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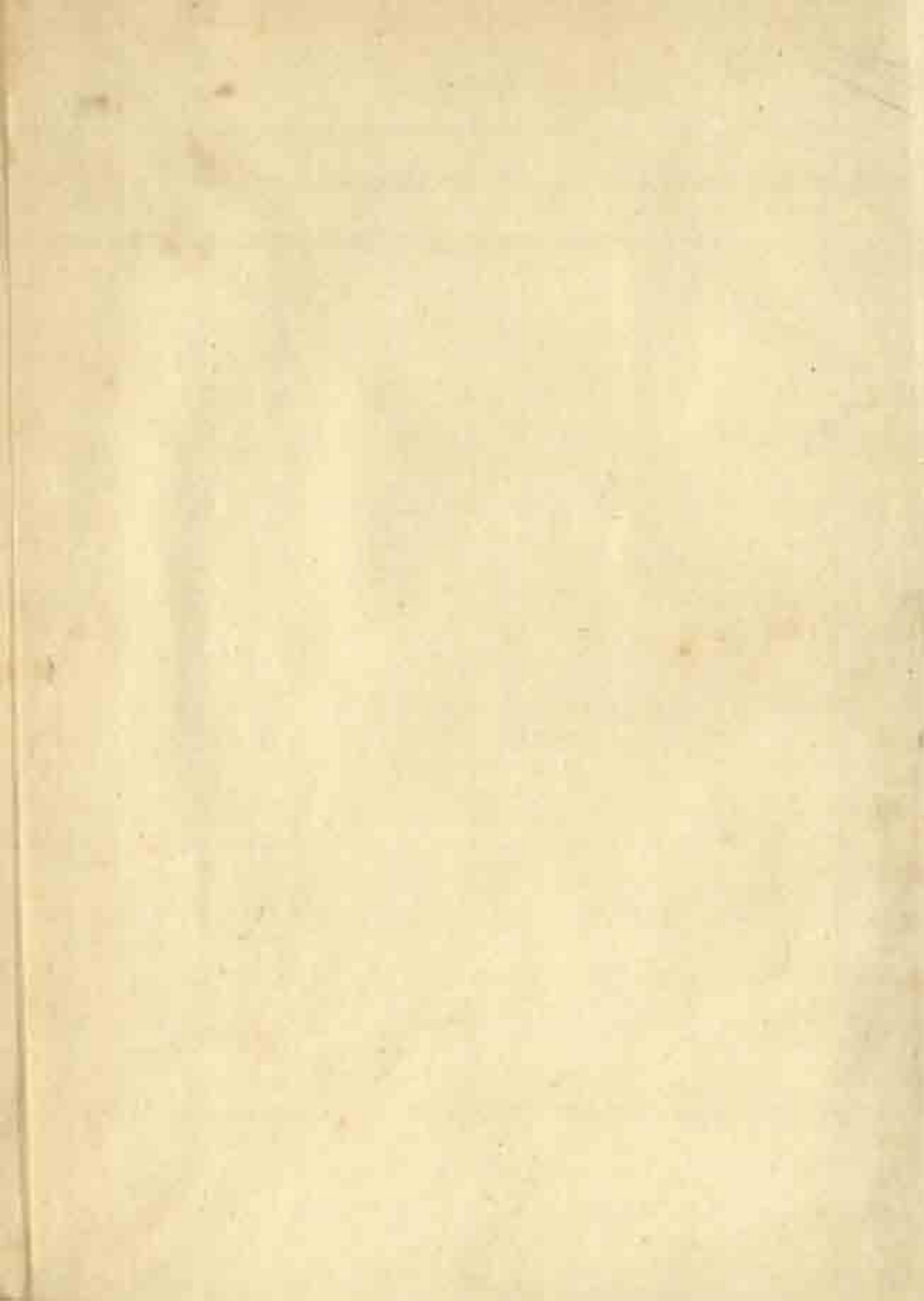
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THE COINAGE OF SIAM ⁽¹⁾

by

REGINALD LE MAY, M. R. A. S.

INTRODUCTION

For some reason or other, perhaps on account of its inherent difficulties, the subject of numismatics in Siam has not yet attracted the serious attention of any student of this country's history. Collectors there have been, and still are, though Siamese collectors are becoming rarer as the years go by; and twenty to twenty-five years ago very high prices were paid for ancient Siamese coins of some degree of rarity, but no serious attempt appears to have been made by any collector to present the fruits of his studies to the public. Yet it will be agreed that the study of Siam's coinage system should certainly form one of the aims of the Siam Society: and, with this in my mind, I have ventured to step into the breach, and to make an endeavour to obtain what reliable information I can regarding the coinage of Siam.

The only works which deal at all seriously with Siamese coinage that I have been able to trace are as follows:

1. A Report on Siamese Money to the Ministry of Finance at Paris, dated 1901, (Cordier, *Bib. Indosin.*, col. 820).
2. A Catalogue of the collection of Siamese coins in the possession of H. M. the King of Italy, dated 1898.
3. A Book of Photographs of the Coinage issued in various portions of the Kingdom of Siam, prepared for the Library of the Ministry of Interior by COL. GERINI (now in the National Library, Bangkok).
4. "Du Royaume de Siam", by M. DE LA LOUÈRE, who visited this country as French Ambassador in 1687-88, (Amsterdam edition, 1691, Vol. I, pp. 219 et seq.; and Appendix in Vol. II, pp. 48-50).
5. "Moedas de Siam" (Siamese Coinage), by A. MARQUES PEREIRA, (1879).

(1) The present paper is the first part of a work, the concluding part of which, dealing with the coins of the Bangkok period, was published in this Journal in 1925 (JSS. Vol. XVIII, Pt. 3, pp. 153-220).

- d. "Siamese Coinage", a pamphlet by Mr. JOSEPH HAAS, the Austro-Hungarian Vice-Consul in Shanghai, published in that city in 1880, 8vo, pp. 30.

There is also a little volume on *Siamese porcelain and other Tokens* by Mr. H. A. RAMSDEN, published in Yokohama in 1911 (Jun Kobayagawa Co., 8vo, pp. 37, 20 pl. in colours). All the information given regarding their use was borrowed from Mr. Haas, and the volume has but little bearing on the subject of this work.

Of the above material, No. 1 is not available in the National Library in Bangkok, and I have not as yet seen a copy of it. I can form no idea, therefore, of the value this report may possess.

No. 2 is also not available, but in any case without the collection, with which to compare the details given, it would probably not be of much material assistance.

No. 3 is a photographic record of a collection of considerable size and variety, which has been a constant source of help. In some cases an attempt has been made to describe the marks, and to date the coins shown, but such details must be accepted with the greatest reserve.

This record is the work of Col. Gerini and is, I understand, a photographic reproduction of No. 2.

No. 4 gives an interesting account of the money in current use in Siam at the time the book was written, viz. 1687-88; and, what is more, gives a competent drawing of the marks on the 'bullet' coin of the reigning Monarch, King Narai, thus enabling us to place with some confidence one of the coins of the Ayudhya period.

No. 5 is a short essay on Siamese coinage by A. Marques Pereira, who was at one time Portuguese Consul-General at Bangkok. It is referred to by Mr. Haas, and is of some importance from the fact that it makes certain definite statements regarding the subsidiary coinage of the Bangkok dynasty.

No. 6 is an attempt by Mr. Haas, the Austro-Hungarian Vice-Consul at Shanghai, who visited Bangkok about 1879, to give a description of the coins of Siam. In this pamphlet, of only thirty pages, he gives a good deal of information of a miscellaneous kind, dealing with the history of the country and its gambling-houses, and including a list of the Kings of Siam, while ten pages are devoted to tributary states. The actual space given to the coinage of Siam is small indeed, and that Mr. Haas did not go very deeply into the subject may be gathered from the following remark:

"I have been unable to trace any coins from the first and second dynasty, and it still remains an open question whether such existed.⁽¹⁾ The oldest coins of which specimens remain date from the third Dynasty (1630-1780) and were made at Ayudhya, then the capital of the Kingdom".

This is a bold statement on the part of a writer on Siamese coins, seeing that there were only seven Kings of the third Dynasty who reigned long enough to have issued coins bearing their own marks, and that at least twenty-four different marks are known, which belong to the Ayudhya and earlier periods. Still the little work is of a certain value in other directions, and I have been able to glean some interesting and, I think, reliable details from it.

This exhausts the material at my disposal already in existence, and it is not, therefore, without some reason that I call the subject practically "virgin soil".

I should not, however, forget to mention also the Report published of the Centennial of Bangkok held in 1882, to commemorate the 100th Anniversary of the city's foundation. In connection with the celebrations a Grand Exhibition was held, and the Report gives an epitome of the contents of Department No. 20 of the Exhibition, which was devoted to "Gold, Silver, Bronze and Crockery Coins". The compiler of the Report states that:

"The catalogue of the articles placed on exhibit in this room is full of interest to the antiquarian. The historical sketch of the many coins is well worth perusal, but is decidedly too long for insertion here. Antiquarian societies might afford to have it translated and published for general information".

Unfortunately, no copy of this catalogue is known, but the speculative character of its compiler was well-known, and I have been reliably told that the information given was based more on hearsay and legendary tradition than on accurate scientific research. At the same time a certain amount of interesting information is contained in the Report itself, and reference will be made to it again later on.

In my early research work, I was fortunate enough to secure the collaboration of the late H. S. H. Prince Piya, a well-known collector of coins in Siam for more than thirty years, who was kind enough to place his collection freely at my disposal in studying this subject. I owe him a debt of gratitude which I take pleasure in acknowledging here. I must also express my thanks to Mr. A. Marcan, the Director

(1) The italics are mine.

of the Government Analytical Laboratory, and Phra Prasada, the Assistant Director, for their kind help in determining the nature of coins.

Last, but not least, I would like to express my sincere thanks to H. R. H. Prince Damrong, our Vice-Patron, who has taken the greatest interest in this work, and has given me valuable help and suggestions throughout. It is by means of this friendly collaboration between Siamese and European students that the most useful and valuable results can be gained.

PART I

A GENERAL SURVEY

I

A student of the early coinage of Siam is faced with almost insuperable difficulties in his work of research, though naturally these difficulties, to the true seeker, do but add zest to the pursuit. The superficial evidence, that is, the evidence of the coins themselves, goes to show that there must have been a standardized silver coinage in use in Central Siam for many hundreds of years past, certainly as early as the time of Henry III of England and Louis IX of France (Saint Louis), and possibly earlier. The shape of this standardized coin is peculiar; indeed, as far as I am aware, it is unique in the annals of coinage. It is not flat, and bears no effigy; nor has it any written characters upon it. It consists of a short, elliptical bar of silver, with both its ends pressed inwards so that they practically meet. This is called in Siamese *p'ot duang*, where *duang* means 'worm', and *p'ot* means 'twisted' or 'curled', from the Pali, *baddha*, meaning 'bound'. On this coin, which has long been popularly called a 'bullet' coin from the shape thus formed, two marks (in one case, three) have been stamped.

This type of 'bullet' coin continued to be minted right up to the fourth reign of the Bangkok Dynasty, King Mongkut (1851-1868); and, as far as the Bangkok Dynasty is concerned, the significance of the marks upon it is clear. One, which is constant, represents the mark of the Dynasty, and the other, which varies, is the personal mark of the reigning sovereign. But of the pre-Bangkok coinage, with the one exception already referred to in the Preface,⁽¹⁾ there is nothing to tell us which mark belongs to which King; and, although we can assign nearly all those of the Bangkok Dynasty with a certain measure of confidence, since that Dynasty only began to reign in 1782, we have only tradition and purely hearsay evidence to ascribe the coins issued in Ayudhyan and earlier times, all the official records of Siam having been destroyed at the sack of Ayudhya by the Burmese in 1767.

(1) *Suprà*, p. 2.

There is, moreover, another entirely different type of coinage long in use in Northern Siam of a 'bracelet' type, which will be described later and which was probably contemporaneous with the 'bullet' coinage, or at least partly so; and it will thus be seen that, from a historical point of view, two important questions need to be answered, namely, (1) what is the origin of these types of coinage; and (2) who introduced them into this country?

I cannot pretend that in this work I have definitely solved these problems, but I have made strenuous endeavours during the last ten years to collect all the evidence which might shed some light upon them, and I do not think that any useful purpose would be served by waiting any longer for more evidence to be brought forward. On the contrary, I have every hope that, by recording the evidence known to me now, I may induce and stimulate other workers to take up the search.

Before dealing with the history of the country, an interesting point may be interposed here. There would no doubt in any case have been grave technical difficulties in early days in Siam in producing a portrait of a King of Siam on the coinage, but, whatever these difficulties might have been, such a portrait was taboo, and this is the reason why no effigy of a King of Siam ever appeared on a coin until within the last fifty years, when the spell was broken by King Chulalongkorn in about 1880.

In his well-known work *The Golden Bough*,⁽¹⁾ Sir James Frazer states that it was a belief widely held throughout the ancient world that the shadow or reflection of a person was his soul or at any rate a vital part of himself. If trampled upon or struck, he would feel the injury as if done to himself. Sir James adds that "unless the sovereign were blessed with the years of a Methuselah, he could scarcely have permitted his life to be distributed in small pieces together with the coins of the realm". And a more powerful reason still may be added; he would never have allowed a portrait of himself to be thrown about from hand to hand, at the mercy of all his subjects, to be dealt with as they willed. Even as late as the xviiith century the Chinese Emperor, Kang Hsi (1662-1722), issued an order that his *name* was not to be painted on the base of porcelain for fear of its being trampled underfoot by his subjects.

(1) Abridged edition, page 193.

II

The earliest known inhabitants of Siam were a people called Lawā, but, although their descendants are no doubt still living in the hills in remote corners of the Kingdom and scholars have managed to capture scraps of their language, practically nothing is known of their early history or of their form of government. It was probably tribal, and, as far as the issue of coinage is concerned, I think the Lawā may be safely ignored. At the most they may have used lumps of metal for barter purposes. Two very interesting bars of copper, shaped like fishes, have come out of the bed of a small river in the north of Siam. They appear to be of great age, and they are undoubtedly made to shape and not naturally formed. Are they merely toys, or were they made for purposes of barter in the bronze age? (*Plate I, 1 & 2*). All the peoples of the North and South are great fishermen, and there is nothing improbable in the choice of fish-shaped objects for purposes of barter. It would be interesting to know whether similar lumps have been found in other countries.

How long the Lawā and kindred tribes had this country to themselves is not known, but it is clear, from excavations and discoveries made in recent years, that Indian immigrants, probably from the South-Eastern sea-board of India, had already made their way into what is now Siam and had formed colonies there in the early centuries of the Christian Era, if not before. Buddhist images of the Amarāvati period, not later than the second century A. D., have been dug up less than 100 miles west of Bangkok, and the base of a very early temple has been excavated in the same district. It was near here also that the Roman lamp of Pompeian times was found a few years ago. At Nak'on Pat'om near by (one of the oldest, if not the oldest city in Siam) and other places, too, have been dug up *flat* silver coins of a distinctly Southern Indian type, with the conch-shell of Vishṇu on one side and the trident of Śiva on the other (*Plate I, 3*). Other kinds of emblems, such as a Garula (?) and a Deer, which is probably Buddhist, are known as well (*Plate I, 4 & 5*); and, as similar types of coins have been found, not only in Burma but also in Indo-China, and even as far north-east as Nak'on Panom on the Siamese side of the Mekhong, it seems probable that these coins were not indigenous but were brought to Siam by Indian immigrants. The actual period in which they were issued or used has not yet been definitely determined; but it may, I

think, be safely said that they are the earliest coins found in Siam and ante-date the 'bullet' coin by several hundred years.

In his study of the coins of Arakan, Pegu, and Burma, published in 1882, Sir Arthur Phayre states categorically that coined money was not used in ancient times in the countries of Indo-China. In Arakan coins were first struck for the purposes of currency, and as a declaratory act of sovereignty, towards the end of the xvth, or at the beginning of the xvith, century of the Christian era. The system then adopted was taken from that existing in Bengal under the Muhammadan Kings, with which Province of India Arakan was at that time closely connected.

Several centuries before these pieces of money were issued, coins bearing religious symbols, but without date, and occasionally without any legend, had been struck by Kings of Arakan.

A similar practice had existed in Pegu, though there is no distinct evidence as to the dynasty which caused such coins to be issued.

Some of these coins bear Buddhist, and some Hindu symbols, and these symbols were probably copied from ancient Indian coins.

In Pegu the dynasties were also originally Indian. The traditions and the native chronicles, as well as the name 'Talaing' (Môn), show that settlements were made long before the Christian era at points of the coast on and near the delta of the Irawadi by people from ancient Kalinga and Teliṅgāna in Eastern India.

At the end of his work Sir Arthur Phayre gives illustrations of two silver coins, with no date or legend, but with the conch-shell of Vishṇu on the obverse, and the trident of Śiva on the reverse, within which is an object which may represent a *liṅgam* with a serpent (*Plate 1, 6*).

He states that a number of coins similar to these two were lately dug up about twenty-five miles from the town of Sittaung in Pegu, and he concludes by saying that these coins, which may have been cast in Pegu at a time when Hindu doctrines had undermined Buddhism, were probably not intended for currency, but as amulets by votaries of the doctrines represented by the symbols used.

Sir Arthur Phayre seems to think, therefore, that the coins were locally made, in the case of Burma, and were used not for currency, but as amulets by votaries. It may, of course, be so, but it is difficult to accept this as final as far as the coins found in Siam are concerned, since, if these coins were for use as amulets only, why are there no holes in most of the specimens found for hanging them round the necks of the wearers? And this question applies equally to the coins found in Burma.

PLATE I.



1



2



4



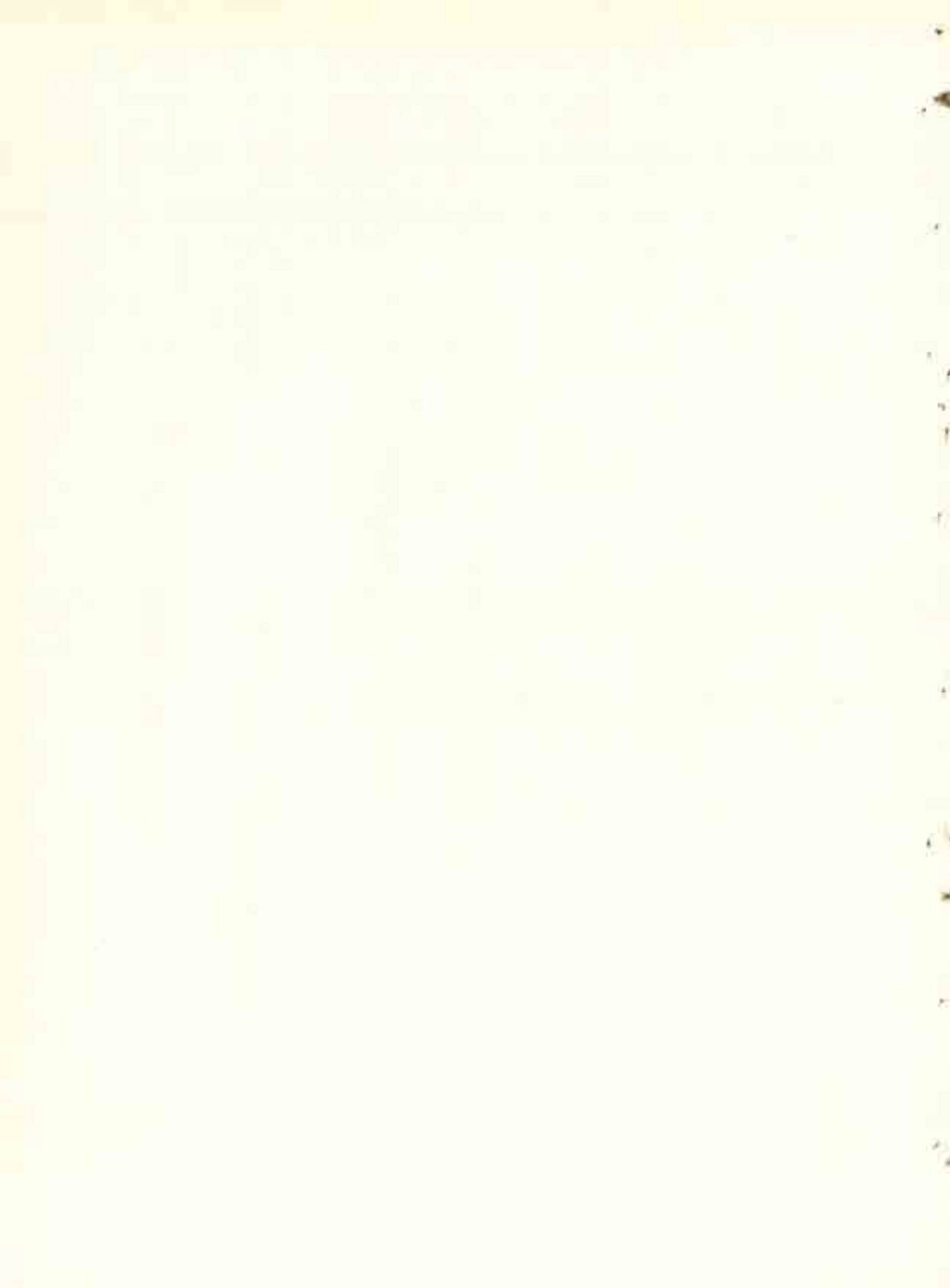
3



5



6



Finally, according to Sir Arthur Phayre, there is no proof of coins having been struck until recent times in Upper Burma.

III

To continue our historical survey of Siam. Sometime during the first three or four centuries of the Christian era, the central plain of Siam seems to have been occupied by the Môn or Talaing people (a branch of the Môn-Khmer race) from Lower Burma. They established their capital in the neighbourhood of Sup'anburi or Lopburi, and gradually extended their influence as far as north as Lamp'ûn (then called Hari-pûñjaya). They appear to have remained in possession of the central region of Siam until the coming of the Khmer about the end of the first millenium A.D., while their dominion in Lamp'ûn lasted somewhat longer until the founding of Chiangmai by Meng Rai at the end of the XIIIth century. Of this period a certain amount of sculpture and inscriptions is gradually coming to light, but of the government of the land or the conditions of living practically nothing is yet known. All that we know is that in the VIIIth century Chinese travellers referred to the country lying between modern Burma and modern Cambodia as *Dvāravatī*. Of any coinage which can be definitely ascribed to this period there is no trace at present, unless, indeed, the flat Indian coins referred to in the last chapter are the work of the Môn locally. It seems clear from their sculpture that the Môn in Siam were Buddhist by religion from early times, and it is generally accepted by scholars now that it was a Môn princess from Lopburi who established Buddhism at Lamp'ûn about the VIIIth century A.D. As will be seen from the marks on later coins, this would not necessarily prevent the Môn from using Hindu emblems on their coins if they issued any. Buddhist Kings of quite recent date have used the *K'rut* (*Garuda*), the *Chakra* (Wheel), and the *Trī* (Trident) as marks on their 'bullet' coins.

But the finds of these flat coins are few and far between (indeed, they are very rare) and do not point to any extensive use of them as coinage through many centuries of Môn dominion.

We come then to the period of Khmer sovereignty over Central Siam, which began about the year 1000 A.D. with Lopburi as the centre.

In his monumental tome, entitled *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens*, M. Groslier, Directeur des Arts Cambodgiens at Pnompenh, deals at length with the commerce and money of that country and arrives at the same conclusion as Sir Arthur Phayre in Burma, namely, that up to the close of the XVth century, no system of coinage was ever adopted by the Khmer. He pertinently asks the question "For what

were products exchanged?" and he gives as answer a quotation from Teheon Ta-Kouan, a Chinese Envoy at the close of the XIIIth century: "In small transactions one paid in rice, cereals, and Chinese objects, followed later by cloth: in more important affairs one used gold and silver" (i. e. by weight).

It is strange that an Empire, which lasted for at least six centuries; which stretched from Annam in the East as far as Chaiyā and Nak'on Si'tamarāt in the South, Burma in the West, and Suk'ōt'ai in the North; and which could produce such a wonder of civilized culture as the great temple at Angkor, still never found it necessary or expedient to employ any standard system of gold and silver coinage, as distinct from weights, throughout its territories. And yet perhaps not so strange, when we consider that China until quite recently stood in almost the same position numismatically.

According to M. Groslier, the first coins of Cambodia, of which there is any definite knowledge, were struck in 1595 by Sotha I, King of Cambodia: and from that date the use of silver and copper coinage was permanent and constant, right up to the time of the establishment of the French Protectorate. Before 1595 a great deal of silver was imported from China in well defined weights, namely variants of the *tael*, which in Cambodia became the *dumleug* (Siamese, *tamlu'ng*).

As far as the issue of a standard coinage is concerned, therefore, the Khmer may also be eliminated, and we may be reasonably certain that up to the time of the arrival of the Tai in Siam in any numbers, no gold or silver currency had been minted for purposes of coinage in this country. One link is missing, the South, or what is now the Malay Peninsula. But the history of that part of Further India rules out any suggestion that the standardised silver coinage, with which we began this discussion, had its origin there.

We come finally then to the Tai, who have ruled in Siam since the end of the XIIIth century.

At that time the position was as follows. The Tai of the North had either driven out or absorbed the aboriginal Lawā and formed themselves into a congeries of principalities, while the Tai of the North-Centre had overcome the Khmer and founded a Kingdom with Sawank'alōk and Suk'ōt'ai as sister capital cities. In the South-Centre the Khmer rule appears to have lingered on, or, at any rate, its influence remained for some time longer, and it is not until the middle of the XIVth century that we find a Tai Kingdom set up with Ayudhya as

the Capital. This Kingdom absorbed the earlier one of Suk'ot'ai-Sawank'alök within a period of seventy-five years, and finally, in the first half of the xvth century, smashed all Khmer claims to Siam by attacking Angkor, the capital of the Khmer empire, and sacking it. But the North of Siam remained independent for two hundred years—there were indeed constant wars between the North and the South—and then, in its turn, was conquered in 1557, not by Ayudhya but by the reigning dynasty of Burma (Ava). Thereafter, except for certain periods at the close of the xvth and the beginning of the xvith century, when Chiengmai was temporarily seized by the King of Ayudhya, it remained under Burmese dominion until the end of the xviii century, when the several principalities comprising the North of Siam became vassal states of Bangkok as the price of the latter's help in driving out the Burmese.

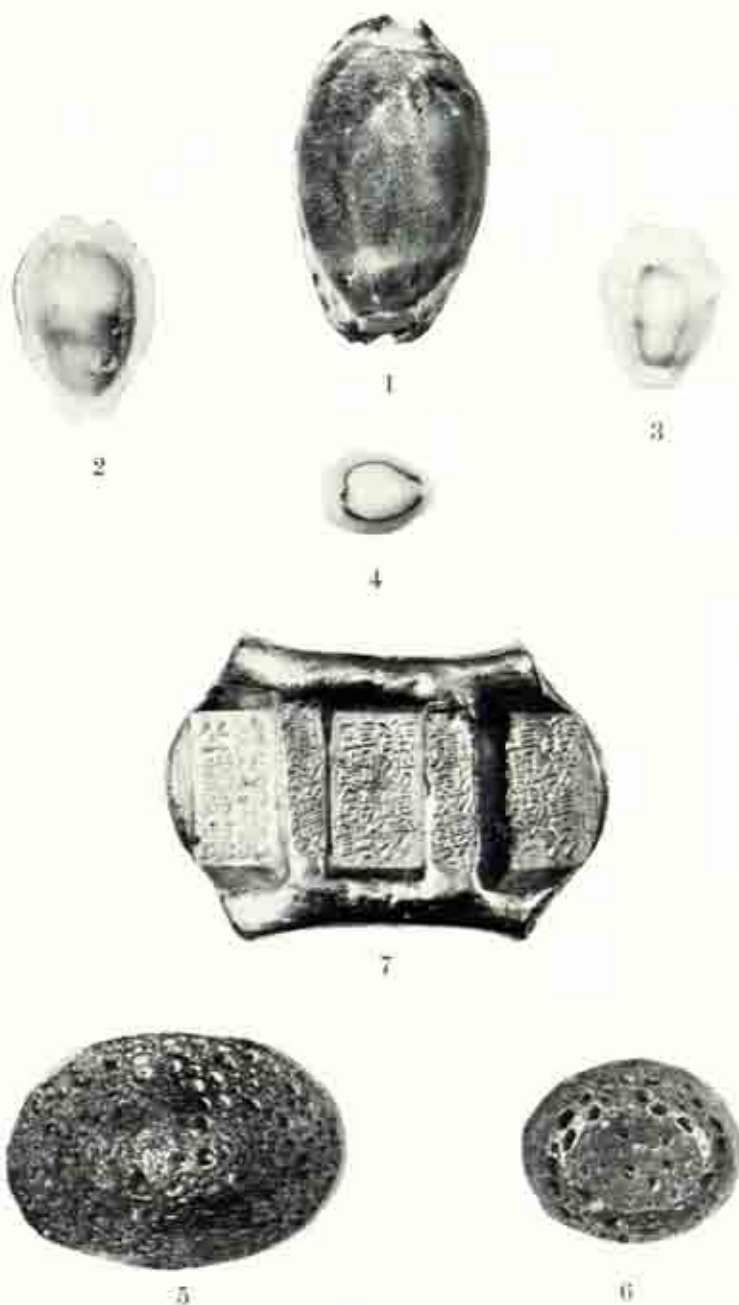
Now the Tai originally came from Central and Southern China, south of the Yangtze river, and maintained a kingdom there called Nanchao, until they were finally defeated by the Mongols under Kublai Khan in the middle of the xii century. This must have brought about a flood of emigration southwards, and was probably directly responsible for the power of the Tai coming to a head in Siam. But numbers of Tai had long before this settled in what are now the Shan States, and there were no doubt many Tai settlements in Siam as well.

The only possible evidence of what the Tai used for money in their own home in Nanchao comes from a description by Marco Polo of a visit he paid to Southern China in about 1272 A.D., in which he makes mention of non-Chinese races living in a province called Karaian, with its capital at Yachi, which is thought to be Talifu, the old capital of Nanchao. He said that the people used cowrie-shells (*Plate II, 1 to 4*) as money and for ornament.⁽¹⁾ This is not very helpful, as most of the people of the East have used cowrie-shells as money from time immemorial, and even in the second half of the xix century they were still rated in Siam at 100 to the *att* (or 6,400 to the *bāt*). But it is a well-known fact that the Chinese, until very recent times, never minted any silver or gold for coinage, and all transactions were carried out by means of 'sycee', or lumps of silver, which could be cut to the required weight (*Plate II, 5 & 6*). It is probable then that the Tai of Nanchao, as did the Khmer of Angkor, adopted the same custom.

In connection with 'sycee', *No. 7, Plate II*, shows an interesting

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Wood, *A History of Siam*, p. 39.

PLATE II.



type of Chinese silver. It was obtained in the North of Siam, where it goes by the name of 'saddle-money' from the shape, but it probably comes from Southern China, perhaps Yunnan Fu, and was brought down by one of the pack caravans.

It weighs as much as 2,926 grains, or about $12\frac{1}{2}$ *bāl* and is of good silver, as may be gathered from the Chinese inscriptions in the three panels, which are all identical and which read as follows:

"Hong Kūng Tang Kee" (the name of the banking house) and "Kong Ngee Bun Ngòn" (genuine first quality silver).

Each of the two columns guarding the central panel also has the same lettering which runs, "Kong Ngee Kong Koh Tong Pao" which, I am told, means "Genuine and negotiable for free circulation". It would seem to be a kind of Bank-Note issued by the house of Kūng Tang Kee, rather a heavy one!

IV

How was it then that the Tai of Siam came to adopt a definite standard currency of such a peculiar shape as the 'bullet' coin?

We have seen that neither from China, Pegu, Arakan, Cambodia, nor from Malaya could the Tai have derived their inspiration.

Now, although the 'bullet' coin became, one might say, the dominant type in Siam proper at some time or other during the centuries following the arrival of the Tai, there is another more or less standard type of coin, much larger than the 'bullet' coin, known locally as *k'ā k'im* (Plate III, 1 to 4), which was used in the North of Siam contemporaneously with the 'bullet' coin in the North-Centre and Centre.

Also, there is still another type, much closer to the true 'bracelet' type, which will, I believe, prove an important link in our chain of evidence (Plate III, 5 to 7). It will be convenient to deal with these two types first, before taking up in detail the question of the 'bullet' type.

A young and enthusiastic Siamese scholar, Khun Vichitr Matra (Sanga), who has studied the subject and who has provided me with food for thought, gives it as his opinion that the Tai originally used Chinese silver for purposes of barter on their arrival in Siam about the eighth century A. D., on account of the scarcity of silver mines in Northern Siam. This is possibly true, as even in recent times I have been told in the North that on occasions silver has been scarcer even than gold, which in its alluvial form is fairly plentiful. Khun Vichitr goes so far as to assert, on the strength of a statement by King Mongkut, that the early Tai tried to smelt gold of inferior quality to obtain silver, and also made use of another unspecified metal which became blackish with age and was thought to be silver. He attributes the shape of the *k'ā k'im* coin, and that of the 'bullet' as well, to this original use of Chinese 'sycee'; and thinks that the minting of both of them began as early as the Xth century, during the time of the Sung Dynasty in China, at the hands of local rulers who wished to do away with all the different types of weights found in use, and to develop trade by creating a uniform, standard currency stamped with the Royal mark.

As regards the date suggested for the introduction of the 'bullet' type, there is possibly something in Khun Vichitr's contention, as will be shown later, but, apart from the question of the weight of the *k'ā*

PLATE III.



5



1



4



6



2



7



3

k'im coin, which is a full Siamese tael of 4 *bāt*⁽¹⁾ (or 4½ *bāt*, generally, to be exact), against the Chinese tael which weighs only 2½ *bāt*, all the specimens of this coinage I have ever seen bear the name (abbreviated) of the town or principality of issue in a script which, it is known, was imported into the North from Suk'ot'ai as late as the XIVth century, so that we can rule out the possibility of this particular type having been introduced as early as the Xth century.

There are, however, as I have already stated, types of truer 'bracelet' coinage which may be, and probably are, much older than the *k'ā k'im*. They bear no legends and the marks on them are peculiar, in some cases apparently meaningless, or at any rate purely decorative, but one of them shows a *Rāchasi* (Plate III, 7), which introduces at once the question of Indian influence. It is probable that these 'bracelet' coins were used in the north prior to the advent of the Suk'ot'ai script, and represent the earliest types of coinage issued by royal authority in Northern Siam. They vary considerably in size and weight, but are all of good silver.

This brings us to the most valuable piece of evidence which has yet come to light.

Quoting from the chronicles of the Tang Dynasty of China dealing with Southern Barbarians, and of the Pyu Kingdom of Prome in particular, as given by Harvey,⁽²⁾ the statement is made that "Gold and Silver are used as money, the shape of which is crescent-like". Now the Pyu and the Tai of Nanchao had much contact with one another during the VIIth, VIIIth, and IXth centuries A.D., and it is highly probable that during this period the Tai became acquainted with this crescent-like type of coinage, which is obviously the 'bracelet' type now under consideration.

There are good reasons for believing that the Tai of Northern Burma, who may have provided the emigrants to come south to Siam, were Buddhists as early as the VIth century A.D. and were acquainted with Indian customs. It is possible, therefore, that the Tai of Northern Siam had a very early contact with Indian influence, and this prepared

(1) *Bāt* is the Siamese word for *tical*, which has long been the word used by Europeans to denote the Siamese unit of silver currency, derived from Arabic, *thaqal* (Hebrew, *shekel*). *Bāt* is now in common official use and will be used throughout this work.

(2) Cf. Harvey, *A History of Burma*, p. 13.

them for their meeting with further Indian influence from the Môn and Khmer. It is almost certain that the earliest types of Buddhist images found in Northern Siam came from India (Bengal) through Northern Burma and the Shan States. This would account, then, for the Tai using Indian symbols on their 'bracelet' coinage.

Khun Vichitr makes an interesting suggestion in seeking for a reason to account for the adoption of different types of coinage by different peoples. He gives it as his opinion that the northern folk adopted the 'bracelet', and, later, the *kā kim* type of money because they traded almost entirely on land and through hilly country, and found this type of coinage convenient to carry about either as bracelets or strung together. Long caravans of mules and ponies still come down to Siam every year from the Shan States and Yunnan with many different kinds of produce, lead, potatoes, and walnuts among them. On the other hand, the more Southern folk used the great river system of North-Central and Central Siam as their means of communication, and it was convenient for them to carry about coins of the 'bullet' shape in bags, which could be easily accommodated in their boats. This suggestion seems to me to be well worthy of consideration.

It should be mentioned that the late Sir William Ridgeway in *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* (1892) contrasts the *larin* of the Persian Gulf with the 'bullet' and *kā kim* coins of Siam, and states that both the latter "are the outcome of a process of degradation from a piece of silver wire twisted into the form of a ring and doubled up, which probably originally formed some kind of ornament".

This reasoning may well apply to the *kā kim* type, as we have already seen the actual 'bracelet' prototype from which it was doubtless formed; but, as I pointed out to him personally some years ago, (for I was privileged to know this great scholar), it cannot, in my opinion, apply to the 'bullet' shape (which Sir William considered the last stage of the degradation), as this is not a bracelet at all, but a *bar* of metal, and appears to me to be the outcome of an entirely different process of thought. It has fundamentally more in common with the bars of silver and copper alloy (*lat*) used on the Mekhong river; or, as Major Erik Seidenfaden, a well-known Danish authority on Siam, has suggested to me, it may be that the origin of the 'bullet' coin is to be found in the shape of the cowrie-shell, and that the original idea was to make silver cowries. This is indeed an ingenious suggestion.

Plate IV, 1 to 4, shows specimens of the different kinds of *lat*

PLATE IV.



1



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4



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6



7

in use. Some of them are stamped with marks, and others not, and they may be said, roughly, to come from the valley of the Mekhong, from the Sip Song Pan Na down to the borders of Cambodia.

Nos. 1 and 2 appear to obtain a certain proportion of silver. No. 1 is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, weighs 1,450 grains, and is marked in three places with a serpentine letter, or figure, the meaning of which, if any, I do not know. No. 2 is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and weighs 937 grains; and is stamped in three places with a circle, inside which are two diameters at right angles to one another and four dots, one in each segment. This may possibly be intended to represent the *Krut*, or Garuda Bird, in a very primitive form, as it bears a resemblance to the rough presentation of that Hindu demi-god, as seen on the 'bullet' coins of the Third Reign of the Bangkok Dynasty.

No. 3 is of a different type, and is shaped like a shallow dug-out canoe. It is of copper, and weighs 369 grains. It is $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, and is not stamped in any way.

No. 4 is of a different type again, and is considerably scarcer than any of the other types of bar money. It appears to have a certain admixture of silver, and is stamped in three places. It has an elephant in the centre facing right; while to left and right are marks similar to each other, which may conceivably be characters of some kind, but which are not at present recognisable.⁽¹⁾ It is 2 inches long and weighs 379 grains. I was told in the North that this coin was an issue of the ancient Kingdom of Wieng Chan on the Mekhong, but I have as yet no evidence to prove this assertion.

These four types of money have a surface of plain, blank metal on the reverse.

Nos. 5 and 7 are normal Ayudhyan *bât* of between 220 and 230 grains in weight, while No. 6 is an example of a Northern 'bullet' coin of lesser weight, namely 189 grains, which is shown for comparison.

To turn now to the 'bullet' type of coin itself, I have prepared a plate of eight coins (*Plate F*) which is designed to show what I can only call "the evolution of the *bât*."

The introduction of this type of coin is popularly ascribed to the great 'Phra Ruang', or K'un Rām K'ambheng, the son of the founder of the Sawank'alōk Kingdom, (approximately 1275-1315 A. D.), who is regarded as the 'Father of the Tai', so much so that the origin of

(1) In the illustration this coin is upside down.

most things Siamese is attributed to him: while that of the *kā kim* coin is attributed to his worthy contemporary and friend, Meng Rai, who founded the city of Chiangmai in Northern Siam in 1296 A. D. and who is regarded as the 'Father of the North'.

For reasons which will be given later, I do not think it probable that Rām Kāmbeng was the actual inventor of the 'bullet'-shaped coin, but he or his father may well have been the originator of a system of standardised 'bullet' coinage.

Whoever was the founder, the types shown on *Plate V* close with a typical Ayudhyian *bāt* of the xvth, xvith and xvith centuries, and the interesting feature to the student is to observe how, in the course of centuries, the shape has gradually changed.

In what appears to be the earliest, most primitive type (1) the coin is relatively oblong, the sides are rounded and bear no hammer-marks. The ends meet firmly below, and the hole in the centre formed by bending the ends is large and triangular in form. There are no 'cuts' on the ridge of the coin. There is little doubt that the holes formed were used in early times for stringing the coins together and carrying them in girdles round the waist. A man in troublous times or for purposes of business could thus carry a good deal of his property about with him.

In the next type (2) the coin is more rounded in shape, the ridge in the centre is higher and not so flat. The ends meet, but the hole formed is elongated and deepish 'cuts' appear low on both sides.

In type (3) the coin is larger and broader than in type (2), and higher in the centre of the ridge. The sides are still rounded, but the 'cuts' on the sides are very small. The ends still meet, and the hole is triangular though smaller.

In type (4) the ends still meet, but the 'cuts' on the sides are deep, and the coin is slightly broader, while the sides, though still rounded, show faint signs of hammer-marks, thus beginning to form angles. The hole in the centre is now decreasing in size.

Type (5) is somewhat larger than type (4) and has a very high ridge in the centre, but this may be accidental. The 'cuts' are pronounced, and the hole in the centre is about the same size as in type (4), but what particularly distinguishes this coin from the previous four is the presence, for the first time, of small but distinct hammer-marks, which can be clearly seen in the photograph, on the ends of the coin. There is a tendency also for the first time, for the ends to part.

Type (6) is the three-mark coin popularly attributed to Rām

PLATE V.



1



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2



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4



8

Kaunheng of Suk'ōt'ai, though from the shape this is improbable. On this coin the hammer-marks are very prominent, forming distinct angles at the sides. The coin is broad and the 'cuts' are distinct, but there is again the tendency for the ends to part, and the hole in the centre has been reduced to a minimum. The shape is approaching the later Ayudhyan type, and may belong to the late xivth, or early xvth century. There is, it may be said, a two-bāt piece (*Plate VIII, 2*) with the same three marks, which is still nearer to type (8), and which thus strengthens my view in regard to its date of issue.

Type (7) still shows a resemblance to type (6) in its breadth and in the length of its hammer-marks, but the ends have definitely parted and the hole in the centre has completely disappeared. The 'cuts', too, are growing smaller again.

The coin, taken as a whole, is rapidly becoming of a standard shape; in fact the mark upon it is also known upon coins almost exactly corresponding to type (8). With great reserve I suggest that this type may belong to the end of the xvth century, and that during the course of a long reign (possibly Rāmātibodī II, 1491-1529) the standard type described below gradually came into being.

Type (8) shows a typical Ayudhyan *bāt* of the xvth, xvth, and xvth centuries. It is more compact than the earlier types and of a definite standard shape. The single hammer-mark on each side is round and very firmly stamped, and the ends of the coin are far apart. The coin is remarkably well made, and it will be noticed that the 'cuts' on the sides have now disappeared. They are never seen again. It may seem an odd note to strike in a paper on coins, and the effect is almost certain to have been accidental, but in the standard Ayudhyan type the form resembles closely the lower part of a woman's torso (the hips and inner part of the thighs), and, unless the shape of a coin corresponds closely to this description, it may almost certainly be rejected as a forgery, or as belonging to the period of the Bangkok dynasty (1782 onwards), during which the shape of the 'bullet' coin showed a sad deterioration.

It will be of interest to place on record the weights of these eight specimens, which have been chosen for their shape alone, and which may cover a period ranging from 500 to possibly 700 years.

Type 1	=	194	grains
Type 2	=	187	"
Type 3	=	217	"
Type 4	=	224	"

Type 5	=	243 grains
Type 6	=	220 "
Type 7	=	225 "
Type 8	=	223 "

Allowing for age and wear and tear, types 3 to 8 are obviously allied, and are close enough to the standard weight of the *bât*, which is approximately 233 grains, though type 5 has certainly, for some reason, more than its fair share. Types 1 and 2 are clearly examples of a lesser standard weight.

V

LARGE TYPE OF BASE METAL.

In this general survey of the early coinage of Siam there is another type to be considered (*Plate VI*).

This type is of a primitive 'bullet' shape, but is much larger than the normal type. It is not of silver, and as a result of an analysis by the Government Analytical Laboratory it has been found that its composition varies from tin (almost entirely) to an alloy of copper and nickel, that is, German silver except for the absence of zinc.

Tin is plentiful in Southern Siam and may well have been brought from there to the North and Centre, while the copper and nickel alloy is found on the borders of Siam and the French Lao States, in the Nān region. It is still in use in Bangkok among the Chinese silver-smiths, who are said to mix it with Chinese dollar silver for the manufacture of silver articles.

Although all types conform to the 'bullet' shape in general, the form varies a good deal, as will be seen from the illustrations. Also the weights vary considerably according to size. The marks, however, are fairly constant, being five in number generally. On the top is the *Wheel of the Law*, and round the sides are found, the *Elephant*, the *Chakra* (weapon of Vishnu), the *Rājaraṣa* (Royal Dominion), and the *Yantra* (cabalistic sign). All these signs are Indian, and are similar to those found on the silver 'bullet' coins. It is probable then that they belong to the same period as the latter, and, as this type was already standardised in *silver*, I am inclined to think that these lumps of non-precious metals were issued as *weights* and not as currency at all. There seems to me to be no good reason for supposing that in those early days the same dynasty or line of Kings would issue a standard coinage in silver and another and much larger coinage in tin or copper-nickel alloy, in spite of the analogy with modern European practice. They are, besides, much too heavy to be conveniently carried and used as coinage. The use of the royal marks stamps them, however, as having been issued by authority.

In support of this opinion I cannot do better than quote from the famous stone inscription of King Rām Kāmbheng of Sukōt'ai (1282 A. D.):

"During the time of K'un Rām K'ambheng this realm has prospered. There is fish in the stream; there is rice in the paddyfield. The King does not tax his subjects. Along the roads his people lead their cattle, or ride their horses, to market. Whoever wants to sell elephant's or horses, may sell them. Whoever wants to deal in silver and gold, may do so. His subjects all wear happy faces. (1)"

This shows that silver and gold were in general use in the Sukōtai period for purposes of exchange, and there is little doubt that low-priced goods would be paid for in cowrie-shells, which have always been until recently in constant use in Siam.

The weights of the seven pieces shown on *Plate VI* are as follows:

No. 1	2,203 grs.	=	9	bat	and	115	grains
No. 2	1,273	"	=	5	"	"	113 "
No. 3	1,198	"	=	5	"	"	38 "
No. 4	1,179	"	=	5	"	"	19 "
No. 5	913	"	=	3	"	"	217 "
No. 6	740	"	=	3	"	"	44 "
No. 7	708	"	=	3	"	"	12 "

The above weights, which are of representative specimens, would indicate that they have no connection with the *tael* (*tamb'ng*) or its derivatives, which is curious, whether these pieces were actually issued as currency or as weights.

(1) Lines 18-21.

PLATE VI.



4



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2



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6



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VI

CONCLUSIONS

It will be as well now to summarize the evidence at our disposal and to see if we can draw any probable conclusions from it.

1. I think it may be accepted that it was the Tai who in Siam were the first to introduce a standardised silver currency, and they are to be commended for being the first country of the Far East to adopt such a standard.

2. It is highly probable that the Tai did not *invent* the idea of currency, but borrowed it from elsewhere, in the same way that Rām K'ambheng, although he claimed in his famous stone inscription to be writing Siamese characters for the first time, based these characters on the Cambodian (Khmer) script. It will, I think, be usually found that nearly everything in this world is either an adaptation of, or an improvement on, something that has gone before; in fact, that there is nothing new under the sun!

3. It seems conclusive that neither China, Cambodia (the Khmer Empire), nor the Malay Peninsula (pre-Malay) ever had any standard currency, and, therefore, that the Tai could not have drawn their inspiration from any of those countries. There remains, therefore, only Burma to consider.

4. It is true that Sir Arthur Phayre states categorically that there never was any coined money in use in Burma in early times, and, if we regard coined money in the form that we understand it today, this is no doubt true. But we also know from the chronicles of the Tang Dynasty of China (600-900 A. D. approx.) that the Pyu of Prome (a race now extinct in Burma) in the viiith and viiith centuries did use gold and silver as money in a crescent-like form, and we also learn from the same Chronicles that the Pyu had much contact with the Tai Kingdom of Nanchao in Southern China. In fact, in 808-09 A. D. the King of Nanchao styled himself 'Lord of the Pyu', and just before this a deputation of Pyu had accompanied a mission from Nanchao to the Court of the Chinese Emperor at Si-an-fu.⁽¹⁾

The present Shan States, which are peopled by the same race as the Tai of Siam, are contiguous to Northern Siam on the one side and to

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Harvey, *History of Burma*, pp. 13-15.

Burma on the other, and it is more than probable that most of the early Tai settlers in Northern Siam came from the Shan States or from Upper Burma, which in the VIIIth century was also under the sway of Nanchao, and did not come from Nanchao direct.

Now, the crescent-like money is obviously the 'bracelet' type which we have been considering already, and the conclusion that we may, I think, draw is that the early Tai settlers were accustomed to using this type of money in Burma and brought it with them to Siam. The date of the earliest Tai principality in Northern Siam is usually accepted by historians as being in the IXth century, when a Tai prince is said to have established himself at Mu'ang Fāng in the far North, and if he or one of his successors decided to issue currency on his own initiative, he probably made use of the type to which he was accustomed.

In time, due perhaps to Meng Rai at the beginning of the XIVth century, the 'bracelet' currency took on a more definite and standard form in the shape of the *k'ā k'im*, and this form was eventually adopted by all the Northern principalities. It is known with the names of Sen (Chiengsen), Mai (Chiengmai), Rai (Chiengrai), Nak'on (Lampang), Phrē, and Nān, all of which were at one time or another distinct principalities, but, as has been said, the script upon them is of a type not known before the XIVth century, when it was imported from Suk ōt'ai in a modified form. The *k'ā k'im* type is believed to have remained in use in the North until the XVth century, and this would account for the comparative frequency with which it is met nowadays.

There is a very curious theory still extant in Northern Siam regarding this type of coinage. It may be stated frankly that the *k'ā k'im* coins (Plate III) are supposed to have been used in pairs, and to represent the male and female genital organs, by which they are known locally; and when I first began investigating the coinage system of the North, I thought it not improbable that such was the case, bearing in mind the well-known Chinese symbol, the *Yin Yang*, in which two fish, one dark-coloured and the other light, are joined together head to tail in one circle and represent the eternal forces of generation. But I am now satisfied that this is not so, and that the coins in question are of a similar type, but issued by different principalities: hence the slight divergence in shape and weight.

5. The origin of the 'bullet' type presents a more difficult problem.

As to the reason for its adoption I am inclined to agree with K'un Vichitr. The 'bracelet' type was suitable for caravan travelling, but not for boats, and, in the absence of further contradictory evidence, I consider his theory a tenable one. If the T'ai had come in contact with the bar and boat-shaped forms in use on the Mekhong, some of them may have found those forms too clumsy, and have turned them into a more convenient shape merely by pressing the ends inwards. Or they may, as suggested by Major Seidenfaden, have tried to produce the cowrie-shell in silver.

When the 'bullet' coin first came into use in Siam is entirely obscure. That with the three marks of the *Rāchasi*, *Rāchavāt* (*Rājaraça*), and Wheel of the Law on it *may* have been issued by the famous Rām Kāmheng at Suk'ōt'ai at the end of the xiiith century, as popular tradition has it. I think it very unlikely, as I have already stated, but at any rate I feel certain that some of the types illustrated on *Plate F* are earlier than that type, and if popular tradition has by chance any substance in it, then the 'bullet' coinage must have been introduced before the Suk'ōt'ai period, and may possibly date from the xith or xiiith century. The three-mark coin is of far too settled a shape to have been the first issued; Types 1, 2 and 3 on *Plate F* are of a much more archaic form, and Types 4 and 5 are, I believe, also of an earlier period. This raises, however, a difficulty. If the 'bullet' coinage was issued before the Suk'ōt'ai period, who was the first to issue it?

We have already dealt with the 'bracelet' and *kā k'im* types of coinage, and if the conclusions drawn from the evidence have any weight, then that coinage certainly belongs to the northern region. I was inclined for a long time to think that the 'bullet' type must per contra have originated in Central Siam, but I now feel it necessary to modify that opinion. In the first place, the Khmer were in possession of the Suk'ōt'ai and Central regions of Siam from the xith century onwards until the time of the father of Rām Kāmheng and, as far as is known, issued no coinage of any kind.

This is a serious difficulty to overcome. But apart from this, certain evidence can be produced which leads me to believe that the origin of the 'bullet' coin is also to be found in the north of Siam, and that at some later date, possibly in the time of Rām Kāmheng or Suk'ōt'ai, its weight was changed, its form standardised, and its mark improved,

In volume I of the *Records of Relations with Foreign Countries 1600-1700*, published by the National Library in Bangkok, a ray of light is thrown on the Northern money of the period in an interesting letter of instructions, dated August 27th, 1615, from Lucas Anthennis, the Agent of the English East India Company in Ayudhya, to Thomas Samuel, his sub-factor, who had then gone on a trading expedition to Chiengmai. In this letter Anthennis states that:

"The Janggamay (Chiengmai) tical is lesser than the Siam, for 100 ticals Janggamay weight but 85 Siams. Besides the Janggamay mint is baser in value, for 100 of those are worth but 75 of these in Siam, according to which computation we are to guide ourselves for that 424½ ticals Janggamay weight⁽¹⁾ is as above said in Siam 375½."

It is difficult to follow the working of this sum in arithmetic (which possibly was not a strong point of education in Elizabethan days) since, by the above standard of reckoning weight, 424½ ticals (Chiengmai) would be equal to 360½ ticals (Siam), and not 375½, as stated by Anthennis; but it is clear that one Chiengmai tical would weigh roughly 195 grains against 233 for a standard *bat*. It is interesting also to note that the Chiengmai tical had a greater admixture of alloy than the Siam tical, and was worth only three-quarters of the latter, i.e. three *sab'ung*; and also that the 'bullet' type of coin was in vogue in Chiengmai in the early years of the XVIIth century.

Writing in *An Asian Arcady*⁽²⁾ I went on to say that, whatever the origin of the 'bullet' tical, its use in the North was probably in imitation of Ayudhya. I do not think so now. If it were an imitation, why change the weight? And it will be noticed that the two undoubtedly earliest types of 'bullet' coins on *Plate I* also weigh 194 and 187 grains respectively, practically the same as Nos. 15 and 16 on *Plate I* of *An Asian Arcady* (the second of which is here produced on *Plate IV, 6*). I have, besides, seen a number of other so-called 'Northern' bullet coins which are much the same shape as, but are all a good deal under weight compared with, the typical Ayudhyan coinage. What does this mean? It looks to me very much as if there were a distinct link between these early archaic forms of 'bullet' coins and the Chiengmai 'bullet' coins of 1615. That is to say, that the later Northern 'bullet' coins, wherever issued, kept to an old

⁽¹⁾ Evidently the total of an account.

⁽²⁾ Cf. Reginald le May, *An Asian Arcady*, Heffer, Cambridge, 1926, pp. 245 et seq.

tradition and weight of 185-195 grs., while Rām Kāmheng or an early Ayudhyan King found it convenient to adapt and improve the original primitive shape for his own purposes. Exactly where the cleavage between the 'bracelet' and 'bullet' types of coinage came in the North, and when, must remain a mystery for the present. But it seems to me reasonable to conclude that the 'bullet' type of coin did originate in some district of the North of Siam, probably for the reasons set out by K'un Vichitr and possibly in the xith century or earlier, and that the Tai of Suk'ōt'ai and Ayudhya in the xiiith and xivth centuries adopted and standardised it as the most convenient type for their use.

PART II

THE COINAGE OF THE AYUDHYA (AND EARLIER) DYNASTIES

I

THE MARKS

When a student of Siamese coinage first turns to the actual marks on the 'bullet' coins, and tries to gather information, of whatever nature it may be, as to the number of genuine marks that exist and the probable reigns to which they may belong, he is sure to be misled, for a good reason.

Thirty years or more ago there was a certain Nai Kulāb, now gathered to his fathers, who published in Siamese a kind of 'Guide to General Knowledge'. Among many other subjects treated, he purported to give a full list of all the marks on coins issued during the Ayudhya period, and at the same time to ascribe each mark to its particular reign. I have his illustrated list before me as I write, and I find it very hard to visualise mentally the cool, calm, and confident 'cheek' of a man who will, *in the absence of any direct evidence*, solemnly set out to fulfil such a task. Yet there it is, and although Nai Kulāb is now generally discredited among scholars, these marks and reigns have stuck in the minds of collectors, and have in many cases been accepted at their face value.

Nai Kulāb gives illustration of twenty-five marks as belonging to the Kings of Ayudhya, of which, quite apart from the question of the ascription of each to its particular reign, it seems more than likely that at least twelve have never existed, except as a figment of the author's lively imagination. When I think of the weary hours I have spent in the years gone by in searching for these marks in the pawnshops of Bangkok—in vain, my feelings towards Nai Kulāb and his memory are best left unexpressed! It is only very recently that I have been able to realise that practically all, if not all, the marks of the Ayudhya dynasty have been successfully traced.

Nai Kulāb was not content to turn the full force of his imaginative mind on to the problem of the coinage of the Ayudhya dynasty, but he affirms that there were also forty-six Kings of the Suk'ot'ai

dynasty, all of whom issued 'bullet' coins with distinctive marks. There were actually only five, or six at the most, who are at all likely to have issued such coinage. Happily, the attempt to illustrate all these forty-six marks was a feat beyond even Nai Kulāb's powers, and so we may take leave of him, in the hope that never again will he lead the collector of Siamese coins astray.

At the other end of the scale we have M. de la Loubère, the French Ambassador who came to Siam in 1687-8 from the Court of Louis XIV.

In his work entitled *Du Royaume de Siam*, published in 1691 after his return to France, we find a detailed statement on the Money and Weights of Siam, in which he makes the following blunt reference to the 'coings' or 'marks'.

"Their marks, of which there are two on each coin struck side by side in the middle of the bar (and not on the ends), do not represent anything known to me, and I have never found anybody who could explain their meaning."

A very modest man, compared with our friend Nai Kulāb!

At the end of the work a clear illustration is given of the *bāt* in use at the time of King Narai, and of the marks on it (*cf.* Plate XI, 6 & 7), though *No. 6* has been drawn by him upside down. This is the only direct evidence that we have regarding the ascription of marks to certain reigns.

Poor M. de la Loubère, but if he could find nobody two hundred and fifty years ago to interpret the meaning of the marks on early Siamese coins, how much less likely am I to find anyone now! Still I do not feel in quite the same parlous state as he even at this late date, and I think that a good many of the marks bear a significance which is reasonably clear.

Of the sixty different marks which I have been able to recover and which I regard as genuine, forty-five appear on the standard *bāt* value, and fifteen on coins of lesser value. Certain types occur in various forms, the chief of which are the *Rachavat* (Skt. *Rājaraṣa*), the *Yantra* (or Cabalistic Sign), the Conch-shell, and the Lotus (either as a single flower or in a bunch). The forty-five marks on the standard *bāt* are reproduced at the end of this chapter, while the remaining fifteen are shown in Chapter III of this part.

Although I do not by any means claim infallibility in determining the meaning of all the marks given, I have made an attempt to divide them into groups, with the following result:

LIST OF MARKS

		Block Nos.
Anchor	1	19
" , inverted, resting on dots	1	9
Conch-shell, vertical	1	45
" , horizontal	5	23, 54, 56, 58, 60
" " " (with 2, 3, or 4 pearls)	4	25, 55, 57, 59
Elephant	5	16, 24, 49, 50, 51
<i>Garuda</i> (Bird of Vishnu)	1	33
Hare	2	46, 48
Lotus (single, open)	3	22, 35, 36
" (Bunch of Flowers) - probably	12	4, 6, 17, 21, 27, 29, } 31, 32, 37, 38, 39, 52 }
Ox	2	14, 53
Pyramid of Dots (<i>Rājavaṇa</i>) - probably	3	10, 15, 43
<i>Rāchasi</i> (Mythical Animal)	2	12, 47
" (between two Conch-shells)	1	1
Wheel	4	5, 8, 11, 18
<i>Yantra</i> (Cabalistic Sign) - probably	5	20, 30, 34, 40, 41
	52	

Of the remaining eight, three marks (Nos. 3, 26, 28) show a circle of 6, 7, and 8 dots, respectively, surrounding a central dot. That with 6 dots has no outer frame; that with 7 dots has a single circular frame; while that with 8 dots has a double circular frame. What these are intended to mean, unless a stylised lotus, escapes me.

Two others are known in Siamese as *Chô Dôk Rak* (No. 2) and *Ut'ump'ôn*, or *Dôk Madu'a* (No. 42). The *Rak* mark, which is on a very early coin, may refer to the flower of the lacquer tree, or to a small weed-flower which grows extensively today, a small shamrock-like flower in two colours, purple and white.

The *Dôk Madu'a*, or 'Flower of the Fig-tree', is non-existent, but there is a legend in connection with this mark which is worth recording.

This mark is popularly ascribed to the reign of King *Ut'ump'ôn* (1758) and the story goes that, while he was still in his mother's womb,

the King, his father (Boromakôt), dreamt that a white monkey made him a present of a flower of the Fig-tree, and as the Fig-tree never bears a flower, he was so much struck by the dream that he took it as an omen and named his son *Ut'ump'ôn* (Fig), who later adopted the mark on his own coins. This story may seem to us now far-fetched, but in any case King *Ut'ump'ôn* abdicated after a reign of a few months and certainly issued no new coinage; and, if the legend has any substance in fact, it must have been his father, Boromakôt, who took the mark for his own.

The remaining three marks shown (Nos. 7, 13, 44) have no Siamese names, and "do not represent anything known to me", though one (No. 44) is said to be like the flower of the *Mont'a* tree (Frangipanni), and another is rather similar to the 'Fleur de Lys' resting on a base of dots (No. 13). As this mark is on a coin issued certainly not later than the early xvth, and possibly in the xivth century, it must have been contemporaneous with the early use of this mark on coins in France (cf. Charles V, 1364-80; Jean II, 1350-64; and Philippe VI de Valois, 1328-50). I do not suggest that the Siamese mark is intended to represent the 'Fleur de Lys', but it is a curious coincidence all the same.

It is impossible to conjecture what No. 7 represents.

As will be seen, a few marks of common animals are found, such as the hare and the ox. The use of these is probably accounted for by the fact that the Tai have always used the Chinese cycle of years for reckoning ages, which is denoted by a series of twelve animals, and when we find a hare or an ox on the coin, it probably represents the year of birth of the reigning King.

Otherwise, of those that bear a clear meaning, practically all are of Indian origin, and the use of these Indian marks on the coins may be explained in this way.

The Tai invaders of Burma and the Shan States were Buddhists from the middle of the first millenium A.D., and came early into contact with strong Indian influences. Harvey says that Buddhism came into Burma at least as early as the vth century A.D. and existed side by side with Brahminism, and that what the excavator finds in Burma is often Hindu rather than Buddhist. In some sculptures, indeed, the Buddha appears as an incarnation of Vishnu.

