, but also intangible heritages like culture and traditions. William Logan also support the idea of inappropriate use of the Venice Charter as it is much less suited to dealing with structures built of wood that, due to the ravages of humid climate, woodworm and fire, has to be replaced on a periodical basis⁶⁹.

In 1997, Australia ICOMOS reviewed the Venice Charter in order to develop a new charter which is the Burra Charter for using as a guideline for places protection and management in Australia. The charter shifted from the Venice Charter's core idea of materials, monuments, and fabric to places and cultural significance of both tangible and intangible heritages. The latest version of Burra Charter in 2013 presented five categories of

⁶⁹ Logan, W. (2004). *Introduction: Voice from the Periphery: the Burra Charter in*

Context. Historic Environment, Vol. 18, No. 1. Retrieved from

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/306256658_Introduction_voices

[fro m the periphery the Burra Charter in context](#)

cultural significances which consist of aesthetic, historic, scientific, social, and spiritual value. Each term of values was given with clear definitions that help heritage practitioners to understand them easily. Definition of those terms can be found on the practice note of Australia ICOMOS named 'Understanding and Assessing Cultural Significance'⁷⁰ and can be presented in this research in concise forms of quotation as follows;

- Aesthetic value refers to the sensory and perceptual experience of a place- that is, how we respond to visual and non-visual aspects as sounds, smells and other factors.

- Historic value refers to a place where it has influenced, or has been influenced by, an historic event, phase, movement or activity, person or group of people.

- Scientific value refers to the information content of a place and its ability to reveal more about aspects of the past through examination or investigation of the place, including the use of archaeological techniques.

- Social value refers to the associations that a place has for a particular community or cultural group and the social or cultural meanings that it holds for them.

⁷⁰ Australia ICOMOS. (2013). *Understanding and Assessing Cultural Significance*.

- Spiritual value refers to the intangible values and meanings embodied in or evoked by a place which give it importance in spiritual identity, or the traditional knowledge, art and practices of a cultural group.

The above details about cultural significance assessment and five value typologies show that the Burra Charter uses value-based approach as a tool to assess different values of heritages. The information of values provides meanings that help establish importance for places and sites. The higher value of the heritage, the more attention on the heritage conservation will be received from concerned government bodies, heritage practitioners, local people, and tourists. Moreover, clear information about values of heritage are highly useful for building statement of significance which can lead to more effective decision making and prioritization on conservation planning and management.

The Burra Charter is a widely accepted guideline for heritage conservation not only in Australia, its ideas about cultural significance and more important of living cultures than original fabric has influence on others charters in Asia, such as the Nara Document on Authenticity, the Hoi An Protocols, and the China Principles. The heritage conservation charters in Asian versions presents more understanding in cultural diversity and the concept of cyclic restoration or rebuilding which is common in Asia where some religious buildings were made from wood and they are needed to be repaired by new wood as building materials.

Furthermore, the Burra Charter also introduced other important ground rules for conservation practices in Asia in terms of inclusive approach. The charter considered the importance of community response

and all parties' involvement in the care of heritages. It mentioned in Article 12 that public interest in conservation, interpretation and management of a place should provide for the participation of people for whom the place has significant associations and meanings, or who have social, spiritual or other cultural responsibilities for the place⁷¹. Therefore, this research will mainly follow the guideline and methodology from the Burra Charter because it balances and completes understanding of heritage which is suitable for assessing cultural significance, planning for conservation and management plan for the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route.

Assessing Cultural Significance of Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route

The legend of Queen Chammathevi is main content for the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route because it represents significances, values, and integrity of Lamphun and Lampang's heritages. The legend has high influence on the life and belief of people in northern Thailand in the modern day. The queen is the major heroine in the Lan Na's prehistory. She is the starting point of Hariphunchai Kingdom in 661 while the end of her dynasty is the rising of Lan Na Kingdom in 1281. Her legend becomes the heritage of Lan Na and it has been relayed in the memory of people from generations to generations, especially in Lamphun, Lampang, and even Chiang Mai.

⁷¹ Australia ICOMOS. (2013). *The Burra Charter 2013*. Retrieved from

<https://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013->

Queen Chammathevi is a single theme that link Lamphun and Lampang by the history of the establishment of Hariphunchai, Khelang Nagara, and Alampang Nagara. The names of these three ancient cities are clearly recorded in both temple (mainstream chronicle) and town chronicles (or tamnan). Hariphunchai Kingdom was developed and reformed till it had the name as Lamphun Province in the modern day. Likewise Khelang Nagara and Alampang Nagara that were joined and it becomes Lampang Province in the modern day. There are also place names and historical sites that associate with the legend of Queen Chammathevi along the route between these two provinces. Her statues in different sizes and forms and some of her shrines are found in many temples and historical sites in both cities. These evidences exactly show dynamic cultural interaction of local people with her legend.

Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route is the sub-theme that is developed from the queen's legend from both temple and town chronicles. Although these chronicles has less information of the queen's pilgrimage to pay respect to pagodas, Buddha Relics, and Buddha's footprints in Lamphun and Lampang, several local legends and folklores from each village that tells the story about the visitation of the queen, her twin sons, and her auspicious elephant, can help weaving an interesting story about her. This pilgrimage route will be an effective connection both tangible and intangible heritages in the two cities. This is also an opportunity to create new link between main touristic sites and the lesser known sites in these

less popular cities under the attractive theme that is a part of local people imagination and memory based on a historical principle.

The legend of Queen Chammathevi and her pilgrimage route can illustrate Lamphun and Lampang as places of cultural significance. In order to understand these heritage's significances, the assessment of their values is based on the Burra Charter concept of understanding heritage. The result of the assessment is as follows;

Historic Value

The study of Thai history generally based on series of Phongsawadan or Thai chronicles which were written by the royal Thai court in Ayutthaya and Rattanakosin period. The chronicles directly concerned with the kings and situations that happened during each of the king's reign. They are considered as the national history and the products of Siam centralization. Thai history mostly emphasized highly significant of the king and promoted the king's sovereignty and his authority over dependent states like Lan Na, Laos, and other sates in Malay Peninsula. Thai history is a tool for unifying different states and various ethnic groups and linked them to the center of the kingdom. It is a necessary tool for Thailand, or Siam, to create the idea of 'the nation', especially when the country was under the threats from Burmese's wars during Ayutthaya and Rattanakosin period, and threats of European colonization from both Britain and France during the reign of King Rama IV, King Rama V, and King Rama VI.

Ideology of Thai nation successfully created nationalism, integration, and harmony among Thai population. Most of people focused at three pillars of the nation which consist of 'nation, religion, and King'. Every Thai dynasty and king which appeared in the Phongsawadan had political right because chronicles identified them as the successors from the king of Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, and Rattanakosin. Sukhothai became the greatest because it was a starting point of Thai history, and it was strictly recorded in official Thai history as the first kingdom of Thai people. This version of Thai history was use for Thai education for a long period of time. It is true that this set of history encouraged Thai people to have courages, patriotism, and loyalty for protecting the country from threats. Thai people are proud of the country's independence since Britain and France could not declared colonial rule over the kingdom. However, Thai history which was derived from the Phongsawadan mainly focused on centralization and overlooked local history of several states or 'muang' which were under Siam.

Perhaps there are some of Thai people who want to study more about the past and challenged the influence of traditional Thai history. They might want to discuss about Thai states which existed before Sukhothai. They probably knew that prior to Sukhothai, there are states like Dvaravati, Lavapura, U Thong, Nakhon Pathom, and Hariphunchai that have important socioeconomic roles in the region, but there is still limited information for them to study. However, there are more opportunities for understanding about prehistory of Thailand than in the past because increasing of new data about prehistoric Southeast Asia provoked an

interest among foreign and Thai historians and scholars. Several topics about prehistoric Southeast Asia were studied and scholars also have new finding archaeological artifacts in the region as evidences and sources for Southeast Asia historical reconstruction. New finding records of the past in the region, including the past of Thailand, were revealed to publics.

Several lost kingdoms in Southeast Asia become alive after the new movement in historical study. Myth and legend like the legend of Queen Chammathevi was used as a part of historical writing because it was a source of history, even though they are considered as oral tradition. The legend of Queen Chammathevi is a narrative that provides information about prehistoric society in the region, and the development of states like Dvaravati, Hariphunchai, and Lan Na. It arouses people's curiosity to find further details about these ancient cities in the early history of Thailand. Therefore, Queen Chammathevi's legend has high significance in terms of unveiling the secret and clarifying the obscure prehistory of Thailand, or even the prehistory development of Southeast Asia.

Prehistory of Thailand

Legend of Queen Chammathevi can be an important source that helped uncovering life of prehistoric human ancestry and ancient society in the area of Ping River basin and Wang River basin, in northern Thailand. Due to suitable location for inhabitants in Mainland Southeast Asia which is located in tropical latitude, and has environmental diversity and various geography of mountainous highlands and riverine lowlands, records of human evolutions and settlements can be found in this area. For example, archaeologists discovered important prehistoric evidences like some stone

flakes and series of chopper tools, which can be dated back to 600,000 years, at Ban Don Chumpon, Mae Tha District in Lampang. The remains of a human cranium which can be dated back to 500,000 years also were found at Had Pu Dai Village, Ko Kha District in Lampang.

The human remains which including four cranial fragments were confirmed to be parts of *Homo erectus*. They were found on 25th September and 12th November 1999 by Mr. Somsak Pramankij, a researcher at Sood Sangvichien Prehistoric Museum and Laboratory, Bangkok, and they were name as “Lampang Man”. The Lampang Man was an evidence of earliest ancient human in Thailand and he also shared similar characteristics of “Java Man”, the *Homo erectus* of Sangiran in Indonesia⁷².

The location which Lampang Man was found is the area of rock shelter by Wang River. Other fossils and mammalian faunal remains like suid fossils, teeth belong to rhinoceros, tapir, krajong (small deer), bear, fish, turtle and crocodile also were found in the cave of this hominoid. Lampang Man used a rock shelter for his inhabiting and hunted wild animals for food. He did not have permanent settlement because he needed to travel for finding new places when he experienced difficulty to find foods around his old inhabiting. Archaeologists believed that the cave of Lampang Man at Had Pu Dai is a short-term habitation site for *Homo*

⁷² Pramankij, S. et al.(n.d). *Ancient Humans in Thailand*. Retrieved from

<http://www.nst.or.th/members/sasiphan-02.pdf>

erectus⁷³. Therefore, Lamang Man is a perfect example of prehistoric life during the period of hunting and gathering in northern Thailand.

Early primitive life style of Homo erectus was gradually transformed when new human species like Homo sapiens appeared about 100,000 years ago. This is the late hunter-gatherer period and also the beginning to experience technocomplex from humankind. Technocomplex is a term that archaeologists used for representing Hoabinhian civilization of stone tools making. Hoabinhian-like tools have characteristics of large adze/axe-like tools with a transverse cutting edge are noted, in association with choppers and flake tools⁷⁴. They were also made from fine-grained rocks with sophisticated techniques of polishing and assemblage. Hoabinhian-like tools provide Homo sapiens for having more effective ways to forage for higher numbers of their family members. However, Homo sapiens were challenged by the increasing of population and the decreasing of food

⁷³ Subhavan, V. & et al. (2016). *Putative Homo erectus cranial fragment from Doi Ta*

Ka (Locality 1), Lamang Province, Northern Thailand. Retrieved from www.academia.edu

⁷⁴ Ji, Z. & et al. (2015). *The Oldest Hoabinhian Technocomplex in Asia (43.5 ka) at*

Xiaodong Rock Shelter, Yunnan Province, Southwest China. *Quaternary*

International xxx. Retrieved from

<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287966708>

sources by environmental change⁷⁵. Then, they decided to produce their own food by agriculture and keep domesticated animals. They also shifted from short-term habitation site to settlement stability.

Expansion of population density in northern Thailand continuously developed to agricultural communities because humans wanted to control food productions. New forms of agricultural practices like cultivation of wet rice, annual and cycle cultivation system, tropical fruits cultivation, and food storages were introduced to communities to maintain sufficient and regular food supplies. People in early agricultural period chose to have settlements along rivers or close to water sources in order to have enough water to support their agricultural activities. Productions were for household level, including the mining of copper and bronze casting and pottery. Social organization seemed to be in a form of egalitarian. Social status was based upon age, sex, and social and economic roles⁷⁶. Poor and wealthy people can be distinguished by burials goods which are symbols of wealth, such as potteries, burnishing stones, and some agricultural tools.

Population continued to increase in northern Thailand as well as higher development in bronze casting techniques in the region. Bronze

⁷⁵ Tarling, N. (2008). *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*. UK: Cambridge University Press.

⁷⁶ O' Reilly, D. J. W. (2001). *From the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in Thailand: Applying the Heterarchical Approach*. Asian Perspective, Vol. 39, No. 1 - 2: Hawaii'i: University of Hawaii'i Press.

became a popular raw material for fashioning to be ornaments and weapons. Some members in each village can claim for a higher social status as one of the elite class or a chief if that person can demonstrate the ownership of bronze artifacts, precious stones, and ceramics to other persons. This is a starting point of shifting from unranked social organization to hierarchical society. Although villagers still enjoyed having autonomous with kinship in small communities, they expanded farming, started contacting and exchanging trades and relationships with other communities throughout the region.

Trade networks between communities grew rapidly with accelerations from international trades and contacts with India and China. Local people also received cultural influences and knowledge from both countries, especially metal working technology. Weapons and agricultural tools from iron can increase farming productivity and products can be traded for wealth. Well-established maritime trades between India, China, and even Rome led to increasing long-distance trades in Mainland Southeast Asia. The size of settlement became bigger and density of population became higher till communities have to change their forms to be states. Conflicts also arose when each state claims on limited natural resources, like metals, salt, and labour forces, which can bring them wealth and authority.

The rise of social unrest from competitions between rival states became a main reason for them to develop their own military and troops. Hierarchical social organization was introduced to states because they needed a leader from ruler class to control socio-political and more

complicated society. Cities with large fortified sites with moats surrounding were built for defensive purpose. There are evidences of a large number of iron weapons like long swords, spears, and arrowheads were found in prehistoric burial sites around the region. Excavations at Ban Wang Hi, in Lamphun have exposed graves containing decorated swords and large spears, thought by the excavators, to have been used in warfare⁷⁷. Moreover, bronze drums from Dong Son culture which were traded throughout Southeast Asia were evidences that depicted battle scenes with marching warriors and swords fighting.

Pictures of societies in prehistoric northern Thailand were portrayed on the legend of Queen Chammathevi when names of communities were mentioned like Migasanghanagara, Rammanagara, and Purinagara. The legend told that these are communities of animism and people considered themselves to have kinship from animals. They were assumed to be tribes of Lua and Meng (ancient Mon) people who believed that they were born from animal's footprints of elephant, deer, or rhinoceros. Indigenous people from the same kinship lived together as tribes and they were ruled by chiefs who were the lineages of the sage Vasudeva. The sage was considered to be the leader in the region because he has supernatural power and wisdom. He probably came from one of Dvaravati states and wanted to develop

⁷⁷ O' Reilly, D.J. W. (2001). *From the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in Thailand:*

Applying the Heterachical Approach. Asian Perspective, Vol. 39, No. 1 -2:

Hawaii'i: University of Hawaii'i Press.

indigenous people in this remote area. He attempted to introduce Dvaravati civilized culture and ranked system to local people. However, the sage was unsuccessfully in forming civilized societies for his people because they were not educated and they could not manage larger scale of communities until there were social unrests and communities were destroyed.

The sage established Hariphunchai as a new large settlement which he planned to have a ruler who has high ability and high morality to run the society. He considered Princess Chammthevi of Lavapura state as the suitable person to achieve this challenging mission. Then, he invited her to rule and asked her to bring civilization to new remote city in the north. The princess introduced hierarchical system and also philosophy of Buddhism and Brahmanism to undeveloped society that kept growing and transforming to more complex society. She was successfully organized multi indigenous tribes to live together in Hariphunchai. The city started trading, exchanging culture and relationship with other towns for prosperity and stability.

In conclusion, northern Thailand and Southeast Asia shared the history in transformation periods from Stone Age of hunter and gatherer, Bronze Age, and Iron Age before they entered to state-level society. Indian influence, Buddhist and Brahmanical civilization of the first millennium played a major role in shaping culture and ways of life of people in the region, from the past to the present.

Dvaravati Kingdom

Dvaravati is an ancient kingdom which has its existence from the 6th to the 11th centuries A.D.⁷⁸ It is a network of cities which stayed together in the form of a federation and has Nakhon Pathom as the center. Cities of Dvaravati were scattered in five different river basins in the central part of Thailand. According to the book *(Sri)Dvaravati: the Initial Phase of Siam's History* by Dr. Dhida Saraya, five groups of important Dvaravati cities are as follows:

1. the U-Thong - Nakhon Pathom - Khu Bua complex on the coast to the west of Chao Phraya river basin,
2. a group of towns on the upper part of the Chao Phraya river basin: Khu Muang - Chansen - U-Taphao - Dong Khon,
3. the Si Thep group in the Pa Sak river basin and on the Korat plateau.
4. the Lavo group in the Lopburi river basin on the upper part of the east side of the Chao Phraya River basin.
5. a group of towns east of the Chao Phraya river basin, with significant ancient cities like Si Mahosot and Dong Lakhon, and other large Dvaravati towns in Isan Pradesh⁷⁹.

⁷⁸ Saraya, D. (1999). *(Sri)Dvaravati: the Initial Phase of Siam's History*. Bangkok:

Muang Boran.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

Dvaravati is a Sanskrit word meaning “being a gateway to the port”⁸⁰. This meaning associates with locations of several key cities that were settled along the coast of Gulf of Thailand, such as Nakhon Pathom, Khu Bua (Rachaburi), U Thong (Suphan Buri), Dong Lakhon (Nakhon Nayok), Si Mahosot (Prachin Buri), and Muang Phra Rot (Cha Cheng Sao). These cities were trading ports and centers of maritime activities that Davaravati used for having economic and cultural intercourse with traders, travelers, and seafarers from the South China Sea and the Gulf of Thailand⁸¹. Most of products that come from Dvaravati are forest products, such as scented wood and herbs, wild animals, such as elephants and peacocks, and rare jewels from the sea such as pearls.⁸² Archaeologists found abundant of evidences to support the importance of Dvaravati as the ancient international seaport, such as a ship and a craved stone seal in Nakhon Pathom, imported ceramics from China (Tang and Song dynasties) and turquoise Persian in Muang Phra Rot (Chon Buri), and beads of polychrome glass, agate, and carnelian in Si Mahosot (Prachin Buri)⁸³.

⁸⁰ Saraya, D. (1999). *(Sri)Dvaravati: the Initial Phase of Siam's History*. Bangkok:

Muang Boran.

⁸¹ Pornchai Suchitta. (n.d.). *History and Archaeology in Thailand - What's New?*.

Retrieved from <http://www.siamese-heritage.org/jsspdf/1981>

⁸² Saraya, D. (1999). *(Sri)Dvaravati: the Initial Phase of Siam's History*. Bangkok:

Muang Boran.

⁸³ Miksic, J. & Goh, G. Y. (2017). *Ancient Southeast Asia*. New York: Rutledge.

The unification of different cities as a state of Dvaravati has the influence from Indianization through the belief of divine kingship and class system. The central power of Dvaravati comes from the king who ruled over U Thong- Nakhon Pathom- Ku Bua complex. The king also has sovereignty over other peripheral territories, but no direct influence on them⁸⁴. Dvaravati coins and medals completed the evidences of the kingship in Dvaravati. The discovery of Dvaravati silver coins which have the inscription in Pallava letters, with Sanskrit phrases such as “sridvaravati svarapunya” can be interpreted as “the merit of the Lord of Sri Dvaravati,” or “the king of Sri Dvaravati who is blessed with great merit,” or “the merits of the King of Dvaravati”⁸⁵. These coins were found in Nakhon Pathom, U Thong, Sing Buri, and Chainat. Some Dvaravati silver coins which were found in Myanmar⁸⁶ and U Thong⁸⁷ has the Pallava word as Lavapura, the city of Lava, inscribed on them. This group of coins is the evidence for supporting the existence of autonomous state of Lavapura City under Dvaravati Kingdom.

⁸⁴ Pornchai Suchitta. (n.d.). *History and Archaeology in Thailand - What's New?*.

Retrieved from <http://www.siamese-heritage.org/jsspdf/1981>

⁸⁵ Saraya, D. (1999). *(Sri)Dvaravati: the Initial Phase of Siam's History*. Bangkok:

Muang Boran.

⁸⁶ Miksic, J. & Goh, G. Y. (2017). *Ancient Southeast Asia*. New York: Rutledge.

⁸⁷ Boeles, J. J. (n.d.). *A Note on the Ancient City Called Lavapura*. Retrieved from

www.siamese-heritage.org

The society of Dvaravati comprises of different indigenous group who are Mon or Tanluin, Tai, Sam, Sayam, Siam, and Khmer. The society was classified into two major groups which are the ruler and civilians. The ruler class is such as the king, the royal family, Nobel officials, local leader, hermits, and Brahmins, while the civilians are such as farmers and planters, artist and craftsmen, soldiers, serfs and slaves⁸⁸.

Mon is assumed to be a major ethnic group in the society who were the most receptive to Indian philosophy, religion, and art and culture. They were also the original race in the Southeast Asia region that developed their speaking and writing Mon language. The Mon language were appeared on several ancient inscriptions such as two inscriptions in Nakhon Pathom and Lop Buri which come from 6th - 7th century, other inscriptions that were found in the eastern Chao Phraya River basin, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Chonburi, Lamphun, Nakhon Sawan, Khon Kaen, Maha Sarakham, and Kalasin can be dated between 7th - 12th century.⁸⁹

Indian influenced Buddhist and Hindu civilizations played a significant role in Dvaravati society, however, Buddhism reached the heart of the population more than Hinduism⁹⁰. Dvaravati Buddhism strongly practices in Theravada than Mahayana, while Hinduism, Hindu deities, and

⁸⁸ Saraya, D. (1999). *(Sri)Dvaravati: the Initial Phase of Siam's History*. Bangkok:

Muang Boran.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

Mahayana were more associated with king. This phenomenon can be interpreted through the divine kingship system from Hinduism and the belief of the king as Bodhisattva or a past life of a Buddha from Mahayana Buddhism. Theravada Buddhism concentrated on leading Dvaravati people to sought Enlightenment by practicing meditation, making merit, and following the Lord Buddha's teaching. Therefore, several Dvaravati art objects revealed the expression which related to Theravada Buddhism, such as carved stone Wheels of Law Dharmacakra, Buddha images, stupas, votive tablets, sculptures of deer and a man pulling a monkey, and terracottas.

Dvaravati civilization in the central part of Thailand lasted around 600 years, from the sixth century through the eleventh century A.D. The decline of the ancient kingdom has been debated among scholars and their hypothesis. For example Prince Damrong Rajanubhab proposed that Dvaravati declined because of an outbreak of a pandemic that forced people to abandon their residences⁹¹, while other scholars believed that Davaravati declined because of the political power expansion of Khmer Kingdom into the Chao Phraya River basin, some cities were destroyed, and some joined with other new kingdoms which were established such as

⁹¹ Kanjanajuntorn, P. et al. (2015). *Tracing Post-Dvaravati Culture from Space:*

Applying Remote Sensing Technique in West-Central Thailand. Asian

Perspectives, Vol. 53, No. 1. University of Hawai'i Press.

Haripunchai, Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, Suphanburi, Lan Na, and Nakhon Si Thammarat⁹².

Lavo or Lavapura

Lavo or Lavapura is one of the major cities in Dvaravati Kingdom. It is the modern-day Lopburi Province. It is situated in the eastern side of Chao Phraya River basin and also situated on the bank of Lopburi River. Its location is considered as the important hub for trading and exchanging culture with several towns in the region both inland and overseas. It has relationships with cities on the western side of Chao Phraya River such as Nakhon Chai Sri and U Thong, and also with cities on the eastern side through Pasak River basin to Korat plateau of the Mekong River basin on the shore of China Sea⁹³, perhaps with connections into the Indonesian world as well⁹⁴. Two Lavapura silver coins in Dvaravati period were found in 1966 at U Thong archeological site in Suphanburi Province are the

⁹² Graduate School of International Development, Nagoya University. (n.d.). *History*

of Thailand in Brief. Retrieved from https://www.gsid.nagoya-u.ac.jp/sotsubo/Protected_OFW2008/ProfPhaisal_DP_3-History.pdf

⁹³ Vallibhotama, S. (2016). *From "Lavo" to "Lopburi": A Historical Transition of an Ancient City*. *Muang Boran Journal*, Vol. 42 No. 2.

⁹⁴ Wicks, R. S. (1992). *Money, Markets, and Trade in Early Southeast Asia: the Development of Indigenous Monetary Systems to AD 1400*. Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications: NY.

record of the name of Lavo city in ancient Pallava script. They are evidences to reveal the significance of Lavo as the city-state-port that was the regional trading center and has its own coins from local manufacture.

Mon people were a major population among other ethnic origins in Lavo. They were influenced by Indian culture and associated with Thevarvada Buddhism. One of inscription on the pillar that was found in Lopburi is in ancient Mon language in the sixth or seventh century is the evidence of Mon influence in Lavo. The inscription reflected the belief in Buddhism of Mon because it informed about the donation and merit making to the religion. The inscription referred to two Mon donors who offered slaves, robes, pair of buffalo and a wagon to the temple⁹⁵.

Lavo was ruled by the king of Lavo and it seemed to be independent from the central power from Nakhon Pathom, even though Lavo was one of the peripheral territories of Dvaravati Kingdom. Mon-Dvaravati civilization was developed in Lavo till this city was recognized as Taxila of South East Asia in the ancient time⁹⁶. The Chamadevivamsa, and the Jinakamalini Chronicle mentioned Queen Chammathevi brought five hundred men and five hundred Buddhist monks to Hariphunchai with her,

⁹⁵ Wicks, R. S. (1992). *Money, Markets, and Trade in Early Southeast Asia: the*

Development of Indigenous Monetary Systems to AD 1400. Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications: NY.

⁹⁶ Thongmitr, V. (2016). *Lopburi: Taxila of Siam*. Muang Boran Journal, Vol. 42 No.

while the Mulasasana mentioned the queen also brought each five hundred of scholars, carvers, jewelry makers, merchants, astrologers, physicians, silver men, goldsmiths, smiths, draftsmen, civil engineers, and other craftsmen. Queen Chammathevi planned to develop the new kingdom of Hariphunchai and she brought these skillful people from Lavo to help her to build and organize the town. Therefore, Lavo must be a significant learning center in Suvarnabhumi that educated and offered various fields of knowledge to people.

In the 11th - 12th century, Lavo became a part of Khmer Empire and it was ruled by a Khmer general or Viceroy⁹⁷. This city is considered as an important center of Khmer in Chao Phraya River basin because there are evidences from some large remaining monuments of Khmer architecture that still existed in Lopburi, such as prang in Bayon style at Wat Phra Si Ratana Mahathat, Pra Prang Sam Yod or the three towers sanctuary, and Prang Khaek or Hindu shrine. These are outstanding monuments that illustrated the political and cultural influences from Khom Combodia. They also reflect the Brahmanism influence because these monuments were dedicated to the Brahmanic deities⁹⁸. However, people of Lavo had freedom to believe in their own religions. According to the Khmer High

⁹⁷ Phungtian, C. (2000). *Thai Cambodian Culture: A Relationship through Arts*. A

Thesis Submitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of
Social Sciences, Magadh University, Bodh-Gaya, Gaya, India.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

Court Inscription (1st Plate) at Phra Kan Shrine or San Sung in Lopburi, King Suryavarman I allowed monks, nun, and people who believed in Buddhism and ascetics who believed in Brahmanism to practice precepts and chant prayers to the king for his long life, and banned anyone and or any animals to disturb these monks, nuns and ascetics while they were in their monasteries⁹⁹.

The role of Khmer in Lavo also appeared in the legends of Queen Chammathevi. Town chronicles mentioned the conflicts between Khmer and Hariphunchai which is the Mon kingdom in the north. During the reign of Adittaraja of Hariphunchai Kingdom, there were four wars between Hariphunchai and Lavo. First war became the competition to build a laterite cetiya in one day and one night, the Lavo king won at this time because his army built a fake laterite cetiya and pretended that they finished it before the army of king Adittaraja. Second war was also the competition between the Lavo king's son and Adittaraja to dig a pond in one day and one night, this time the army of Hariphunchai won the battle. Third war started with the attack from the Lavo's troops that led by the minister named Putrija. His army came close to Hariphunchai but it was forced to get lost in the jungle because of the power of Hariphunchai guardian deities. Lavo's army was so frightened and unable to fight with Hariphunchai. The fourth war was between the guardian deity of Lavo and the guardian deity of Hariphunchai. The guardian deity of Lavo used evil power to kill the

⁹⁹ Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre. (2006). *The Inscriptions in*

Thailand Database. Retrieved from <http://www.sac.or.th/databases/inscriptions>

auspicious white rooster of Hariphunchai first, later he was killed by a crocodile who was another Hariphunchai guardian deity.

The power of Khmer Empire over Lavo was faded after the death of Suryavarman II or around 1150. Lavo had definitely broken away from Angkor by 1289. It began seeking to be accepted its status as an independent country by the powerful emperor of China by sending several embassies to China between 1289 and 1299¹⁰⁰. During the same era, there are new rising kingdoms as Ayutthaya, Suphanburi, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Hariphunchai, Lan Na, and Sukhothai. Later, Lavo declined and turned to be one of a city under Ayutthaya Kingdom.



Figure 8 Map of Dvaravati States in Thailand

Source: <http://epicworldhistory.blogspot.com/2013/10/dvaravati.html>

¹⁰⁰ Vella, W. F. & Cowing, S. B. (1968). *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* by



Figure 9 The shoreline and ancient settlements over lower Chao Phraya Basin, dating 6,000 - 3,000 years ago

Source: Courtesy of Somdet Phra Narai National Museum

Hariphunchai Kingdom

- Hariphunchai and the Mon Era

Several chronicles, such as the Mulasasana, the Chamadevivamsa, and the Jinakamalini provided wealth information about Hariphunchai, especially the establishment of the town. They all mentioned the sage Vasudeva built this new city or Hariphunchai in 661 A.D. to replace some ruinous cities as Rammanagara, Migasanghanagara, and Purinagara. These ruinous cities also were built by the sage Vasudeva and they were located near the foot of Sugar Cane Mountain. The sage built these cities for his lineages that were born from animal footprints and some were born from a

doe.¹⁰¹ The story about the sage Vasudeva could be interpreted that he was a powerful leader and a Wiseman in the area of the Sugar Cane Mountain. He could build cities for his people who were considered as indigenous tribes and they could be Lua, Lawa, Mon, and Tai.

The sage Vasudeva realized that three cities of Rammanagara, Migasanganagara, and Purinagara were fallen because those cities lacked of a smart ruler who has virtue and has ability to run the government and control the people. Moreover, locations of these cities were on the flood plain and they were easily to be destroyed by flash flood. Then the sage carefully chose new location to be on flat area of Mae Guang River's west bank, the Mae Guang River is little tributary in the large former bed of the Ping River¹⁰². This time he consulted with his friends, the sage Sukkadanta from Lavapura and the sage Sajjanaleyya, in order to build a new town in a shape of conch shell which has a width of 500 meters and a length of 1,100 meters. Conch shell associated with one of the weapon that belongs to Hinduism Lord Vishnu and it represented fame and prosperity of the town. Furthermore, this area was believed that the Lord Buddha used to visit and he said that it will become a great city of Hariphunchai and his relics will appear at this holy place.

¹⁰¹ Swearer, D. K. (1998). *The Legend of Queen Cama*. New York: State University of New York Press.

¹⁰² Ibid.

The sage Vasudeva invited Princess Chammathevi from Lavapura to rule Hariphunchai because of her reputation as a brave and smart leader. He also expected that the princess will also bring the philosophy of Buddhism, wisdom, technology, and civilization of Mon Dvaravati to develop the local people in the remote area. Princess Chammathevi accepted the invitation from the sage and travelled from Lavapura to Hariphunchai while she had three months of pregnancy. She spent seven months to reach the city and then gave birth to twin sons at Hariphunchai. Her elder son was called Mahantayasa and her younger son was called Indavara or Anantayasa. After that, the sage enthroned her as a Queen of Hariphunchai.

Queen Chammathevi laid the foundation of Hariphunchai to be a center of Buddhism by asking five hundred monks who followed her from Lavo to regularly teach dharma to people based on the tipitaka. According to the Mulasasana chronicle, two thousand temples were built around the town¹⁰³ because of the royal support. The queen organized almost seven thousand households by the urban planning, zoning each ethnic group and letting them stay together harmoniously, for example Mon from Lavapura resided at the northeast of the town, the west area was for people from Migasanghanagara, indigenous people lived in the south of Hariphunchai.

¹⁰³ Phra Buddharukkit and Phra Buddhayan. (1999 - 2053 B.E.). *Tamnan Mulasasana*.

The queen also set the system for Hariphunchai's security and political stability by establishing satellite towns around her kingdom. These towns were ruled by the queen's representatives and have responsibility to be as defensive outposts. During the reign of Queen Chammathevi, there were invasions from some indigenous groups and there was a war against the Lawa troop of the King Wilangkha. Hariphunchai's satellite town in Chaing Mai and Lamphun basin are Wiang Tha Kan, Wiang Mano, Wiang Lavo, Wiang Chai, Tantanagara, Wiang Sob Ta, Wiang Sam Sieaw, Wiang Dan Nok, Wiang Khum Kam, Wiang Nong Doo, Wiang Phra Kerd, Wiang Nong Long, and Wiang Hot. Several archeological evidences were found at these towns and they were associated with Hariphunchai, such as Mon inscriptions, Hariphunchai's art objects, and terra cotta votive tablets.

- Hariphunchai Kingdom and the city-states of Khelang Nagara and Alampang Nagara

Khelang Nagara and Alampang Nagara, the modern Lampang Province, were Hariphunchai satellite towns in Wang River basin. Khelang Nagara was established in 680 A.D. by the sage Mahabrahma and the hunter named Khelang for the younger twin son of Queen Chammathevi, the Prince Anantayasa. The prince wanted to rule his own kingdom after Queen Chammathevi enthroned the older twin son, the Prince Mahatayasa, to be the king of Hariphunchai. Khelang was built in a shape of conch shell like Hariphunchai. It has a width of 600 meters and a length of 1,400 meters. It was situated on the west bank of the Wang River. Queen Chammathevi

travelled to Khelang Nagara in order to help her son to rule the new city for six years. After that, King Anantayasa and the sage Mahabrahma built another satellite town named Alampang Nagara on the southwest of Khelang Nagara for being the queen's palace. The major monastery at this town is Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang. The queen stayed there for three more years before returning to Hariphunchai.

King Anantayasa brought some Buddhist monks, Brahmins, merchants, and craftsmen from Hariphunchai to develop his new city. The king supported Buddhism and practiced ten royal virtues just like his mother did. The major monastery of the city is Wat Phra Kaew Don Tao. King Anantayasa also applied satellite towns systems to Khelang Nagara. Those satellite towns are Wiang Chai, Wiang Hi, Wiang Ta, Wiang Tan and Alampang Nagara.

Information about Khelang Nagara and Alampang Nagara does not appear much during Hariphunchai period. These cities are hardly mentioned during Lan Na's entire Mon era, does not seem to have Mon inscription or many old Mon artifacts¹⁰⁴. The study of Khelang Nagara is also difficult because of a lack of chronicle and very limit of information¹⁰⁵. However, small numbers of archeological evidences still were found around these two ancient cities to confirm their authenticity. Those

¹⁰⁴ Penth, H. (2004). *A Brief History of Lan Na*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

¹⁰⁵ Ongsakul, S. (2005). *History of Lan Na*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

evidences are such as Hariphunchai-style Buddha head, terra cotta votive tablets, and shreds of Hariphunchai-style pottery.

- Hariphunchai Kingdom and the Golden Era

The golden era of Hariphunchai was around 1200 and 1275 or during the period of King Adittaraja and King Savvadhissiddhi or Phraya Sapphasit. According to the Lord Buddha's prophecy, Hariphunchai would be the place that his relics appeared after his parinibbana and the King Adittaraja would protect them. The prediction of the Lord Buddha came true when the King Adittaraja was told by a white crow from Himavanata forest that relics of the Lord Buddha were buried at the site of his toilet. The king excavated the site and cleaned this area by himself. He built a shrine to protect the sacred relics and worshiped them by offering some gold and silver sand. Townspeople were allowed to pay homage to the relics by offering different kinds of lotus and other fragrant flowers. The shrine of the Lord Buddha's relics was restored by several kings and it was known as the Prathat Hariphunchai pagoda.

King Adittaraja led Hariphunchai to fight against Lavo in four wars. Hariphunchai sent the troop to attack Lavo in the first war. They made an agreement on having a righteous war instead of fighting and killing each other. Both sides accepted to have a battle on building a laterite cetiya within one day and one night. Hariphunchai lost in this time because Lavo's troop played a trick by building a fake cetiya. Later, Lavo's troop lost in the

second righteous war when both sides had the battle on digging a square pond within one day and one night. Lavo kept trying to attack Hariphunchai for two more times. Lavo's troops marched to Hariphunchai and they were lost in jungles before reaching the kingdom. Lavo's soldiers were seized by Hariphunchai's army and were forced to surrender. Finally, the king of Lavo gave up his intention to conquer Hariphunchai.

Buddhism was flourishing in Hariphunchai during the reign of King Savvadhissiddhi or Phaya Sapphasit because of his royal support. Several inscriptions and other sources mentioned his contribution and development to Buddhism. He enlarged Phrathat Hariphunchai to the height of 10 meters, he restored Ratanacetiya, he built Jetavana monastery and he was ordained a monk here, and he invited monks from Sri Lanka to visit his kingdom¹⁰⁶.

- Hariphunchai Kingdom and the end of Mon Era

Hariphunchai Kingdom was ended in the thirteenth century during the reign of King Yiba, (1275 - 1281). King Mang Rai of Lan Na has victory over King Yiba because he used his agent named Ai Fa to damage King Yiba's reputation. Ai Fa was employed by King Yiba and he gained a high trust from the king. The king also gave him authority to govern the kingdom. He isolated the king from the population and then committed

¹⁰⁶ Penth, H. (2004). *A Brief History of Lan Na*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

outrageous misdeeds in the name of the king¹⁰⁷. Townspeople were extremely unsatisfied with the king and they turned to be his enemies. They open the city's gate for King Mang Rai's troops to captured Hariphunchai in 1292. King Yiba fled to his son, Phaya Boek, who ruled Khelang Nagara.

Fourteen years after Hariphunchai was become King Mang Rai's territory, King Boek and King Bon sent their troops to attack Hariphunchai and Wing Khum Kam of King Mang Rai. King Bon was a brother of King Boek and he ruled over the city of Phon Nagara or the modern Phrae Province. King Mang Rai's army could fight against the troops from Khelang Nagara and Phon Nagara and overcome the battle. King Boek and King Bon were executed in the battle field on Khun Tan Mountain. Again, King Yiba fled from Khelang Nagara to Muaeng Song Khaew or Pitsanulok. He stayed there until the end of his life.

Lan Na Kingdom

- The Formation

Lan Na Kingdom was raised after the decline of group of ancient kingdoms in Southeast Asia, such as Dvaravati, Hariphunchai, Champa, and Angkor. The founder of the kingdom was King Mangrai who was the twenty-fifth king of Lawa dynasty that ruled over the powerful state of Ngoen Yang. The state was situated in the Kok River valley or the area in the the modern Chiang Rai Province.

¹⁰⁷ Penth, H. (2004). *A Brief History of Lan Na*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

King Mangrai claimed that he was the direct descent from the Lord Lao Chong who was sent from the heaven by the Lord Indra to rule over the highland Milakku or Lua people in Kok River valley. Then King Mangrai used both diplomatically and politically strategies to unify other city states in the area of Kok River valley and controlled over them. He aimed to strength his Ngoen Yang state in order to fight against the Mongol invasion and its expansion of territory to the south. By 1276, when the Mongols had already captured Yunnan, Burma, and Tonkin, King Mangrai moved his capital southward to Chiang Rai¹⁰⁸. However, he still felt insecure because of the threat from Mongol, then he planned to move further southward to settle his new state in the Ping River basin.

King Mangrai started his plan by first destroying Hariphunchai Kingdom and its influence over the Ping River and Wang River basin. He sent his spy named Ai Fa to ruin the fame of King Yiba of Hariphunchai by separating the king from his people, defaming the king by collecting more taxes from poor people, and forcing people to do hard works for the king. Ai Fa spent around six years to complete his mission because most of Hariphunchai people refused to have King Yiba as their ruler and turned to take side of King Mangrai. Then, King Mangrai successfully dethroned King Yiba and captured Hariphunchai in 1292. King Mangrai stayed in Hariphunchai for two years and he moved to settle his new capital in the Ping River basin at Wiang Kum Kham.

¹⁰⁸ Ongsakul, S. (2005). *History of Lan Na*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

Wiang Kum Kham was situated on a flood plain of the Ping River and King Mangrai was unsatisfied with its poor location. He kept searching for new location along the Ping River for his new capital until he met the perfect site on the foothills of Doi Suthep. The site had auspicious signs such as waterfalls, streams, and rivers that flew down from Doi Suthep Mountain to Ping River. He invited his friends, King Ramkhamhang of Sukhothai and King Ngammueng of Phayao to design the town plan. The new town was built in 1296 and it had rectangular shape with walls measuring 1,800 meters by 2,000 meters. King Mangrai named it as Chiang Mai which literary means the new city. He moved his residence from Wiang Kum Kham and left it as one of Chiang Mai's satellite town.

Chiang Mai had the perfect location because it was situated between the Kok River valley and the Ping River valley. King Mangrai could retain his power and control over his former states in Kok River valley through the Ping River. The river also was extremely important trade route and access route that connected several cities in the upper valley with states in the central plain of Chao Phraya River basin. Later, King Mangrai expanded his new territory to Khelang Nagara (Lampang), and combined his cities in Kok River basin (Chiang Rai), Ping River basin (Chiang Mai and Lamphun) and Wang River basin (Lampang) together to become the stable Lan Na Kingdom. The name of Lan Na means the million of rice fields because the kingdom had large area for growing rice and for other kinds of agriculture.

King Mangrai developed Chiang Mai to be the political center and cultural center of Lan Na Kingdom by integrating outstanding civilizations between Mon of Hariphunchai, Tai, and others ethnic tribes, such as Khoen, Burmese, and Ho. He respected both indigenous belief in supernatural power, spirit of the nature, spirit of their ancestors, and Buddhism. He used religions and beliefs to connect different groups of people. He used both ideas of devarajas or the god-king and dhammaraja or the righteous king to develop the kingdom to be peaceful and prosperous place. He supported Buddhism by building temples and making merits to monks. He created ethnical Lan Na society based on Mangraisart code of law which followed the Dhammasart which was the Mon code of law. He built the lineage system to sustain the political power of Mangrai Dynasty. The dynasty was last 318 years, 1261 - 1578, and there were fifteen kings and two queens that ruled over the kingdom.

- The Golden Era

The most prosperous periods of Lan Na Kingdom were in the reign of King Kuena (1355 - 1385) who was the sixth king and King Tilokarat (1441 - 1478) who was the ninth king of Mangrai Dynasty. They were distinctive from other kings and queens because they successfully developed Lan Na civilization, expanded Lan Na territory, built powerful army, and Lan Na was highly accepted by other states, including China, during their eras.

- King Kuena or Phaya Kuena was a great devotion for Buddhism and developed Chiang Mai to be a center of religion to replace

Hariphunchai. He invited the famous Sukhothai monk who was knowledgeable in Buddhist teaching named Sumana Thera to promote Lankavamsa order in Chiang Mai in 1369. The king considered the Lankavamsa order was the purer version than Theravada Buddhism in Lan Na. Sumana Thera also came from Sukhothai with the Buddha's sacred relics to present to King Kuena. In 1371, the king constructed the Buppharam or the Suan Dok Temple to enshrine some of the holy relics and for the monk to spend the rainy season retreat. He also developed the area of the Suan Dok Temple to be a town and established it as Wiang Phrathat or the town of holy relics¹⁰⁹. It became the center of Buddhism study in Lan Na because monks from other towns under Lan Na Kingdom came to study here. In 1384, King Kuena constructed the stupa and Wat Prathat Doi Suthep on the top of Doi Suthep to enshrine another part of the Buddha's relics from Sumana Thera.

The Buddhism education at the Suan Dok Temple produced several monk-scholars. The monks were leaders in education, literatures, and political as they wrote some famous chronicles and religious literatures. For example, the monk Bodhiramsi translated a history of Hariphunchai from Thai into Pali under the title of Chammathevivamsa¹¹⁰. He also wrote the history of Phra Singha Buddha image which was Chiang Mai's palladium

¹⁰⁹ Ongsakul, S. (2005). *History of Lan Na*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

¹¹⁰ Penth, H. (2004). *A Brief History of Lan Na*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

under the title of Sihingabuddharupanidana. In 1500, the monk Buddhayana wrote the chronicle named *Mulasasana*.

Lan Na Kingdom became more united and powerful after it was a center of Buddhism, then King Kuena decided to stop paying tributes to the Ho ruler of Yunnan in China. In 1403 and 1405, the Ho ruler sent troops to attack Chiang Sean which was the city-state of Lan Na according to the tribute termination. Lan Na's army conquered in the battles and gained more respect from other rulers. They sent tribute to King Kuena and also during the reign of his son, Phaya Saenmuangma. The name of Phaya Saenmuangma means one hundred thousand muang or city came to be under his sovereignty.

- **King Tilokarat** was a great warrior and a great devotion for Buddhism. Lan Na Kingdom's territory reached the greatest expansion during his reign. It was extended the territory to the north, including Chiang Rung, Mueang Yong, and other Tai towns, to the west into Shan States, to the east, including Nan, Phrae, and Lan Xang (Luang Prabang). King Tilokarat also attempted to expand the territory to the south by capturing Kamphang Phet, Sukhothai, and Pitsanulok which were vassal states of Ayutthaya. Lan Na confronted with Ayutthaya army for several times in order to establish the power over those vassal states. King Boromatrailokanat of Ayutthaya realized the threat from King Tilokarat and tried to confront this aggressive invasion from Lan Na's army for about

twenty four years. Reputation of King Tilokarat had grown significantly until the emperor of China sent gifts to honor him¹¹¹.

Buddhism continued to flourish in Lan Na Kingdom through King Tilokarat's patronage. He himself temporarily enters a monk-hood at Pa Daeng Temple of new Lankavamsa order. Education in Buddhism became outstanding during his reign. He supported monks to study in Pali and Tipitaka and encourage his people to engage in dharma wisdom. He organized The Eight World Tipitaka Council in order to preserve and purify the teaching of Lord Buddha and to make it as authentic as it first recored after the Lord Buddha's passing away. King Tikokarat also constructed Wat Maha Photaram or Wat Chet Yod to be a venue for this significant event. Moreover, he constructed Ratchamonthian, Pa Tan, and Pa Daeng temples in Chiang Mai. He brought the Emerald Buddha, a revered image and palladium of the kingdom, from Phrathat Lampang Luang temple to Chiang Mai¹¹². Buddhism linked people in Lan Na Kingdom, created better quality of life to them, and sustained high power among other city-states during forty-six years of the King Tilokarat's reign.

- The Dark Age under Burmese Rule

After the reign of Phaya Kaeo in 1525, Lan Na Kingdom started to decline because of economics and political problems. The big spending on numerous constructions of temples, religious supports and other infrastructures projects caused financial problems for the kingdom.

¹¹¹ Ongsakul, S. (2005). *History of Lan Na*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

¹¹² Ibid.

Moreover, wars against invasions from Ayutthaya's army and Shan States' army accelerated the financial problems to become worse. The kingdom also experienced inflation, poor production of rice and poor trade between states during this difficult time.

Conflict among nobles and conflict among each city-state led to the political unrest and civil wars. Nobles gained more power until they could control the king. Some kings that were appointed by nobles were weak and unqualified to solve both severe economics and political problems. In 1558, Lan Na turned to the weakest era and it was captured by the Burmese troop which was led by the powerful king Bayinnaung. King Bayinnaung disintegrated Lan Na Kingdom into individual city-states and retained Chiang Mai as the center of Burmese power. All city-states were under the control of Burmese rulers who were representatives of the Burmese king. Burmese administrative ruled over Lan Na for two hundred and ten years, or from 1558 to 1774.

Some city-states of Lan Na, such as Chiang Rai, Lampang, Nan, and Chiang Khong fought against Burmese rulers because they suffered from rulers' maltreats. The Burmese "kept and taking thing"¹¹³, for example they required big number of tribute from every city-states each year, and they forced Lan Na people to do hard work in several projects. Great distress from Burmese oppression caused numerous number of local people in each city-states fled from their hometowns to live in the forest.

¹¹³ Ongsakul, S. (2005). *History of Lan Na*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

- The Renaissance of Lan Na

Uprisings against the unfair treats from Burmese rulers began in 1732 by several groups of local people which were led by monks, rulers, and commoners¹¹⁴. Two significant uprisings were in Lampang by Tonboon Nayang who was a monk at Chomphu Temple and by Nan Thipchang who was a commoner. Nan Thipchang successfully assassinated the Burmese ruler, Thao Mahayos, who stayed at Wat Prathat Lampang Luang during his visit in Lampang. Nan Thipchang was praised by Lampang people because of his bravery and leadership. Then they nominated him to be the new ruler of Lampang with the new title as Phaya Sulavaruechaisongkram. He ruled over Lampang city-state for twenty nine years and his linages also became the Chao Chet Ton Dynasty (Seven Princes) of the new Lan Na Kingdom.

Phaya Kawila was the nephew of Phaya Sulavaruechaisongkram ruled Lampang with the assistance of his six brothers. He cooperated with Phaya Chaban who was the leader of the anti-Burmese group in Chiang Mai to fight against the Burmese ruler. Phaya Chaban traveled to Thonburi to ask King Taksin to support the troops for battling against the Burmese's troops in Chiang Mai. Phaya Chaban, Phaya Kawila, and Thonburi troops attacked Chiang Mai and they conquered over the Burmese ruler and successfully freed Chiang Mai in 1774. King Taksin appointed Phaya Chaban to be the ruler of Chiang Mai. After Phaya Chaban passed away,

¹¹⁴ Ongsakul, S. (2005). *History of Lan Na*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

King Taksin promoted Phaya Kawila to be the ruler of Chiang Mai in 1782. In 1774, local leaders in Lan Na also swore allegiance to Siam king, King Taksin of Thonburi and later King Rama I of Rattanakosin.

Due to Lan Na Kingdom was under the Burmese rule for two hundred and ten years; most of local people abandoned their towns, especially important towns as Chaing Mai, Chiang Rai, Lamphun, and Lampang. Phaya Kawila was aware of this difficulty for his kingdom development, and then he began to collect people to fill in Lan Na's desert towns by using the strategy called "Collecting vegetables for baskets, and collecting people for town". During 1782 - 1810, he used the military power to force some people from Chiang Tung, Muang Yong, Muang Fang, Muang Sat, and other towns in the Salween River valley and in the north of Chiang Mai to resettle in several important towns in Lan Na. In 1796, Phaya Kawila declared Chiang Mai to be the center of Lan Na again. He established his Chao Chet Ton Dynasty to rule Lan Na Kingdom through Rattanakosin period.

Salient Aspects of Historic Value

The legend of Queen Chammathevi helps unveil the history beyond official national history of the Kingdom of Thailand. The legend can link to the ancient period of prehistoric Southeast Asia, and other ancient states of Dvaravati, Srivijaya, and Funan. The legend associated with the development of Lan Na Kingdom, since the beginning of Lan Na until it was under Siam centralization.

The legend encourages people in Lamphun and Lampang, even people from other northern Thai provinces, to pay more attention and to be

interested in their local history. The pride of local communities towards their local history can lead to sense of place. The engagement between local people and community identity is important for the sustainability of cultural heritage conservation.

Social Value

Social value is one of essential aspects of cultural significance that creates distinction for heritage places. Concept of social value based on these ideas, such as connection, interaction, experience, and memory between people and places. Social value was defined by Australian ICOMOS as “the associations that a place has for a particular community or cultural group and the social or cultural meanings that it holds for them”¹¹⁵. Christ Johnston also proposed some interesting ideas about social value as this value provide a spiritual or traditional connection between past and present, it ties the past affectionately to the present and helps give a disempowered group back its history, it provides an essential reference point in a community's identity or sense of itself, and it looms large in the daily comings and goings of life¹¹⁶.

¹¹⁵ Australia ICOMOS. (2013). *Understanding and Assessing Cultural Significance*.

Retrieved from https://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/Practice-Note_Understanding-and-assessing-cultural-significance.pdf

¹¹⁶ Byrne, D., Brayshaw, H. & Ireland, T. (2003). *Social Significance: Discussion*

Paper. NSW: NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

Relationship between people and place is a main aspect of social value that different it from historical value, spiritual value, aesthetic value, and scientific value. Jennifer E. Cross presented relationship between people and place into six types, which are

1. Biographical Relationships based on personal history with a place;
2. Spiritual Relationships based on something much less tangible than personal history;
3. Ideological Relationships are founded on conscious values and beliefs about how humans should relate to physical places;
4. Narrative Relationships based on the history of that place and of people's relationship to it;
5. Commodified Relationships is the ability of people to choose a place with the best possible combination of desirable features; and
6. Dependent Relationships based on characteristic of dependent relationships is the aspect of choice¹¹⁷.

The above relationships of people with places can be called as a sense of place which means the long-term relationship between place and

¹¹⁷ Cross, J. E. (2001). *What is Sense of Place?*. The 12th Headwaters Conference,

people establishes identities and meaning with physical environment¹¹⁸, the existing remarkable bounds between people and places¹¹⁹, and ability to recognize places and create and develop identity through long-time connections between users and places¹²⁰. Sense of place was created because of the human motivation like the concept from Maslow Hierarchy of Needs. People wants to have safety and security in life by having attachment with place and community after their basic needs were fulfilled. Then, their needs will increase for love and sense of belonging with someone or some communities.

The legend of Queen Chammathevi presented two major themes of social value through the Mon people and feminism. Hariphunchai and history of Queen Chammathevi become an essential symbol of the Mon people in Thailand who are seeking for their Mon's identity. According to the history of Mon, they don't have their own land because of the invasions and dominations by Myanmar. Nowadays, the majority of Mon people lives in many parts of Thailand and they want to bring back Mon's pride and prosperity. They kept practicing social movements by preservation of Mon culture like Mon language, Mon food, Mon traditions, and passing to

¹¹⁸ Shamai, S.(1991). *Sense of Place: an Empirical Measurement*. Geoforum, Volume 22, Issue 3. Retrieved from <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii>

¹¹⁹ Tuan, Y. F. (1974). *Topophilia: A study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

¹²⁰ Relph, E.(1976). *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion.

young generation. Then, they considered Hariphunchai and Queen Chammathevi as reference points in history that they can use for reestablishing Mon's unity and pride of Mon culture in modern day.

Queen Chammathevi is an ideal woman who has ability that can compare to men in terms of being a leader, a politician, and a warrior. In the same time, she has a soft side as a caring lady who dedicated herself to religion and family. She established and ran Hariphunchai Kingdom until it becomes a peaceful and prosperous city. On the other hand, she is a devotee to Buddhism. She brought the seed of Buddhism and virtue to the remote land and she gave full support to monks and monasteries. She is also a mother who raised her twin sons and supported them to be good kings for Hariphunchai and Khelang Nagara. Some people considered the queen as a goddess who still protected and cared for people who worshipped her. Nowadays, most Buddhist women in Thailand have the queen as their role model because the queen was a successful woman who can gain wisdoms through Buddhist practices just like men. Therefore, she is a symbol of equality between women and men in Thai society.

The Mon People

The Mon is one of an ancient ethnic group in Southeast Asia and they belong to Austro-Asiatic language family like Khmer, Vietnamese, and Burmese. They originally lived in the lower part of Burma (Myanmar) and around the areas of Salween River valleys. The oldest record of the ethnic name of the Mon was found in the Khmer Inscriptions of 6th to 10th

century AD as Raman, Rmman, and Ramanya. Etymologically, the word “Mon” is derived from the word “Rmen” through the intermediate terms “Rman and Mon”.¹²¹ The first center of Mon Kingdom was Sadhammavati (Satham) or Thaton in the modern day. It was built in 2 BC and became the Mon heartland with other Mon important cities as Pegu (Hongsawadi), Yangon (Dagon), Moulmein (Molamloeng), Tenasserim (Tanao-si), Tavoy (Tawai), and Martaban (Maotama).

Mon civilization was influenced by Theravada Buddhism and Indian culture. Theravada Buddhism arrived and settled down in the Mon land since 253 BC when King Asoka sent the two theas Sona and Uttara to Southeast Asia for spreading of Buddhism after the third Buddhist Council and in the missionary period of the Dispensation. Mon civilization was also developed through social relation with Indians during the maritime trade. Some evidences of Mon civilized culture were found in the Lower Myanmar are such as Mon inscriptions, brick monasteries, laterite stupa bases, Hindu and Buddhist stone sculptures, votive tablets, Buddhist bronzes, and coin series.

¹²¹ Aung Khin, M. (2015). *Historical Perspective on Mon Settlements in*

Myanmar. Retrieved from

[http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs21/History/Khin-May-Aung-](http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs21/History/Khin-May-Aung-2015-Historical_Perspectives)

[2015-Historical_Perspectives](http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs21/History/Khin-May-Aung-2015-Historical_Perspectives)

Mon people in the Lower Myanmar also exchanged their culture and relationship to other Mon states in the same region which are Dvaravati Mon states in Chao Phraya River basin and Hariphunchai in the Ping River basin. They sent some theas to Dvaravati Mon states in order to establish Theravada Buddhism there. They accepted the immigration of Mon from Hariphunchai to reside in Sadhammavati and Pegu because the Mon from Hariphunchai were suffered from widespread cholera epidemic during 10th century AD. This history was recorded in the Mulasasana, the Jinakamalini Chronicle, and the Kyanzittha's Mon inscriptions¹²². The Mon from Hariphunchai lived in Sadhammavati and Pegu for six years and they returned to their homeland after the cholera epidemic subsided.

The prosperity of Mon land attracted the interest of Burmese king of Pagan and the upper Burma named Anawratha (1035 - 1077). In 1057, the king marched and conquered Sadhammavati from the Mon. However, he ruled the Mon with respect and conformed Mon culture because he wanted to use this civilized culture to develop his Burmese tribe. He took some monks and some scholars from Sadhammavati to stay in Pagan and asked them to promote Mon language, Mon script, and Theravada Buddhism. Another Burmese king named Kyanzittha (1084 - 1112) also created good relationship with Mon by having Mon as his governors and created his inscriptions in Mon language.

¹²² McCormick, P., Jenny, M., & Baker, C. (2011). *The Mon over Two Millennia*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press

However, the Mon kept seeking for their freedom and rebelled against the Burmese for several times. In 1287, the Mon king named Wareru (1253 - 1387) successfully drove the Burmese from Sadhammavati and declared independence for the Mon. He then established the new Mon dynasty of Shan-Talaing and moved to the new Mon capital city in Pegu because it has better location for controlling land and river trade routes. The kingdom opened three seaports at Syriam, Bassein, and Martaban to have trading with India, Melaka, and cities states in Malay Penninsula¹²³.

The kingdom under Shan-Talaing dynasty arose to the prosperous period with both power and culture for around two centuries. Some kings were faithful Buddhists, especially Queen Shin Saw Pu (1453 - 1460) and King Dhammazedi (1460 - 1492). Both of them made a great support by sending some Mon monks to carry out the unity and purification of Buddhism from theras in Sri Lanka because Sri Lankan monks were well-versed in teaching and practicing Dharma. They supported Buddhist monks and monasteries and also encouraged their royal family members and Mon citizens to make meritorious deeds like them.

In 1539, the Burmese king of Toungoo Dynasty named Tabinshwethi aimed to move his city from the landlocked area in the Sittang River basin and head southward to participate in the colossal

¹²³ Hall, D. G. E. (1960). *Burma*. London: Hutchinson.

maritime trade in the Mon-dominated coastal states¹²⁴. Besides, he wanted to increase Toungoo power by the expansion of territory, gaining more manpower from the captives, and contacting Portuguese mercenaries. Then, he attacked Pegu, moved his court from Pagan to Pegu, and ruled over the Mon kingdom. He also used Mon land to be the Burmese military base before he launched his troops to attack Ayutthaya. He forced most of Mon men to have military duty and ordered Mon people to work hard in farms to produce food for his armies.

After the reign of King Tabinshwethi, King Bayinnaung kept continuing the Burmese military campaign against Ayutthaya. Mon people were oppressed and they were suffering under the intolerable burden and slave-like condition. In 1740, the Mon leader named Smin Htaw Buddhaketi revolted against the Burmese while they were weak with conflicts among the members of Toungoo Dynasty. The Mon successfully drove the Burmese troops from their land and regained their independence from Burmese for seventeen years. In 1757, Burmese King Alaungpaya of Konbaung Dynasty captured Pegu and treated Mon with cruelty. Massive number of Mon people fled to Siam and they became a people without the country since then.

¹²⁴ Surakiat, P. (2005). *Thai-Burmese Warfare during the Sixteenth Century and the*

Growth of the First Toungoo Empire. Journal of Siam Society, Vol. 93.

Retrieved from http://www.siameseheritage.org/jsspdf/2001/JSS_093

Some nine major Mon migrations were said to have crossed into Thai territory during 16th to the early 19th century, the precise number varies in different sources¹²⁵. There were six Mon migrations during Ayutthaya period, one during Thonburi period, and two during the period of King Rama II and King Rama IV in Rattanakosin era. The Mon started their migration from Martaban and crossed the Tenasserim Hill to Siam by three channels, which are the Three Pagoda pass in Kanchanaburi Province, the Rahaeng pass or Dan Mae Lamao in Tak Province, and the pass to Uthai Thani Province. After the Mon entered to Siam, some of Mon chiefs and nobles were welcomed to have settlements around Ayutthaya and outskirts of the city. Mon chiefs were awarded ranks and were offered to be officers in military. Other Mon people were allocated settlement sites in Chao Phraya basin and Maeklong River basin. They were given lands to build houses and grow wet-rice farms.

Nowadays, several major Mon communities which descend from Mon refugees during warfares with Burmese scattered around the provinces in central part of Thailand, such as Ayutthaya, Uthai Thani, Lopburi, Nonthaburi, Kanchanaburi, and Ratchaburi. According to Edward Van Roy, these groups of Mon people were identified as New-Mon who

¹²⁵ Van Roy, E. (2010). *Safe Heaven: Mon Refugees at the Capitals of Siam from the*

1500s to the 1800s. Journal of the Siam Society, Vol 98. Retrieved from

http://www.siamese-heritage.org/jsspdf/2001/JSS_098_0g

entered Siam during 16th to the early 19th century¹²⁶. Another group of Mon whose ancestors settled in the mainland of Southeast Asia for centuries ago was identified as Old-Mon.

The example of Old-Mon in Thailand are Mon Hariphunchai who was believed as a group of ancient Mon who travelled from Lavapura to Hariphunchai with Queen Chammathevi. The discover of ancient inscriptions in Lamphun at Ku Kut Temple and Don Kaew Temple are evidences of the Mon settlement in Hariphunchai. These inscriptions were written in Mon with some passages in Pali and they are estimated as dating from the middle of the 12th century¹²⁷. Moreover, other Mon artifacts like some baked clay votive tablets with old Mon inscriptions were found in Lamphun¹²⁸. Nowadays, there are four major Mon communities in Ping River basin, which are Ban Ton Tan village and Nong Krob village in San Pa Tong district in Chiang Mai, Ban Nong Doo village and Ban Bor Cow village in Pa Sang district in Lamphun.

¹²⁶ Van Roy, E. (2010). *Safe Heaven: Mon Refugees at the Capitals of Siam from the 1500s to the 1800s*. Journal of the Siam Society, Vol 98. Retrieved from http://www.siamese-heritage.org/jsspdf/2001/JSS_098_0g

¹²⁷ Hennequin, L. (n.d.). *George Coedes' Chronology of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya*. Retrieved from <http://www.thaiscience.info/Journals/Article/SUIJ/10559516>

¹²⁸ Watson, H. I. (n.d.). *A New Look at the Old Mon Inscriptions of Northern Thailand*. Retrieved from <http://www.academia.edu/25226531/>

Although the Mons in Thailand can be classified into Old-Mon and New-Mon, both groups are facing the same threat that is the loss of Mon ethnic identity because of social change. The Mon ethnic identity is defined through strong sense of Mon culture, such as Mon language, Mon food, Mon belief in ancestral spirits, Mon costume, and Mon events. Nowadays, most of Mon in young generation assimilated to the mainstream of Thai culture and modernization. Giving the children of a Mon identification is increasingly difficult and Mon activities have been nearly abandoned¹²⁹. Besides, the Mon language which is perceived by Mon both inside and outside Myanmar as a fundamental of their identity as a people is gradually lost over several generations¹³⁰.

Some Mon communities promoted the Mon culture and created awareness through Mon history and ways of life because they are aware about the loss of Mon cultural characteristics and identities. For example, Mon Ban Muang Village in Ratchaburi Province established Mon Education Center and Museum at Ban Muang Temple, while and Mon Sam Khok in Pathumthani Province established the Mon Museum at Sala Neau Temple. Museums and Mon Education Center of both Mon communities also offered the teaching class of Mon language to Mon people and children.

¹²⁹ Foster, B. L. (1971). *Ethnic Identity of the Mons in Thailand*. Retrieved from http://www.siamese-heritage.org/jsspdf/1971/JSS_061_1i_Fos

¹³⁰ McCormick, P., Jenny, M., & Baker, C. (2011). *The Mon over Two Millennia*.

Furthermore, some Mon communities organized the annual event of Mon National Day and they invited other Mon communities around Thailand to join them. Mon National Day is a symbol of patriotism which is marked to be annually one day after the full moon day of the third lunar month, or one day after Buddhist day of Makha Bucha Day. It is the event for commemoration the founding of the old Mon capital, Pegu or Hongsawadi, in 573. Mon National Day in Thailand was first organized in 1982 by the Mon Youth Community Bangkok in order to make merits for their ancestors spirit and to promote Mon culture¹³¹. In 1993, the Overseas Mon National Student Organization which is a group of Mon refugees in Thailand who seek for freedom for Mon people under Myanmar military regime, joined Mon National Day in Thailand and added some Mon patriotic movement activities to show their demanding for national liberation and independence.

Mon Hariphunchai or Mon communities in Lamphun took part in Mon identity construction by promoting several Mon activities. For example, they organized Mon National Day 67th on 15th - 16th February 2014 at the Mon monastery Kho Klang Temple at Ban Nong Doo Village and in front of the queen's statue at Nong Dok public park. They invited

¹³¹ Baonoed, S. (2006). *Identity Formation of Mon Migrants: a Case Study of*

Transnational Workers in Samut Sakhon Province. A Thesis Submitted in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

Program in Anthropology Department of Sociology and Anthropology Faculty

of Political Science. Chulalongkorn University.

other Mon communities' members around Thailand to join the ceremony. The event comprised of many Mon cultural activities, such as the merit making for the queen's spirit, Mon spirit dance, Mon performances, Mon foods, and Mon cultural exhibitions. Furthermore, they promoted Honey Alms Giving Ceremony which was annual held in September at Mon monasteries at their villages. This is an old Mon tradition to offer monks honey to be monk's natural medication and monks also can mixed it with other remedies.

The Status of Women

Women's status in ancient Southeast Asia during Early Kingdom period, or before AD 1500, associated with social economy in the region. According to the plentiful of land, fertility of river basins, and perfect location for being entrepôt between eastern and western world, people in this region enjoyed their occupations from highland hunter-gatherers, lowland rice cultivators, and international traders. A division of roles for men and women were clearly assigned by the physical and traditional beliefs. Men were supposed to be the head of family, the protector against dangers, the breadwinner who mainly worked outside for hunting, gathering, producing foods and agricultural products, while women took responsibilities for domestic duties. Elite women and educated women were recognized and respected among people in societies because

sometimes they could successfully traded with foreign merchants. They had a high degree of economic and social status¹³².

The primitive society in Southeast Asia was matriarchal¹³³ and women were believed to have magical power, the ability to control over birth and crop growth, and the link between mankind and spirit world¹³⁴. Several concepts from other parts of the world have similar idea to base nature beings on feminine character. For example, Thai traditionally named some nature being as mae or mother, 'mae nam' means river, 'mae thoranee' means earth, 'mae phosop' means goddess of rice. Some women were chosen to be spirit mediums who can heal sickness and can pray for the rain. Husband and wife, son and daughter normally received equality in terms of rights in parents' properties and freedom to choose their mates. The custom of the marriage also benefited the bride's side because the male had to offer the bride price to female, and move into the bride's family and became their manpower.

¹³² Tarling, N. (2008). *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Kim

Keong Printing Co.

¹³³ Wongtes, S. (2004). *Social and Cultural History of Siam/Thailand*. Bangkok:

Matichon Printing.

¹³⁴ Tarling, N. (2008). *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Kim

Keong Printing Co.

Queen Chammathevi was a royal woman in Dvaravati Kingdom who had power and autonomy like other elite women in her period. She was well-educated both in literacy and martial art as she was a princess of Lavapura state. She supposed to follow the ordinary woman's life by marrying with Prince Ramraja who was the viceroy and the future king of Lavapura. She aimed to be a wife, a mother, and supported her husband when he controlled the state. However, the unexpected situation forced her to become a woman ruler in the remote area and separated from her husband. Although her elite status was well respected, her enthronement as a Queen and a leader of Hariphunchai was uncommon and challenging. She not only had to prove herself as a women who rules over men in different indigenous groups, she had to protect her young twin sons and survive in difficulties by herself.

The civilized Hariphunchai Kingdom with peace and prosperity was an evidence of the queen's high ability and successful development. She ruled Hariphunchai with smart strategies to protect the kingdom from intruders by establishing several satellites cities around Hariphunchai. She built the stability of political power by unifying different groups of people with Teravada Buddhism. She educated her people by Buddhism and showed them that she always made merit, supported monks and monasteries, and followed Buddhist teaching. The war between her group of new comers from Lavapura and Lua people who were original owner of the land was ended because of her leadership and diplomacy. Therefore, Queen Chammathevi was an ideal woman who physically and mentally strong like a man, and gentle and care like a mother. The Queen was a

perfect example of woman who have power, autonomy, and independency, while women in later period could hardly have.

Sign of subordinated status of women during Early Kingdom period appeared when Hinduism and Buddhism had higher influence than traditional belief system in the region. Hinduism point of view worshipped supreme male gods, while goddess were honored as gods' wives who had less power and dependency. For example, Kali who is a powerful and frightful goddess of a destroyer of evil forces is a consort and the Shaivism Shakti or a part of Shiva. Just like Lakshmi who is a consort of Vishnu and Vaishnavism Shakti is depicted as a beautiful woman, a symbol of happiness in family, and a passive wife who appeared by side her husband. Although Hindu goddess have given Hindu women neither women autonomy nor the legal, economic, or political status¹³⁵, women can have psychological well-being and pride of humanity through the role of their goddess.

Hindu dharma emphasized women's role as child bearers and house keepers. They assigned women the same low caste status as sudras¹³⁶. Male brahmins prohibited women to perform and participated any sacrificial traditions. They oppressed women by the Law of Manu in order to restrict the legal independence of women, to establish the moral subordination of

¹³⁵ Hilterbeitel, A. & Erndl, K. M. (2002). *Is the Goddess a Feminist?: the Politics of*

South Asia Goddess. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

¹³⁶ Ramusack, B. N. (1999). *Women in Asia*. USA: Indiana University Press.

wives to husband, and to socialize women in self-control¹³⁷. For example, the Laws of Manu restricted the independence of women by mentioning “In childhood a woman should be under her father’s control, in youth under her husband’s, and when her husband is dead, under her son”. The law also reduced the property right of women by mentioning “A wife, a son, and a slave: these three are traditionally said to have no property; what property they acquire belong to the man to whom they belong¹³⁸”.

Inequality of gender also appeared in Buddhism while Theravada Buddhism society in Thailand had reluctance to the status of women who wanted to be female monks or Bhikkunis. Bhikkunis had existence since the Lord Buddha declared formal Buddhist Sangha or Buddhist community comprised of four groups of his followers, including bhikkhus (monks), bhikkhunis (female monks), laymen, and laywomen. However, Bhikkunis disappeared after the death of the Lord Buddha and was prevented by Buddhist monks to bring them back to the sangha. Thai Buddhist sangha has strongly guarded its boundaries against the entry of female¹³⁹.

Since 1928, Thai sangha’s supreme council passed the order to prohibit any monks to ordain women to be female novices and female monks. The possibility for women to attend the religious life similar to

¹³⁷ Ramusack, B. N. (1999). *Women in Asia*. USA: Indiana University Press.

¹³⁸ Bühler, G. *The Laws of Manu: Sacred Books of the East*, Volume 25. Retrieved

from <http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/manu.htm>

¹³⁹ Burghoorn, W. & et al. (2008). *Gender Politics in Asia*. Malaysia: NIAS Press.

monks is to be ordained as nuns or mae chii and accept the inferior status to monks and novices, and stay outside the sangha. They have to practice total 311 precepts while monks have 227 precepts. They shave their heads and wear white robe to differentiate themselves from monks. They can live in the temple and their living zones are needed to be separated from monks. While they practice dharma at the temple, they have to be subordinated to monks and responsible for cooking and cleaning, and obeying them .

Religious status of Thai Buddhist nun reflected the religious status of Thai women because they shared the same female inferiority in male dominance society. Indian and Thai Buddhist tradition holds that rebirth as a male indicates greater virtue than rebirth as a female. Buddhist men also claimed that they have superior spiritual status to female due to the concept of karma. Religious belief in the concept of karma explained that to be born as women means these persons conducted bad karma in the past lives. Bad karma became difficulties for women to practice dharma and achieve enlightenment because their minds are unsteady and they are emotional than men. Moreover, they were blamed to be problems for monks because they had sexual inducement that cause the monks to have sexually desire.

Queen Chammathevi became a symbol which encouraged women to seek for equal opportunity in religion, education, and politics. Some women followed the queen's cult, practiced dharma and engaged in merit accumulation by using the queen as their role model. They believed that the queen has better status than other men because of the result from her good karma. The queen conducted meritorious deeds by supporting Buddhism

while she ruled the kingdom. She entered into the status of Buddhist nun after her two sons became king of Hariphunchai and Khelang Nagara, and accumulated merit by continuously provided offerings to Buddhist monks and made donations to Brahmans. After she passed away, she has spiritual potential like other men to reborn in Tusita heaven. Nowadays, there are Queen Chammathevi's statues in the form of Buddhist nun in meditation posture were placed at several temples in Lamphun, Lampang, and Chiang Mai. Meditation sanctuaries of Queen Chammathevi's cult also could be found, such as the Chammathevi Buddhist Nun Abbey at Doi Lor district, Chiang Mai.

Queen Chammathevi was also popular in the spirit medium cult in northern and other parts of Thailand. Several mediums who mostly were female and some transgenders claimed that the queen possessed them and acted through them. They became special with supernatural from being the representatives of the queen. They can gain power in the societies that they were discriminated and looked down. Once they were possessed by the queen's spirit, people respected them. They became privilege channels for communication between the queen's spirit, which was considered as a high rank and powerful mystical power from her virtue, and human beings. They were treated as an important person, were offered new and higher status, and were placed in a safe zone. Although the queen passed away for thousand years, her influence still remained in the modern day. She can help some women to overcome the complex of gender identity in patriarchal culture and help them to gain self-esteem.

Even though Queen Chammathevi was widely worshipped as a divine spirit, her role was challenged in male-dominated society for several times. She was blamed as the wicked woman on the article “Pra Nang Chammathevi Song Pen Weerasatri Rue Nang Rai Karn Nae” (Queen Chammathevi: the Heroine or the Villain) which was published in Tua Toon Magazine, issue 488, in October 2015, written by the writer whose pen name was “Look Chang”. The writer claimed that the queen used her menstrual blood to disempower King Milakkha’s magic spell and caused him harm and death. She was tricky and enjoyed destroying her enemy by menstruation which was pollution. The writer interpreted the role of the queen negatively based on only two town chronicles, which were assumed to be Kap Jia Chammathevi and Wilangka (King Milakkha) by Kraisri Nimmanhemin and Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree Suwarnapach. His article caused dissatisfaction and anger towards Lamphun people and the queen’s worshippers. They argued that the writer biased and prejudged the queen without in-depth knowledge about her history, culture, and environments in ancient period.

Queen Chammathevi inadvertently involved with political dispute when former female Thai prime minister Yingluck Shinawatra travelled to Lamphun in 2012. She visited and paid respect at three sacred sites in Lamphun which related to Queen Chammathevi, including Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai, Wat Ku Kut, and the statue of Queen Chammathevi at Nong Dok Public Park. The press news as MGR online commented that this was superstitious and belief of Yingluck who wanted to bring good luck to

herself during she faced political difficulties. She went to Lamphun again in 2014 for showing respect to the statue of Queen Chammathevi at Nong Dok Public Park after she was removed from her post. Her supporters or the Red Shirt in northern Thailand also organized their political movements in 2014 to protest the coup and military government at the statue of Queen Chammathevi. Yingluck was claimed by some sources that her past life was Queen Chammathevi. Thus, Yingluck was linked to the queen who was a symbol of female autonomy, who has the status as a political leader, and who can overcome the powerful male enemy like the King Milakkha.

Social Identity

Identity comes from the Latin word 'idem' which means 'the same'. The term identity itself is commonly used to refer similarity in groups and, on the other hand, distinctive character of groups or persons. When identity is added with other words, it helps describing meaning of groups which share the same sociological perspective, such as Thai identity, local identity, and community identity. Identity is also used in psychological perspective for identifying uniqueness of persons. Each persons is different from others by their attitudes and behaviors which are dynamically constructed through each stage of their lives, or through the formation of each person's personality. Persons with healthy development of their identities own positive self-concept which significantly drive them to self-achievement. Knowing about 'self' is an important motivation tool because people with strong sense of self has mental stability. People who believe, respect, and clearly understand in their identities can make choice

and look forward to have their personal growths, while confusion about one's identity is a mark of incomplete development¹⁴⁰. Therefore, realizing of individual personal identity means knowing the value of one's self.

Refer to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, people appears to move beyond individual identity to group identity because it is a higher level before reaching self-esteem and self-actualization. Group identity means sense of being a part of groups that share similar social categorization and identification. It is a process of understanding of who we are and our perception of others. People tries to connect to the group because being the membership can provide value and emotional significance. People relies on their groups to afford social identity and certainty in lives because groups can motivate them to change their positions for a better to greater equality in society¹⁴¹. Moreover, maintaining a sense of distinctiveness for the group is the way to increase meaning and value of group which can enhance individual social identity and pride in everyday lives.

Several temples, communities, villages, followers of Queen Chammathevi's cult and some ethnic groups construct and reconstruct their identity by linking themselves to the legend of Queen Chammathevi. The legend which survived through 1,300 years still has dynamic influence on adding value and meaning to places and people. Nowadays, the story of the

¹⁴⁰ Buckingham, D. (2008). *Introducing Identity*. MA: MIT Press.

¹⁴¹ Tajfel, H. (1978). *The Social Psychology of the Minority*. London: Minority Right

queen has been used for three purposes, including Tourism, increasing significance and sacredness of places, and enhancing pride for groups of people and ethnic groups. It was used by some places and people which have directly or indirectly involvement with the legend in order to build their distinctiveness by the queen's historical root.

The legend of the queen becomes a useful tool for identity building because it receives widely recognition. However, some places and people that don't have any involvement with the legend try to make up their own history by referencing to the queen. If they refer to the legend without any in-depth studying in her history and produce interpretation of the legend for wrong purposes, their actions can cause distortion and confusion to the queen's history.

Lamphun and its tourism strategically constructed place identity by establishing their past associated with the legend of Queen Chammathevi. They successfully branded the province as the ancient kingdom of Hariphunchai and the land of the Queen. The provincial slogan since government's promotion of Visit Thailand Year in 1987 illustrated remarkable identities and products of Lamphun as "Phrathat Den, Phra Rod Klang, Lamyai Dang, Kratieam Dee, Prapenee Ngam, Chammathevi Sri Hariphunchai" (Outstanding holy relic stupa, Sacred Phra Rod amulet, Renowned longan, Favorite garlic, Beautiful cultures, Chammathevi of Hariphunchai Kingdom). The name of the queen was appeared at the end of the slogan strongly confirmed the significance of her role which helped the province to be distinctive from others in Lan Na region.

Local people generally called Queen Chammathevi by using the word ‘Chao Mae Chammathevi’ which means the mother goddess Chammathevi. They respected her as their own ancestor and considered themselves as her children in order to express their senses of belonging and attachment to the queen, the place, and the past. They communicated to the world by representing themselves not only as people of the queen, but the people of sacred heroine and the woman ruler who firstly brought civilization from Dvaravati and Theravada Buddhism to the first kingdom in Ping River basin. Phra Nang Chammathevi’s Lineage Club (Chomrom Luk Lan Phra Nang Chammathevi) is the first example of group of Lamphun people that actively promoted cultural activities to honour the queen. They worked with Lamphun provincial governments to organize invented traditions of reference to the legend of Queen Chammathevi, such as following events;

- the Commemorating of Queen Chammathevi Birthday (7 October, or 10 kham, duean 10 in Thai lunar calendar),

- the Commemorating of Queen Chammathevi Coronation Day (7 - 8 December, or 8 kham, duean 3 in Thai lunar calendar),

- Queen Chammathevi Memorial Day (22 August, or 8 kham, duean 9 in Thai lunar calendar), and

- Lantern Offering to Queen Chammathevi as a part of Lamphun Loy Kratong Festival (November, or 15 kham, duean 12 in Thai lunar calendar).

Mon people of Nong Doo Village and Bor Cow Village invented tradition on the local scale by organizing the Commemorating of Queen Chammathevi Day in every February since 1982, at the queen's statue at Nong Dok Public Park and Kho Klang Temple. They have the purpose to honor the queen as their Mon ancestor. They formalized and ritualized the event based on the legend of Queen Chammathevi by Suthawaree Suwarnapach. This version of legend claimed that Queen Chammathevi was born at Nong Doo village as a daughter of the rich man named Inta. She was kidnapped from her parents by a giant bird and was saved by the sage Vasudeva. She was sent to be a princess of Lavapura and returned to her hometown to rule Hariphunchai.

The queen was a symbol of Mon people who seek for identity and equality in Thai society. The Mon used the memory and love of the queen to construct sense of being a part of localness and Thainess. Like the Mon people of Bor Cow village, they hosted the local event at the Mon monastery Kho Klang Temple on every 14 February since 2008 with the same purpose as the Mon people of Nong Doo village.

The queen became a part of Lamphun people's everyday lives because her statues were appeared in many places in the province. Those statues affirm that Lamphun is Queen Chammathevi's land. For example, the setting of her statue at Nong Dok Public Park is surrounded by dynamic cultural landscape with daily interaction from local people and visitors. It was situated next to Nong Dok local market, local communities, and the historic zone of Hariphunchai. Lamphun people have regularly seen the

statue and they raised their hands to pay respect by the gesture of 'wai' and pray for the protection and good fortune from the queen. The statue of Queen Chammathevi at Nong Dok Public Park was in black bronze with two and a half times life size. It was built by a sculptor Suphorn Sirasongkroh who created the perfect statue of Queen Chammathevi based on researches of the legend and Dvaravati art. It was considered as another spiritual landmark of Lamphun. It is also a symbol of Lamphun people unification and close relationship between the queen in the past and people in the present.

Other communities and temples in Lamphun and other provinces that wanted to connect to the queen's legend also placed her statue at their spacious areas, such as in front of temples, inside viharas, and sites which are associated with her legend. Her statues were built by different materials and techniques, such as stucco, fiberglass resin, and wood carving. The forms of the queen's statue can be categorized into five groups according to references from her legend and history, including the form of woman ruler sits on her throne, the woman ruler stands and holds a sword with her left hand side, the woman ruler stands and holds a lotus flower with her left hand side, the female ascetic in meditation gesture, and the queen stays with other characters in the legend, such as Princess Kessavadee and Prince Pathumvadee who are the queen's guardians, her twin sons, the auspicious white male elephant named Phu Kam Nga Kieaw, her guardian monkeys, the sages, and King Milakkha. Moreover, the group of believers in Queen Chammathevi's cult named the Club of Children of Phra Mae Chao

Chammathevi by Phutti-phatr Jai-inpol offered the queen's statue in the form of the female ascetic in meditation gesture to 79 temples and monasteries in some provinces in northern and central Thailand¹⁴². They have purposes to honor the queen and celebrate statues as the spiritual icon at settings where related to the queen's legend.

Some temples in Lamphun and Lampang constructed the relationship between temples' history with Queen Chammathevi by using mural paintings to tell the story. The queen is a symbol and a reference of sacredness and antiquity that help enhancing identity of temples to have historic significance and holiness. Temples in Lamphun which their names were mentioned in the legend of the queen created some mural scenes on the Vihara's walls to promote strong connections to the queen. For example, Wat Ku La Mak or Rommaniyarama Temple portrayed the story of the queen's archer shoot an arrow to random a suitable place, where was the present setting of Wat Ku La Mak, and Wat Chammathevi.

Beside, the Ku Kut Temple is where the queen's relics were kept inside the Suvarnajungkote Chedi portrayed sixteen frames of the legend of the queen, Wat Phra Khong Rishi or Arphattharama Temple portrayed

¹⁴² Anantato, W. (2016). *Camadevi Worship: Legend Reproduction and Ritual*

Construction in Contemporary Thai Study. A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Program in Thai, Department of Thai, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University.

the story of five sages were using magical fire beam from their eyes to bake Phra Khong amulets which were made from clay, and Wat Mahawan or Mahawanarama Temple portrayed the story of five sages were using magical fire beam from their eyes to bake Phra Rod amulets which also were made from clay. Oral history was used as a reference to create murals in viharas by some temples to refer to their histories which were related to the queen's visitation to their places. For example, Wat Phra Yuen in Lamphun portrayed a scene of the queen visited the temples for offering sacrifice to the chedi, and Wat War Kaew in Lampang portrayed murals with the queen's legend and mentioned the queen used to visited the temple before traveling to Phrathat Pompom Doi Lare located on the top of nearby mountain.

Constructing identity by linking with imagination and memory of Queen Chammathevi reflected the reviving of localness in the mainstream of Thainess. The queen is a symbol to challenge gender ambiguity, matriarchy's resistance to patriarchy, and ethnic inequality in Thai society. She is an example of a heroine who overcome prejudice against woman and gender inferiority. However, she still was insulted by some people who was obsessed with the idea of male-dominated world by blaming her as a villain who betrayed the trust of King Milakkha and harmed him by using menstruation to destroy his magical power and brought him to death. Moreover, the statue of the queen at Nong Dok Public Park used to be dishonored by two times of sexually abuse in social media. It became an issue of conflict because some people eyed the statue as a seducible displayed to satisfy the desire for male gaze and she is certainly not

presented as the great queen and victorious general¹⁴³. This is a sensitive issue when meaningful social value was threatened by people who lack of understanding in cultural awareness.

Salient Aspects of Social Value

Queen Chammathevi's legend presents social value connection in Thailand from the past to the present through three main issues, including Mon ethnic group, status of women, and social identity of second-tier cities like Lamphun and Lampang. The issue about Mon ethnic group and social identity reflects the conflict on inferiority, while the issue about status of women shows the inequality of gender in male-dominated society. Queen Chammathevi is a symbol of woman that can overcome prejudice from inferiority, and ethnic and gender inequality. Mon people refer to her as the Mon queen who brings back Mon pride and identity. Women admire the queen as their role model because she is a symbol of equal opportunity in religion, education, and politics. The queen's legend builds a sense of place and can links local people of Lamphun and Lampang with their communities.

Spiritual Value

Australia ICOMOS defined spiritual value as the intangible values and meaning embodied in or evoked by a place which give it importance in the spiritual identity, or the traditional knowledge, art and practices of a

¹⁴³ King, R. (2017). *Heritage and Identity in Contemporary Thailand*. Singapore: NUS Press.

cultural group¹⁴⁴. Another organization as Canada Historic Places explained that spiritual places could include places of mythological significance, landscape features associated with myth and legends, burial sites, rock cairns and alignments, fasting/vision quest sites etc¹⁴⁵. Furthermore, department of Primary Industries, Parks, Water and Environment of Tasmania added that spiritual or moral value is important to a particular community or cultural group and which generates a strong sense of attachment¹⁴⁶. Spiritual value is one of the outstanding significance that increases the authenticity and value for the pilgrimage route of Queen Chammathevi.

The legend of Queen Chammathevi, both from temple chronicles and town chronicles, has long been embedded in northern Thai culture. Three religions that were depicted in chronicles, including Buddhism,

¹⁴⁴ Australia ICOMOS. (2013). *Understanding and Assessing Cultural Significance*.

Retrieved from https://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/Practice-Note_Understanding-and-assessing-cultural-significance.pdf

¹⁴⁵ Canada Historic Places. (2011). *The Canadian Register of Historic Places*

(CRHP). Retrieved from

http://www.historicplaces.ca/media/21054/sos_guide_final_e_new_design.pdf

¹⁴⁶ Tasmania, Department of Primary Industries, Parks, Water and Environment.

(2011). *Assessing Historic Heritage Significance: for Application with the*

Historic Cultural Heritage Act 1995. Retrieved from

<http://heritage.tas.gov.au/Documents/Assessing>

Brahmanism, and animism have high influences on people's belief and create uniqueness in spiritual value in northern Thailand. Buddhism is a major religion that has had a deep influence in arts, traditions, learning and the character of the people. It has modeled their manners of thinking and acting¹⁴⁷. Other religions as Brahmanism and animism also were blended with Buddhism and involved both directly and indirectly in people's ways of life that hardly see from other parts of the country.

Spiritual value becomes the inspiration on the creation of both tangible and intangible heritages in northern Thai area. The understanding of spiritual in Buddhism philosophy as Buddhist cosmology, the god-king or Buddha-king, the king of righteousness, the belief in reincarnation, and nirvana were interpreted into northern Thai architectures, literatures, arts, rituals, festival, and norm.

Buddhist Virtues

The record of the Mahavamsa mentioned the Emperor Asoka sent Theras Sona and Uttara to establish Buddhism in the territory of Suvarnabhumi, where Southeast Asia and Dvaravati located, during the 3rd

¹⁴⁷ Phra Brahmaganabhorn. (2012). *Thai Buddhism in the Buddhist World: A Survey*

of the Buddhist Situation against a Historical Background. Retrieved from

<http://www.watnyanaves.net/uploads/File/books/pdf>

century B.C.¹⁴⁸. The center of Dvaravati was Nakhon Pathom and it was the place that the two theras or elder monks used as the center for propagation of the Buddha's teaching in the region. Queen Chammathevi brought five hundred monks and Theravada Buddhism from Lavapura where was one of the state in Dvaravati Kingdom to Haripunchai. She was considered to be a symbol of the arrival of Buddhism to the remote region. She introduced the wisdom of Buddha's teaching and Theravada to indigenous people who believed in animism.

Theravada is the school of Buddhism that follows the records of Buddha's teaching or Tipitaka and put his advices into practices. Dhamma is another term refers to the Buddha's teaching about the truth of life, four fundamental principles of nature, and the path to awakening by being kind, love, and mindful in the present time. Theravada has the concept for rulers to practice Dhamma and become the righteousness king. The king who rules his people by Dhamma surly can promote peace and harmony to the country.

According to chronicles, Queen Chammathevi perfectly performed as a ruler with ten royal virtues or dasarajadhamma, including generosity, moral virtue, self-sacrifice, uprightness, gentleness, self-control, non-anger, nonviolence, patience, and agreeability. Ten royal virtues are Dhamma that helped the queen to build Buddhist environment in her kingdom. She

¹⁴⁸ Kusalasaya, K. (n.d.). *Buddhism in Thailand: Its Past and its Present*. Retrieved

from http://www.buddhanet.net/pdf_file/bud-thailand.pdf

supported Buddhism by several activities, such as building and maintaining monasteries, offering material necessities and facilities for monks, looking after sangha or monastic community, and encouraging Buddhist education and practice through her kingdom.

While Dhamma protects the one who lives by Dhamma, rulers who don't aware of their immorality actions are punished by the law of karma. According to chronicles and the legend of Queen Chammathevi, the city of Rammanagara was destroyed by the flash flood because the king allowed sons to beat his mothers. Besides, the king of Lavo's army defeated Hariphunchai's army in the second and third righteous wars because they cheated Hariphunchai's army on the first war. Moreover, both of the Brahmans of the Lavo king who killed Hariphunchai auspicious rooster and the Lavo guardian deity who attacked Hariphunchai water guardian were finally killed. Chronicles kept showing the spiritual value and significance of Buddha's teaching in terms of good and evil. Buddhist people believed in and always practice sila or moral that will protect them from karma. They strongly trusted in what goes around, comes around.

Queen Chammathevi was a mark of virtues, a savior, and a leader who created Hariphunchai (Lamphun) became the center of Buddhism. The religion also support the kingdom to have political authority because the queen can expand the kingdom's territory and Buddhism to Khelang Nagara (Lampang) where was the area of indigenous Lua people. Today, there are abundant of ancient temples, stupas with Buddha's holy relics, and ancient Buddha's images in the city of Lamphun and Lampang. The

remarkable temples that related to the legend of the queen and they have existed are Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai in Lamphun and Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang in Lampang. Buddhist people in both towns, from generations to generations, reflected their faiths in Buddhism through merit-making ceremonies, religious rites, and customs.

Buddhist Cosmology

Buddhism philosophy in the legend of Queen Chammathevi was transferred to northern Thai people's imagination, and their imaginations were turned into their beliefs and actions. The influences of Buddhism philosophy such as Buddhist cosmology and Bhadrakalpa played vital roles on their mindsets in terms of being virtuous and practicing dharma for their rebirths in heaven, not hell. Therefore, the map of the universe, the world system, and the story of the future Buddha Maitreya were clearly reflected through several Buddhist arts and architectures in Lamphun and Lampang.

Buddhist cosmology came from Buddha's teaching about the beginning of the universe and the world. Some of the ideas were developed from the common pool of early Indian cosmological notions indicated in the Vedic texts (1500 to 500 B.C.E.)¹⁴⁹. Both Buddhist and Indian have ideas on the universe as infinite in time and space, and filled with an infinite

¹⁴⁹ Buswell, R. E. Jr., (2004). *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. USA: Macmillan Reference

number of worlds like our own¹⁵⁰. The universe comprises of thirty-one levels of existence in three major realms. The realm in Buddhist cosmology is the formless realm (arupadhatu-loka) at the top, the pure form realm (rupadhatu-loka) in the middle, and the realm of sensuality (kamadhatu-loka) at the bottom of the hierarchy. The formless realm and the pure form realm have twenty-five levels of existence in heaven and they are places for deva or gods. There are six levels of existence in the realm of sensuality for gods who still have senses and desires, human-being and other creatures. The bottom of the realm of sensuality is the underworld which has eight ice hells and eight fire hells for hungry ghosts.

The world is in the sensuality realm or the world of desires. It has flat-shape like a disc and there is Mount Sumeru which has its' shape like an hourglass located at the center. The mountain has 80,000 yojanas tall and 80,000 yojanas in depth in the river. There are seven rings of mountain surrounded the Sumeru and each one has half height of the previous one in front. There are also rivers surrounded each seven rings of the mountains. Beyond the seventh mountain of the outer ring is the great ocean where four great continents lying in the four directions. Four continents are Purvavideha continent in the east, Aparagodaniya continent in the west, Uttarakuru continent in the north, and Jambudvipa continent in the south. All Buddhas appear in Jambudvipa and it is also the continent for ordinary

¹⁵⁰ Boeree, G. C. (n.d.). *Buddhist Cosmology*. Retrieved from

<http://webpace.ship.edu/cgboer/buddhacosmo.html>

human beings to inhabit. There is a circular iron mountain range at the rim of the disc which works as a boundary of the world.

The concept of Buddhist cosmology has significant influences on the belief in nirvana, heaven, hell, and rebirth among Buddhists. They believe that any being have several and endless times to born and reborn in higher levels or lower levels of existence because of their virtue or sin. Besides, every human being who stays in the righteousness can developed themselves to the state of enlightenment or nirvana, and to end the cycle of rebirth and suffering. Therefore, good Buddhists keep practicing dharma, following Buddha's teaching, supporting Buddhism, and making merit because they aim to have peaceful lives without dukka or suffering.

The idea of divine king or devaraja in Southeast Asia also connects to the Buddhist cosmology and Hindu belief. The idea of Devaraja considers the king as the divine who reborn in human form. The king has the duty to rule the country with virtues, support Buddhism, and help people from sufferings. The king is also considered as a semi-god or superhuman after the transformation from the coronation ceremony. The devaraja cult also empowers the king to be a great leader who has the absolute power to develop and protect the country. When people believe in their divine king, they will unite and brave enough to battle in the war like Hariphunchai's army fight for their kingdom with the lead of Queen Chamthevi and the two princes.

Hariphunchai also used the philosophy of Buddhist cosmology to build and promote the kingdom to be the center of the universe. From the

beginning of the kingdom, Queen Chammathevi successfully unified her people in different races by the faith in Buddhism. Later, King Adittaraja built the cetiya named Phrathat Hariphunchai to contain holy Buddha's relics and to be a symbol of Mouth Sumeru, and there are four vihara at four directions to represent four continents around the cetiya. Hariphunchai established its political power by claiming itself as the holy kingdom, the center of Buddhism, and the universe with the protection under the divine king.

Significant temples in Lampang like Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang, Wat Phra Kaew Don Tao, and Wat Pong Sanuk also show special element of the Buddhist cosmology because the temples were located on the man-made mound, and the mound is a symbol of Mount Sumeru. Each temple has main stupa at the center. The ground of temples is covered with sand which signified rivers and oceans around the stupas and viharns. There are cloisters around the temple's area, some temples has high brick wall, to represent as a boundary of the world. These temple plans of Buddhist cosmology has high authenticity and rarely sees from other temples.

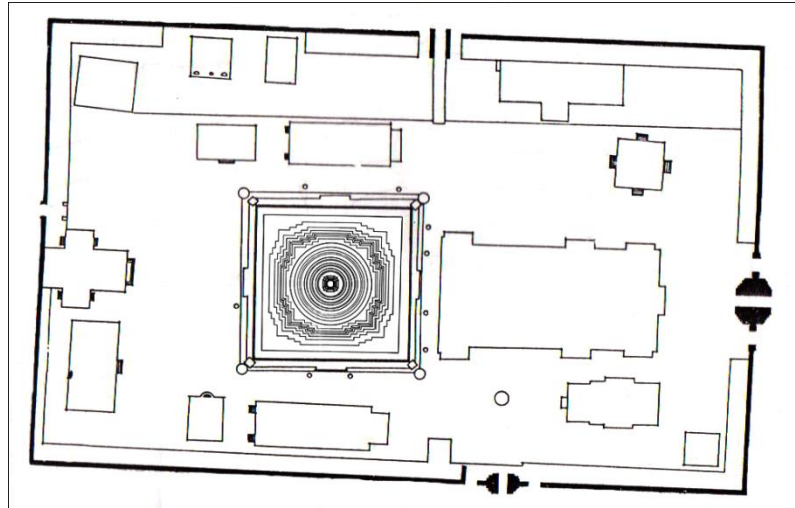


Figure 10 The temple plan of Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai
Source: <http://lannakadee.cmu.ac.th/area2>

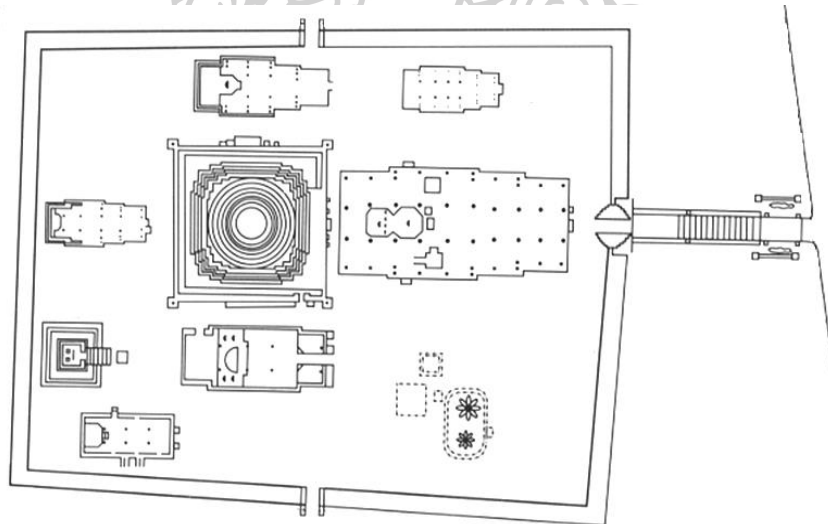


Figure 11 The temple plan of Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang
Source: <http://lannakadee.cmu.ac.th/area2>

Bhadrakalpa

Kalpa is one of concepts from Buddhist cosmology that also has significant influences on the belief in nirvana, heaven, hell, and rebirth among Buddhists. Kalpa is for Sanskrit and Kappa is for Pali. The meaning of kalpa is the time unit or a length of lifetime of the world and universe in Buddhism. The cycle of Maha-kalpa or the greatest kalpa includes four periods which starts from the formation, the stable duration or existence, the destruction, and the period of emptiness. Moreover, each maha-kalpa is subdivided into four minor kalpas or asamkhyeya-kalpas. Then, each four minor kalpas is subdivided into twenty small kalpas or antara-kalpas¹⁵¹. The concept of Maha-kalpa is similar to the Christianity's ideas about aeon or a long period. The cycle of maha-kalpa and the destruction of the world and universe also can be compared to the concept of apocalypse.

The Buddha explained the length of small kalpa with a metaphor. He said a kalpa was the length of time for a stone, 16 miles on each side, to be worn away if touched with a cloth every 100 years. Another metaphor explains a kalpa as like a large empty cube 16-miles square. If you insert a tiny mustard seed every hundred years, the stone would be filled before the kalpa ends¹⁵².

¹⁵¹ Olson, C. (2009). *Historical Dictionary of Buddhism*. USA: Scarecrow Press.

¹⁵² Buddhist.org. (2013). *Kalpas in the Buddhist Religion*. Retrieved from

<https://buddhists.org/history-of-buddhism/kalpas-in-the-buddhist-religion/>

Bhadrakalpa is a small kalpa. It is the current period that is considered as the most fortunate time with highest number of five Buddhas who can guide human being to be free from all suffering. The five Buddhas of Bhadrakalpa are Kakusandha who is the first Buddha, Konagamana who is the second Buddha, Kassapa who is the third Buddha, Gautama who is the fourth and the present Buddha, and Maitreya who is the fifth and the future Buddha.

Buddha Guatama presented his prediction that after the end of the period of Buddha Maitreya which has about 80,000 years, the world will live without Buddha for one minor kalpas or asamkhyeya-kalpas. All human being will rebirth with suffering for infinite number of time until the last two Buddha appear in the world during Mandakalpa. Therefore, Buddhists has strong belief in making merits and practicing dhamma from Buddha's teaching in order to understand the truth of life and free from the rebirth before the end of Bhadrakalpa.

The belief in Bhadrakalpa also reflects through architectures, culture, and arts since Hariphunchai period. Several cetiyas, Buddha images, and Buddha footprints were built as a symbol for Buddhists to pay homage to both single Buddha and five Buddha in Bhadrakalpa. The prayers have wishes to free from suffering, understand Buddha wisdom or to born in the period of Buddha Maitreya. The legend of Queen Chammathewi from Tamnan Prachao Lieb Lok portrayed trips of the queen when she travelled for paying homage to Four Buddha footprints (Phra Buddha Bath Si Roy) and many cetiyas such as Phrathat Kang Soi, Phrathat Ha Duang, and Phrathat Lampang Luang.

Sacred Mountain

Sacred Mountain can be a universal concept as it associates with culture and traditions around the world. According to UNESCO's Report of the Expert Meeting on Asia-Pacific Sacred Mountains, the participants defined the sacred mountain as a significant natural elevation where the spiritual and physical unite. The experts also categorized sacred mountain into four groups, including the following groups:

- (a) the mountain itself is considered sacred;
- (b) the mountain has sacred associations;
- (c) the mountain has sacred areas, places, objects; and
- (d) the mountain inspires sacred rituals and practices¹⁵³.

Sacrednesses of mountain come from its characteristics and spiritual value that influence people's sense, faith, and imagination. Tangible attributes of mountain as shape, color, elevation, local relief interact with intangible value as history, myth, and religious belief create distinctive personality to sacred mountain. For example, Mount Kailas in Tibet is believed by Buddhists as the mythical Mount Meru which is a center of the world, Mount Fuji in Japan is worshipped as the abode of deities and it also the ascetic mountain, and the Gunung Agung Mountain in Bali is the

¹⁵³ UNESCO. (2001). *Report of the Expert Meeting on Asia-Pacific Sacred Mountains*.

location for Pura Besakih which is a group of sacred Balinese Hindu temples.

The legend of Queen Chammathevi depicts four mountains that related to the establishing of Hariphunchai and Khelang Nagara. The first mountain is the Sugar Cane Mountain which is the residence of the sage Vasudeva, the second mountain is the Twin Peak Mountain which is the residence of the sage Brahma, the third mountain is the Creeper Vine Mountain which is the residence of Sajjanaleyya, and the fourth is the Righteous Mountain which is the residence of the sage Sukkadanta. The sage Vasudeva, Sukkadanta, and Sajjanaleyya have significant role of building the city of Hariphunchai for the Queen Chammathevi and the sage Brahma built Khelang Nagara for the King Anatayasa.

It is interesting that scholars be able to identify the locations of each mountain in the legend with the actual places in the present day. The Sugar Cane Mountain is identified as Doi Suthep Mountain and the Creeper Vine Mountain is identified as Doi Intanon Mountain, both of them are in Chiang Mai. The Twin Peak Mountain is identified as Mon Phraya Chae Mountain in Lampang and the Righteous Mountain is identified as Khoa Samor Khon Mountain in Lopburi. The legend helped creating significance and sacredness to these mountains. Moreover, both ancient and new temples with sacred stupas were built on each mountain, such as Wat Pharthat Doi Suthep, Wat Mon Phraya Chae, Wat Khoa Samor Khon, Chedi Naphamethinidon and Chedi Naphaphonphumsiri. These mountains are considered as sacred place like earthly paradise which is close to heaven, distance from human's desire, and suitable for enshrining holy objects.

Doi Ang Sarong Mountain or Doi Luang Chiang Dao in Chiang Mai is another mountain that is mentioned in the legend. This is the place where Queen Chammathevi's auspicious elephant, Pu Kham Nga Kheaw, travelled from since it was young. It was carried away by a flash flood from Doi Ang Sarong to Hariphunchai and was brought up by the queen. Doi Ang Sarong also was worshipped by indigenous people since the pre-history as a sacred mountain of the greatest guardian deity of the city whose name is Chao Luang Kam Dang. He was a prince who devoted his life to live with his lover at Doi Ang Sarong. After he died, he became the ancestral spirit and the head of the spirit in the region.

Mountains like Doi Suthep Mountain, Doi Intanon Mountain, Doi Luang Chiang Dao Mountain, and Mon Phraya Chae Mountain are life sources to city and people. Mountains and forests store water from the rain, play greater role to balance ecosystem and fertility, and they are origins of rivers. According to the history of Chiang Mai's city planning, King Mangrai chose the location for building the new city because of the seven auspicious factors and four water sources. These water sources are Mae Kha River, Mae Tha Chang River, Huai Chang Khian Creek, Huai Kaew Creek, and also others. Doi Suthep Mountain was at the city's back and the Ping River at its front, with a west to east slope ensuring that the community had a constant flow of water¹⁵⁴. Therefore, Chiang Mai people

¹⁵⁴ Ongsakul, S. (2005). *History of Lan Na*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Book.

have intimate relationship with Doi Suthep Mountain. They not only worshipped it as a sacred mountain, it is a part of their life.

Brahmanism

Brahmanism is an ancient religion that has development from the Indus Valley Civilization (2500 - 1500 BCE) and Arayan culture (1800 - 1500 BCE). The location of Indus Valley is in the plain in Pakistan and northwest India today, while the Aryan is a group of people who originated in the Caucasus region of Central Asia and migrated to the northern plain of India about 2000 - 1500 BCE¹⁵⁵. Brahmanism accepts the Vedas which is the sacred ancient text from the Absolute or Brahman. The Vedas is the foundation of principles (dharma), philosophies, social structure, religious practices, sacrificial life, and rituals for Brahmins. Brahmanism also has teaching about Path to Truth (satyam), the reincarnation and cycle of life and death (samsara), the actions and results from actions (karma), and the liberation from bondage (moksa).

Three supreme gods in Brahmanism are Brahman who is the chief of gods and the creator of the world, Vishnu who is the preserver, and Shiva who is the destroyer of evils. The priests in this religion are also called Brahmins. They are experts who know everything about the rites and able to interpret wisdoms from the Vedas to other people. They are on the top

¹⁵⁵ Mittal, S. & Thursby, G. (2006). *Religions of South Asia: An Introduction*. New

of Varna which is the caste system or hierarchy in Brahmanical social system. According to the Vedas, there are original four social classes as Brahmins (priests), Kshatriyas (warriors), Vaishayas (merchants and farmers), and Shudras (workers).

Brahmanism was considered to be complex and strict if compared to new emerging religions in the same period as Jainism and Buddhism. The weakness of Hinduism is that ethics have so small a place in its fundamental conceptions. Its deities are not identified with the moral law and the saint is above that law¹⁵⁶. It became unpopular, especially during the 3rd century B.C. or during the reign of King Asoka of the Maurya Dynasty when the king offered fully patronage to Buddhism. Therefore, Brahmanism was reformed to be Hinduism by creation of several gods in order to please several groups of local people, degradation of Lord Buddha as the one of ten Vishnu's avatars, and correction the dogma by illustrating all gods to be pure and enlightened spirits.

Brahmanism expanded from India to Southeast Asia in the same time as Buddhism by the priests and merchants during the ancient maritime trading. There are several archeological evidences of Brahmanical influences during 7th - 8th century or Dvaravati period in Thailand, such as the scene of Lord Buddha preaching Dharma to Shiva and Vishnu on the wall of Phothisat Cave in Saraburi Province, the image of Lord Buddha

¹⁵⁶ Eliot, C. (1962). *Hinduism and Buddhism: An Historical Sketch*. London:

standing on Vanaspati or the integrated form of three vehicles of three supreme gods in Brahmanism¹⁵⁷, Prang Khaek or Hindu shrine in Lopburi Province, and others. A few archeological objects of Brahmanism also were found in Dvaravati's city state of Hariphunchai, such as baked clay Ganesha and a crystal Shiva Linga.

According to the Legend of Queen Chammathevi, the Queen brought five hundred Brahmins from Lavapura to help her settle and develop Hariphunchai. Similarly, the King Anantayasa also brought some senior and junior Brahmins from Hariphunchai to help him founding Khelang Nagara. Brahmins have important roles in the royal court as noblemen, astrologers, and organizers for Brahmanical rituals, such as coronation ceremony and royal funeral. Although Brahmanism was not the main and popular religion in Hariphunchai like Buddhism, it also was received fully patronage by Queen Chammathevi. As mentioned on the legend, the queen offered food to monks, Brahmins, and even beggars¹⁵⁸.

Brahmanical influence also can be observed through the four sages in the legend. The sages used to be Buddhist monks but they decided to leave monkhood because they found that teachings and disciplines of the Buddha's religion was difficult for them. They went to Himalaya forest and

¹⁵⁷ Sahai, S. & Misra, N. (2006). *Mapping Connections: Indo-Thai Historical and Cultural Linkages*. New Delhi: Mantra Books.

¹⁵⁸ Swearer, D. K. & Premchit, S. (1998). *The Legend of Queen Cama*. USA: New York Press.

became ascetics until they gained wisdoms and magical power through meditation. The sages are assumed to be followers of Saivism which is one of Hinduism's cults that worship Shiva as the supreme god. Shiva was considered as the first guru of sages and the perfect yogi who performed yoga as paths to liberation. Most of sages dressed like Shiva which was depicted in iconography as naked body covered with ashes, matted hair, wearing a garland of skulls, carrying in his hands a deer skin, a trident, a small hand drum, or a club¹⁵⁹.

Vaishnavism cult that worships Vishnu as the supreme god also was illustrated through practices of the four sages. The sage Vasudeva used the conch shell shape to be a model for Hariphunchai's city plan. Conch shell or sankha is one of Vishnu's four weapons in his four hands. Other weapons are discus or cakra, club or gada, and lotus or padma. Conch shell is a symbol of auspicious celebration because it emerged from the churning of the cosmic ocean for the nectar of immortality. This divine shell, sankha, is praised in Hindu scriptures for bestowing fame, longevity and prosperity, and as the home of Lakshmi who the goddess of wealth and Vishnu's consort¹⁶⁰. Other ancient cities in the same periods of Dvaravati and

¹⁵⁹ Mittal, S. & Thursby, G. (2006). *Religions of South Asia: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge.

¹⁶⁰ Williams, C. (2012). *Pearly Shells, Transnational Literature Vol. 4 no. 2*.

Retrieved from <http://fhrc.flinders.edu.au/transnational/home.html>

Hariphunchai that have the conch shell shape city plan are Khelang Nagara (Lampang), Phrae, and U-Thong.

Animism

Refer to Edward Burnett Tylor's phenomenology concept of animism, it is the belief system which have notion that not only human beings have soul (consciousness, will, intentions), but also animals, plants and a whole host of other objects and phenomena¹⁶¹. This ancient belief system is worldwide and it was believed that it is the foundation concept of other religions that still exists in modern human society, such as Brahmanism and Hinduism. Animism was developed from the fear from people in the primitive world that they have towards environment around them. They considered phenomenons as unknowns that were powerful and superior to them. Nature can be threats to their lives. In order to survive, they have to worship these powerful spirits in nature as their gods.

Animism in different parts of the world such as animistic form of Wari of western Amazonia, the Navajo and the Sioux in North America, the yup'ik people in western Alaska and northeast Siberia, the Uduk of Sudanese-Ethiopian borderland, and the Batek and the Chewong of the Malay Peninsula¹⁶², shared similar attributes. Firstly, their nature-gods were

¹⁶¹ Arhorn, K. & Sprenger, G. (2016). *Animism in Southeast Asia*. New York: Routledge.

¹⁶² Praet, I. (2014). *Animism and the Question of Life*. New York: Routledge.

developed from spirits or ghosts, for example Fire-god was a development of sun worship¹⁶³ and Water-god was a development of river worship. Secondly, each god was personified and was described as a character in myths or folk lore, such as Vulcan, Agni, and Loki. Thirdly, gods in animistic world have hierarchical rank. The great god has supreme power was ranked as a chief or king, such as Zeus and Brahman. Fourthly, spiritual beings were classified into a group of deities and a group of devils. Finally, scarification of material foods, drinks, or animals was the way to communicate and please gods in order to ask them for protection and overcoming difficulties.

Animistic practices, such as magical power, supernatural power, superstitions, and rituals were reflected through the Legend of Queen Chammathevi from several characters. The sage Vasudeva and the sage Sukkadanta showed their magical power by flying through the air. They also use magical power to build Hariphunchai by drawing the city plan on the ground and the city appeared from the earth. While auspicious elephant named Phu Kam Nga Khiew can have red ray that came out from tips of its tusks as a supernatural power to defeat Milakkha's troop during the war. It was sent to Queen Chammathevi by the city angels as a guardian to protect the queen and her sons. Another mythical animal as a Hatthilinga bird is a powerful creature of the sage Sajjanaleyya. It flied to the ocean for taking a conch shell for the sage Vasudeva and the sage Sukkadanta.

¹⁶³ Cox, M. R. (n.d.). *Animism, Ghosts and Gods*. USA: Kessinger Publishing.

Benevolent Hariphunchai's guardian deities played remarkable roles in saving the kingdom from the war against Lavo. This war occurred during the reign of King Adittaraja who is the lineage of Queen Chammathevi. Lavo's guardian deities were worshipped and invited by the Lavo King in order to destroy Hariphunchai. They appeared to be malevolent and kept attacking Hariphunchai's guardian for several times, for example one of them disguised himself as a Brahman in order to enter the city of Hariphunchai and successfully killed the city's auspicious white rooster, another of them disguised himself as a novice and aimed to kill Hariphunchai's water spirit, but finally he was killed by the water spirit. Hariphunchai's guardian deities also protected the kingdom from the invasion of Lavo's troop by using the magical power to confuse Lavo's soldiers about the direction to Hariphunchai until they got lost and were defeated by Hariphunchai's troop. According to hierarchy rank in animistic world, Lavo's guardian deities were considered to have lower rank because they still have worldly desires for material offerings and evil actions, while Hariphunchai's guardian deities were more superior with morality.

Some characters in the Legend of Queen Chammathevi were worshipped because of the belief in ancestor spirits. After the queen passed away, she was reborn in Tusita heaven because of her righteousness and strong belief in Dharma. She was defined to be a sacred soul and some people worshipped her as a goddess. Her statues were built and places at sacred places and temples around Thailand, such as Lamphun, Lampang, Chiang Mai, and Phrae.

The Sage Vasudeva and the King Milakkha were worshipped as ancestor spirits who protected Doi Suthep Mountain and other mountains in Chaing Mai and Lamphun. The character of emissary named Gaveyya who took responsible for accompanying and protecting Queen Chammathevi while she travelled from Lavo to Hariphunchai also was worshipped as a guardian deity of Lamphun. His statue was built and placed at the shrine in local community which was close to Phra That Hariphunchai Temple. Moreover, the auspicious elephant Phu Kam Nga Khiew was worshipped as an animal god. The shire and ancient stupa called Ku Chang was built and dedicated to the auspicious elephant. Nowadays, it was a popular place for people to pray and ask for fortune and protection.

Several animistic beliefs in superstition that come from the legend of Queen Chammathevi surprisingly exist in modern Lan Na society and also have strong influence in Lan Na culture. Those beliefs are mostly from town chronicles or traditional history about Queen Chammathevi, such as Kap Jia Chammathevi and Wilangka (King Milakkha), and Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Mr. Suthawaree Suwarnapach. Bad luck or “Khud” in Lan Na is actions or tricks that can destroy the magical power of the enemy or other persons. The legend depicted “Khud” through the challenge from Queen Chammathevi on King Milakkha. She challenged him to throw his spear from Doi Suthep Mountain to the city of Hariphunchai which has a distance over 20 kilometers. If King Milakkha was successful in this contest, the queen will accept to be his wife.

The queen knew that King Milakkha will win the contest but she did not want to marry with him. She deceived him by asking him to wear a hat which she made from her skirt that has her period stains. She offered him some chewing betel nuts which she already put tips of betel leaf in her period. Moreover, she painted her period on some white flowers until they became red before she gave to the king. After the King Milakkha wore the hat, consumed chewing betel nuts, and placed the red flowers behind his ear. Then, he lost his magical power and dropped his spear at the foot of Doi Suthep Mountain. He overwhelmed with embarrassment after the defeat and decided to commit suicide.

The belief in “Khud” and superstition from the Legend of Queen Chammathevi shaped the behaviors of Lan Na people in nowadays, especially the negative concepts about the female and her period are impurity. Besides, women were defined as the root cause of men’s desires, which were obstacles to the Enlightenment¹⁶⁴. Women and girls were prohibited to enter some Buddhist sacred areas such as cetiyas and ubosots because the belief that their periods can weaken the magical power that were protecting these places. Lan Na men are warned not to walk under clotheslines which were used for hanging women’s clothes. They also were

¹⁶⁴ Ungkawanichakul, P. & et al. (2017). *A Study of Status and Way of Life of*

Northern Thai Women from Documents and Mural Paintings in Lanna.

Journal of Institute of Culture and Arts Srinakarinwirot University. Retrieved

from <https://www.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/jica/article/view/105628/83820>

advised to wash women's clothes and men's clothes separately. When Lan Na people wanted to have chewing betel nuts, they needed to ensure that tips of betel leaf were cut. Some communities in northern Thailand still avoided worshipping the Lord Buddha image and other sacred objects with red flowers because they are signs of bad luck. Furthermore, King Milakkha put his curse on people of Hariphunchai or modern Lamphun for not having success in love and relationship with people in his territory of Raming or modern Chiang Mai. He said before he died that, "From now on, love and relationship between people of Hariphunchai and people of Raming will always in doom and gloom."

Salient Aspects of Spiritual Value

Queen Chammathevi brought five hundred of Buddhist monks and five hundred Brahmins from Lavapura to promote Buddhism and Brahmanism expansion in the Hariphunchai outpost. Lessons and practices from these religions provided wisdoms and civilization to the remote area. The religions were also blended with local belief of animism and created uniqueness in philosophies and beliefs of Lan Na people from the past to the present. Influence of Buddhism, Brahmanism, and animism were interpreted into Lan Na culture, architecture, literatures, arts, rituals, festivals, and norm.

Aesthetic Value

Aesthetic value is a significance that has distinctive characters from other values like historical value, spiritual value, social value, and

scientific value, because it can be experienced by using human being five senses, and without using high level of comprehension. Seeing heritage sites with their aesthetic characters like being graceful, attractive, elegant, and balanced is a first step to move forward to more complex aesthetic experience. The enjoyment of heritage's aesthetic value also can lead to the forming of other senses and activities, such as testing the local foods, touching local textiles, smelling fresh tropical fruits, and hearing temple bells' sound. Aesthetic value is a starting process before having more discoveries on other values that can make heritages become more meaningful and interesting.

State Heritage Office of Government of Western Australia dedicated further ideas about aesthetic value by clarifying the concept of this value based on its importance. Descriptions about the importance of aesthetic value can be illustrated through these following ideas.

1. Importance to a community for aesthetic characteristics.
2. Importance for its creative, design or artistic excellence, innovation or achievement.
3. Importance for its contribution to the aesthetic values of the setting demonstrated by a landmark quality or having impact on important vista or otherwise contributing to the identified aesthetic qualities of the cultural environs or the natural landscape within which it is located.

4. In the case of an historic precinct, importance for the aesthetic character created by the individual components which collectively form a significant streetscape, townscapes or cultural environment¹⁶⁵.

Thus, aesthetic value has power to inspire people imagination to build more value on other aspects for the heritage. It is also a motivation for building the awareness for heritage's protection and sustaining.

The legend of Queen Chammathevi itself is a remarkable work of art or art literature that has high aesthetic value. It provides imagination, attracts attention, and inspires listeners to design other new forms of art based on the legend, such as the poetry Kap Jia Chammathevi and Wilangka by Kraisri Nimmanhemin, songs, invented traditions, and plays. Architectures and art objects in Hariphunchai style are unique by art combination between Dvaravati, Indian, and Burmese style. Hariphunchai style also has influences on Lan Na's art and architecture. It is a style that demonstrates exceptional interest with rarity, representativeness, integrity, and authenticity like four monuments in Lamphun which portray distinctive architectures in Hariphunchai style, including Suwannachangkot Chedi, Rattana Chedi, Pathumwadi Chedi, and Chiang Yan Chedi.

¹⁶⁵ State Heritage Office of Western Australia. (2012). *The Assessment for Cultural*

Architectures in Hariphunchai Style

1. Suwannachangkot Chedi

Suwannachangkot Chedi is a large size of tall stepped-pyramid stupa. It was situated at Chammathevi Temple or Wat Kukut, at Muang district, in Lamphun. This pyramidal tower has another named as Ku Kut Chedi which means the stupa without spire. It was built from blocks of laterite and consists of five stages. Each stage is surrounded with twelve niches, three niches on each side, and the stupa has sixty niches in total. There is a standing Buddha which is made from stucco is placed in every niche. All sixty standing Buddha images pose in vitarka mudra with his right hand at the chest level and his left hand is at the side. Face and figure of all Buddha images portray typical Hariphunchai style with mixing of influences from Pala style from India and Lopburi style. The images have wide, flattened foreheads, broad noses, incised eyes and mustache, and joined eyebrows. Their figures tended to be boxy and stiff and were covered with smooth U-shaped robe which were terminated above ankles.

Scholars said that the stupa is one of evidences of Hariphunchai-Dvaravati connection because its square base with niches derived from Dvaravati's seventh-century cetiya like Chula Pathom Chedi in Nakhon Pathom. The monument is constructed of blocks of laterite which a technique is found earlier in Dvaravati sites at Phong Tuk and U Thong¹⁶⁶.

¹⁶⁶ Woodward, H. (2005). *The Art and Architecture of Thailand*. Netherland: Brill

Moreover, Pagan architecture of Burma appeared on the frames of each niche or 'clec', a term in Burmese. This architecture style has decoration on the frame of niche with ornamental stucco reliefs in an array of mythological animals, deities' figures, and pointed leaf-like elements. The distinguishing marks of Pagan type reflected significant cultural exchange between Hariphunchai and other passive recipients of Indian culture like Pagan and Mon kingdom in Pegu and Thaton.

Suwannachangkot Chedi is believed to be a stupa for the relics of Queen Chammathevi. According to the Mulasasana and the Jinakamalini Chronicle, King Mahantayasa built Suwannachangkot Chedi at the western outskirt of Hariphunchai to enshrine his mother's relics. Some parts of the stupa were destroyed by an earthquake during the reign of King Sabbasiddhi, around 1210s. The king supported the stupa's restoration and recorded this part of history on the inscription. This inscription was name as LP2 and was found in between Suwannachangkot Chedi and another chedi in octagonal shape named Rattana Chedi.

The location of LP2 created ambiguity and dispute between scholars because some of them believed that the stepped-pyramid stupa is not Suwannachangkot Chedi, and the right Suwannachangkot Chedi is the octagonal shape stupa which was located nearby. They reinforced their theory by following one part of the legend in the Jinakamalini Chronicle that there is a laterite stupa in Hariphunchai which was built by captive Khmer soldiers and its name is Sun Mahapol Chedi. Besides, the former name of Chammathevi Temple is Wat Tung Mahapol.

However, Surapol Damrikul and Pensupa Sukata, experts in Hariphunchai study, didn't agree with the theory of Sun Mahapol Chedi by confirming that the stepped-pyramid stupa is Suwannachangkot Chedi. They supported the authenticity of Suwannachangkot Chedi by identifying highly significance of the place where relics of Queen Chammathevi were enshrined. It was supported in restoration by King Sabbasiddhi and was conserved in original shape. It can survive through time without any destruction from wars because people in later generations also respect to the queen. King Mangrai also worshipped this chedi and built another stepped-pyramid monument similar to Suwannachangkot Chedi at his place of Wiang Kum Kam.

2. Rattana Chedi

The octagonal stupa named Rattana Chedi was situated at the north of Suwannachangkot Chedi, at Chammathevi Temple or Wat Kukut, at Muang district, in Lamphun. The eleven and a half meters height tower was built by King Sabbasiddhi. It was made of brick and was covered with stucco. There is a niche on each side of the main part of stupa, and standing Buddha images in Abhaya mudra was enshrined in each niche. These Buddha images have similar attributes of the standing Buddha on Suwannachangkot Chedi. Their bodies were made of stucco and head figures were moulded terracottas. The upper part of the stupa was surrounded by eight small niches and each niche contains Buddha image in Dhyana mudra or meditation posture. The top part of the stupa was collapsed. Archaeologists assumed that the spire of Rattana Chedi is in

cone-shaped as it is compared with octagonal bronze miniature stupa in Lopburi art.