The Tai immigrants into Siam were, therefore, already imbued with Indian ideas and accustomed to Indian symbols, whether Buddhist or Hindu. There is nothing surprising, therefore, in the adoption

by them of Hindu symbols on their coinage in Siam, since equally here Brahminism and Buddhism have always been in practice side by side. Naturally the Môn and Khmer influences later met with would strengthen the Indian influence enormously, but there is nothing improbable in the presumption that the early Tai immigrants were already familiar with Indian symbols, as witnessed by the *Rāchasi* on the 'bracelet' coinage.

The *Conch-shell* is a very favourite device, since it is used by the Brahmins in all Royal ceremonies, and especially to pour lustral water on the King's head at his Coronation. This custom still obtains to the present day.

The *Elephant* used in connection with Siam needs no explanation. The White Elephant has always been a sacred animal in this country and was in India, too.

The *K'rat* (*Garuda*) is the famous Bird of Hindu mythology, who acted as the Vehicle or Chariot of Vishnu. It is still used today as the Royal Siamese crest, and appears on all Royal Standards and motor-cars, as well as on all Government stationery.

The *Lotus*, used in Siam both as a single open flower and in a bunch, is a sacred flower in nearly all Eastern countries, from Egypt to China. It grows abundantly in Siam.

The *Rāchawat* (*Rājavati*), or Pyramid of Dots, is a Sanskrit word, used in Siamese to denote a fence which marks a Royal route or enclosure, signifying that the land enclosed is under the Royal dominion. Its use as a mark is of very ancient date in India, as it will be found, in conjunction with a tree and a svastika, on the flat coins of the Andhra Dynasty, which reigned in Southern and Central India from the middle of the third century B. C. to the third century A. D.

The *Rāchasi* is another mythological animal from India. Here in Siam it has been an emblem of Royalty from early times, as, for instance, on the 'bracelet' coinage, and even today there is said to be the skin of a *Rāchasi* under the seat of the King's throne. It may be a memory of the Asiatic lion, though that animal is also known under the name of *Sing* or *Sing-to*.

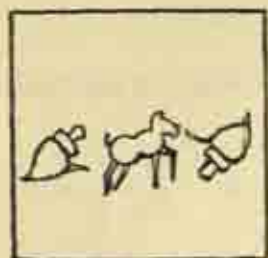
The *Wheel* is, of course, the *Dharmacakra* or 'Wheel of the Law' of the Buddhist Faith, and it is clear that any King making use of this mark must have been an adherent of the Buddhist religion.

The *Yantra* represents a cabalistic sign which comes from India and which is still in common use in this country to keep out evil spirits. The person drawing the *Yantra* must say a prayer at the same

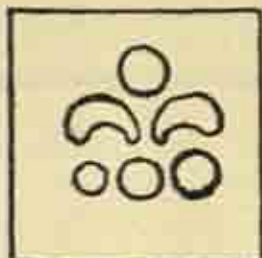
time. He must not withdraw the pen or pencil from the paper in drawing the figure, and the end of the prayer must coincide with the completion of the drawing. Otherwise bad and not good luck will result.

The use of the *Anchor* mark is unusual, as the Tai were a continental people, and until the xvth century can have had very little contact with shipping, as opposed to river-craft.

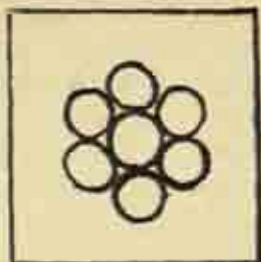
The meaning of the circles of 6, 7 or 8 dots surrounding a central dot is difficult to determine. Some say it is an attempt at a *Yantra* others that it is meant to symbolize the Wheel. Many of the old Northern (small) 'bullet' coins have six dots in a circle upon them, and I am inclined to think that it may be a stylised 'Lotus' flower, but am not very sure on the point. But, whatever these may signify, I feel that M. de la Loubère need not have been so unduly pessimistic on the score of the marks in general. A little patient examination would, not, I submit, have been unfruitful of positive results.



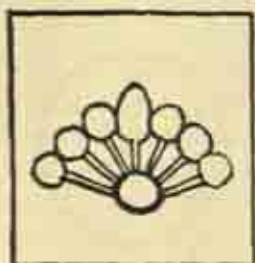
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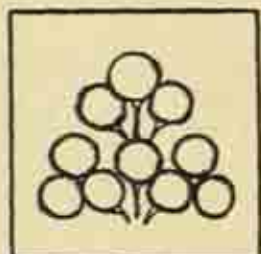
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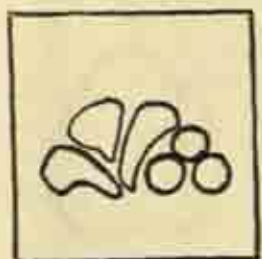
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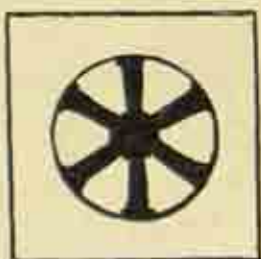
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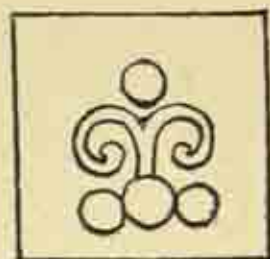
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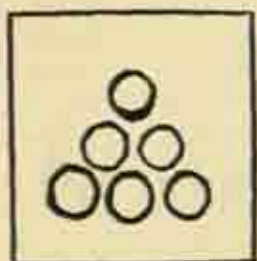
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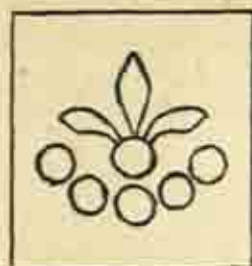
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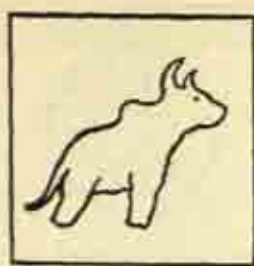
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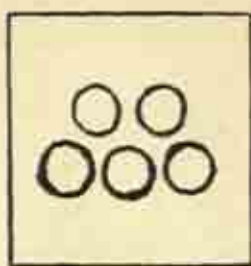
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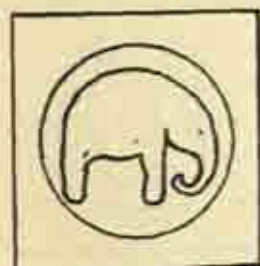
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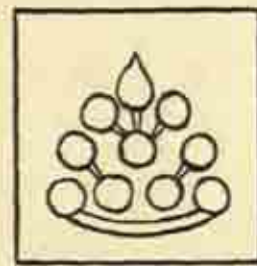
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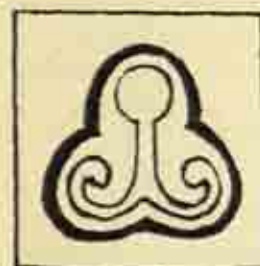
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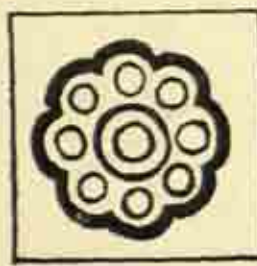
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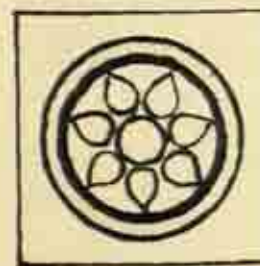
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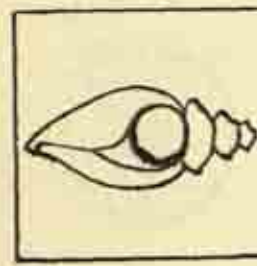
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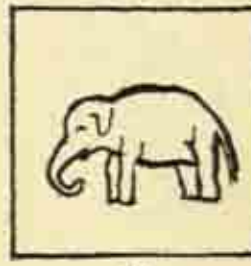
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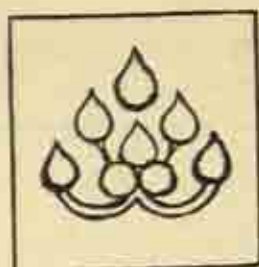
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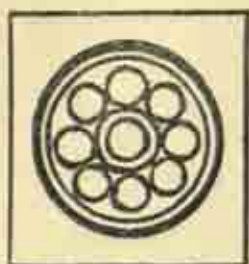
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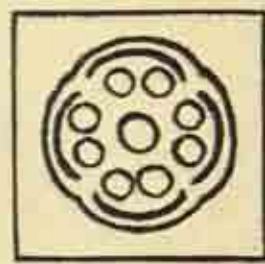
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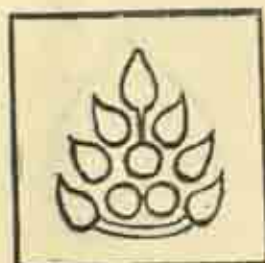
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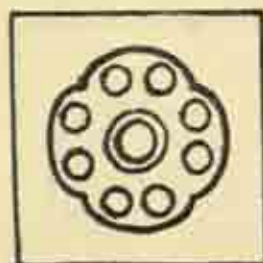
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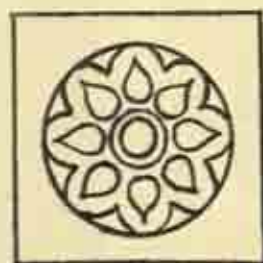
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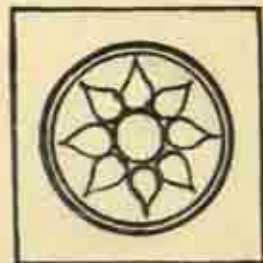
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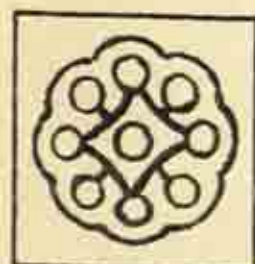
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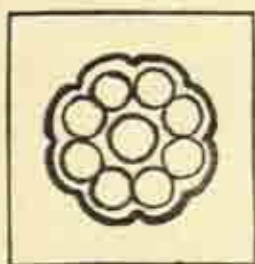
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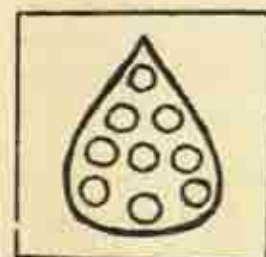
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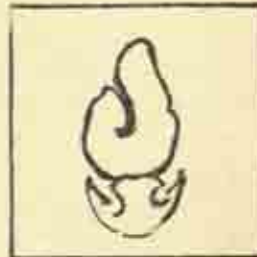
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II

THE BĀT (TICAL) COINAGE OF AYUDHYA

It is manifestly an impossible task to attempt an ascription of the coins of Ayudhya to their respective reigns according to their marks, with the one exception of that of King Narai, already referred to. I have thought it best, therefore, after due thought, to give, first of all, a list of the Kings of Suk'ot'ai and Ayudhya, as recorded in Wood's *History of Siam*, which may be regarded as being as nearly correct as it is ever likely to be, and then to show by illustration all the standard *bāt* coins with different marks which have been discovered up to the present time, grouping them, as far as seems likely, in their order of issue. At the same time I give a list of these coins with their distinctive features. By this means we can arrive, I believe, at a tentative arrangement of groups of coins as belonging to different periods.

But here I must interpose a line of thought which has been suggested to me by H. R. H. Prince Damrong. There is always, of course, the possibility to consider that a particular King may have changed his personal mark or used a second mark during his reign for some special occasion, but Prince Damrong also puts forward the suggestion that the change of mark may not represent a change of King at all, but a *new period of minting*, irrespective of the change of reign. If we take the Bangkok dynasty as an analogy, this would not be so, as it is known that each King adopted his own personal mark; but it is a possibility, and as such I mention it.

The reason given by Prince Damrong for his suggestion is that the number of different marks known is much less than the number of Kings who could have issued them, but, as will be seen later, this reason is based on a misconception, for the number of marks known is actually greater than the number of Kings of Ayudhya who are likely to have issued new coinage.

I propose, therefore, to keep to a normal classification under reigns until there is clear evidence to the contrary. The probability is that the Kings of Bangkok followed some well-established tradition. Moreover, in the case of the animal marks, for instance, these must be personal to particular Kings. Therefore, the idea of a personal mark existed in early days, and if the animal marks were personal, why not the others?

I give now a full list of the Kings of Suk'ot'ai and Ayudhya.

LIST OF KINGS OF SUKŪT'AI AND AYUDHYA.

Suk'ūt'ai

A. D.

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1. | Sī Indrāt'it | about 1250-1270 | |
| 2. | Bān Mu'ang | " 1270-1275 | |
| 3. | Rām Kamheng | " 1275-1317 | |
| 4. | Lo' Tai | " 1317-1354 | (1347) (1) |
| 5. | Tammarāt Lu' Tai | " 1354-1370 | |
| 6. | Sai Lu' Tai (Tammarāt II) | 1370-1378 | (Independent) |
| | " " " (" ") | 1378-1406 | (Vassal of Ayudhya) |
| 7. | " " " (" III) | 1406-1419 | (Vassal of Ayudhya) |

Ayudhya

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|-------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| 1. | Rāmāt'ibodī I | (died) | 1350-1369 | |
| +2. | Rāmesuen | (abdicated) | 1369-1370 | |
| 3. | Boromarāchā I | (died) | 1370-1388 | |
| +4. | T'ong Lān | (killed) | 1388 | (7 days) |
| 5. | Rāmesuen (2nd time) | (died) | 1388-1395 | |
| 6. | Rām Rāchāt'irāt | (deposed) | 1395-1408 | |
| 7. | Indrarāchā | (died) | 1408-1424 | |
| 8. | Boromarāchā II | (died) | 1424-1448 | |
| 9. | Trailōkanāt | (died) | 1448-1488 | |
| +10. | Boromarāchā III | (died) | 1488-1491 | |
| 11. | Rāmāt'ibodī II | (died) | 1491-1529 | First Euro-
pean Treaty |
| 12. | Boromarāchā IV | (died) | 1529-1534 | |
| +13. | Ratsadā (aged 5) | (killed) | 1534 | (5 months) |
| 14. | P'ra Chai | (died) | 1534-1546 | |
| +15. | Keo Fā | (killed) | 1546-1548 | (Mother Regent) |
| +16. | K'un Wōrawong | (killed) | 1548-1549 | (Lover of
Queen Regent) |
| 17. | Chakrap'at | (abdicated) | 1549-1565 | |
| +18. | Prince Mahin | (Regent) | 1565-1568 | |

(1) On one page Wood gives the date as 1347; on another as 1354.

+ 19.	Chakrap'at (2nd time)	
	(died)	1568-1569
+ 20.	Mahin	(died) 1569
21.	Mahā Tammarāt	(died) 1569-1590
22.	Naresuen	(died) 1590-1605
23.	Ekāt'otsarot	(died) 1605-1610
24.	Song Tam	(died) 1610-1628
+ 25.	Chett'a	(killed) 1628-1630
+ 26.	Adityawong	(killed) 1630
27.	Prasāt T'ōng	(died) 1630-1656
+ 28.	Chai	(killed) 1656
+ 29.	Sī Sut'amarāt	(killed) 1656
30.	Nārāi	(died) 1656-1688
31.	P'et Rāchā	(died) 1688-1703
32.	Prachao Su'a	(died) 1703-1709
33.	Tai Sa	(died) 1709-1733
34.	Boromakōt	(died) 1733-1758
+ 35.	U'ump'ōn	(abdicated) 1758
36.	Ekat'at (Suriyā- marin)	(died) 1758-1767

In drawing up this list of the Kings of Suk'ōt'ai and Ayudhya, I have indicated in parenthesis how each died, whether a natural or a violent death, as this may help to enliven an otherwise dry table and also to explain why a good proportion of the Kings had no time to issue new coinage before 'shuffling off this mortal coil'. As far as is known, all the early Kings of Suk'ōt'ai died a natural death, but in any case all, except perhaps No. 2, reigned long enough to have issued new coinage.

It will be seen from the list that there were six independent Kings of Suk'ōt'ai before that state became vassal to Ayudhya, and that the full sequence of Ayudhyan Kings reaches a total of thirty-six.

Supposing that all the independent Kings of Suk'ōt'ai, except No. 2, issued separate coinage, we have then to consider how many of the Kings of Ayudhya may have done the same. After due consideration I have eliminated the fourteen following:

-
- + Can be eliminated as far as the issue of new coinage is concerned; fourteen in all.

- No. 2. Rāmesuen, abdicated;
- 4. Tong Lān, killed;
- 10. Boromarājā III, died after 3 years;
- 13. Ratsadā, killed;
- 15. Keo Fā, killed;
- 16. K'un Wōrawong, killed;
- 18. Prince Mahin, Regent;
- 19. Chakrap'at, abdicated;
- 20. Mahin, died;
- 25. Chett'a, killed;
- 26. Adityawong, killed;
- 28. Chai, killed;
- 29. Si Sut'ammārāt, killed;
- 35. Ut'ump'ōn, abdicated.

This process of elimination reduces the list of 'probables' to twenty-two for Ayudhya, and if we add the five for Suk'ōt'ai, we arrive at an aggregate of twenty-seven reigns which may have issued their own separate distinctive coinage, always presuming that each King did change the marks on the coinage to commemorate his own reign.

Now, if we turn to the list, which follows, of all the standard *bāt* coins with different marks known at present, we shall see that it reaches a total of twenty-four, which is remarkably close to our total of twenty-seven Kings.

There are, indeed, four further coins (of which two are shown on *Plate V*, 1 & 2, and the mark on the third is illustrated by Block No. 1), but they are all well under the weight of the standard *bāt* coin, and I have therefore not included them in my list.⁽¹⁾ Some or all may, of course, belong to the Suk'ōt'ai period, early and primitive as they are.

The list given has been drawn up from coins in my own collection and in that of the National Museum, as well as from the book of photographs mentioned in the Introduction under No. 3. As will be seen, six marks on the list have been recorded from photographs alone, but it has been possible from experience to recognise these as probably genuine coins, although I have seen no actual specimens.

There are also photographs of two other marks, one of which (a conch-shell, set up vertically) in particular is popularly attributed to

(1) The mark on the fourth is so worn as to be indistinguishable, and the coin itself weighs only 147 grains.

the first reign of Ayudhya (1350 A. D.), but they both look doubtful to me, and I have accordingly not included them in the list. On the other hand, if they are both genuine, this would bring our list of marks up to twenty-six, still nearer to the total of the list of Kings. They are shown under Blocks 44 and 45.

LIST OF AYUDHYAN (AND POSSIBLY EARLIER) BĀT COINS

MARKS	SHAPE	ENDS OF COIN	CUTS	HOLE IN CENTRE	WEIGHT	
					grains	grammes
1 Bunch of <i>Padma</i> Flowers below, and Circle of 6 Dots with one in centre above. <i>Plate VII, 4. Blocks 2 and 3.</i>	Broad, with rounded sides	meet	Two, very small	Triangular, large	217	14.10
<i>N. B. A smaller coin with the same mark, style and shape is known (Plate VII, 2).</i>						
2 Bunch of Lotus below, and Wheel of Law above (6 spokes). <i>Plate VII, 3. Blocks 4 and 5.</i>	Broad, with rounded sides	meet	Two, deep	Triangular, medium size	224	14.56
3 Bunch of Lotus below, and Wheel of Law above (8 spokes). <i>Plate VII, 4. Blocks 6 and 5.</i>	Broad, with short, narrow hammer-marks	meet	Two, small	Triangular, medium size	243	15.80
4 Bunch of Flowers below, and Wheel of Law above (6 spokes). <i>Plate VII, 5. Blocks 7 and 8.</i>	Broad, with long, narrow hammer-marks	meet	Two, very deep and wide	Triangular, large	222	14.43
5 Bunch of Lotus below, and Wheel of Law above (6 spokes). <i>Plate VII, 6. Blocks 6 and 8.</i>	Broad, with long, narrow hammer-marks	almost meet	Two, deep	Oval	215	13.98
6 Inverted Anchor with 1 Dot above and 3 Dots below, and Circle of 6 + 1 Dots above, as in No. 1. Blocks 9 and 3. <i>N. B. This is from a photograph.</i>	Broad, with (?) sides	?	Two, small	?	?	?

LIST OF AYUDHYAN (AND POSSIBLY EARLIER) KAT COINS (continued).

MARKS	SHAPE	EDGE OF COIN	CUTS	HOLE IN CENTRE	WEIGHT	
					grains	grammes
7 Backward below, Backbone in centre, and Wheel of Law on other side. <i>Plate VIII, 1 and 2.</i> Blocks 10, 11, 12.	(a) Broad, with long, narrow hammer-marks. (b) Round, with round hammer-marks.	almost meet part	Two, small Two, long, narrow	small none	219 475	14.24 30.68
8 Bunch of Flowers below, and Ox above. <i>Plate VIII, 3.</i> Blocks 13 and 14.	Broad, with long hammer-marks	almost meet	Two, medium size (through mark below)	medium size	232	15.08
9 Backward below, and Elephant above. <i>Plate VIII, 4.</i> Blocks 15 and 16.	Broad, with long hammer-marks	part	Two, medium size, and two below, as well	none	230	14.95
10 Bunch of Lotus below, and Wheel of Law above. <i>Plate VIII, 5.</i> Blocks 17 and 18.	Broad, with long hammer-marks	part	Two, medium size	none	<i>Representative Specimen</i> 225	14.62
N. H. There is another type with these marks (<i>Plate VIII, 6</i>), which corresponds in every detail with those which follow and which are of the standard Ayudhyan shape. The standardization appears to have taken place in the reign of the King who issued this coin.						
11 Anchor in frame below, and 8+1 dots in small inner circle, with rosette outer frame above. <i>Plate IX, 1 and 2.</i> Blocks 19 and 20.	Part of female torso from hips downwards. Round, with clear, round hammer-marks	part	none but many coins have a small nick called <i>Met K'ao San</i> (Pail-seed)	none	?	?
12 Bunch of Lotus in frame below, and 7+1 dots in double circle above. <i>Plate IX, 3 and 4.</i> Blocks 21 and 22.	do.	part	do.	none	?	?

LIST OF AYUDHYAN (AND POSSIBLY EARLIER) *BAT* COINS (continued).

MARKS	SHAPE	EDGES OF COIN	CUTS	HOLE IN CENTRE	WEIGHT	
					<i>Representative Specimen</i>	
13. Elephant below, and Wheel of Law with outer circle above. <i>Plate IX, 5 and 6.</i> Blocks 23 and 18.	Part of female torso from hips downwards. Round, with clear, round hammer-marks.	puck.	none but many coins have a small nick called <i>Med. K'ras San</i> (Pall-meat).	none.	<i>Representative Specimen</i>	7
14. Conch-shell below, and 8+1 dots in small inner circle, with rosette outer frame, above. <i>Plate IX, 7 and 8.</i> Blocks 24 and 20.	do.	do.	do.	do.	<i>Representative Specimen</i>	7
15. Conch-shell with 4 pearls below, and 7+1 dots in single circle above. <i>Plate IX, 9 and 10.</i> Blocks 25 and 20.	do.	do.	do.	do.	<i>Representative Specimen</i>	7
N. B. The above five coins (Nos. 11 to 15) are taken from photographs.						
16. Bunch of Lotus (no inner frame) below, and 8+1 dots in double circle above. <i>Plate X, 1 and 2.</i> Blocks 27 and 28.	do.	do.	do.	do.	<i>Representative Specimen</i>	14.17
17. Bunch of Lotus (no inner frame) below, and 8+1 dots in 4-lobed rosette, inner and outer. <i>Plate X, 3 and 4.</i> Blocks 29 and 30.	do.	do.	do.	do.	<i>Representative Specimen</i>	14.09

LIST OF AYUDHYAN (AND POSSIBLY EARLIER) *EAT* COINS (continued).

MARKS	SHAPE	ENDS OF COIN	CUTS	HOLE IN CENTRE	WEIGHT
18. Bunch of Lotus (no inner frame) below, and Wheel of Law with outer circle above. <i>Plate X, 3 and 6.</i> Blocks 31 and 18.	Part of female torso from hips downwards. Round, with clear, round hammer-marks	part	None but many coins have a small nick called <i>Met K'ao Son</i> (Pull-seed)	none	Representative Specimen grains 222 grammes 14.43
19. Bunch of Lotus with scroll and inner frame below, and Wheel of Law with outer circle above. <i>Plate X, 7 and 8.</i> Blocks 32 and 18.	do.	do.	do.	do.	222 14.43
20. <i>K'rat</i> (<i>Garuda</i>) with inner frame below. (<i>Plate XI, 1</i>). Block 33. Above	do.	do.	do.	do.	226 14.69
(a) 8+1 dots in small inner circle and rosette outer circle.	do.	do.	do.	do.	225 14.63
(b) Open Lotus-Flower.	do.	do.	do.	do.	226 14.63
(c) Open Lotus-Flower. <i>Plate XI, 2, 3 and 4.</i> Blocks 34, 35 and 30.	do.	do.	do.	do.	222 14.43
21. (a) Bunch of Lotus with inner frame below, and 8+1 dots in small inner circle and 2 outer circles above. <i>Plate XI, 5 and 7.</i> Blocks 37 and 28.	do.	do.	do.	do.	222 14.43

LIST OF AYUDHYAN (AND POSSIBLY EARLIER) BĀT COINS (continued).

MARKS	SHAPE	ENDS OF COIN	CUTS	HOLE IN CENTRE	WEIGHT
					<div>Representative Specimens</div> <div>grains 226 14.69</div> <div>grainules</div>
(b) Bunch of Lotus with inner frame below, and 8+1 dots in small inner circle and 2 outer circles above. <i>Plate XI, 6 and 7.</i> Blocks 38 and 39.	Part of female torso from hips downwards. Round, with clear round hammer-marks	part	none but many coins have a small nick called <i>Mot F'ao Sān</i> (Pind-see)	none	
23 Lotus with inner frame below. <i>Plate XII, 1.</i> Block 39. Above	do.	do.	do.	do.	14.69
(a) <i>Yantra</i> . <i>Plate XII, 2.</i> Block 40.	do.	do.	do.	do.	14.88
(b) 8+1 dots in rosette frame. <i>Plate XII, 3.</i> Block 41.					
24 <i>U'ang'oa</i> (Fig) with inner frame below, and 8+1 dots in small inner circle and 2 outer circles above. <i>Plate XII, 4 and 5.</i> Blocks 42 and 28.	do.	do.	do.	do.	14.62
24 <i>Rachantat</i> with inner frame below, and Wheel of Law in outer circle above. <i>Plate XII, 6 and 7.</i> Blocks 43 and 18.	do.	do.	do.	do.	14.88

Now what conclusions, if any, can we draw from these lists of coins and Kings?

If we look at the list of coins first, we shall see that, including No. 10, of which two forms are known (old and new), there are fifteen coins with different personal marks which are all of the *standard* Ayudhyan shape. By standard shape I mean a shape that, once it was definitely formed, never changed again. It is reasonable, I think, to conclude from this, (1) that all these fifteen coins may be assigned to the same group, and (2) that they represent the middle and later periods of the Ayudhyan dynasty rather than the earlier.

Now, if we turn to the list of Kings of the Ayudhyan dynasty and count back to the fifteenth King who is likely to have issued new coinage, we arrive at No. 11, Rāmāt'ibodī II, who reigned from 1491 to 1529 A. D. It was during the reign of this King that Europeans first visited the Court of Siam, and that an actual Treaty was signed between Siam and Portugal. From, say, 1500 to 1767, when Ayudhya was finally sacked by the Burmese and the Dynasty fell, is a period of over 260 years.

The question is: are we justified in assuming that these fifteen different marks belong to the last fifteen reigns of Ayudhya? It is certainly a very tempting conclusion to draw, and it is equally certainly a curious coincidence that we are taken back to the first European Treaty. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, I am inclined to think that there is some justification for doing so; or, perhaps, it would be more accurate to say that the circumstantial evidence available, such as it is, tends to point in that direction.

First of all, it must surely be of some significance that it was during the reign of Rāmāt'ibodī II that Europeans first visited the Court of Siam, as far as is known, and that an actual Treaty was signed between Siam and Portugal in 1511, renewed again in 1516, giving the Portuguese the right to reside and carry on trade at Ayudhya, Tenasserim, Mergui, Pattani, and Nak'ou Si'ammarāt. From this we may, I think, assume that Siam at that time was becoming more settled and more in contact with the outside world. The significance of this is strengthened by further argument and evidence which will appear later when dealing with the question of the 'cuts' on the coins (*cf. Plates V, VII & VIII*).

Secondly, we have the superficial evidence that the marks shown on *Plate VIII, 5 & 6* (Blocks 17 & 18) appear on both the old and the new shapes. It is highly likely that this change took place during

PLATE VII



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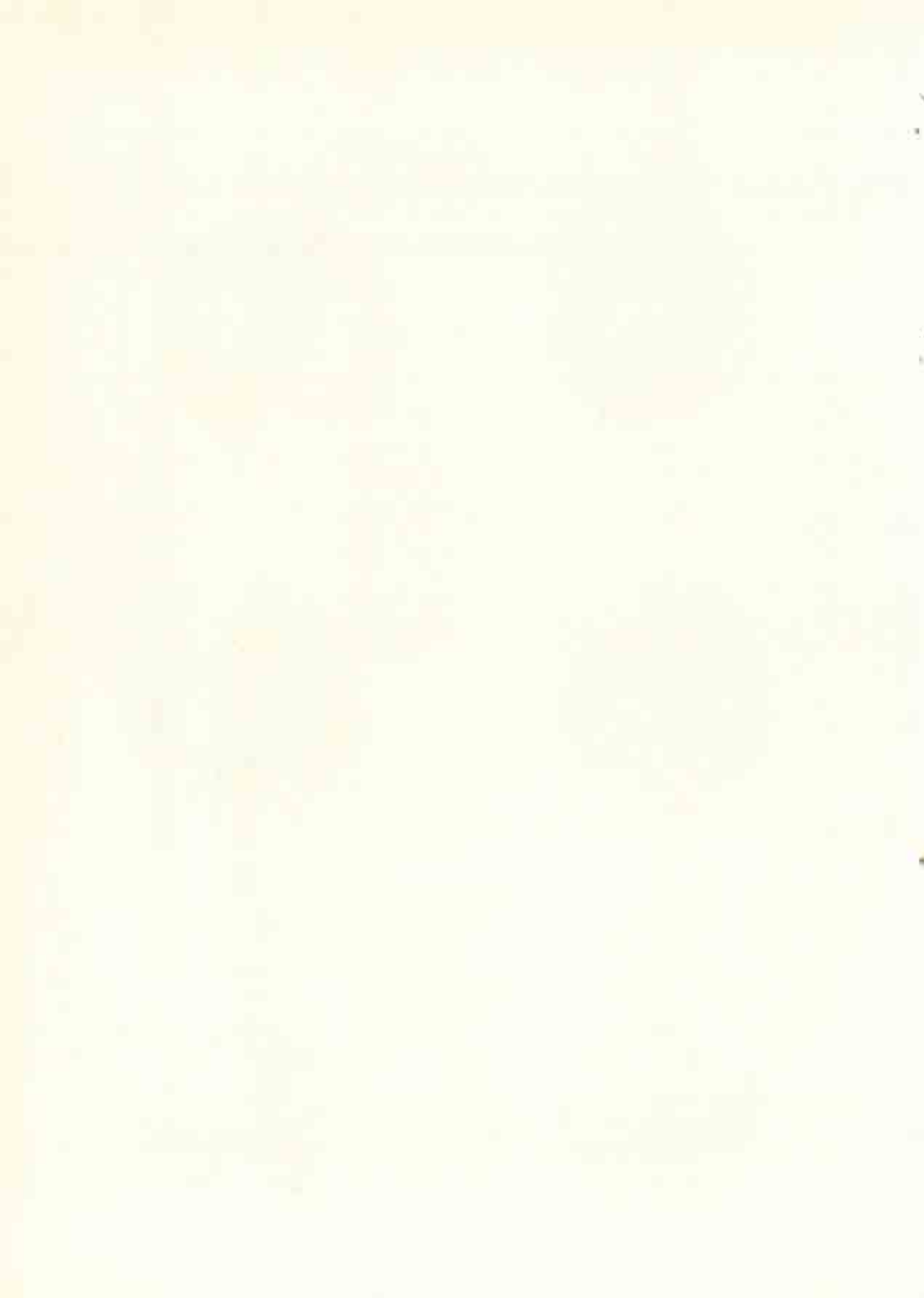


PLATE VIII.



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PLATE IX.



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PLATE X.



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PLATE XI.



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PLATE XII.



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a long reign, and the only two long reigns in the xvth and early xvth centuries were those of Trailōkanāt (1448-1488) which was far from being a peaceful one, and Rāmātībodi II (1491-1529).

Thirdly, I have been hunting in Siam for distinctive marks on 'bullet' coins of the Ayudhya period for nearly twenty years, and cannot discover any marks on coins of the standard shape other than those shown in this volume. It is probable then that, except perhaps for some extremely rare coins of certain reigns which have been eliminated but which may have issued new coinage, I have exhausted the possibilities of the chase.

Fourthly, of all those discovered, the Bunch of Lotus on *Plate XI, Nos. 6 & 7* (Blocks 38 & 28) is the only mark of which it can be said that the coin in question *had* been issued by a certain reign, namely, that of King Narai (1656-1688), because M. de la Loubère drew a picture of this mark in his book. Even in this case it cannot be definitely claimed that *No. 6* was the personal mark of King Narai; it may have been that of an earlier King. Indeed, local tradition to-day has it that the *K'rut* (*Garuda*) mark (*Plate XI, 1*) was the personal mark of King Narai, because *Garuda* was the demi-god Vehicle of Naraiyana (*Vishṇu*); but the chances are that *No. 6* was the mark of the reigning King, since M. de la Loubère visited Siam at the very end of a long reign of thirty-two years, and the predominant coin would probably be that of the existing reign. But whether this mark was that of King Narai or of one of his forefathers, its appearance on a standard coin shows conclusively that the standard shape was 'well set' by the time of his reign.

Bearing all these points in mind, there seems, therefore, to me a reasonable possibility that the fifteen marks known on standard coins belong to the last fifteen reigns of Ayudhya, and that the standard shape itself was set up in the first of these reigns, namely, Rāmātībodi II. One cannot say more.

As I have said, perhaps too often already, it is an impossible task to ascribe each coin to its reign. The only indication I can give as to its probable date is the frequency with which each is found to-day.

By far the commonest coin nowadays is the *Bua Yantra*, or Lotus (Block 39) with *Yanttra*, of which two distinct forms are known (Blocks 40 and 41). This mark can still be found in considerable quantities in the market by the collector.

Next in frequency comes the *Rāchawat* and Wheel of the Law (Blocks 43 and 18), which is also a common coin.

After these two, and a good way behind, comes a group of three, composed of *Uṭumpōn* (Block 42), *K'rut* or *Garuda* (Block 33), which is known with three different marks on top (Blocks 34, 35 and 36), and the Bunch of Lotus (King Narai), of which there are two varieties (Blocks 37 and 38). These are not difficult to find, but cannot be called common.

Another group of three, the Bunches of Lotus (Blocks 17, 31 and 32) are of medium rarity, but can be found with diligent search.

The two Bunches of Lotus (Blocks 27 and 29), on the other hand, are distinctly rare and usually have to be purchased from a collector-dealer, though I have found several specimens in the ordinary silver pawn-shops.

This leaves us with the five coins shown in pairs on *Plate IX* (Blocks 19, 21, 23, 24, and 25). I have never actually seen genuine *bāt* coins bearing these marks, though forgeries of the Elephant on Block 23 are of fairly frequent occurrence, and all the marks shown are, as stated, taken from photographs. From their general appearance, however, I believe that all these coins are authentic, in spite of their rarity.

This completes the tale of the fifteen different standard *bāt* coins, and I can only leave it to the reader to speculate on the particular ascription of each. The two lists, of Kings and marks, are at his disposal. It might form an interesting jig-saw puzzle, but I am not going to attempt a solution here. Popular tradition does ascribe many of these marks to particular reigns, but without any evidence or authority except that of Nai Kulūb, and it would be idle to give them here, as it seems to me that it would only confuse the issue.

Having dealt with the standard *bāt*, we may turn backwards to look at the coins shown on *Plates VII & VIII* (Blocks 2 & 3; 4, 5, & 6; 7 & 8; 10, 11, 12; 13 & 14; and 15 & 16).

Now I would like to draw the reader's attention to what has proved to me a very interesting discovery. It will be seen, on a close examination, that all the coins shown (except the one of small value) have 'cuts' in them on either shoulder, while, if the reader will look again at *Plates IX, X, XI, & XII*, he will see that no coin has any 'cut' upon it at all.

The significance of these 'cuts' is not easy to determine. K'un Vichitr thinks that the Tai adopted the form of the 'bullet' coin from the Chinese 'sycee' lumps of silver, from which extractions were made by cuts for trading purposes. He suggests, therefore,

that when the Tai transformed the Chinese silver into their own coinage, these 'cuts' were perpetuated by tradition. I do not, however, agree with this origin of the 'bullet' type of coin, and the explanation does not satisfy me entirely. In time, as has been seen, the cuts grow smaller and smaller and finally disappear, and in later Ayudhyan times their place is often taken by a small elliptical nick, called in Siamese *Met K'ao Sian* (or 'padi-seed') from the shape, which will be found on one side or other low down on the 'thigh' of the coin. An interesting point has come to light as a result of a close examination of the two types shown on *Plate VIII*, Nos. 5 & 6. Both types, (a) and (b), not only have 'cuts' on either side (in the case of (b) reduced to a minimum), but also show distinct traces of a 'nick' of a rather primitive form.

The explanation usually given for this 'nick' is that it was made by the Chinese, when the coins were sent to China for trading purposes, to test the quality of the silver, which in the genuine coins was invariably good. There is good reason for believing this to be the true explanation of the 'nick.' The question arises, did the 'cuts' serve the same purpose?

It is reasonably certain that all the 'cuts' on the 'bullet' coins were, from their very nature, made in Siam, as distinct from the 'nick' made in China, and, as they are so uniform on each coin, probably by authority but after the coin had been stamped. It is interesting, in this connection, to note that the 'bracelet' coins sometimes have one single cut in the centre or two deep cuts near together, one on either side; while the *K'a Kim* coin, in addition to the deep cut cleaving the centre, invariably has one shallow cut near the centre on the left hand side. It is probable then that the 'bullet' coins, and the *K'a Kim* coins as well, followed an old tradition set by the 'bracelet' coinage; and I have come to the conclusion that these particular cuts can only have been made before issue to 'lay the body bare' to a suspicious world. I cannot think of any other explanation for them.

This gives rise to an interesting reflection. As already stated, the coins on *Plate VII* (except No. 2) and on *Plate VIII*, 1 to 4, all show 'cuts' but no 'padi-seed' nick. Nos. 5 & 6 on *Plate VIII* show at times both 'cuts' and 'padi-seed.' Those on *Plates IX, X, XI, & XII* very often show the 'padi-seed' but never a 'cut.'⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ In one case only have I come across a coin (*Plate X*, No. 5) with minute cuts as well as the 'padi-seed' nick.

If, as may well be true, the 'padi-seed' nick was made in China to test the genuineness of the coin (cf. later, M. de la Loubère, who, while admitting that Siam in 1688 had a true standard coinage, wistfully adds that there were many false coins about), and, if as I firmly believe, all the 'cuts' were made in Siam, this must indicate a change, or an opening, of trade conditions with China.

It is curious how different things are linked together. I have several times been asked by Museum Authorities to give my opinion as to the approximate date of the closing of the Sawank'alōk porcelain kilns, and in my essay on "A Visit to Sawank'alōk", published in the *Journal of the Siam Society* (Vol. XIX, Pt. 2, 1925), I gave my reasons for surmising that the indigenous kilns must have been more or less moribund round about 1500 A. D., chiefly on account of the presence of quantities of rough Chinese early Ming porcelain still to be found in the Bangkok market to day, imported for domestic and not ornamental use. I could see no reason why Siam should import, at possibly greater expense, quantities of Chinese porcelain if her own kilns were still turning out supplies in sufficient quantities. Equally, if China began to ship supplies of porcelain to Siam at cheaper prices than those at which the home-made article could be produced, this would also account for the decay of the Sawank'alōk kilns. I assume that 'safe-guarding' was not known in those days!

Now we have before us one type of coinage which, I believe, never went to China, and another type, whose beginnings I have tentatively placed for quite other reasons at the beginning of the xvth century, which was constantly being used as a medium of exchange with China. It certainly looks as if a sea-borne trade between Siam and China began to spring up at the close of the xvth century, and as if this may have been due to the fact that the first Treaty with a European Power (Portugal) was signed during the reign of Rāmā-tībodī II.

Thus, by approaching the problem from two entirely different angles, we have, I think, arrived at a point where we may at least provisionally conclude that the first nine different coin-marks shown in the List of Marks belong to a period anterior to that of Rāmā-tībodī, i.e. before the xvth century.

If we now turn once more to the List of Kings of Ayudhya, we find only seven Kings (or eight at the very most, if we include Boromarāchā III, 1488-1491) who are at all likely to have issued their own distinctive coinage, and therefore, if our previous conclusions have

any weight, we must go further back to the Suk'ot'ai dynasty to find the author of the earliest of these coins. It has always been a popular assumption that the Kings of Suk'ot'ai did issue 'bullet' coinage, but until this assumption received some support from the evidence of the coins themselves, I was frankly rather sceptical on the point. I now consider it a reasonable conclusion at which to arrive.

Here again it is obviously impossible to attempt an ascription of each of the nine marks to its particular reign. All one can say is that, judging from the shapes of the coins on *Plates VII and VIII* and other criteria, *No. 1* on *Plate VII* is older than any of the others; and that *No. 3* is earlier than *Nos. 4, 5 and 6*, as it has no hammer-marks. As regards those on *Plate VIII*, I incline to think that they are *all* later than those on *Plate VII*, indeed almost certainly so. *No. 1* (with *No. 2* which has the same marks as *No. 1*) is, I should judge, older than *No. 3*, and *No. 3* older than *No. 4*, which is approaching the standard type.

It appears to me to be just possible that *Nos. 1 & 2* on *Plate VII*, (with *Nos. 1 & 2* on *Plate V*), belong to the pre-Ayudhyan period, while *Nos. 3, 4, 5, & 6* on *Plate VII* as well as *Nos. 1 & 2, 3, & 4* on *Plate VIII*, may belong to the Ayudhyan period. If this were so, it would account for all the seven Kings who reigned prior to Rāmātibodī II; and, as we have already discovered fifteen different marks on standard coins, i.e. from *Nos. 5 & 6* on *Plate VIII* onwards, this would seem to account for all the twenty-two Kings of Ayudhya who are likely to have issued new coinage of their own. I dare not speculate further. As it is, I may be wide of the mark and post-dating some of the marks on *Plates VII & VIII*.

There are two other marks, which are not illustrated on actual coins, but which are shown on Blocks 1 and 9. I have seen a specimen of Block 1 and am satisfied of its authenticity, but the coin is not of the *bāt* weight and belongs to a very early period. Of Block 9 I have only seen a photograph, but from the similarity of its second mark to that on *No. 1* on *Plate VII* (Block 3), and from the general appearance of the coin, I believe this also to be genuine. I cannot say whether it is of the *bāt* weight or not.

This must complete my attempt to classify and date the standard *bāt* coinage of Ayudhya. Whether it will ever be possible to arrive at a more satisfactory conclusion I must leave for the future to decide. It is, however, only right to say that, when I first took up the apparently hopeless task of studying the early coinage of Siam,

I never thought it would be possible to reach even the stage at which I may claim to have arrived to-day.

There is one other subject which may be briefly touched upon here. From the time of the coming of the Portuguese in the xvth century until the xviii century all kinds of money began to find their way into Siam. If one studies, for instance, "The Records of Relations with Foreign Countries in the xviii century," published by the National Library, it will be found that Japanese gold and silver 'plate,' English pounds sterling, Spanish rials of eight, and all kinds of other dollars were imported into Siam for trading purposes. It is often said that the later Ayudhyan *bāt* were usually made of dollar silver and this may well be true. Many of these dollars still survive, and I have discovered only recently in the market Belgian Confederation coins of 1614 A. D., Holy Roman dollars of 1719, and German Episcopal dollars of 1760. With all this profusion, or rather confusion, of monies, it must have been difficult for the accountants to keep their books exactly, and it would be interesting to know how the exchange rates were fixed. As far as one can gather, it was entirely a question of individual bargaining, within limits.

In January 1616 Edmund Sayers of the English East India Company says that he was offered by the King's representative one 'cattie' of Siamese money (80 *bāt*) for 49 rials of eight. He counter-offered 48 rials, but it was not accepted, and finally he had to give 48½ rials.

In December 1615 Richard Cocks in Firando, Japan, sent a cargo to Siam containing 'six hundred pounds sterling in money,' which he said was equal to '2,400 Japanese taels,' and as, according to Edmund Sayers, 'one cattie of Siamese money equals 20 ts. Siamese and 40 ts. Japanese,' we can calculate that at that time one pound sterling was equal to 2 Siamese *tael* or 8 *bāt*, i. e. that the exchange value of the *bāt* was 2 shillings and 6 pence.

It would be entertaining to continue this discussion of the monetary difficulties of our forefathers in the Far East, but it is outside the scope of this survey and would need a monograph to itself to do it justice, intimately bound up as it is with the trade of that time.

III

THE SMALLER COINAGE OF AYUDHYA

I must now deal briefly with the marks found on coins of lesser value than the *bāt*, namely, the half-*bāt*, the *sal'ung* ($\frac{1}{4}$ *bāt*), the *fūang* ($\frac{1}{8}$ *bāt*) and the *song pai* ($\frac{1}{16}$ *bāt*), of the marks on which I show fifteen different blocks, and two *Plates*, XIII & XIV, of twelve coins each. These illustrate all the different marks that I have been able to discover.

M. de la Loubère state that the marks on the smaller coinage are the same as those on the *bāt*. They may, or presumably must, have been the same in his time, although I have never seen any small values with the marks he describes in his work; but to me the odd thing is that those discoverable to-day correspond very little with the known marks on the *bāt* coins, as will be seen from the *Plates*.

Coin No. 1 ($\frac{1}{4}$ *bāt*) on *Plate XIII*, which has no mark at all and which is undoubtedly the oldest of the series shown, is a smaller edition of No. 2 on *Plate V*.

Nos. 2 & 8 ($\frac{1}{2}$ & $\frac{1}{4}$ *bāt*) show a hare mark (Blocks 48 & 46), which I have never seen on a *bāt* coin. The second mark on No. 2 is a circle of dots, but No. 8 has the mark shown on Block 54, the inside of a conch-shell.

No. 3 ($\frac{1}{2}$ *bāt*) has the same marks as No. 4 on *Plate VII* (Blocks 5 & 6).

No. 4 ($\frac{1}{4}$ *bāt*) shows the *Rāchasi* in a circle; this is almost a flat coin.

Nos. 5 & 6 ($\frac{1}{2}$ & $\frac{1}{4}$ *bāt*) show a small elephant (Block 50), but the side mark is a conch-shell, which combination is unknown on a *bāt* coin.

No. 7 ($\frac{1}{2}$ *bāt*) shows a circle of 6 dots surrounding a central one, but the side mark is not distinguishable.

No. 9 ($\frac{1}{4}$ *bāt*) shows a large elephant (Block 49) with an undecipherable mark on the side, and is a long, flattish coin.

Nos. 10, 11 & 12 ($\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, & $\frac{1}{8}$ *bāt*) all show a conch-shell on the side (Block 58), but no mark at all on the top.

If we turn to *Plate XIV*, Nos. 1 & 2 ($\frac{1}{4}$ *bāt*) again have an elephant (Block 51) of a primitive type and a conch-shell (Block 60). No. 2 is of bronze, a coin very seldom seen; it may of course be a forgery, from which the silver coating has disappeared.

No. 3 ($\frac{1}{4}$ *bāt*) has again an elephant on the top with an undecipherable mark on the side.

No. 5 ($\frac{1}{4}$ *bāt*), I feel pretty sure, belongs to the *bāt* coin, No. 5 on Plate VIII (Block 17); and No. 4, $\frac{1}{4}$ *bāt* (Block 52) may belong to No. 1 on Plate X (Block 27), though I do not feel at all certain about this.

No. 6 ($\frac{1}{4}$ *bāt*) is a bronze coin, also rare, and shows an elephant, though it is very indistinct.

Nos. 7 to 12 all show different forms of the conch-shell which are never seen on a *bāt* coin. Nos. 8 (Block 56), 10 (Block 55) & 11 are all $\frac{1}{4}$ *bāt*. No. 7 (Block 57) and No. 9 (Block 59) are $\frac{1}{2}$ *bāt*. No. 12 is $\frac{1}{16}$ *bāt*.

Block 47 ($\frac{1}{4}$ *bāt*) shows a *Rāchasi*, and Block 53 ($\frac{1}{4}$ *bāt*) an Ox, presumably of the same reign as the *bāt*, No. 3 on Plate VIII (Blocks 13 & 14), but these are both taken from photographs, and I have not seen the actual coins.

Taken altogether, the small coinage of Ayudhya is very puzzling and difficult to place. A few of the coins shown on the Plates have 'cuts' in them and are presumably older than the others, but even here, except for No. 1 on Plate XIII, I do not feel certain about the relative periods of any of them. As far as I am concerned, they must remain 'wropt in mystery.' I would like to think that numbers of the small coinage with well-known Ayudhyan marks still remain to be discovered by the earnest collector, but I must have examined literally tens of thousands of small coins during the last fifteen years (a miserable way of spending one's leisure hours), and I feel that the hope is a forlorn one.

PLATE XIII.



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PLATE XIV.



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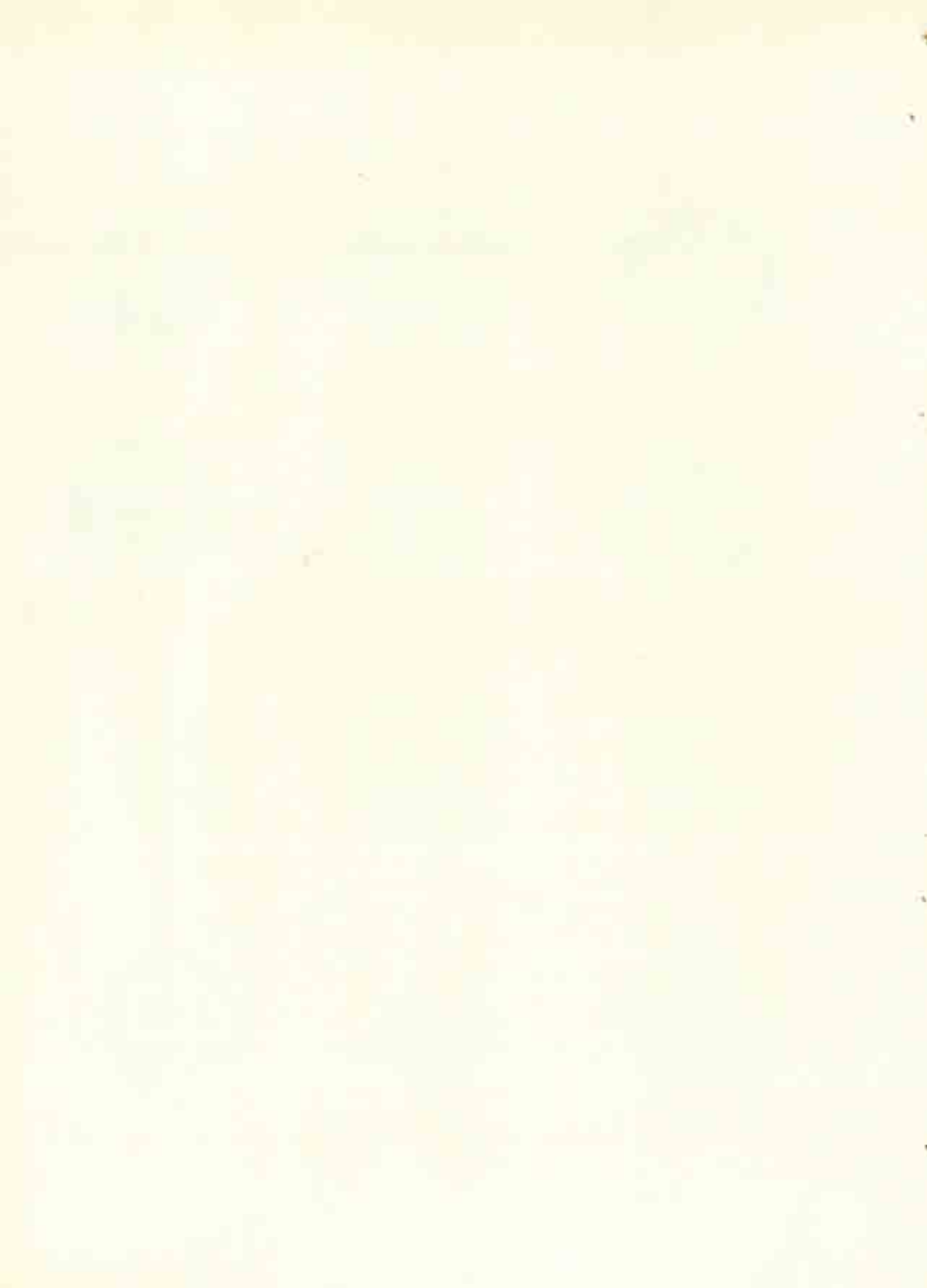
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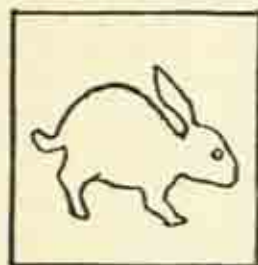


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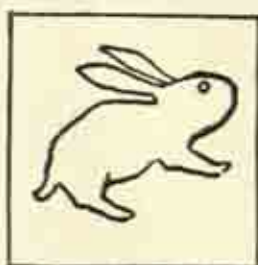




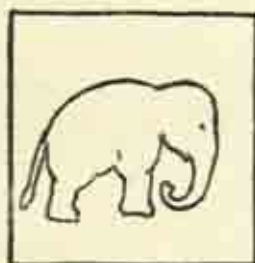
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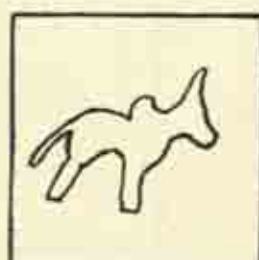
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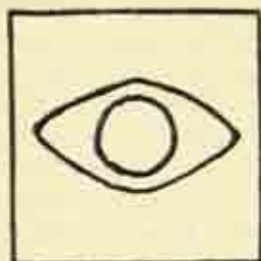
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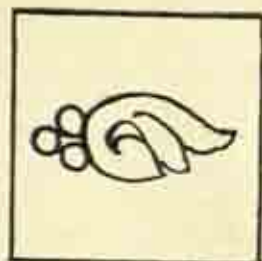
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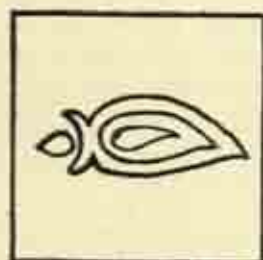
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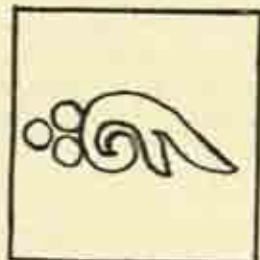
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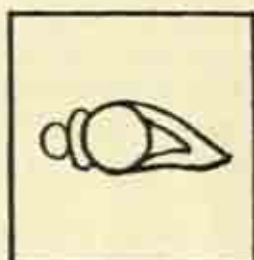
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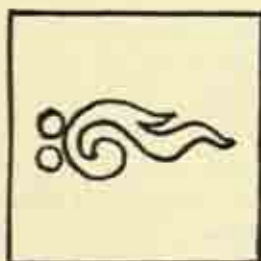
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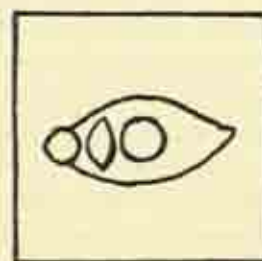
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IV

WEIGHTS AND VALUES

There remain then the Weights and Values of the coinage, which it will be convenient to consider together.

Of Northern coinage, the three types of 'bracelet' coinage illustrated on *Plate III* (5, 6 & 7) are 921 (the smallest), 954, and 1885 grains, respectively, in weight. Reckoning the *bāt* at 230-235 grains, this works out at 4 *bāt*, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *bāt*, and 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ *bāt*, respectively, that is to say, as near as may be, the Tai *tamū'ng* (*tael*) and double *tamū'ng*. These specimens are naturally not sufficient in number to allow of any definite conclusions being drawn, but I must admit I find the circumstance rather odd, as it seems to point to the fixing of the Tai *tael* at a settled weight of its own at an earlier period than I should have expected. The weights of the above coins may, of course, be purely coincidental. If not, then it looks as if the Northern Tai came early into commercial contact with the Khmer, from whom the *tamū'ng* (*tael*) was borrowed, as will be seen later in this chapter.

Among ten *k'a k'im* coins in my possession, not of the same but of various principalities, the weight varies from 939 to 987 grains, that is, from just over 4 *bāt* to 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *bāt*. Allowing for differences in time and place, these variations may, it is suggested, be set aside, and the coin accepted as representing the Tai *tael*, with a little weight thrown in for luck, unlike the retail dealer's custom of to-day. As it is certain that these coins date from a period round about 1300 A. D. onwards, it is clear that the weight of the Tai *tael* was well fixed by that date, at any rate in the North of Siam.

The half *tael* is also known, and the two smaller coins shown on *Plate III*, 2 & 3, weigh 159 grs. and 34 grs., respectively.

As concerns Central Siam, our principal witness is M. de la Loubère, who, after discoursing at some little length on the various measures in use in Siam which he deplores as '*si peu justes*', says that ⁽¹⁾

" Their pieces of money are the truest, and almost the only
 " (true), things that they use, although even so coins are often
 " found which are false or light in weight.....

(1) Author's translation from the French.

"The same names apply equally to their weights as to their money.

"Their silver money is all of the same shape and struck with the same marks; only some pieces are smaller than others. They are of the shape of a small cylinder or bar, very short and wholly bent about the middle, so that the two ends of the bar meet together.....

"The ratio of their money to ours is that their Tical, which only weighs a half-*écu*, is worth, however, 37½ *sols*.

"They have no gold or copper money. Gold is a commodity with the Siamese and is worth 12 times as much as silver, presuming that the fineness of the two metals is equal".

At the end of the second volume of his work, M. de la Loubère, in giving the actual weights and pieces of money in circulation, makes the following statement :

"Now these are the names of the values of the weights and the coinage all together. It is true that some of these names do not represent pieces of money, but only values or sums of money, just as in France the word '*livre*' does not signify money but the value of one pound weight of copper, which makes a sum of 20 *sols*.

"The *pic* is worth 50 *cati*.

"The *cati* is worth 20 *teils*.

"The *teil* is worth 4 *ticals*.

"The *tical*⁽¹⁾ is a piece of silver money, and is worth 4 *mayons* (*salung*).

"The *mayon* is a piece of silver money and is worth 2 *fouang*.

"The *fouang* is also a piece of silver money and is worth 4 *payes*.

"The *paye* is not a piece of money, but is worth 2 *clam*.

"The *song-pay*, i. e. 2 *payes*, is a piece of silver money and is worth half a *fouang*.

"The *clam*, too, is not a piece of money, but it is reckoned to weigh 12 grains of rice, as I have been told.

(1) "It is of the weight of half an ounce, whereby we can reckon that the *cati* weighs 2½ pounds".

N. B. This is also part of the quotation, but has been relegated to a footnote for convenience sake.

"On this basis the tial would weigh 768 grains of rice,
"which fact I have not tested....."

"I do not know to what language the word *pie* belongs,
"but in Siam it has a weight of 125 pounds of 16 ounces each.
"The *cati* is Chinese and is called *schang* in Siamese. The
"Chinese *cati* weighs twice the Siamese *cati*.⁽¹⁾ *Tael* or *tad* is
"also a Chinese word, which is called *tandling* in Siamese, but
"the Siamese *cati* only weighs 8 Chinese *taels*,⁽¹⁾ against 20
"Siamese *taels* as stated above.

"*Tael* and *mayon* are words whose origin I do not know,
"but the Siamese call them *haat* and *suling*. *Fouang*, *paye*,
"and *clam* are Siamese words."

It is interesting to know that all the above weights and values of coins were still in general use in Siam when I first came to this country in 1908, two hundred and twenty years after M. de la Loubère, with the exception of the *claz* which had been replaced by the *att*.

M. de la Loubère has, however, become confused in stating that the Chinese *kati* weighs twice as much as the Siamese *kati*, since in fact the reverse is the case. On his own showing, the Siamese *kati* weighs $2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of 16 ounces, and 50 *kati* (or 125 lbs.) weigh one *picul*.

Actually the Siamese *kati* weighs $2\frac{2}{3}$ lbs., and the *picul* $133\frac{1}{3}$ lbs. (and not 125 lbs.), but this is a detail, and I pass on to an extract from the *Journal Asiatique*,⁽²⁾ in which particulars are given by M. Ferrand of all kinds of Eastern weights and moneys taken from old writers. In speaking of China, it is stated that:

$$\begin{aligned} 16 \text{ tael} &= 1 \text{ kati} \\ 100 \text{ kati} &= 1 \text{ picul} \\ 1 \text{ picul} &= 133\frac{1}{3} \text{ lbs.} \end{aligned}$$

From this it is clear that a Chinese *kati* weighs $1\frac{1}{3}$ lbs., as it still does to-day, and is equal to half a Siamese *kati*.

Thus it is also clear that one Chinese *kati* weighs 40 Siamese *bât* (a Siamese *kati* weighs 80 *bât*), and that, therefore, a Chinese *tael* weighs $2\frac{1}{2}$ *bât*, as against the Siamese *tael*, which weighs 4 *bât*.

The further statement of M. de la Loubère that the Siamese *kati* only weighs 8 Chinese *tael* is, of course, equally wrong, as this would make the Chinese *tael* equal to 10 *bât* in weight, whereas it is in fact equal to only $2\frac{1}{2}$ *bât*.

⁽¹⁾ The italics are mine in both cases.

⁽²⁾ Onzième série, tome XVI (juillet-septembre 1920), p. 90.

Otherwise, however, I think that M. de la Loubère's statements may be taken as correct, and they are interesting as showing the weights and moneys in use in Siam during the latter half of the XVIII century.

The statement that there was no gold or copper coinage in Siam is to all intents and purposes correct. In August 1929, however, I was honoured by an invitation from His Majesty the King to examine the Royal collection of coins which had accumulated over many reigns, and to reduce them to order as far as possible, and I was interested to find a gold Ayudhyan 'bullet' coin of the weight of one *bât*, stamped with the *Rācharat* and Wheel of the Law. This is the only gold coin of the Ayudhyan period known to me.

The next step backwards takes us to two stone inscriptions in the Tai language found in the region of Suk'ōt'ai, and dating from 1518 A. D. and 1536 A. D., respectively.

In the second of these inscriptions mention is made of gifts to a temple of the *price* (or value) of various *tamlu'ng*, *bât*, and *salu'ng*, and in the first inscription we find mention of silver to the *weight* of two *chang* (*kati*) and two *tamlu'ng* (*tael*), while later on a gift is made of a ring *valued* at 7 *bât*.