3. Pathumwadi Chedi (Suwanna Chedi)

Pathumwadi Chedi is a stepped-pyramid stupa at Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai in Muang district, Lamphun. It was located in the northeast and far from the main Phrathat for fifty meters. The shape and architectural style of the stupa is similar to Suwannachangkot Chedi, but the size is smaller. Its triple tiers square base are made of blocks of laterite and the upper parts are made of bricks. There are five stages, each stages contains twelve niches, and each niche holds stucco work of standing Buddha images in Abhaya mudra. The appearances of standing Buddha images also reflect typical Hariphunchai style. The tip of the stupa is in a pyramidal shape which is made of stucco and was covered with metal in gold color. The original tip of the stupa was covered with gold plates. Then, it has another name as the Suwanna Chedi, which means the golden stupa.

The Mulasasana Chronicle mentioned the building of Pathumwadi Chedi was begun after King Adittaraja completed the construction of the stupa for the Buddha's holy relics. His royal consort named Queen Pathumwadi then wanted to build her own stupa next to the holy place. This is her wish to make merit and pay homage to Lord Buddha. She chose the pyramidal shape for Pathumwadi Chedi because perhaps she has highly respected in Queen Chammathevi and build similar stupa like Suwannachangkot Chedi where the queen's relics were buried.

4. Chiang Yan Chedi

Chiang Yan Chedi or Chiang Yuen Chedi is a five spires stupa-prasart which is situated at the north of the principal chedi or Phrathat Hariphunchai. Nowadays, its location is in the area of Methiwuthikorn School, next to Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai. All parts of the stupa were made of bricks. It has five tiers square base. The main body part of the stupa has a stupika above each corner and has a niche on each side. Archeologists assumed that there was a bronze standing Buddha image was enshrined in each niche because pieces of a bronze standing Buddha image was found from excavation. There is a bell shape stupa above the main body part. The top part of the bell shape stupa has tiers and lotus bases. It was decorated with moldings and crystal ball designs.

The history of Chiang Yan Chedi is uncertain because one of legends mentioned it was built by King Adittaraja, another legend told it was built by a group of ladies who cooked and prepared foods for people who constructed Phrathat Hariphunchai Chedi and Pathumwadi Chedi. Moreover, architectural style of the chedi is also interesting because it portrayed art influence from different sources, such as five spires stupa-prasart style of Sri Vijaya, stupikas above four corners style of Pagan, and Dvaravati's style of niches for standing Buddha. Chiang Yan Chedi also reflected Lanna art due to it was refurbished during Lanna period. Although, there are ambiguities about Chiang Yan Chedi regarding the

history and the mixing styles of art, archaeologist believed that the chedi was constructed in Hariphunchai period¹⁶⁷.



Figure 12 Suwannachangkot Chedi (Top Left), Rattana Chedi (Top Right), Pathumwadi Chedi (Bottom Left), Chiang Yan Chedi (Bottom Right)

Source: The researcher, 2018

¹⁶⁷ Damrikun, S. (2004). *Prawatsart Lae Silapa Hariphunchai*. Bangkok: Muang

Art in Hariphunchai Style

Ancient artifacts which represent distinctive Hariphunchai art can be detected from sculptors, votive tablets, reposes, ritual objects, and utensils.

1. Sculptor

Hariphunchai sculptors are mainly produced to serve Buddhist art and they are made from sandstones, stuccos, terracottas, and bronze. Various materials of sculptor and art style, especially Buddha images, reflect the development of Hariphunchai art which has influences from Dvaravati, Lopburi, Pagan of Burmese, Pala Indian style through Pagan art, and Khmer art.

Dvaravati and Lopburi art appeared in sandstone Buddha images which were produced before 11th century or at the beginning of Hariphunchai Kingdom. Buddha images portray distinguish features of Dvaravati and Lopburi art with joined eyebrows, broad noses, rimmed eyelids and lower lips, thin upper lips, and heavy hair curls.

The Pagan and Pala type also appeared in sandstone and bronze Buddha images after 11th century according to significant contacts in this period between three kingdoms, Hariphunchai, Mon of Lower Burma and Pagan of upper Burma. Moreover, Hariphunchai people fled to Sadhammavati and Pegu of Mon Kingdom for six years during cholera outbreaks. Then, they absorbed Pagan and Pala art and produced some distinguishing marks on the Buddha images with the Buddha seated with leg crossed and has a throne backing, round shape face, arched eyebrows, eyes are half closed and look downward, small mouth, and snail shell curl hair.

Hariphunchai art reached the peak during 12th and 13th century AD because Hariphunchai people adapted art style from different sources to the local aspects. Then, they created artistic innovation for typical Hariphunchai style by putting some of their own distinguishing features on Buddha images like their creations of sixty Buddha images on Suwannachangkot Chedi. They sometimes added a unique Hariphunchai mark which is a mustache over the lips of some images because the mustache is a mark to identify the image of Arahant and it also a mark to differentiate Arahant from Lord Buddha.

After 13th century, the blending technique between moulding terracottas and stucco sculptor was more popular in Hariphunchai art than sculptor carving on sandstone. Most of Buddha images during this period were mixed between stucco of the body part and terracottas of the head. Examples of Buddha images from this blending technique can be seen from standing Buddha image on Suwannachangkot Chedi, Rattana Chedi, and Pathumwadi Chedi. Terracottas were widely used for creating others art figures, such as gods or divine figures, and himavanta mythical creators like kinaras and garudas. Most of god's images that were found in Hariphunchai were crowned with five pointed leaf-like elements which are reflections of Pagan and Pala prototype.

Khmer art became an element of Hariphunchai art during the end of 12th century when there were some Khmer lived in Hariphunchai. According to the Mulasasana and the Jinakamalini Chronicle, those Khmer were captive soldiers from Lavapura who were allowed to live in Hariphunchai by King Adittaraja. They presented Khmer artistic influence

through some features of Buddha images in Hariphunchai period, such as round face, hair frame, broad brows, and cleft chin.



Figure 13 Head of stone sculptor in Hariphunchai Style, 10th Century (Late Dvaravati)



Source: The researcher, 2018

Figure 14 Collections of stone sculptor Buddha images at Hariphunchai National Museum

Source: The researcher, 2018

2. Votive Tablets

Votive tablets are backed clay artifacts or terracottas tablets which were produced by molds and have imprinted Buddha image in various designs on the front side, and sometimes have mantra texts or sacred scriptures on the back. The design of the image can be a scene of Buddha in pre-enlightenment or Buddha images in different mudras. They were originally used in the ancient time in India as souvenirs for Buddhist pilgrims who visited four Buddhist principal holy places, including Kapilavastu, Buddhagaya, Benares, and Kusinagara. They were made into three different sizes, large, medium, and small, from 30 to 2 centimeters high. They are symbolic of religion, source of merit, and auspicious objects that help safeguarding against dangers. Then, some Buddhists choose medium or small votive tablets to wear on their necklaces. Furthermore, all of Hariphunchai ancient votive tablets become highly expensive antiques and are popular among collectors.

Votive tablets that were found as ancient artifacts of Hariphunchai can be classified into five groups according to the design that has art influences from Indian, Dvaravati, Pagan, Lopburi, and the last group is unique Hariphunchai art¹⁶⁸.

2.1 Indian style votive tablets are Phra Ngob Nam-oi and Phra Pim Soom Bodh Gaya.

¹⁶⁸ Damrikun, S. (2004). *Prawatsart Lae Silapa Hariphunchai*. Muang Boran

- Phra Ngob Nam-oi has round shape and 7 centimeters in diameter. It has an image of Buddha seated in the Bhumispasara mudra with legs crossed in vajarasana, and there are seven cetiyas encircle the Buddha. There is 'Ye Dhamma'¹⁶⁹ inscriptions in small letters which are written in Nagari character of Sanskrit, and the inscriptions were placed below the effigy.

- Phra Pim Soom Bodh Gaya has 10.5 centimeters high and 9 centimeters wide. It has an image of Buddha sit in a niche, beneath the tower of Mahabodhi temple at Bodh Gaya. The Buddha seated in the Bhumispasara mudra with legs crossed in vajarasana, and there are cetiyas encircle the niche. This is a type of votive tablets that were popular between 7th to 11th century AD, in northeastern region of India, Sri Ksetra of Burma, Pagan and Bago of Burma, and Dvaravati Kingdom.

2.2 Dvaravati style votive tablets are Phra Kwang, Phra Kluay, and Phra Yuen Wat Mahawan.

- Phra Kwang has triangular shape with 6 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters high. It has an image of Buddha sit on a lotus throne with Bhumispasara mudra and legs crossed in vajarasana. The Buddha has a circular head halo which was decorated with geometric figures like dots

¹⁶⁹ Coedes, G. (1921). *Siamese Votive Tablets*. Retrieved from

<http://www.siamese-heritage.org/jsspdf/1921>

[JSS_020_1b_Coedes_SiameseVotiveTablets.pdf](#) /

and curves. The Buddha also flanked by two monks and each monk has a plain design of a circular head halo. There is a stupa-prasart as a background and a deer sits by each side of the throne.

- Phra Kluay has triangular shape with 7 centimeters wide and 15 centimeters high. Its shape resembles a banana or 'Kluay' in Thai. Phra Kluay shows two scenes of Buddha. The upper part is a scene of Buddha in meditation mudra on a lotus base. There are two standing monk figures flank by the Buddha. The lower part is a scene of Buddha sit on a lotus throne with Bhumisparasara mudra and legs crossed in vajarasana. There are two monks sit by each side of the Buddha and they put their hands together on the chest as a salute. There are also two divines flanked the Buddha and an elephant sit by each side of the throne.

- Phra Yuen Wat Mahawan represents a Buddha figure with 7 to 10 centimeters high. The figure is a standing Buddha in Abhaya mudra and has Dvaravati style as the Buddha has broad and square shape face, prominent eyes, broad nose. Some Buddha images of this votive tablets has the robe covering the whole of body and the robe is hanging down up to ankles, while the others wear robe with bare right shoulder.

2.3 Pagan of Burmese style votive tablets are Phra Lavo and Phra Kampang Ha-roi.

- Phra Lavo has triangular shape with the Buddha image sit in a niche, on a throne with Bhumisparasara mudra with legs crossed in vajarasana, beneath the tower of Mahabodhi temple at Bodh Gaya. The

Buddha image portrays art influence of Gupta art of India which was popular in Sri Ksetra and Pagan in Burma during 9th to 10th century. Gupta art of India created unique style of Buddha with eyes cast downward and gently smiling and smooth contours of the Buddha's body¹⁷⁰. There are branches of Bodhi tree grow out from the tower of Mahabodhi temple. The Buddha was flanked by four cetiyas, two cetiyas on each side.

- Phra Kampang Ha-roi is a large size of votive tablet in rectangular shape for main part and triangular shape at the top. Its size is 17.5 centimeters wide, 29.5 centimeters high and 3 centimeters thick. There are almost five hundred of small imprinted Buddha images on the single side of the tablets. Ha-roi is the word in Thai which means five hundred.

2.4 Lopburi style votive tablets are Phra Sam and Phra Puay.

- Phra Sam is a votive tablet is in leaf-like shape which has three Buddha images appeared on it. The Buddha in the middle is a crown Buddha sit in a niche, on the throne and sometimes sit on the lotus base. He has a larger size than the other two and has a posture of Bhumisparasara mudra with legs crossed in vajarasana, while the other two are in meditation posture. Due to he is a crown Buddha or decorated ornamented Buddha which is a distinctive style of Lopburi art on Buddha image, he

¹⁷⁰ Shodhganga. (n.d.). *The Development of the Buddha Images through the Ages*.

Retrieved from <http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream>

/10603/154759/11/11_chapter%204.pdf

wears crown, neck-bracelets, arm-bracelets and necklaces around the neck and the upper part of the Buddha's body. Hariphunchai art also appeared on the background which is the figure of Bodhi tree and Bodhi leaves, or a stupa-prasart. There are several well-known models of Phra Sam, including Phra Sam Wiang Tha Kan, Phra Sam Wat Phra Kong Rishi, and Phra Sam Bi-pho.

- Phra Puay is a votive tablet in rectangular shape and has a single Buddha on it. The Buddha seated on the lotus base, in Bhumisparasara mudra with legs crossed in vajarasana. There are Lopburi art features reflect on the Buddha, including a small cone-shaped ushnisha and robe cover body with bare right shoulder. However, the Buddha's upper part of body looks naked because his robe has delicate and transparent character. Then people called this type of votive tablets as Phra Puay which means naked Buddha.

2.5 Typical Hariphunchai style votive tables are Phra Phim Prok Bodhi and Phra Phim Roob Sam Liam.

- Phra Phim Prok Bodhi has imprinted Buddha image on the front side of votive tablet. The Buddha sit on a throne in Bhumisparasara mudra with legs crossed in vajarasana, and sit beneath Bodhi tree. This scene depicts the moment of Buddha's enlightenment at Mahabodhi temple at Bodh Gaya. There are four types of Phra Phim Prok Bodhi, including Phra Rod, Phra Kong, Phra Bang, and Phra Perm. They are very popular and expensive Hariphunchai ancient artifacts. Some legends mentioned that

the sage Vasudeva and others four sages created these votive tablets and baked them by auspicious beam from their eyes. Then, they distributed the votive tablets to Hariphunchai soldiers in order to bless them before they joined in wars.

Firstly, Phra Rod is a small size of votive tablet which has 1.3 centimeters wide and 2.6 centimeters high. People believe in the magical power and protective power of Phra Rod because of the word 'Rod' means safety. Secondly, Phra Kong is a small size of votive tablet which has 2 centimeters wide and 3 centimeters high. The word 'Kong' has a positive meaning which means being invulnerable and immortality. Thirdly, Phra Bang has similar size as Phra Kong but the votive tablets are thinner. People named Phra Bang from its thinner size, and 'Bang' in Thai means being thin. Lastly, Phra Perm has bigger size than Phra Kong and it is flat. The word 'Perm' means being flat in northern Thai dialect.

Phra Phim Roob Sam Liam is a votive tablet in triangular shape, and Sam Liam is a Thai word means triangle. There are three different designs of Buddha image on this type of votive tablet. The first design is a single Buddha sit on a throne, in a niche and has Bhumisparasara mudra with legs crossed in vajarasana. There are three-head elephant beneath the throne. The second design has the image of the Buddha in the middle and is flanked by two sitting monks. The Buddha sits on a lotus base with three-head elephant beneath it. The third design has multiple numbers

of Buddha image, starts from ten Buddhas which has the name as Phra Sib, twelve Buddha or Phra Sib-song, and eighteen Buddha or Phra Sib-pad.





Figure 15 Collections of Hariphunchai style votive tablets

1. Phra Ngob Nam-oi 2. Phra Perm 3. Phra Kwang 4. Phra Rod
5. Phra Bang 6. Phra Puay 7. Phra Liang 8. Phra Sam 9. Phra Kluay

Source: Nungsuepra.com. (2018). *Remarkable Votive Tablets of Lamphun* (พระเครื่องยอดนิยมประจำจังหวัดลำพูน). Retrived from www.nungsuepra.com

www.phralanna.blogspot.cpm

3. Reposse Metal Work

Buddhist images during 10th to 13th century of Hariphunchai Kingdom represent more sophisticated state of art when some Buddha images were produced by repousse technique. The images were appeared on precious metals like gold, silver, and bronze. Several repousse artifacts were found in both Buddha with sitting position in Bhumispasara mudra with legs crossed in vajarasana and standing Buddha in vitarka mudra with his right hand or left hand at the chest level and another hand is at the side. Pala of Indian art and Pagan of Burmese art portrayed their influences on Hariphunchai repousse by images of crown Buddha. While Dvaravati art can be detected from some features like joined eyebrows, prominent eyes, and broad nose. Reposse Buddha image were found at many significant places around the ancient kingdom, including Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai, Wat Mahawan, Wiang Tha Kan, and Wiang Kum Kam.



Figure 16 Collections of repousse Buddha images at Wat San Payang Luang

Source: The researcher, 2018

4. Earthenwares and Stonewares

Archaeologists excavated and found ritual objects and utensils which are earthenwares and stonewares from different Hariphunchai archaeological sites in both Ping River valley and Wang River valley, such as the site at Ban Wang Hi and Ban Si Yoi in Lamphun, Wat Pucheng in Lampang, and Wiang Mano in Chiang Mai. Artifacts of earthenwares were produced in Hariphunchai in several forms and they were used in everyday life, such as globular vases, rounded vases, bowls with round bottom, and flat based pots, large jars, and kendis. Earthenware like funeral urns were ritual objects and they were found in burial sites.

The earthenware artifacts reflected typical Hariphunchai art in pottery technology, shape, and decoration. The distinctive characteristics of Hariphunchai earthenware significantly derive from fine texture clay from Guang River. The clay from Guang River contains mica that can increase elasticity in the clay body and help uniformity in firing process. It also contains other minerals that can offer different colors to earthenware when fired. For example, the clay buff with tiny white and black inclusions from Guang River becomes a light orange or pumpkin color when fired under high heat¹⁷¹. The evidence supports the sources of clay from Guang River comes from the discovery of two ancient bank kiln sites situated at

¹⁷¹ Di Crocco, V. M. (1991). *Ceramic Wares of the Haripunjaya Area*. Journal of the

Siam Society Vol. 79.1. Retrieved from <http://siamese->

heritage.org/jsspdf/1991/JSS_079_1g_CroccoCeramicWaresOfHaripunjaya

Ban Wang Hi and Ban Si Yoi in Lamphun. The kilns were on the opposite bank of Guang River because potters needed to dug clay from river bank and used sloping land for constructing bank kilns.

Even though earthenwares are domestic items in Hariphunchai period, they are not all in plain design. Hariphunchai wares have elegant appearance and high aesthetic quality because they are decorated with cord-marks, painted with red, and burnished for smooth surface. A technique of rouletted decoration which is the art style in Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods are also appeared on some wares. It is a technique of stamping and impressing method to create geometric or floral designs encircle neck and shoulder of the potteries. This decoration style was widely used on most of potteries at Roman settlement of Arikamedu port in southern India¹⁷². Then, this art style arrived Southeast Asia region and Hariphunchai through Indianization. Moreover, Hariphunchai potters create outstanding artistic style on the fine white wares by using incising method to draw decorative designs and painted the designs with red color.

Stoneware like ceramics and their potsherds were found in Wang River valley more than Ping River valley. The Fine Arts Department of Thailand found large numbers of brown-glazed and green-glazed wares from archaeological excavations at historical sites in ancient town of Khelang Nagara, or Lampang, for example at Wat Puncheng which is an

¹⁷² Damrikun, S. (2004). *Prawatsart Lae Silapa Hariphunchai*. Bangkok: Muang

archaeological site in Hariphunchai period. Tung Tao Hai at Ban Mae Tao Hai village in Lampnag was identified as the ancient kiln site for producing stonewares. It located on the west-northern of the ancient town and only 2 kilometers away. Stonewares which were found at Tung Tao Hai have similar figures and characteristics to stonewares from kiln sites at Si Satchanalai and Chaliang in Sukhothai, north-central Thailand¹⁷³. It is possible that people from these two areas exchange and transfer ceramic technology to each other.

Salient Aspects of Aesthetic Value

The legend of Queen Chammathevi is a remarkable ancient literature which has aesthetic inspiration on later temporary versions of the queen's legend. It also has influence on the creation of religious monuments and arts in Hariphunchai period, such as chetiyas, images and sculptors of the Lord Buddha, votive tablets, and repose metal work. These religious monuments and arts contain philosophies and wisdoms that have power to connect people with virtue and peace of mind.

Hariphunchai arts have unique characters which derived from the blending of arts from Pala of India, Pagan of Burma, Dvaravati, Lopburi, and Khmer Empire. The variety of arts in Hariphunchai style reflects high

¹⁷³ Damrikun, S. (2004). *Prawatsart Lae Silapa Hariphunchai*. Bangkok: Muang

level of intercultural exchange and the civilization of Hariphunchai Kingdom.



Figure 17 Hariphunchai style earthenware artifacts at Hariphunchai National Museum

Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 18 Hariphunchai style stoneware artifacts at Hariphunchai National Museum

Source: The researcher, 2018

Scientific Value

Debate topic about the existence of Queen Chammathevi was arose again in 2016 when one of the Facebook page name 'If you don't believe, don't respect it', in Thai 'Mai Chuae Tong Lop-loo', posted some sexual comments against the queen. This is a similar case which was happened in 2105 when Tua Toon Magazine presented an article criticized the queen on her trick to lure and disempower King Milakkha's magic spell and caused him harm and death. Lamphun people and the queen's worshippers argued against these disrespectful actions and ensured the queen is a significant historical figure. Scholars of Hariphunchai study also supported the existence of the queen with several archaeological evidences which were tested by dating methods. Some objects were approved by historians that they are authentic ancient artifacts from the same period of the queen and they linked with the social development of the northern Thailand. Therefore, the queen's legend was spoken from facts which derived from archaeology and its scientific methods.

Archaeological Sites for Hariphunchai's Evidences in Lamphun and Lampang

Archaeological offered several scientific approaches which are objectivity, testability, and reproducibility. Archaeological observations and excavations of Hariphunchai's sites are started with scientific process like pre-excavation research, including the study of relevant documents, maps and drawings, aerial photographs, Landsat or Earth-observing satellites program, geophysical method of site surveys, phosphate and

other chemical analysis, metal detectors, and dowsing. After that, knowledges from excavations and ancient artifacts will be tested for their reliability and authenticity by scientific dating methods before archaeologists and historians created multiple interpretations from those evidences. Then, scholars will use these interpretations to reconstruct history of the early kingdom in Ping and Wang River Basins. The legend of Queen Chammathevi is also one of major sources and indications for excavation sites both in Lamphun, Lampang, and Chiang Mai in order to uncover the past.

There are several archaeological sites in Lamphun that were excavated and surveyed under projects of the Fine Arts Department (FAD) of Thailand in order to find evidences to support the theory of existence of Queen Chammathevi and to develop knowledge of Hariphunchai study. Those archaeological sites are such as;

1. archaeological site at Ban Wang Hi in 1987 and 1996
2. archaeological site at Ku Chang and Ka Ma in 1982
3. archaeological site at Lamphun's City Hall in 1985
4. archaeological site at Shankaram Temple (Wat Pratu Lee) in 1988 and 1991
5. archaeological site at Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai in 1996
6. archaeological site at Hariphunchai National Museum in 1996
7. archaeological site at Romaneeyaram Temple (Wat Ku Lamak) in 1991 and 1995

8. archaeological site at Wiang Yong (Wat Don Kaew) in 1991

9. archaeological site at Mahawan Gate in 2001

10. archaeological site at Phra Yuen Temple in 2006.

Finding of ancient artifacts from archaeological sites in Lamphun satisfied archaeologists and historians because those items are written records of chronological social development of Hariphunchai, from hunter and gatherer society in small scale to large scale settlement pattern of Hariphunchai Kingdom, including its satellite towns. Stratigraphic study revealed Ban Wang Hi prehistoric burial sites with grave goods such as carnelian and agate beads, stone tools, and earthen wares which are the same kind of artifacts from prehistoric communities in Chao Phraya River Basin in central of Thailand and Mun-Chi River Basin in northeastern Thailand.

Buddha images, stucco reliefs of religious monuments, religious building foundations and stone inscriptions in old Mon scripts were found in the upper layer are evidences for establishment of Buddhism and the religion's popularity in Hariphunchai period. Dvaravati silver coins, and Lopburi style and Pagan art style Buddha images and votive tablets also reflected cultural exchange and distance trading between Hariphunchai and other states in Southeast Asia.

Archaeological excavations in Lampang for Hariphunchai study were done by the Fine Arts Department, and sometimes Lampang Rajabhat University, Chiang Mai University with Mae Fha Luang Foundation, and

scholars. They deployed excavations both in ancient town or Khelang Nagara and other satellite towns, such as;

1. archaeological site at Wiang Tan in 1969
2. archaeological site at Mae Moh Mine in 1984
3. archaeological site at Wiang Phrathat Lampang Luang in 1985
4. archaeological sites at seven gates of ancient town of Khelang Nagara in 1989
5. archaeological site at Pun Cheng Temple in 1990
6. archaeological sites at ancient wall of Khelang Nagara (Pratu Ma) in 2006
7. archaeological site at Pong Sanuk Temple in 2007.

Apart from academic and scientific archaeological excavations, ancient artifacts in Bronze and Iron Age were inadvertently discovered at the construction site of Chom Ping Temple at Ko Kha District, in 1998. Prehistoric evidences of *Homo erectus* remains also were found at Had Pu Dai Village, Ko Kha District, in 1977 and in 1999. The set of *Homo erectus* remains was named as Lampang Man or Ko Kha Man. It is considered as the earliest ancient human in Thailand because the four cranial fragments are about 500,000 years ago. Researchers estimated the age of the remains based on extinct fauna, animal bones, fangs and stone tools that are also recovered from the site. Moreover, they compared Lampang Man with a skull of Sangiran, *Homo erectus* found in Indonesia and dated some 500,000 - 400,000 years ago. The finding shows the four pieces skull of

Lampang Man share characteristics of Sangiran, Homo erectus when considering the zygomatic notch and temporal line.¹⁷⁴ Various archeological evidences of hominids' fossils from the region also supported the authenticity of Lampang Man, such as five teeth of Homo -erectus of Tham Kuyen and Long Trang in Vietnam, and a large series of pebble tools at Mae Tha Districted in Lampang.

Conservation of Heritage by Scientific Approach

Scientific approach plays important role in conservation of heritage in terms of preventing, treatment, and restoration. However, some local governments in Thailand and owners of religious places like Buddhist monks who are key bodies and persons in heritage conservation don't have enough knowledge and skills to provide appropriate care to heritage. Training and supporting them with knowledge and understanding is crucial because it can help building awareness and safeguarding in heritage conservation. The Fine Arts Department (FAD) of Thailand realized about the problem, so they organized some heritage conservation training projects for groups of key bodies and persons who involved with local heritage, for example the Local Volunteer in Arts and Cultural Heritage Project and the Cultural Heritage Conservation for Buddhist Monks Project.

¹⁷⁴ Pramankij, S. et al.(n.d.). *Ancient Humans in Thailand*. Retrieved from

<http://www.nst.or.th/members/sasiphan-02.pdf>

Trainings from the Fine Arts Department of Thailand provided local volunteers and Buddhist monks with basic understanding and knowledge about international principles of conservation like principles from the Venice Charter and Thailand's framework of the Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Art and National Museums, B.E. 2504 (1961). Case studies from incorrect treatment on heritage monuments with cement mortar and plaster, concrete, silicate and plastic paint, and epoxy adhesive were introduced to participants because these materials can make deteriorated condition of monuments worse. Then, scientific knowledges were explained to them about using traditional techniques and organic materials like mortar and plaster from limestone, breathable resin and paint to treat damage parts on monuments and artifacts to prevent decay effects cause by salt weathering, salt solution from ground, and salt crystallization. They were also required to look after their own local heritages and reported to regional offices of FAD if it is necessary for them to have restoration works and change for their heritages.

The proper way for heritage conservation is to educate with knowledge about conservation and empower local people to take care of their own heritages. A team of local volunteer in arts and cultural heritage of Lamphun is a good example in local heritage conservation when Sergeant Suwish Sriwiraj took action on surveying and documenting group of ruined monuments and stupas at Tha Chiang Thong historical site by himself before he reported to regional offices of FAD in Chaing Mai. After that, the regional offices of FAD declared Tha Chiang Thong to be archaeological site and protect it under the Thai law. Besides, successful

heritage conservation practices can be observed from a Buddhist monk as Phra Prakobboon Siriyano of Mahawan Temple in Lamphun. He and local communities dedicated themselves to establish and manage Folk Museum of Wat Mahawan in order to look after and educate other people about artifacts in Hariphunchai period which were found at the temple.

Some ancient temples in Lampang like Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang, Wat Pong Yang Kok, and Wai Lai Hin are heritage sites that successfully treated religious building by remaining sandy courts surrounding Buddha Hall, vihara, and other religious halls. Sandy court is breathable natural ground that allows moisture to rise through and also let salt solution evaporate through the ground, not through the walls and basements of religious building. However, the conservation of the Buddha Hall of Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang became an issue in 2012 when the FAD hired a private company to provide treatments to preserve mural paintings inside the hall. Without knowledge of characteristic and technique of ancient painting, the private company's staff retouched some murals by oil painting and destroyed their authenticity and esthetic value¹⁷⁵. They used different artist style and different color scheme from the original one which was produced by the Yun technique for creating designs on Burmese lacquerware. Finally, the FAD sent experts to fix the problem by removing oil painting with solvents.

¹⁷⁵ Jongjitngam, S. (2012). *The Buddha Hall of Wat Bhathart-Lampang-Luang: The*

Case Study of Art Conservation's Problem in Thailand. Journal of Fine Art,

Vol. 3 No. 2.

Salient Aspects of Scientific Value

Attractive legend of Queen Chammathevi and Hariphunchai leads to several archaeological excavations and scientific approaches used in both Lamphun and Lampang. Further studies about the queen are an attempt to prove that the queen is not a myth. Fact findings from these scientific practices reconstruct the knowledge about the queen and her kingdom. This advance knowledge can bring local people to their roots, and can raise awareness for local people to look after and conserve their cultural heritage.

Statement of Significance

The legend of Queen Chammathevi helps unveil the history beyond official national history of the Kingdom of Thailand. It can link to the ancient period of prehistoric Southeast Asia, and other ancient states of Dvaravati, Srivijaya, and Funan. It associated with the development of Lan Na Kingdom, since the beginning of Lan Na until it was under Siam centralization. It also encourages people in Lamphun and Lampang, even people from other northern Thai provinces, to pay more attention and to be interested in their local history. The pride of local communities towards their local history can lead to strong sense of place. Moreover, the engagement between local people and community identity is important for the sustainability of cultural heritage conservation.

Queen Chammathevi's legend presents social value connection in Thailand from the past to the present through three main issues, including Mon ethnic group, status of women, and social identity of second-tier cities

like Lamphun and Lampang. The issue about Mon ethnic group and social identity reflects the conflict on inferiority, while the issue about status of women shows the inequality of gender in male-dominated society.

Queen Chammathevi is a symbol of woman that can overcome prejudice from inferiority, and ethnic and gender inequality. Mon people refer to her as the Mon queen who brings back Mon pride and identity. Several women admire the queen as their role model because she is a symbol of equal opportunity in religion, education, and politics. The queen's legend builds a sense of place and can link local people of Lamphun and Lampang with their communities.

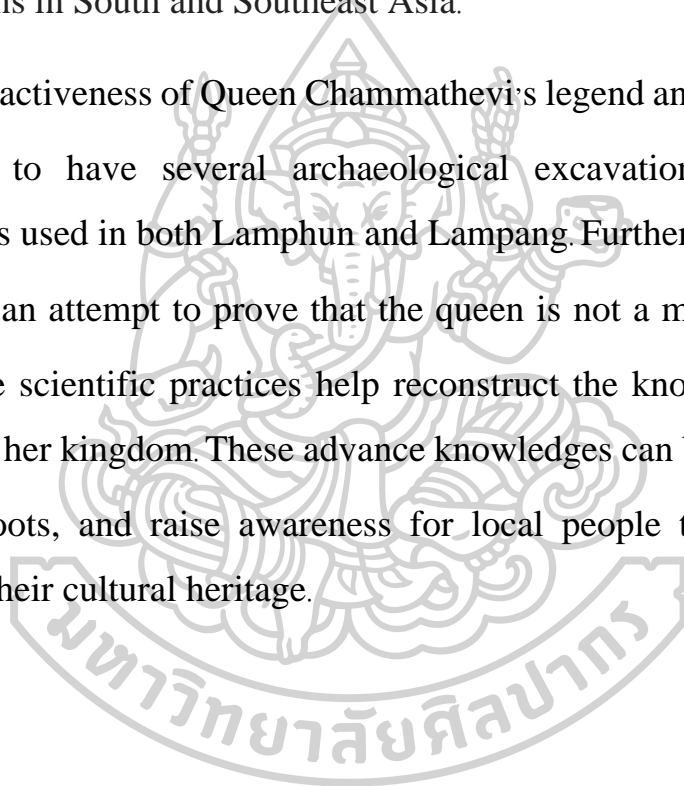
Queen Chammathevi brought five hundred of Buddhist monks and five hundred Brahmins from Lavapura to promote Buddhism and Brahmanism expansion in the Hariphunchai outpost. Lessons and practices from these religions provided wisdoms and civilization to the remote area. The religions were also blended with local belief of animism and created uniqueness in philosophies and beliefs of Lan Na people from past to present. Influence of Buddhism, Brahmanism, and animism were interpreted into Lan Na culture, architecture, literatures, arts, rituals, festivals, and norm.

The legend is a remarkable ancient literature which has aesthetic inspiration on the production of later temporary versions of the queen's legend. It also has influence on the creation of religious monuments and arts in Hariphunchai period, such as chetiyas, images and sculptors of the Lord Buddha, votive tablets, and repose metal work. These religious

monuments and arts contain philosophies and wisdoms that have power to connect people with virtue and peace of mind.

Hariphunchai arts have unique characters which derived from the blending of arts from Pala of India, Pagan of Burma, Dvaravati, Lop Buri, and Khmer Empire. The variety of arts in Hariphunchai style reflects high level of intercultural exchange and the communication among different civilizations in South and Southeast Asia.

Attractiveness of Queen Chammathevi's legend and Hariphunchai is a motive to have several archaeological excavations and scientific approaches used in both Lamphun and Lampang. Further studies about the queen are an attempt to prove that the queen is not a myth. Fact findings from these scientific practices help reconstruct the knowledge about the queen and her kingdom. These advance knowledges can bring local people to their roots, and raise awareness for local people to look after and conserve their cultural heritage.



Chapter 5

Establishment of Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route

Defining the Purpose for Establishing the Cultural Route

According to Thailand Tourism strategy 2015 - 2017, the Ministry of Tourism and Sports of Thailand aimed to develop tourism products and services of 55 second-tier tourist provinces in the country for encouraging more travel and balancing distribution of tourist between primary and secondary destinations. Lamphun and Lampang are included in the group of second-tier tourist provinces in northern Thailand that are needed to be promoted to both domestic and foreign visitors.

Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) also launched tourism strategy 2015 - 2017 by using the first campaign of '12 Hidden Gems that Tourists must not Miss' to promote Lampang, and the second campaign of '12 Hidden Gems Plus Province' to promote Lampang with Lamphun in the later years. These strategies were successfully implemented because domestic tourism continued to expand following the two campaigns¹⁷⁶ and also inbound demand to these destinations has grown by 30 per cent year on year¹⁷⁷.

Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Cultural Route is a new tourism product which related to the aim of Thai government in terms of creating

¹⁷⁶ Tourism Authority of Thailand. (2017). *TAT Annual Report 2017*. Retrieved from https://www.tourismthailand.org/fileadmin/downloads/TAT_ANNUAL_REPORT/TAT

¹⁷⁷ The Nation. (2018). *Foreign Tourists Drive Boom in Secondary Destinations*. Retrieved from <http://www.nationmultimedia.com/detail/Tourism/30351160>

and adding value to promote secondary tourist destinations as Lamphun and Lampang. The legend of the queen is a main theme of the route that creates pulling power from storytelling and tie-up several local attractions in both provinces with the queen. The queen's legend generates unique tourist's experience and encourages them to spend more time and money to complete the journey along the route. In order to identify benefits from cultural route to Lamphun and Lampang, findings from the study of Council of Europe help confirms impacts and progresses from cultural route as following;

- high potential for SME generation, clustering, networking, and promoting local tourism;
- encouragement widespread community participation in cultural activities raising awareness of a common cultural heritage;
- establishment on cultural and social principles;
- representing a resource for innovation, creativity, small business creation, and cultural tourism products and services; and
- building on the uniqueness and authenticity of remote destinations, local knowledge, skills, heritage and traditions¹⁷⁸.

Similar to the study of Dorothea Meyer on the topic Tourism Route and Gateways, there are benefits from cultural route to tourism as

¹⁷⁸ Council of Europe. (2011). *Impact of European Cultural Routes on SMEs' Innovation and Competitiveness*. Retrieved from <https://rm.coe.int/1680706995>

following;

- to diffuse visitors and disperse income from tourism;
- to bring lesser known attractions and features into the tourism business/product;
- to increase the overall appeal of a destination;
- to increase length of stay and spending by tourists;
- to attract new tourists and to attract repeat visitors; and
- to increase the sustainability of the tourism product¹⁷⁹.

An idea of traveling along the route of Queen Chammathevi or trips to follow the Queen's footsteps is considered popular among tourist business in Tak Province and Lamphun Province. The theme of the queen has been used to link with the trip for several times by both government agencies and by collaboration between government agencies and private tour companies. The trips that related to the queen's route are listed as these following examples,

- A trip to follow Queen Chammathevi's route over Bumibol Dam which was organized by Tak Office of Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) collaborated with Nongnapat Tour Company in Tak Provinces,
- A trip to follow Queen Chammathevi's route and pay homage to Buddha images in Lan Na which was organized by Tak Office of Tourism

¹⁷⁹ Meyer, D. (2004). *Tourism Routes and Gateways*. Retrieved from <http://195.130.87.21:8080/dspace/bitstream/123456789/519/1/Tourism>

Authority of Thailand (TAT) collaborated with Pae Porn Jamatavee Tour Company in Tak Provinces,

- A trip to follow Queen Chammathevi's route to Phrathat Kang Soi which was organized by Lamphun Provincial Administrative Organization,

- A bike trip to follow Queen Chammathevi's route from Lopburi to Lamphun and Chiang Mai which was organized by Thai Cycling Club, and

- A trip to explore Lan Na and follow Queen Chammathevi's route in Lamphun which was organized by Bangkok Airways and Lampang Office of Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT).

Although the cultural route of Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage which is proposed in this study is not a brand new idea, it is presented and established following research methodology, guidelines from conservation practices, especially the Burra Charter, guidelines from Council of Europe on European cultural route, and also several widely excepted tourism models. The route from this study offers a new shade of traveling with understanding and appreciation of cultural significances of the route and the legend. The knowledge about cultural significances helps tourism planners to create trips which are fit to different demand and requirement of different tourism segmentation. Moreover, the idea of heritage conservation from knowledge about cultural significances helps raise awareness of all stakeholders along Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route in Lamphun and Lampang to protect and sustain their local identity.

Scope the Area of Cultural Route

The cultural route of Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage is established and focused mainly in areas of Lamphun and Lampang Province because the aim of this research is to develop cultural tourism in these provinces. Lamphun and Lampang shared history of town establishment which have association with the queen's legend. The queen became an important part of the provinces' local history and collective memory since past to present. According to the legend, the sage Vasudeva and Sukkadanta created Hariphunchai, Lamphun in modern day, in 661 CE and invited Princess Chammathevi from Lavo to rule the city as a queen. Later, the queen helped her younger son, Prince Anantayasa, to found and rule Khelang Nagara, or Lampang in the modern day.

Lamphun and Lampang are considered as two important cities in Lan Na Kingdom, along with Chiang Mai where is the center of power in Lan Na. King Mangrai of Lan Na captured Hariphunchai in 749 CE and stayed in the city for two years before he relocated to his new city at Wiang Kumkam. He regarded Hariphunchai as a sacred city for enshrining Buddha's holy relics and it was not a proper place for being his residence. After that, he conquered the war against Phaya Boek of Kelang Nagara and ruled over the city. Since then, Khelang Nagara was treated as an important outpost of Lan Na Kingdom and it was became a prime defending location against attacks from emerging kingdoms from the south, such as Sukhothai and Ayutthaya.

Lamphun and Lampang have locations next to each other and they located in northern region of Thailand. Lampang is situated 606 kilometers

north of Bangkok, while Lamphun is situated 671 north of Bangkok. Lamphun has a fertile location in Ping River valley because there are four main rivers run through the province, including Ping, Kuang, Tha, and Li River. It was surrounded by mountain ranges of Thanon Thong Chai on the west and Khun Tan on the east. Similar to Lampang's location which is in Wang River Valley and surrounded by mountain ranges of Phi Pan Nam on the east and Khun Tan on the west.

These two provinces have Khun Tan Range as a natural boundary. There are several travel routes connect the two cities both by car and by train. Traveling by car between these cities can use highway route no. 11 which runs through Khun Tan Mountain at Hang Chat District of Lampang and Mae Tha District of Lamphun, or use rural road no. 5017 which passes through Khun Tan National Park. Other routes that link the two provinces are highway no. 1274 from Soem Ngam District of Lampang to Li District of Lamphun, or highway no. 106 from Thoen District of Lampang to Li District of Lamphun.

The cultural route of Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage which connected Lamphun and Lampang was developed from the ancient traveling route of the queen from Lopburi to Lamphun, and Lamphun to Lampang. The starting point of the route in this research is designed to be started from Phrathat Kang Soi where is located over the Bumibol Dam of Sam-ngao District in Tak Province and continues to the end of the route at Muang District of Lampang. One part of the route lead tourists to visit Phrathat Doi Noi Temple which is in Chiang Mai because its location is

not far away from the main part of cultural route at Pa Sang District in Lamphun. The temple has high significance not only because of its legend, but also its perfect location on the top of a mountain can portray panoramic view over Ping River which used to be the route of the queen's journey. The name of Phrathat Doi Noi Temple was appeared in the legend as Pavisittha Chedi and one of the ancient stone inscriptions which mentioned the name of Queen Chammathevi was also found at this site.

According to a few check-dams were built along the Ping River in the modern day, they caused limitation for following the queen's pilgrimage by Ping River. Then, the establishment of the cultural route from Li District to Muang District of Lamphun needs to be based on the road trip via route no. 106 which is the parallel line to Ping River. Similar to the route from Lamphun and Lampang is based on the highway route no. 11 which is the parallel line to prospective ancient route for Queen Chammathevi's journey which was found in Mae Tha District of Lamphun and Hang Chat District of Lampang.

The cultural route covers area of four districts in Lamphun, including Li, Pa Sang, Mae Tha, and Muang, while it covers area of three districts in Lampang, including Hang Chat, Kho Kha, and Muang. The estimated length of the route is 374 kilometers. The below table shows the detail about the distance of the route which runs from Phrathat Kang Soi at Sam-ngao District in Tak, continues to Li District of Lamphun and finishes at Muang District of Lampang.

Table 6 Distance of the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route

Distance by Road Trip (Except Kang Soi to Kang Kor Village travel by boat trip)	Length (Kilometer)	Route No.	Estimated Time of traveling
Lamphun			
Kang Soi (Tak) to Kang Kor Village (By boat)	60	Via Bhumibol Dam	4 hrs
Kang Kor Village to Li District	55	1087	1 hr
Li District to Pa Sang District	102	106	1.40 hrs
Distance by Road Trip (Except Kang Soi to Kang Kor Village travel by boat trip)	Length (Kilometer)	Route No.	Estimated Time of traveling
Pa Sang District to Doi Lor District	19	1156	30 mins
Doi Lor District (Chiang Mai) to Muang District (Lamphun)	36	1156	45 mins
Muang District to Mae Tha District	33	1033	50 mins

Lampang			
Mae Tha District (Lamphun) to Hang Chat District	58	11	1.10 hrs
Hang Chat District to Ko Kha District	45.5	11 and 1034	50 mins
Ko Kha District to Muang District	27	5006 and 1	35 mins
Total (estimated)	435.5	-	11.20 hrs



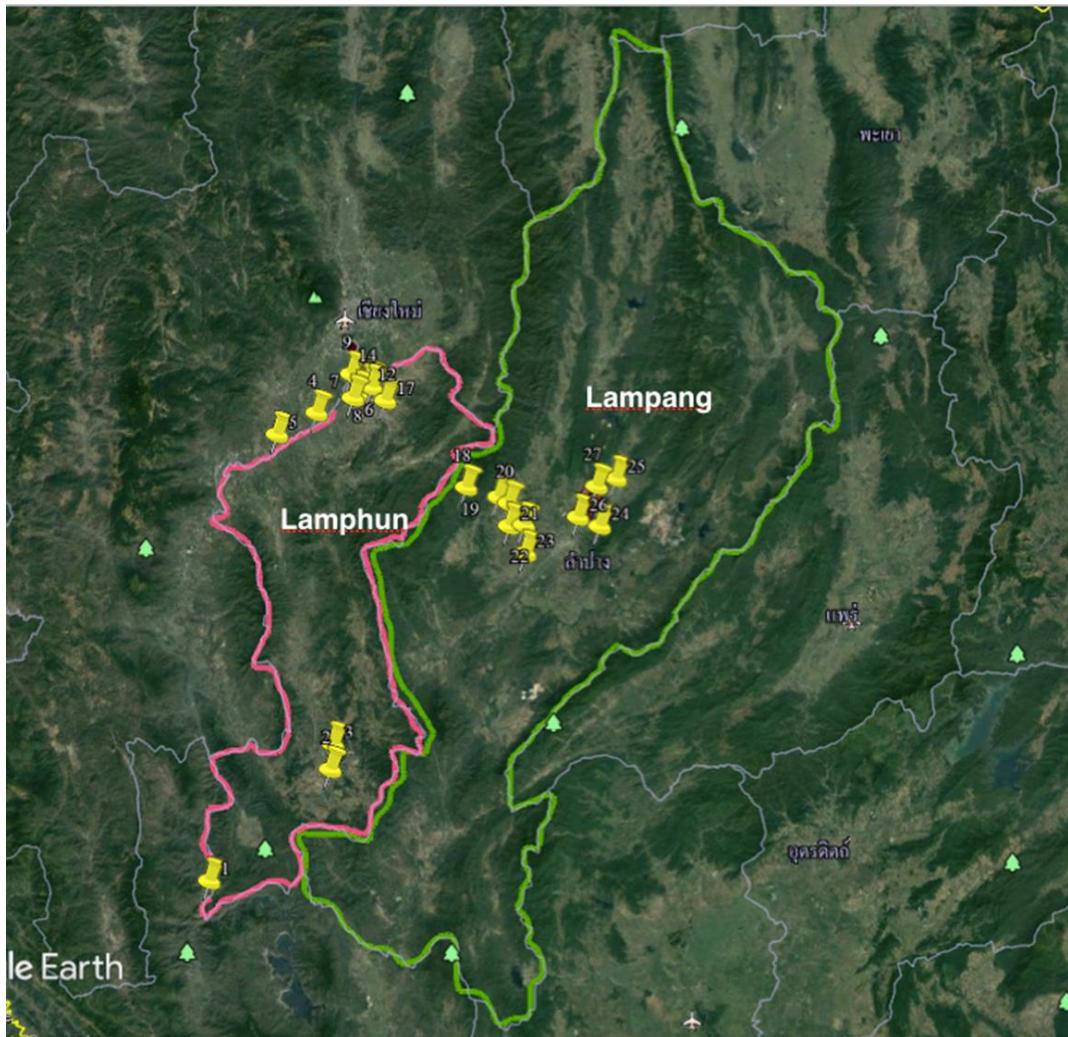


Figure 19 Map of 27 attractions on Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route, adapted from Google Earth map

Source: The researcher, 2019

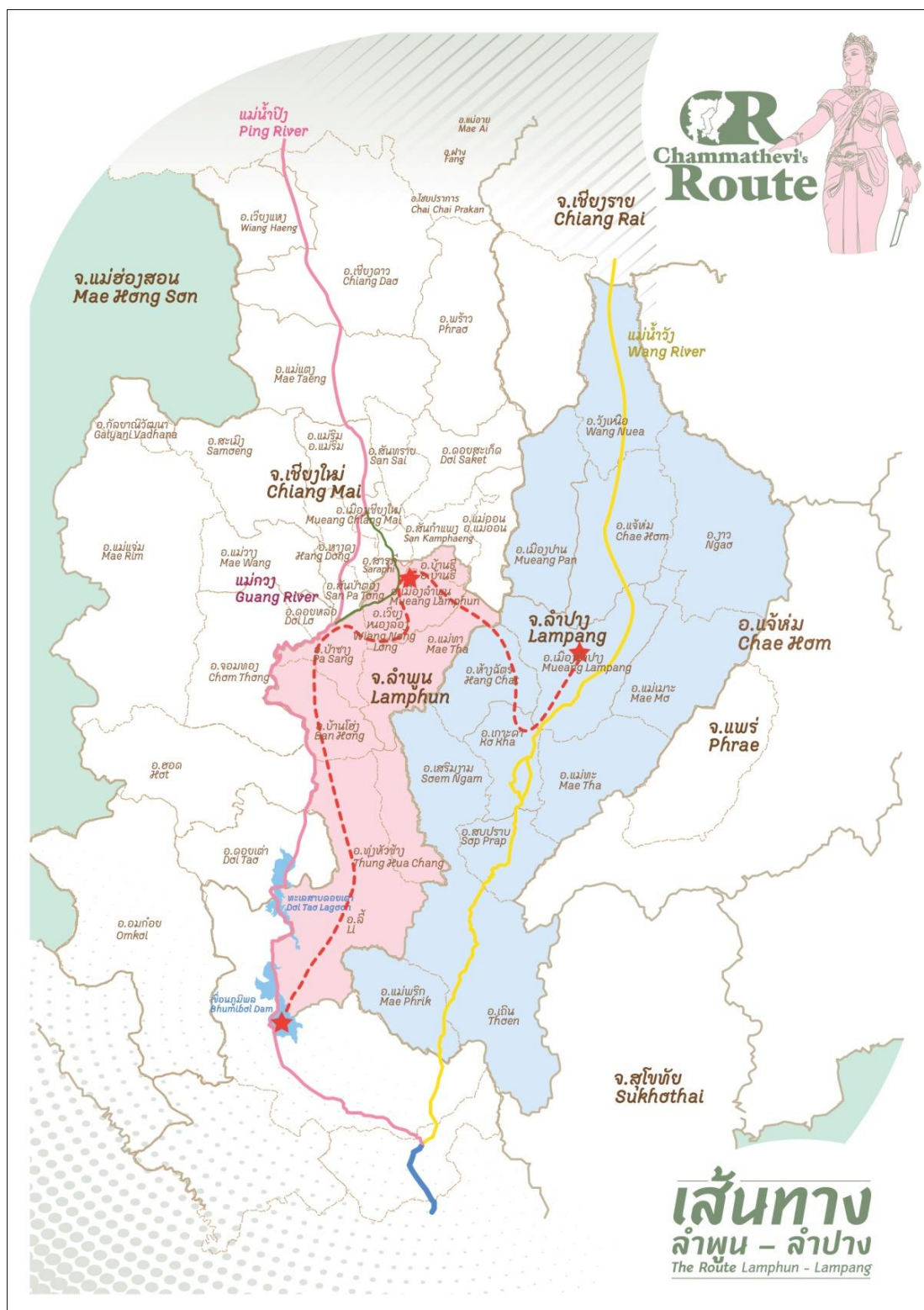


Figure 20 Map of Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route from Hariphunchai (Lamphun) to Khelang Nagara (Lampang)

Source: The researcher, 2019

Designing and Planning Cultural Route

The designing and planning of Queen Chammthevi's pilgrimage route is based upon existing theories and models of traveling patterns. The relevant theories and models that are used in this cultural route establishment including;

1. Multi-destination trip pattern model ,
2. Model of destination zone,
3. Structure of node, and
4. Destination region.

The above models were studied and analyzed for significant elements that fit to the cultural route's formation. The next step is to integrate suitable elements for developing the route's pattern. Later, attractions which related to the legend of Queen Chammathevi along the route is identified, described, and mapped.

Multi-Destination Trip Pattern Model

Multi-destination trip pattern model is introduced by Lue, Crompton, and Fresenmaier (1993). It has similar concept of cultural route in terms of linking and clustering attractions and services along the thematic route in order to convince travelers to visit. The route will gain more drawing power to tourists to see both popular and less-known attractions which helps produces more benefits to local services and communities. Like Gunn gave compliment on the concept of multi-destination trip pattern and cultural

route that it is a trail bringing many historic building together in common context is far superior to an isolated site¹⁸⁰. Similar to the idea from Ben-Akiva and Lerman that they saw a potential tourist is likely to view multi-destination visits as a rational behavior pattern that reduces the time and cost associated with travel¹⁸¹.

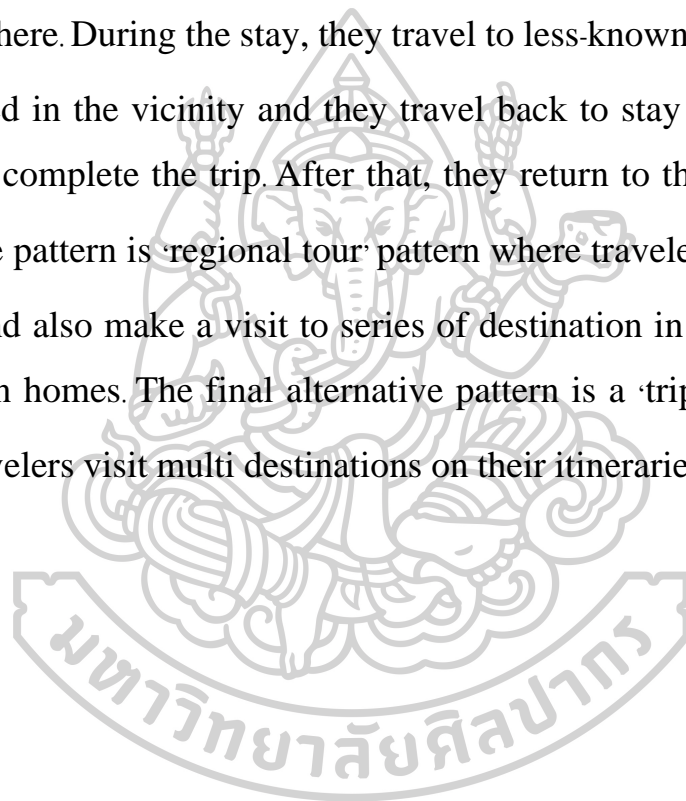
There are multi-benefits from multi-destination trip to both tourists and tourism service providers in the aspects of tourist satisfaction and economy. First, tourists can reduce their time and travel cost from the entire trip because they have chances to see more attractions and sites which are well-planned and organized to suit their individual time frame and budget. Second, diversity of attractions and activities can satisfy different requirements and preferences of each tourist. Third, tourists can experience various choices of activity which help them stay away from boredom. Fourth, pleasure travelers can help promote positive image of tourism products and services by using social media or their word-of-mouth. Fifth, the extended-stay of tourists to complete the entire trip contributes more volume of tourist's expenditure to local tourism business providers like transportations, accommodations, restaurants, and shops.

Lue, Crompton, and Fresenmaier introduced five distinctive spatial patterns to reflect behavior of travelers on their trips. First alternative pattern is a 'single destination' pattern where travelers visit a single

¹⁸⁰ Gunn, C. A. (1988). *Tourism Planning*. New York: Taylor and Francis.

¹⁸¹ Ben-Akiva, M. and Lerman, S. R. (1985). *Discrete Choice Analysis: Theory and Application to Travel Demand*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

destination and then return to their homes without making any stop at other areas along the traveling route. Second alternative pattern is 'en route' pattern where travelers move directly to their main destination first. Then they make a few or several stops to visit less-known attractions which are located along the way back to their homes. Third alternative pattern is 'based camp' pattern where travelers go to the main destination and stay at the hotel there. During the stay, they travel to less-known attractions which are situated in the vicinity and they travel back to stay at the same hotel until they complete the trip. After that, they return to their homes. Fourth alternative pattern is 'regional tour' pattern where travelers visit one of the regions and also make a visit to series of destination in the region before they return homes. The final alternative pattern is a 'trip-chaining' pattern where travelers visit multi destinations on their itineraries before returning home.



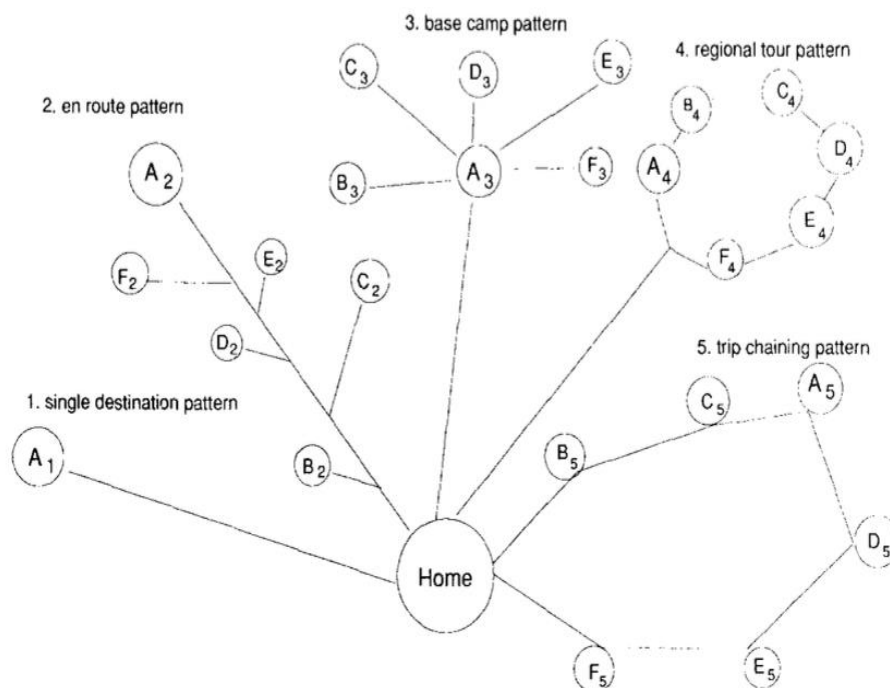


Figure 21 Alternative Spatial Pattern of Pleasure Vacation Trips

Source: Lue, C., Crompton, J., & Fesenmaier, D. (1993).

Conceptualization of Multi Destination Pleasure Trips.

Annal of Tourism Research, Vol. 20.

Model of Destination Zone

Model of destination zone provides methodological concept and a guide for planning and designing tourism products and services as a whole tourism system. Some models of destination zone which have relevance in developing Queen Chammthevi's pilgrimage route are studied, such as Neil Leiper's model of the geographical system, Clare A. Gunn's destination zone planning concept, and Dianne Dredge's destination place planning and design.

Begin with Leiper's model which presented basis of tourism system into three elements, including tourist, geographical element, and industrial element. Leiper's emphasis on geographical element and drew a conceptual framework to describe its three sub-elements which are tourist generating region, tourist route, and tourist destination region. Tourist generating region is a permanent residential base of tourist and the place where tourists begin and end. While a tourist destination region is a location where tourist chooses to visit attractions within the region and stay temporarily. It is also a location where tourist can find tourist support business and services like accommodations, restaurants, and other tourism facilities. Then, tourist route is a path which link tourist generation region with tourist destination region. It includes place for tourist can stopover for a short period for convenience and relaxation before continuing to destination region.

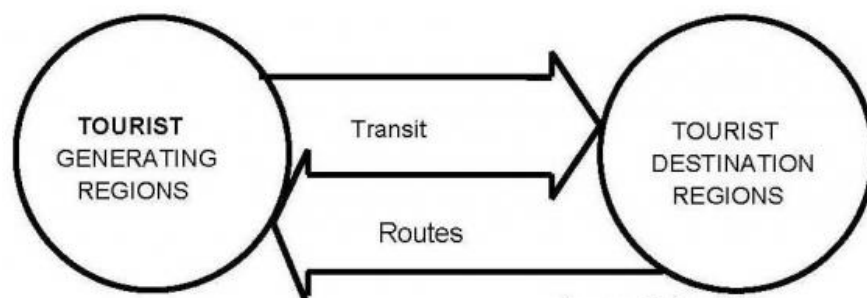


Figure 22 The Geographical Elements of Tourism

Source: Leiper, N. (1979). *The Framework of Tourism: towards a*

Definition of Tourism, Tourist, and Tourist Industry.

Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 4.

Leiper's model also proposed ideas of push and pull factor on tourism system. He explained that push factor occurred at tourist generating region as it is a psychological drive on tourists' desire to stay away from their usual places of residence and make a journey to other regions. On the contrary, pull factor are characteristics of tourist destination region which are attractive to tourists and motivate them to visit and experience the region personally. Leiper mentioned his tourism system model is useful because it can be applied in several areas and many level of analysis for tourism business planning and tourism policy creation¹⁸².

Clare A. Gunn extended Leiper's concept of tourist destination region by providing concept of the physical structure of destination region and destination structure. He established his concept of destination zone with five key elements, including regional boundary, an access from the market, internal circulation corridor, community attraction complexes, a non-attraction hinterland, and entrance or gateway to the region.

Node Structure of the Route

Clare A. Gunn focused on analysis of the node and the structure of nodes as community attraction complexes. He suggested that the node comprises of three interrelated rings, including the nucleus in the center, the surrounded belt of the nucleus or inviolate belt, and the outer area surrounded the belt or zone of closure.

¹⁸² Leiper, N. (1979). *The Framework of Tourism: towards a Definition of Tourism, Tourist, and Tourist Industry*. *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 4, Oct-Dec 79. Retrieved from <https://franciscodosanjos.files.wordpress.com/2013>

The nucleus is a core area and it is the most important tourist attraction, the surrounded belt is a support area of the nucleus which consists of tourism services and information for a tourist experience and the outer area is a community area surrounded belt which provides facilities and services for tourism. The node itself is a complex which contain cluster of attractions and tourism services within destination region. Beside this, one destination region can have more than one node to form multi-destination trip pattern.

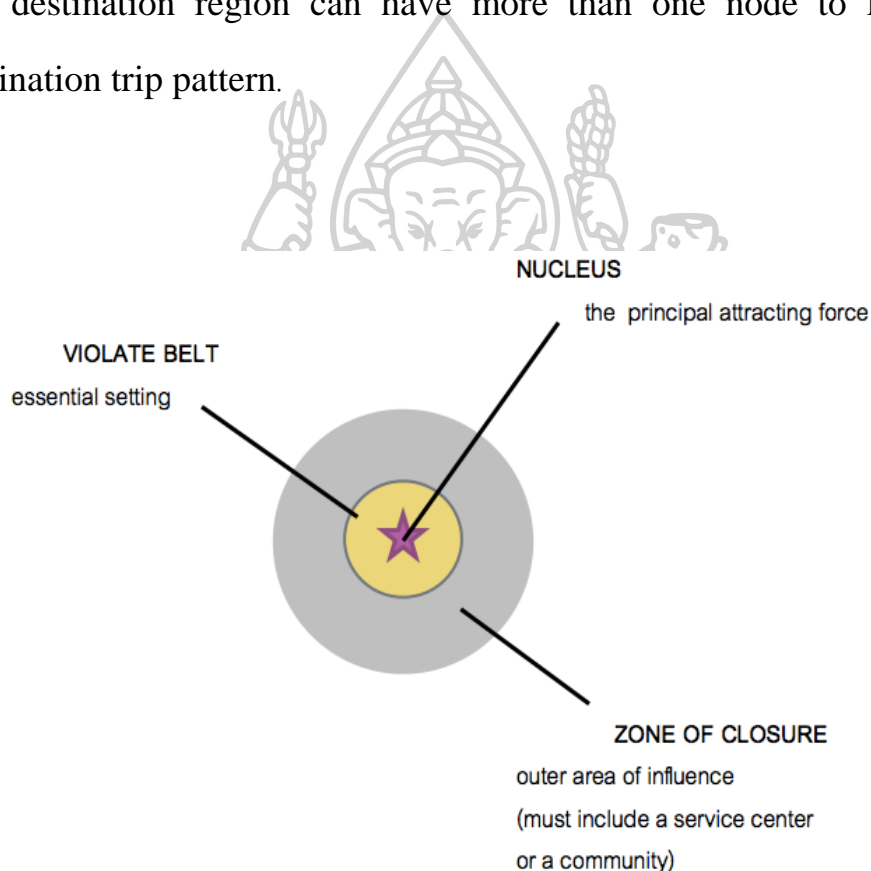
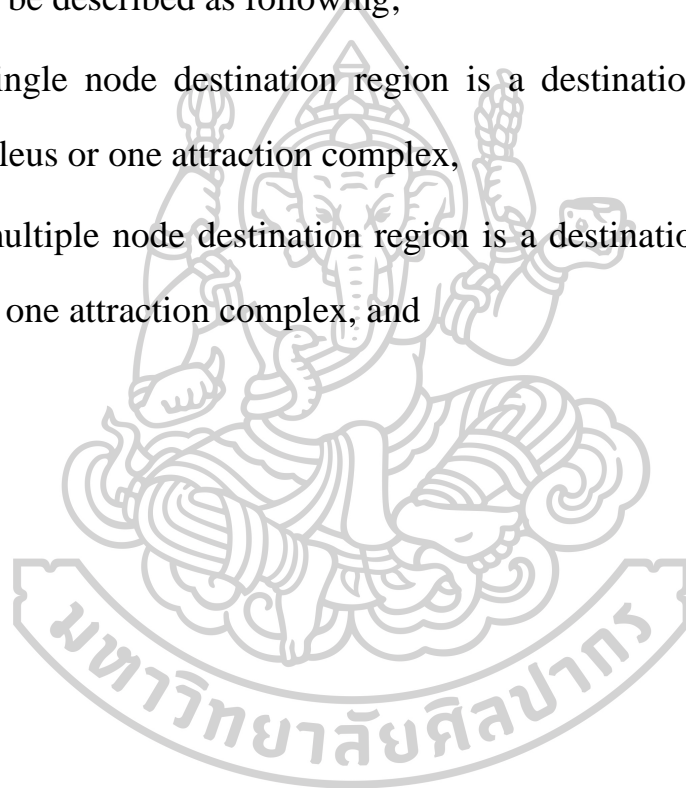


Figure 23 Adapted from Model of Attraction of Gunn, C. A.