Next comes an inscription which was discovered at Angkor in Cambodia and is in the Cambodian script. It dates from 1444 A. D. and in it mention is made of a gift from one person to another of 1 *damleng*, 3 *bât*, 1 *sleug* and 1 *pey*. Now at just about this very period the Tai had sacked Angkor, the Khmer capital, which had then been removed to Lawek on the Southern side of the Great Lake, and the question is whether the above denominations refer to Cambodian or to Tai weights and moneys. M. Groslier is of the opinion that, in any case, they refer to weights only, but the inscription seems to me to be exactly analogous to the one quoted above, i. e., a mixture of weights and values (or moneys). The *damleng*, we know, was never a coin but only a weight except in the North of Siam, and, if M. de la Loubère is correct, nor in Ayudhya was the *pey* (or *paye*). *Bât* and *sleug*, on the other hand, were and are units of Tai coinage as well as weights. Either, then, the three last units mentioned in the inscription were borrowed by the Khmer as a result of contact with the Tai, or they may be Khmer weights borrowed by the Tai and used for coinage.

Tracing our steps backwards, there is an inscription from Suk'ōt'ai in the Cambodian (Khmer) script of a date round about 1361 A. D.,

of which the partial replica in Siamese has also been discovered, in which it is stated that the King of Sachanalai-Suk'ot'ai distributed royal gifts to the extent of '10 jyang of gold, 10 jyang of silver and 10 million cowries' (in the Khmer text), and '10,000 of gold, 10,000 of silver and 10 million cowries' (in the Siamese text). I pity the poor wretches who had to count the cowries, but perhaps they weighed them out!

Prof. Coedès, who edited and translated all the inscriptions quoted,⁽¹⁾ states in a note that 'jyang' is an old Cambodian weight, but he cites no reference in this regard. What the meaning of '10,000 of gold and silver' in Siamese is, it is difficult to say. The actual words used in Siamese are *mu'n un'ng* (one *mu'n*), which nowadays is a word representing 'ten thousand,' but there is still in use a weight in the North of Siam of one *mu'n*. For instance, you buy rice or potatoes by the *mu'n*, which is equal to about 28 lbs.

Can the Siamese text refer to this *mu'n*? If it does, 28 lbs. of silver would equal roughly 900 *bât* at 32 to the lb., and 28 lbs. of gold would be equal to 11,000 *bât*, if gold was worth, as in later times, 12 times the weight of silver. I am inclined to think this is the meaning of the text.

So far we have found no earlier evidence of weights or coinage dating from the Tai period of ascendancy in Siam, which began about 1250 A. D., but in Volume II of Prof. Coedès' Inscriptions⁽²⁾ will be found a transcription in the Khmer script from the base of a statue of the Buddha. This inscription is thought to be dated 1105 of the Great Era, i.e. 1183 A. D., and in it we find mention of the words *para*, *tala*, and *tambu'ng*, the first two referring to weights, i.e. of the metal used, and the last to the value. Thus we have the *tambu'ng* used as a weight by the Khmer in Siam as far back as 1183 A. D.

The strong probability is, then, that the Tai borrowed their *tael* (*tambu'ng*) from the Khmer, whom they superseded in Siam, since weights and measures well-known to the people are not so easily changed as Dynasties or Kings; but I cannot as yet discover any evidence which will provide a clue as to why the Khmer adopted a standard weight different from that of the Chinese, unless, indeed, the Chinese standard *tael* itself has altered since those early days.

(1) Georges Coedès, *Résumé des Inscriptions du Siam*, Vols. I and II.

(2) No. 25, p. 44.

The origin of the *bât* weight is equally unknown, but it seems certain that this was not the weight of the original 'bullet' coin, and that the standard weight of the *bât*, as now known, was introduced by either the Suk'ôt'ai or the Ayudhya dynasty. A possible explanation is that the Tai of Suk'ôt'ai or Ayudhya, having accepted the Khmer *damleng* (*tamlu'ng*) as a weight, decided to divide it into four parts and to adopt one quarter as the unit of their silver coinage. This is, perhaps, the most reasonable conclusion at which to arrive, since it is well-known that from early times the *bât* itself has been divided into four *satu'ng*.

V

MANUFACTURE OF 'BULLET' COINS.

During the past year the Minister of Finance has had the happy inspiration to hand over to the National Museum all the old instruments used for making 'bullet' money, or *p'ot duang*, as they are called in Siamese.

It is over sixty years since silver 'bullet' coins were made for currency, but they have been made in small numbers for presentation purposes during the interval, and it appeared that there was still one old man left who had been a pupil of the coin craftsmen in his youth and who still remembered how to make these coins.

Through the kindness of Prince Damrong arrangements were accordingly made for the instruments to be brought to the Royal Mint, and a demonstration was given before the Prince, the Director of the Mint, and myself by this old man and his associates. It may be that the demonstration which we witnessed is the last that will ever be given, and I feel, therefore, that a description of it will find a fitting place at this stage of my work on the Coinage of Siam.

In order to make my description the more intelligible, I have added three plates, Nos. XF, XVI and XVII, showing the instruments used, and the different stages of manufacture.

Let me say at once that the process was mediaeval, and that the setting, as it should be, was mediaeval.

We were received at the Mint by the Director and conducted through rooms and dark passages until we came to some steep steps leading to the basement. Down these we went and eventually found ourselves in what seemed to be an underground chamber (actually it was flush with the ground), where I at least imagined myself in the alchemist's den. The atmosphere for the experiment was perfect, and even the four men themselves, who were engaged in it, were perfectly dressed for the part.

They all wore the same uniform, rather baggy trousers coming down to just above the ankle, and a kind of long smock cut at the neck like a sailor suit, the whole of khaki trimmed with dark blue. You felt that anything might happen in that chamber.

In a corner of the room was an open hearth where two men crouched. One was blowing the bellows, and the other poking and sorting the

embers of his 'furnace' with a long pair of pincers. The other two squatted in silence on the floor and waited for us to take our seats.

When all was ready, one of these two weighed out the silver required on the scales—the usual type in use in the Far East, a small pan dangling from the end of a short, notched, ivory rod with a sliding weight attached—and placed it in the tiny earthenware crucible (next to the shell on *Plate XVII*). The man with the long pincers (seen in the foreground of *Plate XV*) then picked up this crucible with them and placed it in the heart of the 'furnace', covering it up carefully with embers. The man with the bellows (not the ordinary kind seen in Europe, but a double piston with a handle, which was pushed in and out of a long, narrow, wooden box) then pumped away until the silver was fused, when the crucible was removed by the man with the pincers and poured into a water-mould. To describe this, it should be said that a third man squatted on the floor with a rectangular box in front of him, full of water. In the centre of this box was placed a small wooden block with one elliptical groove in it (seen standing up on end on the left of *Plate XV*, behind the larger similar block). This small block was wrapped in cloth, and the whole was set below the level of the water, so that, when the silver was poured from the crucible into the small elliptical mould made by pressing the cloth into the groove, the metal was at once completely submerged. In a moment or two, by the aid of a certain amount of 'coaxing' on the part of the man in charge, the silver was smooth and set, and had taken on the shape of a short, elliptical bar, flattish on the top and rounder on the under side, where it had been pressed into the mould. It looked rather like an elongated 'burnt almond' sweet (*Plate XVII*, 3).

Now the craftsman took charge. He first of all took up the chisel and hammer seen on *Plate XV* and made two parallel, shallow cross-cuts on the flatter side of the coin near the middle, by this means bending the coin slightly, presumably to ease the strain when hammering the sides (*Plate XVII*, 4).

He then set the coin up on one side in one of the shallow holes in the iron anvil (of which two are seen standing up on end on the right of *Plate XV*) and gave the side facing him several sharp, shrewd blows with his hammer. When he had finished one side to his satisfaction, he turned it round and hammered the other side, until the coin had assumed its proper shape. He then gave it a final tap on the top, and the process was complete, except for the marking. Nos. 5 to 10 on *Plate XVII* show the different stages of this hammering.

The Director told me that an expert craftsman would complete all the hammering in five blows, but our demonstrator took a good many more than this number, as naturally he had had but very little practice in the past.

The stamping of the coins we did not see, as all the dies are still jealously guarded in the Royal Treasury, but we were told that this was carried out on the elephant bone seen on *Plate XVI*, where the whole bone is shown and also the used portion enlarged. The coin was placed in one of the holes made in the bone, and the stamping was done by hand, by some form of punch. It was explained that the reason why an elephant bone was used is that it is just the right consistency to stand the impact of the punch without splitting, as wood, and without spreading the shape of the silver, as a hard metal block would do.

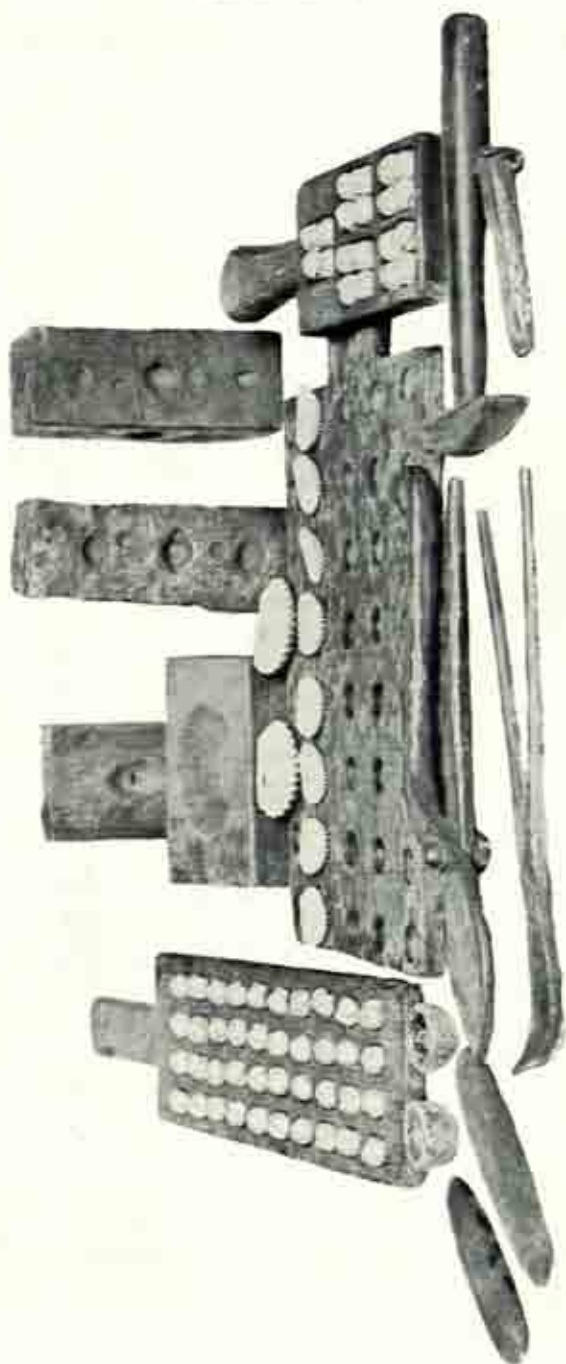
Of the other objects shown on *Plate XV*, the scissors are used for cutting the ingot silver, the shells are used for weighing it, but the two flat, narrow objects on the left in the foreground were not brought into play, and their use is not known to me.

It is estimated that in former days the number of 'bullet' coins which could be turned out by expert craftsmen from a single mould was about 240 a day, and as there were ten moulds in use in the early years of King Mongkut's reign, the total number coined would be about 2,400 a day. How inadequate this number grew to be is shown by the request of King Mongkut to Sir Robert Schomburgk, the first British Consul to be stationed in Siam, in February 1858, to obtain for him in England a minting press and machinery capable of turning out about 100,000 *bat* a day.

This was due to the opening up of the country to foreign trade after the signing of the Bowring Treaty in 1855, and to the acute shortage of silver coinage which rapidly took place. Before the machinery could be installed and the needs of the trading community supplied, King Mongkut had been obliged to resort to the expedient of stamping Mexican dollars with the Royal marks of a *Mongkut* (Crown) and a *Chakra*, and of permitting their use as Siamese currency.

They were, of course, withdrawn as soon as the supply of new flat coinage became adequate, and to-day are extremely rare. I myself only know of three examples, one in the National Museum, one in the private collection of the late H. S. H. Prince Piya, and one in my own collection. There must no doubt be others, but I do not know of them.

PLATE XV.



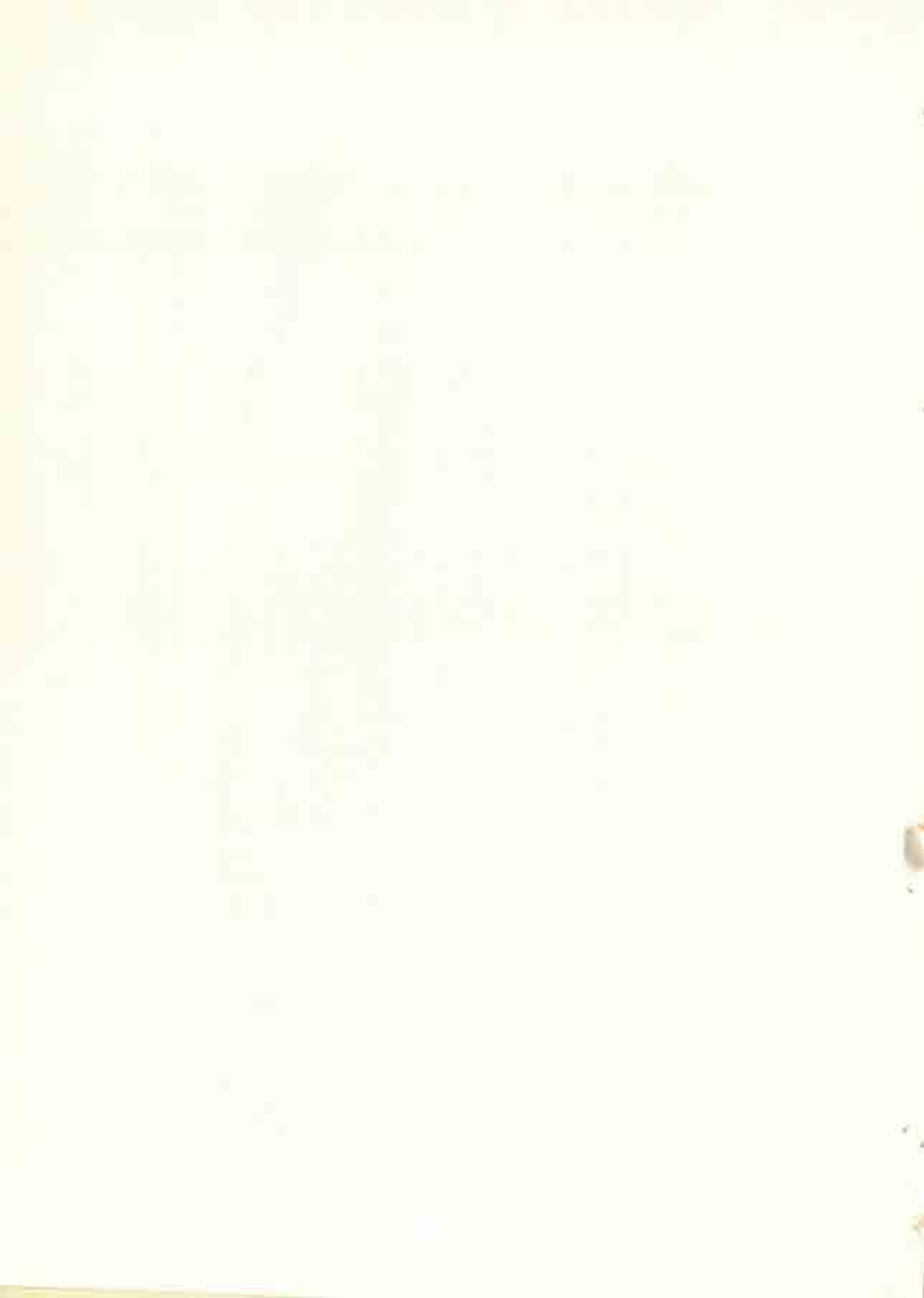


PLATE XVI.

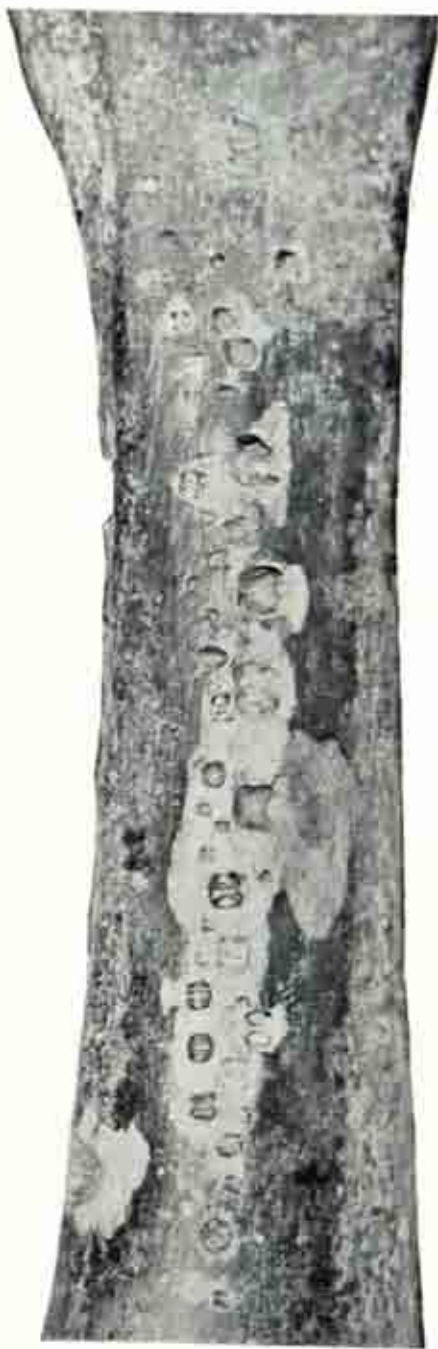
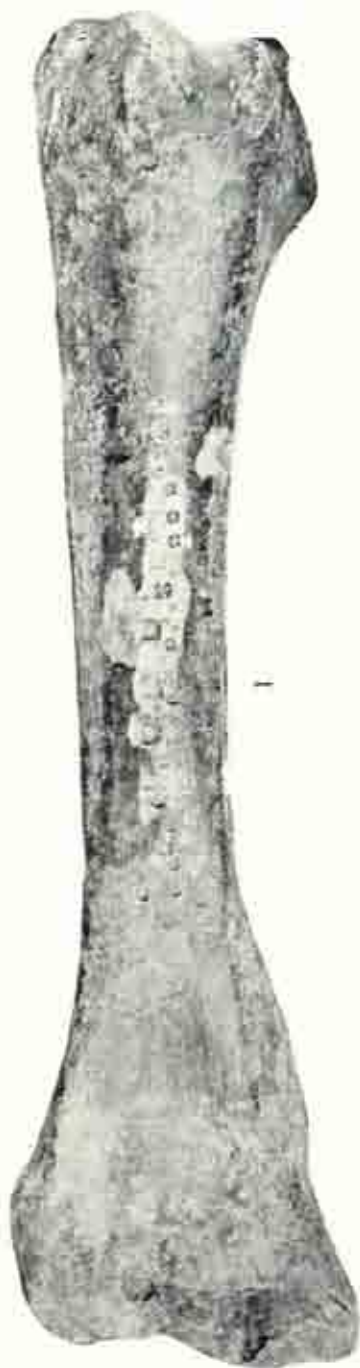


PLATE XVII.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10

VI

DOUBTFUL AYUDHYAN COINS

From what has gone before it will, I am sure, be realised that, in the present state of our knowledge of Siamese coinage, it is impossible to state definitely in all cases which coins are genuine and which are false, and I have therefore included one plate, *XVIII*, showing a group of eight coins which I have acquired as genuine at various times, sometimes, alas, at considerable expense, but which I now consider to be of doubtful authenticity. Some of them, I am reasonably satisfied, are forgeries of rare coins; one of them, I believe, does not exist as a genuine coin. The others, either from their shape or weight or their marks, are all doubtful.

No. 1 can only be described as a 'fancy' shape, which, except for *No. 2* on this same plate, is unknown in the annals of Siamese coinage. The marks on it are, I think, intended to be, on top, an elephant, and on the side, a conch-shell, but they are very crudely made by an unskilled hand and their form is not acceptable to the trained eye. There are distinct hammer-marks on both ends, underneath, and the 'cuts' are not at all even. Lastly, the weight is exactly 232 grains, i.e. that of a *bāt*, and this is highly unlikely in a presumably very early coin. The only thing in its favour is that the silver appears to be of good quality, but this would be an essential, even in a forgery, if 'cuts' are to be made. I cannot accept it as genuine.

Nos. 2 & 3 may be considered together, as they bear the same marks. These, which are three in number, represent on one side the Bunch of Lotus (Block 17), on the other side the Wheel of the Law (Block 8), and, on the top, what appears to be a dog, a fox, or a wolf; at any rate, it is a dog-like animal with large ears and a long, bushy tail standing up on end. Here the resemblance between the two coins ends.

No. 3 weighs 228 grains, and has two small cuts, but the shape is in no way similar to *Plate, VIII, No. 1*, which it is obviously intended to imitate (since this is an undoubtedly genuine coin with three similar marks), and, to my eye, it was made in the Bangkok period. My chief reasons for saying this is that the ridge in the centre is high, and that the coin has not those single clear hammer-marks of the Ayudhyan period. Indeed, the shape is bad.

No. 2 weighs 118 grains (2 grains more than a half-*bāt*), which is in itself suspicious in such an old coin, and its shape resembles that of *No. 1* on this Plate, with similar 'cuts' and hammer-marks. It is clear also that the Bunch of Lotus mark, as shown in the illustration, is incomplete; and it is very odd that, even with a magnifying glass, there is no sign to be seen of the remainder of the mark below where the 'cut' has divided it, as is seen, for instance, on *Plate VIII, No. 3*.

These two coins must, I fear, be both rejected.

No. 4, with its curly ends, is another strange shape, which I have not met elsewhere. The marks on it are similar to those on *Plate VIII, Nos. 5 & 6*, and the only thing against them is that neither of them is quite complete. The 'cuts' also have been rather clumsily made and are uneven, but the silver seems to be of good quality. The weight, however, is exactly 232 grains, and this is what gives chiefly rise to suspicion in such an old coin. I hesitate to accept this coin, but I am not prepared to reject it definitely as yet.

No. 6, which has the same marks as *No. 4*, I have little hesitation in pronouncing to be a forgery of *Plate VIII, No. 5*. Its weight, again, is 233 grains, and the shape is undoubtedly that of a Bangkok coin. The shape and weight are, indeed, the collector's best weapons against the modern forger, who nearly always makes his specimens a full *bāt* weight, without any allowance for wear and tear, and has evidently not studied carefully the differences in shape between the Ayudhyan and Bangkok *bāt*.

No. 6 is also, without doubt, a forgery—of *Plate IX, Nos. 5 & 6*—and for similar reasons. The weight is nearly full at 230 grains, and the sides, which are partly rounded, have ridges made by double hammer-marks, a feature of the Bangkok coins which is never seen on an Ayudhyan coin.

No. 7 appears to be a forgery of the Anchor mark, seen on *Plate IX, Nos. 1 & 2*, though the mark on the top is not the same, being, apparently (for it is partly missing), a four-spoked wheel in a double circle with dots between the spokes. The weight is plausible at 227 grains, but the shape is bad, and smells of Bangkok. The ridge in the centre is high, and the hammer-marks, though single, have not that clear, round appearance as in Ayudhyan times. I do not like this coin.

No. 8 is of unusual interest. By right it should not appear here at all, as it does not profess to be an Ayudhyan coin, whether genuine

PLATE XVIII.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8

or false, but as I cannot give it a whole plate to itself, I have included it in *Plate XVIII*. The marks are, on the side, a two-pronged fork, and, on the top, five dots surrounding a central dot in a single circle. The dots are separated by shortened spokes. The weight is 236 grains.

For years I have been told that the 'Fork' mark belongs to the famous P'yā Tāk, who freed his country from the Burmese yoke after the fall of Ayudhya in 1767, and who reigned as King in T'onburi, opposite modern Bangkok on the west bank of the river Menam Chao P'yā, until 1782 when he unfortunately went mad and gave way to his principal general, Chao P'yā Chakkri. For years I have searched the shops in Bangkok for examples of this mark, and, although I have a number of them in my possession, they all have differences in shape and marks, and I cannot accept any of them as genuine. Here, the coin shown is obviously a forgery and a bad one at that. It is over weight at 236 grains; the shape is late Bangkok, and there are sharp, distinct ridges made by double hammer-marks on both sides of the coin. I am not at all sure that the metal is silver; at least, it does not look pure.

VII.

THE INTERREGNUM OF P'YĀ TĀK (1767-1782)

It is still a most difficult question to decide whether P'YĀ TĀK ever issued any distinctive coinage of his own, and, if he did, what mark or marks he adopted.

In my previous work on the coins of the Bangkok dynasty (*JSS.* Vol. XVIII, Part 3, pages 164-5) I was inclined to think that both the marks popularly ascribed to the First Reign of the Bangkok dynasty, namely the *Trī*, commonly called *Krī*, (*Plate XIX, 4*) and the *Unalom*, or *Bua*, (*Plate XIX, 5*), actually belonged to Chao P'YĀ Chakkri, who in 1782 raised himself to the throne of Siam under the style and title of Somdet Pra Buddha Yōt Fā (His Majesty the Lord of the Highest Heaven).

The reasons which I gave for this opinion will be seen from the following extract taken from the above work:

"The question is still sometimes debated whether the
"earlier of these two stamps, the *Trī*, should not be assigned
"to the interregnum of P'YĀ TĀK. A. Marques Pereira, in his
"little work written in 1872, categorically allots the *Trī* mark
"to P'YĀ TĀK, though he gives no authority for doing so.


"On the whole I am against this supposition and am inclined to agree with the modern opinion that both marks
"belong to Chao P'YĀ Chakkri.

"There are many reasons in favour of this. In the first
"place, after the fall of Ayudhya in 1767 at the hands of
"the Burmese, constant irregular fighting went on for some
"years, and P'YĀ TĀK must have been kept busily occupied
"in subduing the countryside. He had moreover no settled
"Capital city, and he was probably content to go on using
"the Ayudhyan types.

"Secondly, on the *Trī* coins appears the *Chakra* or
"Discus for the first time (*Plate I, No. 6*),⁽¹⁾ and this mark
"has remained constant through all the succeeding reigns as
"the dynastic mark; and Chao P'YĀ Chakkri was not of the
"same family as P'YĀ TĀK.

"Thirdly, there is the similarity between the name of
"the King's family, and those of the two marks chosen.

(1) Here shown on *Plate XIX, 4*.

"It is true that the name *Chakkrī* is one word in Siamese, , a Sanskrit word meaning 'strong' or 'powerful'; whereas *Chakra* and *Trī* (or *Krī*) are two distinct and separate words; but the similarity between them is too striking to be a coincidence, and one must infer that the King chose the two symbols named on account of their resemblance to his own name."

After a lapse of seven years since writing these words, I have carefully considered once more the reasons given, and I must frankly admit that they still have weight with me.

At the same time, during the lapse of years, certain other evidence has come to light which needs to be recorded here.

First, there is the fact that I cannot find a genuine coin with the 'Fork' mark on it, and I am reasonably convinced that such a genuine mark does not exist.

Secondly, as previously stated, during the past year the Minister of Finance has handed over to the National Museum all the instruments still existing in the Mint for making the 'bullet' money, as well as impressions of all the stamps or dies used for making the marks. These stamps include all the main ones used during the Bangkok Dynasty (*Plate XIX, 5 to 8*) with the exception of the *Trī* (*Plate XIX, 4*). There may be some significance in this fact. If the instruments, which are obviously of some age, have been carefully kept, as well as the stamps, why should the *Trī* mark be missing?

There is a third fact, to which I alluded in my previous work, but to which perhaps I did not give sufficient attention at the time, and this concerns the hammer-marks on the coins. The earliest coins with the *Trī* mark have one single hammer-mark on each side, as on the Ayudhyan *bāt*, though later ones have partly single and double, or wholly double marks. The coins themselves, however, have not that definite standard shape of the Ayudhyan tradition. *Plate XIX, 1*, shows the standard Ayudhyan type with the single, clear hammer-mark, while *Plate XIX, 2* shows the standard Bangkok type with the double hammer-marks and the ridge in the middle.

Lastly, we have the categorical statement of A. Marques Pereira, written fifty years ago and given as an accepted fact without any need for evidence, that the *Trī* mark belongs to P'yā Tāk. In the light of the new evidence, this statement obviously bears more weight than it did at the time I first wrote.

Summing up all the evidence now available, it would seem as if we must arrive at one of two conclusions, either that (1) P'yā Tāk issued no distinctive coinage of his own, or (2) the *Tri* mark is the mark of his reign.

In the absence of definite evidence, I prefer to leave the question there, and I do so because I still find the second reason given in my previous work, which is a positive one, a serious stumbling-block. It is hard for me to accept the fact that the new dynasty of Bangkok was willing to use the same dynastic mark as P'yā Tāk. On the same analogy, it is easy to understand why the Tudors did not adopt the same designs as the Plantagenets in England. It is human nature.

One point of interest emerges lastly from a comparison of Ayudhyan and later coins. None of the Bangkok (or possible P'yā Tāk) coins are so well made as those of Ayudhya, and it looks as if, on the fall of that capital, the family of skilled coin-makers was dispersed and the art was lost.

PLATE XIX.



3



1



2



4



5



6



7



8

APPENDIX

During my journeys North and South in the past twenty years I have gathered a number of pieces of metal which have been represented to me as in use at some time or another, and for some purpose or other, as a medium of exchange. They are not in any way connected, as far as I know, with the Tai system of coinage as it has developed in the course of centuries, and I have not thought fit to include them in my general survey. But, in order to make this work as complete as possible, they should find a niche somewhere, and I have accordingly relegated them to an appendix with two plates of illustrations, XX and XXI.

Plate XX

No. 1 comes from the North of Siam and appears to be of reasonably pure silver. It is called in that region 'Pig's Mouth' money, owing to a fancied resemblance to that ill-favoured animal, but it is, in fact, a large, hollow, shell-like piece of metal, weighing 1,198 grains, or slightly more than five *bát*, and seems more likely to have been made in imitation of the largest type of cowrie-shell. I could not discover the use to which this particular kind of money was put in the past; it is uncommon now.

Nos. 7 & 8 can be conveniently considered next. These pieces of money, or tokens, which may be found in sets of five, also come from the North of Siam and are called *Ngon Hói* (shell-money) or *Ngon Tok*. The largest and the smallest of the set, which are the two shown here, range from a size of $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, to a tiny piece, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch square.

They are made of silver alloy in the shape of flat or almost flat shells. One side (that not shown) is partly hollow and partly covered with a yellowish-red substance, which I am told is the burnt yolk of a chicken's egg; the other side, which is slightly convex, is black and ribbed or corrugated, as seen in the illustration.

I understand, on reliable authority, that these tokens were, and still are, made solely for use in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce in Northern Siam. When a man marries, he will give so much weight in 'shell-money' to the parents of his bride, and if he divorces his wife, again he must pay according to his position and means.

They represent in fact the 'purchase' or 'release' money of the lady, as the case may be. The tokens shown weigh 1,064 grains and 64 grains, respectively. Others of the set in my possession weigh 503 grains, 268 grains, and 107 grains, respectively.

Nos. 2, 3, & 4 may all be considered together, as they all come from the North and have a certain affinity with the 'shell money' just described. *No. 2* has a shell-like cavity on one side and is ribbed on the other; it also has a kind of handle, broken off. It seems to be made of copper with a thin coating of silver, and weighs 1,002 grains. *No. 3* has no cavity, but is flat on one side with a slightly ribbed surface, and convex on the other (that shown). It appears to be made of silver alloy and also weighs 1,002 grains. *No. 4* is, in essence, the same as *No. 2*, except for the projecting handle, and weighs 154 grains. All three are partly covered with 'chicken's egg' on one side. I am disposed to think that they are put to the same use as the *Ngôn Hôi*.

Nos. 5 & 6 also come from the North of Siam, but have not apparently been in general use; at least I have only found them in the Nân region, on the eastern border. They are convex on the marked side, and concave on the other, as may be seen in the illustrations; and for want of a better name I call them 'leaf' money, since the marking resembles the veins of a leaf. *No. 5*, which is of copper or a copper alloy, weighs 555 grains; while *No. 6*, which appears to have an admixture of silver, weighs 874 grains.

There is no evidence to show when any of the tokens on this plate were first made, or by whom.

Plate XXI

The first five bullet-shaped pieces on this plate were sent to me from Sup'anburi, North-West of Bangkok, but without any comment as to their period of use or their originators; nor can I discover any evidence to account for their presence.

They are not of silver or copper, but are of very light weight, and the report of Mr. H. J. Plenderleith of the British Museum, who kindly examined them, gives the following analysis:

"The Siamese coin sent me is not pure metal but is"
 "composed of the native cuprous sulphide, 'copper glance';"
 "sometimes called chalcocite. This is rather interesting,"
 "and unique surely, as it must be a difficult matter casting"
 "this substance owing to its tendency to burn at high"

PLATE XX.



1



2



4



5



3



8



6



7



PLATE XXI.



1



3



2



4



5



6



8



7



11



9



13



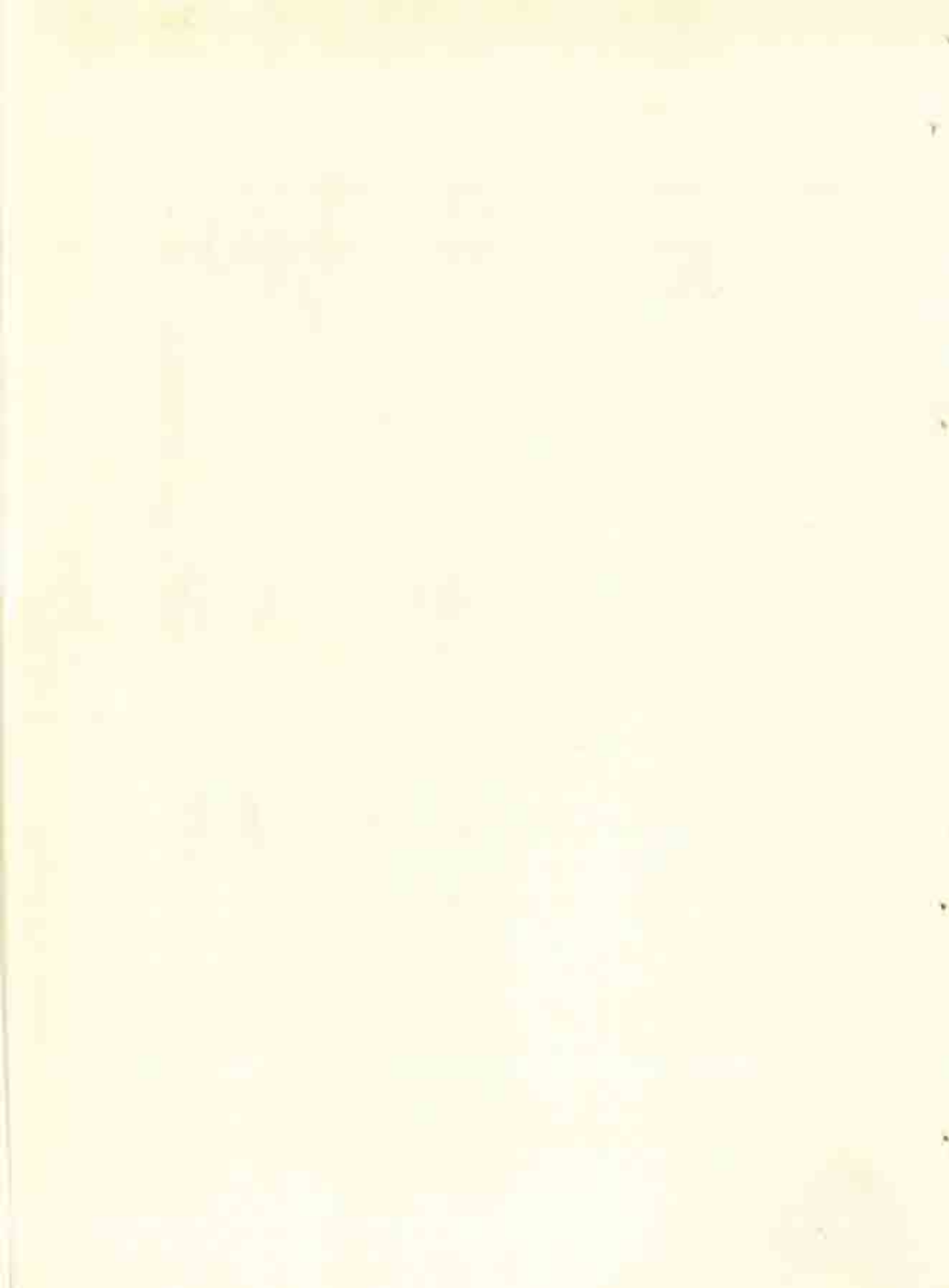
12



10



14



"temperatures. I could detect nothing further in the"

"specimen save a trace of chloride and of iron".

"Chemical results were checked by a specific gravity"

"determination, the value obtained being about 5.9. This is"

"quite in agreement with the figure required by cuprous"

"sulphide".

The weights of the coins shown are as follows: *No. 1*, 238 grains; *No. 2*, 220 grains; *No. 3*, 253 grains; *No. 4*, 121 grains; *No. 5*, 116 grains, though the two latter are about the size of an *Ayudhyan bāt*, and *Nos. 1, 2, & 3* are considerably larger.

The marks upon the coins are very crudely made, as indeed are the coins themselves, but they appear to represent either a flower, or an anchor, or a *Mongkut* (Crown). The most singular thing about these coins, however, is the presence on either side of two Cambodian characters, of which the first is *bat*, while the second is not recognizable. The characters themselves do not seem very old. Their meaning is unknown and, as these coins mostly have small holes through them, I am inclined to think that they have been made for use as amulets and have never been used as coins for currency purposes.

The same applies to *Nos. 6 & 7*, which are not of chalcocite but of some heavier metal, probably bronze.

No. 8 comes from Nak'ôn Si Tammarāt in Southern Siam, and is always said to be of great age, possibly from the first millenium A. D. Small hoards of them have been discovered at times, but, outside the National Museum, the coin may be said to be rare. It appears to be of silver, and weighs 29 grains, which is exactly a *fu'ang* ($\frac{1}{3}$ *bāt*). This may be a coincidence, or it may point to a much later date for its issue than is generally supposed.

The mark on the obverse is a kind of Maltese Cross, formed by pressing out the design. The reverse is blank. There is no evidence as to its period or its value, or its use.

Nos. 9 to 14, which complete the Plate, are of a certain historical interest. They are red clay seals, stamped with the Lotus-flower (*Nos. 9 & 10*), the *Kinari*, or Bird-woman, of Siamese mythology (*No. 11*), the *Rachas* (*No. 12*), the Hare (*No. 13*), or the Cock (*No. 14*). It is recorded in the history of Siam that during the reign of King Boromakōt, in the year 1744, the supplies of cowrie-shells fell short for use as small change, and that these clay *prakah*, as they are called in Siamese, were issued by royal authority in their place.

They are, therefore, provisional cowrie-shells and today are suffi-

ciently rare. It is not known whether the size made any difference to the value; probably not, as the many different sizes of cowrie-shells were all of the same value.

Finally, although I personally have never seen any examples, I understand from Major Seidenfaden that the Kui (a tribe of North-Eastern Siam, in the Kompong Soai district) formerly made and used a lozenge-shaped iron money. A piece of this money seen by him was 14 cm. long, 3 cm. broad, and had a thickness of 1 cm. Its weight was 200 grammes. According to Aymonier, in 1884 ten such pieces were worth one *bât*, and fourteen went to one Piastre.

THE AMBROSIAL CONFECTION (ข้าวทิพย์)

by

H. H. PRINCE BIDYALANKARANA

The Siamese sweetmeat here rendered in English as "Ambrosial Confection" may be traced back for many centuries in the literature of the country. Records of old Siam⁽¹⁾ contain references to it. Thus in the 13th and 14th centuries of the Christian era, when Siam had her capital at Sukhodaya, the making of the confection with its attendant ceremony was an event of considerable importance in the larger households. Both by King and people was the confection made and given to the monks, relatives and friends. The ceremony was, without doubt, an annual court function through the successive centuries of old Siam, being abandoned in times of war and stress only to be revived later on.

For the origin of the confection-making ceremony we must go deeply into folklore, perhaps back to the very early idea of "eating the god." In that idea the corn-spirit is represented in human or animal form, which is killed in the appropriate season and eaten sacramentally. While we must turn to the savages for modern examples of human representatives of the corn-spirit being eaten, unmistakable examples of the eating of its animal representatives at harvest meals may be found in many parts of Europe to-day. The corn-spirit, again, is represented as residing in the grain itself, and in most parts of the world, in civilized and uncivilized countries alike, traces may still be

(1) Nān Nabamās, a lady of the Court of ancient Sukhodaya, refers to the ceremony at some length in her Memoir of the Court Ceremonies of the period (นิพนธ์นานนภมว...Bangkok, B. E. 2468, pp. 89-93). The Memoir is undoubtedly a book of deep antiquity, but has suffered great damage at the hands of interpolators.

King Chulalongkorn also describes the sweetmeat-making in much detail in his articles "*Court Ceremonies of the Twelve Months*" (พิธีการในสิบสองเดือน...Bangkok, B. E. 2463, พิธีการในสิบสองเดือน (O, *passim*). The ingredients of the confection, to which reference is made later on in this paper, have been given by His late Majesty (*ibid.*, pp. 618 et. seq.) from an official list which He examined evidently for the purpose of his articles.

found of the eating of the grain in which the corn-spirit is believed to reside.

At a later age, the notion of the corn-spirit residing in its representative is supplanted by the conception that the grains and other fruits of the earth are created by the gods as gifts to the earth's inhabitants. The sacramental eating of the crop thus gives place to the ceremony of offering to the gods the first fruits of human labour on the land. In this manner we have the Harvest Festival and Thanksgiving Service of the Christian Church of the present day.

The conception of the corn-spirit, or the thanksgiving to the gods for their gifts, is not associated with the ambrosial confection in Siam to-day. The belief for many centuries has been that the eating of the best kind of food prepared with elaborate ceremony contributes to the health and well-being of the consumer. The giving of alms to deserving doers is a meritorious act of the first magnitude, and in the Buddhist Books reference is made to the Buddha himself being offered and accepting food similar to the confection which forms the subject of this paper. In Siam, a Buddhist country, the most deserving almsmen are the Buddhist monks. Hence the Brethren are brought into the confection-making ceremony, first for the benefit which their auspicious presence confers on the undertaking, and secondly, to receive the food after it has been prepared.

The making of the confection at court involves elaborate preparation. The ingredients are numerous, for they are intended to include every kind of grain, seed, root and fruit available in the season. The writer has counted sixty-three ingredients in a list, which in spite of the number has *etcetera* in it. The quantity of the ingredients may be gauged from the size and number of the pans used to cook the confection. The pans are round-bottomed, roughly a yard in diameter and a foot deep, and there are eight of them.

On the day appointed for the ceremony,⁽¹⁾ the ingredients in their respective holders are brought together in one place, and the sacred thread is passed round them. The task of stirring the food in the process of cooking is entrusted to thirty-two virgins, who being suitably attired and sitting together, have the same sacred thread passed round their heads. The young ladies are usually princesses and descendants of royalty. During the first reign of the present Dynasty, the young ladies were daughters of the King.

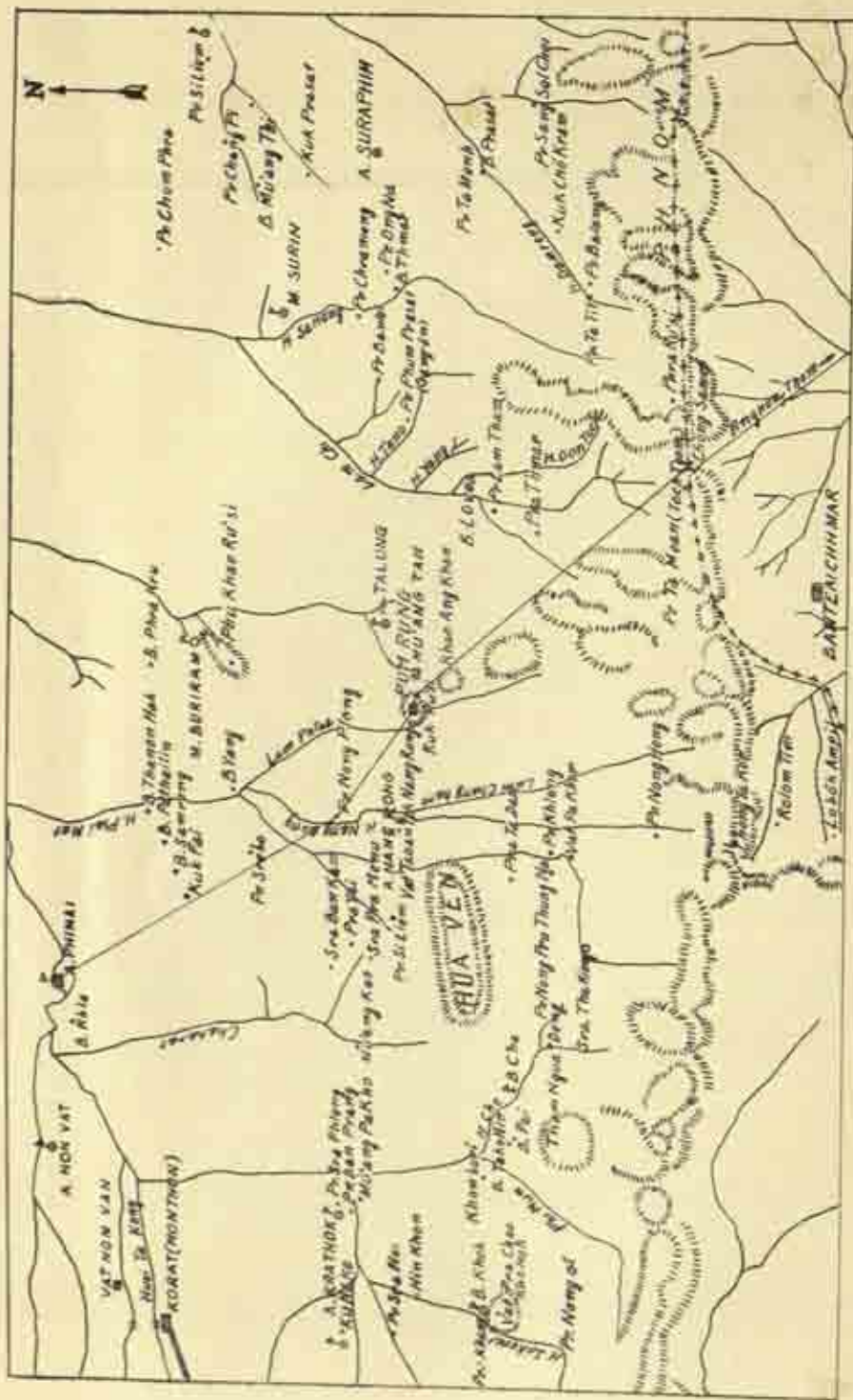
(1) In the tenth month,

A chapter of monks have been invited, and everything is now ready in the royal hall. On the arrival of the King, a proclamation is read to the assembly to the effect that whereas His Majesty has deemed it expedient to maintain (or revive) the ancient ceremony of making the ambrosial confection, it behoves all those taking part in it to pay attention to their allotted tasks in the spirit of kindness and charity; may our faith in the Buddha and his Teaching, and in the Brethren who perpetuate that Teaching, bring health and happiness to the King, prosperity to the country and the people, and so on. At the conclusion of the reading, the monks, holding one end of the sacred thread in their hands, recite praises of the Three Gems, and also passages from the sacred Books. After the recitation, the monks bless the King and retire. His Majesty now pours holy water on the heads of the virgins and anoints them, after which they are conducted to their appointed stations. The King next repairs to a courtyard in the palace which has been prepared for the actual cooking, and the thirty-two virgins take their places on raised seats round the eight pans, four to each. The cooking now commences. Water, milk, butter, fruit-juices and other liquids are poured into the pans, and the other ingredients, which have been cut up, pounded or otherwise prepared, are put in and mixed together. The young ladies now begin to stir, the orchestra in attendance playing throughout the ceremony. The work of the young ladies is light as long as the food remains liquid, but when it begins to thicken the task of thoroughly stirring the contents of the pans becomes increasingly heavy. His Majesty soon takes his departure, and the young ladies gratefully hand their work over to strong men. The latter are rewarded with portions of the sweetmeat after the conclusion of their work.

The confection is served to the King at dinner the same evening. Next morning the monks attend again and are given food and other presents by the King. Portions of the confection are now presented to members of the royal family, to the nobility and other officials, and of course to the monks.⁽¹⁾

The above is a brief description of the ambrosial confection-making ceremony. It is not a regular annual function nowadays.

(1) The sweetmeat will keep almost indefinitely on account of the preserving quality of some of its ingredients.



MAP OF SOUTHERN KHORAT.

A SIAMESE ACCOUNT OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE
ON KHAO PHANOM RUNG

Translated by

MAJOR ERIK SEIDENFADEN, M. B. A. S.

The following tale was obtained by Dr. A. F. G. Kerr, Acting Director-General of the Department of Agricultural Research in the Ministry of Commerce and Communications, through the intermediary of Luang Sarasin Prasert, Revenue Officer of Changvat Burirani, Circle of Nakhon Rajasima (Khorat), some years ago when the Doctor visited that part of North-Eastern Siam.

The text is given as set down by Luang Narong Raksa Khetr, Nai Amphoe (District Officer) of Nangrong, and is based upon information given by old people living in that district.

Nangrong lies to the south-east of the town of Khorat.

Once upon a time, when the holy religion of the Lord Buddha had not yet come into existence and Nakhon Thom (Angkor Thom) was the mighty capital (of Cambodia), upheld by the strength of an army of brave warriors who protected its rich and opulent inhabitants—at a time moreover when the waves of the sea nearly touched the foot of Khao Bantlat (the Dangrek chain)—there reigned a powerful king by name of Phra Chao Hindusthan.

This monarch was of Brahmanic descent, and his kingdom extended widely to all the four corners of the world. To the west it reached to Khao Sadaphan, i.e., the present Phra Phuttha Bat; to the East it bordered on the Khom country (the Kha country is probably meant); while to the north its borders reached Phra Nakhon Champak (Champasak).

The royal dynasty was a strong upholder of the Brahmanic cult. One day His Majesty, meditating on the future state of things, said: - It is well known that the Buddhist religion is becoming very strong in Majjhima Pradesh (India), and that there are Phra Mahathera (illustrious monks) now wandering (and preaching) along the foot of Khao Bantlat, and also in the North-West, in Nakhon Luang Phrabang and in Ramannā Pradesh (the Mon country), where they teach the people to adopt the religion of the Buddha from now onwards. If we allow this to go on, how shall the Brahmanic religion be able to prosper and hold its own in the future? Religion

being the most important thing in a country, we needs must look on religion as a diamond fortress to protect us against the enemy who, coming from the west, threatens to invade and shatter our kingdom to pieces. We must therefore implant more firmly the Brahmanic religion into the hearts of our people."

At that time the territory in which the Brahmanic religion held sway extended from Nakhon Thom to Laphuri in the west, and His Majesty's subjects were divided in two groups: Brahmans and Khmer. The Khmer were numerous, while of the Brahmans there were but few. All the handicrafts were practised by the Khmer; the Brahmans mostly occupying themselves with the religious cult. At that time too the Greeks (*sic*) had introduced the art of building, just as the Cantonese have to-day (in Siam).

At the present time there live only a few people at the foot of the hills, but formerly this was not so. This is proved by the fact that at the foot of these hills are found the traces of old villages and remains of ancient stone temples, as well as images of the gods in great numbers.

Of those known to-day may be mentioned, in the district of Nang-rong, the so-called Prasat Chong Sa Chang, which lies prominently on a hill to the east of the mouth of that pass (Chong Sa Chang).

When His Majesty had spoken as related above, he called a meeting of his ministers and high officials and addressed them as follows:—"The western parts of our realm consist only of forests, jungle and hills, and the few villages found there are small and poor. We ought therefore to move some of our people, who live so clumped together round our capital, and settle them in that part of the country. Furthermore, in connection with this settlement of our subjects we must see to it that, first of all, the holy religion of Brahma be firmly implanted there in a dignified and worthy manner, so that our people may be content and happy to live there (in the new territory).

"We will therefore depart ourselves with an army in order to plan out and arrange for the properties of the church and build temples which shall bear witness to Heaven and Earth."

At the meeting all present agreed with the royal views and, after His Majesty's speech had been concluded, orders were issued to call up and assemble an army of one hundred thousand men, besides ten thousand of those skilled in designing, turning and the melting of metals. There were also selected ten thousand persons of both sexes

belonging to these families which had nowhere to stay or to earn their livelihood.

The royal idea of calling up these three categories of people was that the first one, consisting of battalions of brave warriors, should serve as protection for the future settlers against the enemy; that the second, the artisans, should do the building work; while as regards the third category, the ordinary people, that these should be allowed to build villages and establish their homes wherever they found the land suitable.

Thereafter Chao Mu'ang (governors) and the necessary officials would be appointed to superintend the settlers.

When the expedition had been assembled and was ready for departure, His Majesty set out from his palace and all marched in a north-westerly direction until a certain river, called Lamthan Saeng, was reached. Here His Majesty halted the expeditionary corps and ordered the engineers to build a bridge of concrete (?) across the river.

The bridge having been completed, His Majesty continued the march and led the army up through the pass of Chon (this word should read Chon, i. e., Daoits' pass, in the hills south of Surin) to the district south of Surin, and when the expedition had arrived at a certain mountain, namely Khao Phanom Rung, camp was pitched. Here an Ammat (official) reported to His Majesty that he had met a Ru'si (hermit) who lived on the top of that hill, and told him that there was a cave underneath the mountain which had connection through an underground passage with Khao Sadaphan Khiri (Phra Phuttha Bat) in such a manner that one might walk from this mountain to the hills of Lopburi. Because of this cave the hill was called Phanom Rung in the Khmer language, Phanom signifying mountain and Rung a hole or cave. By this name the hill has been known since then.

The said cave is still seen to-day at Khao Wat to the north of the temple, but at present it is called Tham Krabut. The name is due to a herd of short-tailed monkeys living there. When the monkeys see a human being, they forthwith run away and disappear inside the cave. According to popular belief these monkeys are the warriors of Hanuman, and they come from Lopburi whence they travel through the above-mentioned underground passage. At the present time the monkeys are only seen at long intervals.

His Majesty, having listened to the officials' report, said that this was evidently a hill of excellent fortune and forthwith issued orders

to construct a temple on its top. The temple was built of concrete and laterite, and the main building was provided with images of the gods, also made of concrete.

There was a court in front (of the temple), on the spot where the path leads up from below, for the worshippers who came to do homage to the gods; ordinary people were not allowed to enter the temple itself. What is now, erroneously, called the stables of the white elephant is really but the carved façade of a door. There was also a stone paved path leading inside the temple. As regards the temple ponds, lying to the north of the temple, these were dug in order to obtain stones and earth for the construction of the temple. There are three ponds called Sa Bon, Sa Sai and Sa Yai respectively.

Laterite was used for making the rims of the 'sa' which served as water reservoirs. Around the temple, on the slopes of the hills, were built houses for the common people, and to facilitate communication roads were laid out.

When the Khao Phanom Rung temple had been finished, His Majesty decided to build a town for the residence of a governor (of the district) and therefore had Mu'ang Tam constructed, to the south of Khao Phanom Rung.

Inside that Nakhon (city) was erected a temple containing images of the gods, in order that the governor might worship them. The city was laid out in front of the temple and earth piled up to form the moats (walls?), while to the north of the town there was dug a 'sa' (water reservoir) lined with laterite borders. This 'sa' was called Thabe Mu'ang Tam and, there being no water (courses) near the town, it was to serve as a water reservoir.

His Majesty did not provide the town with walls of stone or bricks because he considered the temple, containing the divine images, as the actual town. As regards the town only moats were dug surrounding it, and a public square was laid out to be used in case of war (for assembling the troops).

Nor did His Majesty build a town on the top of that hill (Phanom Rung), because he thought that during the hot weather season with its scorching air there would be much sickness due to the trees being without leaves and no grass or greenery to be found. Only dwellings for the temple servants were, therefore, built on the slopes of the hill.

With regard to Prasat Mu'ang Tam this temple lay, so to say, inside the governor's residence, just like Wat Phra Kaeo (in Bangkok).

which is situated inside the enceinte of the Royal Grand Palace.

The temple was therefore not constructed in the grand style of that on the hill of Phanom Rung. Ponds (moats) were dug surrounding it, and their borders were beautifully worked out into the likeness of 'naga' with raised heads. There was no temple court for the common worshippers to perform their devotion in, as was the case at Phanom Rung.

When the building of the Mu'ang Tam and the Phanom Rung temples had been finished, His Majesty departed with the expedition towards a river called Lam Mul (the Mun river). Having arrived there His Majesty remarked that this river was an important water-way which, being in communication with the Mekhong, could be used for transport of troops and the navigation of fleets, and he therefore gave order to construct a temple there (on the banks of the Mun river) with images of the gods made of various materials.

This 'prasat' (temple) was built in the same style as that on Khao Phanom Rung, and a governor was appointed to take care of the temple as in the case of that of Phanom Rung. This was the temple now called Phimai that lies on the banks of the Mun river. Ramparts of earth were thrown up to a height exceeding that of tree tops, (forming a fortress) to the south-east of the temple, to guard against enemies coming from the four cardinal points.

Furthermore, officials were dispatched to construct the Phanom Wan temple, but this latter had not yet been finished when war broke out. The Buddhists advanced and penetrated victoriously into the land occupied by the worshippers of Brahma, and the great capital, i.e., Angkor Thom, was besieged by the enemy.

His Majesty therefore hurriedly had to return with the army to his capital.

War in those far off times was mainly waged on religious issues, and the religion of the Buddha gained more and more foothold until finally the bulk of the Khmer people went over to that religion.

The people of Brahmanic descent disappeared and when King Hindusthan, who had been an upholder of the Brahmanic cult, and formerly a powerful ruler, died, Nakhon Thom, the great capital, went into decay.

The succeeding kings (of Cambodia) were Buddhists by religion, and the country was reduced to a small land, because to the west, south and north the kingdoms (of the Thai) waxed stronger and stronger until a mighty king of kings extended his sway over the whole territory of Nakhon Thom.

These wars did not end quickly, but went on for hundreds of years. Whenever those of the Buddhist religion won the day, then the images of the gods lost their names (i.e., their cult ceased), or they were buried in the earth, and Buddhist images took their places. Again, if the Buddhists thought that the temples ought to be altered, they were altered to suit their ideas.

On the other hand, if the Brahmanists afterwards re-conquered a temple, they, in their turn, destroyed the Buddhist images and reinstated those of the Brahmanic cult. Consequently, it is now difficult to decide whether many of the smaller temples (originally) were Brahmanic or Buddhist sanctuaries. Exceptions are the larger temples, as for instance Phanom Rung and the Phimai temples, where it is clear, from their style of architecture and ornaments, that they date back to the period of Nakhon Thom; also the style of the Phutthaisaman temple (it should be Banteai-Chhmar) shows that it belongs to that far off period.

I have explored the country lying between Khao Phanom Rung and Phimai and have found everywhere old trenches for use in warfare, so for instance where the Amphien office of Nangrong is situated.

Other places are Mu'ang Fang, Mu'ang Nong Hong(sa), Mu'ang Ran Thong and Mu'ang Fek, which are all constructed as trenches and not as (fortified) towns, as might be imagined from their present names. This concludes my investigations.

TRANSLATOR'S COMMENTS

It is a little difficult to decide how much of the preceding tale is due to Luang Narong Raksa Khet, and how much to his narrators; but at least the name given to the Khmer king, Phra Chao Hindusthan, as well as the mention of the Greeks, must no doubt be due to interpolations by Luang Narong. The tale seems on the whole to be based on some confused and very inaccurate memories of the grand past of Cambodia, and a tradition about an exodus of settlers from the vicinity of Angkor Thom, which evidently has been mixed up with the (much later) wars waged between the Khmer and the Thai from the xivth to the xvth century A. D.

Though it is more than probable that Thale Sap, the inland lake, once formed part of a gulf of the China Sea this can, of course, only have been the case at a period much anterior to the building of Angkor Thom (ixth century A. D.). Next, the enmity described as existing between Brahmanism and Buddhism was, I believe, more or

less non-existent. It is moreover probable that the Mahayanistic form of Buddhism entered Cambodia at a very early period, being perhaps coeval with Brahmanism.

The great mass of the population may even always have been of the Buddhist Religion while Brahmanism was the State religion. It is, however, well known that not a few of the Cambodian kings, such as the great Yaçovarman (889-910 A. D.), who gave his name to Angkor Thom (Yaçodharapura), and Jayavarman VII (1182-1201 A. D.), the great builder of hospitals, both for men and beasts, were fervent Buddhists.

On the other hand, it is also known that some of the most famous temples, such as Bayon (inside the walls of Angkor Thom) and Phra Khan, were originally Buddhist sanctuaries later transformed into Brahmanic temples by certain kings zealous for the cult of Çiva. Sometimes this zeal went so far as to transform, by help of chisel and hammer, the Buddhist images into Brahmanic ones (Phra Khan), a somewhat similar process to that which sometimes took place in ancient Egypt.

By the Buddhist enemy coming from west and north must be understood the Thai from Sukhothai (and later from Ayudhya) and the Thai (Lao) coming down from the Loang Phrabang-Viengchan kingdom. The wars between the Khmer and the Thai were surely fought on political and not on religious issues. The royal expedition, for colonizing the southern districts of the present circle of Khorat, reminds one much, in its composition, of the famous expedition of Queen Nang Chanathewi, when the Hariphunchai or Lamphun principality was founded by Mon settlers from Lopburi in the VIIIth century A. D. That, too, was composed of warriors, priests, and artisans.

The route followed by the Khmer expedition was the ancient highway that runs in a north-westerly direction from Angkor Thom and connects this old capital with the temple town of Phimai. This highway, which probably was constructed for both military and cultural purposes, is about 225 kilometres long and can still be traced to-day. Both Major Lunet de Lajenquière, in his admirable *Inventory descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*, vol. III, p. XXVIII, and the former Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Professor Louis Finot, in his *Dharmaçalas au Cambodge* (*BEFEO*, vol. XXV, 1925, p. 417), have described this grand old road along which there were built eight *dharmaçala* or rest-houses

(combined with chapels dedicated to the Bodhisattva, Lokeśvara, protector of the travellers against sickness, thieves, robbers and ferocious animals) for pilgrims travelling either from Angkor Thom to Phimai or vice versa.

The road must be of considerable age, as the Dharmacāla were already built during the reign of Yaśovarman, or more than a thousand years ago. Two of these ancient rest-houses with chapels, built of laterite, Prasat Nong Plong and Prasat Sebo, both of which I visited many years ago, lie in Siamese territory, near the road connecting Nangrong with the town of Khorat. According to our tale the Khmer expedition made a halt at Stung Seng or Sreng, a water course which cuts the highway at a distance of about 70 kilometres from Angkor Thom.

Here a bridge was built of 'concrete', by which is probably meant laterite, a kind of natural cement, called 'sila lang' in Siamese. In fact the bridge is still in a good preservation; it is built of laterite, has twenty-five arches and measures 140 metres in length, its parapets being made in the shape of many-headed 'naga.'

From this point, the tale goes on to say, the expedition marched to the Dangrek chain, that forbidding mountainous and forest clad barrier which separates North-Eastern Siam from low-lying Cambodia. The chain was crossed by the Chon pass, the expedition thus ascending the north-eastern plateau to the south of Surin. Evidently this must be an error of memory on the part of the narrator. First of all, to do so, the expedition should have turned north-east, after having crossed Stung Seng, which must have been contrary to its destination; next, the old road does not follow that direction (N.-E.), but continues north-westwards for another 40 kilometres, until it crosses the hills at Chang Samet, where now stand the ruins of a former hospital, called Ta Mean Toch, dedicated to Lokeśvara. From the Samet pass to Phanom Rung the distance is 52 kilometres due north-west, the ancient road traversing a now rather desolate forest of the resinous trees so common in this region. From Phanom Rung to Phimai the distance is 63 kilometres, and there the road ends.

As already stated above, this tale seems to be made up of some rather confused memories about the past of Cambodia. There may, however, be a grain of truth in it, namely, as regards the colonization of that part of Southern and Central Khorat which is now contained in the districts of Nangrong, Talung and Phimai. When perusing the history of Cambodia, so admirably told by M. G. Maspéro in his

work *L'Empire Khmer* one finds no mention of any such expedition ever having taken place. But this, of course, does not prove that it did not take place, as a persistent oral tradition may often have some truth in it.

But let us examine the inscriptions found, so far, in that part of Siam. One of the oldest of these is in Sanskrit and engraved on the wall of a cave, called Tham Pet Thong (cave of the golden duck), which lies about 23 kilometres south of Nangrong. It is attributed by Prof. G. Coedès to King Crī Citrasena, a famous conqueror who reigned in the beginning of the viii century A. D. and who has left other inscriptions at Pak Mun, Tham Prasat (near the first named place) as well as in Surin.⁽¹⁾ This inscription, together with the Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions, found at Ban Hin Khon (13 kilometres to the south-east of Amphoe Pakthungchai) and Bo Ika (to the north-west of Amphoe Sung Nœn) also dating back to the viii and viii century A. D. goes to show that Southern and Western Khorat already then, i. e., more than 1,200 years ago, had been absorbed into the kingdom of the Khmer, who at that time also conquered Funan (the present Cambodia). Still the conquest of the Khorat region may, at first, have been but a purely military one not yet followed by any real occupation by the Khmer people. With regard to the aboriginal population, this consisted most probably of Nīa Kuol or Chao Bon as well as Kui or Sui, who, ethnically speaking, belong to the same stock as the Khmer though they are much inferior to them in culture.

As the *dharmaçala* built along the great highway were the work of King Yaçovarman, the oldest parts of Phimai may date from his reign too. Wat Phanom Wan, lying not far from and to the north-east of Khorat town, goes back, according to inscriptions found there, to the xth century (the latest inscription is from 1187 A. D.), while the inscription found at Phanom Rung, now in the Royal Museum, dates back to the xth century (Mahasakarati) or about 1100 A. D. The pretension that the sanctuaries of Muang Tam, Phanom Rung, Phimai and Phanom Wan were all constructed by one and the same king seems therefore untenable.⁽²⁾

(1) See my *Complément à l'Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge* (BEFEO, vol. XXIV, p. 55).

(2) For the confirmation of the dates given above see G. Coedès et H. Parmentier, *Listes générales des inscriptions et des monuments du Champa et du Cambodge* (new edition published in BEFEO, 1923).

For the benefit of those readers of the *Journal of the Siam Society* who are not conversant with the works of Majors Aymonier⁽¹⁾ and Lunet de Lajonquière,⁽²⁾ those hardy pioneers in the exploration and study of the sanctuaries of ancient Cambodia a short description of the temples of Mu'ang Tam, Phanom Rung and Phanom Wan will be attempted in the following.

Any excursion to Mu'ang Tam and Phanom Rung should be made with Buriram as a starting point. Buriram is now a station on the North-Eastern Line and motor cars may be hired there. When in charge of the training and supervision of the Provincial Gendarmerie in N.-E. Siam during the years 1908-1919, I had the great fortune to be able to visit most of the ancient Khmer temple ruins which lie scattered over this immense plateau, and thus I also visited Mu'ang Tam and Phanom Rung twice. At that time the distance (74 kilometres), from Buriram to Phanom Rung was covered in two and a half days' march by using ponies, bullock carts or carriers. I suppose that a motor car can easily do the same distance in less than half a day now, though the going may be somewhat heavy on the sandy roads.

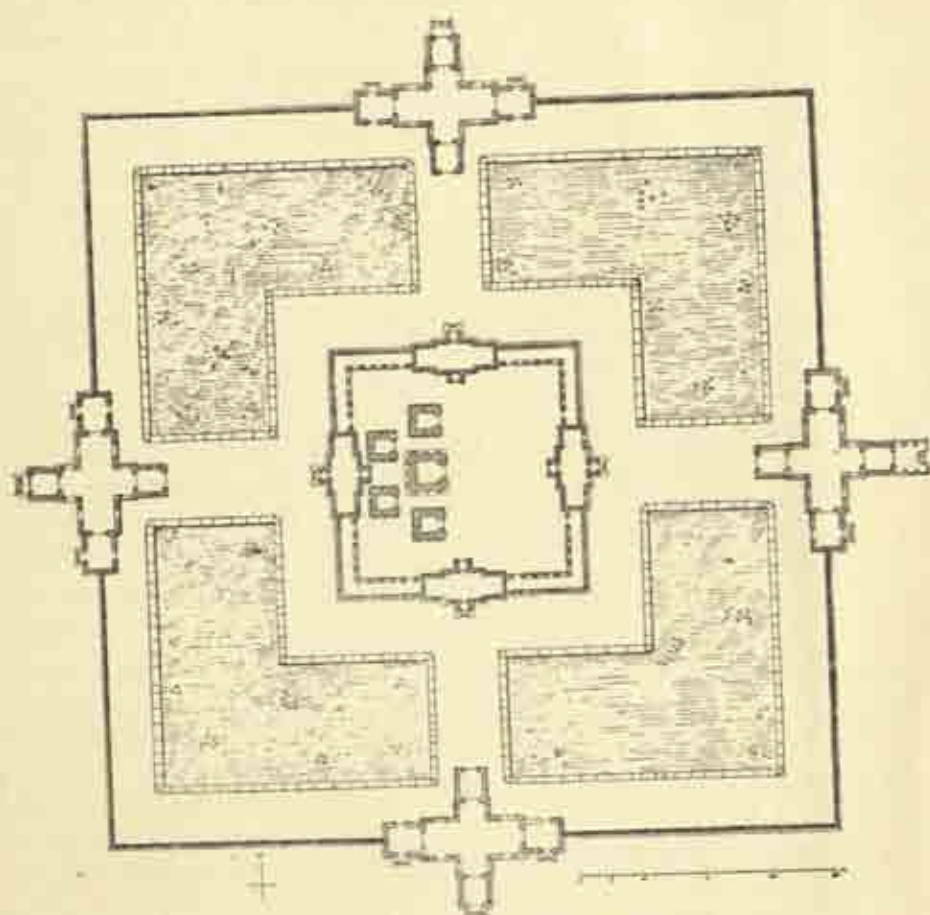
The town of Buriram(ya)—the beautiful city—is called Mu'ang Bau by the Khmer, who are the principal inhabitants of the Amphoes of Buriram, Talung and Nangrong. Though an ancient place, it is quite devoid of any interesting buildings. It is built as a square surrounded by broad moats, water-filled on the western, southern and eastern sides, and has earthen ramparts, now pulled down in part. These ramparts had a circumference of 3.8 kilometres.

The city gates have all been pulled down long ago, but about twenty years ago the western entrance still had a tall wooden gate *in situ*.

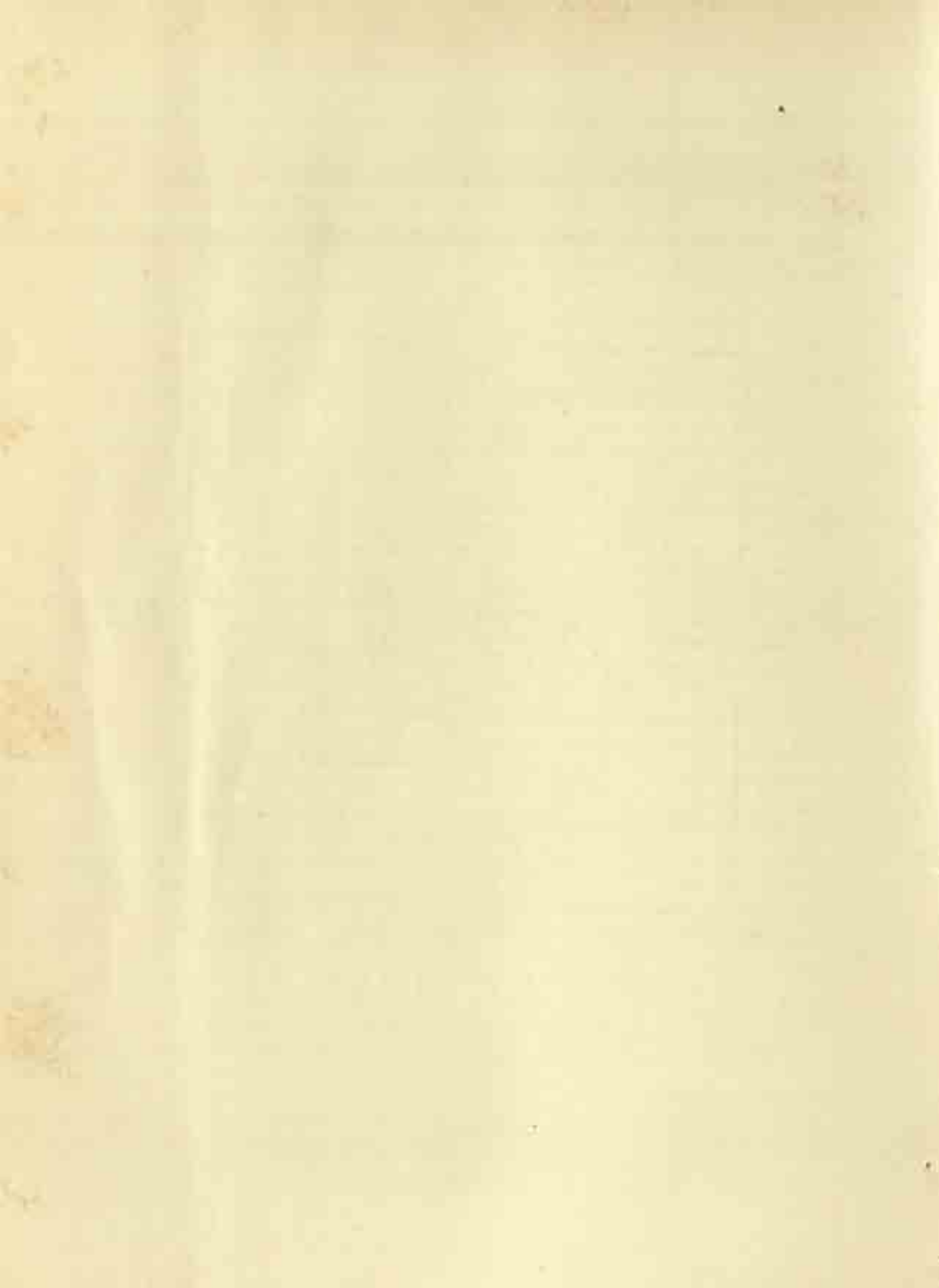
To the west of the town, on the highway running to Khorat, lies the former silk farm, where Japanese instructors for some years tried to teach the local population to improve the silk culture, as far as I know, without any lasting results. The first part of our itinerary follows the Khorat road to Ban Boi where it turns south, which direction it keeps for some 42 kilometres until Talung is reached. Leaving Buriram by its western gate, we see on our left hand the low wooded mountain, Khao Kadung. This hill, which is composed of laterite

(1) Etienne Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, II.

(2) E. Lunet de Lajonquière, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*, in the following referred to as I. K.



PLAN OF MU'ANG TAM.



and sandstone, attains a height of only 170 metres. Its northern top (it has two) is crowned with the ruins of a Khmer tower (I. K. No. 419, Phu Khao Ru'si) which evidently was never completed. The building materials were laterite and sandstone without any sculptures whatever. Inside the sanctuary is seen a small modern Phra Bat (imprint of the foot of the Buddha). This small temple can be reached by a path leading up from below on the northern slope of the hill. At the foot of this path there is a small man-made pond containing clear and cold water. Debris of several well executed stone statuettes representing female divinities have been found near the sanctuary.

Continuing by the Buriram-Talung road we pass several villages lying in the open forest. We note here, stuck on the top of the fences enclosing many of the houses, a number of monkey skulls which, in this part of the country, are said to be a very effective protection against evil spirits. Soon after we cross the broad Kadung plain where, dotted all over it, may be seen during the dry season a great many flowering 'chau' trees. Viewed from a distance, the profusion of the golden flowers set against the background of the grey-brown forest gives one the impression of a sea of flames.

Not far from, and a little to the east of, where the road re-enters the forest lie the tumbled down remains of a small sanctuary built of laterite and sandstone; its name is Yeui Prasat⁽¹⁾ and it is surrounded by a square-formed moat.

Before arriving at Ban Talung, where the Amphoe office and Gendarmerie station of the district of the same name are installed, we pass Ban Slaengthon, which is surrounded by tall earthen ramparts and waterfilled moats, and Ban Sai,⁽²⁾ in whose spirit-house are seen two mutilated but still fine stone torsos of what probably represented a Vishnu and a Lakshmi.

The real name of the village, where the Amphoe office lies, is Prakhomchai, which formerly also gave its name to the surrounding district since changed to Talung, the name of an old fortified but now deserted place, called Dlon or Thalung, lying about four kilometres to the north-west of the amphoe office. Ban Talung is a large pleasant village counting over four hundred houses built under the shade of tall graceful palms and big tamarind trees. The Talung Khmer talk a somewhat purer dialect than their kin in Buriram and Surin

(1) See my *Complement*, page 37.

(2) See my *Complement*, *ibid.*

and are known as good cart builders. The women carry their burdens on the head, while their Thai sisters carry them on their shoulders. At the rural festivals the young men and the girls are accustomed to sing together.

Though officially of the Buddhist religion the population is strongly superstitious; and the use of "smoke baths" for expelling the evil spirits of the "possessed" is very common.

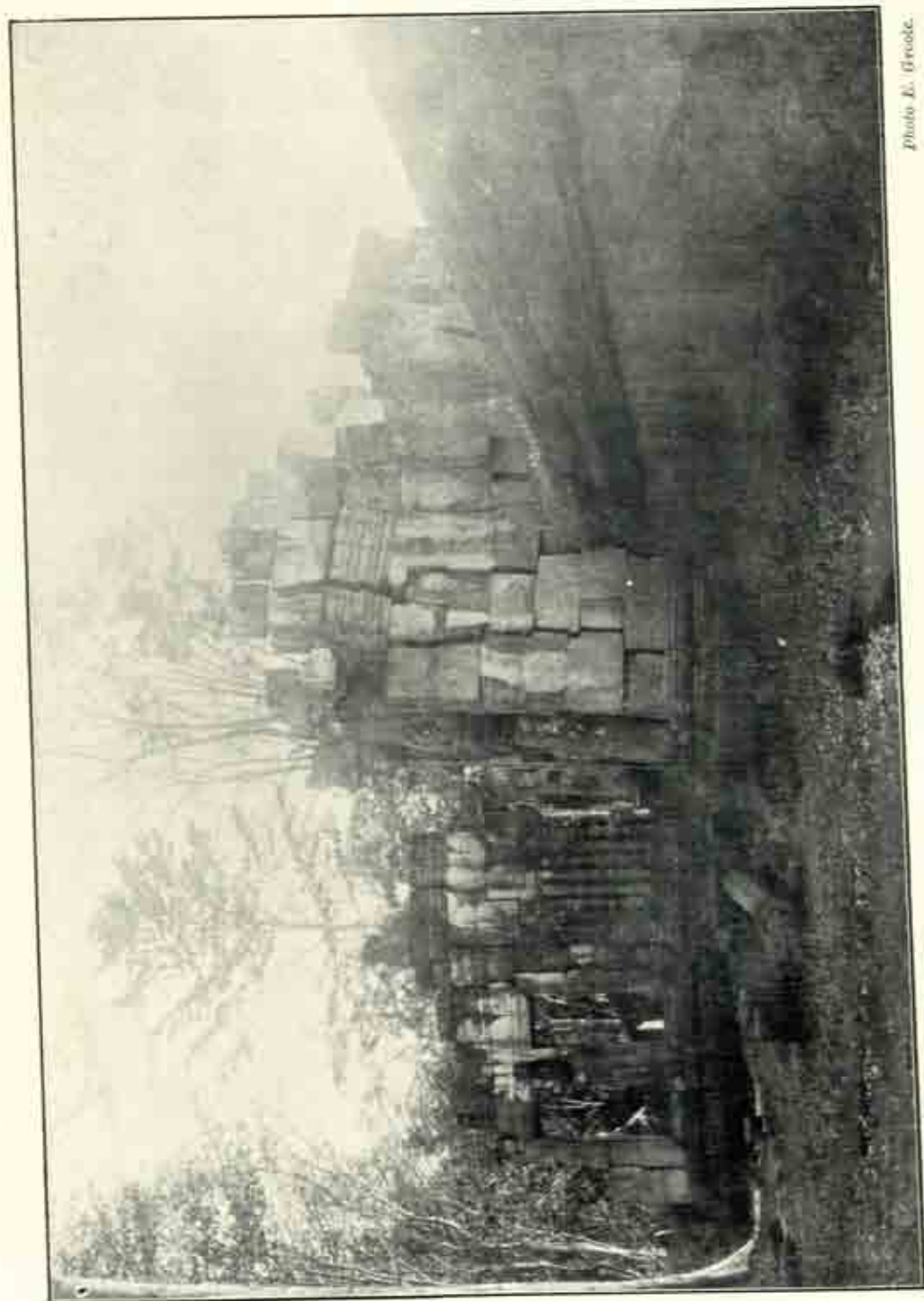
There is often a lively traffic of large caravans of bullock carts passing through Ban Talung, en route for the Tako pass and the Circle of Prachin, with loads of 'sisiat'⁽¹⁾ and rattan. From Talung the road turns south-west and 17 kilometres more bring us to the ruins of Mu'ang Tam (L. K. No. 403).

Being in the real Khmer country here we now often meet, especially if the time is just after harvest, small caravans of light and elegantly built carts in which sit parties of gay and gaudily clothed young people on their way to a 'thambun' somewhere in one of the neighbouring villages. These carts, which are provided with long tapering yokes whose tips are often carved in the likeness of a 'naga', are drawn by so-called 'wua wing', a small but extremely hardy and quick-trotting race of Cambodian bullocks that easily cover 8 kilometres an hour for quite considerable distances. The large sanctuary, called Mu'ang Tam, consists of five brick towers enclosed by galleries lying inside a moat which again is enclosed by a tall stone wall. The name, which is Siamese, means the low lying town, in contrast to the high-lying Phanom Rung, the blue veiled masses of which and the near-lying Phu Khao Angkham are seen looming up to the west. The original name of the temple is, so far, unknown.

The temple lies to the south of an immense water reservoir, now dry, called Thale (the sea), which measures 1,200 metres east to west and 500 metres north to south. It is enclosed by dykes, 40 metres broad and 4 metres high, which were originally stone-covered on their interior faces. The Nai Amphor (the district officer) has several times tried to close a gap in the dyke, in order to create a constant supply of water during the dry season. But so far his work has been in vain and the old reservoir remains dry.

In the middle of both the northern and the southern dykes broad steps lead down to the bottom of the reservoir.

(1) A kind of bark much used for betel-chewing up-country. It yields a red colour.

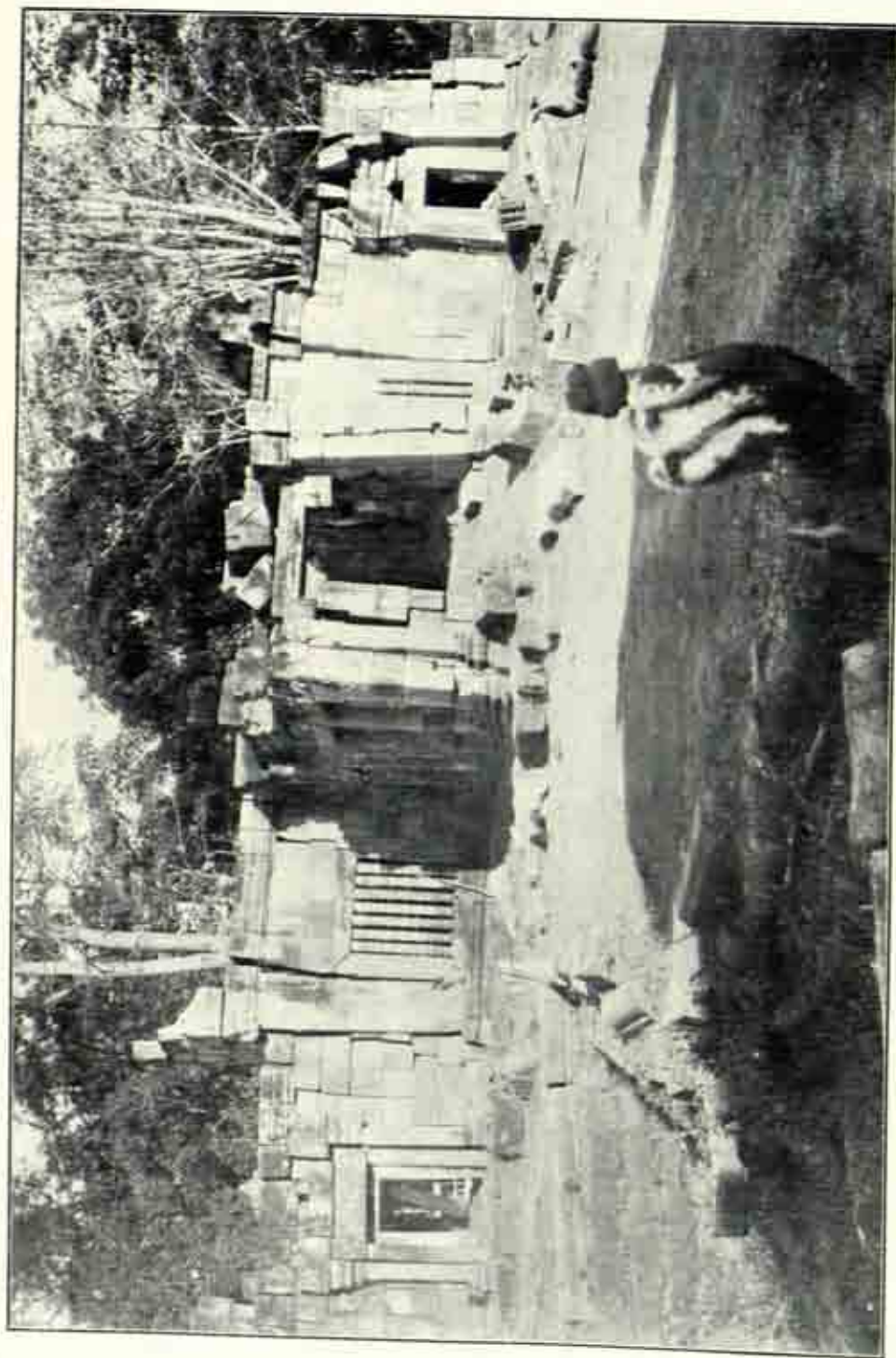


Mu'ang Tam Temple.
Gopura and temple wall.

Photo E. Brooke.







Mu'ang Tam temple.

Gallery with gopura on temple island. Note in foreground the nagas lining the edges of the moats.

Photo E. Groot.

As mentioned above, the temple is enclosed by an outer enceinte, consisting of an imposing wall of sandstone, which is 2.75 metres in height and has a thickness of 1.20 metres. It measures 460 metres in circumference.

The northern, eastern and southern faces of this enceinte are well preserved, with the exception of a few small gaps here and there; in the western wall there is, however, a wide gap where the wall has tumbled down.

Entrance to the interior of the temple is by four cruciformed gopuras or gate buildings, each provided with three doors, which are placed exactly in the middle of all four walls. It seems that neither the roofs nor the decoration of the lintels of the gopuras were ever completed. We enter through the eastern gopura and now see, in front of us, the sanctuary proper lying in a kind of square island separated from a narrow outer courtyard, which runs along the inner side of the walls, by moats 15 metres broad whose sides are faced with stone coverings. Four broad causeways connect the temple island with the gopuras. The rims of these causeways and of the moats are fashioned in the likeness of nagas which raise their heads menacingly at the twenty-four inner and outer corners of the moat. Crossing the moat by the eastern causeway we next find ourselves in front of the temple itself. This is enclosed by narrow galleries, built of sandstone and raised on a low platform of laterite.

The walls of the galleries are closed on the exterior side while to the interior, towards the inner court, they are broken by rows of windows provided with the turned grilles so characteristic of Khmer architecture. On the exterior side are rows of the so-called "false windows." These galleries too do not seem to have been finished. The same is the case with the gopuras, of which only the eastern, northern and southern have been completed, while the construction of the western has hardly been commenced. The decoration of the lintels of the gopuras is also unfinished. One notes, however, on the inner lintel of the eastern gopura a scene with a monkey playing with a naga.

In the inner court-yard stand the ruins of the five brick towers already mentioned, arranged in two rows from north to south, with three towers in the front and two in the back row. Of the three foremost the central tower is utterly ruined; it seems to have been erected on a low basis of laterite and to have been provided with a porch.

On the sandstone lintels of the remaining four towers are seen the following motives:— northern, in the first row: *Śiva* and *Parvatī* seated on the bull *Nandin*; southern tower, in the first row: some indistinct person; third tower (second row): *Brahma* riding on the goose *Hansa*; and finally fourth tower (second row): another indistinct person. It is to be noted that in two of the towers the altars, now empty, still remain.

Close to the south-eastern corner of the temple wall lies the Khmer village, called *Ban Bo*, in whose spirit house is seen a fine sitting stone image crowned with a *mukuta* (diadem), its height being 50 cm. This image is said to hail from the central tower of the sanctuary where it has been replaced by the present stone image of the *Buddha* enthroned on the *naga*.

To judge from the sculptures found in the *Mu'ang Tam* temple it must, at any rate originally, have been dedicated to the Brahmanic cult. Though much ruined and partially unfinished, it may formerly have been quite an imposing sanctuary, and as such is even to-day well worth a lengthy visit.

Due to the entire lack of inscriptions (which, however, may be found later during restoration work) nothing is known for certain of the age of this temple. It may be pre-Angkorean.

Adjoining the north-western corner of the *Thalae* or *Rahal* (a wide expanse of water, in this case the reservoir) is another, but smaller, basin measuring 120 metres east to west, and 60 north to south, which still contains water.

Close to the western border of this second reservoir and connected with it by a short causeway lies a small sanctuary which takes the form of a single tower constructed of laterite and sandstone, its height being about 12.5 metres. The tower stands inside a court-yard measuring 36 by 24 metres, which is enclosed by a wall of laterite. The only entrance to the temple is through a now completely ruined cross-shaped *gopura* placed in the middle of the eastern wall.

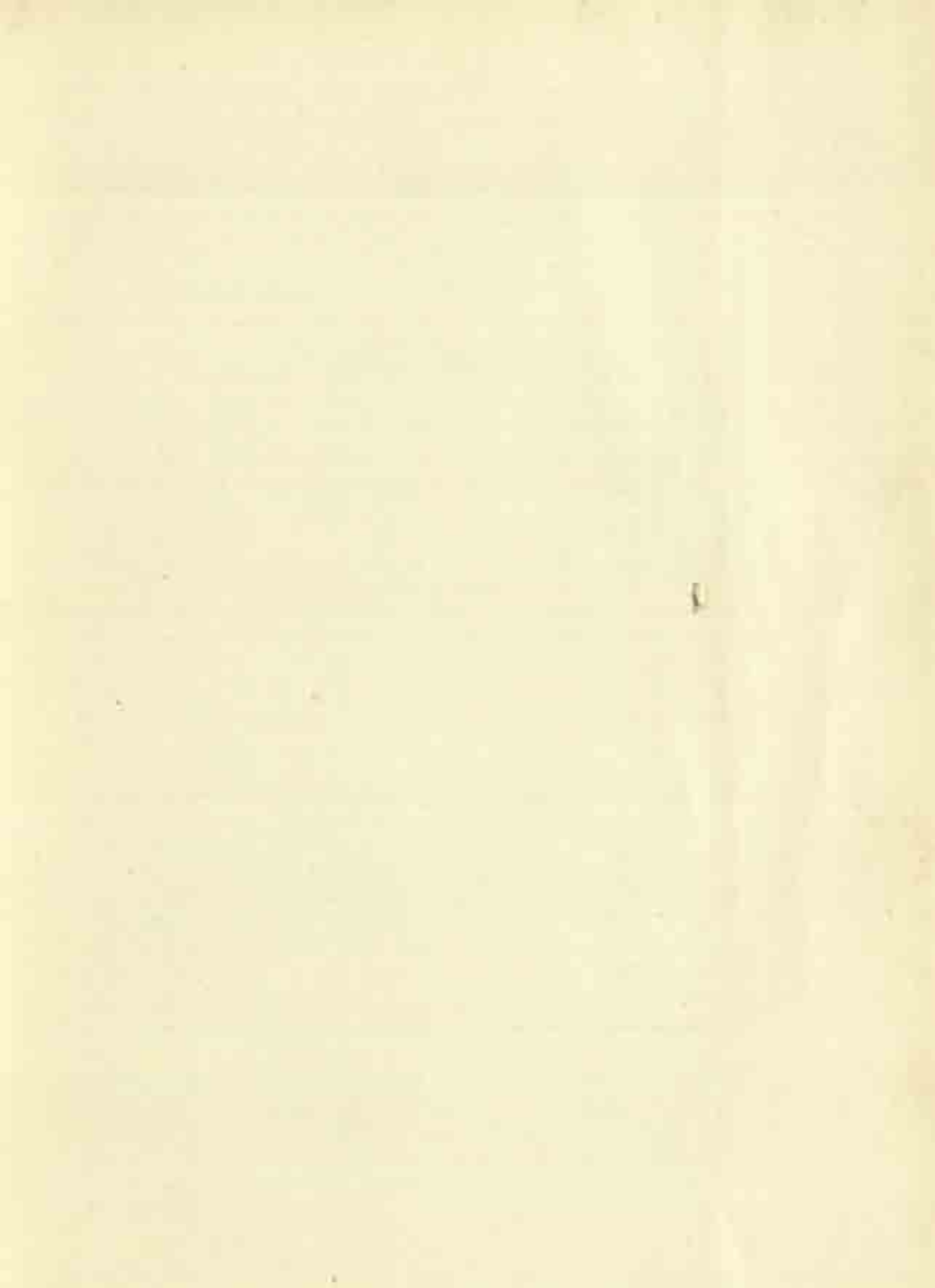
In the south-eastern corner of the temple court are the tumbled down remains of a small building, probably a former library or treasury of the temple. The tower is regularly orientated with a single door opening to the east. Of ornamentation one notes, placed above the door, a sculpture representing the god *Indra* riding the three-headed elephant *Airavata*. The superstructure of the tower was formerly ornamented with *acroteres* or carved corner stones, of which some are lying on the ground; on two of these *acroteres* are seen the



Mu'ang Tam temple.

Carved lintel over door in the northern tower in first line.

Photo E. Grooble.

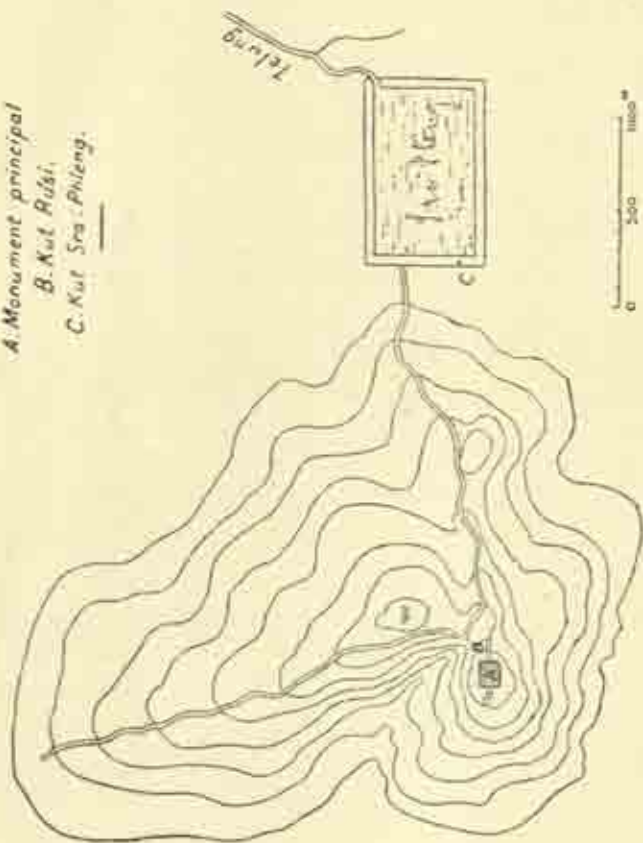


PHNOM RUNG.

A. Monument principal

B. Kut. Rûsi.

C. Kut. Sra - Phleng.



carved figures of a god riding on the shoulders of a man.

From this small sanctuary, described by Lunet de Lajouquière, L. K. under No. 404, as Kuk Ru'si (though not visited by him; see my *Complément*) we follow a path, running N. W. for about three kilometres through the forest, until we arrive at a large water reservoir, called Sa Phlæng.

This reservoir, which lies right at the foot of the Phanom Rung hill, is enclosed by tall dykes measuring 1,000 by 600 metres with a thickness of 20 metres. It contains a liberal supply of fresh and clear water during all seasons and, with the surrounding shady trees, offers therefore a welcome place of rest for the weary and hot traveller. There used formerly to be a rest-house standing near the eastern side of the 'sa', where one could stay at night. This may, however, not exist any longer.

At sunset wild ducks, teal and other aquatic birds would be seen coming out from their shelters among the rushes to play on the open water while during night time would be heard the weird cries of the peacocks or the shrill trumpeting noises of the great cranes, sometimes answered from far away by the hoarse call of the barking deer echoing through the deep forest. Tigers used, at least formerly, to visit the forest at Khao Phanom Rung, and to protect the ponies, I used, when camping at Sa Phlæng, to have big fires burning during the night.

To the south-east, and not far from the reservoir, are seen the double ramparts of what resembles a small fort, measuring about 400 metres square. The origin of this place is unknown; it may be an old elephant's kraal for all I know.

In the north-eastern corner of the reservoir there is a kind of sluice which lets out the water that goes to form Hwei Talung, a small affluent to Lam Plaimat, which running N. N. E. falls into the Mun river east of Phimai. Phu Khao or Khao Phanom Rung lies about 17 kilometres to the south-west of Nangrong and attains a height of 170 metres over the surrounding plain (270 metres above sea level). The hill is composed of a mixture of sandstone and laterite with a strong outcrop of black basalt which may show a volcanic origin. The tops and slopes of the hill are clothed with a thin growth of the resinous trees so common to this region.

The hill has two tops, called Phanom Ru'si and Phanom Bai, respectively. Phanom Ru'si is the northern peak, on which the temple is built, while Phanom Bai represents the southern and lower peak.

The temple may be reached either by the path climbing the hill from the east or by that from the north. Both paths run along ridges of the hill and, as they are not very steep, ponies, elephants and even not too heavily loaded bullock carts may be used as means of transport.

From the sala at Sa Phiang we follow the southern dyke, walking or riding on its top, and soon after begin the climb of the hill. The path winds upwards between menacingly protruding black rocks for about 2 kilometres, when we encounter an old *chaussée* bordered on either side by a rim of laterite on which are placed, at intervals of four metres, low carved sandstone pillars.

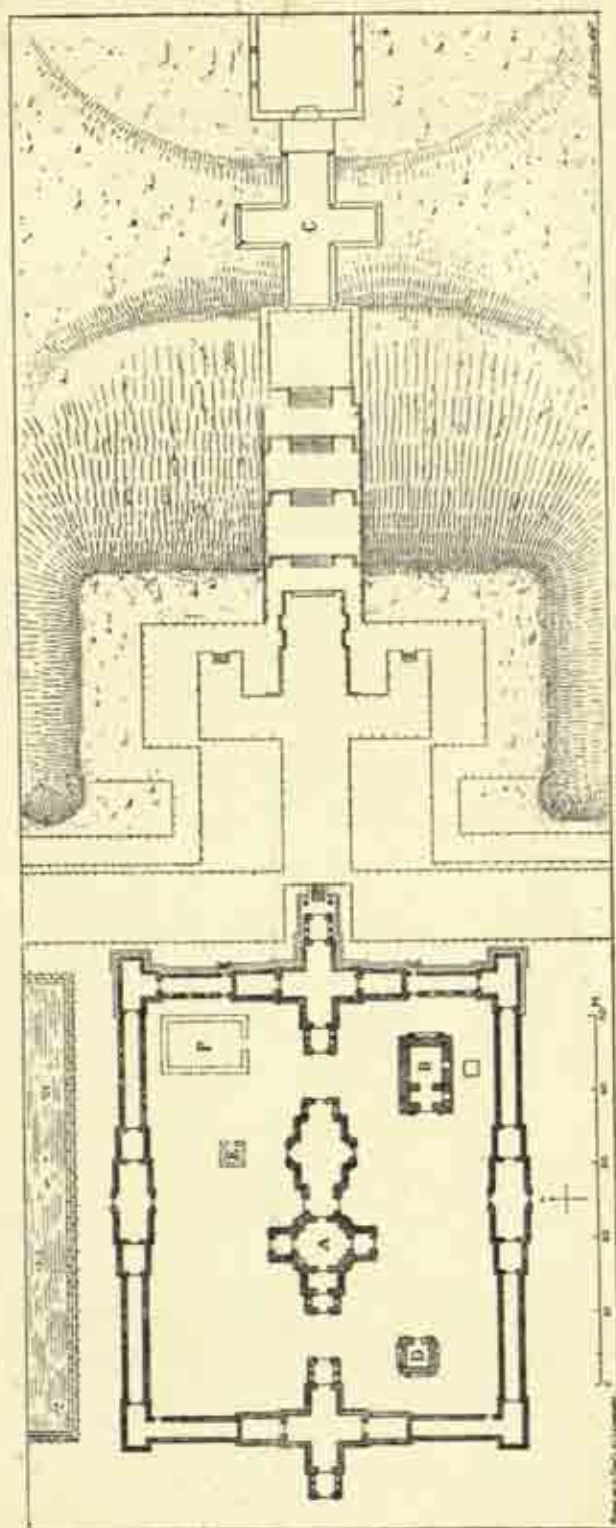
We follow this slightly rising *chaussée* for about 200 metres next to arrive at a cruciformed terrace provided with balusters made in the shape of the long sinuous bodies of 'nagas.' From the terrace one ascends to the broad outer temple court, lying in front of the sanctuary, by a long flight of steps rising in five successive terraces. This monumental staircase is of a very elegant design and of equally good execution; indeed the whole structure is not without a certain majesty in appearance.

Rising from the floor of the outer court-yard is a kind of cross-shaped terrace which perhaps was originally provided with low staircases giving access to the three branches of the cross, the fourth and western one leading to the main entrance of the sanctuary proper.

This comprises a central tower connected with a hall (for cultural purposes), another tower and the remains of several other buildings all enclosed by a gallery in the form of a square. The main tower, now unfortunately much ruined and with its interior filled with the debris of the tumbled down arched superstructure, is of grand dimensions and must in its heyday have been a most wonderful and splendid edifice. As Lanet de Lajonquière says, it is one of the most perfect examples of this kind of architecture.

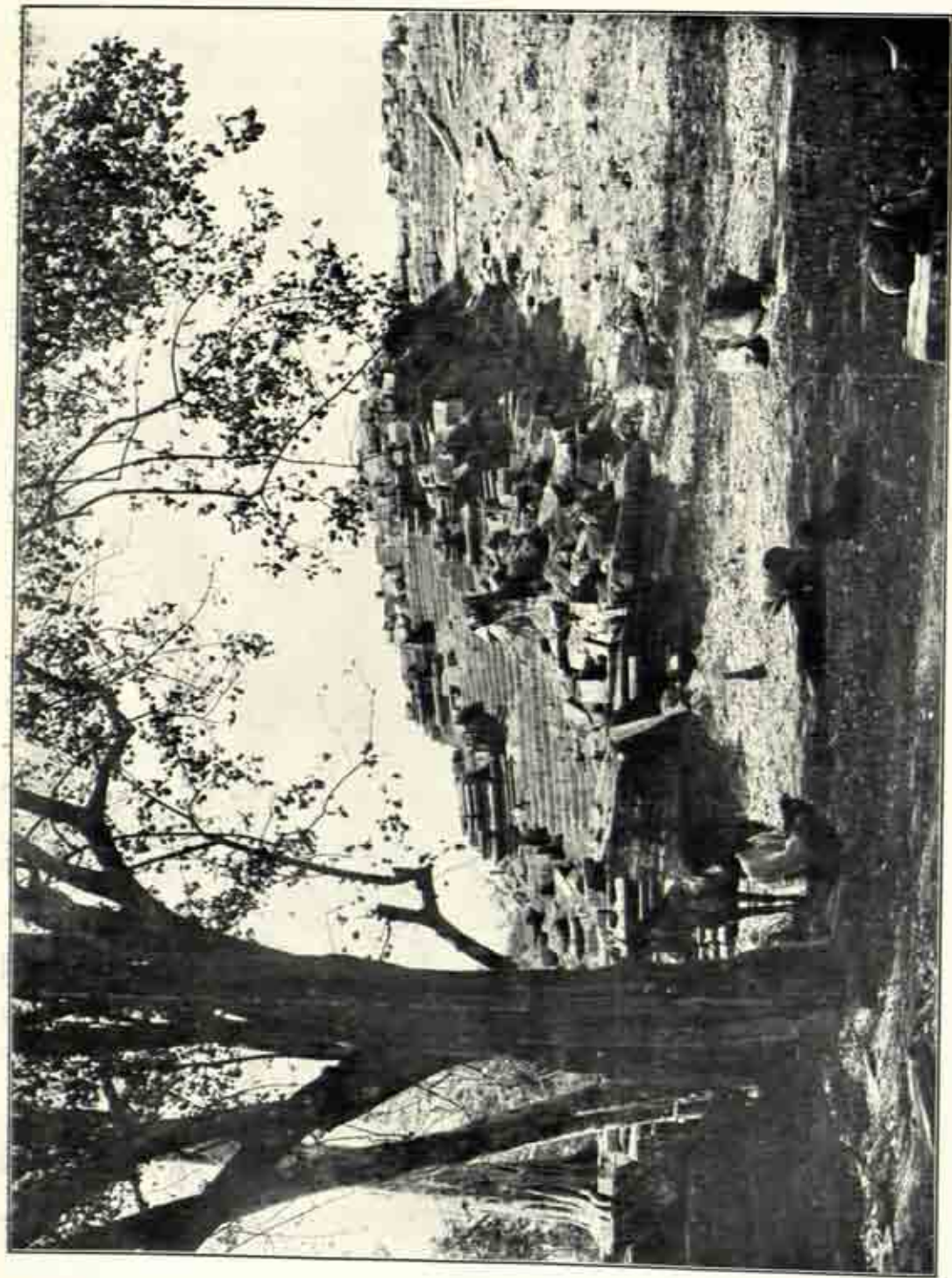
The tower, which is built of sandstone, is square in form and has four doors opening to the four cardinal points. These doors are preceded by porches, the western one being provided with double porches. The eastern entrance forms part of a corridor which connects the tower with the above-mentioned hall; the latter, which is covered with an ogival arched roof, has three entrances to the north, east and south, respectively.

The execution of this twin building is excellent in all its details, and one has moreover the opportunity here to admire the intricate



PLAN OF PANOM RUNG TEMPLE.





Panom Rung temple.

Monumental staircase leading up to the temple from the right.

and delicately wrought patterns and peculiar features so characteristic of the ancient Cambodian art, such as ornamented plinths, cornices, frames of windows and doors, decorated pilasters, octagonal columns, carved lintels and frontals where the bodies of nagas form an undulated ogive, framing scenes borrowed from the Hindu pantheon, which are treated in bas-reliefs or friezes, and so on, in rich variety.

Many of the carved lintels have been broken into pieces, but there are still a few left intact that are of great beauty. For instance, in the double porches which precede the doors of the tower to the west, are seen, on the lintel of the outer door, a battle between monkeys (probably a scene inspired by the *Ramayana*), and on that of the middle door, a scene representing the churning of the milky ocean, while above the inner door is seen a row of standing figures with a god in the middle—who is in the act of throwing two persons with his right and left hands. The lintel of the northern entrance to the hall shows a scene representing the god *Çiva* standing upright, grasping with his right hand an elephant by one of its hind legs and with his left a lion in the same manner. From the mouths of the animals issue these wonderfully carved garlands of flowers that are so often and so artistically used in the decorative art of the Khmer.

On the frontal is seen a prince walking under some palm trees and shooting birds with his bow; a group of court attendants is seen to the left of the princely hunter. Above this hunting scene one sees the sun god *Suriya* rushing across the heavens in his horse-drawn chariot.

This frontal is, as usual in Khmer art, framed by the simons bodies of two nagas which raise their fivefold heads at the lower corners of it—on some of the carved stones placed on the upper cornice (of the tower) are representations of *Brahma* riding on his goose, of women, and so on. Even the rim of this cornice is carved, as for instance on its western corner, where there is a scene with a monkey kneeling in front of a woman (*Hanuman* before *Sita*?).

Among the confused mass of débris are seen many well executed pieces of sculpture, representing scenes from the daily life of the people, such as marching soldiers armed with spear and shield and, curiously enough, in this Brahmanically decorated sanctuary, a very well preserved sculpture of what no doubt represents *Queen Maya* giving birth to the future *Buddha* under the *Palsa* tree in the park of

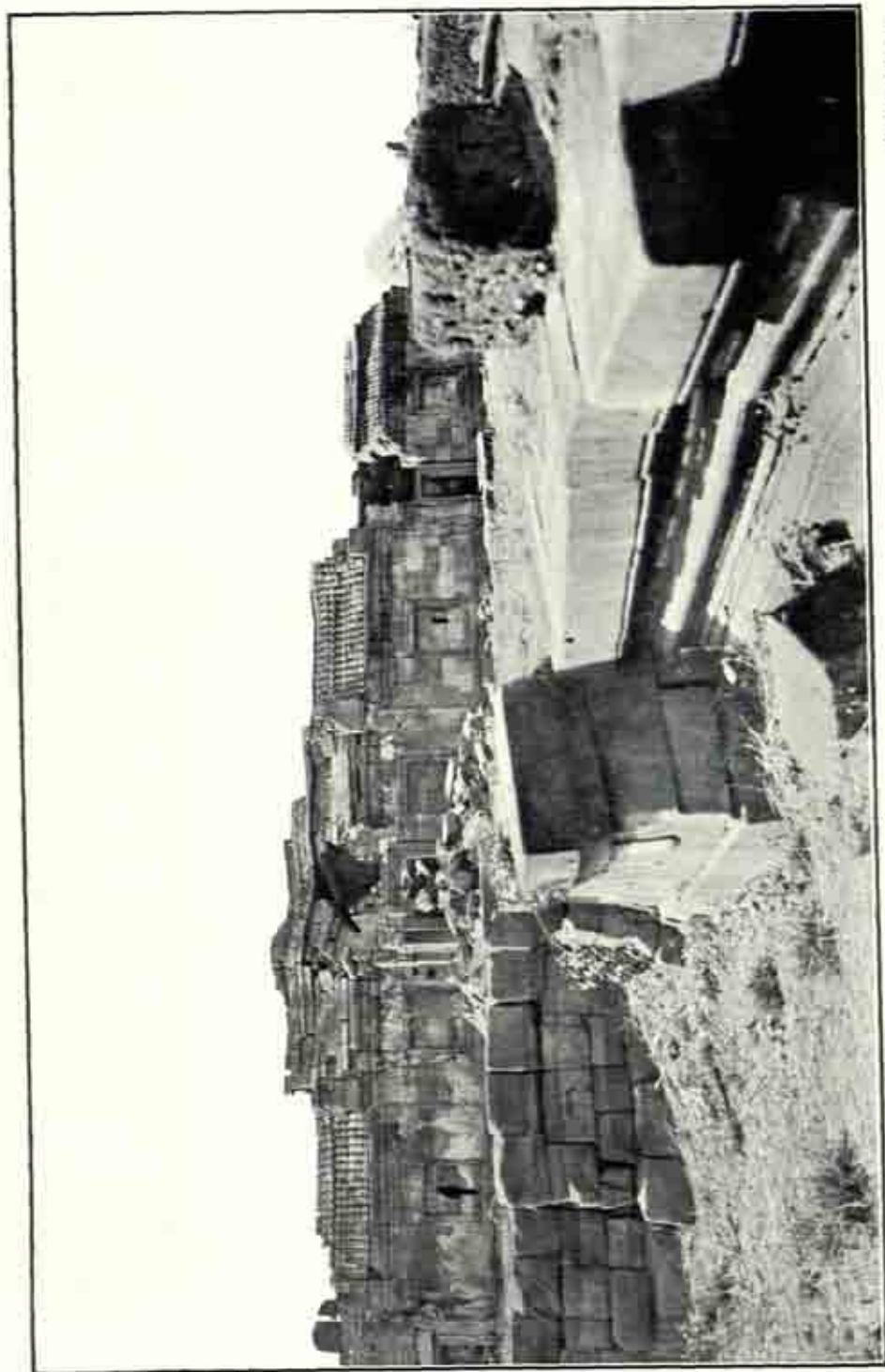
Lamphini. This may indicate that the Phanom Rung temple was dedicated to one of the Bodhisattvas of the Mahayanistic cult. On a broken lintel is seen the well-known scene of Vishnu resting on the serpent Ananta; from the gods navel issues a lotus flower among whose petals is seen the new born four-faced Brahma. A minute examination of the sanctuary would no doubt reveal many more art treasures than the few enumerated here, and it would certainly be well worth the trouble and the expense to restore this splendid sanctuary, as that would give us back one of the finest examples of this kind of building. It would, moreover, be not very difficult—especially for an architect trained under such past masters in the art of temple restoration as M. Parmentier or M. Marchal of the French Indo-Chinese Archaeological Service—to rebuild this old superb fane, as all the necessary materials are still there. To the south-east of the central tower stands another tower which is built of laterite. It is provided with three 'false doors', while the fourth and real one opens to the west and is preceded by a porch.

Work has hardly been begun on the decorative portions of this tower; one notes, however, the naga motive at the lower corners of the frontons.

The top of the tower was either never finished or has been ruined in some way or other and has now been replaced by an ugly cover of corrugated iron, that eyesore of the Far East. In the middle of the single room of the tower one sees a modern impression of the foot of the Buddha. Remains of three other buildings inside the temple court are also seen, such as that of a small tower in the south-western corner, a still smaller one lying to the north of the hall, and finally traces of a larger building (a treasury or library) in the north-eastern corner of the temple court.

A rectangular enceinte composed of four galleries encloses the above-described temples. The galleries seem never to have been finished, nor to have been so well planned as the other parts of this otherwise magnificent group of buildings. The eastern and western galleries are broken in the middle by cruciformed gopuras and seem to have been nearly completed; not so the northern and southern galleries, which are even without their roofs, while their gopuras lack the porches. The galleries form one long uninterrupted corridor which allows one passage right through their whole length.

About 200 metres to the east of the principal entrance to the



Panom Rung temple.

Outer temple courtyard with cross-shaped terraces ; in background are seen the galleries with the eastern gopura.

Photo E. Grube.



Panom Rung temple.
Sculpture representing Suriya, the sun god etc.

Photo E. Gault.

sanctuary lie two small edifices, called Kuk Ra'si (the hermits' cells). One of these is built in the form of a square pavilion, with two smaller rooms, adjoining to the right and left. Access to these is by two parvises whose roofs are supported by pillars. The plan of this building, which is orientated east to west, much resembles that of certain large salas in Siam. This sala is surrounded on three sides i. e., west, north and east., by a rectangular continuous gallery which is provided with flights of steps at their two southern ends. The gallery had probably wooden roofs.

The purpose of both these buildings, now very much in ruins but originally of quite elegant proportions, most probably was that of a temporary residence for kings or high nobles who came to worship at the temple.

From the top of the ruined central tower one enjoys a wide view over the surrounding country. To the south-east is plainly seen the square of Mu'ang Tam and its large Thala; to the south and south-west the eye sweeps over the near-lying Khao Angkhan down to the imposing masses of the Dangrek hills veiled in mysterious blue mists; while to the west and north the horizon is closed by the brown and grey coloured forests interspersed, here and there, by yellow patches of the harvested paddy fields.

Such is the scene during the dry season. If we visit Khao Phanom Rung during the rainy season (which is not to be recommended), the panorama is quite different, and much more alluring, with the trees clad in all their green finery and the babbling waters rushing down the hill side.

From the temple another path or narrow road leads down in a north north-westerly direction to the foot of the hill where lies a village, called Ban Tabek. This path passes the three ponds mentioned in our tale.

From Ban Tabek to Nangrong the distance is about 17 kilometres, the cart road passing through forest and over paddy fields with several large villages. Among the latter is the large Ban Thanon Hak, from which a long wooden bridge leads over a swamp to the eastern gate or entrance to the old town. Nangrong, the origin of which no doubt goes back to the Khmer period, is surrounded by large double ramparts and broad moats filled with a profusion of scarlet, blue and white lotus flowers. It is quite a large and prosperous town, and its inhabitants, Thai-ized Khmer, are known as capable weavers of silk and also as great lovers of music. Many of the young girls used,

at least formerly, to be clever lakhon players, very conversant with the famous Indian epic Ramayana (in Siamese called Ramakien). The times one has listened on a moonlit night to the melodious music of the 'phlaphat' and the song of the Nangrong girls belong to those memories which do not fade so easily away.

The ancient chaussée (which does not touch Nangrong) continues from Khao Phanom Rung in a north-westerly direction where it crosses a large plain, called Thung Badian, to re-enter the great forest at the ruins of the *dharmasala* at Nong Plong. The Badian plain used formerly to be frequented by herds of 'Nu'a Sai' (*Cervus Porcius* or Hog deer) and wild cattle of a whitish colour. But, due to reckless hunting, only very few of these kinds of game were left, even seventeen years ago.

In the very centre of this vast plain, stretching on both sides of the Plaimat river, and constituting one of the biggest plains in N. E. Siam, excepting the large Mun river plain, lies a swampish lake, called Bahal (a wide stretch of water), near which, it is said, are found several interesting ruins of Khmer temples.

As already stated in the beginning of this commentary, the ancient highway terminates at Phimai. I am, however, not going to describe the temple of Phimai, but will refer to Major Lunet de Lajouquière's description, I. K. under No. 447, and my paper in JSS. Vol. XVII, Part I.

Here I should, however, like to add a few supplementary remarks.

It has always been surmised so far that the present town of Phimai was a kind of vice-regal capital of that part of ancient Cambodia which lay to the north of the Dangrek chain. My friend, His Excellency Phya Phetcharada, Lord Lieutenant of the Circle of Nakhon Rachasima, informs me, however, that to the south of the town of Phimai near the village of Wang Hin (the stone castle), and situated just on the outskirts of the great forest—Kok Luang—are remains of extensive earthworks that are considerably larger in circumference than the town of Phimai. His Excellency is of the opinion that the present so-called town of Phimai was only a combined temple and fortress which was connected then, as now, with the capital at Wang Hin by a series of bridges spanning the many water-logged places between the two.

In my description of the central temple tower in this Journal, I omitted to mention the lintel of the interior northern door. The scene depicted on this lintel shows, sitting in the centre, a four-faced

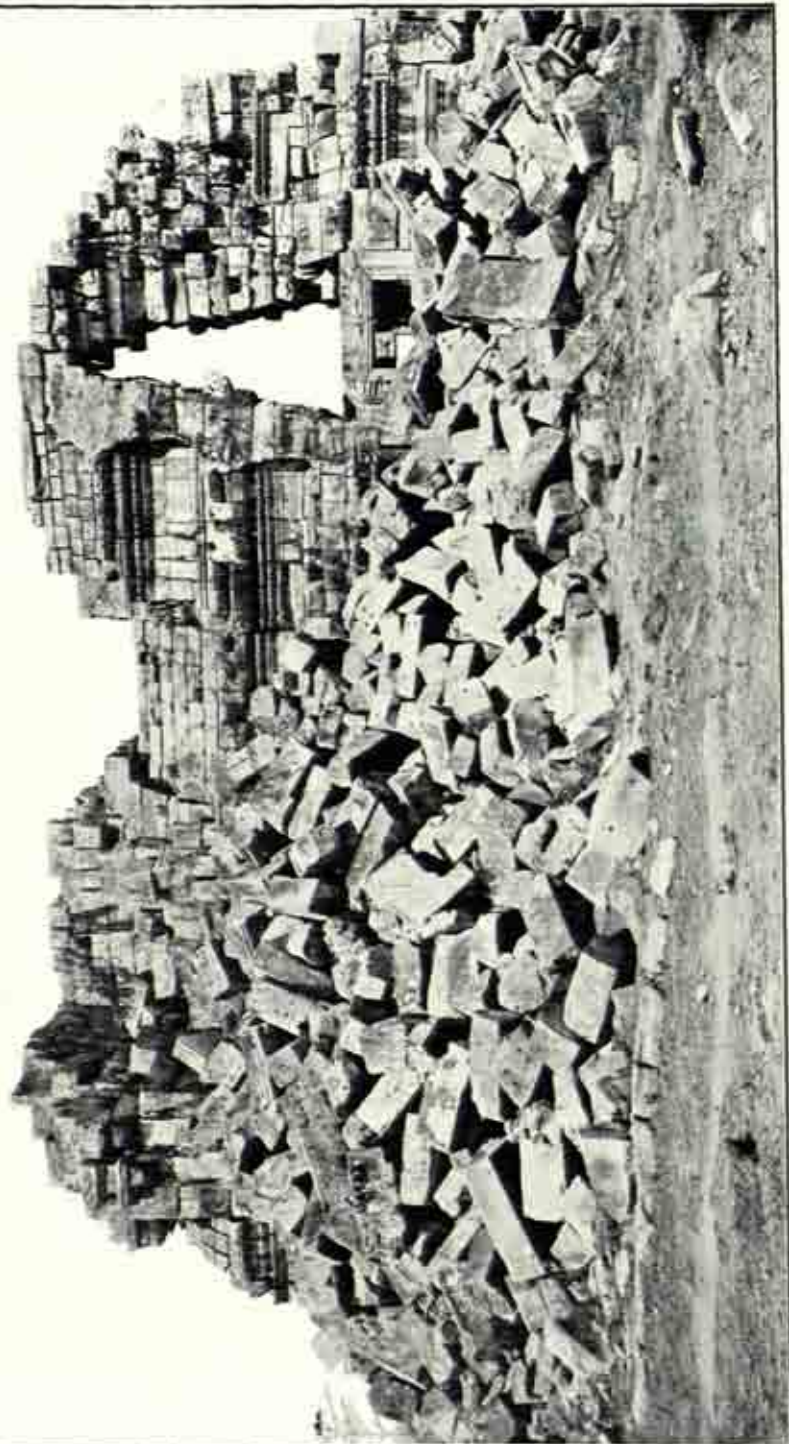


Photo E. Greville.

Panom Rung temple.

Central sanctuary consisting of, to the right, the tower, to the left, the hall.



Panom Rung temple.

Sculpture representing Queen Maya giving birth to the Buddha.

Photo E. Grunke.

and six-armed god; his two normal hands rest in his lap, while the lower of his two extra left hands holds the ghanta or bell. The three remaining hands are lifted upwards but, as far as can be seen, these do not grasp symbols of any kind. This god most probably represents Vajrasattva (from Sanscrit: *Vajra*, a thunderbolt and *Sattva*, essence), i.e., the Buddha of supreme intelligence or *Adhi-buddha*, though the image depicted here lacks the thunderbolt.

The sculpture is divided into two segments. In the upper is to be seen, on either side of the god, a row of niches containing smaller images of Vajrasattva, besides dancing apsaras. In the lower segment are seen eight dancing apsaras in groups of four on either side of the throne of the god; below which are kneeling five crowned persons holding clubs in their hands. These persons may represent the five Dhyani-buddhas over whom, according to the Mahayanistic belief, Vajrasattva presides.⁽¹⁾

The statues of Thao Phromat and Nang Orapin have now been deposited in the Royal Museum in Bangkok. On the other hand, of the beautiful image of the so-called Nang Lavo, also mentioned in my paper on the Phimai temple, nothing is left, the image having been broken to pieces by the local school children. (This happened, however, before the Archaeological Service was created).

We now come to the last of the great temples mentioned in our tale, namely, Wat Phanom Wan (I. K., No. 437).

This temple ruin lies about 10 kilometres N. N. E. of the town of Khorat. It consists of a sanctuary enclosed by square galleries which lie inside an exterior enceinte surrounded by very broad moats, except on the eastern side, where a causeway leads out to a large water reservoir.

Of the sanctuary the tower has not been completed and lacks its superstructure. It is provided with four doors preceded by porches, the eastern one being connected with a corridor which leads to a rectangular hall with three entrances. The corridor and the hall have still their roofs in place. The material used for these buildings is a grey sandstone. The work on the ornamentation of the lintels seems hardly to have been commenced. Some unforeseen event must have stopped the work in one way or other. Maybe it was a war or a rebellion.

(1) See Alice Getty, *The gods of the Northern Buddhism*.

Only the lintel over the northern door of the tower is nearly finished and shows a scene representing a Brahmanic god sitting on the head of a monster (Rahu), from whose mouth there issue garlands of flowers to either side. The galleries measure 52 metres on each side and seem also to have been left unfinished. They are provided with gopuras preceded by porches, each gopura being divided into five chambers. The galleries are open to the interior temple court, their roofs here being supported by rows of pillars. The galleries present a peculiarity in that their corners are transformed into small pavilions, each with an entrance from the outside. Of decorations only one is seen on the eastern gopura, consisting of an empty frontal encased by nagas and a lintel with the same motive as described above.

The second or exterior enceinte consists of a laterite wall which, however, is *in situ* only on the northern and southern faces.

The causeway, or *chaussée*, has a length of 330 metres and leads from the supposed eastern entrance of the exterior temple court out to a large water reservoir which measures 600 by 300 metres and is surrounded by dykes still in good repair. Several ponds lie to the north and south of that part of the causeway which is nearest to the reservoir. Furthermore, at a distance of about 200 metres from the exterior enceinte and close to the causeway are the débris of a small rectangular building of laterite that probably served as a rest-house for important people visiting the temple.

In the interior court-yard are seen, lying to the north and south of the present sanctuary, the remains of what originally were two sanctuaries with doors opening to the east. Lunet de Lajouquiére thinks that they are remnants of a former temple comprising three buildings and are anterior to the present one. Finally, there stands in the south-western corner of the court-yard a roughly built tower of red sandstone and bricks; it is provided with a door opening to the east and "false" doors on the three other sides. This latter building, which shelters a Phrabat or imprint of the Buddha's foot, is evidently not of Khmer handiwork but was probably raised by the Thai conquerors of the Khorat district.