Source: Gunn, C. A. (1988). *Tourism Planning*. New York: Taylor and Francis.

Dredge further developed Gunn's concept of nodal structure and she categorized node into three levels according to level of attractiveness of tourist sites and activities within a node, and number of tourism facilities which support tourism in the node's area. Hierarchy of travel node can be ranked as primary node, secondary node, and tertiary node. Moreover, Dredge introduced three models of destination region planning and design, which can be described as following;

1. single node destination region is a destination which contains single nucleus or one attraction complex,
2. multiple node destination region is a destination which contains more than one attraction complex, and



3. chained destination region is a connection between one or two destination regions.

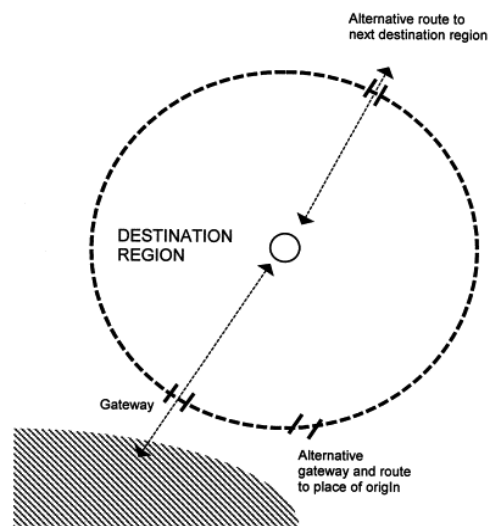


Figure 24 Single Node Destination Region

Source: Dredge, D. (1999).

Destination Place Planning and Design.

Annal of Tourism Research, Vol. 26.



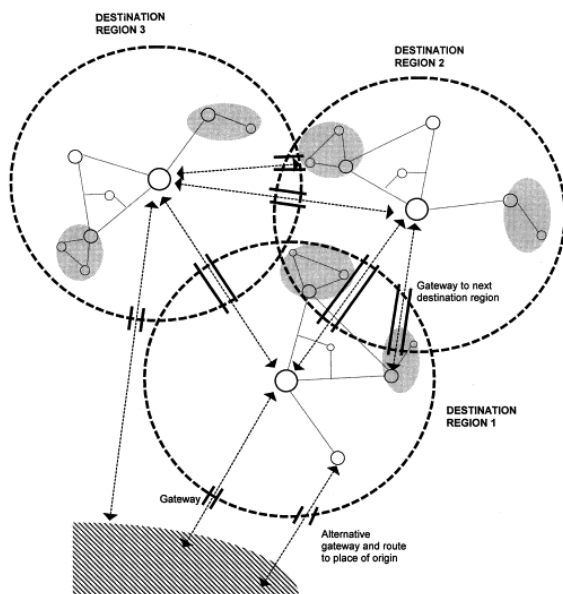


Figure 26 Chained Destination Region
Source: Dredge, D. (1999).

*Destination Place
Planning and Design.*

*Annal of Tourism
Research, Vol. 26.*

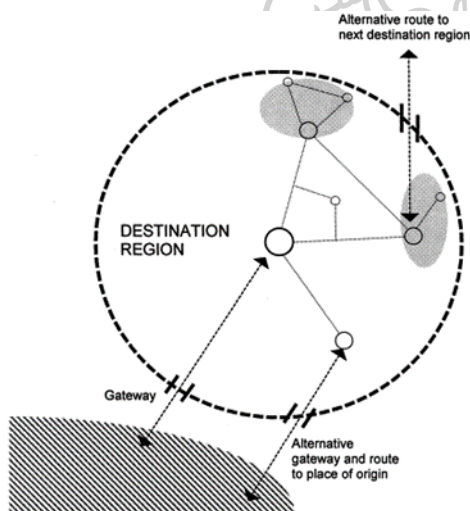
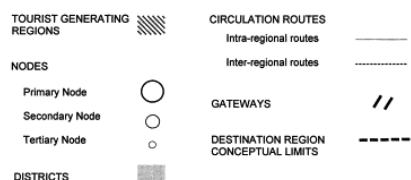
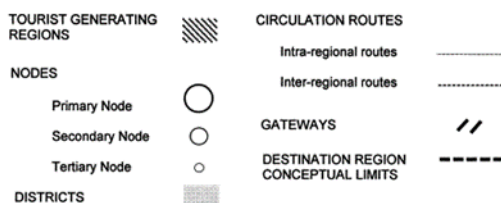


Figure 25 Multiple Node Destination Regions
Source: Dredge, D. (1999).

*Destination Place
Planning and Design.*

*Annal of Tourism
Research, Vol. 26.*



Destination Region

Dredge also extended the model for destination region design into six elements, including destination region, tourist generating markets, nodes, districts, circulation routes, and gateway. Each element can be clarified as following;

- Destination region

It is a location that persons choose to visit and stay there during their leisure time, for one night or more than one night, in order to experience natural or man-made site, activities, and culture in the region.

- Tourist generating market

It is a location where tourists depart from in order to visit the destination region. The location is a residence of potential tourists.

- Nodes

They are comprises of cluster of attractions and tourism support facilities. They can be ranked into primary node, secondary node, and tertiary node depend on their significance which come from quality of attractions' characteristic and quality and quantity of tourism support facilities, such as accommodations, restaurants, souvenir shops, tourist centers, entertainment and activity facilities.

- Districts

They are areas within a destination region. They contain one or a few travel nodes. Each travel node also has similar characteristic of attractions and environment which can meet tourists' expectation of their visit.

- Circulation routes

They are linkages within the node or attraction complex and services. They support tourists' movements and activities within destination region.

- Gateways

They signify entrances for tourist to come in a destination region and also departures for tourists to return to tourist generating region. A destination region can have more than one gateway according to available transportation modes to the region.

Structure of the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route

Based on the integration between concepts from multi-destination trip pattern model and model of destination zone, the structure of the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route is developed and designed into multi-node destination region structure.

This structure is drawn in a destination region which covers the areas of Lamphun and Lampang. The destination region comprises of three nodes, including

1. Li District in Lamphun as a tertiary node,
2. Muang Distict in Lamphun as a primary node, and
3. Muang District in Lampang as a primary node.

Each node and attraction is connected with highways and roads as intra-regional routes. There are three gateways that link tourists into the

destination region, including Chiang Mai International Airport, Lampang Airport, and Highway no. 106 from Theon District in Lampang to Li District in Lamphun.



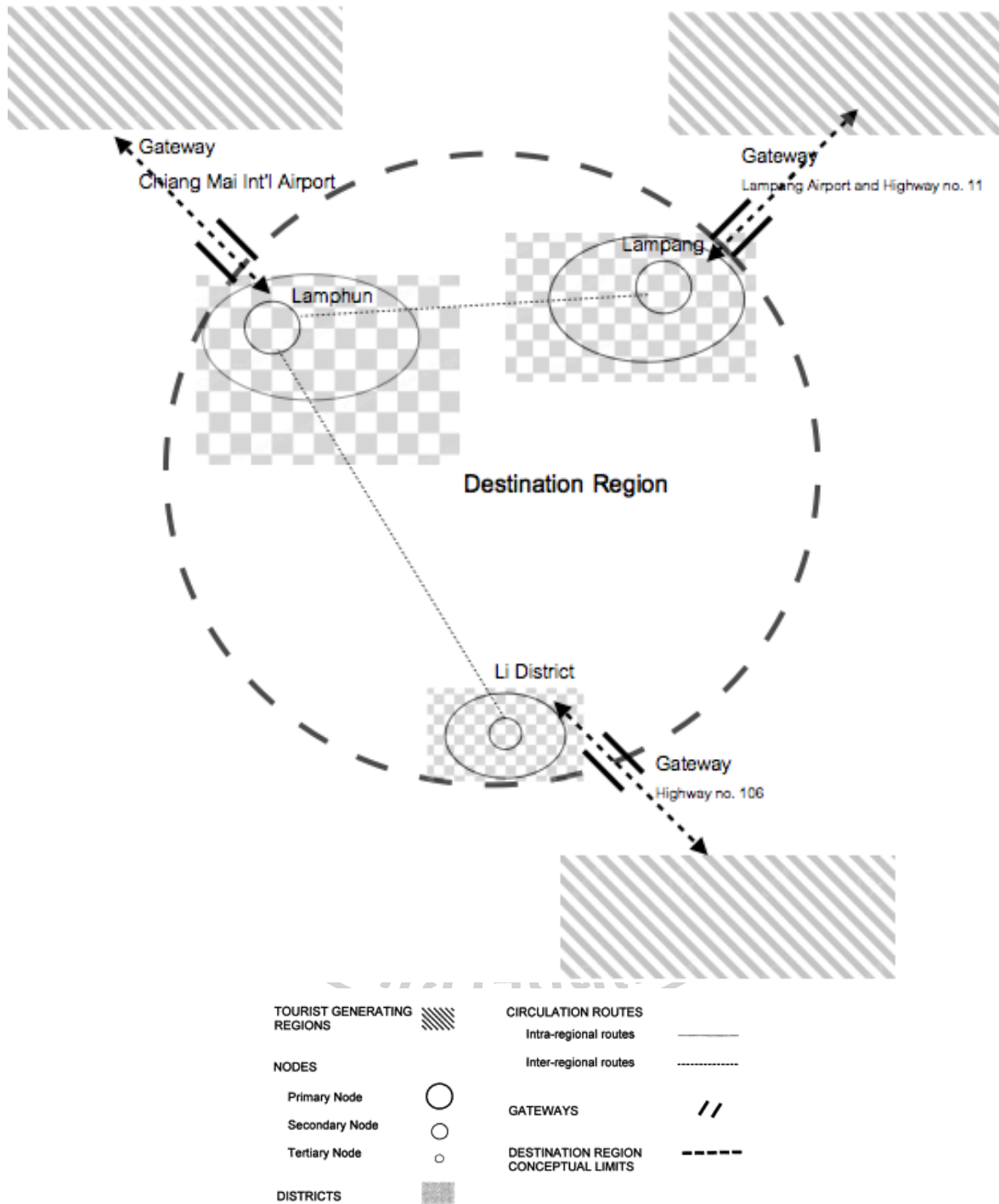


Figure 27 Multiple Node Destination Region of the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route

Source: The researcher, 2018

Assessing Competitiveness and Significance of Attractions

Assessment Tools

Clare A. Gunn mentioned without attractions, there would be no tourism¹⁸³. Wei Hu and Geoffrey Wall agreed that tourist attractions are an essential ingredient for successful tourism destination development¹⁸⁴. Attractions are considered to be a primary element that creates driving force and demand on tourists to travel from tourist generating regions to tourist destination regions. They have distinctive characteristics from other sites because they can fulfill the physical requirement and psychological demand of tourists.

During the surveys through more than eighty sites in Lamphun, Lampang, and Chiang Mai which are associated, and some of them are likely associated with, the legend of Queen Chammthevi. Some of them can be attractive to tourists, while some of them are needed to have more development and improvement before promoting as tourist attractions.

Therefore, competitive destination model and cultural significance criteria for entry in the Queensland Heritage Register are introduced as an assessment tool for identifying attractions which are suitable to be presented on Queen Chammthevi's pilgrimage route. It is because not all of

¹⁸³ Gunn, C. A. (1972). *Vacationscape: Designing Tourist Regions*. Texas: Bureau of Business Research.

¹⁸⁴ Hu, W. & Wall, G. (2005). *Environmental management, environmental image and the competitive tourist attraction*. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, 13(6), 617-635. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/240535723>

natural sites, man-made monuments, and cultural events can be tourist attractions.

Competitive Destination Model

Competitive destination model is introduced by J.R. Brent Ritchie and Geoffrey I. Crouch for providing conceptual model that help tourism planners to assess competitive advantages of destination and attractions, and develop sustainable solutions for them. The model is developed since 1992 with a series of research and experiment by the authors. It provides a clear explanation of the key motivators for travelers to choose one destination over the others.

The key motivators and concerned factors in tourist attractions competitiveness of this model can be classified into core resources and attractions, and supporting factors and resources. According to the group of core resources and attractions, it is the strength of destinations and its drawing power on tourist's decision making on their visitations. It can be categorized into seven components, including Physiography & Climate, Culture & History, Mix of Activities, Special Events, Entertainment, Superstructure, and Market Ties.

-Physiography & Climate

It is physical attributes of natural environment, landscape, and man-made monuments that provide aesthetic, visual appeal, and experience within the destination.

- Culture & History

There are cultural and historic resources within the destination that make the place unique. Tourists can experience culture and learn history from every-day-life activities and way of life of people in the destination.

- Mix of Activities

They are activities which can be found within the destinations. They can be derived and developed from culture and history of the community. Tourists can participate in activities in order to gain experience personally.

- Special Events

They can be ranked from festivals and fairs in the community or the mega-events of the country. They allow tourists to involve with the events and provide them unique experience.

- Entertainment

They are show businesses which are available for tourists during their stay at the destination. Entertainment can be theatre, concerts, opera, local performance, circus, and live show.

- Superstructure

Tourism superstructures are facilities that are built in order to provide accommodations, services, transportation, and facilities for recreation at the destination for tourism.

- Market Ties

They are linkages between tourist destination region and tourist, and create reasons for tourists to travel to the destination. The linkages can be from reasons to visit friends and relatives, or to participate in religious events, sport, and culture.

Another group of motivators are supporting factors and resources which in the mechanism in tourism development at the destination. There are six supporting factors and resources, including Infrastructure, Accessibility, Facilitating Resource, Hospitality, Enterprise, and Political Will.

- Infrastructure

It is a basic infrastructure like road, highway, and transportation system to provide movement into, from, and within the destination. Other infrastructures like power and water supply also provides foundation for socioeconomic development at tourist destination.

- Accessibility

It is a road, highway, or other transportation systems that has function to provide convenience and encourage the traveling from tourist generating region to tourist destination region. Roads and highways also link travelers with nodes and lead them to visit attractions within the destination.

- Facilitating Resource

Public services, academic service, and financial service are examples of facilitating resources that identified the quality of destination. With the facilitating resources, tourism can be developed by having more investment from local entrepreneurs or foreign markets, due to reliability, convenience, and availability that are provided by the destination.

- Hospitality

The level of friendliness of the residents towards tourist can create positive impact on tourist's feeling and experience. Understanding about warm hospitality and welcome attitude are essential for residents. The way they anticipate with tourist means the chance to gain satisfaction and other repetitive visitations from tourists.

- Enterprise

Investment from local entrepreneurs or foreign markets into tourism at the destination can create more products and services to attract and to serve tourists. The extent idea of other tourism development approaches like green tourism and eco tourism can be initiated from new businesses which can create tourism sustainability to the destination.

- Political Will

The support from government in state level and community leaders in local level are both essential to increase destination competitiveness. Regulations which provide convenience, safety and security for tourist are tools from policy makers to energize the economy in the destination.

Cultural Significance Criteria for Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register

Queensland Heritage Council introduced cultural significance criteria for entry in the Queensland Heritage Register under the Queensland Heritage Act 1992. Then, the criteria are continuously updated until 2013. There are eight criterions and they are developed from Australian ICOMOS Burra Charter 1999 and also criteria prepared for the Australian Heritage Commission in the late 1980s to early 1990s¹⁸⁵. The objectives for using these criteria are for clarity assessing and identifying significance cultural heritage and places in Queensland before giving conservation and management on them. The criteria are quoted as the following;

A place may be entered in the Queensland Heritage Registered as a state heritage place if it satisfies one or more of the following criteria.

(a) the place is important in demonstrating the evolution or pattern of Queensland's history;

(b) the place demonstrates rare, uncommon or endangered aspects of Queensland's cultural heritage;

(c) the place has potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Queensland's history;

(d) the place is important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a particular class of cultural places;

¹⁸⁵ Heritage Branch, Department of Environment and Heritage Protection. (2013). *Assessing Cultural Heritage Significance: Using the Cultural Heritage Criteria*. Queensland: Department of Environment and Heritage Protection.

- (e) the place is important because of its aesthetic significance;
- (f) the place is important in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period;
- (g) the place has a strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons;
- (h) the place has a special association with the life or work of a particular person, group or organization of importance in Queensland's history.

The above criteria for Queensland Heritage Register are applied with the assessment of attractions that are suitable for demonstrating on the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route.

Assessing Attractions on the Cultural Route

Assessing is a process for selection the point of interests or attractions associated with the legend of Queen Chammathevi. After field surveys on more than 80 sites in Lamphun, Lampang, Chiang Mai, and a few places over Bhumibol Dam in Tak Province, 27 sites are selected and assessed for appropriateness before including them on Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route. The tools for assessing attractions for the cultural route are competitive destination model and cultural significance criteria for entry in the Queensland Heritage Register. All 27 sites are listed and arranged in tabular form this following table.

Table 8: Assessment of 27 attractions along the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route

Node and Attraction	Destination Competitiveness	Cultural significance criteria for Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register	Cultural heritage significance from the Burra Charter
Tertiary node of Li District, Lamphun			
1. Phrathat Kang Soi (Tak)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History - Market ties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a), (b), (c), (e), (g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Scientific, Aesthetic Social, and Spiritual significance
2. Wat Phrabhat Huai Tom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate, Culture & History, Market ties, Mix of activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (c), (e), (g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, Social and Spiritual significance

Node and Attraction	Destination Competitiveness	Cultural significance criteria for Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register	Cultural heritage significance from the Burra Charter
3. Wat Phrathat Ha Duang	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (e), (g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, and Spiritual significance
Lamphun primary node, covers areas of Pa Sang District, Mae Tha District, Muang District			
4. Wat Kho Klang	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History - Market ties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a), (b), (c), (e), (g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Scientific, Aesthetic, Social, Spiritual significance

Node and Attraction	Destination Competitiveness	Cultural significance criteria for Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register	Cultural heritage significance from the Burra Charter
5. Wat Phrathat Doi Noi (Doi Lor District, Chiang Mai)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a), (b), (c), (e) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, and Spiritual significance
6. Wat Ku Lamak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a), (c), (e) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, and Spiritual significance

Node and Attraction	Destination Competitiveness	Cultural significance criteria for Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register	Cultural heritage significance from the Burra Charter
7. Hariphun-Chai Institute of Hand Woven Fabric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Culture & History - Market ties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (c), (e) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, and Social significance
8. Wat Chammathevi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History - Market ties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a), (b), (c), (e), (g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, Architectural, and Spiritual significance

Node and Attraction	Destination Competitiveness	Cultural significance criteria for Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register	Cultural heritage significance from the Burra Charter
9. Ban Por Liang Muen Terracotta Art Garden	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (c), (e) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, and Architectural significance
10. Queen Chamma-thevi statue at Nong Dok Public Park	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History - Special events - Market tie 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (c), (e), (g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, Social, and Spiritual significance

Node and Attraction	Destination Competitiveness	Cultural significance criteria for Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register	Cultural heritage significance from the Burra Charter
11. Hariphunchai National Museum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate, Culture & History, Superstructure, Market ties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Scientific, Aesthetic, Social, and Spiritual significance
12. Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History - Special events Market ties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, Architectural, Social , and Spiritual significance

Node and Attraction	Destination Competitiveness	Cultural significance criteria for Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register	Cultural heritage significance from the Burra Charter
13. Wat Mahawan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (c), (d) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Social, and Spiritual significance
14. Wat Phra Yuen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (c), (d), (e) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, and Spiritual significance
15. Wat San Pa Yang Luang	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History - Market ties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (c), (d), (e) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, and Spiritual significanc

Node and Attraction	Destination Competitiveness	Cultural significance criteria for Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register	Cultural heritage significance from the Burra Charter
16. Ku Chang and Ku Ma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate, Culture & History, Special events, Market ties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (c), (d) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, Architectural, and Spiritual significance
17. Wat Doi Ti	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History - Special events - Market ties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a), (e), (g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Spiritual, and Social significance

Node and Attraction	Destination Competitiveness	Cultural significance criteria for Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register	Cultural heritage significance from the Burra Charter
Lampang primary node, covers areas of Hang Chat District, Kho Kha District, Muang District			
18. Thai Elephant Conservation Center	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiography & Climate, Culture & History, Mix of Activities, Entertainment, Market ties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (b), (c), (e) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic and Aesthetic significance
19. Wiang Tan Historic Site	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a), (c), (d), (g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Spiritual, and Social significance

Node and Attraction	Destination Competitiveness	Cultural significance criteria for Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register	Cultural heritage significance from the Burra Charter
20. Dapmuang Sword Smith Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Culture & History 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (d), (g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic and Aesthetic significance
21. Wat Tham Khum Sap Chammathevi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Culture & History 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (b), (d) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, and Spiritual significance
22. Wat Pong Yang Kok	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a), (b) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, and Spiritual significance

Attraction Node and	Destination Competitiveness	Cultural significance criteria for Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register	Cultural heritage significance from the Burra Charter
23. Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate, Culture & History, Special events, and Market ties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, Architectural, Social, and Spiritual significance
24. Wat Mon Phraya Chae	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History - Special events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a), (b), (c), (d), (g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, Social, and Spiritual significance

Node and Attraction	Destination Competitiveness	Cultural significance criteria for Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register	Cultural heritage significance from the Burra Charter
25. Wat Phrathat Sadet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate - Culture & History - Special events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a), (b), (c), (d), (g) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, Social, and Spiritual significance
26. Wat Phrakaew Don Tao	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physiographic & Climate, Culture & History, Special events, and Market ties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historic, Aesthetic, Architectural, Social, and Spiritual significance

Node and Attraction	Destination Competitiveness	Cultural significance criteria for Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register	Cultural heritage significance from the Burra Charter
27. The Complex of Historic Site, Wat Ku Khaw, Wat Ku Kham, Wat Pun Cheong	- Culture & History	- (a), (b), (c)	- Historic and Spiritual significance

Mapping the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route

Most of attractions in the Lamphun and Lampang, and one place in Tak and another one in Chaing Mai, are selected as point of interests. They are associated and likely associated with the legend of Queen Chammathevi. They are assessed for their destination competitiveness and cultural significance under the criteria for entry in the Queensland Heritage Register before they are included in the route. After that, they are plotted on the structure of the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route to illustrate clear picture of the route.

The attractions can be classified into three groups follow the concept of node, including the tertiary node of Li District, the primary node of Lamphun, and the primary node of Lampang. Group 1 is the tertiary node of Li District comprises of three attractions, from attraction no. 1 to attraction no. 3. Second group is the primary node of Lamphun comprises of fourteen attractions, from attraction no. 4 to attraction no. 17. The final group is the primary node of Lampang comprises of ten attractions, from attraction no. 18 to attraction no. 27. The below are list of attraction and diagram of destination region of the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route and its twenty seven attractions.

- First group of attractions of tertiary node, LI District

1. Phrathat Kang Soi, (Sam-ngao District, Tak)
2. Wat Phrabhat Huai Tom,
3. Wat Phrathat Ha Duang.

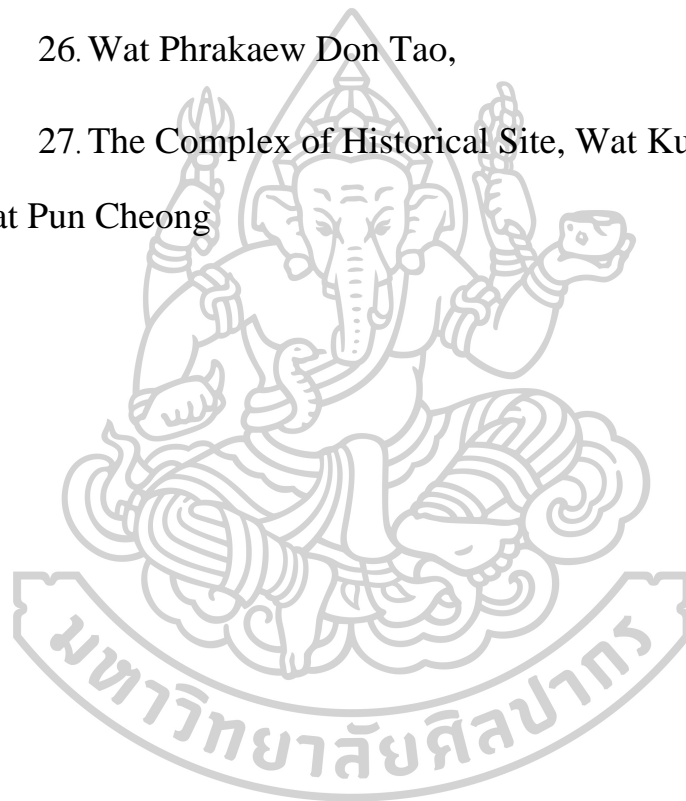
- Second group of attractions of primary node, Lamphun

4. Wat Kho Klang,
5. Wat Phrathat Doi Noi (Doi Lor District, Chiang Mai),
6. Wat Ku Lamak,
7. Hariphunchai Institute of Hand Woven Fabric,
8. Wat Chammathevi,
9. Suan Mai Thai Ban Por Liang Muen,
10. Queen Chammathevi Statue at Nong Dok Public Park,
11. Hariphunchai National Museum,
12. Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai,
13. Wat Mahawan,
14. Wat Phra Yuen,
15. Wat San Pa Yang Luang
16. Ku Chang and Ku Ma,
17. Wat Doi Ti,

- Third group of attractions of primary node, Lampang

18. Thai Elephant Conservation Center,
19. Wiang Tan Historical Site,
20. Dapmuang Sword Smith Village,

21. Wat Tham Khum Sap Chammathevi,
22. Wat Pong Yang Kok,
23. Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang,
24. Wat Mon Phraya Chae,
25. Wat Phrathat Sadet,
26. Wat Phrakaew Don Tao,
27. The Complex of Historical Site, Wat Ku Khaw, Wat Ku Kham, Wat Pun Cheong



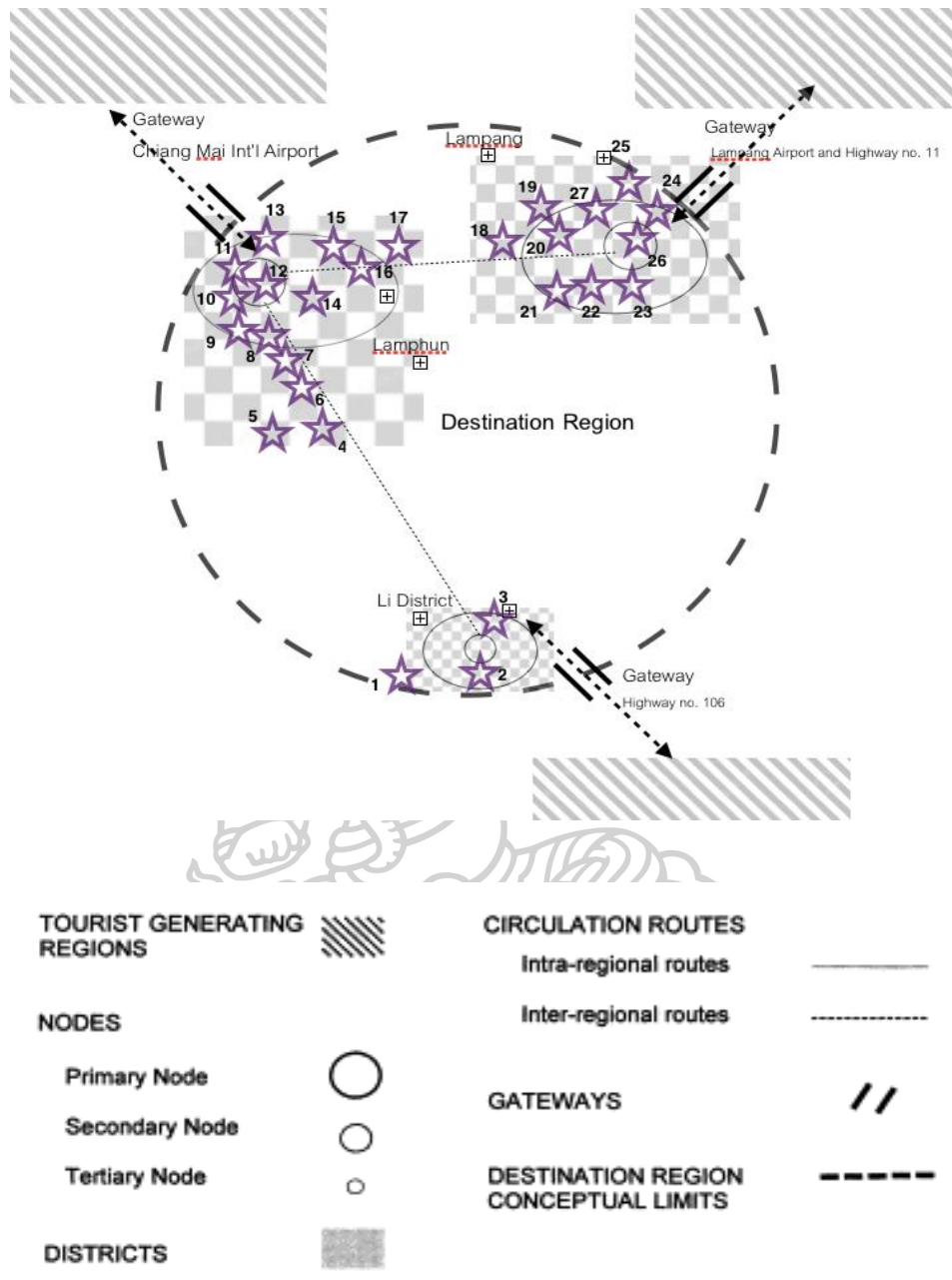


Figure 28 Multiple node destination region of the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route

Source: The researcher, 2018

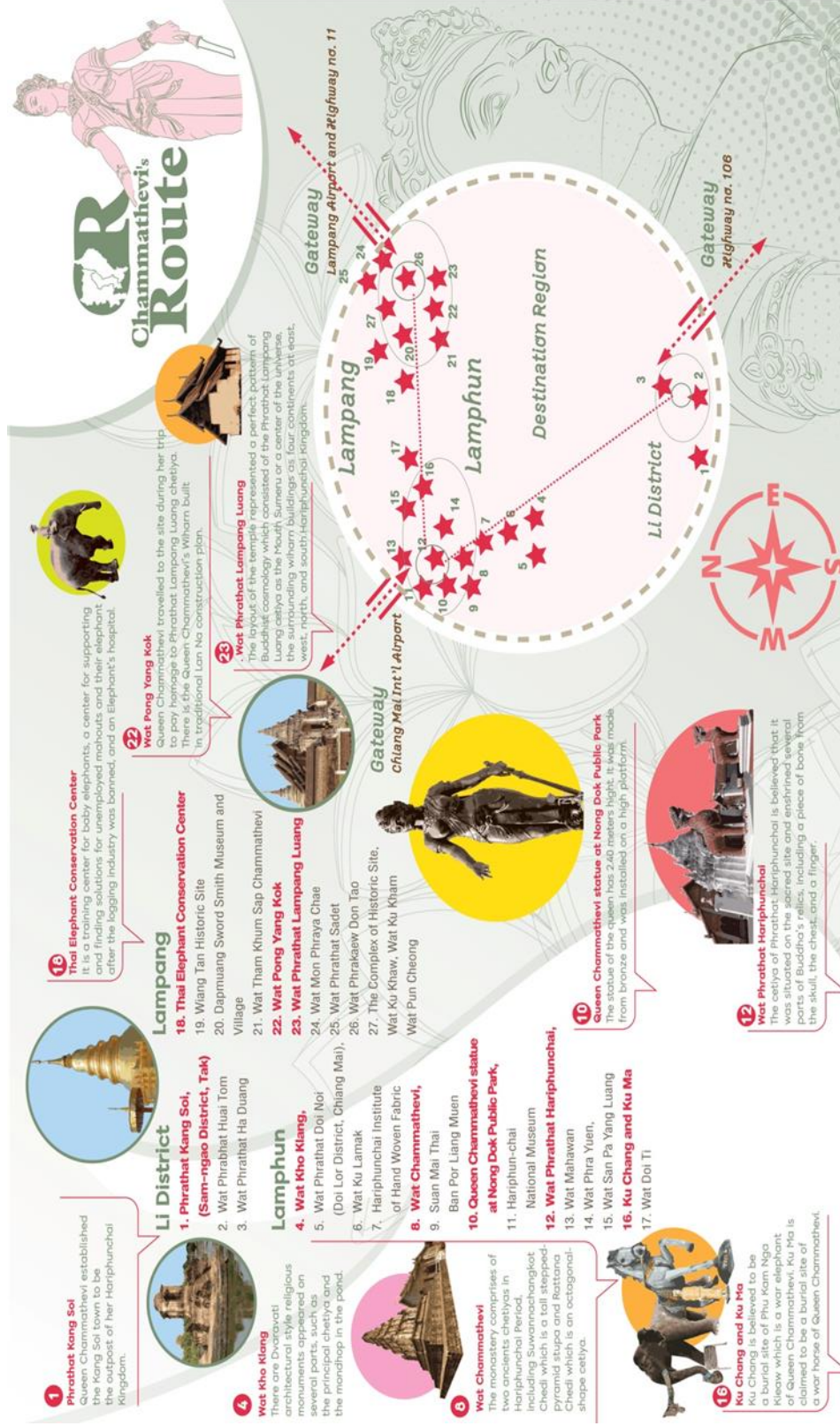


Figure 29 Infographic of Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route

Source: The researcher, 2019

Profiling Attractions on Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route

Attraction is the most powerful component of the supply side of the tourism system¹⁸⁶ among other four components, including services, transportation, promotion, and information. The term of attraction was extended to have broader definition by the term 'nucleus' according to the theory of Clare A. Gunn and his concept of structure of node. A nucleus has a meaning beyond a place of attraction, it can be defined as experience, activity, and cultural event. Du Cros and McKercher agreed with broader definition of attraction as a nucleus which can be any feature or characteristic of a place that travelers contemplate visiting or actually visit¹⁸⁷.

Attractions or nucleuses of Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route that can motivate and generate pulling power to tourist to make a decision to travel to a destination zone of Lamphun and Lampang were assessed by using competitive destination model, cultural significance of the Burra Charter, and cultural significance criteria for entry in the Queensland Heritage Register. The selection of the sites also based on three criteria, which are as follows;

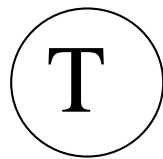
1. The place is mentioned on the mainstream legend of Queen Chammathevi. It is signified by a following symbol.



¹⁸⁶ Gunn, C. A. (1993). *Tourism Planning: Basics, Concepts, Cases*. Washington, DC: Taylor & Francis.

¹⁸⁷ du Cros, H. & McKercher, B. (2015). *Cultural Tourism*. New York: Routledge.

2. The place is mentioned on tammnan or folklore about Queen Chammathevi. It is signified by a following symbol.



3. The place has monuments or cultural heritage associated with Queen Chammathevi. It is signified by a following symbol.



1. Phrathat Kang Soi



Phrathat Kang Soi is a chetiya at the compound of Phra Borommathat Kang Soi Monastery. The monastery is in the area of Sangao District, Tak Province and it has a location above Bhumibol Dam. It is a principal golden chetiya in Lan Na style. It was placed on the top of a rock hill and it was surrounded by several ancient stupas and other religious buildings which are placed on the small hills nearby. In front of the monastery is a vast area of sand beach and the background is a group of high mountain cliffs.

Phrathat Kang Soi was appeared in the history as an ancient town which was situated by Ping River and in the valley. It was important as a trading port on the Ping River trading route which connected central regions in Chao Phraya River basin and remote northern regions. On her way to Hariphunchai by Ping River, Queen Chammathevi made a stopover at Kang Soi for paying homage to Phrathat Kang Soi and a Buddha's footprint. She also established the Kang Soi town to be the outpost of her Hariphunchai Kingdom. Ancient artifacts in Dvaravati period were found in this area, such as Dvaravati silver coins, votive tablets, earthenwares, and also some of artifacts in Hariphunchai style.

Kang Soi town was also became an important trading port in Lan Na period and it had regular trade exchanges with Wiang Li, or the modern Li District. Local history recorded that the last ruler of Kang Soi is Phraya Utummaraja who was a devotee in Buddhism and he built more than

ninety-nine temples and monasteries. Kang Soi was became an abandoned town during the war between Lan Na and Burma. In 1921, Prince Damrong Rajanubhab made his trip to visit Monthon Payap or Lan Na and he made a visit at Kang Soi on his returning to Bangkok. He mentioned Kang Soi on his record that it was an ancient town in the middle of the valley which had three ancient temples and more than thirty ancient stupas. In 1924, Khruba Srivichai visited Kang Soi and restored the principal stupa of Phrathat Kang Soi with helps from local villagers. After the completion of Bhumibol Dam in 1957, some of ancient stupas and ancient remaining were covered by water. However, the main principal Phrathat Kang Soi, the main temple, and some of religious buildings were saved because they were placed high enough above the water level. Nowadays, Kang Soi town is reestablished as Phra Borommathat Kang Soi Monastery by Phra Ajarn Pa Nikorn Chaiyaseno, who is the abbot of the monastery.

Traveling to Phra Borommathat Kang Soi Monastery can be made by a boat trip from Kang Kor which is a community at Mae Ping National Park in Li District. The return-boat trip takes around 2.30 hours from Kang Kor and it costs around 5,000 to 6,000 Bath. There are a few family of local villagers provides both services for tourists.

Although Phra Borommathat Kang Soi Monastery is in the area of Tak Province and Tak is not included in the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route of this dissertation, it is a significant point of attraction to identify the journey route of Queen Chammathevi to enter northern region and to Hariphunchai. The physiography and environment at Phra

Borommathat Kang Soi Monastery can help tourists to have clear pictures about the queen's journey which was done by a boat trip. They can have more understanding about the determination of the queen who left her comfortable life in Lavo to develop the unknown place where it became Hariphunchai, the first kingdom in northern region.



Figure 31 Wat Kang Soi and scenic view over Bhumibol Dam
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 32 Phra Borommathat Kang Soi
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 30 Statue of Queen Chammathevi at Wat Kang Soi
Source: The researcher, 2018

2. Wat Phrabhat Huai Tom

A

Wat Phrabhat Huai Tom is a Buddhist temple located at Na-sai Sub-district, Li District, Lamphun. It is a large sized monastery in a rural area which consists of several magnificent religious buildings, such as the Mondop Chedi for enshrining the Buddha's footprint, the Phra Chao Kaow Tue Mondop, the 84,000 Phra Dhamma Khant Chedi, the Phra Khiao Kaew Mondop, Phra Muang Kaew Vihara, and the Pavilion to enshrining the sacred well. These buildings were built by Karen villagers from Ban Huai Tom Village and they performed as workers who contributed their manpower to build these religious buildings according to the initiation from Reverend Khru Ba Chaiya Wongsa Patthana who was their spiritual leader and the former abbot who restored the temple.

Some of the buildings are in traditional Lan Na architecture decorated with sculptural Lan Na style ornaments, decorative glasses, and mural paintings. One of the buildings was different from the others because it was in Lan Na architecture mixed with contemporary style, it is Phra Chao Kaow Tue Mondop. It is a round-shape building with a big dome on top. It was built as a commemoration of the visit of the late king, His Majesty the King Bhumibol, when he came to visit Wat Phrabhat Huai Tom and Karen villagers in 1978. The king also supported Karen villagers here with agriculture techniques from his Development Center for Phrabhat Huai Tom Royal Project and with trainings to the villagers to do farms and orchards.

Another distinctive and meaningful religious building of Wat Phrbhat Huai Tom is the golden Phra Maha That Chedi Sri Wiangchai. It was built in 1995 by Karen villagers and the main building material is laterite which is local resources. It was a replica of the Shwedagon Pagoda of Myanmar. Its base is 40 meters in width and length, and 64.39 meters in height.

Karen people have several important parts in helping Reverend Khru Ba Chaiya Wongsa Patthana to develop the temple because they have strong faith in him. Around 3,000 of them relocated from original settlement along Thai-Burmese border at Tak Province to live at Ban Huai Tom Village because they wanted to be close to the Khru Ba. They strictly follow Buddhist practices and the Khru Ba's teachings. All villagers have vegetarian way of life in order to make merit. After the Khru Ba passed away in 2000, his remains were enshrined in a glass coffin at the Phra Khiao Kaew Mondop. In May 17th of each year is a robe-changing day at the temple. On this day, Karen villagers provide a bath and change robes to the Khru Ba's remains. After that, they carry the coffin around the Mondop Chedi for enshrining the Buddha's footprint for three rounds before returning it to the original place.

Although this temple mainly related to the history of Khru Ba Chaiya Wongsa Patthana and Karen villagers, one major part of the temple was dedicated to the legend of Queen Chammathevi. There are more than eighty scenes of mural cloisters depicting the queen's legend. They were painted by local artisans. Tourists and people can enjoy learning about the

queen's legend by this series of mural painting. Furthermore, there is a story that links Khru Ba Chaiya Wongsapattana and the legend of Queen Chammathevi when the Khru Ba

Travel to Wat Phrabhat Huai Tom can be made by using Highway no. 106 from Li District. Drive from Li District for about 10 kilometers and then switch to Route no. 1087. Continue driving for 8 kilometers more before reaching to the destination. On the other hand, tourists can travel from Kang Kor Community at Mae Ping National Park to Wat Phrabhat Huai Tom by using Route no. 1087. It takes about 45 minutes drive.

Apart from visiting Wat Phrabhat Huai Tom, Tourists also can visit Ban Huai Tom Handicraft and Cultural Center for experiencing Karen's culture and shopping for handicrafts. There is famous hand-woven cotton fabrics which are made by Karen's back-strap loom. These hand-woven cotton fabric are used for making Karen's costumes which have very attractive patterns. Beside this, there are Karen's style silver ornaments which are produced by local villagers and there are several dishes of vegetarian food from this vegetarian village offered to tourists. Moreover, Ban Huai Tom was recognized with the award of outstanding performance by Thailand Tourism Award in 2016 and 2018



Figure 35 Wat Phrabhat Hui Tom
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 33 Phra Maha
That Chedi Sri
Wiangchai
Source: The researcher,
2018

Figure 34 Phra Chao Kaow
Tue Mondop
Source: The researcher, 2018

3. Wat Phrathat Ha Duang



Wat Phrathat Ha Duang is located on Highway no. 106 and has distance from the town of Li District to the south for 2 kilometers. There are remaining parts of ancient wall and ditch around the temple area because this area used to be the ancient town of Wiang Li. Several religious buildings are exhibited here, including chetiya of Phrathat Ha Duang, a main vihara, a vihara with cruciform layout with entrances facing four directions, a vihara of Queen Chammathevi, a vihara of nine Reverend Khru Ba, and a sculptor of sacred cow 'Usuparaj'.

In the central part of the temple, there is the Chetiya of Phrathat Ha Duang which is a group of five golden pagodas. The chetiya has a principal pagoda in the center and a small pagoda at four corners. Local history mentioned Queen Chammathevi traveled to Li because she was informed that Li people always observed five crystal balls appeared over dark sky of Li Town. After she reached Li in the nighttime, she witnessed five crystal balls were flying over five termite mounds at the area of Wat Phrathat Ha Duang. Li people also told her that there were five skin relics of the Lord Buddha under these mounds. These relics came from water that passed through the Lord Buddha's five fingers when he washed his hand. Moreover, in one past life of the Lord Buddha when he was a cow named 'Usuparai', he also lived around this place. Then, the queen had faith to these relics and she ordered her governors to build five pagodas to cover these five mounds and named them as the Chetiya of Phrathat Ha Duang.

The queen also traveled from Hariphunchai to pay homage to the chetiya for every year.

In the 14th century or around 500 years after the period of Queen Chammathevi, there was another queen named Chamarithhevi who fled from Luang Prabang to Li with her followers because of the invasion from Chinese troops. She asked her auspicious elephant to lead her to a sacred and proper place for settling down her new town. Once, the elephant reached the area of Li, it stopped at a white termite mound, kneeled down, raised its trunk as it paid respect to someone, roared, plunged down its tusks on the ground as it wanted to mark the land, then it practiced pradakshina or walking around sacred spaces clockwise. In the nighttime, Queen Chammarithevi also had an auspicious dream that there was a crystal ball flined from the white termite mound and she realized that it was a holy relic. She ordered her people to build a chetiya over the sacred termite mound and name it as Phrathat Duang Diew. Queen Chammarithevi also decided to establish the town here and asked her followers to grow bamboos around the city wall to make it invisible to enemies. She also restored the Chetiya of Phrathat Ha Duang which was situated close to the Phrathat Duang Diew. Many years later, her Wiang Li was attacked by Sri Sachanalai's troops and it was abandoned. It is interesting that several abbots and Li people believed that Queen Chammarithevi was actually the first incarnation of Queen Chammathevi¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸⁸ Disch, H. A. (2014). *The Chronicle of Phra Nang Chamaridewi of Amphoe Li*. Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. 102. Retrieved from https://tcithaijo.org/index.php/pub_jss/article/view/158162

During Lan Na period, kings of Lan Na like Phraya Sam Fang Kan and Phra Muang Kaew traveled to Li to pay homage to the Chetiya of Phrathat Ha Duang. In 1933, Reverend Khru Ba Sriwichai visited the Chetiya of Phrathat Ha Duang and provided restoration to this building. After that in 1958, Reverend Khru Ba Apichai Khaw Pee and Khru Ba Chaiya Wongsapattana led Karen villagers to develop this abandoned religious area to be a temple of Wat Phrathat Ha Duang. In 2005, the Chetiya of Phrathat Ha Duang was restored and transformed its shape to be similar to Phrathat Hariphunchai and was covered with gold.

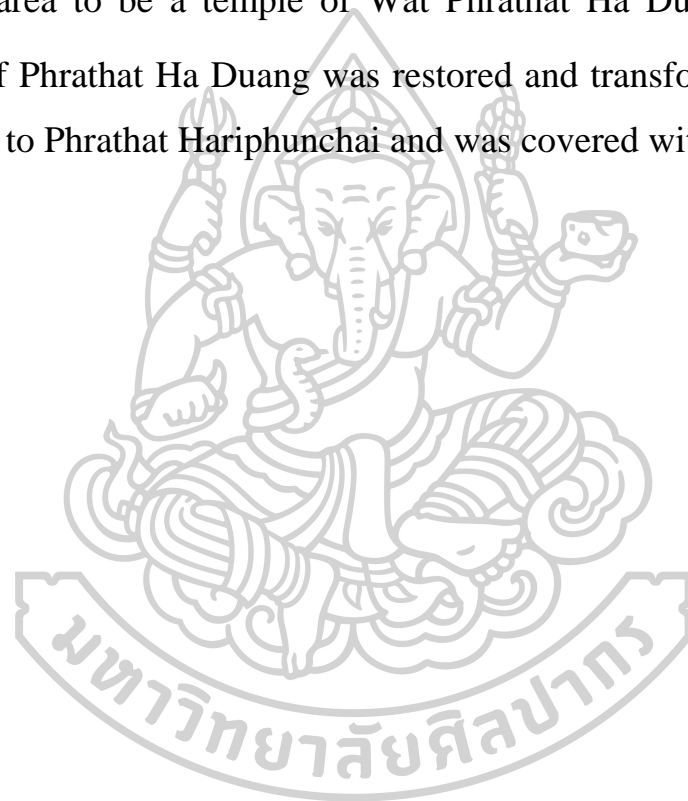


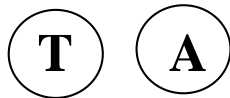


Figure 37 The Chetiya of Phrathat Ha Duang
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 36 Statues of Queen Chammathevi at the
mondop shrine
Source: The researcher, 2018

4. Wat Kho Klang



The temple of Wat Kho Klang is situated at Ban Bor Cow Village, Pa Sang District, Lamphun, which is 30 kilometers away from the southwest of Lamphun. The temple's name is Kho Klang which means an island that is surrounded by water. Archaeologists assumed that this temple was located on the island in Ping River in the ancient time. Nowadays, it was located on the mainland because the river appeared to be away from the temple for 500 meters due to it changed its course.

The monastery covers 7 rai or around 3 acres. It was assumed to be an important place because it consists of several religious buildings and each building has distinctive architectural style. There are eight ancient remains in the temple's compound, including the principal chetiya, the ubosot's foundation and its five pairs of Sema stone, the main vihara with the base of Buddha image decorated with designs of lotus in Pala style, the ancient well, the mandapa or mondhop shrine, the arched gate or the entrance, and the remnant of vihara for reclining Buddha statue or Phra Non. There are three remains outside the temple's compound, including the mondhop on the round base located in the pond in front of the temple entrance, the Chedi Mai Ta which is located 400 meters on the west from the temple, and the Setthi Inta Hill or the Widow Hill (Noen Mae Mai) which is located 200 meters on the northwest from the temple.

Due to there is no record about Wat Kho Klang in any historical document, dating this ancient temple was done by comparing architectural

styles and artifacts found in the temple's area with other ancient remains in Lan Na Kingdom. Findings revealed that the temple was established in 14th century or during the reign of King Tilokkaraja (1441 - 1487)¹⁸⁹. Archaeologists and scholars found the architectural style of the principal chetiya of Wat Kho Klang had been influenced by Burmese-Pagan style like the five-peak prasart stupa at Mahabhodhi Temple or Wat Jed Yod in Chiang Mai. It also was influenced by Ceylonese style because of its bell-shaped form at the upper part. This architectural style was popular in the reign of King Yod Chiang Rai (1487 - 1495). The Mondhop Chedi with two square bases, four niches in four sides, and a bell-shaped chedi on the roof also has similar architectural style with Phra Kaen Chan Daeng shrine at Mahabhodhi Temple which was built in the reign of King Muang Kaew (1495 - 1526).

Although religious buildings at the temple were dated in Lan Na period and were identified by Lan Na architectural style, Dvaravati architectural style appeared on several parts of the principal chetiya and the mondhop in the pond. Dr. Pensupa Sukata, the scholar of Hariphunchai study, mentioned after the archaeological excavation and conservation of the principal chetiya at Wat Kho Klang by the Fine Arts Department of Thailand in 1993, experts agreed that the chetiya was built in the late Hariphunchai period because of these following evidences.

¹⁸⁹ Srinakha, K. (2013). *The Study on the Form and Chronology of the Main Stupa, Ku Pra Chao and Ku Klang Num of Wat Koh Klang, Pa Sang District, Lumphun Province*. Journal of Fine Arts, Vol. 4 No. 2.

1. Decorative stucco reliefs on the principal chetiya have outstanding features and more ancient than the decorative stucco reliefs at Mahabhodhi Temple (Wat Ched Yod),

2. A niche on four sides of the chetiya is similar to Khmer architectural style because niche's roofs have long protruding.

Moreover, some Chinese-Dvaravati or Sino-Dva stucco reliefs style were found among over 2,000 pieces of stuccos at the mondhop in the pond or the Chedi Klang Nam. These stuccos of human faces have distinctive features with oval face shape and almond-shaped eyes. They are similar to stuccos of Chinese-Dvaravati which were discovered at Dvaravati historic sites of Sam-Chook in Suphanburi Province and Tung Setthi in Petchaburi Province. They represented Chinese arts influence on Dvaravati arts style during the trade exchange between two kingdoms. Furthermore, the mondhop in the pond was placed on round-shaped platform and it resembles the Mouth Sumeru in the middle of mythical freshwater lake. This style of religious building in the water can be called as utakasema. Some scholars proposed that the mondhop in the pond of Wat Kho Klang is similar to Neak Pean at Angkor, Cambodia, and Mya Thein Tan Pagoda in Myanmar¹⁹⁰.

After Lan Na period, Wat Kho Klang was abandoned until it was reestablished as a monastery in 1974 by the abbot of Wat Nong Doo and

¹⁹⁰ Sukkata, P. (2014). *Interrelation between Three Cultures: Contingency or Cultural Relations (Khvam Pong Khong Sam Wattanatham: Bang-earn rue Samphan)*. Retrieved from <http://e-shann.com/?p=6433>

monks from Chiang Mai and Bangkok. In 1993 - 2005, the Fine Arts Department provided conservation to the temple and conducted archaeological excavations in the area. The temple was developed to be a center of Mon community in this area which consists of Nong Doo Village and Bor Cow Village. Bor Cow Village used to be included with Nong Doo Village. The local government just separated it to be an independent village in 1989.

Around 500 Mon households in both Nong Doo Village and Bor Cow Village believed that Wat Kho Klang used to be a part of Wiang Kho Klang which was the outpost of Hariphunchai. They also believed that Nong Doo Village is a birth place of Queen Chammathevi according to the local history or tamnan. Several tamnans mentioned the queen was born as a daughter of Setthi Inta. Her birth place was identified as the historic site of the Setthi Inta Hill or the Widow Hill (Noen Mae Mai) which is located 200 meters on the northwest from Kho Klang temple. She was kidnapped by a giant bird and was saved by the sage Vasudeva. Then she was sent to be a princess of Lavo, returned to Hariphunchai and became a queen.

Queen Chammathevi has highly significance to Mon people, especially to villagers of Nong Doo Village and Bor Cow Village, because she is a Mon queen who is a symbol of Mon's identity and Mon's pride in the modern day. They believed that the queen is their ancestor and they built three statues of the queen around Kho Klang temple to show their highly respect to her. There is a statue of the queen with her two twin sons at Setthi Inta Hill and a statue of the queen in meditation posture in front

of the temple's entrance. Villagers also built a new mondhop to enshrine another statue of the queen in the standing posture, similar to the queen's statue at Nong Dok Public Park, just 50 meters away from the Chedi Klang Nam.

Wat Kho Klang became not only the spiritual center for Mon people to commemorate Queen Chammathevi, it also a center for villagers to express their Mon culture and identity. Villagers carried on their Mon culture by wearing Mon clothing to the temple, practicing Mon language with monks and other villagers, and cooking Mon food to offer to the monks and share among their people. They also held an annual event of the Queen Chammathevi's Birthday on every 14th of February at the temple since 2008.

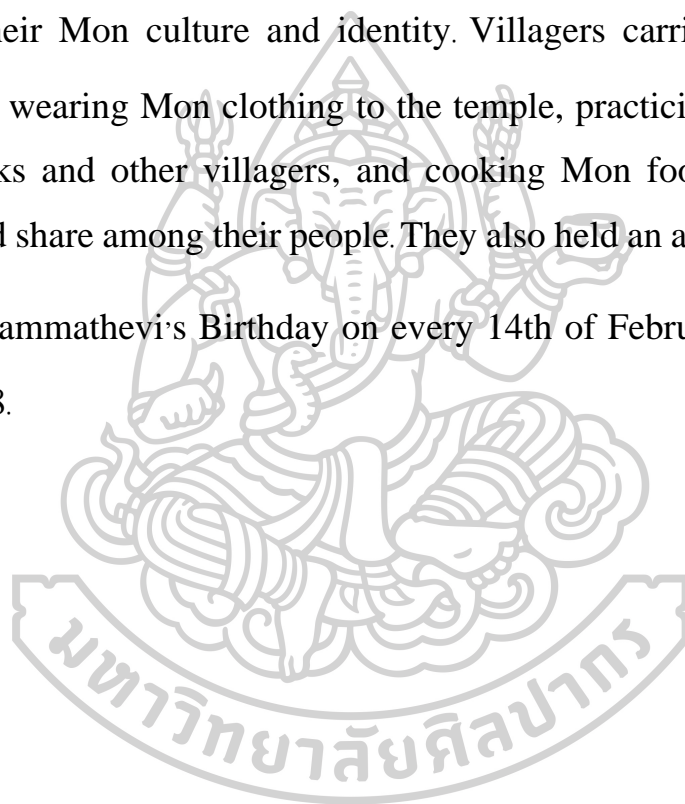




Figure 38 The mondhop in the pond in front of Wat Kho Klang
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 39 Ancient remain of principal chetiya at Wat Kho Klang
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 40 Statue of Queen Chammathevi and her twin son at the Widow Hill (Noen Mae Mai)
Source: The researcher, 2018

5. Wat Phrathat Doi Noi (Suvarna Jula Khiri)



The temple is on the top of mountain called Doi Noi or Suvarna Jula Khiri which located on the west of Ping River's bank. It is away from Wat Kho Klang for 22 kilometers and visitors can travel to this place by using Route no. 108. There are two ways to reach the temple on the mountain. First is by climbing 241 steps of Naga staircase and second is by the road. Although the temple is in the area of Doi Lor District, Chiang Mai, and it is not supposed to be included on Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route which aims to promote only tourism in Lamphun and Lampang, it has high significance, distinguish features of landscape and natural environment, directly relating to the legend of Queen Chammathevi, and close location to Wat Kho Klang.

The temple consists of two parts, including the area on the top of the mountain and the area on the foot of the mountain. The area on the top of the mountain is a monastery for monks and has the principal chetiya in Lan Na architectural style, the nine-spired chetiya in Burmese style, the ubosot, viharn, and salas. The principle chetiya was mentioned in the legend by the name as Pavisittha Chedi which was built by Queen Chammathevi in 661 (AD) for enshrining Buddha's relics that she brought from Lavapura. She chose this place during her journey along Ping River from Lavapura to Hariphunchai. She asked an archer to random for the sacred place to establish a Buddhism monastery by shooting an arrow. Then, the arrow

dropped at Doi Noi and the queen made her decision to build the Pavisittha Chedi on this mountain.

The queen decided to have a short stay and built her residence at the area on the foot of Doi Noi Mountain during the construction of the Pavisittha Chedi. Her followers spent a month and six days to complete the chetiya. After that, she offered a life-size Buddha image to the monastery, paid homage and made merit at the chetiya for three days. She ordered four brahmins to look after the chetiya and the monastery before she continued her journey to Hariphunchai. Nowadays, her residential area became a meditation sanctuary and residence for Buddhist nuns. It has a name as Chammathevi Buddhist Practice Sanctuary. Some ancient remains and artifacts were found at this place are such as a base of chetiya, a base of vihara and its eight boundary stones, and some earthenwares and potsherds in Hariphunchai periods.

High significant evidence at the temple that mentioned the name of Queen Chammathevi is a stone inscription which was placed at the south side base of the principal chetiya. It was King Mekuti Sutthiwong's record in Lan Na's Fak Kham scripts about his merit making and restoration of the chetiya in 1551. The inscription mentioned the Pavisittha Chedi was built by Queen Chammathevi and another name of the chetiya is Savarna Jula Khiri or a small golden mountain. King Mekuti Sutthiwong (1551 - 1564) is the last king of Lan Na before the kingdom was under the Burmese rule.

The Pavisittha Chedi and its monastery were abandoned during the war between Lan Na and Burma. The ancient religious buildings at the temple were vandalized several times by people who looked for hidden treasures which were believed that Queen Chammathevi buried them under the chetiya and inside the nine-spired chetiya in Burmese style. In 1932, four Reverend Khru Ba from Lamphun provided the restoration to the chetiya and reestablished the monastery. The worshippers of Queen Chammathevi's cult also built a shrine for the queen's statue and statues of her two guardians, princess Pathumvadee and princess Ketsawadee. The shrine is located 30 meters away from the nine-spired chetiya. From this point, there is magnificent panoramic view over Ping River and mountainous landscapes.



Figure 41 Phrathat Doi Noi
or the Pavisittha Chedi
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 42 Nine-spired chetiya
in Burmese style
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 43 Statue of Queen Chammathevi and her two
guardians
Source: The researcher, 2018

6. Wat Ku Lamak (Romaneeyaram)



The temple was situated away from Lamphun town to the south. Traveling to this place can be made through Route no. 106, away from the town around 4 kilometers. The temple was on the Guang River's west bank and it was surrounded with shady trees. This perfect location offers tranquil and joy to visitors. Queen Chammathevi also liked this place very much and she named it as Ramayakhma or Romaneeyaram, which means the place of enjoyment.

Queen Chammathevi intended to establish a Buddhist monastery before she entered to Hariphunchai. When she was at another town called Tha Chiang Thong, she asked her archer to random for a sacred place by shooting an arrow. This time, the arrow traveled for one and a half yot (a traditional Thai measurement system) or 24 kilometers and dropped at Wat Ku Lamak. She ordered her followers to establish a monastery at this place and also built a residence for her. She built a principal chetiya named Ku Lamak, put the Buddha's relics and the arrow which was used for random inside this building. She also placed a life-size Buddha image on the niche of the chetiya. She offered a stone Buddha statue named Phra Shikhi Patima Sila Dam which she brought from Lavapura to the monastery. She stayed at Wat Ku Lamak for a short period before the sage Vasudeva and the sage Sukkadanta invited her to enter to Hariphunchai.

The temple was abandoned for a long time until Reverend Khru Ba Sriwichai provided the restoration to the principal chetiya and the viharn in 1932. The principal chetiya was transformed to have a prasart style stupa on a square base, mixed with a round shape stupa on the upper part. There is a niche on each side of the stupa for enshrining each sitting Buddha image. According to the interview of local people who used to see the chetiya before the restoration, they reported that the chetiya has ancient Hariphunchai architecture similar to Chiang Yan Chedi at Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai¹⁹¹.

The Fine Arts Department commenced archaeological excavations at the monastery for twice, in 1991 and 2004. They found a base of ancient building next to the chetiya, boundary Sema stones from Hariphunchai period, earthenwares and potsherds in Hariphunchai style, and an ancient well in octagonal shape close to the monastery's area.



¹⁹¹ Lamphun People Association. (2018). *Khru Ba Chao Sriwichai*. Bangkok: PPK Publishing.



Figure 45 Ku Lamak, the principal chetiya
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 46 Small figure of
Queen Chammathevi at the
base of Ku Lamak principal
cetiya
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 44 Ancient well in
octagonal shape named as
Queen Chammathevi's well
Source: The researcher, 2018

7. Hariphunchai Institute of Hand-woven Fabric

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Lamphun Provincial Administrative Organization established the Hariphunchai Institute of Hand-woven Fabric in 2015 in order to conserve cultural heritage of Lamphun's hand-woven fabric, to document and record techniques of weaving skills from local master weavers, to educate and train young generation for producing hand-woven fabric, to develop techniques and create new designs and patterns for Lamphun's hand-woven fabric, and to promote Lamphun's hand-woven fabric in domestic and international market. It is 5 kilometers from Lamphun town and was located at Ton Thong Subdistrict, Muang District, Lamphun.

The institute consists of a main entrance that can be transformed into a mini theater for showing an introduction footage about the institute and Lamphun's hand-woven fabric, the hall for exhibiting hand-woven fabric's processes from the first step of sericulture to the final step of creation of products on old fashioned wooden looms, a museum, and a shop for selling products from Lamphun's hand-woven fabric.