There used formerly to be a whole collection of stone images of the Buddha stored inside the sanctuary; some of these were in the sitting, others in the standing posture, most of them headless. There was also a fine statuette of a four-armed Çiva which, I believe, is now kept in the Royal Museum. Not less than six inscriptions have been found in Wat Phanom Wan (often shortly called Nom Wan).

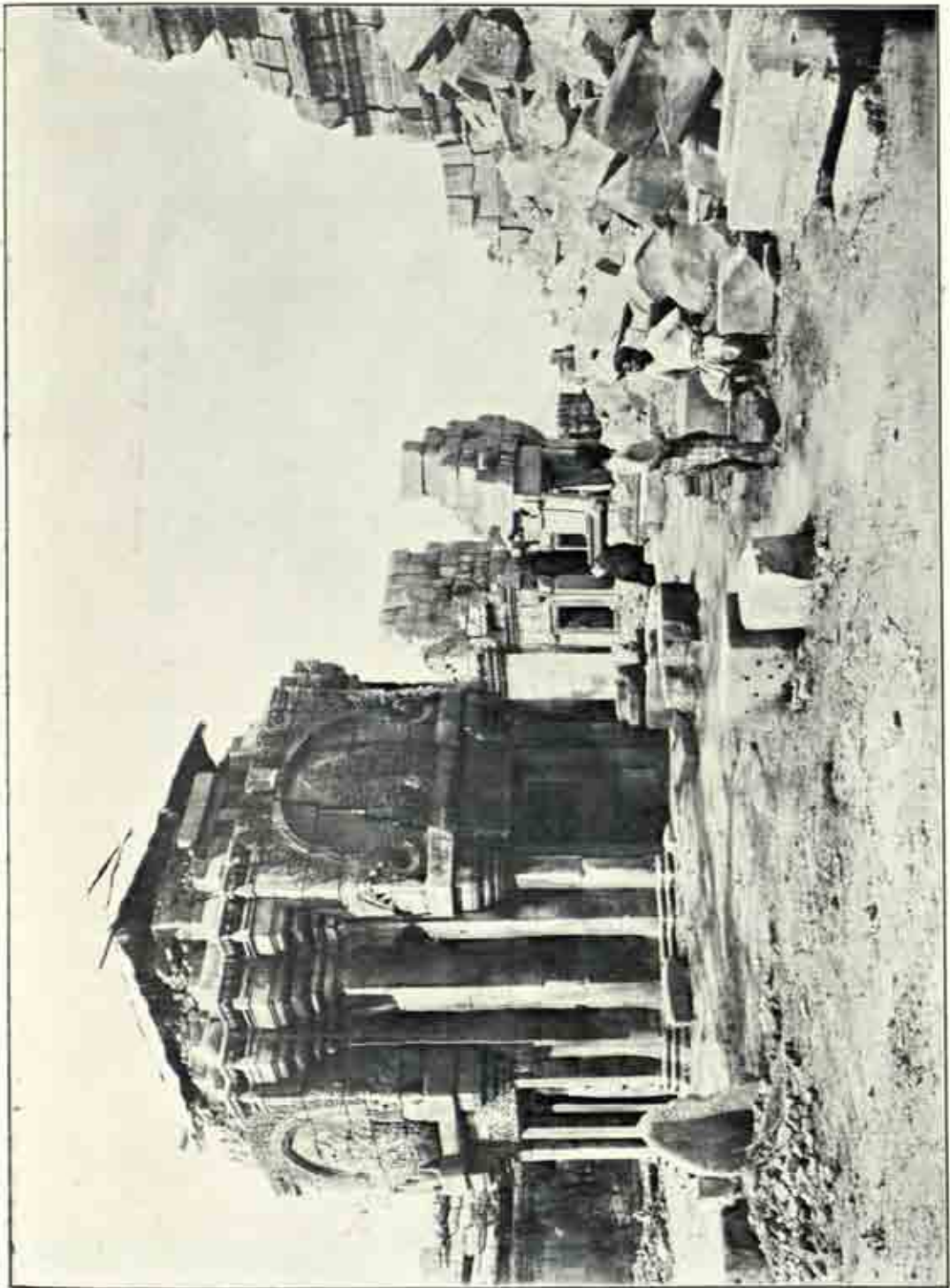


Photo L. Groff.

Panam Ring temple.

Tower in south-eastern corner of temple court. To the right is seen part of the central sanctuary; in the background, part of gallery with a gopura.

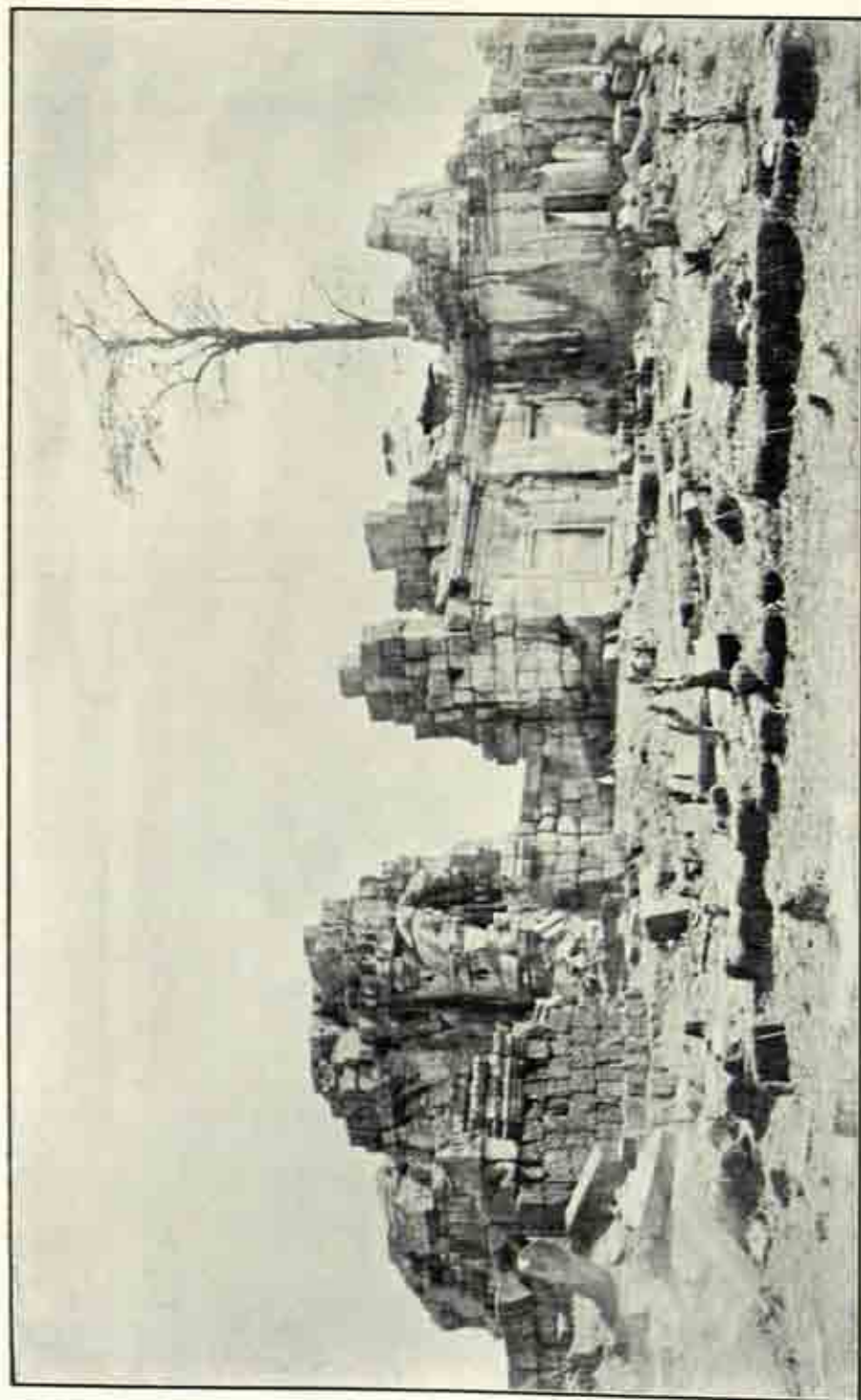


Photo E. Grunke.

Panom Rung temple.
A portion of the galleries.

The most important of these consists of 42 lines in Khmer, engraved on the frame of the southern interior door of the tower of the sanctuary. It is an edict of King Jayavarman VII, dated 1171 A. D., of Civaite contents, the king charging Vrah Kamraten An Rajendrarvarman, general commanding the central army, besides other high dignitaries, to take good care of the temple.

Another inscription of 45 lines, partly in Sanscrit partly in Khmer, is engraved on the frame of the outer door of the eastern porch of the tower. This inscription is only legible in part but the names of the two kings: Suriyavarman (1002-1049 A. D.) and Udayadityavarman (1049-1065 A. D.) can be deciphered. There are three other shorter inscriptions in Khmer and one in Sanscrit, the latter dated 1186 A. D. (reign of the zealous Buddhist King Jayavarman VII, great builder of hospitals—altogether 108 in number, if one is to believe the inscriptions).

According to our tale, the legendary King Hindusthan had images of the gods made of concrete! It is quite a common belief among the peasants of this country that sculptures and the images from the Khmer period were formed of crushed sandstone and water, whereafter they were burnt like bricks in a fire. That this idea is entirely wrong can be easily proved, but it is a belief which is shared even by educated people. It probably originated among the Thai who never attained a high standard as sculptors in stone but on the other hand developed into some of the world's finest workers in bronze.⁽¹⁾

Of the town built according to our tale close to the east of Mu'ang Tan, I have not been able to find any traces. It may not have existed at all, or it may be identical with the old fortified place, called Talung or Dlou.

Nor have I been able to identify the temple called Prasat Chong Sa Chong, but suppose that it must be the same as described in I. K. under No. 407 as Prasat Nong Hong.

The writer of the Phanom Rung tale mentions several fortified places lying in the great Khok Luang, but I regret to say that I do not recognize them under the names given by him. Furthermore, that they should only be trenches (or light field works) sounds rather improbable, as I personally have inspected about a hundred old

⁽¹⁾ I do not refer here to the Khmer-Thai school of stone sculpture in Lopburi which flourished in the XIIIth and part of the XIVth century A. D., as this art soon deteriorated and died out.

fortifications spread over the whole territory of the present circle of Khorat, which are all of a considerable size. They are either rectangular or square in shape, many of them measuring several kilometres in circumference, and among the latter not a few are found in the above mentioned Khok Luang.

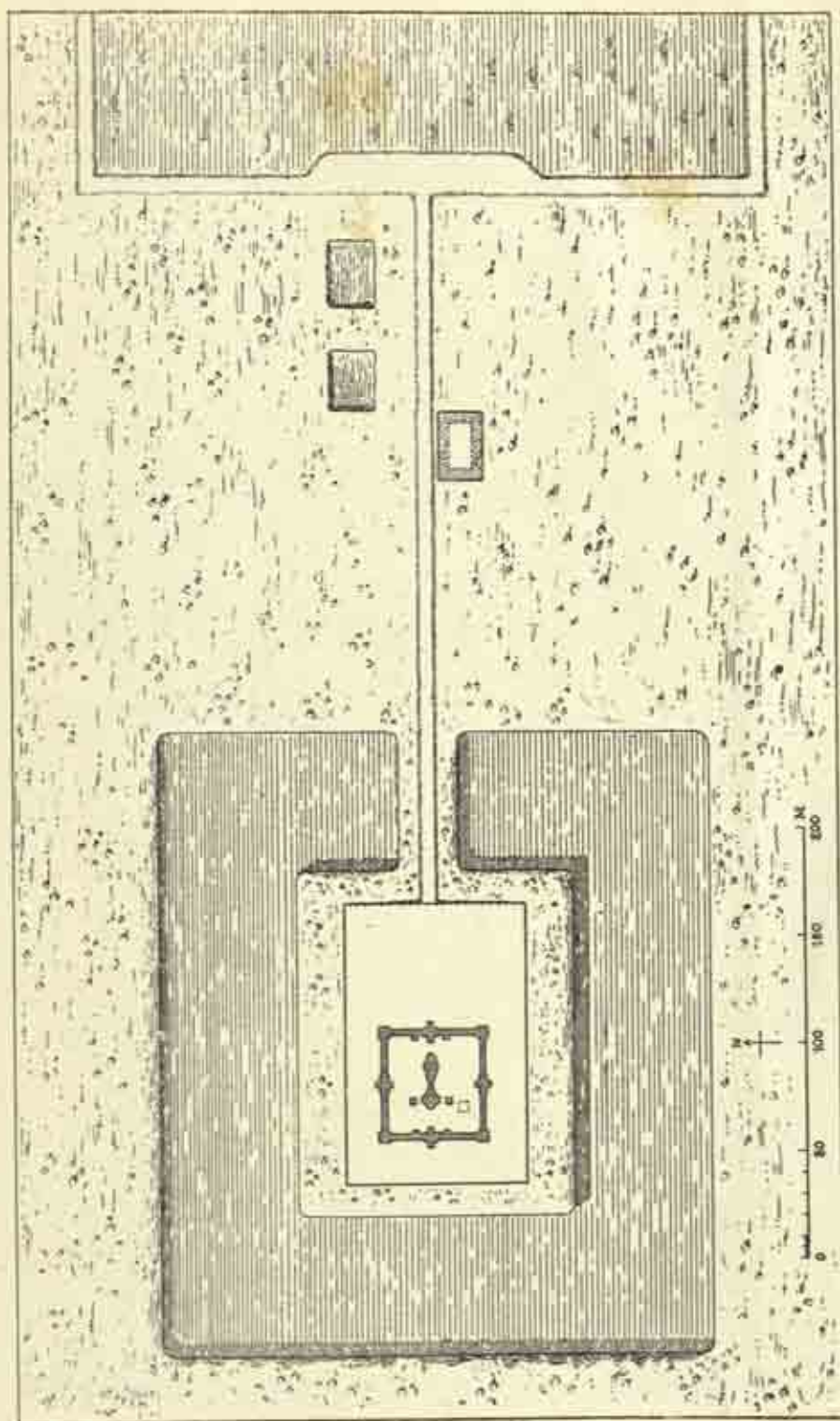
Not many years ago the Survey Department of the Army discovered several old deserted fortifications in the great forest between Khorat town and Nangrong, which were round or oblong in shape. This was a rather interesting find, which may point to affinities between the builders of these places and the Lawa of Northern Siam whose old, now deserted, fortified villages built in the shape of a ring are well known in the Mie Hongson and Mu'ang Yuan districts.

The great number of old fortified towns, many of which have long ago been deserted, together with the wealth of ruins of stone temples, reservoirs and old highways spread over this part of the Khorat plateau, point certainly to the existence formerly of a much more dense population than now is the case. The reason for the population having left their towns may either be explained by the many and bitter wars waged between Ayudhya and Cambodia, which went on from the XIIIth to the XVth century and were coupled with ruthless deportations of the population from their homesteads, or it may be explained by the fact that the ground water is constantly sinking in these regions, thereby reducing the output of the paddy fields more and more, finally forcing the population to shift to more fertile tracts lying nearer the larger water courses. However, the whole question of the old fortified places, their history, *raison d'être* and distribution over the North-Eastern plateau is a study apart, which I hope one day to be able to take up.

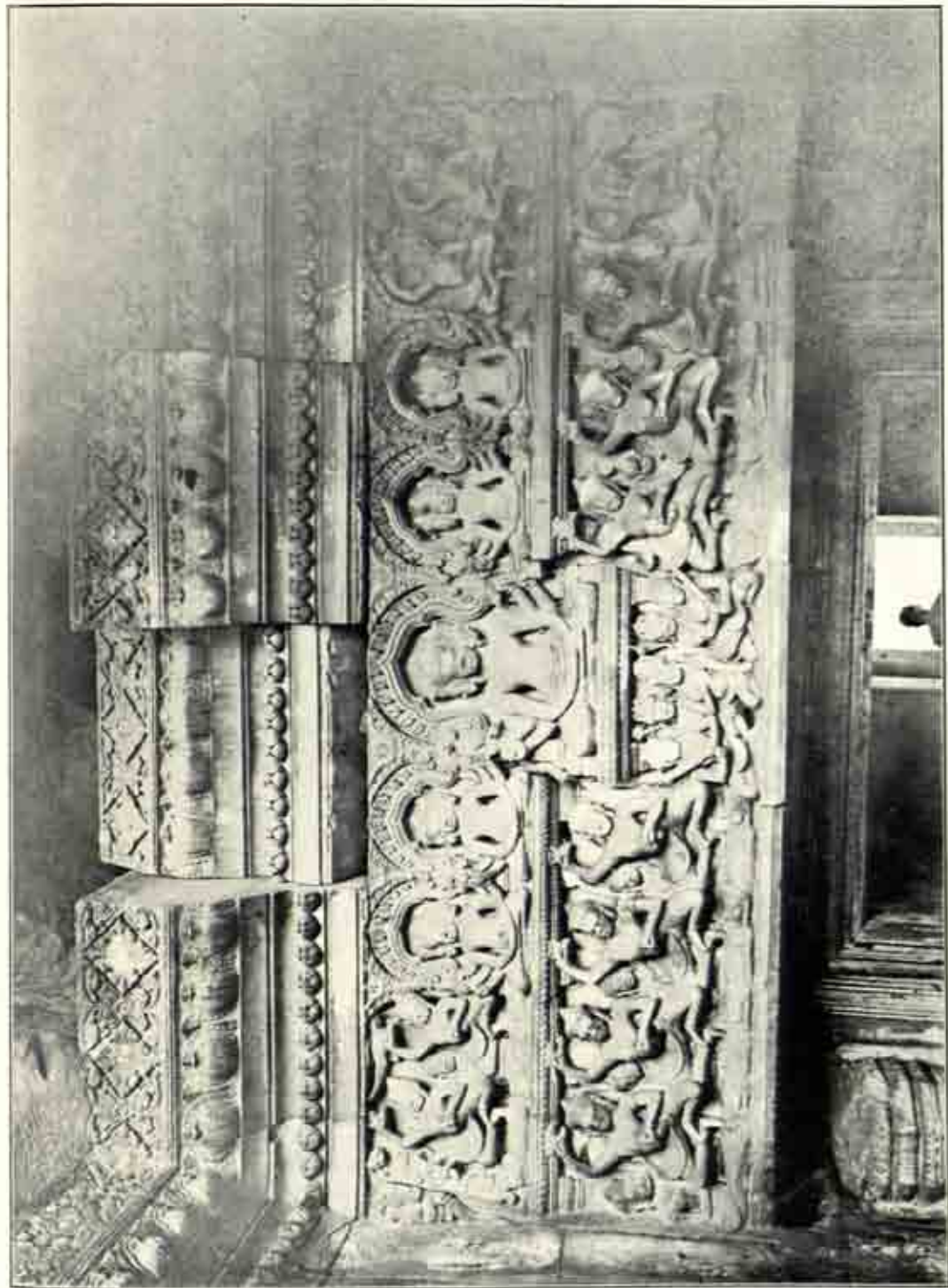
In conclusion, I beg to tender my sincerest thanks to my learned friend, Professor George Coedès, Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi, who kindly allowed me to use the plans of the temples of Mu'ang Tam, Phanom Rung and Phanom Wan as published in Major Lunet de Lajonquière's *Inventory descriptif*, as well as to Messrs. E. Groote and A. H. Hale for their kindness in placing some of their beautiful photographs at my disposal.

Erik Seidenfaden.

Bangkok, 22nd March, 1931.



PLAN OF WAT PANOM WAN.



Phimai temple.
Sculpture representing Vajrasattva.

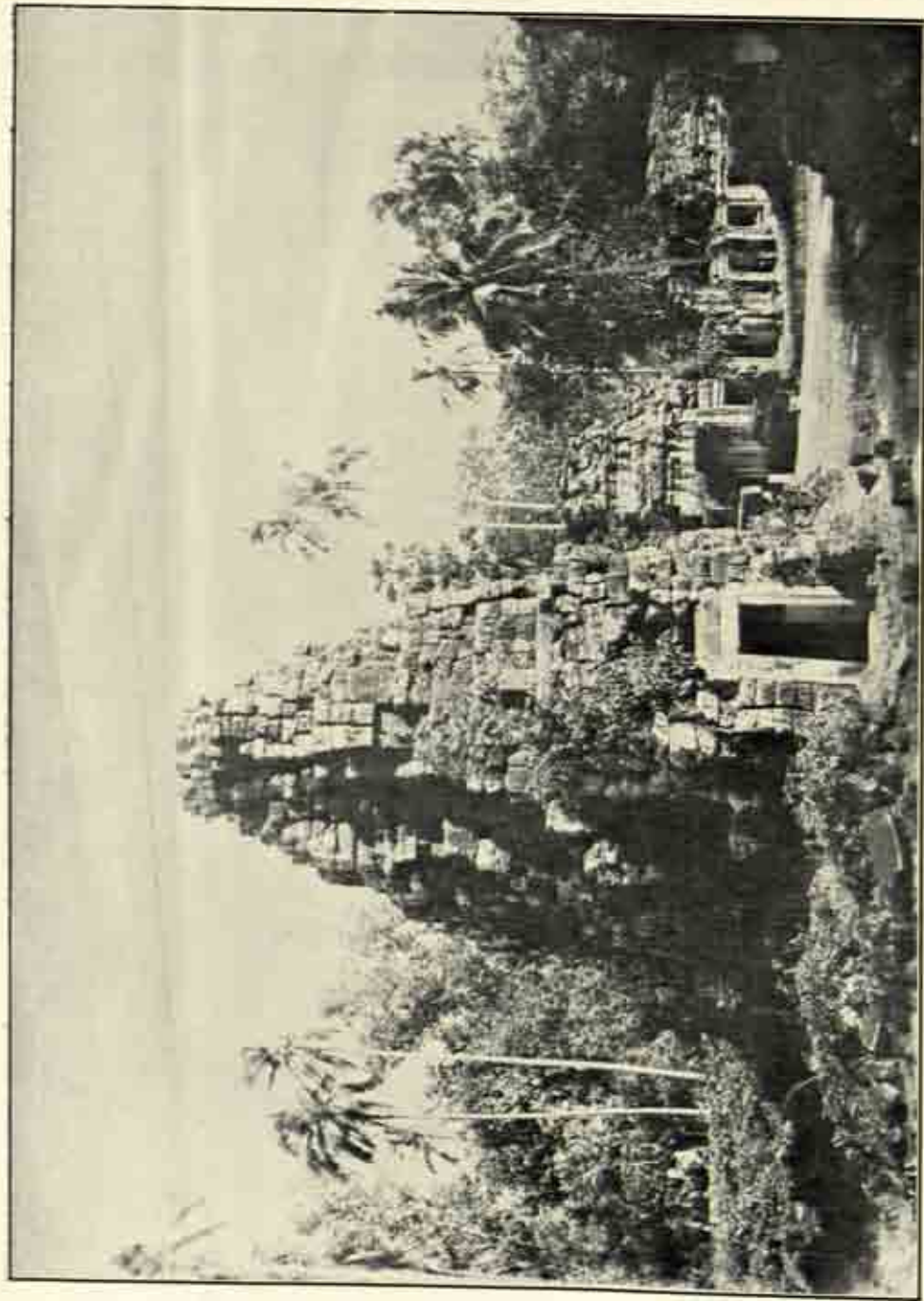


Photo A. H. Hoie

Phimai temple.

Laterite tower (western, in first line). Note the lotus flower shaped terminal.

University College,
Colombo, 15th September, 1931.

Sir,

The Government of Ceylon has recently appointed a Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the existence of hitherto unknown documents relating to the history of the island, which are extant in the hands of private individuals and of institutions. Many important documents have been removed from the island, and have found their way into private collections; there are others among the private papers of those who have had official or semi-official connection with the affairs of Ceylon, or who have at various times had occasion to visit its shores. To illustrate this point, the most important original authority for the period of the Portuguese occupation came to light in Rio de Janeiro, and of recent years much light has been thrown on the taking over of Ceylon by the British, by papers in private hands in Scotland.

The majority of such papers will be concerned with the history of the island during the last four centuries, but it is possible that there may be also some "sannases" (engraved copper plates) and "olas" (inscribed palm leaves) dating perhaps from pre-European times, preserved as curiosities in private or even public collections. We are anxious to ascertain the whereabouts of such documents, and therefore ask you to allow this letter to appear in your valuable column. If any of your readers are in a position to afford us any information, we shall be most grateful if they will put it at our disposal by writing to the Secretary of the Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission, Government Archives, Colombo, or to me.

Thanking you for your courtesy in inserting this letter,

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

S. A. PAREMAS,

Chairman,

Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission.

The Editor,

The Journal of the Siam Society,

46, Great Russell Street,

London, W.C. 1

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THE NEW LAWS ON CIVIL PROCEDURE

by

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In A. E. 2473, important modifications were effected in the rules of Civil Procedure in force in the Siamese Courts. In general terms, the aim of these amendments was to improve the legal means at the disposal of the winner of the case to enable him to secure the execution of the judgment against the loser.

For a long time complaint had been made of the facilities afforded the dishonest debtor to enable him to injure the interests of his creditors, and particularly of the creditor whose claims had been fully recognised by a judgment in his favour. (See *The Bangkok Times* of the 10th December, 1927). During the whole time the case lasted, not only could the debtor freely transfer his goods to third parties either by fictitious deeds or at ridiculous prices, but he could freely squander his ready cash and leave his land uncultivated, without the creditor being entitled to raise any objection. The loser's own debtors could legally pay their debts into his hands. The money thus paid over or the merchandise thus delivered became immediately part of the estate of the debtor, and at his sole disposal. Worst of all, the loser could prolong the case indefinitely by dilatory proceedings, and particularly by appealing, the right of appeal being wide open.

Thus one looked on daily at the spectacle of creditors who had entirely uncontrovertible claims, the validity of which was moreover readily recognised by the Judges of first instance, and who not only failed to obtain payment but looked on helplessly at the complete ruin, real or feigned, but most of the time wilful, of their debtor. When at last they obtained a definite order of execution, there was nothing left. This did very considerable harm to trade by destroying credit.

We shall see how and in what measure the new laws have remedied this state of things. But, from now, it is well to note that, contrary to what is generally thought, one does not, in fact, find anything entirely new in these laws. They are limited to

strengthening the existing system under the power of the fundamental Law on Civil Procedure of the year R. & 127. Now that is a somewhat disheartening thing to note, for in it the conclusion is implicit that for a long time past the law did provide for and organise quite satisfactorily security for the rights of the creditor, and that the acts of injustice noted were due mainly to lack of diligence in applying the legal texts. Is such a state of things going to be remedied by the mere fact that henceforth the creditor has at his disposal better and more efficacious means of obtaining payment of what is due to him? One must wait before giving a definite decision on that point.

The new laws referred to are two in number—“*The Law of Procedure in Civil Cases Amendment Act, R. E. 2473*” and “*The Appeal Act, R. E. 2473*”.

The modifications introduced by these laws into the former system of procedure are connected with the following four points, which we shall examine successively:

1. Measures to safeguard the property of the debtor;
2. Garnishee order;
3. Provisional execution of a judgment; and
4. Restriction of the possibilities of appeal.

MEASURES TO SAFEGUARD THE PROPERTY OF THE DEBTOR.

The attachment of the property of the debtor with the view of safeguarding this property was already provided for by the former Section 51 of the Law of R. & 127, but the conditions under which such could be obtained were more strict.

It was necessary, in the first place, that the amount of the claim should be Ficals 1,000 or upwards. The new Section 51 has reduced that figure to 200.

On the other hand the Court could grant the attachment only in certain conditions, which were strictly limited, and which were the following:

It was necessary for the plaintiff to be able to bring proof, by the oath of two or more persons, that his claim was true, that the defendant was absent or that his place of residence was unknown, or that the defendant had removed his goods or intended to sell them, or that he had hidden them or had the intention of hiding them, or of running away with them, or of disposing of them to third parties, in order to defraud his creditors.

According to the new Section 51, the Court is empowered to grant an attachment of the property of the defendant, "if it considers that the claim is true and if proof is put before it that the defendant, with intention to delay or obstruct the execution of any decree which may be passed against him, is about to dispose of the whole or any part of his property, or to remove it from the jurisdiction of the Court, or on any ground which the Court in its discretion may consider just and reasonable".

Thus, henceforth, the Court has full liberty to decide if the claim is true. One does not have to place before it proof of that fact sworn to by two or more persons; the proof of the wrongful intentions of the defendant is given by ordinary means, and in particular by writing, testimony, confession, or oath (that of one person being sufficient). Finally, the Court has full power to form its own opinion of the intentions of the defendant; it is not limited by the enumeration made in the Act of the principal actions denoting an intention to defraud and may recognise others. It may even grant the order of attachment without there being any intention to defraud, for example in the case of the defendant being notoriously unable to manage his property.

Besides, there is nothing in Section 51 to prevent the writ of attachment from being granted against an insolvent debtor or in respect of property to accrue to the debtor in the future. The circumstances of the debtor may change for the better and property may be added to his estate by inheritance or otherwise. Therefore, it would serve no purpose to compel the creditor to wait for such an event before he could apply for a writ of attachment, there being no objection to giving him a writ at once even though enforcement may only become possible later on.

It is, then, easier than it was formerly to obtain an attachment of the property of the defendant. Now, that is an appreciable security, since the effect of the attachment is to withdraw from the defendant, not only the disposal, but even the management of his property, and to entrust it to the Sheriff or some other official appointed by the Court.

By the side of that measure, the new law has instituted another, which introduces a more flexible mechanism. Section 51 *bis*, added to the former text, is set forth in these terms:

"In any case in which the Court is satisfied by evidence or otherwise;

"(1) That any property in dispute in such suit is in danger of being wasted, damaged or alienated by any party to the suit; or

"(2) That the defendant intends to remove or dispose of his property in order to defraud his creditors; or

"(3) That the defendant intends or is likely to repeat or continue the commission of the wrongful act or breach of contract complained of.

"The Court may grant a temporary injunction to restrain such act or conduct upon whatever terms the Court thinks fit or unconditionally, or make any other order at its discretion for the purpose of staying and preventing the wasting, damaging, alienation, sale, removal or disposition of the property, until the disposal of the suit or until further orders.

"The Court shall in all cases, unless it appears that the object of granting the injunction or other order would be defeated by the delay, direct notice of the application for the same to be given to the other party."

In this Section, the law is dealing with the same hypothesis as in the preceding Section, that is to say, an action contrary to the interests of the opponent, but it envisages this time what concerns both parties and not only the defendant.

On the other hand, in the case where the precautions are taken against the defendant—which none the less remains the most common case—it is no longer a matter of the seizure or even attachment of the property of the defendant. He is left in possession of his property and retains the free management of the same. The protection now granted to the plaintiff consists in the possibility of obtaining from the Court the prohibition of acts of disposal that might injure his interests, such as sale, gift, destruction, material damage, etc.

From the way in which the law is drafted, the Court appears to have the right to prescribe this provisional measure of its own initiative, without any request being made by either of the parties.

Besides, the greatest liberty is left to the Court in choosing the measures to be taken in order to guard against the danger that confronts it (the destruction, damaging or removal of the property) and in determining the conditions of these measures. But in fact the variety of the situations is not so great as one might suppose at first

sight, because it is always a matter of avoiding the vexatious consequences of a material action or of a juristic act.

Now, if it is a case of a material action, to wit destruction, damaging, or clandestine removal of goods beyond the jurisdiction of the Court, all that the Court can do is to threaten to condemn the refractory debtor to pay supplementary damages by way of reparation, or to attach his property. If it is the case of a juristic act, such as a sale, a gift, etc., all the Court can do is to threaten the debtor, independently of the preceding sanctions, with the nullity of the action it forbids.

The law, in fact, does not expressly speak of this last sanction, but it results implicitly from the prohibition to alienate the property, because it constitutes the best safeguard of the observation of the law.

Besides, this last sanction can easily be justified from the theoretical point of view. The legislator has, after all, instituted a new incapacity, temporary and special, that of disposing of a certain property during a certain time. Now acts which are not in conformity with the requirements concerning the capacity of persons can be annulled (Section 116 of the Civil and Commercial Code).

Unfortunately the quashing of the forbidden acts sacrifices the interests of third parties who, in good faith, are dealing with the debtor, under the blow of a prohibition to alienate. In order to obviate this disadvantage, it would be necessary to organise a certain publicity of the application for the interdict. Now in the final paragraph of Section 51 *bis*, the legislature has provided for a notification of this application only to the address of "the other party", that is to say, presumably, of the one of the two litigants against whom the case is brought. Such a measure—which is besides discarded in case of urgency—is sufficient to prevent acts of disposal of his property by a defendant in good faith, but not such acts on the part of a defendant in bad faith, which appears to be the hypothesis.

The strengthened procedure thus put at the disposal of the plaintiff, is not without a certain danger for the defendant, a danger which it is not always equitable to make him run. It definitively prevents him from freely disposing of the whole or any part of his property, and from that fact can cause him an appreciable detriment, by making it impossible for him to take advantage of advanced prices or a favourable situation in the market.

Therefore the legislator has left him two means of avoiding

this danger. These two means of security existed already in the old procedure (Sections 52 and 53 of the law of R. s. 127), but these Sections provided only for the case of the attachment of the property of the defendant, while the new law extends the advantage of this safeguard to the new supposition of an injunction to prevent the alienation of the property.

The first of these means of protecting himself open to the defendant consists in the possibility of his obtaining the withdrawal of the measures provisionally taken against him (attachment of his property or an injunction preventing his disposing of it), by giving good reasons in support of his request—the appreciation of the value of these reasons being left entirely to the discretion of the Court—and by giving security for payment, such as the deposit of a certain sum or the giving of a surety (Section 53).

In the second place, while granting the plaintiff's request for the attachment of the property of the defendant or an injunction to prevent his disposing of one or several pieces of property, or any such provisional measure whatsoever, the Court can make the granting of that measure dependent on the deposit—this time by the plaintiff—of a certain sum of money as security against any loss that might result to the defendant from the measures applied for, and in the case when this application has been made without reasonable cause. (Section 52). Under Section 57, indeed—a Section that contains no modification—if the plaintiff has applied without sufficient cause for the arrest of the defendant (Section 54), or the attachment of his property, or any provisional measure whatever, he is liable to be condemned to pay compensation to the defendant. The same applies to the case in which the Court dismisses the plaintiff's action, and it is found that such action was taken without sufficient reason (same Section).

GARNISHEE ORDER

The second means placed at the disposal of the creditor to overcome the resistance of the debtor is constituted by the Garnishee order provided and regulated by Section 84 of the Law on Civil Procedure.

This Section sets forth: "If as a result of the judgment, the creditor has not been fully satisfied, and if he states upon oath that a third person is under obligation to pay money or to deliver goods to the judgment debtor, the Court may issue an order to such third person not to pay the money or deliver the goods to the judgment

debtor, but to pay or deliver the same to the Court, or to the official appointed by the Court to execute the judgment, within such reasonable time as may be fixed in the order."

It is supposed that some third person is a debtor of the loser in the case, a debtor in respect of a sum of money or of any payment in kind, that is to say, an obligation to deliver goods. In the absence of this order, this third person ought to put what he owes in the hands of his own creditor, that is to say, to pay to the loser of the case the sum of money that he owes him, or to deliver to him the goods that he has undertaken to deliver to him. This money or these goods would thus fall into the general estate of the loser, and he would be able to dispose of the same as of his other property. On the contrary, the effect of the writ of attachment is that the third party discharges his obligation into the hands of the Court or of the official who has been appointed to execute the judgment. In this way the sum of money or the goods in question do not fall provisionally into the whole of the property of the loser and so he is unable to dispose of such money or goods. The result from this is certainly an appreciable improvement in the position of the winner of the case, that is to say, of the creditor, whose right has been recognised and sanctioned by the Court.

This advantage was, it is true, already recognised as due to the winner by the former Section 84. But that Section provided only for the case when a sum of money had to be paid. The new Law extends this measure to the case when merchandise has to be delivered, and from the commercial point of view this constitutes an important innovation, because in practice debts consist often in the obligation to deliver goods.

Further, the use of the Garnishee order is more completely settled by the new Section 84. The law now provides for the case where the third-party-debtor, whose name is thus put forward by the creditor, denies or disputes the obligation thus alleged against him. In that case the Court can hold an enquiry (Section 84, second paragraph), that is to say, hear witnesses and cause to be produced any documents of a kind to throw light on the point. If the Court is then satisfied that the obligation exists, it orders the third party to perform the same in the manner aforesaid, under pain of a personal prosecution and the issue of a writ of execution against his personal property (Section 84, third paragraph).

If, on the other hand, it appears to the Court that the defence

of the third party to be distrained on is serious, that is to say that the alleged obligation does not in fact exist, or that it is prescribed, or that it exists in regard to objects that cannot be distrained on, the Court simply dismisses this subordinate petition of the creditor. But when the question cannot be clearly settled in this way, that is to say when the existence of the obligation is doubtful, or a matter of legal dispute, the Court plainly cannot issue a writ of execution. But what then ought it to do? Here the intention of the legislator does not seem very clear. Section 84, second paragraph, decides, in fact, in that case that: "If the Court is of opinion that the matter cannot be conveniently settled by such an enquiry it may make any other order for its determination which seems expedient". The only possible measures appear to us to be the opening of a supplementary enquiry, or the postponement of the decision till the existence of the debt has been thoroughly investigated, or placing the question before a Court that is competent to decide on this question when, according to the rules of competency, it is not the Court which has to decide the principal action.

On this point it is well to note that, for the writ of attachment to be possible, it is sufficient that the obligation cited exists, and that it does not matter whether it has fallen due or not. That at least appears to be the conclusion to draw from the very wide expression used in the law:—"a third party under obligation to pay or to deliver". To hold otherwise would be to deprive the writ of attachment of all practical value, because if the writ can be used only in the case of debts that have fallen due, the *mala fide* debtor would arrange to dispose to his own advantage of the amount of the debt from the very day of its falling due and before the writ of attachment could intervene.

Moreover it is not necessary that the obligation relied upon by the applicant be either determined or liquid, that is to say that its amount be ascertained; what matters alone is the existence of the obligation. For the same reason an obligation which is subject to a time-clause or conditional or even contingent, may serve as the basis of a writ of execution. All these solutions, which authorise the widest possible use of the writ of attachment, present no practically serious inconvenience since they apply a simply conservatory measure, entailing no modification of the obligation attached, and being unable to aggravate the position of the debtor. These measures are admitted in French law, where the Garnishee order has been functioning

for a long time in a satisfactory manner.

The law does not either place any restriction on the scope of the Garnishee order. It can then, it seems, be applied to the emoluments and pensions of officials, to the pay, salary, and any compensation due to employees and workmen, without any exception and without the fixing of any attachable maximum. In that there is a certain danger, since pay and small emoluments often represent for their holder the minimum necessary for existence,

PROVISIONAL EXECUTION OF JUDGMENTS

One of the most effective means for obtaining the execution of the judgment against the loser is unquestionably to deprive the appeal of any suspensive effect, by deciding that, despite the appeal, the execution of the judgment will take its ordinary course. That was already the solution of the former Section 96 of the Law on procedure, and this solution has been again adopted by the legislator in the new section (Section 96, second paragraph).

But we have there only a general rule which provides for the normal case of a debtor in bad faith, who has recourse to an appeal in order to delay the settlement of the matter. In the contrary case, since the immediate execution of the judgment is a great inconvenience to the debtor, and may even cause his ruin, it is well to leave him a way of escape. That is what the legislator does in Section 96, in permitting the debtor, at the same time as he makes his appeal, to ask the Court to suspend the execution.

This request should be accompanied by proof in justification, that is to say, the appellant is bound to produce valid reasons for not executing the judgment immediately—for example, an illness, an unfortunate incident occasioning a temporary embarrassment in his business, etc. The Court has a discretionary power to grant or refuse this application (Section 96 (2)). It seems even, from the way the law is phrased, that it can make the order *ex officio* (Section 96 (2) end). It can make its order subject to such conditions as may seem to it to be desirable, for example, the deposit of a sum of money, the providing of a security or the entering into a solemn bond not to dispose of his property while the appeal is pending. The law also, as a condition to be imposed by the Court, provides for the deposit of the amount due under the judgment; but one fails to see, in that case, what interest the appellant can have in the suspension of the execution.

If the appellant does not comply with those conditions, the Court can order the attachment of the whole or part of his property, and even, when it is a case of furniture, can have them sold by auction, if that seems to it to be advisable or necessary, for example when it is a case of perishable goods or goods the preservation of which would lead to excessive expense (Section 96 (2)).

The new Section 102 provides for the case when the loser in the first instance sees the Court of Appeal reverse in his favour the judgment against him. The law then enables him to apply to the Court to cancel the attachment of his property or to order the return of the money deposited. Immediately or after due enquiry, the Court will decide if it is proper or not to comply with this application. It may happen, indeed, that on a further appeal to the Dika Court the judgment of the Court of first instance will be restored in full force; the Court may then think it well to preserve for the creditor his guarantees of payment.

RESTRICTION OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF APPEAL

Appeal was already the subject of a certain number of Sections in the original Law on Civil Procedure (Sections 96 to 99); and the Amendment Act has subjected these sections to minor modifications which we shall take up again later. But that has not prevented the legislator from devoting a complete special law to appeal. We cannot fail to note in passing the originality of a legislative proceeding which consists in publishing at an interval of a few months in two distinct legislative texts the rules governing a single subject. It is as if one had purposely sought to add to the confusion which is already great in this subject.

The new law on appeal, which is entitled *The Appeal Act*, N. E. 2473, has for its purpose, as is stated in the preamble, to prevent unnecessary delay in disposing of cases. Let it be noted at once that this law does not proclaim any amendment or repeal of the previous laws on appeal, and we have particularly in mind Section 96 and the following sections of the Law on Civil Procedure. So far as these sections are concerned, then, it can only be a question of a tacit repeal in the case of those provisions which are incompatible with the new ones.

What is new in the law of N. E. 2473 comes to a more strict regulation of the conditions of appeal. The legislator has certainly been prompted in this matter by the former laws on the Dika petition

(Original law of R. E. 2457 and the Amendment Acts of R. E. 2461 and R. E. 2469), which had successively restricted the free exercise of this means of relief.

Appeal remains possible in principle, but a particular issue is provided for by Section 3 in the following hypothesis:

"In criminal cases where the maximum punishment is imprisonment not exceeding three years or fine not exceeding Tcs. 2,000, or both, and when the Court of First Instance has acquitted the accused, or sentenced him to imprisonment not exceeding six months or fine not exceeding Tcs. 200, or both; and in civil cases where the amount claimed does not exceed Tcs. 200....."

One readily notes that here, in the view of the legislator, it is dealing with a case of small importance in regard to which there is an advantage in economising both time and money by taking the decision of the first judges as definitive. However, even on this hypothesis, the legislator has no desire of suppressing the right of appeal altogether. Appeal is always possible, but on rigorous conditions, the character of which varies according as the appeal bears on questions of fact or on questions of law.

In the case of an appeal on questions of fact, it can be received only on condition "that the Chief Judge of the Court of First Instance or his deputy has given leave to appeal, in writing, or that any Judge who has been present at the hearing of the case, or the Attorney-General certifies that there are reasonable grounds for appealing or unless there is a dissenting opinion..." (Section 3). When these conditions are fulfilled, the appeal ought to be received and proceeded with.

On the other hand, if it is a case of an appeal on a point of law, for example when the appellant urges the false interpretation by the Court of a section of the Code or of any legal text whatever, the appeal can be received without regard to any of the conditions enumerated in Section 3 being complied with. The appeal is submitted only to the ordinary conditions of admissibility, which we shall deal with again.

But the position of the appellant in this case is far from being absolutely favourable. First of all in deciding on this appeal bearing on questions of law, the Appeal Court is bound by the facts as set forth in the file by the Judges of the Court of First Instance. (Section 4). That is to say that one cannot contend in an appeal that

the facts are in reality other than the Court has already envisaged them. Further, all the points of law relied upon by the appellant must be stated in the appeal petition (Section 5); that is to say that the appellant cannot adduce new points in the course of the hearing of the appeal. This restriction requires of lawyers the greatest attention and care in drawing up the petition of appeal.

Finally and especially, the points of law invoked in appeal must have arisen in the Court of First Instance (Section 5). In other words one cannot invoke new arguments on appeal; from the beginning of the suit one ought to set forth the legal reasons which one depends upon for the support of one's claims and to stick with them during the whole procedure.

That is a very grave restriction to the faculty of appeal, and one which is, besides, not admitted in the systems of procedure of the principal countries. In France, for example, if new claims cannot, in principle, be received on appeal, new arguments are, on the other hand, perfectly admissible. It is, besides, difficult to justify their exclusion because a litigant may find in the very decision of the Judges of first instance, excellent reasons in support of his claim, and may perceive only at that moment how it would be necessary to present and maintain them. To forbid him to profit by the development of the argument and the experience of the Judges, seems to us to be exaggerated formalism.

In any case, although the law does not say anything about it, it appears that one ought to make an exception to this inadmissibility of new arguments when they rest upon considerations of public order. In such a case, indeed, there is a higher interest which allows the appeal. In French law, in particular, under which new grounds of appeal cannot be received by the final Court, an exception is made in this case, but solely on condition that the facts on which the argument now adduced rests, have already been submitted to the former Judges. That is so, for example, when one pleads for the first time before the Court of Cassation the incompetency of the Court that had the case before it in the first instance, the irregular composition of that Court, or the transgression of good morals, etc.

By virtue of Section 6 all appeal petitions ought to be examined by the Court of First Instance, whose duty it shall be to forward them or refuse to forward them to the Court of Appeal, in accordance with the rules contained in this Act (The Appeal Act) or the Laws on Civil Procedure and Criminal Procedure; if there is a

refusal (to forward the appeal) the reasons for it must be stated in the order of the Court."

This section is general, and applies to all appeal petitions, whatever be the amount at issue or the seriousness of the penalties incurred or inflicted. Likewise there is Section 7, according to which the appellant has a recourse against the decision of the Court refusing to forward his appeal petition to the Court of Appeal. According to this last section, indeed, the appellant can address a new appeal petition to the Court, one which the Court is obliged to forward to the Court of Appeal.

Thus the law has organised a kind of investigation of the admissibility of the appeal petition in two stages: first by the Court of First Instance which has heard the case, and then by the Court of Appeal itself, if that is necessary, that is to say, in case the first Court refuses to forward. The idea which has guided the legislator was presumably to limit the number of appeal cases, by stopping from the outset a certain number of petitions as not admissible. The Appeal Court would have to pronounce only on the merits of the appeals admitted. But the system adopted does not appear to be well adapted to lead to the result desired.

The examination of the conditions under which an appeal can be received constitutes, indeed, a problem more complex and more delicate than the legislator appears to suppose. Assuredly when it is a matter of knowing whether the appeal petition has been filed within the proper period, or if the case is of the civil or the criminal type, or what is the sum total of the judgment or the amount of the claim there is every reason to leave it to the decision of the Court which had the case before it in the first instance. But if the point in dispute is whether the appeal is on points of fact or of law, or whether the points of law adduced rest on facts which have already been submitted to the first Judges, or whether the appellant adduces reasonable grounds in support of his appeal, the Court of First Instance does not seem to us the better qualified to decide, for the good reason that it has just taken a decision to the contrary in dealing with the suit. There is little chance that the Court, which has just decided the other way, will acknowledge, even implicitly, the soundness of the reasons that may be adduced against its decision.

Since, in case the Court definitely refuses to forward the appeal petition, the appellant can all the same address himself to

the Appeal Court it would have been simpler, speedier and less costly to allow him to do so directly. It is probable, in fact, that the appellant, who by his very name is dissatisfied, will always have recourse to this final expedient.

The right of addressing oneself after all to the Court of Appeal for the admission of one's petition in appeal, is none the less subject to certain supplementary conditions which the appellant has to satisfy before the Court agrees to forward his petition. (Section 7).

In a civil case the appellant ought first to deposit a sum of money representing the costs in the action. One must understand by that, presumably, the costs in the Court of First Instance, although one could arrive at an approximate estimate of the costs of appeal. Further he ought to pay into Court the amount of the judgment debt as decided by the Court of First Instance, or furnish security for the payment of this latter sum, this on the supposition, of course, that he has not obtained a suspension of the execution of the judgment. Finally the appellant must deposit his petition within ten days starting from the day when the order of the Court rejecting his appeal petition has been delivered, or ought to have been delivered. Beyond that period it is excluded (Section 7). This last condition is general, and applies to a criminal as well as to a civil case.

In order not to cause needless delay in the investigation of the case by the Court of Appeal, the Court of First Instance must forward to that Court "without delay" the appeal petition together with the whole record of the case (Section 7).

In the cases foreseen by Section 3, if leave to appeal on questions of fact is requested of the Chief Judge, the Court of First Instance must forward to him the appeal petition, together with the rest of the record (Section 8). Thus, concerning a case, whether criminal or civil, which the legislator considers of minor importance by reason of the amount of the claim or of the penalty incurred or the sentence passed, the appellant who has addressed himself to the Chief Judge of the Court in order to obtain leave to appeal on questions of fact, finds himself deprived of any further recourse in case of a refusal by that Judge, to forward his appeal. For that very reason it is probable that, when they come to know that fact, litigants will rarely apply for the good offices of the Chief Judge to obtain leave to appeal. They will doubtless prefer to have it certified by one of the Judges who has heard the case that there are "reasonable grounds" in support of their appeal. In that way

their petition will have to be forwarded, and a decision will have to be given on their appeal (Section 3).

We have said that the Act of N. E. 2473 dealing with procedure also contains provisions the object of which is to restrict the possibilities of appeal, to facilitate the settlement of cases and to prevent litigants in bad faith from prolonging cases indefinitely. These provisions are as follows:

(A). One cannot appeal from an order or decision made in the course of the trial before final judgment has been delivered in the case, unless it is an order inflicting fine or imprisonment. (Section 96-(1)). The concluding part of this provision makes allusion, for example, to the case of an act of fraudulent disposition of property. (Section 79 of the original Law on Civil Procedure).

If the parties have good reasons to urge against decisions made in the course of a trial, it is necessary to allow them to be noted. That is why the law rules that the objections thus raised must be taken down in writing and attached to the record, in order to facilitate the disposal of the case by the Court of Appeal. (Section 96-(1), towards the end).

(B). The appeal against a definitive judgment may be received only within the month following the day on which that judgment was delivered or ought to have been delivered. (Section 96-(2)). It is the appeal petition which must be filed in that month, except in the cases in which leave to appeal is necessary; and in such cases it seems it is the date of the petition for that leave which should be taken into consideration. The legislator, however, would have done better to determine all these points precisely.

(C). The parties at issue in the Appeal Court are the same as in the Court of First Instance. (Section 96-(3)). By this provision, a little mysterious in its form, it seems that the law meant to remove the possibility for third parties—for example the creditor, the insurer or the surety—to intervene by way of appeal or to be called into an appeal by way of intervention. That is a conclusion which proceeds, by way of consequence, from the above-mentioned prohibition of new issues and new arguments.

(D). All appeal petitions must be in writing. (Section 96-(4)). A copy must be addressed to the respondent, and, within 15 days from the receipt of that copy, the respondent has the right to submit an answer to the Court in which the appeal petition was lodged. (Section 96-(6)).

(E). The petition on appeal must, in fact, be addressed to the Court of First Instance which tried the case, and not to the Court of Appeal, as logic would seem to prescribe. Section 96-(4) expressly reproduces this requirement, which we have criticised above in studying the dispositions of the Law on appeal.

(F). The appeal petition has to be accompanied by a deposit of the amount of the costs which the appellant has been ordered to pay to the other party by the judgment of the Court of First Instance. (Section 96-(4)). In contrast with the Law on appeal, the present law makes no mention of the amount of the judgment debt. It really seems to follow that, apart from cases in which Section 7 of the Appeal Act is applied, that is to say apart from criminal cases, the appellant is required to deposit only the amount of the costs in the Court of First Instance, and not the amount of the judgment debt (fine, restitution, damages).

When the Court, having admitted the petition of appeal, is of opinion that this appeal will necessitate the payment of new costs by the party who won in the first instance, it can, in conformity with the scale of fees in force, order the deposit by the appellant of a supplementary sum to cover these costs. In that case the Court fixes the time within which this supplementary sum has to be paid, but in no case must it exceed ten days, counting from the expiration of the time allowed for appeal. If the deposit is not made in good time, the appeal is barred. (Section 96-(4)). It seems indeed that that must be the normal hypothesis, because it is normal that the appeal should involve new costs for both the parties. On the other hand as it is the loser who must in the end bear the burden, and as in the mind of the Court the loser can only be the appellant, it is likely that the Court will always order the supplementary deposit of which the law speaks.

These new provisions of Section 96 of the Law on Procedure are the more interesting since, according to the new Section 101 of the said Law, they apply *mutatis mutandis* when a further appeal is presented to the Dika Court. As, however, the special laws concerning this latter recourse have not been abrogated, they apply also, particularly as regards the fundamental conditions on which a Dika appeal may be received, conditions which are, in principle, the same as those laid down by the Law on Appeal—the distinction between questions of fact and questions of law, the obligation on the Dika Court to accept the facts as they are recorded by the Court of

Appeal, the impossibility of adducing new points of law, etc.

As most of the recent laws which seriously amend a previous state of things, the laws the principal provisions of which we have just analysed, include a transitory provision meant to settle what is to be done with cases already instituted when these laws came into force. Both Acts have adopted the same principle of excluding any retrospective effect, that is to say, in both cases, the legislator has understood that actions already commenced should remain subject to the former legislative system. This solution, wise in principle, is not generally followed in procedure, because in this matter the immediate application of the laws does not as a rule cause any loss to the litigants. The legislator has, however, acted rightly in deciding that the above-mentioned laws should apply only to futures cases. Besides purely formal provisions, both Acts in fact contain provisions that are restrictive of the rights of the litigants, since they limit the right of the defendant to dispose of his property, and they submit the exercise of the right of appeal to conditions that are sensibly more rigorous. It is then quite in conformity with the general principles of the law to limit its application to the future.

There is besides a slight difference between the two transitory provisions above-mentioned. According to Section 12 of the new Law on civil procedure, "cases instituted prior to the coming into force of this Act (1st April, n. E. 2474) shall be subject to the provisions of the old law until finally disposed of." According to Section 9 of the Appeal Act, "all cases in which appeal petitions are filed prior to the coming into force of this Act (1st April, n. E. 2474), shall be subject to the provisions of the old law until finally disposed of." This latter provision allows a concession to the system of the retrospective application of the laws, since it permits the new law on appeal to be applied to cases entered up previous to its coming into force on the sole condition that the appeal petition had not been filed previously. The system of absolutely barring retrospective application would have required the new provisions to be applied only to cases in which the first motion in the Court of First Instance came after this law was in force. It is the more surprising to see the legislator adopt here a different ruling from that of the new Law on procedure, since the latter also contains rules on appeal. As the case may be, and according as such and such condition of appeal is concerned, the same appeal may find itself subjected to the former laws or to the new laws, without reconciliation between these two

orders of provisions being always possible. This observation brings out again the disadvantage, noted above, shown by the dispersion in several legal texts of the rules governing the same subject.

But whatever may be the criticisms which we have been able to propound in the course of this analysis of the new laws on civil procedure and on appeal, it is none the less true that they constitute a serious legislative effort, and that they now form, with the older laws, a whole sufficient to assure a good execution of judgments and respect for the decisions of justice.

INVENTAIRE DES MANUSCRITS JURIDIQUES SIAOIS

DITS ฉบับกฎหมาย และ ฉบับกฎหมายวิภาค ที่ ๓

par

J. BURNAY

(suite)⁽¹⁾

MANUSCRITS DITS ฉบับกฎหมายวิภาค ที่ ๓

I et II พระธรรมศาสตร์ อินทภาษ

Manquent.

III พระธรรมนุญ

Titres: plat: พระสมุท พระทำนุ ๒๕๐๐; *tranches:* พระทำ
นุญ. 1 vol., 105 pp. *Cote:* ๕๓.⁽²⁾ *Provenance:* achat. *Date*
d'entrée: 24 octobre 2454.

(R3)

1 (a) วันธ^{๓๐} + ๓๓ คำรู้ตักกวาส ๓๓๖๘ บเถระนพลก ขำพระพุทธรเจ้า

(1) Voir vol. xxiii, pp. 185-203, vol. xxiv, pp. 29-79 et 93-197.

(2) Tous les manuscrits ฉบับกฎหมายวิภาค ที่ ๓ sont déposés à la Vajirāñāna et, à l'exception de R3 et R27.5, ils y sont tous entrés le 31 mai 2467. Sauf les deux mêmes exceptions, ils viennent tous du พระพุทธมณฑล. On n'a donc maintenu les rubriques *Provenance* et *Date d'entrée* que pour R3 et R27.5. La rubrique *Dépôt* a été supprimée partout.

ทนาย (b) ไม่ได้รับ ข้าราชการประจำ ข้าราชการประจำ
นายทนายทนาย } ตาม ๑๓๖

2019年 12月

Contents: (1) ဗဟုသုတ: 3-14; (2) ဖုတ်စာအုပ်: 15-104.

(52 d) เมืองบ้านคำซันแก่กรมพระกะดาโหม แด่ตราพระคชศรเจ้าพระยา
กะดาโหมได้ใช้แต่ท่าน ระบุ—

ကလေး: p. 53.

(54a) ^๓ @ ความเพียรบรรณาธิกชาติชำนานิตยพพรวง
พงษภักตยาธเบศรวรณคศิริรัตน (Bradley¹⁰, I, p. 49, l. 10)

IV et V ลักษณะวิจิตร ลักษณะรูปทรง

Manquent.

VI ๑๖๓๓

Titres: plat: © พระยาศรีพิพัฒน์ฯ พระโอรสองค์โตของพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว รัชกาลที่ ๕; *tranches:* พระยาศรีพิพัฒน์ฯ, 1 vol., 135 pp. *Cote:* 42.

(R6)

1 (a) ๑ วัน ๑ + ๑๑ คำรู้ดึกกว่า ๑๑๑๑ บัดเดาเนพดักฉาพระพุทธรูป
เจ้านายราชดำรง (b) ฉาพระพุทธรูปเจ้า
หลวงธรรมา
นายเทวธรรมา } ๑๑๑๑๑
๑๑๑๑ ๑๑๑๑

แผนมณเฑียรบรรณครุหนึ่งถูกอุกิตนั้นตาย แต่จะอง(๖) โทษประการใด
จะขอรับ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าเอาใบสั่งไปยังกรมราชเลขาปรับด้วยพระราชกฤษฎีกา
(๗) ฎีกา แต่ปรับว่าเด็กชายคุ้ม ๕ เดือนเป็นค่า ๕๐๐๐๐ เป็นเงินหกสลึง
(๘) แต่ให้ใหม่อาแดงอันสองค่าเป็นเงิน ๓ เป็นเงินใหม่ถึงพิโนกิง แต่
ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า (21a) พุทธเจ้าเอาตามพระราชกฤษฎีกาประการใด ขอเดชะ
พระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาจุฬาลงกรณ์ (๖) เกด้า ๑ จึงพระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าเอกาทศรวุ
ธิศวรบรมนาถบรมบพิตรพระพุทธเจ้าอยู่หัว (๗) ผู้ทรงทศพิศราชธรรมอนันต
สัมภวาทิเรกเอกอุคตบรมพุทธราชอุคตเศ เสด็จทรง (๘) ขบวนกระหนก
ทรงรัตนมหาปราสาทโอภาสพรหมวิศาล ทรงพระวิจารณ์บูรณราชสมบัติ
นิบัติ (22a) คณพาดในยัคแต่เห็นคฤหิยอน จม่อนให้ยิ่งกว่าชาติบูรณ
เพื่อจะบริบาล (๖) ครุณพระราชกรณียกิจ เป็นทาสกรรมกรบวรรัตนเสมา
ชนาเขตบมให้คณนิคเทศ (๗) พารา แห่งผู้มีอิศริยานุหุประทุษบังอา
แต่ให้ประพฤติดตามพระรา (๘) โสวาทโดยนิตยทำนุก จงเกษมสุขประ
ชากรดาบในประจวบนั้นอนาคตกาล : (23a) ด้วยเดชสมภารพระบรมบาท
จึงมีพระราชโองการมานพระที่นั่งสุทนต์ธรรมา (๖) คำทรงตั้งแก่นหาราช
ครุพระราชครูปโรหิตาพญาจารย์ให้แต่งพระราชกฤษฎีกาพิทักษ์ (๗) คำคน
ไว้คงณ ๖ ๑ ๒

Sept divisions non numérotées, dont trois *mātrā*.

(37c)...๖ กล่าวถึงชนเผ่าที่กระเด็นรายล้อม (๘) ชายหญิงตามมุน
กัฏฐาตถธรรมา โดยคำนำพระธรรมตำราแต่เท่านี้ ๖๑—

(38a) ๑ จักกล่าวมุนคัมภีร์สำหรับกระดาการอันชื่อว่าพรหมทนต์คัมภีร์

พรหมศักดิ์บริบทโดย (b) บัพในคำกั๊พระบรมศาสดาว่า daṇḍābhī-
 pattikāraṇaṃ yaṃsabbesaṃparāji (c) naṃtampipattidaṇ-
 daṃ daṇḍonāmatikittitaṃ. ๑ แปลได้อีกความว่า yaṃdaṇḍā
 (d) bhīpattikāraṇaṃ

อันว่ากริยาบทชกซึ่งอาชวาคือ	อันใหม่	}	อันใด
	พิไนย		

 sabbesaṃparā (39a) jīnaṃ

กับบุคคลทั้งที่ยดอายุมีเพศ	อันใหม่	}	อัน kitti-
	พิไนย		

 tadandaṃ อันว่าลักษณะอันชก (b) ซึ่งอาชวาคือ

	อันใหม่	}	อัน kitti-
	พิไนย		

 taṃ อันพระโมลีสารจารย์กล่าว daṇḍo (c) nāma ซึ่งว่า
 พรหมทศอกรรมศักดิ์บริบท ๓๑ ๓ dasakusalathānaṃ
 (d) cittaekaṃvaḍḍhaṃkatvā pañcendriyācagūṇakaṃ ma-
 noducaritaṃnāma : (40a) manoducaritaṃthānaṃ pañcin-
 driyāhānaṃ ekādasālabbhaṃ vaciducca (b) ritaṃnāma
 manoduccaritaṃthānaṃ ekādasāhānañceva labbhaṃnava-
 thānaṃ (c) katvā pañcanasattaṃtṭhanava dasadvādasā-
 cudasa ekavīsatiḡuṇaṃhoti (d) yathāanukammeneva āc-
 āriyenayojetabbā ๓ ๓๖

(41a) พระโมลีสารจารย์ท่านกล่าวไว้ว่า

Dix divisions, non numérotées.

(69f) ๓๖ คำ ๒ คำ

กธป: p. 70.

(71a) เดมีก ๔๘๕๐๐ ๒๔๗๕๐๐

(Bradley¹⁰, I, p. 107, l. 14)

un *mātrā*, numéroté 4 (125 c).

(126 c) ๑ วัน ๕ + ๑๐ คำอนันต์ตัวอักษร ออกพระตำราประ
เสริฐรับพระราชโอง (d) การได้เกล้า ๆ ซึ่งว่าตนสืบไปเมื่อหน้า

deux *mātrā*, numérotés 5 et 6.