Lamphun Provincial Administrative Organization also built a shrine for Queen Chammathevi statue in sitting posture at the courtyard. The statue is not only for being a commemoration to the queen, but also being a symbol of long culture of hand-woven fabric that Lamphun was inherited from Dvaravati and Lavapura. The institute connected Lamphun's weaving culture to the queen by referring to the legend when she brought craftsmen

from Lavapura to Hariphunchai and hand-woven fabric could be one of craftsmanships that the queen introduced to this remote kingdom.

More stories of three well-known Lamphun's hand-woven fabrics, including Brocaded silk fabric, cotton fabric, and hill tribe fabric, was told through exhibitions at the institute's museum. The Brocaded silk fabric of Lamphun or Pha Yok Lamphun is very famous because of its three distinctive features of refined touch, pastel colors, and traditional floral designs with sometimes mixed with gold threads.

Pha Yok Lamphun is a high quality product which was developed from Pha Yok in Ayutthaya and Rattanakosin Royal court. Traditionally Pha Yok was used only by court members and it was imported from India¹⁹². Princess Dara Rasmi (1873 - 1933) of Chiang Mai who is a princess consort of King Rama V of Thailand introduced Pha Yok and its weaving techniques to Lan Na court when she returned to her hometown after King Rama V passed away. She also provided training to her relatives, Princess Suan Boon and Princess Lam Chiek of Lamphun, to produce Pha Yok. After that, the two princesses of Lamphun brought skills and knowledges of weaving Brocaded silk fabric to their hometown and taught their staff to do it. They both produced Brocaded silk fabric for using at the court and selling at the market.

Because of its popularity in the market, several staff of Lamphun court operated their own business of Brocaded silk fabric factories in

¹⁹² Smanchat, S. (2017). *The Splendid Design of 'Pha-Yok' (Thai Brocade) under the Royal Patronage to New Tradition*. Brunei Darussalam: ASEAN Traditional Textiles Symposium.

Lamphun town and also passed weaving skills to local weavers. Later, the demand of Pha Yok is decreased because of modern garment factories, there are only a few factories that still operated hand-woven Brocaded silk fabric in town. Pha Yok Lamphun became popular again when it received GI or Geographical Indication in 2007 from the Department of Intellectual Property. Thai government encouraged villagers of several communities at Tung Hua Chang District and Li District in Lamphun to produce Brocaded silk fabric under One Tambon One Product program (OTOP) and found markets for selling products.

The success of Pha Yok Lamphun becomes an inspiration for many local communities in the province to promote their own weaving culture. For example, Ban Nong Nguek community at Pa Sang District produced high quality of cotton fabric and it was recognized by many awards from Thai government. Beside this, Karen people at Ban Huai Tom community, Li District, proposed their famous hand-woven hill tribe fabric with its selling point from organic cotton and organic bleaching techniques. Hariphunchai Institute of Hand-woven Fabric is a center that collects all famous Lamphun's hand-woven fabric from different areas in the province and provides opportunity for visitors to enjoy seeing, learning, and shopping in just one place.



Figure 48 Bronze statue of Queen Chammathevi at Hariphunchai Institute of Hand-woven Fabric

Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 47 Small factory of Pha Yok at the institute

Source: The researcher, 2018

8. Wat Chammathevi

(M)

The temple has a location on Chammathevi Road or route no. 1015, Muang District. It was 2 kilometers on the west of Lamphun town. Main religious buildings in this monastery comprises of a viharn, an ubosot, a stupa for containing the Reverend Khru Ba Sriwichai, and two ancients chetiyas in Hariphunchai Period. The temple was formerly called by local people in two names of Wat Ku Kut which means the temple with a chetiya which has a collapsed spire, and Wat San Mahaphon.

In 1926, Prince Damrong Rajanubhab visited the temple and considered architectural elements of the lost-spired chetiya were exactly followed the description of Suwannachangkot Chedi mentioned in the Queen Chammathevi's legend. Suwannachangkot Chedi is the stupa that King Mahantayasa of Hariphunchai built for containing the ashes of his mother, Queen Chammathevi. It is because this temple and its principal cetiya related to the queen, Prince Damrong Rajanubhab renamed Wat Kukut to be Wat Chammathevi.

According to the legend's depiction about containing Queen Chammathevi's relics and ashes after her funeral cremation, Suwannachangkot Chedi was described as a reliquary with several niches for Buddha images was built to enshrine the relics at the pleasant site. Because it was covered with gold plate, the pagoda was called cetiya

suvannacanko¹⁹³. In the modern day, Suwannachangkot Chedi appears to be a large size of tall stepped-pyramid stupa. It was built from blocks of laterite and consists of five stages. Each stage is surrounded with twelve niches, three niches on each side, and the stupa has sixty niches in total. There is a standing Buddha which is made from stucco is placed in every niche.

There is another smaller ancient Hariphunchai chetiya next to Suwannachangkot Chedi and its name is Rattana Chedi. The chetiya has octagonal shape and has eleven and a half meters height tower. It was made of brick and was covered with stucco. There is a niche on each side of the main part of stupa, and standing Buddha images in Abhaya mudra was enshrined in each niche. These Buddha images have similar attributes of the standing Buddha on Suwannachangkot Chedi. Their bodies were made of stucco and head figures were moulded terracottas. The upper part of the stupa was surrounded by eight small niches and each niche contains Buddha image in Dhyana mudra or meditation posture. The top part of the stupa was collapsed.

The vihara or the assemble hall at the temple was established in front of the Suwannachangkot Chedi. It was built by Reverend Khru Ba Sriwichai in 1936 and there are sixteen scenes of mural painting depicted the legend of Queen Chammathevi. It was the last building under the supervision and construction by Khru Ba Sriwichai before he passed away

¹⁹³ Swearer, D. K. & Premchit, S. (1998). *The Legend of Queen Cama*. USA: New York Press.

in 1938. Some parts of his relics and ashes after the cremation was contained in a white stupa located on the southwest of the temple.



Figure 49 Ku Kut and Rattana Chedi in the old day
Source: Photo courtesy of Hariphunchai National Museum



Figure 51 Octagonal shape of Rattana Chedi
Source: The researcher, 2018

Figure 50 The stepped-pyramid stupa of Ku Kut in Abhaya mudra was enshrined in each niche
Source: The researcher, 2018

9. Suan Mai Thai Ban Por Liang Muen



It is a botanical and terracottas arts garden covers 200 rai or around 80 acres. It is 4 kilometers from Lamphun town, located at Rimping Subdistrict, and located on route no. 1015 which connected to route no. 106. Mr. Suttiiphong Maiwan or Por Liang Dang is a sculptor artist and the owner of the garden since 1982. He first used this land as his production site of earthenware. After that he turned it into his outdoor gallery to exhibit his works of terracottas arts, collections of bonsai, and flowers and plants mentioned in Thai literature. Later, he developed this site to be a tourist attraction and opened it to public. The name of of this garden derived from the name of Mr. Suttiiphong's grand father, or Por Liang Muen.

Suan Mai Thai Ban Por Liang Muen comprises of four gardens following four different themes of a Khmer architecture, Srivijaya architecture, Hariphunchai architecture, and Lan Na architecture. The Khmer garden was decorated with orange and pumpkin shade of terracottas walls, columns and a main arch gate. The theme of this garden is Mouth Sumeru decorated with terracottas figures of Hindu gods, Ganesha, sages, and mythical creatures. Khmer Forum is a nickname of this garden. The garden of Srivijaya architecture was presented in the form of groups of terracottas sculpture such as figures of naga, cows, a shrine, and walls encompass a big square pool.

The Hariphunchai garden has a focal point as a huge and tall square base stepped-pyramid stupa which totally made from productions of

terracotta from this site. The stupa resembles the architecture of Suwannachangkot Chedi at Wat Chammathevi, but this terracotta stupa presents the perfect figure of stupa with a golden spire. Each side of stupa is fitted with a large niche, and each niche is decorated with terracotta sculptures depicting scenes of Lord Buddha's story. There is another small terracotta stupa was built on the ground floor inside the huge stupa. It is a place for enshrining the Buddha's relics and precious ancient votive tables from Mr. Suttiiphong's collection.

Visitors can enjoy observing earthenware production process, from the beginning process of sculpting to the final step of firing clay sculptures in dragon kilns. They can learn about special quality of the clay of Lamphun that can be turned into five different colors of white, yellow, orange, pink, and green depends on the level of heat during the firing process. Pottery workshops also can be provided to visitors.





Figure 53 New build stepped-pyramid stupa resembles the architecture of Suwannachangkot Chedi
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 52 Srivijaya architecture around a square pond
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 54 Terracottas garden of the Khmer Forum
Source: The researcher, 2018

10. Queen Chammathevi statue at Nong Dok Public Park



The statue of Queen Chammathevi at Nong Dok Public Park is located 1 kilometer on the south of the Lamphun city hall. It is also located in the public park's area which is in front of Nong Dok local market. It was completely built in 1982 by Mr. Suphorn Sirasongkroh who is a sculptor of the Fine Arts Department. Later, King Rama X, King Vajiralongkorn Bodindradebayavarangkun, inaugurated Queen Chammathevi statue at Nong Dok Public Park in October 2nd, 1982 while he was H.R.H Crown Prince of Thailand.

The statue comprises of three main elements, including the statue of Queen Chammathevi, subordinate statues of an elephant and a horse, and a wall of terracottas bas-relief panels behind the statue. The statue of the queen has 2.40 meters high. It was made from bronze and was installed on a high platform. The sculptor did well-studied about Dvaravati art and also Queen Chammathevi's legend before he could create a perfect figure of the queen in Dvaravati style costumes. The queen's statue with standing posture reached her right hand out with opened palm like she gave life and civilization to her people, while her left hand held an ancient sword and pointed it to the ground also can be interpreted that she is a great ruler who found the kingdom of Hariphunchai.

Subordinate statues of an elephant and a horse which were stuccos, were places on the ground close to the queen's statue. They represented the queen's weapons of war. The background of the queen's statue is a tall arch

gate in Hariphunchai architecture and a wall of terracotta bas-relief panels. The wall was divided into eight frames in order to depict the history of Queen Chammathevi, Hariphunchai, Lan Na, and Lamphun Province. All of these terracotta art came from local production site of earthenware by Mr. Sutti Phong Maiwan of Suan Mai Thai Ban Por Liang Muen.

The statue of Queen Chammathevi at Nong Dok Public Park was not only a commemoration to the queen, it became an icon of Lamphun, a source for educating Hariphunchai and Lamphun history, and an open space for holding local cultural events and invented traditions for tourism. Those local cultural events and invented annual traditions for tourism are such as, the Commemorating of Queen Chammathevi Birthday on October 7th, the Commemorating of Queen Chammathevi Coronation Day on December 7th - 8th, the Queen Chammathevi Memorial Day on August 22nd, and the Lantern Offering to Queen Chammathevi as a part of Lamphun Loy Kratong Festival in November.



Figure 55 Queen Chammathevi's bronze statue at Nong Dok Public Park
Source: The researcher, 2018

11. Hariphunchai National Museum

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The museum is located on Inthayongyot Road and it is opposite Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai. It was first established in 1967 by the initiation of Phraya Ratchakun Wibun Phakdi, the Siam commissioner for Monthon Phayap or the area of northern Thailand. The commissioner would like to exhibit and find the stowage area for a big number of ancient artifacts from temples in Lamphun and northern Thailand, and ancient objects from archaeological excavation sites in Lamphun. Then, he used a pavilion of Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai to be an exhibited building of the Lamphun Museum or Lamphun Pipithaphan Sathan. Later, the Fine Arts Department developed this museum to meet the standard of museum in Western world. In 1974, the FAD completed the establishment of new Hariphunchai National Museum and opened it to public in 1979. The new location of the museum is just behind Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai. It used to be the area of ancient temple named Wat San Khaw Hor and in later period it was a prison.

There are three main exhibition areas at the museum, including the Stone Inscription Hall, the main exhibition hall, and Lan Na and Folk Arts Hall. The Stone Inscription Hall is on the ground floor. It displays 23 columns of inscriptions, comprises of 7 columns in Hariphunchai period and 16 columns in Lan Na period. The upper level is the main exhibition hall which is divided into three zones of showcase according to periods,

including Prehistoric and Pre-Hariphunchai Zone, Hariphunchai Zone, and Lan Na Zone.

Pre-historic and Pre-Hariphunchai Zone exhibits ancient skeletons and artifacts which were found in the burial site of Ban Wang Hi Archaeological Site in Lamphun. Those artifacts are such as stone tools, iron tools, bronze ornaments, bead bracelets, and series of pottery. Hariphunchai Zone exhibits Buddha images in Dvaravati and Hariphunchai art. They were made from sandstone, bronze, stucco, and terracottas. There are also ancient votive tablets, potteries, earthenwares and stonewares, and stucco reliefs from Hariphunchai period displayed here. Several bronze and silver Buddha images in early Lan Na period in Chiang Saen style and Payao style are exhibited in Lan Na exhibition zone. The last exhibition hall of Lan Na and Folk Arts displays decorative carved wooden artifacts, religious and everyday's use utensils, traditional musical instruments, and ceramic wares from many parts of Lan Na.

Hariphunchai National Museum is not just a place for ancient objects exhibition, it anticipates with communities in Lamphun in terms of helping them to develop and conserve their history and local culture by giving them knowledge and consultation. The museum has a library and a conference room to support educating activities to the public. Engagement with communities is a special feature that makes the museum different from others and it also becomes a part of Lamphun.



Figure 57 Bronze and Sandstone Buddha image's heads
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 58 Building of Hariphunchai National Museum
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 56 Sandstone inscriptions
Source: The researcher, 2018

12. Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai



The temple situated on Inthayongyot Road and it is opposite Hariphunchai National Museum. It is 150 meters away from Lamphun City Hall. The temple has two zones of the Buddhawas or sacred zone in the inner wall and the Sangkhawas or a monastery in the outer wall. The Buddhawas zone of the temple has its layout plan followed the concept of Buddhist cosmology with the Phrathat Hariphunchai as a symbol of Mount Sumeru or a center of the universe and encompassed with four continents. Wiharn Luang or the main viharn is a symbol of Purravideha continent in the east, Viharn Buddha is a symbol of Jambudvipa continent in the south, Wiharn Lavo is a symbol of Uttarakura continent in the north, and Viharn Phrachao Tanjai is a symbol of Aparagodaniya continent in the west.

There are 21 religious monuments in the vase temple's area of 11 acres. Highlight monuments are the group of monuments in the Buddhist cosmology layout and other highlight monuments are such as the entrance gate with a couple of lion sculptures, Hor Trai, Bell Tower, Pathumwadi Chedi or Suwanna Chedi, and Chiang Yan Chedi.

- The Phrathat Hariphunchai

This is a principal golden chetiya which is believed that it was situated on the sacred site and enshrined several parts of Buddha's relics, including a piece of bone from the skull, the chest, and a finger. The Mulasassana mentioned there are relics of Buddha's from different periods

were contained in an alms-bowl and was brought from India to enshrine into the chetiya.

According to the legend, Lord Buddha fled from Isipattana Deer Park near Varanasi in India to a Mon Village named Jarohagama located by the Ping River. He commenced a morning alms practices and Dharma preaching to the villagers. During the preaching time, he placed his alms on a bed of rock which magically rose from the ground. He blessed the villagers and also made a prophecy that this Mon village will become a great kingdom in the future. There will be a king of this kingdom named Adittaraja found the Buddha's relics and built a chetiya at the location of the bed of rock that he placed his alms on it. After the Lord Buddha finished his prophecy, he fled back to Isipattana Deer Park.

The bed of rock became a sacred object because it associated with the Lord Buddha. Sages and people from different places pilgrimaged to pay homage to the rock. The sage Vasudeva also established a new city at this location, invited Queen Chammathevi from Lavapura to rule and develop it to be Hariphunchai. Later, King Adittaraja, the 32th king of Queen Chammathevi's dynasty discovered Buddha's relics at his palace. He ordered to build a prasart-style stupa with 6 meters high to cover the Buddha's relics. Another king of Queen Chammathevi's dynasty named Phaya Sapphasit, who is King Adittaraja's nephew, restored the stupa and built it with 12 meters high. After Hariphunchai was conquered by King

Mangrai of Lan Na in 749 A.D., the king restored the stupa and transformed its architecture to be in Lanka bell-shaped chetiya.

King Mangrai realized that Hariphunchai is a religious center because it has the significant Buddhist monument of Phrathat Hariphunchai. He said “Hariphunchai is a Phrathat town, I cannot stay.” before he moved to his new town of Wiang Kum Kam. In 1443, the 9th king of Mangrai Dynasty named Phrachao Tilokkarat or King Tilokkarat restored Phrathat Hariphunchai and expanded the structure of the chetiya to have 184 meters in height and 25 meters of square base. It was regularly restored by kings from Lan Na, Sri Ayutthaya, Thonburi, and Rattanakosin because it has high significance, high sacredness, and received high respect by kings. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab included Phrathat Hariphunchai in the group of Jom Chedi or the eight holy ancient chetiyas in Thailand that people must visit and pay homage. It was represented Thai year of Rooster.

- Entrance Gate and a couple of Singha sculptures

It is a brick and mortar arch gate covered with white stucco. The top part of it has a prasart stupa in Burmese Pagan style decorated with stucco reliefs in floral designs. It is expected to build in the period of King Tilokkarat because its architecture is similar to the arch gate at Mahabhodhi Temple or Wat Jed Yod in Chiang Mai and the arch gate at Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang in Lampang which both of them were built by the king. The arch gate is a symbol of the entrance and transition from the Loka or the physical world to the Lokuttara or the sacred spiritual world.

There are a couple of Singha sculptures placed on each side and in front of the arch gate. They are big size sculptors which were made of brick and mortar, covered with red stucco, decorated with white stucco relief designs of ornaments, and was placed on a platform with a meter high. Singha is a mythical animal look like a lion and it was a symbol of a guardian who protects the entrance of the temple. This couple of Singha sculptures has its named as Mikkarat. This name was found in an ancient Lan Na poetry of Klong Nirat Hariphunchai, quatrain no. 144.

- Wiharn Luang

This religious building is located on the east of Phrathat Hariphunchai. Wiharn Luang means a large assembly hall and a building for enshrining a big size of Buddha image. The original of this building since the period of 11th king of Lan Na, Phra Muang Kaew, was in Lan Na architecture with rectangular shape floor plan. Its floor made of brick and mortar and its columns and roofs are made from woods. The roof was covers with terracotta tiles. The building had two distinctive characteristics of Lan Na assembly hall, including an open structural wall plan and a Ma Tang Mai structure of gable roof or a roof's structure that support three layers of roof. The exterior of the hall was decorated with decorative wooden crafts and stucco reliefs, while the interior was decorated with tiles mirrors and gold leaf designs on columns and walls. This original Wiharn Luang was destroyed by a storm in 1915.

In 1920, Prince Chakkham Khachonsak, the last ruler of Lamphun under Siamese administration, asked the Reverend Khru Ba Sriwichai to lead Lamphun people to rebuild the Wiharn Luang. Khru Ba Sriwichai aimed to replace the wiharn with strong structure from concrete and enlarged its size to be bigger than the original hall. Its open structural wall plan was changed to closed structural wall plan. Architectural influence from temples in Rattanakosin period appeared in the new building because it was encompassed with balcony, it has both front and rear porches, and it was decorated with decorative tiles mirrors and stucco reliefs designs in deities, demons and mythical beings.

The Wiharn Luang has high significance in terms of being a venue for holding formal state ceremony, such as an oath-taking ceremony and a ceremony of drinking the water of allegiance to the monarch in 1897, and the receiving ceremony of the royal sword presentation in 1926. It was also opened to the public for listening to dhamma preaching, merit making, and meditating on every Buddhist Sabbath day or 'wan phra' in Thai.

- Wiharn Lavo

The wiharn is located on the north of Phrathat Hariphunchai. The name of the building reflects association between Hariphunchai and Lavo when Queen Chammathevi and her people from Lavo came from a Mon state in Chao Phraya River basin to develop a Mon state of Hariphunchai.

According to local history, Queen Chammathevi brought a couple of one and a half life size Buddha images in standing posture and holding alms from Lavo to Hariphunchai. She enshrined one of the images at

Wiharn Lavo and another one at Wat Thong Sajja where is another temple on southeast of Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai. The name of the temple Thong Sajja means the wishing flag. The tamnan mentioned Queen Chammathevi wanted to predict and random the location for establishing a new town for her younger son. She settled a flag post, raised a flag up in the air, made a wish, and let the wind blew the flag. Finally, the flag flew and dropped at the location near her palace on the southeast. Then, she established Wat Thong Sajja at this location.

Both standing Buddha images at Wiharn Lavo and Wat Thong Sajja has distinctive features on their feet because they represented unique shape of bird feet. These are some of features from mahapurisalakkhana or 32 auspicious characteristics of a great man like Lord Buddha. Shape of bird feet can be described by mahapurisalakkhana as projecting heels and long fingers and toes. These two Buddha image were restored for several times because they displayed art influences from Lan Na and Chinese Tang Dynasty¹⁹⁴.

Today, Wiharn Lavo was used as a meditation hall and a temporary residence for laypersons during Buddhist Sabbath days. One and a half life size bronze statue of Queen Chammathevi, King Adittaraja, and Phaya Sapphasit were enshrined in this building for telling the ancient story of Queen Chammathevi's dynasty and the development of Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai.

¹⁹⁴ Na Nagara, P. (1973). *Klong Nirat Hariphunchai*. Bangkok: Phra Chan Publishing.

- Suwanna Chedi (Phatumwadi Chedi)

Suwanna Chedi has a similar form of stepped-pyramid stupa like Suwannachangkot Chedi of Wat Kukut that enshrined the relics of Queen Chammathevi, but it has smaller size and slimmer shape. Its base has 6 meters wide and it has 14 meters tall. Its three tiers from the base are made from blocks of laterite, while the other two tiers on the upper part are made from bricks. A spire at the top of the chedi has a pyramid shape and covered with gold plate. The archeologists commented that the lost spire of Suwannachangkot Chedi also has the same features like the spire of Suwanna Chedi. Each tier of the stupa contains twelve niches and each niche enshrines stucco of Buddha images in Abhaya mudra. It was located in the northeast and far from the main Phrathat for fifty meters.

Suwannachedi has another name as Pathumwasi Chedi because it was built by Queen Pathumwadi who is the queen consort of King Adittaraja. The queen built the chedi four years after her husband built the chetiya of Phrathat Hariphunchai. This is the intention of the queen to make merit by building her own chetiya next to the sacred monuments that housed the holy relics of the Lord Buddha.

- Chiang Yan Chedi

Chiang Yan Chedi or Chiang Yuen Chedi is a five spires stupa-prasart which is situated at the north of Phrathat Hariphunchai. The five spires stupa-prasart has a similar shape like castle. It's made from brick and

was placed on five tiers square base. The body part of the chedi has niche on each side. Archaeologists assumed that the niches are places for enshrining bronze Buddha images in standing posture with vitraka mudra on both hands, because broken pieces of a bronze Buddha image were discovered on the base of the chedi during the archaeology excavation in 2005 - 2007. The laterite foundation of the chedi and some potsherds in Hariphunchai period also were found during the excavation. These archaeological evidences help identify the period of Chiang Yan Chedi and archaeologists can tell that it was built in the late of Hariphunchai period or in 12th century.

According to a local history, Chiang Yan Chedi was built by a group of female cooks who work at the palace cuisine. They used some remaining bricks from the construction of Suwanna Chedi to be materials for building their own chedi. Although this chedi was not built by a royal member, its architecture of a five spires stupa-prasart has influences over the architecture style of several chetiyas in Lan Na period, such as principal cetiyas at Wat Pa Sak, Wat Mung Muang, Wat Phrathat, and Wat Song Pee Nong at Chiang Saen Historical Site¹⁹⁵.

- Ho Trai

Ho Trai or a house of sacred Tripitaka inscriptions on palm leaves manuscripts. It is located on the southeast of Phrathat Hariphunchai. It is a two stories building with rectangular shape floor plan. The lower part is

¹⁹⁵ Sukkata, P. (2010). *Phrathat Hariphunchai*. Bangkok: Thavornkit Publishing.

brick and mortar and the upper part is wood. Its roof has a Ma Tang Mai structure of gable roof and covered with terracotta tiles. The exterior wall was decorated with gold leaf mural designs of guardian deities, showering of flowers from the heaven, and mythical creatures from Himavanta. There are naga staircases on the front and the rare side of the upper part of wooden building.

It was built in 1015 by a Lan Na king, Phra Muang Kaew (1495 - 1525), and his mother for making a merit and paying homage to the Phrathat Hariphunchai. Its architectural style has influence on several Hor Trai in Lan Na, such as Hor Tai at Wat Phra Singha and Wat Chiang Man in Chiang Mai, and Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang in Lampang. Today, it was a place to keep Tripitaka inscriptions, local tamnans and history of Hariphunchai.

- Bell Tower

It is a two stories tower in Mondhop shape. It was made of brick and mortar and was painted in red. The upper floor is for placing a big bronze bell and the lower floor is for hanging a huge flat bronze gong. It is located on the northeast of Phrathat Hariphunchai.

The gong was originally hung between two wooden posts. Later, the posts were change to be concrete. The history of the gong was appeared on the front of it in Lan Na inscriptions. The gong was built in 1860 by a ruler of Chiang Mai, King Kawirolot Suriyawong (1856 - 1870), in order to make

a merit and pay homage to the Phrathat Hariphunchai. The process of bronze casting to produce this gong was made by the Khru Ba Kanjana of Wat Soong Men in Phrae, and the production site of the gong is Wat Phra Singha in Chaing Mai. In 1938, Khru Ba Khum Foo of Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai restored an ancient building of Hor Phra Nak and replaced it by a bell tower for keeping both a bronze bell and a flat bronze gong.

Lan Na people believed that they should hit this gong after they made a merit at the temple. The loud gong can send a message to let their ancestors know and receive the merit.



Figure 59 Phrathat Hariphunchai chetiya
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 61 Entrance Gate and a couple of Singha sculptures
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 60 Bell Tower
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 63 Bronze statues of Queen Chammathevi and King Adittaraj at Wiharn Lavo
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 62 Ho Trai
Source: The researcher, 2018

13. Wat Mahawan



Wat Mahawan can be called in another name as Wat Mahawanaram which means a big forest. According to the legend of Queen Chammathevi, the queen ordered to build a temple on each four direction of Hariphunchai and called them as the Buddhaprakarn or Buddhist fortification in order to make her people feel secure under the protection of Lord Buddha. Wat Mahawan is one of the Buddhaprakarn in the west of the city and it is far from Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai about 600 meters.

The legend also mentioned that the sage Vasudeva and other sages advised each temple of the Buddhaprakarn to produce votive tablets for distributing to Hariphunchai people. Then, people could have these votive tablets as their auspicious objects that could protect them when they went to wars with indigenous groups that always attacked Hariphunchai. Wat Mahawan produced the votive tablet named Phra Rod which means to save from death and dangers. It is a small size of terracottas votive tablet which has 1.3 centimeters wide and 2.6 centimeters high. It has an imprinted Buddha image on the front side. The Buddha image appeared to sit on a throne in Bhumisparasara mudra with legs crossed in vajarasana, and sit beneath Bodhi tree.

Phra Rod is considered by votive tablets collectors that it is a rare auspicious artifact from Hariphunchai period, and then they set a high price on it. The authentic Phra Rod has to be only baked from clay in Lamphun which offered special characteristics to the object. Lumphun's clay

provided five different natural colors to Phra Rod, including yellow, orange, gray, pink, and dark green, because of different amount of mineral in the clay and the different level of heat to bake it. Two frames among the 23 frames of mural painting about the legend of Queen Chammathevi at the main wiharn also depicted the scenes that the sage Vasudeva and others four sages created number of Phra Rod and baked them by auspicious beam from their eyes.

There is a sandstone sculpture of Buddha image sit on a throne in Bhumisparasara mudra placed in front of the base of Principal Buddha image at the main wiharn. It has 36 inches high and its base has 17 inches wide. It was named as Phra Rod Luang or the big Phra Rod which was believed to be brought from Lavapura (Lavo) by Queen Chammathevi. People also believed that it is a model for Phra Rod votive tablets.

A number of ancient objects in Dvaravati and Hariphunchai period were discovered at the temple's area, such as votive tablets, earthenwares, potsherds, and terracottas and sandstone sculptures. The temple provides conservation management to these artifacts by exhibiting them at the temple's museum named Dhamma Ni-tes Phracha Samakkhi, and open to public.



Figure 65 Collections of ancient Phra Rod votive tablets at the temple museum

Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 68: Phra Rod
Luang

Source: The researcher,
2018



Figure 64 Phra
Prakobboon Siriyano
collected ancient artifacts
found at the temple

Source: The researcher,
2018

14. Wat Phra Yuen

(M)

Wat Phra Yuen mean a temple with a standing Buddha image. It is located about 1 kilometer from Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai. According to the legend, it is Arunyikramanaram temple that is ordered to build by Queen Chammathevi to be a temple of the Buddhaprakarn on the east of the city. Mon stone inscription of Phaya Sapphasit which was found at the abandoned Don Kaew temple recorded that Phaya Sapphasit and his two sons were ordained as Buddhist monks at Arunyikramanaram temple. Moreover, the Mullasasana mentioned Phaya Dhamma Mikarat of Hariphunchai, a son of King Adittaraj who built Phrathat Hariphunchai, built a standing Buddha image for the temple. It has 9 meters tall and was enshrined in the niche on the east side of a Mondhop.

An ancient inscription of Wat Phra Yuen was found on northwest at the base of the principal chetiya is a significant source for telling the history of the temple and Buddhism in Lan Na period. It was named as LP38 and has 90 centimeters tall, 55 centimeters wide and 10.5 centimeters thick. It was inscripted on both sides with early form of Thai scripts in Sukhothai period. In 2005, the Fine Arts Department removed it 10 meters away from its original setting and placed it on a concrete base inside a large glass display cabinet. Later, it was national registered in 2015 to be Memory of the World under UNESCO Memory of the World Program.

The inscription of Wat Phra Yuen mentioned Phaya Kue Na (1355 - 1385), the sixth king of Lan Na, invited Phra Sumana Thera from Sukhothai

to visit Chiang Mai in order to promote pure Dhamma and Buddhism of Lanka Wongsā. Phra Sumana Thera was asked by the king to stay at Wat Phra Yuen in Hariphunchai for a couple of nights before reaching Chiang Mai. The thera preferred to stay at the temple longer for restoration this ancient temple. He stayed at Wat Phra Yuen for three years, from 1370 to 1373, before he moved to Chiang Mai. Phaya Kue Na supported the thera to restore and develop the temple. He also ordered to build three more standing Buddha images and placed each image in a niche on the north, south, and west of the ancient mondhop in the temple.

After the temple was abandoned for a long period during Lan Na - Burmese war, the ruler of Lamphun who is Prince Inthayongyotchot (1895 - 1911) restored the temple in 1900. He reshaped the mondhop to be a principal chetiya in a prasart or castle shape which has the influence from Burmese-Pagan architectural style. The four standing Buddha images were also restored and they have a final form with Lan Na art influence. Other ancient remains and artifacts were discovered during an archaeological excavation by the Fine Arts Department in 2005, including a base of arokeyasala, a round base of chetiya, remains of laterite wall in Hariphunchai period, terracottas and stucco Buddha images, and votive tablets.

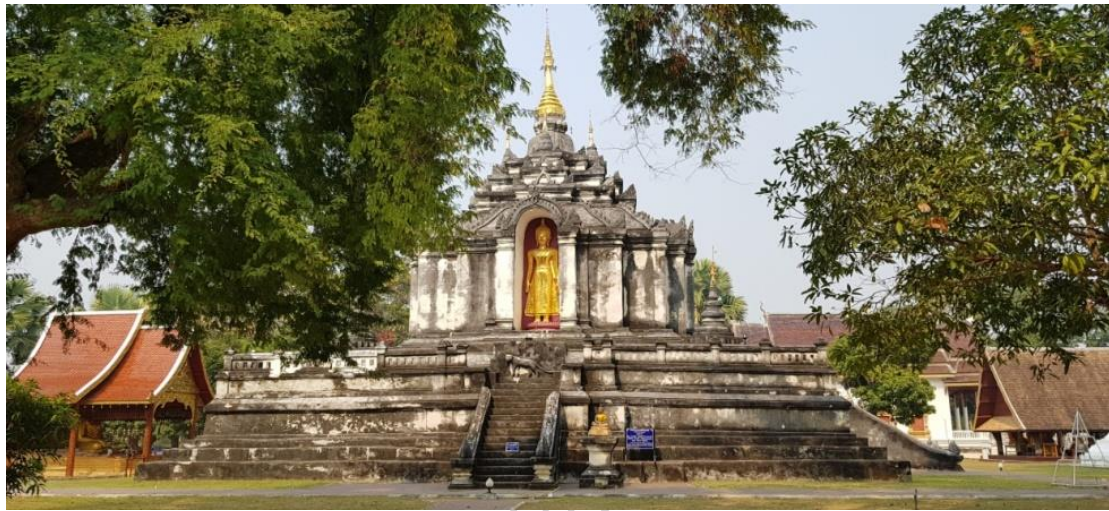


Figure 66 The principal chetiya of a prasart or castle shape at Wat Phra Yuen

Source: Source: The researcher, 2018

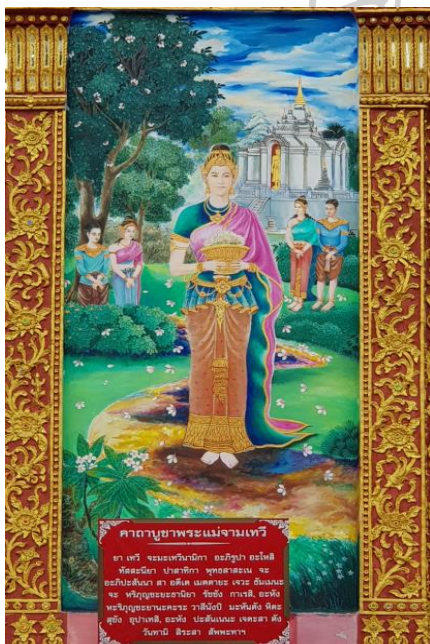


Figure 68 Mural painting on the wall facing the principal chetiya depicted the scene of Queen Chammathevi paid homage to the chetiya

Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 67 The ancient stone inscription of Wat Phra Yuen was enshrined in the small building next to the principal chetiya

Source: The researcher, 2018

15. Wat San Pa Yang Luang

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The temple was located on the northeast of the city, outside the city's moat and wall, and has 1.5 kilometers away from Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai. It was mentioned on the legend with the name of Wat Malukawaram and Wat Arphattanaram which was a monastery that Queen Chammathevi always visited and practiced Dhamma. The queen also established a royal tomb in the temple's compound. The Mullasasana recorded that after the queen passed away, her remain was cremated at the temple. Moreover, the legend mentioned after King Anantayasa, the younger son of Queen Chammathevi, passed away and was cremated, his relics were kept at this temple's royal tomb.

The temple has interesting legend because its location was formerly used as a Hindu shrine, even before the establishment of Hariphunchai. This location was a center for Khmer villagers to have worship practices in Hinduism to their gods and goddesses. Some ancient artifacts of Hinduism gods' terracottas sculptures were found here during restorations of the temple. A masterpiece artifact of Ganesh sitting on the rat Mushika from the temple was currently displayed at Hariphunchai National Museum.

The temple's legend depicted that the Hindu shrine was transformed to be a Buddhist temple by three Burmese monks in 531. The monks brought holy relics of two Arhats Sariputta and Moggallana from India to enshrine in the principal stupa at the temple, and they named this place as

Wat Khom Lamphong. The name was changed to be Wat Malukawararam and Wat Arphattanaram in the period of Queen Chammathevi, and it was changed again to be Wat San Pa Yang Luang in the modern day according to a lot of Yang Trees used to grow in the temple's area.

Nowadays, all ancient Buddhist buildings at the temple were replaced by new buildings which were decorated with outstanding and elaborated craved stuccos. Phra Khong Khiao Wiharn was a main building at the temple enshrined a jade Buddha image sitting in a lotus position meditation. The jade Buddha image was placed on the upper part of the Mondhop above a bigger bronze Buddha image. The jade which was a material for carving a jade Buddha image of Phra Khong Khiao was originally from the Khong River.

Several ancient artifacts which were discovered at the temple were displayed at the Phra Khong Khiao Wiharn, especially groups of ancient votive tablets were framed and hung on the wiharn's walls and pillars. Some of these votive tables are from 7th to 11th century and they were made in northeastern region of India, Sri Ksetra of Burma, Pagan and Bago of Burma, Dvaravati, and Hariphunchai Kingdom.

Figure 69 Phra Khong Khiao Wiharn
Source: The researcher, 2019



Figure 71 Phra Khong Khiao was enshrined above the bronze Buddha image
Source: [https://hiveminer.com/ User/touronthai/Timeline](https://hiveminer.com/User/touronthai/Timeline)



Figure 70
Collections of ancient votive tablet were displayed at Phra Khong Khiao Wiharn
Source: The researcher, 2018

16. Ku Chang and Ku Ma



Ku Chang and Ku Ma are ancient stupas and they were located in the same compound on northeast side of the city. The historic site of Ku Chang and Ku Ma has only 1.2 kilometers away from Wat San Pa Yang Luang. The other two ancient remains in the same compound of Ku Chang and Ku Maew are Ku Maew, and Ku Kai. Thus, this area was named as a graveyard of animals from Hariphunchai period.

- Ku Chang

Ku Chang is believed to be a burial site of Phu Kam Nga Kieao which is a war elephant of Queen Chammathevi. It is an auspicious male elephant that deities sent to protect Queen Chammathevi and to help her in battles with enemies. It came to the Queen from Doi Ang Salung or Doi Chiang Down since it was a young elephant. When it grew up, it appeared to have a massive body size and a couple of long tusks in dark green. These tusks can release red beam and bright ray once they reflect the sunlight, and the beam and ray can create intense heat to burn everything that are placed in front of the tusks.

Prince Mahantayasa and Prince Anantayasa, the twin sons of Queen Chammathevi, rode on the back of Phu Kam Nga Kieaw to the battle field with Lua King Milakkha and troops of Lua indigenous people. Phu Kam Nga Kieaw used his supernatural power from its tusks to frighten Lua soldiers and to flee them away from Hariphunchai. After the elephant

passed away, its remains were buried in the stupa. The stupa was built in a tall cylindrical shape to cover its supernatural tusks that were placed vertically. By placing them vertically, the tusks were pointed up to the sky and cannot release red beam and bright ray to harm people on the ground.

Ku Chang was made from bricks and plaster in a cylindrical shape with primitive characteristics of plain and undecorated style. It was placed on five tiers of round shape basement. It has 13 meters high from the ground with a diameter of 3.40 meters. The top part of stupa has a round flat floor with a diameter of 1 meter, and it was encompassed with a brick wall of 1.20 meters high. Archaeologists mentioned the top part of the stupa resembled the top part of circumambulation area on the top of Dhamek Stupa in Sarnath, Varanasi. They also have ideas that the shape of stupa was like a shape of Shiva linga and the top part of the stupa could be used as an area for Shiva Abhisekkham or a ritual to drip liquid offerings onto the lingam.

The stupa also resembled three cylindrical stupas in Myanmar, including Baw Baw Gyi Stupa, Phayagyi Stupa, and Phayamar Stupa. These stupas were built by Pyu tribes in the ancient kingdom of Sri Ksetra which had a settlement in the middle part of Irrawaddy River basin. The architectural style of cylindrical stupas in Sri Ksetra Kingdom might have influences over Ku Chang of Hariphunchai because of cultural exchange between Sri Ksetra (3rd - 9th century) and Hariphunchai Kingdom (7th - 13th century). Furthermore, Ku Chang appeared to be the only ancient cylindrical stupa in Thailand. The annual ceremony for worshipping the

deity at Ku Chang and Ku Ma is held on 17th of April, in front of the stupas and a shrine in the site.

- Ku Ma

Ku Ma is claimed to be a burial site of a war horse of Queen Chammathevi. It was located on the north of Ku Chang and has distance from Ku Chang around 15 meters. It was a brick and plaster stupa in Lanka style bell-shaped chetiya. The archaeological excavation by the Fine Arts Department in 1980 - 1983 at Ku Chang and Ku Ma discovered a brick with Lan Na inscriptions that can help date the stupa to be built around 14th - 15th century or during Lan Na Kingdom (13th - 19th century).

There are other two ancient sites in the same area of Ku Chang and Ku Ma Historical site, including Ku Maew and Ku Kai. Ku Maew was a pile of bricks and ancient ruins close to Ku Chang. It was told by local people that it was a burial site of a cat. However, local scholars mentioned it might be a burial site of a Queen Chammathevi's guardian monkey or Kakawanorn. Besides this, there is an ancient brick stupa located 300 meters from Ku Chang, next to the monastery of Wat Kai Kaew. It was believed to be a burial site of a white rooster or Petakukuta. The Mullasasana mentioned Petakukuta as an auspicious rooster of Hariphunchai during the reign of King Adittaraja. It was killed by a Lavo deity and its remains were buried in a stupa of Ku Kai. Ku Kai is a bell-shaped stupa inside octagonal frame. This architectural style of chetiya is popular during Lan Na period.



Figure 73 Cylindrical shape stupa of Ku Chang
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 72 Lanka style bell-shaped chetiya of Ku Ma
Source: The researcher, 2018

17. Wat Doi Ti



The monastery has 5 kilometers away from the Lamphun Town Hall and it was settled on a small hill by highway no. 11 or Chiang Mai - Lampang Highway. There is a giant bronze statue of the Reverend Khru Ba Sriwichai was placed in front of the monastery. The statue was completely built in 2012 to commemorate Khru Ba Sriwichai who was like a holy saint of Lan Na. It represented the Khru Ba in sitting meditation position and it has 21 meters high and 18 meters wide of base.

Religious buildings like the chetiya and the wiharn were established on the higher ground behind the statue of the Khru Ba Sriwichai. The chetiya was ordered to build by King Tilokkarat of Lan Na in 1482, while the wiharn next to the chetiya is the place to enshrine the Buddha image name Kitti which was believed to be built in Hariphunchai period. Other ancient artifacts in Hariphunchai period like votive tablets were discovered in the temple's area helped support the belief that the temple was also built since Hariphunchai period or it was built around 672.

The shrine of sages was appeared on the lower ground on the southwest of the wiharn. There are several sizes of the stucco statues of sages at the shrine. The principal statue is the figure of the sage Vasudeva. The local history or tamnan of Queen Chammathevi mentioned Wat Doi Ti was an original habitation of the sage Vasudeva. While he stayed here he observed a giant bird flied over his place and there was a baby was captured in its claws. He saved the baby by firing his magical beam to hurt

the bird until it released the baby and dropped her in a lake near his place. Fortunately, a baby girl was dropped on a lotus flower and the sage used his handheld fan to pick her up. He named her as Baby Vi and raised her until she became a teenager. The villagers didn't feel comfortable to see the sage stayed close to a young girl and considered as it was a scandal. They blamed him or 'Ti' in Thai word. Later, he sent a young Vi to be a princess Chammathevi of Lavo because he was afraid of blaming. Therefore, the name of Wat Doi Ti came from the word of 'Ti' which means blaming.



Figure 74 Giant statue of the Khru Ba Sriwichai located in front of Wat Doi Ti

Source: <http://www.lamphun.go.th>



Figure 76 Phra Buddaroop Kitti
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 75 Statue of
Sage Vasudeva
Source: The
researcher, 2018



Figure 77 Several
figures of Hindu
gods and sages at
the shrine
Source: The
researcher, 2018

18. Thai Elephant Conservation Center (TECC)

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Thai Elephant Conservation Center (TECC) was located in Wiang Tan Subdistrict, Hang Chat District of Lampang or between km 28 - 29 on Chiang Mai - Lampang Highway. Its location was in the natural forest of Khun Tan Mountain and was adjacent to Thung Kwian Forest Plantation of The Forest Industry Organization of Thailand (FIO). It was found in 1993 by FIO to replace a training center for baby elephants at Ban Pang La, Ngao District of Lampang. TECC became a center for supporting and finding solutions for unemployed mahouts and their elephant after the logging industry was banned in 1989 by the Thai Government. Later, the late Princess Galyani Vadhana received TECC and its sister organization of the National Elephant Institute under Royal Patronage in 2002.

Elephant is a national symbolic animal of Thailand because of its significance in association with ancient Thai history and Thai rulers. According to the legend of Queen Chammathevi, the queen had an auspicious elephant named Phu Kam Nga Kieaw. She asked guardian deities of Hariphunchai to send it to protect her and her twin sons from dangers in the battle with Lua troops. The deities sent a young wild elephant from Doi Ang Salung or Doi Chiang Down to Hariphunchai. There was only a queen that can tame and train the elephant. When the elephant grew up, it appeared to have a massive body size and a couple of long tusks in dark green. These tusks can release red beam and bright ray once they reflect the sunlight, and the beam and ray can create intense heat to burn

everything that are placed in front of the tusks. It helped Prince Mahantayasa and Prince Anantayasa, the twin sons of Queen Chammathevi, to conquer the battle with Lua King, King Milakkha and his armies.

Phu Kam Nga Kieaw was mentioned in local histories or tamnan in Lampang as a riding animal for Queen Chammathevi when she traveled to visit Prince Anantayasa at Khelang Nagara. There is high possibility that the queen traveled with Phu Kam Nga Kieaw and used a travel route over Khun Tan Mountain to connect Hariphunchai and Khelang Nagara. There are local histories of place names that involved with the tamnan of Queen Chammathevi along the route from Mae Tha District of Lamphun, Hang Chat District and Kho Ka District of Lampang. Remains of ancient towns in Hariphunchai period and ancient religious monuments which were built by Queen Chammathevi were discovered in Wiang Tan Subdistrict and Muang Yaow Subdistrict of Hang Chat District of Lampang.

Phu Kam Nga Kieaw is an example of wild elephant that was trained and transformed to be a domesticated elephant following the traditional ritual in Asia to tame and train elephants. There is one of activities of Thai Elephant Conservation Center that aimed to train elephants for using in logging business and show. TECC has six main objectives concern with Thai elephant conservation and reproduction, including;

1. to provide elephant health care and welfare service by establishing Elephant Nursery Center, Elephant Hospital, and Royal Elephant Stable,
2. to manage elephant reproduction by establishing Elephant Breeding Center and initiating Artificial Insemination Project,

3. to solve problems for unemployed elephants or those involved in inappropriate works,

4. to train elephants and disseminate knowledge about elephants and local tradition by establishing Mahout and Thai Elephant Training School,

5. to supply elephant food by initiating Medical Herb and Elephant Fodder Project, and

6. to utilize elephants in eco-tourism.

Currently, there are about 50 elephants stayed at TECC while the number of elephants in Thailand is about 2,700 to 3,000 including domesticated and wild elephants. Elephants and their mahouts at TECC have their duties in promoting eco-tourism and offering educational activities to visitors. The highlight activity is a 40 minutes show from different ages of both male and female elephants. The show includes traditional logging techniques, elephant painting pictures, elephant's orchestra, and elephant bathing in the river. There are three shows a day on every day, including the show at 10.00, 11.00, and 13.30. After the show, visitors can visit Elephant Hospital and nursery area, the Dung Paper Factory, and can enjoy the elephant riding and trekking ride. TECC also offered home stay accommodations and bungalows at Chang Thai Resort, together with tourist facilities like restaurants and souvenir shops for visitors who joined the Mahout Training Course to handle and care for elephants and learn mahouts' way of life.

TECC goes beyond the tourist attraction by developing itself to set a new standard for elephant training by introducing the world's first An

Elephant Care Manual for mahouts. It was translated into English, Laotian, and Japanese. The center has a good record for natural breeding rate on elephants by having two baby elephants a year. It was the first elephant sanctuary outside USA and Europe that successfully produced an artificial insemination or A.I. elephant in 2007. The A.I. was named as Phlai Pathomsomphob by the late His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej. Moreover, TECC promoted understanding on the management of Thai elephant which was formerly blamed by the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animal (PETA) as a mistreatment of animal. TECC ensured that the center cared for unemployed mahouts and elephants because without using them for tourism industry, the mahouts will have no mean and cannot afford to care for their elephants.

Special events at TECC were introduced to attract more tourists, including the Wedding Ceremony on Elephant on every February 14th, Thai Elephant National Day on every March 13th, and the Great Legend of Thai Elephant during February 3rd - 5th.



Figure 78 The entrance of Thai Elephant Conservation Center
Source: <http://www.lampanglocal.go.th>



Figure 79 The elephant show
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 80 The elephant
bathing show
Source: The researcher,
2018



Figure 81 Elephants at the Elephant Hospital
Source: The researcher, 2018

19. Wiang Tan Historical Site



The historical site was at Wiang Tan Subdistrict, Hang Chat District of Lampang. It was located on the west of Lampang town and has distance from the town for 40 kilometers by traveling on highway no. 11 and changing to route no. 1039. The site has 80.6 acres and was located in the teak forest. In 1969, Sak Rattanachai who is a local scholar joined with archaeologists from Silpakorn University for surveying the site. They found that the town of Wiang Tan was encompassed with ancient moat and earthen wall and was located on the east of Tan River. There were five historical remains inside the town's wall, including;

1. a remain of basement in rectangular shape on the gourd behind Phaya Boek's monument,
2. a well with diameter of 90 centimeters and has 2 meters to 2.50 meters deep,
3. a remain of basement in rectangular shape on a small hill which was named as Wat Kok Chum,
4. a remain of basement in rectangular shape on a small hill which was named as Wat Lak Hin, and
5. a remain of basement in rectangular shape of 5 x 10 meters wide and 1 meter high which was named as Tan Chang Peuk.

There were other three historical remains were found outside the town's wall, including a sacred place for worshipping city guardian deities which was named as Yang Ka-tuk, a prison which was called Tung Ta-kok, and a pond for royal elephant bathing or Nong Arb Chang. Several potsherds, stoneware, earthenware, terracottas roof tiles were found at this historical site.

Wiang Tan was a town and an intermediate stop between Hariphunchai and Khelang Nagara which was located on the foot of Khun Tan Mountain. Tamnan Phrathat Lampang Luang mentioned Queen Chammathevi stayed at Wiang Tan and spent her time at this place to prepare a golden tier umbrella for placing at the top of Phrathat Lampang Luang chetiya. She also stayed at Wiang Tan before she returned to Hariphunchai.

The town became an outpost of Khelang Nagara during the war with Phaya Mangrai. In 1292, Phaya Mangrai of Lan Na conquered Hariphunchai from Phaya Yiba (1282 - 1292) who was the last king of Chammathevi Dynasty. Phaya Yiba fled to Khelang Nagara which was ruled by his son, Phaya Boek. Phaya Boek fought with Phaya Mangrai's troops for several times until he was lost the battle with Phaya Chaisongkham, a son of Phaya Mangrai. Phaya Yiba fled again from Khelang Nagara to stay with the ruler of Pithsanulok City. Phaya Chaisongkham put Phaya Boek to death by buried him alive at a hill on Khun Tan Mountain. According to Phaya Boek's bravery, people honored him to be a local hero and he was worshipped as a god 'Chao Por Khun

Tan' who spiritually protect Khun Tan Mountain, and Lanpang and Lamphun. There is a shrine of Chao Por Khun Tan at km 38 of Highway no. 11 and another one was placed in front of the entrance of Khun Tan Tunnel at Khun Tan Railway Station.

Wiang Tan Historical Site was developed and promoted to be a tourist attraction and a sacred place of Wiang Tan communities by Wiang Tan Subdistrict Administrative Organization. The local organization improved physical elements on the landscape of the historical site by building the monument of Phaya Boek riding on a war horse as a focal spot and it was encompassed with pavilions on three sides. There were facilities like an exhibition room at a pavilion and restrooms provided for visitors. A special event to commemorate Phaya Boek and history of Wiang Tan was held on every May 12th. An exhibition about Lan Na swords and ancient weapons was a highlight that associated with the history of the warrior like Phaya Boek and the history of the outpost town like Wiang Tan.



Figure 82 The monument of Phaya Boek riding on a war horse
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 83 The ancient well
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 84
Basement at ancient temple
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 85 Commemoration ceremony to Phaya Boek on 12th Nov of every year
Source: <http://info.dla.go.th>

20. Dapmuang Sword Smith Village



Three small Lan Na blade-smith factories and shops were located at Kham Dang Village, Moo 6, Hang Chat District of Lampang. The first one is belong to Buntan Sitthipaisan or Kor Neaw, the second one is belong to Buntan Kaewsameorjai or Por Tan, and the third one is belong to Praphan Kaewmai or Sala Tan. They are a group of sword makers who conserved traditional techniques to create ancient design of dapmuang or Lan Na sword to sell in Thailand for the collectors and also export to several countries such as Japan, Germany, France, and Switzerland. The Dapmuang from Kham Dang Village was a handicraft that has high quality and could be sold in high price.

The dapmuang is a single-edged blade sword and a round handle with 50 centimeters to 1 meter long. It has subtle curved and has light weight. The word of dapmuang came from a Burmese word 'dha' which means a blade which is for warriors. The dha seems to be used predominantly by two broad ethnic groupings in Southeast Asia, the Tibeto-Burman peoples (for example, the Burman, Kachin and Karen), and the Tai-Kadai peoples (for example, the Thai, Lao and Shan)¹⁹⁶. The dapmuang was a part of Lan Na people's life because it was use in warfare,

¹⁹⁶ Greaves, I. A., Bowditch, M. I. & Winston, A. Y. (n.d.). *The Swords of Continental Southeast Asia*. Retrieved from <http://www.arscives.com/historysteel/continentalsea.article.htm>

ritual and ceremony. It also was a symbol of Lan Na brave men and a symbol of social status.

Kham Dang Village used to be a center for producing and trading Dapmuang and other knives across Thailand. Good quality steel for sword making was brought from local sources such as Long District of Phrae Province, Muang On of Nan Province, Mae Jam District of Chiang Mai, and Muang Ton and Muang Nong of Shan State in Myanmar¹⁹⁷. Buntan Sithipaisan reported that there were around ninety forges in the village in the past because some families produced Lan Na sword with craftsmanship and some of them produced agricultural knives. Later, the products from Kham Dang Village became less popular than products from modern knife factories, Kham Dang villagers turned to work at the furniture factory close to the village and there was a few people do blade smithing.

Buntan Sithipaisan who is around 68 years old, was interested in producing Dapmuang since he was young. He learned techniques of blade-smith from Dang Kaew-Kham or Por Noi Aoot of Kham Dang Village. After that, he experimented in Dapmuang making until he became an expert and a trainer for others. He gathered craftsmen in Dapmuang making and supported them in conservation of Lampang swords wisdom. He and his group of sword makers could manage the knowledge of swording making into eight processes which were needed an expert of each process to handle, including forging, hammering, shaping and sharpening, crafting

¹⁹⁷ Chuchee, Y. & Punyarvuttrakul, W. (2018). *Proust of Dapmueng Identity Creation of Lampang*. Mekong-Salween Civilization Study Journal, Vol 9. No. 1.

the handle and sheath, weaving rattan on the handle and weaving shoulder strap from cotton, covering with lacquer, silversmith, and assembling Dapmuang.

Another Dapmuang conservation practice was initiated in 2013 by Phra Palad Kajornsak Thammawaro, the abbot of Wat Don Chai at Ban Lao Village. He established the Museum of Ancient Weapons of Lampang which was located around 4 kilometers from Kham Dang Village. The museum comprised of two Lan Na wooden houses as an exhibition place for various kinds and styles of Dapmuang, and a place for demonstration and distribution knowledge of Dapmuang making processes to young generations. Later, this museum was supported by Department of Tourism in Lampang, Lampang Cultural Council, and Wiang Tan Subdistrict Administrative Organization to be a tourist attraction and a learning center and cultural center for the community.

In 2014, the Dapmuang Conservation Group of Wat Pong Sanuk of Lampang initiated the event of The Spirit of Weapons of Nakhon Lampang in order to promote the awareness of conservation of Lan Na swords and weapons at Pong Sanuk Temple in Muang District of Lampang. The Dapmuang conservation was developed to be a show of sword fighting and sword dances by group of young generations in the province. These shows of Dapmuang were promoted in several cultural events in Lampang and other northern provinces in Thailand.



Figure 88 A parade of the Spirit of Weapons of Nakhon Lampang
Source: www.oknation.nation.tv



Figure 87 The Museum of Ancient Weapons of Lampang and collections of ancient Lan Na blade or dapmuang
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 86 Mr. Buntan Sitthipaisan or Kor Neaw and his dapmuang factory
Source: <http://www.lannapost.net>

21. Wat Tham Khum Sap Chammathevi

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The monastery was located at Moo 5, Mai Pattana Sub-district, Kho Kha District of Lampang. It has 10 kilometers from Hang Chat District. It used to be an abandoned monastery in the remote area which was surrounded by a forest. In 2011, a Buddhist monk, Phra Rattanakit Apiphunno, visited this place and restored it to be a temple for a community. During the temple's restoration and landscape renovation, the monk discovered a pair of Lord Buddha's footprints was craved on the natural laterite floor on the southeast of the main vihara.

In 2012, Phra Rattanakit Apiphunno invited a director of the Fine Art Office 7, Nan Province, to have an on-site inspection of the temple and the Buddha's footprints. They found the footprints has 2.4 meters long, the upper part has 1.10 meter wide and the lower part has 72 centimeters wide. There are a high relief of the conch shell on each toe and a high relief of the Wheel of Dhammachakka in the middle of each footprint. There is a small cave with a two-way entrance underneath the footprints.

The features of the footprints at Wat Tham Khum Sap Chammathevi and its auspicious marks of conch shell and the Wheel of Dhammachakka resembled the Buddha's footprints at Sa Morakot, Si Mahosot Archaeological Site of Prachinburi Province. The Sa Morakot footprints were dated in the 7th - 9th century of Dvaravati period and it was an evidence of Dvaravati civilization in the East. The director of the Fine Art

Office 7 Nan Province assumed that the Buddha's footprints at Wat Tham Khum Sap Chammathevi might be created in the same period of the Sa Morakot Buddha's footprints¹⁹⁸.

According to an oral history about Wat Tham Khum Sap Chammathevi which was told by the abbot, Phra Chanameth Atateepo, the temple used to be a religious site of Queen Chammathevi. In 1515, during the war between Khelang Nagara and Ayutthaya's troops by the king Somdet Phra Ramathibodi II, the site was became a place for burying some treasures and some Buddha images of Khelang Nagara. The abbot reported that there was a golden Lord Buddha image in meditation posture was found during temple's renovation. Its base has 7 inches wide. It was buried under a laterite plate which was located 20 meters away from the Buddha's footprints. Later, there was a family returned another golden Buddha images in meditation posture and has its base of 9 inches wide to the temple. The family informed that it was found in the natural pond in the temple's area 20 years ago.

Although, the oral history about Wat Tham Khum Sap Chammathevi could not fully support the authenticity and antiquity of the place, the Buddha's footprints should be urgently conserved and studied for its age. The footprints could be the only monument of Dvaravati Buddhist art in Lampang.

¹⁹⁸ Assananan, S. (2018). *The Discover of the Golden Buddha Image at Wat Tham Khum Sap* (พบพระพุทธรูปทองคำโผล่วัดถ้ำขุมทรัพย์ อ. เกาะตา). Retrieved from <https://www.konmeungnuea.com/3072/>



Figure 89 Golden Buddha's image found at the temple

Source: <https://www.konmeungnuea.com>



Figure 90 The Buddha's footprints at Wat Tham Khum Sap Chammathevi
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 91 A small cave underneath the Buddha's footprints
Source: The researcher, 2018

22. Wat Pong Yang Kok

(T)

The temple was located at Pong Yang Kok Village, Hang Chat District of Lampang. It was 14 kilometers from Hang Chat District Office, via Highway no. 11 and Route no. 1039 of Hang Chat - Kho Kha Road. Local history and the Tamnan Phrathat Lampang Luang mentioned the temple was ordered to build by Queen Chammathevi in the 8th century.

The Queen travelled to the site during her trip from Wiang Tan to pay homage and offer a golden tier umbrella for placing at the top of Phrathat Lampang Luang chetiya. When the queen and her followers reached the site, her elephant with a golden tier umbrella on its back stopped walking, knelt down on four legs, and raised its trunk in a gesture of salutation. The queen made her decision to set up a camp to stay overnight at this place. In the nighttime, she observed a crystal ball flied from a termite mound at the site and she realized that it was a holy relic. Then she ordered to build a stupa to cover the termite mound and built a wiharn to shelter the stupa. The site received a place name as Pong Chang Nop which means the place where the elephant paid respect. Later, the place name was distorted to be Pong Yang Kok.

The wiharn for housing a stupa that was believed to be built by Queen Chammathevi was survived until the modern day. It was called as the Queen Chammathevi's Wiharn or Wiharn Phra Mae Chao Chammathevi. It was received a series of restoration since the last restoration was given in 1732 or during the period of Nan Thip Chang. It

was built in traditional Lan Na construction plan of open sided wooden building with only its rear part that was covered with brick walls. It was a small building with 7.5 meters in width, 15.2 in length, a 8.5 meters in height. It had a Lan Na three tiers roof structure which was supported by crossbeams and thick teak pillars. This roof structure was called as Mah Tang Mai because it resembled a structure of loading ramp on a horseback for silk trading in the ancient time. The roof of the wiharn was covered with terracotta tiles. The ground area around the building was a sandy court.

There was a plaster arch shrine placed at the rear part of the wiharn. The top part of the shrine was pyramidal shape and it was decorated with local Lan Na style of naga stuccos. A stucco of principal Buddha image in subduing Mara position was placed inside the shrine. The mural paintings behind the arch shrine was consisted of a big Bodhi tree image and deities were holding chatra or umbrella and flower bouquets while they were showing respect to the Lord Buddha.

The wooden beams, pillars, and interior frieze panels of the Queen Chammathevi's Wiharn were decorated with Lan Na lacquering technique. This interior decorative technique is called in another term as Lai Kham which is a gilded technique with gold leaf applied to lacquer surfaces and painted the background with red or black. The designs of Lai Kham on the rough walls of this wiharn are outstanding and authentic with images of Buddhas in previous kalpas or Buddha from several periods and patterns of a flower vase called Puranagata. The Puranagata is a symbol of auspicious meanings, including a growth of life and creation, fertility, and

treasures. Others Lai Kham designs of flowers, leaves, and geometric patterns were appeared around teak pillars and other wooden parts.

Other ancient monuments at the Queen Chammathevi's Wiharn are an elephant shrine and a pulpit. The elephant shrine was a small brick and mortar building with a rectangular floor plan and arch roof was placed on the opposite side of the entrance of the wiharn. It was a building which was built to commemorate the Queen Chammathevi's elephant. Another ancient monument is a pulpit which was placed inside the wiharn. The pulpit has a foot which made of brick and plaster and the top part is a wooden box with a wider rim.

The story of Wat Pong Yang Kok was appeared again in the history of Lan Na and associated with a Lampang and Lan Na local hero named Nan Thip Chang (1674 - 1759). The temple was a place where Nan Thip Chang was ordained as a Buddhist monk and studied Buddhism during Lan Na was ruled by Burma. After he left the monkhood, he became a leader of a group of 300 Lampang people to fight against a corrupt Burmese ruler named Thao Mahayot who was a royal envoy of Burmese king. He had a battle with Thoa Mahayot and Burmese soldiers at Wat Pong Yang Kok and he left a trace of sword fighting on an exterior wooden frieze panel on the right side of the Queen Chammathevi's Wiharn. Later, Nan Thip Chang assassinated Thao Mahayot by a gunshot when the Burmese ruler stayed at Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang. After that, Nan Thip Chang was authorized by the Burmese king to be a ruler of Lampang to replace Thao Mahayot.

He ruled Lampang as Phraya Sulawa Ruechai Songkram and his lineages became seven rulers or Chao Jed Ton of Lan Na after the Burmese rule.