VII, VIII et IX ศักดินาพดเรือน

ศักดินาทหารหัวเมือง ดัชนีขุน

Manquent.

X ดัชนีผู้เมีย

1

Titres: plat: ๑ พระสมุท พระโอรสการผู้เมีย ๓ ๓๕—;
tranches: ผู้เมีย ๓. 1 vol., 107 pp. *Cote:* ๕๔.

(R10.1)

I (a) วัน ๕ + ๑๐ คำจุลศักราช ๓๔๖๘ ปีมะแม นพศก ข้าราชการผู้เจ้า
นายแก้วรูป (b) ข้าราชการผู้เจ้า

หลวงอัครวิกรม	}	ทาม ขอบเขต ๓๕—
นายเตียรกระราช		

Contenu: (1) บานพด: 3-14; (2) ดัชนีผู้เมีย jusqu'à:
ตามหนังสือสัญญาทามบน ซึ่งทำให้ได้แก่ท่านนั้น ๓๕— (Brad-
ley¹⁰, I, p. 244, I. 15): 15-107 c.

(54d) ให้โหมราชผู้เลขาถึงนั้น โดยฉันทนุญกรยา ๓๕—

XI et XII ลักษณะโจร ลักษณะลักพา

Manquent.

XIII ลักษณะทาส

Titres: plat: * พระสมุค พระโอรสการทาส *~~๒๒๑~~; *tranches:* ทาส. 1 vol., 169 pp. *Cote:* 44.

(R13)

1 (a) * ส^๑๑๑ คำจุลศักราช ๑๑๖๘ ปีชวดสุพัศก ข้าพระพุทธรเจ้า
 รุนดาร์ปเรณิว
 หนึ่งจำนวน (b) อักษรอาลักษณ์รูป ข้าพระพุทธรเจ้า/หลวงวิจิตรวาทาเจ้า
 กรมอาลักษณ์วังหน้า
 ทาน ๓ ศักราชโดยพระ *~~๒๒๑~~

Contenu: (1) บทเพลง: 3-15c; (2) ลักษณะทาส: 15d-169.

(15d) * จักกฉวาทลักษณะนุคคัตถวาทด้วยทาสอื่นได้ทาสชะเคย
 ราช
 หนึ่ง } เปนต้นที่จะให้แตกคัตตาม (16a) คำภีร์พระบรมมหาราชว่า dāsī-
 cadāsam ทาสอันควรจะไร ได้มี ๘ ประการโดยพระ (b) บาทังน
 dhanenavikineyyavā puttadāsāmātāpitā jātidāsādinnakā
 (c) aṭadāsācābhatakkā dhajāhatācadāsakā dāsavannā-
 pisattamā ๗ ขนิบายว่า (d) dāvannā ขนิบายว่าปรเทศแห่งทาสทั้งหลาย

sattamā มีเจตจำพอกข์อันควร (17a) จะใช้ที่ดิน dhanenavikiney-
yavā คือทาสได้มาด้วยทรัพย์ * puttadāsā คือ (b) ลูกทาสเกิดใน
เรือนเบญจ * mātāpitācadāsakā คือทาสได้มาแต่ฝ่ายข้างบิดา
(c) มารดา * dinnakāca คือทาสมีผู้ให้ * attadāsāca คือทาสอันได้
ด้วยกัณฑ์บุตร (d) ทูตแห่งคนอันต้องโทษ * bhattakāca คือ
ทาสอันได้โดยวิธีในศาลเมื่อเข้าแพง * (18a) dhajāhatācadāsakā
คือนางรับใช้ไปรบศึกแล้วได้มาเป็นทาสชะเตย * พาส ๘ (b) ประการ
กึ่งนควรจะใช้ได้ อนึ่งทาสอันมีคควรจะใช้ที่ดิน ๖ ประการมีบทดังนี้ (c)
muñcanābhikkhudāsāca brahmanadānadāsatā dāsometi-
tibhikkhumbhikkhu atthisilānāne (d) janā khattadāsā-
tichatṭheva dāsakammenalabbhare ฯ อธิบายว่า chaṭṭhae-
vadāsā อัน (19a) จำทาสไม่ควรจะว่าทาส ไม่ควรจะใช้ใน ๖ ประการ
mañcanāca คือทาสอันไปรบ (b) เสียมิได้ไร * bhikkhudāsāca
คือทาสอันตนไปรบให้วัดเป็นสมณ * brahmanadā (c) sakā คือ
ทาสอันตนไปรบให้ไปแก่พราหมณ์หนึ่ง dāsometibhikkhumbhikkhu
คือภิกษุคฤหัสถ์ (d) จงว่าเป็นทาสนมนิได้ * atthisilānānejanā คือ
ผู้ขึ้นขึ้นมั่นในศีลจาริคุณมาฟัง (20a) ท่านก็อยู่จงว่าเป็นทาสนมนิได้ *
khettadāsā คือผู้มาหาใคร่ขอยู่ในคามเรศที่เรศถ่วงไร่นา (b) แห่งคน
คนจะว่าผู้เป็นทาสมิได้ * เป็น ๖ ประการด้วยกัน พาส ๖ ประการ
มี (c) dāsakammenalabbhare อันบุคคลมีคควรจะพึงใช้ในทาส
กรรมกรแห่งคนได้ ฯ ท่านจะกล่าว (d) ดำรงคฤหัสถ์คามบุตรคฤหัสถ์โดย
พระวาระบัญญัติจัดเป็นบทมาตราฉบับมาดังนี้ ฯ ๑—

(21a) * สุกุมคัตถุ ๑๑๕๘ มะณณกัถักวธาสาหมาสสุกัธบักขย เธ

กาทศัมมัตถุณัจฉินทวาร (b) พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าวรวงศ์เธอเจ้ากรมพระวิมล
 บริรักษ์จักรพรรดิราชเสวยราชย์ เสด็จไปประทับที่ (c) เทวสถานเทพารักษ์
 ชินเคศ บริรักษ์จักรพรรดิราชเสวยราชย์ เสด็จไปประทับที่ (d) เทวสถานเทพารักษ์
 (d) ไผ่ผืนดินปราสาท โดยบุรพพาพิมุขทรงพระอนุสรณ์คำนึงตามคำที่พระ
 ธรรมศาสตร์แล้ว : (22a) มีพระราชโองการมานพระพุทธรูปอันมหากษัตริย์
 บัญญัติไว้ว่า ราชครูจะใช้ในทางกรรม (b) มี ๗ ประการในคำที่
 พระธรรมศาสตร์ คือราชันได้ประการ ๑ คือถูกทาสเกิดในเรือนเบี้ย
 (c) ประการ ๑ คือทาสได้มาแต่ ^{บิดา} _{มารดา} ประการ ๑ คือทาสทำนให้ประการ ๑
 คือทาสอันได้ (d) ด้วยช่วยกันของแห่งคนอันต้องทาสโทษ ๑ คือทาสอัน
 ได้โดยมาแต่อกาตฤทธิการประการ ๑ (23a) คือทาสอันได้ด้วยระเจียร
 การ ๑ เป็นเจียรประการหนึ่ง ๒ จักกล่าวถึงลักษณะทาสอันได้ (b) ก่อน
 ได้ทาสนี้ ๑ ประการ โดยพระธรรมศาสตร์กล่าวถึง ประการหนึ่งได้มีได้ราช
 ชาติ ประการ (b) หนึ่งได้มีได้ ๒ อันว่าได้มีได้ราชค่านัน คือว่า
 ได้จากผู้ขายนายประกัน กำนันทอดบท (d) หายเขาแก่ผู้ขายนาย
 ประกันได้ อันว่าราชได้ราชค่านันคือว่าได้เต็มคำ แต่ทาสมิได้ประกัน
 (24a) มีนทอดบทให้หายเขาแก่ผู้ขายนายได้ อันว่าได้ทาสมิได้
 ไร่นาคือว่าได้แล้วให้บุตร (b) คชกนัยไปเกิด แลทาสนั้นชดชูกคชกนัย
 เองก็ว่าได้

33 *mātrā*, numérotés 1-33.

(69a) ๑ กล่าวถึงลักษณะทาส ^{รายฝ่าย} _{ได้ฝ่าย} } ได้ ๓๓ มาตราเท่านั้น

6 *mātrā*, numérotés 1-6.

(77b) * กล่าวลักษณะโทษ

ชายผู้ตก	}	๖ มาตราเท่านี้	๖
โทษผู้ตก			

5 *mātrā*, numérotés 1-5.

(82a)... ข กล่าวลักษณะโทษ

ชาย	}	ขาดค่า ๕ มาตรา (๖) เท่านี้	๕
โทษ			

5 *mātrā*, numérotés 1-5.

(86d) แก่เจ้าเงินใหม่ เจ้าเงินเก่าเจ้าเงินใหม่ คั้นสารกรมธรรม
ให้แก่นั้น ข ๖๖๖

ฉบับ: p. 87.

(88a) * มาตราหนึ่ง

ผู้ใดทำเนรเทศให้เรียกค่าหนึ่ง	}	๕๐ บาท	๕๐
โทษ			

ประกาศการเร่งรัด (Bradley¹⁰, 1, p. 347, l. 10)

2 *mātrā*, numérotés 6-7.

(90c) * คู่หมั้นคือ *anant* คักบุญนัถัดตัว มาตราห้าบัญญัติ
คฤหัสถ์อาทิตย(ด)จาร มีพระราชโองการสมเด็จพระเจ้า ราชอาชิตีศรี
บรมจักรพรรดิราช(91a)เดโชไชยพรหมเทพาติเทพศรีภูวนาธิเบศ บรม
บพิตรพระพุทฺธิเจ้าอยู่หัว : (๖) ให้ตราพระราชประหมัดค่านับโฆษณา แต่ยง
แก่ชาวเจ้าแห่งอยุธยา ราชัน (c) กุดยุดมณดร์พิริยโยชามาทยา
ทุกกระทรวงทบวงการทั้งหลาย ชันนีโน (d) แฉ่นแฉ่น พระนครศรี
อยุธยามหาดีดกภพพรรัตนราชธานีบรมยนิ : (92a) ถ้าไพร่ฟ้าทางไท

ใครๆ หนึ่งนายหนึ่งเจ้าๆ นามมาพบท่านให้ยืมรักเขา (b) เองแต่รักกัน ท่าน
 ว่าให้เจ้าไพร่เจ้าทาสนั้น ไปขายแก่ฉันผู้เขาไพร่ทาส (c) ข้าคนเราไว้
 นั้น ถ้าคนผู้เขาค้นเรือนตนบุตรอยู่เรา ให้ไปจำถึงขุนนาย (d) อนุ
 ประชาชาติ แต่ให้บอกแก่พระสุริยวงศ์แต่เพียง ให้เรียกหาว่า
 (93a) โดยขนาดตามกระทรวงทบวงการนั้น ชนังคนนั้นหนีไปนานแต่เจ้า
 ไพร่เจ้าทาส (b) พบในบ้านในเรือน ถิ่นถ่านบ้านแห่งใดๆ ให้ขายแก่เจ้า
 บ้านเจ้าเรือนนั้น (c) ถ้าเจ้าบ้านเจ้าเรือนเขาหมั้นขายดี ให้ประจำอยู่ให้
 ไปบอกแก่ฉันผู้ยืมรัก : (d) เสนาเมืองกระลาการ ให้โดนคดีกาถึงขุน
 นายส่งมาว่า ตามกระทรวงทบวง (94a) การ ถ้าพบในศาลควร
 ให้ขายดีไว้แก่เจ้าตลาด แต่นับตรให้กระ (b) ทรวงการ ให้โดนค
 ฎีกาเรียกหาโดยความแผ่นดิน ถ้าพบในกลาง (c) ถนนหนทางแต่หา
 ที่จะ ขายดีได้ให้เขาค้นนั้น ไปยังกระลาการแต่ให้ (d) นายผู้กระ
 บัทรกฎปากทาสคำไว้ แต่คนนั้นยังรับว่าเป็นทาสไพร่ (95a) ใครๆ
 กัดให้ตามมา ว่าต่อกันส่วนตัวนั้น ให้ใส่สิ่งรักขันธให้มันคง
 (b) แต่พันสามวันแล้ว เร่งให้โดนคดีกาถึงขุนนายให้ออกมาว่าต่อกัน ถ้า
 พัน (c) เจ็ดวันขุนนายมิออกมาว่าต่อกัน ให้กระลาการขายดีคนนั้นไว้
 แก่เจ้า ไพร่
 ทาส) แต่ (d) นั้นก่อน เมื่อจะตามมาว่าจึงเรียกออกมาว่า โดย
 พระราชกฤษฎีกาท่านแต่ (96a) ถ้าคนนั้นหนีมาหาเจ้าหาขายเอง ให้เขาไป
 ยังกระลาการในยุกระบัทรกฎเขาคำ (b) ไว้แต่คนนั้นรับว่า เป็นทาสเป็น
 ไพร่จริง ท่านให้เอนักการไปบอกที่คน (c) อยู่ นั้น แต่ให้ตามมาว่า

ข้อกัน ส่วนตัวมันให้กระดากการเกาะไว้ ถ้าพัน (d) เจดวันแลมี

ชอกมาว่าประการใด ให้กระดากการอายัดคนนั้นไว้แก่เจ้า ^{ไพร่} ^น ^{ทาส}

(97a) ก่อนเมื่อจะตามมามาว่าเมื่อใด จึงเขาชอกมาว่าโดยความแน่นคิน
ท่านใด ๖๖๖

26 *mātrā*, numérotés 1-26.

(131c) ๑ คู่หมั้นคู่ศรัทธา ๑๕๕๘ บัณฑิตนักดัดตัว ตั้งวันระวิ
ดำรง (d) มาแต่คู่หมั้นรักเชยทักยวาร์ ดมเจดบรมบพิตรพระพุทธรักษา
อยู่หัว ๖ (132a) เด็ดจในพระที่นั่ง โพชนมทาบปราสาทฝ่ายซ้าย ตั้ง
แก่เจ้าพญา (b) ศัรรีรัตนมดเทียรมาด ขุนจันทราทศิย ขุนอินทราทศิย
นายเทวาราช (c) บัณฑิตยเฝ้าอยู่ด้วย มีพระราชโองการมาณพระบัน
ทูล ให้แต่งพระ (d) ราชกำหนด พระราชกฤษฎีกาไว้ดังนี้ ๖

10 divisions, numérotées 1-10, dont neuf *mātrā* et un
อื่น : 2.

(146d) ๑ คู่หมั้นคู่ศรัทธา ๑๖๖๘ บัณฑิตนักดัดตัว เคียนสืบแรมคำท่ง
(147a) พระหัตถ์ดัด ดมเจดพระบรมบพิตรพระพุทธรักษาอยู่หัว เด็ดจใน
(b) พระที่นั่งฝ่ายอุดรทาบปราสาทโดยประจิมทิศ จึงพระเกษมราช
สุภาวดี (c) บังคมทูล พระกรุณาพระเจ้าอยู่หัวว่า ทวยราษฎร์
ทั้งหลายร้อง (d) พ้องว่า ยากแสนยากพินยังถูกทอดนไปราย ฝ่าย
ไว้แก่เจ้าเมย (148a) นายเงิน แดถูกทอดนนายเงินเขาทาสเป็นเมย

เกิดอุกคตมเกิดอุกคต (b) เสด็จวังเสวย นายเงินจะเข้าให้เต็มคำเรอ
 ไหวจากถาวนน ข้าพระ (c) พุทธเจ้าหาญทราโม จึงพระพุทธรเจ้า
 อยู่หัว นัพระราชโองการ (d) นานพระบันทูล ครั่งเห็นอภิลำ
 ดังแก่พระกระษेत्र (149a) สู่ภาวดี ว่าต้นสืบไปเมื่อหน้า ๗ ๑—
 14 *mātrā*, numérotés 1-14.

XIV ตั๊กษณเบ็ดเตล็ด

1

Manque.

2

Titres: plat: ๑ พระสมุค พระโอบการเบ็ดเตล็ด ๒ ๗๑—;
tranches: เบ็ดเตล็ด ๒. 1 vol., 109 pp. *Cote:* 68.

(R14.2)

1 (a) วัน ๑ + ๑๑ คำจุตศักราช ๑๑๖๘ ปีกะเนนพศก ข้าพระพุทธรเจ้า
 หนึ่งมรด (b) ไม่ตรฐม ข้าพระพุทธรเจ้า หอวงดิฐติรนา
 ขุนมหาดีทรนอกราชการ } ๗๓
 ๗๑๑๑ ๗๑

Contenu: ตั๊กษณเบ็ดเตล็ด depuis: ๑ มาตราหนึ่ง ผู้ใดเข้า
 เบ็ดเตล็ดไปว่าจะให้คำซ้ำแก่ท่าน เสด็จเรอ (Bradley¹⁰, I, p. 383,
 l. 1)

(56d) โหม่นแบกชาวมเสยจโต ๑ จำนวนด้วยตั๊กษณให้ ๑ ปรการ
 ดันเตทาน ๗๑—

XVI ลักษณมรรฎก

Manque.

XVII ตระลาการ

Titres: plat: พระธมฺมค พระโอยการตระลาการ ๓๑—;*tranches:* พระโอยการตระลาการ. 1 vol., 168 pp. *Cote:* ๔๗.

(R17)

1 (a) วัน ๓๑+๑๑ คำสุตคักรวาช ๔๖๘ ปณณพศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า

นายชำนาญ	(b) ชกษรรูป	ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า	ขุนมหาดัจจอนอกวารการ
			นายแก้วชาลคช

ทาม ขอเคระ

Contenu: บานแพน: 3-15a; (2) ตระลาการ: 15b-168.(86d) กุยมัทนไปทวงโดยคานบมัทนให้ ทานให้เรียกออกมา
ถึงผู้ภาวตระลาการ ๆ เกาะใต้ค

กตบ: p. 87.

(88a) มัทนมา แต่มัทนนั้นเป็นใช้กระลาการปลัดมัทนไปถึงเรือน ๕ | วัน

มัทนตายจะกล่าวหาโทษ (Bradley¹⁰, I, p. 267, l. 9)

XVIII ชุติบัตร

Manque.

XIX กฎสามสิบหกข้อ

Titres: plat: ๑ พระสมุท พระโอบการสามสิบหกข้อ ๖๑-;
tranches: สามสิบหกข้อ. 1 vol., 90 pp. *Cote:* ๔๘.

(R19)

1 (a) ๑ วัน ๕ + ๓๐ คำจุติศักราช ๓๑๖๘ ปะเถระนพศก ข้าพระพุทธ
 เจ้านายบุญมีชาติภุช (b) ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ^{ขุนมหาสิทธิพรการ}
^{นายเทยธรรม} } ทาน

ขอเค: ฯ

Contenu: (1) บานแพนท: 3-15; (2) กฎสามสิบหกข้อ: 16-90.

(54d) ถ้าไปถึงเมืองนครสวรรค์ เมืองนครราชสีมา เมืองพิริตร
 เมืองกุย

กตบ: p. 55.

(56a) เมืองปราง เมืองจันทบูร เมืองกาญบุรี เมืองศรีวัด
 ไทเฮา (Bradley¹⁰, II, p. 53, l. 4)

XX et XXI พระราชบัญญัติ ลักษณะพิสดาร^๑ ตำแหน่งผู้พิพากษา

Manquent.

XXII กฎมณเฑียรบาล

1

Titres: plat: © พระสมุท กฎมณเฑียรบาล ๒ ๒๕-; *tranches:* กฎมณเฑียรบาล ๒. 1 vol., 107 pp. *Cote:* ๔๐.⁽¹⁾

(R22)

1 (a) © วัน ๒๓ + ๓๓ คำพิพากษา ๓๓๖๘ บ.เถรณพศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า
เจ้าหมื่นด้วงด้วงคชกร (b) ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า หลวงดึกขัตติยนนท์เจ้ากรม
นายเทียบตรา

ฮาดักวงหน้า } ท่าน ขอบพระ ๒๕๐-

Contenu: (1) บรรณานุกรม: 3-15b; (2) กฎมณเฑียรบาล: ๓: 15c-109.

(51d) หมื่นท้าวเจ้านายมาสูงเจ้าด้วยรังไร เดชขง โคนันให้
ด้วงคชกรราชหว.

ฉบับ: p. 55.

(56a) ข้าราชการหน้า มาขุนมานัน ให้แต่หัวเทียนทำมา
พระอินทร์ ผู้โคมโคทว (Bradley¹⁰, II, p. 100, l. 5)

(1) Ici, l'archiviste s'est écarté de l'ordre de Bradley. Noter que la notation ๒ est une erreur du scribe. Il faudrait: ๓.

2

Manque.

XXIII กฎหมายพระสงฆ์

Manque.

XXIV ลักษณะอาญาหลวง

1

Manque.

2

Titres: plat: ๑ พระสมุท พระโขนงอาญาหลวง ๒ ๓๑-
tranches: อาญาหลวง ๒. 1 vol., 146 pp. *Cote:* ๔๔.

(R24)

1 (a) ๑+๑๑ คำจุติการ ๓๖๘ มีเถระพัสกเจ้าพระพุทธรูปเจ้านาย
 มุณเฑียร (b) เจ้าพระพุทธรูปเจ้า }
 เจ้ากรมวังหน้า }
 ขุนมหาธรรมาธิการ } ทาน
 รวบรวม ๓๑-

Contenu: ลักษณะอาญาหลวง depuis: (3a) ๑ มาตราหนึ่ง
 ประเทศน์ซึ่งได้แต่งอธิบายถวายตั้งของเข้ามา แด่พระผู้เป็นเจ้า (Brad-
 ley¹⁰, II, p. 213, l. 16)

(76d) เจมส์ หันรอนนั้นได้ให้ทวนด้วยลาวหนึ่งแก่ผู้หันรอนๆ ละ
 ๑๕ ที่แล้วให้ใหม่สองดา ๓๒

ฉบับ: p. 77.

(78a) นาคตราหนึ่ง ชาวพระคังผู้ทำด้วยสำริดอวรมณ์ลัทธิเขา
พระราชทรัพย์ : (Bradley¹⁰, II, p. 227, l. 13)

XXV ลักษณะขบตัก

Manque.

XXIV พระราชกำหนดเก่า

1

Titres: plat: © พระสมุท พระราชกำหนดเก่า * Tra-;
tranches: พระราชกำหนดเก่า * 1 vol., 177 pp. *Cote:* 81.

(R26.1)

1 (a) © วัน ๔ + ๑ ค่ำ จุลศักราช ๑๑๖๘ บัณฑิตพศก ข้าพระ
พุทธเจ้า นายแก้ว (b) ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า นายทอง
นายแก้ว

Contenu: (1) บทเพลง: 3-15; (2) พระราชกำหนดเก่า (*-
๑๑): 16-175.

(90d) จุลศักราช ๑๑๐๓ บัณฑิตพศก

ฉบับ: p. 91.

(92a) ๑ กฎให้แก่พระสุริยวงศ์ ^{เจ้า} ^{ราช} ในนอกให้กฎหมายบอกเจ้า

พญาแฉะพญาพระ (Bradley¹⁰, II, p. 284, l. 5)

(177d) กฎให้ไว้ณวัน ๓+๓ คำจุลศักราช ๙๙๙๘ บัชวตตฤ
ศก ๒๒๔- (Bradley¹⁰, II, p. 300, l. 16)

2

Manque.

3

Titres: plat: ๑ พระสมุท พระราชกำหนดเกล้า ๓ ๒๒๔-;
tranches: พระราชกำหนดเกล้า ๓. 1 vol., 109 pp. *Cote:* ๕๓.

(R26.3)

1 (a) ๑ วัน ๔+๓ คำจุลศักราช ๙๙๙๘ บัชวตตฤ ^{เจ้า} ^{ราช} ^{พระ} ^{พุทธ}
เจ้านายเจ้าอาตมราช (b) ^{เจ้า} ^{ราช} ^{พระ} ^{พุทธ} ^{เจ้า} ^{ขุน} ^{ตำรวจ} ^{ประ} ^{เสริ} ^ฐ ^{ทาม} ^{ขอ}
นายท้ายรศกราช
เลข: ๒๒

Contenu: พระราชกำหนดเกล้า (๒๔-๓๓) : (3a) ^{๒๔} ^{๓๓} กฎให้ลูก
ขุนตมเจ้าหลวง แด่ลูกขุนตมเจ้าดา แด่ผู้พิจารณาทุกหมู่ (Bradley¹⁰,
II, p. 323, l. 14)

(56d) ตามรับสั่ง ^{๒๕} ^{๓๕} ^{๔๕} ^{๕๕} ถ้าผู้หนึ่งมดขยคำประการใดให้จับตัวต๋อไป
เทว่าผู้หนึ่งหาความผิด

ฉบับ: p. 57.

(58a) มีใต้อย่างเพื่อให้องพระพรราชอาณา แต่ให้บุตรสั่งผู้พิจารณา
เขาเนื้อความกราบบังคมทูล (Bradley¹⁰, II, p. 331, l. 18)

(110a) กฎให้ไว้ณวัน ๓+๓ คำสุดศักราช ๓๓๖๖ บัณฑิตยศักดิ์
(Bradley¹⁰, II, p. 345, l. finale)

XXVII พระราชกำหนดใหม่

1

Titres: plat: © พระสมุท พระราชกำหนดใหม่ © TE ๑-;
tranches: พระราชกำหนดใหม่ ©. 1 vol., 107 pp. *Cote:* A๑.

(R27.1)

1 (a) © วัน ๓+๑๐ คำ สุดศักราช ๓๓๖๘ บัณฑิตยศักดิ์ ข้าพระพุทธ
เจ้านายกรมอาลักษณ์วังหน้า (b) ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า หอวังดึกขัตติยนา
นายแก้วฮาดัก
ทาม ขอพระ TE ๑-

Contenu: (1) บานแพนท: 3-15; (2) พระราชกำหนดใหม่ (๑-๑): 16-107.

(54d) หนคกกฎหมาย ขนบทำเนียบความแต่ก่อนฉบับว่า ถ้า
ผู้คัดค้านหนังสือของ

ฉบับ: p. 55.

(56a) แด่คำกตหมายใบฎีกาทูลเกล้าถวายจึงให้พิจารณาว่าคดี
ตามกระทรวงรับสั่งห้ามไม่ให้ (Bradley¹⁰, II, p. 413, l. 6)

(107d) โทษ กฎให้ไว้ณวัน ๗ + ๕ คำ จุฬศักราช ๓๓๔๖ บัณฑิต
น้อยศก ๓๓- (Bradley¹⁰, II, p. 424, l. 2)

2

Titres: plat: ๑ พระสมุค พระราชกำหนดใหม่ ๕ ๓๕-;
tranches: droite: พระราชกำหนดใหม่ ๕, *gauche:* พระราชกำหนด
ใหม่. 1 vol., 138 pp. *Cote:* ๕๕. *Feuille de garde:* ๑ พระสมุค
พระราชกำหนดใหม่เดิม ๕ ทา ๑ ๓๕-

(R27.2)

1 (a) ๑ วัน ๑ + ๑๒ คำ จุฬศักราช ๓๓๖๘ บัณฑิตพัก ข้าพระ
พุทธเจ้าเนียบบุญมีขออภัย (b) ขุน ข้าราชการ ขุนสาระประเสริฐ
นายเทียบตรา } ทาน

ขอพระ ๑

Contenu: พระราชกำหนดใหม่ ๓๐-๔๕: 3-138.

(3a) ๑ กฎให้แก่โภษาริบัติแฉหลวงไรต์กหลวงที่ซึ่งชื่อ ด้าน
พนักงานกรมท่า (Bradley¹⁰, II, p. 424, l. 4)

(70d) ชื่อมิได้มาช่วยการ พระราชสงครามพร้อมมุดทัวหน้ากันทุก
คนหาได้ทักขยัตถ์เกิดครวณ

ฉบับ: p. 71.

(72a) ไม่ไปให้บุตรหลานเหวี่ยงเครื่องไปบนตึกข้างจากเด็กกรมอื่น

ซึ่งขุนนางปกครองเจ้า } ฝึก (Bradley¹⁰, II, p. 439, l. 10)
เนร

(138d) คำจุลศักราช ๓๓๕๔ บัณฑิตเจ้าศก ๗ ๗๐- (Bradley¹⁰, II, p. 452, l. 11).

3

Titres: plat: พระสมุท พระราชกำหนดใหม่ ๓⁽¹⁾ ๗๐-;
tranches: พระราชกำหนดใหม่ ๓. 1 vol., 106 pp. *Cote:* ๕๓.

(R27.3)

1 (a) ๑ วัน ๕ + ๑๐ คำจุลศักราช ๓๓๖๘ บัณฑิตเจ้าศก ข้าพระพุทธ
เจ้านายบุญเจ้ารูป (b) ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า หลวงดิถีรัตน } ทานขอพระ ๗๐-
นายเทียรตรา

Contenu: พระราชกำหนดใหม่: ๒๔-๓๓: 3-106.

(3a) ๑ ฎีกาให้แก่พระผู้ว่าราชการในนอก ให้กฎหมายบอก
แก่เจ้าพนักงานพระ (Bradley¹⁰, II, p. 452, l. 13)

(54d) ฎีกามีคำสั่งให้การต่างพระองค์เป็นข้อแห่งอาญาอุทธรณ์ครม
มรฎก ให้ฟ้องคดีใน

ฉบับ: p. 55.

(1) Erreur de tomaiison. Il faudrait: ๓.

(46d) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{น้๑ไ้} \quad \text{ห๑นเม๑ง} \\ \text{๑} \\ \text{๒} \\ \text{๓} \\ \text{๔} \end{array} \right\} \text{ปากไ้ฉายเท๑น๑งท๑} \quad \text{ด๑บ๑ม๑ด๑}$

พระพุท๑ธ๑เจ๑า๑ย๑ห๑

ก๑ด๑บ: p. 47.

(48a) บร๑ม๑นา๑ด๑บร๑ม๑พ๑ด๑ร \quad \text{ม๑๑ท๑ร๑งท๑ศ๑พ๑ิ๑ร๑า๑ช๑ร๑ร๑ม๑อ๑น๑น๑ทา๑ป๑ระ} \\ \text{เด๑ว๑ร๑๑} \quad \text{เด๑ด๑จ๑} \quad (\text{Bradley}^{10}, \text{II}, \text{p. 498, l. 12})

(à suivre)

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RITES AND CEREMONIES OBSERVED AT
ELEPHANT DRIVING OPERATIONS IN THE SEA-
BOARD PROVINCE OF LANG SUAN,
SOUTHERN SIAM.

by

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INTRODUCTION.

1. The preparation of this paper describing an elephant drive to the kraal or keddah in the province of Langsuan, required a laborious enquiry amongst the hunters in that province. These men are loth to divulge any of the secrets of their craft. They hold that the "Mantras" are the pivot around which the whole operation of elephant hunting revolves, and are sacred. Mantras should not be heard by vulgar ears or read by vulgar eyes. It was with the greatest difficulty that I obtained a copy of the mantras used. These are written in archaic language, and most difficult to translate, being a mixture of Siamese, Cambodian, Pāli, and Sanskrit. It is probable that my translation is not good, but still, whatever its faults may be, the reader will get the sense.

2. Mantras have been used from time immemorial for the purpose of invoking the help of the Creator, Universal Spirit, and spiritual beings. The earliest mantras or prayers will probably be found in the Vedas. They take the form of hymns of praise of the power of infinite spirit, and ask for help from that power. The Rgveda is believed by scholars to have been composed between three thousand five hundred and four thousand years ago. I personally think that no date can be fixed, and I feel that prayers in the form of mantras have been used by man ever since he came into being. The particular mantras found in the Rgveda are those used by the people inhabiting northern Asia, probably long before they took a permanent form in the Vedas. The word Rgveda means simply "Hymns of knowledge", that is, spiritual or true knowledge.

The Hebrews were much addicted to the use of mantras, like their brothers further east and in the north. They evolved the seal or tablet composed of a few letters or figures placed in squares, triangles, circles, and crosses, signifying the mantras. These are known in Asia as Yantras and in Europe as Talismans. This form,

however, was a later development and was only used by sorcerers and magicians to impress vulgar minds with the belief that they were specially endowed with knowledge. The Abracadabra used by a physician in drawing up a prescription is an example of this. Those however who know and see with the eye of Truth, do not require these external signs as reminders of the efficacy of prayer.

To understand the power inherent in a mantra, one must have a true understanding of prayer, for the mantra is but a prayer. To use a prayer intelligently, one must accept as principle that All is infinite mind, and its infinite manifestation, for Spirit or Mind is All in All. This principle in its right interpretation means that spirit or mind is the creator and that all creation is spiritual. In Truth, this universe and all creation is spiritual, an expression of Spirit. This Spirit fills all space, and there is no thing created which was not created by it. It is to this Spirit which pervades all things, that the mantras or prayers are addressed. When prayers are uttered with understanding there is an immediate response. Accepting the principle that like produces like, it is clear that spirit can only produce that which is like itself, spiritual things, and that Mind can only produce thoughts or ideas. Material things have no entity and reality of their own, they are mental conceptions cognised and seen in the mind. The ancient Rishis or sages knew this principle and understood it fully well. They made their mantras or prayers, statements of affirmation, for they were talking with the voice of the creator to his creation, that is, they had dominion over all things. They could thus procure all the help they wished for, from infinite spirit and spiritual beings and things which live, move and have their being in the Universal infinite Mind. Jesus used mantras, that is, he made statements of affirmation based on true understanding and he obtained right results. As regards the efficacy of prayer he said:

"What things soever ye desire, when ye pray believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them". (Mark xi-24)

"All things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive". (Matthew xxi-22)

"If we know that he hear us, whatsoever we ask, we know that we have the petitions that we desired of him". (1 Epis John v.15)

It is clear that prayer to be efficacious must be based on affirmation, that is, on certain knowledge that your prayer will be answered.

Without some understanding of this principle, this paper will read like a child's nonsense book, but with knowledge, it will be readily understood that the power inherent in these mantras extends throughout all space, and can call up at command any object, and require acts to be manifested or performed.

3. It will be noted that the word *om* or *aum* precedes each mantra. The conjunction of these three letters A. U. M., pronounced *om* as in the English word "home," is said to represent, or to be symbolic of the three Vedas, the Rk, the Yajus, and the Sāman, for the Atharvaveda is not a true Veda, but a document of a later date. The Atharvaveda would seem to have been composed by a priest of that name who expounded the principles of the three true Vedas in order to fit in with the beliefs and mental attitude of his time. Like so many human developments of the principle of religion, his exposition assumed a mystical and esoteric garb. The Atharvaveda is composed of prayers, charms, and spells, used for the purpose of obtaining the favour of spirits to assure success in an undertaking, and also for frustrating and overcoming the evil intentions of other spirits. The mantras recorded in this paper would seem to have been based in a large measure on a knowledge of the Atharvaveda, as well as to a lesser extent on the three true Vedas. Although this may seem to be somewhat irrelevant to the matter of the meaning of the word *om*, still it is of some importance, for it has a bearing on the subject matter of the paper. In modern times, these three letters are held to represent the sacred powers and qualities of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahma. I am not prepared to accept this theory, but am rather inclined to think that the three letters symbolise the earth, air, and sky or heaven. Whatever the conjunction of these three letters pronounced *om* represent, there is no question that they are held to be sacred. They are believed to be the breath of Brahma, revealed to man, so that by understanding and then uttering the syllable *om*, he may be with Brahma, that is full of the spirit of knowledge. The Buddhists use this monosyllable as the first word in some of their writings, but as they have accepted this symbol which existed prior to Buddhism it is not clear what force, or power they give to its use. It is probable that if the Hindus accept the principle that it is typical of the three Vedas, or the union of the Triad, Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Brahma, then the Buddhists would accept it as typical of the three Gems of the Law, the Phra: Rātānātrāi, namely, Buddhā, true knowledge, or Science; Dhammā, the Law, the Logos, or the Word; and Saṅghā, the

the spirit of love, unifying all mankind in one universal brotherhood, for in Truth man is individual, not person.

The syllable *om* is sacred to the minds of all Brahmins, it is known as the sacred syllable.

When the word *om* is voiced with understanding, then one is speaking as with the voice of Truth. There are many explanations of the meaning and origin of the syllable *om*. The Upaniṣads and other works throw some light on this matter of the meaning of the word *om*, and therefore a reference should be made to them.

A. In the Chândogya-upaniṣad, *om* is called the Udgitha, the breath of the mouth, for this breath coming from the highest source cannot be contaminated by external influences. In fact, this breath is Prāṇa, the spirit of life, it is Brahman; *om* is Svara, sound, tone, that is the word of Brahman. By saying *om* at the beginning of a prayer, he who prays with understanding is pervaded by the spirit of Truth, which fills all space, and he obtains all that he desires.

In this Upaniṣad *om* is said to be a concentration of the three Vedas or books of true knowledge, the Rk, the Sāman, and the Yajus. According to this tenet *U* is said to be heaven, the Sāma-veda; *Gī*, air, the Yajurveda; *Tha*, the earth, the Rgveda.

There is a significant and lucid statement explaining the syllable *om* in the Mupdaka-upaniṣad which is as follows:

Om is the bow, the Self; the mind is the arrow; Brahman is called its aim. It is to be hit by a man, who is not thoughtless; and then as the arrow becomes one with the target he will become one with Brahman. In Him the heaven, the sky and the earth are woven, the mind also with all the senses. "Know Him alone as the Self, and leave off worship of other deities. "He is the bridge of the immortal. He moves about becoming manifold, within the heart where the arteries meet, like spokes fastened to the nave. Meditate on the Self as *om*. Hail to you that you may cross beyond the sea of darkness. He who understands all, and who knows all, he to whom all this glory in the world belongs, the self, is placed in the ether, in the heavenly city of Brahman, the mind".

B. In the Bhagavadgītā, the true value and the power of the syllable *om* is clearly explained. This hymn says: "There is nothing higher than myself. I am the taste in the water; I am the light of the sun and the moon; I am *om* in all the Vedas, sound in space, and manliness in human beings; I am the fragrant smell in the earth, the

refulgence in the fire. I am the eternal seed of all beings; I am the discernment of the discerning ones; and I am the glory of all the glorious. I am also the strength unaccompanied by fondness or desire of the strong. I am love unopposed to piety among all beings, and all entities which are of the qualities of goodness".

The Bhagavadgītā also says: *brahman* is the father of this universe, the mother, the creator, the grandsire, the thing to be known, the means of sanctification, the syllable *om*, the Rk, Sāman, and Yajus, also the goal, the sustainer, the lord, the supervisor, the residence, the asylum, the friend, the source, and that in which it merges, the support, the receptacle, and the inexhaustible seed. I cause, and I send forth, and stop showers".

C. In the Bodhāyana it is stated: "For him who is constantly engaged in reciting the syllable *om*, the seven Vyāhrtis and the three-footed Gāyatrī, no danger exists anywhere. Likewise the Vedas begin with the syllable *om*, and they end with the syllable *om*. The syllable *om* and the Vyāhrtis are the central everlasting Brahman."

This quotation refers to the Seven Vyāhrtis. The Vyāhrtis are generally held to be three in number. They are three mystical words said by Manu to have been milked from the Vedas by Prajāpati—the word Bhūr (Earth) from the Rgveda; the word Bhuvah (Firmament) from the Yajurveda; and the word Svar (sky or heaven or region of the air) from the Sāmaveda. This reference to the seven Vyāhrtis is easily explained. In Brahmanism there are six condition states, and one absolute or unconditioned state, seven states in all, they are—the Bhūr, the Bhuvah, and the Svar mentioned above. These are the three worlds or mental states in which a belief in the reality of matter holds sway. Higher than these states are the Mahar, a state in which the sages (ṛṣi) have their being; Jana, a state where the sons or children of Brahma have their being; the Tapar, a state in which the belief in the reality of matter has been almost entirely extinguished. In these three states man is gradually rising to the true kingdom of heaven, but has not entirely broken the fetters of material belief. The seventh state is the Satyaloka where man realizes his unity with God, Goodness or Truth. The seven Vyāhrtis to be recited are the words representing these seven states.

The Gāyatrī which is known as three-footed is a verse in the Rgveda held to be sacred. It has been translated as follows: "Earth (Bhūr), Firmament (Bhuvah), sky or heaven (Svar). Let us meditate

on these and on the most excellent light and power of that generous and resplendent Sun (praying that) it may guide us to the Truth." The three material states, "earth, air, sky or heaven", are the three-footed base from which man ascends in understanding, as he casts off the meshes of infatuation, his belief in the reality of corporality and carnal pleasures. This base consisting of three gross carnal states of belief is therefore known as three-footed. It is by mentally reciting the Gāyatri at morning and evening devotions that the devotee is reminded of his spiritual sonship with Brahman and becomes mindful. The syllable *om* is recited before the word *Bhūr* and after *Svar*.

Later on the Bodhiyāna says: "The tree is the Veda, the syllable *om* is its root; the syllable *om* is the essence of the Veda."

D. The Vedantasūtra says: "He who meditates with the syllable *aum* of three Mātrā on the highest Person, he comes to light and to the Sun. As a snake frees itself from its skin, so he frees himself from evil. He is led by the Sāman verbes to the Brahma world, he sees the persons dwelling in the castle, who are higher than the individual souls covered with bodies."

Further on the Vedantasūtra states: "Yama thereupon at first instructs him as to the Praṇava; that word which all the Vedas record, which all penances proclaim, desiring which men become religious students, that word I tell thee briefly—it is *om*."

This word Praṇava is sometimes shortened to Praṇu. Praṇava is the mystical and sacred syllable *om*.

E. Indian sages and scholars hold to the belief that if Brahma has a name formed of letters, then that name is *aum*. They then proceed to attempt to establish this by declaring that all vowel sounds are comprised in the three letters *aum*, basing this on their belief that *aum* is Svara, sound or tone, as stated in paragraph 3. In the Sanskrit language there are sixteen vowels one of which is *ay*. It is evident that a consonant has no life, without a vowel sound. They therefore proceed to prove that all sounds are contained in these three letters *aum*. By a process of grammatical analysis they come to the conclusion that the letter *ah* is the mother of the vowel sounds of *ah*, *ee*, and *ai*, and that the two vowel sounds *ee*, and *ai* are but modifications of the vowel *ah*. As regards the vowel *u* apply the same process of reasoning, and show that *u* is the mother of *o*, which is a modification of the Sanskrit vowel *au*. The Sanskrit vowels

ri and *lv* are again but modifications of the vowel *ak*, for *ri* is pronounced *ar* by rule of adesh. In the same way *lv* is pronounced *al*. It but remains to deal with the letter *m*. This letter in its original form is *ng*, which is transformed to *m* by the use of a small circle or dot known in Sanskrit as anusvara, in Siamese as นิสฺสํมิตฺต. It may be argued that *ng* is a compound consonant not a vowel. But some philologists, for instance Webster, holds that this *ng* is simply an elementary sound, and is not as might be supposed a compound sound made up of the sound of *n* in conjunction with that of *g*. I must ask the reader to be satisfied with this brief sketch of this somewhat complex theory, as it would occupy much space to explain and discuss its details.

If one accepts this theory, which Brahmins do, then *aum* is the breath, the voice of Brahma. Brahma, that is the spiritual Brahma, is the creator of all real things and therefore by calling on his name and uttering the syllable *aum*, one is speaking with the voice of Brahma. It is for this reason that all mantras commence and end with the syllable *aum*.

4. Most of the mantras given in this paper contain references to the primordial Preceptor, the Mentor, and the Teacher. It is probable that the primordial Preceptor referred to is Brhaspati, the preceptor of the gods, the Devaguru. Brhaspati has many attributes: He is a teacher, a priest, and some schools of Hindu thought hold that Brahma, true knowledge, is manifested in him; he is the voice of knowledge, embodied in carnate form, has his being in the Svarga-loka, the realm of Indra, where the inferior gods are said to live. In Siam we find much reverence paid to this preceptor. He dominates the school life of children. In olden times and even to-day, many schools will only open on a Thursday, and parents will only allow their children to go to school for the first time on Thursday. The ceremony of *yok khra* (ยอกครุ) is also performed on a Thursday. This ceremony is carried out once a year when the teacher receives presents from his pupils, makes offerings to his guru and recites mantras asking for his blessing and favour. This ceremony of ยอกครุ is not restricted or confined to the profession of teaching, but is also used by physicians and healers, who receive their knowledge from this great preceptor and they perform this ceremony with the same ritual as a teacher, and on Thursday. Brhaspati, in Siamese พฤษฺสพติ, is the planet Jupiter, and therefore the fifth day

of the week, Thursday. It is here that we find the connection between the great preceptor Brhaspati and the reason why schools open on Thursday, as well as the ceremony of paying homage to the guru, and praying for his blessing (*gurorāra*), performed by teachers and healers on this day.

Brhaspati, the preceptor of the gods, is frequently referred to in the Vedas as the Parohita or spiritual adviser of the gods. He lives in Svarga (Heaven), which is simply a mental state where mortals live who are still obsessed by the belief of corporeal existence, but not to the same extent as those who live in lower and grosser states of belief in the reality of materiality, namely the Bhūr, and the Bhuvāloka. Brhaspati, being the great teacher, the source of knowledge, is prayed to by the chief huntsman to obtain his help, and this is received when the chief huntsman puts himself in such a state of mental poise that he reflects the knowledge which pervades all things. Brhaspati living in the Svargaloka still retains, as I have said above, a corporeal form, that is, he still holds this belief, and he has a wife like other mortals. He has not yet attained to liberation, and thereby been translated to the true heaven, the Satyaloka. Brhaspati, being still a material man, is approached by the chief huntsman four times, praying for direction, and receiving his answer in four dreams. An even number of obeisances, sandal tapers, etc., is used for persons in this mental state.

There are other mentors and teachers referred to in these mantras. They are the ancestors of hunters who have passed from our carnate perception, but who are really ever present. There are also gurus of higher understanding, living in an intermediate plane between earth and heaven.

5. In some of the later mantras references will be found to the god Udentra (Udena), the lord of elephants, as well as to Uchen. It may be as well to attempt to explain who these gods are. It is not difficult to find the reason why Udentra takes such a prominent place in the mantras, but unless Uchen is the same god as Udentra, as I think is the case, it will be found more difficult to explain who Uchen is. Udentra, often known as Udena, is an historical figure in India, about whom there are many legends and stories. Although a Brahman king, the story of his life will be found given in great detail in the *Phra: Dhammapadatthakathā* (*พราหมณ์เจ้ากัณโณ*), a Buddhist work. The same story has been made popular and is read by thousand of Hindus,

and will be found in a collection of Indian stories known as the *Kathāsāritsāgara*, translated by C. H. Tawney, of which work a fine edition was published about ten years ago. In this collection of stories, Udena is called Udayana, and there are some divergencies from the story accepted by Buddhists. In the *Journal of the Vajirañāṇa Society* for the year B. S. 121 (A. D. 1902) will be found this same story given as a poem rendered in the style known as *Khāmechān* (ခံမေ့ချက်). The story of Udena's love for the Princess *Vāsuladattā* has been dramatised under the name of *Ratnāvalī*. The author is believed to be King *Çriharsadeva* of Kashmir, and it was probably written about A. D. 1120. There is an English translation by H. H. Wilson. The story in the *Phrā: Dhammapadattakathā* is as follows:

In ancient days there were two kings who became tired of wielding earthly power and decided to abdicate their thrones and enter the religious life. They went to the Himalayas and took up their abode each on a hill standing one opposite to the other. They agreed to meet once every fourteenth day and to build up and keep alight a fire so that each might know that the other was alive, holding that if the fire died down it was evidence of the death of one of them. In due course the fire on the hill occupied by the hermit *Vetṭhathipaka* (ဗေဒုတ္တထိပါက) died down, and the hermit *Allakappa* (ဇလ္လကပ္ပ) knew that his friend had died. A short time afterwards a stranger came to *Allakappa* and revealed himself to be *Vetṭhathipaka*, who had died and been born again as *Thao Amarindra* in the *Svargaloka*. During their conversation they touched on many sides of the difficulties of the hermit life. The most tiresome was the continual trouble and annoyance caused by wild elephants, who not only soiled the precincts of the hermitage by their droppings, but also trampled down all that was built or grown on the ground. Then *Vetṭhathipaka* in his new form as *Thao Amarindra* told his friend *Allakappa* of a secret formula. The secret formula took the form of a three stringed lyre. By reciting the first mantra, and striking the first string of the lyre, elephants would be unable to look the reciter in the face. By reciting the second mantra and touching the second string of the lyre, elephants would flee from the presence of the reciter. By reciting the third mantra and touching the third string of the lyre, the chief of the herd would bend his back and lower his head in an act of obeisance, and approach the reciter in this reverential attitude. The hermit *Allakappa* on the departure of *Thao Amarindra* began to

exercise his new powers, and found that he had full control of the elephants who lived in the vicinity of his hermitage.

At this time a king bearing the name of Parantapa (परांतपः) reigned over the country of the Vamsa or Vatsa, having for his capital the great city of Kosambi. He was sitting with his queen on a balcony of the palace one morning when a great bird flew down from the heavens, attracted by the red mantle or blanket in which the queen was wrapped owing to her being in an advanced state of pregnancy. The bird is called a Hasti, which means the elephant bird, probably an eagle. This bird carried the queen away in his talons and deposited her on the branches of a banyan tree in the Himalaya mountains. On being placed on the tree the queen clapped her hands and called out with such loud tones, that the bird, being frightened, left her. It began to rain, it was cold, and during this physical misery and mental agony at finding herself alone in the depths of the forest, she began to feel the pangs of childbirth. The child, a son, was born at the time of the rising of the sun, and therefore the mother gave her son the name of Udaya, which has been corrupted to Udena. The royal hermit Allakappa who had his hermitage near this tree went, according to his habit, to collect bones and other remnants of the prey of the eagle left under the tree. While under the tree he heard the cries of the child and on looking up he saw the woman. A conversation ensued to ascertain the original social standing of the hermit and the woman. On its being proved that both were of royal lineage the woman asked the hermit to climb up and take the child, but on no account to touch her body. The mother and child were taken by Allakappa to his hut, where they lived for many years, the queen eventually becoming the wife of the hermit. One night the hermit during his nightly vigils realised that the king Parantapa had died. He told his wife, who had been the queen of this king. She cried, and showed many signs of sorrow, because she feared that her son Udena would be unable to succeed his father. The hermit promised that the boy would ascend the throne of Kosambi, and proceeded to initiate him in the power of the three divine mantras and the lyre. The youth began to exercise his newly received power over elephants, and on his reciting the third prayer and striking the third string of the lyre, the lord of the herd came before him, and lowered his head in recognition of Udena's suzerainty. Udena stepped on to the animal's back. The great elephant trumpeted a loud cry, intimating to the old and

decrepit elephants to move away, a second cry to warn the young and adolescent to stand aside and, giving a third trumpet call, summoned all the strong and warlike animals to his side. Udena, riding the great lord of elephants and accompanied by his elephant army, marched on Kosambī. He was joined by many people on the way, those who hoped to gain benefit from his favour. On arriving before the city walls he surrounded them and called on the people of the city to accept him as their king, he being the rightful successor of his father. The people refused, not believing his statement. He then as evidence of his right, mentioned the names of the chief officers of state, but the people still refused to accept him as their king, as they had no knowledge of the pregnancy of the queen when she was carried off by the eagle. He then produced before them his mother's jewelled, red mantle or blanket and his father's ring, which had been given to him by his mother. He adopted this course on the advice of his mother, who told him of the names of the ministers and had given him the blanket and the ring. The people, recognising the blanket and the ring, accepted Udena, and he was crowned king of the Vamsas in the great city of Kosambī. The story now shifts to king Candā-Pājjota, who ruled over the country of Avanti having his capital at Ujjeni (Uchen). This king on being informed by his courtiers that his power and grandeur were only second in importance to that of Udena of Kosambī, determined to attack him. But as Udena's armies were more powerful, he decided to take Udena prisoner by stratagem. Being aware of Udena's power over elephants and his passion for the hunt of these animals, he ordered that an elephant should be fashioned of wood and made like a living animal. He caused the news of the whereabouts of this elephant to be conveyed to Udena, knowing full well that he would hasten to capture it. Udena took the bait and was made captive by an ambush of sixty warriors concealed in the false elephant. Candā-Pājjota tried by all means to obtain the secret of Udena's power over elephants, even threatening to execute him. These threats were unavailing. King Udena agreed to impart the secret to a third person, and thereupon king Candā-Pājjota used his daughter the Princess Vāsuladattā for this purpose. She was told by her father to pretend that she was an ugly, hunchbacked woman and to sit behind a screen placed across the room in which king Udena was imprisoned. King Udena in the course of conversation with the woman hidden from his view on the other side of the

screen taught her the secret. The princess pretended to be very stupid. Her incapacity to remember what she was taught so incensed king Udena, that he shouted out in his anger: "You stupid, thick-lipped and hunchbacked woman, I am tired of teaching you." He raised a corner of the screen and saw before him the figure of a most beautiful woman. This was the Princess Vāsuladattā, who acting under her father's order had pretended to be an ugly, hunchbacked woman. They flew into each other's arms, being conquered by the passion of love. There was no more teaching that day, but the lovers prepared a counter-plot to defeat the desires of king Candā-Pājjota. The Princess informed her father that a condition precedent to the right of learning the charm was the possession of a potent herb picked under a certain conjunction of stars, and they must have the right of exit, and the use of his famous elephant, who could travel a hundred and twenty *yojanas* a day. Her wish was granted. Then one day, when her father was away on a pleasure jaunt, Udena put her on the elephant and taking also money, and gold-dust, fled to Kosambī. King Udena therefore not only retained his secret, but obtained a lovely bride.

This story explains the reason why Udenra (Udena) is given the title and appellation of Lord of elephants in the mantras, and why his help is solicited. The reason for the use of the word Uehen in the mantras is not clear unless we hold that this word is simply a corruption of Udena. In the story, the capital city in which king Candā-Pājjota lives is called Ujjeni (Ueheni), and as Udena was imprisoned in Ujjeni, there is a connection between the king and the city, and this may account for the use of the word Uehen in the mantras.

This story of Udena and Kosambī is well known to the Thai Yai and all Thai people. Some historians assert that the Thai kingdom of Nanchao was known by the classical name of Kosambī while others hold its name to have been Mithila. I think that Nanchao was known as Kosambī, or perhaps one should say, the capital city of that kingdom was so known. It is quite clear, however, that the name of the state of Hsenwi known to the Chinese as Selan was *Sirivilasamahākambōjasāṅkikosambī*. Thai history relates that the name of *Ūting* (อุทัย) was given to one of the Thai capitals. The figure of Udena is used by the Siamese government as the emblem of the seal of the Revenue Department. The figure used

for the seal of the Provincial Revenue Department (ရင်းနှီးမြှုပ်နှံမှု) is King Udena holding his divine lyre in his left hand and touching the strings with his right. Two elephants, making the act of obeisance, kneel before him and present forest produce as tribute. The figure of King Udena used for the seal of the Metropolitan Revenue Department (မြို့နယ်မြှုပ်နှံမှု) is that of King Udena robed in his royal dress and regalia seated on a throne. In recent years the two Revenue Departments have been amalgamated, and the seal used is that of Udena in royal robes with regalia seated on a throne. These two seals are of some antiquity. This figure may be seen by those who drive from the Phaya Thai Road to the Si Phya Road, for it is on a bridge known as Udena Thavai, which stands close to the drive entering the University grounds. Udena, in many respects, resembles the Greek god Orpheus. Orpheus possessed a seven stringed lyre, by striking which and producing music, he was able to tame the wild beasts of the forest. He also had dominion over rivers, forests, and mountains and could make them do his bidding.

6. Spirits, as a libation to the gods, the preceptors, the teachers, ancestors and others, take an important place in the offerings made to these beings by the elephant huntsmen in every phase of the hunt. These offerings precede the recitation of the mantras. The offerings of spirits to gods is of great antiquity, and probably originated in the offerings of the Soma juice made to the deities, and drunk by the Brahmans in ancient days, and lauded so highly in the Vedas. This Soma juice was extracted and fermented from a milky, climbing plant, forming a beverage offered as a libation. Its exhilarating qualities were grateful to the priests, and the gods were represented as being equally fond of it. In Siamese literature one does not often find references to the use of this Soma juice, but the deities and other celestial beings are often spoken of as imbibing Amṛta (အမ္ဗရတ), the Ambrosial liquor, the water of life. This term was known to the Vedas, and seems to have been applied to various things offered in sacrifice, but more especially to the Soma juice. At a later period, the name Soma was appropriated to the moon, and some of the qualities of the Soma juice have been transferred to the luminary, who is Osadhipati, or lord of herbs. So Soma, the moon, is considered the guardian of sacrifice and penances, asterism, and healing herbs. By some peculiar process of synthetic philology, the Siamese, knowing of the relationship between the Soma juice and Soma, the moon, have

applied the term Nam Chand(a) (नमश्चन्द्र), water of the moon, to spirituous liquor, when drunk by princes.

7. Following this introductory note, will be found the actual paper recording the several steps which have to be taken to capture wild elephants. These steps are related in nineteen phases commencing with the formation of the hunting party, followed by the selection of the site for the kraal, the building of the kraal, and the driving of the elephants. Each of these phases is supported by one or more mantras, a translation of which has been given. Four plates showing the three different kinds of kraals, and the method of training elephants form a part of the paper.

1st November, 1931.

PHASE I.

PREPARING FOR THE HUNT, BY INVITING THE POWER OF
PROTECTION, CONJURING THE SPIRITS OF ANCESTRAL
HUNTERS AND INVITING THE PRESENCE OF
THE PRIMORDIAL PRECEPTOR.

When it has been decided to commence operations for the driving of wild elephants into the kraal or keddah, it is necessary for the chief-huntsman to get in touch with the Spirit of his preceptor (gura). This is done in the following manner. The chief hunter holds his mind in the right attitude, concentrates his thoughts four times on his spiritual teacher or the ancestor spirit of hunters, to ascertain the fortune of the hunt. He is always rewarded by a manifestation of his teacher in four successive dreams, and is supplied with information about the men and the fortune of the hunt. Whether bull or cow elephants will preponderate in the capture, is divined by an examination of the black crabs and the horse-shoe or king crabs offered as a sacrifice to the preceptor spirit. Should there be a large number of male crabs, then the capture will be mostly bull, or vice versa. No form of divination is used for the purpose of selecting the right men to form the hunting party. In the sea-board provinces, it is not the practice to divide the hunters into different classes of rank, nor to give promotion or to demand the payment of any fees from hunters, such as is the case amongst hunters on the Khôrat plateau in Eastern Siam. Acts of reverence are not made to the fire in the camp, as in the Eastern provinces. It is, however, necessary for the chief hunter to pray and intercede for protection from danger and evil for those working with him in the operations of elephant catching. The following prayer is used for this purpose :—

* Om, word of auspicious power,

O adamantine frame, like unto hills of iron, ranged around
seven fold, standing firmer than the rocks,

Grant protection to me from touch of rain or sound of
thunder.

My preceptor sits on a mermaid as big as a boat,

Rides a tiger large as a horse,

Ten men in front, fifty round about.

Om, auspicious word,

By Thy power, screen and conceal me,
 For innumerable sorcerers encompass me about,
 Protect me against the onslaught of countless evil spirits, and
 defeat attempts of various cunning hunters to test and try
 my power.
 Prevent their ingress within this Great Defence,
 Send them back from whence they come."

This mantra is also used for warding off danger during driving operations. The old and experienced elephant huntsman with reverential obeisance makes a sacrifice and oblation to the spirit of his preceptor. That familiar spirit, learned in elephant and forest lore, is always present to assist and help those who render him homage. The sacrifice consists of seven fowls, five ducks, five blue crabs, three or five horse-shoe crabs, the head or flesh of a pig one bottle of spirits, some tubes of scorched glutinous rice as well as of ordinary rice, some tomatoes prepared with condiments as a salad, two banana-leaf cups for flowers, three green coconuts, some red sweetened cakes, and white balls made of flour or ground rice, some *tumai*, a cake similar to the former, rice-wafers, and some boiled rice. The incantation recited at the time of making the sacrificial offerings takes the following form. It is recited before sending out the command convening a meeting of the spirits of the preceptor (*guru*) and other teachers, learned in forest and elephant lore. The beings referred to in the mantra are the spirits of the ancestors of elephant-men, wise men versed in the business of elephant hunting, truly understanding forest lore and also those having jurisdiction over hills and dales, towns, and lands.

"Om, breath of spiritual power!

Grandfather and grandmother of Mahawats:

Grandfather and grandmother of hunters:

Grandfather and grandmother of great age:

Great Uncles of the first and second degree:

Under-Mahawats, Lasso-Mahawats:

Mom Sitti (พ่อบุญศรี), Mom Seng (พ่อบุญสง):

(เจ้าแม่พ่อบุญศรี) Lord of Great Power,

(เจ้าแม่พ่อบุญสง) Lord of Great Victory,

(เจ้าแม่พ่อบุญศรี) Lord of Great good-fortune,

Venerable wise being of locality, (พระคุณเจ้าแห่งถิ่น).

Venerable wise being of benevolent service (พระบารมีแห่งการดี).
 Venerable wise being of auspicious permanence,
 Venerable wise being of great courage,
 Venerable wise being of lesser courage,
 Venerable wise being of great Realms,
 Venerable wise being of small States,
 Ancient spirit guardian of treeless downs:
 Ancient spirit guardian of snow-clad hills:
 Ancient spirit guardian of tree-clad hills:
 Ancient spirit of the Royal Tiger, Lord of forests".

The command to the spirit of the primordial preceptor to attend a meeting for the purpose of accepting the sacrificial offering, is couched in curious language and is somewhat peremptory. This holy mantra, the power of which is invoked, is one composed by the first or primal elephant-hunter versed in ancient lore, and handed down from time immemorial. This command is as follows:—

"Om, we invite thee, O Preceptor,
 Om, we invite thee, O Primordial Preceptor,
 With respectful salutation, to come to us and not pass by,
 To take thy seat as head of Council,
 For to-day's affair is in thy sphere,
 Oh, take thy seat within this circle of great beauty,
 Arranged with taste and care.
 With respectful salutation we invite thee, O Preceptor,
 To accept this auspicious sacrifice offered by thy slaves.
 The day is fortunate,
 Thy slave recites the magic mantra
 O'er consecrated powder and the holy water endowed to
 please the eye,
 Thy slave now recites the holy mantra
 O'er sweet and perfumed flowers,
 And leaves of betel, and betel arrayed to please the eye,
 Thy slave sends these offerings by power of wind,
 To touch the ox and buffalo,
 To touch the elephants in forest midst,
 To touch all men where'er they be,
 Becoming mad will roam and wander,
 Leaving hearth and home shall come at thy command,
 O our Primordial Preceptor, by the magic of thy mantra."

The prayer of invocation may also take this form with a slight difference in the offerings made. They are seven fowls, five ducks, one swine head, one or three bottles of spirit, red and white cakes, cakes of milk and ghee, rice, curry, salads, three coconuts, candles, sandal wood tapers, flowers, leaf-cups, placed right and left, one piece of white cloth, one mat, one pillow. The chief hunter prepares these offerings and presents them in proper manner. There are three mantras which must be recited successively. The first is:—

“Om, word of spiritual power,

Thy slave with fingers joined, thumbs placed on brow between the eyes,

Raised o'er the head,

Craves permission to present an offering

Of roasted rice, garlands of flowers, sandalwood tapers and candles giving light,

Where'er may my Teacher be,

Where'er thy slave may be,

Please come and guard the place,

O Spirit of my Mentor,

Please come! Partake with enjoyment of the pickled tea and betel.

I invite thee, O my Mentor, to come and take the place of honour,

Also all the other Teachers,

Please come and help us gain our ends,

This day, I make obeisance with pure intent.