Figure 92 Front and open sided of wooden building of the Queen Chammathevi's Wiharn

Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 96 Lai Kham and patterns of Figure 95 Ku Chang Nop, an elephant's shrine

Source: The researcher, 2018

Source: The researcher. 2018

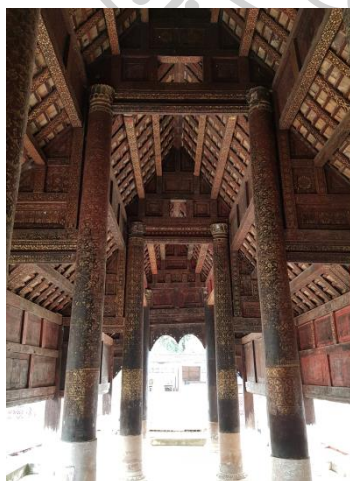


Figure 94 Mah Tang Mai roof structure

Source: The researcher, 2018

Figure 93 Stupa or Ku Phra Chao

Source: The researcher, 2018

23. Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang

(T)

The temple was situated 20 kilometers on the southwest of Lampang town, at Lampang Luang Sub-district, Kho Kha District. Visitors can travel from the town to the temple by Route no. 1 to Kho Kha District and then turn to Route no. 5006. The temple was signified as a center of ancient town of Wiang Phrathat Lampang Luang and the town has another name as Alampang Nagara. Alampang Nagara was ordered to build by King Anantayasa, the younger son of Queen Chammathevi. The town was built for being a residence of the queen because the king wanted her to stay close to him while he ruled Khelang Nagara or Lampang in the modern day.

The temple was built on a small man-made mound of earth and looked like a fortress that guarded the route to enter Khelang Nagara. It was an ancient temple which was well-preserved to have its original features, although it was received a series of restoration from several rulers since Lan Na period. It was continuously used as a sacred place and was looked after by all generations of villagers from Lampang Luang Village.

Legend of Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang was recored in the Tamnan Phrathat Lampang Luang which related to the Lord Buddha's visitation and prediction about the site of temple. The Lord Buddha met a local people named Lua Ai Kon. He received honey in a bamboo cylinder and some bael fruits from Lua Ai Kon. After the Lord Buddha finished having honey, he threw a bamboo cylinder to the north. When the cylinder dropped on the

ground, he gave a prediction that this site would become a town named Alampang Nagara. He also gave his hair relic to Lua Ai Kon. After that Lua Ai Kon enshrined the hair relic in a golden casket, buried the casket, covered it with a stupa with 3.5 meters tall, and named the stupa as Phrathat Lampang Luang. Later, a monk Kasapa Thera brought the Buddha's relic of the right part of forehead and a monk Mekhiya Thera brought the Buddha's relics of the front and back parts of the neck to the temple and enshrined them in the chetiya.

The layout of the temple represented a perfect pattern of Buddhist cosmology which consisted of the Phrathat Lampang Luang cetiya as the Mouth Sumeru or a center of the universe, the surrounding wiharn buildings as four continents at east, west, north, and south. Moreover, all monuments have their bases on a sandy court which represented a great ocean called Nathi Si Thandorn. The temple walls on four sides were built in the form of a large clear cloister or the Sala Baat which represented a Cakavala wall at the edge of the universe.

There are seven outstanding religious monuments at the Buddhawas or sacred zone of the temple and some buildings at the Sangkhawas or monastery. The religious monuments at Buddhawas are the arch gate, the Phrathat Lampang Luang cetiya, the main wiharn or Wiharn Luang, the Wiharn Phra Buddha, the Wiharn Nam Tam, the Wiharn Lavo, and the Soom Phrabaht. Two important buildings at the Sangkhawa are the Kuti Phra Kaew and the museum. Another ancient monument was Queen Chammathevi's well which was located at the back of the temple.

- The arch gate

It was a brick and plaster arch gate with the step pyramidal structure of on the top. The step pyramidal structure was decorated with stuccos of mythical creatures, florals and faunas of Himavanta forest. It was built in 1476 by craftsmen from Lan Na royal court during the reign of King Tilokarat (1441 - 1487).

The arch gate has similar architecture and function of a gopuram or an entrance tower to a Hindu temple. It was an entrance and the boundary between an earthly world and a sacred spiritual world. The earthly world was connected to the arched gate by a stairway with a stucco of makara, or a mythical animal like a dragon, releasing a naga, or a mythical serpent, from its mouth. The stucco of these mythical animals was placed on each side of stairway's balustrades. There were also sculptures of mythical guardian lion on the bottom of each side of the stairway.

Archaeologists and scholars mentioned the arch gate of Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang was the authentic Lan Na architecture and artworks. It was used as a provincial symbol of Lampang. It was also a model for other arched gates of several ancient Lan Na temples.

- The Phrathat Lampang Luang chetiya

The principal chetiya was a large bell-shaped stupa with 45 meters tall. The latest architecture style of the chetiya was restored by Chao Muen Han Tae Tong, the Lampang ruler, during the period of King Tilokarat

(1441 - 1487). The chetiya's style was a mixture between Lan Na art and Sukhothai art. Lan Na art appeared on a structure of multi lotus pedestals placed on multi layers square bases. Sukhothai art was shown on a bell-shape body which resembled the bell facing down. The upper part of the chetiya was a slender form of a conical spire with a golden tiered umbrella on the top. The body of the chetiya was covered with copper and bronze sheets or Thong Changko plates which was an original decorative style for chetiyas in Lan Na.

- Wiharn Luang or the main wiharn

It was a large size of an assemble hall with 17 meters wide and 36 meters long. It was situated on the east of the principal cetiya. It was built by a Lampang ruler named Chao Muen Kham Pek in 1476. It has a construction plan of with a three tiers roof structure which was shouldered by beams and sturdy columns. The wiharn's structure was placed on 75 centimeters high of brick and mortar foundation¹⁹⁹. The entrance of the wiharn was connected to the the walk way from the entrance of the arched gate. The frieze panels of the wiharn were decorated with dust color paintings which depicted the stories of Ten Incarnations of the Lord Buddha and his Dhamma teachings.

¹⁹⁹ Pindavanija, P. (2003). *The Study of Architectural Style at Wat Phrathad Lampangluang*, Lampang Province. Retrieved from http://www.thapra.lib.su.ac.th/thesis/showthesis_th.asp?id=0000004206

There was a mondhop or an arched shrine placed at the rear part of the wiharn. The mondhop has a similar form and decorative style like the arched gate and a prasart style stupa. The monument was gilded or covered with gold leaves. The bronze Buddha image in subduing Mara position was placed inside this mondhop. The Buddha image was named as Phra Chao Lan Thong.

- the Wiharn Phra Buddha

It is a middle size of image hall which has 8.95 meters wide and 23.45 meters long. It was situated on the south of the Phrathat Lampang Luang cetiya. It was assumed to be built in the same period of the latest restoration of the principal cetiya or during the reign of King Tilokarat (1441 - 1487). It was a place to enshrine a large principal Buddha image which made from bricks and plaster. The image was in subduing Mara position.

The wiharn has a construction plan of closed wall wiharn. The wiharn's wall was made from brick and mortar and the structure of the building was made from wood. There was only the front part of the building that was closed by a half wall. The entrance gate was framed by stuccos of flora and fauna design and there were three tiers of arch stuccos of flora and fauna design above the gate.

The interior wall of the building was decorated with Lai Kham or a gilded technique with gold leaf applied to lacquer surfaces and painted the

background with red or black. The designs of Lai Kham was including images of twenty seven Buddhas in previous kalpas or Buddha from several periods, patterns of a flower vase called Puranagata, and patterns of flora and fauna. The interior side of each doors and windows was decorated with patterns of deities holding lotuses. The columns which shouldered the wiharn's roof structure of Mah Tang Mai were decorated with Yun lacquerware technique or Burmese incised lacquer design. The designs on columns were in different geometric patterns.

- Wiharn Nam Tam

The name 'Nam Tam' of this open-sided wooden building means the building of mural paintings and glided murals. It was situated on the north of the Phrathat Lampang Luang cetiya. It was assumed to be built in the 17th century or during the period of Lan Na was under the Burmese rule. It has a rectangular shape floor plan with 9 meters wide and 21 meters long. The wiharn's roof was a wooden structure of Mah Tang Mai and the roof was covered with terracotta tiles. There is also some decorative terracotta dolls of animal figures placed on the exterior roof trims.

The rear part of the building was surrounded by three-side brick wall. It was the place to enshrine a principal bronze Buddha image named Phra Chao Sam Muen Thong. The Buddha image was in subduing Mara position and it was place on a brick and plaster base which was 1.35 meters high. The wall behind the principal Buddha image was decorated with Lai Kham

or a gilded technique on red background. They were designs of a small Bodhi tree on each side of a big Bodhi trees in the middle. There were pictures of a sun, a moon, and deities flying above these trees.

There were mural paintings by dust colors on the left and right side of wiharn's interior frieze panels. The paintings depicted Dhammapada verse or Buddhist tale of Thao Sakka and the tale of Phra Nang Samawadee. Columns were decorated with Yun lacquerware technique or Burmese incised lacquer design. Pictures on the columns are designs of Lan Na women holding flowers to pay homage to the principal Buddha image, mythical creatures like elephant, kinnaree, and deer, and flora a fauna patterns.

- Wiharn Lavo

The name 'Wiharn Lavo' of this open sided building comes from the principal Naga-Buddha image from Lavo which was placed in a mondhop or an arched shrine which has multi tiers on the top part. The legend depicted that the Naga-Buddha image was brought from Lavo to Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang by Queen Chammathevi. However, archeologists mentioned the Lavo art style of the image was from 13th century or around 500 years after the Queen Chammathevi's period. Wiharn Lavo has another name as Wiharn Phra Chao Sila which means the building for stone Buddha image.

The wiharn was situated on the west of the Phrathat Lampang Luang cetiya. Its architectural style was similar to the rectangular floor plan of

Wiharn Luang and Wiharn Nam Tam. It has 6.75 meters wide and 15.90 meters long. The wiharn's wooden roof structure was a Mah Tang Mai style.

The building received a series of restoration because some parts of the building were replaced by modern building materials such as a brick and plaster wall at its rear part. Rattanakosin art influence also appeared on some building structures, for example some Lan Na round wooden columns were replaced by recessed rectangular concrete columns, edges and corners of gables were decorated with Bai Raka or stuccos in the shape of fins on a naga's back and Hang Hongs or stuccos in the shape of heads of a naga.

- Soom Phrabaht

It is a Buddha footprint chapel which was situated on the south of Wiharn Lavo. It was assumed to be built by Chao Muen Han Tae Tong, the Lampang ruler, in 1449 or during the reign of King Tilokarat (1441 - 1487) to enshrine a Lord Buddha's footprint. The building's architectural style is similar to a mondhop or a shrine which has a rectangular floor plan with 3.30 meters wide and 3.60 meter long. It was placed on a recessed three-tier base which has 2.50 meters high. It was a closed wall building. Its roof's structure was a Mah Tang Mai style. This is the only architectural style of high base Soom Phrabaht that is found in Lan Na²⁰⁰.

²⁰⁰ The Fine Arts Department, Office 7, Nan Province. (2008). *Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang: Rabing Kod, Kuti Phra Kaew, lae Ho Trai*. Retrieved from <http://www.finearts.go.th/chiangmailibrary/2016-08-20-05-05-37/book/311.html?page=1>

The Buddha footprint was enshrined inside the building was an imprinted footprint on a block of plaster. It was a left footprint with five toes, and without any decorative designs. Furthermore, there was a reverse shadow of the Phrathat Lampang Luang cetiya appeared on the floor of the shrine as a refraction of sunlight. Some people believed that the reflection was from the sacredness of Phrathat Lampang Luang cetiya.

- Kuti Phra Kaew and the museum

They are buildings at the Sangkhavas or a monastery which was located outside a large clear cloister or the Sala Baat. It was believed to be built in the 16th century. The building had an original architectural style similar to open sided wiharns at the Buddhavas or sacred zone of the temple. It was a wooden building with a roof structure of Mah Tang Mai supported with wooden beams and columns. It was situated next to a Ho Trai or a house of sacred Tripitaka inscriptions. Later, the building wall which made from bricks and plaster was added to the building structure.

The front part of the building was an exhibition area of ancient artifacts found in Lampang while the rear part of the building was an area to enshrine a significant Buddha image of Lampang named Phra Kaew Morakot Don Tao or an emerald Buddha image from Don Tao Temple. This enshrining area was encompassed with iron bars to protect the Buddha image from stealing. The Buddha image will be shown in the public only in special occasions, such as Songkran Festival.

Archaeologists and experts mentioned Phra Kaew Morakot Don Tao was carved from a precious green stone called Nephrite, and it was not carved from emerald²⁰¹. It was a Buddha image in a diamond meditation posture with 6.5 inches of base and 8 inches tall. It was a Chiang Saen art style Buddha image. Chiang Saen art style was a part of Lan Na art style during the 14th century. This art style is a mixture of art influences from Pala, Burmese of Pagan, and Sukhothai.

Legend or tamnan of Phra Kaew Morakot Don Tao explained that the Buddha image was carved from a precious green stone found in a watermelon that a laywoman named Chao Mae Suchada offered to a Buddhist monk name Phra Maha Thera at Don Tao Temple. During the period of carving the stone into a Buddha image, Chao Mae Suchada visited the monk for several times until people criticized that she seduced the monk. She was arrested by a city ruler and was charged to be guilty. The city ruler was unfairly judge her and finally she was sentenced to death. Before she was beheaded, she insisted on her innocence and put a curse on the city ruler and Lampang people. Phra Maha Thera also fled to Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang with Phra Kaew Morakot from Don Tao Temple. Therefore, the Buddha image stayed at Wat Phrathat Lampang until the modern day.

Historians explained the story of Phra Kaew Morakot Don Tao differently from the legend. They mentioned the Buddha image was

²⁰¹ Damrhikul, S. (2016). *Lampang Study*. Lampang: Art and Culture Office of Lampang Rajabhat University.

brought from Chaing Saen to Lampang in 1804 or during the period of Prince Kawila (1782 - 1813), the ruler of Lampang and later the king of Chiang Mai. The prince persuaded and coerced Chaing Saen people to migrate to Lampang in order to reconstruct the city after it was abandoned during the Burmese rule. Therefore, Phra Kaew Morakot Don Tao was believed to be the same Buddha image from Chaing Saen named Phra Kaew Wat Don Tan of Chiang Saen which was traveled to Lampang during the Chiang Saen people's migration.

- Queen Chammathevi's well

It is natural water well located at the center of Chammathevi Village, Moo 11, Lampang Luang Sub-district, Kho Kha District of Lampang. The village is settled behind Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang.

The well has a square shape of around 4 meters wide and 4 meters long. The well's wall under the ground was built from laterite bricks while the edge of the wall above the ground was built from ancient baked bricks. The well yard was paved with bricks and the yard was encompassed with low brick wall. There was a spirit house of the village guardian on the right conner of the low brick wall and a bronze statue of Queen Chammathevi in a standing posture in front of the entrance of the well yard.

According to Tamnan of Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang²⁰², Queen Chammathevi traveled to Lampang Luang Village on her return trip from Mae Salid. While she visited the temple and paid homage to Phrathat

²⁰² Ongsakul, S. (2015). *Pinit Tamnan Lampang*. Chiang Mai: Vanida Publishing.

Lampang Luang, villagers informed her that they were suffered from drought and they needed a water source for their village. The queen prayed the holy Buddha's relics at Phrathat Lampang Luang for giving a water source for villagers. Later, villager found natural water well at the center of their village. They named it as Queen Chammathevi's well and praised the sacredness of the Phrathat Lampang Luang and the queen that providing them the well.

Lampang people considered water from Queen Chammathevi's well was sacred and they used it as a significant component in some Buddhist religious events. They used this sacred water in Phrathat Lampang Luang Cetiya Bathing Ceremony and Phra Kaew Morakot Don Tao Bathing Ceremony during Songkran Festival. Sacred water from Queen Chammathevi's well also was included as one of the holy water for use in coronations for kings of Thailand or a Purification Bathing Rite (Song Phra Muratha Bhisek).

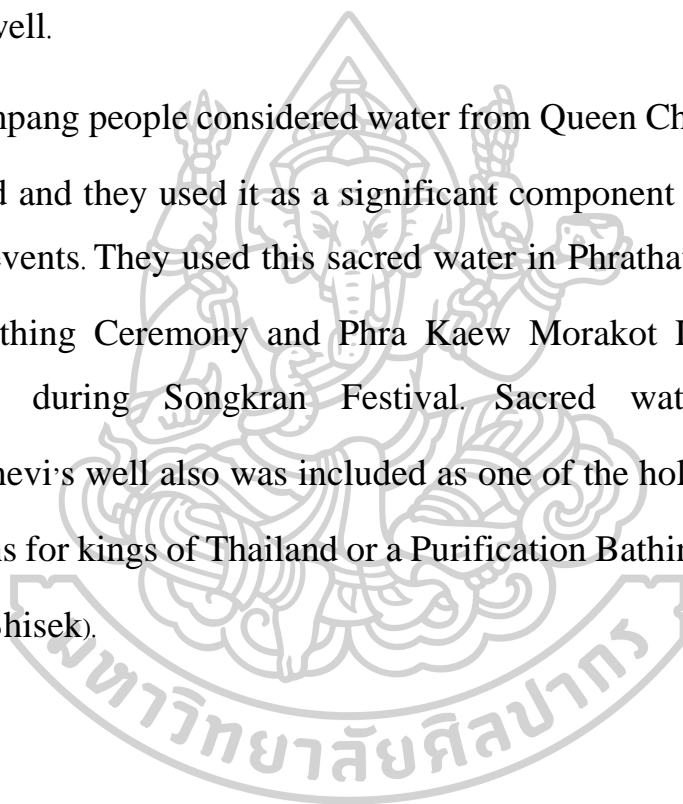




Figure 99 Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang was settled on a man-made mound of earth

Source: <https://www.hippoontour.com>



Figure 98 Phrathat Lampang Luang

Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 97 Phra Kaew

Morakot Don Tao

Source: The Fine Arts

Department, Office 7, Nan

Province



Figure 100 The main wiharn

Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 101 Soom Phrabaht

Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 102 Queen Chammathevi's well

Source: The researcher, 2018

24. Wat Mon Phraya Chae

M

T

This sacred site included a National Park of Mon Phraya Chae Mountain and a temple of Wat Mon Phraya Chae which was situated on the mountain. The site was located 7.6 Kilometers on the east of Lampang Town and on the east bank of the Wang River. It was at Moo 1, Pichai Sub-district, Muang District of Lampang. The name of Mon Phraya Chae mountain was called in the legend with different terms. The Chamadevivamsa called it with the name of Twin Peak Mountain or Khao Song Yod, the Jinakamalini called it as Supa Banphot, and the Mulasasana called it as Khao Doi Ngam.

Mon Phraya Chae associated with the legend of Queen Chammathvi in terms of the history of Khelang Nagara's establishment, or the foundation of Lampang. It was a habitation of the sage Mahabrahma who helped Prince Anantayasa, the younger twin-son of Queen Chammathevi, to settle Khelang Nagara on the west bank of the Wang River. Later, Prince Anantayasa invited Queen Chammathevi from Hariphunchai to stay with him at this new city for six years. The queen also traveled to Mon Phraya Chae to visit and pay homage to the sage Mahabrahma.

Legend of Wat Mon Phraya Chae provided another story which supported the site to be a sacred place relating to the Lord Buddha. The legend depicted the Lord Buddha visited Mon Phraya Chae for preaching Dhamma to five sages. The sages were delighted with Buddhist lessons. They asked five hair relics from the Lord Buddha for worshipping. After

the Lord Buddha gave them his five hair relics, the five sages buried them on the top of the mountain and built a stupa with 4 meters high and 3 meter square base wide over the burial site²⁰³. The stupa was named as Phrathat Mon Phraya Chae. Nowadays, Phrathat Mon Phraya Chae at the top of the mountain was at the Buddhavas or sacred zone of the temple, while the Sangkhavas or a monastery was located at the foot of the mountain. These two temple's zones were connected with a staircase of 585 steps.

An oral history of Mon Phraya Chae from local people talked about this place as a sacred mountain with full of magical power. The history mentioned the name of the sage Mahabrahma who used his magic to create bathing herbalist potion that can turn an old person into a young one. The sage was asked by a city ruler named Phraya Lua or Phraya Wuttho to mix a young potion for him. The sage wrongly mixed a bath of potion and it was turned to be a bath of poison. Without knowing about his mistake, he tested the potion by putting himself into the bath and he was suddenly dead. Later, Phraya Lua tried to mix herbalist magical potion for himself by following the sage's formula. Unfortunately, he also wrongly mixed the potion and he was dead when he used it to bath himself. Therefore, the name of Mon Phraya Chae came from the death of Phraya Lua from the bathing with poisonous potion.

²⁰³ Kengpanich, S, Kesornkessara, S. & Boonyasurat, W. (2016). *Management of the Sacred Mountain of Wat Mon Phraya Chae for Pilgrimage and Cultural Tourism*. Retrieved from http://www.arch.su.ac.th/conference_2016/images/proceedings/Proceedings_D07_SATHAPORN.pdf

City rules of Lampang in the past believed that Mon Phraya Chae was a sacred mountain and it was a residence of city guardian spirits. They organized an annual ritual of sacrifice a buffalo and a spirit dance to worship city guardians of Chao Por Khoa Ngam and Chao Por Khelang²⁰⁴. Later, the significance of Mon Phraya Chae as a sacred place was faded away from the memory of Lampang people. The annual ritual for worshipping the city guardians was canceled for a long time. Today, there was only an annual religious event of bathing the Mon Phraya Chae stupa in every June.



Figure 103 The Buddhavas of Wat Mon Phraya Chae on Supa Banphot

Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-B4Ff0Yb4_8

²⁰⁴ Damrhikul, S. (2016). *Lampang Study*. Lampang: Art and Culture Office of Lampang Rajabhat University.



Figure 104 Phrathat Mon Phraya Chae currently was painted in gold color
Source: The researcher, February 2019

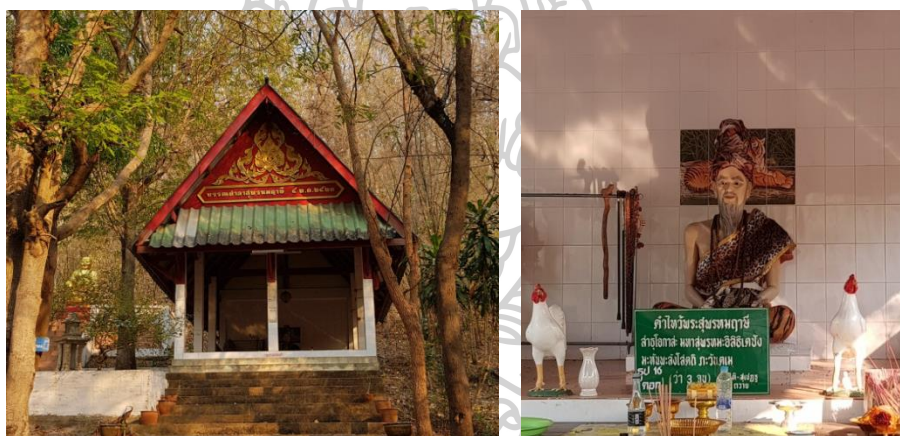


Figure 105 The shrine of the sage Mahabrahma and a statue of the sage
Source: The researcher, 2019



Figure 106 Students participated in the rite of bathing the Mon Phraya Chae stupa in every June
Source:
<https://www.facebook.com/unseenlampang>

25. Wat Phrathat Sadet

T

The temple was located on the northeast of Lampang and it has distance from Lampang Town for 19 kilometers. It was on the east bank of the Wang River at Moo 5, Ban Sadet Sub-district, Muang District of Lampang. It was a significant temple that can be compared to the glory of Phrathat Lampang Luang temple. Both of them were only two temples in Lampang that housed the holy relics of Lord Buddha, and they were visited by Queen Chammathevi.

According to the legend of That Sadet²⁰⁵, Lord Buddha's holy relics could traveled themselves from India or Jambudavipa to enshrine at Wat Phrathat Sadet's site at the time of Emperor Ashoka (reigning period 268 - 232 BCE). The emperor made his wish to let 84,000 pieces of Lord Buddha's holy relics to fly to the sites that the Lord Buddha used to visit. This legend was related to an ancient record of Ashokavadana about 84,000 pieces of Lord Buddha's holy relics that the Emperor Ashoka ordered to enshrine them at 84,000 chetiyas around India and South East Asia in order to spread the Buddhism and establish a set of pilgrimage site²⁰⁶.

The Legend of That Sadet further described the later period in 657 or after the Buddha's relics were enshrine at the temple's site, there were seven arahants from India pilgrimaged to this place for paying homage to

²⁰⁵ Ongsakul, S. (2015). *Pinit Tamnan Lampang*. Chiang Mai: Vanida Publishing.

²⁰⁶ Strong, J. S. (1984). *The Legend of King Asoka: A Study and Translation of the Asokavadana*. N.J.: Princeton University Press.

the relics and grew a Khachao tree over the reliquary's site. In 680, Queen Chammathevi and King Anantayasa visited this sacred site and paid homage to the Buddha's relics after they traveled to pay homage to Phrathat Lampang Luang cetiya. After that, this site was abandoned for a long period of time and it was turned to be a graveyard named Don Prayong or Don Pong.

Later, there were two Buddhist monks from Burma traveled to Don Prayong in 1554 to find the reliquary's site that was recorded in Burmese ancient document. The monks felt sure when they saw a big Kachao tree which was mentioned in the document. After they paid homage to the holy relics under the Kachao tree, the holy relics turned bright into several crystal balls and flied over the tree. The villagers of Don Prayong Village also observed this miraculous phenomenon, they then agreed to change the graveyard into a monastery. During the reign of King Tilokarat (1441 - 1487) of Lan Na, Lampang's ruler named Chao Muen Han Tae Thong built a chetiya over the old Kachao tree and built a main wiharn at the monastery.

The principal chetiya at Wat Phrathat Sadet has a similar architectural style as the Phrathat Lampang Luang chetiya, but it has smaller size with 14 meters base wide and 28 meters tall. The chetiya was located as a center of the world according to Buddhist cosmology. It was surrounded with the main wiharn on the east, the Wiharn Khom Kham on the south, the Wiharn Chammathevi on the north, and there were some remaining parts of clear cloister or the Sala Baat on northwest and southeast conners. Unfortunately, most of building at the temple were

restored and replaced by precast concrete, such as the arched gate, the main wiharn, and the Wiharn Chammathevi. Moreover, the Wiharn Khom Kham which was an open sided wooden building was restored to be a closed wall building. However, the wiharn still displayed a wooden Mah Tang Mai roof structure and some remaining of Sala Baat was conserved and changed their function to be a building for the temple's museum.





Figure 108 The principal cetiya of Phrathat Sadet
Source: The researcher, 2019



Figure 107 The Leela Attitude bronze Buddha image at the main wiharn
Source: The researcher, 2019



Figure 109 New building of Wiharn Chammathevi
Source: The researcher, 2019

26. Wat Phra Kaew Don Tao Suchadaram

A

The temple was located on a small hill by the west bank of the Wang River. It was far from the old Lampang City Hall for 2 kilometers. Its location was in the west of ancient city of Khelang Nagara and it was built at the time that King Anantayasa found the city. It was assumed to be a temple at the heart of the ancient city or wiang. Its location represented Dvaravati Culture which usually placed a significant temple or a significant chetiya with Lord Buddha relics at the heart of the city²⁰⁷ and use them as a pillar of the city.

According to the legend of Tamnan Wat Phra Kaew Don Tao, the Lord Buddha visited the site of Don Tao Hill and preached Buddhist Dhamma to giants or local people in that area. After that, he gave his hair relics and hair relics of other three Lord Buddhas in Bhaddakalpa to enshrine under the ground of the site. He gave a prediction that this site will become a big city called Kukkuta Nagara which is another name of Lampang. Eight hundred years later, a ruler of Kukkuta Nagara named Phraya Chompoo Jitta ordered to build a chetiya over the reliquary site and also built a wiharn on the east of the chetiya.

The principal chetiya of Phra Kaew Don Tao was restored until its latest architectural style was a combination between art influence of Lankan, Sukhothai, and Lan Na. It was a large size bell shape chetiya with

²⁰⁷ Damrhikul, S. (2004). *History and Art of Hariphunchai* (ประวัติศาสตร์และศิลปะสมัยหริภุญไชย). Bangkok: Muang Boran.

50 meters high, and has a square base of 26 meters wide and 26 meters long²⁰⁸. The part of chetiya's basement was made from bricks and covered with white cement, while the bell shape and the upper conical part were covered with copper and bronze sheets or Thong Changko plates. Its original architectural style was assumed to resemble an architectural style of Phrathat Lampang Luang chetiya²⁰⁹.

There were three more ancient buildings at the temple which have distinctive architectural style among several new concrete religious buildings, including the Wiharn of a Reclining Buddha Image, the Wiharn Phrachao Thong Thip, and a Mondhop or Pya That.

- Wiharn of a Reclining Buddha was on the west of the principal chetiya. It was mentioned in the legend that it was built by Phraya Chompoo Jitta. The figure of Reclining Buddha image has 10 meters long.

- Wiharn of Phrachao Thong Thip was formerly named Wiharn Chammathevi. It was on the northeast of the principal chetiya. It housed a Lan Na style of bronze Buddha image in subduing Mara position named Phrachao Thong Thip. The Buddha image has 1.5 meters base wide and 1.75 meters tall.

- Mondhop or Pya That was a Burmese-Mandalay architectural style building. It was on the south of the principal chetiya. This building was built by group of Burmese merchants in 1909 or during the period of the last

²⁰⁸ Lamphun People Association. (2018). *Khru Ba Chao Sriwichai*. Bangkok: PPK Publishing.

²⁰⁹ Saisingha, S. (2013). *Lan Na Art (ศิลปะล้านนา)*. Bangkok: Matichon.

Lampang ruler named Chao Boonyawat Wongmanit. It was an open sided wooden building, has a square base floor plan, and has seven-tier roof structure. Gable edge roof of every tier was decorated with wood carvings and colored glass mosaics. Columns of this building were also decorated with wood carvings and colored glass mosaics in tiny Buddha figures and floral and fauna designs. The building enshrined a Burmese style Buddha image named Phra Bua Khem.

There was a group of religious buildings in Lan Na and Chiang Saen architectural style on the far south of the principal cetiya. These buildings, including a chetiya, an ubosot, and a Wiharn Lai Kham, were in the compound of ancient temple named Wat Suchadaram. The temple was merged into Wat Phra Kaew Don Tao in 1984 and the two temple was become one temple of Wat Phra Kaew Don Tao Suchadaram. The site of Wat Suchadaram was assumed to be a residence of Chao Mae Suchada according to the Legend or tamnan of Phra Kaew Morakot Don Tao.

Wat Phra Kaew Don Tao Suchadaram not only has high significance because it related to the legend of Khelang Nagara establishment and the Phra Kaew Morakot Don Tao which was the important Buddha image of Lampang, it used to be a place to enshrine the Emerald Buddha Image or Phra Phutta Maha Mani Rattanapatimakorn for 32 years (1436 - 1468) or during the reign of Phaya Sam Fang Kane of Lan Na Kingdom. The legend depicted that Phaya Sam Fang Kane ordered to transfer the Emerald Buddha Image from Chiang Rai to Chiang Mai by putting the image on an elephant's back. While the elephant reached Lampang, it stopped walking

and headed into the city. Phaya Sam Fang Kane considered the action from the elephant was a signal from the divine guardian of the Emerald Buddha Image. Then, he made a decision to enshrine the image in Lampang for a while. In 1468, King Tilokarat (1441 - 1487) transferred the Emerald Buddha Image from Wat Phra Kaew Don Tao Suchadaram to enshrine at Wat Chedi Luang in Chiang Mai.





Figure 113 Phra Kaew Don Tao chetiya
Source: The researcher, 2019

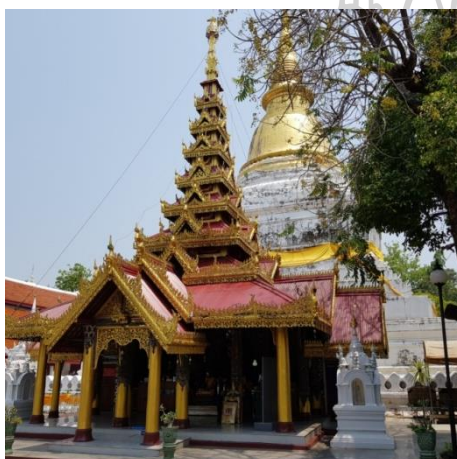


Figure 110 Mondhop or Pya That
Source: The researcher, 2019



Figure 111 Phra Bua Khem at the Pya That
Source: The researcher, 2019



Figure 112 Reclining Buddha
Source: The researcher, 2019



Figure 115 A sculptor of an elephant carried the Emerald Buddha to Khelang Nagara
Source: The researcher, 2019



Figure 116 Sculptors of Phra Maha Thera and Chao Mae Suchda depicted the scene when the laywoman offered a watermelon to the monk
Source: The researcher, 2019

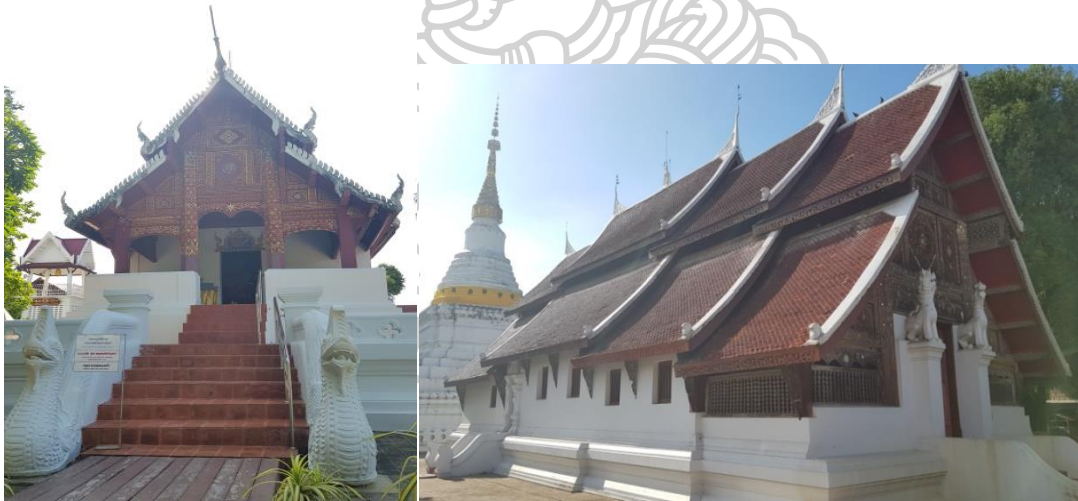


Figure 114 The viharn and the ubosot at Suchadaram monastery
Source: The researcher, 2019

27. The Complex of Historical Site, Wat Ku Khaw, Wat Ku Kham, Wat Ku Daeng, Wat Pun Cheong, Wat Phrachao Tanjai



This is a group of historical sites located on the west of Lampang Town, at Ton Thongchai Sub-district, Muang District of Lampang. The historical site consisted of Wat Ku Khaw, Wat Ku Kham, Wat Ku Daeng, Wat Pun Cheong, and Wat Phrachao Tanjai. Wat Ku Khaw, Wat Ku Kham, Wat Ku Daeng, and Wat Pun Cheong were forest temples outside Khelang Nagara in the ancient time, while Wat Phrachao Tanjai was assumed to be a temple which was built in later period. This site and temples associated with the legend of Queen Chammathevi, King Anantayasa, and the Buddha image named Phra Sikkhi Patima Sila Dam which was carved from a black stone.

According to Tamnan Wat Ku Kham Muang Nakorn Lampang, the Lord Buddha visited this site in order to ask a city ruler of Thippaka Ratta Nagara to avoid killing a deer. The Lord Buddha preached Dhamman and Buddhist lessons to a city ruler until he realized about the sin from taking lives from others. The city ruler asked the holy relics from the Lord Buddha as a commemoration for his visit. The Lord Buddha gave three drops of his blood from his left foot to the city ruler and ordered to bury his blood relics at this site. He also made a prediction that the Emperor Ashoka will ordered to built a stupa over the burial site of these holy relics after the he passed away for 300 years. After the building of the stupa for 800 years, Queen

Chammathevi and his younger son will establish three temples at this site named Ku Kham, Ku Daeng, and Ku Khaw.

The Jinakamalini and the Phong Sawadarn Yonok mentioned Ku Khaw as a temple which was built in King Anantayasa period and it has a name as Seta Kutaram. The Jinakamalini mention the temple was a place to enshrine a significant black stone Buddha Image named Phra Sikkhi Patima Sila Dam. The Buddha image was offered to Queen Chammathevi by King Anuruddha of Arimatthanaburi, Arimatthanaburi was assumed to be the Kingdom of Pagan or Myanmar in the modern day²¹⁰. Then, the sage Mahabrahma advised the queen to enshrine the black stone Buddha image on the west of the Wang River and at Ku Khaw temple.

The Phong Sawadarn Yonok mentioned about Phra Sikkhi Patima Sila Dam differently from the Jinakamalini because it depicted Queen Chammathevi brought this black stone Buddha image together with a white gemstone Buddha image from Lavo. The queen kept a white gemstone Buddha image at Hariphunchai and gave the black stone Buddha image to King Anantayasa to enshrine it at Wat Ku Khaw of Khelang Nagara. However, both the Jinakamalini and the Phong Sawadarn Yonok mentioned the black stone Buddha image was taken from Wat Ku Khaw to Ayocha²¹¹ or Ayutthaya after Khelang Nagara defeated the battle with Somdet Phra Borom Rachathiraj Ramathipbodi of Ayutthaya²¹².

²¹⁰ Sukkata, P. (2018). *Prissana Borankhadi* (ปริศนาโบราณคดี). Retrieved from https://www.matichonweekly.com/column/article_166935

²¹¹ Phra Rattanapanna. (2011). *Jinakamalini*. Nonthaburi: Sri Punya Publishing.

²¹² Bunnag, C. (Phraya Phrachakitkorachak). (2014). *Phong Sawadarn Yonok*. Nonthaburi: Sri Punya Publishing.

The story of Phra Sikkhi Patima Sila Dam of Wat Ku Khaw could tell about high significance of the temple in the ancient time, while the site of the temple was abandoned in the modern day and the black stone Buddha image was lost and it became a mystery. The 2 acres of Wat Ku Khaw Historical site still has remains of some building's walls and basements, and earthen mounds which were covered with grass and trees. The site of abandoned Ku Daeng temple which was completely vandalized was an adjacent area of Wat Ku Khaw, and it was on the north of the Ku Khaw site. Wat Ku Kham was the only living temple with monastery. It also has an adjacent area of Wat Ku Khaw, and was on the northeast of the site. However, most of the religious buildings of Wat Ku Kham were rebuilt in the modern day. The cetiya at the temple was built in 1914 by the last Lampang ruler named Chao Boonyawat Wongmanit.

Wat Pun Cheong was another completely abandoned ancient temple which was located 700 meters on the south of Wat Ku Khaw. The site was turned into an office building of the government. In 1990, the Fine Arts Department deployed an archaeological excavation at Wat Pun Cheong site, they discovered several Buddha images and votive tablets in Hariphunchai art style, and earthenwares in Hariphunchai period. Some of these ancient artifacts were displayed at the temple museum of Wat Phrachao Tanjai which was a temple located next to the site of Wat Pun Cheong. Some parts of Wat Pun Cheong's building which were blocks of laterite were displayed in front of the temple museum, and some craved stone of Buddha image's base were displayed around the principal cetiya and the main wiharn.

The bronze sculptor of King Anantayasa was placed in the shrine at the right side of Wat Phrachao Tanjai's entrance, and another shrine at the left side of the temple entrance was for the bronze sculpture of Chao Por Pun Cheong. The inscriptions on the wall behind both sculptures depicted King Anantayasa was the first ruler of Khelang Nagara. He ordered to build three temples of Ku Kham, Ku Daeng, and Ku Khaw. Besides this, Chao Por Pun Cheong was a brave warrior of King Anantayasa who helped the king to rule the army of Khelang Nagara.



Figure 118 The Ku Khaw historic site with some remains and earthen mounds

Source: The researcher, 2019

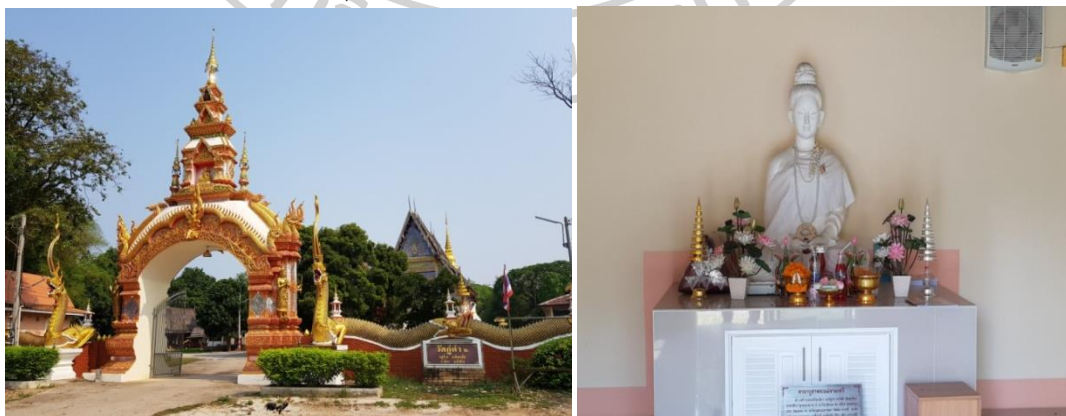


Figure 117 The entrance of Wat Ku Kham and the statue of Queen Chammathevi at the temple

Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 119 The statue of King Anantayas at Wat Phrachao Tanjai
Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 120 The shrine of Chao Por Pun Choeng at Wat Phrachao Tanjai
Source: The researcher, 2018

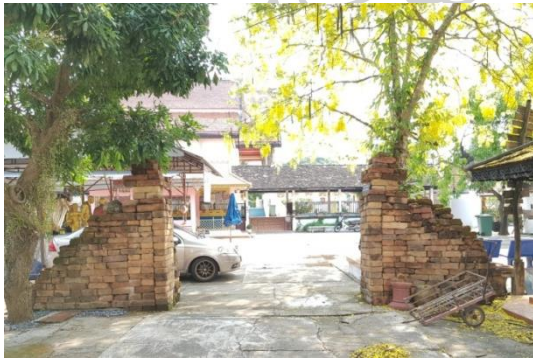


Figure 121 Ancient laterites from abandoned Wat Pun Cheong were kept at Wat Phrachao Tanjai
Source: The researcher, 2018

Profiling festivals and events

Festivals and events associated with the legend of Queen Chammathevi and settings in the legend are available on the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route. They are intangible assets that serve to concentrate a wide array of activities into a condensed time frame, creating a critical mass of products for tourism consumption²¹³. They occur in a few days or weeks, in formal periods or programs of pleasurable activities, entertainment, or events having a festive character and publicly celebrating some concepts, happening or fact²¹⁴. They provide knowledge about the legend of Queen Chammathevi to visitors and deliver memorable experience during visitors' participation in meaningful cultural events.

Du Cros and McKercher mentioned good festivals and events as tourist product should be balanced between authenticity and commoditization. These are cultural resources that have value and could not completely change them to only serve and satisfy visitors' needs. Therefore, successful cultural festivals and events should have these features, including;

- telling a story,
- making the asset comes alive,
- focusing on quality,
- making the experience participatory, and

²¹³ Du Cros, H. & McKercher, B. (2015). *Cultural Tourism*. New York:Routledge.

²¹⁴ Quinn, B. (2009). *Festival, Events and Tourism*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254583774_Festivals_events_and_tourism

- making the experience relevant to the tourist and tourism.²¹⁵

Lamphun offered several festivals and events related to Queen Chammathevi. These festivals and events were invested and developed by stakeholders in the province, such as provincial government, temples, and local communities. Both government and private sectors in Lamphun created festivals and events based on mainstream legends and local tamnan of Queen Chammathevi by using them as references on date, time, and setting.

The story of the queen influenced on the beliefs and ideas of people because it created sense of sacredness, group identity, and social relation to the places which were mentioned in the legend. Lamphun's festivals and events related to Queen Chammathevi became successful in terms of economic impact and the promotion of Lamphun's tourism. Even though they were invented traditions which were created in around 40 years ago, since 1981 - 2013, they were still recognized and engaged by local people and tourists. There are eight of those events which were organized in Muang District of Lamphun and some of events were organized at Pa Sang District of Lamphun, including;

1. The Commemorating of Queen Chammathevi Birthday (7th October, or 10 kham, duean 10 in Thai lunar calendar),

2. The Commemorating of Queen Chammathevi Coronation Day (7th - 8th December, or 8 kham, duean 3 in Thai lunar calendar),

²¹⁵ Du Cros, H. & McKercher, B. (2015). *Cultural Tourism*. New York:Routledge.

3. Queen Chammathevi Memorial Day (22th August, or 8 kham, duean 9 in Thai lunar calendar),

4. Lantern Offering to Queen Chammathevi as a part of Lamphun Loy Kratong Festival (November, or 15 kham, duean 12 in Thai lunar calendar),

5. Honoring Queen Chammathevi and Bathing Rite for Reverend Khru Ba Sriwichai's Shrine and Kukut Chetiya Day (13th - 15th April),

6. Queen Chammathevi and Winter Festival (November - December)

7. The Commemorating of Queen Chammathevi by Mon people of Noog Doo Village of Pa Sang District (February),

8. The Commemorating of Queen Chammathevi by Mon people of Kho Klang Village of Pa Sang District (14th February),

While several festivals and events of Lamphun were created and related to Queen Chammathevi, Lampang provided invented tradition that associated with history of Khelang Nagara's establishment, local heroes from the history, and places that could be linked to the queen. There are five events that were organized in different settings along the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route in Lampang, including;

1. Ngan Luang Wiang Lakorn or Chao Por Thip Chang, the Hero of Khelang Nagara, organized at Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang in February,

2. Bathing Rite for Phrathat Lampang Luang, on 16th April.

3. Satra Khu Pan Din Tin Khelang or The Spirit of Weapons of Nakhon Lampang, organized at Wat Pong Sanuk during 3rd - 4th March,

4. The Commemorating of Chao Por Khun Tan or Phaya Boek, organized at Wiang Tan Historical Site, on 12th November,

5. National Elephant Day at Thai Elephant Conservation Center, on 13th March.

Furthermore, each temple on the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route organized their annual Bathing Rite to worship the Buddha's holy relics enshrining at the principal cetiyas of the temple. Periods of commencing the bathing rite are different from each temple. Some temples have the bathing rite in January, in April and during Songkran Festival, in June and during Visakha Bucha Day.

Both Lamphun and Lampang organized weekend night markets on a shopping street to provide nighttime activities for tourists.

- Lamphun established a night market in front of Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai and along Rob Muang Nai Road on every Friday, from 5 pm to 10 pm.

- Lampang organized two night markets, including;

1. The Cultural Road at Wang Neau Road of Muang District. It is opened on every Friday, from 5 pm to 10 pm,

2. Kad Kong Ta Shopping Street at Talad Kao Road of Muang District. It is opened on every Saturday and Sunday, from 5 pm to 10 pm.

Service components

The Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route can ensure adequate supplying of host capacity to tourists by three tourism nodes, including Li District, Muang District of Lamphun and Muang District of Lampang. These nodes are high tourist traffic flow zones on the route and they are areas to provide services within the route. They can offer accommodations, restaurants, and accessibility or transportation to tourists. There are various styles and classes of service according to different node level. These services are high significant because they support and link with attractions on the route in order to create memorable experience and comfortability to tourists. They also play an important role to motivate tourist to travel on the route.

Accommodation

There are wide ranges of accommodation at three nodes of the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route, such as homestay with less than 10 rooms, and 1-Star hotel to 3-Star hotel. According to classification of hotels of Austrian Professional Hotel Association²¹⁶ and basic categories

²¹⁶ Austrian Professional Hotel Association. (2017). *Hotel Classification Procedure 2015-2020*. Retrieved from <https://www.wko.at/site/hotelsterne/procedure-austrian->

of accommodation of Swiss Hotel Association²¹⁷, 1-Star hotel to 3-Star hotel are defined as following;

- 1-Star hotel (simple expectations) In particular, the furnishing and equipment are appropriate and maintained. Simple fixtures and fittings, amenities necessary for a conventional overnight stay at the establishment are very clean and in immaculate condition.

- 2-Star hotel (medium expectation) In particular, furnishing and equipment are maintained and harmonized. Functional and comfortable fixture and fittings, besides overnight stay service limited services are offered. The quality of the fixtures and fittings is measured by their functionality and cleanliness, the materials used are of lesser importance.

- 3-Star hotel (elevated expectation) In particular, furnishing and equipment are consistent in form and color. The general impression is that of elevated comfort. Refined and uniform fixtures and fittings in the visual field of guests, homely character. Hardware in good condition, good service.

- Li District

Li District is considered to be a tertiary node. It is a remote district which has 113 kilometers from Lamphun town and is appeared to be a new

²¹⁷ Swiss Hotel Association. (2015). *Criteria 2015-2020*. Retrieved from https://www.hotelleriesuisse.ch/files/pdf8/Kriterienkatalog_Normen_2015_2020_CH_en1.pdf

tourist destination with limited development of hospitality services. Accommodations at Li are 1-Star hotel and 2-Star hotel. They are small commercial hotel with 25 rooms or less. They are operated by private and local investors.

- Muang District, Lamphun

Muang District of Lamphun is one of primary nodes on the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route. Accommodations at this node are 1-Star hotel to 3-Star hotel. They are both small commercial hotel and small resort hotel with 25 rooms or less and medium hotel with 26 to 100 rooms.

- Muang District, Lampang

Muang District of Lampang is another primary node on the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route. Accommodations at this node are 1-Star hotel to 3-Star hotel. There are different styles from 5 rooms at homestay and guesthouse to large commercial hotels with 100 to 235 guest rooms.

Restaurants

Visitors travel on the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route can experience local Thai food shops, casual restaurants, and western style restaurants at each tourist node of Li District, Muang District of Lamphun, and Muang District of Lampang. Thai food shops that were usually found selling in the communities of these three nodes are such as noodle shops, Thai stir fried dishes shop, curry shops, papaya salad shops and Issan (Northeastern) food. Tourists can enjoy authentic Thai food form these local

shops and eat like a local. If tourists prefer having their meals at restaurants to local food shops, most of restaurants at these three nodes are casual type, simple style of services, comfortable atmosphere, and reasonable prices.

Northern Thai food restaurant is recommended for tourists to taste while staying at the three nodes because the food has distinctive features from food of other parts of Thailand. Northern Thai food is cooked with seasonal vegetables and fruits, and special local natural ingredients, such as soybean fermented sheet, fresh crab fermented paste, some spices, and various kinds of chili paste. Character of Northern Thai food from each node also has slightly different taste and aroma due to different influences from ethnic cuisine of different ethnic groups stayed at each area. For example, taste and cooking culture of northern Thai food in Lamphun has some influences from Mon, Yong, and Lue, while food in Lampang has some influences from Mon, Burmese, and Chinese.

Western style restaurants like bistro, cafe, pizza, and pub can be found at every three nodes on the route, especially at primary nodes. Travelers can spend their time in the evening with dining out and having drinks at western style local pubs.

Transportation

Transportation is a critical element of a tourism system because it enables and encourages movement of tourist from tourist generating regions to destination zone of the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route. Besides, transportations facilitate tourists to visit attractions within the destination zone.

1. Traveling to the destination zone

From tourist generating regions to destination zone of the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route can be made through three main gateways which consist of Chaing Mai International Airport, Lampang Airport, and Highway no. 106. Modes of travel that can serve tourists to the destination zone are air transportation, coach or bus, car, rail travel, and boat service.

- Air transportation

Air system serves both domestic and international tourist to travel to the gateways of the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route. Travelers can start their trip from either Bangkok Suvarnabhumi Airport (BKK) or Donmuang International Airport (DMK) to the first gateway of Chaing Mai International Airport and the second gateway of Lampang Airport. After that, they can rent a car or a van to commence their journey.

There are several daily flights from Bangkok to Chaing Mai and Chiang Mai to Bangkok that are operated by many airlines, such as Thai International Airways, Thai Air Asia, Thai Smile Airways, Bangkok Airways, Nok Air, Thai Lion Air, and Thai Viet Jet Air. Besides, there are only two airlines operates from Bangkok to Lampang and Lampang to Bangkok, including Bangkok Airways and Nok Air. Each of the airlines operates three daily flights in and out Lampang.

- Car

Traveling by car is more private mode of travel and tourists can organize schedule by themselves. Tourists can drive from their regions to

enter the destination zone by using Highway no. 106 from Theon District of Lampang to Li District of Lamphun.

Tourists who reach the destination zone by using Chaing Mai International Airport and Lampang Airport as the gateways can rent a car at the airport for their transportation. There are several local and international car rental services at both airports, such as Avis, Budget Car Rental, Sixt Rent a Car, National Car Rental, Thairent a Car, and Norhtcarrent.

- Bus

Traveling by bus to the destination zone can be made by taking a bus from tourist generating regions to the bus station at Muang District of Lampang and Lamphun, and the bus station at Li District of Lamphun. This mode of travel can save traveling cost. After tourists who reached the bus station, they can rent a car to drive and visit attractions on the route. Reservation and appointment with the car rental companies should be arranged and confirmed in advance due to there is no car rental service booth at the bus stations.

- Train

Train is a travel mode that offers scenic rail travel experience to tourists. There are five daily services of train from Bangkok to Lampang and Lamphun. Train stations of Lampang and Lamphun are located in the downtown of each province. Tourists can arrange the car rent with car rental companies to meet at the train station before starting their journey on the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route.

- Boat

There are boat and raft services organized by local tour operators in Tak Province. The name of these local tour companies are such as Pae Nong Napas Tour, Pae Sri Nam-ngoan Tour, and Pae Petch Mae Ping Tour. They arranged the two days and one night trip to take tourists from Bhumibol Dam at Sam Ngao District of Tak to visit Kang Soi Temple and arrive at Kang Kor port at Li District.

This travel mode is suitable for a tour group with at least 50 group members according to the condition of tour companies. The private boat also can be organized to tourists, but the price of the service is high. Moreover, the boat trip need to be well-planned and well-organized due to the difficulty of traveling from weather condition, level of tide, level of wave, and level of water over the dam.

2. Traveling within the destination zone

A private car and a mini van are transportation modes that are suitable for traveling on the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route because attractions on the route, especially attractions which are located outside the old town, are scattered and they are located far from each others. Besides, some roads in the old city of Lamphun and Lampang are too narrow to explore by a tour coach or a bus. Parking areas are also limited and difficult to find for a large size of vehicle.

Local transportation also is recommended for tourists if they travel to attractions in the old city of both provinces. Trishaw and city tour trams are recommended for tourists to explore Lamphun old town, while horse carriages and green-yellow taxi are recommended for traveling in Lampang old town.

- Lamphun

Trishaws are local transportation in Lamphun city that reflect simple, slow and relaxed way of life of Lamphun people. There are around 30 to 40 trishaws that are still operated for local people and tourists. Most of trishaws park and wait for their passengers in front of the Lamphun Hospital, at Chammathevi Road at Tambon Ton Thong. Tourists can ask for travel fare with trishaw riders before using the service.

City tour trams were offered to tourists to explore eleven attractions in Lamphun old city. Six attractions on the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route were among those eleven attractions, including Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai, Wat Chammathevi, Wat San Pa Yang Luang, Queen Chammathevi statue at Nong Dok Public Park, Ku Chang and Ku Ma, and Wat Phra Yuen. The trams station was located in front of the entrance of Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai. There are two tram services a day. The first tram service is at 9.30 am and the second service is at 13.30 pm. The tram's fare is 50 Baht for an adult and 20 Baht for a child. The whole trip of a city tour by tram takes around three hours.

-Lampang

Horse carriages used to be popular public transportation for Lampang people since 1916. They were relocated from Bangkok to Lampang and other provinces, such as Nakhon Si Thammarat, Nakhon Ratcha Sima, and Chiang Mai because they were replaced by cars. In the old day, Lampang people loved to use horse carriages to transfer goods and people from the railway station to downtown. Moreover, the upper class of Lampang recognized the significance of this mode of transportation and established the Lampang Association of Horse Carriage in 1952 to support and maintain the business. Therefore, horse carriages were still only operated in Lampang in the modern day, even only for tourism, while there was no horse carriage was operated in other provinces.

Nowadays, there are around 70 horse carriages serves tourists in downtown and old town of Lampang. There are four horse carriage stations in the city, including the station in front of Wat Suan Dok, the station in front of Wiang Thong Hotel, the station in front of Wiang Lakorn Hotel, and the station in front of the Lampang Museum. The Lampang Association of Horse Carriage also set the standard fare for four different trips of horse carriage, for example Inner City Trip costs 150 Baht, Outer City Trip costs 200 Baht, and Charter Service cost 300 - 400 Baht per hour. The service time of horse carriage starts from 6am to 4pm.

Another mode of transportation within Lampang city is classic green and yellow cabs or the Si-lor (four wheels). The original Si-lor was modified from 2-door pick up of Mazda Familia 1000 which was manufactured by

Mazda since 1967-1973. Therefore, most of the original Si-lor was around 50 years old. However, they were received well maintenance, were looked after for safety, and were allowed to use as public transportation by Lampang Transportation Co-operative.

There are about 200 original Si-lor run around Lampang town as taxis to serve both local people and tourists. The travel fare of Si-lor in Lampang town costs 20 Baht per trip to 50 Baht per trip to long distance destination. Tourists can rent Si-lor and the driver for a day trip by negotiating the fare directly with the driver. Si-lor driver charges the extra fare for the service during 7pm to 6am.

Information

- History timeline

The Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route is a special tourism product that required special description to help tourists to understand about this thematic route before they have cultural appreciation and memorable experience from the route. Theme of Queen Chammathevi based on prehistory, history of Southeast Asia, and ancient kingdoms of this region; it could be complicated to some tourists. Therefore, well designed and well organized of content is essential to be presented to tourists because it can help them to understand about Queen Chammathevi and places related to her legend.

The timeline is a simple graph that portrays chronologically list of important events. It simplify a complexity of history and enable viewers to

have quick understanding about relationship between each event and important historic figure, big picture of history, and order in which event occurred over a period of time. Timeline with short details of events along a drawn line can be combined with infographic for better presentation. It can be portrayed on brochures and maps for tourists.



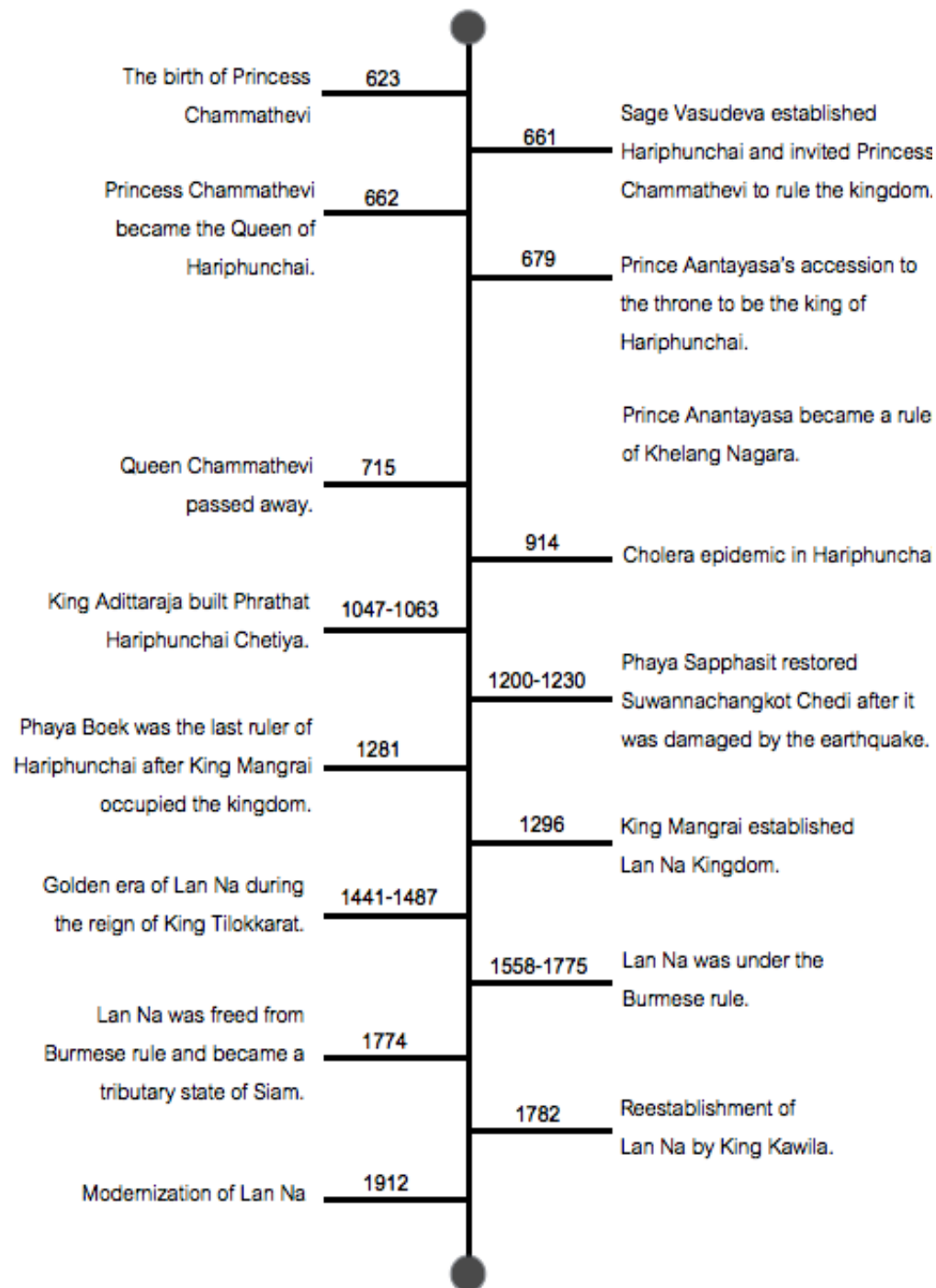


Figure 122 History Timeline for Explaining History of Hariphunchai Period to Lan Na Period

Source: The researcher, 2019

- Homepage and social networking

The Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route is a brand new tourism product and there is limitation of information about the route. Apart from promoting the route on publications like guidebooks, travel magazines, maps, and brochures, an official homepage like the one of Council of the Cultural route of Europe (<https://www.coe.int/en/web/cultural-routes>) is an example for creating an official homepage for the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route. It is a source of tourism promotion, information about the route's significance, and its attractiveness that tourists can use for their decision making and planning. This is a simple source of information that is suitable for the modern day that internet is widely used. It is also a first step for introduction the route to tourist's community. Although it is a one-way communication and could be less influence that a two-way communication like social networking sites.

Social networking sites like Facebook or twitter are platforms that tourists can gain information about tourism products that was shared by both the route's marketing organization and tourist's community. The route's marketing organization can update movements about the route, while tourists can shared their own experiences and opinions after they explored the route. This two-way communication allowed each party to share, comment, and criticizes. This information on social networks has high influence and can stimulate consumption from domestic and international tourists. The examples of successful Facebook of the cultural route are such as Camino de Santiago

(<https://www.facebook.com/caminodelasestrellas>), Destination Napoleon (<https://www.facebook.com/destinationnapoleon>), HANSA (<https://www.facebook.com/ExploreHANSA>), European Mozart Way (<https://www.facebook.com/European-Mozart-Ways>), and Via Regia (<https://www.facebook.com/VIA.REGIA>). These are example for creating Facebook page of the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route.

- Information and markers

Markers mean items of information that communicated to tourists formally and informally²¹⁸. They can be information board that promote tourism on the route, on-site information board that educate tourists about the route, and roadside billboards that motivate tourists to travel on the route. Markers also can be an image or a symbol associated with the route that works as a directional symbol to guide tourists who travel along the route. Two examples of popular markers as a directional symbol and a logo that successfully create recognition in tourism route are symbols of Camino de Santiago and a symbol of Via Francigena.

Symbols of Camino de Santiago are a scallop shell and a yellow arrow. A scallop shell is an ancient symbol that related to history of Saint James. One of versions of Saint James' history depicted that there was a heavy storm over the ocean during the transferring the remains of Saint James by ship from Jerusalem to Spain. The ship was sunk during the storm and Saint James' body was disappeared. Later, the body was found ashore

²¹⁸ Du Cros, H. & McKercher, B. (2015). *Cultural Tourism*. New York:Routledge.

in Galicia and it was covered with scallop shells. The symbol of a scallop shell was contoured by different lengths of straight line to form a figure of the symbol. Sometimes this symbol was appeared together with a yellow arrow which was pointed to guide the direction for pilgrims. These symbols were presented along the route and they were painted and sometimes craved on buildings' wall, rocks, sidewalks, paved roads, and lamp posts.

The success of Camino de Santiago's ancient symbols that can create awareness and recognition among tourists seems to be a model for Via Francigena to follow by designing its own official symbol. The symbol of Via Francigena is a pilgrim in yellow, sometimes in black, with a white arrow and the name of Via Francigena. The symbol related to the history of the route which was an ancient road that was used by pilgrims and travelers to journey between France and Rome. This symbol was presented on road sign metal, aluminum, and stickers. These road signs were installed along the entire route.

The symbol of Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route was created and used as directional sign to guide tourists during their trip on the route. The symbol is a contour of Queen Chammathevi figure which resembles the figure of Queen Chammathevi statue at Nong Dok Public Park. The figure of the queen was painted in pink which is the color that represented feminine and mother. The lined figure on the queen's body is green and it represented the civilization and culture that she brought from Lavapura to Hariphunchai. This symbol was presented with the name of the route as

Queen Chammathevi's Route which was shorten from the Queen Chammathevi's pilgrimage route in order to make it to be easy to recognize.



Chapter 6

Conservation and Management Plan

Focus Groups to Identify Challenges on the Route

Focus groups at Lamphun and Lampang were used as a research tool for identifying challenges on the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route and discovering possible and suitable approaches to apply to the management and conservation on the route. The focus groups were held separately in each province according to the purpose to encourage participants from each province who experienced the same tourism environment and allow them to comfortably talk openly and express honest opinions. Moreover, the separated focus group at each province allowed every participant to discuss and share ideas within the limited time.

Participants of focus groups were selected from key persons who took part in tourism industry of Lamphun and Lampang. They were officially invited and were allowed to discuss and share information, attitude, opinions, and ideas under the topic of the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route for tourism in Lamphun and Lampang. Issues of interest during the discussion covered three main points, including

1. current states of tourism in Lamphun and Lampang,
2. difficulties that may occur to the route, and
3. ideas to develop the route for tourism and cultural heritage conservation. Open ended and interview questions for finding the data to

the three main points of interest were asked every participant. Those questions are as following;

1. What are monuments, sites, artifacts found at your area that related to Queen Chammathevi?

2. What are events and rituals associated with Queen Chammathevi organized at your area?

3. Please tell about the opportunities and challenges arose from organizing those events and rituals.

4. What is your recommendation on the development of the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route to promote tourism and cultural heritage conservation at your area?

Fresh perspectives from participants were recorded and analyzed because they are useful information for discovering effective reactions for the challenges of the route.

The focus group at Lamphun was organized on 13th February 2018, at San Khaw Hor Meeting Room of Hariphunchai National Museum, from 09.00 - 15.00. Participants of this focus group are representatives from different part of Lamphun tourism such as Lamphun provincial state agencies, Lamphun Provincial Administrative Organization, Tourism Authority of Thailand (Lampang Office), Lamphun Tourism Association, Hariphunchai National Museum, some temples and communities. The moderators of this focus group are Dr. Pensupa Sukata and the researcher.

The focus group at Lampang was organized on 13th June 2018, at Wiang Kham Meeting Room of Lampang Wiang Thong Hotel, from 09.00 - 15.00. Participants of this focus group are representatives from different part of Lamphang tourism, such as Tourism Authority of Thailand (Lampang Office), Lampang Provincial Administrative Organization, Wiang Tan Provincial Administrative Organization, Lampang Tourism Association, Lampang Chamber of Commerce, Lampang Community Based Tourism Association, some local scholars, some historian teachers, and some communities. The moderators of this focus group are also Dr. Pensupa Sukata and the researcher.



Figure 123 Focus group at Lampang on 13th June 2018

Source: The researcher, 2018



Figure 124 Focus group at Lamphun on 13th February 2018
Source: The researcher, 2018

Finding the Challenges

The data from focus groups at Lamphun and Lampang were analyzed by content analysis approach which included the processes of condensation, code, category, and theme. The first process is condensation which is a step to listen to audio text from the focus group and transcript into a core meaning. Next is coding which are descriptive labels of a few words to represent as key idea of each condensed message. Later, generating category is a process to create groups for related codes and put them together. Finally, forming a theme for each category by writing a short statement to describe category in order to cover questions of who, what, why, where, or when?

Three main challenges were discovered from the content analysis, including interpretation, sense of place, and managing the route. These three challenges have their themes as follows;

1. Interpretation

Most of people, tourist guides, and members of young generation of Lamphun and Lampang do not know history about Queen Chammathevi because they lack of information about history and legend of the queen.

2. Sense of place

Most of people, tourist guides, and members of young generation of Lamphun and Lampang do not realize about value and significance of Queen Chammathevi. Therefore, they do not aware off their benefits from involving in activities or events which relate to the queen.

3. Managing the route

The route should have systematic and strategic management for creating benefits to all stakeholders and local communities along the route. Some effective strategies and management from the European Cultural Route were recommended, such as cluster, networking, segmentation, and community involvement.

Managing the Challenges

Interpretation

According to the theory of thematic cultural route, the theme of Queen Chammathevi has high potential to effectively link and develop tourism between Lamphun and Lampang because the legend of the queen mentioned and related to both cities, especially the story about the foundation of them around 1,300 years ago. The theme has high value and authenticity because it comes from the ancient legend which is a record of the history of northern Thailand, from Hariphunchai to Lan Na. On the other hand, the theme of Queen Chammathevi becomes a challenge in practice and for promoting the cultural route due to most of people from the focus groups reflected their ideas that they and most of people in Lamphun and Lampang lack of knowledge about Queen Chammathevi. They argued that without information about the queen's legend, they cannot understand and appreciation value from her legend. Moreover, they cannot transfer any information to tourists.

There is only a group of scholar who is interested in Queen Chammathevi knows and understands well about her legend, but most of local people in Lamphun don't know much about the queen. Lamphun people has memory, imagination, and belief in the queen, but they lack of knowledge about her. You should educate them and let them know about the queen's significances and her purpose to devote her life for Buddhism. Moreover, there is not tour guide who know well about Lamphun history and the queen.

(Statement from a Buddhist monk of Wat Mahawan, 2018)

There are not enough information and effective interpretations about Queen Chammathevi for tourists. When they travel to Lamphun and Lampang, they don't know about the queen who has high significance to these provinces. They cannot find panels of interpretation about the queen at attractions. Then, they will lose their interest and appreciation in these two cities. They won't enjoy their trips because they don't understand the places.

(Statement from the director of Tourism Authority of Thailand, Lampang Office, 2018)

Tourism Authority of Thailand would like to promote tourism activity in Lamphun and Lampang by using the theme of Queen Chammathevi but we lack of information and knowledge about history and legend of the queen. Knowledge and history is very important to promote the trip that relates to history of places and persons. If we want to sell the

Queen Chammathevi's route to tourists, we must have enough information and knowledge. Today, we don't have that information.

(Statement from the deputy director of Tourism Authority of Thailand, Lampang Office, 2018)

The question may arise after reading statements from the focus groups' participants mentioned people in Lamphun and Lampang lack of knowledge about Queen Chammathevi, even though the name of the queen is appeared and involved in their everyday life. For example, there are main roads in both cities named 'Chammathevi Road', the name of temples 'Wat Chammathevi' in Lamphun, and 'Wat Tham Khun Sab Chammathevi' and 'Wat Pa Phranang Chammathevi (Nong Poo Hor) in Lampang, the name of a hotel 'Jamadevi Hotel' in Lamphun, the name of communities 'Chumchon Chammathevi' in Lamphun and 'Mooban Chammathevi' in Lampang. Moreover, the queen statues are found in several important places in both cities, such as the Queen Chammathevi Monument at Nong Dok Public Park in Lamphun, the queen's monument at the intersection close to Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang, and at many temples.

Symbols represent Queen Chammathevi can be seen everywhere in both cities, but her story becomes less recognized and receives less understanding by local people. This problem can come from her legend itself according to its complication. The legend has two versions, including the mainstream version or chronicle and the tamnan from oral history. The

chronicles like Chamadevivamsa, Jinakamalini, and Mulasasana were composed in different time for at least five hundred years after the reign of Queen Chammathevi. The writers of each chronicle were Buddhist monks in Chiang Mai and their written languages are in old styles which sometimes are difficult to read. The content of each chronicle mostly are the same, but some details of name place and date are different from each others.

The tamnan of Queen Chammathevi from oral history also use similar content and structure like the chronicle. There are several versions of tamnan which are popular because they are easy to read if compare to the chronicles. However, writers of tamnan of Queen Chammathevi added their own narrations and adjust some details from chronicle for making them to be easy to understand and for entertainment. Then, readers can be confused from different type of the legend. The conflict of details among the queen legend may cause the readers to give up for further reading and they might lose their interest in the queen's story.

Single Standard of Interpretation

Participants mentioned they require a single version that can be used as a standard one for a reference. Scholars from various fields that can help to reconstruct a standard legend of Queen Chammathevi should be invited to be a working group, such as historians, archaeologists, architects, heritage conservationist, local culture experts, Buddhist monks, representatives of local communities in Lamphun and Lampang, and representative from provincial and sub-district government of Lamphun

and Lampang. The standard legend needs to be based on both different versions of mainstream chronicles and tamnans. The new interpretation from every important source that received some approvals and analysis from the group of experts will become the standard that is reliable. The form of interpretation should be easy to understand for both experts and non-experts.

Lamphun people don't know much about Queen Chammathevi because they are confused by different versions of the queen's story that they saw on each temple's mural painting. I want to have a main version of the queen's legend and a main interpretation for being a single reference. If the temples or other groups of people in Lamphun would like to create something about the queen, they need to be based on the main version. However, the temples can add some extra contents to create unique story of the relationship between the queen and their places.

(Statement from an archivist of Lamphun, 2018)

Lamphun Governor's Office would like to have a main version of the legend of Queen Chammathevi. This main version can be used as a standard interpretation, and other new interpretations need to be based on the standard one. In the future, we will turn the old City Hall to be Lamphun Cultural Center. Then, we need the standard interpretation for being a reference when we create exhibition room of Queen Chammathevi.

(Statement from Lamphun Governor's Office, 2018)

Pressmen in Lamphun always want to communicate about Queen Chammathevi's legend to the public but we are afraid of poor quality of interpretation of the queen legend that come from different sources. We need to have a standard interpretation to be a reference as well. We ask Lamphun authority to set up a meeting of historians, archaeologists, and scholars to reconstruct a standard interpretation for the queen's legend. Moreover, the authority should control the tour guides who deliver wrong information about the queen and Lamphun's history to tourists. I recommend Lamphun to train and educate people in each community to be local tour guides to present Lamphun and Queen Chammathevi's legend to tourists from local perspectives.

(Statement from the Chair of Lamphun Press Club, 2018)

Interpretation for a standard legend of Queen Chammathevi could be difficult according to the complicated stories from various sources which were composed in different space and time. Then, the new interpretation should not be only the description or narration, it should be the combination between facts and art. There is a high expectation on a standard legend because high quality of new interpretation can stimulate local people and tourists to be interested in the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route. The new interpretation is expected to be beyond the source of knowledge on Queen Chammathevi. It needs to be a new version of the queen's legend that can create relation between readers and places. It

should be able to convince the readers to realize the significance of the queen and the sense of place.

Tilden's six principles from his book 'Interpreting our Heritage' is recommended to use as a guideline to form an effective standard version. First principle is creating of interpretation that relates to readers and tries to connect the story to their interest and their lives or places. Then, some places in Lamphun and Lampang can be useful in this time. The interpretation can begin with some questions to trigger curiosity of readers by asking for their understanding or knowing about the name Chammathevi or the monuments of the queen which are appeared in their communities. Second principle is making meaning to information and turning information to be a story, not just a data. The life of Queen Chammathevi is interesting because she has to deal with conflicts, adventures, and a new world. She has a round character of a widow who fights for her twin sons, her new kingdom and her people. Therefore, her story can produce a feeling and connect the reader to the far and away time in the Hariphunchai period.

Third principle is blending art into historic data and making interpretation is an art. This principle aims to develop a dry knowledge into an attractive knowledge. Tilden mentioned that readers and tourists seek for enjoyment, not instruction²¹⁹. Fourth principle is presenting a whole story by making the interpretation is easy to understand. The understanding

²¹⁹ Tilden, F. (1977). *Interpreting our Heritage*. U.S.A. The University of North Carolina Press.

of the whole story and philosophies which are hidden in the story can lead readers to appreciation and provoke their actions for heritage conservation. The whole complex story of Queen Chammathevi which has a distance in time and space can be presented in logical concept of timeline. Beside, Buddhist philosophy such as Buddhist cosmology can be illustrated into a picture or an example of mural painting of Buddhist cosmology from some temples. Sixth principle is creating interpretation by concerning the target readers, including their age, education background, and experience. Hard words or technical terms are recommended not to be used for interpretation. Proper words that can create sensory interaction between readers and place and story are advised to be used. Finally, Tilden recommended that it will be better for creating a separate interpretation for children.

The movement for developing a standard interpretation of Queen Chammathevi's legend was initiated in 2015 by Lamphun Provincial Administrative Organization. According to the draft of interpretation that presented to the organization by Dr. Pensupa Sukata, she mentioned this information for the interpretation is from the seminar 'Discover the History of Phranang Chammathevi' which was held in 18th December 2015 at Lamphun Provincial Administrative Organization. After that, her working group for this interpretation organized five field trips under the project name 'Follow Queen Chammathevi's Route from Lavapura to Hariphunchai'. This version of Queen Chammathevi's legend aims to clarify vague information and symbolism in the legend to be accurate and comprehensive one. Beside, new perspectives and new theories from

experts in Chammathevi's study are added into the interpretation in order to increase dimensions of heritage experience to readers. This interpretation will be developed to be a part of Hariphunchai Study Program which will be offered to schools in Lamphun under the supervision of Lamphun Provincial Administrative Organization in the near future.

Another organization in Lamphun that has a plan to establish a study program of Lamphun local history is Lamphun Municipality Office. They will offer this program to schools in Lamphun that are under their supervision. It is an excellent idea to offer a study program of Lamphun local history and Hariphunchai Study Program to students. It will be better if the two organizations work together and use a standard legend of Queen Chammathevi to be a teaching material.

The challenge on lacking of interpretation about the Queen Chammathevi can be solved by a local history program that Lamphun Municipality Office will offer to every school in the province. Beside, the office also publishes a free magazine named 'Voice of Lamphun' to promote understanding of local history among Lamphun people. This magazine has important role to educate readers about heritage conservation in Lamphun. The knowledge about heritage conservation comes from educational institutes like Faculty of Architecture of Rajamangala University of Technology Lanna, and Climate Change and Infrastructure Research Unit. Then, our next project is to regularly promote the legend of the queen with attractions in Lamphun.

(Statement from the department of public relation of Lamphun Municipality Office, 2018)

The development for establishing a standard interpretation of Queen Chammathevi's legend of Lamphun can be used as a model for Lampang. According to the focus group at Lampang that the researcher organized on 13th June 2018, participants provide new information about historic sites that associated with the queen. This information is very useful for further studying and promoting interpretation of the queen's legend that related to Lampang. Today, there are more evidences and monuments in Lamphun that help support understanding of Queen Chammathevi's story, while there are not many ancient monuments and artifacts that directly related to the queen in Lampang. Then, if government or private organizations in Lampang realize about the benefit of the queen's legend for promoting tourism and economy in the province, the study and field trips which were supported by the government like Lamphun Provincial Administrative Organization should be initiated as a starting point.

“The legend of Queen Chammathevi was recognized widely in many provinces in northern Thailand, such as Lamphun, Lampang, Chiang Mai, and Phrae. A part of the legend that related to Lampang should be received more studying and interpreting. According to the legend, the queen stayed at Lampang for six years, she could do a lot of activities at this province. She liked to make merit by ordering to built temples and religious

buildings, then there could be more evidences that related to the queen's legend that are waiting for us to discover.”

(Statement from an expert of Lampang study, 2018)

There is a place at Lampang's suburb called Wiang Nang Thong at Mae Guie Village, Tambon Pong San Thong, Muang District of Lampang that has oral history about the Queen Chammathevi. In the past, villagers of Mae Guie found plenty of remains of ancient bricks around Wiang Nang Thong and another place nearby called Den Lan. They considered these two places are sacred areas. Mae Guie is also a name of one of the Lua tribe in Lampang.

However, these two places used to be vandalized by some land developers. Villagers of Mae Guie didn't do anything to protect these places because they don't realize about the history and significance of places. Therefore, the legend of Queen Chammathevi should be interpreted by making it to be easier to understand, especially for the villagers. After the villagers understood about the queen's story, they will have awareness for protecting and conserving heritage of their community.

(Statement from an expert of Lampang study, 2018)

Areas for Interpretation

A main objective for creating a standard interpretation of Queen Chammathevi's legend are for translation and representation knowledge and language from ancient documents, which are sometimes hard to read,

to be a new meaning and a new understanding for experts and non-experts. Although this interpretation is a new meaning-making, it needs to be based on ancient document without any distortion. The concept of meaning-making is the approach to enhance heritage knowledge and make it to be heritage experience which full of sense and feeling. It is better to be apprehended by feeling²²⁰, especially for complex ancient history.

Event-structuring sequence is another concept that makes the legend of Queen Chammathevi to be easy to understand. Chronological time and timeline is a perfect tool to help jigsaw the past into a clear picture. The timeline also brings the readers in the modern day travel across the border of time and culture. It links people who have limited knowledge about prehistory of Southeast Asia to understand the development of civilization in the region from the past to the present.

The standard interpretation of Queen Chammathevi's legend is recommended to have four interpretative areas in order to simplify and clarify the complex of the legend. It consists of these four topics, including 1. Introduction about the difference between the mainstream or chronicles of Queen Chammathevi and the tamnans or local history, 2. Prehistory of Southeast Asia, 3. Narration of the legend, and 4. Significances of Queen Chammathevi and her legend.

²²⁰ Staiff, R. (2013). *Re-imagining Heritage Interpretation: Enchanting the Past-Future*. Dorchester: Dorset Press.

The first interpretative area - Introduction about the difference between the mainstream or chronicles of Queen Chammathevi and the tamnans or local history

This part is an introduction of the Queen Chammathevi's legend that has several versions of the mainstream chronicles and tamnan. The knowledge and history of each chronicles and tamnan should be addressed for readers to understand the background of each of them. Three mainstream chronicles, including Chamadevivamsa, Jinakamalini, and Mulasasana, are religious interpretations of the queen's legend which were composed by Buddhist monk of Chaing Mai, around 500 years after the period of Queen Chammathevi, for religious and political purposes.

Another group of the queen's legend is a tamnan or a local history. There are several tamnans which were composed both by Buddhist monks and local scholars. The structure of the legend and details of Queen Chammathevi's story are based on the mainstream chronicles but the authors of these tamnans added some details to the legend to make it more realistic and related to their lives. For example, tamnans present Queen Chammathevi in round and humanly character, while she is presented as a divine in the chronicles. Popular tamnans of Queen Chammathevi are a collection of Tamnan Phrathat in Lampang, Legend of Queen Chammathevi by Mr. Suthawaree Suwarnapach, Kap Jia Chammathevi and Wilangka, and Long Kang Mae Ping.

The second interpretative area - Prehistory of Southeast Asia and Dvaravati

Limited knowledge of prehistory in Southeast Asia and ancient kingdoms under Indian influence like Dvaravati, Srivijaya, and Champa could be a barrier for reader to understand the development in this region. Then, this second area of interpretation aims to provide information about the background of Queen Chammathevi and the development and relationship of each kingdom in that period. Timeline of history is an approach to provide both knowledge and imagination to the readers.

The timeline can begin from hunting and gathering society, agricultural community, hierarchical society, small and large community, to state-level society and kingdom. It can refer to some Buddhist art periods of India like Gupta (4th - 6th century) and Pala (8th - 12th century) with Davaravati art period in order to connect readers with time of Indian civilization and help them to visualize the parallel movement between India and Dvaravati. Next, the education about Dvaravati kingdom by using map or geographical model will effectively provide new knowledge and surprise readers with the truth that Dvaravati is an ancient kingdom in Suvarnabumi region before Sukhothai and Ayutthaya.

The third interpretative area - Narrations of the legend

Knowing both chronicles and tamnans of Queen Chammathevi will be advantage for telling interesting story of Queen Chammathevi to message receivers who can be readers or audiences. The receivers have

limited time and limited interest to study every versions of Queen Chammathevi's legend, they will be impressed with the interpretation that tell them brief narration without losing any important details which can educate and entertain them in the same time. The interpretation structure and language also need to be simple just like telling or speaking with audiences.

The interpretation of this part should aim to produce both fact and emotion to message receivers and link them to the places, objects, or figures that they are familiar with and correspond with their lives. Similarities and differences between chronicles and tamnans of the queen, and explanation about some Buddhism philosophies and symbolism from the legend is important process to help readers to understand the legend. Fresh perspectives can be added in this area because this is the way to share ideas and beliefs between interpretation providers and receivers. Finally, effective and successful narration has to provoke receivers to start having their dialogues with places, objects, and landscapes.

The fourth interpretative area - Significances of Queen Chammathevi and her legend.

The studying of Queen Chammathevi's legend together with perspectives from experts in Hariphunchai and Lan Na study provides new information. The new knowledge completely changes the way to look at the queen as only a sacred historic figure. She is a special person who devoted her life for Buddhism and people. The queen and her legend

covered all value, including aesthetic value, historic value, scientific value, social value, spiritual value, which is described by cultural significances following the Burra Charter.

The interpretation of this area is very important because it can change the attitude of some people who still consider the queen's legend is only a fairytale without any value to realize, understand, and embrace new knowledge. Queen Chammathevi is a living heritage because her actions and devotions in the past are still acknowledged by some people in the present. Her significance is value for both tourism and heritage conservation.

The focus group under the topic of the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route for tourism in Lamphun and Lampang successfully raised awareness of creating a standard interpretation of the queen's legend. Many parts that concern with tourism and conservation in both provinces would like to use it as a reference for creating other interpretation materials. For example, Tourism Authority of Thailand, Lampang Office would like to use the standard interpretation for creating brochures for tourists and using information to promote attractions that related to the queen, Lamphun Tourism Association would like to use it for creating training material for tour guides, and Hariphunchai National Museum would like to use it as a reference for building an exhibition about the queen and use it for training the museum tour guide. The only one interpretation of the queen's legend and its high quality of representation about significance of the queen has high potential to drive the cultural route of the the Queen

Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route and heritage conservation along the route to success.

Problems that occurred to tour guides when they bring their customers to Lamphun are the lacking of information about Queen Chammathevi and Lamphun's history. Tour guides required training and education about these topics that they don't have. They want to tell their customers about benefits from traveling in Lamphun. Knowledge and understanding will help them to be able to tell their guests about the importance of Queen Chammathevi and her contribution to Hariphunchai. Moreover, tour guides require knowledge about interpretation techniques on Queen Chammathevi's legend in order to make the story becomes more interesting.

(Statement from the Chair of Lamphun Tourism Association, 2018)

Tourists often come to the Hariphunchai National Museum to ask about the story of Queen Chammathevi, and they are disappointed. We don't have the exhibition about the queen at the moment. Then, we have a project to add interpretations about the queen and match them with each ancient artifact that related to her story. We will establish an exhibition of Queen Chammathevi at the museum in the future. The video presentation about the queen will be included in the exhibition because it can help the visitors to understand the queen's legend. Furthermore, the training about Queen Chammathevi's legend for our tour guide at the museum is

necessary. They are key persons to create impression and education about Queen Chammathevi and Lamphun to visitors.

(Statement from the Director of Hariphunchai National Museum, 2018)

To summarize on this part of interpretation for a standard legend of Queen Chammathevi, an effective interpretation should have these five elements, including

1. clear objectives for creating interpretation,
2. knowledge of Queen Chammathevi's legend, tourism product development and conservation,
3. knowing target groups of audiences,
4. techniques for presenting the interpretation through appropriate medias, and
5. the management for sustaining and developing interpretation.

Creativity is another key to create an enjoyable interpretation for successful communication to different groups of audiences. Meaningful interpretation that related to audiences is a challenge job according to complicated versions of Queen Chammathevi's legend, and also about the space and time between 1,300 years ago period and the present. However, interpretation is a hope for creating sense of place within every generation in Lamphun and Lampang. If they realize the important of Hariphunchai and Khelang Nagara, they will proud of their places and help to promote tourism and conservation on the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route.

Sense of Place and Sense of Ownership

The concept of sense of place is another challenge on establishing and developing tourism and conservation on the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route. Suggestions from some participants from the focus groups reflect that there are signs of weakness on the relationship between people in both cities and the queen's legend. Although the queen is regularly used as a symbol of antiquity and sacredness by government and private organizations in Lamphun to promote religious and non-religious events, local people are not well informed and educated about her significances and purposes for organizing those events under the name of the queen.

The local government should sustainably promote the significance of Queen Chammathevi, not just use her name to promote events and don't inform local people about her significances. Local people are essential part for developing their own communities. Giving knowledge about Queen Chammathevi to them will create the link between them and the queen and Lamphun. Beside, local people should be educated about their local history regularly. Tell them and let them know objectives of each cultural event that relate to the queen. This is an effective way to make them feel proud of their place and they will help the government to conserve their heritage.

(Statement from a Buddhist monk of Wat Mahawan, 2018)

It is crucial to inform about benefits from tourism, cultural events, and cultural activities to local people. Tell them about benefits that they will receive from those activities. Then, follow up and check for whether local people really have those benefits.

(Statement from a Buddhist monk of Wat Chammathevi, 2018)

However, the queen is a main icon of Lamphun because she is respected and recognized as a first queen who established Hariphunchai and brought civilization from Lavo and Dvaravati to develop this remote area. Her name is included in the Lamphun's provincial slogan as "Phrathat temple of renown, holy Phra Rod votive tablet, famous longan, quality garlic, beautiful traditions, Queen Chammathevi of Hariphunchai Kingdom". Besides, there are several cultural events that are organized for the queen's commemoration and based on the legend of the queen, while there are a few events in Lampang that mentioned the name of the queen. This is a critical sign which reflects poor perception of Lampang people to the queen's legend, although her name and her statues are appeared in several temples and places in their everyday lives. This relationship between Queen Chammathevi and Lampang people has more distance if compare to Lamphun. She seems like a stranger for Lampang people. Most of them, especially young generation, don't even know who the queen is.

Lampang people in young generation don't know Queen Chammathevi. If I ask a hundred of them about the queen, there is only one that used to hear the queen's name. Some of them only know that the queen created Phra Rod votive tablets. This information may be not correct, but they just have this kind of information.

Young generation doesn't have anything relate to the queen. Then we should educate them about the queen and significance of their local history. They need to know about the history of their place.

(Statement from an expert in Lampang's votive tablet study, 2018)

Not many people in Lampang know about the legend of Queen Chammathvi. There is only one person that I accepted that he has an in-depth knowledge about the queen's legend and local history of Lampang. He is Ajarn Sak Rattanachai. When there is a few people know about the queen, the Queen Chammathevi's route is not interesting at all.

Historians and archaeologists should study more about the legend of Queen Chammathevi that related to Lampang. They should reconstruct this part of local history and make it clear and correct by having references from ancient documents and archaeological evidences to support and make their information more reliable. Moreover, interpretation of the queen legend needs to be easy to understand. It could be created in a form of tamnan or folktale.

(Statement from a representative from Hang Chat District, 2018)

Queen Chammathevi is in the memory of Lamphun people more than Lampang people. Most of community in Lampang has less knowledge and relationship to the queen. There is only a specific group of Lampang people that is interested in her legend. Then, the queen's legend for Lampang people was less interesting than other local or nation heroes like King Naresuan, King Taksin, and Chao Por Thip Chang. Besides, if you want to promote the Queen Chammathevi's route to tourists, you will have problem about not having enough tour guides who have information about the queen. Knowledge and information about the queen from specialists who have in-depth knowledge about the legend of the queen should be delivered to tourists.

(Statement from a teacher of Lampang Vocational College, 2018)

Chao Por Thip Chang or Praya Sulawa Ruechai Songkhram (1676 - 1761) is a historic figure that is more vivid in the memory of Lampang people than Queen Chammathevi according to the statement from a participant. People perceives history of this Lampang local hero more often because there are several interpretations about him and his Chao Ched Ton clan publicized in books about Lan Na history. In 1732, he led 300 of Lampang men against Thao Mahayot, the Burmese military commander over Lamphun and Lampang. He assassinated the commander at Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang and established his political group. Later, Phraya Kawila (1742 - 1815) who is a nephew of Chao Por Thip Chang was a leader who rebelled against Burma and was loyal to King Taksin of Siam. After

that, he was appointed by King Taksin to be a ruler of Chiang Mai and has a main duty to restore Lan Na. He also appointed his brothers to rule over other cities in the region, such as Lamphun and Lampang.

The history of Chao Por Thip Chang and his Chao Ched Ton clan related and shared the period with the official history of Thailand. Then, it is convenient for people in later generations to find information about him if compare to find information of the less-known prehistory of Queen Chammathevi. Then, his story is often used as a main theme for referring to the establishment of Lampang history, despite Lampang history is more ancient than that.

Chao Mae Suchada is another local figure that has influence on Lampang people's memory. Her story related to the legend of Phra Kaew Morakot Don Tao which is the provincial auspicious Buddha image. She is a laywoman that offered a watermelon with a precious green gemstone inside to a Buddhist monk. When they found the precious stone, they wanted to craft it to be a Buddha image. The Indra god also came from the heaven and disguised himself to be an old man to help them to craft the Buddha image. After they were successfully create Phra Kaew Morakot Don Tao, Chao Mae Suchada and the monk were defamed by Lampang people that they had sexual relation. Chao Mae Suchada was unjustly judged by a Lampang ruler and she was sentenced to death. She cursed Lampang people who hurt her. After she was beheaded, her blood hurled up into the sky to proof that she was innocent. Therefore, Lampang people since the old day until the modern day have strong belief that the curse still

remain. They always blame that Lampang has poor economy because of the curse.

The story of Chao Mae Suchada is dynamic because it is recognized widely through every generation of Lampang. Her story is repeated and retold whenever Lampang people remind about the curse. Beside, the story is a popular oral tradition that relate to an auspicious Buddha image of Phra Kaew Morakot Don Tao. It is also frequently referred during Buddhist monks give the sermon and Buddhist lessons. Monks use her as a symbol of a laywoman who loves to make merit and use her story to teach people. On the other hand, the legend of Queen Chammathevi seems to be static among Lampang people. Her name is appeared in some Lampang local history or tamnan only as a symbol of antiquity. History and her significances are not being told.

Some oral histories of Lampang present Queen Chammathevi as an irascible woman who always cursed on objects that are unpleasant to herself. For example, she cursed on jackfruit trees at Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang for stopping them to have their fruits because one of her son tripped over when he stepped on a jackfruit on the temple's ground. Secondly, she cursed on banana trees at the temple for stopping them to have their fruits because her people mainly want to use banana leaves to make food containers for monks. However, she also has auspicious verbal that she used it for helping people. She asked for a well from gods for being a water source for villagers at Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang community. Besides,

she asked the Wang River to change its course before its eroding power destroys Wat Wiang at Thoen District²²¹.

Lampang people seem to have more emotional connection with Chao Por Thip Chang and Chao Mae Suchada than Queen Chammathevi because traditional history of Lampang doesn't mention much about the queen's value and significances for the province. With less information about the importance of the queen to Lampang, the people only have sense of alienation towards the queen. The resistance from some participants from the focus group in Lampang clearly shows that they don't agree with the idea of building the route in Lampang under the theme of Queen Chammathevi. They said the queen's legend is a myth and there isn't any archeological evidence that exactly support her existence in Lampang history. They argued that they don't believe in the Queen's legend.

The above resistance from participants is highly useful for the researcher to find a strategy to overcome this challenge, otherwise the weak bonding between Queen Chammathevi and Lampang people will become a negative impact on establishing the route. Theory of different scale of sense of place from Shmuel Shamai²²² is introduced for being a practical guide for solution. The theory define six levels that individual person has relationship with a place. The bottom level is people who lack of sense of place, and the solution for improving this weakness is providing the

²²¹ Hapol, S. (2013). *Body of Knowledge of Folktales to Build up Identity of Tourist Attraction in Lampang Province*. Retrieved from https://elibrary.trf.or.th/project_content.asp?PJID=RDG5550046

²²² Shamai, S. (1991). *Sense of Place: An Empirical Measurement*. Great Britain: Geoforum.

knowledge and history of the place until they are familiar with the place they live in. The second level is belonging to a place which can be formed by encouraging people to realize the important of place. The third level is attachment to the place that can be established by convincing people to do activities at the place and letting them enjoy having experience with the place. The fourth level is identifying with the place goal or the majority people who live in the place all know the same goal for developing their place to be better. The fifth level is involvement in place which is the stage that people can initiate their own activities to develop the place with their own investment in resources. Finally, the top level is scarification to the place or the people who have deepest commitment to the place and invest their freedom, prosperity, or life to develop and protect the place.

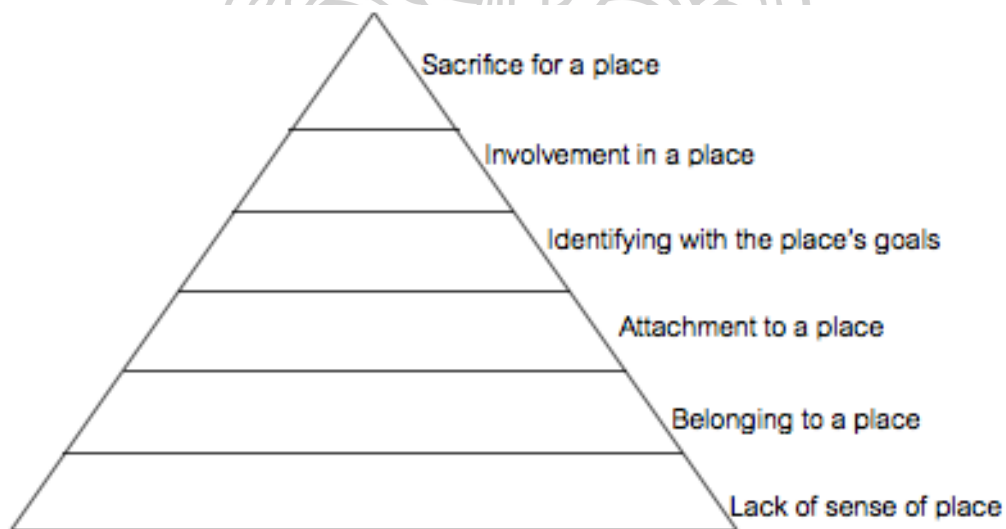


Figure 125 Adapted from theory of different scales of sense of place
Source: Shmuel Shamai, 1991

Effective interpretation is a tool to blend the legend of Queen Chammathevi into a sense of place of Lamphun and Lampang. The interpretation should be able to increase a sense of place from bottom to top level by these six aims of communication²²³, including

1. the aims to orientate and make message receivers to be familiar with the place,

2. the aim to inform and create understanding between the place and message receivers,

3. the aim to entertain message receivers by speaking with them and tell them stories,

4. the aim to persuade message receivers to do and think for developing the place,

5. the aim to explain about every movement and change that are occurred in the place, and

6. the aim to influence behavior, belief, and attitude of message receivers.

Another golden rule for building a link between Queen Chammathevi and Lamphun and Lampang through the interpretation is to create different one to different group of people, especially children. To increase awareness of Queen Chammathevi's significance to children, the interpretation should be able to capture their interests by visual or audio

²²³ Carter, J. (2001). *A Sense of Place*. Retrieved from http://portal.uni-freiburg.de/interpreteurope/service/carter_sense-of-place.pdf

entertainment. Beside, encouraging sensory involvement of children by giving them activities to create personal experience by touching, smelling, tasting, and interacting to places and objects are recommended. Activities that can bring children to gain experience while traveling into the past with enjoyment are such as, training, workshop, field trip, and young interpreter contest. Sense of place between Lamphun and Lampang people can become stronger if the interpretation can convince them to feel, not only to know, the important of Queen Chammathevi to their places.

Strategies in Action

Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route needs some strategies to move it to implementations and actions to achieve its two major goals which consist of heritage conservation and tourism development in Lamphun and Lampang. Recommended strategies for implementations and actions for the route are including Cluster and Network, Segmentation, Collaboration between Generations, and Experience Enchantment. They provide guidance for the future route manager to use them to form the route and to create it from idea to be tangible heritage conservation tools and successful tourism products.

Cluster and Network

Cluster or Porter's Agglomeration is one of a popular concept in business management that is proposed by Michael E. Porter since 1998. He stated that "A cluster is a geographically proximate group of interconnected companies and associated institutions in a particular field, linked by

commonalities and complementarities.²²⁴ His cluster concept involves with three features, which are geographical proximity, agglomeration, and competitiveness. Geographic scope of cluster can be from small communities in the same area to neighboring countries that have similar resources and environment. Small communities or countries also have a geographical agglomeration of companies, suppliers, service providers, and associated institutions in a particular field²²⁵. Moreover, the outcome from the cluster concept is a dynamic synergy that can create competitive advantages from innovations and productivities for every party who join in the particular group.

The concept of cluster in business is developed and widely applied in tourism. Mario Beni mention tourism cluster as “a group of highlighted tourism attractions within a limited geographic space provided with high quality equipment and services, social and political cohesion.”²²⁶ Tourism cluster generally includes;

- a) a set of tourist attractions,
- b) tourism service companies
- c) sectors providing support to tourism,
- d) infrastructures, such as roads, energy and health service,

²²⁴ Porter, M. E. (1998). *On Competition*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

²²⁵ Iordache, C. & et al. (2010). *Clusters-Tourism Activity Increase Competitive Support*. Theoretical and Applied Economic Journal: Volume XVII, No. 5.

²²⁶ Beni, M. C. (2003). *Globalização do turismo: Megatendências do Setor e a Realidade Brasileira*. São Paulo: Aleph.

- e) companies for information and financial capital, and
- d) government agencies and regulating bodies that impact tourism agglomeration²²⁷.

When tourism operators in supply side work together by sharing knowledge, innovation, and resources among cluster's members is better than working by oneself. Michael E. Porter also confirmed this idea by mentioning as “the importance of the element belonging to the tourism cluster, saying that satisfaction of tourists does not only depend on the appeal of the place's primary attraction, but also depend on quality and efficiency of related business, as hotels, restaurants, malls, and institutions²²⁸.”

The Ministry of Tourism and Sports of Thailand (MOTS) promoted tourism agglomeration with the second tourism development plan (2017 - 2021) and by three tourism cluster strategies, including 8 tourism clusters, 12 Hidden Gem Provinces, and 12 Hidden Gem Plus Province. Lamphun and Lampang are two provinces that are included in all three strategies at the beginning of the plan and received many benefits from clustering, such as economic growth, higher number of tourists and increasing of overnight

²²⁷ Kindl da Cunha, S. & Cunha, J. (2005). *Tourism Cluster Competitiveness and Sustainability: Proposal for a Systematic Model to mEasure the Impact of Tourism on Local Development*. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/26504500>

²²⁸ Porter, M. E. (1998). *Clusters and the New Economics of Competition*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

stay, and successful promotion of lesser-known attractions²²⁹. Moreover, after the achievement of these clusters from government policy, Tourism Authority of Thailand found a new office in Lampang to increase focusing on developing and promoting tourism in Lampang and Lamphun. Thus, a policy maker like government has a main influence over tourism in terms of initiation and introduction of tourism strategy.

According to the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route is a new tourism product which comprises of many challenges from lesser-known attractions in small communities and lacking of standard interpretation that help people to understand significance of the queen and the route, network strategy should be introduced to support and strengthen cluster strategy. Although, network has similar features with cluster because these two strategies are links between firms to exchange cooperation and innovation of all forms, network has different features from cluster because of these following reasons;

a) a network focuses beyond geographic concentration, then it can connect from local agents to global organizations,

b) a network bases on contractual cooperation, it has clear regulations to support activities and its working environment is more formal and stable than cluster,

c) a network promotes closed membership, while cluster is more flexible with loose business ties, and

²²⁹ Secretary of Ministry of Tourism and Sports. (2017). *Full Report of Tourism Economy for Competency to enter Asean Economics Community*. Retrieved from https://www.mots.go.th/ewt_dl_link.php?nid=8404

d) a network span across industries and fields for innovation and education.

Formal form of collaboration leads to concrete objectives and clear structure of network are strong points that can help operate and mobilize the route effectively.

When a network allows members to work across borders and diverse sectors, benefits are increased according to expanding of tourist's base from local to international, extending tourism innovation, sharing cost, risk, and resources, improving ability to deal with complicated challenges, enhancing continuous learning, and speed to seize opportunities and avoid threats.

Networks for driving success of the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route involve with different stakeholders for collaborations, competitions, and innovations. Based on original Stakeholders Theory of R. Edward Freeman in 1984²³⁰, and the adaptation of stakeholder map for tourism²³¹, there are 8 groups of stakeholder, including business, residents, activist groups, tourists, national business chains, competitors, government, and employee. Then 4 network strategies are proposed for developing the route, and try to benefit and relate to all stakeholders. The 4 network strategies consist of 1) knowledge network, 2) heritage

²³⁰ Freeman, R. E. (1984). *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*. Boston: Pitman.

²³¹ Kukoyi, I.A. et al. (2016). *Sustainable Tourism Practice; A Panacea for Reviving Bilikisu-Sugbon Tourist Attraction and Reducing Poverty in Oke-eri*. European Journal Of Hospitality And Tourism Research, Vol.4, No.3.

conservation network, 3) business network, and 4) local community's networks.

Knowledge Network

Regular searching for new knowledge from collaborations of partners is a special feature and a requirement for operating cultural routes. Partners in this network are academics, researchers, and experts who directly or indirectly associated to it. They are required to share a common concern in having co-operation in research and development for developing sustainable cultural route. They can come from different fields in tourism development or from other related fields, such as history, architecture, archaeology, and anthropology. Their studies will give the route more meanings and help to understand the route as a whole. After understanding of the route, their new knowledge will become tools for discovering new ideas and opportunities for it.

Two initiators of cultural route project as European Institute of Cultural Route and ICOMOS realized the significance of knowledge network, and then they stated rules and objectives for having knowledge network for each cultural route project. The European Institute of Cultural Route stated in the resolution CM/Res(2013) 67 that the cultural route projects must lend themselves to research and interdisciplinary analysis on both a theoretical and practical level for enabling dispersed knowledge to be brought together and illustrate the development of these values, and the

variety of forms they may take in Europe²³². Likewise the ICOMOS Charter of Cultural Routes stated about the research and development in the fundamental component of Cultural Routes as “The concept of Cultural Route requires a specific methodology for its research, assessment, protection, preservation, conservation, use and management. This methodology requires the establishment of a system of coordinated and integrally managed activities”²³³.

The implementation of knowledge network is needed to start from a knowledge management board of Cultural Routes or scientific board of Cultural Route according to European Institute of Cultural Route. This board has important duties to establish partnership and an operation structure of the network which consists of universities researchers, government and non-government researchers. Next, the board can initiate a calendar of knowledge network meeting, trainings, workshop, and seminar. Then, the board monitors and guides the network bases on these objectives;

- they should be largely collaborative by bringing different stakeholders to share expertise and experience,
- they should be mutually benefiting for every stakeholders in terms of knowledge and economy contribution,

²³² Council of Europe. (2013). Cultural Route of the Council of Europe: Resources. Retrieved from https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016805c69fe

²³³ ICOMOS. (2008). The ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes. Retrieved from https://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Charters/culturalroutes_e.pdf

- they should be interdisciplinary by bringing different researches from different fields, or create condition of producing knowledge not limit to one field, and

- they should be creative and innovative in order to stimulate development of cultural route²³⁴.

The initiation and attempt of forming the research group and study about Queen Chammathevi could not be seen at the moment, but there were some researchers presented academic papers related to Queen Chammathevi at both international and national seminars in Chiang Mai, Lampang, and Bangkok. These seminars are such as,

- 13th International Conference on Thai Studies, was held in July 2017 by Chiang Mai University,

- Sukhothai Studies and Lanna Studies, was held in March 2018 by Office of the Royal Society, and

- 1st De-centralizing Lanna, was held in November 2018 by Thammasart University Lampang Campus.

Hariphunchai National Museum used to be a center for organizing several seminars about Queen Chammathevi during 2008 - 2009 or when Dr. Pensupa Sukata was a museum director. Other local government organizations like Lamphun Provincial Administrative Organization hosted some seminars and field trips for group of scholars who are interested in the legend of Queen Chammathevi during 2516 - 2517.

²³⁴The Council of Europe. (2015). *Cultural Route Management: from Theory to Practice*. Strasbourg Cedex: Council of Europe Publishing.

Furthermore, Wiang Yong Subdistrict Administrative Organization also held a seminar in a topic of Queen Chammathevi by using a name of 'The Woman Kingdom in Chinese Historiography' in December 2017, and Dr. Rao Ruiying from Yunnan Nationalities University was a keynote speaker.

Several seminars, field trips, and academic papers about Queen Chammathevi prove that there are both Thai and foreign researchers are interested in studying about the queen's legend in different perspectives. However, researchers from different fields of study and from different locations are required to be connected by a host which could be one of organizations in Lamphun and Lampang. Then, the organization should support the researchers' group until they can establish strong relationship and are able to operate by themselves with formal structure and clear objectives.

Heritage Conservation Network

The increase of community involvement in cultural heritage conservation in both Lamphun and Lampang has a starting point from the law and concept of decentralization from Thai government. Since Thai Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2540 (1997) to Thai Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2560 (2017), chapter 3 Rights and Liberties of the Thai People, section 43 mentions a person and community shall have the right to conserve, revive or promote wisdom, arts, culture, tradition and good customs at both local and national levels. The law also creates a mechanism for encouraging citizen participation by using the local administration to be a center to empower communities.

According to the chapter 14 Local Administration, section 253 mentions local administrative organizations, local assemblies and local administrators shall disclose information and report the result of performance to the public, and shall also establish mechanisms to enable the participation of people in the locality.

The law and concept of decentralization allow local administration of Lamphun and Lampang introduced several cultural heritage conservation projects. Some of them were successful and sustainable because they come from local people-centered approach and collaborations between policy makers and stakeholders. Examples of successful heritage conservation cases are as follows;

- the collaboration between Lamphun Municipality and Hariphunchai National Museum to design the terracotta panel behind Queen Chammathevi statue at Nong Dok Public Park. They also organized the History of Hariphunchai workshops for teachers and students in Lamphun, the training for Lamphun's youth guide, and the initiation of Lamphun's excursion trams,

- the collaboration between Lamphun Provincial Administrative Organization and Hariphunchai National Museum to have archaeological excavations and conservation of historic sites at Wiang Kho Klang temple, Wat Phra Yuen, and Wat Ku Lamak,

- the collaboration between Lampang Municipality and Lampang Senior Citizen Network to have archaeological excavations and conservation of historic sites at Ku Chaoya Suta,

- the collaboration between Chiang Mai University, Pong Sanuk Community at Lampang and the Little People in Conservation Group to conserve the Wiharn Phra Chao Phun Ong.

All above projects and historic sites are continuously conserve and look after by local governments and people. Some places like Wiang Kho Klang temple, Wat Phra Yuen, and Wat Ku Lamak, and Wat Pong Sanuk become tourist attractions. Historic sites at Ku Chaoya Suta also become one of attractions for local evening market and cultural events on every Friday since 2009.

However, there are some cases that indicate the failures of cultural heritage conservation that were conducted by local government and communities. For example,

- the restoration of Hariphunchai ancient city wall and entrance gates because the wall was reconstructed by using Rattanakosin architectural style,

- the creation of stucco in an elephant figure at Queen Chammathevi statue at Nong Dok Public Park. The character of an elephant is not related to an auspicious elephant named Phu Kam Nga Kieaw from the legend of Queen Chammathevi,

- the conflict between local community and Lampang Municipality and the Office of Fine Arts Department 7th, Nan, during the restoration of Lampang ancient wall and Pra Tu Ma Gate,

- the destruction of Lai Kham or wall decorative design in gilded technique at the Wiharn Phra Buddha of Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang by an unprofessional private company.

In order to prevent any failures in heritage conservation to be repeated, the establishment of heritage network between Lamphun and Lampang should be commenced along the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route. The members of this network can come from local government organizations, local communities, private organizations, and volunteers. Objectives for this network are for sharing resources, sharing economic and social benefits, social cohesion, and citizen involvement. The network can ask for support from the Fine Arts Department in terms of cultural heritage conservation knowledge and techniques.

The Fine Arts Department has projects to contribute conservation concept and training to working groups that concern with local cultural heritage conservation at every province in Thailand. Their projects like Local Volunteer for Cultural Heritage Safe Guarding and Conservation for local citizen, Heritage Conservation Training for Buddhist Ecclesiastical Official Monk for abbots, and Heritage Conservation Training for Department of Public Works and Town Planning of each local administration, have objectives to provide conservation knowledge, conservation techniques, and conservation law to three major groups that concern with local cultural heritage. Information from the Fine Arts Department will promote understanding and awareness in conservation and restoration of cultural heritage among those parties. Moreover, groups from voluntary and community can have further movements to form their

professional connection. They can establish their heritage conservation network of Lamphun and Lampang for organizing meetings and events, share experience, funding, and working through problems together.

Business and SMEs Network

Tourism is a system that comprises of demand side from tourists and supply side from attractions, transportation, services, promotion, and information²³⁵. The supply side is functioning systems that mostly are under the control of private enterprises of large business companies and SMEs or small and medium-sized enterprises. Examples of large business companies in the destination region of Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route are as follows;

- airline companies that have destinations in Chiang Mai and Lampang, such as Thai Airways International, Bangkok Airways, Nok Air, Thai Air Asia, and Thai Lion Air,
- accommodations in Lamphun and Lampang, including 4 stars to 2 stars hotels and resorts, and
- car rental companies in Lampang, such as Avis and Thai Rent A Car.

The above examples are companies that have well-established with long firm age, large firm size, high qualified personals, and high

²³⁵ Gunn, A. C. (1993). *Tourism Planning: Basics, Concepts, Cases*. U.S.A.: Taylor&Francis.

managerial and IT capabilities. Some of them are international companies and some are invested by groups of chained-brand hotel.

SMEs are different from large business companies and have some limitations for operating business. They are small firms and mostly are financed by the owners. Many of them are family run business with simple business structure. They have limited number of staff and those staff have to help each other to handle several tasks in productions, marketing, sales, and accounting. SMEs in destination region of Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route are such as local car rental companies, local tour operators and guides, small lodgings, souvenir and OTOP shops, restaurants, massage shops, and private museums and galleries.

Antal Szabó studied about SME Clustering for Competitiveness²³⁶ and he found some problems of SMEs, which are;

- lacking of entrepreneurial, management and marketing skills,
- facing constraints in regulations on establishment of company, licensing, employment law, and taxation,
- lacking of accessibilities to information and knowledge for development and innovation, and
- not having credit guarantee for financial institution.

Then, cooperation and network between large business companies and SMEs are required to promote the growth of SMEs and tourism

²³⁶ Szabó, A. (2015). *Clustering for Competitiveness*. Greece: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

business environment along the cultural route. SMEs can gain benefits from joining the network with large business companies in terms of improving knowledge, skills, creativity, innovation, and cost reduction, while large business companies gain benefits from business partnership and exchange experience and information with local perspective. Both of them can grow together and promote attractiveness and competitiveness to Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route. Moreover, SMEs network could be strengthened by local governmental support in terms of accessibility to finance and market, creation of competitive environment, and encouraging an entrepreneurial culture.

Successful cooperation between large business companies and SMEs can be seen from best practices on some cultural routes of the Council of Europe. For example, the Hansa Cultural Route has several SMEs activities like festivals organized by network members along the route. Each business and SMEs network from 176 towns volunteers to host an annual celebration of a Hansatic Day. They have meeting and workshop for creating thematic products, service, and souvenirs to commemorate this annual festival. Beside, the Legacy of al-Andalus Route also promotes business along the route by training programs for SMEs, offer and exchange information with SMEs staff, and encourages all members in business network to display brand and logo of the cultural route. Furthermore, the Route of the Olive Tree received funding support from network members, incomes from the Route of the Olive Tree shop, and external grants from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Messenia.

Juergen Gnoth studied about Strengthening Tourism SME Brands²³⁷ and mentioned SMEs are important for the sustainable growth and competitiveness of tourist destination. Her propositions on successful destination are interesting and they are good lessons for managing the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route. Examples of those propositions are as following;

- successful tourism destinations have SMEs interacting more frequently both at a formal and an informal level than less successful destinations,

- successful tourism destinations have more SMEs networking on internal marketing issues,

- successful tourism destinations have SMEs that are more motivated to gain better knowledge and consumer research,

- successful tourism destinations communicate more frequently with other members and on a greater variety of subjects and issues,

- successful tourism destinations have higher proportions of SMEs that help create and develop more sophisticated internal destination brand strategies, and

- successful tourism destinations know about tourist segments take through destination.

²³⁷ Gnoth, J. (2004). *Strengthening Tourism SME Brands*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254573781_Strengthening_Tourism_SME_Brands

Tourist Segmentation

One of effective management strategy that can be implemented in promotion of the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route is segmentation. It is the process of dividing a total clientele, or tourist, into groups consisting of people who have relatively similar service needs²³⁸. Tourist segmentation tends to analyze and identify group of tourists by understanding their different reasons and purposes of visitation. Information from analyzing tourist's data will be used to forecast potential tourists groups who might choose to explore the route. Segmentation also permits the destination or product supplier to shape experiences for different groups, optimize promotional efforts and maximizing tourist enjoyment²³⁹. Therefore, segmentation is a tool for targeting the right group of tourists, reach them by the right message and communication channel, and create the best cultural route experience to serve them.

There are two major segmentation approaches that are widely used in marketing research, including commonsense segmentation, and data driven segmentation. The process of these two approaches for segmentation based on four distinct steps of selection, grouping, profiling, and managerial assessment. Each step can be described as following;

²³⁸ Pride, W. M. & Ferrell, O. C. (1983). *Marketing Basic, Concepts, and Decision, 3rd Edition*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

²³⁹ Du Cros, H. & McKercher, B. (2015). *Cultural Tourism, 2nd Edition*. London: Routledge.

Step 1 Selection of criteria for segmentation, such as purpose of trip, geographic, demographic, psychographic (lifestyle), situation, and behavioral,

Step 2 Grouping of respondents into segments,

Step 3 Profiling of segment by identifying distinct characteristics of each segment, and

Step 4 Managerial assessment and form activities to best suit each segment's needs.

The only difference between commonsense segmentation and data driven segmentation is on step 2. While commonsense segmentation approach do grouping for potential tourist's segments before any data analysis, data driven segmentation emphasize on step 2 for selection of segmentation algorithm, stability analysis, and computation of final segmentation solution²⁴⁰.

In order to propose examples of tourist segmentation for the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route in this dissertation, the commonsense segmentation approach is selected to implement with two selection criteria of purpose of trip and psychographic segmentation. The first criterion, purpose of trip, has four variables, including pleasure travel, personal business, convention (meeting), and tournaments (sport's groups). The second criterion also comprise with four variables, including personality traits, lifestyle, attitudes (interests and opinions), and

²⁴⁰ Dolnicar, S. (2007). *Market Segmentation in Tourism*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/30387969_Market_Segmentation_in_Tourism

motivation. These approach and selection criteria generate four potential tourist segmentations for the route, which are 1) cultural tourism, 2) religious tourism, 3) community-based tourism, and 4) adventure tourism.

Cultural Tourism

Cultural tourists have main purpose to visit cultural attractions and find chances to participate in cultural events. They seek for authentic and deep cultural experience, but not necessarily want to experience reality²⁴¹. Hilary du Cros and Bob McKercher introduced a cultural tourist typology based on degrees of centrality of motive and depth of experience. The typology consists of five segments of cultural tourist, including purposeful cultural tourist, sightseeing cultural tourist, serendipitous cultural tourist, casual cultural tourist, and incidental cultural tourist.



²⁴¹ Du Cros, H. & McKercher, B. (2015). *Cultural Tourism, 2nd Edition*. London: Routledge.

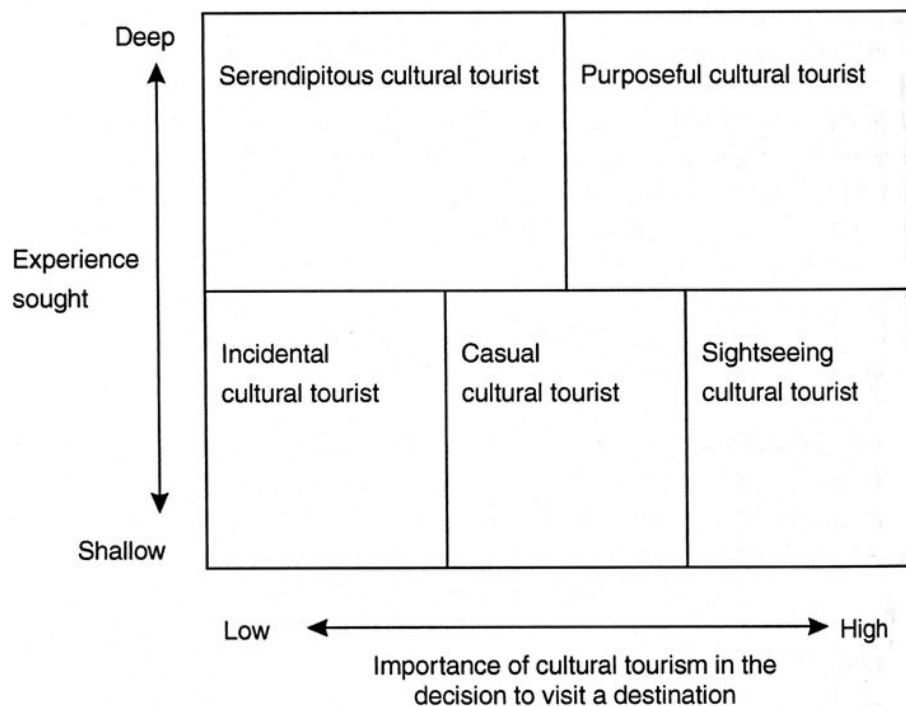


Figure 140: A Cultural Tourist Typology

Source: Du Cros, H. & McKercher, B. (2015). *Cultural Tourism, 2nd Edition*. London: Routledge.

The researcher also proposes three subgroups of cultural tourists under a cultural tourist typology. These tourists' segments have specialist interest in different areas of history, architecture, and historical artifacts, especially votive tablets. The Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route can offer these subgroups by the following cultural attractions, products, and experiences.

- History specialist interest subgroup

The route can offer 27 attractions to history specialist interest subgroup. All of them have association with prehistory of Southeast Asia region, Dvaravati, Hariphunchai and Lan Na history. Beside, tourist will recognize Queen Chammathevi from legends, interpretations, and memories that appear along the cultural route.

- Architectural specialist interest subgroup

The route can offer several ancient monuments in Hariphunchai period to architectural specialist interest subgroup. Those monuments have unique style of architecture and have integrity and authenticity. Examples of the ancient monuments are Suwannachangkot Chedi and Rattana Chedi at Wat Chammathevi. Besides, tourists can see the development of Hariphunchai architecture which has influence from India and Burma. Moreover, they can observe the development of ancient monuments from Hariphunchai to Lan Na period and to Rattanakosin period from several monuments and sites, such as Phrathat Hariphunchai and Phrathat Lampang Luang.

- Historical artifacts specialist interest subgroup

Artifacts from prehistory at Ban Wang Hi archaeological site and artifact from Hariphunchai period that were discovered in Lamphun and Lampang are magnets for attracting historical artifacts specialist interest subgroup. Hundred of rare items terracotta votive tablets like Phra Rod, Phra Khong, and Phra Perm can be seen at the museum of Wat Mahawan, Wat San Pa Yang Luang, Wat Kang Soi, and Hariphunchai

National Museum. If they are lucky enough, they will have a chance to discuss with some local scholars who are the expertise in Dvaravati and Hariphunchai votive tablets.

Religious Tourism

This segment can be called in another name as spiritual tourism. Tourists from this group make their journeys to visit holy places, sacred sites, or participate in religious events. They have desire to pilgrim to religious places for worshipping and showing loyalty to gods that they have faith. They pray for their gods to protect them, give them prosperity and longevity. Some of them pilgrimage to holy places for finding meaning of life and inner wisdom.

Anna Irimias presented interesting data about religious tourist on the topic 'Demographic Characteristics Influencing Religious Tourism Behavior: Evidence from a Cultural Eastern-European Country' that characteristics of religious tourist depend on sacred site and the cult of sacred god²⁴². For example, the vast majority of visitors to Marian Shrines all around Europe are female pilgrims for worshipping a female saint, while most of pilgrims found at Mount Athos in Greece are male who believe in god of giant that can bring them victory over chaos. In addition, Jertsak Mana found data about characteristics of Thai pilgrims on his study

²⁴² Irimias, A. et al. (2016). *Demographic Characteristics Influencing Religious Tourism Behavior: Evidence from a Cultural Eastern-European Country*. International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage, Vol. 4.

·Motivation in Temple Visiting, Muang District, Lamphun Province²⁴³ that, there are more female visitors than male, average age of visitors is 40 years old, and they prefer to visit temples with their family, rather than having a tour guide. Thai visitors travel to temples because they want to escape from stress in daily life, and they want to practice Buddhist rite on religious days.

The Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route has high potential to fulfill the segment of religious tourism because the route can offer tourists both temples and sacred sites. Apart from religious monuments and architectures at holy places in Lamphun and Lampang, tourists can enjoy intangible heritage which is philosophies from Buddhism, Brahmanism, and Animism in both cities. For example, tourists can learn about Buddhist cosmology from the layout of Wat Phrathat Lampang Luang and Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai, they can investigate the belief in Vaishnavism cult of Brahmanism from the conch shell shape of Hariphunchai and Khelang Nagara's city plan, and the belief in Saivism cult from the architecture of Ku Chang and local belief of sacred mountain. Moreover, Animism can be observed through way of life of local people who believe in ancestors' spirits and mother goddess. Queen Chammathevi is also a symbol of Chao Mae or mother goddess that reflects through local belief.

²⁴³ Mana, J. et al. (2016). *Motivation in Temple Visiting, Muang District, Lamphun Province*. International Journal of Asian Tourism Management, Vol. 7.

Community-based Tourism

Interactions between tourists and host community are a key word that differentiates community-based tourism to other segments. Local community is empowered to be both local service providers and suppliers. They can make decision in the whole process of managing and sharing profits to local community members equitably. High involvement in community-based tourism from local people is another approach to conserving community culture and natural environment. Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) mentioned benefits from effective community-based tourism as following;

- it supports local economic development and employment,
- it conserves and promotes living cultural heritage and welfare, and
- it educates visitors about culture and nature²⁴⁴.

According to the study of Kittisak Klinmuenwai about 'Guideline for Community-based Tourism Development in Lampang Province'²⁴⁵, he analyzed characteristics of 406 respondents who supposed to be community-based tourists and he found that, the majority of tourists are female more than male, the average age of tourists is 25 years old, and most

²⁴⁴ Asker, K. et al. (2010). *Effective Community Based Tourism*. Australia: Sustainable Tourism Cooperative Research Center 2010.