Please come within the beauteous circle,

Should I err in form or rite, be not incensed with me.

Please come, and by thy grace preserve me from danger and all evil.

Knowing well their nothingness, they are but illusion,

Send them whence they come!”

The second is:—

“Om, word of spiritual power,

Respectful invitation to my Mentor is made by me,

And all thy pupils who are thy slaves,

And also to the spirit of the Royal Tiger,

Please come! Please come! O Teacher, to thy slaves.

Invitation couched in pleasing words, being fearful of thy might.

Do not object, but come and partake of offerings.
Spirit of the banks of Mathurā dancing with graceful posture;
Please come! Enjoy the sacrificial offerings, thou who art
our Mentor.

Respectful invitation to all the gods,
To come and consecrate the holy water granting power to it.
Make this gift to us.

O Lord Sasdi,

Thy children make obeisance morn and eve to thee,
To the presiding Preceptor, to all the gods, and the chief of
holy ascetics.

Please come! Thy words having holy power.

Give this power to us as we desire.

Raising hands in act of reverence to the goodness of our
parents,

In ascending line of ancestry,

And to the gods who guard and watch the earth and air,

Thy slave will send the holy mantra,

Actuated by purest thought in proper form,

Please come! The magic of this mantra reaching to the
elephants in depth of forests,

Causing them infuriated to become,

Roaming here and there, crying in their agony,

They respond to call of the Holy Mantra of our Preceptor,

They Come!"

The third mantra takes this form :—

"Om, word of spiritual power,

Respectful invitation to the spirit of my Mentor,

Make royal progress, pass not by,

Touch my head,

Please come! O father mine,

And partake of the offerings made,

Spirits, viands, comestibles and condiments,

Raw and cooked meat, both fowls and ducks.

Thy slave with consecrated candles makes the offerings.

O Father mine, partake of all these things where'er they be,

The food and sweets of varying flavour.

Please come and help thy slave, give me power.

Thy slave prostrates himself in reverential posture.

Please come and meet in consultation.

Thy slave's eyes, inflamed by the effulgence of Nārāya,
 Make offerings to the spirit of the Preceptor,
 Respectful invitation to the spirit of my Mentor,
 To take the place of honour,
 And to all other teachers, please come and help us gain our end.
 I make obeisance with pure intent.
 Please come, and by thy grace preserve me from danger and
 all evil.
 Knowing well their nothingness, they are but illusion,
 Send them whence they come!"

When the rite of invoking the presence of the Preceptor has been completed, then the *Piscans*, who are the slaves of the Preceptor, are called on to appear and partake of the sacrificial offering, their portion being set aside for this purpose. The words used are:—

"Oh, come in rightly formed procession,
 Group by group, those carrying banners in the fore,
 Then the musketeers with flint and matchlock,
 Halbardiers with spear and lance,
 Archers armed with bow and arrow,
 Flankers on both left and right,
 Scouts hidden out of sight.
 Thou must not eat with master thine.
 By group and group, line on line."

During this ceremony of invocation and offering of sacrifice, it is incumbent on the hunters to beg the spirits to grant their favour, that success in the hunt may be theirs.

NOTE TO PHASE 1.

1. In the first phase of the hunt the chief huntsman has to approach his teacher or guru and the ancestral spirits of hunters, to ascertain the fortune of this hunt and the men who should join therein. It will be noticed that he has to hold his thoughts in proper poise and concentrate his mind on the object to be attained four times and he is rewarded by four dreams making manifest to him the answer to his prayer. The reason why this act must be performed four times is because the spiritual beings he is appealing to, are those who have passed from this earth but are still held in the bonds of material belief. Chinese when making ceremonial obeisance to the tablets of ancestors have to use four incense sticks and make four prostrations for the same reason. The triple act of prostration

holding three incense tapers and candles, or offering the same number is only used when approaching the Supreme Being, the Creator as manifested in the Trinity. The belief in the triple manifestation is prevalent in most religions.

2. In the first mantra there is a reference: "O adamantine frame, like unto hills of iron, ranged around seven fold, standing firmer than the rocks". These hills are Sumeru (Himalaya), the abode of the gods, and Kailāsa, near lake Mānasa, the Īiva's heaven. The region is supposed to be surrounded by seven hills composed of seven different gems.

3. Mahawats. The origin of this word is somewhat obscure. It is a Hindi word and means, an elephant driver, known in India as a Mahout, a corruption of the word Mahawat.

4. Mom Sittthi, Mom Sæng.

These are two persons renowned in former ages for their great knowledge of elephant and forest lore and for their skill in catching elephants. They have passed away, posthumous honours and the rank of "Mom"—prince—have been conferred on them. Their power as spiritual beings in the spirit world is invoked when it is purposed to commence the operation of catching elephants.

Thao Mahā Sittthi,

in whose hands success is held,

Thao Mahā Chaya,

he who overcomes all difficulties,

Thao Mahā Lāpha,

he who gives fortune to those who propitiate him.

Venerable wise being of locality,

benevolent service,

auspicious permanence,

great courage,

lesser courage,

great states,

small states.

These are the names of great hunters of former times who have passed to the realm of spirit. Their qualities were so highly esteemed and their knowledge, and their skill of such a rare nature that they have been placed on the pinnacle of reverence for all future hunters to emulate.

Ancient spirit guardian of treeless downs,

Ancient spirit guardian of snow-clad hills,

Ancient spirit guardian of tree-clad hills,

Ancient spirit guardian of the royal tiger.

These guardian spirits are those which have taken up their habitation in these regions, are possessed of great power and can by the exercise of the same, grant protection from danger and ward off evil. It is for this reason their power is invoked for the operations of elephant hunting, to carry the hunting party through the forests, hills, and dales free from danger. The spirit of the royal tiger is most powerful and his power must be invoked on behalf of the hunters, otherwise their actions would come to naught.

5. This powerful mantra, this incantation on being spoken by those of understanding, moves through space and causes restlessness in those whom it touches. When animals or human beings are touched by this power they are easily controlled by those who have this understanding. It is in order to obtain this power of control that the incantation or spell is recited. In Siam to-day, the people still hold to the belief that on the 8th and the 15th day of the waxing and waning of the moon, witch-doctors, versed in black magic, recite incantations whose power is carried on the wings of the wind, and whomsoever this wind may touch, if unprotected, may become possessed by an evil power and behave abnormally, even to the extent of becoming mad. This belief in the power of witch-doctors is probably an echo of the power inherent in the mantra given above.

6. The spirit of the banks of Mathurā dancing with graceful posture is probably the guardian spirit of the ancient city of Mathurā. This city was celebrated throughout India as one of the seven sacred cities. It stood on the river Yamunā. It was the birthplace of Kṛṣṇa. There is a legend that this city was built by an Asura king named Madhu. This ancient city has disappeared and the modern city Muttra is on its site.

PHASE II.

ENJOINMENTS LAID ON WOMEN CONNECTED WITH THE HUNTERS DURING THEIR ABSENCE.

An auspicious and favourable day for commencing the hunt having been selected, the hunters must take farewell of their wives, on whom the following enjoinments are laid: 1. The women are

not allowed to rub any pomade or oil on their hair and bodies, not to use any lard or oil in the preparation of their food. It is held that should the women do this, their husbands will be unable to climb trees to escape from the wrath and fury of a charging elephant, and thus lose their lives. 2. The women should not beautify, embellish or perfume their bodies, and on no account indulge in an amorous intrigue; should they do these things their husbands will meet their deaths. 3. The women must be careful not to quarrel or engage in angry strife, nor should they beat their children, for should they break this command the spirits will not respect the hunters nor honour their authority. 4. The women and other persons residing in the house of a man engaged in elephant hunting should not sit or stand in the door-way of the house, nor should such persons take rice out of a rice pot with their hands. Should any person so sit or stand in the door-way, or sit astride the sill, or remove rice from a pot with their hands, the belief is that such acts, constituting an obstruction, will react on the elephants and prevent their entering the kraal. Should any wife refuse to behave herself in accord with these rules, the husband must divorce her temporarily during the period of the hunt, but may resume marital relations with her after his return.

NOTE TO PHASE II.

These restrictions on the conduct of women during the absence of husbands is not confined to men employed in the business of elephant hunting. Similar enjoinders with slight variations are imposed on women when the husband is absent on business, war, and other purposes.

The reason for prohibiting the women performing certain acts or using certain articles is based on a strong belief in sympathetic magic or telepathy. The act of a wife immediately reacts on the husband or the affair he is pursuing.

Restrictions similar to these are imposed on women in Burma and the Shan States during the absence of a husband on any business.

PHASE III.

OBSERVANCES RELATING TO SELECTION OF SITE FOR ERECTION OF KRAAL.

A start for the forest is now made without further observances or rites. Canes and creepers are cut for making ropes. The site

for erecting the kraal or keddah is chosen. The selection of this site is a matter of much importance and is surrounded by many ceremonies and the offering of oblations. The sacrifice usually offered consists of one cup of rice, one cup of water, and a fish complete with head and tail. Before making this offering the Preceptor is invoked with respectful prayer and then the spirits of the place are asked to grant permission to use the site. The invitation to the Preceptor is couched in these words:—

"Salutation to thee, O Teacher,

Please come and preside at Council here with thy Preceptor,
Grant us favour, thy slave requires thy presence now.

Please come to Council circle here, arranged with things of
beauty rare,

Grant protection to thy slave, and destroy the powers of evil
unseen and seen."

The prayer to the spirits of the locality craving for permission to use a site is thus:—

"Om, thy slave begs a place to rest,

A place in forest midst,

Where he may build a palace, a home for elephants,

O Mahādeva, thy slave asks for a place to rest,

A place to erect a shrine for sacrifice and offerings,

That thou may'st come and enjoy these things."

The suppliant then continues by asking the spirit to show by signs his favour or disfavour of the selection made, saying if the site is not approved of, that he may dream of evil things, but if suitable that he may dream of good things. If the dream be of evil things, a new site must be chosen.

When the selection of the site made has been agreed to by the spirits of the locality showing their approbation by sending a pleasant dream, then the business of cutting wood, canes, and creepers is proceeded with. No sacrifice or oblation need be made. It is necessary, however, before felling the timber, to present a respectful invitation to the spirits of the trees to leave their homes and habitations and give the wood for the making of the kraal. The invitation is framed in this language:—

"Om, word of auspicious power,

O great God-like Spirit, descend from thy home,
that thy slave may take it for his purpose,

The erection of a palace, a mansion for elephants."

The following words are spoken when about to cut the first tree. They take the form of a curse, their object being to drive away any elves, spirits, sprites, or goblins who may still be in the tree:—

"Om, word of auspicious power,

May destruction by fire be thy lot should'st thou not depart!"

However, when about to fell the tree chosen as a corner post these words having the value of a curse are spoken:—

"Om, Thou may'st be firm above and fixed below,

Thou may'st swerve and sway, thou shalt be mine.

Be fixed thou may, but conquered be,

By power of the holy Trinity."

The power referred to here is that inherent in the three sacred letters constituting *aum*.

From admonition the speaker turns to gentler tones of coaxing, thus:—

"Thy humble slave inviteth thee, O Spirit of great intelligence,
That thou may'st be the corner post of all.

Elephants in numbers great, arranged in right Array,

Shall come to thee to know their fate,

O Spirit of Victory and Might,

Om, may thou possess great fortune good, by virtue of our offerings."

NOTE TO PHASE III.

The ceremony of cutting wood for constructing the Kraal is similar to the ceremony observed in India to-day when cutting wood for constructing a house.

Mahâdeva is the Great God, generally meaning Çiva. This term is also used for one of the Rudras in the Vedas.

PHASE IV.

CALLING UP ANCESTRAL SPIRITS BEFORE BUILDING THE KRAAL.

Everything being in readiness for the construction of the kraal, further invitations are given to the spirit of the Preeceptor, but sacrificial offerings need not be made. The invitation takes the same

form as that issued to the Preceptor when calling him to take his place in the council, given in Phase I of this paper.

PHASE V.

CEREMONY OF LUSTRATION EXPELLING SPIRITS IN POSSESSION OF LOCALITY REQUIRED AS SITE FOR KRAAL

Before the kraal is constructed a ceremony of lustration or purification is performed by the sprinkling of holy-water having the object of casting out, and expelling evil spirits having possession of the land required as a site for the kraal. This mantra is recited:—

“Om, auspicious word, the breath of God,
Give us victory for evermore,
O'er all evil power attempting to destroy.
Lord Viṣṇu, the Preserver, Almighty on Earth and the spirit
of this place consenting,
I, together with Phrā : Rāhū, Demon of the sky, stationed in
the van,
And the Great Gods stationed in the rear,
Have been commanded by my Preceptor
To erect this corner-post endowed with luring power.
O wicked imp and sprightly elf
Approach thee not to my goodself,
Empowered by God to right all wicked wrong,
To drive away the sprites and all their throng
Beyond the bounds of boundless space,
Subvert their schemes and plots apace.
Tarry not! Begone, O wicked sprites with all speed,
With cut and thrust of sword, the severed heads striking
earth begored,
A sorry death indeed.
Begone, Ai Ran, depart thee with all haste,
My Master chargeth me to drive away all forest-sprites,
All will-o-wisp (ईश्वर) of open spaces,
And all spirits of alluring graces,
Casting spells o'er mankind, spells of infatuation,
Binding them in carnal meshes,
And spirit of the kraal beyond the bounds of space,

My Master maketh me expell all imps, familiars of men,
 By virtue of the magic word inscribed by sacred pen.
 Begone, Begone, with all despatch, lest I strike thee with
 a cudgel,
 Causing pain to body thine,
 Know ye, whom it may concern,
 That giant trees with fear tremble,
 Hard Meru to softness turns,
 Wizards, deeply versed in magic, possessed of power to move
 in space, (ĀṆṬA)
 In virtue of their talismans,
 From me, do flee apace.
 Mother Earth her bosom opens by virtue of my merit,
 Giveth me a place therein, to build a kraal with swinging gates,
 Our purpose to complete.
 Mother Earth her bosom opens at command of magic Mantra,
 Hidden deeply in herself, by my lord the Primal Craftsman,
 Moh Ta Moat, Master Spirit of all hunters,
 The key to which he gave to me.
 Let my Mentor, wise in lore,
 Prepare the ropes for placing round right leg and neck,
 And ornaments the elephants to bedeck,
 Arranged in rows side by side.
 Grant protection to the huntsmen.
 Om, I adore the Truth, the Law, the Unity of all,
 May my fervent prayer, made with pure intent,
 Reliant on the sacred scriptures and the Mentor's lore,
 Supported by my sacrifices, bring forth a recompense."

NOTE TO PHASE V.

The ceremony of lustration described at the beginning of this Phase corresponds to a rite which is met with in the manuals of the Royal Brahminical Ceremonies of Siam, and is known in India as "Dikrakṣanam," i. e., "Guarding the directions," or eight quarters of the universe. Each of these quarters is governed by a god, supported by an elephant, references to which will be found in this paper.

PHASE VI

CEREMONY OF LUSTRATION PURIFYING THE KRAAL, AND THE
SIGNING OF A BOND WITH THE SPIRITS POSSESSING THE SITE.

When the ceremony of lustration by sprinkling holy water over the kraal has been performed, further sacrificial offerings must be made before spirit shrines erected in three different places,—one on the right, one on the left and one at the rear of the kraal. A written agreement is drawn up as between the hunters and the spirit of the place on which the kraal is erected, stating that in return for so many elephants captured offerings of such a nature and such a quantity will be made. Also stipulating that should the number of elephants caught not reach the number stated in the bond, the offerings will be reduced proportionately, and that should elephants not enter the kraal there shall be no obligation on the part of the hunters. A copy of this bond is placed in each of the shrines.

At the time of making obeisance to the spirit of the place at the three shrines it is necessary to make offerings of the following articles, red and white cakes, bean cakes, sesamum cakes, koh cakes, milk and butter, banana, sugar-cane, spirits, pork, the flesh of a duck and a fowl, glutinous rice, white rice, spiced meat, fish salad, vegetable curry, roasted rice, flowers, tapers, candles. These offerings are placed in certain banana leaf cups, three three-cornered cups, four four-cornered cups, and one large four-cornered cup. White and red flags are fixed at each corner of these cups, the colours alternating, and sometimes a flag is placed in the centre of the large cup. The chief hunter, having lit the ceremonial candles and made obeisance, recites this mantra:—

“Om, word of power, breath of God,
Thy slave prostrates himself in right obeisance,
And presents offerings of lighted candles and incense.
In former times the ancient spirit of this place,
Caused a circle to be fixed upon its face,
Commanded me to invite the sixteen spirit guardians of the
earth,
Who hold sway at these points,
To invite with respectful salutation the four gods,
North-East, South-West, North-West, South-East,
whose dominion covers the surface of the universe.

To invite the gods who know the way,
 From the forest depths to come,
 To Phrā : Rāma the Protector,
 The Treasure of the Holy One,
 From the sixteenth heaven to come,
 To invite to come Varuṇa the Elder,
 And the wandering gods, abode unfixed.
 My ancestral spirit commandeth me,
 To invite Phya Bejra, He of the gong-like mouth,
 Roaming here and there, visiting all the gods,
 And guardian spirits of the place.
 I respectfully invite all terrestrial spirits to come,
 And not be long in coming,
 To partake of the food and viands supplied,
 Cakes and rice, and sugar candy,
 Pickle tea, areca nuts in plentiful supply,
 of delicious flavour and aroma, and fruit of many kinds.
 By word of the Victorious one given in sacred writings,
 A spirit of the place guards the gate,
 Induce and prevail on him to come with his henchmen,
 A spirit of the place guards the eaves of the shrines,
 According to command from ancient times,
 One spirit guards the underpart,
 Thy slave hath received thy bounty,
 Is in enjoyment of full happiness,
 A spirit guards the kitchen, going in and out,
 Accept our offerings made in right form,
 Candles, sandal tapers, betel nuts and leaves,
 Cakes with beans in great abundance are heaped together,
 Thy slave beseecheth the Ogres Yakṣa inhabiting the place,
 And the Phrā : Bhūmī, Spirit Lord of this locality,
 And the Gods Devatā, favouring this spot,
 To witness the bond made."

NOTE TO PHASE VI.

Varuṇa is the Indian Neptune (God of the Seas). "Phya Bejra" is probably a shortened form of "Phya Bejrapāṇi," i. e., Indra, the King of Gods and the owner of Airāvata, which is considered to be one of the progenitors of the elephants of the earth.

PHASE VII.

CEREMONY OF THANKS-GIVING TO ALL WHO HAVE HELPED
IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE KRAAL, AND THE GREAT
FEAST GIVEN IN THEIR HONOUR.

A ceremony or service giving thanks to the spirits who have rendered assistance in connection with the granting of the site, and construction of the kraal, which includes homage being paid to the spirit of the Preceptor, is now held. This ceremony or service is held inside the second enclosure, that in which the elephants are finally herded. The following offerings in the form of a feast are necessary, 3 ducks, 3 fowls, spirits, rice, curry, pork, steamed glutinous rice, rice moulded in the form of a cow, milk and ghee (clarified butter), banauas, sugarcane, 3 black and 3 horse-shoe crabs, one bamboorat (ḥu), incense tapers and candles, roasted rice, flowers, one red and one white flag which are fixed in the shrine of the spirits of the locality on an altar erected, having a height-level with the eyes. The chief hunter, having lit the candles and sandal wood tapers and presented the offerings to the spirit, recites the following prayers.

"Om, auspicious word, the breath of God.

Respectful greeting and invitation to

Phrā : Nārāyaṇa.

Please come and preside as host.

Phrā : Kāla, owner of the kraal, please come !

And kindly pass the invitation to the gods and godlings of heaven and earth,

To leave their homes and join with us.

Phrā : Nārāyaṇa, the presiding host,

Invites the gods Indra, Brahma, Yama,

Īṣvara, Nārāya.

My spirit preceptor bearing the name

Viṣvakarma,

Commandeth me to build a palace and a city.

A memorial to commemorate.

Phrā : Kāmchād, residing on the left,

Phrā : Kāmchai, residing on the right,

Phrā : Buddha Kineda, residing in the front,

Phrā : Buddha Kinaya, residing in the rear,
 The creator Viṣvakarma (Viṣṇukam), enthroned on my head,
 The gods and godlings come in numbers vast,
 Form a circle round about a hundred tiers in height.
 He the creator, Viṣvakarma, taking his farewell, com-
 mandeth me to build a kraal.
 A palace most excellent and complete in every way (สมบูรณ์).
 I will make auspicious offerings to Phra Uchen, the lord of
 elephants.
 Supported by the mantra of the Tiger King, spirit of the forest,
 He, the creator, accepts our sacrificial offerings,
 The cakes, the butter, bananas, sugar-cane,
 The betel nut and leaves,
 Lighted candles, and incense tapers,
 Silk and cloths of finest textures,
 Perfumed oils and other things.
 Greeting and invitation to the Fire God,
 Will-o-the-wisps, Spirits of the Forest and the goddess
 Thepsākḥā,
 Come and receive our offerings
 Of cakes, and butter, banana, sugar-cane,
 The betel nut and leaves, of incense sticks and candles,
 Presented by thy slave at many places
 Round the beauteous kraal,
 Most excellent and complete in every way.
 Please cast thy eye with favour on that which I've prepared,
 The bananas and the sugar-cane in great abundance planted.
 Please cast thy eye with favour on the palace which I've built,
 A palace in the forest glades, a place of calm enjoyment.
 The Lord Īvara riding on his elephant,
 A male, tusker great in stature,
 The lord Nārāya riding on his elephant,
 A female, of great beauty in face and form,
 The excellent preceptor riding on his elephant (พระอาจารย์),
 Skilled and trained in movements graceful (ประคอง),
 Leads the way to forest palace,
 A place of pleasure, serene and calm.

Monkeys dancing in perfect unison
With the graceful movement of the elephants,
Which browse on succulent grasses as they pass,
Are enjoined not to tarry, overcome by drowsiness,
But to hasten and to hurry by will of spirit power.
Come, O god Udena, take thy seat
And listen to the music of the gongs and drums,
Music of the forest, sweet and pleasing to the ear.
Come, my Lord Uchen, King of elephants,
Receive our sacrificial offerings made to thee, of cakes and
butter, bananas, sugarcane,
Betel nuts and leaves, incense sticks and candles.
Greeting and invitation to Spirit Preceptor, Chief of majestic
hills,
To whom bananas and sugar-cane are offered,
Together with lighted candles and sandal tapers placed in
rows and groups.
Greeting and invitation to the Spirit Preceptor, Chief of the
golden city,
And to his deputy to enter the palace in the forest built,
Please come, O ye of princely rank, receive our sacrifices,
Composed of cakes and butter, spirit, rice,
Lighted candles, tapers, and other perfumed things.
Greeting and invitation to the Spirit Preceptor, chief of the
cliff-city,
God of the forest,
Please come and receive our sacrifices,
Composed of cakes and butter, the proper offerings,
Come and take the condiments and salads,
The viands of meat, fish and crab,
And the lighted candles and incense tapers.
Greeting and invitation to the spirit of glowing fire, will-o-
the-wisp,
Causing elephants to move, following in their tracks,
Please come and receive our sacrifices
Composed of cakes and butter, the proper offerings,
Come and take the condiments and salads,

The garlands and the perfumed things,
 Greeting and invitation to the Spirit of the District Ruler
 (พระยาพิชัย),
 Lord of the forests and wilds,
 Invitation to the spirits of the trees and fields (ต้นไม้),
 Having come and eaten of the feast,
 Please help to drive and urge the elephants the forest palace
 to enter,
 A place of enjoyment, serene and calm.
 Greeting and invitation to the spirit of glowing fire, will-o-
 the-wisp,
 Living in the forests and wilds,
 Please come accept our offerings, perfumed and worthy of all
 praise,
 Presented in the proper way,
 Take the condiments and salad, the viands of meat, fish and
 crab,
 The garlands and other perfumed things.
 Greeting and invitation to the Spirit Lord of forests (Phra :
 Phrai) vast in extent,
 Having in its bounds strange caves, havens of elephants,
 Wild and tangled region, filled with spirits of every kind
 Roaming to and fro,
 Please come and receive our sacrifices,
 Composed of cakes and butter made in proper form,
 Please take the spirits, rice, and viands of meat, fish and crab,
 The lighted candles and scented tapers.
 Greeting and invitation to spirit Energy (ईศัน),
 The natural forces within all things from end to end,
 Used in building the kraal, the palace, within, without, and
 all appurtenances,
 Please come, and receive our sacrifices,
 Composed of cakes, and butter made in proper form,
 Please take the spirits, rice, lighted candles
 And scented tapers,
 Greeting and invitation to ye Spirits, lords of forests,
 The lady Thepsākha (เทพสาคา), gentle guardian of the
 trees,

And the lady Thorāni (พระมารดา), our Lady Mother Earth,
 I place the offerings in their leafy cups, within, without,
 Invite the spirit of the vast enclosure, for today
 I proclaim to all the Spirits whom it may concern;
 I erect the proper awning for high born and low,
 Please come, and receive our sacrifices,
 Composed of cakes and butter made in proper form,
 Of sugar-cane, bananas, viands of meat and fish both cooked
 and raw,
 With lighted candles and scented tapers, a right oblation,
 Greeting and invitation to the protecting gods, those possessed
 of Knowledge (เทพยดทั้งนั้น พระโสดาบัน),
 Please come with haste and take our offerings, of cream, and
 butter, in proper form,
 Viands of meat and fish, both cooked and raw
 Lighted candles, and incense tapers, a right oblation.
 Greeting and invitation to Phrā: Bhūmi and Phrā:
 Phrai (พระภูมิละ พระไภ) , spirits, lords of land, of forests, and to the
 Lord Nārāyaṇa.
 Invitation to Mæ Phao Thong (แม่ผาทอง), the chief, the queen
 of elephants,
 Induce thy friends and relatives to enter the excellent Palace,
 That great enclosure, built by spirit hands,
 Having entered there within, partake of spirits, rice, our
 offerings,
 Enjoy the juicy creepers, and the green grass,
 Tempting in their freshness,
 Thereafter bathe and gambol, admire the forest palace erected
 for thy pleasure,
 Come and eat bananas, sugar-cane in abundance growing.
 Invitation to the lady elephant, come and eat the tender
 grass,
 Induce your friends and relatives to enter the forest palace.
 Do not go away from here to places distant, all ye bulls
 and cows,
 Come, admire the lasso-ropes placed on golden benches for
 your delectation,

Come and hear the lilting song sung as a lullaby to soothe to sleep.

Servitors are in attendance, standing, sitting, in rows and groups,

To prepare thy beds and give you grass and water.

Invitation to the lady elephant of beauteous form,

Following step by step the noble bull *Phya Chāng*,

Come, enter the forest palace, a place of calm and happiness.

Bring with you a retinue of cows and bulls.

Invitation to the lady elephant to induce to come all female friends,

And feast their eyes on gorgeous flowers prepared for their good pleasure in the palace precincts.

Go not elsewhere.

Invitation to the spirit father of the hunters,

Mahawats on head and hind of bulls and cows,

Directed, guided by the All Wise One, knowing all of elephant-lore, direct and lead the way with speed,

That all the herds of bulls and cows may come

And feast on bananas and sugar-cane in abundance, growing for their pleasure.

Elephants of both sexes, bull and cow,

Having feasted to repletion, enter the palace of their free will.

Bananas and sugar-cane as offerings are made

To propitiate the lord of elephants "*Phrā: Uchen*" and the lord of tigers "*Sming Phrai*" (สมีนพฺพ).

Toward us turn thy faces and give thy blessing on our undertaking.

Om, by virtue of the circling movement,

I will circumambulate around and round

And cast from here all evil things.

I will erect a consecrated post,

And by the circling movement cast forth evil that peace may reign.

NOTE TO PHASE VII.

In the mantra given in Phase VII of the hunt, many gods are invited to be present, and accept offerings made to them.

Narāyaṇa, although in later days known as *Viṣṇu*, is in truth

Brahma, the chief of all, the primal cause, He who manifests himself as the principle of good in Nara, the first man. The term Nara has become merged in that of Nārāyaṇa. In so far as Nara, Nārāyaṇa, is the manifestation of Brahma, equally so is Viṣṇu, for Nārāyaṇa eventually became known as Viṣṇu. Here we find the same confusion of thought as we find in the various schools of Christianity about the status of the Father and the Son.

Phra : Kāla is the God of Time. As Time has a beginning and an end, it is finite and therefore does not come within the cognizance of the primal cause. It is therefore merely a human belief. Kāla is essentially a temporal thing, and this term has been applied to Yama, the judge of the dead. The Atharvaveda holds that Kāla drew forth the worlds, that is he drew them forth from their true spiritual being, causing mankind to believe in the reality of finite things. This premise is absurd for finite things being non-permanent cannot be the Truth. The kraal being a temporal things falls within the jurisdiction or ownership of Kāla. He is required to invite the gods and godlings, the Devas and Devatās. These beings have their place in the three material worlds, the Bhūr, the Bhuvah, and Svarloka. They suffer under the illusion of the reality of birth and death, and their god, Time or Change, therefore invites his children to come. The author of this mantra would seem to have become somewhat confused when he ascribes to Nārāyaṇa the duty of calling on the five gods to come. These five gods are material conceptions having a corporeal form. Nārāyaṇa as Brahma, the creator of spiritual things, could not have cognizance of material states. Therefore Nārāyaṇa must have been degraded to the position of material being. Indra, the ruler of the Svargaloka, is temporal. Brahma referred to here is not the true Brahma, the Creator of spiritual things, that is Brahma the masculine being the conception of mortal man who makes Brahma like himself, a mutable being without foundation. Yama I have already said is the judge of the dead. He is temporal, for in Truth alone is found reality, permanence. In Truth or the Abode of Truth, the Satyaloka, which is the real state of man, there is no death, and there is no judge of the dead. Īṣvara which means the Lord, is a term used for Īṣa, a very material sensuous god, for in conceiving of him man has given to him the attributes of his own evil passions. Nārāya is man in his material

form, not Nārāyaṇa, the first man, a true spiritual expression of Brahma (neuter), the spiritual creator.

Viṣvakarma is a term applied to the creator of the universe. He is known as the architect, the artificer, the builder, the constructor. He is said to have given man the Sthāpatyaveda, the science of architecture and mechanics. Viṣvakarma has a spiritual side, is immortal. Material mortal conceptions are but the counterfeit of spiritual immortal things.

The School of Engineering in Siam has been given the name Rongrien Visnukam (โรงเรียนวิศวกรรม), a corruption of Viṣvakarma and is sometimes spelt as Viṣvakarma. The Commissioner of Works in the Royal Household holds the title of Phya Visnukam.

Phrā: Kāmechād is undoubtedly Īva the destroyer.

Phrā: Kāmechai is Viṣṇu the Preserver.

Phrā: Buddha Kineda I think, must be Brahma (masculine), that is Brahma as conceived of by man as possessing all his evil characteristics centred in mortality, for here he is given the material eye of knowledge.

Phrā: Buddha Kinaya is, I think, Brahman (neuter form), that is the true spiritual creator, omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent, the creator of Man and all things which are created. For here he is given the spiritual eye of knowledge.

The Tiger King is Smlng Phrai (สมลงไพร).

This term means the lord of the forest, for the tiger is in truth so feared that his sway is unquestioned. The idea is that original, primal or spiritual tiger dominates the forest, and it is necessary to propitiate him.

The fire God is Agni.

Thepsākhā—I do not know who this goddess is.

PHASE VIII.

CEREMONY DECLARING THE KRAAL OPEN FOR USE

When the kraal is ready for use an opening ceremony is performed. This takes place at the entrance to the inner enclosure on its outer side. The following articles are used in connection with this inaugural ceremony, namely, betel nut and betel leaf, sandal tapers and candles.

The chief huntsman, having lighted the candles and incense tapers, recites the following words:—

“Om, word of power; the Excellent R̥ṣi has commanded me to light the candles, fixed to the yoke of the plough, Which turns the furrow, the openings on the bosom of Lady Mother Earth.

The excellent R̥ṣi requires me to open up all caves, abysses and deep places,

To open up all rivers and subterranean waters.

Om, word of Power; the Excellent R̥ṣi Lakṣhayāna commands me to summon the Consort of the Moon to appear in brilliant splendour.

After which the Excellent R̥ṣi commands me to drive the elephants to the open kraal to enter there within.

Om, let there be plenty and great abundance.”

The chief hunter having recited this mantra, which has the power of making all things manifest, then turns to the power inherent in the all pervading heart of mercy, love and goodness, qualities of Buddha, true enlightenment, and repeats the well known invocation to the five Buddhas, four of whom have come to help distressed mankind. This invocation is in Pāli and takes the following form:—

“Om, Ye five Buddhas, helpers of mankind,

To find the way to light and glory,

Endowed with the All-seeing-Eye, the Light of sentient Beings,

This Eye transcending a thousand eyes.”

NOTE TO PHASE VIII.

The R̥ṣi Lakṣhayāna is not one of the seven R̥ṣi or sages to whom the hymns of the Vedas were revealed. This name does not appear amongst them. The seven R̥ṣi are the seven spiritual children conceived in the mind of Brahmā. They are spiritually conceived and spiritually born. The fact that Lakṣhayāna calls on the Consorts of the Moon to appear would seem to imply that this R̥ṣi had away over those stars surrounding the moon. The moon married the twenty-seven daughters of the R̥ṣi Dakṣa, who are personifications of the twenty-seven lunar asterisms. The moon is said to be the son of one of the seven great R̥ṣi, namely, Atri. These seven R̥ṣi, mind-born children of Brahmā, are represented in

the sky by the seven stars of the Great Bear. It will be seen from this note that the seven Rsi are connected with the planets and stars, and that the wives of the moon are also stars, daughters of a Rsi called Daksa, not one of the seven. There are many Rsi other than the seven great ones, and Lakkhayāna may well be Daksa under another name. The Siamese word for an asterisk is *dokchān* (ดอกจันทร์), which is derived from the lunar asterisms, the twenty-seven wives of the Moon.

PHASE IX.

CEREMONY GLORIFYING AND PRAISING THE FORESTS.

Having recited the stanza given in Phase VIII the chief hunter, seated alone on the raised dais, proceeds to recite this hymn to awaken the spirit of the forest, and to praise and glorify its beauty. The chief huntsman lights the candles and incense tapers and presents flowers.

“Om, word of power, teacher of the teachers, composed and
constituted of the 34,
And Indra, Brahmā, Yama, and Gāṇa,
My teacher is Moggallāna.
Uchen, the Lord of elephants, whose voice resounds through-
out the realm of air,
Commandeth me to praise the forests in pleasing words and
tones.
That such be heard throughout the woods and dales,
Convenes a gathering of the gods and godlings come punctual
to the time.
The god Vitsānakām requireth me to recite the magic mantra,
Composed of the Elixir of Knowledge.
Please come and take thy seat in front of all the godlings
He lays on me the duty of praising the forest and awakening
its spirit.
Herds of elephants cannot stationary remain,
Some play, some trumpet without rest or pause,
Searching for their friends in the forest glades, tears rolling
down their faces.
Herds of elephants wandering here and there

In much confusion, sad at heart, stretching forth their trunks
to grasp the luscious grass, tears rolling down their faces.

In the forests, the trees, Mái Chik (ไม้จิก), Mái Chak (ไม้จอก),
Mái Phá-wa (ไม้ผา), Mái Són (ไม้สอน), Mái Kéo (ไม้เกี่ยว) en-
dowed with magic power to move at will,

And keep the herd on rightful way to kraal;

The god marks the magic circle,

Commences to read the holy mantra praising the forest green.

In the depths of forests, places of pleasure *great*, bright with
gold and crimson lotus,

Black Mynahs with golden beaks talking with their gentle
voices.

The herds of elephants cannot here remain.

They must hasten to the kraal, tears lying on their cheeks.

Do not tarry, spend no time on parting words.

Phrā : Uchen, the lord of all the herds,

Has come and is above.

And the lord Kosi is on the surface of the earth,
giving praise to forests all.

Go, enjoy the vision of the birds,

The tailor, weaver and the doves,

Singing cooing with their sweet and pleasant voices.

Who'er enjoys this pleasant music, by pity overcome,

Recalls to mind memories of his children, who fettered him
of yore,

Entreating, pleading with their mothers to go enjoy the
perfect bliss.

Go, visit thy grand parents, entreat and coax thy mothers
with pleasant and sweet voices.

I will cast the magic spell and and lure the leader of the herd
from the depths of forest wild,

Thou must not be slow, move with stately speed,

The male and female mixed in great confusion, with fear and
trembling in their hearts.

It is long since thou met thy friends,

The trampling thunders throughout the forest,

Some gambol, untouched by fear, in the forest green.

Entreat and coax them all to come together,

Waste no time, Phrā: Uchen is waiting,
 Herds of elephants in all degrees related,
 Come! and look with pleasure on the flowers,
 Enjoy the scent arising from the lotus in the ponds amongst
 the hills and dales in the forest depths.
Their minds are full of happiness thinking fondly of Phrā:
 Uchen,

Whose voice resounds and echoes everywhere, compelling pity.
 Tailor-birds, weaver-birds and doves full of sorrow, tears
 welling in their eyes at thought of coming parting from the
 happy forest home.

In the forest, flocks of birds are full of sorrow, tears welling
 in their eyes.

By virtue of the Sacred Power, steadfast and strong,
 Gives forth praise of forest, calm, serene.

In the shade of stately trees both "Phō" and "Sai,"

All creatures in the forest are agitated, and by sorrow bound,
 Even the spirit embodied in the male and female elephant
 Of high distinguished qualities like unto gems set in purest
 gold,

Are troubled at the coming parting.

Convene a gathering of gods and godlings induce one and all
 to come,

And enter within the kraal ranged along the forest.

O power steadfast and strong,

Om, O word of Auspicious Victory,

By virtue of the power of the *Preceptor of the teachers*,

Give power to the Teacher of the Hunters, cunning and
 sagacious,

Let fortune and peace be with thee.

PHASE X.

CEREMONY PRAYING FOR FREEDOM OF THE FORESTS.

When the ceremony of glorifying and awakening the spirit of
 the forest has been performed the right of free entry to the forest
 must be applied for, by making the following prayer to the control-
 ling spirit:—

"Om, quickly and with speed, facing to the front and rear,
 Uphold, protect the mantra's power, travel at your best pace.
 My Mentor sendeth me to meet you face to face.
 Come before I read the royal command, and destroy the
 spirits living on this land.
 Please disclose the way through thickets in the forest tangle.
 Obey at once without ado by virtue of this prayer".

PHASE XI.

CEREMONY PROPITIATING PHRA UCHEN AND OTHERS,
 REQUIRING THEM TO COMMAND THE ELEPHANTS TO GO TO THE KRAAL.

The ceremony described in Phase VIII having been completed, it is necessary to invoke the favour and power of Phra Uchen, the lord of elephants, that he may send his subjects to the palace built in the forest (the kraal), a place of calm and serene happiness. The invocation takes the following form of asking for a blessing and is supported by gifts being made as an act of propitiation.

This act is performed at the entrance to the inner enclosure of the kraal. The offerings are betelnut, and betel leaves, sandal wood, incense tapers, and flowers. The chief huntsman, having lit the tapers and candles, makes the offering with proper form and ritual, reciting the following prayer:—

"This day I will prepare the auspicious leaf-cups and make
 right offerings known as the Great Success,
 To obtain favours and blessings.

Let there be no evil and no danger.

I make offerings to obtain favours and blessings of the gods
 of the earth and the air.

Phra Nārāya, Phra Phāisōb (ไพศิณห์), the
 Sages of the Three Worlds (ไตรโลกยไพศิณห์) and the
 Sages of the Naga World, the realm of waters,
 the Sages of Fiery eyes,
 the Sages versed in Magic and talismans,
 Calling on these eight noble ones to come,
 and prepare an Elixir.

I also make offerings to the Sage Nārada, the Sage of Middle

Space (พระฤๅษีทั้งสาม), the Sage of Mālā (พระฤๅษีมาลา), the Sage of the Three Unities,

And invoke their presence to join in the preparation of this Elixir,

That ye shall come and lure elephants from the forest, only those the best.

Also Phrā : Buddha Khineda, Phrā : Buddha Khinaya, Phrā : Kām-chāt, Phrā : Kām-chāi, and the Sage Nārada, that ye shall come and vest Phrā : Uchen, the Lord of elephants, with power by virtue of the Elixir,

To have sovereign sway o'er all elephants, where'er they be.

Then the Rsi, sages, having met

Shall shower blessings on Phrā : Uchen that he may victor be.

O Blessed Spirit of Life,

Have no fear of forests, wild and dark.

This day is auspicious to make offerings to Phrā : Uchen the Lord,

Cause not fear to elephants in the forest glades,

Coax, induce them to enter in the kraal,

And look with favour on the roasted rice, and lovely flowers, Bananas, sugar-cane, beans, and sesamum, in abundance there laid out.

Please come, O Blessed Spirit of Life, manifested in Phrā : Uchen, youthful and tender.

O Sages, Rsi of the Fiery eyes, bless thy son.

O elephants, bulls and cows, in the forests living, be ye not afraid.

Pease come, O Mothers all, from thy forest home.

By friendly suasion induce all to come.

Make act of adoration to Phrā : Uchen the lord, in the Golden Hall.

O Female elephants, saddled and caparisoned, persuade all to come.

Water of lakes and rivulets, grass succulent and tender awaits you there.

The Rsi bless the sons and daughters great in number assembled in the Golden Hall.

Female elephants, their tails trailing on the ground, caparisoned

and saddled, ready for the road,
 Of the lineage Kobutra, son of the Sun rising in glory in the
 centre of the herd,
 Lead it to the kraal,
 To admire Phrā : Uchen, the great one on the earth,
 And Phrā : Mātali, renowned charioteer of Indra god,
 And Sages, Rsi all, *without exception*.
 Bless the aged hunter (ພູນຳນຳ)
 Please come, O Fathers all, come admire the garlands and the
 tiered cups of leaves.
 Come, O Spirit of the Blessing,
 Bless the lady elephant of purest white,
 Scion of Kobutra, son of the Sun,
 Tail trailing on the ground.
 Come, O Spirit of the Blessing,
 Admire the offerings made as act of adoration.
 Come, O Rsi, and lords of earth,
 The goddess Mekhāla, protectress of the seas,
 Implore and crave the blessing of the King,
 The Lord Uchen,
 Endowed with power to call all elephants, living in the forest
 wild,
 To come and enter in the Golden Hall.
 Command the herds to go in to the kraal,
 And admire the roasted rice and flowers of many kinds.
 To call the elephants from the depths of forests wild, to come,
 To make offerings and bless the young and small, in numbers
 great,
 Come in, be blessed all ye,
 Bless the lasso ropes, and bars of inner kraal,
 Prepared by skilled hands for elephants from beyond,
 Bless the ropes, regalia of Phrā : Uchen, lord of Elephants,
 Bless the passage ways (ທາງທາງທາງ),
 Bless the Mahawats (ສາວະນະສາວະນະ), the first assistant and the
 driver of the right,
 Bless all mantras, charms and talismans, begat by Phrā : Uchen,
 O Lord of Heaven come down to us,
 Shower thy blessings on Phrā : Uchen this auspicious day,

Let there be no danger, protect the Hunters (นัก) of first and second rank and me myself.

The Lord of all, Īṣvara, Nārāyaṇa, then will come and bless me.

Om, endowed with victory and power, auspicious word :

Then the eight great rishis will give their blessings to thy slave,

Let there be no enemies, but in their place the peace of victory, the peace of power."

NOTE TO PHASE. XI.

In this mantra eight great ṛṣi are referred to. This is in accord with the number recorded in the Vāyu Purāṇa which adds Bhṛgu to their number. (See note on Nārada). The eight ṛṣi are, Gotama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagnī, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, Atri and Bhṛgu. The Vāyu Purāṇa, although giving the names of eight ṛṣi, still calls them "seven", which is the number in the Rg-veda. In this mantra the names of the ṛṣi, except Phrā : Nārāya and Phrā : Phāisōb (พระไวยและพระไศ), are not given and it does not seem to me that these two personages can be considered to be ṛṣi. Phrā Nārāya is a form of Viṣṇu, and Phrā : Phāisōb is Kuvera, the lord of wealth, having his realm in the north quarter. It may be that this mantra does not refer to the seven great ṛṣi, but rather to the guardians of the eight quarters, each of which is protected by an elephant. The eight lords of the quarters, points of the compass, are frequently referred to in Indian literature as the eight ṛṣi. The eight quarters of the world and the eight elephant guardians are: Indra (east), elephant Airāvata; Agni (south-east), elephant Pundarikā; Yama (south), elephant Vāmana; Sūrya (south-west), elephant Kumuda; Varuṇa (west), elephant Añjana; Vāyu (north-west), elephant Puspadanta; Kuvera (north), elephant Sārvabhauma; Soma (north-east), elephant Supratika.

Phrā : Phāisōb is held in Siam to be the god guardian of rice. As this deity is the god of wealth, he would naturally in a country where rice forms the staple article producing wealth, be the guardian of that form of wealth. There is a delightful account of the ceremonies in connection with the changing of the year during the reign of King Prasat Thong (พระบาทสมเด็จพระปกเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว). This took place at the commencement of the year Chulasakkarāi 1000 (A. D. 1638), when the king decreed that the tenth year of the cycle then approaching, which would

normally be the year of the Tiger, should be changed to the year of the Pig. This was done with a view to escaping from the misfortunes and calamities which would befall mankind with the advancing of the present age or era, Kaliyuga.

The ceremony took the form of homage to the eight great lords and the elephants of the quarters. The ceremony was properly staged on mount Sāmerū and mount Krālat, which were built for the purpose, and surrounded by the seven jewel mountains, a reference to which is made in Phase I. These mountains were surrounded by twelve figures representing the signs of the zodiac. It is interesting to note that in all cases the names of the eight elephants are not the same as those given in Indian mythology. They are given as follows: East, Airaphōt, of a white colour; South-east, Romhātsdīn, of the colour of fire; South, Rātānānatkūnchōn, of the colour of a pearl; South-west, Anchōn, of a black colour; West, Komūt, of a yellow colour; North-west, Sarānilakhācharet, of a purple colour; North, Sarāphombhātsādīn, of a green colour; North-east, Sāvetrākḥāchathan, of a silver colour.

Nārada is one of the seven divine sages. The Bhagavadgītā extols him as the chief of the seven sages, and says he is Bhṛgu. Bhṛgu is given in the Vāyu Purāṇa as a sage, making eight, but it calls them seven in number. This is because the seven sages are included in Nārada, and Nārada is included in the seven, and in this form being the seven sages he is their chief and is known as Bhṛgu.

The reason Nārada is mentioned in this mantra is because he is credited with being the inventor of the vīṇa (lyre). This lyre is the divine instrument giving Udena power over elephants. Udena has a close resemblance to the Greek God Orpheus, and it is held by some exegetists that Nārada has a resemblance to Orpheus in his form of chief of the Gandharvas, heavenly musicians.

Mekhālā, sometimes known as Mā : ni Mekhālā, Girdle of Gems, is an obscure divinity, probably of southern Indian origin. There are references to her in the Siamese version of the Jātaka stories, and in some of the legends. Mekhālā appears in the Saṃkha Jātaka and the Mahājanakajātaka.

In both these stories she is represented as being the Guardian of the seas, but it would appear that the succouring of shipwrecked mariners and travellers does not fall within the sphere of her jurisdiction. Ordinary persons are allowed to drown. In these two

stories a saintly sage, a future Buddha, is concerned, and in both cases he is shipwrecked. Mekhāla has neglected her duties, and the distressed saint and his servants are buffeted about in the sea for seven days, before Mekhāla goes to their help on the admonition of the four Lords of the Earth. It is stated by some authorities that Mekhāla was absent attending a meeting of the gods, at which there was dancing, and that she so enjoyed herself as to neglect her duties. It is quite clear that Mekhāla only extends her help to a holy person of the greatest benevolence. In one of these stories she only extended her help to the holy man's servant, when the holy man shared his good fortune with him. Mekhāla then placed the attendant on the jewel ship with his master, and sent them to the port of Molini.

In the Mahājanaka story, Mekhāla saves Mahājanaka, a holy man, the Great Being, after he had been swimming in the sea for seven days, by taking him in her arms, holding him to her bosom, and flying through the air for seven days to the city of Mithila.

In the great epic Rāmāyana of Vālmiki Tulsidas, or that of Bengal, there is no reference to Ma:ni Mekhāla. In the Siamese and Cambodian versions of this epic story, known to the Siamese as the Ramakien (รามเกียรติ์), there is a part in which Mekhāla appears. This episode does not seem to be connected with the Rāmāyana story, but is an interpolation, taking the form of an introductory incident. In this incident Mekhāla comes from the clouds, beautifully dressed, carrying a magnificent and splendid jewel in her hand. The flashes of colour and light from this jewel attract the attention of a terrible ogre named Rāmāsura. He asks Mekhāla to give him the jewel; she refuses. He pursues her, and attempts to seize it by force. Varjun or Arjuna comes to her help but is killed in the fight which ensues. Varjun is thrown with such great violence against mount Sūmerū that it is put out of position, and the gods have to replace it. The story ends with the victory of Rāmāsura, but he did not get the jewel, which Mekhāla took with her to her palace in the seas.

The Siamese people hold that the claps of thunder in a great storm are caused by Rāmāsura throwing his axe in this fight, and that the flashes of lightning are the scintillations of colour and light from the jewel held by Mekhāla.

This episode is acted by the Royal Masked Players of the Courts of Siam and Cambodia. The staging is magnificent and the

pursuit of Mekhāla and the fight with Varjun presents an excellent opportunity for posture dancing. This story is probably of Tamil origin and brought by this people to Siam and Cambodia, in which countries they would seem to have had much influence in ancient days. Mā:ni Mekhāla only had sway over the seas extending from the east coast of India to further India, and was therefore a local divinity.

It is somewhat difficult to understand why Mekhāla should be prayed to and called on to give her help in an elephant hunt, for there does not seem to be any connection between her and elephants. The ceremonies an account of which is given in this paper, are carried out in the territories adjoining the sea-coast. The reason for introducing Mekhāla may be found here, and it is almost certain that the hunters who introduce this form of elephant hunting with all its ceremonial, were foreigners from Southern India, who knew of Mekhāla, the Protectress of the Seas.

Mā:ni Mekhāla is both the subject and the name of a classic poem written in the Tamil language. The heroine of this poem is Mā:ni Mekhāla, a young girl, the issue of a merchant and a dancing girl. Mā:ni Mekhāla, the divinity or goddess, is her guardian angel. King Udayana (Udena) saw her at the Indra festival at Puhār. Her beauty was so great that he fell in love with her, and attempted to gain her favour. Mā:ni Mekhāla the goddess, knowing that her protégé was in danger, descended from heaven to protect her and carried her off over the sea to the sacred island of Manipallavam. This poem bears sign of Buddhist influence, and to some extent is an exposition of the tenets of Buddhism. Its aim would seem to be educational. For in one of its cantos, the XXIXth, there is an exposition of syllogisms and sophisms, and curiously enough almost an exact restatement of this exposition has been found in the Nyāya-praveça lately recovered in Tibet, a Tibetan and Chinese translation only being known to exist.

Mā:ni Mekhāla was a well-known divinity worshipped in the ancient city of Puhār, situated at the mouth of the Kaveri river, which empties its waters into the Indian Ocean east of India. This city was the great emporium of trade between India and countries further East. Its people were addicted to the worship of Indra and, owing to their neglect of the religious observances in connection with this cult, Mā:ni Mekhāla was commanded by Indra to sink the city under the sea. The city today is under the sea, and a small fishing village has

taken its place. Mā : ni Mekhāla as a divinity did not disappear from the mind of the people with the destruction of the city of Puhār. Her worship was continued in the city of Kāñci, a short distance from modern Madras. There was an annual festival held in her honour, and her cult occupied an important place in the religious life of the people of that city. The people of this city eventually accepted Buddhism, and the city became the centre of the Buddhist activities of Southern India. The cult of Mā : ni Mekhāla still remains with the people, and it is for this reason that Mekhāla is brought into the two birth stories of Buddha, the Saṃkha and the Mahā janaka. The classic poem in the Tamil language, which is known to all Tamils, was undoubtedly carried by these people on their voyages to further Asia, and this is probably how Mekhāla came to be known in Siam and Cambodia, and also appears as a divinity to be propitiated in the elephant mantras. It is worthy of note in this connection that the human Mā : ni Mekhāla kindled the love of King Udayana (Udena). In many of the elephant mantras Udena is appealed to, and takes a prominent place in the ceremonies performed during the operations of elephant catching. It is also clear how Mekhāla has a place in a birth story of Buddha.

It is probable that Mekhāla is still worshipped to-day and her help sought for by travellers on the sea.

PHASE XII.

MANTRA DEMANDING GOOD BEHAVIOUR OF SPIRITS OF EVIL PROPENSITIES HAVING THEIR BEING IN ELEPHANTS.

The mantra given below is an invocation to a spirit, an elephant spirit called Ai Ran, who would seem to have a number of retainers or henchmen divided into groups, twelve in number. It is difficult to understand who this Ai Ran is, but he is probably a spirit of bad propensities, or in other words he and his henchmen represent the evil characteristics of the elephant, which are twelve in number. When wild elephants are captured it is necessary to perform a ceremony of purification to cast out these devils or evil tendencies. This mantra is recited with the object of controlling the evil propensities of elephants during the process of capture, and therefore offerings of food are made to these bad spirits, that they may refrain

from actively exercising their evil power to make the elephants fierce and wayward so that they cannot be caught.

The ceremony of presenting offerings to Ai Ran, the elephant spirit, is performed at the end of the inner enclosure. The offerings are: one bottle of spirit, one fowl, candles and sandal-wood tapers. It will be noticed that the offerings made to Ai Ran are very inferior to those made to the Preceptor, rai gods and godlings. The following prayer is recited when making the offerings.

"Om, auspicious word, Invite Ai Ran Chit (อ้ายรณจิต)

Ai Ran Chong Hong (อ้ายรณชองหง)

Ai Ran Rā-næk (อ้ายรณระนาค)

Ai Ran Bang-phrāi (อ้ายรณบางไพร)

Ai Ran the heart, Ai Ran the proud, Ai Ran the boaster,

Ai Ran forest rider,

And his groups of henchmen, twelve in number.

Please come, partake of food as offerings made,

Spirits, rice, fowls and ducks, cream, and butter.

I this food do offer to you all.

When thou hast ate, send with speed all fortune good,

Do not impede or tarry, be not deceitful in performance of this act.

Play not thy knavish tricks lest punishment on ye befall.

Om, join in good companionship,

Eat to thy repletion of offerings made.

Let peace reign supreme."

PHASE XIII.

CEREMONY MAKING AN APPOINTMENT WITH THE ELEPHANTS.

Another ceremony has to be performed, namely, that of making an appointment with the elephants. This must be carried out at night. The chief hunter, being seated alone on a raised dais or platform, recites these words, but no propitiatory offerings are made.

"Om, Phrá: Uchen, how wert thou born?

On the forest-clad cliffs,

Command all to go.

Placing earth on the head, come, O Elephants, all."

This stanza must be repeated three times, and at the end of each recitation the chief hunter performing the ceremony must call Khu (ခဲ), the forest call, the idea being that Phra: Uchen, the elephant lord, hearing the call will come.

PHASE XIV.

CEREMONY REQUIRING ELEPHANTS TO LEAVE THEIR FOREST HOME.

Notwithstanding all the ceremonies which have already been performed even to the stage of making an appointment with the elephants in the forests, it is still necessary to call on them to move from the forest to the kraal. The following mantra is used for this purpose. No offerings are made.

"Om, wavering unsettled state, mind absent from the body,
Carried away by the wind,
Soft hearted, easily swayed, come, O Mother.
O Lord, give power to the Hunter to touch the hearts of the
elephants,
That they may come to me. Come here; come."

PHASE XV.

SEARCHING FOR HERDS OF ELEPHANTS, AND CEREMONIES IN CONNECTION THEREWITH.

The hunt now enters on a new and more active phase. Hunters and drivers are sent out to search for and locate the herds of elephants. Having come across a herd certain propitiatory ceremonies must be performed at a place in the forest. For this purpose the men take with them one bottle of spirits, one fowl, wax candles and sandal-wood tapers. Having selected a suitable place, a shrine dedicated to the lord of the earth (ဧကမုနီ) is erected and the articles brought are placed on this altar, the candles and incense tapers are lit. When making these offerings the chief driver prays for success in the following words:—

"O All Ye Spirits of this place,

Vested with the duty of guarding this forest,
 O All Ye lords of forest, and of the trees,
 Having power and authority in this place,
 (Should the names of these particular spirits be known, their
 names should be voiced)

We pray that we may find elephants this day,
 And that we may be guided to such places as the herds may be.
 When we have met with elephants,
 We beseech ye to use your authority to prevent their doing
 ill or harm to us,
 And give us your assistance in leading and guiding such
 elephants to the kraal "

(It is required of the drivers that they should inform the
 spirit of the place, of any arms or other weapons which they may
 have with them).

Before the drivers and beaters partake of any meal it is incumbent on them to make an offering of a small portion of their food at the shrine to the spirit of the place, and the Preceptor Spirit vested with power. When this offering is made it is customary to utter a prayer pleading for success. In addition to the offerings mentioned above it is also necessary to give a small portion of the food to the lower grade spirits, because it is known that when the Lord Spirit of the place and the Preceptor Spirit move about they are accompanied by a large gathering of their retainers or servitors. This is done by placing the food on a green leaf. It is for this reason that the food offered to the Lord Spirit is made separate from that presented to the servant.

Steps are now taken to round up and drive the wild herd to the kraal. The beaters are headed by a man called the *ນາມໄກ້*, chief driver. When following at the heels of the herd, during the progress of the drive, the chief driver must recite the following words from time to time:

"Om, hand over, O Great Giver of things seen,
 Hand over elephants from the forest green,
 Deliver to us in the kraal, O Great Giver of things seen."

PHASE XVI.

CEREMONY INVOKING THE HELP OF SPIRITS TO LURE
ELEPHANTS TO THE KRAAL

The chief huntsman, who does not take any part in the driving operations, remains in the kraal, and every evening seated on a raised dais, while the drivers and beaters are at work in the forest, he has to recite this mantra, being an invocation to the spirits to lure the elephants to the kraal:—

"Om, to our respectful invitation, please respond and be not slow,

Quickly search, and quickly call, the elephants to come, both great and small.

O Lady Gold, of pure selection, Lady White of dazzling splendour,

And Kra Wah, Gracious giver of the beauty spots of pink,

Rulers o'er all elephant herds living in the treeful forests,

To our invitation please respond,

O Noble Ladies, queens of elephants, living in the forest free,

Hearing this my call, reply and come with speed to me,

And meet, as though of one body corporate, heedless of thy rank and kind.

O Ancient spirit of the hills, clad in eternal green,

Wandering in thy forest home,

The trees give forth their happy song, echoed far and wide,

Mai Cluk, Mai Wa, the forest-trees standing side by side,

O Lady elephants of the quarters scattered o'er the land,

Come ye quickly and with haste to this kraal its hospitality to taste.

I, the first of Teachers, wise and sage,

Seated here, praise the forests full of age,

Success, success, let it be ours

By virtue of our sacred powers,

And peace be with you."

PHASE XVII.

DRIVING OF ELEPHANTS TO THE KRAAL.

Everything having so far gone satisfactorily, the covenant with the spirit signed, an appointment with the wild elephants made, the right of free use of the forest accorded, and the elephants invited to leave their homes and come to the kraal, the serious business of hustling and driving the herd is undertaken. The hunting party is divided into groups of three to five men, headed by an experienced hunter, whose business is to penetrate into all quarters of the forest in search of the wild herd. When this is found, the men approach it with silent steps, below the wind, in order that their presence may not be known.

When the foot-prints of elephants are met with in the forest, the chief driver or beater standing on one of these foot-prints recites the following stanza:—

"Om, O Lord Eagle, prince of birds, spread out thy wings
and tail,

O, Mother of all elephants guide all thy children to the kraal."

(This same stanza is recited when a herd of elephants is seen. When the chief driver has said these words, steps are immediately taken to drive the herd.)

When the herd is on the move, owing to the action of the drivers, the following words are recited:—

"Om, auspicious word, I, by the power of my mind,

Will cause the elephants to the kraal to go.

Therefore prepare the stakes and posts,

Make them firm.

Om, let there be no obstruction, no impediment, let peace
reign supreme."

These words having been given voice to, the chief driver blows through a wooden tube in order to send the elephants to the kraal.

When the elephants have crossed a river, creek, or waterway, the following words are spoken:—

"Om, word of auspicious Power, The Preceptor Spirit requires
me

To destroy the ogress ($\text{ṭṛ} \text{ṛṣṭ}$), the spirits of the forest, rivulets and vales,

Spirits of the lakes, spirits of the creeks, and the landing points,

Destroy all sirens infatuating men, spirits of those who have met their death by drowning.

I will cross with ox and buffalo, horse and elephant,

Om, word of power, let there be peace."

The herd is reconnoitred to ascertain where the leader is, what he looks like, and in what direction he is facing; also to ascertain the number of bulls and cows composing the herd, the nature of the forest, and the direction of the paths which this herd is in the habit of using. The men then silently retreat, and the dispositions to be taken to drive the herd are talked over; the signals to be given in every eventuality, due to the movement of the herd, are fixed. Whereon the men proceed to take up their posts in the vicinity of the leader and on the flanks, and at the rear of the herd, at such places as may be best suited to their purposes, in accord with the character of the forest in which the herd is located. The hunter stationed near the leader judging from the position of the herd that the opportune moment has arrived to commence driving, strikes his bamboo-clacker. The result is instantaneous. The leader of the herd scents danger, and trumpets loudly as a warning to his companions. It has been noticed that, as a rule, the herd on hearing the first warning trumpet call, places itself on the alert. On hearing the second call of its leader, it runs forward and gathers near him; and on hearing the third retreat trumpet call, it moves away headed by its leader. The men stationed on the flanks, seeing the animals gather together round their leader, wait for his third trumpet call to strike their bamboo-clackers; this causes the whole herd to move away.

A frightened herd always moves along the path they have been in the habit of using, unless there is some impediment or obstacle. The men in the rear now follow the herd, and strike their clackers in order to drive the herd towards the point or spot agreed on. The animals go forward, alternately moving and stopping, moving when they hear the sound made by the clackers, and stopping to listen. Should the path taken by the elephants be hedged in by dense forest, or rocks, and hills, then men are placed

along the route to hasten their flight towards the kraal. Should the path be in open country intersected by cross and diverging paths, then it is necessary to place men at these points to keep the herd on the right way leading to the kraal. The hunters must be well acquainted with the country they are driving over, and arrange beforehand to have men waiting at such points as rivers, streams, open plains. When the herd arrives at these points it must be checked and not allowed to resume its movements until the fall of night. As long as the driving operations take a normal course, the chief huntsman is not called on to take a part, but should the elephants behave abnormally and there be danger of their breaking away, then the chief takes control.

PHASE XVIII

OPERATION OF TRAPPING ELEPHANTS AT THE KRAAL

The preparation for trapping varies according to the type of kraal of which there are three: 1. Square-shaped (คอกเหลี่ยม); 2. Gourd-shaped (คอกกลม); 3. Drop gate fan shaped (คอกพลั่วหรือคอกกรวย) and swing fan shaped (คอกพัด). When the kraal erected is of the square or gourd-shape, the front portion is known as the *ทิว*, flare or torch passage. It is here that the bamboos, to hold the torches or flares, are fixed in the ground, thus forming the two sides of the passage. This passage is sometimes as long as 1200 metres and of some width, and leads to the kraal.

The flares are fixed at intervals of six to eight metres and three platforms are erected at equal intervals, on the outer sides of this passage. These platforms are for the men who have the duty of watching and signalling the movements of the herd to those in the kraal, and lighting the torches when the herd has entered. Arrangements are made to place torches across the end of this passage, which are only lit after the elephants have passed to the inner corridor. This corridor, about 80 metres in length, is built of strong posts latched together by ropes and known as *ขี้เหล็ก*, strong legs, and leads the animals to the gate of the kraal. A running contrivance holding combustibles (generally resin) is placed on each side of the corridor and tied to a rope

which is pulled from the platform built near the gate, to facilitate rapid lighting when the elephants have entered the kraal. These combustibles are pulled towards the gate and set alight, to cow the frightened elephants while the men are closing the gate. This is the entrance to the first enclosure and when the elephants have gone in, the chief huntsman, having performed the necessary ceremony, together with his men, cuts the rope holding the gate which is a drop one. When the gate has fallen to its position, it is fastened securely. This mantra, praying that the gate may be strong and firm, is recited :—

“ Be as firm as the Gem of Enlightenment,
Be as steadfast as the Gem of the Holy Law,
Be as everlasting as the Sacred Brotherhood.”

When the gate has been securely lashed and fastened, this mantra is recited, that by its inherent power the gate may have strength to prevent the egress of the most powerful animal. Its words are :—

“ O god of Watchful Perception, keep thy eyes on this spot.”

Flares are lit, crackers are exploded, guns fired, and clackers struck during this operation, with the object of driving the animals into the second enclosure, which is connected with the first by an overhead bridge and separated by a gate. Having driven the herd into the second enclosure, its gate is closed after another ceremony. It will be understood from this description that the driving of elephants to a kraal demands good organization, for it is necessary that each man employed should understand what he has to do and to do it at the right time. A very complete system of signals from the outer wings to the kraal is employed to give warning of the coming of the herd. The use of flares is of importance in the drive, having the object of keeping the animals in the right direction and to prevent their breaking back. The firing of guns and exploding of crackers are used as an aid to achieve this purpose. The operation is one surrounded by difficulty and danger, which reaches its highest point when the time comes for placing the ropes round the legs of the terrified animals in the kraal. It is usual to put the noose-ropes on any fierce male first, and then to proceed to do the same with the other males, ending up with the females. To carry out this work men stand outside the enclosure with noose-ropes (เชือกคล้อง) (Sādam) attached to poles, which are thrust between the posts of the kraal, waiting for

an opportunity to fix them on the hind legs of the trapped animals. This is done when they lift their feet but should the animal not move, it becomes necessary to strike its leg to cause it to raise its foot. Powerful animals may have to be secured by using more than one noose-rope. The next step is to place a noose-rope (เสียมอกเท้า) (Sādām) round the animal's neck. This is a most difficult operation and known as สัตถาม (Satttham), for most elephants put up a stubborn fight to prevent its being done. Men standing on platforms on the upper portion of the kraal prick the animal with sharp poles to distract its attention and then the rope is slipped over the head. Sometimes a screen of green leaves is placed before the animal's eyes to prevent it seeing what is taking place, and the rope is then thrown over the head. The elephants having been secured by foot and neck, these ropes are securely fastened to trees or posts. At this juncture, in order to prevent the animals pulling and straining on the ropes to break them, the magic power inherent in this mantra is used. This mantra is efficacious:—

“Restrain thy anger, dissolve thy design,
Cease thy efforts, forget thy turpitude,
For thou canst not hurt me,
Adore the Law of Enlightenment and its supporters
Endowed with loving kindness,
Curb thy heart and mind,
Curb the elements, earth, water, air and fire,
Turn thy heart to paths of peace and let peace reign supreme.”

PHASE XIX.

TRAINING OF ELEPHANTS AND CEREMONIES CONNECTED THEREWITH.

The time having come for removing the trapped elephants from the kraal, strong tame animals are brought up to carry out this purpose. The noose-rope encircling the neck of the trapped elephant is placed round the neck of the tame animal. Should it be necessary, owing to the pugnacity and strength of the captive, to secure it more firmly, another rope is placed over the neck rope between the two animals and tied round the body of the tame one. The leg ropes are loosened from the kraal posts to which they have been fastened.

When the captured elephant is taken away by its tame companion to the training ground, the leg and neck ropes are fastened to trees or posts fixed in the ground, erected for training purposes. This operation is known as *พาลัก* (phai lak). Should a tusker in the kraal shows signs of bad temper and ferocity, his tusks are sheathed in bamboos, cut for the purpose. The inner ends of the bamboos are filled with coiled canes to act as a shock reducer, and split bamboos are tied over the ends of these sheaths for further protection. This is done that the tame animal leading the captive away may not be wounded by tusk thrusts. These sheaths are called *รง* (Rāng).

When an elephant is taken from the kraal, it goes accompanied by a tame animal to a spot where two posts have been firmly erected. It is placed between these posts, and tied up in the following manner. A heavy piece of wood (*ไม้ตรึง*) is secured to one of the posts so as to hang down loosely, and has a rope (*เชือกมัดคอ*) attached to its end, which is placed round the captive's neck, so as to check any violent action. These two posts are strengthened by having two bars or beams fixed to them at their upper ends. To those bars (*ไม้รัดอก*) are attached the ends of the ropes (*เชือกผูกมัดตัว*) which are run under the animal's body in order to hold it more securely. A wooden platform (*ฐาน*) on which the animal has to stand is built on the ground between these two posts, the front part of which extends some two metres beyond the animal's feet, so that it may not be able to paw the earth. These tethering posts are generally roofed in so as to give some shade (*หลังคา*). Captives are bathed regularly. The training process commences after the fifth day. The first thing to be done is to teach the animal to raise its feet to put on the leg shackles (*คอกปลอก*). This has to be done several times a day, to get the animal familiar with the word of command *เฝ้า* (choeng) so that the operation may be easily carried out. The second step is to teach the animal to kneel. This is done by striking the calf of its leg with a driving goad and giving the command *โงม* (Sōm).

To teach it to rise, the men strike its legs saying (Tan) *ตม*, as the word of command. When the animal has learnt habits of obedience, and will allow its fetters to be put on and taken off as well as kneel and rise at the word of command, it is taught to move at

the will of its driver. The first lessons are given while the animal is tied to the tethering posts. A man sits on its back holding to the belly rope. When the animal has become accustomed to a man being on its back, it is taken by its training companion for a walk, and as it becomes tamer, the man moves forward from his position on its back to one on its neck, and some of the ropes by which its actions have been controlled are gradually discarded. In a few days time the animal goes out unaccompanied by its companion, but has iron chains trailing on the ground from fetters round its ankles. During these walks it is given grass to eat from time to time. This portion of the training does not as a rule exceed two months.

The animal has now to be taught to allow folds of hides *မုခ်* to be placed on its back, and eventually the howdah or other carrier. When this is being done the Mahawat says, "Let the weight be on the hides, not on your back"; and when the hides are in position he places a piece of cotton wool on them and again says, "Let the weight be as light as this cotton wool." The howdah or carrier is now placed on the hides, the Mahawat saying, "Let the weight be in the howdah or carrier, and not on the hides." The animal must be trained to become accustomed to having the hides and howdah or carrier on its back before it can be used for practical purposes, for all animals attempt to shake them off. After this has been accomplished articles are placed in the carrier increasing in weight at each lesson. Elephants having been thoroughly broken in are taken by their mahawats to houses in three different villages, and the owner of each house visited is asked to give some articles to the elephant. The articles received are distributed between three Wats or temples. Animals to be used for dragging timber must be taught the intricacies of this business. To train an elephant to become docile, that he may be used for purposes of riding or transport, may occupy a whole year. Music and singing are not used for putting newly caught animals to sleep, or to wean them from a craving for the forest life. The chief hunters versed in elephant lore recite mantras in secret during the silence of the night for the purpose of soothing newly caught elephants. The ceremony is as follows:—

Before reciting any mantra to soothe the captured elephants in the kraal, it is necessary to perform the ceremony of purifying the animals by driving out any evil spirits which may possess them.

The words used for exorcising and casting out these spirits are as follows :—

"Om, word of power,
Draw out the vicious spirit, cast out the evil power.
From whence dost thy mother hail,
She is of the lineage of the elephants guarding the eight
cardinal points of Indra's realm.
Om, elephants and monkeys, guardians of the realm,
The Great One commandeth me to cast out evil spirits from
the elephants in the kraal,
Manifested in ugly, deformed, short, stunted, broken, withered
tusks, and in evil looking faces,
And manifested in flabby hanging breasts from which milk
flows without cessation."

The chief huntsman performs certain acts to pacify and soothe the captive animals, once while in the kraal and once when outside. The act of soothing the animals while in the kraal takes the following form: The chief huntsman holds the tethering rope by which the chief animal of the herd, whether bull or cow has been tied, to the post of the kraal. He takes a branch of a tree, which possesses the faculty of sleep, in his hand and waves it over the elephant, at the same time saying in a loud tone a stanza, and on its completion he blows his breath over the animal. The stanza is as follows:—

"O queen of the herd, be not afraid, run not wildly in the forest,

Causing it to tremble and to quake,
Trumpet not thy cries to echo forth and back in forest dense.
O Phra: Uchen, celestial prince of all the herds,
Please come and soothe thy frightened children,
Give them sleep.
O Queen of elephants, beauteous in form,
Sleep well and soundly, in the forest free from fear.
O ancestor of the huntsman, versed in ancient lore,
Please come and soothe the herd, Give it peace."

This stanza having been recited the chief huntsman blows betel juice from his mouth over the head of the elephant or in the direction of the kraal. This verse may be recited over one animal or a whole herd. The aged and experienced chief of the hunters blows betel juice from his mouth over the animal from head to tail.

If he cannot approach sufficiently close to the animal, he blows the juice over the neck-ropes. This ceremony of pacifying the turbulence of the elephants can only be performed after the act of purification, *i. e.*, of casting out evil spirits, has been properly carried out.

The act of soothing captured animals undergoing training is as follows. The chief huntsman during the silent vigil of the night, waves the branch of a tree possessed of the faculty of sleep over the animal, recites a stanza and blows his breath over it. The stanza is as follows:—

"Om, O bull or cow, yet wild and fierce,
Move not nor shake thy body, be still and stand where thou
art placed,
Obey commands when given to thee by virtue of Phrā:
Uchen's power,
Lend thy ear to these commands without procrastination.
Remember these things: Thy feet to raise,
The threat of goad, thy rider on the neck and back.
Forget the forest,
Love to enter thy new home.
Love thy rider for all time.
Obey commands which have been given by men of under-
standing in your lore.
By power of the Truth, the Law, and Brotherhood,
Let success be the fruit of these three Gems,
Which I adore".

When the operation of trapping elephants in the kraal or enclosure is over and the hunting party returns home, there is no ceremony of taking farewell of the forest or the spirits of the same, as is done on the Khôrat plateau. This completes the account of an elephant hunt in the seaboard province of Langsuan in Siam.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE HILL TRIBES OF NORTHERN SIAM.

According to the American Bible Society's forty-first annual report of the Siam and Laos Agency for the year 1931, there are about 3000 Miao or Miao and an equal number of the related Yao living in Siamese territory, *i. e.*, within the confines of the Circle of Phayap. Further an Annamite Christian, Mr. Trung, in the service of the Bible Agency, has succeeded in translating the gospel of St. Mark, into the languages of the Miao and Yao.

In view of this information being both of ethnological and philological interest for the study of these remote living mountain tribes, it will be recalled that small monographs in the form of replies to the Siam Society's Questionnaire, treating the life, manners and languages of the Miao and Yao, have been published in Siamese (with English translations) in the *Journal of the Siam Society*, respectively in Volume XVIII, Part 3, and Volume XIX, Part 2.

In this connection the following passage culled from the above mentioned report, of which Reverend Robert Irwin, D. D., is the author, may also be of interest:—

"To bring the gospel to the multitude of mountain tribes of South-Eastern Asia, we need an expert linguist and extraordinary all-round man to make a survey of them. We estimate it will take about ten years and cost of \$2500 gold a year. Such a survey would give definite information about the tribes (the number of which the Doctor estimates at fifty-four) and their relations to one another in language, religious ideas and customs and make possible their grouping together into a few groups and make mission work intelligent and economical."

ERIK SEIDENFADEN

Bangkok, 1st February 1932.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

SIAMESE PUBLICATIONS.

From the present issue of this Journal, it is proposed to introduce a new feature touching upon current Siamese publications, including revised editions and reprints. The present-day output of Siamese literature is considerable, and many books deserve wider notice than they obtain by the mere announcement of their publication in the vernacular press. In this new feature of our Journal, it is proposed to pick out a few of the important books lately issued and received in the National Library under the "Books, Documents and Newspapers Act," and introduce them to our readers.

The printing and publication of books in this country are governed by the law known by the above title. Under its provisions a printer is required to deliver to the National Library, or to its official representatives in the provinces, within one week, two copies of every book, document or newspaper printed, free of charge. Failure to comply with the above provision of the law makes a printer liable to a fine not exceeding 200 ticals in the case of a book or document, not exceeding 20 ticals for each new issue in the case of a newspaper. The fine may be doubled for recidivism committed within one year. The penalty is heavy, and the sooner it is realised by all printers, the better it will be for all concerned. In this feature of our Journal, it is intended to notice some of the outstanding books which come into the National Library. It follows, therefore, that where a printer fails to comply with the law, a book cannot be taken into account, however important a publication it may be.

It may be explained for the benefit of our readers abroad that the National Library, which is under the control of the Royal Institute, is composed of two distinct libraries, namely, the Vajirañāṇa Library for the preservation of manuscripts and inscriptions, and the Vajirāvudh Library for printed books. The two libraries occupy separate buildings, with different staffs, but each is a part of the National Library referred to in the law. In this article we are dealing with the publication or re-issue of printed books, and so when we speak of the National Library, it is the Vajirāvudh Library to which we refer.

The officials of the Royal Institute are not in a position to state that every book, document and newspaper in the country may be found in the National Library within a week of its publication or re-issue, or, in the case of provincial publications, within any reasonable time. The enforcement of the law is not vested in the National Library. Obviously it cannot be.

It is interesting to inspect the registers in the National Library in which the receipt of books is recorded. The registers reveal numbers which will astonish many readers, and we propose to give a few figures hereunder. It should here be explained that of the two copies of each book received, one is placed on the shelves of the Library for the use of the public, the other being kept elsewhere. The figures given below indicate the entries in the registers, and when two copies of a book are received together, they appear in the register as one entry.

To avoid greater details, the last Siamese year B.E. 2473. (April 1930 to March 1931), is divided into quarters, during each of which the number of books received in the National Library is as follows:—

April to June, 340 books in 507 volumes;

July to September, 241 books in 465 volumes;

October, to December, 28 books in 182 volumes;

January to March, 496 books in 1064 volumes;

The number of books received for the whole year is thus 1105, and the number of volumes 2118. The writer has to confess that when he examined the registers for the first time, he was surprised to find such large figures. The difference between the third and fourth quarters is distinctly noticeable. The inrush of books during January-March is attributed to the increased activity of the officials of the Royal Institute in calling the attention of printers to their failure to comply with the requirement of the law. So far as the writer knows, no printer has been made to pay a 200 tical fine, 400 ticals for recidivism, or 20 ticals for every issue of a newspaper. It is probable that the heavy sanction provided by the law is not known to them all.

To return to the registers, the number of books received under each broad classification is of interest. During the year under notice,

the figures are as follows:—

- Pāli texts, 18 books in 21 volumes;
- Buddhism, 445 books in 996 volumes;
- Law, 48 books in 55 volumes;
- History, 53 books;
- Journals, essays etc., 79 books;
- School books, 70 books;
- Poetry and Drama, 120 books;
- Fiction, 144 books;
- Miscellaneous, 128 books.

The above figures are taken from the totals given in the registers. A closer examination of the entries reveals the fact that a book is sometimes received twice, even three times, and when that happens, the entry in the register is repeated. A book printed for a cremation, for instance, is often presented to the National Library by the family of the deceased, and thus the Library obtains another copy in addition to the two sent in by the printer under the law. The writer estimates that duplicate books number 5% of the total, and if we deduct that much per cent from the aggregate for the year, we arrive at an approximate number of books printed during the twelve months and delivered to the National Library under the law.

We now proceed to bring to the notice of our readers some of the books lately published in Siamese.

THE SIX CARDINAL POINTS.

วิเศษ

As a preface to our notice of the book published on the 31st. May 1931 under the above title, reference may be made to the Visākha Essays which win the annual prizes given by the King for essays on Buddhist subjects written in a simple style suitable for children. The subject for an essay is given out each year by the Royal Institute, to whom is entrusted the examination of the essays submitted in competition. There are a first prize and two second prizes. The results of the examination by the Royal Institute are laid before the King, and the successful competitors receive their prizes from His Majesty on a certain fixed date of a lunar month (on the last occasion it was the 30th. May), the first-prize essay being published at the

King's expense for distribution to children the next day (*Visākha Day*). The author retains his copyright for subsequent editions, and as the book is usually adopted for use in the schools, the advantage gained by the writer is not to be despised. The publication of essays for which second prizes are awarded is left to the authors themselves.

The *Visākha Prize Essay* this year comes from Wat Rājapavitra, its author being Phra : Gura Vicitra Dharmagun(a), one of the "dons" of that monastery. Last year the prize was won by a layman, and the year before by a lady.

The subject of the essay, namely, the Six Cardinal Points, is from the *Dighanikāya* of the *Suttapitakam*, in a story called *Sigālovāda Sutta*, usually translated as the *Sigāla Homily*. It is to be found in English by several translators, notably Mrs. Rhys Davids, and there is a good Siamese translation by the late Prince *Vajirañāṇa*.

For the benefit of such of our readers as are not acquainted with Buddhist literature, a gist of the *Sutta* may here be given. There is enough material in it to fill a large volume, but our essayist is obliged to confine himself to the Six Cardinal Points; nor is he permitted enough space to write as much as perhaps he would have liked to do. Much philosophy could have gone into the essay, but it has to be remembered that the book is intended for young readers who cannot be expected to understand deep thought. Our essayist is thus obliged to leave out reference to what are known in Buddhism as the four vices, the four motives, and the six channels for dissipating wealth. He begins his essay by explaining the four points of the compass, and goes on to say that in the olden time people believed that there was a deity presiding over each point, and worshipped the four quarters to please them. He next relates how the Buddha comes upon a boy in wet garments, *Singāla* by name, paying worship to the several quarters of earth and sky, namely, east, south, west, north, the nadir and the zenith. The Enlightened One asks the boy what he is doing, and *Singāla* replies that his father, before his death, gave him an injunction to worship the points. He does every morning what he understands to be the last wish of his father. "That is not how we do it", says the Buddha. *Singāla* asks to be instructed, and the Enlightened One explains that the six

quarters are not what the boy thinks. To worship the east, he should pay homage to his parents, who have brought him up from birth, and are the first people to come within his ken, as he sees the sun in the east after rising in the morning. The teachers are the south, wife and children the west, friends the north, servants the nadir, and religious preceptors the zenith.

The Buddha goes on to say that there are five ways in which a child should minister to his parents. He should say to himself: having been supported by them, I will be their support; I will perform their duties for them; I will make myself worthy of my heritage; after their death I will make gifts and perform other meritorious acts in order to benefit them, if possible, in their state.

In five ways his parents show their love for him: they restrain him from vice; they exhort him to virtue; they have him educated; they arrange for him a suitable marriage; they hand his inheritance over to him in due time.

A pupil should minister to his teacher, as the southern quarter, in five ways: by rising (from his seat in salutation); by standing before him (ready to serve); by obedience to his words; by personal service; by receiving his instruction with respectful attention.

A teacher, thus ministered to, shows his love for his pupil in five ways: by giving him good teaching (taking trouble to make him understand); by enabling him to learn well; by instructing him fully (not holding back knowledge); by speaking well of him; by protecting him in every quarter.

A husband should minister to his wife as the western quarter: by respect; by courtesy; by faithfulness; by giving her authority; by frequently providing her with articles of adornment.

A wife, thus ministered to, shows her love for her husband in five ways: good management of the household; kindness to his friends; faithfulness; taking good care of his property; diligence in the discharge of her work.

A man ministers to his friends as the northern quarter: by gifts; by courteous speech; by rendering help; by being constant; by never wilfully misrepresenting facts.

A friend as the northern quarter: protects him when he is careless; protects his property when he himself does not do so; is his refuge in time of danger; does not forsake him in trouble; shows respect for his family.

In five ways does a master minister to his servants: by giving them work to suit their strength; by rewarding them for their service; by tending them in sickness; by sharing with them good food; by giving them leave at times.

In return a servant ministers to his master: by rising before him and commencing work; by stopping work after him; by taking only what he gives; by good work; by spreading his deserved good name.

A man ministers to monks as the zenith in five ways: by acts of affection; by words of affection; by being affectionate in mind; by keeping an open door to them; by supplying their needs.

The monks show their love for him in six ways; they restrain him from evil; they urge him to do good; they, with noble thought, assist him; they let him hear what he has not heard; they purify what he has heard; they reveal to him the way to heaven.

It must be remembered that the above is from a record of a conversation between the Buddha and a boy said to have taken place over twenty-five centuries ago somewhere in the valleys of the Himalaya. On account of the distance both of space and time, many points which no doubt were clearly understood then seem vague and obscure to us now. The first of the Commentaries were written in Ceylon about 900 years after the death of the Buddha, and, without the facilities for research possessed by us to-day, one doubts if the Commentators understood the Texts any better than we do in our generation. It is the task of our essayist to explain a teaching expounded 2500 years ago in North-Eastern India so that it may be understood by children in Siam to-day. In this he has succeeded to the satisfaction of the Council of the Royal Institute who recommended the award; and of the King, who contributes an introduction to the little book. In one passage His Majesty says:—

.....Siam in the future will be in the hands of the juvenile inhabitants who are being instructed to-day. If we carefully plant in them the seeds of sound ethics, we may be confident of the future progress and stability of the country.....We should therefore strive to equip our children with that most important 'medicine', namely, the teaching of the Buddha, for it is both a tonic which increases our strength and a sedative capable of assuaging pain."

N. M. S.

The Inscriptions of Wat Brah Jetuban (พระบรมราชโองการ)

Edited by the Royal Institute and printed for distribution at the funeral of H. M. Queen Suddhāsiniñāt, B. E. 2472. 2 vols., 8vo., 8+217+547 pp. Illustrated.

The text of the inscriptions of Wat Brah Jetuban (Wat Phó) issued recently, will be valued by students of Siamese culture as a publication of outstanding merit. For, these inscriptions represent a fund of knowledge which, about a hundred years ago, was thought worthy of being preserved, and was therefore inscribed on stone and built into the walls of the Wat when it was repaired and enlarged by King Rama III (Phra: Nang Klao). Much of what was inscribed has also come down in manuscript books and has even been printed subsequently. Still, in the form of inscriptions, it bears, as it were, the approval and authority of a cultured king and his learned court.

H. R. H. Prince Damrong has himself stated in the preface that the collection of inscriptions is not exhaustive. Many of the inscriptions are now lost. Again, in order to keep the publication within limits, even many of the inscriptions which are still intact could be printed only partly or had to be left out altogether. Most of those omitted are fairly common texts like the Nipāta Jātaka and the omission will not be regretted. But it is to be hoped that others like the old treatises on diagnosis and treatment of diseases will be published in the future.

Since it is not possible to give a detailed account of the subject matter of the inscriptions in a short review, a list of their contents is given below for the information of the readers.

Volume I. (1) Historical:—i, Wat Jetuban during the First reign; ii, on the relic of Nan city; iii, iv, details of the work of repair and reconstruction during the Second reign; (2) Religious: i-iv, on monks, nuns, and lay followers who had attained to "Etadaggaṃ"; v, ten kinds of inauspiciousness and ten of knowledge; vi, "Tikābhung"; vii, on the Buddha's foot-print; viii, on thirteen kinds of "Dhutaṅgaṃ" (religious austerities); ix, Jātaka, first part; x, Mahāvamsa; xi, on bells and the dead; (3) Literary: i, on the ten incarnations of Nārāyaṇa and the opening portion of the "Rāmākīrti"; ii, the story of Sip Song Liam; (4) Administrative: i, Episcopal ranks; ii, on the provincial towns graded according to their

importance; (5) Customs and manners: i, on how the Mons prepare "Khao Thib" ("ambrosial confection"); ii, on the new-year's day; iii, on "Kathin" procession by land.

Volume II (1) Historical: i, ii, same as (1) iii, iv in volume I; (2) i, ii, on classical metres adopted into Siamese; iii, love songs (Phlengyāo); iv, on "Konlabot" (arrangement of stanzas in the form of squares, rectangles, etc.); v, verses explaining the pictorial representations of the story of Rāma; vi, "Advice of Kṛṣṇā to her younger sister"; vii, "Advice of Bālī to his younger Brother"; viii, the proverbs of Brah Ruang; ix, the "Questions of the Eight Monkeys"; x, "Lokaniti" (verses of advice); (3) verses describing figures of foreigners. (4) Curative: i, verses explaining figures of a rai manipulating his body for curing different diseases; ii, on forebodings of evil and how to avert them.

Special mention may be made of item 3 in volume II which describes the Dutch, Italians, French, Japanese, etc. In volume I there is a photograph (plate 17) of the figure of an European. But the representation is not very flattering.

P. S. S.

NAI CHANDAKHAMVILAI.—*The Science of Versification* (แนวทศกวี). Bra Candra Press, Bangkok. 2 vols., 8 vo., 23+669 pp.

Few poets (or versifiers) remain content with their medium for long without experimenting on new verse forms. Thus the poets of Siam began to adopt Sanskrit-Pāli metres at least from the days of Ayudhya when the brahmin chaplain (Brah Mahārājaguru) of Somdech Brah Nārāyaṇa composed his "Samuddaghosa". But the first known text book on the use of the classical metres in Siamese is not so old as that, since it was composed by Prince Paramānujit and inscribed on the walls of Wat Phō during the reign of King Rama III. It is the same work as is found in the collection of the "Inscriptions of Wat Brah Jetuban" (Vol II, item 3. i and ii) reviewed in this number of the Journal.

"Vuttodaya", the Pāli text book followed by Prince Para-

mānujī treats of a hundred and eight metres. But Prince Paramānujī selected only fifty-eight of them. Probably he restricted his choice to such metrical forms as he found to be pleasing to the Siamese ear. Now Nai Chandakhamvilai has added the remaining fifty.

Nai Chandakhamvilai deserves praise for his sense of economy in retaining what Prince Paramānujī has done already. For the Prince has been very successful in his experiments in spite of the great differences between the structure of Sanskrit and Pāli on the one hand and that of Siamese on the other. The difficulties surmounted by him will be obvious to any one who will try to adapt the same metres to English for instance. But Prince Paramānujī is not always successful when he gives examples of *jāti* (or *Mātrā Br̥ti*) metres which are regulated by the number of syllabic constants and not by the arrangement of long and short syllables like the *vr̥tta* (or "varṇabṛti") metres. Here Nai Chandakhamvilai seeks to provide an easy way by resolving the "*Jāti*" metres in so many long and short syllables as in the case of the *Vr̥tta* metres. It is of course patent to anybody that this plan helps one to produce passable imitations which it was obviously also the aim of Prince Paramānujī to avoid since it does not help one much. The only proper method is of course to train the ear long enough to discern the subtleties of rhythm.

Besides retaining the examples of Prince Paramānujī, Nai Chandakhamvilai has done another good thing in providing diagrams of the metrical schemes. But the issue of the work in two bulky volumes is not so much due to the additional matter as it is to the wasteful method of printing only a little on each page. This will not at first sound like a fault but it must be remembered that judging by the thickness of the volumes, the price (which is not mentioned in the book) cannot be low and the young poets, the only people who may be expected to buy the work, are proverbially poor.

P. S. S.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS.

WALTER TRITTEL.—*Einführung in das Siamesische* (Lehrbücher des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin herausgegeben

von dem Direktor des Seminars Band xxxiv). Berlin und Leipzig 1930, Verlag von Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1 vol., in-8, pp. viii + 112.

Sans intérêt.

หลวงประดิษฐมนูธรรม (ปรีดิพนมบสฺส) ... ประชุมกฎหมายไทย ภาค ๓ กฎหมาย ๓ ตอน รวม โดย—พิมพ์ที่โรงพิมพ์นิติสาส์น ถนนสีลม เลขที่ ๔๐๓๙-๑ พจนานุกรม (มีกรรมสิทธิ์ตามกฎหมายบัญญัติ), 1 vol., 26 cm. x 19 cm., pp. xvi-243. Prix: 5 bat.

LUANG PRADIT MANUTHAM (PRIDI PHANOMYONG). — *Recueil de Lois siamoises*. [I] *Lois aux trois sceaux*, [1931].

Ce livre n'est pas beau. Pour lire les reproductions photographiques, trop réduites et mal venues, dont il est fait, il faut de bons yeux, parfois une bonne loupe. Cela dit, c'est un livre indispensable, un instrument de travail qui servira longtemps.

Dès qu'on a pris la peine de se reporter aux manuscrits de 1805, on a eu la preuve décisive, (mais non pas nécessaire), que les éditions des vieilles lois siamoises imprimées par Nai Môt, Bradley et d'autres, sont gravement fautives et, tranchons le mot, détestables. Dans l'introduction à une récente édition diplomatique du manuscrit L14 (ลักษณมณีตราจ), on a indiqué quelques-unes des énormités qui s'évalent dans ces travaux de librairie. L'une des plus belles reste à relever. Pour le passage suivant de L16 (ลักษณมณูฎ), 24b:
 ผู้มรดกสินนั้น หายขาดมีมาตามกำหนดมิได้ (c) ได้ที่พิพิสัยตามสมควรได้ให้
 สอดสวน, Nai Môt et tous ceux qui l'ont suivi aveuglément, plus de douze impressions ou éditions, donnent la leçon absurde: ได้ที่พิพิสัย
 คสได้ให้สอดสวน avec des variantes orthographiques. Le สมุชชามนันจิต
 สิทธิสมณ (เจ้าสุมน) me parait être le premier qui ait laissé paraître un doute au sujet de cette leçon, qui, pour tout lecteur attentif, n'est qu'une faute banale de Nai Môt. Avec une réserve justifiée, le Phaja Rambandita a proposé la correction: ได้ที่พิ (มณูฎ) ลักษณะ
 ที่สอดสวน. Cette conjecture qui repose visiblement sur l'analogie de:
 ขบได้ให้มณูฎลักษณะ, un peu plus bas (en 26a)⁽¹⁾, ne tient pas devant la leçon du manuscrit, mais elle montre un réveil de l'attention qui fait plaisir.

(1) Il fallait évidemment préférer ขบได้ให้ลักษณะตามสมควร de 25 b-c.

Luáng Pradīt a pris la mesure qui s'imposait dans les circonstances que l'on vient de rappeler. Voulant éditer les monuments de l'ancien droit encore en vigueur au moins partiellement, il nous a donné la reproduction photographique des manuscrits de 1805, ou plutôt de l'un des manuscrits de 1805, pour chacun d'eux. C'est beaucoup de pouvoir lire chez soi, même au prix d'un gros effort, *ลักษณพระธรรมนูญ, ลักษณะอินทภาษ, ลักษณะภูคั่น, ลักษณะหมื่นมัย, ลักษณะเบ็ตเส็จ, ลักษณะมฤฎ, กฎมวาทินยาล* dans le texte des manuscrits L1, L2x, L9, L10.1, L10.2, L14, L16, L22.1x, L22.2⁽¹⁾

Les manuscrits n'ont pas tellement souffert en cent vingt-cinq ans. Là où le temps a creusé des lacunes ou rendu la lecture trop difficile, Luáng Pradīt a fait le nécessaire en complétant en note le texte photographié. Il a encore pris la précaution de transcrire en caractères siamois les fragments pâlis écrits en caractères cambodgiens dans les originaux. Enfin, dans des notes concises, on trouvera quelques éléments pour l'établissement d'une concordance, et des références à la législation moderne, qui aideront à faire le départ entre ce qui reste en vigueur des vieilles dispositions et ce qui en a été abrogé.

A plusieurs reprises, dans ces notes et dans les courtes introductions dont il a fait précéder chaque loi, Luáng Pradīt touche à des questions qui intéressent l'histoire du texte. C'est ainsi, par exemple, qu'il observe (p. 160) que la numérotation des articles de *ลักษณเบ็ตเส็จ* dans L14, où elle est du type continu, diffère de celle que donne Bradley dans ses éditions, laquelle est du type à reprises. Luáng Pradīt se demande si Bradley n'est pas lui-même l'auteur de sa numérotation, ou s'il ne l'a pas prise à un manuscrit qui n'était pas un manuscrit aux trois sceaux. Bradley est évidemment un lapsus pour Nai Môt. Ayant encore le volume premier de l'édition princeps des lois due à Nai Môt, celui qui contient *ลักษณเบ็ตเส็จ*, nous sommes sûrs que Bradley n'a pas inventé sa numérotation de L14, et qu'il l'a tenait de Nai Môt. Cela dit, la première hypothèse de Luáng Pradīt est de peu d'intérêt. Si l'on prouvait que Nai Môt a inventé sa numérotation de L14, on n'en serait pas plus avancé pour cela. Au contraire, si l'on prouvait que Nai Môt, selon la seconde suggestion de Luáng Pradīt, tenait

(1) Luáng Pradīt a publié tout récemment une édition typographique des mêmes textes.

sa numérotation de ปุจฉา of a manuscript qui n'était pas un manuscript aux trois sceaux, une pareille découverte aurait une grande portée pour l'histoire du texte des lois, puisque nous aurions alors une raison au moins de promouvoir les éditions Môt-Bradley au rang de "sources du texte."

Mais, en réalité, les faits s'expliquent aisément sans l'hypothèse de Luang Pradīt, et les raisons de révoquer en doute l'affirmation de Nai Môt⁽¹⁾ d'après laquelle il a suivi les manuscrits de 1805, me paraissent fragiles.

On peut très simplement admettre en effet que Nai Môt a travaillé sur l'un des manuscrits de 1805 que nous n'avons plus, manuscrit qui n'était pas nécessairement d'accord en ce qui concerne la numérotation avec celui que nous avons encore et pouvait très bien porter la numérotation à reprises de Nai Môt. D'autre part, l'examen du manuscrit L14 qui nous reste, révèle des faits qui semblent prouver que la numérotation dans ce manuscrit était différente autrefois de ce qu'elle est aujourd'hui et qu'elle était pareille alors à ce qu'elle est dans Nai Môt.

La numérotation actuelle de L14, de type continu, a été écrite sur une numérotation ancienne, éliminée par grattage, et du type à reprises, que l'on trouve souvent ailleurs dans les manuscrits de 1805, sur une surface indemne de grattages, comme dans les manuscrits de สักขณมูณี, ou sous une numérotation plus récente, come dans les manuscrits de สักขณมณีนิบ, สักขณมฤต และ สักขณมฤก.

Il est possible de démontrer directement que les numérotations actuelles de สักขณมณีนิบ et de สักขณมฤต qui sont du type continu, résultent du remaniement, opéré sur nos manuscrits mêmes, de numérotations à reprises qui y figuraient tout d'abord. Mais le cas le plus clair est certainement celui de L16 (สักขณมฤก). Si Luang Pradīt veut bien étudier sur le manuscrit les ratures qui apparaissent, mais peu nettement, sur ses planches, il s'apercevra tout de suite que la numérotation de สักขณมฤก dans L16 a subi une longue suite

(1) J'entends la phrase de Nai Môt (titre de son édition), reprise par Bradley: ท้ายเขียนขึ้นใหม่ได้ทันแล้ว เพราะว่าเขียนด้วยหลักเลขเดิม, comme signifiant que Nai Môt a suivi le texte de 1805, et non pas comme signifiant qu'il s'est servi du texte de 1805, parmi d'autres, pour établir ou corriger le sien. Je ne crois pas qu'une autre interprétation soit possible.

de remaniements dont il est possible de retrouver l'histoire dans ses moindres détails. Si l'on étudie d'un bout à l'autre de la loi les ratures qui accompagnent presque invariablement les numéros actuels, et si l'on interprète de la manière dont je crois qu'il faut le faire, la rature de 37a (numéro de l'article 9), on aboutit à une conclusion qui me paraît aujourd'hui tout à fait solide, à savoir que, dans L16, les articles de สิบสามร้อย ont été numérotés successivement de quatre façons différentes, que l'on peut restituer, exactement, toutes les quatre. L'examen de la rature capitale de 37a (p. 144, L1 du livre de Luáng Praxít) permet encore de déterminer l'ordre dans lequel les quatre systèmes se sont succédés. Or, si la numérotation actuelle est continue, la plus ancienne est du type à reprises: 1-40, 1-5, 1-3.

Il est donc tout à fait plausible, d'après l'analogie des deux ou trois cas sûrs que l'on vient de signaler, que la numérotation continue actuelle de L14 recouvre une numérotation à reprises plus ancienne, pareille à celle de Nai Môt et de Bradley, puisque l'on sait par l'examen même du manuscrit que la numérotation qu'il porte actuellement en a remplacé une autre plus ancienne. Sans doute, on n'a pas encore réussi sur L14 le travail paléographique qui me semble concluant en ce qui concerne L16. Mais nous en savons assez pour restituer presque à coup sûr dans L14 une numérotation ancienne à reprises, pareille à celle de Nai Môt, sous la numérotation continue actuelle.

Il est donc inutile, pour expliquer la numérotation de สิบสามร้อยเจ็ดสิบเจ็ด dans Nai Môt, de supposer que Nai Môt s'est servi, contrairement à son propre dire, de manuscrits autres que les manuscrits aux trois sceaux. Le seul des manuscrits aux trois sceaux qui subsiste dans le cas de สิบสามร้อยเจ็ดสิบเจ็ด, L14, porte encore la trace d'une numérotation ancienne, à peu près certainement pareille à celle de Nai Môt, et que Nai Môt a pu lire dans les deux autres manuscrits aux trois sceaux de สิบสามร้อยเจ็ดสิบเจ็ด aujourd'hui perdus, sinon dans L14 lui-même, que Nai Môt a peut-être pu encore utiliser avant la date inconnue où la numérotation en a été remaniée.

Il ne resterait donc rien des hypothèses de Luáng Praxít si elles ne portaient à réfléchir que dans un cas au moins, Nai Môt, sans qu'il soit besoin de supposer qu'il se soit écarté de la tradition de 1805, nous a conservé une image de cette tradition que, dans leur

forme actuelle, nos manuscrits ne nous permettent de reconstituer qu'à grand peine.

Si nous avions tous les manuscrits de 1805 indemnes de remaniements, nous pourrions nous passer de l'édition Môt-Bradley, en elle-même si médiocre. Mais nous n'avons que soixante-dix-neuf des manuscrits de 1805 sur cent vingt-trois, et ces soixante-dix-neuf là ne sont pas toujours exempts de remaniements. Il est dès lors à retenir qu'en un cas au moins, Nāi Môt nous donne un texte qui a été celui de notre seul manuscrit aux trois sceaux pour ᨾᩢᨶ᩠ᨿᩣ᩠᩵ᩁᩬ᩵ᨶ᩠᩵ᩁᩬ᩵ᨶ᩠᩵ᩁ, mais qui, dans cet unique manuscrit, a été oblitéré par des remaniements. En un mot, on doit admettre maintenant que l'édition Môt-Bradley peut être de quelque secours dans certains cas pour rétablir les formes de la tradition de 1805 qui se sont perdues avec les manuscrits que nous n'avons plus, ou les formes de cette tradition que des remaniements ont masquées dans les manuscrits qui sont parvenus jusqu'à nous.

Quelques remarques sur la présentation. Luáng Pradĭt aurait mieux fait semble-t-il de numérotter sur ses planches les pages des manuscrits. Son système consiste à numérotter les pages de son livre et les lignes de ses planches, ce qui serait sans inconvénient s'il avait l'intention de reproduire tous les textes de 1805, puisque dans ce cas, nous aurions désormais un système de références uniformes, applicable au "corpus" tout entier. Mais, du moment que l'édition doit rester partielle, il valait mieux numérotter les pages des manuscrits et les lignes à l'intérieur de chaque page, ce qui donnait un système de références définitives. Avec le procédé de Luáng Pradĭt, l'uniformité toujours désirable des références, devient pour longtemps difficile à obtenir. Enfin, pourquoi priver le lecteur du secours de titres courants qui seraient si commode dans un livre aussi touffu. Je m'empresse d'ajouter que ces menus défauts, faciles à corriger dans une seconde édition, ne suffisent pas à déparer une œuvre utile et qui vient à son heure.

J. BURNAY.

P. S.—Luáng Pradĭt a mené son travail à terme, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à 2473. F. N. Il nous promet des index qui seront bien utiles, même s'il ne s'agit que d'un essai.

H. OTLEY BEYER.—*A Preliminary Catalogue of the Pre-Spanish Ceramic Wares found in the Philippine Islands. (Type-written).*

On the subject of Siamese Ceramic Wares made in Sawankhalok, this is unquestionably the most important work which has hitherto appeared.

For a number of years past Dr. Beyer Professor of Anthropology and Ethnology, University of the Philippines has been engaged in excavating early graves in the Philippine Islands, both north and south, and he has now issued, in typescript form, the results of his ceramic discoveries made in them. Naturally, the great bulk of these wares are Chinese in origin, dating from about the xth to the xvth centuries A. D., if we exclude pottery of the Iron age people. But, in addition, and especially in the Southern islands, Dr. Beyer has unearthed a very considerable amount, varying in some districts from as much as 20 to 40% of all the ceramics found, of Sawankhalok wares, dating roughly from the same periods as the Chinese.

Out of a total of 3,200 whole or nearly whole ceramic pieces at present known to Dr. Beyer as available for study, no less than 400, or 12½%, are of Sawankhalok make, and Dr. Beyer is probably right in claiming that it seems probable that more whole specimens of Sawankhalok wares are now available in the Philippine collections than exist anywhere else. It will be of interest, however, to place on record the report received by the writer from Mr. Oscar Raphael in March 1930 that he had just met a Dutch collector in Java who had a large collection of Sawankhalok wares all found in the Dutch East Indies.

Dr. Beyer has spared no pains in describing the wares he has found, and the extent of his preliminary labours may be gauged by the fact that extracts from his work of the material pertaining to Sawankhalok wares alone cover 36 foolscap pages of type.

Dr. Beyer regrets that, unfortunately, no series of fragments from the original kiln sites has been available to him, in consequence of which he has had to learn to recognise solely by experience the distinctive peculiarities of Siamese wares, and has had no standard types by which to judge.

This omission has, at any rate in part, now been made good.

The present writer, in June-July last, paid a visit to the Sawankhalok kilns and, although his search was interrupted by tor-

rential rains, he was able to find in the short time at his disposal sufficient material in the 'Chaliang' kilns nearest to the old city, to send Dr. Beyer 40 specially selected and catalogued fragments representing 11 different kinds of ware.

The great value of Dr. Beyer's discoveries lies in the fact that he is able to give a reasonable approximation of the dates of the graves excavated, sometimes within twenty-thirty years, sometimes within fifty, and even of the oldest within a century. This enables us to make an entirely new survey of Sawankhalok wares and to place them in some kind of chronological order. It is interesting, in this connection, to note that Dr. Beyer is able to confirm the writer's surmises, made in 'A visit to Sawankhalok' (JSS, XIX, pt. 2), as to the evolution of the decoration on the wares, from purely Chinese designs in the beginning to their gradual suppression, and final entire supersession by Indo-Siamese designs.

Broadly speaking, Dr. Beyer divides the different kinds of Sawankhalok wares into the following main groups:—

1. *Monochromes*, chiefly celadons, but also including brown, white, and even flambé or semi-flambé glazes;
 2. *Under-glaze decorated wares*, in brown, black, and blue;
 3. *Polychrome Decoration*, both overglaze and on the biscuit.
- Each of these categories is described at some little length.

Dr. Beyer says that the general quality of Sawankhalok wares (that is, of the materials, the decoration and the finish) is, as a rule, inferior to co-eval Chinese wares of similar make, but that a few pieces may be found which do come up to the required standard. With this the writer agrees, and whole, well-finished pieces of Sawankhalok ware are certainly hard to find in Bangkok; but some two years ago a number of very superior pieces in good condition turned up on the Bangkok market, which the writer acquired and has now lent to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Some of these must be seen to be believed.

It is not intended in this notice to enter into details of Dr. Beyer's finds, but a passing reference must be made to his claim to have found a number of Sawankhalok specimens with under-glaze decoration in blue. The writer has been examining Sawankhalok wares for a good many years past, and he has never yet seen in any collection a piece which he could definitely catalogue as Sawankhalok 'blue and white'. During his recent exploration, however, he came

across a large fragment in the kilns, quite unlike any other specimen he had ever seen, which appeared at first sight to be 'blue and white'. On a closer examination, although the body was of a fine-grained white steatite and the decoration was more elaborate and finely-drawn than on normal Sawankhalok ware, the pigment used seemed to be more of a blackish type, yet covered with such a milky-blue glaze as to give a bluish appearance to the whole. This piece has been sent to Manila for further comparison, and the result of the enquiry will be awaited with interest.

In conclusion, it is not too much to say that Dr. Beyer's finds open up a new vista to all collectors interested in Sawankhalok wares, and his admirable study should give a decided fillip to the interest taken in these wares in European and American ceramic circles.

REGINALD LE MAY

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Note:—

The prices of separate parts of the Journal of the Siam Society was last published in Vol. XVIII. The reprinting of certain parts which were formerly scarce has made possible some reductions in price and therefore the Council has ordered a new list to be printed.

PRICES TO MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

Members are entitled to a discount on the rates given of two ticals on each part published of the Journal of the Siam Society, the Natural History Supplement, and the Enumeratio Florae Siamensis.

MEMBERSHIP.

The following changes have been recorded since March 1931 when the last list was published. (Vol. XXIV, p. 233).

ELECTIONS.

1931.

February 4th.—(additional) Dr. C. Gasparini.

July 11th.—Mr. E. L. Hall-Patch.

August 12th.—Luang Boribal Buribhand, Dr. O. R. Causey, Mr. Georg Hansen, Mrs. Stredwick, The University of Leipzig.

August 19th.—Mr. H. P. Bagger.

September 9th.—Mr. O. Brolykke.

October 7th.—Mr. C. W. Ward.

November 4th.—Mr. H. Paschkewitz (re-elected).

December 9th.—Mr. C. Notton.

1932.

January 20th.—Mr. K. F. Potter, Lt. Col. F. C. Fraser, L.M.S.

February 10th.—The German Club, Mr. J. V. Mathews.

March 9th.—Phya Anusasna.

May 4th.—Mr. J. G. Shelley, Lt. Col. Roux, Banque de l'Indochine.

DEATHS.

The death of the following members is recorded with regret:—

Mr. C. Baudart (Dec. 1931)

Dr. L. Schapiro (Feb. 1932)

RESIGNATIONS.

As at December 31st 1930.

Sir Edward Cook, Comm. de Rossi, Mr. E. Chauvet,

Mr. C. L. Groundwater, Mr. N. G. Colley, Mr. A. Stone,

Mr. C. M. Vignoles.

RESIGNATIONS.

As at December 31st, 1931.

Mr. N. C. Braham,	Mr. H. M. D. Hols,	Mr. A. T. Oldham,
Mr. P. A. B. Barron,	Mr. J. Knudtson,	Mr. M. Polain,
Phya Bharata,	Mr. G. Lavizzari,	Mr. O. Praeger,
Prof. Congdon,	Col. de Lapomarière,	Phra Rajadharm,
Mr. W. W. Coultas,	Mr. J. F. Johns,	Mrs. Scholtz,
Mr. C. G. Cranmer,	Mr. H. W. Joynson,	Dr. W. Schmidt,
Mr. J. Cairncross,	Mr. P. A. MacDougall,	Phra Siddhi,
Mrs. Daubourg,	Mr. A. R. Malcolm,	Mrs. Stredwick,
Chao Phya		
Dharmasakdi,	Mr. T. Miles,	Mr. I. Sutcliffe,
Dr. Gasparini,	Phra Mitakarm,	Mr. C. von Arentschildt,
Mr. Gardan,	Mr. W. Mottershead,	Mr. E. J. Walton,
Mr. H. C. Haug,	Prof. Max Möller,	Mr. A. Wishart,
Mr. E. O'B. Hoare,		

REMOVALS.—(under Rule 8).

1931. Miss Allen, Messrs. A. A. Gentry, J. C. Brandon, J. Hoekman,
and St. Clair McKelway.

Annual Report for 1931.

The Council of the Siam Society has pleasure in submitting its Report for the past year.

On November 24th Their Majesties the King and Queen honoured the Society by Their presence at an ordinary general meeting.

The Vice-Patron (H. R. H. Prince Damrong) and the Honorary President (H. R. H. the Prince of Nagara Svarga) honoured with their presence the fête held at Suan Sanuk on March 4th in aid of the Building Fund of the Society, while His Majesty graciously sent a donation.

THE COUNCIL.

At the annual meeting held in February 1931 the members present unanimously voted the re-election of the retiring Council *en bloc*. The Council has met regularly every month throughout the year, with the exception of April, and the average attendance has been 10. Mr. Adey Moore has continued to hold the office of Hon. Secretary during the year, and the thanks of the Society are due to him for his untiring labours on behalf of the Society.

In the course of the year 15 ordinary members were elected, as compared with 28 in 1930, 38 in 1929, and 31 in 1928. There were 35 resignations, 2 members died, 3 were removed, and 1 transferred to the free list, making a net reduction of 20. The membership on January 1st 1932 was as follows:—

Honorary	Corresponding	Life	Free	Ordinary
20	10	2	5	181

making a total of 218, compared with 244 in 1930, 258 in 1929, and 246 in 1928. The ordinary membership has thus felt the effect of the prevailing depression, for while 13 fewer members joined as compared with 1930, the number of resignations were 35 as compared with 19 in 1930.

The Council have to record, with great regret, the deaths of one honorary member (Sir Charles Eliot, G. C. M. G.), and two ordinary members, Luang Charoon and M. Charles Baudart, during the year.

MEETINGS.

On February 12th Mr. R. S. le May lectured at a General meeting on Sculpture in Siam, this being a repetition of his lecture

given before the India Society at the Siamese Legation in London in October 1930. The lecture, which was attended by a large gathering, was illustrated by forty slides, showing the whole range of Sculpture in Siam from the VIth to the XVth century A. D.

By kind permission of H. R. H. the Minister of Commerce and Communications an informal meeting of the Natural History section was held at the division of Agricultural Science, Rama V road, on June 2nd. Members and friends were shown over the laboratories, and the attendance despite a wet evening was very satisfactory.

On Friday, July 10th, H. R. H. the Prince of Kambaeng Bejra, Leader of the Agriculture, Travel and Transport section, personally conducted a large attendance of members and friends on a visit to the new Memorial Bridge. The party were first escorted over the bridge to the west bank, and after recrossing the bridge, had an opportunity of watching the bascules raised and lowered.

The Natural History Section held a meeting at the University on Friday, July 24th. There was a large attendance, and much interest was aroused in the exhibits of Schomburgk deer antlers by Phya Jolamark Bicharana; Corals and Sponges from the gulf of Siam by Luang Chula Jeeb Bijjadhana; an exhibition and demonstration of Siamese fishing devices by Dr. Hugh McCormick Smith; and a note on the mosquito *Aedes stegomyia argenteus* by Mr. C. J. House.

On August 4th, Professor Carl Zimmerman, who had then just concluded a Rural Economic Survey of Siam, gave an informal talk to members and friends, choosing as his title. "What an American farm boy thinks of Agriculture in Siam."

On November 12th Mr. R. S. le May read a paper on "The Early Coinage of Siam." This paper, which was illustrated by numerous slides, represents the completion of ten years' work by Mr. le May on the Coinage of Siam, and, as already announced, the Society has agreed to issue a Handbook on the subject during the year 1932.

On November 24th Dr. P. van Stein Callenfels, Inspector of the Archaeological Service of the Dutch East Indies and leader of pre-historic research in that country, lectured on the Pre-History of South Eastern Asia. There was a large and appreciative audience, including Their Majesties, who examined the specimens shown with great interest.

THE JOURNAL.

Volume XXIV, Part 2, was in the press at the end of 1930 and was issued early in 1931. Vol. XXV, Part 1, of over one hundred pages with many illustrations, was practically completed at the end of the year. This contains Mr. R. S. le May's monograph on the early Coinage of Siam.

There is in course of preparation an Index to the first twenty-five volumes of the Journal. The Council has approved of the cost of the preparation of this Index being met from the Reserve Fund.

Another item of expenditure which the Council has in mind is a possible extra edition of Monsieur Parmentier's monograph on the collections in the National Museum in Bangkok and in the provincial Museums of Siam visited by him—provided that the translation (from French to English) can be prepared free of cost to the Society and that the monograph can be issued as a Number of the Journal.

In the course of the year an Editorial Committee charged with the general business of producing the Journal was appointed, consisting of M. J. Burnay, H. H. Prince Bidyalankarana and Dr. Hugh McCormick Smith.

The offer made by Mr. le May that his monograph on the Early Coinage of Siam should be combined with that on the Bangkok Coinage, (printed in Volume XVIII of the Journal), and issued as a Handbook on the Coinage of Siam, was accepted by the Council, and it was decided to print an edition of this work as an addition to the publications already issued under the Society's auspices.

NATURAL HISTORY SUPPLEMENT.

The Society also published Volume VIII, Part 3, Volume V, Part 4 (Index), and the Index to Volume VI of the Natural History Supplement in the course of 1931.

M. J. Burnay continued to act as Editor of the Journal, and Mr. E. J. Godfrey, although resigning his seat on the Council, continued to act as assistant Editor in charge of the Natural History Supplement.

FLORAE SIAMENSIS ENUMERATIO.

Volume I of this work was completed during the year with the publication of Part 4. Volume II, Part 1, was in the press at the end of the year.

RE-PRINTING OF JOURNALS

As the sale of whole sets of the Society's Journal has been hindered for a number of years owing to certain parts of the Journal being out of print, the Council decided to use a portion of the Reserve Fund for the purpose of re-printing these parts.

A start was made in 1929, when the re-print of the important Volume I was issued. During the year under review the work has been steadily progressing, and editions of 100 copies of the following parts were re-printed.

Vol. III, Parts 1 and 2; Vol. IV, Parts 2 & 3; Vol. V, Part 1; Vol. VI, Part 3; Vol. VII, Part 1.

As a result of this work the Society is again in a position to offer for sale complete sets of its Journal.

TRANSLITERATION.

The Council in the course of the year approved of the principle of a uniform system of transliteration for use in the Journal and for adoption by the Society. The Council remitted to the Editor of the Journal the task of preparing for their consideration a practical system of romanization for use in the Journal.

BUILDING FUND.

At the beginning of the year the fund amounted to about Tes. 23,000 very little having been added to it during 1930. Early in 1931 the Council decided upon a more progressive policy and with the co-operation of Phya Gadadharabodi, a fête was arranged to take place at Suan Sanuk on March 4th.

A performance of a portion of the Ramayana was given by the Khon Luang, kindly lent for the occasion by H. M. the King, and there were many other attractions. Over 5,000 people paid for admission to this fête, which was a distinct success, and the Society participated in the profits to the extent of Tes. 558, to which must be added a generous donation of Tes. 500 from H. M. the King, who was unavoidably prevented from attending.

In June the Council decided to try and raise the Fund to Tes. 32,000, at which figure it was believed that a suitable building could be constructed. In order to obtain the Tes. 5,000 required for this purpose a special appeal for Tes. 25 from each member was issued by the President. This met with a very fair response, some Tes. 1,600 being subscribed, and in September the Council decided to

transfer Tes. 2,000 from the Reserve Fund to the Building Fund, which brought the fund to Tes. 29,956 at the end of the year.

The Building Committee continued its efforts to adapt its plans to the site generously offered at a peppercorn rent by the authorities of the Chulalongkorn University, and were making preparations to call for tenders when the position underwent a complete transformation. From being a tenant the Society was placed, through the generosity of Mr. A. E. Nana, in the position of being the owner of about three rai of land in a growing part of Bangkok near the Wattana Wittaya Academy without any cost to the Society beyond the transfer fees. Dr. G. McFarland, whose property is contiguous to the land presented to the Society, also offered facilities for entry and road construction. H. H. the Minister of Public Instruction, who offered the original site in the University compound, and later became a member of the Building Committee, subsequently wrote to the Council congratulating the Society on the successful outcome of its difficulties and its acquirement of a site of its own.

In the name of the Society the President sent letters of appreciation, both to Mr. A. E. Nana for his generous gift, and to Dr. G. McFarland for his kind offer of co-operation.

The position at the end of the year is that the Council is awaiting the legal transfer of the land and the issue of title deeds in the Society's name. The President has been authorised by the Council to act on behalf of the Society to receive these deeds when issued.

In connection with the legal status of the transfer the Council took steps to comply with the Law of Associations as to the registration of the officers and headquarters of the Society, which was originally registered under the Law in B. E. 2457 (August 6th, 1914).

EXCURSIONS.

The excursions provisionally arranged by the Agriculture, Travel and Transport Section have suffered from the general depression. Efforts were made to provide facilities to visit Angkor, as well as Ayudhya with Bangpa-In, but the response was insufficient on both occasions.

EXCHANGE COMMITTEE.

The Exchange List has been under consideration by a Committee appointed by the Council, which has now completed its labours, the object being to obtain reciprocity of exchange.

A CONGRESS.

The Council has been in regular communication with the Fifth Pacific Science Congress planned to be held at Victoria and Vancouver, B. C., in May and June 1932. The Secretary-General advised the Council towards the end of the year that the Congress had been postponed to a date to be announced later.

THE LIBRARY.

Mr. W. R. S. Ladell, who continued to act as Honorary Librarian throughout 1931, has done a great deal of work in making this branch of the Society's activities more known and accessible to members. He has also been at great pains to place the stocks of the Journals and Natural History supplements in order, and the value of this labour will be more apparent in the future.

VATICAN PAPERS.

The papers from the Vatican bearing on its relations with Siam received by H. R. H. Prince Damrong, and subsequently translated by the Salesian Fathers, were brought to the notice of the Council as suitable for publication in the Journal. H. R. H. Prince Damrong has put forward certain suggestions in regard to deferring publication of these translations until the final form of translation had been agreed upon, and with this suggestion the Council is in agreement.

ACCOUNTS.

The accounts for 1931 can be described as very satisfactory, the only regret being the fact that the sum allotted for producing the Society's Journal has been considerably under-spent.

However the balance of this sum will be carried forward to 1932 when it is anticipated that the arrears of printing will be fully made up.

The large amount of subscriptions in arrear at the end of 1930 has been almost entirely collected and this, with 209 subscriptions for the year under review, makes the subscription income a record one.

The expenditure includes the cost of an exceptionally large part of Craib's Enumeration, and also some £es. 1,000 has been devoted to the re-printing of certain earlier parts of the Journal, several of which had long been out of print. The re-printing work enables a complete set to be offered to purchasers, and the income for this year includes two such sets sold in Europe.

The Reserve Fund remains much as it was last year. Tes. 2,000 were added to it from the General Account and later in the year a similar amount was transferred to the Building Fund Account.

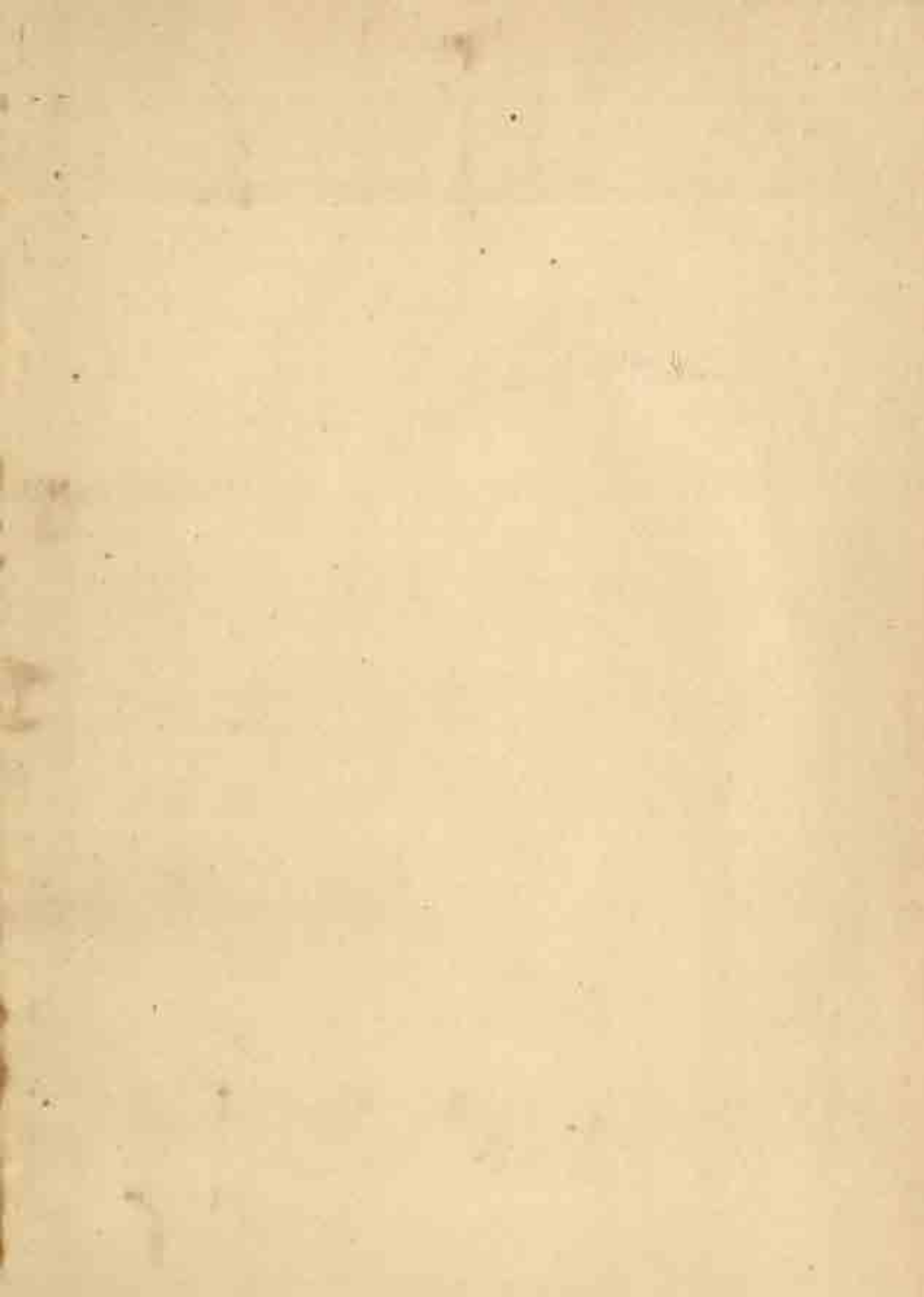
The Council has authorised the use of part of the Reserve for the printing of a book on Siamese coins by Mr. R. S. le May, the preparation of an index to Vols. I-XXV of the Journal, and the printing of another part of Craib's Enumeratio. Other important work awaits acceptance, but it has been decided not to spend further from the Reserve until the future financial situation of the Society becomes clearer.

As in former years, the Finance Committee has assisted the Council in preparing a budget and in examining accounts.

The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. C. J. House, who held the position of Hon. Treasurer throughout the year, for his able management of the finances of the Society.

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