²⁴⁵ Klimmuenwai, K. (2011). *Guideline for Community-based Tourism Development in Lampang Province*. Retrieved from http://cuir.car.chula.ac.th/bitstream/123456789/29654/1/kittisak_kl.pdf

of them are students in universities. Tourists used to visit Lampang at least two to three times with their family. They mostly travel to Lampang by their private cars. They have high desirability to participate in local culture, traditions, and way of life. They are interested in staying at home stay accommodation in the community. Moreover, they know about community-based tourism in Lampang from the internet and travel magazines.

Another study of Chalisa Kallayanamitra and Piyakul Buddhawongsa about 'Sustainability of Community-Based Tourism: Comparison of Mae Kam Pong Village in Chiang Mai Province and Ta Pa Pao Village in Lamphun Province'²⁴⁶, revealed that, tourists are interested in Ta Pa Pao Village in Lamphun Province because its rich beautiful natural resources, culture, and way of living. The village has different selling point from being successful community forest management, conservation, and restoration. Moreover, the researchers reported that the local hotspot is warmth, friendliness, and generosity of villagers. The visitors like villager's simple traditional life-style, their self-sufficient and self-reliant.

²⁴⁶ Kallayanamitra, C. & Buddhawongsa, P. (2014). *Sustainability of Community-Based Tourism: Comparison of Mae Kam Pong Village in Chiang Mai Province and Ta Pa Pao Village in Lamphun Province*. Journal of Economic Chiang Mai University, Vol. 18.

Adventure Tourism

Adventure Travel Trade Association (ATTA) defined adventure tourism as a trip that has at least two of these three elements, including physical activity, natural environment, and cultural immersion²⁴⁷. Adventure tourists need to have at least an overnight stay at the adventure site, but not over than one year. They have to involve with high levels of physical outdoor recreation provided by the adventure site. There are two main outdoor activities which consist of hard adventure and soft adventure. Examples of hard adventure are climbing mountain and trekking, while examples of soft adventure are camping and archaeological expedition. Due to outdoor activities for adventure tourism is usually took place in remote and wilderness settings, providers of adventure site must be aware of high level of safety. Trainings for both adventure site's staff and tourists for prevention of dangers and injuries must be provided before the activity is commenced.

According to the Adventure Tourism Market Study in 2013 by ATTA, adventure tourists are considered as high value segment because of USD 3,000 spent per person per trip. Their average trip length is eight days. There are male tourists in this segment more than female. Most of adventure tourists are in period of working age with high education and have average income for USD 46,800 per year. Important factors that draw

²⁴⁷ Beckmann, C. et al. (2014). *Global Report on Adventure Tourism*. Spain: World Tourism Organization (UNWTO).

adventure tourists are activities availability, the climate, natural beauty, and safe place without environmental and political stress.

The Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route can attract this high spending segment by offering recreation activities at Thai Elephant Conservation Center in Lampang, and Mae Ping National Park at Li District, Lamphun. There are packages of elephant training and trekking while riding on an elephant's back offered to tourists by Thai Elephant Conservation Center. Tourists can choose for having one day to three days program for having elephant training experience with mahouts, learn mahouts' ways of life, and spend the night for camping in the forest or staying at home stay provided by mahouts' family and the center. Tourists can consult with the center if they require for longer stay with special arrangement.

Mae Ping National Park can offer food services and accommodations to adventure tourists. There are several places at the national park that rangers can recommend for adventuring, including Kor Luang Waterfall, Thung Kik which is the habitat of wildlife, towering cliff of Pha Dam-Pha Daeng, and Yang Wi Cave. Beside, tourist can take a boat trip on the Bhumibol Dam from Kang Kor village to Wat Kang Soi and other attractions like Chang Rong Cave, Pa Kai Cliff, Um Pae Waterfall, and Um Pat Waterfall.

Tourist Experience Enchantment

Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route is a new tourism product that requires unique selling point and competitiveness. In order to make this cultural route becomes recognizable among potential tourists, the route should implement experience creating approach or experience centric approach to attract consumers and differentiate itself from other tourism products. Experience creating approach and experience centric approach aims to engage tourists in consumption in different levels of emotional level, sensorial level, physical level, and spiritual level. Experience engagement is a motivation on tourists to have individual participation and involvement with tourism services, products, events, and leisure activities. Tourists want to gain experiences from traveling because experiences are enjoyable and memorable encounters for them²⁴⁸.

Tourism is an experience economy because it primarily sells a 'staged' experience...tourism's central productive activity is the creation of the touristic experience²⁴⁹. The staged experience can be defined by four dimensions from Pine and Gilmore's Experience Economy strategies. The four dimensions include four areas which consist of entertainment, esthetic, educational, and escapism. Entertainment and esthetic are for tourists' passive participation, while educational and escapism are for tourists' active participation. This strategy is useful for being guidance for

²⁴⁸ Oh, H., Fiore, A.M., & Jeoung, M. (2007). *Measuring Experience Economy Concepts: Tourism Applications*. Journal of Travel Research, 46 (November 2007).

²⁴⁹ Sternberg, E. (1997). *The Iconography of the Tourism Experience*. Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 24 No. 4.

creating memorable experience that suit to tourist's individual level of demand. Memorable experience from individual characteristics or interaction between host and guest or place and guest tend to shape positive attitude towards the destination region. The memorable experience from a tourist trip is the one that best predicts the tourists' desire to repeat that current experience²⁵⁰.

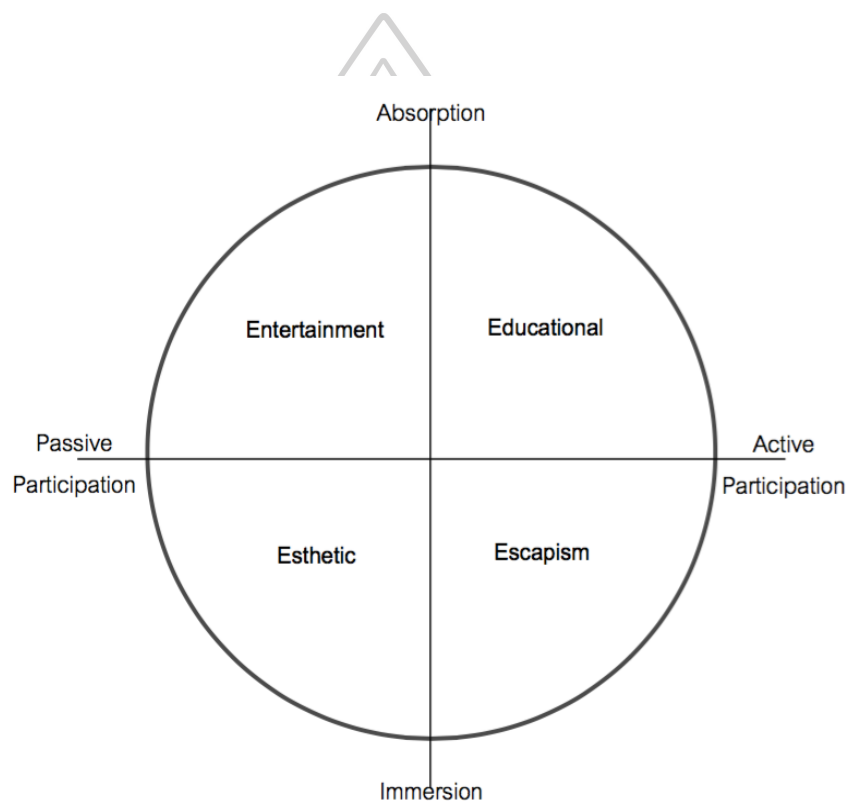


Figure 126 Four experiences based on level and form of customers' involvement

Source: Pine and Gilmore, 1999

²⁵⁰ Wirtz, D., Kruger, J., Scollon, C. N., & Diener, E. (2003). *What to do on Spring Break? The Role of Predicted, On-line, and Remembered Experience in Future Choice*. *Psychological Science*, Vol. 14.

Experience creation is important to promote growth and positive performance for the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route. It is an approach to attract, retain, and repeat groups of tourist, especially newest tourists. According to the study of Anita Zátori on *Tourism Experience Creation from a Business Perspective*²⁵¹, a group of newest tourists is developed from old tourists and new tourists. This group is a recent trend in tourism that focuses more on having deep experience from their traveling. The group of newest tourists shares these following features;

- they have sophisticated level of experience-seeking,
- they have full control of the tour and have full decision making,
- they have full-contact experience with the visited destination,
- they have demand constant flow of new experiences, deeper, more meaningful experience while visiting destination,
- they desire to experience existential authenticity, and
- they have demand for creative self-expression.

Experience brings value to tourists' memory if it can connect to tourists' emotional state. Then the cultural route should blend many experiential elements to involve tourists in different areas of sensory experience, affective experience, creative cognitive experience, physical

²⁵¹ Zátori, A. (2013). *Tourism Experience Creation from a Business Perspective*. Ph.D. thesis for Doctoral School in Business Administration, Corvinus University of Budapest.

experience, and social experience. These experiential elements can offer tourists with vivid memory and emotional attachment through tourists' five senses. Emotional events appealing to the sense tend to be remembered better than non-emotional events²⁵². Moreover, the best experiences are often co-created and derive from hands-on activities.

Co-creation

Co-creation is one of experience management that allow tourist to participate in co-designing and coproducing on products and services during the trip. Tourists involve with more active role interaction with hosts at their destination zone to create experiences that benefits for both sides. They want to have interaction in every stage of their own entire journey, including host-guest interaction, interaction with people, process, objects, and environment. Therefore, they want to be participants in their traveling experience, rather than being spectators.

If tourism products, services, and tourism system are inputs in co-creation process, the outputs can be a variety of positive element and value, such as positive emotion involvement, unique activities, learning experience, sharing experience, connect social dynamic, and getting to know new people. Shilpa Bagdare introduced seven stages of activity of co-creation process, including 1. orientation, 2. attachment, 3. visiting, 4.

²⁵² Dolcos, F. & Cabeza, R. (2002). *Event-Related Potentials of Emotional Memory: Encoding Pleasant, Unpleasant, and Neutral Pictures*. *Cognitive, Affective & Behavioral Neuroscience*, Vol. 2, No. 3.

evaluation, 5. storing, 6. reflection, and 7. enrichment²⁵³. Tourists who engage in this co-creation process will gain personalized experience from their role of being both producers and consumers in the same time.

Co-creation can be implemented to promote tourist experience enchantment on the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route by these following activities as examples.

- Lantern offering to Queen Chammathevi and Phrathat Hariphunchai during Loy Krathong Festival. Tourists are invited to write their names and their wishes on their lanterns that are made of sa paper. They are required to hang their own lanterns on hanging rails in front of Queen Chammathevi's monument at Nong Dok Public Park and Phrathat Hariphunchai.

- Ka-king Tung offering to Queen Chammathevi and Phrathat Hariphunchai during Songkran Festival. Tourists are invited to create their own tung or a long-sheet flag made from sa paper. They have to create Ka-king tung equal with their heights in order to use tungs to represent themselves. Then, they are required to hang tungs on hanging rails like they do with the lantern offering.

- Mon cooking class with Mon community at Wat Kho Klang, Lamphun. Tourists can design their lunch menus of authentic Mon food before they visit Wat Kho Klang. Local people will prepare all ingredients,

²⁵³ Bagdare, S. (2016). *A Conceptual Framework for Management of Tourism Experience*. Imperial Journal of Interdisciplinary Research (IJIR), Vol. 2.

raw material, and cooking utensils and set up a contemporary kitchen at the temple's courtyard. Once tourists arrived at the temple, they have an opportunity to learn from local people to cook Mon food for their own lunch.

- Hand-woven workshop at Hariphunchai Institute of Hand-woven Fabric or at Ban Huai Tom and Handicraft Center. Tourists can learn from the process of sericulture to the final step of creation of products on old fashioned wooden looms, and design their own products. They also can enjoy a workshop of hand-woven cotton fabrics with Karen villagers at Ban Huai Tom from the first step of cotton harvesting to the final step of designing their local Karen outfits with cotton fabrics.

- Sword making workshop and sword dancing workshop at the Museum of Ancient Weapons of Lampang. Tourists can participate in dapmuang producing process with local artisans of Kham Dang Village. After they finished their dapmuang, they can use them as tools in dapmuang dance. They will be trained by local artists and learn the sacred dance which regularly performed in Lan Na rituals.

- Mahout training course at Thai Elephant Conservation Center, Lampang. Tourists can be offered the mahout training course by Thai Elephant Conservation Center, together with accommodations, and meal service. The center also can customize and co-design training program with tourists. The length of stay can be extended and individual activities can be arranged for tourists upon their requests.

New Media and Technology

Information technology and digital era is a threat or a disruption on some business areas such as media, telecom, consumer financial services, retail, and education. New technology forms new business models that are driven by artificial intelligence (AI) and these AI can replace the role of human being in traditional business models. However, the disruption can be both threat and opportunity for tourism because it increases competitiveness and growth opportunities for tourism and a new product of tourism like the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route.

Implementation of technology with tourism can be started from promoting the cultural route on digital marketing. It is suitable for the starting of this cultural route project because new media and technology are not too expensive and the route manager can control the route's content for communication with target customers. Council of Europe mentioned digital marketing toolkits by pointing at the significance of searching engine, web design, e-mail marketing, and social media marketing²⁵⁴. Each digital marketing element is defined as;

- Searching engine or internet search engine is a software system or a database which allows internet users to find for content on the internet site through the World Wide Web. The cultural route should create keywords that related to the route's content on website and the webpage title of "Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route". The relevant keywords

²⁵⁴ The Council of Europe. (2015). *Cultural Route Management: from Theory to Practice*. Strasbourg Cedex: Council of Europe Publishing.

can be phrases such as 'Queen Chammathevi's Route', 'Queen Chammathevi's legend', or 'Cultural route of Queen Chammathevi'. The content of the webpage has to construct by using several mentioned keywords due to the searching engine will recognize the site and put it on the top of search ranking. Moreover, the webpage of "Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route" can be promoted by placing its web link or HTML (Hypertext Markup Language) on partners' webpage or the popular website related to tourism like tripAdvisor or hotel booking sites.

- Web design is one of crucial elements for promoting the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route to new customers. The investment on creating good website by using a professional company to design the website will lead to quality engagement from internet users. The website is the first point of reference that communicates to prospected visitors who find out for information about the route before making their decision to visit this destination region.

- E-mail marketing is not just sending e-mail newsletters, it is an effective customer relationship management to find prospected customers for the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route. After knowing the group of customers, the e-mail newsletters will be provided information about the route that customers are interested in. Then, retain them with promotion offering and relationship building. Data of prospected customers are required by capturing information from visitors who visited the destination region and ensure them that they surely agree to receive e-mail newsletters from the marketing team. The targeted visitors can receive a birthday

greeting message or incentives and discounts when they travel along the route. Newsletters will be sent to targeted visitors in order to building long-term relationship with them and encourage them to repeat their visitations to the route, and also spread positive word-of-mouth to others.

- Social media marketing involves in creating and sharing information and movement of the cultural route to social media networking. Especially in the modern day that smart phones and tablets are devices that most of people carry them for every day communication, content from the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route has more opportunities to reach target customers. Moreover, social media encourage people who shares the same interest join with each other as a social community. Then, the manager of the cultural route can establish social groups of Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route via popular social media platforms like Facebook, twitter, and Line. Then, engage them by informal conversations, sharing of experience and exchanging ideas, and promoting campaigns that benefit the social media friends. Some famous European cultural routes also reach people around the world by having Facebook as one of a major communication channel. For example, Facebook page of Camino de Santiago Forum, Camino de Santiago Home Facebook, the Route of Olive Tree Home Facebook, and Via Francigena Public Group.

New cultural route like the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route seems to gain more opportunities from new media and technology than threats, especially for creating tourist experience from co-creation. The new

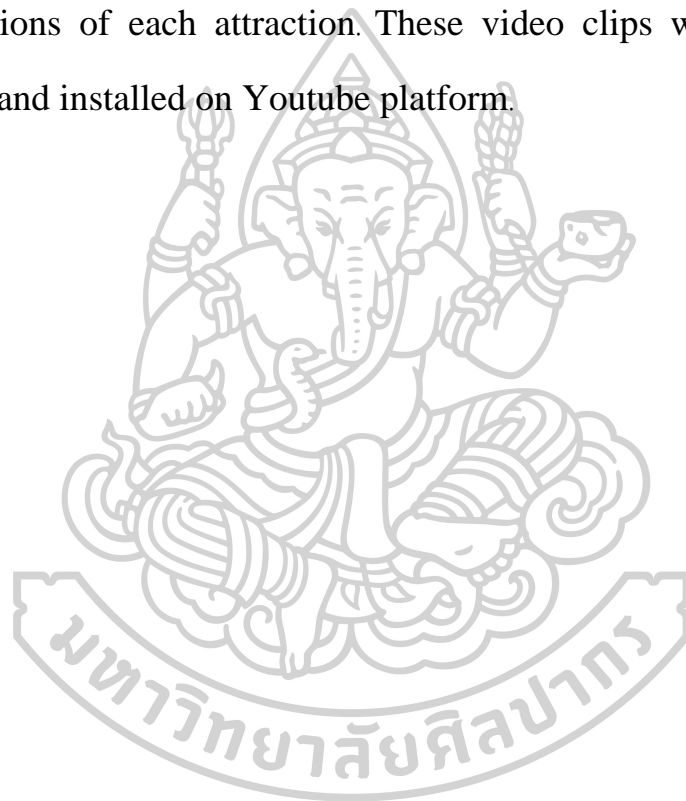
media promote co-creation between tourists and destinations because tourists gain more control on planning their itinerary, cost of their trip, and gain more interactivity with host at destinations and other tourists who have common interest in the cultural route. There are changes from the advance of digital technology to tourism that were summarized by C.K. Prahalad and Venkatram Ramaswamy²⁵⁵ as follows;

- information access is more convenient and there are high level of sharing information,
- global view is gained from sharing information in different locations,
- networking is created by consumer and tourist communities which have power, independency, reliability opinion from consumers, and
- experimenting is shared as experience online that encourage tourists learn from each other's observation.

Examples of co-creation in tourism from development of digital applications are such as interactive city guide application, mobile guide application, GPS technology based guide and navigation, 3D virtual, QR code, and online community. However, effective social media marketing and smart tourism from the advance of digital technology can be more effective depends on a development of communication infrastructure like a signal of WIFI. According to several attractions of the Queen

²⁵⁵ Prahalad, C. K. & Ramaswamy, V. (2004). *The Future of Competition: Co-creating Unique Value with Customers*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route are new for tourists and their locations are in lesser-known areas, WIFI for GPS navigation is necessary for helping tourists to reach those places. Moreover, QR codes can be displayed on the cultural route signposts in order to allow tourists to scan those QR codes by using their smartphones. Then, the QR codes will link them to watch video clips about history of Queen Chammathevi and interpretations of each attraction. These video clips will be created in advanced and installed on Youtube platform.



Chapter 7

Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

Results of the overall study from the research ‘Challenges of the Tourism Management in Lampang and Lamphun: Queen Chammathevi’s Pilgrimage Route’ are considered to accomplish the research questions and objectives which covers three majors areas of 1) the understanding of thematic cultural route concept and model, 2) the gaining of knowledge and idea of cultural heritage conservation management along the cultural route, and 3) the obtaining of practical concept and ideas for cultural route and tourism destination management. Each area is support by ideas of conclusion as follows;

1. The understanding of thematic cultural route concept and model

1.1 The thematic cultural route is a concept that can create tourism sustainability.

The cultural route has some special features that obviously differentiate itself from other tourism products like a travel itinerary or a heritage trail. In terms of characteristic, it has to be created based on a theme that can link together attractions and sites along the route, while the theme is not necessary for the formation of a travel itinerary or a heritage trail. The theme of the route needs to be well-studied and well-interpreted by the knowledge network of the route, before introducing the route and

educating local people and visitors about it. Moreover, it emphasizes on promoting cultural exchange between stakeholders and visitors which can lead to the growth of socioeconomic to local people in the tourism region.

Knowledge network of the cultural route is a major drive of the route's sustainability. The network is collaboration between academic institutions and local universities that have close contact with local communities. The network can have better understanding about the circumstances and culture in their areas. They are expected to create knowledge and development that is most suitable to the route. They are also required to organize regular academic events in order to build awareness, promote recognition, and find further knowledge about the route. Examples of academics events are meetings, seminars, exhibitions, and conferences from local level to international level.

Several new ideas and new information about historic sites and attractions management are examples of result from the seminars that the researcher organized in Lamphun and Lampang during February to June 2018. Participants help identify some lesser-known historic sites that mentioned in the Queen Chammathevi's legend, such as Pa Bong (an ancient city pillar of Khelang Nagara), Khuang Meng (a location where the sage Subrahma stood and commenced the town planning for Khelang Nagara), and Tha Chiang Thong (a historic site where Queen Chammathevi settled the camp before moving to Hariphunchai). These ideas are starting points for further studying and assessing significances of the sites before implementing conservation and restoration plan to safeguard those places.

After that, these new sites can be promoted to be new attractions on the route.

1.2 The thematic cultural route is an effective tourism and cultural heritage conservation strategy to promote lesser-known destinations and second-tier provinces.

The Second National Tourism Development Plan (2017 -2021) stated a term of 'Discover Thainess' in Thailand tourism vision towards 2036, and one of the strategies involved with Thainess and second-tier provinces mentioned as 'Promote balanced tourism areas, such as establishment of Tourism sub-clusters to develop tourism in provinces and areas that are not yet popular, while developing the offerings that are uniquely local and reflect local identities.' According to this strategy, Lamphun and Lampang were clustered because they have adjacent locations and they shared history of the establishment of the cities through the Queen Chammathevi's legend. The cluster can create more value to the two provinces' tourism and provide them more competitive advantages.

The cultural route concept also helps Lamphun and Lampang promote their tourism by using the theme of Queen Chammathevi to connect them. The theme offers new opportunities to discover several lesser-known attractions and sites associated with Queen Chammathevi in Lamphun and Lampang. Then these attractions and sites were assessed for their cultural significance and value by using the conservation principles

from the Burra Charter. Significances and values are hope for changing lifeless and abandoned historic sites to be a meaningful and interesting one for tourism and conservation.

The cultural route establishes unique selling point to Lamphun and Lampang, and helps them to share tourism market from the tourism hub in northern Thailand like Chiang Mai. However, Lampang and Lamphun not only can use the cultural route to compete with Chiang Mai, they can collaborate with Chiang Mai by extending the cultural route to this province. There are several places located in Chiang Mai that related to Queen Chammathevi's legend, such as;

- San Ku on Doi Suthep Mountain (the ancient remain of chetiya in Dvaravati architecture),
- The Sage Vasudeva's Cave on Doi Suthep Mountain,
- Wat Phrabath Si Roy, Mae Rim District of Chiang Mai,
- King Milakka's Shrine, Mae Rim District of Chiang Mai,
- Wat Phrathat Doi Kham, Muang District of Chiang Mai, and
- Wat Phrathat Doi Kerng, Doi Tao District of Chiang Mai.

Phrae is another second-tier province that has adjacent provincial border with Lampang. The cultural route can be extended to this province and included it into Lamphun-Lampang-Phrae cluster for creating more competitive advantages. There are some sites in Phrae Province related to Queen Chammathevi's legend, such as;

- Wat Phrathat Don Kham, Long District of Phrae, and

- Wat Salaeng, Long District of Phrae.

Therefore, the cultural route has several benefits for second-tier provinces in northern Thailand because it enhances cross-border collaboration in tourism that can boost economic contributions to several local communities along the route

1.3 The theme of Queen Chammathevi has many challenging mysteries that wait for unveiling

It is ancient, it is classic, but it is one of the most dynamic legends underlying descriptions for the Queen Chammathevi's legend which has journeyed through time for almost 1,300 years. Several questions may arise after reading or hearing the story of the queen. Some people consider it is just a myth or a fairy tale. It may seem implausible to believe that a young woman can be a queen of the first kingdom in northern Thailand. There are more mysteries about the legend that some scholars try to solve and propose assumptions based on archaeological evidences, historical monuments and sites, architectures, arts, anthropology, and others. Examples of mysteries are as follows;

- The birth and the origin of Queen Chammathevi

According to the conflict of data between all mainstream chronicles and local legends on the birth and the origin of Queen Chammathevi, readers feel confused and hesitated to believe which one is correct. All

mainstream chronicles mentioned the queen is originally from Lavapura. She was born as a princess of Lavapura and was sent to be a queen of Hariphunchai in northern Thailand. On the contrary, local legends stated that she was born at Nong Doo Village in Lamphun and was sent to be an adopted daughter of the king and queen of Lavapura.

- The reasons to send Princess Chammathevi from Lavapura to be the Queen of Hariphunchai

It is hard to believe that the queen was sent to the remote area in the deep forest while she has three months pregnancy. The journey upstream by boats in the ancient time from Lavapura to Hariphunchai is risky and full of dangers from wild animals, barbarians, cannibals, and jungle fever. She also has to depart from her husband and her family, and has to face all uncertainty by herself.

Then, people may ask these questions, 'Why she has to travel to Hariphunchai while she has three months pregnancy, and without her husband?', 'Why she has to be hurry to start her journey?', and 'Are there any political conflicts at Lavapura court which cause Queen Chammathevi to leave the city?':

- The actual route of the queen's journeys

The journey of the Queen Chammathevi from Lavapura to Hariphunchai mentioned in the legend that the queen and her followers travelled by boats by using river routes as a transportation network. She also visited several cities which are located along the route. Those cities' names were recorded in the legend, but some of them could not be

identified in the modern day. Then, scholars tried to map the expected routes of the queen's journey based on ancient cities of Dvaravati period located along Lopburi River, Chao Phraya River, and Ping River. They also compared the expected routes with the passages in the history used by Ayuthaya military troops when they travelled to northern Thailand for attacking Chiang Mai and Burma.

Scholars also have problem to identify the actual journey route of Queen Chammathevi from Hariphunchai (Lamphun) to Khelang Nagara (Lampang) because there is no recorded about it. However, they mapped the prospective route based on ancient communities found between the borders of the two provinces. The routes that the queen could use are the ancient trail over Khun Tan Mountain from Mae Ta District of Lamphun to Hang Chat District of Lampang, which was turned to be a rural road of LP2017 in the modern day, and another ancient trail over Khun Tan Mountain from Pa Dan Village of Mae Ta District to Hang Chat District.

2. The gaining of knowledge and idea of cultural heritage conservation management along the cultural route

2.1 Significance and value could turn lesser-known heritage sites and local traditions to be high value cultural heritage and receive higher recognition from public.

Assessing cultural heritage significances and values is one of standard practices mentioned in the Burra Charter that effectively promote cultural heritages to receive more recognition and acknowledgement. A set

of assessment criteria helps discover values and meanings that describe the importance of each tangible and intangible heritage, and assists in conservation policy formation. Lesser-known places are assessed by analyzing evidences from physical investigations of place and researches until each place become more meaningful and more attractive, or until they can be commercialized for local communities' tourism.

There are 27 places included in the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route, and most of them are lesser-known places. Some of them never gained a chance to be promoted for both tourism and conservation because people do not know or do not have any interpretations about them. Then, the idea of assessing significance and value of cultural heritage is a powerful mechanism that can turn abandoned and dead heritage to be well-known living heritage.

2.2 Make heritage conservation as simple as possible, but not simpler

The above phrase is adapted from the quotation of Albert Einstein when he mentioned the best scientific conduction is to simplify complexity into general activities. Heritage conservation should follow the same concept by simplifying international principles and standards into basic idea for everyone to understand, especially for local people who are the owners of local cultural heritage. Local people could have new mindset that heritage conservation is basic and they can do these simple things in their everyday life. For example, they clean and tidy the temple, they clear dry

flower garlands from the platform of the Lord Buddha image, they take pictures of abandoned heritage sites and report to the Fine Arts Department (FAD), and they regularly practice and join religious events at local temples. If they are not sure about any heritage conservation practice, they can seek for advices from the FAD or the representatives from cultural department of local authorities.

Heritage conservation should not be limited to be responsibility of government authorities, the Fine Arts Department, the Provincial Administration Organization, and academic people. Problems about lacking of government officers that take care of heritage conservation and problems about lacking of budget can be addressed by the collaboration of people in the community. Several examples from successful collaborations are such as, the conservation of Wiharn Phra Chao Pun Ong at Wat Pong Sanuk by Pong Sanuk community and local academic institutions, the conservation of Ku Chao Ya Suta by Lampang Senior's Citizen Club and the FAD, and the temple and community museum at Wat Mahawan. Therefore, conservation is not something that is inaccessible, it is approachable and it is everyone's responsibility.

3. The obtaining of practical concept and ideas for cultural route and tourism destination management

3.1 Listening to local people's voice is a key research method for understanding various aspects of people and their culture.

Participant observation is a data collection method that the researcher used across several phases of the study about the challenging of the creation of Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route in Lamphun and Lampang. The method permits the researcher to participate and observe in people's behaviors, processes, and cultural events that took place in research settings. Participation as being complete participant, complete observer, and participant as observer provides opportunities to connect the researcher with communities and group of experts and scholars in Hariphunchai and Queen Chammathevi study. Then, data gathering from this method is considered as primary data which can reflect both objective and subjective opinions, experiences, feelings and meaning of actions from people and communities in the survey fields.

The processes for participant observation were done through several means, such as participation in formal seminars related to the research topics, organizing focus groups in Lamphun and Lampang, casual conversations with key persons in observation venues, attending in local cultural events, and consultations and joining in the study trips with experts and scholars in Hariphunchai and Queen Chammathevi study. All these processes allow the researcher to become a part of phenomenon and to be able to gain suitable data from the analysis of social scenes and social challenges which come directly from people in concerned locations.

3.2 Local communities' involvement is effectively creating sense of place and sustainable heritage conservation.

To gather people and stakeholders in relevant communities to work together for creating and developing the cultural route could be most challenging, however, this is the best way to build social cohesion and integration. The ideal community involvement is active participation from all parts and in every processes of the project which is started from initial planning to the decision-making process, and the final evaluation. However, people have different levels of interest in participation. Similarly the concept of Sherry R. Arnstein's A Ladder of Citizen Participation²⁵⁶, in which she proposed that there is a typology of eight levels of participation from Non-participation to Citizen Power or Citizen Control. Therefore, the cultural route project is needed to be run by people in the top of the ladder or 'Citizen Power', and do not ignore other groups in the lower level of the ladder because they are a part of the communities.

The 'Citizen Power' should be recruited from persons who are knowledgeable and have expertise in local history, heritage conservation and management, and tourism. According to the empirical study from the project of Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route, the researcher found that the people of 'Citizen Power' have these following features,

²⁵⁶ Arnstein, S. R. (1969). *A Ladder of Citizen Participation*. Retrieved from https://lithgow-schmidt.dk/sherry-arnstein/ladder-of-citizen-participation_en.pdf

- they share the same interest in heritage conservation and tourism development in Lamphun and Lampang,
- they understand their local history, or they try to study more about their local history,
- they can contribute their time and their own expenses during the project development processes, and
- they want to connect their local heritage with global standard of heritage conservation.

The member of the working group or the committee of the project should also accept that they volunteer to work for communities because of their self-interests, not because of they are forced to do or victimization.

A citizen committee is a group of leaders who can stimulate other people into public participation and engage them in the destiny of their cultural heritage. Although, there is non-participation in the communities, committees should at least inform them about the movement of the project and value from the project to local communities. Moreover, committees should encourage stakeholders to form networks in order to increase interaction between local people, and local people with cultural heritage. Finally, they should empower the public to have decision making on the direction of the communities' heritage management.

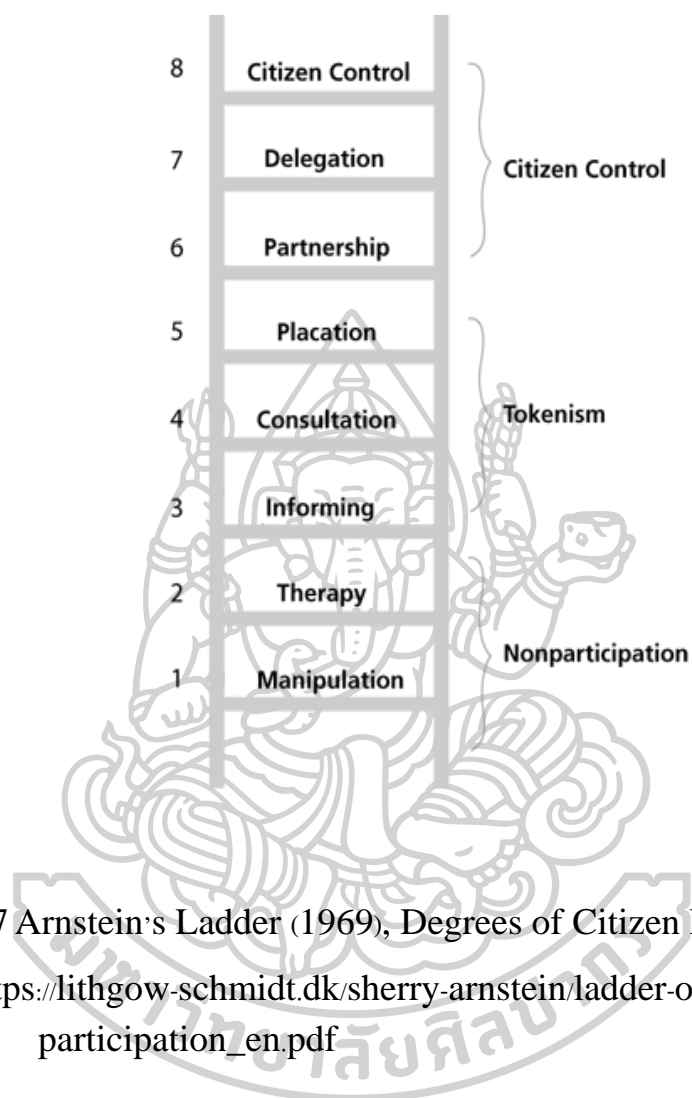


Figure 127 Arnstein's Ladder (1969), Degrees of Citizen Participation

Source: https://lithgow-schmidt.dk/sherry-arnstein/ladder-of-citizen-participation_en.pdf

Recommendations

The Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route project can become a realistic and tangible tourism product, rather than to be put on a shelf, depend on several variables, such as tourism policy of Thai government, level of interest from local authorities, collaboration from public and private organizations, and support and participation from local communities. According to this multi-layered system and requirement for

coordination from various stakeholders, a master plan of the cultural route should be established and implemented for clear direction to achieving its goal. The goal of this cultural route is the initiation from a team that commits to establish a sustainable Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route. Then, transform it to be a tourism product that can enhance cultural heritage conservation and improve socioeconomic condition of local communities along the route.

Creation of Master Plan

A master plan is a crucial first step for starting a new project like the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route because it is a policy and strategically guide to effective management for better result. It helps set priorities of route's activities and identifies obstacles and opportunities. Data analysis from the master plan is an important element that supports strategic decision making that can improve future of the route. Jon Coe proposed an interesting comparison of a master plan with a journey. He mentioned a master plan is an imagined journey into the future, where outcomes are uncertain and where opportunity and peril co-exist²⁵⁷. He warned that a tourism project which is without planning is more dangerous and has high potential to meet failure. Similar to Sanja Cizmar and Sandra

²⁵⁷ Coe, J. (2005). *Plan Ahead: a Short Overview of the Planning Process*. Retrieved from <http://www.joncoedesign.com/pub/PDFs/PlanAhead.pdf>

Lisjak stated that the unplanned tourism development has negative impact on tourism destination²⁵⁸.

According to the study of the Council of Europe from Cultural Route Management: from Theory to Practice²⁵⁹, some master plans become static and face failure because of these following reasons.

- They ignore connections between tourism and other economic sectors.
- They provide low local empowerment.
- They have short-term plan without any flexibility and adaptability to change.
- They are top-down management approach which is often become a cause of conflict between tourism planners and communities.
- They ignore local needs, perspective, and values.

Basic structure of a master plan

The Council of Europe introduced three types of effective planning for tourism, including collaborative planning, community planning, and strategic planning. Firstly, collaborative planning aims to increase

²⁵⁸ Cizmar, S. & Lisjak, S. (n.d.). *Tourism Master Plan: an Effective Tourism Destination Management Tool in SEE*. Retrieved from <https://content.sciendo.com/view/journals/jeb/2/1/article-p48.xml>

²⁵⁹ The Council of Europe. (2015). *Cultural Route Management: from Theory to Practice*. Strasbourg Cedex: Council of Europe Publishing.

importance of all stakeholders. Communities are significant groups that are required that should be involved in every area of tourism industry. Views from local communities as well as other stakeholders are respected and valued for developing the master plan. Secondly, community planning regards communities' perspective as the most influential factor. Community acceptance and resistance towards tourism development are considered. This type of planning aims to empower citizen and sensitive to needs from local people. This concept is different from traditional tourism plan that mostly focus on physical infrastructure. Thirdly, strategic planning emphasizes on assessment and analysis of socioeconomic and environmental impacts of tourism. This type of planning can reduce incidents of planning failure and avoid having conflict between more powerful social groups and local communities.

The integration of collaborative planning, community planning, and strategic planning into a master plan could be the best option for the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route because all planning types help build comprehensive structure of master plan for all stakeholders. Effective structure of a master plan should be clear with logical ideas and use clear and simple language of statements. A constructive master plan consists of these following basic elements,

1. Vision - It is a statement identifies the cultural route desired outcome or achievement in mid-term and long-term future.

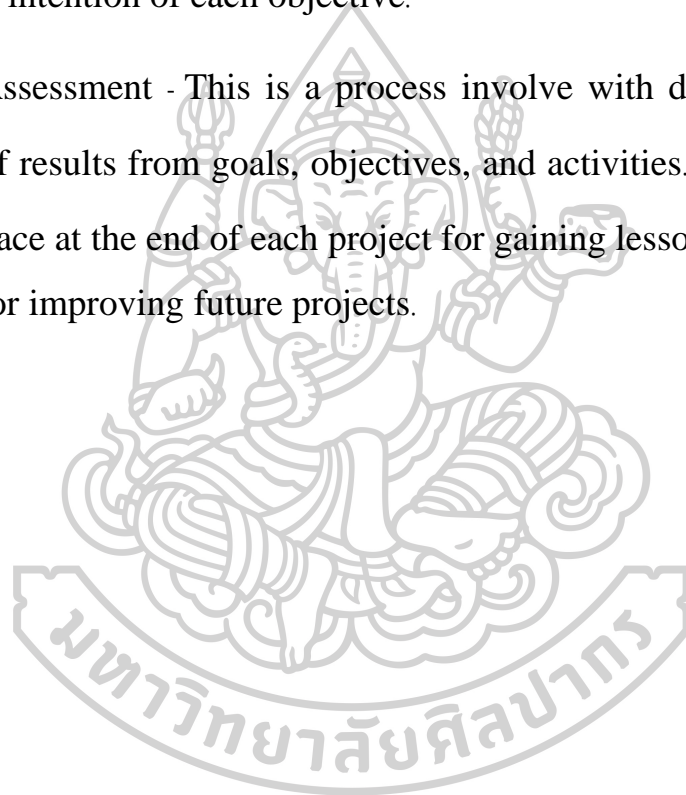
2. Missions - They are statements describe what and how the cultural route will do in order to achieve its vision.

3. Goals - They are statements describe expected result of each mission over a specific period of time.

4. Objectives - They are statements that show plans and aims for achieving specific goal.

5. Activities - They are projects, specific action, or series of action follow the intention of each objective.

7. Assessment - This is a process involve with data gathering and analysis of results from goals, objectives, and activities. This process will be took place at the end of each project for gaining lessons, problems, and solution for improving future projects.



Process of master plan creation

General sequences in planning and designing of a master plan can follow well-structured guidelines from the Council of Europe's manual of Cultural Route Management: from Theory to Practice, and Italian management plan for world heritage site. Guidelines from both sources are

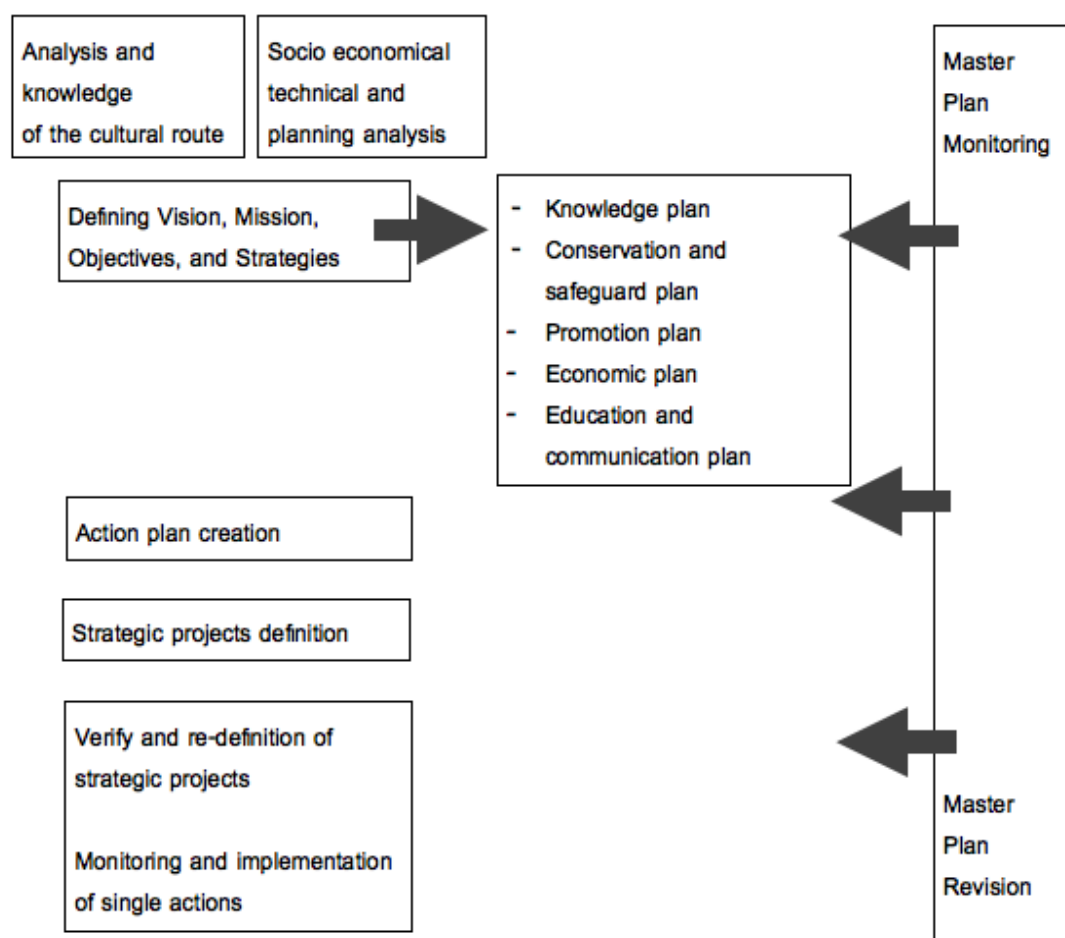


Figure 128 Methodological process of a typical Italian management plan for World Heritage Sites

Source: Adapted from The Council of Europe. (2015). Cultural Route

Management: from Theory to Practice. Strasbourg Cedex:

Council of Europe Publishing.

- Stage 1 Analyze and define the type of route and define the areas on which the management plan is based.

- Stage 2 Analyze internal and external factors by using SWOT analysis approach and other appropriated approaches.

- Stage 3 Define vision, missions, objectives, and strategies. Goals are set for achieving different area of tourism and cultural heritage conservation, such as knowledge, conservation and safeguard, promotion, economy, education and communication.

- Stage 4 Management by policies and budget allocation. Management also leads to action plans and strategies to achieve goals. Budget is also allocated for each action plan.

- Stage 5 Ensure participation from involved actors in every strategic projects.

- Stage 6 Monitor and evaluate the results achieved by different strategic projects. Then, the project manager should carry-on effective strategic projects that achieve the goals, and revise incompetent strategic projects.

Steering committee

A key driving the formation of master plan for the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route is a team of initiators or a committee. A committee can be created with a legal status by an endorsement from a local government like the Provincial Administration Organization of

Lamphun or Lampang, or a private organization like the Chamber of Commerce of Lamphun or Lampang. After the committee is settled, members of the committee can invite other stakeholders involve in the development of the route and have periodically meetings with them. The main committee can set up subcommittees to support in other areas of tourism and conservation. Both main committee and subcommittees are a starting point for creating the master plan and also the cultural route. The main committee should assign each board member to have these following roles;

1. Leader - This role is for identifying people who desire to get involve with the development of master plan and the cultural route. Then ensure that other team members can complete their tasks in specific time frame.

2. Facilitator - This role is for creating productive discussion during the meeting. The facilitator has to encourage every participant to contribute their ideas, and ensure that each member understands and they are able to carry on their roles and responsibilities. Facilitator also has to take minutes of meeting due to all document of meeting concern with legal status.

3. Researcher - This role focus on conducting researches and analysis of data for creating the master plan.

4. Financial resources - All expenses which are occurred during the master plan creation process and the establishment of the cultural route process are controlled by financial resources. This role also helps the leader to plan for fundraising and budget planning process.

5. Skills and knowledge expertise - The Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route requires experts from different field, such as a historian, an archaeologist, an architecture, and a conservationist, to give advice for master plan creation and the cultural route management. These professional members from universities or other business areas can be invited to join the committee.

Steering committee can collect more data from local communities along the cultural route by setting up public meetings, focus groups, and surveys with local members. This is an effective approach to raise the awareness of the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route and establish strong relationship with local communities. The committee can continue on public outreach strategy for having more support from local people by organizing series of public forums, and forming a community on social media.

Funding

Arts and heritage conservation from almost every country are facing the same problem of budget reduction from the government. Due to the world economic crisis and growing competition from all welfare sectors, all governments are redefining their priority on supporting in cultural heritage conservation. South and South-Eastern Europe were once the sole contributors to the arts, but now they have been compelled to reduce considerably their cultural expense due to the economic situation²⁶⁰.

²⁶⁰ The Council of Europe. (2015). Cultural Route Management: from Theory to Practice. Strasbourg Cedex: Council of Europe Publishing.

Similar to the situation in Thailand, funds for arts and culture conservation is limited, although Thai heritage is a main factor to attract tourists from all around the world to visit the country. If the funds for arts and culture are an unavoidable situation, fundraising for the Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route is the most proper solution.

Even though fundraising sounds difficult for cultural operators to manage, example of fundraising from some cultural routes of the Council of Europe can be best practices to follow. These successful examples give inspiration and motivation by advising to target on high potential fund donors whose business or organization directly and indirectly involve with arts and culture. Practical fundraising activities from cultural routes of the Council of Europe are introduced as follows;

- Membership program

Membership program generally offers people from all levels and opportunity to participate in this program by asking them to subscribe and pay annual membership fee. Benefits and privileges are offered to all members, such as discounts on accommodations, restaurants, and local shops that are partners or members of the cultural route business network. Newsletters or update information will be sent to all members via mail, e-mail, or social media in order to create long-term relationship and loyalty between members and the cultural route management team.

Ranking donors by their ranges of contribution is also advised because this approach encourages members to offer more contributions and

engage more in cultural route development in order to be in higher tiers. Beside this, higher tier membership can gain high level of privileges.

- Major gifts

Major gifts are for major donors who continuously support the cultural route with high amount of donation and financial support. High contribution from major donors is evidence for deeply care and demand for having strong bond with the cultural route management team. Therefore, they are qualified to receive special and honorable awards, such as an invitation on a tour, an invitation to gala, an invitation for coffee, and showing donors' pictures on the cultural route website. Most of major donors look for public appreciation and recognition.

- Fundraising events

These are several objectives for organizing fundraising events apart from raising fund. For example, they are special events for raising public awareness on the project, they are special event to provoke recognition of the project, they are the approaches to attract new volunteers, and they are for the celebration of the special occasion for the project. Fundraising events could be entertainment, such as a concert, an exhibition, a sport event, a fashion show, or it could be a formal event like a conference.

- Member-get-member campaign

This is a promotion to recruit new members by using connection of old members. Both parties will get the benefit from joining this activity. They can receive some rewards or they are promoting to be a higher tier

membership. This campaign is not only offer benefits to members, it also encourage members to have involvement with the cultural route project.

- Payroll giving

This is an approach that requires the involvement from companies and their employees. Companies will make the agreement with their employee to cut a small percentage, may be 1% or 3%, of their salary and donate to support the cultural route project. This approach provides opportunity for companies to practice the corporate social responsibility (CSR), while employee can use the record of monthly donation to have tax relief.

- Crowd funding

This is an activity to raise financial contribution from a crowd, or a massive number of people from all around the world. The crowd funding aims to ask for just a small donation from a huge economic of scale. The more people receive message of this crowd funding, more fund will be sent to support the cultural route project. The route management team can use e-mail marketing or social media to attract donors. Then, continuously inform them about movements on the cultural route in order to build relationship and loyalty among donors.

Route extension

- The Queen Chammathevi Cultural Route from Lavapura to Hariphunchai

Mainstream chronicle and major tamnans of Queen Chammathevi mentioned the queen started her trip from Lavapura or Lavo, which is one of a major Dvaravati state in the central plain of Chao Phraya River, to the northern hinterland where Hariphunchai was located. Those legends recorded 41 name places of ancient communities along Queen Chammathevi's journey route to Hariphunchai. Today, those communities are located in areas of 8 provinces, including Sing Buri, Chainat, Kamphangphet, Nakhonsawan, Tak, Chiang Mai, Lamphun, and Lop Buri which is a starting point. For example, ancient places named Muang Phra Bang is in Sing Buri Province, Muang Khanthika, Muang Buratha, and Muang Burang are in Chainat Province, and Muang Pol is in Nakhonsawan.

Based on archaeological sites and evidences that were discovered at some ancient communities in province of Lop Buri, Sing Buri, Chainat, and Nakhonsawan, these ancient communities are in Dvaravati period. There are six museums exhibit Dvaravati ancient artifacts and interpretations about Davaravati Kingdom at these five provinces, which are;

- Somdet Phra Narai National Museum at Muang District of Lop Buri,

- Inburi National Museum, it is located in the compound of Wat Boat, Inburi District of Sing Buri,

- Ku Muang Museum, it is located in the compound of Ku Muang Archaeological Site, Inburi District of Sing Buri,
- Chainatmuni National Museum, it is located next to Wat Boromathat Wiharn, Muang District of Chainat,
- Chansen Museum, it is located at Chansen Temple, Takli District of Nakhonsawan, and
- Muang Bon - Kok Mai Den Museum, it is located at Khoa Mai Den Temple, Payuha Kiri District of Nakhon Sawan.

There is also an octagonal stupa at Wat Song Pee Nong in San Buri District of Chainat Province that has similar architecture of Rattana Chedi at Chammathevi Temple in Lamphun. The stupa shows a close relationship between this community and Hariphunchai. Therefore, available evidence helps support possibility of the existence of Queen Chammathevi in the history, and help prove that her story is not totally myth.

The legend of Queen Chammathevi can be used as a theme to connect the 8 provinces, including Sing Buri, Chainat, Kamphangphet, Nakhonsawan, Tak, Chiang Mai, Lamphun, and Lop Buri, into a the Queen Chammathevi Cultural Route from Lavapura to Hariphunchai. This thematic route has high potential to promote tourism and economic growth for 7 secondary-tier provinces, except Chiang Mai which is a primary destination. These 7 provinces are considered to be secondary destinations according to the Tourism Authority of Thailand's domestic marketing plan

2019²⁶¹. If the idea of thematic cultural route is implemented with these secondary provinces, they can increase their destination competitiveness from the clustering.

However, people in some provinces along the route of Queen Chammathevi from Lopburi to Lamphun still at a low level of recognition about the queen's legend. From the poor awareness of the queen's significance among local people in some areas, it can be an obstacle for the route development and success. For example, there is only a small group of Lopburi people that feels interested in Queen Chammathevi and they built a small shrine to honor her. The shrine is at Wat Cheng Ta where is expected to be a pier for the queen to board on a boat for traveling to Hariphunchai.

- Dvaravati Route: Silk Road in Thailand

Dvaravati's political system saw the distribution of power among Dvaravati communities²⁶² which were scattered around Chao Phraya River basin and the coastal towns around the Gulf of Thailand. This was a kingdom without a single king who had absolute power above other states. Each state is developed from small communities that join together to be a cluster of towns. The leader from the most powerful community, in terms of economy growth and military power, will become the ruler of the state.

²⁶¹ TTR Weekly. (2018). *TAT Outline its Action Plan 2019*. Retrieved from <https://www.ttrweekly.com/site/2018/07/tat-outlines-its-action-plan-2019/>

²⁶² Saraya, D. (1999). *(Sri)Dvaravati: the Initial Phase of Siam's History*. Bangkok: Muang Boran.

The most powerful Dvaravati states were among three ancient cities, including Nakhon Pathom, U-Thong, and Lavapura (Lopburi). They are coastal towns which had commercial activities and maritime contact with Indo-Roman seafarers.

Indo-Roman is an ancient trade route lies between Roman Empire to Indian Subcontinents and trading ports around the Bay of Bengal. This ancient trade route was started at the beginning of the first millennium and helped stimulate interexchange of trade, culture, and civilization. After Indian merchants gained more experience of maritime trade from Greek and Roman, they launched the maritime trade with costal trading states and islands of Southeast Asia and also expanded their trade route to China. Coastal trading states around the Gulf of Thailand attracted Indo-Roman merchants because of “spices, perfumes, precious stones and pearls, silks and muslin tortoise shell, ivory, and rhinoceros horn, dyes and unguents, ghi, lac...”²⁶³

There are ancient artifacts show the interexchange between local communities around the Gulf of Thailand and Dvaravati states in the mainland, for example, bronze Roman lanterns casted in Alexandria of Egypt found at Phong Tuek archaeological site of Kanjanaburi Province. Color beads, carnelian, and agate beads from India, and Roman silver coins were found in many sites such as U-Thong, Lopburi, and Chansen. A comb made of ivory carved in an image of swan from India, this artifact was

²⁶³ Glover, I. C. (2006). *The Southern Silk Road: Archaeological Evidence for Early Trade between India and Southeast Asia*. In *Ancient Trades and Contacts in Southeast Asia*. Bangkok: Office of the National Culture Commission.

produced between 1st - 2nd centuries, found at Chansen. Stuccos and terracottas sculpture depicted the Arab merchants and Indian priests found at Nakhon Pathom, U-Thong, and Ku Bua.

Lavapura is a major site that had a copper industry supplied for local demand and international market. Noen Pawai and Tha Kae in Lopburi are sites for copper. There are other ores that can be found at Lopburi, such as iron, tin, copper, and precious gems. Another exported product from Lavapura to oversea communities were ornament productions from shells of giant clam. Lavapura rulers aimed to promote the state's trading with oversea ancient cities by exporting precious forest products from deep forest in remote northern area, such as teak wood, agarwood, Siamese rosewood, sappan tree wood, and spices. Then, they sent Queen Chammathevi to rule Hariphuchai in the remote northern area and turned it into Lavapura's outpost and trading station.

There are around 107 ancient communities of Dvaravati period scattered around Thailand, around 70 towns are in the central plain, around 30 towns are in northern eastern plain, and around 2 to 3 towns in northern and southern Thailand. Sakchai Saisingha classified Dvaravati towns into 6 groups according to river basin and region²⁶⁴. These 6 groups of well-known Dvaravati town are presented as follows;

1. Mae Klong - Tha Chin River Basin, consists of 5 ancient towns.

²⁶⁴ Saisingha, S. (2019). *Dvaravati Arts 2nd Edition*. Nonthaburi: Muang Boran.

- Nakhon Chasri and Kamphangsaen (Nakhon Pathom Province)

- U-Thong (Suphan Buri Province)

- Ku Bua (Rachburi Province)

- Phong Tuek (Kanchanaburi Province)

2. Lop Buri - Pa Sak River Basin, consists of 5 ancient towns.

- Lop Buri (Lop Buri Province)

- Ku Muang (Sing Buri Province)

- U-Ta Phao (Chainat Province)

- Chansen (Nakhonsawan Province)

- Sri Thep (Petchaboon Province)

3. Bang Pakong River Basin, consists of 3 ancient towns.

- Phra Rod (Chon Buri Province)

- Sri Mahosot (Phrachin Buri Province)

- Dong Lakorn (Nakhon Nayok Province)

4. North eastern region, consists of 2 ancient towns.

- Sema (Nakhon Ratchasima Province)

- Fha Dad Song Yang (Kalasin Province)

5. Northern region, consists of 3 ancient towns.

- Hariphunchai (Lamphun Province)
- Khelang Nagara (Lampang Province)
- Trai Trung (Kamphangphet Province)

6. Southern region, consists of 1 ancient town.

- Yarang (Pattani Province)

Dvaravati states had cultural exchange and trading between each other according to evidences. Indianization was expanded from Dvaravati coastal trading ports, travelled along the rivers with merchants and priests and communicate with Dvaravati towns in different inland areas of Thailand. Although Dvaravati culture influenced on cultural development of these Dvaravati town, each town also develop their own characteristics. For example, Hariphunchai created their own arts and architecture by blending Dvaravati with Pala and Pagan Arts, while Sri Thep's culture worshipped the solar god or Surya and had unique sculptures of solar god which mixed between Indian, Khmer, and local arts.

Dvaravati Route: Silk Road in Thailand is a cluster of 19 well-known ancient towns mentioned above that are linked by a thematic concept of Dvaravati culture. Those 19 ancient town comes from 18 provinces which are all secondary provinces classified by Tourism Authority of Thailand, according to the domestic marketing plan 2019. Then, Dvaravati route is an opportunity for improving tourism and cultural conservation in these second-tier destinations. The cluster of secondary provinces on Dvaravati Route: Silk Road in Thailand resembles the conglomeration of Dvaravati

states for strengthening their political power and culture through the long period of seven centuries (7th - 13th century).

- Connect Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route with Suvarnabhumi Terra Incognita

Golden Earth, Golden Land, and Land of Gold share similar meanings for a great ancient kingdom named 'Suvarnabhumi'. Its location is uncertain, but is likely located in one of the countries of Southeast Asia. Several countries have claimed that Suvarnabhumi existed in their country by referring to the discovery of archaeological evidences.

The name 'Suvarnabhumi' is mentioned on many ancient documents of Chinese, Ancient Greek, Indian, and Thai literature that it was a land of richness and abundance with precious metal, gemstones, and other natural resources. For example, the Mahavamsa mentioned King Ashoka ordered nine Buddhist monks to be missionaries to commence Buddhism expansions in Suvarnabhumi, the land of Suvarnabhumi appeared in Milinda Panha when King Menander had conversations with Nagasena and Naradathera, and it also appeared in the Mahajanaka Jataka when Prince Mahajanaka sailed to Suvarnabhumi for trading.

Suvarnabhumi is a destination which consists of various ports of entry for maritime trades from Hellenistic Empire, Western Indian Ocean, Bay of Bengal, and South China Sea. Archaeological evidences such as ancient metal coins and ornaments, earthenware rouletted pottery, glass and precious stone beads, and ling-ling-o earrings found around sites in Southeast Asia indicated visitations by international merchants. Those sites

also were ancient ports and communities along the coastline that were developed to be significant states in Dvaravati period. International trade from the period of Suvarnabhumi to Dvaravati promoted growth, civilization, and maritime connectivity in the region.

Geo-Informatics and Space Technology Development Agency (GISTDA) is an organization in Thailand that used satellite and Geo-informatics to identify ancient sites of Suvarnabhumi and Dvaravati around Southeast Asia, and recorded them on the map. After that each identified sites was studied by experts from multidisciplinary fields to prove the authenticity and significance of them. GISTDA found each sites were both inland states and coastal states along the ancient sea. They were scattered in several countries in ASEAN, including Thailand, Myanmar, Malaysia, Indonesia, Cambodia, and Vietnam. GISTDA also discovered that those states have geographical connecting to another. They can be linked by rivers or shorelines which are considered as ancient routes for transportation. Examples of the finding routes are from Dawei (Myanmar) to Oc-Eo (Vietnam), and Mottama (Myanmar) to Dong Duong (Vietnam).

After new finding of these ancient routes, GISTDA promoted them by using the name 'Suvarnabhumi Terra Incognita' and announced that they can significantly support ASEAN in terms of ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community. They are tools for reminding ASEAN members for the early connection in the region and the global impact of these intraregional networks. They have cultural value creation for ASEAN which can be

presented through the '5 Diamonds Value of Suvarnabhumi', which consists of this following aspects;

1. Geography Natural and Resources,
2. Settlement and Polity Development,
3. Science and Technology,
4. Commercial, Trade, and Services, and
5. Art Cultural and Civilization.

Suvarnabhumi Terra Incognita also has benefits for heritage conservation and tourism because it involves with ancient sites and other cultural heritages. Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route can be connected with Suvarnabhumi Terra Incognita because they shared history of the region and have intercultural communication, and civilization exchange from Suvarnabhumi to Dvaravati. Scientific information and knowledge about Suvarnabhumi Terra Incognita from GISTDA can enhance cultural value and attractiveness of Queen Chammathevi's Pilgrimage Route. Moreover, the route can be promoted from local tourism products to have greater value as a tourism product of ASEAN.

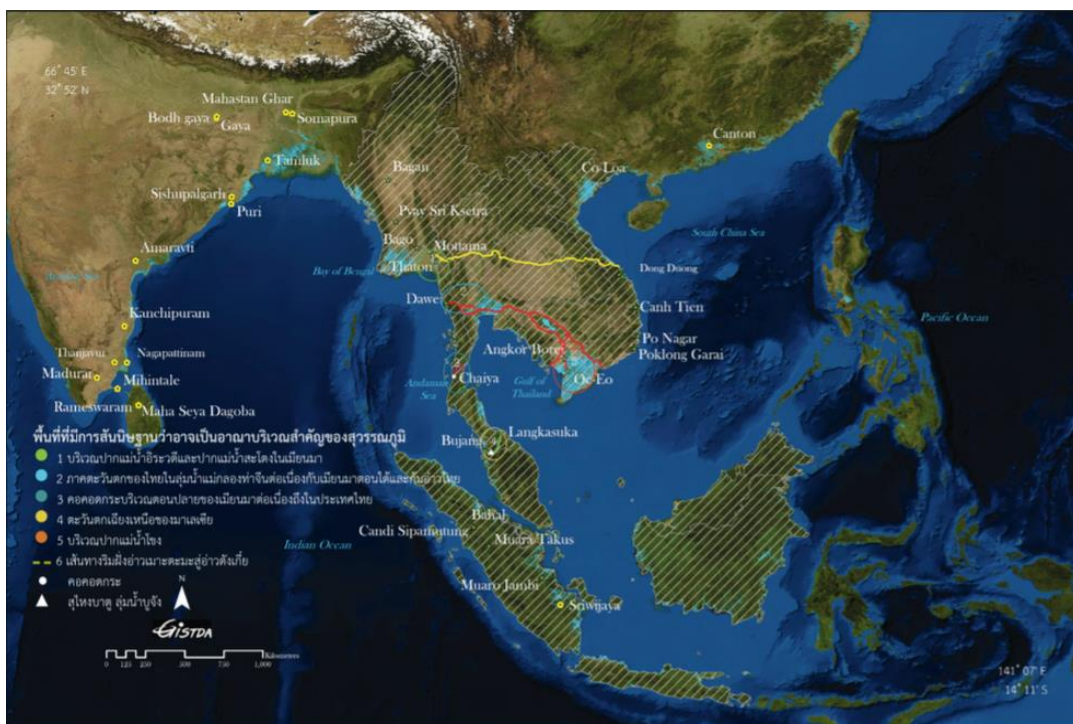


Figure 129 Suvarnabhumi Region and Suvarnabhumi Terra Incognita found by GISTDA

Source: <https://www.mhesi.go.th/main/STBookSeries/BS013>

SuvarnabhumiTerraIncognita.



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